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## A Study of Brahui-Tamil and in the context of their presence in the Indus valley Civilization

(In linguistic, cultural, historical and toponymic contexts)

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### ABSTRACT

#### Abstract:

Tamil is the oldest language of the world .Which is called Proto-Dravidian . The Dravidian word is the ancient form and origin of the present Tamil word . Hence Proto-Tamil is the mother of the present modern Dravidian languages . Which was spread from Kanyakumari to Karachi and from Gujrat to Iran before the Indo-European peoples . Various dialects of Proto-Tamil were spoken in this entire seven million square kilo meter area . Usually the Dravidians were confined to the IVC area , but the Proto-Dravidian or Tamil was the parent language spread over much more land and dialects . Just like earlier Bronze Age was considered from 3300 BC to 1300 BC . But now it is clear from the evidence of bronze found in various monuments of Tamil Nadu that the Bronze Age in Tamil Nadu was also at it peak in 5300 B C . Now it is enough to believe that Tamilians migrated from Africa to Kanyakumari 70 to 80 thousand years ago .

Brahui language is spoken in present Pakistani Balochistan , Sindh ,Iran ,Afghanistan ,Central Asia , Turkimanistan and European countries , it is also the beginning or first dialect of Proto-Dravidian or Tamil language . Which first separated from Proto-Tamil 15000 to 20000 thousand years ago . Even today the names of Brahui regions and tribes are of Tamil origin . There is also a great linguistic , historical ,and cultural commonality between the speakers of the two languages . So far only linguistic research has been done on Brahuis . And that too to a very limited extent .

The area that the Brahuis settled In the present Pakistani Balochistan consists of basically different mountain ranges . One of the is the “Brahui mountain range “ . Which extends for 360 kilo meters from Pishin to Khuzdar . Only Brahui live in this entire area . Before that , Proto-Brahuis had founded Mihrgarh 9000 thousand years ago and IVC 5000 thousand years ago . Many expts consider Mihrgarh and IVC as Proto-Brahuis . This is correct in it place because Proto-Brahui was also Proto-Tamil and was a dialect of that language . Therefore ,it is correct to call or declare the founders of Mihrgarh and IVC as Proto-Dravidian , Tamil or Brahui . Proto-Sindhi , Gondi ,Kurukh languages were also spoken in IVC . All these languages are also dialects of Proto-Tamil .

In this paper , I will present a study of Brahui s linguistic ,cultural ,historical and toponymic similarities and relations with Tamil . On which no one has researched or studied from this angle before .  
Keywords: Brahui ,Tamil , Proto-Dravidian, Dravidian , Linguistics, IVC.

A great deal has been written over the past nearly two centuries about the linguistic similarities between Brahui and other Dravidian languages. In this context, various scholars and researchers have also presented



their studies on the linguistic relationship between Brahui and Tamil, as well as on the perspective that connects these languages with the founders of the Indus Valley Civilization (IVC).

However, very little has been written in a systematic and comprehensive manner about the linguistic, cultural, and onomastic connections between Brahui and Tamil, and their possible presence and role in the Indus Valley Civilization. Recognizing this gap, Bama M.M, Raj Mutharasan, Arasu Chellaiah, Sridevi, Balakrishnan.R, and others from the JOC Study Circle organized an online lecture for me on April 4, 2026, at 9:00 PM.

This is the revised version of that lecture, in which some changes have been made and new material has also been added.

#### **Tamil:**

Tamil is an important, literary language of the most ancient languages of the world. In the present age, the number of its speakers is approximately more than 90 million. This language is spoken in Canada, the United States, Australia, Singapore, Marissa, Malaysia, the South Africa and other countries. Tamil language has been recognized as an official language in Tamil Nado (Hindustan), Srilinka, and Puducherry. Tamil language is enlisted in 22 official languages of India. Tamil is spoken 5.89% in India, while 1.1% in the world.

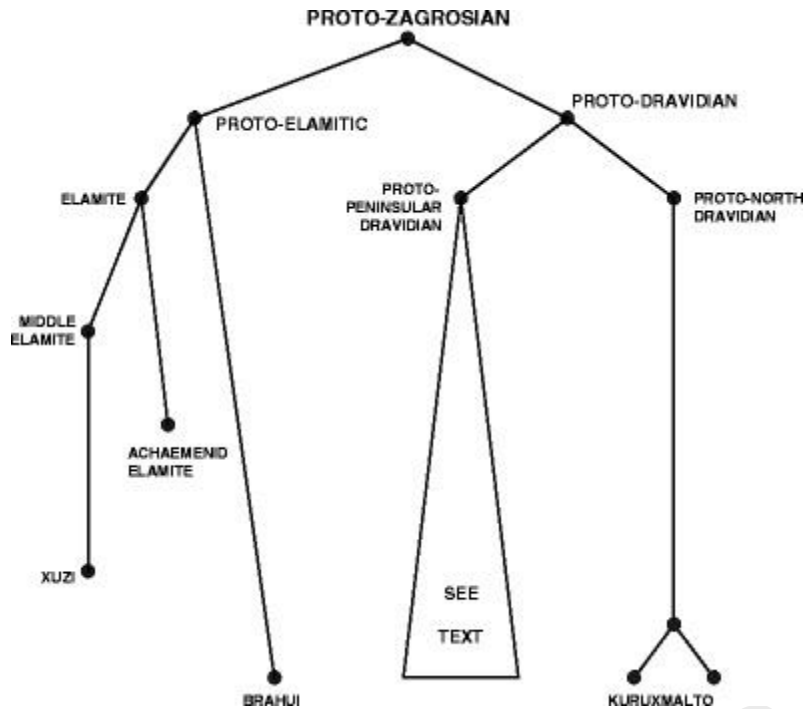
#### **Brahui:**

Brahui language is mostly spoken in Pakistani Balochistan. In addition to this, it is spoken in the Sindh province of Pakistan and several other countries viz., Afghanistan, Iran, Turkemanistan, and the Middle East and Europe. The official figures show that 3 million Brahui speaking live in Pakistan. While according to unofficial survey, they make total number of Brahui speaking more than 10 million all over the world. (Shakir, 2015, 317).

Brahui speaking people comprises of 37 tribes. And every tribe has its own Chief. All chiefs or tribes of Brahui are divided in geographical areas. One part is called Sarawan, which is stretched from Punjab's borders Mungchar and in South from Jacobabad's border to Noshke.

The chief of the different tribes of different nationalities of all this part, which include Brahui, Pashtoon, Baloch, Sindhi (Jaat), Dihwa, Hazarah and others, is called Chief of Sarawan, who is the Chief of Raisani, a tribe of Brahui. The other area is called Jhalawan, which stretches from west Qalat to Hab and in North from Irani border to the district Dadu in Sindh. The Chief of various tribes of this entire area is called Chief of Jhalawan, who is the Chief of Zahri tribe of Brahui. The Chief of these two chiefs comes from Brahui or is from Brahui, whose city of rule is Qalat. Usually, the Brahui state or rule is called and written "Paya-e-Takht Qalat (Qalat, the city of rule). Thought it is the Brahui rule, Qalat is its capital city. Kachhi, Jhalawan, Sarawan, Makran, Lasbela, Kharan were its provinces. The Brahui rule lasted from 1410 A.D. to 1958 A.D, total 548 years. This was the longest term rule of Brahui or Tamils in Pakistan.

Ernest Trumpp wrote Brahui grammar in German in 1880 A.D. He, in this book, clearly declared Brahui language as Dravidian language. (Trumpp, 1887, 62 ). In 1962, M. B. Emeneau after modern linguistic study of Brahui language, declared it as the branch of North Dravidian Group. (Emeneau, 1962, 70). But in 2022 A.D., David McAlpin declared Brahui language as 'Modern Colloquial Eastern Elamite'. (Alpin, 2022, 121). In the same way McAlpin declared Dravidian languages as cognate of Elamite language. (McAlpin, 1980/1981/2003/2015/2022)



\*Zagrosian Family Tree by MacAlpin

### Who were the creators of the IVC –Brahui-Tamil , or both ?

Sir John Marshall conducted excavations at Mohenjo-daro from 1921 to 1923. He wrote a research book on these excavations, in which he described this civilization as non-Aryan and identified its people and language as Dravidian. In this way, he pointed toward recognizing the Brahui language—spoken in the Indus Valley Civilization—as belonging to the creators of this civilization and its speakers. ( Marshall,1931, p.109) After that, G. R. Hunter presented his detailed research on the script of the Indus Valley Civilization (IVC), in which he clearly stated that the people and language of the IVC could be none other than the ancestors of the Brahui. ( Hunter,1934,p.17) In the same period, Piero Meriggi also explicitly stated that the people of the IVC were Proto-Brahui. ( Piero,1934,p.198-,124). Richard N.Frye likewise described the people and language of the IVC as Proto-Brahui and said that these people were the majority in Sindh and present-day Balochistan before the arrival of the Aryans.( Richard,1984,p.33).Sharma and Parpola jointly wrote a book in which they clearly stated that:

“Sharma and Parpola concluded that Brahui was the first language of the Harappans.”( Sharma,2000,p.81)

From a local perspective, Kamil-ul-Qadri wrote that there is considerable evidence suggesting that Brahui was the common language of the Indus Valley, and that the Dravidian languages of North India originated from it.( Qami,1960,p.9) Rashid Akhtar Nadvi also clearly wrote that, in his view, Brahui is the first language of this land (i.e., Pakistan).( Nadvi,1998,p.195)

Zoon Ahmed Khan has described the people and language of the Indus Valley Civilization (IVC) as Proto-Brahui.( Zoon,2012) In this linguistic context, Grierson ( Grierson,1906,p.285), Andronov ( Andronov,1980,p.18), Zvelebil( Zvelebil,1970,p.13), Subrahmanyam ( Subrahmanyam,1971,p.531), Suresh Kolichala ( Suresh,2015,p.79), and several other linguists have stated that the Dravidian languages originated from Proto-Dravidian, and have identified Brahui as a branch that split directly from Proto-Dravidian.

According to modern research, Krishnamurti’s work on the linguistic classification of Dravidian languages is currently widely accepted, and there is broad agreement on it. This includes Suresh Kolichala.

Suresh Kolichala, while discussing the classification of modern Dravidian languages, writes:

“The first branch to split off is North Dravidian, which further split into South Dravidian (South Dravidian

I) and South-Central Dravidian (South Dravidian II).” (Suresh,2015,pp.75-76)

However, the Indus script expert Parpola had expressed a similar idea earlier in 1994. He writes:

“The Brahuīs [were] the first group that broke off from the mainstream of the Dravidian language.” (Asko,2024,p.161)

The remaining Dravidian languages are considered to have separated from Proto-Dravidian after Brahuī, and to have undergone their own independent linguistic development and classification..

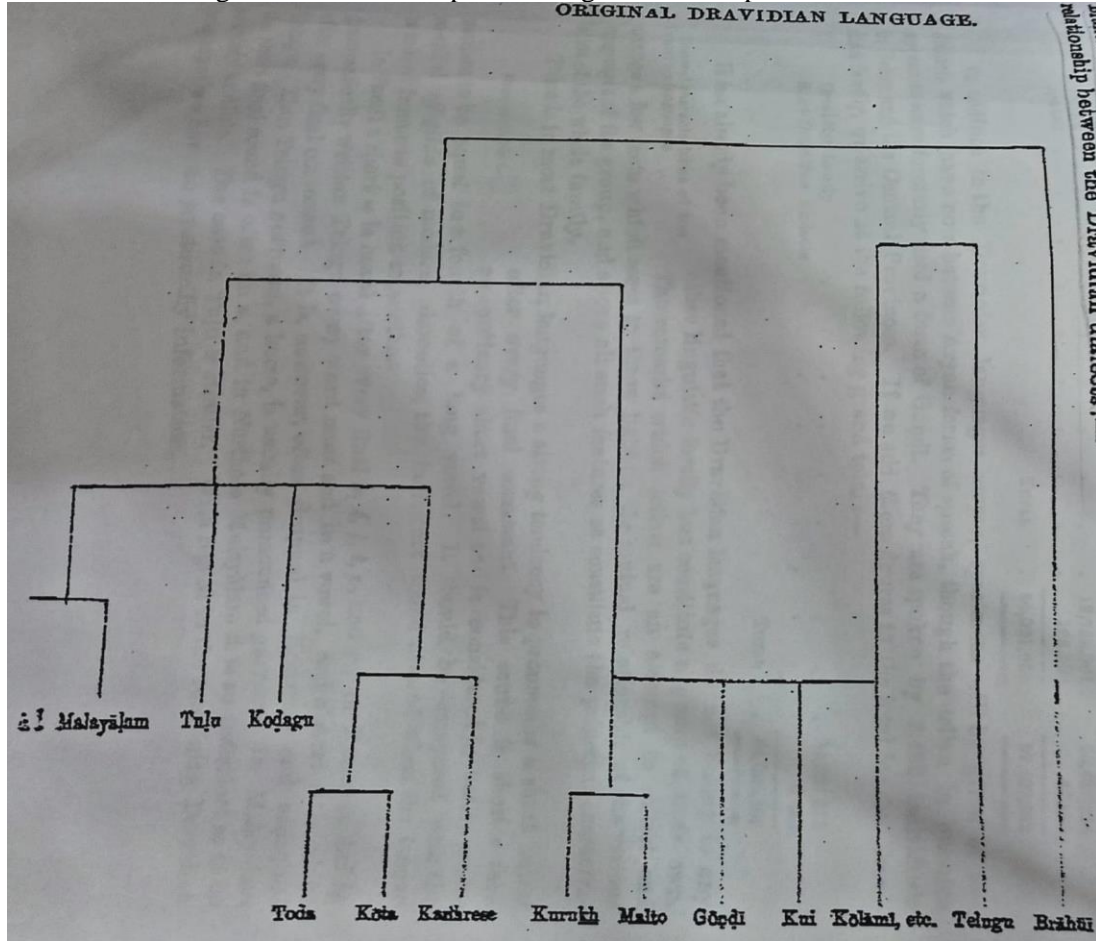


Figure A: Grierson’s family tree of Dravidian languages.

