

INSTITUTTET  
FOR SAMMENLIGNENDE KULTURFORSKNING

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# THE BURUSHASKI LANGUAGE

BY  
LT. COL. D. L. R. LORIMER

VOL. I.  
INTRODUCTION AND GRAMMAR  
WITH A PREFACE BY G. MORGENSTIERNE



OSLO 1935

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Ja ay'erum šugur'lu.ər  
Hunzu.ε Tham

SIR MUHAMMAD NAZĪM KHĀN, K. C. I. E.,

buṭṭ gun'ε'čo ke da ni'rε.i suryas ha'kiman,  
šulbalikiš ke da mehərba'n so'mu.Δn.  
'ine kuyovče etas ite ba'še netan ja girminum  
gute kitap  
buṭṭ Δdape ka ε'r o'sa ba.

Gute bəre hai.'Δn man'i'š nusen  
ke mi yərurum šugule'ye gərurumkuš  
mi čəra'ti nimirman to'rimi de'ne i'lji  
d'ərurum ji'ndo ke di.'ayum  
duwa'sum bila.

To my dear Friend,

SIR MUHAMMAD NAZIM KHAN, K. C. I. E.,

Tham of Hunza,

A wise and humane ruler,

And a sincere and kind friend,

With great respect I present this description of  
the Language of his People.

May it be a token that our old friendship still survives  
After ten years of separation.

*Mr. Shaw's proposal for "An Analysis of the Scotch Celtic Language" were thus illuminated by the pen of Johnson:*

*"Though the Erse Dialect of the Celtic language has, from the earliest times, been spoken in Britain, and still subsists in the northern parts and adjacent islands, yet, by the negligence of a people rather warlike than lettered, it has hitherto been left to the caprice and judgement of every speaker, and has floated in the living voice, without the steadiness of analogy, or direction of rules. An Erse Grammar is an addition to the stores of literature; and its authour hopes for the indulgence always shown to those who attempt to do what was never done before. If his work shall be found defective, it is at least all his own: he is not like other grammarians, a compiler or transcriber; what he delivers, he has learned by attentive observation among his countrymen, who perhaps will be themselves surprized to see that speech reduced to principles which they have used only by imitation".*

*"The use of this book will, however, not be confined to the mountains and islands: it will afford a pleasing and important subject of speculation, to those whose studies lead them to trace the affinity of languages, and the migrations of the ancient races of mankind".*

*Boswell's Life of Samuel Johnson LL.D.  
(Under date April 4, 1777).*

## PREFACE.

The present work deals with a language which is spoken in some inaccessible mountain-valleys at the meeting-point of three great linguistic families, viz. the Indo-European (represented by Indo-Aryan Shina and Iranian Wakhi), the Tibeto-Burman (represented by the Balti dialect of Tibetan) and Turkish, but which is unconnected with any of them.

It belongs to a small and remote community, which has never played any rôle in history, nor contributed anything to the development of civilization. Yet the Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture has recognized the importance of assisting in saving from oblivion this relic of the past, of which, so far, only very summary descriptions have been given, and which in spite of, or perhaps just on account of, its apparent isolation may help to throw light upon the linguistic history of Asia.

The Institute has therefore undertaken to publish the first comprehensive account of Burushaski and the notes on the closely related Werchikwar dialect prepared by Lt. Col. Lorimer. During his term as a political officer in Gilgit, close to the Burushaski speaking country, the author contrived to collect very ample and reliable material relating to the language, and he has since successfully carried through the difficult task of classifying and arranging it, describing in detail the highly complicated grammatical system of Burushaski. He has earned our gratitude for

the painstaking energy with which, despite many difficulties, he has prosecuted this pioneer undertaking.

The writer of these prefatory pages, who has had the privilege of discussing with the author a number of questions relating to Burushaski, can testify to the accuracy and care which has been bestowed upon the work.

In scientific importance Burushaski may be classed under several categories. Each of these presents its own special problems which will require separate and detailed study, and here it is only possible to draw attention to a few points selected more or less at random.

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In the first place Bu. is of interest to the student of general linguistics on account of the many peculiar features of its morphological structure. These have been described in detail in the Grammar, and I shall only mention here one or two which seem worthy of consideration.

The division of nouns, etc., into four classes<sup>1</sup> is, of course, one of the outstanding features of Bu. grammar. L. is, no doubt, right in considering the first two categories (m. and f.) to be subdivisions of a common class denoting human beings (h.). The plural endings, the demonstrative and interrogative pronouns, and the numerals are the same in m. and f. nouns, and it is only in 3 sg. of the prefixed pronouns and of the personal suffixes of the verb that the two classes differ. This is an interesting parallel to the Indo-European gender system, in which the distinction between m. and f. is supposed to be more recent and less fundamental than that which exists between m. and f. on the one hand and n. on the other.<sup>2</sup>

Of course, the Bu. x. and y. categories cannot be indentified with the I. E. n. As a matter of fact, the x. class, which among other things comprises non-human animate beings and which may, with great reserve, be defined as denoting individually conceived objects,

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<sup>1</sup> §§ 19 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> V. e.g. Meillet, BSL (CR), 31, 7.



ranges in several particulars with the h. (m. and f.) group. Thus the pl. endings to a great extent agree with those of h.; the prefixed pronoun 3 pl. is *u-* in h. and x, but *i-* in y.; and we find *yaṅas* to *take* with h. and x. objects, but *gaṅas* with y. objects<sup>1</sup>, and in Nagiri Bu. and Werchikwar the y. form of the 3 sg. of the verb *to be* is formed from a root *d-*, while h. and x. have the usual *b-*.<sup>2</sup>

This seems to show that y. stands apart from the three first categories.

A definition of the x. and y. categories is given by L. in § 25, note. In most cases x. nouns appear, as indicated above, to denote objects conceived as separate, individual units, while y. might, perhaps, be said to designate 'amorphous substances', including what we would call abstract ideas. Cases like *baṅundo* x. '*bread*', but y. *dough*, and the fact that the names of coarser cereals (where each single grain is considered as a separate unit) are x., while finer grains are y., give a good idea of the underlying central conception. The distinction between *ba'lt* x. *apple* and *ba'lt* y. *apple-tree*, etc. indicates a conception of the fruit-bearing tree as a kind of non-individual, common substance of which the single fruits are made.<sup>3</sup> But in many cases the principle of distinction seems quite obscure, cf., besides the examples given on p. 24, e.g. *iraṅ* x. *cream*.

Regarding the trace of still another category cf. § 187.

At any rate the detailed and well-considered account of the Burushaski nominal classes given in this book will be sure to prove valuable for our understanding of the complicated problems connected with the origin and nature of such classifications.

Another interesting feature of Bu. grammar is the constant use of possessive prefixes with most nouns denoting Parts of the Body., Relatives and "certain things which usually stand in close relation

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<sup>1</sup> § 231. Cf. *yaṅas* trans. and *gaṅas* intr. *to break*.

<sup>2</sup> V. §§ 496 and 527.

<sup>3</sup> Quite a different conception is found in Lat. *malus* f. *apple-tree*: *malum* n. *apple!* — Regarding Prof. Varma's theory about "x" v. p. 24.

to some being".<sup>1</sup> This inability to consider certain objects without any relation to a possessor is shared by many languages.<sup>2</sup> Those of Melanesia, especially, present great similarities to Bu. in this respect.<sup>3</sup> But even in some Indo-Aryan dialects of the North-West, e.g. in Pashai, I have come across individuals who, when asked about the words denoting parts of the body or relatives, would preferably answer *dandēm* 'my tooth', *puḍlem* 'my son', etc. This is certainly due to common psychological factors and not to the influence of a hypothetical Bu. substratum in Pashai.

According to Bleichsteiner<sup>4</sup> Leitner states in his *Hunza and Nagyr Handbook* that when he first heard Bu. of Nagir, every genuine Bu. noun had a pronominal prefix, but that the use of these possessives had decreased when he studied the language again 21 years later. In Leitner's 'The Languages and Races of Dardistan' embodying material collected during his first tour in 1866 and published in 1878<sup>5</sup>, the use of the prefixes is, however, restricted to the names of parts of the body and of relatives, and the same principle prevails in Biddulph's material, which was collected in 1876.

Besides this, it is intrinsically improbable that the general use of the prefixes should have been given up in Nagir within such a short space of time, and that a parallel development should have taken place in Hunza and Yasin at a somewhat earlier date. Obviously the distinction between prefixed and nonprefixed nouns is, in its principle, very ancient and 'primitive'.

The details described in §§ 126—133 are very curious. Why, for example, is one word for "stick" used with a prefix, but another not? *Under-* and *upper-bedding* and *pillow* are conceived as belonging to a certain person, but this is not the case with articles of dress, etc.

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<sup>1</sup> § 128.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Havers *Handbuch d. erklär. Syntax.* p. 111.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lévy-Bruehl, *La possession dans les langues mélanésiennes*, MSL. 19, 6 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> P. 301 of the work quoted below, p. XIII f. n.

<sup>5</sup> Acc. to LSI, VIII, 1, p. 551. My copy of the book bears no date.

*Life* can be spoken of in the abstract, but *death* only with reference to somebody. As regards the names of parts of the body those which like *blood*, *brain*, *skin* etc. denote a "substance" have no prefixes, nor are they used with recent loan-words such as *muç fist*, *pini leg*, *bu'ī shoulder-blade*<sup>1</sup>, etc. *Bone* and *horn* may be considered either as substances or as parts of the body belonging to a certain person or animal. Consequently we find both *tin bone*, *tur horn* and *-ltin*, *-ltur* (y!).

One very curious employment of the pronominal "prefix" is as an *infix*ed object in the verb *šivas*, etc. *to eat*<sup>2</sup>. This may be the last remnant of a verbal system which has been given up in modern Bu.

Among other peculiarities of the nominal inflexion I shall only draw attention to the interesting "double plural"<sup>3</sup> and to the circumstance that the interrogative pronoun *men* is a plural (probably originally irrespective of number), of which the sg. is *men-an* 'who-one?'. Note also complicated formations such as *e'yenmur* 'to a daughter of his',<sup>4</sup> i.e. "i-ay-en-mo-ər *his-daughter-one-f-to*".

The temporal inflexion of the verbs is dominated by the existence of two temporal bases. From each base three tenses are formed:<sup>5</sup> From the Present Base present, imperfect and future, from the Past Base preterite, perfect and pluperfect. The resulting system agrees completely with that of Shina as expounded by L.,<sup>6</sup> and resembles to some extent the Latin one.

Of general interest are also the indiscriminate active and passive use of some verbal forms<sup>7</sup>, the "Static Participle"<sup>8</sup>, the addition

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<sup>1</sup> But *-phoi*, L. *-phoiŋ shoulder*, which may have been borrowed at an earlier date.

<sup>2</sup> V. § 252.

<sup>3</sup> § 41 and Corrigenda, pp. 453—54.

<sup>4</sup> § 57.

<sup>5</sup> V. §§ 210 and 274.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Lorimer, JRAS, 1927, pp. 739 sqq.

<sup>7</sup> V. § 346.

<sup>8</sup> §§ 329 sqq.

of the Pronominal Prefix to the Past Participle Active<sup>1</sup>, and the use of finite verbal forms with case suffixes.<sup>2</sup>

One detail regarding the vocabulary deserves special notice. The word -aĉo denotes both 'a man's brother' and a woman's sister. The German translation would be *Geschwister von demselben Geschlecht*. A similar conception is found in the word -rik wife's brother, husband's sister, (a woman's<sup>3</sup>) brother's wife, (a man's) sister's husband (but not wife's sister or husband's brother). Apparently this word denotes a brother- or sister-in-law belonging to the same sex as the person in relation to whom he or she is mentioned. Note that woman's brother (-ulus) and man's sister (-yās) are denoted by separate words.

I have not met with this curious nomenclature in other languages, and I do not know to what kind of special structure of the family group it may originally have been due.

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If we turn to the important question of the genealogical relations between Bu. and other languages, we are faced by great, perhaps insurmountable difficulties, *inter alia* because we possess no ancient records of the language and have only the closely related Werchikwar dialect to compare it with.

One fact, however, seems quite certain and indisputable: Bu. is not related to any of the surrounding Indo-Iranian, Turkish or Tibetan languages.

If we exclude A. Hyde's claim that Bu.<sup>4</sup> has a Siberio-Nubian origin, the first attempt to determine the position of Bu. was made by Ph. L. Barbour<sup>5</sup> who suggested the possibility of a connection with the Muṇḍa languages (Santali etc.). In spite of the great anthropological difference between Burusho and Muṇḍas this hypo-

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<sup>1</sup> § 326.

<sup>2</sup> § 407.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Texts, p. 364.8 where *arikmo my brother's wife* is said by a girl.

<sup>4</sup> Indian Antiquary, I, 258 (quoted LSI, VIII, 2, 551).

<sup>5</sup> JAOS, 1921, p. 60 sqq.

thesis is not *a priori* inadmissible, considering the fact that Muṇḍa influence has been traced in Tibeto-Burman dialects far towards the North-West. But the specific accordances between Bu. and Muṇḍa are so insignificant that Barbour himself concludes with a *non liquet*.

Trombetti's attempts to compare Bu. with Dravidian and Andamanese<sup>1</sup> are not accessible to me, but I have not been able to detect any similarities between Bu. and Dravidian.

It was only natural that attempts should be made to connect Bu. with the Caucasian languages, or more correctly, with one of the linguistic families belonging to Caucasia. There is nothing improbable in the idea that languages of a Caucasian type should have extended eastwards through Iran before the advent of the Aryans, and that a remnant of them should have been pushed up into the uppermost valleys of the Indus system. There can be no doubt that Bu. was formerly current over a larger territory than at present. But we must remember that in any case the connection between Bu. and Caucasian must have been cut off several thousand years ago, and that, consequently, we cannot expect the relationship, if there ever was one, to show very clearly.

Marr<sup>2</sup> has expressed his opinion that Bu. belongs to the "Japhetic" group among which he includes the Caucasian languages also, but, as far as I am aware, he has not yet tried to prove this in detail, so I need not discuss his theories. Zarubin<sup>3</sup> simply accepts this thesis and claims a typological affinity between Bu., Dravidian, Muṇḍa and Abkhaz.

The most interesting, and I believe most recent attempt to compare Bu. and Caucasian has been made by R. Bleichsteiner<sup>4</sup> who,

<sup>1</sup> Le Origine della Lingua Basca p. 12, Elementa di Glottologia p. 63, quoted from Bleichsteiner (v. below) p. 292.

<sup>2</sup> Яфетический Кавказ, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> Вершикское наречие Канджукского языка, p. 314.

<sup>4</sup> Die werschikisch-burischkische Sprache im Pamir-gebiet und ihre Stellung zu den Japhetitensprachen des Kankasus, Wiener Beitr. z. Kulturgeschichte u. Linguistik, I, 289—331.

accepting Marr's views, deals with the subject in some detail and enumerates a long list of Bu.-Cauc. accordances.

The great number of Cauc. languages and their extreme variety may in one way be said to render his undertaking comparatively easy. On the other hand the same circumstances undoubtedly detract considerably from the value of the conclusions drawn from a comparison between Bu. and words and forms culled from the Cauc. languages in their modern form. Possessing only a most superficial knowledge of Cauc. languages I shall not endeavour to discuss all the points raised by Bleichsteiner, but it may be useful to consider a number of the most important ones in order to gain an impression of the tenability of his thesis. I shall try to give a fair selection of his arguments and not to leave out any of his best points.

It must be remembered that the Bu. and W. material which Bleichsteiner had at his disposal was far from exhaustive and not always correct.

I shall deal with Bleichsteiner's comparisons in the same order in which he presents them.

**Phonology.** The similarities between the phonetic systems of Bu. (including W.) and Cauc. mentioned by Bl. are very vague and of little interest. This does not, however, disprove relationship. Nobody could find out from the phonetic systems of Modern Irish and Bengali that these languages belong to the same family.

There is, however, one apparent phonetic accordance between Bu. and certain N. E. Cauc. dialects. Acc. to L.<sup>1</sup> we find in Bu.-W. a curious change of 'initial voiced sounds to their voiceless counterparts when they become medial', e.g. W. *buṭtu day*: he-*puṭtu to-morrow*. Bl., p. 296, connects this change with that of a *final* media into a tenuis before a suffix, e.g. in Kürin *rab needle*: pl. *rapini*. I had also been struck by this parallel, but further consideration made me doubtful of its significance. In the first instance the Bu. change affects an *initial*, the Cauc. a *final* consonant. Then, as pointed out by L., Bu. often renders a foreign initial

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<sup>1</sup> § 10. -

tenuis by a media in loan-words. Thus Bu. *baṣa turban* < Shina *paṣo*; Bu. *gu'pas*, W. *γu'pas* (Leitner *kupásya*) *cotton (thread)* < Indo-Aryan, cf. Skr. *karpāsa*; Bu. *gi'li peg* < Shina *ki'li*, etc. Probably Bu.-W. initial surds have become voiced in certain, as yet unknown, circumstances.<sup>1</sup> This change has taken place late enough to affect even loan-words, and cannot go back to a common Bu.-Cauc. period.

Morpho-  
logy.

I. Nominal Classes. The Bu.-W. system of nominal classes is undoubtedly in general accordance with that of several N.E. Cauc. languages. I admit that I have always been impressed by the similarity in this respect between Bu. and Andi, which together with some other Daghestan languages has four classes: 1) m., 2) f., 3) animals and some dead objects, 4) all the rest.<sup>2</sup>

But we must not forget: a) That similar systems of classification appear in other languages as well. b) That it has not as yet been shown that the 4th class of Andi etc. is based upon the same conception as the Bu. y. class.<sup>3</sup> c) That other N.E. Cauc. languages have up to eight classes and that we are not in a position to assert that the four-class system in the original one. d) That the formation of the classes and their use differs, as admitted by Bl., considerably in Bu.-W. and Cauc. The similarity between the *t* in Bu. *gu-te this* (y.) and the *t'* in Archin *ya-t' this* (4th class)<sup>4</sup>, has very little significance in view of the great number of varying class-elements in Cauc. which differ altogether from those in Bu.

On the whole I am inclined to believe that the existence of nominal class-systems in Bu. and Cauc. cannot be taken as more than an indication of the *possibility* of relationship.

II. The parallelism between the use of possessive prefixes in Bu.-W. and N.W. Cauc. is less striking than that mentioned

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *ki'ne* h. *this*: *gu-se* x., *gu-te* y. — But note *tiṣči span* < *diṣti* (v. below p. XXIII!)

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bl., p. 299, *Dirr.*, *Einführ. in die kauk. Spr.* p. 183.

<sup>3</sup> Жирков, *Грамматика Даргинского языка* does not give any information on this point.

<sup>4</sup> Including, *inter alia*, sexually immature animate beings — a conception unknown to Bu.

above<sup>1</sup> between Bu. and Melanesian. Bl. mentions the 'remarkable' identity between Bu. 3 sg. *i-* and Cherkhess *ji-*, Abkhas *j-*<sup>2</sup> but forgets to mention Ubykh *gi-* which points to a different origin of the Cherkh. and Abkh. forms.

III. The number of plural suffixes in Bu.-W. is very considerable<sup>3</sup>. It seems reasonable to assume that many of them have been converted to this use at a comparatively recent date, and the similarity which Bl. detects between Bu. *-a*, *-i<sup>4</sup>*, *-ik*, *-ko*, *-nts*, etc. and Akhwakh *-a*, Chechen *-i*, Abkhaz *-k'ua*, *-cwa<sup>5</sup>* is not very impressive.

IV. Declension. The use of a special Agential case for the subject of a transitive verb is common in Cauc. In Bu. it is the rule when the verb is in a past-base tense, and it is found occasionally with present-base tenses.<sup>6</sup> The construction of the transitive verb varies, however, very much in the Cauc. languages<sup>7</sup> and in most cases it is passive in contradistinction to Bu. In Shina, where the construction is very similar to that of Bu., it may be due to the influence of a Bu. substratum, but this cannot be the case with Tibetan. Moreover, we must remember that a passive construction of the past tenses with the subject in the agential case is also used in most Indo-Iranian languages. I do not think, therefore, that the partial agreement between Bu. and Cauc. in this respect affords any strong indication of relationship.

The phonetic similarity between the Bu. agential ending *-e* and the *-ē*, *-iē*, *-a*, *-o* etc. of certain Cauc. languages may easily be accidental.

V. The Adjective. The expression of the comparative by the formular '*x* is big *from y*' is common to very many languages besides Bu. and N. E. Cauc.

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<sup>1</sup> V. p. X.

<sup>2</sup> Bleichsteiner's *j* = our *y*.

<sup>3</sup> §§ 27 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Only in *hiri men*.

<sup>5</sup> Only of rational beings.

<sup>6</sup> § 60.

<sup>7</sup> V. Dirr., pp. 62-73.



I cannot perceive any striking similarity between the Bu.-W. type *sika-m grass-ish*, i.e. *green* and Mingrelian *čil-am-i 'married (man)'*, from *čil-i wife*.

VI. Numerals. The vigesimal system is used in Bu. and in most Cauc. languages, but also in a great number of other languages. e.g. in N. W. India, and it cannot be used to prove genealogical relationship.

VII. Pronouns. Bl. compares the Bu. pronouns with Cauc. ones. Opening, at random, a grammar of the West African Ewe language, I cannot help thinking that one might make out as strong a case for comparing the pronouns of this language with Bu. Cf.:

	Bu.	Udic	Kürin.	Tsakhur	Awar	Ewe
<i>I</i>	jɛ <sup>1</sup>	zu	zun	zə	dun	nye
<i>Thou</i>	uʀŋ, gu- <sup>2</sup>	un	wun	ɣu	mun	wo <sup>2</sup>
<i>We</i>	mi	yan	čun	:ši	nit:	miawo (Abure ame)
<i>You</i>	ma	wän	k'uʀn	šu	nuž	mía ( „ ama).
<i>He, etc.</i>	i- (nɛ etc.)	šeno	am(a)	man(a)	doŋ	(y)e.
<i>They</i>	uɛ	šonor	àbar	manbo	dol	wo.
<i>Who?</i>	amin	šu		ha-:šu-nä		ame ka.

VIII. The Verb. Bl.'s comparison of the Bu. infinitive in -as, (which is a noun taking case suffixes) to the datival form in -as-*es* of some Daghestan languages is not convincing.

Somewhat more striking is the accordance between Bu. *n-* which forms the Past Ptc. and Georgian *na-*, used in the same way. But we must remember, that the odds are greatly in favour of finding some elements resembling those of Bu. among the heterogenous mass of Cauc. languages, between whose different groups the relationship has yet to be established.

An objective conjugation is found both in Bu. and in S. Cauc. (Georgian). I know nothing about the history of the Georgian forms in question, but the addition of an element denoting the object is

<sup>1</sup> Which might easily be derived from a conjectural \*nje. — I agree with Bl. that there is no reason to derive the Bu.-W. forms — with Zarubin — from Ir.

<sup>2</sup> Which might be derived from \*(u)ŋu, cf. N. Chinese ŋ- > w-.

common to so many languages that it does not prove any genealogical relationship.<sup>1</sup> In Bu., with its pronominal prefixes, the development of an objective conjugation is only to be expected.

The pl. forms of the Bu. pronominal prefixes are, of course, used to denote a plurality of objects. This has certainly nothing to do with the Abkhaz constructions of the type *i-z-bl-ueit I burn it* (: *it- I burn-ing*): *i-z-bəl-k'-ueit I burn several things*, where *i-* is the pronominal prefix denoting the object.<sup>2</sup>

An interrogative particle *-a, -e* is found in most Indian and Ir. languages adjoining Bu. It might, of course, be considered to be of Bu. origin, but this is by no means certain, and the similarity to the *-a, -ë* of some Cauc. dialects may easily be accidental.

Voca-  
bulary.

Still more dangerous than the comparison between structural and inflexional elements in Bu. and one or other of the numerous Cauc. languages is the search for lexicological correspondences at the present state of our knowledge of Cauc. If we have to reject most of the comparisons proposed by Bl., it does not mean that they are all necessarily wrong. It is quite conceivable that one may at some future date be able to sift them, and that some of them may, after all, prove to be correct.

But at any rate it will be necessary to apply other methods than those borrowed by Bl. from Marr. The derivation of Bu. *huk dog* from \**hoγor* in order to compare Budukh *ħor*, Awar *hoj*, Mingrelian *ħoγori*, Sumerian *ur*, etc., and the association of this group of words with Bu. *hal fox* is only too typical of Bl.'s methods.

Bu. *har bull*, *hare barley*, *herča to weep*, *huk dog* are compared with Mingrelian *ħoħi*, *k'eri*, *n-gāra-gara* and *ħoγori*, and *huk dog*, *huyēs herd of goats*, *huťās boy*, *huťes foot* with Awar *hoj*, *k'uj (sheep)*, *'oloqan (young bull)* and *ħete*, without any attempt to establish any system of regular phonetic correspondences between Bu. and the Cauc. language in question.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. e.g. Pashai (Indo-Aryan) *degg-ey-ām 'I see thee'*, *digg-im-aī thou seest me*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Note that the Abkhaz pron. prefix 3 pl. is *r-*, not *k'*.

Moreover several obviously Indian or Iranian loan-words in Bu. are used to demonstrate the relationship with Cauc.

On the whole, most of Bl.'s comparisons are unsatisfactory and are based on a slight and illusive similarity of sound. Cases like Bu. *girkis rat*: Karata *herkwa*, Awar *hinxu*, Varkua *qurka*; Bu. *tatas palm of the hand*: Georg. *t'ot'i paw*<sup>1</sup>; Bu. *čumu* (Shina *čimu*) *fish*: Mingrelian *čjomu* etc. are not sufficient evidence for us to build far-reaching conclusions on. Some kind of connection is perhaps possible between Bu. *bičil pomegranate*: Georg. *brec'ouli*<sup>2</sup>; Bu. *tili walnut*: Georg. *t'hili*; Bu. *šoyori a kind of pear*: Budukh *čüyür*, Tabass. *šeher*<sup>3</sup>, but such words may easily wander from one language to another.

I do not think that Bl. has succeeded in proving the probability of a relationship between Bu. and Cauc., and I very much doubt whether it is possible to prove anything of that kind at present. But the whole problem will certainly deserve a renewed and methodical consideration when the Cauc. languages and the connection between their different groups have become better known. And if we ever succeed in connecting Bu. with some other group of languages, it will be of the greatest importance for our understanding of the early history of Western Asia.

Our chances of ever being able to reconstruct older forms of Bu. either by comparisons with W. or by means of internal evidence in Bu. itself are not very promising.

Only in very rare cases is it possible to employ the latter method. We have mentioned above<sup>4</sup> that initial mediae may go back to older tenues.

Another case where a reconstruction seems possible is that of the pl. suffix *-o*.<sup>5</sup> Before this suffix certain consonants are palata-

<sup>1</sup> "Cf. Bur. \*-to'to *paw*". Lorimer 2—4—1935.

<sup>2</sup> Acc. to Bl. himself this comparison is 'zweifelhaft'.

<sup>3</sup> Taken from Erckert's not very reliable material.

<sup>4</sup> P. XV.

<sup>5</sup> §§ 26 sqq.

lized, n into y, ts into č, s into š. This seems to indicate that the original form was \*-yo, which may have been preserved in *yaiyo*, pl. of *ya* *crow*.

Somewhat more doubtful is the supposition of a formative \*-y- in the present base of verbs on the evidence of the change of n > y, k and s > š, ts > č, t > č, š, l > lj<sup>1</sup> in Bu. and W. If this is the case, the regular pres. base in -ič- must be a secondary, analogical formation.

Regarding the change of ny > y cf. Bu. *ya*: W. *nya* *bear*. But in internal position we have also W. ny > y, e.g. in *žakuyu asses* from *žakun*.

It is tempting to suppose that *a'ltan*, *a'lta* *two* and *a'ltambo* *eight*, *wa'lto* *four* are somehow or other related. *a'ltar* *twenty* must evidently be connected with *a'lta*, but it is quite uncertain whether it ought to be analysed as *alt* + *tər*, cf. *to'r-umo* *ten*. The similar ending of *tsundo* *five* and *miši'ndo* *six* may be due to a secondary adaptation. The 'Ablaut' in *hin* h., *hik* z.: *han* x., y. *one*, and the 'Umlaut' in *usko* x., y.: *i'ski* z. *three*; *tsundo* h., x., y.: *tsindr* z. *five*; *to'rumo*: *to'rimi* *ten* are too isolated to render possible any explanation. Cf. also, however, *etimi* *he made*, etc.: *etumo* *she made*, possibly from \**etum-i*, \**etum-mo*.

As mentioned above, Nagir Bu. *di'la* *it is* (y.) *di'lum* *it was* (y.), W. *du'wa*, *du'lum* are more original forms than Hunza *bila*, *bi'lum*.

Nor does the comparison between Bu. and W. carry us much further. Some of the phonetic differences between the two dialects have been pointed out by L.<sup>2</sup> But it appears impossible to reduce them to any fixed rules, and in most cases we cannot guess which form is the more archaic one.

This is the case with Bu. *miši'ndo*, W. *biši'ndo* *five*, and with the words where a long vowel appears in W.

W. *isko* *three*, *tshendo* *five* have probably got their palatal vowel

<sup>1</sup> V. § 210.

<sup>2</sup> §§ 501 sqq.

from the z. forms<sup>1</sup>, and Bu. -susun *elbow*, bu'a<sup>h2</sup> *cow* may also be more original than W. -sesen, 'bi'a'.

In some cases a group of consonants seems to have been better preserved in W.: Cf. W. *ayast my sister*; *yainži watermill*; *γendeš gold*; *nya bear* with Bu. *ayas, yäin, gveniš, ya*. But notice W. *hučo (L. huti) nine*: Bu. 'hunčo. Bu. *γγ-* (acc. to my informant) may or may not be older than L.'s Bu. and W. *γγ-*. For other details see below.

That *biranč mulberry*, W. *branš* derives from an older form \**mranč* < \**mrač* is proved by Kho. *mrač*, from which the Bu.-W. word is evidently borrowed.

But apart from such stray cases the reconstruction of older forms through internal comparison appears to have poor chances of success.

A great number of words are common to Bu. and Shina, and to some extent also to Khowar. When the vocabularies of Shina and the adjoining Indo-Aryan dialects have become better known, it may be possible to distinguish to some extent between words of Aryan and of Bu. origin, and this will be of importance for the history of the Indo-Aryan languages as well. Khowar, however, appears to contain a number of words which cannot at present be traced either to an Indian, Iranian or Bu. source.

Grierson has pointed out that the word for *iron* in the Dardic and Kafir dialects (Kho. *čumur*, etc.) is probably borrowed from Bu. *čumar*. This may very well be the case, but it is, of course, possible that the ultimate source of the word, which is probably connected also with Turkish *timur, temir*, may be some unknown language. Note, however, that Bu. has also an apparently genuine word for *gold* (*γveniš*), and it is by no means impossible that the pre-Aryan population of the Hindu Kush region, of which the Burusho are the last relic, may have known the use of some metals.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> V. above p. XX.

<sup>2</sup> Acc. to Lor. (2—4—1935) bu'a(γ) is the gen. of 'bua, bua.

<sup>3</sup> It is a curious fact that Bu. *girmi- to write* is genuine, and yet cannot be derived from any known Bu. word. The similarity to Arm. *gir writing*, Finn. *kirja book* must, however, be accidental, and it is improbable that a word with this meaning would go back to very remote antiquity.

L.<sup>1</sup> mentions a few Shina words which are suspected of being borrowed from Bu. Very probably Bu. has exerted a very considerable influence on the vocabulary of Shina, but at present it is in many cases impossible to tell to which of the two languages a certain word originally belongs. *žakun*, *jakun ass*, which is found only in Bu. and Shina, while derivatives of Skr. *khara-* and *gardabha-* are used in other Dardic dialects, has evidently been borrowed from Bu.<sup>2</sup> And Bu. *γamu*, *gʷamō*<sup>3</sup> *ice* is certainly the source of Gilgit Shina *gamuk*, corresponding in meaning to *soṛ* in those Shina dialects which are further removed from the Bu. speaking territory.

Similarly the Bu. verb *bisərkaṣ* *to cut corn* shows that Bu. *bisərš*, W. *bisarč sickle* is the source of Shina *bisač*. It is also probable that some Shina words with initial *γ-* have been borrowed from the corresponding Bu. ones, and the same applies to a great many other Shina words of un-Aryan appearance.

On the other hand the number of Shina words in Bu. is certainly very great, as may be seen from the Voc., and W. contains some loan-words from Khowar.

Some of these loan-words in Bu. are of special interest because they are not found in modern Shina, at any rate not in the published material, or because they have preserved older sounds, or meanings.

Such words are e.g. Bu. *sinda river*: Sh. *sin*<sup>4</sup>; *aiyaš sky*: Sh. *agai* < Skr. *ākāśa-*. Reg. Bu. *gʷpaṣ*, W. *γʷpaṣ cotton* v. above. — Bu. *giram*, *giraṃ clan, village* is not found with this meaning in Shina<sup>5</sup>. Nagiri Bu. *gəruṃ*, W. *gərum hot* (Hunza Bu., with a curious reduplication, *gəruṃruṃ!*) seems also to have been taken over from Shina at a time when *grirom perspiration* had preserved a more general meaning. Bu. *məš skin-bag* has retained the *-š-*

<sup>1</sup> P. L.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Grierson, LSI. VIII. 2.

<sup>3</sup> With the peculiar Bu. *gʷ*, see below.

<sup>4</sup> But Bu. *burōndo finger-ring* may be the source of Sh. *barōno*, which has passed through the Sh. change of *nd > n*.

<sup>5</sup> But cf. Sh. *grirom cow-pen*, v. Voc. s.v. *giraṃ*<sup>2</sup>.

which would have been lost in a modern Sh. word, and also a very ancient meaning of the word.<sup>1</sup> Bu. tišči, (cf. Skr. diṣṭi-). W. teščik, teštik *span* may have been borrowed from an older form of Sh. diṣ, cf. Kho. diṣt. Bu. \*-pho'i(u) *shoulder* cannot have been borrowed from modern Sh. pyō'lo or Kho. phi'u, etc.

If Bu. bada *pace, step, sole (of foot or boot)* is borrowed from a form corresponding to Skr. padā- *step, footprint foot, etc.*<sup>2</sup>, as I think is likely, this would indicate a very early contact between Bu. and Indo-Aryan.<sup>3</sup>

Very curious is the relation between the initial consonants in Bu. pfəri *pond*, pfəriš *duck* and Sh. bəri, ba'ruš, especially as we do not know the origin of the words.

It is noteworthy that the phonetic system of Bu. agrees so closely with that of Shina and of the Indo-Aryan languages in general — that Bu. should e.g. distinguish between aspirated and unaspirated tenues, between cerebrals<sup>4</sup>, dentals and palatals. Did Bu. originally possess aspirates and cerebrals, or did they come into the language through the influence of Indo-Aryan?<sup>5</sup> Bu. *pf* as a variant of *ph* is, of course, of Shina origin.

The morphological parallels between Bu. and Shina are also numerous and important.<sup>6</sup> Some of them exhibit traits not shared by Shina with the adjoining I. A. dialects, and it is quite conceivable that Bu., the ancient language of at least a large part of the Shina country, influenced the speech of the invaders; in other words that Shina developed on a Bu. substratum. But, of course, morphological influence may also have worked the other way. — Cf. also the possible trace of Khovar influence on W. forms mentioned by L. § 536.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Skr. meṣa- *sheep, fleece*, but Slav. něxŭ, etc. '*skin-bag*', Lith. maišas *bag*

<sup>2</sup> Reg. b- for p cf. Bu. gi'l *peg* < Sh. ki'l etc., see above.

<sup>3</sup> The similarity of Bu. -akin, pl. -akimij *liver* to Skr. yakn- *must*, of course, be considered accidental.

<sup>4</sup> Including č and j, as in Shina.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the secondary development of cerebrals in Tibetan, Wakhi, etc.

<sup>6</sup> V. p. II.

L. is quite right in maintaining that Wakhi, the Iranian neighbour of Bu. has not made 'any general impression on it'<sup>1</sup>. Some loan-words from Wakhi do, however, occur. L. in his Voc., has noted wər *ram* and ruš *Oris Poli* from Wakhi wa:r, ruš. To these words may be added buri *scapula, shovel* < \*puri, from an older(?) form of Wakhi peri *wooden shovel*, and sap *horse-shoe* (cf. Kho. sapuk *hoof*) from Wakhi \*sap < Av *safa-*. As I shall try to show elsewhere Ir. *f* seems to have resulted in *p* in Wakhi I am also inclined to believe that the present base -wərč- *to become tired* is borrowed from Wakhi wərč- (< \*ava-rič-), and that the past base -wər is a back-formation. Wakhi watsi, wu:ts agrees with W. wets *calf*, but it is doubtful whether this is a true Wakhi word. Bu. urk, urk *wolf* may come from Ishkashmi urk, or from a lost Wakhi form.

Several Bu. words seem to belong to some Iranian dialect which cannot be accurately determined.

Thus mel *wine* points to an Ir. dialect which, like Munji and Yidgha, has *l* for original *d* (cf. Av. mađu-), and the same is true of laman *skirt*, -lamat *lap, front*, (var: -la·mat *skirt of choga*). The varying forms render it improbable that what we have here is simply Psht. laman, borrowed through Shina, which has laban, with dissimilation.

On the other hand we find W. ve:ri *smell*, which it is tempting to derive from Ir. \*βēdi < \*baudya-. Cf. Kho. wo:r < \*βōd.

γoro *stone* may be of Ir. origin, and likewise W. xork *grass*, Bu. xurk *broken straw*, while W. de:tk *manure* is compared by Zarubin with Ishk. wūḍé!. And finally we have gušpur *a prince*, a word common to Bu. and Shina, which one would like to derive from a middle Ir. dialect form of an ancient \*wisya-puθra-.

I have not been able to detect any influence of Bu. on the Iranian dialects of Pamir.

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<sup>1</sup> It may be noted here that Bu. bras *rice* is probably of Tibetan origin (bras).



In §§ 1 sqq. L. explains his notation of Bu. and W. sounds; and he does not claim a perfection which is unattainable when making the first serious attempt to describe a new and strange language.

The difficulty does not consist merely in recording the sounds actually heard, but also in distinguishing between essential "phonological" differences and variations within the range of a single phoneme and in detecting the system of phonemes. This is specially hard in the case of the vowels. L. has done wisely in giving his impression of the sound-varieties heard in each case, and I shall not make a premature attempt to establish the phonological system of Bu. vowels.

To a certain extent it seems possible, however, with the abundant material and the descriptions of the sounds given by L., to distinguish the vowel phonemes from the variations due to the position in the word or to the individual speaker.

Thus *a*, *ʌ* and *ə* seem to be variants of the *a*-phoneme, *ə* appearing especially before *r* (e.g. *fər*, *gər*, *hər*). The vacillation between *ʌ* and *a* e.g. in *giram*, *gira'm* *clan, village*, *gupa'ltin*, *gupa'ltin* *trousers* and the rendering of Prs. *ba'da'm* *almond* by *ba'dam* would seem to indicate that they, too, are variants of the same phoneme. But on the other hand the difference is significant e.g. in *ga'n* *a crow* (= *ga* + *ʌn*): *gan*, *gan road*; *ga'r* *giddiness*: *gər* *marriage*; *ga'l* *wound*: *gal* *juniper*; *gira'n* *dear*: *giran* *basket*, etc. It is possible that some speakers distinguish between an *a* and an *a'* phoneme, others not.

It is more doubtful whether *i* and *i'*, *u* and *u'* are to be classed as separate phonemes. Cf. e.g. *hir*, *hir* *man*, *hirum*, *hirum* *active*, *giram*, *gira'm*, etc. *village*, *gili*, *gili* *peg*, *hurgo*, *hurgo* *ascent*, *ho'lguš*, *ho'lguš* *battle*, *gunts*: *gunts* *day*, etc. Probably there is only one *i* and one *u* phoneme. The same applies to *e*: *e'* and *o*: *o'*.

Probably *e*(*o*) and *ε*(*o*) are also variants of the same phoneme, cf. *γe'niš* and *γε'niš* *queen*; *g(y)e*, *g(y)ε* *snow*; *he'ras*, *he'ras* *to weep*: *de'k*, *de'k* *cooking-pot*, *te'le*, *te'le* *there*.

Apparently *u* and *i* are unstressed variants of *u* and *i*, cf. e.g. *gukε*: *gu'kε these*. But in spite of cases like *go'n*, *gun dawn o* and *u* must be considered to be separate phonemes. The same is undoubtedly true also of *ai* : *e* and *e* : *o* although we find, exceptionally, (personal?) variations such as *tail*, *taił*, *te.il*, *te'l such*, *γai.iŋ*, *γe.iŋ grapes*.

The vowel system of Bu. would thus appear to include the following phonemes; *a*, *e*, *i*, *u* and *o*. To these should probably be added *aw*, although quantity does not appear to be of phonemic significance in other parts of the system.

As regards the consonants L. is probably right in taking *g*, *γ*, *q* to be variants of *g*, *γ* and *q* due to the proximity of *y*.<sup>1</sup> But the last mentioned sound is certainly a separate phoneme.

Regarding the cerebrals, aspirates, *gγ* and W. *ł* see below.

During my stay in Chitral in 1929 I had an opportunity to take down short lists of Bu. and W. words. My Bu. informant was a certain Abdullah<sup>2</sup> from Baltit. The other called his language *Wə'čik'wa'r* and his native valley *Wə'čigum* = *Ya'sin*.<sup>3</sup>

I worked with each of them for a couple of hours only, and I am, of course, aware of the utter insufficiency of my observations. But both of my informants had a very good and clear articulation<sup>4</sup> and on the whole my notations agree unexpectedly well with those of L. and Zarubin (whose material I had not at hand). It may not be devoid of interest, therefore, to compare some of my words with those given by L. for the sake of checking and corroborating his perception of the sounds.

Many words are identical in L.'s and my notation of Bu. E.g. *to'rumo ten*; *ma'tum black*: *-san chin*; *ha'γur horse*; *guš'pur prince*; *-tatas palm of the hand*. In some cases my notation of vowels differs slightly from L.'s. This may partly be due to individual latitude

<sup>1</sup> V. § 6. b.

<sup>2</sup> Brother of Ali Madat, cf. Texts, p. II.

<sup>3</sup> Acc. to Abdullah: *Buršugum*.

<sup>4</sup> I had less difficulty in recognizing their aspirates and cerebrals than those of some Dardic dialects which I had the opportunity of hearing for a much longer time.

of pronunciation, but I have no doubt that his forms are on the whole the more correct ones. Thus I have 'alto<sup>1</sup> (a'lto)<sup>2</sup> *two*; 'altar<sup>3</sup> (a'l'tər) *twenty*; 'nanamuts (nanamuts) *eyeball*; -ltumal (-ltumal) *ear*; <sup>4</sup> hār (hər) *bull*; 'hari (həri) *barley*; gəri (gəri) *pupil of the eye*; -šak (-šak) *arm*; sar (sər) *hare*; phariš (pfəriš) *duck*; bi'sarš (bisərs) *sickle*; yän (yan, yen) *handle*; iski (i'ski) *three*; 'batsin (batsin) *thigh*; mi'sindo (mi'sindo) *hxy six*; urk (u'rk) *wolf*; -susun (-su'sun) *elbow*; -lčumuts (-lčumuts) *eyes*; 'hunze (hu'nze) *arrows*; usko (usko) *three*; 'tsundo (tsundo) *five*; 'hünčo (hunčo) *nine*; <sup>5</sup> -'multurän (-multurän) *nostrils*; jo'tumuts (jo'tumuts) *small boy*; hur'gaško (hu'rgas) *thick*; <sup>6</sup> -lpuren (-lpurän) *eyebrows*; šel (še'l) *avalanche*.

As far as my material goes I heard cerebrals in all words where they are given by L.

Thus: -yätis (-yätis, etc.) *head*; -mupuš (mu'puš) *nose*; o'tis (-u'tis) *my foot*; aš (-aš) *my neck*; 'dodo (do'do) *throat*; 'amiš, 'gumiš (-amiš) *my, thy finger*; muč (=) *fist*; tišči (=) *span*; čiš (čiš) *hill*; bi'renč (biranč) *mulberry(-tree)*; baš (=) *bridge*; manč (manč) *adze*; ha'riš (həri's/š) *spade*; ti'nen (ti'nan) *egg*; mal'taš (=) *clarified butter*; ša'pik (=) *bread*; ši- (ši-) 'to eat'; -e'tär (-a'tər) *to*.

Besides these I heard a cerebral in čur (čur) *knife*; šikerk (šikerk) *yellow, brass*; bu'šäi (bušai.i) *field*; pešo (pe'so) *pear*; ju'u' (ju) *apricot*; bu'šo'šo (bušo'so) *calf*; 'ačo, go'čo (-ačo) *my, thy brother*; ši'qam (ši'qam) *blue*; ti'li (ti'li) *walnut*.<sup>7</sup>

My notation of aspirates agrees with L.'s in khan *castle*; a'phoi (for -phoiŋ?) *my shoulder*; -phi'nišo *hair*; thäm *king*; phu (phu, pfu) *fire*; pheti (pfetiŋ) *ashes*, etc. But I heard aspirates also in thas (tas) *smoke* and thalo (talo)<sup>8</sup> *seven*.

On the other hand I have rarely noted čh, čh: čap (čhap) *meat*; čumo (čhumo) *fish*; čar (čər, čər) *high hill*; čumar (č(h)umər, etc.) *iron*.<sup>9</sup> But note the loan-word čur (čur) *knife*.

<sup>1</sup> With a deep a.

<sup>2</sup> Lorimer's forms are throughout given between brackets.

<sup>3</sup> First a palatal, second a velar.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. 'altumal *my ear*; 'miltumal *our ear*; 'gusmu 'miltumal *the woman's ear*; 'oltalik inc 'hi're 'iltumaliŋ *both of this man's ears*.

<sup>5</sup> All three with advanced ū.

<sup>6</sup> In: 'ine 'hi're buč h° yu'yag bi'čan *this man has very thick hair*.

<sup>7</sup> But cf. W. tel'e below p. XXIX. — "I now support all the forms given by you except ti'li". Lor. 2-4-1935.

<sup>8</sup> But cf. LSI., Bu. thalo, W. thale. — "thas thalo are said to be correct". Lor. 2-4-1935.

<sup>9</sup> L. W. čər, čumar. — "QUB admits that the difference between č and čh and č and čh are slight, and in pronouncing on them his reactions are usually much slower than in the case of other aspirates. I can hear no difference as a rule". Lor. 2-4-1935.

I heard, with L., *q* in qar'qar'muts *hen*; ši'qam *blue*; siq *iron arrow-head*, a'qat (-akāt, -aqāt?) *my armpit*, but not in to'bak (tobaq) *gun*. My a'qhat *my mouth* corresponds to L.'s xat. but in a letter L. states that a variation between *x* and *qh* appears in several words, e.g. in xam, qham, kham *cooked vegetable*.

Corresponding to L.'s γ, γ.<sup>1</sup> I distinctly heard a voiced velar affricate in my Bu. informant's pronunciation of 'ɣa'mo *ice*; 'ɣe'niš *gold*; 'ɣa'liŋg *grape*; 'ɣi'i'n *thief*; 'ɣa'teŋč *sword*: L. γamu, γeniš, γai.iŋ, γi'n (gi'n),<sup>2</sup> γa'teŋč.

In words ending in a vowel I generally heard a faint final aspiration: gyeh *snow*; bu'ah *cow*; ya<sup>h</sup> *bear*; sa<sup>h</sup> *sun*; ame<sup>h</sup> *my tooth*; ja'me<sup>h</sup> *bow* (L. gye, bu'a, ya, sa, -me, -žame). But after an initial *h* I heard *ha house* (= L.).

The peculiar sound *y*, described by L. § 6, b, I heard as a kind of fricative retroflex *r*, which I have noted *r*: bar *millet*; ara *my father*: bay, -uy. But it was, of course, impossible to determine the exact nature of this sound in the time at my disposal.

I noted a slightly palatal *n*, ŋ in han *one*; khan *castle*; gan *road*; and also in gaŋ'i *axe*; a'ŋ'i (\*-ŋi) *my beard*.<sup>3</sup>

In ba'l<sup>t</sup> *apple*; ha'ral<sup>t</sup> (həralt) *cloud* the final *t* was weakened, possibly implosive. I heard no *y* in 'do'um (do.yum) *right* and γa'vum (γauyum) *left*.<sup>4</sup>

The *g* in 'ču'gudar (ču'γudər) *peach* is probably due to a mistake on my part.<sup>5</sup>

In W., also, my notation of vowels in some cases differs slightly from that of L. or of Zarubin. E.g. ya'tes *head*; -as *heart*; sende *river*; γendeš *gold*; 'hare *barley*, har *bull*; ha'γo'r *horse*; huk *dog*; buš *cat*; gan *road*; bu'rum *white*; ma'tum *black*; ba'rdum *red*; ha'lants *moon*; čar *cliff*: L. -ye'tis, -as, sind, γendiš, həre, hər, ha'γur, hu'k, bu's, gan, burum, matum, bardum, ha'lants, čər; Z. 'ya'tes, as, sende, —, hare, har, ha'γur, huk, buš, gan, burum, ma'tum, bardum, halandz, —.

I heard cerebrals in 'ya'tes *head*; -hu'tes (L. hu'tis, hu'tis) *foot*; 'a'meš (L. -amiš) *my finger*; 'ti'ŋän (Z. 'tin'gan) *egg*; 'ačo, (L. ačo,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 6 c.

<sup>2</sup> "γaeiŋ and sometimes 'γi'in". Lor. 2—4—1935.

<sup>3</sup> Acc. to Lor. (2—4—1935) \*-ŋgi (v. Gramm. p. 136) is a slip.

<sup>4</sup> "When there is *w*'s and *o*'s about *y* tends to sound to me as a corresponding *w*". Lor. 2—4—35.

<sup>5</sup> "QUB. says the word is definitely only ču'γudər, but I think I have heard -γ. too. Lor. 2—4—1935.

ačo, Z. 'aču) *my brother*; iškark (L. šikærk, šī-, Z. iškark) *yellow*, and besides in yendeš *gold* (v. above): -mušt (Z. mušt) *fist*; tešćik (Z. 'teštik) 'span'; pha'riš *duck*; branš *mulberry* (both with a cerebral in Bu.); urk (Z. urk) *wolf*; čirč (Bu. čiš) *ladder*; 'aņi' (Z. nī) *my beard*; haγošt (L. Bu. haγuts) *hill*.

'aščin (Z. 'aštīng) *waist*; barts (L. bærč, Z. barč) *bridge*; bisarč (Bu. bi'sarč) *sickle*; šiçam ba (L. šiçam ba, Z. šiçam, cf. Bu. šič) *I am eating*; is'qam (L. iškam, Z. iškam, Bu. ši'qam) *blue* are probably misheard or miswritten forms.

Aspirates occur in aphenas (Z. 'penas) *my hair*; a pho'γonas (Bu. phoi) *my shoulder*; khan *fort*; tham *king*; thame'ye' *prince*; 'pha'riš *duck*. No aspiration was heard in 'čurmu *fish*; čap (= Z.) *meat*, čumar (L. čumar, Z. čumar) *iron*.<sup>1</sup>

Corresponding to Bu. \*γ- I heard γ in γaiņ *grape*; γε'n (Z. yen) *thief*; yendeš (L. yendiš) *gold*; γatens (Z. γ/ya'tenj) *sword*; γamu (= Z.) *ice*.

No final <sup>h</sup> was noted in gye (Z. gyē) *snow*; sa (= Z., L.) *sun*; a'me (Z. mä) *tooth*; nya (= L., Z.) *bear*; ha (= L. Z.) *house*. But de<sup>h</sup> *village* from Prs. and 'bira' (L. bi.a, Z. bi'ya) *cow* with glottal stop. This sound was also noted in ba' (L., Z. ba) *millet*, corresponding to Bur. r.

Z.'s velar *l* (l) I have only noted in a hi'l (Z. hił) *my lip*. Not in hal (Z. ha'ł) *fox*; te'le (Z. te'lä) *walnut*; ta'lo (L. tale, Z. ta'lu) *seven*; a'u'l (L. au.u'l, Z. awul/l) *my belly*. It is quite probable that Z.'s Russian ear was able to distinguish different kinds of *l* better than L.'s or mine. On the other hand he may have been led astray by the lack of a "neutral" *l* in his own language. Before a surd I heard a voiceless *l*<sup>2</sup> in ałto (L. alto; Z. ałtan) *two*; ał'tambo (L. al'tambe, Z. ał'tambu) *eight*; 'wałto (L. walt, Z. 'wałto) 'four'; ha'rałt (Z. harałt) *cloud*; ba'łt (Z. bałt) *apple*; -łtumul (L. -ltumul, Z. 'tumał) *ear*; -lči (L. -lčīn, Z. lči) *eye*. Z., too, has ordinary *l* in ha'lants (L. ha'lants, Z. halandz) *moon*; tu'l (= Z.) *snake*.

q was noted in 'paqo (L. pako, p<sup>h</sup>a'ko بَقُو, Z. 'paku) *bread*; is'qam *blue* (v. above), qar'qamuš (Z. qa'r'qamuš) *hen*.

I have yut (but Bur. L., Sh. jut) *grass*; ya, źa, (L. ja, Z. źa) *I, my*, in ya 'yates *my head*, y/źa' bap *my father*, y/źa' pako šiçam ba *I am eating bread*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above p. XXVII.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 503.

Note also my 'ayumus (Z. 'yungus, but Bu. -umus) *tongue*.

A few of the words given above have not been noted before, or only by Z. In order to corroborate the forms heard only by one previous observer I give also the other words in my list which are not included in L.'s vocabulary:

-muš *nose*; -xat *mouth*; -sesen *elbow*; 'aken *liver*; sau *sand*; gu'r *wheat*; 'girkis *mouse*; sar *hare*; a'yast *my sister*; all identical with Z.'s forms. -šak (Z. šak') *arm*; -'uru (Z. 'uru) *nail*; 'irič (irič) *kidney*; bap (Z. ba'p) *father*; yainži (yanji) *water-mill*; da'γom (Z. da'γum) *flour*.

Göteborg, 30th November 1934.

*Georg Morgenstierne.*

#### ADDITIONAL NOTE.

In a letter from Hunza of 18th Nov. 1934 Colonel Lorimer gives some additional information about some Bu. sounds, from which I quote the following passages: "I have now heard from QUB and one or two others in Aliabad initial 1) <sup>s</sup>γ- (going also into >gγ- >g-), medial -γ- seems to remain plain spirant. 2) <sup>k</sup>x- (or <sup>q</sup>x-?). This QUB always says is "xe", x-, but I tend to record it as kh-. Medially, to both our minds it changes into -q- (\*-xəras, ixəras to *cut up*, but ppc. niqər; xəratas to *stick, adhere*, but cs. \*-Δqəratas).

Then there is ph-, pf-, f- which is an instance of the same phenomenon. I haven't noticed any tendency to w- > <sup>b</sup>w, and there are no dental spirants".

[Ad p. XII, l. 12. — But cf. e. g. Luganda; v. BSOS. VII, p. 917. — Corr. note].

Göteborg, 18th January 1935.

*Georg Morgenstierne.*

## INTRODUCTION.

### THE LAND and the PEOPLE.

Burushaski, the main subject of the present work, is spoken in the States of Hunza and Nagir, which give a name to that tangle of snow-crowned mountains, long-drawn glaciers and deep-cut river beds that form the western extremities of the Karakoram and Kailās ranges of the Geographers. In elevation and ruggedness the tract may compare with any other portion of the earth's surface. The ground covered by the twin States is roughly defined by the lines  $74^{\circ} 10'$  and  $75^{\circ} 40'$  of East longitude and  $36^{\circ}$  and  $37^{\circ} 10'$  of North latitude. Of this area the bulk falls to Hunza. Hunza marches on the North with Afghan and Chinese territory, from which it is divided by an immense mountain barrier traversable only by a few very high passes — the Irshad (16,060 ft.), the Kilik (15,600), the Mintaka (15,430) and the Khunjerāb.

The southern drainage from this range quickly assembles a few miles below Misgār to form the Hunza river, which proceeds southwards through the Hèrber or Gujhāl valley, or rather gorge. On its way the river receives reinforcement by tributaries from either side — the principal being the Batūra and Pasu glaciers on the West and the Shīmshāl valley on the East. About 15 miles East of Baltit, the capital of Hunza, the river changes to a general westerly course, and level with Baltit it receives on its left bank the waters of the Nagir river which represent the meltings of the

Hispar, Barpu and other large glaciers. Henceforth until Chalt is reached, where it turns South, the river forms the boundary between Hunza on the North and Nagir on the South. Chalt itself and the Chaprôt valley which debouches into it belong to Nagir. Otherwise Nagir is confined, generally speaking, to the valley of the Hispar glacier and Nagir river and the northern slopes of the Kailas range, the crest of which forms the dividing line between it and Gilgit.

On the extreme East Hunza marches with the Oprang valley in Chinese territory and southwards with Baltistan, but the mountain range which separates these regions is scarcely surmountable (v. Text XXVIII). On the extreme West again, Hunza and Nagir territory terminates on a lofty range which runs roughly North and South and is only traversable with difficulty by a couple of passes, the Chillinji (17,000 ft.) and the Daintar (15,210). Beyond lies the sparsely-inhabited valley of Ishkoman, which again is bounded on its western side by a North and South range of mountains on the further side of which is situated the Wershigūm valley, known officially as the Yasīn 'Ilāqa. This Wershigūm valley is the habitat of the Werchikwār language, a variant form of Burushaski, to which brief reference is made in this work.

From the West of Hunza to the East of Wershigūm is as the crow flies a mere 20 or 30 miles, but the traveller will spend six days and cover some 115 miles in making his way from Chalt via Gilgit and Gupis to Yasin. Such is this country where cross-country travel is impossible and practicable routes can be found only by following the natural lines of least resistance, and that not without pain.

I have now placed our language on the map, approximately, but greater precision is required. In the first place we have to take account of the fact that the bulk of Hunza and the eastern portion of Nagir are uninhabited and uninhabitable. Permanent population exists only on the elevated terraces that skirt in places the sides of the river valleys.



In the second place we have to note that the population of Hunza and Nagir is neither linguistically nor ethnologically homogeneous. Viewing the territories as a whole, Burushaski occupies only a limited central position. It is legitimate perhaps to see in this an indication that the country has been subject to more or less peaceful penetration from the periphery, but that it has never been overwhelmed by any flood of conquest or organised immigration. We may picture Burushaski as here standing at bay — a language which has once covered a much larger area and has gradually been driven in on its least assailable territory, or has been displaced and pushed back to a final refuge.

The country with its physical savageness and poverty could never have attracted the ambition or cupidity of any sane conqueror, and with easier routes available to the West there is little reason to believe that any serious invader has traversed or even penetrated it in force. Against this argument, however, are to be set the efforts of the Dogras of Jammu and Kashmir to penetrate and master the country in the nineteenth century. Their aim was doubtless to strengthen their position in Gilgit.

The relative strengths of the languages current in Hunza and Nagir are set out in the following tables, which are based on figures collected for the 1931 Census, and on the results of private enquiries as to the language spoken in each individual village.

District	Number speaking			Total Population 1931 Census
	Burushaski	Shinā	Wakhi	
Hunza . . .	9,938	1,184	2,411	13,533
Nagir . . .	10,362	3,293	—	13,655
Total . . .	20,300	4,477	2,411	27,188

To obtain the absolute total numbers of known Burushaski-speakers 513 must be added to the total of the first column on

account of 512 Burushaski-speakers recorded in the 1931 Census as resident in the Gilgit Wazarat, and one as resident in North Kashmir. The total thus becomes 20,813<sup>1</sup>.

The local distribution of these linguistic groups has now to be considered. On examination it will be found that they fall in the main within definite and unbroken geographical limits. In Hunza from the North southwards down the Herber valley, to and including Galmit the population are Wakhis, speaking Wakhi, with the exception of the inhabitants of Khudāabād (population 97), Nazīmābād (82) and Misgār (174). Proceeding down, southwards and westwards, through Hunza, the rest of the population are Burushaski-speaking with the exception of the two villages, Hīndi (977) and Māyūn (207) whose primary language is Shina.

In Nagir there are no Wakhi-speakers, but the Burushaski-Shina dividing line falls at practically the same point as in Hunza, viz. at Minapin opposite Hindi. From and including Minapin down the valley, with the exception of Sikandarābād (406, a recent settlement) and Chalt (587), the people of Nagir are primarily Shina-speakers.

It is to be remarked, however, that these radical linguistic distinctions are to a large extent masked, if not superficially deleted, by bilingualism. I believe that all Shina-speakers of both Hunza and Nagir readily understand and speak Burushaski. This is not so with the Wakhis, of whom only a few know the language of their neighbours. On the other hand the Wakhis have imposed their own language on the Burusho settled in Shimshal, and Wakhi elements are to be found in place-names in all the northern part of the country.

How far do these linguistic divisions represent also ethnic divisions? Are the Wakhi-speakers (Guwīcho, sg. Guīts, Guwīčō, Gu.i'ts), the Burushaski-speakers (Burūsho, sg. Burūshīn, Buruřo, Buruřī'n) and the Shina-speakers (sg. and pl. Shèn, Šɛ'n) to be regarded as racially distinct peoples?

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<sup>1</sup> The figure 26,076 given in the Kashmir Census Report 1931, Vol. XXV p. 237, appears to be incorrect. It is still incorrect if the figures for Werchikwar are taken into account.

In the first case the answer is easy. The Wakhis are certainly of totally distinct stock from the Burusho. Much more difficult is the question of the relation of the Burusho and the Shina-speakers. My visual impressions would lead me to regard the Shèn of lower Nagir as an essentially different people from the Burusho of Hunza. They seem to me to represent a distinctly lower type in regard to apparent mentality and sanitary ideals. A large proportion of the child-population of Minapin and the villages below it are cretinous in appearance and dirty in person. I have not had an opportunity of comparing the people of the Hunza Shèn villages of Hindi and Mayun, either with their Nagir *vis à vis* or with their Burusho fellow-“nationals”. How far again is there any difference between the Burusho of Hunza and the Burusho of Nagir? That is a question which I cannot answer from any adequate personal observation; but it is the general impression among European visitors that there is a marked difference in temperament between the two peoples. The Hunza Burusho are felt to be a happy and cheerful people, their Nagir counterparts give an impression of something approaching sombreness and depression. This alleged difference is attributed to the effect of living respectively on the sunny and on the shady, in winter almost sunless, side of the valley. It might also be in part attributable to political conditions or religious outlook.

There is a further criterion which is of dubious value, but may be worth brief mention here. In 1924 I took a number of anthropometrical measurements of men of all parts of the Gilgit Political Agency. The subjects were members of the Gilgit corps of Scouts, and so were all men in their prime, mostly in early manhood. These measurements were recorded uninstructedly according to an antiquated scheme of Topinard's and modern experts have judged them not worth wasting time and labour on, but they were taken on a consistent technique and are therefore comparable among themselves. I shall quote here only measurements which, in the nature of things, it seems probable are reasonably correct. The figures given are averages obtained by dividing the sum total of measurements in each case by the number of subjects.

*Burushaski Grammar*

District	Number of Subjects	Head Measurements in Centimetres			Cephalic Index	Height in Feet & Ins.
		Ant.-Posterior Diameter	Transverse Diameter	Frontal Minimum		
Hunza . .	138	19·135	14·833	10·423	76·834	5' 6 $\frac{8}{11}$ "
Nagir . .	152	19·411	14·256	9·536	73·424	5' 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
Yasin . .	78	19·035	14·788	10·413	77·714	5' 6 $\frac{1}{20}$ "
Gilgit . .	40	19·362	14·493	10·075	74·931	5' 4 $\frac{5}{8}$ "
Astor . .	43	19·005	14·494	10·197	76·306	5' 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
Punial . .	65	19·165	14·611	10·342	76·286	5' 5 $\frac{2}{3}$ "
Kuh-Ghizer	78	19·099	14·791	10·217	77·432	5' 5 $\frac{0}{11}$ "

Without allowing too much importance to these figures, we may tentatively accept a considerable difference between the Hunza and Nagir subjects in cephalic index and its factors, in frontal minimum and in height. The Nagir type seems to approximate to the Gilgit type, while the Hunza type approaches to that of Yasin. These conclusions receive further support from a detailed examination of the figures. I have plotted the numbers under each figure of the anterior-posterior and transverse diameters of the head, and of the height, and very similar curves are yielded by the Hunza and Yasin records; and the same holds of the Nagir and Gilgit records.

My own visual impressions, however, for what they are worth, would suggest that in physique and feature there is a perceptible difference between the Burushaski-speakers of Hunza and the Werchikwar-speakers of Yasin. It is to be noted that both the Hunza and Nagir subjects are almost entirely Burusho; only a few individuals of those measured came from the Shina-speaking villages. This difference in the attitude to a very mild form of militarism may indicate an inherent difference of temperament. On the other hand it may be due to economic or other unsuspected causes.

Among the vast and savage mountains of the Western Karakoram, which are generally devoid of a blade of grass, and of which the surface by falls of cliff and boulders, the slipping of detritus, and the down-pouring of mud-floods, is kept in a constantly raw and unstable state, nature has made it possible for a small population to maintain itself, in the sweat of its brow, by agriculture and the pasturing of small cattle.

Terraces, apparently the remains of glacial deposits, supplemented it may be by downpourings from the mountain sides, have been left here and there along the sides of the valleys of the main rivers, at a height usually of some hundreds of feet above their stony beds. Where water for irrigation can be obtained from side-ravines these tracts can be cultivated. Without irrigation no cultivation is possible. There are no rain-watered cereal crops and water cannot be raised from the main river. The surface of these terraces is not flat, but slopes down at every kind of angle from the hillsides till the terraces end in abrupt earth-cliffs descending to the river beds. As the ground has to be irrigated it also has to be more or less levelled, otherwise all the soil would soon be washed away. This is accomplished by constructing terraced fields, the lower edges of which are supported by revetting walls built up of the rounded stones available in the diluvium. This revetting is highly skilled work, and is beautifully carried out, and maintained in perfect repair by the Hunzukuts. The Nagirkuts seem on the whole to be less strenuous workers and less tidy-minded cultivators.

There remains the task of constructing channels to bring water from where it is available, often miles away. These channels are designed with precision and executed with great resource and ingenuity, often being carried on revetted or galleried aqueducts across cliff faces. Having made your land and brought your water, it still remains to elaborate a system of distributing the water among the various communities or individuals entitled to a share of it.

Pressure of population in recent years has led to constant endeavours to devise means of providing water supplies for tracts of waterless but cultivable land. Where land and water have been

brought together, the following are the principal crops grown in Hunza and Nagir: wheat, barley, two or three kinds of millet, buckwheat, broad beans, peas and various pulses, lucerne (yielding two crops) for fodder. Maize and rice are not grown at these levels<sup>1</sup>. Lucerne is often grown on the sloping unterraced hillside where water is insufficient for crops. Fruit is also an important item of cultivation. The apricot is universal, and fresh and dry the fruit is a staple food. Besides its kernels are collected and eaten, or crushed for their oil. Apples, peaches, cherries, cherry-plums and grapes are also extensively grown, but do not appear to be dried, though apples and grapes are stored in straw for some months. Pears, pomegranates and walnuts are cultivated in places. The mulberry is eaten fresh and is also dried and preserved. Poplars and willows are grown for their timber, and in the lower tracts the chenar.

Agricultural crops and fruit would not however provide a complete subsistence. Goats, sheep and a small type of cow supply the necessary milk and fat products, particularly ghee, also hair for ropes and coarse cloth, wool for clothing, skins and hides for containing vessels, foot-wear and thongs. These cattle are kept in the villages during the cool and cold weather, when they are fed on such scanty natural grazing as is to be found, agricultural waste and dried leaves, and pay their way by providing milk and manure. During the hot months they are sent up in charge of herds to the few summer grazing-grounds (tēr, pl. tērming; tēr, tērmin), which exist in the higher parts of some of the nullahs. There their milk is collected and converted into forms in which it will keep: ghee, dried buttermilk etc.

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<sup>1</sup> I.e. from about 7000' upwards, Chhalt, the lowest village in the country, stands at 6560'. Māyūn and Hīndi are probably about 7000' and Aliābād about 7500'. Baltit is 8000' and Nagir 7550'. Misgār, the highest place at which the Burusho have been induced to live, is 10,158'. It is said that the Burusho women refuse to go where the apricot will not ripen, and there are few Burusho settled above 8000'. In Chupūrsan and Shīmshāl the Wakliis are found up to about 11,000', which is probably the extreme limit at which barley will grow in this region. In recent years a little maize has been grown in Māyūn, Murtazābād and Ganish.

These various subjects of general interest and activity postulate the existence of a large vocabulary relating to agricultural processes, implements and products; irrigation, fruit culture and the management of live stock and the treatment of their products.

### **Crafts.**

Any people who are in the main self-supporting must have developed, and must command, a number of essential crafts. Here it is only possible to enumerate very briefly the principal crafts practised by the Burusho. They include:

Building: wall-building without mud; house building, stone-and-mud walls and mud-plastering.

Woodwork: supporting pillars, roofing timber, shaped and unshaped, door-frames, doors and windows. Agricultural implements: ploughs and various forms of wooden shovel and pitchfork: wooden bowls and spoons. Wearing and milling apparatus.

Spinning: hair and woollen thread and twisting into yarn and ropes.

Weaving: woollen home-spun for clothing; hair-cloth for bags and mats.

Basketwork of willow twigs: various forms of baskets and creels.

Preparing skins: for bags for grain etc. and for holding water, milk etc.; also thongs, foot-wrappers and boots.

Metal work: a little iron-work.

Sewing: clothes.

Milling: water-mills are used for grinding flour.

Salt-washing: a method of obtaining salt from saline earth by dissolving it out is sometimes practised.

Gold-washing: the river sand is washed to extract gold-dust.

This is done for the Tham of Hunza at certain places, by the lower classes only. I do not know that it is practised privately.

Wine-making and distilling: the latter is now prohibited.

### **Imports.**

The Burusho are dependent on the outside world for their supply of metals and in general for all metal manufactures, e.g. plough-

shares, sickles, shovel-blades, axes, adze-heads and cooking-pots. A few aluminium vessels may now be seen in the hands of the peasants. Any iron work done locally is done by the Bēricho (sg. Bērits; b'eričō, b'erirts), corresponding to the Doms of Gilgit, who provide the musicians and metal-workers of the community and are regarded as at the bottom of the social scale. They are probably, as elsewhere, of foreign (Indian?) origin. Carpentry, formerly also within the sphere of the Bericho, is now generally practised by individual Burusho.

Cotton cloth, now used by practically the whole population of both sexes for shirts and trousers, is imported. Some foreign shoes and sandals may also be seen. All the sugar and most of the salt used are also imported. Both are in demand and the import apparently does not satisfy the public desire, the cost being no doubt the obstacle.

Tailors and washermen form no part of the indigenous social scheme, but nowadays one or two men can be found who have some skill in these crafts acquired abroad.

### **Arts.**

I have seen very little of decoration or ornamentation in any medium, nor any aesthetic production which could be classified under the heading of the plastic arts. Embroidery until very recently was practised only in the harems of the élite. The ordinary women who are free to pursue, in the open and unveiled, their domestic functions and many kinds of agricultural work, are sufficiently occupied to feel little urge to concern themselves with such elegant triflings, but the girls and young women, before and after marriage, embroider caps for themselves with taste and skill.

Occasional specimens of wood-carving are to be seen, chiefly in the derelict masjids.

Of the other arts, dancing is a traditional and living institution, and is still practised on ceremonial occasions by even the highest ranks of society. The accompanying music is, however, supplied by the despised Bēricho. Occasionally the notes of a flute in the hands of an amateur is heard and the sitār is known.



### Sports.

Sports are represented by Polo for men who own or can borrow horses, and children's games. The women at certain seasons amuse themselves with games of ball and swinging.

### Religion.

By religion the Burusko of Hunza are Muhammadans of the Isma'ili or, as they term it, Maulāi sect, to which, however, they were converted from Shia-ism only three generations ago.

With the Maulais, restrictions, formalities and ritual are reduced to a minimum. The masjids of the former Shia days have been abandoned, and have been replaced in recent years by "jamā' atkhānas". There are no mullahs of the ordinary type. Instead there are *khalifa* (pl. *khalifāting*; xali'fa, xali'fa·tin), who are more servants of the public — being called in chiefly to perform the necessary ritual at marriages and funerals — than its spiritual leaders or teachers. Spiritual authority rests with the Pir, in this case 'Abdul Ma'ni, son of the late Shahzada Lais of Chitral. He himself now lives in Zēbāk. He replaced the honoured Pir Jalāli Shah, latterly resident in Ishkoman, who died in February 1931. Two of the latter's daughters were taken in succession as his principal wife by the present Tham of Hunza, which affords an indication of the Pir's status in the country.

Religious observances and prescriptions do not play any very evident part in the life of the Burusho of Hunza, but this does not appear to have any prejudicial effect on their character or conduct. They seem to have firmly planted in them the root of morality and the social and domestic virtues. The Maulais pay tribute to the Agha Khan, the head of the sect. The Burusho of Nagir are Shiahs (pl. *Shiātīng*; ši.a·tin), a more rigorous and formal school, but they do not indulge in a fanatical interpretation of the duties and implications of religion. They mildly contemn the "moghuli" (Maulais) as misguided heretics and imperfect Muslims.

### Social and Administrative Organisation.

The life of the people is based on the family, and then on the village or community groups which live within definite geographical

limits and were originally it seems centred round the *khan* (khan, fortress or strong-place). The general security of later times has led to the scattering of habitations seen in more recent settlements like Aliabad. Inside these village-units, such as Baltit, Altit, Ganish, Haidarabad etc. there survive the names of tribal or class divisions. How far these divisions play any significant part in the communal life of the present day is a subject that remains for investigation.

Society is recognised as divided into the following general classes:

1. Thamo: the Royal Family, including:

i. the Karèli, the royally-born on both sides.

ii. the Arghundaro, of commoner origin on the female side, but in Hunza children of wedlock.

2. Uyōngko or Akābirtīng — “The Great” — those who enjoy, or have the right to occupy, superior offices in the State, e.g. the posts of Wazīr, Trangfa, Yarpa and Farāj.

These two classes do not work with their hands.

3. Bār, Bārè Sis, — These cultivate their land and work with their own hands, but, if personally worthy, are eligible for appointment to posts by the Tham. They are not required to carry loads or perform any inferior class of work.

4. Shadarsho — a large class who get their title (“servants”) from their eligibility for employment by the Tham as couriers to convey notice of his movements, carry messages etc. They are exempted from menial labour. This class is increasing by recruitment from the next below.

5. Baldakūyo or Tsilgalasho — these are liable to have to carry loads for the Tham and Uyongko, and to wash for gold. They are exempt from the payment of taxes. The Tsilgalasho are Baldakuyo who are in the employment of Uyongko families and then do not carry loads, but on quitting such employment they revert to the status and obligations of the Baldakuyo. The numbers of this class are declining. Their ascent into the ranks of the Shadarsho is now controlled by the Tham; formerly it was in the hands of the Wazir and Trangfa.

6. Bērīcho — now of two classes:

- i. ēgherasho bērīcho — musicians who provide music on all public occasions.
- ii. dak ètasho bērīcho — blacksmiths.<sup>1</sup>

The functions of the Bericho are undergoing a process of extension. They now fetch firewood for the Tham and thorns for protecting enclosures. They also do plastering work for him. A few serve as sweepers. Their status is said to be rising. The Burusho will now eat food prepared by them, which they would not formerly do.

In both Hunza and Nagir the supreme power resides in an autocracy exercised by the Tham, or Mir. The two royal families derive from a common source and are inter-related by subsequent marriages. This joint royal family claims to have come from Baltistan and to have been established in Hunza and Nagir for the last six hundred years.

Each village group is an administrative unit and the Tham is represented in it by one to three Uyōngko (Uyūmko) or Trangfāting (sg.s uyūm = *great*, trangfa). Under their direction these officials have Cherbuting (sg. cherbu, čerbu) who transmit orders to the public. Where the Tham owns land he has a steward, or personal representative, called a Yarpa, who again has subordinates under him to supervise the division of the water-supply.

For the settlement of cases and disputes of all kinds there is in Hunza a long progressive series of "courts", if one may use the term. First the case is dealt with by the heads of the two houses and the two families in conclave. Failing settlement it is referred to the Headman of the community (girāmè uyūm; girame uyūm). Thirdly: again failing settlement, it is referred to the Headmen of the Four Clans (wālto girāmichingè uyōngko; wālto girāmičingè uyoŋko) who proceed to the "gate" of the *khan* and adjudicate on it.

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<sup>1</sup> The following are the phonetic renderings of the Burushaski words in the above paragraphs: 1. Thamō; kareli; arɣ'undero; 2. uyoŋko or uyūmko; aka'birting; wazir; trangfa; yarpa; faraj; 3. bare sis; 4. šaderšo; 5. baldakuro; tsilgalašo; 6. beričō; erčerašo; dak etašo.

Fourthly: even after this an aggrieved party may carry his suit to the gate of Baltit Fort, where it is heard by the four Headmen of Baltit and the Kadako. Fifthly: if he has still failed to obtain satisfaction he can next submit his case to the Wazir. Sixthly: If the Wazir fails, where so may before him have failed, the case then goes to the final court — the Tham's Audience Assembly (Thamo maraka). Here it is heard and adjudicated on for the last time by the Tham, the Wazir, and the elders and officials of every *khan* in council, and a final irrevocable order is passed. It is said that in recent years the Tham has dispensed with the presence of the elders and officials and gives judgement himself. But I imagine this would not apply in a case of major gravity. All "courts" are held in public.

It is thus the policy in Hunza that only matters of serious importance should be referred to the Ruler and that he should be regarded as a final court of appeal. In this way his prestige and authority are not impaired by the constant decision of minor disputatious or factious matters.

### **Character.**

Of the character of the Burusho something has already been said in *obiter dicta* above. It may be summarily stated that the Hunzukuts are a cheerful, frank and straightforward people; intelligent, keen, and active, with a sense of fun and humour and a commendable spirit of tolerance. They are pleasant people to meet and work with. Among themselves they appear to be good-natured and forbearing, associating together in relaxation, and cooperating happily and amicably in work. They are fond of their children, but do not spoil them, and are considerate to the old or ailing.

For more than a month, while partially laid up, I have sat in the Rest House at Aliabad and from the verandah and through the windows seen the life of the place drift past me or concentrate in activity in the fields immediately in front. There is here no

garden, no fence, to interpose a barrier. The much-frequented public way, following the further edge of an irrigation channel, passes within a dozen yards and beyond lie the fields of lucerne, wheat, buckwheat and pot-herbs descending gently in graded terraces. But the ground is beaten hard right up to the verandah edge, and the more adventurous take full advantage of the right of way when they can do so without intrusiveness. So here, almost within touch, pass men, women and children on their various occasions, none without a salute or a smile, or at least a shy recognition. Fifty yards off toil a joint family party, successively reaping, stacking, threshing and winnowing the wheat and pulse crops and carrying off the spoils.

Work goes on harmoniously, without idleness and without hurry. Normally division of labour obtains, men and women have their recognised rôles, but the division seems regulated purely by physical capacity and convenience. There is nothing rigid about it and in general each sex will freely assume the work of the other if occasion makes it desirable. In this household there are only two men, one able-bodied on whom the heaviest work falls, and one aged who can only do light jobs and rest, intermittently. There are several women and they relieve each other at the heavier work seemingly from a sense of what is the game and without prompting. There is no apparent shirking, there is no quarrelling, disputing or shouting. I have not seen or heard a quarrel yet, except a minor affair between two small boys, Voices are only raised when information has to be conveyed to a distance.

Children roam about in groups of boys and girls, or mixed family parties, playing along the water-channel, chattering and laughing or retrieving the last over-looked apricots by knocking them down with stones or climbing and shaking the trees. Everyone shares without question in the harvest. Children help spasmodically in the elders' tasks; it is not obligatory. There are always one or two rounding up an errant and centrifugal flock of lambs and kids, or a single agile and enterprising cow.

And so life seems to go on. Even water rights, the turning of the carefully-husbanded water on to the land of the various groups in succession, appear to be exercised, according to the recognised scheme, by those concerned without recrimination. But at this season water is plentiful.

Women here hold a position of freedom and respect rare in the East. Young and old they move freely about, unveiled and unaccompanied. They mingle and converse quite naturally and unself-consciously with men. No doubt everyone knows everyone else and many are related. Young marriageable girls are as free and open-faced as the married women.

To the stranger within their gates, at any rate to the Sāhib and Mīm sāhiba, strayed out of another world, everyone is courteous and cordial, welcoming approach and questions, anxious to give information, amused at and appreciative of stumbling efforts to speak their difficult language, inviting them to their work parties in their fields or their leisure gatherings in their shady gardens. Always there is perfectly natural, self-respecting courtesy and good feeling, never that servility, false familiarity, self-assertiveness or aggressiveness characteristic of those who suffer from a sense of real or imagined inferiority.

This may appear a roseate, even idyllic picture, and no doubt there must be darker patches on the reverse side of it, but these do not appear to dim the general effect.

So much for the Hunzukuts Burusho. Of their Nagir neighbours I can say little. In casual contacts I have found them also friendly and courteous. The general impression is that they are not so actively cheerful as the Hunzukuts.

We may now turn our attention to the speakers of Werchikwār (Wərčikwār). That language is spoken only in the Wershigūm valley, known as the Yasīn district from the name of the village adjoining the administrative headquarters. The linguistic situation existing in Yasīn is shown in the following table:

*Introduction*

District	Number speaking			Total Population 1931 Census
	Werchikwār	Khowār	Shinā	
Yasīn . . .	7,518	230 (2,506)	336	8,084
Total . . .	7,518	230	336	8,084

The whole population of Yasīn, with the exception of small intrusive colonies of Shina and Khowar speakers, talk Werchikwar as their mother tongue. About one-third of these, it is estimated, have a greater or less command of Khowar, which has been the speech of their rulers for some generations. This bilingual minority is represented in the above table by the entry (2506).

The general physical circumstances of the Wershik are not widely dissimilar from those of the Burusho, but their country is much opener and easier in the habitable tracts, and it is much more accessible from the Gilgit valley than are Hunza and Nagir. On the cultural side it is believed that they share some of the festivals and customs of the Burusho, but their political history has been very different. So far as tradition goes back they have been under the domination of outsiders. For a number of generations they have now been continuously ruled by members of the Khushwaqt or Katōr families of Chitral.

The effects of this domination have been somewhat modified in later times by British control, but the traditions of the Wershik have not been those of a free and independent people able to treat with, ignore, or defy the outer world, but of a subject people existing to serve the interests of their foreign rulers. It is therefore not surprising, whatever their origin may be, if we fail to find among them the same spirit of self-respecting independence, frankness and cheerfulness that we have seen to characterise the Burusho of Hunza. In fact they are reputed to be shifty and untruthful. I am not personally in a position to support or rebut this charge, but in ordinary circumstances I have found them pleasant enough people to meet.

## THE LANGUAGE.

Having described in some measure the country where Burushaski is spoken and the people who speak it, I must now give some account of the language itself and of the influences to which it has, at least in recent times, been subjected.

Burushaski<sup>1</sup> has no literature and is in fact an unwritten language. Obliging friends may have occasionally written Burushaski letters or texts in the Arabic script to humour enquiring foreigners such as Leitner or myself, but no convention has ever been arrived at to represent the sounds which are unknown to Arabic, Persian or Hindustani. When literate Burusho, and there are not many of them, have occasion to write, they do so in Persian for choice, or in Hindustani. The student of Burushaski has thus no manuscripts, ancient or modern, to turn to for enlightenment. He must go direct to the linguistic fountain-head — the *sujeet parlant*. As far as contemporaneous speech is concerned, this is rather a blessing than a loss, but a series of manuscripts or inscriptions going back through some hundreds of years would throw an invaluable light on the development of the language. Lacking them, we cannot divine its history, nor make any guess as to its primitive forms. Only the co-existence of Werchikwar enables us sometimes to deduce that a word or form which occurs in the one as an isolated or rare phenomenon is a survival of what was once perhaps common property, or else normal in some dialect.

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<sup>1</sup> I have never succeeded in getting anyone to recognise the word "Boorishki", the term applied to the language by Biddulph, and apparently accepted by Leitner, v. H. and N. Hdbk. p. 195 l. 2. Leitner also talks of the "Boorishki race". One cannot imagine that Biddulph and Leitner invented the term, so it would appear that it has gone out of use since their day. Possibly it may still flourish somewhere in Nagir. Leitner uses the term "Khajuna". This name is applied to Burushaski by outsiders and non-Burusho, as Leitner himself seems to admit (loc. cit.). I have heard the word used in Chalt, in opposition to Shina, by a man who was probably himself normally a Shina-speaker.



Burushaski and Werchikwar<sup>1</sup> are to be regarded as two dialects of one language of which no other dialects exist. The Burushaski of Hunza and Nagir, it is true, differ to some extent: there are differences in vocabulary and minor variations in morphology, but, as far as I am in a position to judge, these are not sufficient to constitute them separate dialects. Local variations occur inside Hunza itself: thus the people of Aliabad say "etoi" *he has done*, where the Baltitkuts say "etai". At present we do not know the full range of difference between Hunza and Nagir Burushaski, nor the number and extent of local variants in either, nor how far these are strictly local or possibly connote some difference of social status.

Burushaski and Werchikwar have both been subjected to outside influences, some of which must be of ancient standing, some of recent origin, but a glance at the vocabularies will impress one with how little either has borrowed from other languages and how large an original stock of words each has preserved. This can best be judged from the pronouns and from the number and variety of verbal conceptions which are expressed by undoubtedly native verbs. Both dialects seem to have presented a very resistant front to foreign intrusion. Even in these latter days, though many Arabic and Persian words are generally known, and though their use is convenient and probably increasing, they are not essential to the expression of ordinary ideas and many are not used by the common people.

Of contiguous languages Burushaski has been in direct contact with Shina and with Wakhi. The Qirgiz used to raid into the north of Hunza and have left behind them at least two place names: Mintaka and Aqtash (v. Text No. XXXI), but that seems to be all. Some contact with Baltistan, doubtless a very slight one, is to be

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<sup>1</sup> "Werchikwar" appears to be analysable into: Werch- or Wersh- + ik + wār, of which Werch- is to be equated with the Wersh- of Wershigum; -ik- with the Khowar -ik added to place-names to denote the people of a place (e. g. Laspūr, Lasprīk); -wār with Khowar -wār denoting "language", as in the word itself Kho-wār, "the language of the Kho". The probable connection of Wersh- and Burush- is obvious.

presumed from the possession of a pattern of door known as "Baloski hing" (balo'ski hiŋ), and a method of thorn-fencing "Baloski chash" (balo'ski čaš). See also Text No. XXVIII. I have even been told that the Burusho believe that they acquired the whole of their material culture from Baltistan. Though there is no territorial contact with Khowar, an occasional surprising common property in words suggests questions.

The Qirgiz and Balti languages may at once be dismissed as sources of any perceptible influence on Burushaski, and, with infinitely greater opportunity, Wakhi seems to have been equally impotent to make any general impression on it. There remains Shina. Clearly there are borrowings from Shina to be found in the Burushaski vocabulary. Words with characteristic Shina prefixes and endings may be assumed to be Shina e. g. Bu. Δ-baš, Δ-čëmo, su-čëmo, Δ-šato; adjectives ending in -a'ŋo, čamər-a'ŋo, γališ-a'ŋo; abstract nouns ending in -a'r, -i.a'r, and -e'i such as: damija'r, šuri.a'r, šugulevi etc. In Shina -o is a very common ending in nouns and the masculine singular of adjectives. Where such words are shared the probability lies that in Burushaski they are borrowings from Shina. Examples are: ba'go, basko'čo, biđi'ro. Sometimes the final -o is lacking in the Burushaski form. In such cases is the -o of Shina possibly an addition to a Burushaski word? Such are:

Bu. γulk	Shn. gulko	<i>covered water-tank</i>
γuŋu'm	guŋu'mo	<i>deep</i>
hisk	he'sko	<i>loom</i>
huka'r	huka'ro	<i>tamarisk</i>

Of undistinguished shared words it is for the Philologist to say whether they are of Indo-Aryan stock, and so presumably a contribution from Shina, or not. The same applies to similarities of a more radical character found in the sharing of syntactical practices and idiomatic usages, which seem to postulate direct translation from one language into the other. It is a fair hypothesis that such a process came into action at some time when the two languages were in intimate association, probably by intermarriage, after the

Shina-speaking stock had forced its way in among, or acquired domination over, an originally Burushaski-speaking population. To enumerate such similarities would require a treatise in itself, and in the Grammar I have purposely abstained from drawing comparisons with Shina, which would have taken up space and obscured the immediate issues. I may here just draw attention to a few points. V. § 43. There is much parallelism in the use of the Bu. suffix -AN and the Sh. -ek, -k (ek = one), e. g. Sh. ek manuju'k *a man*; apu'k *a little*; with pronouns: kovuk *what person?*, jek-ek *something*, kača'k-ek *a certain number of*, cp. Bu. be'rum-AN; with numerals: dai bai-ek *ten or a dozen*, bivēk *a score*. It is also used with the plural and so corresponds to the Bu. -ik. Employed with passive participles and verbal bases it replaces the indefinite by a definite sense. Thus: rai.ituk *the thing said* cp. Bu. senuman; ā'thi hanuk *the bones there are*, cp. Bu. maltaš biluman *the ghee there was*.

Points of similarity can also be found in the use of the case suffixes: Sh. jek čokij *how?*, cp. Bu. belatē. Sh. -ij = Δje is semantically parallel to Bu. -Δtē. Sh. abl. -jo, parallel to Bu. -tsum used with meaning *after* (of time). Among the pronouns, Sh. ek ek is parallel with Bu. hin hin *one another* v. § 134. Sh. baiye *both* and burto pl. burte *all* generally follow the noun: jak burte *all the people*, cp. Bu. \*-Altalik and \*-yo'n, §§ 177—178.

There is a parallelism between the use of the Sh. ga, ge and the Bu. ke with the indefinite pronouns when the verb is in the negative e. g. Sh. jega niš, Bu. besan ke api *it is nothing*, v. §§ 148—154 and 333.

The higher numeral system of both languages is based on the score (20). In compound verbal expressions there is much parallelism in the use of the verbs *to come*, Sh. wai.o'iki Bu. juryas; *to bring*, Sh. walo'iki and ato'iki, Bu. d\*-tsas, dusuryas, suryas, v. §§ 261 ff. and 266, also in some other cases. These seem to be translations.

Parallelism of use can also be noted in some independent verbs e. g. Sh. nikhai.o'iki, Bu. dursas, *to come out, go out, get out, escape*;

to cross (a river; etc.) to climb up; to win (in a game). Both languages use the interrogative suffix -a with verbs, and use it in the same way, v. § 340.

There seems to be some parallelism in the verb *to be able*, Sh. bo·iki, which also means *to be, become*, and the Bu. \*-AMANAS which is presumably related to MANAS, v. § 298.6. Cp. also Kho. bik.

The Conditional particles Sh. tsik and Bu. tse, Wer. tsik are largely similarly employed.

The extensive use of the past participle active and its employment as a connective are common to both languages. Sh. the *having said*, is used to close a quotation, exactly as the Bu. nusen, v. § 367. Cp. Kho. re.

Sh. tho·iki and Bu. etas, both meaning primarily *to do*, are always used for *to speak (a language)*, and the Sh. constantly, and the Bu. sometimes, for *to say*.

There are correspondences in the use of the Sh. passive and static participles and the Bu. static participle, cp. rai.ituk mentioned above, also the active use in Sh. rai.ito manu·jo *a man who has read i.e. a literate man*, v. § 378. b. With §§ 379. b. and 460 cp. Sh. wato o manu·jo *the man who has come*.

The infinitive is used in Shina as in Burushaski with case suffixes, v. § 392. I. Curiously, the Sh. locative form in -ər in used in the same way as the Bu. dative form in -ər, as described in § 395 d. Is this a case of adoption? The same phenomenon is seen in the Sh. Δča·kər and the Bu. terumanər, both expressing in the same way, *at this point, thereupon, then*, v. § 409.1.

As in Bu. so in Sh. the same or approximately the same form functions as infinitive, inflectable verbal noun, noun-agent and gerundive(?): tho·iki, tho·k, *to do, doing* (noun); tho·ikejo fatu *after doing (it)*; tho·iket čak *ready to do it*; MAS do·iki Δsulusus *I was a giver, prepared to give*; MAS tho·kunas, tus tho·kuno, ro's tho·kun *I am to, have to, must do, thou must do, he must do*; Δšpe kure kərpa tho·kun *it is necessary to cut the horse's hoofs, its hoofs are to be cut*; Δšpič tilen do·kun (do·iki) *the saddle is to be put on the horse*.

In Sh. maṭ ləl haṅ-ij *on its being known to me* i.e. *with my knowledge*, maṭ ləl nuš-ij *without my knowledge*, the use of the suffix -ij (Δje = *on*) may be compared with that of Bu. -aṭe in ayetum-aṭe etc. in § 384, and the combination of the base haṅ with a case suffix, with oṅi-tsum and aṣqan-aṭe in § 407. b. and c.

The use of the past participle active of the verb *to do* in Bu. to form adverbial expressions is to be compared with the similar Sh. use of the ppc. of thoṛiki viz. *the*, e.g. loṛko *the quickly*, miṣto *the well*, Bu. yər ne *forwards*, šu.a ne *well*, v. § 416. But while the Sh. adverbs so formed are usually Adverbs of Manner, those of Burushaski are mainly Adverbs of Place.

There is also much parallelism in the use of the Sh. particle *to* and the Bu. particle *ke* with temporal clauses and the protases of conditional sentences.

Some correspondences of a like nature can also be traced in Khowar.

Burushaski has also been in contact with certain foreign languages which geographically do not lie adjacent to it. These are Panjabi and Dogri, Hindustani, Persian and Arabic. One main point of contact has been provided by the Gilgit bazar, the marketing centre of Hunza and Nagir, where the shops are manned by a mixed crew of Panjabis, Kashmiris and local people, and are frequented by the Dogras of the garrison of Kashmir State Troops and the servants of local officials. Local people are also employed by various public departments, such as the Public Works Department, the Posts and Telegraphs and the Indian Army Service Corps, whose officials talk Hindustani. There are always a considerable number of Burusho resident in the Gilgit Wazārat, and small numbers are to be found in Srinagar and down country, even in Bombay.

Contact again is provided by the corps of Gilgit Scouts. Hunza and Nagir both provide two companies of 80 men each, who come up to Gilgit for training for a month (recently increased to two months) each year. Here they are trained by one or two British Officers, whose medium of communication is Hindustani, and they must thus pick up a certain limited Hindustani vocabulary.

A third point of contact is provided by the Schools attended by a very limited number of boys chiefly of the upper classes. Elementary instruction in reading and writing Hindustani in the Arabic script is obtainable in Baltit and Nagir. A small number of boys proceed to the Anglo-Vernacular Middle School in Gilgit, where they learn Urdu and Persian, and can make a beginning on English up to the VIIIth. Standard. A few of the sons of the *élite* now go for two or three years to the State College in Srinagar, where they can carry their studies to the point of passing the B. A. examination in English. But as yet there are no Burusho B. A.'s.

From all these encounters people return to their homes, temporarily or for good, bringing with them some degree of linguistic acquirement, and an enlarged, not necessarily improved, view of life. A few in recent times have brought with them some foreign accomplishment, tailoring, clothes-washing or, petty trading and shopkeeping.

One great source of extraneous culture remains to be mentioned: the Islamic Tradition, which carries with it many kinds of lore and knowledge not directly religious. What exactly it connotes in any given case would be a complicated subject of research, on which I have made no attempt to embark, but it is probable that what Ismailism has brought to Hunza does not exactly tally with what Shiahism has brought to Nagir. What comes in the way of doctrine, history, legend and language (Arabic terms) directly through mullahs and religious teachers, where they exist, and what is transmitted by the ordinary intercourse of Muslims of all nationalities and in all places? It is by the latter route presumably that folk tales such as Texts I, II and III have found their way into Hunza and Nagir. I think it may also be assumed that the bulk of Arabic words current in Burushaski have been acquired through the medium of Persian and Hindustani, or have filtered through Shina.

The people of Yasin have had less numerous external contacts than those of Hunza and Nagir. They have also, I think, sent

fewer youths to be educated. On the other hand they have for many years been in very close contact with one foreign language, Khowar, which has been brought to their doors, and for many into their daily lives. This is reflected to some extent in the Werchikwar vocabulary as far as it is known, but I do not know enough to say anything definite about morphological and structural analogies between the two languages.

### **Earlier Work on Burushaski and Werchikwar by Europeans.**

The only original work of importance done in the past on Burushaski is that published by Col. J. Biddulph in 1880 (revised 1884) and by Dr. G. W. Leitner in 1889. In the Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. VIII their results are revised and summarised and a version of the parable of the Prodigal Son is added. Biddulph's work is sound as far as it goes, but it is only a brief sketch. There are 22 8vo. pages of Grammar, 4 pages of sentences and texts and 20 pages of Burushaski-English Vocabulary. He deals with the Nagir dialect which he calls "Boorishki" (v. footnote p. XVIII). Leitner in his "Hunza and Nagir Handbook", 1889, also principally describes the Nagir dialect. He collected a considerable vocabulary, extensive paradigms and a large mass of miscellaneous information, all of which he presents unfortunately in an ill-digested and unsystematic manner. His translations are often so loose as to suggest that he did not fully understand his texts, and naturally errors are not lacking.<sup>1</sup>

In both Biddulph's and Leitner's Vocabularies a considerable number of Shina words are to be found. This is probably characteristic of Nagir Burushaski, which has always been more exposed to infection by Shina than the Hunza speech.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> It would be unwise to express a final judgment on Leitner's work without checking it through in detail with the assistance of Burushaski speakers, which I have not done.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. also the Bibliography in LSI, Vol. VIII, 1, p. 551. — Manuscript vocabularies compiled by B. L. Grombchevskiy and M. S. Andreev are in the possession of the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy.

In the past Werchikwar has received even less attention than Burushaski. The Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. VIII contains a brief notice of it and a version of the parable of the Prodigal Son furnished by an Indian Official, Khan Sahib Abdul Hakim. Recently, however, I. I. Zarubin has furnished in Russian a valuable description of the language (v. § 500 below), to which he appends a vocabulary and a detailed criticism of the L. S. I. "Prodigal Son", which appears just, as far as I have examined it.

### **The Present Work.**

The world has recently been presented with works on little-known Indian languages which represent the knowledge and labour of half a life-time. Such are Hoffmann's "Encyclopaedia Mundarica" and Bodding's Santali Dictionary. The present work makes no pretence to such a foundation. It represents merely an endeavour to squeeze the contents out of such material as I was able to collect hurriedly in a short time, and to arrange and present it in a systematic manner, so that it may be conveniently available to the student.

In September 1920 I took over charge as Political Agent, Gilgit, and remained there till September 1924. During the greater part of the first three years I devoted my spare time to the Shina and Khowar languages and it was only in May 1923 that I added to these Burushaski. From then until July 1924 it somewhat interruptedly received a portion of my attention. In 1921 my wife had made a start on Burushaski, working for two or three weeks with Gushpūr Maḥbūb 'Ali Khān, son of the Mir of Nagir, a bright and intelligent youth. I now turned to her work and gained some idea from it of the principal features of the language, the use of pronominal prefixes, the four "genders" and the main lines of inflexion. Otherwise I started from zero, as I did not wish at this point possibly to prejudice my openness of mind by having recourse to Biddulph and Leitner. In the event I never consulted them at all while I was in Gilgit.



My mode of procedure was as follows, and in all the circumstances it seems to have justified itself. For a few weeks I worked with Nazer of Aliabad, head of my establishment of domestic servants, eliciting from him the principal inflectional forms of the language as well as the chief pronominal forms and the numerals. Nazer, though illiterate, was a man with excellent brains and the instincts of a teacher and elucidator, and Hindustani provided a medium of intercourse. After this I secured the services of Imām Yār Bèg, brother of the Wazir of Hunza and a Jemadar in the Gilgit Scouts, and began to take down texts to his dictation. Each day I wrote down as much as I had time to, making every effort to record the sounds phonetically as far as I was able to appreciate them, and to make sure of the division of the words. I did not make a point of fully following and understanding what I wrote. The same day, or the next working-day, I read out to him what I had written, corrected it as far as I could from every point of view and strove to arrive at the exact meaning of every word and sentence. I made notes of the translation and obtained the principal parts of verbs, the plural forms of nouns and so on, and recorded other words and phrases that were suggested by those of the text.

All this was very hurriedly done, but the results have in general proved satisfactory and the texts themselves seem to be readily intelligible to Burushaski-speakers when read aloud to them. They will often complete a sentence and continue the narrative, where it is short, in much the same words as the original, for though there are no professional story-tellers in Hunza, many of the local stories or accounts of customs appear to be told habitually in a customary, if not stereotyped form.

Imam Yar Beg was a man of first-rate intelligence, great energy and a forceful personality. His own tastes ran naturally to sport and the practical. He was an enthusiastic and skilled polo player and I fear linguistic enquiries must sometimes have bored him, but he stayed the course until at length he unfortunately fell ill a month or two before I left the country. In that month or two,

of course, everything was going to have been checked and corrected and much additional information was going to have been obtained — an impossible programme!

Simultaneously with the writing of the texts I ran through an extensive list of common English words and obtained as far as possible their Burushaski equivalents by direct enquiry. This method helps to fill up unexpected hiatuses which will always be found in the vocabulary obtained from any moderate body of texts and casual information. It works well enough with nouns that are the names of material objects and with the simpler direct verbal conceptions. As a sole method, with an imperfectly-known common language as medium of communication, it would be quite unsatisfactory.

Also, in desperation, to make the most of the time available, I adopted a still less satisfactory expedient. I commissioned Imam Yar Beg's elder brother, 'Ināyatullah Bèg, to write out for me a list of all the Burushaski words and proverbs he could think of with explanations in Hindustani. He had some months in which to do this. I gave him for the purpose a large number of slips, each to be used for a single word, of which the vital inflected forms were also to be given. Unfortunately I was not able to convey my instructions by word of mouth and IUB devoted himself to a paper-economy campaign, writing as many words in pencil in a small hand on each slip as he could cram on to it. The result was almost illegible. I handed these slips over to Shāhzāda Yūsuf of Yasin to re-write. He had an adequate knowledge of Burushaski and non-literate Burusho at hand to consult. With great industry he rewrote all the words on separate slips, adding in some cases Roman transliterations of his own. This did not suffice, however, to distinguish with any certainty a from ā, i from e and u from o, nor to exclude ambiguity in the case of some other sounds.

All this material, which contained much that was new to me, I was unable to examine till years later when in England and unable to obtain help. Another very difficult manuscript with which I

had to struggle unaided was that of text No. 47 which had been supplied to me in two not identical versions, Burushaski and Urdu, by Gushpūr Muhammad Ghani Khān, before I had begun to work at the language.<sup>1</sup>

In collecting linguistic material there is a choice of two attitudes one may adopt. The first is to try and clear up and master every difficulty as it occurs and ideally to make one's effective knowledge keep pace with the information that one writes down; the other is not to linger over difficulties which prove at all intractable, not to memorise and not to endeavour to learn to speak as one goes along, but to write down in the way of Texts etc. as much as possible in the time available, only making notes of the meaning and of usages as far as that is possible without undue delay.

The former method is of course the ideal one, but I doubt whether it is the wiser when time is limited. One may spend hours debating over an obscure phrase or construction without arriving at a full comprehension of it, while if the time is spent instead in recording more texts, there is a considerable chance that the word or phrase will turn up again in contexts which make its meaning or force plain. At least this has been my frequent experience. As regards trying to talk and memorising one's material as one goes along, where the language is as difficult as Burushaski, that is largely a question of the quickness and acquisitive power of the recorder. With no spare time or energy at my command such ambitions lay beyond my hopes.

I therefore resigned myself to the second method and devoted myself to collecting as much material as I could in the time — and the "time", it must be remembered, was what remained to me when my official work was done, and had to be divided between the three languages I was working at concurrently, Shina and Khowar as well as Burushaski. Then on retiring and returning to

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<sup>1</sup> There is an error in the statement made in l. 3 of the note on p. 376 of the Texts: "1923" should be altered to "1922", or else the words "more than a year" should be cut out. I am not sure which.

England I settled down first to translating the texts and working out the vocabulary, and then to an intensive comparative study of every word and every grammatical form occurring in my material. On this basis I then prepared and annotated the Texts and drew up the Grammar and Vocabulary as they now stand. This took in all four and a half years, from January 1926 to June 1930.

I have dwelt at some length on my methods of work, because without such knowledge it is impossible for the reader to form any just estimate of the degree of authority to which the book can lay claim. For the same reason I have made a free use of question marks in the Vocabulary and elsewhere to indicate points in regard to which my information is uncertain. I hope I have stated nothing as a fact except on reasonably adequate grounds.

The whole edifice stands essentially on the foundation of Jemadar Imam Yar Beg's Burushaski, a foundation the general reliability of which I think no one in Hunza would dream of questioning. But this statement requires serious qualification: it is IYB's Burushaski as affected by the mishearings and misunderstandings of the recorder. That there are such I have not the slightest doubt. I am only surprised that the substance of the Texts has worked out so homogeneous and, as I have now some ground for believing, so correct.

A special word of warning should be given in regard to the Phonetics. I am myself no phonetician and made no constant systematic attempt to distinguish by all means at my command between different sounds which sooner or later I knew to exist, but could not myself certainly distinguish. This applies specially to the two parallel series of cerebrals and non-cebrals, aspirates and non-aspirates. Many cerebrals and aspirates may have escaped undetected; I can only say that where a sound is marked as cerebral or aspirate, it may safely be assumed to be such.

My general aim in the preparation of this work is now sufficiently evident; it is simply to give a perfectly objective view of what I was able to ascertain about the language. I have created a hypothesis

only where it seemed necessary to attain brevity and clarity in the statement of facts. Such is my theory of the initial \*-s- of many nouns and verbal bases, and the combination of it with the pronominal prefixes. Otherwise I have avoided speculation in realms outside my competence. I have raised no questions of the relationship between Burushaski and other languages and I have also intentionally omitted to point out many parallels in grammatical usage and idiom between Burushaski and the adjacent, though non-related, languages Shina and Khowar. In the Vocabulary on the other hand I have noted when the same word, or obviously a form of the same word, is in use in those languages. I have done this because I believe that many of these Shina and Khowar words have not before been recorded, and even when they have been, will not always be readily accessible to the reader.

As I have eschewed questions of relationship, so for still better reasons I have abstained from any attempt to propound linguistic theories of a more general nature. With less certain virtue I have also failed to supply any new grammatical terminology. Another terminology than that of my boyhood's reminiscences of Latin Grammar is certainly needed to describe the phenomena of Burushaski. I do not know that such exists, and I have thought it wise to leave this thorny matter to hardened experts and not to complicate the issues by amateur attempts which would only prove a stone of offence.

The principal work that remains to be done for Burushaski as I see it is:

1. To make a scientific determination of the phonetic system.
2. To clear up existing grammatical problems and to discover more.
3. To ascertain the relative frequency of various syntactical usages. Some which in my material occur rarely are probably in fact common enough.
4. To make a parallel study of Nagiri Burushaski and local variations in phonetics and vocabulary.

5. To complete the vocabulary and to collect obsolete and obsolescent words. There are a multitude of general terms to be collected, while there is undoubtedly an immense field of "technical" terms, in the widest sense, to be covered.

In this last task the most fruitful line of approach will be by the way of anthropological interests and anthropological methods. Burushaski also appears to have a great facility in the metaphorical use of specific words, especially verbs. These uses can only be educated with time, patience and experience.

To these various subjects for enquiry, except the first, I now hope to be able to make some contribution.

Self-determination and luck have brought me again, after ten years, to the land of the Burusho, in the midst of whom, at Aliabad in Hunza EOL and I are now living. This luck I owe "first", as they would say here "to the grace of God", and then to the "kindness" of the Trustees of the Leverhulme Research Fellowship Fund, who have granted me substantial financial assistance. It is a short time spent again with Burushaski-speakers that has enabled me to say above that the Texts and Grammar appear to be generally sound beyond my dreams. This does not at all mean that they are impeccable.

How much can now be done will again be governed by the time factor — the harvest is ripe, but the labourers are few.

But this is anticipating.

Meanwhile in what concerns the present work there remains to me the pleasure of paying many debts of very genuine gratitude. To the Tham of Hunza, Sir Muhammad Nazim Khan, K. C. I. E., I have paid my tribute in the Dedication. To him I owe much personal kindness and hospitality and also the services of IYB over a long period. The Burushaski of the Dedication, I may say, has been constrained with much expert advice to an unprecedented use.

Next I have to thank my active collaborators, to whom ultimately everything is due, Jemadar Imam Yar Beg, Inayat Ullah Beg,

Shahzada Yusuf and Nazar. Further I would very specially thank my friend, Khan Sahib Muhammad Masih Pāl, in my time and still, Indian Assistant to the Political Agent, Gilgit, for many and various services extending over a number of years.

To Professor Georg Morgenstierne's inspiration and good offices this work owes its appearance in print, for he introduced and sponsored it to the Directors of the Norwegian Instituttet For Sammenlignende Kulturforskning who have honoured me by approving it and publishing it at the expense and under the aegis of the Institute. I should like here to express my sincere and cordial thanks to the Institute and its Directors. With great unselfishness Professor Morgenstierne has also spent no little valuable time and much patience on matters connected with proofs and printing. He promises to crown his kindness by contributing a Preface.

Finally my thanks are due, as always, to my Wife for steadfast encouragement, judicious but unvexatious criticism, and unstinted typing, each of which contributions is in its way equally essential to my continued functioning.

Aliabad, Hunza,  
*1st September 1934.*

*D. L. R. L.*





## PHONOLOGY.

§ 1.

1 Of the sounds of Burushaski I am not able to give a precise scientific account. All I can do is to enumerate the sounds that I was myself able to distinguish, and supplement this with what I could ascertain of the views and feelings of the speakers of the language.

A point which must be kept in mind is that I am dealing with the language only as I heard it spoken by a few individuals. As is the case in other languages, there are undoubtedly many variations of sounds and forms peculiar to different localities and to different individuals. What I may, however, claim is that the form of the language which I was able to study is to be regarded as the most approved type of Hunza speech, for it was that practised by Jemadār Imām Yār Bèg, a member of the family of Wazirs which can be ranked in social standing as second only to that of the Mirs. Actually the stock of the former may well be purer Burisho, as it has probably been less diluted by foreign marriages.

There is of course no orthographic practice or tradition, for what it might be worth, from which one can hope to obtain light. Burushaski is not a written language. The only Mss. which exist are probably the few texts and lists of words which I have induced three or four informants to write down tentatively in the Arabic script. In the absence of any convention each has solved in his own way the difficulties which present themselves.

The character  $\dot{\text{ج}}$  for instance, has been variously used to represent  $\dot{\text{ž}}$ ,  $\text{ts}$ ,  $\text{y}$  and  $\text{j}$  ( $\dot{\text{ž}}$ ) as opposed to  $\text{j}$  ( $\dot{\text{ž}}$ ).

Certain sounds remain undiscriminated, and words are commonly written disjointedly as if their several syllables were separate words.

2. I would give the principal sounds of Burushaski as follows:

### Vowels.

aʷ	a	(æ)	Δ	ə	εʷ	ε	eʷ	e
iʷ	i	ɪ	oʷ	o	(ə)	uʷ	u	(ü)
ai	(æɪ)				au	(aʷ).		

### Consonants.

k	q	q̣	x	kh	(qh?)	
g		g̣	ɣ	ɣ̣		
č		č̣		čh	č̣h	
j	(ž)	j̣	y	ỵ		
t		ṭ		th	ṭh	
d		ḍ				
p	pf		f	ph		
b			w			
s			š	ṣ̌		
z			ž	(j)	ẓ̌	(j)
ts				ts.h		
n	ŋ		m			
l	r					
h.						

3. In the following notes it is to be understood that the English and other foreign illustrations of the sounds are only approximate:

aʷ a I.P.A. aʷ a English *father*.

æ English *cat*.

Δ *but*.

ə *water*.

a and Δ are often difficult to distinguish and in many words seem to be interchangeable.

ə is only a variant of Δ occurring chiefly before r and finally for a or ε.

- æ I have only recorded occasionally as a variant of a- or  
 ʌ- in the neighbourhood of a palatal sound.
- ɛʳ ε English *bed, net*.
- eʳ e Scotch *date* (not diphthongal), French *été*.
- iʳ i English *sea, machine*.
- ɪ *pin*.
- ɪ arises from an unstressed i.  
 Occasionally there appears to be instability in ε, e, i,  
 with consequent interchange.
- oʳ o English *post* (not diphthongal).
- ɔ *on* (an occasional variant for o).
- uʳ u *spoon*.
- There is frequent approximation or interchange of o  
 and u.
- ʊ English *put*. ʊ arises from unstressed u.
- ɪ doubtfully I.P.A. y, French u, occurs occasionally for u or  
 i following g or q.
- ai I.P.A. aɪ or æɪ? English *fly*.  
 I have frequently used ai.i to represent a final combination.  
 It is not to be taken as a full triphthong: a + i + i. It  
 would perhaps have been more correctly expressed by æ.i  
 representing a followed and palatalised by i.
- au English *how*. It is often more or less two separate vowels.  
 My use of au.u is analogous to that of ai.i.

#### 4. Vowel length.

The vowels a, ε, e, i, o and u vary in length from long to short, and it is often very difficult to decide how to record the vowel in a particular case.

It is to be noted that my i, o and u are always of the same *quality* as iʳ, oʳ and uʳ and are not to be read as ɪ, ɔ and ʊ.

While tending to be short, ʌ, ɪ and ʊ no doubt vary within limits, but I have made no attempt to distinguish between less short and shorter specimens.

A certain number of very long vowels occur, but they usually turn into diphthongs: aʷ, eʷ, εʷ, oʷ, oʷ, uʷ etc. the first component being relatively long.

In my texts I sometimes wrote aʷ, εʷ, oʷ etc., but I have not thought it necessary to introduce this typographical complication here.

In general I have not attempted to systematise the spelling of the texts. They stand practically as I took them down and represent a somewhat hurried attempt to record the sounds as I heard them.

