

Comité International Permanent de Linguistes

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de la

Commission d'Enquête Linguistique

IV

The Dumāki Language

Outlines of the Speech of the Doma,
or Bēricho, of Hunza

by

Lt. Col. D. L. R. Lorimer

Dekker & van de Vegt N.V.
Nijmegen 1939

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PREFACE

On the publication of my Grammar of Burushaski and my return from Hunza which nearly coincided at the end of 1935, I was invited by the late Professors A. Meillet and Mgr. Jos. Schrijnen to submit for publication by the Commission d'Enquête Linguistique some statement of the further knowledge I had acquired of Burushaski during my recent expedition. This flattering offer I felt obliged to decline as the Institut for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning of Oslo, which had undertaken the publication of my original work, had already expressed its desire to publish a supplement to it, should funds be available when the work was ready.

I suggested, however, that I had other material which might be of interest to the CEL, and out of a list of possible items Professors Meillet and Schrijnen selected the subject of the following sketch. Since then various circumstances have conspired to delay its preparation, and I have to express to the CEL my gratitude for the great patience they have displayed towards my apparent dilatoriness. I wish I could feel that the delay had been redeemed by the final result, but amid the all too obvious defects and deficiencies of the work its only positive merit appears to be that it breaks new ground.

I would state here, by way of grateful acknowledgement,

that my visit to Hunza in 1934—35 was encouraged by the award of a Leverhulme Fellowship, and facilitated by the pecuniary grant which accompanied it.

Welwyn Garden City,
1st December, 1938

D. L. R. LORIMER.

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LIST OF CONTRACTIONS AND AUTHORITIES

Ar.	Arabic
Ar. Prs.	Arabic current in Persian
Biddulph, J.	"The Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh", Calcutta, 1880.
Bloch, J.	"L'Indo-Aryen," Paris, 1934
Bu.	Burushaski ("The Burushaski Language," D. L. R. Lorimer, 3 vols., Oslo, 1935—8).
D.	Dumāki
G. B.	T. Grahame Bailey: "Grammar of the Shina Language," RAS, Lon- don, 1924. "Supplement to Mayā Dās's (<i>sic</i>) Panjābī Dictionary", JASB V, 477 —90
Gyp.	Gypsy, (J. Sampson, The Dialect of the Gypsies of Wales". Oxford, 1925).
H.	Hindustani
J. Kh.	Jamāl <u>Kh</u> ān, v. Introduction p. 000.
Kho.	Khowār
Kshm.	Kashmīri
Leitner, G.	"The Hunza and Nagyr Handbook," Calcutta, 1889

LSI	“The Linguistic Survey of India”
Morgenstierne, G.	“Report on a Linguistic Mission to North-Western India,” Oslo, 1932.
Pal. Gyp.	Palestinian Gypsy (“The Language of the Zawar or Zutt, the Nomad Smiths of Palestine,” R. A. S. Macalister, Gypsy Lore Society, 1914)
Panj.	Panjābi (“The Panjābi Dictionary,” Mayā Singh, Lahore, 1895)
Prs.	Persian
Schomberg, R. C. F.	“Unknown Karakoram,” London, 1936.
Sh.	Şiṇa
Shgh.	Shughni
s.o.	someone
s.t.	something
Turner, R. L.	“A Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language,” London, 1931
Werch.	Werchikwār
Wkh.	Wakhi

INTRODUCTION

Ḍumāki is the language of the Ḍoma, to use their own name for themselves, or the Bēricho, as they are called by their neighbours, a small body of aliens settled among the Burushaski-speaking Burūsho of Hunza and Nagar.

Before examining the position of the Ḍoma and their language in detail, something may first be said in regard to the general linguistic situation.

It is at first sight surprising that the little states of Hunza and Nagar, situated in the fastnesses of the Western Karakoram, withdrawn from any of the main currents of life, almost self-contained politically, socially and economically, and proud in the possession of a residual language and a sense of nationality, should not possess a homogeneous population. In each indeed there is one element which is dominant in numbers and importance, the Burūsho, the speakers of Burushaski, to whom these two states have owed their spirit of independence and their freedom from external control. The Burusho occupy the central portion of the South of Hunza, and the inner part of Nagar, which ends in a cul de sac. Both Hunza and Nagar, however, possess in addition a considerable Ṣhīṇ population, and to this Hunza adds a third element consisting of Wakhis, hailing originally from Wakhān in Afghan territory. Both the Ṣhīṇs and the Wakhis differ markedly from

the Burūsho in character, and the languages of all three are quite distinct from each other.

It is to be remembered that the considerable extent of country marked on the maps as Hunza and Nagar consists mostly of uninhabitable tracts of snow-mountain and glacier, and that the population is confined to the narrow river valleys. These are not many and not all are habitable. There is the main valley of the Hunza River and the valleys of three of its tributaries, the Chupūrsan coming in from the N. W., the Shīmshāl from the E. and the Nagar River also from the E. but situated further to the South.

Stated in terms of effective geography the Burusho occupy about 20 miles of the main valley, where its course is roughly E. to W. from Ataabad down to Hindi and Minapin, as well as the Nagar side valley. There are also scattered settlements of Hunza Burusho mainly to the North, and of Nagar Burusho to the West, e.g. at Sikandarābād. Generally speaking, the main valley from Hindi in Hunza and Minapin in Nagar downwards is occupied by Şhiṣ, locally called Şhèn, and upwards from Galmit by Wakhis, who also form the population of the Shimshal and Chupursan side-valleys.

These major elements, Burusho, Şhèn and Wakhis, constitute distinct communities, in a large measure socially and economically independent of each other.

If we assume an original Burusho population, as on the whole appears reasonable, this situation seems to have arisen from the partial penetration of an extremely difficult country by alien peoples operating independently from different points of departure on different lines of approach.

The country is not a one-way *cul de sac*. There are at the present day several routes of entry of varying practicability and importance. The Kilik and the Mintaka passes on the N. give access from the Pamirs and from the more populous centres lying behind them, Kashgar and Yarkand; the Irshad pass on the N. W. permits transit between Hunza and the Upper Oxus valley, i.e. Wakhān; and the Shimshal pass on the E. enables the Shimshalis to take their animals to graze in Raskam and the empty wastes to the East; while on the South the main valley of the Hunza River debouches three miles below Gilgit into the Gilgit valley from which routes lead to Yasin, Chitral, the Indus valley and Kashmir.

In earlier times direct communication with Baltistan was possible via Shimshal and the Biraldo. Relations with Baltistan figure in Hunza tradition, and in the present-day population of Shimshal — to their detriment — Colonel R. F. C. Schomberg ¹⁾ claims to have recognised Balti characteristics; but the route has been closed by an alteration in glacier conditions.

Exactly how the processes of penetration which we are postulating took place, can, in the absence of any historical record, afford a subject only for surmise.

Local tradition has it that the population of Hunza was, in comparatively recent times, much smaller than it is now and was confined to the three adjacent villages of Baltit, Altit and Ganish. Even now in spite of the urge of land-hunger and food-hunger the Burusho are averse from moving to the higher country where climatic conditions are harsher and the apricot will not ripen. It seems probable

¹⁾ „Unknown Karakoram”, p. 40.

therefore that the Wakhi penetration was of the nature of an infiltration into an unoccupied country and not the result of any sort of competition with an established local population, still less of an organised invasion. It may be assumed that the Wakhis entered the country by the Irshad Pass.

In the Şhèn area, the sites of habitation on the Hunza, or north side of the river, Mayōn and Hīndi, are not sufficiently attractive to suggest that they would necessarily have been occupied from the earliest times. The Şhèn may well have been the first to realise their potentialities and under economic need to exploit them. On the Nagar side, however, from Minapin downwards to Nilt conditions of soil and water are more favorable and this region is likely to have attracted human population at least as soon as any other part of Hunza or Nagar. There is near Thol what appears to be a small Buddhist stupa. Here the Şhèn may well have displaced earlier Burusho occupants. However and whenever they did actually appear on the scene, they must have come from the South up the Hunza River from Gilgit.

In our physical maps showing mountains, rivers and glaciers we can now fill in the ethnological and linguistic data, the population being represented only by isolated dots on the river courses. The Burusho and their Burushaski language appear occupying a more or less central position, separated from the outer world on the North by the Wakhi people and language and on the S. W. by the Şhèn and the Şhiṇa language, enclosed by an impassable barrier of mountains on the S., and hemmed in on the W. and E. by

scarcely traversable ranges, beyond the latter of which lie almost uninhabitable wastes.

All told, the human element bears a very small proportion to the physical area. The population figures of the 1931 census are as follows:

	in Hunza	in Nagar	Total
Burūsho .	9,938	10,362	20,300
Şhèn . .	1,184	3,293	4,477
Wak <u>h</u> is .	2,411	—	2,411
Total .	13,533	13,655	27,188

According to the Census Report these numbers give density figures of 3 souls per sq. mile in Hunza and 9 souls per sq. mile in Nagar.

All that these figures mean, of course, is that there is a very large uninhabited and uninhabitable area in Nagar, and a still larger similar area in Hunza which is much the bigger country.

After this general survey of the country and the population we may now return to the Dōma. Unlike the Şhèn and the Wakhis these people do not occupy independent blocks of territory in the two states.

In Hunza they are mostly concentrated in a central site allotted to them in the lands of the Burusho in return for their services to the general community as musicians and blacksmiths. The Hunza Dōma number about 48 house-

holds, or 250 souls, of whom 40 households or 210 souls are settled on lands known as Bērishal (or, I think, Dūmiāl) about a mile from Baltit, the capital, on the eastern slope of the spur that runs down from it southwards to the river. There are also some three households at Aliābād (4 miles W. of Baltit) and there are said to be 2 households in Nazimabad and 1 at Gīrcha to the N. and 2 at Hīndi in Şheṇ territory.

Details are not available of the numbers or distribution in Nagar, but the Census returns give a village "Dumyal", with 18 households or a population of 80 souls, which is probably their headquarters.

The Dōma of Hunza and Nagar are regarded by themselves and by others as one people. They both speak Dūmaki, and they intermarry. There is little doubt that they are close of kin to the Dōms of Gilgit. The latter, it is true, speak only Şhiṇa, but it is easy to see that Dūmaki would readily fall out of use where it was in competition with another language of similar type and of wide extension and superior prestige, while it would maintain itself against a difficult and alien tongue like Burushaski. The Dōms of Yasin are said to speak Şhiṇa, with Khowār as a second language. I have not heard that they concern themselves with Werchikwār.

It is to the credit of the Dōma of Hunza and Nagar that they alone appear to have preserved their original language, and that they are the only foreigners (so far as I have heard) who have ever mastered Burushaski.

The name, functions and position in society of these people leave little doubt that they represent the Dōms of

Northern India, and the tradition current regarding the earlier history of the Ḍoma of Hunza and Nagar confirm rather than contradict such an assumption. The Hunza Ḍoma say that their ancestors migrated from Kashmir to Baltistan. Later, two men, a father and son, named Dishil and Machun fled the country, presumably with their families, and arrived as refugees in Hunza Nagar. Dishil settled in Nagar and Machun established himself on the Bērishalè lands in Hunza. The houses of this colony were originally located on the crest of the spur at Karimābād, where the Mir now has his summer quarters, and were known as Bericho Khan (the "Ḍoms' Village").

The arrival of the Ḍoma in Hunza is said to have taken place in the time of Ayasho, Tham of Hunza. Two Ayasho's appear in the official genealogy of the Ruling Family. The first, who is probably the one here intended, is the ancestor in the eleventh generation of the present ¹⁾ Mir of Hunza, Sir Muhammad Nazīm Khān, K. C. I. E. He is said to have ruled for 35 years. The second Ayasho was the great grandson of the first. On this reckoning the Ḍoma may have been settled in Hunza for something between 200 and 300 years.

This account was obtained for me by Gushpūr Jamāl Khān (J.Kh.). From my own informant, Huko, I had earlier obtained a less complete and slightly different version, of which I have only the briefest notes. According to him also the ancestor of the Ḍoma came to Hunza from Baltistan. Barcha Mamu Sing, Wakīl, of Ganish, had gone on a mission to Baltistan. He pleased the Ruler of Baltistan in some

¹⁾ He died in July 1938.

way and was invited to say what favour he would like to receive. He asked for musicians (εῤῥαλšo usta'dtiŋ), as there were then no musicians in Hunza. They were given to him. This was "in early times". Machun, ancestor of the Ḍom blacksmiths (Ḍalke usta'dtiŋ) also came from Baltistan.

It will be seen that both accounts agree in asserting that the Ḍoma came to Hunza from Baltistan and it may reasonably be inferred that the journey was made direct. Nowadays a lengthy détour would be necessary, but we have already seen that there was formerly a practicable route between Shimshal and Baltistan which led over a pass at the head of the Biraldo Glacier ¹⁾. Various other traditions demand a fairly intimate contact between Hunza and Baltistan which certainly does not now exist. A story invented at the present day would almost certainly bring the Ḍoma into Hunza from Gilgit and not from Baltistan, and on its face the linguistic evidence would not rule out this route. It would provide the simplest way of accounting for the important Ṣhiṇa element in Ḍumaki. Hypothetically it is not impossible that the Ḍoma should have been in contact with Ṣhiṇa either in Baltistan, or when on their way thither from Kashmir, by what route is not mentioned. The Baltis seem to have intruded from the East into what was originally the territory of Ṣhiṇa-speakers. Ṣhiṇa is spoken on every side on which the Baltis' country is accessible, and there are actually small Ṣhiṇa-speaking groups settled in western Baltistan at Rondu and Skardu. The former pro-

¹⁾ Vide „The Burushaski Language“ Vol. II, Text No. XXVIII, also Schomberg, „Unknown Karakoram“ p. 203.

bably represent an original Dard population. The latter, according to their own traditions were forcibly imported into the country from Astor and Chilas by the Makpon dynasty in the 17th century. It is to be noted that these western groups include Doms as well as Şiņs and Yashkuns. The Şiņs call themselves Rom ¹⁾, which in this case can hardly be a perversion of Dom.

The status of the Doma, or Bericho, in Hunza is definitely at the bottom of the social scale. In this they resemble their namesakes in Gilgit and India and elsewhere. There is no reason to doubt that they brought their traditional status with them, for the Burusho are not people who regard music or crafts as things which it is derogatory to practise.

Any ordinary Burushin with the requisite enterprise and ability will better himself by learning and exercising a traditional craft such as carpentry, wood-turning, weaving, bootmaking and finer metal work, or by taking advantage of any technique he has acquired abroad, the higher carpentry, masonry, tailoring and even laundry-work. The Mir's rest-houses at Baltit, and the new Maulai Jamāat Khānas there and at Aliabad are technically-admirable buildings of cut stone. Music is cultivated by amateurs and enthusiasts on all available forms of musical instrument. The drums and pipes of the professional Doma are not taboo.

It is apparently not the occupations of the Bericho that are felt to be inferior, but their personnel. They themselves are certainly not regarded as being on a social equality

¹⁾ Vide J. Biddulph, „Tribes of the Hindu Koosh," pp. 46-7.

with the Burusho. They have an allotment of Rajāki (labour in the interests of the community and services to the Mir), which is peculiar to themselves. They do plastering and sanitary work and collect fuel for the Mir and in Aliabad they appeared to perform miscellaneous services for the household of his morganatic wife.

As far as I know the Doma accept their position as natural and find it satisfactory. I saw no signs of contempt for them on the part of the Burusho, who did not appear to be exalted by any sense of their own superiority. Self-consciousness was not evident on either side.

So far as there is discrimination against the Bericho in the ordinary affairs of life it is said to be declining. The Burusho will now eat food cooked by them, which formerly they would not do, and I have no doubt that they will feed in their company. J.Kh. says that the Burusho and Shèn will intermarry with them, but that the Wakhis will not. In the case of the Burusho I do not think that intermarriage can be usual. I do not remember ever hearing, of such an alliance nor did any occur in the pedigrees which I recorded. I understand that when a Burusho father is annoyed with this daughter he may declare his intention of marrying her off to a Berits, by way of a threat which he has no real intention of carrying out. There is, however, nowadays some difficulty in finding husbands for daughters when they reach marriageable age, so perhaps what was originally looked upon as a sort of bad joke may sometimes prove to be an unfortunate necessity.

Like all the inhabitants of the country the Doma support themselves primarily by agriculture. The community

could not afford to maintain one section, whatever their services or gifts, who did not in the main produce their own food supply. So the Doma musicians and blacksmiths, like the Burusho carpenters and weavers, begin by being cultivators of the soil, but for their public services they receive some remuneration from the community.

They specialise in their various arts and crafts. Musicians and blacksmiths do not interchange or duplicate their activities. Each musician even sticks to his own instrument: the big drum, the kettledrums or the pipe. There are two principal kinds of pipe: the "surenai", or reed-pipe, for ordinary occasions, and the "bēshili", Burushaski "gabi", used for special festival occasions. There is also a smaller, reedless pipe, the "tūtèk", affected by amateurs. The minimum band-unit consists of one big-drummer, one kettle-drummer and one piper.

Music plays an important part in Hunza life. Alone, or as an accompaniment to dancing, it is an essential feature of all public festivals and ceremonies. It stimulates both players and horses at polo matches and helps the sooth-saying *bīṭan* to attain a state of ecstasy and inspiration.

Hunza music demands a great expenditure of physical energy on the part of the performers, and the Doma do not spare themselves. Drummers and pipers always seem to put their whole souls into the job, and to be striving by their own vigour to inspire the dancers or players to a maximum effort. On a really hot day this means a gruelling exertion which, it seemed to me, could only be kept up by an enthusiasm almost as real as it looked. For the right to command such exertion and enthusiasm, the public pays. Ac-

According to J. Kh. each Hunza household contributes annually for the benefit of its musicians six pounds weight of grain.

The blacksmiths work only in iron. They make miscellaneous implements, such as blades of the small grubber (the *chumar būī*), the curved spikes of small picks (*gīli*), fire-irons, shears, tweezers, knives, pins and sockets for mill-stones, and probably (but I am not sure) adze- and axe-heads. Periodically in winter they tour round the villages and sharpen or repair these and other tools and instruments for the Burusho cultivators.

At any group of houses where his services are required, the blacksmith sets up his forge: a small charcoal fire on the ground enclosed on three sides by large stones, another big stone for anvil, and a pair of goatskin bellows. These last are operated by any interested third party, for blowing does not require an expert. The forge once set going, the blacksmith squats on the ground and falls to work heating and reforging axe-heads etc. and restoring their edge with a file, and so on. The work, though rough and ready, requires some skill, but it does not demand the same expenditure of spiritual force as the production of music. How the blacksmith is remunerated I do not know.

“Arts” and “crafts” seem to make about equal demands on the Ḍom community. Of the 40 households in Berishal, 18 are musicians and 22 blacksmiths, but Aliabad has only musicians and the 2 house holds at Hindi are also musicians.

Besides music and working in iron the Ḍoma have other accomplishments of lesser importance. They make glue, and carve out stone cooking-pots, and construct composite bows and wooden combs But the Burusho now also make

cooking-pots for themselves and some of them can also make bows. Bows, however, are seldom wanted; they are a mere survival, used only on festival occasions for shooting at marks from horseback; and the bow has a long life.

Whatever form of religion their ancestors may have affected, the *Ḍoma* of Hunza are now, like the Burusho, Maulai Muslims. In Nagar they are probably Shia's, as the Nagar Burusho are.

They are said to have the same range of personal names as the Burusho, most of which are common to other Muslim communities. No information is available about their habits and customs, but it is said that they originally had no regularised practice of divorce, and paid no taxes. The term *bērīski talāq*, "*Ḍom's* divorce," is now applied by the Burusho to the divorcing of a wife for misconduct, but whether the implication is just is another matter.

When we come to speak of their language, the first point to deal with is perhaps the names applied to the people and their speech. They call themselves:

Sg. *Ḍo'm* Pl. *Ḍo'ma*

and their language:

Ḍuma'ki ba'š *Ḍom language*

or *Ḍomeŋe ba'š* *the language of the Ḍo'ma*

The Burusho on the other hand call them:

Sg. *B'e'rits* Pl. *B'e'ričo*

and their language:

B'erišaski (ba'š)

B'e'ričo is of course the name by which they are generally known in the country.

In Hunza the Doma men are bilingual. While they have preserved the use of their own language in their homes, those living amongst the Burusho also talk Burushaski, and those settled in Hindi communicate with the local Şhèn population in Şhiņa.

In Nagar they also speak Dumaki, and doubtless also Burushaski or Şhiņa as a second language.

Huko, of Aliabad, my informant and the only Dom with whom I have conversed, seemed to have a perfect command of Burushaski, and I had frequently seen the Baltit and Aliabad bandsmen in public without realising that Burushaski was not their mother-tongue and their only form of speech. The Doma women, on the other hand, are said to be unable to speak Burushaski. Whether this statement applies everywhere I do not know.

It is easily to be understood that the women of the isolated and probably self-contained community at Berishal, who have presumably few contacts with Burusho women, should fail to pick up the difficult Burushaski language, but the scattered households established in Burusho villages are probably living at much closer quarters with their neighbours and so necessarily on more intimate terms with them, and if this is so it is probable that the women acquire something of the language.

However that may be, the segregation of the main body of the Hunza Doma in Berishal has probably been a principal factor in the preservation of their language and as long as it continues the language may be expected to survive.

The Dumaki material presented in the present work was collected at the end of my visit to Hunza in 1934—5.

I was not at first aware of the existence of the language and when I did hear of it I was too much occupied with other matters to spend time on investigating it. Only at the very end of our time, when we were packing and on the very point of pulling up our stakes, I determined to make an effort to record at least a few words of Dumaki. Accordingly I got hold of Huko, son of Mast Ali, *surenaichi*, one of our local Aliabad musicians, and during the five days from 27th to 31st August 1935 I worked with him for an hour or two a day.

Conditions were not ideal for rapid work. My requirements were quite novel to Huko, he was unable to give any help in phonetic diagnostics and our only common medium was Burushaski. Huko was, however, highly intelligent and most willing, and I did my best.

I started to work on a list of common words which I had used when trying to collect comparative material in some Şiṇa dialects. I then set out to secure the commoner pronominal forms and to get an outline of the conjugation of one or two transitive and intransitive verbs and the principal parts of a few other verbs, and finally I recorded a very summary "text", which was all that Huko, with some warning, was able to produce. Given time and practice, I have no doubt that he could have furnished something more satisfying, but with the last word of the text our final séance ended.

The original selection of words was not very satisfactory and was little improved by the addition of some specialist

terms relating to musical instruments and weaving apparatus, which I was trying to obtain in Burushaski. At first I omitted to find out the gender and plural forms of nouns, and I failed to record the full declension of a single noun.

The material, with its deficiencies, its half hints, its obscurities and uncertainties, I have now found in the last degree exasperating; but when I return to my original notes, their appearance reminds me that I was working against time, and that reflection, comparison and the extraction of explanations were out of the question. It is always easy after the event to imagine that one might have done better, but in life we never do come up to our hypothetical form, whether the game is tennis, billiards or linguistic research.

To Phonetics, as involved in the discrimination of cerebrals and non-cerebrals, aspirates and non-aspirates, I made no pretence of attending. For me it would have been sheer waste of time. In these matters I have assumed the probability that *Ḍumaki* is in general agreement with *Burushaski* and *Şhiṇa*. Accordingly where any word of which the spelling is known to me with some certainty in *Burushaski* or *Şhiṇa*, occurs also in *Ḍumaki*, I have as a rule represented it in the same way.

Where there is no outside guidance to fall back on, forms must be regarded as quite uncertain as far as cerebrals and aspirates are concerned. For example the verb "to be": whether the 3rd sg. Pres. is *ča* or *čha* I do not know, though I have adopted *čha*. I do not think the *č* is cerebral. The word for "mouth" I wrote originally as *kaśa* and later as

khāṣa, but the second thought may be no better than the first.

In the Vocabulary, when a word has been recorded by me in one of the neighbouring languages, Ṣh., Bu., Khowar or Wakhi I have noted the fact, and have quoted the form when it differs materially from that found in Dumaki. Where a word derives apparently from the side of India I have referred to Hindustani or Panjābi. Except in a few cases I have abstained from quoting earlier Sanskrit cognates, even when I know them. Of a large number of these Indo-Aryan words, cognate forms in other Indian languages can be found in Turner's Nepali Dictionary. This is facilitated by the admirable Index, which contains all words quoted in the body of the work, arranged according to languages.

It remains to be said that my original material has been slightly supplemented. When after my return to England I had worked it out and found out its more obvious deficiencies, it occurred to me that I might be able to obtain supplementary information from my friend, Sūbadār Gushpūr Jamāl Khān, the eldest grandson and heir presumptive of the then Mir of Hunza, Sir Muhammad Nazim Khan, K.C.I.E., I accordingly sent him a questionnaire, to which he took great trouble to supply the answers. These he wrote extremely legibly in Roman script. He tells me that they are the result of catechising five Bericho in the presence of the Mir and with his assistance. Of course he did not himself know the language, and he had no experience in eliciting grammatical facts or in making consistent phonetic transcriptions. Naturally therefore his

records present problems, especially in the field of phonetics. To these I refer elsewhere (v. § 27).

Despite this, his material has proved of great service both in corroborating my own records and in supplementing them; and it will be seen that I have utilised it fully in the following pages. Encouraged by his goodwill and success in this first experiment, I sent him two more comprehensive questionnaires, together with a scheme of notation intended to provide a common phonetic currency, in the hope that I should reap a great harvest. That hope was deferred for unfortunately Jamal Khan was at first away from home on official business and after his return he was ill.

In writing after many months to inform me of this he said that he now proposed to start on the work at once. My last hopes were, however, finally extinguished a fortnight later when he wrote and returned the questionnaires untouched, saying that he had again been ill and was now actually on the road down to Kashmir to seek medical treatment.

So the expenditure of much time and some labour has achieved only delay. I hope that no psychologist will suggest that questionnaire-phobia was a main cause of Jamal Khan's temporary breakdown.

The Language

I have already said something about the linguistic environment of Dumaki and have mentioned the tradition that the Doma arrived in Hunza Nagar from Baltistan, to which country they had come at an earlier date from Kashmir.

At the present day Ḍumaki is in vital contact only with Burushaski. It is true that it has local contacts with Şhiņa and Wakhi, but they are on a very small scale and are not likely to have had any sensible influence on the central body of Ḍumaki.

It is obvious that Ḍumaki is an Indo-Aryan language and so quite unrelated to Burushaski and Balti Tibetan, and not near of kin to Iranian Wakhi. Closer examination shows that it does not belong to the Dard group of which Şhiņa is a member, and that it has little in common with the remoter and more independent Khowar.

When we examine the Ḍumaki vocabulary, however, we find that it contains large Burushaski and Şhiņa elements, which must be due to contact, and not to common inheritance.

The Ḍumaki vocabulary here given comprises about 611 words, of which, on a rough reckoning, about 143 have been borrowed from Burushaski, and 140, more or less, have been, or may have been, taken over from Şhiņa. Of the remaining words about 44 are borrowings from outside languages, mostly Arabic and Persian which have not been acquired direct.

In view of the tradition that the Ḍoma came from Bal-tistan, it is curious that there are only two or three words which appear to derive from Balti Tibetan, viz. *berpa poplar*, *payo salt*, and possibly *samba thought*, which last is found, however, both in Burushaski and Şhiņa. Wakhi does not appear to be represented in the language as spoken in Central Hunza.

On the above reckoning, which makes no claim to be exact, we are left with approximately 284 words which may be authentic Ḍumaki, or what was Ḍumaki when the

language entered its present environment, for before that point it must almost certainly have borrowed from various unknown sources.

Many of these words, however, are the common property of a wide range of Indo-Aryan languages in India, e.g.

pa'ni *water*, ka'la *black*,

and point to no particular place of origin.

To determine what is the essential core of Ḍumaki, and to trace its affinities and assign it to its proper place in the linguistic chart, is a task for experts, if indeed the scanty material available is sufficient for their needs.

The name and occupations of the Ḍoma and the fact that they must have wandered extensively in order to reach their present home, leave little room to doubt that they are to be associated with the communities known as Ḍoms in northern India.

This word ḍom, representing Skr. ḍomba-, is also identified with various names by which the Western Gypsies describe themselves (in Palestinian Gypsy *dom*, Armenian Gypsy *lom*, European Gypsy *rom*), and this naturally suggests the possibility that Ḍumaki may be related to the language of the Gypsies of Western Asia and Europe.

A superficial comparison reveals some similarities in vocabulary, but most of these are indecisive. Professor R. L. Turner tells me that of those which I have noted the following are of some interest:

ako'u	<i>walnut</i>	lo'ya	<i>red</i>
baba'i	<i>apple</i>	puršum	<i>flea</i>
jo'i	<i>woman</i>	šilda	<i>cold</i>
lima	<i>snot</i>	ta	<i>and</i>

Similarities, also of an inconclusive nature, can be found in the vocabularies of Ḍumaki and other scattered groups of Indo-Aryan languages, such as the minor relatives of Kashmiri (Poguli, Rāmbani etc.), the languages of the Indus, Swāt and Panjkora Kohistāns (Gārwi, Torwāli, etc.), Palūla (discovered by G. Morgenstierne in S. E. Chitral), Gujuri and Western Pahāri, and so on.

To solve the problems presented by Ḍumaki, it will probably be found that not only the services of a competent Indo-Aryan philologist will be required, but a much larger body of material.

From what is here provided a general idea of the morphology and syntax of the language can perhaps be deduced, but 600 words afford a quite insufficient basis for determining the proportion and nature of the contributions to the vocabulary from various sources, and for etymological purposes a much more exact phonetic record is necessary.

I can only erect a sign-post and tender a prospectus, and prospectuses are notoriously apt to mislead, both by what they state, and by what they omit to state.

It is to be hoped that some qualified person will find opportunity to make a full and accurate record of the language in all its aspects, while that is still possible. Ḍumaki may not survive into the indefinite future.



PHONOLOGY

1. Dumaki (ḍuma'ki) seems to display much the same range of sounds as Shina and Burushaski.

It undoubtedly possesses cerebrals. Of aspirates I cannot speak with assurance, as I cannot myself distinguish them with certainty in these languages. My informant had also not arrived at consciousness on the subject, and I had no time to discuss it with him, or to struggle with the problem myself. All the probabilities are, however, that Dumaki has the same cerebrals and aspirates as Shina and in the main as Burushaski. Accordingly, where a Dumaki word is approximately identical with, or is evidently closely related to, a Shina or Burushaski word, I have spelt it with cerebrals and aspirates if it is known to have such in these other languages, however I may have originally recorded it.

2. The scheme of sounds in Dumaki may be taken to be somewhat as follows:

Vowels

a ʌ, ə æ ε e i ɪ o u ʊ (u) æi æɪ au əi

The vowels are variable in length.

Consonants

k q (kh) x g γ ŋ

t	(th)	d	n
ʈ	(ʈh)	ɖ	(ɳ)
p, pf	(ph)	b	f
č	(čh)	j	ɲ
č̣	(č̣h)	j (ž)	
ts	(ts.h)		

r
(-r-)
l, (l)
w
y
(y)
z

s
š
ṣ̌

ž (j)

3. Notes on the Consonants

x and γ, as in Shina, probably occur only in borrowed words: *taxt-as* was also recorded as *takt-as*

γ sometimes takes the place of Bu. y e.g.

baγum, šameγ

The aspirates kh, th, ʈh, čh, č̣h and ts.h are all, as far as I am concerned, hypothetical.

ɾ was recorded only as a variant of medial -d- e.g. *baɖo, bari* big; *beɖa*, gen. *beɾe.i*, sheep.

I thought I heard the curious Bu. sound y in a few words, which, strangely enough are not Bu. words:

<i>čiy</i>	pine-tree	<i>peya's</i>	I shall fall
<i>di.orya</i>	grandson	? <i>koroy</i>	dig thou!

There seemed to be some fluidity in the Nasals, as I

found myself at different times recording the same word with, n, ŋ, and ɲ, e.g.

anina	<i>to bring</i>	a'n	a'ɲ
gaŋina	<i>to tie</i>	gaŋina	gaɲinɲ
thin	<i>there</i>	thi'ɲ	thiŋ

There is occasional nasalisation of vowels as in the 1st pl. čhõ· *we are*, hõ· *we became*, but in other verbs the 1st pl. ending has been recorded as an unnasalised vowel + m, e.g. a'm *we shall come*, huyo'm *we became*.

There is vowel nasalisation in the numerals, e.g.

šõw·æi	16,	satā'i	17,
--------	-----	--------	-----

but these are the ordinary Shina forms and have probably been adopted from that language.

Tones

4. I marked a high tone in the final vowel of certain verbal forms, notably in the final -a of the Infinitive, and sometimes in that of the Imperative plural, and the -i of the Past Participle Active. Sometimes also in the final -a of a masc. sg. Adjective.

MORPHOLOGY

NOUNS

5. Nouns in Dumaki are either masculine or feminine and are inflected for number and case.

There are two numbers, Singular and Plural, and the nominative plural is marked by special endings.

There are case-endings denoting the Genitive, Dative, Ablative and Locative. A Transitive Nominative seems

to be distinguished in certain circumstances, and there is a further case-ending marking what is in essence a General oblique, but is also specially associated with the Locative denoting "on".

The Nominative Singular of nouns may end in any simple consonant (including č and ts), or in one of the vowels -a, -i, -o.

I am not able in all cases to say whether the simple form of a noun ends in a consonant or in -a, as some nouns have been recorded only with a suffix -Λk, -Λka denoting singleness.

The majority of nouns ending in a consonant are masculine, and of those ending in -i are feminine.

In a number of words, most of which are feminine, -a seems to be a special Dumaki addition. E.g.:

pana,	pa ^Λ ma,	suria
Its extrinsic nature is clear in borrowed words such as:		
čhiřa,	đena,	ř ^Λ pika

Number

6. The principal plural endings are:

-a, ε-, -ŋ, -iŋ, -iŋa, -oŋ and -uŋ.

The following have been recorded only with words denoting relatives:

masc. -a[·]ra, -a[·]re; fem. -iriŋ; mf. -tsəra.

-a

7. This is the normal plural suffix of nouns ending in a consonant. These nouns appear to be almost all masculine.

Examples:

		Pl.
man'iš	<i>man</i>	man'iša
baskareṭ	<i>wether</i>	baskareṭa
bi·k	<i>willow</i>	bi·ka
če·č	<i>field</i>	če·ča
gandəl	<i>small rafter</i>	gandəla
gw.a's	<i>infant</i>	gw.a'sa
puršum	<i>flea</i>	puršuma
and many others.		

Also

sam	<i>hole in flute</i>	sama
sinč	<i>roof-beam</i>	sinča
tut'ek	<i>musical pipe</i>	tuteka
yu'lgīš	<i>case of pipe</i>	yu'lgīša
which were all recorded as feminine.		

8. i. In words which end in -o·- and -o- + a consonant these vowels change to -a·- and -a-, -ə- respectively when the plural suffix -a is added.

Examples:

		pl.
ako·y	<i>walnut</i>	aka·ya
biro·nč	<i>mulberry</i>	biranča
bit'o·r	<i>husband</i>	bitara
do·n	<i>ox</i>	da·na
həro·č	<i>pitchfork</i>	həranča
šil'o·k	<i>story</i>	šilaga
tigo·n	<i>egg</i>	tigana
ts.hindo·r	<i>bull</i>	ts.hindara
bos	<i>ploughshare</i>	basa
bot	<i>stone</i>	bata

don	<i>tooth</i>	dana
dor	<i>door</i>	dara
gor	<i>house</i>	gara
hoš	<i>plough</i>	haša
hoṭ	<i>bone</i>	haḍa
kon	<i>ear</i>	kaṇa
šer'on	<i>roof</i>	šer'ana
y'Λṭol	<i>oorial</i>	yΛṭala

ii. There are, however, a few words in which o', o does not change to a', Λ:

koṭ	<i>wood</i>	koṭa
koṭ	<i>fort</i>	koṭa
tom	<i>tree</i>	toma

iii. A few cases have been recorded in which the plural suffix -a is added to a word ending in a vowel:

ipo	m.	<i>dovetail</i>	ipo'wa
birΛyo	m.	<i>foal</i>	birΛyo.a
čiy	m.	<i>pine-tree</i>	čiya

(This word seemed to me to have a final y, but in Shina it is simply čī).

katu	m.	<i>clothes</i>	katu.a
ka'u	m.	<i>pigeon</i>	kauwa, ka.u'wa
kir'oi	f.	<i>shoulder-basket</i>	kir'æya
pīriyiri	m.	<i>flange of part of mouthpiece of reed- pipe</i>	pīriyiri.a
sur'n'æi	f.	<i>reed-pipe</i>	sur'n'æi.a
sur'næiči	m.	<i>piper</i>	sur'næiči.a

iv. The suffix -a replaces -o in:

po	m.	<i>foot</i>	pa
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šun'o m.

dog

šun'a

-ε

9. This ending replaces a final -a or -o of the singular. As far as is known, all the nouns concerned are masculine.

ɓak'ra	<i>goat</i>	ɓak'ire
bərpa	<i>poplar</i>	bərpe
di.o'ya	<i>grandson</i>	di.o'ye
go'w'a	<i>horse</i>	go'we
kaula	<i>liver</i>	kaule
mɔqula	<i>pulley-wheel</i>	mɔqule
mu'ša	<i>rat</i>	mu'še
sɔsura	<i>father-in-law</i>	sɔsure
ošæyo	<i>hare</i>	ušæiye
ɓɔčo'ʔo	<i>calf</i>	ɓɔčo'ʔe
čhumo	<i>fish</i>	čhume
j'oʔo	<i>boy</i>	j'oʔe
pa'lo	<i>young of animal</i>	pa'le
pfa'ltso	<i>bug</i>	pfa'ltse
pæɪ.a'lo	<i>herdsman</i>	pæɪ.a'le
pfi'čo	<i>mosquito</i>	pfi'če
sa.'u'o	<i>sister's son</i>	sa.'u'e
ta'ro	<i>star</i>	ta're

In Shina -ε is the normal plural ending of masculine nouns which in the singular end in -o, e.g. 'ɔšpo, pl. 'ɔšpe, *horse*. It also sometimes replaces a final -a (and -i and -u) of the singular, e.g. mu'ša', pl. mu'še' *man*.

All the Dumaki nouns in -o given above, except *ɓɔčo'ʔo* and *pfa'ltso*, are found in Shina.

-ŋ

10. This is added to feminine nouns ending in -i.

Λšæi	<i>apricot</i>	Λšæiŋ
bΛba·i	<i>apple</i>	bΛba·iŋ
bešili	<i>musical pipe</i>	bešiliŋ
bitAli	<i>shelf</i>	bitAliŋ
čili	<i>juniper</i>	čiliŋ
dəro·ti	<i>part of doorframe</i>	dəro·tiŋ
gæi	<i>cow</i>	gæiŋ
hΛn'i	<i>kernel</i>	hΛn'iŋ
jə.i	<i>woman</i>	jə.iŋ
me·li	<i>wife</i>	me·liŋ
piti·ši	<i>cat</i>	piti·šiŋ

This and the following nasal endings have no parallel in Shina. Further afield we have such forms as:

Gujuri	bΛkri f.	<i>goat</i>	pl.	bΛkri
	trimt f.	<i>woman</i>		trimtē
Kangri	baihn f.	<i>sister</i>		baihnŋ
	ga f.	<i>cow</i>		ga.iŋ

and in Hindustani *mez* f. *table* pl. *mezē*.

It seems highly improbable that Dumaki should have borrowed from Burushaski the -ŋ that is characteristic of its y pl. endings, or from Balti Tibetan its pl. -ŋ.

-iŋ

11. This suffix is added to a few feminine nouns ending in a consonant, and replaces final -a in a few other feminine nouns. Those on record are:

			Pl.
a)	Λçh (or Λçhi?)	<i>eye</i>	Λçhiŋ

Λk	<i>fire</i>	Λg'iŋ
bər	<i>nullah</i>	bəriŋ
hər	<i>nullah</i>	həriŋ
la·č	<i>fox</i>	la·čiŋ
pfΛtɔ·r (or pfΛtɔ·ri?)	<i>dried apricots</i>	pfΛtɔ·riŋ
b) agu·la	<i>finger</i>	agu·liŋ
bəra	<i>pond</i>	bəriŋ
čila	<i>fireplace</i>	čiliŋ

I also recorded it in:

sina (or sin?)	<i>river</i>	siniŋ
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which I recorded with a masculine form of the verb “to be”; but the Shina *sin* is feminine.

-ŋa

12. This has been recorded as added to a final -i in twelve nouns, of which seven are feminine, two masculine and three uncertain:

eʃΛki	f.	<i>sling</i>	eʃΛkiŋa
ču·ni	f.	<i>firewood</i>	ču·niŋa
go·li	f.	<i>kind of bread</i>	go·liŋa
həri·çi	m.	<i>saw</i>	həri·çiŋa
kirk'Λli	m.	<i>lizard</i>	kirkΛliŋa
kunæli	f.	<i>stick</i>	kunæliŋa
x'ΛmΛli	f.	<i>kind of bread</i>	xΛmΛliŋa
mΛmuši	f.	<i>lamb</i>	mΛmušiŋa
(pfu·ŋi?)		<i>moustache</i>	pfu·ŋiŋa

(cp. Shina pfuŋə f.)

til'i		<i>spleen</i>	tiliŋa
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(cp. H. tilli f.)

to·ni	f.	<i>lower part of bra-</i>	to·niŋa
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cing of kettledrum

to'ri *peg (in drum)* to'riŋa

There are a few instances of its being added to nouns with a final -a:

tΛγo'ba		<i>mud</i>	tΛγo'ba'ŋa(?)
ya	f.	<i>heart, kidney</i>	ya'ŋa
ya	mf.	<i>bear</i>	ya'ŋa

(The pl. of tΛγo'ba has only been recorded in tΛγoba'ŋe che

-oŋ, -uŋ

13. -oŋ has been recorded as replacing final -a in thirteen nouns, and as added to a final consonant in three.

