# BRAHUI LANGUAGE PART I

#### THE

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# PART I 'INTRODUCTION AND GRAMMAR

BY

DENYS DE S. BRAY, I.C.S.

CALCUTTA
SUPERINTENDENT GOVERNMENT PRINTING, INDIA
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#### PREFACE.

THE language spoken in and round Kalat, the capital of the Khanate and the meeting-place of Sarawan and Jhalawan, is regarded by most Brahuis as preserving the purest form of their speech, and it is this language which is analysed in the following pages. While passing reference is made to the more important divergencies between the Sarawan and Jhalawan branches of the language, I have not allowed myself to be tempted aside into the interesting bypaths of dialectical variants. I have been content to state what I regard as the standard usage, undeterred by the consciousness that, however clearly defined the rule, exceptions might possibly be culled from some dialect or other to confound it.

Four years' residence in Baluchistan has left me free to pursue the study of Brahui independently of the work of my predecessors, and of the authorities quoted at the end of this volume the only one from which I have wittingly derived assistance is Bishop Caldwell's 'Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages.' Here, however, my debt has been great. Although Bishop Caldwell, working on material necessarily very imperfect and often incorrect, accorded Brahui but a cursory examination in his masterly treatise, his lucid analysis of the grammatical system of the Dravidian languages yields an insight into the structure of Brahui which would otherwise be hardly possible.

To Mr. T. O. Hughes of the Political Department I owe my first introduction to this strangely neglected field of linguistic research, and throughout my labours he has generously allowed me to draw on his intimate knowledge of the Brahuis and their language. It has been my singularly good fortune that my manuscript passed through the expert hands of Dr. Sten Konow, the editor of the Dravidian section of the Linguistic Survey of India, and much of my material has been recast in the light of his valuable suggestions.

But it is, after all, to the Brahuis themselves that I have been most indebted, and to none more than to Mirza Sher Muhammad, son of Ghaus Muhammad, Zahri, to whose patient and critical mind much of the accuracy and fulness of this analysis of his mother-tongue is indirectly due.

D. DE S. B.

Quetta, January 1908.

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# INTRODUCTION

## INTRODUCTION.

#### The Brahuis.

Who the Brahuis are, and whence they have found their way into Baluchistan, are questions that still await answer. Even the origin of their name is obscure. The fanciful derivation from ba-roh-ī, 'hill-man,' may be dismissed at once, despite the fact that the people about the Helmand are sometimes called, by distinction it might seem, nā-rohī or men of the plain; the explanation that they are the old inhabitants of Biroea is only valuable as embodying their own cherished tradition that they came from Aleppo, while the more plausible suggestion that they are the descendants of an eponymous hero Brāho or Ibrahim, though ingenious, is not wholly convincing.

Although the Khanate of Kalat may nowadays be regarded as the home of the Brahuis, they are found in varying numbers in most parts of Baluchistan; northwards they reach into the Afghan district of Shorawak; to the west they stretch along the Nushki trade-route through the sparsely populated Chaghai tract as far as Seistan, where a small colony has set its abode. Numerically they are the strongest tribe in Baluchistan, numbering roughly 300,000 souls, or more than thrice the strength of the Baluch actually resident in the country to which he has given his name.<sup>2</sup> But their numerical strength is deceptive, for the Brahuis at the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The name of both people and language is  $Bn\tilde{\imath}h\tilde{u}\tilde{\imath}$ ; a common corruption of it is  $Bioh\tilde{\imath}$ .

E Vide the Baluchistan Census Report of 1901. The statistics do not of course cover Persian Mekran to which the term Persian Baluchistan is sometimes applied. It is particularly unfortunate that no linguistic census was taken in Baluchistan.

present day are not a separate race but an amalgamation of independent units, bound together by the bond of common good and ill. The gathering of these units round a Brahui nucleus into a semi-military organisation, subdivided into two main groups, the Sarawans and the Jhalawans, the uplanders and the lowlanders, with the Khan of Kalat at their head, forms the history of the rise of the Brahui Confederacy.

The Brahuis themselves have no false idea of the purity of The popular opinion on the subject is summed up very fairly in the analysis of the Brahui tribe furnished by the ex-Khan of Kalat for the last Census. According to him. the true Brahuis who came from Aleppo are only represented. by the Ahmadzai (the ruling family of Kalat), the Iltazai. Mirwari, Gurgnari, Sumalari and Kalandrari; the Bangalzai, Langav and Lahri are Baluch; the Raisani, Sarparra and Shahwani are Afghaus; the Kurd and Mamasani (or Muhammad Hasni) came from Persia; the Mengal, Bizanjav, Sajdi and Zahri are Jadgal or Jats; while the Muhammad Shahi and Nichari are the oldest inhabitants of the country. Into the accuracy of this analysis it is not necessary to enter here. Though it cannot be accepted in its entirety, and leaves out of account the heterogeneous composition of many of the sub-sections themselves, it at any rate bears eloquent witness to the conglomerate nature of the Confederacy.

But despite the mixed character of the race it is as a rule not difficult to recognise the typical Brahui. Somewhat below the medium height, with oval face, round eyes, and high, slender nose, he is framed in a less imposing mould than the Pathan or Baluch proper.

The Brahuis are essentially a pastoral people, breeders of sheep and goats; in the more favoured parts of the country they rear horses and cattle. Lazy and unenterprising, they make poor agriculturists. The extremes of heat and cold and the general poverty of the country necessitate periodical migrations, and in the winter there is an exodus of the Jhalawans through the Mula pass into Sind, and of the Sarawans down the Bolan to the Kachhi plain. But though nomads in this restricted sense, they cling with a strange tenacity to their somewhat inhospitable country, in marked contrast to the world-travelled Pathan. They are law-abiding and amenable to the influence of their particular Sardar, yet have no liking for the trammels of regular discipline. Their distaste for discipline and their home-keeping instinct are among the chief reasons why the race with its warlike traditions is almost unrepresented in our army.

Though not so laughter-loving as the Pathan, the Brahui is not without a quiet sense of humour. He is childishly fond of show; he is at the same time remarkably uncleanly in his person. He is no fanatic: his normal attitude towards matters religious is one of philosophic calm. His faith is by no means fashioned according to the strict letter of Muhammadan orthodoxy. Any attempt on the part of the mullah to encroach on mundane affairs is jealously resented, and even within the sphere of religion his influence is curiously limited. Signs are indeed not lacking that it is only in relatively modern times that Islam has gained a firm footing among the people. To this day belief in evil spirits, who may be warded off by charms and exorcised by sacrifices of blood and the frenzy of the devil-dancer, is all but universal.

The Brahui regards his duty towards his neighbour as one of his first duties towards his God, and more careful housewives than one have been divorced by their indignant husbands for neglecting to show due hospitality when left in charge of the home. Extravagantly hospitable himself, he makes inordinate demands on the hospitality of others. As Nasir Khan the Great used to say, the Brahuis have only

to see a bone in your hand, and they will run up like dogs from all sides for a bite.

He has little of the Pathan's pride of race and language. On the contrary, though he may naturally be chary of putting the admission into words, he usually accepts as a matter of course the claims of both Pathan and Baluch to be his superior in race, and certainly displays a distinct alacrity to trace a non-Brahui descent whenever he can do so with decency. It is significant that no Baluch with proper pride would stoop to give his daughter in marriage to a Brahui; the Brahui, needless to say, marries his daughter into a Baluch family without a scruple.

This lack of proper racial pride is probably intimately related to the diffidence of the Brahui as to his language. There is a very general feeling among his neighbours that Brahui is a strange language, a jargon too uncouth for 'gentility,' and the feeling is shared in some measure by the Brahuis themselves, who do not hesitate to employ Baluchi or Pashtu on the slightest excuse. It must be remembered that, thanks to intermarriage in the individual family and the mixed character of the race, nearly every Brahui is at least bilingual. The present Khan of Kalat, for instance, used to talk Brahui to his mother and Baluchi to his father and brothers. Some of the Brahui tribes hardly speak Brahui at all; thus the Mirwaris, true Brahuis though they are reputed to be, speak Baluchi almost to a man.

### The Brahui Language.

The heterogeneous character of the Brahui tribe is reflected in his language. Not only Baluchi and Persian but Sindhi and Panjabi have been laid under tribute to swell his vocabulary. In view of the large Baluch admixture in the race it is not surprising to find considerable traces of Baluchi in the language; the influence of Pashtu on the other hand

has been curiously small. But the predominant element is Persian—including of course Arabic—which has made its way into the language, largely no doubt through Baluchi but probably to an equal extent directly. Geographical contiguity is chiefly responsible for the extensive contributions of Sindhi, and for the less important borrowings from Panjahi and other languages. The extent to which these additions have been made varies naturally in the different tribes according to their geographical position; thus the speech of the Jhalawans, and notably of the Zahris, contains a large Sindhi leaven, while Baluchi has made marked encroachments on the Sarawan dialects. The standard language, which is analysed in this work, is the Middle Brahui spoken in and near Kalat, where Jhalawan and Sarawan meet.

That the Brahui vocabulary has been susceptible to outside influence is not surprising. It is rather a matter for surprise that the language has been able to maintain a vigorous individuality, instead of succumbing, as many isolated families and one of the purest sections, the Mirwari, have succumbed, to the Aryan languages which hem it in around. Nor must the other side of the question be overlooked: it would not be hard to point to many traces of Brahui influence in the Baluchi vocabulary, and even Sindhi, at any rate the Sindhi of the frontier, could probably be shown to be a debtor as well as a creditor, though of course to a much lesser degree.

But however greatly the Brahui is indebted to alien races for the peopling of his tribe and for the vocabulary of his language, the nucleus of both tribe and language seems to be essentially his own. Eliminate all foreign elements from his tribe, and we are left with a people whose kinship with the races to which it has opened its ranks, or by which it is geographically surrounded, has, to say the least, yet to be proved. And if we lop off the foreign overgrowth which

has twined itself so luxuriantly round his speech, there is laid bare the trunk of a language, helplessly crippled it is true, but preserving from the wreckage its internal structure practically unscathed. And it is to the internal structure or grammatical system of a language that we must look, and not to the accretions, suggestive witnesses though these are to the subsequent chapters in its life's history, to discover the source from which it has sprung. An analysis of Brahui discloses no kinship to the Aryan languages which have contributed so richly to its vocabulary, but reveals a clear and unmistakable resemblance to the Dravidian languages of Southern India, only to be explained on the assumption that it is descended from the same stock.

### The Relationship of Brahui to Dravidian.

The Brahui language is agglutinative, and in this aspect it belongs, speaking in the broadest sense, to the same stage of development as the Dravidian language-group. This, indeed, proves little or nothing; but the argument of kinship rests on a surer foundation than a casual analogy of structure. grammatical relations of the noun in Brahui are shown, as in Dravidian, by means of suffixes, and most, if not all, of the suffixes, whether expressive of case-relations or of plural number, are traceable to the same source as Dravidian Even more direct is the evidence of the pronoun, that faithful repository of the secret of a language's origin. Of the personal pronouns, the pronoun of the second person in both numbers is in essentials the same as in Dravidian, and a Dravidian relationship is discernible in the pronoun of the first person, despite the ravages wrought by phonetic decay The reflexive in Brahui and Dravidian has preserved one uniform type with singular consistency, while the Brahui demonstratives are only explicable in the light of their Dravidian counterparts. The family likeness is but thinly disguised in the interrogatives, and several of the indefinite pronouns are stamped with the same birthmark. The Dravidian relationship of the first three numerals, often, though perhaps erroneously, regarded as only less significant witnesses to the origin of a language than the personal pronouns, is hardly open to question, and it is interesting to find that Brahui and Dravidian, in the absence of an ordinal proper formed from the first cardinal, employ the same device and even, it would appear, the same root to express it. case of the verb is naturally more complex, but the evidence cannot be gainsaid. The most palpable analogies are to be found in the pronominal terminations of the plural, in the formation of the causal, and above all in the organic negative conjugation. These do not, however, exhaust all the relevant points in the evidence; indeed, though the Brahui verb is not devoid of characteristic peculiarities of its own, it may safely be said—and the remark applies with equal force to the language as a whole-that a full understanding of it would be impossible without the help of the Dravidian languages.

This kinship of the language of the Brahuis on the north-west frontier of the Indian Empire with the remote Dravidian languages of the south is of such signal interest that it seems advisable to sketch in lightly this skeleton outline of the evidences on which the kinship is claimed. But room cannot be found in this essay for an exhaustive treatment of the theme: gaps will necessarily be left in the arguments, difficulties will be glossed over, all but the most salient features omitted, and the conclusions stated in an inevitably dogmatic form. A full presentation of the case in all its ramifications must in fact be reserved for a separate volume.

The Brahui noun more especially asserts its claim to kinship with Dravidian in the suffixes it employs to express the plural number and case-relations. The essential mark of the Brahui plural is -k. This is identical with one of the

suffixes in Gondi, and there is little doubt that these two languages have preserved the initial portion of the characteristic plural suffix -kaļ (-gaļ) of Dravidian, just as nothing but the final portion -l-u has survived in Telugu. That -kal (-gal) seems properly applied in the Dravidian language-group to neuter nouns is no serious objection, even apart from the fact that the Dravidian usage itself is by no means uniform. Though probably a mere coincidence, it is of some interest to find that -gal appears in Brahui, but less commonly than in Baluchi, as a suffix with plural significance: duz-gal, for instance, means 'thieves,' and the Mengal were originally, apparently, the Mens. Dravidian rational plural suffix ar, which is by the by undoubtedly enshrined in the Brahui verbal terminations of the second and third persons plural, is often coupled with the irrational plural suffix -yal, and this compound rational plural -argal seems on all fours with the compound suffix -s-k of what may be called the 'personal' plural in Brahui, the -s- of which appears to have been derived from an original -r according to a common phonetic interchange. plural suffix -sk, it may be remarked, is found both in Kui and Gondi.

There is only one declension of the Brahui noun. As in Dravidian, the suffixes by which case-relations are expressed are the same in the singular and plural, with one exception. There is, however, this difference in the declension of the two numbers: in the singular the suffixes are added directly to the crude base; in the plural (and this applies partially to the reflexive and both numbers of the personal pronouns) they are added to an oblique base. Both systems of declension are found in Dravidian, though not with the same differentiation in the case of the two numbers.

There are two genitive suffixes in Brahui, -nā for the noun singular, and -ā for the noun plural and the personal

and reflexive pronouns. Both suffixes are employed in Gondi. It is interesting to note that there are parallels in Dravidian to this specialisation in the use of the two suffixes. Thus -a forms the plural genitive of all nouns in Telugu without exception, while -ni is similarly confined to the singular. Again, although -in is the genitive suffix most commonly used in Tamil, -a is the classical genitive suffix of the personal and reflexive pronouns.

The Brahui dative-accusative suffix -e is the same in form as the Malayalam -e, which is no doubt related to the Tamil -ei. The objection that these suffixes in Dravidian express the accusative only is not serious. Such extensions of meaning crop up everywhere; thus 'him,' an original dative, and the German 'euch,' an original accusative, have to serve in the modern languages as dative and accusative alike, while instances occur in pleuty in the minor Dravidian dialects. A fact more hard to account for would have been the absence of a Brahui representative of -k (with variants), the universal dative suffix in the Dravidian language group. There seems, however, no reason to doubt that the suffix -ki, which denotes much the same as a dative of interest, is traceable to this root. Yet another representative is apparently to be found in the latter part of the suffix -iskā, 'up to,' which seems to be an example of the compounding of two case-signs by a process familiar both in Indo-European and Dravidian. The initial portion -is appears in Brahui as a separate suffix meaning 'at,' and it is clear that the coupling of case-suffixes meaning 'at' and 'to' would result naturally in a compound suffix meaning 'up to.' If the Brahui -is is related to the Dravidian locative -il -- and the phonetic interchange has ample authority-the suffix -is-kā would constitute a perfect parallel to the Tamil locative-directive -il-ku, compounded as this is with a locative and dative.

The Brahui instrumental -at is not infrequently used with a quasi-locative force, and it seems probable that it is derived from the same source as the locative -ati. Obvious analogies are afforded by Telugu and Tulu. In Telugu the classical instrumental -ta (-ta) is identical with the locative, and is derived from the inflexional -ti (-ti), which is itself sometimes used as a locative. Similarly the Tulu instrumental -d'du seems closely related to the locative -du or -d', -tu or -t'. The resemblance of the Telugu suffixes to the suffixes in Brahui is particularly strong.

But perhaps the most striking example of the relationship of the Brahui and Dravidian case-suffixes is to be found in the conjunctive. Not only is  $-t\bar{o}$ , the abbreviated form of the Telugu conjunctive, identical with the suffix in Brahui, the longer form  $-t\bar{o}du$  seems to be preserved in the Brahui full-word tud, 'accompanying,' 'in company with.' If this is the case, the evidence of Brahui would apparently have a relevant bearing on the vexed question whether the Tamil  $-\bar{o}du$  or the Telugu  $-t\bar{o}du$  represents the truer form of the Dravidian conjunctive suffix.

It is an interesting feature of Brahui that all but the three first numerals have been borrowed from outside, a fact which is expressed in another form by their neighbours in the taunt that they have had to teach the Brahuis to count beyond three. The numeral is in fact an epitome of the whole language: the bulk of the numerals as of the vocabulary of the language generally have been grafted from outside; but this foreign overgrowth is linguistically far less significant than the native roots. Few races which can boast a developed language at all have had to borrow the first three numerals, however much they may have to thank the outside world for the rest of their arithmetical stock-in-trade.

While all but the first three cardinals have been drawn, often in a corrupted form, from Persian, the first three are

regarded by the Brahuis themselves as their own exclusive property. A comparison with Dravidian will satisfactorily disprove such an idea. One of the peculiarities of these numerals is that each presents itself in a two-fold shape: asit, irat, musit are nouns of number, while asi. irā, musi are numeral adjectives. The Dravidian numeral is two-fold in precisely the same way. But the family likeness strikes much deeper. The root of the second numeral in Brahui ir- is absolutely identical with the root throughout Dravidian. It may seem unjustifiable to relate as- to or-, the root of the first numeral in Dravidian, but the interchange not only of r and s but also of o and a is otherwise established. The connection between mus- and mur-, the Dravidian root of the third numeral, is more easily detected, for the included vowel has been left unchanged.

As in Dravidian, the ordinals in Brahui are formed from the cardinals by means of suffixes. To this general rule Brahui and Dravidian have one exception in common. In both the first ordinal is founded not on the first cardinal, but on a base meaning 'front,' 'before.' This device is of course familiar enough in the Indo-European language-group, but the relationship of the Brahui base muh, mon, to the Dravidian mu, mun, seems unmistakable.

We pass on to the personal pronouns with the feeling that the Dravidian kinship will reveal itself here if anywhere. And the evidence is clear. Especially is this the case with regard to the pronoun of the second person, nominative singular  $n\bar{\imath}$ , plural num.  $N\bar{\imath}$  is indeed the normal form of the second person singular throughout Dravidian; the nominative plural in classical Kanarese is  $n\bar{\imath}m$ , while num is one of the oblique bases in Tamil. The fact that the more characteristic form of the Dravidian plural, of which the Tamil  $n\bar{\imath}r$  is a typical representative, reappears, docked of its initial consonant, in the form  $\bar{\imath}r$ 

(with variants) as a pronominal termination in the Dravidian verb, is not without significance, for this termination with slight modification, and in the negative verb with hardly any modification at all, is consistently used in Brahui.

The ordinary forms of the Dravidian pronoun of the first person are  $\bar{a}n$ ,  $y\bar{a}n$ ,  $n\bar{a}n$  in the singular, with  $\bar{a}m$ ,  $y\bar{a}m$ ,  $n\bar{a}m$  in the plural, in which the final -n and -m are almost certainly mere marks of number; the triple forms are probably variations of the same base. There can be no doubt of the relationship of the Brahui first person plural nan to the Dravidian  $n\bar{a}m$ . Apart from the fact that in the peculiar circumstances of the case there is no need for a pluralising particle in Brahui, the change from -m to -n, which is in itself not uncommon and which occurs indeed in the Dravidian pronouns, would be induced naturally by the attraction of the initial n.

There remains the first person singular i with its oblique base kan-. Though Caldwell, while regarding nī, num, nan as Dravidian, was unable to recognise any Dravidian relationship here, it would be strange if the pronoun of the first person were derived in the singular from a source other than that of its plural and the pronoun of the second person in both numbers, and it is doubtless a right instinct to endeavour to trace its origin to the same stock before adopting Caldwell's forlorn comparison with the Babylonian anaka. And we may do so, I think, without misgiving. If the final -n of the Dravidian pronouns is merely a mark of singular number, it would be no matter for surprise to find that it is liable to be dropped. It is in fact discarded regularly in the second person singular, nī being rarely ousted by the full form nin; Tulu goes a step further and discards both initial and final n, leaving the vowel i as the sole representative of the second person singular. The same has been the case with regard to ē, the pronoun of the first person singular in

Telugu, and with this Telugu  $\bar{e}$  we may fairly compare the Brahui nominative singular  $\bar{i}$ . It is indeed not impossible that these two dialects have preserved the purest form of the pronoun. The explanation of the appearance of an initial k- in the inflexional base involves too elaborate a chain of phonetic interchanges to find a convenient place here.

The relationship of the Brahui reflexive  $t\bar{e}n$  to  $t\bar{a}n$ , which persists throughout the Dravidian language-group, is happily self-evident. The only points of difference lie in the fact that the pronoun in Brahui is common to both numbers, and in slight variations in the idiom. As the final -n seems to be simply the sign of the singular number as in the personal pronouns, it is possible that the curious enclitic pronoun of the third person -ta (it occasionally appears by the by in the form -tan) is derived from the same base, though its use as an enclitic points clearly to foreign influence.

The case of the demonstrative is of peculiar interest. From an internal point of view the Brahui demonstrative is remarkably irregular and manifold in form. The ordinary forms of the nominative singular are  $d\bar{a}$  (hic),  $\bar{e}$  (ille), o (is), but the oblique cases in the singular, with possibly a few exceptions, are based on dad, ed, od, forms which may be, and sometimes must be, used in the nominative singular. The presence of this -d, which is changed in the oblique cases to -r-, cannot be explained from Brahui itself, any more than the strange insertion of -f- in the commonest form of the plural, dafk, efk, ofk. It is no mean corroboration of our argument that we have to go to Dravidian for the explanation of both. Dravidian like Brahui has a three-fold demonstrative, the remote, the proximate, and the mediate. They are formed from three demonstrative bases a, i, u, by suffixing the signs of gender and number. Tamil, to take a typical case, these gender-number suffixes.

with the exception of the neuter-singular sign -d, begin with a vowel, and require in consequence a euphonic -vto prevent hiatus. Thus the neuter gender demonstratives are a-du, i-du, u-du in the singular, and a-v-ei, i-v-ei, u-v-ei in the plural. It may be safely asserted that herein lies the explanation not only of the Brahui demonstratives singular dad, ed, od, but also of the plural dafk, efk, ofk, notwithstanding certain difficulties which cannot now be The -d in the singular is in fact a survival of the neuter-singular sign, though it loses all force of gender in Brahui, while the -f- is an even more meaningless survival of the euphonic -v-. In both cases the raison d'être of the consonant has gone, but the sounds themselves have been preserved in much the same purposeless way as the euphonic addition has usurped the initial position in the Telugu masculine singular demonstratives vādu, vīdu.

It may seem a far cry from the Dravidian yā-v-ar, who? (masculine and feminine plural) to the Brahui der, who? (masculine and feminine in both numbers). But the chain of relationship is complete. Yāvar is used in colloquial Tamil as a singular also, and as such is abbreviated to  $y\bar{a}r$ ;  $y\bar{a}r$ , moreover, in Tulu becomes  $y\bar{e}r$ , and finally in both Tulu and Kanarese there is that unexpected change from y to dwhich constitutes the last link between the Tamil yavar and the Brahui der. Nor is this all Yā, the Dravidian interrogative base, is used in High Tamil by itself as a pronoun, and thus the alternative form de of the Brahui nominative and, possibly, the apparently irregular but invariable form dinnā of the genitive singular are explained. The shortening of the included vowel in the genitive is characteristically Dravidian.

The interrogative base in Dravidian appears also as e-, probably an older and purer form of the base than  $y\bar{a}$ , and this in the form a- has several representatives in Brahui.

Notable among these are ant, what? (cf. Malayalam endu), ama, how? (cf. Telugu emi, why?), at, how many? (cf. Tamil ettanai), and  $a-\underline{kh}adar$ , how much?—which is especially interesting as being a compound of the Brahui interrogative base a- and a corruption of the loan-word qadr, quantity.

It is unnecessary in this rapid survey to trace the evidences of a Dravidian relationship through all the intricacies of the Brahui verb; it will suffice to indicate a few of the more palpable features of analogy. As regards the pronominal terminations we are on safe ground in comparing the plural terminations -n, -re, -r with the Dravidian -m, -r, -r (with vowel additions). The peculiar difficulties which beset the terminations in the singular appear to resolve themselves on a closer examination into fresh proof of a Dravidian relationship. Thus the obvious conclusion that the twofold termination of the first person singular in the affirmative, which appears as -v in present-future time and as -tin the past and all other tenses which are compounded with the substantive verb, is not in origin pronominal at all, but the distinctive mark of time, is significantly corroborated by the fact that v (with phonetic variants p, b) and t are the characteristic marks of present-future and past time respectively in Dravidian.

An apposite confirmation of this explanation is to be found in the organic negative conjugation, one of the most interesting characteristics which Brahui has in common with Dravidian. At first sight it might seem that Brahui employs two negative infixes, -pa- (corasionally modified to -ta- in the present future, and -ta- in the past, thus possessing a more complicated system than Dravidian. But viewed in the light of the foregoing explanation, the complexity disappears, and the negative formative, docked of p(f) and t, the signs of time, issues as -a-, the fundamental negative formative in Dravidian.

Turning to the causal verb. we find the Brahui causa formative -if palpably related to -vi, the causal formative in Tamil. It is a curious double coincidence, and probably more than a coincidence, that the sign of present-future time should be practically identical with the causal formative in both languages.

I pass by the case of indefinite pronouns or pronominal adjectives, like pēn, other; of demonstrative adverbs, like dangi, engi, in this and that direction; of postpositional nouns, like mon, muh, before, kēragh, below; and of isolated words of every-day use, like khaf, ear, khan, eye, bā, mouth, hal, mouse, muru, hare, khal, stone, pī, excreta, tad, resistance. chot, crooked, chat, destroyed, chunak, small, hanen, sweet, pūskun, new, mutkun, old, kuning, to eat, hīning, to lamb, etc., banning, to come (roots ba-, bar-), bining, to hear, allau. it was not-all of which with numerous others are related to corresponding words in Dravidian according to certain phonetic laws, which are for the most part fairly easily Such words hardly belong to the internal structure of the language, and their evidence, though interesting and important, is subsidiary to the main argument. But I cannot refrain from singling out the obvious relationship of the Brahui words pālh, milk, tēlh, scorpion, to the Dravidian equivalents pāl, tēl, the special significance of which lies in the fact that the former contain the indescribable aspirated cerebral <u>lh</u>, the shibboleth of the Brahui language.

There can be but one verdict on this evidence. This verdict is not that of Caldwell, who summed up his final position in the words "The Brahui language, considered as a whole, seems to be derived from the same source as the Panjabi and Sindhi, but it evidently contains a Dravidian element," but the converse, first suggested by Lassen in the early days of the study of the language and reasserted by

Trumpp a quarter of a century ago. The Brahui language is sprung from the same source as the Dravidian language group; it has freely absorbed the alien vocabulary of Persian, Baluchi, Sindhi and other neighbouring languages, but in spite of their inroads its grammatical system has preserved a sturdy existence.

One word in conclusion. We can no longer argue with the childlike faith of our forefathers from philology to ethnology, and assume without further ado that this race of Baluchistan, whose speech is akin to the languages of the Dravidian peoples of Southern India, is itself Dravidian; that it is in fact the rearguard or the vanguard-according to the particular theory we may affect-of a Dravidian migration from North to South or from South to North. Such short cuts in ethnology are no longer open to us. The questions with which this essay opened, return to us at its close, but they return with deeper import. Who are these Brahuis, whose habitation is in Baluchistan, and whose language has to stretch beyond their utmost ken over so vast a tract of country and over so many alien languages before it can reach its own kin in the languages spoken by the strange peoples in the far-off South?

## GRAMMAR.

#### SOUNDS.

- \$1. 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 these accomplishments through the medium of a foreign language, and have as yet made no real attempt to apply them to their mother tongue.
- §2. There has accordingly been little hesitation in the selection of the Roman character for the recording of Brahui in this work. On general grounds its advantages are felt to outweigh any that might be offered by the only alternative, a modified Arabic character. The adoption of the latter leads almost inevitably to niceties of fancied orthography to which the Brahui has no counterpart in his speech; it is, for instance, not easy to discard completely the distinction in obvious loan-words between برز, ف and ت , س and غ ; خ and ف ; ف , أ and غ ; ع and ع ; غ and ع and غ and غ and غ . meaningless to the Brahui, who contents himself in each case with one uniform sound, s, t, z, k, a. Moreover, apart from questions of artificiality, the Arabic character, overhurdened though it may be with an elaborate system of diacritical signs, is incapable of representing the sounds in Brahui fully and without ambiguity, and proves at times definitely misleading. How real these objections are is writ large in the past history of the study of the language.

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§3. The vowels with one exception go in pairs, short and long; as o is always long, it has been thought unnecessary to burden it with a discritical mark:—

$$a, \bar{a}; e, \bar{e}; i, \bar{i}; o; u, \bar{u}.$$

They are sounded generally after the continental fashion, and the only sounds which have no precise equivalent in English are  $\tilde{e}$  and o, which are pronounced purer than the nearest we possess to them. Practical examples afford the most convenient illustrations:—thus nan, we, is pronounced like the English 'nun';  $b\tilde{a}k$ , mouths, like 'bark';  $b\tilde{\imath}n$ -e, hunger (acc.) like 'bean-y';  $n\tilde{e}$ , to thee, like the German 'Ne-ger' (not like 'nay'); pin, name, like 'pin';  $b\tilde{\imath}n$ , hunger, like 'bean'; hok, fingers, and pok, lost, like the German 'Hokuspokus' (not like 'hocus-pocus'); nuk, the roof of the mouth, like 'nook';  $s\tilde{u}$ , flesh, like 'sue.'

It is hardly necessary to point out that the sounds recorded in the isolated words do not always retain their full value in the rapidity of ordinary conversation. Thus when several long vowels occur in succession there is a tendency to clip one or more:  $t\bar{u}fak\bar{u}te\ \bar{\imath}$ - $\check{u}n$ - $t\check{a}$  pula, snatch the guns from them, where  $\bar{\imath}$ - $\check{a}n$ - $t\check{a}$  stands for  $\bar{\imath}$ - $\check{a}n$ - $t\bar{a}$ . Again, a final short a is frequently almost entirely elided before a word beginning with a vowel or even with the aspirate:—kasas rahāi-t himpak (for rahāi-ta himpak), no one goes near him The power of the hardly perceptible sound that is left may be conveniently represented by the apostrophe.

§4. The vowels are occasionally nasalised, but chiefly in loan-words; nasalisation is represented in this work by a circumflex sign over the vowel:— $p\tilde{a}zda$ , fifteen;  $s\tilde{e}zda$ , sixteen;  $sir\tilde{o}z$ , a lute. The nasalisation of a short vowel is somewhat rare:  $d\tilde{a}z$ , dust. In the imitative word shirthing, to neigh, there can often hardly be said to be a true vowel sound at all.

§5. In addition there are the diphthongs—ei; ai;  $\bar{a}i$ ; au.

The diphthong ei occurs in a few words only, but some of these are important, as for instance antei? why? It has no precise equivalent in English; thus beik, grasses, is pronounced neither 'bake' nor 'bike,' but between the two, somewhat nearer the former. The diphthong ai, on the other hand, may be readily paralleled in English; thus aino, to-day, is pronounced like 'I know' (with a slight emphasis on 'I'); maiz-il, stage, like 'mis-er.' It is not to be confused with the heavier diphthong āi, which plays an important part as one of the suffixes of the locative. Thus putāi, on the hair, is pronounced not like 'put I,' but more like 'put aye,' with the broadest pronunciation of 'aye.' The remaining diphthong au is pronounced as in German; it has, for instance, the same sound in maun, black, as in the German 'Maul.' At the end of a word it is perhaps hardly a true diphthong; it approximates to av, into which it resolves before a suffix with an initial vowel: e.g., kulau, message. kulavāk, messages.

§6. The consonants may be arranged according to the position they occupy in the mouth, from the lips to the back of the throat; it will be observed that the series overlap:—

											.a.
Labial.		Dental.	I	ingual.	1	Palata	1.	Gı	attı	ıral.	
p		ŧ		ţ		ch			k		
$\boldsymbol{b}$		d		d		j			g		
	f									$\underline{kh}$	
	$\boldsymbol{v}$			•							gh
			\$		sh						•
			$\boldsymbol{z}$		$\boldsymbol{z}h$						
m				n			Ħ				
				l $r$			<u>lh</u>	ŗ	y		
											h

The majority of these sounds have their counterparts in English, and these it will suffice to illustrate by a few words in which they occur, their pronunciation being indicated by English words composed of the same sounds in brackets. In the case of sounds foreign to English a more detailed description will be given.

- p: pin ('pin'), name; kap ('cup'), half.
- b: buk ('book'), a kiss; bas ('bus'), enough.
- m: mach ('much' slightly emphasised), date-palm; hamp ('hump'), load; būm ('boom'), owl.

 $\boldsymbol{v}$  is neither the English bi-labial  $\boldsymbol{w}$  nor the labio-dental  $\boldsymbol{v}$ . Of the two it more nearly resembles the latter, but differs from it in that the lower lip is drawn slightly further in on to the upper teeth, and touches them more lightly; there is a little more pressure on the teeth when the consonant is preceded by a short vowel.

f: fām ('farm'), understand; bilīf ('belief'), pregnant. (The sound is never used initially in indigenous words.)

t is unknown to English, nor is it the true dental of Persia, which is formed by touching the tongue almost on the edge of the teeth. It is formed as in Italian by the contact of the tip of the tongue at the spot where the teeth issue from the gums, so as to touch both.

d is the sonant of t, and the remarks above apply equally to both.

- 8: sīm ('seam'), border; his ('hiss'), ashes.
- z: zū ('Zoo'), quickly; būz ('boose'), muzzle.

t is the ordinary English t (and therefore materially different from the cerebral t in Hindustani):  $b\bar{u}t$  ('boot'), boot;  $t\bar{i}n$  ('teen'), tin—both these words are borrowed from English; chit ('chit'), rope.

d is similarly the English d:=dak ('duck'), a cut; dak ('dark'), bald; bad ('bud'), a load.

n: nan ('nun'), we; pin ('pin'), name.

*l* is pronounced like initial *l* in English:—*līk* ('leak'), a line. Medially and finally it keeps its sound pure, and undergoes no modification as in English. There is thus a perceptible difference between *bil*, a bow, and 'bill,' between *sil-e*, to the skin, and 'silly,' and between *halk*, he seized, and 'hulk.'

r is produced by the vibrations of the tip of the tongue at the front of the hard palate, and the standard English pronunciation therefore supplies no exact parallel:— rikh-ēb (German 'rich-tig'), stirrup; mār (German 'Marmor,' Hindustani 'mār'), son.

sh: shā ('Shah'), pour; mash ('mush'), hill.

zh is pronounced as  $\underline{zh}e$  in Persian, and the z(u) in the English word 'azure.'

ch: chank ('chunk'), a double handful; pichche ('pitchy'), to the eye-gum.

j: jin ('gin'), a Jinn; baj ('budge'), back.

<u>th</u>: is exceedingly hard to pronounce; it is a harsh aspirated cerebral formed by rolling back the tip of the tongue against the edge of the roof of the palate, letting the back of the tongue rest against the wall of the roots of the teeth, and emitting the sound with some force at both corners of the mouth; the force is occasionally, but not usually, greater at one corner than at the other. The

both corners of the mouth; the force is occasionally, but not usually, greater at one corner than at the other. The common corruption of the sound among Indian foreigners, lt (using the Hindustani cerebral t), is hopelessly wide of the mark. Though l offers itself readily as a symbol for the sound, it has been considered advisable to adopt lh,

cumbrous though it is, to mark the harsh aspiration and the exceptional length of the sound.

n is the obscure cerebral nasal of Sindhi and Pashtu (sometimes transliterated <u>ar</u>). It occurs chiefly in words borrowed from one or other of these languages, and its use generally points to Sindhi influence, under which it frequently displaces r especially when preceded by a nasalised vowel.

*p* is even more difficult for an Englishman to acquire than <u>lh</u>; indeed among some Brahuis themselves a certain difficulty is experienced (§18). It is formed by the contact of the tip of the tongue far back on the palate, so as just to touch the soft palate. The Hindustani *r*, in which the contact is at a point considerably more forward, is a very imperfect approximation.

y: yā ('Ya-hoo,' German 'Ja,' Persian, Hindustani 'yā'), or.

k: kuk ('cook'), flocks; chik ('chick'), a pinch of something.

g is the same as the English hard g := gud ('good'), after; bag ('bug'), a herd of camels.

**kh** is pronounced like the Arabic-Persian <u>kh</u>e, i.e., like ch in German and in the Scotch word 'loch':—thus **kh**arāb, bad, bē<u>kh</u>, root, are pronounced just as in Hindustani.

and initially and medially is pronounced as in Hindustani:—
thus gharib, poor, and laghar, lean, are pronounced like
the same words in Hindustani. At the end of a word, as
e.g., in shagh, pour, it is less heavy.

h: though the aspirate at the beginning of a word which is sounded with emphasis is distinctly felt deep down

in the throat, in ordinary conversation it is often hardly perceptible, and even dropped altogether:—e.g., hata, ata, bring; hēs, és, he brought. The usage in fact is so uncertain that it is not always possible to determine whether the more correct form of a particular word contains an aspirate or not.

- §7. The consonant series might be made more complete by the inclusion of the aspirated sounds ph, bh, th, dh, etc., which are pronounced, due allowance being made for difference of pronunciation in the simple consonants, after the manner familiar from Hindustani. But though Brahui wavers for instance between phok and pok, lost, gone, and between  $bh\bar{a}z$  and  $b\bar{a}z$ , many, the simple forms in most cases are regarded as the more pure, and a frequent use of aspiration indicates contact with Sindhi and Eastern Baluchi.
- §8. Similarly each series might have been given its proper nasal, each with an appropriate diacritical mark, but the result would have been a needless embarrassment to the practical student. Apart from the nasalised vowels (§4) the only nasals which have a separate individuality are the labial m, the lingual n and the borrowed cerebral n. The modifications which the pasal undergoes in combination with a following dental, palatal or guttural are natural and familiar, and can be at once deduced without the use of distinctive symbols. Thus, zank, lambing-season, rhymes with 'bunk': bing, he heard, with 'fing-(g)er' (not of course with 'king'); lanch, gird up thyself, with 'lanch' (i.e., lantch, not with 'launch,' i.e., lansh); hanj, duck, with 'lunge.' It is true English has no equivalents to -nt and -nd, which occur for instance in ant? what? band, joint, but this is simply because it does not happen to possess a semi-dental like Brahui.
- §9. Again, a place might perhaps have been found among the labials for w, but the sound only occurs in combination:

٦,

- e.g., dwāzda (cf. 'dw-ell'), twelve, swār (cf. 'sw-ard'), rider gwan (cf. 'Gu-elf'), the pistachio khanjak. It is, in fact merely a convenient method of writing u, and though the vowel sound is generally clipped as in English, it is not infrequently sounded in full:—e.g., duāzda, suār, guan.
- §10. The Brahui has a marked fondness for doubled consonants preceded by a short vowel. Among the consonants most frequently doubled are ch, kh, t and l, while the doubling of n and s is an important feature in the infinitive and past tenses respectively of a certain class of verbs. the end of a word the doubling of a consonant is in most cases barely perceptible, though the sound may be slightly heavier than that of a single consonant. Hence with certain important exceptions, chiefly among the verbs and adjectives, it is unnecessary to mark a final consonant as doubled, whereas care must be taken to reproduce an unmis takable doubling in the body of a word: -e.g., kutte kulle huchchanā randat mon tiss, he sent off all the flocks to follow the camel. In this connection it may be noted that the Brahui has no particular dislike for concurrent consonants, at any rate in certain combinations: -e.g., guzhah, lucerne roots. drassum, goats' hair, arisk, persons, larza, trembling. mūshkp, he may not rub.
- §11. The main accent, which is for the most part not particularly decisive—only a short included vowel in a suffix being entirely unaccented—falls ordinarily on the root of the word, though it is apt to be attracted to a syllable containing a long vowel or ending in a doubled consonant. In emphatic conversation, of course, the accent becomes definitely marked.
- §12. Though hiatus is little felt except in certain combinations in which the copula is concerned, the declension of the noun affords an interesting example of the insertion of

euphon hain to prevent hiatus between a, short or long, the or ai (§§26, 36 d). Though this insertion is conveniently termed euphonic, it will of course be remembered that it is dictated not by the ear but by the vocal organs. But the practice is strangely lacking in uniformity: thus in the case of a monosyllabic noun ending in  $-\bar{a}$  the insertion of ghain before the case suffixes  $-\bar{a}n$  and  $-\bar{a}i$  is not permissible, though it is otherwise optional in the declension of nouns ending in -a or  $-\bar{a}$  (§36 d). A euphonic ghain crops up again in the adjective (§84). Before the copula there are in certain cases special devices to bridge the hiatus (§42).

- §13. There is a distinct tendency in Brahui towards 'harmonic sequence of vowels;' that is to say, the vowels of a polysyllable are liable to become attracted into harmony with the last vowel. Thus khi'lat, robe of honour, appears as khalat, Muhammad as Mahmad, manzil, stage, as mizil (or as maizil, which has been affected by the same tendency). But it is in the conjugation of the verb that this principle is most noticeable: thus kungusut, kungususut. I had eaten. are the common forms of the pluperfect as opposed to kungasut, kungasasut, which are the forms obviously indicated by the formation of the tense, and which are also in use (§§221, 222). In the third person singular, kungasas, no change is called for as the last vowel is the same as the vowel preceding it, and none is permissible. The secondary form of the past conditional (§209) offers another illustration of the same kind.
- §14. Another phonetic principle, which operates however chiefly in loan-words, is metathesis, according to which the consonants in a word are apt to change places. The simplest examples are to be found in words borrowed from Persian: niām (for miyān), middle; dalvat (for daulat), riches; ruskhat (for rukhsat), dismissal; bashkh (for bakhsh), portion; kulf (for qufl), key; kilba (for qibla), west.

- §15. A full consideration of the interchanges among the consonants lies outside the scope of this volume, but a few general remarks will perhaps be of interest. The interchanges fall naturally into three main groups: (1) interchanges which occur within the standard language itself, (2) interchanges in loan-words, and (3) dialectical interchanges.
- \$16. One of the most remarkable consonantal interchanges in Brahui itself is that between k and t, which plays for instance a very important part in the declension of the plural noun (§33). An interchange between d and r is illustrated by the declension of the demonstratives (§127), while the conjugation of the verb points to interchanges between n, r, s, between lh, l, s, and—in the negative between p, f, v. A consonant sometimes undergoes change owing to its juxtaposition with another consonant. Thus, m changes to n before d: handā (for ham-dā), this very; while n changes to m before b or p: kumbo, do you eat, kumpa, eat not, from kun-ing. Before a sibilant or a dental r may be optionally changed to r: harsing or harsing, to turn, larging or larzing, to tremble, hartomā or hartomā, both, hardē or hardé, every day. The occasional dropping of the aspirate has already been noticed (§6). It seems as if it were occasionally employed to mark a distinction of number. Brahui will say: hor, finger, ok, fingers; while a second will say the reverse: or, finger, hok, fingers. If both singular and plural occur in the same sentence, it is certainly idiomatic to distinguish them in this manner: chākh à nā asi ore turênr. yā kulle hote nā? has the knife cut one of your fingers, or all of them? Ust, heart, plural hustāk, and vice versā constitute another example of the kind. In the case of r and a there is a similar tendency to be dropped. The pluralisation of nouns ending in final r (§29) and the conjugation of the so-called verbs in -n (§186) afford striking illustrations of this tendency in the former. In some instances it is indeed difficult to

determine from internal evidence whether a final -r is radical or not, e.g., ama? amar? how? The dropping of g is exemplified in the imperative plural and the prohibitive of the passive (§275) and in isolated words like gir or ir, all, girā or irā, some, hichgirā or hichirā, nothing.

- §17. It will be convenient to confine a brief review of consonantal interchanges in loan-words to the case of words borrowed from or through Persian. The more important variations include changes from q to  $\underline{kh}: va\underline{kh}t$  (from vaqt), time,  $a\underline{kh}adar$ ? how much? the last element being derived from qadr, quantity (§150); from final b to f: shaf (from shab). evening, sof (from  $s\tilde{e}b$ ), apple; from initial b to  $gw: gw\tilde{a}z\tilde{i}$  (from  $b\tilde{a}z\tilde{i}$ ), play, gwar (from bar), breast; from r to l: shakal (from shakar). sugar. The frequent nasalisation of long  $\tilde{a}$  is not without interest:  $b\tilde{a}z$  (from  $b\tilde{a}z$ ), hawk;  $b\tilde{a}zil$  (from  $b\tilde{a}z\tilde{u}$ ), upper arm;  $ch\tilde{a}$  (from  $vh\tilde{a}$ ), tea.
- \*§18. As regards the numerous dialectical variations it is interesting to note that the Zagr Mengal finds the same difficulty in the pronunciation of the cerebral r as the Brahui child learning to talk, and like him gets over the difficulty by using r instead: darē for darē, here, darān for daran, from this man. The Brahui child similarly does not readily master the difference between s and sh, and we find the same confusion in the Zahri variant ishto for isto, last The Langavs regularly corrupt gh into kh: e.g., khalla for ghalla, grain. Again, the people of Zahri cannot pronounce an initial dental followed by r, and either drop it altogether or substitute the corresponding lingual: e.g.,  $ra\underline{kb}$ or drakht for drakht, tree, rogh or drogh for drogh, lie, rakhkhing or trakhkhing for trakhkhing, to burst. A dialectical change from t to ch, which is analogous to the interchange of t and k in the standard language (§16) occurs in the important Jhalawan variant chot, I will give, for the ordinary ētot or tirot, and in the corresponding formations of

the same verb. The converse is found in the Zagr Mengal  $t\bar{a}va$  ( $ti\bar{a}va$ ) I understand, for  $ch\bar{a}va$ . But regard being had to the negative of  $ch\bar{a}-ing$ , it seems not impossible that the older form of the root has been preserved in the dialect (§261).

### THE SUBSTANTIVE.

## Gender.

§19. Gender in Brahui is not expressed by grammatical forms. Most cases in which a valid distinction of sex exists in the mind of the ordinary Brahui, are provided with different words for the masculine and feminine:—

pira	grandfather,	balla	grandmother.
$b ar{a} v a$	father,	lumma	mother.
$mar{a}r$	son,	masir	daughter.
$\bar{\imath}lum$	brother,	ir	sister.
mālum	father-in-law.	bal <u>gh</u> ur	mother-in-law.
sālum	son-in-law,	mal <u>kh</u> ur	daughter-in-law.
<u>kh</u> āspar	brother-in-law,	dus <u>kh</u> īch	sister-in-law.
mê	slave-boy,	chokari	slave-girl.
<u>kh</u> arās	bull,	dagg i	cow.
mat	he-goat,	hê <u>t</u>	she-goat.
lok	he-camel,	$d\bar{a}chi$	she-camel.
sālum <u>kh</u> āspar mē <u>kh</u> arās mat	son-in-law, brother-in-law, slave-boy, bull, he-goat,	mal <u>kh</u> ur dus <u>kh</u> īch chokarī ḍaggī hêţ	daughter-in-law. sister-in-law. slave-girl. cow. she-goat.

In cases of obvious necessity there are also separate words for the neuter gender.

§20. The Persian device of prefixing nar, male, and māda, female, is practically confined to cases in which a distinction of sex has little or no value in the workaday life of the Brahui. Thus the Brahui has evolved no separate words for the masculine and feminine of khazm, deer, and on the few occasions when a distinction is called for he is content to employ the foreign compounds nar-āsk, buck, māda-āsk, doe. Though the feminine of lāgh, donkey, is expressed by the Persian māda-khar (sometimes corrupted to mācha-khar), the device is naturally seldom made use of in the case of domestic animals.

§21. Apart from collective nouns like bāhir, herd of donkeys, gala, herd of horses, bag, herd of camels, gārum, herd of cattle, kur, flock of sheep and goats, there are often separate words for the common gender:— bandagh, human being, including narīna, man, zāīfa, woman; hullī, horse, including nariān, stallion, mādiān, mare; mēlh, sheep, including khar, ram, mir, ewe; kuchak, dog, including narāz, he-dog, mind, bitch.

### Number.

- §22. There are two numbers, the singular and the plural; there is no trace of a dual. The nominative singular is the simple base; it may end in a consonant or consonants, in short a, a long vowel, or the diphthong ei. Though several bases end in -au, a final au is hardly a true diphthong (§5) and is treated for inflexional purposes as -av, to which it approximates in sound in this position.
- §23. The nominative plural is formed from the base by suffixing -k, which is euphonically strengthened in many instances to  $-\bar{a}k$ , and—if the noun ends in a short a—to  $-gh\bar{a}k$ , a *ghain* being usually inserted to bridge the hiatus.
- §24. The formation of the plural is most conveniently discussed according to the ending of the base. In the case of nouns ending in a vowel the rules are simple and happily free from exceptions. The rules in the case of nouns ending in a consonant are more complicated and, apart from the inevitable exceptions, secondary forms are not uncommon.
- §25. (i) Nouns ending in a long vowel or in the diphthong ei form the plural by suffixing -k:—

$bar{a}$	$\mathbf{mouth}$	$b ar{a} k$ .
$urar{a}$	house	$ur\bar{a}k.$
$dar{e}$	$\mathbf{day}$	$d ar{e} k$ .
<i>bē</i>	salt	$bar{e}k$ ,

dui	tongue	duik.
hulli	horse	hullik.
$\underline{kho}$	$\mathbf{pot}$	khok.
taho	wind	tahok.
$d\tilde{u}$	hand	$d\hat{u}k.$
$p  ilde{u}$	$\mathbf{worm}$	pūk.
bei	grass	beik

§26. (ii) Nouns ending in  $-\alpha$  (no other short vowel is found at the end of a base) form the plural by suffixing  $-\bar{\alpha}k$ , usually with a  $\underline{\alpha}\underline{h}\alpha$  in to prevent the hiatus:—

lumma	mother	lumma <u>gh</u> āk,
bāva	father	bāvaghāk.
parra	wing	parraghāk.
hūrra	thunder	hūrra <u>gh</u> āk.

