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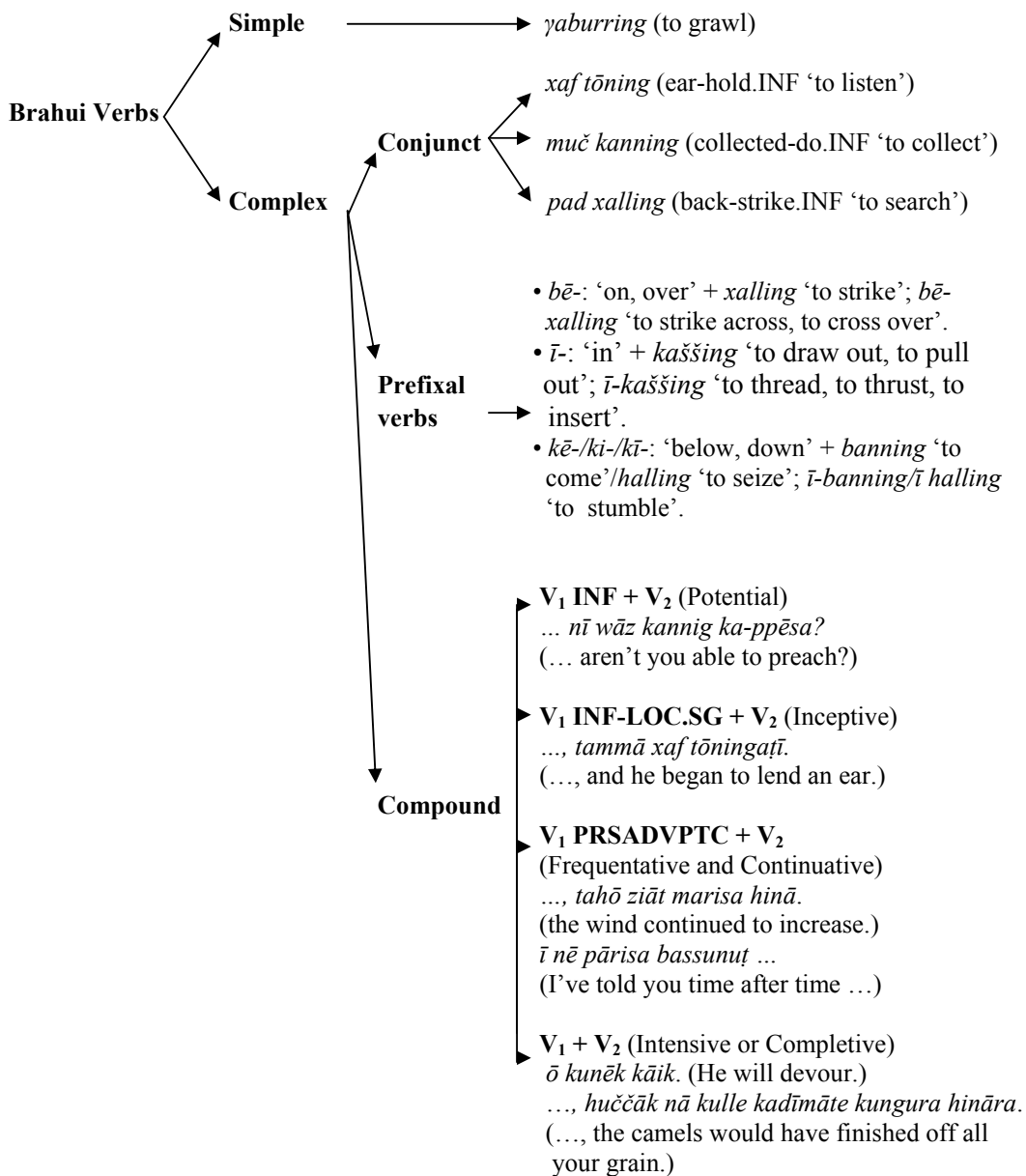
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Structure of verbs in Brahui

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Two kinds of verb formation are found in Brahui: *simple verbs* and *complex verbs*. Examples of the former are *γaburring* ‘to grawl’, *čirrēnging* ‘to ramble’, *rēsing* ‘to spin’, and the examples of the latter are *rāda kanning* ‘to set someone on his way’, *bē-šōling* ‘to bathe oneself’, and *hining kanning* ‘to be able to go’. First the types of Brahui verbs are shown in the following tree diagram, and then each one will be explained in more details providing several examples.



1. Simple verbs

Number of simple verbs in Brahui, in the texts studied, is restricted to a total of about three hundred. All transitive, intransitive, causative and passive verbs fall under this group. These Brahui simple verbs are of mixed origin and contain approximately 29% of Dravidian ethymologies.

Dravidian origin	29%
Indo-Aryan origin	35%
Iranian origin (Persian, Balochi, etc.)	24%
Unknown origin	12%

The lexical meaning of simple verbs is expressed by the past or present stem. The present stem together with the ending *-ing* forms the infinitive¹ of active voice: *baṭing* + *-ing* = *baṭinging* ‘to summon’; *xāč-* + *-ing* = *xāčing* ‘to sleep’. The infinitive formation of the Brahui simple verbs of Indo-Aryan, and Iranian origins are the same as the Brahui one, i.e. all of them are formed by adding Brahui infinitive ending *-ing* to the present stem of the verbal and non-verbal (or nominal) components.

Some examples of simple verbs of different origins are as follows:

1. Simple verbs of Dravidian origin, e.g. *biṭing* ‘to throw’; *taṭing* ‘to bind’:

- (1) *bas sara-e-ta tar-ēra o tūrak-e k-ēra o lāša-e-ta*
then head-OBJ-ENC cut-PF.3PL and bag-OBJ do.PF.3PL and body-OBJ-ENC
biṭ-ēra.
throw-PF.3PL
Then they cut his head and put it in a bag and throw his body (away).

2. Simple verbs of Indo-Aryan origin, e.g. *gōing* ‘to lose, to forfeit’; *gaṛing* ‘to flatten’:

- (2) *māmad anīfa pārē ki ī tēn-ā kasar-e goā-nuṭ*
Mohammad Hanifa say.PST.3SG SUB I self-GEN way-OBJ lose-PRFT.1SG
Mohammad Hanifa said, “I have lost my way.”

3. Simple verbs of Balochi origin, e.g. *šanzing* ‘to pour in torrents’; *čukking* ‘to kiss’:

- (3) *pīr zōrāk šanz-ing-aṭī e, pēšan him-pa.*
rain strong pour.PRS-INF-LOC.SG COP.PRS.3SG out go.IMV-NEG (PROH.2SG)
It’s pouring cats and dogs, don’t go outdoors.

4. Simple verbs of Persian origin, e.g. *xwāning* ‘to read’; *rēsing* ‘to spin’; *xwāhing* ‘to want’:

- (4) *pārē jwān, kurān-e tawrāt-e nī xwānā-nus.*
say.PST.3SG good Koran-OBJ Torah-OBJ you.SG read-PRFT.2PL
He said, “Good, you have (certainly) read Koran and Torah.”

¹ The infinitive is also a verbal noun which is declinable throughout the singular:

xudā kah-ing-iskā jīā ka-pp
God die.PRS-INF-TERM apart do.PRS-NEG.3SG
‘May God not part us till death’ (Bray I, §303).

If the present stem of a regular verb ends to the vowels /a/, /e/ and /ē/; the ending vowels are always omitted before the infinitive ending: *birra* + *-ing* = *birring* ‘to distinguish’; *illa/illē/ille* + *ing* = *illing* ‘to leave’

5. Simple verbs of unknown origin, e.g. *tixing* ‘to put, to place’; *gūrting* ‘to low’:

- (5) *dā-ftā* *bādišā bass* *mimbar-e tixā-r.*
 DEM-GEN.PL king come.PST.3SG pulpit-OBJ place-PST.3PL
 Their king came (and) they established a pulpit.

2. Complex verbs

Brahui, like Balochi, Persian and Indo-Aryan languages, possesses a productive class of *complex verbs*, also known as *complex predicates*, which are formed in three ways. The first type is known as *conjunct verbs* which are the combination of a nominal element, noun, adjective or adverbs with a light verb². The second type is a verbal prefix + verb, and the third type of *compound verb* construction found in Brahui is a V + V combination also known as *compound verbs*.