-uŋ, probably only a variant of -oŋ, replaces final -a in two nouns and is added to a final consonant in one.

a) bΛsta	m.	<i>upper board of comb of loom</i>	bΛstoŋ
be'ɖa	f.	<i>sheep</i>	be'ɖoŋ
čhi'ša	m.	<i>mountain</i>	čhi'šoŋ
ɖΛn'u'a	m.	<i>bow</i>	ɖΛnu.'oŋ
ɖena	f.	<i>year</i>	ɖ'enoŋ
gi.a	f.	<i>song</i>	gi.oŋ
jΛɖa	f.	<i>goat's hair</i>	jΛɖoŋ
khΛša	f.	<i>mouth</i>	khΛšoŋ
ku'ɖa	m.	<i>wall</i>	kuɖoŋ
pərp'i'ta	f.	<i>yoke-tie</i>	pərp'i'toŋ
sΛɖapa	f.	<i>disc on mouth- piece of reed-pipe</i>	sΛɖapoŋ
šΛp'ika,			
šΛp'ik	m.	<i>bread</i>	šΛpikoŋ
šauka	f.	<i>loop</i>	šaukoŋ

b)	čha·r	m.	<i>cliff</i>	čha·roŋ
	mərt	f.	<i>earth cliff</i>	mərtoŋ
	šameγ	m.	<i>yoke-pin</i>	šameγoŋ
c)	čo·r	m.	<i>earth</i>	ča·ruŋ
	pa·ma	f.	<i>wool</i>	pa·muŋ
	pa·na	f.	<i>road</i>	pa·nuŋ

-a·ra, -a·re

14. These have been recorded in:

(baba)	m.	<i>father</i>	pi.a·ra
biræya	m.	<i>brother</i>	bi·ra·ra
jΔj'ε	f.	<i>woman's sister-in-law</i>	jΔja·re
pfi·pi	f.	<i>father's sister</i>	pfi·pi.a·re
šer'i	m.	<i>man's brother-in-law</i>	šera·re

and with variations in the first vowel:

jama·ča	m.	<i>son-in-law</i>	jamačə·re
(ma·mo)	m.	<i>mother's brother</i>	maudur'ε

Cp. kwa·re the plural of kok? *who?* V. § 66.

The plural ending in Shina of most words denoting relatives is *-a·re, -ia·re*¹⁾, and all the forms given above, except *pi.a·ra* and *bi·ra·ra*, are found in Shina. The final *-ε* (instead of the *-a* of the two exceptions) perhaps indicates that they are direct borrowings from that language.

ma·mo, maudur'ε corresponds to Gilgiti Šiṇa *ma·ma* || *mo·l*, pl. *mo·li, mo·l'a·re*, Kuhi Šiṇa *mau·la·re*.

¹⁾ This ending is referred to by J. Bloch in "L'Indo-Aryen", 1934, pp. 170—1.

-iriŋ, -riŋ.

15. This is the feminine equivalent of *-ara* and has been recorded in:

ba·uti	f.	<i>daughter-in-law</i>	ba·utiriŋ
be·in	f.	<i>sister</i>	b'endiŋ
di·a	f.	<i>daughter</i>	di·riŋ
(mama)	f.	<i>mother</i>	me·riŋ
sauwi	f.	<i>sister's daughter</i>	sauyir'iŋ
šuš	f.	<i>mother-in-law</i>	šušir'iŋ

-tsəra.

16. This occurs in:

da·do	m.	<i>grandfather</i>	da·dotsəra
nana	f.	<i>grandmother</i>	nana·tsəra

This ending is almost identical with the Bu. *-tsəro*, which is found with the two words given above and also with a number of genuine Bu. words.

Anomalous Plurals.

17. The following anomalous plurals may be noted:

ban		<i>joint</i>	banuyə
həro·č	m.	<i>pitchfork</i>	həra·nča
pu·č	m.	<i>son</i>	pe·
šəra		<i>ibex</i>	ša·ri
žija	m.	<i>falling stone</i>	} are the same for } sg. and pl.
jauwa	m.	<i>sinew</i>	
mo·		<i>month</i>	also remains constant,

at any rate with numerals, e.g.

ek mo· *one month*; du·i mo· *two months*.

pu·č is Shina, and the form pe· is used in several dialects (Chilasi, Astori, Gurezi) for the plural.

šəra is used in Shina for "game animals" (including ibex, markhor and oorial). It serves as both singular and plural.

THE SUFFIX OF SINGLENES

[m. -ək, f. -λka].

18. Like Shina, Dumaki employs what is apparently the numeral "one" as a suffix with nouns to denote a single specimen, an individual. In many cases it is equivalent to the English Indefinite Article. In both languages it is also attached to certain Pronouns, and in certain circumstances to Adjectives.

In Shina this suffix is uniformly -ək, -λk. In Dumaki it is -ək with masculine nouns, but -λka with feminine nouns.

Where the noun ends in a vowel, that vowel usually absorbs or dominates the vowel of the suffix.

An internal -o- in the noun remains unaffected in the presence of this suffix, and does not change to -a- as when plural or case suffixes are added.

No instance has been recorded in Dumaki in which the suffix of singleness is added to a word in the plural. This may be accidental, as in Shina -ək is frequently attached to plurals to convey the idea of a group or multiple unity. The same is true of Burushaski, which employs a similar technique, but has different suffixes for the singular and plural, viz. -λn, which seems to be referable to the numeral *han one*, for the sg., and -ik for the plural.

In all three languages the ordinary numeral "one"

is commonly placed in front of a noun carrying the suffix of singleness, the numeral and the suffix reinforcing each other; but either the numeral or the suffix may be used alone.

Nearly 30 examples of the masculine suffix, and nearly 20 of the feminine, have been recorded. The following are typical specimens. (*čha* is the masc., and *čhi* the feminine form of the 3rd pers. sing. of the Present tense of the Verb "to be").

19. Masculine Nouns

a) Final Consonant

do'n	<i>ox</i>	do'nek čha <i>there is an ox</i>
mΛni'š	<i>man</i>	mΛni'šek čha
hΛldin	<i>he-goat</i>	ek hΛldinΛk čha
tigo'n	<i>egg</i>	tigo'nek čha

b) -a, -'a

pa'dš'a	<i>king</i>	ek pa'dša.ek čha'ka
šΛlda	<i>command</i>	šΛlda'k
bərpa	<i>poplar</i>	bərpa'k čha
ki'rma	<i>snake</i>	ki'rmΛk
bΛkira(?)	<i>goat</i>	bΛkirak čha

c) -o

birΛγo	<i>foal</i>	birΛγo.ek čha
pfičo	<i>mosquito</i>	pfičok čha
čhumo	<i>fish</i>	čhumuk
pa'lo	<i>young of animal</i>	pa'luk

d) -u

de'u	<i>demon</i>	de'u.ek
------	--------------	---------

e)	-a'o, -a'u		
	κλνα'ο(?)	<i>counsel</i>	κλνα'wək
	ka'u, ka.u'	<i>pigeon</i>	kauwək, ka.u'uk

20. Feminine Nouns

a) Final Consonant

bər	<i>nullah</i>	bəɾλka čhi	<i>there is a nullah</i>
mərt	<i>earth-cliff</i>	mərtλka čhi	

b) -a

be'ɖa	<i>sheep</i>	ɛka be'ɖλka čhi	
pλna	<i>road</i>	pλnλka čhi	

c) -i

ča'li	<i>she-goat</i>	ɛka ča'lika čhi	
me'li	<i>wife</i>	me'lika	
hλni	<i>kernel</i>	ɛka hλn'ika čhi	
pɾitiʃ'i	<i>cat</i>	ɛka pɾitiʃ'ika čhi	
gæi	<i>cow</i>	ɛka gæi.ɛka	
jəi, joi	<i>woman</i>	ɛka jəi.λka (J. Kh.)	

d) There are a few anomalies which are probably due to errors in hearing and recording.

bλco'ɬo	<i>calf</i>	bλčo'ɬa'k	
la'č	<i>fox</i>	ɛk la'čɛka chi	
sina	<i>river</i>	ɛka sinλka čha	
mλniʃ qəɾqɑ'muts-λka(?)		čha	<i>it is a cock</i>
joi qəɾqɑ'muts-ika		čhi	<i>it is a hen</i>

Both *la'č* and *sina* have fem. pl. forms, and *sin* is f. in Shina, so we ought probably to have:

ɛka la'čλka čhi
ɛka sinλka čhi

21. As in Shina and Burushaski, case suffixes are added after the suffix of singleness:

banda	<i>person</i>	banda·k-išu	<i>to a person</i>
čom	<i>skin</i>	čomek-išu	<i>(in)to a skin</i>

Case

22. Case relationships are indicated by suffixes supplemented by postpositions.

No complete declension of any single type of noun was obtained.

For the singular I have the principal case-forms of

gor *house*

and these are supplemented by a considerable number of case-forms of other nouns scattered throughout my material.

Of the plural, however, very few forms have been recorded, except those of the nominative, already referred to in the section dealing with Number. In fact they are limited to two Transitive Nominatives, four Genitives and one Locative 2.

It is true that the principal cases of the Personal Pronouns were ascertained and that the inflections of these in the singular appear to be identical with those recorded of the nouns, but it would not be safe to assume a similarly exact correspondence in the plural.

As explained in the Introduction, I endeavoured to supplement my material by questionnaires addressed to my friend, Gushpūr Jamāl Khān. In this case I tried to obtain through him full declensions of the nouns:

gor, maniš, jo'i, and pana.

Jamal Khan did his best, but the results are not all that could be desired, for a variety of reasons, including the difficulties of the phonetic rendering, without any recognised system, of a quite unknown language, and uncertainty in equating cases in different languages. I deal separately with J. Kh.'s forms, so far as they supplement my own and appear to be reasonably accurate, in §§ 27—29.

23. The forms recorded of *gor*, *house* are as follows:

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	<i>gor</i>	<i>g'ər-a</i>
Trs. Nom.	—	—
Acc.	<i>gor</i>	—
Gen.	<i>g'ə-rei</i>	—
Dat.	<i>g'ər-ʌʃu</i> , <i>gər-'ʌʃu</i>	—
Abl.	<i>gər-ʌsmo</i>	—
Loc. 1.	<i>g'ər-ena</i>	—
Gen. Obl. } Loc. 2. }	<i>g'ər-ʌs</i>	—

The change of -o', -o- in the base of a noun to -a', -ʌ-, when case-suffixes are added to it, appears to be the rule, just as when plural suffixes are added (cp § 8.i.).

24. The case-endings deducible from my own material are:

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	conson., -o, -a, -i	-a, -ŋ, etc. v. §§ 5 & 6.

Trs. Nom.	-an	-ε, —
Acc.	same as N̄om., (-as?)	same as Nom.
Gen.	-ε, (-ei, -æi), -i	-εηε, -ηε
Dat.	-ašu, -išu	—
Abl.	-asmo, (-o)	—
Loc. 1		—
Inessive	} 1. -ana, -ena, -ina,	—
Illative		
	2. -e'ni, -eηi	
Ablative	1. -ano	—
	2. -eηo	
Gen. Obl.	} -as	
Loc. 2		
Superpositive		
Instr.		

It will be seen later that the Ablative is frequently rendered by a postposition *po*, itself the Abl. of a form *pa* meaning *beside, with, "apud"*.

25. The following are case-forms of other nouns which have been recorded. Where a suffix is added to the Nom. Sg. form of the noun, that form is given followed by a hyphen and the suffix; where a suffix is added to a modified base, the Nom. Sg. is given in brackets.

Case forms of the Singular

Trs. Nom. Dyu Saŋi'd-an, pa'dša-n, kuyo'č-an, šæi-n
 Acc. (All the same as the Nom.) ak, bir'ša, bo(r)t,
 dor, gor, gowa, kita'b, krom, me'lika, pa'dša,
 pino'n, sanduqa, tamlaša, and others.

Gen. (Questionable, Š. Ba'no'-s, jə'i-s, v. § 33.4.)
 (ačhi (?), ačh J. Kh.), ačh'i- (in compounds and
 perhaps not a genitive); (ʌšæi) ʌšæyε; (ba'u.a)
 bauwi; (be'ɖa) be'ɖe'i, be'ɖe'i; be'in-i; bi'k-ε;
 (biræya) biro'yε, biro'ya; (bir'ša) bir'šæi; (bi-
 to'r) bita're; (ča'li) ča'li; ɖa'mʌl-ei; dərča-ε;
 (do'n) da'nei; hʌli'ž'a-ε, hʌl'i'žei; hʌt-ei; jʌ-
 kun-ε; ki'rts-ə; lomin'a-i; mama-ε; (me'li)
 me'li; (nok) nʌkæi; (pi'ni) pi'ni; (pɪti'ši)
 pɪti'ši; (po) pa'ε; surne'i-yə; (ša'ka) ša'kei;
 (šun'o) šuna'yi, šunæi; ya'-ε.

biræya presents an unexpected inversion of
 the usual *o* → *a* rule.

It will be noted that the majority of the
 Genitives in -i belong to nouns which end in -i
 in the Nom. The -i of the Genitive may repre-
 sent a theoretical -i + ε, or -i + i. The same
 situation exists in Shina in the case of nouns
 ending in -i, in which similarly the -ε of the
 Gen. Sg. does not appear.

Dat. (b'əra) bər'išu; (bir'ša) birš'ʌšu, birš'ʌšu;
 č'om-ek-Išu; dun'a't-ʌšu; (irin'a) 'irinʌšu;
 kuyoč-ʌšu; mu'n-ʌšu; muš-ʌšu; nuxsa'n-ʌšu;
 sʌʌa'm-ʌšu; sæɪl-ʌšu; (šæi?) šæišu; šen-'ʌšu.

Abl. (bʌɖu'na) bʌɖun'ʌsmo; mi'z-ʌsmo; tit'i'ro-
 smo; wʌxt-ʌsmo

Loc. 1 (ʌgo'š) ʌga'šina; ba'š-ena; (dor) dərɛnε;
 hʌgigʊts-ʌna (?); hər-'ʌnə; š'ɛn-ʌna; u'š-'ʌna;
 wʌxt-'ʌna.

An Ablative form of this Locative was recorded in:

kiræyano (Nom. sg. kiro'i, pl. kiræya)
J.Kh. has (gor) gəɾano and (pɾana) pɾanano. V. § 43

-e'ni This ending appears in several derivative Adverbs:

(ba'r) bare'ni (hɒgi) hɒge'ni

(mu'n) mun-e'ni (pɾɕi) pɾɕe'ni

and also with an ordinary noun in:

asman-e'ni, asma'n-ɛŋi, with an Abl. form

asma'n-ɛŋo V. §§ 44 and 45

For the endings of doubtful form and significance:

-ɒŋo or -ŋo

and -ɒmo or -mo V. §§ 46 and 96—99

Gen. Obl. and Loc. 2

(ɒk) ɒgis; gɒʃ-ɒs; (go'wa) gow'ɒs; (gia?) gyɒs;

hɒgidɛn-ɒs; jo'i-s; kɒŋɒɾ-ɒs; ki'li-s; mi'z-ɒs;

nu'r-ɒs; pa'dʃa'-s; (ʃəro'n) ʃəɾɒnɒs; tɒxt-ɒs;

the'ŋuʃ-ɒs; tobɒq-ɒs.

It will be observed that -i- replaces -ɒ- in the oblique case-endings of a few feminine nouns. These are:

ɒgo'ʃ ɒga'ʃ-ina

ɒk ag-is

bəra bəɾ-iʃu

sin(a?) sin-ino (J.Kh.)

Case forms of the Plural

26. The following table shows the oblique case-forms of the plural, recorded in my material.

Sg. Nom. Meaning	ba'k'ira <i>goat</i>	Dom <i>Dom</i>	gæi <i>cow</i>	gi'a <i>song</i>	hɔni <i>kernel</i>	kɔti <i>clothes</i>	ma'ma, ma'ya <i>mother</i>	qismɔtga'ɾ <i>servant</i>
<i>Plural</i>								
Nom.	ba'k'ir-ε	Dom-a	gæi-ŋ	gi-o'ŋ	hɔni-ŋ	kɔt-a	me'-riŋ	qismɔtga'ɾ-a
Trs. Nom.	—	Dom-'ε	—	—	—	—	—	qismɔtga'ɾ-ε
Acc.	—	—	—	gi-o'ŋ	—	kɔtu-a	—	qismɔtga'ɾ-a
Gen.	ba'kir-ε'ŋε	Dom-εŋε	gæi-ŋε	—	hɔni-ŋε	—	—	—
Loc. 2.	—	—	—	—	—	—	me'-rits	—

27. I shall now endeavour to set out the relevant matter contained in Jamal Khan's reply to my questionnaire, which contained phrases in English, Urdu and Burushaski involving the principal cases of the noun *gor*, *house*, in the singular; and the nouns *maniš*, *man*, *jəi*, *woman*, and *paṇa*, *road* in both the singular and plural.

In doing this I must to some extent rely on my own judgment in normalising his transliteration, which in many respects appears to be inexact, inconsistent and calculated to puzzle or mislead. In the case of the consonants there is a haphazard use of "cerebral spots", and *čh* if it exists, is not distinguished from *č*. Otherwise there are few ambiguities.

The vowels present more numerous and more varied problems:

e appears to be used for *e* and *ɛ*, but also on occasion for *ə*, and apparently for *i* (following the name of the letter in English).

a represents *a*, *ʌ* and *ə* and sometimes perhaps a final *-e* (following the name of the letter in English).

i serves ordinarily for both *i* and *ɪ*.

o and *u* seem often to be used indifferently

oo may represent apparently either *oʊ* or *uʊ*.

ou seems to be used for *o*, *u* and *ʊ*.

Length marks, e.g. as in *ā*, are liberally used and omitted, and seem often to have side-slipped on to a wrong vowel or even on to a consonant. Over double vowels they are difficult to interpret, e.g. in *jēā* (for my *jei*, *jæi*).

It will, I think, be appreciated that this system of representation leaves much to the pre-knowledge, critical acumen, or lucky conjecture of the reader.

Masculine

Feminine

	Masculine			Feminine	
	Sg. 1	Sg. 2	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	gor = <i>house</i>	maniš = <i>man</i>	maniša = <i>men</i>	jo.i = <i>woman</i>	jo.iḡ = <i>women</i>
Trs. Nom.	—	manišan	maniša	jo.i.a, jo.i.aka	jo.iḡa
Acc.	gor	maniš(ek)	maniša	jo.i	jo.iḡ
Gen.	gərei, gərai	manišei	manišəḡa	joya	jo.iḡa
Dat.	gərləšu	manišəšo	manišəčo	jo.išo	jo.ičo
Abl.	— (gərano)	— (maniša po)	— (maniša po)	“joisoomo” (= jo.ismo?)	(jo.i po)
Loc. 1 Abl.	gərena gərano	—	—	—	—
Gen. Obl. Loc. 2	gəras	manišas	manišas	—	—

Feminine

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	pana = <i>road</i>	panuŋ
Trs. Nom.	—	—
Acc.	pana	panuŋ
Gen.	panei	panuŋa
Dat.	panašu	—
Abl.	— (panano)	panuŋtsum
Loc. 1 Abl.	panana panano	panaŋo
Gen. Obl. Loc. 2	panas	panaŋo ("panago")

29. The following remarks may be made on the forms in the above tables and on others contained in Jamal Khan's material.

Trans. Nom. One more singular form occurs: šain. The final -a in the plural forms perhaps represents the -ε recorded by me.

Acc. Out of about a dozen forms supplied none has the suffix -as, all are identical with the Nom. The Acc., Gen. and Abl. Pl. of pana are given with -oŋ- in place of -uŋ-.

- Gen.* The final -a in the plural forms again perhaps stands for -ε. Other Gen. Sg. s are:
 thλpai
 rothai (probably incorrect for my rλte.i)
 and “gereve” belonging to the word for *butter*, recorded by me as gi'ryu. It is probably intended to represent something like gi'rive or gi'ruve.
- Dat.* Where the final -o appears, it probably stands for -u. The Pl. forms mλnišΔčo and jo.ičo are interesting as they tally with my Pronominal forms, e.g. λm'ε *we*; λm'εču *to us*.
- Abl.* The only purely Abl. forms given are: “joi-sōomo”, in which I can only imagine the -oo- to be a pure error, and beblλsmo (hλgi), (*before*) *midday*. In the Plural pλnuηtsum, the -tsum is the Burushaski Abl. suffix. Whether such composite forms are really current I do not know.
- Loc. 1* The singular forms given for gor and pλna are what I should expect for “in . . .” and “from in . . .”, but the plural forms of pλna appear dubious. What Jamal Khan actually wrote is “panango” = *in the roads* (Loc. 1) and “panago” = *on the roads* (Loc. 2).
- Loc. 2 and Gen. Obl.* What Jamal Khan wrote for mλniš is: sg. “manishās”, pl. “manišhas”, whereas the sg. must certainly be mλnišΔs, and for the pl. one would expect something like

māniṣats. The pl. "panago", or even pānāḡo which was probably intended, must certainly be wrong. Jamal Khan has at least five other singular forms with the suffix -as.

THE NATURE OF THE CASE-SUFFIXES AND THE USES OF THE CASES

Trans. Nom.

30. The suffix -an has been recorded only with masculine nouns denoting human beings, when they are the subjects of transitive verbs. Of this combination I have only examples in which the verb is in the past tense, but the Agent forms of the Pronouns have been recorded with the present tenses. It is reasonable to suppose that the Agent forms of nouns are also used with the present as well as with the past tenses, and this is corroborated by one example in Jamal Khan's material. The construction is active, not passive, the verb agreeing with the Trans. Nom. and not with the object. This places Dumaki in line with Shina and Burushaski, as opposed to Hindi and Kashmiri. See further § 101.

This suffix has not been recorded in conjunction with the suffix -ek, but Jamal Khan has ek māniṣan, so it does not appear that it is only used with definite nouns.

With sing. feminine nouns the corresponding suffix is -a, if one may judge from Jamal Khan's jo.i, joya. (Cp. also the Pron. ha'i, she, Trans. Nom. hey'a).

Acc.

31. The existence of an accusative case of nouns is an assumption rather than a demonstrable fact. The noun when it is the object of a transitive verb is the same in form as when it is the subject of an intransitive verb.

When, however, it is followed by a postposition, it usually takes the suffix *-as*, and it is a question whether this occasionally happens when it is the object of a transitive verb. The accusative of the Personal Pronouns have regular forms in *'s*, e.g. *ma, I, mas me*. The matter is further discussed below.

Gen.

32. There appear to be two distinct genitive endings, *-i* and the more general *-ε*, of which *-ei, -æi* are merely variants. Curiously enough *-ε* acts as the genitive suffix both in Shina and Burushaski. No unusual use of the genitive has been noted, except that Jamal Khan gives *thapai* (Nom. *thop*) as meaning "at night". This is probably a direct borrowing of the Burushaski *thape* (Nom. *thap*), with the same meaning, where it is probably to be regarded as the General Oblique.

The Gen. Obl. and Loc. 2

33. It will be convenient at this point to consider the suffix *-as*, because, apart from its own independent uses, it appears to form a constituent part of the suffixes of the Dat. and Abl.

Before discussing the question of its provenance, I shall first attempt to detail its various uses so far as these are known. These may be stated as follows:

- 1) Referring to Place, it denotes “on”, “upon”.
- 2) Instrumental, “with”.
- 3) Referring to Time, “on”, “upon” with verbal parts, indicating immediate sequence of one action on another.
- 4) Accusative, with Personal Pronouns which are the direct objects of Transitive Verbs, doubtfully with nouns in the same situation.
- 5) With nouns when certain Postpositions are appended to them.
- 6) As the first element in the Dat. and Abl. suffixes, -ʌʂu and -ʌsmo respectively.

In proof of these uses the following examples may be given:

i. **Place**, “on”, “upon”, corresponding to the Shina -'j¹⁾, Burushaski -ʌʂe, and -tse.

tʌxt-ʌs beʂta *he sat on the throne,*

Bu. tʌxt-ʌʂe huruʂimi.

ʂəraŋ-ʌs niʂhiʂta *he went up onto the roof,*

Sh. teʂi-j niʂhaʂto,

Bu. teʂ¹-ʌʂe duʂimi.

gow'-ʌs piŋæin *he mounted on the horse*

Bu. haɣur-ʌʂe hulɣami,

Sh. ʌʂp-ɪ-j piŋoʂiki (*to mount (on) a horse*).

More examples could be quoted, I append one from J.Kh. because it duplicates a Shina-Burushaski idiom:

tʌ-s the.i *put it in the sun,*

¹⁾ Usually -ej, -ij, -iĉ, but the vowel is to be regarded as the General Oblique ending of the noun.

Sh. su'rij vi,
Bu. sa'Λ-tse o's.

In a metaphorical sense:

nu'r-Λs a'šiq huya' *he fell in love with his beauty,*

Cp. Bu. pərimu-ʔe a'šiqimΛnimi
he fell in love with the fairy.

So also in Shina.

te mΛs u'š čhi *your debt is on me i.e. I owe
you (money)*

Bu. u'ŋe ja'-ʔe u'š bila.

So also in Shina.

ii. **Instrumental**, "with", "by means of", corresponding to the Bu. -Λʔe.

tobaq-Λs ten'in *he shot (s.t.) with the gun*

Bu. tobaq-Λʔe delimi.

kaŋaŋ-Λs tΛni(n) čha *he has struck with a sword*
ki'li-s krami *working with a pick*

gaš-Λs de'(i)na

to sell } may perhaps be en-
tered under this
to buy } heading.

and

gaš-Λs le'ina

J. Kh. has three instances of the Instrumental:

tubaq-Λs tanin *he shot with a gun*

čatal-ane... tenin *he felled (a tree) with an axe*

kaŋaŋ-a' tei marin *he killed... striking (?)
with a sword.*

In the second example -ne is perhaps the Ppa. of the Bu. verb "to do", in the third tei is presumably the Ppa. of the D. te'na, = "striking".

In 2 and 3 there appears to be an Instrumental suffix -a'. This is perhaps to be equated with the Shina Instru-

mental -'o of which a couple of examples have been recorded, one being κληαρ-'o.

iii. **Temporal.** There is one instance of -ΛS being used with a noun with some sort of temporal significance:

hΛgiden-ΛS *the year before last*

This form, which apparently consists of hΛgi *before* + dena *year* + -ΛS was recorded without context.

More important, because it is paralleled in Burushaski, is a single example of -ΛS affixed to a verbal form. This occurs in the text:

D.S. s̄aɪlʌʂu gyΛS, B.S. g'i'a *On D.S.'s going for an outing, B.S. went off, i.e. when D.S. had gone. . . . B.S. went off.* T.8.

Here s̄aɪlʌʂu gyΛS was explained as equivalent to Bu. s̄aɪl̄ər ni'mtse, i.e. the Static Participle ni'm *being gone* + tse. Bu. -tse means "on" in certain contexts.

Dumaki has no Static Pc. and gyΛS appears to consist of gi- the Past Base, or a Verbal Noun form gia, of the verb "to go", (Infin. ja'na) + -ΛS. Cp. § 100. Bu. has constructions with the suffix -Λt̄ε which may be explained in a similar way, and Sh. uses -ɪj with parts of verbs.

iv. **Accusative.** The accusative forms of the Personal pronouns undoubtedly have the suffix -ΛS. For example:

tus a'nɪm čhi's *I have brought thee, T.4,*

where tus cannot be anything but the accusative.

With nouns the case is not clear. Only two examples have been recorded by me, and none occurs in J.Kh's material.

ša'ri Ba'no'-s lom'iɲ *he seized Sh. Bano, T. 8,*

is almost certainly not an example. With the corresponding verb in Shina lamo'ɪki the object seized takes the suffix -'j "on":

rešə hətɪj lami

*seizing her hand, lit. laying
hold on her hand*

So also with the Bu. du'nas, *to seize*:

muriŋ-tse du'n which is exactly parallel to the Shina. It is therefore highly probable that the Dumaki similarly means "he seized on", or, "laid hands on Sh. Bano".

With only one other verb has the direct object been recorded in the form of a noun + as. This is te'na *to strike, hit*.

In this case the equivalent verb in Shina do'ɪki, and in Burushaski delas, take their direct objects in the accusative form, i.e. without any suffix, and the probability is that Dumaki acts in the same way. In that event jə'is (nom. jə'i) is in the accusative in the following sentence:

haeyan ha'i jə'is tenin *he struck that woman.*

If this be so, why then have we

me'li lei *taking a wife, T. 10,*

and a large number of similar examples without any -as? Perhaps the reason is that in all these cases the object is indefinite, while ha'i jə'i is definite, as also the Personal Pronouns.

But J.Kh. has

apane.i me'li tai marin čha (*a man*) *striking (?) his wife
has killed her.*

There I must leave the question.

v. **With Nouns** accompanied by a **Postposition**.

The Postpositions are dealt with later. Here it is sufficient to say that the -as suffix has been recorded with Nouns or Pronouns where they are followed by:

dirri *in the direction of*

ko't	along with
pa	to beside
hΛgi	in front of

vi. As the **first element** in the **Dative** and **Abblative suffixes**. It is impossible not to suspect the presence of this -Λs in -Λšu and -Λsmo.

Dative

34. The Dat. Sg. -Λšu would result from -Λs + yu or + 'u

The Dat. Pl. -Λčo = -Λču in two forms of J. Kh.'s is to be compared with the Dat. Pl.s of the Personal Pronouns (Nom. Λm'ε, tum'ε, εηε) Λm'εču, tum'εču, εη'εču, and the Acc. Pl.s Λm'ets, tum'ets, εη'ets, corresponding to the -Λs forms of the Sg. -Λču would result from -Λts + yu, or + 'u.

Two adverbial forms have also been recorded with this suffix:

kajek-aču *whither?* and tiη'εču *thither*.

There is no reason for regarding either of these as plural. See further § 109.

Ablative

35. In the Abl. Sg. -Λsmo, taking the -Λs for granted, we are left with the -mo to account for. The following facts are relevant to this issue:

1. -o appears as an Abl. suffix in the Postpositions po ← pa, di'ro ← di'ri, tino ← tiη, tuno ← tun, and others.
2. -mo, or -Λmo appears in Λtsi-mo (Λtsi = *up*) which

I have recorded as an Adjective meaning “upper”. It does not however inflect and J.Kh. gives it as an Ablative in:

atsimo botek pe'i rendering Bu. $\gamma\lambda\tau\mu\ \delta\lambda\lambda\lambda\ \omega\lambda\text{imi}$ *a stone fell from above.*

I have also $-(\lambda)\text{mo}$ in one verbal form $\text{a}'\gamma\lambda\text{mo}$, meaning *after he has come, when he has come.*

In both Shina and Burushaski the Abl. suffix has sometimes the temporal sense of “after”. In both languages case-suffixes are used with the Infinitive, and in Burushaski the Abl. suffix is also used with the Static Participle, the Pret. and the Past base of the verb.

We have already seen Dumaki presenting an analogy to Bu. in the form $\text{gy}\lambda\text{s}$. In view of this it is reasonable to explain $\text{a}'\gamma\lambda\text{mo}$ as $\text{a}' + \gamma + \lambda\text{mo}$, i.e. the base of the verb $\text{a}'\text{na}$ *to come*, + an Abl. suffix, or as a Verbal Noun $\text{a}'\gamma\text{a} + \text{mo}$. V. §§ 96—7.

This solitary form is supported by J.Kh. who has “ayāngo” (i.e. $\text{aya}'\eta\text{o}$ for $\text{a}'\gamma\lambda\eta\text{o}$?) with the same meaning. J.Kh. also gives forms as equivalents for the Ppa. of a number of verbs consisting of the Verbal Base + $-\lambda\eta\text{o}$, or again a Verbal Noun ending in $-\text{a} + \eta\text{o}$, e.g. $\text{t}\lambda\text{sk}-\lambda\eta\text{o}$. Incidentally this disposes of the possibility of accounting for $\text{a}'\gamma\lambda\text{mo}$ as $\text{a}'\gamma\text{a}$, *he came*, + mo , for no part of the Pret. of $\text{t}\lambda\text{sk}-$ is $\text{t}\lambda\text{ska}$.

36. It appears safe to conclude that my $-(\lambda)\text{mo}$ and J.Kh.'s $-(\lambda)\eta\text{o}$ are one and the same.

The $m = \eta$ equation does not seem to be a very serious obstacle. It occurs regularly in dialectal variants in Bu.,

and n and ŋ also sometimes interchange; while in Dumaki I have sometimes recorded n, ɲ, and ŋ as alternatives in the same word, and one verbal ending I have represented as -ō̄, -ōm, & -ōŋ. The nasals tend to be unstable.

Accepting for the present this -Λmo || -Λŋo Abl. suffix, it still remains to account for the absence of the -Λ- in the -mo of -Λsmo. It will be shown later that the -Λ- of the presumed suffix most probably pertains to the noun and not to the suffix, and that there appears in fact to be a Verbal Noun ending in -a.

Another possible explanation, however, is that this -Λ- is a sort of case-ending pertaining to the noun, which is added when the noun is followed by -mo, -ŋo. This seems to happen with the Postposition pa, when the noun preceding it does not take -Λs. We have, for instance:

pa'dša's pa gi'a	<i>he went to the king</i>
dər-Λs pa bē'š	<i>sit down beside the door</i>

(-Λs seems to be used when there is motion, expressed or implied.)

but:

mΛni'š-a pa	<i>beside, i.e. in the possession of, the man. J.Kh.</i>
-------------	--

haeɪ(y)'Λ-pa (← Nom. he'i)	šΛpik na <i>he has no bread</i>
eŋΛ-pa (← Nom. eŋ)	šΛpik na <i>they have no bread</i>

Where, however, the principal word ends in a vowel, this -Λ- does not always appear, thus: ma pa, tu pa, am'e pa, and tum'e pa.

Of the forms given above dər-Λs pa and mΛni'š-a pa seems to afford parallels to -Λs-mo and a'(y)-Λ-mo, tΛsk-Λ-ŋo.

Taking the above facts into consideration, it seems probable that there is actually in Dumaki an Abl. suffix -mo -ŋo, which may be preceded by a vowel -a-, -ʌ-.

37. Having thus established with some probability that

-ʌsmo

is a compound suffix consisting of

-ʌs = "on"

+ -mo = "from",

it may now be worth while to examine the corresponding phenomena in Şhina and Burushaski.

Besides being of the same stock as Shina, Dumaki has borrowed extensively from it in the field of vocabulary, and there are points of resemblance in grammatical usage. In the case of Burushaski, there is no question of common origin, but there has been contact which has had its effect on the vocabulary of Dumaki and even on its grammatical practice (cp. gyʌs § 33.iii.). There are however no grounds for believing that contact has obtained over any historically lengthy period, and *primâ facie* one would not expect to find that Dumaki actually owed any of its case-endings to Bu.

On the other hand Burushaski and Shina have probably been in contact for a very long time and I have elsewhere attempted to show (Transactions of the Philological Society, 1937, pp. 63-98) that there are signs of Shina's having been influenced by Burushaski in idiom and grammatical technique. It is therefore possible that the influence of Burushaski has operated on Dumaki at secondhand through Shina.

With our present insufficiency of knowledge, all such reflections must remain largely speculative. There is one point, however, which perhaps deserves to be borne in mind. This is that even where there has been no actual transference of property between two languages, there may yet be accidental resemblance of particular features, such as grammatical endings, and that, in such cases of coincidence, practice in one language will be particularly susceptible to reinforcement or even slight modification by practice in the other.

From this point of view it is interesting to notice that in the following table of certain grammatical endings in Sh., Bu. and D. there is considerable coincidence of the same, or related, sounds in the same functions.

Endings	Shina	Burushaski	Dumaki
Abl. with Nouns (usual)	(-ε)-jo	-tsum	-Λsmo
Abl. with Nouns (occasional)	—	-um	—
Alb. with Adverbs	{ -o -no	{ -um -mo	{ -o (-mo)
Abl. with Verbal Forms	—	—	{ -(Λ)mo, -(Λ)ŋo
Adjectival	-i'no	{ -um -mo, (-umo)	-mo (invariable)

38. There are two possible theories to account for the origin of the suffix -Λs.

One, would identify it with the Accusative and General Oblique suffix *-es* of Western Gypsy, which goes back through Prakrit *-a-ssa* to Sanskrit *-a-sya*, where the *-a-* is the stem vowel of the noun. Cp. also the series of Pronouns in Shina of which we may take as the type:

Nom. Sg.	ro	<i>he</i>
Genitive and	rēsei, rēse	<i>of him, etc.</i>
General Obl.		

This would seem to be a reasonably probable hypothesis, if it were not for the *-ʌts* which replaces *-ʌs* in the Plural of the Personal Pronouns, and, to judge from the Dat. Pl. suffix *-ʌču*, also in the Plural of Nouns. It seems highly improbable that *ts* should have developed from an original *s* by any natural process.

The other theory starts from *-ʌts*, which it would derive from the Adv. *ʌtsi up*, and regards *-ʌs* a reduction of *ʌts* possibly due to lack of stress. This theory has the merit, or at least the attraction, of opening up the way to a number of other correlations. A possible synthesis of these two theories is suggested further on. V. § 40.

39. I have already raised this question of the origin of *-ʌs* in the Article above referred to (Transactions of the Philological Society 1937), but for convenience I may be permitted to make a restatement here, with amplifications.

The result finally arrived at is that the ordinary Ablative suffixes (with Nouns and Pronouns) in Shina, Burushaski and Dumaki are all semantically equivalent — meaning, by derivation, “from on”. The data are set out in the following table:

	Shina	Buru-shaski	Dumaki
1. Adverb. "up", "above"	' Δ jɛ	y Δ tɛ	Δ tsi
2. Suffix, "on", "upon"	(-ɛ)-'j, -'č	{ 1. - Δ tɛ 2. -tɛɛ	{ - Δ ts (in pl.) - Δ s (in sg.)
3. Suffix, "from", etc.	-o	-um	-mo
4. Normal Ablative suffix with nouns and Pronouns, formed from 2 + 3 = "from on", = "from"	(-ɛ)-'jo	-tsum	{ - Δ tsmo (pl.) - Δ smo (sg.)

Notes

Sh. Δ jɛ Unaccented final vowels in Shina tend to be unvoiced even to the point of inaudibility. Final consonants are also frequently devoiced. The reduction of ' Δ jɛ to -j and -č is therefore natural, and it is paralleled by Δ ru Adv., "inside", and -ər I ɔc. Suffix, "in".

Sh. Δ jɛ and D. Δ tsi. Something of a case can be made out for regarding these two forms as cognate.

Δ tsi seems to appear as Δ či in my Δ čide'ni dəro'ti *lintel* (J.Kh. has Δ tside'ni upper bedding"), and conceivably we may have:

Skr. $\acute{a}dhi \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{Sh.} & \Delta j \epsilon \\ \text{D.} & \Delta \acute{c}i \rightarrow \Delta tsi \end{cases}$

I have not the courage to suggest any connection between the Bu. -tɛɛ and D. Δ tsi, - Δ ts. It is impossible to believe that Bu. should have bor-

rowed so radical an element from Dumaki. The following resemblances, however, deserve mention, even if they must be relegated to the category of curious coincidences:

Bu. -tse not only takes the Abl. suffix -um to form the general Abl. suffix -tsum, but also takes the Dat. suffix -ər. The resulting -tsər does not usually convey any literal sense of “on”, “upon”. It seems to be used of arrival at a definite point, and to be translatable by “to” (of place), “up to” (of place and time). -tse, -tsər and -tsum are sometimes preceded by a vowel -ʌ-, which is not explainable as a mere phonetic convenience, e.g. hiŋ-ʌ-tsər *to the door*.

Bu. -ʌtɛ normally denotes “on”, “on the top of”, but it is also used with instrumental force; “-tse denotes “on the surface of”, “in contact with”, without reference to the vertical scale, and has also definitely locative uses.

-ʌtɛ thus corresponds to D. -ʌs when it denotes “on”, “upon”, and when it is used as an Instrumental suffix.

-tse corresponds to D. -ʌs in the Dat. and Abl. suffixes, -ʌšu and -ʌsmo respectively.

D. -ʌts and extensions thereof are found in the declension of the Personal Pronouns and, so far as evidence goes, in that of Nouns. Also in a couple of Adverb forms.

D. -ʌs and extensions thereof are found in the singular declension of all Nouns and Pronouns.

40. To revert to the two theories of the origin of -ΛS, represented by -ΛS ← -a-ssya and -ΛS ← -Λts ← Λtsi,

I have suggested in the article already cited that the preservation of -Λts may be due to the stress accent falling on the syllables containing it, as in the forms Λm'ets, tum'ets, Λm'etsmo etc. Another possibility is that both in the Singular and Plural there were originally two sets of forms:

1. with -ΛS ← -a-sya
2. with -Λts ← Λtsi

and that, their distinctive functions becoming confused, -ΛS may have become generalised in the Singular, and -Λts in the Plural, with the result that the two forms became identified with the idea of number.

I set little store by guess-work theories based on insufficient data, such as I have been propounding. Their useful function is, by suggesting unexpected and interesting correlations to stimulate others to collect the material and carry out the investigations necessary to disprove them.

41. Having for convenience dealt with the forms of the Dative and Ablative, we may now turn to the uses of those cases.

The *Dative* is associated, in the usual way, with the ideas of "motion to", "intention", "purpose", etc., and most of the examples recorded can be paralleled in Shina and Burchaski:

me Λpane.i biršΛšu ja's *I shall go to my own country.*

T.10.

me sala'mišu a'o *come for my salam, i.e. come*
to pay your respects to me T.9, Bu. ja sala'mær ju
sæilāšu gi.a' *he went for a walk, Bu. sæilær*
 ni'mi

tušu nuxsa'nāšu ni a'nim čhi's *I have not brought you*
for injury to you T.4., i.e. *I haven't brought you to do*
 you harm.

hæi gor tumēču de'ēs *I shall give you that house*
tahe krom 'irinašu (Infin. irina = *to do*) ræi čhi?
 is it your intention to do this?, Bu. u'ŋe gute duro
 etasær ræi bila?

kuyo'če.i čomekišu je.i *going into the skin (i.e adopt-*
ing the form) of a subject. T.2. This is parallel to
Bu. baṭær niki'n, where baṭær is also the Dative.
In the corresponding phrase in Shina the Locative is
used.