There are no doubt inconsistencies and contradictions, but it is to be remembered that not only is one's ear fallible (I speak as an untrained amateur) and variable in its judgement, but also undoubtedly any one narrator's pronunciation varies very considerably, if within limits.

A stop between vowels indicates that there is no perceptible y or w glide between them, but it does not denote a marked hiatus.

## 5. Consonants.

It is to be noted that there are a certain number of aspirated, and some cerebral or post-alveolar sounds. I exclude them for the moment from consideration:

k and g are much as in *cold* and *goose* and are liable to the same advance in position as in *king* and *geese*.

q is a post-velar sound produced further back than k.

x and γ are the voiceless and voiced spirants corresponding to k and g and liable to the same variation in position.

č and j and y are as in English *church*, *judge* and *young*.

t and d are, I think, post-dental, much as in English.

p, f, b, w are to me indistinguishable from the English sounds.

s as in English *sin*.

š as in English *shin*.

z as in English *zeal*.

ž as in English *azure*, *pleasure*.

j and ž appear to be merely variants of each other and not

separate phonemes, and in my experience *j* is the commoner sound.

*ts* as in English *flotsam*, *huts*. The *t* passes into *s* without being "exploded" and the two sounds cannot be separated, e. g. *mu-tsu-mi*, not *mut-su-mi*. It stands to *t + s* as *č & j* do to *t + š* & *d + ž* respectively.

*n*, *m* are as in English.

*ŋ* as in English *singing*,

*l* as in English *lame*, *alone*. I did not note any peculiar *l* in Hunza and Nagir, but one exists in Werchikwār.

## 6. Postalveolars or cerebrals.

a) Of the sounds denoted by *č*, *j*, *y*, *t*, *d*, *š*, *ž* there are two series: one produced with the tip of the tongue in a relatively advanced, and the other with the tip of the tongue in a relatively retracted, position. The latter I have indicated by a spot as: *č̣*, *j̣*, *ỵ*, *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ṣ̌*, *ẓ̌*.

It is a common practice to call such sounds "cerebrals," but I do not think they are cerebrals according to the Sanskritists' definition of the term.<sup>1</sup>

On the whole I think that the post-alveolar nature of the sounds is less marked in Burushaski than it is in Shina. Personally I have experienced a difficulty in certainly distinguishing *č̣*, *j̣*, *ṣ̌*, *ẓ̌* from *č*, *j*, *š*, *ž*, though in some words the difference is readily perceptible.

*j̣* and *ẓ̌* are, I think, interchangeable.

*ḍ* I was sometimes able to detect, but sometimes I got it as *r* (not, I think as *ṛ*) and sometimes as *d*. In some cases my informants appeared to regard the variants, especially *r* as legitimate. I obtained from IYB a long list of words with guaranteed *ḍ*.

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<sup>1</sup> The point has been discussed by Sir George Grierson and Dr. Grahame Bailey in regard to Shina where a very similar situation exists (v. JRAS July and Oct. 1924; Jan. and April 1925).

ṭ was to me indistinguishable, at any rate in ordinary speech, from t, and I obtained no list of words containing it.

When writing Burushaski in Arabic characters (only done at my request) my informants appear to have consistently differentiated ḍ and ṭ as  $\text{د}$  and  $\text{ط}$

from d            t written > and  $\text{ت}$ .

They did not themselves attempt to distinguish the other postalveolar sounds, except at my special request.

All information obtained from any source in regard to these sounds is embodied in the Vocabulary.

b) y is a sound not shared by Shina, nor have I met it anywhere except in Burushaski.

Its identification as a 'cerebral y' is tentative. From different people I recorded it variously as peculiar kinds of r, l, ž and sometimes as a hiatus or 'hamza.'

With my principal informant IYB I eventually recorded it as an indistinct variety of  $\gamma$ . He always wanted me to take it as 'y,' but that did not seem to me to meet the case. Subsequent reflection and phonetic experiments, however, have now led me to think that it represents an attempt to pronounce y with the tongue in the cerebral position i.e. with the tip turned back to or towards the roof of the mouth, or at least with the tip of the tongue in some measure raised and retracted.

The sound occurs medially and finally, but has not been recorded initially.

Medially when immediately followed by a consonant it disappears or becomes to me imperceptible. Finally it is also often scarcely perceptible.

c) A few instances of a peculiar initial g were recorded: e.g.

giya's, giyał & giya's,

also a doubtful q- and  $\gamma$ - in

qüye and  $\gamma$ i'n,  $\gamma$ i'ki.

I am now inclined to the view that these are similar in nature to y and that they are modifications of g, q and  $\gamma$  produced

probably by the proximity of a *y*. A *y* has been recorded in most of the examples.

*giy<sub>ΔS</sub>* is not necessarily an exception as it is probably really *giy<sub>ΔS</sub>*.

I therefore suggest as a hypothesis that

*y, ɣ, γ, q* are variations of *y, g, γ, q*

produced by endeavouring to form these sounds with the tip of the tongue in some degree turned back towards the roof of the mouth, or at any rate with the front of the tongue raised and retracted from the normal position.

## 7. Aspirates.

a) The following aspirates were recognised by my informants :

*kh, čh, č̣h, th (ṭh), ph, ts.h.*

Of these I had myself noted in some instances *kh, th* and *ph*, and I subsequently obtained lists of some *kh* and *th* words.

Most words beginning with any sort of 'p' sound I recorded at one time or another with 'pf' in which the 'p' is usually subordinate to the 'f.'

My *pf* is probably essentially a variant, sometimes perhaps a personal mishearing, of 'ph.' I also heard it in Shina. In the vernacular *Ms.* at my command it is represented either by 'f' or by 'ph.'

*f* as an initial sound I found principally in foreign words.

b) As regards Voiced Aspirates, I did not myself notice any. I was given by *IYB* a list of examples of 'jh' and one or two of 'j̣h,' but where any of these words occur in his *Ms.* they are usually written with unaspirated 'j.' I therefore regard the existence of 'jh' with some scepticism.

I may say here that my efforts to make a formal investigation into the phonetic situation and to obtain lists of words illustrating the sounds, were only commenced shortly before I left Gilgit and remained incomplete.

8. The liability to interchange of certain vowels has already been mentioned.

Certain of the consonants are also liable to variation, irrespective of any special phonetic reason (such as the proximity of other sounds calculated to influence them).

Some of these variations represent something less than dialects, but what may be called recognised fashions of speech. In origin they were doubtless local; whether they still are so I have not the knowledge to say.

The following may be mentioned:

a) x is a somewhat insecure sound. Initially it is sometimes replaced by, or replaces, q, qh(?), kh, & k(?). So:

xa || kha; xat || khat *down*.

xabər || kabər *news*.

xam || kham || qham *cooked vegetables*.

xər || khər || qər *sum of Rs. 6*.

xərts || qərts *clapping hands*; and many others.

b) On the other hand it is sometimes difficult to decide whether an initial sound is x or h. E.g.

xumu'in || humu'in *a man without sons*.

Xuru || Huru *Proper Name of man*.

xurgas || hurgas *thick*.

(Ms. material gives h- in 1 and 3, and x- in 2).

I have experienced a similar difficulty in Khowar.

c) In many words the initial sound is pronounced by some γ and by others g. E.g.

γα || ga *crow*.

γandır || gandır *crooked*.

γašivl || gašivl *firewood*.

N. and Nz. favoured g; IYB γ.

d) j and ž (as also ĵ and ẓ̌) seem to be purely alternative sounds, representing a single etymological entity.

e) Medial f is rare, and initial f is found chiefly in foreign words and tends to pass over into pf and sometimes ph.



f) *ts* occasionally appears as *č*.

$\Delta$ tsi  $\rightarrow$   $\Delta$ či (a + \*-tsi)

and *-t + tsi* seems to yield *-či*.

g) The combination *-sts-* occurs medially in some words, and some sybarites tend to drop the second *s*, a proceeding strongly condemned by puritans. So:

dusts $\Delta$ k || dust $\Delta$ k; dests $\Delta$ l $\Delta$ s || dest $\Delta$ l $\Delta$ s; dests $\Delta$ y $\Delta$ s || dest $\Delta$ y $\Delta$ s.

There is reason to believe, however, that the second *s* is really intrusive.

h) *n*, *ŋ*, *m* sometimes replace each other. The 2nd. sg. Personal Pronoun seems regularly to be

u $\cdot$ m in Nagir, u $\cdot$ n or u $\cdot$ ŋ in Hunza. Nz. affected u $\cdot$ n, and IYB u $\cdot$ ŋ.

In the texts and elsewhere I occasionally got final *-n* for *-ŋ* and vice versa. So:

d $\Delta$ y $\Delta$ o $\cdot$  $\Delta$ n || d $\Delta$ y $\Delta$ o $\cdot$  $\Delta$ ŋ, ti $\cdot$ li. $\Delta$ n || ti $\cdot$ li. $\Delta$ ŋ

where *ŋ* as the typical *y* pl. ending is probably the more "correct," and on the other hand

juk $\Delta$ ŋ, an *x* noun,

in which *-n* would be more normal.

I always found it difficult to decide whether the name of the place was Šiŋša $\cdot$ l or Šimša $\cdot$ l.

i) There does not seem to be any marked tendency to confuse *l* and *r*, but under considerable provocation we find:

o $\cdot$ skilar $\Delta$ r for o $\cdot$ skiral $\Delta$ r (\*- $\Delta$ skir) and N.  $\Delta$ l $\Delta$ r $\Delta$ r for  $\Delta$ l $\Delta$ r $\Delta$ r(?) ( $\Delta$ l $\Delta$ .i).

9. a) In a list of words with initial *h* written by either IYB or ŠY the following are written with the strong Arabic  $\mathcal{C}$ .

ha	house	h $\Delta$ k	steam
huk	dog	h $\Delta$ r $\Delta$ v $\Delta$ y	sheep-pen etc.
hun $\Delta$ m	bride's jewellery.		

In the texts IYB writes  $\mathcal{C}$  but  $\mathcal{H}$  and  $\mathcal{C}$  (tribe).

The use of  $\mathcal{C}$  is probably a mere calligraphic affectation.

b) Initial h usually disappears when a vowel is prefixed to it. E.g.

a + hulja → 'o'lja  
 nu + huru't → 'nu'rut  
 \*-Δ + hΔkinΔs → '\*-Δ.ikinΔs  
 o + her → 'owər

but nu + her → nuh'ε'r (probably owing to the position of the accent). See also § 10 II a.

I do not think any Burushaski word with an original intervocalic h has been recorded.

10. I. A very important feature of the language is the change in certain circumstances of initial voiced sounds to their voiceless counterparts when they become medial.<sup>1</sup>

a) This occurs in verbs when they are preceded by:

- i. the negative prefix a- v. § 337.
- ii. the prefix of the ppa. n + vowel v. § 323 C.
- iii. the causative determinant \*-Δs- v. § 236. And
- iv. in a few compound nouns of which the first component ends in a voiceless consonant.

In these situations the following changes have been noted:

g > k	j > č
g̣ > k	d > t
γ > q	b > p

<sup>1</sup> It is worthy of note that in many words which Bu. shares with Sh. or Kho. an initial voiced sound in Bu. is represented by the corresponding unvoiced sound in Sh. and Kho.

Examples are:

bərpit,	dər,	gAltər,	jakər,
baša,	dau.o,	gili,	jaʦər.
buri,	dəl,	gīsi,	
bur,	gAkΔčo,	gu'kur,	
buri,	gAjəri,	gu'ni,	
bu's,	gAjət,	γAšap,	
bətur,	gAjəti,	γAsu,	

Per contra may be cited: pfəri, pfəriš', pfut and tivs.

For examples of i, ii, and iii and further facts see the paragraphs quoted above. Examples of iv are:

\*-Δskus *mother in law* (\*-Δs + gus?)

\*-Δšpu'r *mane* (\*-Δš + bu'r?).

It is to be noted that the pronoun prefixes and the causative determinant \*-Δ- do not devoice a following consonant.

b) Further: w → p.

i. after \*-Δs- in \*-wəras → \*-Δspəras.

ii. after a- privative in warts → apar'ts.

c) The pronoun prefix of the 2nd. sg. gu- changes to -ku- when it is preceded by the negative a-, or when it is employed as an infix in d\*- prefix verbs v. § 300.

a + gumΔnum → akumΔnum *thou not being.*

d) The devoicing is carried to the second syllable in:

d\*-Δspapalas ← babala,

nukuškin ← gušuginas,

but in the latter case it may be due rather to the contact of the š with the g owing to the dropping of the vowel.

e) The change γ → q is well attested in several instances and I have generalised it as being probably a universal fact, and otherwise a useful convention.

II. The change of an initial aspirate or fricative to a plosive has been noted in a few cases:

a) h → k

after the negative a- in the verb henΔs: henΔs, *to know*. akenΔs, *not to know*.

The same change has apparently operated in \*-Δskir *father-in-law* ← \*-Δs + hir(?)

b) After the ppa. prefix, the unstable x and f change to kh and p in:

\*-xəras            nikhər

\*-fΔtəras        nipΔtər.

11. I do not think there is any native Burushaski word which ends in

g, d, b, j (ž), j (ž),

x, γ, f, w, y, z.

In foreign words final g, d, b are frequently unvoiced to k, t, p. E.g.

de'g → de'k      Δdab → Δdap  
maddad → maddat      kita'b → kita'p.

All single sounds have been recorded in the initial position except y.

12. The following **Consonant Combinations** occur initially

br-, dr-, pr-, tr-.

Of these the first three are rare:

brak, bran, bras, dran, pra'k, prik.

There is a somewhat larger representation of tr-

trak, tran, tran, trap and a few others.

Of ts- (if it is regarded as a consonant combination) there are many examples including such indubitably Burushaski words as:

tsayur, tsan, tsil, tsir, tsuyas.

Similarly č and č are very common initial sounds, as may be seen from the Vocabulary.

13. A greater variety of **Consonant Combinations** is found in the final position in what are probably native Burushaski words:

-lč      \*-melč.

-lk      balk, dilk, vb. nuhalk.

-lš      vb. duwalš.

-lt      ba'lt, giyalt.

-nts      hu'nts and nominal plural ending v. §§ 28. 1. & 29. 2.

-nš      vb. du'nš.

-nč      ganč, gasanč, vb. senč.

-rk      ba'ærk, tærk, vb. isærk.

-rš, (-rš) he'rš, he'rš, N. hærš, vb. (u.)i'rš(Δn).

bisærš (cp. Shina bisa'č).

-rt      mært (cp. Sh. moč), hurrt (cp. Sh. hu'č).

-rts      dærts, xurts, ga'rts, \*-γurts.

-sk      p'ask, hi'sk (cp. Sh. he'sko), šask.

-šk      gašk, γask, ti'sk.

-ts      be'rits, \*-dumuts, ha'γuts, kuts.

nom. pl. ending -uts v. § 29. 14.

14. Medial consonant combinations are more numerous, but there are few consisting of more than two consonants. I have noted only the following:

-lts-, -rts-, -sts-.

The occasional occurrence of -šć- (& -šć-?) may be noted.

15. To judge from the foreign words incorporated in the language metathesis is not active in Burushaski.
16. The practice of repeating a noun with the alteration of the initial sound, giving a sense of vagueness or generality common in colloquial Hindustani and occurring both in Shina & Khowar, is rare, but not unknown in Burushaski:

I have recorded	tobaq mobaq	<i>guns, rifles, fire arms</i>
	ka't ha't	<i>conditions, injunctions</i>
	ma'l ha'l	<i>property, belongings</i>
	qiyu pyu	<i>outcry</i>

Also the adj. tsilum milum *lesser, minor*.

17. Stress accent.

I am unable to formulate any general rules in regard to the incidence of the Stress Accent. It is not always constant in the same word. Here and there I have marked the main accents in the texts.

A long vowel usually carries the accent, and where I have marked the accent as falling on a short vowel that vowel is probably in fact relatively long.

In transitive or causative verbs beginning with \*-Δ-, \*-ΔS-, d\*-Δ- d\*-ΔS- the accent is normally on the pronoun prefix or infix.

The stress accent is marked by the sign ' placed before the vowel of the syllable on which it falls.

18. Tones.

I did not perceive tones in the language, but that is no guarantee that they do not exist.

Professor Siddheshwar Varma has recently distinguished a high-falling and a low-rising tone in Burushaski, which are significant in a few cases. (Vide "Burushaski Texts," in "Indian Linguistics," Vol. I, pts. V & VI, pp. 9—10).

## NOUNS.

§ 19.

19. Nouns in Burushaski fall into four classes according as they denote:

- i. male human beings.
- ii. female human beings.
- iii. a) animate beings, other than human, of both sexes.  
b) certain inanimate objects.
- iv. all other inanimate objects.

It will be seen that these classes do not exactly correspond to the "Genders" of Indo-European languages as they fail to take account of sex in animals, and human beings are entirely segregated from all other things in nature.

To avoid confusion I therefore propose not to employ the term "gender" which by use has come to have a sex connotation.

On the other hand the idea in Burushaski of sex in human beings corresponds, not unnaturally, with our own, and I therefore propose to treat Burushaski nouns as being referable to three classes, or categories, composed as follows:

1. Nouns representing human beings . . . . . h category.  
    subdivided into masculine . . . . . hm —  
    and                   feminine . . . . . hf —
2. The names of non-human animate beings and  
    certain inanimate objects . . . . . x category.
3. The names of all other inanimate objects . . . . . y category.

The proposed nomenclature is unsatisfactory, but, as will presently be seen, it is difficult to devise terms for the x and y cate-

gories which will not, by being misleading or partial, tend to prejudice the mind in its view of the classes.<sup>1</sup>

20. The attribution of a noun to one category or another has very extensive effects in Burushaski, comparable to, but more far-reaching than those attending gender-differentiation in gender-ridden languages like Sanskrit, Latin or German.

These effects may be summarily stated as follows :

- i. There is some distinction in the plural suffixes of the nouns themselves. In general the h and x classes share one set of suffixes while the y class has a totally different set. Hf nouns have a suffix -mo added for the genitive sg. and this persists as -mu before the various case suffixes and post-positions.
- ii. In certain circumstances adjectives carry plural suffixes when used with plural nouns, and these suffixes are sometimes differentiated as between h and x suffixes and y suffixes.
- iii. The pronoun prefix of the 3rd. person is of the form :
  - i- when it relates to a sg. hm, x or y noun or to a pl. y.
  - mu- when it relates to a sg. hf noun.
  - u- when it relates to an h or x pl. noun v. § 122.
- iv. The Demonstrative Pronouns and Adjectives have different forms both in the singular and plural for the three categories. E.g.
 

sg. h kine,	x guse,	y gute <i>this</i> .
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 So also the interrogative Adjective and Pronoun :
 

sg. h amin,	x amis,	y amit <i>which?</i>
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- v. §§ 135, 139 and 161.
- v. In some instances the numerals vary in form according to the category e.g.
 

hin hir,	<i>a man</i> .
han haγur	<i>a horse</i> v. § 187.
- vi. Certain parts of all verbs are inflected according to the category to which the subject belongs.

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<sup>1</sup> For reasons unknown to me Biddulph and Leitner refer to the x and y classes as masculine and feminine respectively.

In illustration it may be stated that one of the parts of the verb which is affected by the category of the noun is the 3rd. person singular of the present tense, and we accordingly have the following variations in that part of the verb "to be":

hm	hir bai	<i>the man is</i>
hf	gus bo	<i>the woman is</i>
x	a) hAγur bi	<i>the horse is</i>
	bAγum bi	<i>the mare is</i>
	b) dAn bi	<i>the stone is</i>
y	tsil bila	<i>the water is</i>

It may be remarked that while the present distinguishes y sg. and y pl.

cp. tsilmiŋ bitsAn *the waters are*

the termination of the Future and Preterite in the 3rd. pers. of ordinary verbs is the same whether the subject is hm, x or y sg., or y pl. v. § 274.

- vii. A few transitive verbs appear in one form when the object is an h or x noun, and in another form when the object is a y noun. So:

h x d*-tsAs	y dusu'yAs	<i>to bring.</i>
yAnAs	gAnAs	<i>to take v. § 231.</i>

A few intransitive verbs similarly vary their root form according as the subject is h, x or y.

h x walAs	y bala's	<i>to fall v. § 232.</i>
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Each of these phenomena is considered in detail in its appropriate place.

21. a) It is natural to ask whether there is anything in the singular forms of nouns to indicate to which category they belong. The answer is that there is nothing resembling declensional case endings, such as the *-a* of the Latin *mensa* and the *-us* of *dominus*, but this does not exclude the possibility of the final sounds of words giving some indication of their category (as in French uninflected endings sometimes afford a clue to the gender).



The question in Burushaski is, however, complicated by the large number of foreign words which are found in the language. These are relegated to their proper categories without regard to their form, over which Burushaski exercises no control.

Many of these foreign words are obvious aliens, but of the remaining nouns in use it is not easy with our present knowledge — or at any rate with my knowledge — to assert that any particular individual is certainly original Burushaski.

It seems probable that in words of genuine Burushaski stock the final sounds:

-n, -s, -ts, -o, -u are more common in words of the h and x categories than in words of the y category, while the finals:

-š, -č, ŋ appear to belong preponderantly to the y category.

- b) The singular forms of nouns can in fact be assigned to one category or another at sight only in the comparatively rare case of their carrying a definite suffix. Of these there are few.

There are a few suffixes peculiar to nouns of the h category i.e. to nouns denoting human beings.

These are:

-ku.in } This suffix is usually added to nouns and denotes a per-  
-gu.in } son in some way connected with the concept of the  
original noun:

yai.in-gu.in *mill-man, miller.*

ušgu.in *creditor.*

hAYUR-ku.in *horseman, rider.*

račaku.in *guardian.*

yatku.in *over-man, superintendent.*

tsərgu.in *watchman, sentry.*

-sku.in occurs in

duro.sku.in *workman* from *duro work.*

See also in the Vocabulary:

gišasku.in *weaver.*

-ts is found in:

dəru'ts *hunter.*

məru'ts *gold-washer.*

From *dəru hunting* and *məru washing for gold.*

Also probably in:

Balo•ts	a <i>Balti</i> .
Gu.its	a <i>Wakhi</i> .
be•ri•ts	a <i>musician</i> .

-kiš This suffix is really an adjectival suffix added to nouns, indicating the possession of the property denoted by the original noun, but the adjectives thus formed can be used predicatively as noun-equivalents:

Δqəl-kīš(Δn) *one possessing intelligence, intelligent*.

-či This suffix seems to be the Turkish-Persian ending, denoting as a rule an operator, and occurs only in a few loan words:

ra•ma•l-či	<i>diviner</i> .
ḍa•ma•l-či	<i>drummer</i> .

c) There are a few suffixes peculiar to the y category.

-kuš added to an adjective or noun gives an abstract noun:

tu•ta•ŋ-kuš	<i>darkness</i> .
th•am-kuš	<i>tham-ship, sovereignty</i> .

-ki occurs as a suffix in a few words, one of which is certainly, and the others probably, y.

aku•ri•ki	<i>this much</i> (cp. akhu•rum).
u•š•Δki	<i>land given to foster-relations</i> (from *-u•še.Δs). <sup>1</sup>
*-γ•əri•ki	<i>daily ration</i> (cp. *-γ•ə•rum, <i>which falls to one's lot</i> ).
*-ya•r•eki y	<i>under-bedding</i> (from ya•r•ε).
*-ya•t•eki	<i>upper-bedding</i> (from ya•t•ε).
yai.ī•ki	<i>cleaned grain ready for grinding</i> (from yai.ī• mill).

-iš, -š (all probably š) is added to the past base of verbs and gives both abstract and concrete nouns:

γ•asi•š	<i>laughter</i> (γ•asa•s to laugh).
h•alki•š	<i>womb</i> (h•alka•s to give birth).
h•ə•r•Δš	<i>urinating, urine</i> (?) (h•ə•r•ai.Δs).
ma•ltsi•š	<i>abuse</i> (*-ma•ltsΔs).
ta•liš (Sh. -š)	<i>swaddling bands</i> (*-lta•li.Δs).

<sup>1</sup> An asterisk and dash \*- preceding a word indicate that it takes a pronominal prefix. V. §§ 122 and 290.

wa·riš cover (wa·raš).

Compare also:

hešš weeping (he·raš).

See in the Vocabulary:

gišAšku.in and hešku.in.

The possible connection of all of these with the -š forms of the verb, dealt with in § 358, deserves consideration.

The use of a single form to denote:

1. the action of the verb
2. a concrete object

is not impossible in English, cp. *wrapping*, *covering* etc.

- d) There are further a few borrowed nouns with the Shina masculine and feminine endings -o and -i.

šugu·lo male friend.                      šugu·li female friend.

gəro·no bridegroom.                      gəro·ni bride.

These are treated as hm and hf respectively.

22. In general no difficulty arises in deciding what is human and so named with an h noun, but where we have to do with supernatural beings a few border cases occur. In the West we recognise human kinship between ourselves and our fairies, ogres and demons, our gods and our devils. Our attitude is one of uncritical anthropomorphism; but the mind that can think in Burushaski is more discriminating. In Burushaski the words

pəri denoting *something akin to our fairy*.

bilas a kind of female demon.

ra·čī a guardian spirit also female.

ya·čēni a kind of ogress.

DΔdi the name of a particular supernatural female.

are all hf nouns, as their counterparts are with us. Indeed I know of no female semi-human being who is not treated as human, but

pfut a male demon, or Div.

boyo a kind of animal god.

Čihil GΔzi the name of a "Jinn."

Aždər a monster or dragon of some kind.

are all x nouns, though the pfut is sometimes humanised. All Jinns are said to be x, but the term is a foreign one and used loosely.

23. Cases of doubtful citizenship between h and x are few. It is the allocation of the names of inanimate objects to the x and y classes that presents the great crux in the classification of Burushaski nouns and drives us to search for any underlying principles which may assist us in "placing" a noun of which the meaning is known, but not the inflection or action.

The following are the results which the examination of a large number of x and y nouns has yielded.<sup>1</sup>

Among the *y* nouns are ranged the names of:

1. LIQUIDS, considered as liquids, e.g. water, milk, wine, rain etc.

An exception is *iran* = *cream*.

Where there is an entity considered apart from the actual liquid the noun may be x as in the case of:

*pfəri* x *a pond*.

*go'r* x *water pouring down, waterfall*.

\*-u x *tear*.

but *sinda* *a river* is y.

VAPOURS are also y as: smoke, steam, clouds, mist, and the intangible wind.

2. PLASTIC SUBSTANCES e.g. dough, mud, resin, butter, ghee.

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<sup>1</sup> My remarks on the morphology and classification of nouns are based on the examination of something over 1800 nouns, which are distributed approximately as follows:

h nouns . . . . .	208
x nouns animate . . . . .	127
inanimate. . . . .	426 553
y nouns . . . . .	733
nouns of which the class is unknown to me	309

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1803

In the y class are included some 87 nouns denoting abstract or immaterial conceptions as to whose class positive evidence is lacking.

3. Substances consisting of POWDER, or which are finely granular, e.g. flour, sand, earth, granular salt and sugar, and most of the finer grains: wheat, barley, rice, buckwheat. The coarser cereals are x e.g. Indian corn (mealies), peas, beans (note the plural in English).

Substances consisting of FINE FIBRE may be included in the same category: wool, cotton, down are y. So also: hair (human and animal) with the exception of

\*-pinišo x which I think means *short* human hair.

The word for a single hair, however, is also y.

A plait of hair is x bo'no, or y šæbak (N.) "a thin plait."

Chopped straw and bran, and sticks (γΔšiliŋ) in bulk as firewood are y.

γΔšil, an individual stick, is x.

4. TREES except the vine (šu'n) which is x. Smaller plants appear to be about equally divided between x and y.
5. METALS. But objects composed principally of metal appear to be about equally divided between x and y. Names of firearms and most coins are x.
6. ABSTRACT IDEAS, constituting what are known as Abstract Nouns, appear to be all y.
7. IMMATERIAL "OBJECTS" appear to be mostly y, e.g. dream, share, narration, word, quarrel, promise, light, sleep (dΔŋ).
8. DIVISIONS of TIME, year, month, week, day, midday, night, and SEASONS, spring, summer, autumn, winter.
24. Among the *x nouns* are found the names of:

1. FRUITS, apricot, apple, melon, pear, but γε.iŋ, grapes, is y.

In many cases the name of a tree and its fruit are the same, but the former is y and has a y plural, and the latter x with an x plural, or with the singular form used as a plural.

ba'lt pl. ba'ltiŋ y *apple-tree*.

ba'lt pl ba'lt, ba'ltišo x *apple (fruit)*.

2. WOOD and ARTICLES made of WOOD.

There are a few exceptions:

galtar y (one word for) *branch*.

ganč y *spindle*.

bal k y *plank*.

žame y *a bow*, cited by Biddulph, is not an exception, as bows are made of ibex horn, not of wood.

Under this head may be included articles made of  
WICKERWORK.

3. STONE and STONE ARTICLES:

stone, boulder, pebble, mortar, brick, rock salt, stone cooking pot, mill-stone etc.

4. ARTICLES made by SPINNING or analogous method, thread, string, rope etc., but these are not numerous.

5. The SUN, MOON and the word for STAR.

Among the nouns which do not show a decided tendency to the one category or the other are the names of

woven materials, cloth, articles of clothing,

hide and skin and articles thereof,

parts of the body,

plants (as already stated).

25. Instances occur in which the same noun may be of different categories corresponding to a variation in its meaning, or in the nature of the object to which it refers.

a) Thus nouns denoting a BIT or PIECE of a thing may be x or y according to the thing which is under consideration. Thus:

čuruk a *piece* or *bit*.

traŋ half, *share*, *portion*.

kaman a *little*.

are x or y according to the category of the article referred to.

b) The same noun may represent things of a different nature, or presenting different aspects:

{ baγundo x *leavened bread*.

{ baγundo y *leavened dough*.

{ baiyu x *rock salt*.

{ baiyu y *granular salt*.

{ dustsΔk	x	pl. <i>cooking utensils.</i>
{ dustsΔk	y	pl. <i>miscellaneous articles.</i>
γΔšil	x	<i>a stick.</i>
	x	pl. <i>sticks.</i>
	y	pl. <i>firewood.</i>
{ to·ri	x	<i>plug, stopper.</i>
{ to·ri	y	<i>quarter of a flap-jack.</i>

It has been noted above that where the same word denotes both a tree and its fruit, the fruit is x, and the tree is y.

c) In the case of γu'a there are perhaps two distinct words, but

{ γu'a	x	means the <i>moonless part of the month.</i>
{ γu'a	y	means <i>descent, downward slope, afternoon.</i>

pl. γu'amin.

A curious phenomenon is the difference said to exist in the plural, and presumably in the singular also, of

\*-u'l *belly.*

x pl. u'lišo *human bellies, stomachs.*

y pl. u'liŋ *bellies, stomachs, of animals.*

The explanation probably is that the human belly is normally seen only from the outside and is considered a simple organ, while the animal's belly is regarded as consisting of the entrails etc. which are found when it is slaughtered and eviscerated.

Another curious case is:

γeniš hf *queen*; γeniš y *gold.*

Cp. Shina son *gold*; so'ni *queen.*

NOTE.

a) From the analysis given above of the types of objects of which the names fall into the x and y categories respectively, it will be seen that no single factor emerges clearly as governing the inclusion of nouns in the one category or the other.

One general principle does, however, seem to be dominant over a wide sphere: Tangible concrete objects of determined form, when considered as units without special regard to the material of which they are composed, are designated as a rule by x nouns.

On the other hand, objects of undetermined form and extension, consisting of homogeneous, divisible material considered in the mass, are designated by

y nouns. This definition includes granular, plastic, liquid and gaseous matters, as also metals as such. It includes further all immaterial abstractions, as these have no definiteness of form or extension to warrant their inclusion under the x definition.

This principle of distinction, though of wide application, is far from being universal, and there remain many words whose presence in one category or the other it does nothing to explain. Compare e.g.

	<i>y</i>		<i>x</i>
bu'r	<i>a single hair.</i>	sər	<i>thread.</i>
*-riŋ	<i>hand, arm.</i>	*-AMiš	<i>finger.</i>
*-ItumAl	<i>ear.</i>	*-umus	<i>tongue.</i>
balk	<i>plank.</i>	hu'n	<i>wood, log.</i>
wałgi	<i>cord.</i>	gAšk	<i>rope.</i>
bərpit	<i>strap.</i>		
ha	<i>house.</i>	grti	<i>hut.</i>

- b) A new line of approach to the relation of the x and y categories has recently been opened up by Professor Siddheshwar Varma, who has made the discovery that when a y noun is the subject of a transitive verb, the verb assumes its x form.

Judging from my texts, the situation does not very frequently arise, differentiation of form only occurs in certain tenses, and there are at any rate exceptions when the verb appears in the y form which one would expect.

Professor Varma links this anomaly of y subject and x-form transitive verb with the fact that all animate beings, other than human, are classed as x, and he draws the deduction that the x class was, at least originally, an "animate-active class." He claims that his "investigations have shown that the *active animate* principle is a prominent, if not the predominant feature of this gender."

I am not at present prepared either to accept or to reject this theory as the necessary explanation of the facts. Professor Varma himself is careful to point out that "the 'active animate' principle, then, though prominent in this gender is *far from being predominant* or universal. This label . . . is only indicative and not expressive, but the conventional name proposed has some basis in it."

The whole situation, I think, requires further study.

In the meantime I can only add two points:

1. That instances of a transitive verb with a y subject being put in the y form, are more numerous than the one solitary example encountered by Professor Varma would lead one to suppose.
2. That among the x nouns which I have recorded only about one-fifth are names of animate beings the remaining four-fifths denoting inanimate objects in which no animate active quality is apparent.



As regards the first point, the y form of the transitive verb \**atās* appears in the series of idioms referred to in § 261 II, as well as in the case of the verb \**xolas* to hurt, pain, which appears to be transitive.

It is impossible satisfactorily to investigate such questions of linguistic usage except on the spot. I may, however, record the results of the following attempts.

I referred to friends in Gilgit the four sentences given by Professor Varma on p. 14 of his article and these were passed as correct with x forms of the verbs. At the same time I drew up and submitted for translation 12 sentences with y subjects and transitive verbs. Of these the native informants rendered 8 with x forms of the verbs and 2 with y forms, and in 1 a y form seems to have been first used and only to have been altered to an x form after the substitution of an x subject for the original y one. In the 12th. sentence an undifferentiating tense was used.

This gives a very large preponderance to x forms but that there are any exceptions is a significant fact. One of them resembles Professor Varma's example in which he suggests that the verb may not really be transitive, but the other two seem to be exactly analogous to the 8 with x-form verbs.

## 26. Number.

There are two numbers in Burushaski, singular and plural.

As a rule the plural is distinguished from the singular by the addition of a suffix. Occasionally the plural form is identical with the singular.

I know of no case where the plural is a different word from the singular, or where it is formed otherwise than by the addition of a suffix to the singular, with, at the most, the loss of a final consonant or the modification of a final vowel, except \**-ai* daughter, pl. \**-yugušants*.

There are many plural suffixes and roughly they fall into two series:

those used with h and x nouns,

those used with y nouns.

h and x, however, have each one or two plural endings which they do not share.

There is only one ending which is doubtfully common to y and the other two categories (-oŋo).

In many cases alternative plural forms are given for the same noun with different endings (within its own category), and the

proper form of plural seems sometimes to be a matter of doubt or of personal preference.

Before giving the plural endings in detail it may be convenient to mention the final sounds which mark the endings of the plural suffixes used for the different categories.

They are as follows:

<i>h</i>	-o, -ts, -nts, -i, -u, -ko'n, -tiŋ.
<i>x</i>	-o, -ts, -nts.
<i>y</i>	(-ŋo), -ŋ.

## 27. H Plural suffixes.

The suffixes	-i	-indəro	-ko'n
	-tiŋ	-tsəro	

are peculiar to *h*. The rest are shared with *x*.

Some changes of the final sounds of the singular when the plural ending is added appear to be universal:

-n + o → yo. This is the usual plural of nouns ending in -n.

In a few cases -n also disappears before -ants.

-s + vowel → -š.

-š (š) is dropped before -ants, and there is usually some juggling with the vowels

-ts + o → -čo.

-o + consonant may be reduced to -u e.g.

le·do      *bastard*      le·dumuts.

## 28. The following are the *h* suffixes. The examples given illustrating them include adjectives.

1. -ants and allied forms in -nts.

-kiš always has the plural -ki.ants, -ki.ents.

Δqəlkiš, *intelligent person* Δqəlki.ents.

\*-xundikiš *hunchback*, \*-xundiki.ents.

γeniš *queen* pl. γenants.

pfopus *bastard* pfopi.ents.

γayu *lame* γayu'nts and γayutiŋ.

γi'n *thief* γi(y)ants, and γi'yo, (and γiyΔŋ?).

dΔsin *girl* pl. dΔsiwΔnts.  
 \*-u's *wife* \*-ušints.

Abnormal are :

gus *woman* pl. gušinqnts.  
 \*-Δ.i *daughter* \*-yugušants (\*-i + u + gus + Δnts?)

Apart from further examples of -kiš I know no more h plurals in -nts.

2. -dəro, -təro this is probably the real form of the suffix, though one hears only -əro with nouns ending in -d or -t.
- |         |                        |  |
|---------|------------------------|--|
| *-xΔkin | <i>daughter-in-law</i> | *-xΔkindəro.                               |
| *-saγun | <i>nephew, niece</i>   | *-saγundəro.                               |
| gušpu'r | <i>prince</i>          | gušpu'rtəro, or gušpu'rtin, or gušpu'rišo. |
| se.it   | <i>Saiyid</i>          | se.itəro.                                  |
| ša'gird | <i>pupil</i>           | ša'girdəro and ša'girdišo.                 |

A form -indəro appears in the following.

*-rik	<i>man's brother-in-law</i>	*-rikindəro.
*-Δskir	<i>father-in-law</i>	} *-Δskundəro.
*-Δskus	<i>mother-in-law</i>	

3. -i occurs only in :

hi'r	<i>man</i>	hi'ri.
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4. -indəro see -dəro.

5. -išo, -išo, -šo a very common ending. The form with the initial vowel is the ordinary one. The form without the vowel occurs with some words ending in -r and -l.

*-uyər	<i>husband</i>	*-uyəršo.
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6. -juko, juko, -ju'ko vide under x suffixes.

7. -ko occurs with the adjectives.

dΔltΔs	<i>handsome, good</i>	dΔltΔško.
uyu'm	<i>big man, leading man.</i>	uyu'mko, uyu'ņko.

8. -ko'n occurs only with

*-Δčö	<i>man's brother,</i>	*-Δčuko'n.
	<i>woman's sister,</i>	

9. -muts common following a vowel

gəro'no	<i>bridegroom</i>	gəro'nomuts.
jo'to	<i>child</i>	jo'tumuts.

10. -nčö occurs only in

giya's, gü.a's	<i>infant</i>	giya'nčö.
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11. -nts vide -ants.

12. -o a) is the regular ending for the plural of the Noun Agent of the form of the Infinitive, ending in -Δs. The -s changes to -š

εΔs	<i>doer</i>	εΔšo	<i>doers.</i>
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Of course it is possible in these cases that the suffix is -šo.

εΔs + -šo → εΔšo.

b) otherwise it is used with:

thΔm	<i>Tham, ruler</i>	thΔmo.
hile's	<i>boy</i>	hile'sšo.
bilΔs	<i>female demon</i>	bilΔšo.

c) it also occurs with nouns in -ts, which becomes -č-:

berit's	<i>Dom, musician</i>	beričö.
huyε'ltərt's	<i>herdsman</i>	huyε'ltərčö.
gu'it's	<i>a Wakhi man</i>	gu.i'čö.

d) it is the usual suffix for words ending in -n, the -n- being dropped and a glide -y- or -iy- being substituted.

All nouns with the suffix -ku.in, -gu.in have the plural -kuyö (sometimes -ki.o, ki u) and -guyö.

duro'sku.in	<i>hired labourer</i>	duro'skuyö, or duro'ski.o.
tsərgu.in	<i>watchman</i>	tsərguyö.
dΔmΔn	<i>owner</i>	dΔmaiyo.
na'da'n	<i>ignorant one</i>	na'dayö.
γi'n	<i>thief</i>	γiyö.
γulč'in	<i>Rajah's cook</i>	γulčiyö.

Irregular is:

o'sin	<i>guest</i>	o'sö.
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Perhaps ošin is oši + -an (the suffix of singleness).

The Shina singular is ošo.

13. -oŋo, -omo presents some difficulty. It appears to occur in all three classes h, x and y. In h I have found it with one exception, only in adjectives which may be used substantively:

čat	<i>short, low</i>	čatoŋo.
dΔy (?)	<i>stout</i>	dΔyoŋo.
γut	<i>deaf</i>	γutoŋo.
tsōn, tsun	<i>slave</i>	tsonoŋo, or tsonoŋo.

(For the interchangeability of ŋ and m v. § 8. h.)

14. -tiŋ the only plural suffix in h or x nouns ending in -ŋ. It is very common and is often found with obviously foreign words:

dəruʼts	<i>hunter</i>	dəruʼtstiŋ, and -išo.
hΔji	<i>Hajji</i>	hΔjitiŋ.
muriʼd	<i>disciple</i>	muriʼditiŋ.
ustaʼt	<i>musician etc.</i>	ustaʼtiŋ (with loss of -t).
yaʼraʼn	<i>friend</i>	yaʼraʼntiŋ and yaʼraiyo.

It occurs twice added to foreign plurals:

paʼdša	<i>king</i>	paʼdšahaʼntiŋ.
piʼr	<i>holy man</i>	piʼraʼntiŋ.

15. -tsəro occurs only with nouns denoting blood relations and with them is common.

*-uʼy	<i>father</i>	*-uʼtsəro.
*-mi	<i>mother</i>	*-mitsəro.
*-ŋgo	<i>uncle</i>	*-ŋgutsəro.

With the suppression of an s to avoid the combination -sts.

*-ulus	<i>woman's brother</i>	*-ulutsəro.
*-yΔs	<i>man's sister</i>	*-yΔstəro.

16. -u occurs in:

*-i	<i>son</i>	*-yu.
gΔs	<i>princess</i>	gΔšu.

where it is probably distinct from -o; also in:

bΔγərək	<i>evil</i>	bΔγərku.
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## 29. X Plural suffixes.

The same changes in the final sounds of singular forms when plural suffixes are added to them as were noted in the h nouns are also usual in the x nouns, but there are more variations and special cases. These will be recorded under each suffix as they occur.

The suffixes peculiar to x which are not shared by h are:

-ai.i, -do, -jo and uts.

The following are the x suffixes:

1. -ai.i is only recorded in:

huk	<i>dog</i>	hukai.i.
u'rk	<i>wolf</i>	u'rkai.i.

2. -ants and allied forms in -nts:

u't	<i>camel</i>	u'tants.
čur	<i>knife</i>	čurants.
bΔš	<i>bridge</i>	bΔšants.

-i.ants occurs in:

həri'p	<i>tune</i>	həri'pi.ants    həri'pants.
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-ents occurs in:

kaŋ	<i>pool</i>	kaŋents.
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and results from -i + -ants in:

gΔbi	<i>reed, tube</i>	gΔbents.
kurdi	<i>shirt</i>	kurdents.
mili	<i>medicine</i>	milents.

-i Δants, -i.ents result from:

(1). -iš, -iš + -ants:

*-Δmiš	<i>finger</i>	-Δmi.ants, -ents.
iriš	<i>crest of spur</i>	iri.ants, -ents and irišo.
pfəriš	<i>duck</i>	pfəri.ants.
pfultiŋiš	<i>bellows</i>	pfultiŋi.ents.
pfutu'niš	<i>brand (burning)</i>	pfutu'ni.ents.

(2). -uš + -ants.

bu'puš	<i>pumpkin</i>	bu'pi.ents.
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(3). -kiš + -ants, as in h.

šepalkiš *sheep* šepalki.ants.

(In all these the final is probably -š).

-a.ants results from:

(1). -anč + -ants in:

gΔsanč *hawk* gΔsa.ants

(2). -š (š?) + -ants in:

sindiš *goose* sinda.ants.

(3). -Δš and -i.š + -ants:

kΔwaΔš *leather bag* kΔwa.ants.

həri.š *wooden shovel* həra.ants.

-o.ants results from -u + -ants:

bai.yu *rock salt* baiyo.ants. γalyu *insect* γalyo.ants.

dulu *thin rope* dulo.ants. γamu *ice* γamo.ants, γamu.ants.

gayu *red-legged* gayo.ants. yuku *goitre,* yuko.ants.  
*partridge* *gorge*

but, γayu *lame* γayu.ants, γayumuts.

-wants results from:

(1). -š + -ants:

baloš *stone pot* balowants.

(2). -šo + -ants:

bušošo *calf* bušowants.

and also occurs in:

du *kid* duwants.

dau.o *griddle* dauwants, dau.umuts.

-yants results from: -us, -u's + -ants:

i.mekus *door-peg, rung* i.mekuyants.

yatokus *upper millstone* yatokuyants.

yarokus *lower millstone* yarokuyants.

-uyants occurs in:

sərik *door-bar* sərikuyants and sərikišo,

but sərikuyants probably belongs to another singular form, sərikus, which occurs in Nagiri and in Shina.

3. -ints appears to be independent of -ants. It occurs in:

bukΔk	<i>beans</i>	bukΔkints.
ča	<i>kind of millet</i>	čai.ints.
dΔdər	<i>scree</i>	dΔdərints.

and probably in

b'u.a	<i>cow</i>	bu.ents (= a + -ints).
kin'e.ints    kin'a		stalks (of wheat etc), straw.
anomalous is		

toq	<i>cultivated land</i>	toqai-ints    toqants.
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(The suffixes -ints and -ai.ints are common in Nagiri v. § 481).

4. -do occurs only in:

bu'n	<i>boulder</i>	bu'ndo.
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5. -išo, -išo, and -šo is a common ending:

diščik	<i>brick</i>	diščikišo.
čərΔk	<i>carcase</i>	čərΔkišo.
hΔγur	<i>horse</i>	hΔγurišo.

-šo is used chiefly with nouns ending in -r and -l:

oγur	<i>wave</i>	oγuršo.
ɖa'mal	<i>small drum</i>	ɖa'malšo.
dir	<i>bough</i>	diršu (= -šo?).

This suffix does not often occur after a final vowel, but we have:

birΔγo	<i>foal</i>	birΔγušo.
dəroγo	<i>stick</i>	dəroγošo, or dəroγo.išo.

Anomalous are:

baskaret, baskaret	<i>ram</i>	baskarešo, baskarišo.
čitəri'z	<i>spark of fire</i>	čitəri'išo(?).

6. -jo occurs only in a few words:

hal	<i>fox</i>	haljo.	töl	<i>(cobbler's) awl</i>	toljo.
tal	<i>pigeon</i>	taljo.	töl	<i>snake</i>	toljo.
tin	<i>bone</i>	tinjo.			

7. -juko, ju'ko. This suffix is used only with a few adjectives.

To judge from the examples available the resulting plural forms are used both as adjectives and as substantives. The following are the only examples of this form which I have met with:



Δki·l	<i>like this, similar</i>	Δki·juko (adj.)	ju.Δn	<i>like</i>	ju.Δnjuko.
(hΔn)	<i>alike, identical</i>	hΔnjuko (adj.)	šΔti·lo	<i>powerful</i>	šΔti·ljuko.
(bečuk)	<i>of what sort</i>	beljuko (adj.)	te.il	<i>such</i>	te.ljuko
	double plural:	beljukuyo, beljuki.ents.			(adj.).
daldΔlum	<i>broad</i>	daldΔljuko (adj.)			

8. -ko is found in the following:

čər	<i>cliff</i>	čərko.
čiš	<i>ladder, bier</i>	čiško.
čiš	<i>mountain</i>	čiško.
pi·nč	<i>stick for playing a game</i>	pi·nčko.
šər	<i>branch</i>	šərko.

It occurs also in the plural of some adjectives:

uyu·m	<i>big</i>	uyu·mko, and uyo·ŋko.
khut	<i>short</i>	khutu·iko,

especially in the plural of those adjectives whose base ends in -n, including those where the -n base is followed by the adjectival ending -um. In these cases the -num of the singular is replaced by -iko. Thus:

bi.ʽenum	<i>thin</i>	bi.e·iko, bi.ai.iko.	ju.Δn	<i>like, similar</i>	juwai.iko.
dΔγ'ANUM	<i>stout</i>	dΔγai.iko.	tha·num	<i>high, tall</i>	thai.iko.
γus'ANUM	<i>long</i>	γusai.iko.	giligi·num	<i>thin</i>	gili·ko.
			(and gilinum?)		

(but: čANUM	<i>tight</i>	čANUMišo (x), čANUMiŋ (y).
ΔγΔN	<i>dumb</i>	Δγai.o.
šo·n	<i>blind</i>	šo·no·mo).

These -ko forms when used adjectivally are, as far as my records indicate, applicable to all three classes, h, x, and y.

9. -muts, -umuts. This is a very common suffix. The latter form is used with nouns which end in a consonant in the singular, but there are few such cases.

*-ΔSO	<i>kidney</i>	*-ΔSUMUTS.
*-ΔS	<i>heart</i>	*-ΔSUMUTS.
bΔda	<i>flying squirrel</i>	bΔdamuts.

čumo	<i>fish</i>	čumomuts, or, čumumuts.
gīši	<i>line</i>	gīšimuts.

In one case where this suffix is used with a noun ending in -in the -in is dropped:

*-lčīn	<i>eye</i>	*-lčūmuts.
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Similarly -is is dropped in:

*-yatis	<i>head</i>	*-yatumuts.
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and -ŋ in:

jukaŋ	<i>w.c., privy</i>	jukamuts, jukaŋuts, jukaiyo.
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but: nironaŋ *rainbow* nironaŋmuts, nironaŋišo.

10. -o. a) A common suffix, occurs chiefly with nouns ending in -n and -s, when phonetic changes take place. In the following it succeeds other consonants which remain unaltered:

i'riš	<i>crest of spur</i>	i'rišo, i'ri.ants.	sał	<i>mill-stone</i>	sało.
gašk	<i>rope</i>	gaško.	sər	<i>hare</i>	səro.
γašk	<i>withe</i>	γaško.	sər	<i>thread</i>	səro.
hər	<i>ox, bull</i>	həro.			

and the adjective:

dāŋ	<i>hard</i>	dāŋo.
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it is added to a vowel in:

γa	<i>crow</i>	γaiyo (or, ga, gayu).
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- b) -n + -o gives -yo. This is the usual plural for nouns in -n:

butu'n	<i>purse</i>	butu'yo.	*-γa'n	<i>heel</i>	*-γa'yo.
či'n	<i>bird</i>	či'yo.	jakun	<i>donkey</i>	jaku'yo.
dān	<i>stone</i>	daiyo.			

but: hu'n *timber* hu'nants.

γān *handle* γānants.

and others.

- c) -ŋ is rare in x, and is probably only a variant of n. In a few cases -ŋ + -o gives -yo.

biltsuŋ	<i>quadruped</i>	biltsu'yo.
jukaŋ	<i>w.c., privy</i>	jukaiyo, jukaŋuts, etc.
min'altīŋ	<i>pelvis</i>	miŋ'altiyo.
tiŋ	<i>egg</i> has plur.	tiŋaiyo.

Tiŋ however seems to be an incorrect substitute for tiŋan (egg, *not* tiŋ + -an = one egg).

d) -s + -o → -šo:

ΔčΔs	<i>lamb</i>	ΔčΔšo.	bəre's	<i>artery</i>	bəre'šo.
*-umus	<i>tongue</i>	*-umušo.	h'o'lalΔs	<i>butterfly</i>	holΔlΔšo.
bΔlΔs	<i>bird</i>	bΔlΔšo.	me'nis	<i>sheep</i>	me'nišo.

In two cases we have -čo.

girkis	<i>rat</i>	girkičo.
γərkaΔs	<i>lizard</i>	γərkačo.

anomalous is:

ti's	<i>grain pit</i>	tišaiyo ( <i>also</i> tišants, tisants).
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e) -ts + -o → -čo:

*-dumuts	<i>knee</i>	*-dumučo.
γokurats	<i>raven</i>	γokuračo.
hΔγuts	<i>mountain pass</i>	hΔγučo, hΔγutsišo.
qərqa'muts	<i>fowl</i>	qərqa'mučo.

11. -o'ŋo, -o'mo. This is a rare suffix and an ambiguous one. We have found it among the h suffixes in the plural of some adjectives, and these forms are equally to be reckoned as x. It occurs also with a few y nouns, see below. Here we have to note:

bΔs (or y?)	<i>ploughshare</i>	bΔšo'ŋo.
bu's	<i>sheaf, bundle of grass</i>	bušo'ŋo (bušo'mo).
bu's	<i>cat</i>	bušo'ŋo.
čər (or y?)	<i>slice</i>	čəro'ŋo.
γus	<i>clod</i>	γušo'ŋo, and γušo.

12. -təro. In the only available examples of nouns used with this suffix the singular ends in -t and there is no sound of double -tt-, so the suffix might be -əro. On the analogy of the h -təro and -tiŋ, however, it is fairly safe to assume that the form is -təro or -dəro. The only examples on record are:

e'lgit	<i>she-goat</i>	e'lgitəro.
güyΔlt	<i>ladle</i>	güyΔltəro.
žai.it	<i>he-goat (castrated)</i>	žai.itəro.

13. -u. There are only two examples of the use of this suffix on record. I do not think the -u here is a variant of -o.

gas	<i>thick thread, yarn</i>	gaš <u>u</u> .
pfut	<i>demon</i>	pfut <u>u</u> , pfutants.

14. -uts. This is a common suffix. It is only used with words ending in a consonant:

čilim	<i>tobacco pipe</i>	čilimuts.
*-đim	<i>body, person</i>	*-đimuts.
ħanik	<i>large wooden vessel</i>	ħanikuts.
šΔpi·k	<i>bread, food</i>	šΔpikuts.
yai.iŋ	<i>will</i>	yai.iŋuts.

The only animal name taking this suffix is:

ku·k, xu·k	<i>pig</i>	ku·kuts, and -išo.
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15. -zε ← ts + -ε occurs only in:

hu·nts	<i>arrow</i>	hu·nzε.
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30. It will be noticed that no principal type of suffix is used exclusively for animate beings or for inanimate objects. Only the plurals bu·ndo and hu·nzε have no parallel in names of animals. As far as pure nouns are concerned -ko is limited to names of inanimate objects, but it occurs in the plurals of adjectives with reference to nouns of all three classes.

### 31. Y Plural suffixes.

A few phonetic phenomena of more or less general occurrence may be roughly indicated:

- n disappears before a plural suffix.
- nč (actually -nč?) similarly disappears before a vowel.
- s becomes -š- before a vowel.
- š, -š disappear or become -r- before the vowel -a-.
- š, -š remain or become -r- before the vowel -i-.

32. The following are the y plural suffixes:

1. -ŋ added to words ending in a vowel:

bada	<i>sole of foot</i>	badaŋ.	hurgo	<i>ascent</i>	hurgoŋ.
balda	<i>load</i>	baldaŋ.	ya·reki	<i>under-bedding</i>	ya·rekiŋ,
gatu	<i>cloth</i>	gatuŋ.			ya·rekimiŋ, ya·rekičŋ.

## 2. -AN.

hi'sk *comb, loom* hi'skAN.      \*-multur *nostril* \*-multurAN.  
 \*-melč *jaw*      \*-melčAN.      ti'sk *dagger* ti'skAN.

## 3. -iAN occurs in the following:

bu'l *spring of water* bu'liAN.      \*-ltur *horn* \*-ltu'riAN (-iEN).  
 bu'r *single hair* bu'riAN, and bu'ran.      tur *horn* tu'riAN (-AN).  
 čot *storehouse* čotiAN.

## 4. -EN occurs in the following:

(1).      bačEN *fissure in ice.*      hu'rtEN *revetting wall.*  
 similarly: baIEN *wall.*      xaIEN *letter.*  
             baťEN *shale.*      maIEN *field.*  
             dartsEN *threshing floor.*      mærtEN (and -iN) *earth cliff.*  
             gaIEN *suspension bridge.*      to'm-ε *tree.*  
             ganEN (usually -iN) *road.*      waťEN *rind, bark.*  
             gu'kEN *mortising chisel.*      waťEN *ploughing.*  
             gutEN *tent.*

## (2). results from -i + -AN.

ba'si *garden*      ba'sEN.      hali *birch bark*      haliEN.  
 dəri *window*      də'reN.      qači *scissors*      qač'EN.  
 ga'si *pine tree*      ga'səN.      tili *walnut tree*      tiliEN.

## 5. -iN very common: E.g.

asta'm *judgement*      asta'miN.      bərpit *strap*      bərpitiN.  
 \*-akAt *flank*      \*-akAtiN.      tal *birch tree*      taliN.

Final -ε is elided in:

žame *bow*      žamiN, (and, -EN).

## 6. -aiiN:

## (1). occurs independently in:

hiN (cp. tiN — tiNaiyo)      door      hiNaiiN.

## (2). results from -a + -iN in:

huma *ford*      humaiiN.

## (3). results from -AN + -iN in:

čapan *robe*      čapaiiN v. § 33. 1.

## 7. -o'N:

(1). balk *plank*      balko'N.      tap *leaflet*      tapo'N.

(2). results from -u + -Δι. E.g.

bəru	<i>buckwheat</i>	bəroʔ.
dΔyu (or, dΔyo)	<i>gum</i>	dΔyoʔ.
ju	<i>apricot tree</i>	joʔ.
muʔrəmu	<i>file</i>	muʔrmoʔ.
*-tsu	<i>track</i>	*-tsoʔ.

(3). results from -o + -Δι?

hurgo	<i>ascent</i>	hurgoʔ.
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Cp. supra under 1. -ι.

8. -ičΔι, -čΔι, fairly common:

bΔp	<i>tribute</i>	bΔpičΔι.	pfaʔk	<i>harrow</i>	pfaʔkičΔι.
bəl	<i>shovel</i>	bəlčΔι.	tərk	<i>byre</i>	tərkičΔι.
čΔp	<i>meat</i>	čΔpičΔι (also -miʔ, -iʔ).	tsΔk	<i>sluice</i>	tsΔkičΔι.
galgi	<i>wing</i>	galgičΔι.			

9. -ičiʔ, -čiʔ, common:

bo	<i>seed grain</i>	boʔčiʔ.	*-ʔgi	<i>beard</i>	*-ʔgičiʔ.
ge	<i>snow</i>	gečiʔ.	pfaʔk	<i>fig tree</i>	pfaʔkičiʔ.
juraʔb	<i>sock</i>	juraʔbičiʔ.	pfilΔm	<i>pattoo, homespun</i>	pfilΔmičiʔ.
xΔmΔli	<i>thin bread</i>	xΔmΔličiʔ.	*-riʔ	<i>hand</i>	*-riʔčiʔ.

10. -jō, -juʔ occurs only in:

gal	<i>juniper tree</i>	galjō, galjuʔ.
gal	<i>bridge</i>	galjuʔ & galen.

11. -kičΔι occurs only in:

ha	<i>house</i>	haʔkičΔι (< ha + ik + ičΔι?).
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12. -kiʔ occurs only in:

bər	<i>nullah</i>	bərkiʔ.
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13. -mičiʔ occurs in the following:

bi.ai.i	<i>disease</i>	bi.ai.mičiʔ.	ji	<i>life, soul</i>	jimičiʔ (and -miʔ).
bu.i	<i>shovel</i>	bu.mičiʔ.	le.i	<i>loop-hole</i>	le.mičiʔ.
bu.i	<i>shoulder-blade</i>	bu.mičiʔ.	lili.o	<i>violet</i>	lili.omičiʔ (and -miʔ).
bušai.i	<i>land</i>	bušai.mičiʔ.			

14. -miʔ common, especially after a vowel, but there are also examples of it following l, r, s, š, š, n and p:

bΔda	<i>pace</i>	bΔdamiʔ.	čΔya	<i>narrative</i>	čΔyamiʔ.
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čap <i>meat</i>	čapmiŋ, -iŋ, -ičaŋ.	pi'ni <i>lower leg</i>	pinimiŋ.
das <i>waste ground</i>	dasmiŋ.	še <i>wool</i>	šemiŋ.
den <i>year</i>	denmiŋ, deniŋ.	ter <i>grazing ground</i>	termiŋ.
diš <i>place</i>	dišmiŋ.	tšil <i>water</i>	tšilmiŋ.
gaš <i>price</i>	gašmiŋ.		

A connecting vowel is inserted in :

lik *bribe* likimiŋ.

muč *fist* mučumiŋ.

15. -o'ŋo, -o'mo (cp. §§ 28. 13 & 29. 11) occurs in :

ban *thing for tying with* bano'mo. ču *ear of corn* čo'ŋo.

bas *probably x, plough-share* baso'ŋo. pfaI *a grain* pfaI'o'ŋo, pfaI'o'mo,

bat *skin* bato'ŋo. pfaIumo.

16. -tiŋ occurs only in :

ba'go *share* ba'gutiŋ.

### 33. Cases in which a final consonant of a y noun is dropped or altered.

1. Final -an + -iŋ → -ai.iŋ :

čapan *robe* čapai.iŋ. šəran *ruin* šərai.iŋ.

haiyan *token* haiyai.iŋ. tawan *fine* tawai.iŋ.

multan *blood* multai.iŋ.

but :

tiskan *earthquake* tiskaniŋ.

and with other vowels :

den *year* deniŋ, denmiŋ.

halimo'n *wager* halimo'n'iŋ.

niša'n *sign* niša'niŋ.

2. Final -in + -miŋ → imiŋ in :

\*-akin *liver* \*-akimiŋ.

batsin *thigh* batsimiŋ.

3. Final -anč, -enč + -an → -a'ŋ :

biranč *mulberry tree* bira'ŋ. manč *adze* ma'ŋ.

ganč (-č?) *spindle* ga'ŋ. γatenč *sword* γata'ŋ.

həranč *pitch fork* həra'ŋ.

4. Final *-inč* + *-Δη* → *-i.εη*:

bakinč                      razor                      baki.εη.

5. Final *-s* + vowel → *-š-*:

gupa<sub>s</sub>    cotton                      gupaš<sub>iη</sub>    th<sub>Δ</sub>mu<sub>s</sub>    preparatory    th<sub>Δ</sub>muš<sub>iη</sub>.  
 Δkpi<sub>s</sub>    handkerchief                      Δkpiš<sub>iη</sub>.                      ploughing  
 mo<sub>s</sub>    mud flood                      moš<sub>iη</sub>.                      \*-t<sub>Δ</sub>t<sub>Δ</sub>s    palm of the                      \*-t<sub>Δ</sub>t<sub>Δ</sub>š<sub>iη</sub>.  
 pfo<sub>p</sub>u<sub>s</sub>    besom                      pfo<sub>p</sub>uš<sub>iη</sub>.                      hand  
 but:    tu<sub>s</sub>    grave                      tuš<sub>Δ</sub>η.

ka<sub>r</sub>tu<sub>s</sub>    cartridge                      ka<sub>r</sub>tuš<sub>iη</sub>.

6. Final *-is* is dropped in:

\*-utis                      foot                      \*-utiη.

7. Final *-š* and *š* disappear, it seems, when followed by *-Δη*, but remain when followed by *-iη* and *-miη*:

birkiš    treasury                      birkiš<sub>iη</sub>.                      te<sub>r</sub>ηuš    palace                      te<sub>r</sub>ηuš<sub>iη</sub>.  
 čipupuš    whirlwind                      čipupuš<sub>iη</sub>.                      te<sub>r</sub>š    oath                      te<sub>r</sub>š<sub>miη</sub>.  
 gaš    price                      gaš<sub>miη</sub>.                      ti<sub>r</sub>š    iron ploughshare                      ti<sub>r</sub>š<sub>iη</sub>.  
 ho<sub>r</sub>lgu<sub>š</sub>    battle                      ho<sub>r</sub>lguš<sub>iη</sub>.                      ti<sub>r</sub>š    wind                      ti<sub>r</sub>š<sub>miη</sub>.  
 i<sub>r</sub>lmeš    edge                      i<sub>r</sub>lmeš<sub>iη</sub>.

Final *-Δš* + *-Δη* (?) → *-a<sub>r</sub>η*:

č<sub>Δ</sub>š    thorn                      ča<sub>r</sub>η.  
 γu<sub>r</sub>Δš    excrement                      γu<sub>r</sub>a<sub>r</sub>η.

Final *-š* + *-Δη* → *-r-* in:

birkiš    treasury                      birki<sub>r</sub>Δη and birkiš<sub>iη</sub>.  
 ma<sub>l</sub>taš    ghee                      ma<sub>l</sub>ta<sub>r</sub>Δη, (but also, ma<sub>l</sub>ta<sub>r</sub>iη),  
                     It is dropped in:                      lumps of ghee.  
 biserš    sickle                      bisə<sub>r</sub>Δη.

Final *-εš* or *-εš* + *-Δη*:

me<sub>r</sub>š (š?)    seedling                      ma<sub>r</sub>η.  
 me<sub>r</sub>š    skin bag for grain                      me<sub>r</sub>y<sub>Δ</sub>η and me<sub>r</sub>š<sub>iη</sub>.

Final *-iš*, *-uš* (probably *š*) + *Δη* → *i.Δη*, *i.εη*:

\*-čo<sub>r</sub>ηjuš    beak                      \*-čo<sub>r</sub>ηji.Δη.    tər<sub>i</sub>š    hole                      tər<sub>i</sub>.Δη.  
 ge<sub>r</sub>niš    smaller leather bag                      ge<sub>r</sub>niye<sub>r</sub>η.    wa<sub>r</sub>iš    lid, cover                      wa<sub>r</sub>i.Δη.  
 \*-moqiš    cheek                      \*-moqi.Δη.    yu<sub>r</sub>lgiš    nest, sheath                      yu<sub>r</sub>lgi.Δη.  
 ta<sub>l</sub>iš    swaddling clothes                      ta<sub>l</sub>i.Δη.



Final -iš (probably š?) + -Δŋ > -Δŋ:

γeniš	<i>gold</i>	γeΔΔŋ (V. § 45.)
tsəriš	<i>doorpost</i>	tsəraΔŋ ( <i>doorframe</i> ).
tsiriš, tsiri's	<i>rott</i>	tsiraΔŋ, tsira'ŋ.

34. We have seen the principal ways in which the plurals of Burushaski nouns are formed, but not all Burushaski nouns are endowed with both singular and plural forms and some are capable of a double inflexion for the plural. Some examination of these phenomena is necessary. The material at my command will not enable me to treat them exhaustively or finally, but a few general principles may emerge which may form a basis for future closer investigation.

A noun may occur:

- i. in the singular only, with a singular form.
- ii. in the plural only, with a singular form or with a plural form.
- iii. in both the singular and plural with a singular form, and
- iv. a noun already producing reactions as a plural may be given a plural ending.

35. Nouns occurring only in the singular with a singular form.

I am not acquainted with any in the h category unless it be the foreign word

Xuda                      God

and of course proper names in general.

In the x category I have some nouns apparently answering this description, but they are probably capable of taking plural endings. E.g.

sa	<i>sun.</i>	šadu'r	<i>nitre.</i>
halants (pl. form?)	<i>moon.</i>	šak	<i>nap of cloth.</i>
mu'l	<i>gruel.</i>	zaxi'ra	<i>supplies.</i>

As will be seen later, one would expect plural forms of nouns denoting substances of which one can have relatively small and large quantities to indicate the latter.

In the y category, abstract nouns do not usually occur in the plural.

Names of liquids, and of plastic or vaporous substances are normally singular, and of a number I have no plural forms. Such are:

baŋ	<i>resin.</i>	pfu'nts	<i>dew.</i>
dəl	<i>oil.</i>	qəi.i	<i>soup.</i>
huro'yo	<i>sweat.</i>	sırqa	<i>vinegar.</i>
jo'l	<i>pus.</i>	tAγΔy	<i>mud.</i>
xurunc	<i>mist.</i>	mΔč'i	<i>honey.</i>
haq	<i>steam.</i>		

But many nouns of this description are capable of taking plural forms to indicate (I think) relatively large quantities e.g.

tsil	<i>water.</i>	mel	<i>wine.</i>
mamu	<i>milk.</i>	tas	<i>smoke.</i>
diltər	<i>buttermilk.</i>	maska	<i>butter.</i>

Cp. also § 45.

The fact that comes to light, therefore, is not that names of liquids necessarily lack plurals, but that, liquids *start* by being singular.

Names of metals, as might be expected, are singular, but:

γeniš      *gold*      has the plural      γenaŋ.

### 36. Nouns plural in force and singular in form.

The following may be treated as plurals:

<i>h category</i>	ho'l	<i>army.</i>		
	ro'm	<i>tribe.</i>		
	giram	<i>community.</i>		
<i>x category</i>	hanjil	<i>charcoal.</i>	šΔšər	<i>kind of weed.</i>
	ma'ruč	<i>pepper.</i>	bu'kak	<i>beans.</i>
	pfamul	<i>fruit.</i>	gərək	<i>peas.</i>
	muka	<i>small shot.</i>	girgir	<i>pulse, "dāl masūr."</i>
<i>y category</i>	A number of names of granular and composite substances. Many of these, however, have also super-plurals i. e. forms with a plural suffix, V. § 41:			

bo	<i>seed grain.</i>	sa.o	<i>sand.</i>
brΔs	<i>rice.</i>	šΔkər	<i>granular sugar.</i>
ge	<i>snow.</i>	gur	<i>wheat.</i>
pfΔlo	<i>grain.</i>		
Others are:			
biške	<i>fur.</i>	ho.i	<i>green vegetables.</i>
dilk	<i>manure.</i>	po't	<i>bran.</i>
γul	<i>chaff.</i>	salat	<i>moustache.</i>

### 37. Nouns plural in force & plural in form.

<i>h category</i>	<i>nil.</i>		
<i>x category</i>	ainakuts	<i>eyeglasses.</i>	*-pinišo <i>hair.</i>
	čΔplimuts	<i>sandals.</i>	hu'čo (?) <i>(a pair of) boots,</i> <i>"pabboos."</i>
	dumo'yo(?)	<i>kind of cake.</i>	
	hi.o (?)	<i>hail.</i>	*-lta'nts <i>eyebrow.</i>
			ta'lumuts <i>mumps.</i>
<i>y category</i>	*-Δščin	<i>small of the back.</i>	me'yeŋ <i>snowstorm.</i>
	čemiliŋ	<i>poison.</i>	inili.eŋ <i>gunpowder.</i>
	*-čokurΔŋ	<i>forelock.</i>	pfetiŋ <i>ashes.</i>
	dΔγo'Δŋ	<i>flour.</i>	pfimiŋ <i>foam.</i>
	ešpurΔŋ	<i>mane.</i>	tΔbΔŋ <i>bridle.</i>
	gupaltiŋ	<i>trousers.</i>	tili.eŋ <i>saddle.</i>
	γoyΔŋ	<i>hair.</i>	*-wΔškičiŋ <i>gums.</i>

### 38. Nouns used in the Singular and Plural with singular form.

<i>h category</i>	sis	<i>person.</i>
		<i>people.</i>
	ja'm	<i>relation.</i>
		<i>relations.</i>
	kuyo'č	<i>population.</i>
		<i>subjects.</i>
<i>x category</i>	a) the names of most fruits.	E.g.
	ba'lt	<i>apple.</i>
		<i>apples.</i>

biranč	<i>mulberry.</i>
	<i>mulberries.</i>
ju	<i>apricot.</i>
	<i>apricots.</i>

In these and many similar cases the same word is used to name the tree, but it is then a *y* noun and takes a distinctive plural form :

ba'lt	<i>apple-tree</i>	ba'ltiŋ.
biranč	<i>mulberry-tree</i>	biranč.
ju	<i>apricot tree</i>	joŋ.

b) the names of some animals :

bu'm	sg. and pl. <i>markhor.</i>	huyε's	sg. and pl. <i>sheep, goat.</i>
giri	<i>ibex.</i>	girgir	<i>female mallard.</i>
bula	<i>ram chikor.</i>	tsi'r	<i>she-goat.</i>

c) a few miscellaneous words :

dΔdər	sg. and pl. <i>scree.</i>	γΔš'i'l	sg. and pl. <i>sticks.</i>	
du'stsΔk	<i>kitchen utensils.</i>	*-mε	<i>tooth.</i>	
gərək	<i>peas.</i>			
<i>y</i> category	gε	sg. and pl. <i>snow.</i>	ti'k	sg. and pl. <i>earth.</i>
	čavi	<i>tea.</i>	tu'k	<i>short period</i>
	du'stsΔk	<i>miscellaneous</i>		<i>of time.</i>
		<i>"things."</i>		

39. We have seen that many singular nouns are used with the powers of plurals, e.g. they take the verb in the plural. Whether nouns bearing plural forms are ever used with the powers of singulars is less certain. Some nouns used as singulars have endings of the form of plural suffixes, but this may be merely due to coincidence :

Such are :	hΔlΔnts	<i>moon.</i>
	pfan'ts	sg. and pl. <i>cockscorb.</i>
	pfun'ts	<i>dew.</i>
	tərkoŋ	sg. and pl. <i>feathers of arrow.</i>

40. As I have already said the above data are not to be pressed too hard to supply detailed conclusions. It is more than probable that forms can be found of which I am ignorant. They do, however,

I think, provide a fair view of the general trend of the language in regard to matters of number and we may safely accept a few general ideas which they suggest. These general ideas will also facilitate the examination of the uses of the suffixes of individuality and multiple unity: -an and -ik and of the employment of Double Plurals. Words denoting:

- i. Liquids, vapours and plastic substances are essentially singular but may be given plural forms.
- ii. Communal bodies are plural, or may be treated as such.
- iii. Coarsely composite substances are essentially plural and are plural in force. They are singular in form but some may further be given plural suffixes.
- iv. Finely granular and composite substances and some composite objects are plural in force and are either singular or plural in form. In the former case some are liable to have secondary plural forms.
- v. Fruit and some animals have the same form for singular and plural and it is difficult in some cases to say which is to be regarded as the primary conception.

#### 41. Super-Plurals and Double Plurals.

Some nouns of singular form, already producing plural reactions may be further given plural suffixes; it is convenient to call these forms "super-plurals." Cp. § 36.

There are also a few nouns, plural in form, which may take a second plural suffix and so become "double plurals."

The general effect of **Super-Plurals** is to indicate relatively large quantities. They are commonest in nouns denoting cereals. So:

bras	brasin, -min	rice.	həri	heren	barley.
gər̥k	gər̥kents	peas.	makai	makai.ents	Indian corn.
gur	gurin, -en	wheat.	pfalo	pfalo.in	grain.

Other analogous examples are:

ba'lt	ba'ltišo	apples.	biške	biškemin	fur, hair.
hani	hanents	kernels.	ge	geč'in	snow.

γe.iŋ γe.iŋčiŋ *grapes*. du'stsΔk du'stsΔkiŋ *miscellaneous*  
dΔdər dΔdərints, -šo *scree*. *articles.*

In cases like γε γεciŋ; dilk dilkiŋ.

I am not sure that there may not be some change of meaning,  
e.g. snow — snowdrifts; manure — dunghills.

Note also: girΔm girΔmičiŋ *communities.*

**Double Plurals.**

In words like :

hučo hučomuts *pabboos (boots), pairs of pabboos.*

gupaltiŋ gupaltiŋčiŋ *trousers, pairs of trousers*

the function of the double plural is obvious, and if you consider  
“saddle” as plural a double plural is a convenience, hence:

tilieŋ tiliēŋčiŋ *saddle, saddles.*

There is an extension of meaning in :

tsəriš (sg.) *one part of doorframe.*

tsəraŋ (pl.) *complete doorframe (posts, lintel, sill).*

tsəraŋčiŋ (2-pl.) *door frames.*

See also § 28. 14 -tiŋ.

42. In Burushaski the singular of a noun is occasionally used where  
the conception is obviously plural. Thus: den, *year* with a numeral,  
instead of deniŋ:

tərimi den xa *for ten years.*

tərimi denulo *in ten years.*

milčineər daltas yetsum *in our eye we had seen him handsome*  
*= he appeared handsome to our eyes.*

mi milčine yetsuman *we saw with our eye(s).*

Cp. also § 128. III.

**43. The Suffix -an.**

The suffix -an, -en, which is probably to be identified with the  
-an of han *one*, is added in general to singular forms of nouns  
and noun-equivalents and may carry the ordinary case-endings and  
post-positions. When added to a word ending in -o a w-glide is  
commonly developed. The following are its principal uses :

1. In general it is used to isolate a single unit, laying stress on its individuality. It corresponds in force to the English "indefinite article." Its use is not obligatory. Examples:

sačo dero'wan bila *it is an easy business.*

but also

but dom durro bila *it is a very difficult business.*

u'ne ta'pan šura bila *your arrangement is a good one.*

matan bušai.enər *to a distant country.*

yai.iṅenulo *in a mill.*

gusanmo *of a woman.*

belisantsum *from a sheep.*

mu.i'yen dimanimi *a son of hers was born.*

i. e. *a son was born to her.*

i'mo i'yen niyen *taking a son of his with him.*

i'mo šaderanər qau ne *calling to a servant of his.*

2. It is used to reinforce the word han one etc. Here again its use is optional:

han duro'wan *an affair.*

han guntsanulo *one day.*

hin pəri.enmu gane *for a fairy.*

hin but daltas hilesan *a very handsome boy.*

han tsirane du'an *a goat's kid (one kid of a goat)).*

but,

ko's bi ke han belis *this is just one sheep.*

X. . . ε hin i bam *X had one son.*

3. It is occasionally used with a noun which is made definite by the accompaniment of a demonstrative adjective:

ko't taḡayan *this mud (referring to a small quantity).*

ε's haiwa'nan *that (one) animal.*

guse han balasan han iser seibi *this (one) bird says to that one.*

kin giya'sanər izzat etuma *you paid respect to this (one) small child.*

ε's haiwa'nan amulo ke aiyačam *I won't get that (one) animal anywhere.*

4. It is used with adjectives employed substantivally, with or without *han*, and with adjectives used predicatively. In the latter case the adjective may equally be regarded as a noun-equivalent: *it is black* = *it is a black one*. It is not attached to an adjective used attributively, but is appended to the noun.

esetsum uyu·man dotsuma	<i>you have sent a bigger one than it.</i>
šati·lu·an bam	<i>he was powerful.</i>
ise juwanan . . . bi	<i>there is one like it.</i>
han matuman bi, han buruman bi	<i>one is black, one is white.</i>
guse haγur jotan bim	<i>this horse was small.</i>
ja u·γ aqəlkišan ba	<i>you are my sensible fellow.</i>
i·ne yatiser bərenin uyu·man ba	<i>look at his head, it is big.</i>
bəsan γunikišan	<i>some evil thing.</i>

5. It has the force of a singular suffix when used with a noun or pronoun, of which the form is not definitely plural, but which is habitually, or at least frequently, used with plural force:

du·stsakan	<i>an implement.</i>	du·stsak	<i>implements.</i>
sisan	<i>a person.</i>	sis	<i>person, people.</i>
ba·ltan	<i>an apple.</i>	ba·lt sg. and pl.,	<i>apples.</i>
		ba·ltišo	
han qhi·en	<i>a pebble.</i>	qhi·e	<i>pebbles, gravel.</i>
hin ja·man	<i>a relation.</i>	ja·m	<i>relations.</i>
gərken	<i>a pea.</i>	gərək	<i>peas.</i>
Tərakutsan	<i>a man of the</i> <i>Tərakuts.</i>	Tərakuts	<i>the people of the</i> <i>T. clan.</i>
menan	<i>who?, anyone</i> <i>someone.</i>	men	<i>who? (pl.), any</i> <i>people, some people.</i>
hirər aminan ja·m jama·tane	<i>some relation of the man's.</i>		
uγ menan ba?	<i>who are you?</i>		
uγ juwanan menan kuli apai	<i>there is no one like you.</i>		
menan hirane i·mo a·ltan yu	<i>some man's own two sons.</i>		
han huyesan	<i>a goat, sheep;</i>	huyes	<i>small cattle, alta huyes</i> <i>two goats.</i>



The -AN of *besAN anything* etc. appears also to be this suffix.  
Note also:

berum kutsAN nimi	<i>some days passed.</i>
berum denantsum	<i>after some years.</i>
to·rimi sa·tANər asi·r	<i>close on 10 o'clock,</i>

where *kuts* and *den* have undoubtedly a plural significance.

6. It appears in Quantitative Adjectives and Pronouns, and is used with nouns denoting quantity and measure whether figuring as nouns or adjectives:

Δku·rum(Δn)	ki·rum(Δn).
to·rum(Δn)	te·rum(Δn).
	be·rum(Δn).

beruman guntsinj nimi *a certain number of days passed.*

Occasionally the -AN is transferred from *berum* to the accompanying noun, see the illustrations at the end of subparagraph 5 just above, and see also § 170.

hinuman, hanuman *alone*  
seem to be a parallel formation to *beruman*.

kaman }  
pyuwan } *a little, a small quantity.*

torim čuqAN gu·r	<i>10 measures of wheat.</i>
čutan tsil	<i>a little water, a drop of water.</i>
lukan šΔpik	<i>a little bread.</i>
γeniš xəran æčimi	<i>he gave me a "xər" of gold.</i>
kaman sis C... ε ka manuman	<i>a few people accompanied C.</i>

7. It is used as a suffix with numerals (except "one"). It may apparently be used with any cardinal number, whether used adjectivally with a plural noun, or pronominally.

It occurs regularly in the *h* forms of the numerals *two* and *three*. The significance is similar to that of the English "couple of," "triplet," "quintet" etc. v. §§ 201, 203.

i·ne i·sken yu bAM	<i>he had three ("a trio" of) sons.</i>
a·ltAN bitaiyo bAM	<i>there were a couple of "bitans".</i>
mEN a·ltAN	<i>any two people.</i>

altəran šadəršu	<i>a score of servants, 20 servants.</i>
guyumo a'ltan isken goyerumišo guyu	<i>your own two or 3 beloved sons.</i>
wa'lto tsundowan diltəriŋ	<i>4 or 5 (dishes of) buttermilk.</i>
turmatsundowan mariŋ sis	<i>(a batch of) 15 superior men.</i>
a'ltulanmo	<i>in a couple of days.</i>

but,

a'lta huyes	<i>two goats.</i>
a'lta i'skumuts	<i>two young ones.</i>

8. It is used with certain parts of verbs used substantivally, viz. The Infinitive Form used as Noun Agent v. § 393. 1.

The Infinitive Form used as p pc. pass. v. §§ 394 and 395.

9. When two nouns are placed in juxtaposition as alternatives the suffix may be added to the second only:

huyes bu'a'n mazəreŋe du'si ke	<i>if a goat or cow climb on to the grave.</i>
miršika'rŋiŋ talo altambu'a'n	<i>seven or eight huntsmen.</i>

It may here be remarked that there are two other -AN suffixes which it is difficult to connect semantically with this one:

- a) -AN appears as the termination of certain verbal forms, e.g. in the plural of the Preterite and Future tenses.
- b) a suffix -AN is added sometimes to the Static pc. when the sense is definite, not indefinite. Examples will be found in §§ 377 c, 379 b & c, 389 b and 390.

#### 44. The Suffix -ik.

The suffix -ik is added to plural forms of nouns or noun-equivalents, or to forms not specifically plural but having a plural significance. I have met with only two or three instances where it bears case-inflection, viz.,

meniku ər, meniktsum, o'ltalike and one or two other trans. nom.s.

1. When used with nouns in the plural it seems to have the effect of representing a number of individuals as an entity i.e. *a collection or group.*

It may be rendered by English *some, a party of, a number of, a quantity of:*

balašurik čal eti.ε	some birds were quarrelling.
pfitimutsik	some cakes of bread, some bread.
gušinentsik	} (a party of) women.
hikum gušinentsik	
hirik	the (body of) men.
urkai.ik	(some) wolves, a pack of wolves.
Hamačartine ke uyurik Ultarər o'ram the Hamačartin too had sent their sons to Ultar.	
hikum o'so.ik duman	a party of guests arrived.
taljik (taljo + -ik)	some pigeons.
(guyur) u.i.kičinik o's	give (your sons) names.
bəru.ε giyalinik	some (cakes of) buckwheat bread.

2. With plurals of adjectives used as nouns, it seems principally to reinforce the plural; but there is perhaps always an underlying collective sense.

but aqəlkiyentsik nama'n Pañcūrər barenina  
you, going very prudently, have a look at P.  
i'ne urε yur burt marinək (-ik?) bam  
those sons of his were a fine lot.

γuni.ki.entsik	evil persons.
gakāčimutsik	stammerers.
dajai.iku.ik	stout persons.
lašumutsik	gluttons.

3. Its most important use is to mark the plural of nouns and pronouns which have no special form for the plural. In such cases the singular may be distinguished by the suffix -an.

sis	person, people.
sisan	a person.      sisik      people.
sisike tsak fatan eta'n	some people have opened the sluice.
gala sg. pl.	herd.      galai.ik      herds.
murk sg. pl.	pearl.      murkik      pearls.

Under this heading comes its use with the Interrogative and Indefinite Pronoun men = *who?*, *some people*, *any people*.

men (usually if not always plural).

menan	singular	menik	reinforced plural.
e·kha	menen ke sisan apam		<i>there was nobody with him.</i>
ku	menik barn?		<i>who are these people?</i>

(for further examples of *menik* see under Pronouns, §§ 148. 1, 151, 160).

The following may probably be reckoned as further examples:

pfalo	<i>grain</i>	pfalo·k, pfalo·ik.
ja·nawər	<i>animal</i>	ja·nawərik.
ja·nda·r	<i>animal</i>	ja·nda·rik.

It is perhaps also to be seen in the pl. of *ha*, *house*, ha·kičan.

4. The following curious combinations may be noted:

a·ltan	sisik	<i>a couple of persons.</i>
menik	sisik duwan?	<i>what people have come?</i>
also: *-altalik	or *-altik	<i>both.</i>
meltalik	<i>we two, we both</i>	o·ltalik, o·ltik <i>they two, they both.</i>
which is obviously based on a·lto <i>two</i> .		

Omitting *sisik*, *menik*, and \*-altalik, which are very fairly common, forms with *-ik* are, in my experience, of comparatively rare occurrence.

45. It has already been mentioned that the plural appears to be used sometimes to express the idea of relatively large quantity, and there are other indications tending to show that in Burushaski "number" covers the conception of quantity, little or much, as well as of actual number — one or more than one — and that the suffixes *-an* and *-ik* may be used to denote the isolation of a certain quantity. Thus we have:

ɣeniš	sg.	<i>gold, gold in general.</i>
ɣenanɔ	pl.	<i>gold in quantity regarded as large.</i>
ɣenišan	sg.	<i>a quantity of gold where stress is not laid on the largeness of the quantity.</i>
ɣeniɲik	pl.	<i>a quantity of gold regarded as large.</i>
tsil	sg.	<i>water in general.</i>
tsilmiɲ	pl.	?

tsilan sg. *a small quantity of water.*

tsilan miya'm *I'll drink (a little) water.*

taγay sg. *mud (for building etc.) in general.*

(There is probably a plural, but it has not been recorded).

taγayan sg. *a quantity of mud (the context indicating that it is a small quantity).*

həra'lt sg. *rain.*

həra'ltan sg. *a shower, rain on a specific occasion.*

həra'ltiγ pl. *rains, repeated rain.*

It is necessary, however, to state that the English renderings here given are somewhat conjectural. It is perhaps of significance that all the above are y nouns.

#### 46. Case.

- a) The relation of nouns to other words and the part they play in the sentence, are indicated in Burushaski principally by suffixes and postpositions.

By "suffixes" I mean elements which only appear added to other words and which have no independent existence. They are attached as a rule directly to the simplest form of the noun.

By "postpositions" I mean words which are capable of being used independently, and which in fact appear to be in origin adverbs or nouns. The nouns to which they are subjoined appear most frequently in an oblique case.

It is not possible, however, in practice to adhere rigidly to these definitions. I include -ulo among the suffixes, though it occurs independently as an adverb, and is also occasionally associated with a noun in an oblique case; on the other hand I treat gane as a postposition although it is not used independently.

Some postpositions again appear to be used with uninflected forms of nouns, and where the noun is in the ablative it is possible to regard the postposition as an adverb.

In some cases the noun is represented by a pronominal

prefix attached to the postposition, and the relations between the noun, the pronominal prefix and postposition are difficult to analyse.

From the above it will have become apparent that there is in Burushaski no sharply-defined category of postpositions corresponding to the prepositions of, say, Latin. It remains, however, convenient as a practical expedient to group the facts of the relationships of the Burushaski noun as they are expressed by suffixes and by postposition-equivalents.

- b) It seems probable that there are in Burushaski two grades of suffix: viz. a primary suffix  $-ε$ , and a secondary series with more specific values. If this be so, the primary inflection of the noun may be stated as follows.

#### HM. X and Y Nouns.

	sg.	pl.
Nom., Voc., Acc. simple form of noun e.g.	hileʼs	hileʼšo.
Transitive Nom. and Agential nominative + $-ε$	hileʼsε	hileʼšu.ε.
General Oblique (including Gen. and other uses)	nominative + $-ε$ hileʼsε	hileʼšu.ε.

#### HF Nouns.

	sg.	pl.
Nom., Voc., Acc. simple form of noun	gus	gušiqants.
Trans. Nom. Agential Nominative + $-ε$	guse	gušiqantse.
General Oblique sg. Nom. + $-mo$ ( $-mu-$ , $-mv-$ )	gusmo.	
(Gen. etc.) pl. Nom. + $-ε$		gušiqantse.

#### NOTE.

There seem also to be traces of a Genitive in  $-o$ . The following examples are too numerous to be all explained as accidental mis-hearings:

Xudaʼyo qudərət	<i>God's power.</i>
Hər Yu'lo padša	<i>the king of Hor Yul.</i>
εčü o mazaretər	<i>to his brother's grave.</i>
mamu.o pfəri	<i>the pond of milk.</i>

Kuli.o Laskir	<i>Laskir son of Kuli(?)</i>
KƏRAMO DƏRBƏŞ	<i>Dərbəş son of Kəram(?)</i>
thamo taŋum	<i>from the Tham's palace.</i>
thamo gina'ni	<i>the Tham's "gina'ni".</i>
utaqo bap	<i>the tax of "utaq".</i>
wə'lti girəmo uyoyko	<i>the headmen of the 4 communities.</i>
hu.o'o bat	<i>sheep's skin.</i>
ša'mo šapik	<i>evening food.</i>

(perhaps for ša'mmo cp. forms in -mo § 64. III).

Here -o may be a general oblique ending, cp. the -o in ulo and -ulo beside the simple form in ul ne *inside*, (and Werchiwār -ule). V. also meniko § 151.

47. The other suffixes are:

-Δε	at, in the possession of.
-ΔΥΕ	with(?)
-ər	to.
-Δτε	on
-či	(an occasional form related to tse, tsi).
-xa, -xa'sinər	up to.
-tse	on, against.
-tsi	(related to tse).
-tsum	from.
-ulo	in
-um	from.

A few nouns take a suffix -Δk, -εk. Whether this is to be regarded as a case suffix (instrumental) or a substantival suffix is not clear.

It is found with:

jΔINE, \*-ME, \*-riŋ, tišk, tur. Vide Vocab s. vv.

hΔYUR turΔk delimi *he struck the horse with his whip or he gave the horse a whip-blow.*

The meanings and uses of these suffixes are discussed in detail further on, v. §§ 67 ff. It is only necessary here to say that:

-ər carries the sense usually associated with the DATIVE,  
 -tsum " " " " " " " " ABLATIVE.  
 and -ulo is primarily LOCATIVE in force: *in, inside*.

The suffix -ər may be affixed to -Δε, -Δτε, -tse,  
 and -um " " " " -Δε, -Δτε, -ulo.

These case suffixes are added to the Nominative form of the noun, whether singular or plural, except in the singular of the hf. nouns where they are added to the form of the General Oblique (which is also the Genitive form).

*Note:* The occasional occurrence of an intrusive vowel before the suffixes -tse and -tsum is to be noted. This may be a survival of the vowel of the general oblique, as may also be the initial vowel of -Δε, -Δτε and -Δτε.

The suffixes -tse, -tsum, -Δε, -Δτε, -ər take the oblique form of the sg. of hf. nouns and also of the 1st. sg. personal pronoun:

nom. jε obl. ja ja'tse, ja'tsum, ja'r etc.

The use of the oblique form with the suffixes would thus seem to be an attested phenomenon and it may once have been general.

On the other hand the intrusive vowel is generally used where it is a phonetic convenience (v. § 75 VII), and ja is used in Werchikwār as the simple Nominative.

48. Declension, if the term may be used, is perfectly regular in Burushaski in accordance with the rules given above, and subject to the restriction that there is probably no single noun which can suitably take all the suffixes.

The only variations that occur are due to slight phonetic changes arising chiefly where a final vowel of the noun meets a suffix beginning with a vowel. Absolute rules cannot be given but the following results of the meeting of vowels are common:

Δ-, ə-, and ε- are elided after a final aʷ.

haʷ, haʷε, haʷr.

u- usually remains after final i, but sometimes it, or the i is elided.

bΔsi	<i>garden</i>	bΔsi.ulo.
oʷlji	<i>my dream</i>	oʷlji'lo.
pfəri	<i>pond</i>	pfəri'lo, or pfərilo, or pfərulo.



Δ- and ε- are elided after final ε, or else the ε is elided.

žΔME      *bow*      žΔME.r.

-tse + -ər > -tsər.

Δ- and ə- are sometimes elided after final u.

pəri, "peri", (obl. pərimu-), pərimuʔe.

Final -o frequently becomes u before a suffix and a w-glide may be developed between it and a following vowel.

The following specimens of declension are given in illustration. I have used the terms Dat. and Abl. for convenience of reference. Unattested forms are marked with a dagger.

### DECLENSION of HM, X and X NOUNS.

#### 49. Ending in a Consonant.

	Sing.	hm.	x	y
N. V. Acc.		hileʔs <i>boy</i>	dΔn <i>stone</i>	diš <i>place.</i>
Trans. Nom. and Agential		hileʔse	—	—
Gen. (and Gen. Obl.)		hileʔse	dΔne	—
Dat.		hileʔsər	dΔnər	dišər.
Abl.		hileʔstsum	dΔntsum	dištsum.
		† hileʔsΔle	—	—
		† hileʔsΔŋe	—	—
		† hileʔsΔʔe	dΔnΔʔe	—
		† hileʔsxa	—	—
		† hileʔstse	† dΔntse	—
		† hileʔsulo	dΔnulo	dišulo.
		(hileʔsum)		
	Plur.	dən y	<i>year.</i>	
N. V. Acc.		dəniŋ.		
Trs. Nom. and Agential		—		
Gen.		† dəniŋe.		
Dat.		dəniŋər.		
Abl.		dəniŋtsum.		
		dəniŋxa.		
		dəniŋulo.		

(The word *den* has been chosen to represent the plural merely because it offers a larger number of attested forms than the plurals, *hilešo*, *daiyo* and *dišmiñ*).

### Ending in Vowels.

#### 50. -a.

N. V. Acc.	haʼ	<i>house</i>	məɾak'aʼ	<i>court</i>	xɬz'ina	<i>treasury.</i>
Trs. Nom. and Agential	—	—	—	—	—	—
Gen.	haʼ	—	—	—	xɬz'ina	—
Dat.	haʼr	—	məɾak'aʼr	—	—	—
Abl.	haʼtsum	—	məɾakaʼtsum	—	—	—
	haʼle	—	—	—	—	—
	haʼlər	—	—	—	—	—
	haʼlum	—	—	—	—	—
	—	—	məɾak'aʼulo	—	xɬzinaʼulo	—
	—	—	—	—	xɬzinaʼatər	—

The Trs. Nom. of *paɾdša* is the same as the simple Nom.

*paɾdša hukum etimi.*

The only divergencies I have noted are:

haʼɛ, hai for the Gen. of haʼ, hai *yakalatər.*

Xud'a	<i>God</i>	Gen.	Xudaiyɛ	Dat.	Xudaʼyər.
			Xudaʼɛ		Xudaʼr.
			Xudaʼyo		Xudaʼyər.

h'isa *month*      hisɬlo *in a month.*

#### 51. -i. basi *garden*; Hindi *P. N. of a place*; pferi *pond*; \*-ulji *dream.*

N. V. Acc.	basi	Hindi	pferi	*-ulji.
Trs. Nom. and Agential	—	—	—	—
Gen.	basi.ɛ	Hindi.ɛ	—	*-ulji.ɛ.
Dat.	basi.ər	Hindi.ər	pferi.ər	—
Abl.	basi.ɛtsum	Hinditsum	pferɛtsum	—
Loc.	basi.ulo	Hindilo	pferilo, -ilo,	*-uljulo,
	basi.ulo		pferulo	*-uljilo.
		Hindi.ɬɛ		
		Hindi.ɬɛ		

Other forms are: hiri *men.* Trans. Nom. hiri.ε.  
 \*-mi *mother.* „ \*-mi.ε.

Gen. -i.ε. Dat. i-ər seem to be practically constant. With the -ulo suffix it seems to be that when the accent is on the -i the form is -i.ulo.

With -Δτε, -Δtum we have kursi.Δτε, Hindi.Δτε, but tε'sΔtum (nom. tε'si).

## 52. -u and o.

Both vowels appear to be habitually retained:

		Trs. Nom.	Gen.	Dat.	Abl.
thΔmo (pl.)	<i>Thams</i>	thΔmu.ε	—	—	thΔmutsum.
bitaiyo (pl.)	<i>bitans</i>	bitaiyu.ε	—	—	—
Pu'no	<i>man's name</i>	Pu'nu.ε	Pu'nu.ε	Pu'nuwər	—
talo	<i>seven</i>	talo'wə	—	—	—
Hunzo	<i>Hunza</i>	—	Hunzu.ε	Hunzuwər	Hunzutsum, Hunzotsum.
tinjo (pl.)	<i>bones</i>	—	—	tinjowər	—
Dərbešo	<i>man's name</i>	—	Dərbe'su.ε	Dərbe.šu.ər	—
a.u (a.uy?)	<i>my father</i>	—	a'u.ε <sup>1</sup> , au.ε	auwər	—
dəru	<i>game</i>	—	—	dəru'ər	—
duro'skuyo } duro'ski.o }	(pl.) <i>labourers</i>	—	—	{ duro'skuyor duro'ski.u.ər	—
duro	<i>business, affair</i>	—	—	duro'wər	—
šΔdərišo, šΔdəršo }	(pl.) <i>servants</i>	—	—	{ šΔdərišo'r šΔdəršu.ər	—

With the -Δτε suffix we have:

bo	<i>seed-grain</i>	bo'τε	—
hasto	<i>elephant</i>	hastowΔτε	—
duro	<i>work, affair</i>	duro'wΔτε	duro'wΔtər.
dəro'γo	<i>stick</i>	dəro'γowΔτε	—
*-pfΔγo	<i>stick</i>	*-pfΔγu.Δτε	—

<sup>1</sup> but gu.a hārər to thy father's house.

With the suffix -ulo:

bu'ndo (pl.)	<i>boulders</i>	bu'ndo'ulo.
duro	<i>work, affair</i>	duro'ulo.
Γuku	<i>name of place</i>	Γuγu'ulo.
but,		
Hunzo	<i>Hunza</i>	Hunzulo.

## 53. -ai.

N. V. A.	bušai(i)	<i>land.</i>
Gen.	busai.ε	
Dat.	bušai.ər	
	bušai'ulo	

With -aṭε i'mo rai.εṭε *of his own free will.*

## 54. -au.

N. V. A.	bopfau	<i>seed-scattering festival.</i>
Gen.	bopfauwe	
Dat.	bopfau.ər	
Abl.	bopfautsum	

The word dau, dau.u *griddle* (dawan, *a griddle*) gives dawṭε.

## 55. -ε and -e.

These finals occur principally in the pronouns, i'ne, ki'ne, gu'ne, guṭe etc. q.v.

In these pronouns -ε + Δ or ε usually gives -ε' or -e'. The Trs. Nom. is always i'ne, etc.

Of nouns there are:

Δme	<i>my tooth</i>	Δme.ulo	
i'me	<i>his tooth</i>	i'me.ulo	
žinε	<i>sleeve</i>	žinε'r	žinε'ulo.
žΔme	<i>bow</i>	žΔme'r, žΔme'r	žΔme'e'εṭe.

Generally speaking it may be taken that where the stress accent falls on what was a vowel termination of the nom. of a noun that vowel will be preserved.

## 56. HF. Nouns.

The following table shows the standard type of declension for hf. nouns:

Nom. Voc. Acc.	gus	woman	gəro'ni.	bride.
Trans. Nom. & Agential	guse		gəro'ni ε.	
Gen. (Gen. Obl.)	gusmo		gəro'nimo.	
Dat.	gusmur		gəro'nimur.	
Abl.	gusmutsum		gəro'nimutsum.	

Other forms are:

with -ale	yačeni	a female ogress	yačenimule
with -aɕe	pəri	fairy	pərimuɕe.
	Šahri Banu	P. N.	Šahri Banumuɕe.
with -tse	e.i	his daughter	e.imutse, e'mutse.
	dasin	girl	dasinmutse.

The plural is similar to that of other classes of nouns, the base being the simple form of the Nominative, but examples are scarce:

N. V. A.	gušɨants	women	pəritiɨ fairies.
Tr. Nom.	gušɨantse		pəritiɨe
Gen. (Gen. Obl.?)	gušɨantse		
Dat.	yu'gušantsər	to his daughters	pəritiɨər

The -mu- theme of the singular does not seem to occur in the plural. Biddulph's "gus-hiuntsmoloo" i.e. gušɨantsmoloo, is probably a slip, or obsolete.

## 57. When the noun carries the suffix -an or -ik the declensional suffixes (including the -mo, -mu of the oblique forms of the hf. nouns) and of course the postpositions, are added after them:

balas-an	a bird	Tr. Nom.	balasane (senimi)	a bird (said).
belis-an	a sheep		belisantsum	from a sheep.
dan-an	a stone		danantse	on a stone.
hir-an	a man		hiranale	in the possession of a man.
kat-en	a bedstead		katenate	on a bedstead.
sis-an	a person		sisanər	to a person.
e'i	his daughter		e'yene (senumo)	a daughter of his (said).
e'imur	to his daughter		e'yenmur	to a daughter of his.

gus-an	a woman	Tr. Nom.	gusanmo	of a woman.
pəri.ɛn	a fairy		pəri.ɛnmu gane	for a fairy.

I have few examples of nouns with the simple suffix -ik in an oblique case, but

\*-ɔltalik both occurs frequently in the Transitive Nominative e.g. ɔltalike suluma du·numan *the two started wrestling*. I have also: menik·tsum du·mæra? *have you got it from any other people?*

Cp. meniko § 151.

### POSTPOSITIONS.

58. The system of inflection by case-suffixes is supplemented by the use of Postpositions. I have referred above, in § 46, to the difficulty of precisely defining and distinguishing postpositions in Burushaski. This makes it convenient to deal with them here as a feature of Noun-Inflection rather than later as a separate grammatical category corresponding to the Prepositions of European languages, to which the tradition of grammarians has assigned a place by themselves following the adverbs.

The earlier consideration of them in Burushaski is rendered still more desirable by the fact that they occur in conjunction not only with nouns and pronouns but also with verbs.

On the general principles which I have indicated above, the following may be regarded, in some at least of their uses, as postpositions. What, however, the exact relation is between the "postposition" and the preceding noun, still more between it and the prefixed pronoun, it is in many cases impossible to say.

The case name entered after each postposition indicates the form in which the preceding noun appears:

*-ɔpači	in the possession of, to (a person),	nom.
	close to, beside.	
gane	for the sake of	obl.
hæræn	among, between	nom.
i·lji, *-lji	behind, after (time)	abl.
i·tiga·ri	round about	nom., obl.

ka	along with, with	obl.
xa, kha	down, down through etc.	obl.
šaturgat	round about	nom.
thi	apart from, besides etc.	abl.
ya're	under, beneath	nom.
yakal, *-yakal	towards, in the direction of	nom.
yanči, *-yanči	to the reception of (to meet)	?
yər, *-yər	in front, ahead of, before (time)	abl.
*-yaṭe	above, over	?
yo'n, *-yo'n	over	nom.

It is to be remarked that in the plain forms yakal, yanči, yər and yo'n the 3rd. sg. pronoun prefix *i-* has possibly been absorbed.

It will further be noticed that most of the words in the above list appear to be nominal or adverbial forms.

The functions of the case suffixes are examined in §§ 67—78, those of the postpositions in §§ 79—95.

### THE USES of the PRIMARY CASES.

59. One form of the noun — the simplest — does duty for the Nominative, Vocative and Accusative Cases, as we know them in languages where the noun is more fully inflected.

This form therefore serves:

- i. where the noun is the subject of an intransitive verb, and usually where it is the subject of a present-base tense of a transitive verb (i. e. in the present, future and imperfect).
- ii. where the noun is used as a form of address.
- iii. where the noun is used as the direct object of a transitive verb.
- iv. frequently, as in English, in the case of words expressing time.  
also:
- v. sometimes with names of places where one would expect rather a locative or genitive.
- vi. occasionally in a compound verbal expression containing a noun.
- vii. following a noun expressing measurement or quantity.

## Examples :

- i. hir i'mo ha'lər nimi      *the man went home.*  
     hir seibai.i              *the man says.*
- ii. le.i hilərs!              *O boy!*
- iii. hir esqanəm              *I killed the man.*
- iv. hisan ya altosan huru'timi ke hər gunts šapik ke šərbat Tham'  
     ha'lər itsuča'n.  
     *if he stays a month or 2 months they take bread and halwa*  
     *every day to the Tham's house.*  
     da yaṭ gunts              *again the next day.*
- v. Hunzulo iskikum qaum adar'd bam: Baltit Tapki.ents, Ganeš  
     Hamačartıñ.  
     *3 tribes were established in Hunza: the Tapki.ents at Baltit, the*  
     *Hamačartıñ at Ganeš.*  
     awal Hunzo Baltitulo Tapki.ents abar'd bam.  
     *originally the Tapki.ents were established in Baltit (in) Hunza.*  
     Baltistan Šıgırər              *to Šıgır in Baltistan.*
- vi. Kisərə i'mo žame irıñ balimi      *Kiser's own bow came into his hand.*  
     talo muyurgušants bu'ndo bu'ndo'ulo gi'li udelimi.  
     *her 7 daughters he fixed with a peg in separate boulders.*
- vii. torim čuqan gur              *10 measures (240 lbs.) of wheat.*

**60. Transitive Nominative and Agential.**

This form is used:

- i. when the noun is the subject of a transitive verb in a past-base tense (preterite, perfect, pluperfect, and the past participle and static participle active), with only occasional exceptions.
- ii. when the noun is the subject of the verb *henas* to know in any of its tenses.
- iii. sometimes with the present-base tenses of other transitive verbs, especially *senas* to say.
- iv. its use is said to be *permissible* with any tense of any transitive verb.
- v. it may perhaps be regarded as Agential when used with the Static Participle Passive.



There is a temptation to call this case simply the Agential, on the analogy of the Agential case employed in Hindustani, Pashtu, Kashmiri and Tibetan in similar situations.

The analogy, however, is not exact, for in the latter languages the construction is passive: "something was done by someone", the object of the action being put in the nominative with the verb in agreement, while the actor or logical subject is put in an oblique case, which may accurately be called the Agential.

In Burushaski, as also in Shina, the form of the statement is active, the verb agreeing with the actor, or logical subject, and not with the object of the action.

The only peculiarity is that the actor-subject carries a special suffix.

The form of this actor-subject case resembles the genitive or general oblique, being simply the nominative form plus  $-\epsilon$ , but that it is not identical with it seems to be shown by the fact that in nouns of the hf. class the  $-\mu$  of the oblique case is lacking, and the suffix  $-\epsilon$  is added direct to the nominative form. Thus:

N. V. A.	gus	<i>woman.</i>
Tr. Nom. & Agt.	guse	
Gen.	gusmo	
Dat.	gusmur	etc.

NOTE. The position is the same in Shina where the transitive nominative suffix is  $-\se$ , except that the use of it in Shina is universal with all parts of transitive verbs:

N. V. A.	ro	<i>he.</i>
Tr. Nom.	ro'se	
Gen.	rese	
Dat.	reseṭe	etc.

The fact that these inflected Transitive Nominative forms are based on the ordinary nominative, and not on the general oblique, possibly indicates that they are not native to the language, but have been introduced at a later stage of development and under foreign influence.

61. The following are examples of the use of the Trans. Nom. Case. It is to be noted that it is frequently impossible to say whether the simple nominative or the extended form of the nom. is used. The subject is often not expressed; the forms of the nominative and Trans. Nom. of the personal and demonstrative pronouns (except those of the 1st. and 2nd. pers. pronouns singular) are not consistently differentiated: e.g. one may say *i'n* or *i'ne* for the simple Nom.; similarly with nouns ending in *-a*; and again final *-ε*'s have a way of appearing and disappearing which is not always readily to be accounted for.

I. Examples with the **Past-base Tenses** of Transitive Verbs:

ja du'n Šahri Ba'no ko'le ha'ler dumu'tsam.

*I seizing her brought Šahri Bano here to the house.*

Di.u Sa'fi'de xutba γatanimi *the White Div read the "khutba".*

Behra'me yu'lji.en yetsimi *Bahram saw a dream.*

pfute biške pyu.Δn iyunimi *the "pfut" (div) gave him a little hair.*

maper hirε kau etimi *the old man called out ("made a hail").*

uε pfut'uε ušu'mi.ε *the divs ate them up.*

Bahra'mer εskuse senumo *his mother-in-law said to Bahram.*

da dai.εla ba *I have heard . . . .*

ja dela ba *I have slain (it).*

With **Static Participle Passive.**

Di.u Sa'fi'de εγunum i'ke biške *the hair given him by the White Div.*

ja senuman *a thing said by me.*

Here it seems that we have probably a legitimate Agential construction, but it is conceivable that Di.u Sa'fi'de and ja are genitives.

The problem would be solved by an example in which the noun or pron. was hf sg. as the Trans. Nom. would then be distinguished in form from the gen., but no such example is available.

II. The use of the Transitive Nom. with the Past-base tenses of Transitive Verbs is universal. A few occasional instances of the omission of the suffix *-ε* are not, I think, to be taken seriously:

Thus: Š. B. ke Šahri Ba'no ruxsat duməruman.

Š. B. and Š. B. asked for permission to go.

u u'i hərəŋ u'kər eskənuman.

they among themselves killed themselves (i.e. they killed each other).

### III. With Present-base Tenses of Transitive Verbs.

Here the Nom. is the rule and the Agential is the exception. The latter is, however, almost always used with hənəs to know and is very common with senəs to say, and other examples are to be found.

Šamtu Miru Wazi're seibai.i Shamtu Miru, the Wazir, says . . . .

i'mi.ε se.ibo his mother says . . . .

gan mene he'iba'na? does anyone (pl.) know the road?

awa, ja he'ya ba yes, I know it.

Aba Dumbu.ε da kau e'cai.i Aba Dumbu then gives a hail (calls out).

ja thamkuš wazi're šebai.i the Wazir is in possession of (is eating)  
my kingship.

je, or ja, imo's de'sa ba I am worrying him (making him bring  
his anger).

u'ŋ tər'e's hile'se in ε'sqanš be goməi.iba?

how will you, an orphan boy, be able to slay him?

B. Jamhur'e Alqas'ər sala'm e'cai.i B. Jamhur says salam to Alqash.

telju'ko ike ja e'ča ba I do such things (interpret dreams).

ja u'ŋ thamtsum dumərča ba I shall ask the Tham for you (for your services).

ja kine i'tsu'ča ba I'll marry this man.

han p'futanε tsil uyo'n mibi a Div is drinking all the water.

hi'ri.ε sala'm e'ča'n the men salam him.

### Future.

ja akər esqai.ām I shall kill myself.

mene adeljumana? will any people beat me or not?

mene a'sqaimana? will any people kill me or not?

### Imperfect.

mε'ne e'višām none would see him (yetśas).

IV. A noun is frequently connected with two verbs, one transitive and the other intransitive, the first in order being a participle and the second a finite part of the verb. In such cases there is no fixed rule as to which shall govern the form of the noun. As, however, the noun frequently adapts itself to the finite verb though it is more remote (examples 1 and 2 below) that is probably the ideal; and the more frequent cases where it adapts itself to the nearer participial verb may be regarded as lapses from grace.

i·NE γərīb hir tubak fāt netan ta·ŋtsum du·simi.

*the poor man, leaving his gun, went out from the palace.*

Ru·mi hir gute xabər deyal nukān hai yakalāṭər pfer manimi.

*the Rumi man, hearing this news, returned taking it (i.e. with it) towards the house.*

mapər dusin bəre·numi *the old man, going out, saw . . .*

Čilimda·n ho·l nuyen . . . di.a Čilimdan, taking an army, has come . . .

Š. Behra·me gute bər deyal bihuš imanumi.

*hearing this, Sh. B. became unconscious.*

ja jama·at ke je melta·lik riza nimiman, miyu kaš o·cər du·tsa·n.

*my wife and I, both of us, becoming contented, have brought our sons to slay them..*

je na·nin o·r astam ne čup o·tam.

*I, going and settling their case for them, silenced them.*

gusan nukučēn dasinen dumo·smanu bo·m.

*a woman, being brought to bed ("lying down") had given birth to a son.*

Pu·nu·e mel o·minum hanik ni·en bopfautsum di·mi.

*Puno taking the dish, returned from the Seed-Sowing, not having drunk any wine.*

## 62. The Genitive.

There is nothing very unusual to be noted about the uses of the Genitive:

i. In general it signifies *possession*, or the fact of *belonging to*, or *pertaining to*.

