

〈特集「アスペクト」〉

Aspect in Brahui ブラーフイー語のアスペクト

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Abstract: This report contributes to the special supplement on ‘Aspect’ (*Journal of the Institute of Language Research* 15, 2010, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies). It aims to provide Brahui data for 28 questionnaire items.

要旨：本稿は特集補遺「アスペクト」（『語学研究所論集』第15号，2010，東京外国語大学）に寄与するものである。本稿の目的は28個のアンケート項目に対するブラーフイー語のデータを与えることである。

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1. Introduction

This paper presents sentences related to aspect in Brahui. The data were collected from a native speaker of Brahui, Dr. Ali, who was born in Mastung, Pakistan, in 1981. Note that the sentences are translated from the English data (Kazama 2020), so some might have had an effect from English.

The organization of the paper is as follows. Section 2 provides some preliminaries on Brahui. Section 3 analyzes the sentences collected from Dr. Ali.

2. Preliminary

Before moving on to the main discussion of the paper, let us provide some preliminaries on Brahui. Section 2.1 deals with basic information on Brahui, and Section 2.2 deals with the finite forms of the Brahui verb.

2.1. Basic information

Brahui is a North Dravidian language with a basic word order of SOV, mainly spoken in Balochistan, Pakistan in Figure 1.



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Figure 1: The map of Pakistan (<https://www.worldatlas.com/maps/pakistan>)

While there are several dialects of Brahui, we focus on the Saravani dialect, which is the primary dialect of Brahui. This is spoken in the north part of Balochistan, where this Saravanic dialect is being spoken in Quetta, Mastung, Drengarh, Mungchar, Kalat, few parts of Bolan, Kachee, Naseer Abad and Jafar Abad (Sani, Ahmed & Razzaq 2014: 114).

Brahui has 3 short vowels /a, i, u/, 5 long vowels /ā, ī, ū, ē, ō/, 2 diphthongs /ay, aw/, and 27 consonants /p, b, t, d, ʈ, ɖ, k, g, tʃ, dʒ, f, x, ɣ, s, z, ʃ, ʒ, m, n, ŋ, h, l, ɭ, r, ɽ, w, y/ (Elfenbein 1997: 800–801)¹. In this paper, retroflexes /ʈ, ɖ, ɽ/ are transcribed as *t, d, r*, velar /g/ as *g*, palato-alveolars /tʃ, dʒ, ʃ, ʒ/ as *c, j, ʃ, ʒ*, nasal /ŋ/ as *ñ*, and semivowel /w/ as *v*.

2.2. Finite forms of the Brahui verb

In this section, the finite forms of the Brahui verb are outlined based on Ali & M. Kobayashi (2024: 10–14).

Brahui finite verbs are inflected to agree with the number and person of the subjects. Each finite form has both an unmarked affirmative form and a marked negative form. [...] There are eight inflectional paradigms, distinguished by tense/aspect and modality: present, subjunctive, probable future, past conditional, past, imperfect, perfect, and pluperfect [...]. The former four paradigms derive from the verb base, while the latter four are based on the past stem. Negative suffixes for the former four paradigms contain *p, pp, f*, while the latter four paradigms use *t* or *tt* as negative markers.

(Ali & M. Kobayashi 2024: 10)

¹ Some consonants in the inventory are changed from (Elfenbein 1997: 800) as follows: 1. changed two IPAs: *s*→*ʃ*, *g*→*g*, 2. deleted allophone [ŋ] and [ʔ] found only in Jahlavani dialect.

The form and usage of each paradigm are reviewed in the examples in Section 3.