42. The *Ablative* is undoubtedly associated with the
idea of "motion from" a point in place or time, "separation
from", though examples of the simplest type are lacking.
It is naturally used with the Postpositions denoting "in
front of", "before", "behind", "after".

Presumably it is used in comparisons, but of these I have
no examples.

hæiapo le *take (it) from him*
hæi gor tumetsmo hēra's *I'll take this house away from*
 you

kosmo muna's? *from whom shall I enquire?*
baḍunasmō *from his birth onwards, Bu.*
 (Infin. baḍuna, *to be born*), in dimanumtsum.

The Ablative is probably to be seen in the idiom with the verbal forms ending in -λμο || -ληο. (V. §§ 35—36 and 98).

he'i a'yλmo mas pa a'η *after he has come (i.e. when, or if, he comes), bring him to me*

gəras pa ayλjo *when he approaches the house*

Bu. ha'asi'r de'sqaltimi ke J.Kh.

gərasmo pači gi'a *he went behind the door*

mizasmο mu'n *under the table*

tahe'i waxtasmo pači *after this time*

tahe'i waxtasmo hagi *before this time*

λtsimo botek pe'i *a stone fell (?) from above.*

J.Kh. (V. also § 57).

tit'irosmo jața *hair from (on) the breast, body-hair*

In this last example we have an Ablative functioning practically as an Adjective. Another apparent example is:

Ša'ri Šaskin'o Ša'ri Ba'nu...a'gi či'ka *Shari Banu from (or, of) Shari Shaskin had come. T.7.*

In the same way the Burushaski compound suffixes ending in -um (-tsum, -ulum, -λtsum) may often be either Ablatives or Adjective-equivalents. E.g.

gaptsum i'ke biške *the hair that was on the hide.*

43. *Locative I* conveys the notion of "in", "into".

The ordinary suffix -λna, -ena can be safely identified with the Adverb λna, *in, inside*, which may also be used in conjunction with it. One example of mine, supported by two from J.Kh., seems to show an Ablative form of it: -λno, "from in".

The stress accent has sometimes been recorded on the first vowel of -ana, sometimes on the syllable preceding it.

ana g'ərəna	<i>inside the house</i>
dərəna ana gi'a	<i>he went into the house</i>
ko'ni hər'ənə?	<i>in which nullah?</i>
atsi ʌgaʃina	<i>up in the sky</i>
hæi š'enana	<i>in that garden. T.7.</i>
ha'i lomina'i uš'ana	<i>with the intention of catching her. T.7.</i>
Ḍuma'ki baʃena	<i>in the Ḍumaki language</i>

It is used of Time:

he.i wʌxt'ana	<i>at that time, then</i>
h'ʌgigutsana	<i>(on?) the day before yesterday</i>

Used in the Ablative:

kiræyano pʌʈo'riŋ ɡʌʈ	<i>take the dried apricots out of the basket (or, baskets?)</i>
-----------------------	---

(Nom. kiro'i, Obl. kiræi-; Pl. kiræya)

gərano	<i>from in the house. J.Kh.</i>
paŋano	<i>from (in) the road. J.Kh.</i>

44. There are other forms of which it is difficult to speak with certainty. In the text (T.2) asman-e'ni appears to be Loc. *in the sky*, as also the following asma'n-e'ni. The latter was originally written asma'ne'no, which would probably be the Abl. Loc. and was glossed: „from the sky”.

With this -e'ni ending is to be compared the similar ending found in conjunction with

mu'n	<i>below</i>
hʌgi	<i>in front</i>
pač'i	<i>behind</i>
and ba'r	<i>outside</i>

It was said to give the effect of *pa* in Burushaski, which may be translated in this connection as „side”.

mi'zΛsmo $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mu'n} \\ \text{mune'ni} \end{array} \right.$ *below the table*

The exact meaning with *mune'ni* is perhaps, “in the space below the table”, “on the underside of the table”.

gəɾΛsmo pΛči gi'a *he went behind the house*

gəɾΛsmo pΛče'ni *at the rear of the house, at the back of the house, Bu. ha' i'lji pa.*

h'Λgi = Bu. yər; hΛge'ni = Bu. yər pa

ba'r gi'a čha *he has gone out*

bare'ni be'ʃa *he sat outside*

mun'e'ni.o, *minenyu*, which seem to be the Ablative form of *mune'ni*, were recorded functioning as Adjectives meaning “pertaining to the lower, or under, side.”

the form *mune'nimo* was recorded as an Adjective with the meaning “lower”, “under-”.

45. As regards this *-e'ni* suffix, *-i* is apparently an adverbial, possibly a Locative, ending, for it appears in *Λtsi*, *di'ri*, *hΛgi*, *pΛči*, and is replaced in the Abl. by *-o* at any rate in the recorded forms *di'ro*, and *pΛčo*.

If *asma'neŋo*, mentioned above, was correctly recorded and correctly diagnosed as the Abl. of *asmane'ni*, then *ΛpΛneŋo* would similarly be the Abl. Loc. of *Λpo'n* *-self* (reflexive). This form was recorded in the phrase:

ΛpΛneŋo sΛmba iri'n *he thought to himself*

which was rendered by Bu. *ikhərər sΛmba etimi*. Here *ikhərər* is Dat., but I am more familiar in this connection with *ikhəreŋe*, carrying the suffix *-eŋe* of which the exact

significance is uncertain. In some contexts it can be rendered by the Eng. "with".

The correlation of the ending -e'ni with Bu. pa, "side", seems to imply a sense of opposition:

"this side, quarter, region", etc. and

"that side, quarter, region", etc.

so in the examples quoted we should have:

"the side, or region of heaven, as opposed to that of earth",

"a position beneath the table, as opposed to the position from which the speaker normally regards it"

ΔΡΑΝΕῖΟ may then be equivalent to "on his part", "as from himself", implying isolation from others.

46. This brings us to the verbal forms with -ΛῆΟ. I have already sought to identify this with a suffix -Δμο and to represent them both as being Ablative suffixes with temporal force; and to use this as an argument for the existence of a general Ablative suffix -mo. (V. §§ 35—36). I must now admit a certain impediment to that argument.

I myself recorded two verbal forms with -ΛῆΟ:

ja'nΛῆΟ explained by the Bu. Loc. of the Infin.
ni'ΔS-υlo

te.'ΛῆΟ explained by the Bu. Loc. of the Infin.
de'ΔS-υlo

The normal meaning of the Burushaski would be "at the time of going", "at the time of beating". Contemporaneousness is implied, "at the time of", "in the course of", "in the act of", without any Ablative sense.

te.'ΛῆΟ qyu' i'rin *at the time of beating* (pro-

bably = s.o. *beating him, or, his being beaten*) he *cried out.*

This would make -ληο a simple Locative. suffix, "in" (place), "at the time of" (time). Note also that J.Kh. has: ρληηο for the Loc. Pl. of ρληα "in the roads". This would not be inappropriate for the two examples of αγλω, αγληο ("ayāho") which represent Bu. "when-" or "if-" clauses. It would not, however, I think, be a satisfactory equivalent for the Ppa. in Bu. or Hindustani, and it is this that J. .Kh. gives it for some 17 verbs. For some 10 verbs he gives the proper Ppa.

On the other hand the Loc. Infin. in Shina is used to denote a preceding action on which a second action immediately follows. Usually the Loc. Infin. is a repetition of the verb in the preceding sentence. It is possible that while the Bu. Loc. Infin. was given as the formal equivalent, the semantic equivalent is the Shina Loc. Infin., which has the value of the Ppa. or Conjunctive Pc. when its subject and that of the following verb are different. The fact that my informant did not, as far as I am aware, know Shina, would not necessarily invalidate this explanation.

On this evidence as a whole, if we did not know that -ο frequently denotes the Ablative, we might conclude that there was a simple Locative suffix -ληο, not apparently differing in force from -ληα. And this may be the case. The problem is finally reviewed in §§ 97—99.

POSTPOSITIONS

47. The case system described above is supplemented by the use of Postpositions, of which some are capable of independent use as Adverbs. As Postpositions they “govern” various cases.

Those which have been recorded are:

di·ri	<i>in the direction of, towards</i>
di·ro	<i>from the direction of, on the part of</i>
ka·ryo	<i>for the sake of, on account of</i>
ko·t	<i>along with</i>
pa	<i>beside, in the possession of, (motion) to (a person)</i>
po	<i>from beside etc.</i>

Adverbs:

ba·r, bare·ni	<i>outside</i>
h'agi, haġe·ni	<i>before (place and time), in front of</i>
mu·n, mune·ni	<i>below, under</i>
pačī, pače·ni	<i>after (place and time), behind</i>

Examples

48. di·ri + Gen. Obl. (-as), Abl. di·ro.

ġaras di·ri ġiya čha *he has gone in the direction of the house, Bu. ha· yakal ni bæi.*

mas di·ro haei mun *say it from me, Bu. ja ayakal-tsum sen*

ka·ryo + Gen. Cp. Sh. ka·r, ka·rte, ka·ryo + Gen. or Gen. Obl.

te ka'ryo tahaei krom

ira's

I'll do this (job) for you

ko't + Gen. Obl. (-as) Cp. Bu. ka't (usually ka), Werch.
-ka't

mas ko't a'ya čha *he has come with me*

tus ko't a's, ja's *I'll come, I'll go, with you*

he.i manišas ko't ša'i(s) pa ga'is *I went with the man
to the king (J.Kh.)*

eŋ manišas ko't a'ya *he came with those men (J.Kh.)*

49. pa, Abl. po. Cp. Bu. pa *side, quarter*; *-apači,
same meanings as D. pa

i. pa + Oblique Base, or Nom + a (perhaps a reduced
form of the Gen.)

in the possession of, semantically = Bu. -ale, H. (-ke)

pa's

ma pa, tu pa, am'ε pa, tume pa šlapik na'

I, thou, we, you, have no bread

The Nom. of the 1st Personal Pronoun is u'; ma is the
base appearing in mas and the other oblique cases.

hæɪ'apa (Nom. m. he.i, f. ha'i) do'lat buɕ čhi

he, she, has much property

eŋapa (Nom. pl. eŋ) do'lat buɕ čhi

they have much property

mai poi rupi'a hæi maniš-a pa chi *my five rupees are
with that man, i.e. he owes me five rupees (J.Kh.)*

maniša pa *in the possession of the men (J.Kh.)*

ii. po + Obl. Base, as in i. above.

from the possession of, from (a person)

hæɪ'apo le *take it from him, from her*

- eŋ^y'epo *from them*
 ko's po *from whom (pl.)*
 he.i maŋiša po eka rupi.a'k ali'm (?) *I took a rupee*
from that man. (J.Kh.)
 he.i maŋiša po mona'in *he enquired from that man.*
(J.Kh.)
 ša.i'n eŋ maŋiša po birša haŋri'n *the king took away*
the land from those men.
(J.Kh.)
 joipo pa'ni gida'iŋ *he asked for water from the wo-*
men (J.Kh.)

iii. pa + Gen. Obl. (-as)
beside, (motion) to (a person)

The idea of "motion towards" is probably always present to the mind.

- kabe a'ye ta mas pa a'ŋ *whenever he comes bring him to me*
 mas pa be'ŋa *he sat down beside me*
 dərās pa be'š *sit down beside the door*
 pađša's pa gi.'a' *he went to the king*
 pađša's pa bija'lin *he sent (a message) to the king*

iv. J.Kh. has given gərās haŋopač = Bu. ha' yərūm pa,
in front of the house

Can this be haŋo-pats (← pa + ats)? My literate informants have never had a fixed convention for expressing ts and commonly try to express it by č. J.Kh. has gousč for guts *day*.

Adverbs:

50. ba'r, ba're'ni I have only recorded these as adverbs.
 J.Kh. has, however:

gərai ba're'n

outside the house, Bu. ha'

ho'lum pa

where gərai appears to be Genitive.

51. hagi.

1. + Gen. Obl (-as) *in front of*

Only one example has been recorded and in it the idea of "motion towards" is present.

agi's (← ak) hagi qi's ho *sit in front of the fire*

2. + Abl. *before, ahead of, before (of time)*

masmo hagi gi'a *he went ahead of me*

tah'e.i waxtasmo hagi *before this time*

tahaεtasmo hagi *previously to this*

bebalasmo hage a'ye (= a'ya?) *he came before midday*

(J.Kh.)

Hage'ni has not been recorded as a Postposition, but no doubt can act as such on the analogy of mune'ni and pače'ni.

52. mu'n, mune'ni

1. + Abl. *under, below*

mi'zasmo { mune'ni
mu'n } *below the table*

2. + Gen. Obl. (-as)

J.Kh. has:

khatas minani (i.e. mine'ni?) *under the bedstead*
and a corresponding Abl.:

khatas minano (i.e. mine'no?) *from under the bed*

I have forms:

mun'e'nio and minenyu functioning as Adjectives.

53. pači, pače'ni

1. + Abl.

masmo pači gi.a'

behind, after (time and place)

he went after me, behind me.

gəmasmo { pači gi.a
pače'ni

he went behind the house.

at the back of the house

tahe.i waxtasmo pači

after this time

haɪ.masmo pači

after this, hereafter

bebalasmo pačos (sic) a'ya (J.Kh.) *he came after midday*

2. + Gen. Obl. (-as)

J.Kh. has one example:

gəmas pače'ni

at the rear of the house, at the

back of the house, Bu. ha' i'ljum pa.

ADJECTIVES

54. The normal Dumaki Adjective is inflected for gender and number to agree with the noun which it qualifies:

The inflectional endings are:

	Masculine	Feminine
Singular	-a	-i
Plural	-ε	-ε (?), -i (?)

Thus: Sg. m. ču'n-a, Sg. f. ču'n-i, Pl. m. ču'n-ε

There is only one clear example in my records of an Adjective in agreement with a Fem. Pl. noun:

ču'ne mul'æiŋ

little girls

Here the ending is the same as that of the Masc. Pl.

The same system obtains in Shina, e.g.

Sg. m. ču'n-o, Sg. f. ču'n-i, Pl. m.f. ču'n-ε

Some uncertainty is raised, however, by the two expressions:

baʀi yaʀja "big hearts" = *hearts*

ču'ni yaʀja "little hearts" = *kidneys*

which appear to present Fem. Plurals ending in -i.

Apart, however, from possible phonetic error in recording, (which might equally have occurred in the preceding example), there are two grounds for not regarding these examples as conclusive:

1. ya, pl. yaʀja has been assumed to be a Fem. noun only because of the apparently Fem. Adjective.

2. the baʀi and ču'ni may have been meant to refer to the singular form of the noun, though I have recorded them with the plural. The question must remain open.

55. One or two adjectives borrowed from Burushaski end in a consonant and are retained in this form without inflection. Such are:

γoʃu'm *deep*, Bu. γuʃu'm, Sh. guʃu'mo

juʃt ʃiɣam *grass-green*

56. Adjectives used attributively precede the noun which they qualify; used predicatively they immediately precede the verb.

One instance of an Adjective carrying the -εk suffix has been recorded:

ʌʃi'tuk from ʌʃi'ta, *weak*,

for which one would have expected ʌʃi'tak or ʌʃi'tak.

The -uk suggests Shina, but the actual Shina form would be $\Delta\text{ša}^{\cdot}\text{t}uk$ ($\Delta\text{ša}^{\cdot}\text{to} + \epsilon k$).

57. One quasi-adjectival suffix has been noted. This is:

-mo (possibly -imo)

which is added to certain Adverbs, in which it resembles the Shina -i'no:

D,	'Atsi	}	<i>up</i>	'atsimo	}	<i>upper</i>
Cp. Sh.	'Ajε			Δj'i'no		
D.	mune'ni,	}	<i>underneath</i>	mune'nimo	}	<i>lower</i>
Cp. Sh.	k'εri,			κεr'i'no		
	k'iri					

The D. -mo, however, appears not to be essentially adjectival, as it does not inflect but remains invariable, e.g.

atsimo qama *the holes on the upper side*

Moreover atsimo is given by J.Kh. in a context where it is almost certainly Ablative.

58. Another derivative from mune'ni which functions as as Adjective, but does not inflect, is

mun'e'ni.o, minenyu

seen in:

mun'e'ni.o dεro'ti *lower part of door-frame, doorsill.*

minenyu qom *the hole on the underside*

J.Kh. has "minano", which is probably meant for mune'no, acting as an Ablative, "from underneath", which is what one would expect it to be.

Again there is:

Ša'ri Šaskin'o Ša'ri Ba'nu. T.7.

where it is not clear whether Šaskin'o is to be regarded as as Ablative or an Adjective.

Perhaps there is felt to be a close connection between Adjectives and Ablatives, as in Burushaski, where the same ending -um serves for both, while in Shina there is at least a superficial resemblance between the parallel series of Adjectives and Ablatives based on Adverbs, which may be illustrated by:

λγυ *inside*, λγι'no *internal*, ərn'o *from inside*
 λje *up* λji'no *upper* λjon'o *from above*

PRONOUNS

Personal Pronouns

59. The following are the forms recorded of the Personal Pronouns.

1st Person.

	Sing.	Plur.
Nom.	u	λm'ε
Trs. Nom.	mε	λm'ε
Acc.	mλs	λm'ets
Gen.	mε	λm'a
Dat.	mλšu	λm'eču
Abl.	mλsmo	λmetsmo
Loc. 1 "in"	—	—
Gen. Obl. and Loc. 2 "on"	mλs	λm'ets
With Postpos. pa "in the possession of", Bu. -λε	ma pa	λm'ε pa
Motion to, Bu. -λər	mλs pa	—
"From"	—	—

2nd Person

	Sing.	Plur.
Nom.	tu	tum'ε
Trs. Nom.	tu	tum'ε
Acc.	tus	tumets
Gen.	te	tum'a
Dat.	tušu	tumeču
Abl.	tusmo	tumetsmo
Loc. 1 "in"	—	—
Gen. Obl. and Loc. 2 "on"	tus	(tumets)
With Postpos. pa "in the possession of", Bu. -λε	tu pa	tume pa
Motion to, Bu. -λεr	—	—
"From"	—	—

3rd Person

	Singular		Plural
	Masc.	Fem.	M.F.
Nom.	h'e'i	h'a'i	ε'η
Trs. Nom.	hæy'λn	hey'a	'ε'ηε
Acc.	hæɪ'λs	hæy'λs	'ε'ηets
Gen.	hæy'e'i	hæiye'i	'ε'η ^y 'ενε, (ε'ηe'i)
Dat.	hæɪ.λšu	hæɪ.λšu	ε'η'εču
Abl.	hæɪ'λsmo	—	—
Loc. 1 "in"	—	—	—
Gen. Obl. and Loc. 2 "on"	(hæɪ.λs)	—	—
With Postpos. pa "in the possession of" Bu. -λε	hæɪ'λpa	hæyλpa	ε'ηλpa
Motion to Bu. -λεr	—	—	—
"From"	hæɪ'λpo	hæi.'λpo	ε'η ^y 'εpo

60. There is naturally some slight variation in the rendering of such forms as have been repeatedly recorded. There is probably some variability in pronunciation.

he'i appears as hei, hæi

ha'i " " hæi

and except in the nominative singular and the transitive nominative singular there is probably no actual difference between the masculine and feminine forms.

For the Genitive plural, eŋe'i was written first, then eŋ'ene. The former was not cancelled, but was put in brackets. The word does not occur elsewhere in the material, but J. Kh. has "enga". by which he probably intended to denote eŋe.

61. Two or three stray Pronominal and Demonstrative forms have been recorded and deserve notice:

he nom. *he, that* (adj.)

he baḍunaŋsmo *from the time that he was born*

T.1.

he Š.B. Padša'n. .irin *that Sh.B. King said. .* T.5.

ta he krom *this work*

(Also tæi = tahe'i)

e nom. *he*

e ta awo'ta *let him come here (?)*

Perhaps also as an Adj. in the expression which renders the Eng. "like" in:

tu' e ja'k *like you (you that kind?)*

(originally written: tu.e ja'k)

hes acc. or loc. 2 *him*

hes munæi *ask him (alternative: hæyʌs)*

hes mun'e'im "ka ja'i čha'i" iri mune'im I asked
 him "Where are you going?"

ese.i gen. of *him, his*

'ese.i gəɾʌʂu dək'in *he looked at his house. T.2.*

ese.i kuyoč *his subjects. T.11.*

ešu dat. to *him*

ešu qau ɛ'r *call (to) him.*

It is possible that *he* and *ε* may be reduced forms of *he'i*, or either may be an independent Pronoun and the other a variant of it. As they stand:

hes would be the Acc. of *he* and

ešu the Dat. of *ε*

ese.i does not seem to fit into the series. It presupposes a Nom. *εs*. The form coincides with the Gen. sg. of the Shina Demonstrative or *that, that one*, which is standard in Punial, and also current in Gilgit; but it is hardly likely to have been borrowed as an isolated form.

Demonstrative Pronouns and Adjectives

62. The Personal Pronoun of the Third Person is also used as a Demonstrative. Its force appears to be sufficiently general to include "this", e.g. in the Text:

hæɪʌsmo pʌči must mean *after this. T.9.*

I have repeatedly translated it so elsewhere.

As an Adjective it is of course not inflected for case, and is restricted to the three forms:

sg. m. *he'i*, sg. f. *ha'i*, pl. *εŋ*

When it is necessary to distinguish what is nearer from what is more remote, special reënforced forms are used:

Sg. m.	Sg. f.	Pl.	
tahe'i	taha'i	ta.'e'ŋ	<i>this one, this</i>
tunhe'i	tunha'i	tun'ε'n	<i>that one, that</i>

ta is an Adverb meaning *here, hither*;

tun is an Adverb meaning *there, that side*.

There are the usual phonetic variants. For tahe'i I have also tah'ε'i, tahæi, tahe, tæi.

When used as Pronouns these Demonstratives are inflected in the same way as he'i.

<i>Examples:</i> tahe'i a'ya	<i>this (man) came</i>
tahe'i ta.Λ čha	<i>this (man) is here</i>
taha'i ta'ə čhi	<i>this (woman) is here</i>
ta.'e'ŋ a'ye	<i>these (people) came</i>
tahæI.Λsmo hΛg'i	<i>previous to this</i>
tunhe'i gi.a čha	<i>that (man) has gone</i>
tunh'a'i ge'i čhi	<i>that (woman) has gone</i>
m. tah'ε'i ma'niš, gowa, čhir	<i>this man, horse, milk.</i>
f. tah'a'i jo'i, ga'i, pama	<i>this woman, cow, wool</i>
m. tahe krom	<i>this work</i>
m. u' tæi krom ira's	<i>I shall do this work</i>
pl. ta.'e'ŋ ma'niša, či'sa, jo'iŋ	<i>these men, things, women</i>

I have also noted tun'o eŋ and tiŋ'o eŋ as counterparts of ta.e'ŋ.

Reciprocal Pronouns ("One another", "each other").

63. Only one example has been recorded:

hæyo hæyan tene *they beat one another*

It will here be noted that the Transitive Nominative suffix -Λn is affixed to the second element. This accords with Burushaski practice, e.g. hi hin-ε, or hin hin(ε),

ḍeliman *they struck each other*. When, however, the sentence demands another significant case-suffix, the suffix of the Transitive Nominative is dispensed with, e.g. hin hin-ər salam etuman *they salamed to each other*. The combination is treated as a unity.

In this, Burushaski and Dumaki differ from Shina, where the Transitive Nominative suffix is affixed to the first element and another case-suffix to the second, e.g. ek-se ek-uṭ salam the'ga *they salamed to each other*, where -se is the Transitive Nominative suffix, and -uṭ the Dative Plural suffix. Note that the verb is in the singular.

Both Burushaski and Shina make use of a reduplication of the numeral "one" to indicate reciprocal relationship, while Dumaki reduplicates the Personal Pronoun, but this one example scarcely rules out the possibility that Dumaki may also use the numeral. I can throw no light on the grammatical significance of hæyo.

The Corroborative Pronoun

64. 'Ḍpane, an oblique form of the Reflexive Pronoun Ḍpo'n, is used to strengthen the Personal Pronouns:

u' Ḍpane ja's *I'll go myself*

eḡ Ḍpane a'ye *they came themselves*

mutuk Ḍpane this very moment, *lit.* "now itself", cp. Sh. ten Ḍk'i, Bu. murto i'.

The principal Pronoun may be understood:

Ḍpane krom er *do it yourself*

With a change of stress it reënforces a possessive Genitive:

tahæi Ḍpan'e.i gor čha *this is (my) own house*

tunhe'i te Ḍpan'e.i gor čha *that is your own house*

The Reflexive Pronoun

65. The forms recorded are:

	Sg.	Pl.
Acc.	apo'n	—
Gen.	(λpλn'e'i?)	—
Dat.	λpλn'ešu	λpλn'ešu
Abl. Loc. (?)	λpλnejo	—

Examples:

apo'n bina'i	<i>settle yourself (?)</i> , <i>take care of yourself</i> , Bu. gukhær d'espas
u λpo'n ma'ra's	<i>I'll kill myself</i> . T.6.
apo'n ma'rin	<i>he killed himself</i>
λpλn'ešu le'in	<i>he took it for himself</i>
λpλn'ešu le'ine	<i>they took it for themselves</i> , Bu. ukhærær yλnuman
λpλnejo samba ir'in	<i>he thought to himself</i> . (Cp. § 45).

Interrogative Pronouns and Adjectives

66. *Who?*, *What?* (of person)

	Sing.	Plur.
Nom.	ko'k, (ko)	kwa're
Trs. Nom.	—	—
Gen.	ko'se.i, ko'sæi	} Same as Singular
Dat.	ko'su	
Abl.	ko'smo, ko'spo	

ko'k is ko + ek (suffix of singleness), Cp. Sh. ko: ko'uk, Bu. men-λn.

The form *ko* has been actually recorded only as an Indefinite Pronoun:

<i>ko·k a·ya?</i>	<i>who (sg.) came?</i>
<i>ko·sæi gor?</i>	<i>whose house?</i>
<i>ko·šu de·s?</i>	<i>to whom shall I give (it)?</i>
<i>ko·spo le·i?</i>	<i>taking it from whom?</i>
<i>kwa·re a·ye?</i>	<i>who (pl.) came?</i>
<i>ko·se.i gər'a?</i>	<i>whose (pl.) houses?</i>
<i>ko·smo muna·s?</i>	<i>from whom shall I enquire?</i>

Adj.

<i>ko·k ma·nišek čha?</i>	<i>what man is it?</i>
---------------------------	------------------------

67. *What?* *kisek*, (*kis*)

No oblique case forms have been recorded.

The form *kis* has been recorded only as an Indefinite Pronoun.

<i>kisek čha?</i>	<i>what is it? (of masc. obj.)</i>
<i>kisek čhi?</i>	<i>what is it? (of fem. obj.)</i>
<i>te no·m kisek čha?</i>	<i>what is your name?</i>
<i>kisek gi·dæya čha·i?</i>	<i>what do you want?, Bu. besan dumərča?</i>

Duma·ki ba·šena khi·sek munegučo·t *what do you say, (or, call it?) in the D. language?*

68. *Which?*

Sg. m.	<i>ko·no</i> ,	Sg. f.	<i>ko·ni</i>
--------	----------------	--------	--------------

ko·no was recorded only as an Adjective, and only in the Singular.

<i>ko·no go·wa čha?</i>	<i>which horse is it?</i>
<i>ko·no banda·kišu de·es?</i>	<i>to which person shall I give it?</i>

ko'ni jo'i?

which woman?

ko'ni hər'lanə?

in which nullah?

Indefinite Pronouns and Adjectives

69. As in Shina and Burushaski, the Interrogative forms are also used as Indefinites.

Anyone

ko'k, ko

gərena ko'k čha, ko'k na' ? *is there anyone in the house,
or is there not anyone?*

Anything

kis

te gərena kis čha, na' ? *is there anything in your house
or not? , Bu. besan bi'a, api?*

No one, Nothing

In the Negative a particle ta, corresponding to Shina -ga, Bu. ke, is added:

ko'k ta na'

*there isn't anyone, there is no
one,*

Sh. ko'ga niš;

Bu. menan ke apæi

ko' ta na'

there is no one. But the sense

here is probably plural: *there are no people*. Cp. Sh. ko'ga ne.i watən "anyone have not come", Bu. men ke apa'n "there are no (people)".

gərena kis-ta na'ka

there was nothing in the house.

ta' kis-ta na'

there is nothing here.

maniša pa kista šapika na' *there is not any bread*

(pl.?) *with the men, the men have no bread.* (J.Kh.)

joičo kista ni denin

he gave nothing to the women.

(J.Kh.)

Quantitative Pronouns and Adjectives

70. The only form recorded is the Adjective

kat'eyek? *how much?*

tu pa kat'eyek oʃ čha? *how much flour have you?*

tu pa kat'eyek ku'le čhe? *how much grain (pl.) have you?*

The Numerals

71. The Cardinals individually and in method of combination closely follow those of Shina. No Ordinals were recorded. In giving the following list of Dumaki Cardinals I have entered the corresponding Šhiṇa forms where they differ in any marked degree from the Dumaki.

	Dumaki	Šhiṇa
1 m.	ek, f. eka	m.f. ek
2	du'i	du
3	čæi	
4	ča'ur, čaur	ča'r
5	po'i	
6	ša	
7	sut	saʔ, Kho. sut.
8	oʃt	ʌʃ, ʌʃt, Kho. oʃt
9	na'u	
10	da'i, dæi	
11	eka'i	
12	ba'i	
13	čoi	
14	čaundæi	
15	paŋzæi	
16	šō'wæi	šo'ĩ

17	šAtā'i, satā'i	
18	Λštā'i	
19	kun'i	
20	biš	bi
21	biš o ek	b'i'gΛ.ek
22	biš o du'i	b'i'gΛdu
30	biš o da'i (dæi)	etc.
40	du'i biš	di'bu.o (← du+bi+o)
50	du'i biš o dæi	di'bugΛdæi
60	čæi biš	č'æbi.o, ča'byo
80	ča'r biš	ča'rbī.o, ča'rib'o
100	po'i biš	šΛl
200	—	du'i šΛl
300	čæi po'i biš	etc.
500	po'i po'i biš	
1000	sa's	

In the Shina compound numbers *ga*, *gΛ* = *and*.

It will be noted that in 17 and 18, as compared with 7 and 8, and in 80, as compared with 4, Dumaki returns to the Shina vowels. On the other hand Shina falls into line with Dumaki in regard to the form for 2 in *du'i šΛl* = 200.

In both languages, as also in Burushaski, the "score" forms the base of the numbers from 20 to 90. Dumaki carries this principle a step further in rendering 100 by 5×20 .

VERBS

72. Of the verbs recorded ¹⁾ almost all have a single constant base to which the various mood and tense endings are added.

In a few verbs an additional -n- makes its appearance in the Preterite and derived tenses between the base (as it appears in the Future Tense) and the inflectional endings.

In a few others the Preterite Base is markedly different from that of the Future.

These exceptions to the general rule are given below.

A large proportion of the bases are monosyllabic, and the rest, excluding certain Causatives, are dissyllabic.

The verbs with an intrusive -n- in the Preterite Base are:

Pres. Base	1st Sg. Fut.	1st Sg. Pret.
bΛɖu- <i>to be born</i>	bΛɖo'-s (J.Kh.)	bΛɖu'-n-a (3rd. sg. m.)
bijo- <i>to fear</i>	bijo'-s	bijo'-n-is
de'- <i>to give</i>	de'ε-s	de-n-im
šΛmu- <i>to become tired</i>	šΛmo'-s	šΛmu'-n-is
te'- <i>to strike</i>	te'ε-s	te-n-im

73. The verbs with distinct, or differentiated Bases are:

ogol- <i>to descend</i>	ogol-as	ogoth-(is). (J.Kh.).
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¹⁾ I recorded parts of 49 verbs, and in his reply to my questionnaire J. Kh. gave parts of 49 verbs, 28 of which are not included among mine. There are therefore in all 77 verbs of which something is known. Unfortunately the majority of J. Kh.'s forms present phonetic and other difficulties.

beš-	<i>to sit down</i>	beš-a's	be'ṭ-is
dɒja-	<i>v.i. to burn</i>	dɒj-ɛga (3rd Sg. m.)	dɒd-a (3rd Sg.m.)
ja'-	<i>to go</i>	ja'-s	ga'-is gi.-'a' (3rd Sg.m.)
maɾ-	<i>to die</i>	maɾ-as	mu'is. (J.Kh.)
nɪkhił-	<i>to come out</i>	nɪkhił-a's	nɪkhiṭ-is
ro-	<i>to weep</i>	ra'-s	ro-is

Notes:

- be'ṭ- compares with the Sh. Past Base bæɪṭ-, H. bæɪṭh-, but the Sh. Pres. Base is bæɪ-.
- dɒja- is deduced from the Infin. given as dɒja'na, otherwise one would expect dɒj-. In any case the verb is borrowed from Shina which has dɒj-: dɒd-.
- ja'-: ga-, gi-. Cp. Shina, Hindustani etc.
- nɪkhił- compares with H. nɪkhal-na, and the Sh. v.t. nɪkhal-o'iki. The corresponding Intransitive verb in Sh. is nɪkha-: nɪkha'ṭ-
- ro- Sh. ro'iki preserves the -o- in all tenses.

Extensions of the Base, Causatives

74. The addition of -a'- to the Base appears to convert an Intransitive Verb into a Transitive or Causative. The two following examples are fairly certain:

hut-ina	v.i.	<i>to rise, get up</i>
hut-a'-na (?)	v.t.	<i>to raise, or cause to rise</i>
lup-ina (?)	v.i.	<i>to be alight, to burn</i>
lup-a'na	v.t.	<i>to kindle</i>

To these may be added from J. Kh.:

nAš- v.i. *to become lost*

nAša'- v.t. *to lose*

In one instance recorded -a'- converts a Transitive into a Causative Active: *ir-ina to do, make; ir-a'-na to cause to make.*

What the exact relationship is between the words for "to say" and "to ask" is obscure. I recorded:

Infin. 1st Sg. Fut. 1st Sg. Pret. Impv.

muna'na muna's muni'm mun *to say*

— muna's mun'e'im mun'æi *to ask.*

J.Kh.'s material corroborates these forms, and adds as the equivalent of the Ppa. *munAŋo (having said)*, and *munayAŋo (having asked)*. His Infin. forms, however, are ambiguous. They ought probably to be *mun-ina* and *mun-a'na* respectively.

Is "to ask" the Causative of "to say", used in the sense of "to make someone say" the answer to a question?

The situation is complicated by the fact that there are Bases ending in -a'- which are Transitive, but not Causative, e.g. *giða'na to want, demand, ask for.*

75. Causatives are also formed by adding -uwa'- to the Base. My clearest example is:

a'n-ina *to bring* Aŋ-uwa'-na *to cause to bring (?)*,
or, *cause to be brought (?)*

Aŋuwa'na is also used in the same way as the Burushaski *do'otsas (= to cause people to bring)*, as an equivalent for "to send".

In connection with the verb *hut-ina*, *to rise*, I was given an Infinitive:

hut-uwa'na 1st Sg. Fut. *hut-uwa'-s*, Impv. *hut-uw'a'*, but
1st Sg. Pret. *huta'im*, 3rd. Pl. *huta'ne*.
which seem to belong to an Infin *huta'na* as adduced above.

There is probably a series:

hut-ina *to rise, stand up*, cp. H. *uṭhna to rise*.
hut-a'na *to raise, set up*, H. *uṭha'na to raise*
hut-uwa'na to make stand up(?), H. *uṭhwa'na to cause to*
to cause to be raised, be raised

There is insufficient evidence to show whether *ḥnuwa'na* and *hutuwa'na* are Causative Active or Causative Passive. J.Kh. has the following:

<i>dṣṣṣṣṣṣ-</i>	<i>to learn, know</i>	" <i>dasarowa</i> ",	<i>to teach</i>
		<i>dṣṣṣṣṣṣ-uwa'-</i>	
(<i>dei-</i>	<i>to run</i>)	" <i>durwain</i> ",	<i>to make run</i>
		<i>dur-wa'-</i>	
" <i>looka</i> ",	v.i. <i>to hide</i>	" <i>lookowanā</i> ",	v.t. <i>to hide</i>
<i>lu'k-</i>		<i>lu'k-uwa'-</i>	
<i>pina-</i>	<i>to mount (on a</i>	<i>pin-wa'-</i>	<i>to make mount</i>
	<i>horse)</i>		

76. J. Kh. also has the following Causatives which do not fall into the above categories:

<i>ogol-</i>	<i>to get down,</i>	" <i>ogālene</i> "	<i>to make get</i>
	<i>descend</i>		<i>down</i>
<i>so-</i>	<i>to sleep</i>	" <i>sorane</i> "	<i>to make sleep</i>

Cp. Sh. *so'iki to sleep*: *s-ar-o'iki to put to sleep*.
Also various forms apparently pointing to:

ṣṣṣṣṣṣ ga hu'ina v.i. to wake, "*shangārane*" v.t. *to wake s.o. up*.

šΛŋga is probably an adjective comparable to Sh. šoŋ, šuŋ š'Λŋ; Bu. šΛŋ, *aware, awake*.

76A. Except for a Passive Participle, no passive forms have been recorded and it is impossible to say whether there is, or is not, any Passive conjugation of Transitive Verbs.

77. The principal parts of the Verb are constituted as follows:

Infinitive	Base + -in'á, -n'á
Present Participle	Base + -ga, (reduplicated)
Active Participle	Base + -i
Passive Participle	Pret. Base + -in
Imperative 2nd Sg.	the simple Base. Bases ending in -a· add -i

("Base", unless otherwise defined, means the Base as it appears in the Future Tense of the Indicative)

Neither Subjunctive nor Optative was recorded.

The Indicative has a series of Tenses with inflectional endings which vary according to the number, person, and, in the 3rd person singular, the gender of the subject.

There are two Primary Tenses:

1. The Future (Probably Future and Indefinite Present as in Shina)

2. The Preterite

From these the other Tenses are formed by appending to them the two Tenses of the Verb "to be." Both the principal verb and the auxiliary are fully inflected. The scheme is the following:

Future + Pres.	of verb "to be"	= Present
Future + Past	" " " "	= Imperfect
Preterite + Pres.	" " " "	= Perfect
Preterite + Past	" " " "	= Pluperfect

The system is the same as that obtaining in Shina.

A peculiar feature of the verb "to be" is that the Past tense is formed not by adding a distinctive set of inflectional endings to the Base, but by adding an invariable suffix -aka to the various forms of the Present tense.

This same suffix -aka added to the forms of the Future tense of other verbs gives a special tense which is used in the apodosis of certain types of Conditional sentence.

Inflectional Endings

78. Three sets of inflectional endings are found in the Tenses of the Indicative:

1. in the "Present Tenses" (Fut., Pres., Imperf.) of all verbs
2. in the "Past Tenses" (Pret. Perf., Pluperf.) of Intransitive verbs
3. in the "Past Tenses" of Transitive verbs.

It is not easy in every case to determine the essential form of the ending. This is due to the fact that some of the forms have been recorded only of verbs whose bases end in a vowel, and when this vowel encounters the initial vowel of an ending, changes are liable to occur, such as the development of a glide between the vowels, or the elision of the initial vowel of the ending.

Nasals in one and the same ending have also been recorded with variation of quality.

The following lists are therefore subject to correction:

1. *With Present Tenses*

Pers.	Sg.	Pl.					
1	-a's	-(Λ)m					
2	-a	-(ε)γut					
3	<table> <tr> <td>{ m.</td> <td>-εga }</td> <td rowspan="2">mf. -(ε)ηε</td> </tr> <tr> <td>{ f.</td> <td>-εgi }</td> </tr> </table>	{ m.	-εga }	mf. -(ε)ηε	{ f.	-εgi }	
{ m.	-εga }	mf. -(ε)ηε					
{ f.	-εgi }						

2. *With Past Tenses of Intransitive verbs*

1	-is	-o'm, õ'					
2	-a'i, (-a)	-o't					
3	<table> <tr> <td>{ m.</td> <td>-a }</td> <td rowspan="2">mf. -ε</td> </tr> <tr> <td>{ f.</td> <td>-i }</td> </tr> </table>	{ m.	-a }	mf. -ε	{ f.	-i }	
{ m.	-a }	mf. -ε					
{ f.	-i }						

These endings seem usually to be stressed.

3. *With the Past Tenses of Transitive Verbs*

1	-im	-o'm, (-õ)
2	-i	-o't
3	-in	-ne, -ε

Initial -i- of an ending is preserved after final -a of a Base, while the -a, which bears the stress accent, is usually changed to -æ, or -e.

Unless the vowel of the preceding syllable is long, these endings seem usually to be stressed.

4. There remain the Personal endings of the *Imperative*. The usual forms of the Imperative are as follows:

Pers.	Sg.	Pl.
2	1. the simple Base	-a
	2. Base in -a + i	-o, replacing -a
	3. simple Base in -e	-o, replacing -e
3	-o'ta	-o'n

The behaviour of the above endings when attached to

various types of verbal Base is illustrated in the following paradigms and lists of verbs, which contain all the material at my disposal.

THE VERB „TO BE”

79. *Present*

		Singular			
1	u	čhi's	<i>I am</i>	Λme	čhō', (čho'ŋ) <i>we are</i>
2	tu	čha'i		tume	čho't
3	{ m. he'i f. ha'i }	{ čha čhi }		mf. ε'ŋ	čhe

Past

1	čhi'sΛka	<i>I was</i>	čhō'ka	<i>we were</i>
2	čha'yΛka		čho'tΛka	
3	{ m. čha'Λka f. čhi'ka }		mf. čhe'ka	

These are all the parts recorded of this verb. It will be observed that the inflectional endings are the same as those used with the past tenses of Intransitive verbs.

80. The *Negative* is expressed by a single invariable form na' for the Present and na'ka for the Past:

Present

Sg. and Pl., all persons na'

u	na'	<i>I am not</i>
ha'i	na'	<i>she is not</i>
ε'ŋ	na'	<i>they are not</i> etc. etc.