2.1. Conjunct verbs

These verbs are made up of different parts of speech, and are more in number in Brahui. The conjunct verb consists of a non-verbal element and a verbal element. The non-verbal element may be a noun, an adjective, or an adverb. In addition to the ‘light’ verbs *kanning* ‘to do’ and *manning* ‘to become’³ there are other simple verbs that function as the light verb. The following simple verbs are commonly used to form conjuncts:

1. *tining* ‘to give’: *bāl tining* ‘to make (birds) get up’, *hakkal tining* ‘to raise a shout, to shout at, to drive on’;
2. *xalling* ‘to strike’: *kātum xalling* ‘to call on, to visit casually, to drop in’, *ust xalling* ‘to be worried’;
3. *banning* ‘to come’: *bad banning* ‘to hate, to dislike’, *yussa banning* ‘to become angry, to become furious’, *pēš banning* ‘to happen to one as an unpleasant consequence’;
4. *halling* ‘to seize, to take’: *nazar halling* ‘to aim’, *sar halling* ‘to head for, to set out for’, *tuḡ halling* ‘to be seized with sleep’;
5. *kaššing* ‘to draw out, to pull’: *gand kaššing* ‘to sniff at, to nose out’, *pad kaššing* ‘to draw back’;
6. *tōning* ‘to hold’: *dōl tōning* ‘to engage a drum (for a wedding, etc.)’, *šawxūn tōning* ‘to make a night attack’;
7. *kuning* ‘to eat, to drink’: *gwāzī kuning* ‘to get the worst of a game, to be outdone’, *kasam kuning* ‘to take oath’;

2.1.1. Noun + Verb. This type is made up of a noun and a verb.

The analysis of N + V combinations shows that in many instances the noun is really an object. So, it is necessary to separate the *conjunct verbs* from other N+V sequences. The result of this study showed that a large number of Brahui verbs are N + V combinations. This phenomenon is seen cross linguistically (*i.e.*, uniformly across many languages), and is treated as Noun Incorporation (NI) in the literature. The major question to answer with this type of verb construction concerns the status of noun, *i.e.*, whether the noun is incorporated into the verb complex or if the noun is an overt argument of the verb. Consider the following cases:

² A light verb is a verb participating in complex predication (N/Adj./Adv. + V, and V+V compounds) that has little semantic content of its own.

³ If a conjunct verb formed with *kanning* is transitive, *manning* replaces *kanning* in the Passive Voice.

(6) *bāsunī-ṭī malāsī-ān banday dīr=a kun-ēk.*
 heat-LOC.SG thirst-ABL.SG man water=IMF drink-PRS/F.3SG
 Thirst makes a man drink water in the hot weather.

(7) *hullī-e swār mar-ēk, bar-ēk.*
 horse-OBJ mounted become-PRS/F.3SG come-PRS/F.3SG
 He mounts a horse, and come.

In (6) *dīr kuning* ‘to drink water’ is an overt object of the verb whereas in (7) *swār manning* ‘to mount a horse’ is incorporated. Based on the complexities exhibited by incorporated nouns, following tests are used to identify an incorporated noun from the case dropped object nouns. The tests used for accomplishing this task include:

- A. Adding the accusative Case Marker
- B. Constituency Test
 - i. Movement Test
 - ii. Conjunct Response Test
 - iii. Coordination Test
- C. Adding of the adjectives

2.1.1.1. Adding the accusative case marker

This test shows that the object noun will allow accusative marking which an incorporated noun will not or ought not to.

(8).a. *bāsunī-ṭī malāsī-ān banday dā dīr=a kun-ēk.*
 heat-LOC.SG thirst-ABL.SG man DEM water=IMF drink-PRS/F.3SG
 Thirst makes a man drink this water in the hot weather.

b. *bāsunī-ṭī malāsī-ān banday dā dīr-e kun-ēk.*
 heat-LOC.SG thirst-ABL.SG man DEM water-*OBJ* drink-PRS/F.3SG
 Thirst makes a man drink this water in the hot weather.

(9).a. *hullī-e dā swār mar-ēk, bar-ēk.*
 horse-OBJ DEM mounted become-PRS/F.3SG come-PRS/F.3SG
 He mounts a horse, and comes.

b. **hullī-e dā swār-e mar-ēk, bar-ēk.*
 horse-OBJ DEM mounted-*OBJ* become-PRS/F.3SG come-PRS/F.3SG
 He this mounts a horse, and comes.

In (6) and (8) the direct object of the verb *kuning* ‘to drink, eat’ is *dīr* ‘water’. (6) is without an *acc* marker, (8a) and (8b) are marked *acc* and all the three are acceptable. In (9) *swār* ‘mounted’ appears in the direct object position. (9a) is without the *acc* marker and acceptable⁴ but (9b) is unacceptable when it bears the *acc* marker.

2.1.1.2. Constituency test

Three tests are applied to incorporated noun here.

⁴ In (9a) *dā* can be treated as the subject of the predicate, so it is acceptable.

- i. Movement of the noun: It tries to see whether the incorporated noun can move from its preverbal position.

- (10).a. *bāsunī-ṭī malāsī-ān banday dīr=a kun-ēk.*
 heat-LOC.SG thirst-ABL.SG man **water**=IMF drink-PRS/F.3SG
 Thirst makes a man drink water in the hot weather.
- (10).b. *malāsī-ān banday dīr bāsunī-ṭī bāz=a kun-ēk.*
 thirst-ABL.SG man **water** heat-LOC.SG a lot=IMF drink-PRS/F.3SG
 Thirst makes a man drink water in the hot weather.
- (11).a. *hullī-e swār mar-ēk, bar-ēk.*
 horse-OBJ **mounted** become-PRS/F.3SG come-PRS/F.3SG
 He mounts a horse, and come.
- (11).b. **swār hullī-e mar-ēk, bar-ēk.*
mounted horse-OBJ become-PRS/F.3SG come-PRS/F.3SG
 He mounted a horse becomes, and come.

The (b) counterparts in the above examples are instances where the noun has been moved from its preverbal position. In (10b) *dīr* ‘water’ is the actual object of the verb *kuning* ‘to drink, to eat’. Both (10a) and (10b) are acceptable. (11a) is acceptable but (11b) in which the noun is moved from its preverbal position is unacceptable. It shows that Brahui word order resists movement when it comes to Noun Incorporation. So, two or more elements that form a constituent cannot be moved independent of each other.

- ii. Constituent Response Test: This test is applied to see whether a given N+V combination behaves as one constituent or not.

- (12). *bāsunī-ṭī malāsī-ān banday dīr=a kun-ēk.*
 heat-LOC.SG thirst-ABL.SG man **water**=IMF drink-PRS/F.3SG
 Thirst makes a man drink water in the hot weather.
- (13). *hullī-e swār mar-ēk, bar-ēk.*
 horse-OBJ **mounted** become-PRS/F.3SG come-PRS/F.3SG
 He mounts a horse, and come.

In order to get a meaningful response about the action denoted by (12) and (13) the following questions are asked:

- 12a. *dā banday ant=a kunēk?* (What does he drink?)
 12b. *dā banday ant=a kēk* (What does he do?)
 13a. *dād ant kēk* (What does he do?)
 13b. and not *dād ant marēk* (What does he become?)

Questions identify or replace single constituents and the one must question N+V suggests that they form a single constituent in *swār manning* ‘to mount’, but not in the case of *dīr kuning* ‘to drink water’.

- iii. Coordination Test: This test is to verify if the noun that is assumed to be an incorporated noun can be conjoined with another noun, i.e. does it form an

independent constituent. Coordination is possible only between identical syntactic constituents.

- (14). *bāsunī-ṭī malāsī-ān banday dīr o čā=a kun-ēk.*
 heat-LOC.SG thirst-ABL.SG man **water** and **tea**=IMF drink-PRS/F.3SG
 Thirst makes a man drink water and tea in the hot weather.
- (15). *hullī-e swār o payāda/(*bāl) mar-ēk, bar-ēk.*
 horse-OBJ mounted and dismounted/(**flight*) become-PRS/F.3SG come-PRS/F.3SG
 He mounts and dismounts a horse, and come.

In (15) both *swār manning* ‘to mount’ and *payāda manning* ‘to dismount’ are conjunct verb. But, if we use *swār o bāl* ‘mounted and flight’ with the verb manning, it will not be acceptable. So, the above test shows that the N+V combination has the status of one lexical or syntactic unit.

2.1.1.3. Adding of the adjectives

True arguments may be modified by adjectives, determiners, numerals, sentences etc. the Noun Phrase (NP) can have very rich structure. Incorporated nouns do not permit such modifiers, i.e., they are bare nouns not NPs.

