

Notes on Tirahi

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BY

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The Speakers of Tirahi

BY SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E.

THE country where Tirāhī is spoken belongs to that border region between India and Eastern Irān which since my youth has never ceased to attract me by its varied historical, geographical, and linguistic interest. So when after my first Central-Asian expedition my hope of being employed in the newly constituted North-West Frontier Province was realized, I was anxious to use whatever chance might offer for securing materials concerning that old language of Tirāh, to the supposed survival of which Sir George Grierson had first called my attention. The inquiries I made with this object during 1904–5 both from the side of Peshāwar and from that of Kohāt and the Kurram valley proved, however, fruitless. The Political Agents of the Khyber and Kurram, whom their duties as Wardens of the Marches keep in close contact with the tribes occupying the valleys of Tirāh and the tracts of Afghānistān adjoining towards the Kābul river, uniformly asserted that their local informants knew of no other language but Paṣhtō being spoken between the Kurram and Kābul rivers. Other Frontier Officers to whom I applied were equally unable to help. It seemed, indeed, as if that Tirāhī speech, of which

Leech in 1838 had heard as a "relict" preserved by a small tribal community outside its original home, and had collected a very brief vocabulary, had since become completely submerged by the steadily spreading tide of Paṣṭō. Nor did I fare better in 1912, when archæological work brought me back for some months to the Peshāwar border before my third Central-Asian expedition.

The years claimed by these explorations, and subsequently by the elaboration of their results and the publication of *Serindia*, did not allow me to return to the charge until March, 1919, when on my way back to Kashmīr a kind invitation from that great soldier-administrator, the late Colonel Sir George Roos-Keppel, then about to retire from the Chief Commissionership of the North-West Frontier Province, induced me to spare a few days for a visit to old haunts at Peshāwar. Sir George, who had spent many years of service in charge of the Kurram Militia, and later as Commandant of the Khyber Rifles and Political Officer for Tirāh, was as incredulous as before about the survival of a Tirāhī language. But fortunately my renewed requests for a search induced him to mention the matter to his right-hand man for Tirāh, Sir Abdul Qayyūm, Sāhibzāda, who by then had risen to be Political Agent of the Khyber.

This time the attempt proved more hopeful. Sir Abdul Qayyūm was not in vain credited at Peshāwar with having a very efficient secret service of his own. By nightfall of the same day his men were reported to be on the track of a Tirāhī-speaking individual, and by next midday he had been duly hunted down and brought up "for my disposal" at Government House.

Gul Pashān, a wholly illiterate elderly man, doing coolie's work for an Afghān contractor in Peshāwar City, proved a difficult person to deal with. Though away from his home for many years, he did not deny his knowledge of Tirāhī, as we had reason to fear at first; for somehow an idea had been conveyed by those who had helped to secure him that Tirāhī

was only a kind of gibberish used by trans-border criminals among themselves when they wished not to be understood by others. But his brain, impaired by the use of opium, worked very slowly indeed. When after half-a-day's effort I had secured from him a very scanty vocabulary with a fragmentary rendering of the Parable of the Prodigal Son he became so weary and "muddled" that we had to let him go—I may add, with a good reward, which he duly appreciated. I myself was obliged to leave for Kashmīr the same evening and to abandon further attempts for the time being.

My subsequent absence from India on special duty in England, and later on much pressing work on the detailed report of my third Central-Asian expedition, did not leave me an opportunity of resuming the task on Tirāhī until the visit which, in December, 1921, I paid to Peshāwar specially for this purpose. Meanwhile I had secured very effective help from Khān Sāhib Afrāzgul Khān, the devoted Pathān surveying assistant of my third Central-Asian journey, who as a member of the saintly Ka'ka' Khēl clan commands an extensive range of friends and acquaintances among the tribesmen of Tirāh and beyond. His inquiries led to the discovery of an intelligent old man, named Shāh Rasūl, whose original home was near Jaba, one of the villages where Tirāhī is spoken. When I found that prolonged residence within the Peshāwar District had impaired his facility in speaking his mother tongue, Shāh Rasūl secured a younger man from his old home who happened to have come to Peshāwar to look for work, and whose memory was more trustworthy. Both men were entirely illiterate, and this necessarily caused difficulty in getting them to understand such grammatical niceties as distinction between different tenses of the verb. But in the end I succeeded with their help in writing down a Tirāhī translation of the Urdū version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son (Paṣhtō being used as an intermediary) and compiling a list of words and illustrative sentences. From these to my great satisfaction Sir George Grierson has been

able to prepare his lucid analysis of the main features of the language.