The *ghain* is occasionally omitted, and the final a is then all but elided before the plural suffix -ak. The barely perceptible sound may be conveniently represented by an apostrophe:  $lumm'\bar{a}k$ ,  $b\bar{a}v'\bar{a}k$ ,  $parr'\bar{a}k$ ,  $b\bar{u}rr'\bar{a}k$ .

§27. (iii) Nouns ending in a lingual (but not r, of. §29), a nasal, a sibilant,  $-\underline{lh}$  or -r, form the plural by suffixing -k:-

pá!	wood	pātk.
hēţ	she-goat	hēţk.
bhád	cavern	bhāḍk.
$\underline{kh}al$	stone	$\underline{kh}alk.$
bil	bow	bilk.
sil	skin	silk.
<u>kh</u> an	eye	<u>kh</u> ank.
pin	name	pink.
zān	knee	zānk.
sum	arrow	sum k.
kāţum	head	kātumk.
<u>kh</u> olum	wheat	kholumk.

bāmus	nose	bámusk.
his	ashes	hisk.
$r \check{e} z$	hair-rope	$rar{e}zk$ .
mish	earth	mishk.
mash	hill	mashk.
$p\bar{\imath}sh$	$\operatorname{dwarf-palm}$	pīsh $k$ .
$b\bar{u}zh$	tangled hair	$b \ddot{u} z h k$ .
mazh	a kind of grass	mazhk.
$tar{e}\underline{l}\underline{h}$	$\operatorname{\mathbf{scorpion}}$	të <u>lh</u> k.
mē <u>lh</u>	${ m shee} p$	$mar{e}\underline{l}\underline{h}k$ .
$pa\underline{lh}$	milk	$pa\underline{lh}k$ .
īŗ.	sister	irk.
$ro_{f}$	calf	rork.

NOTE (a).—The ordinary plural of masir, daughter, is masink; the form masirk is rarely heard. The regular plural irk from ir, sister, is very occasionally displaced by irk. The plural of duzz, thief, is always duzzāk, the apparent irregularity being no doubt due to the double consonant.

Note (b).—Secondary forms are not uncommon, especially in the case of bases ending in -d:—kārēz, subterranean channel, kārēzk or kārēzāk; kutām, nest, kutāmk or kutāmāk; sāl, year, sālk or sālāk; boḍ, boṛ, louse, boḍk or boḍāk, boṛk or boṛāk; bhāḍ, cavern, bhāḍk or bhāḍāk. Indeed, apart from the special cases immediately following, the plural of many nouns in -d is preferably formed with -âk: e.g., koḍ, cave, koḍāk (koḍk); pāḍ, blunt sword, pāḍāk (pāḍk).

NOTE (c).—Nouns ending in  $\dot{t}$  or  $\dot{d}$ , preceded by a short vowel, form the plural by suffixing -ak:—

put	hair	$putar{a}k.$
chavat	sandal -	chavattāk.
gut	throat	guļtāk.
kad	$\operatorname{pit}$	kaddāk.
pid	stomack	piddāk.

In the last four examples the doubling of the final consonant of the base in the plural is to be noticed. The doubling is similarly effected in the singular before the copula or on the addition of a suffix beginning with a vowel or diphthong.

§28. (iv) Nouns ending in a dental, palatal, guttural or labial (including the semi-diphthong  $-\alpha u$ ; but excluding the nasal m, cf. §27) form the plural by suffixing  $-\bar{\alpha}k$ :—

lot	$\mathbf{bag}$	$lotar{a}k$ .
nut	${ m flour}$	nutak.
pit	${f thorn}$	pitak.
ust (hust)	$\mathbf{heart}$	$\pmb{hustak} = (ust\pmb{ak}$
		$cf$ . §16 $\rangle$ .
gud	clothes	$gudar{a}k.$
lad	$\operatorname{grov}_{\mathfrak{C}}$	ladāk.
rand	track	$rand  ilde{a} k.$
mach -	date-palm	machchāk:
- huch	camel	$huchchar{a}k.$
hanj -	duck	hanjāk
baj	back	- bajāk.
kwohak	dog	kuchakak.
dhok	$\mathbf{clod}$	$dhok \ddot{a}k$ .
lok	he-camel	$lok \check{a}k$ .
pug	bhusa	$pug ilde{a}k$
tung	$\mathbf{hole}$	$tungar{a}k.$
<b>s</b> āng	betrothal	$sar{a}nyar{a}k$ .
lichcha <u>kh</u>	$\mathbf{mud}$	l <b>i</b> chcha <u>kh</u> āk.
mala <u>kh</u>	locust	$mala \underline{k} h ar{a} k$
$tu\underline{gh}$	${f sleep}$	tughāk.
ira <u>gh</u>	bread	ira <i>gh</i> āk.
lap-	handful	$lappar{a}k$
kap	half	kappāk.
trump	drop of water	$trump ilde{a}k$
sharā $^b$	wine	sharābāk.

kumb	pool	kumbāk.
pif	lung	$piff ar{a}k.$
harraf	markhor	harrafāk.
kulau	message	$kulavar{a}k.$
pīshkau	lock of hair	pīshkavāk.

Note (a).—The doubling of the final ch, p, f of the base in some of the plurals will be noticed. The same remarks apply as in the case of a final t [§27, Note (c) fin.].

Note (b).—Variants are not uncommon:—e.g.,  $mu\underline{k}h$ , waist,  $mu\underline{k}hk$  ( $mu\underline{k}h\bar{a}k$ );  $li\underline{k}h$ , neck,  $li\underline{k}hk$  ( $li\underline{k}h\bar{a}k$ ); lugh, sleep. lughk ( $lugh\bar{a}k$ ); baj, back, bajk ( $baj\bar{a}k$ ); muj, mist, mujk ( $muj\bar{a}k$ ); pif. lung,  $piff\bar{a}k$  (pifk); sof, apple,  $sof\bar{a}k$  (sofk). The plural of  $\underline{k}haf$ , ear, is an invariable exception,  $\underline{k}hafk$ .

Note (c).—Especially to be noted are the plurals of nat, foot,  $\underline{kh}ad$ , teat, which are formed by assimilating the final consonant with the plural particle -k: nak, feet,  $\underline{kh}ak$ , teats. Before the copula or a suffix beginning with a vowel (cf. §48.

foot-note) the k is doubled.

§29. (v) Nouns ending in r form the plural by dropping r and suffixing k; the quantity of the preceding vowel in the singular is preserved unchanged in the plural, but if it is short the k is doubled before the copula or a vowel:—

mār	son	$mar{a}k$ .
da <u>gh</u> ār	land	ḍa <u>gh</u> āk.
ber	plum	bēk.
$panar{e}r$	cheese	panēk.
$d ar{\imath} r$	water	$\overset{ au}{d}$ ī $k$ .
amīr	${f chieftain}$	$amar{\imath}k$ .
or (hor)	finger	hok (ok, cf. §16).
la <u>gh</u> or	coward	laghok.
shur	clay	$sh\ddot{u}k$ .
$angar{u}r$	$\operatorname{grape}$	$ang \bar{u}k$ .

shahr	$\mathbf{town}$	shahk.
ditar	${f blood}$	dit ak.
<u>kh</u> ā <u>kh</u> ar	${f fire}$	$\underline{k}\underline{h}\underline{a}\underline{k}\underline{h}a\pmb{k}.$
mir	ewe	mik.
kur	${ m flo}{f c}{f k}$	kuk.

A long form in  $-\bar{a}k$  with the retention of -r- is not uncommon in the case of a loan-word: e.g.,  $am\bar{i}r\bar{a}k$  for  $am\bar{i}k$ ,  $sard\bar{a}r\bar{a}k$ , chiefs, for  $sard\bar{a}k$ . An indigenous noun is occasionally pluralised in this manner, but in the oblique cases rather than in the nominative: e.g. kasar, road,  $kasar\bar{a}k$ , but better kasak; jammar, cloud,  $jammar\bar{a}k$ , but better jammak. A monosyllabic indigenous noun is rarely so pluralised, if indeed, in pure Brahui, ever.

- §30. The plural of  $ar\bar{e}$ , person, arisk, might seem at first sight to stand alone. It is, however, clearly related to the curious plural formation in  $-\bar{a}sk$  (if necessary,  $-gh\bar{a}sk$ ) in the case of a proper name, which denotes, not a number of persons of that name, but the family or party of that person, including properly the person himself. Thus,  $B\bar{a}z$   $\underline{K}h\bar{a}n\bar{a}sk$  means Baz Khan and his family,  $M\bar{v}r$   $Hamzagh\bar{a}sk$ , Mir Hamza and his party. The same formation is even found in cases like  $fil\bar{a}nagh\bar{a}sk$  (§165), so-and-so and his lot,  $lummagh\bar{a}sk$ , the mother and her people,  $b\bar{a}vagh\bar{a}sk$ , relations on the father's side,  $pl\bar{e}tcal\bar{a}sk$ , the Political officer and his following. This formation may be termed the 'personal plural.'
- §31. It is worth noting that the Brahui has appropriated the Pashtu patronymic ending -zai in the form -zei, using it with the same meaning as -āsk: Ghulām Mahmadzei, Ghulam Muhammad and his family. Unlike -āsk, however, this ending is treated grammatically as a singular suffix (§37). It is also commonly used as an ordinary tribal suffix.

§32. The suffix -gal, which is frequently used in Baluchi to form the plural of animate objects, is sometimes employed in Brahui, especially in the āvāl (Arabic aḥwāl) or conventional interchange of news after the salutations are over, in which the words are more carefully chosen and the language generally more formal than in ordinary conversation. Common examples of this formation are duzgal, thieves, buzgal, flock of goats, zahgal, flock of kids. Similarly the Rinds are called Rindgal, and the Mēngal tribe is apparently the tribe of the Mens, though the suffix is now inextricably incorporated with the name itself. Like -zei, the suffix is treated as an ordinary singular (§37).

# The Declension.

- §33. The grammatical relations of the noun are shown agglutinatively by the suffixing of endings. These suffixes are the same for both numbers except in the case of the genitive. But whereas they are added in the singular to the nominative or crude form of the noun, they are added in the plural not to the nominative but to an oblique base: the plural ending -k is changed to -t-, and except in the genitive and dative-accusative an inflexional increment -e- is also attached.
- §34. In the following summary of the suffixes of the cases ordinarily recognised, the suffixes in the plural are conveniently shown in combination with the formative; the necessary modifications in the case of nouns whose plural ending is  $-\tilde{a}k$  or  $-gk\tilde{a}k$  are obvious:—

~ .	Singular.	Plural.
Genitive	$-nar{a}$ , of	- $t$ - $ar{a}$ .
Dative Accusative	-e, to	-t-e.
Ablative	-ān, from	- $te$ - $ ilde{a}n$ .
Instrumental	-at, by	-te- $at$ .

#### THE SUBSTANTIVE.

	Singular.	Plural.
Conjunctive	-to, with	-te- $to$ .
Locative	-ati, in	∙tēṭī.
	$-\bar{a}i$ , on, towards	- $te$ - $\ddot{a}i$ .

§35. Certain variations presently to be discussed notwithstanding, there is properly speaking but one lectension. Example:—

Singular. Plural. Nom. kharās, the bull, <u>kh</u>arāsk, the bulls. Gen. kharāsnā, of the bull, kharāstā, of the bulls. Dat. } kharāse { to the bull, the bull,  $\underline{kh}ar\bar{a}ste$  { to the bulls. the bulls. Acc. Abl. kharāsān, from the bull, kharāsteān, from the bulls. Inst. kharāsat, by the bull. kharāsteat, by the bulls. kharāsto, with the bull, kharāsteto, with the bulls. Conj. kharāstētī, in the bulls. Loc. kharāsatī, in the bull, kharästeāi, on the bulls, kharāsāi, on the bull,

towards the bull. towards the bulls.

§36. In the singular declension certain phonetic modications take place according to the length or ending of

he noun:-

- (a) In the case of a monosyllabic noun, whether ending in a vowel or a consonant, the genitive and conjunctive endings are not attached immediately, but are linked to the crude noun by means of an incremental -a-: māranā, of the son; mārato, with the son; bā-anā, of the mouth; bā-ato, with the mouth.
- (b) A somewhat similar modification may naturally take place when an awkward sequence of consonants would result from an exact adherence to the general rule: gidispanā, of the span; kapotato, with the pigeon; the regular forms gidispnā, kapotto, are, however, also in use.

- (c) In the case of nouns ending in a long vowel the initial vowel of the locative ending -atī is elided:—
  urāṭī, in the house; tūbēṭi, in the moon; hullīṭī, in the horse; khākhoṭī, in the crow; murūṭī, in the hare. If the noun is monosyllabic, the ending wavers between -ṭī and -aṭī, the preference being generally given to the former:—bāṭi (bā-aṭī), in the mouth; dēṭī (dēaṭī), in the day, dūṭī (dūaṭī), in the hand. That the ending is, as a matter of fact, not -ṭī but -aṭī, is abundantly proved not only by the case of nouns ending in a consonant, but by the lengthening of the formative increment -e- in the locative plural.
- (d) In the case of nouns, other than monosyllables, ending in -a or -ā, a <u>gh</u>ain may be optionally inserted before the ablative suffix and the locative suffix -āi: lummaghān, lumma-ān, from the mother; lummaghāi, lumma-āi, on the mother; urāghān, urā-ān, from the house; urāghāi, urā-āi, on the house Curiously enough the hiatus is never bridged in the standard language in the case of monosyllables: bā-ān, from the mouth; bā-āi, on the mouth. Nor is it felt in the case of any other vowel than a, short or long.
- (e) As already noted under the plural [§27, Note (c), etc.], certain consonants, notably t, d, ch and p, preceded by a short vowel, are usually doubled when followed by a suffix with an initial vowel or diphthong: lat, stick, latte, lattato; puch, clothes, puchchān, puchchatī.
- §37. As regards the declension in the plural, little need be said. Due allowance being made for the different forms of the nominative plural, it is of one uniform type. Thus  $b\bar{a}k$ , mouths,  $b\bar{a}t\bar{a}$ ,  $b\bar{a}te$ ,  $b\bar{a}te\bar{a}$ ,  $b\bar{a}te\bar{a}$ , etc.;  $lummagh\bar{a}k$  ( $lumm'\bar{a}k$ ),

mothers,  $lummagh\bar{a}t\bar{a}$  ( $lumm'\bar{a}t\bar{a}$ );  $p\bar{a}tk$ , wood,  $p\bar{a}tt\bar{a}$ ; masink, daughters,  $masint\bar{a}$ ;  $lot\bar{a}k$ , bags,  $lot\bar{a}t\bar{a}$ ;  $m\bar{a}k$ , sons,  $m\bar{a}t\bar{a}$ . If in adding the plural suffix -k a final d, t or r, preceded by a short vowel, is dropped, the -t- is doubled throughout the oblique cases:  $\underline{kh}ak$ , teats,  $\underline{kh}att\bar{a}$ ,  $\underline{kh}atte$ , etc.; nak, feet,  $natt\bar{a}$ ; kuk, flocks,  $kutt\bar{a}$ ;  $\underline{kh}\bar{a}\underline{kh}ak$ , fires,  $\underline{kh}\bar{a}\underline{kh}att\bar{a}$ . The oblique cases of the 'personal plural' are regular: arisk, persons,  $arist\bar{a}$ ;  $B\bar{a}z$   $\underline{Kh}\bar{a}n\bar{a}sk$ , Baz Khan and his family,  $B\bar{a}z$   $\underline{Kh}\bar{a}n\bar{a}st\bar{a}$ . The ending -zei on the other hand is treated like a singular:  $\underline{Gh}ul\bar{a}m$   $\underline{Mahmadzei}$ ,  $\underline{Gh}ul\bar{a}m$   $\underline{Mahmadzei}$ ,  $\underline{Gh}ul\bar{a}m$   $\underline{Mahmadzei}$ ,  $\underline{And}$  the same is the case with the suffix -gal: duzgal, thieves,  $duzgaln\bar{a}$ .

§38. There are a few dialectical variants common enough to deserve note though not imitation. The locative suffix  $-\bar{a}i$  sometimes appears in Jhalawan as  $-\bar{a}:\underline{khar\bar{a}s\bar{a}}$ , on the bull, for  $\underline{khar\bar{a}s\bar{a}}i$ . Another Jhalawan tendency is to drop the incremental -e- in the plural:  $\underline{khar\bar{a}st\bar{a}n}$ , from the bulls, for  $\underline{khar\bar{a}ste\bar{a}n}$ ;  $\underline{khar\bar{a}st\bar{a}i}$ , on the bulls, for  $\underline{khar\bar{a}ste\bar{a}i}$ . In Sarawan the dative-accusative suffix is sometimes added in the plural directly to the nominative plural:  $\underline{khar\bar{a}ske}$ , to the bulls, for  $\underline{khar\bar{a}ste}$ , while an even more abnormal form  $\underline{khar\bar{a}sko}$  may occasionally be heard.

# Supplementary Cases.

- §39. The declension has to be further supplemented by the suffixes -ki (-aki), for, for the sake of; -is, -isk, -ik, at the place of, in the vicinity of, in the possession of;  $-isk\bar{a}$ ,  $-ik\bar{a}$ , up to. For these, like the suffixes of the traditional cases, are added to the nominative in the singular, and to the oblique base in the plural.
- §40. With -ki (-aki) is formed a case partaking of the nature of a dative. The choice between the two forms in

the singular depends on the same principle as operates in the case of the genitive and conjunctive suffixes (§36, a) That is to say, unless the noun is monosyllabic, the short form is used: <u>kharāski</u>, for (the sake of) the bull; <u>urāki</u>, for the house; <u>māraki</u>, for the son; <u>bā-aki</u>, for the mouth. In the plural, however, the long form is invariably employed, the inflexional increment being lengthened to -ê-: <u>kharāstēki</u>, for the bulls; <u>urātēki</u>, for the houses; <u>mātēki</u>, for the boys; <u>bātēki</u>, for the mouths.

- §41. The remaining suffixes are primarily locative in character. The forms -ik, -ikā, are not used in the noun singular except in combination with the indefinite article; in the plural, however, they are quite common. Both with the indefinite article and in the plural phonetic considerations have given these forms the preference over the ordinary -isk, -iskā: in the former there has been an unconscious desire to avoid a repetition of the sibilant, in the latter a natural tendency towards brevity; in both cases the suffix is fused with the preceding vowel and appears as -êk, -êkā. Examples: sardāris, sardārisk, at the house of the chief, in the chief's possession; jaga-asēk, at a certain place; masinte-is, masinte-isk, masintek, with the daughters, etc.; drakhtiskā, up to the tree; drakhtasēkā, up to a certain tree; īlumtēskā, īlumtēkā, up to the brothers. The Persian preposition tā frequently precedes a noun with the suffix  $-isk\bar{a}$ ; in the case of the suffix  $-ik\bar{a}$ , its use is somewhat less common: tā dēļikkiskā, up to daybreak; tā mashtēkā, up to the hills.
- §42. Certain of the case-suffixes take on a final consonant for phonetic reasons when they are immediately followed by the present affirmative of the substantive verb. The suffixes so affected are -to, -ki, -iskā, -ikā, which take on -n, and -āi, which takes on -t: hullī dāsā kanā māraton e, the horse is now with my son; girā-as ki nī much karēnus, kul nā

ilumkin e. all that you have collected is for the sake of your brother; mullānā zor masītiskān e, the power of the mullah reaches as far as the mosque (and should reach no further—a common saying); kanā ḍaghārnā had ē mashtēkān e, the boundary of my land goes up to those hills; ghallanā mon nuskhalāit e, the face of the corn is turned to the mill (a proverb somewhat similar to 'like turns to like'). The suffix -isk, apparently by analogy, is sometimes strengthened to -iskin: kanā kut kul kanā māriskin e, all my winnings are with my son.

§43. With the exception of -isk, which ending as it does in a consonant stands clearly on a different footing, all these suffixes are necessarily modified in this manner when they immediately precede the present affirmative of the auxiliary verb. Before other parts of the substantive verb the modification is optional: kanton (kanto) aff, it's not with me. If the following word begins in a vowel, the modified form is not uncommon: kanā banningiskān aḍ ka, wait for my coming. Otherwise the modification rarely takes place: kanā māraton tūlh, sit with my son; and in the case of -āi perhaps never.

### The Use of the Plural.

- §44. After all the rules for the formation of the plural (§23 seq.), it is somewhat disconcerting to find that the Brahui often dispenses with the noun plural, and leaves his plural meaning to be gathered from the context. He shows, in fact, a distinct tendency to avoid the plural if the singular will answer his purpose.
- §45. The noun qualified by a cardinal number affords an excellent illustration of these remarks. As the number is already defined by the cardinal, the noun is left in the singular: asi, irā, musi bandayh, one, two, three men (§97). To pluralise the noun in such cases is not simply considered

superfluous; it would be absolutely incorrect. As regards the number of the verb governed by a noun thus qualified by a cardinal, the practice is not uniform; the verb is, however, generally pluralised unless the subject is regarded not as a collection of individuals but as a whole: dah bandagh dāsā sārī o, ten men are now present; kanā irā mār bassuno. my two sons have come; kane dahas huch bakār e, I want a string of ten camels or so; naneān bīst bandagh aino bass, yāzda pagga barēru, a party of twenty of us came to-day, eleven others will come to-morrow.

- §46. The same remarks apply generally to nouns qualified by indefinite pronouns like at / how many? (§152), mana, some (§153), bāz, many (§162), which indicate the number sufficiently to allow the noun to be left unpluralised. The governed verb, on the other hand, is regularly placed in the plural: at bandagh bassuno? how many men have come? bāz huch kaskuno, many camels have died; mana swār mon tiss, he sent off some riders.
- §47. Even though the noun is not qualified in this manner, it is frequently left in the singular if the expression is indefinite and there is no room for misapprehension: num jwāno varnā ure, you are excellent young fellows; kanā shahraṭī bandagh bāz e, inhabitants in my village there are plenty; dā rāsto hīt affas, these are not true words. The last example also affords an illustration of the not uncommon use of a singular demonstrative with plural meaning as the subject of the sentence (§130).
- §48. To avoid the plural some use is made of a jingling repetition of the singular noun: hulli mulli, horses, bish mish, donkeys, urā murā, houses. This device denotes a plural of a somewhat vague character, which may often be rendered by phrases like 'horses of sorts,' 'donkeys, etc.,' 'house and home': tēnā zāīfa māīfae urāghān kashshiba

ki mēmānk-a¹ barēra, turn your womenfolk out of the house as the guests are coming; nanā kur mure muchchāi mashān mirāno, they have driven our flocks and all right off the hill; tēnā puch muchche much ka darak, gather up your clothes and the rest of your belongings and take them away. Used as the subject of the sentence such phrases, though singular in form, govern a plural verb: bīsh mīsh kul gum massur, all the donkeys and the rest of them went astray. In the cases of mār, boy, mē, slave, this type of phrase takes the peculiar forms mār-mator, mē-o-mad: mār-mator much massur, mulke bēlār, the lads and youths banded together and ravaged the fields; mē-o-made pā ki hullītā gēre karrir, tell the slaves and all to clean out the horse-stalls.

- §49. These remarks must not be taken to imply that the use of the plural is at all uncommon. On the contrary the plural is always employed if there would otherwise be any chance of ambiguity. Thus, if there is no indefiniteness in the expression, a noun used with plural meaning is necessarily placed in the plural, unless it is qualified by some word indicating plural number such as those illustrated above. Indeed, even a noun qualified by a numeral is invariably pluralised when the numeral is in the definite or absolute form (§98): hamē bīstangā bandaghāk bassuno, all those twenty men have come; handā iraṭṭangā māk pēsh tammār, both these two lads came forth. In such cases the noun apparently owes its plural suffix to the fact that the qualifying numeral is regarded by virtue of its attributive ending not as a numeral but as an adjective.
- §50. Some nouns, indeed, denoting liquids and the like, are frequently used in the plural when the singular is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> To avoid misapprehension in this and many examples to follow reference may be made to §333. Words immediately preceding a verb in the present-future or imperfect usually take on a final -a. One result of the addition of this suffix may be the doubling of a final consonant [cf. 27 Note (c), etc.]

required by the logic of English grammar: ditak, blood (not necessarily drops of blood), dik, water, pālhk, milk, mishk, earth, kholumk, wheat, and so forth:—dā khavānā dik chuṭṭāno hināno, the water of this mashak has all leaked away; zaghmanā laggingto ditak-ta chaṭ halkur, as the sword struck him his blood spurtled out. Speaking generally, the singular is confined to the abstract or indefinite use of such words: baghaire dīrān bandagh zinda mafak, man can't live without water; dā hēṭ bāz pālh-a ētik? does this goat give much milk? kholumnā iragh sā-anāṛān hanēn e, wheaten bread is sweeter than barley-bread.

### The Use of the Cases.

- §51. With regard to the cases in general, it is to be noted that if two or more nouns are coupled together in the same grammatical relation, the case-ending need only be affixed to the last noun, the preceding noun or nouns being left in the crude nominative form:  $\bar{\imath}$  sardār o nāibān harrifēt, o javāb titavas, I enquired of the chief and the deputy, but they vouchsafed me no answer; chār dik dānkū hilārnā hēsura onā nihārīki, they were bringing four balls of parched grain and dates for his breakfast;  $\bar{\imath}$  Shēr Mahmad, Bāz Khān, Ghulām Rasūl, Fakīr Mahmad, kulle haṭingāṭ, I summoned Sher Muhammad, etc., all of them.
- §52. The Nominative requires no special note. Passing reference may be made to the occasional use of the simple base absolutely: nat shapād bass, he came barefooted; kāṭum pāsh dēāi chirrēngāka, he was wandering about, head bare to the sun; tūfak dūṭī salok ass, he stood gun in hand; zaghm badḍāi dudēngāka, he was running sword on shoulder.
- §53. The Vocative is the same as the nominative: mardaka muskotā hītāte gīrām kappa, fellow, forget not the words of the men of old. It is commonly prefixed by ē or o: ē nīārī numā khalk arārēk e? lady, where is your village?

o khudana bandaah ne ant massune? poor creature, what has happened to you? In prayers and invocations the prefix used is yā: yā khudā kane maizilāi rasēf, bring me, oh God, to my journey's end; yā paighumbar khudānā kanā due hales, oh prophet of God, take me by the hand; ya pir kane dā balāghān rakkis, deliver me, oh saint, from this calamity. In a few cases a special word is employed in the vocative: babū arang kāsa? father, where are you going? urē dāngī barak, friend, come here. The word urē (arē) is also used as a vocative prefix : urē mār, bash ma, my lad, get up. It is worth mentioning that a son is ordinarily addressed by his parents as bava, father, and a daughter as lumma or āī. mother, or even as balla, grandmother. The wife if she has children is addressed by her husband as the mother of the eldest child, otherwise by her name. The wife never addresses her husband by name; he is called the father of so-and-so, if there's a child, otherwise khwaja, master,

§54. The Genitive.—The most interesting idiom connected with the genitive is its use as an independent declinable substantive. The possessive pronoun is treated in exactly the same way (§146), and the usage points unmistakably to an intimate relationship between the genitive and the adjective in its definite form (cf. §89). The declension presents certain peculiar features, on which some light is thrown by the declension of the demonstrative pronoun (§127). The following is the declension of a typical example, ilumnā, lit. of the brother, the brother's, that which belongs to, or is connected with the brother:—

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	<b>ī</b> lumnā	īlumnāk.
Gen.	īlumnānā	īlumnātā.
Dat. }	īlumnāe	îir mnät <b>ë.</b>
Abl.	īlumnāŗān (īlumn	nā-ān) ītumnāteān.

	Singular.	•	Plural.
Inst.	ī <b>lum</b> nāṛaṭ	(īlumnā-aļ)	īlumnāteaţ
Conj.	īlumnāto	(īlumnāṛto)	īlumnāteto.
Loc.	ſ îlumnāţī		ĭlumnātēṭī.
	\tilumnārāi	(īlumnā-āi)	īlum.

The remaining suffixes are similarly attached:—ilumnāki (īlumnāṛki), for the brother's; īlumnāṛis, at the brother's. The plural may be optionally formed after the model of the demonstratives: fk, ftē, fte, fteān, etc. A possessive or genitive noun may be similarly formed from a genitive plural, e.g., īlumtā, the brothers'; the declension is on the same lines, except that there are no optional forms in the plural, which is regular throughout: īlumtāk, īlumtātā, īlumtāte, īlumtāteān, etc.

\$55. The use of the genitive noun is not unlike the English idiom: kanā hullī batane, kunā īlumnā bassune, my horse hasn't come but my brother's has; dā zaghmanā bā kunt e, kanā māranānā tēz e, the edge of this sword is blunt, but that of my son's is sharp; nanā ispust salīsune. sardārnārān bāz duzzāno, our lucerne has been left standing, but they've stolen a good deal from the chief's; da lashshito rūtipa, Bāz Khānnārto rūta, don't reap with this sickle, reap with Bez Khan's; kanā urātī aff, tênā īlumnātī maroe, as he's not in my house, he's probably in his brother's; nanā hullīteāi swār mabo, ē bandaglātāteāi swār mafabo, ride on our horses instead of riding on the ones belonging to those fellows; dā huch lāghar e, kanā bāvanāfk pazzor o, this camei is skinny, but my father's are fat; Zahrītā māle khalpa, Sumālārītāe arārē ki khanis chās ki nā e, don't lift cattle belonging to the Zahris, wherever you see cattle belonging to the Sumalaris, treat it as your own; tena hullite darak, kanā īlumtāte illē, take your own horses and leave those belonging to my brothers.

- s56. In the foregoing examples the declinable genitive noun is definitely possessive, and instances in which this is not the ease are very rare: khallingnāe kappa, pēn ama ki nī-a pāsa, nan-a kēna, leave thrashing out of the question, and we'll do anything else as you suggest. In the examples that follow the genitive stands on a different footing; it is used elliptically, or it would perhaps be more correct to say it is governed by the verb and denotes the object in a somewhat vague manner: tēnā īlumnā bingunut ki daun khafa ut, it's because I've heard of my brother that I'm so grieved; sardārnā bing, khushāmadīki-ta pēsh tammā, he heard of the chief and went out to pay his respects to him; nanā narringnā kase pāpēs, don't breathe a word of our flight to any one; ī bassunut ki tēnā bāvanā nājorīnā nēān harrifiv, I've come to ask you about my father's illness.
- §57. The Dative combined with the auxiliary is one means of supplying the place of the missing verb 'to have': kane irā kharās arē, I've a couple of bullocks. It is used of the agent with the verbal noun of obligation (cf. §324): sarkāre sardāteat rājāk much karifoī o, the tribesmen are to be collected by Government through the chiefs. It appears to have a terminative force when used with certain verbs which can hardly be regarded as transitive: ī khāne rasēngāṭ, I came up to the Khan; shahre khurk karē narrā, when he got near to the town he ran off.
- §58. The Dative of Interest, as the case formed with the suffix -ki (-aki) may conveniently be called, denotes primarily the person or object for the sake of which something is done: i tēnā bāvaki dā daghāre dasēt, I sowed this land for my father; khudānā pinaki nane illē, for God's name's sake let us go. It may thus be used to denote purpose: shahranā pulingki hināne, he's gone to sack the village. Other extensions in its use follow naturally: e.g., sēlhaki Kachchīāi-a kāna, we go to Kachhi for the winter.

- §59. The Accusative.—As in Baluchi, Persian and other languages, the direct object is not necessarily put in the accusative. It may either be represented by the crude base, which is the same as the nominative, or be put in the case which the accusative shares in common with the dative. The general rules which govern the choice between the two are much the same as in other languages.
- §60. If the object is unemphasised and there is no room for ambiguity, it remains uninflected:  $dir\ hata$ , bring water; and the same is the case if it is qualified by the indefinite article or a numeral:  $asi\ bandaghas\ kasfēn$ , we killed a man;  $ir\bar{a}\ bandagh\ r\bar{a}h\bar{\imath}\ k\bar{e}k$ , he sends off two men;  $musi\ hull\bar{\imath}\ saud\bar{a}\ kar\bar{e}t$ , I sold three horses.
- \$61. On the other hand, the object is naturally put into the accusative, if there is any danger of object being mistaken for subject, as in the proverb khoe khākhar, bandaghe hīt, as fire boils a pot, so words stir up a man. More especially is this the case when reference is made to rational objects: shwān duzze halk, the shepherd caught the thief; duzz shwāne halk, the thief caught the shepherd. Again, if the object is defined, as for instance by an adjective in the definite form (§84), by a determinate numeral (§98) or by a demonstrative or possessive pronoun, the accusative is necessarily used: chunakkā māre mon ēte, send out the young lad; dā shahre illā, he left this village; tēnā musi huchche saudā karēt. I sold my three camels; musitṭanyā drakhtāte guḍḍā, he felled all the three trees.
- §62. The Ablative denotes primarily motion from:  $t\bar{e}n\bar{a}$   $ura\underline{ah}\bar{a}n$   $p\bar{e}sh$   $tamm\bar{a}$ , he came forth from his house;  $tu\underline{gh}\bar{a}n$  bash massut, I awoke from sleep. Various uses are derived from this fundamental meaning. It is used in a quasi-instrumental sense: huch  $ira\underline{gh}\bar{a}n$  hampok ass, the camel was loaded with food. It is even used of the agent with verbs of passive significance:  $n\bar{i}$   $d\bar{a}$   $d\bar{a}vae$   $\underline{kh}al\bar{a}s$

karak, sarkārān mafak, do you decide this case, it can't be decided by Government. As in many other languages, it ekes out the comparison of adjectives (§§92, 93): pid bā-ān shēfe, the belly is lower than the mouth (a wise saw directed against over-eating). Analogous is its use in cases like the following: narringān jang-a karēsa, jwān ass, 'twere better you had fought instead of running away. With certain verbs the object is put naturally in the ablative: hanjātā vallarān tūfakas khalkus, rad mass yā bēt? you fired a shot at the flock of ducks, did your shot miss or hit? tēnā lummaghān harrifē, she asked her mother. The ablative is sometimes used adverbially of time: dēān hinār, they went by day. Its use with postpositions and prepositions (§352) will be illustrated separately.

§63. The Instrumental denotes primarily the instrument with which an act is done: lattat khalkus-ta? did you beat him with the stick? dā chukke dūat halkut, I caught this bird with my hand. Hence follows its use to express the agent: kanā ilumat toning-a mafak, he can't be stopped by my brother. It often expresses the manner in which something is done, thus taking the place of an adverb: ba khairat, come in peace, welcome (the usual salutation); kanā kulavāte ode jwānīat pās, please give him my messages properly; handā daulat ki nī kārēm-a kēsa pēn kas kanning-a kappak, no one can do work in this way you do. By a natural transition it may denote the way by which one goes: handā jangalat pāt karisa hināka, he was going by this wood picking up sticks; lashkar dā kasarat-a barēk, the army will come by this road; dākān hinān kūchaghāteat mashteat jalteat, from here we went by valleys, hills and torrents; chukkanā vallaras nanā kāţumaţ gidārēngā, a flock of birds passed over our head

§64. The Conjunctive expresses primarily companionship: i nā mārato Mastungāi-a kāva, I'll go with your son

to Mastung. From this primary meaning arise three main secondary uses. The case may denote that something is in the possession of somebody: kanā tūfak nā īlumton e, my gun is with your brother; that an act is performed by means of something: lattato khalkut-la, zaghmato khaltavat-ta, I struck him with the stick, not with the sword; or that one act accompanies another: onā tavārto nan rasēngān, as he shouted we arrived; kanā banningto urāe illā, pēsh tammā, at my coming he left the house and ran out. A particular case of the last use is the use of the suffix with reference to time: sobato bash mass, he got up at dawn; shāmato barēva, I'll come in the evening. To be noted is the idiom in a case like sardār nēton e, the chief's speaking to you.

§65. The locative in -āṭī denotes primarily rest in, or motion into a place: kanā shahraṭī tūlik, he lives in my village; urāṭī pēhāṭ, I went into the house. The locative of the infinitive noun affords two important special cases of this use; coupled with the auxiliary it forms the so-called tenses of actuality (§188): vakhtas ki ī hīt kanningaṭī ut, nī niām tammipa, don't interrupt when I'm speaking; coupled with the finite tenses of tamming, to fall, it forms inceptive compound verbs (§299): hoghingaṭī tammā, lit. she fell into weeping, she fell a-weeping, she began to weep. The suffix may also have a terminative force: kanā tūfak kāṭumaṭī-ta laggā, my shot hit him on the head; onā likhaṭī chiṛīngas tafok ass, there was a bell tied to its neck.

§66. The locative in -āi denotes primarily motion to, or towards: ā dāsā Kalātāi-a kāva, I'll now go to Kalat; kanā urāghāi ba, come towards my house. Its secondary meaning is motion on to, or rest on: ode ḍaghārāi biṭēṭ, I flung him on the ground; kaṭṭāi-a khāchik, he lies on the bedstead. The special case of the infinitive noun is interesting:

i ode narringāi khanāt, I saw him on the point of running off. There are several natural extensions of usc which require no particular comment.

- §67. The locatives in -is, -isk, -ik denote primarily rest in, or in the vicinity of: shwān hamo mashis maroe, the shepherd will probably be about that hill; kure handā dūnisk khanos, you'll probably find the flock at this well; murū hamē drakhtātēk gum mass, the hare disappeared in the neighbourhood of those trees. They have not infrequently a terminative force: nē sardārisk zarūr-a dēva, I'll certainly take you to the chief (or to the chief's place); asi jangalasēk bass, he came upon a jungle. Closely allied is their use to denote in possession of: Bāz Khānis ēnakho khōlum aff, there's no wheat in Baz Khan's possession this year; naneān asi bandaghasēk tūfak arē, a certain one amongst us has the gun with him; dā khalkanā bandaghātēk bīsh kharās bāz e, there are plenty of donkeys and oxen in the possession of the men of this village.
- \$68. The locatives in -iskā, -ikā, both of which may be preceded by tā, denote motion up to, as far as: dākā Mastungiskā shāsda koh e, from here to Mastung is sixteen koš; nā pin o marrām murriskā hināne, your name and fame have travelled to distant lands; nēān tā bāmusiskā rasēngānuṭ, I'm sick of the sight of you (a common expression, meaning literally I have arrived from you to my nose, you've become an offence to my nostrils); dā hirre huchchātēkā rasēf, take this camel-colt up to the camels; tā ē mashtēkā hin, zū harsēng, go as far as those hills and return quickly. The use of these suffixes is extended naturally to time: tā irā sāliskā o jahān suritau, for two years he never moved from the spot.

### THE ARTICLE.

- §69. In most languages the article is one of the last parts of speech to be evolved, and it is not surprising that the definiteness or indefiniteness of the Brahui noun has often to be gathered from the context. Definite article there is none; but the existence of an indefinite article, and the possibility of expressing definiteness and indefiniteness in the attributive adjective (§80) go far to hide the deficiency. If the absence of a definite article would otherwise make itself seriously felt, recourse is naturally had to the demonstratives (§125). Of these  $d\bar{a}$  (handā), this, and  $\bar{e}$  (hamā), that, are never wholly divested of their demonstrative meaning, and the colourless o (hamo) is generally pressed into service.
- \$70. The indefinite article -as is derived of course from the first numeral (§95). Like the Persian indefinite article -i, which has a similar derivation, it is attached to the end of the noun. More often perhaps than not the noun is at the same time preceded by the numeral adjective asi. A difference in meaning between these two forms of the indefinite article is hardly perceptible. Although the Brahui, with his choice for instance of bandaghas and asi bandaghas, is seemingly able to convey the nicer shades of meaning lying between 'one man' and 'a man' which other languages express by means of intonation, such a distinction, if any there be, is too elusive to be reduced to rule.

§71. The noun with both forms of the indefinite article is declinable throughout the singular:—

Nom.	(asi)	<i>banda<u>gh</u>as</i> , a man.
Gen.	(asi)	banda <u>gh</u> asĕnā.
Dat. }	(asi)	banda <u>gh</u> ase.
Abl.	(asi)	banda <u>gh</u> aseän.
Inst.	(asi)	banda <u>gh</u> aseot.
Conj.	(asi)	banda <u>gh</u> asēto.
Loc.	(asi)	banda <u>g h</u> asēțī.
	(asi)	banda <u>gh</u> aseāi.

There are the usual supplementary cases: bandaghasēki; bandaghase-is, bandaghasēsk, bandaghasēk; bandaghasēkā, bandaghasēkā. The declension has apparently been subject to two opposing influences. On the one hand it seems clearly based not on as but on ase, which was probably the original form, and which even now obtains in the special case noted below. At the same time the lengthening of the included vowel in the genitive and conjunctive, which is obviously due to coalescence with the initial vowel of the endings -anā, -ato, appears to indicate that the base is still felt to be monosyllabic (§36 a).

§72. If the indefinite article is immediately followed by the first or second person singular of the present tense of the affirmative substantive verb, it invariably takes the form -ase: i Brāhūiase uṭ, I am a Brahui; nī Brāhūiase us, thou art a Brahui. In the third person the ordinary form is apparently reverted to: o Brāhūīas e, he is a Brahui; it may, however, be noted here that though it is convenient to write the copula separately, it is sounded in very close connection with the preceding word (§251). Before other parts of the substantive verb the ordinary form is used: ī Brāhūīas affaṭ, I'm no Brahui; ī Brāhūīas assuṭ, drogh-a pātavaṭa, I was a Brahui and wouldn't have lied.

- §73. The indiscriminate use of the indefinite article whether preceded or not by the numeral adjective may best be illustrated by a few connected sentences:  $\bar{\imath}$  daro asi bandaghasēto Kalātāi hināt; ērē urā-asēļī pēhān, tūsun; tūlingto nanki iraghas bisēr, hēsur; iraghe hamērē asi kaṭṭaseāi tikhār, yesterday I went to Kalat with a man; there we entered into a house and sat down; as we sat there they baked us a cake and brought it, and placed it on a bedstead.
- §74. Besides serving as an indefinite article proper, this enclitic -as performs several other functions. It may express indefiniteness in the plural: mana déasean gud harsénga, he returned some few days later. With this meaning it is frequently attached to numerals (§105): hachda yā bīstas hulli kane bakar e, I want eighteen or twenty horses or so; or to a noun qualified by a numeral: numā chār dēasēnā guzrān marē, it may afford you a living for about four days. It is attached appropriately enough to several indefinite pronouns (§153, seq.), and gives peculiar but explicable point to der? who? (§137), ant? what? (§141). But when -as is found serving to particularise the antecedent of a relative sentence (§427), the question suggests itself whether -as in this connection is not something essentially different from the indefinite article, yet the restrictions in its use with the antecedent are significant.
- §75. If the numeral asi qualifies a noun to which the enclitic -as is not attached, it has in the ordinary course the definite sense of 'one.' But just as we can still say in English 'it happened one day,' 'I went out one afternoon,' so in Brahui the adjective of the first cardinal is sometimes used with the force of the indefinite article: ode asi de khanāt ki dā kasarat-a hināka, I saw him one day as he was going along this road.

ALC: N

# THE ADJECTIVE.

§76. The adjective in its crude form is as a rule either a monosyllable or a dissyllable compound of a root and an ending. It will be useful to give typical examples:—

$sharr^{1}$	good,	jwān	good.
zabr	good.	zaft	good.
sibr	rough.	zift	rough.
$shar{u}k$	${ m smooth}.$	trund	fierce.
birr	wild.	kor	abundant.
burz	high.	$shar{e}f$	low.
(burz)			
gwand	short.	kub	humpbacked.
tun!	without hands.	mand	without feet, lame.
shal	crippled.	chot	crooked.
chaţ	destroyed.	chaţţ	lazy, good-for- nothing.
dad	hard.	buss	dusty.
namb	moist.	damb	deep (of water).
sut	thin (of liquids).	matt	thick (of liquids).
tar	shut (of eyes or mouth).	pist	open (of eyes or mouth).
must	shut.	buj	closed (of bottles, etc.).
pok	lost, fruitless.	gat	busy, confined.

In Arabic sharr means of course 'evil'; hence the Persian taunt: inchi quum ist, khair-i-shān sharr ast, what a race, evil with them is equivalent to good!

§77. The commonest adjectival ending is -un or -kur (with -gun after n):

balun	big.	mur <u>gh</u> un	$\log$ .
pūskun	$\widetilde{\mathbf{new}}$	mutkun	old.
bārun	dry.	pālun	wet.
bāsun	hot.	bissun	cooked, ripe.
uskkun	slender.	$har{u}lun$	thick.
<u>kh</u> ulkun	soft.	$p\widetilde{a}gun$	dense.
bīngun	hungry	. musun	upside down.
pīun	white.	maun	black.
<u>kh</u> īsun	$\operatorname{red}$ .	<u>kh</u> arrun	green.
		nūshkun vellow	

Other important endings are - -ēn: kubēn, heavy, pudēn, cold, hanên, sweet, kharên, bitter; -ak: chunak, small, tanak, thin, subak (Persian subuk), light, pattak, short of stature; -ar: sabbar, strong, nibbar, weak, mandar, short of stature, and -or: pazzor, fat, nizzor, weak, laghor, cowardly.

- §78. In the predicate the adjective retains its simple form; it is indeclinable and affected neither by the gender nor by the number of the word to which it relates:  $d\bar{a}$ zāifa qhāk ushkun o, these women are slender; hamo daggite birr kappa, don't make those cows wild.
- §79. The attributive adjective plays a comparatively small part in the language The union of noun and adjective into a grammatical whole involves a certain complexity of thought, to which the Brahui is not always equal. Even such a simple idea for instance as 'a poor man said to his old mother' would naturally evolve itself in the Brahui mind step by step: asi bandaghas nēstgār assaka, lumma-ta pir assaka, pārē-ta, a man was poor, his mother was old, he said to her.
- §80. The attributive adjective, though unaffected by the case, number or gender of the noun it qualifies, never appears in the crude form in which it is used in the predicate

according to the definite or indefinite force of the grammatical whole of which it forms a part, it must take on an euding expressive of definiteness or the reverse.

- \$81. The ending expressive of indefiniteness is -o: asi chatto māras, a lazy lad; baluno ināmas, a large reward; chunakko chukkas, a small bird; pēn bissuno āvālas, another certain piece of news. In the case of balun, big, chunak, small, the adjectival formative ending may be dropped before the attributive ending: ballo ināmas, a large reward; chuno chukkas, a small bird. The compensating doubling of l in ballo from bal-un will be noted.
- §82. Nouns with plural meaning qualified by adjectives in the indefinite form are left in the singular: num jwāno varnā ure, you are good youths; ē kul mauno hullī o, those are all black horses. But except in the nominative the use of the indefinite adjective with nouns of plural meaning is avoided, its place being taken by the definite adjective: gandaghā bandaghāteto dē gidārēfpa, don't consort with bad men. This often explains the definite turn which the Brahui seems to give to his proverbs and wise saws: jwānangā bēdīte gandaghā kutaghāk sholira, (the) bad cooking-stones upset (the) good broth, the equivalent of 'evil communications corrupt good manners.' But the Brahui is otherwise fond of pointing his proverbs by definite expressions.
- §83. The verbal adjectives, to wit, the adjectival participles, active (§212) and passive (§275), and the so-called noun of obligation (§213), are subject to the same rules as the ordinary adjective: jwāno kārēm karoko bandaghas, lit. a good work doing man, a man who does good work; tafoko darvāza-as, a door that is shut; kunožo girā-as, an edible thing. The ending, moreover, may be attached to indefinite pronouns when used as attributive adjectives (§150, etc.): akhadaro drakhtas? a tree of what size? asi kullo dēas, a whole day. Attributive adjectives may be similarly formed

from certain adverbs (§182): dauno luchcho māras, such a vicious lad; and even from one of the postpositions (§380): nēām-bāro sardāras, a chief like you.

- §84. Definiteness in the attributive adjective is ordinarily expressed by one or other of the endings -angā, -ā. The choice between the two merely depends on the length of the simple adjective. If it is monosyllabic, it takes on -angā: sunangā shahr, the deserted village; sakhtangā laṭ, the hard stick; kubangā pakhīr, the humpbacked beggar; kullangā nan, the livelong night. In other cases the ending is -ā: pīunā hullī, the white horse; murghunā kasar, the long road; chunakkā (chunā) mār, the little boy, as opposed to balunā (ballā) mār, the big boy, the elder son; khudānā karokā kārēm, the work done by God; kunoīā dīr, the drinking water. If the adjective ends in -ā or -a, a ghain is preferably inserted before the attributive ending (cf §36. d): zēbāghā (zēbā-ā) masir, the pretty daughter; gandaghā (ganda-ā) mār, the bad son.
- §85. Although this simple rule for the use of  $-\bar{a}$  and  $-ang\bar{a}$  is firmly established—it is, by the by, on all fours with the rule for the use of the genitive endings  $-n\bar{a}$  and  $-an\bar{a}$  in the case of the noun (§36. a)—it is not rigidly adhered to in practice. The general principle is however clear enough to justify our regarding such expressions as  $zor\bar{a}kang\bar{a}$  varnā, the strong youth,  $sa\underline{kh}t\bar{a}$  lat, the hard stick, as loose deviations from the normal.
- §86. In passing may be noticed the curious attributive endings -kono, -konā, which attached to the crude noun transform it into an adjective of similarity: halkono sādāras, an animal like a mouse; nā īlumkonā bandagh, the man like your brother. These may be similarly attached to the pronoun, generally to an abbreviated form of the oblique base: kankono māras, a lad like me; nēkonā zāīfa, the woman like thee; nankonā sardāk, the chiefs like us; numkono duzz,

thieves like you; okono luchchas, a blackguard like him. These formations are specially remarkable in that there are no corresponding crude adjectives which might be used in the predicate. The endings evidently bear some relation to the ending -kānaī, which attached to substantives turns them into abstract nouns of similarity: dā sajjīe ki nī bisingaṭī us, Mēngalkānaī kappēs-ta, don't follow the Mengal fashion with this meat you're roasting; nī tēnā īlumto Bāz Khānkānaī kappēs, don't employ the Baz Khan method in the treatment of your brother. Substantives of this class may in turn be transformed into attributive adjectives by the addition of the usual endings: dā duzkānaīo kārēmas e, this is an action characteristic of a thief; nī huchkānaīo dushmanīas kanto harfēnus, you've harboured a camel-like grudge against me.