- (16). *bāsunī-ṭī malāsī-ān banday bāz dīr=a kun-ēk.*
 heat-LOC.SG thirst-ABL.SG man a lot water=IMF drink-PRS/F.3SG
 Thirst makes a man drink a lot of water in the hot weather.
- (17). *dā ḡayār zīla e, dīr kāṭum-āy-ta hič swār=a ma-f-ak.*
 this land slope be.PRS.3SG water sar-LAT.SG-ENC.3SG **not any** mounted=IMF
 become-NEG.PRS-PRS/F.3SG
 This land is on the rise, water can’t be got up on to it **at all**.

The modifier *bāz* ‘a lot, much, many’ in (16) modifies the argument *dīr* ‘water’, not the whole sequence of *dīr=a kunēk* ‘he drinks water’, while in (17) *hič* modifies the whole sequence *swār=a mafak* ‘does not mount’ and not *swār* or *mafak* alone.

Some more examples for N+V combination:

- (18) *kan-ā hīt-e tēn-ā īlum-e sar karē-s?*
 I-GEN talk-OBJ self-GEN brother-OBJ head do-PST.2SG
 Did you pass on what I said to your brother?
- (19) *dāsa kāfila kā-ik madīna-ay sar mar-ēk.*
 now caravan go-PRS/F.3Sg Madina-LOC2.SG head become-PRS/F.3Sg
 Just now the caravan comes and arrives at Madina.

2.1.2. Adjective + Verb. In this type the first part is an adjective while the second is the verb. For example: *lūč* ‘uncovered, bare’; *lūč kanning* ‘to uncover, to bare’:

- (20) *anḡrēz-āk xāč-ing-nā waxt-āy mōn-e tēn-ā lūč=a k-ēra.*
 English-PL sleep-INF-GEN.SG time-LAT.SG face-OBJ self-GEN bare=IMF
 do.PRS/F.3PL
 Englishmen go to sleep with their faces uncovered.

- (21) *dīr-e lār ēte.*
water-OBJ boiling give.IMV.2SG
Boil the water.
- (22) *ō nē-āy lār xall-ing-aṭī e.*
he you.OBJ-LAT.SG boiling strike-INF-LOC.SG be.PRS.3SG
He is boiling with rage against you.

2.1.3. Adverb + Verb. Here the first component is an adverb and the last component is a verb. Nearly all the adverbs are used as adverbial parts of conjunct verbs in Brahui: *baš* ‘up’, *čist*, ‘briskly, quickly’; *mōn* ‘front; face; in front of (Postp.), straightway, ahead (adv.)’; *must* ‘before, formerly’; *pad* ‘back, hinder part, rear; after’; *pēš* ‘in front, forth’; *pēšan* ‘out, outside’; *sar* ‘beginning, (in compound words) head; *tar*, ‘closed, shut’.

- (23) *ō-nā mukaddama jirga-aṭī pēš mass.*
Dem-GEN law-suit council of Elders-LOC.SG in front become.PST.3SG
His case came on before the council of elders.
- (24) *dā ḡalla-nā ḡwāla-e dīwāl-nā mōn-āy čist ka.*
DEM grain-GEN sack-OBJ wall-GEN front-LAT upright do.IMV.2SG
Set this sack of grain upright against the wall.
- (25) *ō kan-tō badī karē-sas, xudā karē ōd-e pēš*
DEM I-COM.SG evil do-PPRFT God do.PST.3SG DEM-OBJ.3SG in front
bass.
come.PST.3SG
He had done me a bad turn but by the grace of God he reaped the consequences.
- (26) *pā-ik ur-bō ki jāga-se šahīd karē-no-ta*
say-PRS/F.3SG look-IMV.2PL SUB place-IND martyr do-PRFT.3PI-ENC.3SG
lūnḡ-e-ta pad xal-bō.
body-OBJ-ENC.3SG rear strikePRS-IMV.2PL
He says, “Look for the place where they have martyred him and search for his body!”
- (27) *azrat jībraīl zamīn-e tar šāyā.⁵*
His Holyness Gabriel earth-OBJ closed put.PST.3SG
The Angel Gabriel put the land together.

As it is seen, the combination of nominal part and verb, according to their origin, takes place in the following three ways:

(1) Br. noun + Br. verb

- a. *kātum* ‘head’, *xalling* ‘to strike’
kātum xalling: to call on, to visit casually, to drop in

⁵ In Balochi:

azrat jībraīl zamīn-ay tanāb-ān-ā pēš-a kašš-ūt, zamīn nazz-a
His Holyness Gabriel earth-GEN rope-PL-OBJ front-IMF draw.PRS.3SG earth near-IMF
ka-y-t.
come.PRS-HI-3SG
The Angel Gabriel draws the rope of the earth, the lands get together.

- b. *ust* ‘heart’, *tining* ‘to give’
ust tining: to be in love
- c. *tungān* ‘sleep’, *hining* ‘to go’
tungān hining: to fall into a sound sleep

(2) Br. noun + Ir. verb

- a. *ust* ‘heart’, *xwāhing* ‘to want’
ust xwāhing: to like, to wish, to desire, to desire eagerly, to long
- b. *mōl* ‘smoke’, *kanning* ‘to do’
mōl kanning: to smoke
- c. *iris* ‘comb’, *kanning* ‘to do’
iris kanning: to comb

(3) Ir. noun + Br. verb

- a. *šikist* ‘defeat’, *tining* ‘to give’
šikist tining: to defeat, to break up
- b. *gwāzi* ‘play’, *kuning* ‘to eat’
gwāzi kuning: to get the worst of a game, to be outdone
- c. *nazar* ‘view’, *kanning/xalling* ‘to do/to strike’
nazar kanning/xalling: to affect with the evil eye

The exact number of conjunct verbs in Brahui is not clear, because this kind of compounds can easily be created with new nominal parts in the process of speech, especially by contacting to Indo-Aryan languages in the east and Iranian languages in the west and north. The number of the Brahui conjunct verbs, in the texts studied for this part, with their non-verbal elements from Iranian and Arabic origin is more than 600, while the number of nominal elements of Brahui and Indo-Aryan origin in the same texts is less than 400.

2.2. Prefixal verbs

There are only three verbal prefixes in Brahui which come before a couple of verbs. This combination has the status of one lexical or syntactic unit. They are not used alone and no other morpheme comes between these prefixes and the verbs they are attached to.

1. *bē-*: ‘on, over’ + *xalling* ‘to strike’; *bē-xalling* ‘to strike across, to cross over’, *bē-bāling* ‘to step over, to stride across’, *bē-halling* ‘to hold (cloth) against the body to measure off clothes’, *bē-harsēfing* ‘to make something turn itself back, to recover’, *bē-harsēnging* ‘to turn oneself back again’, *bē-harsing* ‘to turn over, to overturn, to upset’, *bē-šōling* ‘to bathe oneself’:

- (28) *bārēm-tetō* *dūr-ān* *bē-xalk-un,* *hēpār* *mass-un.*
 load-COM.PL water-ABL over-strike-PST.1PL the other side become-PST.1PL
 We crossed over the water with our bundles and got to the other side.

2. *ī-*: ‘in’ + *kaššing* ‘to draw out, to pull out’; *ī-kaššing* ‘to thread, to thrust, to insert’, *ī-xalling* ‘to put (food) into (relish, etc.) bit by bit’, *ī-xarringing* ‘to walk right into, to wade’:

- (29) *dā sīla-e ī-kašša.*
 this needle-OBJ in-draw.IMV.2SG
 Thread this needle.

3. *kē-/ki-/kī-*: ‘below, down’ + *banning* ‘to come’/*halling* ‘to seize’: *ki-banning/halling* ‘to stumble’, *kī-alēnging* ‘to set, to flicker out’, *kī halēnging* ‘to set, of heavenly bodies’:

- (30) *xal-asē-tī ki-bass-us, zīl-ne pinnā*
 stone-IND-LOC.SG down-come-PST.2SG fingernail-you.OBJ.SG be broken.PST.3SG
dāsā tēn-aṭ xal-a k-ēk.
 now self-INS.SG pain=IMF do.PRS/F.3SG
 You stumbled on a stone and your nail broke, now of course it hurts.