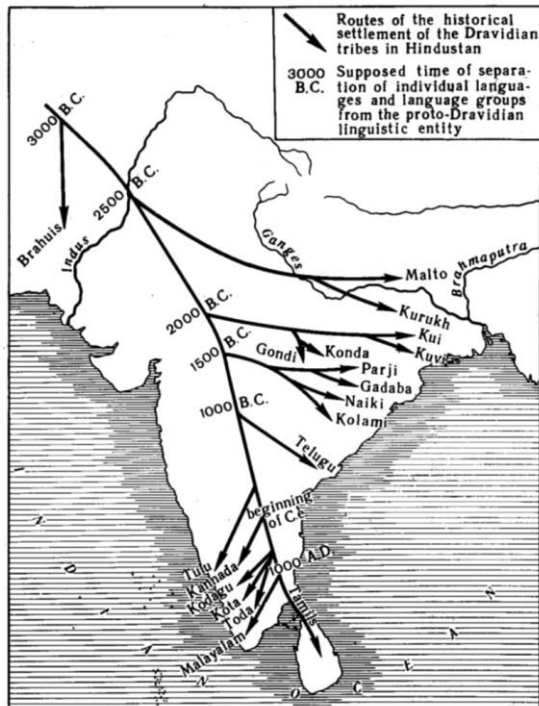


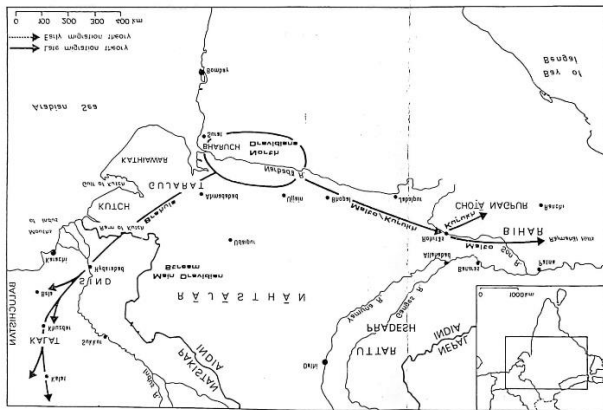
Figure: Map of Andronov showing the migration of Dravidian –speaking populations and the chronological development of their languages.

Thus, according to this line of research, if any Proto-Dravidian language was spoken in the Indus Valley Civilization (IVC), it was Brahuia. The languages that later split off from it or moved toward North and South India can be regarded as its “daughter” languages. These other Dravidian languages—descended from Brahuia—underwent linguistic, cultural, environmental, and regional changes over time and evolved into distinct languages.

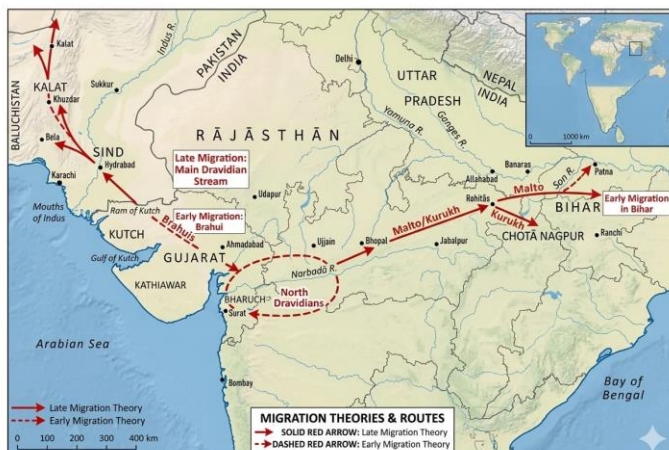
Today, there is a geographical distance of about 2,000 to 3,000 kilometers between Brahuia and these languages; therefore, a significant linguistic divergence—around 70%—is observed between them.

In contrast to the antiquity of the Brahuia language in the Indus Valley Civilization (IVC), Suniti Kumar Chatterji ( Chatterji,1942,pp.41,42), Father Henry Heras ( Heras,1924,pp.198-124), Iravatham Mahadevan ( Mahadevan,2015,p.DP), and dozens of other Dravidologists have identified the language of the IVC not as Proto-Brahuia, but as Proto-Dravidian. Proto-Dravidian is considered the mother of all modern Dravidian languages.

Regarding the arrival of the Brahuia people in present-day Balochistan, another “hypothesis” exists, proposed by Josef Elfenbein. According to this view, the ancestors of the present-day Brahuia entered Balochistan during the 9th or 10th century CE from central India—specifically from regions such as Maharashtra and Gujarat—and settled in Sindh and the areas of Kalat and Khuzdar.( Elfenbein,1981-82/1983-a/1983-b/1987/1997/1998)



\*Fig: Map of Elfenbein showing the migration of the Brahu people fro Central India to present-day Balochistan



\*Fig: Modern political map of Elfenbein s depiction of the Brahu migration from Central India to present –day Balochistan.

Elfenbein devoted much of his life’s work to supporting and strengthening this hypothesis through linguistic, historical, lexicographical, and tribal evidence. Many later linguists, Dravidologists, and Brahu specialists have used his hypothesis as a reference and, on this basis, have argued that the Brahu language is unrelated to the Indus Valley Civilization.

Who first proposed this hypothesis, and when and by whom it was accepted—presenting the detailed research of all experts on this matter would make the discussion too lengthy. Therefore, we present here, in brief, a statement by Michael Danino as a reference, in which he has comprehensively summarized the research of all these scholars. Danino writes:

- "There is the case of Brahu, a Dravidian language still spoken in parts of Baluchistan, which has often been brandish as the ultimate proof of a Dravidian presence in the Indus region. But in the 1920s , French Linguist Jules Bloch demonstrated , though any analysis of the Brahu vocabulary, that the language reached Baluchistan recently , perhaps at the time of the Islamic invasion and probably from Central India . This Thesis was more recently endorsed by Marry Emeneau and still more recently by H. H. Hock . Finally , the linguist and mathematician Josef Elfenbein confirmed it using a different approach . Accrding to the French Indo-Europeanist Bernar Sergent “the conclusion is radical .....Brahu reached Bauchistan late , and can therefore no longer provide proof or even a clue of the Dravidian- speaking character of the people who lived along the Indus “ Clearly, the Brahu Trumpp card has failed, although a

number of our Indian scholars remain unaware of the above linguistic studies. “  
[https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&source=web&rct=j&opi=89978449&url=http://omilosmeleton.gr/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/A\\_Dravidio-Harappan\\_connection.pdf&ved=2ahUKewi6geG0wriTAxWInf0HHTYiFsAQFnoECCUQAQ&usg=AOvVaw1BYryxJdLhuk54Hol6uzwN](https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&source=web&rct=j&opi=89978449&url=http://omilosmeleton.gr/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/A_Dravidio-Harappan_connection.pdf&ved=2ahUKewi6geG0wriTAxWInf0HHTYiFsAQFnoECCUQAQ&usg=AOvVaw1BYryxJdLhuk54Hol6uzwN)”

Jules Bloch's hypothesis has also been accepted by Georg Morgenstierne (Morgenstierne, 1934, p.5) and Krishnamurti (Krishnamurti, 2003, pp.141, 492). In order to refute Elfenbein's hypothesis about the Brahui people and to present a critical analysis of it, we put forward the following points.

1. Krishnamurti has also expressed many doubts in accepting this hypothesis. He writes:

"But he does not give linguistic argument." (Krishnamurti, 2003, p. 141)

2. Asko Parpola and James Rapson have also rejected this hypothesis. (Asko, 1994, p.161)

3. Ferd. Hahn considered the Oron people to have been settled in present-day India, rather than in present-day Sindh and Balochistan. (Hahn, 1911, p.xii)

4. Iravatham Mahadevan also rejected the hypothesis of Elfenbein, Thomas Burrow, and others. He states that. “Now we also know that before the Aryan advent into the subcontinent, the Dravidians lived in the north and northwest parts of the country. We have the Brahui, which is still spoken in Baluchistan and parts of Iran and nearby areas. It is a Dravidian language. Of course there has been a suggestion that the Brahuis could have migrated from south of the peninsula in later historical times, but experts discount this possibility because it is found by Burrow, Emeneau and others that Brahui is part of the North Dravidian group of languages which still survives in pockets like Kurukh and Malto in the north-east part of India. Therefore the chances are that the ancestors of the Brahui lived there during the Harappan civilization.”

(<https://www.harappa.com/>)

5. These people had settled in various regions of the present-day Indus Valley Civilization (IVC) during the Dravidian period, before the arrival of the Aryans. They exerted a strong linguistic influence on the local populations and their languages. This linguistic family comprises around one hundred and sixty languages. One of its branches is called Munda, which includes languages such as Santali, Mundari, Ho, Korku, and others. These languages, like Brahui and other Dravidian languages, exhibit agglutinative linguistic features. For example:

hor means “man,” while horko means “men.”

This plural marker “-ko” is still used in Brahui in the form “-ke.” For instance, mar means “boy,” and make forms the plural “boys.”

The sentence structure of these languages, like Brahui and Dravidian languages, follows a Subject–Object–Verb (SOV) order. These languages generally lack grammatical gender. In Brahui, as well as in some Dravidian languages, a gender system is also absent. The Munda people also lived in large numbers two to three thousand years ago in the present-day Brahui region, now known as modern Balochistan. Even today, several towns are known by the names of these people.

For example, Kolpur, which is situated right at the entrance of the route leading from Bolan Pass toward Quetta. An ancient temple of Kali Mata still exists there, where devotees come every year from distant areas, including India. This town was established by the Kol people about 2,500 years ago.

Similarly, another town is known as Mandai, which was founded by people of the Munda tribe and still exists today.

Many clan names among Brahui-speaking tribes are also attributed to the names of different Munda tribes, the details of which are as follows.

\*Mand-ozai - Qalandrani a clan of the Brahui tribe.

\*Mand-ozai - Altaziai a clan of the Brahui tribe.

\*ChohaR-zai - Bangulzai a clan of the Brahui tribe.

\*Bhangi-zai - Kurd a clan of the Brahui tribe.

\*Man-ozai - Raisani a clan of the Brahui tribe.

\*Mand-ozai - Shawani a clan of the Brahui tribe.

\*Mand-ozai - Zagar Mengal a clan of the Brahui tribe.

- \*BagaR-zai -Bizijo a clan of the Brahui tribe.
- \*Mand-ozai -Mengal a clan of the Brahui tribe.
- \*Koroo( Kol)-zai - Sumalani a clan of the Brahui tribe.
- \*Mand-ozai - Neechari a clan of the Brahui tribe.
- \*ChohaR-zai - Zahri a two clans of the Brahui tribe.

Many words from the Munda languages are still in use in Brahui, indicating that there was a strong connection between the Munda people and the local Brahui-speaking populations.

a. Daka: In the region of Noshki, which is a central area of Brahui speakers, during every rainy season, water from the mountains collects in the low-lying areas, spreading over several kilometers. Brahui refers to these lowlands as Daka, which literally means “water surface.” This term is unique to Brahui, while it is absent in Balochi and Persian.

b. Hor means “man,” which is used in Brahui in the form Ar.

Ak means “house,” which is used in Brahui as Ara.

Mai means “mother,” while in Brahui, Mai is used for an ordinary woman.

Mo means “mouth,” which is used in Brahui as Mon.

Chal means “to go,” which is used in Brahui as Chal or Chaling.

Currently, no Austroasiatic language is spoken in any region of Pakistan. These languages are now spoken in large populations in Jharkhand, Odisha, and Chhattisgarh in India.

The main purpose of highlighting the connection between these Austroasiatic languages and Brahui is to show that Brahui was present during the Indus Valley Civilization (IVC) period and had a strong relationship with the Munda tribal people. Several Munda clans eventually merged into the Brahui population. The linguistic influence of Munda languages on Brahui is still evident today.

The claim by Elphinston that the Brahuīs migrated from India to present-day Balochistan in the 9th–10th centuries CE is not correct.

6. Did the Brahuīs migrate from India due to any political, social, religious, agricultural, epidemic, or civil war-related reasons? If they migrated, did all the Brahuīs move to present-day Balochistan, leaving none behind? If some remained, where are they now, under what name, and which language do they speak? Do historical records, traditions, or chronicles from those regions mention the migration of the Brahuīs? Because during that period, the following four kingdoms were established in Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, and Gujarat.

Among them was the Rashtrakuta dynasty( 753-973AD). The center of this rule was the Deccan (Maharashtra) , and its capital was Maniyakheta (Karnataka) . This state ruled over large parts of Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. The second power was the Gurjara-Pratihara dynasty(650-1036AD). The third was the Chaulukya (Solanki) dynasty(940-1244AD), whose center was Gujarat and whose capital was Anahilwara (Patan). The fourth was the Paramara dynasty(900-1000AD), centered in Maloh (Madhya Pradesh), with its capital at Dhar.