The copular verb, which is paired with an absolute or locative form of the infinitive to denote progressive aspects has irregular paradigms as shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Conjugation of the copula

	PRS	NEG.PRS	PST	NEG.PST
1SG	<i>uṭ</i>	<i>aff-aṭ</i>	<i>ass-uṭ</i>	<i>allav-aṭ</i>
2SG	<i>us</i>	<i>aff-es</i>	<i>ass-us</i>	<i>allav-es</i>
3SG	<i>e</i>	<i>aff</i>	<i>as</i>	<i>allav</i>
1PL	<i>um</i>	<i>aff-an</i>	<i>ass-un</i>	<i>allav-an</i>
2PL	<i>ure</i>	<i>aff-ere</i>	<i>ass-ure</i>	<i>allav-ere</i>
3PL	<i>o</i>	<i>aff-as</i>	<i>ass-ura</i>	<i>allav-as</i>

(adapted from Ali & M. Kobayashi 2024: 13)

3. Analysis of the sentences

In this section, we will look at the sentences and their analysis closely. The numbering of the examples in this section matches the numbering of the corresponding questionnaires included in *Journal of the Institute of Language Research* 15, 2010.

(2-1) ～さん (固有名詞) は／あの人 は もう来た.

Andy mālav bas.

PN before come.PST.3SG

‘Andy already came.’

(2-2) ～さん (固有名詞) は／あの人 は もう来ている.

Andy mālav bass-une.

PN before come-PRF.3SG

‘Andy has already come.’

(2-3) ～さん (固有名詞) は／あの人 は まだ来ていない.

Andy dāskān ba-tane.

PN until.now come-NEG.PRF.3SG

‘Andy hasn’t come yet.’

(2-4) ～さん (固有名詞) は／あの人 は まだ来ない.

Andy dāskān ba-tane.

PN until.now come-NEG.PRF.3SG

‘Andy hasn’t come yet.’

Since the English questionnaires from Kazama (2020: 3) are identical, (2-3) and (2-4) are exactly the same.

- (2-5) ~さん (固有名詞) は／あの人は もう (すぐ) 来る.

Andy zū bar-ek.

PN soon come-PRS.3SG

‘Andy will come soon.’

- (2-6) (あ!) ~さんが来た! [その人が来るのに気づいた場面での発話]

a. *(belī) Andy bass-une.*

look PN come-PRF.3SG

‘(Oh!) Andy has come!’

b. *(belī) Andy dārek e.*

look PN here COP.PRS.3SG

‘(Oh!) Andy is here!’

- (2-7) 昨日~さんが来たよ.

Andy daro bas.

PN yesterday come-PST.3SG

‘Andy came yesterday.’

- (2-8) 昨日~さんは来なかったよ.

Andy daro ba-tav.

PN yesterday come-NEG.PST.3SG

‘Andy didn’t come yesterday.’

- (2-9) (私は) あのリンゴをもう食べた.

ī e sof e mālav kung-uṭ.

1SG.NOM that apple ACC already eat-PST.1SG

‘I already ate that apple.’

- (2-10) 私はあのリンゴをまだ食べていない. / 私はあのリンゴをまだ食べない.

a. *ī dāskān e sof e kun-tanuṭ.*

1SG.NOM yet that apple ACC eat-NEG.PRF.1SG

‘I haven’t eaten that apple yet.’

b. *ī e sof e kun-paroṭ.*

1SG.NOM that apple ACC eat-NEG.FUT.1SG

‘I won’t eat that apple.’

- (2-11) あの人は今 (ちょうど) そのリンゴを食べています／食べているところです.

o e sof e asul dāsā kun-ing e.

3SG.NOM that apple ACC right now eat-INF COP.PRS.3SG

‘He’s eating that apple just now.’

As mentioned in Section 2.2, the progressive is expressed in the form of “verb.base-INF(-LOC) + copula,” as in (2-11).

(2-12) 窓が開いている／窓が開いていた．

- a. *darīca mal-ok e.*
window open-ADJP COP.PRS.3SG
‘The window is open.’

- b. *darīca mal-ok as.*
window open-ADJP COP.PST.3SG
‘The window was open.’

- c. *darīca mal-ok e.*
window open-ADJP COP.PRS.3SG
‘The window is opened.’

- d. *darīca mal-ok as.*
window open-ADJP COP.PST.3SG
‘The window was opened.’

- e. *darīca mal-ing-āne.*
window open-PASS-PRF.3SG
‘The window has been opened.’

- f. *darīca mal-ing-āsus.*
window open-PASS-PLPF.3SG
‘The window had been opened.’