According to the information received from these men Tirāhī is spoken in a small cluster of villages in the Ningrahār tract of the Afghān province of Jalālābād, south of the Kābul river. Jaba, the largest of them, is shown on Sheet No. 38 J of the four miles to the inch Degree Sheets of the Survey of India as situated in the Kōt-darra valley which descends from the northern slopes of the Safēd-kōh towards the Kābul river, and about half-way between Dakka and Jalālābād. Of other Tirāhī-speaking villages, Mitarānī and Barā-khēl were named to me.

The geographical position of these villages accords well with the tradition recorded by Leech that the Tirāhī-speaking people had originally lived in the hills of Tirāh, now occupied by the tribes which are collectively known as Afrīdīs; for the map shows that the Kōt-darra Nullah is one of the several valleys draining the northern slopes of that portion of the Safēd-kōh range which stretches round Tirāh towards the Khyber Pass and comprises the valleys occupied by the Afrīdī tribes. When and under what circumstances the people now speaking Tirāhī left their mountain home is a question which without information locally collected cannot be investigated. In the absence of definite historical records it might well remain obscure, even if it were possible to gain access to those villages on ground still barred to scholars, anyhow from the British side.

But even without evidence on this point the fact now definitely established by Sir George Grierson's analysis that Tirāhī is a Dardic language may claim special historical and ethnological interest. Observations which it is impossible to set forth here in detail strongly support the belief that the Afrīdī tribes, though at present speaking Paṣṭō, contain a large, if not predominant racial element, which was established in Tirāh long before the advent of those Afghān invaders who during Muhammadan times gradually pushed their way

into the belt of hills and alluvial plains west of the Indus, and who have spread their Paṣṭō speech in places even across the great river. We know that, both on the upper Indus and in the valleys drained by the Swāt river, tribes who now speak Paṣṭō and proudly claim to be Pathāns were of Dard stock and Dardic speech until their comparatively recent conversion to Islām.¹ The advance of Paṣṭō among Kōhistānī communities up the Indus valley, where the use of a Dardic language still lingers, can be watched actually proceeding at present.²

It is much to be regretted that no adequate materials are at present available for the proper anthropological study of the varied populations comprehended under the general term of Afghān or Pathān. Nevertheless, it seems to me safe to assert, from personal observation, that the general type of the Afrīdī tribesmen plentifully to be seen in the bazars of Peshāwar and until recent years also serving in large numbers in Frontier Militia Corps and regiments of the Indian Army, with fair hair, "white-rosy" skin, and frequently blue or light grey eyes, bears a far closer affinity to the *Homo alpinus* type of the hillmen speaking Dardic languages south of the Hindūkush,³ such as the people of Chitrāl, Mastūj and Gilgit, than to the much darker and curiously Semitic-looking type prevalent among Afghāns proper to the west and south-west of Tirāh.

In this connexion attention should be drawn also to the name *Afrīdī*. It can be shown that this designation has been borne since a very early period by those sturdy hillmen who have held their own in the mountains of Tirāh as far back as historical records can take us, and who have always known how to levy blackmail on those passing through the defiles of the Khyber, whether armies, travellers, or traders. For there is every reason to believe that the name *Afrīdī* is the

¹ Cf. Colonel H. Deane's "Notes on Udyāna", *JRAS.*, 1896, pp. 661 sqq.; Stein, *Serindia*, i. p. 24.

² See *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (1907), i. p. 371.

