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FOR SAMMENLIGNENDE KULTURFORSKNING

THE BURUSHASKI LANGUAGE

BY

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VOL. I

INTRODUCTION AND GRAMMAR

WITH A PREFACE BY G. MORGENSTIERNE

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PHONOLOGY.

§ 1.

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

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

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

The character \hat{y} for instance, has been variously used to represent ξ , ts , y and \hat{j} (ξ) as opposed to j (ξ).

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

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

Vowels.

| | | | | | | | | |
|----|------|-----|----|---|-----|--------------------|----|-----|
| a' | a | (w) | ɹ | ə | ɛ' | ɛ | ɛ' | e |
| i' | i | ɪ | o' | o | (ə) | u' | u | (ü) |
| ai | (w') | | | | au | (a ^v). | | |

Consonants.

| | | | | | | |
|----|-----|--|---|-----|------|-------|
| k | q | | q | x | kh | (qh?) |
| g | | | g | Y | Y | |
| č | | | č | | čh | čh |
| j | (ž) | | j | (ž) | Y | Y |
| t | | | t | | th | th |
| d | | | d | | | |
| p | pf | | f | | ph | |
| b | | | w | | | |
| s | | | š | š | | |
| z | | | ž | (j) | ž | (j) |
| ts | | | | | ts.h | |
| n | ŋ | | m | | | |
| l | r | | | | | |
| h. | | | | | | |

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

| | | | | | |
|----|---|--------|----|---|-------------------------|
| a' | a | I.P.A. | a' | a | English <i>father</i> . |
| ɛ | | | | | English <i>cat</i> . |
| ɹ | | | | | <i>but</i> . |
| ə | | | | | <i>water</i> . |

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

ə is only a variant of ɹ occurring chiefly before r and finally for a or ɛ.

æ I have only recorded occasionally as a variant of a- or ɹ- in the neighbourhood of a palatal sound.

ɛ' ɛ English *bed, net*.

ɛ' e Scotch *date* (not diphthongal), French *été*.

i' i English *sea, machine*.

i

pin.

i arises from an unstressed i.

Occasionally there appears to be instability in ɛ, e, i, with consequent interchange.

o' o English *post* (not diphthongal).

o on (an occasional variant for o).

u' u *spoon*.

There is frequent approximation or interchange of o and u.

u English *put*. u arises from unstressed u.

ü doubtfully I.P.A. y, French u, occurs occasionally for u or i following g or q.

ai I.P.A. a' or ɛt? English *fly*.

I have frequently used ai.i to represent a final combination.

It is not to be taken as a full triphthong: a+i+i. It

would perhaps have been more correctly expressed by ɛ.i representing a followed and palatalised by i.

an English *hoic*. It is often more or less two separate vowels.

My use of au.u is analogous to that of ai.i.

4. Vowel length.

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

It is to be noted that my i, o and u are always of the same quality as i', o' and u' and are not to be read as i, o and u.

While tending to be short, ɹ, i and u no doubt vary within limits, but I have made no attempt to distinguish between less short and shorter specimens.

A certain number of very long vowels occur, but they usually turn into diphthongs: aʌ, eʌ, eɪ, eʲ, eɛ, oʌ, oʷ, uʷ etc. the first component being relatively long.

In my texts I sometimes wrote aʌ, eɛ, oʌ etc., but I have not thought it necessary to introduce this typographical complication here.

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

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

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

5. Consonants.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

s as in English *sin*.

š as in English *shin*.

z as in English *zeal*.

ž as in English *azure*, *pleasure*.

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

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

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

n, *m* are as in English.

ɲ as in English *singing*,

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

6. Postalveolars or cerebrals.

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

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

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

j and *ž* are, I think, interchangeable.

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

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

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

When writing Burushaski in Arabic characters (only done at my request) my informants appear to have consistently differentiated ḍ and ṭ as $\frac{ḍ}{\text{}}^{\text{}}_2$ and $\frac{ṭ}{\text{}}^{\text{}}_2$

from ḍ t written $\frac{ḍ}{\text{}}^{\text{}}_2$ and $\frac{ṭ}{\text{}}^{\text{}}_2$.

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

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

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

Its identification as a 'cerebral γ ' is tentative. From different people I recorded it variously as peculiar kinds of r, l, \tilde{z} and sometimes as a hiatus or 'hamza.'

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

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

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

- c) A few instances of a peculiar initial g were recorded: e.g. $\frac{g}{\text{}}^{\text{}}_1$ $\frac{g}{\text{}}^{\text{}}_2$ $\frac{g}{\text{}}^{\text{}}_3$ & $\frac{g}{\text{}}^{\text{}}_4$,
also a doubtful q and γ in $\frac{q}{\text{}}^{\text{}}_1$ and $\frac{\gamma}{\text{}}^{\text{}}_1$ in $\frac{q}{\text{}}^{\text{}}_2$ and $\frac{\gamma}{\text{}}^{\text{}}_2$.

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

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

$\frac{g}{\text{}}^{\text{}}_1$ is not necessarily an exception as it is probably really $\frac{g}{\text{}}^{\text{}}_1$.

I therefore suggest as a hypothesis that

γ , $\frac{g}{\text{}}^{\text{}}_1$, $\frac{\gamma}{\text{}}^{\text{}}_1$, $\frac{q}{\text{}}^{\text{}}_1$ are variations of γ , $\frac{g}{\text{}}^{\text{}}_1$, $\frac{\gamma}{\text{}}^{\text{}}_1$, $\frac{q}{\text{}}^{\text{}}_1$ produced by endeavouring to form these sounds with the tip of the tongue in some degree turned back towards the roof of the mouth, or at any rate with the front of the tongue raised and retracted from the normal position.

7. Aspirates.

- a) The following aspirates were recognised by my informants:

kh, $\frac{ch}{\text{}}^{\text{}}_1$, $\frac{ch}{\text{}}^{\text{}}_2$, th (th), ph, ts.h.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The following may be mentioned:

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

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

xaber || kabar *news*.

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

xar || khar || qar *sum of Rs. 6*.

xarts || qarts *clapping hands*; and many others.

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

xumurin || humurin *a man without sons*.

Xuru || Huru *Proper Name of man*.

xurgas || hurgas *thick*.

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

I have experienced a similar difficulty in Khowar.

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

ya || ga *crow*.

γandir || gandir *crooked*.

γašil || gašil *firewood*.

N. and Nz. favoured g; IYB γ.

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

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

f) ts occasionally appears as ž.

atsi → aži (a + *tsi)

and -t+tsi seems to yield -ži.

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

dustak || dustak; destakas || destakas; destayas || destayas.

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

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

um in Nagir, un or un in Hunza. Nz. affected un, and IYB un.

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

dayoran || dayoran, tili.en || tili.en

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

jukan, an x noun,

in which -n would be more normal.

I always found it difficult to decide whether the name of the place was Šinšal or Šimšal.

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

oskilarar for oskiralar (*-askir) and N. elerar for elclar (?) (ele.i).

9. a) In a list of words with initial h written by either IYB or ŠY the following are written with the strong Arabic ḥ.

| | | | |
|-------|--------------------|-------|----------------|
| ha | house | hak | steam |
| huk | dog | haray | sheep-pen etc. |
| hunam | bride's jewellery. | | |

In the texts IYB writes ح but ه and ح (tribe).

The use of ḥ is probably a mere calligraphic affectation.

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

a + holja → 'olja
 nu + hurat → 'nurat
 *_{-A} + hakinās → *_{-A}.ikinas
 o + her → 'owar

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

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

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

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

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

In these situations the following changes have been noted:

| | |
|-------|-------|
| g > k | j > č |
| g > k | d > t |
| γ > q | b > p |

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

Examples are:

| | | | |
|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| berpēt, | dər, | galtor, | jakor, |
| baša, | dan.o, | gill, | jat'or. |
| ber, | del, | gōš, | |
| her, | gakačo, | gok'or, | |
| hur, | gajeri, | gumi, | |
| buš, | gajat, | γāšap, | |
| betno, | gajeti, | γāš, | |

Per contra may be cited: pferi, pferiē, pfer and t'ra.

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

*-askva *mother in law* (*-as + gus?)
 *-ašpur *mane* (*-aš + bur?).

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

b) Further: w > p.

i. after *-as- in *-wəras > *-aspəras.

ii. after a- privative in warts > aparts.

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

a + gumānum > akumānum *thou not being*.

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

d*-aspapalas < babala,
 nukuškin < gušuginas,

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

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

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

a) h > k

after the negative a- in the verb henas: henas, *to know*. akenas, *not to know*.

The same change has apparently operated in *-askir *father-in-law* < *-as + hir(?)

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

*-xaras nikher
 *-fatoras nipator.

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

g, d, b, j (ž), j (ž),
 x, γ, f, w, y, z.

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

deḡ → *de'k* *adab* → *adap*

maddad → *maddat* *kitāb* → *kitap*.

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

12. The following Consonant Combinations occur initially

br, *dr*, *pr*, *tr*.

Of these the first three are rare:

brak, *bran*, *bras*, *drab*, *pra'k*, *pri'k*.

There is a somewhat larger representation of *tr*-

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

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

tsayur, *tsan*, *tsil*, *tsir*, *tsuryar*.

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

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

-lč̣ **-melč̣*.

-lk *balk*, *dilk*, vb. *nuhalk*.

-lṣ̌ vb. *duwalṣ̌*.

-lt *ba'lt*, *giyal't*.

-nts *hurnts* and nominal plural ending v. §§ 28. 1. & 29. 2.

-nč̣ vb. *durnč̣*.

-nč̣ *ganč̣*, *gahanč̣*, vb. *senč̣*.

-rk *bayark*, *tark*, vb. *isark*.

-rṣ̌, (*-rṣ̌*) *hevṣ̌*, *hevṣ̌*, N. *hərṣ̌*, vb. (*u*)*ji'rṣ̌(an)*.

bisarṣ̌ (cp. Shina *bisawč̣*).

-rt *mert* (cp. Sh. *moč̣*), *hur't* (cp. Sh. *hu'č̣*).

-rts *darts*, *xurts*, *garts*, **-yurts*.

-sk *pfask*, *hi'ak* (cp. Sh. *he'sko*), *šask*.

-šk *gask*, *yašk*, *ti'šk*.

-ts *berits*, **-dumuts*, *hayuts*, *kuts*.

nom. pl. ending *-uts* v. § 29. 14.

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

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

The occasional occurrence of *-šč̣* (& *-šč̣'?*) may be noted.

15. To judge from the foreign words incorporated in the language metathesis is not active in Burushaski.

16. The practice of repeating a noun with the alteration of the initial sound, giving a sense of vagueness or generality common in colloquial Hindustani and occurring both in Shina & Khowar, is rare, but not unknown in Burushaski:

I have recorded *tobaq mobaq* *guns, rifles, fire arms*
ka't hart *conditions, injunctions*
ma'l hav' *property, belongings*
qiyu pyu *outcry*

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

17. Stress accent.

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

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

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

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

18. Tones.

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

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

NOUNS.

§ 19.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

These effects may be summarily stated as follows:

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

| | | | | | | |
|-------|-------|---|-------|---|------|---------------|
| sg. h | kins, | x | guse, | y | gute | <i>this</i> . |
|-------|-------|---|-------|---|------|---------------|

 So also the interrogative Adjective and Pronoun:

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

| | | | |
|-----|-------|---|-----------------|
| hin | hir, | a | man. |
| han | hayer | a | horse v. § 187. |
- vi. Certain parts of all verbs are inflected according to the category to which the subject belongs.

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

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

| | | |
|----|-------------|--------------|
| hm | hir bai | the man is |
| hf | gus bo | the woman is |
| x | a) hayur bi | the horse is |
| | bayum bi | the mare is |
| | b) dan bi | the stone is |
| y | tsil bila | the water is |

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

ep. tsilmiŋ bitsan the waters are

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

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

| | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|---|---------|-------------------|
| h x | d ^o -tas | y | duanyas | to bring. |
| | yabas | | gabas | to take v. § 231. |

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

| | | | | |
|-----|------|---|--------|-------------------|
| h x | wals | y | bala's | to fall v. § 232. |
|-----|------|---|--------|-------------------|

Each of these phenomena is considered in detail in its appropriate place.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

These are:

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

| | | | |
|--------------|---------------------------|------------|-------------------|
| yai.in-gu.in | mill-man, miller. | u'šgu.in | creditor. |
| hayur-ku.in | horseman, rider. | ra'čaku.in | guardian. |
| yatku.in | over-man, superintendent. | tsərgu.in | watchman, sentry. |

-sku.in occurs in

duro'sku.in workman from duro work.

See also in the Vocabulary:

gišasku.in weaver.

-ts is found in:

| | |
|---------|--------------|
| dəru'ts | hunter. |
| məru'ts | gold-washer. |

From dəru hunting and məru washing for gold.

Also probably in:

| | |
|---------|---------------------|
| Baloṭs | a <i>Balti</i> . |
| Guits | a <i>Wakhi</i> . |
| beṛrits | a <i>musician</i> . |

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

aqal-kṛṣ(AN) *one possessing intelligence, intelligent.*

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

| | |
|----------|-----------------|
| raṃal-či | <i>diviner.</i> |
| ḡaṃal-či | <i>drummer.</i> |

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

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

| | |
|------------|--------------------------------|
| turṭay-kuṣ | <i>darkness.</i> |
| ṡam-kuṣ | <i>tham-ship, sovereignty.</i> |

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

| | |
|------------|--|
| akuriki | <i>this much</i> (cp. akhurum).- |
| uṣaki | <i>land given to foster-relations</i> (from *-uṣe.ṡṡ). ¹ |
| *-yariki | <i>daily ration</i> (cp. *-yarum, <i>which falls to one's lot</i>). |
| *-yarcki y | <i>under-bedding</i> (from yarce). |
| *-yateki | <i>upper-bedding</i> (from yate). |
| yai.inḡi | <i>cleaned grain ready for grinding</i> (from yai.in mill). |

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

| | |
|----------------|---|
| yaṣiṣ | <i>laughter</i> (yaṣas to laugh). |
| halḡiṣ | <i>scumb</i> (halḡas to give birth). |
| həraṣ | <i>urinating, urine</i> (?) (hərai.ṡṡ). |
| malṡiṣ | <i>abuse</i> (*-malṡas). |
| talṡiṣ (Sh. ṣ) | <i>swaddling bands</i> (*-ṡṡli.ṡṡ). |

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

warṡṡ cover (warṡṡ).

Compare also:

heṛṣ weeping (heṛas).

See in the Vocabulary:

ḡiṣṡḡku.in and heṣku.in.

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

The use of a single form to denote:

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

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

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

| | | | |
|---------|---------------------|---------|-----------------------|
| ṡugurlo | <i>male friend.</i> | ṡugurli | <i>female friend.</i> |
| ḡarṡno | <i>bridegroom.</i> | ḡarṡni | <i>bride.</i> |

These are treated as hm and hf respectively.

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

peri denoting *something akin to our fairy.*

bilas a *kind of female demon.*

raṡči a *guardian spirit also female.*

yaṡeni a *kind of ogress.*

ḡadi the *name of a particular supernatural female.*

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

pṡet a *male demon, or Div.*

boyo a *kind of animal god.*

Čihil ḡaxi the *name of a "Jinn."*

aṡdar a *monster or dragon of some kind.*

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

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

The following are the results which the examination of a large number of *x* and *y* nouns has yielded.¹

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

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

An exception is *iran* = *cream*.

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

pfari *x* a pond.

gor *x* water pouring down, waterfall.

*-u *x* tear.

but *sinda* a river is *y*.

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

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

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

| | |
|---|---------|
| <i>h</i> nouns | 208 |
| <i>x</i> nouns animate | 127 |
| inanimate | 426 553 |
| <i>y</i> nouns | 783 |
| nouns of which the class is unknown to me | 309 |
| | 1803 |

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

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

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

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

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

A plait of hair is *x* *borno*, or *y* *šebak* (N.) "a thin plait."

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

yašil, an individual stick, is *x*.

4. TREES except the vine (*šun*) which is *x*. Smaller plants appear to be about equally divided between *x* and *y*.

5. METALS. But objects composed principally of metal appear to be about equally divided between *x* and *y*. Names of firearms and most coins are *x*.

6. ABSTRACT IDEAS, constituting what are known as Abstract Nouns, appear to be all *y*.

7. IMMATERIAL "OBJECTS" appear to be mostly *y*, e.g. dream, share, narration, word, quarrel, promise, light, sleep (*dan*).

8. DIVISIONS OF TIME, year, month, week, day, midday, night, and SEASONS, spring, summer, autumn, winter.

24. Among the *x* nouns are found the names of:

1. FRUITS, apricot, apple, melon, pear, but *ya.in*, grapes, is *y*.

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

ba'lt pl. *ba'ltiŋ* *y* *apple-tree*.

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

2. WOOD and ARTICLES made of WOOD.

There are a few exceptions:

galtar y (one word for) *branch*.

ganë y *spindle*.

balk y *plank*.

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

Under this head may be included articles made of WICKERWORK.

3. STONE and STONE ARTICLES:

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

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

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

Among the nouns which do not show a decided tendency to the one category or the other are the names of woven materials, cloth, articles of clothing, hide and skin and articles thereof, parts of the body, plants (as already stated).

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

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

čuruk a *piece or bit*.

trañ *half, share, portion*.

kaman a *little*.

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

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

{ bayundo x *leavened bread*.

{ bayundo y *leavened dough*.

{ baiyu x *rock salt*.

{ baiyu y *granular salt*.

{ dustsak x pl. *cooking utensils*.

{ dustsak y pl. *miscellaneous articles*.

γāsīl x *a stick*.

x pl. *sticks*.

y pl. *firewood*.

{ to'ri x *plug, stopper*.

{ to'ri y *quarter of a flap-jack*.

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

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

{ γu'a x means the *moonless part of the month*.

{ γu'a y means *descent, downward slope, afternoon*.

pl. γu'amīñ.

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

*-u'l *belly*.

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

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

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

Another curious case is:

γeniš hf *queen*; γeniš y *gold*.

Cp. Šhina son *gold*; sorni *queen*.

NOTE.

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

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

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

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

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

| | y | | x | |
|--|----------|----------------|--------|------------|
| | bu'v | a single hair. | soe | thread. |
| | *-riḡ | hand, arm. | *-amōs | finger. |
| | *-lṭṭmal | car. | *-amōs | tongue. |
| | biḡk | plank. | hu'v | wood, log. |
| | wu'ḡi | cord. | gāšk | rope. |
| | harpiṭ | strap. | | |
| | hu | house. | geṭi | hut. |

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

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

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

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

The whole situation, I think, requires further study.

In the meantime I can only add two points:

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

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

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

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

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

26. Number.

There are two numbers in Burushaski, singular and plural.

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

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

There are many plural suffixes and roughly they fall into two series: those used with h and x nouns, those used with y nouns.

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

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

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

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

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

They are as follows:

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

27. H Plural suffixes

| | | | |
|--------------|------|---------|-------|
| The suffixes | -i | -indaro | -ko'n |
| | -tiŋ | -tsaro | |

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

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

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

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

* + vowel > -i.

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

-ts + o > -čo.

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

leđo *bastard* leđumnts.

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

1. -ants and allied forms in -nts.

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

Δqalkiš, *intelligent person* Δqalki.ants.

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

γeniš *queen* pl. γeni.ants.

pfopuš *bastard* pfopi.ents.

γayu *lane* γayu'nts and γayutiŋ.

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

dasiŋ *girl* pl. dasiwants.

*-u's *wife* *-ušints.

Abnormal are:

gus *woman* pl. gušints.

*-Δi *daughter* *-yugušants (*-i + u + gus + ants?)

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

2. -daro, -taro this is probably the real form of the suffix, though one hears only -ero with nouns ending in -d or -t.

*-xakiu *daughter-in-law* *-xakindaro.

*-saγun *nephew, niece* *-saγundaro.

gušpur' *prince* gušpur'taro, or gušpur'tiŋ, or gušpur'tšo.

se.it *Saiyid* se.itaro.

šagird *pupil* šagirdaro and šagirdišo.

A form -indaro appears in the following.

*-rik *man's brother-in-law* *-rikindaro.

*-Δskir *father-in-law* } *-Δskundaro.

*-Δskus *mother-in-law* }

3. -i occurs only in:

hi'r *man* hi'ri.

4. -indaro see -daro.

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

*-uyar *husband* *-uyaršo.

6. -juko, juko, -ju'ko vide under *x* suffixes.

7. -ko occurs with the adjectives.

Δaltas *handsome, good* Δaltas'ko.

uyum *big man, leading man* uyo'mko, uyo'ŋko.

8. -ko'n occurs only with
 *-iēo *man's brother,* *-aēuko'n.
 woman's sister,
9. -muts common following a vowel
 gəro'no *bridegroom* gəromomuts.
 jo'to *child* jo'tumuts.
10. -nēo occurs only in
 giya's, gi'ra's *infant* gi'ya'nēo.
11. -nts vide -ants.
12. -o a) is the regular ending for the plural of the Noun Agent of the form of the Infinitive, ending in -as. The -s changes to -š
 etas *doer* etāšo *doers.*
 Of course it is possible in these cases that the suffix is -šo.
 etas + -šo > etāšo.
- b) otherwise it is used with:
 tham *Tham, ruler* thamo.
 hile's *boy* hile'šo.
 bilas *female demon* bilašo.
- c) it also occurs with nouns in -ts, which becomes -ē:
 berits *Dom, musician* beriēo.
 huyē'torts *herdsman* huyē'tarēo.
 gu'its *a Wakhi man* gu'i'ēo.
- d) it is the usual suffix for words ending in -n, the -n- being dropped and a glide -y- or -iy- being substituted.
 All nouns with the suffix -ku.in, -gu.in have the plural -kuryo (sometimes -ki.o, ki n) and -guryo.
 duro'sku.in *hired labourer* duro'skuryo, or duro'ski.o.
 tsərgu.in *watchman* tsərguryo.
 dāman *owner* dāmaiyo.
 na'da'n *ignorant one* na'dariyo.
 yi'n *thief* yi'yo.
 yulēin *Rajah's cook* yulēiyo.
 Irregular is:
 o'šin *guest* o'šo.

- Perhaps o'šin is o'ši + -an (the suffix of singleness).
 The Shina singular is o'šo.
13. -o'go, -o'mo presents some difficulty. It appears to occur in all three classes h, x and y. In h I have found it with one exception, only in adjectives which may be used substantively:
 ēat *short, low* ēato'go.
 day (?) *stout* dayo'mo.
 yut *deaf* yuto'mo.
 tsōn, taun *slave* tsono'go, or tsono'mo.
 (For the interchangeability of ŋ and m v. § 8. h.)
14. -tiŋ the only plural suffix in h or x nouns ending in -ŋ. It is very common and is often found with obviously foreign words:
 dəru'ts *hunter* dəru'tatiŋ, and -išo.
 haji *Hajji* haji'tiŋ.
 muri'd *disciple* muri'dtiŋ.
 usta't *musician etc.* usta'tiŋ (with loss of -t).
 ya'ra'n *friend* ya'ra'ntiŋ and ya'raiyo.
 It occurs twice added to foreign plurals:
 pa'dā *king* pa'dā'ra'ntiŋ.
 pi'r *holy man* pi'r'ra'ntiŋ.
15. -tsəro occurs only with nouns denoting blood relations and with them is common.
 *-u'y *father* *-u'tsəro.
 *-mi *mother* *-mitsəro.
 *-ŋgo *uncle* *-ŋgutsəro.
 With the suppression of an s to avoid the combination -sta-
 *-ulus *woman's brother* *-alutsəro.
 *-yas *man's sister* *-yastsəro.
16. -u occurs in:
 *-j *son* *-yu.
 gas *princess* gasu.
 where it is probably distinct from -o; also in:
 ba'yark *evil* ba'yarku.

29. X Plural suffixes.

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

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

-ai, -do, -jo and uts.

The following are the x suffixes:

1. -ai is only recorded in:

| | | |
|-----|------|----------|
| buk | dog | hukai.i. |
| urk | wolf | urkai.i. |

2. -ants and allied forms in -nts:

| | | |
|-----|--------|----------|
| ut | camel | utants. |
| čur | knife | čurants. |
| baš | bridge | bašants. |

-i.ants occurs in:

| | | |
|--------|------|-----------------------------|
| həri:p | tune | həri:pi.ants həri:pants. |
|--------|------|-----------------------------|

-ants occurs in:

| | | |
|-----|------|----------|
| kaŋ | pool | kaŋants. |
|-----|------|----------|

and results from -i + -ants in:

| | | |
|-------|------------|-----------|
| gabi | reed, tube | gabants. |
| kurdi | shirt | kurdants. |
| mili | medicine | milants. |

-i.ants, -i.ents result from:

(1). -iš, -iš + -ants:

| | | |
|-----------|-----------------|----------------------------|
| *-amiš | finger | -ami.ants, -ents. |
| iriš | crest of spur | iri.ants, -ents and irišo. |
| pfəriš | duck | pfəri.ants. |
| pfultiŋiš | bellows | pfultiŋi.ants. |
| pfotarniš | brand (burning) | pfotarni.ants. |

(2). -uš + -ants:

| | | |
|--------|---------|-------------|
| burpuš | pumpkin | burpi.ants. |
|--------|---------|-------------|

(3). -kiš + -ants, as in h.

| | | |
|----------|-------|---------------|
| šepalkiš | sheep | šepalki.ants. |
|----------|-------|---------------|

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

-ants results from:

(1). -anč + -ants in:

| | | |
|--------|------|------------|
| gasanč | hawk | gaša.ants. |
|--------|------|------------|

(2). -š (š?) + -ants in:

| | | |
|--------|-------|-------------|
| sindiš | goose | sinda.ants. |
|--------|-------|-------------|

(3). -aš and -iš + -ants:

| | | |
|-------|---------------|------------|
| kawaš | leather bag | kawa.ants. |
| horiš | wooden shovel | hori.ants. |

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

| | | | | | |
|--------|------------|-------------|-------|---------|-----------------------|
| bai.yu | rock salt | baiyo.ants. | ɣalyu | insect | ɣalyo.ants. |
| dulu | thin rope | dulo.ants. | ɣamu | ice | ɣamo.ants, ɣamu.ants. |
| gayu | red-legged | gayo.ants. | ɣoku | goitre, | ɣuko.ants. |
| | partridge | | | gorge | |

but, ɣayu lame ɣayu.ants, ɣayumu.ants.

-wants results from:

(1). -š + -ants:

| | | |
|-------|-----------|------------|
| baloš | stone pot | balowants. |
|-------|-----------|------------|

(2). -šo + -ants:

| | | |
|---------|------|------------|
| bušo:šo | calf | bušowants. |
|---------|------|------------|

and also occurs in:

| | | |
|-------|---------|-----------------------|
| du | kid | duwants. |
| dau.o | griddle | dauwants, dau.umants. |

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

| | | |
|----------|-----------------|--------------|
| imekus | door-peg, rung | imekuyants. |
| yatoku's | upper millstone | yatokuyants. |
| yaroku's | lower millstone | yarokuyants. |

-uyants occurs in:

| | | |
|-------|----------|---------------------------|
| sarik | door-bar | sarikuyants and sarikišo, |
|-------|----------|---------------------------|

but sarikuyants probably belongs to another singular form, sarikus, which occurs in Nagiri and in Shima.

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

| | | |
|-------|----------------|--------------------------------------|
| bukak | beans | buk _h ki _{nts} . |
| ča | kind of millet | ča _i ints. |
| dader | scree | daderints. |

and probably in

| | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|
| b'u _a | corn | bu _{ents} (= a + -ints). |
| kin'e _{ints} kin'a | | stalks (of wheat etc), straw. |
| anomalous is | | |
| toq | cultivated land | toqai _{ints} toqants. |

(The suffixes -ints and -ai_{ints} are common in Nagiri v. § 481).

4. -do occurs only in:

| | | |
|------|---------|---------|
| burn | boulder | burndo. |
|------|---------|---------|

5. -i_{so}, -i_{so}, and -*so* is a common ending:

| | | |
|--------------------|---------|-------------------------------------|
| diščik | brick | diščiki _{so} . |
| čorak | carcase | čoraki _{so} . |
| ha _γ ur | horse | ha _γ uri _{so} . |

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

| | | |
|-------------------|------------|---------------------------------------|
| o _γ ur | wave | o _γ uri _{so} . |
| čam _{al} | small drum | čam _{al} so. |
| dir | bough | diri _{so} (= - <i>so</i> ?). |

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

| | | |
|---------------------|-------|---|
| bir _γ o | foal | bir _γ u _{so} . |
| dar _o γo | stick | dar _o γo _{so} , or dar _o γo _i so. |

Anomalous are:

| | | |
|---|---------------|---|
| baskar _{et} , baskar _{et} | ram | baskar _{et} so, baskar _{et} so. |
| čitar _i z | spark of fire | čitar _i zi _{so} (?). |

6. -jo occurs only in a few words:

| | | | | | |
|-----|--------|--------|-----|-----------------|--------|
| hai | fox | haijo. | tól | (cobbler's) awl | toljo. |
| tal | pigeon | taljo. | tól | snake | toljo. |
| tin | bone | tinjo. | | | |

7. -juko, -jukko. This suffix is used only with a few adjectives.

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

| | | | | | |
|----------|--------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------|----------|---------------------------|
| aki'l | like this, similar | aki'juko (adj.). | ju.an | like | ju.anjuko. |
| (han) | alike, identical | hanjuko (adj.). | šatir _o | powerful | šatir _o ljuko. |
| (bečuk) | of what sort | beljuko (adj.). | te.11 | such | te'ljuko |
| | double plural: | beljukuyo, beljuki _{ents} . | | | (adj.). |
| daldalum | broad | daldaljuko (adj.). | | | |

8. -ko is found in the following:

| | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| čar | cliff | čarko. |
| čič | ladder, pier | čičsko. |
| čič | mountain | čičsko. |
| pi _n č | stick for playing a game | pi _n čsko. |
| šar | branch | šarko. |

It occurs also in the plural of some adjectives:

| | | |
|------|-------|---|
| uyum | big | uyum _{sko} , and uyum _{sko} . |
| khut | short | khut _{sko} . |

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

| | | | | | |
|----------------------|-------|---|--------------------|---------------|------------------------|
| bi _{en} um | thin | bi _{en} iko, bi _{ai} iko. | ju.an | like, similar | juwai _{iko} . |
| čay _{an} um | stout | čayai _{iko} . | tha _{num} | high, tall | thai _{iko} . |
| γes _{an} um | long | γesai _{iko} . | giliginum | thin | gili _{ko} . |

(and gilinum?)

| | | |
|-------------------|-------|--|
| (but: čanum | tight | čanumi _{so} (x), čanumi _n (y). |
| lay _{an} | dumb | layai _o . |
| šon | blind | šonomo). |

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

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

| | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|------------|
| *-i _{so} | kidney | *-asumuts. |
| *-as | heart | *-asumuts. |
| bada | flying squirrel | badamuts. |

| | | |
|------|------|-------------------------|
| čumo | fish | čumomuts, or, čumumuts. |
| gisi | line | gisimuts. |

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

| | | |
|--------|-----|------------|
| *-lčin | eye | *-lčumuta. |
|--------|-----|------------|

Similarly -is is dropped in:

| | | |
|---------|------|-------------|
| *-yatis | head | *-yatumuta. |
|---------|------|-------------|

and -ij in:

| | | |
|--------------|---------------------|------------------------------|
| jukanj | <i>ie.c., privy</i> | jukamuts, jukačets, jukaiyo. |
| but: nironaŋ | <i>rainbow</i> | nironaŋmuts, nironaŋišo. |

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

| | | | | | |
|------|---------------|------------------|-----|------------|-------|
| iriš | crest of spur | irišo, irišants. | sal | mill-stone | salō. |
| gask | rope | gasko. | sar | hare | saro. |
| γask | with | γasko. | sar | thread | saro. |
| hor | ox, bull | horo. | | | |

and the adjective:

| | | |
|-----|------|-------|
| daŋ | hard | daŋo. |
|-----|------|-------|

it is added to a vowel in:

| | | |
|----|------|-----------------------|
| γa | crow | γaiyo (or, ga, gayu). |
|----|------|-----------------------|

b) -n + -o gives -yo. This is the usual plural for nouns in -n:

| | | | | | |
|-------|-------|----------|-------|--------|----------|
| butun | purse | buturyo. | *-γan | heel | *-γaryo. |
| čin | bird | čiryō. | jakun | donkey | jakuryo. |
| dan | stone | daiyo. | | | |

but: hun
 timber | hunants. |

| | | |
|-----|--------|----------|
| yan | handle | yanants. |
|-----|--------|----------|

and others.

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

| | | |
|-----------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| biltsunj | quadruped | biltsuryo. |
| jukanj | <i>ie.c., privy</i> | jukaiyo, jukačets, etc. |
| min'altin | pelvis | min'altiyo. |
| tin | egg has plur. | tiŋaiyo. |

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

d) -n + -o → -šo:

| | | | | | |
|--------|--------|----------|----------|-----------|------------|
| lčas | lamb | lčāšo. | bare's | artery | bare'so. |
| *-umus | tongue | *-numšo. | ho'lalas | butterfly | ho'lalāšo. |
| balas | bird | balāšo. | menis | sheep | menišo. |

In two cases we have -šo.

| | | |
|--------|--------|----------|
| girkis | rat | girkišo. |
| γarkas | lizard | γarkašo. |

anomalous is:

| | | |
|-----|-----------|----------------------------------|
| tis | grain pit | tiŋaiyo (also tiŋants, tiŋants). |
|-----|-----------|----------------------------------|

e) -is + -o → -šo:

| | | |
|-----------|---------------|-------------------|
| *-demuts | knee | *-dumušo. |
| yokurats | raven | γokurašo. |
| haγuts | mountain pass | haγušo, haγutašo. |
| qerqamuts | fowl | qerqamušo. |

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

| | | |
|-------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| bas (or y?) | ploughshare | bašoŋo. |
| bura | sheaf, bundle of grass | bušoŋo (bušoŋo). |
| bu's | cat | bušoŋo. |
| čar (or y?) | slice | čaroŋo. |
| γus | clod | γušoŋo, and γušo. |

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

| | | |
|--------|---------------------|------------|
| e'lgit | she-goat | e'lgitaro. |
| gūyalt | ladle | gūyaltaro. |
| žai it | he-goat (castrated) | žai.itaro. |

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

| | | |
|------|--------------------|------------------|
| gas | thick thread, yarn | gasu. |
| pfut | demon | pfuta, pfutants. |

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

| | | |
|--------|---------------------|------------|
| čilim | tobacco pipe | čilimuts. |
| *-đim | body, person | *-đimuts. |
| hanik | large wooden vessel | hanikuts. |
| šapik | bread, food | šapikuts. |
| yai.iŋ | will | yai.iŋuts. |

The only animal name taking this suffix is:

| | | |
|-----------|-----|--------------------|
| ku'k, xuk | pig | ku'kuts, and -ižo. |
|-----------|-----|--------------------|

15. -xe < ts + -ε occurs only in:

| | | |
|-------|-------|---------|
| hurts | arrow | hurtxe. |
|-------|-------|---------|

30. It will be noticed that no principal type of suffix is used exclusively for animate beings or for inanimate objects. Only the plurals burdo and hurtxe have no parallel in names of animals. As far as pure nouns are concerned -ko is limited to names of inanimate objects, but it occurs in the plurals of adjectives with reference to nouns of all three classes.

31. Y Plural suffixes.

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

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

32. The following are the y plural suffixes:

I. -y added to words ending in a vowel:

| | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|---------|------------|---------------|----------|
| bada | sole of foot | badaŋ. | hurgo | ascent | hurgoŋ. |
| baldā | load | baldāŋ. | yareki | under-bedding | yarekiŋ. |
| gatu | cloth | gatuŋ. | yarekimiŋ, | yarekičiŋ. | |

2. -aŋ.

| | | | | | |
|--------|------------|-----------|----------|---------|-------------|
| hišk | comb, loom | hiškaŋ. | *-multur | nostril | *-multuraŋ. |
| *-melč | jaw | *-melčaŋ. | tišk | dagger | tiškaŋ. |

3. -i.aŋ occurs in the following:

| | | | | | |
|------|-----------------|-----------------------|--------|------|---------------------|
| bu'l | spring of water | bu'li.aŋ. | *-laur | horn | *-lauri.aŋ (-i.aŋ). |
| burr | single hair | burri.aŋ, and burraŋ. | tur | horn | turri.aŋ (-aŋ). |
| čot | storehouse | čoti.aŋ. | | | |

4. -eŋ occurs in the following:

| | | | | |
|-----|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| (1) | bač-eŋ | fissure in ice. | hur-t-eŋ | revetting wall. |
| | similarly: bal-eŋ | wall. | xat-eŋ | letter. |
| | bat-eŋ | shale. | mal-eŋ | field. |
| | darta-eŋ | threshing floor. | mort-eŋ (and -iŋ) | earth cliff. |
| | gal-eŋ | suspension bridge. | to'm-e | tree. |
| | gan-eŋ (usually -iŋ) | road. | wat-eŋ | rind, bark. |
| | gu'k-eŋ | mortising chisel. | wat-eŋ | ploughing. |
| | gut-eŋ | tent. | | |

(2). results from -i + -aŋ.

| | | | | | |
|------|-----------|--------|------|-------------|--------|
| basi | garden | basen. | hali | birch bark | halen. |
| dari | window | daren. | qači | scissors | qačen. |
| gasi | pine tree | gasen. | tili | walnut tree | tilen. |

5. -iŋ very common: E.g.

| | | | | | |
|--------|-----------|-----------|--------|------------|-----------|
| astam | judgement | astamiŋ. | bərpit | strap | bərpitiŋ. |
| *-akat | flank | *-akatiŋ. | tal | birch tree | taliŋ. |

Final -ε is elided in:

| | | |
|------|-----|--------------------|
| žame | low | žamiŋ, (and, -eŋ). |
|------|-----|--------------------|

6. -ai.iŋ:

- (1). occurs independently in:
hiŋ (cp. tiŋ — tiŋaiyo) door hiŋai.iŋ.
- (2). results from -a + -iŋ in:
huma ford humai.iŋ.
- (3). results from -an + -iŋ in:
čapan robe čapai.iŋ v. § 33. 1.

7. -oŋ:

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-------|---------|-----|---------|--------|
| (1). balk | plank | balkoŋ. | tap | leaflet | tapoŋ. |
|-----------|-------|---------|-----|---------|--------|

(2). results from -u + -aŋ. E.g.

| | | |
|-----------------|--------------|---------|
| baru | buckcheat | boroŋ. |
| dayu (or, daŋo) | gum | daŋoŋ. |
| ju | apricot tree | joŋ. |
| murəmu | file | murmoŋ. |
| *-tsu | track | *-tsoŋ. |

(3). results from -o + -aŋ?

| | | |
|-------|--------|---------|
| hurgo | ascent | hurgoŋ. |
|-------|--------|---------|

Cp. supra under 1. -ŋ.

8. -ičaŋ, -čaŋ, fairly common:

| | | | | | |
|-------|---------|---------------------------|-------|--------|------------|
| bap | tribute | bapičaŋ. | pfask | harrow | pfaskičaŋ. |
| bəl | shovel | bəlčaŋ. | tark | byre | tarkičaŋ. |
| čap | meat | čapičaŋ (also -miŋ, -iŋ). | tsak | sluice | tsakičaŋ. |
| galgi | icing | galgičaŋ. | | | |

9. -ičiŋ, -čiŋ, common:

| | | | | | |
|--------|------------|-------------|--------|------------------|-------------|
| bo | seed grain | bo-ičiŋ. | *-ŋgi | beard | *-ŋgičiŋ. |
| ge | snow | gečiŋ. | pfak | fig tree | pfak-ičiŋ. |
| jurab | sock | jurab-ičiŋ. | pfilam | pattoo, homespun | pfilamičiŋ. |
| xamali | thin bread | xamaličiŋ. | *-riŋ | hand | *-riŋčiŋ. |

10. -jō, -juŋ occurs only in:

| | | |
|-----|--------------|-----------------|
| gal | juniper tree | galjō, galjuŋ. |
| gal | bridge | galjuŋ & galen. |

11. -kičaŋ occurs only in:

| | | |
|----|-------|-------------------------------|
| ha | house | ha'kičaŋ (← ha + ik + ičaŋ?). |
|----|-------|-------------------------------|

12. -kiŋ occurs only in:

| | | |
|-----|--------|---------|
| ber | nullah | berkiŋ. |
|-----|--------|---------|

13. -mičiŋ occurs in the following:

| | | | | | |
|-------|----------------|--------------|-------|------------|------------------------|
| bi.ai | disease | bi.ai.mičiŋ. | ji | life, soul | jimičiŋ (and -miŋ). |
| bu.i | shovel | bu.mičiŋ. | le.i | loop-hole | le.mičiŋ. |
| bu.i | shoulder-blade | bu.mičiŋ. | lii.o | violet | lii.omičiŋ (and -miŋ). |
| bošai | land | bošai.mičiŋ. | | | |

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

| | | | | | |
|------|------|----------|------|-----------|----------|
| bada | pace | badamīŋ. | čayā | narrative | čayamiŋ. |
|------|------|----------|------|-----------|----------|

| | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|---------------------|-------|----------------|----------|
| čap | meat | čapmiŋ, -iŋ, -ičaŋ. | pi'ni | lower leg | pinimiŋ. |
| das | waste ground | dammiŋ. | šc | wool | šcimiŋ. |
| den | year | denmiŋ, deniŋ. | ter | grazing ground | termiŋ. |
| dis | place | dišmiŋ. | tsil | water | tsilmiŋ. |
| gaš | price | gašmiŋ. | | | |

A connecting vowel is inserted in:

| | | |
|-----|-------|----------|
| lik | bribe | likimiŋ. |
| muč | fist | mučumiŋ. |

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

| | | | | | |
|-----|----------------------|-----------|------|-------------|------------|
| ban | thing for tying with | ban'o'mo. | ču | ear of corn | č'oŋo. |
| bas | probably x, plough- | bas'oŋo. | pfal | a grain | pfal'oŋo. |
| | share | | | | pfal'o'mo. |
| bat | skin | bat'oŋo. | | | pfal'umo. |

16. -tiŋ occurs only in:

| | | |
|-------|-------|-----------|
| ba'go | share | ba'gotiŋ. |
|-------|-------|-----------|

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

1. Final -an + -iŋ > -ai.iŋ:

| | | | | | |
|--------|-------|------------|-------|------|-----------|
| čapan | robe | čapai.iŋ. | šoran | ruin | šorai.iŋ. |
| haiyan | token | haiyai.iŋ. | tawan | fine | tawai.iŋ. |
| multan | blood | multai.iŋ. | | | |

but:

| | | |
|--------|------------|-----------|
| tiskan | earthquake | tiskaniŋ. |
|--------|------------|-----------|

and with other vowels:

| | | |
|----------|-------|----------------|
| den | year | deniŋ, denmiŋ. |
| halimo'n | wager | halimo'n'iŋ. |
| nišar'n | sign | nišar'niŋ. |

2. Final -in + -miŋ > imiŋ in:

| | | |
|---------|-------|-----------|
| *-ak'in | liver | *-akimiŋ. |
| bats'in | thigh | batsimiŋ. |

3. Final -anč, -enč + -an > -aŋ:

| | | | | | |
|------------|---------------|---------|--------|-------|--------|
| biranč | mulberry tree | bir'aŋ. | manč | ades | maŋ. |
| ganč (-š?) | spindle | gaŋ. | γatenč | sword | γataŋ. |
| horanč | pitch fork | hor'aŋ. | | | |

4. Final $-in\ddot{e} + -a\ddot{y} \rightarrow -i.e\ddot{y}$:
 bakin \ddot{e} razor baki.e \ddot{y} .
5. Final $-a + \text{vowel} \rightarrow -\ddot{e}$:
 gupas cotton gupa \ddot{e} thamus preparatory thamu \ddot{e} ,
 lakpi's handkerchief lakpi \ddot{e} , ploughing
 mo's mud food mo \ddot{e} , *-tatas palm of the *-tata \ddot{e} ,
 pforpus basin pforpu \ddot{e} , hand
 but:
 kartus cartridge kartu \ddot{e} ,
 turs grave tu \ddot{e} .
6. Final $-is$ is dropped in:
 *-utis fool *-uti \ddot{e} .
7. Final \ddot{e} and \ddot{e} disappear, it seems, when followed by $-a\ddot{y}$, but remain when followed by $-i\ddot{y}$ and $-mi\ddot{y}$:
 birki \ddot{e} treasury birki \ddot{e} , teru \ddot{e} ,
 čipupuš whirlwind čipupe \ddot{e} , te \ddot{e} oath te \ddot{e} ,
 gaš price gašmi \ddot{e} , tiš iron ploughshare tiš \ddot{e} ,
 ho'guš battle ho'gu \ddot{e} , tiš wind tišmi \ddot{e} ,
 i'lmeš edge i'lme \ddot{e} .
- Final $-a\ddot{e} + -a\ddot{y} (?) \rightarrow -a\ddot{e}$:
 čaš thorn ča \ddot{e} ,
 yuraš excrement yura \ddot{e} .
- Final $-\ddot{e} + -a\ddot{y} \rightarrow -r$ in:
 birki \ddot{e} treasury birki \ddot{e} and birki \ddot{e} ,
 maltaš ghee malta \ddot{e} , (but also, maltari \ddot{e}),
 It is dropped in: lumps of ghee.
 biser \ddot{e} sickle bise \ddot{e} .
- Final $-e\ddot{e}$ or $-e\ddot{e} + -a\ddot{y}$:
 me \ddot{e} (§?) seedling me \ddot{e} ,
 me \ddot{e} skin bag for grain me \ddot{e} and me \ddot{e} .
- Final $-i\ddot{e}$, $-u\ddot{e}$ (probably §?) $+ -a\ddot{y} \rightarrow -i.a\ddot{y}$, $-i.e\ddot{y}$:
 *-čonjuš beak *-čonji.a \ddot{y} , tariš hole tari.a \ddot{y} ,
 ge \ddot{e} smaller leather bag ge \ddot{e} , wariš lid, cover wari.a \ddot{y} ,
 *-moqtš cheek *-moqi.a \ddot{y} , yulgiš nest, sheath yulgi.a \ddot{y} ,
 tališ swaddling clothes tali.a \ddot{y} .

Final $-i\ddot{e}$ (probably §?) $+ -a\ddot{y} \rightarrow -a\ddot{y}$:

| | | |
|----------------|----------|---------------------------------------|
| yanš | gold | yan \ddot{e} (V. § 45.) |
| teariš | doorpost | teara \ddot{e} (doorframe). |
| tsiriš, tsiriš | roll | tsira \ddot{e} , tsira \ddot{e} . |

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

A noun may occur:

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

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

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

Xuda God

and of course proper names in general.

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

| | | | |
|---------------------|--------|-----------------|---------------|
| sa | sun. | šadu \ddot{e} | nitre. |
| balants (pl. form?) | moon. | šak | nap of cloth. |
| mu \ddot{e} | gruel. | zaxira | supplies. |

As will be seen later, one would expect plural forms of nouns denoting substances of which one can have relatively small and large quantities to indicate the latter.

In the y category, abstract nouns do not usually occur in the plural.

Names of liquids, and of plastic or vaporous substances are normally singular, and of a number I have no plural forms. Such are:

| | | | |
|----------|--------|----------|----------|
| baṅ | resin. | pfur̄nts | dew. |
| del | oil. | qai.l | soup. |
| hur̄oṽo | sweat. | str̄qa | vinegar. |
| ḷol | pus. | taṽay | mud. |
| xur̄on̄e | mist. | maḷi | honey. |
| haq | steam. | | |

But many nouns of this description are capable of taking plural forms to indicate (I think) relatively large quantities e.g.

| | | | |
|---------|-------------|-------|---------|
| tsil | water. | mel | wine. |
| mamu | milk. | tas | smoke. |
| dilt̄ar | buttermilk. | maska | butter. |

Cp. also § 45.

The fact that comes to light, therefore, is not that names of liquids necessarily lack plurals, but that, liquids *start* by being singular.

Names of metals, as might be expected, are singular, but:

ṽen̄ā gold has the plural ṽen̄aṅ.

36. Nouns plural in force and singular in form.

The following may be treated as plurals:

| | | | | |
|-------------------|--|-------------|--------|---------------------|
| <i>h</i> category | ho'l | army. | | |
| | ro'm | tribe. | | |
| | giraṅ | community. | | |
| <i>x</i> category | hanḷil | charcoal. | ṽaṽor | kind of weed. |
| | ma'ruē | pepper. | bu'kak | beans. |
| | pfamul | fruit. | gark | peas. |
| | muka | small shot. | girgir | pulse, "dāl masūr." |
| <i>y</i> category | A number of names of granular and composite substances. Many of these, however, have also super-plurals i. e. forms with a plural suffix, V. § 41: | | | |

| | | | |
|-------------|-------------|-------|-------------------|
| bo | seed grain. | sa.o | sand. |
| bras | rice. | ṽakar | granular sugar. |
| ge | snow. | gu'r | wheat. |
| pfalo | grain. | | |
| Others are: | | | |
| biṽke | fur. | ho i | green vegetables. |
| dilk | manure. | port | bran. |
| ṽul | chaff. | salat | moustache. |

37. Nouns plural in force & plural in form.

| | | | |
|-------------------|-------------|--------------------|------------------------------|
| <i>h</i> category | n̄il. | | |
| <i>x</i> category | ainakuts | eyeglasses. | *-pint̄o hair. |
| | ḷapl̄imuts | sandals. | hu'čo (?) (a pair of) boots, |
| | ḷum̄oṽo (?) | kind of cake. | "pabboos." |
| | hi.o (?) | hail. | *-Ita'nts eyebrow. |
| | | | ta'rumuts mumps. |
| <i>y</i> category | *-aṽḷiṽ | small of the back. | me'ṽeṽ snowstorm. |
| | ḷemliṽ | poison. | mili.ṽṽ gunpowder. |
| | *-ḷokuraṽ | forelock. | pfetiṽ ashes. |
| | ḷaṽo'aṽ | flour. | pfimiṽ foam. |
| | ḷṽpuraṽ | mane. | ta'baṽ bridle. |
| | gupa'ltiṽ | trousers. | t̄ili.ṽṽ saddle. |
| | ṽoṽaṽ | hair. | *-waṽkiḷiṽ gums. |

38. Nouns used in the Singular and Plural with singular form.

| | | |
|-------------------|------------------------------|-------------|
| <i>h</i> category | sis | person. |
| | | people. |
| | jam | relation. |
| | | relations. |
| | kuyo-ē | population. |
| | | subjects. |
| <i>x</i> category | a) the names of most fruits. | E.g. |
| | ba'lt | apple. |
| | | apples. |

| | |
|--------|--|
| biranē | <i>mulberry.</i> <i>mulberries.</i> |
| ju | <i>apricot.</i> <i>apricots.</i> |

In these and many similar cases the same word is used to name the tree, but it is then a *y* noun and takes a distinctive plural form:

| | | |
|--------|----------------------|----------|
| ba'lt | <i>apple-tree</i> | ba'ltiñ. |
| biranē | <i>mulberry-tree</i> | biranñ. |
| ju | <i>apricot-tree</i> | joñ. |

b) the names of some animals:

| | | | |
|------|-----------------------------|---------|---------------------------------|
| bu'm | sg. and pl. <i>markhor.</i> | huy'e's | sg. and pl. <i>sheep, goat.</i> |
| giri | <i>ibex.</i> | girgir | <i>female mallowd.</i> |
| bula | <i>ram chikor.</i> | tsi'r | <i>she-goat.</i> |

c) a few miscellaneous words:

| | | | |
|----------|---------------------------|---------|----------------------------|
| dādar | sg. and pl. <i>scree.</i> | γāš'i'l | sg. and pl. <i>sticks.</i> |
| du'stsak | <i>kitchen utensils.</i> | *-mē | <i>tooth.</i> |
| gork | <i>peas.</i> | | |

| | | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------|------|---------------------------|
| <i>y</i> category ge | sg. and pl. <i>snow.</i> | tī'k | sg. and pl. <i>earth.</i> |
| č'vi | <i>tea.</i> | tu'k | <i>short period</i> |
| du'stsak | <i>miscellaneous</i> | | <i>of time.</i> |
| | <i>"things."</i> | | |

39. We have seen that many singular nouns are used with the powers of plurals, e.g. they take the verb in the plural. Whether nouns bearing plural forms are ever used with the powers of singulars is less certain. Some nouns used as singulars have endings of the form of plural suffixes, but this may be merely due to coincidence:

| | | |
|-----------|---------|---------------------------------------|
| Such are: | halauts | <i>moon.</i> |
| | pfauts | sg. and pl. <i>cockscomb.</i> |
| | pfu'nts | <i>deer.</i> |
| | tarko'ñ | sg. and pl. <i>feathers of arrow.</i> |

40. As I have already said the above data are not to be pressed too hard to supply detailed conclusions. It is more than probable that forms can be found of which I am ignorant. They do, however,

I think, provide a fair view of the general trend of the language in regard to matters of number and we may safely accept a few general ideas which they suggest. These general ideas will also facilitate the examination of the uses of the suffixes of individuality and multiple unity: -an and -ik and of the employment of Double Plurals. Words denoting:

- i. Liquids, vapours and plastic substances are essentially singular but may be given plural forms.
- ii. Communal bodies are plural, or may be treated as such.
- iii. Coarsely composite substances are essentially plural and are plural in force. They are singular in form but some may further be given plural suffixes.
- iv. Finely granular and composite substances and some composite objects are plural in force and are either singular or plural in form. In the former case some are liable to have secondary plural forms.
- v. Fruit and some animals have the same form for singular and plural and it is difficult in some cases to say which is to be regarded as the primary conception.

41. Super-Plurals and Double Plurals.

Some nouns of singular form, already producing plural reactions may be further given plural suffixes; it is convenient to call these forms "super-plurals." Cp. § 36.

There are also a few nouns, plural in form, which may take a second plural suffix and so become "double plurals."

The general effect of Super-Plurals is to indicate relatively large quantities. They are commonest in nouns denoting cereals. So:

| | | | | | |
|------|--------------|---------------|-------|------------|---------------------|
| bras | brasiñ, -miñ | <i>rice.</i> | hari | herañ | <i>barley.</i> |
| gork | gorkents | <i>peas.</i> | makai | makai'ents | <i>Indian corn.</i> |
| gur | guriñ, -eñ | <i>wheat.</i> | pfalo | pfalo'ñ | <i>grain.</i> |

Other analogous examples are:

| | | | | | |
|-------|-----------|----------------|-------|----------|-------------------|
| ba'lt | ba'lti'so | <i>apples.</i> | biške | biškemiñ | <i>fur, hair.</i> |
| hani | hanents | <i>kernel.</i> | ge | ge'ñ | <i>snow.</i> |

ye.iŋ ye.iŋčiŋ *grapes*. dər'sak dər'sakčiŋ *miscellaneous articles*.
dader daderints, -so *scree*.

In cases like ge gecičiŋ; dille dillečiŋ.

I am not sure that there may not be some change of meaning, e.g. snow — snowdrifts; manure — dung-hills.

Note also: giram giramičiŋ *communities*.

Double Plurals.

In words like:

hučo hučomuts *pabboos (boots), pairs of pabboos*.

gupaltičiŋ gupaltičičiŋ *trousers, pairs of trousers*.

the function of the double plural is obvious, and if you consider "saddle" as plural a double plural is a convenience, hence:

tiličičiŋ tiličičičiŋ *saddle, saddles*.

There is an extension of meaning in:

tsəriš (sg.) *one part of door-frame*.

tsoray (pl.) *complete door-frame (posts, lintel, sill)*.

tsorayčiŋ (2-pl.) *door frames*.

See also § 28. 14 -tiŋ.

42. In Burushaski the singular of a noun is occasionally used where the conception is obviously plural. Thus: den, *year* with a numeral, instead of deničiŋ:

to'rimi den xu *for ten years*.

to'rimi denulo *in ten years*.

milčiner daltas yetam *in our eye we had seen him handsome*
= *he appeared handsome to our eyes*.

mi milčine yetsuman *we saw with our eye(s)*.

Cp. also § 128. III.

43. The Suffix -an.

The suffix -an, -en, which is probably to be identified with the -an of han *one*, is added in general to singular forms of nouns and noun-equivalents and may carry the ordinary case-endings and post-positions. When added to a word ending in -o a w-glide is commonly developed. The following are its principal uses:

1. In general it is used to isolate a single unit, laying stress on its individuality. It corresponds in force to the English "indefinite article." Its use is not obligatory. Examples:

sačo daro'wan bila *it is an easy business*.

but also

but dom duro bila *it is a very difficult business*.

w'ge ta'pan šura bila *your arrangement is a good one*.

matan bušai.enor *to a distant country*.

yai.ičenulo *in a mill*.

gushamo *of a woman*.

belisantsun *from a sheep*.

mul'yeŋ dimanimi *a son of hers was born*.

i. e. *a son was born to her*.

imo iyeŋ niyeŋ *taking a son of his with him*.

imo šadoranor qau ne *calling to a servant of his*.

2. It is used to reinforce the word han *one* etc. Here again its use is optional:

han duro'wan *an affair*.

han guntsanulo *one day*.

hin peri.enmu gane *for a fairy*.

hin but daltas hilesan *a very handsome boy*.

han tsirane du'an *a goat's kid (one kid of a goat)*.

but,

ko's bi ke han belis *this is just one sheep*.

X . . e hin i bam *X had one son*.

3. It is occasionally used with a noun which is made definite by the accompaniment of a demonstrative adjective:

ko't ta'ayan *this mud (referring to a small quantity)*.

e's haiwa'n'an *that (one) animal*.

guse han balasan han iset seibi *this (one) bird says to that one*.

kin giya'sanor izzat etuma *you paid respect to this (one)*

small child.

e's haiwa'n'an simulo ke niyačam *I won't get that (one) animal anywhere*.