- g. *darīca e mal-ok ill-ing-ā.*
window ACC open-ADJP leave-PASS-PST.3SG
‘The window is left open.’

- h. *darīca e mal-ok illifing-ā.*
window ACC open-ADJP leave.PASS-PST.3SG
‘The window was left open.’

- i. *darīca e mal-ok ill-ing-āne.*
window ACC open-ADJP leave-PASS-PRF.3SG
‘The window has been left open.’

- j. *darīca e mal-ok ill-ing-āsus.*
 window ACC open-ADJP leave-PASS-PLPF.3SG
 ‘The window had been left open.’

- k. *darīca mal-ing-ing e.*
 window open-PASS-INF COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘The window is opening.’

- l. *darīca mal-ing-ing as.*
 window open-PASS-INF COP.PST.3SG
 ‘The window was opening.’

The adjective participle is used as a predicate, as in (2-12 a, b, c, d, g, h, i, j). The passive (or intransitive) verb is formed by adding *-ing* to the verb base, as in (2-12 e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l). The difference between (2-12 g) and (2-12 h) is the verb *illing-* and *illifing-*, both of which are passive, but *illifinga-* having *f* after the verb base is more specific as causitive / passive. (2-12 k, l) are examples of the combination of passive *-ing* and infinitive *-ing* with the progressive.

(2-13) 私は毎朝新聞を読む／読んでいます。

- a. *ī har sob anā ixbār e xuān-eva.*
 1SG.NOM every morning GEN newspaper ACC read-PRS.1SG
 ‘I read the newspaper every morning.’
- b. *ī dāsā har sob anā ixbār e xuān-ing-aī uṭ.*
 1SG.NOM now every morning GEN newspaper ACC read-INF-LOC COP.PRS.1SG
 ‘I’m reading the newspaper every morning now.’

(2-14) あなたは (あなたの) お母さんに似ている。

- a. *nī tenā lumma yānbār xan-ing-isa.*
 2SG.NOM REFL.GEN mother like look-INTR-PRS.2SG
 ‘You look like your mother.’
- b. *nī tenā lumma yānbār us.*
 2SG.NOM REFL.GEN mother like COP.PRS.2SG
 ‘You resemble your mother.’

(2-15) 私はその頃毎日学校に通っていた。

- a. *ī harḍe iskūl-ā kā-va valdā bar-eva.*
 1SG.NOM everyday school-ALL go-PRS.1SG then come-PRS.1SG
 ‘I used to go to school every day (back then).’

- b. *ī harde iskūl-ā hin-āṭ valdā bass-uṭ.*
 1SG.NOM everyday school-ALL go-PST.1SG then come-PST.1SG
 ‘I went to school every day back then.’

(2-16) 私は〜に (大きな街の名前など) 行ったことがある.

- ī New York ā hin-ānuṭ.*
 1SG.NOM New York ALL go-PRF.1SG
 ‘I have been to New York.’

(2-17) やっとバスは走り出した／走り始めた.

- a. *neṭ, bas sur-ing e harfe.*
 finally bus move-INF ACC pick.up-PST.3SG
 ‘Finally, the bus began moving.’
- b. *neṭ-ā bas rāhī mas.*
 finally-ALL bus going become-PST.3SG
 ‘Finally, the bus began to move.’

The verb *harfe* ‘picked up’ in (2-17 a) is a component of a compound verb; it supports the first verb (here, *suring* ‘to move’) and adds a meaning like ‘start’ or ‘begin.’ Here are some examples: *suringe harfe* ‘began moving,’ *kuninge harfe* ‘began eating,’ *tūlinge harfe* ‘started sitting,’ etc.

(2-18) 昨日彼女はずっと寝ていた.

- a. *o daro de-durust xāc-ā.*
 3SG.NOM yesterday day-complete sleep-PST.3SG
 ‘She slept all day yesterday.’
- b. *o daro de-durust xāc-ok as.*
 3SG.NOM yesterday day-complete sleep-ADJP COP.PST.3SG
 ‘She was asleep all day yesterday.’
- c. *o daro de-durust xāc-ing-aṭi ass-aka.*
 3SG.NOM yesterday day-complete sleep-INF-LOC COP-IMP.3SG
 ‘She was sleeping (all day) yesterday.’