There were minor political disagreements and occasional conflicts among these states. However, there is no evidence of civil wars, famine, mass migration, epidemics, or droughts of such scale. Nor are such accounts found in local historical records.

So on what basis did Joseph Elfenbein claim that the Brahui migrated from Central India? And why did he expend so much effort to reinforce this seemingly fictional narrative? Was this hypothesis artificially constructed to serve the political ambitions and interests of certain groups?

Generally, people are forced to leave their homelands due to famine, poverty, drought, or civil war. The region of Madhya Pradesh consists of approximately 35% forests, 50% agricultural land, and 15% mountainous terrain. Similarly, Rajasthan comprises about 60% desert, 20% agricultural land, and 20% mountainous areas. Why would the Brahui abandon such valuable and fertile regions, undertake a difficult journey of nearly 2,000 kilometers, and then settle in a region that is about 97% non-agricultural and mountainous?

If it is assumed that the Brahui arrived in present-day Balochistan during the 9th and 10th centuries CE, then at that time different regions of Balochistan and Sindh were under various ruling powers, including the Saffarid dynasty,

The Samanid Empire, and the Abbasid Caliphate.

The Arab rulers managed to maintain their authority until the early 11th century. After that, in 1025 CE, the Ghaznavid dynasty took control of all the territories previously held by the Arabs.

During this entire period, if the Brahui were indeed migrants as claimed by Josef Elfenbein, and their population—according to our estimate—was around ten thousand, then how did they manage to take control of the lands and estates belonging to other rulers or local populations? And why did the local people not show any resistance?

Furthermore, various Arab geographers, travelers, and historians of that time did not mention any large-scale human migration in these regions. In that case, in what historical context did Elfenbein make such a strong claim that the Brahui arrived here in the 9th and 10th centuries CE?

7. About 2,350 years before the 9th or 10th century CE proposed by Josef Elfenbein, Alexander the Great passed through Balochistan via the Mula Pass. In this pass, he encountered a tribe called the “Langla,” which today is known as the Langove, a prominent tribe of the Brahui people (Cunningham,1871,p.305)).

8. Strabo (64–25 BCE) wrote his book on geography, in which he mentioned, about 2,100 years ago, a tribe identified with the present-day Brahui Sarparah tribe under the name “Sarparra.” He explained the meaning of this name as:

“A Thracian tribe whose name was probably derived from their custom of decapitating strangers” (Bray,1934,p.36)).

Today, this tribe not only speaks Brahui but is also considered one of the important Brahui tribes.

9. The Saka or Scythian people, who were of Iranian origin, conquered present-day Balochistan and Sindh and ruled there for approximately 250 years. When they became weak, about 2,100 years ago, they were absorbed into the Brahui-speaking population and permanently became Brahui. Today, the Sajdi and Satakzai tribes of the Brahui are said to be the same Saka people (Bray,1934,p.36)).

10. One of the prominent Brahui tribes is the “Mengal.” The name of this tribe is of Proto-Dravidian origin. In this name, “Min” comes from the Dravidian word min (fish), and “gal” is originally derived from “āl,” meaning person or man (DED: 499). In Brahui, this Tamil “āl” has phonetically changed into “ār,” meaning man. Through the combination of these elements, the compound word “min + āl” evolved into “Mengal,” meaning fisherman.

The ancient city of these people was “Mina Nagar,” near present-day Thatta, meaning “the city of fishermen.” The word “nagar” is also of Dravidian origin (DED: 3568). When this city was submerged due to the sea, these people dispersed and settled in different areas. A large number of them settled in present-day Wadh in Khuzdar district. The name “Wadh” is also a phonetic variant of the Dravidian word vata / vada / vada, meaning north (DED: 5218).

These Brahui tribes are considered to be people of the Paleolithic age, who lived as hunters and gatherers.

11. Before the Arab rule (670-725AD) in present-day Balochistan and Sindh, the Rai dynasty (450-670 A. D) was in power. On their behalf, a governor named “Siwa”(Sewa) was appointed over the Brahui regions of present-day Kalat and its surroundings. These Siwas(Sewas) were originally Jats, and their language was Jatki (Emeneau,1962,p.52).

When the rule of these Siwas was overthrown by Chach of Alor, the Siwa Rorul family merged into the Brahui tribe known as “Mama Shahi,” which corresponds to the present-day Mohammad Shahi subgroup of the Khidrani clan, and they permanently became Brahui (Shakir,2015,p.31).

The entire military of the Siwas, as well as key administrative positions in their government, were held by Brahui-speaking people (Tareekh e Adabiyat Muslamanan Pakistan wa Hind,1971,350 ). Chach of Alor established political diplomacy with the Brahui and, through this alliance, took control of the Siwa( Sewa) administration. In return, the Brahui retained their political and tribal status and influence.

In this way, the Brahui not only gained political power but also protected the Siwas from the political wrath of Chach, and eventually integrated them permanently into the Brahui identity.

Today, these Siwas—former rulers of Kalat—are known as “Siwazai” and exist as a subgroup within the Khidrani branch of the Mohammad Shahi tribe of the Brahui.

12. Josef Elfenbein identified twenty-seven tribes of the Brahui nation, which is not correct (Elfenbein, 1998,p.389). In fact, the Brahui consist of thirty-seven tribes ( Fahrist Aqwam Baluchistan,1941,p.19 t0

40).

13. Elfenbein wrote that there are no Avestan words in the Brahui language; therefore, the Brahui are not ancient inhabitants of this region, and they migrated from Central India to present-day Balochistan during the 9th and 10th centuries CE. This claim is also unsupported and illogical. While he easily finds hundreds of linguistic influences in Brahui from Balochi, Persian, and Saraiki, he does not recognize Avestan influences. Here, we present some Avestan words that are used in Brahui as linguistic evidence.

Avstian	Brahui	English
Naska	dask	thread
Xok	hookam	pig
Rana	zaan	thigh
Tigra	takra	sharp , fast moving
Sukurna	seenkur	porcupine
Xuwas/xuwad	khuwa	request,demand,wish,need

(Hafeez,2017-21,p.51).

14. Elfenbein also writes that the word “Brahui” is a transformed form of “Ibrahim,” rendered as Brahui. In reality, this is a non-linguistic, non-historical, and illogical assumption. If the Brahui were named after the word “Ibrahim,” then it would imply that they originally belonged to the ancient Mesopotamian city of Ur. The time of Prophet Abraham dates back to around 1500–2000 BCE. This would mean that the Brahui also belonged to that period and would have spoken a Semitic or Akkadian language.

This raises the question: when and why did these people travel approximately 4,500 kilo-meters to settle in Central India, and how did they abandon their Semitic language and adopt a Dravidian one? Furthermore, if the Brahui later migrated from Central India to Balochistan, they would most likely have been followers of Hinduism, since Muslims were only a small minority (around 10–15%) in Central India at that time. So how, where, and under whose influence did they convert to Islam?

If, in Central India, a particular tribe or clan among the present-day Brahui had the name “Ibrahim,” and from this they became known as “Brahimi,” then this name should have remained specific to that particular tribe or clan. However, here the name “Brahui” is used collectively for all thirty-seven tribes as both a nation (ethnic) and linguistic identity.

The suffix “-ki/ke” in the word “Brahui/Brahuiki” is not from the Saraiki language; rather, it is of Dravidian origin. Even today, among many Dravidian-speaking tribes, the suffix “-ki/ke” is commonly used with the names of deities and sacred figures, such as:

Co. Makke

Mandakke

Ponnakke (Emeneau,1994, pp.264,269)

It is also important to note that Brahui speakers refer to themselves as “Brahui” or “Bravi,” but they never call themselves “Brohi,” nor do they write it as such. The term “Brohi” has always been used by non-Brahui for the Brahui people.

When the Arabs entered the Brahui regions in the 7th century CE, they encountered Brahui-speaking populations. The pronunciation of “Brahui” was somewhat difficult for Arabic speakers, so they adapted it according to the phonetic features of Arabic and rendered it as “Brohi.” The Arab geographer Ibn Hawqal used the term “Brohi” in his book around 1250 CE.( Ibn Haukal,2013,65)

In fact, the original word is “Brahui,” which is derived from vaRa meaning “north,” ko/ho meaning “mountain,” and the suffix -i indicating relation. From the combination of these two words and a suffix, the compound word VaRakoi was formed, meaning “northern” or “northern mountaineer” ( Andronov,2001,pp.25,26).

When the Aryans entered the Indus Valley Civilization around 1500 BCE, the original inhabitants of this region—the Brahui, who spoke a Dravidian language—moved to the northern mountains of present-day Sindh. In this way, they were able to escape the Aryan incursions. Therefore, Aurel Stein clearly wrote that because the Brahui settled in the mountains, they avoided being Aryanized.(Stein,1924,p.14) Similarly, Ernst Trumpp described the Brahui language and people as belonging to the northern mountainous regions.(Trumpp,1887,p.59)

On the meaning, origin, and etymology of the word “Brahui,” scholars such as Andronov, (Andronov, 2001, 25, 26), Ghulam Ali Allana (Allan, 2002, p. 113), and Hiremath (Herimath, 1984, p. 23), among others, are not only in agreement but also accept this interpretation.

There is abundant historical, textual, linguistic, and cultural evidence to reject Elfenbein’s hypothesis. In fact, the underlying purpose of promoting this theory was to create a contradiction regarding the presence of the Brahui in the Indus Valley Civilization and to portray them as contemporaries of the Baloch, thereby labeling them as Baloch.

This was, in part, because Josef Elfenbein worked at the University of Balochistan between 1980 and 1985, where he was involved in political and fictional literary work for the Baloch and developed close connections with Baloch political leaders and activists. During that period, a primary political agenda of these leaders and activists was to establish, by all means, that the Brahui were Baloch in linguistic, historical, cultural, literary, and tribal terms. The aim of this political strategy was to increase the numerical strength of the Baloch population and, in turn, to strengthen and assert their political, social, cultural, linguistic, educational, and historical identity.

Since the 1960s, new research has emerged in the field of Dravidian linguistics—especially concerning the linguistic and ethnic origins of the Tamils. One key idea is that the word Tamil is the original form, and that Dravida is a later phonetic transformation of it.

According to this view, the Tamil language developed from Proto-Dravidian or Proto-Tamil. It is also argued that Tamil-speaking people did not migrate from the Indus Valley Civilization to settle in present-day Tamil Nadu; rather, they are the original inhabitants of ancient Lemuria, Kanyakumari, or the Tamil Nadu region itself.

Furthermore, some scholars propose that Tamils are linguistically, ethnically, and culturally of African origin, having migrated from Africa to the Indian subcontinent around 70,000 to 80,000 years ago.

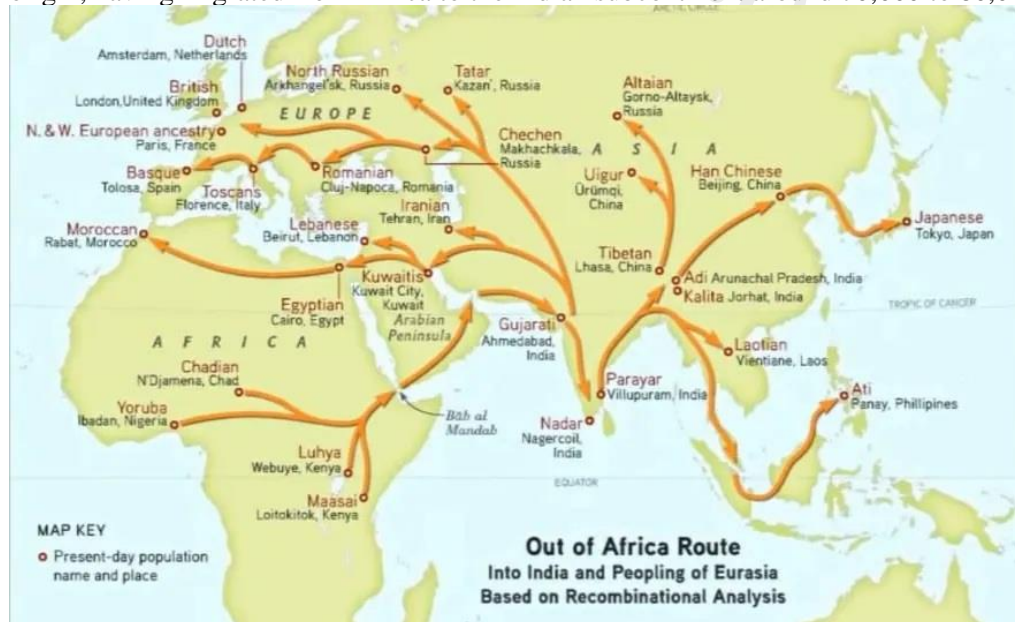


Fig: Routes of human migration out of Africa.

The first formal academic attempt to describe Tamils as African was made by B. B. Lal (Lal-) in 1963. Based on archaeological and genetic considerations, he associated Tamils with the C-Group Nubians. Subsequently, scholars such as K. P. Aravanan (Aravanan, 1976/1980), Clyde Winters (Clyde, 1999/2000/2001/2007/2008/2010), R. Balakrishnan (Balakrishnan, 2005), Tony Joseph (Tony, 2018), and Raj Mutharasan (Raj, 2015), among others, have contributed to this hypothesis through linguistic, historical, genetic, archaeological, and toponymic studies.