Alqašē ba·si·e hi·ŋatsər ni·mi *he went to the door of Alqash's garden.*

- jat gusanmo ha hiŋtsər ni·mi    *he went to the door of an old woman's house.*
- i·ne gusino mo,iyen dumanumo    *a daughter of the woman was born.*  
 miamuši.e i·mi    *the lamb's dam.*
- gute u·ŋe kita·p bila, go·pi.e bilum.  
     *this is thy book, it was thy grandfather's.*
- i·ne hire sala·me juwa·b mučimi.  
     *the man gave her a response to (her) salam.*
- Šišpəre tər    *the pasture grounds of Shishper.*  
 basi.e yatkuvin    *the superintendent of the garden.*  
 Habaše Pa·dša    *the king of Abyssinia.*  
 tuγuli.e čape maza    *the flavour of lamb's meat.*  
 Hindi.e sis    *the people of Hindi.*
- ii. It may denote *composition* or *material*.
- γeniše salat    *a golden moustache.*  
 čumare tərγus    *a palace of iron.*  
 tiliaŋ dane bitša    *there is a saddle of stone.*  
 ipfaγo ri·le bi    *his stick is of copper.*
- iii. It may be used to denote *parentage*, with the ellipsis of "son of".
- Si·ŋe Daltas Manu·ko    *Daltas Manuko (the son) of Sing.*
- iv. It is used as a so-called "*Objective Genitive*".
- i·ne γamulo he·rea ba·n    *we are weeping in grief for him.*  
 guyetšase ərina·nulo    *in the desire of seeing you =  
     longing to see you.*
- v. It is used in many situations where in English we have "of", or an adjective or adjective-equivalent.
- Ašdər delume čaγa    *the story of the dragon being slain.*  
 pfitimuts e·sirume čaγa o·r etimi    *he told them the story of his  
     being made to eat bread (of his being fed with bread).*
- ja asqanasatē    *by the slaying of me, by my murder.*  
 (but also: jē (acc.) asqanasər to kill me),  
 ji.e šugu·lo    *soul's friend, bosom friend.*

**63. The General Oblique.**

The existence of a General Oblique is only hypothetical. If it does exist it is of the same form as the Genitive.

The arguments in favour of its existence are:

1. the genitive form occurs habitually in certain idioms where the meaning is far removed from the general notion of the genitive.
2. the genitive form is used with certain postpositions.
3. in the hf. nouns the genitive form supplies the base used with the case suffixes and the postpositions. Cp. also § 47 note.
4. the analogy of Shina, in which it is pretty certain that there exists a general oblique form used with the case suffixes. It may appear unsound to appeal to analogy with a totally unrelated language but the fact is -- whatever the explanation may be -- that there are many points of resemblance between Burushaski and Shina in grammatical use and idiom.

The balance of argument seems to me to be in favour of the existence of a General Oblique of the same form as the Genitive. One may further conjecture that the forms are identical in origin as well as form and that the Genitive is a specialised use of the General Oblique.

**64. Uses of the General Oblique.**

There are a few definite, well-established uses of the G. O. and then a certain number of miscellaneous uses in which it appears only sporadically. Some of these latter might be explained as Genitives.

Its definite uses are:

- i. as the *Instrumental* (instead of the usual form with the suffix -Aṭɛ): In the stock phrase:

\*-lčine yetsas                      *to see with the eye, to see.*

mi milčine yetsuman              *we saw with our eyes.*

menke alčine o.iṭsa ba              *I have seen no one.*

In other phrases:

yurṭiṅ tik etsi bai.i              *he has stamped down the earth with his feet.*

tik p̄fetiŋe deluman    *they pelted him with earth and ashes.*  
do.u iriŋe šu etimi    *he blew (the bellows) with his right hand.*  
čartse (or -tsər) iriŋčiŋe . . du'n    *grasping the cliff with his hands.*  
ja amultureŋe uyam naban dai.eča ba.

*I perceive a sweet odour with my nostrils.*

u tum ganane nu'nin    *they, going by a different road (or, locative,  
on a different road).*

yu'se yaise duwaq ečubo    *the wife smacks him with the rolling-pin.*  
i'i dasin daγo'waŋe mudeljai.i    *he himself sprinkles the girl with flour.*  
han bo'nisane tha ho'lər daudo ečam.

*with one lump of dough I shall make "daudo" for a force 100 strong.*

ii. As the *Locative*. Rare.

Probably occurs in the phrase:

hi tha'ne    *at a certain place.*

and in:

Šišpəre te're hurutain    *he was staying at the Shishper grazing-grounds.*

U.ltəre huyə's o'rutuman    *they settled their flocks in Ulter.*

Hərbəre hisan ya alto'san hurutimi ke . . .

*when he has stayed at Herber for a month or two months.*

And with the adj. hik *full*. cp. § 116.

iii. With nouns denoting *Time*:

hik de'ne mel o'minum di'mi    *one year he returned without  
having drunk wine.*

irte dene    *(in) that year.*

aŋaro guntse    *on Tuesday.*

irte guntse    *(on) that day.*

Muhammad Nazi'm Xa'ne thamkuše    *in the reign of Muhammad  
Nazim Khan.*

tape; ite tape    *at night, by night; that night.*

fula'ne guntse gər e'cen    *we shall hold the marriage on such  
and such a day.*

beruman guntsiŋe nuku.tsər    *proceeding for some days.*

and perhaps:

tami'ne    *last year.*

tsoʻrdine *next morning.*

saʻsate *in the evening.*

The temporal expressions with the suffix -mo may possibly also be General Oblique forms:

taɹpmo *at night.*

berum sanmo *in the course of some months, after some months.*

aʻltulanmo *after two days.*

tsoʻrdimo *in the morning.*

saʻsetumo *in the evening.*

but:

kuʻinmo (den) *this year.*

taminimo (den) *last year.*

kultumo (gunts) *today.*

seem to be adjectival.

In

guntsamo gunts *day by day, daily.*

denmo den *yearly.*

mišin samo *after six months.*

The -mo forms would seem to have the force of the Ablative: "from day to day".

- iv. As the *Dative*. So used only, as far as I know with the Reflexive Pronoun \*-kər; but this one use is very frequent:

tsil akərə gaiyam (also, ak'ərər) *I shall take water for myself.*

gukərə šapik eti *make bread for thyself.*

gukərə tsil su *fetch water for thyself.*

guke ɣenay . . . ak'ərə tsu'čam *I shall carry off this gold for myself.*

ik'ərə be šu.a.ta.əm detsirčai.i *what good food he is cooking for himself.*

akərə šapik ečam *I shall prepare food for myself.*

65. The following are a few *miscellaneous* instances of the use of the G. O.

šapik daɣ etase doɣuʻiskiʻnai *he has begun to cook bread.*

kuʻtoʻe hik omanumi *the bag did not become full (it did not become full in the bag. loc.?)*

ye iʻse base juʻas bilum *he would have to come by (or, to) the bridge.*



With "taŋ" *hard up for, in straits for:*

ši.ʌsər šʌpikɛ taŋ bʌm	<i>he was hard up for food to eat.</i>
yoʻʌsər gatʌ.ɛ taŋ bʌm	<i>he was hard up for clothes to put on.</i>
tsʌnɛ (tsʌn = straight, true)	<i>truly, in fact, in deed.</i>
isɛ pʌltiŋisɛ hoʻlɛ ɣəriŋ mʌnimi	<i>(a sound of) singing came out of that bellows.</i>
ɛsɛ dʌŋ	<i>hard of heart i.e. stout-hearted.</i>
zʌtɛ jʌt	<i>small of class, low in social class.</i>

The suffix *-ulo in, into* is normally added to the nominative form of the noun, but in the two examples following *uʻlo* is accented and is used adverbially, as it frequently is, and *hiŋɛ* and *tsərišɛ* are apparently G. O. forms with Locative force. The expressions seem to represent very closely our "he came in at the door", "they came in at the doorway" (*hiŋulo* would probably rather mean "into the texture of the door").

*Puʻno ha hiŋɛ uʻlo dimi* *Puno entered the door of the house.*

*duʻn tsərišɛ uʻlo haʻlɛr nʌʌa uʻtis isəršaʻn* *they coming into the doorway put down their feet at the same time in the house.*

66. One word *\*-ʌš* *the neck*, has an oblique form *\*-ʌši* meaning *on, upon, the neck*.

One would suspect this also of being a G. O. form but in all my examples the final vowel is *-i*, not *-ɛ*.

ja ɛši šʌŋʌličiŋ aɣiçi	<i>he will put chains on my neck.</i>
ʌʌqʌšɛ ɛvi goʻši goʻwɛšɛʌni	<i>I shall fling Alqash's daughter on your neck (make you a present of her).</i>
tsɛraŋ ɛʻši nikiŋ	<i>taking the door-frame upon his neck.</i>
Paŋču.ɛ maʃken moʻši numoʻwɛšin	<i>Pangchu, putting a waterskin on her neck.</i>

A similar locative *-i* is perhaps to be recognised in the once-recorded *ɛšçumuši*.

Here *ɛšçu(m)* is presumably connected with *\*-ʌšçiŋ* *small of the back, loins*, and *muši* may be from *muš* *end, extremity, edge, side*:  
*ɛšçumuši tiʻšk bilum* *the dagger there was (stuck) in his waistcloth.*

## USES OF THE CASE SUFFIXES.

We may now proceed to examine the uses of the case-suffixes of which a list is given in § 47.

## 67. -ALE, -ELE.

The general sense of this suffix is LOCATIVE *at, in the vicinity of*.

- i. It is constantly used with the word *ha*, *house*, which has not been recorded with the suffix *-ulo*, *in, into*.

*ha·le* *at the house, at home, in the house.*

*ha·le huručaman* *they abode at home.*

*mimo ha·le damanas ha* *I am to be born in our own house.*

*ite ha·le uyo'n tai.ar otam* *at or in, that house he had made them prepare everything.*

- ii. *in the presence of, in the vicinity of, to* (especially of persons) after verbs of *motion* or *speech*. Cp. Hind. *-ke pa's*, Prs. *piš i*.

*pa'dša·ale šeyam* *I shall say in the presence of the king, i.e. to the king.*

*gute čaγa ti menale* (or, *menər*) *aye'ti* *do not tell this to anyone else.*

*u·ele duγuvi manimi* *it became midday with them(?)*

*mu·yər nuju·male nimi* *her husband went to the astrologers.*

*pa'dša e·rəršu·ale niča'n* *they go to the king's sons-in-law.*

*gu·ngu·ale ni* *go to your uncle.*

- iii. *in the possession of*. Cp. Hind. *-ke pa's*, Prs. *piš i*.

*če.i ja o·yər·ale bi* *the key is with my husband, my husband has the key.*

*če.i ja·le bi* *I have the key.*

*u·ale a'lta pfitimuts bim* *they had 2 pieces of bread.*

*mamale besan hunar bila?* *what special gift have you (pl.)?*

- iv. The combination *-ale + ər* → *-alər* is generally used after verbs of *motion*.

*pfut eču ha·lər gutsərimi* *the Div proceeded to his brother's house*

(I have always *ha·lər* not *ha·r* in such situations).

*ite jaŋgalər nu'n* *(they) going to that jungle.*

*pa'dša·lər do·šqaltuman* *they arrived at the King's.*

*i·nelər tsu·mi* *he took (the book) to him.*

v. The combination  $-al\epsilon + -um \rightarrow -alum$  in the sense of *from* occurs constantly in *ha'lum*.

*i'mo ha'lum di'mi*

*he came from his house, or home.*

*i'se danalum del pfa's mai.i bila* *oil exudes from that stone.*

vi. In the following two phrases the exact nature and meaning of  $\Delta mit\Delta\epsilon$  are obscure to me. The word may be compounded with  $\Delta mit$  y sg. of the Interrogative *which?*, *what?* or of the Indefinite + *ke* *whichever*, or without *ke* perhaps *any*, but this leaves  $-\Delta\epsilon$  to be accounted for where we should expect  $-\Delta\tau\epsilon$ .

*ki'n \Delta mit\Delta\epsilon di'n miy\er du'sai.i.*

*Coming by what (road?) has this man got in front of us? or how has he got in front of us?*

*\sua nuse niman. i'se ba'sa\ta\er niman ti \Delta mit\Delta\epsilon gan apim.*

*Saying "good" they went off. They went to the bridge: there was no road by any other (way?).*

### 68. $-\Delta\eta\epsilon$ , $-\epsilon\eta\epsilon$ .

It is difficult to assign any exact meaning to this suffix. It is not of wide application and the liability of  $\eta$  and  $n$  to be confused sometimes makes its existence in particular cases doubtful. I have frequently recorded  $-\Delta\eta\epsilon$ .

i. It constantly occurs, however, *with the Reflexive Pronoun* in expressions such as to "think to oneself" to "say to oneself" and "of oneself", "spontaneously".

*ik'\eta\eta\epsilon se.ibal*

*he says to himself.*

*ik'\eta\eta\epsilon samba \epsilontimi*

*he thought to himself.*

*ik'\eta\eta\epsilon \check{c}\Delta\gamma\Delta n \epsilon\check{c}ai.i*

*he is talking to himself.*

Cp.

*o'sa\eta\epsilon xi.a'l \epsilon\check{c}a'n*

*they think in their heart(s).*

*\syu'lo ik'\eta\eta\epsilon dimanimi*

*it came into being of itself in the forge*

*ik'\eta\eta\epsilon taq manimi*

*it broke of itself.*

*i'se ni'itsin muk'\eta\eta\epsilon mundiltse \Delta am \eta\epsilon \epsilon\check{c}ubo.*

*On seeing it, beating herself on the breast, she says to herself.*

*(It seems difficult here to take muk'\eta\eta\epsilon except with \epsilon\check{c}ubo).*

- ii. In some other cases it seems to correspond to English "with" in various senses, especially those of *instrument* and *possession*, or being *provided with*:

xuro'nčan ine tešiyāṅe čārər di'nin.

*a cloud coming up level with his roof.*

Hindi'āṅe čār level with, opposite, Hindi.

ku'e uyo'nāṅe bābər bušai.i gučam.

*I shall give you land equal with all these.*

gāp jikanāṅe (-āṅe) gultali.ε baiyam.

*I had wound you up with hide and a leather thong.*

bərpitāṅe taq go'ta baiyam *I had bound you with a strap.*

šua avdatāṅe bai.i *he is a person with good habits ("good-natured").*

jakər šur'limutsāṅgə (sic) tobak *double-barrelled gun.*

han ilčinaṅe sis *a one-eyed person.*

u'ṅāṅe huru'tamulo *when I was pregnant with you.*

u'yam nasāṅe asku'r bila *it is a flower with a sweet scent.*

ja au.ε i'imo i'kaṅe buro'ndumuts bim.

*my father had (signet) rings with his own name (on them).*

Abadumbu i'kaṅe i'ne i.ε *of that son with the name Abadumbu.*

(i'kaṅe corresponds to English *by name*.)

sa's daqomutsāṅe gut *a tent with 100 poles.*

hin ye'niše salatāṅe hiran *a man with a golden moustache.*

čauwāṅe bi *it is with milk, it is a milch cow (čau etas to milk).*

- iii. In the following, as the literal meaning of the phrases is not known to me, the force of the -āṅe is also obscure:

gurtiṅe x'e'reṅe *as a sacrifice for your feet.*

ε'tāṅe bi guruš *what have you to do with that?*

tsilaṅe imanimi *he was drowned.*

dolat uyo'n tsilaṅe etimi *he wasted all the property. Cp. Pers. bərba'd "on the wind".*

## 69. -ər.

This suffix conveys the sense of "destination", "objective" physical or metaphorical. In general it performs the functions commonly associated with the **DATIVE**.

i. after verbs, denoting *motion to*.

ba·dša haγure i·mo ta·nər itsu·mi.

*the horse carried off the king to his own palace.*

i·te basi.ər ni·mi *he went to that garden.*

gərər ju *come to the wedding.*

hu·šər di·n *coming to his senses.*

BESAN GO·T ΔBAŠ dimi KE . . *if any difficulty comes to you . .*

It may be used after a verb of motion where the English would have *in, into, at, on* etc.

biške ka·wa·ntsər deliman *they put the hair in bags.*

ba·sa·r do·šqaltuman *they arrived at the halting-place.*

pfəri.ər gi·mo *she plunged into the pond.*

WAZI·RE batər nikin *entering into the Wazir's skin.*

ite ha·r ke gu·mi *he threw, or, poured, (the charcoal) into that house too.*

i·te ga·nər durbin waščam *he used to train a telescope on the road.*

guke pfu·ər gi *throw this (hair pl.) into the fire.*

han šu.a di·šenər de·sku·mi *he set him down in a nice place.*

Its use is peculiar in the following where there is no sense of motion:

ite ba·sa·r (or, ba·sa·ulo) γašil api *there is no firewood at that place.*

ii. Denoting the *Indirect Object* with verbs of "saying", "giving", etc.

WAZI·RƏR senimi *he said to the Wazir.*

ja·r čaγa etin belate . . . *tell me how . . .*

ja·r Δsu·in *tell ye me.*

šadəršu·ər hukəm etimi *he gave orders to his servants.*

tsərər kau etimi *he called out to the guards.*

ja do·lat uyo·n u·nər guči.Δm *I have given you all my wealth.*

ja·r ruksat Δčičuma? *will you give me leave?*

Š. Bahra·mər han ipfayo.Δnyu.Δm *he had given a stick to Sh. Bahram.*

iii. Conveying the sense of *purpose, intention; aim, object*.

sailər niča ba *I am going for a walk.*

besanər dama·ba·n *for what — why — have you (pl.) come?*

dəru·ər nicam *I shall go for hunting — to hunt.*

khate yu·tiser bišami *he shot at the leg of the bedstead.*

Especially with verbs preceded by “in order to”, “for the purpose of” and after verbs of “intending to” “deciding to” etc.  
Infinitive.

udōri etasər duwāšaman *they went out to search for.*

uŋ guřimo watanər ni,asər rak eča ke . . .

*if you wish, or propose, to go to your own country.*

uŋ gořqanasər di.a *he has come to kill thee.*

ši,asər šapik, yo,lasər gatu *food to eat, clothes to put on.*

Present Base.

i,te xabər dusu,čər duřimi *he went out to get the information.*

amulo ya,ře e,čər diš apim *there is no place anywhere to bury him.*

u,ε niman iner bəre,yər (or, bəre,ņasər) *they went off to look at him.*

iv. To denote *Advantage* or *Disadvantage*.

kinər nuqsan bila *there is injury to him, he suffers injury.*

o,ř taklif o,manš *let there be no trouble to them.*

o,ř astam ne *settling the case for them.*

tsil akərər gaiyam *I shall take water for myself.*

gusan ε,ř dumu,tsuman *they brought a woman for him.*

i,te čε.i ε,ř ato,nin *don't open that lock for him.*

ikərər tisan ne *making a pit for himself.*

me,ř diš o,maini. *there will be no place for us.*

v. *Miscellaneous*.

There are occasional instances of the *Possessive Dative*:  
hi,řər aminan ja,m jama,atane *some relation of the man's.*

Dat. with “known to”.

ja,ř lel bila *it is known to me, I know.*

To “look at”, “watch”.

tamaša,ř bareyam *I shall watch the spectacle.*

u niman Paŋču,ər bəre,yər *they went to look at Pangchu.*

To “beware of”, “take care (not to)”.

gučər ečər šaŋ eti *beware of making a noise, take care not to speak.*

With “near to”.

to,řimi sa,atanər asir *near 10 o'clock.*

but, gusmo ha Δsir            *near the woman's house.*

Ru·mi.ε ha Δsi·r            *near the Rumi's house.*

With "contented with".

kine hirər u·ŋ rız'a? je riza.

*are you contented with the man (the bridegroom)? I am contented.*

To "begin to".

i·ne i' εsmilΔsər du·yur·uskinimi    *he began to placate his son.*

To "enquire from".

u·ər, or u·εtsum, du·yarusam    *I enquired of them.*

vi. *In Temporal Expressions.*

a) *Indicating Point of Time.*

fula·na ite guntsər            *on that day.*

yaʔ guntsər            *on the next day.*

tsor·dinər            *on the morrow, in the morning.*

te·rumanər    *at this point of time (when other things have occurred).*

iski.ər            *(for the) third time, a 3rd. time.*

b) *Occasionally in dates instead of the usual locative in -ulo.*

Sambula turmatsindi.ər ya a·ltərər.

*on the 15th or 20th of the month Sumbula.*

c) *With Verbs, denoting the termination of the action of one verb when it is immediately followed by the action of the second. The subjects of the two verbs may be the same, but are usually different.*

1. *with the Infinitive: V. also § 395. d.*

i·mo te·ŋušər ni·n ara·me ka gučami. du·ŋ gučaiyΔsər go·n  
manimi. Go·n mana·sər Ba·dša·ε məraka·r du·simi.

*Going to his own palace he lay down to sleep. After he had  
slept for a little while it became dawn. When it had  
become dawn he went out to the King's court*

This Infinitive is usually that of the finite verb of the preceding clause.

2. *with the Static participle. V. also § 383.*

salgo·sε i·ŋi di·mər ju·čam    *I shall come back when the mill-  
stone's beard is come, i.e. when millstones grow beards.*

## 70. -aṭe, -ete.

The general force of this suffix is "on", "upon". The idea may be of simple "rest on", or it may be of "movement on to". It is probably the same as the latter part of the postposition and adverb yaṭe *up, on*. The following are illustrations of its principal uses:

i. Rest *on, upon*, and movement *on to*.

han taxṭanaṭe dumurṭsuman *they brought her on a litter.*

yutis iriṇaṭe ba eči bo *she kisses (on) his hand and foot.*

gatuṇ taxṭaṭe pfaṭ etumo *she left the clothes on the litter.*

guyemo gadaṭe guyemo bušai.ər ni.

*go on (by) your own road to your own country.*

i'se haṅureṭe huljami *he mounted (on) the horse.*

gatuṇ taṣaṭe etimi.

*he held the clothes on (over) the smoke, i. e. he smoked them.*

doda.ṭe čur isərkimi *he brought the knife down on his windpipe.*

turaṭe ise čišaṭe taṇ ne *pushing him up with its horn on to the mountain.*

čišeṭe, tumate, du'simi *he climbed up the mountain, up the tree.*

This use lends itself to *metaphorical employment*:

ureṭe uyum bam *he was great over them, he was their senior.*

Xuda'e i'kaṭe xəč eti *expend it in the name of God.*

i'ne pərim'uṭe a'siq amanam.

*I became enamoured of the fairy (cp. became sweet on her).*

čap han kaṭanaṭe gučičam *I'll give you the meat on one condition.*

humaṭe rač ne bam *he kept watch over the ford.*

gu're tišantseṭe het etin *let him loose on the wheat-pits.*

apartaṭe hu'nts de'egus *pulling out the arrow in the wrong direction.*

i'mo rai.ete *of his own desire, free will, or motion.*

gute ɣenaṇ adi'maṭe ečam *I shall appropriate this money to myself.*

ja tsundo rupi'a i'neṭe uš bila *he owes me five rupees.*

men thamu.ε hukəm Hindi.ṭe apim.

*No Thams had authority over Hindi.*

Šo'ngukure senumaṭe (hukumaṭe) Šəre's ečam.

*they used to celebrate the "sheres" according to the saying (order) of Shongukur.*



aki·laṭe	<i>on this wise.</i>
bezailaṭe	<i>in what manner?</i>
belāṭe	<i>in what manner? how?</i>

ii. It may signify "at", or "in".

te·ṇušaṭe huru·čaman	<i>they abode at the palace.</i>
samaṭe iltumal ne bam	<i>he was listening at the smoke-hole.</i>
i·te diš yakalaṭe nimi	<i>he went in the direction of that place.</i>
Kisəre duka·naṭe dimanum bim	<i>it had been made at Kiser's shop.</i>
i·ne mazariṇaṭe ya·re etuman	<i>they buried him at the burial place.</i>

iii. To indicate *Instrument* or *Means*.

e·mišaṭe iša·rat etimi	<i>he made a signal with his finger.</i>
ho·le ka ifayo·aṭe jaṇ etimi	<i>he fought the army with his stick.</i>
šapik besanaṭe daṇ eča·n?	<i>with what are they cooking their food?</i>
hu·ntsāṭe delimi	<i>he hit him with an arrow.</i>
te·ṇušər dolu·aṭe du·simi	<i>he climbed up into the palace by a rope.</i>
haza·r besan ila·jeṭe dauwešuma.	

*perhaps you will be saved by some resource.*

iv. It occurs also with *Temporal Significance* in:

han hisaṭe fat go·tam	<i>I (have) let you off for one month.</i>
but here -ṭe should perhaps be te.i = thus. "I let you remain as you are".	

v. It is used with certain *Parts of the Verb*.

a) with the *Static participle*. V. § 384.

ni·nin eyenumaṭe Siṅ kaš etimi.	<i>he went and slew Sing while he slept.</i>
---------------------------------	--

do·lat xərč etumaṭe di.usas apai.i.	<i>he will not escape by expending wealth.</i>
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It appears to be generally used with the *negative participle*.

ba·dša nokəri ayetumaṭe bes duko·wa?	<i>why have you returned without having done service to the king?</i>
--------------------------------------	---

b) with the *present participle* in -ume, -me.

ečumaṭe i·rimi	<i>he died while doing it, in the act of doing it.</i>
saimaṭe	<i>while saying, in the act of saying.</i>

c) It is used occasionally *with Finite parts of Verbs.* V. § 407.

kinε arεr bai.i senabaτε (1st. sg. perf. sεna-ba + aτε?) uyu·ne  
atsi γasi·čuman.

*On-I-have-said, i.e. when I say, "This man is my son in law"  
all will laugh at me.*

vi. The combination -aτε + εr → -aτεr is commonly used after verbs of motion.

Lama·τεr ho·l di·mi	<i>the army came to Lama.</i>
i·se baša·τεr niman	<i>they went to the bridge.</i>
teša·τεr du·sumo	<i>she went up on to the roof.</i>
ta·ŋ ya·kala·τεr pfer maiya·n	<i>let us go back towards the palace.</i>
ε·sa·τεr lim ga·timi	<i>the head of the arrow bit on (penetrated) his heart,</i>
u·ŋε du·ka·na·τεr dumo·yo	<i>she has come to your shop.</i>
yu·ka·τεr gu·či	<i>will fling them on the bier.</i>
ja·τεr ma·ri·ε galt di·mi	<i>the turn for giving the tribute has come to me.</i>

vii. The combination -aτε + um → -aτum is comparatively rare except in the case of:

ya·ka·la·τum    ya·ka·ltsum	<i>from the direction of, on the part of.</i>
i·ne ba·dša ya·ka·la·τum	<i>on the part of the king.</i>
ba·dša ya·ka·la·τum šapik dime·i·γurka·n ke.	

*if we obtain bread from (the direction of) the king.*

Other examples are:

tha utantsa·τum γena·ŋ mirma·ni ε·r etimi.

*he presented him with gold from on 100 camels.*

gu·imo teša·τum tama·ša·r ba·re·n.

*watch the spectacle from (on) your own roof.*

qabura·τum niza γi·ki ne *stealing the lance from on the grave.*

teša·τum xa walimi *he fell down from on the roof.*

čera·τum khau walimi *he fell down from the cliff.*

ε·sa·τum niša·niŋ *the tokens from on it.*

u·ε baša·τum pahlawa·ntiŋalεr de·šqaltimi.

*he came to those "pahlawans" from-on-the-bridge.*

guya·τum qurba·n amanša *may I be a sacrifice for (from over) you!*

But in the first and the last three cases the -um is perhaps rather to be regarded as adjectival: "the pahlawans who were on the bridge", the "sacrifice that is for you". So:  
 sindatum (həratum) baš *the bridge (that is) over the river (the nullah).*

### 71. The Ending -či.

- i. I have a couple of instances where this suffix occurs with \*-ltumal ear, apparently as a case suffix:

Paŋču iltumalčər (-či + ər) ġimi *Pangchu got into its (the calf's) ear.*  
 ałtumalči čur bi *there is a knife on (in?) my ear.*

- ii. Again as a case suffix it replaces -t in the following words:

\*-xat mouth; \*-lamat lap; \*-soγut *side of the body (under the clothes).*

ixāči tabaŋ eətuman *they put a bridle in his mouth.*

alamači *on my lap.*

jakunε go'ko isoγuči yənimi *he took the donkey foal under his cloak.*

The Ablative form musoγučim is noted in § 78.

- iii. Further, galči may be a case form of galt turn, occasion, time.  
 hik galt, hik galči *on one occasion.*

or they may both be nominative forms. The available examples do not serve to determine the question.

- iv. It seems probable that yači is a case form of yaʔ(ε) up, on, or it may be the rare word yas = head + tse.

pfərtsin yači etimi *he put on the cap.*

čiše yači *up on the hill.*

- v. One is also tempted to see a connection between pači, \*-apači and \*-apat or pa. V. § 79.

There is also ho'ipa and ho'ipači *outside.*

It is worth noting that I have once ači for tsi in  
 ači (or, tsi) γašičuman *they will laugh at me.*

Other probable Examples of this suffix are: bərči (bər), dərči (dərts), and \*-yauchi (yan-as). V. Vocab.

-či is possibly a variant of -tsi (§ 74), but in meaning it accords more with -tse.

## 72. -xa, -xa·šiqər.

There appears to be no distinction in meaning or use between these two forms, but the shorter is the more common. -šiqər, probably the dative of a form †šiq, recalls the Shina postposition -siŋ *up to, until*.

The following are illustrations of the principal uses:

i. TIME *up to, until, for, during*.

a) dərũm xa *up to the present, yet, still.*

mu'to xa, mu'to xa·šiqər *up till now.*

gute xa, or xa·šiqər *up till this (time).*

be'ruman deniq xa, or xa·šiqər *for some years.*

be'ruman waxt xa·šiqər *for some time.*

b) It is very commonly used with the -š form of the verb. V. § 358.

je juš xa *till my coming, till I come.*

u'ne niš xa (xa·šiqər) *till your going, till you go.*

go'n o'manš xa *so long as it does not become dawn, till dawn comes.*

ii. PLACE *up to, as far as*.

ha xa juč'a'n *they come as far as the house.*

Tragbal xa *as far as Tragbal.*

šafaxa'na xa·šiqər *as far as the dispensary.*

iii. NUMBER *up to*.

talo xa *up to seven.*

## 73. -tse (-atse, -etse).

Probably in the majority of cases the suffix -tse can be rendered by the English "upon", "on", with or without the accompaniment of motion. In such cases I have found nothing that certainly differentiates it from -atse, which can be similarly translated, but where motion is in question the idea conveyed by -tse is possibly more that of CONTACT than of superposition.

The following examples illustrate the use of -tse.

i. REST *upon*.

Paŋčutse kəru bu't bim *there were many lice on Pangchu.*

ba'dša hiŋtse ra'či bam *there were guards (posted) on the king's gate.*

sAMARAN tešitse lan apim bitša.

*the frame of the smoke-hole is (in its place) on the roof unmoved.*

andiltse bim (the brooch) was on my breast.

mentse pfut mamai bar'n ke i'ne itsu'in.

*whoever you (pl.) fall in love with, marry him (cp. -aṭe a'šiq § 70. 1).*

e'stse apim they (tail, horns etc.) were not on it (the body).

gaptse biške the hair on the hide.

pfu'atse gəru'rum ne warming them at the fire.

- ii. MOTION upon with verbs of "seizing", "laying hold of", "striking against".

kinemutse duyam I shall seize her.

muriṅtse du'n (they) laying hold of her hand, seizing her by the hand.

ko'ktse yamu gani bi.

*"frost has taken on these", i.e. they have become frozen.*

hu'ntsetse dunimi ke if it catches hold of the arrow.

ja haγurtse du'imi it will catch my horse.

tiktse delimi he flung him on the ground.

a'lta čiško han(h)antse du's delji bim.

*two mountains were butting against each other.*

kintse besan thaiyas api nothing has any effect on this man.

tsiltse gatimi he put his mouth to the water(?), began to drink cp. \*-tsi gatimi.

mentse čimili.eṅ yaiyi ke if the fragments strike anyone.

mazəre battse yatis yeči bi.

*his head strikes against the stone roof of the grave.*

širi daqotse taq eč an they tie it to the roof post.

tsi'rtse di'ru yami the bullet struck the goat (she ibex).

The idea is MATERIAL OR FOUNDATION in:

givi.e bi'stse diram pfitimuts e'r o'ti.

*make "diram" bread for him with ibex fat.*

mamutse guyal bread made with milk.

- iii. A special idiomatic use of -tse is illustrated in the following:

u'ṅtse (or gu'tse) besan (gu.i'k) bila? what is thy name?

ja'tse Imam Ya'r Beg bila my name is Imam Yar Beg.

mi myu'tse Dir'am Čur'am bila our father's name is Diram Churam.

iv. It is used with certain parts of the verb:

a) *with the Infinitive* under the influence of a suitable governing word, v. § 396.

uṅ huljaiyastse yaški bi                    *it is fit for you to ride.*

u xuši etastse duṅuriskinumani    *they began to make merry.*

b) *with the static participle*, v. § 386.

moyenumtse muşul gimi.

*while she (was) sleeping her labour came on, or, on her going to sleep.*

c) a suffixal enclitic -tse is used with a form approximating to the present participle, giving the sense "would be", "should be", but it seems impossible to connect it semantically with this nominal suffix. V. §§ 313 & 351.

v. *Miscellaneous Examples* of the use of -tse.

ixakinmutse mamu bilum.

*there was milk with his daughter-in-law i.e. she was with milk.*

daṅtse nişen                                    *may they go to sleep.*

uyoṅ tsirtse                                    *all in turn.*

(also: žame tsirtsum taşkuman).

je uṅtse paşoṅ amaiya ba(?)

(paşoṅ is a term indicating deprecation).

saṅtse huruṅtimi                            *he sat in the sun.*

eṅs tuṅulitse banda čape maşa oṅmairi.

*there won't be the flavour of human flesh about that lamb.*

vi. The combination -tse + ər → tsər (-atşər) frequently occurs after verbs of motion.

iṅne hiṅtsər diṅmi                            *he came to the door.*

Note that hiṅtsər to the door is the stock phrase as opposed to haṅlər to the house.

hiṅatsər diṅ                                    *coming to the door.*

iṅte bultşər doşqaltuman                *they arrived at the spring.*

čærtşər (or čærtse) iriṅčeiṅe . . . duṅ.

*seizing the cliff with his hands (the context shows that it means putting his hands against the cliff to support himself).*

iyoltşər                                        *for a twelve month.*

yo'ltšər hisa·b ɛti                      *reckon up to twelve months.*  
 jil mana·stsum bu·r mana·stšər      *from sunrise to sunset.*

vii. On the analogy of

-Δɛ,                      -Δlər,                      -Δlum.  
 -Δtɛ,                      -Δtər,                      -Δtʊm.

one is tempted to assign -tsum to -tɛ.

-tɛ,                      -tšər,                      -tsum.

The significance of -tsum would in that case be something like "from (being in) contact with". In some cases the -um is adjectival:

gaptsum biškə                      *the hair that-is-on the hide.*

viii. As with -tsum, so with -tɛ there is sometimes an initial vowel sound Δ-, ɛ- thus:

hu·ntsətɛ (or, hu·ntsetɛ) du·nš ai·y e·manimi kɛ.

*if it is unable to lay hold of the arrow.*

hi·qatɛ, hi·qatšər                      *at the door, to the door.*

#### 74. -tsi.

There is undoubtedly a particle -tsi but I can only attest it certainly with the pronominal prefixes and chiefly in alliance with certain verbs. It is tempting to suspect it of being merely a form of -tɛ, but the difference of the vowels is on the whole consistently maintained, and I have only one example of -tɛ used with the pronominal prefixes, viz. gu·tɛ v. § 73. III, and possibly i·tɛ, p. 26. 5.

i. In most cases it is difficult to assign an exact meaning to -tsi, but sometimes the meaning of -tɛ would seem to be appropriate to it:

atsi pfu a·tsima                      seems to mean: "*you have set fire to me*".

wazi·ri itsi tawi·l etimi      *he entrusted the Wazirship to him.*

ii. It is used in the following verbal combinations:

\*-tsi ba·ɣalte·Δs                      *to go mad.*

\*-tsi ga·rtsΔs                      *to run after.*

\*-tsi gata·s                      *to bite v. t.*

\*-tsi ɣΔsa·s                      *to laugh at.*

- \*-tsi thaiya's                      to pursue v. t.  
 \*-tsi (\*-tse?) yenas                to take with one(?)  
 also \*-tsi || \*-tse du'nas            to lay hold of.
- iii. We seem to have the suffix -ΔTE added to it in:  
 itsi.εte Kiser ke du'simi.  
 and Kiser crossed (the river) after him v. p. 176. 8.  
 i'rumər i'tsi.ΔTE εtas dastu'r } funeral customs.  
 u.i'rumər utsi.ΔTE εtas dastu'r }
- iv. Connected with -tsi appears to be the form -tsimo used with the prefixed pronouns with ablative force:  
 gutsimo doγəruša ba                I am enquiring from you.  
 mutsimo dutsimi                      he took them from her.

## 75. -tsum, (-Δtsum).

The force of this suffix corresponds in general to the ordinary conception of the ABLATIVE.

It denotes the *Point of Departure* and is associated with the idea of "removal from", "differentiation from".

It is used:

- i. after verbs, denoting *motion from*.

i'mo te'γuštsum ho'le atu'sam he used not to come out of his palace.  
 haγurtsum sokimi (or, draγ manimi) he dismounted from his horse.  
 xatan e'čutsum dimi                a letter came from his brother.  
 u'imo ha'tsum gutsərumən they proceed from their house.  
 ise čərtsum tsil dušila            water issues from that cliff.

*Metaphorical:*

dan'tsum ditalimi                he awoke from sleep.  
 gute du'ro ja'tsum ačuči.

*this thing will not come from me, i.e. I cannot do it.*

- ii. To indicate a *source*, or *situation from which* something proceeds, is taken, obtained or sought. This heading is taken to include its use after verbs of *asking from*, *demanding from*, *fearing* (with source of the fear), being *pleased* or *displeased with* etc.  
 sanduqtsum gatūγ di.usin        taking the clothes out of the box.



uŋ ja'r guyakaltsum han hai.ɛnan ači *give me a token from yourself.*  
mi gusastsum besan fa.ida?

*what advantage (would there be) from our telling you?*

guse haγur uŋe nasibtsum Xuda.γe tumuk etai.

*God has created this horse thanks to, (owing to?), your luck.*

gute ta.a'm besantsum bilum? *of what was this bread (made)?*  
(etam) *(of what had they made it?)*

u'e'tsum doγerusumi *he enquired of them.*

kul'to gutsimo (= u'ntsum) doγeruša ba *today I ask you.*

gatuŋ ja'tsum dumərumo *she asked me for the clothes.*

ba'dšatsum hukum dumər.

*ask an order, i.e. get permission, from the king.*

je u'ntsum ar amaiya ba *I am afraid of you.*

pa'dša G. M. M. tsum xuš manimi *the king was pleased with G. M. M.*

iii. By an extension of the last, to indicate *cause* or *means*.

Kisər iriŋtsum gu.irčuma *you will die by the hand of K.*

ba'dša hukumtsum . . . u'tsuman.

*by the king's command they carried them away.*

ba'dša me'hərba'nitsum *by the king's kindness.*

it'e'tsum, gute'tsum *for that reason, for this reason, owing to that, this.*

itse'tsum ja o'l maniš!

*would that my belly might be filled with those things!*

iv. To indicate *separation from*, hence in statements of *comparison*, *differentiation*, *distinction*.

i'mo šadəršutsum γər *ahead of his servants.*

mamatsum ilji dašqalčam *I shall arrive behind (after) you (pl.)*

basi.etsum holum pa *outside the garden.*

yu'gušants uyo'ntsum uyu'm bo'm.

*she was greater than (senior to) all the (other) daughters.*

ku'e uyo'ntsum gutə diš šu.a ja'r ačima.

*this place you have given me is better than what you have given  
to any of the others (lit. all these).*

ja'tsum bur't gan-he'num bo *she knows the road much better than I.*

u'ntsum ja bur't he'ya ba *I know much more than you.*

aku·rumtsum da besan ayemai·imi.

*he will be unable to do anything (more) than this much (that he has done).*

u·vetsum matan numa                    *getting a long way from them.*

u·n̄tsum ti menan ke                    *no one other than you, no one but you.*

ja šaldatsum tu·man etimi.

*he did something other than my order i.e. than I ordered.*

*Its idiomatic use with adjectives comes under this head.*

burtsum burt aiyāš momanumo    *she became excessively happy.*

daltastsum daltas gatun

šu.atsum ke šu.a gatun

mari·ntsum (ke) mari·n̄ gatun

} *the best of clothes.*

Š. B. B. mata·ntsum mata·n̄ me·ime.

*Sh. getting further and further away.*

v. In expressions of *time*.

a) With the sense of "after" (as in Shina).

yo·ltsum                                    *at the end of twelve months.*

hu·n̄čo satsum                            *after nine months.*

beruman deni·ntsum                    *after some years.*

b) With adverbs or postpositions denoting *before* and *after*.

Š. Bahramtsum i·ljum tham manuwam.

*he had become Tham after Sh. Bahram.*

gut·tsum ilji                            *after this, hereafter.*

gut·tsum yer                            *before this, previously.*

Note also:

guntsatsum gunts                    *from day to day.*

vi. It may be used with certain parts of the verb.

a) The infinitive, v. also § 397.

i·n̄e niyastsum ilji                    *after his going, after he had gone.*

i·n̄e juryastsum yer                    *before his coming.*

b) The Static Participle, v. also § 387.

xurts la·n̄ manumtsum . . . . ye·tsuman.

*after the dust had passed off . . . . they saw.*

turma a·lto sa nimtsum    *when 12 months had passed.*

- vii. There are other uses which do not fit into the above scheme.  
 da ha'lattsum doγarusumi *then he enquired about (his) circumstances.*  
 tsi'rtsum (*more often tsi'rtse*) *in turn, one after another.*

Frequently, if not always, with nouns ending in -ts the suffix takes the form of -atsum, -atsum instead of -tsum. V. § 47, note. Thus:

turma a'ltartsatsum	<i>from twelve.</i>
wa'lkutsatsum	<i>after 4 days.</i>
To'lkutsatsum	<i>from the people of Tol.</i>
ε'pkutsatsum	<i>from his maternal relations.</i>
i'te guntsatsum, -atsum	<i>from that day.</i>

We find also:

ite xuro'nčatsum	<i>from the cloud.</i>
araεe mulketsum	<i>from the country of Arab.</i>
basi.etsum	<i>from the garden.</i>
hiηatsum maharaintiηe	<i>the ushers at the gate.</i>

This may be hiη + atse + um the -um being adjectival.

In	telatsum	<i>from there.</i>
and	ako'latsum	<i>from here.</i>

the -a- may represent the -ε of tele and ako'le, which in turn may be the Gen. Obl. suffix.

I have recorded u'atsum for u.etsum *from them.*

## 76. -ulo.

This suffix (possibly related to \*-u'l, *belly*), which also exists independently as an Adverb, is added directly to the Nominative form of the noun. I have also noted it once or twice used with the Genitive or Oblique of the noun

hiηε.ulo gimi *he went in at the door* v. § 65.

But in these instances ulo, u'lo, seems to have preserved its adverbial value, just as the English "in at the door", as opposed to "into the house".

Occasionally with nouns ending in -i, there is elision or absorption of the -u or of the -i, v. § 51.

The primary meaning of -ulo is "in", "inside", "into". The following are illustrations of its principal uses:

i. Denoting REST or SITUATION IN a place.

i'mo dišulo huru'timi	he sat down in his own place.
i'te da'sulo han ha'yuren bim	in that desert place was a horse.
ta'nyulo bai.i	he is in the palace.
han dišenulo	in, or at, a certain place.
Ru'me bušai.ulo	in the country of Rum.
dəri.ulo huru'tum bo'm	she was sitting in, or at, the window.
i'te bušai.ε mušulo	at the end — frontier — of that country.
muri'nyulo tik nukān, i'skilulo nidilen duwalumo.	

*taking earth in her hand and throwing it in his face she flew away.*

It is found in: amulo? || am? where?, and the once recorded aku'lo in here.

ii. Metaphorically IN a STATE, CONDITION etc.

γunikiš ha'latulo ba'n	they are in an evil state.
but ara'mulo ba'n	we are in great comfort.
i'ne γamulo he'rča ba'n	we are weeping in grief for him.
ja xismatulo	in my service.
esulo rai.i etimi	he determined in his heart.
guyetsΔase ərma'nyulo but ba'n.	

*they are greatly in desire of seeing you, i.e. they are longing to see you.*

iii. Denoting MOTION INTO.

i'te basa'ulo γašil nutsun	taking firewood to ("into") that halting-place.
xurtsulo i'kər wašimi	he hurled himself, plunged, into the dust.

But instead one may use u'lo adverbially and put the noun in the Dative.

u'lo ta'nyər ničai	he goes into the fort.
pfəri.ər u'lo garčuman	they plunged into the pond.

iv. In TEMPORAL EXPRESSIONS.

a) Point of Time.

gute waxtulo	at the present time.
han guntsanulo	one day, on a certain day.

yərʊm zɑmɑːnɑ.ulo *in former times.*

Sərɑtˈɑnɛ turmɑ tʰsɪndi.ulo *on the 15<sup>th</sup> of the month of Seratan.*

b) *Duration of Time.*

tɑ qʊtsulo (kʊtsulo) mʊʂʊl giːmi.

*during 100 days her labour pains came on, persisted.*

wɑːlto gʊntsɪŋulo *during four days.*

tɑle dɛnulo *during the course of seven years.*

v. It is similarly used with **TEMPORAL** force WITH **VERBS**.

a) *With the Infinitive*, giving the sense "at the time of" "when", v. § 398.

ni.ɑsulo *at the time of his departing, when he was going away.*

b) It is occasionally used with the **Static Participle**, v. § 388.

vi. *Miscellaneous Examples.*

tɾɑŋulo *as (my) share.* Cp. Engl. "in payment".

tsil rai.ulo mibai.i.

*he drinks water according to his desire, when he pleases.*

uŋɛ kɑːtulo kiːnɛ dimɑnɑi.i.

*this (child) has been born inside your agreement, i.e. subject to the terms of your agreement.*

iːnɛ gʊs mʊtʊtulo duːn hoːle wɑʂimi.

*catching the woman by the hand (paw) he flung her out.*

oːʂʊmʊtsulo duːn *seizing them by the necks.*

ɑmɛ.ulo tɛri yɑmi *the polo ball struck me on the tooth.*

ɛːmiʂulo buroːndo yʊːtɪŋulo kɑfʂɑmʊts ɛːltin.

*put a ring on his finger and shoes on his feet.*

tʊːrʊmo ˈɛmi.ɑnts uyoːnulo (buroːndʊmʊts) bima bɛ?

*Were there rings on all his ten fingers, or not?*

iːnɛ khɑtɛ yʊːtɪsulo jɛ dɛljɑm.

*I'll hit (with an arrow) the leg of his bed.*

khɑtɛ yʊːtɪsulo huːnts nin yɑmi.

*the arrow went and stuck in the leg of the bed.*

giːlulo wɑʂim bi *it is hanging on a peg.*

gɑʂkulo iːkɛr wɑʂimi *he hung himself (suicide) with a rope.*

gʊtɛ bɛr mɛnulo oːsɑn *don't tell about this to anyone.*

This phrase occurs twice along with *mənər o'san* and *mənələ 'o'saiya ba* on one page (p. 118. 17, 21) of my texts and so presumably was not a mishearing for *mənələ*, but it seems a very questionable idiom.

### 77. -ulum.

This is an extension of *-ulo*. The *-um* as when used alone may either be adjectival, the meaning being "pertaining to the inside of", or it may have a distinctly ablative sense, "from", *-ulum* being then "from in", "out of".

- i. The following are examples of its use with ABLATIVE force:

*am?* *amulo*      *where?*      *amulum?*      *from where?*

*sanduqulum gatuŋ ar di.usin.*

*take ye the clothes out of the box for me.*

*ulo moɣumərulum hol nɛ kau manimi.*

*a cry came out from inside her bowels.*

*guse ŋulum di.usin*      *taking it out from the forge.*

*ba'dša i'mo te'nušulum matan ite ganər durbin waščam.*

*the king from inside his palace used to train a telescope far away on that road.*

*tur tili.ɛŋɛ ɛ'šulum de'egus.*

*taking the whip off the pommel of the saddle (from wh. it would be hanging by a thong attached to its handle). Cp. § 76.*

VI *gi'lulo.*

*pa'dša məraka'ulum gutsəruman* *they proceeded from the king's court.*

*tsil uyo'n ɣulkulum de'miman* *they bailed all the water out off the well.*

- ii. Examples of the ADJECTIVAL USE are:

*məraka'ulum sis* *the people belonging to in-the-court i.e. the people present in the court, the people of the court.*

*i'te mulkulum sis*      *the people of that country.*

*iɛ tinjo'ulum baliŋ di.usin.*

*taking out the marrow (that was) in its bones.*

In many cases it is difficult to decide whether its force is ablative or adjectival.

## 78. -um.

The suffix -um is usually adjectival (= "pertaining to", also as termination of static pc.), but it has sometimes distinctly ablative force.

We have seen it in this character added to

-ALE, -AŦE, -ULO and perhaps -tse.

i'ljum is usually an adjective: *pertaining to the rear, hind, last etc.*

But in such phrases as the following it certainly plays the part of an Ablative:

i'ljum ba'dša jučam *the king was coming along from behind.*

u ja'tsum i'ljum do'sqaltuman.

*they came up from behind me, they overtook me.*

matanum *from afar.*

yaŦum *from above.*

Čaltum taγay dusu'in *fetch mud from Chalt,*

Thamo tha'num duwašača'n *they go out from the Thams' palace.*

i'se ašdər tərūm tər etimi *he cut the dragon into pieces, piece from piece,*

traṅum traṅ manuman *they divided into parties.*

Added to -či it yields -čim, (v. § 71).

muso'yučim xa wali bi *it has fallen down from her side.*

*With a temporal sence:*

altuwa'ltər kutsum *after 40 days.*

### USES of the POSTPOSITIONS. (V. § 58).

## 79. \*-apači.

*In the possession of, to (a person), beside, close to; with the verb "to be" often = to have, possess.*

It seems reasonable to regard \*-apači and \*-apat as related to each other and as derivatives from pa, *side, direction*. \*-apači may be \*-apat + tsi.

It is to be noted that a simple form pači occurs as a noun or adverb:

i'tum pači *the other side.*

iljum pači ga'rts *gallop back (here again).*

\*-Δραçi is generally used with reference to animate beings and is frequently satisfied with the pronominal prefix without a noun's being expressed. When there is a noun it is in the nominative form.

The dative form \*-Δραčər (occasionally \*-Δραçi.ər) is used with verbs of motion.

ο·ραčər di·mi *he came to them.*  
but also ra·čaki.ο ο·ραčər ni·nin *going to the guards.*

Examples:

ja a·paçi huru·t *stay with me.*  
i·n ja· a·pačər ju·či *he will come to me.*  
besan pfulan Δsbə·ban go·paçi bi ke *any vessel thou mayest have.*  
ja Δčo go·pačər ju·či *my brother will come to thee.*  
hiŋ ε·paçi (or, hiŋtse) daldi em bam *he was standing beside the door.*

Note its use with the inanimate hiŋ.

tsil ε·paçi bila *he has water.*  
da ni·mi nu·jum ε·pačər senimi *then he went to the astrologer and said.*  
LΔŋa Bru·mo ε mo·paçi ε·estaqam *L. B. had concealed him beside herself.*

Note that here the mo- is reflexive.

i·ne LΔŋa Bru·mo mo·pačər di·mi *he came to Langa Brumo.*  
in hamiša ο·paçi sa tap bam *he was always with them day and night.*

The form \*-Δραčim occurs occasionally with adjectival force, but in the following it appears to be an ablative:

ο·pačim hame·ša fat ayetas o·čai.i *he causes them always not to let  
him go from beside them, i.e. to keep him always with them.*

80. a) Reference may be made here to \*-Δpat, \*-Δfat (pl. -iŋ). The word means "side", "flank" (of a person) and is used as an ordinary noun with the case suffixes:

ja a·patulo huru·timi *he sat down beside me.*

i·riŋ ε·patate jek netan.

*stretching out its (the corpse's) arm along its side.*

mo·patə dal jakune go·ko ε·gučami.

*he laid down the donkey's foal along beside her.*

It does seem to be used independently without inflection in the sense of the English "beside", "close to", e. g. in:





## 82. hər'æŋ, hərəŋ.

The word seems essentially to mean "middle" though it does not appear to be used as a simple noun in that sense.

hərəŋ and hərəŋulo occur postpositionally meaning "among", "between", "in the midst of". The accompanying noun is in the nominative form.

uʻi hərəŋ əl umanaʻn *they have quarrelled among themselves.*

sis uʻe hərəŋ se.ibaʻn *people are saying among themselves.*

Hunzo ke Nagər hərəŋulo sinda bila *there is a river between Hunza and Nagir.*

mi ke u hərəŋulo dir bi *it is the boundary between us and them.*

je k' uʻŋ hərəŋulo niʻmi *all is over between thee and me.*

uʻe Kısəre qaum hərəŋtsum hin sisan irimi *a man of (from among) the tribe of the Kiseri died.*

hərəŋutali v. itigaʻrtali § 84.

83. iʻlji, \*-lji *after, behind.*

This word is normally an adverb, but I have recorded aʻlji *after me, behind me*:

aʻlji dukoʻşqaləuma *thou wilt arrive after me, i.e. thou wilt overtake me.*

And \*-lji kaŋ or \*-lji kaŋ *behind*:

ja aʻlji kaŋ dəl di.əm bam *he was standing behind me.*

Xərum Bat iʻlji kaŋ noʻbirʻak *making dig behind the X. B. (boulder).*

The impersonal form iʻlji is also used with the Ablative, meaning "after" (of time):

iʻne niyastsum iʻlji *after his departure.*

gutətsum iʻlji *after this, hereafter, in future.*

84. iʻdigaʻri, itigaʻri, itegaʻri, itigaʻrtali *around, round about.*

These forms are used both as adverbs and as postpositions:

iʻləumutse itigaʻri tikumuts əčaʻn *round his eyes they paint spots,*

ite sam iʻdigaʻri maʻu etimi *he mewed round the smoke-hole.*

ha itigaʻrtali *round the house.*

tali is perhaps connected with taləʻnas *to go round.*

Similarly I have once recorded: *hærænyutali*.  
*giramičiq̄ hærænyutali gan ni bila.*  
*a road has gone (passes) between the villages.*

85. **ka, \*-AKA.**

I had usually written this postposition as “kha”, but Inam Yar Beg writes it without aspiration (У).

*ka* is also used independently as an Adverb meaning “together”, “along with”, “at the same time”, with no noun expressed.

It is commonly used with the prefixed pronouns when it appears to be of the form \*-AKA, giving:

*go·ka*          *with thee.*  
*e·ka*          *with him etc.*

but: *mika*          *with us, as though from \*-ka.*

It is an independent postposition and takes the Genitive or Oblique form of the noun.

The following are illustrations of its principal uses:

i. *With, in company with, along with.*

*je.imo kuyoč uyo·ne ka ničen*          *we shall go with all my subjects.*

*baseqe sail ku pæritiq̄e ka eti*          *make the round of the gardens  
with these peris.*

*čayamiq̄ hin hine ka etuman*          *they conversed with one another.*

*gaptse biske gapæ ka fat etimi*          *he left the hair on the hide, with the hide.*

*je ure ka ačučam*          *I won't come with you.*

*ba'dšatsuin ja'r ma·ka tsær huru'tasær hukum du·mær*          *ask leave  
from the king for me to do guard duty with you.*

ii. Denoting ACCOMPANYING CIRCUMSTANCE:

*xuši.e ka xabær nukān*          *joyfully (with pleasure) taking the news.*

*i·mo rizai ε ka*          *with his own consent.*

*o·se ka*          *with their hearts, willingly, heartily.*

*burt mušaqate ka*          *with much trouble, inconvenience.*

*adabe ka huru·timi*          *he sat down respectfully.*

*ara·me ka duwasuman*          *they remained in peace.*

*ajai.ib nu·re ka gusan*          *a woman with (a) wonderful light (of beauty).*

## iii. Denoting INSTRUMENT (not common).

i'mo iriŋe ka qulf do'nimi *he opened the lock with his hand.*  
 ulčine ka yetsuman *they saw with their eyes.*

The following is not, strictly speaking, instrumental but is not far removed from it:

haγur ɣeniše tili.eŋ ɣeniše ta'baŋe ka niltul.

*saddling the horse with the golden saddle and the golden bridle.*

iv. It sometimes merely reinforces or takes the place of *ke* (= *and*).

jama'at ke aiyu.e ka du'se.as muškıl bila *it is difficult to feed  
 my wife and children.*

without *ke*.

i'ne ɣərib gu's uyu.e ka ara'm ne huručaman *the poor woman  
 and her children abode in peace.*

## v. MISCELLANEOUS Uses:

a) with *xuš* *pleased with*.

e'rəri ka bur't xuš imanımı

*he was very much pleased with his son-in-law.*

Š. B.ε'ka bur't xuši etimi.

*he expressed great satisfaction with Š. B. (?).*

## b)

ine si're ka bam seibar'n *they say he possessed magical powers.*

mika be'ske duro api *you have no business with us.*

selane ka surmai bai.i *he begins (to work) on a needle.*

han šu'li.e ka tobaq *a single-barrelled gun.*

## vi. When used with pronominal prefixes these latter may refer back to the subject:

besan ε'ka ditsai.i? *what has he brought with him(self)?.*

tsil a'ka gaiyan *I shall take water with me.*

(It has not been recorded with the Reflexive \*-kər = *self*.)

vii. *Ka* is used with TEMPORAL force with certain parts of verbs.

## a) with the Static Participle, v. § 385.

## b) with the Infinitive, v. § 400.

du'ŋ huru'tase ka talo taljo du'mi.e.

*when he had sat (there) for a little, seven pigeons came up.*

## 86. xa (kha, xau).

xa is normally an Adverb *down, downwards*, but it occasionally occurs as a postposition with the noun in the Genitive or General Oblique, meaning

*down, down from, down through etc.*

dəri.e xa dula'ate šak numan *sliding down from the window by a rope.*  
 gutas . . . sama xau wašimi *he threw the corpse down through the smoke-hole.*  
 ha sagam xa waši bam.

*he had thrown (the corpse) down through the smoke-hole of the house.*

mosuyute xa tikeṭar walimi *it fell down her side to the ground.*

mosuyučim xa wali bi *it has fallen down from her side (ablative).*

same xa de'squš *let her let it down from (or, through) the smoke-hole.*

e'moqiše xa Bani Ha'šime giši bi *down his cheek is the Bani Ha'šim line.*

čiše xa sokečam *I shall go down the ladder.*

Hunzuwe xa di'n *coming down from, (or, through) Hunza.*

87. šatu'rgat, šat'rgat *round about.*

The word means *neighbourhood*, but is also used like i'tiga'ri above § 84.

ha šatu'rgat *round the house.*

## 88. thi, ti.

This word seems to be originally an adjective meaning *other, else*. Used as a postposition it takes the noun in the ablative and signifies: *apart from, besides, but, without, except*.

There are transitional uses where it may be regarded as an adjective qualifying one noun, or as a postposition related to another.

gusetsum ti besan bi.a? *is there any other thing than this?*

*is there anything besides this?*

kintsum ti men ba'na? *are there any others besides this man?*

han . . . belisantsum thi besan apim *there was nothing but one sheep.*

gutetsum ti besan ila'j api *there is no other remedy than this,*

*there is no remedy but this.*

In the next example the character of *thi* as a postposition is fairly established, and in the last two it is absolute:

watəntsum ti ši.əsər mene besan e'učam.

*except the husks no one (pl.) used to give him anything to eat.*

hukumtsum ti *apart from, without orders.*

jatsum ti u'ŋ hinuman ni *you go on alone without me.*

In the following we appear to have *thi* with the general oblique: but juwa'b sawa'le ti (Ms. sawa'l et'e) čaγamiŋ etas hakinam.

*they had learnt to converse without much speech (lit. answer and question).*

89. \*-yAKAL, yAKAL in the direction of, towards.

This word is essentially a noun meaning *direction*. It is frequently used with the suffixes -Aŋe, -Aŋər denoting *in the direction of, towards*, and sometimes with -tsum and -um denoting *from the direction of, on the part of, on behalf of, from*.

The simple form yAKAL probably contains the pronominal prefix i-

miyAKAL apərə'n! *don't look at us!*

i'mo watan yAKAL gütərimi *he proceeded towards his own country.*

uyAKAL p'füt aytum *without looking at them.*

With *verbs of motion* yAKALAŋər is generally used.

sinda yAKALAŋər gartsumo *she ran towards the river.*

ayAKALTsum u'ŋər guyam *I have given it to you from myself.*

badša yAKALAŋum šapik gatu dime'iγurkan ke *should we obtain food and clothing from (the part of) the king.*

da hir yAKALUM hin, dasin muyAKALUM hin ja'man do.ičə'n *then they make stand up one relation on behalf of the man (bridegroom), and one on behalf of the girl (bride).*

90. ya're, \*-ya're.

ya're is an adverb meaning *down, below*, but it is also used with the pronominal prefixes, or following a noun, with postpositional force: *under, beneath, below*.

It can take the dative suffix -ər and the ablative -um.

miz ya're                      *under the table.*  
tik ya're etumtsum *after being put under the earth, after being buried.*  
ekatiŋ ya'rər ja dam at ešqaltimi.  
*my breath did not reach to under his armpits.*  
tik ya'rum senimi      *from under the ground he said . . .*

91. These forms also occur with a meaning approaching the English *before, in front of* (Hindustani *sa'mne*; Persian *piš i*), corresponding to the meaning of the adverb "yər" *before, in front, etc.*

As I have also recorded from Nazer

ya'rum	for	yərum	<i>first.</i>
and ya'r	for	yər	

it is possible that "ya're" used in this sense is to be referred to "yər":  
ta a'man guya're di biluma?      *had some food come before you?*  
ka'ba'b Alqaš ya're o'simi      *he set roast meat before Alqash.*  
in ya're buyat ne . . . fat ætimi      *I having petitioned him . . . he let me go.*  
guse (tsir) uŋ gya'rər walimi      *this (ibex) fell in front of thee.*  
ya'rum      means *from the presence of, from before, from.*  
Daltas Manuko ya'rum nuka'rtsin      *D. M. fleeing from (before) them.*  
guy esqanas ya'rum nuka'rtsin ko'lər di bam      *thy father, fleeing  
from (fear of) being killed had come here.*  
šərum numan thamo uya'ruin čap etuman      *being ashamed, they con-  
cealed (the matter) from the Thams.*

92. \*-yanči, \*-yančər, \*-yanči.ər.

The usual idiom is \*-yančər niyas *to go to meet someone*; it is used especially of intentional formal receptions (Arabic-Persian *istiqba'l*).

Similarly \*-yančər ju'yas and yanči mana's.

je yančər niča ba	<i>I am going out to meet him.</i>
uyančər di.a yetsuman	<i>they saw that he had come to meet them.</i>
aiyanči manimi	<i>he met me (on the road).</i>

I do not appear to have any examples of it used directly with a noun.

93. **yər, \*-yər.**

yər occurs ordinarily as an adverb or adjective, but it may be used with a noun to denote *before* (of time).

gütetsum yər *before this.*

i'ne juyastsum yər *before his coming.*

The forms with the pronominal prefixes in the examples available denote *before* (of place), *in front of*, *ahead of*.

bəšal mi ho'lguš amulər niman ke, miyər maue.

*whenever we go (went) anywhere to fight, do thou go in front of us.*

aiyər han bu'lan bila *there is a spring on ahead of me.*

tun ganane uyər di.u'simi *he came out by another road ahead of them.*

94. **\*-yaṭe above, over, upon.**

The simple adverb yaṭe does not appear to be used as a post-position with nouns, or else it cannot be distinguished from the case-suffix -aṭe.

It occurs, however, sometimes with the pronoun prefixes:

abāš ayāṭe di'mər *when trouble has come on me.*

gali guyāṭe derčam *I'll throw a blanket over thee.*

The ablative, or adjectival form \*-yaṭum is found in:

guyāṭum qurba'n amanša? *may I be thy sacrifice!*

95. **yo'n, \*-yo'n over.**

I have only a few examples of this word.

hala dan yo'n garṭsimi *(the polo ball) has passed over the goal stone.*

Šiyərūm Biraldo yo'n di ban *he had come from Sh. over the Biraldo (pass?)*

guyō'n dal taljik du'yan *some pigeons have come over thee (in the air).*

**NOUN COMBINATION and the DUPLICATION of NOUNS.**96. **Duplication.**

- i. The practice of repeating a noun with an altered initial sound, giving a sense of indefiniteness and suggesting a certain vagueness of mind, common in Hindustani and Pashtu, is known but not common in Burushaski. Thus:

tobak mobak *guns, firearms.*



ure imo ma'l ha'l utray o'timi *he divided up his property among them.*  
 kart ha't o'timi *he laid injunctions on them.*

- ii. Nouns are occasionally repeated in their ordinary form, either singular or plural, to denote multiplicity:

dandanate eškəršume *galloping over the stones.*

talo muyu'gušants bu'ndo bu'ndo'ulo gili udelimi.

*he pegged down her seven daughters, each in a separate boulder.*  
 (bu'ndo is plural).

### 97. Combination.

When two nouns are closely connected in thought and stand in the same grammatical relation to the rest of the sentence, the use of a conjunctive particle is frequently dispensed with. In any case only the latter noun of the combination, as a rule, carries a case suffix or the suffix -an. An accompanying verb may be affected by both components, or only by the last one.

Examples:

*Nominative.*

sa tap *day and night.*  
 talo altambu an *seven or eight.*  
 tamine ku.in *last year and this year.*  
 yeniše tabarj ti'li.en asba'rb uyo'n.

*the golden bridle and saddle and all the equipment.*

ma'mər abašan subašan di.e ke *if ill or good befall you.*  
 hir ya gusan u.i'rumian ke *if a man or a woman died (i.e. die).*

*Trans. Nominative.*

mu' ke mu'mi.e muyetsuman *her father and mother saw her.*  
 yu's ke yu'e hanik fataj ne *his wife and sons uncovering the bowl.*

*Accusative.*

šapik gatu ditso *bring food and clothing.*  
 ja gute hiq sam rač ne huru *stay guarding this door and smoke-hole of mine.*

*Genitive.*

mu' mu'mi.e ha'lum *from her father and mother's house.*  
 hile's ke dasinmošnikā *the marrying of the lad and girl.*

*Dative.*

ur umiər . . . se.iba'n *they used to say to their father and mother.*

*Oblique.*

juwa'b sawa'le ti *without answer and question, i.e. without conversing.*

tik pfeṭiṅe dəluman *they pelted him with earth and ashes.*

yurtis iriṅeṭe ba eṣibo *she kisses (on) his foot and hand.*

98. The following combinations are worth noting:

\*-ut \*-riṅ for \*-utis \*-riṅ *foot (and) hand.*

The sense is usually plural "hands and feet".

akovle gur't guriṅ ša'o eṭi *wash your hands and feet here.*

\*-ak \*-yu *children.*

This apparently stands for \*-a.i ke \*-yu *daughter and sons.*

I have also go'k guri, where the last element is singular, the sense, however, being the same, *thy children.*

mak maiyu ba'na? awa nazər, ak ayu ba'n.

*have you (any) children? Yes, sir, I have children.*

99. A proper noun is sometimes used adjectivally in apposition with a common noun or another proper noun, cp. § 59. V.

Gilit yačeni *the Gilgit "Yacheni".*

Bo'yo gal *the Boyo's juniper.*

Hunzo Baltitulo *in Baltit (in) Hunza.*

Šišper bərulo *in Shishper nullah.*

Guryo bun *(Guryo's (man's name) boulder.*

So also a'lto jakər is used adjectivally in:

a'lto jakər šerko *branches forming a fork, i.e. a forked branch.*

100. As already mentioned (§ 59. VII) nouns denoting measure or quantity are placed in apposition with the noun to which they relate, and the latter is not put in the genitive:

torim čuqan gur *10 "chuqs" of wheat.*

and so with words like pyuwan, lukan, kaman *a little* etc.

čutan dəl *a few drops of oil.*

## ADJECTIVES.

§ 101.

**101** It is by no means easy to say what is and what is not, according to the conventions of European Grammar, an adjective in Burushaski. The same difficulty exists no doubt in the case of modern European languages though we have accustomed ourselves not to dwell on it, but in dealing with an unfamiliar language like Burushaski the problem presents itself crudely and cannot be ignored, and we have no time-honoured conventions to fall back on.

a) A word expressing a quality and used attributively with a noun may be accepted as an Adjective. Thus there is no reasonable doubt about "šu.a" in:

šu.a hiran      *a good man.*

or "matum" in: matum huk      *the black dog.*

But when the same word is used predicatively, especially with the suffix -an, it seems to have at least an equal claim to be considered as a Noun. E.g.

huq matuman bi      *the dog is a black one. Anglicè the dog is black.*

b) Again, there are words which are only used in combination with the verbs ba *to be*, \*-manas *to be, become*; etas *to do, make*, when they may be respectively adjectival and nominal e.g.

je bik ba, bik amanam      *I am afraid, I became afraid.*

bik etas      *to put in fear, to threaten.*

yâr han bikan eçam      *I'll give the bear a fright.*

The Abstract Noun *fear* is bikkuš.

Again çal *quarrel, fight* is a Noun, but one may say either.

çal etas      or      çal \*-manas *to quarrel* v. § 262.

- c) As far as Adjectives are inflected their inflectional forms are the same as those of the Noun. Nouns borrowed from other languages are in many cases used as Adjectives, which seems to show a slowness to appreciate the distinction between Noun and Adjective. So

zor	<i>power</i>	also	<i>powerful, hard.</i>
sərum	<i>shame</i>	„	<i>ashamed.</i>
xatər	<i>danger</i>	„	<i>dangerous.</i>

- d) Then there are whole series of forms directly derived from verbs: Static Participles, Agent Nouns, Gerundives (to use the nearest grammatical descriptions) which may be used as more or less pure Adjectives or Nouns.

There are also the specialised types: Cardinal and Ordinal Numbers, the Demonstrative, Indefinite, Interrogative and Possessive Pronouns which are used adjectivally as well as pronominally.

These I shall treat under their appropriate headings.

- 102.** The bulk of Adjectives in Burushaski have no distinctive ending. The majority end in a consonant.

There are, however, a few definitely adjectival endings; these are: **-um**, (after i) **-m**.

This is much the commonest, and is par excellence the Adjectival suffix:

burum	<i>white</i>	tharum	<i>high.</i>
yarum	<i>lower</i>	*-apačim	<i>being beside.</i>
makučim iše tal	<i>that middle pigeon (of three).</i>		

It is also the suffix of the 3rd. person of the Static Participle, which is very commonly used as an adjective:

etum	<i>done</i>	manum	<i>become.</i>
nim (← niram)	<i>gone</i>	v. also §§ 70. VII, 73. VII, 77 & 78.	

- mo.** Occurs principally added to nouns indicating TIMES and SEASONS.

duyu.i	<i>midday, noon</i>	duyu.imo	<i>pertaining to midday.</i>
šini	<i>summer</i>	šinimo	<i>pertaining to summer.</i>

It is possible that this suffix is connected with the last, -(u)m + o genitive or gen. obl. ending v. § 46 note. Cp. tapmo etc. § 64. iii.

**-kiš.** Is added to nouns and indicates the possession of the object or quality denoted:

γurku-kiš      *goitrous*                      loškiš      *curly.*

**-kum.** Occurs added to a few animal names, denoting that something pertains to the animal:

huyerskum drik                      *goat's (dung) manure.*

V. also Vocab. urtkum and purkum.

**-ulum.** Appears to be composed of -ulo + -um denoting *from in, pertaining to.* There are a fair number of examples and it can probably be used with any suitable noun.

mulkulum sis                      *the people of the country.*

asulum i'te bær                      *the thought that is in my heart.*

It is often difficult to distinguish whether its force is adjectival or ablative § 77. i and ii.

-ulum or ulum, the regular suffix of the Ordinal Numbers is possibly of different origin.

**-iski, -iški.** I know of only three examples of this ending:

hiriški      *pertaining to men*      gušiški      *pertaining to women.*

šeņiški      *Shina (language).* Cp. also Burušaski.

**-ki.** Is perhaps to be seen in:

beški?      *of what sort?*

Balovski      adj. from Balovts      +      ki      *Balti.*

Gu.iški                      „      Gu.its      +      ki      *Wakhi.*

berriski                      „      berrits      +      ki      *musician, artificer.*

But the suffix may possibly be -ski.

The -ki given as a nominal suffix (v. § 21. c.) may have been adjectival in origin.

**-e.iki.** I know this only in two words:

gušpüre.iki      *pertaining to a "Gushpur".*

wazirre.iki      *pertaining to a Wazir.*

of which the latter is based on the Arabic word "wazir" and the former on the word "gušpur" which is common to Burushaski, Shina and Khowar in the sense of *descendant of a Raja, aristocrat.*

It is probable that the essential suffix here is -ki added to the Shina genitives of the nouns.

With regard to -ki and -ski it may be recalled that we have the nominal suffix -ku.in also occurring with an -s- as -sku.in v. § 21. b. 1.

**102 A.** An optional prefix d- is found in daki'l || aki'l, and dakurum | akurum.

**103. -an and -ik.**

Adjectives may take the suffixes -an and -ik v. §§ 43 & 44.

-an is only used with adjectives used predicatively, or as noun-equivalents. When an adjective is used attributively the -an if required, is attached to the noun:

<sup>1</sup> The following analysis of 457 adjectives in use in Burushaski may be of interest. The specialised categories mentioned at the end of § 101 are excluded. A few words of the *bik* type are included:

Obviously Persian and Arabic words . . . . .	136
Others, including a few shared with Shina. . . . .	294
Burushaski participles in -um . . . . .	27
	457

The number of participles might have been greatly increased.

Examining the endings of the 294 adjectives of the 2nd. item, we find they are as follows:

i. Words with no recognisable Burushaski adj. ending:			
ending in <u>a</u> consonant . . . . .			137
ending in a vowel:			
-a . . . . .	10	-i . . . . .	16
-e } . . . . .	5	-o . . . . .	17
-e.i }		-u . . . . .	5
ii. Words with distinctive Burushaski adj. endings:			
-um . . . . .	56	-elm . . . . .	4
-mo . . . . .	17	-iski . . . . .	3
-kiş . . . . .	13	-e.iki . . . . .	2
-kum . . . . .	5	-ki . . . . .	4
			104
			294

Some of the forms in -o are to be regarded as borrowings from Shina and of Shina origin. The adjectival forms in -elm might probably be largely added to.

The table is very rough, but it gives some idea of the relative frequency of the different forms of ending.

han matuman bi, han buruman bi *one (kid) is black, one is white.*  
 ine satirloan bam *he was strong.*  
 kin yaripan bai *this is a poor fellow.*  
 yatis dayanuman bai *he is (a) broad-headed (man).*  
 efati jotan bim *his forehead was small.*  
 but:

hin jat gusanmo ha *the house of an old woman.*

From juan *like, resembling* we have the very common form  
 juwanan, juanan *one like.*

ite bul juwanan amulo ke api *nowhere is there one like that spring*  
*i.e. nowhere is there its like.*

Similarly from beški? *what sort of?*

beški en bai? *what sort of a person is he?*

Kiser beškan bai? *what sort of a person is Kiser?*

104. The Suffix **-ik** occurs sometimes with the plural forms of adjectives used in the same way, i.e. predicatively or as noun-equivalents. V. § 44. 2.

burt aqəlki.entsik nama'n Paŋču.ər bərenina *going as very intelligent*  
*people, have a look at Paŋchu.*

gakačimutsik ba'n *they are stutterers.*

ma mayo'n henašu.ik ba'na, xair ke? *you are all of you wise men,*  
*aren't you?*

### CASE and NUMBER.

105. There is no inflection of Adjectives for CASE, and as a rule adjectives preserve one invariable form, but they sometimes appear in plural forms when the noun to which they refer is in the plural.

The PLURAL of adjectives is formed by the addition of suffixes. These suffixes are among those found in the plurals of nouns and in general the same rules of plural-formation apply.

As the plural suffixes, in some cases indicate Class as well Number, it may be said that the inflection of Adjectives for "number and gender" is at least known in Burushaski.

The suffixes generally used are:

h and x -išo      y -iy.

But we have also,

h and x -ju'ko, -ko, -muts, -o, -o'ŋo and -o'mo, -nts, and -ki.ents  
(as the plural of -kiš).

h only -tiŋ.

y -a'ŋ (plural of -š), -ki.əŋ (plural of -kiš), and -miŋ.

Final -n is usually replaced by -yo, -i.o.

layan pl. layai.o      *dumb.*

But šo'n      šono'mo      *blind.*

Final -num is usually replaced by -iko.

bi.enum      bi.e'iko      *thin.*

But čanum      čanumišo      *tight, narrow.*

In some instances the h & x form has been generalised to cover y.

It is probably so with all plurals ending in -ko.

106. The following is a list of most of the plural forms which I have recorded. One or two curious forms will be noted:

Sg.	Meaning	h and x pl.	y pl.	General Pl.
Δçe'mo	<i>rascally</i>	Δçe'mutiŋ	—	---
Δki'l	<i>such (as this)</i>	Δki'lju'ko	—	---
Δkeš	<i>strange,</i> <i>extraordinary</i>	Δkešišo ( <i>strangers</i> )	---	---
Δqəlkiš	<i>intelligent</i>	Δqəlki.ents(ik)	—	—
*-Δy'erum	<i>beloved</i>	-Δy'erumišo	---	---
uy'am	<i>sweet</i>	uy'amišo	---	---
uyu'm	<i>big</i>	{ uy'o'ŋko, uyu'mko	uy'o'ŋko	uy'o'ŋko.
bΔyærk	<i>evil, bad</i>	{ bΔyærkišo bΔyærku	---	---
bΔta	<i>bald,</i> <i>scald-headed</i>	{ bΔtamuts bΔtatiŋ	---	---
(bēčuk)	<i>of what sort</i>	{ beljuko, beljuku'yo beljuki.ents(ik)	---	---



Sg.	Meaning.	h and x pl.	y pl.	General Pl.
beški, bešken, beški.en	<i>of what sort</i>	beskients(ik)	—	—
bi.enum	<i>thin (of stick etc)</i>	{ bi.eiko bi.ai.iko	bi.eiko —	bi.eiko —
buru.m, bu.rum	<i>white</i>	buru.mišo	buru.miņ	—
bu.šu	<i>light-eyed, fair- complexioned</i>	bu.šutiņ	—	—
buzurg, buzuruk	<i>holy, saint, ascetic</i>	buzuruktiņ (noun?)	—	—
čANUM	<i>tight, narrow</i>	čANUMišo	čANUMiņ	—
čAT	<i>low, short</i>	čATo.ŋo	čATo.ŋo	čATo.ŋo
čIQIR	<i>white-eyed (cataract?)</i>	čIQIRišo	—	—
dAYANUM	<i>thick, stout</i>	dAYai.iko	dAYai.iko	dAYai.iko
dALDALUM	<i>broad, wide</i>	dALDALjuko	dALDALjuko	dALDALjuko
dALTAS	<i>good, fine etc.</i>	dALTASku(ik)	dALTASko	dALTASko
dAN	<i>hard</i>	dANo	—	—
dAY	<i>robust, stout</i>	dAYANTS, dAYo.ŋo	—	—
do.ŋQAM	<i>rough, undulating</i>	do.ŋQAMIšo	do.ŋQAMIņ	—
ga.KAČI	<i>stuttering, stammering</i>	{ ga.KAČIšo (n.?) ga.KAČimuts(ik) (n.?)	— —	— —
gARKUS	<i>marriageable</i>	gARKUSIšo	—	—
gERU.rUM	<i>warm, hot, friendly</i>	gERU.rUMIšo	—	—
gILIGINUM, gILI.num (Werchikwar)	<i>thin (of paper etc.)</i>	gILI.ko	—	—
gunaga.r	<i>sinful, guilty</i>	gunaga.rIšo	—	—
gunE.IČO	<i>intelligent, clever (person)</i>	gunE.IČUMuts	—	—
γAYU	<i>lame</i>	{ γAYU.nts (h) γAYUMuts (x)	— —	— —

Sg.	Meaning.	h and x pl.	y pl.	General pl.
γali's,	<i>ill, sick</i>	{ γalizišo γališo γaliztiŋ	—	—
γali'z,				
galiz				
γəri'p	<i>poor</i>	γəriptiŋ	—	—
γiriγit,	<i>soft</i>	—	γiriγitiŋ	—
γiriγitum		—	γiriγitumiŋ	—
γukukiš	<i>goitrous</i> ( <i>person</i> )	γukuki.ents	—	—
γunikiš	<i>evil, bad</i>	γuniki.ents(ik)	γuniki.ɒŋ	—
γusanum	<i>long, tall</i>	γusai.iko	γusai.iko	γusai.iko.
γutum, γutu'm	<i>deep</i>	γutumišo	—	—
hɒγum	<i>wet, damp</i>	hɒγumišo	hɒγumiŋ	—
halal	<i>permissible,</i> <i>lawful</i>	halal'išo (n.?)	—	—
hirum	<i>sharp, active</i>	hirumišo	hirumiŋ	—
humalqum	<i>light, quick</i>	—	humalqumiŋ	—
hur'gas,	<i>thick, stout</i>	xurgasišo	—	—
xur'gas	( <i>leather, cloth</i> )			
jat	<i>aged</i>	jat'u(?)	—	—
ju.ɒn,	<i>like,</i>	{ juwai.iko ju.ɒnjuko	(juwai.iko)	(juwai.iko).
juwan	<i>similar</i>			
jut, jot	<i>small</i>	{ jutišo (joti- muts <i>small</i> <i>children</i> )	jutiŋ	—
ko'so	<i>cripple-</i> <i>fingered</i>		ko'somuts	—
kura'ti	<i>hard, stiff</i> ( <i>leather etc.</i> )	{ kura'tišo kura'timuts	kura'tiŋ(?)	—
			kura'timiŋ	
kuro'n	<i>blind(?)</i>	kuro'yo	—	—
khut	<i>short</i>	khutu.iko (x)	—	—
*-xundikiš	<i>hunchback,</i> <i>hunchbacked</i>	*-xundiki.ants	—	—
laγan	<i>dumb</i>	laγai.o	—	—

Sg.	Meaning.	h and x pl.	y pl.	General pl.
lΔšu	<i>gluttonous</i>	lΔšumuts(ik)	—	—
lo'tkiš	<i>curly</i>	—	lo'tki.Δŋ	—
mΔtum	<i>black</i>	—	mΔtumiŋ	—
map'er	<i>elderly,</i> <i>old person</i>	mapertiŋ (n. ?)	—	—
mε'n	<i>old</i>	mε'nišo	—	—
mo'tuŋ	<i>unmarried</i>	motonišo	—	—
muto'ŋ				
*-mo'skiš	<i>wrathful</i>	*-moski.ents	—	—
na'da'n	<i>ignorant</i>	na'd'aiyo	—	—
nΔfskiš	<i>avaricious</i>	nΔfski.ents(ik)	—	—
rat	<i>smooth, level</i>	ratišo	ratinŋ	—
šante'r	<i>squint-eyed</i>	šant'e'rišo	—	—
šati'lo	<i>strong,</i> <i>powerful</i>	šati'lju'ko	—	—
šiqam	<i>green, blue</i>	—	šiqamiŋ	—
šon	<i>blind</i>	{ šono'mo šono'ŋo	—	—
šuku'rum	<i>bitter</i>	šuku'rumišo	—	—
šo'qum, šuqum, šo'qam	<i>loose, spacious</i>	šuqumišo	šuqumiŋ	—
tha'num	<i>high, tall</i>	thai iko	thai.iko	thai.iko.
taltΔq	<i>poor, impoveri- shed, beggar</i>	taltΔqišo	—	—
tərenum	<i>narrow</i>	təre'iko	təre'iko	təre'iko.
tΔš	<i>smooth,</i> <i>slippery</i>	—	tΔšmiŋ	—
te'il	<i>such</i>	te'ljuko	te'ljuko	te'ljuko.
to's	<i>new</i>	tuwa'nts	tuwa'ŋ, tu.a'ŋ	—
tsi'lum, tsilu'm	<i>fine-ground,</i> <i>inferior, petty</i>	—	tsilumiŋ	—
tsu'm	<i>heavy</i>	tsu'mišo	tsu'miŋ	—

Sg.	Meaning.	h and y pl.	y pl.	Generally pl.
tu'm	<i>other</i>	tu'mišo (tumišik)	tu'miŋ	—
—	<i>all</i>	*-yo'n	*-yo'n	*-yo'n
zo'r	<i>powerful</i>	zo'rišo	—	—
žikikiš	<i>nitty</i>	žikiki.ents (n.?)	—	—

### Examples of Plural Adjectives:

#### 107. 1. Used Attributively:

Δkilju'ko tha muyu duma <sub>Δ</sub> numa <sub>Δ</sub>	<i>100 similar sons were born to her.</i>
uyo'ŋko a'lta <sub>Δ</sub> uyu'er o'suma <sub>Δ</sub>	<i>they said to their two big (elder) sons.</i>
baγærkišo hirik	<i>evil men.</i>
u'e bu'sutiŋ sis	<i>those green-eyed (light-eyed) people.</i>
čanumišo šuqamuts, čanumiŋ čapai.ŋ	<i>tight chogas, tight chapans.</i>
ma dalaško čaγamiŋ etam	<i>you had said excellent things.</i>
daŋo hiri	<i>hard men.</i>
γuniki aŋ astamiŋ etimi	<i>he gave evil (unjust) judgments.</i>
γusai.iko hiri, gušiŋants	<i>tall men, women.</i>
γusai.iko balko'ŋ	<i>long planks.</i>
humalqumiŋ balko'ŋ	<i>light planks.</i>
jo'tišo čiško	<i>small hills.</i>
thai.iko bayumišo	<i>tall mares.</i>
thai.iko jo'ŋe šerko	<i>the branches of lofty apricot trees.</i>
šatilju'ko pa'dšaha'ntiŋ	<i>powerful kings.</i>
belate čaγa et'am ke te'ilju'ko a'lta iskumuts bim.	<i>there were two young ones such as he had described.</i>
ga <sub>Δ</sub> tuŋ tu.a'ŋ ne.ibil	<i>making him put on new clothes.</i>

#### 2. Used Predicatively:

hin'i'ne 'eyerumišo ba'n	<i>they are beloved of each other.</i>
uyo'ŋko uma <sub>Δ</sub> numa <sub>Δ</sub>	<i>they became big, grew up.</i>
ayamo baγærku ba'n	<i>my kinsmen are evil.</i>
(eščiŋ) bur't bi.e'iko bitsa	<i>(his loins) are very thin.</i>
balgičiŋ daldalju'ko bitsa	<i>(his) back (pl.) is broad.</i>
ku'e gušiŋents dalašku ik ba'n	<i>these women are excellent.</i>
ek pa'kiza γiryitiŋ maimi	<i>they (the leg-wrappers) will become nice and soft.</i>

hučō ke taočiŋ . . yirγitumiŋ bitsum *the paboos and leg-wrappers were soft.*  
 yutiŋ jutiŋ bitsa *his feet are small.*  
 SAHA'la Bovin ke H. Bovin bur't zo'rišo bi.en, omo'uski.ents bi.en.  
*the S. B. and the H. B. are very powerful, they are wrathful.*

### VERBAL ADJECTIVES.

108. The principal of these is the 3rd. pers. of the *Static Participle*.  
 V. §§ 377—379.

This consists of the past base + -um and is found both in Transitive and Intransitive Verbs. The -u is elided after -i-, -a- (-a-), and -ε-.

In Trans. Verbs it is usually a Passive Past Participle, but it also appears to be used sometimes with an active sense.

etas *to do* et-um *done.*  
 etum durō *a thing done, business completed.*

In Intrans. Verbs it is Active and also refers to Past Time.

ni-y-as *to go* ni'm *gone, past.*  
 ni'm hisa *last month.*

It is sufficient here to mention the Adjectival use of the *Noun Agent*, which is of the same form as the Infinitive: V. § 403. 2.

etas *to do* etas *a doer, one who does.*

Also of the Infinitive form with what seems to be *Gerundive* force.  
 V. § 401. See also §§ 402 & 404.

#### *Examples.*

109. **Static Participle.**

a) FROM TRANSITIVE VERBS:

yer eskertsum asta'm bila *it is a previously-settled case.*  
 lam etum pfu.iŋ *lighted fires.*  
 warts etum kursi *the mended chair.*  
 yu'sam bušo'šo *the nurtured calf i.e. "the fatted calf".*  
 tsat etum bu'n *the stopped boulder (a falling boulder stopped in its course by a saint).*



b) The *Gerundive*:

In the absence of a sufficiency of examples it is difficult to make sure of the exact meaning, but the following phrases derived from Nz. (Nazer) seem to be Gerundival:

uŋe guse kursi warts etas bi.

*this chair of yours is to be, should be, repaired.*

gute durro etas bila      *this thing is to be done, should be done.*

warts etasō      *things to be repaired.*

In the following the sense appears to be simply that of the passive participle, but I cannot support it by any other example:

hilevse etasō i'ke čayamiŋ derylimi.

*he heard the statements made by the boy.*

## ADJECTIVES with PRONOMINAL PREFIXES.

111. There are a certain number of Adjectives which take the pronominal prefixes. A list of these is given with examples in the section on the Pronominal Prefixes, v. § 130.

\*-altalik *both* and \*-yo'n *all* are dealt with at length as Quantitative Pronouns, V. §§ 177 & 178.

## 112. Position of the Adjective.

- a) *Adjectives used Attributively* precede the noun which they qualify:

hin bur't daltas juwa'nān      *a very handsome youth.*

Exceptions are \*-altalik *both* and \*-yo'n *all*, which practically always follow the noun which they qualify.

- b) *Adjectives used Predicatively* follow the noun and precede the verb of the clause:

ja taročiŋ kurati manitsān      *my foot-bandages have become stiff.*

ine mu.i guntsatsum gunts ašar'to imai.ime yunikiš imanimi.

*that son of hers day by day becoming weaker became ill-favoured.*

An Adjective used predicatively with the verb "to be", if singular, frequently takes the suffix -an.

i'ne šati'lo.an bam

*that one was strong.*

## 113. Adjectives with Demonstrative Pronouns.

Adjectives may be used attributively with Demonstrative Pronouns.  
 burum ε's (or, i'se) halka'san bi'm *the white (that-)one was a female (lamb).*  
 matum ε's (or, i'se) tuyuli.en bim *the black (that-)one was a male lamb.*  
 akiljuko ku.ε giyants ba'n *such-like these (persons) are thieves, i.e.*  
*persons of this sort.*

i'ne jut . . . uyum ime wašimi *that small one threw that big one.*  
 teljuko ek ak'e'ima *do you not know such things as those?*

## REPETITION.

114. There are a few instances of adjectives being repeated, but the practice seems to be rare and, as far as my experience goes, is restricted to one or two words.

tsan se.i ba? awa tsana tsanə seiya ba.

*art thou speaking the truth? Yes, I am speaking the very truth.*

The simple form of the Adjective is tsan, but tsanə is frequently used with senas to speak the truth, and independently meaning *in fact, in truth, indeed*. It is probably in origin a General Oblique form used adverbially. We also have

tsan ke tsan *in very truth, sure enough.*

məriṅməriṅsis ke a'ka ju.in *and you men of superior rank come with me too.*

bu't mariṅ mariṅ talo gušinqants *seven very fine women.*

həri həri si'ṅgetiṅ *(many) famous monsters.*

As far as it is possible to judge, the force of the reduplication is distributive rather than intensive. So in the second example the meaning is probably rather "persons of whom each is superior", than "very superior persons".

Repetition with alteration of the initial consonant occurs in:  
 tsilum milum astamiṅ *petty cases, and perhaps in haṅajana stupid.*

## COMPARISON.

115. The COMPARATIVE is expressed by using the ordinary form of the Adjective preceded by the object, with which comparison is made, in the Ablative case.

u'ntsum je kam apa *I am not less than you (inferior to).*



To express the SUPERLATIVE the ordinary form of the Adjective is similarly used preceded by the Ablative of uyo'n *all*, uyo'ntsum: uyo'ntsum šua haγur ja'r jo.

*give me the best horse (the horse that is better than all).*

A SORT of ABSOLUTE SUPERLATIVE represented in English by "most", "extremely", "the best of", "excessively" etc. is supplied by comparing the Adjective with itself, i.e. the adjective in the ablative is followed by the simple adjective. The particle *ke* is sometimes interjected after the ablative:

šu.atsum (ke) šu.a gaɬuŋ *the best of clothes, most excellent clothes.*

bu'ttsum bu't *excessively* may be used qualifying another adjective.

In expressing comparison difficulty only arises where the object with which comparison is made is complex and simplification is sought in ellipsis.

As in English, "I know more than that which you know" is cut down to "I know more than you":

u'ŋtsum ja bu't he'ya ba *I know more than you.*

ku'e uyo'ntsum gətə miltu'se diš šu.a ja'r ači'ma.

*means: this burying ground of ours which thou hast given me is better than the ground which thou hast given to all these other people*

but it can scarcely be brought within the rules of formal grammar.

It may be mentioned that there are no true Possessive Pronouns in Burushaski only Possessive Adjectives and the Genitives of the Personal Pronouns used as Adjectives. Hence there are no Ablative forms in use to correspond to English "than mine", "than his".

I presume therefore, in the absence of quotable examples, that:

*my horse is better than his*

would have to be rendered by the repetition of the word horse

ja haγur i'ne haγurtsum šu.a bi.

A few more examples of the Comparative will be found in the section on the suffix -tsum § 75, IV.

### The GOVERNANCE of ADJECTIVES.

116. No rules can be laid down regarding the "cases" in which various adjectives require nouns dependent on them to be.

The matter is determined by the conception underlying the adjective and the conceptions associated with the different case suffixes.

Reference may be made to the sections dealing with Cases and Case Suffixes — particularly to the General Oblique § 65, to the Suffixes -ANĖ, -ər, -Aṭĕ, -tse, -tsum, §§ 68 ff, and to the postposition ka, § 85, V. a, where will be found examples of most of the case-governing adjectives with which I am acquainted.

It may be noted that the same adjectives may be accompanied by different cases e.g.

So xuš *pleased with* may take -tsum, ka, or -ər.

ju.an, juwan *like*, takes, at least normally, the dependent noun in the Nominative form.

dan juwan manitsa	<i>they have become like stone.</i>
bučar girkis walum ju.an	<i>like a rat fallen into a trap.</i>
uŋ ju.anan menan kuli apai	<i>there is no one like thee.</i>

This is parallel to the use of the Shina *parulo like*, which takes the Nom. but can, however, also take the Dat.

hik *full* agrees with the *content*, which is made the subject of the sentence. The *container*, which logically must be in the locative case, is expressed in the general oblique, the locative, or the nominative form:

the bottle is full of water > water is full in the bottle.  
 uŋsko ha·kičANĖ hik hanjil (x pl.) manimiĕ.  
*charcoal became full in three rooms, i.e. three rooms became full of charcoal.*

For other examples v. Vocab. s.v.

## PRONOUNS.

§ 117.

### PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

117. There are two series of Personal Pronouns:

1. Independent.
2. Agglutinative, or prefixal.

The *Independent* forms are:

	Sg.		Pl.	
1st. Pers.	jε	<i>I</i>	mi	<i>we.</i>
2nd. Pers.	uʀɳ, uʀn, uʀm	<i>thou</i>	ma	<i>you.</i>
3rd. Pers.	h iʀnε, iʀn	<i>he, she</i>	uʀε uʀ	<i>they.</i>
	x iʀse	<i>it</i>	itse	<i>they.</i>
	y iʀte	<i>it</i>	iʀke	<i>they.</i>

The 3rd. Person forms are also used as Demonstrative Pronouns and Adjectives: *that one, that; those, etc.*

118. The Declension of these Pronouns is as follows:

*First person.*

	Sg.		Pl.	
Nom. Voc. Acc.	jε	<i>I, me</i>	mi	<i>we, us.</i>
Trans. Nom. & Agt.	ja	<i>I</i>	mi	<i>we.</i>
Gen.	ja	<i>of me, my</i>	mi	<i>of us, our.</i>
Gen. Obl.	ja-		mim-	
Dat.	jaʀ	<i>to me</i>	mimε	<i>to us.</i>

	Sg.		Pl.
Abl.	ja'tsum	<i>from me</i>	mimutsum <i>from us.</i>
Other	ja'le		mimele
Suffixes etc. v. § 47	ja'te		mimale
	ja'ka	<i>with me</i>	mi'ka <i>with us.</i>
	ja a'pačər		mi mepačər

A few instances can be quoted of ja as Acc.  
 u'ne ja tsumča ke *if thou marriest me.*

*Second Person.*

119.	Sg.		Pl.
Nom. Voc. Acc.	u'ne	<i>thou, thee</i>	ma <i>you.</i>
Trs. Nom. & Agt.	u'ne	<i>thou</i>	ma <i>you.</i>
Gen.	u'ne	<i>of thee, thy</i>	ma <i>of you, your.</i>
Gen. Obl.	u'ne		mam-
Dat.	u'ner	<i>to thee</i>	ma'mər <i>to you.</i>
Abl.	u'ntsum	<i>from thee</i>	ma'matsum <i>from you.</i>
Other	u'nale		mamale,
Suffixes			mamale
	u'nate		mamate
	u'ne ka	<i>with thee</i>	ma ka <i>with you.</i>
	u'ne gopačər		ma mapačər.

*Third Person.*

120.	Sg.			
	hm. <i>he</i>	hf. <i>she</i>	x <i>it</i>	y <i>it.</i>
Nom. Voc. Acc.	i'ne, (i'n)	i'ne, (i'n)	i'se	i'te.
Trs. Nom. & Agt.	i'ne	i'ne	i'se	i'te.
Gen.	i'ne	i'nemo	i'se	i'te.
		i'nmo		
		in'e'mo		
Gen. Obl.	i'ne	i'nemu-	i'se	i'te.
Dat.	i'ner	i'nemur	i's'er	i'ter.
	i'n'er	i'nmur		i't'er.

	Sg.			
	hm. <i>he</i>	hf. <i>she</i>	x <i>it</i>	y <i>it</i>
Abl.	i'ntsum	i'nemutsum	i's'e'tsum	i'tetsum i'te'tsum i't'e'tsum.
Other Suffixes	i'nale	i'nemule	is'e'le	i't'ele i't'elər.
	i'na'te	i'nemute	is'e'te	i'tete.
	i'ne'te		is'e'te	ite'te.
	i'ne'te			
	i'ne ka	i'nemu ka	i'se ka	(i'te ka).
	—	—	ise'ulo	—
			ise,ulo	
	ine'tse	—	—	—
		Pl.		
	hmf.	x.	y <i>they</i> etc.	
Nom. Voc. Acc.	u'e	i'tse	i'ke	
	u'			
Trs. nom. & Agt.	u'e	i'tse	i'ke	
Gen.	u'e	i'tse	i'ke	
Gen. Obl.	u'e	i'tse	i'ke	
Dat.	u'er	i'tser	i'ker	
		i'tser		
Abl.	u'e'tsum	i'k'e'tsum	i'ts'e'tsum	
	u'a'tsum			
Other Suffixes	—	i'ts'ele	i'k'e'le	
	u'e'ite	i'ts'ete	i'k'e'ite	
	u'e'itse	—	i'k'e'itse	
	u'e ka	i'tse ka	i'ke ka	
	u'e 'opačər	—	—	

In the 3rd. pers. forms there is some variation in the vowel sounds preceding the suffixes. When they bear the stress accent they tend to become longer and more definite *ε'* in place of *ε* or *ə*, but the

stress accent is not fixed. In the forms of *i'ne* it tends to fall on the first syllable, in the remaining forms it tends to fall on the second vowel.

The following alternative forms are to be noted:

x	sg.	ε's, ε'sε	instead of	i'sε
y	sg.	ε't, ε'tε	„ „	i'tε
x	pl.	εts (ε'tsε?)	„ „	i'tsε
y	pl.	ε'k, εkε	„ „	i'kε

These forms are referred to again under Demonstrative Pronouns. V. § 140.

There is nothing peculiar to be noticed about the use of the Independent Personal Pronouns.

### THE PRONOUN HIN (HI·N).

121. The numeral *hin* may be used as a Pronoun meaning *one* (person) and in this function may be ranged beside the Personal Pronouns:

*hine se.ibai ya.in*                    *one (of them) says "shut up!"*  
*da hin ke dimi*                    *again also one (person) came (i. e. and then another came)*  
*ma hi'ne ke ε'dila'n*                *none of you has (lit. have) killed it.*

The numeral *han* can be similarly used of non-persons:

*han ke bila itε'r ke gu*            *there is one more (room) put it (the grain) in it.*

Here may be mentioned the use of *hin* (*han*) twice repeated corresponding to the English

a) *one . . . one* (i. e. *another*).

*uε se.iba'n, hi'ne ja dela ba, hi'ne ja dela ba nusen*  
*they say, one: "I killed it", one "I killed it".*

*hi'ne gi'mi iwεrimi . . . da hi'ne gi'mi . . . da hi'ne gi'mi*  
*one poured it, he grew tired . . . then another poured . . . then another.*

b) *the one . . . the other* (of two) expressing the idea of alternativeness.

*hine Yatesan hi'nεr, hine Yatesan hi'nεr mε'r ditsas ba ke*  
*if thou will bring us the (lit. a) head of the one (child) for the one (of us) and the head of the other (child) for the other (of us).*

hi'ne i'k Xairulla hilum, hine i'k Faizu bilum.

*the name of the one was Khairulla, the name of the other was Faizu.*

For other uses of *hin v.* Reciprocal Pronouns § 134, Demonstrative Pronouns § 141, and Numerals § 187 ff.

## THE AGGLUTINATIVE OR PREFIXAL PRONOUNS.

122. The Agglutinative or Prefixal Pronouns are the following:

	Sg.	Pl.
1st. Pers.	a-, a- (and ja-, V. § 255)	mi-
2nd. Pers.	gu-	ma-. ma-
3rd. Pers.	hm, x, y	hmf & x
	hf	mu- y
		i-

The vowels may be longer or shorter.

These pronouns can be used independently (with case suffixes) in certain circumstances, but they are more commonly found prefixed to the words to which they apply or are related.

In the case of some verbs commencing with a prefix d- they are inserted after the d-. In some nouns they are a conjoined with an l-, \*-l-; and in some verbs with l- and al-, \*-l-, \*-al-. The 3rd. pers. forms i- and u- seem to be used as infixes in the verbs giyas and ši.as. V. § 252.

The vowel sounds given above are not constant but appear frequently in altered forms. There seem to be good grounds for attributing these changes to the nature of the initial sound of the word to which the prefixes are attached.

My theory is that they retain the above forms when placed before a consonant, but when placed in front of a vowel certain phonetic changes normally take place. Direct proof cannot be adduced, because the words to which they are prefixed never certainly occur in their absolute prefixless form.

In the large majority of cases the changes may, however be accounted for by the following hypothetical scheme:

Sound following the prefix	Prefixes							
	Sg. 1.	2.	3. hm, x & y	3. hf	Pl. 1.	2.	3 h & x.	3 y.
consonant	a-	gu-	i-	mu-	mi-	ma-	u-	i-
Δ, a, or ə	aʳ- a- Δ-	go-	εʳ-	mo-	mε-	maʳ- ma-	oʳ-	εʳ-
i	ai.i- eri-	gu.i-	iʳ-	muʳi-	miʳ-	mε- me- mai-	uʳi	iʳ-
u, or u	o-	gu-	yu-	mu-	mi u- myu- mi-	mo-	uʳ-	yu-

(The length of the vowels is liable to vary.)

These forms are not absolutely constant. *i-* and *ε-* appear sometimes to occur in each other's places, and similarly *u-* and *o-*, but the differentiation of these vowels is always somewhat unstable, and such inconsistencies, though disturbing, are not I think sufficient to invalidate a theory which otherwise appears to meet the facts.

**123.** One series of forms where both components are known, as far as it goes, bears the theory out. I have called these forms "prefixed", but they do occur independently in oblique cases with certain "case suffixes".

The Dative suffix we know to be *-ar*, or *-ər* and we have the following Datives which accord with what the theory would postulate:

a + ər	→ aʳ	to me.
gu + ər	→ goʳ	to thee.
i + ər	→ εʳ, eʳ	to him, to it.
mu + ər	→ moʳ	to her.



mi + ər → mɛr, me'r	to us.
ma + ər → ma'r	to you (pl.).
u + ər → o'r	to them.

Again we have *mɛtalik*, *we two*, *maltalik*, *you two*, *o.ltalik*, *they two*, which must certainly be based on *alto*, *two*, so that we may assume that the prefixless form would be *\*-altalik*, or *\*-ɔltalik*. The prefixal forms also appear in the Corroborative pronouns, V. § 142. and the Possessive adjectives, V. § 143.

124. The following examples illustrate the use of the Pronominal Prefixes with Nouns:

Assumed base: *\*-riŋ hand*

ariŋ	<i>my hand</i>	miriŋčiŋ	<i>our hands.</i>
guriŋ	<i>thy hand</i>	marিŋčiŋ	<i>your hands.</i>
iriŋ	<i>his hand</i>	uriŋčiŋ	<i>their hands.</i>
muriŋ	<i>her hand</i>		

Assumed base: *\*-as (or \*-as) heart*

as	<i>my heart</i>	mɛsumuts	<i>our hearts.</i>
go's	<i>thy heart</i>	ma'sumuts	<i>your hearts.</i>
ɛ's, mo's	<i>his, her heart</i>	o'sumuts	<i>their hearts.</i>

Assumed base: *\*-ik name, \*-il lip*

e'ik	<i>my name</i>	ai.il, e'il	<i>my lip.</i>
gu.ik	<i>thy name</i>	gu.il	<i>thy lip.</i>
i'k, i'ik	<i>his name</i>	i'l	<i>his lip.</i>
mu.ik	<i>her name</i>	mu'il	<i>her lip.</i>
m'ikičiŋ	<i>our names</i>	mi'liŋ	<i>our lips.</i>
mai.'ikičiŋ	<i>your names</i>	me'liŋ	<i>your lips.</i>
u.'ikičiŋ	<i>their names</i>	u'iliŋ	<i>their lips.</i>

Assumed base: *\*-utis foot*

o'tis	<i>my foot</i>	myu'tiŋ, mitiŋ	<i>our feet.</i>
gu'tis	<i>thy foot</i>	motiŋ	<i>your feet.</i>
yur'tis, mu'tis	<i>his, her foot</i>	u'tiŋ	<i>their feet.</i>

Irregular forms of course occur:

Assumed base: \*-u, \*-u·y *father*

a·u, au.u	<i>my father.</i>
ma·u	<i>your (pl.) father.</i>
u·u	<i>their father.</i>

Here the u is probably long, u·

125. More complicated are forms where the assumed base begins with, or consists of, a diphthong:

Assumed base: \*-a.i *daughter*

ai.i	<i>my daughter</i>	mai.i, me.i	<i>our daughter.</i>
go·i	<i>thy daughter</i>	ma.i, mai.i	<i>your daughter.</i>
e·i, mo·i	<i>his, her daughter</i>	o·i	<i>their daughter.</i>

Where the base form begins with y- the prefix of the 3rd. sg. hm., x & y, i-, seems usually to be dropped. a- tends to become ai-, æ-.

Assumed base *-ya·tis	<i>head.</i>
aya·tis, aiy·tis	<i>my head.</i>
ya·tis	<i>his head.</i>

These general principles govern the forms of the Prefixes in all their uses, though occasional difficulties present themselves and anomalies are produced by the vacillation between i and ε, u and o.

### USES of the PRONOMINAL PREFIXES.

126. The uses of the Prefixes are as follows:

#### A. As Self-Contained Words.

1. Independently as Personal Pronouns with certain case-suffixes and postpositions: e.g. a·r *to me.* V. § 127.
2. Independently with the suffix -i as Corroborative Pronouns. V. § 142.  
The 1st. pers. sing. has only been recorded in the form je·i.
3. Independently with the adjectival suffix -i·mo as Possessive Adjectives: e.g. gu.i·mo *thy, thy own, thine.* V. § 143.

The 1st. person singular form ordinarily recorded is je·imo.

**B. As Agglutinative Prefixes.**

4. With certain nouns, V. § 128.
5. With certain adjectives, V. § 130.
6. With the Cardinal Numbers (doubtful), V. § 133.
7. With certain verbs, V. § 248, also §§ 236, 256 & 290.

Of these uses Nos. 2, 3 and 7 are treated more fully in the appropriate places noted.

The remaining uses I shall deal with here in order:

**127. As Personal Pronouns (§ 126. 1).**

They occur:

I. With the Dat. Suffix *-ər*. The forms have already been given above § 123. The abl. *ma·tsum*, from you (pl.) has also been recorded.

II. With the suffix *\*-tsi* which accompanies certain verbs. E.g.

*atsi* γασιçuman

*they will laugh at me.*

*gutsi* γατιçi

*it will bite thee.*

*i'tsi* βαγαλτεçam

*he was mad.*

Also:

*u'tsi* thami

*he pursued after them.*

*i'tsi.ate* dimi

*he came after him.*

*wazi'ri i'tsi* tahwil etimi

*he conferred the wazirship on him.*

Sometimes with *\*-tse* whether or not that is identical with *\*-tsi*.

*gutse* besan (gu.i·k) bila

*what is thy name on thee?*

III. With the Ablative suffix *\*-tsimo* which is used only with these prefixes:

*gutsimo* doçaruša ba

*I enquire from thee.*

*u'tsimo* yer za·k numan

*getting a little ahead of them.*

*i'tsimo* tsil çaçan mai.ibila

*water is dripping from it.*

*mutsimo* dutsimi

*he brought (i. e. took) them from her.*

IV. With certain Postpositions or forms with postpositional force, of which the following are the principal:

*\*-aka*

*with, along with.*

*\*-apaçi*

*to, with, in possession of,*

*\*-apat*

*beside.*

*-ŋgi	<i>in front of.</i>
*-ya're	<i>below, beneath, in presence of.</i>
*-yər	<i>in front of.</i>
*-yaʔe	<i>above.</i>
*-yo'n	<i>over.</i>

Though we have the noun **pači** *side*, and the postpositional adverb **ka** *with*, it is necessary to postulate forms with an initial **Δ**-to account for the forms of the prefixal pronouns, except in the case of **mika** (*mi + ka*) *with us*.

\*-**Δpat** is a noun meaning *side, flank* and perhaps can always be accounted for as a noun.

\*-**ŋgi** usually occurs as an adjective with the suffix **-mo**, \*-**ŋgimo**. I have only one example of it in its simple form as a postposition: 12 **bu'ndo i'ŋgi tsa do'mimi** *he set up 12 stones in front of himself.*

\*-**ya're**, \*-**yər** and \*-**yaʔe** are the ordinary postpositions and adverbs, and \*-**yo'n** is also a postposition:

guyo'n dāl                      *up above thee*

a) The forms with \*-**Δpači** (cp. § 79) are: —

Sg. 1. a'pači	2. gopači	3. e'pači, hf. mo'pači
Pl. mepači	mapači	o'pači.

(Accent on the first Syllable.)

These compound forms are frequently preceded by the appropriate personal pronoun or noun.

The 1st. sg. Pers. Pronoun is used in the Oblique form *ja*, the others and nouns appear to be in the Nominative form.

**ja** a'pači nu'ta'yan                      *hiding him with me.*

**Lana** Brumo mo'pači                      *with Langa Brumo.*

**u'e** o'pačər nimi                      *he went to them.*

**u'ŋ** guya're je besan at'ačana ba.

*I require nothing that is in thy possession (or nothing at thy hands?)*

**Di.u** Sa'fivd e'pačər dumu'tsumi *he conducted her to the White Div.*

In suitable circumstances the case suffixes **-ər** and **-um** may be added:

**go'pačər**                      *to thee.*

o·pačim fāt ayetas      *not to let him go from them.*  
 guyačum qurba'n amanša!      *may I be thy sacrifice!*

But the -um may be adjectival, as possibly in the last example and in:

Paŋču epačim u'e sise delja'n      *the people beside P. beat him.*

- b) The pronominal prefix with \*-aka may have a *Reflexive* significance, where Hindustani would use *apna'*, and Persian would use *xud*.

go·ka atsu      *take me with thee.*  
 tso·rdine e·ka itsu·mi      *in the morning he took with him(self).*  
 go·ka be eguča ba?      *what have you made sleep with you?*  
 besan e·ka ditsai.i?      *what has he brought with him?*

but,

e·ka menen ke sisan apam      *there was no one with him.*

## 128. As prefixes with nouns (§ 126. 4).

I. Many nouns denoting things which can be considered only in relation to one individual, or set of individuals, at a time, exist only with the Pronominal Prefixes attached to them.

So normally a "hand" pertains to one individual, therefore it must be either

a·riŋ	<i>my hand.</i>
guriŋ	<i>thy hand.</i>
i·riŋ	<i>his hand, its hand.</i>
or muriŋ	<i>her hand.</i>

Similarly "hands" must be either our, your or their hands.

The Pronominal Prefixes do not in any way interfere with the use of possessive adjectives etc. which however may be omitted.

mimo mi.u	<i>our sons.</i>
u·ŋe gu·ljulo	<i>in thy dream.</i>
uŋ gya·kəl	<i>in thy direction.</i>
u·ŋe gu.i·k	<i>thy name.</i>

II. This class of nouns includes:

a. the names of most PARTS of the BODY e. g.

head	eye	ear	mouth.
tooth	tongue	arm	body.
leg	finger	beard	belly etc.

b. the designations of RELATIVES e. g.

father	mother	brother	etc.
--------	--------	---------	------

c. the names of certain things which usually stand in close relationship to some being:

dream	bedding	staff	voice
name	habit	desire	anger etc.

This scheme is not, however, strictly adhered to. All names of relations, I think, take the pronominal prefixes, but many names of parts of the body do not e. g. *blood, bone, brain, hip, skin, joint, vein*.

Similarly under heading c. while *dream, bedding* etc. take the prefixes the names of articles of clothing do not, nor the words "thought", "intention". Again we have two words for a "staff", or "stick carried in the hand"

\*-fΛγo                      and                      deroγo

of which the former requires the prefix and the latter does not.

In some cases the non-prefix-bearing noun may be a foreign loan word, but beyond this as a general explanation one may suspect that the use of the prefixes was originally more general and has in part died out. The following instances perhaps show the process in action:

\*-γoyΔη      *hair*      beside      γoyΔη

\*-ltur      *horn*      »      tur

*tin*      *bone*      for which Biddulph gives \*-ltin, and I have an isolated form "miltin" apparently belonging to this. Cp, Leitner, H. N. Hd. Bk. pp. 29—30, notes on *tin* and *goyang*.