³ See *Serindia*, i. p. 26; *ibid.*, Joyce, iii. pp. 1357, 1361.

direct phonetic derivative of that of the ᾽Απαρῦται, whom Herodotus mentions in his list of tribes in the easternmost Satrapy of the Achaemenidian empire, in close connexion with the Γανδάριοι, i.e. the inhabitants of Gandhāra, the present Peshāwar valley.¹ We have a significant parallel to the survival of this ancient ethnic term in the name *Dard*, which Megasthenes, and probably Ktesias before him, heard applied to the gold-washing people on the upper Indus,² and which to this day is still borne by the tribes speaking a dialect of Shiṇā, a Dardic tongue, in the valleys between Kashmīr and the Indus.

Thus physical type, local habitation, and name all uniformly point to the present Afrīdis in essential racial character being the descendants of a stock established in the region of Tirāh since very early times. This conclusion must carry additional weight owing to Sir George Grierson's demonstration that Tirāhī, once spoken in their hills, is a Dardic language, and a link in a chain of tongues which at one time stretched down from the snow-clad Hindūkush to the delta of the Indus.

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¹ Cf. Herodotus, iii. 91; the identification of the ᾽Απαρῦται with the Afrīdis was first suggested by Dr. Bellew, cf. *JRAS.*, 1887, p. 504.

² Cf. Stein, *Rājatarangīnī* translation, ii. p. 431. For Megasthenes' notice, see Strabo, xv. i. 44.

On the Tirahi Language

BY SIR GEORGE GRIERSON, K.C.I.E.

TIRĀHĪ is a Dardic language of which, till now, hardly anything has been known. Our only materials have been the contents of a short vocabulary compiled by Leech in the year 1838.¹ According to him, its speakers once inhabited the Tirāh country, now the home of the Afrīdī Pathāns, and, in consequence of a feud breaking out between the Ōrakzāis and the Afrīdīs, they left that tract and settled in the Ningrahār country in independent Afghānistān, where they are now found.

For more than a quarter of a century I had been endeavouring to obtain specimens of this form of speech ; but, owing to the habitat of its speakers not being under the control of the authorities of British India, all my attempts had been in vain. Sir Aurel Stein has related above how in 1921 he was able to secure at Peshāwar two men speaking Tirāhī and with their help to prepare a list of Tirāhī words and a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son in the Tirāhī language. With these materials, together with Leech's vocabulary, I have been able to prepare a pretty detailed account of the language, which will duly appear in the Addenda to the Linguistic Survey. But, as some considerable time must elapse before this can be published, and as the subject is one of considerable interest to students of Dardic forms of speech, I here offer a brief preliminary sketch of its main features.

As a Dardic language, Tirāhī belongs to the same group as Kalāshā, Gawarbatī, and Pashai, languages of the lower part of the Kunar Valley and of Laghmān ; but it also shows clear points of relationship to other languages spoken far to the East, viz. the Ṣiṇā of Gilgit and the Indus Kōhistān, and Kāshmirī. Compare, for instance, Tirāhī *mala*, a father,

¹ *JASB.*, vol. vii (1838), pp. 783-4.

with *Ṣiṇā mālō*, Kāshmirī *mōl^u*; Tirāhī *sure*, a child, with Kāshmirī *shur^u*; and *√uth-* (not *√uth-*), stand up, with Ksh. *√wōth-*. As usual in Dardic languages, there are several words which have preserved in a remarkable manner the form that obtained in the Sanskrit of two thousand years ago. Such are *dēn*, a cow, as compared with the Sanskrit *dhēnuḥ*, and *ast*, a hand, as compared with the Sanskrit *hastah*. Here, of course, there can be no question of such words being *Tatsamas*. They must be old words inherited from the ancient Aryan language from which the Dardic languages have sprung. It is hardly necessary to add that, surrounded as the speakers are by Afghāns, the language freely borrows from Paṣṭō, not only in vocabulary, but also in grammatical forms. Such borrowings I shall leave untouched in the present pages.