4. It is used with adjectives employed substantivally, with or without *han*, and with adjectives used predicatively. In the latter case the adjective may equally be regarded as a noun-equivalent: *it is black* = *it is a black one*. It is not attached to an adjective used attributively, but is appended to the noun.

| | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| esetsum uyuman dotsum | <i>you have sent a bigger one than it.</i> |
| šatihran bam | <i>he was powerful.</i> |
| ise juwanan . . . bi | <i>there is one like it.</i> |
| han matuman bi, han buruman bi | <i>one is black, one is white.</i> |
| guse hayur jotan bim | <i>this horse was small.</i> |
| ja wu aqalkiran ba | <i>you are my sensible fellow.</i> |
| ime yatsar borenin uyuman ba | <i>look at his head, it is big.</i> |
| besan yunikiran | <i>some evil thing.</i> |

5. It has the force of a singular suffix when used with a noun or pronoun, of which the form is not definitely plural, but which is habitually, or at least frequently, used with plural force:

| | | | |
|------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|---|
| du'stsakan | <i>an implement.</i> | du'stsak | <i>implements.</i> |
| sisan | <i>a person.</i> | sis | <i>person, people.</i> |
| bal'tan | <i>an apple.</i> | bal't ag. and pl. | <i>apples.</i> |
| | | bal'tiso | |
| han qhi'en | <i>a pebble.</i> | qhi:s | <i>pebbles, gravel.</i> |
| hin jam'an | <i>a relation.</i> | jam | <i>relations.</i> |
| gerken | <i>a pea.</i> | gork | <i>peas.</i> |
| Tarakutsan | <i>a man of the Tarakuts.</i> | Tarakuts | <i>the people of the T. clan.</i> |
| merhan | <i>who?, anyone</i> | men | <i>who? (pl.), any people, some people.</i> |

| | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| hir' aminan jam'atane | <i>some relation of the man's.</i> |
| uy merhan ba? | <i>who are you?</i> |
| uy juwanan merhan kuli apai | <i>there is no one like you.</i> |
| merhan hirane imo a'tan yu | <i>some man's own two sons.</i> |
| han huyesan | <i>a goat, sheep; huyes small cattle, alta huyes two goats.</i> |

The *-an* of *besan anything* etc. appears also to be this suffix. Note also:

| | |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| berum kutsan nimi | <i>some days passed.</i> |
| berum denantsum | <i>after some years.</i> |
| torimi swatanor asir | <i>close on 10 o'clock,</i> |

where *kuts* and *den* have undoubtedly a plural significance.

6. It appears in Quantitative Adjectives and Pronouns, and is used with nouns denoting quantity and measure whether figuring as nouns or adjectives:

| | |
|------------|------------|
| akurum(an) | kirum(an). |
| torum(an) | terum(an). |
| | berum(an). |

beruman guntsiy nimi *a certain number of days passed.*

Occasionally the *-an* is transferred from *berum* to the accompanying noun, see the illustrations at the end of subparagraph 5 just above, and see also § 170.

hinuman, hanuman alone

seem to be a parallel formation to *beruman*.

kaman } *a little, a small quantity.*

pyuwan }

torim čuqan gur

10 measures of wheat.

čutan tsil

a little water, a drop of water.

lukan šapik

a little bread.

yentš xoran isčimi

he gave me a "xor" of gold.

kaman sis C. . . e ka manuman

a few people accompanied C.

7. It is used as a suffix with numerals (except "one"). It may apparently be used with any cardinal number, whether used adjectivally with a plural noun, or pronominally.

It occurs regularly in the *h* forms of the numerals *two* and *three*. The significance is similar to that of the English "couple of," "triolet," "quintet" etc. v. §§ 201, 203.

| | |
|-------------------|---|
| ime isken yu bam | <i>he had three ("a trio" of) sons.</i> |
| a'tan bitaiyo bam | <i>there were a couple of "bitans".</i> |
| men a'tan | <i>any two people.</i> |

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| alteran šaderšn | a score of servants, 20 servants. |
| guyumo a'ltan isken goyerumišo guya | your own two or 3 beloved sons. |
| wa'ito tsundowan diltariy | 4 or 5 (dishes of) buttermilk. |
| turmatundowan mariy sis | (a batch of) 15 superior men. |
| a'ltulanmo | in a couple of days. |

but,

| | |
|----------------|-----------------|
| a'ltā huyts | two goats. |
| a'ltā iškumets | two young ones. |

8. It is used with certain parts of verbs used substantivally, viz. The Infinitive Form used as Noun Agent v. § 393. 1.

The Infinitive Form used as p. pc. pass. v. §§ 394 and 395.

9. When two nouns are placed in juxtaposition as alternatives the suffix may be added to the second only:

| | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| huyts bur'an mazarete dursi ke | if a goat or cow climb on to the grave. |
| mirškar-tariy talo altambur'an | seven or eight huntsmen. |

It may here be remarked that there are two other -an suffixes which it is difficult to connect semantically with this one:

- an appears as the termination of certain verbal forms, e.g. in the plural of the Preterite and Future tenses.
- a suffix -an is added sometimes to the Static pc. when the sense is definite, not indefinite. Examples will be found in §§ 377 c, 379 b & c, 389 b and 390.

44. The Suffix -ik.

The suffix -ik is added to plural forms of nouns or noun-equivalents, or to forms not specifically plural but having a plural significance. I have met with only two or three instances where it bears case-inflection, viz.,

meniknər, meniktsum, o'talike and one or two other trans. nom.s.

1. When used with nouns in the plural it seems to have the effect of representing a number of individuals as an entity i.e. a collection or group.

It may be rendered by English *some, a party of, a number of, a quantity of*:

| | |
|---------------------|----------------------------------|
| balašuvik šal tti e | some birds were quarrelling. |
| pštimutsik | some cakes of bread, some bread. |
| gušinentaik | (a party of) women. |
| hikum gušinentaik } | |
| hirik | the (body of) men. |
| urkai.ik | (some) wolves, a pack of wolves. |

Hamačartine ke uyuvik Ultarər o'ram
the Hamačartiy too had sent their sons to Ultar.

| | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------------|
| hikum o'šo.ik duman | a party of guests arrived. |
| taljik (taljo + -ik) | some pigeons. |
| (guyurə) u.ikičijik o's | give (your sons) names. |
| baru.e giyalinik | some (cakes of) buckwheat bread. |

2. With plurals of adjectives used as nouns, it seems principally to reinforce the plural; but there is perhaps always an underlying collective sense.

but aqolkiyentsik nama'n Pañburər bareniñ
you, going very prudently, have a look at P.
ime ure yur but mariček (-ik?) bam
those sons of his were a fine lot.

| | |
|----------------|----------------|
| yuni.ki.entsik | evil persons. |
| gakačimutsik | stammerers. |
| dayai.rku.ik | stout persons. |
| lašumutsik | gluttons. |

3. Its most important use is to mark the plural of nouns and pronouns which have no special form for the plural. In such cases the singular may be distinguished by the suffix -an.

| | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| sis | person, people. |
| sisan | a person. sisik people. |
| sisike tsak fatay etarn | some people have opened the sluice. |
| gala sg. pl. | herd. galai.ik herds. |
| mu'k sg. pl. | pearl. mukik pearls. |

Under this heading comes its use with the Interrogative and Indefinite Pronoun men = *who?, some people, any people.*

men (usually if not always plural).
 menan singular menik reinforced plural.
 ekha menen ke sisan apam there was nobody with him.
 ku menik barn? who are these people?
 (for further examples of menik see under Pronouns, §§ 148. 1, 151, 160).

The following may probably be reckoned as further examples:

| | | |
|---------|--------|--------------------|
| pfalo | grain | pfalo'k, pfalo.ik. |
| janawar | animal | janawarik. |
| jan'dar | animal | jan'darik. |

It is perhaps also to be seen in the pl. of ha, house, ha'kičan.

4. The following curious combinations may be noted:

| | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| a'tan sisik | a couple of persons. |
| menik sisik duwan? | what people have come? |
| also: *-altalik or *-altik | both. |
| meltalik ice two, ice both | o'talik, o'tik they two, they both. |

which is obviously based on a'to two.

Omitting sisik, menik, and *-altalik, which are very fairly common, forms with -ik are, in my experience, of comparatively rare occurrence.

45. It has already been mentioned that the plural appears to be used sometimes to express the idea of relatively large quantity, and there are other indications tending to show that in Burushaski "number" covers the conception of quantity, little or much, as well as of actual number — one or more than one — and that the suffixes -an and -ik may be used to denote the isolation of a certain quantity. Thus we have:

| | | |
|---------|-----|---|
| yenis | sg. | gold, gold in general. |
| yenay | pl. | gold in quantity regarded as large. |
| yenisan | sg. | a quantity of gold where stress is not laid on the largeness of the quantity. |
| yenmik | pl. | a quantity of gold regarded as large. |
| tsil | sg. | water in general. |
| tsilniq | pl. | ? |

| | | |
|--------------|-----|---|
| tsilan | sg. | a small quantity of water. |
| tsilan miyan | | I'll drink (a little) water. |
| tayay | sg. | mud (for building etc.) in general. |
| | | (There is probably a plural, but it has not been recorded). |
| tayayan | sg. | a quantity of mud (the context indicating that it is a small quantity). |
| hara'it | sg. | rain. |
| hara'tan | sg. | a shower, rain on a specific occasion. |
| hara'tiq | pl. | rains, repeated rain. |

It is necessary, however, to state that the English renderings here given are somewhat conjectural. It is perhaps of significance that all the above are y nouns.

46. Case.

a) The relation of nouns to other words and the part they play in the sentence, are indicated in Burushaski principally by suffixes and postpositions.

By "suffixes" I mean elements which only appear added to other words and which have no independent existence. They are attached as a rule directly to the simplest form of the noun.

By "postpositions" I mean words which are capable of being used independently, and which in fact appear to be in origin adverbs or nouns. The nouns to which they are subjoined appear most frequently in an oblique case.

It is not possible, however, in practice to adhere rigidly to these definitions. I include -ulo among the suffixes, though it occurs independently as an adverb, and is also occasionally associated with a noun in an oblique case; on the other hand I treat gane as a postposition although it is not used independently.

Some postpositions again appear to be used with uninflected forms of nouns, and where the noun is in the ablative it is possible to regard the postposition as an adverb.

In some cases the noun is represented by a pronominal

prefix attached to the postposition, and the relations between the noun, the pronominal prefix and postposition are difficult to analyse.

From the above it will have become apparent that there is in Burushaski no sharply-defined category of postpositions corresponding to the prepositions of, say, Latin. It remains, however, convenient as a practical expedient to group the facts of the relationships of the Burushaski noun as they are expressed by suffixes and by postposition-equivalents.

- b) It seems probable that there are in Burushaski two grades of suffix: viz. a primary suffix -e, and a secondary series with more specific values. If this be so, the primary inflection of the noun may be stated as follows.

| | | | |
|---|--------------------------|---------|------------|
| HM X and Y Nouns. | | sg. | pl. |
| Nom., Voc., Acc. | simple form of noun e.g. | hile's | hile'so. |
| Transitive Nom. and Agential Nominative + -e | | hile'se | hile'su.e. |
| General Oblique (including Gen. and other uses) | nominative + -e | hile'se | hile'su.e. |

| | | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------|-------------|
| HF Nouns. | | sg. | pl. |
| Nom., Voc., Acc. | simple form of noun | gus | gušiqants. |
| Trans. Nom. Agential Nominative + -e | | guse | gušiqantse. |
| General Oblique | sg. Nom. + -mo (-mu-, -mv-) | gusmo. | |
| (Gen. etc.) | pl. Nom. + -e | | gušiqantse. |

NOTE.

There seem also to be traces of a Genitive in -o. The following examples are too numerous to be all explained as accidental mis-hearings:

| | |
|------------------|--------------------------------|
| Xudayo quderat | <i>God's power.</i> |
| Hor Yur'lo padša | <i>the king of Hor Yul.</i> |
| e'cu o mazaretar | <i>to his brother's grave.</i> |
| mamu.o pfəri | <i>the pond of milk.</i> |

| | |
|-----------------------|--|
| Kuli.o Laskir | <i>Laskir son of Kuli(?)</i> |
| Karamo Dorbe's | <i>Dorbe's son of Karam(?)</i> |
| thamo tamum | <i>from the Tham's palace.</i> |
| thamo ginarni | <i>the Tham's "ginarni".</i> |
| utaqo bap | <i>the tax of "utaq".</i> |
| wal'ti giramo uyo'qko | <i>the headmen of the 4 communities.</i> |
| hu.oo bat | <i>sheep's skin.</i> |
| šar'mo šapik | <i>evening food.</i> |

(perhaps for šar'mamo cp. forms in -mo § 64. III).

Here -o may be a general oblique ending, cp. the -o in ulo and -ulo beside the simple form in ul ne *inside*, (and Werchiwar -ule). V. also meniko § 151.

47. The other suffixes are:

| | |
|----------------|---|
| -ale | at, in the possession of. |
| -ane | with(?) |
| -er | to. |
| -ate | on |
| -oi | (an occasional form related to tar, tsi). |
| -xa, -xa'siqar | up to. |
| -tse | on, against. |
| -tsi | (related to tse). |
| -taum | from. |
| -ulo | in |
| -um | from. |

A few nouns take a suffix -ak, -ek. Whether this is to be regarded as a case suffix (instrumental) or a substantival suffix is not clear.

It is found with:

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| jame, *-me, *-riq, tišk, tur. | Vide Vocab s. vv. |
| hayur turak delimi | <i>he struck the horse with his whip or he gave the horse a whip-blow.</i> |

The meanings and uses of these suffixes are discussed in detail further on, v. §§ 67 ff. It is only necessary here to say that:

-ar carries the sense usually associated with the DATIVE,
 -sum " " " " " " " " ABLATIVE,
 and -ulo is primarily LOCATIVE in force: *in, inside*.

The suffix -ar may be affixed to -ale, -ate, -tse,
 and -um " " " " " " " " -ale, -ate, -ulo.

These case suffixes are added to the Nominative form of the noun, whether singular or plural, except in the singular of the hf. nouns where they are added to the form of the General Oblique (which is also the Genitive form).

Note: The occasional occurrence of an intrusive vowel before the suffixes -tse and -sum is to be noted. This may be a survival of the vowel of the general oblique, as' may also be the initial vowel of -ale, -ate and -ate.

The suffixes -tse, -sum, -ale, -ate, -ar take the oblique form of the sg. of hf. nouns and also of the 1st. sg. personal pronoun:

nom. ja obl. ja ja'ter, ja'tsum, ja'r etc.

The use of the oblique form with the suffixes would thus seem to be an attested phenomenon and it may once have been general.

On the other hand the intrusive vowel is generally used where it is a phonetic convenience (v. § 75 VII), and ja is used in Werchikwār as the simple Nominative.

48. Declension, if the term may be used, is perfectly regular in Burushaski in accordance with the rules given above, and subject to the restriction that there is probably no single noun which can suitably take all the suffixes.

The only variations that occur are due to slight phonetic changes arising chiefly where a final vowel of the noun meets a suffix beginning with a vowel. Absolute rules cannot be given but the following results of the meeting of vowels are common:

a, ə, and ε are elided after a final a.

ha', hæle, hæv.

v usually remains after final i, but sometimes it, or the i is elided.

basi garden basi.ulo.

o'lji my dream o'lji'lo.

pferi pond pferilo, or pferlo, or pferulo.

a- and e- are elided after final ε, or else the ε is elided.

žame bow žame.r.

-tse + -ar → -tsar.

a- and ə- are sometimes elided after final u.

pori, "peri", (obl. parimv-), perimvte.

Final -o frequently becomes u before a suffix and a w-glide may be developed between it and a following vowel.

The following specimens of declension are given in illustration. I have used the terms Dat. and Abl. for convenience of reference. Unattested forms are marked with a dagger.

DECLENSION of HM, X and X NOUNS.

49. Ending in a Consonant.

| Sing. | | hm. | x | y |
|--------------------------|-------|------------|-----------|------------|
| N. V. Acc. | | hile'a boy | dan stone | diš place. |
| Trans. Nom. and Agential | | hile'se | — | — |
| Gen. (and Gen. Obl.) | | hile'se | dane | — |
| Dat. | | hile'sar | danər | dišar. |
| Abl. | | hile'ssum | dantsum | dišsum. |
| | | †hile'salc | — | — |
| | | †hile'saŋc | — | — |
| | | †hile'saŋc | danaŋc | — |
| | | †hile'saxa | — | — |
| | | †hile'stse | †dantse | — |
| | | †hile'sulo | danulo | dišulo. |
| | | (hile'som) | | |
| | Plur. | den y | year. | |
| N. V. Acc. | | deniq. | | |
| Trs. Nom. and Agential | | — | | |
| Gen. | | †deniqe. | | |
| Dat. | | deniqar. | | |
| Abl. | | deniqsum. | | |
| | | deniqxa. | | |
| | | deniqulo. | | |

(The word *den* has been chosen to represent the plural merely because it offers a larger number of attested forms than the plurals, *hile-so*, *daiyo* and *dismiq*).

Ending in Vowels.

| | | | | |
|------------------------|---------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 50. -a. | | | | |
| N. V. Acc. | haʁ | house | marak'aʁ | court |
| Trs. Nom. and Agential | — | — | — | — |
| Gen. | haʁ | — | — | xaz'ina |
| Dat. | haʁr | — | marak'aʁr | — |
| Abl. | haʁtsum | — | maraka'tsum | — |
| | ha'le | — | — | — |
| | ha'lər | — | — | — |
| | ha'lum | — | — | — |
| | — | marak'a'ulo | — | xazina'ulo |
| | — | — | — | xazina'atər |

The Trs. Nom. of *pa'dša* is the same as the simple Nom.

pa'dša hukum etimi.

The only divergencies I have noted are:

ha'e, *hai* for the Gen. of *haʁ*, *hai yakalatər*.

| | | | | |
|------------------|------|----------------|------|-----------------|
| <i>Xud'a God</i> | Gen. | <i>Xudaiyc</i> | Dat. | <i>Xudayar.</i> |
| | | <i>Xuda'e</i> | | <i>Xudar.</i> |
| | | <i>Xudayo</i> | | <i>Xedayor.</i> |

h'isa mouth *hisalo in a month.*

| | | | | |
|--|------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------|
| 51. -i. <i>basi garden; Hindi P. N. of a place; pferi pond; *ulji dream.</i> | | | | |
| N. V. Acc. | basi | Hindi | pferi | *ulji. |
| Trs. Nom. and Agential | — | — | — | — |
| Gen. | basi.e | Hindi.e | — | *ulji.e. |
| Dat. | basi.ər | Hindi.ər | pferi.ər | — |
| Abl. | basi.ətsum | Hinditsum | pferətsum | — |
| Loc. | basi.ulo | Hindilo | pferilo, -lo, * | uljulo, * |
| | basi.ulo | | pferulo | uljilo. |
| | | Hindi.əʃe | | |
| | | Hindi.əʃe | | |

Other forms are: *hiri men.* Trans. Nom. *hiri.e.*

**-mi mother.* " **-mi.e.*

Gen. -i.e. Dat. i-ər seem to be practically constant. With the -ulo suffix it seems to be that when the accent is on the -i the form is -i.ulo.

With -aʃe, -aʃum we have *kursi.aʃe*, *Hindi.aʃe*, but *teʃaʃum* (nom. *teʃi*).

52. -u and o.

Both vowels appear to be habitually retained:

| | | Trs. Nom. | Gen. | Dat. | Abl. |
|----------------------|--------------------------|-----------|-------------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>thamo</i> (pl.) | <i>Thams</i> | thamu.e | — | — | thamutsum. |
| <i>bitaiyo</i> (pl.) | <i>bitans</i> | bitaiyu.e | — | — | — |
| <i>Pur'no</i> | <i>man's name</i> | Pur'nu.e | Pur'nu.e | Pur'nuwar | — |
| <i>talo</i> | <i>seven</i> | taləwa | — | — | — |
| <i>Hunzo</i> | <i>Hunza</i> | — | Hunzu.e | Hunzuwar | Henzutsum, Henzotsum. |
| <i>tinjo</i> (pl.) | <i>boves</i> | — | — | tinjowar | — |
| <i>Darbešo</i> | <i>man's name</i> | — | Darbe'šu.e | Darbe.šu.ər | — |
| <i>a.u</i> (a.uyl) | <i>my father</i> | — | au.e', au.e | auwər | — |
| <i>dəru</i> | <i>game</i> | — | — | dəru'ər | — |
| <i>duro'skuyo</i> | } (pl.) <i>labourers</i> | — | — | { <i>duro'skuyor</i> | — |
| <i>duro'ski.o</i> | | | | { <i>duro'ski.u.ər</i> | — |
| <i>duro</i> | <i>business, affair</i> | — | — | <i>duro'war</i> | — |
| <i>šaderišo,</i> | } (pl.) <i>sercants</i> | — | — | { <i>šaderišor</i> | — |
| <i>šaderišo</i> | | | | { <i>šaderišu.ər</i> | — |

With the -aʃe suffix we have:

| | | | |
|----------------|---------------------|--------------|-------------|
| <i>bo</i> | <i>seed-grain</i> | bo'ʃe | — |
| <i>hasto</i> | <i>elephant</i> | hastowaʃe | — |
| <i>duro</i> | <i>work, affair</i> | duro'waʃe | duro'waʃər. |
| <i>daroy'o</i> | <i>stick</i> | daroy'owaʃe | — |
| *-pfa'yo | <i>stick</i> | *-pfa'yu.aʃe | — |

* but *g.u.a* *ba'lar* to *thy father's house.*

With the suffix -ulo:

| | | |
|--------------|----------------------|-------------|
| burndo (pl.) | <i>boulders</i> | burndorulo. |
| duro | <i>work, affair</i> | duro'ulo. |
| fuku | <i>name of place</i> | fuyurulo. |
| but, | | |
| Hunzo | <i>Hunza</i> | Hanzulo. |

53. -ai.

| | | |
|----------|-----------|--------------|
| N. V. A. | buśai(i) | <i>land.</i> |
| Gen. | bussai.ε | |
| Dat. | buśai.ər | |
| | buśai'ulo | |

With -aŋε i'mo rai.εŋε *of his own free will.*

54. -au.

| | | |
|----------|------------|----------------------------------|
| N. V. A. | bopfau | <i>seed-scattering festival.</i> |
| Gen. | bopfauwε | |
| Dat. | bopfau.ər | |
| Abl. | bopfautsum | |

The word dau, dau.u *griddle* (dawan, a *griddle*) gives dawəŋε.

55. -ε and -e.

These finals occur principally in the pronouns, i'ne, ki'ne, guśe, guŋε etc. q.v.

In these pronouns ε + a or ε usually gives -e. or -ε. The Trs. Nom. is always i'ne, etc.

Of nouns there are:

| | | | |
|-------|------------------|----------------|-------------|
| ame | <i>my tooth</i> | ame.ulo | |
| i'ne | <i>his tooth</i> | i'ne.ulo | |
| zi'ne | <i>sleeve</i> | zi'ne'r | zi'ne'ulo. |
| zame | <i>bow</i> | zame'r, zame'r | zame'e'εŋε. |

Generally speaking it may be taken that where the stress accent falls on what was a vowel termination of the nom. of a noun that vowel will be preserved.

56. HF. Nouns.

The following table shows the standard type of declension for hf. nouns:

| | | | | |
|------------------------|-----------|--------------|----------------|---------------|
| Nom. Voc. Acc. | gus | <i>woman</i> | goro'ni. | <i>bride.</i> |
| Trans. Nom. & Agential | guse | | goro'ni.ε. | |
| Gen. (Gen. Obl.) | gusmo | | goro'nimo. | |
| Dat. | gusmur | | goro'nimur. | |
| Abl. | gusmutsum | | goro'nimutsum. | |

Other forms are:

| | | | |
|-----------|------------|------------------------|---------------------|
| with -aŋε | yačeni | <i>a female ogress</i> | yačenimule |
| with -aŋε | pori | <i>fairly</i> | porimule. |
| | Šahri Banu | P. N. | Šahri Banumuŋε. |
| with -tse | e.i | <i>his daughter</i> | e.imutse, e'imutse. |
| | dasin | <i>girl</i> | dasinmutse. |

The plural is similar to that of other classes of nouns, the base being the simple form of the Nominative, but examples are scarce:

| | | | | |
|-------------------|----------------|-------------------------|------------|-----------------|
| N. V. A. | guśi'ants | <i>women</i> | poriti'q | <i>fairies.</i> |
| Tr. Nom. | guśi'antse | | poriti'q | |
| Gen. (Gen. Obl.?) | guśi'antse | | | |
| Dat. | yu'guśi'antsər | <i>to his daughters</i> | poriti'qər | |

The -mu- theme of the singular does not seem to occur in the plural. Biddulph's "gus-himutsumoloo" i.e. guśi'antsmolu, is probably a slip, or obsolete.

57. When the noun carries the suffix -an or -ik the declensional suffixes (including the -mo, -mu of the oblique forms of the hf. nouns) and of course the postpositions, are added after them:
- | | | | |
|----------|------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| balas-an | <i>a bird</i> | Tr. Nom. balasane (senimi) | <i>a bird (said).</i> |
| belis-an | <i>a sheep</i> | belisantsum | <i>from a sheep.</i> |
| dau-an | <i>a stone</i> | danantse | <i>on a stone.</i> |
| hir-an | <i>a man</i> | hiranale | <i>in the possession of a man.</i> |
| kat-en | <i>a bedstead</i> | katenaŋε | <i>on a bedstead.</i> |
| sis-an | <i>a person</i> | sisanər | <i>to a person.</i> |
| eri | <i>his daughter</i> | eryene (senumo) | <i>a daughter of his (said).</i> |
| e'imur | <i>to his daughter</i> | eryenmur | <i>to a daughter of his.</i> |

| | | | | |
|---------|---------|----------|----------------|--------------|
| gus.an | a woman | Tr. Nom. | gusanimo | of a woman. |
| pari.en | a fairy | | pari.enmu gane | for a fairy. |

I have few examples of nouns with the simple suffix -ik in an oblique case, but

*-altalik both occurs frequently in the Transitive Nominative e.g. o'talike seluma durnuman *the two started wrestling*. I have also: muniktsum dumara? *have you got it from any other people?*
Cp. meniko § 151.

POSTPOSITIONS.

58. The system of inflection by case-suffixes is supplemented by the use of Postpositions. I have referred above, in § 46, to the difficulty of precisely defining and distinguishing postpositions in Burushaski. This makes it convenient to deal with them here as a feature of Noun-Inflection rather than later as a separate grammatical category corresponding to the Prepositions of European languages, to which the tradition of grammarians has assigned a place by themselves following the adverbs.

The earlier consideration of them in Burushaski is rendered still more desirable by the fact that they occur in conjunction not only with nouns and pronouns but also with verbs.

On the general principles which I have indicated above, the following may be regarded, in some at least of their uses, as postpositions. What, however, the exact relation is between the "post-position" and the preceding noun, still more between it and the prefixed pronoun, it is in many cases impossible to say.

The case name entered after each postposition indicates the form in which the preceding noun appears:

| | | |
|--------------|--------------------------------------|------------|
| *-apači | in the possession of, to (a person), | nom. |
| | close to, beside. | |
| gane | for the sake of | obl. |
| harieñ | among, between | nom. |
| i'lji, *-lji | behind, after (time) | abl. |
| i'tigari | round about | nom., obl. |

| | | |
|----------------|-----------------------------------|------|
| ka | along with, with | obl. |
| xa, kha | down, down through etc. | obl. |
| šaturgat | round about | nom. |
| thi | apart from, besides etc. | abl. |
| ya're | under, beneath | nom. |
| yakal, *-yakal | towards, in the direction of | nom. |
| yanči, *-yanči | to the reception of (to meet) | ? |
| yar, *-yar | in front, ahead of, before (time) | abl. |
| *-yačē | above, over | ? |
| yo'n, *-yo'n | over | nom. |

It is to be remarked that in the plain forms yakal, yanči, yar and yo'n the 3rd. sg. pronoun prefix i- has possibly been absorbed.

It will further be noticed that most of the words in the above list appear to be nominal or adverbial forms.

The functions of the case suffixes are examined in §§ 67—78, those of the postpositions in §§ 79—95.

THE USES of the PRIMARY CASES.

59. One form of the noun — the simplest — does duty for the Nominative, Vocative and Accusative Cases, as we know them in languages where the noun is more fully inflected.

This form therefore serves:

- i. where the noun is the subject of an intransitive verb, and usually where it is the subject of a present-base tense of a transitive verb (i. e. in the present, future and imperfect).
- ii. where the noun is used as a form of address.
- iii. where the noun is used as the direct object of a transitive verb.
- iv. frequently, as in English, in the case of words expressing time. also:
- v. sometimes with names of places where one would expect rather a locative or genitive.
- vi. occasionally in a compound verbal expression containing a noun.
- vii. following a noun expressing measurement or quantity.

Examples:

- i. hir imo ha'lor nimi *the man went home.*
 hir seibai.i *the man says.*
- ii. le.i hilev! *O boy!*
- iii. hir esqanam *I killed the man.*
- iv. hisan ya altosan hurn'timi ke her gunts šapik ke šorbat Than' ha'lor itsučan.
if he stays a month or 2 months they take bread and halwa every day to the Than's house.
 da yaš gunts *again the next day.*
- v. Hunzulo isikikum qaum ada'd bam; Baltit Tapki.ents, Ganeš Hamačartiy.
3 tribes were established in Hunza: the Tapki.ents at Baltit, the Hamačartiy at Ganeš.
 awal Hunzo Baltitulo Tapki.ents ada'd bam.
originally the Tapki.ents were established in Baltit (in) Hunza.
 Baltistan Šigiror *to Šigir in Baltistan.*
- vi. Kisore imo žame iriž balimī *Kisore's own bow came into his hand.*
 talo mayu'gūants burndo burndo'ulo gi-li udelimī.
her 7 daughters he fixed with a peg in separate boulders.
- vii. torim šuqan gur *10 measures (240 lbs.) of wheat.*

60. Transitive Nominative and Agential.

This form is used:

- i. when the noun is the subject of a transitive verb in a past-base tense (preterite, perfect, pluperfect, and the past participle and static participle active), with only occasional exceptions.
- ii. when the noun is the subject of the verb *henas to know* in any of its tenses.
- iii. sometimes with the present-base tenses of other transitive verbs, especially *senas to say*.
- iv. its use is said to be *permissible* with any tense of any transitive verb.
- v. it may perhaps be regarded as Agential when used with the Static Participle Passive.

There is a temptation to call this case simply the Agential, on the analogy of the Agential case employed in Hindustani, Pashtu, Kashmiri and Tibetan in similar situations.

The analogy, however, is not exact, for in the latter languages the construction is passive: "something was done by someone", the object of the action being put in the nominative with the verb in agreement, while the actor or logical subject is put in an oblique case, which may accurately be called the Agential.

In Burushaski, as also in Shina, the form of the statement is active, the verb agreeing with the actor, or logical subject, and not with the object of the action.

The only peculiarity is that the actor-subject carries a special suffix.

The form of this actor-subject case resembles the genitive or general oblique, being simply the nominative form plus -e, but that it is not identical with it seems to be shown by the fact that in nouns of the hf. class the -mu- of the oblique case is lacking, and the suffix -e is added direct to the nominative form. Thus:

| | | |
|-----------------|--------|--------|
| N. V. A. | gus | woman. |
| Tr. Nom. & Agt. | guse | |
| Gen. | gusmo | |
| Dat. | gusmur | etc. |

NOTE. The position is the same in Shina where the transitive nominative suffix is -se, except that the use of it in Shina is universal with all parts of transitive verbs:

| | | |
|----------|--------|------|
| N. V. A. | ro | he. |
| Tr. Nom. | ro'se | |
| Gen. | rese | |
| Dat. | resele | etc. |

The fact that these inflected Transitive Nominative forms are based on the ordinary nominative, and not on the general oblique, possibly indicates that they are not native to the language, but have been introduced at a later stage of development and under foreign influence.

61. The following are examples of the use of the Trans. Nom. Case. It is to be noted that it is frequently impossible to say whether the simple nominative or the extended form of the nom. is used. The subject is often not expressed; the forms of the nominative and Trans. Nom. of the personal and demonstrative pronouns (except those of the 1st. and 2nd. pers. pronouns singular) are not consistently differentiated: e.g. one may say *in* or *inac* for the simple Nom.; similarly with nouns ending in *-a*; and again final *-e*'s have a way of appearing and disappearing which is not always readily to be accounted for.

I. Examples with the Past-base Tenses of Transitive Verbs:

| | |
|--|---|
| ja dur Šahri Bano ko'le ha'der dumu'tsaa. | |
| <i>I seizing her brought Šahri Bano here to the house.</i> | |
| Di.u Sa'fide xutba yatanimi | <i>the White Div read the "khatba".</i> |
| Behrame yul'jan yetsimi | <i>Bahram saw a dream.</i> |
| pfu'te biške pyu'an i'yunimi | <i>the "pfut" (div) gave him a little hair.</i> |
| mayer hi're kau etimi | <i>the old man called out ("made a hail").</i> |
| u'e pfutu'e ušurmi.e | <i>the divs ate them up.</i> |
| Bahram'er eskuse senuuo | <i>his mother-in-law said to Bahram.</i> |
| da dai'ca ba | <i>I have heard</i> |
| ja dela ba | <i>I have slain (it).</i> |

With Static Participle Passive.

| | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| Di.u Sa'fide eyunum i'ke biške | <i>the hair given him by the White Div.</i> |
| ja senuuan | <i>a thing said by me.</i> |

Here it seems that we have probably a legitimate Agential construction, but it is conceivable that Di.u Sa'fide and ja are genitives.

The problem would be solved by an example in which the noun or pron. was hf sg. as the Trans. Nom. would then be distinguished in form from the gen., but no such example is available.

II. The use of the Transitive Nom. with the Past-base tenses of Transitive Verbs is universal. A few occasional instances of the omission of the suffix *-e* are not, I think, to be taken seriously:

Thus: Š. B. ke Šahri Bano ruxsat dumaruman.
 Š. B. and Š. B. asked for permission to go.
 u uri horicq ur'ker eskannuman.
 they among themselves killed themselves (i.e. they killed each other).

III. With Present-base Tenses of Transitive Verbs.

Here the Nom. is the rule and the Agential is the exception. The latter is, however, almost always used with *henas* to know and is very common with *senas* to say, and other examples are to be found.

| | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| Šamtu Miru Wazi're seibai.i | <i>Šamtu Miru, the Wazir, says</i> |
| i-mi.e se.ibo | <i>his mother says</i> |
| gan mene he'iba'na? | <i>does anyone (pl.) know the road?</i> |
| awa, ja herya ba | <i>yes, I know it.</i> |
| Aba Dumbu.e da kau e'cai.i | <i>Aba Dumbu then gives a hail (calls out).</i> |
| ja thamkuš wazi're se'bai.i | <i>the Wazir is in possession of (is eating)</i> <i>my kingship.</i> |
| je, or ja, imo's de'sa ba | <i>I am worrying him (making him bring</i> <i>his anger).</i> |

| | |
|--|--|
| u'q tere's hile'se in esqanš be gomai.iba? | <i>how will you, an orphan boy, be able to slay him?</i> |
| B. Jamhur'e Alqašor sala'm e'cai.i | <i>B. Jamhur says salam to Alqash.</i> |
| telju'ko ike ja e'ca ba | <i>I do such things (interpret dreams).</i> |
| ja u'q thamtsum dumar'ca ba | <i>I shall ask the Tham for you (for your services).</i> |
| ja kine i'tsu'e'ca ba | <i>I'll marry this man.</i> |
| han pfu'tane tai' uyo'n mibi | <i>a Div is drinking all the water.</i> |
| hirri.e sala'm e'ca'n | <i>the men salam him.</i> |

Future.

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| ja akor esqilam | <i>I shall kill myself.</i> |
| mene adeljuma'na? | <i>will any people beat me or not?</i> |
| mene a'sqaimana? | <i>will any people kill me or not?</i> |

Imperfect.

| | |
|--------------|-------------------------------------|
| me'ne e'išam | <i>none would see him (yetsaa).</i> |
|--------------|-------------------------------------|

IV. A noun is frequently connected with two verbs, one transitive and the other intransitive, the first in order being a participle and the second a finite part of the verb. In such cases there is no fixed rule as to which shall govern the form of the noun. As, however, the noun frequently adapts itself to the finite verb though it is more remote (examples 1 and 2 below) that is probably the ideal; and the more frequent cases where it adapts itself to the nearer participial verb may be regarded as lapses from grace.

ine yorib hir tubak fat netan tarxtsum dursimi.

the poor man, leaving his gun, went out from the palace.

Rarmi hir gute xabar deyal nukan hai yakalafor pfor manimi.

the Rumi man, hearing this news, returned taking it (i.e. with it) towards the house.

maper dusin berentumi *the old man, going out, saw . . .*

Čilindan hor' nuyen . . . dia *Chilindan, taking an army, has come . . .*

Š. Behrame gute ber deyal bihuš imanumi.

hearing this, Sh. B. became unconscious.

ja jama'at ke je meltalik riza niniman, miya kas o'cor durtsan.

my wife and I, both of us, becoming contented, have brought our sons to slay them..

je namin or astam ne dup otam.

I, going and settling their case for them, silenced them.

gusan nukučen dasinen damo'smanu bo'm.

a woman, being brought to bed ("lying down") had given birth to a son.

Pano mel o'minum hanik n'nen bopfantsum di'mi.

Pano taking the dish, returned from the Seed-Sowing, not having drunk any wine.

62. The Genitive.

There is nothing very unusual to be noted about the uses of the Genitive:

i. In general it signifies *possession*, or the fact of *belonging to*, or *pertaining to*.

Alqaše basi.e hiqatsar nirmi *he went to the door of Alqash's garden.*

jat gusanmo ha hiqtsar nirmi *he went to the door of an old woman's house.*

ine gusmo mo.iyen dumanumo *a daughter of the woman was born.*
mamušič imi *the lamb's dam.*

gute uqe kitap bila, go'pi.e bilum.

this is thy book, it was thy grandfather's.

ine hire salame juwarb mučimi.

the man gave her a response to (her) salam.

Šišpore tor *the pasture grounds of Shishper.*

basi.e yatkuin *the superintendent of the garden.*

Habaše Pa'da *the king of Abyssinia.*

tuyeli.e čape maza *the flavour of lamb's meat.*

Hindi.e sis *the people of Hindi.*

ii. It may denote *composition* or *material*.

yenise salat *a golden moustache.*

čumare terqus *a palace of iron.*

tilian dane bita *there is a saddle of stone.*

ipfayo ri'e bi *his stick is of copper.*

iii. It may be used to denote *parentage*, with the ellipsis of "son of".

Siryc Daltas Manurko *Daltas Manurko (the son) of Sing.*

iv. It is used as a so-called "*Objective Genitive*".

ine yamulo herca ban *we are weeping in grief for him.*

guyetsase arma'mulo *in the desire of seeing you =
longing to see you.*

v. It is used in many situations where in English we have "of", or an adjective or adjective-equivalent.

Ašdar delume ča'ya *the story of the dragon being slain.*

pitimuts esirume ča'ya or etimi *he told them the story of his
being made to eat bread (of his being fed with bread).*

ja asqanasače *by the slaying of me, by my murder.*

(but also: je (acc.) asqanassar *to kill me*).

ji.e šugulo *soul's friend, bosom friend.*

63. The General Oblique.

The existence of a General Oblique is only hypothetical. If it does exist it is of the same form as the Genitive.

The arguments in favour of its existence are:

1. the genitive form occurs habitually in certain idioms where the meaning is far removed from the general notion of the genitive.
2. the genitive form is used with certain postpositions.
3. in the hf. nouns the genitive form supplies the base used with the case suffixes and the postpositions. Cp. also § 47 note.
4. the analogy of Shina, in which it is pretty certain that there exists a general oblique form used with the case suffixes. It may appear unsound to appeal to analogy with a totally unrelated language but the fact is -- whatever the explanation may be -- that there are many points of resemblance between Burushaski and Shina in grammatical use and idiom.

The balance of argument seems to me to be in favour of the existence of a General Oblique of the same form as the Genitive. One may further conjecture that the forms are identical in origin as well as form and that the Genitive is a specialised use of the General Oblique.

64. Uses of the General Oblique.

There are a few definite, well-established uses of the G. O. and then a certain number of miscellaneous uses in which it appears only sporadically. Some of these latter might be explained as Genitives.

Its definite uses are:

- i. as the *Instrumental* (instead of the usual form with the suffix *-aŋ*): In the stock phrase:

| | |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| *-lāine yetas | to see with the eye, to see. |
| mi nilāine yetsuman | we saw with our eyes. |
| menke alāine o.i'tsa ba | I have seen no one. |

In other phrases:

yutŋ tik etai bai he has stamped down the earth with his feet.

tik pŋtŋ deluman they pelted him with earth and ashes.
do.u irige ŋu stimi he blew (the bellows) with his right hand.
ŋarts (or -tsor) iriŋŋe . . . durn grasping the cliff with his hands.
ja amultereŋ nyam nasan daileŋ ba.
I perceive a sweet odour with my nostrils.

u tum gabare nu'in they, going by a different road (or, locative, on a different road).

yu'ŋe yu'ŋe duwaŋ e'ubo the wife smacks him with the rolling-pin.
iri dasin daŋo'wabe mudeljai he himself sprinkles the girl with flour.
han bo'nisane thu ho'lar daudo e'am.
with one lump of dough I shall make "daudo" for a force 100 strong.

- ii. As the *Locative*. Rare.

Probably occurs in the phrase:

hi tha'ne at a certain place.
and in:

Sispare to're hurutan he was staying at the Shishper grazing-grounds.
U'ltare hu'ye's orutumau they settled their stocks in Ulter.
Herbatz hisan ya alto'san hurutimi ke . . .
when he has stayed at Herber for a month or two months.
And with the adj. hik full. cp. § 116.

- iii. With nouns denoting *Time*:

hik dene mel o'minum di'mi one year he returned without
having drunk wine.

i'te dene (in) that year.

aqaro guntse on Tuesday.

i'te guntse (on) that day.

Muhammad Nazim Xa'ne thamkuŋe in the reign of Muhammad
Nazim Khan.

tape; ite tape at night, by night; that night.

fula'ne guntse gor even we shall hold the marriage on such
and such a day.

heruman guntsiŋe nuku'tsar proceeding for some days.

and perhaps:
tami'ne last year.

| | |
|-----------|-----------------|
| tsor'dina | next morning. |
| sar'sate | in the evening. |

The temporal expressions with the suffix -mo may possibly also be General Oblique forms:

| | |
|-------------|--|
| tapmo | at night. |
| berum saumo | in the course of some months, after some months. |
| a'tulanmo | after two days. |
| tsor'dino | in the morning. |
| sa'setumo | in the evening. |

but:

| | |
|-----------------|------------|
| ku'inmo (den) | this year. |
| taminimo (den) | last year. |
| kultumo (gvnts) | today. |

seem to be adjectival.

In

| | |
|----------------|--------------------|
| guntsamo gvnts | day by day, daily. |
| denmo den | yearly. |
| mišin samo | after six months. |

The -mo forms would seem to have the force of the Ablative: "from day to day".

iv. As the *Dative*. So used only, as far as I know with the Reflexive Pronoun *-kar; but this one use is very frequent:

| | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| tsil akore guiyam (also, ak'oror) | I shall take water for myself. |
| gukore šapik eti | make bread for thyself. |
| gukore tsil su | fetch water for thyself. |
| guke yenaŋ . . . ak'ore tsu'cam | I shall carry off this gold for myself. |
| ik ore be šu.a.ta.a'm detsir'oi.i | what good food he is cooking for himself. |
| akore šapik e'cam | I shall prepare food for myself. |

65. The following are a few miscellaneous instances of the use of the G. O.

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| šapik daŋ etase doyu'iski'nai | he has begun to cook bread. |
| kurto'e hik omanumi | the bag did not become full (it did not become full in the bag. loc.?) |
| ye i're base juras bilum | he would have to come by (or, to) the bridge. |

With "taŋ" hard up for, in straits for:

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| ši.asər šapike taŋ bam | he was hard up for food to eat. |
| yo'asər gatule taŋ bam | he was hard up for clothes to put on. |
| tsane (tsan = straight, true) | truly, in fact, in deed. |
| ise pfultiŋise ho'le yoriŋ manimi | (a sound of) singing came out of that bellows. |

| | |
|----------|--------------------------------------|
| ese daŋ | hard of heart i.e. stout-hearted. |
| zate jut | small of class, low in social class. |

The suffix -ulo *in, into* is normally added to the nominative form of the noun, but in the two examples following -ulo is accented and is used adverbially, as it frequently is, and

hiŋe and tsariše are apparently G. O. forms with Locative force. The expressions seem to represent very closely our "he came in at the door", "they came in at the doorway" (hiŋulo would probably rather mean "into the texture of the door").

Puno ha hiŋe u'lo dimi Puno entered the door of the house.

du'n tsariše u'lo ha'lor na'la utis isəršan they coming into the doorway put down their feet at the same time in the house.

66. One word *-aš the neck, has an oblique form *-aši meaning *on, upon, the neck*.

One would suspect this also of being a G. O. form but in all my examples the final vowel is -i, not -e.

| | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| ja eši šaŋaličič a'gič | he will put chains on my neck. |
| Alqaše e' go'ši goweš'cam | I shall fling Alqash's daughter on your neck (make you a present of her). |
| tsəraŋ e'ši ni'kin | taking the door-frame upon his neck. |
| Paŋču.e maška mo'ši numo-wešin | Pangchu, putting a waterskin on her neck. |

A similar locative -i is perhaps to be recognised in the once-recorded eš'čumuši.

Here eš'čū(m) is presumably connected with *-aš'čič *small of the back, loin*, and muši may be from muš *end, extremity, edge, side*: eš'čumuši tš'ek bilum the dagger there was (stuck) in his waistcloth.

USES OF THE CASE SUFFIXES.

We may now proceed to examine the uses of the case-suffixes of which a list is given in § 47.

67. -ALE, -ELE.

The general sense of this suffix is LOCATIVE *at, in the vicinity of*.

- i. It is constantly used with the word *ha*, *house*, which has not been recorded with the suffix -ulo, *in, into*.

ha'le *at the house, at home, in the house.*

ha'le huru'ēaman *they abode at home.*

nimo ha'le damahas ha *I am to be born in our own house.*

ite ha'le uyo'n tial'at o'tam *at or in, that house he had made them prepare everything.*

- ii. *in the presence of, in the vicinity of, to* (especially of persons) after verbs of motion or speech. Cp. Hind. *ke pars*, Prs. *pi's i*.
 pa'dsa'ale šeyam *I shall say in the presence of the king, i.e. to the king.*
 gute čaya ti menale (or, menar) aye'ti *do not tell this to anyone else.*
 u'ele du'uri manimi *it became midday with them(?)*
 muryor nufu'male nimi *her husband went to the astrologers.*
 pa'dsa erarš'ale ničam *they go to the king's sons-in-law.*
 gu'ngurale ni *go to your uncle.*

- iii. *in the possession of.* Cp. Hind. *-ke pars*, Prs. *pi's i*.

čei ja o'yoralc bi *the key is with my husband, my husband has the key.*

čei ja'le bi *I have the key.*

u'ale 'alta plitimuts bim *they had 2 pieces of bread.*

mamale besan hunar bila? *what special gift have you (pl.)?*

- iv. The combination -ale + ar → -alor is generally used after verbs of motion.

pfut eču ha'lar gutsarimi *the Div proceeded to his brother's house*

(I have always ha'lar not har in such situations).

i'te jaugalar nu'n *(they) going to that jungle.*

pa'dsa'lor do'sqaltuman *they arrived at the King's.*

inčlar tsu'mi *he took (the book) to him.*

- v. The combination -ale + -um → -alum in the sense of *from* occurs constantly in ha'lum.

imo ha'lum di'mi

he came from his house, or home.

ise danalum del pfaš mai.i bila *oil exudes from that stone.*

- vi. In the following two phrases the exact nature and meaning of amit'ale are obscure to me. The word may be compounded with amit y sg. of the Interrogative *which?, what?* or of the Indefinite + ke *whichever*, or without ke perhaps *any*, but this leaves -ale to be accounted for where we should expect -ate.

ki'n amitale di'u miyor dursai.i.

Coming by what (road?) has this man got in front of us? or how has he got in front of us?

šua nuse niman. i're baša'ar niman ti amitale gan apim.

Saying "good" they went off. They went to the bridge: there was no road by any other (way?).

68. -AŲE, -EŲE.

It is difficult to assign any exact meaning to this suffix. It is not of wide application and the liability of Ų and n to be confused sometimes makes its existence in particular cases doubtful. I have frequently recorded -ANE.

- i. It constantly occurs, however, with the Reflexive Pronoun in expressions such as "think to oneself" to "say to oneself" and "of oneself", "spontaneously".

ik'areŲe seibai

he says to himself.

ik'areŲe samba etimi

he thought to himself.

ik'areŲe čayan ečai.i

he is talking to himself.

Cp.

o'saŲe xi'ad ečam

they think in their heart(s).

šyulo ik'areŲe di'manimi

it came into being of itself in the forge

ik'areŲe taq manimi

it broke of itself.

i're ni'itsin muk'ariŲe mundiltse dam ne ečubo.

On seeing it, beating herself on the breast, she says to herself.

(It seems difficult here to take muk'ariŲe except with ečubo).

- ii. In some other cases it seems to correspond to English "with" in various senses, especially those of *instrument* and *possession*, or being *provided with*:

xuro'nēan ine tešiyāne čarēr di'min.

a cloud coming up level with his roof.

Hindirāne čar level with, opposite, Hindi.

kure uyō'nāne babar bušai.i gučam.

I shall give you hand equal with all these.

gap jikānāne (-ane) gultali.e baiyam.

I had wound you up with hide and a leather thong.

barpitāne taq go'ba baiyam *I had bound you with a strap.*

šua a'datāne bai.i *he is a person with good habits ("good-natured").*

jakar šu'limutsāne (sic) tobak *double-barrelled gun.*

han ilčīnāne sis *a one-eyed person.*

urāne huru'tamulo *when I was pregnant with you.*

nyam nasāne askur bila *it is a flower with a sweet scent.*

ja a.n.e i'mo i-kāne burōndumuts bin.

my father had (signet) rings with his own name (on them).

Abadumbu i-kāne i'ne i.e. of that son with the name Abadumbu.
(i-kāne corresponds to English by name.)

sas daqomutsāne gut *a tent with 100 poles.*

hin yenuše salatāne hīran *a man with a golden moustache.*

čauwāne bi *it is with milk, it is a milk cow (čau etas to milk).*

- iii. In the following, as the literal meaning of the phrases is not known to me, the force of the -āne is also obscure:

gurti'ne x'erāne *as a sacrifice for your feet.*

etāne bi guruš *what have you to do with that?*

tsilāne imanimi *he was drowned.*

dolat uyō'n tsilāne etimi *he wasted all the property.* Cp. Pers. *berbād* "on the wind".

69. -ar.

This suffix conveys the sense of "destination", "objective" physical or metaphorical. In general it performs the functions commonly associated with the DATIVE.

- i. after verbs, denoting *motion to*.

ba'dsa hayure i'mo tar'ar itsurmi.

the horse carried off the king to his own palace.

ite basiar ni'mi

he went to that garden.

gorar ju

come to the wedding.

hu'ar di'u

coming to his senses.

besan gor abas di'mi ke . . . *if any difficulty comes to you . . .*

It may be used after a verb of motion where the English would have *in, into, at, on* etc.

biške kawantsar deliman *they put the hair in bags.*

basar do'sqaltuman *they arrived at the halting-place.*

pfōrār gi'mo *she plunged into the pond.*

Wazirē batar nikin *entering into the Wazir's skin.*

ite har'ke gurmi *he threw, or, poured, (the charcoal) into that house too.*

ite ganar durbin wašcam *he used to train a telescope on the road.*

guke pfōrār gi *throw this (hair pl.) into the fire.*

han šua dišenar derakumi *he set him down in a nice place.*

Its use is peculiar in the following where there is no sense of motion:

ite basar (or, basarulo) yašil api *there is no firewood at that place.*

- ii. Denoting the *Indirect Object* with verbs of "saying", "giving", etc.

wazirar senimi *he said to the Wazir.*

jar čayā etin belate . . . *tell me how . . .*

jar asvin *tell ye me.*

šadoršur hukom etimi *he gave orders to his servants.*

tsoror kau etimi *he called out to the guards.*

ja dolat uyō'n w'ar gučiam *I have given you all my wealth.*

jar ruksat ašičuma? *will you give me leave?*

Š. Bahra'marhan ipfayo.an yu.am *he had given a stick to Sh. Bahram.*

- iii. Conveying the sense of *purpose, intention; aim, object*.

sailar niča ba *I am going for a walk.*

besanar dama'ban *for what — why — have you (pl.) come?*

daruror nicam *I shall go for hunting — to hunt.*

khate yur'tiser bišami *he shot at the leg of the bedstead.*

Especially with verbs preceded by "in order to", "for the purpose of" and after verbs of "intending to" "deciding to" etc. Infinitive.

udōri etāṣōr duwāšaman they went out to search for.
 uṣṣ guṣimo watanōr ni,asōr rak eḍa ke . . .
 if you wish, or propose, to go to your own country.
 uṣṣ go'sqanasōr dī.a he has come to kill thee.
 šīrasōr šapik, yo'lasar gatu food to eat, clothes to put on.

Present Base.

ite xābōr dusu'eōr dursimi he went out to get the information.
 unulo ya're e'eōr diš apim there is no place anywhere to bury him.
 u'e nimān iner bāre'yār (or, bāre'nasōr) they went off to look at him.

iv. To denote Advantage or Disadvantage.

kīnar nuqsā'n bila there is injury to him, he suffers injury.
 o'r taklif o'manē let there be no trouble to them.
 o'r astam ne settling the case for them.
 tsil akōrōr gaiyam I shall take water for myself.
 gusan er dumu'tsuman they brought a woman for him.
 ite e'ēi er atō'nin don't open that lock for him.
 ikōrōr tisan ne making a pit for himself.
 mer diš o'māimi there will be no place for us.

v. Miscellaneous.

There are occasional instances of the Possessive Dative: hi'rōr aminar ja'm jama'atane some relation of the man's. Dat. with "known to".

ja'r lel bila it is known to me, I know.

To "look at", "watch".

tamašōr bāreyam I shall watch the spectacle.

u nimān Paṣḍōr bāre'yār they went to look at Pangchu.

To "beware of", "take care (not to)".

gu'eōr e'eōr šāṣ stī beware of making a noise, take care not to speak.

With "near to".

tō'rīmi sa'atānōr asir near 10 o'clock.

but, gusmo ha asir near the woman's house.
 Rumi.e ha asir near the Rumi's house.

With "contented with".

kīnē hirōr uṣṣ rīz'a? je rīza.

are you contented with the man (the bridegroom)? I am contented.
 To "begin to".

i'ne i' esnilasōr dūyru'skinimi he began to placate his son.
 To "enquire from".

u'ōr, or u'e'tsum, dūyarusam I enquired of them.

vi. In Temporal Expressions.

a) Indicating Point of Time.

fulama ite guntōr on that day.

yaḥ guntōr on the next day.

tsōrdinar on the morrow, in the morning.

terumanōr at this point of time (when other things have occurred).

iski.ar (for the) third time, a 3rd. time.

b) Occasionally in dates instead of the usual locative in -ulo. Sambula turmatsindi.ar ya a'ltōrōr.

on the 15th or 20th of the month Sambula.

c) With Verbs, denoting the termination of the action of one verb when it is immediately followed by the action of the second. The subjects of the two verbs may be the same, but are usually different.

1. with the Infinitive: V. also § 395. d.

imo te'gušōr nīn ara'me ka gu'āmi. dūy gu'āiyasōr go'n manimi. Go'n manasōr Ba'dšāre mōrakōr dursimi.

Going to his own palace he lay down to sleep. After he had slept for a little while it became dawn. When it had become dawn he went out to the King's court.

This Infinitive is usually that of the finite verb of the preceding clause.

2. with the Static participle. V. also § 383.

salgo'se i'ṣi dīmōr ju'čam I shall come back when the mill-stone's beard is come, i.e. when millstones grow beards.

70. -ate, -ete.

The general force of this suffix is "on", "upon". The idea may be of simple "rest on", or it may be of "movement on to". It is probably the same as the latter part of the postposition and adverb *yaŕe up, on*. The following are illustrations of its principal uses:

i. Rest on, upon, and movement on to.

han taxtanaŕe dumu'tsuman they brought her on a litter.
yutis irigaŕe ba eŕi bo she kisses (on) his hand and foot.
gatuŕ taxtaŕe pfaŕ etumo she left the clothes on the litter,
guyemo gabaŕe guyemo buŕi.ar ni.

go on (by) your own road to your own country.

iŕe hayureŕe huljami he mounted (on) the horse.
gatuŕ taŕaŕe etimi.

he held the clothes on (over) the smoke, i. e. he smoked them.

ŕodo.ate ŕur isarkimi he brought the knife down on his windpipe.
turaŕe iŕe ŕiŕaŕe ta'ŕ ne pushing him up with its horn on to the mountain.
ŕiŕeŕe, tumaŕe, du'simi he climbed up the mountain, up the tree.

This use lends itself to metaphorical employment:

ureŕe uyum bam he was great over them, he was their senior.
Xuda'ŕe ikaŕe xarè etì expend it in the name of God.
i'ne perim'ete aŕŕiŕ amaranam.

I became enamoured of the fairy (cp. became sweet on her).

ŕap han ka'tanaŕe guciŕam I'll give you the meal on one condition.
humaŕe raè ne bam he kept watch over the ford.
gu'ŕe tiŕantŕe heŕ etin let him loose on the wheat-pits.
apartaŕe hu'ntŕe de'egus pulling out the arrow in the wrong direction.
i'no rai.ete of his own desire, free will, or motion.
gute yenaŕ adimaŕe eŕam I shall appropriate this money to myself.
ja tsundo rupi'a i'neŕe uŕ bila he owes me five rupees.
men thamule hukem Hindi.ate apim.

No Thams had authority over Hindi.