III. In regard to any noun necessity must arise at times to use it with a generalised sense dissociated from any precise idea of

ownership. In such cases I think it is customary to use the noun with the hm., x, y prefix of the 3rd. person.

ičər                                    *a voice, sound*  
 itsu                                    *a footmark, track.*  
 yatis (= i + yatis)                *a head*

X. ke X. altan ečuko'n . . . bam X. and X. were two brothers.

But one may have the plural prefix:

han he'rše učəran di'mi *a sound of (people) weeping came (to his ears).*  
 han uriŋan hanikər di'mi *a hand (of some people's) came into the dish.*

Sometimes the prefix of the first plural is used. Thus a Burushaski speaker may tell you that the word for

*tooth* is mi'me i.e. "our tooth"  
 for *foot* is myutis i.e. "our foot".

This use of a plural prefix with a singular noun also occurs where there are a number of owners each possessing one of the article in question.

ma besantsum a'r ba'n ke ma maskilulo raŋ api?

*what are you (pl.) afraid of that in your (pl.) face is no colour?*  
 etse ke utis galji bim *and their (the cattle's) leg used to break.*

129. The following list of nouns taking the Pronominal Prefixes is I think fairly complete as far as my material goes, but there are probably a good many more of which I do not know.

It may be analysed roughly as follows:

a.	Parts of the body	64
b.	Names of relatives	20
c.	Miscellaneous	24

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### PREFIX-BEARING NOUNS.

*-Δčo	<i>man's brother.</i>	*-Δkin	<i>liver.</i>
	<i>woman's sister.</i>	*-Δmis	<i>grandson.</i>
*-Δ.i	<i>daughter.</i>	*-Δmiš	<i>finger.</i>
	pl. *-yugušants	*-Δpat	<i>side.</i>
*-Δkat	<i>armpit.</i>	*-Δpi	<i>grandfather.</i>

*-Δpkuts	<i>maternal relations.</i>	*-dumuts	<i>knee.</i>
*-ΔrƏr	<i>son-in-law.</i>	*-γa'n	<i>heel.</i>
*-Δs	<i>heart.</i>	*-γƏriki	<i>daily ration.</i>
*-Δska'pun	{ <i>(spoon-shaped)</i> <i>hollow below</i> <i>sternum.</i>	*-γumƏr	<i>bowels.</i>
*-Δski	<i>longing, desire.</i>	*-γu's	<i>pubdendum muliebre.</i>
*-Δskir	<i>father-in-law.</i>	*-γoyΔŋ (γuyΔŋ)	<i>hair.</i>
*-Δskus	<i>mother-in-law.</i>	*-xΔkin	<i>daughter-in-law.</i>
*-Δso	<i>kidney.</i>	*-xΔt	<i>mouth.</i>
*-Δš	<i>neck.</i>	*-xΔšinŋ	<i>buttocks.</i>
*-Δšč'inŋ	<i>small of back.</i>	*-xundikiš (adj.?)	<i>hunchback.</i>
*-Δškı	<i>pillow, bedhead.</i>	*-xurpat	<i>lung.</i>
*-ΔšpurΔŋ	<i>mane.</i>	*-lΔmat	<i>lap.</i>
*-i	<i>son.</i>	*-lč'in	<i>eye.</i>
*-ik	<i>name.</i>	*-lpur	<i>eyelash.</i>
*-il	<i>lip.</i>	*-lta	<i>leg.</i>
*-i'ltaš	<i>cattle.</i>	*-ltumΔl	<i>ear.</i>
*-u,	<i>tear.</i>	*-ltur	<i>horn.</i>
*-u, u'y	<i>father.</i>	*-ltu's	<i>grave, burying.</i>
*-u'l	<i>belly.</i>	*-ma'mut	<i>nipple, teat.</i>
*-ulji	<i>dream.</i>	*-melč	<i>jaw.</i>
*-ulus	<i>woman's brother.</i>	*-moqiš	<i>cheek.</i>
*-umus	<i>tongue, lie.</i>	*-multur	<i>nostril.</i>
*-u'ri	<i>finger-nail.</i>	*-mε	<i>tooth.</i>
*-uruš	<i>concern, affair.</i>	*-mupuš	<i>nose.</i>
*-us	<i>wife.</i>	*-mi	<i>mother.</i>
*-u'tis	<i>foot.</i>	*-mos	<i>anger.</i>
*-u'yer	<i>husband.</i>	*-ngo	<i>uncle.</i>
*-čƏr	<i>voice.</i>	*-ntso	<i>paternal aunt.</i>
*-čƏkurΔŋ	<i>fringe of hair,</i> <i>forelock.</i>	*-ndil	<i>breast.</i>
*-čƏnjuš	<i>beak.</i>	*-ŋgi	<i>beard.</i>
*-čim	<i>body, person.</i>	*-pfΔti	<i>forehead.</i>
		*-pfΔnts	<i>cock's comb.</i>
		*-pfΔyo	<i>stick.</i>
		*-pauwo	<i>stick.</i>



*-pi'niso	hair (human).	*-to'to	paw.
*-pfo'iq	shoulder.	*-tsi'r	gut, intestine.
*-rik	man's brother-in-law.	*-tsi'r	breast of animal.
		*-tsi'r	habit.
*-riq	hand.	*-tsu	footmark.
*-saγun	nephew, niece.	*-teŋi	bride's plenishing
*-sΔn	chin.	*-toγoyΔŋ	child's first hair
*-sərk	udder.	*-tsimo	lust.
*-su'i	navel.	*-wΔldΔs	back (of body).
*-sumΔl	tail.	*-wΔt	body.
*-su'sun	elbow.	*-ya'lmun	rib.
*-skil	face.	*-ya'reki	under-bedding.
*-soγut	bosom.	*-yΔkΔl	direction.
*-sΔmutš	period of pregnancy.	*-yΔs	man's sister.
		*-yΔteki	upper-bedding.
*-šΔk	arm.	*-yΔtis	head.
*-šΔt	penis.	*-yo'q etΔs	to dress up, titivate oneself.
*-tΔnΔs	centre line of the head.	*-yΔnči	reception, meeting.
*-tΔtΔs	palm of hand.		

### 130. As Prefixes with Adjectives (§ 126. 5).

A few Adjectives take these Pronominal Prefixes. The following are those which I have noted:

*-ΔγΔm	distasteful to, disliked, unfavoured.
*-Δka'tum	in the service of.
*-ΔltΔlik, *-Δltik	both.
*-ΔpΔčim	being alongside of.
*-ΔwΔš (*-mε)	back (tooth).
*-Δyerum	beloved.
*-itse etΔs, manΔ's	to separate (trans. and intrans.).
*-γərum	which falls to one's lot.
*-xundikiš	hunchbacked.
*-ŋgimo (*-mε)	front (tooth).

*-mo'skiš	<i>wrathful.</i>
*-yərũm	<i>being ahead of, in front of.</i>
*-yo'n	<i>all, whole.</i>

\*-yo'n almost always follows the noun or pronoun to which it refers and \*-Altalik (\*-Altik) generally does so. In this situation it is possible to regard them as pronouns rather than as adjectives. They are of course also used independently as pronouns. Neither has ever a singular pronoun prefix, but the plural form *uyorn* may be used with a singular noun. They are fully dealt with under Quantitative Pronouns. V. §§ 177, 178.

Examples:

εγam yu's	<i>his unfavoured wife.</i>
go'pāčim kinē hile's	<i>this boy with thee.</i>
goyərũmišo guyu'	<i>thy beloved sons.</i>
Hamāča'tiŋ umo'ski.ents ba'n	<i>the Hamachating are men of wrath.</i>
aiyərũm i'te basaru'lo	<i>at that halting-place in front of me.</i>

131. There are some compound adjectives, formed of a noun and an adjective. When the noun is a prefix-bearing noun it is probable that these vary according to the person referred to.

Thus:

esə dāŋ	“heart-hard”,	<i>stout-hearted, courageous</i>
esə dša'to	“heart-weak”,	<i>faint-hearted</i>

are used in this form when referring to a 3rd. person singular masculine. Applied to a 1st. sg. they would presumably be

	asə dāŋ	and	asə dša'to
2nd. sg.	go'sə dāŋ	„	go'sə dša'to

but I cannot quote any actual examples.

(Biddulph gives five \*-As compounds which I have not met and states that the prefixes vary. He also gives \*-lčiku'in *clever* presumably \*-lčin *eye* + -ku'in).

132. The static participles are often practically adjectives, and where the verb is one that takes the pronominal prefixes its participle might be reckoned among these personal adjectives.

Thus :

\*-ΔYENΔS *to go to sleep*, pc.\* -ΔYENUM *having gone to sleep, sleeping, asleep*, which has the forms

eYENUM, moYENUM etc.

wa·ΔS *to be lost, go astray* St. pc. \*-walum *lost*.

guwa·lum *thou lost one, thou fugitive, refugee*.

### 133. As Prefixes with Cardinal Numbers (§ 126. 6).

This is not normal; only a few instances can be quoted.

irtæ u·usko nuyen . . gutserimi *taking those 3 (things) he proceeded to . .*

u·e u·miši·ndo e·rəršū·e *those 6 sons-in-law (of his)*.

ku·e u·i·ski nala dum·anuman *these 3 (sons) were born at the same time*.

It will be noticed that in these cases the force of the pron. prefix is demonstrative and not possessive.

## THE RECIPROCAL PRONOUN.

134. The Reciprocal Pronoun is to be regarded as the equivalent of the English "the one . . . . the other" where "the one" is the subject of a verb and "the other" is its predicate or dependent on the predicate. The forms are:

h hin hin, hin i·n, hi hi·n *one another, each other*.

x & y han han, hanan, hana·n *one another, each other*.

The first component appears to remain invariable, not appearing in the extended form of the Nominative (hinε) even when it is the subject of a past tense of a transitive verb.

The second component remains unchanged when it is in the Accusative, otherwise it takes the appropriate case suffix etc.

The grammatical construction is, however, upset by the recognition of the fact that there are always two parties acting. The verb is therefore put in the plural. This recognition of plurality may be further extended, vide the second example below where probably only one hand of each party is in question and one would expect either iriŋ *his hand* (as in No. 3), or uriŋciŋ *their hands*.

Generally speaking the idiom may be conceived of as referable to the formula:

“they beat . . . . the one the other”.

hin hin deliman *they beat each other.*  
 hin hine irinčiq̄ dum'əruman *they sought (i. e. kissed) each other's hands.*  
 hin hine irintse du'n *seizing each other's hands.*  
 hin hi'nər salam etuman *they salamed to one another.*  
 hin hinatə a'siq̄ manuman *they fell in love with each other.*  
 hi hine imaltsuman *they abused one another.*  
 hin i'n itsi.ε̄ε̄ (or, i.lji) *after one another, in Indian file.*  
 ba'dša ke wazi're čayamiq̄ hin hine ka etuman.

*the king and the wazir conversed with each other.*

te'i hin i'nər xuš bam *they were so pleased with one another.*  
 hin i'ne 'eyərumišo bam *they were beloved of each other.*  
 xus hin hintsər ničila.

*whooping cough goes (from) one to another, i. e. is infectious.*

a'lta čiško hanantse du's deljibam

*the two mountains kept butting against each other.*

Kiser ise (it̄se?) hanantse di's mana's (mana'šo?) it̄se čerkowale  
 de'sqaltimi *Kiser came to the cliffs that clashed against each other.*  
 kutse balašu bese han han d'elji.ε̄? *why do these birds fight with each other?*  
 šu'n it̄i ki'ti hanhantse du'num bim.

*there were vine(s) on either side (which met and) embraced each other (over the river).*

**Note.**

This use of *hin*, *han* reduplicated is not to be confused with its similar use as a Numeral meaning “one each”, “one apiece” v. § 207. e. g. han han hunəran ε'ltirčan *let us display an accomplishment, one each, i. e. let us each display an accomplishment, to him.*

### DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS & ADJECTIVES.

**135.** The Demonstratives given below are used both as Pronouns and as Adjectives. As Adjectives they are used only in the Nominative forms.

The Demonstrative of the NEARER OBJECT: **ki·ne, khi·ne.**<sup>1</sup>

*This one, this; these ones, these; frequently corresponding to the 3rd. person pronoun and the definite article in English.*

<i>Sing.</i>	hm.	hf.	x.	y.
N. V. A.	ki·ne, ki'n	ki·ne, ki'n	guse	gute.
Trs. nom. & Agt.	ki·ne	ki·ne	guse	gute.
Gen.	ki·ne	ki·nemo	guse	gute.
Dat.	ki·ner, ki·nər	ki·nemur	guser	guter.
Abl.	ki·netsum kintsum.	ki·nemutsum	gus·etsum	gut·etsum.
Other Cases	ki·nΔe	ki·nemule	gus·ele	—
	ki·nΔe	ki·nemuṭe	gus·eṭe	gut·eṭe.
	ki·ne.ete.			
	ki·ne ka	ki·nemu ka	guse ka	gute ka.
	ki·ne ε·pačī kintse	ki·ne mopačī —	— gusə.u·lo	— gute.u.lo.

<sup>1</sup> The correct form is, I believe khi·ne.

The k-, kh- appears to be a separable element, carrying the sense of *this, here*.

So we have the comparable pairs:

ine	<i>that person</i>	ki·ne	<i>this person.</i>
iti	<i>that (side)</i>	ki·ti	<i>this (side).</i>
εs	<i>that</i>	kos	<i>this.</i>
etc.		etc.	
berum	<i>how many?</i>	aku·rum	<i>this much, so much.</i>
(bulto?)	<i>day</i>	ku·lto	<i>today.</i>
(ule?)	<i>locative particle</i>	ko·le	<i>here.</i>
cp. ulo).			

This k-, kh- has sometimes an a- or Δ- prefixed to it:

ku·e	Δku·e	<i>these people.</i>
ko·le	Δko·le	<i>here.</i>
	Δku·rum	<i>so much (as this).</i>
ku·in	Δku·in (Werchikwar)	<i>this year.</i>
cp. also	Δki·l	<i>like this, of this nature.</i>

An a-, Δ- prefix also occurs in amin *which?* cp. men, v. § 159.

Plur.	hmf.	x.	y.
N. V. A.	ku'ε, ku, (Δku.ε)	gutse	gukε.
Trs Nom. & Agt.	ku'ε	gutse	gukε.
Gen.	ku'ε	gutse	gukε.
Dat.	ku'εr	gutser	guker.
Abl.	ku'εtsum	gutsetsum	guketsum.
Other Cases	ku.'ele	guts ele	gukele..
	ku.εtε	gutsetε	guketε.
	ku'ε ka		

Minor vowel variations will be found. In the oblique forms the accent tends to fall on the ε preceding the suffix, which is sometimes made tenser e, or diphthongised 'ε. ε, e.g.

guse'tε, gus'ε.εtε.

**136.** The above are the ordinary standard forms, but there is a second set of x and y forms which occur much less frequently. They are rare in inflected forms. The following are the forms found:

Sing.	x.	y.
	ko's	ko't (kut).
Plur.	ko'ts (kutsə)	ko'k (kuk).

The forms in brackets have only been recorded occasionally. An additional y sg. form ku'tε, kute occurs in

ku'tε pa || gute pa *this side.*

There is also a y sg. form ki'tε or ki'ti which is found in

ki'tε pa *this side.*

ki'tε pfer *on this side.*

and itε ki'tε *thither and hither(?)*, *backwards and forwards.*

**137.** The USE of these Pronouns and Adjectives presents no special difficulties. When used as pronouns they may be accompanied by qualifying adjectives (v. § 113) and possessive genitives.

Examples:

H. sing. Ki'ne as pronoun:

kin besan aye'mai.imi *this man will not be able to do anything.*

ja kine šu.a'n dimanimi.a? *has this (son) of mine been born a good one?*

ike hai.ai.in ja kine.ete bitsan *those marks are on this (son of mine).*  
 ki'nər talo padšaha'ntiŋe ɛ'r no'kəri ečuman.

*to this one seven kings will do service to him.*

kine i'k *this one's name.*

ki'nemutse du'ɣam *I shall seize her.*

*Kine as Adjective:*

kin hin ja o's bo *this one (woman) is my wife.*

kine a'u.ɛ gutse tinjo *these bones of this father of mine.*

ja kine e'i *this son of mine.*

kin ja jama'at *this wife of mine.*

kin jot giya'sanər u'ŋe besan izzat etuma?

*why didst thou pay honour to this small infant?*

ki'ne Alqaše ja au.u esqanum i'te dišər.

*at the place where this Alqash killed my father*

*X sing. guse as Pronoun.*

guse yər ne ma delibam *you had shot this (ibex) first.*

*guse as Adjective.*

yərüm guse haɣur jotan bim *this first horse was small.*

guse han balasane han ise'r se.i bi *this one bird says to that one.*

*Y sing. gute as Pronoun.*

This y form is used for "this" where "saying", "thought" "reason", "time", etc. is understood:

gute'tsum *for this reason.*

gute gane *for this reason.*

gute nusen *saying this.*

gute uyo'n une he'i ba *thou knowest all this.*

ja (u'ŋe) gute tsan bila

*this of mine (i.e. "what I say") is true, (u'ŋe "what thou sayest").*

taxte rawa'n tsu'in, gute'te ne'ururt ditsu'in.

*take the litter, seating him on it (this) bring him here.*

gute ma'ni *the meaning of this.*

gute *as Adjective.*

- gute čaγa aiyeti *don't say this thing.*  
 gute hisər guse baskaret gučam *for this month I shall give thee this ram.*  
 ja gute xat *this letter of mine.*  
 u'ne gute gulji'e čaγa iljum go'r ečam  
*I shall tell thee later the interpretation of this thy dream.*  
 gute galči *on this occasion.*

H plur. ku'e, ku *as Pronoun.*

- ku ja aiyu'gušants ba'n *these are my daughters.*  
 ku dasenər nutsun *take away these (people) to a waste place.*  
 akiljuko ku'e Ibra'him paiγambəre xa'nda'ntsum dumai.i ba'n  
*such (people) as these are born of the Prophet Ibrahim's family.*  
 ku'e hunər hikmat akil zaile bila  
*these people's skill and knowledge is of this sort.*

ku'e, ku *as Adjective.*

- ku jo'tumuts *these children.*  
 ku'e u.i'ski nala dumanuman *these three (children) were born at the same time.*

X plur. gutse *as Pronoun.*

- gutse (buro'ndumuts) bi.ena? *are these (rings) they?*  
 u'ne gu'ye bur'o'ndumuts gutse bi.e *these are thy father's rings.*  
 gutse (balāšu.e) tevi mai.i bi.e *these (birds) are thus.*

gutse *as Adjective.*

- gutse tinjo *these bones.*  
 gutse balāšu'e *these birds.*  
 gutse hanakuts *these dishes.*

Y plur. guke *as Pronoun.*

- guke (γenaṅ) uyo'n xərč ne *expending all these (i.e. all this gold, pl.).*  
 guke (γoyaṅ) tele ya're etin *bury these (this hair, pl.) there.*

guke *as Adjective.*

- guke γenaṅ *this gold (pl.).*  
 guke čaγamiṅ i'mo ε'sulo sei bai.i *he says these things in his heart.*  
 guke ta'očiṅ ke ifaγo *these leg-wrappers and stick of his.*



## 138. The Subsidiary forms.

In my records, examples of the singular forms of the Subsidiary Demonstratives are uncommon, and of the plural forms very rare. I have noted only one instance of an oblique form.

X sing. ko's as *Pronoun*.

ko's (šΔpik) Δm ni'mi? *where has this (bread) gone?*  
 ko's (bušo'sho) tumΔNE deli bai.i *some one else has slain this (calf).*

In both these cases one would say in English "the . . ." or "it".

ko's (bu'n) ja dƏro'γo'ΔTE dE'stsΔγa ba  
*I have supported this (boulder) on my stick.*

ko's as *Adjective*.

kos gufΔγo BE E'ta? *what have you done to this stick of yours?*  
 kos bi KE hAN belis *this is only one sheep.*

Y sing. kot as *Pronoun*.

kot akerya ba'n *they don't know this.*  
 kot (ičƏr) BESAN mai.i bila? *what is this (sound)?*  
 kot bur't SAČO dƏr'o'WAN bila *this is a very easy business.*

kot as *Adjective*.

kot gu'imo γENIŠ tsu *take away this gold of thine.*  
 jE kot ČΔγa go'r aiγEČAM *I won't tell you this matter.*

X plur. kots, kutsə as *Pronoun*. No examples.

kots, kutsə as *Adjective*.

ko'ts hƏr BES dutsa'n? *why have you brought these ox(en)?*  
 kutsə bALΔšu *these birds.*

Y plur. ko'k as *Pronoun*.

koktse (ta.o'čiq) γAMU gANI bi *frost has seized on these (leg-wrappers),*  
*i.e. they have become frozen.*  
 ko'k a'lto γUMo'riŋ bitsa *these are two holes.*

ko'k as *Adjective*.

kuk akurUMAN pFΔl'o' *all this (much) grain.*

**The DEMONSTRATIVE of the REMOTER OBJECT.**

139. The Demonstrative of the Remoter Object: *That one, that; those ones, those.*

The ordinary forms are those which have already been given as the Personal Pronouns of the 3rd. Person. Used as Adjectives they frequently correspond to the Definite Article in English.

	hm.	hf.	x	y	
Sg.	i'nε, i'n	i'nε, i'n	i'sε	i'tε	<i>that.</i>
Pl.	u'ε, u	u'ε, u	i'tsε	i'kε	<i>those.</i>

For the declensional forms see § 120.

The USE of these Demonstratives is exactly parallel to that of the preceding series (see § 137) *ki'nε, guse, gute* etc. It is therefore unnecessary to give examples.

140. There is also a set of SUBSIDIARY FORMS for x and y.

	x	y	
Sg.	ε's, ε'sε	ε't, ε'tε	<i>that.</i>
Pl.	εts	εk, εkε	<i>those.</i>

The x sing. forms are fairly common and are found with the suffixes *-tse* and *-tsum*. I have noted Genitives of all except the y plur. in my records.

In view of their comparative rarity the following examples are given of these forms:

X sing. ε's *as Pronoun.*

matum ε's tuγuli.εn bim *the black one was a male lamb.*

εse i'mi numuyen *taking its (the lamb's) dam.*

banda čape maza ε'tsε o'maimi *the flavour of human flesh will not be on it (the lamb), i.e. the lamb's flesh will not taste like human flesh.*

ε'setsum (or εtsum) kε uyu'man dotsuma.

*thou hast sent a bigger (animal) than it.*

ε'sε yu'lulum i'sk *the young one in its belly.*

ε's *as Adjective.*

ε's belis i'rimi *that sheep died.*

ε's haiwa'nan *that one animal.*

ε's kursi.εtε ε'urutimi *he seated him on that chair.*

Y sing. ε't as Pronoun.

ε't u'ne ake'ima                      *thou wilt not know that.*

ε't etiš aiya'maiya ba              *I am unable to do that.*

han bat bilum, ete i'k X. B. bilum.

*there was a (flat) stone, the name of it was Kh. B.*

ε't as Adjective.

mi ete dolattsum                      *from that property of ours.*

X plur. ets as Pronoun.

etse u.i'k                                  *their (the birds') name.*

ε'tse urtis galji bim                  *their (the cattle's) legs used to break.*

ets as Adjective.

da ets alta amulum hēra'm umanimi.en?

*then whence (how) have those two (animals) become unlawful (food)?*

Y plur. ek as Pronoun.

te'ljuko ek ake'ima                      *thou wilt not know those things of this  
nature (such things as those).*

ek je'i heya ba                          *I know those things.*

ek (ša'riṅ) ke goyuyam                *I'll give thee those (cities) too.*

ek as Adjective.

ja eke uyo'n gur ke maltaš      *all that (lit. those) wheat and ghee of mine.  
(but eke may here be a pronoun).*

### COMPOUND DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.

141. The Demonstratives i'ne, i'n and ki'ne, ki'n may be used with the Pronominal Numeral hi'n, hin, han to form Compound Demonstrative Pronouns: *That one, the one; this one.*

Thus:

hine seibai: ya'in . . . fat etin; i'n hi'ne seibai: ki'ne bai . . .

*One says "shut up . . . let him go", that one (a previous speaker)  
says "this is he . . ."*

ki'n hin ja o's bo                      *this one is my wife.*

The hi'n may precede, as in the following where according to the context the meaning is "the second of the three sons".

uyu'm i'ne . . . bišami, . . . hi'n i'ne ki bišami . . . jut i'ne masərba  
 šu'lilo delimi      *the eldest shot . . . that one (i. e. the second) also*  
*shot . . . the youngest . . . hit the spout of the pot.*

guse han balasane han iser se.ibi      *this one bird says to that one.*

The same combinations may be used adjectivally:

i'ne hin bitanene i'k Huke Mamu bilum. Hi'ne i'k Šo'ngukur bilum  
*the name of that one "bitan" was Huke Mamu. The name of the*  
*other was Shongukur.*

hin i'ne guvi kaš eti      *kill that one son of thine.*

da han ise balase se.i bi      *then that one bird says.*

### CORROBORATIVE PRONOUNS.

142. By the term Corroborative Pronouns I denote the compounds with "self" which serve to emphasise or lay stress on the individuality of a given subject: "I myself", "the man himself".

In English these forms are also used as Reflexive Pronouns, but in Burushaski the two functions are served by different series of forms.

The *Corroborative Pronouns* in Burushaski are:

	Sg.		Pl.
1st. Pers.	je <i>i</i>		mi <i>i</i>
2nd. Pers.	gu <i>i</i>		mai <i>i</i>
3rd. Pers.	m.	i <i>i</i>	
	f.	mu <i>i</i> , mo <i>i</i>	hm <i>f.</i> & x      u <i>i</i>
	x & y	i <i>i</i>	y      i <i>i</i> , i'

These are formed by the addition of an -i to the Independent Pronoun of the 1st. sing. and to the Prefixal Pronouns of the other persons. This -i has apparently the value of the English "self". These forms are invariable.

In addition to the above forms there is a series of Reduplicated forms:

	Sg.		Pl.
1st. Pers.	je je <i>i</i> , (ja, je) jije <i>i</i>		mimi <i>i</i>
2nd. Pers.	gugu <i>i</i>		mamai <i>i</i>
3rd. Pers.	m.	i'i	
	f.	mumu <i>i</i>	hm <i>f.</i> & x      u.u <i>i</i>
	x & y	i'i	y      (i'i?)

In my texts practically only the shorter forms appear to be used, (with the exception of *je'i* of which I have no certain example). But the 3rd. sg. hm. is indistinguishable in its two forms and the plural forms are probably simply the Independent Pronoun plus the Corroborative:

We have *je jije'i*, *uŋ gugui*, *i'ne i'i*, *i'n mumu'i*, but the plurals *mi mimi'i*, *ma mamai.i*, *u'e u'ui* cannot be quoted. *ji* in *jije'i* seems to be the word *ji* = *life, soul*.

Examples:

*ja jije'i gute duro eta'm* *I have done this thing myself*

*je je'i mutsuyase gane erma'n bilum*

*there was desire for myself to marry her, I myself was desirous of . . .*

(This example is doubtful; the construction is perhaps contaminated.)

*guri ki ši menər ke u' eat it thyself and give it to others.*

*guri baldiyu'lu huru thou thyself sit in the balcony.*

*Paŋču i'i bai i it is Pangchu himself.*

*da i'i thamo opači jučam then he himself used to go to the Thams.*

*i'i bo gi'mi he himself scattered the seed.*

*mučoko'ne ke i'etsuman mu'i ki yetsumo*

*her sisters saw him and she herself saw him.*

*gatuŋ i'ne mo.i ke gažam etam I had laid hold of her clothes & she herself.*

*miri wa'lto telər nimen mikər e'sqai.en*

*let us four go there and kill ourselves.*

*sis u'i hərəŋ seiba'n people are saying among themselves.*

The reduplicated form *u'i u'i* is used with the sense "each separately".

*gaptsum biške u'i u'i i'moquman*

*they each separately plucked the hair off the hide.*

The following are a few isolated examples chiefly of the double forms:

*je jije'i I myself.*

*ja jije'i akərər yunikiš eta'm I have myself done evil to myself.*

*u'n gugui gute duro etuma thou thyself didst this.*

*i'ne gu's mumu'i the woman herself.*

mumvi gute duro etumo	<i>she did it herself.</i>
ha i do'rimi	<i>the house fell down itself.</i>
i'ne i'i i'kær esqanimi	<i>he himself killed himself.</i>
u'e u'i u'kær esqanuman	<i>they themselves killed themselves.</i>
mi mi hæræŋ duma'ča ba'n	<i>we are being reconciled among ourselves.</i>
hal Kiser gugui ba	<i>either thou art Kiser thyself.</i>
gugui mu.ikan o's	<i>give her a name thyself.</i>

### POSSESSIVE ADJECTIVES.

143. The functions of Possessive Adjectives are performed by :

1. the Genitive of the Personal Pronouns
2. special forms with the Adjectival ending *-mo*

There are no special Possessive Pronouns and the use of the Possessive Adjectives or Genitives as Pronouns seems to be avoided, though it is permissible, (see last two examples below). Thus one says:

gute u'ne kita'p bila      *this is thy book*, where in English one might say "*this book is thine*".

1. The Genitives are used where the possessor is not also the subject of the sentence:

i'ne šadære i'ner seibai ki u'ne walum i'ne jut go'čo dibai.i.

*his servant says to him "that lost younger brother of thine has come".*

ja gute tsan bila be? u'ne gute tsan bila.

*is this of mine (i.e. this that I say) true? This of yours is true.*

guse u'ne mai.i bia, mi mai.ibi ke, tsane sen.

*say truly whether this is thine, or whether it is ours.*

besan ja bi ke es u'ne bi      *whatever is mine, that is thine.*

2. The following are average forms of the Possessive Adjectives. It will be noted that the normal First Sing. is based on the independent First Person Pronoun *je*, while the remainder are based on the Prefixal Pronouns. The forms to which *-mo* is added are those of the Corroborative Pronouns:

	Sg.	Pl.
1st. pers.	je'imo, (a.imu, aimu)	mi'mo
2nd. pers.	gu'imo, guyemo, guyumo	mai.imo, maimo

	Sg.	Pl. h & x.
3rd: pers.	m. i'mo, i'imo	} u'imo, u'yumo, u'yumo
	f. mu'imo	
	x & y. i'mo	

(go.imo and mo'imo have also been recorded.)

The 1st sg. a.imu, aimu, occurs only, subject to doubt, in the text written out by Ghani Khan.

These Adjectives are used:

- a. when the possessor is the subject of the sentence.
- b. with the sense of "own" where the possessor is not also the subject of the sentence, but where there is no ambiguity as to whom the adjective refers to.

Examples:

- a. "je'imo gute bušai'ulo menanər ma rai ečā'n ke i'tsu'in" o'simi.  
*he said to them: "marry whomever you please in this country of mine"*.

gu'imo dišər i'lji gar'ts gallop back to thy own place.

i'mo wazir etimi he made him his (own) wazir.

mu'imo ha'lər i'tsumo she carried him off to her house.

mi'mo mi.u kaš o'tiš ame'imaiyan we shall not be able to slay our sons.

mai'imo maiyu altan kaš o'tan ke if you kill your two sons.

u'imo hai yakala'tər gutsəruman they proceeded to their home.

- b. ja je'imo rai.i my own idea, or intention.

i'tse (bu'ondumuts) uyo'na'te i'mo i'k bilum.

*his own name was on all the rings.*

The Genitive of the pronoun may be used in addition as in the last example but one, and in the following:

gute ha ja je'imo bila *this house is my own*

but this is not usual.

### REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS.

144. The Burushaski forms of the Reflexive Pronouns are provided by \*-kər (properly \*-khər), with the appropriate Pronominal Prefix.

	Sg.		Pl.
1st. Pers.	Δk'ər		mikər.
2nd Pers.	gukər		makər, mΔkər.
3rd. Pers.	m. i'kər		
	f. mukər	h & x	u'kər.
	x & y i'kər	y	(i'kər?)

These forms correspond to the English "myself" "thyself" etc. where these are used in the predicate in an Oblique Case and refer to the subject of the sentence.

They occur most frequently in the Accusative Case. The Dative in -ər and the General Oblique in -ε with Dative significance are frequent and so also the form with the suffix -Δηε. Other forms are rare.

Examples :

- Acc.* je Δk'ər han haγuren etam *I made myself into a horse.*  
gukər dε'spas *save thyself, i. e. look out!*  
pu'ra i'kər serke etimi *he showed himself completely.*  
makər xΔla's (etin) *free yourselves.*
- Dat.* Δk'ərər tsil gaiyΔm . . mi ke mik'ərər . . gaiyen *I shall take the water for myself . . . we too shall take it for ourselves.*  
bušai-i uyō'n guk'ərər etuma *you allotted all the land to yourself.*
- Gen. Obl.* i'kəε dumu'tsΔε ganε.  
*in order to bring her for himself (he had made the garden etc.).*  
u'k'əε šī.Δεr xura'ka . . . nukΔn duwΔšaman.  
*taking food for themselves to eat, they went out.*  
tsil Δkəε gaiyΔm *I shall take water for myself.*
- Abl.* Δkərtsum u'ηər guyΔm *I gave it to thee from myself.*  
-Δηε ik'əreηε samba etimi *he thought to himself.*  
muk'əriηε εčubo *she says to herself.*  
(dostsΔkan) šyu'lo ik'əreηε dimΔnimi.  
*the thing came into being of itself in the forge.*
- Δte γΔšil api; gute jaηgaltsum ak'əreε gaiyΔm.  
*there is no firewood (there); I shall take some on myself (i. e. carry some) from the jungle.*

For the reflexive use of \*-Δka v. § 85 VI.



145. It will be seen later (§ 248) that there are certain Transitive Verbs which take Pronominal Prefixes and that these prefixes agree in Number and Person with the Object. When, however, any form of \*-kər is the direct object of one of these verbs, the prefix of the verb assumes the 3rd. person singular form.

So

ja i'ne esqanΔm

*I killed him.*

je go'sqaiyΔm

*I shall kill thee.*

i'ne je Δsqaimi

*he will kill me.*

but

Δk'ər ε'sqai.Δm

*I will kill myself.*

"mi'ri mikər esqai.εn" senu mo "we ourselves shall kill ourselves" she said.

u'kər esqanuman

*they killed themselves.*

146. There is another word which is occasionally used with a Reflexive or Corroborative sense:

\*-dim means *body, person, one individual alone, alone, per person,* and with the suffix -Δte *to one's own account, for oneself.*

gu'ke ɣenΔɳ Δdi'maΔte e'čΔm *I shall appropriate this gold to myself.*

gu'ke ɣenΔɳ gud'i'maΔte maɳiʃ *this gold may be for yourself alone.*

uđi'maΔte a'lta haɳnikuts uca'n *they give them two dishes for themselves.*

ji *life, soul,* is occasionally similarly used:

mu'imo ji'yər ya'ran ditsubo *she has brought a lover for herself.*

It is probably this *ji* which is found in the corroborative *jije.i* v. § 142.

### INDEFINITE PRONOUNS and ADJECTIVES.

147. The principal Indefinite Pronouns and Adjectives are:

menΔn sg. *anyone, someone, any, some.*

men pl. *any, some, anyone.*

amin *anyone, any.*

be *any, some.*

besΔn *anything, something.*

ti used with, men, besΔn etc. adds the sense *other, else.*

beskə + negative            *nothing, no.*

To these may be added:

hin	<i>one (person).</i>
hər hin	<i>everyone (person).</i>
hər han	<i>each one (thing).</i>
tum, tuman	<i>other, another.</i>

It will be seen that the main forms are identical with the corresponding Interrogative Pronouns.

### Note.

The Indefinite Pronouns may of course occur in interrogative sentences, and there may then be difficulty in deciding whether they are in fact indefinite or interrogative. One point, however, frequently makes it plain, the verb in an interrogative sentence which contains no specifically interrogative word takes an interrogative particle as a suffix. This particle is -a, v. § 340.

When therefore the principal verb of a sentence carries this suffix, *men* or *besan* etc. occurring in the sentence are indefinite. If the verb has no such suffix then they are interrogative.

Unfortunately this interrogative -a coalesces with a final -a of the verb, so that where a part of the verb naturally ends in -a it is impossible to say whether the interrogative -a is present or not.

Thus: *besan eča* may be *thou art doing something, art thou doing anything?* or *what art thou doing?*

It is probable that when the interrogative -a is absorbed the resulting final -a is slightly lengthened or accented, but I am not able to assert this as a fact.

In other cases the -a is apparent and provides a criterion, so

besan ečam?	<i>what shall I do?</i>
besan ečama?	<i>shall I do anything?</i>

Of course some other interrogative in the sentence may dispense the verb from taking -a, but such cases are rare in practice. Theoretically at least one could say:

bešel besan ečam?	<i>when shall I do something?</i>
-------------------	-----------------------------------

## 148. men.

*men* generally appears as a Pronoun, but it is occasionally used Adjectivally. The form *men* is plural, but it is frequently used when in English we should use the singular.

In the plural it sometimes takes the suffix *-ik*.

The singular is *mēnan* v. § 43. 5.

I shall refer to the Pronoun in general as *mēn* as that is the form in which it most generally appears.

The following are illustrations of its principal uses:

1. *mēnan*      *anyone*,      *adj.*      *any*.

*mēn*            *any people*.

gan mēnē he.iba'na?            *does anyone (pl.) know the road?*

mentse čimili.eṅ yaiyi ke      *if splinters hit any persons . .*

mēn u'ir'an ke mēnē a'sqaimana?

*if anyone (pl.) dies will anyone (pl.) kill me?*

mēniktsu'm du'mēra?      *hast thou obtained (asked for) it from anyone (pl.)?*

ekatiṅ ya're mēnē le'l numan deluman ke kinər nuqsa'n bila

*if anyone (pl.) knowing this hits him under the armpits he will suffer (suffers) injury.*

*Adj.*

bešel ke amulum musa'fir mēn ɣəribtiṅ ja gute bušai.ər duyan ke . . .

*whenever traveller(s) (or) any poor people from anywhere come to this my country . . .*

2. *mēnan*      *some one*.

*mēn*            *some people*.

čaya mēnər se.imi

*he will tell someone (pl.) about it.*

gute mēnentsu'm daiyela ba

*I have heard this from someone.*

hin mēnanər yu

*give it to someone.*

*Adj.*

baɣeri mēnan hir'ane i'mo altan yu . . . kaš oti ke . . .

*unless some man slays his own two sons . . .*

Note the repetition of the *-an* suffix with the noun, similarly in second last example in sub-para. 4. below.

3. *mən* occurs most frequently *with a Negative*.

*mənən* + neg. + verb.      *not anyone, no one, adj. no*

*mən* + neg. + verb.      *not any people, no people.*

As the conceptions "not anyone" and "no one" are not distinguished in Burushaski, the choice of the equivalent in English in any given case must be determined by the context. Often there is no appreciable difference in the sense:

*mənə adeljumaṇa?*      *will anyone (pl.) kill me? or will some one kill me?*

*bə'se mənələ ɔ'saiya ba?*      *why should I not tell anyone (pl.)?*

*ga'hi mənər čaγa aiyečam*      *I shall never tell anyone about it.*

*mən ayo'ltirumaṭe*      *without having shown it to anyone (pl.).*

*Po'niki Pfurpfor mənə ak'o'su'sṣan*      *may no one (pl.) call thee P. Pf.*

*mənə i'skilər pfut ayeṭi*      *do not look at anyone's face.*

4. The particle *kε* is frequently inserted after the *mən*. Perhaps this renders the negative more emphatic. The idiom seems similar to the Hindustani use of *bhi*:

H. *ko'i bhi' ne a'ya*      *no one came.*

H. *kučh bhi' ne hæi*      *there is none.*

It seems also to coincide with the Shina use of *ga* which like *kε* means "and", "also".

Sh. "ko ga nei watun"      *no one has come.*

*kin ju.a'ṇan mən kε apa'n*      *there are none like him.*

*iṣe mən kε ayo'ltirum*      *having shown it to no one (pl.).*

*in mentsum kε ar emaibam*      *he used to fear no one.*

*yeṇaḡ mənər kε lel ɔ'maimi.*

*the gold will be known to no one, i.e. no one will know about it.*

*Adj.*

*e'ka mənən kε siṣan aṇam*      *there was no man with him.*

*mən thamu'e hukəm apim*      *there was no government of any "thams".*

5. Where *mən* is used in the negative it is sometimes followed by the particle *kuli*. It is difficult to determine the exact meaning of *kuli*, *ku'li*, but it seems to have the general effect of furnishing emphasis like the English "whatever".

*kin mənə kuli delš ay'o'maiman*      *no one (pl.) will be able to kill him.*

uṛ ju.ΔANAN MENAN kuli apai      *there is no one like thee.*  
 MENƏR kuli o'u      *don't give it to anyone (pl.).*

6. **men** (ke) has often the meaning of "other people", "others".

ja dolat xərč eti MENƏR ke u'u      *expend my wealth and give it to others.*  
 guvi ke ši MENƏR ke u'      *eat it thyself and give it to others.*  
 mene ke baldaṅ nuka aščiṅ uyoṅko manitsa  
 (*by*) *carrying (other) people's loads my loins have become big.*

### 149. thi, ti.

*ti* placed before *men* etc. gives "anyone else", "some one else", "any others", "some others".

gute čaya ti MENALE ayeti      *do not tell this to anyone else (pl.).*  
 ti MENENE deli bai      *some one else has killed it.*  
 ti MENE bi.a?      *does it belong to some one else (pl.)?*  
 uṅtsum ti MENEN ke evdilai      *no one else but thee has killed it.*

(Here *ti* may be regarded as a postposition. Cp. § 88.)

ti MENAN yAKAL pfut mumANUMO      *she looked in the direction of some one else.*

### 150. men.

*men* is occasionally used in close connection with a personal pronoun which is perhaps the pronominal prefix. e. g.

mi MEN xAbər apa'n      *none of us know.*  
 uṀMENE deljUMAN ke TAMASA'R ku'li bəreYAM  
*if any of them shall kill it I shall watch the show (?).*

### 151. menik, meniko.

The plur. *men* may take the suffix *-ik*.

meniktsum dusu'a?      *have you got it from anyone (pl.)?*

A form *meniko* is sometimes found, usually in the position of an trans. nominative, sometimes of a genitive:

meniko ke he.iba'n      *people know, all know.*  
 Siṅ meniko kaš eta'n      *some people (or other) have killed Sing.*  
 tsak pfATaṅ meniko eta'n      *some persons have knocked down the water-stop.*

meniko bitsana?                    *does (this wheat) belong to other people?*  
 guse hu'k albat meniko me'mi *this dog must certainly belong to other people.*

I have recorded it once with the dative suffix -ər.

γam api, meniku'ər ke u'            *it is of no consequence, give it to some  
 other people.*

### 152. amin.

*amin* occurs occasionally both as an Indefinite Pronoun and as an Indefinite Adjective. I have not noted any examples of the *x amis* and the *y amit* so used.

amine deli ban (*ms. ba*) ke ese haiyai.iŋ kawa'ntsum di.usin.

*if any of you (?) have killed it, produce the tokens out of (your) bags.*  
 aminane ke he.ibai            *everyone knows.*

amin hirane . . . o'talik yu' . . . kaš o'ti ke ba'dša dyu'eši.

*if any man kills his two sons the king will escape.*  
 hirər aminan jam jama'atan    *some relation of the man's.*

### 153. besan.

*besan* is employed similarly to *men*, but when used pronominally it is always singular.

-an appears to be the suffix -an (§ 43), as the form *besik* has also been recorded. The simple *bes* is seen in *bes + ke* (v. § 154) and the oblique in *besε? Why?* (v. § 164).

The following are illustrations of its principal uses:

1. *besan anything*, adj. *any*.

ja besan gali bi.a?    *has anything of mine (limb, bone) been broken?*  
 besan pfu'lan asba'pan go'pači bi ke ja'r jo  
*if thou hast any bowl or vessel, give it to me.*

2. *besan something*, adj. *some*.

u'ŋ hazar besan gomai.ima    *thou perhaps wilt be able to do something.*  
 besantse de'squš    *let her let it down by something.*  
 besan ne daiya ba    *doing something, i. e. somehow or other, I have come.*  
 hazar besan ila'ječe . . .    *perhaps, by some means . . .*

3. *besan + negative nothing, not anything*, adj. *no, not any*.

besan at'imanimi    *nothing was born.*

besan ako'manuma? *wast thou not able to do anything?*  
 kintse besan thaiyas api *nothing has (any) effect on him.*  
 aku'runtsum da besan ay'e'mai.imi

*he will not be able to do anything more than this (he has done).*  
 ja besantsum ay'eta baiyam *I hadn't made it of anything.*  
 i'ne har'le gur' maltaše besan diš o'manumi  
*in his house no space remained for wheat and ghee.*

axarete guntsulo je ke u'ŋ ba'zxa's besan o'manš  
*at the last day there must be no subject of dispute between me and thee.*  
 e'pači besan duro api *there is no work (left undone) with him.*

4. The particle *ke* may be added after *besan* with a negative verb.  
 kintse besan ke thaiyas api *nothing has any effect on him.*  
 i'ner mene besan ke e'ucam *none used to give him anything.*

5. The word *kuli*, *ku'li* may be used after *besan* as in:

be, besan eti kuli dyu'asas apai.i. This passage is somewhat obscure. I have it glossed in Hindustani: *jo kučh bhi' kira to "whatever he may do (have done)", which makes eti equal etimi, but it seems possible that the phrase may be "besanaṭe kuli" by any means he will not escape.*

6. *ti* placed before *besan* gives *anything else, something else, adj. any other, some other.*

ti besan ayau *don't give me anything else.*  
 ti besan ka't ne ači *give it to me on some (any) other condition (but the context seems to require only "give it to me on any condition you please").*

gutetsum ti besan ila'j api *there is no other remedy but this.*  
 (Here *ti* may be regarded as a postposition.)

7. *hər* *besan* may be used meaning *everything*, but "*besan uyo'n*" is more usual in this sense.

u'ne hər besan xa'tir go'učuman *they will show you every sort of attention.*

Thamu.e besan uyo'nər sa't oča'n *the Thams make them take precedence in everything.*





158. **tum, tu·m, tuman** *other, another.*

*tum* is used of persons, animals and things both as a Pronoun and as an Adjective. It is capable of plural inflection.

h (and x?) *tumišo, ·y tumiŋ.*

tu·man dimi *another (man) came.*

kinetsum tu·man ke jučai *another (man) is coming besides this one.*

je Š. Bahram fat ne tu·man e'tsučam *putting Sh. Bahram aside*  
*I will marry no other.*

tu·m sisan ke di·mi *another person also came.*

tum čuren ditsu *bring another knife.*

tum ganane nu·nin *going by another road.*

tumišo sis duwa·n *others have come.*

tu·miŋ ma·leŋ *other fields.*

*tum* sometimes means *other than, different from*, as in the second example above and in:

ja šaldatum tu·man etimi *he did something other than my order,*  
*i.e. different from what I had ordered.*

## INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS and ADJECTIVES.

## 159. The Interrogative Pronouns and Adjectives are:

men?	pron. <i>who?</i>	adj. <i>what?</i>
sg. menan?		
amin? amin?	pron. and adj.	<i>which one? who?</i> <i>which?</i>
besan?	pron. and adj.	<i>what?</i>
be? (bes?)	pron. and adj.	<i>what? (what?)</i>
beški(en)?	pron. and adj.	<i>of what sort?</i>
bečuk(Δn)?	pron. and adj.	<i>of what sort?</i>
beljuko?	pron. and adj.	<i>of what sort?</i>

160. **men?**

The form *men* is plural; the singular is formed by adding the suffix *-an, -en*. The plural may be reinforced by the suffix *-ik*. The declension is normal:

Nom. Acc.	men		<i>who?</i>	pl.
Trans. Nom.	menε			
Gen.	menε			
Dat.	menər			
Abl.	mentsum		(Nz. gave me: men'etsum).	
Other cases	menale	or	menεε.	
	menate		menεtε.	
	menulo	etc.		
	(Nz. gave me: menε o'pači.)			

The singular menan, menen *who?* sg. is similar, but for the hf forms I was given the following. They do not happen to occur in my texts:

Nom.	menan		<i>who?</i>	sg.	fem.
Gen.	menenmo				
Dat.	m'enenmur				
Abl.	m'enenmutsum				
Other cases	m'enenmu ka		with whom? f.		
	m'enenmu mopači		in the presence of whom? to whom? f.		
	m'enenmule		in the possession of whom? f.		

*men* is used only of human beings.

*men* and *menik* serve as the h pl. of *amin*, *amin* "which"? and may then be used adjectivally. *Amin* has, however, once or twice been recorded as a plural.

Examples:

sg.	uŋ menan ba?	<i>who art thou?</i>
	menan bai Kiser?	<i>who is Kiser?</i>
	kine menan bai?	<i>who is this?</i>
pl.	men herčam?	<i>who were weeping?</i>
	εs menε tsu.a'n?	<i>who have carried it away?</i>
	gute mal menε bila?	<i>whose (pl.) field is this?</i>
	je menər yučam?	<i>to whom (pl.) shall I give it?</i>
	kuε men(ik) ba'n?	<i>who are these?</i>

hin nama'nin menik herča'n ke ite xabər dusu'in

*one of you going bring in information as to who are crying.*

(Dependent Question. Cp. §§ 168 & 467).

*Men* is perhaps seen with a Pronominal Prefix in:  
je deljam, umene deljuman? *I shall slay it, which of them will slay it?*

161. amin, amin? *which?*

This is used under different forms for all categories both as Pronoun and as Adjective. The scheme is:

	h	x	y
sg.	amin	amis	amit.
pl.	men, (amin), menik	amits	amik.

The initial vowel varies between a and ʌ and the stress accent tends to fall on it.

When used as a Pronoun the forms are regular: the hf is declined as an ordinary hf noun:

Nom.	amin
Gen.	aminmo
Dat.	aminmur
Abl.	aminmutsum

The h *amin* seems most often to be used simply as an alternative to *menan*, the general *who?* The difference represented by English "what man?" "which man?" is probably not really recognised in Burushaski.

This is shown by the rarity of the plural of *amin* and by the fact that the x and y forms have to cover both the more general and the restricted senses represented by "what?" and "which?"

Examples:

amin bai?	<i>who is it?</i>
kin amin bai?	<i>which is this? who is this?</i>
guse haɣure daman amin ba?	<i>owner of this horse, who art thou?</i>
aminər yučam?	<i>to which person shall I give it?</i>
amin gus bo?	<i>which woman is it?</i>
menik sisik duwa'n?	<i>what people have come? which people have come?</i>
ma asta'm etin ku'e hərəŋulo amin ɣunikiš, amin daltas bai ke	<i>you decide which among these is evil, which is good (Dependent Question).</i>

*Amin* occurs as hpl. in:

amine deli ba'n ke ye bərenin	see which (of you?) have killed it.
gutse toremutsum amis tsuyas bi?	of these ten (horses) which is to be taken away?
amits tsuyešo ba'n?	which are to be taken away?
je amis haγur dišam?	which horse shall I bring?
amit guntsər jučuma?	on which day wilt thou come?
amit guntsulo hurušam ha'le?	which day shall I stay at home?
kiner ami'k ma'liq yuγunešo (iγunašo?) bitsan? (Nz.)	which fields are to be given to this man?

## 162. besan? what?

*besan* is used only of inanimate things. It is susceptible of the ordinary inflection when used as a Pronoun. It does not occur very frequently as an Adjective.

It appears to be a compound form *bes* + the suffix *-an*. This supposition is supported by the form *besik* which, however, I have only recorded once with a note that it can be used with reference to things such as *tea, rice*, etc. (presumably plurals of quantity). *Besik* does not occur in the texts.

Examples:

As Pronoun:

u'ne gu.i'k besan bila?	what is thy name?
ja ase muda besan bila?	what is the desire of my heart?
besan tsane seya ba?	what am I to say truly?
i'ne i'k je besan o'sam	his name what shall I place? i. e. what name shall I give him?
“haγur” besane i'k bila?	of what is “haγur” the name?
gute ta.a'm besantsum bilum?	of what is this food (made)?
e'sumuts ke e'kin besantsum a'r dusu'am?	
	of what hadst thou brought me the kidneys and liver?

The addition of Case Suffixes sometimes provides:

INTERROGATIVE ADVERBS.

besane hovi suča baiyam?	how was I to bring green vegetables?
(But perhaps besane = besan ne, doing what?)	

bəSANƏR dAMA·bA·n?	<i>why have you come?</i>
bəSANƏR qAU EČA?	<i>why dost thou call me?</i>
ŠAPIK bəSANATƏ dAŋ EČA·n?	<i>with what, or how, are they cooking food?</i>

As Adjective:

MU UŋE bəSAN xi·a·l bila?	<i>now what is thy idea?</i>
MI GUSASTSUM bəSAN fa·ida?	<i>what advantage (would there be) from our telling thee?</i>
i·NE bəSAN bƏREN EČai.i?	<i>what thing is he saying?</i>
UŋE bəSAN aSTA·MAN bila?	<i>what case hast thou?</i>

Its use as Pronoun or Adjective respectively frequently crosses that of English.

It will be remarked that *bəSAN* does not interfere with the noun's taking the suffix *-AN*.

### 163. bɛ, (bɛ) *what?*

*bɛ* is more restricted in use than *bəSAN*. It occurs most frequently as the object of the verb *ɛTAS* and sometimes with *MANA'S* and *SEŋAS*. It is rare as an Adjective.

Examples.

As Pronoun:

JA·R bɛ 'ČA?	<i>what wilt thou do to me?</i>
ET bɛiČAN?	<i>what are we to do with it?</i>
JA bɛ·ɛTAM?	<i>what did I do?</i>
i·NƏR bɛ sɛ·YAM?	<i>what shall I say to him?</i>
bɛ sɛ.iBAI?	<i>what is he saying?</i>
DA KOT bɛ MANIMI?	<i>now what is this that has happened?</i>
bɛ mai.iBA, lɛ AŋA?	<i>what's the matter with thee, father?</i>
JE bɛ a·MANA bA?	<i>what have I been able to do?</i>
bɛ ŠU·MA?	<i>what didst thou eat?</i>

*bɛ* is regularly used with *MANA'S* with the sense of *how?*

GO·K gUYU bɛ mai.iBA·n?	<i>how are thy children?</i>
bɛ gUMai.iBA?	<i>how art thou?</i>

As Adjective:

UŋE bɛ GU·i·K bila?	<i>what is thy name?</i>
---------------------	--------------------------

be hukəm a:r etam            *what order hadst thou given me?*  
 e'se be(san) ran bila?        *what is its colour?*  
 ko't be dəro (duro) bila?    *what affair is this?*

#### 164. bes?

*bes?* does not appear to occur as an independent Pronoun, but its existence is to be inferred from *besan* and from the Interrogative Particle:

bes? *why?*

and from the derived forms:

bese & bēsər "*why?*" "*for what reason?*"

There is also the independent Indefinite Pronoun *bēske* + negative *nothing* v. § 154.

#### 165. beški of what sort? what kind of?

*beški* appears to be primarily an Adjective. When used pronominally it takes the suffix *-an*.

beški.en, bešken

and I have recorded the pl. form *beški.entsik*.

Examples.

As Adjective:

Gilt beški dišan bila?        *what sort of a place is Gilgit?*  
 beški pʃalovik dumərča?      *what kind of grain dost thou want?*  
 uŋ ha'l beški ba?            *in what sort of state art thou? i.e. how are you?*

As Pronoun:

beški.en bai, (bo, bi)?        *what sort of man (woman, thing) is he (she, it)?*  
 ki'n bešken bai?              *what sort of a person is this?*  
 beški.entsik ba'n?            *what sort of people are they?*

#### 166. bečuk of what sort? what sort of?

*bečuk* is exactly similar to *beški*, but it may refer specifically to health:

i'ne sise su'rat bečuk bila?    *what sort of appearance has the man?*  
 hile's bečuk bai?              *how is the boy?*  
 bečukan bo?                    *what sort of a woman is she?*

The word is probably to be seen in the Shina *jek čokij?* *in what manner? of what sort?* (*jek* = Bu. *bε* *what?*, *-ij* suffix = Bu. *-Δtε*, *on*).

167. *bel-* (?)

There is a series of Adjectives:

*beljuko?*

*beljuki.ents?*

*beljukuyo?*

all meaning *what sort of?* which all appear to be plural.

*beljuko gatun beljai?* *what sort of clothes does he wear?*

This *bel-* is doubtless the same as that which appears in *belΔtε?* *how?* Its *-l* may perhaps be related to that of

$\Delta ki'l$  (*a + kh + i + l*), *of this sort, such as this.*

168. **Dependent Questions.**

*men*, *amin*, *bεsan* and *bε* are used in Dependent Questions. In this case the particle *kε* is added after the verb of the dependent clause.

For examples v. § 467.

**QUANTITATIVE PRONOUNS and ADJECTIVES.**

169. Quantitative Pronouns and Adjectives may be divided into:

- a. Simple.
- b. Interrogative.
- c. Comparative and Correlative.

a. SIMPLE.

<i>berrum</i> , <i>beruman</i>	<i>a certain number of, a quantity of.</i>
<i>bu't</i>	<i>much, many.</i>
<i>hi's</i> , <i>hi'san</i>	<i>a large quantity (of), excessive, too much.</i>
<i>kam</i> , <i>kaman</i>	<i>a little, few; less; lesser; too little.</i>
<i>lukan</i>	} <i>a little (quantity of).</i>
<i>pyuwan</i>	
<i>čutan</i>	

*-yo'n	<i>the whole, all.</i>
*-altalik	<i>both.</i>
ki·ruman	<i>some people (out of a large number).</i>

## b. INTERROGATIVE.

be·rum? be·ruman? *how much? how many?*

## c. COMPARATIVE AND CORRELATIVE.

akurum, akuruman	} <i>this much, as much as this, so much.</i>
dakurum (aku·riki)	
te·rum, te·ruman	<i>so much(?), so many(?)</i>
to·rum, to·ruman	<i>so much, that much.</i>
be·ruman . . . . .	<i>as much as . . . . .</i>
. . . . . to·ruman	<i>. . . . . so much.</i>

When used as Pronouns these words join the category (h, x or y) of the noun to which they refer.

## SIMPLE.

**170** be·rum, be·ruman *a certain number of, a certain quantity of, some.*  
(The first vowel is sometimes diphthongised: *be·urum, be·uruman.*)

Both forms occur almost always as Adjectives, but the following single instance indicates that there is no bar to their use as Pronouns:

be·uruman nukutšer *having proceeded a certain amount, i.e. having gone on some distance.*

The form with the -an suffix is the commoner.

With both forms the accompanying noun is normally expressed in the plural when it denotes a multiplicity of objects, but instances occur of the singular being used. With *be·rum* the accompanying noun, when in the singular or of a non-committal form, commonly takes the suffix -an. Cp. § 43. 6

Examples:

be·rum den	(for) <i>a number of years.</i>
be·rum guntsiq ni·mi	} <i>a certain number of days passed.</i>
be·ruman „ „	



This last is a stock phrase.

be·rum sa·nimo (i.e. sa + an + mo)	<i>after some months.</i>
be·rum kutsan ni·mi	<i>a certain number of days passed.</i>
be·rum kutsantsum	<i>after some days.</i>
be·rum denantsum	<i>after some years.</i>
be·ruman deniņtsum	<i>after a certain number of years.</i>
be·ruman pfutu·e i·ne ni·en	<i>some Divs taking him.</i>
be·ruman waxt xa·šiņar	<i>up to (i.e. for) some time.</i>
be·ruman pfute dolat	<i>a certain quantity of the Div's property.</i>

We have the noun in the singular though its significance is plural in:

be·uruman nokar n·uyen *taking (with him) a number of servants.*

In the next example it is used as an Adverb, or else the adj.

mata·n *far, distant* is used as a noun:

yenči·ar be·uruman mata·n gutsəruman.

*they proceeded some distance to meet (him).*

I have the form *be·re*, not otherwise attested, in:

be·re kutsantsum de·šqaltimi *after a number of days he arrived.*

Also: be·rukutsan and be·rusan.

### 171. bu·t *much, many.*

*Bwt* is the ordinary Adjective, also used as an Adverb, *very*.

It may mean "greater", "larger", "bigger" as in *bwt pači* "the bigger share, or portion".

It can probably be used pronominally, but I cannot quote an example.

### 172. hi·š, hi·šan *a large quantity, a lot, abundant, excessive too much.*

Of these two forms *hi·šan* is the commoner. Its use seems ordinarily to be pronominal rather than adjectival.

tsil, mel hi·šan dusu *bring a lot of water, wine.*

je hi·šan amulum dišam? (x).

*where am I to get a bigger (or a large) (present) from?*

hi·šan gaš bila *it is an excessive price, it's too dear.*

uṅər hiš maṇi'la (y)      *you have got too much (of the land).*  
 hiš      *it's lots.*

It may be used adverbially:

hišān gəru'rum      *excessively hot.*

**173. kAM, kAMAN** *a little, a few, less, lesser, too little, deficient.*

This is no doubt the Persian word *kAM*. It is used both as Pronoun and Adjective, also as an Adverb, *little, not very*. It covers all the ground of the English "a little", and extends beyond it.

Pronoun:

bušai i uyō'n gukərer etuma, ja'r kAM etuma      *thou hast allotted all the land to thyself, thou hast allotted me too little (less than my share).*  
 yeṇiše gaštsum kAMAN ačima (y).  
*thou hast given me less than the price of the gold.*

kAMAN nišin (x)      *having eaten a little.*

Adjective:

kAM pači      *the lesser share.*

uṅtsum je kAM ap'a      *I am not less than thou, not inferior to thee.*  
 i'te wa'xtulo sinda kAM bilum

*at that time the river was low (i. e. there was little water in it).*

kAMAN sis      *a few people.*

kAMAN γuto'pus      *a small, slight, depression.*

Adverb:

kAM deye'ljam      *he used to hear little (i. e. his hearing was defective).*

**174. lukAN** *a little, cp. Shina lukuk a little.*

In part duplicates *kAMAN* and is used as an adjective, an adverb and a pronoun.

čap lukAN gan      *get a little meat.*

lukAN šapik      *a little (bit of) bread.*

lukAN ja'r ači.a (y)      *give me a little (bread, giyal, y).*

**175. pyuwan, pyu'an** *a little.*

pyuwan xurk (ypl.) aγun      *give me a little bhoosa.*

biške (ypl.) pyu'an iγunimi      *he gave him a little hair.*

176. čutan a little (of liquids).

čutan tsil, čutan del a little water, a little oil (lit. a drop?).

177. \*-altalik, \*-altalik, \*-altik both, the two of. Cp. § 130.

I have been told that the form \*-altik exists, but it does not occur in my texts. It would correspond as a plural to *altan*.

\*-altalik is used both as a Pronoun and an Adjective. That it is originally a Pronoun is made probable by the following facts:

1. that it usually follows the noun to which it refers.
2. that it takes the pronominal prefixes (in which only a few adjectives resemble it, the principal being \*-yo'n all, and \*-yo'n may also be originally a Pronoun.
3. that it carries the suffix *-ik* which is rarely used with adjectives and apparently only when they are more or less noun-equivalents.

\*-altalik is naturally always plural and it follows that it takes only the plural pronominal prefixes:

These forms are:

1st pl.	me'talik	<i>we two, both of us.</i>
2nd pl.	ma'talik	<i>you two, both of you.</i>
3rd pl.	o'talik	<i>they two, both of them.</i>

Examples:

o'talike sulam'a dunuman *the two of them wrestled.*

o'talik riza numan *the two of them agreeing.*

More often \*-altalik immediately follows and resumes the noun or nouns, pronoun or pronouns to which it refers:

ma ma'talik ju'in *you two, or both of you, come.*

ja jama'at ke je me'talik riza nimi'man.

*my wife and I, both of us, agreeing.*

Šahri Banu ke mu'mi o'talik bur't xuš u'manuman

*Sh. B. and her mother were both greatly pleased.*

je ke un ke miyu' o'talik *I and thou and both our sons.*

Occasionally it precedes a noun:

amin hirane . . . o'talik yu kaš o'ti ke . . .

*if some man slays both his (two) sons.*

ku'e o'talik guyu'e u.i.kičinik o's *give names to both these sons of thine.*

178. \*-yo'n, uyo'n *all, the whole.*

Like \*-*altalik*, which it closely resembles in use, \*-*yo'n* is probably to be regarded as essentially a Pronoun. Even where used apparently as an Adjective it takes case inflection.

While the noun remains uninflected, e. g.

məɾakɑ uyo'nulo *in the whole court, assembly.*

It is used both pronominally and adjectivally and takes of course only the plural pronominal suffixes. The forms are:

(mi)	miyo'n, mi.o'n	<i>we all, all of us.</i>
(ma)	maiyo'n	<i>you all, all of you.</i>
(u'ε)	uyo'n	<i>they all, all of them, all the . . . , the whole of the . . .</i>

Used adjectivally \*-*yo'n* usually follows the noun which it qualifies, but it may perhaps precede it on occasion. The generalised form \*-*uyo'n* can be used with a singular, noun when the sense is *all the . . . , the whole of the . . .* e. g.

bal uyo'n *all the marrow.*

Examples:

As Pronoun.

mi.o'nε ha'kičɑnɑtε bu'č fat εčɑn *let us let him go free as a he-goat  
about the houses of all of us.*

lɛl bai mi.o'nər *he is known to us all.*

maiyo'nε yešuman *you will all see.*

uyo'n duɾljɑman *all were satisfied.*

uyo'nε "mi ake'yan" senuman *all said "we do not know".*

ya'rε ta u uyo'n ma'l u'mi *further he gave property to the whole  
hundred of them.*

kuə uyo'ntsum gutε diš šura ja'r ači'ma *this place thou hast given  
me is better than (what thou hast given to) all these (other people).*

tsil ite buɾltsum u'ε uyo'nɑtε ganuman o'yenuman *they took water  
from that spring and made all carry it (syntax doubtful).*

u'ya'riki u'ya'tiki uyo'n tai.a'r o'tam *he made them get ready under  
and upper bedding complete.*

Here *uyo'n* seems to resume as a Pronoun the preceding nouns.

As Adjective (with noun or pronoun).

tsər uyo'n bik maNuman *all the guards were afraid.*

wazirtiŋ ke Δka'birtiŋ uyo'n d'aldi.en *all the wazirs and elders  
standing up.*

ike uyo'n nukān *taking all the things (grain and ghee).*

In an Oblique base.

mal uyo'nulo ε'birāqimi *he made him dig through the whole field.*

ho'l uyo'ne haha εtuman *the whole army charged.*

Thamu'ε besan uyo'nər sa't očān *the Thams make them take prece-  
dence in everything.*

taP uyo'ne *all the night.*

Note the singular noun in three out of the last four examples.

179. The Static Participle of the verb "to be" (v. § 390) may be used with \*-yo'n giving the sense of *all present, all there is (or was)*.  
hir sis baman uyo'nər thame qau εčai *the Tham summons all the  
male persons (there are).*

maltaš biluman uyo'n *all the ghee there was.*

Examples of \*-yo'n preceding the noun are rare and doubtful. One can say, I believe:

uyo'n šapik šimi *he ate all the bread.*

In the following uyo'n is perhaps related to εke rather than to the following noun.

ja εke uyo'n gur ke maltaš *all that (those) wheat and ghee of mine.*

180. ki·ruman *some people (out of a large number).*

I have noted only two examples of this in my texts:

da ki·rumane Aiešo Malik sire ka bam se.iba'n *again, some people  
say that A. M. possessed magical powers.*

ki·rumane nimen nu'dilin taq o'čān *let some of us go and beat them  
and smash them up.*

INTERROGATIVE.

181. be·rum? be·ruman? *how much? how many?*

*beruman* is usually an Adjective but can be used pronominally.

I have no example of *berum* as a Pronoun.

## Examples:

berum den nimi?	how many years have passed?
berum deniņtsum?	during, for, how many years?
berum denkus ba?	what age art thou?
ki'ne hiles berum denkuse bai?	of what age is this boy?
kine umər berum me.imi?	what will his age be?
berum he'si?	how many times?
mi ine aya beruman duroskuyor šapik uče.i?	to how many workmen does that father of mine give food?
beruman sis ba'n? } sis beruman ba'n? }	how many people are there?
beruman maska bila?	how much butter is there?
bras beruman bitsan?	how much rice is there?
čap beruman bila?	how much meat is there?
šapik beruman bi?	how much bread is there?

Where *beruman* as a pronoun is the subject of a verb the form of the verb is determined by the nature of the antecedent noun:

beruman u'i'ruman	how many (persons) have died?
beruman (pfitimuts) bi.en?	how many (pieces of bread) are there?

*Dependent Question.*

gute (γeniš) beruman bila ke u'ŋ bəren look and see how much this gold is.

## COMPARATIVE and CORRELATIVE.

182. akurum, akuruman Pronoun and Adjective, *this much, as much as this, so much, all this.*

ya akuruma? is there this much? (i.e. is that all you have to say?)

awa tsu, akurum manimi yes, take it. It has come to so much (as this).

ye akurumtsum čaγa apači api now I have nothing more to say than this.

akurumtsum da besan ay'e'mai.imi.

he will be unable to do anything more than this.

akuruman γenaŋ a'r jama'ate dotsai.i.

my husband has sent me this much (i.e. all this) gold.

akuruman čaγan bilum.

there was this much story (i.e. this is what there was to tell).

pa'dša akuruman gu'r gukərər xərč et'a.

*thou hast expended all this wheat of the King's for thyself.*

bəruman maltaş bila? akuruman bila.

*how much of the ghee is there? There is this much.*

akuruman haγur besan dərka'r bi'en? *what need is there for so many horses?*

There is a form **ḍakurum**, **ḍakurum** with the same meaning. I have it only in the common formula used at the end of a story:

čaya daku'rum bila *the story is this much.*

There is a further variant **aku'riki** occurring only once in my texts: pa'dša'ale se'yam čap aku'riki go'iči *I shall tell the king and he will make thy flesh (into little bits) like this (indicating by a sign with the fingers).*

**183. te'rum, te'ruman** *so much, so many.*

ama te'ruman mu'to šaṅ men aiy'eč'a'n.

*but people do not pay so much attention to it nowadays.*

In the following the meaning seems to be "a certain number of", and "te'rum" was perhaps a mis-writing for "be'rum".

te'rum guntsiṅər Kiser de'šqaltimi.

*in a certain number of days Kiser arrived there.*

These are the only simple examples I can quote, but the Dative form is in constant use:

te'rumaner *at that point, upon that, thereupon*  
indicating immediate sequence of action.

**184. to'rum, to'ruman** *so much, so many.*

I can quote only one example from my texts, and in it the exact meaning of *to'rum* is dubious; it probably means "so much (as there was)", "all that there was".

i'se pfu't to'rum ma'l ni'en huma'r gi'imi.

*the Div taking up all the property entered the ford.*

Otherwise I owe *to'ruman* to Nazar, who equated

t'o'ruman with Hindustani utna, *that much.*

ak'u'ruman " " itna, *this much.*

to'ruman ači *give me so much, that much.*

Nazar also gave as Correlatives:

be·ruman . . . ke . . . to·ruman      *as much as . . . so much.*

be·ruman daγo·an u·nale bitsa ke to·ruman uyo·n ja·r aγun.

*as much flour as thou hast, so much all give to me, i.e. give me all the flour you have.*

be·ruman go·me.iba ke to·ruman . . . *as much has thou canst, so much . . .*

(Hindustani: jitna tujhse ho·sakta . . . utna).

## RELATIVE PRONOUNS.

### 185. Simple Relative.

The simple Relative, represented in English by *who, which, that*, can scarcely be said to exist in Burushaski. It cannot be established by the following single example:

u·ne kinε jut gu.i di·mi amine u·ne daulat γunikiš duro·iγulo e·rimi

— u·ne i·ne gane u·ne yu·šam bušošo kaš o·tuma.

*this young son of thine has come who has got rid of thy property in evil works — thou for him hast made them slay thy fattened calf.*

This example is from Nazar's rendering of the "Prodigal Son" based on the Urdu version. In Imam Yar Beg's rendering there is no Relative.

The same problem of translation curiously enough induced the use of the Interrogative Pronoun as a Relative in both Shina and Khowar, neither of which normally exhibits a construction with a simple relative pronoun.

The lack of a Relative is made good by various syntactical devices. V. §§ 460—461.

### 186. Indefinite Relatives.

There is another series of Relatives, sometimes called General or Compound Relatives, which are represented in English by *whoever, whichever, whatever* (Lat. *quicumque* etc.).

These can frequently be resolved into *anyone who* etc., and in any case are indefinite. I therefore call them Indefinite Relatives.



This series has a parallel in Burushaski in which the forms of the Interrogative or Indefinite Pronouns are used with the particle *ke* subjoined to the following verb:

men(Δn)	. . . ke	<i>whoever.</i>
amin(Δn) etc.	. . . ke	<i>whoever, whichever.</i>
bəsan	. . . ke	<i>whatever.</i>

This formula of course equally renders the English

“if, or when, anyone . . .” “if or when, anything . . .”

and the sense in any given case must be deduced from the context. The practical values of “whoever” and “if anyone” are, however, not always widely separated, and it is not always easy to determine which is intended:

mentse pfu't mamai.iba'n ke i'ne itsu'in.

*whomever you fall in love with, take him, or, if you fall in love with anyone (pl) take him.*

gute čaya mene go'r eta'n ke u'e guwa'tiŋ dutsa.

*whoever have told you this story, bring them as witnesses.*

gute šakale banda'n menan gute gan yakala'te di.ε ke fat aiye'tin.

*whatever human being of this appearance comes this way, don't let him pass, or, if any human being of this appearance etc.*

ki'ne hi're ha'le menan bo ke je mutsučam.

*whoever is in that man's house, I shall marry her.*

ki'ne menan bai.i ke bu't ni'k baxtan di.a.

*whoever this is he has come as a bringer of great good luck.*

Examples of this use are commoner in the case of *amin* etc.

amin gu.i'ε goxakin goyerum bo ke ite tsil inemur muči.

*whichever daughter-in-law of thine (wife of thy son) is (most) beloved of thee, give the water to her.*

u'ŋ amin ba ke . . . ja gatun a'yun *whoever thou art, give me my clothes.*

aminan i'ne mazərete du'simi ke i'ne yu'tis ya išak galjilum.

*whoever climbed on his grave his leg or arm used to break, or, if anyone . .*

(hi'ri) ya' amit ha'lər ni'mi ke o'ničam.

*men would not go to whichever house the bear went to, or, to any house the bear went to.*

*BESAN* is frequently so used :

BESAN UŃE SE.IBA KE JE GURČAM      *I will give thee whatever thou sayest.*  
 UŃE BESANƏR RAI EČA KE ASO      *whatever thou desirest tell me.*  
 GUTE ASTAM BESAN BILA KE ER ETIN      *whatever this case is settle it for him.*  
 ASO BESAN ČAƳAMIŃ BITSA KE      *tell me whatever things there are to say.*  
 BESAN YUŃJI.ƏN YETSAI KE YE ETI.A UŃ.

*now pray tell (me) whatever dream he has had (seen).*

In the following the sense seems more definite :

HIK KE SEN BESAN SE.IBA KE.

*say once again what thou sayest (i.e. what thou hast just said).*

## NUMERALS.

187. Burushaski possesses both Cardinal and Ordinal Numbers.

The Cardinals are used both adjectivally and pronominally, and so presumably also the Ordinals.

The main features of the Cardinals may be stated summarily as follows :

1. The numbers 4 to 10 have two forms, one of which is used accompanying or representing all ordinary nouns whether h, x or y; the second is used with certain nouns only, principally ones denoting units of measurement, and for actual counting: 1, 2, 3, 4 etc. These second I call "z forms".
2. Each of the numbers 1 to 3, besides a z form, has an additional special form for use with, or of, h nouns.

The number 2 has differentiated forms for x and y, but the y form is ordinarily used as a z form.

3. The numbers 11 to 19 are expressed by a form of 10 plus 1, 2, 3, etc.
4. The basis of reckoning from 20 to 99 is the score, e.g. the number 55 = "two score fifteen" (as in Shina and Khovar).

188. The following are the forms of the Cardinals, according to Imam Yar Beg and to my texts. Forms in brackets have been added on analogy to fill blanks in the record :

	h	x	y	z
1.	hin	han	han	hik, hi.
2.	a·ltan	a·lta, (a·lta·ts)	a·lto	a·lto, a·lti.
3.	i·sken	usko		i·ski.
4.	wa·lto			wa·lti, walti, wa·l.
5.		tsundo		tsindi.
6.		miši·ndo		miši·ndi, miši·n.
7.		talo		tale.
8.		a·lt'ambo		a·lt'ambi, a·ltam.
9.		hunčo		hunti.
10.		to·rumo		to·rimi.
11.	turma hin	turma han		turma hik.
12.	turma a·ltan	turma a·lta	turma a·lto	turma a·lto.
		turma a·lta·ts		
13.	turma i·sken	turma usko		turma i·ski.
14.		turma wa·lto		(turma wa·lti).
15.		turma tsundo		turma tsindi.
16.		turma miši·ndo		turma miši·ndi.
17.		turma talo		(turma tale).
18.		(turma a·ltambo)		(turma a·ltambi).
19.		to·rema hunčo		to·rema hunti.
20.	a·ltəran	a·ltər	a·ltər	a·ltər.
21.	a·ltər hin	a·ltər han		a·ltər hik.
24.		a·ltər wa·lto		a·ltər wa·lti.
29.		a·ltər hunčo		(a·ltər hunti).
30.		a·ltər to·rumo.		
40.		a·ltuwa·ltər.		
50.		a·ltowa·ltər to·rumo (Nz).		
60.		i·ski a·ltər.		

	h	x	y	z
70.		i'ski a'ltər	tō'rumo.	
80.	wa'lti a'ltəran	wa'lti a'ltər.		
90.		wa'lti a'ltər tō'rumo	wa'lti a'ltər tō'rimi.	
100.	tha (ta?).	1100.	turma hik tha.	
200.	a'lto tha.	1200.	turma a'lto tha.	
400.	(wa'lti tha).	2000.	a'lto sa's.	
500.	tsindi tha.	4000.	wa'lti sa's, wa'lti sa's.	
900.	hunti tha.	5000.	tsindi sa's.	
1000.	sa's.			

### 189. Variants.

There is in many cases the usual uncertainty as regards length and quality of vowels e.g.

a' || a      i || ɪ      u || ʊ.

I have occasionally maš'i'ndo for miš'i'ndo.

In the compounds of tō'rumo (sometimes tō'rimo) Imam Yar Beg has almost always turma-, while from Nazar I got tō'rema with the z forms e.g.

tō'rema hik, tō'rema i'ski

and also in tō'rema'lta, beside

tō'rumo han, (tō'rumo usko) and tō'rumo a'lto.

For 40 IYB had both a'ltuwa'ltər and a'ltowa'ltər. Nazar gave a'ltu a'ltər.

For 100 I inclined to write tha, but I am not sure of the aspiration and often wrote ta', and occasionally it sounded as ta.

### 190. The z forms.

The use of the z forms presents some difficulties. The following points are to be noted:

- i. They are used in counting 1, 2, 3, 4, etc. and may therefore be regarded as more abstract than forms which may be proper to only one or two of the three classes h, x, and y.
- ii. In general they are employed with, or in place of, nouns denoting measurement or connected with counting, but there are exceptions.

- iii. They are used as multipliers e.g. iski a'ltər *three score, sixty*.
- iv. The forms of the Ordinals are based on them.
- v. They are used to express the days of the month.

With some nouns z forms are invariably used, e.g. den *year*; with some there seems to be a sort of vacillation, e.g. sa *month*; with others there is some degree of option.

191. The following examples illustrate these remarks:

The only certain examples I can give of option in the use of z and non-z forms involve only hik and haŋ, and a'lti as an alternative for a'lto.

haŋ hisa(n) and hik hisa      *one month.*

Of these only the former occurs in my texts.

haŋ bada'n and hik bada      *one pace, step.*

tsundo, talo badaŋ      *five, seven paces.*

I have always haŋ gunts, but once hik pronominally for hik gunts.

I was also given usko tsup as well as iski tsup *three finger-breadths*, but I do not feel confident about this.

So far as my examples go it is not clear that there is any difference in the sense produced by the use of different forms.

Thus it appears that at least in certain cases usage is not stereotyped, and this may point to some weakening in the perception of an originally more clearly defined distinction.

The word "hisa" *month* is interesting. Hi=hik seems to have become amalgamated with sa and then to have lost its force. There is said to be a plural hisamiŋ.

A similar case is perhaps to be seen in "hiçuti" a grain-measure, which is said to have a plural hiçutimiŋ.

The adverb "hitha'nər, hitha'ne" *at one place*, of which haŋ dišanər is given as an equivalent, may also be noted. There must surely also be a connection between

hikulto *one day*, kulto *today*, hipulto *day after tomorrow* and yarbulto *day before yesterday*,

all apparently being based on a word bulto, or ulto.

Nouns to which z-form numerals are attached usually appear in

the singular, but those that possess plural forms may use them. Sometimes one finds the singular form with the -AN suffix.

So one has aʎto čuk, aʎto čukiŋ and aʎto čuqAN (with this last compare berrum denantsum, berrum kutsantsum v. § 170).

The z forms themselves do not take -AN (but v. Vocab. s.v. hekAN).

The z forms precede the noun. The only exception noted is with turk *a division of the night*

turk aʎto *two watches (?) before dawn.*

192. Z forms have been found with the following nouns in addition to those already mentioned:

bΔbər	<i>like share.</i>	pəri (sa)	<i>a division of time.</i>
bΔja	<i>hour (of clock).</i>	qΔš	<i>cubit.</i>
bΔsa	<i>night's halt.</i>	roʎm	<i>tribal community, tribe</i>
dΔm	<i>moment (?)</i>		<i>(h pl.).</i>
denkus	<i>age, aged (?)</i>	saʎΔt	<i>hour.</i>
gΔla	<i>herd (x pl.).</i>	sərmuts	<i>large leather bag for</i>
gΔlt (gΔlči)	<i>turn, occasion.</i>		<i>grain.</i>
girΔm	<i>community (h pl.).</i>	šau	<i>blow.</i>
jaʎkər	<i>-forked, -branched.</i>	sər	<i>"seer", 2 lbs. weight.</i>
jaʎti, jəti	<i>measure for grain.</i>	tišči	<i>span (measure).</i>
maʎso	<i>share, turn (of forced</i>	aʎto traq	<i>in 2 halves, split in</i>
	<i>labour).</i>		<i>two.</i>
maʎməs (?)	<i>kick, buck.</i>	{ tsir,	<i>set of clothes.</i>
naʎ (hər)	<i>yoke of oxen.</i>	{ tsir	<i>a share.</i>

The following examples will illustrate the use of the z forms and at the same time throw light on peculiarities of certain of the nouns concerned.

193. den.

hik dene	<i>one year (adverbial).</i>
taʎe denulo	<i>during the course of seven years.</i>
aʎto dentsum	<i>after two years.</i>
aʎto iski deniŋsum	<i>after 2 or 3 years.</i>
turma tsindi deniŋ	<i>fifteen years.</i>

## 194. hik.

The independent adverbial use of hik *one time, once*, hik ke *once more* is to be noted.

This may sometimes explain apparently anomalous uses of hik.

One would so explain:

hik šau netan esqanai. *striking him once he killed him: had we not,*  
 hik šau et'ama, a'lto šau et'ama? *had he struck one blow, had he*  
*struck two blows?*

which shows that hik is here the z numeral; this still leaves it to be explained why šau *blow* should take the z numeral.

But for the analogy of šau one might assume that hik maqnesan eta meant: *just once give a buck*, rather than *give one buck*.

Note the phrase:

hik nika bilumane gatun *the clothes of a once-married (person), or*  
*the clothes of a person of whom there has been one marriage.*

The adverbial expressions: hik dam *immediately, forthwith*  
 and hik nala *all at the same time*

are also to be noted.

## 195. heši, he-ši.

heši means *times*.

a'lto heši *twice*.

wa'lti heši *four times*.

Thence a'lto he-ši comes to mean "twice as much", "double", "two shares":

hik uər u' a'lto he-ši ja'r jo  
*give them one share and give me two, or double.*

a'lto traŋ, a'lto ba'go and a'lto bəbər are also used in this sense.

196. -kuts *days*. a'ltul *two days*.

The special form for *two days* a'ltul gives

a'ltulanmo *after 2 days*.

a'ltulum ju *come after 2 days*.

a'ltululo *for, during, 2 days*.

wa·lkuts	<i>for four days.</i>
wa·lkutsan	<i>a period of four days.</i>
wa·lkutsatsum	<i>after four days.</i>
i·ski kutsum	<i>after three days.</i>
miš·iṅkuts	<i>six days. (Morgenstierne got miš·iṅuts.)</i>
ta·lɛ kutsum	<i>after seven days.</i>
alta·ṅuts	<i>eight days, seems to be a reduction of a·ltankuts.</i>
a·ltuwa·lter kutsulo	<i>for forty days.</i>

197. -kum *set, pair.*

-kum provides the regular word for "pairs" of shoes etc.

wa·lkum hu·čo *four pairs of "paboos".*

i·skikum bu·tišo *three pairs of boots.*

hikum similarly means "one pair".

hikum da·mal *a pair of kettle-drums*

but it also has a much wider extension of meaning, denoting any entity consisting of a combination of individual beings and so *set, party.*

hikum sisik *a party of men, a few persons.*

hikum guš·iṅentsik *a few women.*

u·ɛ hikum *that party (of people).*

hikum du·wa·lāšo ja·nawərik um·nimi·ɛ.

*they became a flock of flying animals, i. e. birds.*

The multiple isikum occurs in conjunction with the words ro·m and qaum *tribe, clan.*

iski ro·m *the three tribes.*

iskikum ro·m *the three tribal sets, or bodies.*

The latter phrase perhaps recognises each tribe as being a composite body.

198. tsup *a finger's breadth.*

tsupan *one finger's breadth.*

hik tsup(an) could probably also be used, but there is a tendency to allow the -an to take the place of any formal numeral as in English "a" serves for "one".



So:	hišan	one month.
	tu'kan	one "tu'k".
	pəri.ən sa	one "pəri sa".

tha *one hundred* and sa's *one thousand* dispense even with the -an.

### 199. sa month.

miši'n samo	<i>after six months.</i>
cp. be'rum sanimo	<i>after some months.</i>
where the -n- is for -an, as in:	
hišan ya a'lto'san	<i>one months or two months.</i>

### 200. Other Examples.

a'ltuwa'ltərtsum hik	bas(k) huru'tuma ke	<i>if thou sittest for one more than forty (days).</i>
turma hik tha.		<i>1100.</i>
a'lto traq o'timi		<i>he cut them (horse and man) in two halves.</i>
a'lto jakur šərko		<i>forked branches, but from context apparently a forked stem of a tree.</i>
hamalə i'ski.ulo		<i>on the 3rd. of (the month of) Hamal.</i>
i'skiər		<i>at the 3rd. time, on the 3rd. occasion.</i>
wa'lti giram		<i>the four village communities.</i>
walti p'alo		<i>four (measures of) grain.</i>

I think that the numbers *iski* to *talə* can be similarly used and that the word *jeti* is understood.

altambi jeti	=	24 lbs.
tsindi sa's		5000 (servants)
miši'ndi 'e'ərumər		<i>six o'clock having struck.</i>
talə hal hər		<i>seven yoke of oxen.</i>
to'rimi baja xa		<i>up to 10 o'clock.</i>
Sərata'n turma tsindi.ər		<i>(or tsindi.ulo) on the 15th. of the month of Seratan.</i>
ta kutsulo		<i>for 100 days.</i>
turma tsindi deniṅ		<i>fifteen days.</i>
a'ltər wa'lti qaš pači		<i>24 cubits of cotton cloth.</i>
ta qaš qa'r		<i>100 cubits of shawl-cloth.</i>

**201. The H, X and Y forms.**

The only specially h forms are those of the numerals one, two and three:

hin	one
a'ltan	two.
i'sken	three.

For the last there is an alternative form i'ski of which, however I have only two examples. This is doubtless identical with the sole h form given by Biddulph, iske.

The form iske was obtained by EOL. in Nagiri and by Leitner in Werchikwar.

ku'e u.i'ski nala dumΔnumΔn *these three sons were born at the same time.*

ku'e u.i'skü'e dΔmumuts hΔn hΔn nu'ye'n *these three men each taking a stick.*

In the last case the h form i'skene is given as an alternative.

The only form peculiar to x is that of the numeral "two"

a'lta (and a'lta'ts).

**202. For the numerals 4 to 10 one form serves for h, x and y.**

a'lta'r and its multiples i'ski a'lta'r and wa'lta' a'lta'r are invariable.

The multipliers, it may again be noted, here and with the 100 and sa's 1000 are z.

The numbers 1 to 10 when forming the *final* element of a compound number continue to vary in form according to the class of the noun to which they relate, exactly as they do when used alone.

**203. The final -n in hin, hΔn, a'ltan and i'sken is presumably the same as the suffix -Δn (v. § 43) hence they cannot take a further addition of that suffix.**

Nor do the x and y forms a'lta, a'lto and usko appear ever to take -Δn.

If one may judge from an incomplete series of examples the h, x and y forms of the remaining primary numbers, 4 to 10, and the number 20 can take the suffix -Δn. Final -o is usually preserved as -u-, or -uw- but I have

to'ruman as well as to'rumu.Δn.

In some of the few examples where the forms with -Δn are used with h nouns they follow the noun.

204. The x form for 2, a'ltarts, I know only from one instance in my texts

turma a'ltartsatsum talo xa (tsir)      *from 12 to 7 (goats).*

Here, it will be observed it is pronominal. The same passage contains

turma a'lta tsir      *twelve goats.*

(Biddulph gives a'ltarts as the only "masculine" form, i.e. x form; and the L. S. I. and Leitner say the same for Werchikwar.)

205. \*-Altalik, \*-Altik    *both, the two.*

These forms are based on a'lto and by meaning are closely allied to the Numerals, but they have been already fully dealt with (v. § 177).

Another variant of a'lto is a'ltu *twins, twin-*. This is used of both human beings and animals.

The use of pron. prefixes in a few instances with the Cardinal numbers has been mentioned in § 133.

### USE of the NUMERALS.

206. The h, x and y forms when used pronominally can take the case suffixes. When they are used adjectivally, if the accompanying noun has a separate form for the plural that form is used.

Examples:

- |      |                          |  |
|------|--------------------------|--|
| 1. h | hin nama'nin             | <i>one of you going . . . . .</i>        |
| h    | hin gasan bo'm           | <i>there was a princess.</i>             |
| x    | han tsir bi              | <i>there is a goat.</i>                  |
| y    | han taxtanete            | <i>on a litter.</i>                      |
| y    | han guntsanulo           | <i>one day.</i>                          |
| y    | han hisan                | <i>one month.</i>                        |
| 2. h | u'e a'ltan sis           | <i>those two persons.</i>                |
| h    | a'ltan sisik             | <i>two persons.</i>                      |
| h    | a'ltan hi'ri             | <i>the two men.</i>                      |
| h    | guyumo a'ltan isken guyu | <i>thy own 2 or 3 sons.</i>              |
| h    | gu'utsəro a'ltan         | <i>thy two uncles.</i>                   |
| x    | a'lta i'skumuts bi.en    | <i>there are two young ones (lambs).</i> |

- x a'lta hunze *two arrows.*  
 y a'lto ɣumɔriŋ *two holes.*  
 As Pronouns:  
 h mɛn a'ltaŋ *any two men.*  
 h sɛrmutsulo a'ltaŋɛ utibaŋ *the two men had filled (the grain)  
 into the bag.*  
 x bi kɛ haŋ belis, a'lta amulum duʃ'a? *there is one sheep how  
 do you get the (other) two?*
3. h isken ɣuʃiŋɛnts *three women.*  
 x usko huyɛs *three goats.*  
 x usko girimuts *three marks (targets).*  
 y usko ha'kičaŋ *three houses.*  
 As Pronouns:  
 h kuɛ u.i'ski *these three persons (v. § 133).*  
 h i'sken baŋ *they were three (persons).*
4. h wa'lto hi'ri *four men.*  
 h aštaiyo wa'ltoɰaŋɛ ka *with four grooms.*  
 x wa'lto huyɛs *four goats.*  
 x wa'lto daiyo *four stones.*  
 y wa'lto ɣuntsiŋulo *for four days.*  
 y wa'lto yu'tiŋ *four feet.*
5. h uɛ tsundo ayu *those five sons of mine.*  
 x huyɛs wa'lto tsundo *4 or 5 goats.*  
 x tsundo haŋikuts *five bowls.*  
 y tsundo ha'kičaŋtsuŋ *from five houses.*  
 y wa'lto tsundowaŋ diltariŋ *4 or 5 (bowls of) buttermilk.*
6. h uɛ u'mišindo ɛrɛʃuɛ bandobas ɛtumaŋ *those 6 sons-in-law of  
 his made arrangements (v. § 133).*  
 h ɣuse pfu't mi mišindo numa dɛljaŋ *we being 6 (shall) beat this Div.  
 (with all x and y nouns as for tsundo five).*
7. h talo yu'ɣuʃants *his seven daughters.*  
 x talo taljo *seven pigeons.*  
 x talo kaŋants *seven forts(?)*  
 y talo pfa'loŋo *seven grains.*

8. h Mir šika·rtiŋ talo alt'ambu.ɔn *seven or eight huntsmen.*  
 h a'lt'ambo hi·ri *eight men.*  
 (with all x and y nouns as for tsundo five).
9. h hunčo hi·ri *nine men.*  
 y hunčo satsum *after nine months.*  
 (as for tsundo).
10. h aka·bərtiŋ to·rumo turma tsundowan *10 or 15 elders.*  
 x to·rumo e·mi.ants *his 10 fingers.*  
 y to·rumo ha·kičəŋ *10 houses.*  
 y to·rumaŋ maltəraŋ *10 lumps of ghee.*
11. etc. The numbers 11 to 19 follow the same lines as 1 to 9.  
 h turma a'ltan (hilešo) *12 (youths).*  
 x turma a'lta tsir *12 goats.*  
 x turma a'lta bu·ndo *12 boulders.*  
 y turma a'lto ba·daŋ gi·mi *he proceeded 12 paces.*  
 h turma tsundowan mariŋ sis *15 superior persons* (v. also under 10).  
 y turma tsundo ha·kičəŋ *15 houses.*
20. etc. The number a'ltər *twenty* is invariable for all categories.  
 h šadəršo a'ltəraŋ *20 servants.*  
 y a'ltər wa'lto (šə·riŋ) xəra·b ma·na·šo bitsa *24 cities are going  
 to be ruined.*  
 x a'ltowa'ltər qü.ε *40 pebbles.*  
 h wa'lti a'ltəraŋ šadəršu *80 servants.*  
 h tha muyu· *her hundred sons.*  
 h u·ε tha uyo·n Kiserε *all those hundred Kiseris.*  
 x tha sɔlo *100 cakes of salt.*

## DISTRIBUTIVES.

207. Duplication of the cardinal numbers conveys the sense of distribution:

- u·εr al'ta a'lta rupi.a u· *give them three rupees each.*  
 hi·n hi·n o·čume *separating them one by one.*  
 ku·ε i·skene damumuts han han nu·yen.

*these three men, taking sticks, one each, i.e. each taking one . . .*



209. Days of the month are expressed by the z-forms of the Cardinals, following the genitive of the name of the month:

Mai.i.e turmatsındi.ulo            *on the 15th of May.*

Hamale iski.ulo                      *on the 3rd of Hamal.*

Saratane turmatsındi.ulo . . a'ltərulo *on the 15th of Saratan . . on the 20th.*

Sambulle turmatsındi.ər ya a'ltərər *on the 15th or 20th of Sambul.*

Note the use of the z form of the Cardinal where the Ordinal might be expected in:

iskivər                      *at the third time, or on the 3rd. occasion.*

## VERBS.

§ 210.

**210.** It will be convenient to mention first very briefly the dominating facts in the natural history of the Burushaski verb.

1. Verbs are Intransitive or Transitive. The latter include Causative Verbs.
2. Inflection is effected by the addition of inflectional endings. Of these there is only one set, subject to some variations, for all verbs whether Transitive or Intransitive.
3. There is no true Passive Voice. But a Passive Participle is occasionally used with the verb "to be".
4. Many Intransitive verbs are changed into Causatives or Transitives, and many Transitives into Causatives by prefixing the element \*-A- or \*-AS-.
5. Many verbs take the Agglutinative Pronouns as prefixes. In the case of Intransitive verbs these correspond to the Subject, in the case of Transitive verbs they correspond generally either to the Direct Object or to the Indirect Object.
6. Many verbs have a prefixed initial d- which takes the Agglutinative Pronouns between it and the body of the verb.  
Some verbs appear in two forms with and without this d-.  
In some verbs beginning with d- (di-, dε- and du-) owing to a lack of recorded forms it is impossible to assert whether the d- is separable and the following vowel pronominal or not.
7. The conjugation of all verbs is founded on two differentiated bases — the past base and the present base — to which the inflectional endings are added.



From the *Past Base* are formed the:

Infinitive.  
 Imperative.  
 -§ forms (Optative, Injunctive, etc.)  
 Preterite.  
 Perfect.  
 Pluperfect.  
 Past Participle Active.  
 Static Participle.

From the *Present Base* are formed the:

Future.  
 Present.  
 Imperfect.  
 Conditional.  
 Present Participle.

The following typical example may be given here:

	Past Base, ετ-		Present Base, εῖ-	
Infin.	ετας	<i>to do.</i>	Fut.	εῖαμ <i>I shall do.</i>
Impv.	ετι	<i>do thou!</i>	Pres.	εῖα βα <i>I am doing.</i>
Pret.	εταμ	<i>I did.</i>	Impf.	εῖα βαίγυαμ <i>I was doing.</i>
Perf.	ετα βα	<i>I have done.</i>	Condit.	εῖαμ τσε <i>I would do.</i>
Plup.	ετα βαίγυαμ	<i>I had done.</i>	Pres. pc.	εϋμε <i>doing.</i>
P.pc. act.	νεταμ	<i>having done.</i>		
Static pc.	ετμ	<i>done.</i>		

211. Before proceeding to examine the conjugational forms of the verb in detail (v. § 268 ff.) we may dispose as far as possible of the preliminary questions indicated above.

### The Verbal Bases.

The Past Base is simple and the Present Base is usually obtained by adding a theme to it. Sometimes instead of an addition there is an alteration of the final consonant of the Past Base.

As far as my material shows, this final sound of the Past Base may be:

1. One of the Vowels: -a or -Δ; -e or -ε; -i, -o, -u.

2. One of the Consonants or Consonant Groups:

k and q; l, n, r; s, ts, š; t, lt.

The Past Base may always be found in the Infinitive, which consists of the Past Base + the ending -Δs or -a's.

In the case of the final being a Vowel, a y-glide commonly appears before the -Δs which in any case always remains intact. When the final vowel is -a or -Δ that vowel in the infinitive usually becomes -ai if stressed, and -ε if unstressed. Eg.

bišaiyΔs, bišai.Δs	to throw	Past Base	biša-, bišΔ-
*-či.Δs	to give		*-či(y)-.
niyΔs	to go		ni(y)-.
ju'yΔs	to come		ju(y)-.

212. Verbs which show an Infinitive in -a's might at first sight be suspected of having the past base ending in -a, but on closer examination it seems that there is no actually separate -a in these verbs. The cause of their -a's form is simply that the stress accent falls on the termination and strengthens the Δ into a or a'. The 3rd. singular of their Preterite shows the normal termination -imi, while verbs in -aiyΔs and -uyΔs have -ami or -ami, and -umi respectively.

It is noteworthy that in the Causative forms, or when the pu. pfs. are added, where the main stress is moved back from the termination -a's, the Infinitive takes the form -Δs and the Present Base is formed in the ordinary way. So we have the Causative \*-ΔsquΔs, \*-Δsqulj- to cause to burn, from γula's, γulu'č- to burn v.i

### Examples of -a's Infinitives:

Infinitive	Past Base	Pres. Base	
1. bala's	bΔl-	balič-	to fall, to burn.
2. γula's	γul-	γulu'č-	to burn v. i.
3. tsinda's	tsind-	tsinda'č-	to lean (on).
4. mina's	min-	mi- (1st. sg. fut. miyaym)	to drink.

No. 1. is the ordinary type. I have 9<sup>1</sup> examples of it; No. 2, only two examples recorded; No. 3, only this example recorded; No. 4, the -n is resolved into an i-sound see below § 221. I have 5 verbs of this type, one of which sometimes also adds -iě or -ě:

γανα's γαν- γai-iě-, γε.iě-, γai.i- to appear.

When the final is a vowel the Present Base is always obtained by the addition of -č- after the vowel, which remains or is only slightly modified.

213. When the Infin. ending is -a's the Present Base is also characterised by a -č-, except when the -a's is preceded by -n-.

The following are the types of PAST BASES ending in vowels, and the PRESENT BASES allied to them:

#### Base ending in -a, -A.

The Infinitive is -aiyas, -ai.as, -ayas or -ε.as.

Infin.	Past Base	Pres. Base	
bišaiyas	biša-	bišač-, bišæč-, bišač-	to throw.

There are 18 verbs of this type on record.

Some verbs with bases ending in a consonant or vowel other than -a, have alternative or additional forms with an added -a, sometimes with some modification of meaning v. § 281.

#### 214. Base ending in -e, -ε.

It is difficult to draw a hard and fast line between these endings and -a. The question will be entered into more closely when the effect of these vowels on the inflectional endings comes to be considered. V. §§ 280-3.

di.eyas	di.ev-	di.eč-	v.i to stand up.
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To this type 7 verbs more or less conform, but of these 5 probably belong to the -a group.

<sup>1</sup> The numbers given throughout this section represent distinct verbal roots. I have excluded, as far as I have recognised them, variant forms from the same root, such as Causative forms and forms with d- where simple forms exist.

**215. Base ending in -i.**

niyAS, ni.AS      ni-      nič-      *to go.*

I have recorded 15 verbs of this type.

The following are three variants:

\*-A.URi.AS      \*-A.URi.A-(?)      \*-A.URi.Eč-      *to expend, train.*

(3rd. sg. pret. \*-A.URi.Emi).

dultApi.AS      dultApi-(?)      dultApuč-      *to wither.*

waši.AS      waši-      wašč- (also wašič-?)      *to fling.*

The variant of \*-dēLAS *to strike*, viz. d\*-Ali.AS (dēli.AS and do'li.AS) has not, as far as I know, any present base form of its own.

**216. The following 3 verbs which in certain parts are liable to resemble each other may be mentioned here:**

d\*-A.iyAS(?)      d\*-A.i-      d\*-A.ič-      *to make stand.*

(cs. of di.e'yAS).

d'e.ičan *they made it stand up*; do'iman *they made them stand up.*

daiyAS      dai(y)-      dai-eč-      *to fade.*

d\*-yaiyAS 1st. sg. pres. dai.eča ba, dai.e'ča ba, *I feel (a smell).*

Of these No. 1 is to be referred to § 215, and Nos 2 and 3 to §§ 213 or 214.

**217. Base ending in -o.**

goyAS      go-      go'č-      *to pick.*

Only two other verbs of this type are on record: bo'yAS *to alight* (of birds), and jo'yAS *to give to me.*

**218. Base ending in -u.**

su'yAS      su-      su'č-      *to bring.*

Of this type 14 verbs are on record.

du'yAS (or, duyu.AS) *to melt* v.i. has both du'č- and du'yēč-.

The following are the types of PAST BASES ending in CONSONANTS, and the PRESENT BASES allied to them.

**219. Base ending in -k and -q.**

I cannot distinguish with certainty between these two sounds.

1. soʔkas	soʔk-	soʔkič-	<i>to descend.</i>
2. dequqas	dequq-	deququč-	<i>to tangle v.t.</i>
3. *-serkas	*-særk-	*-særš-	<i>to permit.</i>

There are 5 verbs of No. 1 type, but two of them have also infinitives in -as.

There are 3 of No. 2 type. In each case the final seemed to me to be q and the preceding vowel was u or o.

Of No. 3 type there is the parallel verb  
isærkas which has isærkič- beside isærš-  
and d\*-ayur(k)as which has d\*-ayurč- beside d\*-ayurš-  
the form with č would be regular for the past base without k.

Two other varieties are to be noted:

biraqas	biraq-	biraqəč-	<i>to dig.</i>
*-moʔqas	*-moʔq-	*-moʔqəč-	<i>to pluck (a bird).</i>

This makes 12 verbs in all.

## 220. Base ending in -l.

belas	bəl-	bəlj-	<i>to put on (clothes).</i>
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Of the 22 verbs in -l which I have recorded all except one conform to this pattern. The exception is:

desmilas	dəsmil-	dəsmilč-	<i>to render impure.</i>
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## 221. Base ending in -n.

Infin.	Past Base	Pres. Base	Meaning
ganas	gan-	gai(y)-	<i>to take.</i>
bæreʔnas	bæreʔn-	bæreʔi-, (bæreʔy-)	<i>to look at.</i>
girminas	girmin-	girmi(y)-	<i>to write.</i>
doʔnas	doʔn-	doʔi-, doʔy-	<i>to open.</i>
duʔnas	duʔn-	duʔi-, duʔy-	<i>to seize.</i>

All known verbs in -n, some 46, conform to this pattern, also the five verbs already referred to in § 212 above, with infinitives in -as:

γanaʔs	<i>to appear to.</i>
γanaʔs	<i>to leak.</i>

mana's	to become.
mina's	to drink.
thana's	to pound (grain).

the first  $\gamma$ ana's to appear to has  $\gamma$ ai.ič-,  $\gamma$ e.ič- as well as  $\gamma$ ai.i.

### 222. Base ending in -r.

gutsəras	gutsər-	gutsərč-	to proceed.
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There are 32 verbs in -r on record all of which follow this pattern.

Attention has already been called in § 219 to the doublet:

d*- $\Delta$ YURKAS	d*- $\Delta$ YURš-	} to become possessed of.
d*- $\Delta$ YURAS	d*- $\Delta$ YURč-	

which, thus stated, does not present any anomaly.

### 223. Base ending in -s.

-s is always preceded either by a vowel or by t.

1. When preceded by a vowel it is changed to -š- in the present base:

o'sas	o's-	o'sh-	to put down, place.
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There are 14 verbs of this description recorded; all of them follow this pattern with one exception:

$\gamma$ asa's	has pres. base	$\gamma$ asič-	to laugh.
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But the d\*- form of the verb, d\*- $\Delta$ YASAS, to laugh, has Pres. base d\*- $\Delta$ YASš-, and the Cs. \*- $\Delta$ YASAS has \*- $\Delta$ YASš-.

2. When preceded by t, giving a base ending in -ts, we again find -š- in the Pres. Base.

d*-tsas	d*-ts-	d*-š-	to bring (h and x objects).
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This is the pattern followed by 8 verbs on record.

An exception is:

*-maltsas	} *-malts-	*-malč-	to abuse.
maltsa's		maltsič-	

### 224. Base ending in -š.

I have only 2 verbs in -š.

di.ΔšAS di.Δš- di.Δšič- to be sexually excited (of animals).

duwΔšAS duwΔš- duwΔšΔč- to melt (of snow).

The latter is probably only an inaccurate form of duwΔšE.ΔS.

## 225. Base ending in -t.

-t occurs either preceded by a vowel or by l.

1. When preceded by a vowel it is usually changed in the present base to -š.

giratas                  girat-                  giraš-                  to dance.

There are 9 verbs of this description which follow this pattern, but doγa'atas has both doγa'aš- and doγa'ac- to separate *v.i.*

## 2. Base ending in -lt.

ba'ltas                  ba'lt-                  ba'lc-                  to wash.

There are 7 recorded verbs of this pattern.

3. The important verb \*-atas, to do, make, stands by itself.

\*-atas                  \*-at-                  \*-ac-.

In the form etas, ec- it is used with nouns and adjectives to form compound verbal expressions. It is probably to be recognised in some cases where the first part of the compound does not exist, or at least is not known, as an independent word as in

di'petas                  di'pet-                  di'peç-                  to wink.

## INTRANSITIVE, TRANSITIVE and CAUSATIVE VERBS.

226. There is no distinction of form between Primary Intransitive and Transitive Verbs.

Derived Transitive and Causative Verbs have always a prefixed

\*-Δ or \*-as,

which is initial, except when preceded by a separable d-

Initial \*-Δ is not, however, a sure sign of a derived Transitive or Causative Verb. There are a few Intransitives which begin with \*-Δ, e.g.

\*-Δršaiyas                  to get drunk.

\*-Δyenas                  to go to sleep.

d\*-Δšqaltas                  to arrive.

and d\*-Δγasas                  beside γasa's                  to laugh.

227. Some Simple Transitive Verbs, or verbs which cannot be shown to be derived, also have \*-Δ and \*-AS. E.g.

*-ΔSQANAS	<i>to kill.</i>
*-ALTIRAS	<i>to show to.</i>
*-ΔSAS	<i>to say to.</i>
*-ASKƏRTSAS	<i>to cut.</i>

and with some \*-Δ is optional, e.g.

*-ΔYUNAS	beside	*-YUNAS	<i>to give to.</i>
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228. It is to be remembered that the existence of this -Δ is a mere presumption depending on my hypothesis regarding the varying forms of the Pronominal Prefixes i- : e-, u- : o- etc., v § 122.

229. There are a couple of pairs of Intransitive and Transitive Verbs which are related to each other in unique ways:

1. gΔLAS v.i. *to break*, yΔLAS v.t. *to break (something)*.
2. d\*-nts'irAS v.i. *to spread out*, d\*-ntsirAS v.t. *to spread out, overflow (of river)*. unroll (*bedding etc.*), *strew.*

Another doubtful example of the second type is

d*-tsikinΔS	v.t.	<i>to hang up, suspend.</i>
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beside which there is, I think,

d*-tsiginAS	v.i.	<i>to be hanging, suspended.</i>
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The accent of the latter is not recorded, but it is possible that it falls on a later syllable, probably the third, (d\*-tsig'inAS), and so differentiates it from the Transitive form. The k : g difference is probably neither constant nor significant.

230. Some verbs appear to be used with both a Transitive and an Intransitive meaning, or at least to render ideas generally conceived of as Transitive and Intransitive.

It is always possible, however, that verbs originally distinct in origin and possibly in form have fallen together so as to be indistinguishable.

Examples are:

1. gATA'S.  

εRSE gutsi gatiči	<i>it will bite thee.</i>
tsiltse gatimi	<i>he (it) lapped (put his mouth to?) the water.</i>



eṣaṭər lim kaman gatimi    *the arrow-head penetrated a little into his heart.*  
 tišk tikulo gatun bila ke    *if the dagger is sticking upright in the ground.*

but,

bər gatimi                    *the saying came true, the affair came to pass(?)*

The use of the suffixes -tsi, -aṭər in the first examples suggests, however, that the conception of the verb is essentially Intransitive.

2. i. giyas v.i. gič- 3rd. sg. pret. giṃi    *to enter (into), plunge (into), come on, come upon.*

tsi'lər giṃi                    *he went into the water.*

wazi're bəṭər gi ban    *he had entered into the skin of the Wazir, i. e. assumed his shape, appearance.*

mušul gi bila                *her labour pain has come on.*

ii. giyas, guyas v.t.        *to throw down, to throw into.*

The form guyas is used only when the object is pl. h or x.  
 V. § 253.

gu'ke (biške) pfuər gi    *throw this (hair y pl.) into the fire.* 22.10.

yəti tik giṃi    *he threw earth on the top.* 56.21.

(hanji'l) itər gu    *throw (the charcoal x pl.) down into that (room)* 164.7.

(guyu) kaš o'čər guṃa    *thou threwest down (thy sons on the ground) in order to slay them.* 44.19.

iii. Probably to be reckoned as an allied form of the Intransitive

giyas is

giyai.əs    giyač- 3rd. sg. pret. giyami    *to fall (of snow, hail).*

Also used of the appearance (descent?) of lice, nits and the rainbow.

3. \*-yaiyas    \*-yač-, \*-yeč-    3rd. sg. pret.    \*-yami.

i. intransitive *to fit into, go into.*

o'tis hučulo yami        *my foot went into the "paboo" (boot).*

i'te gut uyomulo uyaman kurtsimuts    *as many chairs as would fit into the whole tent.*

guyaçuma?                *wilt thou be able to get in (thro' a hole)?*

ii. *to strike, hit, strike against* with -ulo, and -tse.

amεulo təri yami      *the polo ball struck (on) my tooth.*

khate yurtisulo hurnts nin yami      *the arrow going struck the leg  
of the bed.*

tsirtse di·ru yami      *the bullet struck the goat (ibex).*

uyontse yaš!      *may it strike all of them!*

mazære battse yatıs yeči bi      *his head strikes against the (covering)  
stone of the grave.*

In these last 5 examples the verb still seems to be essentially intransitive as it requires the aid of a postposition.

iii. *transitive to obtain.*

uyetsum burt hušı ayaiyam      *I obtained much plunder from them,*

ε's haiwa·nan amulo ke aiyačam      *wherever I may get that animal.*

231. Some transitive verbs are differentiated in form according as the object is x and h, or y; and in one or two verbs forms from apparently different roots are employed.

*with x or h objects.*

*with y objects.*

*Meaning.*

a) yanas, \*-yanas

ganas

*to take.*

yatamuras

gatamuras

*to knead, wring.*

1. *hide, choga etc. x.*

2. *skin, pattoo etc. y.*

yurginas

gurginas

*to grind.*

1. *rock salt, kernels etc. x.*

2. *tobacco, grain, spices etc. y.*

b) *Probably:*

waši.as, \*-waši.as

bišaiyas

*to throw.*

yol.as

bel.as

*to put on (garment).*

1. *choga, shirt etc. x.*

2. *clothes (gatuı), woman's tunic  
(pači) etc. y.*

ya.lt.as

ba.lt.as

*to wash.*

1. *cloth (gatu) x, guya.lčam*

*I'll wash thee, h.*

2. *hands, clothes etc. y.*



a) with *h* subject. There is only one recorded form:

uyAMAH            *they (the men) became dry.*

b) with an *x* sg. subj. There are a number of forms which seem referable to a verb:

yuyAS      yuč-      st.pc.      yuyUM, yuyAM.