- §87. In the case of certain words indicative for the most part of order or direction there is another definite ending. -īko: avalīko dē, the tirst day; monīko tū, the next month; padiko lashkar, the rear-guard; niāmīko huch, the middle camel; chappiko nat, the left foot; rastiko du, the right hand (an expression which may be used metaphorically as in English: ni kanā rāstīko dū us, you are my right hand). This ending is sometimes curtailed to -ko: shefko mulk, the low country; burzko (burzanko, burziko) mash, the high hill. Though the definite adjective in these and similar cases regularly ends in -īko, the ordinary forms are generally admissible: răstangă, chappanyă, shējangā, etc. In some instances the word, stripped of the definite ending -iko, is not an adjective but a substantive: mon, front, pad, back niūm, middle. ordinary genitives of such substantives frequently take the place of a definite adjective: monanā bandagh, the first man: padanā îlum, the next brother; niāmanā huch, the middle camel.
- §88. The attributive adjective generally precedes the noun it qualifies, as in the foregoing examples. It may, however,

follow it for emphasis: hullias jwāno halh o barak, get a horse, a really good one, and come; jāga jwānangā hamod ass ki nī halkus-ta, the best place was the one you occupied. The adjective may even be separated from its noun: ēlo bazghar o zimīdar assur bēgunā, the rest were cultivators and landlords, quite innocent.

**\$89.** This leads on to the use of the definite adjective in all its forms as an independent substantive. The decleusion of the adjective in  $-\hat{a}$ ,  $-ang\hat{a}$ , proceeds on exactly the same lines as the declension of the possessive genitive (§54), except that there is only one form of the plural, -āk, -ātā. -āte and so on: musi iluman balla pare, of the three brothers the eldest said: handā sharrangāe pēhifēr masītatī, they made this good man enter the mosque; ē hullīāi swār mafa. ēlo jwānangārāi swār ma, don't ride on that horse, ride on the other good one; da chunakkate yala karak, let these little ones go; kuntangā lashskīteto rūtipa, tēzangūteto rūta, don't reap with the blunt sickles, use the sharp ones; khudana harokā kane mauzūr e. I accept the act of God; tēnā jirga tūlokāte batangā, he called his jirgu assessors; kahokātā rahīāi tūs, he sat near the dead; dā dik kunoī affas, kunorāte hata, this water isn't drinkable, bring the drinking water.

§90. The declension of the definite adjective in -ika is very similar:—

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	avaliko, the first one.	avalikok.
Gen.	avalīkonā.	$avalar\iota kotar a.$
Dat. }	avalīkoe.	avalīkote.
Acc. 5	60000000.	wouldnote.
Abl.	avalīkorān, (avalīkoān).	avalīkoteān.
Inst.	aval iko rat, (aval iko at).	avalīkoteat.
Conj.	avalikoto,(avalikorto).	avalīkoteto.
Loc.	avalīkotī.	avalīkotētī.
	avalīkorāi, (avalīkoāi).	avalīkoteāi.

The other case-suffixes are similarly attached. As in the case of the possessive noun (§54) there is an optional form of the plural in -fk, -ftā, etc. Examples: rāstīko pāraghān bafēs, chappīkorān barak, please don't come from the right side, come from the left; tēnā rāstīko dūaṭ kappa-ta. chappīkorat ka-ta, don't do it with your right hand but with your left; chappīko dūanā swāteto khān hīt-a kattavaka khiāl-ta bāz rāstīkoteāi assaka, the Khan wasn't talking to the riders on his left hand, he was chiefly engaged with those on his right.

§91. The indefinite adjective may also stand alone, but it is indeclinable, and its substantive has in fact to be understood: aga ballo khwāhisa, ī huchche hēsunut, aga rīshīo khwāhisa, ī hēţe hēsunut, if it's a big one you want. I've brought the camel, and if it's a bearded one you want, I've brought the goat. But the ordinary idiom is the same as in English; if the noun is omitted its place is supplied by the noun asit, one: nanā bādshā laghoro asitt e, our king is a cowardly one; da hulli asilo asitt e, this horse is a well-bred one; ballo mēlhas nēki hattanut, chunakko asitto bassunut, I haven't brought you a big sheep, I've come with a small one. Sometimes instead of asit being used, the indefinite article is attached as if the indefinite adjective were a substantive: dā hullī asīloas e, this horse is a thoroughbred one; chunakkoasēto bassunut, I've come with a small one. If an indefinite adjective is used in the predicate and refers back to a plural subject and is immediately followed by the present affirmative of the substantive verb in the plural, an apparently cuphonic final -n is added to it: Mūlanā mashk sakhlon o, the Mula hills are stiff ones; nā hatrokā girāk kul jwānon o, the things you have brought are all excellent ones; nan kul balunon un, num chunakkon ure, we are all big ones, you are all small.

## Degrees of Comparison.

- \$92. The comparative degree of adjectives may be formed by adding the suffix -tir to the positive : e.g., jwantir, shartir, The object with which better; battir (for bad-tir), worse. the comparison is made is not necessarily expressed:  $\bar{e} \ n\bar{a}jor\bar{a}$ arē dāsā battir e, that sick person is now worse; if expressed. it is in the ablative: avalan machchi shartır e, he's a little better than formerly; Chiltannā mash Murdārnārān burztir e, Chiltan hill is higher than Murdar; kanā tūfaknā sum nārān murtir hinā, the bullet of my gun went further than In passing may be noticed the use of battir, worse, as an intensive adverb: dā battir jwān e, ki ī nē Sēbītī har dê khaniv, it's awfully good that I see you every day in Sibi The comparative may be used attributively with the addition of the ordinary endings: dā hullī jwān aff, asi jwāntiro hullīas hata, this horse is no good, bring a better one; hamē burztirā mashāi lagga, climb that higher hill. Superlative there is none.
- §93. But the comparative is no doubt a relatively modern adaptation from without; the positive is in itself capable of rendering the degrees of comparison, especially with the aid of the ablative: pēnanā malhān tēnā masir jwān e, one's own daughter is better than another man's son (one of the stock Brahui hits at the son-in-law); gandaghā alvādān nēstī-ta jwān e, it's better to have no children at all than bad ones; kanā hullī kullān jwān e, my horse is the best of the lot The thing compared is probably omitted more often than not, there is rarely any difficulty in gathering from the context whether kanā hullī jwān e means, for instance, my horse is a good one, my horse is better than this or that, or is the best of all.
- §94. The adjective may be intensified by its unusual position in the sentence, by the intenstion of the voice, or by

#### THE NUMERAL.

# §95. The Cardinal Numbers are as follows: -

1. asiţ, asi.	. 11. yãzda.	21. bist o yak.
2. irat, irā	. 12. dwāzda.	22. bist o do.
3. musiţ, m	usi. 13. sēzda.	30. <i>sī</i> .
4. char.	14. $ch \hat{a}_i da$ .	40. chil.
5. panch.	15. päzda.	<b>50.</b> $panjar{a}$ .
6. shash.	16. shãzda.	60. shast.
7. haft.	17. havda,	70. haftad.
8. kasht.	18. hazhda.	80. hashtād.
9. noh.	19. $nozda$ .	90. navad.
10. dah.	20. <i>bīst</i> .	100. sad.
	101. sad o yak.	
	102. sad v do.	
	103. sad o sei.	
	200. do sad.	
	300. sei sad.	
	1,000. hazār.	
	100,000. lak.	
1	10,000,000. krop.	

All but the first three (and of course the last two) are adapted from Persian, and even these three are ousted in the compounds by the loan-words yak, do, sei. There are a few unimportant variants: thus, the nasalisation in the tens is sometimes omitted. Some of the more backward tribes, such as the Sumalari and Mengal, regularly count by scores: musi bīst o dah, 70; chār bīst, 80; irā hashtād, 160. The higher numbers are rarely used.

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§96. Each of the three indigenous numbers presents itself in a two-fold shape: asit, irat, musit are nouns of number, while asi, irä, musi are numeral adjectives. The nouns

of number and the other cardinals used as such are declinable in the singular like ordinary substantives: musitian asit hushār e, of the three one is wise; dā iragh numā chāranā e, o chorikas nanā e, this bread belongs to you four, and a quarter is ours. As in English, the numerals appear now and then in the plural: dā kasarat sadāk kāra barēra, hundreds come and go by this road; dā bāghatī sadāteāī pul arē, in this garden there are flowers in hundreds.

- §97. Used as adjectives the numerals are of course indeclinable; the qualified noun is in the singular (§45): kanā irā mār o, I've two sons; bīst bandagh kaskur hinār, twenty men died outright. In passing it may be noted that the cardinals are often used elliptically of age as in English: dā hullī bāṭī chār e, this horse is four according to his mouth.
- §98. The numeral adjective may take on the ordinary definite endings of the attributive adjective (§84). In this form the numeral adjective acquires something like an absolute force: hamé pazdughā (pazdangā) rupaik, those fifteen rupees in full; hamê bistangā bandaghāk ki kasarat khanān-tā. dad o, bassuno, as for all those twenty men we saw on the road, here they are, they've come. In the case of the first three cardinals the attributive ending is added curiously enough to the nouns of number : hamo asițiā mār e, he's the only son; hamë irattanga shaskhate hata, bring both those two persons. The noun qualified by a numeral in this definite form is, with an obvious exception in the case of the first numeral, always in the plural (§49). The numerals, with the exception of the first, are naturally not used in the indefinite form: i asițțo bandaghase uț, I am a man alone in the world.
- §99. The numeral adjective in the definite form may be used as a substantive (cf. §89):  $d\bar{a}$  kulle  $r\bar{a}j\bar{a}n$  hamo asittā salīsune, of all these tribesmen he's the only one who has

survived; hamê bîstangāk ki nî pārēsa, bassuno batano? have all those twenty of whom you were speaking, come or not? musițtăte-ta tiss, he gave her the three, i.e., the three stones of the Muhammadan divorce, in other words, he divorced her.

§100. The Ordinals are formed from the cardinals by suffixing-imīko, with the exception of the first, which is the loan-word aval with the definite suffix-iko (§87). In the case of the second and third ordinals the ordinal suffix is added to the nouns of number:—

First, avalīko.
Second, iraţimīko.
Third, musiţimīko
Fourth, chārimīko.
Fifth, panchimīko, etc.

- §101. There are four words used for the first ordinal more commonly than avaliko: moniko, muhiko, monana, muhana. These are derived from the nouns mon, muh, face, front; the two former are compounded with the definite ending -iko (§87), while the two latter are ordinary genitives. The place of iraţimiko, second, is sometimes taken by ēlo, the other (§167).
- §102. The ordinals are primarily adjectives. Used as substantives they are declined after the model of the definite adjective in -iko (§90): irat tēn-pa-tēn hīt-a kēra, musitṭimīkonā antas? when two chat together what business is it of the third?—two's company, three's none. The plural no doubt would be regular, but as in English it is rarely heard.
- §103. Collective Numerals are formed from the cardinals by adding the termination -i: nan dahī barēna hurin ki numeān aṭ jangaki pēsh tummire, we'll come in a body of ten to see how many of you will sally forth to show fight; lashkare khanāṭ, panchī dahī bīstī aff, bāz e, I saw the army,

it's not a band of five or ten or twenty, it's a host; asiftiat khudā jwān e, God in his oneness is good; Mastungnā kasarat duzzāk chārī o panchīāi banning-a kappasa, maga asiftīat hining mushkil e, on the Mastung road thieves can't attack a party of four or five, but it's not easy to travel by oneself; chārī o panchīto chikār-a topasa, they won't molest a party of four or five.

- §104. Distributives are expressed by repeating the cardinals: i ofte irā irā rupai tisauļ, I paid them two rupees each. As substantives the distributives are generally used adverbially in the locative in -āi, the case-ending being suffixed to the latter numeral only (§51): i ofte iraţ iraţţāi tankhā tirisa hināṭa, I went on giving them their pay two at a time; bist bistāi hisāb karak, calculate by scores; lashkar dīrāi much mass, chār chārāi dīr kunisa hināra, the army collected at the water and the men kept on drinking in relays of four.
- §105. Approximate Numbers are perhaps most commonly expressed by suffixing the indefinite article to the cardinals (§74): i ofte dohas rupai tissut. I gave them about ten rupees; dā kasaraļ bīstas khanāļ, I saw twenty or so on this road: panchas de-a marek ki i bassunut, it's something like five days since I came. It is occasionally more idiomatic to attach the indefinite article to the substantive: dah deasean gud dākā rāhī marot, I shall probably start from here after ten days or so. Or approximation may be expressed by coupling two numerals together: dah pazda banningati o. some ten or fifteen are actually coming. Sometimes both modes of expressing approximation are combined: hazhda bīstas hullī sardārnā monāi hēsur, they brought about eighteen or twenty horses before the chief: hamo melhte ki nī khanāsus, dahas yā pāzda-as marēra, the sheep you saw are between ten and fifteen in number.

- §106. Multiplicatives are formed by adding -tal (fold) to the cardinals: yaktal, single, dutal, double, two-fold, seital, three-fold, chārtal, four-fold, and so on. The comparative recentness of this formation seems to be indicated by the fact that the forms yaktal, dutal, seital are much more common than asital, irātal, musital. The shortening of the vowel of do, two, in dutal will be noticed. The multiplicatives are generally used of cloth and other things which can be actually folded or bent: dā yaktalo gudas e, dutaloas hata, this is single-fold cloth, bring some double-fold; ī onā zayhme dutal karēt, I bent his sword double.
- §107. The Fractional Numbers, with one exception, are adapted from Persian: seiak, a third, chārik, a fourth (in the case of bread, etc., chorik, a quarter), panchik, a fifth, and so on. The fractional numbers are chiefly used with reference to the division of land-produce: nanā mulkāu nanā sardār hashtik-a halēk, our chief takes an eighth from our land. The only indigenous fractional number is kap, half: mēmāne aṭ iragh tissus, asiṭ o kappas yā iraṭ o kappas? how much bread did you give the guest, one and a half or two and a half loaves? To be noted is sad o kappas, 150. The Persian word nēm, however, is also freely used, and combines naturally with the borrowed numerals: yak o nēm, one and a half, do o nēm, two and a half, sei o nēm, three and a half.
- §108. Numeral Adverbs are of various kinds. Adverbs of time are expressed by  $v\bar{a}r$   $(j\bar{a}r)$ , time:  $asi\ v\bar{a}r$   $(asi\ j\bar{a}r)$ , once,  $ir\bar{a}\ v\bar{a}r$ , twice,  $musi\ v\bar{a}r$ , thrice,  $ch\bar{a}r\ v\bar{a}r$ , four times,  $sad\ v\bar{a}r\ (satar)$ , a hundred times. The place of  $ir\bar{a}\ v\bar{a}r$  in the peculiar sense of 'again' is often taken by  $loj\bar{a}r$  (for  $\bar{e}lo\ j\bar{a}r$ ) or by  $p\bar{e}ndv\bar{a}r$  (apparently a contraction of  $p\bar{e}n$ -do- $v\bar{a}r$ ). In the case of the first three numerals the forms compounded with  $v\bar{a}r$  are generally ousted by  $asika\ (asiska)$ ,  $ir\bar{a}ska$ ,  $musika\ (musiska)$ , that is to say, the locatives in  $-isk\bar{a}$ ,  $-ik\bar{a}$  (§41); it will be noted that the final vowel of the case-

endings is shortened, and that they are attached, not to the nouns of number as might have been expected, but to the numeral adjectives (for the converse cf. §98): asika ki hite bingus pēndwār harrifpa, when you've heard a thing once don't ask again; *i daro irāska bassut, nē khantavat,* I came twice yesterday but didn't see you; i në iraska musika părenuț ki dă kasaraț bafa, I've told you twice and thrice not to come by this road. Asilia, properly 'once,' also means 'for a while': num asīka himpēre, don't go for a few Asikato, which appears to be an example of the combination of two case-suffixes, -ik and -to, means 'all at once, 'suddenly': ofk hit-a karéra, i asikato pêhat, they were gossiping together when all at once I entered. Satar a hundred times, is commonly used metaphorically: bavasatur ganda marē, mārān jwān e, be the father ever so bad. he's a better man than his son; nī satar zorāk marēs, ī nā khaloī affat, you may be as strong as a lion, yet I'm not the man to be beaten by you. Numeral adverbs of quantity are expressed by coupling the cardinals with handakhadar (or variants, §150), this much: musi handakhadar dir hata, bring three times as much water as this; andākhadar ki arēs, bīst andākhadar marēs, kaneāi banning-a kappēsa, though you become twenty times the man you are, you won't be able to cope with us.

#### THE PRONOUN.

#### The Personal Pronouns.

§109. There are three personal pronouns:  $\bar{\imath}$  and  $n\bar{\imath}$  for the first and second persons, and the enclitic -ta for the oblique cases of the third person. The missing nominatives of the third person are supplied by the demonstratives, which also afford optional and generally emphatic forms of the oblique cases. The terminations of the verb are in themselves sufficient to indicate the person, and the pronouns are not infrequently omitted.

§110. The plural of respect has no place in Brahui; if used at all, it is used by those only who have learnt its force in other languages. A man of rank is often addressed in the third person as khwāja, master: thus khwāja jor e, khwājanā māk jor o? is the master well, are the master's sons well? is the proper salutation to a chief instead of the ordinary direct queries nī jor us, nā māk jor o? are you well, are your sons well?

## §111.

#### The First Person.

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	ī, I.	nan, we.
Gen.	kanā.	nanā.
Dat. }	kane.	nane.
Abl.	kaneān.	naneān.
Inst.	kaneaț.	naneat.
Conj.	kanto.	nanto.
Loc.	kanētī.	nanēţī.
	kaneāi.	naneat.

#### The Second Person.

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	$n\tilde{\imath}$ , thou.	num, you
Gen.	nā.	numa.
Dat. } Acc. }	në.	mome.
Abl.	nēān.	mımeān.
Inst.	nēaţ.	numeat.
Conj.	nēto	numto.
Loc.	nēţī.	$nvmar{e}tar{\imath}$ .
	nēāi.	<i>wumeāi</i>

The supplementary cases are kanki, for my sake; kane-is, kanēsk (kane-isk), kanēk, with me, at my house, in my possession; kanēskā (kane-iskā), kanēkā, up to me; the plural and the second person are declined on the same model.

- §112. There are several peculiar features in this declension: the use of  $-\bar{a}$  as the suffix of the genitive singular; the appearance of the inflexional increment -e- in the singular as well as in the plural, together with the special case of the second person singular; the omission of the increment in the conjunctive of both numbers and also in the case compounded with the suffix -ki; and the fact that the plural is not formed by means of the pluralising particle -k.
- §113. Examples: i numto barēva, I'll come with you; sardār néton e, the chief is speaking to thee; numeān der dêr hināno? from among you which ones have gone? naneaļ narring-a mafak, no fleeing can be done by us; numēṭī dā zore khampara, I don't see this power in you; kanēṭī nume kārēm e? have you any business with me? har nēkī badīas mass, nēāiṭ e, whatever the result, good or ill, the responsibility is on thee; nā kūs kane-is (kane-isk, kanēk) aff, thy shirt is not with me; numā īlum isto nane nanēsk gidārēfē, your brother spent the night with us last night; nanēskā (nanēkā) tēne rasēf, bring thyself up to us.

The discussion of the enclitic use of the pronouns of the first and second persons may be conveniently postponed (§117) until after the discussion of the third person enclitic pronoun.

- §114. The Enclitic Pronoun of the Third Person, singular -ta, plural  $-t\bar{a}$ , which refers to animate and inanimate objects indifferently, is only used in the oblique cases. The place of the missing nominatives is supplied either by the repetition of the noun itself, or by one of the demonstratives, or if there is no room for ambiguity, noun and pronoun may be omitted altogether. Of the demonstratives the colourless o (hamo) is generally employed, the definite  $d\bar{a}$   $(hand\bar{a})$ , this, and  $\bar{e}$   $(ham\bar{e})$ , that, being reserved for cases in which some emphasis is required. When reference is made to one or more objects, all three demonstratives may be brought into play, and by their means the ambiguity which often attaches to the pronoun of the third person in English is generally avoided, notwithstanding the fact that the sex of the demonstrative has to be gathered from the context.
- §115. The simple -ta  $(-t\bar{a})$  represents the genitive, dative and accusative. The other cases are formed by suffixing the enclitic to the ordinary case-endings, which are in turn suffixed to a base  $\bar{i}$ :—

Singular. Plural.

Nom. — he, she, it. — they.

Gen.
Dat. 
$$\left\{ -ta. -t\bar{a} \right\}$$
Acc.

Abl.  $\bar{\imath}$ - $\bar{a}n$ - $ta$ .

Inst.  $\bar{\imath}$ - $at$ - $ta$ .

Conj.  $\bar{\imath}$ - $to$ - $ta$ .

 $\bar{\imath}$ - $to$ - $ta$ .

Loc.  $\bar{\imath}$ - $t\bar{\imath}$ - $ta$ .

 $\bar{\imath}$ - $t\bar{\imath}$ - $t\bar{\imath}$ .

To these may be added  $\tilde{\imath}$ -ki-ta, for him, her, it;  $\tilde{\imath}$ -is-ta,  $\hat{\imath}$ -isk-ta, in his, her, its possession, etc.;  $\hat{\imath}$ - $isk\tilde{a}$ -ta, up to him, her, it, with analogous formations in the plural. Though

unimportant in practice, the occasional variant -tan deserves notice as bearing on the probable derivation of -ta from the reflexive  $t\bar{e}n$ , corresponding to the derivation of the enclitic -ka from kan- in the case of the first person (§117).

- §116. The simple enclitic -ta (-ta) is properly attached to the end of the word to which it stands in the closest relation: bāva-ta pārē, his father said; bāva pārē-ta, the father said to him; zaghm-tan kaneān gum mass, I lost his sword; khalkut-ta, I struck him. It may thus be attached to the case-ending of the noun it defines: tayārī mass barāmnā-tā, preparations were made for their marriage. It may refer in the same sentence to different objects: bāva-ta pārē-ta, his (or her) father said to her (or him). Similarly the compound forms, related as they generally are to the sentence as a whole, are ordinarily placed last in the sentence: sardār harrifē īānta, the chief asked him; masir hinā ītotā, the girl went with them; zāī/ae ki khanā, bash mass dudēngā īāita, when he saw the woman, he arose and ran towards her;  $d\tilde{a}$  puchche  $m\tilde{u}gh\tilde{a}$   $\tilde{\imath}kit\tilde{a}$ , she sewed this cloth for them. But if the compound forms stand in intimate relation to some particular element in the sentence, they naturally take their place after it: asit ītītā hushār assaka, one among them was wise. Their position in the sentence is, however, often arbitrary: nī ītotan hinak, nē shikārnā jahe nishān-a ētik, you go with him, he'll point you out the shooting-ground; hullie kanā īaṭta hatarifis, please get my horse brought by him.
- §117. The Enclitic Pronouns of the First and Second Persons.
  —On the analogy of the pronoun of the third person, -ka and -ne are not infrequently used, especially in Jhalawan, instead of the ordinary genitive, dative, accusative of the first and second persons singular: malhte-ka hich pāpēs, please don't say anything to my sons; dā hīte antei pātavēs-ka? why didn't you tell me this thing? khalkus-ka, you struck me; māre-ne Shālkoṭān hēsuṭ, I brought thy son from Quetta;

kunë-ne hamë kuchakas ki drust kë-ne, may that dog bite thee that knows thee (a proverb not unlike the Irish 'better the devil you know than the devil you don't know'). These forms are even used instead of the reflexive (cf. §120): kārēme-ka khalās kattanut, ama nēto barēv? I haven't finished my work, how can I come with you? sabakhe-ne yīt kattanus? haven't you got your lesson by heart? In some dialects the use of an enclitic genitive, dative, accusative is even extended to the plurals of the first and second persons. The Nicharis, for instance, make use of expressions like khalkus-nan, you beat us, pārēn-num, we said to you, instead of the ordinary nane khalkus, num² pārēn. This usage is, however, inadmissible in the standard language.

§118. In the other oblique cases the genitives of the two pronouns, plural as well as singular, are linked enclitically with the base i- by means of the ordinary case-endings: i-ti-kanā dā zore khanisa ki ni daun-a pāsa? do you see this power in me, that you speak thus? davuo kārēmas ītonā karē ki kasas dushmanto kapp, he dealt with thee in a way no one would deal with his enemy; nana mate iannuna pular, they looted us of our property; musifirian ki bassur, ikinumā ant hesur? when they returned from their journey, what did they bring for you? In the case of the singular pronouns the enclitic forms -ka and -ne often oust the ordinary genitives in this formation: da kareine ki ikika kures, handun chas ki kane baha-at hallus, if you did this work for my sake, please consider me your humble servant (lit. that you purchased the with a price); i-is-ka hurohi ki khanis na e, all you may secin my possession is yours; hamo da karême ințue karifik ki malamat karife-ne, he ll make thee do this thing to get thec blamed; nā ilum ki dāķā hinā, bāz pīmās taņē īāine, maga hich matau-ne, when thy brother left here, he told many a lie about thee, but there was no harm done thee (lit. he cut many an onion on thee, or bajāi-ne, on thy back).

It may be noted in anticipation that the genitive of the reflexive (but not of the interrogative or demonstrative) is similarly used enclitically in the compound forms (§121).

#### The Reflexive Pronoun.

§119. It is curious that the nominative of the reflexive pronoun, ten, has only been preserved in the foreign compound ten-pa-ten (tem-pa-ten), lit. self by self, amongst ourselves, yourselves, themselves (cf. 385). The place of the nominative is taken by the instrumental in much the same way as in English: da kareme tenat khalas karer, they finished this work (by) themselves; i tenat hinat, I went myself. The oblique cases are formed after the model of the personal pronouns; the declension is the same for both numbers:—

Gen. tēnā, of self, of selves.

Dat. tēne.

Acc. tēneān.

Inst. tēnaţ.
Conj. tēnto.
Loc. tēnēţī.
tēneāi.

The supplementary cases are: tēnki; tēne-is, tēnēsk (tēne-isk), tēnēk; tēnēskā (tēne-iskā), tēnēkā. The only case which presents a deviation from the model of the personal pronouns is the instrumental, tēnaṭ, based as it is not on the oblique base but on the crude form.

§120. The reflexive, which may be used of any person in any number, refers back properly—but not exclusively as will be shown presently—to the subject of the sentence;  $\tilde{\imath}$  tiene bitiva huchchân, I'll throw myself from the camel; bitpa tiene, don't throw thyself; nājor karē tiene, he feigned himself ill; salā karēn tien-pa-tien, we took counsel one with another; iragh tienki dabo, take food for yourselves;

ofk nē tēnto zarūr-a dēra, they will certainly take you with them; tēnēţī dā zore khampara, I don't see this power in myself; dā māre tēne-is darak ki dāṛē hoghik, take this lad away to thy house as he's crying here; huchchātā much kanningnā kārēme tēneāi harfēnun, we've taken on ourselves the task of collecting the camels. The genitive naturally supplies the place of a possessive when referring to the subject of the sentence; as a rule it follows its noun unless some emphasis is required: bāvae tēnā pārēs, thou didst say to thy father; ī tēnā bāvaghān khar karēṭ, I lost my temper with my own father. The ablative has sometimes the special meaning of 'at one's own cost': aga kanto naukar-a salīsa iragh tēneān kun, ī nē chara dah rupaī ētiva, if you'll take service with me, your board must come out of your own pocket, and I'll simply give you ten rupees.

- §121. The genitive of the reflexive is used enclitically to form certain oblique cases in the same way as the genitive of the first and second personal pronouns (§118):  $\bar{\imath}$   $d\bar{a}$  girāte muchchāi  $\bar{\imath}$ -ki-tēnā halkunuṭ, I've purchased these things one and all for myself;  $n\bar{\imath}$  kanā kulle kharche  $\bar{\imath}$ antēnā ētisa, thou wilt give me all my expenses out of thy own pocket; o kane  $\bar{\imath}$ totēnā sardāris darē, he took me personally into the chief's presence; mēmānte kulle isto  $\bar{\imath}$ -is-tēnā jah tissun, we gave all the guests lodging at our house last night.
- §122. The reflexive may refer to the logical (not necessarily grammatical) subject of the sentence: kane tēneār bāvar aff ki dā hīt kane yāt sale, I've no faith in myself that this saying will stick in my mind; ofte tēneāi bāvar aff, theý have no faith in themselves; nume tēnā kārēm karoā e, you've your own work to do.
- §123. Another use of the reflexive when referring otherwise than to the subject of the sentence is to emphasise a noun or pronoun by standing in apposition to it:  $kan\bar{a}$   $t\bar{e}n\bar{a}$  hullie hata, bring my own horse;  $d\bar{a}$   $dagh\bar{a}r$  numā  $t\bar{e}n\bar{a}$  e?

is this land your own? dere dere khalk! have tene khalk, kanā māte khalk, nā tenā ilume khalk, whom exactly did he strike? he struck me myself, and my sons, and even thy brother; sardār ki nume khalk, nāib hich pātav-ta? nāibe tēne khalk, when the chief struck you, did his deputy say nothing to him? why, he struck the deputy himself. Except in the genitive and dative-accusative this usage is possibly somewhat rare: derto bass? kanto tento bass, with whom did he come? he came with me myself.

§124. But in such cases recourse is had perhaps more generally and certainly more logically to a periphrasis in which jind, body, person, is combined with the genitive of the noun or pronoun, a device which appears to have been introduced into the language from Baluchi or Sindhi: daghār nā jindanā e yā nī chara bazahar us? is the land thy own, or art thou simply the cultivator? antei kanā māre khalēre! nā mār antas marē? nan nā jinde khalēna, why do you beat my son? what does thy son matter? we'll beat thee thyself. The periphrasis is often used emphatically as the subject of the sentence: nā urā māte tēnā kasfēne, jind-ta hināne, thy wife (lit. house) has killed her sons, and she herself is fled; sardārnā jind hamorē tūs, the chief himself sat there. Less commonly jinde precedes the noun or pronoun and is treated like an adjective: jinde sardārāi nē-a dêva, I'll take you to the chief himself; jinde kane kholum aff, I've no wheat myself; i jinde iluman da hite bingut, I heard this from the brother himself. The final vowel of jind-e appears to be a reminiscence of the Persian izāfat like the final vowel of kull-e, muchch-e, and other pronominal adjectives (§156).

### The Demonstratives.

§125. There are three demonstratives, the near demonstrative  $d\tilde{a}$ , this, the remote  $\tilde{e}$ , that, and o, which lies in meaning midway between the two, and is therefore generally

employed when a demonstrative is required to take the place of a definite article or of the pronoun of the third person. In addition to these there are handā, hamē, hamo, compounded with the Persian ham. Though intensive in form, these, like their Baluchi counterparts, are not always intensive in force.

§126. Used as adjectives the demonstratives precede the noun and are naturally indeclinable: dā sāifae hamē bandagh'o mon ēte, send this woman with that man. To be noted are the forms dārako, ērako, orako, in which stress seems to be laid on the element of position: ērako khar kanā ass, you ram used to belong to me.

§127. Used as substantives they are fully declinable:—

Singular.			
Nom.	$d\bar{a}$ , $d\bar{a}d$ , this.	$\bar{e}$ , $\bar{e}d$ , that.	o, od, this, that.
Gen.	dānā.	ēnā.	$onar{a}.$
Dat. }	dāde.	$ ilde{e}de.$	ode.
Abl.	däŗān.	ēŗān.	oŗān.
Inst.	dărat (dādat).	ēŗaț (ēdaț).	oraț (odaț).
Conj.	dārto (dāto).	ērto (ēţo).	orto (oto).
Loc.	$d ilde{a} t  ilde{\imath}.$	ēļī.	oțī.
	dāŗāi.	ēŗāi.	oŗāi.
Plural.			
Nom.	$d ilde{a}fk$ .	$ ilde{e}fk$ .	of k.
Gen.	$d ilde{a}ft ilde{a}$ .	éftā.	$oft ilde{a}.$
Dat. }	$d ilde{a}fte.$	êfte.	ofte.
Abl.	däfteän.	ēfteān.	ofteăn.
Inst.	$d ilde{a}fteat.$	ĕfteaţ.	ofteat.
Conj.	$d ilde{a}fteto.$	ēfteto.	of teto.
Loc.	dāftē <b>ṭī.</b>	ēftēţī.	oftétř.
	dāfteāi.	ēfte <b>āi</b> .	ofteāi.

The supplementary cases are: dāki or dārki, for the sake of this one; dāris (dādis), dārisk (dādisk), in the possession

of this one, etc.;  $d\tilde{a}risk\tilde{a}$  ( $d\tilde{a}disk\tilde{a}$ ), up to this one, with analogous forms in the case of the other two demonstratives. The forms  $d\tilde{a}r\tilde{e}sk\tilde{a}$ ,  $\tilde{e}r\tilde{e}sk\tilde{a}$ ,  $or\tilde{e}sk\tilde{a}$ , which must not be confused with  $d\tilde{a}risk\tilde{a}$ ,  $\tilde{e}risk\tilde{a}$ ,  $orisk\tilde{a}$ , are adverbial demonstratives of place, meaning up to here or there, just as  $d\tilde{a}r\tilde{e}(k)$ ,  $\tilde{e}r\tilde{e}(k)$ ,  $or\tilde{e}(k)$ , mean here or there (§388).

- §128. The majority of the cases are clearly to be referred to the nominatives  $d\bar{a}d$ ,  $\bar{e}d$ . od, with the change from d to r. These forms of the demonstratives are purely substantival. The insertion of f in the plural is anomalous. Though this form of the plural is universal, the f is not infrequently omitted in some Sarawan dialects:  $d\bar{a}k$ ,  $\bar{e}k$ , ok;  $d\bar{a}t\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{e}t\bar{a}$ ,  $ot\bar{a}$ ;  $d\bar{a}te$ ,  $\bar{e}te$ , ote, etc. Certain Sarawans, notably the Kurds, go a step further and retain the -k of the nominative in the dative-accusative, instead of making the usual change to -t-:  $d\bar{a}ke-t\bar{a}jit\bar{a}karak$ , place these of them aside (cf. §38).
- §129. The declension of the intensive forms is on precisely the same lines, ham- or han-, as the case may be, being simply prefixed. The Haruni Muhammad Hasnis and some other Jhalawans corrupt handā, handād into hannā, hannād, which they decline in the ordinary way: hamo duzz ki nī pārēs hannād e, this is that thief of whom you spoke; kaneān khulīpa, hannārān khula, don't fear me but this man. Finally the aspirate is occasionally omitted in handā, etc., but not, curiously enough, in hamē, hamo.
- §130. The nominative forms  $d\bar{a}d$ ,  $\bar{e}d$ , od, are invariably used before the third persons present of the affirmative substantive verb:  $kan\bar{a}$  matlab  $d\bar{a}d$  e, my meaning is this:  $kan\bar{a}$   $\bar{\imath}lum$   $ham\bar{e}d$  e, that is my brother. These forms are obligatory in such cases, but their use is not confined to them: hamo  $bandagh\bar{a}te\bar{a}n$  ki nan isto  $khan\bar{a}n$ , chara  $hand\bar{a}d$  salīsune, this is the only one who has survived of those men we saw last night. In the dative-accusative singular the

case-ending is occasionally omitted: kane antei pasa? od pa ki daun kapp, why do you tell me? tell him not to do so; i ēd sakht khalkut, I beat that man severely. The nominatives singular are often used as nominatives plural, the number being sufficiently indicated by the verb (§47): dā khāchār, these slept; dunganā khulīsān o narrār, out of fear of the gang they ran away. The other cases require no particular comment: i orat tēnā kārēme karifpara, I won't get my work done by him; kane darat khalifpa, don't get me beaten by this man; harchi ki pāsa, tēnat pā, ērat pārifpa, whatever you have to say, say it yourself and don't get that man to say it for you; nā girāk dāṭī affas, your things aren't in this; erto himpa, kanto ba, don't go with that man, but come with me; oftean gila kappa, don't grumble at them; tufak dāris aff, the gun is not with this man; dāki panch mēlh tissut, I gave five sheep for this; orki kharasas hēsunut, I've brought a bullock for him.

§131. The intensive forms, adjectival and substantival, are especially common as the antecedents of a relative sentence (§425): hamo bandaghas ki dûţī-ta zaghm ass, Shā Bāz khān ass, that man who had the sword in his hand was Shah Baz Khan; handā ki dāṛē tūlingaṭī e, onā mār e, this one who's sitting here is his son.

## The Interrogative Pronoun.

§132. The interrogatives are  $d\tilde{e}r$ ? who? ant? what? arā? which. Of these  $d\tilde{e}r$  refers properly to persons only, ant to inanimate objects, while  $ar\tilde{a}$  may be used of either.

§133. Der? who? which is only used substantivally, is declinable throughout the singular and is applicable to both numbers:—

Nom.  $d\bar{e}r$ ,  $d\bar{e}$ , who? Gen.  $dinn\bar{a}$ . Dat. Acc.  $d\bar{e}re$ .

Abl. dērān.

Inst. dêraf.

Conj.  $d\tilde{e}rto$   $(d\tilde{e}to)$ .

Loc.  $d\bar{e}t\tilde{i}$ .

dērāi.

The supplementary cases are:  $d\bar{e}ki$   $(d\bar{e}rki)$ , for whose sake?  $d\bar{e}ris$ ,  $d\bar{e}risk$ , in whose possession? etc.;  $d\bar{e}risk\bar{a}$ , up to whom? The declension, it would seem, is based partly on  $d\bar{e}r$ , partly on the short form  $d\bar{e}$ . The genitive is noteworthy.

- §134. Examples: dā bandagh dēr e? who is this man? dē bassune? who has come? dē bassuno? who have come? ē masink dēr o? who are those girls? nī dinnā mār us? whose son are you? nī dēre khanās? whom did you see? dērān halkus-ta? whom did you buy it from? dā kharās dērat toning-a marēk? by whom can this bull be stopped? dērto tūlik? whom does he live with? dā iraṭte khanās, ant-a chāsa ki luchchī dēṭī e? you saw these two, what's your opinion—in whom does the villainy lie? dērāi hinānus? whom have you gone to? dēki dīr-a dēsa? for whom will you take water? kanā zaghm dēris e? who has got my sword? isto dērisk massunus? whom have you been staying with last night? pahranā vār dēriskā rasēngāne? up to whom has the turn for sentry-go got?
- §135. Dēr, though properly confined to persons, is by a natural extension used idiomatically in such phrases as: nā pin dēr e? what is your name? dā shahranā pin dēr e? what's the name of this village? khom-ta dēr e? what's his tribe?
- §136. The plural is occasionally employed when reference is made to a number of separate individuals: ant-a chāsa ki dā shahraṭī dērāk bassuno, dākha duzzī karēno? what's your opinion as to who the men are who have come to this village

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and committed all these thefts? dā khalkanā dērāteāi khonanā gumāne dēsa? which iudividuals of this village do you suspect of the murder?

- §137. The indefinite article is sometimes attached to der in questions of surprise or contempt: o deras mare ki kane drogh-ta; pae? who the devil is he to call me a liar? vakhtas ki o khar-a kek, deras ona monai kae? when he is wroth, who in truth may stand before him? da dunyati deras begham e? in this world who after all is free from care?
- §138. Ant? what? is used both substantivally and adjectivally. As an adjective it is of course indeclinable; the qualified noun takes on the indefinite article, unless it is used with plural meaning, but even in that case it remains in the singular:  $\tilde{\imath}$  na ant guna-as karēnut? what fault have I committed against you? ant girā-asēto khalkunus-ta ki o kor massune? what thing have you struck him with, that he has gone blind? ant ant kulau tiss? what various messages did he give?
- §139. As a substantive ant is regularly declined; the singular is applicable to both numbers, being rarely displaced by the plural:—

Nom. ant? what? Gen. antanā. Dat. ? ante. Acc. J Abl. antān. Inst. antat. antato. Conj. Loc. antatī. antāi.

Antaki? for the sake of what? is the only supplementary case in ordinary use. It means much the same as the

interrogative adverb antei? why? which seems to be a corrupted or possibly older form of the dative-accusative.

- §140. Examples: nā huhm ant e? what is your command? ante torēnus? what are you holding? ī pārēṭ ki-nēto antanā ārāle ētiv?—tēnā tūfūknā, I meant to speak to you about what d'you call it?—about my guu; nā shara antanā e? what's your case about? dā antān jo? massune? what's this made of? nī ode antaṭ khalkus ki daun huson e? what did you strike him with that he's so hurt? pālhte antaṭī shāghās? what did you pour the milk into: tēnā iraghe antāi bisik, pāṭāi yā liḍḍāi? what does he cook his food on, fuel or dung? nī antaki bassunus? what have you come for? o nē kanā pinaṭ ant o ant pārē? what particular things did he tell you in my name? A plural is not often employed: antāte nā bērān karēnut ki nī khar karēs? what things of yours have I damaged that you got angry?
- §141. The indefinite article is frequently attached at will without affecting the meaning: pālhte antasētī shāghās? what did you pour the milk in? nī antasēki bassunus? what have you come for? But with a change in the intonation of the voice it is idiomatically used in interrogations of surprise or contempt, as in the analogous case of dēr? (§137): nā hukm antas marē? ī nā khwājanā hukme mannipara, what's your order to me, when I don't heed the order of your master? nā antas marēs? ī nēkonā dahe khalēva, what on earth are you good for? I'll beat half a score like you; o gharīb antas marē? nī zorākasēto tēne arēf, what of that poor devil? hit a man your own size (lit. entangle thyself with a strong one).
- §142. Arā? which? is applicable to both animate and inanimate objects. It is primarily an adjective, and as such is of course indeclinable. It means properly 'which of two or more?' nā arā salā e? which is your advice (of the proposals under consideration)? as opposed to nā salā ant e?

what is your advice (generally)?  $d\bar{a}$   $ar\bar{a}$  bandagh e? which man is this?  $d\bar{a}$  bandagh  $d\bar{e}r$  e? who is this man?  $ar\bar{a}$   $hull\bar{i}$   $n\bar{e}$  dost e? which horse do you fancy? It is occasionally aspirated:  $har\bar{a}$ ?

- §143. The particular case of the adjective  $ar\bar{a}$  qualifying the noun asit deserves separate notice. The force of the compound  $ar\bar{a}$ -asit? ( $ar\bar{a}sit$ ?) which one? is much the same as that of the substantival  $ar\bar{a}$ :  $d\bar{a}$  musittan  $ar\bar{a}$ -asit  $katt\bar{a}$ ? of these three which one won?  $hand\bar{a}$   $z\bar{a}\bar{t}fa$   $ar\bar{a}sitta\bar{a}$   $mar\bar{e}k$ ? to which one will this woman belong?  $har\bar{a}sitt\bar{a}i$   $n\bar{a}$   $gum\bar{a}n$  e? on which one does your suspicion rest?
- §144. As a substantive  $ar\bar{a}$  is declinable in both numbers after the general model of the demonstratives:—

	singular.	Plural.
Nom.	arā? arād? which one?	arāfk? which ones?
Gen.	$arar{a}nar{a}.$	$ar ilde{a}ft ilde{a}.$
Dat. Acc.	arāde.	arāfte.
Abl.	arāŗān.	arāfteān.
Inst.	arāŗaţ (arādaţ, arā-aţ).	arāfteaṭ.
Conj.	arāṛto (arāto).	$arar{a}fteto.$
Loc.	arāṭī.	arāf <b>tē</b> ṭī.
	arāŗāi.	arāfteāi.
Loc.	•	•

The supplementary cases are:  $ar\bar{a}ki$ ? or  $ar\bar{a}rki$ ? for the sake of which one?  $ar\bar{a}ris$ ?  $ar\bar{a}risk$ ? in the possession of which one? etc.;  $ar\bar{a}risk\bar{a}$ ?  $(ar\bar{a}disk\bar{a}$ ?) up to which one?  $Ar\bar{a}r\bar{e}(k)$ ?  $ar\bar{a}r\bar{e}sk\bar{a}$ ? are interrogative adverbs (§388) meaning where? up to which place? As in the case of the demonstratives (§128) there is a dialectical form of the plural with the omission of  $-f-: ar\bar{a}k$ ,  $ar\bar{a}t\bar{a}$ , etc.

§145. Examples: dā daggi arānā e? to which one does this cow belong? arāde halkus? which one did you take? arārat khalkus-ta? with which did you strike him? hamo bandagh ki nī pārēs arād e? the man you spoke of—which

is he? (or: where is he? arād also meaning where?); arārto bassune? with which one has he come? huchchāte arārān hēsus? which one did you bring the camels from? dā razānteān dīte arārī shāghās? which of these pots did you pour the water into? tūfak arāris e? which one's got the gun? dā mēlhtētī arā arā nā o? among these sheep which ones exactly are yours? arāfk rasēngāno? which ones have arrived? arāfteān us? from what family are you? dā kārēme arāftēki karēnus? for the sake of which of them have you done this thing?

## The Possessive Pronoun.

- §146. The possessive pronouns are simply the genitives of the various pronouns. They are, however, remarkable in that, like the possessive genitive of the noun (§54), they are treated as independent substantives<sup>1</sup>, declinable throughout both numbers. There is no need to give the declension; it is the same as that of the possessive noun; there is an optional form of the plural in -fk, save in the case of possessives based on genitives plural of the form  $-ft\bar{a}: d\bar{a}ft\bar{a}k$ ,  $\bar{e}ft\bar{a}k$ , oftak, arāftāk; the phonetic desirability of avoiding the two f's is obvious.
- §147. Examples: dā kuchak kanā e, this dog is mine; nā hullī rēsh e, kanānā rēsh joṛ massune, your horse is wounded, the wound of mine is healed; tā ki kanā huchche illētanus, ī nāe illēpara, until you let my camel go, I won't let yours go; ī tēnā vanāe harfēnut, num tēnāfte harfbo, ēftāte illēbo, I've taken my share, do you take yours and let theirs alone; ē chākhū kunt e, kanārat taṛ-ta, that knife's blunt, cut it with mine; kanā ditar nāṛto lahr-a kumpak, your bloed isn't so good as mine (lit. my blood doesn't boil with yours); nā bil kanā māris aff, nāṛis e, your

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Abstract substantives may be formed from some of the possessive pronouns by suffixing -ī: tēnāiān ērē himpa, o kanā dushman e, for our friendship's sake, don't go there, he's my enemy.

bow isn't with my son, it's with yours; tênā razāne hata tēnā tēlāte kunāṭi shāghpa, fetch your own pot and don't pour your oil into mine; nanā kharāsteto nanā tēnā bazghak hināno, numāteto kasas aff, our own cultivators have gone with our bullocks, there's no one with yours; aga dā kārēme kanā māraki kappēs, tēnāki ka-ta, if you won't do this for my son, do it for yours: nanā daghāteāi nī khiāl-a kappēsa, tēnāfteāi girā-as ki nēān-a morek, koshish-a kēsa, you decline to take any trouble over our lands and yet you labour for all you're worth on your own; num nanā siālāteān khwash ure, tēnātēān antei khar ure? you're pleased enough with our relatives, why are you annoyed with your own? nanā kontāte ki nī dattanus, pēn dinnāte darēnus? well, if you haven't taken our blankets, whose have you taken?

§148. The idiom is occasionally extended to a double genitive: nā hullīnā lughām kanānārān mutkun e, your horse's bridle is older than that of mine; nanā khachattā liṭṭikāk arēr, numāftāk karghok o, the tails of our mules aren't elipped yet, those of yours are; nanā urātā karazātēṭī kaṛī arē, numāftātēṭī chaṛa mēkh o, in the beams of our houses there are rings, while in those of yours there are only nails; nanā ḍaggītā ākhuk purr o, oftātāk khālī o, the mangers of our cows are full, those of theirs are empty. But this highly cumbrous mode of expression is generally avoided.

## The Indefinite Pronoun.

§149. Under this heading it is convenient to discuss several words which partake more or less of the nature of pronouns. Though it is unnecessary to preserve any particular order, certain of the pronouns which are connected by similarity of meaning or use will be grouped together. The list might have been slightly enlarged, but it seems unnecessary to be exhaustive.

§150. Dā<u>kh</u>adar, dā<u>kh</u>ar, dā<u>kh</u>a, dā<u>kh</u>as, this much. O<u>kh</u>adar, o<u>kh</u>ar, o<u>kh</u>a, o<u>kh</u>as, so much. E<u>kh</u>adar, ē<u>kh</u>ar, ē<u>kh</u>a, ē<u>kh</u>as, that much. A<u>kh</u>adar? a<u>kh</u>ar? a<u>kh</u>a? a<u>kh</u>as? how much?

The initial  $d\bar{a}$ , o.  $\hat{e}$  are the ordinary demonstrative adjectives, and the pronouns are accordingly found in the intensive forms  $hand\bar{a}\underline{k}\underline{h}adar$ ,  $hamo\underline{k}\underline{h}adar$ ,  $hamo\underline{k}\underline{h}adar$ , with corresponding variants; the initial a- is clearly the particle of interrogation contained in ant? what?  $ar\bar{a}$ ? which? at? how many? (§152), and one or two other interrogatives. As the latter portion of the pronouns is unmistakably corrupted from the Arabic-Persian word qadr, 'quantity,' they are properly demonstratives and interrogatives of quantity, but they are not infrequently used of number also, the demonstratives more especially. They are both adjectives and substantives.

(1) Adjectival use: as adjectives they are of course indeclinable; the qualified noun is in the singular even though reference is made to plural number (§46): dākhadar (dākhar, dākha, dākhas) ghalla harf o hala, pick up this much grain and bring it; okha okhadar kīmat karēno, they've fixed such and such prices; ēkhas maiva kungunus ki kasas kump, you've eaten more fruit than one should; akha mēmān bassuno? how many guests have come? But if the pronouns are placed in the predicate and the subject of the sentence is used with plural meaning, the subject like the verb is put in the plural: mēmānk dākhadar bassuno, in such numbers have the guests come.