The Pashai already referred to is spoken in Laghmān, north of the River Kābul. Ningrahār, where Tirāhī is spoken, lies to the south of that river. Further south, again, in Wazīristān, we come upon Ōrmurī, an Eranian form of speech, used by an immigrant tribe distinct from the Afghāns. It is evident that at the time when the Ōrmurs arrived at their present site, they found themselves in close contact with a tribe of Dardic origin, for their language, though Eranian, shows clear traces of Dardic influence. Further south, we come to the Khētrāns of Thal Chotiālī. These people speak a corrupt Lahndā much mixed with Dardic forms. Finally, still further south, we come to Sindhī, and in this, too, we find relics of some old Dardic language. In this way, Tirāhī forms an important link connecting the Dardic languages spoken in Dardistān, north of the Kābul, with a chain of three languages which show traces of ancient Dardic influence, and reach down to the mouth of the Indus. It is not necessary here to discuss the question of the extension of Dardic languages further south. It is sufficient to state that traces of them have been recognized in the Bhīl languages of Central India, and even in the Kōṅkaṇī dialect of Marāṭhī.

If this last identification is finally accepted, Tirāhī gives the hitherto missing link in a chain of languages reaching from the Hindūkush down to Goa.

Phonetics.—It must be remembered that the materials collected depend almost entirely on what was uttered by two illiterate men. Sir Aurel Stein, in recording the Tirāhī words uttered by them, most rightly refrained from any attempt at securing apparent uniformity, but wrote down for each word as nearly as possible the exact sound he heard in each particular case. In recording a language which has previously been reduced to writing, there is a more or less fixed standard of spelling and pronunciation with which it is possible to secure uniformity; but when a language has no standard—and, to a less extent, even in every language which has a standard—the actual pronunciation of each word varies each time it is uttered, according to its collocation in the sentence or the mood of the speaker. In languages like English or Hindōstānī, these changes are to a certain extent held in check by the existence of a standard to which the speakers instinctively conform; but, in a language which like Tirāhī has no standard, they are much more considerable, and we find the same word pronounced by these men in very different ways at different times. For instance, for “man”, the speakers at one time said *ādam*, and at another *adam*; for “good”, at one time *braḍa*, and at another *breḍa*; and for “child”, at one time *bad^ana*, with no stress on the penultimate, and at another time *badána*, with a strong stress on the penultimate. Under such circumstances, it would at present be dangerous to lay down any rules for a standard pronunciation of Tirāhī, and we must await further information on the subject. Suffice it to say that this uncertainty occurs chiefly in regard to the vowels, and that the consonantal system appears to be pretty constant and to agree with that of the other Dardic languages. Two points regarding consonants may, however, be noted here. Like other Dardic languages, Tirāhī possesses no sonant

aspirates. An original sonant aspirate becomes disaspirated, as in *dēn*, for *dhēnuḥ*, mentioned above. The other point, so far as I am aware, is peculiar to Tirāhī. When a word ends in a vowel, and is followed by a closely connected word beginning with a consonant, that consonant is doubled, one of the resultant pair being added enclitically to the end of the preceding word. This is not recorded in every instance, but the tendency is marked. Thus *nazara-manzum* becomes *nazaram-manzum*, in (thy) sight; *brica-tōna* becomes *bricat-tōna*, under a tree; and *ū-ti*, he has come, becomes *ut-ti*.

The Article.—There appears to be an indefinite article, corresponding to the Persian *yā-ī-waḥdat* and the Kāshmirī *-ā*. It is expressed by the addition of *i*, as in *kharāb badan-i*, a bad boy (*badana*). As usual, demonstrative pronouns are employed where we should use the definite article.

Gender.—A feminine gender is recognized, but the materials available are not sufficient for forming general rules as to its formation from the masculine. Many feminine nouns end in *ē*, in cases where, in India, we should find *ī*. Thus, *strē*, a woman; *acchē* (Kāshmirī *āchⁱ*), the eye; *dē* (Indian *dhī*), a daughter.