Œo'ngukure senumaŕe (hukumaŕe) Œare's eŕam.

they used to celebrate the "sheres" according to the saying (order) of Shongukur.

aki-laŕe on this wise.
bezailaŕe in what manner?
belaŕe in what manner? how?

ii. It may signify "at", or "in".

te'yuŕaŕe huru'ŕaman they abode at the palace.
samaŕe iltumal ne bam he was listening at the smoke hole.
i'ŕe diŕ yakalaŕe nimi he went in the direction of that place.
Kisare dukamaŕe dimanum bim it had been made at Kiser's shop.
i'ne mazariŕaŕe ya'ŕe etuman they buried him at the burial place.

iii. To indicate Instrument or Means.

e'miŕaŕe iŕa'rat etimi he made a signal with his finger.
ho'le ka ifayo'ate jaŕ etimi he fought the army with his stick.
ŕapik besanaŕe dan e'ŕan? with what are they cooking their food?
hu'ntŕaŕe delimi he hit him with an arrow.
te'yuŕor duhu.ate du'simi he climbed up into the palace by a rope.
hazar' besan i'la'ŕeŕe dauweŕuma.
perhaps you will be saved by some resource.

iv. It occurs also with Temporal Significance in:

han hisaŕe fat go'tam I (have) let you off for one month.
but here -ŕe should perhaps be te.i = thus. "I let you remain as you are".

v. It is used with certain Parts of the Verb.

a) with the Static participle. V. § 384.

ni'nin e'yenumaŕe Siŕ kaŕ etimi.
he went and slew Sing while he slept.
do'lat xarè etumaŕe di.unas apa'i.
he will not escape by expending wealth.

It appears to be generally used with the negative participle.
ba'dsa nokeri ayetumaŕe bes duko'wa?
why have you returned without having done service to the king?

b) with the present participle in -ume, -me.

e'ŕumaŕe irimi he died while doing it, in the act of doing it.
saimaŕe while saying, in the act of saying.

c) It is used occasionally with *Finite parts of Verbs*. V. § 407.
kine arar bai.i senabate (1st. sg. perf. sena-bu + a[ɛ?]) uywne
atsi yasirčuman.

*On I have said, i.e. when I say, "This man is my son in law"
all will laugh at me.*

vi. The combination -ate + ar → -ašar is commonly used after verbs of motion.

| | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| Lamašar ho'd di'mi | the army came to Lama. |
| išac bašašar niman | they went to the bridge. |
| tešašar du-sumo | she went up on to the roof. |
| tašy yakalašar pfor maiya'n | let us go back towards the palace. |
| ešašar lim gati'mi | the head of the arrow bit on (penetrated) his heart. |
| wiše duka-našar dumoyo | she has come to your shop. |
| yukašar gu'či | will sling them on the bier. |
| jašar ma'ri.e galt di'mi | the turn for giving the tribute has come to me. |

vii. The combination -ate + um → -atəm is comparatively rare except in the case of:

| | |
|--|--|
| yakalašum yakaltsum | from the direction of, on the part of. |
| i'ne bardša yakalašum | on the part of the king. |
| bardša yakalašum šapik di'meriyurkan ke. | |

if we obtain bread from (the direction of) the king.

Other examples are:

| | |
|--|--|
| tiha utantsašum yenas mirma'ni er etimi. | |
| he presented him with gold from on 100 camels. | |
| gu'imo tešašum tamašar bar'e'n. | |
| watch the spectacle from (on) your own roof. | |

| | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| qaburašum niza yi'ki ne | stealing the lance from on the grave. |
| tešašum xa walimi | he fell down from on the roof. |
| čarašum khau walimi | he fell down from the cliff. |
| ešašum nišar'niq | the tokens from on it. |

uwe bašašum pahlawa'ntiqašar de'šqallimi.

he came to those "pahlawans" from-on-the-bridge.

| | |
|-----------------------|---|
| guyašum qurban amanša | may I be a sacrifice for (from over) you! |
|-----------------------|---|

But in the first and the last three cases the -um is perhaps rather to be regarded as adjectival; "the pahlawans who were on the bridge", the "sacrifice that is for you". So:
sindašum (haratəm) baš the bridge (that is) over the river (the nullah).

71. The Ending -či.

i. I have a couple of instances where this suffix occurs with *-ltumal ear, apparently as a case suffix:

| | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| Pačeu iltumalšar (-či + ar) gimi | Pangchu got into its (the calf's) ear. |
| a-ltumalči čar bi | there is a knife on (in?) my ear. |

ii. Again as a case suffix it replaces -t in the following words:

| | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| *-xat mouth; *-lamat lap; *-sorçut | side of the body (under the clothes). |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|

| | |
|----------------------|---------------------------------|
| ixäči tabaš e'atuman | they put a bridle in his mouth. |
| alamači | on my lap. |

| | |
|------------------------------|--|
| jakune go'ko iso-çuči yanimi | he took the donkey foal under his cloak. |
|------------------------------|--|

The Ablative form muso-çu'eim is noted in § 78.

iii. Further, galči may be a case form of galt turn, occasion, time.
hik galt, hik galči on one occasion.

or they may both be nominative forms. The available examples do not serve to determine the question.

iv. It seems probable that yači is a case form of ya[ɛ] up, on, or it may be the rare word yas = head + tse.

| | |
|---------------------|--------------------|
| pfartsin yači stimi | he put on the cap. |
| čiče yači | up on the hill. |

v. One is also tempted to see a connection between pači, *-apači and *-apat or pa. V. § 79.

There is also ho'pa and ho'pači outside.

It is worth noting that I have once ači for atsi in
ači (or, atsi) yasirčuman they will laugh at me.

Other probable Examples of this suffix are: barči (bər), darči (dərts), and *-yanči (yan-əs). V. Vocab.

-či is possibly a variant of -tsi (§ 74), but in meaning it accords more with -tse.

72. -xa, -xa-šiqar.

There appears to be no distinction in meaning or use between these two forms, but the shorter is the more common. -šiqar, probably the dative of a form †šiq, recalls the Shina postposition -siq up to, until.

The following are illustrations of the principal uses:

i. TIME up to, until, for, during.

- a) dərüm xa up to the present, yet, still.
 murto xa, murto xa-šiqar up till now.
 gutə xa, or xa-šiqar up till this (time).
 bəruman deniq xa, or xa-šiqar for some years.
 bəruman waxt xa-šiqar for some time.
- b) It is very commonly used with the -š form of the verb. V. § 358.
 je juš xa till my coming, till I come.
 urqe niš xa (xa-šiqar) till your going, till you go.
 gon o'manš xa so long as it does not become dawn, till dawn comes.

ii. PLACE up to, as far as.

- ba xa juča'n they come as far as the house.
 Trəgbal xa as far as Tragbal.
 šafaxa'na xa-šiqar as far as the dispensary.

iii. NUMBER up to.

- talo xa up to seven.

73. -tse (-atse, -etse).

Probably in the majority of cases the suffix -tse can be rendered by the English "upon", "on", with or without the accompaniment of motion. In such cases I have found nothing that certainly differentiates it from -atse, which can be similarly translated, but where motion is in question the idea conveyed by -tse is possibly more that of CONTACT than of superposition.

The following examples illustrate the use of -tse.

i. REST upon.

- Pağčutse keru bur bim there were many lice on Pangču.
 ba-dān hiqtse ra'či bam there were guards (posted) on the king's gate.

samatay tešitse laq apim bitse.

the frame of the smoke-hole is (in its place) on the roof unmoved.

andiltse bim (the brooch) was on my breast.

mentse pfut nimmai i barn ke rne ite'in.

whoever you (pl.) fall in love with, marry him (cp. -atse ašiq § 70. 1).

estse apim they (tail, horns etc.) were not on it (the body).

gaptse biške the hair on the hide.

pfu'atse garurum ne warming them at the fire.

ii. MOTION upon with verbs of "seizing", "laying hold of", "striking against".

kinemutse duyam I shall seize her.

murintse dur'n (they) laying hold of her hand, seizing her by the hand.

kəktse yamu gani bi.

"frost has taken on these", i.e. they have become frozen.

hurntsetse dunimi ke if it catches hold of the arrow.

ja ha'yurtse durimi it will catch my horse.

tiktse delimi he flung him on the ground.

alta šiško han(h)antse dura delji bim.

two mountains were butting against each other.

kinse besan thaiyas api nothing has any effect on this man.

tsiltse gati mi he put his mouth to the water(?), began to drink cp. *-tsi gati mi.

mentse čimili.en yaiyi ke if the fragments strike anyone.

mazəre battse yatus yeči bi.

his head strikes against the stone roof of the grave.

širi daqotse taq ečan they tie it to the roof post.

tsi'rtse diru yami the bullet struck the goat (she-ibex).

The idea is MATERIAL or FOUNDATION in:

giri.e bi'tse diram pfitimuts e'r o'ti.

make "diram" bread for him with ibex fat.

mamutse gual bread made with milk.

iii. A special idiomatic use of -tse is illustrated in the following:

urqtse (or gutse) besan (gu.i'k) bila? what is thy name?

ja'tse Imam Yar Beg bila my name is Imam Yar Beg.

ni myu'tse Dir'am Čur'am bila our father's name is Diram Čuram.

iv. It is used with certain parts of the verb:

a) with the Infinitive under the influence of a suitable governing word, v. § 396.

urū huljaiyastse yāsiki bi it is fit for you to ride,
n xušī etastse deryū'iskinuman they began to make merry.

b) with the static participle, v. § 386.

moyenuntse mušol gimi.
whileshe(was) sleeping her labour came on, or, on her going to sleep.

c) a suffixal enclitic -tse is used with a form approximating to the present participle, giving the sense "would be", "should be", but it seems impossible to connect it semantically with this nominal suffix. V. §§ 313 & 351.

v. Miscellaneous Examples of the use of -tse.

ixakinmutse mamu bilam.

there was milk with his daughter-in-law i.e. she was with milk.

daytse nišen may they go to sleep.

uyom tsirtse all in turn.

(also: žame tsirtsum taskuman).

je urytse pasom amaiya ba(?)

(pasom is a term indicating deprecation).

sartse hurutimi he sat in the sun.

eša tuyulitse banda čape maza omaimi.

there isn't be the flavour of human flesh about that lamb.

vi. The combination -tse + or → tsar (-atsar) frequently occurs after verbs of motion.

ime hiñtsar dirmi he came to the door.

Note that hiñtsar to the door is the stock phrase as opposed to ha-lar to the house.

hiñtsar dīn coming to the door.

i-te bultsar došqaltuman they arrived at the spring.

čartsar (or cartse) iriñčiñe . . . durn.

seizing the cliff with his hands (the context shows that it means putting his hands against the cliff to support himself).

iyoltsar for a twelve month.

yo'ltsar hisa-b eti reckon up to twelve months.
jil manastsum bu'r manastsar from sunrise to sunset.

vii. On the analogy of

-ale, -alor, -alun.

-ate, -ator, -atum.

one is tempted to assign -tsum to -tse.

-tse, -tsar, -tsum.

The significance of -tsum would in that case be something like "from (being in) contact with". In some cases the -um is adjectival:

gaptsum biške the hair that-is-on the hide.

viii. As with -tsum, so with -tse there is sometimes an initial vowel sound a, e- thus:

hu-ntsatsē (or, hu-ntsetse) durnā aiy emanimi ke.

if it is unable to lay hold of the arrow.

hiñtsē, hiñtsar at the door, to the door.

74. -tsi.

There is undoubtedly a particle -tsi but I can only attest it certainly with the pronominal prefixes and chiefly in alliance with certain verbs. It is tempting to suspect it of being merely a form of -tse, but the difference of the vowels is on the whole consistently maintained, and I have only one example of -tse used with the pronominal prefixes, viz. gurtse v. § 73. III, and possibly itse, p. 26. 5.

i. In most cases it is difficult to assign an exact meaning to -tsi, but sometimes the meaning of -tse would seem to be appropriate to it:

atsi pfa artsima seems to mean: "you have set fire to me".

waziri itsi tawid etimi he entrusted the Wazirship to him.

ii. It is used in the following verbal combinations:

*-tsi bayalte'as to go mad.

*-tsi gartass to run after.

*-tsi gata's to bite v. t.

*-tsi yasa's to laugh at.

- *-tsi thaiya's to pursue v. t.
 °-tsi (*-tse?) yenas to take with one(?)
 also *-tsi || °-tse dur'as to lay hold of.
- iii. We seem to have the suffix -ate added to it in:
 itsi.ate Kisar ke du'simi.
and Kiser crossed (the river) after him v. p. 176. 8.
 irumar itsi.ate etas dastur }
 u.irumar utsi.ate etas dastur } *funeral customs.*
- iv. Connected with -tsi appears to be the form -tsimo used with the prefixed pronouns with ablative force:
 gutsimo doyarusa ba *I am enquiring from you.*
 mutsimo dutsimi *he took them from her.*

75. -tsum, (-atsum).

The force of this suffix corresponds in general to the ordinary conception of the ABLATIVE.

It denotes the *Point of Departure* and is associated with the idea of "removal from", "differentiation from".

It is used:

- i. after verbs, denoting *motion from*.
 imo te'yu'stum ho'le atur'dam *he used not to come out of his palace.*
 hayurtsum sokim'i (or, d'raḡ manimi) *he dismounted from his horse.*
 xatan e'čutsum dimi *a letter came from his brother.*
 wimo hartsum guts'runan *they proceed from their house.*
 ise čortsum tsil dušila *water issues from that cliff.*
Metaphorical:
 daḡtsum ditalimi *he awoke from sleep.*
 gute duro ja'tsum ačuči.
this thing will not come from me, i.e. I cannot do it.
- ii. To indicate a *source*, or *situation from which something proceeds*, is taken, obtained or sought. This heading is taken to include its use after verbs of *asking from*, *demanding from*, *fearing* (with source of the fear), being *pleased* or *displeased with* etc.
 sanduqtsum gatuy di.usin *taking the clothes out of the box.*

- uḡ ja'r guyakaltsum ban hui.enan s'ei *give me a token from yourself.*
 mi gusaatsum busan fa.ida?
what advantage (would there be) from our telling you?
 guse hayur uḡe nasibtsum Xudarye tumuk etai.
God has created this horse thanks to, (owing to?), your luck.
 gute ta.a'm besantsum bilum? *of what was this bread (made)?*
 (etan) *(of what had they made it?)*
 ure'tsum doyarusumi *he enquired of them*
 ku'to gutsimo (= uḡtsum) doyarusa ba *today I ask you.*
 gatuy ja'tsum dumarumo *she asked me for the clothes.*
 ba'dsatsum hukum dumar.
ask an order, i.e. get permission, from the king.
 je uḡtsum ar amaiya ba *I am afraid of you.*
 pa'dsa G.M.M. tsam xus manimi *the king was pleased with G.M.M.*
- iii. By an extension of the last, to indicate *cause* or *means*.
 Kisar iriḡtsum gu.irčuma *you will die by the hand of K.*
 ba'dsa hukumtsum . . . utsu'man.
by the king's command they carried them away.
 ba'dsa me'horbun'tsum *by the king's kindness.*
 ite'tsum, gute'tsum *for that reason, for this reason, owing to that, this.*
 itse'tsum ja o'l manis!
would that my belly might be filled with those things!
- iv. To indicate *separation from*, hence in statements of *comparison*, *differentiation*, *distinction*.
 imo šadorantsum yor *ahead of his servants.*
 mamatsum ilji dašqalcam *I shall arrive behind (after) you (pl.).*
 basi.etsum holum pa *outside the garden.*
 yugušants uyontsum uyum borm.
she was greater than (senior to) all the (other) daughters.
 kuc uyontsum gute diš su.a ja'r ačima.
this place you have given me is better than what you have given
to any of the others (lit. all these).
 ja'tsum burt gan-hennum bo *she knows the road much better than I.*
 uḡtsum ja burt hey'a ba *I know much more than you.*

akuruntsum da besan nyemai.imi.

he will be unable to do anything (more) than this much (that he has done).

uretsum matañ numā getting a long way from them.

urñtsum ti menan ke no one other than you, no one but you.

ja ðaldatsum turman etimi.

he did something other than my order i.e. than I ordered.

Its idiomatic use with adjectives comes under this head.

buñtsum buñ aiyas momanomo she became excessively happy.

ðaltastsum daltas gatuy

ñuatsum ke ñu.ñ gatuy

morñtsum (ke) morññ gatuy

} the best of clothes.

Š. B. B. matañtsum matañ me.ime.

Sh. getting further and further away.

v. In expressions of time.

a) With the sense of "after" (as in Shina).

yoñtsum at the end of twelve months.

hurñdo satsum after nine months.

beruman denñtsum after some years.

b) With adverbs or postpositions denoting before and after.

Š. Bahramtsum iñjum tham manwam.

he had become Tham after Sh. Bahram.

guteñtsum ilji after this, hereafter.

guteñtsum yar before this, previously.

Note also:

guntatsum guntat from day to day.

vi. It may be used with certain parts of the verb.

a) The infinitive, v. also § 397.

iñe niyastsum ilji after his going, after he had gone.

iñe juryastsum yar before his coming.

b) The Static Participle, v. also § 387.

xurñts lavñ manumñtsam yetsuman.

after the dust had passed off they saw.

turma añto sa nñntsum when 12 months had passed.

vii. There are other uses which do not fit into the above scheme. da hañlatsum doyorusuñmi then he enquired about (his) circumstances. tsirñtsum (more often tsirñtse) in turn, one after another.

Frequently, if not always, with nouns ending in -ts the suffix takes the form of -atsum, -atsum instead of -tsum. V. § 47, note. Thus:

turman añtatsatsum

from twelve.

walñkatsatsum

after 4 days.

Toñkatsatsum

from the people of Tol.

epñkatsatsum

from his maternal relations.

ite guntatsum, -atsum

from that day.

We find also:

ite xurññatsum

from the cloud.

arape mulñkatsum

from the country of Arab.

basi.etsum

from the garden.

hiñgatsum maharamññe

the ushers at the gate.

This may be hiñg + atse + um the -um being adjectival.

In telatsum

from there.

and akoñlatsum

from here.

the -a- may represent the -e of tele and akoñle, which in turn may be the Gen. Obl. suffix.

I have recorded 'atsum for 'atsum from them.

76. -ulo.

This suffix (possibly related to *uñ, belly), which also exists independently as an Adverb, is added directly to the Nominative form of the noun. I have also noted it once or twice used with the Genitive or Oblique of the noun

hiñg.ulo gimi he went in at the door v. § 65.

But in these instances ulo, uñlo, seems to have preserved its adverbial value, just as the English "in at the door", as opposed to "into the house".

Occasionally with nouns ending in -i, there is elision or absorption of the -u or of the -i, v. § 51.

The primary meaning of -ulo is "in", "inside", "into". The following are illustrations of its principal uses:

i. Denoting Rest or Situation IN a place.

| | |
|--|---|
| imo dišulo hurutimi | he sat down in his own place. |
| ite dasulo han hayuren bim | in that desert place was a horse. |
| tarğulo baii | he is in the palace. |
| han dišenulo | in, or at, a certain place. |
| Rume hušai.ulo | in the country of Rum. |
| dari.ulo hurutum boim | she was sitting in, or at, the window. |
| ite bešai.e mušulo | at the end — frontier — of that country. |
| murigulo tik nukau, iškilulo nidilen duwalumo. | taking earth in her hand and throwing it in his face she flew away. |

It is found in: *amulo?* || *am?* where?, and the once recorded *akulo* in here.

ii. Metaphorically IN a STATE, CONDITION etc.

| | |
|------------------------------|---|
| yunkis̄ harlatulo ban | they are in an evil state. |
| but aramulo ban | we are in great comfort. |
| ime ɣamulo herča ban | we are weeping in grief for him. |
| ja xismatulo | in my service. |
| esulo raii stimi | he determined in his heart. |
| guyets̄ase armanulo but ban. | they are greatly in desire of seeing you, i.e. they are longing to see you. |

iii. Denoting MOTION INTO.

ite basulo ɣašil nutsun taking firewood to ("into") that halting-place.
xurtsulo iker wašimi he hurled himself, plunged, into the dust.

But instead one may use *ulo* adverbially and put the noun in the Dative.

| | |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| ulo tarğer ničai | he goes into the fort. |
| pfari.e ulo garčuman | they plunged into the pond. |

iv. IN TEMPORAL EXPRESSIONS.

a) Point of Time.

| | |
|----------------|----------------------------|
| gute waxtulo | at the present time. |
| han guntsanulo | one day, on a certain day. |

yorum zaman.ulo in former times.

Seratan turma tarndi.ulo on the 15th of the month of Seratan.

b) Duration of Time.

| | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| ta qutsulo (hutsulo) mušul giri. | during 100 days her labour pains came on, persisted. |
| warito guntsiyulo | during four days. |
| tale denulo | during the course of seven years. |

v. It is similarly used with TEMPORAL FORCE WITH VERBS.

a) With the Infinitive, giving the sense "at the time of" "when", v. § 398.

ni.asulo at the time of his departing, when he was going away.

b) It is occasionally used with the Static Participle, v. § 388.

vi. Miscellaneous Examples.

traulo as (pay) share. Cp. Engl. "in payment".

tsil rai.ulo mišaii.

he drinks water according to his desire, when he pleases.

wne kartulo ki'ne dimanaai.

this (child) has been born inside your agreement, i.e. subject to the terms of your agreement.

ime gwe mutotulo dum ho'le wašimi.

catching the woman by the hand (paw) he flung her out.

o-šumutsulo dum seizing them by the necks.

ame.ulo tari yami the polo ball struck me on the tooth.

omišulo boro'ndo yurtiqulo kafsamuts e'ltin.

put a ring on his finger and shoes on his feet.

toromo 'emlants uyonulo (beron'dumuts) bima be?

Were there rings on all his ten fingers, or not?

ime khate yur-tisulo je deljam.

I'll hit (with an arrow) the leg of his bed.

khate yur-tisulo hu'ants nin yami.

the arrow went and stuck in the leg of the bed.

gidulo wašim bi it is hanging on a peg.

gaškulo i'kar wašimi he hung himself (suicide) with a rope.

gute bar menulo o'san don't tell about this to anyone.

This phrase occurs twice along with *menor o'san* and *menale o'saiya ba* on one page (p. 118. 17, 21) of my texts and so presumably was not a mishearing for *menale*, but it seems a very questionable idiom.

77. -ulum.

This is an extension of -ulo. The -um as when used alone may either be adjectival, the meaning being "pertaining to the inside of", or it may have a distinctly ablative sense, "from", -ulum being then "from in", "out of".

i. The following are examples of its use with ABLATIVE force:

am? amulo *where?* amulum? *from where?*

sandqulum gator ar di.usin.

take ye the clothes out of the box for me.

ulo moyumorum hol ne kam manimi.

a cry came out from inside her bowels.

guse syulum di.usin *taking it out from the forge.*

ba-dsa i-mo te-nyululu matan ite ganer durbin wa-dcam.

the king from inside his palace used to train a telescope far away on that road.

tor till.ene e-delum de-egus.

taking the whip off the pommel of the saddle (from wh. it would be hanging by a thong attached to its handle). Cp. § 76.

VI gi-lulo.

pardsa maraka-ulum gatsaruman *they proceeded from the king's court.*

tsil nyon yulkulum demiman *they bailed all the water out off the well.*

ii. Examples of the ADJECTIVAL USE are:

marakarulum sis *the people belonging to in-the-court i.e. the people*

present in the court, the people of the court.

itc melkulum sis *the people of that country.*

isc tinjorulum haliq di.usin.

taking out the marrow (that was) in its bones.

In many cases it is difficult to decide whether its force is ablative or adjectival.

8. -um.

The suffix -um is usually adjectival (= "pertaining to", also as termination of static pc.), but it has sometimes distinctly ablative force.

We have seen it in this character added to

-ale, -ate, -ulo and perhaps -tse.

ijum is usually an adjective: *pertaining to the rear, hind, last etc.*

But in such phrases as the following it certainly plays the part of an Ablative:

ijum ba-dsa ju-dam *the king was coming along from behind.*

u jatsum i-ijem do-sqaltuman.
they came up from behind me, they overtook me.

matanum *from afar.*

ya-um *from above.*

Calum tayay dusuin *fetch mud from Chalt.*

Thamo tha-nem du-wa-cha-n *they go out from the Thams' palace.*

ise asider torum tar etimi *he cut the dragon into pieces, piece from piece.*

tra-um tra-um manuman *they divided into parties.*

Added to -ei it yields -cim, (v. § 71).

musoryu-dim xa wali bi *it has fallen down from her side.*

With a temporal sense:

altuwa-ter kutsum *after 40 days.*

USES of the POSTPOSITIONS. (V. § 58).

79. *-apa-ci.

In the possession of, to (a person), beside, close to; with the verb "to be" often = *to have, possess.*

It seems reasonable to regard *-apa-ci and *-apat as related to each other and as derivatives from pa, *side, direction*. *-apa-ci may be *-apat + tsi.

It is to be noted that a simple form pa-ci occurs as a noun or adverb:

itum pa-ci *the other side.*

iljem pa-ci garts *gallop back (here again).*

*-apači is generally used with reference to animate beings and is frequently satisfied with the pronominal prefix without a noun's being expressed. When there is a noun it is in the nominative form.

The dative form *-apačor (occasionally *-apačlor) is used with verbs of motion.

opačor di'mi he came to them.
but also m'čaki.o opačor ni'nin going to the guards.

Examples:

ja apači huru't stay with me.
i'n ja' apačor ju'či he will come to me.
beran pfulan asba'ban gopači bi ke any vessel thou mayest have.
ja ačo gopačor ju'či my brother will come to thee.
hiy apači (or, hiņas) daldi em bam he was standing beside the door.

Note its use with the inanimate hiy.

tsil epači bila he has water.
da ni'mi nu'jum epačor senimi then he went to the astrologer and said.
Lana Bru'mo e mopači e'estaqam L. B. had concealed him beside herself.

Note that here the mo- is reflexive.

i'ne Lana Bru'mo mopačor di'mi he came to Lana Bru'mo.
in hamiša opači sa tap bam he was always with them day and night.

The form *-apačim occurs occasionally with adjectival force, but in the following it appears to be an ablative:

opačim hameša fat aytas o'čai.i he causes them always not to let
him go from beside them, i.e. to keep him always with them.

80. a) Reference may be made here to *-apat, *-afat (pl. -iñ). The word means "side", "flank" (of a person) and is used as an ordinary noun with the case suffixes:

ja apatulo huru'timi he sat down beside me.
iriñ epataje jek netan.

stretching out its (the corpse's) arm along its side.

mopata dal jakume go'ko ergučami.

he laid down the donkey's foal along beside her.

It does seem to be used independently without inflection in the sense of the English "beside", "close to", e. g. in:

dal apat beside me on the upper side.
ilji apat close behind me.

But this is scarcely sufficient to justify one in regarding it as a part-time postposition.

b) asir' near, close is probably originally an adverb, but it can be used as a postposition.

i'ne ya epačor asir' manimi he came close to the bear.

gusmo ha asir' manimi he came near the woman's house.

In this last sentence "ha" may be nom., gen. or general oblique. V. also § 69. V.

asir' itself may be put in the dat. form:

asiror nuko'n baren going near, look.

81. -gane.

This postposition takes the noun in the Genitive or General Oblique case, but it is not used independently.

i. With personal nouns and pronouns it denotes "for", "for the sake of".

ii. With other nouns generally "on account of", "because of", "by reason of".

iii. With Infinitives usually "in order to". V. § 399.

Examples:

i. hin p'oricannu gane i'te basi otam I had had that garden made
for a certain fairy,

xudare gane for God's sake!

hol duwan' u'ye gane the army has come for you (i.e. to fight you).

u'ne i'ne gane yu'sam bušo'ho kaš otuma you made them kill
the "fatted" calf for his sake.

ja gane for my sake, on my account.

ii. gute gane on this account, because of this, owing to this, for this reason.

i'te gane for that reason.

gute bare gane i'ntsum duryas ask him in regard to this, about this.

iii. u'ñ guyatsase gane (gane) . . . huru'tam I stayed . . . in order
to see you.

82. hərəŋ, hərəŋ.

The word seems essentially to mean "middle" though it does not appear to be used as a simple noun in that sense.

hərəŋ and hərəŋulo occur postpositionally meaning "among", "between", "in the midst of". The accompanying noun is in the nominative form.

u'i hərəŋ əl umana'n they have quarrelled among themselves.
sis u'e hərəŋ se.iba'n people are saying among themselves.

Hunzo ke Nagər hərəŋulo sinda bila there is a river between Hunza and Nagir.

mi ke u hərəŋulo ɔir bi it is the boundary between us and them.

je k' u'u hərəŋulo ni'mi all is over between thee and me.

u'e Kisərə qom hərəŋtsum hin sisan i'rimi a man of (from among) the tribe of the Kiseri died.

hərəŋutali v. itigartali § 84.

83. i'liji, *i'liji after, behind.

This word is normally an adverb, but I have recorded a'liji after me, behind me:

a'liji duko'sqalčvma thou wilt arrive after me, i.e. thou wilt overtake me.

And *i'liji kan or *i'liji kaŋ behind:

ja a'liji kaŋ ɔal di'em bam he was standing behind me.

Xərum Bat i'liji kan no'bir'ak making dig behind the X.B. (boulder).

The impersonal form i'liji is also used with the Ablative, meaning "after" (of time):

i'ne niyastsum i'liji after his departure.

gutəstsum i'liji after this, hereafter, in future.

84. i'digari, itigari, itsgari, itigartali around, round about.

These forms are used both as adverbs and as postpositions:

i'ləumutse itigari tikumets e'ə'n round his eyes they paint spots.

ite sam i'digari ma'u etimi he meined round the smoke-hole.

ha itigartali round the house.

tali is perhaps connected with talemas to go round.

Similarly I have once recorded: hərəŋutali.

gira'mičiŋ hərəŋutali gan ni bila.

a road has gone (passes) between the villages.

85. ka, *-aka.

I had usually written this postposition as "kha", but Imam Yar Beg writes it without aspiration (ʽ).

ka is also used independently as an Adverb meaning "together", "along with", "at the same time", with no noun expressed.

It is commonly used with the prefixed pronouns when it appears to be of the form °-aka, giving:

go'ka with thee.

e'ka with him etc.

but: mi'ka with us, as though from °-ka.

It is an independent postposition and takes the Genitive or Oblique form of the noun.

The following are illustrations of its principal uses:

i. With, in company with, along with.

je.imo kuyo'e nyo'ne ka ni'den we shall go with all my subjects.

hasere səl ku paritiŋe ka etī make the round of the gardens with these peris.

ə'ə'puniŋ hin hi'ne ka etuman they conversed with one another.

gaptse bi'ske gape ka fat etimi he left the hair on the hide, with the hide.

je u'ne ka a'ə'ŋə'm I won't come with you.

ba'dsəstsum ja'r ma'ka tsər hərə'tasər hukum dər'mər ask leave from the king for me to do guard duty with you.

ii. Denoting ACCOMPANYING CIRCUMSTANCE:

xu'si'e ka xəbər nukah joyfully (with pleasure) taking the news.

imo rizai e ka with his own consent.

o'se ka with their hearts, willingly, heartily.

bu't mu'saqate ka with much trouble, inconvenience.

adəbe ka hurutimi he sat down respectfully.

arə'ne ka du'wə'sumah they remained in peace.

a'jai.ih nu're ka gusan a woman with (a) wonderful light (of beauty).

iii. Denoting INSTRUMENT (not common).

imo iriye ka qulf do'nimi *he opened the lock with his hand.*
 uđine ka yetsuman *they saw with their eyes.*

The following is not, strictly speaking, instrumental but is not far removed from it:

hayur yenise tili.eđ yenise ta'baye ka nittol.
saddling the horse with the golden saddle and the golden bridle.

iv. It sometimes merely reinforces or takes the place of *ke* (= *and*).

jam'at ke aiyu.e ka du'se.as mu'kil bila *it is difficult to feed my wife and children.*

without *ke*.
 i'ne yorib g'u's uy'de ka ar'm ne huru'čirban *the poor woman and her children abode in peace.*

v. MISCELLANEOUS USES:

a) with *xuš* pleased with.

er'ari ka bur't xuš imanimi
he was very much pleased with his son-in-law.

Š. B.e'ka bur't xuši etimi.
he expressed great satisfaction with Š. B. (?)

b)

ine si're ka bani seibam *they say he possessed magical powers.*
 mika beske duro api *you have no business with us.*
 selanc ka surmai bai.i *he begins (to work) on a needle.*
 han šulle ka tobaq *a single-barrelled gun.*

vi. When used with pronominal prefixes these latter may refer back to the subject:

besan e'ka ditsai.i? *what has he brought with him(=self)?*
 tsil a'ka guiyam *I shall take water with me.*

(It has not been recorded with the Reflexive ^o-kor = *self*.)

vii. *Ka* is used with TEMPORAL force with certain parts of verbs.

a) with the Static Participle, v. § 385.

b) with the Infinitive, v. § 400.

du'đ huru'tase ka talo taljo dum.i.e.
when he had sat (there) for a little, seven pigeons came up.

86. *xa* (kha, xau).

xa is normally an Adverb *down, downwards*, but it occasionally occurs as a postposition with the noun in the Genitive or General Oblique, meaning

down, down from, down through etc.

đari.e xa dulur'ate šak numan *sliding down from the window by a rope.*
 gutas . . . hama xau wašimi *he threw the corpse down through the smoke-hole.*
 ha sagam xa waši bam.

he had thrown (the corpse) down through the smoke-hole of the house.
 mosuyute xa tike'ar walimi *it fell down her side to the ground.*

mosuyučim xa wali bi *it has fallen down from her side (ablative).*

hame xa de'squš *let her let it down from (or, through) the smoke-hole.*

e'moqiše xa Bani Ha'sime gu'i bi *down his cheek is the Bani Ha'sim line.*

čije xa sokečam *I shall go down the ladder.*

Hunzuwe xa di'n *coming down from, (or, through) Hunza.*

87. šatur'gat, šatur'gat *round about.*

The word means *neighbourhood*, but is also used like *i-tiguri* above § 84.

ha šatur'gat *round the house.*

88. *thi, ti.*

This word seems to be originally an adjective meaning *other, else*. Used as a postposition it takes the noun in the ablative and signifies: *apart from, besides, but, without, except*.

There are transitional uses where it may be regarded as an adjective qualifying one noun, or as a postposition related to another.

gusetsum ti besan bia? *is there any other thing than this?*

is there anything besides this?

kintsum ti men ba'na? *are there any others besides this man?*

han . . . belisantsum thi besan apim *there was nothing but one sheep.*

gutetsum ti besan thar'j api *there is no other remedy than this, there is no remedy but this.*

In the next example the character of *thi* as a postposition is fairly established, and in the last two it is absolute:

watəntsum ti šī.šar mīne besan emēam.
except the husks no one (pl.) used to give him anything to eat.
hokumitsum ti apart from, without orders.

jatsum ti unj hinuman ni you go on alone without me.

In the following we appear to have *thi* with the general oblique:
but juwəb sawalē ti (Ms. sawal etv) šayamiš etas hakinam.
they had learnt to converse without much speech (lit. answer and question).

89. *yakał, yakał in the direction of, towards.

This word is essentially a noun meaning *direction*. It is frequently used with the suffixes -ate, -atar denoting in the direction of, towards, and sometimes with -tsum and -um denoting from the direction of, on the part of, on behalf of, from.

The simple form yakał probably contains the pronominal prefix *i*.

miyakał apəre'n! don't look at us!
imo watan yakał gutsərimi he proceeded towards his own country,
nyakał pfu-t ayetum without looking at them.

With verbs of motion yakałatar is generally used.

sinda yakałatar gərtsumo she ran towards the river.
ayakałsum unər guyam I have given it to you from myself.
badša yakałatəm šəpik gatə diməyurkan ke should we obtain food
and clothing from (the part of) the king.

da hir yakałum hin, dəsın mnyakałum hin ja-man do.ičərn then they
make stand up one relation on behalf of the man (bridegroom), and
one on behalf of the girl (bride).

90. ya-re, *ya-re.

ya-re is an adverb meaning *down, below*, but it is also used with the pronominal prefixes, or following a noun, with postpositional force: *under, beneath, below*.

It can take the dative suffix -ər and the ablative -cm.

mia ya-re under the table.

tik ya-re etumtəum after being put under the earth, after being buried,
ekatiš ya-rər ja dam at-əsqaltimi.

my breath did not reach to under his armpits.

tik ya-rum senimi from under the ground he said . . .

91. These forms also occur with a meaning approaching the English *before, in front of* (Hindustani *samne*; Persian *pi-š i*), corresponding to the meaning of the adverb "ya-r" *before, in front, etc.*

As I have also recorded from Nazer

| | | | |
|----------|-----|--------|--------|
| ya-rum | for | ya-rum | first. |
| and ya-r | for | ya-r | |

it is possible that "ya-re" used in this sense is to be referred to "ya-r":

ta-aman gya-re di biluma? had some food come before you?

kəbəb Alqas ya-re əsimi he set roast meat before Alqas.

in ya-re buyat ne . . . fat ətimi I having petitioned him . . . he let me go.

guse (tsir) unj gya-rər walimi this (ibex) fell in front of thee.

ya-rum means from the presence of, from before, from.

Daltas Manurko nya-rum nukərtisın D. M. fleeing from (before) them.

guy əsqanas ya-rum nukərtisın ko-lar di bəm thy father, fleeing
from (fear of) being killed had come here.

sərum numan thamo nya-rum əp etuman being ashamed, they con-
ceded (the matter) from the Thams.

92. *yanēi, *yanə-r, *yanēi-ar.

The usual idiom is *yanə-r niyas *to go to meet someone*: it is used especially of intentional formal receptions (Arabic-Persian *istiqbal*).

Similarly *yanə-r ju-yas and yanēi manas.

je yanə-r niča ba I am going out to meet him.

nyanə-r di.a yetsuman they saw that he had come to meet them.

nyanēi manimi he met me (on the road).

I do not appear to have any examples of it used directly with a noun.

93. yər, *-yər.

yər occurs ordinarily as an adverb or adjective, but it may be used with a noun to denote *before* (of time).

gütətsum yər *before this.*

inə juyastsum yər *before his coming.*

The forms with the pronominal prefixes in the examples available denote *before* (of place), *in front of*, *ahead of*.

bəšəl mi hođguš amulər niman ke, miyər mane.

whenever we go (went) anywhere to fight, do thou go in front of us.

aiyar han bu'lan bila *there is a spring on ahead of me.*

tum gamane uyər di'nsimi *he came out by another road ahead of them.*

94. *-yaŋe above, over, upon.

The simple adverb yaŋe does not appear to be used as a postposition with nouns, or else it cannot be distinguished from the case-suffix -aŋe.

It occurs, however, sometimes with the pronoun prefixes:

abaš ayaŋe di'mar *when trouble has come on me.*

gali guyaŋe de'rčam *I'll throw a blanket over thee.*

The ablative, or adjectival form *-yaŋum is found in:

guyaŋum qurbən amanša? *may I be thy sacrifice!*

95. yon, *-yən over.

I have only a few examples of this word.

hala dan yon gartsimi *(the polo ball) has passed over the goal stone.*

Šiyərum Biraldo yon di bam *he had come from Sh. over the Biraldo (pass?)*

guyon dal taljik duryan *some pigeons have come over thee (in the air).*

NOUN COMBINATION and the DUPLICATION of NOUNS.

96. Duplication.

i. The practice of repeating a noun with an altered initial sound, giving a sense of indefiniteness and suggesting a certain vagueness of mind, common in Hindustani and Pashtu, is known but not common in Burushaski. Thus:

tobak mobak *guns, firearms.*

uc imo ma'l ha'l utray o'tini *he divided up his property among them.*
kart hət o'tini *he laid injunctions on them.*

ii. Nouns are occasionally repeated in their ordinary form, either singular or plural, to denote multiplicity:

dandaŋə eškəšume *galloping over the stones.*

talo muyəgušants burdo burdo-ulo gili udelimi.

he pegged down her seven daughters, each in a separate boulder.
(burdo is plural).

97. Combination.

When two nouns are closely connected in thought and stand in the same grammatical relation to the rest of the sentence, the use of a conjunctive particle is frequently dispensed with. In any case only the latter noun of the combination, as a rule, carries a case suffix or the suffix -an. An accompanying verb may be affected by both components, or only by the last one.

Examples:

Nominative.

sa tap *day and night.*

talo altambu.an *seven or eight.*

tamine ku.in *last year and this year.*

yenise tabaŋ t'li.en asba'b uyən.

the golden bridle and saddle and all the equipment.

marmər abašan subašan di.e ke *if ill or good befall you.*

bir ya gusaŋ uiruman ke *if a man or a woman died (i.e. die).*

Trans. Nominative.

mu' ke mu'mi.e mayetsuman *her father and mother saw her.*

yus ke yu'e hanik fataŋ ne *his wife and sons uncovering the bowl.*

Accusative.

šapik gatu ditso *bring food and clothing.*

ja gute hiŋ sam ra'e ne huru *stay guarding this door and smoke-hole of mine.*

Genitive.

mu' mu'mi.e ha'lum *from her father and mother's house.*

hile's ke dašimo ntku *the marrying of the lad and girl.*

Dative.

u' umiär . . . se.iba'n they used to say to their father and mother.

Oblique.

juwa'ib sawa'le ti without answer and question, i.e. without conversing.
 tik pletige deluman they pelted him with earth and ashes.
 yutis iringsje ba cäibo she kisses (on) his foot and hand.

98. The following combinations are worth noting:

^o-ut ^o-riñ for ^o-utis ^o-riñ foot (and) hand.

The sense is usually plural "hands and feet".

ako'le gut guriñ šaro sti wash your hands and feet here.
^o-ak ^o-yu children.

This apparently stands for ^o-a.i ke ^o-yu daughter and sons.

I have also go'k guri, where the last element is singular, the sense, however, being the same, thy children.

mak maiyu bama? awa nazer, ak ayu barn.

have you (any) children? Yes, sir, I have children.

99. A proper noun is sometimes used adjectivally in apposition with a common noun or another proper noun, cp. § 59. V.

| | |
|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| Gilit ywēni | the Gilgit "Yacheni". |
| Boryo gal | the Boro's juniper. |
| Hunzo Baltitelo | in Baltit (in) Hunza. |
| Šišper barulo | in Šišper mullah. |
| Guryo burn | Guryo's (man's name) boulder. |

So also alto jakor is used adjectivally in:

alto jakor šorko branches forming a fork, i.e. a forked branch.

100. As already mentioned (§ 59. VII) nouns denoting measure or quantity are placed in apposition with the noun to which they relate, and the latter is not put in the genitive:

torim čuqan gur 10 "chugs" of wheat.

and so with words like pyowan, lukan, kaman a little etc.
 čutan del a few drops of oil.

ADJECTIVES.

§ 101.

101. It is by no means easy to say what is and what is not, according to the conventions of European Grammar, an adjective in Burushaski. The same difficulty exists no doubt in the case of modern European languages though we have accustomed ourselves not to dwell on it, but in dealing with an unfamiliar language like Burushaski the problem presents itself crudely and cannot be ignored, and we have no time-honoured conventions to fall back on.

a) A word expressing a quality and used attributively with a noun may be accepted as an Adjective. Thus there is no reasonable doubt about "šua" in:

šua hiran a good man.

or "matem" in: matem huk the black dog.

But when the same word is used predicatively, especially with the suffix -an, it seems to have at least an equal claim to be considered as a Noun. Eg.

luq automan bi the dog is a black one. Anglici: the dog is black.

b) Again, there are words which are only used in combination with the verbs ba to be, ^o-manas to be, become; etas to do, make, when they may be respectively adjectival and nominal e.g.

je bik ba, bik amanam I am afraid, I became afraid.

bik etas to put in fear, to threaten.

yär han bikan cčam I'll give the bear a fright.

The Abstract Noun fear is bikkvš.

Again čal quarrel, fight is a Noun, but one may say either.

čal etas or čal ^o-manas to quarrel v. § 262.

c) As far as Adjectives are inflected their inflectional forms are the same as those of the Noun. Nouns borrowed from other languages are in many cases used as Adjectives, which seems to show a slowness to appreciate the distinction between Noun and Adjective. So

| | | | |
|-------|--------|------|-----------------|
| xor | power | also | powerful, hard. |
| šarum | shame | " | ashamed. |
| xator | danger | " | dangerous. |

d) Then there are whole series of forms directly derived from verbs: Static Participles, Agent Nouns, Gerundives (to use the nearest grammatical descriptions) which may be used as more or less pure Adjectives or Nouns.

There are also the specialised types: Cardinal and Ordinal Numbers, the Demonstrative, Indefinite, Interrogative and Possessive Pronouns which are used adjectivally as well as pronominally. These I shall treat under their appropriate headings.

102.

The bulk of Adjectives in Burushaski have no distinctive ending. The majority end in a consonant.

There are, however, a few definitely adjectival endings; these are:

-m, (after i) -m.

This is much the commonest, and is par excellence the Adjectival suffix:

| | | | |
|-----------------|-------|----------|--------------------------------|
| burum | white | tharum | high. |
| yarum | lower | *-apācim | being beside. |
| makučim iše tal | | | that middle pigeon (of three). |

It is also the suffix of the 3rd. person of the Static Participle, which is very commonly used as an adjective:

| | | | |
|------|------|-------|---------|
| stum | done | manum | become. |
|------|------|-------|---------|

nim (← nīrum) gone v. also §§ 70, VII, 73, VII, 77 & 78.

-mo. Occurs principally added to nouns indicating TIMES and SEASONS.

| | | | |
|-------|--------------|--------|-----------------------|
| dyu.i | midday, noon | dyu.mo | pertaining to midday. |
| šini | summer | šinimo | pertaining to summer. |

It is possible that this suffix is connected with the last, -(u)m + o genitive or gen. obl. ending v. § 46 note. Cp. tapmo etc. § 64. iii.

-kiš. Is added to nouns and indicates the possession of the object or quality denoted:

yu'ku-kiš goitrous lo'tkiš curly.

-kum. Occurs added to a few animal names, denoting that something pertains to the animal:

huyə'skum dalk goat's (dung) manure.

V. also Vocab. u'rkum and purkum.

-elcm. Appears to be composed of -ulo + -um denoting *from in, pertaining to*. There are a fair number of examples and it can probably be used with any suitable noun.

mulkulum sis the people of the country.

asulum i'te bər the thought that is in my heart.

It is often difficult to distinguish whether its force is adjectival or ablative § 77. i and ii.

-ulum or u'lum, the regular suffix of the Ordinal Numbers is possibly of different origin.

-iski, -i'ski. I know of only three examples of this ending:

hi'ri'ski pertaining to men gu'si'ski pertaining to women.

šer'iski Shina (language). Cp. also Burešaski.

-ki. Is perhaps to be seen in:

beški? of what sort?

Balovski adj. from Balo'ts + ki Balti.

Gu'i'ski " Gu'its + ki Wakli.

ber'iski " ber'its + ki musician, artificer.

But the suffix may possibly be -ski.

The -ki given as a nominal suffix (v. § 21. c.) may have been adjectival in origin.

-e.iki. I know this only in two words:

gušp'ure.iki pertaining to a "Gushpur".

wazi'ro.iki pertaining to a Wazir.

of which the latter is based on the Arabic word "wazir" and the former on the word "gušpur" which is common to Burushaski, Shina and Khowar in the sense of descendant of a Raja, aristocrat.

It is probable that the essential suffix here is *-ki* added to the Shina genitives of the nouns.

With regard to *-ki* and *-ski* it may be recalled that we have the nominal suffix *-ku* in also occurring with *an -e* as *-sku* in v. § 21. b. 1.

102 A. An optional prefix *d-* is found in *daki*! || *aki*!, and *dakurum* || *akurum*.

103. *-an* and *-ik*.

Adjectives may take the suffixes *-an* and *-ik* v. §§ 43 & 44. *-an* is only used with adjectives used predicatively, or as noun-equivalents. When an adjective is used attributively the *-an* if required, is attached to the noun:

*The following analysis of 457 adjectives in use in Burushaski may be of interest. The specialised categories mentioned at the end of § 101 are excluded. A few words of the *bik* type are included:

| | |
|--|-----|
| Obviously Persian and Arabic words | 130 |
| Others, including a few shared with Shina. | 294 |
| Burushaski participles in <i>-an</i> | 27 |
| | 457 |

The number of participles might have been greatly increased.

Examining the endings of the 294 adjectives of the 2nd item, we find they are as follows:

i. Words with no recognisable Burushaski adj. ending:

| | |
|---------------------------------|-----|
| ending in a consonant | 137 |
| ending in a vowel: | |

| | | | |
|-----|----|----|----|
| -a | 10 | -i | 10 |
| -e | 5 | -o | 17 |
| -ei | | -u | 6 |

ii. Words with distinctive Burushaski adj. endings:

| | | | |
|------|----|-------|-----|
| -am | 60 | -elam | 4 |
| -mo | 17 | -iski | 3 |
| -ki | 13 | -iki | 2 |
| -kam | 5 | -ki | 4 |
| | | | 104 |
| | | | 294 |

Some of the forms in *-o* are to be regarded as borrowings from Shina and of Shina origin. The adjectival forms in *-elam* might probably be largely added to. The table is very rough, but it gives some idea of the relative frequency of the different forms of ending.

han matuman bi, han buruman bi one (kid) is black, one is white.
 ine šatilo.an han he was strong.
 kin yoripan bai this is a poor fellow.
 yatis dayaruman bai he is (a) broad headed (man).
 efati jolan bim his forehead was small.

but:

hin jat gusanmo hm the house of an old woman.
 From *juwan like, resembling* we have the very common form
 juwanan, julanan one like.
 ite bul juwanan amulo ke api nowhere is there one like that spring
 i.e. nowhere is there its like.

Similarly from *beski?* what sort of?

besken bai? what sort of a person is he?
 Kiser beskan bai? what sort of a person is Kiser?

104. The Suffix *-ik* occurs sometimes with the plural forms of adjectives used in the same way, i.e. predicatively or as noun-equivalents. V. § 44. 2.

burt aqalki.entsik namam Pangcu.ar barmama going as very intelligent
 people, have a look at Pangchu.
 gaxcimutsik ban they are stutters.
 ma mayom henašu.ik bama, xair ke? you are all of you wise men,
 aren't you?

CASE and NUMBER.

105. There is no inflection of Adjectives for CASE, and as a rule adjectives preserve one invariable form, but they sometimes appear in plural forms when the noun to which they refer is in the plural.

The PLURAL of adjectives is formed by the addition of suffixes. These suffixes are among those found in the plurals of nouns and in general the same rules of plural-formation apply.

As the plural suffixes, in some cases indicate Class as well Number, it may be said that the inflection of Adjectives for "number and gender" is at least known in Burushaski.

The suffixes generally used are:

h and x -išo y -iŋ.

But we have also,

h and x -juko, -ko, -muts, -o, -oŋo and -omo, -nts, and -ki.ents
(as the plural of -kiš).

h only -tiŋ.

y -aŋ (plural of š), -ki.aŋ (plural of -kiš), and -miŋ.

Final -n is usually replaced by -yo, -i.o.

layan pl. layai.o *dumb.*

But šon šonoŋo *blind.*

Final -num is usually replaced by -iko.

bi.enum bi.eiko *thin.*

But šanum šanumišo *tight, narrow.*

In some instances the h & x form has been generalised to cover y.

It is probably so with all plurals ending in -ko.

106. The following is a list of most of the plural forms which I have recorded. One or two curious forms will be noted:

| Sg. | Meaning | h and x pl. | y pl. | General Pl. |
|----------|----------------|--|--------|-------------|
| ačemo | rascally | ačomutiŋ | — | — |
| aki.l | such (as this) | aki.ljuko | — | — |
| akeš | strange, | akešišo | — | — |
| | extraordinary | (strangers) | — | — |
| aqalkis | intelligent | aqalki.ents(ik) | — | — |
| *-ayerum | beloved | -ayarumišo | — | — |
| uyam | sweet | uyamišo | — | — |
| uyum | big | { uyoŋko, uyumko | uyoŋko | uyoŋko. |
| bayark | evil, bad | { bayarkišo bayarku | — | — |
| bata | bald, | { batamuts batatiŋ | — | — |
| | scald-headed | { | — | — |
| (bečuk) | of what sort | { bejuko, bejukuryo bejukic.ents(ik) | — | — |

| Sg. | Meaning. | h and x pl. | y pl. | General Pl. |
|----------------|----------------------------------|--|------------|-------------|
| beški, beškan, | of what sort | beški.ents(ik) | — | — |
| beški.en | | | | |
| bi.enum | thin (of stick etc.) | { bi.eiko bi.ai.iko | bi.eiko | bi.eiko |
| burum, burum | white | burumišo | burumiŋ | — |
| bušu | light-eyed fair- complexioned | bušutiŋ | — | — |
| buzurg, | holy, saint, | buzurutiŋ (noun?) | — | — |
| buzuruk | ascetic | | | |
| šanum | light, narrow | šanumišo | šanumiŋ | — |
| čat | low, short | čatoŋo | čatoŋo | čatoŋo |
| čiqir | white-eyed (cataract?) | čiqirišo | — | — |
| dayanum | thick, stout | dayai.iko | dayai.iko | dayai.iko |
| daldalum | broad, wide | daldaljuko | daldaljuko | daldaljuko |
| daltas | good, fine etc. | daltašku(ik) | daltaško | daltaško |
| day | hard | dayo | — | — |
| day | robust, stout | dayants, dayoŋo | — | — |
| doŋqam | rough, undulating | doŋqamišo | doŋqamiŋ | — |
| gar'kači | stuttering, stammering | { gar'kačišo (n.?) gar'kačimuts(ik) (n.?) | — | — |
| garkus | marriageable | garkusišo | — | — |
| gorurum | warm, hot, friendly | gorurumišo | — | — |
| giliginum, | thin (of paper etc.) | giliško | — | — |
| gilinum | | | | |
| (Werchikwar) | | | | |
| gunagar | sinful, guilty | gunagarišo | — | — |
| gunerišo | intelligent, clever (person) | gunerimuts | — | — |
| yayu | lame | { yayumts (h) yayumts (x) | — | — |

| Sg. | Meaning. | h and x pl. | y pl. | General pl. |
|--------------|---|---|--------------|--------------|
| yalis, | <i>ill, sick</i> | { yalixiso | — | — |
| yaliz, | | { yaliso | — | — |
| galiz | | { yalixitiq | — | — |
| yerip | <i>poor</i> | yeriptiq | — | — |
| yririt, | <i>soft</i> | — | yriritiq | — |
| yriritum | | — | yriritumiq | — |
| yukukiš | <i>goitrous</i> (<i>person</i>) | yukuki ents | — | — |
| yunikiš | <i>evil, bad</i> | yuniki.ents(ik) | yuniki.aq | — |
| yusanum | <i>long, tall</i> | yusai.iko | yusai.iko | yusai.iko. |
| yutum, yutum | <i>deep</i> | yutumiso | — | — |
| hayum | <i>wet, damp</i> | hayumiso | hayumiq | — |
| halal | <i>permissible,</i> <i>lawful</i> | halaliso (n.?) | — | — |
| hirum | <i>sharp, active</i> | hirumiso | hirumiq | — |
| humalqum | <i>light, quick</i> | — | humalqumiq | — |
| hurgas, | <i>thick, stout</i> | xurgasiso | — | — |
| xurgas | (<i>leather, cloth</i>) | — | — | — |
| jat | <i>aged</i> | jaturu(?) | — | — |
| ju.an, | <i>like,</i> | { juwai.iko | { juwai.iko | { juwai.iko. |
| juwan | <i>similar</i> | { ju.anjuko | — | — |
| jut, jot | <i>small</i> | { jutiso (joti- muts <i>small</i> children) | jutiq | — |
| košo | <i>cripple-</i> <i>fingered</i> | košomuta | — | — |
| kurati | <i>hard, stiff</i> (<i>leather etc.</i>) | { kuratišo | { kuratiq(?) | — |
| | | { kuratimuts | { kuratimiq | — |
| kuro'm | <i>blind(?)</i> | kuro'yo | — | — |
| khut | <i>short</i> | khutu.iko (x) | — | — |
| *-xundikiš | <i>hunchback,</i> <i>hunchbacked</i> | *-xundiki.ants | — | — |
| layan | <i>dumb</i> | layai.o | — | — |

| Sg. | Meaning. | h and x pl. | y pl. | General pl. |
|-----------|---|-----------------|----------------|-------------|
| lašu | <i>gluttonous</i> | lašumuts(ik) | — | — |
| lo'tkiš | <i>early</i> | — | lo'tki.aq | — |
| matum | <i>black</i> | — | matumiq | — |
| map'er | <i>elderly,</i> <i>old person</i> | mapertiq (n.?) | — | — |
| me'n | <i>old</i> | me'nišo | — | — |
| mo'tuš | <i>unmarried</i> | motonišo | — | — |
| muto'q | | — | — | — |
| *-mo'skiš | <i>wrathful</i> | *-moski.ents | — | — |
| na'dam | <i>ignorant</i> | na'daiyo | — | — |
| nafskiš | <i>avaricious</i> | nafski.ents(ik) | — | — |
| rat | <i>smooth, level</i> | ratišo | ratiq | — |
| šanter | <i>squint-eyed</i> | šant'erišo | — | — |
| šati'lo | <i>strong,</i> <i>powerful</i> | šati'lju'ko | — | — |
| šiqam | <i>green, blue</i> | — | šiqamiq | — |
| šon | <i>blind</i> | { šono'mo | — | — |
| | | { šono'yo | — | — |
| šoku'rum | <i>bitter</i> | šokurumišo | — | — |
| šo'qum, | <i>loose, spacious</i> | šo'qumišo | šo'qumiq | — |
| šo'qum, | | — | — | — |
| šo'qam | | — | — | — |
| thai'num | <i>high, tall</i> | thai'iko | thai'iko | thai'iko. |
| taltaq | <i>poor, impoveri-</i> <i>shed, beggar</i> | taltaqišo | — | — |
| tore'um | <i>narrow</i> | tore'iko | tore'iko | tore'iko. |
| taš | <i>smooth,</i> <i>slippery</i> | — | tašmiq | — |
| te'l | <i>such</i> | te'ljuko | te'ljuko | te'ljuko. |
| to'š | <i>new</i> | tuwa'nts | tuwa'q, tu.u'q | — |
| tsi'lum, | <i>fine ground,</i> | — | tsilumiq | — |
| tsilum | <i>inferior, petty</i> | — | — | — |
| tsurm | <i>heavy</i> | tsurmišo | tsurmiq | — |

| Sg. | Meaning. | h and y pl. | y pl. | Generally pl. |
|---------|----------|----------------------|---------|---------------|
| tur'm | other | tur'mišo (tur'mišik) | tur'miñ | — |
| — | all | *-yo'n | *-yo'n | *-yo'n |
| zor | powerful | zor'išo | — | — |
| šikikiš | nitty | šikiki.ents (n.?) | — | — |

Examples of Plural Adjectives:

107. 1. Used Attributively:

| | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| akilju'ko tha mayu dumamuman | 100 similar sons were born to her. |
| uyonko a'ltan uyur'ot o'suman | they said to their two big (elder) sons. |
| bayarkišo hirik | evil men. |
| ure bušutiñ sis | those green-eyed (light-eyed) people. |
| šanumišo šuqamuts, šanumiñ šapai.ñ | tight chogas, tight chapans. |
| ma daltiško šayamiñ etam | you had said excellent things. |
| daño hiri | hard men. |
| yoniki ay astamiñ etimi | he gave evil (unjust) judgments. |
| γusai.iko hiri, gušiqants | tall men, women. |
| γusai.iko balkoñ | long planks. |
| humalqumiñ balkoñ | light planks. |
| jo'tišo šiško | small hills. |
| thai.iko bayumršo | tall maves. |
| thai.iko jo'ne šerko | the branches of lofty apricot trees. |
| šatilju'ko paršahantia | powerful kings. |
| belatē čaya etam ke te'ilju'ko | alta iskumuts bim. |
| | there were two young ones such as he had described. |
| gatun tu.a'ñ ne.ibil | making him put on new clothes. |

2. Used Predicatively:

| | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| hinine 'eyerumišo barn | they are beloved of each other. |
| uyonko umamuman | they became big, grew up. |
| ayame bayarku barn | my kinsmen are evil. |
| (eščin) burt bi.eiko bitza | (his loins) are very thin. |
| balgičin daldalju'ko bitza | (his) back (pl) is broad. |
| kw'e gušiqants daltišku ik barn | these women are excellent. |
| ek pa'kiza γirγitiñ maimi | they (the leg-wrappers) will become nice and soft. |

hu'čo ke taočin . . . γirγitumiñ bitsum the pabos and leg-wrappers were soft.
 yutiñ jutiñ bitza his feet are small.
 Saħa'da Bo'in ke H. Bo'in burt zor'išo bi.en, om'o'uski.ents bi.en.
 the S. B. and the H. B. are very powerful, they are wrathful.