Past

Sg. and Pl., all persons na'ka

u na'ka *I was not*

ε'η na'ka *they were not* etc. etc.

It may be remarked that for the Negative of the 3rd. person Present of the verb "to be" Shina has an invariable form:

niš, nuš,

which seems also to be occasionally used of other persons.

In Burushaski also there is a reduction in the inflection of the verb "to be" when it is in the negative.

THE TRANSITIVE VERB

81. te'ná *to strike*

Future

Singular

1 u tus t'e'es *I shall strike thee*

2 tu hæɪ.ɒs te'iyá *thou wilt strike him*

3 { m. hæy'ɒn tus te'ega *he will strike thee*
f. (hey'a tus te'igi *she will strike thee)*

Plural

1 ɒm'ε eηets te'ɪm *we shall strike them*

2 tume eηets te'igut *you will strike them*

3 eη'ε tumets t'e'ɪŋe *they will strike you*

Present

Singular

1 mε(?) te čhi's *I strike, am*

2 tu te'i čha *striking*

3 { m. hæy'ʌn t'e'igʌ čha
 { f. (hey'a te'igi čhi)

Plural

1 ʌme te'ɪm čhõ·
 2 tum'ɛ t'e'igu(t) čho·t
 3 eɲɛ te'ɲɛ čhe

Imperfect (not recorded, but cp. the Intransitive Verb).

Singular

1 u (mɛ?) te čhi'sʌka *I was striking*
 2 tu te'i čha'yʌka

3 { m. hæy'ʌn te'iga čha'ka
 { f. (hey'a te'igi čhi'ka)

Plural

1 ʌme te'ɪm čhõ'ka
 2 tumɛ te'igut čho·tʌka
 3 eɲɛ te'ɲɛ čhe·əka

Preterite

Singular

1 mɛ tʌn'im *I struck*
 2 tu tʌn'i
 3 m. hæy'ʌn tʌn'in
 (also tenim etc.)

Plural

1 ʌme teno'm
 2 tumɛ teno't
 3 eɲɛ tene

Perfect

Singular

1 mɛ tʌn'im čhi's *I have struck*
 2 tu ten'i čha

3 { m. hæy'ʌn ten'in čha
 { f. (hey'a ten'in čhi)

Plural

1 ʌmε teno'm čhō'
 2 tumε teno't čho't
 3 eɲε ten'e čhe

Pluperfect

Singular

1 mε tenim čhi'saka *I had struck*
 2 tu ten'i čha'ka
 3 { m. hæy'ʌn ten'in čha'ka
 { f. (hey'a ten'in čhi'ka)

Plural

1 ʌmε teno'm čhō'ka
 2 tumε teno't čho'taka
 3 eɲε ten'e čhe'aka

Conditional

Singular

1 (u?) te'əsaka
 2 tu te'yaka
 3 m. hæy'ʌn te'igaka

Plural

ʌmε te'imaka
 tumε te'igutaka
 eɲε te'eɲeka

Imperative

Singular

2 te'
 3 hæy'ʌn to'ta

Plural

tumε to'
 eɲε to'n

Participles

Present Continuous (te'ga te'ga?)
 Past Active te'i
 Passive ten'in

Infinitive te'ná
Noun Agent Sg. ten'a Pl. ten'e
Verbal Base, or Verbal Noun } + *Case Suffix* te.'ληο

THE INTRANSITIVE VERB

82. hu.'iná to become

Future

	Sg.			Pl.
1	u	ho's	λεε	hō'
2	tu	ho'ya	tume	ho'gut
3	{ m. he.i { f. ha'i	ho'ga } ho'gi }	mf. εη	ho'ge

Present

1	u	ho' čhis
2	tu	ho'ya čha'i
3 f.	ha'i	ho'γI čhi

Imperfect

1	u	ho' čhi'saka
---	---	--------------

Preterite

1	u	hu.'i's	λεε	huy'o'm
2	tu	huy'a'i, -æ'i	tume	huy'o't
3	{ m. he.i { f. ha'i	huy'á' } hu.'í' }	mf. εη	huy'e

Perfect

1	u	hu.i' čhis
---	---	------------

Pluperfect

1	u	hu.i' čhisaka
---	---	---------------

Imperative

2	ho	hu.á
3	ho'ta	ho'n

Participles

Present (Continuous) ho'ga ho'ga, (f. ho'gi ho'gi?)

Past Active hu.í'

Infinitive

hu.'iná

83.

a'na *to come*

Future

	Sg.	Pl.
1	a's	a'm
2	a'ya	a'gut
3	{ m. a'ga } { f. a'gi }	a'ŋe

Present

1	a' čhi's	a'm čhō', (-čhoŋ)
2	a' čha	a'gut čho't, (a'gučhot)
3	{ m. a'ga čha } { f. a'gi čhi' }	a'ŋe čhe, (a'ŋičhe)

Imperfect

1	a' čhi'slka	—
2	a' čha'eka	—
3	{ m. a'ga čha'ka } { f. a'gi čhi'ka }	—

Preterite

1	a'is	æyo'm, (a'yo'n)
2	a'y'a'i, (æ-)	æyo't, (a'-)
3	{ m. a'y'a } { f. a'i, (æ-) }	æy'ε, (a'-)

Perfect

1	a'i čhi's	æyo'm čho'ŋ, ('ayoŋe čho'n)
2	a'y'a' čha, (æy'a'ε čha'ε, æy'a'ε čha)	æyo't čho't, ('ayo čho't)
3	{ m. 'æya čha, (a'ye čha) f. 'a'i čhi }	æ'yε čhe, (a'ye čhe)

Pluperfect

1	a'i čhi'saka
3 f.	a'gi čhi'ka

Imperative

2	a'o	a'wa
3		awo'n

Participles

Present (Continuous) a'ga a'ga (Probably f. a'gi
a'gi, pl. a'ge a'ge)

Past Active a'i

Infinitive a'na

Verbal Base, or Verbal Noun + Case Suffix a'ya'mo

84. ja'na to go

Future

	Sg.	Pl.
1	ja's	ja'm
2	ja'ya	ja'gut
3	{ m. ja'ga f. ja'gi }	ja'ŋe

Present

- 1 ja· čhi's
2 ja·e čha, (ja'i čha'i)

Imperfect

- 1 ja· čhi'saka

Preterite

- 1 gæ.'is giy'o'm
2 gi.'ari giy'o't, (giy'o't)
3 { m. gi.'á' }
 { f. gæ'i } giy'e

Perfect

- 1 ga'i čhi's
2 —
3 m. g'ia čha

Pluperfect

- 1 ga'i čhi'saka

Imperative

- | | Sg. | Pl. |
|---|-------|-----|
| 2 | ja | jo |
| 3 | jo'ta | jon |

Participles

Present (Continuous) ja'ga ja'ga, (Probably
f. ja'gi ja'gi,
pl. ja'ge ja'ge).

Past Active j'e.i, (j'æ.i)

Infinitive

Inf. + Case suffix ja'na

Past Base, } + Case Suffix gy'as (← gi + as,
or Verbal Noun } or gia + as?).

THE VERB IN THE NEGATIVE

85. The negative is usually expressed by placing the particle *ni* immediately before the verb, or before the principal component of the verb.

The negative of the verb "to be" is represented by the invariable forms:

na' for the Present tense

na'ka for the Past tense

Examples have already been given. (V. § 80).

The following are examples of the use of *ni*

Future

1st Sg. u tus ni t'e'əs *I shall not strike thee*

2nd Sg. tu mΛs ni t'e'ya *thou wilt not strike me*

Present

2nd Pl. ni ne'igučho't(t)a *if you do not take me*
(to the garden) T.6.

Preterite

1st Sg. (tus) ni anim čhi's *I have not brought (thee)*
T.4.

Pluperfect

1st Sg. m'e hæ.'Λs ni tΛnim
čhi'sΛka *I had not struck him*

..... ni dīkim
čhi'sΛka *I had not seen (him)*

Imperative

2nd Sg. hæyΛs ni t'e' *don't strike him*

n'i' er *don't make*

n'i bij'o *do not fear*

Similarly: tu ni a'n, tu ni ro, ni šΛm'o, ni p'e'i.

2nd Pl. hæyas ni to *do not ye strike him*

J.Kh. has “ne” probably meant for *ni* in:

joičo křsta “ne” denin *he gave nothing to the
women*

and also in:

tu ek mǎnišek dēkei

“nekī” *did you see a man or
not?*

86. There are two examples in the Text of *naʹ*, *naʹka*, being used in the negative of the Perfect and Pluperfect of an Intransitive verb:

nřkhiṭa náʹ *thou hast not come out.* T.3.

bar nřkhiṭa naʹka *he had not come out.* T.1.

naʹ serves for “or not?” at the end of questions containing the verb “to be”:

te gǎrena kis čha naʹ? *is there anything in your
house or not?* Bu. uṛe
haʹle besǎn biʹa, api?

gǎrena kok čha (kok) naʹ? *is there anyone in the house
or not?*



LIST OF VERBS

87. Verbs marked with * are known only from Jamāl Khān's material.

Base and Infinitive	Meaning	Future (Present and Imperfect)	Preterite (Perfect and Pluperfect)	Imperative	Past Part. Active	Miscellaneous	
1. a'na	to come	1. u a's, etc.	1. u a'is, etc.	tu a'o	a'i	Vide paradigm, § 83.	1.
2. *al-	to take	—	1. al'im	—	—	—	2.
3. 'an-ina	to bring	1. u ana's	1. me a'nim 3. a'nij Perf. 1. a'nim čhi's	tu a'n, a'n tume aná	—	Imper. neg. ni a'n	3.
4. apuwa'-na	to cause to be brought	1. u apuwa's	1. apuwim, (for: apuwæ'im?)	sg. apuw'a'i	—	—	4.
5. ir-ina	to do, to say	1. u ira's Prs. sg. 1. ira' čhi's	1. me ir'im 2. ir'i 3. irin, irin pl. 3 irin'eri Perf. sg. 1. irim čhi's Plup. sg. 1. irim čhisaka	sg. er pl. irá	ir'i, 'iri	Past Pc. Pass. irin, irin. Infin. Dat. 'irinašu	5.
6. ira'-na	to cause to do	—	Pret. pl. 3 ira'ne Plup. sg. 3. ir'eij čha'ka	—	—	—	6.
7. *oga'l-	to make descend, take down	—	—	—	—	Infin. "ogālene" = H. uta'ma, Bu. d*-askuyas	7.
8. *ogol-	v.i. to get down	1. u ogola's	Plup. sg. 3. ogotha čha'ka	sg. ogol	—	Verbal Noun (?) ogotha	8.
9. ba'-na-	to throw	1. u ba's	1. me b'æ'im pl. ame ba'yō 2. tu b'a'ye tume ba'yot 3. hæy'an bæ'in e'je ba'ne	sg. ba'i	—	Past Pc. Pass. (?) bæin.	9.
10. baḍu'-na	to be born	1. baḍo's J.Kh. 3. baḍo'ga	1. baḍo'nis J.Kh. 3. baḍu'na baḍu'ne	—	—	Infin. Abl. baḍun'asmo	10.
11. baša'r-	to play (music)	—	—	sg. baša'r	—	—	11.
12. beš-ina	to sit down	1. u beša's Pres. 2. bešeya čha J.Kh. 1. bešas Pl. bešam (-am?) 2. beš bešegut 3. { m. bešega f. beš(ε)gi bešege	1. u bešis 3. beša J.Kh. 1. betis bato'ŋ 2. beta.i bata 3. { m. beta mf. bete f. beti Perf. 1. u beti čhi's 3. beta čha	2. beš 2. sg. beš, pl. beša	beši	—	12.
13. bij'a'l-iná	to send, make s.o. take away	1. bija'l'a's	1. me bij'a'lim 3. bija'lij	2. bija'l	—	—	13.
14. bijo'-na	to fear	1. u bijo's	1. u bijo'nis	2. bij'o	bijo'i'	—	14.
15. bina'-na	v.t. to settle, to make sit	—	J.Kh. 3. bina'in	2. bina'i	—	—	15.
16. *bozon-	to forget	1. bozonas	1. u bozonis	2. bozo	bozonai	—	16.
17. *bu-	to weave	1. buyas	1. buyim	2. bu'e	—	Ppa. equivalent: buyaŋo	17.
18. (čh-ina?)	to be	1. u čhi's	1. u čhi'saka	—	—	V. paradigm § 79	18.
19. *čirir-	to spin	1. čiriras	1. čeririm	2. čerir	—	Ppa. equiv. čeriraŋo. (Probably čirir- throughout)	19.

	Base and Infinitive	Meaning	Future (Present and Imperfect)	Preterite (Perfect and Pluperfect)	Imperative	Past Part. Active	Miscellaneous	
20.	dæ-iná	v.t. to burn	1. da's	1. dæ'im	2. sg. de'i, pl. da'	—	—	20.
21.	ɔlja'-na	v.i. to burn, to be burnt	3. m. ɔlje'ga	3. m. ɔɔda	—	—	—	21.
22.	*ɔsara-ina	to know, to learn	1. u ɔsaras	1. u ɔsarim	2. sg. ɔsar, (also, ɔsa)	ɔsari	Ppa. equiv. ɔsarɔɔo	22.
23.	*ɔsarowa-	to teach	1. ɔsarwas	1. me ɔsarwæim	—	—	—	23.
24.	de'na	to give	1. u de'es, de'əs Prs. 3. pl. de'ine čhe	1. me den'im 3. deniŋ, J.Kh. denin	2. sg. tu de pl. tume do	de'i J.Kh. "deā"	—	24.
25.	*de.i-	to run	1. da's	1. u de.is	2. dai	—	Ppa. equivalent: "deineā"	25.
26.	(dek-ina?)	to see, look at	—	3. dek'in Plup. 1 ɔikim čhi'saka J.Kh. Pret. 1. dekim 2. dekhei	2. tu dekiye	deki	—	26.
27.	*do-	to wash	1. doyas	1. "dōiem" (= doyim?)	2. "doie"	—	Ppa. equivalent: doyoɔo	27.
28.	(duko'-na?)	to ache	Pres. sg. 3. m. duko'ɔɔča	3. m. duko'na	—	—	—	28.
29.	*du'ral-ina	to give birth to, to create	—	—	—	—	= H. paida karna, Bu. d*-ɔsmanas	29.
30.	*durwa'-	to make run, to drive away	—	Pret. sg. 3. durwa'in	—	—	—	30.
31.	gɔɔ-iná	to take out, take off	1. u gɔɔa's	1. me gɔɔ'im	2. sg. gɔɔ	—	—	31.
32.	g'ɔŋ-ina gɔɔ-ina	to tie	1. u gɔna's	1. me ganim	2. sg. tu gan pl. tume gana	—	—	32.
33.	gida'-na	to ask for, want	1. gidas Pres. 2. gi-ɔæya čha'i 3. m. gidaga čha	1. "gidam" (= gida'im?) 3. gida'iŋ	2. gida	gida'i	all the forms are from J.Kh. except the 2nd. sg. present.	33.
34.	*girmina'-na	to write	1. u girminas	1. girmina'im	2. girmina	girmina'i	—	34.
35.	h'an-ina	to proceed	1. u hana's Imperf. 3. sg. m. hanega čha'ka	1. u hani's	2. tu han	—	—	35.
36.	hər-ina	to take away from, confiscate	1. həra's	1. hər'im 3. həri'n	—	—	—	36.
37.	has-in'a	to laugh	1. u hasa's	1. u has'i's	2. sg. tu has pl. tume hasa	—	—	37.
38.	*hor-	to fall down	—	3. sg. m. hora	—	—	—	38.
39.	hu.-'ina	to become	1. u ho's	1. u hu.'i's	2. sg. ho	hu.'i	v. paradigm, § 82.	39.
40.	hut-in'a	to rise, get up	1. u huta's	1. u hutis	2. sg. hut	—	—	40.
41.	(huta'-na?)	to raise, set up	—	1. huta'im pl. 2 huta'ne	—	—	—	41.
42.	hutuwa'-na	to cause to be raised(?)	1. u hutuwa's	—	2. tu hutuw'a'	—	—	42.

	Base and Infinitive	Meaning	Future (Present and Imperfect)	Preterite (Perfect and Pluperfect)	Imperative	Past Part. Active	Miscellaneous	
43.	ja'na	to go	1. u ja's	1. u gæ.'is	2. ja	jeri	v. paradigm, § 84	43.
44.	kha'-na	to eat	1. kha's	1. me khæ'im	2. sg. tu kha' pl. tume kho	—	The form kha'ne at the end of the Text corresponds in use to the Bu. Pres. Pc. šiǰume	44.
45.	kor'o'-ina	to dig	1. koro'a's	1. me kor'o'im	2. sg. kor'o'y pl. kor'o'ya	—	—	45.
46.	læ-ina	to put on (clothes)	1. la's	1. læ'im	2. la'i	—	—	46.
47.	(le'-ina?)	to take	1. le's	1. le'im 3. le'in pl. 3. le'ine	2. le	lei	—	47.
48.	lom-iná	to catch, seize	1. u loma's	1. me lom'im 3. lomij, lo'mij	2. lo'm	lo'mi	Infin. Gen. lomina'i	48.
49.	*lu'k-, ("looka'")	v.i. to hide	1. lu'ka's	3. lu'ka	2. lu'kja	—	Ppa. equivalent: lu'kǰo. lu'kja must be from an Infin. lu'k-ja'na, parallel to H. (čhip-ja'na)	49.
50.	*lu'kowa'-na	v.t. to hide	—	—	—	—	Given as equivalent of H. čhipa'na	50.
51.	lup-ina	v.i. to burn, be alight	Pres. 3 sg. m. lupe'ga čha	3. lupa	—	—	—	51.
52.	lupa'na-	to kindle	1. u lupa's	1. me lupa'im	2. lupa'i	—	—	52.
53.	ma'r-	to kill	1. u ma'ra's 3. m. mare'ga	3. ma'ri'n	—	—	—	53.
54.	*maŕ-	to die	1. maŕas	Perf. 3. sg. m. moya čha	2. mo'r	—	Ppa. equivalent: moyǰo	54.
55.	mun-	to say, read	1. u muna's	1. me muni'm	2. mun	—	I got the Infin. as muna'na. J.Kh. gives the vowel both as u and o; the Infin. as munana and monina; the Ppa. as mona'i and munǰo	55.
56.	muna'-	to ask	1. muna's	1. mun'e'im	2. mun'æ'i	—	Ppa. equivalent: munǰo J.Kh.	56.
57.	*naš-	to be lost	1. našas	3 sg. m. naſtha (?)	2. noš	—	Ppa. equivalent: našǰo. J.Kh. gives naša'im for the Pret, which is wrong, and naſtha for the Infinitive	57.
58.	naša'-	to lose, banish	1. naša's	1. me naša'im 3. našæ'ij	2. naša'i (J.Kh.)	—	Ppa. equivalent: našǰo. J.Kh.	58.
59.	n'e'ina	to take away	1. u n'e'a's Δme n'e'in, n'e'en 2. tu n'e'iya tume n'e'igut 3. hæy'an n'e'iga e'ij n'e'ige Prs. 2. pl. n'e'igučho't	1. me n'e'im Δme ne'yō 2. tu n'e'i tume ne'yot 3. hæy'an n'e'in e'je ne'ine	2. sg. ne, pl. no	—	It must be assumed that Pres. pl. 1 n'e'in is a variant for n'e'im, and that pl. 3 n'e'ige ought to be n'e'ije	59.
60.	nikhil-ná	to come out, go out	1. u nikhila's	1. u nikhitis 3. m. nikhita, nikhita' Perf. 2. sg. neg. nikhita na' Plup. 3. sg. neg. nikhita na'ka	2. nikh'o'ǰ	—	—	60.

	Base and Infinitive	Meaning	Future (Present and Imperfect)	Preterite (Perfect and Pluperfect)	Imperative	Past Part. Active	Miscellaneous	
61.	pał-	v.t. <i>to rub on</i>	1. pał'łam(?) čhis. (or Perf.?)	—	—	—	I cannot explain pał'łam	61.
62.	pe(y)-ina	<i>to fall</i>	1. peya's pl. 3. peyeŋe	1. pe.'i's 3. m. { paya pi'a (J.Kh.) pl. 3 pe'ye	2. pe'i	—	J.Kh. has also "pe'i", apparently for the 3rd sg. m. Pret.	62.
63.	pi'-na	<i>to drink</i>	1. pi.a's	me pi'm	2. sg. pi', pl. pi'a	—	the form pi'ne at the end of the Text corresponds in use to the Bu. Pres. Pc. mi'me	63.
64.	pina'-	<i>to mount (on a horse)</i>	1. pinas (J.Kh.)	1. pina'im (J.Kh.) 3. pinæ'in, pinæ'iŋ	2. pina'i (J.Kh.)	pina'e (J.Kh.)	—	64.
65.	*pinwa'na	<i>to cause to mount</i>	—	—	—	—	—	65.
66.	*raŋ-	v.t. <i>to cook</i>	1. raŋas	1. me raŋim	2. raŋ	—	Ppa. equivalent: raŋaŋo	66.
67.	*raŋ-	<i>to stop, prevent</i>	1. raŋas	1. u raŋim	2. raŋ	—	Ppa. equivalent: raŋaŋo	67.
68.	ro'-ina	<i>to weep</i>	1. u ra's łme ra'm 2. tu ra'ya tume ra'gut 3. m. he'i ra'ga eŋ ra'ŋe	1. u ro.'i's łme royō' 2. tu roy'a'i tume roy'o't 3. m. he'i roy'a eŋ roy'e'	2. ro	—	—	68.
69.	*so-	<i>to sleep</i>	1. sas	1. sotis	2. so	so'i ("soēi")	—	69.
70.	*sora'-na ("sorane")	<i>to make sleep</i>	—	—	—	—	—	70.
71.	*šak-	<i>to be able</i>	1. šakas ("ereshakas" = irišakas = <i>I shall be able to do?</i>)	3. -šaka	2. -ša (= sak?)	—	—	71.
72.	šam'u-na	<i>to become tired</i>	1. u šam'o's	1. u šam'u'n'i's	2. šam'ó	—	—	72.
73.	*šaŋga hu.'ina(?)	v.i. <i>to wake up</i>	1. šaŋga ho's (?), ("šaŋgo's")	3. šaŋga huya (?), ("šaŋgaya")	2. šaŋga ho, ("šangao")	šaŋga ho'i	—	73.
74.	*šaŋga'r-łna(?) ("šangārane")	v.t. <i>to wake s.o. up</i>	—	—	—	—	—	74.
75.	*tašk-	<i>to pull, drag</i>	1. taškas	1. u taškim	2. tašk	—	Ppa. equivalent: taškaŋo	75.
76.	te'na	<i>to strike</i>	1. u t'e'es	1. me ten'im	2. sg. te, pl. to	te'i	v. paradigm, § 81	76.
77.	*thei-na	<i>to place, put down</i>	1. u thas	1. me the'im	2. the'i	—	Ppa. equivalent: the'igo	77.

Notes on Verbal Forms and Uses

88. *The Indicative.*

The Present Tenses

- Future 1st Sg. The final -u of a base + a's seems regularly to yield -o's
e.g. šamu + a's → šamo's
- 1st Pl. The ending seems to be (-)m, but it appears also as the nasalisation of a final -o of the base, as -ŋ and even as -n.
- 3rd Pl. The ending has consistently been recorded as -ŋe, (-eŋe), except in de'ine, a mere variant, and n'e'ige which must be regarded as an error.

In the compound tenses there is a tendency to simplification.

- Present 1st Sg. te čhi's, ira' čhi's, a' čhi's, etc. for te'ēs čhi's, ira's čhi's, a's čhi's, etc. but I have also recorded ira's čhi's.
- 2nd Sg. te'i čha, a' čha etc. for te'ya čha'i, a'ya čha'i, etc., but I have also recorded ho'ya čha'i, giḍæya čha'i, and bešeya čha, ja'e čha, ja'i čha'i.
- 2nd Pl. the final -t of the Future form tends to disappear before the auxiliary čho't.

The Past Tenses

- Preterite 3rd Sg. The final -n in Transitive Verbs has sometimes been recorded as -ŋ and -ŋ.
- 1st Pl. The normal ending is -o'm, but there

are variations of the nasal as in the Future.

3rd Pl. The ending in the Intransitive is -ε. In the Transitive it appears to be -ine, -ine.i, etc., cp. irine'i, but where the base ends in a vowel, at any rate in an -a', it is reduced to -ne e.g. ira'ne, ba'ne le'i-ne.

In the Past compound tenses there are simplifications as in the Present tense.

The Conditional

89. In function this tense corresponds to the Shina Future plus *sik*, and the Burushaski Future plus *tse*.

It is used in the apodosis of Conditional sentences where English has: "I would (do s.t.)," "I would have (done s.t.).

ager he krom irin čha'kλata, te'°sλka *if he had done that, I would have beaten him.*

The Imperative

90. The normal scheme of inflexion of the Imperative has been given in § 78.4.

The following fall outside that scheme:

Infinitive	Imperative	
	2nd Sg.	2nd Pl.
a'na	a'o	a'wa
irina	ε'r	irá
dæina	de'i	da'
de'na	dε	do
dekina(?)	dekiye	—

Infinitive	Imperative	
hu.'ina (Pres. Base ho')	ho	hu.'á'
ja'na	jǎ	jo
kha'na	kha	kho
ne'ina	ne	no, nō
nɪkhillna	nɪkh'o'ɫ	—
pɛ'ina	pɛ'i	—
te'na	te	to

J.Kh. has a number of forms which invite comment, but present difficulties because there is no certainty as to his phonetic intentions or accuracy. Some are due to the omission of final sounds, which I think he must have failed to notice,

e.g. 2nd sg. bozo (= bozon?)
 dʌsa (= dʌsʌɾ)
 gida (= gida'i)
 girmina (= girmina'i)
 tʌs (= tʌsk)

He has two 2nd sg. forms in which -o- replaces medial -ʌ- of consonantal bases:

ˈmʌɾ- *to die* 2nd sg. impv. moʀ
 nʌš- *to be lost* 2nd “ “ noš

These recall the similar vocalic changes in Nouns. Cp. also nɪkh'o'ɫ above.

91. What I have, in compliance with convention, called the 3rd person of the Imperative, with the endings

sg. -'ota, pl. -'o'n,

appear to carry a permissive or desiderative sense, “let him (do)”, “he may (do)”, and perhaps “may he (do)”.

Both in form and (as far as is known) in meaning, these parts correspond to what in Shina I have called "Optatives" (JRAS 1927 pp. 717—764: "The Conjugation of the Transitive Verb in the Principal Dialects of Shina"). Shina has the same ending for singular and plural, but the ending itself is different in different dialects:

In	Gilgiti	}	Shina it is	-o't
	Puniali			
	Kuhi			
	Dareli		" " "	-o'ta
	Chilasi		" " "	-o'sta
	Astori		" " "	-o'tən
	Gurezi		" " "	-o'n

The Dumaki examples recorded are without context:

hæɪɫɒ tus tɔ'ta	may he strike thee! (?)
ɛŋɛ tus tɔ'n	may they strike thee! (?)
ɛ ta awo'ta	let him come here (?)
ɛŋə awo'n	let them come (?)
ta ho'ta	let him be here (?)
ɛŋ ta ho'n	let them be here (?)
hæi jo'ta	let him go (?)
ɛŋ jo'n	let them go (?)

The Past Participle Active

92. This participle is formed by adding -i to the Base. Where the Present and Past Bases are differentiated, the -i is added to the Present Base:

1st Sg. Fut.	1st Sg. Pret.	Ppa.
beša's	be'ta	beši
te'ɛs	tenim	te'i

An exception is:

ho's, h'o'ya, hu.'i's hu'f'
etc.

but the difference in Base vowel here is probably merely due to the incidence of the stress accent.

“Past” is really too definite a term to use in describing this participle. It is true that it is not used of action regarded as in progress or continuing in the present, but rather of action regarded as terminating when the action of the principal verb supervenes.

It is very frequently best rendered by the English Present Participle, or by expressing both actions by finite tenses:

striking the man on the head he knocked him down,
or he struck the man on the head and knocked him down.

Otherwise, as a “Conjunctive Participle” it is used to resume the action of one verb before introducing another.

The Ppa of the verb “to say” is used after quoted speech with the force of audible quotation marks.

As far as evidence goes, this Participle is used only when its subject is the same as that of the following finite verb.

In all these features this Dumaki Participle has its counterpart in the Ppa.s of both Shina and Burushaski.

In form it stands close to Shina in which the Ppa. is invariably in one of two forms of which

zAM-'e' and hær-'i

may be given as examples. In Dumaki, however, the ending -i does not appear to carry a fixed stress accent.

In a'i, j'æi || je'i, de'i, l'e'i, te'i and other similar forms,

it may be taken that the stress, if any, falls on the verbal base, but I have written both

'iri and ir'i

and also lom'i and hu.'i

The following are examples of the use of this participle:

ki'lis kɾami qomek iri'n *working with a pick, he made
a hole*

ap'u' hu.i gi.ɫčha *he has gone upstream*

hæyaŋ te'i gi.a *he struck (him) and went off*

he.i a'i no Baltitašu gi.a *having come back, he then went
to Baltit*

Gilta'šu he.i j'æi a'ya *he went to Gilgit and came back,
or having gone to G. he re-
turned (here)*

ɫaŋ hu.'i ro'ya *being distressed, he wept, or
having got into straits he
wept.*

Pa'dša'n Š. Ba'nos lom'ij. Lom'i g'əɾɫšu a'nij
*the King caught Sh. B. Having caught her he brought her
to (his) home T.8.*

kɪsmɫgə'ra deŋ'ij. De'i səɪɫɫšu gi.a' *He gave (him)
servants. Having given, he went off for an outing. T.4.*

hes "ka ja'i čha'i?" iri mune'im he asked him "where are
you going?" saying

The Past Participle Passive

93. Only three examples of the Past Participle Passive have been recorded. They are identical in form with the 3rd sg. of the Preterite:

ten'in he'i ɫanda ko'k čha?

“beaten that person who is he?” i.e. *who is the person who has been beaten?*

Ša Ba·ra·ne i·rin (or iri·n) ek pa·dša·ek čha·ka
there was a king called Sh. B.

(iri·n = *done, said, called*)

ǰaku·na bæin čh(ε?) i.e. *small pieces of wood have been grafted, or let into (the pipe)*

There is doubt about this last sentence as the vowel with čh- was not written and it is not certain whether ǰaku·na with this meaning is singular or plural.

bæin čha / čhe could equally be the 3rd sg. / pl. of the Perfect, and the 3rd pl. Perfect would be quite a natural form of expression.

The Infinitive

94. The Infinitive ending is -ina, which is added to the Base — the Present Base, when there is a differentiated Past Base. I have frequently marked the final -a as having a rising tone, and sometimes as stressed. Thus:

hʌs-in'á, hʌn-iná, bij'a'l-iná, etc.

Of a different pattern are: hu.'ina, be·š'ina.

When the Base ends in a vowel the -i- of the ending seems generally to be elided, e.g.

a·na, ira·na, ba·na, bʌɖu·na, bijo·na,
de·ná, te·na

On the other hand:

dæ-iná, hu.-'ina, kor'o·-iná, læ-iná, n'e·iná,
ro·-ina, the-ina (J.Kh.)

In n'e'ina and the'ina, however, the -i- may represent only a diphthongisation of the -e'-.

With Bases in -l we have bij'a'l-ina and nikhil-na.

95. The Infinitive can be used as the subject of a Verb, and is then treated as masculine:

tata (šilda) hu.i'na šona na' *it is not good to be hot (cold)*

beš'ina šona čha *it is good to sit down*

bijo'na dərka'r na' *it is not necessary to fear,
there is no need to be afraid*

A few oblique case-forms of the Infinitive have been recorded:

Gen. ha'i lomina'i uš'ana *with ("in") the intention of catching her. T.7.*

Dat. tahe krom 'irinašu ræi čhi? *do you wish (or, intend) to do this work?*

Abl. he baḍun'asmo ba'r nikhita na'ka

since being born he had not gone outside, T.1.,

Bu. in dimanumtsum (Abl. of Static Pc.) ho'la
dusum ap'am

ja'nano = Bu. ni'asulo, *at the time of going.*

This was given as a parallel to te.'ano (Base + a + (a)no), but seems to be a form of the Infinitive, unless the -n- is merely excrescent.

The Base, or Base + a, as a Verbal Noun

96. The forms te.'ano and a'ano, a'amo have already been discussed (v. §§ 35—36) from the point of view of the ending, and a case has been stated for regarding them as consisting of the Verbal Base plus an Ablative suffix.

Further -Ληο has been considered as a possible Abl. Loc. or simple Loc. ending (v. § 46). It now comes up for consideration again.

In response to my request for the Dumaki equivalents of Hindustani and Burushaski verbal parts, J.Kh. equated with the Infinitive in these two languages:

1. in 16 cases the Dumaki Infinitive
2. in 8 cases the Dumaki Present or undifferentiated Base, e.g. beš, ρΛτ
3. in 8 cases the Dumaki Past or undifferentiated Base + a, e.g. moʻya, ρΛηα
4. in 1 case the form in -Ληο

Again as equivalents of the Ppa., in 17 cases he supplied forms which can be analysed as

Base + a + (Λ)ηο.

Three of the Quasi-Infinitives of the form Past Base + a, (Category 3 above), and two of the Quasi-Ppa. forms in -Ληο are of verbs with differentiated Past Bases, and in each of them the form is referable to the Past Base.

On the other hand among the Quasi-Infinitives consisting of the simple Base (Category 2 above), one, viz. beš, is a differentiated Present Base form.

It therefore appears reasonable to relate the Quasi-Ppa. forms to the Quasi-Infinitives of the form (Past) Base + a (Category 3) and not to the simple Base forms (Category 2).

Further it seems reasonable to regard these Quasi-Infinitive forms (Base + a) as Nouns, and the Quasi-Ppa. forms in -Ληο, or -ηο, as case-forms of them.

In the following table I give all the Base + a forms given by J.Kh., together with the simple Base or Bases of the

Verbs on the one hand, and the Quasi-Ppa. forms where they have been supplied by J.Kh. on the other.

<i>Pres. Base</i>	<i>Past Base</i>	<i>Quasi-Infinitive</i>	<i>Quasi-Ppa.</i>
ogol-	ogoth-	ogotha	—
<hr/>			
bozon-		bozona	—
čirir-		čirira	čirirληο
dλsar-		dλsarληο	dλsarληο
		(for dλsara?)	
dλsarɯwa'-		dλsarɯwa	—
lu'k-		lu'ka	lu'kληο
<hr/>			
mar	mo-	moya	moyληο
nλš-	nλth-	nλtha	nλthληο
ran		rana	ranληο

Apart from moya above, there is no example of this type of Quasi-Infinitive of a Verb of which the Base ends in a vowel, but in the Quasi-Ppa. of such verbs the initial vowel of -ληο is separated from the final vowel of the Base by a y-glide. The following are examples from J.Kh.'s material:

a-y-ληο	muna-y-ληο
bu-y-ληο	nλša-y-ληο
do-y-ληο	

On the analogy of moya these presuppose Quasi-Infinitives aya, buya, etc. An exception is the.ijo.

97. There are no examples of the use of this presumed Noun in -a in its simple form, and only three not very illuminating examples of the -ληο || -λmo forms:

- i. he.i a'yλmo mas pa a'ɲ *when, or if, he comes, bring him to me.*

- ii. gəɾɫɔs pɑ aˈyɒŋo (“ayango”) *when he has arrived near the house*, Bu. haˈ ɫsiˈɾ dɛˈʂqɒɫtimi kɛ. J.Kh.
- iii. tɛ.ˈɒŋo qyuˈ ɪriˈn = Bu. dɛɫɒsulo qyuˈ ɛtimi, which would normally mean: “at the time when, or while, B. was beating him, A. cried out.”

Add for purposes of comparison the Infinitive(?) form:

- iv. jaˈnɒŋo = Bu. niˈɒsulo *at the time of going, in the act of going*.

In Nos. i and ii it is possible that the meaning is “after he has come”, which in both Shina and Burushaski could be rendered by the Ablative.

Alternatively it is possible that the meaning is “at the moment of his coming”, “on his arrival”, which in Shina might be rendered by the Locative, but in Burushaski rather by the Dative.

All three languages have a perfectly regular method of rendering “when” or “if” by a finite part of the verb plus a particle (v. § 110).

In No. iii the Bu. Loc. Infin. “dɛɫɒsulo” is not an equivalent of the Ppa.

98. All the data relating to the form and use of the suffix -ɒŋo || -ɒmo have now been presented and we may therefore try to take final stock of the position:

1. -o is strongly associated with the Ablative in Dumaki and Shina
2. The ending may well be -ŋo || -mo, which it is reasonable to believe are one and the same, nasals being variable, since

m'oya + ληο and m'oya + ηο
would both result in m'oyληο.

3. In the indubitably Ablative suffix -λsmο we have final -mo where -ηο would probably be phonetically unacceptable in Dumaki.
4. -mo is an Abl. ending in Bu. and -no in Shina, and there is evidence for a D. Abl. -mo in atsimo, (V. also §§ 35 & 57).
5. An Ablative significance would suit in the first two examples above. It would not suit in the 3rd and 4th examples, if the Burushaski rendering is correct. As regards J.Kh.'s quasi-Ppa.s, in the absence of examples of their use it is not possible to say anything definite, but in certain circumstances an idiom with the Abl. would probably give a result comparable to the Ppa.

This is the case for regarding the suffix as an independent Ablative ending of the form -ηο || -mo.

99. On the other hand:

1. -λna is the regular Locative ending. Also used with temporal force.
-λno is the Ablative of the same.
2. J.Kh., however, gives ρληληο as the Loc. pl. of ρληa. Also mine'ni sinino ("minani sininō") as the equivalent of Bu. yare sinda.ulo = *down below in the river* (contemplated as flowing at the bottom of a gorge or trench) where there would be no excuse for putting a Dumaki Ablative. It is therefore conceivable that there is an inde-

pendent simple Locative suffix ending in a nasal plus -o which has no Ablative force.

3. An Abl. Loc. would not suit the verbal examples.
4. A simple Locative would match the Bu. Loc. of verbal examples Nos. iii and iv, and the Shina Loc. In-fin. could, I think, be used in examples i and ii, and in iii if the Burushaski equivalent is inexact. Conceivably it would suit $\Delta\rho\lambda\eta\eta\sigma$ (v. § 45).
5. $asmane'ni$ || $asma'ne\eta i$ and Abl. $asma'ne\sigma$ are probably parallel to $h\lambda g-e'ni$, $mun-e'ni$, and not apposite here. With these I would also associate $\Delta\rho\lambda\eta\eta\sigma$, but it may have been influenced by Bu. $ikh'ar-e\eta e$ in which the exact force of the suffix is obscure.
6. Some significance must be allowed to the equating of the Dumaki forms with the Bu. Loc. by my Dumaki informant. The association in his mind may have been semantic or formal, but there must have been some association.
7. I have in no case recorded the Adverb Δna "in", or the Locative suffix $-\Delta na$, $-e\eta a$, with a guttural $-\eta$ - or with $-m$ -.

This is the case for and against taking the Dumaki suffix to be $-\Delta\eta\sigma$ || $-\Delta mo$ and regarding it as an Ablative Locative or as a simple Locative ending.

If a decision had to be made on these insufficient and conflicting grounds, I think it should be made in favour of a simple Ablative suffix $-\eta\sigma$ || $-mo$.

100. Only one other case form has been recorded which

can be referred to the Verbal Noun in -a, or the simple (Past) Base. This is:

gy Δ s which was interpreted by Bu. ni'mtse
(Static Pc. + tse) = *on (his) being gone*.

It is: gi.a + Δ s, or gi + Δ s, gi- being the Past Base of ja'na, *to go*:

D.S. s ϵ rl Δ šu gy Δ s Š.B. g'i.a T.8. (V. § 33. iii).

The Use of the Transitive Nominative Forms

101. We have already seen that some of the Personal Pronouns have special Transitive Nominative forms, i.e. forms in which they may appear when they are the subjects of Transitive Verbs.

The two sets of forms are as follows:

	Simple Nom.	Trans. Nom.
1st sg.	u	me
3rd sg. m.	he'i	hæy' Δ n
f.	ha'i	hey'a
3rd pl.	eŋ	eŋe

There are no differentiated forms for the 1st pl. or the 2nd sg. or pl.

Transitive Nominative forms of some Nouns have also been recorded.

It remains to be determined in what circumstances such forms are used.

In theory at any rate such forms depend on an Agential Passive form of expression such as is seen in the Past Tenses of Transitive Verbs in Hindustani, Pashtu and Kashmiri, or more vaguely in Tibetan.

In Dumaki, as in Shina and Burushaski, in which Tran-

sitive Nominatives also exist, there is no obviously Agential construction. The word denoting the actor remains the subject of the Transitive verb which is inflected to agree with it in number and person.

From the material available it is clear that the Transitive Nominative forms are used with the Past (i.e. Pret., Perf. and Plup.) tenses of Transitive verbs.

With the Present tenses (i.e. Fut., Pres. and Imperf.) the Transitive Nominative form appears also to be used when the subject is in the 3rd person, i.e. a 3rd Personal Pronoun or a Noun. On the other hand when the subject is the Personal Pronoun of the 1st Person singular the simple form, *u*, appears generally to be employed.

The Transitive Nominative has also been recorded with the 3rd sg. and pl. of the Imperative and with the Conditional and the Ppa. of the 3rd person.

The following examples illustrate the above principles:

<i>Future</i>	Sg.	Pl.
1	u te'es	—
3 m.	hæy'ʌn te'ega	eŋe te'ɪnɛ
	D. Safe'd-ʌn....ʌmets mare'ga	
<i>Present</i>		
3 m.	hæy'ʌn te'gʌ čha	eŋe te'ɪŋe čhe
		Dom-'e de'ine čhe
<i>Preterite</i>		
1	me tenim	—
3 m.	hæy'ʌn tenin	eŋe tene
	padša'n.... lom'ij	kuyoč-ʌn 'irine
	šæin....nʌšæij	kɪsmatga'r-ɛ ira'ne

	Sg.	Pl.
f.	ha.i joi.a monin J.Kh.	“joi.iŋa moninā” (for monine?) J.Kh.