2.3. Compound verbs

Four different types of V + V sequences have been identified in Brahui. These are:

2.3.1. V_1 INF (+IMF) + V_2 : Here V_1 is in the infinitival form. V_2 is either *kanning* ‘to do’ when the ability to do an action is expressed,⁶ or *manning* ‘to become’ both when the possibility of an action being performed is expressed and when it is employed as an ordinary passive. The V_2 bears all the inflections, such as number and tense. For instance, *pāning* ‘to say, to speak’ + *kanning* ‘to do’ → *pāning kanning* ‘to be able to speak’; or *halling* ‘to seize, to take’ + *manning* ‘to become, to be’ → *halling manning* ‘can be caught, to be caught’, and *kanning* ‘to do’ + *manning* ‘to become, to be’ → *kanning manning* ‘can be done, to be done’:

- (31) *ī nē-tō drōḡ pāning=a ka-pp-ara.*
 I you.OBJ.SG-COM.SG lie say-INF=IMF do-NEG.PRS-PRS/F.1SG
 I can’t tell lies with you.

- (32) *ī hall-ing=a mar-ēwa.*
 I seize-INF=INF become/be-PRS/F.1SG
 I can be caught. I will be caught.

- (33) *kann-ing ma-taw.*
 do-INF become/be-PST.3SG
 It could not be done. It was not done.

⁶ This construction, which is also called potential construction, in Balochi consists of the past stem or past participle of the verb followed by the inflected form of *kurtin/kanag* ‘to do, make’. Examples:

1. Present potential:

man šut-ag=a na-kan-īn.
 I go-PP=IMPF NEG-do.PRS-1SG
 I cannot go.

2. Past potential:

man kārwān-ā wayl kurt=a na-kurt-un.
 I caravan-OBJ giving up do.PST=IMF NEG-do.PST-1SG
 I couldn’t give up the caravan.

2.3.2. V_1 Inf-Loc.SG⁷ + V_2 / V_2 + V_1 INF-LOC.SG: The V_1 is in the infinitival form in Locative case. V_2 is always the verb *tamming* ‘to fall’ which bears all the inflections, such as number and tense. The second verb always gives the sense of beginning of an action or happening of an event. Thus, *tamming* ‘to fall’ can be treated as a modal auxiliary. This kind of compound, which expresses inception,⁸ was called “Inceptive Compound” by Bray (1909: 183). For example, *hōying* ‘to weep, to cry’ + *tamming* ‘to fall’ → *hōyingaṭī tamming* ‘to begin to cry’:

V_1 Inf-Loc.SG + V_2 :

- (34) *hōy-ing-aṭī tam(mi)-pa.*
cry-INF-LOC.SG fall-PROH.2SG
Don’t start crying.

- (35) *ī narr-ing-aṭī tamm-iwa.*
I run-INF-LOC.SG fall-PRS/F.1SG
I’ll set off running.

V_2 + V_1 INF-LOC.SG:

- (36) *bādṣā bing ki čukkāk kan-ā pin-e halē-ra, hīt=a*
king hear.PST.3SG SUB bird-PL I-GEN name-OBJ take-PRS/F.3PL talk=IMF
kē-ra; tammā xaf tōn-ing-aṭī.
do-PRS/F.3PL fall.PST.3SG ear hold-INF-LOC.SG
The king heard them mention his name in their gossip, and he began to lend an ear.

The non-inflected part of the above two types of compound verbs may be a conjunct verb like (36).

2.3.3. V_1 present adverbial participle + V_2 : In this type V_1 is in the adverbial participle form and V_2 bears all the inflections, such as number and tense. By coupling the adverbial participle of the verb with *hining* ‘to go’, or *banning* ‘to come’, the ideas of frequent and continuous action are expressed. In this case the second verb loses its primary meaning but adds some semantic shade to the whole sequence. These sequences behave as a single constituent which Bray (1909: 183) calls ‘Frequentative and Continuative Compounds’. For instance, *narrisa* < *narring* ‘to run away, to flee’ + *hining* ‘to go’ → *narrisa hining* ‘to be always in running, to persist in flight’, and *pārisa* < *pāning* ‘to say, to speak’ + *banning* ‘to come’ → *pārisa banning* ‘to say over and over, never to cease saying’:

- (37) *narrisa kā-ik.*
PRSADVPTC go-PRS/F.3SG
(i) He is always in running.
(ii) He persists in his flight.

- (38) *ī pārisa bass-unuṭ.*
I PRSADVPTC come-PRF.1SG
(i) I have said over and over.
(ii) I have never ceased saying.

⁷ Rarely in the lative case (-āy)

⁸ There is such a construction in Hindi in which “ V_1 is in the infinitival form and V_2 is always *lagnaa* ‘attach’ and it bears all the inflections, such as number, gender, tense etc. For example, *rone lagnaa* (cry-attach) ‘start crying’, *likhne lagnaa* (write-attach) ‘start writing’. The second verb always gives the sense of beginning of an action or happening of an event.”

- (39) *ī nē pārisa bass-unuṭ ki dākā ba-fa,*
 I you.OBJ.SG PRSADVPTC come-PRF.1SG SUB hence come-PRS.NEG.2SG
 I've told you time after time not to come this way.
- (40) *ō maxisa pēš tammā.*
 DEM PRSADVPTC forth fall.PST.3SG
 she came out laughing.

If the object governed by the compound phrase is an enclitic pronoun, it is attached to the V_2 which is intransitive:

- (41) *dušman-e mōn-aṭī šāḡā-sas, ḡak tīrisa⁹ hinā-ka-ta,*
 foe-OBJ front-LOC.SG drive-PPRFT cut PRSADVPTC go-IMF.3SG-ENC.3SG
 He had driven the foe ahead and kept goading him on.

2.3.4. $V_1 + V_2$: In this type of verb sequence the V_1 is a transitive and an action one. V_2 is always the verb *hining* 'to go'. Significantly enough, both coupling verbs are in the same tense and number. The second verb in this case always gives the sense of intensive or completive force for performing an action. Thus, this type is also considered as a sequence of verb and a modal auxiliary. For example, *kuning* 'to eat' + *hining* 'to go' → *kuning hining* 'to devour, to eat up', and *kahing* 'to die' + *hining* 'to go' → *kahing hining* 'to die outright':

- (42) *tēn-ā xarās-e taf, kan-ā bey-te kulle kun-ēk*
 self-GEN bullock-OBJ bind.IMV.2SG I-GEN grass-OBJ.PL all eat-PRS/F.3SG
kā-ik.
 go-PRS/F.2SG
 Tie up your bullock or it'll devour all my grass.
- (43) *ī aga rasēng-taw-aṭa, hučč-āk nā kulle kadīm-āte*
 I if arrive-NEG.PST-IMF.1SG camel-PL you.GEN.SG all grain-OBJ.PL
kung-ura hinā-ra.
 eat-IMF.3PL go.IMF.3SG
 Had I not arrived, the camels would have finished off all your grain.
- (44) *harkas ki kan-ā mōn-aṭī harsēngā-ne, ī xalk-unuṭ*
 whoever SUB I-GEN front-LOC.SG return-PRFT.3SG I strike-PRFT.1SG
hinā-nuṭ-ta.
 go-PRFT.1SG-ENC.3SG
 I've thrashed soundly every man who has stood in my way.

In the above two types of compound verbs, V_1 may be a conjunct verb like (41). As it was seen, even though Brahui compound verbs consist of typically two verb forms, the construction expresses one functional semantic unit, i.e. a predicate.