V. Vocab. s.v. yuyAS.

c) with a *y* subj. There are forms referable to a verbal doublet:

buyAS      buč-      }  
buyaiAS    buyāč- } st.pc.    buyUM, bum, buyAM.

V. Vocab. s.v. buyAS and buyaiAS.

Now uyAMAH could be referred to an infinitive \*-uyaiAS, and yuyAS may be the pn.pf. *i*- + \*-uyAS, and the st. pc. form yuyAM, if correct, would represent an infin. *i*- + \*-uyaiAS.

So that we may assume a verbal doublet:

\*-uyAS || \*-uyaiAS and buyAS || buyaiAS

(allowing *y* for the *y* of the recorded forms).

Again there is no word recorded in Burushaski beginning with *wu*-, so that it is probable that *w* cannot maintain itself before *u*-. Hence \*-uyAS, \*-uyaiAS may stand for \*-wuyAS, \*-wuyaiAS.

This would give us forms with initial *w*- and *b*- (used with *h* and *x* subjects, and with *y* subjects respectively) as in the case of the intransitive pairs: wa'LAS and baluyAS, waLAS and balAS, and the transitive wašiAS and bišaiyAS.

\*-wuyAS would also be a possible base for the Causative espuyAS. Cp. § 241.

**233.** One characteristic of Transitive verbs has already been dealt with:

When the verb is in a Past-Base tense, the subject always appears in the extended form of the Nominative, and it is apparently optional for it to do so when the verb is in a Present-Base tense. V. §§ 60—61.

**FORMATION of TRANSITIVE and CAUSATIVE VERBS.**

234. There are two types of Intransitive Verb, illustrated by the Burushaski and English:

1. \*-wəras to become tired or to be tired,  
indicating the entry into, or existence in, a state of being.
2. gutsəras to proceed, to walk,  
indicating the performance of an action.

In Burushaski both these types of verb are furnished with Causative forms. In the cases quoted:

\*-aspəras and \*-agutsəras respectively.

235. Transitive Verbs may yield two kinds of Causatives:

1. The Causative Active: to make someone do something.
2. The Causative Passive: to cause something to be done, to have something done.

Both types of periphrastic phrase are in use in English.

In some languages only the Causative Passive is found, as in Shina: e.g.

zamo'iki to beat someone; zaməro'iki to cause someone to be beaten.  
Ro zamε'gas I beat him; ro zaməre'gas I caused him to be beaten,  
I had him beaten, (not, I made him beat someone else).

So also in Pashtu:

aure'dul to hear; aurawul to cause something to be heard.

In Burushaski the Causative Active seems to hold the field.

236. a) Burushaski has only one method of making Transitive and Causative Verbs from Intransitives, and Causative Verbs from Transitives.

This is by prefixing \*-a- or \*-as- to the simple verb.

\*-as- appears to be added only to Intransitives beginning with certain consonants.

\*-a- is added to both Transitives and Intransitives and is much more frequent than \*-as-. Both are used after the separable initial d-.

Following \*-as- initial b and w change to p; d changes to t; g to k; γ to q.

As I cannot certainly distinguish between k and q in Burushaski, the last two statements may not be universally correct. As, however, these fixed equations provide a convenient means of correlating related words I have applied them throughout.

Even a medial consonant may be unvoiced as well as the initial one. E.g. dΔyai AS, Cs. \*-ASTΔqaiyas; babal (adj.), Cs. d\*-ΔspΔpalAS.

The other sounds to which \*-AS- is found prefixed are k, t and m and these remain unaltered.

\*-AS- is used before a vowel in d\*-Δsuljaiyas Cs. of du'ljaiyas *to be sated* (from \*-u'l *belly*).

Following \*-A- initial h- is dropped, and initial y- is lost in \*-A.O'lAS from yo'lAS (*to put on, choga etc.*). o'wəras *to make oxen trample out grain* may be the Cs. of bəras *to thresh grain (by making oxen trample it)*. But more probably it is derived from \*-wəra *round, around*, with which bəras may also possibly be connected.

- b) Credit is due to Professor Siddeshwar Varma for drawing attention to two instances of Causatives possibly being formed by the insertion of a -g- (-k-) in the body of the simple verb. He cites:

də'gusAS (i.e. d\*-ΔgusAS) *to make one put off (a coat)*.

di.usəs (i.e. d\*-usAS, d\*-isAS) *to put off (a coat)*.

də'skartsAS *to rain down*, di.artsAS *to rain*.

I have taken də'skərtsAS (cp. Vocab. 4. \*-ASKərtsAS) to be the Cs. of gartsAS *to flow, pour down*, with a prefixed d-.

I would add as a third example:

do'gunAS (i.e. d\*-ΔgunAS) *to cause to seize*, beside du'nAS *to seize*.

It seems to me possible that the -g-, -k- in these Causatives may be an original -g- which has been lost between vowels in the simple form of the verb after the addition of the prefix d\*-, but has been preserved in the less commonly used Cs. forms. Perhaps the stress accent on the first vowel in the Cs. may also have had some influence. So we should have hypothetical

d*-gusAS	{	→ d*-usAS.
		→ Cs. d*-ΔGUSAS.
d*-gunAS	{	→ (d*-unAS) → du'nAS.
		→ Cs. d*-ΔGUNAS.
d*-gar'tsAS	{	→ (d*-ar'tsAS), di.ar'tsAS.
		→ Cs. d*-Δskər'tsAS.

The last equation has the merit of correlating gar'tsAS, di.ar'tsAS and dε'skər'tsAS.

### CAUSATIVES from INTRANSITIVES.

237. The following are a few Intransitives Verbs with the Causatives formed from them. They are arranged according to types I and II mentioned above, but, as in all cases of classification, doubtful cases occur.

A few Causative forms are given with initial *es-* where that is the only recorded form, but there is no reason to doubt that the *es-* arises from the pronoun prefix *i-* + \*-Δs-.

#### Intransitives of TYPE I.

<i>Intransitive.</i>		<i>Causative, Transitive.</i>	
bapayAS	to boil v.i.	espapayAS	to cause to boil, to boil v.t.
bala's	to burn	espalAS	to cause to burn, to burn, kindle, light.
buyai.ΔS	to dry v.i.	{	espuyAS to cause to dry, to dry v.t.
(*-wuyAS?)	become dry		
d*-kiras	to become less, decrease, wane	d*-Δski'ras	to decrease, reduce.
d*-māyAS	to be on good terms, to fit	d*-ΔsmāyAS	to reconcile, mix, to make agree.
d*-manAS	to be born	d*-ΔsmanAS	to give birth to, bear.
d*-silAS	to become wet, be wet	d*-ΔsilAS	to cause to become wet, to wet v.t.
d*-talAS	to wake v.i.	d*-Δst(s)ΔlAS	to cause to wake, wake v.t.
dAyai.ΔS	to hide v.i.	*-ΔstAqai.ΔS	to hide v.t.
(*-)γAsa's	to become rotten, to rot v.i.	*-ΔsqAsAS	to make go rotten, to rot v.t.

<i>Intransitive.</i>		<i>Causative, Transitive.</i>	
γula's	<i>to burn v.i.</i>	*-ΔSQUΛS	<i>to cause to burn, burn v.t.</i>
kəra'naS	<i>to be late</i>	*-ΔSKƏPANA'S	<i>to make late, delay v.t.</i>
thaiyaS	<i>to go out (of fire etc.)</i>	*-ΔSTHAIYA'S	<i>to extinguish, put out (fire etc.).</i>
(*-)wa'laS	<i>to become lost, go astray.</i>	*-ΔSPALA'S	<i>to lose, expel, deport.</i>
*-wəraS	<i>to become tired</i>	*-ΔSPƏRA'S	<i>to cause to become tired, to tire v.t.</i>

## Intransitives of TYPE II.

baSa's	<i>to sit down, settle, alight, come to rest, keep quiet.</i>	εSPASAS	<i>to seat (oneself), finish off, bring to a conclusion.</i>	
		cp.	d*-ΔSPΔSAS	<i>to protect, save.</i>
ga'rtsaS	<i>to run</i>	*-ΔSKƏRTSAS	<i>to make run, put to flight.</i>	
gira'taS	<i>to dance</i>	*-Δgira'taS	<i>to make dance.</i>	
gučaiyaS	<i>to lie down</i>	*-Δgučai.aS	<i>to make lie down.</i>	
gutsəraS	<i>to proceed</i>	*-ΔgutsəraS	<i>to cause to proceed.</i>	
γasa's	<i>to laugh</i>	*-ΔγasaS	<i>to make laugh.</i>	
(*-)γur'tsaS	<i>to plunge (into), sink v.i.</i>	*-ΔSQURTSAS	<i>to cause to sink, to sink v.t.</i>	
huljaiyaS	<i>to mount (on)</i>	*-Δ.uljaiyaS	<i>to cause to mount.</i>	
huru'taS	<i>to sit down</i>	*-Δ.uru'taS	<i>to make sit down.</i>	
qušelaS	<i>to become spoilt, be obliterated</i>	*-ΔqušelaS	<i>to spoil, obliterate.</i>	

238. It will be noted that when the Intransitive has -a's in the Infinitive, this is reduced to -aS in the Causative; an a or a' in the body of the word is similarly reduced:

baSa's	:	εSPASAS.
ga'rtsaS	:	*-ΔskərtsaS.

This is doubtless due to the fact that the accent is normally retracted to the first syllable.

As far as I know there are no Causatives formed from  
 juyaS *to come,* or *niyaS to go.*



\*-ARAS and d\*-ARAS *to send* sometimes supply the place of the latter. V. vocab. s.v. \*-ARAS. V. also § 241 end.

\*-AMANAS which has the form of the Causative of MANA'S *to become, to be*, means *to be able to*, "can".

There are a few examples of \*-ATAS being used as a causative factor accompanied by the infinitive of the simple verb:

duko'yelAS eči *he will make thee hear.*

o'pačim hame'sa fat ayetas o'čai.i *he makes them always not let him go from them, i.e. he makes them always keep him with them.* 116.13.

padšar'harntiŋe šabaš ju'AS ečam *I shall cause the praise of kings to come, i.e. I shall cause kings to praise (thee).* 98.5.

### CAUSATIVES from TRANSITIVES.

239. Causatives are formed from Transitives by the prefixing of \*-A-. I have noted no case of \*-AS- being prefixed to a Transitive verb.

For several reasons it is often difficult to distinguish the exact meaning of these Causatives, but while there are many clear cases of Causative Actives I know of no certain example of a Causative Passive.

The following are a few Transitive verbs with their corresponding Causative Actives:

<i>Transitive.</i>		<i>Causative, Active.</i>	
ba'ltAS	<i>to wash s.t.</i>	*-AbaltAS	<i>to make some one wash s.t.</i>
bəre'nAS	<i>to look at</i>	*-AbəranAS	<i>to make s. o. look at.</i>
belAS	<i>to put on (clothes, y)</i>	*-AbilAS	<i>to make s. o. put on.</i>
bišaiyAS	<i>to throw</i>	*-AbišaiyAS	<i>to cause s. o. to throw.</i>
d*-tsAS	<i>to bring</i>	d*-AtsAS	<i>to cause s. o. to bring.</i>
hakinAS	<i>to learn</i>	*-A.ikinAS	<i>to make s. o. learn, to teach.</i>
mina'S	<i>to drink</i>	*-AminAS	<i>to make s. o. drink.</i>
tsu'yAS	<i>to take away</i>	*-AtsuyAS	<i>to make s. o. take away.</i>
yo'lAS	<i>to put on (choga, x)</i>	*-A.o'lAS	<i>to make s. o. put on.</i>





One would naturally refer the Cs. *espuyAS* to *dry* v.t. to *buryAS* (y) and not to *\*-uyAS* (h x), but it would equally suit the hypothetical original hx form *\*-wuyAS*. V. § 232. c.

On the other hand Causatives are formed from both.

wAšI.AS                      and                      bišaiyAS.  
yo'lAS                      and                      beLAS.      See List § 239.

ba'lTAS has a causative, but I do not know about ya'lTAS.

giyAS has Cs. *\*-AgiyAS*, but I have not met any form *\*-AguyAS*. There is, however, *d\*-AskuyAS*.

I have come across no causatives of the various forms of the verbs *to eat* or *to give*. *To feed with* or *to make eat* is *\*-asi'rAS*, unconnected with šI.AS.

NOTE.

I am now inclined to recognise a general equation:

-w- || b-

*walAS*, *wAlAS* and *wAšI.AS* can all take pu. pf.s to indicate h and x, but not y, subjects or objects, and probably originally always did so.

We then have some labial sound which appears, when it is preceded by a vowel, as *-w-* and, when it occurs initially, as *b-*.

Compare also *oworas* || *boras*. V. § 236. a. Further, hypothetically, *wu* → *u*, so that we get the equation *-u-* || *b-* as in *\*-uyAS* || *buryAS*. V. § 232.

The relationships of *yo'lAS* and *beLAS*, and *ya'lTAS* and *ba'lTAS* remain unexplained, but some correlation on similar lines is perhaps to be sought between *yA-* and *gA-* in *\*-yANAS* and *gANAS* etc. (v. § 231), and between *zero* and *-g-* in *d\*-'usAS* and *d\*-AgusAS* etc. (v. § 236 b).

We might assume that the initial *y*'s were all originally preceded by pu. pf.s, the vowel of which had the effect of changing *g-* into *-y-*; while the retention of the *g-* in *d\*-'AgusAS* might be due to the position of the accent. In this case *\*-AyANAS* would have to be accounted for as the generalisation of the form in more common use.

But all this is entirely speculative.

242. Two circumstances have tended to increase the difficulty, already referred to, of determining the exact nature and value of the Causative:

i. Causative forms appear often to be used with only the same force as the Transitive from which they are formed.

ii. Causatives tend to develop specialised meanings somewhat removed from those of the allied simple Transitives.

These points are variously illustrated by the verbs:

deLAS	Cs.	*-AdilAS.	tsu·yAS	Cs.	*-AtsuyAS.
d*-tsAS		d*-AtsAS.	waš·iAS		*-Awāš·iAS.
gi·yAS		*-AgiyAS.	ya·nAS		*-AyānAS.

**243. deLAS, \*-deLAS : \*-AdilAS.**

prik deLAS	<i>to leap;</i>	prik ε·diljume	<i>making his horse jump.</i>	122.21.
ha·yure sap ε·dili			<i>shoe the horse.</i>	
ha·yurete balda ε·edili			<i>put the load on the horse.</i>	
ha·yurišo.ete balda·y o·edili			<i>put the loads on the horses.</i>	
ga·late mali am ε·dilAS			<i>to put ointment on a wound.</i>	
hu·nar uriñčin o·dilunAN			<i>they fixed their (the offenders') hands</i>	
			<i>in the stocks.</i>	86.16.
gi·li mudelimi, gi·li modelimi			<i>he pegged her down.</i>	194.2, 7.

In the last 6 of these instances \*-AdilAS does not seem to be Causative and the pronominal prefixes appear to refer to the indirect objects, "the horses", "the offenders". (o- cannot refer to y objects such as balda·y and uriñčin which would require the singular form ε-).

**244. d\*-tsAS to bring : d\*-AtsAS.**  
**tsu·yAS to take away : \*-AtsuyAS.**

1. The Causatives of these two verbs are constantly used in the sense of "to send". This apparently arises from the development "to cause someone to bring or take something to someone" which, when the someone who is to "bring" or "take" is not emphasised or specified, becomes equivalent to the English impersonal:

"to have something brought or taken to someone", which in turn is equivalent to

"to send something to someone".

padša mirbani goʀ doʀši (doʀoši) *the king will make people bring thee a present, i.e. the king will send thee a present.* 168.11.

haγur deʔetso *make someone bring the horse, i.e. send the horse.*

Padša iʔmo haγur aštane ka oʔsumi . . . aštane ise tsumi B. J.ʔ

hiγtsər. Qau ʔtimi: “ya B. J., paʔdša iʔ huljaiyas haγur goʀ doʔtsai, ye ju!” ʔsimi *The King sent his own horse with a groom . . . the groom took away the horse to B. J.’s door. He called out: “O B. J., the king has sent thee his own riding horse. Now come!” he said to him.* 76.11.

uyoʔnər xat oʔsumi *he sent letter(s) to all.* 98.10.

ise iʔmo watanər ʔoʔsumi *he sent it (the brooch) to his own country.* 166.11.

Both verbs may occur, I think, in their full natural sense: “to cause someone to bring, take away, something”.

2. d\*-atsas also occurs as the Causative of dusuʔyas where it is used in Compound Verbal expressions (v. § 266.4).

\*-moʔs d\*-atsas *to make angry, annoy, worry.*

biʔri deʔetsas *to make boil, boil v.t.*

dam d\*-atsas *to make breathe, make pant(?)*

iʔne ʔeniš tsil dumoʔsai *he makes the queen fetch water.* 20.5.

buʔt maza deʔetsimi *it made him experience a pleasant taste, (maza dusuʔyas has not been recorded.) pleasure.* 138.5.

## 245. ʔiyas : \*-aʔiyas.

In the following \*-aʔiyas seems to be the Causative of the Intransitive ʔiyas *to enter* etc.

huma duʔsər A. K. . . haγur ʔgičər ditsimi *A. K. in order to cross the ford brought his horse to make it enter (the water).* 112.24.

In the following, of the Trans. ʔiyas *to throw*.

ʔapki.ents aulaʔdan . . . ditsun bo ʔgi.ɛn (ke) *fetching a descendant of the Tapkients if you made him throw (i.e. sow) the seed.* 242.3.

Otherwise \*-aʔiyas usually means *to place (on), put (on), or, to plant.* daγuʔe ʔapər goʔgiya baiʔam *I had put you in raw hide. (Perhaps from ʔiyas v.i.)* 158.1.

birkičiny egiyašo ban they are going to plant willows. 176.A.  
 tom egi bai he has planted the tree.  
 wazirete haγure asba'b neigin putting horse's furniture on the  
 wazir. 70.19, 78.19.

Alqāšete tili.en teigiman they put the saddle on Alqāš, 78.22.  
 Alqāšate tili.en teigin! put the saddle on A. 78.21.

In the last 3 examples the pronoun prefix may refer to the Indirect Object, and in others it clearly does.

gure bo iriṅate neṅyin taq etuman putting wheat-seed on his  
 hand, they shook it. (The context demands this rendering rather  
 than making him sow the seed with his hand). 242.18.

So also a little further on:

iriṅate bo eginar pfi'u fau etimi when they had put the seed on  
 his hand, he scattered it.  
 gošer šaṅaličiny goṅičam I'll put chains on thy neck for thee. 60.3.  
 kašawariṅ multumalči mogičan they put earrings on her ears for  
 her. 304.12.

#### 246. WAŠI.AS : \*-AWAŠI.AS.

\*-AWAŠI.AS shares some of the meanings of \*-AGIYAS and presents the same difficulties.

The general meaning of WAŠI.AS is to throw, to throw down.

It seems occasionally to take the pronominal prefixes:

je ko'lə awašin! throw me down, deposit me (i.e. bury me) here. 294.18.

Its use is in many respects parallel to that of the Hindustani *daḥna*.

I cannot quote any absolutely certain example of \*-AWAŠI.AS used with Causative force, but the following are most easily explained as Causatives:

dapiski nidilin i'sk neiwašin giving (the donkey) a kick and making  
 her cast her foal. 118.4.

e'iwašimo said of a woman committing adultery with a man (H. *mard ko lagwari*, sic.).

In the two following it is just possible that it is Causative:

do'n mo.uwascan they make her throw a veil (over her head). 304.11.

mumupuš gajāt numo mazareṭər mo'ewēšiš *let him make her, plucking off her nose, fling it on the grave.* 152.7.

but it is much more probable that the correct translations are: *they put a veil on her, and, let him, plucking off her nose (for her), fling it (for her) on the grave,*

where the pronominal prefixes simply draw attention to the person affected by the action.

There are no grounds for suspecting the Causative in the following:

zaxumate mi'li e'əwaše *put medicine on the wound.*

tur ke tili'eṅe e'šər n'e'iwēšin *hanging a whip too on the pommel of the saddle.* 78.20.

uṅ guso'γutər gowēši ba'n *they have placed it under thy arm.* 118.15.

Alqaše e'i go'šī gowēščam *I'll throw the daughter of Alqash on thy neck, i.e. secure her for you as a lover.* 66.14.

The negative imperative

(xat) e'waši, e'ewaši = a + iwaši

*don't throw it down, don't drop it, don't knock him down,* is not to be confused with the positive imperative of the Causative of the same form "make him throw it".

## 247. YANAS : \*-AYANAS.

The radical meaning of the simple Transitive *yanas*, \*-*yanas* and its alternative form when the object is *y*, *ganas*, is "to take", "take hold of", passing into "to get".

The Causative means "to cause to take", "to make take up", "to make carry".

Šongukure Hindi.e sis tobak γata'ṅ no'ye'n *Sh. making the people of H. take guns and swords.* 192.12.

gəro'ni ti'šk ne'əyan *making the bridegroom take (put at his waist) a dagger.* 300.6.

iri'γulo gampfu'ri e'əyai ba'n *they make him take a ceremonial axe in his hand.* 300.7.

i'ne aula'de bopfauwe hanik Baltitum Altitər ni'en ni'cai.i, i'k Həri Siṅ bila, Thamo tha'γtsun bopfauwe pfau 'etas bo n'e'i'en Tham



yər ne Mamu'tsa malər diša'n *his descendant taking the "bopfau" dish goes from Baltit to Altit, his name is Həri Sing, (the authorities) making him take the seed for the "bopfau" scattering. bring him, along in front of the Tham, from the Thams palace to the Mamutsa field.* 212.20.

xər yenış go'yaiyam *I shall make thee take a "Xər" of gold, (i.e., I shall give you to take with you . . .)* 58.16.

Paŋc'ue ayenam da'atsam *P. had made me take it and bring it (to you), i.e. P. had sent me with it.* 138.18.

han puš'ri.en numo'yen aždərər ma'ri mo'ruman *making her take (with her) a lump of ghee, they dispatched her as "mari" to the dragon.* 282.2.

hanjil o'yenumi *he made them carry the charcoal.* 162.15.

But all examples of the use of \*-ayanas are not as straightforward as the above:

nipatər yenışe isu'mal, ešpuray . . . da'l ne o'yanumi *flaying (the calf) and removing its golden tail, mane etc. he carried them off.*

(There was no one else present to make take them.) 134.6.

tsil ue uyo'naŋe ganuman o'yenuman: no'yen gutsəruman *the water they took on all of them(selves) and loaded themselves with it.*

*Having loaded themselves they went on.* 126.1.

(The construction of the above is probably contaminated.)

xaza'na oyo'n i'se'ete e'iyenimi *he loaded up all the treasure on him (the Div). But perhaps ete is the pronoun, "that stuff", and not the postposition).* 174.20.

pfertsintse mujuk mo'eyai ba'n. *One would expect this to mean "they fix a tassel on her cap", but it may be straight-forward "they make her take (fix) a tassel on her cap".* 304.12.

Frequently satisfactory sense would be given by taking \*-ayanas as an ordinary Transitive verb meaning either "to fix, put" or "to load up".

In these verbs it would appear that the Causative form can be used without causative force where the action of the verb affects an indirect object, to which the pronoun prefix refers.

A similar phenomenon may be observed in Khowār, cp.  
 anjik *to put on (clothes)*, anje·ik *to put (clothes) on someone else*,  
 cp. § 249.3.

The ambiguities of a few verbs which are in very common use should not, however, blind us to the fact that in Burushaski there are perfectly clear and well-defined Active Causatives formed from both Transitive and Intransitive verbs.

### THE PREFIXAL PRONOUNS.

248. The Prefixal Pronouns occur with all kinds of verbs: Intransitive, Transitive and Causative.

They are less common with Intransitive than with Transitive verbs. As far as can be judged Causative verbs invariably carry them.

A few Intransitive verbs appear both with and without them:

wa·las	:	*-wa·las	<i>to go astray, be lost.</i>
walas	:	*-walas	<i>to fall.</i>
mana's	:	*-manas	<i>to become..</i>

So also a few Transitive verbs:

yalas	:	*-yalas	<i>to break.</i>
yanas	:	*-yanas	<i>to take.</i>
tsu'yas	:	*-tsuyas	<i>to take away.</i>
delas	:	*-delas	<i>to strike.</i>
waši.as	:	*-waši.as	<i>to throw.</i>

and with a difference of meaning

taska's	<i>to smoke (a pipe).</i>
*-taskas	<i>to draw, drag.</i>

The Pron. prefixes are most persistent when they represent *h* nouns. Pron. pf.s representing *x* inanimate nouns are rare, and those representing *y* nouns only occur when the verb begins with \*-*a*, \*-*as*, d\*-*a*- or d\*-*as*-.

249. With Intransitive verbs the Prefixal Pronouns refer to the subject:

*-iras	<i>to die</i>	
erča ba		<i>I am dying.</i>
gu.irčuma		<i>thou wilt die.</i>





bəre'nas	to look at.	Cs. *-abəranas.	
		sa'atər no'bəren	making them look for a (favourable) hour.
hurur'tas	to sit	Cs. *-a.urur'tas.	
		mo'rutuman	they made her sit.
gar'tsas	to run	Cs. *-askərtsas.	
		go'skəršuman	they will make thee flee, put thee to flight.
		(hΔγur) ε'skəršume	making his horse gallop.
hΔkinas	to learn	Cs. *-a.ikinās	to make s.o. learn, i.e. to teach.
		i'ne mi me.ikimi	he will make us learn, he will teach us.

251. With a considerable number of verbs it is impossible to say whether they carry pronominal prefixes or infixes, or not. This is the case where there are not sufficiently varied examples of their use to put the pronominal prefix through its paces, if it is there. The difficulty is augmented by the following facts:

1. Some verbs, as we have seen, have frankly both prefix-bearing and non-prefix-bearing forms.
2. Some verbs cannot naturally be associated with the 1st and 2nd persons, and with them the prefixes can only vary between i and u, or ε and o.
3. Other prefix-bearing verbs show a tendency to stabilize the pronominal prefix or infix in one constant form. So:

duməras	constant,	beside	d*-məras	to ask for.	
duγarusas	}	"	"	d*-aγarusas	to question, ask.
doγarusas					
uši'tas	"	"	"	d*-aši'tas	to deprive s.o. of s.t., confiscate.
doγanas					
doxəras	}	"	"	d*-xəras(?)	to split.
duxəras					

4. It will be remembered that when the Pron. prefix refers to a y noun, whether sing. or plur., it remains constant in the form i-, (ε-). e.g. *guntsiñ ɛɣANASƏR du'nimi* *he began to count the days.*

Almost all verbs beginning with

i, ε, u, o.  
and di, dε, du, do.

are open to the suspicion of being pronoun-prefix-bearing verbs.

A few verbs deserve special notice.

### 252. The verb *ši.ΔS* etc. *to eat.*

This verb is to be specially noted as unique. Firstly it possesses apparently a really internal pronominal infix, which does not merely follow an initial d-, secondly it has a special form for this infix when the object is a y noun. So we have:

<i>ši.ΔS</i>	when the object is	x	sg.	
<i>šu.ΔS</i>	} "	"	"	"
* <i>-šu.ΔS</i>				
<i>še.ΔS</i>	"	"	"	y
				sg. & pl.

It was stated to me that *šu.ΔS* was used when the object was of considerable quantity or bulk, but I think that the above statement represents the ordinary facts.

That *šu.ΔS* may, however, be used with regard to a large animal is shown by

<i>ya bepayan işurmi</i>	<i>the bear ate a yak.</i>
beside	
<i>gurimo bepaya šiča</i>	<i>thou eatest thy own yak.</i>
<i>bepayan ši bi</i>	<i>it eats a yak.</i>

*Šu.ΔS* appears always to take in addition the pronominal prefixes when the object is human. So:

<i>guşurčam</i>	<i>I shall eat thee.</i>
<i>aşurčuma</i>	<i>thou wilt eat me.</i>
<i>i'ne işurčo bom</i>	<i>she was eating him.</i>
<i>but sis uşurmo</i>	<i>she ate many people</i>

We also have the prefix *i-* in one of the yak-eating examples above. With *y* objects we have:

mamu šemi	<i>he drank milk.</i>
askuriŋ šemi	<i>it (the sheep) ate the flowers.</i>

### 253. The Transitive verb *giyas* etc.

The transitive verb *giyas*, *guyas*, *to throw down*, approximates to *ši.as*:

*guyas* is used when the object is *h pl.* or *x pl.*  
*giyas* in all other cases. V. Vocab. s.v.

### 254. The Intransitive verb *niyas*.

In the intransitive verb *niyas* *to go*, which does not otherwise take the pronominal prefixes or infixes, the infix appears in the active participle:

na'n	<i>I, going . . . .</i>
nuko'n	<i>thou, going . . . .</i>
ni'n	<i>he, going . . . .</i>
numo'n etc.	<i>she, going . . . . etc. V. § 284.</i>

### 255. The verbs "to give". V. § 231. d.

With the verbs "to give" *\*-či.as* and *\*-aγun.as*, the pronoun prefix of the 1st pers. sing. *a-*, *ʌ-* is sometimes replaced by *ja-*

jači	:	ʌči	} <i>give thou to me.</i>
jaγun	:	aγun	

For further examples see the Vocabulary.

In the case of the verb *\*-uyas*, the regular form when the indirect object is the 1st pers. sing. appears to be *joyas*. So:

ja'r jo	<i>give thou me.</i>
jo'ča	<i>thou givest me.</i>
jo'čuma	<i>thou wilt give me.</i>
jo'čo	<i>she gives me.</i>
jo'mi	<i>he gave me.</i>

With the negative, however, forms with a- instead of jΔ- appear almost exclusively.

ayau	<i>do not thou give to me.</i>
aiy au.uma	<i>thou didst not give to me.</i>

Only in the vernacular ms. of the Prodigal Son, Version A, occurs a form o'jo'ba (written u'ju'ba) *thou hast not given to me*, where aiyawa was dictated to me.

### VERBS with INITIAL D\*-.

256. A large number of verbs have an initial d\*- which is usually immediately followed by the simple prefixal pronouns, or the \*-Δ- and \*-AS- of the Transitive or Causative.

I. A few verbs occur both with and without this d\*-, or with du-, du-:

*-ΔFAS	<i>to send.</i>	d*-ΔFAS	<i>to send.</i>
*-Δtsi.ΔS	<i>to press.</i>	d*-Δtsi.ΔS	<i>to squeeze.</i>
*-uše.ΔS	<i>to foster, rear.</i>	du*še.ΔS,	<i>to maintain,</i>
		(d*-u*še.ΔS?)	<i>support (them).</i>
bASA'S, cp. §	<i>to sit down,</i>	d*-WASAS,	<i>to remain,</i>
241.n.	<i>settle down.</i>	du(w)ASAS	<i>survive.</i>
		d*-ΔspASAS	<i>to preserve.</i>
*-faltAS v.t. }	<i>to burst.</i>	dufaltAS v.i.	<i>to burst.</i>
*-ΔfaltAS v.t. }			
γASA'S	<i>to laugh.</i>	d*-ΔγASAS	<i>to laugh.</i>
*-XƏFAS v.t.	<i>to split,</i>	duxƏFAS v.i.	<i>to split.</i>
	<i>cleave.</i>	doxƏFAS v.i.	<i>to open up.</i>
		dikaRAS v.t.	<i>to divide (the</i>
		(= dixƏRAS?)	<i>hair).</i>
mana'S	<i>to become.</i>	d*-mana'S	<i>to be born.</i>
		dumana'S	<i>to take shape,</i>
			<i>solidify, come</i>
			<i>into being.</i>
pirkaNAS	<i>to stumble.</i>	d*-pirkaNAS }	<i>to stumble.</i>
		d*-ΔpirkaNAS }	



so·kAS	to descend.	duso·kAS	to descend.
suyAS	to bring.	dusu·yAS	to bring.
*-yaiyAS	to obtain, receive.	d*-yaiyAS(?)	to perceive (a smell).

To this list is perhaps to be added:

tsuyAS	to take away.	d*-ts(u)AS	to bring.
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Traces of a final -u in the past base of d\*-tsAS appear in the Impv. and p.p.c.a. V. §§ 318.3, 321.2 and 326.

II. In duso·kAS and dusu·yAS the du-, du- is certainly invariable, and it is probably so also in the remaining examples. du(w)ASAS and dumanAS appear only to be used with y subjects.

This du-, du- would seem to be a generalised form of the initial d\*-.

In a number of verbs, mostly intransitives, we have du-, do-replacing d\*-, or corresponding to d\*-A- in transitive or causative forms:

doYANAS	to be used up, worn out.	d*-YANAS	to be used up, worn out.
doYONAS	(duYUNAS?)	d*-AYANAS, v.t.	to use up, exhaust.
doXUQAS	} to become entangled.	d*-YUNAS	to ripen.
duxo·qAS,		dequqAS v.t.	to entangle.
duYARUSAS	} to enquire from.	d*-AYARUSAS	to question, ask.
doYARUSAS			
dukAṭAS	to be stopped, cease.	dikAṭAS	to be stopped, get caught.
dumATSAS	to wrap up, roll up.	d*-mATSAS	to wrap up, roll up.
*-tsi	to suit, fit, be	d*-mayAS	to fit, be on good terms with.
dumAYAS	convenient.	d*-asmAYAS	to cause to mix, reconcile.
dumERAS	to ask for, demand.	d*-mERAS	to take (a load) from s. o.

Also some denominatives, v. § 258, e.g.

dutsANAS	to become straight, be fulfilled.	tsAN adj.	straight, true.
		d*-ASTSANAS	to make straight

III. There is also a noticeable number of intransitive verbs beginning in di- and transitive verbs beginning in dε- and des-, but enough is not known about them to say whether they are stabilised or not, or in many cases to say even that the d- is the separable d- and not radical.

257. As regards d\*- generally, an examination of all known examples has failed to throw any light on its meaning or function. It cannot originally have been without significance, but whether it still possesses any must remain a problem for future enquirers.

d\*- seems to carry no vowel of its own. Where it would be followed by a consonant a vowel is interposed, but this vowel may be regarded as epenthetic and depending on the vowel following. The preterite of d\*-MANAS *to be born* illustrates this (the 1st and 2nd pl. have been constructed on analogy with other verbs):

1st. sg.	d'a'MANAM	pl.	dim'iMANUMAN.
2nd.	duk'u'MANUMA		dAM'aMANUMAN.
3rd.	{ m. d'iMANIMI f. dum'uMANUMO }		d'u'MANUMAN.

NOTE. In all cases d- is changed to t- when it is preceded by the negative particle a-.

di'mi      *he came,*      ati'mi      *he did not come.*

### DENOMINATIVE and COMPOUND VERBS.

258. Burushaski has no marked faculty for creating verbs. There is no general class of denominatives i.e. verbs derived directly from nouns or adjectives, though the following may be quoted:

From nouns:

*-ADURUYAS	<i>to make use of, employ</i>	duro	<i>work.</i>
iltAYAYAS	<i>to plaster</i>	tAYAY	<i>mud.</i>
d*-ASTAYAS	<i>to prop up</i>	cp. tAY(?)	<i>post, prop(?)</i>
do'qAS	<i>to swell up</i>	do'q	<i>a swelling.</i>
du'ljaiyAS	<i>to be sated</i>	*-u'l	<i>belly.</i>
duro'yAS	<i>to do work</i>	duro	<i>work.</i>

From adjectives:

d*-ASPAPALAS	v.t.	to whirl away (of wind)	bABAL	suspended in the air.
d*-ASPI·RANAS		to fill full	bir	full.
duĉhAYURAS		to become cold	ĉhAYURUM	cold.
duYANDƏRAS		to be crooked	YANDIR	crooked.
dušo·qiyAS		to open, become undone	šu·qUM	loose.
dutsANAS		to become straight	tsAN	straight.
o·wƏRAS		to make cattle trample	*-wƏRA	round,
(u + *-AWƏRAS?)		out grain	adv.	round about.

259. Such formations are exceptional. Hence when need arises to express in verbal form the conception pertaining to a non-verbal part of speech, recourse must be had to combining the noun, adjective, or whatever it may be, with a verb of suitable general application. Such combinations I here call Compound Verbs.

This need arises particularly, as is natural, where the noun or adjective is a word of foreign origin.

Persian and Arabic words are fairly common in these compounds, and the great majority of first elements, even when not Persian or Arabic, occur also in the vocabulary of Shina.

In the immense majority of cases the verbs pressed into the service to form compounds are:

\*-ATAS, to make, and manA'S, to become.

A few other verbs, which will be mentioned later, are used in particular cases.

260. It will be readily seen that the category of compound verbs as defined above is a very loose one. In the majority of cases the compounds can equally well be regarded as the natural association of a verb with another part of speech, each behaving in its normal manner.

The distinction, so far as it is possible to make it, depends largely on the comparison with other languages which possess a simple verb presenting the meaning of the Burushaski compound, especially

where the Burushaski verb is of a general nature and not specially germane to the sense.

This is frequently the case where the verb is

	etas	or	mana's	
so:	šu etas			to rest.
	gati mana's			to assemble, collect, v.i.

Still there are composite verbal expressions in which the non-verbal element is not known to occur independently and cannot be defined as a noun, adjective, etc.

e.g.	čut etas	to pluck	(a flower).
	qu' mana's	to swing	v.i.

and perhaps some in which the verb does not behave as it would if alone, e.g. where etas remains constant, instead of varying with the object to go'tas, o'tas etc.

It is difficult to quote any certain case, but it seems that one may say either:

	be'se gumušo	(pl.) oča?	} why dost thou lie?
or,	be'se gumušo	(pl.) eča?	

in the latter of which eča has not reacted to the plural object.

Compare also

usko pfitimuts lap 'e'timi he put 3 flaps of bread into (B. K.'s) mouth. Here, however, the e' of e'timi probably refers to the indirect object, B. K.

### COMPOUNDS WITH \*-ATAS or etas.

261. The most generally used verb \*-ATAS or etas forms compounds of several different types, the principal of which may here be mentioned and illustrated:

#### I. Adjective, Adverb or Noun + \*-ATAS

yields a Transitive Verb.

a) The Pronoun Prefix represents the DIRECT OBJECT.

fāt o'tin! let them go! dāmši ačav ke . . if thou approvest me . .  
huda a'ta'n they have inoculated me. yu's riza numo satisfying his wife.

a'ltan yu' kaš o'ti ke... *if he slays his two sons.*

ma gutešo ja dišulo be'se ya're o'čan? *why do you bury your  
corpses in my place?*

For other examples see the Vocabulary s. vv. čau, čurut,  
gati, jərpa, lel, odovri, tak, talaq.

b) The Pronoun Prefix represents the INDIRECT OBJECT, or is an  
Ethic Dative.

u'ne hər besan xartir go'čuman *they will show thee every form  
of respect* (u'ne is genitive dependent on xartir, but cp. er  
xartir ne *showing respect to him*).

u'lčumuts liš o'čan *they close their eyes for them (corpses)* (but  
o' may refer to u'lčumuts).

oš mərək no *(she) twisting their neck(s) for them.*

Cp. moš mərək ne *twisting her neck (i.e. turning her face  
away).*

o'tiŋ maš a'(ti) *massage my feet for me.*

pəritiŋər kana.o o'tam *he had enjoined on the peris.*

kana.o mo *instruct, advise her.*

Kisere epimur milents numo, warts numo'tan. *Kiser having  
dispensed medicine to (i.e. having treated) his grandmother and  
having cured her.*

gute šerum askiltsum jaš atiš goma'ima? *wilt thou be able to  
remove (withdraw) this shame from my face (for me)?*

hiŋaŋe du.Δq du.Δq εΔs *to knock at the door.*

duwΔq mo'učai *he gives her a smack.*

mo'mus čuru'k ma.əči *he will cut off your tongue(s) (for you).*

Pu'nu.ε yu's kart mo'tam . . . . eγun mosam *P. had laid an  
injunction on his wife . . . . he had said: "Dont give them to  
him". 212.6*

In some of these examples, however, and in many others, it  
is really impossible to determine with exactitude the case value  
of the Pronominal Prefix.

## II. Noun + \*-ATAS.

In a few idioms relating to *disease* or *sensation* the noun denoting it is the subject, and the person the object.

Were in English we say "I have, or am suffering from, something", Burushaski has "something affects, or afflicts, me".

čAŋ a'či	<i>I shall vomit (lit. vomiting will do me).</i>
xus go'čila	<i>thou art coughing (coughing affects thee).</i>
kikiš ju.ΔN a'ti bim	<i>I had felt a sort of tickling on my feet (a tickling had affected me).</i>
jajΔM a'čila	<i>I feel a burning sensation.</i>

A very curious example is the idiom čA'ra \*-ATAS to have a remedy, resource, means of dealing with a situation.

čA'ra go'či.a?	<i>hast thou any remedy (for this situation)?</i>
čA'ra aiye'čilum	<i>there was nothing he could do to remedy matters</i>
BESΔN čA'ra ako'čila?	<i>hast thou no remedy? canst thou do nothing? 144 7.</i>

No literal translation seems possible in English.

It is to be noted that one may also say:

čA'ra biluMAN ε'ta ba *I have done what was possible.* 148.19.

## III. Noun + εTAS.

Here the noun is the object of εTAS (ε.) and the combined result is an Intransitive Verb.

wA'da ε.	<i>to make a promise.</i>	teš ε.	<i>to take oath.</i>
ΔjΔB ε.	<i>to marvel, be astonished.</i>	trΔN ε.	<i>to shoot.</i>
thu ε.	<i>to spit.</i>	qau ε.	<i>to shout out.</i>
γər ε.	<i>to sing.</i>	čΔγA ε.	<i>to narrate, converse.</i>

## IV. Noun + εTAS.

This combination may also provide Transitive Verbs of which the action passes to an outside object frequently expressed in some oblique case:

inər lik εtai.i (or, iči bai.i)	<i>he has bribed him.</i>
bəriŋ odovri εTAS	<i>an information-seeker, spy.</i>
ma gər eča ba	<i>I am going to marry you (i.e. arrange your marriage).</i>

bu't o'r izzat etimi	<i>he showed them much honour, respect.</i>
M. D.ε ka (epi) gər etimi i'mo ke gər etimi	<i>he married his grand-</i>
	<i>mother to M. D. and he also himself married.</i>
inər daŋ ba'k eti!	<i>punish him severely!</i>
axone hile'v s ke dasinmo nika etasər	<i>when the mulla has married</i>
	<i>the youth and girl.</i>
i'ne ilčumutsa'te ba'n etimi	<i>he kissed (the child) on its eyes.</i>
rai etas + dat.	<i>to express a desire to, make a request.</i>
ja i'nər rai etam ko'lə ju.Δasər	<i>I requested him to come here.</i>
o'r xΔbər etimi	<i>he informed them.</i>
γuyarŋ (y pl.) čərap etas	<i>to cut off the hair.</i>
hik nal'a i'tsi hē ne	<i>all together attacking, setting on, him.</i>
o'r me'rma'ni ečai.i	<i>he makes them a present.</i>
a'r ba'xšiš eti!	<i>pardon me!</i>

It is to be noted that there is a very large number of Transitive Compound Verbs which have been recorded only with the form *etas*, but which in all probability with suitable objects would prove to be *\*-atas* compounds.

Again we may have the Pronominal Prefix coming into play to represent an Indirect Object. Cp. the phrase already given

mo'mus čuru'k ma.əči	<i>he will cut off your tongue(s) (for you).</i>
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#### V. Noun + *\*-atas*.

Sometimes appears as the Causative of the Intransitive Combination of Noun + *etas*.

ču's etas	<i>to suck</i>	ču's <i>*-atas</i>	<i>to make suck, suckle.</i>
		(ε'etas, mo.etas)	
ha ha etas	<i>to charge, attack</i>	ha ha <i>*-atas</i>	<i>to cause to charge, attack.</i>

Perhaps

γusul etas	<i>to wash (a corpse)</i>	γusul <i>*-atas</i> (?)	<i>to cause to wash(?)</i>
Cp. γusul ne.itan gaturŋ tu.a'rŋ ne.ibil	<i>making him wash and put on fresh clothes.</i>		
teš etas	<i>to take oath</i>	teš <i>*-atas</i>	<i>to make take oath.</i>

COMPOUNDS with *MANA'S* and *\*-MANAS*.

262. This is the next most important verb used in forming Compounds. It provides in many cases the Intransitive complement to the Transitive compounds with *ETAŠ* and *\*-ATAŠ*.

*AR ETAŠ* to put in fear, frighten, threaten, etc.      *AR \*-MANAS* to be in fear, be afraid, become afraid, etc.  
*da:l ETAŠ* to raise, remove      *da:l MANA'S* to get up, rise.

Occasionally either *MANA'S* or *ETAŠ* can be used with little distinction of meaning:

*čal ETAŠ*, *čal \*-MANAS* to quarrel.  
*tis ETAŠ* to make a mistake, to miss.      *tis MANA'S*, *or, \*-MANAS* to be in error, be wrong, commit a fault, go astray.

Sometimes *MANA'S* provides an impersonal form of statement, like the passive voice in English:

*qau etimi* he shouted      *qau manimi* a shout became, there was a shout, a shout was heard, etc.

In the last example it will be noted that the conjoined word is itself the subject of the verb, which incidentally raises a question as to whether the phrase can fairly be regarded as a compound verb.

Where the subject is not the conjoined word, but something lying outside the compound, one would expect the conjoined word to be an adjective, but owing to the insecure distinction between nouns and adjectives in Burushaski this is not always, at least formally, the case. Cp. the compounds with *čal* & *tis* given above in which *čal* and *tis* must be nouns, and several examples of foreign nouns could be quoted. E.g.

*qAVZ \*-MANAS* to be constipated.  
*RUXSAT MANA'S* to be allowed to go, take one's leave.  
 and inversely, *čup ETAŠ* to be silent.

263 The following examples will illustrate the use of *MANA'S* (m.), *\*-MANAS* (\*-m.) in composition:

*i:te ki:te MANA'S* to cross backwards and forwards, to be settled (of a dispute).



cp. i'te ki'te etas to exchange.	ka'r m. to patrol.
ba'dal m. to change v.i., be changed.	lam m. to shine.
cp. ba'dal etas to change v.t.	cp. lam etas to light fire etc.
ba'lan m. to writhe.	le'l m. to be known, appear.
bu'r m. to set (of the sun).	cp. le'l *-atas to know, recognise,
čas m. to stick, adhere.	mo'q m. to smile.
čito m. to separate v.i.	(-ate) pfa'l m. to mount (a horse etc.)
cp. čito *-atas to separate v.t.	pfər m. to retire, revolve.
da'dər m. to shiver, tremble.	cp. pfər etas (*-atas) to repel,
draŋ m. to dismount.	reject; twist, turn v.t.
fat m. to be out of action.	pfu't *-m. to fall in love with.
cp. fat *-atas to leave, let go.	cp. pfu't etas to look at.
gati m. to assemble v.i.	sərke m. to become visible.
cp. gati *-atas to collect,	cp. sərke etas to reveal.
assemble v.t.	šərum *-m. to be ashamed.
γai.is m. to rear.	taš *-m. to slip.
jil m. to rise (of the sun).	tsatsaq m. to trot.
kha'p m. to fade, fall.	wafat m. to die.

264. One or two peculiar *mana's* compounds may be mentioned

1. *\*-mantsa mana's*

*gumantsa maiya'm*

*to help, assist.*

*I shall help thee.*

2. *pasom \*-manas* expresses *hesitation, regret, deprecation*, but it is difficult to determine the precise sense and give an exact translation in any given case.

I have about 11 instances of its use. Twice it is glossed as "afsu's" and once as "dari'γ". *pasom* can be used alone as an exclamation:

*burt γunikiŋen bai, nusen, ja aii burt daltasan bo, pasom! je ki'nər aiyu'čam, senimi.*

*"He is very ugly; my daughter is very beautiful", said he,*

*"God forbid! I won't give her to him", he said. 160.22.*

*je pasom! γin aiyaso I protest! Don't call me a thief.*

*je pasom amaiyam, gute bər o'san do not say this thing. I*

*deprecate it(?) I shall have cause to regret it(?) 118.13.*

i'ne yu'čər yu'y pašo'm imanumi      *his father grudged to give  
(his son) to him. 106.1.*

## 3. \*-yanči mana's.

aiyanči manimi      *he met me (on the road).*

The usual idiom is

\*-yanči.ər niyas, or ju'yas      *to go, or come, to meet; to go to  
receive someone arriving.*

Mn.P. istiqba'l raftan.

## 4. \*-u'l mana's to become replete, to be sated, satisfied (with food).

There is a corresponding transitive verb \*-u'l \*-atlas  
*to fill someone's belly, satisfy (with food).*

\*-u'l is respectively the subject and the direct object.

ja o'l mani bi      *my belly has been filled; I am replete.*

ja o'l maniš!      *may my belly be filled!*

ja'r bur't jo, o'l a'ti      *give me a lot (of food), fill me up.*

## 265. With corresponding etas, \*-atas and mana's compounds there may be some differentiation of meaning:

guse haγur xuda'ye tu'muk etai.i      *God has made this horse appear,  
has created it.*

i'kər tu'muk etimi      *he revealed himself.*

ja'tse tu'muk manimi      *he met me (on the road).*

hin hiran tu'muk numan      *a man turning up.*

i'se xazina'ate tu'muk amanam      *I have come upon, lighted upon,  
the treasury.*

## 266. Other verbs which are used to form compounds are the following:

\*-či.as      *to give (y. sg. object).*

delas, deli.as      *to strike.*

Cs. \*-adilas.

du'nas      *to seize.*

dusu'yas, (su'yas),      *to bring.*

di'tsas.

Cs. d\*-atsas.

ganas, yanas      *to take.*

ju'yas      *to come.*

niyas	to go.
walas	to fall.

Of these the commonest are:

delas, dusuryas and juyas.

1. \*-či.as.

Combinations with \*-či.as are only compounds in so far as they represent ideas rendered by single words in many languages:

madađ *-či.as	to help (someone).
saza *-či.as	to punish (someone).

2. delas usually connotes a physical action:

čup delas (and, gavrtsas)	to jump down.
dam delas (dusuryas, juyas)	to breathe.
dapiski delas + acc.	to kick.
du's deli.as (and, du'nas)	to butt.
gi'li delas (*-delas)	to peg down.
gi'li mudelimi	he fixed her down with a peg.
hal delas	to jump, leap.
gotsiltsum hal delimi	he jumped over the water-channel.

Cs. telum Mo'ri Darsər hal e'dilimi he made (the horse) leap from there to M. D.

jamek deli.as	to shoot with bow (and arrow).
ko'k deli.as	to stitch.
piwan delas	to graft.
prik delas	to leap, jump.
prik *-adilas	to make jump.
-tse ran deli.as	to paint something.
sap *-adilas	to shoe a horse.
haγure sap e'dili!	shoe (make someone shoe) the horse!
cp. sap e'pusas, sap etas.	
tam delas	to bathe.
turak } delas + acc.	to strike with a whip.
tur }	
(haγur) tur delas.	

## 3. du·NAS.

du's du·NAS                    to butt, probably to "engage" in butting.  
sulama du·NAS                    to wrestle.

## 4. dusu·YAS, su·YAS &amp; ditsAS, Cs. d\*-ATSAS, cp. § 244.

Compounds with dusu·YAS generally relate to adopting a state of mind. The process is also frequently represented impersonally by ju·YAS, V. sub. sec. 6. below.

daq dusu·YAS                    to believe.

(su·YAS and ju·YAS).

gute bærær daq dusu·YAM    I believed this matter.

ja·tse daq su·čAMANA be?    wilt thou believe me or not?

dAM dusu·YAS                    to breathe (cp. Engl. "to fetch one's breath").

(deLAS and ju·YAS),

but,

dAM ditsAS                    to charge, attack.

daŋ dusu·YAS (ju·YAS)        to go to sleep.

\*-mo's dusu·YAS                to become angry.

(su·YAS and ju·YAS).

ine gu's but mumo's dusu bo'm    the woman had become (was)  
very angry.

imo's su.ai                    he has become angry.

Cs. \*-mo's d\*-ATSAS    to make angry, worry.

amo's ata·tso                    don't worry me.

u·ŋ in bese imo's deša?        why dost thou anger, worry him?

naZær dusu·YAS + dat        to aim at.

(ju·YAS, etAS).

-a·tse }  
-tse } rahm dusu·YAS, etAS    to pity someone, have pity on, feel pity for

bi·ri ditsAS N.                    to boil v.i.

bi·ri d\*-ATSAS                    to make boil, boil v.t.

## 5. gANAS, YANAS.

badala gANAS + abl.            to take revenge on.

do·q \*-YANAS                    to take someone on one's shoulders

hukəm ganas	to take, i.e. obey, an order.
mə'r ganas (gami.as, etas).	to take vengeance, revenge, avenge.
ru'za ganas	to keep the fast.
šaturgat ganas	to surround.

## 6. ju'yas.

Compounds with ju'yas provide alternatives in almost every instance for those with dusu'yas (q.v.). They can be rendered in most cases by the Engl. "to be affected by", but are literally "my etc. state or feeling etc. comes".

bi'ri ju'yas	to boil v.i.
daq ju'yas	to believe, hope.
ja daq bila	I have hope.
ja daq ačučila	I have no hope (lit. my hope does not come).
dam ju'yas	to breathe.
daŋ ju'yas	to go to sleep.
tape daŋ atimi	at night I did not go to sleep.
ga'r ju'yas	to become giddy.
ja'k ju'yas	to feel pity.
au.ε ja'k a'r di'n heram	pity for my father coming on me, I wept.
*-mo's ju'yas	to become angry.
pfute bur't imo's di'mi	the Div was enraged.
rahm ju'yas	to be filled with pity.
i'ne yu'u.ε i'ne i' ni'tsin raham di'mi	} his father, seeing his son (him) felt compassion.
i'ne yuye ni'ts'in esulo ram dusu'mi	
("was moved with compassion". Luke XV. 20. R.V.)	

## 7. niyas.

Compounds of niyas occur only in a few phrases, in which the verb has its literal meaning of "to go", or else as in the vulgar English "to go bust".

čat niyas	to crack v.i.
čiki niyas (or, mana's)	(of the polo ball) to "go out"
gatal niyas (or, gutsəras)	to walk, go on foot.



On these are built up two parallel series of main tenses, each pair having the same inflectional endings:

PRESENT BASE.	PAST BASE.
Future	Preterite
Present	Perfect
Imperfect	Pluperfect.

The other parts formed from the two bases respectively have been mentioned in § 210.7.

Characteristic of the endings of the Future and Preterite is *-m-*, though it does not occur in all persons, and there are a number of alternative forms in which it is lacking.

The Present and Perfect obviously employ to a greater or less extent the auxiliary verb *ba I am*, etc.

The Imperfect and Pluperfect similarly employ the past tense of the same auxiliary, *baiyam I was*, etc.

In regard to the last two pairs a difference arises in the conjugation of verbs according as their bases end in a consonant or a vowel (v. §§ 211 ff.). In certain parts of the verbs with consonantal bases the *b-* of the auxiliary verb is suppressed, or at least does not appear; in the same parts of verbs with vowel-bases the *b-* does appear. Only verbs with the past base ending in *-n* have the present base ending in a vowel (§ 221).

Thus: *ečai.i he is doing*, *mi bai.i he is drinking*.

Again, verbs with consonantal bases display a vowel before the *-m-* where it appears in the Future and Preterite endings, and before the *b* where it occurs in the other tenses. Where the past base ends in a vowel this terminal vowel dominates, either absorbing or modifying the vowel pertaining to the ending:

<i>etas</i>	<i>et-</i>	<i>etimi</i>	<i>he did</i>	<i>etumo</i>	<i>she did.</i>
<i>gučaiyas</i>	<i>guča-</i>	<i>gučami</i>	<i>he lay down</i>	<i>gučamo</i>	<i>she lay down.</i> <i>(was confined).</i>
<i>tsuyas</i>	<i>tsu-</i>	<i>tsu'mi</i>	<i>he took away</i>	<i>tsu'mo</i>	<i>she took away.</i>
<i>niyas</i>	<i>ni-</i>	<i>ni'mi</i>	<i>he went</i>	<i>ni'mo</i>	<i>she went.</i>
<i>še'as</i>	<i>še-</i>	<i>še'mi</i>	<i>he ate</i>	<i>še'mo</i>	<i>she ate.</i>

269. With these principal considerations in mind we may proceed to examine the various types of conjugation.

It is necessary first to dispose of the parts of the verb *ba* *I am* etc. since, as well as being used independently, it enters into the conjugation of all other verbs.

It will be noted that the form of the 3rd person varies according as the subject is *h*, *x*, or *y*. In the singular, *hm* and *hf* are also distinguished.

### THE VERB "TO BE".

(In the following paradigm the appropriate pronouns are supplied with the verbal forms).

#### *Present Tense.*

Singular.				Plural.			
1.	<i>je</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>I am</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>ba'n</i>	<i>we are.</i>	
2.	<i>u'ŋ</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>thou art</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ba'n</i>	<i>you are.</i>	
3.	<i>hm</i>	<i>i'nε</i>	<i>bai.i</i>	{ <i>hm</i> }	<i>u'ε</i>	<i>ba'n</i>	<i>they are.</i>
	<i>hf</i>	<i>i'nε</i>	<i>bo</i>				
	<i>x</i>	<i>i'sε</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>i'tse</i>	<i>bi.εn, bi.ε</i>	<i>they are.</i>
	<i>y</i>	<i>i'tε</i>	<i>bila</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>i'ke</i>	<i>bi'tsaŋ, bi'tsa</i>	<i>they are.</i>

#### *Past Tense.*

1.	<i>je</i>	<i>baiyΔM</i>	<i>I was</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>bΔM</i>	<i>we were.</i>	
2.	<i>u'ŋ</i>	<i>bΔM</i>	<i>thou wast</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>bΔM</i>	<i>you were.</i>	
3.	<i>hm</i>	<i>i'nε</i>	<i>bΔM</i>	{ <i>hm</i> }	<i>u'ε</i>	<i>bΔM</i>	<i>they were.</i>
	<i>hf</i>	<i>i'nε</i>	<i>bo'm</i>				
	<i>x</i>	<i>i'sε</i>	<i>bi'm</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>i'tse</i>	<i>bi'm</i>	<i>they were</i>
	<i>y</i>	<i>i'tε</i>	<i>bi'lum</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>i'ke</i>	<i>bi'tsum</i>	<i>they were</i>

The forms of the Past Tense appear also to be used with the force of Static Participles, and it seems probable that the latter use was the original one. V. § 389.

#### NOTES.

1. It is open to question whether the vowels *a*, *i* and *o* following *b* should be marked long or short.



2. It is worth while noting the correspondence of vowel sounds to the category of the subject
- |   |    |   |           |       |     |       |    |   |        |    |     |    |
|---|----|---|-----------|-------|-----|-------|----|---|--------|----|-----|----|
| a | or | Δ | occurring | where | the | subj. | is | h | except | hf | sg. |    |
| o |    |   | "         | "     | "   | "     | "  | " | "      | hf | sg. |    |
| i |    |   | "         | "     | "   | "     | "  | " | "      | x  | or  | y. |
3. Final -n is characteristic of the Present Plural.  
Final -m is characteristic of the Past Tense.

### "NOT TO BE".

270. Negative forms of the verb "to be" are obtained by prefixing a- or Δ- to the positive with the usual change of the following media to the corresponding tenuis, viz. b to p. This applies only to the verb when used independently. When used as an auxiliary the negative particle is prefixed to the principal verb:

Thus: dirtsa ba                    *I have brought (him).*  
        atirtsa ba                    *I have not brought (him).*

The following are the negative forms of the verb "to be". Those in brackets are hypothetical, not having actually been recorded:

#### *Present Tense.*

Singular.		Plural.	
1.	apa <i>I am not</i>	1.	apa'n <i>we are not.</i>
2.	apa <i>thou art not</i>	2.	(apa'n) <i>you are not.</i>
3.	apa.i <i>he is not</i>	3.	hmf apa'n <i>they are not.</i>
	apo <i>she is not</i>		
x	api <i>it is not</i>	x	api.ɛn <i>they are not.</i>
y	api <i>it is not</i>	y	(api.ɛn) <i>they are not.</i>

#### *Past Tense.*

1.	apaiyΔm <i>I was not</i>	1.	(apΔm) <i>we were not.</i>
2.	(ΔpΔm) <i>thou wast not</i>	2.	(apΔm) <i>you were not.</i>
3.	apΔm <i>he was not</i>	3.	hmf. apΔm <i>they were not.</i>
	apo'm <i>she was not</i>		
x	api'm <i>it was not</i>	x	api'm <i>they were not.</i>
y	api'm <i>it was not</i>	y	api'm <i>they were not.</i>

-š form: *apiš not being. Bərbər apiš xa so long as the Bərbər (water-channel) did not exist, i.e. until it was constructed.*

## NOTES.

1. The accent usually falls on the second syllable; but one sometimes hears 'a'pi.
2. The absence of y forms (†api'la, †api'tsan etc.) and the employment of x forms in their place is curious. No y forms were recorded and their existence was definitely denied.

**271.** The following uncommon forms all appear to be derived from this verb:

bAČAN (-tse).

bAš.

biličAN (-tse).

biliš.

1. bAČAN has only twice been certainly recorded in the form bAČantse:

je bAČantse, which is glossed as being equivalent to Kho. ma asika "in my being".

Nuširwa'n taxtate bAČantse (or, bAMantse) owing to N. being on the throne. 96.22,

where it is glossed Hind. ho'ne se from (his) being.

Possibly identical with this is bAČen occurring repeatedly in one passage in the sense of *in place of, as, in the quality of.*

The gentleman addressed was no relation of the lady's, but was in love with her and declined to be lured into any relationship that would be a bar to matrimony. Eventually the lady says: hapku.in bAČen ayun, *in the character of husband give me them*, 14.15, and he then complies.

In form it is identical with the Khowar postposition bAČen *for the sake of, on behalf of* which would make possible sense, but an isolated borrowing of this sort from Khowar is highly improbable. Note that it does not take the noun in an oblique case

2. bAš is only recorded once in:

ε'delin, te.i bAš etin *don't beat him, let him be as he is*, 120.14 (where etin has been accidentally omitted).

\*-ATAS preceded by the optative etc. form in -š is a regular idiom for *to let, allow*.

i'n niš eti            *let him go.*  
niš ayo'ti            *don't let them go.*

baš is probably this form of ba *I am*.

3. biličan and biliš are each recorded only once:

Baxtekale wazi'ri biličantse    *owing to the wazirship being in the hands of Bakhtek.* 96.23.

(kita'p) ko'le biliš nuse fat etam    *I had left the book, saying "let it remain here".* 70.5.

The forms appear to be y equivalents of bačan and baš referable to the base of the Indicative forms bila and bilum. It will be noted that in the recorded examples, while bačan and baš both refer to h subjects, biličan and biliš refer to y subjects.

Attention should also be directed to the negative form apiš i.e. a + biš given above § 270 end. It also appears to be recorded only once. It refers to an x subject go'tsil and appears to be based on bi.

We have therefore a series of parallel forms, three in -š, and two, probably three, in -čan:

h	baš	bačan.
x	biš	(bičan?)
y	biliš	biličan.

### CONJUGATION of the VERB.

272. The most important features of the Conjugation of the Burushaski will be illustrated by the following:<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> At a very early stage in my study of Burushaski I obtained fairly complete paradigms of etas, manas, niyas and juyas from Nazar. These cannot be regarded as entirely reliable, even as a statement of Nazar's speech, and some of the forms Imam Yar Beg would probably have denounced as Ali.abadisms. The paradigm of etas I subsequently checked with I. Y. B.

All I have now been able to do is to collect all the forms to be found in my texts, which represent Imam Yar Beg's speech, and use them to correct or supple-

1. The full paradigm of  $\epsilon\tau\Delta\varsigma$  *to do* as a fairly normal verb and one of the commonest in use.
  2. Verb with Infinitive in *-a's* and past base in *-n*,  $\mu\alpha\eta\alpha\upsilon\varsigma$  *to become*.
  3. Intransitive verb with pronominal prefixes as subject: Infinitive in *-as* and past base in *-n*,  $^*\mu\alpha\eta\alpha\varsigma$  *to become*.
  4. Verbs with past base in *-a* ( $-\Delta$ ) and *-e*.
  5. Verbs with past base in *-i*,  $\eta\iota\upsilon\Delta\varsigma$  *to go*.
  6. Verbs with past base in *-u*,  $\eta\upsilon\upsilon\Delta\varsigma$  *to come*, etc.
  7. Transitive verbs with pronominal prefixes relating to the Direct or Indirect Object.
  8. Verbs with pronominal prefixes followed by  $-\Delta$  or  $-\Delta\varsigma$ .
  9. Verbs in  $d^*$ -.
  10. Verbs in  $d^*-\Delta-$  and  $d^*-\Delta\varsigma-$ .
273. It may be recalled here that the subject of Intransitive Verbs is expressed in the simple form of the Nominative, while with the Past-Base tenses of Transitive Verbs the subject is expressed in the extended form of the Nominative, the "Transitive Nominative". With the Present-Base tenses of Transitive Verbs the subject is usually in the simple, sometimes in the extended, form of the Nominative. V. §§ 59—60.

274.  $\epsilon\tau\Delta\varsigma$  *to do, make*.

Present Base $\epsilon\check{\varsigma}$ -.		Past Base $\epsilon\tau$ -.		
<i>Future.</i>				
Singular.		Plural.		
1.	$\epsilon\check{\varsigma}\Delta\mu$ .	1.	$\epsilon\check{\varsigma}\Delta\mu\eta$ , $\epsilon\check{\varsigma}\epsilon\eta$ .	
2.	$\epsilon\check{\varsigma}\mu\alpha$ .	2.	$\epsilon\check{\varsigma}\mu\alpha\eta$ .	
3.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{hm} \\ \text{hf} \\ \text{x} \\ \text{y} \end{array} \right.$	3.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{hmf} \\ \text{x} \\ \text{y} \end{array} \right.$	$\epsilon\check{\varsigma}\iota\mu\iota$ , $\epsilon\check{\varsigma}\iota$ .
				$\epsilon\check{\varsigma}\iota\mu\omicron$ , $\epsilon\check{\varsigma}\omicron$ .
				$\epsilon\check{\varsigma}\iota\mu\iota$ .
				$\epsilon\check{\varsigma}\iota\mu\iota$ .
		$\epsilon\check{\varsigma}\iota\mu\alpha\eta$ .		
		$\epsilon\check{\varsigma}\iota.\epsilon\eta$ , $\epsilon\check{\varsigma}\iota\epsilon$ .		
		$\epsilon\check{\varsigma}\iota\mu\iota$ .		

ment the early paradigms, and provide outlines for others. Of many verbs I obtained illustrative parts by direct inquiry.

Singular.		Plural.	
<i>Present.</i>			
1.	εča ba.	1.	εča ba'n.
2.	εča.	2.	εča'n.
3.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{hm} \text{ εčai.i.} \\ \text{hf} \text{ εču bo.} \\ \text{x} \text{ εči bi.} \\ \text{y} \text{ εči bi'la, εči'la.} \end{array} \right.$	3.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{hmf} \text{ εča'n.} \\ \text{x} \text{ (εči bi'en?), εči.en, εči.ε.} \\ \text{x} \text{ εčitsan.} \end{array} \right.$
<i>Imperfect.</i>			
1.	εča baiγam.	1.	εča bΔm.
2.	εč'Δm,	2.	εč Δm.
3.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{hm} \text{ εč'Δm.} \\ \text{hf} \text{ εču bo'm} \\ \text{x} \text{ εči bi'm.} \\ \text{y} \text{ εči bi'lum, εči'lum.} \end{array} \right.$	3.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{hmf} \text{ εč'Δm.} \\ \text{x} \text{ εči bi'm.} \\ \text{y} \text{ εči bi'tsum.} \end{array} \right.$
<i>Conditional.</i>			
1.	εčΔm tse ( <i>I would, do, would have done</i> ).	1.	(εčΔn tse?)
2.	(εčum tse?)	2.	(εčum tse?)
3.	hmf, x, y (εčum tse?)	3.	hxy (εčum tse?)
<i>Preterite.</i>			
1.	εtam, eta.	1.	εtumΔn, εtan.
2.	εtuma, (eta).	2.	εtumΔn, εtan.
3.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{hm} \text{ etimi, eti} \\ \text{hf} \text{ etumo, (eto).} \\ \text{x} \text{ etimi, (eti).} \\ \text{y} \text{ etimi, eti.} \end{array} \right.$	3.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{hm} \\ \text{hf} \end{array} \right\} \text{ etumΔn, (εtan).}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{x} \\ \text{y} \end{array} \right\} \text{ etimi.en, eti.en, eti.ε.}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{x} \\ \text{y} \end{array} \right\} \text{ etimi, (eti).}$
<i>Perfect.</i>			
1.	εta ba.	1.	εta'n.
2.	εtaγ	2.	εta'n.
3.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{hm} \text{ etai.i.} \\ \text{hf} \text{ εtu bo.} \\ \text{x} \text{ eti bi.} \\ \text{y} \text{ eti bi'la, eti'la.} \end{array} \right.$	3.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{hm} \\ \text{hf} \end{array} \right\} \text{ εta'n.}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{x} \\ \text{y} \end{array} \right\} \text{ eti bi.en.}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{x} \\ \text{y} \end{array} \right\} \text{ eti bi'tsan, (eti'tsan).}$

Singular.		Plural.	
<i>Pluperfect.</i>			
1.	eta baiyΔm.	1.	et'Δm.
2.	et'Δm.	2.	et'Δm.
3.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} hm \text{ et'Δm.} \\ hf \text{ etu bo'm.} \\ x \text{ eti bi'm.} \\ y \text{ eti bi'lum, eti'lum.} \end{array} \right.$	3.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} hm \\ hf \end{array} \right\} \text{ et'Δm.}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} x \\ y \end{array} \right\} \text{ eti bi'm.}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} x \\ y \end{array} \right\} \text{ eti bi'tsum.}$
<i>Imperative.</i>			
2.	eti, ε.	2.	etin.
<i>Deprecatory Imperative.</i>			
2.	eti.a, eta.	2.	etina.
<i>Form in -š (-š̄). Injunctive, Optative etc.</i>			
3.	etiš,	3.	etišΔn.
<i>Participles.</i>			
<i>Active. Present (Continuous).</i>			
	εčume		doing, continuing to do.
<i>Past.</i>			
	netΔn, ne,		having done, doing.
<i>Passive &amp; Active.</i>			
<i>Static (denoting state).</i>			
3.	etum		done, having done (pl. etumišo).
	(1st. sg. & pl. etam, other persons etum?)		
<i>Infinitive and Noun of Action.</i>			
	etas		to do, doing.
<i>Noun Agent.</i>			
	etas pl. etašo		doer.
<i>Gerund and Gerundive.</i>			
	etas		to do, to be done.
<i>Final: Present Base + ər.</i>			
	εčər		for the purpose of doing. in order to do, for doing.

## NOTES.

275. 1. The accent is usually on the initial vowel (which I have frequently marked long) unless there is a long vowel in the second syllable: e.g. 1. pl. perf.  $\text{et}^{\text{a}}\text{a}^{\text{n}}$ .

A long vowel in the 3rd syllable carries either the main or a subsidiary accent.

The forms  $\text{etam}$  of the pluperfect usually have the accent on the second syllable:  $\text{et}^{\text{a}}\text{am}$ . I have sometimes recorded it as  $\text{et}^{\text{a}}\text{a}^{\text{m}}$  or  $\text{etam}$ .

$\text{ečam}$  of the Imperfect also tends to have the accent on the second syllable:  $\text{eč}^{\text{a}}\text{am}$ .

2. Recorded variants are:

Pres. 3rd. sg. hm	$\text{eč}^{\text{u}}\text{.ai}$	Impf. 2nd. 3rd. sg. and pl.
2nd. pl.	$\text{eč}^{\text{e}}\text{wa}^{\text{n}}$	$\text{eč}^{\text{u}}\text{wam}$ .
Perf. 2nd. sg.	$\text{etuwa}$	Plup. 2nd. 3rd. sg. h. 1st. 2nd.
		3rd. pl. h.
1st. 2nd.		
3rd. pl. h	$\text{etuwa}^{\text{n}}$	$\text{et}^{\text{a}}\text{a}^{\text{m}}$ .

These forms are said to be used by the people of Ali.aba'd and to be inferior.

3. I have once recorded a form,  $(\text{tra}\text{ŋ}) \text{et}^{\text{a}}\text{ate}$  said to be equivalent to  $(\text{tra}\text{ŋ}) \text{etan ke}$ , *if we divided*, which is apparently the Past base +  $-\text{ate}$ , but v. § 407. c.
4. The Imperative singular  $\text{eti}$ , for which one would expect  $\text{et}$ , is unusual, but can be paralleled, v. § 318.2.
- The short Imperative singular  $\text{e}$  and the p.pc. act.  $\text{ne}$  postulate a short past base  $*-\text{a}$ .
5. It will be remembered that  $\text{etas}$  is only one form of the pronominal prefix verb  $*-\text{atas}$  which has infinitives  $\text{atas}$ ,  $\text{gotas}$ ,  $\text{etas}$ ,  $\text{motas}$ ,  $\text{metas}$ ,  $\text{matas}$ ,  $\text{otas}$ , all similarly conjugated. V. §§ 297. II and 298.4.
6. The  $y$  forms of this Transitive verb were given me, without remark, with such subjects as  $\text{tsil}$  and  $\text{h}^{\text{e}}\text{ra}^{\text{a}}\text{lt}$ ,  $\text{h}^{\text{e}}\text{ra}^{\text{a}}\text{lti}\text{ŋ}$ .

Cp. Note following § 25.

276.

**MAN'AS, to become.**

Pres. Base: mai.i, məi.i, me'i-. etc. Past Base: man-.

*Future.*

		Singular.		Plural.
1.		maiya'm		maiya'n.
2.		mai.ima		mai.iman.
3.	hm	mai.imi	} hmf	mai.iman.
	hf	mai.imo		
	x	mai.imi		mai.imi.en, mai.imi.e.
	y	mai.imi		mai.imi.

*Present.*

1.		maiya ba		maiya ba'n.
2.		mai.i ba		mai.i ba'n.
3.	hm	mai.i bai.i	} hmf	mai.i ba'n.
	hf	mai.i bo		
	x	mai.i bi		mai.i bi.en, mai.i bi.e.
	y	mai.i bi'la		mai.i bi'tsan, mai.i bi'tsa.

*Imperfect.*

1.		maiya baiyam		(mai.i bam).
2.		mai.i bam		(mai.i bam).
3.	hm	mai.i bam	} hmf	mai.i bam.
	hf	(mai.i bo'm)		
	x	mai.i bi'm		(mai.i bi'm).
	y	mai.i bi'lum		mai.i bi'tsum.

*Conditional.*

3. me.im tse, məim tse.

*Preterite.*

1.	mana'm, (-mana)	1.	manu'man, (-manan).
2.	manu'ma, mana	2.	manu'man.
3.	hmi'mi	3.	hm } manu'man.
	hf manu'mo, (-manu)	hf	}
	x mani'mi, mani	x	mani'mi.en, mani'mi.e, mani.en.
	y mani'mi, mani	y	mani'mi, mani.



*Perfect.*

Singular.		Plural.	
1.	man'a ba	1.	manuwa'n.
2.	manuwa	2.	manuwa'n.
3. hm	manuwai.i	3. hm	} manuwa'n.
hf	manu bo	hf	
x	mani bi	x	mani bi.en.
y	mani bi'la, mani'la	y	mani bi'tsan; mani'tsan, mani'tsa.

*Pluperfect.*

1.	mana baiyam	1.	manuwam.
2.	manuwam	2.	manuwam.
3. hm	manuwam, manu.am	3. hm	} manuwam.
hf	manu bo'm	hf	
x	mani bi'm	x	mani bi'm.
y	mani bi'lum, mani'lum	y	mani bi'tsum.

*Imperative.*

2.	mane	2.	mani'n, ma'nin.
	(negative, o'man).		

*Form in -š.*

3.	maniš	3.	maniš'an.
	(neg., o'manš).		

*Participles.*

*Present.* mai.ime.      *Past Act.* num'an, num'a.

*Static.* 3. manu'm.

*Infinitive, Noun Agent, Gerundive.*

mana's      pl. mana'so.

*Final.* Present Base + -er.

maiya'r, mai.a'r.

## NOTES.

277. 1. manumi occurs for mani'mi. There appears to be a tendency towards this change of vowel in verbs with bases in -n. Thus: senumi : senimi; bər'enumi, etc.

2. The Preterite short forms shown in brackets, -*mana*, -*manu* and -*manan* are recorded in the verbs \*-*manas*, d\*-*asmanas* and \*-*amanas* respectively.
3. o·*maš* occurs once as the negative of *maniš*, probably for o·*manš*:  
o·r *takli·f* o·*maš* *may there be no trouble for them.*

\*-**M'ANAS**, to become.

278. There is no radical difference in conjugation between this verb and *man'a's*, but the shift of accent produced by the addition of a syllable at the beginning shortens long vowels where they occur in the second syllable of *manas*. Thus:

*Future.* 1st. sg. *am'aiyam* 1st. pl. *mim'aiyan*

*Preterite.*

	Sg.		Pl.
1.	<i>am'anam, amana</i>		( <i>mim'anuman</i> ).
2.	<i>gum'anuma</i>		<i>mam'anuman</i> .
3. <i>hm</i>	<i>im'animi, imamumi</i>	<i>hmf</i>	<i>um'anuman</i> .
	<i>hf</i> <i>mum'anumo</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>uman'imi.e(n)</i> .

In the Perfect, however, so far as the forms are known, the accent is somewhat irregular:

*Perfect.*

1.	<i>am'ana ba</i>	<i>mim'an'a'n.</i>
2.	<i>gum'an'a.</i>	
3. <i>hm</i>	<i>iman'ai.i.</i>	
	<i>hf</i> <i>mumanu bo.</i>	

*Pluperfect*, (only recorded forms).

1.	<i>am'ana baiyam.</i>
3. <i>hm</i>	<i>imanam.</i>

*Imperative.*

2.	<i>guman</i>	<i>a-m'anandin</i> (negative).
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*Forms in* -š.

No forms corresponding to *maniš* are on record, but there is a special series running apparently through all three persons with the vowel before the š omitted.

The sense is optative and the forms recorded are:

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	am'anša	mimanšan, mimanš.
2.	gum'anš	— mamanš.
3.	hm imanš	umanšan, u'manš.
	hf mumanš.	

Verbs with infinitives in -nas seem regularly to have the š or č (č?) attached immediately after the -n, e.g. du'nš, senč, etc.

*Participles.*

<i>Present.</i>	3rd. sg.	imai.ime	<i>he becoming.</i>
<i>Static.</i>	1st. sg.	amanam	<i>I being.</i>
	2nd. sg.	gumanum	<i>thou being.</i>
	3rd. sg. x	imum	<i>it being.</i>
	2nd. pl.	(a)mananum	<i>you (not) being.</i>
	3rd. pl.	umanum	<i>they being.</i>

*Past Active:* The following forms have been recorded:

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	naman	nimi'man.
2.	nuku'man	nama'man.
3.	hm ni'man	hmf nu'man.
	hf numu'man.	
	x ni'man	x nu'man.

*Infinitive.*

\*-manas, recorded in: imanas and mimanas.

Professor Siddheshwar Varma has found a "'would' subjunctive" of this verb:

1st. sg. am'anase. Cp. §§ 313 A and 405.

**INFINITIVES in -a's.**

279. A characteristic of all verbs which have -a's in the Infinitive, excepting those like manas in which the -a's is preceded by n, is that their present bases end in -č.

This feature also characterises all verbs whose past base ends in a vowel. This base vowel also absorbs or affects the vowels of the endings with which it comes in contact.

### VOWEL BASES.

280. The first series of verbs with vowel-bases which I shall illustrate are those whose infinitives end in

-ai(y)ΔS,    -ε(y)ΔS    and    -e'(y)ΔS.

I do not think that in general a hard and fast distinction is to be regarded as existing between these three forms.

I know of only a couple of verbs in which -e'(y)ΔS seems really to represent a past base ending in -e, viz.

di.eyΔS            to stand up.

še'yΔS            to eat (a y object).

Otherwise, interchange between ai and ε is frequent, and interchange also occurs between ai and e, and all three seem really to represent a past base ending in -a or -A. This vowel -a is found as the final in the Imperative singular.

The present base varies between

-ač, -Ač, -æč    and    -εč,    and even    -eč.

Verbs in -e'yΔS have -eč and -εč.

281. Some verbs with bases ending in a consonant, or a vowel other than -a, have alternative or additional forms with an added -a, sometimes with some modification of form and meaning:

<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Pres. Base.</i>	<i>Pret.</i>	
*-Δtsi.ΔS	*-Δtsič-	'etsimi	to press.
etsaiyΔS	etsAč-	—	to infix, plant.
Cp. also d*-Δtsi.ΔS and detsaiyΔS.			
bu'yΔS (y?)	bu'č-	bu'mi	} to dry up.
buyai.ΔS (y?)	buyAč-	buyΔmi	
du'yΔS	du'č-	(du'y-)	} to melt.
(duyai.ΔS)	du'yεč-	—	
ga'rtsΔS	ga'rš-	ga'rtsuMAN	} to run.
garčaiyΔS	—	ga'rčAMAN	

<i>Infn.</i>	<i>Pres. Base.</i>	<i>Pret.</i>	
gijAS	gič-	gi'mAN	<i>to go into, plunge into.</i>
gijai.ΔS	gijAč-	gi.ΔMAN	<i>to come down, fall.</i>
hurur'tAS	hurur'š-	hurur'tAMN	} <i>to sit.</i>
huručai.ΔS	—	huručAMAN	

No present base forms of garčaiyAS or huručaiyAS have been recorded.

### Conjugation of verbs in -AI(Y)AS, -E.ΔS.

282. I cannot give a complete paradigm of a verb in -aiyAS, but typical parts can be supplied from a number of different verbs.

I use the following:

<i>Infn.</i>	<i>Pres. Base.</i>	
1. *-ΔršE.ΔS	*-ΔršEč-	<i>to be drunk.</i>
	*-ΔršAč-	
2. *-ΔstΔqaiyAS	*-ΔstΔqAč-	<i>to hide v.t.</i>
3. bΔγalte.ΔS	bΔγaltAč-	<i>to become mad.</i>
4. bišaiyAS	bišAč-	<i>to fling.</i>
5. buyai.ΔS	buyAč-	<i>to become dry.</i>
6. dΔγaiyAS	dΔγAč-	<i>to hide v.i.</i>
7. duwΔšE.ΔS	duwΔšAč-	<i>to come out, go out.</i>
8. gijai.ΔS	gijAč-	<i>to fall (of snow etc.).</i>
9. gučaiyAS	gučAč-	<i>to lie down, be delivered (of a child).</i>
10. hƏrai.ΔS	hƏrAč-	<i>to urinate.</i>
11. huljaiyAS	huljAč-	<i>to mount (a horse).</i>
12. huručaiyAS	—	<i>to sit, be seated.</i>
13. *-ltaiyAS	*-ltAč-	<i>to put on (shoes etc.).</i>
14. thaiyAS	thAč-	<i>to go out (of fire).</i>
15. *-tsi thaiyAS	*-tsi thAč-	<i>to follow (after someone).</i>
16. *-u'šE.ΔS	*-u'šEč-	<i>to rear, nurture, foster.</i>
17. yaiyAS	yAč-, yEč-	<i>to strike (on, against).</i>
18. *-yaiyAS	*-yAč-	<i>to obtain.</i>

The composite paradigm, as far as it can be constructed from the material I possess, is as follows:

*Future.*

	Sing.		Plur.
1.	gučΔčam 9	1.	duwašΔčan 7. iltačan 13.
2.	dΔyačuma 6 guyΔčuma 9	2.	—
3.	gučΔči 9	3.	—

*Present.*

1.	—	1.	miyeča ba'n 18.
2.	—	2.	—
3. hm	gučΔčai.i 9	3. hm	uyΔča'n 18, o'staqΔča'n 2.
hf	gučΔču bo 9		
x	yΔči bi, yeči bi 17	x	duwašΔči.ε 7, giyači.εn 8.
y	tači'la 14	y	gi.ačitsa, gi.εčitsan 8.

*Imperfect.*

1.	—	—
2.	—	—
3. hm	—	—
hf	gučΔcu bo'm 9	—
x	—	—
y	—	—

*Preterite.*

1.	dΔyaiyam 6, bišaiyam 4	—	
2.	guča'ma 9, go'rsama 1 baγaltama 3	—	
3. hm	gučami 9	3. hm	duwašΔaman 7, bišaman 4.
hf	gučamo 9		
x	yami 16	x	gi.ami.εn 8, duwašemi.ε 7
y	yami 16	y	giyami 8.

*Perfect.*

1.	apaγaltaiya ba 3 (neg. of baγaltaiya ba) huljaya ba 11	—
2.	guča ba 9, go'rsai.a 1, baγalta ba 3	—

Sing.		Plur.	
3. hm	guča bai 9, hulja bai.i 11	3. hmf.	huruča ba'n 12. i'tsi tha ba'n 15, hulja ba'n 11.
hf	guča bo 9, hulja bo 11		
x	guča bi 9	x	—
y	tha bi'la 14	y	gi.a bitša 8. buya bi'tšan 5.

*Pluperfect.*

1.	gučaiya baiyam 9		—
2.	—		—
3. hm	guča bam 9	3. hmf	yu'ša bam 16.
hf	guča bo'm 9		
x	həra bi'm 10	x	gi.a bi'm 8.
y	—	y	duwaša bitšum 7.

*Imperative.*

2.	guča 9, biša 4 hulja 11	2.	bišai.in 4, hulja.in 11.
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*Form in -š.*

3.	yΔš 17, taš 14.
----	-----------------

*Participles.*

<i>Present.</i>	i'tsi thačume 15.
<i>Past.</i>	2nd. sg. nukov'šan.
	3rd. sg. hm. ne'ršan.
	3rd. pl. hmf. nov'šan 1.
	nipišan 4      nuljan (-en) 11.
	nutayan 6      nuručan (-an) 12.
	duwašen 7      nultan 13.
	nukučan 9      ni'ušan, nyušan 3rd. sg. hm. 16

*Static.*

e'staqam 3rd. sg. hm. 2	huručam 12.
bišam 4	yu'šam 16.

*Infinitive etc.*

gučaiyas, etc.

283.

## Forms of verbs in -E'YAS.

	šeyas	to eat (y)		di.e'yas	to stand up.
<i>Infinitive.</i>					
	šeyas, še'as.			di.e'yas, di.e'as.	
<i>Future.</i>					
sg. 1	šečam		sg. 1	di.e'čam.	
<i>Present.</i>					
sg. 1	šeča ba		sg. 3 hm	di.e'čai.i.	
			hf	di.ečubo.	
			x	di.e'či bi.	
pl. 3 x	šeči.en.				
<i>Imperfect.</i>					
pl. 3 h	šečam		sg. 3 h	di.e'čam.	
			pl. 3 h	di.e'čam'.	
<i>Preterite.</i>					
sg. 1	šeyam		sg. 1	di.e'(y)am.	
3 hm	še'mi		3 hm.	di.e'mi.	
neg.	o'šimi		neg.	ati.e'mi.	
pl. 3 hm	še'man		pl. 3	di.e'man, d'i.eman.	
<i>Perfect.</i>					
sg. 3 hm	še bai.i		sg. 1	di.e'ya ba.	
			2	di.e ba	
			3 hm	di.e bai.i.	
<i>Pluperfect.</i>					
sg. 3 hm	še bam.				
<i>Imperative.</i>					
sg. 2	še		sg. 2	di.e, di.e.	
			neg.	ati.a.	
			pl. 2	di.e'n.	
<i>Participles.</i>					
<i>Present.</i>	šečumε.				
<i>Past Act.</i>	nušen, nuše			di.en.	
<i>Static.</i>	še'm		sg. 3	di.em.	



## 284. CONJUGATION of VERBS with PAST BASE in -i.

This category comprises several verbs in very common use:

niyas	to go.
*-či.Δs	to give (sg. y. object v. § 231. d).
giyas	to enter, and to throw.
ši.Δs	to eat (sg. x object v. § 252).

## NIYAS, NI'AS to go.

Present Base nič-		Past Base ni-	
<i>Future.</i>			
Sing.		Plur.	
1.	ničΔm	1.	ničen.
2.	ničuma	2.	ničuman.
3. hm	ničimi, niči	3. hmf	ničuman.
hf	ničimo, niču		
x	ničimi	x	niči.en, niči.ε.
y	niči	y	—
<i>Present.</i>			
1.	niča ba	1.	niča ba'n.
2.	niča	2.	niča'n.
3. hm	ničai.i	3. hmf	niča'n.
hf	niču bo		
x	niči bi	x	niči.en(?).
y	niči bi'la, niči'la	y	—
<i>Imperfect.</i>			
1.	—		—
2.	—		—
3. hm	ničΔm (?)		—
hf	—		—
x	niči bi'm		—
y	—		—
<i>Preterite.</i>			
1.	ni.Δm	1.	ni'mΔn.
2.	ni'ma	2.	ni'mΔn.

3. hm	ni'mi	3. hmf	ni'mΔn.	
	hf		ni'mo	
	x	x	ni'mi.ε.	
	y	y	ni'mi.	
<i>Perfect.</i>				
1.	ni.a	1.	ni ba'n.	
2.	ni	2.	ni ba'n.	
3. hm	ni bai.i	3. hmf	ni ba'n.	
	hf		ni bo	
	x	x	ni bi.ε, ni bi'en.	
	y	y	ni bi'la	
<i>Pluperfect.</i>				
1.	ni.a baiyam	1.	ni bam.	
2.	ni	2.	ni bam.	
3. hm	ni bam	3. hmf	ni bam.	
	hf		ni bo'm	
	x	x	ni bi'm.	
	y	y	ni bi'lum.	
<i>Imperative.</i>				
2.	ni	2.	ni'n.	
<i>Deprecatory Imperative.</i>				
2.	—	2.	ni'na.	
<i>Forms in -š.</i>				
3.	niš	3.	nišen.	
<i>Participles.</i>				
<i>Present.</i> —				
<i>Past.</i>	1.	na'n	1.	nime'n, nime'nin.
	2.	nuko'n	2.	na'ma'n, na'ma'nin.
	3. hm	ni'n, ninin	3. hmf	nu'n, nu'nin.
	hf	numo'n		
<i>Static.</i>	3.	ni'm	3.	ni'm.
<i>Infinitive etc.</i> niyas, ni'as.				
<i>Final. Present Base + ar.</i>				
			ničər.	

## 285. NOTES.

1. The vowel of *nič-* might be marked long throughout except when followed by a long vowel.  
The *i* of the Preterite is usually decidedly long.
2. The vowel system of the Past Participle is anomalous:  
*ni'n* and *nu'n* would require *nuku'n*, *numu'n* and *nimi'n*. but these forms I have never met with, nor, on the other hand have I met *ne'n* or *no'n*. *Na'n* and *nama'n* in virtue of their long vowel favour *nuko'n* and *numo'n*.
3. The Static Participle *ni'm* appears to be invariable in the 3rd. person.
4. The form *o'nitsum* occurs twice in the phrase *but guntsiq o'nitsum after many days had not passed*; *o'manitsum* is given as an alternative. In this form *ni* probably represents the short 3rd. sg. Pret. and *-tsum* the postposition (v. §§ 407. b and 75. V. a.).

## CONJUGATION of VERBS with PAST BASE in -u.

286. Several very common verbs fall under this head:

<i>su'yΔs</i>	}	<i>to bring</i> (y. objects v. § 231 d.).
<i>du'su'yΔs</i>		
<i>tsu'yΔs</i>		<i>to take away.</i>
<i>*-u'yΔs</i>		<i>to give</i> (x or h objects v. § 231 d.).
<i>ju'yΔs</i>		<i>to come.</i>

This last is the only "irregular" verb which I have met in Burushaski. It draws on another root for its Pret., Perf., Plup., Past Participle and Static Participle. This second root appears to be

*d\*-* with lapses into *d\*-Δ*.

As *ju'yΔs* is an important verb I shall give its paradigm as completely as I can and then illustrate the past tenses of the normal verb in *-u* from other verbs.

287.

## JU'YAS to come.

Present Base juč-. Past Base ju-, and d\*-, d\*-Δ-.

## I. Forms based on ju-.

*Future.*

Sing.		Plur.	
1.	jučΔm	1.	jučΔn.
2.	jučuma	2.	jučumΔn.
3. hm	jučimi, juči	3. hmf	jučumΔn.
hf	jučo		
x	juči	x	juči.ε(n),
y	juči	y	(juči?)

*Present.*

1.	juča ba	1.	juča ba'n.
2.	juča	2.	juča'n.
3. hm	jučai.i	3. hmf	juča'n.
hf	jučo bo		
x	juči bi	x	juči.εn.
y	juči'la	y	juči.tsΔn.

*Imperfect.*

1.	juča baiyΔm	—
2.	—	—
3. hm	jučΔm	—
hf	jučo bo'm	—
x	—	—
y	juči'lum	—

*Imperative.*

2.	ju	2.	ju'in ( <i>Deprecatory</i> , ju'ina).
3.	juš	3.	ju'sen.

*Participle.**Present.* jučume.*Infinitive, Noun Agent, etc.* ju'yΔs, ju'Δs.*Final. Pres. Base + ər.* jučər.

The accent falls on the first syllable except where there is a long vowel in the second syllable.

II. Forms based on d\*-, d\*-Δ-.

*Preterite.*

Sing.		Plur.	
1.	daiyΔm	1.	dimeʿmΔn.
2.	dukoʿma, dukoyā	2.	dΔmaʿmΔn.
3. hm	diʿmi; di.a, di.ε	3. hmf	duʿmΔn, duʿyΔn.
hf	dumoʿmo, dumoʿyo		
x	diʿmi	x	duʿmi.ε; duʿiyen, duʿyΔn.
y	diʿmi	y	diʿmi.

*Perfect.*

1.	daiya ba, daʿya ba	1.	dime baʿn.
2.	dukoʿwa	2.	dΔma baʿn.
3. hm	di bai.i	3. hmf	duwaʿn.
hf	dumo bo		
x	di bi	x	du bi.en.
y	di bi.la	y	di bitsan.

*Pluperfect.*

1.	daiya baiyΔm, daʿya baiyΔm	1.	dime bam.
2.	dukoʿbΔm (-wΔm)	2.	dΔma bam.
3. hm	di bam	3. hmf	duʿwΔm.
hf	dumo boʿm		
x	di biʿm	x	du biʿm.
y	di bi.lum	y	di biʿtum.

*Past Participle.*

1.	daʿn, daʿnin	1.	—
2.	dukoʿn	2.	—
3. hm	diʿn, diʿnin	3. hmf	duʿn. duʿnin.
hf.	dumoʿn, dumoʿnin		

*Static Participle.*

1.	daiyΔm	1.	—
2.	—	2.	—
3. hmx	diʿm	3. h	duʿm.
hf	dumoʿm		

## 288. NOTES.

1. The u of ju might be marked long throughout, except perhaps where it is followed by a long vowel. In the d\*- parts the accent falls on the syllable containing the Pron. Prefix.
2. As in the case of niya<sub>s</sub>, there is a conflict of vowel-systems in the past participle; also in the perf. and the plup., e.g. dukoma dumomo, dime<sub>man</sub> are not in the same series as di<sub>mi</sub> and du<sub>man</sub>.
3. The form di.a, di.e given under the 3rd. sg. hm Preterite usually corresponds in meaning to the English Perfect "he has come", but it probably corresponds in form to di<sub>mi</sub>, as eti does to etimi.

The -a in di.a is perhaps the same element that gives the special vowels in dukoma etc., duku + a + uma → dukoma, but why then does it disappear in di<sub>mi</sub> etc.?

No corresponding form ni<sub>a</sub> has been recorded from niya<sub>s</sub>.

## 289. PAST BASE TENSES of VERBS in -u.

The following paradigm has been constructed from recorded forms of the verbs:

1. su <sub>yas</sub>	suč-	su-	to bring	}	(y objects).
2. dusu <sub>yas</sub>	dusuč-	dusu-	to bring		
3. tsu <sub>yas</sub>	}	tsuč-	tsu-	to take away.	
*-tsu <sub>yas</sub>					
4. *-u <sub>yas</sub>	*-uč-	*-u-	to give (x or h objects).		
5. *-š <sub>u</sub> <sub>yas</sub>	*-šuč-	*-š <sub>u</sub> -	to eat (h or x pl. „		

*Preterite.*

	Sing.		Plur.
1.	dusu <sub>yam</sub> , dusu <sub>ya</sub>		—
2.	dusu <sub>ma</sub>		—
3. hm	*-tsu <sub>mi</sub>	3. hmf	dusu <sub>man</sub> , *-tsu <sub>man</sub> .
hf	*-tsu <sub>mo</sub>		
x	*-tsu <sub>mi</sub> , *-š <sub>u</sub> <sub>i</sub>	x	uš <sub>u</sub> <sub>mi</sub> .e.
y	—	x	—



### VERBS with PRONOMINAL PREFIXES.

290. As already stated (§ 210.5) the Pronominal Prefix when attached to an intransitive verb represents the subject, while with a transitive verb it represents either

- i. the Direct Object, or
- ii. the Indirect Object, or
- iii. a person in some way, but more remotely, affected by the action of the verb.

It represents the Direct Object in:

*-delAS	<i>to strike someone.</i>
*-tsu'yAS	<i>to take away someone.</i>

and the Indirect Object in:

*-či.AS	<i>to give s.t. (y sg.) to someone.</i>
*-u'yAS	<i>to give s.t. (h or x) to someone.</i>

The pronoun prefix is suppressed, frequently when it relates to an inanimate *x* thing, and always when it relates to a *y* thing except when the verb begins with

\*-A-, \*-AS-, d\*- (including d\*-A-, d\*-AS-) or \*-lt, where it is a phonetic necessity.

The behaviour of the Pronominal Prefix with Transitive Verbs is exactly the same as with Intransitive Verbs of which we have had an example in \*-MANAS, V. § 278, but the forms of any particular person of any tense are multiplied by the number of possible types of object.

It will be sufficient to illustrate this by part of one tense.

### 291. THE PRESENT TENSE of \*-delAS with a SINGULAR subject.

(Not all the forms given below have actually been recorded, but they are all theoretically correct.)

*-delja ba	<i>I am striking . . . , or</i>
	<i>I am going to strike . . .</i>



Person of Subject	Person of Direct Object			
	Singular			
	1	2	3 m <sub>x</sub> .	3 f.
Sg. 1.	—	gudelja ba	idelja ba	mudelja ba
2.	adelja	—	idelja	mudelja
3. m	adeljai.i	gudeljai.i	ideljai.i	mudeljai.i
3. f	adelju bo	gudelju bo	idelju bo	mudelju bo
3. x	adelji bi	gudelji bi	idelji bi	mudelji bi
3. y	adelji bi·la	gudelji bi·la	idelji bi·la	mudelji bi·la

	Plural		
	1	2	3 h & x.
Sg. 1.	—	madelja ba	udelja ba
2.	midelja	—	udelja
3. m	mideljai.i	madeljai.i	udeljai.i
3. f	midelju bo	madelju bo	udelju bo
3. x	midelji bi	madelji bi	udelji bi
3. y	midelji bi·la	madelji bi·la	udelji bi·la

And similarly with plural subjects.

The y prefix, sg. and pl., if used would be i-.

292.

### REFLEXIVE EXPRESSIONS.

An important point to be noted is that the Pronominal Prefixes are not used reflexively, and that the Reflexive Pronoun

\*-kər

is regarded as being invariably of the 3rd. pers. sing.

*I am striking myself*, if said, would be  $\Delta$ kər idelja ba.

Even when the connotation of the Reflexive is plural, the pronominal prefix remains 3rd. sing:

*We shall kill ourselves* mikər esqai.en.

### 293. PRONOMINAL PREFIXES with PAST PARTICIPLES ACTIVE.

Of a verb that has contracted the habit, no part is immune from the pronominal prefixes. In the case of a past participle the pronominal prefixes where they occur are always preceded by *n-*.

The Past Pc. Act. of \*-tsuryΔs has been illustrated above, v. § 289.

The Past Pc. Act. of \*-delΔs would be:

Sg. 1.	(nΔdɪlin)	<i>having struck me.</i>
2.	(nuku'dilin)	<i>having struck thee.</i>
3. m x	nɪ'dilin, nɪ'dil	<i>having struck him, it.</i>
3. f	numu'dilin	<i>having struck her</i>
Pl. 1.	(nimi'dilin)	<i>having struck us.</i>
2.	(nΔma'dilin)	<i>having struck you (pl.).</i>
3. h & x	nur'dilin	<i>having struck them.</i>

### 294. PRONOMINAL PREFIX as INDIRECT OBJECT.

The following recorded forms of \*-či.Δs illustrate the use of the Pronominal Prefix as the Indirect Object.

*Future.*

èap akuvčičam	<i>I shall not give thee the meat.</i>
Δčičuma?	<i>wilt thou give to me?</i>
ruxsat gučiči	<i>he will give thee leave.</i>
Δčičo	<i>she will give to me.</i>
ičičen	<i>we shall give to him.</i>

*Present.*

(gute diš) Δmačiča ba	<i>I am not going to give you (this place).</i>
Δčiča ke . . .	<i>if thou givest to me . . .</i>
ruxsat ayčičai.i	<i>he does not give me leave.</i>
ičičai; mučičai.i	<i>he gives to him: to her.</i>

*Imperfect.*

dəroγo mΔdΔd ičiči biɪm	<i>the stick used to give him help.</i>
-------------------------	---

*Preterite.*

do·lat guci.Δm  
 Δči·ma  
 iči·mi  
 uči·mi  
 iči·man

*I gave (have given) thee wealth.  
 thou gavest (hast given) to me.  
 he gave to him.  
 he gave to them.  
 they gave to him.*

*Perfect.*

Δči bai.i

*he has given to me.*

*Pluperfect.*

iči bΔm

*he had given to him.*

*Imperative.*

Δči (and jači)  
 iči  
 tsil muçi

*give thou to me.  
 give thou to him.  
 give water to her.*

*Form in -š.*

Δčiš gome.i ba?  
 ja hukum aku·çiš xa

*canst thou give to me?  
 so long as I do not give thee orders.*

*Past Pc. Act.*

ničin  
 nučin

*having given to him.  
 having given to him.*

*Static Pc.*

Δči·m  
 iči·m

*given to me.  
 given to him.*

295.

**VERBS with INITIAL ROOT-VOWEL.**

Where the verbal root begins with a vowel the form of the Pronominal Prefixes is affected according to the scheme given above in § 122.

Those beginning with Δ- or a- are separately dealt with in the next paragraph. An example of initial i- is:

**\*-I'RAS to die.** Pron. Prefix = subject.

*Present.*

Sing.		Plur.	
1.	erča ba	<i>I am dying</i>	1. (mirča'n).
2.	gu.i'rča		2. (me'rča'n).
3.	hm i'rčai.i		3. u.i'rča'n.
	hf (mu.i'rču bo)		

An example of initial u- is

**\*-UŠE.AS to rear, foster,** Pron. Prefix = Direct Object.

*Preterite.* 3rd. sg. m.

ošΔmi	<i>he reared me.</i>
gušΔmi	<i>he reared thee.</i>
yušΔmi	<i>he reared him.</i>
myušΔmi	<i>he reared us.</i>
(mošΔmi)	<i>he reared you (pl.).</i>
ušΔmi	<i>he reared them.</i>

296.

### VERBAL ROOTS with INITIAL Δ-

(i.e. VERBS in \*-Δ- and \*-ΔS-).

As we have already seen (§§ 226—227) most verbs of the type which have -Δ or -ΔS following on a pronominal prefix are either Causatives or simple Transitives, but there are a few Intransitives.

With the Causative the Pronominal Prefix represents the Secondary Subject, that is the person who is constrained to perform the action.

With the Transitive simple it represents either the Direct or Indirect Object, or the person affected by the action.

With the Intransitive it represents the Subject.

The only difference in form between these verbs with the initial Δ- or a- and the Transitive and Intransitive verbs of similar types without this initial is that the form assumed by some of the Pronominal Prefixes differ in the two cases.

Where the root initial is a- or Δ-

2nd. sing.		gu-	is replaced by	go-.
3rd. „	h m x y	i-	„	e- or ε-.
3rd. „	hf	mu-	„	mo-.
1st. plur.		mi-	„	me- or με-.
3rd. „	h x	u-	„	o-.
„	y	i-	„	e- or ε-.

The 1st. pers. sing. and the 2nd. pers. plur. cannot be certainly distinguished from the simple forms.

In the Verbs with \*-Δ(s)- the Pron. Pf. always carries the accent.

297.

### EXAMPLES of VERBS in \*-Δ- and \*-ΔS-.

#### I. Pronominal Prefix denoting Secondary Subject.

*-ΔbƏRENΔS	*-ΔbƏre(y)-	to cause to look (at).
*-ΔYΔNΔS	*-Δyai(y)-	to cause to take.
*-ΔskƏrtsΔS	*-ΔskƏrš-	to make run, put to flight.

#### II. Pronominal Prefix denoting Direct Object.

*-ΔrΔS	*-Δrč-	to send.
*-ΔsqΔNΔS	*-Δsqai(y)-	to kill.
*-ΔstΔqai.ΔS	*-ΔstΔqai(y)-	to hide v.t.
*-ΔtΔS	*-Δč-	to make someone . . .

(also, to cause s.o. to do . . .)

#### III. Pronominal Prefix denoting Indirect Object.

*-Δlti'rΔS	*-Δlti'rč-	to show to someone.
*-ΔSΔS	*-Δš-	to say to someone.

#### IV. Pronominal Prefix denoting person affected.

u'n guso'γutƏr gowƏši bə'n they have placed it under thy arm for thee.

#### V. §§ 240 and 245—247 for scattered examples.

#### V. Pronominal Prefix denoting Primary Subject (with intrs. and a few trs. verbs).

*-ΔYƏNΔS	*-Δyai(y)-, *-Δye(y)-	to go to sleep.
*-ΔršniyΔS	*-ΔršƏč-	to be intoxicated.
*-ΔmiΔNΔS	*Δmai(y)-	to be able, can.
til *-ΔlΔS	til *-Δlj-	to forget.
*-ΔYΔNΔS	*ΔYai.i-	to regard as, reckon.

298. *Detailed Examples.*

## 1. \*-AYANAS.

ayanas	ayai(y)-	to cause me to take.
goyanas	go.iyai(y)-	to cause thee to take.
e'yanas	e'ye(y)-	to cause him to take.
mo'yanas	mo'ye(y)-	to cause her to take.
(meyanas		to cause us to take).
(mayanas		to cause you to take).
o'yanas	o'ye.i(y)-	to cause them to take

## 2. \*-ARTAS.

artas	a'rč-	to send me.	me'rtas	me'rč-	to send us.
got'rtas	go'rč-	to send thee.	ma'rtas	ma'rč-	to send you.
e'rtas	e'rč-	to send him.	o'rtas	o'rč-	to send them.
mo'rtas	mo'rč-	to send her.			

## 3. \*-ASQANAS.

<i>Pres.</i>	go'sqaiya ba	I kill thee.
	asqai.i ba	thou killest me.
	go'sqai.i bai.i	he kills thee.
	asqai.i ba'n	you (pl.) kill me.
	go'sqai.i ba'n	they kill thee.
<i>Fut.</i>	akər esqai.əm	I shall kill myself (v. § 292).
	go'sqaimi	he will kill thee.
	mikər esqai.ən	we shall kill ourselves.
	(ma) esqaiman	you will kill him.
	a'sqaiman	they will kill me.
<i>Pret.</i>	e'sqanəm	I killed him.
	o'sqanimi	he killed them.
	u'kər esqanuman	they killed themselves (§ 292).
<i>Perf.</i>	(aiy)e'sqana ba	I have (not) killed him.
	e'sqan'a	thou hast killed him.
	a'sqanai.i	he has killed me.
	e'sqana'n	they have killed him.
<i>Plupf.</i>	o'sqanəm	he had killed them.

<i>Impv.</i>	je (aiy)asqan	<i>do (not) kill me.</i>
	o'sqanin	<i>kill ye them.</i>
<i>Form in §.</i>	asqanš, e'sqanš	
<i>P. pc.</i>	ne'sqan	<i>having killed him.</i>

## 4. \*-atās.

Where the force of this verb is Causative it is open to surmise that the prime form is \*-a.etas giving a special length or a diphthongal value to the vowel of the pronominal prefix, but the evidence is not decisive enough to justify a definite assertion. V. § 240.

a'tās	a'č-	<i>to make me . . . .</i>	or <i>cause me to do.</i>
go'tās	go'č-	<i>to make thee . . . .</i>	„ <i>cause thee to do.</i>
e'tās	e'č-	<i>to make him . . . .</i>	„ <i>cause him to do.</i>
mo'tās	mo'č-	<i>to make her . . . .</i>	„ <i>cause her to do.</i>
me'tās	me'č-	<i>to make us . . . .</i>	„ <i>cause us to do.</i>
ma'tās	ma'č-	<i>to make you . . . .</i>	„ <i>cause you to do.</i>
o'tās	o'č-	<i>to make them . . . .</i>	„ <i>cause them to do.</i>

All the above are conjugated in the same way as etās above § 274.  
 čap ati . . . čap go'čam *hide me . . . I will hide thee.*  
 mo'mus čuru'k ma'əči *he will cut off your tongue(s) for you.*

The Past Pc. Act. has two sets of forms:

natān	na	<i>having made me . . . .</i>	„ <i>making me . . . .</i>
nuko'tin	nuko	<i>having made thee . . . .</i>	„ <i>making thee . . . .</i>
ne'tān	ne	<i>having made him . . . .</i>	„ <i>making him . . . .</i>
numo'tān	numo	<i>having made her . . . .</i>	„ <i>making her . . . .</i>
(nime.tān)	nim'e	<i>having made us . . . .</i>	„ <i>making us . . . .</i>
namā'tin	(nam'a)	<i>having made you . . . .</i>	„ <i>making you . . . .</i>
no'tān	no	<i>having made them . . . .</i>	„ <i>making them . . . .</i>

## 5. \*-asās.

<i>Pres.</i>	əša	<i>thou sayest to me.</i>	mo'sai.i	<i>he says to her.</i>
	e'š'a	<i>thou sayest to him.</i>	aša'n	<i>they say to me.</i>
	go'sai.i	<i>he says to thee.</i>	e'sa'n	<i>they say to him.</i>
	e'sai.i	<i>he says to him.</i>		

<i>Fut.</i>	go'sam	<i>I shall say to thee.</i>		
<i>Pret.</i>	go'sam	<i>I said to thee.</i>	me'simi	<i>he said to us.</i>
	e'sam	<i>I said to him.</i>	o'simi	<i>he said to them.</i>
	mo'sam	<i>I said to her.</i>	e'sumo	<i>she said to him.</i>
	mo'suma	<i>thou saidest to her.</i>	o'sumo	<i>she said to them.</i>
	a'simi	<i>he said to me.</i>	asuman	<i>they said to me.</i>
	e'simi	<i>he said to him.</i>	e'suman	<i>they said to him.</i>
	mo'simi	<i>he said to her.</i>		
<i>Perf.</i>	asai.i	<i>he has said to me.</i>	me'sai.i	<i>he has said to us.</i>
	go'sai.i	<i>he has said to thee.</i>	esi bi	<i>it has said to him.</i>
<i>Plupf.</i>	go'sa baiyam	<i>I had said to thee.</i>	asu bo'm	<i>she had said to me.</i>
<i>Impr.</i>	as'o v. § 318.3.	<i>say thou to me.</i>	asu.in	<i>say ye to me.</i>
	e'so	<i>say thou to him.</i>	esu.in, esu.ina	<i>say ye to him.</i>
	mo'so	<i>say thou to her.</i>	mo'sin	<i>say ye to her.</i>
	o'so	<i>say thou to them.</i>		
<i>Form in -š.</i>	aya'sušan	v. § 321.2.		<i>may they not call me!</i>
	ako'sušan			<i>may they not call thee!</i>
<i>Past pc.</i>	nesun			<i>having said, saying, to him.</i>
	numo'sun			<i>having said, saying, to her.</i>
	no'sun			<i>having said, saying, to them.</i>

For additional forms V. the Vocab.

#### 6. \*-AMANAS.

\*-AMANAS is exactly similar in conjugation to \*-MANAS, v. § 278, except with regard to the form of the pronominal prefixes, v. § 296.

It is used governing the -š forms of other verbs. It is difficult to say whether it is to be reckoned Transitive or Intransitive.

The following examples will show how it is distinguished from \*-MANAS.

go'mai.i	ba	<i>thou are able.</i>	gumai.i	ba	<i>thou becomest.</i>
e'mai.i	bai.i	<i>he is able.</i>	imai.i	bai.i	<i>he becomes.</i>
momai.i	bo	<i>she is able.</i>	mumai.i	bo	<i>she becomes.</i>
go'mai.ima		<i>thou wilt be able.</i>	gumai.ima		<i>thou wilt become.</i>



## 7. til \*-ALAS, ti'l \*-ALAS.

til \*-ALAS is an apparently transitive verbal compound with pronominal prefixes relating to the subject.

ti'l a'ljam	<i>I shall forget.</i>
ti'l go'l	<i>forget.</i>
han bəran til me'luban	<i>we forgot one matter.</i>
til o'lan ke . . .	<i>if they have forgotten . . .</i>

## 8. \*-AYANAS.

\*-AYANAS is used where in English one would say "it seems to me" "it appears to you" etc. but it is apparently related to \*-YANAS to count, reckon, and not to YAN'AS to appear.

ɔaki'l ayai.a ba	<i>it seems thus to me.</i>
i'te te.i goye ba	<i>it seems thus to thee.</i>

## VERBS WITH INITIAL h-.

299. Further vowel complications are produced where the Causative Δ- comes up against another vowel, as is particularly the case where the verbal root has an initial h that is dropped in the causative.

## 1. hAKINAS to learn. \*-Δ.ikinAS to teach.

Where the i comes from in the causative is not clear, but it is pretty constant.

go.iki.Δm	<i>I shall teach thee.</i>
ai.ikimi	<i>he will teach me.</i>
in e.ikin	<i>teach him.</i>

and so:

me.iki'mi,	mai.iki'mi,	o'iki'mi	<i>he will teach us, you, them.</i>
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## 2. huljaiyas to mount, ride \*-Δ.u'ljaiyas to make someone mount, ride.