VERBAL ADJECTIVES.

108. The principal of these is the 3rd. pers. of the *Static Participle*. V. §§ 377—379.

This consists of the past base + -um and is found both in Transitive and Intransitive Verbs. The *v* is elided after -i, -a (-a), and -e.

In Trans. Verbs it is usually a Passive Past Participle, but it also appears to be used sometimes with an active sense.

etas to do et-um done.

stum du'ro a thing done, business completed.

In Intrans. Verbs it is Active and also refers to Past Time.

ni-y-as to go ni'm gone, past.

ni'm hisa last month.

It is sufficient here to mention the Adjectival use of the *Noun Agent*, which is of the same form as the Infinitive: V. § 403. 2.

etas to do etas a doer, one who does.

Also of the Infinitive form with what seems to be *Gerundive* force. V. § 401. See also §§ 402 & 404.

Examples.

109. Static Participle.

a) FROM TRANSITIVE VERBS:

yor eskertsum astam bila it is a previously-settled case.

lam stum pflu.ñ lighted fires.

warts stum kursi the mended chair.

γu'šam bušošo the nurtured calf i.e. "the fatted calf".

tsat stum burn the stopped boulder (a falling boulder stopped in its course by a saint).

Frequently, however, the Agent is expressed and the verbal nature of the Participle is evident:

ine xuš ne oltirum diš *the place approved by him and shown (by him) to them.*

Biseq Gairi.e čam etum tursum *from the whip stuck by B. G. in the ground (a shoot grew up).*

ine hire yar esum ite bar *the thing said by that man to the bear.*

In the following the Participle appears to be Active.

jetsum ke bur Š. Barnu.e du'inate gan henum bo. *Sh. B. is much better acquainted with the road to the world than I.*

gvi ačim yenis *the gold you yourself have given me.*

b) FROM INTRANSITIVE VERBS:

ise žina di'm bur tsat etimi *he stopped the stone that had come down the shoot.*

ise hayur yursum čore ho'le . . . bur dursini *a spring came out of the cliff into which the horse had sunk.*

irum gutas *the dead corpse.*

mazora'um dad manum sis ha'lar jurčarn *the people (being) arisen from (over) the grave come home.*

110. Forms in -as. (The Infinitive form).

a) Noun Agent as Adjective:

daq etas ustard *blacksmith.*

čak etas ustard *carpenter.*

čamalə e'oras berrits *drum-playing musician, drummer.*

te'orašo beriče *the instrument-playing musicians, the bandmen.*

henas (to know) *one who knows, or recognises, wise, grateful.*

ma henasə nazər. ax'er maiyo'n henašn.ik barn *my wise masters! indeed you are all wise.*

henas hiran ba'i *he is a wise (or, grateful) man.*

In the following huru'tas is of course not the Noun Agent, but rather an Abstract Noun used adjectivally:

Čihal Gazi.e huru'tas diš čerulo bila *C. G.'s dwelling place is in the cliff.*

b) The Gerundive:

In the absence of a sufficiency of examples it is difficult to make sure of the exact meaning, but the following phrases derived from Nz. (Nazer) seem to be Gerundival:

u'ne guse kursi warts etas bi.

this chair of yours is to be, should be, repaired.

gute du'ro etas bila *this thing is to be done, should be done.*

warts etašo *things to be repaired.*

In the following the sense appears to be simply that of the passive participle, but I cannot support it by any other example:

hilese etašo i'ke čayamiq deyilimi.

he heard the statements made by the boy.

ADJECTIVES with PRONOMINAL PREFIXES.

111. There are a certain number of Adjectives which take the pronominal prefixes. A list of these is given with examples in the section on the Pronominal Prefixes, v. § 130.

*-altalik both and *-yo'n all are dealt with at length as Quantitative Pronouns, V. §§ 177 & 178.

112. Position of the Adjective.

a) Adjectives used Attributively precede the noun which they qualify:

hin bur daltas juwanan *a very handsome youth.*

Exceptions are *-altalik both and *-yo'n all, which practically always follow the noun which they qualify.

b) Adjectives used Predicatively follow the noun and precede the verb of the clause:

ju ta'očin kura'ti manışan *my foot-bandages have become stiff.*

ine ma,i guntsatsum gunts ašar to imai.ime yunikeš imanimi.

that son of hers day by day becoming weaker became ill-favoured.

An Adjective used predicatively with the verb "to be", if singular, frequently takes the suffix -an.

ine šati'lo.an ban *that one was strong.*

113. Adjectives with Demonstrative Pronouns.

Adjectives may be used attributively with Demonstrative Pronouns.
 burum es (or, i'se) halka-san bi'm *the white (that)-one was a female (lamb).*
 matum es (or, i'se) tuyuli-en bin *the black (that)-one was a male lamb.*
 Aliljuko ku.e giya'nts ba'n *such-like these (persons) are thieves, i.e.*
persons of this sort.

i'ne jut . . . uyum i'ne wašimi *that small one there that big one.*
 teljuko ek ak'e'ima *do you not know such things as those?*

REPETITION.

114. There are a few instances of adjectives being repeated, but the practice seems to be rare and, as far as my experience goes, is restricted to one or two words.

tsan se.i ba? awa tsana tsans seiya ba.
art thou speaking the truth? Yes, I am speaking the very truth.

The simple form of the Adjective is tsan, but tsans is frequently used with *se'as* to speak the truth, and independently meaning *in fact, in truth, indeed*. It is probably in origin a General Oblique form used adverbially. We also have

tsan ke tsan *in very truth, sure enough.*
 mariq mariq sis ke n'ka ja'in *and you men of superior rank come with me too.*
 but mariq mariq talo gešiya'nts *seven very fine women.*
 heri heri si'ngetin *(many) famous monsters.*

As far as it is possible to judge, the force of the reduplication is distributive rather than intensive. So in the second example the meaning is probably rather "persons of whom each is superior", than "very superior persons".

Repetition with alteration of the initial consonant occurs in:
 teilum milum astamiq *petty cases, and perhaps in hanajana stupid.*

COMPARISON.

115. The COMPARATIVE is expressed by using the ordinary form of the Adjective preceded by the object, with which comparison is made, in the Ablative case.

uyntsum je kam apa *I am not less than you (inferior to).*

To express the SUPERLATIVE the ordinary form of the Adjective is similarly used preceded by the Ablative of *uyo'n all, uyo'ntsum:*
 uyo'ntsum šua ha'ur jar jo.

give me the best horse (the horse that is better than all).

A sort of ABSOLUTE SUPERLATIVE represented in English by "most", "extremely", "the best of", "excessively" etc. is supplied by comparing the Adjective with itself, i.e. the adjective in the ablative is followed by the simple adjective. The particle *ke* is sometimes interjected after the ablative:

šua'ntsum (ke) šua gatuq *the best of clothes, most excellent clothes.*

bu'tsum but *excessively* may be used qualifying another adjective.

In expressing comparison difficulty only arises where the object with which comparison is made is complex and simplification is sought in ellipsis.

As in English, "I know more than that which you know" is cut down to "I know more than you":

u'ngtsum ja but herya ba *I know more than you.*

ku'o uyo'ntsum gute milt'ase diš šua jar aš'ima.
means: this burying ground of ours which thou hast given me is better than the ground which thou hast given to all these other people

but it can scarcely be brought within the rules of formal grammar.

It may be mentioned that there are no true Possessive Pronouns in Burushaski only Possessive Adjectives and the Genitives of the Personal Pronouns used as Adjectives. Hence there are no Ablative forms in use to correspond to English "than mine", "than his".

I presume therefore, in the absence of quotable examples, that:

my horse is better than his

would have to be rendered by the repetition of the word horse

ja ha'ur i'ne ha'urtsum šua bi.

A few more examples of the Comparative will be found in the section on the suffix *-tsum* § 75, IV.

The GOVERNANCE of ADJECTIVES.

116. No rules can be laid down regarding the "cases" in which various adjectives require nouns dependent on them to be.

The matter is determined by the conception underlying the adjective and the conceptions associated with the different case suffixes.

Reference may be made to the sections dealing with Cases and Case Suffixes — particularly to the General Oblique § 65, to the Suffixes -aŋe, -or, -aŋe, -tse, -tsum, §§ 68 ff, and to the postposition ka, § 85, V. a, where will be found examples of most of the case-governing adjectives with which I am acquainted.

It may be noted that the same adjectives may be accompanied by different cases e.g.

So xuš pleased with may take -tsum, ka, or -or.

ju.aŋ, ju.waŋ like, takes, at least normally, the dependent noun in the Nominative form.

dan ju.waŋ manitsa they have become like stone.

bučar girkiš walum ju.aŋ like a rat fallen into a trap.

uŋ ju.aŋaŋ menaŋ kuli apai there is no one like thee.

This is parallel to the use of the Shina parolo like, which takes the Nom. but can, however, also take the Dat.

hik full agrees with the content, which is made the subject of the sentence. The container, which logically must be in the locative case, is expressed in the general oblique, the locative, or the nominative form:

the bottle is full of water → water is full in the bottle.

uško ha'kičəŋe hik hanjil (x pl.) manimire.

charcoal became full in three rooms, i.e. three rooms became full of charcoal.

For other examples v. Vocab. s.v.

PRONOUNS.

§ 117.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

117. There are two series of Personal Pronouns:

1. Independent.
2. Agglutinative, or prefixal.

The Independent forms are:

| | Sg. | | Pl. | |
|------------|-----|--------------|------|-------|
| 1st. Pers. | je | I | mi | we. |
| 2nd. Pers. | uŋ, | thou | ma | you. |
| | uŋ, | | | |
| | uŋ | | | |
| 3rd. Pers. | h | ine, he, she | we | they. |
| | | in | u | |
| | x | iŋe it | iŋe | they. |
| | y | iŋe it | i'ke | they. |

The 3rd. Person forms are also used as Demonstrative Pronouns and Adjectives: *that one, that; those, etc.*

118. The Declension of these Pronouns is as follows:

| | First person. | | | |
|--------------------|---------------|-----------|-------|-------------|
| | Sg. | | Pl. | |
| Nom. Voc. Acc. | je | I, me | mi | we, us. |
| Trans. Nom. & Agt. | ja | I | mi | we. |
| Gen. | ja | of me, my | mi | of us, our. |
| Gen. Obl. | ja- | | mim- | |
| Dat. | jaŋ | to me | miməŋ | to us. |

| | Sg. | | Pl. | |
|-----------------------|------------|----------------|------------|-----------------|
| Abl. | ja'tsum | <i>from me</i> | mimutsum | <i>from us.</i> |
| Other | ja'le | | mimle | |
| Suffixes etc. v. § 47 | ja'te | | mima'te | |
| | ja'ka | <i>with me</i> | mi'ka | <i>with us.</i> |
| | ja n'pačor | | mi mepačor | |

A few instances can be quoted of ja as Acc.
 u'ne ja atsuča ke *if thou marriest me.*

Second Person.

119.

| | Sg. | | Pl. | |
|------------------|-------------|---------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| Nom. Voc. Acc. | u'ŋ | <i>thou, thee</i> | ma | <i>you.</i> |
| Trs. Nom. & Agt. | u'ne | <i>thou</i> | ma | <i>you.</i> |
| Gen. | u'ne | <i>of thee, thy</i> | ma | <i>of you, your.</i> |
| Gen. Obl. | u'ŋ | | mam- | |
| Dat. | u'ŋor | <i>to thee</i> | mam'or | <i>to you.</i> |
| Abl. | u'ŋtsum | <i>from thee</i> | mam'atsum | <i>from you.</i> |
| Other | u'ŋale | | mamale, | |
| Suffixes | u'ŋate | | mamale | |
| | u'ne ka | <i>with thee</i> | mama'te | |
| | u'ŋ gopačor | | ma ka | <i>with you.</i> |
| | | | ma mapačor. | |

Third Person.

120.

| | Sg. | | | |
|------------------|---------------|----------------|-------------|--------------|
| Nom. Voc. Acc. | hm. <i>he</i> | hf. <i>she</i> | x <i>it</i> | y <i>it.</i> |
| Trs. Nom. & Agt. | i'ne, (i'n) | i'ne, (i'n) | i'se | i'te. |
| Gen. | i'ne | i'ne | i'se | i'te. |
| | | i'ne'no | i'se | i'te. |
| | | i'no | | |
| | | i'u'no | | |
| Gen. Obl. | i'ne | i'ne'mu- | i'se | i'te. |
| Dat. | i'ner | i'ner | i's'er | i'ter. |
| | | i'ner | | i't'er. |

| | Sg. | | | |
|----------|---------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|
| Abl. | hm. <i>he</i> | hf. <i>she</i> | x <i>it</i> | y <i>it</i> |
| | i'ntsum | i'ne'mutsum | i'e'tsum | i'tetsum |
| Other | | | | i'tetsum |
| Suffixes | i'nale | i'ne'mule | i'e'le | i'te'le |
| | i'na'te | i'ne'mute | i'e'te | i'te'le. |
| | i'ne'te | | i'e'te | i'te'te. |
| | i'ne ka | i'ne'mu ka | i'se ka | (i'te ka). |
| | — | — | i'se'ulo | — |
| | | | i'se'ulo | — |
| | i'ne'tse | — | — | — |

Pl.

| | | | |
|------------------|-------------|-----------|--------------------|
| Nom. Voc. Acc. | hmf. | x. | y <i>they etc.</i> |
| | u'e | i'tse | i'ke |
| | u' | | |
| Trs. nom. & Agt. | u'e | i'tse | i'ke |
| Gen. | u'e | i'tse | i'ke |
| Gen. Obl. | u'e | i'tse | i'ke |
| Dat. | u'er | i'tser | i'ker |
| | | i'tser | |
| Abl. | u'etsum | i'ke'tsum | i'te'tsum |
| | u'atsum | | |
| Other | — | i'ts'ele | i'ke'le |
| Suffixes | u'e'te | i'ts'ete | i'ke'te |
| | u'e'tse | — | i'ke'tse |
| | u'e ka | i'tse ka | i'ke ka |
| | u'e 'opačor | — | — |

In the 3rd. pers. forms there is some variation in the vowel sounds preceding the suffixes. When they bear the stress accent they tend to become longer and more definite e' in place of e or e, but the

stress accent is not fixed. In the forms of *irne* it tends to fall on the first syllable, in the remaining forms it tends to fall on the second vowel.

The following alternative forms are to be noted:

| | | | | |
|---|-----|--------------|------------|-------|
| x | sg. | e's, e'sc | instead of | irsc |
| y | sg. | e't, e'tc | " " | irte |
| x | pl. | e's (e'tsc?) | " " | ir'sc |
| y | pl. | e'k, e'kc | " " | ir'kc |

These forms are referred to again under Demonstrative Pronouns, V, § 140.

There is nothing peculiar to be noticed about the use of the Independent Personal Pronouns.

THE PRONOUN HIN (HI·N).

121. The numeral *hin* may be used as a Pronoun meaning *one* (person) and in this function may be ranged beside the Personal Pronouns:

hin se.ihai ya.in *one* (of them) says "shut up!"
da hin ke dimi *again also one* (person) came (i. e. and then another came)
ma hin ke e'dila'n *none of you has* (lit. have) killed it.

The numeral *han* can be similarly used of non-persons:
han ke bila iter ke gu *there is one more* (room) put it (the grain) in it.

Here may be mentioned the use of *hin* (*han*) twice repeated corresponding to the English

- a) *one . . . one* (i. e. another).

we se.ihai'n, hin ke ja dela ba, hin ke ja dela ba nusen
they say, one: "I killed it", one "I killed it".

hin ke gim'i iwarimi . . . da hin ke gim'i . . . da hin ke gim'i
one poured it, he grew tired . . . then another poured . . . then another.

- b) *the one . . . the other* (of two) expressing the idea of alternativeness.

hin ke yatesan hin'ar, hin ke yatesan hin'ar me'r ditsas ba ke
if thou wilt bring us the (lit. a) *head of the one* (child) *for the one* (of us) *and the head of the other* (child) *for the other* (of us).

hin ke i'k Xairulla hilum, hin ke i'k Faizu hilum.

the name of the one was Khairulla, the name of the other was Faizu.

For other uses of *hin* v. Reciprocal Pronouns § 134, Demonstrative Pronouns § 141, and Numerals § 187 ff.

THE AGGLUTINATIVE OR PREFIXAL PRONOUNS.

122. The Agglutinative or Prefixal Pronouns are the following:

| | Sg. | Pl. |
|---------------------|----------------------------|------------|
| 1st. Pers. | a-, a- (and ja-, V. § 255) | mi- |
| 2nd. Pers. | gu- | ma-, ma- |
| 3rd. Pers. hm, x, y | i- | hmf & x u- |
| | hf | mu- y i- |

The vowels may be longer or shorter.

These pronouns can be used independently (with case suffixes) in certain circumstances, but they are more commonly found prefixed to the words to which they apply or are related.

In the case of some verbs commencing with a prefix *d* they are inserted after the *d*. In some nouns they are conjoined with an *l*, *-*l*-; and in some verbs with *l* and *al*, *-*l*-, *-*al*-. The 3rd. pers. forms *i* and *u* seem to be used as infixes in the verbs *giyas* and *gi.as*. V. § 252.

The vowel sounds given above are not constant but appear frequently in altered forms. There seem to be good grounds for attributing these changes to the nature of the initial sound of the word to which the prefixes are attached.

My theory is that they retain the above forms when placed before a consonant, but when placed in front of a vowel certain phonetic changes normally take place. Direct proof cannot be adduced, because the words to which they are prefixed never certainly occur in their absolute prefixless form.

In the large majority of cases the changes may, however be accounted for by the following hypothetical scheme:

| Sound following the prefix | Prefixes | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------|-------|-----------------|-------|----------------------|-----|----------|------|
| | Sg. 1. | 2. | 3. hm, x & y | 3. hf | Pl. 1. | 2. | 3 h & x. | 3 y. |
| consonant | a- | gu- | i- | mu- | mi- | ma- | u- | i- |
| A, a, or e | a- | go- | e- | mo- | me- | ma- | o- | e- |
| i | ai.i- ei- | gu.i- | i- | mu.i- | mi- | me- | ui- | i- |
| u, or u | o- | gu- | yu- | mu- | mi u- myu- mi- | mo- | u- | yu- |

(The length of the vowels is liable to vary.)

These forms are not absolutely constant. *i*- and *e*- appear sometimes to occur in each other's places, and similarly *u*- and *o*-, but the differentiation of these vowels is always somewhat unstable, and such inconsistencies, though disturbing, are not I think sufficient to invalidate a theory which otherwise appears to meet the facts.

123. One series of forms where both components are known, as far as it goes, bears the theory out. I have called these forms "prefixal", but they do occur independently in oblique cases with certain "case suffixes".

The Dative suffix we know to be *-ar*, or *-or* and we have the following Datives which accord with what the theory would postulate:

| | |
|-----------------|----------------|
| a + or → ar | to me. |
| gu + or → go'r | to thee. |
| i + or → er, or | to him, to it. |
| mu + or → mo'r | to her. |

| | |
|---------------------|---------------|
| mi + or → mer, me'r | to us. |
| ma + or → ma'r | to you (pl.). |
| u + or → or | to them. |

Again we have *meltalik*, *we two*, *maltalik*, *you two*, *o.ltalik*, *they two*, which must certainly be based on *alto*, *tuo*, so that we may assume that the prefixless form would be **-altalik*, or **-altalik*. The prefixal forms also appear in the Corroborative pronouns, V. § 142, and the Possessive adjectives, V. § 143.

124. The following examples illustrate the use of the Pronominal Prefixes with Nouns:

Assumed base: **-riŋ* hand

| | | | |
|-------|----------|----------|--------------|
| ariŋ | my hand | miriŋciŋ | our hands. |
| guriŋ | thy hand | marŋciŋ | your hands. |
| iriŋ | his hand | uriŋciŋ | their hands. |
| muŋiŋ | her hand | | |

Assumed base: **-as* (or **-as*) heart

| | | | |
|------------|----------------|-----------|---------------|
| as | my heart | mesumuts | our hearts. |
| go's | thy heart | ma'sumuts | your hearts. |
| er's, mo's | his, her heart | o'sumuts | their hearts. |

Assumed base: **-ik* name, **-il* lip

| | | | |
|-----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| e'ik | my name | ai.il, e'il | my lip. |
| gu.ik | thy name | gu.il | thy lip. |
| i'k, i'ik | his name | i'l | his lip. |
| mu.ik | her name | mu'il | her lip. |
| m'ikiŋ | our names | mi'liŋ | our lips. |
| ma'ikiŋ | your names | me'liŋ | your lips. |
| u'ikiŋ | their names | u'ilŋ | their lips. |

Assumed base: **-utis* foot

| | | | |
|---------------|---------------|-----------------|-------------|
| o'tis | my foot | myu'tiŋ, mi'tiŋ | our feet. |
| gutiŋ | thy foot | mo'tiŋ | your feet. |
| yutiŋ, mu'tis | his, her foot | u'tiŋ | their feet. |

Irregular forms of course occur:

Assumed base: **-u*, **-u-y* father

| | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>a'u</i> , <i>au.u</i> | <i>my father.</i> |
| <i>ma'u</i> | <i>your (pl.) father.</i> |
| <i>u'u</i> | <i>their father.</i> |

Here the *u* is probably long, *u*.

125. More complicated are forms where the assumed base begins with, or consists of, a diphthong:

Assumed base: **-ai* daughter

| | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>ai.i</i> | <i>my daughter</i> | <i>mai.i</i> , <i>me.i</i> | <i>our daughter.</i> |
| <i>go'i</i> | <i>thy daughter</i> | <i>mai.i</i> , <i>mai.i</i> | <i>your daughter.</i> |
| <i>o'i</i> , <i>mo'i</i> | <i>his, her daughter</i> | <i>o'i</i> | <i>their daughter.</i> |

Where the base form begins with *y*- the prefix of the 3rd. sg. *hm.*, *x* & *y*, *i*, seems usually to be dropped, *a-* tends to become *ai*, *o-*.

| | |
|------------------------------|------------------|
| Assumed base * <i>-yatis</i> | <i>head.</i> |
| <i>ayats</i> , <i>aiyats</i> | <i>my head.</i> |
| <i>yats</i> | <i>his head.</i> |

These general principles govern the forms of the Prefixes in all their uses, though occasional difficulties present themselves and anomalies are produced by the vacillation between *i* and *e*, *u* and *o*.

USES of the PRONOMINAL PREFIXES.

126. The uses of the Prefixes are as follows:

A. As Self-Contained Words.

1. Independently as Personal Pronouns with certain case-suffixes and postpositions: e.g. *ar* to *me*. V. § 127.
2. Independently with the suffix *-i* as Corroborative Pronouns, V. § 142. The 1st. pers. sing. has only been recorded in the form *jei*.
3. Independently with the adjectival suffix *-imo* as Possessive Adjectives: e.g. *gu.imo* *thy, thy own, thine*. V. § 143. The 1st. person singular form ordinarily recorded is *je.imo*.

B. As Agglutinative Prefixes.

4. With certain nouns, V. § 128.
5. With certain adjectives, V. § 130.
6. With the Cardinal Numbers (doubtful), V. § 133.
7. With certain verbs, V. § 248, also §§ 236, 256 & 290. Of these uses Nos. 2, 3 and 7 are treated more fully in the appropriate places noted.

The remaining uses I shall deal with here in order:

127. As Personal Pronouns (§ 126. 1).

They occur:

I. With the Dat. Suffix *-ar*. The forms have already been given above § 123. The abl. *ma'tsum*, from you (pl.) has also been recorded.

II. With the suffix **-tsi* which accompanies certain verbs. E.g.

| | |
|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>atsi yasiduman</i> | <i>they will laugh at me.</i> |
| <i>gutsi gatiči</i> | <i>it will bite thee.</i> |
| <i>itsi bayaltečam</i> | <i>he was mad.</i> |

Also:

| | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| <i>u'tsi thami</i> | <i>he pursued after them.</i> |
| <i>itsi.ate dimi</i> | <i>he came after him.</i> |
| <i>waziri itsi tahwil etimi</i> | <i>he conferred the wazirship on him.</i> |

Sometimes with **-tse* whether or not that is identical with **-tsi*.

| | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>gutsi besan (gu.ik) bila</i> | <i>what is thy name on thee?</i> |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|

III. With the Ablative suffix **-tsimo* which is used only with these prefixes:

| | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| <i>gutsimo doyarusa ba</i> | <i>I enquire from thee.</i> |
| <i>u'tsimo yar zar'k numan</i> | <i>getting a little ahead of them.</i> |
| <i>itsimo tsil čačan mai.abila</i> | <i>water is dripping from it.</i> |
| <i>mutximo dutsimi</i> | <i>he brought (i. e. took) them from her.</i> |

IV. With certain Postpositions or forms with postpositional force, of which the following are the principal:

| | |
|-----------------|------------------------------------|
| * <i>-aka</i> | <i>with, along with.</i> |
| * <i>-apači</i> | <i>to, with, in possession of,</i> |
| * <i>-apat</i> | <i>beside.</i> |

| | |
|---------|---------------------------------|
| *-ngi | in front of. |
| *-ya're | below, beneath, in presence of. |
| *-yer | in front of. |
| *-ya(ε | above. |
| *-yo'n | over. |

Though we have the noun *pači* *side*, and the postpositional adverb *ka* *with*, it is necessary to postulate forms with an initial *a-* to account for the forms of the prefixal pronouns, except in the case of *mika* (*mi* + *ka*) *with us*.

*-apat is a noun meaning *side, flank* and perhaps can always be accounted for as a noun.

*-ngi usually occurs as an adjective with the suffix *-mo*, *-ngimo. I have only one example of it in its simple form as a postposition: 12 *bu'ndo ingi tsa do'imi* *he set up 12 stones in front of himself.*

*-ya're, *-yor and *-yate are the ordinary postpositions and adverbs, and *-yo'n is also a postposition:

guyon dal up above thee

a) The forms with *-apači (cp. § 79) are: —

| | | |
|--------------|-----------|------------------------|
| Sg. 1. apači | 2. gopači | 3. e'pači, hf. mo'pači |
| Pl. mepači | mapači | o'pači. |

(Accent on the first Syllable.)

These compound forms are frequently preceded by the appropriate personal pronoun or noun.

The 1st. sg. Pers. Pronoun is used in the Oblique form *ja*, the others and nouns appear to be in the Nominative form.

ja apači nu'tayan hiding him with me.

Laya Brumo mo'pači with Laya Brumo.

we o'pačor nimi he went to them.

u'ŋ guya're je besan a'tačana ba.

I require nothing that is in thy possession (or nothing at thy hands?)

Di.u Sa'f-d e'pačor dumu'tsumi he conducted her to the White Div.

In suitable circumstances the case suffixes *-ar* and *-um* may be added:

gopačor to thee.

o'pačim fat aytas not to let him go from them.
guyatum qurba'n amansa! may I be thy sacrifice!

But the *-um* may be adjectival, as possibly in the last example and in:

Paŋču e'pačim we sise delja'n the people beside P. beat him.

b) The pronominal prefix with *-aka may have a *Reflexive* significance, where Hindustani would use *apna*, and Persian would use *xud*.

go'ka atsu take me with thee.
tsor'dine e'ka itsu'mi in the morning he took with him(self).
go'ka be eguča ba? what have you made sleep with you?
behan e'ka ditsaii? what has he brought with him?

but,

e'ka menen ke sisan apam there was no one with him.

128. As prefixes with nouns (§ 126. 4).

I. Many nouns denoting things which can be considered only in relation to one individual, or set of individuals, at a time, exist only with the Pronominal Prefixes attached to them.

So normally a "hand" pertains to one individual, therefore it must be either

| | |
|----------|---------------------|
| a'riŋ | my hand. |
| guriŋ | thy hand. |
| iriŋ | his hand, its hand. |
| or muriŋ | her hand. |

Similarly "hands" must be either our, your or their hands.

The Pronominal Prefixes do not in any way interfere with the use of possessive adjectives etc. which however may be omitted.

| | |
|--------------|-------------------|
| mimo mi.u | our sons. |
| u'ŋe gu'julo | in thy dream. |
| u'ŋ guyskal | in thy direction. |
| u'ŋe gu'ik | thy name. |

II. This class of nouns includes:

a. the names of most PARTS of the BODY e. g.

| | | | |
|-------|--------|-------|------------|
| head | eye | ear | mouth. |
| tooth | tongue | arm | body. |
| leg | finger | beard | belly etc. |

b. the designations of RELATIVES e. g.

| | | | |
|--------|--------|---------|------|
| father | mother | brother | etc. |
|--------|--------|---------|------|

c. the names of certain things which usually stand in close relationship to some being:

| | | | |
|-------|---------|--------|------------|
| dream | bedding | staff | voice |
| name | habit | desire | anger etc. |

This scheme is not, however, strictly adhered to. All names of relations, I think, take the pronominal prefixes, but many names of parts of the body do not e. g. *blood, bone, brain, hip, skin, joint, vein*.

Similarly under heading c. while *dream, bedding* etc. take the prefixes the names of articles of clothing do not, nor the words "thought", "intention". Again we have two words for a "staff", or "stick carried in the hand"

*-fayō and dero-yō

of which the former requires the prefix and the latter does not.

In some cases the non-prefix-bearing noun may be a foreign loan word, but beyond this as a general explanation one may suspect that the use of the prefixes was originally more general and has in part died out. The following instances perhaps show the process in action:

*-yoyan *hair* beside yoyan

*-ltur *horn* , tur

tin *bone* for which Biddulph gives *-ltin, and I have an isolated form "mitin" apparently belonging to this. Cp, Leitner, H. N. Hd. Bk. pp. 29-30, notes on *tin* and *goyang*.

III. In regard to any noun necessity must arise at times to use it with a generalised sense dissociated from any precise idea of

ownership. In such cases I think it is customary to use the noun with the hm., x, y prefix of the 3rd. person.

jēor *a voice, sound*

itsu *a footmark, track.*

yatis (= i + yatis) *a head*

X. ke X. altan ešukōn . . . bam X. and X. were two brothers.

But one may have the plural prefix:

han he'rše ušoran di'mi *a sound of (people) iceeping came (to his ears).*

han urīnan hanikor di'mi *a hand (of some people's) came into the dish.*

Sometimes the prefix of the first plural is used. Thus a Burušaski speaker may tell you that the word for

tooth is mi'rme i.e. "our tooth"

for *foot* is myutis i.e. "our foot".

This use of a plural prefix with a singular noun also occurs where there are a number of owners each possessing one of the article in question.

ma besantsum ar' bā'n ke ma maskilulo raḡ api?

what are you (pl.) afraid of that in your (pl.) face is no colour?

eše ke utia galji bim *and their (the cattle's) leg used to break.*

129. The following list of nouns taking the Pronominal Prefixes is I think fairly complete as far as my material goes, but there are probably a good many more of which I do not know.

It may be analysed roughly as follows:

| | |
|-----------------------|-----|
| a. Parts of the body | 64 |
| b. Names of relatives | 20 |
| c. Miscellaneous | 24 |
| | 108 |

PREFIX-BEARING NOUNS.

| | | | |
|--------|------------------------|--------|---------------------|
| *-āō | <i>man's brother.</i> | *-akin | <i>liver.</i> |
| | <i>woman's sister.</i> | *-amis | <i>grandson.</i> |
| *-āi | <i>daughter.</i> | *-amṡ | <i>finger.</i> |
| | pl. *-yugšants | *-apat | <i>side.</i> |
| *-akat | <i>arm-pit.</i> | *-api | <i>grandfather.</i> |

| | | | |
|------------|--|-------------------|--------------------|
| *-apkuṣ | maternal relations. | *-dumuts | knee. |
| *-arər | son-in-law. | *-yarn | heel. |
| *-as | heart. | *-yərṭiki | daily ration. |
| *-aska'pun | (spoon-shaped) hollow below sternum. | *-yumər | bowels. |
| *-aski | longing, desire. | *-yus | pubendum muliebre. |
| *-askir | father-in-law. | *-yoyan (yuyan) | hair. |
| *-askus | mother-in-law. | *-xakin | daughter-in-law. |
| *-aso | kidney. | *-xat | mouth. |
| *-as | neck. | *-xasiy | buttocks. |
| *-asšiq | small of back. | *-xundikiš(udj.?) | hunchback. |
| *-aski | pillow, bedhead. | *-xurpat | lung. |
| *-aspuran | mane. | *-lamat | lap. |
| *-i | son. | *-lein | eye. |
| *-ik | name. | *-lpuṛ | eyelash. |
| *-il | lip. | *-lta | leg. |
| *-i-ltaš | cattle. | *-ltamal | ear. |
| *-u | tear. | *-ltur | horn. |
| *-u, ury | father. | *-ltus | grave, burying. |
| *-u'l | belly. | *-mamut | nipple, teat. |
| *-ulji | dream. | *-melə | jaw. |
| *-ulus | woman's brother. | *-moqiš | cheek. |
| *-umus | tongue, lie. | *-multur | nostril. |
| *-uri | finger-nail. | *-mc | tooth. |
| *-urus | concern, affair. | *-mupuš | nose. |
| *-us | wife. | *-mi | mother. |
| *-uṭis | foot. | *-mos | anger. |
| *-uyar | husband. | *-ngo | uncle. |
| *-ər | voice. | *-ntso | paternal aunt. |
| *-əo-kuran | fringe of hair, forelock. | *-ndil | breast. |
| *-əonjuš | beak. | *-ngi | beard. |
| *-əim | body, person. | *-pfati | forehead. |
| | | *-pfants | cock's comb. |
| | | *-pfayo | stick. |
| | | *-pauwo | stick. |

| | | | |
|----------|-----------------------------|-------------|-------------------------------------|
| *-pinišo | hair (human). | *-to'to | paw. |
| *-pfo'iy | shoulder. | *-tsir | gut, intestine. |
| *-rik | man's brother-in-law. | *-tsi'r | breast of animal. |
| *-riy | hand. | *-tsi'r | habit. |
| *-san | nephew, niece. | *-tsu | footmark. |
| *-sark | udder. | *-teyi | bride's plenishing |
| *-suvi | navel. | *-toyoyan | child's first hair |
| *-sumal | tail. | *-tsimo | lust. |
| *-su'sun | elbow. | *-waldas | back (of body). |
| *-skil | face. | *-wat | body. |
| *-soyut | bosom. | *-ya'imun | rib. |
| *-samuts | period of preg- nancy. | *-yarecki | under-bedding. |
| *-šak | arm. | *-yakal | direction. |
| *-šat | penis. | *-yas | man's sister. |
| *-taras | centre line of the head. | *-yateki | upper-bedding. |
| *-tatas | palm of hand. | *-yatus | head. |
| | | *-yo'q etas | to dress up, titi- vate oneself. |
| | | *-yanči | reception, meeting. |

130. As Prefixes with Adjectives (§ 126. 5).

A few Adjectives take these Pronominal Prefixes. The following are those which I have noted:

| | |
|--------------------|---------------------------------------|
| *-ayam | distasteful to, disliked, unfavoured. |
| *-akutum | in the service of. |
| *-altalik, *-altik | both. |
| *-apačim | being alongside of. |
| *-awas (*-me) | back (tooth). |
| *-ayerum | beloved. |
| *-itse etas, manas | to separate (trans. and intrans.). |
| *-yarum | which falls to one's lot. |
| *-xundikiš | hunchbacked. |
| *-uginao (*-me) | front (tooth). |

| | |
|------------|------------------------------|
| *-mo'skrîš | wrathful. |
| *-yorum | being ahead of, in front of. |
| *-yom | all, whole. |

*-yom almost always follows the noun or pronoun to which it refers and *-*altalik* (*-*altik*) generally does so. In this situation it is possible to regard them as pronouns rather than as adjectives. They are of course also used independently as pronouns. Neither has ever a singular pronoun prefix, but the plural form *yom* may be used with a singular noun. They are fully dealt with under Quantitative Pronouns. V. §§ 177, 178.

Examples:

| | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| eyam ym's | his unfavoured wife. |
| go'pačim kinz hiles | this boy with thee. |
| goyorumšo guyu* | thy beloved sons. |
| Hamáčarîq umo'ski.ents barn | the Hamachating are men of wrath. |
| aiyorum it's basarulo | at that halting-place in front of me. |

131. There are some compound adjectives, formed of a noun and an adjective. When the noun is a prefix-bearing noun it is probable that these vary according to the person referred to.

Thus:

| | |
|-------------|---|
| ese daŋ | "heart-hard", stout-hearted, courageous |
| ese ašar'to | "heart-weak", faint-hearted |

are used in this form when referring to a 3rd. person singular masculine. Applied to a 1st. sg. they would presumably be

| | | |
|--------------------|-----|---------------|
| ese daŋ | and | ese ašar'to |
| 2nd. sg. go'se daŋ | .. | go'se ašar'to |

but I cannot quote any actual examples.

(Biddulph gives five *-*as* compounds which I have not met and states that the prefixes vary. He also gives *-*lilurin* clever presumably *-*ljin* eye + -*ku'in*).

132. The static participles are often practically adjectives, and where the verb is one that takes the pronominal prefixes its participle might be reckoned among these personal adjectives.

Thus:

*-*ayenas* to go to sleep, pc.* -*ayenum* having gone to sleep, sleeping, asleep, which has the forms

| |
|--|
| eyenum, moyenum etc. |
| wa'las to be lost, go astray St. pc. *- <i>walum</i> lost. |
| guwalum thou lost one, thou fugitive, refugee. |

133. As Prefixes with Cardinal Numbers (§ 126. 6).

This is not normal; only a few instances can be quoted.

it'se rusko nuyen . . . gutserimi taking those 3 (things) he proceeded to . . .
u'e umiši'ndo ereršus'e those 6 sons-in-law (of his).

ku'e wiski nala dumazuman these 3 (sons) were born at the same time.

It will be noticed that in these cases the force of the pron. prefix is demonstrative and not possessive.

THE RECIPROCAL PRONOUN.

134. The Reciprocal Pronoun is to be regarded as the equivalent of the English "the one . . . the other" where "the one" is the subject of a verb and "the other" is its predicate or dependent on the predicate. The forms are:

| | | |
|-------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| h | hin hin, hin in, hi hi'n | one another, each other. |
| x & y | han han, hanan, hanan | one another, each other. |

The first component appears to remain invariable, not appearing in the extended form of the Nominative (*hinc*) even when it is the subject of a past tense of a transitive verb.

The second component remains unchanged when it is in the Accusative, otherwise it takes the appropriate case suffix etc.

The grammatical construction is, however, upset by the recognition of the fact that there are always two parties acting. The verb is therefore put in the plural. This recognition of plurality may be further extended, vide the second example below where probably only one hand of each party is in question and one would expect either *irin his hand* (as in No. 3), or *urigačiq their hands*.

Generally speaking the idiom may be conceived of as referable to the formula:

"they beat . . . the one the other".

| | |
|---|---|
| hin hin delimān | they beat each other. |
| hin hine irigūn dum'aruman | they sought (i. e. kissed) each other's hands. |
| hin hine irigtse dūn | seizing each other's hands. |
| hin hi'nor salavm etuman | they salamed to one another. |
| hin hinatē a'šiq māhūman | they fell in love with each other. |
| hi hine imaltsūman | they abused one another. |
| hin i'n i'tsi,ete (or, i,lji) | after one another, in Indian file. |
| būdša ke wazirē čayamūn hin hine ka etuman. | the king and the wazir conversed with each other. |
| te'i hin i'nor xuš bam | they were so pleased with one another. |
| hin i'ne 'eyorumišo bam | they were beloved of each other. |
| xuš hin hintsor ničila. | whooping cough goes (from) one to another, i. e. is infectious. |

a'lta šiško hadantse du's deljibam
the two mountains kept butting against each other.
 Kisor ise (itse?) hanantse di's mana's (manašo?) itse čarkowale
Kisor came to the cliffs that clashed against each other.
 kutse balašu bese han han d'elji.e? why do these birds fight with each other?
 šun i'ti ki-ti hanhantse du'num bim.
there were vine(s) on either side (which met and) embraced each other (over the river).

Note.

This use of *hin, han* reduplicated is not to be confused with its similar use as a Numeral meaning "one each", "one apiece" v. § 207.
 e. g. han han hunoran e'tirčan let us display an accomplishment, one each, i. e. let us each display an accomplishment, to him.

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS & ADJECTIVES.

135. The Demonstratives given below are used both as Pronouns and as Adjectives. As Adjectives they are used only in the Nominative forms.

The Demonstrative of the NEARER OBJECT: *ki-ne, khine*.¹
This one, this; these ones, these; frequently corresponding to the 3rd. person pronoun and the definite article in English.

| | | | | |
|------------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|------------|
| Sing. | hm. | hf. | x. | y. |
| N. V. A. | ki'ne, ki'n | ki'ne, ki'n | guse | gute. |
| Trs. nom. & Agt. | ki'ne | ki'ne | guse | gute. |
| Gen. | ki'ne | ki'ne'mo | guse | gute. |
| Dat. | ki'ner, | ki'nerur | guser | guter. |
| | ki'nor | | | |
| Abl. | ki'netsum | ki'nerutsum | gusetsum | gubetsum. |
| | kintsum. | | | |
| Other Cases | ki'nale | ki'nerule | guse'ete | — |
| | ki'nate | ki'nerute | guse'ete | gubete. |
| | ki'ne.ete. | | | |
| | ki'ne ka | ki'neru ka | guse ka | gute ka. |
| | ki'ne epači | ki'ne mopači | — | — |
| | kintse | — | gusa.u'lo | gute.u'lo. |

¹The correct form is, I believe *khine*.

The *k, kh-* appears to be a separable element, carrying the sense of *this, here*. So we have the comparable pairs:

| | | | |
|-----------|-------------------|--------|---------------------|
| inc | that person | ki'ne | this person. |
| i'ti | that (side) | ki'ti | this (side). |
| ta | that | ko's | this. |
| etc. | | etc. | |
| herem | how many? | akurum | this much, so much. |
| (bulto?) | day | ko'lo | to-day. |
| (čle?) | locative particle | ko't | here. |
| ep. clo). | | | |

This *k, kh-* has sometimes an *a-* or *o-* prefixed to it:

| | | |
|----------|--------|--------------------------------|
| ku'v | aku.e | these people. |
| ko'te | akole | here. |
| | akurum | so much (as this). |
| | ku'in | aku.in (Werchikwar) this year. |
| ep. also | aki-l | like this, of this nature. |

An *a, o-* prefix also occurs in *amin* which? ep. men, v. § 150.

| Plur. | hmf. | x. | y. |
|-----------------|-------------------|-----------|-----------|
| N. V. A. | ku'e, ku, (akn.e) | gutsē | gukē. |
| Trs Nom. & Agt. | ku'e | gutsē | gukē. |
| Gen. | ku'e | gutsē | gukē. |
| Dat. | ku'er | gutsēr | gukēr. |
| Abl. | ku'etsum | gutsētsum | gukētsum. |
| Other Cases | ku'ele | gutsēle | gukēle. |
| | ku.ete | gutsēte | gukēte. |
| | ku'e ka | | |

Minor vowel variations will be found. In the oblique forms the accent tends to fall on the *e* preceding the suffix, which is sometimes made tenser *e*, or diphthongised 'e. *e*, e.g. guse'te, gus'e.ete.

136. The above are the ordinary standard forms, but there is a second set of *x* and *y* forms which occur much less frequently. They are rare in inflected forms. The following are the forms found:

| Sing. | x. | y. |
|-------|---------------|-------------|
| | ko's | ko't (kut). |
| Plur. | ko'ts (kutsə) | ko'k (kuk). |

The forms in brackets have only been recorded occasionally. An additional *y* sg. form *ku'te*, *ku'te* occurs in

ku'te pa || *gute pa* *this side.*

There is also a *y* sg. form *ki'te* or *ki'ti* which is found in

ki'te pa *this side.*

ki'te pfar *on this side.*

and *ite ki'te* *thither and hither(?)*, *backwards and forwards.*

137. The Use of these Pronouns and Adjectives presents no special difficulties. When used as pronouns they may be accompanied by qualifying adjectives (v. § 113) and possessive genitives.

Examples:

H. sing. *Kine* as pronoun:

kin besan aye'mai'imi *this man will not be able to do anything.*
ja kine ku'au dimanini.a? *has this (son) of mine been born a good one?*

ike hai'ai'iq ja kine.ete bitsan *those marks are on this (son of mine).*
kin'or talo pad'saha'ntige e'r no'kari e'umam.
to this one seven kings will do service to him
kinē i'k *this one's name.*
kin'emutse du'yam *I shall seize her.*

Kine as Adjective:

kin hin ja o's bo *this one (woman) is my wife.*
kinē au'e gutsē tinjo *these bones of this father of mine.*
ja kine e'i *this son of mine.*
kin ja jama'at *this wife of mine.*
kin jot giyasanor un'e besan izzat etuma?
why didst thou pay honour to this small infant?
kinē Alqash ja au'u esqanum ite dišer.
at the place where this Alqash killed my father

X sing. *guse* as Pronoun.

guse yor ne ma delibam *you had shot this (ibex) first.*

guse as Adjective.

yarum guse hayur jotan bim *this first horse was small.*
guse han balaane han iser sei bi *this one bird says to that one.*

Y sing. *gute* as Pronoun.

This *y* form is used for "this" where "saying", "thought" "reason", "time", etc. is understood:

gute:tsum *for this reason.*
gute ganc *for this reason.*
gute nusen *saying this.*
gute uyo'n un'e he'i ba *thou knowest all this.*

ja (un'e) gute tsan bila
this of mine (i.e. "what I say") is true, (un'e "what thou sayest").

takte rawan tsu'in, gute'te ne'urur't ditsu'in.

take the litter, seating him on it (this) bring him here.
gute man'i *the meaning of this.*

gute as Adjective.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| gute əAYə aiyeti | don't say this thing. |
| gute hisər guse baskaret gučəm | for this month I shall give thee this ram. |
| ja gute xət | this letter of mine. |
| une gute guljīe əAYə iljum gōr ečəm | I shall tell thee later the interpretation of this thy dream. |
| gute galči | on this occasion. |

II plur. kure, ku as Pronoun.

| | |
|---|--|
| ku ja aiyu'gušants bə'n | these are my daughters. |
| ku dəsənər nutsun | take away these (people) to a waste place. |
| akiljuko kure İbra'him pa'yambore xa'nda'ntsun dumai.i bə'n | such (people) as these are born of the Prophet Ibrahim's family. |
| kure hunər bıkmat akil zülle bila | these people's skill and knowledge is of this sort. |

kure, ku as Adjective.

| | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| ku jōtumuts | these children. |
| kure u.ı'ski nala dumanuman | these three (children) were born at the same time. |

X plur. gutse as Pronoun.

| | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| gutse (burō'ndumuts) bi.əna? | are these (rings) they? |
| une gu'ye burō'ndumuts gutse bi.ə | these are thy father's rings. |
| gutse (balašu.e) te'i məi bi.ə | these (birds) are thus. |

gutse as Adjective.

| | |
|----------------|---------------|
| gutse tinjo | these bones. |
| gutse balašur | these birds. |
| gutse hanakuts | these dishes. |

Y plur. guke as Pronoun.

| | |
|------------------------------|--|
| guke (yənan) uyō'n xərō ne | expending all these (i.e. all this gold, pl.). |
| guke (yoyan) telə ya're etin | bury these (this hair, pl.) there. |

guke as Adjective.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| guke yənan | this gold (pl.). |
| guke əYəmanı'ə i'mo e'stulo səi bai.i | he says these things in his heart. |
| guke təvōčiq kə ifəyo | these leg-wrappers and stick of his. |

138. The Subsidiary forms.

In my records, examples of the singular forms of the Subsidiary Demonstratives are uncommon, and of the plural forms very rare. I have noted only one instance of an oblique form.

X sing. kō's as Pronoun.

| | |
|---|--|
| kō's (šapik) am nirmī? | where has this (bread) gone? |
| kō's (bušō'šo) tumane deli bai.i | some one else has slain this (calf). |
| In both these cases one would say in English "the . . ." or "it". | |
| kō's (bur'n) ja dəro'yo'ate də'sta'ya ba | I have supported this (boulder) on my stick. |

kō's as Adjective.

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| kos gufəyo be etu? | what have you done to this stick of yours? |
| kos bi kə han belis | this is only one sheep. |

Y sing. kot as Pronoun.

| | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| kot akerya bə'n | they don't know this. |
| kot (ičər) besən məi.i bila? | what is this (sound)? |
| kot bu't səčō dəro'wan bila | this is a very easy business. |

kot as Adjective.

| | |
|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| kot gu'imo yenis tsu | take away this gold of thine. |
| je kot əYA gōr aiyēčəm | I won't tell you this matter. |

X plur. kots, kutsə as Pronoun. No examples.

kots, kutsə as Adjective.

| | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| kōts hər bes dutsə'n? | why have you brought these ox(en)? |
| lutse balašu | these birds. |

Y plur. ko'k as Pronoun.

| | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| koktse (ta.o'čiq) yənu gani bi | frost has seized on these (leg-wrappers), i.e. they have become frozen. |
| ko'k a'ito yumō'riq bitə | these are two holes. |

ko'k as Adjective.

| | |
|---------------------|------------------------|
| kuk akuruman pfa'ō' | all this (much) grain. |
|---------------------|------------------------|

The DEMONSTRATIVE of the REMOTER OBJECT.

139. The Demonstrative of the Remoter Object:
- That one, that; those ones, those.*

The ordinary forms are those which have already been given as the Personal Pronouns of the 3rd. Person. Used as Adjectives they frequently correspond to the Definite Article in English.

| | | | | | |
|-----|---------|---------|------|-----|--------|
| | hm. | hf. | x | y | |
| Sg. | inc, in | ins, in | isc | ite | that. |
| Pl. | uc, u | uc, u | itse | ike | those. |

For the declensional forms see § 120.

The Use of these Demonstratives is exactly parallel to that of the preceding series (see § 137) *ki'ne, guse, guta* etc. It is therefore unnecessary to give examples.

140. There is also a set of SUBSIDIARY FORMS for
- x*
- and
- y*
- .

| | | | |
|-----|---------|---------|--------|
| | x | y | |
| Sg. | es, ese | et, ete | that. |
| Pl. | ets | ek, eke | those. |

The *x* sing. forms are fairly common and are found with the suffixes *-tse* and *-tsum*. I have noted Genitives of all except the *y* plur. in my records.

In view of their comparative rarity the following examples are given of these forms:

X sing. *es* as Pronoun.

| | |
|--|--|
| matum es tuyuli.en him | the black one was a male lamb. |
| ese imi numuyen | taking its (the lamb's) dam. |
| banda ðapt maza estse omaimi | the flavour of human flesh will not be |
| on it (the lamb), i.e. the lamb's flesh will not taste like human flesh. | |
| estsum (or estsum) ke uyuman dotsuma. | |
| thou hast sent a bigger (animal) than it. | |

ese yululum isk the young one in its belly.

es as Adjective.

| | |
|------------------------|------------------------------|
| es belis irimi | that sheep died. |
| es haiwanan | that one animal. |
| es kursi.ete erurutimi | he seated him on that chair. |

Y sing. *et* as Pronoun.

| | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| et uye akerima | thou wilt not know that. |
| et etis uiyumaiya ba | I am unable to do that. |
| han bat bilum, ete ik X. B. bilum. | |

there was a (flat) stone, the name of it was Kh. B.

et as Adjective.

mi ete dolattsum from that property of ours.

X plur. *ets* as Pronoun.

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| etse u.ik | their (the birds') name. |
| etse utis galji bim | their (the cattle's) legs used to break. |

ets as Adjective.

da ets alta amulum heram umanimi.en?

then whence (how) have those two (animals) become unlawful (food)?

Y plur. *ek* as Pronoun.

teljoko ek akerima thou wilt not know those things of this nature (such things as those).

| | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| ek jeri heya ba | I know those things. |
| ek (sarix) ke goyuyam | I'll give thee those (cities) too. |

ek as Adjective.

ja eke uyorn gur ke maltsaš all that (lit. those) wheat and ghee of mine. (but *eke* may here be a pronoun).

COMPOUND DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.

141. The Demonstratives
- ins, in*
- and
- ki'ne, kin*
- may be used with the Pronominal Numeral
- hin, hin, han*
- to form Compound Demonstrative Pronouns:
- That one, the one; this one.*

Thus:

hine seibai: ya'in . . . fat etin; in hine seibai: kin: bai . . .

One says "shut up . . . let him go", that one (a previous speaker) says "this is he . . ."

kin hin ja os bo this one is my wife.

The *hin* may precede, as in the following where according to the context the meaning is "the second of the three sons".

uyum ine . . . bišami, . . . hin ine ki bišami . . . jut ine masarbu
 šu'lılo delimi the eldest shot . . . that one (i. e. the second) also
 shot . . . the youngest . . . hit the spout of the pot.

guse han balasane han iser seibi this one bird says to that one.

The same combinations may be used adjectivally:

ine hin bitanene ik Huke Mamu bilum. Hine ik Šongukur bilum
 the name of that one "bitan" was Huke Mamu. The name of the
 other was Šongukur.

hin ine guv kaš eti kill that one son of thine.

da han ise balase se.i bi then that one bird says.

CORROBORATIVE PRONOUNS.

142. By the term Corroborative Pronouns I denote the compounds with "self" which serve to emphasise or lay stress on the individuality of a given subject: "I myself", "the man himself".

In English these forms are also used as Reflexive Pronouns, but in Burushaski the two functions are served by different series of forms.

The Corroborative Pronouns in Burushaski are:

| | Sg. | | Pl. |
|------------|---------------|----------|---------|
| 1st. Pers. | je'i | | mim'i |
| 2nd. Pers. | gugui | | mamai |
| 3rd. Pers. | m. i'i | | |
| | f. muvi, mo.i | hmf. & x | u'vi |
| | x & y i'i | y | i'i, i' |

These are formed by the addition of an -i to the Independent Pronoun of the 1st. sing. and to the Prefixal Pronouns of the other persons. This -i has apparently the value of the English "self". These forms are invariable.

In addition to the above forms there is a series of Reduplicated forms:

| | Sg. | | Pl. |
|------------|-------------------------|----------|--------|
| 1st. Pers. | je je'i, (ja, je) jje'i | | mim'i |
| 2nd. Pers. | gugui | | mamai |
| 3rd. Pers. | m. i'i | | |
| | f. mumuri | hmf. & x | u'vi |
| | x & y i'i | y | (i'i?) |

In my texts practically only the shorter forms appear to be used, (with the exception of je'i of which I have no certain example). But the 3rd. sg. hm. is indistinguishable in its two forms and the plural forms are probably simply the Independent Pronoun plus the Corroborative:

We have je jje'i, ug gugui, ine i'i, i'n mamuri, but the plurals mi mim'i, ma mamai, ure urui cannot be quoted. ji in jje'i seems to be the word ji — life, soul.

Examples:

ja jje'i gute duro etam I have done this thing myself

je je'i mutsuyase gane erman bilum
 there was desire for myself to marry her, I myself was desirous of . . .

(This example is doubtful; the construction is perhaps contaminated.)

gvi kr ši menor ke u' eat it thyself and give it to others.

gvi baldiyudu heru thou thyself sit in the balcony.

Pangču i'i bai i it is Pangču himself.

da i'i thamo opači jučam then he himself used to go to the Thams.

i'i bo gim'i he himself scattered the seed.

mučokome ke ivtsuman muvi ki yetsumo

her sisters saw him and she herself saw him.

gatuq ine mo.i ke gažam etam I had laid hold of her clothes & she herself.

miri wa'ito telar nimen mikor ersqai.en

let us four go there and kill ourselves.

sis u'i horon seiban' people are saying among themselves.

The reduplicated form uvi uvi is used with the sense "each separately".

gaptsum biške uvi uvi i'moquman

they each separately plucked the hair off the hide.

The following are a few isolated examples chiefly of the double forms:

je jje'i I myself.

ja jje'i akoror yonikre etam I have myself done evil to myself.

ua gugui gute duro etama thou thyself didst this.

ine gus' mamuri the woman herself.

| | |
|---------------------------|--|
| mumuvî gute duro etumo | she did it herself. |
| ha î dorîmî | the house fell down itself. |
| i'ne îvî î'kêr esqanîmî | he himself killed himself. |
| u'ne u'vî u'kêr esqanuman | they themselves killed themselves. |
| mî mî horeq duma'ča ba'n | we are being reconciled among ourselves. |
| hal Kîsêr guguvî ba | either thou art Kîsêr thyself. |
| guguvî mu-ikan o's | give her a name thyself. |

POSSESSIVE ADJECTIVES.