⁹ *ḡak tining* 'to goad'

Abbreviations

ABL	ablative
Adj.	adjective
Adv.	adverb
Br.	brahui
COM	comitative
COP	the predicative copula
DEM	demonstrative pronoun
ENC	enclitic pronoun
GEN	genitive
HI	hiatus filler
IMF	imperfective
IMV	imperative
INF	infinitive
INS	instrumental
LAT	lative
LOC	locative
N	noun
NEG	negative
NI	noun incorporation
NP	noun phrase
OBJ	objective
Ir.	Iranian
PF	present future
PL	plural
Postp.	postposition
PP	past participle
PPRFT	past perfect
PRFT	perfective
PROH	prohibitive
PRS	present
PRSADVPTC	present adverbial participle
PRS/F	present-future
PST	past
SG	singular
SUB	conjunction of general subordination
TERM	terminative
V	verb

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Conjunct Verbs

kanning

(to do, to make)

ābād ~

(to make habitable, to build, to cultivate)

aḍḍ ~

(to halt, to stop)

afsōs ~

(to grieve)

ahd ~

(to promise)

āh-i-sard ~

(to sigh)

aḵāra ~

(to contract, to lease out)

amal ~

(to act)

ambō ~

(to come in crowds)

anāmat ~

(to deposit)

armān ~

(to grieve, to regret)

arra ~

(to saw)

arz/arz ~

(to petition)

āšikī ~

(to love)

āšī ~

(to make peace)

āwāl/ahwāl ~

(to call on for the news)

awār/āwār ~

(to mix)

āwār ~

(to level)

azāb ~

(to torture, to annoy)

āzār ~

(to oppress)

āzāt ~

(to release)

āzmāyiš ~

(to test, to experiment, to examine)

āzmūda/azmūda ~

(to test, to experience)

azyat ~

(to bother, to tease, to annoy)

bad-duā ~

(to curse)

badal ~

(to change, to barter, to transfer)

bādšāhī ~

(to live like a king)

baḍ ~

(to take on one's back)

bāf ~

(to steam, to smoke)

bayal ~

(to embrace, to hug)

bayal-kašī ~

(to embrace, to hug)

bahā ~

(to sell)

bahādurī ~

(to play the hero)

bahāna ~

(to make excuses)

bāl ~

(to take wing, fly away)

band ~

(to bind, to capture, to obstruct, to stop)

band-ō-bār ~

(to lead into captivity)

bandōbast ~

(to make arrangements)

bāng ~

(to crow: to call to prayers)

bannām ~

(to injure the reputation of, to cover with infamy)

barābar ~

(to equalize, to make equivalent, to correct)

barām ~

(to marry, to be married)

baram ~

(to bear fruit)

barbād ~
 (to ruin, to desolate, to lose)
bārēm ~
 (to load)
barkat ~
 (to sweep out, to measure out the heap of grain) ??
 (*barkat*: blessing, increase)
bass ~
 (to have enough, to have done, to stop)
baš ~
 (to make to arise, to awake)
bašx ~
 (to share, to present)
bāwar ~
 (to have faith, to rely)
bayān ~
 (to state)
burz/burzā ~
 (to lift up, to raise)
čam ~
 (to trick, to deceive)
čarx ~
 (to take a turn)
čir čir ~
 (to chirrup)
čirāy-bandī ~
 (to illuminate, to decorate or festoon with lights)
čist ~
 (to set upright)
čupp ~
 (to be silent, to conceal)
čurrō ~
 (to make water, to urinate)
dam ~
 (to breathe upon, by way of charm)
daryāft ~
 (to make enquiries, to enquire)
das-numās ~
 (to perform ablutions before prayers)
dāwā ~
 (to quarrel, to dispute, to fight; to claim, to accuse)
dawā ~
 (to remedy, to cure)

dāwat ~
 (to invite, to call, to summon)
dādan ~
 (to pay a visit to, to visit, to inspect)
dilāsā ~
 (to soothe, to comfort)
dōl ~
 (to beat the drum (especially to assemble people together))
drinjā ~ ??????
duā ~
 (to pray)
drust/durust ~
 (to recognize, to distinguish)
duzzī ~
 (to commit theft, to steal)
ēdām ~
 (to execute, to hang, to put to death)
fail ~
 (to fail (a course), to mistake)
fanā ~
 (to ruin, to destroy, to demolish)
faysala ~
 (to decide)
filān-bāmān ~
 (to confound)
farš ~
 (to spread on the floor)
fasād ~
 (to brawl)
fikr ~
 (to be worried, to think)
firyād/faryad ~
 (to complain)
gač ~
 (to plaster)
gal ~
 (to rejoice)
gand ~
 (to smell, stink)
gičēn ~
 (to choose)
gap ~
 (to talk, to chat)
gaṭṭ ~
 (to impede, to hold up)

gidasp ~
 (to measure by spans)
gila ~
 (to complain, to lament)
gōr ~
 (to bury)
gulzār ~ ????
 (*gulzār*: rose garden)
gum ~
 (to lose)
gumān ~
 (to suspect)
gunā ~
 (to err, to sin)
gwāzī ~
 (to play)
yam ~ ???
yark ~
 (to drown)
yawr ~
 (to reflect over, examine into)
yayrat ~
 (to take offence, to be zealous)
yībat ~
 (to backbite, to absent oneself; to backbite
 a person)
yulyulū ~
 (to gargle)
yussa ~
 (to become furious, to get angry)
hab ~
 (to bark, to yep, to yelp)
hajj ~
 (to go on the pilgrimage)
hamla/halma ~
 (to rush, run off, to attack)
hawā ~
 (to get wind in one's head)
hawl ~
 (to be startled or shocked)
hawsila ~
 (to have the patience for, to forbear)
hayā ~
 (to feel ashamed)
hazm ~
 (to digest; to appropriate, to usurp)

hēl/ēl¹ ~
 (to become accustomed to, to get into the
 habit of)
hēl/ēl² ~
 (to learn)
hīla ~
 (to devise; to deceit ??)
hilāl ~
 (to slaughter by cutting the throat)
himmat ~
 (to be resolute, to display spirit)
hariš ~
 (to measure)
hisāb ~
 (to count)
hīt ~
 (to talk, discuss, to say)
hōš ~
 (to be sensible)
huff ~
 (to blow upon)
ihsān ~
 (to do good, to do a favour)
ilāj ~
 (to cure, to settle with)
illak ~ ????
inām ~
 (to bestow)
inkār ~
 (to refuse)
intizār ~
 (to wait for)
iqrār/ikrār ~
 (to promise)
iris ~
 (to comb)
išāra ~
 (to indicate)
išk/išy ~
 (to fall in love, to play the lover)
ištāf ~
 (to hurry)
ītibār/itbār ~
 (to rely on)
ittifāk ~
 (to come to an agreement, to agree)

ǰādū ~
 (to bewitch)
ǰāgā ~
 (to take up one's abode, to place, to
 make room for) ???
ǰah ~
 (to take up one's abode, to place, to
 make room for)
ǰam ~
 (to gather together, to collect, to
 assemble)
ǰang ~
 (to fight, to quarrel)
ǰawāb ~
 (to answer, to refuse somebody)
ǰitā ~
 (to separate, to place apart)
ǰōr ~
 (to set right, repair; to make, to build)
ǰuy ~
 (to yoke)
ǰul ~
 (to put a cloth on an animal)
ǰulaw ~
 (to attack)
ǰwān ~ ???
ǰwānī ~
 (to show kindness)
kabāb ~
 (to roast)
kabūl ~
 (to accept, to agree, to approve)
kaḍ ~
 (to dig a pit, to bury)
kaf ~
 (to foam)
kāyaz/kāyad ~
 to send a letter
kapp ~
 (to halve, to do a thing by halves)
kārēm ~
 (to do work)
kawl ~
 (to agree, to promise something)
kay/qay ~
 (to vomit)

kayčī/qayčī ~
 (to cut with scissors)
kayl ~
 (to measure with measure pot)
kalam ~
 (to slash through)
kar ~
 (to deafen, to disgust)
karār ~
 (to quiet, to pacify, to soothe)
karz/qarz ~
 (to borrow)
kāsīd ~
 (to send a messenger)
kašīda ~
 (to embroider)
kašš ~
 (to pull, to pull out, to draw out)
katār ~
 (to draw up in a line)
kīmat ~
 (to price, to value)
kirinč ~
 (to wrinkle)
kissa ~
 (to tell a story)
kišār ~
 (to cultivate)
kišt ~
 (to cultivate)
kōč ~
 (to decamp, to start on a journey)
kōr ~
 (to blind)
kōšiš ~
 (to endeavour, to strive, to attempt)
kōšišť ~
kulf ~
 (to lock)
kuluf ~
 → *kulf*
kūk ~
 (to cry out, to call out) ?
lāčār ~
 (to reduce to helplessness, to restrain)
layat ~

(to step on, to tread on)
lāix /lāiy~
 (to beseem)
māf/maāf/muāf~
 (to pardon, to exempt)
mahār ~
 (to lead by the nose-string)
mahsōs ~
 (to feel, to make sensible) ???
majbūr ~
 (to force, to compel)
majlis ~
 (to hold court, to sit and chat)
māmila ~
 (to trade, to transact (business), to deal)
mana/manā ~
 (to prohibit)
maywa ~
 (to bear fruit)
malāmat ~
 (to reproach, to rebuke)
mālūm ~
 (to ascertain)
manzūr ~
 (to approve)
marg-ō-zind ~
 (to serve family connections)
mās ~
 (to curdle)
māsira ~
 (to besiege, to surround, to gird, to encircle)
masxara ~
 (to jest, to make fun of)
mašūr ~
 (to make popular, to make famous)
mērabānī ~
 (to be kind, to be gracious)
miāū ~
 (to miau)
mihmānī ~
 (to give a party)
mihrabānī ~ ???
minnat ~
 (to ask a favour, to entreat)
mōt ~