Declension.—The two principal cases are the Nominative and the General Oblique. The object of a transitive verb is in the form of the Nominative, so that, to use the terminology of European grammar, we can say that the Accusative has the same form as the Nominative. On the other hand, the subject of a transitive verb in a tense derived from the past participle is, as usual in connected languages, put in the Agent case, which, as we shall see, is the same in form as the Oblique.

The Oblique case is generally formed by adding *a*. Thus, *panda-khum* (Nom. *pand*), on a road; *mulka-manzum*, in a country; *braḍa adama-mā*, from a good man, and so on. Sometimes some other vowel appears instead of *a*, as in *mala-tarafe ū*, he came in the direction of the father; *asto-manzum* (Nom. *ast*), in the hand; but the usual termination

seems to be *a*. Occasionally the final *a* of the Oblique case is dropped, so that it becomes the same in form as the Nominative. Thus, we have both *kuzara dāk-khum* and *kuzara dāka-khum*, on the horse's back. So *putar-khum*, for *putara-khum*, on the son. This naturally occurs most often when the word already ends in a vowel, as in *mala-mā* (Nom. *mala*), from the father; *ghussā-khum*, in anger; *badmāshī-khum*, in debauchery; *kui-mā*, from the well.

Another form of the Oblique case ends in (*a*)*s* or (*a*)*si* (or, by epenthesis, *is*). Comparison with Kāshmirī shows that this is by origin a genitive (Skr. *-sya*, Pr. *-ssa*), which, in Prakrit, is also used for the dative. In Tirāhī, *as* is most often used to indicate the genitive and *asi* the dative, but the two terminations are often interchanged. In Indian languages, postpositions of the Dative are almost always by origin oblique forms of the genitive postposition (KZ. xxxviii, 476), and it is possible that the origin of the termination *asi* is similar.

The following are examples of these forms:—

(Genitive)—*lemas shisi* (Nom. *shi*) *kimat*, the price of that thing. Here, both (*a*)*s* and (*a*)*si* are used for the genitive.

braḍa adamas thān, the house of the good man.

le thān malas (Nom. *mala*) *ti*, this is the father's house.

myāna trōras putar, the son of my uncle.

(Dative)—*mē tānu malasi bazam*, I shall go to my father.

mē le adam diyanasi dita wā, I had given that man for a beating (i.e. to be beaten).

le pakīrasi ek āna dē, give one anna to this *faqīr*.

Occasionally I have found this termination *asi* employed where we should use the ablative, as in *tē le bāna kāma adamasī* (or *adama-mā*) *achita ti*, from what man did you buy that thing? *myāna dunsi* (Nom. *dē*, obl. base *dun-*) *khat ut-ti*, a letter has come from my daughter; *lema briyasi le brij kaza ti*, this tower is higher than that.

The Genitive may also be indicated by simply prefixing it to the governing noun, as in *le kila ek baniyā-mā*, from a

shopkeeper of the village ; *kuzara dāk-khum*, on the horse's back, as compared with *kuzaras zīn*, the horse's saddle ; *āsmān nazar-manzum*, in the sight of heaven ; *domāma āwāz*, the sound of a drum.

As already stated, the case of the Agent is the same in form as the Oblique case ; but, as the Oblique often drops its final *a*, it follows that the Agent case is often the same as the Nominative. It may be mentioned that in the Ōrmurī language, referred to above (p. 406), the Agent case is always the same in form as the Nominative. The following are two examples of this case :—

cāna mala lā breḍa batsa kukhto, thy father slaughtered the good calf (lit. by thy father the good calf was slaughtered).

sure putar (for *putara*) *tānu māl jama kere*, the younger son collected his own property.

Two nouns have been noted as forming irregular oblique bases. These are *dē*, a daughter, sg. dat. *dunsi* ; and *spaz*, a sister, sg. dat. *spazunsi*.

The plural is often the same as the singular, especially when a noun ends in *a* or *ā*, as in *mala*, father or fathers ; *sanā*, dog or dogs. Sometimes a vowel is added to form the plural, which is then like the oblique singular. Thus, *ek adamas dō putara wāna*, of a certain man there were two sons ; *le adama kharāb tīna*, those men are bad ; *cāna sānas dante* (sg. *dant*), the teeth of your dog ; *tre adamo*, three men. A plural is sometimes indicated by adding the word *sawa*, all, to the singular as in *ao sawa*, I all, i.e. we.