Perfect

1	me tɔnim čhi's	—
3 m.	hæyɔn tenin čha	eŋe tene čhe

Pluperfect

1	me tɔnim čhi'sɔka	—
3 m.	hæyɔn tenin čha'ka	eŋe tene čhe'aka
	D. Sɔfi'd-ɔn ir'e'iŋ čha'ka	

Imperative

3 m.	hæyɔn to'ta	eŋe to'n
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Ppa.

3 m.	hæyɔn te'i (gi.a)	eŋe (bijoi) le'i (gi.'e)
	padša'n (me'lika)	le'i (a'ya)

I recorded two 1st sg. Present Tense forms of Transitive Verbs with *mɛ*:

mɛ bijala's
mɛ te čhi's

but these are very doubtful. In the lists of Verbs it will be seen that in all other recorded examples both J.Kh. and I have *u*.

On the other hand J.Kh. twice has *u* with the 1st Sg. Pret. of Transitive Verbs:

u rɔtim and u tɔskim

I think it may be taken that these are wrong, or at least irregular.

It is perhaps worth mentioning that in Shina the Transitive Nominative is used with all tenses, while in Burus-

haski the use of the Transitive Nominative with the Present Base tenses is rare, though apparently permissible.

It should be stated that there is no actual example of the use of hey'a. I recorded that form at first as the ordinary Nominative, probably from sentences constructed with te'na or some other Transitive Verb which were not actually recorded.

There is little doubt that it is the Transitive Nominative feminine, and this receives support from J.Kh.'s nominal form joi.a as the Transitive Nominative of joi, *woman*.

ADVERBS

Adverbs of Place

102. Dumaki equivalents of some of the commoner Adverbs of Place have been recorded, and for convenience are given together below.

Examples of their use, where available, will be found in the various entries in the Vocabulary.

aməno	from this side
ana	in, inside
apu	up (valley)
atsi	up, above
atsimo (J.Kh.)	from above
ba'r	out
ba're'ni	outside
hage'ni	in front
hagi	forward, in front
mada'le	up above

mu'n	down
mu'nλšu	downwards, down-valley
pač'e'ni	at the back (side) (Recorded only as a Postposition)
pači	back(wards)
pačo (J.Kh.)	from behind
ta'	here
ta'no	hence
tiŋ, tiŋ	there
tiŋ'eču	thither
tiŋ'o	thence
tu'n	there
tun'o, tunõ	from that side

Three points may be noted:

1. that certain of the above function also as Postpositions.
2. that *ana* seems to provide also the Locative 1. suffix.
3. that some at least of the above can take case-suffixes. The Dat. seen in *mu'nλšu* and *tiŋ'eču* denotes "motion towards," and the Abl. in all the forms ending in -o denotes "motion from".

Adverbs of Time

103. The Adverbs of Time recorded include some of the ordinary words for specific periods of time, such as "today", "this year", and some compound expressions such as "hereafter". The equivalents of a number of common, general expressions such as "soon", "often", "daily", "early", "late", "by day", "in the morning" etc. were not obtained.

The following are, I think, all the Temporal Adverbs or Adverb-Equivalents that were noted:

Day

'oče	today
jum'uti	tomorrow
čhe'edo's	the day after tomorrow
čauđ'edo's	3rd day in the future
bi.'a'li	yesterday
hagigutsana	the day before yesterday

Year

iš'o	this year
hag'išu	next year
pör	last year
hagid'enas	the year before last

General

hagi (?)	before
pači (?)	afterwards
thapai (J.Kh.)	at night. (Cp. Bu. thape).

It will be noted in the above that in

hagigutsana, -ana is presumably the Loc. 1 suffix, -guts- representing the Bu. gunts, "day".

and in hagidenas -as is the General Oblique or Loc. 2 suffix, -den- corresponding to the Bu. den, "year".

The corresponding words in Shina would usually be used in their simple forms. If they were put in any oblique case it would ordinarily be the Dative (with the suffix -eť). In

Bu. in similar cases the Gen. Obl., Dat. and Loc. case-forms are all used.

Certain Compound Expressions are also used as Adverbs of Time:

du'i tsi'ra	twice
ek do's	one day, Bu. hikulto
haeI.ASMO pači	hereafter, thereafter
he'i waXT'ana	at that time, then
tahaE.I.ASMO haġ'i	before this, heretofore
tahe'i waXTASMO haġi	before this, previously
murtuk Δpane	this very moment, just now

104. No *Adverbs of Manner* were recorded.

For "quickly" the adj. lauka *quick* seems to be used:

lauka a'o, lauka ja	come quickly, go quickly
lauka ho	be thou quick
lauke hu'a	be ye quick

But with the verb "to be" English also uses the adjectival form.

Miscellaneous. čipi and čipi muneni, v. T.4. note.

Negative Particle

105. The Negative Particle used with verbs is *ni*. There is no separate or distinctive form used with the Imperative. *ni* precedes the verb v. § 85. For the Negative of the verb "to be" v. § 80.

The independent negative, "no", is niki'n:

eġ'e niki'n irin'ei	they said "No", Bu. u'e be seNUMAN. T.5.
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Interrogative Adverbs

106. The following have been recorded:

<i>Place</i>	kaʔ, kaʔjekʔ	where?, whither?
	kaʔjekačuʔ	whither?
<i>Time</i>	kʌbeʔ, kʌb'ěšuʔ	when?
<i>Reason</i>	k'ijʔeʔ	why?

Examples.

kaʔ giʔʌčhaʔ where has he gone?

kaʔjek čhaʔ where is he?

hes "ka jaʔi čhaʔi?" iri muneʔim

I asked him (saying) "Where are you going?"

tu kaʔjek bešeya čhaʔ where are you sitting? where are you going to sit?

Bu. ʌmulum huruʔšaʔ

kaʔjekaču jaʔe čhaʔ where are you going to?

kaʔjiko æy'a'e from where have you come?

Bu. ʌmulum dukoʔmaʔ

taʔ kʌbe aʔyaʔ when did he come here?

kʌb'ěšu aʔgaʔ when will he come?

(It is probable that kʌb'ěšu is used only of the Future).

tahæi krom k'ijʔe ir'i? why did you do this?

Indefinite Adverbs

107. kaʔjek can be used also with an indefinite sense, "anywhere", "somewhere"

kʌbe can probably be similarly used with the meaning "at any time", "ever", "sometime", "sometimes"

kaʔjek giʔʌčhaʔ has he gone anywhere?

These words also mean: "where has he gone?" The difference

of meaning is probably indicated by a difference of stress accent and perhaps of intonation.

Indefinite Relatives

108. The addition of the particle *ta* after the verb of the sentence gives *ka'jek* and *kaβe* the force of Indefinite Relatives, "wherever," "whenever".

<i>ka'jek</i>	<i>čhΛ-ta</i>	<i>ešu</i>	<i>qau</i>	<i>er</i>	wherever	he is	call	him
<i>kaβe</i>	<i>a'yε-ta</i>	<i>maspa</i>	<i>a'ŋ</i>		whenever	he comes	bring	him to me

109. Among the Adverbs in the above lists there are four Dative forms:

mu'nΛšu, *ti'ŋ'eču*, *ka'jekkaču* and *kaβ'ešu*

Of these it will be observed that two have the suffix *-eču*, *-aču*. As we have already seen, *-eču* is associated with the Plural forms of the Personal Pronouns, and the only recorded Dat. Plural of a noun has *-Λču*. The other two have the suffix *-Λšu*, which is the form that has invariably been recorded with nouns and pronouns in the Dat. Singular.

I have earlier put forward the suggestion that the two suffixes are actually of diverse origin, that the original Dat. suffix was *-eču* or *-Λču* (\leftarrow *Λtsi* + *'u*), but that *-Λts* (\leftarrow *Λtsi*) becoming confused with *-Λs* (\leftarrow *-asya*), two parallel forms arose of which those based on *-Λs* became appropriated to the Singular and those based on *-Λts* to the Plural (cp. § 40).

If this were so, how could we account for these adverbial forms

ti'ŋ'eču and *ka'jekkaču*

on the one hand, and

mu'nʌʂu and kʌb'eʂu

on the other? Such Adverbs one would expect to be uniformly treated as Singular.

A possible explanation lies in the fact that *tiŋ* appears to be an essentially Dumaki word; it is certainly neither Shina nor Burushaski, and its Dative may have been in habitual, common use continuously from a time when, on the above theory, the only Dative form was -eču or -ʌču. The adverbial form being well established and having no numerical significance, may then have survived when the Dat. Sg. ending of Nouns and Pronouns was converted to the -ʌs base. There may also have been no competing associations of *tiŋ* with the original suffix -ʌs. So altogether there may have been nothing to motivate a change of the established customary form *tiŋ'eču* to *tiŋʌʂu*.

On the other hand, *mun* exists as a Noun both in Shina and Burushaski with the meaning "stump", "stubble", etc. It is not used in those languages as an Adverb or Postposition. It seems probably therefore that it may be a comparatively recent loan-word in Dumaki which has been adopted for a specialised function. In this case it may well have entered the language at a time subsequent to the creation of the sg. suffix -ʌʂu; *mun* being itself a singular, would naturally be given the the singular suffix and not the specifically plural -eču.

Alternatively, if *mun* also exists, or existed, in Dumaki as a noun with a separate plural form (a point on which I lack information), it might naturally when pressed into

service as an adverb, have been treated as a singular noun and given the Dat. Sg. suffix -ašu.

The Interrogative Adverb *kajek-aču*, *whither?* can be explained in the same way as *tiŋ'eču*¹⁾.

The use of the Dative suffix with the words for "where?" and "whither?" is normal both in Shina and Burushaski.

On the other hand, *kaḅ'ešu*, *when?* may be something of an innovation, a comparatively recent introduction. I do not think that in Shina the word for "when?" is ever used with the Dative suffix, but in Burushaski the corresponding word can be put in the Dative (*beṣal-ər*). Possibly *kaḅ'ešu* may be an imitation of Burushaski usage.

SYNTAX

110. Of the structure and working of Dumaki as a going concern it is not possible to say much.

The material from which any deductions can be drawn is chiefly contained in the Text. This has the merit of being a simple statement by a very unsophisticated story-teller, which may be taken as fairly representing a simple form of colloquial narrative.

There is nothing which distinguishes it greatly from a similar narrative in Shina or Burushaski, or, for the matter

¹⁾ If the question of the initial vowels of the suffix be raised, the answer is perhaps that the -e- is parallel to that in *eŋ'eču* (3rd Pl. Pers. Pron), and that in both cases it is due to the vicinity and clearness of the preceding palatal and is maintained by the stress accent, while -aču was probably only a distinct enunciation of -aču. In the Ms. *kajek* was originally written and -aču was only later added to it.

of that, in Hindustani. There are the same short sentences, there is the same use of past participles as connectives and also as substitutes for finite verbs when recording a sequence of related actions:

mε Δpαn'e.i birš'Δšu ja's ir'i, Δpαne me'li l'ei, bir'šΔšu
a'ya

Saying "I shall go to my own country", and taking his wife he came to his own country. T.10.

111. There is little in the way of subordinate clauses. I have already referred to the temporal clause rendered by the Verbal Noun plus -Δs, seen in:

Di'u Δafi'd sæɪΔΔšu gγΔs, Š. B. Padša g'i'a

On the D.S.'s going off, Sh. B. P. went (to the garden). T.8.

I have also discussed a'γΔmo at length (v. §§ 35 & 97).

a'γΔmo mΔs pa a'p *when he comes, bring him to me*

Note that in both these cases the subjects of the Principal and Subordinate clauses are different.

112. There are in the Text two examples of Conditional sentences:

mirba'ni iri-ta tahæi šenΔšu ni ja

"If you did a kindness, don't go into this garden,", Bu.

mirba'ni etuma ke.... T.4.

This is equivalent to: "Kindly don't go", or "do me the favour of not going".

mΔgær ni ne.igučho'ta (= ne.igut čhot ta?), u Δpo'n
mara's

If you don't take me there, I will kill myself, Bu. ma
ayats.huča'n ke je Δkhær esqæɪ.Δm. T.6.

($\text{m}\Delta\text{g}\text{ər}$ is probably equivalent to $\Delta\text{g}\text{ər}$ and used to re-inforce the *ta*)

Other examples recorded are:

$\Delta\text{g}\text{ər}$ he krom $\text{iri}\cdot\text{ta}$ $\text{tu}\check{\text{s}}\text{u}$ $\text{s}\Delta\text{za}$ $\text{de}\cdot\text{əs}$

If you do (lit. did) this, I will punish you

$\Delta\text{g}\text{ər}$ he krom irin $\check{\text{c}}\text{h}\text{a}\cdot\text{ka}\cdot\text{ta}$, $\text{te}\cdot\text{əs}\Delta\text{ka}$

If he had done this, I would beat (or, would have beaten) him

The *ta* is practically enclitic. I always wrote it, as I heard it, as part of the Verb. This particle corresponds in use to Shina *to* and Bu. *ke*.

It appears also with *k\Delta\text{be}* and *ka\text{'}jek* and probably gives them the force of Indefinite Relatives, “whenever”, “wherever”:

$\text{k}\Delta\text{be}$ $\text{a}\cdot\text{ye}$ ta $\text{m}\Delta\text{s}$ pa $\text{a}\cdot\text{y}\text{m}$ *whenever he comes (lit. came), bring him to me.*

$\text{ka}\cdot\text{jek}$ $\check{\text{c}}\text{h}\Delta\cdot\text{ta}$ $\text{e}\check{\text{s}}\text{u}$ qau $\text{e}\cdot\text{r}$ *wherever he is call him*

But probably the meaning may also be, “if ever he comes”, and “if he is anywhere”.

TEXT

Ša Ba'ra'n Pa'dša.ε Šilo'k

1. Ša Ba'ra'n ε i'rin ek pa'dša.ek čha'ka. He baḍun'-
asmo bar nikhīṭa na'ka.

2. ek do's Di'u Sa'fi'd, de'u.ek čha'ka, maḍa'le asma-
ne'ni hanega čha'ka, asma'neṅi 'esei gər'lašu dek'in. Deki
həiyeyi nu'ras a'šiq huy'a'. Pa'ci je.i, (Ša Ba'ra'n Pa'dša.ε)
kuyo'če.i č'omekišu je.i, he'i Pa'dša's pa gi.'a.

3. “Ya Padš'a', baḏunasmo dun'a'tašu nikhīṭa ná. Nīkhoḷ, te kuyočlašu šalda'k kana'wek e'r". I'ri bas l'e'i nikhīṭá. Ša B'arān Padša bir'šæi mušlašu le'i gi.á. Je'i bauwi gow'as pinæin. Ša Ba'ra'n Padša Di'u Safidan arane'i gər'lašu n'e'in.

4. “Ya Ša Ba'ra'n Pa'dš'a', kə salə'm ale'rkum, masmo n'i bij'o. Tušu nuxsa'našu ni a'nim čhi's. Te nu'ras a'šiq hu'f' tus a'nim čhi's. Mirba'ni iri'-ta tæi (or tahæi) šen'lašu ni ja. čipi muneni heti iri'm". I'ri thi'p kismatga'ra den'ij. De'i sæilašu gi.á.

5. Pač'i kismatga're sæil ir'a'ne. He Ša Ba'ra'n Padša'n “Hæi šen'lašu no” iri'n. eḡ'e “Niki'n”, 'irin'e'i, “Di.u Safi'dən amets mare'ga”. “Tij'eču niki'n”, 'irin'e'i.

6. “Maḡər ni ne.igučho'ta, u apo'n ma'ra's.” “Šu.a” iri', eḡe bijo'f' l'e'i gi.'e.

7. Hæi š'enana čhir'e'i b'əra čh'i'ka. Tij hæi čhi'r'e bər'išu Ša'ri Šaskin'o Ša'ri Ba'nu tam'lašu (tamlašu?) a'gi čhi'ka. Ha'i lomina'i uš'ana Dyu Safi'dən ha'i bəra ir'e'ij čha'ka.

8. Di.u Safi'd sæilašu gyas Ša Ba'ra'n g'i'a. Hæi Ša Ba'ra'n Padša'n Ša'ri Ba'nos lom'ij. Lom'i' gər'lašu a'nij.

9. Du'i tsira Di'u Safi'dən Ša Ba'ra'n Padša's pa bija'lij: “Hæi. asmo pač'i me' sala'mišu 'a'ya. Tahæi. asmo haḡ'i te' sala'mišu a' čh'i'saka. Hæi. asmo pač'i nō' me sala'mišu a'o”. I'ri, he'i za'ta čha'ka.

10. He.i Ša Ba'ra'n Padša'an, “Ya bab'o', me arane'i birš'lašu ja's” ir'i arane meli l'e'i arane'i birš'lašu 'a'ya.

11. eš.e.i kuyočlan buṭ šuræi.eš 'irine'. 'Iri, həri'p iri, tamlaša irin'e'.

12. "ama pa'dša a'y'a'" iri, t̲amaša iri, "ama pa'dša'n me'li'ka le'i a'ya'" iri, ho t̲amaša'e irine'.
13. Ho pa'dša je.i ᵛpaᵛn'ei th'eᵛᵅušas be'ḡa. Kuyočᵛšu ḡurwa sala'm iri'ᵛ. ᵛpaᵛn'ei t'ᵛxtas be'ḡa.
14. Lo'ḡo ke lo'ḡo ḡuri me'rits hat'á. Kha'ne pi'ne æis.

TRANSLATION

The Story of King Shā Bārān

1. There was a king called Shā Bārān. From the time he was born he had not gone out.

2. There was a Dīv (by name) Dīu Safid. One day he was wandering about up in heaven and from there he looked at his (Shā Bārān's) house. Seeing (him) he fell in love with this beauty. Going back (to earth), and entering into the skin of one of Shā Bārān's subjects he went to the king.

3. "O King", (he said), "since you were born you have not come out into the world. Come out (now) and give a command and counsel to your people". Having spoken (thus) he took (the king) and came out. He carried King Shā Bārān off to the extreme limit of the country and mounted a horse of the wind. The Dīu Safid took the king away to his own home.

4. "O King Shā Bārān", (said he), "*salām aléikum!*". Do not be afraid of me. I have not brought you (here) for your hurt. I fell in love with your beauty and have brought you (here on that account). If you will do me a kindness don't go into this garden here. Otherwise I have left you free (*or, everything else I have left open to you?*)". Having

said this he gave him servants there, and went off for an outing.

5. Afterwards the servants took (the king) to have a look round. King Shā Bārān said: "Take me to that garden" "No", said they, "the Dīu Safid will kill us (if we do)". "(We will) not (take you) there", they said.

6. "If you don't take me, I will kill myself".

(When he said this) they were alarmed and said "All right", and took him off (there).

7. There was a pond of milk in that garden, and Shāri Bānu of Shāri Shaskin used to come there to the pond to disport herself. The Dīu Safid had had the pond made with the intention of catching her.

8. When the Dīu Safid was gone on his outing, Shā Bārān went (to the garden) and caught Shāri Bānu. Having caught her he brought her to the house.

.

9. Twice the Dīu Safid sent to king Shā Bārān, saying: "Hereafter you will come (to me) to pay me your respects. Before this I used to come to you to pay you my respects. After this, then, do you come to pay your respects to me". Things were thus (*or*, such was his nature?).

10. King Shā Bārān said (to the Dīu Safid): "O Grandfather, I am going off to my own country," and he took his wife (and went off) and came to his own country.

11. His subjects made great rejoicing, and making rejoicing and music they held festival.

12. Saying: "Our king has come (back)," (and holding festival) and "Our king has brought a wife (with him), they then made festival.

13. Then the king went and took up his abode in his palace, and he blessed and saluted his people, and he took his seat on his throne.

14. I have been involved in toil and trouble (?). Hands on the two mothers(?). Eating and drinking I came.

NOTE

This is an extremely abbreviated version of a story which I have recorded at greater length in Burushaski (v. "The Burushaski Language", Vol. II, pp. 2—33, Oslo, 1935).

The name of the hero there appears in what is no doubt its original form, Shāhzāda Baḥrām.

In relation to both Burushaski and Dumaki the story is obviously of foreign origin.

The episode of the capture of the bride has here been so much curtailed that it has lost all the features which in the Burushaski version clearly show it to be a presentation of the "Swan Maiden" motif.

A study of that motif, with references to the literature of the subject, has been given by N. M. Penzer in Appendix I, Vol. VIII of "The Ocean of Story", published by Chas. J. Sawyer, London, 1927.

NOTES ON THE TEXT

Para.

Pa'dša.ε was alternatively written as pa'dša.i.

1. ε I cannot explain this.

ir'in or iri'n, the passive participle of irina, *to do*

or *to say*. Cp. *iri* = *saying* 3, 4 et passim. Both Shina and Burushaski on occasion use the verb *to do* with the sense of *to say*.

baḍun'asmo Abl. of the infin. baḍuna *to be born*, or possibly of the 3rd sg. m. pret.

Bu. rendering: in dimanumtsum ho'lə du-sum apam.

2. asma'neṅi this was originally written asma'neṅo, a putative Abl., and glossed: *From heaven he saw into his house*.

'esei v. § 61.

gər'lašū it is a question whether the Dat. here denotes *into*, as it does in the case of č'oməkī-šu, and perhaps of duna'tašu 3, and šen'-lašū 4. In Bu. bərenas + Dat = *to look at*.

nu'ras a'šiq + -as = *on*, corresponding to the Shina idiom: ba'dša.ε dij-ič . . . a'šaq be'n, and the Burushaski: i'nmu surat-aṭe a'šiq manuwaṃ, and, men-tse pfuṭ mamai.iba'n ke.

č'oməkīšu je.i in the parallel idiom Sh. has the Loc. (čomər be), but Bu. the Dat. (baṭər niki'n).

pa for "ba" of my Ms.

3. šalda'k why only *one* command, and *one* counsel or injunction? Perhaps sufficient for a first public appearance.

bas so written in the Ms. and probably not a contraction for ba'dša's. Perhaps simply the Persian bas, *enough*, with some such meaning as *without more ado*.

l'ei nikhīṭa originally written "le'ini khīṭa" which with the following "B'arān" for earlier "Ba'ra'n" shows how pronunciation and stress may vary.

bauwi gowās "horse of the wind", glossed Bu. tiṣṣe ḥayur. I do not know the animal in Burushaski, but it appears in Shina stories as the: oṣṣe ḥšpo

gow'ās pinæin Cp. Sh. ḥšpij pino'iki.

4. kə perhaps Pers. *kih* introducing the words of a speech.

tus note an undoubted Acc. -ās form.

mirba'ni iri-ta the use of the preterite to express a condition in the future is common to the neighbouring and other languages, but it does not seem to fit very well here. The phrase was explained by a literal rendering in Bu.: mirba'ni etuma ke gutṣe basi.ər o'ni.

čipi muneni explained by the Bu. *thi ya're het go'tam*. *thi* is rather elusive; it may mean: *other than, besides, except*. *ya're* means *down, below, beyond this, further*. The phrase seems to mean: *otherwise apart from this I have given you liberty*, or possibly: *apart from this I have left everything open, or free, for you*.

iri' probably closes the preceding quotation. I made it begin a new sentence as I heard it. The same difficulty sometimes presents itself in Burushaski.

This iri' = *saying*, corresponds exactly in

meaning and use to the Shina the, the Ppa. of tho'iki, *to do*. In the same situation Burushaski uses nusen the Ppa. of senas, *to say*.

5. ir'a'ne 3rd pl. Pret. Causative.
no' 2nd pl. Impv. of ne'ina.
niki'n recorded only in this passage.
amets a clear example of the Acc. in -ats.
6. magər is here probably used as an equivalent of agər, and not with its proper meaning: *but*.
7. Ša'ri Šaskin'o is probably an Abl. used adjectivally. In the Bu. version Shari Banu's home is also placed in Shari Shaskin, which was said by the narrator to be the equivalent of a Persian "Shahr i Sabz."
tamašu almost certainly a mistake for tamašāšu. Tamaša is used in Bu. of any kind of entertainment, amusement, sport etc. Here the meaning was explained by the Bu.: tam deljər juču bo'm, *she used to come for the purpose of bathing, or swimming*.
uš'ana was explained as: *in the thought, or intention*. In Bu. there is a word uš-ulum = *by reason of, because of*.
8. D.S. gyas glossed in Bu.: sərlər ni'mtse = *on his being gone*. V. š 100.
Š. Ba'nos is this an Acc. or the Loc. 2? V. š 33. IV.
9. hæi.ασmo pači here and in the following line seems to mean: *after this*. I think that he'i is not very strongly the remoter demonstra-

tive *that*. Hence the differentiation *tahēi* and *tunhēi*.

a'ya

is the 2nd sg. Future.

nō'

was explained by the Bu. *da'* which has many shades of meaning according to the context. The most definite are: *again, in addition*, but it can sometimes be rendered by *then* with a consequential sense.

After this then (in consideration of what I have said) *you come to me*.

he'i za'ta čha'ka is explained by Bu. *ite zærlaʔe bam* lit.: *he was on that fashion*.

One would expect it to refer rather to the state of affairs, or the state of relations between the two persons, but *za't* is perhaps not a very suitable word to apply to things.

10. 'a'ya

3rd sg. m. Pret. and not Fut. as in 9. above. In the Pret. the stress should probably be on the final -a as in 12, and in several other intransitive Pret. forms.

11. ese.i

v. § 61, cf. 2. above.

kuyo'član

kuyo'č is a collective and takes the verb in the plural, but it is probably here regarded as a singular, hence the sg. Trans. Nom. suffix -lan.

12. tamaša'e

the final -e is perhaps only a glide.

14.

Some kind of conventional formula for the end of a story.

lo'ʔo ke lo'ʔo was glossed Bu.: *λωλως κε μὴ λϑϑατ*

ΑΜΑΝΑΜ. The last two words mean: *I have been worried or involved in trouble*. ΑΨΑΛΑΣ is the 1st sg. form of the Infin. or Noun Agent form of *-ΨΑΛΑΣ *to fall, to find oneself in (a place), to fall a victim to, to "catch" (smallpox etc.)*

Perhaps the general meaning is: *I have fallen on evil times*.

lo·to in Sh. and Bu. is a *ball of yarn*, probably connected with Sh. luṭ, *a crease*, Bu., loṭ, *crumpled, wrinkled*. The idea perhaps is "complications".

In Shina, however, there is another word luṭo, lu·to, lo·to "bare-headed", which might suggest the idea "destitute".

me·rits in the Text I wrote "be·rits", but this is certainly wrong. The passage was glossed: du·ri me·riṅ = Bu. a·ltan mamatsəro (i.e. *two mothers*),
hata = *hands*.

The word must be the -ats case-form of the pl. me·riṅ, *mothers*, but I cannot guess the significance of "hands on two mothers".

kha·ne pi·ne æis glossed: Bu. ſičume mi·me da·yam *eating and drinking I came* (probably = *I have come*).

This occurs as a concluding formula in two of my Burushaski texts (v. "The Burushaski Language", Vol. II, pp. 32 and 46). In the first of the two it is slightly fuller:

je šičume, mi'me, čhamine daiyΔm
eating, drinking, hungry I came. I understood that it indicated desire on the part of the narrator for a reward.

kha'ne pi'ne look as if they were connected with the Infinitive forms: kha'na and pi'na.

DUMAKI-ENGLISH VOCABULARY

a, ʌ, æ

ʌĉ -iŋ f. *eye*.

(The form given is J.Kh.'s. I recorded ʌĉ'i'n, but this was probably for the pl. as words for dual parts of the body seem at first to have been given me in their pl. form. The word may be ʌĉhi as in Sh., for J.Kh. sometimes seems to miss final sounds).

(Cp. Sh. ʌĉh'i)

ʌĉa'g-a, -i, -ε *bad*.

(Perhaps cp. Lahnda etc. čhaṅgā, Rāmbani čhangō, "good", and Sirāji of Ḍoḍa atsaṅmato", "bad", in which -mato is an adjectival suffix).

ʌĉide'ni *upper*. Recorded only in: ʌĉide'ni dəro'ti, *lintel*
(Cp. ʌtsi and ʌtside'ni)

aĉhig'owε, (probably pl.), *eyebrow(s)*.

(The transcription aĉhi-, ʌĉhi- in this and the following is assumed on the strength of Sh. ʌĉhi. The equivalent word in Sh. is ʌĉhiko'ʋo, with dialectal variants).

ʌĉhik'u'mε, (probably pl.) *eyelash(es)*.

(Cp. Sh. ʌĉhiku'mo)

aĉ'i'n v.s.v. ʌĉ

Λçhit'Al *eyelid*.

(Cp. Sh. tAl, *roof, ceiling*. In Gurezi Sh. tAlo'ni was recorded for *eyelid*. In several dialects it is Λçhiplɒti).

Λgær *if*. Only one example recorded, in which the verb is followed by the particle *ta*

Λgær he krom irin čha'ka-ta, te'əsɒka, *if he had done that I would (have) beat(en) him*

(Prs., Sh., Bu.)

Λga'siř *burunę cloud*.

(Λga'siř probably for Λga'řis, from Λgo'ř; *burunę* Bu. *cloud*).

Λgo'ř *f. sky*.

ɒtsi Λga'řina *up in the sky*

(The -i- is probably a feminine theme, cp. ɒk, ɒgis.

Λgo'ř recalls both Sh. Λgæi, hΛga'i, and Bu.

æyɒř. Cp. Skr. ākāsa- Panj. Λga's).

agu'la, pl. aguliŋ, *f. finger, toe*.

bɒři agula *thumb*

khi'ti agula *little finger*

pa'ε agu'la *toe*

(Cp. Dareli Sh. hΛgu'ri)

ɒk, pl. Λg'iŋ, *f. fire*.

ɒk ɒm ε'ɾ, ɒk lup'a'i *light the fire*

ɒgis hɒgi *in front of the fire*

ɒgis sɒs εɾ *warm (it) at the fire*

(Cp. H. a'g, Panj. ɒgg)

ɒko'u, ɒko'y, pl. ɒk'a'ya, *m. walnut (tree and nut)*.

(The Sh. is Λçh'o, Skr. akřořa-)

al-, (ɒl-?), J.Kh. *to take*. Recorded only in J.Kh.'s:

he'i maṇiṣa po eka rupi'ak ali'm *I took one rupee from that man.*

ΔΔΔ J.Kh. f. *flag*

gəɾas ΔΔΔ čhi *there is a flag on the house.* (Ar. Prs.)

Δlo', J.Kh. pl. Δla', m. *saying, etc., Bu. bər.*

(Cp. Gauro *al-*, to say)

Δm'a', ama *of us, our.* Gen. of Δm'e q.v.

Δmənō *of, or from, this side, Bu. khi'tum, opp. of tunō.*

Δm'e *we*

Acc. Δm'ets eṅ'e Δm'ets ten'e *they struck us.*

Δm'ets mare'ga *he will kill us.* T.5.

Gen. Δm'a' hæi Δm'a go'r čha *that is our house.*

Δma' pa'dša *our king.* T.12.

Dat. Δm'eču hæi go'r Δm'eču de *give us that house*

Abl. Δmetsmo ha'i bir'ša Δmetsmo hərin'e *they took the land from us*

Loc. 2 Δm'ets eṅ'e Δm'ets u'š čhi *their debt is on us, i.e. we are in debt to them.*

hæy'Δn Δm'ets lomig *he laid hold on us*

With pa. Δm'e pa šΔpi'k n'a' *we have no bread*

Δm'ets v.s.v. Δm'e

a'na *to come, to arrive in.* V. paradigm § 83.

me sla'mišu 'a'ya *thou wilt come to pay thy respects to me* T.9.

ka'b'ešu a'ga? *when will he come?*

a' čh'i'saka *I used to come* T.9.

æis *I came* T.14.

Δpaṇe'i bir'šΔšu a'ya *he came to his own country* T.10.

κλβε а'уе-tа мас па а'п whenever (or if ever) he
comes (lit. came) bring him to me

ка'јіко а'у'а'е čha? from where hast thou come?,
Bu. амulum дуко'ма?

Š. Ba·nu a'gi čhi·ka Sh.B. had come. T.7.

heṛi а'у'лмо мас па а'п when he has come, bring
him to me

gəṛas па а'у'лпо ("ayango") when he came near the
house. J.Kh.

ана in, inside; inner.

ана gəṛena inside in the house

dəṛene ана gi'a he went in at the door

'ана go'r the "inner house" i.e. the store room, cor-
responding to Bu. u'la (← u'l + ha).

'anina to bring. V. List of Verbs.

go'wa а'п bring the horse

кита'б а'п bring the book

мас па а'п bring (him) to me.

tus а'пim čhi's I have brought thee T.4.

g'əṛašu а'пij he brought (her) to the house T.8.

(Cp. Hindi an-nā, Lahnda āṇ-)

'anjōṅ (pl.?) intestines, entrails

(Cp. Astori and Gurezi Sh. õžī and Skr. antra-?)

apuwa'na 1. to cause to be brought. V. List of Verbs.

2. to send, = Bu. do'otsas (to make bring to) маšu

go'wa апуwa'i || bija'l send a horse to me

ap'ane, (invar.) -self, -selves. Corroborative Pron. V. § 64.

tu ap'ane deki'ye you look yourself

ap'ane čha it is he himself, Bu. i'i bæi.

mu'tuk 'ap'ane "now itself", i.e. this very moment

(Cp. apo'n).

ΛΡΑΝ'ε'ι *own*

tahæi mε ΛΡΑΝ'ε'ι go'r čha *this is my own house*
tunhe'i te ΛΡΑΝ'ε'ι go'r čha *that is thy own house*
ek mΛnišΛn ΛΡΑνε'ι me'li tai ma'rin čha *a man*
has struck (?) and killed his own wife. J.Kh.

hæi ΛΡΑνε γε'ρενα čha *he is in his (own) house.* K.Jh.
Cp. T.10.

(Gen. of ΛΡο'η. Cp. H. ΛΡηα).

ΛΡο'η, obl. base ΛΡΑνε-, *-self, -selves.* Reflexive Pron. V.
§ 65.

(Cp. ΛΡΑνε and ΛΡΑνε'ι. Cp. Ksh. pa'nə, H. a'p)
ap'u', 'apu *up(-valley), upper.*

ap'u' hu.i gi.Δčha *he has gone up-valley,* Bu. ΔΛ νε
ni' bæi

MurtΛza.aba'd 'Apu Ko'ṭ *M. Upper Fort (village),*
Bu. M. ΔΛ KηΛη

'ari'n *millet (Panicum miliaceum?), "chīna".*

(Cp. Kho. o'lin)

asma'n *heaven, sky.*

asmane'ni, asma'neηi, *in the sky, in heaven, per-*
haps in the region of heaven T.2.

asma'neηō *from heaven, from the side of heaven.*

V. § 44. (Prs.H.)

Λsukιš *gullet.* (Bu.)

Δšæi, -η f. *apricot, apricot tree.*

eka Δšæi čhi *there is an apricot (tree).*

Δšæye (or, Δša'yε) koṭ *apricot wood.*

a'šiq *enamoured of, in love with*

nu'tas a'šiq hu'y'a' *he became enamoured of his*
beauty. T.2. (Ar. Prs.)

Λšit-a, -i, -ε *weak*.

(Cp. Sh. Λ-ša'to ← šΛt, *strength*)

Λštā'i *eighteen*. (Sh.)

Λtsi *up, up above*.

Λtsi gi'a *he went up*

Λtsi ja *go up*

Λtsi Λga'šina *up in the sky*

(Cp. Λčide'ni || Λtside'ni, and Sh. Λji, Λje, *up, etc.*,
V. § 39).

Λtside'ni J.Kh. *upper-bedding*

(Cp. Λčide'ni. Semantically and as regards -de'ni
cp. Kho. so'r-tu-di'ni, *upper-bedding*).

atsimo 1. *upper, pertaining to the upper side*.

atsimo go'r *the upper house (upper storey)?*

atsimo qΛma *the holes in the upper side of a flute*
(tut'ek)

2. *from above*

atsimo botek pe'i (pe'ya?) *a stone fell from above,*

Bu. yΛtūm dΛnΛn walī'mi J.Kh.

(Cp. Λtsi).

ε

ε (?) *he, that*. V. § 61 and v.s.vv. ešu and eta
ek, f. eka, *one*.

-ek, f. -Λka *a, one*. V. § 18.

eka'i *eleven*. (Sh.)

ε'η, Trs. Nom. ε'ηε, 1. *they, those*. Personal and Demon-
strative Pron. V. §§ 59 & 62.

eŋ ap'ane a'ye *they themselves came*
e'ŋ'e bort (bort?) ba'ne *they threw stones*
eŋ'e niki'n 'irin'e'i *they said "no"*. T.5.
šæin 'eŋets našæiŋ *the king banished them*, Bu.

thame u'e o'spalimi

eŋ eŋe gərašu gi'e *they went to their house*. J.Kh.

eŋv'ene bir'ša čha *it is their land*.

eŋ'eču de *give (it) to them*

eŋapa daulat bu't čhi *they have much property*

2. *the, those*. Demonstrative Adj.

šæin eŋ mani'ša Hinana binæin *the Mir settled those men in Hini*. J.Kh.

eŋ mani'šlčo mo' ta šapi'ka de.a' *give the men wine and bread*. J.Kh.

šæin eŋ mani'ša po bir'ša həri'n *the Mir took the land away from those men*. J.Kh.

'ese.i of *him, his*. V. § 61.

'ese.i gərašu *at (or into) his house* T.2.

ese'i kuyo'član *his subjects* T.11.

'ešlki, -ŋa f. *neck-strap, sling, strap for slinging big drum*.
(Bu.)

ešu *to him* (Dat. of e?). V. § 61.

ka'jek čh-ta ešu qau eŋ *wherever he is, call (to) him*

eta (probably e, *he*, + ta, *here*). V. § 61.

eta awo'ta *let him come here* (?).

i

ipo', ip^ho, -wa m. *tenon, dovetail*. (Bu. ipo'h, pl. -muts)

i'ran m. *cream*. (Bu.)

ira'na *to cause to be made, to cause s.o. to do, make (?)*. V. List of Verbs, and § 74.

D.S.-Λη ha'i bəra ir'e'iŋ čha'ka *the D.S. had caused that pond to be made*. T.7

KISMATGA'ŔE sæil ir'a'ne *the servants made him go for a walk, took him for a look round*. T.5.

(Cs. of irina)

1. irin'á 1. *to make, to do*. V. List of Verbs

tahe krom k'ijye ir'i? *why did you do this act?*

tahæi krom iri'ta *if you did (i.e. were to do) this act*.

ΛP'ΛNE krom er *do the job yourself*

tahe krom 'irinašū ræi čhi? *do you intend (or, wish) to do this?*

Cp. T. 3, 4 (2), 11(2), 12, 13.

2. *to say*

iri'n *he said* T.5.

'irin'e'i *they said* T.5 (2).

iri' *saying* T. 4, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12

iri'n, i'rin *called, named*. T.1.

2. iriná *in: ju irina to stretch, set up warp*

(Possibly the same word as 1. irina, but compare Sh. IRO'IKI, *to stretch and fix warp in position for weaving*, which seems to be a denominative from a word er = *warp*).

iškun'a, (-i, -e?) *pertaining to this year*.

iš'o *this year*. (Cp. hΛg'išu ?).

išpi'ta *lucerne*. (Cp. Sh. išpi't, Bu. šipi't).

o

o *and* (in numerals)

biš o ek *twenty-one*

du'i biš o dæi *fifty*

'oče *today*. (Sh. ḷš, "vulgar" ḷčo; Skr. adyá, adyá?)

oga'l- J.Kh. *to make descend, take down*. V. List of Verbs.

(Perhaps uga'l-)

ogol- J.Kh. *to descend, get down*. V. List of Verbs. (Perhaps

ugul-)

o'rp m. *rain*

o'rp aga čha *it is raining*, Bu. hərəlt di.a'ršila.

(Cp. Skr. abhrá- (*rain*)*cloud*)

ošæyo, pl. ušæiyε, *hare*. (Cp. Sh. oše'yō).

ošt *eight*. (Cp. Kho. ušt, Sh. ḷš(t). A *u-*, *o-* vowel appears also in Gawar Bati and Kati).

o't m. *flour*.

tu pa ka't'eyek o't čha? *how much flour have you?*

(Cp. Sh. ā'tə, H. a'ta)

o'te (pl.?) *lip(s)*. (Cp. Sh. ō'ti, pl. ō'te; H. hō'th).

u

u *I*. The Trs. Nom. is mε. V. paradigm § 59.

(Cp. Gujuri ū; Gujurāti hū)

ugurá, (-i, -ε?), *heavy*. (Cp. Sh. ḷgu'ro).

urk m. *wolf*.

he'i mḷni'šḷn ek u'rkaḷak tubḷkaḷas tḷni'n *the man shot a wolf with a gun*. J.Kh. (Bu. ← Iranian).

1. uš f. *debt, loan*.

te mḷs uš čhi "your debt is on me", i.e. *I am indebted to you*, Bu. u'ŋe ja'te uš bila

eŋ'ε ḷmets uš čhi *we are indebted to them*

mε tus uš čhi *you are indebted to me.*

(Cp. Sh., Bu. u'š)

2. uš *intention, thought.*

ha'i lomina'i uš'ana *with the intention of catching her* T.7.

(Cp. Bu. u'š-ulo *by reason of*)

u'šam *foster-*

u'šam { ma'ma } *foster-mother*
 { ma'ya }

u'šam me'riŋ *foster-mothers*

u'šam be'in *foster-sister*

(Bu.)

uth'ula, (-i, -ε?), *high*

(Cp. Sh. uth'alo)

B

baba, baba, pl. pi.a'ra, m. *father; father's brother; paternal uncle.*

čurna baba *father's younger brother.*

bada baba *father's elder brother*

(Cp. bab'a, *father*, honorific in Bu. and Kho. and probably Sh. *Piara* is an -a'ra plur. of a hypothetical sing. form *pia, or *pi, which may be compared with forms of the type piu, peō, found in Sindhi, Lahnda and Panjabi).

baba'i, pl. babæiŋ, f. *apple*

eka baba'i čhi *there is an apple.*

(Cf. Welsh Gypsy p'abai)

bab'o m. *grandfather.*

ya bab'o used as a title of respect. T.20.