(to smoke) ???
mōn ~
 (to set one's face towards, to set out for)
muč ~
 (to collect, to assemble)
muhr ~
 (to seal, to stamp)
mukābila ~
 (to confront, to oppose)
mukarrar ~
 (to ordain, to lay down, to provide, to arrange, to fix) ?????
 (: fixed, appointed)
munsift ~
 (to arbitrate)
murdār ~
 (to kill, to murder)??
musulmān ~ ?????
muzdūrī ~
 (to work as simple worker/labourer; to labour)
nayd ~
 (to extort)
nah ~
 (to deny, to refuse)
nakl ~
 (to relate, to copy)
namb ~
 (to give (land) the first watering)
naqš ~
 (to draw, to paint, to design) → *naxš*
nāra ~
 (to roar)
nasīhat ~
 (to advise)
nāšukrī ~
 (to be ungrateful)
našx ~
 (to paint)
našša ~
 (to be in the habit of taking intoxicants)
nāz ~
 (to give oneself airs, to be fastidious)
nazar ~
 (to affect with the evil eye)

nazzīnk ~
 (to bring close together, to bring forward, to bring near) ???
nēk-duā ~
 (to bless)
nēkī ~
 (to do good, to act benevolently)
niārī ~
 (to breakfast)
nikā(h) ~
 (to marry, to wed)
nimišta/niwišta/nimīšta
 ~
 (to write)
nišāna ~
 (to aim)
nišānī ~
 (to mark)
niyyat ~
 (to intend, to purpose, to resolve, to decide)
nizōr ~
 (to weaken)
numāz/nimāz ~
 (to pray)
nusxān ~
 (to waste)
pahradārī ~
 (to watch, to guard)
pāk ~
 (to clean)
paḍa ~
 (to curtain off, to screen, to save)
pārēz/pahrēz ~
 (to abstain from, to avoid)
parwariš ~
 (to educate, to raise, to breed, to train)
 ???
pasand ~
 (to approve, to accept)
pāš ~
 (to display, to view, to uncover; to appear, to come into sight)
paydā ~
 (to produce)
paydāiš ~

(to yield)
pēš ~
 (to lay before, to propose to submit)
pēšāb ~
 (to urinate) ???
pūda ~
 (to go rotten)
purr ~
 (to fill, to fill up, to load)
qabr/kabr ~
 (to bury)
rāda ~
 (to show the way, to set someone on his way)
rāhī ~
 (to send on a journey, to send)
rāī ~
 → *rāhī*
raxt ~
 (to saddle, of camels)
rēš ~
 (to wound, to gall)
ramb ~
 (to run, to hurry)
rōšan ~
 (to light up, to switch on, to turn on, to illuminate; to bring to light, to clear up, to explain)
ruxsat ~
 (to allow to leave/retire; to give permission to leave)
sābit ~
 (to prove)
sabr ~
 (to be patient, to wait)
sabūt ~
 (to prove)
sadā ~
 (to shout, to call)
sāf ~
 (to clean)
sahī ~
 (to acquaint, to inform)
sala/salā ~
 (to consult)
salām ~

(to greet, to surrender)
sālum ~
 (to take as son-in-law (or brother-in-law))
sāng ~
 (to woo, to betroth oneself to)
sār ~
 (to come to one's senses, to awake)
sar ~
 (to make to arrive)
sārā ~
 (to relieve nature)
sarpand ~
 (to make to understand, to instruct)
sayl/seyl ~
 (to ramble about, to see the sights, to look on at)
sāziš ~
 (to intrigue)
sēr ~
 (to sate, to satisfy; to become sated, to be tired of)
sēr (sihr) ~
 (to bewitch, to cast a spell on, to enchant)
sēxā ~
 (to cast a shadow, to shade, to shadow)
sifat ~
 (to praise)
sil ~
 (to skin, to flay)
sōč ~
 (to reflect, to ponder over)
sōhān ~
 (to file)
sōj ~
 (to ask, to question)
sū bēt ~ ?????
suāl ~
 → *swāl*
sūg ~
 (to grieve, to be in mourning)
sulah ~
 (to make peace)
sunnat ~
 (to circumcise)

supurd ~
 (to entrust)
swāl /sawāl/suāl ~
 (to question, to beg)
swār ~
 (to ride; to mount, to cause to ride, to train water)
swārī ~
 (to ride)
šafkat ~
 (to have pity (on), to commiserate)
šahīd ~
 (to martyr, to martyrize)
šakk ~
 (to doubt, to suspect; to feel abashed)
šarā ~
 (to decide by canon law; to take a dispute to the mullah for decision by canonlaw)
šaraf ~
 (to treat with honour)
šarīk ~
 (to take into partnership)
šarm ~
 (to be ashamed)
šēf ~
 (to lower, to put down)
šēwa ~
 (to come downwards, to descend)
šikār ~
 (to hunt, to go shooting)
šikāyat ~
 (to complain against, to accuse)
šukr ~
 (to give God the thanks)
tāk-juft ~
 (to play at odd-and-even)
takrī r ~
 (to seremonize, to preach)
talāš ~
 (to search for)
tamām ~
 (to complete, to finish)
tank ~
 (to tighten, to constrain)
tark ~

(to desist from)	<i>wāz</i> ~
<i>tars</i> ~	(to preach, to sermonize)
(to have compassion)	<i>wusūl</i> ~
<i>tasallī</i> ~	(to acquire, to collect, to realise)
(to be comforted, to reassured)	<i>xabar</i> ~
<i>taslīm</i> ~	(to inform in the <i>customary interchange</i>)
(to surrender; to deliver, to give)	<i>xalās</i> ~
<i>taw</i> ~	(to deliver, to conclude;)
(to be twisted)	<i>xar</i> ~
<i>tawār</i> ~	(to get annoyed)
(to give a shout for, to call)	<i>xarāb</i> ~
<i>tawkal</i> ~	(to ruin, to destroy, to demolish, to devastate)
(to rely on, to trust; to resign oneself (to the will of God))	<i>xarĉ</i> ~
<i>tayār</i> ~	(to expend, to spend)
(to prepare)	<i>xarīd</i> ~
<i>tēnā ariy</i> ~	(to buy)
(to make her husband) ?	<i>xatam</i> ~
<i>tēnā arwat</i> ~	(to finish, to conclude)
(to make his wife) ??	<i>xātir jam</i> ~
<i>tēnā libās tēnā jānāi</i> ~	(to make one's mind easy)
(to clothe, to dress, to put on, to wear)	<i>xayr</i> ~
<i>tōba/ tawba</i> ~	(to make it all right, to effect a reconciliation)
(to repent, to abjure, to renounce)	<i>xayrāt</i> ~
<i>trīt</i> ~	(to do pious acts, to give alms, to donate charity; to offer, to sacrifice)
(to crumble up, especially as a sop)	<i>xāza</i> ~
<i>tuḡān samā</i> ~	(to excoriate)
<i>ṭukkur</i> ~	<i>xīāl</i> ~
(to tear into bits, to tear apart, to tatter)	(to think)
<i>ṭungas</i> ~ ?????	<i>xijālat</i> ~
<i>umr</i> ~	(to shame, to abash)
(to live, to survive, to last)	<i>xizmat</i> ~
<i>urz/urz xwāhī</i> ~	(to serve)
(to offer condolences on a death)	<i>xōša</i> ~ ?????
<i>wadī</i> ~	(to form clusters)
(to beget, to produce, to bring to light)	<i>xušāmad</i> ~
<i>wafāt</i> ~	(to flatter)
(to die, to pass away)	<i>xušāmadī</i> ~
<i>wahm</i> ~	(to welcome)
(to fear, to be afraid)	<i>xušk</i> ~
<i>wām</i> ~	(to dry)
(to borrow)	<i>xwār</i> ~
<i>wasīla</i> ~ ?????	(to damage, to spoil)
<i>wayl</i> ~	<i>xwāst</i> ~
(to let go, to set free, to dismiss, to release)	