The people who arrived in the Indian subcontinent from Africa around 70,000 to 80,000 years ago are referred to as the AASI (Ancient Ancestral South Indians). These populations later spread across present-day India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, and other regions (Clyde, 1981, p. 104/1985, p. 2007, pp. 497-

498/2008,pp325-329/).

Clyde Winters has written extensively on the linguistic, cultural, and genetic connections between African and Dravidian-speaking peoples. He writes that: "The founder of civilization in India were the Dravidians. The Dravidians, according to B.B.Lal. came from Africa. They are related to the C group of Nubia. Alexander Kondiatov, in the Riddles of three oceans, said that the Dravidians probably came to India across the land bridge linking it to Africa, called Leguria.

The Dravidians themselves say that Leguria disappeared under the ocean. Tamil legends and literature, such as the Kalittokai and the Cilapatikaraam, mention this ancient landmass. The Tamilian historian Ariyarkunallar, in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, discussed in detail this lost landmass. The Tamils say Leguria was highly populated and included large cities, now buried beneath the sea. The late Eduard Sues in the face of the earth, noted that this landmass was recently torn apart and submerged in the Indian Ocean. This theory is supported by the presence of extinct volcanoes from Mount Kilimanjaro, across the Indian Ocean to Java. ....The ancient Indians were dark-skinned (varna) and had flat nose according to the Hindu writings. This fact is supported by the Ali Triviaritar (old Dravidians) who are black as their African brothers with a different texture of hair. Even today, in Brahui-speaking regions namely modern Balochistan and Sindh-the suffix "ji" is used in the names of certain places and tribes, generally to indicate affiliation or association. For example, Gaj ji, Gan ji, etc.

Similarly, in Brahui and Sindhi tribal names, the suffix "-jo" is also used, such as Bizinjo (Braui tribe), Junejo, and Narejo (Sindhi tribes). The well-known Braui tribe Pandar, contains the element Pandar, which is considered to be of African origin. In the same way, words such as Aribi (Harboi), Wngo (Wangoo pass), Dadar (DhaDar), and Sindri (SindhRi/ Sindh) are also regarded as being of African origin. (Bala Krishnan, 2005, p. 157 to 175)

There are numerous examples of phonetic, morphological and lexical parallels between Dravidian and Black African languages. The Dravidian languages are Tamil, Malayalam, Kanarese, Tulu, Kui-Gondi, Telugu and Brahui". (Clyde, 1981, pp. 104, 106, 107)

There is significant linguistic similarity between Brahui and African languages. Some examples of this are presented

A= African and Old Tamil each have ten vowels. In Brahui, Kamil Zvelebil (Zvelebil, 1970, p.) also identified ten vowels. The vowel chart of these three languages is presented as follows:

I e, a, o, u, ii, ee, aa, oo, uu.

#### B=pronounce

	1 <sup>st</sup> . per. sing.	2 <sup>nd</sup> . per. sing.	3 <sup>rd</sup> . per. Sing.
Dr.	an, nae, ne	I	a
Bantu	ni	u	a
Mandig	na, n	I	a, e
Egyptian	ink	ntk, ntl	nit
Brahui	I	ni	e, o

#### C=Absence of initial cluster of consonant :

d= Absence of degrees of comparison for adjectives and adverbs as distinct morphological categories.

e=Use of reduplication for emphasis.

#### f=Glossary=

Dog.

Bambara(bo)

ulu

Kayahku

wulu

Malinke

wili, wuru, wulu

Dr.

oru

Brahui

ula-ing (A dog's long, and frightening sound at night, lasting about ten to

fifteen seconds, which is not related to barking.

Cow/Cattle.

Hausa

nagge

Serere		nak			
Songhay		dyungo			
Brahui		Dhag			
Sheep/Ram					
Manding		kori/gori			
Tamil		kuri/karami/mari			
Brahui		kurr	flock		
		Et	goat		
	Mountan	chief	city	road	
Dr.	kurru	cakira	ur	calat	
Mading	kuru	sar	туру	silā	
Brahui	koh/Mash	sah	ura	kasir	
		( lovely or old man)		( ka means to go,sir	
				means road)	

These AASI groups were early hunter-gatherers who lived in small human communities, often inhabiting mountain caves. They created cave paintings and engravings in the mountainous regions of their respective areas. Their time period belongs to the Paleolithic era, which spans roughly from 2.5 million years ago to about 15,000–10,000 BCE.

The engravings and cave paintings produced by these AASI populations in India, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iran are described as follows:

1. In India, the rock art of Bhimbetka Rock Shelters, the cave paintings of Edakkal Caves, and the cave paintings of Yelagiri Hills are well known. Experts have dated these to approximately 30,000 to 10,000 years ago, placing them in the Neolithic age. These artworks are mostly made using red ochre (iron oxide) and black outline colors.

2. In Afghanistan, there are the rock art sites of Bamiyan Valley and the cave paintings of Aq Kupruk. These are dated from about 10,000 to 3,000 BCE. The colors used include red, brown, black outlines, and in some places, white pigments.

3. In Pakistan, in Balochistan, near the town of Wadh in Khuzdar District, the cave paintings of bulls and human dancing figures in the Paleemas Mountains are well known. This region is a central area of Brahui-speaking populations.

b) Chilas Rock Art

c) Swat Valley Rock Art

The cave paintings and rock art of Pakistan are dated from about 15,000 to 1,500 BCE. The colors used in these artworks include ochre/hematite, charcoal, and lime.

4. In Iran, the Mirmalas Cave cave paintings and the Teymareh Rock Art are notable. These are dated between approximately 12,000 and 40,000 years ago. The colors used include red ochre, black, and in some places yellow, brown or black.

Across all these regions, the colors used in cave paintings and rock art are argued to represent Proto-Dravidian-speaking populations, as it is suggested that Proto-Dravidian speakers used similar colors ( Asko Parpola, 1994, p.169).

The cave paintings and rock art found in these countries broadly belong to the period between 30,000 and 1,500 BCE, which, in archaeological terms, corresponds to the Paleolithic, Mesolithic, and Neolithic ages. The Brahui word "karigar" is derived from kar, meaning "to do," and -gar, meaning "one who is skilled in a task." In Brahui, this term is also used for a strong male bull that can be easily employed for various kinds of work. Both components are of Dravidian origin.

In Tamil language, the root "cey (v-t)" carries the meaning "to do, make, create" (DED: 1957), and this corresponds to the Brahui form kar. The second element, -gar, is argued to be a phonetic change of Tamil words such as kal, kar, or kal, which convey meanings like "to learn, study, practice, art, and science." In the Kui language, a related form appears as gramba (DED: 1997).

This same Dravidian-derived element is suggested to have entered Proto-Indo-Iranian as -gar, meaning

“one skilled in a craft.” Subsequently, it became common in languages such as Balochi language and Kurdish languages in the form -gar. Thus, the Brahui word kaarigar is of Dravidian origin, and the suffix -gar in Balochi and Kurdish is considered a result of linguistic influence from Brahui.

After the AASI (Ancient Ancestral South Indians), the ASI-related Iranian agricultural populations entered Asia roughly between 10,000 and 3,500 BCE. These groups intermixed with the already existing AASI populations. The resulting mixed population is identified by scholars as Proto-Dravidian. Vishnupriya Kolipakam and others, through their research, have also identified these people as Proto-Dravidian, and have dated their period to around 13,000 years ago. (Vishnupriya, 2018, p.14)

These Iranian-related groups were more advanced in terms of culture, agriculture, animal domestication, settled housing, protection of dwellings, trade, literacy, and religion compared to the earlier AASI populations. The Proto-Dravidian people were not limited to present-day India; rather, they were spread across regions suitable for water access, agriculture, and hunting in present-day Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, and other areas. Many of their settlements have been discovered in the form of archaeological sites across these countries.

For example, the archaeological remains at Chennur in the Kadapa district of Andhra Pradesh, India, are about 8,000 to 10,000 years old. (

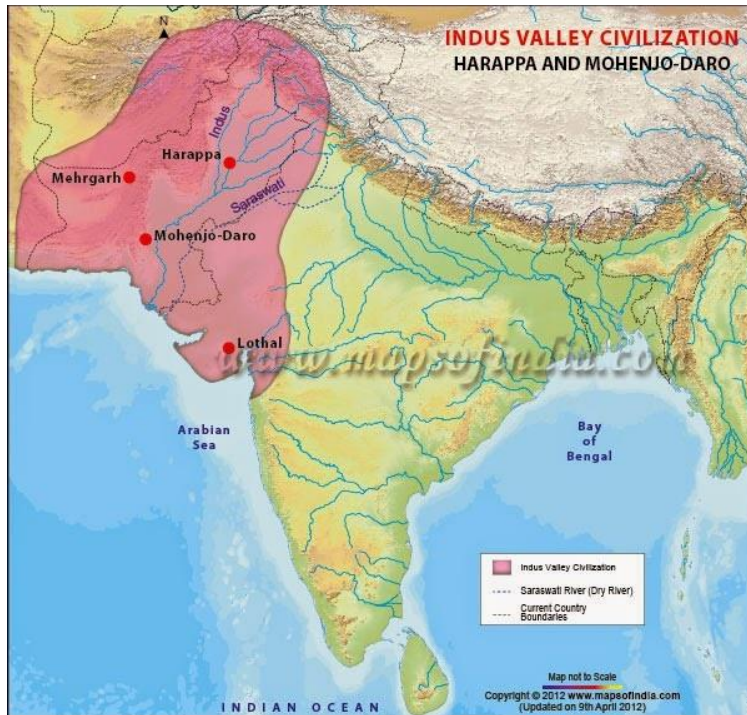
[https://www.arfjournals.com/image/catalog/Journals%20Papers/JHAA/2024/No%201%20\(2024\)/3-](https://www.arfjournals.com/image/catalog/Journals%20Papers/JHAA/2024/No%201%20(2024)/3-)

\*In the Zagros Mountains of Iran, evidence of human settlement dating back around 9,000 years has been discovered. ( <https://archaeologymag.com/2026/02/9000-year-old-evidence-of-dairy-use-in-iran/>  
<https://www.facebook.com/share/r/1Gu8bf5y2P/> ) In North India, the remains at Bhirrana are about 8,000 years old. ( <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/world/rest-of-world/8000-year-old-indus-valley-civilisation-could-be-older-than-the-first-egyptian-pharaohs/articleshow/128337748.cms>)

In Gujarat (Gandhinagar), India, archaeological evidence of human habitation dating back approximately 9,500 years has been found. ( <https://www.ahmedabadmirror.com/unshelling-human-history/81892589.html> ). At another site in Gujarat, near the coast, remains of a 9,000-year-old human civilization have also been discovered.

In the Sibi district of Balochistan, Pakistan, the site of Mehrgarh has yielded evidence of a human civilization dating back to 7000 BCE ( Jansen, 1991, p.56).

These archaeological sites of human civilization were settlements established by Proto-Dravidian people. Experts from various fields have identified these remains as belonging to the period of the Indus Valley Civilization (IVC). Currently, the area of the IVC is estimated to be about 1.25 to 1.3 million square kilometers.



\*Fig: Area of the IVC in light of current scholarly research.

However, in light of these newly discovered sites, this estimate appears too small. Considering the archaeological evidence spread across different countries, the area of the IVC exceeds 3 million square kilometers.



• Fig: In light of modern archaeological evidence, the core area of the IVC.

However, an important question arises here: was only Proto-Dravidian or Proto-Tamil spoken across this vast cultural region? Based on these archaeological findings and the Proto-Dravidian linguistic framework, we can say that the people of these civilizations spoke different varieties of Proto-Dravidian or Proto-Tamil in their respective regions. Dr. Ambedkar has indeed also written that. “The 3<sup>rd</sup> thing to remember is that Tamil or Dravidian was not merely the language of South India but before the Aryans came it was the language of the whole of India, and was spoken from Kashmir to Cape Camorin (Modern Kanyakumari/Tamilnadu). This view, that the Tamil and cognate tongues were founded upon the ancient Asura speech, is very strongly confirmed by the fact that the language of Brahuys, a tribe on the borders of Sindh, has been found to be very closely allied to them. Dr. Caldwell says, “The Brahui (language) enables

us to trace the Dravidian race, beyond the Indus, to the Southern confirmed of Central Asia. ( Ambedkar,1948,p. 56-57)

For example:

Proto-Tamil in Tamil Nadu

Proto-Gondi in Madhya Pradesh

Proto-Malayalam in Kerala

Proto-Kannada in Karnataka

Proto-Brahui in Baluchistan (Pakistan)

Proto-Elamitian in the Khuzestan region of present-day Iran

Tony Joseph places the separation of Proto-Zagros and Proto-Dravidian ( or Tamils) between 6000 to 7000 BCE. This suggests tat before this separation, the speakers of Proto-Zagros and Proto-Dravidian were one and the same. However, in the Zagros Mountains, the herding of sheep and goats and the use of milk had already begun before 9000 BCE. Tony Joseph also agree that the Zagrosian people first intermixed with the indigenous ( Ancient Ancestral South Indian- AASI) populations. Tis means that Proto-Zagross or Proto-Dravidian group mixed with indigenous populations around or before 7000 BCE. As a result of this admixture , these people ( Proto-Brahui) fist settled in the present Braui mountain ranges. The same people, whom Tony Joseph calls Zagrosians-and whom we refer to as Proto-Brahui, while other Draviiadianists call them Proto-Dravidian- founded Mehrgarh. Tony Joseph explicitly identifies these Zagrosian people as Brahui. Tony Joseph writes that:

“ Some of these Zagrosian migrants wo reached south Asia may have remained herder to this day, like the Brauis of Balochistan. They speak the Brahui language, which has been linguistically determined to be closely connected to Elamite. Other migrants from the Zagros may have settled down in place like Mehrgarh to become farmers, and both the herders and the farmers may have mixed with the existing population- the First Indians- at some point. The first Indians themselves had started experimenting with agriculture in place like Lahuradewa in the Middle Ganga plain by then as we saw earlier and they may have been doing so in Balochistan as well.