The oblique plural ends in *an*, as in *braḍa adaman thāna*, the houses of good men ; *sawa brijan-mā le brij kaza ti*, that tower is higher than all towers.

Occasionally in the plural borrowed Persian or Paṣhtō forms are found, but these need not detain us here.

The singular terminations *(a)s* and *(a)si* of the genitive and dative (or ablative) are sometimes added to the oblique plural, owing, I suppose, to false analogy. Thus, *braḍa adamansi khabar ut ti*, news has come from good men.

We may accordingly put down provisionally the following declension of the Tirāhī noun *adam*, a man :—

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	<i>adam</i>	<i>adama</i>
Acc.	<i>adam</i>	<i>adama</i>
Ag. and Obl.	<i>adama</i>	<i>adaman</i>
Gen.	<i>adamas</i>	<i>adaman</i>
Dat. (Abl.)	<i>adamasi</i>	<i>adaman, adamansi</i>

The other relations of time and place are indicated by postpositions, generally added to the oblique case. The principal of these are :—

khum, on, in, at.

mā, from, and other ablatival significations, including the ablative of comparison.

manzum, in.

ni appears to form an instrumental.

patī, after.

patīkana, behind.

sama, with, together with.

tōna, under.

waza, under.

Thus :—

kuzara dāka- (or *dāk-*) *khum*, on the horse's back.

au lema kursī-mā uthum, I stand up from this chair.

myāna thāna-manzum, in my house.

ao lemaji odasta-ni marā gam, I am dying here by (i.e. of) hunger.

lema-patī mala-tarafe ū, after that he came towards his father.

chāna-patīkana, behind you.

tānu dōstāna-sama, with (my) own friends. Here the Persian plural *dōstān* has been borrowed.

bricat-tōna or *brica-waza*, under a tree.

Adjectives.—Adjectives change for gender and number, but sufficient materials are not available to entitle us to form general rules. All that I can say is that the termination *ē* occurs most frequently with adjectives agreeing with feminine nouns or with masculine plural nouns.

The numerals are : 1 *ek*, 2 *dō*, 3 *tre*, 4 *tsawōr*, 5 *pants*, 6 *khō*, 7 *sat*, 8 *akht*, 9 *nab* ;

10 *dah*, 11 *eko*, 12 *bo*, 13 *tro*, 14 *tsauda*, 15 *panzī*, 16 *khōla*, 17 *satāra*, 18 *atāra*, 19 *kune* ;

20 *biau*, 21 *biau ek*, 30 *biau dah*, 31 *biau eko*, and so on ; 40 *dō bē*, 41 *do biau ek*, and so on ; 50 *da biau dah*, 60 *tre bē*, 70 *tre biau dah*, 80 *tsawōr bē*, 90 *tsawōr biau dah*, 100 *panz bē*.

It will be seen that the system is vigesimal.

Pronouns.—The Personal Pronouns are declined as follows :

	I.		Thou.	
	Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	<i>ao, au</i>	<i>ao, mēn</i>	<i>to, tu</i>	<i>tao</i>
Ag. and Obl.	<i>mē</i>	<i>ao</i>	<i>tē</i>	<i>tā</i>
Gen.	<i>myāna</i>	<i>myāna</i>	<i>cāna</i>	<i>cāna</i>
Dat.	<i>masi</i>	<i>masi</i>	?	?

Paṣṭō or semi-Paṣṭō are also used. Such are *da-mē* or *masi-da*, of me.

It will be observed that the plural is often the same as the singular. This may be a blunder of the two men who were Sir Aurel Stein's informants. It must be noted that the nominative and oblique forms are often interchanged, one for the other. Examples of these pronouns are :—

ao lemaji odasta-ni marā gam, I am dying here of hunger.

mē le adam diyanasi dita wā, I gave that man to be beaten.

le myāna putar muṛā gā wā, this my son had died.

lā masi dē, give that to me.

pas diyan-mā ao gēma, after beating we went away.

mēn samo tre ādamo khārasi da-bazam, we three men all go to the town.

tu hōkhyār tis, thou art clever.

tē masi tsindar nā dita, thou didst not give me a kid.

cāna brā ut-ti, thy brother is come.

tao sawa kharābe tiza, you are all bad.