(Cp. Bu. бапо, *grandfather*, restricted to Royal Family. In Sh. ba'bo = *father, father-in-law*).

баџаџи, -џ f. *disc fixed on large spindle* (тали'џ), Bu. јукумал.

баџо'џо, pl. 'баџо'џе, m. *calf*.

ek баџо'џа'k џа *there is a calf*

(Cp. Jaunsāri *bāchhuti*, female calf, and Kho. *bačho'l*.

Sh. has *batso*).

бада *sole (of foot)*.

pa.ε бада *sole of foot*. (Bu.)

баџ-а, баџ-а, -и, -ε *big, large*.

баџи агу'ла *thumb*

баџа (d'æmал) *the big kettledrum*

баџи *ya the heart*

(Cp. Sh. баџо, H. баџа).

бадам m. *almond*.

(Prs. Cp. Sh. Bu. бадам; Kho. бада'м)

баџуна *to be born*, Bu. d*-manas. V. List of Verbs.

Fut. 3rd sg. m. баџо'га = Bu. dimæimi.

Pret. 3rd sg. m. баџу'на = Bu. dimanimi

Pret. 3rd pl. баџу'не = Bu. dumանuman

Abl. Infin. he баџун'асмо = Bu. in dimanum-tsum, *from his birth, since his being born* T.1.

баγум *mare*.

баγум го'ва џа, *it is a mare-horse* (?)

(Cp. Bu. баγум, Sh. ба'м).

ба'и *twelve*. (Sh.)

бајериџ, -а, m. *runner on braces of drum to tighten them*, Bu. маγун

bak'ira, pl. bak'ire, m. *sheep or/and goat, small cattle*, equivalent to Sh. lač, Bu. huy'es.

ek bakirak čha *there is a sheep-or-goat*

bakireŋje pæɪ.a'lo *goatherd, shepherd*

(Cp. H. bakrā, bakrī)

b'akulá, (-i, -ε?) *thick*. (Perhaps cp. Skr. *bahala-*. For k = h cp. D.niki'n).

baku'ni *elbow*.

(Cp. Sh. bakhu'ni).

1. ba'li, -ŋ f. *sand*. (Cp. H. ba'lu).

2. ba'li f. *cord, string*, Bu. walgi.

danu.e.i ba'li *bow-string* (goat's hair cord attached to the "bow" when weaving, to wh. the ends of the warp threads are fastened).

(Sh.)

ban, -uye *joint*.

ki'rtsə ban *joint* (anat.)

(Cp. Prs. band, Sh. Bu. Kho. ban.)

ba'na *to throw*. V. List of Verbs.

u bort (bot?) ba's *I shall throw a stone*

ha'i jo'i mon ba'in *he threw the woman down*. J.Kh.

ɟaku'na bæin čh(ε?) *small pieces of wood are let into, grafted into* (the mouthpiece of the reed-pipe).

(bæin is probably the Past Pc. Pass. V. § 93.)

banda *person, man*

ko'no banda'kišu de'εs? *to which person shall I give (it)?*

he'i bandašu *to that man*

he'i banda kok čha? *who is that person?*

(Prs. Also current in Sh. and Kho.)

baŋwa J.Kh. f. *sleeve*. (Cp. Sh. bo.ī).

ba'po J.Kh. *yesterday*.

ba'r *out*.

ba'r gi'a čha *he has gone out*

bar nīkhi'ṭa na'ka *he had not gone out*. T.1.

(Cp. H. ba'hīr. Not represented in Sh. or Bu.)

bār, -iṅ f. *nullah, gorge*. (Bu.)

b'āra, pl. b'āriṅ, f. *pond, lake*. Dat. bār'iṣu T.7.

(Cp. Sh. bāri, f.; Bu. p'fāri).

bare'ni *outside*. V. § 44.

bare'ni be'ṭa *he sat down outside*

gərai baren (sic) *outside the house* J.Kh.

(Cp. ba'r)

bār'es v.s.v. jauwa bār'es.

bərgu *buckwheat*.

(Cp. Bu. bəru, Sh. bəra'o f., Tib. bra-bo, brau, bro)

bəris J.Kh. *a year*

do'i bərisa *two years*

(Cp. Sh. bəriš, H. barias)

bərpa, pl. bərp'ε, m. *poplar (Lombardy)*

(Cp. Bu. j'ərpa, Balti γbərpa, Tib. dyār-pa, yār-pa).

baś —? Perhaps Prs. baś, *enough, etc.*

baś le'i nikhīṭa *without more ado (?) he took him
and went off* T. 3.

baśkarəṭ, -a m. *wether*. (Bu.)

baśta, pl. baśtoṅ, *upper board of comb of loom*, Bu. baśta.

ba'š f. *language*.

Ḍuma'ki ba'š *the Dumaki language*

Ḍomeṅe ba'š čhi *it is the language of the Ḍoma*

Ḍuma·ki ba·šena khi·sek munegučho·t?

what do you say in the Ḍ. language?

(Bu. and Sh.)

ba·ša·r- *to play (music, drum etc.).*

sas iri ba·ša·r *having heated (the drum) beat (it).*

(Cp. Sh. bašo·iki. Possibly ba·ša·r is an error for baš'a the 2nd pl. Impv., in which case the Base would be baš-).

ba·ṭa, (-i, -ε?) *open.*

dor ba·ṭa ira·s *I'll open the door*

dor ba·ṭa εr *open the door*

(Cp. Sh. ba·ṭo)

baṭsin *thigh.*

baṭsine.i gəti·ti *groin.*

(Bu.)

bəitin *clavicle, collar-bone.*

(Bu.)

ba·u.a f. *wind.*

ba·u.a ho·gičhi *there is wind, wind is blowing.*

bauwi gow'as pinæin *he mounted (on) a horse of the wind T.3.*

(Cp. Bhadravāhi bāō and other allied forms. Skr. vāyú-).

ba·uti, -riṅ *daughter-in-law.*

(Cp. H. baḥu).

“bebal” J.Kh. *midday.*

“bebalasmo” haḡi aya· *he came before midday,*

Bu. duḡu·itsum yər de·šqaltimi. J.Kh.

“bebalasmo pachos ayā” *he came after midday.*

J.Kh.

be·ḍa, pl. be·ḍoŋ, f. sheep.

eka be·ḍaka čhi there is a sheep.

be·ṛei pama čhi it is sheep's wool.

(Cp. H. bhe·ṛ, bhe·ṛi, f. sheep).

be·ɪn, pl. b'endiriŋ *sister*. (Cp. H. bəɪn. Forms approximating to *be·ɪn* are widely dispersed).

be·šili -ŋ f. *musical-pipe* (large, without reed), Bu. gabi.

be·šina *to sit, sit down, to settle down*. V. List of Verbs.

tu ka·jek be·šeya čha? *where are you sitting?*,

Bu. amulo huruša?

dəras pa be·š *sit down beside the door*

mas pa be·ṭa *he sat down beside me*

pa·dša ʌpaŋ'e.i th'e·ŋuša be·ṭa *the king settled down (?) in his palace* T.13.

ʌpaŋe'i taxtas be·ṭa *he sat on his throne* T.13.

gəras pa be·ṭha čha *he is seated (?) beside the house*.

J.Kh.

be·š'ina šona čha *it is good to sit*.

(I was not certain whether the sound was -š- or -š-.

Cp. Welsh Gyp. beš-, Palūla bheš- Panj. bes-na; H. baiṭh-na, v. "L'Indo-Aryen" p. 270; Sh. bæɪ.o.ɪki, Pret. bæɪṭ-us, be·ṭ-us etc.)

bi.'a'li *yesterday*.

(Cp. Gilgiti Sh. bala, in some other dialects bela, bila. Gurezī Sh. bila, *yesterday*, be.a'le, *the day before yesterday*; Grahame Bailey, however, has byālē *yesterday*, bēlā'h *yesterday morning*. Chilis biyāli *yesterday*).

bičuš m. *lightning*.

bičuš æiya *it lightened.*

(Cp. Sh. b'ičuš, Nagar Bu. b'ičuš).

bij'a·liná *to send* = Bu. o·ts.hu·yΛS (*to make take away to*).

(Cp. Λpuwa·na). V. List of Verbs.

šæišu go·wa bija·l *send a horse to the king*

mΛšu go·wa bija·l (*or* Λpuwa·i) *send a horse to me.*

Cp. T.9.

bijo·na *to fear, be afraid.* V. List of Verbs.

bijo·na dərka·r ná· *there is no need to fear.*

mΛsmo ni bij'o *don't be afraid of me.* T.4.

Ppa. bijo·i· T.6.

(Cp. Sh. bijo·iki).

bi·k, -a m.(?) *willow*

ka·la bi·k čhi (?) *it is a "black" willow*

ko·n bi·k *"arrow" willow*

šukul'a bi·k *"white" willow*

bi·ke, bi·ke.i *of willow wood*

(Bu.)

bina·na 1. v.t. *to settle*, Bu. *-Λ.u·ru·tΛS (*to make sit, settle*).

šæin eη mΛni·ša HinΛna bina·in *the Mīr settled those men in Hini.* J.Kh.

2. *to make secure, save, protect*, Bu. d*-ΛspΛSΛS

(based on bΛsa·s v.i. *to settle down, keep still, etc.*).

apo·n bina·i *take care of yourself, look out for yourself*, Bu. gukhər dε·spΛS.

birΛγo, -a m. *foal.*

birΛγo.ek čha *there is a foal*

(Bu.)

biræya, pl. bir'a·ra *brother.*

biro·ye pu·č *brother's son*

biro·ye di.a *brother's daughter*.

The change of -æ- to -o·- in the Gen. Sg. is surprising

(Cp. Gawar Bati *bliaia*, Lahnda *bhirā*).

bir'ša, birša m. *land, country*.

ɛŋv'ene bir'ša čha *it is their land*.

šæin ɛŋ ma·ni-ša po birša ha·ri·n *the Mīr took the land from those men*. J.Kh.

Cp. T. 3, 10.

(Cp. Bu. bu·šæi)

biro·ně, pl. bira·něa, m. *mulberry*.

(Cp. Bu. biraně, Sh. ma·ro·č)

biš *twenty*.

biš o ek *twenty-one*

biš o du·i *twenty-two*

(biš appears in different parts of the Indo-Aryan area, e.g. Kohistani, Gārwi, Torwāli and Maiyā; in W. Pahāri and Bengali; and in European Gypsy. V. LSI. Vol. I. Pt. II. Sh. has *bi*).

biš o dæi, — da·i *thirty*.

bitali, -ŋ f. *shelf, (plank?)*

(Cp. Gilgiti Sh. bit'ali f. *plank, board*; Kho. bit, *plank, shelf*).

bit'o·r, pl. bit'a·ra *husband*.

bita·re bira·ya *husband's brother*

b'oboqa *in*: pi·ni b'oboqa *the calf of the leg*

(Cp. Bu. bubo·q, Kho. bubuq).

bolk m. *board in loom from which heddles are suspended*,
= Bu. balk.

hi·ske.i bolk čha

(Bu. balk, *plank*).

bort(?) *stone*. V.s.v. bot. (Cp. Kho. bohrt).

bos, pl. bāsa, *ploughshare*. (Bu. bās).

bot, pl. bāta m. *stone* (including *shale* etc.)

botək pe'i *a stone fell*. J.Kh. pe'i seems to imply that *bot* is f., but I, and J.Kh. elsewhere, have recorded it as m., and the Sh. baṭ is m.

(Cp. *bort* which may be due to mishearing.

Cp. Sh. baṭ, Kho. bohrt, *stone*. Bu. bāt (non-cerebral t), *stone* that splits into flat sheets, *shale* etc. I cannot say for certain that the -t of *bot* is not cerebral.)

bozon-, (buzun-?) J.Kh. *to forget*. V. List of Verbs.

bās *rice*. (Tib., Balti, Bu.).

bu- J.Kh. *to weave*. V. List of Verbs.

(Cp. Sh. buyoṛiki).

bu.'Altərts, -a *cowherd*.

gæiŋe bu.'Altərts *a cowherd*.

(Bu.)

bu.iṛ *scapula, shoulder-blade*. (Bu.)

buk'aka *broad beans*. (Bu., Sh. buk'ak).

bu'm *low tone* (of one side of big drum and of larger of pair of kettledrums). Opp. na'u. (Bu.)

buruṅ *cloud*. V.s.v. aga'siṣ. (Bu.)

buru's m. *milk product* made from what rises to the top when buttermilk is boiled.

(Cp. Bu. buru's,; Sh. Gilgiti, bru'ts, Astori, bru's, Gurezi, buru's).

bu's *bhoosa, broken straw*. (Cp. H. bhur's, bhur'sa).

buṭ, buṭ *many, much*.

da·na buṭ čhe *there are many oxen*
hæI'ʌpa do·lat buṭ čhi *he has much property*
(Bu.)

buṭa, (-i, -e) *all, the whole.*

ḍim (buṭa) *the (whole) body*

I do not know whether this represents the normal word-order. In Sh. and Bu. the word for "all" usually follows the noun.

buṭe čhe·ka (*they*) *all were...*

(Cp. Sh. buṭo)

č, čh, ě

čhʌɣa m. *patch of leather* (at mouth, of musical pipe, the tut'ek)

band of leather (?) round top of kettledrum to which the braces are fixed (?).

(Bu. čhʌɣa *patch of leather or cloth*).

čha·i po·i bi·š *three hundred.*

čʌki, -ŋ, f. *kid.*

eka čʌkika čhi *there is one kid*

čha·li, -ŋ f. *she-goat.*

eka čha·lika čhi *there is one she-goat*

šəra čha·li *female ibex*

(Cp. Sh. čha·l, *kid*; but allied forms with meaning "she-goat" in Gārwi and Tōrwālī, Rāmbanī, Pogulī etc. deriving apparently from Prakrit chalī, v. LSI vol.I. Pt. II).

čhʌŋjər toɣəli m. *ram.*

(Cp. Bu. čhʌŋjər toɣəli, *entire sheep*)

čΛηut *back and top of head*

(Cp. perhaps Bu. *-čΛηΛΓΛS, *back of head, occiput*).

čha·r, -oŋ m. *cliff*.

(Cp. Sh. ɣha·r m. *cliff* (G.B. čhar = *mountain*); Bu. čħər, *rock-cliff*; Kho. ča·r *earth-cliff*).

čər *grass*. (Cp. Sh. čər, *green grass*, growing or cut).

ča·r biš *eighty*. (Sh. ča·r bi.o).

čəro·k *buttocks*.

(Cp. Sh. Gilgiti čoro·k, čuru·k (?), Astori čəro·k, Gurezi čoro·k).

čΛtΛl J.Kh. *axe*.

he.i čΛtΛlane to·m tenin *he cut down the tree with an axe*.

(Cp. Sh. čΛtΛl f., G.B. gives čΛtΛl).

čai, (čæi?) -ŋ f. J.Kh. *bird*.

(Cp. Sh. čæi).

čæi *three*.

čæi(y) aguliŋ *three fingers*.

(Sh. čε, če.i).

čæi biš *sixty*. (Sh. čæbi.o).

čauḍ'edo's *the day after the day after tomorrow*. (čaur + — + do's)

čaundæi *fourteen*.

(Cp. Sh. čo·ndæi)

čaur, ča·ur *four*

ča·ur aguliŋ *four fingers*

(Cp. ča·r biš and Sh. ča·r. Forms with -au- are found in the Kohistāni languages and Rāmbani).

če·č, -a m. *field*. (Sh. če·č, Skr. kṣétra-).

č'e·e'do's *the day after tomorrow* (č'æi + — + do's).

č'idi'n J.Kh. *cooking-pot*.

(Cp. Sh., Bu., Kho. č'idi'n).

č'ila, pl. č'ilij, f. *fireplace*.

(Cp. H. č'u'lha', Panj. č'ullh-a' m., -i f.)

č'ili, -ŋ f. *juniper*. (Sh.)

č'h-(ina?) *to be*. V. paradigm, § 79.

(I cannot say whether it is č'h- or č'. I do not think that the č' is cerebral. With regard to this form of the Verb "to be" see Professor R. L. Turner's article "Sanskrit á-kṣeti and Pali acchati in Modern Indo-Aryan", in BSOS. Vol. VIII, Pts. 2 and 3, 1936).

č'i'pi, č'ipi = Bu. thi = *gratuitously, merely, just*.

č'i'pi æis = Bu. thi dæya ba = *I have merely come, I have just come (for no special reason)*.

č'ipi mune'ni = Bu. thi ya're, *except (for this) further . . . (?), otherwise (?)*

č'ipi mune'ni heti iri'm *otherwise, with this exception I (have) made you free (to go where you like?)* T.4.

č'hi'r, -a m. *milk*

tahe.i č'hi'r č'ha *this is milk*.

č'hir'e.i bəra *pond of milk* T.7.

(č'h- is only probable, not certain. Cp. Kho. č'hi'r, and similar forms in Gauro and Chils, Skr. kṣīrá-).

č'irir- J.Kh. *to spin*. V. List of Verbs.

(Cf. Sh. č'i'rč'i'r tho'iki *to twirl spindle*, Bu. č'i'r etas *to spin*).

č'hi'ša, pl. č'hi'šoŋ m. *mountain*.

(Cp. Bu. č'hiš, Sh. č'hī'š)

čiy, -a m. *pine-tree*. (-y doubtful. Cp. Sh. čī)

čiz, pl. čisa m. *thing*.

tahæi čiz čha *there is this thing*

(Prs., H., Sh.)

čoγε (pl.?) *testicles*.

(Cp. Bu. sg. čoyo, Sh. (pl.?) čōi).

čoi *thirteen*. (Sh. čoi)

čom m. *skin, dressed skin*.

kuyorče.i čom'ekišu je.i *going into the skin* (i.e. *adopting the form*) *of a subject*. T.3.

da'ne.i čom *ox-skin* (used as parchment for kettle-drums).

(Sh. čom, čum)

čhomi *chin*. (Sh. čhom, čhum f.)

čhor, čor (?), pl. čharuŋ, m. *earth*, = Bu. ti.k.

(Perhaps cp. Kho. čar, *earth-cliff*, which has already been compared with čar)

čotij *slowly*.

čotij čotij ja *go along slowly*

(Cp. Sh. čhut, čhut)

čhum-o, -ε *fish*. (Cp. Bu. čumo, Sh. čhimo).

čhum'or m. *iron*.

(Cp. Bu. čhuma'r, čhumər; Sh. čimər, čima'r-; Kho. čumur, čumu'r).

čun-a, -i, -ε *small, little*.

čuna (ɖa'mɒl) *the smaller kettledrum* (of pair).

The masc. was twice recorded with -o, perhaps accidentally owing to familiarity with Shina.

čuno jo'ʈo *small boy*, pl. čune jo'ʈe

čuni mul'æi *small girl*, pl. čune mul'æiŋ

čur'no gu'a'sek čha *there is a baby*
(Cp. Sh. čur'no, and Pal. Gyp. c'na).

čurni, -ŋa f. *firewood*.

(Cp. Nagar Bu. č'uni)

čuri, -ŋ J.Kh. f. *knife*.

čuri mizΛS the'i *put the knife on the the table*. (H.)

čut (?), čot (?), (J.Kh. "čhoott"), m. *sound*.

gəɾΛno "čhoot" nikhiṭa *a sound came out from (in)
the house*. J.Kh.

D, D.

ḍΛḍΛŋa'li f. *big-drum stick*.

ḍΛḍΛŋči, -a m. *big-drummer*.

ḍΛḍəra pl. *scree*. (Cp. Sh., Bu. ḍΛḍəɾ).

da'do, -tsəra m. *grandfather*.

(Cp. Sh., Bu. da'do; Bu. pl. da'dotsəro).

ḍΛḍ'o'ŋ, pl. ḍΛḍ'Λŋa, m. *big-drum*. (Cp. Sh., Bu. ḍΛḍΛŋ).

ḍΛja'na v.i. *to burn, be burnt*. V. List of Verbs.

go'r ḍΛjega, ḍΛda *the house will be, was, burnt*

(The -a- of the Infin. is surprising. Cp. Sh. ḍΛjo'ɪki.

In Sh. the -j- connotes the Passive or Intrans.)

ḍΛla, pl. ḍΛle, m. *water-channel, irrigation-channel*.

ḍΛɾa ḍΛla *a large irrigation-channel*

(Cp. Sh., Bu. ḍΛla).

1. ḍæi, da'i *ten*. (Sh. ḍæi).

2. ḍæ'i *beard*. (Sh. ḍæi).

ḍæiná v.t. *to burn*. V. List of Verbs.

te go'r da's *I'll burn your house*

hæi go'r ḍæim *I burned the house*

(Cp. Sh. ḍæi.o'ɪki).

d'amal m. *kettledrum*

baḡa, ču'na, d'amal *the big, the small, kettledrum*
lo'ya hali'že.i d'amal *the kettledrum (is) of copper*
d'amale.i qo'm *hole in kettledrum*
(Sh. da'mal, Bu. d'amal)

damalči, -a m. *kettledrummer.*

(Bu. d'amalči)

dambu, -a m. *reed of reed-pipe.* (Sh., Bu.).

dan'ura, pl. danu.'oŋ, m. *bow (for arrows) (?)*. "bow" to
which end of warp is fixed and which is slung on a
peg by its "bowstring", = Bu. žame.

danu.ei ba'li *string of the above*, = Bu. jati.

J.Kh. gives "danowa" as fem. but the equivalents
in Sh. and H. are masc.

(Sh. danu, da'no m. *bow*)

dərča f. *grape(s)*

dərča čhi

dərča.ε gu'gi *vine*

(Cp. Sh. jač, Kho. droč, Skr. drākṣā-

V. Turner "Nepali Dict." s.v. dākh)

dəri *hole (?)*, V.s.v. pfu'ŋ.

(Cp. perhaps Sh., Bu. dəri, *window*)

dərka'r *necessary.*

bijo'na dərka'r na' *it is not necessary to fear, there*
is no need to be afraid

(Prs., H., Sh., Bu.)

dəro'ti, -ŋ f. *a component of a door-frame; pl. door-frame.*

Δčide'ni dəro'ti *lintel*

mun'e'ni.o dəro'ti *threshold, sill*

dər'o'tiŋ čhe *there is (pl.) a door-frame*

(In Gilgiti Shina *dərge'i* is used for "doorway", "door-frame", while Λ ji'n' *dərge'i* is "lintel" and *kəri'n' dərge'i* is "door-sill".

In Bu. the sg. *ts.həriš* is a component of the door-frame, while the pl. *ts.həraŋ* is the whole door-frame.

dəro'ti may perhaps be compared with Kuhl, Astori and Gurezi Shina: *dərbəti* recorded as meaning "door-frame". In Gilgiti Shina *dərbəti* was recorded once in a proverb, where it seemed to mean "door-sill", or "threshold")

dasařina J.Kh. *to learn*. V. List of Verbs.

dasařowa-, J.Kh. (= *dasařuwa'-?*) *to teach*. V. List of Verbs.

de.i- J.Kh. *to run*. V. List of Verbs.

dek J.Kh. *cooking-pot*.

(Sh., Bu. *de'k*; Prs., H., *di'g, de'g*)

dek- *to see, look*. V. List of Verbs.

tu Λ p' Λ ne *deki'ye* *look yourself*

(Probably a polite Imperative like the similar form in H., *dekhije*).

tu ϵ ja'k Λ an'išek *n'idikim* *čhisaka* *I had seen no one like you*

'esei *gər'lašu dek'in*. *Deki...* *he saw, looked into (?) his house. Having looked...* T.2.

hayeri go'r dekim *I saw his house*. J.Kh.

(Cp. H. *dekh-na*)

dena, pl. *d'enoŋ* f. *year*.

eka dena *one year*

(Bu. *den*).

de'ná, (Past Base den-), *to give*. V. List of Verbs.

ko'shu de'əs? *to whom shall I give it?*

hæi go'r tumeču de'es *I shall give this house to you*

mε gašas denim *I sold (it)*

Đo'm'ε gi.o'ŋ de'ine čhe *the Doma sing songs*

(Cp. Sh. ga'ε do'iki *to sing songs*)

Cp. T.4.

de'u m. "*dtv*", *demon*. (H. Also in Sh., Bu., Kho.)

T.2.

1. di'a, pl. di'riŋ f. *daughter*.

(Cp. Sh. di', pl. dija're. The LSI gives dhi' for many Northern Indian languages, with the pl. dhi'rī' in Hindki and Punchi)

2. di'a m. *lamp*

di'a lupε'ga čha *the lamp is burning*

di'a lupai *light the lamp*

(H.; in Kho. di'wa)

đim m. *body*. đim bur'ța *the whole body*.

(Cp. Sh. and Bu.)

di'ŋ, -a m. *leopard*.

(Cp. Sh. dī')

di.'o'i, -ŋ *granddaughter*.

di.'o'ya, pl. di.o'ye, *grandson*.

di'ri postpos. *in the direction of, towards*; Abl. diro *from the direction of, on the part of*. V. § 48.

dirum m. *a food made of wheat which has been allowed to sprout*.

(Cp. Sh., Bu. di'ram)

do- J.Kh. *to wash*. V. List of Verbs.

(Cp. H. dho'-na)

do·do *windpipe, throat.* (Sh. Bu.)

do·lat, daulat f. *property, wealth.*

hæɪʔapa do·lat bu·ʔ čhi *he has much property*

(Ar. Prs. Also in Sh., Bu., Kho., Wkh. etc.)

Do·m, pl. Do·ma, the non-Burusho communities in Hunza and Nagar who act as blacksmiths and musicians, called by the Burusho Sg. Be·rits, pl. Be·ričo.

V. Introduction.

Pl. Trs. Nom. Do·m'ε gi.o·ŋ de·ine čhe *the Doms sing songs*

Gen. Do·meŋe ba·š *the language of the Doma*

Cp. duma·ki. (H.Sh.)

1. do·n, pl. da·na, m. *ox (castrated bull).*

da·ne.i (sg.) čom *ox-skin.*

da·na bu·ʔ čhe *there are many oxen*

(Cp. Sh. do·no)

2. don, pl. dana, m. 1. *tooth.* 2. also used of the "teeth" of the comb of a loom, which in the loom for weaving woollen cloth are thin strips of wood fixed at each end in a wooden frame and in no way resembling teeth.

In Bu. i·me (*-me = *tooth*) is also used in this sense.

(Cp. Sh. don).

do·ŋ J.Kh. *thread,* Bu. səŋ.

(Cp. perhaps Sh. do·mo, *string, twine,* short bit of *goat's hair cord*)

do·r, pl. dəra m. *door.*

do·r ba·ʔa ɛr *open the door*

dəras pa be·š *sit (down) beside the door*

(Cp. Sh. dəŋ, da·r-, Prs. dəŋ)

do·s m. *day.*

ek do's *one day*, Bu. hikulto. T.2.

Cp. čauḍedo's & ɛ'e'edo's.

(Cp. Sh. de'z m.)

du'i *two*. (Cp. Sh. du', *but* du'i šal 200. du'i also occurs in Sirāji of Doḍa and Welsh Gyp.).

du'i biš *forty*.

du'i biš o ek *forty-one*

du'i biš o dæi *fifty*

(Sh. d'ibyu.o, dubyu.o, etc.)

du'iča *perspiration, sweat*.

(Perhaps -ča is the verb "is")

(duko'na?) *to ache, pain*.

mε κρο'λ duko'γλča (*for duko'ga čha?*) *my head is aching*

mε κρο'λ duko'na *my head ached*

(Cp. perhaps H. dukh, *pain, suffering, dukh-na to ache*)

ḍulu, -a m. *cord*.

ḍambu.ə ḍulu *string-binding of reed of reed-pipe*

(Sh., Bu.)

du'm m. *smoke* (Sh.)

Ḍuma'ki *pertaining to the Ḍoms (Ḍoma), or Be'ričo*.

Ḍuma'ki ba'šena khi'sek munegučho't? *what do you (pl.) say, (or, call it?) in the Ḍom language?*

(The ending recalls Sh. šina'ki, *Shina-speaking*)

dun'a't *the world*. Cp. T.3.

(Also current in this and other forms in Sh. and Bu.)

(Ar. Prs.)

du'ralina J.Kh. *to give birth to, create*, Bu. d*-ΛSMANΛS, V.

List of Verbs.

(durwa'na?) J.Kh. *to drive away*

join durwa'in = Bu. gušiqants o'skärtsimi, *he drove away the women* (Bu. *-askärtsas *to make run, to drive away*).

(-u- with J.Kh. may represent -o'- The word is perhaps related to H. daurna, *to run*)

durwa *blessing, prayer for*. T.13.

(Occurring also as duw'a' in Sh. and Bu.)

(Ar. Prs.)

F

fäṭ'ej irina v.t. *to open* (a box).

sand'uqa fäṭej er *open the box*

(Sh., Bu. pfaṭaj)

firaṇi J.Kh. *large wicker pannier*, Bu. čur'a.

(Cp. Werch. pfer'ani, pfiṛ'ani)

furu'kus *container* made of bark with two cylindrical compartments *for holding wool*

(Bu.)

G

gaḍiná *to take out, extract, to take off* (clothes). V. List of Verbs.

kiræyano pfaṭo'riṅ gaṭ *take the dried apricots out of the shoulder-basket(s)*.

kaṭ'u'a gaṭ *take off* (your) clothes

take gaṭ *take off* (your) boots

ga'i, gæi, -ṅ f. cow.

eka gæi.eka čhi *there is a cow*
taha'i ga'i čhi *this is a cow*
gæiŋe bu.ɔltərts *a cowherd of cows*
(Cp. H. ga'i. Sh. has go'u, go', ga'o).

g'andɔl, -a *sticks, laid across rafters to support mud of roof*
(Bu.)

g'ɔpina *to tie, bind*. V. List of Verbs.
(Cp. Sh. gɔno'ɪki)

gɔš *price*.

gɔšɔs le'ina *to buy, purchase*
ek gowa gɔšɔs le'im *I bought a horse*.

gɔšɔs de'na *to sell*

(Bu. gɔš; Sh. ga'č, ga'š, ga'ɬ, with idioms similar
to D. for "buying" and "selling")

gɔška J.Kh. f. *rope*. (Bu. gɔšk).

gəti'ti *armpit*.

ša'ke.i gəti'ti *armpit*

batsine.i gəti'ti *groin*

(Sh. gɪti'ti, Bu. ɣɪti'ti)

ge'ltin *ankle-bone*.

pa'ɛ ge'ltin

(Bu. ge'ltiŋ)

gi- Past Base of ja'na, *to go*.

gi.a, pl. gi.o'ŋ, f. *song*.

eka gi.aka čhi *there is a song*.

Dom'e gi.o'ŋ de'ine čhe *the Doma sing songs*

(Cp. Sh. ga'ɛ, gæi, *song*; g— do'ɪki, *to sing*; Skr.

gai-, gītā

giɔa'na *to want, ask for* (?), Bu. du'məɾɔs, H. ma'ŋgna.

V. List of Verbs.

kisek gi'd'æya čhavi? *what do you want?*

(Cp. perhaps Prs. gi'd'a'i, Sh. gʌd'æi, *begging*)

(Gɪl'it?), Gilt- *Gilgit*

Giltašu je.i a'is *I have gone to Gilgit and come back.*

(In Sh. and Bu. the name is as given in brackets above, with contraction in the oblique cases)

gi'ri, J.Kh. f. *boulder.*

(Sh.)

girmina'na J.Kh. *to write.* V. List of Verbs.

(Bu. girmin-ʌs)

gi'ryu, gi'r'ru m. *butter.* J.Kh. has the Gen. "gereve" (= gi'r'ive?).

(Cp. Pal. Gyp. gir).

go'li, -ŋa f. *a kind of bread* = Bu. guɣʌl.

(Sh.)

go'mu *wheat.*

(Cp. Sh. gu'm m.)

gor, go'r, pl. gəra m. *house.* V. § 23.

(Cp. H. ghʌr, Sh. go't, go'š)

go'r'us m. *buttermilk.*

"gousch" J.Kh. V.s.v. guts.

gotsʌl, -a m. *irrigation-channel, water-channel.*

(Bu. g'otsil)

go'wá, pl. go'we, m. *horse.*

ko'no go'wa čha? *which horse is it?*

gow'ʌs pinæin *he mounted (on) the horse* T.3.

(Cp. Torwālī, Maiyā, gho' LSI)

gu' *dung.*

(Cp. H. gu', Prs. gu'h)

gu.a's, -a m. (and f. ?) *infant, baby.*

čũno gu.a'sek čha *there is a small baby*

čũne gu.a'sa čhe *there are small babies*

(Bu. gu(y)a's)

gudur J.Kh. *shallow wooden bowl.*

(Bu., Sh., Kho. guḍur)

gu'gi *vine.*

dərčã.ε gu'gi *grape-vine.*

(Cp. Bu. gug'o *layer of vine*)

gukurus *puppy.*

šuna'yi gukurus (*dog's*) *puppy*

(Bu. gukurus, Sh. khukur)

gunde'r, -a m. *a kind of small tree with small red berries.*

(Sh. gun'ε'r, Bu. ginḍa'wər)

gu'ni, -ŋ f. (?) *vein, blood-vessel*

ɾate.i gu'ni *blood-vessel*

(J.Kh. has "roothei goning čhi" for the Bu. mul-
tane bər'es bi, *there is a blood-vessel*)

gup'altij J.Kh. *trousers.* (Bu.)

gup'a'sa, (gupa's?) f. (*cotton?*) *cloth binding round mouth-
piece of reed pipe where it fits into the body of the
pipe to make the joint tight*

(Bu. gup'as, *cotton.* Cp. H. kappa's).

guts (?), -a m. *day.*

(Deduced from h'agi-guts-ana *the day before yes-
terday.*

J.Kh. has "gousch cha", pl. "gouscha che".

In this part of the world I have found that lite-
rate informants did not appear to recognise *ts* as
a combination of *t* and *s*, but tried to render it by
the symbol for č. "gousch" here was originally

written “gouch” and is probably intended for
guts.
guts may represent either Bu. gunts or Bu. -kuts)

Г.

γα·n, -a *heel*.

(Bu. *-γα·n)

γәра·š a *kind of pulse*

(Cp. Bu. γәрләш, Sh. gәra·š, Kho. khәra·š)

γΔγ, -a m. *single strand of warp*.

(Bu.)

γISγIS, -a *removable rod or long peg at end of comb of loom*.

(Bu.)

γo's, pl. γa'sa, *rod fixed in weaver's beam to which ends of warp are attached; rods from which heddles are slung*.

(Cp. Bu. γәis)

γoту·m *deep*.

(Bu. γуту·m, Sh. гуту·mo)

h

ha·çum *jaw*. (Sh.)

hәge·ni *on the front side*, Bu. yәrpa. V. § 44.

h'әgi 1. Adv. *in front. ahead*.

2. Postpos. (place) *in front of*. (time) *before*. V. § 51.

(H. a'ge)

hәgid'енлs *the year before last*.

(Probably the Gen. Obl. hәgi + dēna + лs)

h'әgigүtsәna *the day before yesterday*.

(Probably Loc. 1. h'agi + guts + ana)

hag'išu *next year*

(h'agi + išo?)

hago J.Kh. gives this form as well as hagi.

He also gives geras hagoplač = Bu. ha' yər pa
in front of, i.e. *on the front side of the house*. V.
§ 49.4.

hago is perhaps an Abl. and Adjectival form of
hagi.

ha'i, (hæi), f. 1. Pers. and Demons. Pronoun, *she, it, that*
one V. § 59.

2. Demons. Adj. and Def. Art., *that, the*. V. § 62.
(Cp. sg. m. he'i, pl. e'ŋ)

haldin, -a m. *he-goat*.

ek haldinak čha *there is a he-goat*

hald'ina bur' čhe *there are many he-goats*

šera haldin *male ibex*

(Bu. halden)

1. hali'ža, (-i, -e?) *yellow*. (Sh. hali'jo)

2. hali'ža m. *brass*.

lo'ya hali'ža čha *it is copper*

hali'ža.ε sim *brass wire*

(Sh. hali'jo ri'l, *yellow copper = brass*. In Bu. the
word šikərk serves for both "yellow" and "brass".

"Copper" is rendered in the same way as in D. by
"red brass", ba'rdum šikərk)

han'i, -ŋ f. *kernel of fruit stone*.

eka han'ika čhi *there is a kernel*.

hanije pin'o'n *the refuse of kernels* which have been
crushed to extract the oil

(Sh. hʌni f., Bu. hʌn'i)

h'ʌniná *to go about, proceed.* List of Verbs.

V. T.2.

hər, -iŋ f. *nullah, ravine.*

ko'ni hər'ʌnə *in which nullah?*

(Bu.)

hərçum, -a m. *yoke of plough.* (Bu.)

həri'çi, -ŋa m. *saw (tool).*

(Sh. həreçi, Bu. həri'çi)

hərina *to take away s.t. from s.o., confiscate.* V. List of Verbs.

u te go'r həra's *I shall take away your house (from you)*

me həye go'r hər'im *I confiscated his house*

mʌsmo həri'n *he took (it) away from me*

šæi'n eŋ mʌni'ša po birša hʌrin *the Mīr took away their land from those men.* J.Kh.

(Cp. Sh. həro'iki *to take away, carry off*)

həri'p *music.*

həri'p iri' *making music* T. 11.

(Sh. and Bu.)

hərišsoŋ *gums (anat.).* (This seems an improbable phonic

combination. The -oŋ may be a plural ending. It is

perhaps to be compared with Sh. hər'ets, pl. hər'etse.

Does it perhaps represent a mis-hearing of hər'its-oŋ?)

həro'č, pl. həra'nča, m. *pitchfork.*

(Cp. Sh. həro'č, Bu. hərʌnč, pl. həra'ŋ)

hʌsin'á *to laugh.* V. List of Verbs.

(Cp. H. hʌs-na; Chilasi, Puniali and Astori Sh.

hʌz-)

hʌt, -a *hand.*

hʌte.i kiʀts *wrist*

hʌtə taʀʒa *palm of hand*

Cp. T.14. (Cp. Sh. hʌt)

hæyo hæyʌn *one another, each other*

hæyo hæyʌn tene *they struck one another*, Bu. hi
hine deliman

heʀi, heʀi, hæi, he m. 1. Pers. and Demons. Pronoun, *he, it, that one*. V. § 59.

2. Demons. Adj. and Def. Art., *that, the*. V. § 62.

(Cp. sg. f. haʀi, pl. eʀ)

hes, equivalent to hæyʌs, *him* V. § 61.

hes }
hæyʌs } *munæi ask him*

heʀi *free, at liberty*. T.4.

(Cp. Sh., Bu. heʀ)

hiʀjo *own (relation), german*, Bu. dʌmʌn.

(Sh.)

hiʀsk *loom*.

(Cp. Bu. hiʀsk, Sh. heʀsko)

hiska, pl. hiskoŋ, m. *comb of loom*

(Cp. Bu. hiʀsk, *comb, comb of loom*).

ho- Pres. Base of huʀina

ho *then (next in course of events)*. T. 12, 13.

(Sh. and Bu.)

hor-, (hur-?) J.Kh. *to fall down*.

heʀi gor hora *the house fell down*

(Cp. Sh. hur-ij-oʀiki *to fall down*, of house, cliff
etc.)

hoʀš, pl. hʌša, m. *plough*.

(Cp. Bu. heʀš)

ho't, pl. haḏa, *bone*. (Cp. Sh. ā'ti)

hu.'i'na *to be, become*. V. paradigm § 82.

ba'u.a ho'gičhi *there is wind*

Λgis haḡi qi's ho *sit thou in front of the fire*

lo'ka ho *be thou quick*

lauke hu.á *be ye quick*

taḡ hu.í' roy'á *becoming distressed, he wept*

ap'u hu.i' gi.áčha *he has gone up stream*, Bu. dΛl

ne. Cp. H. u'paḡ ho'kaḡ.

tata hu.'i'na šona na *it is not good to be hot*.

Cp. T. 2, 4.

hund'Λris, -a m. *small rafter*.

(Cp. Bu. hundər'es, hund'əris)

hu'r, -a m. *base-piece of comb of loom; shuttle*.

(Bu.)

(huta'na?) *to raise, set up*. V. List of Verbs and § 75.

(Cp. H. utha'na)

hutin'á' *to rise, get up, stand up*. V. Lists of Verbs.

(Cp. H. uthna, Sh. utho'iki)

hutuwa'na *to cause to be raised* (?). V. List of Verbs.

(Cp. H. uthwa'na)

huye, (-y-?) pl. *hail*.

huye æiye *hail came, it hailed*

(Cp. Bu. hi'o)

J, Ĵ

jaje, pl. ja'ja're, f. *husband's sister, woman's brother's wife*.

(Sh.)

ja'k occurs in the idiom expressing likeness, resemblance:

taha'ya ja'k *like this*

pit'iši.ε ja'kek čha *it is like a cat, it is a thing like a cat* (?)

tu.ε ja'k mɒni'šek niḍɪkim čhisɒka *I had not seen anyone like you*

It seems probable that ja'k is a noun denoting "sort", "kind", "fashion", "manner", and that -a in the first example and -ε in the two latter, which I heard pertaining to the preceding word, are in fact the demonstrative he'i, he, ε, *that, the*. In view of tu.ε it can hardly be the Genitive ending, as the Gen. of tu is tε.

Possibly ja'k is to be compared with Kho. ča'q, čɒq, *kind, fashion*, which is used in the Locative to express "like", "resembling":

ta čɒqa *in the fashion of thee, i.e. like thee.*

ɟɒkɒn, -a m. *donkey*

ɟɒkɒnε pa'lo *donkey foal.*

(Bu. and Sh. ɟɒkɒn)

ɟɒku'na, (probably pl.), used of a separate piece grafted on to the upper end of the body of a reed-pipe, or more probably of four small pieces of wood mortised in to strengthen the joint.

ɟɒku'na bæin čh-. V. § 93.