(to request, to beg)
xwaš ~
 (to like, to choose)
xwašī ~
 (to enjoy, to make merry)
yāt ~
 (to remember)
yala/yila ~
 → *yila* ~
yax ~
 (to be frozen (animate))
yila/yala ~
 (to let go, to release)
zinā ~
 (to commit adultery)
zabt ~
 (to confiscate)
zamzār ~
 (to chain up)
zang ~
 (to rust)
zānū-band ~
 (to sit with knees wrapped round)
zar ~
 (to make money)
zārī ~
 (to beg; to weep, to wail)
zaršān ~
 (to scatter coins over a bier) < (*zar* +
afšān)
zōr ~
 (to use force, to force, to push)
zulm ~
 (to be tyrannical, to be cruel)
zyān/zīān ~
 (to lose, to damage, to destroy)
zid ~
 (to be quarrelsome)
zīkr ~
 (to mention, to recite God's name)
zīnda ~
 (to revive, to bring to life)
zū ~
 (to hurry)
 (352) (328)

Manning
 (to become, to be)
āšiy ~
 (to fall in love with)
bahā ~
 (to cost)
bāliy ~
 (to come of age, to reach puberty)
band ~ ?????
bannāmī ~ ???
 (*bannāmī*: infamy, ill repute, notoriety)
barbād ~
 (to be destroyed, to be ruined)
baš ~
 (to get up, to awaken)
bašx ~
 (to be shared, to be divided, to be
 distributed)
bēgā ~ ???
beidār ~
 (to wake up, to become enlightened or
 alert)
bēwas ~
 (to become powerless, to become weak)
bēzār ~
 (to be tired of, to be
 disgusted with?)
bīngun ~
 (to become hungry)
burāk ~ (martyr ???)
dāwat ~
 (to be invited)
dāxil ~
 (to get in, to go inside, to enter)
diqq ~ ?????
drōy ~ ?????
gum ~ (to be lost)
yālib ~ ?????
hamaldār/hamal ~
 (to conceive, to become pregnant)
hayrān ~
 (to be amazed, to be astonished, to be
 confused)
hāzir ~
 (to attend, to become prepared or ready,
 to be present in)

iris ~
 (to be combed)
jāga ~
 (to take room, to hold) ???
jah ~
 (to find room for oneself)
jang ~ ???
jitā ~
 (to separate, to o become detached)
jōr ~
 (to be repaired, to be set right) ???
kabūl ~
 (to be accepted, to be admitted, to be approved)
kaǰ ~
 (to get bend)
kāmyāb ~
 (to be successful, to succeed)
kapp ~
 (to be halved, to be divided in two)
karak ~ ???
kirinč ~
 (to be wrinkled)
kōr ~
 (to become blind)
lāčār ~
 (to be helpless, to be restrained)
lāyar ~
 (to grow thin, to become lean, to be skinny)
mayrūr ~
 (to become proud of haughty, to become arrogant)
malās ~
 (to be thirsty, to become thirsty)
māmila ~
 (to be treated, to be traded) ???
mašūr ~
 (to become famous, to become well-known)
mēhr mukarrar ~ ???
mērabānī ~
 (to be treated kindly)
mubāarak ~
 (to wish someone good luck) ???
muč ~

(to be gathered together, to assemble) ???
muqābil ~
 (to face, to confront, to encounter) ???
muqābila ~
 (to be confronted) ???
murdār ~
 (to be killed)
musulmān ~
 (to become muslim, to converted to Islam)
muxtāǰ ~
 (to become needy or needful, to require)
muzdūr ~
 (to become labourer)
nārāz ~
 (to become displeased, to become annoyed; to become dissatisfied or discontented)
nāzil ~
 (to come down, to descend)
pāš ~
 (to be displayed to view, to be uncovered) ???
paydā ~
 (to be born)
pēš ~
 (to come up before)
pīr ~
 (to become old, to grow old)
pōy ~
 (to turn into ashes)
pūda ~
 (to become rotten)
purr ~
 (to be filled) ???
qabūldār ~
 (to accept, to agree)
rāda ~
 (to set off, to set out)
rāhī ~
 (to travel, to get started, to get going)
rawān ~
 (to set out, to start, to leave for)
rōšan ~

(to be turned/switched) on; to be clarified, to clear up)
rāzī ~
 (to consent, to agree, to be satisfied, to be pleased)
sahī ~
 (to be informed, to be made aware)
sar ~
 (to arrive at)
sarpand ~
 (to understand)
sōdā ~ ???
swār ~
 (to mount up to, to ride, to train water)
šādmānīk ~ ???
šahīd ~
 (to be martyred or martyred)
šakkī ~
 (to be doubtful, to be suspicious)
šarmīnda ~
 (to be ashamed, to feel ashamed, to be embarrassed)
šurū ~
 (to begin)
ṭap ~
 (to get hurt)
ṭappī ~
 (to become wounded or injured)
taslīm ~
 (to surrender, to give up, to yield)
tayār ~
 (to be prepared, to become ready)
tibā ~
 (to become ruined or destroyed)
tukk ~
 (to hide(oneself), to disappear, to lie in wait, to ambush)
wadī ~
 (to be born, making an appearance)
warnā ~
 (to become young or youthful)
xabar ~
 (to be informed)
xafa ~
 (to become/get nervous, to get angry)
xalās ~

(to be finished, to get rid of something)
xarāb ~
 (to become ruined, to go bad, to be out of order, to break down)
xatam ~
 (to be finished, to be concluded)
xātirjām ~
 (to be assured, to feel sure, to be sure)
xwār ~
 (to be damaged, to be spoiled)
xwaš ~
 (to be happy, to be cheerful)
zinda ~
 (to come/become alive, to revive)
zyān/zīān ~
 (to be lost, to disappear, to get lost)
 (93) (88)

Tining

(to give)
adres ~
 (to give (one's) address)
ahwāl ~
 (to give news, to give information, to inform)
aḡr ~
 (to requite)
bad ~
 (to put on another's back)
bāl ~
 (to make (birds) get up; to drive out, to extirpate)
bannāmī ~
 (to defame, to vilify, to accuse of adultery)
barām ~
 (to give in marriage, to marry off)
bāxō ~
 (to give in mouthfuls) ??
bāy ~
 (to lose, to espec. at gambling or in the law-court)
bāng ~
 (to crow, to call to prayers)
bannāmī ~

(to defame, to vilify, to accuse of adultery)
būz ~
 (to give kiss)
čarx ~
 (to take for a turn)
čāx ~
 (to make a crack)
dāy ~
 (to brand, to cauterize)
dilāsā ~
 (to soothe, to comfort)
dū ~
 (to shake hands with an inferior)
gand ~
 (to make to snuff)
giring ~
 (to knot)
gwāhī ~
 (to give evidence, testify)
gwāzī ~
 (to make to play; to outplay, to outwit, to cheat)
hakkal ~
 (to raise a shout, to shout at, drive on)
hēl/ēl ~
 (to teach)
ijāra ~
 (to lease out)
ijāza ~
 (to allow, to give permission, to permit)
ikrār/iqrār ~
 (to agree)
istīfa ~
 (to resign)
itilā ~
 (to inform)
izzat ~
 (to do honour to, to honour, to venerate)
hukm ~
 (to order)
jah ~
 (to give lodging to, to accommodate)
jān ~
 (to die)
jang ~

(to make to fight)
kadr/qadr ~
 (to treat with respect)
jawāb ~
 (to answer, to refuse something)
kasam ~
 (to administer an oath to, to cause to swear)
kasar ~
 (to go to one's way) ???
kawl ~
 (to promise somebody)
kōpa ~
 (to shoulder, to offer one's shoulder to climb up, to support, to back up)
kumak ~
 (to help, to aid, to assist, to give a hand to someone)
layat ~
 (to tread upon; to step on, to tread on, to stampede) ????
maydān ~
 (to gallop (a horse))
maywa ~
 (to yield fruit)
mistāi ~
 (to give reward for bringing glad tidings)
mōda ~
 (to sing lamentations over the dead)
mōn ~
 (to send)
mubārakbādī/ mubāarak-bādī ~
 (to congratulate)
nafas ~
 (to give life (to), to die)
našša ~
 (to make intoxicated)
nijāt ~
 (to deliver)
nikā ~
 (to hold the marriage ceremonies)
nišān ~
 (to point out, to shaw; to display threateningly)
nišānī ~
 (to give sign, to give address)

nusxān ~
 (to damage)
panā ~
 (to protect)
pant ~
 (to advise)
pēč ~
 (to twist, to suffer from gripes)
rōzī ~
 (to give daily bread, to provide daily bread) ???
ruxsat ~
 (to give permission to go, to dismiss)
salā/sala ~
 (to advise)
salām mōn ~
 (to send messages to the shades by the dead)
sar ~
 (to head off, lead off)
sazā/sizā ~
 (to punish)
sizā/sazā ~
 (to punish)
 → *sazā*
šafā ~
 (to cure)
šahādat ~
 (to give evidence, to testify)
šāhidī ~
 (to give evidence, to testify)
šikist ~
 (to defeat, to break up)
talāk ~
 (to divorce)
tark ~
 (to make to desist from)
tasallī ~
 (to console, to reassure)
taw ~
 (to twist)
tawār ~
 (to shout back a reply)
tīr ~
 (to give a shot (at oneself))
ust ~