The Demonstrative Pronoun is *le* or *lā*, this, that, he. There do not appear to be separate words for "this" and "that", though we might expect *le* to be used for one, and

lā for the other. As already stated, *le* or *lā* is often used as a definite article. The declension is regular, except that there is a base *lema*, which is used for the oblique cases and plural.

Examples :—

le breḍa ādam ti, he is a good man.

lā bē gā dūr mulkasi, and he went to a far country.

lema asto-manzum angur tsiya, put ye a ring on his hand.

lemas spazunsi kaza, taller than his sister.

lesi bo aram, I will say to him.

lema brijasi le brij kaza ti, this tower is higher than that.

le sawa hāzir wāna, they were all present.

lema sawa braḍe tīna, they are all good.

le pakīrasi ek āna dē, give one anna to the *faqīr*.

lā gaṇa putar ḡhussā khum gā, the elder son went on anger
(i.e. became angry).

For the Relative Pronoun, the Persian *ki* is used.

The Interrogative Pronoun is *kāma* (genitive *kāmik*), who ?
“What ?” is *ki*.

le adam kāma ti, who is that man ?

cāna patīkana kāmik badana da-ē, whose boy comes behind
you ?

le ki ti, what is this ?

Other Pronominal forms are *kī*, anyone, someone ; *kasa*, whatever ; *letik*, so many ; *katēsi*, how much ? *katsi*, how many ? *Tanu*, (my, thy, his, our, your, their) own is the equivalent of the Hindī *apnā*.

Conjugation.—The Verb Substantive is :—

	Singular.	Plural.
1.	<i>tim</i> , I am	<i>tima</i>
2.	<i>tis</i>	<i>tiza</i>
3.	<i>ti</i> , fem. <i>tē</i>	<i>tīna</i>
1.	<i>wāma</i> (? <i>wām</i>), I was	<i>wāma</i>
2.	<i>wāz</i> , <i>wē</i>	<i>wāma</i> (? <i>wāza</i>)
3.	<i>wā</i> , fem. <i>wē</i>	<i>wāna</i>

In the Past tense, the *wāma* reported for the first person singular and for the second person plural can hardly be right.

Examples :—

brok gunagār tim, I am a great sinner.

tu hōkhyār tis, thou art clever.

munāsib nā ti, it is not proper.

ao sawa gharībāna tima, we are all poor.

tao sawa kharābe tiza, you are all bad.

az brōke stōra tīna, to-day there are many stars.

mē (for *ao*) *suro wāma* (? *wām*) *lema wakta-khum*, at that time I was a child.

tu suro wāz jango wakta manzum, thou wast a child at the time of the fight.

khushālī karan munāsib wā, it was proper to make rejoicing.

ao sawa lemaji wāma, we were all there.

tao sawa bōgha wāma (? *wāza*), you were all near by.

ek adamas do putara wāna, of a certain man there were two sons.

The Active Verb has a verbal noun, or infinitive, ending in *n*, as in *karan*, the act of doing. To form an infinitive of purpose, it is put into the dative case, as in *mē le adam diyawasi dita wā*, I had given that man for a beating, i.e. to be beaten.

For the Imperative, the second person singular is the bare root, as in *dē*, give thou ; *an*, bring you. The second person plural is formed by adding *ā*, as in *anā*, bring ye.

As in other Dardic languages, and as in the Ghalcah languages, a Present-future tense is formed by adding the personal terminations to a present base. The tense so formed indicates either present or future time, but if it is desired to emphasize the present time, the word *dē* or *da* (compare the Paṣhtō *da*) is prefixed, as in *au da-bazam*, I go. If it is desired to emphasize future time, *ba* is prefixed, as in Paṣhtō, as in *au ba-dēm*, I shall give. Sometimes, we have *bo* instead of *ba*, which is probably merely a variation of pronunciation.