Attributive use: as adjectives of size they take on the ordinary attributive endings (§80):  $d\bar{a}\underline{k}haso$   $b\bar{a}\underline{k}hoas$  kung, he ate a mouthful this size;  $\bar{e}\underline{k}haro$   $m\bar{a}ras$  e, he's a lad that size;  $a\underline{k}hadaro$   $\underline{k}har\bar{a}s$  o? what size bullocks are there?  $d\bar{a}\underline{k}has\bar{a}$   $d\bar{a}\underline{k}has\bar{a}$  hullite ki  $n\bar{i}$   $h\bar{e}sunus$ ,  $d\bar{e}r$ -a  $hal\bar{e}k$ - $t\bar{a}$ ? who'll take the horses of the size you've brought? They are

as usual used as substantives in the definite form:  $\bar{e}r\bar{e}$   $p\bar{a}tk$   $ti\underline{k}h \circ k$  o, hamofteān  $d\bar{a}\underline{k}h$ angā  $d\bar{a}\underline{k}h$ angāte bin o hata, the sticks are placed there, pick out of them the ones this size and this, and bring them along; ofteān  $d\bar{a}\underline{k}h$ asāte jitā ka, those of them this size place on one side.

(2) Substantival use: they are confined to the singular, the declension of which is regular:  $n\bar{\imath}$   $p\bar{a}$  ki  $\bar{\imath}$   $t\bar{e}n\bar{a}$   $m\bar{e}lht\bar{e}ki$   $d\bar{a}\underline{k}hadar-a$   $hal\bar{e}va$ , say you'll take so much for your sheep;  $hil\bar{a}r$   $a\underline{k}hasn\bar{a}$  halkus? what price did you give for dates?  $a\underline{k}hae$  yala  $kar\bar{e}s$ ? how many did you let go? huchche  $\underline{k}holumto$   $hamp\bar{e}nut-a\underline{k}hato$   $hamp\bar{e}nus-ta$ ?  $-d\bar{a}\underline{k}hadarto$ , I've loaded the camel with wheat—with how much?—with this much. Some of the cases have acquired a specialised meaning:  $hand\bar{a}\underline{k}hasato$  ki  $n\bar{i}$  bassus, nan  $r\bar{a}h\bar{i}$ -a  $mar\bar{e}na$ , as soon as you come, we'll start; nan daro  $kasar\bar{a}i$   $sal\bar{i}sasun$ ,  $h\bar{i}t$ -a  $kar\bar{e}na$ ,  $ann\bar{a}$   $h\bar{i}te$   $khal\bar{a}s$   $kattav\bar{e}sun$ ,  $hand\bar{a}\underline{k}hasat\bar{i}$  pir  $maling\bar{a}$ , yesterday we were standing in the road chatting, we hadn't done chatting when the rain began.

The corrupted forms  $d\bar{\imath}\underline{kh}adar$ ,  $d\bar{\imath}\underline{kh}ar$ ,  $d\bar{\imath}\underline{kh}as$ ,  $d\bar{\imath}\underline{kh}as$ , are commonly used in Jhalawan with the meaning 'a little':  $\bar{\imath}$   $p\bar{a}r\bar{e}t$  kane  $d\bar{\imath}r$   $\bar{e}te$ , o  $d\bar{\imath}\underline{kh}adar$   $h\bar{e}s$  ki kanā gut pālitau, I told him to give me water, and the amount he brought wasn't enough to moisten my throat;  $d\bar{\imath}\underline{kh}a$   $s\bar{\imath}$   $d\bar{a}$  razānat $\bar{\imath}$   $sh\bar{a}\underline{gh}$ , put a little ghi into this pot; kane  $d\bar{\imath}\underline{kh}as$   $p\bar{a}\underline{lh}$   $\bar{e}te$ , give me a drop of milk.

§151. The interrogatives of the foregoing group together with the demonstratives in the intensive form are used as correlatives:  $a\underline{k}\underline{h}a$  ki harfing-a kēsa, hamo $\underline{k}\underline{h}a$  hata, bring as much as you can carry; beiteān  $a\underline{k}\underline{h}a$  ki danning-a kēsa, hamē $\underline{k}\underline{h}a$  da, take away as much of the grass as you can.

# §152. At? how many?

There are no demonstratives corresponding to this interrogative of number, their place being supplied by the demonstratives of quantity,  $d\bar{a}\underline{k}hadar$ , etc., supra.

(1) Adjectival use: the qualified noun is in the singular (§46): at mār o? how many lads are there? at bandaghnā huchchāte darē? how many men's camels did he carry off? at tūiskā pir-a kappak? for how many months will there be no rain? Of course if at is used in the predicate, the subject is put in the plural: māk att o? the lads are how many in number?

An ordinal adjective, attimīko? 'the how manyth?' is formed by adding the ordinal suffix -imīko (§100): dā attimīko bandagh e ki ī nā padat mon-a ētiva, nī bafēsa? how many men does this make that I send after you, and yet you won't come? nī attimīko dē-a barēsa? on what day from now will you come? dā attimīko go e ki dudēfingatī o? what number race is this they're running off? The pronominal ordinal may be used substantivally like other ordinals (§102): dā huchchanā katārān ī hashtimīkoe dēva, nī attimīkoe daros? of this string of camels I'll take the eighth in order, which number do you think of taking?

(2) Substantival use: at is ordinarily confined to the singular, which is declined regularly: numean attana mēlhte sarkārki darēno? the sheep of how many of you have they impressed for Government? duzzāteān atte tafēno, atte yala kareno? of the thieves how many have they bound, and how many have they let go? da khavatean attatī dīr shāghās o atte bārun illäs? in how many of these water-skins did you pour water and how many did you leave dry? dā drakhtāteān attāi chukkāk kutām tafēno! on how many of these trees have the birds built nests? & shalvare attai halkus? what did you buy those trowsers at? numean attis tufak are? how many of you have got guns? irā bandaghat ki dā hullī toning-a mafak, attat toningik? if this horse can't be held by two men, how many will it take to hold him? nī tēne attiskā kaneān dakkos? how often do you intend to hide yourself from me? Some use is made of a jingling form

(cf. §48): att-o-mattiskā duzzanā lumma mēlh-a tarik thow many more times will the thief's mother slaughter sheep to.e., feasting will turn to hanging before long).

The plural is occasionally employed; it is more vague in character than the singular: numeān aṭṭāk Sīstānāi hināno? what numbers of you have gone to Seistan? It is chiefly used in interrogations or exclamations of surprise: dā jangaṭī aṭṭāk kasfingāno hināno! what numbers have been killed in this fight!

## §153. Mana, manat, some, a few.

Of the two forms mana is adjectival, manat substantival. Herein the pronoun bears a strong resemblance not only to machchi, machchit, a little (infra), but also to the first three numerals (§96). The indefinite article attached to the noun or pronoun, as the case may be, has a tendency to emphasise the fewness of the number.

- (1) Adjectival: the qualified noun remains in the singular (§46): mana masin hināno, some girls have gone; mana dēān guḍ nājor mass, some days later he fell ill; mana dēaseān guḍḍ-a barēna, we'll come after a few days; mana pāṭas hata, bring a few fagots.
- (2) Substantival: manot khāchār, some lay down; manate khanāt ki hināra, I saw some going off; manatas kaskur, a few died. The plural is occasionally employed: sipāhīteān manatāk hināsur, manatāk-tā annā hamorē assura, of the sepoys some had gone, while some of them were still there.

Substantival suffix: i.e., manat is tacked on to the noun so as to form a kind of compound noun, the case-endings being attached to manat alone: bandagh-manate daro khalat tissut, I gave some men robes of honour yesterday; dé-manatan gud pēsh tammā, he sallied forth some days later; mēmān-manatas dāskā rasēngāno, only a few guests have arrived as yet; chuk-manataseān khalkut, I had a shot at a few birds.

## §154. Machchi, machchit, a little; some.

(1) Adjectival: ēnakho machchi ghalla kharrisune, a little corn has sprouted this year; kane machchi pālh ēte, give me a little milk. This pronoun sometimes refers to number: nan machchi bandaghase un, nanā iraghki khulīpa, we're only a handful of men, don't be anxious about our food. In the predicate machchi is ousted by machchit if immediately followed by the copula: ēnakho Shālkoṭaṭī bandagh machchit e, the people in Quetta this year are few; but tēnā kirēng tininge machchi ka, cut your abusing short.

Attributive use: kane nēto machchiţo kārēmas arē, I've a petty business with you; machchiţā giṛāghāi nanā takk-a tammipak, we don't trouble about a trifle (lit. our care does not fall on the trifling thing). It will be noticed that the attributive endings are attached to the substantival form of the word, as in the case of the first three numerals (§98).

(2) Substantival: pir malingāne? dāskā machchiṭ malingāne, vakhtas ki bāz malingā, kasar-a mafak, has rain fallen? only a little as yet, as soon as a lot falls the road'll be impassable; mēmān/eān machchiṭnā dūte sillānun, machchiṭ handun tūlok o, we've washed the hands of some of the guests, a few are still seated as you see; bāz huch dū tammitau-ne, navā machchiṭas dū tamme-ne, if you can't lay hands on a number of camels, perhaps you may secure a few. The plural is not very common: khudā machchiṭāte bōz-a kēk, o bāzā/e muchchiṭ-a kēk, God makes the few many, and the many He makes few.

Substantival suffix:  $\bar{\imath}$   $t\bar{e}n\bar{a}$  hullie bei-machchit tissut, I gave my horse a little grass; bei-machchitan hullinā guzrān-a mafak, kadīm ēte, the horse can't live on a handful of grass, give him grain; kane pālh-machchitas ēte, give me a drop of milk.

#### §155. Girā (irā), girā-as (irā-as), some; something.

Girā (irā) is in reality an ordinary substantive, meaning 'thing': irā girā halkuṭ, I purchased two things. As a pronoun it is generally used with the indefinite article, and is both adjective and substantive.

- (1) Adjectival: the qualified noun is in the singular; it almost invariably refers to an inanimate or irrational object, or else to a rational object like bandagh which is commonly used collectively: have girā-as mēlh bakār e, I want some sheep; sardār girā-as bandaghto daro dārē bass, the chief came here yesterday with some men; huch girā-as kholumto hampok ass, the camel was loaded with some wheat. Though the indefinite article is generally attached, it may be omitted: huchchāi girā kholum hampok ass, there was some wheat loaded on the camel.
- (2) Substantival: lashkarān girā-as bassune, a party of the army has come; kane girā-as ēte, give me something; girā-as ki kane karoī ass, gire karēţ, hēmon karēţ, whatever I had to do, I did it all and got it off my shoulders. If the pronoun is repeated in a linked sentence, the indefinite article is attached as a rule to the last pronoun only: sardāteān girā hināno, girā-as hamērēk o, of the chiefs some have gone, and some are still there; girā-tā nane-is massur, girā-as tā nanā illa-is massur, some of them lodged with us, some with our uncle; girā ī harfēṭ, girā tēnā īlume tissuṭ, girā-as hamorē salīs, some I took, some I gave to my brother and some was left there.

In apposition: the case-ending is attached to noun and pronoun alike: duzzāte girā-ase bashkhā, he pardoned some of the thieves; kharāstā girānā likhāi jugh ass. girānārāi allau, there was a yoke on the necks of some of the bullocks and none on the necks of others.

### §156. Kul, much, drust, gir, all; the whole,

Alike in meaning these indefinite pronouns are alike in use. They are at the same time adjectives and substantives. In the predicate they remain unchanged. Used as adjectives proper they appear in the form kulle, muchche, druste, gire, in which the final increment seems to be due to a confused idea of the Persian izāfat (cf. §124). The number of the qualified noun depends on whether the meaning of the pronominal adjective is 'the whole' or 'all.' The simple forms are indeed found preceding the noun, but their force is then adverbial, 'exclusively,' 'only,' 'nothing but.' The substantives are either used as ordinary independent substantives, for the most part in the singular, or they are placed in apposition to another substantive: the pronoun remains in the singular, while the substantive is pluralised if necessary; the case-endings are attached to both.

#### §157. Kul, all; the whole.

(1) Adjectival: kulle mēmānk bassuno, all the guests have come; kulle iraghe kungunus? have you eaten the whole loaf? ī kulle siālāteān harrifēṭ, I asked all the relatives; o tēnā kulle lashkarto koṭāi julau darē, he made an attack on the fort with his whole force. With the first example may be contrasted the following, which illustrates the adverbial use of the simple kul: kul mēmānk bassuno, only the guests have come.

Attributive use: aino kullo deas gidarengane, ni kana pāraghāi batunus, to-day a whole day has passed and you haven't been near me; dushmannā khulīsāu nan kullangā nante khanteāi gidarēfēna, from fear of the enemy we used to spend the livelong uights on the watch (lit. on the eyes).

(2) Substantival: kul hināno, all have gone; kullanā khaire baṭang, pray for the welfare of all; kulle kanā banningnā sahī ka, inform all of my coming; dā dē kullāi

§155. Girā (irā), girā-as (irā-as), some; something.

 $Gir\bar{a}$  ( $ir\bar{a}$ ) is in reality an ordinary substantive, meaning 'thing':  $ir\bar{a}$   $gir\bar{a}$  halkut, I purchased two things. As a pronoun it is generally used with the indefinite article, and is both adjective and substantive.

- (1) Adjectival: the qualified noun is in the singular; it almost invariably refers to an inanimate or irrational object, or else to a rational object like bandagh which is commonly used collectively: kane girā-as mēlh bakār e, I want some sheep; sardār girā-as bandaghto daro dārē bass, the chief came here yesterday with some men; huch girā-as kholumto hampok ass, the camel was loaded with some wheat. Though the indefinite article is generally attached, it may be omitted: huchchāi girā kholum hampok ass, there was some wheat loaded on the camel.
- (2) Substantival: lashkarān girā-as bassune, a party of the army has come; kane girā-as ēte, give me something; girā-as ki kane karoī ass, gire karēṭ, hēmon karēṭ, whatever I had to do, I did it all and got it off my shoulders. If the pronoun is repeated in a linked sentence, the indefinite article is attached as a rule to the last pronoun only: sardāteān girā hināno, girā-as hamērēk o, of the chiefs some have gone, and some are still there; girā-tā nane-is massur, girā-as tā nanā illa-is massur, some of them lodged with us, some with our uncle; girā ī harfēṭ, girā tēnā īlume tissuṭ, girā-as hamorē salīs, some I took, some I gave to my brother and some was left there.

In apposition: the case-ending is attached to noun and pronoun alike: duzzāte girā-ase bashkhā, he pardoned some of the thieves; kharāstā girānā likhāi jugh ass, girānārāi allau, there was a yoke on the necks of some of the bullocks and none on the necks of others.

## §156. Kul, much, drust, gir, all; the whole.

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#### §157. Kul. all; the whole.

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Attributive use: aino kullo dēas gidārēngāne, nī kanā pāraghāi batanus, to-day a whole day has passed and you haven't been near me; dushmannā khulīsān nan kullangā nante khanteāi gidārēfēna, from fear of the enemy we used to spend the livelong nights on the watch (lit. on the eyes).

(2) Substantival: kul hināno, all have gone; kullanā khaire baṭang, pray for the welfare of all; kulle kanā banningnā sahī ka, inform all of my coming; dā dē kullāi

baroī e, this day (of trouble) has to come to all. The plural is only occasionally used: kullāk-a chāra ki nī duzzī karēnus, all the world knows that you've committed theft.

In apposition: huchchāk kul kaskuno, the camels, all of them, have died; drakhtātā kullanā ţolāte guḍḍāṭ, I lopped the top branches of all the trees; jirga tūlokāte kulle sahī karēs? did you inform all the members of the jirga? tēnā lashkarto kullato narrā, he took to his heels with his whole army.

# §158. Much, all; the whole.

(1) Adjectival: muchche mik hinguno, all the ewes have lambed; ēnakhonā muchche fasle malakh kung, locusts devoured all this year's crop; muchche mashteāi barf biṭēne, snow has fallen on all the hills. Compare: much mashteān barf biṭēne, snow has only fallen on the hills. Its use in the predicate may be seen in the so-called compound verbs: lashkar much mass, the army collected together; ī tēnā sangatāte much karēṭ, I collected my companions together.

Attributive use: muchcho dēas gidārēngā, nī tēnā kārēme kattavēs, a whole day passed and you didn't do your work; hamo khazme ki ī khalkuṭ, ē muchchangā drakhtātēṭī hinā tammā, the deer I shot ran into that elump of trees and fell (lit. into those collected trees). Passing mention may be made of the abstract noun muchchī formed from the adjective much: bile ki khalkuṭ, sum-ta chukkātā muchchīṭī tammā when I drew the bow, the arrow from it fell into the thick of the birds; ī nē muchchīṭī drust karēṭ, I recognised you among the crowd.

(2) Substantival: much nājor o, they are all unwell; muchchanā kāṭume tarē, he cut off the heads of them all, muchchān zaghmāte-tā pula, snatch their swords from every one of them. The plural is somewhat rare: muchchāk khudāṭā umēd-a dēra, one and all rest their hope in God

The use of the locative, muchchāi, is idiomatic; its force may be represented in English either by an adjective or an adverbial expression, according to the incidence of the emphasis in the sentence: nanā drakhtāk muchchāi baram karēno, numāfteān manaṭātēṭī hichch-a khampara, everyone of our trees has borne fruit, and yet I see nothing on some of yours; kanā jauzanā drakht muchchāi baram e, khulīva ki punnip, my walnut tree is laden with fruit from top to bottom and I'm afraid it may break; ainonā kasaraṭ muchchāi kanā hullī tuḍḍa kunisa bassune, my horse has come stumbling along every yard of to-day's road; dā ḍaghār muchchāi bei e, kholum bēkhī machchiṭ e tahṭī-ta, this land's nothing but weeds, the wheat on it is scanty in the extreme.

In apposition:  $sh\bar{a}hid\bar{a}k$  much kaneāi drogh  $tar\bar{e}r$ , the witnesses lied against me to a man;  $duzz\bar{a}t\bar{a}$  muchchanā  $d\bar{u}te$  taf, bind the hands of every one of the thieves;  $d\bar{a}$   $shahrat\bar{e}$  muchchatī  $d\bar{a}r\bar{u}$  aff, there's no medicine in the whole of this village;  $\bar{e}$   $kirr\bar{i}t\bar{e}t\bar{i}$  muchchatī shakargaz  $ar\bar{e}$ ? is there gum in all those tamarisks?

# §159. Drust, all; the whole.

(1) Adjectival: druste loshkar rasēngāne, the whole army has arrived; nī druste dē barēsa khwāst kanningki, ī nē hichch-a tifara, you come every hour of the day begging, but I won't give you anything; ī druste kārēme karēnut, I've done the whole work; druste muskok-a pārēra ki drogķ pāpabo, all the men of old used to say 'don't lie.'

Attributive use: drusto iraghas hata, fetch a whole loaf; kane dā pinnokā shīshae tifa, drustangāe ēte, don't give me this glass that's broken. give me the one that isn't

(2) Substantival: ī drusta/o nēkī karēnuţ, I've dealt righteously with all; nī druste khalās karēs? did you mish the whole? shahraṭī drustāk-a pārēra ki zamīnjumb Hindustānaṭī ballo nuskhān karēne, they were all saying in

the village that the earthquake had done a lot of damage in India.

In apposition: hamē mēlhk drust kaskuno, all those sheep have died; dā bāgh nanā drustanā e, this garden belongs to us all; tēnā siālāteto drustato nā pāraghāi barot, I'll probably come to you with all my relations.

Drust combines with  $d\bar{e}$ , day, and nan, night, to form compound words:  $d\bar{e}$ -drustaț $\bar{i}$  irā vār tēnā daghāre dīr torēnuț, twice in the whole day I've given my land water; nan-drust gorīch kashshāne, the Nor'west has been blowing the livelong night

- §160. Gir (ir, gih), all; the whole (especially used in Jhalawan).
- (1) Adjectival: gire Brāhūitā pīshkavāk murghun o, the locks of all Brahuis are long; ī gire dē kārēm-a kēva, I work the whole day; gire mashteāi shikār arē, there's sport on all the hills. The somewhat rare variant gih does not take on an incremental -e: gih makhlūk nā āvālān sahī 'e, all the world knows about you.

Attributive use:  $d\bar{a}$  kappī $\bar{a}$  iraghe mēmāne tifa, giņoas ēte-ta, don't give that broken loaf to the guest, give him a whole one;  $n\bar{i}$  ant-a chāsa, ki dā giṇangā kūcha nā maroe? what d'you think, that you've perhaps bought up the whole of this valley?

(2) Substantival: giṛ kasarān rad tammār, they all lost their way; giṛ khalās mass, the whole was finished; tā ki nēān-a marēk, giṛato nēkī ka, as far as in you lies, deal kindly with all; giṛe guḍḍa, fell them all down; giṛk-a chāra ki nī kanā maṭṭ affēs, one and all know you're not my equal.

In apposition: of k gir khāchāno, they're all asleep; Aaggīte gire līrānus? have you milked all the cows? kārēme

gire khalās karēt, I finished the whole work; sipāhīte-is giris zaghm arē, all the sepoys have swords.

#### §161. Tiva, tivai, all; the whole.

This pronoun is very similar to the four immediately preceding, but is used somewhat more laxly.

(1) Adjectival: kanā tīva fasle dīr loṛā, the flood carried off all my crop; nan tīvaī nikāne kuṭṭṭṭēnun, we've used up all our rations; tīva pāṭṭe pū kungune, the boring insect has eaten up all the wood; tīvaī mulkaṭī mulakh tammā, the locust fell upon the whole countryside. The quasi-adverbial use may be noted: o giṛā-as ki pāik tīvaī drogh e, all he says is merely lies; dā daghār tīva bei e, this field is all weeds.

Attributive use: tīvo nanas halma karēţ, maga maizile rasēngtavaţ, I posted a whole night but didn't reach the stage; tīvaghā dē murūtā randaţ chirrēngāţ, shikār dā batau, though I was the whole day after the hares, I got no sport; ī tēnā tīvaīā ḍaghāre zurrat dasēnuṭ, I've sown my whole field with juwāri. The definite attributive adjective may have a quasi-adverbial force like the simple adjective: nī tīvaghā droghaṭ kaneān sharāe kaṭṭiparos, you won't win the case against me by simply lying.

(2) Substantival:  $m\bar{e}lhte$  arāng karēs? tīvae bahā karēļ, where did you put your sheep? I sold them all;  $d\bar{a}$  hēļk tīvaēe kungur, these goats ate it all.

In apposition: ispēdāte tīvae guddingaṭī o, they are cutting down all the poplars; dā shahraṭī tīva-aṭī duzzāk tammāno, the thieves have fallen upon the whole village.

# §162 Bāz, many.

(1) Adjectival: ēnakho hullītā sailāi bāz bandagh bassuno, this year many people have come for the horseshow. Though this is the normal construction—the qualified

noun in the singular (§46), the governed verb in the plural. —the noun is occasionally found in the plural:  $b\bar{a}z$   $bandagh\bar{a}k$   $hajj\bar{a}i$   $hin\bar{a}no$ , many a man has gone on the pilgrimage. If the plural is employed, stress seems to be laid on the large number of separate individuals.

Attributive use: daro bāzo dostas nanā bāghaṭī muchch ass, there was many a friend assembled in our garden yesterday; aino haṛ-dēān bāzo shikāras karēnuṭ, I've had more sport to-day than usual; dā bāzangā lashkar ki dāṭē much manningaṭī e, arāngī mon-a kēk? in which direction will this large army now collecting here set its face? The definite adjective is used in general phrases and the like when an indefinite adjective might seem more appropriate (cf. §82): bāzangā lashkar arāngī ki mon karē, hamē mulke kāṭumaṭ harfik, a vast army will devastate whatever country it sets out toward (lit. will lift up by the head); bāzangā dīr faslaki juān aff, too much water is bad for the crop.

The abstract substantive bāzī may find a place here: machchiṭā dushmanto jang kanning aṛzān e, maga bāzīnā mone khudā tore, to fight with a handful of enemies is a small matter, but God may withstand the onset of a multitude.

(2) Substantival: kane bāz pāpa, ī nā kārēme tēna jwān-a kēva, don't waste words on me, I'll do your work all right of my own accord; bāzanā bashkh bāz e, the share of many is large; bandagh bāzato jwān e, khudā asiṭṭīaṭ zēbā e, company is good for man, God in his oneness is beautiful The plural is occasionally employed: bāzāk hullīteto dākā gidārēngār, bāzāk kharāsteto, several passed by here with horses, several with bullocks; dā ḍaghār bāzāte kungune o bāzātēki khan torēne, this earth has devoured many a man and has its eye set on many another.

In apposition:  $\bar{\imath}$  mēmānteto bāzato nā jahāi baroţ, I'll probably come to your place with the guests, a whole crowd of them;  $\bar{\imath}$  rupaīteāi bāzāi ode sāng-a titavaṭa, I wouldn't have betrothed her to him for hundreds of rupees.

# §163. Mānīd, a quantity of, a number of.

 $M\bar{a}n\bar{i}d$  is never used independently; it invariably follows the noun it qualifies as a kind of plural suffix. The noun remains in the nominative singular; the case-ending is attached to  $m\bar{a}n\bar{i}d$ , which is treated like an ordinary singular. The compound of noun and  $m\bar{a}n\bar{i}d$  is always qualified by an adjective or pronoun; when the compound is indefinite, as it commonly is, the indefinite article is attached to  $m\bar{a}n\bar{i}d$ 

Examples: Sēbīnā jalsa-aṭī ēnakho ballo sardār-mānīdas muchch e, there's a large assemblage of chiefs at the Sibi gathering this year; dākhadaro mēlh-mānīdas ki Marīnā mashaṭī e, pēntīn aff, there's nowhere such a number of sheep as on the Marri hills; Mungacharaṭī ēnakho dauno malakh-mānīdas tammā, mulke chaṭ karē, this year such a swarm of locusts fell upon Mungachar that they devastated the country; ballo drakht-mānīdaseān maiva hēsunuṭ, I've brought fruit off a large number of trees; dauno hal-mānīdas ki dā ḍaghāraṭī khanāṭ, pēn jāga khantanuṭ, I've not seen elsewhere such a swarm of mice as I saw in this field; hamē ballā harraf-mānīde ki nan khanān, dāsā hamē mashaṭī aff. that great herd of markhor we sighted, is on that hill no longer.

## §164. Buch, any at all.

Būch by itself means literally 'a straw,' 'rubbish': kanā urāṭī būchas illētano, kulle darēno, they've not left a straw (anglice, a stick) in my house, but have carried off everything; o daroān dāngī būchas bāṭī kattane, since yesterday not a morsel has passed his lips.

It is suffixed to the noun, which remains in the crude form. It is declined regularly in the singular; the indefinite article may be attached at pleasure, but the numeral adjective asi is never prefixed to the compound: ē dēaseān ki naukar massunus, giṛā-būchas much karēnus? from the day you entered service have you saved anything at all? kasaraṭ ki bassusa bandagḥ-būch khanās? as you were coming along the road did you see a single soul? kasaraṭ dushman-būchato mukābil matavaṭ, on the road I met with no enemy whatsoever; nē mār-būchas hum arē? kane tāiskā mār-būch matane, have you actually any sons at all? to this day not one has been born me.

## §165. Filāna (filānī), such and such, so and so.

- (1) Adjectival: filāna sardār ki darbāraţī numā rahāi tūs, pin-ta dēr ass? what was the name of such and such a chief who sat near you in the Durbar? kane pārēno ki filāna tāsīldār vaḍī halkune, I've been told that the Tahsildar you wot of has taken bribes.
- (2) Substantival: nē kanā pinaṭ dē pārē ki né filāna kirēng tissune? who told you about me that so and so had abused you? ī chāva ki kanā illanā malh Bāz Khānāstā pinaṭ nē sahī karēne ki filānaghāk gandao bandagh o, oftā urāṭī himpa, I know that my cousin, hinting definitely at Baz Khan and his folk, has given you to understand that so and so are bad lots, and that you shouldn't visit at their houses; dā filānaghāsk ki numā rahāi tūsura, arāng hināno? where have what d'you call him and his people gone, who used to live near you? In the last example the personal plural filānaghāsk (§30) will be noticed. The variant filānī, plural filānīk, is not uncommon: ī pāpara ki numēṭī filānī duzz e, maga num tēnaṭ pāsh kabo-ta, I won't say that such a one among you is the thief, do you rather produce him yourselyes. Another variant, used by hill Brahuis, is pilāna.

Here may be mentioned the compound filān-bāmān, in which the latter word is meaningless by itself. It is euphemistically used in cursing in combination with the third person plural, present indefinite or past, of kanning, to do: nā filān-bāmāne karēr ki pēndwār kanā jahāi vā barēs, by all that's unmentionable you'd better beware of coming to my place a second time; filān-bāmāne kēr, pānē kāe, for heaven's sake let him go to the dickens.

# §166. Pēn, other, another.

- (1) Adjectival: kane pēn urā aff, I've no other house: i orān khar uṭ ki kanā āvāle pēn bandaghāteto tissune, I'm annoyed with him for having told my news to other people; hane pēn hichasto kārēm aff, baghaire nā jindān, I've no concern with any one else but you yourself. This adjective finds a place in one or two adverbial compounds: e.g., pēntīn, elsewhere (§387), in which the last element has now lost its individual existence.
- (2) Substantival: bei girā-as ki ēsunus bass e, pēn bakār aff, what grass you've brought is sufficient, no more's wanted; pēnanā malh tēnā-a mafak, another man's son doesn't become one's own (one of many hits at relations by marriage); tēnānā nan pēnanā dē barēbar aff, a night at home is better than a day with strangers; pēne pēnaki ant-a marēk? what cares one for (the misfortune) of another? pēnāi itbār kappa, don't put your trust in another. The plural is both pēnk and pēnāk: nā hullīe ī dattanut, pēnk darēno-ta, I haven't taken your horse, others have; harkas ki tēnāfte illā, pēnāteto tammā, kharāb-a marēk, every one who leaves his kin and consorts with strangers will come to ruin.

In apposition: dauno shikāras ki kūcha-aṭī e, mashāī pĕnāī aff, there isn't such sport on the hill as there is in the valley: drakhtāteān pēnān maiva-būch duzzipēs, don't steal

any fruit from any other trees. The use of  $p\tilde{e}n$  in the former example recalls a familiar Greek idiom.

## §167. $\bar{E}lo$ , the other.

- (1) Adjectival: ēlo hullī kane bakār e, I want the other horse; ēlo mēmānk kul hināno, nī antei salīsunus? all the other guests have departed, so why have you remained? The initial vowel of the adjectival ēlo is frequently dropped in one or two adverbial compounds: e.g., losāl (ēlosāl), next year, lojār (ēlojār), again.
- (2) Substantival: the declension is on the model of the decieusion of the definite adjective in -īko (§90) and there is thus an optional form of the plural with an inserted -f-: ēlonā mālāi zor-a challipak, one man has no authority over the property of the other; dāde halpa, ēloe halh, don't seize this one, seize the other; ghallaghāk ē urāṭī affas, ēloṭa o, the grain isn't in that house but in the other; nā giṛāk dā huchchāi affas, ēloṛāit o, your things aren't on this camel but on the other; dā drakhtāk baram kattano, ēlok kul karēno, these trees haven't borne fruit yet, all the others have; tēnāfteān ēlofk juān affas, strangers are not better than one's own blood; kanā āvāle ēlote tifēs, please don't confide my news to the others; kane pāsa, ēlofte pāpēsa ku narribo, you tell me yet don't tell the others to run away.

In apposition: kaizīnā ēlonā hīte kappa, tēnāe pā. don't talk of the other prisoner, let's hear of yours; orān baghair sipāhīteān ēlofteān khula, beware of all the sepoys but him.

# §168. Asit, one, some one, a certain one.

The substantival form of the first numeral (§96) is used as a substantival indefinite pronoun: asiţ kane pārē ki pagga pir-a kēk, some one told me it would rain to-morrow; ī kasarāi asiţto mukābil massuţ, latţas dūţī-ta ass, I met a man on the road with a stick in his hand. The indefinite article may be attached: nanā hullīe asiţţas ısto malāne

darēne, somebody has untied our horse last night and carried it off.

# §169. Asit ēlo (asi ēlo), one another, each other.

This combination constitutes the reciprocal pronouns: bīshk asiṭ ēloe khārēfira, the donkeys scratch one another; da hallīk asi ēlorto jang-a kēra, these horses fight with one another; o harvakht asiṭ ēlonā urāghāi kāra barēra, they are always exchanging visits at each other's houses.

# §170. Tomā. tomakā, tomaghā, both.

- (1) Adjectival: the qualified noun is in the plural:  $n\bar{a}$  tomā hullīte kasaraṭ khanāṭ ki dudēngāra, I saw both your horses on the road galloping;  $\bar{\imath}$  tēnā tomakā urāte bērifēnuṭ, I've thatched both my houses; tomaghā māk-ta narrāno, both his sons have run away.
- (2) Substantival: the pronouns are always pluralised: ara chuk khanāt, tomāte asi tūfakat khalkut, I saw two birds and brought down both with one shot; sarkār tomakāte kaiz karē. Government imprisoned both

In apposition:  $kan\bar{a}$   $\bar{a}v\bar{a}le$   $t\bar{e}n\bar{a}$   $\bar{i}lumteto$   $tomagh\bar{a}teto$   $p\bar{a}s$ , you may tell my news to both of your brothers.

# §171. Kas, kasas, some one; (with negative) no one.

This pronoun is substantival only. A difference in force between the two forms kas and kasas is hardly perceptible; the latter is perhaps the more common of the two. The declension of kas is regular. The declension of kasas, which presumably contains the indefinite article, is two-fold, it may be declined either like kas, or like the indefinite article (§71). Both kas and kasas are used in the singular only.

(1) Affirmative use: kane kas pārē ki num ēnakho Kuchchīāi kāre, some one told me you're going to Kachhi this year; dārē kasas arē? is there any one here? kasasto ku sarān jwānī karēnus, hamorto ākhiriskā jwānī ka, a

man you've treated well from the beginning, treat him well to the end.

(2) Negative use: kas pātau ki o dārē bassune, no one said he had come here; kanto pēn kasas aff, there's no one else with me; hurkas tēnā kassato jwān e, khudā bēkass kasase kapp, everybody is bappy with his relatives, may God make no one bereft of relatives (kass, relative); kane kasasto kārēm aff, I've no concern with any one: kasasēto chikār topa, don't meddle with anybody.

## §172. Har, every, each.

Adjectival only: har māre girā-as tiss, he gave each lad something; har hullīnā likhaṭā pullas tafē, on the neck of each horse he tied a flower. When har qualifies the antecedent of a relative clause, the indefinite article is attached to the noun as usual (§427): har bandaghas ki drogh-a pāik, mon-ta maun e, every liar's face is black; Bolānaṭ ki kāsa, har sardāras ki khanās, chōs ki Sarāvānnā e. every chief you see as you go along the Bolan, you may put down as belonging to Sarawau; har hītas ki ī nē-a pāva, khaf to-ta, give heed to every word I tell you.

This pronoun helps to form several adverbial compounds; before a dental -r may turn to -r (§16): harvakht, always, hardē, hardē, everyday, hartū, hartū, every month. It combines freely with other indefinite pronouns, as in the examples that follow.

# §173. Harkas, every one, everybody.

Substantival only: harkas tēnā jāgaghāi hinā. every one went to his own place. As the antecedent of a relative clause, it regularly takes on the indefinite article: harkasas hi duzzī harē, ī kaiz-a kēva-ta, I'll imprison every man who commits theft; harkasas ki must bass, panch rupaī inām-a halēk, every one who comes in first will get five rupees reward.

## §174. Harastt, every one, everybody.

Substantival only: dā mosumaṭī harasiṭ langār-a kēk, everybody ploughs at this season; harasiṭnā-tā dūṭī khatanā laṭṭas ass, there was an olive stick in the hand of each one of them.

This pronoun is not to be confused with harāsiṭ? the aspirated form of arāsiṭ? which one? (§143): harasiṭ kaṭṭā, each one won; harāsiṭ kaṭṭā? which one won?

# §175, Hartomā, hartomakā, hartomaghā, both.

- (1) Adjectival: hartomā māk hināno, both the lads have gone; hartomakā masink hoghār, the two girls wept; hartomaghā chukkāte yala karē, he let both the birds go.
- (2) Substantival: hartomāk babo. come both of you; hartomakāte khanāţ, I saw both; hartomaghātelo rāhī mass, he set out with both of them.

As is usual before a dental the -r- may be displaced by r-: hartomā, hartomakā, hartomaghā.

# §176. Hargirā (harirā), everything.

Substantival only: nā hargirā jwān e, everything of yours is excellent; hargirā khwāhiva, nī kane tining-a kēsu? I want everything, can you give it me? hargirā-as nē bakār e, kane pā, toll me everything you want.

# §177. Harchi, any, whatever; everything.

Harchi is most commonly used as the antecedent of a relative sentence. As an adjective it refers generally, and as a substantive exclusively, to irrational objects. The substantive is declined regularly throughout the singular. Variants like harchiato, harchito in the conjunctive indicate indecision as to whether it should be treated as a word of two syllables or one, i.e., as harchi or as har-chi (cf. §36a).

(1) Adjectival: harchi kārēmasēnā nī pās, ī kēva-ta, mention any work, I'll do it; harchi mēlhas ki nī kane ētis, ī

halēva, I'll take any sheep you give me; harchi bandagh ki dārē assur, kul hināno, whatever people were here, they've all left.

(2) Substantival: harchi ki pāsa, pā, whatever you have to say, say; kanā mār horchiaṭī ustād e, my son is splendid at anything; harchiān ki shakk-a kappēsa, tēnat handun marēsa, if you don't scrutinise everything, of course you'll get like this; nī harchito (harchiato) kārēm-a torisa, you meddle with everything.

## §178. Hich (with negative), no (adjective); nothing.

Hich is properly confined to negative sentences, though when it is used as an attributive adjective or adverbially the negative is occasionally omitted. It is both an adjective and a substantive. As an adjective it is applicable to animate and inanimate objects alike, as a substantive to the latter only, except in the special form hichas.

(1) Adjectival: the qualified noun remains in the singular; the addition of the indefinite article to the noun accentuates the singular number: dārē must hich shikār matane, there's been no sport here before; dā shahraṭī kane hich dushman aff, I've we enemy in this village; hich hullīas daun dudēngparoe, ki kanā hullī dudēngik, no horse in the world will run as mine does; kane hich dauno dostas aff ki num ure, I've not a single friend like you. As will be seen in the following paragraphs the adjectival hich combines freely with other indefinite pronouns.

Attributive use: o hichcho bandaghos e (aff), he's a good for nothing fellow; o hichchanyā daghārān nê khudā éte, God give you some other than this worthless land.

(2) Substantival: kanto hicheh aff, I've nothing with me; kaneān hichehanā harrij'tau, he didn't ask me about anything; khudāghān baghair i hichehān khulīpara, save God I fear nothing. The adverbial force of the ablative coupled

with  $-b\bar{a}$  ( $-b\bar{a}r$ ), like (§380), is worth noting:  $d\bar{a}$  chiţţe hichchām-bā kishkāţ, I broke this rope in a trice (lit. like nothing);  $\bar{\imath}$  nē hichchām-bār-a khalēva, I'll thrash you like anything. The indefinite article is occasionally attached:  $d\bar{a}r\bar{e}$  hichchas aff, there's nothing here.

Hichas, no one, nobody, which is not to be confused with hichchas, nothing, illustrated in the last example, is of course a substantive only: dāṇē hichas batune, no one has come here; hichas pātau ki o nājor massune, nobody said he had fallen ill; kane hichasnā parvā aff, o hichase kanā parvā aff, I care for nobody and nobody cares for me. It may be declined like the indefinite article: î hichasēnā urāṭī pēhitavaṭ, I entered no one's house.

§179. Hichkas, hichkasas (with negative), no one, nebody.

These are used in exactly the same way as kas, kasas in negative sentences (§171): nanā huchchīāk bassuno, numāteān hichkas batane, our camel-drivers have come in, but not a single one of yours; ofteān hichkasas khantavat, I didn't see one of them. They are slightly more emphatic than the simple forms kas, kasas.

# §180. Hichirā, hichgirā (with negative), no; nothing.

- (1) Adjectival:  $\bar{\imath}$   $\bar{e}na\underline{k}ho$  hichir $\bar{a}$   $\underline{k}holum$  bahā kattanut, I've sold no wheat this year. The indefinite article may be attached for emphasis:  $\bar{\imath}$   $n\bar{e}\bar{a}n$  hichir $\bar{a}$ -us  $m\bar{a}l$  dattanut, I've taken no property from you at all.
- (2) Substantival: nī hichirā tippēsa, you understand nothing; o pēn hichirā-as pātane, he has said not a word else. It may be used in a general way of rational objects as in English: ērē ki hināṭ sardāteān hichirā khantavaṭ, kul hināno, when I got there; I saw nothing of the chiefs, they've all gone.

# §181. Dirse, any one; (with negative) no one.

This pronoun is regarded as old-fashioned, and is indeed almost obsolete, its place being taken by kas, kasas, which it resembles in meaning and use.

- (1) Affirmative use: dā duzz ki dākā narrā, dirse khanā-ta? did any one see the thief that ran by here dirsenā bāva ki sakhī massune, mār-ta zarūr sakhī-a marēk, any one who is the son of a generous father is sure to be generous himself.
- (2) Negative use: dirse pāp kì î onā dushman uṭ, no one may say I'm his enemy; dirseāi ki kanā gumān ass, dāṛē aff, the one on whom my suspicion rested is not here. The indefinite article is occasionally attached: dauno kārēmas kēv ītonā, ki dirseas pāp ki nī hamē bandagh us, I'd do such a thing to you that no one'd recognise you as the same man.

# §182. Dauno, daunangā, such as this; ohuno, ohunā, such; ēhuno, ēhunā, such as that; amaro? amarā? what kind?

These attributive adjectives formed from demonstrative and interrogative adverbs (§388) seem to deserve a place among the indefinite pronouns. There are several variants: duno, daunā, ohunangā and so on. The choice between the definite and indefinite forms depends of course on the definiteness or the reverse of the compound expression of which they form a part, but there is often little practical difference of meaning between the two. It will be remembered that the definite form is always used with a pluralised noun (§32). In the case of the demonstratives the intensive forms handuno, etc., are not common.

Examples: kanto dauno kārēmas karē, ki hūkam prīshto kapp, he treated me in a way a pig wouldn't treat a millet

crop: dauno hīt kane pāpa, don't tell me such stuff; ohuno hullīas ki nā e, kanā bazghatteto bāz arē, my labourers have plenty of horses like that crock of yours; dā amaro urā-as e ki nī tafēnus-ta? what sort of hut is this that you've built? nī kane daunā sakhtīnā vakhtāi ki kārēm batavēs, pēn chivakht kane kārēm-a barēsa? if you don't come to my aid in such an hour of stress as this, when will you ever help me ' tēnā dēe ēhunangā kārēmtēļī gidārēfpa, don't waste your day over that sort of work; ohunangā siālān ki nā e. maf, jwān e, it's better to have no relations at all than the kind yours are; nā guzrān amarangā bandaghāteton e? with what sort of men do you consort? The definite adjective may of course be used substantivally: amarangāte kirēng-a ētisu? what sort of men are you abusing?

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#### THE VERB.

§183. The root of the simple verb is normally monosyllabic, the few exceptions being supplied for the most part by loan-words. The conjugation is agglutinative in structure and surprisingly uniform, for transitives and intransitives, passives, neuters and causals are conjugated on practically identical lines. There is, moreover, an organic negative conjugation which is one and the same for every class of verb. But apart from the inevitable irregular verbs there is considerable variety within this uniformity, notably in the personal terminations or the terminations used as such, which are not consistently the same throughout, and in the formation of the past stem of the affirmative verb. The various tenses, moreover, show interesting signs of belonging to different stages of development.

# The Formation of the Affirmative Verb.

§184. The order selected in the following analysis of the formation of the various parts of the affirmative verb has been dictated by several considerations, arising from a review of the verb as a whole in all its developments. is hardly logical, but it has its compensating advantages. The infinitive owes its prominent position more to the usus loquendi of conventional grammar than to its intrinsic importance; yet it serves at the same time to introduce the two tenses of the substantive verb which figure largely in the formation of the conjugation, while a full treatment of the substantive verb itself is more conveniently deferred Again, the imperative singular presents on the whole the simple base more adequately than the presents or any other part of the verb, and alone supplies the key to one of the main irregularities in the negative conjugation. The various participles are conveniently, if illogically, wedged in between the past conditional and the past stem, for none of them are based on the latter, while two are closely related to the former.

#### The Infinitive.

- §185. The infinitive is a verbal noun ending in -ing, and is declined regularly throughout the singular. In the large majority of cases it is formed by adding the termination directly to the base: bin-ing, to hear; bin-ing, to pick out; kun-ing, to eat; tikh-ing, to place; narr-ing, to flee. final consonant of the base is very occasionally doubled in the infinitive: hall-ing, base hal-, to seize; khall-ing, base khal-, to strike; barr-ing, base bar-, to become dry. In khuling, khulīng, to fear, saling, salīng, to stand, the infinitive termination seems to waver between -ing and -ing, but the bases of these verbs are really two-fold: khul-, khuli-, sal-, sali-, as appears elsewhere in the conjugation. In a special class of verbs, called neuter verbs (§276), the infinitive seems sometimes to end in -eng: raseng, to arrive, areng, to be entangled; but such forms are simply abbreviated for rasēnging, aŗēnging.
- §186. There is an important group of verbs whose infinitive docked of the termination -ing ends in -n, single or double, and in whose conjugation—the passive, cf. §273, only excepted—the consonant n does not figure This group includes some of the commonest and most irregular verbs in the language, e.g., manning, to become (§256), banning, to come (§257), kanning, to do (§258), danning, to take away (§259), pāning, to say, toning, to hold. The true nature of the base in such verbs is best indicated by their imperative singular (§191). The imperative singular is two-fold; the one form is the same as the base as it appears in the infinitive with the omission of the abnormal nasal. while the second form differs from the first only in that it contains a firal r: e.g., danning, imperative singular da, dar; manning, imperative singular ma, mar. Curiously enough, we are debarred by the rest of the conjugation from

regarding either form as the true base to the exclusion of the Thus in the case of danning the presents are founded on the base da-, yet the whole of the negative conjugation is to be referred to the base dur-; in manning we have the exact converse; the presents are founded on the base mar-, while the whole of the negative conjugation is to be referred to the base mu-. The explanation of the curious infinitives seems to be that they are formed from the base in -r, the change to -n being induced by the attraction of the nasal in the infinitive termination. This group of verbs may be styled for brevity's sake, but admittedly loosely, 'the verbs in -n'. Other verbs which belong in a greater or lesser degree to the group are anning, to be (§248), tining, to give (§260), chaning (more commonly chaing), to understand (§261), hunning (but also huring), to look (§262), hatining (hating, etc.), to bring (§263). But unless otherwise specified the subsequent remarks on the verbs in -n will apply to those enumerated in the earlier part of this paragraph only.

## The Present and Past Tenses of the Substantive Verb.

§187. The locative of the infinitive noun coupled with the finite tenses of the substantive verb forms a convenient periphrasis which serves to supply the place of what may be termed the tenses of actuality. The present and past of the substantive verb are as follows:—

#### Present.

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Singular.	Plural.
1. <i>ī uţ</i> , I am.	1. nan un, we are.
2. nī us.	2. num ure.
3. od e.	3. $ofk$ o, $(ur)$ .
	Past.
1. $\bar{\imath}$ assut, I was.	1. nan assun, we were.
2. nī assus.	2. num assure.
3. o ass, (assas).	3. of $k$ assur, (asso).

It will be noticed that the past is based on the present. The alternative forms in the third persons are important as they reappear in the conjugation of the ordinary verb. An instance of this is to hand in the past of the substantive verb itself: the form assur is explained by reference to the secondary form ur in the present, which is regularly employed by certain tribes, the Zahris for instance, instead of the ordinary o. The form assas is properly a pluperfect. These tenses will receive further comment when the substantive verb is dealt with as a whole (§248 seq.).

#### The Tenses of Actuality.

§188. The so-called tenses of actuality are therefore of the form  $\bar{\imath}$  tikhingat $\bar{\imath}$  ut. I am in (the act of) placing,  $\bar{\imath}$  tikhingat $\bar{\imath}$  assut, I was actually placing. It will be sufficient to include the present only in the paradigm, to which these phrases hardly belong at all. For the tenses in which the substantive verb is defective, recourse is had to the auxiliary manning, to become (§256):  $\bar{\imath}$  tikhingat $\bar{\imath}$  massunut, I have been placing.

## The Imperative Singular.

- §189. The various methods of forming the second person singular of the imperative from the base may be reduced to three:—
- §190. (1) The commonest form of the imperative singular is identical with the simple base:—

Infinitive.		Imperative singular.	
bining,	to hear;	bin.	
bising,	to bake;	bis.	
kuning,	to eat;	kun.	
tikhing,	to place;	$ti\underline{k}\underline{h}.$	
rasēnging	, to arrive;	rasēng.	

Especially remarkable are the imperatives singular of the verbs tūling, to sit, halling, to seize, khalling, to strike, which are formed by changing the lingual of the base to the aspirated cerebral <u>lh</u>: tūlh, halh, khalh. The case of shāghing, to pour, which besides the regular imperative shāgh, forms another, shā, by dropping the ghain of the base, is noteworthy; a somewhat less common example of the same kind is ho, hogh from hoghing, to weep.

§191. The imperatives singular of the so-called verbs in -n (§186) are formed after this method, but constitute a special subdivision by themselves. Each has two forms, corresponding to the two forms of the base:—

Infinitive.		Imperative singular	
manning,	to become;	ma, mar.	
banning,	to come;	ba, bar.	
kanning,	to do;	ka, kar.	
danning,	to take away;	da, dar.	
pāning,	to say;	pā, pār.	
toning,	to hold;	to, tor.	