The u is preserved, except after o' which may dispense with it.

a'u'lja	<i>make me mount.</i>
e'u'ljami	<i>he made him mount,</i>
but,	
no'ljan	<i>having made, making, them mount.</i>

3. **hurur̥tas** to sit \***-Δ.urur̥tas** to make sit, settle.

Similar to \***-a.uljaiyas** but with a little latitude.

gor̥rušam	<i>I make thee sit, seat thee.</i>
er̥urur̥tas	<i>to make him sit.</i>
er̥erutimi	<i>he made him sit.</i>
mo̥urutimi	<i>he made her sit.</i>
ne̥urur̥t	<i>having made, making, him sit.</i>
nuko̥rut	<i>having made, making, thee sit.</i>
o̥rutuman	<i>they made them sit.</i>

4. The same features are presented by the following verb of which the Intrans. form, if any, is not known.

\***-Δ.urias** to use, expend, put to work, train,

which gives:

'e.urias and 'o̥urias to train, etc. him, them. V. vocab. sv.

### VERBS in d\*-, PRONOMINAL-INFIX VERBS.

300. These verbs differ from pronominal-prefix-verbs of the same type only in having d- prefixed to them, and, where the pronominal infix begins with a consonant, in having an inorganic, apparently epenthetic vowel interjected between the d- and the infix. Thus the forms are:

	Sg.		Pl.
1.	da- or dΔ-	1.	dimi̇-
2.	duku̇-	2.	damȧ-
3. hmx & y	di̇-	3. hmf & x	du̇-
hf	dumu̇-	y	di̇-

As a general rule the stress accent falls on the Pron.-Infix.

\***-MANAS** to become.      **d\*-MANAS** to be born.

*Fut.*

1. sg.      Δm'aiyam                      Δam'aiyam, d'amaiyam.

*Pret.*

2. sg.      gum'anuma                      duku'manuma.

3. sg. m    imani̇mi. im'anumi                di'mani̇mi.

          f      mum'anumo                      dumu'manumo.

301. Nearly all verbs in *d\**- are Intransitive, but there are some Transitives :

*Intransitive.*

<i>d*</i> - <i>MANAS</i>	<i>d*</i> - <i>mai(y)</i> -	<i>to be born, some into existence.</i>
<i>d*</i> - <i>talAS</i>	<i>d*</i> - <i>talj</i> -	<i>to wake up v.i.</i>
<i>d*</i> - <i>MAyAS</i>	<i>d*</i> - <i>mač</i> -	<i>to be on good terms, to be reconciled, etc.</i>

*Transitive.*

<i>d*</i> - <i>tsAS</i>	<i>d*</i> - <i>š</i> -	<i>to bring (h and x objects).</i>
<i>d*</i> - <i>šUNAS</i>	<i>d*</i> - <i>šu(y)</i> -	<i>to untie.</i>
<i>d*</i> - <i>tsikinAS</i>	<i>d*</i> - <i>tsiki(y)</i> -	<i>to hang up, suspend.</i>

In the Intransitive verbs the pronominal infixes refer to the subject, in the Transitive to the object.

A few examples may be given from *d\**-*tsAS* as it is a very common and important verb.

***D\*-TSAS* to bring (h and x objects).**

302. The complete scheme of possible infinitive and pres. base forms is as follows, but illustrations of all are not available:

<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Pres. Base.</i>	
<i>datsAS</i>	<i>daš</i> -	<i>to bring me.</i>
<i>duku'tsAS</i>	<i>duku'š</i> -	<i>to bring thee.</i>
<i>di'tsAS, ditsAS</i>	<i>di'š, diš</i> -	<i>to bring him, it.</i>
<i>dumu'tsAS</i>	<i>dumu'š</i> -	<i>to bring her.</i>
<i>dimi'tsAS</i>	<i>dimi'š</i> -	<i>to bring us.</i>
<i>dama'tsAS</i>	<i>dama'š</i> -	<i>to bring you.</i>
<i>du'tsAS</i>	<i>du'š</i> -	<i>to bring them.</i>

Recorded forms:

*Future.*

sg. 1.	<i>du'šam</i>	<i>I shall bring them.</i>
2.	<i>dušu'ma</i>	<i>thou wilt bring them.</i>
3.	<i>diši</i>	<i>he will bring him, it.</i>
	<i>dumu'ši</i>	<i>he will bring her.</i>
pl. 1.	<i>dišen</i>	<i>we shall bring him, it.</i>
	<i>du'šen</i>	<i>we shall bring them.</i>
	<i>du'šuman</i>	<i>they will bring them.</i>

*Present.*

sg. 2.	duš'a	<i>thou bringest them.</i>
3.	dišai.i	<i>he brings him, it.</i>
	dumušai.i	<i>he brings her.</i>
	dušai.i	<i>he brings them.</i>
pl. 3.	diša'n	<i>they bring it.</i>
	duša'n	<i>they bring them.</i>

*Imperfect.*

sg. 3.	dišam	<i>he was bringing him, it.</i>
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*Preterite.*

sg. 1.	ditsam	<i>I brought him, it.</i>
	duku'tsam	<i>I brought thee.</i>
	dumu'tsam	<i>I brought her.</i>
	du'tsam	<i>I brought them.</i>
2.	ditsuma	<i>you brought it (x sg.).</i>
3.	ditsimi	<i>he brought it (x sg.).</i>
	dimi'tsimi	<i>he brought us.</i>
pl. 3.	ditsuman	<i>they brought him, it.</i>
	dumu'tsuman	<i>they brought her.</i>

*Perfect.*

sg. 1.	ditsa ba	<i>I have brought him, it.</i>
	du'tsa ba	<i>I have brought them (charcoal x pl.).</i>
3. f.	ditsu bo	<i>she has brought him, it.</i>
pl. 2.	du'tsa'n	<i>you have brought them.</i>
3.	ditsa'n	<i>they have brought him, it.</i>
	du'tsa'n	<i>they have brought them.</i>

*Pluperfect.*

pl. 3.	ditsam	<i>they had brought him, it.</i>
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*Imperative.*

sg. 2.	ditsu, ditso, v. § 318.3.	<i>bring him, it.</i>
	dumu'tsu	<i>bring her.</i>
	du'tso	<i>bring them.</i>
pl. 2.	ditsu.in	<i>bring ye him, it.</i>

	dumutsu.in	<i>bring ye her.</i>
	dutsu.in	<i>bring ye them.</i>
-š form.	duʔtsuš	v. § 321.2.

*Participles.*

<i>Pres.</i>	duʔsumε	<i>bringing them.</i>
<i>Past.</i>	ditsun	<i>having brought him, it.</i>
	dumutsun	<i>having brought her.</i>
	duʔtsun	<i>having brought them.</i>
<i>Static.</i>	ditsum	(referring to x sg.).
	dutsum	(referring to x pl.).

NOTE: Verbs with the d\*- prefix do not take the prefixed n- in the past pc. act.

**duʔsas and d\*-usās.**

303. It is important to note that the present-base parts of the duʔsas : duʔš- verb, *to bring them*, are to be distinguished from the present-base parts of duʔsas : duʔš- *to come out; climb*, which has no pronominal infix; while the past-base parts of duʔsas are not to be confused with those of dusuʔyas : dusuʔč- *to bring (y objects)*.

The transitive conceptions corresponding to duʔsas, viz. *to take out, extract*, and perhaps also the causative *to make climb*, are presented by the apparently related multiform verb

d\*-usās, d\*-uʔsas, d\*-isās.

These infinitives yield:

daʔusās	<i>to take me out.</i>
diʔusās	<i>to take him out.</i>
	<i>to take it (x sg.) out.</i>
diʔusās	<i>to take them (y pl.) out.</i>
dukuʔisās	<i>to take thee out.</i>
dumuʔisās	<i>to take her out.</i>
duʔisās	<i>to take them (x pl.) out, (also hm pl.?).</i>

*Examples.*

da'usi'š ayomanuman	they were unable to take me out, i.e. to detect me.
duku'isam	I took thee out.
watantsum dyu'sam (di.u'sam)	I shall expel him from the country.
da'reṭə di.u'sas	to hang (a man).
Lan̄a Bro'mo taxtaṭə dum'u'isimi	he set Langa Brumo on the throne (made her ascend?).
di.u'sa	please take it (x) out, or off.
i'se pfut je ma'r di'u'sam	I'll turn out that Div for you.
pfitimuts du.'i'suman	they took out the pieces of bread (x pl.).
esumuts du.isimi	he extracted its kidneys (x pl.).
haiyai.iṅ di'usin	taking out the tokens (y pl.).
(Pəritiṅ) gatuy di.usi'n	(the Peris) taking off (their) clothes (y pl.).

This attempt to illustrate and systematise this verb does not profess to be final.

**D\*-U.ESAS** etc. to remain, escape, etc.

**304.** Another verb in d\*- which presents difficulties is that which means *to remain, be left* and so *to survive, be saved, escape, recover*.

I should give the Infinitive tentatively as:

With a h or x subject: d\*-u.ESAS, d\*-uwESAS, d\*-u(w)ASAS.

With a y subject: du.a'SAS, duwa'SAS.

As the Causative seems to be d\*-ASPASAS the essential forms are probably d\*-WASAS and (y) duwa'SAS.

All these forms may go back to basas, *to sit down, keep still*.

The following forms may be quoted:

 *Fut.*

- sg. 1. dau.ešam, dauwe'sam.  
 2. duku.ešuma.  
 3. hm dyu'(w)eši.  
    y du.a'āši.

 *Pret.*

- sg. 1. dau.esam, dauwasam.                    pl. 1. di'miwasuman.

3. hm	dyu.ɛsimi, dyu.ʌsimi.	3.	du(w)ʌsumʌn.
x	dyu.ɛsimi.		do.ɛsumʌn.
y	duwa'ɛsimi. du.a'simi. atu.asimi (neg.). at'u'wʌsimi (neg.).		

*Static Participle.*

x	dyu.ɛsum. dyu.ʌsum.
y	duw'a'ɛsum.

## VERBS in d\*-ʌ- and d\*-ʌs-.

305. These verbs combine the characteristics of verbs in d\*- and verbs in \*-ʌ- and \*-ʌs-.

Most of them are Transitive and many stand in the relation of Causative to Intransitive verbs in d\*-.

Thus, taking the Intransitive d\*- verbs already quoted:

d*-manʌs	to be born.	d*-ʌsmanʌs	to give birth to, create.
d*-mayʌs	to be on good terms.	d*-ʌsmayʌs	to reconcile.
d*-talʌs	to awake v.i.	d*-ʌst(s)ʌʌs	to awaken v.t.

From the English point of view the pronoun infix in these cases refers to the object of the English transitive verb; from the Burushaski standpoint the verbs are probably causative with the pronoun infix referring to the secondary subject.

306. *Causatives from Transitives* are rare:

d\*-pirtsʌs to pull out (tooth, etc.) d\*-ʌpirtsʌs to cause someone to pull out, but d\*-ʌpirtsʌs seems also to be used as the equivalent of d\*-pirtsʌs with the simple transitive sense.

Similarly we have intransitives

pirkanʌs, d\*-pirkanʌs and d\*-ʌpirkanʌs all apparently meaning to stumble.

and

ʌʌsʌs, d\*-ʌʌsʌs to laugh, but \*-ʌʌsʌs to cause to laugh.

Perhaps the only certain Causative from a Transitive is:

d\*-tsas *to bring* (h, and x objects)      d\*-atsas *to cause someone to bring.*  
v. § 302.

But d\*-atsas is usually used with special meanings, v. § 266.4. and 244.2.

307. There are a number of d\*-a- verbs which appear to be independent and cannot be related to any verbs in d\*-.

These are:

1. Intransitive; pronoun-infix representing the Subject.
2. Transitive; pronoun-infix representing, a. the Direct Object,  
b. the Indirect Object.
3. Transitive; pronoun-infix representing the Subject.

The following are examples under these three headings:

1. d\*-ačanas (probably intrans.) *to be in need of.*  
d\*-ayasas *to laugh.*  
d\*-amatlas *to yawn.*  
d\*-ašqaltas *to arrive.*  
d\*-a.uru.tas *to be fond of, attached to.*
2. a. d\*-agusas *to pull out, etc. (But v. § 236.b.)*  
d\*-aras *so send.*  
d\*-astsayas *to prop up.*  
d\*-atsi.as *to squeeze, pinch.*  
d\*-atsi.ras *to cook v.t.*  
b. d\*-ayarusas *to inquire of someone.*  
(also, duyarusas + abl.)
3. d\*-ayurkas *to obtain.*  
d\*-ayelas *to hear.*

308. The following example may be given where the infix relates to the Direct Object:

**D\*-ASPASAS to save, protect (someone).**

Pres. base d\*-aspas-.

*Future.*

daspasimi

*he will protect me.*

duko.spasam

*I shall protect thee.*



de'spašam	<i>I shall protect him.</i>
dumo'spašam	<i>I shall protect her.</i>
dime'spašimi	<i>he will protect us.</i>
dama'spašam	<i>I shall protect you.</i>
do'spašam	<i>I shall protect them.</i>

*Imperative.*

je daspas!	<i>protect thou me!</i>
gukər de'spas!	<i>save thyself! look out!</i>

309. In the following the infix refers to the Subject:

**D\*-AYELAS to hear.**

Pres. Base d\*-ayelj-, d\*-a.elj-.

*Future.*

Sg. 1. dai.eljam	<i>I shall hear.</i>	Pl. 1. dime'yeljan	<i>we shall hear.</i>
2. duko'eljuma	<i>thou wilt hear.</i>	2. dama'yeljumam	<i>you will hear.</i>
3. de'elji	<i>he will hear.</i>	3. do'yeljuman	<i>they will hear.</i>
dumo'yeljo	<i>she will hear.</i>		

*Preterite.*

Sg. 1. dai.elam	<i>I heard</i>	Pl. 1. dime'yelumam	<i>we heard.</i>
2. duko'yeluma	<i>thou heardest.</i>	2. dama'yelumam	<i>you heard.</i>
3. de'yelimi	<i>he heard.</i>	3. do'yelumam	<i>they heard.</i>
dumo'yelumo	<i>she heard.</i>		

*Imperative.*

duko'yel	<i>hear thou.</i>
damai'elin	<i>hear ye.</i>

*Past Participle.*

de'yal, de'yelin	<i>he having heard.</i>
dumo'yel	<i>she having heard.</i>

*Static Participle.*

daiyelum čaya	<i>the story heard by me.</i>
duko'yelum čaya	<i>the story heard by thee.</i>
deyelum čaya	<i>the story heard by him.</i>

The subject of d\*-ayelas in all tenses is expressed in the simple form of the Nominative, e.g.

je dai.elam *I heard* (not ja).

310. Similarly with the Intransitive verb d\**āšqaltas*, *to arrive*, the infix refers to the Subject.

### D\*-AŠQALTAS to arrive.

Pres. base d\**-ašqalč-*.

#### *Future.*

d <i>āšqalčam</i>	<i>I shall arrive.</i>
duko <i>šqalčuma</i>	<i>thou wilt arrive.</i>
de <i>šqalči</i>	<i>he will arrive.</i>

etc.

#### *Preterite.*

Pl. 3. h. do <i>šqaltuman</i>	<i>they arrived.</i>
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### NOTES on VERBAL FORMS.

311. **Future.**

In the Future, as in the Preterite (v. § 314), there appear to be forms belonging to two distinct series differentiated by the presence and absence respectively of an *-m-*.

The series without the *-m-* is represented by the short forms of the 3rd sg. and by the 1st pl.:

e*či*            e*čo*            e*čam*.

Werchikwar does not help us, as it does in the case of the Preterite, in reconstructing the two series, since, so far as it has been recorded, it has the *-m-* forms except in the 1st person plural.

The forms of the 3rd sg. with *-m-* appear to be always used where the present base ends in a vowel, i.e. with verbs having the past base in *-n*. So:

ma <i>na's</i>	<i>to become</i>	mai <i>.imi</i>	mai <i>.imo</i>
bəre <i>'nas</i>	<i>to see</i>	bəre <i>.imi</i>	bəre <i>.imo</i>
du <i>'nas</i>	<i>to catch</i>	du <i>.imi</i> .	

With verbs whose present base ends in a consonant, the shorter forms in *-i* and *-o* (*-u*) appear to be the rule, but not to the total exclusion of the *-m-* forms.

Besides *ečimi* I have recorded *jučimi* and *ničimi* at least once. In verbs with *-a's* in the Infinitive, the ending of the 1st sg. is *-a'in*.

*1st pl.* The termination of the 1st pl. is *-an*, *-en*.

Occasional forms in *-a'n* (e.g. *delja'n*, *diuša'n*) are probably to be regarded as variants of this, and not as 1st plurals of the present tense which appears always to have *-a ba'n*.

The overlapping in use of the two tenses, Future and Present, which is dealt with later (v. §§ 347—349), makes it difficult to decide such questions by the context.

### 312. Present.

*3rd sg. y.* The form with *bi'la* seems to be the rule with present bases ending in a vowel, *-i'la* with those ending in a consonant.

Similarly with *bi'lum* and *-i'lum* in the 3rd sg. *y* Imperfect and with the corresponding forms of the Perfect and Pluperfect.

The same principle applies to the 2nd. sg., *eča* || *mai.i ba*, & 3 sg. *hm ečai.i* || *mai.i bai.i*. V. § 268.

*3rd. pl. x.* *eči.en*, *eči.ε*.

When the present base ends in a consonant these forms appear to be common to the future and present tenses.

With present bases ending in a vowel, we have a distinction:

*Fut.* *mai.imi.en*,      *Pres.* *mai.ibi.en*.

### 313. Conditional.

The only Conditional forms recorded by me in Burushaski are those of the 1st. and 3rd. persons singular:

1st. sg. pres. base + *am* + particle *tse*.

3rd. sg. pres. base + *um* + particle *tse*.

The verbal part of the 1st. sg. Conditional is therefore identical with the 1st. sg. future, and that of the 3rd. sg. is identical with the present participle less the final *-ε*.

These Burushaski forms are supported by 6 instances which I have recorded in Werchikwar and which include 1st. sg., & 3rd. sg. *hm* and *x*.

Zarubin<sup>1</sup> gives the complete tense in Werchikwar with the following endings:

Sg. 1.	-am.	2.	-um.	3.	-um.
Pl. 1.	-an.	2.	-um.	3.	-um.

There seems to be an analogy between these forms and the Static Participle, the one being founded on the present base and the other on the past base, with the difference only of -an and -am in the 1st. pers. pl. Had the present participle been fully recorded, it would probably have been found to duplicate this tense with an added final -ε.

The -m probably indicates a participial origin.

As regards the particle, in the 12 instances I have recorded in the Hunza speech it appears uniformly as tse, but in my Werchikwar examples it appears as tsɪq or tsɪk, with tsɪqe once in the 3rd. person and tsɪqa in the only example of the 1st. person. From a Nagiri I think I have heard tsɪk.

These forms with k or q recall the particle with a similar function in Gilgiti Shina, sɪk, which is used after forms of the future tense.

**313 A.** Professor Siddheshwar Varma has recorded a “‘would’ subjunctive” form:

manisa, əm'anəse *I should, would, become.*

To this probably belong my two 1st. pl. forms mi.ai.asan and ame.imanasan. V. § 405.

### 314. Preterite.

1. There are two sets of Preterite endings in Burushaski, one containing -m- and one without it. We have seen traces of a similar but partial duplication of forms in the Future tense.

In the Preterite the duplication is complete, but the -m- forms are there more common, I shall therefore deal with them first:

<sup>1</sup> I. I. Zarubin: “Vershikskoe Narečie Kandzhutskogo Yazüka” in the Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov pri Aziatskom Muzei Akademii Nauk II. 2, Leningrad 1927. § 30.

1st. sg. In verbs with -a's in the Infinitive, the ending is -a'm.  
 3rd. sg. hm and x.

-umi, -umi, -u'mi occur frequently with some verbs with past base in -n.

senas	senumi.
bære'nas	bærenumi.
*-manas	imanumi.

also with the verb

doγarusas	doγarusu'mi    doγarusimi
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and with the two verbs in -a's which have their present base in -u'c-

γula's	γulu'mi.
γurtsa's	γurtsu'mi.

2. Turning to the short forms, those without -m-, we find that these, excepting the 3rd. sg. hm, x and y, are of comparatively rare occurrence, and on their own merits we might have hesitated to correlate them into a single tense.

Their nature and position, however, are fixed beyond doubt by the facts of Werchikwar Grammar.

In that dialect there is in use a set of Preterite endings without -m-. These Werchikwar endings are identical with those noted sporadically in Burushaski, being as follows:

Sg.	Pl.
1. -a	1. -an or -en.
2. -a	2. -an or -en.
3. m -i	3. h -an or -en.
f -o	

Zarubin<sup>1</sup> also gives as a less common alternative a complete set of endings with -m- (not occurring in his texts), viz.

Sg.	Pl.
1. -am	
2. -um-a	
3. m -im-i	1. 2. 3. h -im-en.
f -um-u	

<sup>1</sup> Op. laud. § 32.

of which I have recorded in my Werchikwar texts at any rate -imi and -umo.

- Zarubin regards these -m- forms as participial, and it is probable, in view of the -um- etc. of the adjective and of the static and present participles, that they are participial in origin.
3. In Burushaski the short forms occur chiefly in conjunction with the participles ke and kuli. I have noted only a few instances of their being used independently. They are therefore in general associated with a hypothetical sense.

**315.** Examples:

*1st sg.* (only examples recorded).

ja qau eta kuli æçuçai.i *if I were to call (lit. called) him he wouldn't (doesn't) come.* 172.13.

gulji.ε čΔγa amulum dusu'ya ke je go'r sučam *if I get (brought) the story of thy dream from anywhere I shall bring it to thee.* 72.7.

itse (buro'ndumuts) d'u'isin ma'tira ke ja'tse Δq sučamana be? *if I extract and show (lit. showed) you the rings will you believe in me or not?* 80.23.

je šo'n amana *I have become (lit. became) blind.* 360.6.

*2nd sg.*

ya't galči bešel dukoya (or dukorma) ke . . . *next time when thou comest (camest) . . .*

ya'ka mana ke . . . *if you were (i.e. associated) with a crow.* Prov. 8.

*3rd sg.* hm.

Very common is: eti ke, o'ti ke *if he did, made it, them, etc.*

The anomalous form di.a, di.ε, with or without ke or kuli, is also probably to be included here:

gutsimo dumeri' ke εγun *if he asks (asked) you for them don't give them to him.* 210.14.

Otherwise hm seems always to have the -imi ending. Thus we have:

aminan ine mazərete du'simi ke . . . huye's bu.a'n du'si ke . . . *if anyone climbs (lit. climbed) on to his grave . . . if a goat or cow climbs on to it . . .* 220.4.

hf.

du'mumano ke }  
 dumu'mamni kuli } *if (a girl) should be born.* 56.15.

duso'ko mu'y epačər *she came down to her father.* 162.19.

dum'o'yo is probably also a preterite form parallel to di.a, *he came*, and equivalent to dum'o'mo, *she came*.

x and y.

x aždəre ašui ke . . . *if the dragon eats (ate) me.*

guse (hasto) xan awəsi ke . . . *if this elephant threw me down . . .*

bəsan a'yeli ke . . . *if it broke some part of me.*

aždəre . . . du'si *the dragon . . . came out.*

bu.a'n du'si ke . . . *if a cow gets up on it.*

y gute gali ke . . . *if this (bow) were to break . . .*

mentse čimi'l'ien yaiyi ke . . . *if a splinter were to hit anyone.*

ja gute xat tape de'sqalti.a tape ju *if this letter were to arrive at night, come (the same) night.*

čarra amavti.a? (or, amavtimi.a) *did a remedy not present itself to you? i.e. were you not able to do anything?*

1st. pl.

I have noted four probable examples:

mi gan ake'nan *we did not know the road.* 22.1 & 28.6.

The sense seems to be "we do not know", but is probably "we have not come to know". In each case forms of the Present were also given.

šapik gatu dime'i'yurkan ke šukur ne huru'san *if we obtain(ed) food and clothing we should live in thankfulness.* 34.14.

han duro'wan je ke u'ŋ ertiš memanan ke duk'u'e'sa, amemanuman ke gu.i'rča *if I and thou can (could) do a certain thing, thou wilt escape. If we cannot do it thou wilt die.* 50.10.

Here memanan is obviously used with exactly the same force as the unambiguous preterite amemanuman.

guke yenan meltalike tran etan ke gute čaya du'si.

*if we two divide(d) the gold, the matter will come out.* 54.19.

## 2nd. pl.

Only two examples:

maiimo maiyu altan kaš ortan ke je dawesa ba *if you kill your sons, I shall escape.* 44.11.

T. aulardan . . . bo egi.en (ke) . . . *if you were to make a descendant of the T. sow the seed.* 242.3.

## 3rd. pl.

Fairly common.

h	duryen, duyan (ke)	<i>they came, if they came.</i>
	du'nan kuli	<i>if they catch (caught).</i>
	mene . . . ti'l orlan ke	<i>if any people . . . forget (forgot).</i>
	gap ilan ke . . .	<i>if they (i.e. anyone) soaked hide . . .</i>
	men u'iran ke . . .	<i>if any (pl.) died . . .</i>
x	isumaltse čerko.e du'ni.e	<i>the cliff's caught its tail.</i>
	balasuvik čal e'ti.e	<i>some birds quarrelled, started quarelling.</i>
	pfəri hik multan ke tinjo mani.en	<i>blood and bones (have) filled the pond.</i>
	u'yasi.en	<i>(the fruit) rotted.</i>
y	be'ruman deniç man i	<i>some years (have) passed.</i>

## 316. Perfect.

2nd. sg. the ending -a is regular after a consonant. Following a vowel we have.

guča ba, deli ba, ni ba,

but after u, -wa or -a seems to be the rule:

sur.a, dusur.a, mutsu.a, manuwa.

From \*-uyas we have aiyawa *thou hast not given me.*

There is also goršai.a? *hast thou become drunk?*

3rd. pl. r. Of this I have only two or three examples:

gali bi.e, gati bi.e.

3rd. pl. y. As regards the 3rd. pl. y of the Perfect, Pluperfect and Imperfect I am unable to say whether there are in general forms of the pattern:

Perf. etitsan, Plup. etitsum, Impf. eçitsum.



which one would expect with consonantal bases on the analogy of the present *ēčirtsan. manirtsan* has been recorded for the 3rd. pl. *y* perf. of *mana's*.

### 317. Pluperfect.

*3rd. pl. h.* We have again *tsu.am*, instead of the *tsu bam* which we might expect. Cp. notes on the 2nd. sg. Perfect § 316.

*3rd. pl. y.* See note on Perfect, just above.

### 318. Imperative.

The normal form of the 2nd sg. Imperative is that of the simple past base of the verb. The plural is in all cases obtained by adding *-in* to the past base, except when the base ends in *-i*, when only *-n* is added.

Examples:

<i>bāre'nas</i>	<i>bā'ren</i>	pl. <i>bā'renin</i>	<i>look thou, look ye.</i>
<i>gār'tsas</i>	<i>gār'ts</i>		<i>run thou.</i>
<i>bišaiyas</i>	<i>biš'a</i>		<i>throw thou.</i>
<i>*-čī.Δs</i>	<i>Δč'i</i>		<i>give thou to me.</i>
<i>tsu'yas</i>	<i>tsu</i>		<i>take thou away</i>

A few special types are, however, to be noted:

1. Verbs with the infinitive in *-as*, i.e.; with the accent on the termination, have the Impv. sg. in *-ε*. The plural has simple *-in*, *-i'n*. Thus:

<i>mana's</i>	<i>man'ε</i>	pl. <i>man'i'n</i>	<i>be, become.</i>
<i>mina's</i>	<i>mi'n'ε</i>		<i>drink.</i>
<i>γəra's</i>	<i>γər'ε</i>		<i>speak.</i>
<i>basa's</i>	<i>bas ε</i>		<i>sit down.</i>
<i>taska's</i>	<i>task'ε</i>		<i>draw, smoke.</i>

This *-ε* disappears when the verb receives a pron. or negative prefix. So

<i>riza guman</i>	<i>he content.</i>
<i>mo'min</i>	<i>make her drink.</i>

o'min *don't smoke (opium).*

Δqər *don't speak.*

but I have also

o'tΔski *don't smoke (opium).*

2. A few verbs have -i which does not appear elsewhere in their conjugation:

εtas (\*-Δtas)      εti (\*-Δti)      *do.*

\*-Δtas has also a short form \*-Δ (recorded only in the sg.) which yields, a, mo, ε.

\*-ltiras      \*-ltiri      *show to.*

\*-Δras      \*-Δri      *send.*

d\*-Δras      d\*-Δri      *send.*

\*-Δsi'ras      \*-Δsi'ri      *make eat, feed.*

dεlas seems to have an alternative infinitive dεli.Δs. The impv. is always

dεli *strike.*

and the i sometimes appears elsewhere

ja in dεli.Δm *I beat him.*

dεli.a ba *I have hit.*

dεliman *they hit.*

3. Two verbs have the Imperative in -o or -u, a corresponding u appearing in the Past Pc. Act. and in the -š form.

d\*-tsΔs (v. § 302.)      d\*-tsu      *bring.*

\*-ΔsΔs (v. § 298.5.)      \*-Δso      *say to, tell.*

The plural is in -u.in: d\*-tsu.in, \*-Δsu.in.

4. huru'tΔs has two forms of the singular imperative:

huru't and huru *sit down.*

5. The verb \*-uyΔs appears in the positive imperative, when used with a 1st. sing. object, to use always the form with prefixed ja- ja-, vide § 255.

ja'r jo *give to me.*

In the negative, with one exception, the only forms recorded have the pron. prefix a-, the imperative being:

a'yaυ (a + a + u) *don't give to me.*

319. There are a few DEFECTIVE VERBS which appear to exist only in the Imperative form:

- a) *lačo* pl. *lačo'in, ačo'in* wait, wait ye.  
*lačo* is used as a noun meaning "delay" or "time".
- b) *ga* pl. *gai.in* take.
- c) pl. *go'n, go'in, gun, go'na* proceed(?)  
 (said to be equivalent to Hindustani "čaliye")  
*ye go'n ničen* come now, let us go(?)  
 may be equivalent to the Pashtu:  
 "dzai.i čε dzu" go ye that we may go, i.e. come along, let us go.  
 But in  
*ye go'n ai.i senumo* glossed: "go my daughter", she said, and  
 in another similar case, it seems from the context to mean  
 "let us go".
- d) *ya, yaiye* pl. *yav.in, yai.in* shut up, hold your tongue.

### IMPERATIVE + a.

320. The Imperative is sometimes used with a suffixed -a, (generally unaccented) which does not appear materially to affect its meaning. It is possible that it softens the abruptness of the plain Imperative and imparts a slightly deprecatory tone to it, as in English: "Just go, will you?", "just wait a moment".

Perhaps this -a is by origin the Interrogative particle: "go, will you?", "wait a moment will you?" used in a somewhat conciliatory sense.

In the texts this form is frequently used by superiors to inferiors, but this may represent efforts to be tactful.

<i>lukān ja'r ke ači'a</i>	(just) give me a little too.
<i>i'se belis tsər 'eta</i>	cut up that sheep (will you?).
<i>mal'tu'mal ε'tina</i>	listen (to what he says).

For *eta* the form *eti.a* has once been recorded.

## FORMS in -š.

321. In record-taking I have frequently marked this š-suffix as a "retracted sound" i.e. š̄, but I have also frequently not so marked it.

It is probable that it should in fact always be š̄ and I shall thus represent it here throughout.

The functions performed by these -š̄ forms are so various and distinct that there is room for the conjecture that they are to be traced to different origins and that there has probably been partial or complete assimilation of form.

The matter is dealt with later on, v. §§ 357, 358.

As regards form the following appear to be the facts:

1. When the final of the Past Base is l or r or a vowel, the singular form is obtained by adding -š̄ to it, the plural by adding -š̄an.

Thus:

de <sup>l</sup> Δ <sup>s</sup>	de <sup>l</sup> š̄.	detsai <sup>Δ</sup> <sup>s</sup>	dets <sup>Δ</sup> š̄.
duwa <sup>l</sup> Δ <sup>s</sup>	duwa <sup>l</sup> š̄.	ni <sup>y</sup> Δ <sup>s</sup>	niš̄.
*-i <sup>r</sup> Δ <sup>s</sup>	u.i <sup>r</sup> š̄an (pl.)	ju <sup>y</sup> Δ <sup>s</sup>	ju <sup>y</sup> š̄.
yai <sup>Δ</sup> <sup>s</sup>	y <sup>Δ</sup> š̄.	tsu <sup>y</sup> Δ <sup>s</sup>	tsu <sup>y</sup> š̄.
til *-Δ <sup>l</sup> Δ <sup>s</sup>	til ako <sup>l</sup> š̄ (a + gu + Δ <sup>l</sup> š̄) 2nd sg. "dont forget".		

2. Their fugitive -u- (v. § 318.3) appears in

d\*-ts<sup>Δ</sup><sup>s</sup>      du<sup>r</sup>tsu<sup>y</sup>š̄.

\*-Δ<sup>s</sup>Δ<sup>s</sup>      aya<sup>y</sup>su<sup>y</sup>š̄an (neg., *let them not call me . . .*).

So also, γula<sup>y</sup>Δ<sup>s</sup> : γulu<sup>y</sup>č-      γulu<sup>y</sup>š̄ pl. uγul<sup>y</sup>š̄an.

3. When the final of the Past Base is -n the singular form is usually obtained by adding -š̄ or -č̄.

\*-Δ<sup>s</sup>q<sup>Δ</sup>Δ<sup>s</sup>      \*-Δ<sup>s</sup>q<sup>Δ</sup>Δ<sup>š̄</sup>      se<sup>n</sup>Δ<sup>s</sup>      se<sup>n</sup>č̄, or se<sup>n</sup>š̄.

du<sup>y</sup>Δ<sup>s</sup>      du<sup>y</sup>Δ<sup>š̄</sup>.      d\*-ma<sup>n</sup>Δ<sup>s</sup>      du<sup>m</sup>Δ<sup>n</sup>č̄, but also du<sup>m</sup>Δ<sup>n</sup>š̄.

γ<sup>Δ</sup>ta<sup>n</sup>Δ<sup>s</sup>      γ<sup>Δ</sup>ta<sup>n</sup>č̄.

While \*-ma<sup>n</sup>Δ<sup>s</sup> has \*-ma<sup>n</sup>š̄.

mana<sup>y</sup>Δ<sup>s</sup> has ma<sup>n</sup>i<sup>y</sup>š̄ } a result perhaps of the post-root  
and mi<sup>n</sup>a<sup>y</sup>Δ<sup>s</sup>      mi<sup>n</sup>i<sup>y</sup>š̄ } accent. Cp. the negative: o<sup>y</sup>ma<sup>n</sup>š̄.

Also with -i<sup>y</sup>š̄ \*-al<sup>t</sup>Δ<sup>n</sup>Δ<sup>s</sup>      el<sup>t</sup>Δ<sup>n</sup>i<sup>y</sup>š̄.

4. When the final sound of the Past Base is a consonant other than those mentioned above (l, r, n) the suffix, as far as available material indicates, is -iṣ:

d*-wabas	da'usiṣ	huru'tas	huru'taṣ.
di'usas	di'usiṣ	*-atas	*-atiṣ.
i'tsas, yet'sas	e'itsiṣ (neg.).	*-ṣiyas	e'ṣiṣ (neg. a + i + ṣiṣ).
*-askertsas	*-askertiṣ		

5. Mention may be made here of the curious 2nd. person form from d\*ayelas once recorded:

atukialṣ      *thou shouldest not listen to . . .* 50.15.

for which one would expect atukoye'lṣ parallel to the recorded 3rd pl. form atoye'lṣan.

These forms recall those in -ṣ and -ṣan found with manas (v. § 278) referring to all persons and not only to the 3rd. person.

### PRESENT PARTICIPLE.

322. The Present Participle is regularly formed by adding -ume to the present base, or -me where the base ends in a vowel:

he'ras	: he'rč-	he'rčume	<i>weeping.</i>
mina's	: mi-	mi'me	<i>drinking.</i>

In verbs with the past base ending in an -n which disappears in the present base, the Present Participle approximates closely to the form of the 3rd. sg. hmxy of the future:

3rd. sg. hm. Fut. mai.imi, me.imi.	Pres. Pc. mai.ime, me.ime	<i>being.</i>
bə're.imi.	bə're'imi, bə're'ime	<i>looking.</i>
se'imi.	se'ime	<i>saying.</i>

The Present Participle has only been recorded in the 3rd. person sg. It seems probable that the -um- of the ending is the same as that of the 2nd. and 3rd. persons of the Static Participle. In that case the 1st. pers. ending would be -ame. The -e is perhaps the general oblique suffix.

## PAST PARTICIPLE ACTIVE.

323. The formation of the Past Participle Active is somewhat varied and complicated. It appears in four types of form as follows:

1. n (+ vowel) + past base + -i'n (-in), or -n (occasionally -ni'n).
2. n (+ vowel) + past base, or past base less a final -n.
3. past base + -i'n, or -n (occasionally -ni'n).
4. the simple past base.

The occurrence of these forms is subject to the following conditions:

- a) All verbs with Pronominal Prefixes and all verbs beginning with a vowel take an n- prefix.
- b) The n- prefix does not occur with verbs beginning with a movable d-, i.e. d\*-, d\*-Δ-, d\*-Δs-, or, probably, a radical d-.
- c) After a prefixed n- the initial of the verb if it is any voiced consonant (except w) is changed to the corresponding voiceless consonant. This effect does not operate through a pronominal prefix.
- d) Where there is no pronominal prefix the n- prefix usually carries an u or u vowel, nu-, nu-, but when the vowel of the verbal root is i, the prefix is ni- or ni-,  
(but, *mina's to drink* ppc. numi'n).
- e) Verbs whose past base ends with a vowel always take an -n suffix. In these cases the final vowel of the base is preserved in some form, frequently a reduced form, before the -n.
- f) The only two verbs recorded beginning with hu- viz.

huljaiyas and huru'tas

- drop the h after the n- prefix and change -u- to -u', -u-.
- g) Many verbs have alternative forms of ppc s active.

These points will be found illustrated in the following examples

## EXAMPLES of the PAST PARTICIPLE ACTIVE.

324. 1. n (+ vowel) + past base + i'n or n.

\*-ε'tsΔs (\*-yetsΔs, \*-itsΔs) *to see*. Past base \*-εts-, etc.

nai.etsin *having seen me.*

nuku'itsin *having seen thee.*

ni'itsin *having seen him.*

nu'itsin *having seen them.*

- \*-tsu'yΔs *to take away.* Past base \*-tsu'-.
- |            |                                     |
|------------|-------------------------------------|
| natsun     | <i>having taken me away.</i>        |
| nitsun     | <i>having taken him away.</i>       |
| numu'rtsun | <i>having taken her away.</i>       |
| namar'tsun | <i>having taken you (pl.) away.</i> |
- gar'tsΔs *to run.* Past base gar'ts-.
- |            |                      |
|------------|----------------------|
| nuka'rtsin | } <i>having run.</i> |
| nuka'rts   |                      |
- o'sΔs *to set down, place.* Past base o's-.
- |        |                         |
|--------|-------------------------|
| no'sin | } <i>having placed.</i> |
| no's   |                         |
- \*-ΔsΔs *to say to.* Past base \*-Δs(u)-.
- |          |                            |
|----------|----------------------------|
| ne'sun   | <i>having said to him.</i> |
| numo'sun | <i>having said to her.</i> |
- huru'tΔs (& huručai'yΔs) *to sit.*
- |                 |                           |
|-----------------|---------------------------|
| nu'rutin        | } <i>having sat down.</i> |
| nu'rut          |                           |
| n'uruča'n (-Δn) | <i>having sat down.</i>   |
- \*-Δ.uru'tΔs *to make sit down.*
- |            |                                     |
|------------|-------------------------------------|
| nuko'rut   | } <i>having made thee sit down.</i> |
| nuko'rutin |                                     |
| no'urutin  | <i>having made them sit down.</i>   |
- Verbs with the past base ending in -a (-Δ) have -Δn, -en.
- bišai'yΔs *to throw etc.*
- |         |                       |
|---------|-----------------------|
| nipišan | <i>having thrown.</i> |
|---------|-----------------------|
- \*-Δbišai'yΔs *to cause to throw etc.*
- |           |                                    |
|-----------|------------------------------------|
| ne'ibišen | <i>having caused him to throw.</i> |
|-----------|------------------------------------|
- Δγai.Δs *to hide v.i.*
- |          |                                   |
|----------|-----------------------------------|
| nut'ΔγΔn | } <i>having hidden (oneself).</i> |
| not'ΔγΔn |                                   |
- \*-ΔtΔs *to make etc.* Past base \*-Δt- has -Δn.
- |          |                         |
|----------|-------------------------|
| ne'tΔn   | <i>having made him.</i> |
| numo'tΔn | <i>having made her.</i> |

The 2nd. sg. is however recorded as *nuk·tin* and the 2nd. pl. as *namar·tin* *having made you*. Cp. § 298.4.

The following forms in *-ni·n*, *-nin* have been recorded:

<i>ši·as</i>	<i>to eat</i> (sg. x obj.).	
	<i>niš·inin</i>	} <i>having eaten.</i>
	<i>niš·in</i>	
*-uy·as	<i>to give</i> (hx obj.).	
	<i>nyu·nin</i>	<i>having given to him.</i>
	<i>nu·nin</i>	} <i>having given to them.</i>
	<i>nu·n</i>	
<i>go·y·as</i>	<i>to pick up.</i>	
	<i>nuka·un(i·n)</i>	<i>having picked up.</i>

### 325. 2. n (+ vowel) + past base, or + past base less a final n.

Several examples have appeared as alternatives in last section.

*-ya·nas	<i>to take</i> (hx obj.).	
	<i>ni·en</i>	<i>having taken him, it.</i>
	<i>numu·yen</i>	<i>having taken her.</i>
<i>gutsər·as</i>	<i>to proceed.</i>	
	<i>nuku·tsər</i>	<i>having proceeded.</i>
<i>bər·en·as</i>	<i>to look</i>	
	<i>nup·ər·an</i>	<i>having looked.</i>
<i>h'ər·as</i>	<i>to weep.</i>	
	<i>nuh'ər</i>	<i>having wept.</i>
<i>wər·as</i>	<i>to place over, cover with.</i>	
	<i>nyuwər, nyu·ər</i>	<i>having covered (it).</i>

Here *-y-* is probably the pron. pf. *i-*, as also in *nyu·al* || *niwal* (*wal·as*) and *nyu·ε·šin* (*waši·as*).

<i>bisər·k·as</i>	<i>to cut crops, reap.</i>	
	<i>nipi·sər</i>	<i>having reaped.</i>
	(with loss of -k).	
<i>guš·ugin·as</i>	<i>to take counsel.</i>	
	<i>nuku·š·kin</i> (with loss of medial -u-)	<i>having taken counsel.</i>



With loss of final -n.

ganas	to take (y objects).
	nuk'a    nuk'an <i>having taken.</i>
manas	to become.
	num'a    num'an <i>having become.</i>
senas	to say.
	n'use    n'usen <i>having said.</i>

The short forms corresponding to n\*-atān from \*-atas to make, though ending with a vowel, lack a final -n.

*-atas	to make.
na	<i>having made me . . . . .</i>
nuk'o	<i>having made thee . . . . .</i>
ne	<i>having made him . . . . .</i>
num'o	<i>having made her . . . . .</i>

etc., v. § 298.4.

### 326. 3. Past Base + -in, or -n (occasionally -in).

This and type 4. are practically confined to verbs beginning with d- and in many cases are alternatives.

dunas	to seize.
du'nin	and du'n <i>having seized.</i>
di.usas	to take out.
di.u'sin	and di.us <i>having taken out.</i>
du'sas	to come out.
du'sin	and du's <i>having come out.</i>
ditsas	past base dits(u)- to bring him, it (x).
ditsun	<i>having brought him, it (x).</i>
dusuryas	to bring it, them (y).
dusun, dusun	<i>having brought, it, them (y).</i>
d*-ayelas	to hear.
de'yelin	and de'yel <i>he having heard.</i>
di.e'yas	to stand up.
di.en	<i>having stood up.</i>

d\*-AŠQALTAS *to arrive.*

došqaltin      and      došqalt      *they having arrived.*  
 ju'yAS      *to come.* Past base d\*-, d\*-A-  
 da'n      *I having come.*  
 di'n      *he having come.*  
 dumo'n      *she having come.* etc.

This verb also gives at least some forms with the double suffix -ni'n e.g.

di'nin      *he having come.*  
 dumo'nin      *she having come.*  
 du'nin      beside      du'n      *they having come.*  
 ni'yAS      *to go.*

This verb has forms of type 4 with the -n of the base as final, the -i of the root being lost, as well as forms of type 3 with -i'n added to the -n of the base. Thus:

na'n      and      na'nin      *I having come.*  
 ni'n      and      ni'nin      *he having come.*

In these cases, if this view is correct, -nin is not a double suffix as implied by me in B. S. O. S. IV. 3 (June 1927), p. 520.

### 327. 4. The simple Past Base.

Examples of this have occurred in the last section as parallel to forms of type 3.

I can only add one or two of which (possibly by accident) I have not met parallel forms with -in.

duso'kAS *to dismount, descend.*

duso'k      *having dismounted.*

d\*-tALAS *to wake up v.i.*

dital      *he having waked up.*

d\*-AGUSAS *to extract, draw out, etc.*

de'egus      *having extracted (it).*

dumo'gus      *having pulled out (her sleeves) for her.*

d\*-MANAS *to be born.*

diman      *he having been born.*

### THE STATIC PARTICIPLE.

328. The Static Participle has a variety of uses of which the name is not descriptive. These are treated at length in §§ 371 ff.

Here it may briefly be described as a participle which denotes the being in a state that results from an action.

In certain circumstances the Static Participle forms can take the case suffixes.

The Static Participles of Intransitive Verbs are ACTIVE.

„ „ „ „ Transitive Verbs are PASSIVE, like the English passive Participles "done", "seen", but they also appear sometimes to be used with an active sense, when they are equivalent to an English relative clause:

Bu. the I-have-done thing = Engl. the thing which I have done,  
the thing I did.

The endings, which are added to the past base of the verb, appear to be:

<i>Active.</i>	sg. 1.	-am.	pl. 1.	-am.
	2.	-um.	2.	-um.
	3.	-um.	3.	-um.

*Passive.* only recorded with -um.

The 1st. sg. active forms, so far as they are known, exactly duplicate the ordinary 1st. sg. of the Preterite. Only one 1st. plural form has been recorded:

du'nam(ər) from du'nas.

In the remaining active forms, and the passive forms (only known in the 3rd. person) the suffix is -um.

When this is added to a past base with a final vowel the -u- is elided, or coalesces with the final vowel of the base.

In verbs whose infinitive ending is -as the static pc. ending is ordinarily -um.

So for these -um forms we have:

<i>Infin.</i>	<i>Past base.</i>	<i>St. pc.</i>	
hur'u'aiyas	hur'u'ča-	hur'u'čam	<i>seated.</i>
di'e'yas	di'ε	di'em	<i>standing up.</i>

<i>Infm.</i>	<i>Past base.</i>	<i>St. pc.</i>	
n'iyaS	n'i-	n'i'm	<i>gone.</i>
w'āši.AS	w'āši-	w'āšim	<i>thrown.</i>
ts'uyaS	ts'u-	ts'u'm	<i>carried away.</i>
man'a's	man'-	man'u'm, manum	<i>become.</i>

329. a) In the 3rd. person the Static Participle is of common occurrence, but in the other persons it is rare, except in the 1st. singular. It is then unfortunately identical with the 1st. sg. preterite and it is really impossible to assert that the two parts exist separately. When it belongs to an intransitive verb it is found with the case suffixes, but one cannot definitely assert that a 1st. pret. may not be capable of taking case suffixes.

It may therefore be well here to state the grounds on which the existence of a Static Participle in the first and second persons is held to be proved, and at the same time to give illustrations of its occurrence in all persons.

For the *1st. person sg.* the following forms seem to be decisive:  
 gute ganaṭe je hik daiyam ba *I am once-having-come by this road,*  
*i.e. I have come once.* 124.21.

e's hayureṭe hik ke huljaiyam apa' *I am not having-ridden even*  
*once on that horse, i.e. I have never once ridden.*

Here daiyam and huljaiyam cannot be the 1st. sg. pret.; they are really adjectives, i.e. participles, and the verb is ba. This is shown by the fact that the negative particle is attached to it in the second example and not to huljaiyam. [The 1st. sg. perfect negative given in the texts is o'ljaiya ba (i.e. a + uljaiya ba) where the verbal combination is treated as a unity, following the regular practice in regard to the recognised compound tenses.]

- b) This being accepted<sup>1</sup> the rest follows and the 1st. sg. Static Participle (not the preterite) will be seen in the following *Intransitive* forms:

<sup>1</sup> Further evidence could be adduced from Werchikwar, but it seems unnecessary.

- Sg. 1st. *hurutāmulo* when I was pregnant. 158.14.  
*je dur̄ hurutāmēr* when I had sat for a little. 16.14.  
*ai.īramēr* on my being dead, on my dying. 218.4.  
*bas amanam dišulo miyām* I shall drink at the I-spent-  
the-night place, i.e. at the place where I spend the  
night. 126.12. Note.

With *Transitive Verbs* we have examples of the following type where the verb appears to be active:

- ja guryām baskaret* the I-having-given-to-you wether, i.e.  
the wether I have given you. 62.21.  
*je til a·lam ite čaγa* the I-having-forgotten story, i.e.  
the story I have forgotten. 72.3.

- c) Here I have also recorded as an alternative — *a·lum*. Unstressed *-um* and *-am* are not always easily distinguished, and when I recorded this and similar instances I was not alive to the issue at stake.

Both forms may, however, be correct, for *a·lum* may be taken as 3rd. sg. passive agreeing with *čaγa* — “the story forgotten by me”.

This explanation is applicable in many cases e.g.

- ja senuman jočuma?* will you give me the-thing-said-by-me? 118.22.

- d) The nominal(?) suffix *-an* appears in a 1st. pers. form in:

- ši.aman ja·r bərkət!* may what-I-have-eaten be my portion! 212.14.

(The *-a-* is probably due to a shift of accent owing to the addition of the *-an*,

$ši.am + an \rightarrow ši.aman \rightarrow ši.aman.)$

An example with a case suffix is seen in:

- jame ja taskāmēr təruntər maniš!* on my drawing the bow may  
it fly in pieces! 172.5.

- e) Sg. 2nd. This form is seen in the intransitive *gumanum* from *\*-manas*.

- ur̄ ar akumanum girat* you not-fearing dance. 182.2.  
*guwa·lum* you being lost. 264.11.

With transitive verbs it is impossible to quote examples which may not equally well be the 3rd. pers. passive form of the participle:

u'ŋe senum gute du'ro etuma ke *if you do this thing you have said, or, this thing said by you.*

In the following it is probably 2nd. sg. active:

bes duko'wa ba'dša nokəri ayetum(Δtε)? *why have you returned, not having done service for the king?* 40.10.

f) Sg. 3rd. h, x, y.

hm	mundaq imanumər	<i>on his becoming big.</i>	68.1.
	di'mər	<i>on his coming.</i>	
hf	dumo'mər	<i>on her coming.</i>	
x	i'se di'm bu'n	<i>the boulder that has come down.</i>	294.6.
	i'se ha'γur γurtsum čər	<i>the cliff into which the horse had sunk.</i>	278.1-
y	tsil d'usumtsum	<i>after the water being-come-out i.e. had come out.</i>	350.3.

With -an.

dyu.Δsuman šapik *the bread remaining over.* 208.9.

*Transitive.*

hm	Δšdər d'elum i'ne hir	<i>the man who had slain the dragon.</i>	284.8.
x	bu'a mamu etum bi	<i>the cow is having-made-milk, i.e. has become pregnant.</i>	186.5.

Note the 3rd. sg. Δt'uskum. *he-not-getting-down*, 80.2, probably for a + dusokum from duso'kas and due to the shifting back of the accent.

g) Pl. 1st.

*Intransitive.*

mi'rumər, (for mi'ramər?) *on our being dead, on our dying.* 202.1.

*Transitive.*

je ke i'n (sulama) du'namər *on our wrestling. I and he.* 218.7.

Pl. 2nd.

*Intransitive.*

pašo'm amamanum *you (pl.) not hesitating.* 44.23.

## Pl. 3rd.

*Intransitive.*

γalivz umanumer	on their becoming ill.	114.25.
dumər	on their being come, on their coming.	
u'irumər	for those who are dead.	

*Transitive.*

gutašo yarə aiyo'tum . . .	fat etuman	not having buried the bodies . . . they left them.	240.9.
šapik ditsum gušiqants		the women bringing bread.	210.17.
With -AN giving a form identical with the 3rd. pl. pret.			
bater, dusumantsum	bašiš dumərča'n	they ask pardon from those-who-have-brought the stones.	312.7.

(Cp. baman 3rd. pl. h st.pc. of ba § 389. b.)

- h) In the verb *ba* the forms of the Static Participle are identical with those of the past tense, or to state it otherwise, the same forms function both as parts of a finite past tense and as participles.

The suffix -AN is frequently added to the 3rd. sg. x and y forms and the plural forms. V. § 389. b.

330. a) Resuming now what we have found in studying the forms of the Future, Conditional and Preterite tenses and the Static Participle, we can form a more comprehensive view of the conjugation of the verb.

We have found that there are two series of endings:

1. *Personal endings:*

sg. 1.	-a	pl. 1.	}	-AN, -en.
2.	-a	2.		
3. m, x, y	-i	3. mf		-AN, -en.
f	-u, -o	x		-i.en, -i.ε.
		y		-i.

2. *Participial endings:*

sg. 1.	-am	pl. 1.	-am.
2.	-um	2.	-um.
3. h, x, y	-um	3.	-um.

Each series may be added to both past and present bases.

- b) The endings of the FIRST SERIES appear alone added to the Present Base in certain parts of the *Future* viz. the 1st. sg. and pl., and in alternative forms of the 3rd. sg. and 3rd. pl. x and y, e.g.

ečam, ečan; eči, ečo; eči.en, eči.ε; and eči.

They also appear alone added to the Past Base in an alternative series of forms of the *Preterite*, e.g.

eta, eta, eti, eto; etan, etan, etan; etien, eti.

These are the normal preterite forms in Werchikwar.

The vowels are perhaps also to be recognised in those added to the bases in the compound parts of the Present, Imperfect, Perfect and Pluperfect tenses.

The endings of the SECOND SERIES appear alone, added to the Present Base in the *Conditional* (except the 1st. pl.) and added to the Past Base in the *Static Participle*. They also seem to provide the *Present Participle* form, with an added -ε.

These endings appear again in forms of the 2nd. and 3rd. sg. and the 2nd. pl. h and the 3rd. pl. h, x & y of the *Future*, e.g.

ečuma, ečimi, ečumo; ečuman, ečuman, maimien, ečimi.

And in alternative forms of the *Preterite*, viz. 2nd. and 3rd. sg.: 1st. and 2nd pl. and 3rd. h x y pl. e.g.

etuma, etimi, etumo; etuman, etuman, etimien, etimi.

In all these cases they have the endings of the first series affixed to them.

In these combined endings the vowel of the participial -um is changed to i under the influence of a following -i.

eč-um-i → ečimi.

et-um-i → etimi.

The 1st. pl. pret. etuman instead of etaman appears to be due to a generalising of the form of the 2nd. and 3rd. persons.

## INFINITIVE, NOUN AGENT, GERUND etc.

331. Examples of the Infinitive have already been incidentally given in discussing the verbal bases, v. § 211. ff.

It may be recalled that the Infinitive normally consists of the Past Base + -as.

In a few verbs the ending is -a's or -as which appears to be due to the stress accent falling on the termination. V. §§ 211, 213.

Another point to be noted is that when the Infinitive form is used with the force of a noun-agent, and perhaps also when used gerundivally, it is susceptible of inflection for the plural, v. §§ 28.12, 110, & 403. So:

etas doer pl. etašo.

mana's one who becomes pl. manašo.



The plural forms are relatively often used as attributive adjectives akin to the noun agent, e.g.

e'γƏRΔŠO be'rričo                      *music-playing craftsmen (i.e. bandsmen).*  
 dolat še.ΔŠO wAZI'rτιη              *wealth-devouring wazirs.*

The plural has been recorded with the -ik suffix:  
 hENΔS *to know*, hENΔŠU.ik bA'n *you are wise people (lit. people who know).*

### THE VERB in the NEGATIVE.

**332.** The negative conception of the verb is in almost all cases expressed by prefixing to it the particle a- or Δ-, usually unaccented.

With a few verbs, which are mentioned later, (§ 339) the prefix is o'- or o- which is commonly accented.

The prefix a- precedes all other prefixes, whether prefixal pronouns or d-.

In compound tenses the prefix is added to the principal verb, not to the auxiliary:

amačiča ba (\*-či.ΔS)              *I am not going to give it to you (pl.).*  
 ačučo bo'm (juyΔS)              *she was not coming.*

**333.** When the negative of the Indefinite Pronouns and Adjectives, *no one, nothing, none* etc. is required the negative particle is added to the verb, and the particle ke is frequently subjoined to the pronoun or adjective:

beskə ap'i                              *there is nothing, there is none.*  
 mi men xΔbər apA'n              *none of us knows (pl.).*  
 in mentsum ke Δr emaibAM (= a + imaibAM)      *he feared no one.*  
 besAN ke ajetuma                      *thou hast done nothing.*  
 gute ha'le besAN api              *there is nothing in this house.*

**334.** The principal problem that exists in connection with the negative prefix a- arises from the effect which it produces on a following sound.

When the following sound is a vowel either a y-glide is inserted between it and the prefix, or the two vowels amalgamate.

When the following sound is a consonant, if it is a voiced stop it becomes voiceless, and in one or two other cases voiced sounds other than stops are devoiced.

The following is a detailed scheme of the vowel changes which accompany the prefixing of the negative -a so far as I have been able to note them. The vowels in the second column represent any closely related sound, thus a stands for a', a, and ʌ; u for u', u, and ʊ and so on:

Neg. pref.		Initial of verb.	Resulting combination.
a	+	a, ʌ	aya-, aiya-, ayʌ-, aiyaʌ-.
a	+	e, ε	aye-, aiye-, aiye-.
a	+	i	e-, ε-.
a	+	o	ayo-, aiyo-.
a	+	u	o- (sometimes a.u.).

*Examples:*

etiš ay'a'maiyaṁ (a + amaiyaṁ)	<i>I shall not be able to do it.</i>
ma aiya'γunumaṁ, 'aya'γ'unumaṁ	<i>you did not give (them) to me.</i>
aiya'rin (a + a'rin)	<i>don't send me.</i>
ay'eti, aiya'eti (a + eti)	<i>don't do it.</i>
aiye'sqana ba (a + esqana)	<i>I have not killed him.</i>
aye'maimi	<i>he will not be able.</i>
e'čimaṁ (a + ičimaṁ)	<i>they did not give (it) to him.</i>
e'delin (a + idelin)	<i>don't beat him.</i>
e'irči (a + i'rči from *-irʌs)	<i>he will not die.</i>
e'u'ča ba (a + i + u'ča from *-uyʌs)	<i>I do not give (it) to him.</i>

The positive is yuča for i + uča.

ayo'ltirumaṁte (a + o'ltirum)	<i>without having shown (it) to them.</i>
ayo'tuma ke (a + o'tuma)	<i>if thou didst not make them.</i>
uε do'do aiyo'skərtsimi	<i>he did not cut their throats for them.</i>
o'čimi (a + učimi from *-či.ʌs)	<i>he did not give (it) to them.</i>
o'umi (a + u'mi) from *-uyʌs)	<i>he did not give (it) to them.</i>
o'itsʌs pʌrtsin (a + u + *-itsʌs)	<i>a not-seeing-them cap i.e. cap of invisibility.</i>

In verbs beginning with hu- the h- disappears and they behave as if they began with u or ʊ.

huruša'n    *they are sitting;*                      o'ruša'n    *they are not sitting.*  
 haγurete o'lja (from huljaiyΔs)                      *don't mount the horse.*

Over a considerable series of examples the forms are very regular.

335. Occasionally the accent has been recorded on the negative prefix, principally where it is amalgamated with the pronoun prefix.

E.g. 'εγun (a + iγun)                      *don't give (it) to him.*

'e'dilja'n (a + idilja'n)                      *we shall not beat him.*

and sometimes with forms of εταs e.g.

'ayetaM 3rd. sg. plup.

'aiyetimei 3rd. sg. pret.

336. The verbs "to give" (v. § 231. d.) provide some peculiar forms:

From \*-či'Δs (v. § 294):

au.učimi beside o'čimi (a + učimi)    *he did not give to them.*

From \*-uyΔs:

ayau (a + a + u)                      *don't give it to me.*

bese aiy'au.uča                      *why dost thou not give to me?*

aiyau.uma (2nd. sg. pret.)                      *thou didst not give to me.*

aiyawa, aiyau.a (2nd. sg. perf.)                      *thou hast not given to me.*

It will be remembered that \*-uyΔs in the positive takes a prefixed ja- when the indirect object is the 1st. pers. sg., yielding:

joyΔs joč-    *to give to me.* (V. § 255).

When the indirect object is 3rd. sg. m. the form becomes

yuyΔs yuč-    *to give to him.*

In the negative, however, the i-prefix amalgamates with the negative:

e'uča ba    *I do not (am not going to) give to him.*

337. The scheme of the changes of consonants following the negative prefix a- are as follows:

g → k	γ → q (k?).
d → t	(j?), j → (č?), č.
b → p	h is variously treated.

*Examples:*

gΔnΔs	<i>to take</i>	hukəM ΔkΔnΔs	<i>to disobey an order.</i>
*-irΔs	<i>to die</i>	aku.irčuma	<i>thou wilt not die.</i>
*-Δršai.Δs	<i>to get drunk</i>	ako'rša	<i>don't get drunk.</i>

girminas	to write	akırmin	don't write.
di·mi	he came	ati·mi, æti·mi	he did not come.
do·nas	to open	ato·nin	do not ye open.
d*-Δšqaltas	to arrive	ate·šqaltimi	he did not arrive.
ba·ltas	to wash (clothes etc.)	apa·lt	don't wash.
belas	to put on (clothes etc.)	apel	don't put on.
*-tsi baγalte·as	to go mad	atsi apa·γaltaiya ba	I have not gone mad.
γana·s	to appear, be visible	Duma·ni akanimi	Dumani (mountain) was not visible.
γerisas	to agree	ka·ki Δq'arišo bo	(our) sister refu- ses (to go).
γilti·ras	to be extravagant, show off	aq'ərči bu·t Δqiltir	he will not speak. don't be very extravagant
juyas	to come	Δčuča ba ačučai.i ačučëila	I am not coming. he isn't coming. it isn't coming.

Of this verb there are many examples. I know no other verb in *j*, and only one in *j viz.* *jali.as* of which I have no negative forms.

338. It has already been mentioned (§ 334. end) that the *h-* of the two verbs beginning with *hu-*, viz. *hulj'aiyas* and *hur'urtas* is dropped when the negative particle is prefixed. It will be noted that the *hu-* is not accented. In *h'enas* to know the *h-* is changed to *k*.

ake·yan (1st. pl. fut. = pres.)	<i>we do not know.</i>
ak'e·ima (2nd. sg. fut. = pres.)	<i>thou dost not understand.</i>
ake·ya ba, ak'e.i ba	<i>I do not know, thou dost not know.</i>
ake·nimi	<i>he did not know.</i>

Of *h'akinas* to learn.  
and *h'erās* to weep.

I have recorded 2nd. sg. neg. imperative forms with *o·-*.

hakin	learn	'o·hakin	don't learn.
her	weep	o·wər	don't weep.

I know only two other verbs in *h-* and of these I have no negative forms. They are:

halqa's	to give birth (of animals).
herai.Δs	to urinate.

339. a) The second negative prefix *o-*, *o-*, always, I think, stressed, is used to the exclusion of the other with the following very common verbs:

mana's	to be, become	ni'Δs	to go.
mina's	to drink	senΔs	to say.
also with surmanΔs	to begin	šeryΔs	to eat.

*Examples:*

o'mai.i bo	she is not.
es laŋ o'manimi	it didn't move.
o'mai.imi	it will not become.

It is to be noted that, as far as form goes *o'manuman* may stand for either

*o' + manuman, or a + umanuman.*

o'min	do not thou drink.
(The positive is <i>min'ε</i> .)	
o'minum	not having drunk.
o'ni	do not thou go.
o'ničΔm	I shall not go.
o'sΔn	do not thou say.
o'sena ba	I have not said (i.e. I have said not, refused?)
o'senuman	they did not say.
bušai.i 'o'šimi	he did not occupy (lit. eat) the land.

b) The only other verbs with which I have noted it are *hΔkinΔs* to learn and *herΔs*, to weep, mentioned in the last paragraph.

taška's	to draw, smoke (pipe).
Δfyu'n o'tΔski	don't smoke opium.

(The positive being *taške*.)

and, tsu'yas	to take away.
(guse baskaret) o'tsuč'a?	won't you take (this sheep) away?

Verbs commencing with the voiceless stops *k* and *p* not preceded by the pronoun-prefixes are scarce and I have no negative forms of them, nor of those commencing with *t* (except those just mentioned) of which there are several. It would be interesting to know whether by any chance they follow the model of *o'taski* and *o'tsuča* and take *o'*.

### THE VERB in the INTERROGATIVE.

340. A question is indicated by adding a suffix *-a* to the verb. Where the verb already ends with *-a* the interrogative suffix is not apparent. It is probable that the final *-a* tends to be accented and lengthened by the reinforcement of the interrogative, but I cannot say that I have noted this as a fixed rule, and the final *-a* of a verbal form may sometimes be accented where there is no question. In the 2nd. sg. of the present and perfect tenses the *-a* of the termination is more or less long and is often accented.

When the sentence contains an interrogative word, e.g. an interrogative pronoun, adjective or adverb, the suffix *-a* is discarded. Cp. § 147. Note.

#### Examples:

- a) *gan mene he.iba'na*      *does anyone (pl.) know the road?*  
*kita'p hik bare'ima, g'o'ltirčama?*      *wilt thou have a look at the*  
*book, shall I show it to thee?*
  
*ætimi.a?*      *has he not come?*  
*Alqaše guyər hik šau et'ama, a'lto šau et'ama?*      *had Alqash struck*  
*your father one blow, had he struck him two blows?*
  
*u'ŋe go'se mud'a' man'imi.a*      *has thy heart's desire come to pass?*  
*gute tsane ɣeniš bil'a, ap'i.a, u'ŋ bare'n*      *is this really gold or is*  
*it not? look and see.*

In such cases as the last the idiom amounts to a dependent question: "see whether this is really gold or not".

#### Similarly:

*u'ŋ atukumanam (d\*-manas) gu' iraiya, walaiya . . . . beske lel*

api, mimen xabər apə'n (when) thou hadst not (yet) been  
born has thy father died or been lost? It is not known, none  
of us know.

Here one should probably take the lel api with iraiya etc.  
and translate:

"It is not known whether thy father died or went missing  
before thy birth".

b) The following are examples of verbal forms which already end  
in -a and which remain without addition or alteration:

ja senuman jočum'a?	wilt thou give me what I say?
xabər dusu'ma?	hasst thou brought (pret.) information?
Δsta'mər duko'w'a?	hasst thou come for justice?
meniktsum dumər'a?	hasst thou got (asked) it from someone?
du'tsuš g'oməima?	wilt thou be able to fetch (charcoal)?

c) Examples of questions containing interrogative words:

u'ŋe be he.iba?	what dost thou know?
bes duko'w'a?	why hast thou come?
ma bese herčə'n?	why are you weeping?
i'nər be se'yam?	what shall I say to him?
ma menik bə'n?	who are you?
beruman duroskuyor šapik uče.i?	to how many hired servants does he give food?
ki'ne i'k besan o'ši?	what name will he give him?
ε's mene tsu.a'n?	who have taken it away?
Kisər beškan bai.i?	what sort of a person is Kiser?
go'n mana's ma belate lel ečə'n?	how do you know when it is dawn?
amulo bai.i?	where is he?
amit guntsulo hurušam ha'le?	what day shall I (begin to) stay at home?

d) Examples of dependent questions containing interrogative words:

šapik belate jo'čo kana.o mo advise her how she may give me food.

In the following amulo is the indefinite "anywhere".

ja Kisər amulo baiya i'raiya, ma bare'nin see whether my Kiser  
is anywhere or has died.

341. *Be*, *be*, *not*, may be added at the end of an interrogative sentence meaning “or not?”. It usually expects an affirmative answer like the Latin *nonne?* and the English formula illustrated by “he has come, has he not?” or “hasn't he come?” where the speaker will be surprised if he has not come. Sometimes, however, there seems to be no preconception about the answer.

ja auwe buro'ndumuts yenise bi'ma be? *my father's rings were of gold, were they not? or, he had gold rings, had he not?*  
 uyo'naṭe imo i'k bilum'a be? *his name was on all of them, was it not?*  
 Habaši pa'dša e'i mutsu.a be? *thou hast married the Habashi king's daughter, hast thou not?*  
 ja e'i.ε dušmanan amulo baiya be *is there an enemy of my son anywhere, or not?*  
 u'ŋ ju'ča be ja ka? *wilt thou come with me or not? you'll come with me, won't you?*  
 jatse daq s'učamana be? *will you believe me or not?*  
 bareyen . . . tsane ju'či.a be ke *let us see if he will actually come or not.*  
 Alqaš wazir'e e'mutse pfu't gumai.i ba be *art thou not in love with Alqash Wazir's daughter?*

342. There are a few examples of what appear to be rhetorical questions in which *be* precedes the verb and has negative interrogative force:

u'ŋ e'sqan nuse be hukem a'r etam? *hadst thou not commanded me, saying “kill him”?*  
 be go'r du'tsam, u'ŋe be šur'ma? *did I not bring them, and didst thou not eat them?*

343. Occasionally *na* appears in the place of *be*. Only a few certain examples have been recorded:

jučuma n'a? *will thou come or not?*  
 banda' čape inaza e'ṣtse o'maimi na? *it won't have (there won't be on it) the taste of human flesh, will it?*  
 je ke ba na? *there's I too, isn't there?*

Once or twice I have recorded forms of the type:  
 mene adeljuman na? *will anyone beat me, or not?*



But the duplication of the “n” cannot be regarded as certain; it may simply be:

mENE ΔeljumANA? *will they beat me?*

344. I may here mention two expressions which occur in my texts and which I can neither explain nor support:

yančər ničAMA ya·? *shall I go to meet him?* 94.13.

Perhaps ya· is “or” and o·ničAMA understood “or shall I not go”. Or possibly ya· is an interjection.

yā ja ha·le bi.a ni? *is the bear in my house? (or not?)* 230.1.

345. Occasionally there is no verb expressed in the question:

kinē hirər u·ŋ rız'a? *(art) thou content with this man (for a husband)?* 302.18.

mi gusastsum besΔn fai.ıda? *what (would be) the advantage of our telling thee?* 38.16.

### THE USES of the MOODS and TENSES.

346. We have now seen the principal types of form in which the Burushaski verb appears and it will have become sufficiently apparent that the grammatical terms ordinarily in use in Europe are not in all cases applicable with any exactitude to the phenomena of Burushaski grammar.

This inapplicability will be made still more evident by the following examination of the uses of the Burushaski moods and tenses.

Another terminology is required, but until our knowledge of the conceptions underlying the mode of expression is more precise it is impossible to invent terms which will describe them.

What conception of existence and matter is it that determines the difference between the x and y “genders”?

What makes it possible to use one form to cover the functions of the Infinitive, Gerund, Gerundive, Noun and Adjective Agent? — or one type of participle to describe a thing as in the state of “having been done,” and a person as in the state of “having done”?

For the present all that can be done is to use the current terms which apply to the principal functions of particular forms,

and explain those functions which are not covered by these, or which actually contradict them.

Instead of attempting a formal disquisition on the moods and tenses in Burushaski it will be simpler to take the various parts in order as they are given in the paradigms and examine their uses and signification.

347. The tenses which I have called the **FUTURE** and **PRESENT** perform in general the functions associated with the Future and Present Indicative respectively, but they have also special uses.

The **FUTURE** appears as:

1. the ordinary Future Indicative.
2. in uses associated in other languages with the Subjunctive.
3. in temporal expressions followed by *ke*, with the force of the Present or Preterite Indicative.
4. rarely, with the force of the Present Indicative. It was probably originally an aoristic present.

The **PRESENT** is used:

1. to denote momentary or continuous action or state in present time: "I am doing something", "I say you are a liar",
2. to denote customary or habitual action; the time being indefinite,
3. as the Historic Present in narrative, equivalent to the Preterite.
4. to indicate Intention or Future Certainty: "I am going to kill you", "I am going to die".

348. The following examples illustrate the **USES** of the **FUTURE**:

1. *Indicating simple Future action* ("I shall" etc.), or *Intention of Future action* ("I will").

yeñišan gučičam; ho.i jaγu.ima? Šu'a guγuγam. *I shall give thee some gold; wilt thou give me green vegetables? Good, I will give thee (some).* 64.3.

hık bare'ima? g'o'ltirčama? *wilt thou have a look (at the book)? Shall I show it to thee?* 68.24.

gute je.imo ha'le a'ltul γataiyam, æčičuma? *I shall read (or I should like to read) it for a couple of days at home; wilt thou give it to me?* 70.1.

2. *With the force of the Subjunctive, Hortative etc.*

HAZAR in'e'mo mu.i.yen maimi.a bar'enin, o'sumo "See (whether) perhaps there may be a son of her" she said to them. 242.10.

(the -a probably indicates a sort of indirect question with *maimi* subordinate to *bar'enin*).

æki'l yaški atawasa ba ke da je u'ne guvi ba seyam I have not remained thus worthy that I should say 'I am thy son'. 373.8.

(*ke* seems here to be the Persian *kih* introducing a subordinate clause).

It is common in the 1st. person plural with the sense of "let us (do)":

ho nišin šure.ar 'ečan let us eat and make merry! 373.20.

ye mu'to huzur ne šičan now let us eat in comfort. 62.27.

doγerus do'ljen let us first enquire and then beat them. 248.8.

But in many such instances it is possible to regard the verb as merely declaring an intention, e.g. "we shall enquire first and then beat them", or "we shall enquire before beating them".

Uses like the following are perhaps to be placed under this head:

be'rumān guntsin mai.mimi mu'u.e ha'lər ni bo'm she had gone to her mother's house it will be some days ago, or it may be some time ago. 242.8.

3. *In Temporal Expressions with ke.*

ničuman ke ine gus nuku'čen . . . hilesan dimanam when they got there (lit. "will go") his wife having given birth, a son had been born. 242.12.

utso'ņər bare'imān ke xan ne bitsa when they looked at the tracks they (saw that they) led downwards (lit. "are downwards"). 246.21.

i'ne bare'imi ke i'ne giya'se jakune su'rat bila when he looks (he sees that) the infant's face is a donkey's; i.e. when he looked (he saw that) the infant had the face of a donkey. 102.6.

When used in this construction certain verbs appear to take normally the short form of the 3rd. sing. future.

niyas and ju'yas usually give ni'či and ju'či, and there are examples of eči from etas.

ni'mi; ni'či ke gučabo muiyen dimanai.i *he went; when he goes, she has given birth and a son has been born i.e. he went off; when he came to his home, (his wife) had given birth and a son had been born to her.* 102.6.

da juči ke i'en dimanai.i *again when he came, a son had been born to him.* 102.14.

yā i'lt'u'mal eči ke hi're Δjab čΔγΔn ečai.i *when the bear listened, the man was saying a strange thing.* 228.10.

huyes kaš eči ke han ya'lmunan api'm *when he slew the goat, one rib was missing.* 234.13.

“ničimi ke . . .” *is once recorded.* 154.13.

4. *With the force of the Present Indicative in a main clause.*

te'ljuko ek ake'ima *thou dost not understand such things,* 66,19.  
but only one or two examples can be quoted.

**349.** The following are Illustrations of the **USES of the PRESENT:**

1. *Denoting Action or State in Present Time.*

bes garša? Itertsum garša ba *why art thou running away?*  
*I am running away for that reason.* 228.15, 230.3.

je čamine e'irča ba *I am dying of hunger.* 373.5.

bi ke han belis: a'lta amulum du's'a? *there is one sheep: where do you get two from?* 64.24.

pfut amaiya ba *I am in love (with her).* 66.13.

wazir'e ju gušai.i *the Wazir says to thee "come", i.e. summons thee.* 74.7.

2. *Customary and Habitual Action.*

yat guntsi ke hərənuš ine ha'lər ničai.i *the next day the intermediary goes to his (the man's) house.* 298.8.

šikamatiņər ha'lum jama'at udim ke han pfi'ti eča'n *at the (time of the) Shikamating each household make(s) a cake of bread for each person.* 320.4.

uyo'ŋko.e tai.i durowan 'eča'n *the great do things like this (lit. such a thing).* 74.12.

yerum zama'na.ulo čupursan bu't aba'd bilum se.iba'n *they (i.e. people) say that in former times Chupursan was thickly inhabited.* 280.1.

3. *The Historic Present used in narrative.*

hikul'to i'mi.ε se.i.bo . . . *one day his mother said . . . (lit. says). 62.28*  
 Alqāšer sala'm ečai.i. Wazir'er da'l me.ibai.i . . . kurtai. etc.  
 e'urušai.i *he salams to Alqash. The Wazir (i.e. Alqash) gets*  
*up to (receive) him and makes him sit on a chair. 74.9,*  
 bare'imān ke meniko hēr o'γāršā'n *when they look (they see) some*  
*people are ploughing with oxen. 248.2.*

These statements refer to events in past time.

4. *Intention or Future Certainty.*

je erča ba *I am going to die. 294.11.*  
 (guse baskaret) o'tsuč'a? *art thou not going to take (this sheep) away? 62.15.*  
 u'ne mu je ašqai.i b'a? a'wa go'sqai.a ba *art thou now going to*  
*kill me? yes, I am going to kill thee. 66.8.*  
 i'te dišulo Alqāš Wazir'e'sqai.i ba *at that place I am going to*  
*kill Alqash Wazir. 70.20.*  
 han guntšanulo ja'r dərka'r ba'n *One day you will be necessary*  
*to me (i.e. I shall have need of you). 160.10.*  
 jimale ts'ordine Ira'ne Pa'dša i'rčai.i *tomorrow morning the King*  
*of Iran is going to die. 38.19.*

The use of the Present in certain temporal phrases where English has the Perfect Continuous, may be noted:

akur'rum de'niqulo je u'ne xidmat eča ba *during so many years*  
*I am doing thy service, i.e. for these many years I have been*  
*-serving thee. 374.8.*

## THE IMPERFECT.

350. The use of the Imperfect in Burushaski is parallel to its use in many languages. It denotes:

1. Continuous uncompleted action in past time.
2. Habitual or frequentative action in past time.
3. Occasionally it seems to bear a sense equivalent to English "might", "would" or "could".

*Examples:*

1. hi tha'nər ni'či bi'm, hin jat gu'san tumuk manu'mo *it (the bear)*  
*was going along to a certain place, (when) an old woman met it. 228.13.*

e'itsum imo hæ'lær jučam. juči ke Buri B'uṅulo gəri me.i bilum  
da pfutu giraši bi'm. u'lo in ke ni'mi, se.iba'n not having  
seen (his goat) he was coming home. As he came there was a  
light in the Buri Bun and Dīvs were dancing (there). He too  
went in, they say. 234.2.

Habaše pa'dša i' Alqaš Wazi're e'imutse pfut niman, Alqašær  
nokæri ečam The Habashi King's son, being in love with Alqash  
Wazir's daughter, was doing service to A. 66.4.

Less simple is:

hi'rær γərat er di'mi, amma ča'ra aiyē'čilum (3rd. sg. y impf.  
neg. \*-atās) pride came to the man, but a remedy was not af-  
fecting him i.e. the man's pride was roused, but there was nothing  
he could do. 228.5.

2. u'er Baxti Kuto'r se.ibam they called, used to call, them the  
Bakhti tribe. 272.2.

ši.āsær mēne besan 'e'uč'am no one (pl.) used to give him anything  
to eat. 373.2.

thamo ap'am ku.ε bap gati ne u'i hōraṅ traṅ ne šečam there  
being no Thams, these (people) collecting the tax and dividing it  
among them used to appropriate (lit. eat) it. 236.3.

gunts dæru.ær ničam he used to go hunting in the daytime. 22.19.

3. In the following the verb is perhaps to be regarded as an Im-  
perfect Subjunctive or Past Potential.

da besane ho.i suča baiyam? how then was I to fetch green vegetables?  
(besane should probably be besan ne doing what? i.e. how?)  
pfertsin yači stimi ke mēne ke e'išam when he put on the cap no  
one could see him, or, if he put on the cap no one would see him.  
je be a'maiya baiyam what should I be able (to do).

### THE CONDITIONAL.

351. "Conditional" is here used in its technical sense as indicating  
the statement not of a condition, but of a hypothetical result where  
the requisite condition is treated as unrealisable. In English this  
is rendered by the forms: *would do, would have done, etc.*

## 1. Examples of this use in Burushaski are:

Abā Kituŋe hu'nts yər nē de'egusaŋ ke 'e'irčumtse if A. K.  
had pulled out the arrow forwards, he (Burmīftan) would not  
have died. 150.21.

ma han guntsanulo ja'r dərka'r bə'n be ke batulo pfeŋ matsičaŋ tse  
you will be necessary to me one day, if it were not so, I would  
stuff your skin(s) with ashes. 154.3. (So with minor variations,  
160.10, 176.10).

du'ŋ ke fat eta'm ke kine Δču'e idim uyo'n čumare me.imtse  
if thou hadst left me alone for a little the body of this brother  
of mine would all have become iron. 110.8.

Δxəna pfut ma deli bam ke bu't tsil dušum tse if you had shot  
the Div much water would have come out. 292.10.

ya bi'a? . . . nidilin a'lto traq ečam tse is the bear (there)?  
. . . (if he were) I would split him in two. 228.9 & 230.2.

(The condition in brackets is probably understood.)

2. There occur instances, however, in which these forms seem to correspond to other uses of the English *should* or *would* where there is no condition:

ja lu'm ke hawa'l gute bila, daltasaŋ amulum sučam tse? my  
strength and condition are what you see; whence would I be able  
to get anything fine? 138.22.

ja hik bišaiya baiyam han čumur məimtse, ko'k a'lto čumoriŋ  
bitsa I had fired once, there should be one hole, these are two  
holes, i.e. here there are 2 holes. 102.26.

to'rimi sa'atanər asi'r me.imtse kine Ru'me hi're ka'r mana'sər  
galt di'mi it would be near 10 o'clock, this man of Rum's turn  
came to go on patrol. 38.1.

## 3. Somewhat different again is:

bešal han . . . du'an kuli aiyawa ke ja je.imo šugur'lotiŋe ka nišin  
šuri.a'r ečam tse thou never gavest me a kid that, eating it  
with my friends, I might make merry. 370.9.

Of the examples I have recorded in Werchikwar only one expresses unfulfilled result. Of the remainder one expresses an

unfulfilled condition, and four habitual action in the past. (Engl. *used to do*, also *would do*).

Zarubin (p. 304) says that this construction “expresses unreal(?) condition, and also iterative action repeated in the past”.

**352.** There is little that is peculiar about the uses of the Past-Base tenses: Preterite, Perfect, Pluperfect.

The Preterite is constantly used where the English would at least prefer the Perfect. Sometimes these two tenses are used indifferently.

One special use of the Preterite should be noted. It is employed in conditional and temporal clauses, followed by the particle *ke*, where the action of the verb, which still actually lies in the future, is anticipated as having taken place. (See below § 353.3.)

Occasionally instances occur in which the Perfect or Pluperfect is used where the Preterite would seem to be more in order.

### THE PRETERITE.

**353. 1.** *As the ordinary Narrative Tense.*

Badša haγurtsum so·kimi. duso·k i'se haγurete bismila· ne hulj'Δmi  
*the king dismounted from his horse. Dismounting he said “bismillah”*  
*and mounted that (other) horse. 6.17.*

han h'e·rše učəran di·mi. Badša· d'e·limi. Badša d'e·yelin tsərər  
 kau etimi: hin nΔama·nin menik herčə·n ke ite xΔbər dusu·in,  
 senimi *a sound of (people) weeping came. The king heard it.*  
*The king, hearing it, called to the guard “one of you, going,*  
*fetch news who is crying” he said. 38.3.*

**2.** *With the meaning of the Perfect.*

be gumΔnuma? *what didst thou become? i.e. what has happened*  
*to thee? what's the matter with thee? 228.14.*

ja kine eri 'irum bam mu dy'u·erimi; wa·lum mu d'a·Δγurka ba  
*this my son was dead (and) has now come to life; (he was) lost*  
*and now I have found him. 373.21.*

(Note the use of the Preterite in the first clause and the Perfect in the second.)



le'i Salada'r, d'itsuma? awa, ditsam O Saladar, hast thou brought  
(the lamb)? Yes, I have brought it. 68.7.

le Alqaš Wazi'r, ja o'lji ni'itsin til a'lam O Alqash Wazir, I  
had a dream and have forgotten it. 72.2.

Sometimes the preterite corresponds to the pluperfect:

yā' ami't ha'lər ni'mi ke o'ničam they used not to go to any house  
into which the bear had gone. 228.2.

da bešal uyo'n (ma'l) xərč etimi ke . . . daŋ čaman di'mi when he  
had expended all (his property) . . . a severe famine came on. 372.9.

3. In conditional and temporal clauses referring to hypothetical events.

mene huy'es terər tsuman ke, han baskarete jərpa oča'n if any  
one (pl.) takes their flocks to the jungle they fine them a ram. 324.5.

amin hirane o'ltalik yu kaš o'ti ke ba'dša dyu.əši if some man  
slays his two sons, the king will survive (o'ti 3rd. sg. pret. hm.  
of u + \*-atəs). 40.15.

mamatsum duγ'ərusuman ke mi ma masaγundəro ba'n 'o'su.in if  
they inquire of you, say to them 'we are your sister's sons'. 246.16

amine g'iri d'elimi ke i'se g'iri iner yu'čai.i if any one (or, whoever)  
hits the mark, (the Tham) gives him the mark (plaque). 316.8.

The preterite may occur in clauses with "compound relatives"  
("whoever" etc.)

thame menər rak etimi ke o'girašai.i the Tham makes whomsoever  
he pleases, dance. 318.5.

## THE PERFECT.

### 354. Examples:

1. yā' ak'ule di bi'a? has the bear come here? 228.8.
- kots hər bes dutsa'n? why have you brought these oxen? 248.12.
- kulto ajab čaγan daiyela ba today I have heard a strange thing. 228.15.
- thamine ku'in mel minas fat o'tai.i last year and this year he  
has made them give up drinking wine. 330.5.
- hani.a'dame mamu mini bi, šapik ši bi it (the sheep) has drunk  
human milk and eaten human bread. 68.2.
- ja be.adapi.en eta ba, a'r baxšiš eti I have committed a discourtesy,  
forgive me. 74.11.

2. In the following examples the Perfect is used in simple statements of historical fact in the comparatively remote past where English would use the Preterite:

Tapki.ents A. 'eš Maiyu're Thame 'o'sqanai.i *Aesh Maiyuri Tham, slew the Tapkients.* 236.7.

Alqas Wazir'e ja a'uy e'sqanai.i *Alqash Wazir killed my father.* 70.15.

Raskame baiyu e bap Balotse o's'a'n *The Baltis imposed a salt-tax on Raskam,* 274.7.

Bərbəre gotsil Ša Γazanfəre wəxtulo Wəzir Asadulla Bige di'usai.i  
*W.A.B. excavated the Berber channel in the time of Š. Γ.* 352.7.

3. In the case of a few verbs, owing to the nature of their concepts there is a tendency for the Perfect to assume the value of the Present. This is so with:

gučai.əs, *to lie down, to lie down and sleep, to be confined:*

ya're mi myu khatate guča bai.i *down below our father has lain down on a bedstead, i.e. he is lying sleeping on a bed.* 260.8.

hurutas *(to sit down) to be pregnant:*

ja jama'at huruto bo *my wife is pregnant.* 56.14.

mamu etas *to be pregnant:*

guse bu'a mamu eti bi *this cow is pregnant.* 186.5.

Similarly: e'yenai.i *he has gone to sleep, he is sleeping.* 264.24.

## THE PLUPERFECT.

### 355. *Examples:*

1. Buzur Jamhu're belate ča'ya et'am ke tevilju'ko a'lta i'skumuts bim  
*just as B. J. had said, there were two such young ones.* 64.28.
- i'se tuyuli baza'retər ditsam. i'te yeniš uči'mi, tuyuli ditsimi  
*he gave the gold to the men (who) had brought the sheep to the bazar and brought the sheep (back).* 68.6.
- han ya'lm'unan kam manimi. ise ya'lmun ine hirər iyərüm yu'am  
*'u'atsum čap et'am one rib was missing. They had given that rib to the man and he had hidden it from them.* 234.7.
- gusan nuku'cen das'inen dum'osmanu bo'm . . . in gusmo mo.i

mu.i.rumo      a woman being delivered, had given birth to a  
daughter . . . The woman's daughter died. 72.23.  
'e.spaləm mu dime.i.γurka'n      we had lost him, now we have found  
him. 374.16.

2. It is sometimes used where the Preterite might rather be expected:  
gute u'ŋe kitəp bila. (gopi.ε) g'umimur mutə'ni muči bam      this  
book is thine. (Thy grandfather) gave it (lit. had given) it to  
thy mother in her trousseau. 70.2.  
in hi'ne se.ibai.i εfati jo'tan bim senubo'm      the one says: "she  
said (lit. had said) his forehead was small". 158.16.
3. Where the Perfect may be equivalent to the Present (see end of  
last paragraph) the Pluperfect may be equivalent to the Imperfect:  
gusan huru'to bo'm, belisane mamu eti bim      a woman was preg-  
nant, and a sheep was with young. 66.20.

So also:

i'ram      he had died = i'rum bam      he was dead. 373.21.

### THE IMPERATIVE.

356. 1. There is nothing special to note about the ordinary use of the  
Imperative apart from its forms, which have been dealt with in  
§§ 318 & 319.

amulo bo ke dumurtsu      wherever she is bring her here.  
i'te han basi.ene če.i er ato'nin      don't open the door (lit. key, lock)  
of that garden for him.  
i'te tsi'l inemur muči mo'min      give her that water and make her  
drink it.

ma astə'm etin      you decide the case.  
maimo Xudai.ε gane ja'r 'asu.in      for your own God's sake, tell me.  
ja dolat but bila, xəč eti, menər ke u'u      I have great wealth,  
spend and give to others.  
šu.'ai.ε, dusu a'ltiri, esimi      he said to him 'good, bring (the book  
and) show it to me'.

2. The form with a final -a (see § 320) has perhaps a polite or  
persuasive force, though it is frequently used to inferiors.

lukAN (giyał) ja'r ke Δči'a je ke šEČAM *please give me a little (bread)*  
*too, that I too may eat it.* 132.16.

PAŋču.ər bəre'nina da maltunAL etina bE' sebai.i *have a look at*  
*P. and listen to what he is saying.* 128.13.

ko'le ju ε'su.ina senimi *he said "say ye to him 'come here'".* 92.12.

3. One special use of the Imperative is in quasi-conditional sentences, where a result or consequence is made to depend on the execution of an order.

The Imperative is here followed by the particle ke.

i'NE a'r ditsu ke ja gər ke u'ŋE gər nALA ε'ČEN *bring him for*  
*me and we shall celebrate my marriage and thy marriage at the*  
*same time.* 184.3.

AlqAš WAZi'rete hAYURE Δsba'b ne'igin d'itsu.in ke inE'tE nuljen  
 juČAM *put horse equipment on Alqash Wazir and bring him*  
*along and I shall mount him and come.*

### THE FORMS in -š, (č).

357. 1. *In the third person.*

The simple forms in -š (č) are used as a 3rd. pers. sg. with varying senses: imperative, injunctive, permissive and optative, i.e. indicating the exercise of will or desire in relation to a third person.

A corresponding 3rd. pers. pl. is formed by the addition of a final -AN.

*Examples:*

KisƏRE γatenČAN i'NE in'i'ŋulo dumanČ nusen . . . *Kiser saying:*

*"May it come into being as a sword in his hand!" . . .*

gute jAME ja taska'mƏr tƏrumtƏr mani'š, ku'E bAMAN uyo'ntse yaš!

*may this bow when I draw it fly in pieces, and may it strike*  
*all those present!*

thAM inE maniš. *let him be Tham!*

tso'rdine uyo'n gATI manišan! *tomorrow let all (the people) assemble!*

ba'dša hukUM etimi ulO ju'š nusen *the king gave command, saying*

*"let her come in" (i.e. she should, or may, come in).*

juřa go'r sala'm ečo? juř, dumurtso *may she come to pay her respects to you? she may come, bring her.*

ba'zxa's o'maň! *there should, must, be no disputing!*

Paňču'e jadu ečai.i: padša yu'gušants tso'r daň dusuřen (or daňtse niřen) *P. worked magic (saying) let the king's daughters go early to sleep!*

u'ņer la'nat maniř! Po'niki Pfuřo'r menə ak'o'suřan! *mayst thou be accursed! may no one (pl.) call thee Poniki Pfuřor.*

u'ņ guyakal mene ča'ya ayertiřan, u'ņe bər men atoye'lšan *let none talk to thee, let none hear thee talk (the meaning being that it is inexpedient that the man should have intercourse with anyone).*

This -ř form is used in formulæ of cursing and blessing:

wa ga'yu uř'u'řan! *may the crows eat them! (a curse). 256.11.*

go'r bərkat maňiř! *blessing be on thee! 286.4.*

## 2. In other persons.

The use of the -ř forms in any other than the 3rd. person appears to be generally restricted to the verb \*-MANAŠ. In the few examples available the sense appears to be: "may I etc. become, be . . .", expressing desire.

(guyatūm) qurba'n a'maňša! *may I be thy sacrifice!*

jakun a'm'aňša! *may I become a donkey!*

bihel gumaňř! *bravo to thee! (mayst thou be blessed?)*

guvimo watanər xuři.e ka niyas gumaňř! *mayst thou go in happiness to thine own country!*

badša'čum xe'r mimanřan! *may we be a sacrifice for the king!*

But from the following isolated example it would seem that the meaning may also extend to cover the idea "should" or "ought".

u'ņe guse kursi warts etas gumaňř, which appears to mean "thou oughtest to repair this chair".

From other verbs we have the 2nd. sg. forms mentioned in § 321.1 & 4. viz. til akovlř, *dont forget*, from til \*-ALAŠ;  
atu'ki.alř, *dont listen*, from d\*-AYELAŠ.

358. With *xa* and as Predicate.

Only the simple, invariable form in *-š* is used with the post-position *xa* and as the predicate of certain verbs. With *xa* it appears to be used impersonally, at any rate when the verb is intransitive.

It is difficult to see any connection in meaning between the *-š* forms employed in these ways and those illustrated above where they bear an imperative or optative sense.

*Examples:*

A. with *xa* meaning "till", "up to"; with the negative "so long as . . . not", "when . . . not", and often simply equivalent to the affirmative "until", "before".

1. guke (ΥΕΝΑῚ) gukəre je juš xa xərč eti *expend this (gold) for thyself till I come (back), (till my return).*

ja ačurš xa guč'a'ma ke goyan dum'u'mano ke guguri mu.i'kan o's  
*so long as I do not return, i.e. before I return, if a daughter is born to thee, do thou thyself give her a name.*

i'n ačuš xa guč'amo *before he returned she gave birth.*

go'n maniš xa *until dawn comes.*

Pañču go'n o'manš xa di.e'mi *when it was not yet become dawn, i.e. before dawn, P. got up.*

a'ltuwa'ltər kuts 'o'manš xa han guntsen tsor du'suma kuli guwi'rča  
*if before 40 days are passed, one day earlier, thou comest out, thou wilt die.*

filta taš xa axond γatai be.i *the Akhund reads (or, recites) till the lamp goes out.*

Thus used with an intransitive verb one is tempted to look on the *-š* form as a noun, but it will be noted that in general the logical subject, where it is expressed, is in the nominative and not in the genitive case; so one is scarcely justified in regarding say

go'n maniš as meaning "the becoming of dawn", only in the second example have we the genitive or oblique *ja* in place of *je*.

2. Examples with transitive verbs are not very numerous and are apt to be obscure. In the 1st. and 3rd. examples below the logical subject of the verb is in the oblique form, probably the Trans. Nom. case, and in all examples the direct object is in the undifferentiated form, probably the accusative. The translations given of the 2nd. and 3rd. sentences below are doubtfully correct.

yur'ji yetsum inε sise i'skil ja e'itsiš (a + i'tsΔs) xa ja'r ač'uč'ila  
*so long as I do not see the face of the man who has had the  
 dream, (its interpretation) does not come to me. 74.18.*

i'ne tsak detsaš xa Bulčuto'ku.ε γenaγ mešΔnεr nikin gar'tsimi  
*while she was closing the sluice, Bulchutoko put the gold into a  
 bag and ran off.*

sise senuman Bulčuto'ku.ε γenaγ tsuš xa mi be mimana'n? Mi ke  
 nimen sučΔn *people said: While B. has been carrying off gold what  
 has been happening to us? Let us too go and fetch (gold). 206.5.*

guyætis ako'skertiš xa kot bεr čup mana's api *so long as thy  
 head is not cut off this affair is not going to remain secret.*

da gina'ni 'e'šiš (a + i + šiyΔs) xa hεri ipfupεras api *then so long,  
 as the "ginani" is not eaten, there is no rubbing the barley be-  
 tween the hands (i.e. it is not permitted to husk and eat it).*

(padša ja jama'at) mutsuš xa ma mene kuli ča'ra ama'timi.a?  
*up to the time that the king carried off my wife were none of  
 you able to do anything?*

**359.** B. *As the predicate of another verb.*

1. The verb dependent on the verb TO BE ABLE appears in the -š form.
- |  |  |
|--|--|
| duwalš amomanumo                           | <i>she was not able to fly.</i>  |
| etiš gomai.i ba?                           | <i>art thou able to do it?</i>   |
| (hanjil) du'tsuš gomai.ima                 | <i>wilt thou be able to fetch (charcoal).</i>                                      |
| gute šεrum askiltsum ja's atiš g'omai.ima? | <i>wilt thou be able to<br/>     remove this shame from my face?</i>               |
| ki'n mene kuli de'lš ay'o'maiman           | <i>no one (pl.) whatever will be<br/>     able to beat (or, kill) this fellow.</i> |

The following are curious:

čuma're bai.i, d'elš ma'manaš api     *he is of iron, you will not be  
able to beat him.* 144.20.

in be e'mai.i bai.i je asqanš     *he will not be able to kill me.* 70.24.

2. Similarly the -š form occurs after \*-aTAS used in the sense of TO LET, TO ALLOW, TO PERMIT.

i'n niš eti     *let him go away.*

bayum gute tsil miniš eti     *let the mare drink this water.*

mi ho'le du'siš ametuma     *thou hast not let us go out.*

Cp. also:

Kine hire rai.i bilum . . . wate'ŋ . . . nuše huru'tiš     *this man's  
desire was to abide eating the husks . . .* 372.14.

### THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE.

**360.** The Present Participle indicates continuous action or state. It refers to the action as being in progress, not as completed. This action is usually more or less contemporaneous with that of the principal verb, but it may lead up to it. The essential point is that the action is represented as proceeding continuously over a certain space of time.

The Burushaski Present Participle corresponds to the English Present Participle only in certain cases, e.g. when in English the participle follows the principal verb, as: "he went along singing". It can often be rendered in English by an adverbial phrase.

*Examples:*

Ite pfu gutsərčume Kuli.o Laskir yaKalaTər di'mi     *the fire moving  
along came in the direction of K. L.* 198.3.

ho herčume ni'mo     *then she went off weeping (or, in tears).*

Šahza'da Bahra'm ar imai.ime pfu'tər senimi . . .     *Sh. B. said to  
the Div . . . fearing (i.e., in fear and trembling).* 16.10.

Pu'no le e'i se.ime itsi thami     *Puno pursued after him shouting  
"O son" (as he went).*

**361.** The Present Participle is frequently used in conjunction with a Past Participle Active, i.e. the participle which denotes completed action.



ho i'n di.a i'mo haγurate nuljan prik e'diljume *then having mounted his horse he came along making it caracol.* 122.21.

yuy garšume ni'nin jot i'i e'šulo waščaj.i *his father, having gone running (to him) embraces his younger son.*

ošumutsulo du'n hi'n hi'n o'čume o'š mēra·k no yai.iŋe hu're xa gu'mo *seizing them by the necks and separating them out one by one and twisting their necks she flung them into the mill-race.* 206.9.

(The action of separating them out, expressed by the pres. part. is regarded as more prolonged than either the seizing or twisting the neck of each individual, expressed by the past part.)

362. The Present Participle is sometimes duplicated:

gutsərčume gutsərčume han dišan(ər) (di'mi) *going on and on he came to a certain place.* 244.10.

363. Most frequently as in the above examples the subject of the Present Participle and of the principal verb is the same, but occasionally the subjects are different:

jo'ŋ dox'ərčume Zuu'a'tiŋe gir'amulər asku'riŋ di'mi ke han dastu'ran bilum *(when) the apricot trees (were) coming into blossom, (and) when the blossom reached the village of Z. there was a custom . . .* 320.1.

(The opening of the blossom begins of course at the lower levels and gradually proceeds up the valley or mountain side.)

barevimi barevimi (for, barevime) e'r tap manimi *(as he kept) watching and watching, night came upon him.* 234.1.

tai.i mai.ime ša'm xa tama'ša eča'n *things going on thus (i.e., in this manner) they keep up the entertainment till evening.* 302.10.

364. It is doubtful whether any case for the use of suffixes with the Present Participle can be made out from the texts supplied by Imam Yar Beg, beyond the one instance, herčumate. 360.6.

On the other hand in notes obtained from Nazir I have:

ečumate (or, ečume) i'rimi *he died while doing it,*

and similarly from the verbs senas and γəra's  
sai.imate and γəri·čumate *while speaking, in the act of speaking.*

## THE PAST PARTICIPLE ACTIVE

365. The function of this participle is to express an action as completed before, or at the point at which, the action of the principal verb begins. It does not express the duration of the action but the moment at which it ceases, or at least ceases to be under consideration. It is therefore used in many instances where English (with less logic) has the present participle: "seeing him there, I turned back", "mounting his horse, he rode away".

Burushaski is averse to a series of finite verbs. As a rule only the last verb of a series is put in a finite tense, the preceding ones being expressed in the form of participles.

In Burushaski Cæsar would not have said "I came, I saw, I conquered", but "having come, having seen, I conquered": *da'n*, *nup'əran*, *pfata etam*, or words to that effect.

It is to be noted that the subject of the Past Participle Active is generally the same as that of the principal verb or of a verb immediately following, but exceptions are frequent.

*Examples:*

*da i'i thamo o'pači mel numi'n nəršan juč'am*      *then he himself,*  
*having drunk wine, and having become drunk, used to come to the*  
*Tham (lit. Thams).*

*sanduqtsum yaibi gatun di.usin nupel tešetər du'sumo. du'sin šatınə*  
*kao ne senumo: "le maper hir . . ."*      *taking the magic clothes*  
*out of the box and putting them on, she went out on to the roof.*

*Going out and making a loud shout she said: "O, old man . . ."*  
*mu.i diman i'ski den manimi*      *her son having been born three years*  
*passed.* 58.13.

*Saiyid Ša ni'rin . . . Hunzukuts Ğulmitatər ho'l ni bam*      *S. Sh.*  
*having died the Hunzukuts had gone with a force to Ghulmit.* 296.3.

366. The Past Participle Active normally precedes the principal verb of the sentence:

The Past Participle Active of the principal verb of one sentence is very frequently used to introduce the following sentence where the subjects of the two principal verbs are the same. It thus acts

as a sort of conjunction linking sentence to sentence and carrying on the thought from one to the next. In this rôle it might be called a Conjunctive Participle.

pa'dša yu'ljen yetsimi. yu'lji ni'itsin til e'limi *the king had (lit. saw) a dream. having had the dream he forgot it.*

pfær numa i'mi mopáčær di'mi. di'nin doγarusumi . . . *returning he came to his mother. coming he enquired of her . . .*

367. nusen, nuse the Past Participle Active of *senas* to say is of course used in this way, but following the reported speech it seems to tend to become attached to it, and rather to mark the end of the quotation than to introduce the next clause. This use of the corresponding participles of the verb "to say" is very common in Shina and Khowar.

Šahri Bānu.ε senumo "taq aiyetin; če.i ja'le bi" nusen, do'numo *Sh. B. said "don't break it; the key is with me" saying, she opened it.*

Padša hukum etimi, "u'i pi.a'da sisær haγur tsu'in" nusen, "no'ljen d'utsu'in" nusen, hukum etimi *the king commanded "take horse(s) to those folk on foot", saying, "making them mount, bring them in", saying, he commanded.*

padša hukəm etimi u'ε e'rəršu'ær, "Brungkapurdōnu.ε dēru.ær ni'n" nusen. u'ε e'rəršu.ε bandobas etuman *the king commanded his sons-in-law, "Go for the hunting of Brungkapurdono (the golden calf)" saying. The sons-in-law made preparations.*

(See further under *Reported Speech*, § 468.)

368. There are a few isolated examples of the Past Participle Active followed by the past tense of the verb "to be", being used with the force of the imperfect:

Ira'nə bā'dša . . . . iltumal ne bam *the king of Persia was listening.* 38.12, 40.17.

te'late hisa'b ne tsil yaljume Hindi aba'd ne bam *applying the water on this system he used to cultivate(?) Hindi.* 262.5.

(Exact meaning doubtful.)

o'ltalik nuru't bam. te'rumanər Baltittsum . . . han bu'a'n di'mi *the two were sitting (together), when a cow came (down) from Baltit.* 186.3.

In these *bam* is apparently regarded as a principal, not an auxiliary, verb.

369. There is no certain example of the Past Participle Active being used with a case suffix.

In the following one example it is probable that the Static Participle *di'm* should be read for *di'n*.

*i'ne Pu'nu.ε ha'lər di'ntsum Pu'nu.ε huyε's ke da p'alo bu't ma'nimi*  
*after his coming to Puno's house Puno's live stock and crops became*  
*abundant. 210.21.*

370. The Past Participle is occasionally repeated, when it acquires much the same sense of continuousness as the Present Participle:  
*čaya netan netan Wazire senimi . . . going on talking and talking,*  
*the Wazir said: . . .*  
*(ha'yur) nukutsər nukutsər . . . matan i'tsu'mi (the horse) galloping*  
*on and on carried him far away.*

But in each case the action of the participle is probably regarded as preceding that of the principal verb to which it leads up.

### THE STATIC PARTICIPLE.

371. The forms consisting of the past base of a verb plus a suffix, consisting of vowel + *m*, described in § 328 play many parts and it is open to question how far they can be regarded as referable to any one basal or central conception, and how far it is legitimate to treat them as if they constituted a unity.

It is certainly impossible to find a single descriptive term which will cover all their functions; but for convenience sake a single term is necessary and I have chosen "Static Participle" for the purpose, as it is I think more generally applicable than any other.

By "static" I mean "denoting the state resulting from the action of a verb": in the case of transitive verbs the state of "having been done", or "having done"; in the case of intransitive verbs the state of "having done", or "having become".

The passive is more or less represented by the English passive participle "things *seen*", the active usually requires a relative clause

in English, e.g. "the king *who has come*", but in English we can also say "the fallen tree", "the travelled and well-read scholar" meaning the tree which has fallen, the scholar who has travelled and read much, "an experienced man".

The following is an attempt to analyse and classify the principal uses of these -m forms. It will at least provide a practical basis for the arrangement of the examples.

### 372. The Static Participle with Passive Meaning. V. § 377.

#### *Past Passive Participle from Transitive Verbs.*

- a) As an attributive adjective, with or without the agent expressed.  
i'ne hi're ya'r esum i'te bær *the thing said to the bear by the man.*
- b) As a predicative adjective with the verb "to be", in many cases amounting to a finite tense of the passive of a transitive verb.  
burondumutsa'te i'k girm'inum bila *his name is engraved (written) on the rings.*
- c) As a noun, with or without the agent expressed, sometimes with the suffix -an, and capable of taking case endings.  
i'ne girm'inumær bære'nimi *he looked at the inscription (thing written).*
- d) As a pseudo-adjective, apparently qualifying a noun to which it does not directly refer, usually with its own noun expressed.  
G. M. M. (čama) o'sum dišulo bære.i bai.i *G. M. M. looks in the place in which (the brooch) had been put (lit. in the brooch-put place).*

### 373. The Static Participle with Active Meaning.

#### *I. From Transitive Verbs. V. § 378.*

- a. As an active participle, most commonly occurring in the negative.  
Pu'nu.ε mel o'minum . . . di'mi *Puno without drinking wine (lit. not having drunk wine) . . . came.*
- b) As an attributive verbal adjective equivalent to a relative clause.  
yul'ji ye'tsum i'ne sis *the person who has seen the dream.*
- c) Predicatively with the verb "to be".  
gær aiyetum bo'm *she was unmarried (lit. she was not-having-made-marriage).*

## II. From Intransitive Verbs. V. § 379.

- a) As an active participle with a noun or pronoun as subject.  
*jimičiq̄ pasom̄ amamanum di'u'suman you not hesitating (grudging)*  
*sacrificed (took out) their lives.*
- b) As an attributive adjective qualifying a noun or pronoun.  
*inε yər dusum inε muri that son of hers who had come out earlier.*
- c) As a noun, sometimes with the suffix -an, and capable of case inflection.  
*irumə hartsum ... duwΔšΔčar̄n they go out from the house of the deceased.*
- d) As an adjective used predicatively with the verb "to be", equivalent to a finite past tense of an intransitive verb.  
*hurutum bo'm she was sitting (seated).*
- e) As a pseudo-adjective apparently qualifying a noun to which it does not directly refer.  
*yu apam̄ tares a father-not-being orphan, i.e. a fatherless orphan.*

## 374. The Static Participle as an Optative. V. § 380.

1. From an intransitive verb, active.  
*če.imučeri gum̄anum! mayst thou become (broken into) pieces!*
2. From a transitive verb, doubtful, but probably active.  
*γaiyu gušum! may the crows eat thee!*

## 375. The Static Participle as a Verbal Noun. V. §§ 381—387.

The Static participle is used as what is probably a verbal noun, in an oblique case, i.e. in the genitive or with case suffixes or postpositions.

*inε Duṅpa Mi'ru tha yu' dum̄anumtsum i'lj̄i dər̄u.Δnər̄ ni'mi that*  
*(man) D. M., after his 100 sons were born, went off on a hunting*  
*expedition.*

## 376. The following general points regarding the use of the Static Participle may be noted:

1. When used as a noun or pronominally (i.e. in place of a noun) the static participle can take the case suffixes.
2. A few instances exist of its taking the plural suffix -išo.

3. When the static participle is used as an attributive adjective in conjunction with a demonstrative adjective, the demonstrative adjective is usually placed between the static participle and the noun.

The above is the general scheme in outline of the uses of the Static Participle. We may now examine each point in detail and illustrate it with further examples.

### STATIC PARTICIPLE with PASSIVE MEANING.

#### 377. The Past Passive Participle of Transitive Verbs.

##### a) *As an Attributive Adjective.*

##### i. With Agent expressed.

Di.u Saŋi'de eγunum i'ke biške      *the hair given him by the  
White Div.*

i'ne senum i'te bu'l      *the spring mentioned by him.*

u'ne baba'r ja goyenum (or, goyenam) gute haiyen tsu      *take  
this present (token) given thee by me to thy father.*

Šo'n Guku're delum čuməre gi'li      *the peg driven in by Sh. G.*

In some of these the pc. could be regarded as being active.

##### ii. With Agent not expressed.

i'tse yər dutsum i'tse hanji'l o'ryami      *he expended the charcoal  
(that had been) previously brought.*

Note the repetition of the demonstrative which often occurs.

Laŋa Bro'mu.e mo'pači e'staqam i'ne palwa'nər esumo      *L. B.  
said to the champion concealed with her . . .*

gu'i ačim γeniš ke i'lji tsu      *thysself also take away the gold  
given to me (by thee).*

yu'šam i'se bušo'šo ditsu.in      *bring the fattened (nurtured) calf.*

##### b) *As a Predicative Adjective with the verb "to be".*

mažər i'tega're dešam bila      *the grave is enclosed round about.*

han han mal thamu.e uči'm bila it'e'e'te utaqo bap os'a'n      *there  
is a field (that has been) given to each by the Tham, they have  
fixed the "utaq" tax on it.*

ilban W. B. Bigər ičim bila the "ilban" is granted to W. A. B.  
(is a grant to).

ilčumuts o'staqam bi.ε ke if his eyes are closed.

qulptse čeri wašim bi'm the key was attached to the lock.

This use may amount to an equivalent of the Passive Voice.

c) *As a Noun.*

ki'ne senum i'te tsan bila the thing said by him is true.

(But here *senum* may be an adjective qualifying *i'te*.)

Šon Gukure senuman tsan manimi the thing said by Sh. G. came true.

u'ne senum juwan ne in accordance with the thing said by thee.

78.24. But cp. § 378. a. end.

gute girmi'numər u'ŋ bəre'n look at this writing (thing written).

ha'ne saγ'am xa gi'm ju.an i'te kutuwər šəršər manimi it (the  
grain) swished down into the bag like a thing poured down through  
the smoke-hole of a house (but perhaps rather as if (it were  
being) poured).

padša erəršu'ε o'rumišo u'ε o'pačər du'man those sent by the  
king's sons-in-law came to them (here, however, *o'rumišo* can  
be regarded as an adjective qualifying *u'ε*).

d) *As a Pseudo-Adjective.*

ja a'u ε'sqanum i'te dišər at my-father-killed place (i.e. at the  
place where my father was killed).

au ya're etum ise tisər nitsun taking him to the pit where my  
father is buried.

i'te i'ri ya're etum malər ni'man they went to the field in which  
his son had been buried.

api o'sum dišulo it is not in the place in which it had been put.