So the best guess we can make based on archaeological and genetic evidence is that a population of herders from the southern or central Zagros region, speakers of Prot-Elamite or a related language migrated to south Asia sometime after 7000 BCE, mixed with the first Indians and this new, mixed population sparked an agricultural revolution in the north-western region of India and then went on to create the Harappan Civilization over the next few mellennia.

If this reconstruction of history based on archaeology and genetics is correct, then Proto-Elimite must have left significant mark on the linguist history of the subcontinent. Could it be Brahui with its proven links to Elamite ? To some extent , yes.”

Tony Joseph has presented examples of shared vocabulary between Proto- Elamite and Proto-Dravidian languages. These words are still in use in Brahui today, with similar phonetic forms and slight semantic change. For example:

Pr.ED	Br.
Hit ( goat)	het
Pot (young animal or plant ) from the ground in a new form)	put ( The emergence or growth of a herb
vari ( to fix,tie, hold)	mari ( goats or sheep that graze in the mountains but, for any reason, do not run away and instead remain under the shephered s control, confinement,and supervision-this condition is called mari).
Ni ( you)	ni
Nal ( day)	de
Tol ( to perforate,bore)	tala,toR( very low, extremely low layer)
Cah ( to die )	kah ( to die )
Ul ( inside,interior,mind,heart, to think) conceal something,to keep something out of sight,to put something inside )	alaw ( T ide something, to cover something, to
Kat 9 bed , throne)	kat ( Tony Josepf,2018,

<https://share.google/uoZBVzJLqCz3MA6IH> digital copy)

The Elamite language, which was spoken during the Achaemenid Empire, disappeared between 200–300 BCE. It was also an important variety of Proto-Dravidian or Proto-Tamil, as its linguistic connections are found only with Dravidian languages and Brahui. We can confidently say that Proto-Elamite was in fact a variety of Proto-Dravidian or Proto-Tamil.

The claim by McAlpin that all modern Dravidian languages originated from Elamite is not correct. However, his observation that Brahui has significant linguistic similarities with Elamite is important, and it is possible that this was the original language of Brahui speakers. Later, some Brahui groups migrated and settled in the mountainous regions, while others remained behind as Elamite speakers. Due to their smaller population, the Elamite language survived only up to the Achaemenid period and then disappeared permanently.

When the needs of life increased for the Proto-Brahui people in the Brahui mountain ranges, they established an important foundation of agricultural, religious, commercial, medical, pastoral, and settled life around 7000 BCE at the entrance of the Bolan Pass and the end of the Kacchi plains. This civilization is now known as Mehrgarh.

Later, around 5500 BCE, these Proto-Brahui people expanded further and established new urban centers in key regions of present-day Balochistan and Sindh. Among these, the city of Mohenjo-daro is particularly well known. (<https://www.arabnews.com/node/2637253/pakistan>)

This advanced civilization represents a peak period of human development. The people of this civilization established trade relations with various regions and created colonies abroad. To promote writing, reading, trade, religion, and education, they developed a script, which still remains undeciphered.

However, the inscriptions or graffiti symbols of this script are considered by experts to be “Proto-Dravidian” or “Proto-Tamil script.” (Keeladi, 2019, p.13)

When the Aryans entered the Indus Valley Civilization (IVC) region around 1500 BCE (link-7/Allana, 1972, p.6), the Dravidian-speaking populations of this region dispersed to different areas.

Among them, the ancestors of the present-day Brahui settled in the northern mountainous regions, while others moved toward central, northern, and southern India (Allana, 1972, p.42). It should be noted that this migration was the second and relatively limited movement of the Dravidians. However, many linguists generally consider this to be the first migration, which is not correct.

Some populations in Mohenjo-daro and its surrounding areas managed to preserve their identity, including the present-day Brahui and various Dravidian tribes in Pakistan (these will be discussed later). The names of their tribes and castes are of Dravidian origin. The remaining Dravidians assimilated into the Aryans and adopted Aryan languages and culture.

Other groups of Dravidians migrated toward present-day Afghanistan and Iran. Those who moved from west to east found that their linguistic relatives were already present and settled in those regions, so they merged with them. As Aryan influence continued to expand, more Dravidians gradually moved toward South India, where today their largest population is found.

These Dravidians maintained the key features of a developed society—such as literacy, trade, religion, and script—continuing their cultural traditions over time. Even today, experts have discovered inscriptions and graffiti resembling IVC script at archaeological sites in Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, and Tamil Nadu, showing similarities with the Indus script.

In contrast, the Brahui left the plains and agricultural regions and made the mountains their primary habitat. As a result, their culture changed, and their script eventually disappeared, since such a writing system was not practical in mountainous environments. Nevertheless, they preserved elements of their ancient Proto-Dravidian or Proto-Brahui script in the form of symbols and graffiti engraved on rocks. These markings can still be found today in various parts of the Brahui region.

Modern Dravidian linguists and Dravidologists are conducting research on contemporary Dravidian languages from geographical, toponymic, genetic, cultural, and linguistic perspectives. All scholars agree that the modern Dravidian languages originated from Proto-Dravidian. They classify Proto-Dravidian into four linguistic branches: North Dravidian, Central Dravidian, South-Central Dravidian-II, and South Dravidian-I.

However, this classification of linguistic branches has been made in the context of the modern linguistic framework. In contrast, before the arrival of the Aryans, the Indus Valley Civilization (IVC)—especially major metropolitan centres such as Mohen-jo-daro, Harappa, Rakhigarhi, and other cities—was home to speakers of various Dravidian languages, as well as people from Sumerian, Akkadian, Turkic, and other backgrounds. Due to these interactions, there was significant linguistic influence among these groups, particularly in terms of areal linguistics.

Dravidian languages that were geographically closer to each other show greater linguistic similarities—for example, Brahui, Kurukh, Malto, and Gondi. These similarities date back to the pre-Aryan period. However, the earlier stage—when Proto-Dravidian itself had already diversified into different varieties—belongs to a much older period, when all Dravidian speakers originally shared a single language.

Even today, Brahui retains linguistic features of Proto-Dravidian. When Brahui separated from Proto-Dravidian or Proto-Tamil in ancient times, it maintained strong linguistic, historical, cultural, and toponymistic connections with Tamil. Although Tamil belongs to the South Dravidian I branch and is located approximately 3,500 kilometers away, significant similarities still exist between the two languages. After the IVC period, there was no direct contact between Brahui and Tamil, yet these similarities persist. This suggests that, as proposed by Grierson, Brahui separated directly from Proto-Dravidian. The hypothesis that Brahui belongs to the North Dravidian branch has already been questioned by McAlpin, who raised linguistic reservations regarding this classification (McAlpin, 1980, pp.66 to 72/McAlpin, 2003, p.521 to 546/2015, pp.521 to 586/2022, pp.64 to 123). Clyde Winters has clearly indicated, from a genetic perspective, that the proto-Dravidian did not come from Iran, but rather moved out of India. He writes that, this view is supported by the presence of Indian haplogroup in Iran and the close relationship between the Dravidian and Elamite languages. Elenen of Iran's M haplogroups are found in India. In Iran hg M is found predominately in the Susa region. Around 5% of Iranians carry the M haplogroup the most frequent Indian haplo group in Iran is M3. Even though most molecular anthropologists believe the Dravidian originated in Sinto in India. The spread of common archaeological assemblages associated with the C-group, genetically related languages and genes from Africa across Arabia and Iran into India support a recent expansion of Dravidian speaking people from Africa to India" (Clyde, 2008, p.328)

In light of modern linguistic, cultural, genetic, and toponymic research on Dravidian languages, the Brahui language was a variety of Proto-Dravidian or Proto-Tamil. It first became known in the Zagros region of Khuzestan (in present-day Iran) under the name Elamite.

Later, a large majority of these people migrated and eventually settled in the mountainous regions of present-day Balochistan, where they came to be known as Brahui. Elamite was the early language of the Brahui people, which later declined and eventually disappeared toward the end of the Achaemenid Empire due to Aryan influences.

However, their linguistic relatives, the Brahui, still exist today and continue their struggle for linguistic, cultural, and historical survival. The Brahui, Elamites, and the people of the Indus Valley Civilization were ancient Iranian hunter-gatherers, and they also share genetic connections with these populations.

### **The toponymical study of mountains of Brahui area, cities and tribes:**

(i) About the origin and meaning of word Brahui, the local political writers with Balochi mentality have created many stories and tales regarding creating political harmony. They all intended to declare the word "Brahui" of Indo-Iranian origin. (Brahui, 2006, 67/Naseer, 1993, 1, 2), because Baloch too are Indo-Iranian linguistically and culturally. But according to the modern research the word "Brahui" is proto-Dravidian or the changed form of Tamil word "VaRakoi". (Allana, 2002, 113, Andronov, 2001, 25/26) meaning people of north mountains, north mountaineer. (Herimath, 1984, 123).

(ii) One of Tehsil's of district Khuzdar is called 'Naal'. This word is used in different forms and meanings in Tamil language. One word is naLam, meaning earth. (DED – 2913), second is used in the forms nal, naLu, nalku, nankan meaning four, fourth. (DED – 3655). Third, word nir which is used in the meaning of water, juice. (DED – 3690(a)). This ancient city of Brahui area is of Tamil origin and is popular for all the three meanings.

iii. The name of 'Quetta', the capital of Balochistan, too,

is the phonetic change of Tamil word Kottai, meaning fort, castle, strong hold. (DED – 2207(a)). Even today, the house of Brahui tribes and their chiefs are famous with Kot Mengal, Kot Bangulzai, Kot Mahmmadshahi names.

- Aarti Thiyagarajan has also declared Quetta word as of Tamil origin. ( <https://divinediyaas.blogspot.com/2021/05/ancient-tamizh-places-in-pakistan-and-afghanistan-part1.html> ).

iv. Close to Qalat city, there is a Mountain named harboi, which is one of the Brahui mountain range. Harboi is the phonetic change of Tamil word aruvu, aruvi, meaning to spring out and gently flow down, waterfall, spring at the foot of a hill arabi or aruvi (DED – 226). It was the name of a small canal in Lasbela in Greek era. After the attack of Greeks the people living there moved to one of the Brahui mountains. This is why arabi word took the form of harboi according to the Brahui accent.

v. There is an area named NaaRee in district Kachhi area, which means area. This word is the phonetic change of Tamil word natu, which means country, district, province, locality, earth, land. (DED – 3638).

vi. There is a caste named pallar in Tamil speaking people, which usually comprises of farmers and laboureres. In the same way, there is a Brahui's sarprah tribes' caste named paliya, which is the phonetic change of Tamil word.

vii. The famous city Sibi of Balochistan became famous after the name of Sembiya, the ancient Tamil ruler Cholan. (<https://divinediyass.blogspot.com/2021/051>).

viii. There is a caste named Mulazai of eminent tribe Mengal of Brahui, which is the origin of Tamil word Mullai. (<https://divinediyass.blogspot.com/2021/051>).

ix. The signs of pirak exist near NaaRee canal, one hundred and twenty klotres away from Sibi. This word is the phonetic change of Tamil words para, paracu, param, parami, paraimai. In Tamil, this word means That which is old, very aged person, oldness. (DED – 3999). In Brahui the word peer, peeringa is used in the same meaning. K is an adjective suffix, peerak means the thing which is aged, old.

In Brahui tribe MirwaRee, there is a caste named peerakzai.

x. The Brahui tribe Mengal is also of Tamil origin. The prefix men in Mengal is the phonetic change of min, in Tamil, which took the form of men from min, which means fish. (DED – 4876). Another word is gal, which is the phonetic change of al, alan, which is used in the meaning of husband, or man in Brahui language. The suffix gal in Mengal, is actually al, which took the form of men-gal from men-al, which means a fisher, a fish hunter. In this way, several Brahui areas, tribes are of Tamil origin.

xi. The Naga people of India live in present-day Nagaland, Arunachal Pardesh, Manipur, and in some border areas of Assam. They speak languages belonging to the Tibeto-Burman branch of Sino-Tibeton linguistic family. Dravidian people have been divided, from ancient times, in to Cheras, Cholas and Pandyas. Cheras, or Sera (in Old Tamil Serai) is the Dravidian equivalent for Naga, Cheramandala, Naga duvipa, or the Naga country.

The Nagas and Dravidians are one and the same people. They are only two different names for the same people. Nagas was a racial or cultural name and Dravidian was their linguistic name (Ambedkar, 1948, p.59). The original and early language of the Nagas was Proto-Tamil. The Nagas, another tribe-semi-divine in character, with their totem as serpent, spread throughout India, from Taksasila in the North-West to Assam in the North-West and Cylon and South India in the South. At one time they must have been powerful. (Ambedkar, 1948, p.50 to 53).

In the area of Balochistan, in the Kalat region of the ancient Brahui state, a mountain located at 29°16'30N 67°55E, and a mountain route known as "Nagahoo" are well known within the Brahui mountain range. This route passes through Kalat and leads towards the ancient Kachhi region (present-day districts of Sibi and JhalMagsi). The names of this mountain range and route suggest that in ancient times, during the Proto-Brahui period, people speaking a Proto-Tamil language lived in this region. Later, after the Aryan invasions, they migrated toward North India.