- §192. The verbs in all the subdivisions of this group form a strengthened imperative singular by suffixing -ak: binak, bisak, kunak, tikhak, rasēngak, tūlhak, halhak, khalhak, marak, barak, karak, darak, pārak, torak; it will be noticed that in the case of the verbs in -n the suffix is added to the secondary imperative. Although the suffix tends to impart emphasis, the choice between the strengthened and unstrengthened forms depends as a rule not so much on emphasis as on euphony.
- §193. (2) A large number of verbs, including more especially those whose bases end in a doubled consonant or

in concurrent consonants, form their imperative singular by suffixing a final -a to the base:—

Infinitive.	
become dry;	$bar{a}ra.$
hide;	dakka.
flee;	narra.
spin;	tara.
hang;	tanga.
leave;	illa.
	ve. become dry; hide; flee; spin; hang; leave;

§194. (3) The imperative singular of a few verbs is formed by suffixing -e to the base:—

Infinitive.		Imperative singular.	
khuling,	to fear;	<u>kh</u> ule.	
saling,	to stand;	sale.	
silling,	to wash;	sille.	
$p\check{a}ling.$	to become wet	pāle.	
(tining),	to give;	ěte.	
illing,	to leave;	ille.	

The infinitive tining and the imperative singular ēte seem to be derived from different roots; the verb is indeed one of the most irregular in the language (§260). The imperatives khulī, salī, do not belong to this group; they are derived directly from the bases of khulī-ng, salī-ng according to the first method, just as the somewhat less common forms khul, sal are derived directly from khul-ing, sal-ing. And much the same appears to be the case with allē, yet a third form besides illa, ille of the imperative singular of illing, to leave. Though the long vowel does not appear in the infinitive, it is preserved, as in the case of khulī-, salī-, in the presents, the adverbial participle and throughout the negative conjugation. In other words, the long final vowel in all three appears to be an integral part

Especially remarkable are the imperatives singular of the verbs  $t\bar{u}ling$ , to sit, halling, to seize,  $\underline{khalling}$ , to strike, which are formed by changing the lingual of the base to the aspirated cerebral  $\underline{lh}: t\bar{u}\underline{lh}, ha\underline{lh}, \underline{khalh}$ . The case of  $sh\bar{a}\underline{gh}ing$ , to pour, which besides the regular imperative  $sh\bar{a}\underline{gh}$ , forms another,  $sh\bar{a}$ , by dropping the  $\underline{ghain}$  of the base, is noteworthy; a somewhat less common example of the same kind is ho,  $ho\underline{gh}$  from  $ho\underline{ghing}$ , to weep.

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Infinitive.		Imperative singular	
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banning,	to come;	ba, bar.	
kanning,	to do;	ka, kar.	
danning,	to take away;	da, $dar$ .	
pāning,	to say;	$par{a},\;par{a}r.$	
toning,	to hold;	to, tor.	

§192. The verbs in all the subdivisions of this group form a strengthened imperative singular by suffixing -ak: binak, bisak, kunak, tikhak, rasēngak, tūlhak, halhak, khalhak, marak, barak, karak, darak, pārak, torak; it will be noticed that in the case of the verbs in -n the suffix is added to the secondary imperative. Although the suffix tends to impart emphasis, the choice between the strengthened and unstrengthened forms depends as a rule not so much on emphasis as on euphony.

§193. (2) A large number of verbs, including more especially those whose bases end in a doubled consonant or

in concurrent consonants, form their imperative singular by suffixing a final -a to the base:—

Infinitive.		Imperative singula	
bār <b>r</b> ing,	to	become dry;	$b  ilde{a} r a$ .
dakking,	$\mathbf{to}$	hide;	dakka.
narring,	$\mathbf{to}$	flee;	narra.
taring,	to	spin;	tara.
tanying,	$ ext{to}$	hang;	tanga.
illing,	$_{ m to}$	leave;	illa.

§194. (3) The imperative singular of a few verbs is formed by suffixing -e to the base:—

Infinitive.		Imperative singular.
khuling, to	fear;	$\underline{kh}ule.$
saling, to	stand;	sale.
silling, to	wash;	- $sille.$
pāling, to	become wet	pāle.
(tining), to	give;	$ar{e}te$ .
illing, to	leave;	ille.

The infinitive tining and the imperative singular ēte seem to be derived from different roots; the verb is indeed one of the most irregular in the language (§260). The imperatives khulī, salī, do not belong to this group; they are derived directly from the bases of khulī-ng, salī-ng according to the first method, just as the somewhat less common forms khul, sal are derived directly from khul-ing, sal-ing. And much the same appears to be the case with illē, yet a third form besides illa, ille of the imperative singular of illing, to leave. Though the long vowel does not appear in the infinitive, it is preserved, as in the case of khulī-, salī-, in the presents, the adverbial participle and throughout the negative conjugation. In other words, the long final vowel in all three appears to be an integral part

of a secondary base. On the other hand, though sillē, pāle sometimes displace the regular forms sille, pāle, the long vowel does not maintain its place elsewhere in the conjugation, not even in the imperative plural, and its occasional appearance in the imperative singular is clearly abnormal.

§195. These three methods of forming the imperative singular are not necessarily mutually exclusive. In a large number of verbs the imperative singular conforms indifferently to either of the first two types: daling, to gnaw, imperative singular dal or dala; hamping, to load, hamp or hampa; khoshking, to rub. khoshk or khoshka. Moreover nearly all the verbs which form their imperative singular after the third method have an optional form in -a: ille, illa; pāle, pāla. Indeed, all three methods are combined in the case of khuling, saling, silling: khul (khulī from khulīng). khula, khule; sal (salī from salīng), sala, sale; sil, silla, sille (sillē).

#### The Imperative Plural.

- §196. The second person plural of the imperative is formed by attaching the termination -bo to the imperative singular, which may become subject to slight phonetic modification.
- §197. If the imperative singular is identical with the base, the termination on being attached gives rise as a rule to no modification: bis, bisbo; tikh, tikhbo. If the base ends in -n, there is a natural change of n to m before the labial of the termination: bin, bimbo; kun, kumbo. In the case of passives and neuters of the type rasēnging, the termination may be either added directly: tikhing, be thou placed, tikhingbo; rasēng, rasēngbo; or the g of the base may be dropped and the n changed in consequence to m: tikhimbo, rasēmbo. The three verbs which adopt a cerebral th in the imperative singular, revert to the radical

lingual in the imperative plural:  $t\bar{u}\underline{l}h$ ,  $t\bar{u}lbo$ ;  $ha\underline{l}h$ , halbo;  $\underline{k}ha\underline{l}h$ ,  $\underline{k}halbo$ . Corresponding to the alternative forms of the imperatives singular  $sh\bar{a}\underline{u}h$ ,  $sh\bar{a}$ ,  $ho\underline{g}h$ , ho, there are alternative forms in the plural,  $sh\bar{a}\underline{u}hb\bar{o}$ ,  $sh\bar{a}bo$ ,  $ho\underline{g}hbo$ , hobo.

- §198. In the case of the verbs in  $\cdot n$  the termination is in all cases attached to the short form of the imperative singular: ma, mabo; ba, babo; ka, kabo; da, dabo;  $p\bar{a}$ ,  $p\bar{a}bo$ ; to, tobo. The imperatives hur, hubbo from hunning, to look, which appears indeed also as huring (§262), are not really analogous. There is no other form of the imperative singular besides hur; the imperative plural hubbo is formed from hur with the phonetic change of r-b to bb.
- §199. If a final -a or -e is added to the base in the imperative singular, the vowel changes to -i- before the plural termination: bāra, bāribo; dakka. dakkibo; narra, narribo; khule, khulibo; sale, salibo; ēte, ēlibo. An a-sound is, however, occasionally retained: bārabo, narrabo, dakkabo. Though the included vowel does not appear again in the affirmative conjugation, it obtains throughout the negative.
- §200. If the base, and consequently the imperative singular, end in -ē or -ī, the long vowel is of course maintained in the imperative plural: illē, illēbo; khulī, khulībo; salī, salībo. It is indeed maintained throughout the conjugation. On the other hand, there are no forms in the imperative plural corresponding to the anomalous imperatives singular sillē, pālē, and the long final vowel is clearly not radical (cf. §194 fin.)
- §201. It follows that if there are alternative forms of the imperative singular, there may be alternative forms in the plural also: dal, dala: dalbo, dalibo; hamp, hampa: hampbo, hampibo; khoshk, khoshka: khoshkbo, khoshkibo; khul, khula, khule, khulī: khulbo, khulibo, khulībo; sal, sala, sale, sali: salbo, salībo, salībo.

#### The Present Indefinite.

§202. The present indefinite is formed from the base by adding the following terminations:—

Singular.		Plural.	
1.	-iv.	1.	-in
2.	-is.	2.	-ire.
3,	-e.	3.	·ir.

Thus: biniv, I may hear; bisis, thou mayst bake; tikhe, he may place; bārin, we may become dry; ētire, you may give; sillir, they may wash. A long final -ē or -ī of the base naturally ousts the short vowel of the termination: illēv, I may leave; khulīs, you may fear; salī, he may stand. It follows that there may be alternative forms of the present indefinite corresponding to alternative forms of the base: illiv, illēv; khulīv, khulīv; salīv, salīv. In chāv, the ordinary present indefinite from chā-ing (rarely chāning), to understand, the vowel of the termination is dropped; it is, however, sometimes retained, chā-iv (chāiv).

§203. In a few cases the accent is diverted from the base to the terminations, the vowel of which becomes long in consequence:—

Singular.	Plurai.
$\mathbf{L}_{\cdot}$ $-\tilde{e}v_{\cdot}$	1ēn.
2és.	2. <i>-êre</i> .
3ē.	3. $-\tilde{e}_{r'}$ .

Thus: kunër, I may eat; kahës, thou mayst die; hatë (hatarë), he may bring; khalën. we may strike; halëre, you may seize.

§204. The verbs in -n here fall into two groups. In the one, composed of danning, to take away. kanning, to do, pāning, to say the present indefinite is formed from the short base: dev. kev, pāv (contracted from da-ev, ka-ev,

 $p\bar{a}$ -iv, the base in the first two being unaccented). The third persons singular are  $d\bar{c}$  (for da- $\bar{e}$ ),  $k\bar{e}$  (for ka- $\bar{e}$ ) and  $p\bar{a}$ -e. Analogous are  $t\bar{e}v$ , from tining, to give, a dialectical variant used by the more wild Brahuis for the ordinary form  $\bar{e}tiv$ , and also  $ch\bar{a}v$  from  $ch\bar{a}ning$  (but more usually  $ch\bar{a}$ -ing), which appeared in the last paragraph but one.

In the second group, composed of banning, to come, manning, to become, toning, to hold, the present indefinite is formed from the strengthened base in -r: barēv, marēv, toriv, the accent falling on the base in the last, and on the termination in the other two. Somewhat analogous are huriv, from hunning, to look, which also appears, however, as huring, and hatarēv, from hatining (but also hataring), to bring, which was cited in the foregoing paragraph.

§205. In the case of hining, to go (§264), the present indefinite is derived from a different root from that of the infinitive or the imperatives hin, himbo:  $k\bar{o}v$ ,  $k\bar{a}s$ ,  $k\bar{a}$ -e. With the obvious exception of the present-future the remaining parts of the verb are based on the same root as the imperative.

#### The Present-Future.

§206. The present-future is formed from the present indefinite by suffixing -a. This statement requires slight modification. The second person plural is left unaltered—the addition of -a would tend to make it clash with the third person plural; the termination of the third person singular is -k without the addition of -a, while except when the root is unaccented the included vowel has a distinct 1-sound. The terminations are therefore as follows:—

Singular.		Plural.	
1.	-iva.	1.	$-in\alpha$ .
2.	-1811 <sub>4</sub>	2.	-ire.
3.	-ik.	3	-21.76

Thus: biniva, I hear, I will hear; bisisa, thou bakest, thou wilt bake; tikhik, he places, he will place. The present-future follows exactly the same lines as the present indefinite: illiva, illēva; khuliva, khulīva; dēva, dēsa, dēk; pāva, pāsa, pā-ik (pāik); kāva, kāsa, kā-ik (kāik).

#### The Probable Future.

§207. The probable future is formed from the base by suffixing -o- and adding the present of the substantive verb (§187), the initial vowel of which is elided except in the third person singular; the third person plural is based on the full form ur, not on o. The terminations are therefore as follows:—

Singular.		Plural.	
1.	-oţ.	1.	-on.
2.	-08.	2.	-ore.
3.	-oe.	3.	·or.

This tense is exceptionally regular: binot, I will (probably) hear; bisos, thou wilt (probably) bake; tikhoe, he will (probably) place. The only material irregularity lies in the fact that a final radical  $-\tilde{e}$  or  $-\tilde{\imath}$  in the base is elided : illot, khulot, salot. In the case of verbs in -n the tense is formed from the strengthened base in -r: darot, karot, pārot. barot, marot, torot; similarly hurot, hatarot, but chā-ot. Tining, to give, is an interesting member of this group of verbs in -n: the imperative ēte, the presents ētiv, ētiva, and the probable future ētoţ, cannot seemingly be referred to the same root — or at any rate to the same form of the root—as the infinitive tining. The base of the infinitive reasserts itself, however, in the somewhat rare dialectical variants of the presents, tēv, tēva, and in the most common form of the probable future, tirot, as well as in the past stem and throughout the negative conjugation. In Jhalawan, it may be noted, the regular form of the probable future is chot.

Significant light is thrown on tining by the compound verb hatining, etc., to bring (§263), in which it is unmistakably contained.

#### The Past Conditional.

§208. In form this tense, which also serves as a past optative, is the past of the probable future. It is formed from the base by suffixing -o- and adding the past of the substantive verb (§187), the initial vowel of which is elided. It should be noted that assut, assus, etc., when used in the formation of tenses contain only one s. The terminations are therefore as follows:—

Singular.		<b>P</b> 1	Plural,	
1.	-osuț.	1	osun.	
2.	-osus.	2	osure.	
3.	-0sas.	3	osur (-080).	

Thus: binosut, had I heard, I would have heard, would that I had heard; illosut, had I left; khulosut, had I feared; karosut, had I done; ētosut, tirosut, Jhalawan chosut, had I given. The third person plural regularly ends in -osur, but the form -oso is also employed occasionally.

§209. The tense is sometimes compounded with the pluperfect instead of the past of the substantive verb (§252), though in this form it is too cumbrous for general use. The formation is chiefly remarkable as affording an example of the harmonic sequence of vowels (§13); thus instead of binosasut we have as a rule binosusut, by the attraction of the final vowel; on the other hand the original vowel sound is of course maintained in the third person singular, binosasas, as it happens to be the same as that of the final syllable.

# The Present Adverbial Participle.

§210. The present adverbial participle (like the present adjectival participle and the noun of obligation, *infra*) is

also founded on the simple base. It is formed by suffixing -isa: binisa, hearing; bisisa, baking; tikhisa, placing. A final radical -ē or -ī is maintained, and there may thus be two forms of the participle: illēsa, illisa, leaving; khulisa, khulisa, fearing; sulīsa, salisa, standing. The participle in the case of the verbs in -n is formed from the strengthened base in -r: karisa, doing; pārisa, saying; barisa, coming; similarly tirisa, giving; but chā-isa, understanding.

§211. Instead of -isa we sometimes find -isa-at, which can hardly be anything but an instrumental though the participle being purely adverbial is not otherwise declinable, and also -isau, which appears to contain the conjunction o, 'and' (§433), in spite of the fact that the use of a conjunction to couple the participle to the finite verb seems illogical. These secondary terminations are attached in exactly the same way as -isa, from which they do not differ in force: binisa-at, binisau; illēsa-at, illēsau, illisau; karisa-at, karisau.

#### The Present Adjectival Participle.

§212. The present adjectival participle, or relative participle as it might be termed, is formed by suffixing -ok to the base: binok, hearing, one who hears: bisok, one who bakes. As in the similar case of the probable future and the past conditional a radical -ē or -ī is elided: illok, one who leaves; khulok, one who fears; salok, one who stands. In the case of the verbs in -n the participle is formed from the base in -r: karok, one who does; pārok, one who says. From tining there are three forms: tirok, ētok, with chok in the Jhalawan dialect, one who gives.

This verbal adjective, which may also have a passive significance (§275), takes on the ordinary definite and indefinite endings (§83 seq.) when used attributively.

## The Noun of Obligation.1

§213. The noun of obligation is formed by suffixing  $\cdot o\tilde{i}$  to the base: bino $\tilde{i}$ , obliged to hear, obligation to hear, intending to hear, intention of hearing: biso $\tilde{i}$ , obliged to bake; illo $\tilde{i}$ , obliged to leave; <u>bhulo</u> $\tilde{i}$ , obliged to fear; salo $\tilde{i}$ , obliged to stand. In the case of the verbs in  $\cdot n$  it is formed from the base in  $\cdot r$ : karo $\tilde{i}$ , obliged to do; pāro $\tilde{i}$ , obliged to say. There are three forms from tining: tiro $\tilde{i}$ , the commonest of the three, ēto $\tilde{i}$ , with the Jhalawan cho $\tilde{i}$ , obliged to give.

This formation, which in the case of transitives has also a passive significance (§275), takes on the ordinary definite and indefinite endings (§83 seq.) when used as an attributive adjective.

#### The Past Stem.

- §214. The past, the imperfect, the pluperfect and the perfect are based on what may be termed the past stem. The past stem, which happens to be the same in form as the third person singular of the past, must not be regarded as an active past participle, of which the language is devoid. It is formed from the base by the addition of  $-\bar{a}$ ,  $-\bar{e}$ , or a consonant.
- §215. (1) The past stem of by far the largest number of verbs, including all passives, is formed by suffixing  $-\tilde{a}$  to the base. It is noteworthy that this is practically the invariable method of forming the past stem of new

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The designation 'noun of obligation' is not particularly happy, but it is hard to find one exactly to the point. The term 'gerund,' which naturally suggests itself, is apt to be misleading, and fails to cover sufficient range.

also founded on the simple base. It is formed by suffixing -isa: binisa, hearing; bisisa, baking; tikhisa, placing. A final radical -ē or -ī is maintained, and there may thus be two forms of the participle: illēsa, illisa, leaving; khulīsa, khulīsa, fearing; salīsa, salisa, standing. The participle in the case of the verbs in -n is formed from the strengthened base in -r: karisa, doing; pārisa, saying; barisa, coming; similarly tirisa, giving; but chā-isa, understanding.

§211. Instead of -isa we sometimes find -isa-at, which can hardly be anything but an instrumental though the participle being purely adverbial is not otherwise declinable, and also -isau, which appears to contain the conjunction o, 'and' (§433), in spite of the fact that the use of a conjunction to couple the participle to the finite verb seems illogical. These secondary terminations are attached in exactly the same way as -isa, from which they do not differ in force: binisa-at, binisau; illēsa-at, illisa-at, illēsau, illisau; karisa-at, karisau.

# The Present Adjectival Participle.

§212. The present adjectival participle, or relative participle as it might be termed, is formed by suffixing ok to the base: binok, hearing, one who hears; bisok, one who bakes. As in the similar case of the probable future and the past conditional a radical -ē or -ī is elided: illok, one who leaves; khulok, one who fears; salok, one who stands. In the case of the verbs in -n the participle is formed from the base in -r: karok, one who does; pārok, one who says. From tining there are three forms: tirok, ētok, with chok in the Jhalawan dialect, one who gives.

This verbal adjective, which may also have a passive significance (§275), takes on the ordinary definite and indefinite endings (§83 seq.) when used attributively.

# The Noun of Obligation.1

§213. The noun of obligation is formed by suffixing  $\cdot oi$  to the base: binoi, obliged to hear, obligation to hear, intending to hear, intention of hearing: bisoi, obliged to bake; illoi, obliged to leave;  $\underline{kh}uloi$ , obliged to fear; saloi, obliged to stand. In the case of the verbs in  $\cdot n$  it is formed from the base in  $\cdot r$ : karoi, obliged to do; paroi, obliged to say. There are three forms from tining: tiroi, the commonest of the three,  $\bar{e}toi$ , with the Jhalawan choi, obliged to give.

This formation, which in the case of transitives has also a passive significance (§275), takes on the ordinary definite and indefinite endings (§83 seq.) when used as an attributive adjective.

#### The Past Stem.

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- §215. (1) The past stem of by far the largest number of verbs, including all passives, is formed by suffixing  $-\hat{a}$  to the base. It is noteworthy that this is practically the invariable method of forming the past stem of new

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The designation 'noun of obligation' is not particularly happy, but it is hard to find one exactly to the point. The term 'gerund,' which naturally suggests itself, is apt to be misleading, and fails to cover sufficient range.

importations into the language, unless the base happens to end in -f. Examples:—

Infinitive.		Past stem.
bining,	to pick;	bin.7 .
illing,	to leave;	$illar{a}.$
ma <u>kh</u> ing,	to laugh;	$ma\underline{k}\underline{h}ar{a}.$
ti <u>kh</u> ing,	to place;	$ti\underline{k}\underline{h}ar{a}.$
skā <u>gh</u> ing.	to pour;	shā <u>gh</u> ā.
rasënging,	to arrive;	rasēngā.
tikhinging,	to be placed;	ti <u>kh</u> ingā.

§216. (2) The second group of verbs, those which form their past stem by suffixing  $-\bar{e}$  to the base, includes the causal and all other verbs whose base ends in -f:—

Infir	Past stem.	
tülising,	to make to sit;	$tar{u}lifar{e}.$
dakkifing,	to cause to be hidden;	dakkifē.
ta fing,	to bind;	$tafar{e}.$
harfing,	to lift;	harfë.
harrifing,	to ask;	harrifë.

To this group belong certain of the verbs in -n, the past stem being formed by suffixing  $-\bar{e}$  to the base in -r: danning, to take away, dar $\bar{e}$ ; kanning, to do, kar $\bar{e}$ ; pāning, to say, pār $\bar{e}$ ; toning, to hold, tor $\bar{e}$ . Though no longer a past, ar $\bar{e}$  from anning, to be (§250), is probably an analogous formation. The remaining verbs in -n form their past stem after the third method.

The other verbs which form their past stem in  $-\bar{e}$  appear to be too miscellaneous to be reducible to rule, e.g., bising, to bake, bisē; biting, to throw, bitë; hamping, to load, hampë; taring, to cut, tarē. In some cases there are two forms of the past stem, the form in  $-\bar{e}$  being probably the older: bīring, to milk, bīrē, bīrā; dasing, to sow, to rain, dasē, dasā. The same even applies to a few verbs whose base ends in -f;

gwafing, to plait, gwafē, gwafā; rēfing, to cheat, rēfē, rēfā; rofing, to sweep up, rofē, rofā.

§217. (3) It is even more difficult to reduce the verbs in the third class to rule. They fall into two subdivisions according to whether the consonant in which the past stem ends is k (changing to g after n) or s:—

Infinitive.			Past stem.
(i)	$\underline{kh}$ alling,	to strike;	khalk.
	halling,	to seize;	halk.
	bining,	to hear;	bing.
	kuning,	to eat;	kung.
	hining,	to lamb, etc.;	$h\bar{\imath}ng.$
(ii)	anning,	to be;	ass.
	manning,	to become;	mass.
	banning,	to come;	bass.
	tining,	to give;	tiss.
	$b \"{a} sing,$	to become hot;	$bar{a}sis.$
	bising,	to ripen;	bisis.
	$b \bar{a} rring,$	to become dry;	$b  ilde{a} ris.$
	kharring,	to sprout;	<u>kh</u> arris.
	piring,	to swell;	piris.
	pirāi-ing,	to run dry;	pirāi-is.
	$char{a} ext{-}ing,$	to understand;	$char{a} ext{-}is.$
	<u>kh</u> wāhing,	to request;	<u>kh</u> wāhis.
	$p ilde{a}ling,$	to become wet:	$par{a}lis.$
	$\underline{kh}ul\bar{\imath}ng,$	to fear;	$\underline{kh}$ ulīs.
	$salar{\imath}ng,$	to stand;	salīs.

A few of these verbs have a secondary past stem in -ä: hīnā, khulā, kharrā, khwāhā.

To the first subdivision belongs *kah-ing*, to die, *kas-k*, the past stem being derived from a different form of the base,

kas-, which also appears in the negative and causal. Similarly the abnormal past stems  $t\bar{u}s$  from  $t\bar{u}ling$ , to sit, and  $h\bar{e}s$  (commonly  $\bar{e}s$ ) from hating (with variants, §263), to bring, belong to the second subdivision.

\$218. It is thus clear that the past stems of the verbs cannot be marshalled in order according to mechanical rules. There is nothing on the face of it to show, for instance, why the past stem of bining, to pick, should be binā, while the past stem of bining, to hear, is bing. In the absence of a deeper insight into the history of the individual verb, the memory in most cases is the only guide, but it soon becomes a tolerably safe one. The list of verbs in the language is not very formidable, and it is the commonest verbs as usual which appear to be least amenable to rule. But while the formation of the past stem has been developed on different lines, the formation of the tenses derived from it presents little difficulty.

#### The Past.

§219. The past is formed by suffixing the present of the substantive verb (§187) to the past stem, except in the third person singular which remains the same as the crude past stem. The third person plural is compounded with the full form ur, though there is also a secondary form in -o if the past stem ends in a consonant. If the past stem ends in

In the foregoing analysis is purely formal. In a subsequent volume I hope to show that the past stem is probably formed in one of two ways: (1) by suffixing a particle indicative of past time,  $-\bar{\epsilon}$ ,  $-\bar{\epsilon}$ , -k (with g after n); (2) by the reduplication of the final consonant of the base. Under the latter heading would fall the verbs enumerated in (3) (ii) above, the explanation being based to a large extent on the interchange of both r and l with s. On the other hand it is not impossible that -s itself is simply a sign of past time, though this explanation fails to account for the included vowel in some of the past stems.

a vowel, the initial vowel of the substantive verb is elided throughout. The terminations are therefore as follows:—

Past stem ending in a consonant.	Past stem ending in a vowel.
Singular.	Singular.
1ut.	1/.
2us.	28.
3, —,	3
Plural.	Plural.
1un.	1n.
2ure.	2. -re.
3ur (-o).	3r.

Thus: <u>khalkut</u>, I struck; bassut, I came; ma<u>kh</u>āt, I laughed; tafēt, I bound. If the past stem has two forms, there are of course two forms of the past and the other tenses of past time: rēfēt, rēfāt, I cheated; <u>khulīsut</u>, <u>khulāt</u>, I feared.

## The Imperfect.

§220. The imperfect is formed from the past, as the present-future is formed from the present indefinite (§206), by suffixing -a. As in the present-future, the -a is not added in the second person plural. The third person plural is always compounded with the full form ur. The third person singular is remarkable. In the present-future it is formed by suffixing -k only. In the imperfect it is formed by suffixing not only -k, but also a final -a; moreover, if the past stem ends in a consonant, -a- is inserted before -ka. The terminations are therefore as follows:—

Past stem ending in a consonant.	Past stem ending in a vowel.
Singular.	Singular.
1ula.	1ta.
2usa.	2sa.
3aka.	3ka.

\*

Past stem ending in a consonant.	Past stem ending in a vowel.		
Plural.	Plural.		
1. $-una$ .	1na.		
2ure.	2re.		
3ura.	3ra.		

Thus: <u>khalkufa</u>, I was striking, I used to strike, had I struck; bassufa, I was coming; makhāfa, I was laughing; tafēţa, I was binding.

## The Pluperfect.

§221. The pluperfect is formed from the past stem by suffixing the past of the substantive verb (§187), of which one s is dropped, and—if the past stem ends in a vowel—the initial vowel is elided. The third person singular is compounded with the double form -asas; if the past stem ends in a consonant, it may also be compounded with the short form -as, and this is the rule if the final consonant is -s. In the plural the third person ordinarily ends in -asur, but a secondary form in -aso is not uncommon. If the past stem ends in a consonant the terminations are as a rule not -asut, etc., but -usut, etc., according to the law of harmonic attraction (§13); the third person singular is obviously unaffected. The terminations are therefore as follows:—

Past stem ending in a consonant.	Past stem ending in a vowel.
Singular.	Singular.
1usut (-asut).	1sut.
2usus (-usus).	2sus.
3asas; -as.	3sas.
Plural.	Plural.
1usun (-asun).	1sun.
2. -vsure (-asure).	2. -sure.
3. -usur (-asur).	3sur.
$(-uso) \ (-aso).$	(-80).

Thus: <u>khalkusut</u> (<u>khalkasut</u>), I had struck, <u>khalkasas</u>, <u>khalkas</u>, he had struck; <u>bassusut</u> (<u>bassasut</u>), I had come



bassas, he had come; makhāsut, I had laughed, makhāsas, he had laughed; tafēsut, I had bound, tafēsus, he had bound.

§222. There is also a double form of the pluperfect, analogous to the double form of the past conditional (§209); that is to say, instead of the tense being compounded with the past of the substantive verb, it may be compounded with the pluperfect (§252): lafēsasuṭ, I had bound; khalkasasuṭ, I had seized. The vowels of the termination may be subject to harmonic attraction: khalkususuṭ; and this is regularly the case if the root contains an u-sound: kungususuṭ, I had eaten. If the past stem ends in -s, this formation, in itself redundant and not particularly common, is naturally avoided.

#### The Perfect.

§223. The perfect is formed from the past stem by infixing a perfect formative -un- and adding the present of the substantive verb. The ordinary forms of the substantive verb are attached, including e and o in the third persons, as if the past stem were converted into an independent participle by the addition of the perfect formative -un. If the past stem ends in a vowel, the vowel of the perfect formative is elided. The terminations are therefore as follows:—

Past stem ending in a consonant.	Past stem ending in 3 vowel.
Singular.	Singular.
1unuț.	1nuţ
2unus.	$\cdot 2.$ -nus.
3une.	3ne.
Plural.	Plural.
1unun.	1nun,
2unure.	2. -ware.
3uno.	3no.

Thus: khalkunut, I have struck; bassunut, I have come: makhānut, I have laughed; tatēnut, I have bound.

# The Conjugation of the Affirmative Verb.

## §224.

Infinitive: tikhing, to place, the placing.

Present adverbial participle: tikhisa, placing.

Present adjectival participle:  $ti\underline{kho}k$ , placing, (one) who places. Noun of obligation:  $ti\underline{kho}\bar{i}$ , obliged to place, obligation to place.

## Imperative.

#### Place.

Singular.

Plural.

2.  $ti\underline{kh}(ak)$ .

2. ti<u>kh</u>bo.

## Present of Actuality.

## I am (in the act of) placing.

1. ī tikhingaţī uţ.

1. nan tikhingatī un.

2. nī ti<u>kh</u>ingaṭī us.

2. num ti<u>kh</u>ingaṭī ure.

3. o ti<u>kh</u>ingațī e.

3. ofk tikhingațī o.

## Present Indefinite.

## I may place, etc.

1. ī tikhiv.

1. nan tikhin.

2. nī tikhis.

2. num tikhire.

3. o  $ti\underline{kh}e$ .

3. ofk tikhir.

## Present-Future.

## I place: I will place.

1. ī tikhiva.

1. nan tikhina.

2 në tikhisa.

2. num tikhire.

3. o tikhik.

3. ofk tikhira.



### THE VERB.

## Probable Future.

# I will (probably) place.

Singular.		Plural.			
1.	ĩ	tikhot.	1.	nan	$ti\underline{kh}on.$
2.	$n\check{\imath}$	tikhos.	2,	2011111	ti <u>kh</u> ore.
3.	0	tikhoe.	3.	of k	ti <u>kh</u> or.

## Past Conditional.

# Had I placed; I would have placed, etc.

<b></b>			<b>-</b>		
1.	ž	ti <u>kh</u> osut.	1.	nan	ti <u>kh</u> osun.
2.	12.5	ti <u>kh</u> osus.	2.	num	tikhosure.
3.	0	ti <u>kh</u> osas.	3.	ofk	ti <u>kh</u> osur.

## Past.

# I placed; I ate (infin. kuning).

Singular.			8	Sin	gular.	
1.		$kh\bar{a}t$ .	1. $\tilde{i}$ kunguļ.			unguț.
2.	nī ti	<u>kh</u> ās.	2.	หรื	$k_i$	ungus.
3.	o ti	<u>kh</u> ā.	3			ung.
	Plu	ral.			Pli	ıral.
1.	nati	ti <u>kh</u> ān.	1.	na	m	kungun.
2.	num	ti <u>kh</u> āre.	2.	212	ım	kungure.
3.	ofk	tikhār.	3.	of	k	kungur.

# Imperfect.

# I was placing; I was eating.

Singular.		Singular.		
1.	i ti <u>kh</u> āṭa.	1. ĭ kunguța.		
2.	nī ti <u>kh</u> āsa.	2. nī kungusa.		
3.	o ti <u>kh</u> āku.	3. o kungaka.		
	Plural.	Plural.		
1.	nan ti <u>kh</u> āna.	1. nan kunguna.		
2.	num ti <u>kh</u> áre.	2. num kungure.		
3.	ofk tì <u>kh</u> āru.	3. ofk kungura.		

## Pluperfect.

## I had placed; I had eaten.

	S	ingular.		S	ingular.
1.	ī	ti <u>kh</u> āsuṭ.	1.	$\tilde{i}$ $k$	ungusuț.
2.	$n\bar{\iota}$	ti <u>kh</u> āsus.	2.	nī k	ungusus.
3.	0	ti <u>kh</u> āsus.	3.	o $k$	ungasas,
					kungas.
	P	lural.		$\mathbf{P}$	lural.
1.	nan	ti <u>kh</u> āsun.	1.	nan	kungusun.
2.	nun	ı ti <u>kh</u> āsur <b>e.</b>	2.	num	kungusure.
3.	of k	ti <u>kh</u> āsur.	3.	oj k	kungusur.

#### Perfect.

## I have placed; I have eaten.

Singular.		Singular.		
1.	ī ti <u>kh</u> ānuṭ.	1. ī kungunuţ.		
2.	nī ti <u>kh</u> ānus.	2. nī kungunus.		
3.	o tikhāne.	3. o kungune.		
	Plural.	Piural.		
1.	nan ti <u>kh</u> ānun.	1. nan kungunun.		
2.	num ti <u>kh</u> ānure.	2. num kungunure.		
3.	ofk tikhāno.	3. ofk kunguno.		

The above represents the normal conjugation of the typical verb. Reference must be made for variants, etc., to the foregoing paragraphs: e.g., for variants of the adverbial participle to §211; for other forms of the imperative to §190 seq.; for other tenses of actuality to §188; for variants of the presents to §203 seq.; for shorter forms of the third person plural in the past conditional, the past and the pluperfect to §208, 219 and 221; for double forms of the past conditional and pluperfect to §209 and §222; and for an optional form of the simple pluperfect to §221. The data given in the list of verbs at §265, read with the sections on the formation of the parts of the verb, will indicate sufficiently the conjugation of practically every important verb in the language.

# The Formation of the Negative Verb.

\$225. Every verb, active, passive, neuter or causal, may be conjugated negatively. Negation is expressed agglutinatively by means of the negative particle -a-, which is inserted into the verb. In the tenses of present-future time (including the past conditional, which is a future perfect in form) the particle of negation is preceded by -p-, the sign of present-future time, and in the past tenses by -t-, the sign of past time. These signs of time and negation are suffixed to the base. Although all the finite tenses are represented in the negative conjugation, there is no negative infinitive nor participle, whether adverbial or adjectival, while the noun of obligation is generally avoided.

## The Tenses of Actuality.

§226. As there is no negative infinitive, negation in the so-called tenses of actuality has to be expressed in the auxiliary.

§227. The negative present of the substantive verb is as follows:—

	anguar.		Plural.
1.	i affat, I am not.	1.	nan affan.
2,	nī affēs.	2.	num affēre.
3.	od aff, affak.	3.	ofk affas

There are several peculiar features in this formation, which will be more conveniently discussed later (§253). It may be noted here that affat,  $aff\bar{e}s$ , etc., when employed in tense-formation, appear as -afat,  $-af\bar{e}s$ , etc., or more often as -avat,  $-av\bar{e}s$ , etc., while aff becomes the diphthong -au.

§228. The present of actuality in the negative verb is therefore of the form  $\bar{\imath}$   $ti\underline{kh}ingat\bar{\imath}$  affat, I am not (in the act of) placing. Other tenses of the kind may be formed with the remaining negative tenses of the substantive verb (§254):  $\bar{\imath}$   $ti\underline{kh}ingat\bar{\imath}$  allavat, I was not placing, etc., and where it is defective with the negative of manning, to become

(§256): *i tikhingati mafarot*, I will probably not be placing, and so on. These tenses will be omitted from the conjugation of the negative verb (§247).

#### The Prohibitive.

- §229. The second person singular of the prohibitive is formed from the base by suffixing the present-negative sign -p-a. The rules for its formation are very similar to those for the formation of the imperative plural of the affirmative verb (§197 seq.).
- §230. If the imperative singular is identical with the base, -pa is ordinarily attached without modifying the base: bispa, do not bake; tikhpa, do not place. If the base ends in -n, there is a natural change of n to m before the labial of the termination: bimpa, do not hear; kumpa, do not eat. In the case of passives (§275) and neuters (§278) the suffix may be added directly to the base: tikhingpa, be not placed; rasēngpa, do not arrive; or the g of the base may be dropped and the n changed in consequence to m: tikhimpa, rasempa. The verbs which adopt an abnormal *lh* in the imperative singular revert to the radical lingual in the prohibitive, as in the rest of the conjugation: tūlpa, do not sit; halpa, do not seize; khalpa, do not strike. Corresponding to the two forms of the imperatives of shāghing, to pour, hoghing, to weep, there are two forms of the prohibitive: shaphpa, shapa, hoghpa, hopa. The prohibitive kaspa, do not die, and indeed the whole negative conjugation of kahing, is founded on that form of the base which is utilised in the past stem of the affirmative verb (§217 fin.).
- §231. The prohibitives of the verbs in -n are particularly interesting. In the case of two of them, to wit, pāning, to say, and toning, to hold, the prohibitives are formed by suffixing the present-negative sign to the shorter form of the base without modification: pāpa, topa. The short

form of the base is also used in the case of banning, to come. manning, to become, and tining, to give, but the sign of present time undergoes a remarkable change from p to f: bafa, mafa, tifa. The infix appears as f throughout the present-future tenses of these verbs; it appears by the by as doubled # in the present of the substantive verb negative (§253). In the case of kanning, to do, and danning, to take away, the present-negative sign is clearly suffixed to the strengthened base in -r: kappa, dappa, -rp-changing to -pp-. Analogous are huppa, from hunning (huring), to look, and tippa from chāning (chā-ing, dialectical variant tā-ing), to understand, for the whole of the negative conjugation is founded on the bases hur (§262), tir- (§261). The doubled consonant is maintained throughout the tenses of presentfuture time, and the sign of past time t is similarly doubled in the past tenses.

- §232. If the imperative singular is formed by adding -a or -e to the crude base, the vowel sound becomes -i- before the present-negative suffix: bāripa, do not become dry; dakkipa, do not hide; narripa, do not flee; khulipa, do not fear; salipa, do not stand. The included vowel is maintained in such verbs throughout the negative conjugation. As already noted, the prohibitive of tining, to give, is tifa; there is no formation to correspond directly to the imperative ête, êtibo.
- §233. If the base ends in  $-\bar{e}$  or  $-\bar{\imath}$ , the long vowel naturally maintains its place unchanged in the negative conjugation:  $ill\bar{e}pa$ , do not leave; <u>khulipa</u>, do not fear; salipa, do not stand.
- §234. It follows therefore that there may be alternative forms of the prohibitive (and hence of the negative conjugation generally) corresponding to alternative forms of the imperative: dalpa, dalipa, do not gnaw; hamppa, hampipa, do not load: khoshkpa, khoshkipa, do not rub; khulpa,

khulipa, khulipa, do not fear; salpa, salipa, salipa, do not stand.

§235. The second person plural of the prohibitive is formed, as in the affirmative, by adding the termination -bo to the singular: bispabo, do not bake; tikhpabo, do not place; bimpabo, do not hear; rasēngpabo, rasēmpabo, do not arrive; tūlpabo, do not sit; dappabo, do not take away; tifabo, do not give; bāripabo, do not become dry; khulpabo, khulīpabo, khulīpabo, do not fear.

#### The Present Indefinite.

§236. The present indefinite of the negative is formed from the base by suffixing the following terminations, with the same phonetic modifications as in the case of the prohibitive:—

Singular.	Plural.	
1par.	1pan.	
$2$ $p ilde{e}s$ .	$2 p  ilde{e} re.$	
3p.	3pas.	

It will be noticed that the negative sign -a- is changed to  $-\bar{e}$ - in the second persons, and is dropped altogether in the third person singular, which thus remains with only the sign of time to denote negation, person, number and tense. In the third person plural there is a change from the -r of the affirmative to -s, which has been induced no doubt by the apparently abnormal adoption of -r as the termination of the first person singular.

Examples: bispar, I may not bake; tikhpar, I may not place; bimpar. I may not hear; kumpar, I may not eat; tikhingpar, tikhimpar, I may not be placed; rasēngpar, rasēmpar, I may not arrive; tūlpar, I may not sit; shāghpar, shāpar, I may not pour; pāpar, I may not say; topar, I may not hold; kappar, I may not do; dappar, I may not take away; huppar, I may not look; tippar, I may not understand; mafar, I may not become; bafar, I may not

come; tifar (Jhalawan chofar), I may not give; kaspar, I may not die; bāripar, I may not become dry; illipar, illēpar, I may not leave; khulpar, khulipar. khulipar, I may not fear. The following third persons will be specially noted, though they follow on the same lines as the first person: maf, he, she or it may not become; baf, he may not come; tif, he may not give.

The Present-Future.

§237. The present-future negative is formed in the ordinary way by suffixing -a to the present indefinite. The second person plural, however, is left unaltered as in the affirmative (though without the same cause). The third person singular ends in -k as in the affirmative, the negative sign, which was omitted in the present indefinite, reappearing as the included vowel. The terminations are therefore as follows:—

Singular.	Piural.
1para.	1pana.
$2$ $par{e}sa$ .	2 <i>pēre</i> .
3pak.	3pasa.

Thus: bispara, I do not bake, I will not bake; bimpara, I do not hear; kappara, I do not do; tippara, I do not understand; bafara, I do not come; tifara (Jhalawan chofara), I do not give; khulpara, khulipara, khulipara, I do not fear.

#### The Probable Future.

§238. The probable future negative is formed from the base, with the usual phonetic modifications, by suffixing the present-negative sign -pa- and the terminations of the affirmative probable future, with an apparently euphonic -r- to bridge the hiatus. The terminations are therefore as follows:—

Singular.	Plural.
1parot.	1paron.
2paros.	2. -parore.
3paroe.	3, -paror,

Thus: bisparot, I will (probably) not bake; bimparot, I will (probably) not hear; kapparot, I will (probably) not do; tipparot, I will (probably) not understand bafarot, I will (probably) not come; tifarot (Jhalawan chofarot), I will (probably) not give; khulparot, khuliparot, khuliparot, I will (probably) not fear.

§239. A peculiar form of this tense is heard in Jhalawan. The formative -o- of the affirmative probable future is suffixed to the base, and the present negative of the substantive verb (§227) is then attached, its initial vowel being elided. The terminations are therefore as follows:—

Singular.	Plural.
1ofat.	1ofan.
2ofēs.	$2.$ -of $ar{e}re$ .
3of.	3of as.

Thus: bisofat, I will (probably) not bake; binofat, I will not hear; <u>kh</u>ulofat, I will not fear; chāofat, I will not understand; chofat, I will not give. In the case of the verbs in -n the terminations are attached to the strengthened base in -r: karofat, I will not do.

#### The Past Conditional.

§240. As in the affirmative this tense is in form the past of the probable future. It is formed from the base in exactly the same manner as the negative probable future except that the past and not the present of the substantive verb is attached. The terminations are therefore as follows:—

Singular.	Plural.
1parosuţ.	1parosun.
2. -parosus	2. -parosure.
3parosas.	3parosur (-paroso).

Thus: bisparosut, I would not have baked, had I not baked, would that I had not baked; bimparosut, I would not have heard; kapparosut, I would not have done; tifarosu

(Jhalawan chofarosut), I would not have given; <u>kh</u>ulparosut, <u>kh</u>uliparosut, I would not have feared. A double form compounded with the pluperfect of the substantive verb (cf. §209) is sometimes heard: bisparosusut.

§241. In Jhalawan there is a secondary form of this tense, corresponding to the peculiar Jhalawan form of the probable future negative. It is based on the third person singular of that form of the tense, by attaching the past of the substantive verb affirmative, which generally appears as -ēsuṭ (cf. §245). The terminations are therefore as follows:—

Sıngular.	Plural.
1ofēsuţ.	<ol> <li>-ofēsun.</li> </ol>
2ofésus.	2ofésure.
3. •ofēsas.	$3.$ -of $\bar{e}sur$ (-of $\bar{e}so$ ).

Thus: bisofesut, I would not have baked; <u>kh</u>ulofesut, I would not have feared; chofesut, I would not have given. The forms bisofasut, <u>kh</u>ulofasut, etc., are less commonly heard.

## The Noun of Obligation.

§242. The negative noun of obligation is formed from the base, modified phonetically in the usual manner, by suffixing the present-negative sign •pa-, and attaching as in the affirmative the termination •oī, with the insertion of •r- to bridge the hiatus. Thus: bisparoī, not obliged to bake, no obligation to bake; bimparoī, not obliged to hear; kapparoī, not obliged to do; bafaroī, not obliged to come; tifaroī (Jhalawan chofaroī), not obliged to give; khulparoī, khuliparoī, khulīparoī, not obliged to fear. In the case of transitives this formation has a passive signification also (§275)

#### The Past.

§243. The past negative is formed from the base by infixing the past-negative sign -t-a-, and attaching the present of the substantive verb negative (§227). One of the

concurrent a's is elided'; ff is changed to v, while aff in the third person singular becomes the diphthong -au.<sup>2</sup> The terminations are therefore as follows:—

Singular.	Plural.	
1tavaţ.	1tavan.	
2tavēs.	2tavêre.	
3tau.	3tavas.	

The variations in the formation of the past run parallel to the variations in the formation of the prohibitive: bistavat, I did not bake; bintavat, I did not hear; tūltavat, I did not sit; shāghtavat, shātavat, I did not pour; pātavat, I did not speak; totavat, I did not hold; kattavat, I did not do; dattavat, I did not take away; huttavat, I did not look; tittavat, I did not understand; titavat, I did not give; batavat, I did not come; matavat, I did not become; kastavat, I did not flee; khultavat, khulitavat, khulītavat, I did not fear.

## The Imperfect.

§244. The imperfect is formed in the negative, as in the affirmative, by suffixing -a to the past, with similar modifications: the second person plural remains unchanged, while the third person singular takes on -aka, the diphthong being resolved into -av. The terminations are therefore as follows:—

Singular.	Plural.
1tavața.	1tavana.
2tavēsa.	$2$ tav $ar{e}$ re.
3tavaka,	3tavasa.

Thus: bistavața, I was not baking; tittavața, I was not understanding; titavața, I was not giving; narritavața, I

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> And hence it might be argued that only the past sign -t- and the negative present of the substantive verb are attached to the base. The version given in the text seems, on the whole, preferable.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The diphthong is resolved on the addition of the enclitic pronoun of the third person: e.g., pātav-ta, he didn't say to him.

was not fleeing; <u>kh</u>ultavaṭa, <u>kh</u>ulitavaṭa, <u>kh</u>ulitavaṭa, I was not fearing.

## The Pluperfect.

§245. On the analogy of the affirmative, the pluperfect negative is formed by adding the past of the affirmative substantive verb to the third person singular of the past negative, the diphthong of which is resolved. The form -ēsuț is generally used instead of -asuț to avoid the sequence of unaccented syllables (cf. §241). The terminations are therefore as follows:—

#### Singular.

なる時はまない

edhes succedo Kakibiana e en en en 114 ha es e

#### Plural.

1.	-tavēsuț	(-tavasut).	1.	-tavēsun	(-tavasun).
_	_	_			

-tavēsus (-tavasus).
 -tavēsure (-tavasure).
 -tavēsur (-tavasur).

(-tavēso) (-tavaso).

Thus: bistavēsuṭ, I had not baked; tittavēsuṭ, I had not understood; titavēsuṭ, I had not given; khultavēsuṭ, khulitavēsuṭ, khulitavēsuṭ, khulitavēsuṭ, tittavasuṭ, etc., are much less commonly used.

#### The Perfect.

§246. The negative perfect is formed from the base, modified in the usual manner, by suffixing the past-negative sign -ta-, and attaching the perfect formative -(u)n- and the present affirmative of the substantive verb. The terminations are therefore as follows:—

Singular.	Plural.	
1tanut.	1tanun.	
2tanus.	2tanure.	
3tane.	3 -tamo	

Thus: bistanut, I have not baked; tittanut, I have not understood; titanut, I have not given; khultanut, khulitanut, I have not feared.

# The Conjugation of the Negative Verb.

## §247.

Noun of Obligation: tikhparvī, not obliged to place, no obligation to place.

## Prohibitive.

## Do not place.

Singular.

#### Plural.

2. tikhpa.

2. tikh pabo.

#### Present Indefinite.

## I may not place, etc.

1. i tikhpar.

1. nan tikhpan.

2. nī tikhpēs.

2. num ti<u>kh</u>pēre.

3. o tikhp.

3. ofk tikhpas.

#### Present-Future.

# I do not place; I will not place.

1. ī tikhpara.

1. nan tikhpana.

2. nī tikhpēsa.

2. num tikhpěre.

¢

3. o tikhpak.

3. ofk tikhpasa.

#### Probable Future.

## I will (probably) not place.

1. ī tikhparot.

1. nan tikhparon.

2. nī tikhparos.

2. num tikhparore.

3. o tikhparoe.

3. ofk tikhparor.

#### Past Conditional.

## Had I not placed, etc.

1. ī tikhparosut.

1. nan tikhparosun.

2. nī tikhparosus.

2. num tikhparosure.

3. o tikhparosas.

3 ofk tikhparosur

#### Past.

## I did not place.

Singular.		_	Plural.		
1. ī tikhtavaţ.		1.	nan	ti <u>kh</u> tavan.	
2.	$n\bar{\imath}$	ti <u>kh</u> tavēs.	2.	num	ti <u>kh</u> tavēre.
3.	0	ti <u>kh</u> tau.	3.	of k	$ti\underline{kh}tavas.$

## Imperfect.

## I was not placing.

1.	ē	ti <u>kh</u> tavata.	1.	nan	ti <u>kh</u> tavana.
2.	$n\bar{\imath}$	ti <u>kh</u> tavēsa.	2.	num	ti <u>kh</u> tavēr <b>e</b> .
3.	0	tikhtavaka.	3.	ofk	tikh tavasa.