**378. STATIC PARTICIPLE with ACTIVE MEANING.  
TRANSITIVE VERBS.**

a) *As an Active Participle with the negative particle.*

ti'k aqim mazəra'te huru'taman without (lit. not) filling in the  
earth, they sat over the grave.



lel amo•tum ise čama muso•yüci ča•in motam *without making her know (i.e. without her knowledge) he stuffed the brooch under her clothes.*

i•n yər nupəran u•yakal pfu•t ayetum čup ne gutsərčai•i *looking straight ahead, without glancing at them, he went on in silence.*

(In this last example note the linked use of the static and active participles.)

Alqas Wazi•rařum tili•eŋ da•l ay•e•tum te•i fat etuman *without removing the saddle from Alqash Wazir('s back) they let him go as he was.*

i•se (čama) men ke ay•o•ltirum i•mo watanər 'o•tsumi *without showing it (the brooch) to anyone (pl.) he despatched it to his own country.*

The same idiom is commonly rendered by the static participle with the negative prefix and the suffix -aře, v. § 384.

Instances of this use of the Static Participle not in the negative are rare.

levi xuda•yər bandęgi etumišo, bu•t uyur•m hir di•a *O ye who do service to God! a very great person has arrived.*

It will be remarked that there is no negative in this last example and etumišo is equivalent to a verbal noun agent.

Perhaps: uřam foster- i.e. "fostering" in uřam mama, foster-mother, and uřam aya my foster-father, presents a parallel, but uřam is also used in the terms "foster-brother", "foster-sister" where the meaning cannot be "fostering". It is noteworthy that it appears to dispense with the pronominal prefix of the original verb \*-uře.as to foster, rear, etc. Perhaps it has the 3rd. pl. pron. prefix generalised.

Of the following it is difficult to determine the exact meaning: u•ře yetsum juw'an ne ča•ya eča *thou speakest, making it like a thing seen by thee, but possibly thou speakest as though thou hadst seen it, or it may be:*

u•ře-yetsum-juw'a'ne, a genitive dependent on ča•ya. 80.20.

The general sense is "you speak like an eye-witness". But cp. § 377 c.

b) *As an Attributive Verbal Adjective.*

- i'ne baŋut delim badša ka jaŋ e'čam *I shall fight with that king  
who has made the entrenchments.*
- yu'gušants utsu'm u'e e'rəršu.ər *to those sons-in-law of his who  
had married his daughters.*
- padša o'tsum me'rma'ni *the present which the king had made  
them convey (i.e. had sent).*
- yu'mušo o'tum i'ne *he who has told lies.*
- āšdər delum inē hir *the man who had slain the dragon.*
- šapik ditsum gušinqants o'saljai.i *he sees the women who bring food.*
- go'yenam yeniš ke dusu'ma *thou hast also brought back the gold  
which I gave thee.*
- ja gu'yam baskaret ke tsu *take away too the wether which I have  
given thee.*
- ja yetsam i'ke yenaŋər kinē ke'r bam *he was a partner in the  
gold which I had seen.*

c) *Predicatively with the verb "to be".*

This use is not common.

- ja'tsum ke bu't Šahri Ba'nu.ε du.ina'te gaŋ henum bo; i'ne gutsučo  
*Sh. B. is much better acquainted with the road to the world than  
I; she will conduct thee.*
- jakune mamu etum bi'm *the donkey was (in the state of) having  
made milk (or, making milk).*

This is the regular idiom meaning "to be pregnant".

### 379. STATIC PARTICIPLE with ACTIVE MEANING. INTRANSITIVE VERBS.

a) *As an Active Participle with a noun or pronoun as subject.*

- hu'nts i'tum pər atu'sum i'umərulo dik etimi *the arrow, not  
having come out on the other side, stuck in his innards.*
- u laŋ o'maŋum ral numa huru'čaman *they sat in readiness, not  
stirring.*

In the curious phrase:

- yam eyam numa *fitting, or passing, with difficulty into . . .*

yAM appears to be the static participle positive of \*-yaiyas of which eYAM is the negative.

(bal) bu·kulo yAM eYAM numa ni·mi (the marrow) passing with difficulty, went into his throat.

darī.e.ulo yAM eYAM numa gi·mi he entered with difficulty through the window, he squeezed in through the window(?).

b) *As an Attributive Adjective.*

i·NE i·ljum dimANUM i·NE . . . šati·lo imANimi that one who had come into existence last, became powerful.

di·rum šApik cooked food, i.e. food that has become cooked.

ki·NE di·m badša i·i i·tsu marry this king, who has come, himself.

buča·r girkis walum ju·AN like a rat fallen into a trap.

han halqu·m belisan a sheep that has borne (young).

han dyu·ASUM i·SE šer that one remaining bough.

u·ŋE wa·lum iNE go·čo that lost brother of thine.

The following are worth note:

dyu·ASUMAN šApik the bread remaining over,  
where the -AN is unexpected.

u·E yər ni·mišo padša erəršutsum . . . u·yər di.usimi (du·simi?)  
he came out in front of the king's sons-in-law who had gone  
in front, where the plural inflection is to be remarked.

c) *As a Noun.*

le guwa·lum tərmanum O thou who hast become lost and hast lately arrived, i.e. O you strayed interloper.

kine dimANUM (acc. or for dimANUME?) sifāt ma·r ečAM I shall tell you the virtues of this one who has come into existence.

duwa·sumAN gəro·nu.ər iči·cai.i he gives what remains over (of the water) to the bridegroom.

je u·i·rume ha·lər aiya·rin do not send me to the house(s) of those who have died.

dyu·ASUM·AN u·ŋər bərkat, ši·aman ja·r bərkat what is left (may be) your portion, what I have eaten (may be) my portion.

Under this heading may be placed the curious idiom:

- (ja) ΔSƏR dUMOYMAN bO *I like her (she is a thing come into my heart).*  
 ΔSƏR diYMAN bi *I like it.*  
 ΔSƏR diYm api *I don't like it.*

d) *As an Adjective used predicatively with the verb "to be".*

- ja kiNE eY iYRUM bAM *this son of mine was dead (having-died).*  
 daiYAM ba v. § 329. *I am come, i.e. have come.*  
 (čama) KiSƏRE dukaNEŋE diMANUM biYm. but šu.a biYm . . . *the*  
*brooch was come-into-existence in K's shop. It was very fine . . . ,*  
*meaning, it had been made in K's shop.*  
 mušul giYm bila. da niYmi *her labour is come on (i.e. has come*  
*on and is in progress). Again he went off.*  
 tiYšk maLULO gatum bila (maLak niYm bila) *the dagger is sticking*  
*(is stuck) upright in the field (is fallen over).*  
 huruTUM baii *he is sitting, he is seated.*  
 daLdi.EM bAM *he was standing.*

e) *As a Pseudo Adjective.*

- dəru.ər niYm iTE diš *the he-gone-to-hunting place, i.e. the place to*  
*which he had gone hunting.*  
 iSE haYUR YurTsum čƏR *the cliff into which the horse had sunk*  
*(supernaturally!)*  
 paiYAMBƏRE kiNE diMANUM guntSULO *on the day on which the*  
*prophet's son came into being.*  
 iYŋi burum manum hir *a man whose beard has become white, a*  
*grey-beard.*

(In his list of words IUB frequently gives Static Participles of both transitive and intransitive verbs followed by maimi and maintse, e.g.

- giratum maimi, H. na'ča ho'ga *he will have danced.*  
 biYraqum maimi, H. kho'da ho'ga *he will have dug(?)*  
 esqanum maintse, H. ma'ra ho'ga *he will have killed him(?)*

But the correctness of the Hindustani renderings is doubtful).

380.

## STATIC PARTICIPLE as an OPTATIVE.

This has been recorded only in specimens of "women's abuse", in an evil wish or curse, and expressing wish or desire in some fragments of verse.

Of the first series alternative forms were frequently given with the optative in -š. So:

gatsirišo gušu·m, gušu·š, or gušu·šen! *may vultures eat thee!*  
 gu·liŋ še·m, or še·š! *may (someone) devour thy innards! or may*  
 (Pl. of \*-ul.) *thy innards be devoured!*

še·m was explained as = Hindustani kha·ye, i.e. active; and še·š is of course active, but it is not clear who is invoked to undertake the job.

Other similar expressions, but with intransitive verbs, are:

gušak galum, or galš *may thy arm break!*  
 duxau.ukuts gum'ANUM! *mayst thou become the sacrificial(?) sheep!*  
 (slain 3 days after a man's death.)  
 hon gum'ANUM! *mayst thou swell up as to the belly!*

In the prose texts we have the objurgation:

le ma mai.imule ni·m!

This is obviously an expression of abuse and is possibly to be translated:

*O, may you go to your daughter(s) (for immoral purposes?).*  
 Otherwise: *O you who have gone to your daughter(s).*

The same idea seems to be contained in:

Aba Dumbu.ər xabər di·mi ke Kisəre bepayan ya šibi. ε·se e·i  
 dumu·isum, ja jame æč·i·na *when news came to Aba Dumbu that*  
*a bear has devoured Kiser's yak, (he said) "May he take out its*  
*daughter! give me my bow" (Or, may its daughter be taken out!)*  
 le a·u, guy'atūm qurba·n amanum *O, father, may I be thy sacrifice!*  
 here qurba·n amanum (amanam?) is an alternative for qurba·n  
 amanša.

In the verse texts we have:

adi·mər bu·i·ki manu·m! *may it be funeral alms for me!*

dušmāyo guyər uMANUM!      *may (thy) enemies be before thee!*  
mi huba·le gutsu·m              *may our sins carry thee away!*

It will be noted that in these examples we have had this form referring variously to all persons except the 1st. pers. plur. Its non-representation is doubtless accidental.

### 381.      **STATIC PARTICIPLE as a VERBAL NOUN.**

In the uses now to be considered it is not easy to arrive at a clear conception of the exact nature and force of these forms.

They resemble in some ways the English verbal noun in *-ing* e.g. “on his saying this, they all went away”, but in Burushaski the subject remains the subject and is not converted into a dependent genitive. This, however, is not unknown to English: we can say: “on the question arising” as well as “on the question’s arising”, and in the passive “on the question being raised” as well as “on the question’s being raised” (though doubtless the genitive forms are preferable).

Whatever the fact may be, the idiom can often be most nearly rendered by the English verbal noun. I shall accordingly employ this means of rendering it, with the caveat that where the English translation has a preceding genitive that genitive represents a Burushaski subject case (nominative or “Trans. nom.”). Otherwise it has to be rendered by a subordinate clause.

Under this heading the Burushaski forms are used with the following case-endings and postpositions, each denoting a different conception: the form of the General Oblique (probably Genitive).

the suffixes	-ər,	-Δtε,	-tsε.
	-tsum	and	-ulo.
the postposition	ka.		

### 382.      **Verbal Noun in the General Oblique (Genitive).**

Examples are not very numerous:

yavre etume niša·n 'E·spAlimi    *he destroyed (all) trace(s) of the burying,*  
   *or of the being buried (i.e. of the interment).*

e'giratume da e'sirume čΔγa o'r etimi *he told them the story of his being made to dance and of his then being fed.*  
 Δšdər d'e'lume čΔγa *the story of the slaying of the dragon, or, the story of the dragon's being slain.*

In these instances the form may be taken as genitive dependent on a noun. In the following it is in some manner dependent on the adjective *lel*, *known*.

ja jama'at bame lel o'manimi, hal i'rume lel o'manimi *(nothing) has become known of my husband's existing, nor of his being dead.*  
 hik etimi, ya're etume lel aiyertimi *he filled up (the grave) and made it not evident of the burying, or being buried.*

*lel* is probably treated as a noun "knowledge", "evidence".

### 383. Verbal Noun + -ər.

The Verbal Noun + -ər is very common. It usually provides a temporal clause of which the subject is different from that of the principal verb of the sentence:

guke faš manumər ju'čam *on this (grain) being used up (i.e. when this is finished) I shall return.*

bire.ulo γuski d'equlanumər gamu'nulo del sər mai.i bilum *on (their) kneading the dough in the tray, oil used to flow out at the bottom.*

Δbaš ayāta di'mər u'ntsum maddat dumərčam *on difficulty coming on me I shall seek help from thee.*

The form with -ər is often a repetition of the principal verb of the preceding sentence and then forms a sort of connecting link between the two sentences:

ise šika'ri yakalaṭər ni'mi. ni'mər ho šikaritsum duwašaman *he proceeded towards the fort. On his proceeding, then they (the ogress and her seven daughters) quitted the fort.*

The Static Participle may serve as a prop for the past participle active:  
 i'n niki'rat basumər B'altite tranfa giraš'ai.i *he having danced, on his sitting down, the "trangfa" of Baltit dances.*

If there were not the *basumər*, *niki'rat* would have to be *giratumər* as the subject of it is not the same as that of *giraš'ai.i*.

In the following, however, the Static Participle is used contrary to ordinary practice where the subject of it and that of the principal verb are the same:

gušiqents isē . . . . guti.ər ɣaliːz manuːmər nuːnin huruːčaman  
*women . . . on becoming ill, went and took up their abode in that hut.*  
 paːdša deyelimər jē kē uːŋ meltaːlik mːeːsqaimi *on the king's hearing*  
*of this, he will put both thee and me to death.*

### 384. Verbal noun + -aṭe.

In most cases this duplicates the use of the simple form of the participle with the negative prefix. V. § 378.

jē inē badša hoːle ka jaŋ ayːetumaṭe notːaɣaŋ oːničam *I shall not*  
*slip secretly away without fighting with this king's army.*  
 niːnin eːyenumaṭe siŋ kaš etimi *going, without waking him up, he*  
*slew Sing.*

beː dukoːw'a badša nokəri ayetum(aṭe) *why hast thou come back*  
*without doing the king service?*

The subject of the static participle and of the principal verb is usually the same, as it is in the above examples, but we also have:  
 ja hik kē guseːtse šyuːlum diːusin daq ayetumaṭe ikəreŋe dimanimi  
*I having taken it out of the forge without hammering it once — it*  
*came into existence of itself.*

We also have an example of it without the negative:

be, dolat xərč etumaṭe diːuːasas apai.i *no, he (the king) will not*  
*escape by expending wealth.* Here -aṭe has its instrumental sense.

See also examples in §§ 70. V. a, 390 & 391 where it has temporal force corresponding to "when", "while".

### 385. Verbal Noun + ka.

This is used in sentences of the type "On A's doing this, B. did that".

uyoːn gučam senimi . . . senumē ka Paŋču.ε se.ibai.i: le Aba Kituŋ . . .  
*"I shall give thee all" said (A. K.). On his saying this, P. says*  
*"O, A. K. . . .".*



i'ne guse ačas čuš etumo. uyu'm imanume ka šapik e'sirimo *she suckled the lamb. When it grew up she fed it with bread.*  
 Bru'ŋkapurdo'no e'pači.ər di'mi. di'me ka B. se.ibi . . . *he came up to B. On his coming up B. says . . .*  
 yetis e'skörtsume ka qyu čup me.i bila *on its (the hen's) head being cut off, its clamour becomes silent.*

In the following the subject of the static participle and of the principal verb is the same:

ga'r di'a bran walimi. walume ka Bru'ŋkapurdo'nu.e se.ibi le.i . . .  
 kaš æti *B. became giddy and fell down with a smack. On falling down B. says "O . . . kill me".*

### 386. Verbal Noun + -tse.

I can only find -tse used with \*-ayenum, *gone to sleep, sleeping*, the Static Pc. of \*-ayenas.

tele huru'tumo moyenumo. moy'enumtse mušul gi'mi *there she sat down and went to sleep. On her going to sleep (or, as she slept) her labour came on.*

moyenasər is given as an alternative for moyenumtse.

ine giya's moy'enumtse mułtsum du'sin holpa . . . huru'timi *the infant, on her going to sleep, issuing from her belly, sat down outside.*  
 padša yu'gušants oyenuman. Paŋču oyenumtse di.en du'simi *the king's daughters went to sleep. P., on their going to sleep, getting up, went out.*  
 gučami. gučaiyasər e'yenumtse qau manimi: Dərbešo, Dərbešo, nusen (D.) *lay down. On his lying down and going to sleep a voice came saying: "Derbesho, Derbesho!"*

The meaning may be "while he, etc., was sleeping".

### 387. Verbal Noun + -tsum.

Used with the Static Participle this ablative suffix almost always conveys the sense of "after" of time. It is frequently re-enforced or made more explicit by a following i'ji. Time "after" is similarly indicated in Shina by the simple ablative or by the ablative followed by fatu.

In this construction the subject of the Static Participle and that of the principal verb are different:

xurtsulo i·kər wəšimi. xurts laŋ manumtsum Laŋa Bro·mo ke  
mu·mi.ε yetsuman *he threw himself into a dust-cloud. After the  
dust's moving away (i.e. after the dust had moved away) L. B. and  
her mother saw him.*

guy ha·tsum dyu·s sailər itsu.Δm. sailər itsumtsum Δm ni·mi ke wa·limi  
*taking thy father out of the house he took him away for a walk.  
After he had taken him for the walk, wherever he (thy father)  
went he was lost.*

i·ne Duŋpa Mi·ru ta yu· dumΔnumtsum i·lji dəru.Δnər ni·mi D.M.,  
*after his hundred sons were born, went off on a hunting expedition.*  
da in i·rumtsum i·lji 'ΔminΔn i·ne ma·zə·e·tə du·simi ke . . . then  
*after he had died, if anyone got on to his grave . . .*

In the following ni·mtsum may be a simple ablative of the point of departure:

muyər ni·mtsum hisa·b εču bo·m *she used to keep a reckoning (of  
the days) from (the date of) her husband's going away.*

### 388. Verbal Noun + -ulo.

This use of the Static Participle with -ulo is very rare. It appears to denote "time at which".

ki·ne dimanumulo u·ŋe ča·yamiŋ etum i·ke hai.ai.iŋ ja kin·e·e·tə bitsan?  
*The marks spoken of by you at the time when he was born are on  
this (son) of mine. 88.18.*

i·ne wa·da etumulo dimanum i·ne šati·lo.Δn bΔm *the one born at  
the time the agreement was made was powerful. 104.25.*

The more probable sense from the context is "within (the terms of) the agreement made", but grammatically this is doubtfully possible.

u·ŋaŋe huru·tamulo bu·šanər pfu·t Δm'Δna bai·yΔm *when I was  
pregnant with you, I had looked at (or, fallen in love with) a cat.  
158.14.*

### THE STATIC PARTICIPLE of the VERB "TO BE".

389. The Static Participle of the verb *ba* is of special interest and importance because of its comparatively frequent occurrence and of the differentiation of its forms according to the category of the noun to which it refers.

a) It has been recorded for all persons of the sg. and pl. except the 2nd. pl., and in the 3rd. person sg. and pl. for all the categories: hm, hf, x, y.

The forms are identical with those of the past tense of the verb. Their separate existence can only be deduced from the grammatical functions they discharge and the fact that they do not necessarily refer to past time, but frequently apply to the present.

The forms that have been recorded, whether in the positive or negative, are:

sg. 1	baiyΔm	pl. 1	bΔm.
2	bΔm	2	(bΔm?).
3 hm	bΔm	3 h	bΔm(Δn).
x	bi•m	x	bi•m.
y	bilum (neg. api•m)	y	bitsum (neg. api•m).

b) The 3rd. person forms where they are equivalent to a relative clause:

"which there is", "who there were", "which there were", etc., usually take a suffix -Δn. The 3rd. pl. h has indeed been recorded only in the form bΔmΔn.

The participle is frequently followed by uyo'n when the meaning is:

"all that there were", etc.

c) A few instances have been recorded in which the participle is used as a verbal noun with case suffixes, the result usually being the equivalent of an adverbial clause introduced by "when . . .", "while . . .".

390. *Examples:*

1st. sg. mi mama jot baiyΔm . . . asu bo•m *my mother, when I was little, . . . had said to me.*

- je ap'aiyamate gutsimo duməri ke eγun *while I am not here (i.e. in my absence) if he demands them of you, don't give them to him.*
- 2nd. sg. uŋ ap'amate ine ka mašγu'l mai.ibo *in your absence she occupies herself with him.*
- 3rd. sg.  
 hm yu apam tæres *a his-father-not-being orphan, i.e. a fatherless orphan.*
- hf i'mi apo'm tæres *a motherless orphan.*
- x i'ne teŋušulo biman ma'l uyo'n gati ortimi *he made them collect all the property that there was in his (the king's) palace.*
- ja besan biman uyo'n uŋe bi *all that there is of mine is thine.*
- y i'te e'pači bilum γeniš iči'mi *he gave him the gold that was in his possession.*
- i'ne maltaš biluman uyo'n ke ine ku'twær bišaman *they poured all his (the king's) ghee that-there-was into his (Paŋču's) bag.*
- sis api'm gane gutsərčuman *the people will go by non-existing road(s), i.e. where there are no roads.*
- 1st. pl. čito bamate go'r eča ba *on our being alone I will tell you.*
- 3rd. pl.  
 h i'mo baman si'se ka gutsərimi *he proceeded with his own men who were present.*
- aku.e baman uyo'ntse yaš! *may it strike all these people who are here!*
- ja baman hanpa manin *those who are for me get to one side.*
- (Many examples of this form could be quoted; it is frequently accompanied by uyo'n.)
- x i'ne ki'rts bim uyo'natæ ba'n etimi *he kissed on all its joints that-there-were.*
- (ki'rts is here logically, though not formally, plural).

- y u'ŋe gu'r bitsuman . . . tham ne tsu'mi *he has cleared out and carried off all your wheat that-there-was.*  
 tik bitsuman di.u'suman *they extracted the earth that-there-was.*  
 tsəraŋ laŋ api'm bitsa *the door-frame is (plur.) there, not-having-moved, i.e. undisturbed.*

### 391. With Case Suffixes.

See also examples under 1st. and 2nd. sg. and 1st. pl. above.

#### Transitive Nominative.

juwaiyo bamanε . . . γəriŋ εč'a'n *all the young men there are make songs.*

#### Genitive (?)

ja jama'at bame lel o'manimi *nothing has become known of my husband's existing, i.e. being still alive.*

#### With -aŋε.

čama mundi'ltse bi'maŋε ikəre'ŋε taq manimi *the brooch while-it-was on her breast broke of itself.*

In the following the -aŋε is due merely to the dependence of kirts biman on the following verb:

i'ne ke kirts bimanaŋε ba'n etimi *he kissed (on) its joints that-there-were, i.e. he kissed that child on all its limbs.*

#### With -ulo.

yərum dir həraŋulo bilumulo qau.u εč'am *formerly, when-there-was a closed boundary between them, they used to call out.*

## THE INFINITIVE.

392. The Infinitive form occurs in a number of uses which it is difficult either to distinguish or to correlate precisely.

The following is put forward merely as a tentative scheme which roughly covers the various phenomena:

### I. Noun of Action "to do", "to become", "doing", "becoming".

1. Nominative and accusative. V. § 393.

uyo'n nu'n (gina'ni) ditsas mira's bila *it is the custom for all to go and fetch (the "ginani").*

2. With case suffixes and postpositions. V. §§ 394—400.

duwalasər rai etumo, amoːmanumo *she proposed to fly (but) was unable to.*

**II. With the verb “to be” or “to become”.** V. § 401.

Indicating generally that a thing or person “is to be”, “is to do”, “is to be done”, under some force of obligation or necessity.  
 ye iːse baše ju.as bilum *coming was by that bridge, i.e. one had to come by that bridge.*

**III. Pseudo-Adjective.** V. § 402.

Where it is juxtaposed to a noun which stands in no direct relationship to it.

še.as tsil *drinking-water.*

**IV. Noun Agent.** V. § 403.

Denoting the person who performs the action indicated by the verb.

1. As a noun: γεραs *one who speaks, speaker.*

2. As an adjective.

3. As a noun + the verb “to be”, or “to become”, giving the sense “I am going to do”, or that of the simple future.

je ɛrsqanas ba *I am going to kill him, “I am killer-of-him”.*

**V. Passive Participle.** V. § 404.

Used as adjective or noun.

hin Siŋ senas hiran bam *there was a man called Sing.*

We may now examine in greater detail the behaviour of the Infinitive form under these various headings.

## I. INFINITIVE as NOUN of ACTION.

**393.** It is to be noted that as a noun of action the Infinitive form is reckoned as *y* singular.

a) It is probably accidental that few examples have been recorded of it in the **Nominative**:

minadaːr mimanas yaški bilum *our rejoicing was right, it was right for us to rejoice.*

kərka·mutse yātis ay'e·skərtsiš xa čup etas ap'i till (one) cuts off  
the fowl's head there is no silencing it.  
guyætis ako·skərtsiš xa kot bər čup mana's ap'i till (one) cuts off  
thy head this affair will not remain secret (quiet).

The latter example may, however, be of the type IV.3, "this matter is not one-that-remains-silent".

Diramitiŋe thamu.ər maru etas qadimtsum ap'i from of old there  
is no gold-washing for the Thams by the Diramiting.  
γunikiš gan jaŋgal uyo·ne gutsəras a'sa·ne me.i bilum going over  
every sort of evil road and jungle used to become easy.  
ja (or, jε) d'a·γasas gute bila ke . . . my laughing is due to this  
that . . .

Note the uncertain nature of the Infinitive, which can as a noun take the dependent genitive *ja*, or as a verb the nominative *jε*.

#### b) Accusative.

ra'čakuyu'e he'ras čup etuman the guardians ceased (lit. silenced)  
their weeping.  
gute s'enas pfu't d'eyelimi the Dīv heard this speaking (i.e.  
speech, or remark).  
go'n mana's ma beləŋe lel e'čā'n, o'simi "How do you know the  
coming of dawn?" he said to them.  
ja asqanas da u'ŋe ake.i ba dost thou not know also (about) the  
killing of me? (about my being killed).

We may perhaps regard the Infinitive as being in the accusative when it is the complement of a verb of *perceiving* or of such verbs as "to allow", "to stop", "to give" where in English we have the Infinitive or Gerund, as: "I saw him do (or, doing) it", "I stopped him doing it", "I allowed him to go".

Kisəre hir ditsas ni'itsin seeing Kiser bringing a man. 184.7,  
cp. 110.5, 64.10.

padša de'eljai.i Paŋču.ε qyu etas the king hears P. screaming,  
or, hears P.'s outcry.

mēl minas fat o'tai.i *he has made them give up drinking wine.*  
 bu'ntsum ho'le du'sas aiy'etuman *they did not let it come out of  
 the boulder.*

je mu niyas aiyamanam *now I have been unable to go.*

But both *etas* to let, and *\*-amanas* to be able, usually take the dependent verb in the *-š* form § 359.

- c) The adjective *tai.a'r*, *ready to*, occasionally takes the simple infinitive. Cp. § 395. b.

aždər du'sas tai.a'r manimi *the dragon became ready (or, prepared)  
 to come out.*

gina'ni ditsas(ər) tai.a'r manu'mər *on their becoming ready to  
 fetch the "ginani".*

i'ne gus gučai.as tai.a'r bom *the woman was on the point of  
 giving birth.*

- d) The Infinitive occurs in some places where it is difficult to explain or even to understand it:

ja a'u.ε tinjo de'egus mazər ne ɣana's eča ba *exhuming my  
 father's bones I shall make a grave and make it visible (i.e.  
 make a mound over it).*

tinjo mazər ne ya're no ɣana's a'r etin *make a grave and bury  
 the bones and make (the grave) visible for me. 82.14.*

*ɣana's etas* probably means "to make it appear", "make it apparent, visible". Cp. § 238 end.

The following sentences were given as the translation of "I am not worthy to be called thy son":

(1). gute yaški aiy'amana ba ke je da u'ne gu'i ba senas.

(2). gute senš aiyamaiya ba ke       "       "       "       "  
 which was on another occasion rendered by

(3). ækil yaški 'atawaša ba ke da je u'ne gu'i ba se'yam.

(4). gute senastse yaški 'atawaša ba ke etc.

In (1) *senas* probably depends on *yaški* as *senastse* does in (4). In (2) *senas* seems to be due to confusion of construction.





- LAŋabrumo mutsuyasər əsulo rai etimi *he intended in his heart  
to marry L. B.*
- ni.asər rai.i aiyečai.i *he doesn't intend to go, he decides not to go.*
- b) It is used after verbs with the general significance of "to begin", and sometimes with tai.a.r "ready to", "on the point of". Cp. § 393. c.
- ka.r mana.sər duɣ'u.ɣeskinimi *he began to patrol up and down.*
- yu.we . . . uyum inə i' ɣəsmilasər duɣ'u.ɣeskinimi *the father began  
to entreat (placate) the elder son.*
- guntsin ɣanasər (or, ɣanastse) du'nimi *he set to counting the days.*
- u.ɣə ta uyo'n Kisərə u'itse mana.sər šuru etuman *all the hundred  
Kiser began to separate up.*
- da i'n muhta.rj imanasər di'mi *then he came (i.e. began) to become  
(be) in want.*
- daɣowaŋ oyo'n faš mana.sər taiya.r mani'mi *the flour was on  
the point of being exhausted.*
- c) The following miscellaneous examples are worthy of note:
- dəro.ɣo dušmaiyo o.sqanasər maɖad ičiči bi.m *the stick would  
give (him) help in killing (his) enemies.*
- ki.nə Ru.mə ɣərib hi.rə ka.r mana.sər galt di'mi *the poor Rumi  
man's turn came to do sentry go.*
- (ta.očin) taiyasər o.r muškil jučila *difficulty comes to them (i.e.  
they experience difficulty) in putting on their foot-bandages.*
- faɖ etasər ku.šiš etimi *he tried to release (his hand).*
- d) There remains one very common application of the Infinitive + -ər which deserves separate attention.

This is its employment absolutely, with a *Temporal Sense*.

In this rôle it appears to duplicate in all respects the use of the Static Participle + -ər, v. § 383. The subject of the Infinitive is normally different from that of the principal verb. The Infinitive itself is usually a repetition of the verb of the preceding sentence.

i.ke bi.ške i.te pfu.ər gim. ɣiyasər pfutu ha.zir manimi.en *he  
threw the hair on the fire. When he threw it the Divs appeared.*

gõn mana'sər ba'dša mərakār du'simi. mərakār badša du'sasər i'ne  
wazi'rtiŋ . . . uyo.n *on its becoming dawn the king went out to  
the place of audience. When the king came out to the place of  
audience his wazirs . . . all (coming and salaaming, sat down in  
the audience place).*

nukučen moyenumo. moyenasər (or, moyenumtse) musul gi'mi *she  
lay down and went to sleep. On her going to sleep (or, while she  
was asleep) her labour came on.*

Abā Kituŋe hunts de'egusimi. de'egusasər Bu'm Liftan i'rimi  
*A. K. pulled out the arrow. On his pulling it out B. L. died.*

The following is a single example of the Infinitive having the  
same subject as the principal verb. The alternative Active Parti-  
ciple would seem more correct.

i'te tsil i'ne mi'numo. mina'sər (or, numi'n) i'ne gus huru'tumo  
*she drank the water. When she had drunk it (or, having drunk  
it) she became pregnant.*

### 396.                    INFINITIVE with -tse, -tsər.

There are only a few examples of the Infinitive with -tse, and  
in these its presence is due to the governing word:

šuri.eš etastse du'numan *they began to make rejoicing.*

(du'nas *to lay hold of* regularly takes its object with -tse. But  
see also § 395. b.)

gute senastse yaški *worthy to say (or, to be called).*

guse haγur je huljaiyastse (or, huljaiyase) yaški api *this horse is  
not suitable for me to ride.*

u' xuši etastse duγ'u.iskinuman *they began to make merry.* Cp. also § 395. b.

-tsər occurs in:

jil mana'stsum bu'r mana'stsər *from sunrise to sunset, i.e. from East to  
West.*

### 397.                    INFINITIVE with ABLATIVE SUFFIX, -tsum.

This use is comparatively rare. The few examples available  
show it as serving the normal purpose of the Ablative of a noun:  
dyusastsum umi'd i'skertsimi *he cut off hope from escaping, i.e. he  
abandoned hope of escaping.*

AlqAš Wazi'r ya'rum besan ne daiya ba asqanastsum *somehow I*  
*have escaped from the hands of A. W. (and) from (his) killing me*  
*(or, from my being killed?).*  
 (senumo) mi gusastsum besan faida? *(she said) what advantage*  
*would there be from our telling thee?*  
 ækilatε erastsum je da'l numa je'imo au.u epačer ničam *from my*  
*thus dying I shall arise and go to my father (eramtsum was given*  
*as an alternative. It is perhaps a 1st. personal form of the*  
*Static Participle).*  
 jil mana'stsum bu'r mana'stser *from East to West.*  
 i'ne niyastsum i'lji *after his going.*

## 398.

## INFINITIVE with -ulo.

The Infinitive with -ulo is used only with a temporal significance, when the action of the Infinitive and that of the principal verb are at least in part contemporaneous:

u'ne Di.u Safid'tsum ruxsat dumerasulo gute 'o'senuma *at the time*  
*when thou askedst leave (to go) of the White Div, thou didst not say this.*  
 Bu'm Liftane irasulo i'mo ečokornær o'simi *B. L. at the time of*  
*his dying said to his brothers.*  
 ki'ne gu' 'esqanasulo AlqAše menan ε'ka imantse itsu'ama? *at the time*  
*of his killing this father of thine has A. taken anyone with him to help?*  
 gun manasulo *(at the time) when it becomes dawn.*  
 ja bu't daltasan yetsa baiyam ni'asulo *I had seen him (looking)*  
*very handsome at the time of his going.*

The subject of the two verbs may be the same:

gultali.asulo gap jikanane gultali.ε baiyam *at the time when I wound*  
*thee up (in swaddling bands) I had wound thee up with a strap of hide.*

## 399.

## INFINITIVE with the POSTPOSITION gane.

The meaning of this postposition with the Infinitive varies between "for the sake of" and "in order to".

ikære dumu'tsase gane . . . čiki mujur e'gi bam *he had . . . planted*  
*musk willows for the sake of getting her for himself.*

je jevi mutsuyase gane erma'n bilum *there was desire (on my part)  
to marry her myself, i.e. I wanted to . . .*  
guyumo . . . guyu' je daspasase gane . . . nutsun kašer gu'ma *thou  
tookest thy sons and threw them down to slay them in order to save me.*  
hert manimi ni.ase gane *he got up to go away.*

#### 400. INFINITIVE with the POSTPOSITION ka.

The Infinitive with ka does not seem to differ appreciably in use or meaning from the Infinitive + -ər (v. § 395. d.) or the Static Participle with ka (v. § 385).

ite'tsum . . . herča ba'n senumo. senase ka bur't xafa niman da  
doγ'arusumi *for that reason . . . we are weeping, she said. On  
her saying (this) he, becoming greatly distressed, again enquired.*  
da'l mana'se ka musoyute xa tik'ešer walimi *on her standing up it  
(the brooch) fell down her side on to the ground.*

There are, however, a number of examples in which the subject of the Infinitive is the same as that of the principal verb, of which the following are two:

ite gal hin M. B. Tham senasane de'limi se.iba'n. čerap etase ka  
te'le irimi se.iba'n *A man named M. B. Tham cut down that  
juniper. On his cutting it down he died there they say.*  
i'ne giya's ixattsum ho'le we'simi. ite ho'le we'si.ase ka mama  
mama se.ibai.i . . . *he spewed the infant out of his mouth. When  
he had spewed it out of it (his mouth) he says "mother, mother".*

#### II. THE INFINITIVE with the verb "TO BE" or "TO BECOME".

401. a) The Infinitive with the verb "to be" contains in certain circumstances a sense of obligation, necessity, propriety etc. such as is found in the English: "he is to go at once", "this is to be done before tomorrow", "he had to go", "he had to do it".

What, however, is in Burushaski the exact force of the Infinitive and of the Auxiliary respectively, it is not easy to determine, and it is difficult to draw a definite line of distinction between

the use of the Infinitive with the verb "to be" as a Noun of Action (§ 393) and as a Noun Agent (infra § 403).

Further, the subject of the verb "to be" seems sometimes to be the Infinitive itself, but more often the noun that is the logical subject or object of the Infinitive. When the Infinitive is transitive, it is difficult to avoid translating it as if it were passive, which it may or may not be.

- b) As I have not myself arrived at a satisfactory solution of these problems and difficulties, the best I can do is to offer a number of examples with comments.

In the example already given in § 392. II:

i'se baše ju.əs bilum

from the context means that "one had to come by that bridge", as there was no other road. bilum, the y form, cannot have a personal (h or x) subject, therefore the subject must be ju.əs, or else one must imagine bilum to be used impersonally when one might expect the y form at least as much as any other:

*coming was (to be) by that bridge,*

*or, there was to be coming by that bridge.*

Where there is a noun expressed, it would appear from the first two of the following examples that it is to be regarded as the subject of the verb "to be":

wazi'rər . . . šiqa (y pl.) iɣu'nas bitsa (y pl.) *grass is to give*  
*(to be given) to the wazir, i.e. it is the custom to give him grass.*

(Cp. the active Infin. in English: "all was to seek", "there is much to do".)

fula'ne guntse gina'ni (x sg.) ši.əs bi *on such and such a day*  
*the "ginani" is to (be) eat(en).*

But we also have: Xuda (hm.) i'likinəs bila (y) *God is to be worshipped.*

Kisəre žame (y sg.) taska's bila, tso'rdinər ja mərakər ju *K.'s*  
*bow is to (be) draw(n); tomorrow morning come to my court.*

da gina'ni 'e'šiš xa həri (y sg.) ipfupərəs api (x or y) *then till the*  
*"ginani" has been eaten the barley is not to be rubbed between*  
*the hands (to get the husks off).*

One might translate "there is no barley-rubbing", but the sense is that it is not permitted to rub it.

c) In these the logical subject of the Infinitive, if it is in the active voice, is not expressed. The following is somewhat different:

ku mENE o'sqANAS BE *these people anyone to kill them (is) not, i.e. no one is to kill them.*

Here we have both the logical subject and the logical object of the Infinitive, but unfortunately the verb "to be" is only understood. What form would it have taken? If apa'n (of which I have no example), its subject could be either ku or mENE.

d) With **Intransitive verbs** we have:

xonindake ha'lər ju.ΔS api (x or y) *there is no coming into the house of the host(?). The context implies: it is not customary, or permitted, for people to enter the host's house.*

With MANA'S instead of the  $\sqrt{ba}$  forms we have:

bešal bopfau etAS manimi ke . . . ise hanik Altiter tsučai *whenever the "bopfau" is to be performed, he carries the bowl to Altit.*  
 amulər ho'lguš ni.ΔS manimi ke alam gai.i ba'n *when it is necessary to go anywhere to fight they carry the standard.*  
 thamo amulər niyas manimi ke . . . *when the Tham has to go anywhere.*

One or two examples may be given where it is possible to regard the Infinitive form as possessing the significance of the Noun Agent:

je amulo čumo d'UMANAS diš bila ke t'e'le d'AMANAS ba, i'te dišər atsu  
 (at) *whatever place it is that the fish come into existence, there I am to come into existence. Take me to that place.*

d'AMANAS ba might mean: "I am (or, shall be) *One-who-comes-into-existence.*

dAYU.i gap i'te bu'lulo i'lan ke . . . YIYit MANA'S bi *if people (have) put raw hide in that spring, it will become soft.*

gUSE jAKUN du'SAS bi *this donkey will come out i.e. is (going) to come out, or perhaps: is (will be) a-comer-out.*

In the last two the context only requires the meaning to be that of the simple future.

### III. THE INFINITIVE as a PSEUDO-ADJECTIVE.

402. Compare the similar use of the Static Participle §§ 377. d. & 379. e.
- Rumi hir ite he'ras dišer niči ke *when the man of Rum went to  
the place where the weeping was going on.*
- belišo halqa's dišer atsu *take me to the place where the sheep have  
their young.*
- mina's tsil *drinking-water.*
- e'squlas γašil *wood for burning (v.t.), firewood.*
- gu.i'ras gunts *the day of thy death.*
- padša i' huljaiyas haγur go'r do'tsai.i *the king has sent thee his  
own riding-horse (the himself-riding horse).*
- han giratas heri'pan *a dancing-tune.*
- irne huru'tas diš Alti bilum *his place of residence was Alti(t).*
- More examples could easily be quoted.

### IV. THE INFINITIVE as a NOUN AGENT.

403. In this capacity the Infinitive is capable of taking the plural suffix -šo, and generally, if not always, does so when the subject is plural.

#### 1. As a Noun.

- badša burt γeribtiŋ uše.Δs bai.i *the king is a great cherisher of  
the poor.*
- maiyo'n henašuvik ba'n *you are all wise men (lit. knowers).*
- te'ljuko šu'a mana'su ba'n *such people are ones-who-become-good.*
- menene šalda ne ni gosasan apai.i *no one, giving a command, is  
a sayer of 'go' to thee, i.e. no one has authority to say 'go' to  
you. Explained as equivalent to Hind. ja'o bo'lnewa'la'.*
- tsane Δstam etas ine daiyΔm *I have come as he-who-does true justice.*
- menan bai.i matanum 'asΔlas irne? *who is that who-is-looking-at-me  
from afar?*

#### 2. As an Adjective. Cp. § 110. a.

- mi my'ušai.Δs padša tso'rdine ir'čai.i *the king who-cherishes-us is  
going to die tomorrow.*
- ja dolat še'Δšo wazirtiŋ *the wazirs who-devour (or who-enjoy) my wealth.*



hikum duwalašo ja'nwa'rik umanimi.ε      *they turned into a flock  
of flying-animals.*  
tamaša bar'enašo hi'ri      *the display-watching men, the spectators.*  
eγərašo be'ričo      *the musician Doms.*

### 3. As a Noun with the verb "to be".

This construction sometimes carries the meaning contained in the English "I am going to do . . .", "I am going to be . . .", etc., or conveyed by the simple future.

That the Infinitive form is used as a Noun Agent is certain in a couple of instances where it occurs in the plural. Where it is not so distinguished it could often be argued that it is not a noun agent, but a noun of action, and that the construction is referable to the use discussed under II above, § 401.

#### Plural.

tsundo aiyu dumanašo ba'n. u'ε uyō'ŋko numan bi'kičiq̄ e'giyašo  
ba'n. i'kertse dəro'yo.ušo me.imi.εn      *five sons are going to be born  
to me; they growing up will plant willow trees. On these staves  
will grow.*  
turmawa'lto (ša'riŋ) xəra'b manaršo bitsa      *fourteen (cities) are going  
to become ruined.*

In these examples the plural forms must be nouns: "persons-coming-into-existence", "planters", "things-becoming-ruined".

Here and elsewhere we must frequently attribute future force to the present of the verb "to be", *ba*, etc.

besan eti kuli dyu.asas apai.i      *whatever he may do, he is not an  
escaper, i.e. he will not escape,*  
hine Yatesan . . . me'r ditsas ba ke, fat evčēn      *if thou art a bringer  
of the head of one to us, we will let (thy horse's tail) go, i.e. if  
thou wilt bring . . .*  
ju.as bai.i ke . . . qau ne ditso      *if he is a comer, i.e. if he will  
come . . . call and fetch him.*

Similarly in the following I incline to regard the Infinitive form as having the force of a Noun Agent, but the English equivalent

is the future tense or the idiom "I am going to . . .". I shall not attempt to reproduce the noun agent in the translation:

be ke tso'rdine i'ras bai.i      *otherwise he will die tomorrow.*

badša dyu.Δšimi, mu i'ras apai.i      *the king will escape, he is not now going to die.*

kintse besan ke thaiyas api      *nothing will have (any) effect on him.*

ye jo'yas ba ke, ti besan ayau u'ŋ je atsu      *now if thou art going to give me (something), give me nothing else, (only) marry me.*

han bu'lantsər dašqaltas ba      *I am going to come to a spring.*

da ja ha'lər dukoras bai.i      *he will send thee again to my house.*

je e'sqanas ba      *I am going to kill him.*

kine gu'i . . . ja'r ke fai.da imanas bai.i      *this son of thine is going to be of use to me too.*

i'ke muγunas ba ke . . . ja ai.i gučam      *if thou wilt give these things to her . . . I will give thee my daughter.*

je mazərulo Nækir u Munkire ka suluma durnas ba      *in the grave I am going to wrestle with Nakir and Munkir.*

ja'tsum niki j'u'as bila. ja'tsum baγərkuš ač'u'či      *good is going to come from me. Evil will not come from me.*

## V. INFINITIVE with the FORCE of a PASSIVE PARTICIPLE.

404. We have already seen in examining the Infinitive with the verb "to be", II above, § 401, that the Infinitive of Transitive Verbs can in certain instances only be rendered in English by the passive infinitive.

In the case of the verb *senas*, *to say*, the infinitive form can sometimes only be rendered by the passive past participle. It is regularly used where in English we say: "called", "by name".

hin Siŋ *senas* hiran bam      *there was a man called Sing.*

Qulio Laškər *senasan* bam      *there was one called Qulio Lashker.*

i'te gal hin M.B.T. *senasane* delimi      *that juniper one called M.B.T. cut down.*

This use is very common. Rarer is its use as "said", "spoken".

ma i'ne senas čaγa γalat dumai. alja'n *you mishear the thing said by him.*  
 gute ja senas bər padša'r e'su.in *tell this thing said by me to the king.*

There are a couple of examples of an apparently similar use of *etas* to do.

hile'se etašo i'ke čaγamiŋ de'yełimi *he heard the things told by the boy.*  
 i'ke xu'kišu'e še'yaš wate'ŋtsum ti *apart from the husks eaten by*  
*the swine. 373.2.*

## VI. MISCELLANEA.

405. Finally two or three examples of the Infinitive form which are difficult of explanation may be recorded:

da umi'd api ke ako'le šapik gatu mi.ai.ASAN *The meaning of this*  
*is: there is no hope that we shall get food and clothing. 34.11.*  
 mi.ai.ASAN is the infin. form of \*-yaiyaš with prefix *mi-* and the  
 suffix *-an*.

... ame'manuman ke gu.irča. le.i ji.ε šugur'lo, besan ame.imanasan  
 bila? *if we cannot (do it) thou wilt die. O friend of my soul,*  
*what is it that we cannot do? 50.11.*

It would now appear that *mi.ai.ASAN* and *ame.imanasan* are to be taken as 1st. pers. pl. forms of Prof. Siddheshwar Varma's "‘would’ subjunctive”.

u'ŋe gute duro etuma ke, uyo'ŋko padšaha'ntiŋe šabaš ju.ās ečam.

The meaning is probably: *If you do this thing I shall cause the*  
*applause of great kings to come (to you). 98.5.*

čuma're bai.i, delš ma'manas api *he is (made) of iron, there is no*  
*(question of) your being able to kill him. 144.20.*

## THE PRESENT BASE as a NOUN of ACTION.

406. The Present Base with the Dative suffix *-ər* is used exactly like the dative of the Infinitive in connection with the idea of INTENTION or PURPOSE (v. § 395). It can usually be rendered by "in order to" "for the purpose of".

This use is very common.

It is also used in dependence on the noun *rai* *desire, intention,*

and on the adj. tai.a'r *ready to, on the point of*, and on the adv. asi'r *near to*; further, with the verbs

duɣuʷuskinas *to begin to.*

pasom \*-manas *to hesitate to, grudge to.*

*Examples:*

mutsučər di bai.i *he has come to marry her.*

amulo ya're ečər diš apim *there was no place anywhere to bury it, for burying it.*

A. K. i'mo bušai.ər ničər ni'mi *A. K. went off to go to his own land.*

u'e ni'man i'ner bəre'yər (or, bəre'nasər) *they went off to look at him.*

u'e o'sqaiyər u'tsi thami *he pursued them in order to kill them.*

mi.a'r tsil *drinking-water* (from minas).

bəsan šičər rai bila? *dost thou want to eat anything?*

i'te ta.a'm u'ŋe še'čər rai di biluma? awa še'asər rai di bilum  
*didst thou desire (lit. had thy desire come) to eat that food? Yes,  
I wished to eat it.*

u'ŋale ju'čər ja rai ap'i *I have no mind to come to thee.*

hikulto u'e ha'le han yatısan waši bəm detsirčər. d'i'ričər tai.a'r  
mani bim *one day in their house they had put on a (sheep's) head  
to cook (it). It had become on the point of being cooked, i.e. it  
had become nearly cooked.*

daɣowan ɔyon faš maiya'r (or, manasər) taiya'r mani'mi *the flour  
was all on the point of being finished.*

Daɣaletas i'tsi nultan de'sqalčər asi'r manumo *the D. pursuing him  
nearly overtook him.*

tsil mi.a'r duɣuʷuskinimi *he began to drink the water.*

sanduq taq ečər manuman *they set to breaking up the box.*

i'ne yu'čər yu'y pasom imanumi *his father grudged to give him  
(his son) to him.*

mumupuš gajət m'o'učər pasom imanumi *he was reluctant to pluck  
off her nose.*

ya'r ne bəre'yər šaŋ ɛ'ti *beware of looking down, i.e. take care not  
to look down.*

ɛ'pači.ər ni'čər ər umai.i bəm *they were afraid to go to it. 222.5.*

**THE USE of FINITE PARTS of the VERB with  
CASE SUFFIXES.**

407. Five forms have been recorded which appear to be parts of the singular of the Perfect + the suffix -aṭe.

In other instances, where preterite forms occur with case-suffixes, or used adjectivally, they are to be regarded as Static Participles, v. § 329.

a) The following are examples of the Perfect + aṭe:

ki'nə arər bai.i senabaṭe uyune aṭsi ɣasi'čuman *on my saying*  
(lit. *on-I-have-said*): "this is my son-in-law", all will laugh at  
me. 168.23.

fāt æti esabaṭe fāt ætimi *on my saying "let me go", he let me go.* 68.20.

u'n tham manuwaṭe (مَنْوَاطِ) je baspur ke o'sečama *on your having*  
*become Tham (i.e. now that you have become Tham) am I not to*  
*eat (even?) horse's food?* 380.6.

Xa'ruzum miš'i'n samo di'baṭe da besan a'r di'ši *when he has come*  
*back from X. after six months he will then bring me something.* 58.7.

These forms may be analysed as:

sena ba + aṭe, esa ba + aṭe,

manuwa + aṭe di' bai + aṭe.

manuwaṭe (مَنْوَاطِ) also occurs for the 3rd. person in Gh. Kh.'s text.

Ša'h Rais tham manuwaṭe je baspur ke o'sečama? *now that Š.R.*  
*has become Tham, am I not to eat even horse's food?* 378.11.

Here manuwaṭe must stand for manuwai.i + aṭe.

b) There are a few other forms which have the appearance of being the past base + a case suffix, but which are in fact probably parts of the short preterite.

The determining factor for this opinion is the form o'manitsum, which was given as an alternative for o'nitsum in:

bu't guntsiṅ həraṅulo o'nitsum (or, o'manitsum) jot i'ne i'e . . .  
nimi *after many days had not elapsed, his younger son . . .*  
*went off.* 366.5. Cp. 372.6.

(o'nitsum is twice attested by the vernacular Ms.).

o'manitsum cannot well be referred to the Past Base which is man-, and the only known form to which it can be referred is the 3rd. sg. of the short form of the Preterite, mani.

Similarly o'nitsum may be referred, not to the Past Base ni-, but to ni, the otherwise unrecorded form of the Short Preterite, ni for ni'mi.

c) The other forms to be accounted for are:

Δsqanate in the following:

ja Δsqanate go'se mud'a' belate go'r me.imi? *by murdering (of) me how will the desire of thy heart come to pass for thee?* 66.11.

On the analogy of o'manitsum this must be the 2nd. sg. Short Preterite:

Δsqana + Δte

and not the Past Base:

Δsqan + Δte.

On the other hand we have once recorded:

guke γenan̄ meltaike tran̄ et'ate (or, etan̄ ke) gute čayā du'si  
*on our both dividing up (or, sharing) this gold, this affair will  
come out, i.e. become known.* 54.19.

Here et'ate may be the past base + -Δte, but the accent is against the ending being the suffix -Δte. Otherwise it is possible that it may be the 1st. sg. Short Pret. eta + -Δte, *on my dividing the gold between us both.*

## ADVERBS.

§ 408.

408. In Burushaski adverbial expressions are drawn from various sources. These may be summarised as follows:

1. Special adverb forms, which in some cases carry, or are capable of carrying, case suffixes:

tal'a	<i>gently, slowly.</i>
ko'l, ko'le	<i>here.</i>
ko'lər	<i>hither.</i>
ko'lum	<i>hence.</i>

2. Adjectives used as adverbs, sometimes with case suffixes:

toš	<i>newly, freshly.</i>
-----	------------------------

3. Nouns used as adverbs, sometimes with case suffixes:

lukan	<i>a little, somewhat.</i>
tape	<i>at night.</i>
hik dām	<i>all at once.</i>
hik heši	<i>once.</i>

4. Nouns and Adverbs followed by *ne*:

han bər ne	<i>unanimously.</i>
ya'r ne	<i>downwards.</i>

With nouns there is every reason to believe that the *ne* is the past participle of *etas* and it may be assumed that it has automatically come to be used with adverbs where its original force is not obvious. The same idiom occurs in Shina where the past participle of the verb "to do" and also that of the verb "to be" are used with adverbs: *lo'ko the, lo'ko be quickly.*

The strictly logical classification of Adverbs and Adverbial expressions would be a complicated business which it is not proposed to attempt here.

The bulk of Burushaski adverbs may be grouped in the ordinary categories of:

Time, Place, Manner, Quantity,  
each of which includes interrogatives.

The residuum includes the Negative Particles and the Numeral adverbs, and such miscellaneous items as *moreover*, *further*, *also*, and so on.

409. The force of the case suffixes varies to some extent with the class of the adverb.

### 1. The Dative -ər.

With adverbs of Time -ər denotes POINT OF TIME OR TIME AT WHICH.

terumanər      “at so much”, i.e. at that point, thereupon.  
tsor̄dinər      in the morning.

With adverbs of Place -ər denotes PLACE TO WHICH.

tēlə      there;      tēlər      thither.

### 2. The Ablative -tsum is rare. We have it in:

taminimutsum      from last year.      akōl̄ə̄tsum      from here.  
bēš̄elmutsum?      since when?      tēl̄ə̄tsum      thence.

3. The conception of *from* of time or place is usually conveyed by the ending -um; but it is often difficult to be sure that this is not used with its adjectival force:

akōlum      from here.  
yāt̄um      from above, (but yāt̄um mīm̄e      our upper teeth).  
ūlum      from inside.  
ūlum juwāb̄ atimi      no answer came from inside,      but,  
ūlum baiyu      internal, i.e. locally-produced, salt.

### 4. The ending -mo (-umo, -imo) occurs in adverbs of Time.

tsor̄dimō      next morning.  
t̄apmō      at night.  
taminimū-tsum      from-last-year.



These are probably really adjectives used adverbially; cp. from *sasat*:

*sarsetumo šapik* *the evening meal*, and so usually, but  
*sarsetumo bula deljær ničar'n* *in the evening they go to play polo.*  
*gærumo ken* *spring-time*, *gærumo* *in spring.*

The forms *elum*, *el'mo*, *alemum* (all supplied by Nazir) appear to be ablatives of *elē* *there*.

*alemum* *from there.*

*elum* (or, *el'mo*) *irlji* . . . *du'numan* *thereafter they began.* 368.16.

We get *-mo*, however, probably as an ablative-equivalent in:  
*denmo den* (cp. *dentsum den*) *year by year, yearly.*  
*guntsamo gunts* *from day to day, daily.*

5. *-ulo* appears in:

*amulo?* *where?* beside *am?*  
 and in *amulum?* *whence?*

6. *-atē* occurs in some common adverbs of Manner:

*belatē?* *how?*  
*tailatē* *in such wise.*  
*dakilatē* *in this manner.*

and with *zail*, *fashion, manner*, used adverbially:

*bezailatē* *somehow.*  
*akil zailatē* *thus.*

In *besanatē?* *how? with what?*

it denotes *means*.

A common expression is:

(*imo*) *ra.ati* (= *rai* + *-atē*) *of (one's) own motion, spontaneously.*

7. *-tsi* (*-tse*) possibly occurs in *pači* (*pa*, or *pat* + *tsi*).

*yači* (*yač* + *tsi*).

*galči* (*galt* + *tsi*).

\**-yanči* (*yan* + *tsi*).

*da irljum pači guvimo dišær irlji gar'ts* *then gallop back to thine own place.*

(*irlji* is probably redundant).

pfərtsiŋ yΔči ɛΔs		<i>to put on a cap.</i>
čiʃɛ yΔči		<i>up on the hill.</i>
gute gΔlči		<i>on this occasion, this time.</i>
yΔnči niyΔs		<i>to go to meet someone.</i>

410. A number of Adverbs of Place end in *-ɛ*, in some cases alternative forms exist without the *-ɛ*. It is reasonable to suppose that this *-ɛ* is the ending of the General Oblique:

koʋɛ	(koʋl)	<i>here.</i>
yaʋɛ	(yaʋr nɛ)	<i>down.</i>
yΔtɛ	(yΔt nɛ)	<i>up.</i>
teʋɛ	(teʋlʔ)	<i>there.</i>
hoʋɛ	(hoʋl)	<i>outside.</i>

Similarly we have:

tΔpɛ	<i>at night</i>	from tΔp.
------	-----------------	-----------

and probably

tsoʋrdine	<i>in the morning, tomorrow morning.</i>
saʋsΔte	<i>in the evening.</i>

There is also

tsΔne	<i>truly, in truth, in fact,</i>
beside tsΔn	<i>straight, true.</i>

411. The postpositions *gΔnɛ*, *ka* and *xa* are also used to form adverbial phrases:

gute gΔnɛ	<i>for this reason, therefore.</i>
ΔΔpɛ ka	<i>with respect, respectfully.</i>
muʋto xa	<i>up to now, still.</i>
iʋte xa	<i>up till then.</i>

412. Nouns denoting TIME are used adverbially:

nim den	<i>last year.</i>
hΔn guntsΔnulo	<i>one day.</i>
yΔt gunts	<i>next day.</i>

The series of words for expressing points or periods of time past and future with reference to a datum time are interesting:

## a) DAY.

<i>Past.</i>	<i>Present.</i>	<i>Future.</i>
	<i>today kulto.</i>	
<i>1st., yesterday</i>	sa'ati sabu'r	<i>1st., tomorrow</i> jimala. jimden. tsordine(r). tsordimo.
<i>2nd., day before yest.</i>	ya'rbulto yər gunts	<i>2nd., day aft. tomorrow</i> hipulto.
<i>3rd. day</i>	ya'röiliŋ	<i>3rd. day</i> ma'lto.
<i>4th. day</i>	—	<i>4th. day</i> ça'lto.
<i>5th. day</i>	—	<i>5th. day</i> ka'lto.
<i>6th. day</i>	—	<i>6th. day</i> ki'lto.

## b) YEAR.

<i>Past.</i>	<i>Present.</i>	<i>Future.</i>
	<i>this year ku.in.</i>	
	ku.inmo den.	
<i>1st., last year</i>	tamini (den) tani'nimo (den) ni'm den (yər den?)	<i>1st., next year</i> miyərüm den. miyər ju.as den. yər den. yərüm den. yaŋ den.
<i>2nd., year before last.</i>	yər den	<i>2nd., year after next</i> yaŋ den.

## c) MONTH.

	<i>this month gute hisa.</i>	
<i>1st., last month</i>	yərüm hisa ni'm hisa i'ljum hisa	<i>1st., next month</i> yərüm hisa. i'ljum hisa.

413. It will be seen that these recorded forms appear in certain cases conflicting; thus yər, yərüm and i'ljum all seem to be used of both past and future time.

While admitting the possibility of errors due to misunderstanding, I think that this ambiguity of use does actually exist and that to some extent it can be explained.

Normally the meaning of these qualifying words seems to be as follows:

yər	= <i>before</i>	= <i>preceding</i>	refers to past time.
yɑt	= <i>on, in addition</i>	= <i>succeeding, next</i>	refers to future time.
i'ljum	= <i>coming after, following</i>	= <i>last of series</i>	refers to future time.

all, however, reckon from the DATUM TIME that is present to the mind.

Thus I think we may explain the appearance of yər den as both "last year" and "the year before last". In the first case the present year is taken as the starting point, in the second the reckoning commences from last year.

So I have recorded yər gunts *the day before yesterday.*  
 itətsum yər gunts *the day before that.*

Again we have yɑt gunts fairly frequently in narrative meaning "the next day" or even "a later day", so assuming "next year" in our minds, we may call the next year after that yɑt den.

Similarly it would appear that iljum, i'ljum *the one following* may signify either what follows the central point of time, i.e. *succeeding, next*, or what follows a preceding series but precedes the central point of time, so that we have:

i'ljum ju'as den *the year coming after (the present one), i.e. next year.*

or i'ljum hisa *the month following the past series of months, but prior to the present month, i.e. last month.*

With the latter we may compare

i'ljum di'manum hile's *the last-born child.*

Returning again to yər we have seen how it may refer to the period before any fixed point. This is based on the temporal sense of yər *before* (of time), so:

yərūm zama'na.ulo *in former times.*

but yər also has a locative sense *before, in front of, ahead of* (in place).

It may be this place-sense which is dominant in the expression given for "next year"

yər den      *the year on ahead, i.e. next year.*

In miyərum and miyər the mi- is simply the 1st. pl. pronoun prefix and the meaning is therefore:

*the year ahead of us, i.e. ahead of the year in which we are, and so, next year.*

These remarks and probable explanations are only tentatively put forward. The forms which I have given were not all collected at one time, but have been put together from various records, and I did not realise the difficulties they presented till it was too late to make special investigations.

The fact that one form of words represent such different ideas as "yesterday" and "tomorrow" is curious but need not be ruled out as impossible. It is paralleled by the ambiguous Hindustani *kal yesterday* and *tomorrow*, *parsō* and *tarsō*, the *second day* and *the third day* in both past and future.

414. A further point to note is the specialised use of
- |       |                                   |
|-------|-----------------------------------|
| ni·m  | <i>gone in the sense of past.</i> |
| ju.əs | <i>coming.</i>                    |

To the examples already given may be added:

kultə ni·m tʌp      *last night.*

The use of

tso·rdi·nɛ, tsordiner, tso·rdimo  
*early in the morning, tomorrow morning, and*

sabur      *sunset, yesterday evening*

as often practically equivalent to "tomorrow" and "yesterday" represents a common tendency. Cp. Pashtu *saba* and *bəga*, Shina *loštai.iki tomorrow*, Scots "the morn".

415. Among the Adverbs of PLACE the nouns *pa* and *pači side* or *direction* provide a number of forms:

i·tɛ pa	<i>(on) that side.</i>
ki·tɛ pa (kute pa, gute pa)	<i>(on) this side.</i>
hanpa	<i>on one side, aside.</i>

holpa, holum pa	<i>outside.</i>
yər pa	<i>forward, in front.</i>
itum pər	<i>on the other side.</i>
i'ljum pači (gərts)	<i>to the back side.</i>
i'nə holpači yətsumo	<i>she saw him outside.</i>
itə pači.ə	<i>on that side.</i>

#### 416. Adverbial expressions formed with n<sup>ə</sup>.

Where n<sup>ə</sup> is used with a noun the combination may be regarded as an ordinary participial clause.

itifa'q n <sup>ə</sup>	<i>in agreement.</i>
hən bər n <sup>ə</sup>	<i>saying one thing, i.e. unanimously.</i>
bəsan n <sup>ə</sup>	<i>having done something, i.e. somehow.</i>

ki'nə ka gəlt n<sup>ə</sup> suluma durnin *wrestle ye with him in turn.*

Not so readily intelligible are the cases where it is used with an adverb and has no direct object. As far as has been recorded it is only employed with Adverbs of PLACE.

dəl n <sup>ə</sup>	<i>upwards.</i>
i'lji n <sup>ə</sup>	<i>backwards.</i>
ho'l n <sup>ə</sup>	<i>towards the outside.</i>
u'l n <sup>ə</sup>	<i>towards the inside.</i>
ya'r n <sup>ə</sup>	<i>downwards.</i>
yər n <sup>ə</sup>	<i>forwards, first, before others.</i>
yaʔ n <sup>ə</sup>	<i>upwards.</i>

khan n<sup>ə</sup> and xan n<sup>ə</sup>, two or three times recorded, should probably be kha n<sup>ə</sup>, or xa n<sup>ə</sup> *downwards.*

*Examples:*

yaʔ n <sup>ə</sup> ap'əran	<i>don't look upwards.</i>
hunts i'lji n <sup>ə</sup> de'əgusimi	<i>he pulled the arrow out backwards.</i>

#### 417. There is a series of Adverbs, not very important in themselves but interesting from the morphological point of view.

These adverbs are used with adjectives expressing some physical quality to denote "quite", "very". They consist of the sound -am

preceded by the initial consonant of the adjective so that there is alliteration. Thus:

čAM čo'ko	<i>very steep.</i>
RAM rat	<i>quite smooth.</i>
SAM saŋ	<i>very bright.</i>
SAM sa'da	<i>quite plain.</i>
TAM taš	<i>quite smooth.</i>
tsAM tsan	<i>quite straight.</i>

418. As with Pronouns and Adjectives the same forms are used both as Interrogatives and as Indefinites, so also a number of adverbial forms can be used as either Interrogative or Indefinite Adverbs:

amulo?	<i>where?</i>	amulo	<i>somewhere, anywhere.</i>
bešel?	<i>when?</i>	bešel bešel	<i>sometimes.</i>
belate?	<i>how?</i>	belate	<i>somehow.</i>

419. Having illustrated the main principles which govern their forms and uses, I shall not attempt to give a list of all adverbs and adverbial expressions. It would take much space and would largely duplicate the vocabulary to which reference may be made direct. I shall content myself with referring to a few cases which are of special interest or difficulty.

be.

Doubtless identical with the interrogative *be?* = *what?* This adverb is used before adjectives with the meaning *what a . . . , what . . .*

be hirus hilesan bai.i	<i>what a smart boy he is!</i>
be šura ta.am detsivčai.i	<i>what excellent food he his cooking!</i>

420. da.

This is in extremely common use with a variety of shades of meaning. The most definite meaning is *again*. More vaguely it presents such senses as "further", "more", "and also", "and then", "then", "and", "moreover".

It may come at the beginning of a sentence or clause, but it

tends to indicate that there is some connection in the mind between what follows and what precedes.

It is perhaps to be thus distinguished from *ho*, which is generally used at the beginning of a sentence but merely introduces a fact as the next episode in a narrative, between which and what precedes there need be no logical connection, though such connection frequently exists.

*da* plays much the same part in Burushaski that *ne* does in Shina.

- da* tsoꝛ jaꝛe ju           *come to me again soon.*  
 yaꝛ guꝛntse Š. B. *da* sailər duꝛsimi           *next day Sh. B. again went out for a walk.*
- da* jo . . .           *give me again, i.e. give me more.*  
*da* ke ɣašil su           *bring more wood.*
- iꝛne hir ke iꝛne yuꝛs *da* uꝛe jotumuts . . . dutsuman   *they brought the man and his wife and further their children.*
- iꝛne pfuꝛt buꝛt jaꝛt bam, *da* kam deyeljam   *the Dīv was very old and he was also hard of hearing.*
- . . . kašər guꝛma, *da* čuꝛ isərkuꝛma . . . *da* je dau.ɒsɒm   *thou threwest them down to slay them and then thou broughtest down the knife . . . and I was saved.*
- xuꝛaꝛk ečam *da* numin araꝛm ečam   *I shall eat and then drink and rest.*  
 iꝛmo haꝛlər niꝛmi. *da* oꝛsimi yər ne . . . juꝛča baiyam   *he went to his home. Then he said to them: "formerly I used to come . . ."*
- beruman guꝛntsiꝛ . . . huꝛuꝛčaman. *da* Š. B. guꝛnts dəru.ər ničam   *they stayed some days, and in the day time Sh. B. used to go hunting.*

#### 421. hik, hik ke.

- hik*           *one time, once.*  
*hik ke*       *once more, just once, (not) even once.*  
 gute gaꝛaꝛte je hik daiyam ba           *I have come once by that road.*  
 je ke bareyam, hik tešaꝛər duꝛšam   *I'll have a look too. I'll just go up on the roof.*  
*hik ke* bareyen           *let us have one more look.*



hik ke sen besan se.i ba *say once more, i.e. repeat, what thou sayest.*  
 ma hik ke nama'n maltu'mal etina *just go once again and listen.*

422. ho *then, thereafter.* (V. under da § 420).

nik'iratin ho šapik gər'oni.ər ditsuman *when they had finished dancing, they then brought food for a wedding-party.*

ilji ara'm ne niki'ltir huru (mosimi). ho sailər du'simi *"after that stay here taking your ease and have a good time" (he said to her).*

423. ka.

*Then he went off on a trip.*

ka is usually used as a postposition: "along with", "with", but it is also used adverbially: "at the same time", "along (with)" (no complement being expressed), "in company", "together".

je ke ka atsučam *they used to take me along too (with them).*

a'lto traq šamtu Miru ke haγur ka ayotuma ke *if thou dost not cleave Sh. M. and (his) horse in two at the same time.*

εmiš ke ka čuru'k etimi *and at the same time he bit his finger.*

Š. B. ke utsi nultan ka ni'mi *Sh. B. also following after them went along (with them).*

čuram tališulo bam. i'mi ke ka ditsuman *Ch. was in swaddling clothes; they brought him and his mother along together.*

It is to be remembered, however, that ke *and* sometimes sounds as ke or ka.

424. ke.

This particle plays many parts. As an adverb it supplies the place of the English "also", "too".

u'e gu'tašo ke ya're ayotum . . . fat otuman *their bodies too they left there without burying them.*

tale kutsum daman ke hartsum ho'le diruša'n *at the end of 7 days they make the master also come out of the house.*

u'lo in ke nimi se.iba'n *they say that he too went inside.*

The combination ke da is sometimes used:

čuram ke da Bulu'ki muy'en du'n tale nal hər ke u'man *taking Ch. and B. they came (back with them) and they also gave them seven yoke of oxen.*

425. **kuli.**

This particle occurs usually after a verb with the meaning of "if", "if ever", very much as an equivalent of *kε*. V. § 448.

It is also used after the Indefinite Pronouns, v. §§ 148.5; 153.5.

Occasionally it seems to be used adverbially:

baṛdša bε zailatε kuli 'atiw'εše.a? *will the king not escape in any way at all?*

bešel diṛmi kuli dεljam *whenever he comes I'll kill him, (but the meaning may be, "if he ever does come").*

12 tsiṛ ayomanuman kε, talo kuli gučan *if they are unable (to give) 12 goats, they will give thee at any rate seven.*

Here talo kuli is glossed Hindustani sarthi "exactly 7", but the context suggests "at least 7", "at any rate 7".

amma jaṛ uṛε b'εšal kε han tsiṛε du'an kuli aiyaṛwa *but to me thou hast never given even(?) one kid. (Here kuli possibly only duplicates kε).*

426. **xair kε.**

xair kε is used after a verb in the interrogative, and the xair is probably the Persian negative particle. It seems to be equivalent to the English form of question "is he not?" expecting the affirmative answer "yes, he is".

From this it comes to have the force of an emphatic affirmation "assuredly", "to be sure", "indeed". It was explained as equivalent to Persian *albatta*.

mamayoṛn h'εnašuṛik baṛna xair kε *you are all wise men to be sure.*  
doṛuman bai.a xair kε? *is he not a strong man?*

427. **mu, muṛto.**

mu and muṛto are the ordinary words for "now".

Twice I have recorded *mu gūtε* which seems to be emphatic: "this very moment", "out of hand", "on the spot", American "right now", Persian hamin haṛaṛ.

ko·lər ditsu. mu gute deljam      *Bring him here and I'll kill him  
straightaway.*

Baxtek Wazi're guse kursi.ete mu gute go·rušam      *I'll seat thee on  
this chair of B. W.'s now at once.*

It probably stands for *mu gute waxtulo* recorded once elsewhere.

428. tsan ke tsan.

This is an emphatic reduplication of which I have no other example:

tsan	<i>straight, true.</i>
tsane	<i>truly, in truth.</i>
tsan ke tsan	<i>in very truth, sure enough.</i>

429. tu·m, tum.

tu·m is ordinarily an adjective meaning "other", but it appears also to be occasionally used as an interrogative particle. In the two examples available it is followed by the negative:

amulo bai.i ke tu·m aču·čaiya?      *wherever he is why doesn't he come?*  
padša·nalər tum je aču·čama? ju·čam      *(why) will I not come to a  
king? (Of course) I will come.*

As the verb takes the interrog. suffix -a, it would seem that tu·m does not itself possess interrogative force.

430. ya·re.

ya·re occurs sometimes with the sense of "further", "beyond this", and is often equivalent to "other", "others", "rest".

It is probably to be referred to *ya·r = yər before, ahead, and not to ya·re = below.*

ya·re a·lto ro·m . . . aba·d manuwa·n      *further two tribes . . . have  
settled down.*

Pa·nču·ər ε·učai.i. Ya·re ta uyo·nər ma·l u·mi      *to P. he does not  
give anything. To all the other hundred he gave property.*

ya·re beske le·l omanimi      *nothing further became known.*

## AFFIRMATIVE and NEGATIVE PARTICLES.

431.

Yes     $\Delta$ wa.

a'u    (responding to a call).

No     be    (also, *not*, v. §§ 341—342).

Not    a-    (prefixed to verbs, §§ 332. ff.).

o-     (prefixed to a few verbs, § 339).

It will be enough here to examine the use of be:

1. As the simple exclamatory negative:

XAMƏRE senimi, be, traŋ aiyečərn      *Kh. said: "No, we won't divide it".*

be, mama . . . 'asu.in                    *No, mother, . . . tell me.*

be senimi                    *he said "no", i.e. he denied, refused.*

2. Following the verb in interrogative sentences, with the meaning "or not?" v. § 341.

yər go'sa baiyama be?    *had I said to thee before, or not? i.e. had I not said to thee before?*

3. Occasionally it appears to take the place of a negative part of the verb "to be".

i'n mu'to be                *he is not here now.*

ku menə o'sqanas be    *let no one kill them (be a killer of them).*

The combination be ke, *if not, otherwise*, used as a Subordinating Conjunction is dealt with in § 456.

## CONJUNCTIONS.

§ 432.

The following are the principal Conjunctions:

### 432. I. Co-ordinating Conjunctions.

amma, ama	<i>but.</i>
ke (kə, ka, ki)	<i>and.</i>
ke . . . ke	<i>both . . . and.</i>
le·kin	<i>but.</i>
mağər	<i>but.</i>
ne . . . ne	<i>neither . . . nor.</i>
yaʼ	<i>or.</i>
yaʼ . . . yaʼ	<i>either . . . or . . .</i>

a) The words for "*but*" are all foreign words, and there appears to be no distinction in their use. I have recorded *le·kin* only once and the others not frequently, and then not always with an adversative sense.

b) *ke* covers the meanings "and", "also".

When connecting single words it follows the first of them.

je ke u·ŋ ke miyu o·ltalik      *I and thou and our two sons,*  
i·mo wazir·tiŋ ke aka·bir·tiŋer senimi      *he said to his wazirs and*  
*grandees.* Note that the first noun is not inflected for case.

It rarely occurs as a connector of clauses owing to the fact that of two parallel clauses the first is usually expressed participially and the need for a conjunction does not arise.

Where, however, there are two such participial clauses they may be connected by *ke*.

xuši.ε ka xabər nukān guvimo guyu kε nuyen jamaʿate ka haʿlər ni  
*happily bearing the news, and taking thy sons, with thy wife*  
*go home.*

But connectives are commonly dispensed with (see the next example) and in this last example *guyu kε nuyen* may be translated as "taking thy sons too".

uʿkərə ši.āsər xuraʿka, gen pfiʿti, uyʿaʿre uyateki, tobak mobaq,  
 asbaʿb nukān duwašaman. Pañču ke duʿsin uʿtsi taʿmi *Taking*  
*for themselves food to eat, (i.e.) food for the road, under-bedding,*  
*upper-bedding, firearms (and) kit, they went off, and P. going*  
*out followed after them (or, P. also . . .).*  
 mēl numin neršan jučʿam *he used to drink wine and get drunk,*  
*and then come.*

Verbs are to be understood in:

Xuda kε rıza, mi kε rıza. uyum guʿi kaš ε *God is pleased,*  
*and we are pleased. Slay thy eldest son.*

- c) We have already seen that the adverb *da* frequently represents the English "and then", "and", v. § 420.

uʿke da Xamər ke iʿrimi *they (died) and Kh. also died.*

- d) *ne . . . ne* and *ya* are rare in the texts and call for no special remark:

*ne haʿur bi ne baʿdša taʿnulo bai.i the horse is not there nor is*  
*the king in the palace.*

## 433. II. Subordinating Conjunctions.

The function of connecting a subordinate adverb or noun clause to the main clause can be performed by various parts of speech which may then be regarded from one point of view as Conjunctions. In practice it is often difficult to distinguish when an adverb, noun case, or relative is to be regarded as a conjunction<sup>1</sup>, nor is much practical advantage to be gained from the attempt.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. English Grammar, Hall and Sonnenschein, 1909, §§ 16—19.

An Advanced English Syntax, C. T. Onions, 1905, § 14, 3—7.

In a later section I illustrate as far as I can the various types of subordinate sentence to be found in Burushaski: and those who please may analyse them. Here it will be sufficient to mention the one or two words which act only as Conjunctions, in the sense that they play the part performed by conjunctions in English and other Indo-European languages.

Δxəna	} . . . ke	<i>if.</i>
Δgər		
. . . be ke		<i>if not, otherwise.</i> V. § 456.
bese ke		<i>because.</i> V. § 446.
. . . ke		<i>if, when.</i>
ke		<i>that</i> (after verbs of "saying", "perceiving", etc.)
kuli		<i>if.</i>

Δxəna & Δgər have been seldom recorded and are perhaps then occasional borrowings from Shina and Hindustani.

. . . ke meaning *if, when*, and kuli *if*, immediately follow the verb of the subordinate clause.

They resemble in use the particle *to* in Shina. They are therefore not conjunctions, if it is an essential feature of a conjunction that it stand at the beginning of the clause.

ke, *that*, after verbs of "saying" and as a general connective only occurs occasionally and appears to be an exotic introduced from Hindustani & Persian.

bese ke *because* is doubtless based on bes, or bese, *why?*

be ke *if not, otherwise*, is obviously a reduced protasis of a conditional sentence.

. . . kuli is somewhat enigmatic but seems to be used in the same way as . . . ke.

The various uses of ke and kuli are summarised in the Vocabulary, and examples of their employment as conjunctions will be found in the following section on subordinate clauses, v. §§ 435 and 448—455; and corresponding to the Persian *kīh*, § 458.

**SUBORDINATE CLAUSES and CLAUSE-EQUIVALENTS.**

This section is intended to illustrate the chief ways in which principal and subordinate conceptions are linked to each other in Burushaski.

Participial and verbal constructions which do not strictly constitute "clauses" have therefore been included.

**ADVERBIAL CLAUSES and CLAUSE-EQUIVALENTS.****I. TIME.**

434. When there is a sequence of actions, the earlier action or actions are commonly expressed by the Past Participle Active of the corresponding verbs, only the last action in the sequence being expressed by a finite tense of the verb.

By this method what might be co-ordinate principal clauses, or else subordinate temporal clauses, introduced by "when", "after" etc. are rendered simply by **Past Participles Active**.

As a rule this method is only used when the verbs have all the same subject, but whether due to inadvertence or because this is not a binding condition, instances occur where the subject of the participle is different from that of the finite verb.

hikulto Xurukuts nuɣan ni'n thape Xerum Bat i'lji kan no'obir'laq  
daɣan həriɸ no gotsil do'ugusimi *one day, taking the Khurukuts  
(and) going by night and making them dig behind the Kherum Bat  
(and) making them play on drums, he made them excavate the  
water channel.* 352.15.

duso'k numu'ər guč'amo *having come down and having become tired  
she lay down.* 108.17.

*With different subject:* equivalent to the "Nominative Absolute" construction in English.

da mušul niki'n dumu'talimo *again her labour coming on, she woke up.* 110.1.

S. Š. ni'rin be'ruman deniɸtsum i'lji Hunzukuts ɣulmitaɸər ho'l ni bam  
*S. Sh. having died, after some years the Hunzukuts proceeded in  
force against Gh.* 296.3. Cp. 104.21, 132.4, 196.10, 340.23, 344.11.





These infinitives and static participles give the equivalent of clauses beginning in English with:

*when* + past tense.

*on* (something happening, someone's doing something).

*at the time that, when* + imperfect.

*from the time that, after, since.*

*while.*

As a general rule the subject of the Infinitive or Static Participle is different from the subject of the principal verb. These are then what grammarians know as "absolute" constructions.

**437. Infin. or St. Pc. + -ər, or + the postpos. ka.**

give clauses of the type of *when he did this, when he had done this, on his doing this*:

εραčər . . . huru'tumo. huru'tasər padša taŋ imai.i bai.i she sat  
down beside him. *When she sat down beside him, the king was*  
*annoyed.* 120.15.

da'l manu'mo . . . da'l manə'se ka (čama) ti'kečər walimi she got  
*up, on her getting up the brooch fell to the ground.* 168.4.

gu'ke faš manu'mər ju'čam when this (grain) is finished I shall  
*come (back).* 144.2.

i'ne šu etase ka ikəreŋe dimanimi on his blowing (the bellows) the  
*article came into existence of itself.* 162.9.

Of the above, the two forms with -ər are extremely common.

**438. Infinitive, occasionally the St. Pc., + -ulo**

give clauses of the type of: *at the time when he was (or is) doing it, at the time of his doing it*:

B. L.ε i'rasulo mimər məsai when he was dying, on his death bed,  
*B. L. said to us . . .* 154.10.

ki'ne gu' ε'sqanasulo at the time when he was killing your father.  
82.21. Cp. 136.13, 152.2, 158.4, 176.28, 246.14, 314.2, 332.3.

ki'ne dimanumulo u'ŋe čayamiŋ etum i'ke hai.ai.iŋ . . . bitsan the  
*marks mentioned by you at the time when he was born, are present.*

88.18. Cp. 158.14.

**439. The Static Participle, occasionally the Infin., + -tsum**

give clauses of the type of: *from the time that he did it, after he did it, since he did it.* The verb is usually intransitive or passive:

xurts laŋ maŋumtsum L. B. ke mu'mi.ε ye'tsuman *after the dust had passed by, L. B. and her mother saw him.* 122.13.

ine gili modelumtsum hər den . . . kaš oč'am *from the time that he pegged her down, every year they used to slaughter (goats).* 194.14.

i'ne . . . i'rumtsum to'rimi . . . deniŋ maimi *it is ten years since he died.* 226.10.

The sense of "after" may be re-enforced by the use of i'lji after the participle:

i'n i'rumtsum i'lji *after he had died.* 220.4.

u'ε Tapki.ents o'sqanastsum i'lji Hunzulo hərki etuman *after they had slain the Tapki.ents they cultivated crops in Hunza.* 240.17.

i'ne niyastsum i'lji *after he had gone.*

**440. The Infin. + -tsum followed by yər, yər ne**

gives clauses of the type of: *before he did it.* This has been recorded in:

i'ne juyastsum yər *before he came.*

Tapki.ents o'sqanastsum yər ne *before (they) slew the Tapki.ents.* 242.9.

**441. The Short Preterite + -tsum occurs in:**

bu't guntsiŋ hərəŋulo o'nitsum (or, o'maŋitsum) jot i'ne i'ε . . . ni'mi  
*after many days had not passed (i.e. before many days had passed)  
the younger son went off.* 366.5, 372.5.

**442. The Static Participle + -tse and -ačε.**

-tse is recorded only with the verb \*-ayenas *to go to sleep.* It carries the sense of "while sleeping" or "on going to sleep":  
o'yenuman. P. o'yenumtse di.εn du'simi *They went to sleep. While they slept (or, on their going to sleep) P. got up and went out.*  
118.2. Cp. 108.18, 180.4, 222.10.

ni'nin 'eyenumačε Siŋ kaš etimi *he went and slew S. while he slept, in his sleep.* 266.3.

-ΔΤΕ occurs with the same sense with the St. pc. of the verb  
ba: cp.

je ap'aiyΔMΔTE *while I am not here, i.e. in my absence.* 210.14.

čito bΔMΔTE *when we are alone.* 84.18.

(čAMA) mu'ndi'ltse bi'MΔTE ikƏREŋE taq imΔnimi *(the brooch) while  
it was on her breast broke of itself.* 164.18.

#### 443. Till, until, up to the time that, so long as . . . not, before

are rendered by the -š form of the verb followed by xa, xa'siŋer.

je ju's xa *till I come back.* 56.13.

u'ŋE ni's xa *till you go.*

γirγit ɛtiš xa pra'q du'γu.i manimi *by the time that they had  
softened them it was full midday.* 132.7.

i'n ačuš xa guč'amo *up to the time that he had not returned,*

*i.e. before he returned, she was brought to bed.* 58.9. Cp. 154.5,

314.3; Negative 56.3, 14, 74.18.

#### 444. When in the act of, while.

One or two examples show that this idea can be conveyed by  
using the present participle + -ΔΤΕ:

εčumΔTE i'rimi *he died in the act of doing it.*

saimΔTE *in the act of saying.*

γəri'čumΔTE *in the act of speaking.*

On the other hand this construction may have an instrumental  
force in:

herčumΔTE je šo'n amana *by continual weeping I have become blind.*

360.6.

## II. PLACE.

#### 445. Where, wherever, whither, whence.

gi'ri amulo halk'iči.ɛn ke tɛ'lɛ dΔMΔNAS ba *where the ibex have  
their young, there I am to be born.*

ΔM ni'mi ke wa'limi *wherever he went he got lost.*

amulum duko'wa ke ni *go wherever you have come from.*

See further under Relative Clauses § 463 and cp. § 418.

## III. REASON, CAUSE.

446. Because, since, as are rendered by *bə'se kə*.

The principal clause usually precedes the "reason"-clause:

*tsil ak'ərər gaiyam, bə'se kə yərūm ite basarulo tsil api* *I shall take water with me, because there is no water at the stage on ahead.*  
124.15. Cp. 6.16, 8.10, 12.6, 14.1, 18.10, 18, 20.21, 22.16, 116.1, 210.16, 218.5, 266.12, 280.13, 344.2, 348.1, 368.15, 372.10, 373.14, 374.15.

Frequently the structure of the sentence is inverted, the causal circumstances being stated first in the principal clause, and the result being then stated in a clause introduced by *ite'tsum* *for that reason, therefore, so*. *Gutetsum, gute gane, on this account*, can also be used in place of *ite'tsum*. V. 38.18, 374.2.

*i'ne kurto hik o'manimi, ite'tsum qyu ečume tsu'čai.i* *his bag has not been filled, therefore he is carrying it away, crying out (as he goes).* 142.2. Cp. 50.6, 54.19, 56.5, 210.20, 230.3, 8, 312.16.

In the following *bačantse* probably means "owing to his being . . ." and *biličantse* "owing to its being . . ."

*Nuširwa'n taxtaše bačantse Baxtekale waziri biličantse 14 xəra'b manašo bitsa* *owing to N.'s being on the throne and owing to the wazirship's being in the possession of B., 14 (cities) will be ruined.* 96.22.

## IV. PURPOSE.

447. (In order) that, (in order) to, so that, for the purpose of are expressed by:

1. The Present Base of the verb + *ər*.

*ite xabər dusu'čər ta'ntsum du'simi* *he went out from the palace to get the information.* 38.6.

*u'e niman i'ner bə'reyər* *they went to look at him.* 124.9, 130.17.

This idiom is extremely common: cp. 40.16, 54.4, 80.13, 90.4, 94.16, 21, 112.24, 116.7, 118.8, 126.18, 162.4, 14, 180.3, 204.6, 206.8, 246.10, 19, 260.18, 294.13, 298.5, 306.3, 4, 18, 330.8, 340.7, 372.13.

Other uses of the Present Base + *ər* are mentioned in § 406.

## 2. The Infinitive + ər.

γΔΤΕῚNĉ di.u'simi hΔγυr(ε) isumΔl čərap etasə *he drew his sword in order to cut off his horse's tail.* 156.11. Cp. 26.8, 116.12, 240.1, 260,17, 264.9, 276.8, 10, 302.15, 334.2. V. also § 395.

## 3. The Infinitive + gΔNE.

hərt mΔnimi ni'Δsə gΔNE *he got up (in order) to go away.* 142.24. Cp. 44.18, 244.9.

4. The Persian ta' ki, *in order that*, occurs a couple of times in the texts:

hai.εNΔN Δči ta'ki . . . mΔddat du'mərčΔm *give me a token so that I may seek help.* 22.7. Cp. 34.13.

5. bə'sekε in a couple of passages seems to be used as an equivalent for *in order that*. This is probably due to contaminated construction:

bə'sekε . . . mēn . . . duyan kε o'r takli'f o'mΔnš *in order that if anyone comes along, they may not experience discomfort.* 36.5. Cp. 326.13 & note.

## 6. The Conditional is used in this rôle in:

u'NE bešΔl hΔN . . . du.ΔN kuli aiya'wa kε ja . . . šuri.a'r ečΔmtse *you never gave me a kid that I might make merry.* 370.9.

It will be noted that methods 1, 2 & 3 above are used when the subjects of the main clause and the subordinate clause are the same. 4, 5 & 6 represent efforts to deal with the situation when the subjects are different, for which there appears to be no recognised technique.

## V. CONDITIONAL Sentences.

448. The following analysis is based on about 90 examples of conditional sentences noted in the texts.

The verb of the Protasis may be in:

1. any tense of the Indicative.
2. the Imperative.
3. the form of the Noun Agent with the present of the verb *to be*.

“if” is represented by *ke* or sometimes by *kuli* placed immediately after the verb. Occasionally the Protasis is introduced by *Δγər* or *Δxəna*. V. Vocab. s. vv.

The verb of the Apodosis may similarly be in any of the above-mentioned forms, or in:

4. the *-š* form.
5. the Conditional.

In over 64 % the verb of the protasis is in the Preterite Indicative, and

in over 23 % it is in the Present Indicative.

In the apodosis the Future Indicative much preponderates with 46 %, the Present Indicative coming next with 15 %.

It is to be borne in mind that the values of the Burushaski tenses do not in all cases strictly correspond to the English titles which have been given to them.

The following are examples of the principal types of sentence:

449. a) Protasis: *Pres. Indicative*, Apodosis: *Fut. Indicative*.  
*uŋ niča ke je ke jučam* if you go, I shall come too. 94.19.  
*ba·wər aku·mai.i ba ke tɛʃ 'ečən* if you don't believe it, we shall  
 (or, let us) take oath. 250.8.
- b) Protasis: *Pres. Indicative*. Apodosis: *Pret. Indicative*.  
*gute čaɣa ja·r aije·č'a ke je k' uŋ həraŋulo ni·mi* if you don't  
 tell me this, then it has passed between you and me, i.e. all is over  
 between us, 96.9.

The only other example is 114.19.

- c) Protasis: *Pres. Indicative*. Apodosis: *Perf. Indicative*.  
*ti·šk ti·kulo ga·tum bila ke ja šat eta ba* if the dagger is sticking  
 in the ground, then I have prevailed. 198.11. Cp. 218.8.

In the only other example (264.24) the verb is *erysnai.i* which has the meaning “is asleep”. It is paralleled in the following sentence by *šəŋ bai.i*, “he is awake”.

- d) Protasis: *Pres. Indicative*. Apodosis: *Imperative*.  
*damši ača· ke čumar lukan ači* if you approve of me give me a  
 little iron. 172.17.

e) Protasis: *Pres. Indicative.* Apodosis: *Conditional.*

In the only two apparent examples (160.10 & 228.8) the sentences are elliptical and the construction is probably contaminated. In each case the normal tense in the protasis would be the pluperfect.

450. Protasis: *Fut. Indicative.* Apodosis: *Fut. Indicative.*

Only one example:

guse hu'nts čap ečam ke hu'ntsetse dunimi ke, ja haγurtse du'imi  
if I shoot this arrow and if (the cliff) catches it, it will (likewise)  
catch my horse. 156.6.

451. Protasis: *Impf. Indicative.* Apodosis: *Imperative.*

Only one example, apparently ungrammatical:

aki'l ər gumai.i bām ke yər ne o'ni if you were so afraid, don't  
go in the first instance (you should not have gone?). 282.21.

452. Protasis: *Preterite Indicative.*

This is the commonest form of protasis. It usually refers to a condition in future time and appears in statements corresponding to the English:

If A were to do this, B would do that.

If A did this, B would do that.

If A does this B, will do that.

It may, however, refer to a condition in past time, in which case the verb of the apodosis appears in the present or imperfect indicative.

Again it may occur in general propositions where the time is not limited. The short forms of the preterite are very frequently used in this construction. V. § 314.

a) Protasis: *Pret. Indicative.* Apodosis: *Fut. Indicative.*

This is the commonest form of conditional sentence in the texts, constituting more than 28 % of the examples noted:

ki'ne i'kər e'sqanimi ke pfurte mi . . . me'sqaimi if he were to  
kill himself, the Div would kill us, or, if he kills himself, the  
Div will kill us. 12.10.

xa awe'ši ke . . . be ečam? if it throws me down . . . what  
shall I do? 76.25.



- b) Protasis: *Pret. Indicative.* Apodosis: *Pres. Indicative.*

In this situation the present has often the meaning of the future:

ja qau eta kuli æçuçai.i *if I were to call, he would not come.* 172.13.

gute du'ro etuma ke u'ŋ ju.ʌnan menan kuli apai.i *if you were to do this, there is no one like you.* 82.1.

han guntsen tso'r du'suma kuli guwi'rça *if you should come out one day too soon, you will die.* 50.17.

In one instance the present is replaced by the Noun Agent + verb "to be":

daγuri gap i'te bu'lulo i'lan ke . . . γiryit mana's bi *if we soak raw hide in that spring, it will become soft.* 128.19.

The same sentence is repeated at 130.6 with *mai.i bi* for *mana's bi*.

- c) Protasis: *Pret. Indicative.* Apodosis: *Imperfect Indicative.*

men alt'an te'lər niman ke hin nişun hin fat eçubo'm *if two men came there she used to eat one and let one go.* 200.2.

- d) Protasis: *Pret. Indicative.* Apodosis: *Imperative.*

gutsimo du'məri ke 'e'γun *if he demands (the things) of you, don't give (them) to him.* 210.14.

- e) Protasis: *Pret. Indicative.* Apodosis: *-ş forms.*

*Desiderative:*

ako'manuma ke u'ŋər la'nat maniş *if you are unable to do it, i.e. if you fail, may curses be on you!* 150.2.

*Injunctive:*

agər paso'm imanumi ke . . . i'se gajət numo mazareçər mo'eweşiş *if he hesitates to do so, let him pluck it off and throw it on the grave.* 152.5.

453. Protasis: *Perfect Indic.* Apodosis: *Fut. or Pres. Indicative.*

ja besan γuniki.ʌŋ duro'ıŋ eta ba ke padşaha'ntiŋ açi gasi'çuman *if I have committed any evil acts, the kings will laugh at me.* 98.1.

u'ŋe e'sqan'a ke je mu go'sqaiya ba *if you have killed him, I shall now kill you.* 72.15.

It is to be noted, however, that the 2nd. sg. Perfect is indistin-

guishable in form from the short form of the 2nd. sg. Preterite. It is probable that *εsqana* here is perfect, while *dursa* (50.18) is preterite.

454. Protasis: *Plup. Indicative.* Apodosis: *Conditional.*  
*gute lel aiyet'am ki batulo pfetiη matsičamtse if you had not  
 found this out, I would have stuffed your skins with ashes. 154.2.*  
 Cp. 292.10, & § 351.1.

455. Protasis: *Imperative.* Apodosis: *Future Indicative.*  
 Sentences of this type as they follow the pattern of Conditional sentences are probably felt to be of a conditional nature. They correspond to English sentences of the form:

“You do this and I will help you”,  
 where my help is conditional on your action.

*i'ne ar ditsu ke ja gar ke u'ne gar nala e'čen you bring him and  
 we shall celebrate your marriage and mine at the same time. 184.3.*

It is probably only a coincidence that in four out of the five examples noted in the texts the verb in the protasis is *ditsas*.

456. **If not, otherwise.**

Elliptical conditional clauses, expressed in English by *if not, otherwise*, are rendered in Burushaski by *be ke*.

*ar do'nin, be ke ja akar esqai'am open (the door) for me, otherwise  
 I will kill myself. 12.9. Cp. 40.2, 15, 44.10, 154.3, 176.10, 242.3,*

## VI. COMPARISON, MANNER.

457. **so . . . as, so . . . that, as if, just as, like.**

Only a few miscellaneous examples can be offered:

*guse belate bim ke i'se juwanan eti make it so as it was (before).  
 164.24. Cp. 166.11.*

*ja belate yet'sa baiy'am ke i'te ju.an ne ar čay'a e'čai.i as I had  
 seen it, like that he tells me about it, i.e. he describes things just  
 as I saw them. 84.16. Cp. 230.4.*

*gu'imo rai.ete belate juča tēilate ju as you come by your own choice.  
 so come, i.e. come in whatever way you yourself choose. 78.11.*

- belate čaγa et'am ke te'ilju'ko a'lta i'skumuts bim *there were two young ones just as he had said, or just such as he had described.* 64.28.  
 apim juwan etai.i *he has made as if it were not.* 84.1.  
 ha'ne saγam xa gi'm ju'an i'te kutuwər šaršər manimi *(the grain) poured into the bag with a noise as if it were pouring down through the smoke-hole of a house.* 140.6. Cp. 160.6.

### VII. CONSEQUENCE, RESULT.

#### 458. so that . . . , so . . . that.

akurəman muyərə bərči bo'm ke i'ne i'te bərtsum ga'hi ho'le atu'ušo bom *she was so obedient to her husband that she never departed from his instructions.* 34.8.

ækil' yaški atawasa ba ke da je u'ne guvi ba se'γam *I have not remained thus worthy that I may again say: "I am your son".* 373.8.

In these examples *ke* appears to be the Persian Hindustani *kih*.

In sentences of the type of:

"he had broken his leg so that he was unable to walk",  
*so that* would probably be rendered by: *i'tertsum, gute gane* owing to this, or some such expression.

### VIII. CONCESSION.

#### 459. though.

This type of clause does not appear to exist. "Though he was old, he was wise" would probably be rendered: "He was old, but (nevertheless) he was wise".

### ADJECTIVAL CLAUSES and CLAUSE-EQUIVALENTS.

460. In the absence of any regular Relative Pronouns, adjectival clauses are rendered by a participial construction of one kind or another. The Static Participle most often serves this purpose. The following are examples of its use:

#### Static Participle.

##### 1. Intransitive.

mu ya're walum i'ne gya's yər mu'ltsum du'sum i'ne i'ne lap etimi  
*the now-fallen infant put in its mouth the one earlier-emerged*

*from her belly, i.e. the infant who was now born put in its mouth the infant who had previously come to birth.* 110.4.  
 uʔ u·miši·ndo yər ni·mišo pəvdša ɛ·rəršutsum . . . uyər di.usimi  
 (du·simi?) *he came out ahead of those 6 sons-in-law of the king who had gone on ahead.* 124.4.

## 2. Transitive.

*Active:*

šū·a xidmat etum sis məru aiye·čə·n *they do not make men who have done good service wash for gold.* 348.11.  
 hukum etimi yu·gušents utsu·m uʔ ɛ·rəršuər *he gave orders to those sons-in-law of his who had married his daughters.* 120.21.

*Passive:*

i·nɛ senum i·tɛ bultsər do·šqaltuman *they arrived at the spring which had been spoken of by him.* 128.5.  
 tsu·man G. M. M. Δər padša o·tsum me·rma·ni *they carried off to G. M. M. the present sent by the King.* 168.15.

In these and similar cases, however, it is impossible to be sure that the participle is used with a passive and not an active sense, e.g.

uyo·nɛ uʔlji i·nɛ Δšdər dɛ·lum i·nɛ hir yetsuman *all saw in dreams the man who had slain the dragon, or the man by whom the dragon had been slain.* 284.8.

## 3. The Static Participle in some instances apparently qualifies a noun with which it has no direct logical connection. The English equivalent is a clause introduced by a relative pronoun in the locative case, or by "where".

o·sum dišulo bə·re.i bai.i. api o·sum dišulo *he looks (for it) in the put place, i.e. in the place in which he had put it. It is not in the place in which he had put it.* 166.20.

Δlqaše ja au.u ɛ·sqanum i·tɛ dišər namatsun (I), *taking you away to the place where Alqash killed my father.* 80.21. Cp. 40.21, 82.7.

## 4. Reference must be made to the use of the Static Participles of Intransitive verbs with the suffix -AN as the equivalents of

relative clauses. Examples are almost wholly confined to the St. Pc.s of the verb "to be": bAMAN, biman, biluman, bitsuman.

u'e mĕrakavulo bAMAN uyo'ntĕe yami *it struck all those who were present in the court.* 172.8.

i'ne ke kir'ts bimanate ba'n etimi *and he kissed (on) its (every) joint that there was, i.e. he kissed it on all its limbs.* 92.16.

For other examples v. § 389.

Forms without the -AN, bim, bilum are also employed in a similar way, cp. 68.22, 90.23.

I have noted only a few instances of the same use of the suffix -AN with other verbs:

dyu.ĀSUMAN čap ke šāpik Baltitĕr . . . dišAM *he used to bring back to Baltit the meat and bread that remained over.* 208.9. Cp. 212.14.

Also: uyAMAN kurtsimuts. 88.6.

461. There is some warrant for supposing that, as in English, a finite clause may be treated as a relative one:

u'ne gu'lji yet'sa je čAya etiš aya'maiyAM *I am unable to tell the dream (which) you have seen.* 72.3.

Here yet'sa is either the 2nd. sg. perf. or the short form of the 2nd. sg. pret.

Other instances are uncertain as the 1st. sg. of the St. Pc. and of the pret. are indistinguishable:

u'ne baba'r ja go'yenam gute haiyen tsu *take to your father this token given by me to you, or this token I have given you.* 136.15.  
Cp. 60.12, 62.21, 72.11.

NOTE. In one or two cases in the 1st. and 2nd. persons singular alternative forms with -AM and -UM have been recorded. Too much reliance must not be placed on these, as the difference between unstressed -AM and -UM is slight and at the time when I recorded them I was not alive to their significance. If they are correct they represent the difference between active and passive constructions. So:

je ti'l a'lAM (or, a'lUM) i'te čAya u'ŋ a'r eti *tell me the story (of the dream) I have forgotten, or, (the dream) forgotten by me.* 72.3.

In the second example above goyenum for goyenam, where aʎam, goyenam are 1st. sg. St. Pc. active, or 1st. sg. Pret., and aʎum, goyenum are 3rd. sg. St. Pc. passive agreeing with čaʎa and haiyen.

Similarly in the second person :

uʎe senam (or, senum) juwan ne . . . ditsaʎn *we have brought him in the way you had said, or, as said by you.* 78.24.

#### 462. The Infinitive form.

##### 1. Transitive: as agent.

iʎe muʎulo čaʎamiŋ etas ine giyaʎs . . . muʎtsum duʎsin hoʎpa . . .  
 huruʎtimi *the child who had spoken inside her belly, coming out of her belly sat down outside.* 110.2.

kintse besan ke thaiyaʎs api *there is nothing that will have any effect on him.* 110.10. Cp. 40.12, 76.13.

##### 2. As Passive Participle. (?)

ma iʎe senas čaʎa ʎalət dumai.ʎjaʎn *you mis-hear the thing that is said by him, or, the thing that he says.* 128.12.

ja senas bər padšaʎr ɛʎsu.in *tell the king the thing said by me, or, that I have said.* 76.23.

##### 3. As in the case of the Static Participle, the Infinitive form may be brought into relation with a noun with which it has no logical connection :

čumo dumanas diš *the place where the fish are born.* 108.14.

buʎa ikači.ʎas iʎte tərker iʎtsumo *she carried him to the byre where the cows are shut up.* 108.23,

gu.iʎras guntʎs diʎmi *your dying-day has come, i.e. the day on which you are to die.* 50.6. Cp. 76.13, 164.5, 290.4.

#### 463. The Indefinite Relative used adjectivally.

The Indefinite Relative (v. § 186) may supply the equivalent of an adjectival clause :

amin gu.i'e goxakin goyerum bo ke i'te . . . tsil inemur muči  
*whichever daughter-in-law is dear to you, give her the water, i.e.  
 give the water to the daughter-in-law who is dearest to you.* 106.20.  
 Cp. 298.1, 314.7, 366.3, 372.3, 372.14.

### NOUN CLAUSES.

464. Noun clauses considered from the point of view of English idiom may be classified as follows:

1. Dependent Statements: expressing  
*that something is, was etc.*
2. Dependent Commands: expressing  
*that something shall, or should be.*
3. Dependent Questions: introduced by an  
*interrogative word.*
4. Dependent Exclamations: introduced by an  
*exclamatory word.*

In Burushaski clauses that can be expressed in the actual words of the subject of the principal verb are expressed in the Oratio Recta, followed commonly by the participle *nusen saying*.

This applies where the principal verb is a verb of "SAYING" or "THINKING" and includes all Dependent Commands. No Dependent Exclamation has been recorded:

padša samba etimi besan Yunikiš duro'wan etuman nusen *the king*  
*thought, saying: "what evil action have we done?"*

In English we should say: *the king wondered whether he had done some evil action, or, wondered what evil action he had done.*

uyo'ne ka't etuman ki'ne mene ke aye'sqaiyan . . . nusen *they all*  
*made agreement saying: "None of us will kill this fellow, i.e. they*  
*all agreed that none of them would kill him".* 262.8.

ni'n bəre'nin o'suman *they said to them: "go and see", i.e. they*  
*told them to go and see.*

465. Very few Dependent Statements have been recorded in Burushaski. It is unfortunate that we do not know the equivalents for the English: "I know that he has come", "I wished that he would





kote gaš be.uruman bila ke ja ake'ya ba *I do not know how much the price of this is.* 58.21. Cp. 62.7.

yeñiñ bila api ke ja ake'ya ba *I do not know whether it is or is not gold.* 62.3. Cp. 38.12.

B. J. tsum doγarus — balašu.ε ba'š he.i bai.i — bese te'i mai.i bi.ε ke *ask B. J. — he understands the speech of birds — why they are (behaving) thus.* 96.5, 8.

Other examples: 38.4, 42.17, 106.10.

It will be noted that the verb in the dependent clauses is usually followed by ke. In the following the dependent clause has merely the interrogative enclitic particle -a.

u'ŋ gutε ja'r 'aso badša be zailaŋe ku'li 'atiw'eše.a *tell me this — whether the king will not in any way escape?* 38.22.

See also similar examples in § 340 a. & d.

### REPORTED SPEECH.

468. Reported speech, whether it is statement, question or command, is always expressed in Oratio Recta. The quotation is frequently followed by the Past Pc. Act. of *senas*, viz. *nusen*, *nuse*.

Buzur Jamhurər 'esuman "Abdul Mutalibe i'en dimanimi" nuse *they said to B. J. saying: "A son of A. M. has been born", i.e. they told B. J. that a son had been born to A. M.* 90.18.

i'ne dasinmutsum doγarusumi: "se dasin, kole bes duko'wa?" mo'simi *he enquired of the girl: "O girl why have you come here?" he said to her, i.e. he asked her why she had come there.* 282.5.

padša hukəm etimi "Alqadaŋe tili.εŋ 'e'igin" nuse *the king commanded saying: "Saddle Alqash", i.e. the king gave orders that they should saddle A.* 78.21.

padša hukəm etimi hin sisanər "nuko'n Buzur Jamhurər 'ju' eso". *the king gave orders to a man (saying): "going, say to B. J. 'come'", i.e. the king commanded a man to go and tell B. J. to come.* 76.1.

### The ORDER of WORDS in the SENTENCE.

**469.** The arrangement of words in the Burushaski sentence is liable to considerable variation. The main fixed principle is that a finite verb is placed at the end of the sentence or clause to which it belongs. In this position it may be followed by the particle *ke*, and the negative *be?* (*or not*).

Even this general rule is occasionally infringed.

Reported Speech frequently follows the introductory verb when the latter is *senas*, *duγarusas*, *hukum etas* etc. The verb *\*-asas*, however, follows its speech. Cp. last example above.

In other cases, in the texts, where a word is added after the finite verb, it is probably an afterthought to make good an omission or to remove a possible ambiguity, e.g.

*gau etin A. M.ər*                      *call (him i.e.) Abdul Mutalib.*

*tsan se.ibai senimi padša*      "*he speaks truly*" *he (i.e. the king) said.*

**470.** I. In sentences containing an *Intransitive Verb* the typical arrangement is:

Subject.	Predicate. (Noun or adjective.)	Verb.
1. <i>kin</i> <i>this-person</i>	<i>maper</i> <i>old (or old man)</i>	<i>imanai.i.</i> <i>has-become.</i>
2. <i>(ja) erik</i> <i>my-name</i>	<i>Munulum Da·do</i> <i>M. D.</i>	<i>bila.</i> <i>is.</i>
3. <i>kursimuts</i> <i>the-chairs</i>	<i>γeniše</i> <i>of-gold</i>	<i>maimi.ε.</i> <i>will-be.</i>

II. In sentences containing a *Transitive Verb* the typical arrangement is:

Subject.	Indirect Object.	Direct Object.	Verb.
1. <i>fəra·je</i> <i>the-steward</i>	—	<i>gu·r</i> <i>wheat</i>	<i>iγunimi.</i> <i>to-him-gave.</i>
2. —	<i>u·nər</i> <i>to-you</i>	<i>hik traŋ</i> <i>a half</i>	<i>gučičam.</i> <i>to-you-I-shall-give.</i>
3. <i>yu·se</i> <i>his-wife</i>	<i>er</i> <i>for-him</i>	<i>pfitimuts (er)</i> <i>cakes-of-bread (for-him)</i>	<i>o·tumo</i> <i>them-made.</i>

III. But the relative position of the Indirect and Direct Objects is unstable, as the Direct Object frequently takes precedence, and where it does not, the Indirect Object is frequently repeated after it as in No. 3 above and No. 4 below:

Direct Object.	Indirect Object.	Verb.
1. jakunε go·ko <i>the donkey-foal</i>	ja·r <i>to-me</i>	jo. <i>to-me-give.</i>
2. gutε εΔγα <i>this story</i>	menər <i>to-anyone</i>	ayeti. <i>do not-tell.</i>
3. i·nε <i>him</i>	a·r <i>to me</i>	ditsu. <i>bring him.</i>
4. γεναη A. Mutalibər <i>gold to A. M.</i>	mirma·ni e·r <i>a-present to-him</i>	εtimi. <i>he-made.</i>

IV. Apart from the apparently accidental cases mentioned above in which additions are made after the finite verb, a number of cases occur in which the order: Subject — Predicative Noun etc. etc. and Subject — Direct Object is reversed:

Kisər jε ba	<i>I am Kiser.</i>
ja au.u Pisankutε εsqanuman	<i>the people of Pisan slew my father.</i>
i·sε pfu·t jε ma·r di.ušam	<i>I shall get that demon out for you.</i>

The effect of such disturbances of the normal order must of course be to throw emphasis on some element in the sentence, though it is not always clear which.

471. So far we have dealt with the sentence only in its simplest forms, we have now to consider the cases where it is complicated by the presence of qualifying elements. These are of two kinds:

the Attribute: an adjective or adjective-equivalent.

the Adjunct: an adverb or adverb-equivalent.

i. The *attribute* immediately precedes the noun or pronoun which it qualifies.

The two words uyo·n *all* and o·ltalik *both* follow the noun. They are in fact probably pronouns used in apposition with it.

Where the attribute consists of more than one component the normal order of the different types of adjectives appears to be:

Possessive, Demonstrative, Numeral, Others.

ja gute hiŋ sam      *this door and smoke-hole of mine.*  
guse han balasane han ise'r se.ibi      *this one bird is saying to  
that one.*

guyumo ałtan isken goyerumišo guyu      *your two or three beloved sons.*

- ii. Where there is a *static participle* or *infinitive* corresponding to an English relative clause (v. § 460) it usually precedes a demonstrative adjective, but the demonstrative may be expressed both before and after it:

i'ne senum i'te bultsər      *to the spring mentioned by him.*  
gute u'ŋe senum gute duro etuma ke      *if you did this thing  
mentioned by you.*

- iii. The order given above is liable to variation.

paiγambəre kinə i'      *this son of the prophet.*

(ki'ne paiγambəre i' would mean *this prophet's son* or *this son-of-a-prophet*. But apart from this, paiγambəre may be regarded as a Possessive Genitive).

kot ja ha de'urin      *knocking down this house of mine.*  
γunikiš yerum i'te batər nikin      *entering into that former ugly  
skin (of his).*

472. i. The *adjunct* similarly precedes the word or words to which it refers. Where the connection with a specific word is intimate it immediately precedes it, as in the case of an adverb qualifying an adjective:

burt uyum hir bai.i      *he is a very great man.*  
aki'l uyum padša'n      *so great a king.*  
i'ne giya's ixatsum ho'lə wešimi      *he spewed the infant out of  
his mouth.*  
i'n ke čaratum xau walimi      *he likewise fell down from the cliff.*  
guke ta.očiŋ ke ifaγo sandu'qulo o's      *put these legwrappers and  
stick in the box.*

- ii. Where, however, the adjunct is not so closely related to one particular word it is allowed great latitude of position.

Adverbs and adverb-equivalents are frequently placed at the commencement of the sentence or clause. That is the normal position of *ho*, *teʾrumanər*, and *iteʾtsum*.

*dakiʾl zailaṭe tale deʾnulo šapik hanikulo ati.usimi* *in this way*  
*for seven years the food did not remain in the dish.*

*muʾto Xaibər Bārē Danulo Čil Gazi.e huruʾtas diš čərulo bila*  
*at the present day C. G.'s dwelling place is in the cliff in*  
*Bārē Dan at Khaiber.*

*hikulto han hirane huyesan tis manimi* *one day a man's goat*  
*went missing.*

*Hunzulo yər ne dastuʾr bilum* *it was formerly the custom in Hunza.*  
*paiyambəre kine iʾ dimanum guntsalo ja ke eʾiyen dimanai.i* *on the*  
*day that this son of the prophet was born, a son of mine was also born.*

*tsor gəroʾnimutsum axoʾne tala doyarušai.i* *the akhund first quietly*  
*enquires of the bride.*

- iii. *Interrogative words* are generally attached to the predicate, i.e. their position is so far fixed that they do not precede the subject if it is expressed, and where possible they appear to be excluded from the first place in the sentence:

*ja Kiser amulo bai.i?* *where is my Kiser?*

*kin amulum ditsuma?* *from where did you bring him?*

*gute duʾro je beləṭe ečam?* *how shall I do this?*

*uʾṅ . . . kinər beše akiʾl izzat er etuma?* *why did you do such*  
*honour to this (child)?*

*je beše juča ba?* *why should I come?*

*gute duʾro bešelmutsom etum bila?* *since when has this been done?*

473. In Burushaski sentences which are in their nature complex are built up either:

- i. by the combination of participles and infinitives with a finite verb.
- ii. by the combination of a subordinate clause, or clauses, and a principal clause.
- iii. by a combination of the two preceding systems.