#### Association in Culture:

Tamil culture is the culture of mountain, plain, and water combined. The mountainous areas of Tamil Sahyadri range, Nilgiri hills, Palani hills, Cardamom hills, Javadi hills, Shevaroy hills, Kolli hills Palani

hills , Anamalai hills Anamudi and Valparai hills are considered important. The mode of living of the Tamil of these areas is quite different. In Tamil mountains the Tamil speaking toda, Kota, Erula, Krumba, and others are the heirs of ancient mountainous culture. These people live in the house made of wood and grow mountainous crops. The mountainous dance and music is an important part of their culture. And it portrays the ancient traditions of Tamils. Tamil's plain areas like Kaveri Delta plain, Vaigai River plain, Palar River plain, Thamirabarani River plain, Coimbatore plateau , Chennai Coastal plains and others are important. These have deep relationship with culture, agriculture, literature, and arts. Growing rice in plain areas is an important crop. The sea and coastal civilization of Tamil is very important. In these Kaveri Delta plain, Vaigai River plain, Palar River plain, Thamirabarani River plain, Coimbatore Plateau and others are important. In coastal areas fishing is an important profession.

In Brahui people like Tamils these three civilization features are seen. Now Brahui culture is only mountainous, who used to live in tents and keep goats, sheep and bulls. The Palimas area of Wadh and the mountains of Zahri, ( Brahui Mountain Range) there are cave paintings of bull representing land civilization.



\*Bull cave paintings in the Brahui mountain range of Paleemas ( Wadh, Khuzdar, Balochistan).



Fig: A white-colored bull in the Brahui mountain range ( Zahri,Khuzdar,Balochistan)

This animal is important in Brahui culture. This animal is used for agriculture, trade, journey and sacrifice. Now the invention of modern machinery has affected its importance and need. Brahui lived in IVC before Aryans attacks (during 1500 B.C.) and at Indus River their civilization was very advanced. They hunted fish, knew how to read and write, skilled in agriculture. In proto-Tamil rice is called arinci/arisi/eri. which exists in Brahui in "saree,eri" form. In the same way in Brahui language khaD (ditch), talaab (pond) and other words are of Tamil language.

In IVC usually Brahmi script was being used. Even today, the marks of IVC script are found carved on the mountains of Balochistan and Sindh. When Aryans launched attack then Dravidian were divided in three groups. One moved to northern mountain and settled there. There already lived VaRakoi proto-Brahui. Others migrated to north and south India. The third group gave themselves in the slavery of Aryans, who became famous as Sindhi. Because Sindh word is also proto-Dravidian or Tamil. It is used in Tamil in the form of intu. (DED – 2617/Krishnamurti, 2003, 126, 168).

Wherever these Dravidians went, at there already their linguistic brethren had know-how. These people also went there. When Brahui, settled at northern mountains or at the present Brahui mountainous range, then their script, because of living in mountains, remained in no use. Their life and civilization changed. The proto-Dravidian who went to South India, they continue using that script till now. Hindu religious scholars and linguists have attributed Brahmi script to Brahma deity. According to Hindu Cosmology ,Brahma is the creator diety.



\*The Hindu god Brahma .

Brahma is an important part of the Hindu Trinity ( Trimurti):

- 1= Brahma -Creator
- 2=Vishnu - Preserver
- 3= Shiva – Destroyer.

Brahma was a prominent god between the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE to 6<sup>th</sup> century , after which his active worshiped declined , largely replaced by Vaishnavism and Shaivism. Actually, Brahma was the deity of Aryans, and Brahmi script had been used in IVC thousands of years ago. A.L.Basham has clearly written that the Brahmi script is indigenous and that it is a developed from of the script used in the Indus Valley Civilization, especially at Harappa and Mohenjo – Daro.( Basham,1961,p.394) Actually Brahmi is the phonetic change of word Brahui, Brahvi or Bravi. Elamite was the language of Brahuis.Chatterji has described the IVC script as Elamie. (Chatterji, 19, ) Even today, there are evidences of v sound into m sound in many Dravidian and Elamite languages. For example:

vacc	- carry off, seize, rob,	v-m	macci	- remove, withdraw
vit(Br)	- leave, quit, abandon, let go, dispatch, throw ,	v-m	mite	- go forth
ve(ri)n	- back, after, behind ,	v-m	men	- then, after that, after
varutt 98, 99)	- cause to go ,	v-m	mat ankk -	fold (Alpin, 1974,
mary (McAlpin(c), 1971, 98, 99 / DED – 4766)	- another, other, next ,	v-m	vary (Br.)	- another, other, next

Like Tamil folk literature, there is a large literary material in Brahui language. In the folk literature of both of languages similar characteristics and thinking are seen. Just like in Tamil literature the black colour is liked very much. Great poetry and proverbs regarding it are seen about it. As, 'Beauty lies in Blackness.' Quite in the same way, in Brahui literature the black colour is liked very much. In Brahui language about the black colour or the lover feels proud of his sweet-heart being black. For example, the poem Sozo of Brahui language, read this stanza:

Sozo o sozo	= black o black
sozo kana soze	= black is mine
DoTee ta khoproey	= in delicate hand there is khopra (coconut oil) (Brahui, 1995, 49)

There are cave paintings in Palimas Mountains of Brahui mountain range of District Khuzdar. They show a group of human beings dancing in a circle. The maker of it were proto-Brahui.



- Dance cave paintings in the Brahui mountain range of Paleemas ( Wadh, Khuzdar, Balochistan).

These dancing people made these cave paintings to preserve and express the most important event of their life. In Brahui language the dance is called chaap, which of Tamil origin. In Tamil the words for dance are used as capat, cappani, meaning clapping hands. (DED – 2335). The same word in Brahui is seen in the form of Tamil word chaap, and meaning hand clapping is used. In the neighbour languages of Brahui: sahat , chaap in Balochi , nakha in Pashto, Rakseedan in Persian , jhumir or taRee in Sindhi and raks in Urdu are used. Balochi is an Indo-Iranian language. They have loaned the chaap word from Brahui. Every person whether old, young, man, woman, boy or girl all can chaap. This is not considered bad thing, but this chaap is done happily on happy occasions.

There is another word for dance i.e. naach. This word is of Tamil origin as well. In Tamil language nata, natakai, natattu, natatti, natattai, natappu words are used for it. The meaning of these words is to walk, go, pass, proceed, happen, going and coming, going about dancing. (DED – 3582). The Brahui word naach is phonetic change of these words. In Brahui the foot is called nat. With whose help, man walk around, in Tamil it is used in the same meaning. Tamil and Brahui both words about dance are in cognate. The Tamil or Brahui word is used in almost all Indo-Aryan and Indo-Iranian languages of Indo-Pak under their linguistic influence. The cave paintings of dance in Palimas Mountains of district Khuzdar show that the makers of it were proto-Brahui or Tamil.

The Brahui refer to their rulers as “khan” who is the chief of all the sardars ( tribal leaders) of the thirty-seven Brahui tribes. Some local historians, due to political interest , have attributed this word to Turkic or Indo-European origin, However, in reality , it is linked to the Tamil word “ko , kon”, which is used in the sense of emperor, king, great man , or leadership. The Brahui use this same term for their ruler, indicating a Tamil origin.( DED: 2177).

In this way, there is much association between many cultural things in Tamil and Brahui.

Along with these commonalities , there is also a great deal of Linguistic similarity between the Tamil and the Brahuies. In this regard , Professor M. Varadarajan writes:

‘A section of people living in Baluchistan speak Brahui, which has many linguistic features similar to the Dravidian languages spoken in South India. Scholars are surprised today to note many linguistic similarities between Tamil and Brahui, especially in numerals, personal pronouns, syntax and in other linguistic features.’

( Jessi,Academia.edu)

## Phonology

Vowels :

Modern Tamil has 12 vowels and Modern Brahui has 8 vowels . While Proto-Tamil and Proto-Brahui have 10 vowels each. Which are :

pDr.	Tamil	Brahui
a	a	a
ā	ā	ā
I	I	i
ī	ī	ī
U	u	u
ū	ū	ū
e	e	a/i
ē	ē	ē
O	o	ō/u/a*
ō	ō	ō (Zvelebil,1970,73)

*Brahui consonants:*

There are 55 consonants in Modern Brahui ,which are approved by the government in textbooks for teaching primary level children . Which are :

Ā, a, b, bh, p, ph, t, th, t̄, th, s, j, jh, ç, çh, h, x, d, dh, d̄, dh, z, r, r̄, rh, z̄, s̄, š, s, z, t, z, a, a, ḡ, f, q, k, kh, g, gh, l, lh, l̄, m, mh, n, nh, n̄, ng, v, h, ī, ē,

some linguists have declared 29 as Brahui. There are :

Stop	p b t d	t̄ d̄	k g ?
Affricates		ç j	
Fricative:	f		χ γ h
Spirant:	s z	ʃ ʒ	
Nasal:	m n	ɳ	(ŋ)
Lateral:		l̄ l	
Flap:	r	ɾ	
Semi vowel:	w	Y	( Krishnamurtti,2003,77)

The table of consonants of Modern Tamil is as follows.

*Stops:*

<i>Voiceless</i>	p	t	t̄	c	k
<i>Voiced</i>	(b)	(d)	(d̄)	(j)	(g)
<i>Tap</i>		r	(r̄)		
<i>Nasal</i>	m	n	[n]	ɳ	ñ
<i>Lateral</i>		l	l̄		
<i>Glide</i>	v			y	( Krishnamurtti,2003,62)

If the Indo-European and Semitic consonants are excluded from the table of consonants of Modern Tamil and Brahui , then the remaining 18 consonants of Proto –Tamil or Dravidian remains in both languages.These are as follows

<i>Stops</i>	p	t	t̄	t̄	c	k
<i>Nasals</i>	m	n	ɳ	ñ		
<i>Letral</i>		l	l̄			
<i>Flap/Approximant</i>		r	ɳ			
<i>Glides</i>	w	y		h	( Krishnamurtti,2003,62,91)	

The same Proto-Dravidian or Tamil consonants are used in the Brahui language as well .

## Retroflex sounds:

Retroflex sounds are an important linguistic feature of Dravidian languages . In the Tamil language, retroflex (cerebral) sounds are a very important feature and are considered a hallmark of Dravidian languages. In Tamil, there are basically six retroflex letters/sounds:

Retroflex Letters in Tamil

1. (ɸ) – retroflex “ɸ” sound
2. (ŋ) – retroflex “ŋ” sound
3. (ɻ) – retroflex “ɻ” sound
4. (ɻ) – a special Tamil sound (retroflex approximant)
5. (ɻ) – a hard/flapped “ɻ” (retroflex-like in some contexts)
6. ḷ / ḷ̣ / ḷ̤ / ḷ̥ / ḷ̦ – the same letters in their final (ending) forms

Explanation with Examples

1. (ɸ)  
(paɸtu) – silk  
(kaɸtu) – forest
2. (ŋ)  
(maŋ) – soil  
(kaŋ) – eye
3. (ɻ)  
(vaɻam) – prosperity  
(paɻli) – school
4. (ɻ) (special Tamil sound)  
tamiɻ – Tamil  
(vaɻ) – to live
5. (ɻ)  
(kaɻru) – wind  
(paɻru) –

These sounds are absent in the Indo-European languages of the Indian subcontinent, whereas in Brahu, in contrast to its neighboring languages, they represent a significant linguistic characteristic. (Caldwell, 1974, pp. 148, 150) The Brahui words in which these sounds are used are as follows:

Kaṇro – blind in one eye

Chaṭ – everything finished / completely gone

Ṭen – box / container

Ēṛ – sister

In some Balochi loanwords borrowed from Brahui, these sounds are used due to the linguistic influence of Brahui.