143. The functions of Possessive Adjectives are performed by:

1. the Genitive of the Personal Pronouns
2. special forms with the Adjectival ending *-mo*

There are no special Possessive Pronouns and the use of the Possessive Adjectives or Genitives as Pronouns seems to be avoided, though it is permissible, (see last two examples below). Thus one says:
 gute u'ne kitap bila *this is thy book*, where in English one might say "this book is thine".

1. The Genitives are used where the possessor is not also the subject of the sentence:

i'ne šadore i'ner seibai ki u'ne walem i'ne jut go'šo dibai.
his servant says to him "that lost younger brother of thine has come".

ja gute taan bila be? u'ne gute taan bila.
is this of mine (i.e. this that I say) true? This of yours is true.

guse u'ne mai.i bia, mi mai.ibi ke, tsane sen.
say truly whether this is thine, or whether it is ours.

besan ja bi ke es u'ne bi *whatever is mine, that is thine.*

2. The following are average forms of the Possessive Adjectives. It will be noted that the normal First Sing. is based on the independent First Person Pronoun *je*, while the remainder are based on the Prefixal Pronouns. The forms to which *-mo* is added are those of the Corroborative Pronouns:

| | Sg. | Pl. |
|------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| 1st. pers. | je'imo, (a.îmu, aîmu) | mî'mo |
| 2nd. pers. | gu'imo, gu'yemo, gu'yumo | mai.imo, maino |

| | Sg. | Pl. b & x. |
|---------------|-------------|---------------------|
| 3rd. pers. m. | î'mo, i'imo | u'imo, uyumo, uyumo |
| f. | mu'imo | |
| x & y. | î'mo | |

(go.imo and mo'imo have also been recorded.)

The 1st sg. a.îmu, aîmu, occurs only, subject to doubt, in the text written out by Ghani Khan.

These Adjectives are used:

- a. when the possessor is the subject of the sentence.
- b. with the sense of "own" where the possessor is not also the subject of the sentence, but where there is no ambiguity as to whom the adjective refers to.

Examples:

- a. "je'imo gute bušairulo menaner ma rai ečav'n ke i'tsu'in" o'simî.
he said to them: "marry whomever you please in this country of mine".

gu'imo dišer î'lji gar'is gallop back to thy own place.

i'imo wazir etimî he made him his (own) wazir.

mu'imo ha'ler i'tsumo she carried him off to her house.

mî'mo mi.u kaš o'tiž ame'imaiyan we shall not be able to slay our sons.

mai.imo maiyu altan kaš o'tan ke if you kill your two sons.

u'imo hai yakalašer gutsoruman they proceeded to their home.

- b. ja je'imo rai.i my own idea, or intention.

i'tse (bu'o'ndumuts) uyomaše i'mo î'k bitum.

his own name was on all the rings.

The Genitive of the pronoun may be used in addition as in the last example but one, and in the following:

gute ha ja je'imo bila *this house is my own*

but this is not usual.

REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS.

144. The Burushaski forms of the Reflexive Pronouns are provided by *-kar (properly *-khar), with the appropriate Pronominal Prefix.

| | Sg. | | PL. |
|------------|-------|-------|---------------|
| 1st. Pers. | ak'ər | | mikər. |
| 2nd Pers. | gukər | | makər, makar. |
| 3rd. Pers. | m. | ikər | |
| | f. | mukər | h & x u'kər. |
| | x & y | ikər | y (i'kər?) |

These forms correspond to the English "myself" "thysself" etc. where these are used in the predicate in an Oblique Case and refer to the subject of the sentence.

They occur most frequently in the Accusative Case. The Dative in -ər and the General Oblique in -e with Dative significance are frequent and so also the form with the suffix -aŋe. Other forms are rare.

Examples:

| | | |
|-----------|---|---|
| Acc. | je ak'ər han hayuŋen eŋam | <i>I made myself into a horse.</i> |
| | gukər de'pas | <i>save thyself, i. e. look out!</i> |
| | pu'ra ik'ər serke etimi | <i>he shaved himself completely.</i> |
| | makər xal'as (etin) | <i>free yourselves.</i> |
| Dat. | ak'ərər tsil gaiyam . . . mi ke mik'ərər . . . gaiyen | <i>I shall take the water for myself . . . we too shall take it for ourselves.</i> |
| | bušai-i uy'o'n guk'ərər etuma | <i>you allotted all the land to yourself.</i> |
| Gen. Obl. | ik'əre dumu'taase gane. | <i>in order to bring her for himself (he had made the garden etc.).</i> |
| | u'k'əre ŋi'asər xura'ka . . . nukən duwašaman. | <i>taking food for themselves to eat, they went out.</i> |
| | tsil ak'əre gaiyam | <i>I shall take water for myself.</i> |
| Abi. | ak'ortsum u'ŋər guyam | <i>I gave it to thee from myself.</i> |
| -aŋe | ik'əreŋe samba etimi | <i>he thought to himself.</i> |
| | muk'əriŋe ečubo | <i>she says to herself.</i> |
| | (dostaakan) ŋyu'lo ik'əreŋe dimanimi. | <i>the thing came into being of itself in the forge.</i> |
| -aŋe | yašil api; gutə jangaltsum ak'əreŋe gaiyam. | <i>there is no firwood (there); I shall take some on myself (i. e. carry some) from the jungle.</i> |

For the reflexive use of *-aka v. § 85 VI.

145. It will be seen later (§ 248) that there are certain Transitive Verbs which take Pronominal Prefixes and that these prefixes agree in Number and Person with the Object. When, however, any form of *-kər is the direct object of one of these verbs, the prefix of the verb assumes the 3rd. person singular form.

So

| | |
|------------------|---------------------------|
| ja i'ne esqanani | <i>I killed him.</i> |
| je go'sqaiyam | <i>I shall kill thee.</i> |
| i'ne je asqaini | <i>he will kill me.</i> |

but

| | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| ak'ər e'sqaiam | <i>I will kill myself.</i> |
| "mi'i mik'ər esqai.en" senu'mo | <i>"we ourselves shall kill ourselves" she said.</i> |
| u'k'ər esqanuman | <i>they killed themselves.</i> |

146. There is another word which is occasionally used with a Reflexive or Corroborative sense:

*-dim means *body, person, one individual alone, alone, per person,* and with the suffix -aŋe *to one's own account, for oneself.*

gu'ke ye'naŋ a'dimate e'čam *I shall appropriate this gold to myself.*

gu'ke ye'naŋ gu'dimate maniš *this gold may be for yourself alone.*

u'dimate ul'ta hanikuts uca'n *they give them two dishes for themselves.*

ji *life, soul,* is occasionally similarly used:

mu'imo ji'yor ya'ran ditsubo *she has brought a lover for herself.*

It is probably this *ji* which is found in the corroborative *ji'je.i* v. § 142.

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS and ADJECTIVES.

147. The principal Indefinite Pronouns and Adjectives are:

| | | |
|-------|-----|---|
| menan | sg. | <i>anyone, someone, any, some.</i> |
| men | pl. | <i>any, some, anyone.</i> |
| amin | | <i>anyone, any.</i> |
| be | | <i>any, some.</i> |
| besan | | <i>anything, something.</i> |
| ti | | <i>used with, men, besan etc. adds the sense other, else.</i> |

| | |
|------------------------|--------------------|
| besko + negative | nothing, no. |
| To these may be added: | |
| hin | one (person). |
| her hin | everyone (person). |
| her han | each one (thing). |
| tam, tuman | other, another. |

It will be seen that the main forms are identical with the corresponding Interrogative Pronouns.

Note.

The Indefinite Pronouns may of course occur in interrogative sentences, and there may then be difficulty in deciding whether they are in fact indefinite or interrogative. One point, however, frequently makes it plain, the verb in an interrogative sentence which contains no specifically interrogative word takes an interrogative particle as a suffix. This particle is -a, v. § 340.

When therefore the principal verb of a sentence carries this suffix, *men* or *besan* etc. occurring in the sentence are indefinite. If the verb has no such suffix then they are interrogative.

Unfortunately this interrogative -a coalesces with a final -a of the verb, so that where a part of the verb naturally ends in -a it is impossible to say whether the interrogative -a is present or not.

Thus: *besan eča* may be *thou art doing something, art thou doing anything?* or *what art thou doing?*

It is probable that when the interrogative -a is absorbed the resulting final -a is slightly lengthened or accented, but I am not able to assert this as a fact.

In other cases the -a is apparent and provides a criterion, so

| | |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>besan ečam?</i> | <i>what shall I do?</i> |
| <i>besan ečama?</i> | <i>shall I do anything?</i> |

Of course some other interrogative in the sentence may dispense the verb from taking -a, but such cases are rare in practice. Theoretically at least one could say:

| | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>bešel besan ečam?</i> | <i>when shall I do something?</i> |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|

48. men.

men generally appears as a Pronoun, but it is occasionally used Adjectivally. The form *men* is plural, but it is frequently used when in English we should use the singular.

In the plural it sometimes takes the suffix *-ik*.

The singular is *menan* v. § 43. 5.

I shall refer to the Pronoun in general as *men* as that is the form in which it most generally appears.

The following are illustrations of its principal uses:

1. *menan* anyone, adj. any.

men any people.

gan menē he.šəna? does anyone (pl.) know the road?

mentse šimili.ən yaiyi ke if splinters hit any persons . . .

men urtan ke menē əsqaimana?

if anyone (pl.) dies will anyone (pl.) kill me?

meniktəum dərərə? hast thou obtained (asked for) it from anyone (pl.)?

ekatiq yarē menē leđ numan deluman ke kinər nuqsən bila

if anyone (pl.) knowing this hits him under the armpits he will suffer (suffers) injury.

Adj.

bešel ke amulum musafir men yəribtiq ja gute bušai.ər duyan ke . . .

whenever traveller(s) (or) any poor people from anywhere come to this my country . . .

2. *menan* some one.

men some people.

əya menər se.imi

he will tell someone (pl.) about it.

gute menəntsum daiyela ba

I have heard this from someone.

hin menanər yu

give it to someone.

Adj.

bayəri menan hirəne imo altan yu . . . kas oti ke . . .

unless some man slays his own two sons . . .

Note the repetition of the -an suffix with the noun, similarly in second last example in sub-para. 4. below.

3. *men* occurs most frequently with a Negative.

menan + neg. + verb. not anyone, no one, adj. no

men + neg. + verb. not any people, no people.

As the conceptions "not anyone" and "no one" are not distinguished in Burushaski, the choice of the equivalent in English in any given case must be determined by the context. Often there is no appreciable difference in the sense:

mene adaljumana? will anyone (pl.) kill me? or will some one kill me?

berse menale o'saiya ba? why should I not tell anyone (pl.)?

gachi menar čayā aiyekām I shall never tell anyone about it.

men ayotirumače without having shown it to anyone (pl.).

Poniki Pterpfor mene ako'sušan may no one (pl.) call thee P. Pf.

mene įskilor pfut ayeti do not look at anyone's face.

4. The particle *ke* is frequently inserted after the *men*. Perhaps this renders the negative more emphatic. The idiom seems similar to the Hindustani use of *bhī*:

H. koi bhī ne aya no one came.

H. kuch bhī ne hai there is none.

It seems also to coincide with the Shina use of *ga* which like *ke* means "and", "also".

Sh. "ko ga nei waten" no one has come.

kin ju.anan men ke apar'n there are none like him.

ise men ke ayotirum having shown it to no one (pl.).

in mentsum ke ar emaiman he used to fear no one.

yenaj menar ke lel omaimi.

the gold will be known to no one, i.e. no one will know about it.
Adj.

e'ka menen ke sisan apam there was no man with him.

men thamure hukom apim there was no government of any "thams".

5. Where *men* is used in the negative it is sometimes followed by the particle *kuli*. It is difficult to determine the exact meaning of *kuli*, *kuli*, but it seems to have the general effect of furnishing emphasis like the English "whatever".

kin mene kuli delš ayomaiman no one (pl.) will be able to kill him.

urj ju.anan menan kuli apai there is no one like thee.

menar kuli o'u don't give it to anyone (pl.).

6. *men* (*kē*) has often the meaning of "other people", "others".

ja dolat xarē eti menar ke urj expend my wealth and give it to others.

guri ke ši menar ke ur eat it thyself and give it to others.

mene ke baldaj nuka aščin uyorjko manitaa

(by) carrying (other) people's loads my loins have become big.

149. *thi*, *ti*.

ti placed before *men* etc. gives "anyone else", "some one else", "any others", "some others".

gute čayā ti menale ayeti do not tell this to anyone else (pl.).

ti menene deli bai some one else has killed it.

ti mene bia? does it belong to some one else (pl.)?

urjsum ti menen ke edilai no one else but thee has killed it.

(Here *ti* may be regarded as a postposition. Cp. § 88.)

ti menan yakal pfut mumanumo she looked in the direction of some one else.

150. *men*.

men is occasionally used in close connection with a personal pronoun which is perhaps the pronominal prefix. e. g.

mi men xaber apar'n none of us know.

umene deljuman ke tamašar kuli beroyam

if any of them shall kill it I shall watch the show (?).

151. *menik*, *meniko*.

The plur. *men* may take the suffix *-ik*.

meniktsum dusura? have you got it from anyone (pl.)?

A form *meniko* is sometimes found, usually in the position of an trans. nominative, sometimes of a genitive:

meniko ke heiban people know, all know.

Siž meniko kaš etar'n some people (or other) have killed Sing.

taak p'fataž meniko etar'n some persons have knocked down the water-stop.

meniko bitsana? *does (this wheat) belong to other people?*
 guse huk albat meniko mermi *this dog must certainly belong to other people.*
 I have recorded it once with the dative suffix -ar.
 yam api, meniku^{or} ke u^r *it is of no consequence, give it to some other people.*

152. amin.

amin occurs occasionally both as an Indefinite Pronoun and as an Indefinite Adjective. I have not noted any examples of the x *amin* and the y *amit* so used.

amin de li ban (ms. ba) ke ese haiyai in kawarntsum di usin.
if any of you (?) have killed it, produce the tokens out of (your) bags.
 aminane ke heibai *everyone knows.*
 amin hifane . . . o'ltalik yu . . . kaš o'ti ke burša dyu'eš.
if any man kills his two sons the king will escape.
 hiror aminan jam jama'atan *some relation of the man's.*

153. besan.

besan is employed similarly to *men*, but when used pronominally it is always singular.

-an appears to be the suffix -an (§ 43), as the form *besik* has also been recorded. The simple *bes* is seen in *bes + ke* (v. § 154) and the oblique in *besē? Why?* (v. § 164).

The following are illustrations of its principal uses:

1. *besan* *anything*, adj. *any*.
 ja besan gali bir? *has anything of mine (limb, bone) been broken?*
 besan pfu'lan asba'pan go'pači bi ke ja'r jo
if thou hast any bowl or vessel, give it to me.
2. *besan* *something*, adj. *some*.
 u'q hazar besan gomai imu *thou perhaps wilt be able to do something.*
 besantse de'wquš *let her let it down by something.*
 besan ne daiya ba *doing something, i. e. somehow or other, I have come.*
 hazar besan ila'ječe . . . *perhaps, by some means . . .*
3. *besan + negative* *nothing, not anything*, adj. *no, not any*.
 besan at'imanimi *nothing was born.*

besan ako'manuma? *wast thou not able to do anything?*
 kintse besan thaiyas api *nothing has (any) effect on him.*
 akurumtsum da besan ay'e'mai imi

he will not be able to do anything more than this (he has done).
 ja besantsum ay'e'ta baiyam *I hadn't made it of anything.*

ime hule gur maltaše besan diš o'manumi
in his house no space remained for wheat and ghee.

axarēts guntulo je ke u'q barza'w besan o'manš
at the last day there must be no subject of dispute between me and thee.
 epači besan duro api *there is no work (left undone) with him.*

4. The particle *ke* may be added after *besan* with a negative verb.
 kintse besan ke thaiyas api *nothing has any effect on him.*
 j'ner mene besan ke e'ucam *none used to give him anything.*

5. The word *kuli*, *kul'i* may be used after *besan* as in:
 be, besan eti kuli dyu'asas apai. *This passage is somewhat obscure. I have it glossed in Hindustani: jo kuch bhi k'ra to "whatever he may do (have done)", which makes eti equal etimi, but it seems possible that the phrase may be "besanate kuli" by any means he will not escape.*

6. *ti* placed before *besan* gives *anything else, something else*, adj. *any other, some other*.

ti besan ayau *don't give me anything else.*
 ti besan ka't ne ači *give it to me on some (any) other condition*
 (but the context seems to require only "give it to me on any condition you please").

gutatsum ti besan ila'j api *there is no other remedy but this.*
 (Here *ti* may be regarded as a postposition.)

7. *hor besan* may be used meaning *everything*, but "*besan uyo'n*" is more usual in this sense.

u'ne hor besan xar'tir go'u'uman *they will show you every sort of attention.*

Thamue besan uyo'ner sāt o'ca'n *the Thams make them take precedence in everything.*

besan uyom epaci bi he has everything (he scants)
 imo besan uyom gati netan collecting everything of his (i.e. all
 he possessed).

8. I have heard "burt besan" meaning *lots* (Hindustani: bahut kuch).

154. beska, beske, beska.

This appears to be the base form of *besan* + the particle *ke*. It is used only with the negative, and in conjunction with it means *nothing* (not anything), adj. *no*.

beska atwasimi nothing remained.
 besko api there is nothing (left).
 besko aye'mai'imi he will be able to do nothing.
 beske icor at'imi no sound came.
 beske porwa api it is no matter, it is of no consequence
 mi ka uye beske duro api thou hast no business with us.

155. be adj. any, some.

Padsa be zaitate ku'li besan xudai.e eti ke ati'w'e'ia?
 if in some way he gives alms will the King not escape?
 be yunikis senimi ke if he should say any evil thing.
 and perhaps in: je be gusan ba? Am I some (sort of?) woman?

156. hin.

The numeral *hin*, *han* may be used as a Pronoun meaning *one* (person), *one* (non-person). Cp. § 121.

hine se'ibai "ya.in" one (of them) says "shut up".
hor *hin*, *hor* *han* can be used meaning *every one*, but ordinarily one would employ "uyom" *all*.

157. hor each, every (Persian).

hor is only used as an Adjective, and that sparingly: *hor besan* and *hor hin* have already been mentioned.

158. tum, tu'm, tuman other, another.

tum is used of persons, animals and things both as a Pronoun and as an Adjective. It is capable of plural inflection.

h (and x?) tumiso, y tumia

tu'man dimi another (man) came.

kinetsum tu'man ke ju'ni another (man) is coming besides this one.
 je S. Bahram fat ne tu'man e'tsu'cam putting Sh. Bahram aside
 I will marry no other.

tu'm sisan ke di'mi another person also came.

tum curen ditsu bring another knife.

tum ganane nu'min going by another road.

tumiso sis daw'an others have come.

tumiaq maleq other fields.

tum sometimes means *other than*, *different from*, as in the second example above and in:

ja saldatsum tu'man etimi he did something other than my order,
 i.e. different from what I had ordered.

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS and ADJECTIVES.

159. The Interrogative Pronouns and Adjectives are:

| | | |
|-------------|----------------|---------------------------|
| men? | pron. who? | adj. what? |
| sg. menan? | | |
| amin? amin? | pron. and adj. | which one? who? which? |
| besan? | pron. and adj. | what? |
| be? (bes?) | pron. and adj. | what? (what?) |
| beski(en)? | pron. and adj. | of what sort? |
| be'uk(an)? | pron. and adj. | of what sort? |
| beljuko? | pron. and adj. | of what sort? |

160. men?

The form *men* is plural; the singular is formed by adding the suffix *-an*, *-en*. The plural may be reinforced by the suffix *-ik*. The declension is normal:

| | | | |
|-------------|----------------------------|------|---------------------------|
| Nom. Acc. | men | | who? pl. |
| Trans. Nom. | menē | | |
| Gen. | menē | | |
| Dat. | menər | | |
| Abl. | mentsum | | (Nz. gave me: men etsum). |
| Other cases | menale | or | menele. |
| | menate | | menefe. |
| | menulo | etc. | |
| | (Nz. gave me: menē opači.) | | |

The singular *menan*, *menen* *who?* sg. is similar, but for the hf forms I was given the following. They do not happen to occur in my texts:

| | | | |
|-------------|------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------|
| Nom. | menan | | who? sg. fem. |
| Gen. | menenmo | | |
| Dat. | m'enenmur | | |
| Abl. | m'enenmutsum | | |
| Other cases | m'enenamv ka | with whom? f. | |
| | m'enenamv mopači | in the presence of whom? to whom? f. | |
| | m'enenmule | in the possession of whom? f. | |

men is used only of human beings.

men and *menik* serve as the h pl. of *amin*, *amin* "which"? and may then be used adjectivally. *Amin* has, however, once or twice been recorded as a plural.

Examples:

| | |
|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| sg. uŋ menan ba? | who art thou? |
| menan bai Kiser? | who is Kiser? |
| kinē menan bai? | who is this? |
| pl. men herčam? | who were weeping? |
| e's menē tau.ən? | who have carried it away? |
| gute mal menē biln? | whose (pl.) field is this? |
| je menər yučam? | to whom (pl.) shall I give it? |
| kuvē men(ik) bən? | who are these? |

hin namən'in menik herčən ke ite xabar dušu'in
one of you going bring in information as to who are crying.
(Dependent Question. Cp. §§ 168 & 467).

Men is perhaps seen with a Pronominal Prefix in:
je deljam, u'mene deljuman? I shall slay it, which of them will slay it?

161. *amin*, *amin*? *which?*

This is used under different forms for all categories both as Pronoun and as Adjective. The scheme is:

| | | | |
|-----|--------------------|-------|-------|
| | h | x | y |
| sg. | amin | amis | amit. |
| pl. | men, (amin), menik | amits | amik. |

The initial vowel varies between a and ʌ and the stress accent tends to fall on it.

When used as a Pronoun the forms are regular: the hf is declined as an ordinary hf noun:

| | |
|------|------------|
| Nom. | amin |
| Gen. | aminmo |
| Dat. | aminmur |
| Abl. | aminmutsum |

The h *amin* seems most often to be used simply as an alternative to *menan*, the general *who?* The difference represented by English "what man?" "which man?" is probably not really recognised in Burushaski.

This is shown by the rarity of the plural of *amin* and by the fact that the x and y forms have to cover both the more general and the restricted senses represented by "what?" and "which?"

Examples:

| | |
|--|---|
| amin bai? | who is it? |
| kin amin bai? | which is this? who is this? |
| guse haγure daman amin ba? | owner of this horse, who art thou? |
| aminər yučam? | to which person shall I give it? |
| amin gas bo? | which woman is it? |
| menik sisik duwa'n? | what people have come? which people have come? |
| ma astam etin kuvē herəyulo amin γunikiš, amin daltas bai ke | you decide which among these is evil, which is good (Dependent Question). |

Amin occurs as hpl. in:

aminē deli ba'n ke ye bōrnin see which (of you?) have killed it.
gutsē toremutsūm amis tsuyas bi? of these ten (horses) which is to be
taken away?

amis tsuyēšo ba'n? which are to be taken away?
je amis hayur dišam? which horse shall I bring?
ami't guntšar jušuma? on which day will thou come?
ami't guntšulo hurušam harē? which day shall I stay at home?
kincr amik maliq yuyūnešo (iyūnašo?) bitsan? (Nz.) which fields are
to be given to this man?

162. *besan?* what?

besan is used only of inanimate things. It is susceptible of the ordinary inflection when used as a Pronoun. It does not occur very frequently as an Adjective.

It appears to be a compound form *bes* + the suffix *-an*. This supposition is supported by the form *besik* which, however, I have only recorded once with a note that it can be used with reference to things such as *tea, rice, etc.* (presumably plurals of quantity). *Besik* does not occur in the texts.

Examples:

As Pronoun:
u'ŋe gu.i'k besan bila? what is thy name?
ja ase mēda besan bila? what is the desire of my heart?
besan tsane seya ba? what am I to say truly?
i'ne ik je besan o'sam his name what shall I place? i. e.
what name shall I give him?
"hayur" besane ik bila? of what is "hayur" the name?
gute ta'am besantsūm bilum? of what is this food (made)?
e'sumuts ke e'kin besantsūm ar dusu'am?

of what hadst thou brought me the kidneys and liver?

The addition of Case Suffixes sometimes provides:

INTERROGATIVE ADVERBS.

besane hōi su'ča baiyam? how was I to bring green vegetables?
(But perhaps besane = besan ne, doing what?)

besaner dama'ba'n? why have you come?
besaner qau eča? why dost thou call me?
šapik besanaŋe day eč'a'n? with what, or how, are they cooking food?

As Adjective:

mu u'ŋe besan xia'l bila? now what is thy idea?
mi gusastsum besan fawida? what advantage (would there be) from
our telling thee?

i'ne besan baren eč'ai? what thing is he saying?

u'ŋe besan asta'man bila? what case hast thou?

Its use as Pronoun or Adjective respectively frequently crosses that of English.

It will be remarked that *besan* does not interfere with the noun's taking the suffix *-an*.

163. *be, (be) what?*

be is more restricted in use than *besan*. It occurs most frequently as the object of the verb *etas* and sometimes with *manas* and *senas*. It is rare as an Adjective.

Examples.

As Pronoun:

ja'r be 'ča? what wilt thou do to me?
et be'ič'an? what are we to do with it?
ja be'eč'am? what did I do?
i'nar be se'yam? what shall I say to him?
be se'ibai? what is he saying?
da kot be manimi? now what is this that has happened?
be mai'iba, le aya? what's the matter with thee, father?
je be a'mana ba? what have I been able to do?
be žur'ma? what didst thou eat?

be is regularly used with *manas* with the sense of *how?*

go'k guyr be mai'iba'n? how are thy children?

be gumai'iba? how art thou?

As Adjective:

u'ŋe be gu.i'k bila? what is thy name?

be hekom a'r etam *what order hadst thou given me?*
 e-se be(san) ra3 bila? *what is its colour?*
 ko't be dero (duro) bila? *what affair is this?*

164. bes?

bes? Does not appear to occur as an independent Pronoun, but its existence is to be inferred from *besan* and from the Interrogative Particle:

bes? *why?*

and from the derived forms:

besé & *beser* "*why?*" "*for what reason?*"

There is also the independent Indefinite Pronoun *beske* + negative *nothing* v. § 154.

165. beški of what sort? what kind of?

beški appears to be primarily an Adjective. When used pronominally it takes the suffix *-an*.

beški-en, beški-en

and I have recorded the pl. form *beški-entsik*.

Examples.

As Adjective:

Gilt beški dišan bila? *what sort of a place is Gilgit?*

beški p'alo'ik dumarča? *what kind of grain dost thou want?*

wa' ha'l beški ba? *in what sort of state art thou? i.e. how are you?*

As Pronoun:

beški-en bai, (bo, bi)? *what sort of man (woman, thing) is he (she, it)?*

ki'n beški-en bai? *what sort of a person is this?*

beški-entsik ba'n? *what sort of people are they?*

166. bečuk of what sort? what sort of?

bečuk is exactly similar to *beški*, but it may refer specifically to health:

i'ne nise su'rat bečuk bila? *what sort of appearance has the man?*

hile's bečuk bai? *how is the boy?*

bečukan bo? *what sort of a woman is she?*

The word is probably to be seen in the Shina *jek čokij?* *in what manner? of what sort?* (*jek* = Bu. *be what?*, *-ij* suffix = Bu. *-atε, an*).

167. bel- (?)

There is a series of Adjectives:

beljuko?

beljukicats?

beljukuyo?

all meaning *what sort of?* which all appear to be plural.

beljuko gatw beljai? *what sort of clothes does he wear?*

This *bel-* is doubtless the same as that which appears in *belate?* *how?* Its *-l* may perhaps be related to that of

aki'l (*a + kh + i' + l*), *of this sort, such as this.*

168. Dependent Questions.

men, amin, besan and *be* are used in Dependent Questions. In this case the particle *ke* is added after the verb of the dependent clause.

For examples v. § 467.

QUANTITATIVE PRONOUNS and ADJECTIVES.

169. Quantitative Pronouns and Adjectives may be divided into:

- a. Simple.
- b. Interrogative.
- c. Comparative and Correlative.

a. SIMPLE.

| | |
|-----------------------|--|
| <i>berum, beruman</i> | <i>a certain number of, a quantity of.</i> |
| <i>bu't</i> | <i>much, many.</i> |
| <i>hi'ā, hi'āan</i> | <i>a large quantity (of), excessive, too much.</i> |
| <i>kam, kaman</i> | <i>a little, few; less; lesser; too little.</i> |
| <i>lukan</i> | } <i>a little (quantity of).</i> |
| <i>pyuwan</i> | |
| <i>čutan</i> | |

| | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| *-yom | <i>the whole, all.</i> |
| +altalik | <i>both.</i> |
| kituman | <i>some people (out of a large number).</i> |
| b. INTERROGATIVE. | |
| berum? beruman? | <i>how much? how many?</i> |
| c. COMPARATIVE AND CORRELATIVE. | |
| akurum, akuruman | } <i>this much, as much as this, so much.</i> |
| đakurum (akuriki) | |
| terum, teruman | <i>so much(?) , so many(?)</i> |
| torum, toruman | <i>so much, that much.</i> |
| beruman | <i>as much as</i> |
| toruman | <i>. so much.</i> |

When used as Pronouns these words join the category (h, x or y) of the noun to which they refer.

SIMPLE.

- 170 *berum, beruman* a certain number of, a certain quantity of, some. (The first vowel is sometimes diphthongised: *be-erum, be-eruman*.) Both forms occur almost always as Adjectives, but the following single instance indicates that there is no bar to their use as Pronouns:
- beruman nuku'tsar* *having proceeded a certain amount, i.e. having gone on some distance.*

The form with the *-an* suffix is the commoner.

With both forms the accompanying noun is normally expressed in the plural when it denotes a multiplicity of objects, but instances occur of the singular being used. With *berum* the accompanying noun, when in the singular or of a non-committal form, commonly takes the suffix *-an*. Cp. § 43.6

Examples:

| | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>berum den</i> | (for) a number of years. |
| <i>berum guntsiy nimí</i> | } a certain number of days passed. |
| <i>beruman</i> | |

This last is a stock phrase.

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>berum sanmo</i> (i.e. <i>sa + an + mo</i>) | <i>after some months.</i> |
| <i>berum kutsan nimí</i> | <i>a certain number of days passed.</i> |
| <i>berum kutsantsum</i> | <i>after some days.</i> |
| <i>berum denantsum</i> | <i>after some years.</i> |
| <i>beruman deniytsum</i> | <i>after a certain number of years.</i> |
| <i>beruman pfute ine ni.en</i> | <i>some Divs taking him.</i> |
| <i>beruman waxt xwšingor</i> | <i>up to (i.e. for) some time.</i> |
| <i>beruman pfute dolat</i> | <i>a certain quantity of the Div's property.</i> |

We have the noun in the singular though its significance is plural in:

beruman nokor nuyen *taking (with him) a number of servants.*

In the next example it is used as an Adverb, or else the adj. *matan far, distant* is used as a noun:

yenci.or beruman matan gutsaruman.

they proceeded some distance to meet (him).

I have the form *beru*, not otherwise attested, in:

beru kutsantsum dešqaltimí *after a number of days he arrived.*

Also: *berukutsan* and *berusan*.

171. *but* much, many.

But is the ordinary Adjective, also used as an Adverb, *very*.

It may mean "greater", "larger", "bigger" as in *but paí* "the bigger share, or portion".

It can probably be used pronominally, but I cannot quote an example.

172. *hiš, hišan* a large quantity, a lot, abundant, excessive too much.

Of these two forms *hišan* is the commoner. Its use seems ordinarily to be pronominal rather than adjectival.

tsil, mel hišan dusu *bring a lot of water, wine.*

je hišan amletum dišam? (x).

where am I to get a bigger (or a large) (present) from?

hišan gaš bilu *it is an excessive price, it's too dear.*

uŋar hiš manīla(y) you have got too much (of the land).
hiš it's lots.

It may be used adverbially:

hišān gorurum excessively hot.

173. **KAM, KAMAN** a little, a few, less, lesser, too little, deficient.

This is no doubt the Persian word *kam*. It is used both as Pronoun and Adjective, also as an Adverb, little, not very. It covers all the ground of the English "a little", and extends beyond it.

Pronoun:

bušai nyon gukorer etuma, jar kam etuma thou hast allotted all the land to thyself, thou hast allotted me too little (less than my share).
yeniše gašsum kaman ašima (y).
thou hast given me less than the price of the gold.

kaman nišin (x) having eaten a little.

Adjective:

kam pači the lesser share.

uŋtsum je kam ap'a I am not less than thou, not inferior to thee.

i-te waxtulo sinda kam bitem
at that time the river was low (i. e. there was little water in it).

kaman sis a few people.

kaman yuto-pus a small, slight, depression.

Adverb:

kam deyljam he used to hear little (i. e. his hearing was defective).

174. **LUKAN** a little, cp. Shina lukuk a little.

In part duplicates *kaman* and is used as an adjective, an adverb and a pronoun.

šap lukan gan get a little meat.

lukan šapik a little (bit of) bread.

lukan jar ašia (y) give me a little (bread, giyal, y).

175. **PYUWAN, PYUAN** a little.

pyuwan xurk (ypl.) ayun give me a little bhoosa.

biške (ypl.) pyuan iyunimi he gave him a little hair.

176. **čUTAN** a little (of liquids).

čutan tsil, čutan del a little water, a little oil (lit. a drop?).

177. ***-ALTALIK, *-ALTALIK, *-ALTİK** both, the two of. Cp. § 130.

I have been told that the form **.altik* exists, but it does not occur in my texts. It would correspond as a plural to *altan*.

**.altalik* is used both as a Pronoun and an Adjective. That it is originally a Pronoun is made probable by the following facts:

1. that it usually follows the noun to which it refers.
 2. that it takes the pronominal prefixes (in which only a few adjectives resemble it, the principal being **.yon all*, and **.yon* may also be originally a Pronoun).
 3. that it carries the suffix *-ik* which is rarely used with adjectives and apparently only when they are more or less noun-equivalents.
- *.altalik* is naturally always plural and it follows that it takes only the plural pronominal prefixes:

These forms are:

| | | |
|---------|----------|-------------------------|
| 1st pl. | me'talik | we two, both of us. |
| 2nd pl. | ma'talik | you two, both of you. |
| 3rd pl. | o'talik | they two, both of them. |

Examples:

o'talike sulama dunuman the two of them wrestled.

o'talik riza numan the two of them agreeing.

More often **.altalik* immediately follows and resumes the noun or nouns, pronoun or pronouns to which it refers:

ma ma'talik juvin you two, or both of you, come.

ja jama'at ke je me'talik riza nimi'man.

my wife and I, both of us, agreeing.

Šahri Banu ke ma'mi o'talik bu't xuš u'manuman

Sh. B. and her mother were both greatly pleased.

je ke uŋ ke miyur o'talik I and thou and both our sons.

Occasionally it precedes a noun:

amin hirane . . . o'talik yu kaš o'ti ke . . .

if some man slays both his (two) sons.

ku'e o'talik guyuc u.i.kičinik o'a give names to both these sons of thine.

178. *-yo'n, uyo'n
- all, the whole.*

Like *-*Altalik*, which it closely resembles in use, *-*yo'n* is probably to be regarded as essentially a Pronoun. Even where used apparently as an Adjective it takes case inflection.

While the noun remains uninflected, e. g.
maraka uyo'nulo *in the whole court, assembly.*

It is used both pronominally and adjectivally and takes of course only the plural pronominal suffixes. The forms are:

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| (mi) miyo'n, mi'o'n | <i>we all, all of us.</i> |
| (ma) maiyo'n | <i>you all, all of you.</i> |
| (we) uyo'n | <i>they all, all of them, all the . . . the whole of the . . .</i> |

Used adjectivally *-*yo'n* usually follows the noun which it qualifies, but it may perhaps precede it on occasion. The generalised form *-*yo'n* can be used with a singular, noun when the sense is *all the . . ., the whole of the . . .* e. g.

bal uyo'n *all the marrow.*

Examples:

As Pronoun.

mi'o'ne ha'kičarjafe bu'e fat očan *let us let him go free as a he-goat
about the houses of all of us.*

lel bai mi'o'no *he is known to us all.*

maiyo'ne yčšuman *you will all see.*

uyo'n du'ljaman *all were satisfied.*

uyo'ne "mi akeryan" senuman *all said "we do not know".*

yare ta u uyo'n mavl wmi *further he gave property to the whole
hundred of them.*

ku'e uyo'ntsum guts diš šura jar ačima *this place thou hast given
me is better than (what thou hast given to) all these (other people).*

tal ite bu'ltsum we uyo'nafe ganuman o'yenuman *they took water
from that spring and made all carry it (syntax doubtful).*

uyariki uyatiki uyo'n tai.ər o'tam *he made them get ready under
and upper bedding complete.*

Here *uyo'n* seems to resume as a Pronoun the preceding nouns.

As Adjective (with noun or pronoun).

čar uyo'n bik manuman *all the guards were afraid.*

wazirtiq ke aka'birtiq uyo'n d'aldicn *all the seazirs and elders
standing up.*

ike uyo'n nukun *taking all the things (grain and ghee).*

In an Oblique base.

mal uyo'nulo o'biragimi *he made him dig through the whole field.*

ho'l uyo'ne haba etuman *the whole army charged.*

Thamuc besan uyo'no' sar' o'čar' *the Thams make them take precedence in everything.*

tap uyo'ne *all the night.*

Note the singular noun in three out of the last four examples.

179. The Static Participle of the verb "to be" (v. § 390) may be used with *-
- yo'n*
- giving the sense of
- all present, all there is (or was).*

hir sis baman uyo'no'r thame qau o'čai *the Tham summons all the
male persons (there are).*

maltaš biluman uyo'n *all the ghee there was.*

Examples of *-*yo'n* preceding the noun are rare and doubtful. One can say, I believe:

uyo'n šapik šimi *he ate all the bread.*

In the following *uyo'n* is perhaps related to *ike* rather than to the following noun.

ja eke uyo'n gur ke maltaš *all that (those) wheat and ghee of mine.*

- 180.
- kiruman*
- some people*
- (out of a large number).

I have noted only two examples of this in my texts:

da kirumane Aičšo Malik sire ka bam so'iba'n *again, some people
say that A. M. possessed magical powers.*

kirumane nimen nurdilin taq o'čan *let some of us go and beat them
and smash them up.*

INTERROGATIVE.

- 181.
- berum?*
- beruman?*
- how much? how many?*

berum is usually an Adjective but can be used pronominally. I have no example of *berum* as a Pronoun.

Examples:

| | |
|--|---|
| berum den nini? | how many years have passed? |
| berum denintsum? | during, for, how many years? |
| berum denkus ba? | what age art thou? |
| kiwe hiles berum denkusai bai? | of what age is this boy? |
| kine umor berum me.imi? | what will his age be? |
| berum he.ši? | how many times? |
| mi ine aya beruman duroskeyor šapik ude.i? | is how many workmen does that father of mine give food? |
| beruman sis ba'n? | } how many people are there? |
| sis beruman ba'n? | |
| beruman maska bila? | how much butter is there? |
| bras beruman bitsan? | how much rice is there? |
| šap beruman bila? | how much meat is there? |
| šapik beruman bi? | how much bread is there? |

Where *beruman* as a pronoun is the subject of a verb the form of the verb is determined by the nature of the antecedent noun:

| | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| beruman uruman | how many (persons) have died? |
| beruman (pšitimuts) bi.eli? | how many (pieces of bread) are there? |

Dependent Question.

gute (yenš) beruman bila ke u'g baren look and see how much this gold is.

COMPARATIVE AND CORRELATIVE.

182. akurum, akuruman Pronoun and Adjective, *this much, as much as this, so much, all this.*
- ya akuruma? is there this much? (i.e. is that all you have to say?)
- awa tsu, akurum manimi yes, take it. It has come to so much (as this).
- ye akuruntsum šaya apači ap'i now I have nothing more to say than this.
- akuruntsum da beran ay'ermai.imi. he will be unable to do anything more than this.
- akuruman yenday ur jama'ate dotsai.i. my husband has sent me this much (i.e. all this) gold.
- akuruman šayan bilum. there was this much story (i.e. this is what there was to tell).

pa'dša akuruman gur gukəror xərə etə. thou hast expended all this wheat of the King's for thyself.

beruman maltaš bila? akuruman bila.

how much of the ghee is there? There is this much.

akuruman ha'gur besan dərkar bi'en? what need is there for so many horses?

There is a form *dakurum*, *dakurum* with the same meaning. I have it only in the common formula used at the end of a story:

šaya dakurum bila the story is this much.

There is a further variant *akuriki* occurring only once in my texts:

pa'dša'alc se'yam šap akuriki go'či I shall tell the king and he will make thy flesh (into little bits) like this (indicating by a sign with the fingers).

183. terum, teruman so much, so many.

ama teruman murto šan men aiyer'an.

but people do not pay so much attention to it nowadays.

In the following the meaning seems to be "a certain number of", and "terum" was perhaps a mis-writing for "berum".

terum guntšigor Kiser dešqaltimi.

in a certain number of days Kiser arrived there.

These are the only simple examples I can quote, but the Dative form is in constant use:

terumanor at that point, upon that, thereupon indicating immediate sequence of action.

184. torum, toruman so much, so many.

I can quote only one example from my texts, and in it the exact meaning of *torum* is dubious; it probably means "so much (as there was)", "all that there was".

ise pfurt torum mal nien humar gi'imi.

the Div taking up all the property entered the ford.

Otherwise I owe *toruman* to Nazar, who equated

toruman with Hindustani utna, that much.

akuruman " " stna, this much.

toruman adī give me so much, that much.

Nazar also gave us Correlatives:

ber'umän . . . ke . . . to'rumän as much as . . . so much.

ber'umän dayo'an u'nale bitsa ke to'rumän uyo'n jar' ayun,

as much flour as thou hast, so much all give to me, i.e. give me all
the flour you have.

ber'umän go'mo.iba ke to'rumän . . . as much has thou canst, so much . . .

(Hindustani: jitna tujhse ho'sakta . . . utna).

RELATIVE PRONOUNS.

185. Simple Relative.

The simple Relative, represented in English by *who, which, that*, can scarcely be said to exist in Burushaski. It cannot be established by the following single example:

une kine jut gui di'mi amine une dault Yunika's duro'iqulo erimi

— une ine gane une yu'sam bušošo kaš ortuma.

this young son of thine has come who has got rid of thy property
in evil works — thou for him hast made them slay thy fatted calf.

This example is from Nazar's rendering of the "Prodigal Son" based on the Urdu version. In Inam Yar Beg's rendering there is no Relative.

The same problem of translation curiously enough induced the use of the Interrogative Pronoun as a Relative in both Shina and Khowar, neither of which normally exhibits a construction with a simple relative pronoun.

The lack of a Relative is made good by various syntactical devices. V. §§ 460-461.

186. Indefinite Relatives.

There is another series of Relatives, sometimes called General or Compound Relatives, which are represented in English by *whoever, whichever, whatever* (Lat. *quicumque* etc.).

These can frequently be resolved into *anyone who* etc., and in any case are indefinite. I therefore call them Indefinite Relatives.

This series has a parallel in Burushaski in which the forms of the Interrogative or Indefinite Pronouns are used with the particle *ke* subjoined to the following verb:

| | | |
|-------------------|----|---------------------|
| men(an) . . . | ke | whoever. |
| amin(an) etc. . . | ke | whoever, whichever. |
| besan . . . | ke | whatever. |

This formula of course equally renders the English

"if, or when, anyone . . ." "if or when, anything . . ."

and the sense in any given case must be deduced from the context. The practical values of "whoever" and "if anyone" are, however, not always widely separated, and it is not always easy to determine which is intended:

mentse pfut' mamai.iban ke ine itarin.

whoever you fall in love with, take him, or, if you fall in love
with anyone (pl) take him.

gute čayn mene go'r etavn ke ure guwartin' dutsa.

whoever have told you this story, bring them as witnesses.

gute šakale bandav' menan gute gan yakalate die ke fat alyetin.

whatever human being of this appearance comes this way, don't let
him pass, or, if any human being of this appearance etc.

ki'ne hi're har'e menan bo ke je mutsučam.

whoever is in that man's house, I shall marry her.

ki'ne menan baii ke bur' ni'k baxtan di'a.

whoever this is he has come as a bringer of great good luck.

Examples of this use are commoner in the case of *amin* etc.

amin gu'ive goxakin goyerum bo ke ite teš inemur muči.

whichever daughter-in-law of thine (wife of thy son) is (most) beloved
of thee, give the water to her.

u'n amin ba ke . . . ja gatuy ayun whoever thou art, give me my clothes.

aminan ine maxoretu dursimi ke ine yurtis ya šak galjilun.

whoever climbed on his grave his leg or arm used to break, or, if anyone . . .

(hiri) ya amit h'lar ni'mi ke o'ničam.

men would not go to whichever house the bear went to, or, to any
house the bear went to.

Besan is frequently so used:

Besan ur̄ge se.iba ke je gur̄čam *I will give thee whatever thou sayest.*
 ur̄ge besanor rai eča ke aso *whatever thou desirest tell me.*
 gute astam besan bila ke er stin *whatever this case is settle it for him.*
 aso besan čayamin bitaa ke *tell me whatever things there are to say.*
 besan yur̄ljen yetnai ke ye stia ur̄y.

now pray tell (me) whatever dream he has had (seen).

In the following the sense seems more definite:

hik ke sen besan se.iba ke.

say once again what thou sayest (i.e. what thou hast just said).

NUMERALS.

187. Burushaski possesses both Cardinal and Ordinal Numbers.

The Cardinals are used both adjectivally and pronominally, and so presumably also the Ordinals.

The main features of the Cardinals may be stated summarily as follows:

1. The numbers 4 to 10 have two forms, one of which is used accompanying or representing all ordinary nouns whether h, x or y; the second is used with certain nouns only, principally ones denoting units of measurement, and for actual counting: 1, 2, 3, 4 etc. These second I call "z forms".

2. Each of the numbers 1 to 3, besides a z form, has an additional special form for use with, or of, h nouns.

The number 2 has differentiated forms for x and y, but the y form is ordinarily used as a z form.

3. The numbers 11 to 19 are expressed by a form of 10 plus 1, 2, 3, etc.

4. The basis of reckoning from 20 to 99 is the score, e.g. the number 55—"two score fifteen" (as in Shina and Khovar).

188. The following are the forms of the Cardinals, according to Iman Yar Beg and to my texts. Forms in brackets have been added on analogy to fill blanks in the record:

| | h | x | y | z |
|-----|--------------|-----------------------------|------------|-------------------|
| 1. | hin | han | han | hik, hi. |
| 2. | a'tan | a'ta, (a'ta'ta) | a'to | a'to, a'ti. |
| 3. | i'sken | usko | | i'ski. |
| 4. | | wa'to | | wa'ti, wai, wa'l. |
| 5. | | tsundo | | tsindi. |
| 6. | | mišindo | | mišindi, mišin. |
| 7. | | talo | | tale. |
| 8. | | a'tambo | | a'tambi, a'tam. |
| 9. | | hunčo | | hunti. |
| 10. | | to'rumo | | to'rimi. |
| 11. | turma hin | turma han | | turma hik. |
| 12. | turma a'tan | turma a'ta turma a'ta'ta | turma a'to | turma a'to. |
| 13. | turma i'sken | turma usko | | turma i'ski. |
| 14. | | turma wa'to | | (turma wa'ti). |
| 15. | | turma tsundo | | turma tsindi. |
| 16. | | turma mišindo | | turma mišindi. |
| 17. | | turma talo | | (turma tale). |
| 18. | | (turma a'tambo) | | (turma a'tambi). |
| 19. | | to'rema hunčo | | to'rema hunti. |
| 20. | a'taran | a'tar | a'tar | a'tar. |
| 21. | a'ter hin | a'ter han | | a'ter hik. |
| 24. | | a'ter wa'to | | a'ter wa'ti. |
| 29. | | a'ter hunčo | | (a'ter hunti). |
| 30. | | a'ter to'rumo. | | |
| 40. | | a'towa'ter. | | |
| 50. | | a'towa'ter to'rumo (Nz). | | |
| 60. | | i'ski a'tar. | | |

| | h | x | y | z |
|-------|---------------|--------------------|-------------------------|---|
| 70. | | | isaki a'tar tōrumo. | |
| 80. | walti a'taran | walti a'tar. | | |
| 90. | | walti a'tar tōrumo | walti a'tar tōrimi. | |
| 100. | tha (ta?) | 1100. | turma hik tha. | |
| 200. | a'to tha. | 1200. | turma a'to tha. | |
| 400. | (walti tha). | 2000. | a'to sa's. | |
| 500. | taindi tha. | 4000. | walti sa's, walti sa's. | |
| 900. | hanti tha. | 5000. | tsindi sa's. | |
| 1000. | sa's. | | | |

189. Variants.

There is in many cases the usual uncertainty as regards length and quality of vowels e.g.

a || a i || i u || u.

I have occasionally *mašindo* for *mašindo*.

In the compounds of *tōrumo* (sometimes *tōrimo*) Imam Yar Beg has almost always *turma*, while from Nazar I got *tōrema* with the *z* forms e.g.

tōrema hik, tōrema iski

and also in *tōremalta*, beside

tōrumo han, (tōrumo usko) and tōrumo a'to.

For 40 IYB had both *a'tuwa'tar* and *a'towa'tar*. Nazar gave *a'tu a'tar*.

For 100 I inclined to write *tha*, but I am not sure of the aspiration and often wrote *ta'*, and occasionally it sounded as *ta*.

190. The *z* forms.

The use of the *z* forms presents some difficulties. The following points are to be noted:

- They are used in counting 1, 2, 3, 4, etc. and may therefore be regarded as more abstract than forms which may be proper to only one or two of the three classes *h*, *x*, and *y*.
- In general they are employed with, or in place of, nouns denoting measurement or connected with counting, but there are exceptions.

iii. They are used as multipliers e.g. *isaki a'tar three score, sixty*.

iv. The forms of the Ordinals are based on them.

v. They are used to express the days of the month.

With some nouns *z* forms are invariably used, e.g. *deu year*; with some there seems to be a sort of vacillation, e.g. *sa month*; with others there is some degree of option.

191. The following examples illustrate these remarks:

The only certain examples I can give of option in the use of *z* and non-*z* forms involve only *hik* and *han*, and *a'ti* as an alternative for *a'to*.

han hisa(n) and *hik hisa* *one month*.

Of these only the former occurs in my texts.

han bada'n and *hik bada* *one pace, step*.

tsundo, talo bada'n *five, seven paces*.

I have always *han gunt*, but once *hik* pronominally for *hik gunt*.

I was also given *usko tsup* as well as *isaki tsup three finger-breadths*, but I do not feel confident about this.

So far as my examples go it is not clear that there is any difference in the sense produced by the use of different forms.

Thus it appears that at least in certain cases usage is not stereotyped, and this may point to some weakening in the perception of an originally more clearly defined distinction.

The word "*hisa*" *month* is interesting. *Hi-hik* seems to have become amalgamated with *sa* and then to have lost its force. There is said to be a plural *hisamiñ*.

A similar case is perhaps to be seen in "*hiçeti*" a grain-measure, which is said to have a plural *hiçetimiñ*.

The adverb "*hitha-nor, hitha-ne*" *at one place*, of which *han dišanor* is given as an equivalent, may also be noted. There must surely also be a connection between

hikulto one day, kulto today, hipulto day after tomorrow and *yarbulto day before yesterday*,

all apparently being based on a word *bulto*, or *ulto*.

Nouns to which *z*-form numerals are attached usually appear in

the singular, but those that possess plural forms may use them. Sometimes one finds the singular form with the -an suffix.

So one has a'lto čuk, a'lto čukin and a'lto čukan (with this last compare berum denantsum, berum kutsantsum v. § 170).

The z forms themselves do not take -an (but v. Vocab. s.v. hekan).

The z forms precede the noun. The only exception noted is with

tuk a division of the night
tuk a'lto two watches (?) before dawn.

192. Z forms have been found with the following nouns in addition to those already mentioned:

| | | | |
|-------------|---------------------------------|------------|------------------------------|
| babar | like share. | pari (sa) | a division of time. |
| baja | hour (of clock). | qaš | cubit. |
| basa | night's halt. | ro'm | tribal community, tribe |
| dam | moment (?) | | (h pl.). |
| denkus | age, aged (?) | arat | hour. |
| gala | herd (xpl.). | sarnuts | large leather bag for grain. |
| galb (galū) | turn, occasion. | šau | blow. |
| giram | community (h pl.). | ser | "seer", 2 lbs. weight. |
| jakar | forked, branched. | tišē | span (measure). |
| jati, jeti | measure for grain. | a'lto traq | in 2 halves, split in two. |
| makso | share, turn (of forced labour). | | |
| maqnes (?) | kick, buck. | { tsir, | set of clothes. |
| nal (hər) | yoke of oxen. | { tsir | a share. |

The following examples will illustrate the use of the z forms and at the same time throw light on peculiarities of certain of the nouns concerned.

193. den.

| | |
|---------------------|-----------------------------------|
| hik denē | one year (adverbial). |
| tale denulo | during the course of seven years. |
| a'lto dentsum | after two years. |
| a'lto iski deniŋsum | after 2 or 3 years. |
| turma tsindi deniŋ | fifteen years. |

194. hik.

The independent adverbial use of hik *one time, once, hik ke once more* is to be noted.

This may sometimes explain apparently anomalous uses of hik. One would so explain:

hik šau netan esqanni.i striking him once he killed him: had we not, hik šau etama, a'lto šau etama? had he struck one blow, had he struck two blows?

which shows that hik is here the z numeral; this still leaves it to be explained why šau blow should take the z numeral.

But for the analogy of šau one might assume that hik maqnesan eta meant: just once give a buck, rather than give one buck.

Note the phrase:

hik nika bilumane gatuy the clothes of a once-married (person), or the clothes of a person of whom there has been one marriage.

The adverbial expressions: hik dam immediately, forthwith and hik nala all at the same time

are also to be noted.

195. heši, he-ši.

heši means times.

a'lto heši twice.

wa'lti heši four times.

Thence a'lto heši comes to mean "twice as much", "double".

"two shares":

hik u'or w a'lto heši ja'r jo

give them one share and give me two, or double.

a'lto traq, a'lto bugo and a'lto babar are also used in this sense.

196. -kuts days. a'ltul two days.

The special form for two days a'ltul gives

a'lt'ulanmo after 2 days.

a'ltolum ju come after 2 days.

a'lt'ululo for, during, 2 days.

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| walkuts | for four days. |
| walkutsan | a period of four days. |
| walkutsatsum | after four days. |
| isli kutsam | after three days. |
| msiŋkuts | six days. (Morgenstierne got msiŋquts.) |
| tale kutsam | after seven days. |
| altarguts | eight days, seems to be a reduction of altamkuts. |
| a'tawa'tar kutsulo | for forty days. |

197. -kem set, pair.

-kum provides the regular word for "pairs" of shoes etc.

walkum huro four pairs of "paboos".

iskikum burtsō three pairs of boots.

hikum similarly means "one pair".

hikum damal a pair of kettle-drums

but it also has a much wider extension of meaning, denoting any entity consisting of a combination of individual beings and so set, party.

hikum sisik a party of men, a few persons.

hikum gusiŋentsik a few women.

we hikum that party (of people).

hikum duwalašo jama warik unanimi-e.
they became a flock of flying animals, i. e. birds.

The multiple iskikum occurs in conjunction with the words rom and gaum tribe, clan.

iski rom the three tribes.

iskikum rom the three tribal sets, or bodies.

The latter phrase perhaps recognises each tribe as being a composite body.

198. tsup a finger's breadth.

tsupan one finger's breadth.

hik tsup(an) could probably also be used, but there is a tendency to allow the -an to take the place of any formal numeral as in English "a" serves for "one".

| | | |
|-----|------------|----------------|
| So: | hisan | one month. |
| | turkan | one "turk". |
| | paŋi.ŋa sa | one "paŋi sa". |

tha one hundred and sava one thousand dispense even with the -an.

199. sa month.

miŋin saho after six months.

ep. berrum saho after some months.

where the -n- is for -an, as in:

hisan ya a'to'san one month or two months.

200. Other Examples.

a'tuwa'tartsam hik bas(k) hurn-tuma ke if thou sittest for one more than forty (days).

turma hik tha. 1100.

a'to fraq o'tini he cut them (horse and man) in two halves.

a'to jakur šarko forked branches, but from context apparently a forked stem of a tree.

hamate iski.ulo on the 3rd. of (the month of) Hamal.

i'skier at the 3rd. time, on the 3rd. occasion.

wa'lti giram the four village communities.

walti pfalo four (measures of) grain.

I think that the numbers iski to tale can be similarly used and that the word jeti is understood.

altambi jeti = 24 lbs.

tsindi sava 5000 (servants)

miŋi'ndi 'e'yorumar six o'clock having struck.

tale hal har seven yoke of oxen.

torimi baja xa up to 10 o'clock.

Sorata'n turma tsudi.or (or tsudi.ulo) on the 15th. of the month of Soratan.

ta kutsulo for 100 days.

turma tsindi deniŋ fifteen days.

a'tar wa'lti qaš pači 24 cubits of cotton cloth.

ta qaš qar 100 cubits of shawl-cloth.

201. The H, X and Y forms.

The only specially h forms are those of the numerals one, two and three:

| | |
|-------|--------|
| hin | one |
| a'tan | two. |
| isken | three. |

For the last there is an alternative form i'ski of which, however I have only two examples. This is doubtless identical with the sole h form given by Biddulph, iske.

The form iske was obtained by EOL in Nagiri and by Leitner in Werchikwar.

kure u.i'ski nala dumanuman *these three sons were born at the same time.*
kure u.i'skiye damumuts han han nu'ye *these three men each taking a stick.*

In the last case the h form i'skene is given as an alternative.

The only form peculiar to x is that of the numeral "two"

a'ta (and a'tats).

202. For the numerals 4 to 10 one form serves for h, x and y.

a'tor and its multiples i'ski a'tar and walti a'tor are invariable.