(In Bu. ɟɒkɒn is used of small nondescript components of a mechanism, such as pegs)

ɟɒma'ča, pl. ɟɒmɒčɒre m. *son-in-law.*

(Sh. ɟɒmu'čo, pl. ɟɒmu'ča're and variants)

ɟɒmiŋ (perhaps pl.), *cheek(s).*

ja'na *to go.* (Pres. Base ja-, Past Base gi-). V. paradigm § 84.

ja't *hair (of head)*.

J.Kh. also gives ja't as a pl. = Bu. γοϋλη (hair of head), but he also supplies what seems to be a plural form of it in:

joinge ja'tiŋ ("joinga jawting") = Bu. γυσηλντσε
γυϋλη, *women's hair*.

(Cp. next entry)

jaʈa, pl. jaʈoŋ f. *hair (of body), animals' hair*.

tit'i'rosmo jaʈa *hair on the chest*

ča'li jaʈa čhi *there is goat's hair*

(Cp. ja't. It seems probable that these two words are distinct, at least separate forms specialised for the meanings given.

With jaʈa cp. Sh. jaʈ f. *animals' hair, fur*.

I have no doubt that I gave jaʈa its cerebral -ʈ- because of the Sh. form. Probably ja't should have it too. G.B. however, gives Panj. *jatt* f. "longish hair (animal)".

jauwa, sg. and pl., m. *sinew*.

jauwa čha, čhe.

(Bu. jauwa. Cp. Puniali Sh. jaʈwa na'r and Astori Sh. jo'ə na'r, *sinew*).

jauwa bər'es *sinew*.

(Bu. bər'ε's *vein, pulse and sinew*; jauwa b— *tendo Achillis*. Cp. Sh. jaʈwa na'r in last entry. Sh. *na'r* has the same meanings as Bu. bərə's)

ji'ba *tongue*. (H. ji'bh, Sh. ji'p).

ji'ga, -i, (-ε?) *long*

(Bu. ži'ga (of time), Sh. ži'go, Skr. dīrghá-)

ji'ko'n, pl. ji'ka'na, m. (*leather thong*), *brace of big drum and kettledrum*

jiko'n gΛn *tie the brace*

da'ne.i jika'na *the braces (are) of ox (skin)*

(Cp. Bu. jikΛn, Kho. žɪkΛn)

jo'i, jə.i, -ŋ f. *woman, female*. V. § 28.

hæyΛn ha'i jə.is ten'in čha *he has struck the woman*

jo'i šun'o *bitch*

jo'i qərqa'mutsika čhi *it is a hen*.

(Cp. Skr. yuvatī, Pkt. juvaī)

jo'ji, ("jooji"), J.Kh. *horse's bit*.

(Bu. jauji, Wkh. jaoji)

j'oɕo, pl. joɕe, *boy*.

ču'no j'oɕo *small boy*

(Cp. Bu. jo'ɕo, *child, young of animal*; Sh. jo'ɕo,

juɕo *chicken*; Bu. juɕ, joɕ *small, little*)

ju *warp yarn*.

ju iriná = Sh. iro'ɪki *to set up, stretch, warp* (?)

(Bu. ju)

jukul'i, -ŋ f. *shaft of tališ q.v.*

jum'uti *tomorrow*.

K, KH

ka? *where? whither?*

ka ja'i čha'i? *where art thou going?*

k'a' gi'Λčha? *where has he gone?*

kə indicating reported speech (?)

Ya Š.B.P. kə sΛlə'm ale'ikum O, *Sh.B.P., salām alèikum*. T.4.

kΛbe? *when?*

ta' kΛbe a'ya? = Bu. kho'le bešΛl di'mi? *when did he come here?*

kΛb'εšu a'ga = Bu. bešΛl ju'či?, *when will he come?*

(Cp. H. kΛb?)

kΛbe...ta *whenever, if ever.*

kΛbe a'ye ta mas pa a'ɲ *whenever he (they?) comes, bring him (them)? to me*

ka'jek? *where? whither?*

ka'jek čha? *where is he?*

tu ka'jek ja'ε čha? *where are you going?*

tu ka'jek bešeya čha? = Bu. Λmulo huru'sa?,
where are you sitting (going to sit down)?

ka'jekachu gi.Λčha? *where has he gone?*

ka'jek *anywhere, somewhere.*

kajek gi.Λčha? *has he gone anywhere?*

ka'jek...ta *wherever*

ka'jek čhΛ-ta εšu qau εɾ *wherever he is call him*

ka'jiko? *from where? whence?*

ka'jiko æy'a'ε čha? = Bu. Λmulum duko'ma?,
where have you come from?

kake, J.Kh. sg. and pl. f. "chikor", *the red-legged partridge.*

(Cp. Sh. kã'kΛs)

ka'la, -i, -ε *black*

ka'la bi'k *the black willow*

(Cp. H. ka'la)

kΛma (for qΛma) v.s.v. qom.

kha'na *to eat.* V. List of Verbs. Cp. T.14.

(Cp. H. kha'na, Sh. kho'iki)

kΛɲa v. l. kon.

kΛna'o *advice, counsel, injunction.* Cp. T.3.

(Sh., Bu.)

kaŋi, -ŋ f. *comb.* (Cp. H. kaŋhi. The Sh. is koī f.)

khəŋoŋ (J.Kh. "khangoor"), pl. khəŋaŋa, m. *sword.*

khəŋaŋa' te'i *striking with a sword.* V. § 33. ii.

The above is all from J.Kh. I have: khəŋaŋas

təni čha *he has struck with a sword*

(Cp. Sh. khəŋar, Kho. khungoŋr)

kaŋp'o'l m. *head.*

me kaŋp'o'l duko'ŋa čha *my head is aching*

(Cp. Sh. kaŋpa'lo, Bu. kaŋp'əl, Kho. khəŋp'əl, Skr.

kapāla-)

kaŋaŋte J.Kh. *basket* (carried in the hand).

(Bu. kaŋ'eŋi)

kaŋmaš J.Kh. f. *charcoal.* (Any connection with Pal. Gypsy kómār?)

ka'ŋyo Postpos. *for the sake of, for.*

te ka'ŋyo tahæi krom ira's *I'll do this job for you.*

(Sh. ka'r, ka'ŋte and ka'ŋyo)

kaša, pl. kašon, f. *mouth; terminal orifice* (both ends) of large reedless pipe (*bešili*); *mouth* of reed-pipe (*surŋæi*); *large hole* in side of *bešili* close to the hole which is blown into.

(Originally written with kh-)

khəŋ J.Kh. *bedstead.*

khəŋas mine'ni luka *he hid under the bed*

(H., Sh., Bu.)

kat'eyek? *how much?*

tu pa kat'eyek o'ŋ čha? *how much flour have you?*

tu pa kat'eyek ku'le čhe? *how much grain have you?*

(Cp. Sh. kača'k, Puniali Sh. katya'k)

katu, -a m. *clothes.*

katu.a læiná *to put on clothes*

kat'u'a gadiná *to take off clothes*

J.Kh. has the pl. as "khatowa".

(Sh., Bu. kat *clothing, outfit*)

ka·u, ka.u', pl. kauwa, ka.u'wa, m. *pigeon*.

kauwek, ka'uk, čha *there is a pigeon*

kauwa bu'č čhe *there are many pigeons*

(Cp. H. kauwa, Kho. kauwo'ɾ, ko'ɾ; Skr. kapóta-)

khaya J.Kh. *stirrup, hook*

(Sh. khā', Bu. khay)

kaula, pl. kaule, *liver* (anat.).

ke *and* (?). Recorded only in:

lo'ɬo ke lo'ɬo. T.14.

(Bu. ke, *and*)

k'i'jye? *why?*

tahæi krom k'i'jye ir'i'? *why did you do this act?*

(Cp. Sh. k'i'ε, kyε)

ki'li 1. *peg* (for fixing end of warp yarn to), = Bu. gi'li ju
deskkaʃase gane.

2. *small pick(axe)*

(Cp. Sh., H. ki'li, Bu. gi'li)

kirk'ali, -ŋa m. *lizard*. (Sh. f.)

ki'rma, pl. ki'rme, *snake*

(Cp. Prs. kirm, Sh. krī', Skr. kṛmi-, *worm*)

kir'o'i, pl. kir'aeya, f. *carrying-basket*, or *panier*, slung from
the shoulders on the back = Bu. gir'an.

kiræyano pʃlaɬo'riŋ gaʃ *take the dried apricots out
of the basket(s)*

(Cp. Gilgiti Sh. kare'i, pl. kare'ye, Astori Sh.
kar'ē.i, *basket carried on back*.)

It is impossible not to suspect connection with Bu. gir'ʌn, pl. gir'æɪyo, which is the name of the same article.

In Bu. unvoiced initial stops in borrowed words are normally voiced, so g- ← k-, and all these pl. forms are practically identical.

gir'ʌn would in Bu. be the natural sg. form of a pl. gir'æɪyo, from which it may therefore be a back-formation.

It is difficult, however, to see why the pl. should have formed the basis of borrowing. In Bu. it is certainly in less common use than the sg.)

kiʀts *joint, articulation.*

hʌte.i kiʀts *the wrist.*

pa.ɛ kiʀts *the ankle*

kiʀtsə bʌn *joint, articulation*

(Cp. Bu. kiʀts, Sh. kits)

kis, (khis?) *anything, something*

kis-ta + neg. *not anything, nothing; adj. no.*

V. § 69.

kiʀsek?, (khiʀsek?) *what? V. § 67.*

(kis + ɛk, cp. Bu. bes + ʌn)

kɪsmʌtgaʀ, v.s.v. qɪsmʌtgaʀ.

kɪʃi, -ŋ f. *wrinkle (in skin)*

ɛka kɪʃi *one wrinkle*

duʀi kɪʃiŋ *two wrinkles.* (Sh. kɪʃi, Bu. gɪʃi, *line* etc.)

khiʀti Adj. f. *little (?)*

khiʀti aguʀla *the little finger*

(Cp. Sh. kete, kɛʀti ʌguʀi *little finger.* Possibly kete “downwards” from kɛ, kye)

ko *anyone*. V. § 69.

ko'ta na' *there isn't anyone*

kho'i, J.Kh., -ŋ f. *cap.* (Sh.)

ko'k? *who?* V. § 66.

ko'k *anyone*. V. § 69.

k'omul'a, (-i, -ε?) *soft.* (Cp. Skr. komala-)

1. (kon?), pl. ka'na, *ear.* (Sh. kon).

2. ko'n, pl. ka'na, (J.Kh. "kana"), f. *arrow.*

ko'n bi'k *arrow-willow* i.e. that from which arrows are made, cp. Bu. hunzə bi'k.

(Sh. ko'n, recorded by me as m., but by GB as f.)

ko'no, -i, (-ε?) *which?* V. § 68.

kor'o'ina *to dig.* V. List of Verbs

1. ko't, -a m. *fort.* (Sh., H. ko't)

2. ko't, -a m. *wood, timber*

Λšæye ko't *apricot wood*

(Sh. ka't)

3. ko't Postpos. + Obl. *with* (sociative), *along with.*

(Bu. ka't)

ko'ta + neg. V.s.v. ko

ko'ta *neck*

kram- *to work* (?)

ki'lis krami qomek iri'n *working with a pick he made a pit.*

(Cp. Sh. krom, *work*; kra'min *low-caste worker*; kra'mo'no, *worker, hard-working*)

krom m. *work, act, job, business, etc.*

tahæi krom k'i'jye iri' ? *why did you do this work, act?*

tahæi krom iri'ta tušu saza de'es *if you do this act I shall punish you*

tahe krom irinašu ræi čhi? *do you want to do this?*

u' tæi krom ira's *I shall do this*

(Sh. krom || kom)

ku'ða, pl. kuḍo'ŋ, m. *wall*.

kuḍa čha *there is a wall*

(Cp. Sh. kuṭ f.)

khuk'una *peas*.

(Sh. khuk'un)

ku'le pl. *grain*.

tu pa kat'eyek ku'le čhe? *how much grain have you?*

(Sh.)

kunæli, -ŋa f. *stick, rod*.

(Sh. kuna'li)

kun'í' *nineteen*. (Sh.)

kur'a, (-i, -ε?) *hard*.

(Sh. ku'ro)

khu'ɾpat, xu'ɾpat, -a *lung*.

(Bu. *-xurpat)

khuṭa, -i, -ε *short*.

(Sh. khuṭo)

kuṭ'a (probably pl.) *knee*.

kuṭ'a beš *kneel!*

(Sh. kuṭo)

khuṭgiyalta, (pl.?), *tadpole(s)*

(Bu. khuṭgiyalt)

kuyoč, kiyoč, kyoč- *subjects* (of a king), *people of a country*. V. Tl 2, 3, 11, 13.

(Sh. kuyoč and ku.'ič-)

X

x'ΛMALI, -ŋa f. *a kind of thin bread.* (Bu.)

xuʼrts, khuʼrts m. *dust.*

xuʼrts čha, xuʼrts naʼ *there is dust, there is no dust.*
(Bu. xuʼrts)

L

la·č, -iŋ f. *fox.*

ek(a) la·čeka čhi *there is a fox*

(The Sh. for *fox* is loʼi, the Kho. loʼo, the H.
loʼmɸi)

la·la *saliva.*

(Sh. laʼl)

ΛM irina v.t. *to kindle, light* (a fire).

Λk ΛM εʼɾ *light a fire*

(Sh., Bu., Kho. ΛM)

ΛMŋΛΓAM m. *thunder*

bičuš ΛMŋΛΓAM čha *there is thunder and light-*
ning (?)

(-ŋΛΓAM is no doubt onomatopœic, and recalls
Psht. γuɸumb, Wkh. γərim γəraʼm, and other
similar words. It is scarcely possible to dissociate
ΛM- from that of the preceding entry in its es-
sential meaning of "sparkling", "flashing", in
which case it refers to the lightning)

ΛMun, pl. ΛMʼΛna, m. *heddle.*

(Bu. ΛMΛn)

la·š irina *to smear, rub on*

pinoʼn la·š iraʼ čhis *I smear, rub, kernel-crushings on*
(the face of the drum).

(Sh., Bu. laʔš)

lat-a, -i, -ε, *low*.

(Sh. laʔto)

læina *to put on* (clothes). V. List of Verbs.

klatu.a laʔs *I'll put on clothes*

lak'ε laʔi *put on boots*

lauká, loʔka -i, -ε, 1. *light* (in weight)

2. *quick*

lauka aʔo, lauka já *come quick, go quickly*

loʔka ho, lauke hu.á *be thou quick, be ye quick*

(Cp. Sh. loʔko and Skr. laghú- with both meanings, as also Bu. hum'alkum)

leʔi aʔna *to bring*. V. List of Verbs. V. paradigm of aʔna, § 83. V.T.12.

(Cp. H. leʔaʔna)

leʔi jaʔna *to take away, carry off*. V. § 84 paradigm of jaʔna. V.T. 6.

(Cp. H. leʔjaʔna)

leʔna *to take*. V. List of Verbs.

kospo leʔi? *taking (it) from whom?*

hæɪ'Δpo leʔ *take (it) from him*

Δpan'ešu leʔin *he took it for himself*.

The Ppa. appears in leʔi nikhiṭa T.3, 10. and in leʔi aʔna and leʔi jaʔna.

(Cp. H. leʔna)

leš *glue*.

liʔma *snot, nasal mucus*. (Cp. Welsh Gyp. *lim*).

loʔ m. *barley*.

(Also given independently by J.Kh., so it is not a mis-hearing of Sh. yoʔ)

lominá *to catch, lay hold of*. V. List of Verbs and § 33. iv.

hæy'ʌn mas lo'minj *he caught me*

Cp. T. 7, 8.

(Cp. Sh. ʌmoʻɪki)

lon *penis*. (Sh. lon)

loʻto ke loʻto *trouble and worry* (?). Glossed: Bu. ʌwʌʌs

ke mušʌqqat amʌnʌm.

V. T.14.

(Alternative comparisons may be made with:

1. Sh. and Bu. loʻto *a ball of yarn* etc.

2. Sh. luʻto, luʻto, loʻto *bare-headed*.

3. Punj. luʻta luʻt *plundering, injustice, oppression*)

lo'ya, (-, -ε?) *red*.

lo'ya hʌli'ža *red brass, copper*.

(Cp. Sh. lo'lo, Skr. lohá-, lóhita-)

luka'na J.Kh. v.t. *to hide, conceal*. V. List of Verbs.

lu'kna J.Kh. v.i. *to hide*. V. List of Verbs.

(Cp. H. v.i. lukna, v.t. luka'na).

lupa'na v.t. *to kindle, light*. V. List of Verbs.

ʌk lupa'i, di'a lupa'i *light a fire, light the lamp*

(Cp. Sh. lupo'ɪki)

lupina (?) v.i. *to burn*. V. List of Verbs.

di'a lupɛ'ga čha *the lamp is burning*

ʌk (lupɛ'gi čhi) *the fire is burning*

(Cp. Sh. lupijo'ɪki)

M

mačhi. -ŋ f. *fly*. (Sh. mačhi)

mada'le *up above*. (Bu. mada'l)

maɣər *but* (?). T.6. Perhaps used for "if".

(Prs., current in Sh. and in Bu. where there is also difficulty in determining its meaning)

makæi *maize, Indian corn.*

(Sh., Bu., Wkh. etc.)

mama, ma'ma, pl. me'riŋ (← ma' + irin?) *mother*

u'sam ma'ma *foster mother*

mama.ε be'in *mother's sister*

du'i me'riŋ *two mothers*

Pl. Loc.2 me'rits T.14.

(Cp. ma'ya. In Bu. mama, ma'ma (pl. -tsəro) is used as well as *-mi.

In Sh. "mother" is ma', pl. mæia're)

ma'mo, pl. maudure, *mother's brother, maternal uncle.*

(With ma'mo cp. H. and Gilgiti Sh. ma'mo; with

maudure cp. Gilgiti Sh. mo'l, pl. mo'la're; Puniali

Sh. pl. ma'uli; Kuhi Sh. mahu'l, pl. mau'la're)

mamuši, -ŋa f. *lamb (female).*

eka mamušika *a lamb*

(Bu.)

man'iš, -a m. 1. *man.* V. case forms § 28.

ko'k manišek čha? *what man is it?*

ta'h'ei maniš *this man*

ta.'e'ŋ maniša *the men, these men*

e'ŋ maniša *the men, those men*

tu ε ja'k manišek *a man like you*

2. adj. *male.*

maniš šun'o (*male*) *dog*

maniš qarqamuts *cock*

Cp. the similar use of hi'r and gus in Bu.

(Representatives of the Skr. manuṣa-, *man*, are

widely distributed, v. LSI. Vol. I pt. II. D. has not borrowed from Sh. which has *manu'jo*)
mans.hil m. when buttermilk is heated a thicker substance rises to the top which becomes *buru's*, the remaining liquid is *mans.hil*.

(Bu.)

maqulá, pl. *maqule*, m. *pulley-wheels* over which cords pass connecting pairs of heddles. An empty cotton reel when available is used for the purpose, Bu. *m'ayun*.

ma'r- to *kill, slay*. V. List of Verbs.

apo'n ma'rin he killed himself

he'i (read: *hæyan?*) *apane'i bəra'ya khaŋəra' te'i*
marin he struck his brother with a sword and killed him. J.Kh.

Cp. T.6.

(Cp. H. *ma'rna*, Sh. *maro'iki*)

mar-, J.Kh., Past Base *mo-* (*mu-*?), to *die*. V. List of Verbs.

(Cp. H. *mar-na*, Past Base *mu'-*; Sh. *mar-o'iki*
Past Base *mu'-*)

mərt, -oŋ f. *earth-cliff*.

(Cp. Bu. *mərt*, Sh. *moč*, *muč*, *mač*)

mašala, pl. *mašala'ja*, m. a *brass cylinder* with flanges in which the reed of a reed-pipe is fixed.

(Bu. *maš'ala*)

ma'ya alternative for *ma'ma* in:

ušam ma'ya foster-mother

me Trans. Nom. I, Gen. of *me*; Possess. *my*.

(Gilgiti Sh. has Gen. and Poss. *mæi*, and Gurezi Sh. has *me.i* as Trans. Nom. with Past Base Tenses of Trans. Verbs).

me'li, -ŋ f. *wife*.

me'li be'ini bito'r *wife's sister's husband*

Δρανε.i me'li marin čha *he has killed his wife*. J.Kh.

Cp. T.10, 12.

menende'ni, ("menendeni") J.Kh, *under-bedding*, = Bu.

*-ya'riki.

(Cp. Δtside'ni and mune'ni)

me'riŋ pl. of mama.

minΔtin *hip* (anat.). (Bu.)

"minani" J.Kh. v.s.v. mune'ni.

"minano" J.Kh. v.s.v. mun'ε'ni.o.

minenyu v.s.v. mun'ε'ni.o

minik, -a m. *frog*. (Cp. Sh. ma'nu'ko).

mirba'ni *kindness, favour* Cp. T.4.

(Prs., Bu., Sh. etc.)

mi'z *table*.

mi'zΔsmo mu'n (or mune'ni) *below, underneath the table*.

(Prs., Bu., Sh. etc.)

1. mo' m. *month*.

ek mo' *one month*

du'i mo', čhæi mo' *two months, three months*

(Cp. Prs. ma'h, Shgh. etc. mo', Wkh. muri, Sh.

ma's, Kho. ma's)

2. mo' m. *wine*.

(Cp. Sh. mo', mo'u, m.)

mo'i f. "*middle*" (of kettledrum).

mo's f. *flesh*. (Cp. Sh. mo's, m.)

mo'ye pl. *small brushwood* used in roofing below the final coating of mud.

- (Cp. Bu. pl. mo'ij, sg. mon)
 muč *urine*. (Sh. mi'kə)
 muju'r, -a m. *weeping-willow*.
 (Bu. muju'r, Sh. mučhu'r)
 mul'æi, -ŋ f. *girl*.
 ču'ni mul'æi, pl. ču'ne mul'æiŋ *small girl(s)*
 (Sh.)
 mu'n 1. Adv. *down, down-valley*.
 mu'n beš *sit down*
 munašu gi'a čha *he has gone down-valley*, Bu.
 xan ni' bæi.
 he'i maniš mun pi.a *the man fell down*. J.Kh.
 ha'i jo'i mun ba'in *he threw the woman down*. J.Kh.
 2. Adj. *lower*.
 Murtaza.aba'd mu'n ko'ŋ *Lower Murtazabad*,
 "M. Lower Fort", Bu. M. kha' khaŋ.
 3. Postpos. *below, under*.
 mizasmu mu'n *under the table*
 (Cp. mune'ni. Cp. Sh., Bu., Kho. mu'n, *stump*
 i.e. base, lower part, of something that has been
 cut. Cp. also Maiyā *mini down*).
 mun(-ina?) *to say*. V. List of Verbs.
 mas di'ro hæi mun *say this from me*, Bu. ja' ay-
 kaltsum sen.
 Duma'ki bašena khi'sek mu'negučho't? *what do*
you say (or, call it?) in the D. language?
 he'i manišašu munim *I said to the man*. J.Kh.
 ha'i joi.a munin *the woman said*. J.Kh.
 muna'na *to ask, question*. V. List of Verbs.
 hæyas mun'æi *ask him*

hes...ka ja'i čha'i i'ri mun'e'im

I asked him saying "Where are you going?"

mune'ni, ("minani" J.Kh.) 1. Adv. *down, below.*

mune'ni sinino *down below in the river*, Bu. ya're
sinda.ulo. J.Kh.

further (?), *beyond this (?)*

čipi mune'ni heti iri'm. V. T.4. note.

2. Postpos. *underneath, beneath, on the under side of.*

mi'zΔsmo mune'ni *underneath the table*

khΔʔΔs mune'ni lu'ka *he hid underneath the bed.*

J.Kh.

(Cp. mu'n)

mune'nimo *lower*

mune'nimo go'r *the lower house* (i.e. the ground-
floor of the house?)

mun'e'ni.o, minenyu *pertaining to the lower side, on the
under side.*

mun'e'ni.o dəro'ti *door-sill*

minenyu qom *the hole on the under side* (of the
tutək)

J.Kh. has "minano" = *from under* which is per-
haps the same form.

khΔʔΔs "minano" nikhiʔa *he came out from under
the bed.* J.Kh.

(Cp. mune'ni. The word appears to be an Abl. also
used adjectivally)

muš *end, limit.* V. T.3.

(Bu., Sh.)

mu'ša, pl. mu'še, m. *rat*

ek mu'šak čha *there is a rat*

(Prs., H. mu·š, Sh. mu·ži, Skr. mūša-)

mu·tuk *now*

mutuk 'ΔΡΑΝ'ε *this very moment*

(Cp. Bu. mu·to, Werch. amutuk)

N

na· Negative Pres. of verb "to be". V. § 80.

u na· *I am not*

tu na· *thou art not*

ε·η na· *they are not, etc.*

kis ta na· *there is nothing*

ko·k ta na· *there is no one, Bu. menan ke apæi.*

ko·ta na· *there is no one (pl.), Bu. menke apa·n.*

ΛM'εpa šΔpik na· *we have no bread*

τΔta hu.i·na šona na· *it is not good to be hot*

As Auxiliary verb:

niki·ṭa na· *thou hast not come out T.3.*

(Cp. use of Sh. niš, nuš)

na·ka Negative Past of verb "to be". V. § 80.

u na·ka *I was not*

he·i na·ka *he was not*

ko·ta na·ka *there was no one (pl.), Bu. men ke*

ap'ΛM

As Auxiliary verb:

niki·ṭa na·ka *he had not come out. T.1.*

naM'a, (-i, -ε?) *new*

(This form occurs, I think, in some dialect of Panjabi)

naNa, -tsəra *grandmother*

(Cp. H. na·ni *maternal grandmother*; in Bu. naNa,

-tsəro, is used for “uncle” both paternal and maternal)

nλš-, Past Base nλth-, J.Kh. *to be lost*. V. List of Verbs.

(Cp. Sh. nλšo·ɪki *to be lost, disappear*)

nλša- v.t. *to lose, banish, expel*. V. List of Verbs.

šæin 'eɲets nλšæiŋ = Bu. Thame u'e o'spɫimi,
the Mir banished them

(Cp. Sh. nλša·ɾ tho·ɪki. Semantically, compare
Bu. *-wa'ɫs *to become lost*, and its Cs. *-λspɫɫs *to
lose, banish*)

1. na·u *nine*. (Sh.)

2. na·u *high-tone* (of drum), opp. bu·m.

(Bu.)

na·ul an animal resembling a *small kind of weasel*, = Sh.
šã·či.

(Bu. no·l. Cp. Panj. naul, Psht. no·le, Skr. nakulá-,
all meaning *mongoose*)

n'a·ura, (probably the pl. of a sg. no·r), *nail* (of finger).

(Cp. Sh. no·ro)

n'e·iná *to take away, carry off*. V. list of Verbs.

mλsmo ne·in = Bu. ja·tsum ts.hu·mi, *he took it
away from me*.

Cp. T.3.

(Cp. Kho. ne·ik, Skr. √nī-, náya-)

ni *not* (immediately precedes the verb)

nidɪkim čhisɫka *I had not seen*

n'i te· *don't strike (him)*

sλnd·uqa fɫɛŋ n'i· eɾ *don't open the box*.

V. other examples in the paradigms and List of
Verbs.

Cp. T.4, 6.

J.Kh. writes the word "ne", but he probably means *ni* thereby. He has "neki" meaning "or not?"

tu ek maɲiʃek "dekhai neki"? *have you seen a man or not?*

(*ni* occurs in Maiyā and W. Gypsy. Sh. has n'e.i, nɛ, but *ni* has been recorded in Astori Sh.)

ni (?), *niya* (?) *sleep*.

niyas ja'na to go to sleep J.Kh.

(Cp. H. *ni'nd*, Sh. *ni'r*, *sleep*; for idiom cp. Sh. *ni'r-ij bujo'iki* and Bu. *daŋ-tse ni'as*)

nikhilná, Past Base *nikhi't-*, *to come out, go out; to go up on to, to climb*. V. List of Verbs.

mi'zas, ʃəraɲas, nikhi'ta he got up on to the table, the roof

ʃəraɲas nikhi'tis I went up on to the roof. J.Kh.

gəraɲo "choot" nikhi'ta a sound, or voice came (out) from the house. J.Kh.

Cp. T.1, 3.

(Cp. H. *nikhalna*, Sh. *nikhæi.o'iki*, 3rd sg. Pret. *nikha'to*; Sh. *nikhalo'iki* is Trans., *to take out*.)

In Sh. there is the same combination of meanings in the one verb, and the same can be said of the corresponding verb in Bu., *du'sas*)

niki'n no!

eŋ'e niki'n 'irin'e'i they said "No!"

(Cp. H. *naḥi'*, and see entry *baḥula*). T.5.

ni'la, (-i?), -ɛ, *blue, dark green*.

asma'n ni'la sky-blue

- ni·le ti·ke *dark-green, or, blue, spots*
 (Cp. H. ni·la, Sh. ni·lo)
- nila·yo, (nila·yo?), *forehead*. (Cp. Sh. ni·lao)
- nimo·l m. *clear sky, clear weather*.
 nimo·l giya *it cleared up*
 (Both Sh. and Bu. have special words used with
 the verb "to go": Sh. be·ji buko·iki; Bu. bo·t
 ni·as)
- no, nō· then, again (?), Bu. da·.
 he.i a·i no Baltitašu gi·a *coming back he then went*
to Baltit
 Cp. T.9.
- nok *nose*.
 nəkæi qama *nostrils*.
 (Cp. H. na·k)
- no·m, -a, (na·ma?) m. *name*
 te no·m khi·sek čha? *what is your name?*
 (Cp. Sh. no·m)
- nu·r *beauty* T.2.
 (Ar. Prs., also in Bu.)
- nuxsa·n *injury, harm*. Cp. T.4.
 (Ar. Prs. nuqsa·n. Also current in Bu., Sh., Kho.,
 and Wkh.)

P, P^H, PF

pa Postpos.

1. (With Nom. or Nom + a) *with, in the possession of*.

V. § 49. i.

tu pa kat'eyek o·t čha? *how much flour have you?*

2. (with Gen. Obl.) *to* (motion to a person) *to the vicinity of, beside, near to*

V. § 49. iii.

gəɾɫɐs pə bə'thə čhə *he is sitting, beside the house.*

J.Kh.

gəɾɫɐs pə a'yɫŋə *when he arrived near the house.*

J.Kh.

3. The Abl. *po* (with Nom., or Nom. + *a*). V. § 49. ii. *from the possession of, from* (a person).

The Gen. Obl. is seen in:

kos-po le'i? *taking it from whom?*

(Cp. Bu. *pa*, *side, direction*; *-*apɫči*, Abl. *-*apɫčim*, same meanings as D. *pa, po*)

pačə'ni Postpos. *at the back of, at the posterior side of*. V. § 53.

gəɾɫɐsmə pačə'ni *at the back of the house*

gəɾɫɐs pačə'ni = Bu. ha' i'ljʊm pə, *at the back of the house*. J.Kh.

pači 1. Postpos. V. § 53. *behind, after* (time and place).

2. Adv. *back, afterwards*.

pači je'i *going back*. T.2.

pači kɪsmɫgə're sɛɪl ir'a'nɛ *afterwards the servants took him for a walk* T.5.

J.Kh. has an apparently Abl. form

pačo = *from behind*

pačo aya = Bu. *iljʊm di'mi*, *he came from behind*

He also has *pačos* as a Postpos.

beblɫsmə pačos aya *he came after midday*

This form I cannot explain.

(So also in Pal. Gyp., Nepali and other languages
in contrast to H. pičče)

pa'dša m. *king*. T. 1, et passim.

(Prs.)

pfa·ka *shoulder*.

pał- v.t. *to rub on* (s.t.)

pinon pał'lam (sic) čhis *I have rubbed on kernel-
refuse* (sc. on to the low-tone surface of the drum)

(Cp. Sh. pało·iki)

pfal'ako, pl. pfal'ake, m. *weaver's beam*.

(Prs. falak(a), Sh., pałako, Bu. f'alakus, fal'ako)

pa'lo *young of animal*.

šunæi pa'lo *puppy*.

pitī·ši pa'lo *kitten*.

ya.ε pa'lo *bear-cub*

(Sh.)

pfa'ltso, p^ha'ltso, pl. p^ha'ltse, m. *bug*

pfa'ltso čha *there is a bug*

(Bu. pfa'ltso, Astori Sh. pf'asti, Gurezi Sh.
pfašti)

paama, pl. paamu, f. *wool*.

be·re.i paama čhi *it is sheep's wool*

taha'i paama čhi *there is this wool*

(Cp. Skr. pakṣman. The -ṣ- is preserved in Sh. paš
and Kho. po·šp, also in Prs. pašm. Forms without
š, of the type pam, pām, pōm, occur in Yidgha,
Sanglechi, Ishkāshmi and Zebaki, but one would
not expect borrowing from that quarter).

paana, pl. paanu, f. *road*. V. case-forms § 28.

paana čhi *there is a road*

(Cp. Sh. pɔ'n, pun f.; Kho. pɔ'n)
pə'ni *water*. (Cp. H. etc. pə'ni)
pʌnzæi *fifteen*. (This is the Gilgiti Sh. form. In Puniali,
Kuhi & Astori it is pʌzɪlæi, in Chilasi pʌnzɪlei and in
Gurezi pʌ'zɪlæi. G.B. gives Gurezi & Drasi as pʌnzulei).
pərpita, pl. pərpiton, f. *strap, thong*.

Used of the thongs suspending the rods from
which the heddles are slung; the thong for closing
the mouth of the bag in which a reed-pipe is kept;
strap with which yoke is attached to plough-
shaft, Sh. iʃki'tər

(Sh. pʃərpɪ't, Bu. bərp'it)

phʌta J.Kh. *wooden bowl*.

(J.Kh. seems to have written phalā, but probably
phʌta was intended, Cp. Bu. pʃʌta)

pʃʌʈɔ'ri, -ŋ f. *dried apricot*.

eka pʃʌʈɔ'rika *a dried apricot*

kiræyano pʃʌʈɔ'riŋ gʌʃ *take the dried apricots out
of the carrying basket(s)*

(The sg. is possibly pʃʌʈɔ'ɾ. Cp. Sh. pʃʌʈɔ'ɾ m.
Bu. bʌʃɔ'ɾ)

payo J.Kh. f. *salt*.

(Cp. Balti Tib. payu; Bu. bæyu)

pæɪa'lo, pl. pæɪa'le, *goatherd, shepherd*.

bʌkɪrɛŋɛ pæɪa'lo *goatherd*

(Sh. pæɪa'lo)

p'eimilá, (-i, -ɛ?) *thin* ("also of body").

pɛ'ina *to fall*. V. List of Verbs.

When the forms of this verb were recorded the
vowel was heard as ɛ, ɛ', and e', but on a separate

occasion the 3rd sg. Pret. was recorded as *paya*.
to' *paya* = Bu. *sa wəl'imi*, *the sunshine fell*, i.e.
the sun came out.

J.Kh. . has "pīa" (of which the phonetic intention
is uncertain) in:

he'v mʌniʃ mu'n "pīa" *the man fell down*.

Elsewhere he has:

botek pei (with a long mark extending over both
vowels) *a stone fell*.

pe'v would be right for the 3rd sg. f., but bo't is m.
(Cp. Sh. po'iki, Fut. 1st sg. pʌm, Pres. 3rd sg. m.
pe'ən)

pfelts, -a m. *a kind of tree with red, edible berries*

(Bu. pfelts, and, uncertain, Sh. pfe's)

p'ereŋ *a kind of millet*, = Bu. bərp'it čha, Sh. pfiŋp'it

pešij(?), -a *band* (of silver round a musical pipe).

ro'pe pešija čhe *there are bands of silver*.

(Bu. pešij, pl. pešimij, a piece of metal, such
as a patch, disc, clamp etc. applied to a larger
object)

phe'šu m. *pear*. (Bu.)

pe't, -a *belly, stomach*. (H. pe't).

pfičo, pl. pfiče, m. *mosquito*.

pfičok čha *there is a mosquito*

(Sh.)

pi'na *to drink*. V. List of Verbs.

(Cp. H. pi'na, Sh. pi'oiki)

pina'na(?) *to mount* (on a horse).

gowʌs pinæij *he mounted the horse*.

Cp. T.3.

(Cp. Sh. pino' rki. With both verbs the word "horse" takes the suffix denoting "on")

pinwa'na J.Kh. *to cause to mount*, Bu. *-Λ.uljæyΛs.

pi'ni *the lower leg*.

pi'ni b'oboqa *the calf of the leg*

pi'ni hoṭ *the shin bone*

(Sh., Bu. pi'ni; Panj. pinnī. f.; Kho. pin; H. pind-li)

pino'n m. *the refuse left after expressing oil from kernels*, = Bu. mina.

pino'n pΛl'Λm čhis *I have rubbed on kernel-refuse*

pino'n laš ira' čhis *I smear on k. refuse*

(Cp. Sh. pin'o, and Bu. min'a?)

pfī'pi, pl. pfī'pi.a're, *father's sister, paternal aunt*.

(Cp. Sh. pfī'pi, pl. pflpi.a're; H. phu'pi)

pīriγiri, -a m. *two metal discs, or flanges, set on metal tube*
(mΛšlΛ) *of mouth-piece of reed-pipe*. (Bu.)

phiṭ, (piṭ?) *the back* (anat.).

(Cp. H. piṭh, Sh. pi'to)

pitæ'i —?

pərpita: kaše'i pitæ'i. This refers to the cloth-bag in which the pipe was kept. This was closed by a running string to which the *pərpita* probably refers. It is not clear whether it is, or is not, to be taken in conjunction with the two following words. kaše.i is probably the Gen. of kaša or khaša, *mouth*, and pitæ'i is possibly to be compared with Sh. pi'to, *tight, narrow*.

pītiši, -ŋ f. *cat*.

pītiši pa'lo *kitten*

piwa'n graft, grafted, let in
piti'ši ε ja'kek čha *it is like a cat*
jalkuna bæin čh-. piwa'n čha, (of a small piece of wood let in to strengthen the joining of two parts of a reed-pipe), *pieces have been let in: it is a graft, or it is grafted.* (Cp. Sh. piba'n, Bu. piw'ʌn, Prs. paiwʌnd)

po, po^h, pl. pa', m. 1. *foot, leg.*
ek po, du'i pa' *one foot, two feet*
pa'ε ki'rtsə *ankle*
pa.ε agu'la *toe*
pa.ε bʌda *sole of foot*

2. *treadle, pedal* (of loom).
(Cp. Sh. pa')

po'i *five*. (Gilgiti Sh. In Puniali, Kuhi, Chilasi & Astori Sh. I have recorded puš, and in Gurezi pōš, and similar forms are given in the LSI for Dras and Dah-Hanu).

po'i biš *one hundred* (Lit. "five twenty"). (Cp. Welsh Gyp. panš biš, Gārwi & Torwāli panj biš).

po'i po'i biš *five hundred*.

pōr *last year*. (Cp. Sh. pər).

porkun'a *pertaining to last year*.

poʃ, ("pout"), J.Kh. pl. pʌʃa, m. *leaf*.
(Cp. Sh. pʌʃo, H. pʌtta)

po'y m. *hide*.

da'ne.i po'y čha *it is ox-hide*.

pra'na, (-i, -ε) *old*.

(Cp. H. pura'na, Sh. pro'no)

pu'ě, pl. pε', *son*.

(Sh. pu·č, of which in Gori, Astori, Chilāsi and Gurezi Sh. the pl. is pe·, pe·, and in Dareli I have recorded po·ε. In Gilgiti, Puniali & Kuhi da·re, da·ri is used for the pl.).

pu·yo *ferrule*.

hali·ža.ε pu·yo čha *there is a brass ferrule* (on the end of the musical pipe)

(Cp. Bu. pu·yo. Also D. pu·yo below)

puxta *strong*.

(Prs., also current in Kho. and to some extent in Bu.)

phula J.Kh. *wooden bowl*.

(Bu. pfu·l)

puršum, -a m. *flea*.

(Cp. Welsh Gyp. pišum; Sh. pi·žu, Gurezi Sh. (pl.?) pri·žε; Palula prišu).

pfu·ŋ *buttocks, arse*.

pfu·ŋε dəri *the anus*

pf'u·ŋiŋa, (probably pl. of a sg. pfu·ŋ or pfu·ŋi), *moustache*.

(Cp. Sh. pfu·ŋə, pfu·ŋi)

pu·yo, pl. pu·ye, m. the *pin*, consisting of the rib of a feather, which keeps in its place the skewer on which the bobbin revolves in a shuttle, = Bu. pfulyu.ə pu·yo.

Except on this occasion, however, I heard this called only pfulyu in Bu. and the applicability of Bu. pu·yo, of which the meaning "ferrule" is well established, is not evident.

V. also s.v. pu·yo

qalip m. 1. *a thin tapered stick* inserted in the mouth-piece of the reed-pipe when not in use in order to keep the passage open and the flattened reed from closing.

2. *circular disc* fixed on reed-pipe just below the reed. (This meaning is doubtful, cp. *σαδρα*).

(Ar.Prs., also current in Bu. with the meaning of *form, shape*)

qərqa·muts, -a *fowl, hen.*

māniš qərqa·mutsaka (why -a?) čha *it is a cock*

jo'i qərqa·mutsika čhi *it is a hen*

qərqa·mutse pa·luk *a chicken*

(Bu., cp. Sh. kərka·muš)

qismatga·r, kismatga·r(?), -a *servant*. T.4, 5.

(Ar.Prs., also in Sh., xidmatga·r; in various forms with -s- or -z- for -d- in Bu., Kho. and Wkh.)

qi·š hu.'ina *to sit* (?), *squat* (?)

ʾagis h'ʾagi qi·š ho "sit in front of the fire"

qom, pl. qama, m. *hole, orifice, pit; holes, stops*, of big musical pipe (bešili).