### Pronouns :

There are linguistic similarities between Tamil and Brahui pronouns . Such as :

Tamil :

1<sup>st</sup> pronoun:

Classical Tamil :	yan ( en )	-	I
	Yam ( em ) ,	-	exclusive
	nam ( nam )	-	inclusive ( we )
Moder Tamil :	nan ( en )	-	I
	Nangal ( engal )	-	exclusive
	Nambe ( nambel )	-	inclusive )

2<sup>nd</sup> personal pronoun :

Classical Tamil :	ni ( nin/nu )	-	thou
	Nim/niyir/nivir (	-	you
	Nir ( num/um ), ni, ( vi ) r ,		
	Xal ( nangal /ungal )		
Colloquial Tamil :	ni ( on )	-	thou
	Ninge ( ongal )	-	you
Dia Tamil :	ni (yu)/niyyi/niyyu ( nin )	-	thou
	Nanga ( l ) /ninnal/nimma/	-	you

Nim, [ningal(u)/ningal/ninu/ /nim]			
3 <sup>rd</sup> personal pronoun:			
Classical Tamil :	avau,uvam,ivan	-	he
	Aval,uval,ival	-	she
	Avar,uvar,ivar	-	they
Modern Tamil :	ave (avan) , ive ( ivan)	-	he
	Avan ( aval) , iva( ival)	-	she
Literary Tamil:	avarxal,ivarxal	-	they
Pan Tamil :	ave,ivu,	-	he,it
	Avalu,ivalu	-	she
	Aou ,iou	-	he,she ,it
	Averu ,iveru	-	they
Brahui :			
1 <sup>st</sup> personal pronoun:			
Sng:	I	-	I
Plr:	nan	-	we
2 <sup>nd</sup> . Personal pronoun:			
	Ni	-	you
	Num	-	thou
3 <sup>rd</sup> . personal pronoun :			
	E(d)	o(d)	da(dad)
	Wfk(eft)	ofk(pft)	dafk(daft)
	Da( dad)	dat(date)	-
			he,she ,it
			they
			- tha
<b>Reflexive pronoun:</b>			
	Tamil		Brahui
	Tan (tan) ( oneself)		ten ( oneself)
	Tam(tam),tangkal(tangal) “themselves”		( themselves)
<b>Demonstrative pronoun:</b>			
Modern Tamil :			
	Anda	-	that
	Unda/inda	-	this
Modern Tamil :			
	Ande		inde
Srilankan Tamil:			
	Ande		unde,inde
Brahui:			
	E	o	da(e(h))
<b>Interrogative pronoun:</b>			
Tamil:			
	Yavan/yaval/yaver	-	who
	Yar	-	who
	Avar	-	who
Brahui:			
	Der	-	who
	Ara	-	which ,which kind of
<b>Demonstrative pronoun:</b>			
Tamil:			
	Anna	-	such ( as that, those )
	Inna	-	such ( as this these )
	Annan/annan	-	such a man ( as that one )

Brahui:

Hanna/anna

- as this/that

Handa

- these

A= Etymologically ties of the Brahui personal pronouns are self-evident only in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> persn. Thus in the 2<sup>nd</sup> person Brahui ni ‘thou’( singular) is traced directly to Tamil, Malayalam. ( Andronov,2006,50)

B= Brahui has one reflex pronoun, ten ‘himself’” herself’itself’”’ourself’”myself’”themselves’”yourselves’ ‘ourselves’oneself’.

Although ‘ten ‘oneself’ oneself’ ‘themselves’ is used with regard to singular and plural nouns , it is traced to a singular form historically. The plural form of this pronoun was lost in Brahui and the singular form ( with the suffix of the singular number-n ) came to be used instead of it, too. The opposition of the singular and plural forms of this pronoun ( e.g. Tamil tan ‘oneself’/ tam ‘themselves’) has been attested in nineteen of Dravidian languages of all groups ( except the North-Western one ).

C= Interrogative pronouns are words of Dravidian origin. In the final analysis they all are traced to the common Dravidian interrogative stem \*ya(v)- ( as in Tamil yar ‘who’).

### Gender :

Caldwell writes regarding gender in Proto-Dravidian or Tamil . That :

“It may , indeed , be stated as a general rule that all primitive Dravidian nouns are destitute of gender “( Caldwell,1970,220)

This is what Steever has said in the Tamil language . ( Steever,105) Still, in later period ,the gender system of Tamil language developed , so masculine ,feminine suffixes started to be used in it . Like al , I in Tamil are feminine suffixes . Such as :

Aval = she

tevi = goddess

These feminine suffixes of Tamil are used as feminine suffixes in Brahui by changing to ul ,iR ,uR ,ee ,I . Such as :

eiR = sister

malkhuR = daughter in law

chachee = uncle s wife

mamee = mother s brother s wife

Number :

In Tamil and Brahui the two numbers are singular and plural . Tamil has a “ka “ suffix for the plural. Such as :

Pasu-kka = cows

An -ka = trees

Janan-ka = people ( Zvelebil,1970,12)

In Brahui ,the Tamil plural suffix “ka”is used in the “k”form . Such as .

Xal = stone , xalk = stones

heT - goat , heTk = goats

The second plural suffix in Tamil is “kal”. Such as .

Penkal

Porulkal

Nulkal

naTkakal

corkal

patalkal ( Thennarasu,2012,67)

This Tamil plural suffix is still used in Brahui in the form of “gal”. Such as.

Duzgal -thieves

Buzgal - flocks

heTgal - goats

huchgal - camels

kuchakgal - dogs

This plural “kal”suffix of Tamil is also used in some Indo-Iranian languages , including Kurdish ,Bakhtiari ,kuhmareyi and Balochi . Such as .

Kuhmareyi:

Sev ( apple ) – sevgal ( apples )

Kurdish :

Gund ( village ) - gundgal ( villages )

Balochi :

Mer ( man ) - mergal ( men)

This “kal”suffix of the Tamil plural is not used in proto-Indo-European , Middle Indo-Aryan , and other Indo-Iranian languages . Therefore,it can be said with certainty that the suffix “gal”in these Indo-European languages is the result of the linguistic influence of Proto-Braui or Proto-Tamil .

### Adjective :

Adjectives are words ,which qualify nouns . Adjectives are of two types such as a simple adjectives are and a derived adjectives . The simple adjectives are the one s , which are not descriptively derived from any other grammatical category . Besides verbs and nouns , adjectives are small in number in Tamil .

This is also the method of Brahui adjective . Below is a list of Tamil and Brahui adjectives .

Tamil	Brahui
Iniya ( sweet )	hanain
Periya ( big )	balla
Cinna ( small )	chuna
Putu ( new )	puskun
Case suffixes :	
Nom: o	Brahui o
Maram	marr
niRam	naRee
Gen : in ,ore ,na ,ir	na
Nerunir	kuRumba deer
Koyina	kukuR na
Dat: ku ,ki	ki ,e
Vittukki	uraki
Naykki	bavaki
Ins: an ,ale ,al ,	aT
Kayyan/kayyal,kayyale	laT aT
Abl: in	an
Urlerudi/urlendi	uraghan
Loc: il ,el	aTi
Maratill	laT aTi
Kurelu	baTi

( Andronov,(D) ,2003,121 to 136/Andronov,1970,60,61)

Tamil language use the suffix ‘a ; as an adjective . This linguistic feature is also found in Tamil and Brahui languages . Such as :

Tamil		Brahui
Puoriya ( new )	-	puskun
Periya ( big)	-	balla
Cariyana ( correct)	-	sharr
Vakaiyana ( miscellaneous)	-	birr

### Numerals :

The first four numbers of Tamil and Brahui are of the same cognate with a slight phonetic change . Such as :

Tamil	Brahui
Ondi ( one )	asiT
iranD ( two )	iraT
munDi ( three )	musi
nal ( four )	naT ( in Iranian Brahui dialect )
( Andronov( C ) ,2006,47,48/ Andronov ( D ) ,2003,149 to 151)	

**Verb :**

**Present –future and Pluperfect tense :**

In Brahui the present –future tense is formed from the stem by adding the followim=ng personal suffixes:

	Singular	plural
1 <sup>st</sup> person:	-iva	-ina
2 <sup>nd</sup> person:	-isa	-ire
3 <sup>rd</sup> person:	-ik	-ira

In Brahui Finite forms of the Pluperfect tense are obtained by the suffixation of the following personal suffixes to the tense suffix- (u)s- [ or,optionaly, -(a)s- ] –

	Singular	plural
1 <sup>st</sup> person:	-uT	-un
2 <sup>nd</sup> person:	-us	-ure
3 <sup>rd</sup> . person:	-as/-O	-ur/-O

The clearest of all are the correspondences in the 2<sup>nd</sup> person pl. where Brahui –ire /-ere/-(u)re ( as,e.g. in tixire ‘you put ‘, xalere ‘you strike ‘, massure ‘you were’, maxare ‘you laughed’) practically coincide with Tamil –ir/-ir. Tamil celkuvir ‘you will go’, valvir ‘you will live’) . In 3<sup>rd</sup>. person plural the Brahui suffixes with the consonant –r ( as in tixir ‘they put,placed’, massur ‘they were’) are related to the similar suffixes of the epicene gender in Tamil ( as in Tamil keTTar/ keTTanar ‘they heard’) .

**Causative verb :**

Tamil language use ‘ppi’or vi as causative suffixes. Such as .

Tamil:

Cey ‘to do ‘	cey-vi ‘to cause to do ‘
Nata ‘to walk’	natapi ‘to cause to walk’

Tamil suffixes change to ‘f’and ‘if’ in Brahui language . Such as .

Brahui:

Ef/hef ( to raise )	harf ( to cause to rise )
Ka/khah ( to die )	kasif ( to cause to kill )

( Subrahmaniyam,1971, 7 to 94 )

**Past suffix:**

In Cankam Tamil the suffix cin ( with the variant icin occurring after past stems ending in a consonant ) occurs mainly in the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular and 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular past finite forms , in the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular imperative and in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person past nominal with the pronominal suffixes –on ( masculine singular ) , - ol ( feminine singular) ano –or ( human plural ) . In all such forms , the suffix cin occurs after the past stems that are formed according to the usual method . For example :

Enricin	- I said
Kanticin	- I saw
Vanticin	I come
	P ( 38 )

Patarnticin - I went ( Subrahmaniyam,1971,221)

The same ‘c’ past suffix of Tamil is used in the form of ‘c’ or ‘s’ in Brahui . Such as .

Brahui:

Mann ( to become)	-	mass
Kah ( to die )	-	kass
Bann ( to come )	-	bass
Bis ( to be baked )	-bis/bic	

### Past adjective -a suffix :

In Cankam Tamil we find past adjectives with -iya : the y in this is a glide between the past suffix I and the adjective suffix -a . ( Subrahmaniyam,1971,243)

In Brahui also the same Tamil ‘a ‘or iya’is used as a past suffix . Such as .

Kuchak ( dog)	-	kuchakiya
Xaras ( bull)	-	xarasiy

### Non-Past suffix -k , -kk:

In Tamil ( and other languages that are closely related to them ) the strong verb formative -kk- occurs only before non-past suffixes but not before the past suffixes and the negative suffixes . Therefore, it may be considered as a non-past suffix at least from the historical point of view . Moreover, in Cankam Tamil -k occurs as the future suffix in the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular and plural in one type of future formation : varu -ku ‘I will come ‘, varu-k-am ‘we will come , etc . In Cankam Tamil -pp- and -v- have free variant -kkuv- and -kuv- ; the latter seem to be combinations of two non-past suffixes.( Subrahmaniyam,1971,308)

The same linguistic feature of Tamil is also used in Brahui . Brahui shows a -k suffix in the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular of the present -future tense ( both affirmative and negative ) ,e.g., bin-ik-o ,he/she/it hears’, bim-p-a-k o ‘he/she/it does / will not hear’. It is highly probable that -k in this is related to the strong verb formative -kk- of South-Dravidian. The Brahui form may be traced back to the original \*kkum from with the -k analogically extended to all verbs in Brahui as in Old Kannada . The presence of the -k in the Brahui negative form may be analogical . Note that the Brahui form with -ik- like the form with -kkum from which it might have developed is restricted to 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular ( Due to loss of gender distinction the original humanity plural from functions in Brahui as the 3<sup>rd</sup> plural form ) .( Subrahmaniyam,1971,312/313)

### Negative Suffix -al:

In Cankam Tamil the negative base -al ( to be not so and so ‘and Il- ‘to be not ‘are also fully inflected in the negative tense. The inflected forms of al- are often annexed to other verb bases to express negation in the non-past . The inflected forms of il- are usually annexed to past adverbs of other verbs and this construction express negation in the past . The latter construction according to Ramaswami Aiyar is very rare in the earlier Cankam texts but occurs commonly in post-Cankam texts. He also quotes one example from Kalittokai , viz, arik+il- o- en ‘I do not know’where the inflected form of il- is added directly to the verb base to denote negation in the non-past and observes that this type is rare in the earlier texts .

Tamil:

Piri(y)+al-o-en	( I do not separate).
Atank+al-o-a	( They ( neateral ) will not subdue ) .
Nill+all-o-an	( He will not stand ) .

(Surahmaniyam,1971,333)

In the Brahui language this al- negative suffix is still used , but on a limited scale .Such as :

O al-w	- ‘He was not existed ‘
O i-la	- ‘They left’
Al-w	- was not
Il-a kan-e	-leave me
Ila	- leave it

### Negativ marker -a :

The Old Tamil -a the negative marker . In forms other than 3<sup>rd</sup> neutral singular and plural , the negative suffix -o- in Old Tamil . In contradiction to this , the other languages, i.e.,Tulu , the Central Dravidian group of languages and Brahui show the reflexes of the negative marker -a- before all the personal suffixes in the finite paradigm.

Tamil:

Ariy-a-mai	- ‘not knowing ‘
Kall-a-mai	- ‘not stealing’
Kalla-a-mai	- ‘not learning’

Brahui:

Tixpar-a	- ‘I do/will not place’
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Tixpana	- 'we do /will not place '
Tixpesa	- 'you do/will not place'
Tixpasa	- 'thou do/will not place'

### Pronominal Suffixes :

Pronominal suffixes of Tamil and Brahui languages share linguistic similarities with slight differences. Such as :

	Tamil	Brahui
1 <sup>st</sup> . sng.	En,an,al	iv,ev,v,r
1 <sup>st</sup> . pl.	em,am,om,um	in,n.
2 <sup>nd</sup> . sng.	I,ay,ay	is,es,s
2 <sup>nd</sup> .pl.	ir,ir(kal)	ire,ere,re

### Imperative mood :

Many verbs in the imperative mood of the Tamil language use the zero suffix. Such as .

Kel	- hear , ask
Col	-tell
paTu	- sing
out	- run

Similarly, zero suffix is used in many imperative mood verbs in Brahui language . Such as .

Ba	- come
Hin	- go
Hurr	- see
Pa	- say
paR/ xuwan	- read

### Preterite tense :

It is in Classical Tamil that the ancient system of the preterite tense is represented in its extended form four suffixes . -i- , -t- , -nd- , -tt- are attested in the finite forms, the first three being found in weak verbs and the last two is strong verbs .