The multipliers, it may again be noted, here and with tha 100 and sars 1000 are z.

The numbers 1 to 10 when forming the final element of a compound number continue to vary in form according to the class of the noun to which they relate, exactly as they do when used alone.

203. The final -n in hin, han, a'tan and isken is presumably the same as the suffix -an (v. § 43) hence they cannot take a further addition of that suffix.

Nor do the x and y forms a'ta, a'to and usko appear over to take -an.

If one may judge from an incomplete series of examples the h, x and y forms of the remaining primary numbers, 4 to 10, and the number 20 can take the suffix -an. Final -o is usually preserved as -u, or -uw- but I have

to'ruman as well as to'ruman.an.

In some of the few examples where the forms with -an are used with h nouns they follow the noun.

204. The x form for 2, a'tats, I know only from one instance in my texts

turma a'tatsatsum talo xa (tsir) *from 12 to 7 (goats).*

Here, it will be observed it is pronominal. The same passage contains
turma a'ta tsir *twelve goats.*

(Biddulph gives a'tats as the only "masculine" form, i.e. x form; and the L. S. I. and Leitner say the same for Werchikwar.)

205. *-altalik, *-altik *both, the two.*

These forms are based on a'to and by meaning are closely allied to the Numerals, but they have been already fully dealt with (v. § 177).

Another variant of a'to is a'tu *twins, twin.* This is used of both human beings and animals.

The use of pron. prefixes in a few instances with the Cardinal numbers has been mentioned in § 133.

USE of the NUMERALS.

206. The h, x and y forms when used pronominally can take the case suffixes. When they are used adjectivally, if the accompanying noun has a separate form for the plural that form is used.

Examples:

| | | |
|------|-------------------------|--|
| 1. h | hin nama'nin | <i>one of you going</i> |
| h | hin gasan bo'm | <i>there was a princess.</i> |
| x | han tsir bi | <i>there is a goat.</i> |
| y | han taxtanete | <i>on a litter.</i> |
| y | han guntanulo | <i>one day.</i> |
| y | han hisan | <i>one month.</i> |
| 2. h | we a'tan sis | <i>those two persons.</i> |
| h | a'tan sisik | <i>two persons.</i> |
| h | a'tan hirri | <i>the two men.</i> |
| h | guyumo a'tan isken guyu | <i>thy own 2 or 3 sons.</i> |
| h | guntæro a'tan | <i>thy two uncles.</i> |
| x | a'ta iskumuts bi.en | <i>there are two young ones (lambs).</i> |

- x a'la hunze two arrows.
 y a'lo yumorin two holes.
 As Pronouns:
 h men a'tan any two men.
 h sarmulsulo a'tane utiban the two men had filled (the grain)
 into the bag.
 x bi ke han belis, a'la amulom du'ēa? there is one sheep how
 do you get the (other) two?
3. h isken gushants three women.
 x usko huyes three goats.
 x usko girimuts three marks (targets).
 y usko ha'kičān three houses.
 As Pronouns:
 h ku'e u'iski these three persons (v. § 133).
 h isken bam they were three (persons).
 4. h walto hiri four men.
 h aštaiyo wal'tawane ka with four grooms.
 x walto huyes four goats.
 x walto daiyo four stones.
 y walto guntsiḡulo for four days.
 y walto yutiḡ four feet.
 5. h we tsundo ayu these five sons of mine.
 x huyes walto tsundo 4 or 5 goats.
 x tsundo hanikute five bowls.
 y tsundo ha'kičāntsum from five houses.
 y walto tsundowan dil'tarin 4 or 5 (bowls of) buttermilk.
 6. h we n'misindo eraršure bandobas etuman these 6 sons-in-law of
 his made arrangements (v. § 133).
 h guse pfut mi misindo numa deljan we being 6 (shall) beat this Div.
 (with all x and y nouns as for tsundo five).
7. h talo yuḡuants his seven daughters.
 x talo taljo seven pigeons.
 x talo kanants seven forts(?)
 y talo p'faloḡo seven grains.

8. h Mir šikarḡin talo alt'ambu.an seven or eight huntsmen.
 h a'ltambo hiri eight men.
 (with all x and y nouns as for tsundo five).
 9. h hundō hiri nine men.
 y hundō satsum after nine months.
 (as for tsundo).
 10. h aka'bertin to'rumo turma tsundowan 10 or 15 elders.
 x to'rumo emiānts his 10 fingers.
 y to'rumo ha'kičān 10 houses.
 y to'ruman maltoraḡ 10 lumps of ghee.
 11. etc. The numbers 11 to 19 follow the same lines as 1 to 9.
 h turma a'tan (hilešo) 12 (youths).
 x turma a'ta tsir 12 goats.
 x turma a'ta burndo 12 boulders.
 y turma a'to badān gi'mi he proceeded 12 paces.
 h turma tsundowan mariḡ sis 15 superior persons (v. also under 10).
 y turma tsundo ha'kičān 15 houses.
 20. etc. The number a'tar twenty is invariable for all categories.
 h šadoršo a'taran 20 servants.
 y a'tar walto (šarin) xara'b manašo bitsa 24 cities are going
 to be ruined.
 x a'towar'tar ḡū.e 40 pebbles.
 h wal'ti a'taran šadoršu 80 servants.
 h tha mayu' her hundred sons.
 h we tha uyōn Kiserē all those hundred Kiseris.
 x tha salo 100 cakes of salt.

DISTRIBUTIVES.

207. Duplication of the cardinal numbers conveys the sense of distribution:
 u'er a'ta a'ta rupi.a u' give them three rupees each.
 hi'n hi'n o'e'me separating them one by one.
 ku'e i'akme danumuts han han nuyen.
 these three men, taking sticks, one each, i.e. each taking one . . .

VERBS.

§ 210.

210. It will be convenient to mention first very briefly the dominating facts in the natural history of the Burushaski verb.

1. Verbs are Intransitive or Transitive. The latter include Causative Verbs.
2. Inflection is effected by the addition of inflectional endings. Of these there is only one set, subject to some variations, for all verbs whether Transitive or Intransitive.
3. There is no true Passive Voice. But a Passive Participle is occasionally used with the verb "to be".
4. Many Intransitive verbs are changed into Causatives or Transitives, and many Transitives into Causatives by prefixing the element ^o-a- or ^o-as-.
5. Many verbs take the Agglutinative Pronouns as prefixes. In the case of Intransitive verbs these correspond to the Subject, in the case of Transitive verbs they correspond generally either to the Direct Object or to the Indirect Object.
6. Many verbs have a prefixed initial d- which takes the Agglutinative Pronouns between it and the body of the verb.
Some verbs appear in two forms with and without this d-
In some verbs beginning with d- (di-, de- and du-) owing to a lack of recorded forms it is impossible to assert whether the d- is separable and the following vowel pronominal or not.
7. The conjugation of all verbs is founded on two differentiated bases — the past base and the present base — to which the inflectional endings are added.

192

From the *Past Base* are formed the:

Infinitive.
Imperative.
3 forms (Optative, Injunctive, etc.)
Preterite.
Perfect.
Pluperfect.
Past Participle Active.
Stative Participle.

From the *Present Base* are formed the:

Future.
Present.
Imperfect.
Conditional.
Present Participle.

The following typical example may be given here:

| | Past Base, et. | | Present Base, eē- |
|-------------|----------------|--------------|-------------------------------|
| Infin. | etas | to do. | Put. eēam I shall do. |
| Impr. | eti | do thou! | Pres. eēa ba I am doing. |
| Pret. | etam | I did. | Impf. eēa baiyam I was doing. |
| Perf. | eta ba | I have done. | Condit. eēam tse I would do. |
| Plup. | eta baiyam | I had done. | Pres. pc. eēume doing. |
| P. pc. act. | netan | having done. | |
| Stative pc. | etum | done. | |

211. Before proceeding to examine the conjugational forms of the verb in detail (v. § 268 ff.) we may dispose as far as possible of the preliminary questions indicated above.

The Verbal Bases.

The Past Base is simple and the Present Base is usually obtained by adding a theme to it. Sometimes instead of an addition there is an alteration of the final consonant of the Past Base.

As far as my material shows, this final sound of the Past Base may be:

1. One of the Vowels: -a or -ʌ; -e or -ɛ; -i, -o, -u.
 2. One of the Consonants or Consonant Groups:

k and q; l, n, r; s, ts, š; t, k.

The Past Base may always be found in the Infinitive, which consists of the Past Base + the ending -as or -ʌs.

In the case of the final being a Vowel, a y-glide commonly appears before the -as which in any case always remains intact. When the final vowel is -a or -ʌ that vowel in the infinitive usually becomes -ai if stressed, and -ɛ if unstressed. E.g.

| | | | |
|-------------------|----------|-----------|--------------|
| bisaiyas, bisaiʌs | to throw | Past Base | bisʌ-, bisʌ- |
| *-čiʌs | to give | | *-či(y)- |
| niyas | to go | | ni(y)- |
| juyas | to come | | ju(y)- |

212. Verbs which show an Infinitive in -ʌs might at first sight be suspected of having the past base ending in -a, but on closer examination it seems that there is no actually separate -a in these verbs. The cause of their -ʌs form is simply that the stress accent falls on the termination and strengthens the ʌ into a or ʌ. The 3rd. singular of their Preterite shows the normal termination -imi, while verbs in -aiyas and -ayas have -ami or -ami, and -ʌmi respectively.

It is noteworthy that in the Causative forms, or when the pl. pfs. are added, where the main stress is moved back from the termination -ʌs, the Infinitive takes the form -as and the Present Base is formed in the ordinary way. So we have the Causative *-asqulas, *-asqulj- to cause to burn, from ɣulaʌs, ɣulrɔ̄- to burn v.i.

Examples of -ʌs Infinitives:

| Infm. | Past Base | Pres. Base | |
|-------------|-----------|----------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. baliʌs | bali- | baliɔ̄- | to fall, to burn. |
| 2. ɣulaʌs | ɣul- | ɣulrɔ̄- | to burn v. i. |
| 3. tsindaʌs | tsind- | tsindaɔ̄- | to lean (on). |
| 4. minaʌs | min- | mi- (1st. sg. fut. miyaʌm) | to drink. |

No. 1. is the ordinary type. I have 9¹ examples of it; No. 2, only two examples recorded; No. 3, only this example recorded; No. 4, the -a is resolved into an i-sound see below § 221. I have 5 verbs of this type, one of which sometimes also adds -iɔ̄ or -i:

ɣanaʌs ɣan- ɣai-iɔ̄, ɣe-iɔ̄, ɣai-i- to appear.

When the final is a vowel the Present Base is always obtained by the addition of -iɔ̄ after the vowel, which remains or is only slightly modified.

213. When the Infm. ending is -ʌs the Present Base is also characterised by a -iɔ̄, except when the -ʌs is preceded by -n.

The following are the types of PAST BASES ending in vowels, and the PRESENT BASES allied to them:

Base ending in -a, -ʌ.

The Infinitive is -aiyas, -aiʌs, -ayas or -ɛʌs.

| Infm. | Past Base | Pres. Base | |
|----------|-----------|------------------------------|-----------|
| bisaiyas | bisʌ- | bisaiɔ̄-, bisaiɔ̄-, bisaiɔ̄- | to throw. |

There are 18 verbs of this type on record.

Some verbs with bases ending in a consonant or vowel other than -a, have alternative or additional forms with an added -a, sometimes with some modification of meaning v. § 231.

214. Base ending in -e, -ɛ.

It is difficult to draw a hard and fast line between these endings and -a. The question will be entered into more closely when the effect of these vowels on the inflectional endings comes to be considered. V. §§ 280-3.

di.eyʌs di.e- di.eɔ̄- v.i to stand up.

To this type 7 verbs more or less conform, but of these 5 probably belong to the -a group.

¹ The numbers given throughout this section represent distinct verbal roots. I have excluded, as far as I have recognised them, variant forms from the same root, such as Causative forms and forms with d- where simple forms exist.

215. Base ending in -i.

niyas, nias ni- nič- to go.

I have recorded 15 verbs of this type.

The following are three variants:

*-A. URI.AS *-A. URI.A (?) *-A. URI.EČ- to expend, train.
(3rd. sg. pret. *-A. URI.EMI).

dultapi.as dultapi-(?) dultapuč- to wither.

WASI.AS WASI- WASIČ- (also WASIČ-?) to fling.

The variant of *-dilas to strike, viz. d*-ali.as (dali.as and do-li.as) has not, as far as I know, any present base form of its own.

216. The following 3 verbs which in certain parts are liable to resemble each other may be mentioned here:

d*-A. IYAS(?) d*-A. I- d*-A. IČ- to make stand.

(ca. of di.eyas).
d'e.ičan they made it stand up; do'imān they made them stand up.

daiyas dai(y)- dai-eč- to fade.

d*-yaiyas 1st. sg. pres. dai.eča ba, dai.eča ba, I feel (a smell).

Of these No. 1 is to be referred to § 215, and Nos 2 and 3 to §§ 213 or 214.

217. Base ending in -o.

goyas go- goč- to pick.

Only two other verbs of this type are on record: boyas to alight (of birds), and joryas to give to me.

218. Base ending in -u.

suryas su- auč- to bring.

Of this type 14 verbs are on record.

duryas (or, duryu.as) to melt v.i. has both durč- and duryeč-.

The following are the types of PAST BASES ending in CONSONANTS, and the PRESENT BASES allied to them.

219. Base ending in -k and -q.

I cannot distinguish with certainty between these two sounds.

1. so'kas so-k- so'kič- to descend.

2. dequqas dequq- deququč- to tangle v.t.

3. *-serkas *-sark- *-sarč- to permit.

There are 5 verbs of No. 1 type, but two of them have also infinitives in -as.

There are 3 of No. 2 type. In each case the final seemed to me to be q and the preceding vowel was u or o.

Of No. 3 type there is the parallel verb isorkan which has isorkič- beside isarč- and d*-ayur(k)as which has d*-ayurč- beside d*-ayurč-.

the form with č would be regular for the past base without k.

Two other varieties are to be noted;

biraqas biraq- biraqč- to dig.

*-mo'qas *-mo'q- *-mo'qč- to pluck (a bird).

This makes 12 verbs in all.

220. Base ending in -I.

belas bel- belj- to put on (clothes).

Of the 22 verbs in -I which I have recorded all except one conform to this pattern. The exception is:

desmilas desmil- desmilč- to render impure.

221. Base ending in -n.

| Infia. | Past Base | Pres. Base | Meaning |
|----------|-----------|--------------------|-------------|
| garas | gar- | gai(y)- | to take. |
| bare'nas | bare'n- | bare'i-, (bare'y-) | to look at. |
| girminas | girmin- | girmiy)- | to write. |
| donas | dōn- | dō-i-, dōy- | to open. |
| durnas | durn- | dur-i-, dury- | to seize. |

All known verbs in -n, some 40, conform to this pattern, also the five verbs already referred to in § 212 above, with infinitives in -as:

YAHN'S to appear to.
YAHN'S to leak.

| | |
|---------|-------------------|
| manas | to become. |
| minas | to drink. |
| thannas | to pound (grain). |

the first γanas to appear to has γaiiē, yeiē. as well as γaii.

222. Base ending in -r.

| | | | |
|----------|---------|----------|-------------|
| gutsaras | gutsar- | gutsarē- | to proceed. |
|----------|---------|----------|-------------|

There are 32 verbs in -r on record all of which follow this pattern. Attention has already been called in § 219 to the doublet:

| | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|
| d ^o -ayurkas | d ^o -ayurē- | } to become possessed of. |
| d ^o -ayuras | d ^o -ayurē- | |

which, thus stated, does not present any anomaly.

223. Base ending in -s.

-s is always preceded either by a vowel or by t.

1. When preceded by a vowel it is changed to -š- in the present base:

| | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| o ^o as | o ^o s- | o ^o š- | to put down, place. |
|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------|

There are 14 verbs of this description recorded; all of them follow this pattern with one exception:

| | | | |
|---------------------|----------------|--------|-----------|
| γasa ^o s | has pres. base | γasiē- | to laugh. |
|---------------------|----------------|--------|-----------|

But the d^o- form of the verb, d^o-ayasas, to laugh, has Pres. base d^o-ayasē, and the Cs. ^o-ayasas has ^o-ayasē.

2. When preceded by t, giving a base ending in -ts, we again find -š- in the Pres. Base.

| | | | |
|----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| d ^o -tsas | d ^o -ts- | d ^o -š- | to bring (h and x objects). |
|----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|

This is the pattern followed by 8 verbs on record.

An exception is:

| | | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|-----------|
| ^o -maltsas | ^o -malts- | ^o -malš- | to abuse. |
| maltsas | | maltsiē- | |

224. Base ending in -š.

I have only 2 verbs in -š.

| | | | |
|---------|--------|----------|--------------------------------------|
| di.asas | di.as- | di.asiē- | to be sexually excited (of animals). |
|---------|--------|----------|--------------------------------------|

| | | | |
|---------|--------|----------|--------------------|
| duvasas | duvas- | duvasiē- | to melt (of snow). |
|---------|--------|----------|--------------------|

The latter is probably only an inaccurate form of duvasē as.

225. Base ending in -t.

-t occurs either preceded by a vowel or by l.

1. When preceded by a vowel it is usually changed in the present base to -š.

| | | | |
|---------|--------|--------|-----------|
| giratas | girat- | giraš- | to dance. |
|---------|--------|--------|-----------|

There are 9 verbs of this description which follow this pattern, but doγaras has both doγaras- and doγarāš- to separate v.i.

2. Base ending in -it.

| | | | |
|--------|-------|--------|----------|
| bahtas | baht- | bahtē- | to wash. |
|--------|-------|--------|----------|

There are 7 recorded verbs of this pattern.

3. The important verb ^o-atas, to do, make, stands by itself.

| | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| ^o -atas | ^o -at- | ^o -atē- |
|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|

In the form atas, et- it is used with nouns and adjectives to form compound verbal expressions. It is probably to be recognised in some cases where the first part of the compound does not exist, or at least is not known, as an independent word as in

| | | | |
|---------|--------|---------|----------|
| dipetas | dipet- | dipetē- | to wink. |
|---------|--------|---------|----------|

INTRANSITIVE, TRANSITIVE and CAUSATIVE VERBS.

226. There is no distinction of form between Primary Intransitive and Transitive Verbs.

Derived Transitive and Causative Verbs have always a prefixed

^o-a or ^o-as,

which is initial, except when preceded by a separable d.

Initial ^o-a is not, however, a sure sign of a derived Transitive or Causative Verb. There are a few Intransitives which begin with ^o-a, e.g.

| | |
|------------------------|---------------|
| ^o -arsniyas | to get drunk. |
|------------------------|---------------|

| | |
|----------------------|-----------------|
| ^o -ayenas | to go to sleep. |
|----------------------|-----------------|

| | |
|--------------------------|------------|
| d ^o -asqaltas | to arrive. |
|--------------------------|------------|

| | | |
|----------------------------|--------------|-----------|
| and d ^o -ayanas | beside γasas | to laugh. |
|----------------------------|--------------|-----------|

227. Some Simple Transitive Verbs, or verbs which cannot be shown to be derived, also have ^o-A and ^o-AS. E.g.
- | | |
|------------------------|-------------|
| ^o -asqanas | to kill. |
| ^o -altiras | to show to. |
| ^o -asas | to say to. |
| ^o -askartas | to cut. |

and with some ^o-A is optional, e.g.
^o-aymas beside ^o-yamas to give to.

228. It is to be remembered that the existence of this -A is a mere presumption depending on my hypothesis regarding the varying forms of the Pronominal Prefixes i : e, u : o- etc., v § 122.

229. There are a couple of pairs of Intransitive and Transitive Verbs which are related to each other in unique ways:

- | | | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. galas | v.i. to break, | yalas | v.t. to break (something). |
| 2. d ^o -ntsiras | v.i. to spread out, | d ^o -ntsiras | v.t. to spread out, |
| | overflow (of river). | | unroll (bedding etc.), strese. |

Another doubtful example of the second type is
d^o-tsikinas v.t. to hang up, suspend.

beside which there is, I think,

d^o-tsiginas v.i. to be hanging, suspended.

The accent of the latter is not recorded, but it is possible that it falls on a later syllable, probably the third, (d^o-tsiginas), and so differentiates it from the Transitive form. The k : g difference is probably neither constant nor significant.

230. Some verbs appear to be used with both a Transitive and an Intransitive meaning, or at least to render ideas generally conceived of as Transitive and Intransitive.

It is always possible, however, that verbs originally distinct in origin and possibly in form have fallen together so as to be indistinguishable.

Examples are:

- | | |
|------------------|---|
| 1. gatars. | |
| ese gutsi gatiči | it will bite thee. |
| tsiltse gatimi | he (it) lapped (put his mouth to?) the water. |

- | | |
|---------------------------|--|
| esafar lim kaman gatimi | the arrow-head penetrated a little into his heart. |
| tisk tikulo gatun bila ke | if the dagger is sticking upright in the ground. |

but,
bar gatimi the saying came true, the affair came to pass(?)
The use of the suffixes -tsi, -star in the first examples suggests, however, that the conception of the verb is essentially Intransitive.

2. i. giyas v.i. gič- 3rd. sg. pret. giimi to enter (into), plunge (into), come on, come upon.

| | |
|----------------------|---|
| tsi'lor giimi | he went into the water. |
| wazi're hatar gi ban | he had entered into the skin of the Wazir, i. e. assumed his shape, appearance. |

| | |
|---------------|------------------------------|
| mušul gi bila | her labour pain has come on. |
|---------------|------------------------------|

- ii. giyas, guyas v.t. to throw down, to throw into.

The form guyas is used only when the object is pl. h or x.
V. § 253.

gurke (bi'ske) pfu'ar gi throw this (hair x pl.) into the fire. 22.10.
yeli tik giimi he threw earth on the top. 56.21.

(hanji'l) iter gu throw (the charcoal x pl.) down into that (room) 164.7.
(guyas) kas o'č'er gurmu thou throwest down (thy nose on the ground) in order to slay them. 44.19.

- iii. Probably to be reckoned as an allied form of the Intransitive

giyas is
giyai.as giyač- 3rd. sg. pret. giyami to fall (of snow, hair).
Also used of the appearance (descent?) of lice, nits and the rainbow.

3. ^o-yaiyas ^o-yač, ^o-yeč. 3rd. sg. pret. ^o-yami.

- i. intransitive to fit into, go into.

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| o'č'is huč'ulo yami | my foot went into the "pubsa" (boot). |
| ite gut uyomulo uyaman kurisimuta | as many chairs as could fit into the whole tent. |

guyasčuma? wilt thou be able to get in (thru' a hole)?

- ii. to strike, hit, strike against with -ulo, and -ase.
- ameulo tari yami the polo ball struck (on) my tooth.
 khate yurtisulo hurnts nin yami the arrow going struck the leg
 of the bed.
 tsirtse diru yami the bullet struck the goat (ibex).
 uyontse yash may it strike all of them!
 mazore battse yatis yedi bi his head strikes against the (covering)
 stone of the grave.

In these last 5 examples the verb still seems to be essentially intransitive as it requires the aid of a postposition.

iii. transitive to obtain.

uyelsum bu't hu'si ayniyam I obtained much plunder from them,
 es haiwanan amulo ke niyalam wherever I may get that animal.

231. Some transitive verbs are differentiated in form according as the object is x and h, or y; and in one or two verbs forms from apparently different roots are employed.

| with x or h objects. | with y objects. | Meaning. |
|----------------------|-----------------|---|
| a) yahas, *yahas | gahas | to take. |
| yatamuras | gatamuras | to knead, wring. |
| | | 1. hide, choga etc. x. |
| | | 2. skin, pattoo etc. y. |
| yurginas | gurginas | to grind. |
| | | 1. rock salt, kernels etc. x. |
| | | 2. tobacco, grain, spices etc. y. |
| b) Probably: | | |
| waslas, *waslas | baslyas | to throw. |
| yo-las | belas | to put on (garment). |
| | | 1. choga, shirt etc. x. |
| | | 2. clothes (gatu), woman's tunic (pafi) etc. y. |
| yaltas | bal'tas | to wash. |
| | | 1. cloth (gatu) x, guya'lam I'll wash thee, h. |
| | | 2. hands, clothes etc. y. |

c) With internal vowel change (pronominal infix?):

xi.as, xu.as, *xu.as xu.as to eat. V. § 252.

d) Parallel verbs from different roots:

- *-uyas *-xi.as (sg. y obj.)
 - *-ayunas (*-yunas?) (pl. y obj.) to give.
- Examples of d. 1.:
 duxu'yas, suryas to bring.

The pronoun prefix in all cases refers to the Indirect Object.

*-uyas.

šapik belate jo'eo how she may give me food.
 (ju + u'eo, v. § 255).

hin hirane eiv nyumin a man giving to them his daughter.
 hin e'urane šapalimutsik yu.am one brother had given him "chaplin".

*-xi.as.

han hai'enan a'ei give me a token.
 šap aku'čičam I won't give thee meat.
 gute yenté nučün giving them this gold.

*-ayunas.

gatuš ayun give me the clothes.
 šu.a dišmij ayunuma thou gavest me good places.
 lakičay uyo'nar ayuninai he gave them all houses.
 guke yenanšum pyuwan ayun give me a little of this gold.

Note in this last instance how the neutral pyuwan becomes endowed with the force of yentay [y pl.].

Examples of d. 2. d^o-tsas : duxu'yas, v. Vocab. s vv.

A couple of instances have been recorded of the apparent use of the negative + durtas + y object. V. 68.17 and 82.2.

232. There are a few cases of apparently similar parallelism of Intransitive verbs where the nature of the subject determines the form of the verb:

with: h, or x subj. y subj.

*-waslas, waslas bal'uyas to become lost.
 *-walas, waslas balas to fall.

There is a group of verbs meaning to become dry, dry up, which are probably related to each other:

a) with *h* subject. There is only one recorded form:

uyamañ *they (the men) become dry.*

b) with *nu x* sg. subj. There are a number of forms which seem referable to a verb:

yuyas yuē st. pc. yuyum, yuyam.

V. Vocab. s.v. yuyas.

c) with *a y* subj. There are forms referable to a verbal doublet:

buyas buyē } st. pc. buyum, hum, buyam.
buyaias buyāē }

V. Vocab. s.vv. buyas and buyaias.

Now uyamañ could be referred to an infinitive ^o-uyaias,

and yuyas may be the pn. pf. *i* + ^o-uyas,

and the st. pc. form yuyam, if correct, would represent an infn. *i* + ^o-uyaias.

So that we may assume a verbal doublet:

^o-uyas || ^o-uyaias and buyas || buyaias

(allowing *y* for the *y* of the recorded forms).

Again there is no word recorded in Burushaski beginning with *wu*, so that it is probable that *w* cannot maintain itself before *u*. Hence ^o-uyas, ^o-uyaias may stand for ^o-wuyas, ^o-wuyaias.

This would give us forms with initial *w*- and *b*- (used with *h* and *x* subjects, and with *y* subjects respectively) as in the case of the intransitive pairs: *waias* and *baluyas*, *walas* and *balas*, and the transitive *waiias* and *bišaiyas*.

^o-wuyas would also be a possible base for the Causative *espuyas*. Cp. § 241.

233. One characteristic of Transitive verbs has already been dealt with:

When the verb is in a Past-Base tense, the subject always appears in the extended form of the Nominative, and it is apparently optional for it to do so when the verb is in a Present-Base tense. V. §§ 60—61.

FORMATION OF TRANSITIVE and CAUSATIVE VERBS.

234. There are two types of Intransitive Verb, illustrated by the Burushaski and English:

1. ^o-woras *to become tired or to be tired*, indicating the entry into, or existence in, a state of being.
2. *gutsaras to proceed, to walk*, indicating the performance of an action.

In Burushaski both these types of verb are furnished with Causative forms. In the cases quoted:

^o-asparas and ^o-agutsaras respectively.

235. Transitive Verbs may yield two kinds of Causatives:

1. The Causative Active: *to make someone do something*.
2. The Causative Passive: *to cause something to be done, to have something done*.

Both types of periphrastic phrase are in use in English.

In some languages only the Causative Passive is found, as in Shina: e.g.

zamoiki to beat someone; zamoroiki to cause someone to be beaten.
Ro zamergas I beat him; ro zamoregas I caused him to be beaten,
I had him beaten, (not, I made him beat someone else).

So also in Pashtu:

aure-del to hear; aurawul to cause something to be heard.

In Burushaski the Causative Active seems to hold the field.

236. a) Burushaski has only one method of making Transitive and Causative Verbs from Intransitives, and Causative Verbs from Transitives.

This is by prefixing ^o-*a*- or ^o-*as*- to the simple verb.

^o-*as*- appears to be added only to Intransitives beginning with certain consonants.

^o-*a*- is added to both Transitives and Intransitives and is much more frequent than ^o-*as*-. Both are used after the separable initial *d*-.

Following ^o-*as*- initial *b* and *w* change to *p*; *d* changes to *t*; *g* to *k*; *γ* to *q*.

As I cannot certainly distinguish between *k* and *q* in Buruškaski, the last two statements may not be universally correct. As, however, these fixed equations provide a convenient means of correlating related words I have applied them throughout.

Even a medial consonant may be unvoiced as well as the initial one. E.g. *dayi*as, Cs. **astaqaiyas*; *babai* (adj.), Cs. *d^h-aspapalas*.

The other sounds to which **-as-* is found prefixed are *k*, *t* and *m* and these remain unaltered.

**-as-* is used before a vowel in *d^h-asuljaiyas* Cs. of *duljaiyas* to be *sated* (from **-ul* belly).

Following **-a-* initial *h-* is dropped, and initial *y-* is lost in **-a.oidas* from *yo'idas* (to *put on, choga* etc.). *o'waras* to *make oxen trample out grain* may be the Cs. of *boras* to *thresh grain* (by *making oxen trample it*). But more probably it is derived from **-wara* round, *aromad*, with which *boras* may also possibly be connected.

- b) Credit is due to Professor Siddeshwar Varma for drawing attention to two instances of Causatives possibly being formed by the insertion of a *-g-* (*-k-*) in the body of the simple verb. He cites:

de'gunas (i.e. *d^h-agunas*) to *make one put off* (a coat).

di.usas (i.e. *d^h-uras*, *d^h-isas*) to *put off* (a coat).

de'skartsas to *rain down*, *di.wrtsas* to *rain*.

I have taken *de'skartsas* (cp. Vocab. 4. **-askortsas*) to be the Cs. of *gurtsas* to *flow, pour down*, with a prefixed *d-*.

I would add as a third example:

de'gunas (i.e. *d^h-agunas*) to *cause to seize*, beside *durnas* to *seize*.

It seems to me possible that the *-g-*, *-k-* in these Causatives may be an original *-g-* which has been lost between vowels in the simple form of the verb after the addition of the prefix *d^h-*, but has been preserved in the less commonly used Cs. forms. Perhaps the stress accent on the first vowel in the Cs. may also have had some influence. So we should have hypothetical

d^h-gunas { \rightarrow *d^h-usas*.
 \rightarrow Cs. *d^h-agunas*.
d^h-gunas { \rightarrow (*d^h-uhas*) \rightarrow *durnas*.
 \rightarrow Cs. *d^h-agunas*.
d^h-gurtsas { \rightarrow (*d^h-urtsas*), *di.wrtsas*.
 \rightarrow Cs. *d^h-askortsas*.

The last equation has the merit of correlating *gurtsas*, *di.wrtsas* and *de'skortsas*.

CAUSATIVES from INTRANSITIVES.

237. The following are a few Intransitives Verbs with the Causatives formed from them. They are arranged according to types I and II mentioned above, but as in all cases of classification, doubtful cases occur.

A few Causative forms are given with initial *es-* where that is the only recorded form, but there is no reason to doubt that the *es-* arises from the pronoun prefix *i-* + **-as-*.

Intransitives of TYPE I.

| <i>Intransitive.</i> | | <i>Causative, Transitive.</i> | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|---|
| <i>ba'payas</i> | to <i>boil</i> v.i. | <i>es'apayas</i> | to <i>cause to boil, to boil</i> v.t. |
| <i>ba'ras</i> | to <i>burn</i> | <i>es'apas</i> | to <i>cause to burn, to burn, kindle, light</i> . |
| <i>bu'yalas</i> | to <i>dry</i> v.i. | { <i>es'uyas</i> to <i>cause to dry, to dry</i> v.t. <i>es'ilas</i> V. § 232. | |
| (* <i>-wuyas</i> ?) | become <i>dry</i> | | |
| <i>d^h-kiras</i> | to <i>become less, decrease, wane</i> | <i>d^h-askiraw</i> | to <i>decrease, reduce</i> . |
| <i>d^h-mayas</i> | to <i>be on good terms, to fit</i> | <i>d^h-asimayas</i> | to <i>reconcile, mix, to make agree</i> . |
| <i>d^h-manas</i> | to <i>be born</i> | <i>d^h-asmanas</i> | to <i>give birth to, bear</i> . |
| <i>d^h-silas</i> | to <i>become wet, be wet</i> | <i>d^h-asilas</i> | to <i>cause to become wet, to wet</i> v.t. |
| <i>d^h-talas</i> | to <i>wake</i> v.i. | <i>d^h-ast(s)alas</i> | to <i>cause to wake, wake</i> v.t. |
| <i>dayi.as</i> | to <i>hide</i> v.i. | * <i>-astaqi.as</i> | to <i>hide</i> v.t. |
| (* <i>-)yasas</i> | to <i>become rotten, to rot</i> v.i. | * <i>-asqasas</i> | to <i>make go rotten, to rot</i> v.t. |

| Intransitive. | | Causative, Transitive. |
|--|-----|---|
| γυλάσ to burn v.i. | | *-ασγυλάσ to cause to burn, burn v.t. |
| κράηασ to be late | | *-ασκράηασ to make late, delay v.t. |
| θλαίγασ to go out (of fire etc.) | | *-ασθλαίγασ to extinguish, put out (fire etc.) |
| (*)-γυλάσ to become lost, go astray. | | *-ασγυλάσ to lose, expel, deport. |
| *-ωραίσ to become tired | | *-ασωραίσ to cause to become tired, to tire v.t. |
| Intransitives of TYPE II. | | |
| βασάσ to sit down, settle, alight, come to rest, keep quiet. | | εσπασάσ to seat (oneself), finish off, bring to a conclusion. |
| | cp. | δ*-ασπασάσ to protect, save. |
| γαρτάσ to run | | *-ασκάρτάσ to make run, put to flight. |
| γίρατас to dance | | *-ασγίρατас to make dance. |
| γυέαιγασ to lie down | | *-ασγυέαιγασ to make lie down. |
| γυτсорас to proceed | | *-ασγυтсорас to cause to proceed. |
| γασάс to laugh | | *-ασγασάс to make laugh. |
| (*)-γυртас to plunge (into), sink v.i. | | *-ασγυртас to cause to sink, to sink v.t. |
| ηυλάγασ to mount (on) | | *-ασηυλάγασ to cause to mount. |
| ηυρυτάс to sit down | | *-ασηυρυτάс to make sit down. |
| κυέλαс to become spoilt, be obliterated | | *-ασκυέлас to spoil, obliterate. |

238. It will be noted that when the Intransitive has -ασ in the Infinitive, this is reduced to -ασ in the Causative; an -α or -α in the body of the word is similarly reduced:

| | | |
|---------|---|--------------|
| basas | : | εspasas. |
| gartras | : | *-askartras. |

This is doubtless due to the fact that the accent is normally retracted to the first syllable.

As far as I know there are no Causatives formed from
 γυγασ to come, or νιγασ to go.

-αγασ and δ-αγασ to send sometimes supply the place of the latter. V. vocab. s.v. *-αγασ. V. also § 241 end.

*-αμανασ which has the form of the Causative of μανασ to become, to be, μικανασ to be able to, "can".

There are a few examples of *-αγασ being used as a causative factor accompanied by the infinitive of the simple verb:

δουκωγέλαс εεί he will make thee hear.
 οπαέμ ημερεα φατ αγέλαс ορέαι he makes them always not let him go from them, i.e. he makes them always keep him with them. 116.13.
 παδсαηαυηγε сабас γογασ εέам I shall cause the praise of kings to come, i.e. I shall cause kings to praise (thee). 98.5.

CAUSATIVES from TRANSITIVES.

239. Causatives are formed from Transitives by the prefixing of *-α-. I have noted no case of *-ασ being prefixed to a Transitive verb.

For several reasons it is often difficult to distinguish the exact meaning of these Causatives, but while there are many clear cases of Causative Actives I know of no certain example of a Causative Passive.

The following are a few Transitive verbs with their corresponding Causative Actives:

| Transitive. | | Causative, Active. |
|------------------------------|--|---|
| βαλτάс to wash s.t. | | *-αβαλτάс to make some one wash s.t. |
| βόρεηασ to look at | | *-αβόρεηασ to make s. o. look at. |
| βελάс to put on (clothes, y) | | *-αβελάс to make s. o. put on. |
| βίθαιγασ to throw | | *-αβίθαιγασ to cause s. o. to throw. |
| δ*-αγασ to bring | | δ*-αγασ to cause s. o. to bring. |
| ηάκηνασ to learn | | *-αηάκηνασ to make s. o. learn, to teach. |
| μινάс to drink | | *-αμινάс to make s. o. drink. |
| тсυγασ to take away | | *-αтсυγασ to make s. o. take away. |
| γογασ to put on (choga, x) | | *-αγογασ to make s. o. put on. |

Examples:

miskil miriy ba'tas to wash our face and hands,
thame iriy 'e'bal'ëar maharame tsil dusu'ëai a servant brings water
in order to make the Tham wash his hands. 340.7.

(but we should say "for the Tham to wash his hands with")

aku'bartiy 'otbal'ëarv they make the elders wash (their hands). 340.8.

This usage is supported by 2 or 3 other examples, but there is also:
gatu' . . . inar 'ebilin where the dative inar is difficult to
explain, but is probably due to the influence of Shina.

hastowafë taxt n'e'ibißen otsumi causing them to put a howdah on
the elephant he made them take it away. 76.20.

Here one would naturally take n'e'ibißen to mean causing a
howdah to be put, but in the following example mo'biße'ëar can
only be causative active:

dasin xamali mo'biße'ëar in order to make the girl prepare this bread
(the verb doubtless refers to throwing or turning the bread on
the griddle). 306.3.

ne'ibißen may be regarded as standing for "causing someone to
put" or else as a slip for no'bißen. Cp. however § 247 end.

This type of difficulty is of common occurrence.

ëëokov mel omi bai he makes his brothers drink wine. 300.8.

otsumi hasto; hasto tsu'man he made them take away the elephant;
they took away the elephant. 76.20.

240. It will be noticed in the above examples that the vowel of the
pronominal prefix is habitually long and frequently diphthongised.
This is due to its carrying the stress accent, and is, I think,
characteristic of the Causatives.

This fact appears to account for forms based on cetas, moctas,
beside those based on the ordinary variants of *-atas, e.g. etas,
moctas etc.

The prefix in the latter cases usually already bears the stress
accent, but when they are used causatively the stress is redoubled.
I think those forms which have the vowel of the prefix prolonged
will ordinarily be found to be causative:

tili'ay davl eti take off the saddle (thymself).
but, tili'ay c'eti or c'egi make (someone) put the saddle on (the horse).
ëapëup etimi he went silent.

but, ëapëup etimi he silenced him.
ho garoni gatuy uc'etay then making the bridegroom put on
clothes. 300.6.

bote tsap ne'etan making him touch the seed. 244.2

tham i'tas e'ë'ëar tsu'ëarv they take it to make the Tham taste
it. 322.7.

Lagabru'mo K. Mal'ëu'mo mur'ye'te tsil m'oc'etimi.

he made L. pour water on K. M.'s hands. 176.21.

Another possible explanation of examples of this nature is that
the verb and object are regarded as a compound verb — noun
+ etas — and that etas is then regarded as an original verb
and that it is transformed into a causative by prefixing *-a- to
it, giving *-a.etas.

On the other hand in some cases the pronoun prefix represents
an indirect object and has the force of an ethnic dative:

pütimuts lap etimi he put the bread in his mouth for him. 132.19.

iriy 'ëski ne'etan putting his hand under his head for him. 312.2.

mumup'ë'ë'uruk n'ö'ö'ëar pas'om im'andvimi he hesitated to cut off
her nose for her. 176.18. Cp. § 247 end.

241. Some of the commonest verbs which have different forms according
as the object, or subject, is h x or y (v. §§ 231, 232) appear to
form the Causative from only one of the two forms — the x form
— and to use it whatever the nature of the object or subject.

These are:

yahas to take (h x) } Cs. *-ayahas to cause to take (h x y).
gahas to take (y) }

d^h-tras to bring (h x) } Cs. d^h-atras to cause to bring (h x y).
dusuyas to bring (y) }

wal'as to become lost (h x) } Cs. *-aspal'as to lose (h x y).
balu'yas to become lost (y) }

One would naturally refer the Cs. *espuyas* to *dry* v.t. to *buyas* (y) and not to **-uyas* (h x), but it would equally suit the hypothetical original hx form **-wuyas*. V. § 232. c.

On the other hand Causatives are formed from both,

wašias and bišaiyas.

yošias and belas. See List § 239.

baštas has a causative, but I do not know about yaštas.

giyas has Cs. **-agiyaš*, but I have not met any form **-aguyas*. There is, however, *d*-askuyas*.

I have come across no causatives of the various forms of the verbs *to eat* or *to give*. *To feed with* or *to make eat* is **-aširaš*, unconnected with *šias*.

NOTE.

I am now inclined to recognise a general equation:

-w || b.

wašias, waštas and wašias can all take pu. pta to indicate h and x, but not y, subjects or objects, and probably originally always did so.

We then have some labial sound which appears, when it is preceded by a vowel, as -w- and, when it occurs initially, as b-.

Compare also *awiraš* || *biwiraš*. V. § 236, a. Further, hypothetically, *wa- > w-*, so that we get the equation -w || b- as in **-uyas* || *buyas*, V. § 232.

The relationships of *yošias* and *belas*, and *gaštas* and *baštas* remain unexplained, but some correlation on similar lines is perhaps to be sought between *ya-* and *ga-* in **-yatas* and *gatas* etc. (v. § 231), and between zero and *-g-* in *d*-nataš* and *d*-agatas* etc. (v. § 236 b).

We might assume that the initial *y-*'s were all originally preceded by pu. pta, the vowel of which had the effect of changing *g-* into *y-*; while the retention of the *g-* in *d*-agatas* might be due to the position of the accent. In this case **-agatas* would have to be accounted for as the generalisation of the form in more common use.

But all this is entirely speculative.

242. Two circumstances have tended to increase the difficulty, already referred to, of determining the exact nature and value of the Causative:

i. Causative forms appear often to be used with only the same force as the Transitive from which they are formed.

ii. Causatives tend to develop specialised meanings somewhat removed from those of the allied simple Transitives.

These points are variously illustrated by the verbs:

| | | | | | |
|---------|-----|-----------|--------|-----|------------|
| delas | Cs. | *-adilas. | tsuyas | Cs. | *-atsuyas. |
| d*-tsas | | d*-atsas. | wašias | | *-awašias. |
| giyas | | *-agiyaš. | yanaš | | *-ayanaš. |

243. delas, *-delas : *-adilas.

prik delas *to leap*; prik eđiljumu *making his horse jump*. 122,21.

hayure sap eđili *shoe the horse*.

hayureče balda eđili *put the load on the horse*.

hayurišo.če balday o.đili *put the loads on the horses*.

gaštas mali.am eđilas *to put ointment on a wound*.

hurnar uriğin eđiluman *they fixed their (the offenders') hands in the stocks*. 86,16.

giđi mudđimi, giđi modđimi *he pegged her down*. 194,2,7.

In the last 6 of these instances **-adilas* does not seem to be Causative and the pronominal prefixes appear to refer to the indirect objects, "the horses", "the offenders". (*o-* cannot refer to *y* objects such as *balday* and *uriğin* which would require the singular form *e-*).

244. d*-tsas *to bring* : d*-atsas.

tsuyas *to take away* : *-atsuyas.

1. The Causatives of these two verbs are constantly used in the sense of "to send". This apparently arises from the development "to cause someone to bring or take something to someone" which, when the someone who is to "bring" or "take" is not emphasised or specified, becomes equivalent to the English impersonal:

"to have something brought or taken to someone", which in turn is equivalent to

"to send something to someone".

padša mirbani gor doši (dovoši) *the king will make people bring thee a present, i.e. the king will send thee a present.* 168.11.
 hayur devtso *make someone bring the horse, i.e. send the horse.*
 Padša imo hayur aštane ka oštumi . . . aštane isc tsumi B. J. J.
 hičsar. Qan etimi: "ya B. J., padša i' huljalas hayur gor doštai, ye ju!" evimi. *The King sent his own horse with a groom . . . the groom took away the horse to B. J.'s door. He called out: "O B. J., the king has sent thee his own riding horse. Now come!" he said to him.* 76.11.

ayonar xat oštumi *he sent letter(s) to all.* 98.10.
 isc imo watanar oštumi *he sent it (the brooch) to his own country.* 166.11.

Both verbs may occur, I think, in their full natural sense: "to cause someone to bring, take away, something".

2. d^o-atsas also occurs as the Causative of dusuryas where it is used in Compound Verbal expressions (v. § 266A).

*-mo's d^o-atsas *to make angry, annoy, worry.*
 biri devtsas *to make boil, boil v.t.*
 dan d^o-atsas *to make breathe, make pant(?)*
 ine yenis tsil dumošai *he makes the queen fetch water.* 20.5.
 but maza devtsimi *it made him experience a pleasant taste, (maza dusuryas has not been recorded.) pleasure.* 198.5.

245. giyas : *-agiyas.

In the following *-agiyas seems to be the Causative of the Intransitive giyas *to enter* etc.

huma dušor A. K. . . hayur egičor ditsimi *A. K. in order to cross the ford brought his horse to make it enter (the water).* 112.21.

In the following, of the Trans. giyas *to throw*.

Tapkients auladan . . . ditaun bo egi.en (ke) *fetching a descendant of the Tapkients if you made him throw (i.e. sow) the seed.* 242.3.

Otherwise *-agiyas usually means *to place (on), put (on), or, to plant.*
 daywe gapar gogiya baiyam *I had put you in raw hide. (Perhaps from giyas v.i.)* 158.1.

bi-kičis egiyašo ban *they are going to plant willows.* 176.3.
 tom egi bai *he has planted the tree.*
 wazitefe hayure asbar' noigin *putting horse's furniture on the wazir.* 70.19, 78.19.

Alqašete tili.en 'erigiman *they put the saddle on Alqaš.* 78.22.

Alqašete tili.en 'erigin! *put the saddle on A.* 78.21.

In the last 3 examples the pronominal prefix may refer to the Indirect Object, and in others it clearly does.

gure bo iri'qate ne'agym taq etuman *putting wheat-seed on his hand, they shook it. (The context demands this rendering rather than making him sow the seed with his hand).* 242.18.

So also a little further on:

iri'qate bo eginar pfi'u fau etimi *when they had put the seed on his hand, he scattered it.*

gošar šašaličis gogičani *I'll put chains on thy neck for thee.* 60.3.

kašawariq multumalči mogičan *they put carriages on her ears for her.* 304.12.

246. wašlas : *-awašlas.

*-awašlas shares some of the meanings of *-agiyas and presents the same difficulties.

The general meaning of wašlas is *to throw; to throw down*.

It seems occasionally to take the pronominal prefixes:

je ko'le awašin! *throw me down, deposit me (i.e. bury me) here.* 294.18.

Its use is in many respects parallel to that of the Hindustani *da'la*.

I cannot quote any absolutely certain example of *-awašlas used with Causative force, but the following are most easily explained as Causatives:

da'piski nidilin isk ne'wašin *giving (the donkey) a kick and making her cast her foal.* 118.A.

e'wašimo said of a woman committing adultery with a man (H. mard ko lagwari, *sic*).

In the two following it is just possible that it is Causative:
 don mo.uwašcan *they make her throw a evil (over her head).* 304.11.

mumupuš gajati numo mazarəfor moxwəšiš let him make her, plucking
off her nose, fling it on the grave. 152.7.

but it is much more probable that the correct translations are:
they put a veil on her, and, let him, plucking off her nose (for her),
fling it (for her) on the grave,

where the pronominal prefixes simply draw attention to the person
affected by the action.

There are no grounds for suspecting the Causative in the following:

zaxumate mi'li ewəwəšə put medicine on the wound.
tur ke tiləwəš ewəšar w'ewəšim hanging a whip too on the pommel
of the saddle. 78.20.

uq gusəyutar gowəšə bəru they have placed it under thy arm. 118.15.

Alqəšə efi gošə gowəšəam I'll throw the daughter of Alqash on thy
neck, i.e. secure her for you as a lover. 60.14.

The negative imperative

(xat) ewəšə, ewəšə = a + iwəšə

don't throw it down, don't drop it, don't knock him down, is not to
be confused with the positive imperative of the Causative of the
same form "make him throw it".

247. YANAS : *-AYANAS.

The radical meaning of the simple Transitive yanas, *-yanas
and its alternative form when the object is y, ganas, is "to
take", "take hold of", passing into "to get".

The Causative means "to cause to take", "to make take up",
"to make carry".

Šongukere Hindilə sis tobak yatarə nøyen Sh. making the people
of H. take guns and swords. 192.12.

garəni tišk neəyan making the bridegroom take (put at his waist)
a dagger. 300.6.

irəyulo gampfuri əyayə bəru they make him take a ceremonial case
in his hand. 300.7.

inə auləde bopfauwe hanik Baltitum Altitar n'ən n'əali, ik Heri
Siq bila, Thamo thəqtum bopfauwe pfau 'etas bo n'əlen Thamo

yər ne Mamutsa malər dišəru his descendant taking the "bopfan"
dish goes from Baltit to Altit, his name is Heri Siq, (the
authority) making him take the seed for the "bopfan" scattering,
bring him, along in front of the Thamo, from the Thamo palace to
the Mamutsa field. 212.20.

xər yənəšə gəyayəam I shall make thee take a "Xər" of gold, (i.e.,
I shall give you to take with you . . .) 58.16.

Paqəwə ayənəm darətsəm P. had made me take it and bring it (to
you), i.e. P. had sent me with it. 138.18.

han pušəriən numəyən əzdarəš məri mərumən making her take
(with her) a lump of ghee, they dispatched her as "mari" to the
dragon. 282.2.

hənjil əyənəm he made them carry the charcoal. 162.15.

But all examples of the use of *-ayanas are not as straight-
forward as the above:

nipatar yənəšə isəmal, əspurəy . . . darl ne əyanəm flaying (the
calf) and removing its golden tail, mane etc. he carried them off.

(There was no one else present to make take them.) 134.6.

tsil wə uyəwəšə ganəmən əyənəm: nøyen gətsərumən the water
they took on all of them(selves) and loaded themselves with it.
Having loaded themselves they went on. 126.1.

(The construction of the above is probably contaminated.)

xəzəna əyən isəwəšə w'iyənəm he loaded up all the treasure on
him (the Dir). But perhaps etc. is the pronoun, "that stuff",
and not the postposition). 174.20.

pfərtəšəšə mujək məyayə bəru. One would expect this to mean
"they fix a tassel on her cap", but it may be straight-forward
"they make her take (fix) a tassel on her cap". 304.12.

Frequently satisfactory sense would be given by taking *-ayanas
as an ordinary Transitive verb meaning either "to fix, put" or
"to load up".

In these verbs it would appear that the Causative form can be
used without causative force where the action of the verb affects
an indirect object, to which the pronoun prefix refers.

A similar phenomenon may be observed in Khowar, cp. *anjik* to put on (clothes), *anjenk* to put (clothes) on someone else, cp. § 249.3.

The ambiguities of a few verbs which are in very common use should not, however, blind us to the fact that in Burushaski there are perfectly clear and well-defined Active Causatives formed from both Transitive and Intransitive verbs.

THE PREFIXAL PRONOUNS.

248. The Prefixal Pronouns occur with all kinds of verbs: Intransitive, Transitive and Causative.

They are less common with Intransitive than with Transitive verbs. As far as can be judged Causative verbs invariably carry them.

A few Intransitive verbs appear both with and without them:

walās : *walās to go astray, be lost.

walās : *walās to fall.

manās : *manās to become.

So also a few Transitive verbs:

yalās : *yalās to break.

yanas : *yanās to take.

tsuryās : *tsuryās to take away.

dēlas : *dēlas to strike.

wāšlās : *wāšlās to throw.

and with a difference of meaning

taskās to smoke (a pipe).

*taskās to draw, drag.

The Pron. prefixes are most persistent when they represent *h* nouns. Pron. pfs representing *x* inanimate nouns are rare, and those representing *y* nouns only occur when the verb begins with **-d*, **-as*, *d***-a* or *d***-as*.

249. With Intransitive verbs the Prefixal Pronouns refer to the subject:

*-iras to die

e-rēa ba I am dying.

gu-irēuma thou wilt die.

irimi he died.

uiruman they died.

With Transitive verbs the Prefixal Pronouns refer:

1. To the DIRECT OBJECT.

*-dēlas to strike

gudēlam I beat thee.

mudēlimi he beat her.

*-yetsān to see

guyetsam I saw thee.

muyetauman they saw her.

*-asqanās to kill

go'sqaiya ba I (am going to) kill thee.

asqai ba thou (art going to) kill(est) me.

mēsqaimi he will kill us.

e'sqaimi he killed him.

2. To the INDIRECT OBJECT.

*-ēlās to give to.

*-uyās } v. § 231. d. han hai'nan ači give me a token.

*-ayūnas } tsil muči give her the water.

ruxsat gučiči he will give thee leave.

*-asās to say to, tell to

(jav) ssa'in tell ye me.

e'sumo she said to him.

mōsimi he said to her.

goša ba I say to thee.

*-altirās to show

jakune go'ko L. B. mo'ltirāi.

he shows her (L. B.) the donkey feed.

With **-atās* the prefix usually refers to the Direct Object, but sometimes to the Indirect.

gati no'tan having assembled them.

kana.o mo advising her.

but, i'ie basi o'tam he had made that garden for them.

mina mume'poš numōtan making (for) her a nose out of "mina"

3. The conception of the Indirect Object is carried further in Burushaski than in English, and the Pron. prefix is often used as a kind of ethic dative.

nawer'in besan 'ayeli ke be eđam if (the horse) throwing me
should break something for me (i. e. break some of my bones)
what shall I do? 76.18.

guyetis rukoskeris cutting off your head for you. Cp. 56.5.

aru asqanali he has murdered my father for me. 80.12.

busai tray ma'eđam I shall apportion the land for you. 110.21.

inno jineđin dumorgus pulling out her steers for her. 146.15.

Representing an Ablative:

wazire dumoyarusai the Wazir asks her ("of what is this food
made?") 138.17.

Cp.ine dasimnatsum doyarusumi he enquired of the girl. 282.5.
But doyarusai sometimes takes the dative.

4. To the SUBJECT, only in the case of a very few verbs:

*-ayanas to account, regard us.

*-amabas to be able to.

til *-alas to forget.

d^o-acanas to have need of (perhaps intrans.).

d^o-ayur(k)as to find, obtain.

d^o-ayelas to hear.

*-yaiyas to obtain.

uetsum but hursi dayerkam, or ayaiyam I obtained much plunder
from them.

duwalš amomatumo she was unable to fly.

be go'mai ba? what art thou able to do?

han baran til me'luman we forgot one matter.

barđsa gute čaya deyselin the king hearing this account.

gute bar dumoyel she having heard this.

šapik gatu dirne.iyurkan ke . . . if we obtain food and clothing.

250. With Causative Verbs the Prefixal Pronouns refer to the person performing the action denoted by the simple verb:

borenas to look at. Cs. *-aboranas,
sar'star no'boren making them look for a (fa-
vourable) hour.

hur'ntas to sit Cs. *-a.urd'tas,
no'rotuman they made her sit.

gar'tsas to run Cs. *-askortsas,
go'skaršuman they will make them flee, put
them to flight.

hakinas to learn Cs. *-a.ikinas to make s.o. learn, i.e. to teach.
i'ne mi me.ikimi he will make us learn, he will
teach us.

251. With a considerable number of verbs it is impossible to say whether they carry pronominal prefixes or infixes, or not. This is the case where there are not sufficiently varied examples of their use to put the pronominal prefix through its paces, if it is there. The difficulty is augmented by the following facts:

1. Some verbs, as we have seen, have frankly both prefix-bearing and non-prefix-bearing forms.

2. Some verbs cannot naturally be associated with the 1st and 2nd persons, and with them the prefixes can only vary between i and u, or e and o.

3. Other prefix-bearing verbs show a tendency to stabilize the pronominal prefix or infix in one constant form. So:

dumoras constant, beside d^o-maras to ask for.

duyarusas }
doyarusas } " " d^o-ayarusas to question, ask.

usi'tas " " { *-šit'as
" " { *-as'i'vas to deprive s.o. of s.t., confiscate.

doyanas " " d^o-ayanas to be used up, be finished.

doxaras }
duxaras } " " d^o-xoras(?) to split.

4. It will be remembered that when the Pron. prefix refers to a *y* noun, whether sing. or plur., it remains constant in the form *i-*, (e.g. *guntsiy erʻanassor dvinimi* *he began to count the days.*)

Almost all verbs beginning with

i, e, u, o.
and *di, de, du, do.*

are open to the suspicion of being pronoun-prefix-bearing verbs.

A few verbs deserve special notice.

252. The verb *ši.as* etc. *to eat.*

This verb is to be specially noted as unique. Firstly it possesses apparently a really internal pronominal infix, which does not merely follow an initial *d-*, secondly it has a special form for this infix when the object is a *y* noun. So we have:

| | | | | |
|----------------|--------------------|----------|-----|-----------|
| <i>ši.as</i> | when the object is | <i>x</i> | sg. | |
| <i>šū.as</i> | } | " | " | |
| <i>ʻ-ši.as</i> | | | | h |
| <i>šē.as</i> | " | " | y | sg. & pl. |

It was stated to me that *šū.as* was used when the object was of considerable quantity or bulk, but I think that the above statement represents the ordinary facts.