(to be in love)
wām ~
 (to lend)
xabar ~
 (to give the news in the customary interchange)
xaf ~
 (to impress upon, to give to understand)
xarč ~
 (to meet the expenses)
zōr ~
 (to emphasise, to press)
yāt ~
 (to remind)
ēl/yēl/hēl ~
 (to teach)
 (82) (74)
Xalling
 (to strike)
bā ~
 (to chatter, to squabble)
bāxō ~
 (to take large mouthfuls)
čīl ~ ??????
dār ~
 (to hang)
dīra ~
 (to play on the tambourine)
dōl ~
 (to beat the drum (especially to assemble people together))
dū ~
 (to lay hands on, touch)
dūn ~
 (to sink wells)
girōk ~
 (to light)
karnā ~
 (to blow a trumpet)
kūk ~
 (to shout)
lāf ~
 (to brag)
layat ~
 (to kick)

mizil ~
 (to travel a stage)
nal ~
 (to pipe)
nāra ~
 (to roar)
nazar ~
 (to affect with the evil eye)
nēza ~ ??
 (to tent-peg ??)
nišāna ~
 (to shoot at a mark)
pad ~
 (to pursue, to trail, to track down, to follow) ?
panĵa ~
 (to cuff)
phul ~
raml ~
 (to tell fortunes)
sīla ~
 (to needle, to prick with a needle, to inject, to vaccinate)
sirōz ~
 (to play on the *sirōz*)
surnā ~
 (to pipe)
sust ~
 (to loosen, to slacken down, to lessen)
šart ~
 (to gamble, to wager, to bet)
šayr ~
 (to sing a song)
xišt ~
 (to make bricks)
zaym ~
 (to strike with a sword, to use a sword)
zōr ~
 (to emphasise, to press)
kalam ~
 (to quill-drive)
sīx ~
 (to spit, to transfix)
tūfak ~
 (to fire)
ust ~

(to be worried)
zang ~
 (to ring, to phone)
 (36) (35)

Halling

(to seize)
āwāl/āwāl ~
 (to call on for the news)
bahāaṭ ~
 (to buy)
būz ~
 (to kiss)
das-nimāz ~
 (to perform one's ablution before prayer)
biliṭ ~
 (to buy a ticket, to take a ticket)
dū ~
 (to lend a helping hand)
ijāza ~
 (to get permission, to take leave)
nazar ~
 (to aim)
pant ~
 (to learn better)
pēč ~
 (to be twisted)
pin-ta ~
 (to name, to call one's name) ???
ranĵ ~
 (to suffer?)
ruxsat ~
 (to get permission to go)
sar ~
 (to head for, to set out for)
tuy ~
 (to be seized with sleep)
xabar ~
 (to receive the news in the customary interchange of news)
 (16)

Banning

(to come)
bad ~
 (to hate, to dislike)

dū ~
 (to fall to hand, come into one's possession or reach)
yussa ~
 (to become angry, to become furious)
hōšāi ~
 (to recover one's senses, to regain consciousness, to come to (one's senses))
kārēm ~
 (to come in handy, to be of service)
nazar ~
 (to appear)
pēš ~
 (to happen to one as an unpleasant consequences)
raham ~
 (to have pity, to have mercy)
tars ~
 (to fear, to dread)
ust ~ ???
yāt ~
 (to be remembered)
zubānāi ~
 (to begin to talk)
 (12)

Kaššing

(to draw out, to pull out, to pull off)
āh-i-sard ~
 (to sigh)
arax ~
 (to extract essence)
arra ~
 (to saw)
čilum ~
 (to smoke)
dam ~
 (to draw breath, to take a breather, to rest)
gand ~
 (to sniff at, to nose out)
hītas bāān ~
murr ~
pad ~
 (to draw back)

šukr ~
 (to be grateful)
taswīr ~
 (to draw a picture, to paint)
 (11)

Kuning

(to eat, to drink)
yam ~
 (to sorrow, to grieve, to worry, to be grieved)
gwāzī ~
 (to get the worst of a game, to be outdone)
kasam ~
 (to take oath)
nusxān ~
 (to suffer loss)
sōyund ~
 (*sōyund kuning*)
 (to swear)
sūt ~
 (to take interest)
šikist ~
 (to be defeated)
šīr-xām ~
 (to make a slip)
 (8)

Tamming

(to fall, to lie down, to lie, to follow)
awār ~
 (to come together, to cohabit)
dū ~
 (to fall to one's hand, come into one's possession or reach)
padat ~
 (to pursue, to trail, to track down, to follow)
pēš ~
 (to come forth)
tammā hōyingaṭi
hōyingaṭī ~
 (to burst into tears)
 (5) (4)

Pāning

(to say, to speak)

drōy ~

(to tell lies)

duā ~

(to pray, to say prayers)

kissa ~

(to tell a story)

qissa ~→ *kissa**rāst* ~

(to tell/speak the truth)

šayr ~

(to compose a song)

(5)

Danning

(to take away, to carry off, to blight, to spoil, to usurp)

dam ~

(to get out of breath, become tired)

ǰulaw ~

(to attack)

šawxūn ~

(to make a night attack)

umēd ~

(to drive hope from, to rest one's hope on)

yax ~

(to be damaged by frost)

(5)

Tōning

(to hold)

dōl ~

(to engage a drum (for a wedding, etc.))

rōča ~

(to fast, to keep the fast)

šādmānī ~

(to hold a drumming on some joyous occasion)

šawxūn ~

(to make a night attack)

xaf ~

(to give ear to, to listen, to heed)

(5) (4)

Tafing

(to tie up, to bind)

šart ~

(to gamble, to wager, to bet)

tīp ~

(to marsh in army-array)

tīr ~

(to cast lots)

yax ~

(to be frozen, of liquids)

tu yān ~

(to rob the sleep ???)

(5)

šāying

(to put down, to lay down, to put in, to pour in, to pour out)

ǰah ~

(to lay bedding)

kirinč ~

(to frown)

nazar ~

(to examine, to test)

pad ~

(to keep back, to delay)

tīr ~

(to cast lots)

(5)

Hataring

(to bring)

bahā ~

(to buy)

īmān ~

(to believe, to acknowledge one's faith, to convert to)

kalīma ~

(to repeat the confession of faith)

tar ~ ????

(tar: closed, shut)

(4) (2)

Harrifing

(to enquire, to ask)

dū ~

(to withdraw from)
kasam ~
(to declare on oath)
minnat ~
(to lie under obligations)
zimma ~
(to take responsibility)
(4)

Tixing

(to place, to put)
anāmat ~
(to deposit)
minnat ~
(to place under obligation, to impute
obligation to)
pin ~
(to name)
raxt ~
(to impose a burden)
šart ~
(to gamble, to wager, to bet)
(5)

Hining

(to go, to depart, to disappear)
hōšān ~
(to faint, to swoon)
tungān ~
to fall into a sound sleep)
(2)

Rasing

(to arrive)
jawāb ~
(to receive an answer) ??
(1)

Hunning

(to look)
dū ~
(to practice palmistry)
(1)

Murīfing

(to make long, extend, stretch)

dū ~
(to stretch one's hand out at, grasp at)
(1)

Xwāning

(to read, to study)
ilm ~
(to study)
nikā ~
(to read the marriage service)
(2)

Xāčing

(to lie down, to go to sleep)
kanā dū xāčāne
(my arm's gone to sleep)
(1)

Biting

(to throw)
nazar ~
(to cast glances at)
(1)

Īlling

(to leave, to let go, to allow, to reserve,
to keep, to leave over)
yāt ~
(to forget)
(1)

Xwāhing

(to desire, to want)
dawā ~ ????
(to ask for a remedy)
pad ~ ?????
(2) (1)

Taring

(to cut)
drōy ~
(to lie)
(1)

Xaning

(to see)
tuy ~
(to dream)
(1)