## Pluperfect.

## I had not placed.

1.	ī	ti <u>kh</u> tavēsuṭ.	1.	nan	tr <u>kn</u> tavesun.
2.	nĩ	ti <u>kh</u> tavēsus.	2.	num	ti <u>kh</u> tavēsure.
3.	0	ti <u>kh</u> tavësas.	3.	of k	ti <u>kh</u> tavesur.

## Perfect.

## I have not placed.

1.	ī	tikhtanut.	1.	nan	ti <u>kh</u> tanun.
2.	nī	tikhtanus.	2.	num	$ti\underline{kh}tanure.$
3.	0	tikhtane.	3.	of k	ti <u>kh</u> tan <b>o.</b>

In the above only the most regular forms have been given; for variants reference will be made to the preceding paragraphs. It will be borne in mind that if there is an included vowel between the crude base and the present-negative sign in the prohibitive, the included vowel is maintained throughout the negative conjugation: e.g., narripa, do not flee, narriparoi, narripar, narripara, narriparoi, narriparosui, narritavai, narritavai, narritavai, narritavai, narritavai, narritavai, narritavai.

# Auxiliary and Irregular Verbs.

## Anning, to be.

§248. The substantive verb is defective, and what tenses there are, are not all derived from the same root. The infinitive anning is almost obsolete, and its use is seemingly confined to one or two set phrases: e.g., anningki pās, shikār Sēbīnā doraṭī bāz e, maga nē dū tamme, as a matter of fact (lit. for existence' sake you may say) there's sport in abundance on the Sibi canal, and possibly you may get some; anningki dā kasaraṭ dīr arē, as a matter of fact there is water on this road. Imperative there is none, though a trace of one is perhaps preserved in bash-a, arise, seeing that there is no verb bashing. Nor are there any participles, noun of obligation or perfect. On the other hand, though both present indefinite and future are missing, there are two forms of the present.

## §249.

#### The Present.

Singular.	Plural.		
1. ī ut, I am.	1. nan un.		
2. nī us.	2. num ure.		
3. od e.	3. of $k$ o $(ur)$		

The dialectical variant wr in the third person plural evidently preserves the original type  $(ef. \S 16)$ . There are several peculiar features in this tense. It is the only present affirmative in the language in which, due allowance being made for palpable elisions ( $\S 204$ ), the included vowel is not  $-i\cdot(-\bar{e}\cdot)$ , and in which the first person singular does not end in -v(a). Indeed, though a present in meaning, there seems reason to regard it as a past in origin, like the emphatic present.



§250.

#### The Emphatic Present.

# Singular. Plural. 1. \(\bar{i}\) \(ar\tilde{e}t\), \(\bar{I}\) \(am\), \(\bar{I}\) exist. \(2. n\tilde{u}\) \(ar\tilde{e}s\). \(2. num\) \(ar\tilde{e}s\). \(2. num\) \(ar\tilde{e}r\). \(3. of k\) \(ar\tilde{e}r\).

§251. This is in form an ordinary past from anning, after the model of  $\bar{\imath}$  karét, I did, from kanning (§216). It is more emphatic than  $\bar{\imath}$  ut, and generally implies actual existence: khudā jwān e, God is good; harkas chāik, khudā arē, everybody knows that God exists;  $\bar{\imath}$  nājor ut, I'm unwell;  $\bar{\imath}$  nājor arēt maga tā shahriskā kāva, I am unwell, but I'll go as far as the village. The relationship of arēt to ut is in fact analogous to the relationship of shta to dai in Pashtu, and of hastam to am in Persian. The resemblance of ut to the Persian am is particularly strong, as it is pronounced, especially in the third person singular, in very close connection with the word preceding it, and it would perhaps be more correct to write it as an enclitic (cf. §72).

§252. The remaining three tenses of the affirmative, to wit, the past, imperfect and pluperfect, are based on the past stem ass-, which is derived from anning on the analogy of mass- from manning, to become (§217).

#### The Past.

Singular.		Plural.		
1. 7	assut, I was.	1. nan assun.		
2. nī	assus.	2. num assure.		
3. od	ass.	3. ofk assur (asso	),	

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## The Imperfect.

Singular.		$\mathbf{Plural}_{\bullet}$		
1. ž	assuta, I was.	1. nan assuna		
2. nī	assusa.	2. num assure.		
3. od	assaka.	3. ofk assura		

## The Pluperfect.

1.	ĩ	assusut, I had been.	1.	nan	assusun.
2.	$n\bar{\imath}$	assusus.	2.	num	assusure,
3.	od	assas.	3.	of k	assusur (assusa)

It will be seen that these tenses are formed from the base ass- in the ordinary way. As a matter of fact, there is little difference of meaning between the three; it will be remembered that the third person singular of the pluperfect is largely employed in the conjugation of the verb instead of the corresponding person of the past. The form assasut is sometimes used for the more usual form assasut, which has been affected by harmonic attraction (§221).

## §253. The negative tenses are as follows:-

#### The Present.

Singular.			Plural.		
1. ī	affat, I am not.	1.	nan	affan.	
$2. n\bar{i}$	$af\!\!far e$ s.	2.	num	affére.	
3. od	aff, affak.	3.	of k	affas.	

This tense is remarkable as being the only negative present in which the first person singular does not end in -r(a). In other respects it is not unlike the presents indefinite mafar, bafar, tifar, derived from manning, to become, banning, to come, tining, to give, except for the doubling of -f, the sign of present time (§231) and the second form of

the third person singular, which is in reality a presentfuture, though in no way differing from aff in its ordinary use and meaning.

## §254.

#### The Past.

		Singular.		Plu	ral.
1.	ī	allavat, I was not	1.	nan	allavan.
2.	nī	allavēs.	2.	num	$allav ilde{e}re.$
3.	od	allau.	3.	of k	allavas.
		The Imperfect			
1.	ī	allavata, I was not.	1.	nan	allavana.
2.	$n\bar{\imath}$	allavésa.	2.	num	allavēre.
3.	od	allavaka.	3,	of k	allavasa.
		The Pluperfect			
1.	ī	allavēsut, I had not been.	1,	nan	allavēsun.
2.	пī	allavēsus.	2.	num	allavésure.
3.	od	allavēsas.	3.	of k	allavēsur.
					$(allav \hat{e} so)$ .

These three past tenses of the negative of the substantive verb are derived from a root all-, which appears to have no connection with the ordinary verbal root. The past is formed by adding to it the negative present affat with the usual modifications (§243); the imperfect is formed from the past in the regular manner (§244), and the imperfect in turn constitutes no less regularly the basis for the formation of the pluperfect (§245). A difference in meaning between the three tenses is not often clearly marked.

§255. The substantive verb is otherwise defective. The missing parts are supplied by manning, to become. The abnormal features in the conjugation of manning and of the other irregular verbs which are presented below have already been examined in the discussion of the formation of the various parts of the verb.

## Manning, to become.

§256. There are two bases, ma-, mar- (§186). With the exception of the first form of the imperative, the whole of the affirmative is founded on the latter, while the whole of the negative is founded on the former. The remarkable phonetic change in the sign of present time in the negative conjugation has already been referred to (§231).

	Affirmative.	Negative.
Infinitive:	manning.	***
Pres. adv. part.:	marisa.	***
Pres. adj. part.:	marok.	***
Noun of obligation:	maroi.	mafaroī.
Imperative:	ma, mar, marak.	mafa.
Present indefinite:	marêv.	mafar.
Present-future:	marēva.	mafara.
Probable future:	maroț.	mafaroţ.
Past conditional:	marosuț.	mafarosuț.
Past:	massut.	matavaţ.
Imperfect:	massuța.	matavața.
Pluperfect:	massusuț.	malavēsuţ.
Perfect:	massunuț.	matanuț.

## Banning, to come.

§257. Banning is conjugated in exactly the same way as manning.

#### Kanning, to do.

§258. There are two bases, ka-, kar-. With the exception of the first form of the imperative and the affirmative presents the conjugation, both affirmative and negative, is founded on the base kar-. The curious formation of the affirmative presents has been analysed in §204; for the doubling of the signs of time throughout the negative reference should be made to §231.

	Affirmative.	Negative.
Infinitive:	kanning.	***
Pres. adv. part.:	karisa.	<b>*</b> 4 #
Pres. adj. part.:	karok.	***
Noun of obligation:	karo i.	kapparoī.
Imperative:	ka, kar, karak.	kappa.
Present indefinite:	$kar{e}v.$	kappar.
Present-future:	kēva.	kappara.
Probable future:	karoţ.	kapparot.
Past conditional:	kurosuţ.	kapparosut.
Past:	karēţ.	kattavaţ.
Imperfect:	karēţa.	kattavata.
Pluperfect:	karēsuţ.	kattavēsuţ.
Perfect:	karēnuţ.	kattanuţ.

## Danning, to take away.

§259. Danning is conjugated in exactly the same way as kanning.

## Tining, to give.

§260. The imperative and the ordinary forms of the affirmative presents are based on the root  $\bar{e}t$ . If the dialectical and other variants, which have already been mentioned  $(t\bar{e}v, \S204, \bar{e}tot, chot, \S207, etc.)$ , are left out of account, the rest of the affirmative is founded on the base tir- and the negative on the base ti- after the analogy of manning and banning.

	Affirmative.	Negative.
Infinitive:	tining.	***
Pres. adv. part.:	tirisa.	d+6
Pres. adj. part.:	tirok.	***
Noun of obligation:	tiroī.	$tifaroar{\imath}.$
Imperative:	ēte.	tifa.
Present indefinite:	$ar{e}tiv.$	tifar.
Present-future:	ētiva.	tifara.
Probable future:	tiroţ.	tifarot.
Past conditional:	tirosut.	tifaros u t.
Past:	tissut.	titavat.
Imperfect:	tissuța.	titavata.
Pluperfect:	tissusut.	$titavar{e}sut.$
Perfect:	tissunuţ.	titanuţ.

# Chā-ing, to understand.

\$261. The affirmative is conjugated regularly on the base  $ch\bar{a}$ , the only peculiarities lying in the not very common infinitive form  $ch\bar{a}ning$  and in the formation of the past stem  $ch\bar{a}$ -is (§217 ii). The negative conjugation is founded on a base tir- on the analogy of kanning and danning, and implies an obsolete infinitive tinning. The dialectical variant  $t\bar{a}$ -ing (imper.  $t\bar{a}$ , pres.  $t\bar{a}v$ ,  $t\bar{a}va$ , sometimes also tia-ing,  $ti\bar{a}$ ,  $ti\bar{a}v$ ,  $ti\bar{a}va$ ) heard chiefly in the Nushki district, seems to afford a connecting link between the two bases.

	Affirmative.	Negative.
Infinitive:	chā-ing (chāning	r)
Pres. adv. part.:	chā-isa.	***
Pres. adj. part.:	chāok.	<b>.</b>
Noun of obligation:	chāoī,	$tipparo {ar{\imath}}.$
Imperative:	chā, chā-ak.	tippa.
Present indefinite:	chāv.	tippar.
Present-future:	$char{a}va.$	tippara.
Probable future:	chãot.	tipparot.
Past conditional:	chãosuț.	tipparosut.
Past:	chā-isuţ	tittavat.
Imperfect:	chā-isuṭa.	tittavața.
Pluperfect:	chā-isusuṭ.	tittavēsuţ.
Perfect:	chā-isunuț.	tittanuţ.

## Huring, hunning, to look.

§262. The affirmative is conjugated in the ordinary way on the base hur-, with a slight irregularity in the formation of the imperative plural hubbo (§198). The negative is conjugated after the model of kanning and danning.

	Affirmative.	Negative.
Infinitive:	huring, hunning.	***
Pres. adv. part.:	hurisa.	***
Pres. adj. part.:	hurok.	***
Noun of obligation:	hurot.	hupparor.
Imperative:	hur.	huppa.
Present indefinite:	huriv.	huppar.
Present-future:	huriva.	huppara.
Probable future:	hurot.	hupparot.
Past conditional:	hurosut.	hupparosut.
Past:	hurāt.	huttavat.
Imperfect:	hurāţa.	hultavata.
Pluperfect:	hurāsut.	huttavësut.
Perfect:	hurānuţ.	huttanut.

# Hating, hatining, hataring, hatiring, to bring.

§263. This verb is clearly compounded with tining, to give, which accounts for several curious forms and variants. The first element ha- is probably to be traced to hal-, to seize. The aspirate is frequently dropped.

	Affirmative.	Negative.
Infinitive:	hating. hatining. hataring. hatiring.	
Pres. adv. part.:	hatisa. hatarisa. hatirisa.	•••
Pres. adj. part.:	hatok. hatarok. hatirok.	• • • •
Noun of obligation:	hatoī. hataroī. hatiroī.	hatiparoī.

#### THE VERB.

	Affirmative.	Negative.
Imperative:	hata. hatar.	hatipa.
Present indefinite:	hatēv. hatarē <b>v</b> .	hatipar.
Present-future:	hatēva. hatarēva.	hatipara.
Probable future:	hatoţ. hataroţ. hatiroţ.	hatiparoț.
Past conditional:	hatosuț. hatarosuț. hatirosuț.	hatiparosuţ.
Past:	hêsuţ.	hatitavaţ. hattavaţ.
Imperfect:	hēsuţa.	hatitavaţa. hattavaţa.
Pluperfect:	hēsus <b>u</b> ţ.	hatitavēsut. hattavēsut.
Perfect:	$har{e}sunut.$	hatitanut. hattanut.
1	University to me	

## Hining, to go.

§264. With the exception of the affirmative presents the conjugation of hining, both affirmative and negative, proceeds perfectly regularly from the base hin: hinisa, hinok, hinok, himparok, hin, himpa, himpar, hinof, himparok, hinot, hintavat, etc. The presents in the affirmative are formed from a different base kā-1 (§205).

Present Indefinite.	
Singular.	Plural.
1. $\bar{\imath}$ $k\bar{\alpha}v$ , I may go.	1. $nan kan$ .
2. nī kās.	2. num kāre.
3. o kāe.	$3. \ of k k \bar{a} r.$
Present-Future.	· ·
1. 7 kāva, I go; I will go.	1. nan kāna.
2. nī kāsa.	2. num kāre.
3. o $k\bar{a}$ -i $k$ ( $k\bar{a}$ i $k$ ).	3. ofk kāra.

There is also the curious form kāmbo, let us go, I and you, which appears to be compounded of kān, first person plural of the present indefinite, and bo, the ending of the second person plural imperative.

## List of Verbs.

§265. The various parts of the more important verbs in the language will be deduced without difficulty from the following skeleton table, read with the sections on the formation. The secondary form of the imperative in -ak which obtains in a certain class of verbs (§192) has been omitted for the sake of brevity, and the same applies to the optional form of the prohibitive in the case of neuter verbs like arenging (§276). As the negative conjugation is formed as a rule from the base as presented in the imperative according to certain well-defined principles, it is ordinarily unnecessary to display the prohibitive separately. however, of the importance of the few abnormal cases a place has been accorded to it in the table. Only the primary meaning of the verb is given. It will be borne in mind that the third person singular of the past is identical with the past stem (§214).

Infini	itive.	Imperative.	Past.	Prohibitive.
		(2nd p. s.)	(3rd p. s.)	(2nd p. s.)
anning,1	be,	***	ass.	***
aŗēnging,	be entangled,	arēng,	aŗēngā,	arēngpa.
aurazēnging,	get excited,	aurazēng,	aurazēngā,	aurazēngpa.
avalēnging,	get confused,	avalěng,	$avalar{e}ngar{a},$	avalēngpa.
āvāning,	yawn,	$\bar{a}v\bar{a}n(a)$ ,	āvānā,	āvāmpa, āvānipa.
banning,2	come,	bu, bar,	bass,	bafa.
dārring,	become dry,	$bar{a}ra,$	bāris,	$bar{a}ripa.$
bāsing,	become hot,	bā <b>s</b> a,	bāsis,	$b  ilde{a} sip a.$
bashkhing,	present,	$bash\underline{kh}(a),$	$bash\underline{k}h ilde{a},$	$bash\underline{kh}(i)pa.$
baținging, <sup>8</sup>	summon.	baţing,	baţingā,	batingpa.

<sup>1</sup> Of. \$248 seg.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Of. §257.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Also bajanging, §279.

Infinitive	<b>).</b>	Imperative.	Past.	Prohibitive.
		(2nd p. s.)	(3rd p. s.)	(2nd p. s.)
bê <u>gh</u> ing,	knead,	$b\bar{e}g\underline{h}(a),$	bēg <u>aħ</u> ā,	$bar{e}gh(i)pa.$
bēling,	devastate,	$bar{e}la,$	$bar{e}lar{a},$	bēlipa.
bēning,	wear,	bēn,	$bar{e}nar{a},$	bēmpa.
bining,	hear,	bin,	bing,	bimpa.
bining,	pick,	bin,	$bin ilde{a},$	bimpa.
birring,	distinguish,	birra,	birrā,	birripa.
birvinging,	be sifted,	birving,	$birving  ilde{a},$	birvingpa.
bīring,	milk,	bir(a),	bīŗē, bīŗā,	$bar{\imath} r(i) pa.$
bising,	bake,	bis,	bisē,	bispa.
bising,	}.	(bis,	bisis,	bispa.
bisinging,	}ripen,	${\it bising},$	***	bising pa.
biting,	throw,	biţ,	biţē,	bitpa.
budding,	drown,	buḍḍa,	buḍḍă,	buddipa.
bū <u>kh</u> ing,	bellow,	$b \bar{u} \underline{k} \underline{h} a,$	bū <u>kh</u> ā,	bū <u>kh</u> ipa.
buring,	crumble	bura,	$\mathit{bur}ar{a},$	buripa.
_	(intr.),	_	2 - 1	.•
chä $-ing,$ 1	understand,	$char{a},$	chā-is,	tippa.
chakking,	taste,	chakka,	chakkā,	chakkipa.
chaling,	erack (intr.)	, chala,	chalā,	chalipa.
challing,	be current,	chall a,	$chall \bar{a},$	challipa.
chanding,	shake,	chanda,	chandā,	chan dipa.
chat ting,	lick,	chat ta,	$chat tar{a},$	chațțipa.
chikking,	pull,	chikka,	$chikkar{a},$	chikkipa.
ohirrênging	, roam,	$chirr\~eng,$	chirrĕngā,	chirréngpa.
chirênging,	) ha annound	(chirēng,	chirengā,	chirëngpa.
chiring,	be annoyed,	'(chira,	chiră,	chiripa.

Infinitiv	e.	Imperative.	Past.	Prohibitive.
		(2nd p. s.)	(3rd p. s.)	(2nd p. s)
chonding,	gobble up,	chondu,	$chondar{a},$	$chon \dot q ip a.$
choshing,	soak,	chosh(a),	$choshar{a},$	chosh(i)pa.
chumming,	kiss,	chum(ma),	$chumm \ddot{a},$	chum(mi)pa.
churring,	drip,	churra,	churrā,	churripa.
chūshing,	suck,	$ch\bar{u}sh(a),$	$char{u}sar{a},$	$char{u}sh(i)pa.$
chuţţēnging	, be rid of,	chutteng,	chwțțēngă,	$chu t t ar{e} ng pa.$
chutting,	drip,	chuțța,	$chut tar{a},$	chut tip a.
dāghing,	measure	$d\bar{a}\underline{g}\underline{h}(a),$	$d ar{a} \underline{g} \underline{h} ar{a},$	$dar{a} \underline{g} \underline{h}(i) pa$ .
	(grain, etc.)		J 01 00 5	dama
danning,1	take away,	da, dar,	$darar{e},$	dappa.
daring,	$\cdot$ descend.	dar(a),	darā,	dar(i)pa.
daringing,	•	(daring,	daringā,	daringpa.
dasing,	sow,	dosa,	$das\bar{e}, das\bar{a},$	dasipa.
dussing,	give a fall,	dassa,	$dass ilde{a},$	dassip a.
dranjing,	hang,	dranj(a),	$dranjar{a},$	dranj(i)pa.
$dr \tilde{a} z ing,$	throw up,	$dr\widetilde{a}z(a),$	$dr \widetilde{a}z \widetilde{a},$	$dr\widetilde{a}z(i)pa.$
drikking,	jump,	drik(ka),	$drikkar{a},$	drik(ki)pa.
dudinging,	run,	dudëng,	dudēngā,	$dudar{e}ngpa_{m{\epsilon}}$
durring,	nake an on- slaught,	durva,	$durrar{a},$	durripa.
duzzing,	steal,	duzza,	$duzz ilde{a},$	duzzipa.
dakking.	hide,	dakka,	$\dot{q}akkar{a},$	dakkipa.
daling,	gnaw,	dal(a),	$\dot{q}al\bar{a},$	dal(i)pa.
dohing,	carry,	doha.	ạohã,	do hip a.
dümbing,	cover up,	$d\bar{u}mba,$	$d ilde{u}mb ilde{a},$	$d ilde{u}mbipa.$
făming,	understand,	$f\bar{a}m,$	$f  ilde{a} m  ilde{a},$	$far{a}mpa.$

Infin	itive.	Imperative.	Past.	Prohibitive
		(2nd p. s.)	(3rd p. s.)	(2nd p s.)
gagalling,	bleat (of goats),	gagalla,	gagallă,	gægallipa.
$g\"{a}rring,$	bleat (of sheep),	gārra,	$g  ilde{a} r r  ilde{a},$	gārri <b>p</b> a.
$g\bar{a}rting,$	belch,	$g\bar{a}rta,$	gārtā,	gārtipa,
garing,	flatten,	gara,	gaŗā,	garipu.
$gid( ilde{a})r ilde{e}ng ing,$	pass over,	$gid( ilde{a})r$ ēn $g,$	$gid(ar{a})rar{e}ngar{a}$	, $gid(ar{a})$ - $rar{e}ngpa$ .
gidding,	nod with sleep	o, gidda,	giḍḍā,	giḍḍipa.
girring,	drag along,	girra,	$girrar{a},$	girripa.
going,	lose,	goa,	$goar{a},$	goipa.
goting,	pound,	goța,	$gotar{a},$	gotipa.
gūrring,	gurgle (of camels),	$g\ddot{u}rra,$	gūrrā,	gārripa.
$g\ddot{u}rting,$	low,	$gar{u}rta,$	$gar{u}rtar{a},$	$g ar{u} r t i p a.$
guṛēnging,	he seems	(guṛēng,	guŗēngā,	gurēngpa.
guring,	he scared,	l gura,	guŗā,	guripa.
gwafing,	weave,	gwaf(a),	gwafê, gwafā,	gwaf(i)pa
ghakking,	bark,	ghakka,	$ghakkar{a},$	ghakkipa.
ghānding,	muddle,	ghănda,	<u>gh</u> ānḍā,	ghāndipa.
$\underline{gh}$ a $pping.$	bark,	ghappa,	ghappā,	<u>gh</u> appipa
$\underline{gh}azhzhing.$	swell (intr.)	g <u>h</u> uzhzha,	$gh$ azhzh $ar{a},$	ghazhshipa.
ghurring.	growl,	ghurra,	$g\underline{h}urrar{a},$	ghurripa.
hakkaling,	drive,	hakkal(a),	$hakkalar{a},$	hakkal(i)pa.
hāling,	cover (of animals),	$h\bar{a}la,$	hālū,	hālipa.
$halling,^1$	take,	$ha\underline{l}\underline{h},$	halk,	halpa.

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  Imp. plur.  $halbo_{\circ}$  §197; pres.  $hal\bar{e}v_{\circ}$  §203.

Infinitive	) <b>.</b>	Imperative.	Past.	Prohibitive.
		(2nd p. s.)	(3rd p. s.)	(2nd p. s.)
hamping,	load,	hamp(a),	$hampar{e},$	$\mathit{hamp}(i) \mathit{pa}.$
haninging,	cohabit,	haning,	$haning ilde{a},$	haningpa.
harfing,	lift up.	harf,	harfĕ,	harfpa.
harrifing,	ask,	harrif,	harrifē,	harrifpa.
harring,	tear,	harra,	$harrar{a},$	harripa.
harsing,1	turn,	hars(a),	$hars  ilde{a}$ ,	hars(i)pa.
hataring,2	)	( hatar,	•••	•••
hating,	bring,	l hata,	hës,	hatipa.
$har{e}fing,^3$	lift up,	$har{e}f,$	$har{e}far{e},$	$har{e}fpa.$
$har{e}ling,$	spread out,	$har{e}l(a),$	$har{e}lar{a},$	$har{e}l(i)pa.$
hichchäning	y, sneeze,	$hichch\"ana,$	hichchānā,	hichchānipa.
hījēnging,	$\left. \left.  ight.  $	( hījēng,	$har{\imath}jar{e}ngar{a},$	$har{\imath}jar{e}ngpa.$
hījing,	) be ararmed,	$h\bar{\imath}ja$ ,	$\hbar ar{\imath} j \hat{a},$	$\hbar i j i p a.$
hikking,	hiccough,	hikka,	$hikkar{a},$	hikkipa.
hining,4	go,	hin,	$hin ar{a},$	himpa.
$h\bar{\imath}ning,$	kid, lamb, etc.	., $h\bar{\imath}n$ ,	hīng, hīnā,	$har{\imath}mpa.$
$h\bar{\imath}zhing,$	whistle,	$h \bar{\imath} z h a,$	$har{\imath}zhar{a},$	$har{\imath}zhipa.$
hoghing,	weep,	$ho\underline{g}\underline{h},^{5}$	ho <u>gh</u> ā,	$ho\underline{gh}pa.$ $^{5}$
hūlāi-ing,	},1	( hūlāi,	$har{u}lar{a}i$ - $ar{a}$ ,	$hular{a}ipa.$
$har{u}ling,$	howl,	$h\bar{u}l(a),$	hūlā,	$h ar{u} l(i) p a.$
hunning,6	),	7	$hurar{a},$	haven en a
huring,	$\begin{cases} look, \end{cases}$	hur,	nara,	huppa.
hūrēnging,	break out,	$h ar{u} r ar{e} n g,$	hűrēngă,	hūrēngpa.
hushing,	burn,	hush(a),	hushā,	$\mathit{hush}(i)\mathit{pa}.$

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Also harsing, §16; for derivatives cf. §274.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Also hatining, hatiring, cf. §263.

 $<sup>^3</sup>$  Hefing is of course intimately related to harfing.

Pres. kāv, cf. §264.
 Occasionally also ho, hopa, cf. §§ 190, 230.
 Cf. §262.

Infinit	ive.	Imperative.	Past.	Prohibitive.
		(2nd p. s.)	(3rd p. s.)	(2nd p. s.)
$illing,^1$	leave,	(illa, ille,	illā,	illipa.
overey,	icave,	₹ illē,	*	$ill ar{e} pa.$
jakking,	cough,	jakka,	$m{j}akkar{a},$	jakkipa.
jalling,	herd (trs.),	jalla,	$m{j}allar{a},$	jallipa.
jupping,	jump over,	juppa,	$jupp\bar{a},$	juppipa.
$kahing,^2$	die,	kah,	kask,	kaspa.
$kanning,^3$	do,	ka, kar,	$karar{e},$	kappa.
karghing,	shear,	$kar\underline{gh}(a),$	kar <u>gh</u> ä,	$kar \underline{gh}(i) pa.$
karring,	scrape out,	karra,	$karrar{a},$	karripa.
$\it kash shing,$	eject,	kashsha,	$\it kashshar a$ ,	$\it kash shipa.$
katting,	win,	katta,	$kattar{a},$	ka  otin tipa.
$kar{a}var{a}ring,$	poison,	$kar{a}var{a}ra,$	$kar{a}var{a}rar{a},$	$kar{a}var{a}ripa.$
kishking,	pluck off,	kishk(a),	$kishkar{a},$	kishk(i)pa.
kitting,	groan,	kitta,	$kittar{a},$	kittipa.
konding,	bore out,	konda,	$kondar{a},$	kondipa.
koting,	cut in pieces,	koṭa,	koṭā,	kotipa.
$kuning,^{\mathfrak s}$	eat,	kun,	kung,	kumpa.
$k ar{u} ring,$	roll up,	$k\bar{u}r(a),$	kūrā,	$kar{u}r(i)pa.$
kurring,	keep back,	kurra,	$kurrar{a},$	kurripa.
kuțțing,	pound,	ku t t a,	ku ota,	kuţţipa.
khāching,	sleep,	$\underline{kh}$ ā $ch(a)$ ,	<u>kh</u> āchā,	$\underline{kh}$ āc $h(i)oldsymbol{pa}$ .
khalling,6	strike,	$\underline{kh}a\underline{lh},$	$\underline{kh}alk$ ,	$\underline{kh}alpa.$

<sup>1</sup> Pres. illiv, illev, §202.

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  Pres.  $kah\bar{e}v,$  §203; for kas- of. §217; kasning is occasionally used in some hill dialects, e.~g , the Kidrani.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. §258.

<sup>4</sup> The included -k- is sometimes omitted, espec. in the pres. neg.: kishpar.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Pres, kunëv, §203.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Imp. plur. <u>kh</u>albo, §197; pres. <u>kh</u>alēv, §203.

		**********	" HANGUAGE.	
aning, aning, arring, arring, asaling, asaling, ashking, aling, aling, ating, ating, ahing, ahing,	chew, throw, rub, fear, pierce, dig, graze (trs	Imperat (2nd p. 1 khan, kharra kharre, khasäl( khussa, khoshk(a (khul(a), khuli, khulta, khutta,	s.) (3rd p <u>kh</u> ana <u>kharr</u> <u>kharr</u> <u>kharr</u> a), <u>kh</u> asai	st. Prohibitive  p. s.) (2nd p. s.)  a, <u>kh</u> ampa.  ris, <u>kh</u> arripa.  a, <u>kh</u> arripa.  da, <u>kh</u> asāl(i) pa.  khasipa.  khoshk(i) pa.  khul(i) pa.  khulīpa.  khulīpa.  khulīpa.  khulīpa.
āning,	desire,	khwāha, khwān(a),	<u>Kh</u> wāhis, <u>Kh</u> wāh <u>Kh</u> wānā,	<u>kh</u> wāhipa. ā,
ng, <sup>2</sup> g, 1 hing, s '2 si ', re ng, la	ugh,	$ma\underline{k}\underline{h}(a),$	laggā, laķkā, lānchā, larzā, lēṭā, lichchā, lojā, loṛā, ma <u>kh</u> ā,	khvāmpa, khvānipa. laggipu. lakkipa. lānch(i)pa. larzipa. lēţ(i)pa. lichchipa. lojipa. loṛipa. makh(i)pa.

Occasionally also khoshing, khosha, etc.

The state of the s

# THE VERB.

		THE VE	RB.	
mannii mannin marrin mashin	$\left. egin{array}{l} g, \\ g, \end{array}  ight\} { m obey},$	Imperative (2nd p. s.) ma, mar; (manna, marra,	e. Past. (3rd p. s.)	mafa.
miring, mūghing mukking mukking murifing mūshking nāling, narring, nusing, pāching, pākūling,	y, stammer, y, stretch out, y, rub, groan, ffee, grind (corn) peel, strain (through)	mūshk(a),  nāl(a),  narra,  nus(a),  pāch(a).	miṛā, mūghā, mukkā, murīfē, mūshkā, nālā, narrā, nusā, pāchā,	miṛ(i)pa. mūgh(i)pa. mūgh(i)pa. murīfpa. mūshk(i)pa. nāl(i)pa. narripa. nus(i)pa. pāch(i)pa.
pirāi-ing, pirāi-inging	, the carry	pilh(a), pināa, pinna, pirāi, pirāi-ing,	pirāi-ingā,	palēfpa. pālipa. pālipa. pāpa. paṭṭipa. pēhipa. pēṛipa. pilh(i)pa. pinḍipa. pināipa. pirāi-ingpa.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Also pālē, cf. §194. 8 Pres. pāv, §204; prob. fut. pārof. §207.

Infinitive.		Imperative.	Past.	Prohibitive.
		(2nd p. s.)	(3rd p. s.)	(2nd p. s.)
pir <u>gh</u> ing,	break,	$pir\underline{gh}(a),$	pir <u>gh</u> ā,	$m{pir}m{gh}(i)m{pa}.$
piring,	swell (intr.),	pira,	piris,	piripa
pirring,	blink,	$m{p}irra,$	pirra,	$oldsymbol{pirrip} oldsymbol{a}.$
pitting,	curse,	pitta,	$pittar{a},$	pittipa.
porring,	hatch,	porra,	$porrar{a},$	porripa.
poshing,	suck,	posh(a),	$poshar{a},$	posh(i)pa.
prinching,	squeeze,	princh(a),	$princhar{a},$	princh(i)pa.
puling,	rob,	pul(a),	$pular{a},$	pul(i)pa.
putrēnging,	enter,	putrēng,	putrēngā,	${m putr\'engpa}.$
rabaring,	be delirious,	rabara,	$raba rar{a},$	rabaripa.
rag <u>h</u> āming,	instruct,	$raghar{a}m(a),$	rag <u>h</u> āmā,	$\mathit{ra} \underline{\mathit{gh}} \bar{\mathit{a}} \mathit{m}(i)$
rapating,	talk in one's	~ .	rapaţā,	$pa. \ rapatipa.$
rasēnging,	} arrive,	$\{\mathit{ras\~eng},$	$\it rasar engar a,$	rasēngpa.
rasing,	)	(rasa,	$rasar{a},$	rasipa.
rating,	grumble,	rat(a),	ratä,	$\mathit{rat}(i) pa.$
$rar{e}fing,$	cheat,	$rar{e}f(a)$ ,	$rar{e}far{e},rar{e}far{a},$	$r\ddot{e}f(i)pa.$
$rar{e}sing,$	spin,	$rar{e}s(a),$	rēsā,	$rar{e}s(i)pa.$
rofing,	sweep up,	rof(a),	$rof  ilde{e}, rof  ilde{a},$	rof(i)pa.
$rar{u}sing,$	pluck,	$rar{u}s(a),$	rūsā,	$r\ddot{u}s(i)pa$ .
$r\bar{u}ting,$	reap,	$r\bar{u}t(a)$ ,	$rar{u}tar{a},$	$rar{u}t(i)pa.$
sa <u>gh</u> ing,	pound,	sagh(a),	$sa\underline{g}\underline{h}ar{a},$	$sa\underline{gh}(i)pa.$
saling,	stand,	$\int sal(a)$ ,	***	${\it sal}(i){\it pa}.$
${\it sal} {\it ing},$	) Statiu,	$\langle sal ar{\imath},$	$sal ar{\imath}s,$	$salar{\imath}pa.$
sambarëngin	g, cot manda	(sambarēng,	<b>s</b> ambarēngā	, sambarëngpa.
sambaring.	ger ready,	(sambara,	sambarā,	sambaripa.
<b>sang</b> arēnging	, filtrate,	sangarēng,	sangarēngā	, sangarēngpa.

Infinitive.		Imperative.	Past.	Prohibitive.
		(2nd p. s.)	(3rd p. s.)	(2nd p. s.)
sarring,	grow up,	sarra,	sarris, sarrā	, sarripa.
saṛēnging,	rot.	∫saŗēng,	saŗēngā,	$sarar{e}ngpa.$
saring,	2.009	lsar(a),	saŗā, saŗis,	$\mathit{sar}(i) \mathit{pa}.$
silling,	wash,	$sil(la),^{\scriptscriptstyle 1}$	$sillar{a},$	sil(li)pa.
sirring,	recoil,	$s\bar{\imath}rra,$	$sar{\imath}rrar{a},$	$sar{\imath}rripa.$
siring,	wait for,	$s\bar{\imath} r(a)$ ,	sīŗā,	$s ar{\imath} r(i) pa.$
sitting,	hop,	sitta,	$sittar{a},$	sittipa.
$sotar{e}fing,$	provoke,	$sotar{e}f,$	soțēfé,	$sot  ilde{e} fpa.$
suring,	move,	sur(a),	surā,	sur(i)pa.
$shar{a} \underline{gh} ing,$	pour,	$shar{a}(oldsymbol{g} h),$	$shar{a}ghar{a},$	sh $ar{a}(oldsymbol{gh})pa.$
$shal \~aping,$	wash (clothes	$s), shal  ilde{a}p(a),$	$shal ar{a}par{a},$	$shalar{a}p(i)pa.$
shîrshïring,	neigh,	$sh\~irsh\~ir(a),$	$sh\widetilde{\imath} rsh\widetilde{\imath} rar{a},$	$sh\~irsh\~ir(i)pa.$
$shar{\imath}ring,$	smooth out,	$shar{\imath}ra$ ,	$s h ar{\imath} r ar{a},$	shar iripa.
sholing,	throw,	shol(a),	$sholar{a},$	shol(i)pa.
shar uling,	hem,	$shar{u}l(a),$	$shar{u}l\hat{a},$	$shar{u}l(i)pa.$
shurring,	scratch,	shwra,	$shurrar{a},$	shurripa.
ta fing,	bind,	taf,	$tlpha f  ilde{e},$	tafpa.
takking,	covet,	takka,	$takkar{a},$	takkipa.
tamming,	fall,	tam(ma),	tammā,	tam(mi)pa.
taring,	spin,	tar(a),	$tar  ilde{a},$	tar(i)pa.
taring,	cut,	tar,	$tarar{e},$	tarpa.
tassing,	pant,	tassa,	$tassar{a},$	tassipa.
$ti\underline{kh}ing,$	place,	$ti\underline{k}\underline{h},$	$ti\underline{k}\underline{h}ar{a},$	$ti\underline{kh}pa.$
$tining,^2$	give,	$\ddot{e}te,$	tiss,	tifa.
toning,3	hold,	to tou	tanā	for a
toring,	( 1101 <b>u</b> ,	to, tor,	$tor ar{e},$	topa.

Infinitive		Imperative.	Past.	Prohibitive.
		(2nd p. s.)	(3rd p. s.)	(2nd p. s.)
tra <u>khkh</u> ing,	burst (intr.),	$tru\underline{kh}(\underline{kh}a),$	, tra <u>khkh</u> ā,	$tra\underline{kh}(\underline{kh}i)pa.$
tradding,	prance,	tradda,	$traddar{a},$	traddipa.
$trar{a}shing,$	plane,	$tr\bar{a}sh(a),$	trās <b>h</b> ā,	$trar{a}sh(i)pa.$
trikking,	sprout,	trikka,	$trikkar{a},$	trikkipa.
trujjing,	choke (intr.),	trujja,	$trujjar{a},$	trujjipa.
trukking,	pluck up,	trukka,	$trukkar{a},$	trukkipa.
$tar{u}ling,^{ ext{ in}}$	sit,	$t\bar{u}\underline{l}\underline{h},$	$t  ilde{u}s,$	$t  ilde{u} l p a.$
$tus\~enging,$	} faint, {	$tusar{e}ng,$	tusēngā,	tusēngpa.
tusing,	) mino,	tus(a),	$tusar{a},$	tus(i)pa.
$turar{e}nging,$	get unhem-	$turar{e}ng,$	tuŗēngā,	$turar{e}ngpa.$
	med,			
ta <u>gh</u> alēnging	, )	(ṭaghalēng,	ta <u>gh</u> alēngā,	taghalēngpa.
ṭaghaling,	' }be displaced	(ta <u>gh</u> ala,	ṭaghalā,	taghalipa.
tahing,	agree,	taha,	ṭahā,	ţahipa.
ṭanḍarēnging	, be numbed,	ţanḍarēng,	ţandarēngā,	tandarēngpa.
tanging,	hang (trs.),	tanya,	ţangā,	ţangipa.
toking,	hammer,	ţoka,	$tokar{a},$	tokipa.
vadding,	increase	vadda,	vadda,	vaddipa.
	(intr.),			T.
vahing,	flow,	vaha,	$vahar{a},$	vahipa.
vakking,	bark,	va <b>kka</b> ,	$vakkar{a},$	vakkipa.
zumburēnging	(;	zumburēng, :	zumburēnaā.	zumburēngpa.
zumburing,	squat, s		zumburā,	
zhūnging,	buzz,			zhūngipa.

ı Imp. plur.  $t\bar{u}lbo$ , §197 : pres.  $t\bar{u}liv$ . Dialectical variant  $t\bar{u}sing$ , past  $t\bar{u}s\bar{u}$ ,  $t\bar{u}sis$ .

# Verbal Derivatives.

- §266. This list of verbs may be conveniently followed by a reference to nouns and adjectives which are either derived from, or intimately related to, verbal roots. These fall into two main classes, according as they are derived directly from a verbal base, or are formed by the addition of a formative ending.
- §267. The former class is further subdivided. In many cases the noun coincides with the crude base: drik, jump; hakkal, shout; hamp, loading: pul, robbery; shūl, hem; hichchān, sneeze; kat, winnings; tak, desire. In the last three instances the derivative seems to preserve the base in a purer form than the imperative singular. Like it, however, it sometimes takes on an apparently non-radical final -a: chanda, shock; hikka, hiccough; jakka, cough; gidda, nodding with drowsiness. Again, in halh and tülh. the use of which is confined to the compound phrases halh o tiss, taking and giving, bash o tūlh, uprising and down-sitting. it shows a peculiar phonetic modification of the crude base, only found otherwise in the imperative singular (§190). a second group the derivative noun is identical with the past stem: tiss, generosity; khulīs, fear. In pirēs, swelling, there is a slight vowel change. Murīs, length, appears to be an analogous formation, but there is no simple verb to correspond to murifing, to stretch out, to extend, which is a causal in form.
- §268. <u>Khan</u>, eye, probably belongs to a different category, like the loan-words <u>bashkh</u> (Persian <u>bakh</u>sh), allotment, and <u>kh</u>wāst, request, in which the nouns seem clearly prior to the verbs. Indeed, the form of the noun in the last instance is possibly responsible in part for the apparently abnormal appearance of a final sibilant in the past stem of the derived verb <u>kh</u>wāhing, to request.

§269. Conspicuous among the formative endings is -āra, which is employed to form a large group of nouns denoting sound: gārrāra, bleating; għurrāra, growling; ħīzhāra, whistling; shǐṛshĩṛāra, neighing; vakkāra, barking; zhūngāra, buzzing. There are one or two miscellaneous formations: trakhkhas, crack; buruṭ, crumb. In kharrisī, green (grass), a formative -ī has apparently been attached to the past stem. A final -ī serves as an adjectival formative in marrī, tame. But the chief adjectival formative is -un (cf. §77), which is probably not unconnected with the perfect formative -un (§223): kharrun, green; bārun, dry; pālun, wet; bāsun, hot; bissun, ripe. The doubling of the final consonant of the base in the last example is worth noting.

§270. A few illustrations of the use of these derivative nouns may be of interest: ballo drikkas khalk, he made a big jump; asi chandato drakht tammā, the tree fell with one shock; o tēnā māranā kulle kaṭṭe tēnaṭ-a kunēk, he enjoys all his son's earnings himself; ī nē pātanuṭ ki kanto halh o tiss karak, I haven't invited you to have dealings with me; tissān bandagh dam-a dēk, khudā dam-a dappak, though man wearies of giving, God never wearies; kanā khulīsān onā jānaṭī laṛza tammā, through fear of me, trembling seized his body.

# The Passive.

§271. Although there are in a few isolated cases separate verbs for the active and passive, e.g., pirghing, to break, pinning, to be broken, the passive is regularly formed from the transitive verb by suffixing the formative -ing to the base, and attaching the ordinary conjugational terminations:—

tikhing,to place;tikhing-ing,to be placed.dakking,to hide;dakking-ing,to be hidden.khaning,to see;khaning-ing,to be seen.

- §272. In cases like illing, to leave, khuling, khuling, to fear, in which the base is really two-fold (cf. §194), there may be two forms of the passive: illinging, illēnging, to be left; khulinging, khulīnging, to be feared. The case is of course different with variants like sholinging, sholanging, to be poured, in which -ang is merely a variant of the passive formative. It obtains chiefly in cases like malanging (malinging), to be opened, in which the attraction of the vowel of the base appears to have made itself felt.
- §273. Verbs in -n generally, though irregularly, retain the nasal in the passive: kanning, to do, kanninging, to be done; danning, to take away, danninging, to be taken away; pāning, to say, pāninging, to be said; toning, to hold, toninging, to be held. But except in the case of kanning, there are also secondary forms founded regularly on the base in -r: daringing, pāringing, toringing. The passive of tining, to give, is similarly tininging, less commonly tiringing.
- §274. A passive is formed from the causal of an intransitive verb (§285): kahing, to die, kasfing, to kill, kasfinging, to be killed; tūling, to sit, tūlifing, to seat, tūlifinging, to be seated. Somewhat analogous is the complicated case of harsēfinging (harsēfinging), to be made to turn oneself; it is the passive of harsēfing, to make a man turn himself; harsēfing is the causal of harsēnging, to turn oneself; and harsēnging is the middle or neuter (§277) of the transitive verb harsing (harsing), to turn The passive of the simple verb is harsinging (harsinging), to be turned.
- §275. Except as regards the adjectival participle and the noun of obligation, the conjugation of the passive verb, both affirmative and negative, is perfectly normal, the ordinary conjugational terminations being suffixed to the passive base in the usual manner. It has already been pointed out that the -g of the passive formative may be dropped at pleasure before the imperative plural termination -bo (§197)

and the present-negative sign -pa' (§230), the n changing in consequence to m; that the past stem in the affirmative ends in  $-\hat{a}$  (§215); that the adjectival participle and the noun of obligation in the affirmative coincide with the forms in the active verb (§§212, 213); and that the same remark applies in the negative to the latter (§242), the passive like the ordinary verb being devoid of a negative participle as well as of a negative infinitive (§225). It will thus suffice to give a skeleton conjugation of a typical passive verb, harsinging (harsinging), to be turned.

	${\bf Affirmative}.$	Negative.
Infinitive:	harsinging.	***
Pres. adv. part.:	har singisa.	***
Pres. adj. part.:	harsok.	***
Noun of obligation:	harsoī.	ha <b>rs</b> parot.
		harsipuroī.
Imperative:	harsing.	harsingpa.
·		har simpa.
Present indefinite:	harsingiv.	harsingpar.
		harsimpar.
Present-future:	harsingiva.	harsingpara.
		harsimpava.
Probable future:	harsingoţ	harsingparot.
•		harsimparoț.
Past conditional:	harsingosuļ	harsingparesuf.
		horsimparosut.
Past:	hursingāţ.	harsingtavat.
Imperfect:	harsingāļa.	har singta vata.
Pluperfect:	harsingāsuṭ.	harsingtavēsut.
Perfect	harsingānuţ.	harsing taxut.

#### The Neuter Verb.

- \$276. There is a class of verbs which, while on the whole resembling passives rather than actives in form, differ in certain respects from both, and lie in meaning midway between the two. The formative of such verbs is -ēng, which is suffixed to the base in the same way as the passive formative -ing: harsēnging (harsēnging), to return; rasēnging, to arrive; dudēnging, to run; putrēnging, to enter; sarēnging, to rot, to be well cooked; chirrēnging, to roam; tusēnging, to faint. Such verbs have frequently a secondary simple form with the same meaning: rasing, saring, tusing.
- §277. In the somewhat rare cases in which there is also a simple transitive verb in existence the derivative verb has a distinctly middle force: harsing (harsing), to turn, harsenging (harsenging), to turn oneself, to return, as opposed to the passive harsinging (harsinging), to be turned (§274). Again, halenging in the compound kī halenging, to set (of the sun), is a middle from halling, to take, and the compound literally means 'to take oneself below' (§295). The passive on the other hand is of course hallinging, to be taken, in which the consonant of the root is doubled as in the infinitive of the simple verb (§185). Similarly the relationship of danning, to take away, to darēnging in the compounds dam danning, dam darēnging, to be tired, to tire oneself, is clearly that of a transitive to a middle verb, though a distinction is hardly ever marked.
- §278. The conjugation of the neuter verb differs in some respects from the conjugation of the passive. The infinitive termination is frequently dropped: harseng, raseng, dudeng. This is more especially the case in the so-called tenses of actuality: ī harsengaṭī uṭ, I am returning; ī rasengaṭī assuṭ, I was arriving; ī dudengaṭī affaṭ, I am not running. In the adjectival participle and the noun of obligation the

formative is not dropped as in the passive, which the conjugation, both affirmative and negative, otherwise resembles:—

	Affirmative.	Negative.
Infinitive:	$\mathit{harseng}(\mathit{ing}).$	
Pres. adv. part.:	harsēngisa.	•••
Pres. adj. part.:	$hars ar{e}ngok.$	***
Noun of obligation:	harséngoī.	harsēngparoī. harsēmparoī.
Imperative:	harsēng.	harsēngpa. harsēmpa.
Present indefinite:	harsëngiv.	harsëngpar. harsëmpar.
Present-future:	harsēngiva.	harsēngpara. harsēmpara.
Probable future:	har <b>s</b> ēngoţ.	harsēngparoț. harsēmparoț.
Past conditional:	harsēngosuț.	harsēngparosuţ. harsēmparosuţ.
Past:	harsēngāţ.	harséngtavat.
Imperfect:	harsêngāţa.	harsengtavata.
Pluperfect:	harsēngāsuţ.	harsēngtavēsuț.
Perfect:	harsēngānuţ.	harsēngtanuţ.

Of course if there is also a simple form besides the neuter form, both persist side by side throughout the conjugation: rasēng(ing), rasing, to arrive; rasēngisa, rasisa; rasēngok, rasok; rasēngoī, rasoī; rasēngparoī, rasēmparoī, rasiparoī, etc. Both forms moreover are represented in the causal (§284).

§279. The verb batinging, to summon, which also appears as batanging (cf. §272 fin.), partakes somewhat of the nature of a deponent: it is similar in form to a passive, though purely active in meaning. It is, however, conjugated

on the lines of the neuter verb:  $\bar{\imath}$  batingat $\bar{\imath}$  (batangat $\bar{\imath}$ ) nt, batingisa, batingok, batingo $\bar{\imath}$ , etc. In the causal batingifing it displays a marked divergence from the neuter (§284). Somewhat similar is the case of daringing, to descend: daringok, daringo $\bar{\imath}$ , etc. But the simple forms daring, darok, daro $\bar{\imath}$ , etc., are at least equally common, while the causal darifing is regular. There are a few other instances of the same kind.

#### The Causal.

§280. A causal may be formed from practically every verb in the language by suffixing the causal formative -if to the base and adding the ordinary conjugational terminations:—

bining, to hear; binifing. to make to hear.

bārring, to become dry; bārifing, to make dry.

shāghing, to pour; shāghifing, to cause to be poured.

tikhing, to place; tikhifing, to cause to be placed.