## NOTES on NAGIRI BURUSHASKI.

§ 474.

474. The following notes are based on material collected by my wife (EOL) in the summer of 1921 from Gushpūr Mahbūb 'Ali Khān, then the second living son, now the eldest surviving son of the Mir of Nagir.

I did not myself touch the language till 1924, and EOL approached it without any previous knowledge or anything to guide her, as she was not in possession of Biddulph's and Leitner's writings. Her work therefore has the merit of being entirely independent and unprejudiced.

In the short time at her command EOL obtained a very comprehensive, and, in the light of later knowledge, accurate view of the main features of the language. Naturally her material is not exhaustive and the lack of texts, or of anything but very simple sentences, makes it impossible to judge of the syntactical side of the language in all its aspects.

Her method of transcription differs from that later adopted by myself and it is not always easy to correlate her vowels with mine e.g. her *i* with my *i* and *ɪ*. On the whole she is more generous with long marks for vowels than I am.

I have not attempted here to take account of the material supplied by Biddulph and Leitner, which in both cases is derived from Nagiri sources. It contains a large proportion of Shina words and Leitner appears to me to be frequently wrong in the "genders" which he assigns to his nouns. With him, or his informant, the

x and y plural endings were not apparently differentiated, but were used indiscriminately<sup>1</sup>.

This might indicate that Nagiri had lost the x and y sense which still survives in Hunza, but this is contradicted by the fact that Bidulph's and still more EOL's inanimate m and f categories, and their assignment to them of the plural endings correspond in the great majority of cases with my own Hunza x and y categories and endings.

Leitner has provided much information, but in my opinion it can only be relied on, in regard to any particular point, where it can be corroborated from other sources.

### PHONETICS.

#### 475. Vowels.

There are differences which are probably subjective and due to the idiosyncrasies of the recorders.

a) Thus EOL uses æ frequently where I have Δ, a, or ε. So in:

-æŋ	N. y pl.	Hz. -Δŋ, -εŋ.
gæn	<i>road</i>	gΔn.
æpi	<i>is not</i>	api.
phærtsin	<i>cap</i>	pfertsin, pfartsin.
gæški	<i>rope</i>	gΔšk.
yære	<i>down</i>	ya're.

and many others.

b) In some words Nagiri o appears for Hz. u, u.

N. oyo'n	<i>all</i>	Hz. uyo'n.
do'nΔs	<i>to seize</i>	du'nΔs.
doro	<i>work</i>	du'ro.
do'so'kΔs	<i>to get down</i>	du'so'kΔs
gonektš	<i>bad</i>	γuniktš.
gono	<i>seed</i>	γuno
go'mur	<i>hole</i>	γumur, γumo'r.

Generally speaking, however, the vowel systems are the same.

<sup>1</sup> B., L. and EOL all call my x "masculine" and my y "feminine", but EOL observed that this terminology was unsatisfactory and misleading and recommended that some non-committal terms should be devised.



c) The Pronoun Prefixes + \*-Δ result in the same forms as in Hunza.

Thus: gu + Δ > go.

i + Δ > ε.

u + Δ > o.

But the 1st. sg. a- does not as a rule combine with a following i or u.

Thus:

N. æi	<i>my son</i>	Hz. e'i.
a'ik	<i>my name</i>	e'ik.
a'ivl	<i>my lip</i>	e'v.
a'ivřa ba	<i>I am dying</i>	e'vřa ba.
a'u'v	<i>my belly</i>	o'v.
a'us	<i>my wife</i>	o's.
a'u'tis	<i>my foot</i>	o'tis.
a'uyər	<i>my husband</i>	o'yər.
ja'v	<i>give to me</i>	jo.
ulanΔs	<i>to be able</i>	—
a'ulanΔs	<i>not to be able</i>	—
cp. au-	<i>negative prefix</i>	o'.
ga'un	<i>musk melon</i>	γo'n.
ša'uq	<i>noose</i>	šo'k.

#### 476. Consonants.

- a) N. k- appears for Hz. g- and γ- in.  
 kuse, kute etc. *this* guse, gute.  
 kili *nail, peg* gi'li, but Sh. ki'li.  
 kΔski *girth* γΔski (*trouser-string*).  
 Sh. gΔski *trouser-string*, but  
 kΔsko *girth*.
- b) N. q appears sometimes for Hz. k and vice versa, but this is probably a question of personal judgement.
- N. -x appears for Hz. -q in:
- |     |                    |                 |
|-----|--------------------|-----------------|
| rΔx | <i>wish</i>        | Hz. rΔq, (rΔk). |
| lΔx | <i>bare, naked</i> | lΔq.            |

c) N. g (often marked ḡ) usually takes the place of Hz. initial γ- (g-).

ḡali's	<i>ill</i>	γali's, ḡali'z.
ḡamu	<i>ice</i>	γamu.
ḡandır	<i>crooked</i>	γandır, ḡandır.
ḡani's	<i>gold</i>	γeni's.
ḡi'n	<i>thief</i>	γi'n, ḡi'n.
gutum	<i>deep</i>	γutum.
guyæŋ	<i>hair</i>	γuyæŋ, γoyæŋ.

Medially also in:

haguts	<i>mountain-pass</i>	haguts.
horogo	<i>sweat</i>	huroγo.

d) N. ph usually takes the place of Hz. pf.

We have, however, mafer *elderly*, Hz. map'er.

e) N. intervocalic -b- becomes -w- in sawur *yesterday*, but is on the contrary preserved in the parts of the verb containing parts of *ba* e.g.

N. duko ba	<i>thou hast come</i>	Hz. duko'wa.
delju bai	<i>he strikes</i>	deljai.i.

f) N. -m- appears for -b- in tum'Δq *gun*, Hz. tob'Δk.  
(Cp. Sh. turmak, t'umΔk).

g) N. ž, ž are recorded in žak'un and ḡažam etas *to bite*.  
but j and j appear to be the usual sounds.

h) No peculiar l is recorded corresponding to Werchikwar l.

#### 477. Cerebrals or Post-Alveolars.

š is shown and occasionally č and j (ž), e.g.

čiš, ḡajati, juvas.

The plural ending is frequently written -išo.

t and d are only noted once or twice: idi'm *trunk of tree*.  
(i.e. \*-ḡim).

What I now represent in Hz. as y is represented in the Nagiri material as R. It was noted that this sign was provisional and more or less arbitrary pending more exact phonetic determination,

and that R appeared to be akin to French *r grassyée* and also to  $\gamma$  but identical with neither.

The records of the occurrence of this sound closely agree, but it is given in some Nagiri words where I did not note it in their Hz. counterparts:

N. di·RYANUM *old (of clothes) worn out* Hz. di·YANUM.  
girritum "fine" YIRYITUM *soft.*

But from Nz. I recorded YIRIRIT, GIRIRIT.

ŠERIŠUM *smooth* ŠIYIŠUM, ŠIYIŠUM.

It is also suggested in: gi·(R)AS, gu·(R)AS and espu·(R)AS.

478. **Aspirates.** Except for *ph* and a few *th*, aspirates are not recorded.

*ph* as a rule stands for my Hz. *pf*.

#### 479. Consonantal Combinations.

There is perhaps a tendency to simplify certain consonantal combinations, or to favour the simpler of two alternatives:

N. du·stak, du·stak	beside	Hz. du·stak.
destΔAS		dest(s)ΔAS,
ΔtAS, ΔtATS		alta·ts.
gosil		gots·il.
ba·kinš		ba·kinč (-tš).
gATenš, YATE·nč		YATE·nč.
ha·lANS		hAlANTS.
*-ltANS		*-ltANTS.
*-du·mus		*-dumuts, *-dumus.

In the first two examples the second *s* is probably really intrusive and the presence or absence of *t* between *n* and *s*, *š* is liable to be a matter of individual opinion.

In any case such reductions are not carried out systematically, cp.:

N. -i·nts, -muts, hu·nts, phu·nts, gAčANč, and girkits in spite of girkis.

Hz. \*-ΔtIRAS *to show to s.o.* is recorded as \*-ΔtIRAS, perhaps in error.

## NOUNS.

480. The categories and the correspondence with them of the plural endings seem generally to agree with what has been recorded of Hz. There are a few discrepancies in the allocation of individual nouns to the x and y categories, but these are very rare where the plural endings are given. It is more reasonable to attribute them to errors and misunderstandings than to any radical difference in theory or practice. It must however be mentioned that three plural forms are given for the common word \*-utis *foot*, viz. \*-u'tišo, \*-u'ti'nts and \*-u'tiŋ, of which the first two are x forms and the last y, as in Hz.

The grammatical effects of the categories are the same in Nagiri as in Hz. v. § 20.

There are differences in the plural endings attributed to nouns within the same category, but this is natural, as latitude undoubtedly exists and IYB often hesitated in giving a plural form, or gave alternatives.

## 481. Number.

A few plural endings are characteristic of N. as compared with Hz. The most important are the x endings -i'nts and -a'i'nts, -e'i'nts. Thus:

N. haγuri'nts	<i>horses</i>	Hz. haγurišo.
šapiki'nts	<i>pieces of bread</i>	šapikuts.
yenavi'nts, yenuŋo	<i>handles</i>	yena'nts.
du.a'i'nts	<i>kids</i>	duwants.
urka'i'nts	<i>wolves</i>	urkai.i.

There are differences in the plurals of some of the commonest words:

hir	N. hirika'nts	Hz. hiri	<i>men.</i>
gus	gušiyants	gušija'nts	<i>women.</i>
*-i	*-yu'w'a	*-yu	<i>sons.</i>

The suffixes -an and -ik are employed in the same way as

in Hz., but to judge from the examples -ik is more generally used in N. than in Hz.

The curious alternative plural in Hz. for γi'n *thief*, viz. γiyan, is also recorded in N. giyæn.

#### 482. Case.

The case-endings agree substantially with Hz., but in the sample declension of *hir* there are the following:

<i>dat.</i>	-ir (-ir?)	sg.	hirir	pl.	hirikantsir.
<i>abl.</i>	-itsum, -um		hiritsum		hirikantsum.

The forms for *gus woman* are:

<i>dat.</i>	gusmur	gušiyentsir.
<i>abl.</i>	gusmutsum	gušiyentsum.

In other words, however, ending in consonants we find -er and -tsum and these may be taken as the normal inflections for nouns.

The *dat.* ending -erε, -re which is the rule with the pronouns appears to be rare with nouns.

The other case-endings and postpositions recorded agree with those of Hz.

-Δε,	-Δτε,	-tσε (once),	-ulu, -ulo.
*-Δpači,	pači,	həræŋ,	gane, i'ljī.
ka	yærε,	*-yekal,	yer.

-Δŋε appears as -iŋye in daniŋye Δsi'r *near the stone.*  
as -iŋε in ikəriŋε *of oneself.*

xa (kha) appears as xat.

Examples are given of the use of *ka* to indicate human instrumentality:

thamε ine usta'dε ka ha'n ε'timi *the Mir made his builder build a house.*

thamε umε ka ha'n go'timi *the Mir made you build a house.*

The idiom, if correctly translated, is difficult to analyse.

## ADJECTIVES.

483. A number of plural forms varying for *x* and *y* have been recorded:

saŋ	<i>light, bright</i>	pl. <i>x</i>	saŋišo	<i>y</i>	saŋičaŋ.
therk	<i>dirty</i>	pl. <i>h</i> & <i>x</i>	therki'nts		therkiŋ.
tsaŋ	<i>straight</i>		tsana'ivnts.		

There are a few peculiar forms:

daltas	<i>fine</i>	pl. <i>x</i> & <i>y</i>	daltasako.
uyum	<i>big</i>		oyoko(ik).
jut	<i>small</i>	<i>x</i>	juturko.
bærdum	<i>red</i>		bærjæko.
čat	<i>short</i>		čat'uyo'ko.
bi'y'enum	<i>thin</i>		bi'y'eya'ko.

Similarly: tar'enum.

t'anum	<i>tall</i>		t'ayoko.
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Similarly: gus'anum.

A few adjectives borrowed from Shina have *-o* and *-i* for the *hm* and *hf* sg. respectively:

aša'to	aša'ti	<i>weak.</i>
ji'no	ji'ni	<i>alive.</i>
šati'lu	šati'li	<i>strong.</i>

For the plural, *-muts* is added to each of these.

## 484. PRONOUNS.

The **Personal Pronouns** are practically the same as in Hz.

N. has *um* *thou*, instead of Hz. *u'ŋ*, *u'n*.

The dat. suffix is generally *-ere*, *-re*.

ja're, umere, inere, but inemur.

mi'mere, ma'mere, u're.

## 485. Prefixal Pronouns.

The prefixal pronouns are identical with Hz. When used independently with the dative suffix they appear as:

a're	g'ure	ere,	mo're.
mere	ma're	o're.	

With \*-aka and \*-apači they resemble Hz. in the sg. except mupači for moṛpači.

In the plural, and also optionally in the singular, they are replaced by the non-prefixal pronouns with ka and pači. Thus:

mi·ka	u·eka;	miṛpači,	u·eṛpači.
ja·ka	umeka;	jaṛpači,	umeṛpači.

#### 486. The Demonstratives.

The forms in use are:

h	x	y	
kine	kuse	kute	<i>this (one).</i>
ku.e	kutse	kuke	<i>these (ones).</i>
ine	ese	ete	<i>that (one).</i>
u·e	etse	eke	<i>those (ones).</i>

#### 487. The Corroborative Pronouns.

The double forms as in Hz.:

ji·e.i	gugu.i	i·i·	mu·mu·i.
mi·mi	ma·ma·i	u·u·i	

#### 488. The Possessive Adjectives.

As in Hz.

je·mo	<i>my</i>	gu.i·mo,	i·mo	etc.
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#### 489. The Reflexive Pronouns.

We find \*-kər as in Hz., but the 1st. sg. is ji·kər.

ja ji·k'ər	dəlam	<i>I hit myself.</i>
ja ji·k'ərə	gəne	<i>for myself.</i>

Also, however, a·kər in

ja a·k'ərɪŋə	sənəm	<i>I said to myself.</i>
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#### 490. Indefinite and Interrogative Pronouns and Adjectives.

The following forms have been recorded:

mən,	mənən,	meni·k	(-er, -tsum).
amin,	amis,	amit;	men(ik), amits, amik;
tuman	(one more);	je.ib	(another person, etc.)
besən	what?	besəne gəne	wherefore?

(Also the adverb bes? *why?*)

## 491. Quantitative Pronouns and Adjectives.

be·ruman	how many?
o·yo'n	all.

## 492. Relative Pronouns.

Equivalents are supplied by idioms with the Static Participle and Noun Agent.

## 493. Numerals.

The forms of the *Cardinals* agree closely with those recorded for Hz.

The h form of 3	is iske.
x        "        2	„ Altats.
10 by itself	is to·rumo.
in the numbers 11, 12	etc. it is turma.
20	is given as Alth'er.
100	„ tha.

The use of h x y and z forms coincide, as far as recorded, with that in Hz.

once	} etc. are given as hik daman, alto daman, iski daman, walti daman etc.
twice	
thrice	

*Fractions:*

tran	one half;	trantsum tran	one quarter.
alto bægo	two thirds;	iski bægo	three fourths.

The *Ordinals* are as follows:

1st.	awa'lum	8th.	Altambi'lum.
2nd.	alto'lum	9th.	hunti'lum.
3rd.	iski'lum	10th.	torimi'lum.
4th.	walti'lum	11th.	turma hi·kulum.
5th.	tsindi'lum	12th.	turma alto'lum.
6th.	miši'ndi'lum	20th.	Altheri'lum.
7th.	tal'elum	21st.	Altherhi·kulum.



## VERBS.

494. As far as the Nagiri material goes it appears to support what has been given in §§ 210—247 in regard to the formation of the Present Base and of the Transitive and Causative verbs.

The same distinctions as in Hz. hold good in Nagiri in the use of the verbs:

	gΔΛS	and	yΔΛS.
	d*-tsΔS	„	dusu'yΔS.
	ši.ΔS	šu.ΔS	še'yΔS.
	*-či.ΔS	*-uyΔS	*-(Δ)γO'nΔS (Hz. *-(Δ)γUNΔS).
and probably of	giyΔS	and	guyΔS.

## 495. The Prefixal Pronouns.

The pronominal prefixes are used in the same way as in Hz. The distinction between \*- and \*-Δ forms is generally observable, and the latter appear in the causative forms as in Hz.

With the verb \*-či.ΔS *to give*, when the Indirect Object is the 1st. sg., dΔ- is prefixed instead of jΔ-. V. § 255.

Thus:

dΔči'yΔS: (ja're) tsil dΔči'čubai, dΔčimi, dΔči.  
*to give to me; he gives, he gave, give, water to me.*

With \*-uyΔS in the same circumstances, instead of the Hz. jO'yΔS, N. has ja'uyΔS e.g.

šΔpik ja'učubai *he gives me bread.*

This is only the characteristic non-coalescence of a + u.

From \*-yetsΔS the form yo'tsuma (for Hz. uyetsuma), *thou hast seen them*, has twice been recorded, but otherwise ayets, muyets, uyets *see me, her, them.*

## 496. Inflexion.

a) The general system of inflexion is the same as in Hz., but there are a few special forms of the verb *ba* which are of importance.

Pres. 3rd. sg. y di'la Past 3rd. sg. y di'lum.

3rd. pl. x bi'o 3rd. pl. x bi'um (bi'm).

The corresponding negative forms are:

Pres. sg. æpi pl. æpi'o.

Past sg. ʌpi'm pl. ʌpi'um.

Very few x and y 3rd. pers. forms of other verbs have been recorded, but we have of x forms:

a'me'n ʌxulji bi, a'xulji bi'm *my tooth is hurting me, was hurting me.*

me bi, mani bi, mani bi'm *is becoming, has become, had become.*  
eči bi *is making.*

yen'e.i'nts gali'mi.o *the handles broke.*

Of y forms: mani di'la *has become.*

- b) The conjugation of the various types of verbs of which examples are given in §§ 274—310 is in the main the same in Nagiri as in Hz.

The forms of the verb *ba* occurring in the Present, Imperfect, Perfect, Pluperfect are, however, preserved intact in all the parts of those tenses. So:

N. idelju ba	<i>thou art beating him.</i>	Hz. idelja.
idelju bai	<i>he is beating him.</i>	ideljai.
u'e mudelu bʌm	<i>they had beaten her.</i>	mudelʌm.

In the Future there have been recorded only forms without -m-, except in the 1st. and 2nd. sg. (ideljʌm, ideljuma).

Thus the 1st., 2nd., 3rd. pl. h is ideljən.

In the Preterite, on the other hand, only the -m- forms have been recorded.

The Imperative and the few -š (-š) forms recorded call for no comment.

- c) The Participles have not in general been recorded. Of Past Participles Active we have:

From \*-šivras to deprive s.o. of s.t. nišivri and nu'mušivri.

Here there is a loss of final -n (nišivrin etc.). (So in Hz. Nz. gave di'ni for di'nin and deni for denin).

From basas to settle down, etc. nupas ju'in "come slowly".

d) A number of Static Participle forms of the 1st. and 3rd. sg. and of the 3rd. pl. are given in illustration of how the lack of Relative Pronouns is made good:

sawur dumom ine gus kine bo      *this is the woman who came yesterday.*

So also 3rd. sg. m. dim.  
3rd. pl. h. dumišo.

Similarly from d\*-tsas:

1st. sg. ditsam and dutsam.

Other forms: 1st. sg. etam, yetsam, muyetsam,  
yu'yam, muyam.

3rd. sg. senum.

The Infinitive and Noun Agent forms are as is Hz.

### THE NEGATIVE & INTERROGATIVE.

497. The Negative is indicated by prefixing:

1. a-,  $\Delta$ -,  $\text{æ}$ - } to the verb.  
or, 2. au-

au- probably corresponds to the Hz. o.

- |                               |  |                                       |                           |
|-------------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. $\Delta$ pi, $\text{æ}$ pi | <i>is not.</i>                               | 2. au $\Delta$ astal                  | <i>don't wake me.</i>     |
| ai. $\epsilon$ tas            | <i>not to do.</i>                            | au d'e.i                              | <i>don't make him</i>     |
| a'i. $\epsilon$ ti            | <i>don't do it.</i>                          |                                       | <i>stand up.</i>          |
| a'i(y) $\epsilon$ ča ba       | <i>I am not doing it.</i>                    | au diye                               | <i>don't stand up.</i>    |
| ai.a'ti                       | <i>don't make me.</i>                        | au dego'ni                            | <i>raw(?) of fruit.</i>   |
| ai.o'ti                       | <i>don't make them.</i>                      | au di'ri                              | <i>raw i.e. not hav-</i>  |
| ai(y)a'xuli                   | <i>don't hurt me.</i>                        |                                       | <i>ing (been) cooked.</i> |
| ai(y) $\epsilon$ xuli         | <i>don't hurt him.</i>                       | *- $\Delta$ s augusu'yas              | <i>not to be afraid.</i>  |
| ai(y) $\epsilon$ yal          | <i>don't make him break it.</i>              | but, $\epsilon$ s ai. $\epsilon$ gusu | <i>don't frighten</i>     |
| a'ul $\Delta$ as              | <i>not to be able.</i>                       |                                       | <i>him.</i>               |
| $\Delta$ ken                  | <i>don't know (hen<math>\Delta</math>s).</i> | auyal                                 | <i>don't break it.</i>    |

The Interrogative is marked by -a suffixed to the verb as in Hz.

## ADVERBS.

498. There are a few variant adverb forms:

Δmuli	where?	ji'mden	tomorrow.
Δmuli'm	whence?	kute (ετε) ki'η	this (that) side.
Δmuli'ε	whither?	kul'e.i	here.
εl'e.i, Δl'e.i	there.	kulemo	hence.
εlemo	thence.	kulere	hither.
εlere	thither.	also kulu	here, cp. hulu (and
iti il'e.i	over there		Hz. aku'lo?).
hulu (niyΔs)	(to go) out,	kute qa'siηər	up till now (Hz. xa'siηər).
but also ho'le	outside.	Δawu'r	yesterday.

## VOCABULARY.

499. Such Nagiri words as have not been recorded in Hz., or which differ in form or meaning from the Hz. equivalents, are mentioned in the Vocabulary.

Here it will only be necessary to comment on a few of them. The form a'u'yaba "I have got thirsty" is doubtless to be explained as the 1st. sg. perf. of \*-uyΔs or \*-uyai.Δs, to become dry, postulated in § 232. The corresponding Causative is given as εspu'yΔs as well as εspu'yΔs, which strengthens the assumption that all these related verbs have y in them.

N. ul'ΔnΔs, ula'nΔs, to be able to, corresponds in meaning to Hz. \*-ΔmΔnΔs. It takes the dependent verb in the -š form, or in the infinitive.

N. dū.ičo (baba etc.) step-(father etc.). This looks as if it might be a Shina word (-o being a common noun and adjective ending in Shina, and -čo a noun agent suffix), but I cannot trace anything resembling it in my Shina records.

N. gərum hot. The Werchikwar is gəru'm. The Hz. gəru'rum is perhaps due to the influence of čΔyurum, čΔyurum cold.

N. gurkuts pl. gurkučo, frog, corresponds to Hz. yurkun pl. yurkuyo. Perhaps there is something in the fact that -ts appears as the ending of several animal names:

- balats *bird*, girki'ts *rat* (Hz. girkis),  
 Hz. γarkas (probably for γarkats, the pl. being γarkáčo) *lizard*,  
 γokurats *raven*, qarqarmuts *fowl*.
- N. \*-as gusu'yas (Pres. base gusuč-) *to fear, be afraid*.  
 Cs. \*-as \*-agusu'yas *to make fear, frighten*.  
 Biddulph and Leitner give (3rd. sg. in pp.pf. forms):  
 esgusa's and es-egusa's.
- N. j'eib seems to correspond semantically to the Hz. jami'p  
*outsider, other person*, but there is no known parallel to such  
 a phonetic equation.
- N. ti'gan (and ti'g?), pl. ti'gayo, *egg*.  
 Cp. Hz. tiḡan (and tiḡ), pl. tiḡaiyo.  
 Biddulph: tiḡ, pl. -aiyo.  
 Leitner: tiḡ and tigan, pl. tigayo.

## NOTES on THE WERCHIKWĀR DIALECT of YASIN.

§ 500.

500. The following notes, except when otherwise stated, are based solely on material collected by myself. This material was recorded in a few hours and is necessarily quite insufficient to provide a full view of the language.

The notes therefore can only be expected to give a partial view of its features and to summarise what it is possible to deduce from the short texts.

A fuller and admirable survey of Werchikwār has been published by I. I. Zarubin<sup>1</sup> to which reference should be made. It too is admittedly based on incomplete material, which leaves many points of grammar unexplained or unrevealed; but the author has spared himself no pains and has succeeded in furnishing a comprehensive and very valuable exposition of the language far in advance of anything previously published. His vocabulary contains about 600 entries (including loan words and cross-references).

What is here offered in part supplements and in part corroborates Zarubin's work, while the additional knowledge which has been acquired of Burushaski also throws light on certain characteristics of Werchikwār.

The time has not yet come for any final treatment of Werchikwār, but any contribution to our knowledge of it, or any verification of what has already been recorded is not without value.

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<sup>1</sup> Vershikskoe Narechie Kandzhutskogo Yazika. Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov, II, 2. Izd. Akademija Nauk SSSR. Leningrad, 1927, pp. 275—364.

## PHONOLOGY.

501. There does not appear to be any radical difference between the W. and Bu. Phonetic Systems.

There are, however, a few sporadic variations which deserve to be noted:

W.	Bu.	W.	Bu.	
Δ = ɪ, i		in hale's	hile's	<i>boy.</i>
-ai.in(i)	-Δn(i)?	" e'ɣai.ini dɛ'smai'ina dusmai.ini	} v. Vocab. s. vv.	
	-a'n(i)?			
ε = i		„ čen	čin	<i>bird.</i>
		dΔsen	dΔsin	<i>girl.</i>
		hek	hik	<i>1. one, 2. full.</i>
		hen	hin	<i>one.</i>
		nem	nim	<i>gone.</i>
		*-rɛk	*-rik	<i>brother-in-law.</i>
		*-rɛn	*-riŋ	<i>hand.</i>
		ses	sis	<i>persons.</i>
		šɛ'nj	sinč	<i>beam.</i>
		*-(y)ɛk	*-ik	<i>name.</i>
-ur = -i'r		„ Δsu'r	Δsi'r	<i>near.</i>
		hu'ri	hi'ri	<i>men.</i>
		*-yur'as	*-i'r'as	<i>to die.</i>

502. In W. *h* sometimes appears initially, and medially between vowels, where it is not found in Bu.

W.	Bu.	
hi'liki'nas	*-i'li'kinas	<i>to placate (him).</i>
*-hu'lus	*-ulus	<i>woman's brother.</i>
*-hu'tis	*-u'tis	<i>foot.</i>
*-yur'hər	*-uyər	<i>husband.</i>
dohor'as	do'r'as	<i>to fall down.</i>

Other examples are to be found in Zarubin's vocabulary e.g.

W.	Bu.	
duhóni	du•ni(mi)	<i>he laid hold of.</i>
haltó	alto	<i>two.</i>
tiliháng	tili.Δŋ	<i>saddle.</i>

503.  $\underset{1}{l}$ , a peculiar  $\underset{1}{l}$ , occurs in some words in W., e.g. *dulum* it (y sg.) *was*.

I cannot give a scientific description of this sound, but to my ear it frequently appeared somewhat like  $\delta$ .

An identical, or similar,  $\underset{1}{l}$  occurs in Khowar.

I have myself noted no corresponding sound in Burushaski. Cp. § 5.

Zarubin records  $\underset{1}{l}$  in a good many words where I did not notice it:

Cp. *altán*, *hepuŋtu*, *maŋtáš*, *nāl*,

where it may be voiceless  $\underset{1}{l}$ . He is no doubt correct.

In some words he shows it as occurring in some forms and not in others, e.g.

<i>tūmaŋ</i>	<i>ear,</i>	pl. <i>tumaŋing.</i>
<i>avátčum</i>	<i>I shall full,</i>	<i>aváŋta I fell.</i>
<i>valí</i>	<i>he fell.</i>	

504. Other equations are:

W.	Bu.		W.	Bu.	
m =	b	in	tamaŋ	tabaŋ	<i>bridle.</i>
-ŋ	-n	„	*-Δčuko•ŋ	*-Δčukon	<i>man's brother.</i>
rč, } rč(?) }	č, š	„	ε•rčo	ε•čo	<i>his brother.</i>
		„	bərč	bΔš	<i>bridge.</i>
š	s	„	š•ε•ŋj	sinč	<i>beam.</i>

505. There is contraction in one dialect or the other in a few words:

W.	Bu.	
bo•šo	bušo•šo	<i>calf.</i>
tsigir	tsi•r	<i>she-goat.</i>
tsuŋum	tsu•m	<i>heavy.</i>

There seems to be metathesis in *mačukus*, *the middle one*, which is presumably derived from *ma•kuči*, *ma•kučo*.



NOUNS.

506. Nouns are grouped in the same categories as in Bu. Viz. hm, hf, x and y. (V. § 19.)

These produce the same grammatical reactions as in Bu., and are distinguished by their plural endings to the extent that the y endings are distinct from the h and x endings.

The h and x endings are largely common to both categories. x plural endings not occurring in Bu.:

-a,	-ə	hAYUR	horse	pl.	hAYURə.
-mu,	-mo	nyA	bear		nyAMMO.
		šUqa	choga		šUqamo.

As in Bu. final -n is replaced in the plural by -yo.

-muts and -uts have not been recorded.

y pl. endings are characterised by final -ŋ:

-iŋ, -oŋ, -ičAŋ.

A few special forms are:

hir	man	pl.	hurri.
gus	woman		gušič.
dAsen	girl		gušič.ɛŋgi.a.
*-AMİš	finger		*-AMATS.
*-rɛN	hand		*-re'iŋ.
dAN	stone		γoro.
sIND	river		sindɛo.
*-ye	son		*-yu (as in Bu.).
*-A.i	daughter		*-yugišints (Bu. *-yugušants).
*-hu'tis	foot		*-hur'iŋ.

(but hur'tiša has also been recorded, probably meaning "on his feet".)

The suffix of singleness -AN, -ɛN is in common use; the plural -ik ('k) has only been recorded in

hAYUREk horses.

507. Case Inflexion.

Nom. —

Trans. Nom. -e, -ɛ.

Gen.	-e, -ε.
Dat.	-a, -ə; after vowel, -ya.
Abl.	-tsum, -um.
Loc.	<i>in, into</i> -ule, -ule, -ulo.
	<i>from in</i> -ulum.
	<i>on</i> yaṭe, yeṭe, yeṭ (postposition), (tʔ)
	<i>on (?)</i> -tse.
-či	is found in fəla'ni ja'ya či <i>at such and such a place.</i> a'ltumalči . . . qisa du'a <i>there is a story in my</i> <i>ear(s), i.e. I know a story.</i>

Cp. also pači and tseči.

-Δε has not been recorded, but may be present in ha'le *at the house, to the house* etc.

-Δηε is perhaps represented by -ηga, or -ηa in du'stišu'ηga, v. 412.22, Note.

-Δτε is replaced by the full form yaṭe, yeṭe (tʔ) used as a postposition.

Nouns ending in -a dispense with the -e of the Trans. Nom. and Gen. e.g.:

badša seni *the king said.*

badša ye *the king's son.*

For the Dative of hiṅ *door* both hiṅə and h'iṅaya have been recorded.

Bu. \*-Δpači, \*-Δpačər *to* (a person) is represented by

W. \*-Δpai, \*-Δpaiya and pači.

### POSTPOSITIONS.

508. The only unfamiliar one is tseči (-tse + či?) in

ja aiyurum (-am?) tseči *on my dying.* 406.3.

The W. form of the Bu. gaṅε is gandi.

Bu. ka appears as W. ka and is also replaced by W. γərə.

Bu. xa and xa'shiṅər are replaced by W. xa's.

W. həræṅ, i'lji, yækal, ya're have all been recorded.

W. yaṭe (tʔ) is used as a postposition.

## ADJECTIVES.

509. The only plural adjective form recorded is  
 tu.'a y pl. of toš *new*, cp. Bu. tuwa'ŋ.  
 tu.'a ai.a'riki *fresh bedding*.

## PRONOUNS.

## 510. Personal Pronouns.

	1st. Sing.		1st. Plur.
Nom.	} ja, jæ, jε		mi.
Tr. Nom.			
Gen.	ja'		mi'.
Dat.	jaγa		mi'γa.
Abl.	jatsum		m'imitsum.
	jatse ("with me").		m'imitse.
	2nd. Sing.		2nd. Plur.
Nom.	u'ŋ		ma.
	(only used in Nom. — and Acc.?)		
Gen.	go		ma'.
Dat.	goγa		maγa, maγa.
Abl.	gotsum, go gutschum		mamatsum.
	gotse		mamatse.
	3rd. Sing.		3rd. Plur.
	hm.	hf.	
Nom.	ne, nε	mo	u'ε, wε.
Gen.	ne, nε	momo, momu	u'ε.
Dat.	ne'γa	momoyā	u'εγa.
Abl.	ne'tsum	momutsum	(u'etsum).
	ne'tse	momutse	(u'etse).

It will be noted that forms approximating to those of the Prefixal Pronouns are used in the oblique cases of the 2nd. sing. and throughout the 3rd. sing. feminine.

ne and u'ε are also Demonstratives.

The x and y pronouns:

x	sg.	sε,	pl.	tse.
y	sg.	tε,	pl.	kε.

are also Demonstratives and will be mentioned under that heading.

### 511. Prefixal Pronouns.

The normal forms occurring before a consonant appear to be:

sg. 1	a-	pl. 1.	mi-
2.	gu-	2.	ma-
3.m.	(i-), (ε-)	3.	u-, υ-
3.f.	mu-		

Initially before a consonant the 3rd. sg. m prefix is usually omitted:

	re·iŋ	<i>hands.</i>		
sg. 1.	are·iŋ	<i>my hands.</i>	pl. 1.	mire·iŋ <i>our hands.</i>
2.	gure·iŋ	<i>thy</i> „	2.	mare·iŋ <i>your</i> „
3.m.	ere·iŋ	<i>his</i> „	3.	ure·iŋ <i>their</i> „
3.f.	mure·iŋ	<i>her</i> „		

(ere·iŋ is perhaps an error for ne re·iŋ).

The genitive forms of the independent personal pronouns are also used before them:

	hu·tis	<i>foot.</i>		
sg. 1.	ja ahū·tis		pl. 1.	mi mihū·tiŋ.
2.	go g(uh)u·tis		2.	ma mahū·tiŋ.
3.m.	ne hu·tis		3.	uε uhū·tiŋ.
3.f.	(mo muhū·tis)			

In the case of \*-lt'umΔl, *ear*, the -l- is dropped when the pn.pf. is present would be the 3rd. sg. m. Thus:

go gult'umΔl	<i>thy ear</i>	but,
ne tu'mΔl	<i>his ear.</i>	

512. When the pn.pf. is followed by Δ- or a- the same reactions take place in W. as in Bu.

Thus:

*-Δčō	<i>a man's brother.</i>	*-Δmiš	<i>finger.</i>
gočō	<i>thy brother.</i>	a'miš, a'mats	<i>my finger(s).</i>
εčō	<i>his „</i>	go'miš	<i>thy finger.</i>
		ε'miš	<i>his „</i>

*-Δ.i	<i>daughter.</i>
ja ai i	<i>my daughter.</i>
go go'i	<i>thy „</i>
ne ε.i	<i>his „</i>

Cp. also εs (his) heart.  
εši.a're under his neck.

Other examples could be quoted from the verbs.

513. So far as available material goes, the case of the pn.pfs being followed by -i- or -u- seem rarely to occur, since words which in Bu begin with -i and -u appear in W. with an initial y- or h-:

Bu.

W.

*-i	<i>son</i>	*-ye, *-ye.i, (aye.i, guyε.i, ye, also iε, iye).
*-ik	<i>name</i>	*-yεk (aiyεk, guyεk, yεk; mi.εkiŋ, ma.εkiŋ, uyεkiŋ).
*-il	<i>lip</i>	hił (Zarubin).
*-u'tis	<i>foot</i>	*-hu'tis (see § 511).
*-ulus	<i>woman's brother</i>	*-hu'lus (a-, gu-, mu-; u-).
*-uyər	<i>husband</i>	*-yu'hər (ai-, gu-, m-; u-).

The only exceptions I can quote are:

W. *-u'l	<i>belly</i>	sg. 1. au.ul, <i>my belly.</i>
*-u's	<i>wife.</i>	
		'a.us <i>my wife.</i>
		gu's <i>thy „</i>
		u's, us <i>his „</i>

For 'a.us Zarubin gives áwus, and similarly for a + ul, *my belly*, Bu. o'l, he gives awúl.

514. Though go and mo almost entirely replace the independent non-prefixal pronouns of the 2nd. sg. (excluding the nom.) and 3rd. sg. hf., the other prefixal pronouns do not seem to be used independently so much in W. as in Bu.

There appear to be no W. equivalents for Bu. a'r, ε'r, mo'r and o'r. unless mi'ya and ma'ya perhaps represent mer and mar, rather than mi'mər and ma'mər.

Forms corresponding to Bu. \*-tsi and \*-tsimo have not been recorded

Instead of Bu. ayakal, guyakal we have W. ja yækul, go yækal.

### 515. Demonstrative Pronouns and Adjectives.

The forms of the NEARER DEMONSTRATIVE: *this, this one*, are:

	m.	f.	x.	y.
sg.	ki'nε	kumo	guse	gute, kute.
pl.	ku.ε	ku.ε	gutse	gukε.

The forms of the REMOTER DEMONSTRATIVE: *that, that one*, are:

sg.	nε (inε)	ne	se	te.
	u'ε, we	u'ε, we	tse	kε.

These remoter demonstratives are also used as the ordinary Personal Pronouns of the 3rd. person: *he, she, it, they*.

The following oblique forms have been recorded:

kumo	gen.	kum'omo	dat.	kum'o'ya.
ku.ε	dat.	ko(w)ε'ya		
gutse	dat.	gutseyā		
nε	gen.	nε	dat.	nε'ya.
se	dat.	seyā		
u'ε	gen.	u'ε	dat.	u'εya.
tse	dat.	tseyā.		

The terminal vowel of the singular appears to vary between e and ε.

When used as adjectives these demonstratives are not inflected for case.

The forms nε, se, te and ke suggest that the i- in the Bu. inε, ise etc. may be the pn. pf. i-. The i- of itse would then be due to analogy.

516. Possessive Adjectives.

Possessive Adjectives referring to the subject of the sentence are of the form \*-ya.

Only the singular forms have been recorded:

aiya	my, my own.
gu'ya, gu'ia	thy, thy own..
i'a	his (own).
muya(?)	her (own).

These correspond to the Bu. je.imo, (aimu?), gu.imo, i'mo etc.

517. Reflexive Pronouns.

These seem to be the same as in Bu.:

Δkər	myself.
gukər	thyself.

have been recorded.

518. Indefinite Pronouns and Adjectives.

The forms recorded are:

men	sg. and pl.	anyone, some one; any persons, some persons.
men (ka)	. . . + neg.	no one etc.
men ka apai.i, apav̄n		there is no one, there are no people.
bo		anything, something; any, some.
bo . . . + neg.		nothing, not any.
gute duro bo kə net et		doing something or other, do this thing, i.e. do this somehow or other.
botan		anything.

519. Interrogative Pronouns and Adjectives.

The Indefinite Pronouns and Adjectives just mentioned serve also as Interrogatives.

bo	is to be equated with Bu.	bə.
botan	„ „ „ „	with Bu. bəsan.
botan	is to be regarded as	bot + Δn (the suffix of singleness)
botan bi?		what is it?

ma botan ečum ba'n?            *what are you doing?*  
 botane etum ba'n?            *of what have they made it?*

The dative or general oblique of the simple bot is probably to be recognised in:

bota siya    *you say "for what?" i.e. if you say "why?" (it is because . . .), i.e. because.*

Cp. Shina: ke thi'ga to, *if you say "why" = because.* bota would be equivalent to Bu. beše, *for what? why?*

The W. bes ka api *there is nothing* is possibly borrowed from Burushaski.

### 520. Quantitative Pronouns and Adjectives.

berum                            *a certain number or quantity of, some.*  
 berum waxta                    *in some time.*

berum den guts'əri            *some years passed.*

berum bu't mazdu'rišu!       *how many hired servants!*

bu't            *much, many, very,* is used as in Bu.

uyorn    *all,* has been recorded only in the 3rd. pl. form uyorneya *to all (of them).*

No W. equivalent of Bu. \*-altalik, *both,* has been recorded. (Zarubin gives only wé-altan).

berum is doubtless also used interrogatively = *how much? how many?*

### 521. Indefinite Relative Pronouns.

men, bo and berum with ka (ke) following the verb serve as Indefinite Relatives.

menε . . . bəriŋ etan ka . . . neya u'cam    *whoever make(s) (lit. made. conversation . . . to him I will give . . .*

bo ža bi ka go gu'ia bi            *whatever is mine is thine own.*

berum aušiq di.a ke . . .            *however many guests came . . .*

### 522. Numerals.

The following forms have been recorded

h forms:

1    hen

2    altan

3    iske.



x and y forms:

1 han

z forms:

1 hək

6 bišinde.

2 alto

7 tΔε.

3 iski, (iske)

8 altΔmbε.

4 walt, wΔlt

9 huti.

5 tsendi

10 t'orum.

Universal forms:

20 altər, Δltər

80 wΔlt Δltər.

40 alto Δltər

100 tha.

60 iski Δltər

1000 hΔzər.

(Zarubin gives the x and y forms for the numbers from 4 to 20).

## VERBS.

523. The general principles governing the formation of the present bases of the Transitive and Causative Verbs in Bu. appear to hold good in W. So also the principles governing the Prefixal Pronouns and the Verbs in d\*- and d\*-Δ-.

Of Verbs differing in form according as they are Transitive or Intransitive, mentioned in § 229, nothing can be said.

gΔlΔs and yΔlΔs, to break,  
d\*-nts'irΔs and d\*-ntsirΔs to spread out

have not been recorded in W.

The same has to be said of the verbs which are used both transitively and intransitively in the same form, v. § 230.

524. As regards verbs which vary according to the category of the direct object, cp. § 231, the following facts may be stated:

a) gΔnΔs to take (y objects) has not been recorded.

yΔnΔs occurs with a y sg. object haiΔn, and with sauda of which the category is not known. V. 400.13—14.

\*-ΔwεlΔs, corresponding to Bu. \*-ΔbilΔs Cs. of belΔs, has been recorded, but not yo'lΔs.

wΔši.ΔS has been recorded only with šenj, which is almost certainly x.

There is no evidence to show whether it is or is not used with a y object, and bišaiyΔS has not been recorded.

b) Of the verbs with internal change, the forms:

ši.ΔS,      šu.ΔS,      še.ΔS,      to eat,

seem to be used as is Bu. V. § 252.

Forms from both

giyΔS      and      guyΔS      (v. § 253)

occur in the texts, 406.13—16 & 408.5—6. The giyΔS forms have a y pl. object, and the guyΔS forms an x pl. object, except in one case (406.16) where the unexpressed object is y pl.

c) Of parallel verbs from different roots:

\*-uyΔS      and      \*-či.ΔS,      to give,

appear to be used as in Bu.

\*-(Δ)γunΔS      has not been recorded.

With reference to § 255, the 1st. sg. pn.pf. with \*-uyΔS appears in the form of a- not jΔ-.

jaγa a'u      give it to me.

Of the trio

d\*-tsΔS,      dusu'yΔS,      su'yΔS,      to bring.

dusu'yΔS has only been once doubtfully recorded in the imperative form dusu without expressed object.

On the other hand ditsΔS occurs three times in the texts with a y sg. object (hai.Δn) and once with an x sg. object (bošo).

525. Of the verbs mentioned in § 232 which differ in form according as the subject is h, x or y:

wa'ΔS has been recorded with an hm subject.

ba'lyΔS has not been recorded. The Causative or Transitive ešpa'lyΔS presents the u of the latter, but might equally be based on a hypothetical †wa'lyΔS.

Zarubin has recorded forms of

\*-wa'ΔS, wa'ΔS and ba'la's (ba'ličimi and bali), to fall.

The two first occur with *h* and *x* subjects respectively. Of the last he gives *x* subject forms in his Vocabulary:

baľičum bi and baľum bim,

but in the only two examples in his texts one has for subject *pu* *fire* which is *y* and the other, either *pu*, or *ni*, *heard*, which is also *y*.

Zarubin gives the meaning of *baľars* as *to embrace, envelop (of fire), lay hold of, obtain* and the corresponding passives, but I believe that the essential meaning of *baľars*, at least in Burushaski, is *to fall (on)*.

### 526. Pronoun Prefixes with Verbs.

The remarks made in § 249 about the use of the Pronoun Prefixes with Intransitive and Transitive Verbs in Bu. appear to hold good for W.

Examples of their use as *Ethic Datives* are perhaps to be seen in: *ne hal'e'se e'miša bar'ndu e'diliŋ. Hur'tiša gau.ušumo 'e'ltai.ŋ*  
*put a ring on the finger of the youth (for him), put shoes on his feet (for him).*

The pn.pf. referring to the subject of a transitive verb is found in  
*d\*-Δ.EΔs, to hear.*

The pronoun prefixes in similar circumstances generally take the same forms as in Bu., but the 3rd. sg. *hm* and *x* prefix (*i-*) appears to be dropped with Verbs beginning with a consonant. Thus:

*amΔna I became, but mΔni he became.*

In Zarubin's records *gu-* and *mu-* and *u-* appear occasionally for *go-*, *mo-* and *o-* in verbs beginning in Bu. with *\*-Δ*.

I have also *aiyomanen* || *aiy'umanen*, *they could not*. There is no available example for a W. verb beginning with *\*-i-*.

Bu. *\*-i'ras*, *to die*, is represented by

W. *\*-yu'ras*.

An example of a verb beginning with *\*-u-* is afforded by

*\*-uyΔs to give.*

In it the 1st. sg. prefix *a-* does not coalesce with the *-u-*, and the 3rd. sg. prefix *i-* is not expressed:

jaya a'u      give to me.      ne'ya u'      give to him.

### 527. Inflexion.

The following parts of the verb *ba* have been recorded:

Pres. sg. 1	(jε) ba	<i>I am</i>	pl. 1	(mi) ba'n, bā'.
2	(u'ŋ) ba		2	(ma) ba'n.
3 m	(nε) bai.i		3 m } (u'ε) ba'n.	
f	(gus) bu (bo)		f }	
x	(hΔγur) bi		x	(hΔγurə) bi.e, bi.εn (bi.εm).
y	(tsil) du'a, duwa		y	(hΔkičΔŋ) bitsa.
Past sg. 1	bΔm (baiyΔm)		pl. 1	bΔm.
2	bΔm		2	bΔm.
3 m	bΔm		3 m } bΔm.	
f	bum (bom)		f }	
x	bim		x	bim.
y	duḷum		y	bitsum.

The following additional forms have also been recorded:

Past sg. 3 hm	x y	ba'stimi.
f		bu.astumo.
pl. 3 h neg.		ap'a'stumΔn.

These are perhaps due to the influence of the Khowar ending of the Preterite: *-istam*, *-stam* etc.

Other negative forms beside *apa'stuman* are:

Pres. sg. 3 hm	apai.i	pl. 3 h	apa'n.
x	api		
Past sg. 3 y	apim		

528. As in Bu. the conjugation of the verb is founded on a Past Base and a Present Base. The Present Base is a derivative from the Past Base, which is the simplest form of the verb, deprived of all extraneous elements.

The Present Base is used to form:

The Future and Present tenses and one form of the Imperfect.

A Participle or Gerund analogous in form to the Static Participle.

From the Past Base are derived:

The Preterite, Perfect, Pluperfect and one form of Imperfect.

The Imperative and forms in -š.

The Past Participle Active and the Static Participle.

529. Also, as in Bu., there are two series of endings for person and number:

I. sg. 1	-a	pl. 1	-Δn, -εn.
2	-a	2	-Δn, -εn.
3 hm	-i	3 h	-Δn, -εn.
hf	-u (-o)	x	(-i.ε, -i.εn?)
x	-i	y	(-i?)
y	-i		

The x pl. ending is perhaps the same as the h pl. ending. Cp. x pl. manεn, which is the only example recorded except bi.εn.

II. sg. 1	-Δm	pl. 1	-umεn (or -umΔn).
2	-uma	2	-umεn.
3 hm	-imi	3 h	-umεn.
hf	-umo	x	(-imi.ε, -imi.εn?)
x	-imi	y	(-imi?)
y	(-imi?)		

This second series appears to consist of the participial endings of the Present-base Participle and of the Static Participle + the first series of personal endings, only that the 1st. sg. lacks the final -a, and the 1st. pl. has -umen where one would expect -Δmen.

As a rule the Preterite is formed of the Past Base + the first series, And the Future of the Present Base + the second series, (except that the 1st. pl. has the ending -Δn).

Thus:

<i>Pret.</i>	sg. 1	'eta	<i>I did</i>	pl. 1	'eten (-Δn).
	2	'eta		2	'eten (-Δn).
	3	hm } x } hf }	'eti	3	h 'eten (-Δn).
			'etu		
<i>Fut.</i>	sg. 1	εčΔm	<i>I shall do</i>	1	εčΔn.
	2	εčumΔ		2	εčumen.
	3	hm εčimi		3	h εčumen.
		hf εčumo			

530. The remaining tenses are based on the Present Base Participle and the Past Base Static Participle which have the following endings:

sg. 1	-Δm	pl. 1	-Δm, or -Δn.
2	-um	2	-um.
3	hmf } x } (y?) }	3	h } x } (y?) }
	-um		-um

So: εčΔm *doing*, εtam *done*.

sg. 1	εčΔm	εtam	pl. 1	{ εčΔm εčΔn	{ εtam. εtan.
2	εčum	etum	2	εčum	etum.
3	εčum	etum	3	εčum	etum.

531. From the **Present Base Participial** forms are derived:

1. The **PRESENT TENSE** by the addition of the parts of the present tense of *ba*.

sg. 1	εčΔm ba	<i>I am doing</i>	pl. 1	εčΔm ba'n (εčΔn ba'n).	
2	εčum ba		2	εčum ba'n.	
3	hm εčum bai.i		3	hm } hf }	εčum ba'n.
	hf εčum bu				
	x εčum bi		x	εčum bi.en.	
	y (εčum du.a?)		y	(εčum bitsa?)	

2. A form of the IMPERFECT by the addition of the parts of the past tense of *ba*.

sg. 1	εčam bam (or, baiyam)	<i>I was doing.</i>
2	(εčum bam).	
3 hm	εčum bam.	
hf	εčum bum.	
x	εčum bim.	

3. The CONDITIONAL etc. by the addition of the invariable particle: tsik (tsiq).

The Present Base Participial form by itself is used as a verbal noun or adjective with nominal inflection where necessary:

gučāčum kenər	<i>at lying-down time.</i>
gute bər εčumε saxen	<i>by reason of her making this remark.</i>

Verbs were commonly quoted to me in this form:

e.g. walčum, *to fall*, where in Bu. walas would have been given.

532. The Simple Present Base + the dative ending -a (-ya) is used as a connective, resuming the verb of the preceding sentence, where Bu. uses the Static Participle and Infinitive + ər and ka.

533. From the Past Base Participial forms (the Bu. Static Participle) are derived:

1. The PERFECT by the addition of the present of the verb *ba*.

sg. 1	εtam ba	<i>I have done.</i>
2	εtum ba.	
3 hm	εtum bai.i.	
hf	εtum bu.	

2. The PLUPERFECT by the addition of the past of the verb *ba*.

sg. 1	εtam bam	<i>I had done</i>	pl. 1	εtam bam.
2	εtum bam		2	εtum bam.
3 hm	εtum bam		3 h	εtum bam.
hf	εtum bum			
x	εtum bim			

534. From the **Simple Past Base** are derived:

1. The **IMPERATIVE**.

For the 2nd. sg. the plain form is apparently used as in Bu. There is only one example of the Imperative of a verb with posterior accent, such as *man'a's*:

*mina's to drink, impv. sg 2 mina.*

The plural has the suffix *-in, -iŋ* added to the past base.

*Examples:*

<i>etas</i>	2nd. sg.	<i>'et, eti</i>	pl.	<i>etiŋ</i>	<i>do.</i>
<i>ne.ʌs(?)</i>		<i>nɛ</i>		<i>ne'in</i>	<i>go.</i>
<i>žo.ʌs</i>		<i>žo</i>		—	<i>come.</i>
<i>di.eʌs(?)</i>		<i>di'e</i>		—	<i>stand up.</i>
<i>'e'ltai.ʌs</i>		—		<i>'e'ltai.iŋ</i>	<i>put on to.</i>
<i>'e'dilas</i>		—		<i>'e'diliŋ</i>	<i>put on to.</i>

2. The **IMPERFECT** is formed by the reduplicated past base followed by the parts of the past tense of the verb *ba*.

<i>'e'tit bʌm</i>	<i>he used to go.</i>
<i>n'ene bʌm</i>	<i>I was going (thou, he, we, you, they were</i>
<i>žožo bʌm</i>	<i>I was coming. [going].</i>
<i>huru't huru't bʌm</i>	<i>I was sitting.</i>
(also <i>huru'č huru'ča bʌm</i> )	<i>I was sitting).</i>
<i>di.e di.e bʌm</i>	<i>I was standing.</i>
<i>hu.e hu.e bʌm</i>	<i>she was running.</i>
<i>duwʌl duwʌl bim</i>	<i>it was flying.</i>

3. The **-š FORMS** are obtained by adding to the past base 3rd. sg. *-iš, pl. -išan, -išen.*

<i>etas</i>	sg.	<i>etiš</i>	pl.	<i>etišan.</i>
<i>ne.ʌs(?)</i>		<i>niš</i>		<i>nišen.</i>

for further examples v. § 548.

4. The **PAST PARTICIPLE ACTIVE** is formed from the past base in various ways. The final *-n* of Bu. is sometimes dropped, but the same general rules as in Bu. seem to hold good.

Verbs beginning with a vowel (pn.pf.) take an *n-* prefix, those beginning with *d-* do not.



*Examples:*

εtas	to do	net, netε, neti.
γa'nas	to see, look at	nuγa'nin.
(hu.eyas)	to run	nuhu'ni.
hurur'tas	to sit down	nu'hrut.
(xat'as?)	so say	nuxat.
*-man'as	to become	nima (it (x) having become).
sen'as	to say	nusen'i(n).
ši.ās	to eat	ni'ši.
te(y)en	they took oath	nu'lte (he taking oath).
*-tsu'yas	to take away	ni'tsu (x sg. obj.)
wal'as	to full	nyu'al.
ya'nas	to take	ni'a.
yets'as	to see	ni'ets, ni'etsə (hm. sg. and y sg. obj.)
d*-ašqalt'as	to arrive	d'εšqalt (he having arrived).
di.eyas	to stand	di.ε.
(d*-awakal'as?)	to make someone talk(?)	dumo'wakal (making her talk).

(See also the paradigms of ni.ās and žo.ās.)

5. The forms of the STATIC PAST PARTICIPLE have been given above (εtam, εtum).

It is only to be remarked that, as in Bu., the vowel of the ending (-um) is liable to elision or alteration when the past base of the verb ends in a vowel.

So:		St.Pc.
ne.ās, or ni.ās	to go	nem, ni.em.
d*-(A) the past base	to come	di'm he having come,
of žo.ās		dumo'm she etc.
*-uyas	to give	*-u'm.
waši.ās	to throw	wešim.

535. The Bu. INFINITIVE Form in -ās, -a's exists in W.

It was quoted without context as žo.ās, εtas, mina's etc., but there is no example of its being used as an Infinitive.

V. § 552.

536. Attention may here be called to certain peculiar forms of the PRETERITE.

We have already seen the alternative forms of the past tenses of *ba*:

ba'stimi bu.astumo and ap'a'stuman.

This -st- has also been recorded in:

ai.'eta'stumo *she did not do, or make, (for aiyetu).*

It is perhaps due to the influence of the Khowār past tense endings -istAM, -istai etc.

E.g.

Khov.	as-i'k	to be	as'istAM	<i>I was.</i>
			as'istai	<i>he was.</i>
	mašk-i'k	to demand	mašk'istai	<i>he demanded.</i>

It is to be remembered that Khowār has for generations been the language of the local rulers of Yasīn, and the official medium of administration, and many of the adult male population are bilingual, speaking both Werchikwār and Khowār.

537. In answer to enquiries Bu. forms were occasionally given, e.g. baiyam *I was*; miya ba *I am drinking*; huru'ta bam *I had sat down*; ni.a ba *I have gone*. Such forms do not appear in the texts and are to be regarded with suspicion.

538. The following paradigms of the important verbs TO COME and TO GO, obtained for the most part by direct enquiry, though incomplete, are of interest. Out of the 6 roots employed, 3 are not found in Bu. and 2 are unknown to Zarubin:

#### NI.AS(?), NE.AS(?) to go.

Past bases. ne- ne- ni-; gaḷ-.

Present base. tsəra- (tsəra-, tsira-).

Future.	sg. 1	tsəra'm	pl. 1	tsira'n.
	2	tserema	2	tser'emən.
	3 hm	tserimi	3 h	tseremən.
	hf	tserimo		
	xy	tserimi	x	(tserimi.ε?)
			y	(tserimi?)

<i>Present.</i>	sg. 1	tsɛrɑːm̄ ba	pl. 1	tsɛrɑːm̄ bɑːn.
	2	tsɛrɪm̄ ba	2	tsɛrɪm̄ bɑːn.
	3 hm	tsɛrɪm̄ bɑi.i	3 h	tsɛrɪm̄ bɑːn.
	hf	tsɛrɪm̄ bu	x	(tsɛrɪm̄ bi.ɛn?)
	x	tsɛrɪm̄ bi	y	(tsɛrɪm̄ bitɛɑː?)
	y	(tsɛrɪm̄ du.ɑː?)		
<i>Imperfect I.</i>	sg. 1	tsɛrɑːm̄ bɑiɣɑm̄ (bɑm̄?)	pl. 1	tsɛrɑːm̄ bɑiɣɑm̄ (bɑm̄?)
	2	—	2	—
	3 hm	tsɛrɛm̄ bɑm̄	3 h	tsɛrɛm̄ bɑm̄.
<i>Present Base. + ɣɑ</i>		tsɛrɑːɣɑ.		
<i>Preterite.</i>	sg. 1	gɑlɑ	pl. 1	gɑlɛn.
	2	gɑlɑ	2	gɑl'ɛn.
	3 hm	gɑli	3 h	gɑlɛn.
	hf	(gɑlɪu?)		
	x	gɑli		
	y	gɑli		
<i>Perfect.</i>	sg. 1	nɪ.ɑ ba (nɛɣɑm̄ bɑ?)	pl. 1	nɛm̄ bɑːn.
	2	nɪ.ɑ ba (nɛm̄ bɑ?)	2	nɛm̄ bɑːn.
	3 hm	nɛm̄ bɑi.i	3 h	nɛm̄ bɑːn.
	hf	nɛm̄ bu		
	x	nɛm̄ bi		
	y	(nɛm̄ du.ɑː?)		
<i>Pluperfect.</i>	sg. 1	nɛɣɑm̄ bɑm̄	pl. 1	nɛɣɑm̄ bɑm̄.
	2	nɛm̄ bɑm̄	2	nɛm̄ bɑm̄.
	3 hm	nɛm̄ bɑm̄	3 h	nɛm̄ bɑm̄.
	hf	nɑm̄ bʊm̄		
	x	nɛm̄ bɪm̄		
<i>Imperfect II.</i>	sg. 1	n'ɛnɛ bɑm̄	pl. 3	n'ɛnɛ bɑm̄.
	2	n'ɛnɛ bɑm̄	2	n'ɛnɛ bɑm̄.
	3 hm	n'ɛnɛ bɑm̄	3 h	nɛnɛ bɑm̄.
<i>Imperative.</i>	sg. 2	nɛ	pl. 2	nɛːn.
<i>-š Forms.</i>	sg. 3 hm	nɪš	pl. 3 h	nɪʃɛn.

<i>Past Part.</i>	sg. 1	na	pl. 1	—
<i>Active.</i>	2	nuko	2	nama.
	3 hm	ni	3	—
	x	ni		
<i>Static Part.</i>	sg. 3 x	nivem.		

Presumably the first elements in the Pluperfect are the St.Pc. forms, which would give for the 1st. sg. and pl. neyam, other persons nem, of which nivem would be a variant.

(The forms of this verb given by Zarubin are:

*Pret.* sg. 1 néyam, 2 néma, 3 m némi, f nému.

*Plup.* sg. 1 néyam bam.

*Gerund* néyan. *Impv.* ne (nä), neg. aine.

*Pret.* sg. 1 gatá, 2 gatá, 3 m gatí, f gatú; pl. gatén).

### ŽO.AS to come.

539. *Past Bases:* žo- d\*- d\*-Δ-.

*Present Base:* tsur- tsur-.

<i>Future.</i>	sg. 1	tsuram	pl. 1	tsuran.
	2	tsuruma	2	tsurumen.
	3 hm	tsurimi	3 h	tsurumen.
	hf	tsurumo		

<i>Present.</i>	sg. 1	tsuram ba	pl. 1	tsuram ba'n.
	2	tsurum ba	2	tsurum ba'n.
	3 hm	tsurum bai.i	3 h	tsurum ba'n.
	hf	tsurum bu.		
	x	tsurum bi.		

*Imperfect I.* not recorded.

*Present Base* + a. tsura, tsura.

<i>Preterite.</i>	sg. 1	daiya	pl. 1	dimeya.
	2	duko•ya	2	dama•ya.
	3 hm	di.a	3 h	duya.
	hf	dumo•ya.		
	xy	di.a.		

<i>Perfect.</i>	sg. 1	—	pl. 1	—
	2	—	2	—
	3 hm	di'm bai.i	3 h	du'm ba'n.
	y	di'n (di'm?) du'a		
<i>Pluperfect.</i>	sg. 1	daiyΔm bΔm	pl. 1	dimeyΔm bΔm.
	2	duko'm bΔm	2	dΔma'm bΔm.
	3 hm	di'm bΔm	3 h	du'm bΔm.
	hf	dum'o (dumo'm?) bum.		
	x	dim bim.		
	y	dim dulum.		
<i>Imperfect II.</i>	sg. 1, 2, 3 hm	žožo bΔm.		
	pl. 1, 2, 3 h	žožo bΔm.		
<i>Imperative.</i>	sg. 2	žo.		

-š *Forms.* not recorded.

*Past Pc. Active.* sg. 3 hm di, di'nin.

*Static Pc.* The forms presumably are those of the first elements in the Pluperfect.

(The forms of this verb given by Zarubin are:

*Impv.* sg. 2 žo, pl. 2 žoing.

*Pret. and Plup.* 1, 2, 3 hm, hf, which agree with those given above except the following:

*Pret.* sg. 2 dukuya, 3 f dumuya, pl. 1 demeya.

*Plup.* (same parts) dukΔm bam, dumum bam, demem bam).

540 The following are a few tenses and parts of tenses of several verbs, also almost entirely obtained by direct enquiry, which afford additional or corroborative information.

### DI. EČUM to stand up.

*Pres.* sg. 1 di'ečΔm ba.

*Impf.* 1, 2 sg. and pl. 3rd. sg. hm, 3rd. pl. h di.e di.e bΔm.

*Pret.* sg. 1 di.'ai.a pl. 1 di.'e'εn.

2 di.'e'a 2 di.'e'εn.

3 hm di.'e'i 3 h di.'e'εn.

*Impv.* sg. 2 di.'e.

*Ppa.* di.ε.

541.

**HU.ĚČUM to run and  
DUHANJAČUM (to gallop(?) only of horses).**

<i>Fut.</i>	sg. 1		hu.ečam.
		3 hm	hu.ečimi.
		hf	hu.ečumo.
		x	duhanjačimi.
<i>Pres.</i>	sg. 3 m		hu.ěčum bai.i.
		f	hu.ěčum bo.
		x	dohanjačum bi.
<i>Impf.</i>	sg. 3 m		hu.e hu.e bam.
		f	hu.e hu.e bum.
		x	duhanjačum bim.
<i>Pret.</i>	sg. 1		hu.eya.
		2	—
		3 m	hu.ě.i.
		f	hu.ěyu.
		x	duhanjai.i.
<i>Ppa. contin.</i>	mf		hu.e hu.e.
		x	duhanjə duhanjə.

542.

**\*-WALČUM, WALČUM to fall.**

<i>Fut.</i>	sg. 3 hm		walčimi.
		f	walčumo.
		x	walčimi.
<i>Pres.</i>	sg. 3 hm		walčum bai.i.
		f	walčum bu.
		x	walčum bi.
<i>Impf.</i>	sg. 3 hm		walčum bam.
		f	walčum bum.
		x	walčum bim.
<i>Pret.</i>	sg. 3 hm		wali.
		f	walo.
		x	wali.
		y	wali.

The following enigmatic forms were subsequently given. Several of them seem to postulate a base \* $\Delta$ w $\Delta$ l, \* $\Delta$ wal. It is conceivable that they are forms of \* $\Delta$ w $\Delta$ l $\Delta$ s to become lost.

The second w, w and the  $\delta$  probably all represent l.

<i>Pret.</i>	sg. 1	awauwa	pl. 1	mewau $\delta$ en.
	2	gowa $\cdot$ wa	2	mawauwen.
	3 hm	wali	3 h	uwauwen.
	f	mowa $\delta$ u		

If the form wali given above as 3rd. sg. y is correct, it would mean that wal $\Delta$ s is not confined to use with h and x subjects, as in Bu.

<i>Ppa.</i>	sg. 3 m	niwal.
	f	numu $\cdot$ wal.
	x	niwal.

Continuous m and x niwal niwal.  
f numu $\cdot$ wal numu $\cdot$ wal.

The 3rd. sg. x occurs in the texts as nyu $\cdot$ al which is possibly the form when there is no pn.pf. The same duplication of forms occurs in Bu.

## 543.

## DUWALĀUM to fly.

*Fut.* and *Pres.* similar to those of walĀum.

<i>Impf.</i>	sg. 3 hm	duwal duwal b $\Delta$ m.
	f	duwal duwal bum.
	x	duwal duwal bim.

<i>Plup.</i>	sg. 3 hm	duwalum b $\Delta$ m.
	f	duwalum bum.
	x	duwalum bim.

Forms with f and x sg. pronoun infixes were also given

<i>Ppa.</i>	sg. 3 hm	duwal.
	f	dumowal dumowal.
	x	diwal diwal.

In the texts duwal occurs for the 2nd. sg. and du $\cdot$ wal for the 3rd. sg. x.

544.

**HURU·TAS to sit down.**

<i>Fut.</i>	sg. 1	huru·šam.		
<i>Impf.</i>		{ huru·t huru·t bam.		
		{ huru·č huru·ča bam.		
<i>Pret.</i>	sg. 1	huru·ta	pl. 1	huruč'ai.ɛn.
	2	huru·ta	2	huručai.ɛn.
	3 hm	huru·ti	3 h	huručai.ɛn.
<i>Plup.</i>	pl. 3 x	huru·čam bi.ɛn.		
<i>Impv.</i>	sg. 2	huru·t.		
<i>Ppa.</i>		nu·hru·t.		

**\*AHURU·TAS to make s.o. sit down.**

<i>Impv.</i>	sg. 2	e·hurut	<i>make him sit down.</i>
	pl. 2	e·huručai.ɛn.	
<i>Pret.</i>	pl. (?)	o·uručan	<i>we (you, they) made them sit down.</i>

For other forms with pn.pf.s and infixes v. Vocab. s.vv. \*-ATAS, \*-askartsas, \*-atas, d\*-AYƏRISAS, & d\*-AYΔŠΔS.

**545. THE VERB in the NEGATIVE and INTERROGATIVE.**

The negative is expressed by prefixing ai.i-, ai.e- or a- to the verb: e.g.

ai.igali, ai.ewəšim ba'n, ai.eyu·rčum, ataw'asa.

In the last example it will be noticed that the negative prefix changes the voiced d- to voiceless t (a + daw'asa).

In my texts a- only occurs in this one instance, but it has also been recorded by Zarubin.

No form corresponding to the Bu. o·- has been recorded.

In the absence of any specifically interrogative word in the sentence, the Interrogative is denoted, as in Bu., by suffixing -a to the verb:

šura pakko guy'ena? *have they given you good food?*



## 546. THE USES of the MOODS and TENSES.

In general W. seems to follow Bu. closely in its methods of expressing ideas, but paucity of material makes it impossible in many cases to say whether or not a particular Bu. idiom is duplicated in W.

There are, however, some points in its use of verbal parts in which W. pursues a line of its own, quite distinct from that adopted by Bu.

Of these its employment of the Conditional is one, and its use of the -š forms is another.

Much more important is the use of the PRESENT BASE + the dative suffix -a, -ya, where Bu. uses the Infinitive or Static Participle + -ər, or ka. How other uses in Bu. of the Infin. and St Pc. as verbal nouns are represented in W. does not fully appear from the material available.

Again of the strictly participial use of the Static Participle in W. there are only two or three examples.

## 547. THE CONDITIONAL.

There are seven instances of the use of the Conditional in W. occurring in the texts. In four of these it denotes

*Habitual Action in the Past:*

se bəriŋ ka maškuli ečum tsik it (the parrot) used to manage the business and affairs (do the talking and entertaining). 400.3.

Cp. 400.2, 406.8, 10.

In one instance it signifies *in order that, so that.*

baša ka du'an aiyauŋ ba aiya du'stišungā xušā'ni ečam tsik you have never given me a kid that I might make merry with my friends. 412.22.

In the remaining instances it occurs in the *Protasis* and *Apodosis* respectively of a conditional sentence, where an unfulfillable condition is followed by an unrealisable result:

gute sala'm . . . aiyečam tsiq ka šura du'lum guse ai.eyu'rčum tsiq if I had not made the greeting, it would have been well, this (parrot) would not have died. 402.5.

The ka is probably the ordinary particle signifying *if, when.*

548.

## THE -š FORMS.

There are only four examples of these in the texts:

mahta·j ma·niš tai	<i>he began to be in want.</i> 410.7.
we xuša·ni etiš tai(y)en	<i>they began to make merry.</i> 412.12.
de·γeresiš tai	<i>he proceeded to question him.</i> 412.14.
ne hi·liki·niš tai	<i>he began to entreat him.</i> 412.19.

The principal verb in all these sentences is perhaps the same as the Bu. taiyas *to follow, pursue.*

549.

## THE PRESENT BASE + -a, -γa.

1. Appears as the equivalent of a temporal clause, e.g. "when he had done this", "on his doing this", the subject of the main clause being different.

Very often the verb is a repetition of the verb of the preceding sentence:

mai.a·γa se toti.e te bər ne hire eski di.a. Tsura se te salam tse to·timu·γa 'eti. eča tse črk sust man'en. *Things being thus, the saying of the parrot came into the man's heart. When it came (into his heart) he made the greeting to those parrots. On his doing so, they all became unconscious.* 402.1.

Note in this mai.a·γa (from mana's), tsura, and eča.

Cp. učiča, se.a, yurča, eča, & dešqalča, in the passage 402.7—13. Also tsura 406.12, maiya·wa 406.24.

This construction does not seem to occur in Text No. 3.

2. It is used with the verb *to be able* \*-ΔMANAS.  
mene bəriγ moča aiyomanen ka *if no people are able to make her talk.* 404.4.
3. There are a couple of instances of the use of this Dative form from the Present Base as in Bu. to express *aim, intention, purpose*:  
hu·kišu ya·rča eri *he sent him to pasture the swine.* 410.8.  
u·lə tsəra·γa rai aiyeti *he did not wish to go in (or he determined not to go in).* 412.18.  
γaiya hen sesan eri *he sent a man to look.* 406 17.

550.

## THE PRESENT BASE PARTICIPLE.

Two examples of its use as a noun or adjective without any part of the auxiliary verb *ba* or the particle *tsrk* have been given in § 531.3. The following may be added:

xuša'ni ečum ka xuša'n gumaiyum muna'sib dulum      *it was right  
for you to make merry and be happy.* 414.4.

e-γərčum ka γəriŋ ečume hawa'za develi      *he heard the sound of  
playing music and singing.* 412.14.

bo hai.ən yaiyum baš dulum ka yeni      *whatever present it was  
necessary to get, he got.* 400.14.

(yaiyum = pres. base pc. of *yanas* to take, buy etc.).

551.

## THE STATIC PARTICIPLE.

1. *Used as a participle or adjective:*

se yurum to'ti akulum ni.em seya seni      *the parrot that had died,  
said to the parrot that had gone from here.* 402.13.

ušim bo'šo      *the nurtured calf, "the fatted calf".* 412.10.

2. *Used as a verbal noun(?)*

ja aiyurum tseči      *after my having died.* 406.3.

552.

## THE PAST BASE + -AS FORM.

This Bu. Infinitive and Noun Agent form has only been recorded in W. as:

1. *Noun or adjective, denoting the Agent.*

han bəriŋ etas bulya      *a talking monkey* 404.7.

bəriŋ ai.itas e.i.      *his not-talking daughter, i.e. his daughter who  
would not speak.* 408.13.

badša pako etas deγərısi      *the king questioned the foodmaker, i.e.  
the cook.* 406.21.

2. *Past participle active used absolutely.*

təi.i senas . . . se to'ti ke yurri      *(the man) having spoken thus,  
that parrot also died.* 402.10. Cp. 404.10.

553.

**ADVERBS.**

A point of interest is the existence in W. of the basal forms of the Bu. *ko'le here*, and *to'le there*; viz. *ko*, *ak'o*, and *to*.

In: “*ne hale's matan i'a bam*” the context seems to give *i'a* the meaning of “still”, “yet”.

554.

**CONJUNCTIONS and SUBORDINATE CLAUSES.**

W. *ka* (*kə*, *kε*) is the equivalent of the Bu. *kε* and appears to perform the same functions.

As an adverb it means *also*; as a conjunction connecting nouns it means *and*.

Placed after the verb it converts a preceding Indefinite Pronoun or Adjective into an Indefinite Relative.

In the absence of such a word it imparts the sense of “when” or “if” to a clause:

It is frequently used after verbs of “saying” etc., and in a general way like the Persian *kih*, to introduce the dependent clause:

*gute gandi ka . . . for this (reason) that . . .*

FΔš mΔn'imi.

## CORRIGENDA.

### BURUSHASKI GRAMMAR.

Page	Line				
11	9—10	from bottom.	For: <i>henas not to know, henas to know, akenas,</i>		
				read: <i>henas to know, akenas not to know.</i>	
37	13	for	to'me	read	to'm-ey.
39	22	»	galeŋ	»	galeŋ.
41	4	»	rott	»	root.
46	3	»	gečij	»	gečij.
57	11	»	HM, X and X	»	HM, X and Y.
62	7	»	menik'sum	»	meniktsum.
64	10	»	ada'd	»	abād.
93	4	»	gi'mi).	»	gi'mi.
112	10	»	šo'n	»	šo'n.
136	25	»	u'ri	»	*-u'ri.
149	21	»	she	»	her.
166	20	»	disan	»	dišan.
183	12	»	<i>rather than</i>	»	<i>rather than.</i>
	27	»	t aŋ	»	traŋ.
185	3	»	<i>days</i>	»	<i>years.</i>
189	4	from bottom	<i>three</i>	»	<i>two.</i>
193	12	»	ečume	»	ečume.
212	4	for	both.	»	both (without full stop).
227	19	»	event	»	even.
241	25	»	(api.eu)	»	api.
245	8	»	x ečitsan	»	y ečitsan.
290	10	»	*-ltiras *-ltiri	»	*-altiras *-altiri.
296	11	»	Align go'yas vertically with ši as and *-uyas.		
	13	»	vowel	read	vowel.
300	11	»	asert	»	assert.

For the page heading "*Verbs*" substitute as follows:

pp. 367—379 *Adverbs.*

p. 381 *Conjunctions.*

pp. 383—399 *Subordinate Clauses.*

pp. 401—405 *Order of words in the Sentence.*

It is impossible to bring this book up to date with my now somewhat increased knowledge, but it may be worth while to correct a few statements and clear up a few doubts:

P. 24, § 25, Note (b). I tried to clear up this question with a very intelligent informant, but he soon became so confused that he did not know what he naturally said and began to contradict himself. It was useless to go on. He seemed, however, to favour the x form of the transitive verb with the y subject. I have also heard its use once or twice in casual conversation. So far the evidence is in favour of the x form, but not to the exclusion of the y form.

P. 43. l. 19 pfimig means *ripples* not *foam*.

§ 41. It appears that Super-plurals do not denote a large quantity of matter in one place, but a number of lots of matter in different places, e.g. grain collected or growing on different people's holdings.

§ 61. I. end. Where the Static Participle is used as a passive participle I am now able to state that in phrases like: uŋe senum *the thing said by thee*, uŋe may be either the transitive nominative or the genitive, as is shown by the parallel expression: guse senum bər and gusmo senum bər, *the thing said by the woman* and *what the woman said*, which are both considered admissible.

§ 212. The present base of tsindaʷs is tsindiʷč-, not tsindač-, so this verb is to be included in type 1.

§ 231. The y- of yuŋginas is the Pn.pf. i-. With a plural object the verb becomes uŋginas. The basal form is therefore \*-uŋginas.

Similarly yoʷlas becomes uyoʷlas when it has a plural object. It is therefore to be reckoned as \*-yoʷlas, or probably rather \*-oʷlas. Cp. the causative \*-a.oʷlas. Yaʷltas also takes the plural Pn.pf. and is to be reckoned as \*-yaʷltas.

§ 241, p. 212. Yaʷltas gives a causative \*-aʷaltas. It is correct that ši.ʷas and its cognates have no causative form.

§ 339. As far as I have yet been able to investigate the subject, verbs with initial č-, d- (not d\*- or d\*-a- or du-), h- (with exceptions noted in § 338) j-, k-, m-, n-, p-, s-, š-, t-, and ts- take the negative prefix oʷ-. The total number of such verbs is small, as all verbs taking pronoun prefixes are excluded. Three verbs in h- change h- to w after the oʷ, one retains the h-. The negative present base of ši.ʷas and allied forms is oʷšč-.

It is to be noted that suŋyas and (normally) dusuŋyas do not take a negative prefix. When required in the negative they are replaced by atuʷtsas (= a + dutsas). Hence in the Texts the forms atuʷtsuma (68.17) and atuʷša baʷn (82.2) are correct. Dutsas seems to be a neutral form. Cp § 256.II.

§§ 377 and 378. Vide note above under § 61.I.

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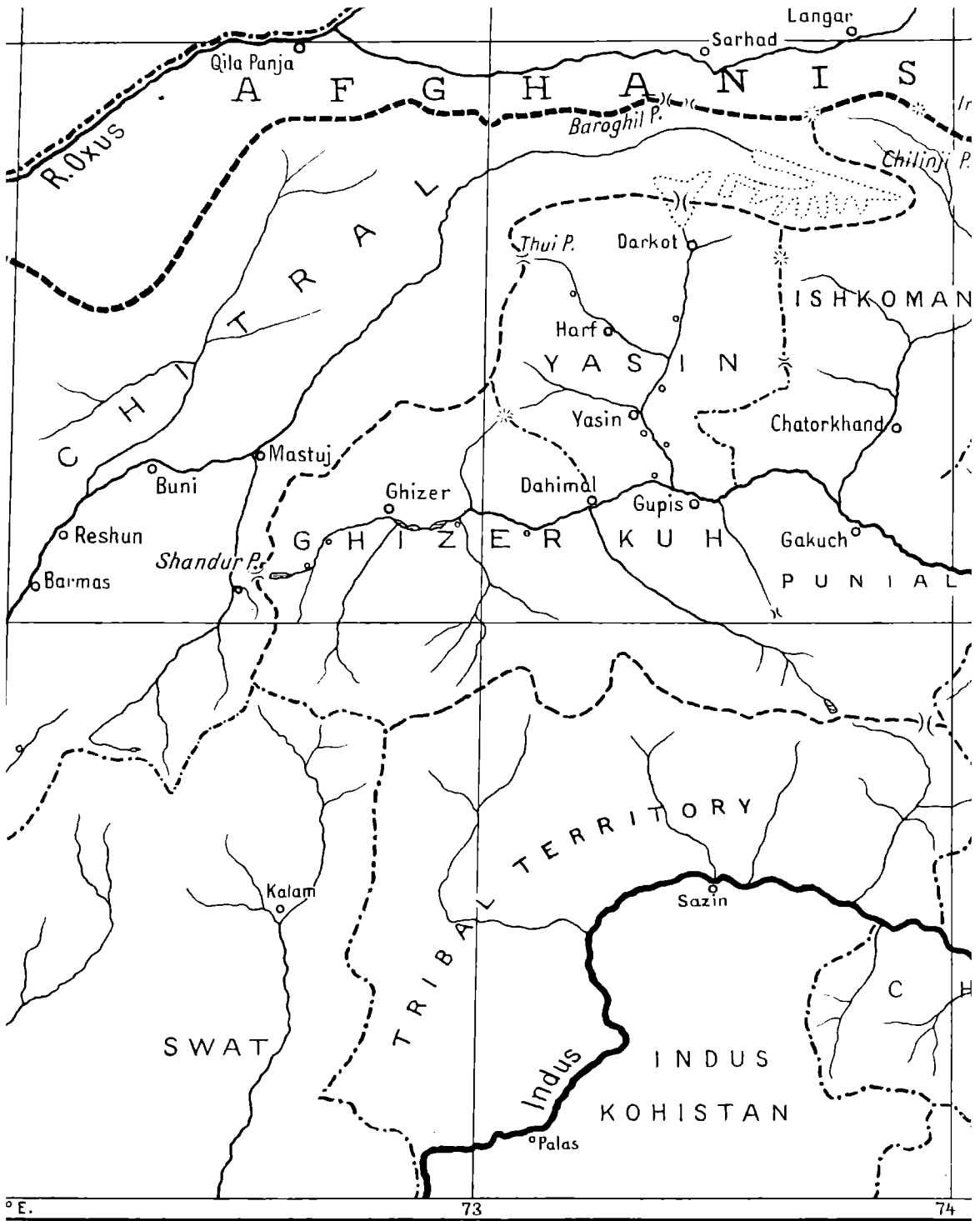
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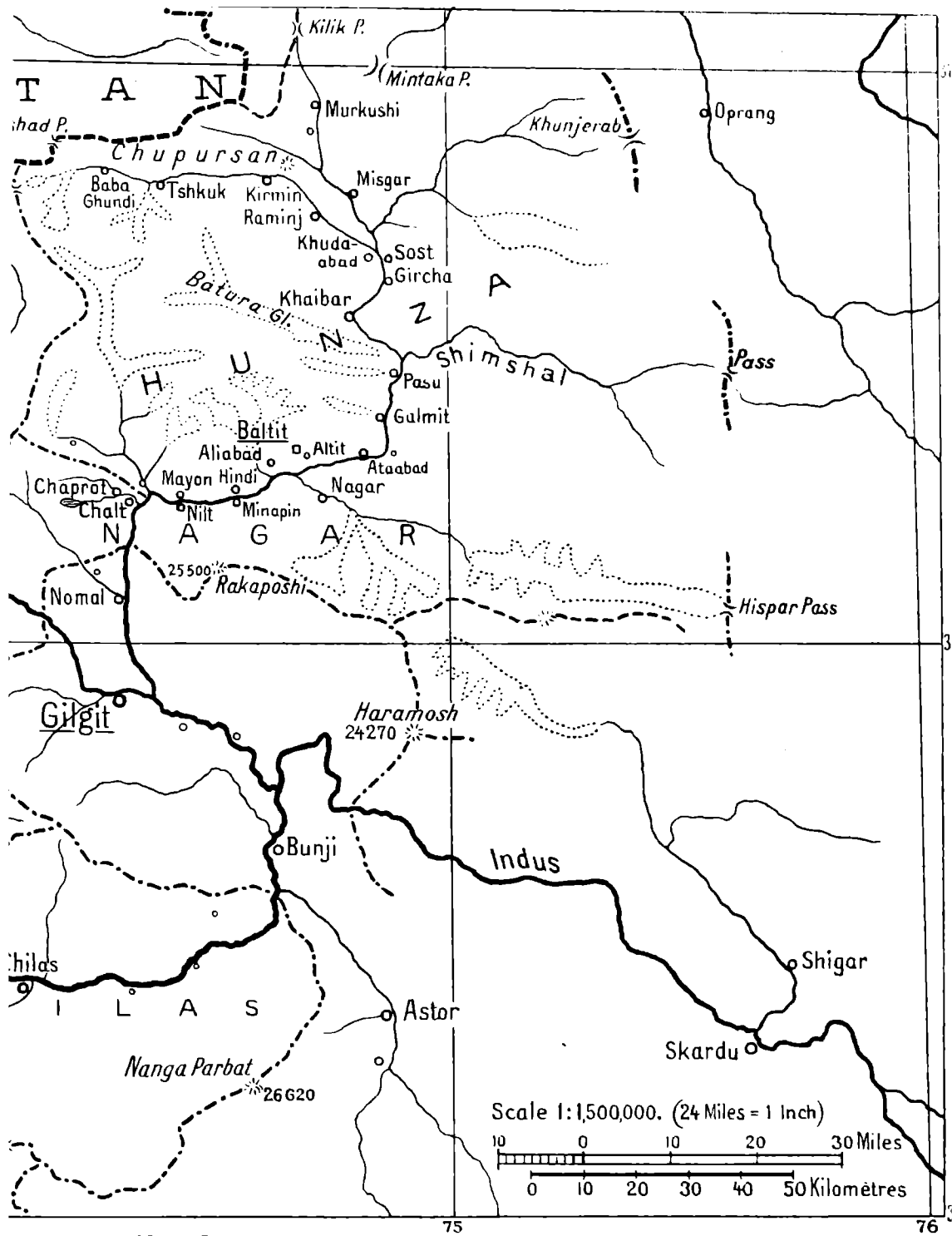
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Gilgit and adjaice



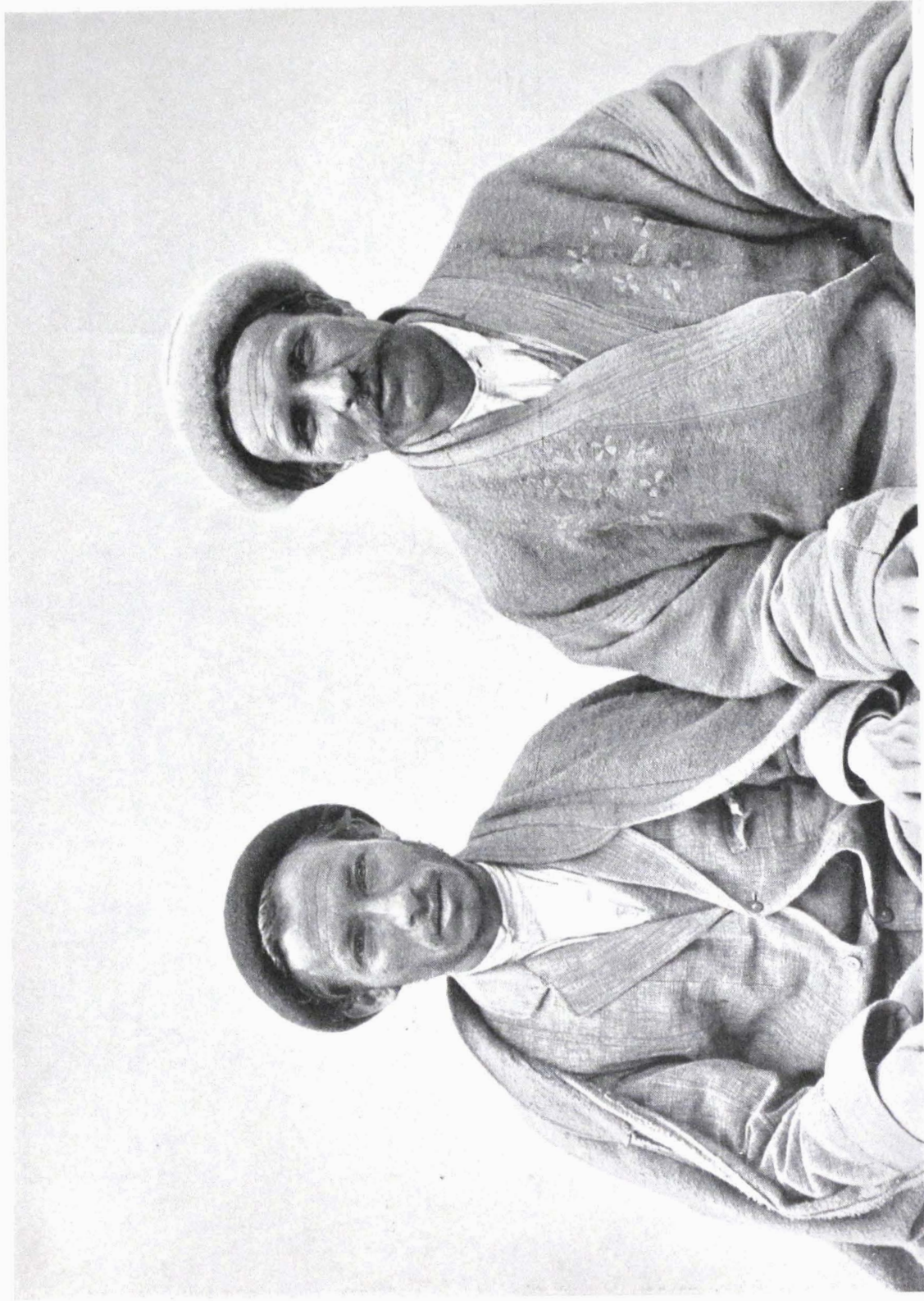
it territories.





Nazar of Aliabād.

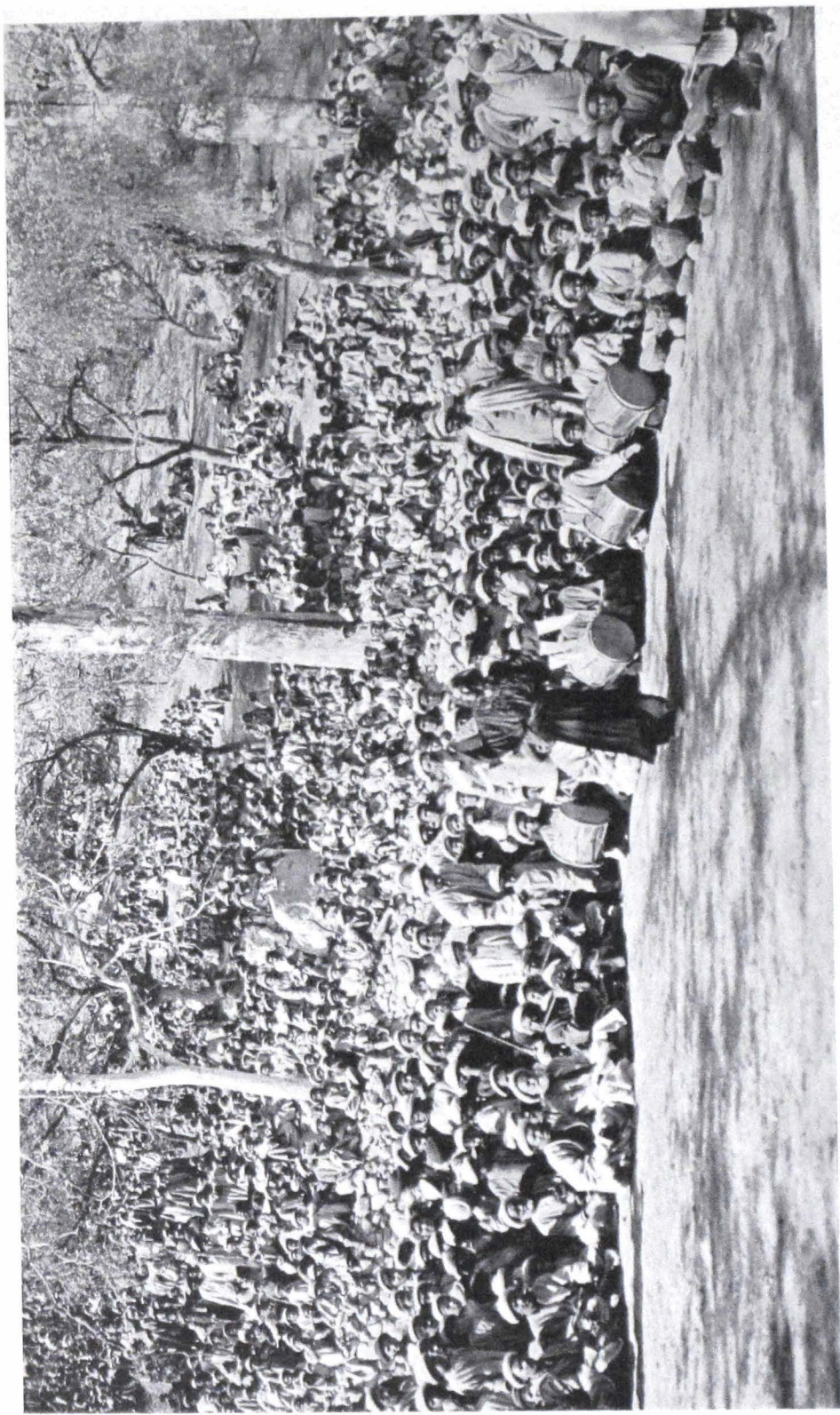




Gushpur Shāhẓāda Yūsuf of Yasin,  
informant in regard to Werchikwar.

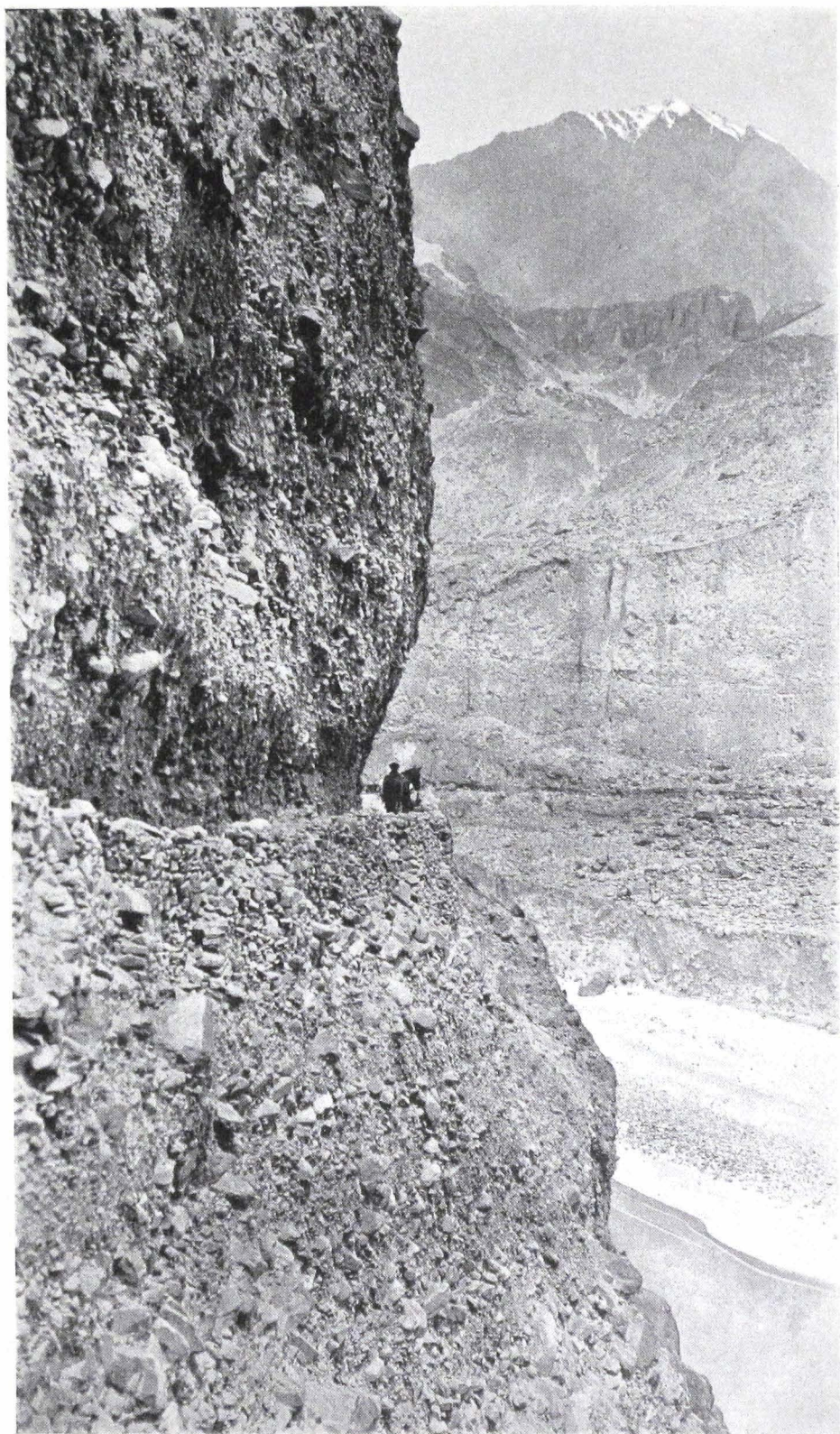
Jemadār Imām Yār Beg,  
principal informant and communicator of the Texts.





A woman "Bitan" dressed in red, dancing on the Polo ground at Baltit. The Band with pipes, big drums and kettledrums. Chenar and apricot trees.





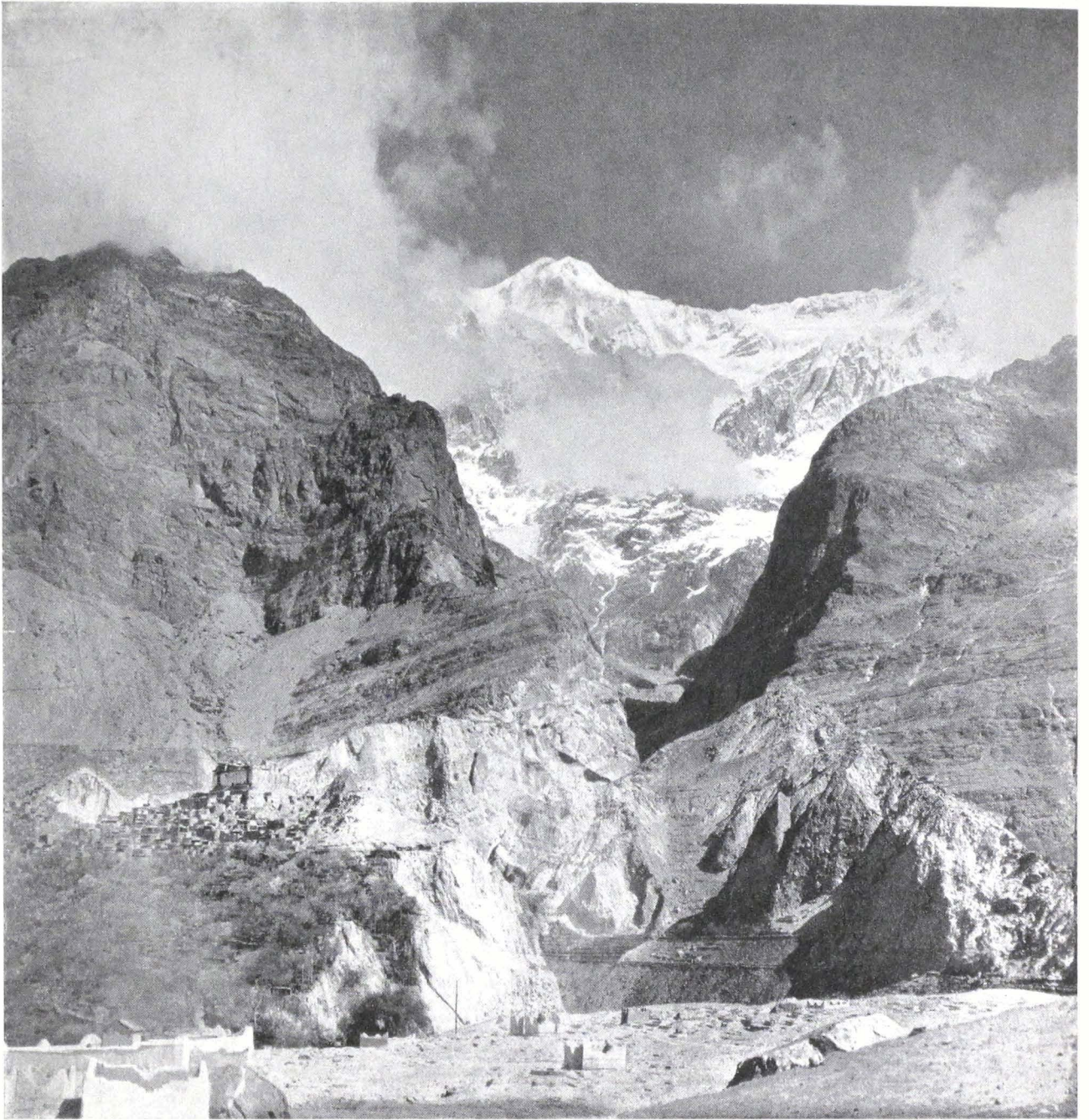
The Road between Chalt and Nilt.  
The Hunza River below. Looking Westwards.





The road between Chalt and Nilt.  
The Hunza River below. Looking Eastwards.





Baltit from the South.

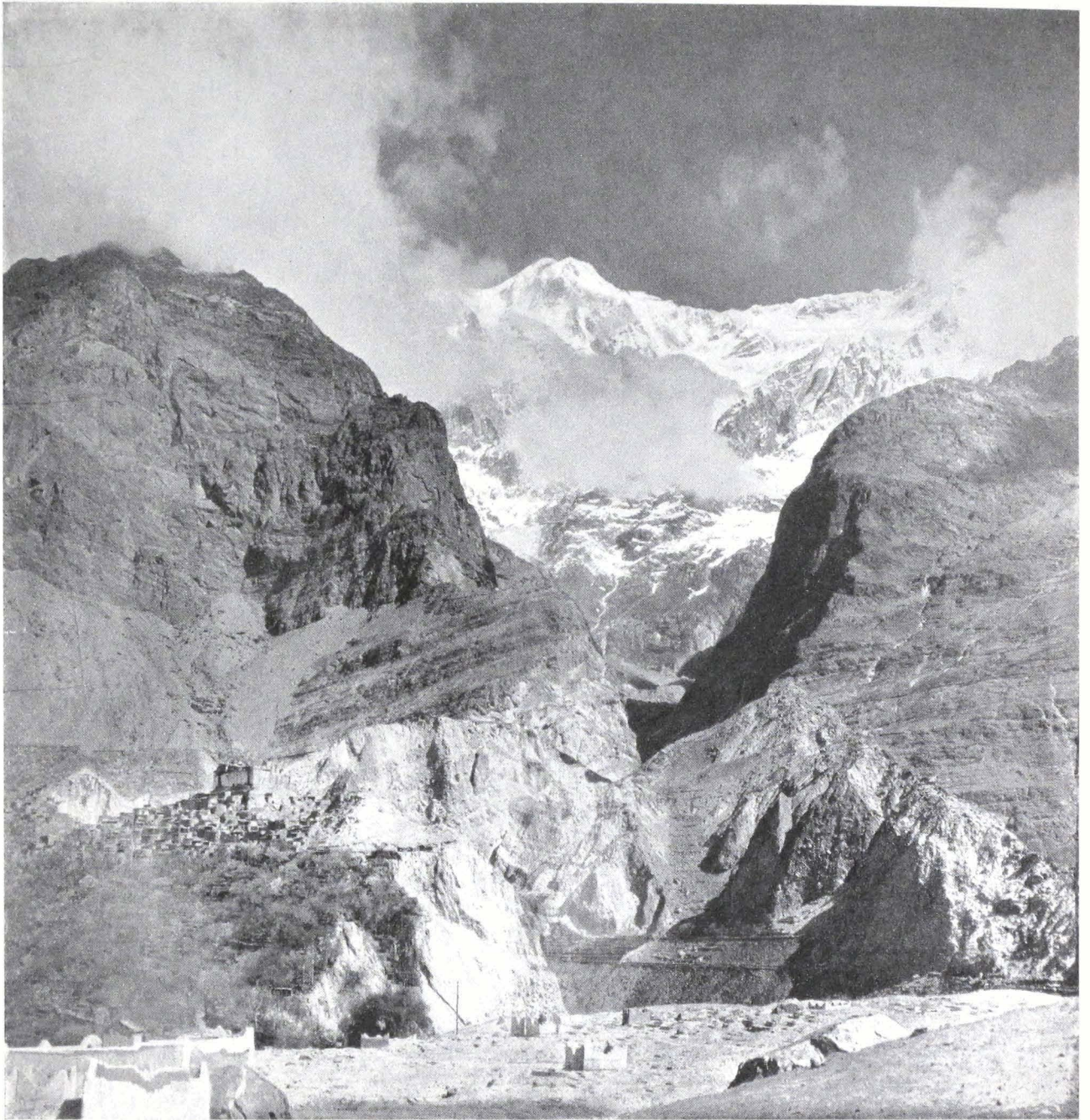
Tombs of the Wazir's family in the foreground. Below Baltit are apricot trees. Taken in April.





View from the left (South) bank of the Nagir River at its confluence with the Hunza one beneath Sumaiy. In the left distance is the snowless Bubuli Muting peak, on the right the Ultar Bar. Baltit is hidden

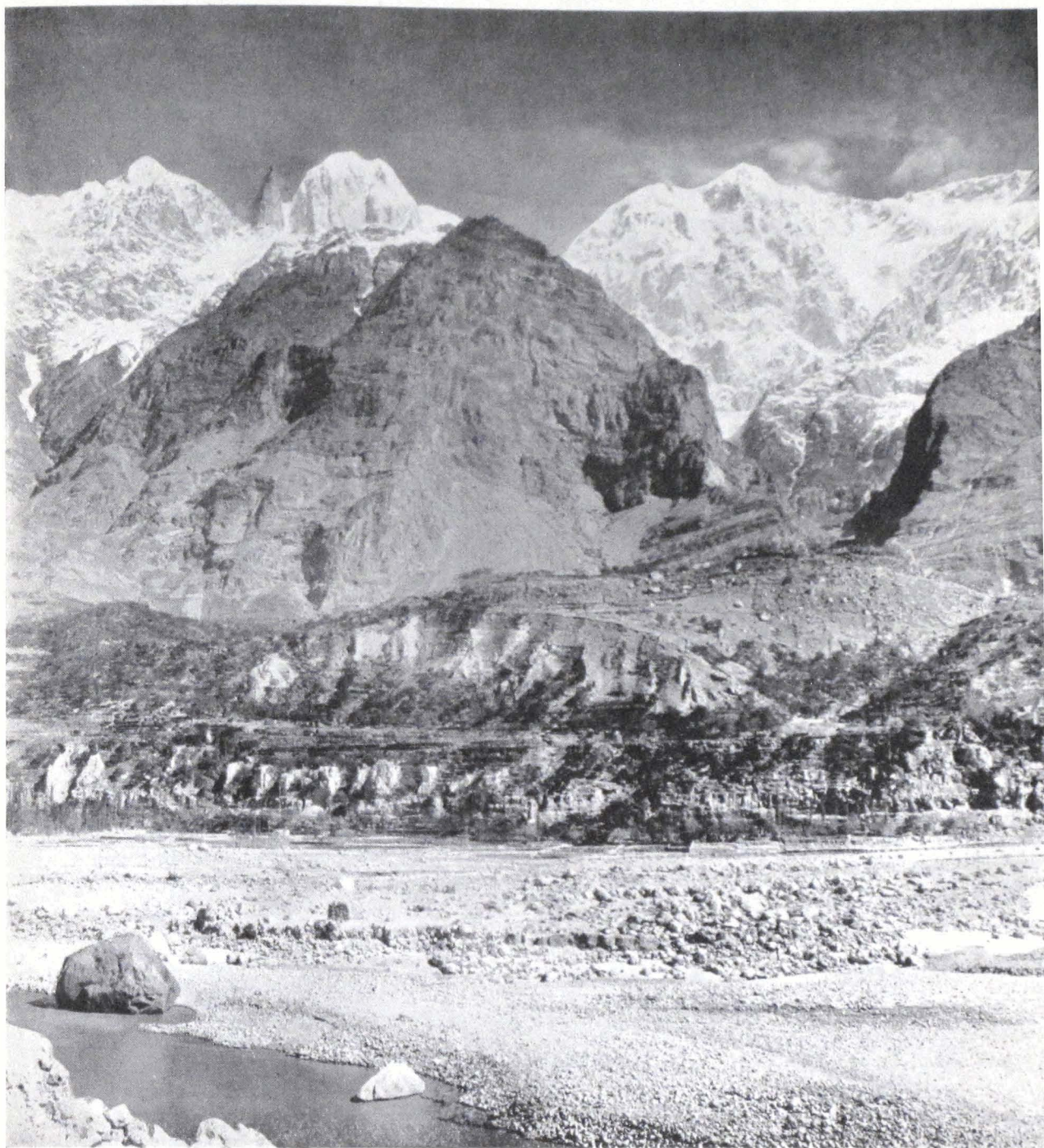




Baltit from the South.

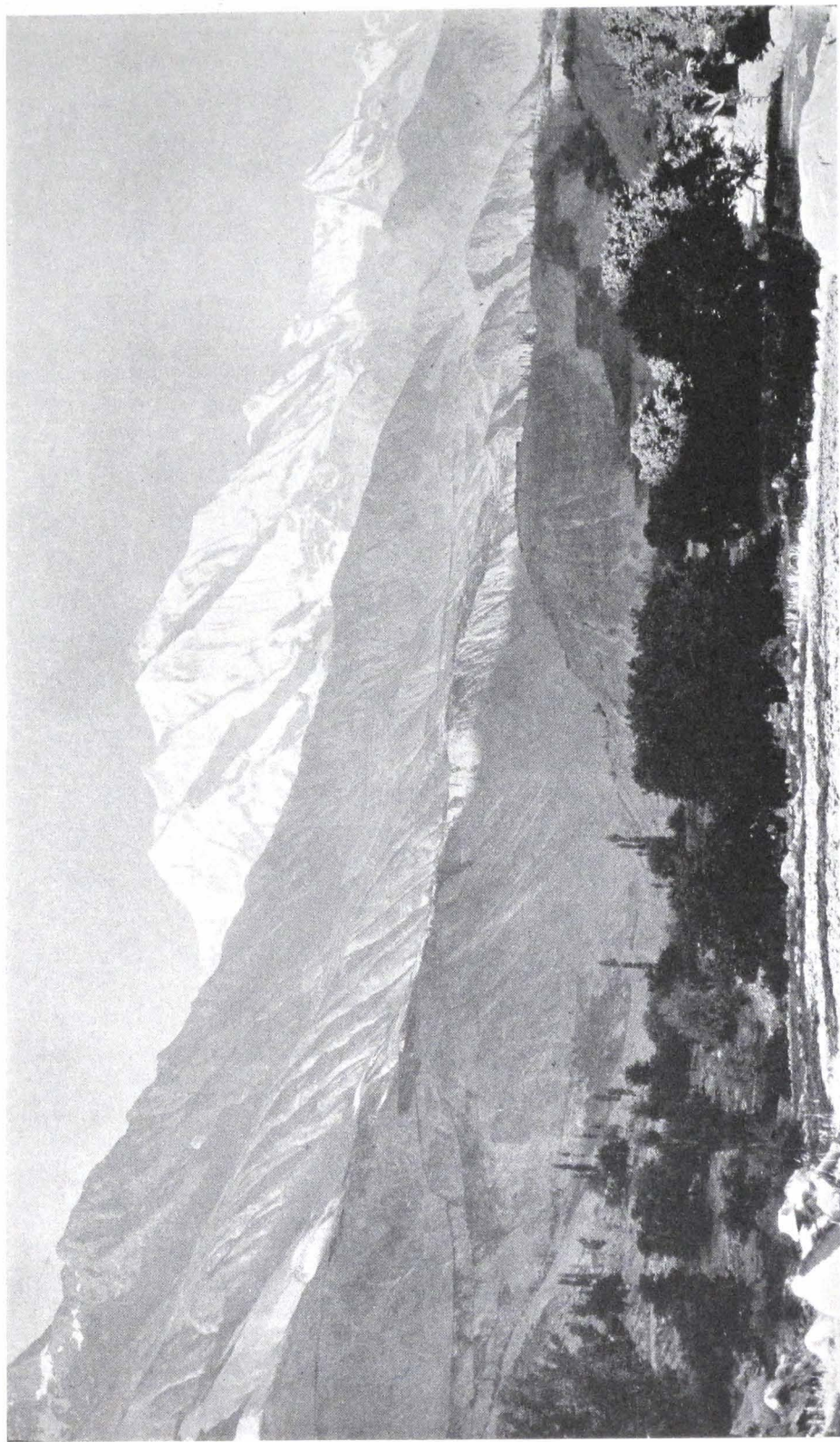
Tombs of the Wazir's family in the foreground. Below Baltit are apricot trees. Taken in April.





View from the left (South) bank of the Nagir River at its confluence with the Hunza one beneath Sumaiy  
In the left distance is the snowless Bubuli Muting peak, on the right the Ultar Bar. Baltit is hidd





Dumāni ("Rakaposki") 25,500 feet high from the North-East.





Altit from the W. from near Baltit.  
In the foreground the Harchimo Har. Beyond terraced cultivation Altit and the Valley of the Hunza River.





Looking S. W. from the Nagir Polo Ground.  
Terraced fields and apricot trees in blossom above.





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