The present base seems to be generally the bare root,

but I have noted some verbs which form the base by adding *z*. Thus, from the $\sqrt{ker-}$, do, we have the present base *ker-*, but from $\sqrt{bo-}$, which means both "become" and "go", we have the present base *baz-* or *be-*, and from $\sqrt{be-}$, sit, we have *bēz-*; from $\sqrt{ē-}$, come, we have *ēz-* or *ē-*; and from $\sqrt{dē-}$, beat, we have *diz-*, *daz-*, or *dē-*. With this *z*-termination, we may compare the corresponding termination *j* in *Şinā*, as in *bujum*, I go. I have not sufficient materials to give a complete paradigm of this tense, but the following examples will show its nature. I group the singular and the plural together, as the forms do not differ in the translations given to me, but it is probable that the forms ending in *m* are properly singular, while those in *ma* are properly plural. I can give no examples for the second person singular or for the second or third person plural.

First person: *da-bazam*, I go; *bo-aṛam*, I will say; *uthum*, I rise; *bēm*, I become, I go; *bazam*, I will go; *da-bazam*, I go, we go; *bēzum*, I sit; *dēm*, I give, I beat; *ba-dēm*, I shall beat; *dē-kām* (? *khām*), let us eat; *da-kerem*, I do; *dē-karēm*, let us do.

ēma, I come; *dēma*, I give, I beat.

Third person singular: *owē*, it comes; *da ē*, he comes; *tsarū* (causal), he pastures.

A Present Definite is formed by adding the present tense of the verb substantive to the Present-future, as in *tsarū-ti*, he is pasturing.

As in other Dardic languages, the Past tense is formed from the Past Participle. Intransitive and transitive verbs must be dealt with separately. In the case of intransitive verbs, the participle by itself is used for the third person, to which pronominal suffixes are added for the first and second persons. I can quote only two intransitive past participles. These are *ū* or *ō*, from $\sqrt{ē-}$, come; and the irregular *gā*, from $\sqrt{bo-}$, become, go. The participle *gā* is used in both senses, and, from the meaning of "having become", has come (as in *Kāshmīrī*) to mean "is". For

ū or *ō*, I can only give examples of the third person singular. One is : *khā thānasi bōgha ō, gidān naghāra domāma āwāz ū*, when he came near the house, the sound of singing, music, and drums came (to his ears).

For *gā*, we have greater variety :—

The first person singular is *gam* or *gim* (probably really *g^am*), as in *ao marāgam*, I became dead, I am dead ; *ao cāna hukum-mā bāhr nā gim*, I did not go outside (i.e. disobey) thy order. As an example of the third person singular, we may take *lā bē gā dūr mulkasi*, and he went to a far country. For the first person plural, we have *pas diyan-mā ao gēma*, after beating (him), we went away.

In the case of Transitive verbs, as in other Dardic languages, the subject is put into the case of the Agent, and the verb is usually in the third person. Thus :—

ki tānu dōstāna sama khushālī kere, that I (might have) made rejoicing with my friends.

tē breḍa batsa kukhto, by thee the good calf was slaughtered.

lāsi kī nā dita, no one gave to him.

A Perfect is formed similarly, with the addition of the present of the verb substantive, as in :—

myāna dunsi khat ut-ti, a letter has come from my daughter. For the *t* in *ut-*, see p. 408.

le kila ek banyā-mā achita-ti, (by me it) has been bought from a shopkeeper of the village.

So a Pluperfect is formed with the past tense of the verb substantive, as in :—

le myāna putar muṛa gā wā . . . le gar gā wā, this my son had died . . . he had become lost.

ao az gaṇa panda-khum gā wāma, I had gone (i.e. I went some time ago) a long way to-day.

The above account, if imperfect, will at least give a general idea of the structure of this interesting form of speech. A much fuller account, with a long vocabulary, will appear in the Linguistic Survey.

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