- §281. If the base ends in a long vowel, it is of course retained in the causal, and there may thus be alternative forms of the causal corresponding to alternative forms of the imperative and other parts of the simple verb: illēfing, illifing, to cause to be left; <u>khulīfing</u>, <u>khulīfing</u>, to frighten; salīfing, salifing, to make to stand.
- §282. The verbs in -n form their causal from the strengthened base in -r:—

manning, to become; marifing, to make to become.

banning, to come; barifing, to make to come.

kanning, to do; karifing, to cause to be done.

danning, to take away; darifing, to cause to be taken

away.

pāning, to say; pārifing, to cause to be said.

toning, to hold; torifing, to cause to be held.

In the causal tining, to give, again follows the model of these verbs: tirifing, to cause to be given. Bēning, to wear, forms its causal in two ways: bēnifing, bērifing, to clothe.

§283. There are one or two irregular formations. The causal of kahing, to die, is formed from the same base as the past and the negative: kasfing (kasifing), to kill, the included vowel of the formative being usually dropped. The vowel is similarly dropped in khwāfing, to graze (intr), the superfluous aspirate being dropped at the same time. On the other hand the causal of khwāhing, to ask for, is formed regularly: khwāhifing, to cause to be asked for.

§284. Neuter verbs in forming their causal retain the vowel only of the neuter formative: harsenging, to return, harsenging, to make to return; dudenging, to run, dudenging, to make to run. If there is a secondary simple form of the neuter verb, the causal is similarly two-fold: rasenging, rasing, to arrive, rasenging, rasing, to make to arrive. The verb batinging (batanging), to summon, has been already shown (§279) to be on a different footing; its causal is batinging. The causal of daringing, to descend, on the other hand is regular: darifing.

§285. It will have been observed that the causals fall naturally into two groups, according to the nature of the simple verb from which they are derived. Causals derived from intransitives are active causals and frequently take the place of the corresponding transitive verb: kahing, to die, kasfing, to kill; tūling, to sit, tūlifing, to seat; khulūng, to be afraid, khulūfing, to frighten. On the other hand causals derived from transitives are passive causals: dakking, to hide, dakkifing, to cause to be hidden; khalling, to strike, khalifing, to cause to be struck; gwafing, to weave, gwafifing, to cause to be woven; kanning, to do, karifing, to cause to be done.



- §286. It follows that if the verb is at once transitive and intransitive, its causal may be either active or passive: pāning, to speak, to say, pārifing, to make to speak, to cause to be said; <u>khaning</u>, to see. <u>khanifing</u>, to make to see, to cause to be seen; bining, to hear, binifing, to make to hear, to cause to be heard; kuning, to eat, kunifing, to feed, to cause to be eaten.
- \$287. There may be a double causal, i.e., a passive causal of the causal of an intransitive verb: kahing, to die, kasfing, to kill, kasfifing, to cause to be killed; khulīng, to be afraid, khulīfing, to frighten, khulīfifing, to cause to be frightened.
- §288. A few verbs, such as harrifing, to ask, harfing, to lift up, sotefing (sotifing), to provoke, are causals in appearance, but if they are really causals, the simple verbs have dropped out of the language. Similarly murifing, to stretch out, has the appearance of being a causal derived from a base muri-, which seems to be contained in the noun muris, length (§267 fin.), but the place of the simple verb is taken by the compound murr manning, to be far.
- §289. The conjugation of the causal verb is perfectly regular both in the affirmative and negative; the past stem in the affirmative ends in  $-\tilde{e}$  (§216).

	•	
	Affirmative.	Negative.
Infinitive:	tì <u>kh</u> ifing.	1.44
Pres. adv. part.:	ti <u>kh</u> ifisa.	***
Pres. adj. part.:	ti <u>kh</u> ifok.	***
Noun of obligation:	ti <u>kl</u> eifoi.	ti <u>kh</u> ifparož.
Imperative:	ti <u>kh</u> if.	ti <u>khif</u> pa.
Present indefinite:	ti <u>Eh</u> ifiv.	ti <u>kh</u> ifpar.
Present-future:	ti <u>kh</u> ifiva.	tikhifpara.
Probable future:	ti <u>kh</u> ifot.	ti <u>khi</u> fparoj.
Past conditional:	ti <u>kh</u> ifosuļ.	tikhifparosut.
Past:	ti <u>kh</u> ifēt.	ti <u>kh</u> iftavat.
Imperfect:	ti <u>kh</u> ifēṭa.	tikhiftavata.
Pluperfect:	ti <u>kh</u> ifesut.	ti <u>kh</u> iftavēsut.
Perfect:	ti <u>kh</u> ifēnut.	tikhiftanut.
		* N 3

# Compound Verbs.

§290. Though the term 'compound verbs' is for the most part a misnomer, it serves as a convenient heading to bring together certain important classes of circumlocutory phrases.

Nominal Compounds.

§291. For lack of a better term we may designate as nominal compounds such phrases as are compounded of a predicative noun (substantive or adjective) and a verb. These of course are not real compounds, and belong rather to the dictionary than to grammar. But they bulk largely in the language, somewhat scantily provided as it is with simple verbs. A small selection will therefore be made from the profusion which offers itself, and these characteristic examples will sufficiently indicate the nature of this important class of phrase.

§292. Several useful couplets are formed with kanning, to do, and manning, to become:—

bash kanning, to raise up; chat kanning, to destroy;

gat kanning, to engage;

ab kanning, to harvest;

much kanning, to collect (trs.);

rāhī kunning, to despatch; trd kanning, to send with;

tung kanning, to bore a hole in:

yala kanning, to release;

bash manning, to arise.

chat manning, to be destroyed.

gat manning, to be engaged.

lāb manning, to be harvested.

much manning, to collect (intr.).

rāhī manning, to set out.

tud manning, to go in company with.

tung manning, to be breached.

yala manning, to be released.



- §293. Kanning indeed is particularly often employed: ad kanning, to wait, to halt; barām kanning, to marry; kēb kanning, to approach; hīt kanning, to chat; langār kanning, to plough; khar kanning, to get annoyed; marrām kanning, to call out for; pāṭ kanning, to pick up sticks. So is tining, to give: ad tining, to restrain; barām tining, to give in marriage; bash tining, to throw up (in the air); chat tining, to sprinkle; kirëng tining, to abuse; mon tining, to send; musit tining, lit. to give three stones, to divorce; nishān tining, to show; tik tining, lit. to give a ray, to rise (of the sun). A few miscellaneous examples may be given: chak khalling, to look back (in running); tüfak khalling, to fire (at, with abl.); ad halling, to take shelter; khaf toning, to give ear to; tad toning, to resist; dīr  $sh\bar{a}ghing$ , to bathe;  $d\bar{u}$   $sh\bar{a}ghing$ , to put one's hand in, to meddle; pēsh tamming, to come forth; drogh taring, to lie; chūcha khaning, to give birth to a child; gīrām hining, to escape the memory; gīrām illing, to forget; dam kashshing, to take a rest; dam danning (darēnging), to be tired; dam darifing, to tire out.
- §294. Somewhat analogous are the compounds which contain a noun in some oblique case: monațī tamming, to go in front; monațī kanning, to put in front; monațī shāghing, to drive ahead, to admit into one's presence; monațī harsēnging, to face, to oppose; dūṭī banning, dūṭī tamming, to fall to one's hand, to be secured. The last two examples usually appear abbreviated: dū banning, du tamming. It seems possible that the first element of the compound phrase tungān hining, to go off into a sound sleep, is an ablative of an otherwise obsolete noun, tung, sleep (cf. tugh).
- §295. There remain three groups of especial interest:
  (1)  $k\bar{\imath}$  halenging, to set (of the sun);  $k\bar{e}$  danning, to swallow;  $k\bar{e}$  harsing, to usurp; ki banning, to knock against; ki tamming, to descend; (2)  $b\bar{e}$  sholing, to bathe (intr.);

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bē <u>khalling</u>, to cross through (water); <u>bē harsing</u>, to turn over; <u>bē harsénging</u>, to return back; <u>bē harséfing</u>, to turn over; <u>bē bāling</u>, to cross over; (3) <u>ī-kashshing</u>, to thrust in; <u>ī-kh</u>alling, to insert bit by bit.

Of these, ki tamming, ki banning are practically confined to the particular form of the Jhalawan dialect spoken by the Mengals of Saruna, but the phrases are linguistically of some importance. With the exception of baling, which is otherwise obsolete, the last element in each case is a verb in common use. It seems clear that ki  $(k\bar{e}, k\bar{i})$  is a stunted form of the full-word kêragh, bottom (§356), or at any rate a derivative from the same root. Thus kī halēnging means literally to take oneself below (§277), kē danning, to take away down, and so on. Similarly be seems to be intimately related to batagh, top (§355); a link between the two exists in the adjective bet, on: kho khākharāi bet e, the pot's on the fire; hamē tūfakas ki nī khalkus, rad mass yā bēt? did the shot you fired miss or hit? Thus be sholing means literally to pour (water) on oneself; be khalling, to strike over or across, and so on. The derivation of the first element in the third group is probably of a similar nature, but it is not easy to trace.

§296. The curious dialectical kiballing (past kibalkut), to stumble, does not belong to the first group. The peculiar form of the past shows clearly that it is compounded with halling, to seize, and it seems no less clear that the other element in the compound is the word kēb, near, (§367). Nor has the first element bāi in the compound bāi tining, to lose (in a race or in gambling), any connection with bē in the second group. It is found also in the Pashtu bailēdal, and the Dehwari bai dādan; from it is formed a causal bāifing, to make to lose, as well as the somewhat rare passive bāinging, to be lost.

#### Potential Compounds.

- §297. Ability to perform an action is expressed by coupling the infinitive with the finite parts of kanning, to do: hining kev, I may be able to go; halling-a keva, I can seize; kanning kattavat, I could not do; pāning kapparot, I shall probably not be able to speak, and so on.
- \$298. Similarly the possibility of an action being performed may be expressed by coupling the infinitive with manning, to become: ā halling-a murēva, I can be caught; kanning matau, it could not be done. But this periphrasis is also employed instead of the ordinary passive without suggesting any question of possibility: I will be caught; it was not done.

#### Inceptive Compounds.

§299. Inception is expressed by a phrase composed of tumming, to fall, and the infinitive of the verb in the locative in -aṭī: hoghingaṭī tammipa, don't fall a-weeping; ī narringaṭī tammiva, I'll set off running.

# Frequentative and Continuative Compounds.

§300. The ideas of frequent and continuous action are expressed in one and the same way by coupling the adverbial participle of the verb with hining, to go, or hanning, to come. The rest of the sentence or the context alone indicates whether the force of the phrase is frequentative or continuative: narrisa kāik, (i) he is always running away; (ii) he persists in his flight;  $\bar{\imath}$  pārisa bassunut, (i) I have said times without number; (ii) I have never ceased saying.

# Intensive or Completive Compounds.

§301. An intensive or completive force may be given in a few stereotyped eases by coupling the verb with *hining*, to go, both in the same tense: o kunék káik, he will devour up; kask kinā, he died outright; num khalkura kināre, you thrashed soundly.

# The Syntax of the Verb.

§302. The following notes on the use of the various parts of the verb will ordinarily be of general application, a few remarks being added separately on the negative, the passive and the causal, with illustrations of the use of the so-called compound verbs. The neuter verb does not call for special comment.

#### The Infinitive.

- \$303. The infinitive is a verbal noun, declinable throughout the singular: dushmannā khalling jwān e, 'tis pleasant to strike the foe; nanā tūlingnā jāga dād e, this is our sitting place; tēnā drogh taringe machchi ka, eut your lying short; narringān jang karosun, oh that we had fought instead of running away; duzzī kanningaṭ o tēne kharāb karē, he ruined himself by thieving; kane numā hīt kunningto chikār aff, I've nothing to do with your talking; bash manningki illēpēs-ta, please don't let him get up; nane khudā kahingiskā jitā kapp, may God not part us till death. The two ordinary locatives are particularly important: kanā īlum rāhī manningaṭī ass, my brother was in the act of starting (§306); tūfak khallingaṭī tammā, he began to fire (§349); ī ode dudēngāi khanāṭ, I saw him on the point of running.
- §304. In past narration the nominative of the infinitive is sometimes used for vividness in the place of a finite verb: oftā tavār kanning, nanā urānā pēhing, the moment they cried out, we entered the house.
- §305. It will be observed that the infinitive, being a substantive, is ordinarily qualified by the object in the genitive. In this respect, however, it may also be treated as a verb: dushmane khalling juan e; ofta tavar kanning, nana urāļī pēhing.

#### The Tenses of Actuality.

- §306. The idiomatic use of the locative of the infinitive coupled with the auxiliary to form quasi-tenses of actuality deserves separate illustration. The regular expression for the true present, as distinguished from the present of habit. is of the form ī tikhingaṭī uṭ, I am in the act of placing, I am placing, and other tenses of the kind are formed on this analogy: ballā apok tēnā arighe tēnā chunā avokāi soțefingati e, the elder wife is engaged in stirring up her husband against her young rival; nan tēnat numā pāra ahāi banningatī assun, num tēne nāhak halāk karēre, as a matter of fact we were on our way to you of our own accord, so you put yourselves out for nothing; nëmrochāi ki sardār barē, i lab kanningati marot, should the chief come at noon. I shall be in the middle of harvesting; bas rakht i gobat kanningati masswut ki od bassune, many a time has he found me busy threshing on his arrival.
- §307. The present of actuality is sometimes used with vivid effect in past narration: kasaraf hināra, ant khanir? huchchiā banningaṭī e, they were going on their way and what do you think they see?—the camelman is coming; nāgumān murrān kuchakas khanān ki dudēngisa banningaṭī e, all of a sudden we saw a dog from afar—it's coming at a run.
- §308. No doubt the fact that the ordinary present is at the same time a future gave rise to this convenient mode of expression, as in the analogous case of Baluchi. There is an instructive parallel in the history of the English language. In Old English the present served also as a future, and recourse had to be had to some device to express distinctions of tense. Thus 'I am doing' came gradually to represent the type of the true present. The expressions I was doing,' 'I have been doing,' etc., are formed naturally on the present, but belong to later stages of development, and by

these and similar devices the nicest shades of tense-distinction have been rendered possible. In Brahui there are traces of a like development: the present of actuality is firmly established, the use of the past is not uncommon, but the need for the other tenses has not yet made itself widely enough felt to give them a significant place in the language.

# The Imperative and the Present Indefinite.

§309. The present indefinite, which might perhaps be appropriately termed the present subjunctive, supplements the imperative in two ways: it furnishes secondary forms in the second persons, and it supplies the missing forms in the other two.

Whereas the imperative expresses a direct and definite command, the present indefinite used as such in the second persons is less direct, and generally therefore more polite:  $d\bar{a}$   $k\bar{a}r\bar{e}me\ karak$ , do this work;  $d\bar{a}\ k\bar{a}r\bar{e}me\ k\bar{e}s$ , you will please do this work. The tense is moreover appropriate when the request or command is to be carried out at some later date:  $d\bar{a}\ dagh\bar{a}re\ \bar{e}na\underline{k}ho\ das$ ,  $\bar{e}\ dagh\bar{a}re\ los\bar{a}l\ dasis$ , sow this land this year, and that land next year.

§310. As the imperative is confined to the second persons, recourse is had in the case of the other two to the present indefinite: barēv, let me come; khudā khair kē, God speed it; jang kēn, let us fight; much marēr, let them gather together. An appropriate imperative often introduces the present indefinite used in this manner: ba ki kān, come, let us go; illē kāe, let him go. The most important of such introductory words is pānē, which if an imperative at all—and in passing it may be noted that there are grounds for so regarding it—is not an imperative of any extant Brahui verb. It is more especially used in connection with the third persons of the present indefinite · pānē

tahṭī barē, let him come in; pānē tūlir, let them sit down. But it is also used with the other persons: pānē kāv, let me go; pānē asīka iragh kunēn, let us eat for a while. It has at times a petulant or defiant force: nā īlum pēshan salīsune—pānē sale, your brother's standing outside—then let him stand. And this seems generally its force when used with the second persons of the present indefinite or of the imperative proper: pānē kāre, go, if you must go; nī pānē duzzī ka, har vakhtas ki hallingās, nē tēnat khabar tammoe, go on with your thieving if you will, in the hour you're caught you'll learn the consequences without my help.

- §311. The present indefinite is used potentially, more especially in interrogative sentences:  $t\bar{u}liv?$  may I sit?  $t\bar{u}lis$ , you may sit;  $bar\bar{e}?$  may he come?  $bar\bar{e}$ , he may come.
- §312. It is used as an ordinary subjunctive in subordinate sentences: jwān e ki ī dāsā kāv, it's as well I should now take my departure; jwān jwānangā hullīte bin o hata ki ī chēra kēv, pick out the very best of the horses and bring them to me to examine. It is used as a subjunctive even in past narration: o tēnā ustatī pārē ki ī duzziv-ta, he inwardly made up his mind to steal it; dastarkhānae malān ki iragh kunēn, we opened out the table-cloth in order to eat a meal. In such cases the use of the imperfect, though not inadmissible, would be less idiomatic.

#### The Present-Future.

§313. The present-future, as its name implies, is used both as a present and a future. Treated as a present it is rather a present of habit than a true present, which is expressed by the so-called present of actuality (§306): nan dā shahraļī tūlina, we live in this town, i.e., we are resident here; nan dā shahraṭī tūlingaṭī un, we are at this moment actually living in this town, i.e., we are resident elsewhere.

Although the context alone indicates whether the tense is used to denote a present of habit or a near future, its two-fold significance rarely presents any difficulty in practice Shālkoṭaṭā harvakhl dā mosumāi pir-a kēk, in Quetta it always rains at this time of the year; pir dāsā dasik, it'll rain presently. With the last example may be contrasted: pir dāsā dasingaṭā e, it's actually raining now.

#### The Probable Future.

- §314. While the present-future in its future significance implies on the whole nearness of time and certainty of the event in the future, the probable future, at any rate in the standard language, contains almost always an element of uncertainty: pagya nok khaningoe, to-morrow (we hope) the new moon will be visible; aino nok khaningtau, pagga khaningik, the new moon wasn't visible to-day, it's sure to be visible to-morrow; zinda massut, losāle hajjāi hinot, if I'm alive, I propose to make the pilgrimage next year. In the Jhalawan dialect the tense is regularly used as a future proper: i hinot, I will go. This use is of course not unknown in the standard language, and is indeed quite common in the case of the first person singular affirmative of causals and verbs whose base ends in -f. in which the ordinary future would present an awkward sequence of labials: e.g., ī khulīfot, I will frighten, comes more naturally to the tongue than ī khulīfiva.
- \$315. The probable future is often employed idiomatically to express indefiniteness without any futuric meaning at all: numā shahratī aṭ urā o? dah dwāzda-as maror, how many houses are there in your village? some ten or twelve or so; nā īlum tēnā urāṭī e, aff? hin hur-ta, urāṭī maroe, agu oṛē matau, shahraṭī maroe, is your brother in his house or not? go and look for him, he's probably at home, and if he's not there, he'll be in the village; nā mār aṭ sāla maroe?

shash sāla maroe, how old's your boy? he'll be about six years old. The Brahui in fact makes use of a colloquialism not unfamiliar in English.

#### The Past Conditional.

- §316. The past conditional is chiefly affected in the Jhalawan dialects; in the standard language it is generally displaced by the imperfect. It is used in past conditional sentences (§413), more particularly in the antecedent clause: nī aga narrosus, nā padaṭ bafarosut, had you taken to your heels, I wouldn't have come after you: ī aga numā pāraghāi barosuṭ, dāṛān must barosuṭ, had I been coming to you, I'd have come before this; khālī chirrēngān kārēm karosus, nā guzrān marosas, had you worked instead of simply loafing, you'd have got a living; faujanā banningān must pēsh tammosure, numā māl hintavaka, had you set forth before the army arrived, your property would never have been lost.
- §317. Closely allied to this conditional use is its use as a past optative: tēnā hullīe daunangā lāgharīāi khamparosut, oh that I had never seen my horse in so skinny a condition; narringān kahosas, would that he had died sooner than run away; iragh kuningān must dūte sillosus, dīratī pēhingān must puchchāte kashshosus, you ought to have washed your hands before eating, and doffed your clothes before entering the water. As a past optative also the imperfect is generally preferred in the standard language (§330).

# The Present Adverbial Participle.

§318. The adverbial participle despite its name does not participate in the nature of an adjective, and always requires a verb to complete its sense. Its three forms are sometimes used indifferently: o kasarat chinjik binisa (binisau, binisa-at) hināka, he went along the road picking up twigs. But as the form in -isau seems unmistakably a combination

of the simple termination with the conjunction o, 'and' (§211), it is most commonly used when two participles are coupled together: o hoghisau pittisa tēnā khalkanā pāraghāi dudēngāka, she was running towards her encampment weeping and beating her breast. Similarly the form in -isa-at, which can hardly be anything but an instrumental, is obviously appropriate, if at all, when the participle is used absolutely: kasarāi nane shikār karisa-at nan tammā, shooting on the road, night fell upon us.

§319. A repetition of the participle to express gradual process is not uncommon: <u>kh</u>ado karraīāi dākā rāhī massun, hinisa hinisa irā tūān guḍ Kēche rasēngān, last year in the early spring we set out from here, and travelling bit by bit we arrived two months later in Kech.

The special use of this participle to form frequentatives and continuatives (§300) will be illustrated later (§350).

### The Present Adjectival Participle.

- §320. The adjectival participle, whether active or passive in significance, is an ordinary adjective. It is only in the predicate that it appears in its simple form: duzzāk khāchok assur ki nan kāṭumāi-tā tammān, the thieves were asleep when we fell upon them; ī ode bassuṭ, kahok khanāṭ, when I reached him I found him dead; oftā kuchak sakht kunok e, their dog's a terrible biter; o ḍaulān narrok khaningāka, he appeared to be a deserter from his manner; kanā puchchāk aga sillok o, zū hata-tā, if my clothes are washed bring them without delay; nā hullī aga daun-a kāik, ainonā maizile khalok chās, if your horse covers the ground like this, you may regard to-day's march as over (lit. understand to-day's march as traversed).
- §321. Used attributively the participle takes on the definite and indefinite endings in the ordinary manner:  $d\bar{a}$   $t\bar{u}loko$  masiras e,  $y\bar{a}$  bash massume? is she a maid or married?

(lit. a sitting girl, or has she risen up?—the usual idiom); tēnā khalokā kharāse aga guḍḍis, nēki jwān e, it would be good for you to slaughter your tossing bull. The definite form is as usual employed with a plural noun and in proverbs (§82): khāchokā aristā mēhī nar-a kēk, the she-buffalo of sluggards will bring forth a male, i.e., the early bird catches the worm; salokā dīr bandaghe buḍḍēfik, standing water drowns the man, i.e., still waters run deep. The definite form when used as a substantive is of course declinable: kahokātā randaṭ dēr hināne? who has ever followed after the dead? (a rebuke of excessive mourning).

§322. It is not always easy or even possible to render the adjectival participle by a participle or an adjective in English. A relative sentence is often the nearest equivalent: <a href="https://kharas.html">khalokā kharās</a>, the bull which is always tossing people; <a href="https://khachokā arisk">khāchokā arisk</a>, the persons who lie a-bed; <a href="https://khudānā karokā kārēm">kārēm</a>, the work that is done by God. This adjectival or relative participle, as it might be termed, helps in fact to supply the place of the missing relative pronouns.

# The Noun of Obligation.

- §323. The use of this form of the verb in the case of intransitives is complicated by the fact that it may be used either personally or impersonally. Thus 'I must go' may be rendered in one of two ways: either personally  $\bar{\imath}$  hino $\bar{\imath}$  ut, or impersonally, and this is perhaps the more common idiom, kane hino $\bar{\imath}$  e, (mihi eundum est).
- §324. But the case of the transitive verb is much more complicated. In the first place the active and passive forms are identical. Thus 'I must do this work' may be rendered either actively  $\bar{\imath}$   $d\bar{\sigma}$   $k\bar{\sigma}r\bar{e}me$   $karo\bar{\imath}$   $u\bar{t}$ , or passively  $d\bar{\sigma}$   $k\bar{\sigma}r\bar{e}m$  kane  $karo\bar{\imath}$  e. If the logical object of the sentence is inanimate, as in this example, the case is comparatively simple. But if agent and object are on an equal footing,

this mode of expression is ambiguous in the extreme, not only on account of the identity of the active and passive forms, but also on account of the identity of the dative and accusative case-suffixes. To take a concrete example, v në illov ut may mean, as far as grammar goes, either 'I must leave you' or 'I must be left by you'; in the former në is the object in the accusative governed by the active verb, in the latter  $n\tilde{e}$ is the dative of the agent with the verb in the passive. a grammatical point of view the confusion is the worse confounded by the fact that nī kane illoī us is open to exactly the same two-fold interpretation as ī në illoī ut, and for the same reasons. In practice of course the ambiguity is usually resolved by the context and the intonation of the voice, and unless there is some indication to the contrary. the idiom in such cases is generally limited to the active significance of the verbal noun.

- §325. Yet one more construction has to be noted. In cases of marked emphasis and especially in interrogations of surprise or defiance the ordinary idiom is to employ the passive form with the agent in the genitive:  $d\bar{a} \ k\bar{a}r\bar{e}m \ kan\bar{a} \ karo\bar{\imath} \ e$ ,  $p\bar{e}n \ kasas \ kanning \ kappak-ta$ , this work is for me to do, no one else can do it;  $d\bar{a} \ k\bar{a}r\bar{e}m \ kan\bar{a} \ karo\bar{\imath} \ e$ ? is this work mine to do?  $\bar{\imath} \ n\bar{a} \ \underline{kh} alo\bar{\imath} \ u \ ki \ n\bar{\imath} \ daun-a \ p\bar{a}sa$ ? am I to be struck by you, that you speak in this tone of voice?
- §326. The negative form of the verbal noun is too cumbrous for common use:  $n\bar{e}$  nanā  $ur\bar{a}gh\bar{a}i$  baroī e, hum pā, bafaroī e, hum pā, if you're to come to our house, say so, if you're not to come, say so no less;  $\bar{\imath}$  dā  $k\bar{a}r\bar{e}me$  kapparoī ut (kane dā  $k\bar{a}r\bar{e}m$  kapparoī e), I haven't to do this work. In such cases the negative noun of obligation is generally avoided by expressing negation in the auxiliary:  $n\bar{\imath}$  baroī affēs; dā  $k\bar{a}r\bar{e}m$  kane karoī aff. No change in the meaning of the sentence is involved.

- \$327. The force of this form of the verb is not always that of obligation or necessity. It often dwindles down through the idea of fitness or propriety to mere intention or wish: o dawn nājor e ki onā mon huroī aff, he's so ill that his face isn't fit to be seen; kane aga pēnanā iragh kunoī-a massaka, ī har dē nā jahāi bassuṭa, had it been decent for me to cat another man's food, I'd have come every day to your place; kane aga Noshkē illoī massaka, guṭā ī tēnā tumane hattavaṭa, had I contemplated leaving Nushki, I would never have brought my family; nē naukarī karoī aff ki nī kārēm-a kappēsa? so you've no taste for service that you refuse to work? kane Shāl illoī aff, ī antei bandaghāteto jang kēv? I've no desire to leave Quetta, so why should I brawl?
- §328. Used attributively the noun of obligation takes on the usual definite and indefinite endings: tēnā musāfirīāi daroīāte girāte jitā ka, put aside the things you've to take for the journey; dā girā-as ki nī-a pāsa, kanā karoīo kārēmas aff, this thing you mention does not lie within my sphere of action. The use of a negative attributive adjective is hardly admissible.

# The Tenses of Past Time.

- §329. The past is the ordinary tense of past narration and as such requires no illustration. It is used idiomatically in the protosis of a future conditional sentence (§411):  $\bar{\imath}$  aga  $n\bar{e}$  narringāi khanāṭ, nā mone haloṭ, if I see you attempt to run, I ll block your way. It may have an analogous contingent-futuric force in a relative sentence (§426): harkas ki tēnā hullīe rasēngā, swār marē, every man who can overtake his horse may mount. It may be similarly used in a temporal sentence (§418).
- §330. The imperfect has four main uses. It expresses imperfect or continuous action in the past: harchi ki nan

forward, the faster they continued to run. It expresses habitual action in the past: nan dā mulke har sāl-a dusēna, we used to cultivate this land every year. It is the regular tense used to express an unfulfilled condition (§412: ā aga nē narringāi khanāfa, nā mone halkuļa, had I seen you attempt to run, I'd have blocked your way. And finally it is used as a past optative, an offshoot of its use as a past conditional: armān ki onā badalān ā kaskuļa, ah. would I had died in his stead. In the last two uses its place is regularly taken by the past conditional in the Ihalawan dialect (§§316, 317).

- §331. The perfect and pluperfect have ordinarily the same force as in English, and examples would be superfluous. In temporal sentences introduced by the conjunction  $t\bar{a}$  ki in the sense of 'until,' the perfect and pluperfect of the negative verb are used idiomatically with reference to future and past time respectively (§422).
- §332. In the case of a few verbs, like tuling, to sit, saling, to stand, khāching, to sleep (to lie down), the tenses of past time present some little difficulty. Thus the pluperfect is used when the imperfect might at first sight seem more natural: mēmānk tūsusur, iraghāte kunisa hināra, the guests were seated and went on cating their food; oftā narringān must nan hamore salīsasun, before they ran off, we were standing there; num ki hināre, ofk tūsusur yā khāchāsur? when you went, were they sitting up or lying down? The use of the imperfect, which from the English might seem to be the natural tense to employ, would entail a marked difference in the meaning: tūsura, they were about to sit; salīsuna, we were about to stand; tūsura yā khāchāra? were they going to sit up or lie down? The perfect is similarly used with what may seem present force: tā ki nī kās barēs, ī hanaare salīsunut, until you return, I stand here: ofk

<u>kh</u>āchāno yā dāiskā tāsuno? are they asleep or still sitting up? As a matter of fact the meaning of the verb in such cases is not so much to sit, to stand, to sleep (to lie down), as 10 seat oneself, to adopt a standing position, to go to sleep (to lay oneself down).

# The final -a of the Present-Future and Imperfect.

\$333. It has been shown that the present-future and the imperfect, both adirmative and negative, are formed from the present indefinite and the past respectively by the addition of a final -a, except in the second person plural, which is left unchanged, while the formation of the third person singular, though containing a final -a in the past, is in many ways peculiar. The structure of the sentence in which one of these tenses appears is of considerable interest. As a rule a final -a is added—apparently by attraction—to the word immediately preceding the verb. This applies in particular to the case of the so-called nominal compounds (§291): i daghare namb-a kéva, I moisten the ground; ofk jang-a karéra, they were fighting; tênā māle līlām-a kappēsa? won't you sell your goods by auction? omission of -a in such cases would be a mark of surut or broken Brahui. If the word immediately preceding the verb is a pronoun or ends in a case-sign or other suffix, the addition of -a, though not imperative, is regarded as more elegant: î-a kāvu num handārē tūlbo, I'll go, but you remain here; aino kanā landaghāk-a hināra, pir torē-tā, my men were going to-day, but the rain stopped them; ī tēnat-a bassuta, nī antei kane baļingās? I was coming of my own accord, so why did you summon me? ofk Noshkēāi-a kāra, they're going to Nushki; ī nē-a dēva, ēlofte-a dappara, I'll take you, but I won't take the others. If the word preceding the verb is a conjunction, it is better to omit ·a: nan hi hināna, nanā īlum bass, when we were starting, our brother came.

- §334. These rules apply to the third person singular even in the present-future, affirmative and negative, though it ends in -k, not -a: kasase ki kur-a marēk, o shwān-a torik, whoever has a flock, keeps a shepherd: kanā bandagh-a himpak, my man won't go; ode toris ki kane-a khalēk, please stop him or he'll beat me; hushik-ta kharvālh, huff-a kèk panēre, the hot milk scalds him, and he blows on the cream cheese (kharvālh, milk given three days after calving), a proverbial expression implying that the man is avenging himself on the wrong person.
- §335. In the second person plural the present indefinite coincides with the present-future, and the past with the imperfect, and it is thus clear that the addition or omission of final -a to the word immediately preceding the verb in this person will make a material difference in the meaning of the sentence. The tense of the verb is in fact defined by the ending of the word it follows: dā daghāre namb kēre, you will please moisten this ground (kēre, pres. indef.); dā daghāre namb-a kēre? will you moisten this ground? (kēre, pres.-fut.); antas ki num pārēre, kane manzūr e, whatever you said (or: whatever you may say, cf. §329). I accept (pārēre, past); antas ki num-a pārēre, kane manzūr e, whatever you were saying. I accept (pārēre, imperf.).

# The Negative Verb.

- §336. The negative verb is so integral a part of the language and has been illustrated so frequently in these pages, that a multiplication of examples would be superfluous. Practically the only idiomatic use which merits separate comment will be found in the temporal sentence (§5420, 422).
- §337. It is rather the avoidance of the negative verb which calls for illustration. The use of a separate word of

negation, as distinct from the negative verb, is in fact alien to the genius of the language. It is almost unknown among the wilder Brahuis, with whom even the negative interjection becomes a mere click (§443) which hardly belongs to the sphere of articulate speech, while the less unsophisticated Brahui contents himself with an occasional use of some particle of negation, picked up from one of the neighbouring languages.

§338. Chief among such negative particles are navā. lest, and nei... nei, neither ... nor, both obvious loanwords: navā dākā barēs, mind you don't come by here; mulkāi ki hināt, jahas jola allau, orē nei bazahak assur nei kharāsk, when I went to the field, there wasn't a soul (lit. a spider's web) anywhere, there were neither labourer, nor bullocks But the Brahui has found even in these simple particles of negation occasions for stumbling, for he sometimes uses navā as a noun, and inserts a pleonastic conjunction between nei, ...nei; navā kēs, kās narris, take care you don't go and run away; nī nei kaneāi tēnat bassus o nei tēnā āvīle mon tissus, you neither came to see me yourself, nor sent me your news. In passing it may be noted that he even robs nacā of its negative force: navā khudā e, aino pir-a kēk, pray God it rain to-day; but in a case like this the idea of the negative scems to be contemplated though euphemistically suppressed.

# The Passive Verb.

- §339. The passive hardly calls for detailed comment. It is indeed not infrequently avoided, chiefly by the inversion of the sentence, and to some small degree by coupling the infinitive of the active verb with the auxiliary manning, to become (§298 fin.).
- §340. The imperative is rare, though it finds a place in uncomplimentary expressions: kasfinybo ki numeān

chuttengin, be killed that we may be rid of you. The adverbial participle is bardly more common: Mengalna lashkur ki pinnā, tā Vadiskā khallingisa hināka, when the Mengal army was broken, it continued to be harassed as far as Wad. On the other hand the adjectival participle and the noun of obligation-it will be remembered that these are identical with the forms in the active—are used freely: lashkurnā khalok ābād-a marēk, urānā khalok ābād-a mafak, plundered by an army a man will yet prosper, plundered at home-never; kanā ēnakhonā kholum kane makhlūkān dakkoī e, I must bide my wheat crop this year from the people. Of the tenses the presents and the perfect are probably the ones most commonly used, especially in the third persons: dā girāk handārē tikhingir, jwān e, if these things are placed here, well; Murdar dākān khaningik, Chiltan dākān khaningpak, Murdar is visible from here, but not Chiltan; nanā silāk kui ballā urātī tikhingāno, all our arms have been stored in the large house.

# The Causal Verb.

- §341. The use of the causal verb varies with the nature of the simple verb from which it is derived (§285). If the causal simply supplies the place of a missing transitive verb, the fact that it happens to be a causal in form makes no difference to the structure of the sentence: tēnā īlume antei kasfē? why did he kill his brother? shwān mēlhte khwāſtk, the shepherd will graze the sheep
- §342. The difference in use between the active and passive causal is best illustrated by those verbs, at once transitive and intrausitive, from which both classes of causal may be derived (§286). The active causal is generally treated like an ordinary transitive, the agent which is the object of the causation being put in the accusative: o gung e, maga \(\bar{i}\) ode parifot, he's dumb, but I'll make him speak

- o karr e, maga i ode binifêt, deaf though he is, I made him hear; ni bingun affês, maga i nê kunifîva, you're not hungry, but I'll make you eat. But if the object on which the agent is made to act has to be specified, it also is put into the accusative, and the causal may therefore govern two accusatives as in the ordinary Indo-European idiom: i nê dā iraghe kunifiva. I'll make you eat this food; o kane dā khalate bēnifê, he made me put on this robe of honour.
- §343. In the case of a passive causal, i.e., a causal derived from a transitive verb, the object is placed in the accusative; the agent by whom the object is acted upon is often omitted, but if it is specified, it is placed in the instrumental: nī dā āvāle antei binifēs? why did you get this news noised abroad? ī dā āvāle ténā ilumat makhlūkatī pārifot, I'll get this news spoken of among the people through my brother; o nē tēnā kuchakat kunifik, he'll get you bitten by his dog.
- §344. The double passive causal (§287) is used in exactly the same way as the ordinary passive causal:  $\bar{\imath}$  ode néat kasfifêt, I got him killed by you; kanā mēlhte tēnā shwānat khwāfif, have my sheep grazed by your shepherd;  $\bar{\imath}$  nē sarkārat khulīfifot, I'll get you frightened by Government. But the double causal is a mouthful, and the simple causal is often used loosely in its stead:  $\bar{\imath}$  ode nēat kasfēt; kanā mēlhte tēnā shwānat khwāf;  $\bar{\imath}$  nē sarkārat khulīfot.
- §345. Several causals are used in a peculiar sense: e.g., khāchifing, lit. to make to sleep: ī ode asi tūfakto khāchifēt. I gave him his quietus with one shot; rasēfing, lit. to make to arrive: ī nē dōsā rasēfiva, I'll overtake you presently; hampifing, lit. to cause to be loaded: huchchāte hampif, help to load the camels; laggifing, lit. to make to climb: ī chirāghe laggifēnut, I've lit the lamp; darifing, lit. to make to descend: o'kanā dīvāle darifēne, he's razed my wall to

the ground;  $b\bar{a}rifing$ , lit. to make dry:  $\bar{\imath}$   $n\bar{e}$   $h\bar{\imath}tat\bar{\imath}$   $b\bar{a}rifiva$ , I'll out-talk you in conversation.

# Compound Verbs.

§346. Nominal compounds: nī handārē asīka ad ku, ī dasa barēva, wait here for a moment, I'll come presently; tenā illanā malhe zara-as ad ēte ki iraahe tayār kēv. detain your cousin for a minute while I get the food ready; i dam darēngāsut, hullīān daringāt, I had tired myself out and got down from my horse; har-vakhtas ki ni kanto kārēmāi salīsus, ī nē dam-a daristva, every time you pit yourself against me in work, I'll tire you out; o dāsā gatt e, marrām kappa-ta, he's now engaged, don't call him; shikarai pēsh tammāt, hich dū tammitau kane, I went out shooting, but nothing fell to my gun; aga o padāi chakk-a khaltavaka, ala goe bāi tituvaka, had he not cast a look back, why he wouldn't have lost the race; dāsā ki o chūcha khanāne, ode musit tining nēki mayār e, for you to divorce her now that she has borne a child, would be scandalous; o tungān hināne, sār kappa-ta, he's fallen into a sound sleep, don't wake him up; i diran chavattateto bê khalkut, I passed through the water, sandals on feet; aino Sariāvāi kāv, dahimīko dē <u>kh</u>alkanā pāraghāi bē harsēngiva, if I start for Sariab to-day, I'll return to the village in ten days' time; ē vakhtas ki dē kī halēngā, ode hilh karē, vakhtas ki dē tik tiss, hilh illā-ta, when the sun set, the fever seized him, when the sun rose, the fever left him; hullīāi swār, dū-ka drakhtasēto ki bass, tap mass, as I was riding my horse, my hand struck against a tree and got hurt, kasaraț-a bassuța, năgumān khalasētī kibalkut tammāt, as I was walking along the road, I suddenly stumbled against a stene and fell; daske sīla-aṭī ī-kashshā, sīlanā duk pinnā, she thrust the thread into the needle, and the eye of the needle broke.

- §347. Potentials: nī ode khalling-a kēsa? can you thrash him? ī nēto drogh pāning-a kappara, I can't tell lies with you; dā hullī Mastungiskā hining kapparae, this horse won't be able to get as far as Mastung, I think; nī kane dākān danning kattavēs, you weren't able to remove me from here.
- §348. The passive compounds are analogous: o haneat <u>khalling-a marēk</u>, he can be beaten by me; dā <u>kharās dērat</u> tafing-o marēk? by whom can this bull be tied? Such phrases, however, are often devoid of any idea of possibility. and are used as ordinary passives: he will be beaten by me; by whom will this bull be tied?
- §349. Inceptives: kanā khaningto o dudēngaļī tammā, as soon as he saw me, he took to his heels; har-vakht ki nē khanik, hoghingaļī-a tammik, every time she sees you, she bursts into tears; kharmānā rasēngto mēlhk trah karēr, narringaļī tammār, harchi ki ī jallāṭa-tā, jalling-a matavasa, narrisa hināra, at the appearance of the wolf the sheep were panic-stricken and took to flight, in spite of my efforts they wouldn't be folded and continued to scatter.
- §350. Frequentatives and continuatives are distinguishable only from the context; the difference between them is indeed often fluid: o dushmanān har-vakht narrisa kāik, he's for ever running away from the enemy; nī arīza tirisa hināsa, o nā hīte bintavaka. you never used to lose an opportunity to present a petition, but he declined to listen to what you had to say; ī nē pārisa bassunut ki dākā bafa. I've told you time after time not to come this way; ī tīvaghā dē ode pārisa bassunut ki daun kappa, from morning till night I haven't ceased telling him not to behave like this; isto khāching-vakhtān ki sangaraṭī tūsuno, tā dāiskā tūfak khalisa kāra, from bed-time last night when they entered the sangar up to now they've been keeping up a continuous fire;

tā ki nan batanun, nī ḍaghāre dasisa kās, don't leave off sowing the field till we come; nanā sardār bāva o pīraghān iragh tirisa barēk, onā mār umēd e ki handun iragh tirisa hinoc, our chief keeps up the family tradition of never-failing hospitality, and we may hope that his son will follow in his steps; dēanā ṭikkato taho ziāt marisa hinā, at dawn the wind continued to increase. Significantly enough, if the object governed by the compound phrase is an enclitic pronoun, it is attached to the latter element, notwithstanding the fact that this is an intransitive verb: dushmane monaṭī shāghāsas, ḍak tirisa hināka-ta, he had driven the foe ahead and kept goading him on.

§351. Intensives and completives: tēnā kharāse taf, kanā beite kulle kunēk kāik, tie up your bullock or it'll devour up all my grass; ī aga rasēngtavaṭa, huchchāk nā kulle kadīmāte kungura hināra, had I not arrived, the camels would have finished off all your grain; daunangā droghātēki ki nī pāsa, ī nēkonā chandīte khalkunuṭ hinānuṭ, I've thrashed many a man like you within an inch of his life for such lies as you tell; hināṭ ki tēnā hullīe halēv, kanā rasēngān must kaskas hināsas. I went to fetch my horse, but before I got to the spot he was stone dead. If the object of the sentence is an enclitic pronoun, it is attached to the last verb of the compound, intransitive though it is: harkas ki kanā monaṭī harsēngāne, ī khalkunuṭ hinānuṭ-ta, I've thrashed soundly every man who has stood in my way.

# POSTPOSITIONAL NOUNS, POSTPOSITIONS AND PREPOSITIONS.

§352. Postpositional nouns are postpositions in the making They are in fact ordinary nouns employed in some oblique case to perform the functions of a posiposition, and govern of course the genitive. In the absence of any real dividing line between the ordinary noun and the noun used in this postpositional manner, a selection will be made of such nouns in which the literal nominal meaning is apt to become most elearly subordinated, but in each case the opportunity will be taken to illustrate the use of the full-word. In the postposition evolution has reached a further stage; it is no longer in an oblique case, and the governed noun is in the ablative. A still further stage is represented of course by the casesuffixes. The prepositions, which, like the postpositions, govern the ablative, are comparatively recent refinements borrowed from other languages. There remains one word, also a loan-word, which is rather an interposition (if the term may be allowed) than a postposition or a preposition; the noun which precedes it is the same as the noun by which it is followed, and both are undeclined.1

# Postpositional Nouns.

§353. Pāragh (pāra), side:— dā mashanā rīstīko pāragh āvār e, the right side of this hill is smooth. This word sometimes helps to form a compound noun: ī aino dēṭik-pāraghāi shikārāi-a kāva, to-day I'll go eastwards to shoot.

Postpositional: kanā pāraghāi ki bass, nā pāraghāi um barēk, if he comes to me, he'll come to you also; onā kharābī khudānā pāraghān ass, his ruin came from God; o ē mashanā pāraghān rāhī massune, he has set out from the direction of that hill.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Except in one special case, of. §385, fin.

- §354. Nēma, side, is used in exactly the same way and with the same meaning as  $p\bar{a}ra:kan\bar{a}$   $n\bar{e}magh\bar{a}i$ , to me;  $n\bar{a}$   $n\bar{e}magh\bar{a}i$ , to you;  $khud\bar{a}n\bar{a}$   $n\bar{e}magh\bar{a}n$ , from God;  $\bar{e}$  mashan $\bar{a}$   $n\bar{e}magh\bar{a}n$ , from the direction of that hill.
- §355. Bāṭagh, upper side, top:—dā sundūkhnā bāṭaghe dēr jor karēne? who has made the top of this box? zorākā dīr bāṭaghān kasar-a kēk, the flood forces its way from the top, i.e., might is right; bāṭaghko kasaraṭ kās, please go by the upper road.

Postpositional: kanā bāṭaghāi tūlpa, ēṛē tūlh, don't sit on me, sit over there; o dīte nanā bāṭaghāi chaṭ tiss, he sprinkled the water over us.

§356. Kēragh, lower side, bottom:—dā shahranā kēragh kul dīr e, the lower side of this village is water-logged; kēraghko mashān kārēzas pēsh tummāne, a karez has been made from the lower hill.

Postpositional: sardār drakhtanā kērughān kachārī e, the chief is in court beneath the tree; o tēne karodnā kēraghān ḍakkāsas, he had hidden himself under the river bank; dā drakhtanā kēraghaṭī ballo koḍas e, there's a big cave underneath this tree.

§357.  $Z\bar{\imath}$ , top: $-d\bar{a}$  mashan $\bar{a}$   $z\bar{\imath}$  kul bei e, the top of this hill is all grass.

Postpositional: Murdārnā zīāi bil-a-sum karē, there was a rainbow over Murdar; dīvālnā zīāi laggāṭ, I climbed on to the top of the wall; sangarnā zīān tūfakāk-a gidārēngāra, bullets were flying over the sangar.

§358. Mās, bottom:—dā dīvālnā zīe barf darifēne, mās-ta annā salāmal e, the snow has knocked down the top of this wall, but the bottom of it is still intact. In combination with mash, hill, mās generally forms a compound noun: nanā khalk mash-māsāit e, our village is at the foot of the hill; mashanā mās, however, is also used.

Postpositional: ē drakhlanā māsāi mungītā kutām e, the wasps' nest is at the foot of that tree; duzz tēne kumbanā māsāi rosēfē, mishanā chankas kashshā, the thief plunged to the bottom of the pool, and brought up two handfuls of earth (referring to an ordeal by water; dā machchīe dīrunā māsān kashshānut, I've drawn up this fish from the bottom of the water.

§359. Mon, front, face: kanā monāi pīuno ţikkas e, there's a white spot on my face: nanā urănā mon dēţikkāiṭ e, the front of our village is towards the east.

Postpositional: nī aga kanto jang-a kēsa, ī nē hākimnā monāi-a dēva. if you fight with me. I'll hale you before the ruler; aino shikāraṭī chār murū kanā monān pēsh tammār, in to-day's hunt four hares got up in front of me; o chaṭṭo bandaghas e, tēnā monaṭ-a chirrēngik, he's a worthless fellow and follows his own nose; kasarīas kanā monaṭī bass. nā banningnā āvāle tiss, a wayfarer came across me, and gave me news of your coming.

§360. Muh, front:-muhe kilbaghāi ku, rāst pā, turn your face towards Mecca, and speak the truth.

Postpositional: nā mār nā muhato dākā rāhī mass, your son left here just before you; numeān kasas nanā muhāi batau, not one of you came out to receive us; nī kulle kārēme tēnā muhaṭ-a kēsa, kasān harrifpēsa, you do all your work after your own bent and consult no one.

§361. Pad, back:—nanā urānā pad jahndumāiţ e, the back of our house is towards the south.

Pestpositional: nā padaṭ bandaghas bassune, nē tavār-a kēk, a man has come after you and is giving you a shout; dushmank nā padaṭ tammāno, khudā chāc nēto ant kēr, the enemies are in pursuit of you, God knows what they may do with you; o kanā padān bass, he came from behind me; o nā pādato nuneān narrā. he fled from us just behind you.

§362. Baj, back:—kanā baj khalh-a kēk, my back aches; onā baj nā mon barēbar affas, there's no comparison between his back and your face, i.e., his influence even in his absence is greater than yours even though you are present

Postpositional:  $d\bar{\imath}r\ d\bar{a}\ shahran\bar{a}\ bajat-a\ k\bar{\sigma}ik$ , the water flows behind this town;  $n\bar{a}\ baj\bar{a}i\ \bar{\imath}\ dro\underline{gh}\ tartanut$ , I haven't lied against you.

§363. Tah, interior, inside:  $-d\bar{a}$   $t\bar{u}fakn\bar{a}$  tah  $\underline{kh}\bar{a}zg\bar{\imath}$  e, the inside of this gun is dirty.

Postpositional: masītnā tahṭī pēhāṭ, I entered inside the mosque; o nanā kishārnā tahaṭ hininguṭī e, he's walking within our crops; vatākhnā tahān tūfake khākhar tissut, I fired the gun from inside the encamping-ground; kane khanā, urānā tahāi mon karē, when he saw me, he made for the inside of the house.

§364. Niām, (Jhalawan, yām), middle:  $-s\bar{e}lh$ anā niāmaṭī nanā mulk hinoī aff, in the middle of winter our country is no place to go to; kasarnā yāmāi nan-a-o asiṭ ēloe khanān, we saw each other midway.