That *šū.as* may, however, be used with regard to a large animal is shown by

| | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>ya bepayan iʻurmi</i> | <i>the bear ate a yak.</i> |
| beside | |
| <i>guʻimo bepay šiča</i> | <i>thou eatest thy own yak.</i> |
| <i>bepayan ši bi</i> | <i>it eats a yak.</i> |

Ši.as appears always in addition the pronominal prefixes when the object is human. So:

| | |
|------------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>guʻu.čam</i> | <i>I shall eat thee.</i> |
| <i>aʻu.čuma</i> | <i>thou wilt eat me.</i> |
| <i>iʻne iʻurčo bon</i> | <i>she was eating him.</i> |
| <i>but sis uʻurmo</i> | <i>she ate many people</i> |

We also have the prefix *i-* in one of the yak-eating examples above. With *y* objects we have:

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| <i>mamu šemi</i> | <i>he drank milk.</i> |
| <i>askuriy šemi</i> | <i>it (the sheep) ate the flowers.</i> |

253. The Transitive verb *giyas* etc.

The transitive verb *giyas, guyas, to throw down*, approximates to *ši.as*:

guyas is used when the object is *h* pl. or *x* pl.
giyas in all other cases. V. Vocab. a.v.

254. The Intransitive verb *niyas*.

In the intransitive verb *niyas to go*, which does not otherwise take the pronominal prefixes or infixes, the infix appears in the active participle:

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| <i>nən</i> | <i>I, going</i> |
| <i>nukən</i> | <i>thou, going</i> |
| <i>nin</i> | <i>he, going</i> |
| <i>numon</i> etc. | <i>she, going etc. V. § 284.</i> |

255. The verbs "to give". V. § 231. d.

With the verbs "to give" *ʻ-či.as* and *ʻ-aynas*, the pronominal prefix of the 1st pers. sing. *a, a-* is sometimes replaced by *ja-*

| | | |
|--------------|---------------|---------------------------|
| <i>jači</i> | : <i>ači</i> | } <i>give thou to me.</i> |
| <i>jaʻun</i> | : <i>aʻun</i> | |

For further examples see the Vocabulary.

In the case of the verb *ʻ-nyas*, the regular form when the indirect object is the 1st pers. sing. appears to be *joyas*. So:

| | |
|---------------|---------------------------|
| <i>jur jō</i> | <i>give thou me.</i> |
| <i>jōča</i> | <i>thou givest me.</i> |
| <i>jōčema</i> | <i>thou wilt give me.</i> |
| <i>jōčo</i> | <i>she gives me.</i> |
| <i>jōmi</i> | <i>he gave me.</i> |

With the negative, however, forms with *a-* instead of *ja-* appear almost exclusively.

ayan *do not thou give to me.*
 aiyau.uma *thou didst not give to me.*

Only in the vernacular ms. of the Prodigal Son, Version A, occurs a form *o'jo'ba* (written *u'ju'ba*) *thou hast not given to me*, where *aiyawa* was dictated to me.

VERBS with INITIAL *D*^o.

256. A large number of verbs have an initial *d*^o which is usually immediately followed by the simple prefixal pronouns, or the **-a-* and **-as-* of the Transitive or Causative.

I. A few verbs occur both with and without this *d*^o, or with *du-*, *du-*:

| | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>*-aras</i> | <i>to send.</i> | <i>d^o-aras</i> | <i>to send.</i> |
| <i>*-atsias</i> | <i>to press.</i> | <i>d^o-atsias</i> | <i>to squeeze.</i> |
| <i>*-use'as</i> | <i>to foster, rear.</i> | <i>du'se'as,</i> | <i>to maintain,</i> |
| | | <i>(d^o-u'se'as?)</i> | <i>support (them).</i> |
| <i>basu's,</i> ep. § | <i>to sit down,</i> | <i>d^o-wasas,</i> | <i>to remain,</i> |
| 241.n. | <i>settle down.</i> | <i>du(w)asas</i> | <i>survive.</i> |
| <i>*-faltas</i> v.t. } | <i>to burst.</i> | <i>d^o-aspasas.</i> | <i>to preserve.</i> |
| <i>*-afaltas</i> v.t. } | | <i>dufaltas</i> v.i. | <i>to burst.</i> |
| <i>yasas</i> | <i>to laugh.</i> | <i>du'ayasas</i> | <i>to laugh.</i> |
| <i>*-xoras</i> v.t. | <i>to split,</i> | <i>duxoras</i> v.i. | <i>to split.</i> |
| | <i>chase.</i> | <i>doxoras</i> v.i. | <i>to open up.</i> |
| | | <i>dikaras</i> v.t. | <i>to divide (the</i> |
| | | <i>(-dixoras?)</i> | <i>hair).</i> |
| <i>manas</i> | <i>to become.</i> | <i>d^o-manas</i> | <i>to be born.</i> |
| | | <i>dumanas</i> | <i>to take shape,</i> |
| | | | <i>solidify, come</i> |
| | | | <i>into being.</i> |
| <i>pirkanas</i> | <i>to stumble,</i> | <i>d^o-pirkanas</i> } | <i>to stumble.</i> |
| | | <i>d^o-spirkanas</i> } | |

so'kas *to descend.* *duso'kas* *to descend.*
su'yas *to bring.* *du'suryas* *to bring.*
**-yaiyas* *to obtain, receive.* *d^o-yaiyas(?)* *to perceive (a smell).*

To this list is perhaps to be added:

tsu'yas *to take away.* *d^o-ts(u)as* *to bring.*

Traces of a final *-u* in the past base of *d^o-tas* appear in the Impv. and p.p.c.a. V. §§ 318.3, 321.2 and 326.

II. In *duso'kas* and *du'suryas* the *du-*, *du-* is certainly invariable, and it is probably so also in the remaining examples. *du(w)asas* and *dumanas* appear only to be used with *y* subjects.

This *du-*, *du-* would seem to be a generalised form of the initial *d^o-*.

In a number of verbs, mostly intransitives, we have *du-*, *du-* replacing *d^o-*, or corresponding to *d^o-a-* in transitive or causative forms:

| | | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>doyanas</i> | <i>to be used up,</i> | <i>d^o-yanas</i> | <i>to be used up, worn out.</i> |
| | <i>worn out.</i> | <i>d^o-ayanas, v.t.</i> | <i>to use up, exhaust.</i> |
| <i>doyonas</i> | <i>(duyunas?)</i> | <i>d^o-yunas</i> | <i>to ripen.</i> |
| <i>doxuqas</i> } | <i>to become</i> | <i>dequqas</i> v.t. | <i>to entangle.</i> |
| <i>duxo'qas</i> } | <i>entangled.</i> | | |
| <i>duyarusas</i> } | <i>to enquire</i> | <i>d^o-ayarusas</i> | <i>to question, ask.</i> |
| <i>doyarusas</i> } | <i>from.</i> | | |
| <i>dukasas</i> | <i>to be stopped,</i> | <i>dikasas</i> | <i>to be stopped, get</i> |
| | <i>cease.</i> | | <i>caught.</i> |
| <i>dumatas</i> | <i>to wrap up,</i> | <i>d^o-matas</i> | <i>to wrap up, roll up.</i> |
| | <i>roll up.</i> | | |
| <i>*-tai</i> | <i>to suit, fit, be</i> | <i>d^o-mayas</i> | <i>to fit, be on good terms</i> |
| <i>dumayas</i> | <i>convenient.</i> | | <i>with.</i> |
| | | <i>d^o-asmayas</i> | <i>to cause to mix, reconcile.</i> |
| <i>dumoras</i> | <i>to ask for,</i> | <i>d^o-moras</i> | <i>to take (a load) from</i> |
| | <i>demand.</i> | | <i>s. o.</i> |
| <i>dutsanas</i> | <i>to become straight,</i> tsan adj. | | <i>straight, true.</i> |
| | <i>be fulfilled.</i> | <i>d^o-astanas</i> | <i>to make straight</i> |

III. There is also a noticeable number of intransitive verbs beginning in di- and transitive verbs beginning in de- and des-, but enough is not known about them to say whether they are stabilised or not, or in many cases to say even that the d- is the separable d- and not radical.

257. As regards d^e- generally, an examination of all known examples has failed to throw any light on its meaning or function. It cannot originally have been without significance, but whether it still possesses any must remain a problem for future enquirers.

d^e- seems to carry no vowel of its own. Where it would be followed by a consonant a vowel is interposed, but this vowel may be regarded as epenthetic and depending on the vowel following. The preterite of d^e-manas *to be born* illustrates this (the 1st and 2nd pl. have been constructed on analogy with other verbs):

1st. sg. d'a'manam pl. dim'imanam.

2nd. duk'amanuma dam'amanuman.

3rd. { m. d'imanimi } d'u'manuman.
 { f. dum'amanumo }

NOTE. In all cases d- is changed to t- when it is preceded by the negative particle a-.

di'mi he came, ati'mi he did not come.

DENOMINATIVE and COMPOUND VERBS.

258. Burushaski has no marked faculty for creating verbs. There is no general class of denominatives i.e. verbs derived directly from nouns or adjectives, though the following may be quoted:

From nouns:

| | | | |
|------------|-------------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| *-adurnyas | <i>to make use of, employ</i> | duro | <i>work.</i> |
| iltayayas | <i>to plaster</i> | tayay | <i>mud.</i> |
| d*-abtayas | <i>to prop up</i> | cp. tay(?) | <i>post, prop(?)</i> |
| do'qas | <i>to scell up</i> | do'q | <i>a scelling.</i> |
| du'ljaiyas | <i>to be sated</i> | *-u'l | <i>belly.</i> |
| duro'yas | <i>to do work</i> | duro | <i>work.</i> |

From adjectives:

| | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------------------------|----------|------------------------------|
| d*-aspapalas | v.t. <i>to whirl away (of wind)</i> | babal | <i>suspended in the air.</i> |
| d*-aspivanas | <i>to fill full</i> | bir | <i>full.</i> |
| du'chayuras | <i>to become cold</i> | chayurum | <i>cold.</i> |
| du'yandoras | <i>to be crooked</i> | yandir | <i>crooked.</i> |
| du'so'giyas | <i>to open, become undone</i> | su'qum | <i>loose.</i> |
| dutsanas | <i>to become straight</i> | tsan | <i>straight.</i> |
| o'woras | <i>to make cattle trample</i> | *-wara | <i>round,</i> |
| (u + *-aworas?) | <i>out grain</i> | adv. | <i>round about.</i> |

259. Such formations are exceptional. Hence when need arises to express in verbal form the conception pertaining to a non-verbal part of speech, recourse must be had to combining the noun, adjective, or whatever it may be, with a verb of suitable general application. Such combinations I here call Compound Verbs.

This need arises particularly, as is natural, where the noun or adjective is a word of foreign origin.

Persian and Arabic words are fairly common in these compounds, and the great majority of first elements, even when not Persian or Arabic, occur also in the vocabulary of Shina.

In the immense majority of cases the verbs pressed into the service to form compounds are:

*-atas, *to make*, and manas, *to become*.

A few other verbs, which will be mentioned later, are used in particular cases.

260. It will be readily seen that the category of compound verbs as defined above is a very loose one. In the majority of cases the compounds can equally well be regarded as the natural association of a verb with another part of speech, each behaving in its normal manner.

The distinction, so far as it is possible to make it, depends largely on the comparison with other languages which possess a simple verb presenting the meaning of the Burushaski compound, especially

where the Burushaski verb is of a general nature and not specially germane to the sense.

This is frequently the case where the verb is

etas or mana's
so: šu etas to rest.
gati mana's to assemble, collect, v.i.

Still there are composite verbal expressions in which the non-verbal element is not known to occur independently and cannot be defined as a noun, adjective, etc.

e.g. čur' etas to pluck (a flower).
qu' mana's to swing v.i.

and perhaps some in which the verb does not behave as it would if alone, e.g. where etas remains constant, instead of varying with the object to gotas, o'tas etc.

It is difficult to quote any certain case, but it seems that one may say either:

be'se gumušo (pl.) oča? } why dost thou lie?
or, be'se gumušo (pl.) eča? }

in the latter of which eča has not reacted to the plural object.

Compare also

usko pitimuta lap e'timi he put 3 flaps of bread into (B. K.'s) mouth.
Here, however, the e' of e'timi probably refers to the indirect object, B. K.

COMPOUNDS WITH *-ATAS OR ETAS.

261. The most generally used verb *-ATAS or ETAS forms compounds of several different types, the principal of which may here be mentioned and illustrated:

I. Adjective, Adverb or Noun + *-ATAS

yields a Transitive Verb.

a) The Pronoun Prefix represents the DIRECT OBJECT.

fat o'tin! let them go! damši ača' ke... if thou approvest me...
huda a'ta'n they have inoculated me. yu's riza numo satisfying his wife.

a'tan yu' kaš o'ti ke... if he slays his two sons.
ma gutešo ja dišulo be'se ya're oča'n? why do you bury your
corpses in my place?

For other examples see the Vocabulary s. vv. čau, čurut,
gati, jorpa, lel, odori, tak, talaq.

b) The Pronoun Prefix represents the INDIRECT OBJECT, or is an Ethic Dative.

u'ne hor besan xa'tir gočuman they will show thee every form
of respect (u'ne is genitive dependent on xa'tir, but cp. er
xa'tir ne showing respect to him).

u'lečmuts liš oča'n they close their eyes for them (corpses) (but
o' may refer to u'lečmuts).

o's mərə'k no (she) twisting their neck(s) for them.
Cp. mo-š mərə'k ne twisting her neck (i.e. turning her face
away).

o'tiñ maš a'(ti) massage my feet for me.
poritiñer kana.o o'tam he had enjoined on the peris.
kana.o mo instruct, advise her.

Kiser e'pimur milents numo, warts numo'tan. Kiser having
dispensed medicine to (i.e. having treated) his grandmother and
having cured her.

gute šorum askiltum jaš atiš gomai.ima? wilt thou be able to
remove (withdraw) this shame from my face (for me)?

hiñaš du.aq du.aq etas to knock at the door.

duwaq mo'včai he gives her a smack.

mo'mus čuru'k ma.oči he will cut off your tongue(s) (for you).

Purn.e yu's kat mo'tam... e'ym moram I' had laid an
injunction on his wife... he had said: "Dost give them to
him". 212.6

In some of these examples, however, and in many others, it is really impossible to determine with exactitude the case value of the Pronominal Prefix.

II. Noun + *-atas.

In a few idioms relating to *disease* or *sensation* the noun denoting it is the subject, and the person the object.

Were in English we say "I have, or am suffering from, something", Burushaski has "something affects, or afflicts, me".

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| čay wēi | I shall vomit (lit. vomiting will do me). |
| xus go-čila | thou art coughing (coughing affects thee). |
| kikiš ju.an wti bim | I had felt a sort of tickling on my feet (a tickling had affected me). |

jajam ačila I feel a burning sensation.

A very curious example is the idiom čara *-atas to have a remedy, resource, means of dealing with a situation.

| | |
|----------------------|--|
| čara go-čila? | hast thou any remedy (for this situation)? |
| čara siye-čilum | there was nothing he could do to remedy matters |
| besan čara ako-čila? | hast thou no remedy? canst thou do nothing? 144.7. |

No literal translation seems possible in English.

It is to be noted that one may also say:

čara biluman e'ta ba I have done what was possible. 148.19.

III. Noun + etas.

Here the noun is the object of etas (e.) and the combined result is an Intransitive Verb.

| | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| warda e. to make a promise. | teš e. to take oath. |
| ajab e. to marvel, be astonished. | tran e. to shoot. |
| thu e. to spit. | qan e. to shout out. |
| γor e. to sing. | čayā e. to narrate, converse. |

IV. Noun + etas.

This combination may also provide Transitive Verbs of which the action passes to an outside object frequently expressed in some oblique case:

| | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| inər lik etai.i (or, iči bui.i) | he has bribed him. |
| boriq odori etas | an information-seeker, spy. |
| ma gor eča ba | I am going to marry you (i.e. arrange your marriage). |

burt or izzat etimi he showed them much honour, respect.
M. D. e ka (epi) gar etimi i'mo ke gar etimi he married his grandmother to M. D. and he also himself married.

inər daš bark eti! punish him severely!
axone hile's ke dasinmo nika etasər when the mulla has married the youth and girl.

i'nc ilčumutsatc bə'n etimi he kissed (the child) on its eyes.
rai etas + dat. to express a desire to, make a request.

ja i'nər rai etam ko'le ju.əsər I requested him to come here.

or xabar etimi he informed them.

γuyar (y pl.) čərap etas to cut off the hair.

hik nal'a itai hē ne all together attacking, setting on, him.

or me'rma'ni ečai.i he makes them a present.

ər baxšiš eti! pardon me!

It is to be noted that there is a very large number of Transitive Compound Verbs which have been recorded only with the form etas, but which in all probability with suitable objects would prove to be *-atas compounds.

Again we may have the Pronominal Prefix coming into play to represent an Indirect Object. Cp. the phrase already given
mormus čur'uk ma.əči he will cut off your tongue(s) (for you).

V. Noun + *-atas.

Sometimes appears as the Causative of the Intransitive Combination of Noun + etas.

čurš etas to suck čurš *-atas to make suck, suckle.
(e'etas, mo.etas)

ha ha etas to charge, attack ha hu *-atas to cause to charge, attack.

Perhaps

γusul etas to wash (a corpse) γusul *-atas(?) to cause to wash(?)

Cp. γusul ne.itan gatun tu.a'γ ne.ibil making him wash and put on fresh clothes.

teš etas to take oath teš *-atas to make take oath.

COMPOUNDS with MANA'S and *-MANA'S.

262. This is the next most important verb used in forming Compounds. It provides in many cases the Intransitive complement to the Transitive compounds with *etas* and **-atas*.

ar etas to put in fear, frighten, threaten, etc. *ar *-MANA'S* to be in fear, be afraid, become afraid, etc.

da'l etas to raise, remove *da'l MANA'S* to get up, rise.

Occasionally either *MANA'S* or *etas* can be used with little distinction of meaning:

čal etas, *čal *-MANA'S* to quarrel.
tis etas to make a mistake, to miss. *tis MANA'S* to be in error, be wrong, or, **-MANA'S* commit a fault, go astray.

Sometimes *MANA'S* provides an impersonal form of statement, like the passive voice in English:

qau etimi he shouted *qau manimi* a shout became, there was a shout, a shout was heard, etc.

In the last example it will be noted that the conjoined word is itself the subject of the verb, which incidentally raises a question as to whether the phrase can fairly be regarded as a compound verb.

Where the subject is not the conjoined word, but something lying outside the compound, one would expect the conjoined word to be an adjective, but owing to the insecure distinction between nouns and adjectives in Burushaski this is not always, at least formally, the case. Cp. the compounds with *čal* & *tis* given above in which *čal* and *tis* must be nouns, and several examples of foreign nouns could be quoted. E.g.

*qavz *-MANA'S* to be constipated.
ruxnat MANA'S to be allowed to go, take one's leave.
 and inversely, *čup etas* to be silent.

263. The following examples will illustrate the use of *MANA'S* (m.), **-MANA'S* (*-m.) in composition:

i'te ki'te MANA'S to cross backwards and forwards, to be settled (of a dispute).

ep. i'te ki'te etas to exchange. *kar m.* to patrol.
badal m. to change v.i., be changed. *lam m.* to shine.
ep. badal etas to change v.t. *ep. lam etas* to light fire etc.
balan m. to writhe. *lel m.* to be known, appear.
buvr m. to set (of the sun). *ep. lel *-atas* to know, recognise,
čah m. to stick, adhere. *mo'q m.* to smile.
čito m. to separate v.i. *(-atč) p'al m.* to mount (a horse etc.)
*ep. čito *-atas* to separate v.t. *pfor m.* to retire, revolve.
dador m. to shiver, tremble. *ep. pfor etas (*-atas)* to repel,
draŋ m. to dismount. *rejest; twist, turn v.t.*
fat m. to be out of action. *pfur *-m.* to fall in love with.
*ep. fat *-atas* to leave, let go. *ep. pfur etas* to look at.
gati m. to assemble v.i. *sørke m.* to become visible.
*ep. gati *-atas* to collect, assemble v.t. *ep. sørke etas* to reveal.
yais m. to rear. *sorum *-m.* to be ashamed.
jil m. to rise (of the sun). *taš *-m.* to slip.
khap m. to fade, fall. *taataq m.* to trot.
wafat m. to die.

264. One or two peculiar *MANA'S* compounds may be mentioned

- *-MANTAŠ MANA'S* to help, assist.
gumantsa maiyam I shall help thee.
- PASO'M *-MANA'S* expresses hesitation, regret, deprecation, but it is difficult to determine the precise sense and give an exact translation in any given case.
 I have about 11 instances of its use. Twice it is glossed as "afsu's" and once as "dariv'". *PASO'M* can be used alone as an exclamation:
burt yunikišen bai, nusen, ja nii burt daltaban bo, PASO'M! je ki'ner aiyu'čam, senimi.
 "He is very ugly; my daughter is very beautiful", said he, "God forbid! I won't give her to him", he said. 160.22.
je PASO'M! yin aiyaso I protest! Don't call me a thief.
je PASO'M amaiyam, gute bər o'san do not say this thing. I deprecate it(?) I shall have cause to regret it(?) 118.13.

3. du'NAS.

| | |
|---------------|---|
| du's du'NAS | to butt, probably to "engage" in butting. |
| sulama du'NAS | to wrestle. |

4. dusuryas, su'yas & ditsas, Cs. d*-atsas, cp. § 244.

Compounds with dusuryas generally relate to adopting a state of mind. The process is also frequently represented impersonally by juryas, V. sub. sec. 6. below.

| | |
|--------------------------|---|
| daq dusuryas | to believe. |
| (su'yas and juryas). | |
| gute beror daq dusuryam | I believed this matter. |
| ja'tse daq s'udamana be? | will thou believe me or not? |
| dam dusuryas | to breathe (cp. Engl. "to fetch one's breath"). |
| (delas and juryas). | |

but,

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| dam ditsas | to charge, attack. |
| daq dusuryas (juryas) | to go to sleep. |
| *-mo's dusuryas | to become angry. |
| (su'yas and juryas). | |
| ine gu's but mamo's dusu born | the woman had become (was) very angry. |

| | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------------|
| imo's sulai | he has become angry. |
| Cs. *-mo's d*-atsas | to make angry, worry. |
| amo's nia'tso | don't worry me. |
| urq in bese imo's deša? | why dost thou anger, scorry him? |
| nazor dusuryas + dat | to aim at. |
| (juryas, etas). | |

| | |
|---|--|
| ^{-atē} -tse } rahm dusuryas, etas | to pity someone, have pity on, feel pity for |
| biri ditsas N. | to boil v.i. |
| biri d*-atsas | to make boil, boil v.t. |

5. ganas, yanas.

| | |
|---------------------|------------------------------------|
| badala ganas + abl. | to take revenge on. |
| do'q *-yanas | to take someone on one's shoulders |

| | |
|------------------|-------------------------------------|
| hukom ganas | to take, i.e. obey, an order. |
| ma't ganas | to take vengeance, revenge, avenge. |
| (gami.as, etas). | |
| ruza ganas | to keep the fast. |
| šaturgat ganas | to surround. |

6. juryas.

Compounds with juryas provide alternatives in almost every instance for those with dusuryas (q.v.). They can be rendered in most cases by the Engl. "to be affected by", but are literally "my etc. state or feeling etc. comes".

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| biri juryas | to boil v.i. |
| daq juryas | to believe, hope. |
| ja daq bila | I have hope. |
| ja daq šeučila | I have no hope (lit. my hope does not come). |
| dam juryas | to breathe. |
| daq juryas | to go to sleep. |
| tape dan atimi | at night I did not go to sleep. |
| gar juryas | to become giddy. |
| ja-k juryas | to feel pity. |
| au.e ja-k a-r di'n heram | pity for my father coming on me, I wept. |
| *-mo's juryas | to become angry. |
| pfute but imo's dimi | the Dio was enraged. |
| rahm juryas | to be filled with pity. |
| ine yu'e ine i' nitsin rahm dimi | his father, seeing his son |
| ine yue nits'in esulo ram dusurmi | (him) felt compassion. |
| | ("was moved with compassion". Luke XV. 20. R.V.) |

7. niyas.

Compounds of niyas occur only in a few phrases, in which the verb has its literal meaning of "to go", or else as in the vulgar English "to go bust".

| | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| šat niyas | to crack v.i. |
| šiki niyas (or, manas) | (of the polo ball) to "go out" |
| gatal niyas (or, gatsaras) | to walk, go on foot. |

| | |
|-------------|---------------|
| malak niyas | to fall over. |
| traq niyas | to crack v.i. |

8. WALAS, *-WALAS.

Compounds with *walas* occur only in one or two phrases.

čorči *walas* to come to one's senses.

hušar *walas* (or, *juyas*) to come to one's senses.

askur awala ba I have got smallpox.

askura iwala(?) }
askur e-wala(?) } he has caught smallpox.

(askur is, I think, actually a *rash*. The form in the compound is perhaps the general oblique).

ya're *walas* lit. to fall down, i.e. to be born (of a child).

THE PASSIVE VOICE.

267. There is no special passive conjugation of Transitive Verbs, but the Static Participle with passive meaning may be used with the substantive verb and with *mana's*, and the results may be equivalent to passive tenses:

har guntz aki'l du-ro etum bila every day such a thing is done.

gutz du-ro bešebautsum etum bila? since when is this thing done?
i.e. has it been done?

tami'nimo deni gutz du-ro etum bilum this was done last year.

gutčsum yar gutz duro etum mani bila (mani bilum) previously to
this, this thing has been done (had been done).

Cp. § 377.

In this connection the uses of the Infinitive of Transitive Verbs with a passive meaning is also to be considered v. §§ 401 and 404.

THE INFLECTION of the VERB.

268. It has already been generally stated that there is only one series of inflectional endings for verbs. This does not, however, mean that there is no variation in the form of those endings.

We have seen that all verbs have two bases — a Present Base and a Past Base. (V. §§ 210.7; 211—225.)

On these are built up two parallel series of main tenses, each pair having the same inflectional endings:

| PRESENT BASE. | PAST BASE. |
|---------------|-------------|
| Future | Preterite |
| Present | Perfect |
| Imperfect | Pluperfect. |

The other parts formed from the two bases respectively have been mentioned in § 210.7.

Characteristic of the endings of the Future and Preterite is *-m-*, though it does not occur in all persons, and there are a number of alternative forms in which it is lacking.

The Present and Perfect obviously employ to a greater or less extent the auxiliary verb *ba* I am, etc.

The Imperfect and Pluperfect similarly employ the past tense of the same auxiliary, *baiyam* I was, etc.

In regard to the last two pairs a difference arises in the conjugation of verbs according as their bases end in a consonant or a vowel (v. §§ 211 ff.). In certain parts of the verbs with consonantal bases the *b-* of the auxiliary verb is suppressed, or at least does not appear; in the same parts of verbs with vowel-bases the *b-* does appear. Only verbs with the past base ending in *-n* have the present base ending in a vowel (§ 221).

Thus: *ečai* he is doing, *mi bai* he is drinking.

Again, verbs with consonantal bases display a vowel before the *-m-* where it appears in the Future and Preterite endings, and before the *b* where it occurs in the other tenses. Where the past base ends in a vowel this terminal vowel dominates, either absorbing or modifying the vowel pertaining to the ending:

| | | | | | |
|----------|-------|--------|--------------|--------|----------------------------------|
| stas | st- | stimi | he did | etumo | she did. |
| gučaiyas | guča- | gučami | he lay down | gučamo | she lay down. (was confined). |
| tsuyas | tsu- | tsumi | he took away | tsumo | she took away. |
| niyas | ni- | nimi | he went | nimo | she went. |
| šaras | še- | šemi | he ate | šemo | she ate. |

269. With these principal considerations in mind we may proceed to examine the various types of conjugation.

It is necessary first to dispose of the parts of the verb *ba I am* etc. since, as well as being used independently, it enters into the conjugation of all other verbs.

It will be noted that the form of the 3rd person varies according as the subject is *h*, *x*, or *y*. In the singular, *hm* and *hf* are also distinguished.

THE VERB "TO BE".

(In the following paradigm the appropriate pronouns are supplied with the verbal forms).

Present Tense.

| Singular. | | Plural. | | |
|-----------|-----|-----------------|------|------------------------------------|
| 1. je | ba | <i>I am</i> | mi | bam <i>we are.</i> |
| 2. uny | ba | <i>thou art</i> | ma | bam <i>you are.</i> |
| 3. hm | ine | <i>he is</i> | {hm} | ue bam <i>they are.</i> |
| | hf | <i>she is</i> | {hf} | |
| x | ise | <i>it is</i> | x | irtse bi.en, bi.e <i>they are.</i> |
| y | ite | <i>it is</i> | y | ike bitsum, bita <i>they are.</i> |

Past Tense.

| | | | | |
|--------|--------|------------------|------|-----------------------------|
| 1. je | baiyam | <i>I was</i> | mi | bam <i>we were.</i> |
| 2. uny | bam | <i>thou wast</i> | ma | bam <i>you were.</i> |
| 3. hm | ine | <i>he was</i> | {hm} | ue bam <i>they were.</i> |
| | hf | <i>she was</i> | {hf} | |
| x | ise | <i>it was</i> | x | irtse bim <i>they were</i> |
| y | ite | <i>it was</i> | y | ike bitsum <i>they were</i> |

The forms of the Past Tense appear also to be used with the force of Static Participles, and it seems probable that the latter use was the original one. V. § 389.

NOTES.

1. It is open to question whether the vowels *a*, *i* and *o* following *b* should be marked long or short.

2. It is worth while noting the correspondence of vowel sounds to the category of the subject

a or *ä* occurring where the subj. is *h* except *hf* sg.
o " " " " " *hf* sg.
i " " " " " *x* or *y*.

3. Final *-n* is characteristic of the Present Plural.
 Final *-m* is characteristic of the Past Tense.

"NOT TO BE".

270. Negative forms of the verb "to be" are obtained by prefixing *a-* or *ä-* to the positive with the usual change of the following media to the corresponding tenuis, viz. *b* to *p*. This applies only to the verb when used independently. When used as an auxiliary the negative particle is prefixed to the principal verb:

Thus: *ditsa ba* *I have brought (him).*
ati'tsa ba *I have not brought (him).*

The following are the negative forms of the verb "to be". Those in brackets are hypothetical, not having actually been recorded:

Present Tense.

| Singular. | | Plural. | |
|-----------|-----------------------|-----------|-------------------------------|
| 1. apa | <i>I am not</i> | 1. apam | <i>we are not.</i> |
| 2. apa | <i>thou art not</i> | 2. (apam) | <i>you are not.</i> |
| 3. apa.i | <i>he is not</i> | 3. hmf | apam <i>they are not.</i> |
| | apo <i>she is not</i> | | |
| x | api <i>it is not</i> | x | api.en <i>they are not.</i> |
| y | api <i>it is not</i> | y | (api.en) <i>they are not.</i> |

Past Tense.

| | | | |
|------------|-------------------------|-----------|-----------------------------|
| 1. apaiyam | <i>I was not</i> | 1. (apam) | <i>we were not.</i> |
| 2. (apam) | <i>thou wast not</i> | 2. (apam) | <i>you were not.</i> |
| 3. apam | <i>he was not</i> | 3. hmf. | apam <i>they were not.</i> |
| | apom <i>she was not</i> | | |
| x | api'm <i>it was not</i> | x | api'm <i>they were not.</i> |
| y | api'm <i>it was not</i> | y | api'm <i>they were not.</i> |

-š form: *apiš* not being. *Barbar apiš xa* so long as the *Barbar* (water-channel) did not exist, i.e. until it was constructed.

NOTES.

1. The accent usually falls on the second syllable; but one sometimes hears 'arpi.
2. The absence of y forms (†arpi'da, †arpi'tsan etc.) and the employment of x forms in their place is curious. No y forms were recorded and their existence was definitely denied.

271. The following uncommon forms all appear to be derived from this verb:

bačan (-tse).

baš.

bilīčan (-tse).

bilīš.

1. **BAČAN** has only twice been certainly recorded in the form *bačantse*:

je bačantse, which is glossed as being equivalent to Kho. *ma asika* "in my being".

Nuširwan taxtate bačantse (or, *hamantse*) owing to N. being on the throne. 96.22,

where it is glossed Hind. *ho'ne se* from (his) being.

Possibly identical with this is *bačen* occurring repeatedly in one passage in the sense of *in place of, as, in the quality of*.

The gentleman addressed was no relation of the lady's, but was in love with her and declined to be lured into any relationship that would be a bar to matrimony. Eventually the lady says: *hapku.in bačen ayun*, in the character of husband give me them, 14.15, and he then complies.

In form it is identical with the Khovar postposition *bačen* for the sake of, on behalf of which would make possible sense, but an isolated borrowing of this sort from Khovar is highly improbable. Note that it does not take the noun in an oblique case.

2. **BAŠ** is only recorded once in:

edelin, te.i baš etin don't beat him, let him be as he is. 120.14 (where *etin* has been accidentally omitted).

*-atan preceded by the optative etc. form in -š is a regular idiom for *to let, allow*.

in niš eti let him go.

niš ayoti don't let them go.

baš is probably this form of *ba* I am.

3. **bilīčan** and **bilīš** are each recorded only once:

Baxtekale waziri bilīčantse owing to the wazirship being in the hands of Bakhtek. 96.23.

(kritap) ko'de bilīš nuse fat etam I had left the book, saying "let it remain here". 70.5.

The forms appear to be y equivalents of *bačan* and *baš* referable to the base of the Indicative forms *bila* and *bilew*. It will be noted that in the recorded examples, while *bačan* and *baš* both refer to h subjects, *bilīčan* and *bilīš* refer to y subjects.

Attention should also be directed to the negative form *apiš* i.e. *a+biš* given above § 270 end. It also appears to be recorded only once. It refers to an x subject *got'sil* and appears to be based on *bi*.

We have therefore a series of parallel forms, three in -š, and two, probably three, in -čan:

| | | |
|---|-------|----------|
| h | baš | bačan. |
| x | biš | (bičan?) |
| y | bilīš | bilīčan. |

CONJUGATION of the VERB.

272. The most important features of the Conjugation of the Burushaski will be illustrated by the following:¹

¹ At a very early stage in my study of Burushaski I obtained fairly complete paradigms of *etas*, *manas*, *niyas* and *juyas* from Nazar. These cannot be regarded as entirely reliable, even as a statement of Nazar's speech, and some of the forms Imam Yar Beg would probably have denounced as Atāhadisms. The paradigm of *etas* I subsequently checked with I. Y. B.

All I have now been able to do is to collect all the forms to be found in my texts, which represent Imam Yar Beg's speech, and use them to correct or supple-

1. The full paradigm of *etas to do* as a fairly normal verb and one of the commonest in use.
 2. Verb with Infinitive in *-as* and past base in *-n*, *manas to become*.
 3. Intransitive verb with pronominal prefixes as subject: Infinitive in *-as* and past base in *-n*, **-manas to become*.
 4. Verbs with past base in *-a (-as)* and *-e*.
 5. Verbs with past base in *-i*, *nijas to go*.
 6. Verbs with past base in *-u*, *juyas to come*, etc.
 7. Transitive verbs with pronominal prefixes relating to the Direct or Indirect Object.
 8. Verbs with pronominal prefixes followed by *-a* or *-as*.
 9. Verbs in *d**.
 10. Verbs in *d*-a-* and *d*-as-*.
273. It may be recalled here that the subject of Intransitive Verbs is expressed in the simple form of the Nominative, while with the Past-Base tenses of Transitive Verbs the subject is expressed in the extended form of the Nominative, the "Transitive Nominative". With the Present-Base tenses of Transitive Verbs the subject is usually in the simple, sometimes in the extended, form of the Nominative. V. §§ 59-60.

274.

ETAS to do, make.

| Present Base eš- | | Past Base et- | |
|---|--|--|--|
| Future. | | | |
| Singular. | | Plural. | |
| 1. ešam. | | 1. ešan, ešen. | |
| 2. ešuma. | | 2. ešuman. | |
| 3. { hm ešimi, eši. hf ešumo, ešo. x ešimi. y ešimi. | | 3. { hmf ešuman. x eši.en, eši.e. y ešimi. | |

ment the early paradigms, and provide outlines for others. Of many verbs I obtained illustrative parts by direct inquiry.

| Singular. | | Plural. | |
|---|--|--|--|
| <i>Present.</i> | | | |
| 1. eša ba. | | 1. eša ba'n. | |
| 2. eša. | | 2. ešarn. | |
| 3. { hm ešai.i. hf eša bo. x eši bi. y eši bi'la, ešila. | | 3. { hmf ešarn. x (eši bi'en?), eši.en, eši.e. y ešitsan. | |
| <i>Imperfect.</i> | | | |
| 1. eša baiyam. | | 1. eša bam. | |
| 2. eš'am. | | 2. eš'am. | |
| 3. { hm eš'am. hf ešu bo'm. x eši bim. y eši bi'lum, ešilum. | | 3. { hmf eš'am. x eši bim. y eši bitsum. | |
| <i>Conditional.</i> | | | |
| 1. ešam tse (<i>I would, do, would have done</i>). | | 1. (ešan tse?) | |
| 2. (ešum tse?) | | 2. (ešum tse?) | |
| 3. hmf, x, y (ešum tse?) | | 3. hxy (ešum tse?) | |
| <i>Preterite.</i> | | | |
| 1. etam, eta. | | 1. etuman, etan. | |
| 2. etuma, (eta). | | 2. etuman, etan. | |
| 3. { hm etimi, eti. hf etumo, (eto). x etimi, (eti). y etimi, eti. | | 3. { hm } etuman, (etan). hf } x etimi.en, eti.en, eti.e. y etimi, (eti). | |
| <i>Perfect.</i> | | | |
| 1. eta ba. | | 1. etan. | |
| 2. etav. | | 2. etan. | |
| 3. { hm etai.i. hf etu bo. x eti bi. y eti bi'la, etila. | | 3. { hm } etan. hf } x eti bi.en. y eti bitaan, (eti'taan). | |

| Singular. | | Plural. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---------|-------|---|----|------------|---|---|-----------|---|---|----------------------|----|--|---|----|--------|---|----|--------|---|---|-----------|---|---|--------------|
| <i>Pluperfect.</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1. | eta baiyam. | 1. | et'am. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2. | et'am. | 2. | et'am. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3. | <table border="0"> <tr><td>{</td><td>hm</td><td>e'um.</td></tr> <tr><td>{</td><td>hf</td><td>ete b'o'm.</td></tr> <tr><td>{</td><td>x</td><td>eti bi'm.</td></tr> <tr><td>{</td><td>y</td><td>eti bir'um, eti'lum.</td></tr> </table> | { | hm | e'um. | { | hf | ete b'o'm. | { | x | eti bi'm. | { | y | eti bir'um, eti'lum. | 3. | <table border="0"> <tr><td>{</td><td>hm</td><td>et'am.</td></tr> <tr><td>{</td><td>hf</td><td>et'am.</td></tr> <tr><td>{</td><td>x</td><td>eti bi'm.</td></tr> <tr><td>{</td><td>y</td><td>eti bir'sum.</td></tr> </table> | { | hm | et'am. | { | hf | et'am. | { | x | eti bi'm. | { | y | eti bir'sum. |
| { | hm | e'um. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| { | hf | ete b'o'm. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| { | x | eti bi'm. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| { | y | eti bir'um, eti'lum. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| { | hm | et'am. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| { | hf | et'am. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| { | x | eti bi'm. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| { | y | eti bir'sum. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Imperative.</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2. | eti, e. | 2. | etin. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Deprecatory Imperative.</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2. | eti'a, eta. | 2. | etina. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Form in -š (-š). Injunctive, Optative etc.</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3. | etiš, | 3. | etišan. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Participles.</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Active. Present (Continuous).</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | e'umε | doing, continuing to do. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Past.</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | netan, ne, | having done, doing. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Passive & Active.</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Static (denoting state).</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3. | etum | done, having done (pl. etumšo). | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | (1st. sg. & pl. etam, other persons etum?) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Infinitive and Noun of Action.</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | etas | to do, doing. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Noun Agent.</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | etas pl. etaso | doer. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Gerund and Gerundive.</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | etas | to do, to be done. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Final: Present Base + or.</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | e'or. | for the purpose of doing. in order to do, for doing. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

NOTES.

175. 1. The accent is usually on the initial vowel (which I have frequently marked long) unless there is a long vowel in the second syllable: e.g. 1. pl. perf. et'am.

A long vowel in the 3rd syllable carries either the main or a subsidiary accent.

The forms etam of the pluperfect usually have the accent on the second syllable: et'am. I have sometimes recorded it as et'am or etam.

e'um of the Imperfect also tends to have the accent on the second syllable: e'um.

2. Recorded variants are:

| | | |
|-------------------|-----------|--|
| Pres. 3rd. sg. hm | e'cu.ai | Impf. 2nd. 3rd. sg. and pl. |
| 2nd. pl. | e'cwara'n | e'cuwam. |
| Perf. 2nd. sg. | etuwa | Plup. 2nd. 3rd. sg. h. 1st. 2nd. 3rd. pl. h. |

1st. 2nd.

3rd. pl. h etuwa'n

eta'm.

These forms are said to be used by the people of Aliabad and to be inferior.

3. I have once recorded a form, (tran) etate said to be equivalent to (tran) etan ke, if ice divided, which is apparently the Past base + -ate, but v. § 407. c.
4. The Imperative singular eti, for which one would expect et, is unusual, but can be paralleled, v. § 318.2.

The short Imperative singular e and the p.p.c. act. ne postulate a short past base *-a.

5. It will be remembered that etas is only one form of the pronominal prefix verb *-atas which has infinitives atas, gotas, etas, motas, metas, matas, otas, all similarly conjugated. V. §§ 297. II and 298.4.
6. The y forms of this Transitive verb were given me, without remark, with such subjects as tsil and hara'it, hara'itiy. Cp. Note following § 25.

276.

MAN'AS, to become.

Pres. Base: mai.i, mai.i, mei. etc. Past Base: man-.

Future.

| Singular. | | Plural. |
|-----------|-----------|---------------|
| 1. | maiya'm | maiya'n. |
| 2. | msi.ima | mai.iman. |
| 3. hm | mai.imi } | hmf mai.iman. |
| hf | mai.imo } | |
| x | mai.imi | |
| y | mai.imi | |

Present.

| | | |
|-------|-----------|---------------|
| 1. | maiya ba | maiya ba'n. |
| 2. | mai ba | mai ba'n. |
| 3. hm | mai bai } | hmf mai ba'n. |
| hf | mai bo } | |
| x | mai bi | |
| y | mai bi'la | |

Imperfect.

| | | |
|-------|--------------|--------------|
| 1. | maiya baiyam | (mai bam). |
| 2. | mai bam | (mai bam). |
| 3. hm | mai bam } | hmf mai bam. |
| hf | (mai bo'm) } | |
| x | mai bi'm | |
| y | mai bi'lem | |

Conditional.

3. me.im tse, moim tse.

Preterite.

| | | | |
|-------|------------------|-------|---------------------------------|
| 1. | mana'm, (-mana) | 1. | manu'man, (-manan). |
| 2. | manu'ma, mana | 2. | manu'man. |
| 3. hm | mani'mi | 3. hm | manu'man. |
| hf | manu'mo, (-manu) | hf | |
| x | mani'mi, mani | x | mani'mi.en, mani'mi.c, mani.en. |
| y | mani'mi, mani | y | mani'mi, mani. |

§ 277.

Perfect.

| Singular. | | Plural. | | |
|-----------|---------------------|---------|-----------|------------------------------------|
| 1. | mana ba | 1. | manuwa'n. | |
| 2. | manuwa | 2. | manuwa'n. | |
| 3. hm | manuwai | 3. hm | manuwa'n. | |
| hf | manu bo | hf | | |
| x | mani bi | x | | mani bi.en. |
| y | mani bi'la, mani'la | y | | mani bi'tsan; mani'tsan, mani'tsa. |

Pluperfect.

| | | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|-------|----------|---------------|
| 1. | mana baiyam | 1. | manuwam. | |
| 2. | manuwam | 2. | manuwam. | |
| 3. hm | manuwam, manu'am | 3. hm | manuwam. | |
| hf | manu bo'm | hf | | |
| x | mani bi'm | x | | mani bi'm. |
| y | mani bi'lem, mani'dum | y | | mani bi'tsum. |

Imperative.

| | | | |
|-------------|--------------------|----|-----------------|
| 2. | mane | 2. | mani'n, man'in. |
| | (negative, o'man). | | |
| Form in -j. | | | |
| 3. | mani's | 3. | mani'jan. |
| | (neg., o'man's). | | |

Participles.

Present. mai.ime.

Past Act. num'an, num'a.

Stative. 3. manum.

Infinitive, Noun Agent, Gerundive.

mana's pl. mana'so.

Final. Present Base + -ar.

mai'ar, mai'ar.

NOTES.

277. 1. manumi occurs for mani'mi. There appears to be a tendency towards this change of vowel in verbs with bases in -n. Thus: senumi : senimi; ber'enumi, etc.

2. The Preterite short forms shown in brackets, -MANU, -MANU and -MANAN are recorded in the verbs *-MANAS, d°-AMANAS and *-AMANAS respectively.

3. O'MAS occurs once as the negative of MANIŠ, probably for O'MADŠ: or taklīf o'mas may there be no trouble for them.

*-M'ANAS, to become.

278. There is no radical difference in conjugation between this verb and MANA'S, but the shift of accent produced by the addition of a syllable at the beginning shortens long vowels where they occur in the second syllable of MANA'S. Thus:

Future. 1st. sg. am'aiyam 1st. pl. min'aiyan

Preterite.

| | Sg. | | Pl. |
|----|----------------------|-----|----------------|
| 1. | am'anam, amana | | (nim'anuman). |
| 2. | gud'anuma | | mim'anuman. |
| 3. | hm im'animi, iramumi | hmf | um'anuman. |
| | hf mmm'anumo | x | uman'imī.ē(n). |

In the Perfect, however, so far as the forms are known, the accent is somewhat irregular:

Perfect.

| | | |
|----|---------------|-----------|
| 1. | am'ana ba | mim'an'n. |
| 2. | guman'a. | |
| 3. | hm im'an'i.i. | |
| | hf mumanu bo. | |

Pluperfect, (only recorded forms).

| | |
|----|----------------|
| 1. | am'ana baiyam. |
| 3. | hm im'anam. |

Imperative.

| | | |
|----|-------|-----------------------|
| 2. | guman | a-m'anani (negative). |
|----|-------|-----------------------|

Forms in -š.

No forms corresponding to maniš are on record, but there is a special series running apparently through all three persons with the vowel before the š omitted.

The sense is optative and the forms recorded are:

| | Sg. | Pl. |
|----|------------|-------------------|
| 1. | am'anš | mimanšan, mimanē. |
| 2. | gum'anš | — mamanš. |
| 3. | hm im'anš | umanšan, u'manš. |
| | hf mumanš. | |

Verbs with infinitives in -nas seem regularly to have the š or ē (ē?) attached immediately after the -n, e.g. durnš, senē, etc.

Participles.

| | | | |
|-----------------|------------|------------|------------------|
| <i>Present.</i> | 3rd. sg. | imlime | he becoming. |
| <i>Stative.</i> | 1st. sg. | amanam | I being. |
| | 2nd. sg. | gumanum | thou being. |
| | 3rd. sg. x | imamum | it being. |
| | 2nd. pl. | (a)maranum | you (not) being. |
| | 3rd. pl. | umanum | they being. |

Past Active: The following forms have been recorded:

| | Sg. | Pl. |
|----|--------------|-------------|
| 1. | nadan | nimi'man. |
| 2. | nuku'man | nimm'man. |
| 3. | hm ni'man | hmf nu'man. |
| | hf nudu'man. | |
| | x ni'man | x nu'man. |

Infinitive.

*-MANAS, recorded in: imanas and mimanas.

Professor Siddheshwar Varma has found a "'would' subjunctive" of this verb:

1st. sg. am'anese. Cp. §§ 313 A and 405.

INFINITIVES in -a's.

279. A characteristic of all verbs which have -a's in the Infinitive, excepting those like manas in which the -a's is preceded by n, is that their present bases end in .ē.

This feature also characterises all verbs whose past base ends in a vowel. This base vowel also absorbs or affects the vowels of the endings with which it comes in contact.

VOWEL BASES.

280. The first series of verbs with vowel-bases which I shall illustrate are those whose infinitives end in

-ai(y)AS, -e(y)AS and -e(y)AS.

I do not think that in general a hard and fast distinction is to be regarded as existing between these three forms.

I know of only a couple of verbs in which -e(y)AS seems really to represent a past base ending in -e, viz.

di.eYAS to stand up.

še.YAS to eat (a y object).

Otherwise, interchange between ai and e is frequent, and interchange also occurs between ai and e, and all three seem really to represent a past base ending in -a or -ā. This vowel -a is found as the final in the Imperative singular.

The present base varies between

-ač, -ač, -æč and -eč, and even -eč.

Verbs in -eYAS have -eč and -eč.

281. Some verbs with bases ending in a consonant, or a vowel other than -a, have alternative or additional forms with an added -a, sometimes with some modification of form and meaning:

| Inf. | Pres. Base. | Pret. | |
|------------------------------------|-------------|-----------|------------------|
| *-atsi.AS | *-atsič. | etsimi | to press. |
| etsaiYAS | etsač. | — | to infix, plant. |
| Cp. also d*-atsi.AS and detsaiYAS. | | | |
| buyAS (y?) | buč. | bumi | } to dry up. |
| buyai.AS (y?) | buyač. | buyami | |
| duYAS | duč. | (duy.) | } to melt. |
| (duyai.AS) | duyeč. | — | |
| garʔAS | garʔ. | garʔeuman | } to run. |
| garčaiYAS | — | garčaman | |

| Inf. | Pres. Base. | Pret. | |
|------------|-------------|-----------|--------------------------|
| giYAS | gič. | giʔman | to go into, plunge into. |
| giyai.AS | giyač. | giʔaman | to come down, fall. |
| huruʔAS | huruš. | huruʔtam | } to sit. |
| huručai.AS | — | huručaman | |

No present base forms of garčaiYAS or huručaiYAS have been recorded.

Conjugation of verbs in -AI(Y)AS, -e.AS.

282. I cannot give a complete paradigm of a verb in -aiYAS, but typical parts can be supplied from a number of different verbs.

I use the following:

| Inf. | Pres. Base. | |
|-------------------|-------------|---|
| 1. *-arše.AS | *-aršeč. | to be drunk. |
| | *-aršač. | |
| 2. *-astaqaiYAS | *-astaqač. | to hide v.t. |
| 3. baYalte.AS | baYaltač. | to become mad. |
| 4. bišaiYAS | bišač. | to fling. |
| 5. buyai.AS | buyač. | to become dry. |
| 6. daYaiYAS | daYač. | to hide v.i. |
| 7. duwaše.AS | duwašač. | to come out, go out. |
| 8. giyai.AS | giyač. | to fall (of snow etc.). |
| 9. gučaiYAS | gučač. | to lie down, be delivered (of a child). |
| 10. herai.AS | herač. | to urinate. |
| 11. huljaiYAS | huljač. | to mount (a horse). |
| 12. huručaiYAS | — | to sit, be seated. |
| 13. *-ltaiyAS | *-ltač. | to put on (shoes etc.). |
| 14. thaiYAS | thač. | to go out (of fire). |
| 15. *-tsi thaiYAS | *-tsi thač. | to follow (after someone). |
| 16. *-uše.AS | *-ušeč. | to rear, nurture, foster. |
| 17. yaiYAS | yač, yeč. | to strike (on, against). |
| 18. *-yaiYAS | *-yač. | to obtain. |

The composite paradigm, as far as it can be constructed from the material I possess, is as follows:

| <i>Future.</i> | | | |
|-------------------|---|-------|-----------------------------|
| | Sing. | | Plur. |
| 1. | gučacām 9 | 1. | duwašacān 7, iltačan 13. |
| 2. | dayacūma 6 guyacūma 9 | 2. | — |
| 3. | gučāci 9 | 3. | — |
| <i>Present.</i> | | | |
| 1. | — | 1. | miyeča bān 18. |
| 2. | — | 2. | — |
| 3. hm | gučācāii 9 | 3. hm | nyācān 18, oštaqācān 2. |
| hf | gučācū bo 9 | x | duwašācīc 7, giyācīcān 8. |
| x | yāci bi, yeči bi 17 | y | gi.ācītsa, gi.ēcītsan 8. |
| y | tačīla 14 | | |
| <i>Imperfect.</i> | | | |
| 1. | — | | |
| 2. | — | | |
| 3. hm | — | | |
| hf | gučācū bōm 9 | | |
| x | — | | |
| y | — | | |
| <i>Preterite.</i> | | | |
| 1. | dayāiyam 6, bišāiyam 4 | | |
| 2. | gučāma 9, gōrsama 1 bayaltama 3 | | |
| 3. hm | gučāmi 9 | 3. hm | duwašāman 7, bišāman 4. |
| hf | gučāmo 9 | | |
| x | yami 16 | x | gi.ami.cān 8, duwašemi.c 7 |
| y | yami 16 | y | giyami 8. |
| <i>Perfect.</i> | | | |
| 1. | apa-yaltaiya ba 3 (neg. of bayaltaiya ba) huljaya ba 11 | | |
| 2. | guča ba 9, gōrsūia 1, bayalta ba 3 | | |

| | | <i>Sing.</i> | | <i>Plur.</i> | |
|------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------|--|--------------|--|
| 3. hm | guča bai 9, hulja bai 11 | 3. hmf. | huruča bān 12, irtai tha bān 15, hulja bān 11. | | |
| hf | guča bo 9, hulja bo 11 | | | | |
| x | guča bi 9 | x | — | | |
| y | tha bi'la 14 | y | gi.ā bitsa 8, buya birtsan 5. | | |
| <i>Pluperfect.</i> | | | | | |
| 1. | gučāiya baiyam 9 | | | | |
| 2. | — | | | | |
| 3. hm | guča bām 9 | 3. hmf | yuša bām 16. | | |
| hf | guča bōm 9 | | | | |
| x | hara bi'm 10 | x | gi.ā bi'm 8. | | |
| y | — | y | duwaša bitsam 7. | | |
| <i>Imperative.</i> | | | | | |
| 2. | guča 9, biša 4 hulja 11 | 2. | bišai.in 4, hulja.in 11. | | |
| <i>Form in -j.</i> | | | | | |
| 3. | yāš 17, taš 14. | | | | |
| <i>Participles.</i> | | | | | |
| <i>Present.</i> | irtai thačūme 15. | | | | |
| <i>Past.</i> | 2nd. sg. nuko-ršan. | | | | |
| | 3rd. sg. hm. neršan. | | | | |
| | 3rd. pl. hmf. noršan 1. | | | | |
| | nipišan 4 | nuljan (-en) 11. | | | |
| | nutayan 6 | nuvučan (-an) 12. | | | |
| | duwašan 7 | nultan 13. | | | |
| | nukučan 9 | n'vušan, nyušan 3rd. sg. hm. 16 | | | |
| <i>Stative.</i> | | | | | |
| | ostaqam 3rd. sg. hm. 2 | huručam 12. | | | |
| | bišam 4 | yušam 16. | | | |
| <i>Infinitive etc.</i> | | | | | |
| | gučāiyas, etc. | | | | |

283. **Forms of verbs in -E'YAS.**

| | | | | | |
|---------------------|--|------------|----------|--|--------------|
| | šer ^o yas | to eat (y) | | di.e ^o yas | to stand up. |
| <i>Infinitive.</i> | šer ^o yas, šer ^o as. | | | di.e ^o yas, di.e ^o as. | |
| <i>Future.</i> | | | | | |
| sg. 1 | šečam | | sg. 1 | di.e'čam. | |
| <i>Present.</i> | | | | | |
| sg. 1 | šeča ba | | sg. 3 hm | di.e'čai.i. | |
| | | | hf | di.e'čubo. | |
| | | | x | di.e'či bi. | |
| pl. 3 x | šeči.en. | | | | |
| <i>Imperfect.</i> | | | | | |
| pl. 3 h | šečam | | sg. 3 h | di.e'čam. | |
| | | | pl. 3 h | di.e'čam. | |
| <i>Preterite.</i> | | | | | |
| sg. 1 | šer ^o yam | | sg. 1 | di.e(y)am. | |
| 3 hm | šer ^o mi | | 3 hm. | di.e'mi. | |
| neg. | o'šimi | | neg. | ati.e'mi. | |
| pl. 3 hm | šer ^o man | | pl. 3 | di.e'man, d'i.e'man. | |
| <i>Perfect.</i> | | | | | |
| sg. 3 hm | še bai.i | | sg. 1 | di.e ^o ya ba. | |
| | | | 2 | di.e ba. | |
| | | | 3 hm | di.e bai.i. | |
| <i>Pluperfect.</i> | | | | | |
| sg. 3 hm | še bam. | | | | |
| <i>Imperative.</i> | | | | | |
| sg. 2 | še | | sg. 2 | di.e, di.e. | |
| | | | neg. | ati.a. | |
| | | | pl. 2 | di.e'n. | |
| <i>Participles.</i> | | | | | |
| <i>Present.</i> | šečume. | | | | |
| <i>Past Act.</i> | nušen, nuše | | | di.en. | |
| <i>Static.</i> | šer ^o m | | sg. 3 | di.e'm. | |

284. **CONJUGATION of VERBS with PAST BASE in -i.**

This category comprises several verbs in very common use:

| | |
|---------|--------------------------------------|
| niyas | to go. |
| *-či.as | to give (sg. y. object v. § 231. d). |
| giyas | to enter, and to throw. |
| ši.as | to eat (sg. x object v. § 252). |

NIYAS, NI'AS to go.

| | | | | | |
|-------|---------------------|-------|--------|------------------|-------|
| | Present Base | nič. | | Past Base | nič. |
| | <i>Future.</i> | | | | |
| | | Sing. | | | Plur. |
| 1. | ničam | | 1. | ničen. | |
| | ničuma | | 2. | ničnman. | |
| 3. hm | ničimi, niči | | 3. hmf | ničuman. | |
| hf | ničimo, niču | | x | niči.en, niči.e. | |
| x | ničimi | | y | — | |
| y | niči | | | | |
| | <i>Present.</i> | | | | |
| 1. | niča ba | | 1. | niča barn. | |
| 2. | niča | | 2. | ničan. | |
| 3. hm | ničai.i | | 3. hmf | ničan. | |
| hf | niču bo | | x | niči.en(?) | |
| x | niči bi | | y | — | |
| y | niči bi'la, niči'la | | | | |
| | <i>Imperfect.</i> | | | | |
| 1. | — | | | | |
| 2. | — | | | | |
| 3. hm | ničam(?) | | | | |
| hf | — | | | | |
| x | niči bi'm | | | | |
| y | — | | | | |
| | <i>Preterite.</i> | | | | |
| 1. | ni.am | | 1. | ni'man. | |
| 2. | ni'ma | | 2. | ni'man. | |

| | | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------|-------------------|
| 3. hm | nîmi | 3. hmf | nîman. |
| | hf | | |
| | nîmo | | |
| | x | x | nîmi,x. |
| | y | y | nîmi. |
| | <i>Perfect.</i> | | |
| 1. | nîa ba | 1. | nî ban. |
| 2. | nî ba | 2. | nî ban. |
| 3. hm | nî bai,j | 3. hmf | nî ban. |
| | hf | | |
| | nî bo | | |
| | x | x | nî bi,x. nî bîen. |
| | y | y | nî bîtsan. |
| | <i>Pluperfect.</i> | | |
| 1. | nîa baiyam | 1. | nî ban. |
| 2. | nî ban | 2. | nî ban. |
| 3. hm | nî ban | 3. hmf | nî ban. |
| | hf | | |
| | nî bôn | | |
| | x | x | nî bîm. |
| | y | y | nî bîtsam. |
| | <i>Imperative.</i> | | |
| 2. | nî | 2. | nîn. |
| | <i>Deprecatory Imperative.</i> | | |
| 2. | — | 2. | nîna. |
| | <i>Forms in -i.</i> | | |
| 3. | nîš | 3. | nîšen. |
| | <i>Participles.</i> | | |
| | <i>Present.</i> — | | |
| <i>Past.</i> | 1. | 1. | nîmən, nîmənîn. |
| | 2. | 2. | nîmən, nîmənîn. |
| | 3. hm | 3. hmf | nîmən, nîmîn. |
| | hf | | |
| | nîmən | | |
| <i>Stative.</i> | 3. | 3. | nîm. |
| <i>Infinitive etc.</i> | nîyas, nîzas. | | |
| <i>Final. Present Base + ar.</i> | nîčar. | | |

285. NOTES.

1. The vowel of nîč- might be marked long throughout except when followed by a long vowel.

The *i* of the Preterite is usually decidedly long.