Also used of a hole in a shuttle.

ki·lis krami qomek iri'n *working with a pick he made a hole (in the ground)*

minenyu qom *the hole on the underside* (of the small musical pipe, tut'ek).

atsimo qama *the holes on the upper side.*

nakæi qama *nostrils.*

(Cp. Bu. qam, *pit, hole in the ground*)

quṇ'u *bore of musical pipe* (bešili).

quɛ, (khɥye?), pl. *gravel*. (Bu. khɥye).

qʷuʳ irina *to cry out*.

(Bu. qyuʳ, Wkh. qeʳu, qurʳ)

R

rɒxpʲiʳn m. a milk product made by desiccating mants.hil.

(Prs. rɒxbiʳn, Bu. rɒxpʲiʳn)

rɒn- J.Kh. v.t. *to cook*. V. List of Verbs.

(Cp. Sh. rɒnoʳiki *to cook in water in a pot*)

rɒt- J.Kh. v.t. *to stop, prevent*. V. List of Verbs.

(Cp. Sh. rɒtoʳiki, GB gives it as rɒthoʳiki)

ræi f. *intention, desire*.

tahe krom ʲirinaʃu ræi čhi? = Bu. uʳɟe gute durʲo
ɛtɒsɛr ræi bila?, *do you intend, or wish, to do this
work?*

(Also in Bu. and Kho.)

rʲemizel *stone-marten*

(Bu.)

roʲiná *to weep*. V. List of Verbs.

tɒɟ huʲi roʲá *being distressed he wept*

(Cp. H. roʲna, Sh. roʲoʳiki)

rot, ("rooth'"), J.Kh.. m. *blood*.

rɒte.i guʳni *blood-vessel*. D.L.

(For this J.Kh. has "roothai goning chi")

(Cp. H. rɒ'ta and allied forms in Welsh Gyp.,
Kshm., Gārwi & Gauro).

ruʳp, roʳp m. *silver*.

roʳpe peʃiɟa čhe *there are bands of silver* (on the
musical pipe).

(Sh.)

rupi'a J.Kh. f. *rupee*.
eka rupi'ak *one rupee*.
(H.)

S

sabəraṇə pl. *frame of smoke-hole* (in roof of house).
(Bu. saməraṇ pl.)

sad'ara, pl. sadaraṇ, f. *circular disc fixed on the reed of a reed-pipe*.

V. also s.v. qalip.

(Ar. Prs. sadaf. Cp. Sh. sadar, "large button",
Kho. sadar, *mother o' pearl, shell button*).

sala'm *salutation* T.9.

sala'm ale.ikum. T.4 (Ar.Prs.)

sam, -a f. *opening in musical pipe near the mouth-piece*.
(Cp. Bu. sam || sayam, *smoke-hole in roof*)

samba *thought, reflection*.

araṇəṇo samba ir'in *he thought to himself*
(Bu. and Sh.; Balti Tib. xsamba)

sand'uqa *box, chest*.

sand'uqa faṭəṇ ɛ'r *open the box*.

(Ar.Prs. sandu'q, current in Bu., Sh., etc.)

sərat'ut, -a *end of reed-pipe into which the mouth-piece is fitted*.

sa's *thousand*. (Sh., also used in Bu.)

sas irina *to warm, heat*.

agis sas ɛr *warm at the fire (the high tone side of the drum)*

sas iri baša'r *having warmed it, play*

SASURA, pl. SASURĚ, *father-in-law* (man's or woman's).

(H. SASUR)

SATĀ'I *seventeen*. (Sh.)

SÆI *trip, tour, walk etc.* T.4, 5.

(Ar.Prs., also current in Sh. Bu. etc.)

SA'U'O, pl. SA'U'Ě *sister's son*.

(Cp. Sh. sau.o *man's sister's son*)

SAUWI, pl. sauyir'ij *sister's daughter*.

(Cp. Sh. sauwi, *man's sister's daughter*)

SE'R J.Kh. "*seer*" (2 lbs. weight).

dæi se'r *ten seers*

(H. se'r)

SILDIR, -a term of reference and address between parents
of a husband and wife

(Bu. *-sildir)

SIM *wire*.

hali'ž'a'Ě sim *brass wire* (used as binding on musical pipes).

(Prs., also current in Bu. and Kho.)

SINA, (sin?), pl. sinij, f (?) *river*.

eka sinaka čha (error for čhi?) *there is a river*.

J.Kh. gives "sininō" apparently as a simple Loc.,
in the river.

(Sh. sin f., Bu. sinda)

SINĚ, -a f. *roof-beam* (one of main rafters)

(Bu.)

SO- J.Kh. *to sleep*. V. List of Verbs.

(Cp. H. so'na, Sh. so'iki)

SON m. *gold*.

(Sh. son, sun, H. so'na)

sora'na J.Kh. *to make sleep*. V. List of Verbs.

(Sh. saro'iki, H. sula'na)

sugo'm m. *smoke-hole in roof (small)*. V. šelto.

(Sh.)

su'iya, pl. su'iyon, f. *needle* J.Kh.; *iron skewer* which acts as axle for bobbin in weaving-shuttle.

In both cases the Bu. equivalent is sel.

(H. su'i, Sh. su')

sulě, solě, -a *plough-shaft*.

(Bu. salě)

surn'æi, surn'ei -a f. "surenai", *reed-pipe*.

(Prs., current in Sh., Bu., Kho.)

surənæiçi, -a *piĥer, player of "surenai"*.

sut *seven*.

(Sh. sat, but Kho. sut. A -u-, -o- vowel also appears in Gawar Bati and Kati).

Š, Š

ša *six*. (Sh.)

šak- J.Kh. *to be able to*. V. List of Verbs.

iri šaka's ("ereshakas") *I shall be able to do*.

(Cp. H. sak-na)

ša'ka *arm*.

ša'ke.i gətirti *armpit*

(Sh. ša'ko, Bu. *-šak)

šalda *command, order*. T.3.

(Sh. f., and Bu.)

šameγ, -oŋ m. *yoke-pin* (fixed in the yoke and coming down one on either side of the bullock's neck)

(Cp. Bu. šamɛ'y; Sh. pl. šami'žɛ and in various dialects sg. šam'ɛ'š, šam'ɛ'ž, š'amɛ)

šam'u'na *to become tired*. V. List of Verbs.

(Cp. Sh. šumijo'ɪki)

šɒŋga hu.ina J.Kh. v.i. *to wake up*. V. List of Verbs.

(Cp. Bu. šɒŋ *awake, aware*; Sh. šoŋ and š'ɒŋ)

šɒŋga'ɾana (?) J.Kh. v.t. *to waken*

(A causative based on šɒŋga, perhaps for šɒŋ-gara'na. In Sh. -a'r- appears as a theme in the Pres. Base of Trs. verbs based on Adjectives; while -aɾ- is the characteristic of causative verbs)

šɒp'ika, šɒp'ik, pl. šɒpikoŋ m. *bread*.

šɒp'ika čha *there is bread*

am'ɛpa šɒpik n'a' *we have no bread*

mo' ta šɒpika *wine and bread*. J.Kh.

(Bu., Wkh., Kho. šɒpik, Shgh. šepik).

šə'r'a, pl. ša'ri, *ibex*

šəra čha'li *female ibex*

šəra haldin *male ibex*.

(Sh. šəra, *game animal*)

šə'r'o'n, pl. šə'r'ana, m. *roof*.

šəraŋas nikhi'ta *he went up on to the roof*

(Cp. Kho. šə'r'ɒn, šəra'n, *courtyard*, but any convincing semantic connection remains to be found)

šæi Mīr, *chief* = Bu. tham.

šæin eŋɛts našæiŋ *the Mīr banished them*

šæišu gowa bija'l *send the horse to the Mīr*

he'i maŋišas ko't ša'i (*for ša'is?*) pa ga'is *I went with the man to the Mīr*. J.Kh.

(Prs. ša'h)

šauka, -oŋ f. *loop* (?), *thong-handle* (of kettledrum).

(Cp. Bu. šo'k, Kho. šau'k, *loop*, *noose*; possibly
Sh. šΛko'n do'iki *to tie in a bow*)

š'elto m. *smoke-hole in roof* (big). V. sugo'm.

šen m. *garden*. T.4, 5, 7.

(Cp. Sh. šen m. *garden*; Sh., Bu. šeni *garden-bed*,
vegetable-plot)

šer'i, pl. šera're, *wife's brother, a man's sister's husband, a
woman's sister's husband*

(Sh.)

šilda, šilda, -i, -ε *cold*.

šilda hu.ina šona na' *it is not good to be cold*

(Cp. Pal. Gyp. silda, Sh. šid'alo)

šilo'k, pl. šila'ga, m. *story, tale*.

(Cp. Sh. šilo'k f., Kho. šilo'x)

šij, -a m. *bobbin* (a hollow piece of stick)

(Bu. šij, *tube, quill, bobbin*)

šo'na, -i, -ε *good*.

tata hu.ina šona na' *it is not good to be hot*

(Cp. Sh. šo, Bu. šu.a)

šonmumu'yo *mouse*.

(Bu. and Sh. The first syllable is said to be Bu.

šon, *blind*)

šor, pl. šera, m. J.Kh. *branch, bough*.

(Bu. šər)

šō'wæi *sixteen*

(Sh. šo'i)

šu.a Interj. *good!* T.6.

(Bu.)

šukul'a, -i, -ε *white*. šukula bi'k *the white poplar*. (Skr. śuklá-)

šun'o, pl. šun'a, m.f. *dog*.

māniš šun'o *male dog*

jo'i šun'o *bitch*

(Cp. Sirāji of Doda šunō, Rāmbani šunā, Sh. šū)

šuqa, -na m. *choga, cloak*. The Pl. should probably be šuqΛη, or šuqΛηa.

(Sh., Bu., Balti Tib. etc.)

šuræieš *rejoicing, jollity*. T.11.

(Sh. šuri.a'r; Bu. šure.a'r, šuri.e'š)

šuš, pl. šušir'iη, *mother-in-law* (man's or woman's)

(Sh. šΛš)

T, TH, ʈ

1. ta', (tha' J.Kh.), *here*.

ta' kis ta na' *there is nothing here*

ta' a'o *come thou here*

eη ta' ho'n *let them be here*

tahæi ta'Λ čha *this (man etc.) is here*

taha'i ta'ə čhi *this (woman etc.) is here*

The ta- in tahæi etc. is also apparently this ta'.

he'i māniše.i pu'č tha' čha *the man's son is here*

J.Kh.

Abl. ta'no *from here, hence*

ta'no gi'Λčha *he has gone from here*.

2. ta *and*.

mo' ta šΛpika *wine and bread*. J.Kh.

3. ta is added immediately after the Indef. Pronouns when the verb is in the negative. It thus corresponds in use to Sh. ga and Bu. ke, both of which, like ta, also denote *and, also*. Cp. § 69.

ko'k ta na' = Sh. ko'ga niš, = Bu. menan ke
apæi, *there is no one*

gærena kis-ta na'ka *there was nothing in the house*

4. ta suffixed to, or immediately following, the verb,
gives the sense of:

a) *if, when.*

In this use it corresponds to Sh. to, and Bu. ke.

kaβe a'ye (a'ya?) ta mas pa a'p *whenever, if
ever, he comes, bring him to me*

tahæi krom iri'ta tušu saza de'æs *if you should do
this I shall punish you*

agær he krom irin čha'ka-ta te'æsaka *if he had done
this I would have beaten him*

Cp. T.4.

b) It may produce the effect of an Indef. Relative:

ka'jek čha-ta ešu qau er *wherever he is call him.*

Cp. § 108

(Cp. Sh. to)

ta'ya *palm* (of hand).

ha'te ta'ya *the palm of the hand*

(Cp. Sh. ta'o)

taγæi.une *mud* (?)

"taγæi.une čhe" was given at the same time as
taγo'ba, but I have no further explanation of it.

taγo'ba, pl. taγo'ba'ŋe, *mud* (prepared for building), =
Bu. taγay.

It is possible that taγo'ba'ŋe is a Gen. pl.

(Cp. Bu. taγay, Sh. tag'a')

tah'ei, f. taha'i, pl. ta.'e'ŋ, Demonstrative Adj. and Pron.
this, this one, V. § 62.

tahe'i was recorded in a number of variant forms:

tah'e'i, tahæi, tahe, tæi.

(1. ta· + he'i)

take m., (Sg. and pl. J.Kh.), *boot, boots.*

takε gaʔ *take off (your) boots*

tak'ε la'i *put on (your) boots*

taxt, takt *throne. T.13.*

(Prs., also in Sh. and Bu.)

tal, -a m. *ceiling.*

(Sh. and Bu.)

talasa, -i, -ε *shallow.*

(Cp. Bu. tal'aso)

tal'iš, -a f. *spindle* on which bobbin is fixed when winding yarn on to it.

(Bu.)

tamaša, tamaša *entertainment, amusement, sport. T.7, 11, 12.*

(Prs., also in Sh. and Bu.)

taŋ *in difficulties, distressed.*

taŋ hu.í roy'á *becoming distressed, he wept*

(Prs., current also in Sh., Bu., Kho.)

ta'no *from here. V.s.v. 1. ta·.*

ta'ro, pl. ta're, m. *star.*

(Sh.)

task- J.Kh. *to pull, drag. V. List of Verbs.*

(Bu.)

t'ata, (-i, -ε?) *hot.*

tata hu.i'na šona na' *it is not good to be hot.*

(Sh. ta'to)

te Gen. of tu, *of thee, thy.*

tə nom *thy name*

(Sh. the, the.i)

the'ina J.Kh. *to place, put down*. V. List of Verbs.

tas the'i put it in the sun

te'na *to strike, beat, hit*. V. paradigm § 81. See also § 33. ii & iv.

the'ɲuʂ *palace, royal residence*. T.13.

(Bu.)

tigo'n, pl. tiga'na, m. *egg*.

qərqa'mutse tigo'nek cha *there is a hen's egg*.

(Cp. Nagar Bu. tigΔn, Hunza Bu. tiɲΔn. Leitner gives tigàn as a Bu. form).

tila'igo'ɲ J.Kh. pl. *saddle*.

tila'igo'ɲ čhe.

(Cp. Bu. tili.Δɲ pl., Sh. tilen sg.m. J.Kh.'s form does not look probable. The word is probably a double plural form of some approximation to the Bu. tili.Δɲ: e.g. til'æiɲ-oɲ)

til'i, -pa *spleen*.

(Cp. H. tilli f.)

ɲi'k- (?), pl. ɲi'ke, *spot*.

ni'le ɲi'ke *blue (green) spots*

(Sh., Bu. ɲi'ko)

ti'ɲ, tiɲ, thi'ɲ, *there*.

ti'ɲ čha *he is there*

tiɲ T.7., thi'ɲ T.4.

Dat. tiɲečo ja *go there, thither*

tiɲ'eču T.5

Abl. tiɲo æya čha *he has come from there*

tiɲ'o ɛɲ was given apparently as the complement of ta.ɛ'ɲ, so "those from, or of, there".

tišči J.Kh. *a span.*

(Bu).

tit'iro *breast, chest.*

tit'irosmo jλta *the hair on the breast.* (Sh.)

to' m. *sun, sunshine.*

to' paya (pe'ya?) = Bu. sa wal'imi, *the sun(shine)*
fell, i.e. the sunlight has fallen on the ground,
the sun has appeared

tas the'i *put it in the sun* J.Kh. Cp. Bu.
sa'atse o's, Sh. su'rij vi' = *put it "on" the*
sunshine

(Cp. H. ta'o *heat*; Prs. ta'b, Sh. ta'p, Kho. ta'f
heat of the sun)

toγəl'i, -a m. *young male sheep.* V.s.v. čλnjær.

(Bu. toγəl'i, Wkh. toγeli)

tom m. sg. and pl., also pl. to'ma, *tree.*

tom čha *there is a tree*

tom, to'ma, bu'č čhe *there are many trees*

(Bu. and Sh.)

to'ni, -ŋa f. *ring (of thong?) on bottom of kettledrum to which*
the braces are fastened.

(Cp. Sh. to'ni = bottom (?), gλbu'n)

thop, J.Kh. pl. thapa, m. *night.*

thapai *at night.*

(Cp. Bu. thap *night*, thape *at night*; Sh. thap
dark)

to'ri, -ŋa f. 1. *mouth-piece* of musical pipe (tut'ek).

This is a sort of plug which fits into the end of
tube leaving a reduced passage for air.

2. *peg(s)* to keep rim of drum in position.

(Cp. Bu. ʃo'ri, 1. *plug, stopper*; 2. *bit, portion of anything*)

trʌŋ J.Kh. *half*. (Sh., Bu.)

tu *thou*. V. paradigm § 59.

Gen. te go'r čha *it is thy house*

te mas u'š čhi *thy debt (or loan) is on me, i.e. I am indebted to thee*

Dat. tušu saza de'əs *I shall give you punishment*

Loc. 2. me tus u'š čhi *my debt is on thee, i.e. thou art indebted to me*

tu pa o'ʃ čha *there is flour in thy possession, thou hast flour*

tub'ʌq *gun*

tub'ʌqʌs ten'in *he shot with a gun*

(Bu. tob'ʌq, Sh. tumʌk)

thula, (-i, -e?) *stout*. (Sh. thulo)

tu'li, -ŋ f. *kettledrum-stick*.

(Sh. tu'li, *fragment of stick, little stick*)

tum'e *you* (pl.). V. paradigm § 59.

Acc. eŋe tumets te'əne *they will strike you*

Gen. tum'a go'r čha *it is your house*

Dat. həi go'r tuməču de'əs *I shall give the house to you*

Abl. həi go'r tumetsmo həra's *I shall take away the house from you*

tumə pa *in your possession*

thu'n, -a m.(?) *pillar, post*.

(Sh. thu'n f.)

tu'na *navel*. (Sh. tu'n)

tunhe'i, -həi, f. tunha'i, pl. tun'e'ŋ, *Demonstrative Adj. and Pron. that, that one*. V. § 62.

(tun + he'i, cp. ta-hæi)

tunō, tun'o *of, or from, that side*, Bu. i'tum.

Opposite: Δ mənō.

tun'o eŋ *those of, or from, that side*.

tut'ek, -a f. *musical pipe* (small, without reed).

(Bu. tut'ek, Sh. tut Δ k)

TS, TS.H

ts Δ k *standing upright, erect*.

ts Δ k hut *stand up!*

(Sh., Bu.)

ts.hindo'r, pl. ts.hinda'ra, m. *bull*.

(Bu. ts.hind'ər)

ts.hi'r (?) *time, occasion*.

du'i ts.hi'ra *two times, twice*. T.9.

(Bu. ts.hir)

tso'ně f. *the moon*.

(Also given by J.Kh. Cp. perhaps Bu. ts.haně, *every time that a thing recurs, the completion of a period*, perhaps originally only of a month, or cycle of the moon)

W

waxt m.(?) *time, occasion*

tahe'i waxtasmo hagi *before this time*

a'na waxt hu'i (f.) *the time of coming has come*

he'i waxt' Δ na *at that time, then*

(Ar.Prs., current in Sh., Bu. etc.)

Y

1. ya, pl. ya·ŋa, *bear*.
 mɫniš ya *he-bear*
 jo'i ya *she-bear*
 ya.ɛ pa'lo *bear-cub*
 (Bu. yā)
2. yǎ, pl. ya·ŋa, f. *heart, kidney*.
 bɫŋi ya(·ŋa) *the heart(s)*
 ču'ni ya(·ŋa) *the kidney(s)*
 (For this relating of "kidney" to "heart", cp. Bu.
 *-ɫS *heart*, *-ɫSO *kidney*. Wkh. pɛzuuv *heart*, also
 appears to be used sometimes for *kidney*)
3. ya! O!
 ya pa'dša! *O King!* T.4.
 (Sh., Bu.)
- yɫndɛr, -a m. *sides and rim* of big drum.
 (Bu.)
- y'ɫtol, pl. yɫɫɫɫa, m. *oorial*.
 (Bu. y'ɫɫɫɫɫ, yɛɫɫɫɫ)
- yu'lgɪš, -a f. *sheath, case*.
 surne'i yu'lgɪš čhi *it is the (cloth) case of the "sure-
 nai"*
 (Bu.)

Z

- za'ta m. *fashion* (?), *manner* (?)
 he'i za'ta čha'ka, glossed in Bu.: itɛ zæilɫɛ bɫm,
 he was on that wise, or possibly, *he was of that
 nature*. The latter would suit the meaning of

za't, of which za'ta is probably the D. equivalent either in the Nom. or the Gen.

(Ar. Prs. Za't; Sh., Kho., Bu. za't *stock, breed, nature, kind*)

ž

žija sg. and pl. m. *a stone falling or rolling down a hillside.*

žija a'ya *a rolling stone came down*

žija čhe *there are falling stones*

(Bu.)

žija'ta f. *stone-shoot* (place down which stones fall and roll).

(Bu. žija't, Sh. jija't)

ENGLISH—DUMĀKI INDEX.

able	<i>to be</i> — <i>to</i> šak-
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advice	krom
after	kana'o
all	pači
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am not, is not, etc.	badam
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and	tamlaša
ankle	2. ta; <i>in numerals</i> o
anus	pa'ε ki'rtsə; — <i>bone</i> pa'ε
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anything	pfu'ŋe dəri
anywhere	ko'k
apple	kis
apricot	kajek
arm	baba'i
armpit	(<i>fruit and tree</i>) Δšæi; <i>dried</i> —
	pfaṭo'ri
	ša'ka
	gəti'ti

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arse	pfu'ŋ
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ask for, to	giða'na
aunt	<i>paternal</i> — pfi'pi; <i>maternal</i> — mama.ε be'in
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back (adv.)	pač'i
back of, at the	pač'e'ni
bad	Λča'ga
band	(<i>of silver round musical pipe</i>) peši'ŋ
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be, to	čh-(ina)
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beans	<i>broad</i> — buk'Λka
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bedstead	khΛʔ
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bitch	jo'i šun'o
black	ka'la
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born, to be	baḏuna
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bow	(<i>and arrow</i>) dān'u'a; (<i>for fast- ening end of warḑ</i>) dān'u'a
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boy	jo'ṭo
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branch	šor
brass	hali'ža

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breast	titi'ro
bring, to	'a'nina, lei a'na
brother	biræya
brother-in-law	wife's bro. šeri; husband's bro. bita're bira'ya (used in roofing) mo'ye
brushwood	
buckwheat	bærgu
bug	pfa'ltso
bull	ts.hindo'r
burn, to v.i.	(of fire, lamp etc.) lupina; (burn up, burn down) dɬja'na
"burūs"	buru's
butter	g'i'ryu
buttermilk	go'r'us
buttocks	čəro'k
buy, to	gašas le'ina
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chief	šæi

chikor	ka ^{ke}
chin	č ^{homi}
choga	š ^{uqa}
clavicle	bæ ^{itin}
clear sky	nimo ^l
cliff	č ^{hi} š ^a ; <i>earth-</i> — mæ ^t
cloak	š ^{uqa}
clothes	k ^{atu}
cloud	Λ ^{ga} siš ^{buruně}
cock	m ^{ani} š ^{qərqa'muts}
cold	š ^{ilda}
comb	k ^Λ ji; — <i>of loom hiska; upper board of do. b^Λsta; "tooth" of do. don; rod of do. γ^{IS}γ^{IS}; base piece of do. hu^r</i>
come, to	a ^{na}
come out, to	n ⁱ k ^{hil} na
command	š ^{alda}
confiscate, to	h ^Λ ri ^{na}
cook, to	ra ⁿ⁻
copper	lo ^{ya} h ^Λ li ^ž a
cord	ḍ ^{ulu} ; ba ^{li}
cotton (?)	g ^u p ^{'a} sa
cow	gæ ⁱ , ga ⁱ
create, to	du ^r al ⁱ na
cry out, to	q ^u ir ⁱ na
cylinder	(<i>of brass on surenai</i>) m ^Λ š ^Λ la; <i>flanges of do. pⁱriγⁱri</i>
daughter	di ^a
daughter-in-law	ba ^{uti}

day	do's
debt	u'š
deep	yoŋu'm
descend, to	ogol-
descend, to make	oga'l-
die, to	mar-
dig, to	kor'o'ina
"diram" (Bu.)	dirum
direction	<i>in the</i> — of di'ri; <i>from the</i> — of di'ro
disc	(<i>on surenai</i>) sADAPA
distressed	taŋ
div, demon	de'u
do, to	irin'a; Cs. ira'na
dog	šun'o; m. maŋiš šun'o; f. jo'i šun'o
donkey	ja'kun; — <i>foal</i> ja'kune pa'lo
door	do'r
door-frame	dər'o'tiŋ
dovetail	ipo'
down	mu'n
drag, to	task-
drink, to	pi'na
drive away, to	durwa'na
drum	<i>big</i> — dAD'o'ŋ; <i>kettle</i> — d'amal
drummer	(<i>big drum</i>) dADaŋči; (<i>kettle-</i> <i>drum</i>) dAmalči
drumstick	dADaŋa'li
dung	gu'

dust	xu'rts
ear	1. kon, pl. kaṇa
earth	čho'r
eat, to	kha'na
egg	tigo'n
eight	ošt
eighteen	ḷštā'i
eighty	ča'r bi's
elbow	bḷku'ni
eleven	eka'i
end	muš
entertainment	tḷmḷša
erect	tsḷk
expel, to	nḷša-
eye	ḷč
eyebrow(s)	ačhig'owe
eyelash(es)	ḷčhiku'me
eyelid	ḷčhiṭ'ḷ
fall, to	pe.ina
fall down, to	hor-
falling-stone	žija
father	bḷba
father-in-law	(<i>man's or woman's</i>) sasura
fear, to	bijo'na
female-	jo'i —
ferrule	puγo
field	čeč
fifteen	pḷnzæi
fifty	du'i bi's o dæi
finger	agu'la; <i>little</i> — khi'ti agu'la

fire	Λk
fire, to	(<i>with a gun</i>) tub'ΛqΛs te'na
firewood	ču'ni
fish	čhumo
five	po'i
flag	ΛΛm
flea	puršum
flesh	mo's
flour	o'ṭ
fly	mΛčhi
foal	bi'Λγo
foot	po'
for, for sake of	ka'ryo
forehead	nila'yo
forget, to	bozon-
fort	ko'ṭ
forty	du'i bi's; 41 du'i bi's o ek
foster-	u'sΔm —
four	čaur
fourteen	čaundæi
fox	la'č
frog	minik
front of, in	h'Λgi; hΛge'ni; hΛgo
further	muneni
garden	šen
get down, to	ogol-
get up, to	hutina; Cs. hutuwa'na
girl	mulæi
“gindauwer”, “sinjid”	gunde'r
give, to	de'na

glue	leš
go, to	ja'na
go up, to	nɪkhillna
goat	he- — hald'in; she- — čha'li
gold	son
good	šona; —! šu.a!
grain	ku'le
grand-daughter	di.o'i
grandfather	da'do; bɔb'o'
grandmother	nɔna
grandson	di.'o'ya
grapes	dərča
grass	čər
gravel	qu.ɛ
green	juɪ ʃɪqɔm; <i>dark</i> — ni'la
groin	bɔtsine.i gətɪ'ti
gullet	ɔsukɪš
gums	hərišsoŋ
gun	tub'ɔq
hail	huɪɛ
hair	ja't; <i>body-</i> — jɔɪa; <i>goat's</i> — čha'li jɔɪa
half	trɔŋ
hand	hɔt
hare	ošæyo
he	he'i; Trans. Nom. m. hæɪɪɔn, f. hey'a
head	kap'o'l; <i>top and back of</i> — čɔŋut
heart	yă

heaven	asma'n
heavy	ugu'ra
heddle	lamun
heel	ya'n
hen	(<i>fowl</i>) qarqa'muts; f. jo'i qarqa'muts
hence	ta'no
herdsman	(<i>of goats and sheep</i>) pæia'lo; (<i>of cows</i>) bu.ɔltarts
here	ta'
hide	po'y
hide, to	v.i. lu'k- v.t. lukowa'na
hip	minɔltin
his	v.s.v. he'i, 'ese.i
hither	ta'
hook	khaya
horse	go'wa
hot	t'ɔta
house	gor
how much?	kat'eyek
hundred	100 = po'i bi's 300 = ʒha'i po'i bi's 500 = po'i po'i bi's
husband	bit'o'r
I	u; Trs. Nom. me
ibex	ʒæra
if ta; ɔgær....ta; mɔger(?)
in, inside	ɔna
infant	gu.a's

injury	nuxsa'n
intention	ræi; uš
intestines	'ʌnjoŋ
iron	čhum'or
is not, etc.	na'
jaw	ha'ęum
joint	bʌn; ki'rts
juniper	čili
kernel	hʌn'i; — <i>refuse</i> pino'n
kettledrum	d'amʌl; — <i>stick</i> tu'li
kid	čʌki
kidney	yă
kill, to	ma'r-
kindle, to	lupa'na
kindness	mirba'ni
king	pa'dša
kitten	piti'ši pa'lo
knee	kuʃ'a
kneel!	kuʃ'a beš!
knife	čuri
lake	bəra
lamb	mʌmuši
lamp	dī'a
language	ba'š
laugh, to	hʌsin'a
leaf	poʃ
learn, to	dʌsar-
leather-patch	ęhʌʎa
leg	po'; <i>lower</i> — pi'ni
leopard	di'ŋ

light	(<i>of weight</i>) lauka
light, to	v.t. lam irina; lupa'na
lightning	bičuš
like	ja·k
lintel	Λčide'ni dəro'ti
lip	o'ʔe
liver	kaula
lizard	kir'k'Λli
loan	u'š
long	ji'ga
loom	hi'sk; <i>rod of</i> — γo's
loop (?)	šauk(a)
lost, to be	naš-
love	<i>in</i> — <i>with</i> a'šiq
low	lta
lower	mune'nimo; mun'e'ni.o?
lucerne	išpi'ta
lung	khur'pat
maize	mΛkæi
male —	mΛniš —
man	mΛniš
manner (?)	za'ta
“mantsil”	mΛnts.hi'l
many	buʔ
mare	baγum
me	acc. mas; <i>of</i> — me; <i>to</i> — mašu <i>from</i> — masmo
midday	“bebal-”
middle	(<i>of kettledrum</i>) mo'i
milk	č'h'i'r

millet	p'ereŋ (= Bu. bərpit čha); 'ari'n (= Bu. bɔy, Panj. čīna)
Mir	šæi
month	l. moʔ
moon	tso'ně
mosquito	pfiço
mother	mama
mount, to	pina'na; Cs. pinwa'na
mountain	čhi'ša
mouse	šonmumuyō
moustache	pfu'ŋiŋa
mouth	kɔša
mouthpiece	(of tut'ek) ʔo'ri
much	buʔ
mud	(for building) tɔyō'ba, Cp. tɔyæiune
mulberry	biro'ně
music	həri'p
nail, finger-	n'a'ura
name	no'm
navel	tu'na
necessary	dərka'r
neck	ko'ʔa
nephew	·brother's son biro'ye pu'č; sis- ter's son sa.'u'o
new	nɔm'a
niece	brother's daughter biro'ye di'a; sister's daughter sauwi
night	thop

nine	na'u
nineteen	kun'i'
no!	niki'n
"no'l"	na'ul
no one	ko'ta na; ko'k ta na
nose	nok
nostril(s)	na'kæi qama (v.s.v.v. nok & qom)
not	ni
nothing	kis....na; kis ta....na
now	mu'tuk
nullah	bær; hær
O!	ya!
old	pra'na
one	ek; — <i>another</i> hæyo hæyʌn
oorial	y'ʌʈol
open	ba'ʈa; (<i>free</i>) heʈi
open, to	(<i>door</i>) ba'ʈa irina; (<i>box</i>) fʌʈeŋ irina
opening	sʌm
order	šʌlda
our	ʌma'
out	ba'r
outside	bare'ni
own	ʌpʌne'i; (<i>real, true relations</i>) hi'jo
ox	do'n
packing	(<i>cotton — of surenai</i>) gup'a'sa
palace	the'ŋuʂ

palm	(<i>of hand</i>) hΛtə ta·γa
panier	kiro'i
parents-in-law, term of reference and address between the parent-pairs of a married couple:	sildir
peach	'a·ru
pear	phe·řu
peas	kuk'una
pedal	po·
peg	ki·li; (<i>of comb of loom</i>) γISγIS; (<i>to keep rim of drum in position</i>) ʈo·ri
penis	lon
people	(<i>of a country</i>) kuyo·č
person	bΛnda
perspiration	du·iča
“pfelts” (tree)	pfelts
pickaxe	ki·li
pigeon	ka·u
pillar	thu·n
pine tree	čiy
pipe (musical)	big — beřili; <i>small</i> — tut'ek; reed — surnæi. For parts of beřili v.s.vv. jauwa, kΛša, peřiŋ, qom, quŋu, sim; of tut'ek v.s.vv. čhΛγa, leř, puγo, qom, sam, ʈo·ri; of surnæi v.s.v. reedpipe.
piper	sur ³ næiči

pit	qom
pitchfork	həro·č
place, to	the·ina
play, to	(<i>music</i>) bʌša·r-
plough	ho·š
plough-shaft	sulě
ploughshare	bos
pond	bəra
poplar	bəpa
possession	<i>in the — of</i> , v.s.v. pa
post	thu·n
pot	(<i>for cooking</i>) dək; čidi·n
prevent, to	ɾʌt-
price	gʌš
proceed, to	h'ʌnina
property	do·ʌt
pull, to	tʌsk-
pulley-wheel	(<i>of heddles</i>) mʌqulá
pulse (kind of pea)	ɣəra·š
puppy	guku·rus; šunæi pa·lo
put down, to	the·ina
put on, to	læina
quickly	lauka
rafter	(<i>small</i>) hund'ʌris; (<i>big</i>) sinč
rain	o·ɾp
“rakhpin”	ɾʌxp'i·n
ram	čhʌnjər toxəli
rat	mu·ša
red	lo·ya
reed	(<i>of pipe</i>) dʌmbu

reed-pipe	surnæi. For parts and ad- juncts v.s.vv. đambu, dulu, gupa'sa, jλku'na, kλša, mašala, pæpɪ'ta, pɪriγɪri, pitæi, qλlip, sλdapa, sə- ratu't, yu'lgɪš
reel (?)	maqula
reflect, to	samba irina
rejoicing	šuræɪ.e'š
rice	bras
rim	(and sides of drum) yandær
rise, to	hutin'a'
river	sin(a)
road	pana
rod	γo's
roof	šæro'n
rope	gaška; 2. ba'li; đulu
rub on, to	pλl-; la'š irina
run, to	de.i-
saddle	tila'igoŋ
saliva	la'la
salt	payo
salutation	sλla'm
sand	1. ba'li
saw	(tool) hæri'çi
say, to	(quoting) irina
say to, to	munina
saying (n.)	λlo'
scapula	bu.i'
scree	đλðæra

see, to	dək-
-self, -selves	(<i>corroborative</i>) ʌp'ʌnɛ; (<i>reflexive</i>) apɔ'n
sell, to	gʌʂʌs de'na
send, to	bija'lina; aɲuwa'na
servant	qɪsmʌtga'r
seven	sut
seventeen	sʌtā'i
shallow	tʌʌsʌ
she	ha'i, v.s.v. he'i
sheep	be'da, v. also s.vv. baskʌreʃ, čʰanɟər, mamuši, toɟəli.
shelf	bitʌli
shin	(<i>bone</i>) pi'ni hoʃ
short	khuʃa
shoulder	pfa'ka
shuttle	hu'r; for parts and adjuncts v.s.vv. pu'ɟo, qom, su'iya <i>of, from, this</i> — ʌmənō; <i>of, from, that</i> — tunō; — <i>of drum</i> yʌndər
side	mʌnɛ'ni.o dəro'ti
sill, of door	ru'p
silver	jauwa, jauwa bæres
sinew	gi.oŋ de'na
sing, to	be'in; —'s <i>husband</i> šeri
sister	<i>husband's sister</i> jʌjɛ; <i>wife's sister</i> me'li be'in; <i>man's brother's wife</i> biro'ya me'li; <i>woman's brother's wife</i> jʌjɛ
sister-in-law	

sit, to	}	be·š'ina; qi·š hu.ina(?)
sit down, to		
six		ša
sixteen		šõ·wæi
sixty		ěhæi bi·š
skin		čom
sky		Λgo·š; asma·n
sleep		ni (?); <i>to go to</i> — niyΛs ja·na
sleep, to		so-; Cs. sora·na
sleeve		bao·wa
sling (of big drum)		ešΛki
slowly		čotiŋ
small		ču·na
smear, to		la·š irina
smoke		du·m
smoke-hole		<i>large</i> — š'elto; <i>small</i> — su- go·m; <i>frame of</i> — ΛbæɾΛnə
snake		ki·rma
snot		li·ma
snow		hin
soft		komul'a
sole		(<i>of foot</i>) bΛda
son		pu·ě
son-in-law		jΛma·ěa
song		gi.a
sound, noise		ěut
span		tɪšči
spin, to		čirir-
spindle		(<i>for winding bobbins on</i>)

	tʌl'i·š; <i>disc on ditto</i> bʌçʌŋi; <i>shaft of ditto</i> ʃukul'i
spleen	til'i
spot	ʃi·k-
stand up, to	tsʌk hutina·; Cs. tsʌk hutu- wa·na
star	ta·ro
stick	kunæli; —s <i>laid on rafters</i> gʌndʌl
stirrup	khaya
stone	bot, bort; <i>falling stone</i> ʒiŋa
stone-marten	r'emizel
stone-shoot	ʒiŋa·ta
stop, to	v.t. rʌt-
store-room	ʌna go·r
story	šilo·k
stout	thula
strap	(<i>of loom</i>) pærpita; (<i>of big drum</i>) 'ešʌki
strike, to	te·na
string	ɖulu; 2. ba·li
strong	puxta
subjects	(<i>of king</i>) kuyo·č
sun, sunshine	to·
sword	khʌŋor
table	miz
tadpole	khutʒiyʌlta
take, to	le·na; al-
take away, to	hərina; n'e·ina; le·i ja·na
take down, to	oga·l-

take off,	} to	gΛđiná
take out		dΛsΛrowa-
teach, to		dæi
ten		čõ·γe
testicles		m. he'i, f. ha'i; pl. e·ŋ
that, that one	}	no, nō·; (<i>next in sequence</i>) ho
the		tiŋ'o
then		ti·ŋ
thence		'e·ŋ
there		b'Λkulá
they		bΛtsin
thick		p'e'imilá
thigh		či·z
thin		sΛmba irina
thing		čõ·i
think, to		bi·š o dæi
thirteen		m. tah'e'i, f. taha'i; pl.
thirty		ta.'e·ŋ; v. also <i>he'i</i> etc.
this, this one		tiŋeču
thither		jiko·n
thong		tu
thou		sΛmba
thought		sa's
thousand		do·ŋ
thread		čhæi
three		mun'e·ni.o dero·ti
threshold		đo·đo
throat		tΛxt
throne		

throw, to	ba·na
thumb	baŋi agu·la
thunder	lamqarlam
thy	te
tie, to	g'ɔŋina
time	wɔxt; (<i>occasion</i>) ts.hi·r
tired, to become	šam'u·na
to	(<i>a person</i>) -pa
today	'oče
toe	pa.ɛ agu·la
tomorrow	jum'uti; <i>day after</i> — ɕhe· edo's; <i>2 days after</i> — čauɖ'edo's
tone	<i>low</i> — (<i>of drum</i>) bu·m; <i>high</i> — (<i>of drum</i>) na·u
tongue	jiba
tooth	don
towards	di·ri
treadle	po·
tree	tom
trip	særl
trouble (?)	lo·to ke lo·to
trousers	gupaltij
twelve	ba·i
twenty	bi·š; <i>twenty-one</i> bi·š o ɛk; <i>twenty-two</i> bi·š o du·i
twice	du·i ts.hi·ra
two	du·i
uncle	<i>father's bro.</i> baba (ču·na, baɖa); <i>mother's bro.</i> ma·mo

under	mu'n; mune'ni
underneath	mune'ni
up	ʌtsi
upper	ʌčide'ni (?); atsimo
up-stream	'apu
urine	muč
valley	bər, hər
vine	gu'gi
wake up, to	v.i. šʌŋga hu.ina v.t. šʌŋga'r-
wall	ku'da
walnut	(<i>tree and nut</i>) ʌko'u, ʌko'y
want, to	gi'da'na
warm, to	(<i>drum</i>) sas irina
warp	ju; <i>to stretch</i> — ju iriná
warp-thread	γʌy
was not, were not	na'ka
wash, to	do-
water	pa'ni
water-channel	gotsʌl, (<i>big</i>) dʌla
we	ʌm'ε
weak	ʌšita
weave ,to	bu-
weaver's beam	pfʌʌko
weep, to	ro.iná
wether	bʌskʌreʃ
what?	ki'sek?
wheat	go'mu
when?	kʌbe?
whence?	ka'jiko?

whenever	(<i>if ever</i>) κΑΒΕ...τα
where?	ka?; kakek?
wherever	kajek
which?	m. ko'no, f. ko'ni
white	šukul'a
who? which?	(<i>person</i>) ko'k?
why?	k'i'jye?
wife	me'li; —'s bro. šeri
willow	bi'k; <i>weeping</i> — muju'r
wind	ba'u.a
windpipe	ḍoḍo
wine	2. mo'
wire	sim
with	(<i>accompanying</i>) -ko'ṭ;
wolf	urk
woman	jo'i
wood	(<i>timber</i>) ko'ṭ
wool	pa'ma
wool-container	fu'ru'kus
work	krom
work, to	krām-
world	duna't
wrinkle	kiš'i
wrist	ha'te.i ki'r'ts
write, to	girmina'na
year	dena; bə'ris; <i>this</i> — išo; <i>this</i> —'s iškun'a; <i>next</i> — ha'g'išu; <i>last</i> — pör; <i>last</i> —'s porkun'a; — <i>before last</i> ha'gid'enas

yellow	hʌli'ẓ̌a
yesterday	bi.'a'li; ba'po; <i>day before</i> — h'ʌgigutsʌna
yoke	(<i>of plough</i>) hərəʒum
yoke-pin	šʌmɛɣ
yoke-tie	pərpita
you	(pl.) tum'e
young	(<i>of animal</i>) pa'lo