(2-19) 私はそれをちょっと食べてみた.

- ī dāde macci kung-uṭ hur-āṭ.*
 1SG.NOM it little eat-PST.1SG look-PST.1SG
 ‘I tried eating it a bit.’

(2-20) あの人はそれ (ら) をみんなに分け与えた.

o dāfte harkass-e tis.
 3SG.NOM these everyone-ACC give.PST.3SG
 ‘He gave them to everyone.’

(2-21) さあ, (私たちは) 行くよ!

kān-ak.
 go-IMP.2SG
 ‘Let’s go!’

(2-22) 地球は太陽の周りを回っている.

ḍayār de anā dā-pār e-pār pherī kek.
 earth sun GEN this-side that-side walk do.PRS.3SG
 ‘The earth goes around the sun.’

(2-23) あの木は今にも倒れそうだ.

o daraxt tamm-ing āṭ e.
 3SG.NOM tree fall-INF INST COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘That tree is about to topple.’

(2-24) (私は) あやうく転ぶところだった.

ī caṭ musāfirī ā hin-ing ass-uṭ.
 1SG.NOM almost travel ALL go-INF COP.PST-1SG
 ‘I was almost about to trip.’

(2-25) 明日客が来るので, パンを買っておく.

a. *pagga nan-to memān maror, guṛā ī giṛā-s iray hal-eva.*
 tomorrow 1PL-COM guest be.FUT.3PL then 1SG.NOM thing-INDF bread take-PRS.1SG
 ‘We will have guests tomorrow, so I will buy some bread.’

b. パンを買っておいた?

ant num iray halkusure.
 what 2PL.NOM bread buy.PLPF.2PL
 ‘Did you (remember to) buy some bread?’

(2-26) (私は) 〜に (街とか市場とか) 行ったとき, この袋を買った.

ī dā buxca e hamotam halkusut harātam ī tokō ā
 1SG.NOM this bag ACC that.time buy.PLPF.1SG when 1SG.NOM Tokyo ALL
hin-āsut.
 go-PLPF.1SG
 ‘I (had) bought this bag when I went to Tokyo.’

(2-27) (私は) 〜に (街とか市場とか) 行く時／行く前に, この袋を買った.

a. *ī dā buxca e ʔok̄io ā hin-ing vaxt-ā halkusuʔ.*
 1SG.NOM this bag ACC Tokyo ALL go-INF time-ALL buy.PLPF.1SG
 ‘I (had) bought this bag when going to Tokyo.’

b. *ī dā buxca e ʔok̄io ā hin-ing ān guḍ halkusuʔ.*
 1SG.NOM this bag ACC Tokyo ALL go-INF ABL after buy.PLPF.1SG
 ‘I (had) bought this bag upon going to Tokyo.’

c. *ī dā buxca e ʔok̄io ā hin-ing ān must halkusuʔ.*
 1SG.NOM this bag ACC Tokyo ALL go-INF ABL before buy.PLPF.1SG
 ‘I (had) bought this bag before going to Tokyo.’

(2-28) (私は) 彼が市場でこの袋を買ったのを知っていた.

ī cā-issuʔa o dā buxca e dā bāzār ān halkune.
 1SG.NOM know-IMP.1SG 3SG.NOM this bag ACC this market ABL buy.PST.3SG
 ‘I knew he (had) bought this bag in this market.’

Abbreviations

1	first person	IMP	imperative	PL	plural
2	second person	IMPF	imperfect	PLPF	pluperfect
3	third person	INDF	indefinite	PN	proper noun
ACC	accusative	INF	infinitive	PRF	perfect
ADJP	adjectival participle	INST	instrumental	PRS	present
ALL	allative	INTR	intransitive	PST	past
COM	comitative	LOC	locative	REFL	reflexive
COP	copula	NEG	negative	SG	singular
FUT	future	NOM	nominative		
GEN	genitive	PASS	passive		

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