New assimilative process have brought above some other colloquial alternets of the original past tense suffixes ; e.g. -n- , in colloquial Tamil : konne , literal Tamil: kondan 'I like ' , ( -tt-) – in colloquial Tamil kottec literal Tamil kotten 'I learnt', -d- in Srilankan Tamil endanan < literary Tamil enden 'I said'.

For example :

Colloquial Tamil : sertte - 'I joined'

-tt- is already incorporated into the stem ( cg. Tamil) . ( Andronov,2003,213/214)

In Brahui , the suffix -ta- is used in the verb of imperative tense. Such as .

Maxa 'laugh'	- maxata 'I was laughing '
Xalk 'kill'	- xalkuta 'I was killing '

Verb suffixes :

1=

In the Brahui language,suffix '-ire' is used in the verbs of the present tense for the second personal plural.

Hur-ire	- you all must see this task
miR-ire	- you all drive away the thieves
tix-ire	- you all keep the things in a safe place

In the Brahui language, the suffix '-ere' is used in the verbs of the present-future tense for the second person plural.

Khal-ere	- hit the enemies
Dar-ere	- you have taken these

Similarly ,in the Tamil language, the suffixes '-ir and -ir(eer)' are used in the verbs for the second person plural.

Celkuvir	- you will go
Valvir	- you will live

2=

In the Brahui language, the suffix ár,ur , (u)r is used in the verbs of the 3<sup>rd</sup> peson plural for the finite form of the pretrite tense ,perfect,finite form of the plurfect conditional mood,and present tense ,for examples:

Alk-ur - they caught the thieves  
Kung-ur - they ate/eaten the bread  
Bas-ur - they came  
Hur-ar - saw  
Nar-ar - ran

These words in Brahui are used in sentences in the following way :

Police duzate hak-ur - the police caught the tieves  
O anbe kungur -they ate mangoes  
Ustad nane karem tis-ur - the teacher gave us work  
ar- suffix:

ofk filme hur-ar -they saw the movie  
duzak nar-ar -the thieves ran away/escaped

These verb suffixes in Brahui are also used in Tamil in the form –ar, for example :

keTTar/keTTanar –heard/ they heard  
poTTar/poTTanar - put/ have put  
sinar/senanar - ate/have eaten

**3=**

In the Brahui language , the suffix '-o' is used in the verbs of the present tense,the pluperfect , and the conditional mood for the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural, for example:

Karen-o -they have did  
Daren-o -they have been taken  
Khana-o - they have seen

The Brahui suffix –o corresponds to Tamil –a in form of the neuter gender ( as, e.g.,

In Old Tamil naTanta/naTantana – they walked'  
Tamil vantana - they 9 things) came  
piDiTTana - they studied  
seytana - they did

**4=**

In the Brahui,the suffix,'-in, and –en are used in the verbs of te present tense for the 1<sup>st</sup> person plural, foe example:

Tix-in - put / put it on the table  
Hur-in - watch/look/watch this man  
Har-in -tear/Riptear the paper  
Likh-en - do/do your work  
Khal-en -hit/hit him with your ands

Affiliations of the suffixes of the 1<sup>st</sup>, person become evident if it is remembered that singular and plural forms have exchanged their places in the Brahui paradigm. Thus the plural suffix –(i)n/-en originally belonged to the singular numbers whereas the suffixes of the singular number –iv/-ev/--(u)t have clear correspondences in plural forms of the other Dravidian languages; cf.,e.g.,

Brahui:

Maxan - we laughed  
Baren - we may come  
Massun - we were ( Andronov,2006.p.)

In the Tamil language , the suffix –enn is used in the verbs of the past tense for the 1<sup>st</sup>. person singular, for example :

Ceyten - I did  
paDitten - to do  
venten - I came  
naTanten - I walked/I happened

### Adverbs :

Tamil and Brahui adverbs also share linguistic similarities with a slight phonetic change. Such as .

Tamil	Brahui
Inge 'here'	dangi 'here'
Angi/ungi 'there'	engi 'there'
Engi 'where'	arangi 'where'

Echo words :

Linguistic similarities are also found in the echo word formation structure of Tamil and Brahui languages .  
Such as .

Tamil	Brahui
Taley 'head'( taley Kiley )	halla 'sound' ( halla gulla )

### Postposition:

The method of using postpositions in Tamil and Brahui languages is also the same . And postpositions are also similar. Such as .

Tamil	Brahui
Mel ( top)	buRz ( top)

### Conjunction:

Conjunctions of Tamil and Brahui languages are also similar . Such as .

Tamil	Brahui
Allattu ( or )	o

### Interjection :

There is also a similarity in the interjections of Tamil and Brahui language. Such as .

Tamil	Brahui
Ayyo 'woe'	oye
Oo 'o'	o
Ci 'fie'	chee

### Syntax :

The Tamil noun phrase minimally consists of a nominal , optionally preceded by a variety of modifiers . The nominal in head position, i.e. at the extreme right, bears the inflections imposed by the syntactic context . Modifiers are distinguished according to function, rather than form, and include quantifiers, demonstratives and adjectives . Certain quantifiers may be postposed after the noun they modify ; thus the quantifier alla 'all 'in 'A 'may be optionally postposed rightward over the adjective and noun, as in 'B '.

Tamil:

A. Ella nalla putta kankal-um

All good books

B: nalla puttakankal ala=m

Good books all

Brahui :

A . kul juwaninga kitabak

All good books

B. Juwaninga kitabak kul

Good books all ( Steever ,1998,118 )

### Lexicon:

In the basic vocabulary of Tamil and Brahui languages , there is a great similarity with a little phonetic and semantic change. Such as .

Tamil	Brahui
aTai 'shelter'	aD
inru 'today'	aino
alla 'certainly not'	ala(va)
ali 'to weave,plait,braid'	alli

ennanam 'what manner, how'  
amma 'mother'  
e(n)tu 'what'  
appam 'rice cake , bread'  
al 'man'  
aTai 'to shut,obstruct, block'  
iTai 'to fall back, make room, get out of the way'  
eTTani 'how many, how much'  
avail 'to be distressed, flurried'  
avi 'to yawn,gape'  
valiya 'big'  
bar 'to come'  
micu 'top,height,on, over '  
vay 'mouth'  
varr 'to grow dry'  
ve 'to be hot,be boiled'  
viTam 'mountain'  
mey 'to grae, feed'  
me 'over,above, excellence'  
vellam 'flood,water '  
vey 'to put on, wear'  
vil(lu) 'bow'  
velle 'noose, noosed rope'  
vina 'to hear,listen,ask'  
very 'frenzy; savagey, wildness, '  
very 'intoxication,frenzy, wildness'  
veru 'other,that which is different '  
veru ; other, different;  
veru ; other,different'  
ve 'to be boiled, cooked'  
viTam 'mountain'  
viT 'to let go, release'  
vicarppu 'hunger'  
veru 'empty '  
pili 'to press out with hands,squeeze'  
celag/celav 'to cut'  
capparis 'to smack one s lip,chew with a noise '  
teri 'to understand, know '  
tiri 'to wander about, ramble'  
cint 'to tear'  
coTTai 'crookendness '  
cuval 'nape of the neck '  
cinna 'small'  
cinni 'small child '  
cura 'to flow, gush'  
coTT 'to fall in drops, drizzle'  
ccoTTu 'á drop)  
coTT 'to fall in drops, leak'  
cup 'to suck '  
cu 'tally-oh'  
ner 'to cut off '

amri  
amman  
ant  
appa  
ar(i)  
aR  
aRsing  
aT  
avalenging  
avaning  
balun  
ba,bar,baning  
bash  
mouth  
barr (ing)ing  
bas(ing)ing)  
baTagh  
bei  
be  
bel  
bening  
bil  
bilum  
bining  
birr  
birri  
birring  
birvinging  
birve  
bis(ing)ing  
biT'buT  
biting  
been  
bira(gha)  
biRing  
cal(eng)ing  
cap-cap  
chaing  
chirenging  
cheerenging  
choT  
chugh  
chunak  
chuna  
churing  
cuR(eng)ing  
cuT  
chuTTing  
chuping  
chuh  
danning

taal 'to sink low, lower, descend'  
tun 'hole, cavity'  
ala 'to mingle,blend,talk together,mix up'  
atu 'he,she,it'  
el 'to be suitable '  
kaTi 'bite '  
kuTTi oung of any animal '  
neyttor 'blood '  
enai 'other'  
ek 'give'  
tar 'to give, bring'  
elu 'mind,reason, thought, wisdom'  
olam 'sound, noise, cry, cry of lamentation'  
ilak 'to shake '  
unn 'to think,consider'  
uN 'to eat,drink,suck'  
ur 'to burn,blaze'  
Ulai 'to howl'  
Ilaiyan 'brother '  
Kalar 'saline soil '  
Cey 'to do'  
Karai 'shore,brim'  
Mala 'young cow or buffalo'  
Mann 'to be steady,permanent,to stay,remain'  
Curi 'to be spiral,curl'  
Malar 'flower'  
Mann 'to be steady,parmanent  
Maruppu 'horn'  
Mari 'young of animals '  
manT 'to be closer together '  
ma 'black'  
makil 'rejoice'  
mari 'young of any animal'  
mulai 'brain'

Mukam 'face'  
Katka 'show'  
Kota 'give'  
Talai 'head'  
Yar 'who'  
cappaTu 'meal'  
nayiru 'sun'  
min 'star'  
nir 'water'  
malai 'mountain'  
maram 'tree '  
Taal 'stem'  
Kal 'hard '  
Pul 'grass '  
Pu 'flower'  
Kapparai 'coconut'

daRinging  
doon  
aling  
ed  
eling  
gaT  
guDDoo  
dittar  
elo  
eti  
hataring  
hel  
hogh  
hilh  
huning  
huRing  
hushing.  
hoolaing  
brother  
kalar  
key  
karak  
malh  
manning  
koothing  
maling  
manning  
marg  
masiR  
maT  
maon  
makhing  
mar  
milee  
mon  
hata  
hete  
tall ( upper part of any thing)  
der  
cappaTee  
dey  
mirmir ( lighting)  
deer  
mash/mal  
marr ( a kind of tree )  
Tal ( branch of tree )  
xal ( strong as a stone)  
pul ( flower)  
pul  
kopro

Kalai	'bull'	xaras
Yatu	'goat'	heT
Pilli	'cat'	pishee
Eli	'rat'	hal
Tontan	'wolf'	tola
Pakkam	'wing'	parra
peTTai	'femal'	paTTee-a
mayil	'peacock'	mor
kuyil	'cukoo/koel'	koyal
Tattai	'parrot'	tota
Tel	'scorpion'	telh
Pulu	'worm'	pu/poo
Neytor	'blood'	ditar
Mulai	'brain'	milee
Kan	'eye'	xan
Vay	'mouth'	ba
Cevi	'ear'	xaf
Pottai	'belly'	piD
Muttu	'joint'	much/mil
cuvaTu	'foot print ' mountain shoe)	chawaT ( A type of Brahui
cirunir	'urine'	churro
Pi	'excrement'	pi/pee/phee
Cokku	'beauty ' girl or boy )	chawak ( young beautiful
Muttal	'fool'	moTo
Pillai	'A community'	palli ( caste,sub-caste)
Ko,kon	'king ' or great powerful men)	xaan( A title of Brahui ruler
Coru	'rice'	saree
Pal	'milk'	palh
Pirai	'fermented butter milk'	pren
Il	'house'	ura
Kuti	'house'	kuDee
Mania	'house'	manah
peTTi	'box'	peTTee
pucai	'worship'	pooja
kiTTi	'smal'	guDDoo
eechcham	'datepalm ' el ( to rise )	mach
ivuli	( horse)	hel/harif
un	( to think,consider _	huli
un(n)	( to eat,drink, suck)	hur/hunning
ur	( to burn,blaze)	huR
irai	(food of wild animals)	hush
iru	( two)	irag
irsa	( comb)	ira/iraT
ilaiyan	( broter )	iris
ca(k)	( to die )	eilum
kalam	( vessel)	kah
karai	( shore, brim,border )	kalanD
		karak

cer ( to arrive,approach, come )  
kil ( place below, under, down, below )  
ceru ( angry)  
cirukk ( to be angry )  
ci ( pus,snot)  
cumai ( burden,load )  
un ( to eat,drink)  
kuru 9 pustule)  
kuTi ( house, hut)  
curi ( to be spiral, curl)  
malar ( to open )  
mala ( infant)  
mann ( to become, be )  
mari ( young of animal )  
makil ( to rejoice )  
maman ( mother s brother )  
mari ( young of any animal)  
meluk ( to smear, duab, varnish )  
miR ( to drive( buffaloes) on migration )  
mun(nam) ( front )  
muyal ( hare )  
munru ( tree)  
mutta ( old, elder )  
muTi ( knot)  
mola ( waist )  
naan ( I )  
ni ( thou, you )  
nur ( to crush,grind)  
nuru( powder,dust, flour )  
utu ( that thing)

keb  
keragh  
kireng  
kirk  
kish  
kuben  
kun  
kuraRa  
kuDi  
kureng  
maleng  
malh  
marr,ma,maning  
masiR  
max  
mama  
maar  
mirr/miring  
miring  
mon  
muroo  
musi/musiT  
mutkun  
muTTux  
mux  
nan  
ni  
nus  
nut  
od

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