Postpositional: tēn-pa-tēn jang kabo, nan numā niāmaṭī tammipana go on fighting among yourselves, we won't come between you: kanā o kanā bāvanā niāmaṭī jitāī aff, murū nanā niāmān sham-a kappak, there's such perfect union between me and my father, a hare couldn't run between us

§365. Rah, rahī, bank, side:—dā jalanā rahk burz o, the banks of this torrent are steep; joanā rahīaṭ hiningatī ass ki musi hanj monān-ta bāl karēr, he was going by the side of the stream when three ducks got up in front of him

Postpositional: lashkar sobato nanā urānā rahān gidārēngā, the army passed by our house early in the morning; o daun nājor e ki kasas rahīāi-ta himpak, he's so ill that no one goes near him; dā bāghanā rahato kasar-a kāik, the road goes by the side of this garden; nanā

shahranā rahāi kirrīnā ladas e, there's a tamarisk grove by our village.

§366. Rand, track:—duzzātā rande gum kurēnun, we've lost the thieves' tracks.

Postpositional: har-vakht ki darbār mass, ī nā randuţ-a barēva, as soon as the meeting takes place, I'll come for you; nā randaṭ-a chār bandagh-a chirrēngāra, nē khanār, khantavas? four men were roaming about after you, did they find you or not?

§367. Kēb, (khēb), near, nearness:—ī khazmāte kēb karēt, I got near to the deer.

Postpositional: kanā kēbāi bafēs, please don't come near me; bīshe margh-a massaka, kase tēnā kēbaţ illētavaka, if the ass had had horns, he would never have allowed any one near him.

§368. <u>Khurk</u>, near, nearness:—Kānak <u>kh</u>urk e, murr e? is Kanak near or far? i ode bê<u>kh</u>i <u>kh</u>urk <u>kh</u>anāṭ, I saw him quite close.

Postpositional: dā shahranā khurkāi ballo talāfas e, there's a large tank near this village; onā khurkāi ki hināṭ, zaghme kashshā, kaneāi rāst mass, as soon as I got near him, he drew his sword and made straight for me; dā arē Bēlaunā khurkān-a barēk, this man comes from near Las Bela.

# Postpositions.

- §369. Of the postpositions two are in a transitional stage and may be treated as postpositional nouns governing the genitive, while the rest with the exception of  $-b\bar{a}(r)$ , like, are also used independently as nouns, adjectives or adverbs, from which they are indeed at times hardly distinguishable.
- §370. Dā rah (rahī), this side; ē rah (rahī), that side:—jalān dā rahī massuţ, tēnā huchche khanāt, when I

:

got this side of the torrent, I saw my camel;  $d\bar{a}$  shahrān  $\bar{e}$  ra': sardārnā urā e, the chief's house is that side of this village. These phrases may also govern the genitive like the ordinary postpositional noun: Mustungnā dā rah bei bāz e,  $\bar{e}$  ruh-ta bārun e, on this side of Mastung there's plenty of grass, that side it's dry.

- §371. Dā mon, this side; hē mon (ēmon), that side:—Noshkēnā kundān dā mon massun, asi khazmas bash mass, when we reached this side of the Nushki pass, a deer got up: dā parraghān ki hē mon massus, khalkanā molhe khanisa, when you get the other side of this hillock you'll see the smoke of the village. These phrases may also be used as postpositional nouns: Murdārnā dā mon pir kattane, it hasn't rained this side of Murdar.
- §372. Must, before: -kancān must tūtpa, don't sit in front of me (or: don't sit before I do); ainoān must ī nē khantanut, I haven't set eyes on you before to-day; kasarat ballārān must tammipa, don't go in front of your elders on the read; dā mār bāvaghān must vadī e, this lad (to judge by his impudence) was born before his father.
- §373. Gud, after:—zara-aseān gud barak, come after a while; ēkān gud gap o shap mass, after that the gossip began; dah dēān gudd-a barēva, I'll come after ten days; paltannā rāhī manningān gud pir karē, it began to rain after the regiment started
- §374. Pad, after:—ī dah dēān pad-a barēva, I'll come after ten days; o nēān pad hinā, he went after you did.
- §375. Pizzēr, after, behind:—o kasarat naneān pizzēr āhīs, he was left behind us on the road; sālaseān pizzēr nā līte gīrām karēt, I forgot your words after a year; nanā rāhī manningān pizzēr oftā khalk khākhar halk, their village caught fire after we started.

- §376. Khurk, near:—ī ode shahrān khurk khanāţ, I saw him near the village; sardārkhēlaţī sardārān khurk dēr e? in the chief's family who comes nearest the chief?
- §377. Murr, far from:— $kane\bar{a}n$  murr  $t\bar{u}\underline{l}h$ , sit far from me;  $d\bar{a}k\bar{a}n$  murr ka-ta ki nan  $t\bar{u}lin$ , take it right away from here that we may sit down.
- §378. Pēshan, outside:—urāghān pēshan salīsune, he's standing outside the house; nanā shahrān pēshan ballo muchchīas e, there's a large gathering outside our village.
- §379. Shēf, below:—mashān shēf dīranā chakkulas e, there's a spring of water below the hill; nanā shahrān shēf pēn ābādī aff, there's no habitation below our village.
- \$380. Bā, bār, like:—Unlike other postpositions bā, bār has no existence except as a postposition. It is indeed so closely connected with the noun it governs that the ablative case-suffix -ān changes before the labial to -ām: o tēnā kārēme dāṇām-bā karē, he did his work like this; ē huch hullīām-bā dudēngik, that camel gets over the ground like a horse; māranā shaunk buṭaunā jalhām-bār e, the desire of a youth is like a bush-fire. It will be noticed that the final consonant is ordinarily omitted unless the postposition immediately precedes the copula. So closely incorporated is this combination of noun and postposition, that it is freely employed as an attributive adjective (§83 fin.): dāṇāmbārā pēn hullīas khanānus? have you seen such another horse as this?

# Prepositions.

§381. Baghair (baghaire), except, without:—kunoīo girā-as pēn allau baghair hamo musi kaṭangarān, there was nothing else to eat save those three sandgrouse; baghair kanā hukmān dākān himpēs, don't go from here without my

orders; baghaire orān pēn kane kasas aff, I've no one but him; baghaire nēān ī shikārāi himpara. I won't go shooting without you.

- §382. Bē, bēd (bēde), without, except:—bē nēān kane ārām-a bufak, I'm restless without you; bē pāningān kane dā khalat rasēngā, I got this robe of honour without saying a word; bēd nā hukmān ī dārē bafara, I won't come here without your orders; bēde nēān ī tēnā ārāle kasase pātunut, with the exception of yourself I've told my news to no one.
- §383. Savā (savāe), except, without:—savā dah hēţān pēn kulle kure garr halkune, with the exception of ten she-goats the whole flock has got the mange; savāe khudāghān pēn dēr kanā arze binoe? who else save God is likely to listen to my prayer?
- §384. The three prepositions may also be used postpositionally, but only in the forms baghair, bēd, savā, which seems to indicate that the incremental -e is a reminiscence of the izāfat (cf. §156): nēān nā māteān baghair ī pēn kasato siālī kappara, I won't have relations with any one save with you and your sons; pīr pakhīrāteān bēd ī dā shahre hushiva, with the exception of the saints and the holy men I'll fire this town; nēān savā pēn kasas dā duzze halling-a kappak, no one but you can catch this robber.
- §385. Pa, to, etc.:—nī ama mon pa mon drogh-a pāsa? how can you lie face to face? dū pa dū hināra, they were going along hand in hand; tēn pa tēn hīt-a karēra, they were talking one to another; hullīk goaṭī khaf pa khaf dudēngaṭī o, the horses are racing neck to neck (lit. ear to ear). Though pa, which is of course a loan-word, is never used except between two identical words, it appears to approximate to a preposition proper in such examples as the following: dū pa dū halkusa hināra, they went along holding hand in hand; huchchāk likh pa likh tissuno jang-a

kēra, the camels have put neck to neck and are engaged in fight. On the other hand tēn-pa-tēn (§119), self by self, is frequently treated as a compound noun pure and simple: tēn-pa-tēnān vām halpabo, don't borrow from one another. So completely is the phrase regarded as a compound, that its declension, instead of following the lines of the reflexive pronoun, is perfectly regular.

### THE ADVERB.

§386. The majority of the adverbs are palpably cases of The latter fall into a group by themnouns or pronouns. selves which will be conveniently exhibited later (§388) The former are exceedingly numerous: e.g., monați, ahead; padāi, back; hurēāi, vadērāi, late; bēguto, in the evening; sobato, in the early morning; digarto, in the latter part of the afternoon; pēshīmāi, in the afternoon; vakhl-i-nanaseāi, at the dead of night; jwānīat, jwānīkā, sharrīat, sharrīkā (from jwānī, sharrī, goodness), well. Such adverbs might be multiplied indefinitely, and illustrations of their use seem hardly necessary: monati tammipa, padāi ma, don't forge ahead, fall back; o isto vadērāi bass, he came late last night; ž bėgato kurėši rasėngat, I arrived late in the evening; ténā daghāre jwānīkā das, sow your land properly; kanā hītāte ode sharrīat binifis, repeat my words to him accurately. One couple will repay special note: though 'by day' is expressed by the ordinary ablative dēān, 'by night' is not nanān as might have been expected, but nanikān, which appears to be an example of the fusion of two case-suffixes.

§387. The foregoing adverbs are formed from nouns still in common use. In a few similar formations the derivation is less obvious, the noun being otherwise obsolete: e.g., bisat, straight, outright; kala-at, with difficulty; hastin, everywhere, pēntīn, elsewhere, hichtīn (with negative), nowhere. These adverbs are important enough to deserve passing illustration, tūfaknā sum bisat nishānanā tahṭī laggā, the rifle-bullet hit straight on the centre of the target; taho drakhtāte bisat bēkhān lorā, the wind plucked the trees up bodīly from

I These three compounds are occasionally declined · e.g., nī ode hastinatī khming-a kēsa, you can see him everywhere.

is; hastīn kās, khudānā āsmān e, wherever you go, leaven is above you, i.e., you can't escape from is of this world; dārē nā guzrān mafak, pēntīn hin, can't get a living here, go elsewhere; Makurānnā ēn hichtīn vadī-a mafak, the Mekran camel is ble nowhere else.

3. A very important group is comprised of adverbs from pronominal bases:—

Demonstrative.			
Proximate.	Mediate.	Remote.	Interrogative.
$dar{a}.$	0.	$ar{e}$ .	arā? a-?
dāsā, now.		• • •	•••
dāskā(n), up to now.	$osk\bar{a}(n).$	$\check{e}sk\bar{a}(n).$	
$dar\tilde{e}(k)$ , here.	$or \tilde{e}(k)$ .	$ ilde{e}r\hat{e}(k)$ .	$arãr\~e(k)$ 1
*dāŗēsk.	*oŗēsk.	*ēŗēsk.	*arārēsk ?
$d\tilde{a}k\tilde{a}(n)$ , hence.	$ok\bar{a}(n)$ .	$ \tilde{e}k\tilde{a}(n). $	$ar\bar{a}k\bar{a}(n)$ ?
$\begin{array}{c c} d\bar{a}r\bar{e}sk\bar{a}(n), & \text{up} \\ \text{to here.} \end{array}$	oreskā(n).	$\left\{ egin{aligned} & ilde{e}_{i}^{st} ilde{e}skar{a}(n). \end{aligned}  ight.$	$\left  \begin{array}{c} ar  ilde{a} r  ilde{e} s k  ilde{a}(n) t \end{array} \right $
$^*dar{a}$ ŗ $ar{e}kar{a}(n)$ .	*orēka(n).	$\{*ar{e}r\hat{e}k\tilde{a}(n).$	*arārēkā(u)?
$\begin{cases} d\tilde{a}ng(\tilde{\imath}), \text{ in this} \\ \text{direction.} \end{cases}$	ong(i).	$\tilde{e}ng(\tilde{\imath}).$	$arăng(\bar{\imath})$ ?
dāngāi, towards this direction.	ongāi.	ēngāi.	arāngāi?
dōngān, from this direction.	ongān.	ĕngān.	arāngān?
*dahun, thus.	ohun.	ēhun.	ama(r)?
daun.			
*duhun.	:		<b> </b> 

It will be observed that the series  $d\bar{a}r\bar{e}k$ , etc., bears the same relation to the series  $d\bar{a}r\bar{e}k\bar{a}n$ , etc., as the series  $d\bar{a}r\bar{e}sk$ , etc., bears to the series därēskān, etc. The forms marked with an asterisk are comparatively rare. There are a few other variants; thus  $\bar{e}ng(\bar{i})$ ,  $\bar{e}ng\bar{a}i$ ,  $\bar{e}ng\bar{a}n$  are not infrequently aspirated,  $h\bar{e}ng(\bar{\imath})$ ,  $h\bar{e}ng\bar{a}i$ ,  $h\bar{e}ng\bar{a}n$ , while  $d\bar{a}sk\bar{a}\cdot n)$  is often displaced by  $d\tilde{a}isk\tilde{a}(n)$ , both forms moreover varying with  $t\bar{a}sk\bar{a}(n)$ ,  $t\bar{a}isk\bar{a}(n)$ . The full forms  $d\bar{a}r\bar{e}k$ ,  $d\bar{a}r\bar{e}sk\bar{a}n$ , etc., are imperative if immediately followed by the copula  $(cf. \S42)$ , and are occasionally used in other connections. The demonstratives are frequently employed in the intensive form handaska(n), hamoska(n), hameska(n), etc. Handun, the ordinary form of the intensive adverb, is slightly irregular. Certain Jhalawans, notably the Haruni Muhammad Hasnis, who corrupt the intensive proximate demonstrative pronoun to hannā (§129), corrupt the corresponding adverbs in a similar manner:  $hann \ddot{a}sk \ddot{a}(n)$ ,  $hann \ddot{a}r \ddot{e}(k)$ , etc The conversion of the adverbs of manner into attributive adjectives has already been discussed (§182). To this pronominal group belongs antei? why? which is apparently an accusative from ant? what? and may possibly contain an older form of the accusative case-sum (§139).

§389. Examples: nī antei dāsā bassunus? ē handāsā rāhī massune, why have you come now? he has just started; ēskā ki nī batanus, ī handārēk uṭ, until you come, I remain here; ī daun nājor massuṭ ki kaneān dākha matau ki ī ēkān handārēskā barēv, I became so ill that I hadn't it in me to get as far as from there to here; mēlhk dāngāiṭ o, hēng paṭṭira tā, the sheep are towards this direction don't search for them over there; arāngān a barēsa? aiāngī kāsa? whence do you come and whither do you go? ama bassus, piāda yā swār? how did you come, afoot or riding? mon arāngāi pēsh tammānus? facing in what direction have you set out?

- §390. Except in the case of the interrogatives the force of the various series is somewhat fluid. Thus  $d\bar{a}k\bar{a}n$ . okān, ēkān, which properly denote motion from, and dāngī. ongī, ēngī, which denote direction in, may be used of time, like 'hereafter,' henceforth,' and similar adverbs in English; dākān gud drakhtāk punn-a sholira, after this the trees will shed their leaves; ě dēaseān ki ī nē khananut. okān dāngī ī jor matanut, from the day I saw you, yes, from that time to this I haven't been well; ainoan ēngī kane nēto kārēm aff, from this day henceforth I wash my hands of you. Again, the series  $d\tilde{a}k\tilde{a}(n)$ ,  $ok\tilde{a}(n)$ ,  $\tilde{e}k\tilde{a}(n)$ , though primarily denoting motion from, is sometimes used with reference to motion along or rest in the vicinity of a place: Surāvānnā lashkar sobato okān gidārēngā, the Sarawan army passed by thereabouts at dawn; ē būchāteūi tūlpa ki nā puchchātēļī lichchor, dākā tūlh, don't sit on that rubbish or it'll stick to your clothes, sit somewhere over here.
- §391. The missing adverbs of time are supplied by combinations of the noun vakht, time, with arā? which? or with the corresponding loan-word chi?: arā vakht? chivakht? (commonly corrupted to chiva?) when? arā vakhtān? chi vakhtān? chivaghān? from what time? arā vakhtiskā? chi vakhtiskā? chiva-iskā? up to what time?
- \$392. The interrogative adverb of manner also appears as an abstract noun, amari? (lit. 'howness'?) whether undeclined or in the construct state, amariat? amariāi? amarīkā?: hamo rupaīte ki nī darēs, amarī gum karēs-tā? how did you lose those rupees you took away? nī amarīat bassunus, jangat yā khairat? how have you come, for war or in peace? nī amarīkā kanā siāl us? in what way are you relation of mine:

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§393. Another important group of adverbs has reference to days, nights and years:—

## aino, davadī, to-day.

daro,	yesterday.	pagya,	to-morrow.
mul <u>kh</u> udo,	the day before	$palm ilde{e},$	the day after to-
	yesterday.	_	morrow.
kūmul <u>kh</u> udo,	_ •	$kar{u}dar{e},$	three days hence.
	-	kümādē,	four days hence.

## bēgāi, to-night.

isto,	last night.	panā bēgāi,	to-morrow	night
dare nan,	the night before	palmē bēgāi,	two	nights
,	last.	_	hence.	
nulkho nan,	three nights ago.	kūdē bēgāi,	three	nights
			hence.	

## enakho, this year.

khado, last year. lo-sāl, next year.

mustirkhado, the year before musițimīko the year after last. sāl, next.

A discussion of the derivation of these adverbs, which presents in some cases considerable difficulty, lies outside the scope of the present volume. The fact that the Brahui reckons the 24 hours as beginning with the evening, accounts for the meaning of dare nan. Though kūmulkho nan and kūmādē bēgāi are occasionally heard, the series is rarely carried so far back. Indeed, one or two adverbs included in the series hardly belong to the workaday vocabulary. There are a few local variants: pagga na, ēlodē, not to morrow, the next day, and even ēlodē by itself are sometimes used for the ordinary palmē; ainakho, this year, occasionally displaces ēnakho; the Zahris cornupt

isto to ishto, while the Nicharis employ musikhado for mustirkhado.

- §394. These words are used in the first instance as adverbs: kanā īlum aino rāhī mass. kūdē yā kūmādē dāŗē rasēngik, my brother started to-day and will arrive here three or four days from now. But they are for the most part susceptible of being used as declinable substantives: khado ainonā dē kanā bāvu Kēchāi hinā, dāskā batane, this very day last year my father went to Kech and has not come back yet; ī dāŗē dāvadī-iskā āsūda matanut, up to this present day I haven't been happy here. Bēgāi is of course already in an oblique case.
- §395. The concluding portion of this section has been reserved for a few miscellaneous adverbs which do not range themselves readily in any of the groups already discussed, and which seem to merit detailed illustration by reason either of the obscurity of their derivation or the idiomatic part they play in the language.
- §396. Annā, still; (with negative) yet:— i nē pārēt hinak, nī annā tūsunus? I told you to go and are you still seated? ēnakho annā Kachchīāi hintanun, we haven't gone to Kachhi yet this year; annā tūfak tavār karē kattau, gaḍ tammā, the crack of the rifle had hardly yet been heard, when the hill-sheep fell; dorvāge annā much kattanus ki kanā kuchak murūe halēk, as soon as you gather up the leash, my hound will seize the hare. Very occasionally the casesuffix -iskā is added: annāskā batane, he's not come yet.
- §397. Vā, again, back:— ī nē pārēt bafu, nī vā bassunus? I told you not to come, and have you come again? chukkāte harchi ki mirāna, o vā dīrāi-a bassura, in spite of our efforts to drive the birds, they kept coming back to the water; ēnakho ki hināt, vā losāl-a barēva, if I go this year, I'll come back next.

§393. Another important group of adverbs has reference to days, nights and years:—

## aino, dāvadī, to-day.

daro,	yesterday.	pagga,	to-morrow.	
mul <u>ch</u> udo,	the day before	$palm ilde{e},$	the day after to-	
	yesterday.		morrow.	
kūmul <u>kh</u> udo,	three days ago.	$k ar{u} d ar{e},$	three days hence.	
		kūmādē,	four days hence.	

### bēgāi, to-night.

isto,	last night.	panā bēgāi,	to-morrow	$\mathbf{night}$
dare nau,	the night before	palmē bēgāi,	two	nights
·	last.	_	hence.	
mul <u>kh</u> o nan,	three nights ago.	kūdē bēgāi,	three	nights
			hence.	

## ēnakho, this year.

 $\underline{kh}ado$ , last year. lo- $s\bar{a}l$ , next year. mustir $\underline{kh}ado$ , the year before musi $lim\bar{k}ko$  the year after last.  $s\bar{a}l$ , next.

A discussion of the derivation of these adverbs, which presents in some cases considerable difficulty, lies outside the scope of the present volume. The fact that the Brahui reckons the 24 hours as beginning with the evening, accounts for the meaning of dare nan. Though kūmulkho nan and kūmādē bēgāi are occasionally heard, the series is rarely carried so far back. Indeed, one or two adverbs included in the series hardly belong to the workaday vocabulary. There are a few local variants: pagga na, ēlodē, not to morrow, the next day, and even ēlodē by itself are sometimes used for the ordinary palmē; ainakho, this year, occasionally displaces ēnakho: the Zahris corpupt



isto to ishto, while the Nicharis employ musikhado for mustirkhado.

- §394. These words are used in the first instance as adverbs: kanā īlum aino rāhī mass, kūdē yā kūmādē dāŗē rasēngik, my brother started to-day and will arrive here three or four days from now. But they are for the most part susceptible of being used as declinable substantives: khado ainonā dē kanā bāvu Kēchāi hinā, dāskā batane, this very day last year my father went to Kech and has not come back yet; ī dāŗē dāvadī-iskā āsūda matanuṭ, up to this present day I haven't been happy here. Bēgāi is of course already in an oblique case.
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- §397. Vā, again, back:—ī nē pārēt bafa, nī vā bassunus? I told you not to come, and have you come again: chukkāte harchi ki mirāna, o vā dīrāi-a bassura, in spite of our efforts to drive the birds, they kept coming back to the water; ēnakho ki hināt, vā losāl-a barēva, if I go this year, I'll come back next.

- §398. Guṛā, then, later:— usīka kanā pāraghāi ba, guṛā ēngī hin, first come to me and then go over there, dāsā gaṭṭ uṭ, guṛā ba, I'm busy now, come later.
- §399. Āskār, wantonly:—kanā onā laṭṭas ṭappas allau, o āskār bass kane khalk, he and I had no feud between us, he came and struck me wantonly; ī ama ode tēnā ḍaghārnā fasle bashkhiv? o āskār kure hēs, kanā ḍaghāre khwāfē, why should I make him a present of my crops? it wasn't by accident that he brought his flock along and grazed them on my land; nī chāsa ki ī naukar uṭ, nī āskār-a barēsa, saibe kaneāi soṭēſisa, you know I'm an inferior, so you come without rhyme or reason and stir up the Sahib against me. Āskār also appears in the construct state, āskāraṭ, āskārān, with the same meaning.
- §400. Rūmulās, openly:—nī rūmalās ama drogh-a pāsu? how can you lie openly? nā īlum kane rūmalās daghārān javāb karē, your brother declined in public to give me the land; duzz rūmalās kanā monān khēr karē, the thief ran barefacedly away from me.
- §401. Nēt, at last:—nī aga duzzī-a kēsa, nēţ asi dēas hallingos, if you go on thieving, you stand to be caught one fine day; kanā pāningaṭ kārēm kattau nēṭ tā ki tēne kharāb karifē, he declined to act according to my advice until in the end he brought himself to ruin.
- §402. Nillā, simply, purely, altogether: -drogh pāpa, nillā rāst pā, don't lie, speak nothing but the truth; i nillā nā khātirān dā mulke illēva, it's purely on your account that I leave this country; dā hullīki sad rupaī nillā zar tissunut, I've given a hundred rupees, hard cash, for this horse.
- §403. Bīra, simply, etc.:—bēdīte bīra dīr karēnus, you've made the broth nothing but water; ēnakho darbāraţī bīra Jhalāvānīk bassuno, Sarāvānīk kul narrāno mash karēno, this year only the Jhalawans have come to the durbar, the

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Sarawans have all fled and taken to the hills; o bīra shāmato bass, he came quite after sunset. The definite attributive adjective or what appears to be such, bīraghā, is used in a similar manuer: bīraghā droghaṭ Ehalās-a mafēsa, girā rāst hum pā, you won't get off by simply lying, tell a modicum of truth also. Compare the use of tīva, tīvaghā (§1:11), and of the two words below.

- §404. Shana, simply, etc.:— ī nē pārēt pālh hata, n. shana dīr hēsunus. I told you to bring milk, and you've brought simply water: dā drakht shana pann e. this tree is all leaf; nā daghār shana pāṭ e, kharrisīnā pin aff tahṭī-ta. your land's nothing but wood, there isn't the name of grass in it. Shanaghā is also used: dā māshte ki nā īlum kaneāī bahā karēne, shanaghā bāch o, this pulse your brother sold me is pure refuse.
- §405. Chara, simply, etc.:— o kanā rāraghāi chara asīka bassune, he has come to me once only; kane chara bei bakār e, pēn girā-as khwāhipara, I need grass only, I want nothing else. Charaghā is also in use.
- §406. Ohā. please understand':— kane chā nā kāṭum bakār e, I'd have you know it's simply your welfare (lit. head) that I desire Emphasis and is touation, however, furnish the best equivalent for this highly idiomatic word: tēnā rāhī manningān must nī chā kane sahī-a karēsa ki nā monāi-a bassuṭu, you ought to have told me before you started, that I might have come out to receive you; nī chā rāsl-a pārēsu ki nā hīte khaf-a torēra, you should have spoken the truth, so that they might have given ear to what you said; o chā duzzī kapp. ant kē? suppose he dors i't thieve, what is he to do? ī chā drogh-a pāra, rāst pārokā nī vs. ho, ho, so I am the one who tells lies, and you are Mr. Truthful.

Though now used as a true adverb,  $ch\bar{a}$  is in origin simply the imperature singular of  $ch\bar{a}$ -ing. Hence the dialectical variants  $t\bar{a}$ ,  $ti\bar{a}$  (§261).

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#### THE CONJUNCTION.

§407. It is natural that the conjunction should play a minor part in the language, for the working of the Brahun mind is simple and finds expression in the simplest terms Sentence follows sentence, knit together as a rule, not by conjunctions, but by the sequence of ideas. Of the conjunctions which are found in the language, the large majority have been borrowed from outside, and not one has yet succeeded in making itself indispensable. They are as it were still on their trial, though with the Brahui's everwidening intercourse with the outside world their survival in the struggle for existence is for the most part a foregone conclusion. The best illustration of these remarks will be found in the conditional sentence.

### The Conditional Sentence.

- §408. In most highly developed languages supposition and conclusion are usually fused together into one complex whole. But even in such languages, notably, for instance, in German, the more primitive method of splitting up the hypothetical idea into its component parts has maintained its place, especially in proverbs and poetry, in which archaic expressions are preserved by a kind of atavism.
- §409. In Brahui the idiom varies not only with the tribe, but with the individual. The more the tribe and the more the individual have come into contact with alien languages, the greater the tendency to affect the use of conjunctions. In the language of the unsophisticated Brahui the use of the conjunction is the exception and not the rule. Supposition and conclusion are presented side by side as independent statements, or rather the supposition is put in the form of a query, which is answered by the conclusion in the form of a rejoinder.

- §410. To take the simple conditional:  $n\bar{\imath}$   $k\bar{u}sa$ ,  $\bar{\imath}$   $n\bar{e}to$   $bar\bar{e}va$ , you're going, you say, I'll come with you; or: are you going? I'll come with you; if you're going, I'll come with you; paisa affak  $\bar{\imath}ton\bar{u}$ ,  $\bar{\imath}$   $n\bar{e}$  etiva. if you've no money with you, I'll give you some. The conclusion may of course be contained in an imperative or an interrogation: gat  $aff\bar{e}s$ ,  $d\bar{\imath}r$   $\bar{e}te$  ka, if you're not busy, give me water;  $n\bar{\imath}$  kanto  $sal\bar{\imath}p\bar{e}s$ ,  $\bar{\imath}$   $ur\bar{u}ng$   $k\bar{a}v$ ? if you won't stand by me, whither shall 1 go?
- §411. If the condition refers to a remoter or improbable future, the idiom is somewhat peculiar. The supposition is presented vividly to the mind as a fait accompli; the conclusion follows pat, like the conclusion of a syllogism. The verb of the protasis is in the past, while the verb of the apodosis is in the present-future, etc., as the case may be: sardar bing. nanā bēkhe kashshik, (suppose) the chief heard—he'll pluck up our root, i.e., if the chief hears, he'll cast us out root and branch; mass īānka, barot, if I can, I'll probably come; kanā banningnā bingus, kasase pāpēs. if you hear of my arrival, please tell no one; nī narrās, ī dā mulkatī tūlparot, if you run away, I don't intend to stay in this country.
- §412. To express a past unfulfilled condition the verb is placed in the imperfect in both sentences: î narrāta, lushkar muchchāi a narrāka, had I run. the army would have run in a body; juāno īlumos-o massusa, aino kunā dūc halkusa, had you been a true brother, you would have grasped my hand (in friendship) to-day. In the case of the substantive verb the past is commonly used for the imperfect, especially for vividness: pindingān nī kaskusa, juān ass, it were well you had died sooner than beg.
- §413. In the Jhalawan dialect the place of the imperfect is preferably taken by the past conditional (§316): ni

kanā hēţe duzzosus, ī nā māre khalosuţ, had you stolen my she-goat, I would have beaten your son; nī mahālau rāhī marosus, dāṭē irughān must rasēngosus, had you started betimes, you would have arrived here before dinner. If, as sometimes happens, both tenses are used side by side, the past conditional is generally found in the protasis, the imperfect in the apodosis: ī nā urāghāi barosuṭ, nī zarūr-a narrāsa, had I come to your house, you would certainly have run away.

- §414. The conditional conjunctions aga (agar), ki. if. In view of the possible ambiguity in these disjunct sentences, it is not surprising that the Brahui makes an everincreasing use of the conditional conjunctions, which not only facilitate the expression of his ideas, but add to his mental machinery. The insertion of the conjunction simply binds the sentences together; the tense of the verbs is in no wise altered: nī aga kāsa, ī nēto barēva, if you're going, I'll come with you; sardār aga bing, nanā bēkhe kashshik, if the chief hears, he'll cast us out root and branch; ī ki narrāta, lashkar muchchāi-a narrāka, had I run, the army would have run in a body—It should be noted that ki never, aga rarely, stands first in the sentence; their proper place is immediately after the subject. Ki has often a temporal rather than a conditional force (§419).
- §415. The conclusive conjunctions gurā, ala, to. The conclusion is itself not infrequently introduced by one of the conjunctions gurā, ala, to, which may be rendered by 'then,' well,' why,' or some such word: o aga aino batau, gurā chās ki dāvae bāi tiss, if he doesn't turn up to-day, then you may take it that he lost his case; kanā hītāk aga rāst affas, ala drogh hum mafaror, if my words don't come true, well they won't prove lies at any rate; aino aga bassus, to kullān jwān e, if you come to-day, why that's the best of all. In such sentences also the conditional conjunction is

frequently omitted: narritavana, ala ant-a karēna? if we hadn't fled, what on earth were we to do? kunā arighe kusfēr. gurā ī nē barām-a kēva, if they kill my hushand, then I'll marry you: bohar asi sāl rasēmpak-ta, to mulke sunn-a kēk, if one fine year he doesn't receive the revenue, well he'll lay the country waste.

§416. The conditional conjunction aga na, if not. The ordinary way of expressing the idea conveyed by 'otherwise' is to repeat the verb of the first clause in the negative: nī (aga) bassus, jwān, (aga) batavēs, nā mulk sarkārī-a marēk, if you come in, well and good, otherwise your land will become confiscated to Government. The negative verb may, however, be omitted and its place taken by aga na: nī aga bassus, jwān, aga na, nā mulk sarkārī-a marēk; o khākhar, lagga, aga na, apokas īkinā hatarēna, burn, oh fire, or we'll bring a rival for you (a regular child's saying to a fire that won't burn).

# The Concessive Sentence.

§417. The concessive conjunctions aga, agaki, although. The concessive sentence is on all fours with the conditional. The use of the conjunction simply makes the concessive meaning the more explicit: nī (aga, agaki) sadvār pās, ī nēāi bācar-a kappara, though you say it a hundred times, I won't trust you.

# The Temporal Sentence.

§418. A temporal relation between two sentences can be expressed without employing a conjunction: pir-a kēk, pudēn-a marēk, when it rains, it turns cold; hurvakht ī onā jahāi hināṭa, ode khantavaṭa, whenever I went to his place, I missed seeing him; khalk tūlok ass, dung rasēfē, the people were seated when the robber-band came down upon them. If there is some contingency implied in the temporal clause,

the ordinary rule of the conditional applies to the tense of the verb (§411): pāṭān harsēngā, kasaraṭ shikār karisa baroe, when and if he returns from gathering wood, the chances are he'll shoot on the way home. The distinction between a temporal and a conditional sentence is of course often somewhat subtle.

- §419. The temporal conjunction ki, when. The insertion of a conjunction in such sentences merely makes the temporal relation explicit: duzz ki narrik, kasase khabar a tifak, when the thief makes off, he doesn't advertise his movements; handā ki khanāt-ta, tūfakaṭ khalēva-ta, I'll shoot him on sight; ā onā khalkāi ki hināṭa, o baj-a tissaka, whenever I went to his encampment, he used to show me his heels: beirake ki pulār, Jhalāvānnā lashkar pinnā, when they seized the banner, the army of the Jhalawans was broken.
- §420. The negative plays an important part in temporal sentences of past narration. Its use in the first clause implies an abrupt interruption in the action by the second which is usually, but not necessarily, introduced by the conjunction: o narritavēsas ki nan rasēfēn-ta, he had scarcely begun to run away when we overtook him; o shahre kēb kattavēsas, pulūs halk-ta, no sooner had he approached the town than he was arrested by the police. This idea is idiomatically expressed by coupling affirmative and negative together: o iraghe kungus kuntavēsus ki mēmānk bassur, he had barely tackled his meal when the guests arrived; nan urāghān pēsh tummān pēsh tammitavan, pir malingā, we no sooner put our face out of doors than the rain began.
- §421. The temporal conjunction  $t\bar{a}$  ki. Used with the affirmative verb,  $t\bar{a}$  ki means as long as, whilst, since  $t\bar{a}$  ki zinda  $u\bar{t}$ ,  $n\bar{e}$   $y\bar{a}t$ -a  $k\bar{e}va$ , as long as I live; I'll remember

you; tā ki ī kārēm karēnuţ, nī khāchok massunus, whilst I've been toiling, you've been asleep; tā ki ī dāṛē bassunuṭ, ī nē shahraṭī khantanuṭ, since I've come here, I haven't set eyes on you in the village.

- §422. Used with the negative verb the conjunction denotes until. If reference is made to future time, the ordinary tense is the perfect, though the present indefinite is also used; in past narration similarly the verb is generally in the pluperfect:  $t\bar{a}$  ki  $\bar{i}$  batanut,  $d\bar{a}k\bar{a}$  bash  $maf\hat{e}s$ , mind you don't rise from here until I come;  $t\bar{a}$  ki  $n\bar{i}$   $baf\tilde{e}s$ ,  $\bar{i}$   $hand\tilde{a}r\tilde{e}k$  ut, until you come, I remain here;  $t\bar{a}$  ki  $on\bar{a}$   $t\bar{u}fakn\bar{a}$   $tav\bar{a}re$   $bintav\bar{e}sun$ , jang kattavan, until we heard the sound of his rifle, we didn't show fight.
- §423. The compound  $ham\bar{e}sk\bar{a}$  ki, lit. up to that time, that, is used in the same manner and with the same meanings. In some parts  $d\bar{a}ng$  ki, lit. in this direction, that, may be heard, and also  $t\bar{a}n-ki$ , which may be a corrupted form of either  $t\bar{a}$  ki or  $d\bar{a}ng$  ki.

# The Final Sentence.

\$424. The final conjunctions ki, (han)dārki ki (lit. for the sake of this, that), that, in order that; navā, ki navā, lest. The present indefinite, or subjunctive as it might be called, is generally used in the subordinate clause even in past narration (\$312): hullīe zēn ka ki ī swār marēv, saddle the horse that I may ride; ī onā pāraghāi handārki hināt ki o kanā arze bine, I went to him that he might listen to my petition; ī khulīva navā o nē khane, I'm afraid he may see you; khākhare kasfif ki navā nanā urāe hushe, put out the fire or it'll burn down our house. In past narration the subordinate verb is occasionally in the imperfect, and imperfect and present indefinite are sometimes even used loosely side by side: ī handārki khulīsusut ki navā o nē khanāka, girā-as pārēka, I had feared he might see you and

say something; *ī handārki bassusut ki o kanā hīte khaf-a* torēka, dārki batavēsut ki kane ghurrānk ēte, I had come that he might lend an ear to what I had to say, not that he might rebuke me.

## The Relative Sentence.

- §425. The language is devoid of a relative pronoun, and the place of one is partially supplied by the adjectival participle (§322). The most primitive way of expressing the idea conveyed by a relative pronoun in other languages is to state two apparently independent sentences side by side. forefront is placed the element common to both. If this is a noun, it is usually qualified by one or other of the demonstrative pronouns especially in the intensive form (cf. §131). Its case depends of course on its function in the sentence to which it primarily belongs. If it happens to be the subject of the second sentence, it is generally omitted altogether in it; otherwise it is represented as a rule by a pronoun: hamë kaizī narrāne, kanā khalkanā aff, that prisoner who has escaped, doesn't belong to my encampment; hamo shahran i pësh tammat, detik-paraghait e, the village I came from. lies to the east; hamo māhrīāi i swār assut, pīr assaka, the riding camel I rode on, was old; hamo hullie i khado halkusut, čnakho padai sad rupaiāi tissut-ta, that horse I had bought last year, I gave back this year for a hundred rupees.
- §426. If the relation between the two sentences is hypothetical, the tense is governed by the rules in the conditional sentence: harkas kanā hukme mannitau, ī dā shahrān kashshiva-ta, every man who dares to disobey my order, I'll turn out of this village; harkas kanā hukme mannitavaka, ī dā shahrān kashshāta-ta, I would have turned out of this village any man who dared to disobey my order.

§427. The antecedent, as it may conveniently be called, frequently receives the addition of the enclitic indefinite article, unless it is in the plural, or is qualified by an attributive adjective in the definite form, or happens to be a personal pronoun (cf. §74). The force of the enclitic so used is of course in no way indefinite; on the contrary it has the effect of particularising more directly the person or object referred to: hamē huchchas ī nē nishān tissut, natatī-ta pitas hināne, that particular camel I pointed out to you has had a thorn run into its foot; hamo bandaghaseān ī dā hullīe halkuṭ, dāsā Kachchīāi hināne, that very man from whom I bought this horse, has just gone to Kachhi.

§428. The relative conjunction ki. Except in the simpler cases there is a growing tendency to knit the sentences together by means of the relative conjunction ki. insertion does not necessarily make any formal difference in the structure of the sentences; the enclitic -as is generally attached to the antecedent except in the cases noted in the preceding paragraph: ē bandaghas ki nē khanāne, nā sifate-a kēk, every man who has ever seen you, sings your praises; hamo ni assus ki khado dăre bassusus, you were the man who had come here last year; antas ki nī pāroī us, dāsā pā, say what you have to say, now; girā-as ki kanā *īlumnā mē<u>lh</u>k assur, ēna<u>kh</u>o kul hīnguno,* whatever sheep my brother had, have lambed this year; dakan gud antas ki kanā khudā karē, kane kabūl e, henceforth whatever my God may do, I accept; hamo sajjie ki ni bisënus, jalh hushane-ta, the flame has singed the meat you've roasted; ē asit ki drogh-a pāik, mon-ta maun e, the face of the liar is blackened; bandaahase ki dauno bakhtas marē, khudānā shukre kē, let the man to whom such a lot may fall, give God the thanks; hamo mārato ki nī daro kīt-a karēsa, aino padāi bassune, the lad with whom you were talking yesterday, has come back to-day.

- §429. The antecedent may stand structurally outside the dependent clause, and be represented in it instead by a pronoun as in Persian: hamë māras ki nī daro ītota hīt-a karēsa, aino padāi bassune, that lad with whom you were talking yesterday, has come back to-day; hamēas zaghm-a khalēk ki muskok-ta khalkuno, that man will wield the sword whose forefathers have wielded the sword; hamo sardāras ki dūṭī-ta bil ass, Shā Bāz Khān ass, the chief who had the bow in his hand, was Shah Baz Khan.
- §430. Even in such sentences the conjunction is not infrequently omitted, though its omission is often awkward enough. There is indeed considerable looseness in the structure of these relative sentences. The antecedent may be a nominative pendens, standing without structural relation to either clause: hamo hullīas ki dū-ta huson ass, pēn aib hum ass-ta, that horse whose forefoot was injured—there was also some other unsoundness in it; hamo bandaghas ki bāva-ta duzz mass, jind-ta zarūr duzz-a marēk, the man whose father turned thief, he is sure to turn thief himself. And finally sentences like the following are not uncommon in which the meaning is clear, but a logical analysis impossible: bandaghasēnā ki bāva-ta duzz mass, mār-ta zarūr duzz-a marēk.

# The Causal Sentence.

§431. The causal conjunction ki, because. Though ki is used by itself as a causal conjunction it is generally preceded by a pronominal phrase, e.g., antei ki, lit. why? that, antasēki ki, lit. for the sake of what? that, handāqki ki, for the sake of this, that: khalpa-ta ki  $k\bar{a}ik$ , don't beat him or he'll go;  $\bar{i}$   $n\bar{e}$   $siz\bar{a}$   $\bar{e}tiva$  antei ki  $n\bar{i}$   $duzz\bar{i}$   $kar\bar{e}nus$ , I'll punish you because you have committed theft; onā khank  $khar\bar{i}nk\bar{a}n$  pure assur antasēki ki onā  $m\bar{a}r$  kaskas, his eyes were full of tears at the death of his son;  $\bar{i}$  handāqki khwash ut ki o batau, I'm glad he didn't come.

# Miscellaneous Conjunctions.

- §432. Ki, that. In addition to the other uses noted above ki is used to introduce the oratio recta after verbs of saying, thinking, etc.: o pārē ki î pagga barēva, he said he would come to-morrow. The oratio obliqua is rarely employed: o pārē ki o pagga baroe. The verb of saying, etc., may be idiomatically omitted: sardār tēnā bandaghāte much karē ki tēnā tūfakāte palīta kabo, the chief collected his men and told them to put the match to their guns.
- §433. O, and. This conjunction is frequently omitted, especially between nouns and verbs in the same grammatical relation:  $kan\bar{a}\ ur\bar{a}\ hogh\bar{a}\ (o)\ p\bar{a}r\bar{e}$ , my wife wept and said. It is sounded in close connection with the preceding word; thus if this ends in  $-\bar{a}$ , the long vowel may coalesce with the conjunction to form the diphthong  $-au:hoghau\ p\bar{a}r\bar{e}$ , she wept and said; while a final short -a followed by the conjunction is as a rule hardly sounded at all:  $d\bar{a}\ lumin'$  o  $m\bar{a}r\ drogh-a\ p\bar{a}pasa$ , this mother and son don't lie.
- §434. A, and. This form of the conjunction is regularly used in certain pronominal combinations:  $\bar{\imath}$ -a-n $\bar{\imath}$  rāst pān, naneāi kas bāvar-a kappak, though you and I may speak the truth, not a soul will credit us; dā hamē lashkar e ki nan-a-num dārē khanān-ta, this is that army we and you saw here. It is seemingly preserved in the compound word bil-a-sum, bow and arrow, rainbow, and it is possibly the original form of the conjunction.
- §435. Um, hum, also:— nī aga jwān us, ī hum duzzī kattanut, righteous though you are, I too have committed no theft; ī hum khalkut-ta, kanā mār um khalk-ta, not only did I myself beat him, but my son beat him into the bargain. The Persian form ham is sometimes used, but it is generally regarded as vurut, and the same applies in a greater degree

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to  $b\tilde{\imath}$ , which has been introduced from Sindhi:  $n\tilde{\imath}$   $b\tilde{\imath}$  daun-a  $p\tilde{a}sa$ , you too will say so.

- §436. Vā, or; yā . . . yā, either . . . or:— dā hullīteān dāde harf yā ēde, of these horses take this one or that; har-vakht ki ī nē pēndwār baṭingāṭ, yā tēnaṭ barēs, yā tēnā īlume mon ētis, the next time I summon you, please either come yourself or send your brother.
- §437. Nei . . . (o) nei, neither . . . nor (§336) :— ī nei khudāghān khulīva nei bandaghān, I fear neither God nor man; ī nei orān narrānut o nei nēān narrot, I have neither fled from him nor am I likely to flee from you.
- §438. Maga (magar), but:— i bassuţa, maga kane kasarāi pēn khabaras rasēngā, I would have come, but I received other tidings on the road; o pārē asiţ, maga karē pēn kārēmas, he said one thing, but did another. The form magar may be regarded as suruţ.

CHARLE

# THE INTERJECTION.

- §439. It will be useful to note a few of the commoner sounds and exclamations used to express emotion. These include not only 'vocal gestures,' but also words which have been, and in some cases still are, full parts of speech.
- §440. Han, yes:—kurato kāsa? hau, will you go with the flock? yes. The verb used in the interrogation is generally repeated in the answer: dā hullī nā e? hau, kanā e, is this horse yours? yes, it's mine.
- §441. H-m, yes:— nī kanā hīte jwānīat bingus? h-m, did you catch my remarks properly? oh yes; tūfaknā tavār nā khafāi tammā? h-m, tammā, did the sound of the gun reach your ear? yes, it did.
- §442. Jī, yes (to superiors): hullītēki ispust rūtānus? jī, have you cut lucerne for the horses? yes, sir; huchche pākuro karēnus? jī khwāja, karēnuţ? have you saddled the camel? yes, master, I have. It is often coupled with hau: jī hau.
- §443. 'Chik,' no. The most primitive mode of expressing dissent is to emit a clicking noise called, but not sounded, chik: iragh kungunus? (chik), have you had your food? no. The sound, which resembles the click of the cab-driver, is accompanied by a side-toss of the head.
- §444. Ahah, no: dā bandaghe must khanānus? āhah, have you seen this person before? no; guzhghe kashshāno? āhah, aino kashshitano, have they pulled up the lucerne roots? no, not to-day. The final syllable of āhah is clipped exceedingly short.
- §445. Nah (na), no:-dam darēnus? nah, are you tired? no; kharāste bei karēnus? nah dāiskā kattanuţ-tā, have you given the bullocks grass? no, I haven't yet.

- §446. Jwān, very well:—ī aino Sēbīāi kāva, jwān, hin, I'm off to Sibi to-day, very well, go.
- §447. Shukr, thank goodness:—shukr khanāt-ne, thank goodness I saw you.
- §448. Mār, oh:— $m\bar{a}r$  dā chūcha amaro jwānoas e, oh my, what a fine baby he is.
- §449. Jī khudā, my God:— jī khudā dū amaro sādāras e, my God. what a curious creature. The Garr Sasolis¹ make use of an extraordinary expletive: o kanā kharrunā khudā, dā khalkanā kullanā kāṭum sholok e, oh my green God, all the men in this village have their head shaven.
- §450. Vah vā, hullo:— vah vā, juānangā aristā kārēm handād e ki nī karēnus? hullo, is this work you've done the work of honest men? vah vā, aino juāno kūsas bēnānus, bless us, you've put on a mighty fine shirt to-day.
- §451. Shābās, bravo:—shābās, hullīe sharr <u>kh</u>ar-<u>kh</u>arra karēnus, bravo, you've currycombed the horse splendidly. It may be used ironically, especially when preceded by vā: vā shābās, kanā mē<u>lh</u>te gum karēnus, bassunus? capital, have you come back after letting my sheep go astray?
- §452. Puhū, by Jove:— puhū, ballo vallaras e, by Jove it's a big flock of birds.
- §453. Puh, pshaw: puh, nī arākā ballo arēas massus? pshaw, what made you such a fine fellow? The same contemptuous meaning is expressed vulgarly by turt and purt.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Garr Sasolis are the Brahui men of Gotham or Abdera: bishe harrifer: në dunyātī siāl arē ? pārē: Sasolī jakkas-a khalēk, they asked the ass whether he had any relations in the world; 'well,' quoth he, the Sasoli is always boasting of the connection.'

- §454. Ala, alavā, alavā chā, ho ho:—nī chara drogh-a pāsa—alavā rāst pārokā nī us, you tell nothing but a pack of lies—ho ho, so you're the only man who speaks the truth.
- §455. Shāla (shalla), pray God: shāla, zū barē, pray God he come quickly. Its obvious derivation from in shā 'llāh is not always felt: shāla, khudā kanā duāe āmīn kē, pray heaven, God fulfil my prayer.
- §456. Khabardār, take care: <u>kh</u>abardār, hullī <u>kh</u>aloene, take care, the horse'll kick you.
- §457. Vāc nā jānāi, (jānaki), was betide you:—vāc nā jānāi aga kanā huchche sār kattavēs, was betide you if you don't look after my camel; sobato hāzir matavēre, vāc numā jānaki, if you're not present to-morrow early, on your head be it. The expression is an adaptation from Persian.
- §458. Armān, alas:— armān, kanā tūfak dāsā radd-a matavaka, ala aino sūān sēr-a karēna, alas, had my shot not missed just now, we would to-day have had our fill of meat.
- §459. Aboe, wee:— aboe kanā arigh tāiska jangān harsēngtane, wee, my husband has not yet returned from the battle.
- §460. Toba, fie:—toba, balā-asēţī arēngānun, fie, we are caught in a calamity.
- \$461. To this category belong the various sounds addressed to animals. The following are some of the calls: kich, to a kid, d-r-r-r-r....., to a sheep, chuh, to a dog. Chakh, chih, chi are used to drive on a dog, a goat and cattle respectively; from the last sound is derived the child's word for cattle, chiā. Commands to halt are hash-sh-sh....., to a donkey, pasht, to a horse. Hush-sh-sh..... is used to make a camel kneel down. P-r-r-ro is the general command to drink.

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