2. The vowel system of the Past Participle is anomalous:

nîm and nîm would require nukəm, numəm and nîmîn, but these forms I have never met with, nor, on the other hand have I met nēm or nom. Nam and namən in virtue of their long vowel favour nukəm and numəm.

3. The Static Participle nîm appears to be invariable in the 3rd. person.

4. The form omitsum occurs twice in the phrase buš guntšiy omitsum *after many days had not passed*; omanitsum is given as an alternative. In this form ni probably represents the short 3rd. sg. Pret. and -tsum the postposition (v. §§ 407. b and 75. V. a.).

CONJUGATION of VERBS with PAST BASE in -u.

286. Several very common verbs fall under this head:

| | |
|--------|--|
| suɣas | } <i>to bring</i> (y. objects v. § 231 d.) |
| duɣas | |
| tsuɣas | <i>to take away.</i> |
| ʔ-ɣas | <i>to give</i> (x or h. objects v. § 231 d.) |
| juɣas | <i>to come.</i> |

This last is the only "irregular" verb which I have met in Burushaski. It draws on another root for its Pret., Perf., Plup., Past Participle and Static Participle. This second root appears to be

dʔ- with lapses into dʔ-a.

As juɣas is an important verb I shall give its paradigm as completely as I can and then illustrate the past tenses of the normal verb in -u from other verbs.

287.

JU'YAS to come.

Present Base juč-. Past Base juč-, and d*-, d*-A-.

I. Forms based on ju-

Future.

| Sing. | | Plur. | |
|-------|--------------|--------|------------|
| 1. | jučam | 1. | jučan. |
| 2. | jučuma | 2. | jučuman. |
| 3. hm | jučimi, juči | 3. hmf | jučnman. |
| hf | jučo | | |
| x | juči | x | juči.e(n). |
| y | juči | y | (juči?) |

Present.

| | | | |
|-------|---------|--------|------------|
| 1. | juča ba | 1. | juča bān. |
| 2. | juča | 2. | jučān. |
| 3. hm | jučai.i | 3. hmf | jučān. |
| hf | jučo bo | | |
| x | juči bi | x | juči.en. |
| y | juči.la | y | juči.taan. |

Imperfect.

| | | |
|-------|-------------|---|
| 1. | juča baiyam | — |
| 2. | — | — |
| 3. hm | jučam | — |
| hf | jučo bōm | — |
| x | — | — |
| y | juči.lum | — |

Imperative.

| | | | |
|----|----|----|---------------------------------------|
| 2. | ju | 2. | juvin (<i>Deprecatory, juvina</i>). |
|----|----|----|---------------------------------------|

Form in -š.

| | | | |
|----|-----|----|--------|
| 3. | juš | 3. | jušen. |
|----|-----|----|--------|

Participle.

Present. jučume.

Infinitive, Noun Agent, etc. ju'yas, ju'as.

Final. Pres. Base + ar. jučar.

The accent falls on the first syllable except where there is a long vowel in the second syllable.

II. Forms based on d*-, d*-A-.

Preterite.

| Sing. | | Plur. | |
|-------|------------------|--------|--------------------------|
| 1. | daiyam | 1. | dime'man. |
| 2. | duko'ma, duko'ya | 2. | dama'man. |
| 3. hm | dimi; di.a, di.e | 3. hmf | du'man, du'yan. |
| hf | dumo'mo, dumo'yo | | |
| x | dimi | x | du'mi.e; du'yeu, du'yan. |
| y | dimi | y | dimi. |

Perfect.

| | | | |
|-------|-------------------|--------|------------|
| 1. | daiya ba, d'ya ba | 1. | dime bān. |
| 2. | duko'wa | 2. | dama bān. |
| 3. hm | di bai.i | 3. hmf | du'wān. |
| hf | dumo bo | | |
| x | di bi | x | du bi.en. |
| y | di bi.la | y | di bitaan. |

Pluperfect.

| | | | |
|-------|---------------------------|--------|------------|
| 1. | daiya baiyam, d'ys baiyam | 1. | dime bam. |
| 2. | duko'bam (-wam) | 2. | dama bam. |
| 3. hm | di bam | 3. hmf | du'wam. |
| hf | dumo bōm | | |
| x | di bi'm | x | du bi'm. |
| y | di bi'lem | y | di bitsum. |

Past Participle.

| | | | |
|-------|------------------|--------|---------------|
| 1. | da'n, da'nin | 1. | — |
| 2. | duko'n | 2. | — |
| 3. hm | di'n, di'nin | 3. hmf | du'n, du'nin. |
| hf. | dumo'n, dumo'nin | | |

Static Participle.

| | | | |
|--------|--------|------|-------|
| 1. | daiyam | 1. | — |
| 2. | — | 2. | — |
| 3. hmx | dim | 3. h | du'm. |
| hf | dumo'm | | |

288. NOTES.

1. The *u* of *ju* might be marked long throughout, except perhaps where it is followed by a long vowel. In the 3^d. *parta* the accent falls on the syllable containing the Pron. Prefix.
2. As in the case of *niyas*, there is a conflict of vowel-systems in the past participle; also in the perf. and the plup., e.g. *dukoma*, *dumomo*, *dimerman* are not in the same series as *dimi* and *durman*.
3. The form *di.a*, *di.e* given under the 3^d. sg. *hm* Preterite usually corresponds in meaning to the English Perfect "he has come", but it probably corresponds in form to *dimi*, as *eti* does to *etimi*.
The *a* in *di.a* is perhaps the same element that gives the special vowels in *dukoma* etc., *duku* + *a* + *uma* → *dukoma*, but why then does it disappear in *dimi* etc.?
No corresponding form *nira* has been recorded from *niyas*.

289. PAST BASE TENSES of VERBS in *-u*.

The following paradigm has been constructed from recorded forms of the verbs:

- | | | | | |
|--------------------|----------------|--------------|----------------------------------|----------------|
| 1. <i>suryas</i> | <i>suč.</i> | <i>su-</i> | <i>to bring</i> | } (y objects). |
| 2. <i>dusuryas</i> | <i>dusuč.</i> | <i>dsu-</i> | <i>to bring</i> | |
| 3. <i>tsuryas</i> | } <i>tsuč.</i> | <i>tu-</i> | <i>to take away.</i> | |
| <i>*-tsuryas</i> | | | | |
| 4. <i>*-uryas</i> | <i>*-uč.</i> | <i>*-u-</i> | <i>to give</i> (x or h objects). | |
| 5. <i>*-šuryas</i> | <i>*-šuč.</i> | <i>*-šu-</i> | <i>to eat</i> (h or x pl. ..) | |

Preterite.

| | Sing. | Plur. |
|-------|----------------------------------|---|
| 1. | <i>dusuryam</i> , <i>dusurya</i> | — |
| 2. | <i>dusurman</i> | — |
| 3. hm | <i>*-tsurmi</i> | 3. hmf <i>dusurman</i> , <i>*-tsurman</i> . |
| hf | <i>*-tsurmo</i> | |
| x | <i>*-tsurmi</i> , <i>*-šuri</i> | x <i>ušurmi.e.</i> |
| y | — | x — |

Perfect.

| | Sing. | | Plur. |
|-------|---------------------------|--------|------------------|
| 1. | <i>dusurya ba</i> | 1. | <i>dusuram</i> . |
| 2. | <i>dusuwa, sura</i> | | — |
| 3. hm | <i>dusuwai.i. su.ai.i</i> | 3. hmf | <i>dusuram</i> . |
| hf | <i>tsu bo</i> | | |
| x | — | x | — |
| y | — | y | — |

Pluperfect.

| | | | |
|-------|----------------------------------|--------|-----------------|
| 1. | <i>tsurya baiyam</i> | | — |
| 2. | <i>dusuram</i> | | — |
| 3. hm | <i>dusuram</i> , <i>*-tsuram</i> | 3. hmf | <i>tsuram</i> . |
| hf | <i>*-tsu horam</i> | | |
| x | <i>*-tsu bi'm</i> | x | — |
| y | — | y | — |

Imperative.

| | | | |
|----|------------------|----|--------------------------|
| 2. | <i>dusu, tsu</i> | 2. | <i>dusurim, tsurim</i> . |
|----|------------------|----|--------------------------|

Form in *-š*.

| | |
|-------------|-------------------|
| <i>tsuš</i> | <i>dusuršun</i> . |
|-------------|-------------------|

Participles.

| Past Act. | dusuram, dsuram (invariable). |
|--------------------|--|
| <i>(tsuryas)</i> | <i>nutsun</i> (invariable). |
| <i>(*-tsuryas)</i> | <i>natsun</i> <i>having taken me away.</i> |
| | <i>nitsun</i> <i>having taken him away.</i> |
| | <i>nemutsun</i> <i>having taken her away.</i> |
| | <i>namartsun</i> <i>having taken you (pl.) away.</i> |
| | <i>nutsun</i> <i>having taken them away.</i> |
| <i>(šuryas)</i> | <i>nušun</i> <i>having eaten.</i> |
| <i>(*-šuryas)</i> | <i>ni-šun</i> <i>having eaten it (x).</i> |
| <i>(guryas)</i> | <i>noku'n</i> <i>having poured.</i> |
| <i>(*-uryas)</i> | <i>nyur'min</i> <i>having given to him.</i> |
| | <i>nu'n, nu'nin</i> <i>having given to them.</i> |

Static.

| | |
|--------------------|------------------|
| <i>(*-tsuryas)</i> | <i>utsuram</i> . |
| <i>(deskuryas)</i> | <i>deskum</i> . |

VERBS with PRONOMINAL PREFIXES.

290. As already stated (§ 210.5) the Pronominal Prefix when attached to an intransitive verb represents the subject, while with a transitive verb it represents either
- the Direct Object, or
 - the Indirect Object, or
 - a person in some way, but more remotely, affected by the action of the verb.

It represents the Direct Object in:

- *-delas to strike someone.
 *-tsuryas to take away someone.

and the Indirect Object in:

- *-elias to give s.t. (y sg.) to someone.
 *-uryas to give s.t. (h or x) to someone.

The pronoun prefix is suppressed, frequently when it relates to an inanimate x thing, and always when it relates to a y thing except when the verb begins with

*-a-, *-as-, d*- (including d*-a-, d*-as-) or *-lt, where it is a phonetic necessity.

The behaviour of the Pronominal Prefix with Transitive Verbs is exactly the same as with Intransitive Verbs of which we have had an example in *-manas, V. § 278, but the forms of any particular person of any tense are multiplied by the number of possible types of object.

It will be sufficient to illustrate this by part of one tense.

291. THE PRESENT TENSE of *-delas with a SINGULAR subject.

(Not all the forms given below have actually been recorded, but they are all theoretically correct.)

- *-delja ba I am striking or
 I am going to strike

| Person of Subject | Person of Direct Object | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|
| | Singular | | | |
| | 1 | 2 | 3 m. | 3 f. |
| Sg. 1. | — | gudelja ba | idelja ba | mudelja ba |
| 2. | adelja | — | idelja | mudelja |
| 3. m | adeljai.i | gudeljai.i | ideljai.i | mudeljai.i |
| 3. f | adelju bo | gudelju bo | idelju bo | mudelju bo |
| 3. x | adelji bi | gudelji bi | idelji bi | mudelji bi |
| 3. y | adelji bi-la | gudelji bi-la | idelji bi-la | mudelji bi-la |

| | Plural | | |
|------|---------------|---------------|--------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 h & x. |
| | Sg. 1. | — | madelja ba |
| 2. | midelja | — | udelja |
| 3. m | mideljai.i | madeljai.i | udeljai.i |
| 3. f | midelju bo | madelju bo | udelju bo |
| 3. x | midelji bi | madelji bi | udelji bi |
| 3. y | midelji bi-la | madelji bi-la | udelji bi-la |

And similarly with plural subjects.

The y prefix, sg. and pl., if used would be i.

REFLEXIVE EXPRESSIONS.

An important point to be noted is that the Pronominal Prefixes are not used reflexively, and that the Reflexive Pronoun

*-kor

is regarded as being invariably of the 3rd. pers. sing.

I am striking myself, if said, would be akor idelja ba.

Even when the connotation of the Reflexive is plural, the pronominal prefix remains 3rd. sing:

We shall kill ourselves mikar esqai.en.

293. PRONOMINAL PREFIXES with PAST PARTICIPLES.
ACTIVE.

Of a verb that has contracted the habit, no part is immune from the pronominal prefixes. In the case of a past participle the pronominal prefixes where they occur are always preceded by *n*.

The Past P_c. Act. of **-taryas* has been illustrated above, v. § 289.

The Past P_c. Act. of **-delas* would be:

| | | |
|-----------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| Sg. 1. | (<i>nadīlin</i>) | <i>having struck me.</i> |
| 2. | (<i>nukardīlin</i>) | <i>having struck thee.</i> |
| 3. m. | <i>nīdīlin, nīdīl</i> | <i>having struck him, it.</i> |
| 3. f. | <i>numadīlin</i> | <i>having struck her.</i> |
| Pl. 1. | (<i>nimīdīlin</i>) | <i>having struck us.</i> |
| 2. | (<i>namadīlin</i>) | <i>having struck you (pl.).</i> |
| 3. h & x. | <i>nurdīlin</i> | <i>having struck them.</i> |

294. PRONOMINAL PREFIX as INDIRECT OBJECT.

The following recorded forms of **-ēi.as* illustrate the use of the Pronominal Prefix as the Indirect Object.

Future.

| | |
|----------------------|--|
| <i>čap akurēičau</i> | <i>I shall not give thee the meat.</i> |
| <i>ačičuma?</i> | <i>wilt thou give to me?</i> |
| <i>ruksat gučiči</i> | <i>he will give thee leave.</i> |
| <i>ačičo</i> | <i>she will give to me.</i> |
| <i>ičičen</i> | <i>we shall give to him.</i> |

Present.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| (<i>gute dīs</i>) <i>amačiča ba</i> | <i>I am not going to give you (this place).</i> |
| <i>ačiča ke . . .</i> | <i>if thou givest to me . . .</i> |
| <i>ruksat ayečičai.i</i> | <i>he does not give me leave.</i> |
| <i>ičičai; mučičai.i</i> | <i>he gives to him; to her.</i> |

Imperfect.

| | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| <i>derorjo madad ičiči bīm</i> | <i>the stick used to give him help.</i> |
|--------------------------------|---|

Preterite.

| | |
|-----------------------|---|
| <i>do-lat gučī.am</i> | <i>I gave (have given) thee wealth.</i> |
| <i>ačīma</i> | <i>thou gavest (hast given) to me.</i> |
| <i>ičīmi</i> | <i>he gave to him.</i> |
| <i>učīmi</i> | <i>he gave to them.</i> |
| <i>ičīman</i> | <i>they gave to him.</i> |

Perfect.

| | |
|------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>ačī bai.i</i> | <i>he has given to me.</i> |
|------------------|----------------------------|

Pluperfect.

| | |
|----------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>ičī bam</i> | <i>he had given to him.</i> |
|----------------|-----------------------------|

Imperative.

| | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>ačī (and jačī)</i> | <i>give thou to me.</i> |
| <i>ičī</i> | <i>give thou to him.</i> |
| <i>tsil mučī</i> | <i>give water to her.</i> |

Form in -š.

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| <i>ačīš gome.i ba?</i> | <i>canst thou give to me?</i> |
| <i>ja hukum akurēiš xa</i> | <i>so long as I do not give thee orders.</i> |

Past P_c. Act.

| | |
|--------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>ničīn</i> | <i>having given to him.</i> |
| <i>nučīn</i> | <i>having given to him.</i> |

Static P_c.

| | |
|-------------|----------------------|
| <i>ačīm</i> | <i>given to me.</i> |
| <i>ičīm</i> | <i>given to him.</i> |

VERBS with INITIAL ROOT-VOWEL.

Where the verbal root begins with a vowel the form of the Pronominal Prefixes is affected according to the scheme given above in § 122.

Those beginning with *a-* or *u-* are separately dealt with in the next paragraph. An example of initial *i-* is:

*-I'RAS to die. Pron. Prefix = subject.

Present.

| Sing. | | Plur. | |
|-------|-----------|--------------|--------------|
| 1. | erēa ba | I am dying | 1. (mirēan). |
| 2. | gu.írēa | | 2. (merēan). |
| 3. | ha irēai. | | 3. u.írēan. |
| | hf | (mu.írēn bo) | |

An example of initial u- is

*-UŠE.AS to rear, foster. Pron. Prefix = Direct Object.

Preterite. 3rd. sg. m.

| | |
|----------|----------------------|
| ošami | he reared me. |
| gušami | he reared thee. |
| yušami | he reared him. |
| myušami | he reared us. |
| (mošami) | he reared you (pl.). |
| ušami | he reared them. |

296.

VERBAL ROOTS with INITIAL Δ-

(i.e. VERBS in *-Δ- and *-AS-).

As we have already seen (§§ 226—227) most verbs of the type which have Δ- or -AS following on a pronominal prefix are either Causatives or simple Transitives, but there are a few Intransitives.

With the Causative the Pronominal Prefix represents the Secondary Subject, that is the person who is constrained to perform the action.

With the Transitive simple it represents either the Direct or Indirect Object, or the person affected by the action.

With the Intransitive it represents the Subject.

The only difference in form between these verbs with the initial Δ- or Δ- and the Transitive and Intransitive verbs of similar types without this initial is that the form assumed by some of the Pronominal Prefixes differ in the two cases.

Where the root initial is u- or Δ-

| | | | |
|------------|------------|----------------|------------|
| 2nd. sing. | gu- | is replaced by | go- |
| 3rd. „ | h m x y i- | „ | e- or ē- |
| 3rd. „ | hf | mu- | mō- |
| 1st. plur. | | mi- | me- or mē- |
| 3rd. „ | h x | u- | o- |
| „ | y | i- | e- or ē- |

The 1st. pers. sing. and the 2nd. pers. plur. cannot be certainly distinguished from the simple forms.

In the Verbs with *-Δ(s)- the Pron. Pf. always carries the accent.

297.

EXAMPLES of VERBS in *-Δ- and *-AS-.

I. Pronominal Prefix denoting Secondary Subject.

| | | |
|------------|-------------|-----------------------------|
| *-ΔBORERAS | *-abore(y)- | to cause to look (at). |
| *-AYANAS | *-ayai(y)- | to cause to take. |
| *-ASKORTAS | *-askorō- | to make run, put to flight. |

II. Pronominal Prefix denoting Direct Object.

| | | |
|-------------|--------------|-----------------------------------|
| *-ATAS | *-arō- | to send. |
| *-ASQADAS | *-asqai(y)- | to kill. |
| *-ASTAQI.AS | *-astaqi(y)- | to hide v.t. |
| *-ATAS | *-aō- | to make someone . . . |
| | | (also, to cause s.o. to do . . .) |

III. Pronominal Prefix denoting Indirect Object.

| | | |
|-----------|-----------|---------------------|
| *-ALTIRAS | *-altirē- | to show to someone. |
| *-ASAS | *-ās- | to say to someone. |

IV. Pronominal Prefix denoting person affected.

uñ gusoγutar goweš ba'n they have placed it under thy arm for thee.

V. §§ 240 and 245—247 for scattered examples.

V. Pronominal Prefix denoting Primary Subject (with intrs. and a few trs. verbs).

| | | |
|------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| *-AYERAS | *-ayai(y)-, *-aye(y)- | to go to sleep. |
| *-ARŠEYAS | *-aršē- | to be intoxicated. |
| *-AMANAS | *amai(y)- | to be able, can. |
| til *-ALAS | til *-alj- | to forget. |
| *-AYANAS | *ayai.i- | to regard as, reckon. |

298. Detailed Examples.

1. *²-AYANAS.

| | | |
|-----------|-------------|------------------------|
| ayanas | ayai(y)- | to cause me to take. |
| goyanas | go.iyai(y)- | to cause thee to take. |
| eyanas | eyey(y)- | to cause him to take. |
| mo'yanas | mo'ye(y)- | to cause her to take. |
| (meyanas) | | to cause us to take). |
| (mayanas) | | to cause you to take). |
| oyanas | o'ye.i(y)- | to cause them to take |

2. *²-ATAS.

| | | | | | |
|-------|--------|---------------|--------|--------|---------------|
| atās | a'rē- | to send me. | metās | me'rē- | to send us. |
| gotās | go'rē- | to send thee. | me'rās | me'rē- | to send you. |
| etās | e'rē- | to send him. | otās | o'rē- | to send them. |
| motās | mo'rē- | to send her. | | | |

3. *²-ASQANAS.

| | | |
|---------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>Pres.</i> | go'squiya ba | I kill thee. |
| | asqai ba | thou killest me. |
| | go'squi.i bai.i | he kills thee. |
| | asqai.i ba'n | you (pl.) kill me. |
| | go'sqai.i ba'n | they kill thee. |
| <i>Fut.</i> | akər esqai.am | I shall kill myself (v. § 292). |
| | go'sqaimi | he will kill thee. |
| | miker esqai.en | we shall kill ourselves. |
| | (ma) esqaiman | you will kill him. |
| | asqaiman | they will kill me. |
| <i>Pret.</i> | esqanam | I killed him. |
| | o'sqanimi | he killed them. |
| | u'kar esqanuman | they killed themselves (§ 292). |
| <i>Perf.</i> | (aiy)esqana ba | I have (not) killed him. |
| | esqan'a | thou hast killed him. |
| | asqanai.i | he has killed me. |
| | esqana'n | they have killed him. |
| <i>Plupf.</i> | asqanam | he had killed them. |

| | | |
|-------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| <i>Impv.</i> | je (aiy)asqan | do (not) kill me. |
| | o'sqanimi | kill ye them. |
| <i>Form in 3.</i> | asqanē, esqanē | |
| <i>P. pc.</i> | ne'sqan | having killed him. |

4. *²-ATAS.

Where the force of this verb is Causative it is open to surmise that the prime form is *²-a.ctas giving a special length or a diphthongal value to the vowel of the pronominal prefix, but the evidence is not decisive enough to justify a definite assertion. V. § 240.

| | | | |
|-------|--------|----------------------|---------------------|
| a'tas | a'rē- | to make me | or cause me to do. |
| gotas | go'rē- | to make thee | „ cause thee to do. |
| etas | e'rē- | to make him | „ cause him to do. |
| motas | mo'rē- | to make her | „ cause her to do. |
| metas | me'rē- | to make us | „ cause us to do. |
| matas | ma'rē- | to make you | „ cause you to do. |
| otas | o'rē- | to make them | „ cause them to do. |

All the above are conjugated in the same way as ctas above § 274.
 čap ati . . . čap go'čam hide me . . . I will hide thee.
 momus čuruk maroči he will cut off your tongue(s) for you.

The Past P.c. Act. has two sets of forms:

| | | | |
|------------|---------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| natan | na | having made me | making me |
| nuko'tin | nuk'o | having made thee | making thee |
| netan | ne | having made him | making him |
| numo'tan | num'o | having made her | making her |
| (nime.tan) | nim'e | having made us | making us |
| namo'tin | (nam'a) | having made you | making you |
| no'tan | no | having made them | making them |

5. *²-ASAS.

| | | | | |
|--------------|----------|---------------------|----------|------------------|
| <i>Pres.</i> | weša | thou sayest to me. | mo'sai.i | he says to her. |
| | e's'a | thou sayest to him. | as'a'n | they say to me. |
| | go'sai.i | he says to thee. | e'č'a'n | they say to him. |
| | e'čai.i | he says to him. | | |

| | | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|
| <i>Fut.</i> | go'sam | <i>I shall say to thee.</i> | | |
| <i>Pret.</i> | go'sam | <i>I said to thee.</i> | me'simi | <i>he said to us.</i> |
| | e'sam | <i>I said to him.</i> | o'simi | <i>he said to them.</i> |
| | mo'sam | <i>I said to her.</i> | e'sumo | <i>she said to him.</i> |
| | mo'suma | <i>thou saidest to her.</i> | o'sumo | <i>she said to them.</i> |
| | a'simi | <i>he said to me.</i> | asuman | <i>they said to me.</i> |
| | e'simi | <i>he said to him.</i> | e'suman | <i>they said to him.</i> |
| | mo'simi | <i>he said to her.</i> | | |
| <i>Perf.</i> | asai.i | <i>he has said to me.</i> | me'sai.i | <i>he has said to us.</i> |
| | go'sai.i | <i>he has said to thee.</i> | esi bi | <i>it has said to him.</i> |
| <i>Plufl.</i> | go'sa baiyam | <i>I had said to thee.</i> | asu bo'm | <i>she had said to me.</i> |
| <i>Impf.</i> | a'so v. § 318.3. | <i>say thou to me.</i> | asu.in | <i>say ye to me.</i> |
| | e'so | <i>say thou to him.</i> | esu.in, esu.ina | <i>say ye to him.</i> |
| | mo'so | <i>say thou to her.</i> | mo'sin | <i>say ye to her.</i> |
| | o'so | <i>say thou to them.</i> | | |
| <i>Form in -š.</i> | aya'sušan v. § 321.2. | <i>may they not call me!</i> | | |
| | ako'sušan | <i>may they not call thee!</i> | | |
| <i>Past pc.</i> | nesun | <i>having said, saying, to him.</i> | | |
| | numo'sun | <i>having said, saying, to her.</i> | | |
| | no'sun | <i>having said, saying, to them.</i> | | |

For additional forms V. the Vocab.

6. *-AMANAS.

*-AMANAS is exactly similar in conjugation to *-IMANAS, v. § 278, except with regard to the form of the pronominal prefixes, v. § 296.

It is used governing the -š forms of other verbs. It is difficult to say whether it is to be reckoned Transitive or Intransitive.

The following examples will show how it is distinguished from *-IMANAS.

| | | | |
|-------------|---------------------------|------------|--------------------------|
| go'mnai ba | <i>thou are able.</i> | gumai ba | <i>thou becomest.</i> |
| emnai bai.i | <i>he is able.</i> | imai bai.i | <i>he becomes.</i> |
| momai bo | <i>she is able.</i> | mumai bo | <i>she becomes.</i> |
| go'mnai ima | <i>thou will be able.</i> | gumai ima | <i>thou will become.</i> |

7. til *-ALAS, ti'l *-ALAS.

til *-ALAS is an apparently transitive verbal compound with pronominal prefixes relating to the subject.

| | |
|------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| ti'l w'ljam | <i>I shall forget.</i> |
| ti'l go'l | <i>forget.</i> |
| han bəran til me'luman | <i>we forgot one matter.</i> |
| til o'lan ke . . . | <i>if they have forgotten . . .</i> |

8. *-AYANAS.

*-AYANAS is used where in English one would say "it seems to me" "it appears to you" etc. but it is apparently related to *-YANAS *to count, reckon*, and not to *yan'as to appear*.

| | |
|------------------|-------------------------------|
| daki'l ayai.a ba | <i>it seems thus to me.</i> |
| ite to.i goye ba | <i>it seems thus to thee.</i> |

VERBS WITH INITIAL h-

399. Further vowel complications are produced where the Causative a- comes up against another vowel, as is particularly the case where the verbal root has an initial h that is dropped in the causative.

1. hAKINAS *to learn*. *-A.IKINAS *to teach*.

Where the i comes from in the causative is not clear, but it is pretty constant.

| | |
|-----------|----------------------------|
| go.iki.am | <i>I shall teach thee.</i> |
| ai.ikimi | <i>he will teach me.</i> |
| in e.ikin | <i>teach him.</i> |

and so:

| | | | |
|------------|-------------|----------|-------------------------------------|
| me.iki.mi, | mai.iki.mi, | o'iki.mi | <i>he will teach us, you, them.</i> |
|------------|-------------|----------|-------------------------------------|

2. hAJJAIYAS *to mount, ride*. *-A.U'JJAIYAS *to make someone mount, ride*.

The u is preserved, except after o' which may dispense with it.

| | |
|-----------|---|
| a'u'lja | <i>make me mount.</i> |
| e'u'ljami | <i>he made him mount,</i> |
| but, | |
| no'ljan | <i>having made, making, them mount.</i> |

3. *heru'tas* to sit **-a.uru'tas* to make sit, settle.

Similar to **-a.ur'jaiyas* but with a little latitude.

| | |
|-----------|---------------------------------------|
| goru'sam | <i>I make thee sit, seat thee.</i> |
| evuru'tas | <i>to make him sit.</i> |
| evurutimi | <i>he made him sit.</i> |
| mourutimi | <i>he made her sit.</i> |
| ne'vurt | <i>having made, making, him sit.</i> |
| neko'rut | <i>having made, making, thee sit.</i> |
| orutumam | <i>they made them sit.</i> |

4. The same features are presented by the following verb of which the Intrans. form, if any, is not known.

**-a.urias* to use, expend, put to work, train,

which gives:

e.urias and *ori'as* to train, etc. *him, them.* V. vocab. sv.

VERBS in d^{*}-. PRONOMINAL-INFIX VERBS.

300. These verbs differ from pronominal-prefix-verbs of the same type only in having d- prefixed to them, and, where the pronominal infix begins with a consonant, in having an inorganic, apparently epenthetic vowel interjected between the d- and the infix. Thus the forms are:

| Sg. | | Pl. |
|-----------|------------|------------------|
| 1. | da- or dā- | 1. dimi'. |
| 2. | duku- | 2. dāma'. |
| 3. hm & y | di- | 3. hmi' & x du'. |
| hf | dumu- | y di'. |

As a general rule the stress accent falls on the Pron.-Infix.

**-MANAS* to become. d^{*}-*MANAS* to be born.

Pres.

1. sg. am'aiyam dam'aiyam, dāmai'yam.

Pret.

2. sg. gum'anuma duku'manuma.

3. sg. m imani'mi, im'anubi di'mani'mi.

f mum'anumo dumu'manumo.

301. Nearly all verbs in d^{*}- are Intransitive, but there are some Transitives: *Intransitive.*

| | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|--|
| d [*] - <i>MANAS</i> | d [*] -mai(y)- | <i>to be born, come into existence.</i> |
| d [*] - <i>TAS</i> | d [*] -talj- | <i>to wake up v.i.</i> |
| d [*] - <i>MAYAS</i> | d [*] -mač- | <i>to be on good terms, to be reconciled, etc.</i> |

Transitive.

| | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
| d [*] - <i>TSAS</i> | d [*] -š- | <i>to bring (h and x objects).</i> |
| d [*] - <i>SUNAS</i> | d [*] -šu(y)- | <i>to untie.</i> |
| d [*] - <i>tsikinas</i> | d [*] -tsiki(y)- | <i>to hang up, suspend.</i> |

In the Intransitive verbs the pronominal infixes refer to the subject, in the Transitive to the object.

A few examples may be given from d^{*}-*TSAS* as it is a very common and important verb.

D^{*}-TSAS to bring (h and x objects).

302. The complete scheme of possible infinitive and pres. base forms is as follows, but illustrations of all are not available:

Infin.

Pres. Base.

| | | |
|------------------|------------|--------------------------|
| datsas | dāš- | <i>to bring me.</i> |
| duku'tsas | duku'š- | <i>to bring thee.</i> |
| di'tsas, di'tsas | di'š, diš- | <i>to bring him, it.</i> |
| dumu'tsas | dumu'š- | <i>to bring her.</i> |
| dimi'tsas | dimi'š- | <i>to bring us.</i> |
| dama'tsas | dama'š- | <i>to bring you.</i> |
| du'tsas | du'š- | <i>to bring them.</i> |

Recorded forms:

Future.

| | | |
|--------|----------|--------------------------------|
| sg. 1. | du'šam | <i>I shall bring them.</i> |
| 2. | dušuma | <i>thou wilt bring them.</i> |
| 3. | diš | <i>he will bring him, it.</i> |
| | dumu'š | <i>he will bring her.</i> |
| pl. 1. | dišen | <i>we shall bring him, it.</i> |
| | du'šen | <i>we shall bring them.</i> |
| | du'šuman | <i>they will bring them.</i> |

| | | |
|--------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>Present.</i> | | |
| sg. 2. | duš'a | thou bringest them. |
| 3. | dišai.i | he brings him, it. |
| | dumušai.i | he brings her. |
| | dušai.i | he brings them. |
| pl. 3. | diša'n | they bring it. |
| | duša'n | they bring them. |
| <i>Imperfect.</i> | | |
| sg. 3. | diš'am | he was bringing him, it. |
| <i>Preterite.</i> | | |
| sg. 1. | ditsam | I brought him, it. |
| | duku'tsam | I brought thee. |
| | dumutsam | I brought her. |
| | du'tsam | I brought them. |
| 2. | ditsuma | you brought it (x sg.). |
| 3. | ditsimi | he brought it (x sg.). |
| | dimi'tsimi | he brought us. |
| pl. 3. | ditsuman | they brought him, it. |
| | dumutsuman | they brought her. |
| <i>Perfect.</i> | | |
| sg. 1. | ditsa ba | I have brought him, it. |
| | du'tsa ba | I have brought them (charcoal x pl.). |
| 3. f. | ditsu bo | she has brought him, it. |
| pl. 2. | du'tsa'n | you have brought them. |
| 3. | ditsa'n | they have brought him, it. |
| | du'tsa'n | they have brought them. |
| <i>Pluperfect.</i> | | |
| pl. 3. | ditsam | they had brought him, it. |
| <i>Imperative.</i> | | |
| sg. 2. | ditsu, ditso, v. § 318.3. | bring him, it. |
| | dumu'tsu | bring her. |
| | du'tso | bring them. |
| pl. 2. | ditsu.in | bring ye him, it. |

| | | |
|----------|------------|----------------|
| | dumutsu.in | bring ye her. |
| | dutsu.in | bring ye them. |
| 3. form. | du'tsoš | v. § 321.2. |

Participles.

| | | |
|----------------|----------|-------------------------|
| <i>Pres.</i> | du'sumc | bringing them. |
| <i>Past.</i> | ditsum | having brought him, it. |
| | dumutsum | having brought her. |
| | du'tsum | having brought them. |
| <i>Static.</i> | ditsum | (referring to x sg.). |
| | dutsum | (referring to x pl.). |

NOTE: Verbs with the d^o- prefix do not take the prefixed n- in the past pc. act.

du'sas and d^o-usas.

303. It is important to note that the present-base parts of the du'tsas : duš- verb, *to bring them*, are to be distinguished from the present-base parts of du'sas : duš- *to come out; climb*, which has no pronominal infix; while the past-base parts of du'sas are not to be confused with those of dusu'yas : dusu'š- *to bring (y objects)*.

The transitive conceptions corresponding to du'sas, viz. *to take out, extract*, and perhaps also the causative *to make climb*, are presented by the apparently related multiform verb

d^o-usas, d^o-u'sas, d^o-isas.

These infinitives yield:

| | |
|-----------|---|
| du'usas | to take me out. |
| di'usas | to take him out. |
| | to take it (x sg.) out. |
| di,u'sas | to take them (y pl.) out. |
| duku'isas | to take thee out. |
| dumu'isas | to take her out. |
| du'isas | to take them (x pl.) out, (also hm pl.?). |

- Examples.*
- da'usiš ayo'manuman they were unable to take me out,
i.e. to detect me.
- duku'isam I took thee out.
- watanisum dyu'sam (di.u'sam) I shall expel him from the country.
dareče di.u'sas to hang (a man).
- Lana Bro'mo taxta(ε dum'wisimi he set Langa Bruno on the throne
(made her ascend?).
- di.usu please take it (x) out, or off.
- ise pūt je ma'r di'ušam I'll turn out that Div for you.
- pštimots du.'isuman they took out the pieces of bread (x pl.).
- esumets du.isimi he extracted its kidneys (x pl.).
- haiyai.ij di-usin taking out the tokens (y pl.).
- (Poritiñ) gatuq di.usi'n (the Peris) taking off (their) clothes (y pl.).
- This attempt to illustrate and systematise this verb does not profess to be final.

D*-U.ESAS etc. to remain, escape, etc.

304. Another verb in d*- which presents difficulties is that which means *to remain, be left* and *no to survive, be saved, escape, recover*. I should give the Infinitive tentatively as:
- With a h or x subject: d*-u.esas, d*-u.wesas, d*-u(w)šas.
- With a y subject: du.s'sas, du.w'esas.
- As the Causative seems to be d*-aspasas the essential forms are probably d*-wasas and (y) du.w'sas.
- All these forms may go back to basas, *to sit down, keep still*. The following forms may be quoted:
- Fut.*
- sg. 1. dau.esam, dau.w'esam.
2. duku.esuma.
3. hm dyn(w)esi.
- y du.w'asi.
- Pres.*
- sg. 1. dau.esam, dau.wasam. pl. 1. di'miwasuman.

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| 3. hm | dyu.esimi, dyu.asimi. | 3. du(w)asuman. |
| x | dya.esimi. | do.esuman. |
| y | du.w'esimi. | |
| | du.w'simi. | |
| | atu.asimi (neg.). | |
| | at'u.wasimi (neg.). | |
- Static Participle.*
- | | |
|---|------------|
| x | dyu.esum. |
| | dyu.asum. |
| y | du.w'esum. |

VERBS in d*-A- and d*-AS-.

305. These verbs combine the characteristics of verbs in d*- and verbs in *-A- and *-AS-.
- Most of them are Transitive and many stand in the relation of Causative to Intransitive verbs in d*-.
- Thus, taking the Intransitive d*- verbs already quoted:
- d*-manas *to be born.* d*-asmanas *to give birth to, create.*
- d*-mayas *to be on good terms.* d*-asmayas *to reconcile.*
- d*-talas *to awake v.i.* d*-ast(s)alas *to awaken v.t.*
- From the English point of view the pronoun infix in these cases refers to the object of the English transitive verb; from the Burushaski standpoint the verbs are probably causative with the pronoun infix referring to the secondary subject.
306. *Causatives from Transitives* are rare:
- d*-pirtsas *to pull out (tooth, etc.)* d*-apirtsas *to cause someone to pull out,*
but d*-apirtas seems also to be used as the equivalent of d*-pirtsas with the simple transitive sense.
- Similarly we have intransitives
- pirkanas, d*-pirkanas and d*-apirkanas all apparently meaning *to stumble.*
- and
- γabas, d*-ayabas *to laugh,* but *-ayabas *to cause to laugh.*
- Perhaps the only certain Causative from a Transitive is:

d*-tas to bring (h, and x objects) d*-atsas to cause someone to bring.
v. § 302.

But d*-atsas is usually used with special meanings, v. § 266A, and 244.2.

307. There are a number of d*-a- verbs which appear to be independent and cannot be related to any verbs in d*-.
These are:

1. Intransitive; pronoun-infix representing the Subject.
2. Transitive; pronoun-infix representing, a. the Direct Object, b. the Indirect Object,
3. Transitive; pronoun-infix representing the Subject.

The following are examples under these three headings:

1. d*-ičanas (probably intrans.) to be in need of.
d*-ayabas to laugh.
d*-amatalas to yawn.
d*-asqaltas to arrive.
d*-a.uru'tas to be fond of, attached to.
2. a. d*-agusas to pull out, etc. (But v. § 236.b.)
d*-afas so send.
d*-astayyan to prop up.
d*-atslas to squeeze, pinch.
d*-atbitas to cook v.t.
b. d*-ayafusas to inquire of someone.
(also, duyafusas + abl.)
3. d*-ayurkas to obtain.
d*-ayelas to hear.

308. The following example may be given where the infix relates to the Direct Object:

D*-ASPASAS to save, protect (someone).

Pres. base d*-aspas-.

Future.

| | |
|------------|-----------------------|
| daspašimi | he will protect me. |
| dukošpašam | I shall protect thee. |

| | |
|-------------|-----------------------|
| d*špašam | I shall protect him. |
| dumošpašam | I shall protect her. |
| dimešpašimi | he will protect us. |
| damašpašam | I shall protect you. |
| došpašam | I shall protect them. |

Imperative.

| | |
|---------------|-------------------------|
| je daspas! | protect thou me! |
| gukar d*špas! | save thyself! look out! |

309. In the following the infix refers to the Subject:

D*-AYELAS to hear.

Pres. Base d*-ayelj-, d*-a.elj-.

Future.

| | | | |
|------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| Sg. 1. dai.eljam | I shall hear. | Pl. 1. dime.yeljan | we shall hear. |
| 2. deko.eljuma | thou wilt hear. | 2. damaryeljuman | you will hear. |
| 3. de.elji | he will hear. | 3. doryeljuman | they will hear. |
| dumoyeljo | she will hear. | | |

Preterite.

| | | | |
|-----------------|----------------|---------------------|-------------|
| Sg. 1. dai.elam | I heard | Pl. 1. dime.yelumam | we heard. |
| 2. dukoyeluma | thou heardest. | 2. damaryelumam | you heard. |
| 3. de.yelimi | he heard. | 3. doryelumam | they heard. |
| dumoyelumo | she heard. | | |

Imperative.

| | |
|-----------|------------|
| duko.yel | hear thou. |
| dama.elin | hear ye. |

Past Participle.

| | |
|------------------|-------------------|
| de.yal, de.yelin | he having heard. |
| dumo.yel | she having heard. |

Static Participle.

| | |
|-----------------|--------------------------|
| dai.yelum čayā | the story heard by me. |
| duko.yelum čayā | the story heard by thee. |
| de.yelum čayā | the story heard by him. |

The subject of d*-ayelas in all tenses is expressed in the simple form of the Nominative, e.g.

je dai.elam I heard (not ja).

310. Similarly with the Intransitive verb *d*asqaltas*, to arrive, the infix refers to the Subject.

D*-AŠQALTAS to arrive.

Pres. base *d*-asqalē-*

Future.

| | |
|---------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>dāsqalēam</i> | <i>I shall arrive.</i> |
| <i>dukošqalēuma</i> | <i>thou wilt arrive.</i> |
| <i>dešqalēi</i> | <i>he will arrive.</i> |

etc.

Preterite.

| | |
|------------------------------|----------------------|
| Pl. 3. h. <i>došqaltuman</i> | <i>they arrived.</i> |
|------------------------------|----------------------|

NOTES ON VERBAL FORMS.

311. *Future.*

In the Future, as in the Preterite (v. § 314), there appear to be forms belonging to two distinct series differentiated by the presence and absence respectively of an *-m-*.

The series without the *-m-* is represented by the short forms of the 3rd sg. and by the 1st pl.:

| | | |
|------------|------------|--------------|
| <i>eēi</i> | <i>eēo</i> | <i>eēan.</i> |
|------------|------------|--------------|

Werchikwar does not help us, as it does in the case of the Preterite, in reconstructing the two series, since, so far as it has been recorded, it has the *-m-* forms except in the 1st person plural.

The forms of the 3rd sg. with *-m-* appear to be always used where the present base ends in a vowel, i.e. with verbs having the past base in *-n*. So:

| | | | |
|----------------|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <i>manas</i> | <i>to become</i> | <i>mai.imi</i> | <i>mai.imo</i> |
| <i>barenas</i> | <i>to see</i> | <i>bare.imi</i> | <i>bare.imo</i> |
| <i>durnas</i> | <i>to catch</i> | <i>du.imi</i> | |

With verbs whose present base ends in a consonant, the shorter forms in *-i* and *-o (-u)* appear to be the rule, but not to the total exclusion of the *-m-* forms.

Besides *eēimi* I have recorded *juēimi* and *niēimi* at least once. In verbs with *-as* in the Infinitive, the ending of the 1st sg. is *-am*.

1st pl. The termination of the 1st pl. is *-an*, *-en*.

Occasional forms in *-an* (e.g. *deljan*, *diwjan*) are probably to be regarded as variants of this, and not as 1st plurals of the present tense which appears always to have *-a barn*.

The overlapping in use of the two tenses, Future and Present, which is dealt with later (v. §§ 347-349), makes it difficult to decide such questions by the context.

312. *Present.*

3rd sg. y. The form with *bi-la* seems to be the rule with present bases ending in a vowel, *-i-la* with those ending in a consonant.

Similarly with *bi-dum* and *-idum* in the 3rd sg. *y* Imperfect and with the corresponding forms of the Perfect and Pluperfect.

The same principle applies to the 2nd, sg., *eēa* || *mai. ba*, & 3 sg. *hm eēui* || *mai. bai*. V. § 268.

3rd. pl. z. *eēien*, *eēie*.

When the present base ends in a consonant these forms appear to be common to the future and present tenses.

With present bases ending in a vowel, we have a distinction:

Fut. *mai.imi.an*. *Pres.* *mai.ibi.en*.

313. *Conditional*

The only Conditional forms recorded by me in Burushaski are those of the 1st. and 3rd. persons singular:

1st. sg. pres. base + *am* + particle *tse*.

3rd. sg. pres. base + *um* + particle *tse*.

The verbal part of the 1st. sg. Conditional is therefore identical with the 1st. sg. future, and that of the 3rd. sg. is identical with the present participle less the final *-e*.

These Burushaski forms are supported by 6 instances which I have recorded in Werchikwar and which include 1st. sg., & 3rd. sg. *hm* and *x*.

Zarubin¹ gives the complete tense in Werchikwar with the following endings:

| | | | | | |
|--------|------|----|------|----|------|
| Sg. 1. | -am. | 2. | -um. | 3. | -um. |
| Pl. 1. | -an. | 2. | -um. | 3. | -um. |

There seems to be an analogy between these forms and the Static Participle, the one being founded on the present base and the other on the past base, with the difference only of -an and -am in the 1st. pers. pl. Had the present participle been fully recorded, it would probably have been found to duplicate this tense with an added final -e.

The -m probably indicates a participial origin.

As regards the particle, in the 12 instances I have recorded in the Hunza speech it appears uniformly as tse, but in my Werchikwar examples it appears as tsiq or tsik, with tsig once in the 3rd. person and tsiga in the only example of the 1st. person. From a Nagiri I think I have heard tsik.

These forms with k or q recall the particle with a similar function in Gilgiti Shina, stk, which is used after forms of the future tense.

313 A. Professor Siddheshwar Varma has recorded a "would subjunctive" form:

manisa, am'anase I should, would, become.

To this probably belong my two 1st. pl. forms mi.al.asan and ame.inamasan. V. § 405.

314. Preterite.

1. There are two sets of Preterite endings in Burushaski, one containing -m- and one without it. We have seen traces of a similar but partial duplication of forms in the Future tense.

In the Preterite the duplication is complete, but the -m- forms are there more common, I shall therefore deal with them first:

¹ J. I. Zarubin: "Vershikskoe Narechie Kandzhutskogo Yazika" in the Zapiski Kollegii Vestokovedov pri Aziatskom Muzee Akademii Nauk II, 2, Leningrad 1927, § 30.

1st. sg. In verbs with -a's in the Infinitive, the ending is -am.
3rd. sg. hm and x.

-umi, -umi, -umi occur frequently with some verbs with past base in -n.

| | |
|----------|-----------|
| senas | senumi. |
| baremas | barenumi. |
| *-imasas | imanumi. |

also with the verb

doyarusas doyarusumi || doyarusimi

and with the two verbs in -a's which have their present base in -ar-:

| | |
|---------|-----------|
| yulas | yulumi. |
| yurtsas | yurtsumi. |

2. Turning to the short forms, those without -m-, we find that these, excepting the 3rd. sg. hm, x and y, are of comparatively rare occurrence, and on their own merits we might have hesitated to correlate them into a single tense.

Their nature and position, however, are fixed beyond doubt by the facts of Werchikwar Grammar.

In that dialect there is in use a set of Preterite endings without -m-. These Werchikwar endings are identical with those noted sporadically in Burushaski, being as follows:

| Sg. | Pl. |
|---------|------------------|
| 1. -a | 1. -an or -en. |
| 2. -a | 2. -an or -en. |
| 3. m -i | 3. h -an or -en. |
| f -o | |

Zarubin¹ also gives as a less common alternative a complete set of endings with -m- (not occurring in his texts), viz.

| Sg. | Pl. |
|------------|--------------------|
| 1. -am | |
| 2. -um-a | |
| 3. m -im-i | 1, 2, 3. h -im-en. |
| f -um-a | |

¹ Op. laud. § 32.

of which I have recorded in my Werchikwar texts at any rate -imi and -umo.

Zarubin regards these -m- forms as participial, and it is probable, in view of the -um- etc. of the adjective and of the static and present participles, that they are participial in origin.

3. In Burushaski the short forms occur chiefly in conjunction with the participles ke and kuli. I have noted only a few instances of their being used independently. They are therefore in general associated with a hypothetical sense.

315. Examples:

1st sg. (only examples recorded).

ja qau eta kuli weñnai.i if I were to call (lit. called) him he wouldn't (doesn't) come. 172.13.

guljia ðaya amulum ðusu-ya ke je go'r suðam if I get (brought) the story of they dream from anywhere I shall bring it to thee. 72.7.

i'tse (buru'ndumats) d'u'isin ma'itira ke ja'tse ðaq suðamana ke? if I extract and show (lit. showed) you the rings will you believe in me or not? 80.23.

je ðon amana I have become (lit. became) blind. 360.6.

2nd sg.

yat galëi beşel dukoya (or dukoma) ke . . . next time when thou comest (camest) . . .

ya'ka mana ke . . . if you were (i.e. associated) with a crow. Prov. 8.

3rd sg. hm.

Very common is: eti ke, o'ti ke if he did, made it, them, etc.

The anomalous form di.a, di.e, with or without ke or kuli, is also probably to be included here:

gutsimo dumari' ke e'yyun if he asks (asked) you for them don't give them to him. 210.14.

Otherwise hm seems always to have the -imi ending. Thus we have:

aminan ine mazarete ðusimi ke . . . huy'e's bu.a'n ðusi ke . . . if anyone climbs (lit. climbed) on to his grave . . . if a goat or cow climbs on to it . . . 220.4.

hf.

du'mumano ke } if (a girl) should be born. 56.15.
dumu'mamu kuli }

ðuso'ko mury e'paçer she came down to her father. 162.19.

dum'o'yo is probably also a preterite form parallel to di.a, he came, and equivalent to dum'o'mo, she came.

x and y.

x aždore aşu.i ke . . . if the dragon eats (ate) me.

guse (hasto) xan aweşei ke . . . if this elephant threw me down . . .

beşan ayeli ke . . . if it broke some part of me.

aşdore . . . ðusi the dragon . . . came out.

bu.a'n ðusi ke . . . if a cow gets up on it.

y gute gali ke . . . if this (bow) were to break . . .

mentse çimil'en yayi ke . . . if a splinter were to hit anyone.

ja gute xat tape de'sqalt.a tape ju if this letter were to arrive at night, come (the same) night.

çavra ama'ti.a? (or, ama'timi.a) did a remedy not present itself to you? i.e. were you not able to do anything?

1st. pl.

I have noted four probable examples:

mi gan akçnan we did not know the road. 22.1 & 28.6.

The sense seems to be "we do not know", but is probably

"we have not come to know". In each case forms of the Present were also given.

şapik gatu dime'iyurkan ke şukur ne huru'şan if we obtain(ed) food and clothing we should live in thankfulness. 34.14.

han ðuro'wan je ke u'ş e'tiş mehanan ke ðuk'u'e'ş.a, ameharuman ke gu.irç.a if I and thou can (could) do a certain thing, thou will escape. If we cannot do it thou will die. 50.10.

Here mehanan is obviously used with exactly the same force as the unambiguous preterite ameharuman.

guke çenar melta'ike traş etan ke gute ðaya ðu'ei.

if we two divide(d) the gold, the matter will come out. 54.19.

2nd. pl.

Only two examples:

maiimo maiyu altan kaš o'tan ke je dawesa ba *if you kill your sons, I shall escape.* 44.11.

T. auladan . . . bo egi.en (ke) . . . *if you were to make a descendant of the T. sow the seed.* 242.3.

3rd. pl.

Fairly common.

| | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|--|
| h | duryen, dayan (ke) | <i>they came, if they came.</i> |
| | duman keli | <i>if they catch (caught).</i> |
| | mene . . . tid o'tan ke | <i>if any people . . . forget (forgot).</i> |
| | gap i'lan ke . . . | <i>if they (i.e. anyone) soaked hide . . .</i> |
| | men u'i'ran ke . . . | <i>if any [pl.] died . . .</i> |
| x | isumaltse čerko.e dumi.e | <i>the cliffs caught its tail.</i> |
| | balašurik šal etie | <i>some birds quarrelled, started quarrelling.</i> |
| | pferi hik multan ke tinjo mani.en | <i>blood and bones (have) filled the pond.</i> |
| | nyasi.en | <i>(the fruit) rotted.</i> |
| y | berraman deniž man'i | <i>some years (have) passed.</i> |

316. Perfect.

2nd. sg. the ending -a is regular after a consonant. Following a vowel we have:

guča ba, dšli ba, ni ba,

but after -u, -wa or -a seems to be the rule:

su.a, du.su.a, mutsu.a, manu.wa.

From *-ayas we have aya.wa *thou hast not given me.*

There is also goržai.a? *hast thou become drunk?*

3rd. pl. x. Of this I have only two or three examples:

gali bi.e, gati bi.e.

3rd. pl. y. As regards the 3rd. pl. y of the Perfect, Pluperfect and Imperfect I am unable to say whether there are in general forms of the pattern:

Perf. sti'tsan, Plup. sti'tsum, Impf. eš'tsum,

which one would expect with consonantal bases on the analogy of the present eš'tsan. mani'tsan has been recorded for the 3rd. pl. y perf. of man'a's.

317. Pluperfect.

3rd. pl. h. We have again tsu.am, instead of the tau bam which we might expect. Cp. notes on the 2nd. sg. Perfect § 316.

3rd. pl. y. See note on Perfect, just above.

318. Imperative.

The normal form of the 2nd. sg. Imperative is that of the simple past base of the verb. The plural is in all cases obtained by adding -in to the past base, except when the base ends in -i, when only -n is added.

Examples:

| | | | |
|----------|--------|--------------|---------------------------|
| bare'naš | bar'en | pl. bar'enin | <i>look thou, look ye</i> |
| gar'taš | gar'ta | | <i>run thou.</i> |
| bišaiyas | biš'a | | <i>throw thou.</i> |
| *-či.as | ač'i | | <i>give thou to me.</i> |
| tsu'yaš | tau | | <i>take thou away</i> |

A few special types are, however, to be noted:

1. Verbs with the infinitive in -a's, i.e.; with the accent on the termination, have the Impv. sg. in -e. The plural has simple -in, -in. Thus:

| | | | |
|----------|--------|------------|---------------------|
| man'a's | man'e | pl. man'in | <i>be, become.</i> |
| min'a's | min'e | | <i>drink.</i> |
| γora's | γor'e | | <i>speak.</i> |
| bas'a's | bas'e | | <i>sit down.</i> |
| task'a's | task'e | | <i>draw, smoke.</i> |

This -e disappears when the verb receives a pron. or negative prefix. So

| | |
|------------|------------------------|
| rixa guman | <i>be content.</i> |
| uomin | <i>make her drink.</i> |

| | |
|---|-------------------------|
| o'min | don't smoke (opium). |
| aqor | don't speak. |
| but I have also | |
| o'taski | don't smoke (opium). |
| 2. A few verbs have <i>i</i> which does not appear elsewhere in their conjugation: | |
| etas (*-atas) | eti (*-ati) do. |
| *-atas has also a short form *-a (recorded only in the sg.) which yields, a, mo, e. | |
| *-ltiras | *-ltiri shot to. |
| *-aras | *-ari send. |
| d*-aras | d*-ari send. |
| *-asirias | *-asiri make eat, feed. |
| delas seems to have an alternative infinitive delias. The impv. is always | |

| | |
|--|-------------|
| deli | strike. |
| and the <i>i</i> sometimes appears elsewhere | |
| ja in deliam | I beat him. |
| delia ba | I have hit. |
| deliman | they hit. |

3. Two verbs have the Imperative in -o or -u, a corresponding *v* appearing in the Past Pc. Act. and in the -i form.

| | |
|----------------------|---------------------|
| d*-tas (v. § 302.) | d*-tsu bring. |
| *-aras (v. § 298.5.) | *-aso say to, tell. |

The plural is in -u.in; d*-tau.in, *-asu.in.

4. hurutas has two forms of the singular imperative: hurut and huru sit down.

5. The verb *-nyas appears in the positive imperative, when used with a 1st. sing. object, to use always the form with prefixed ja- ja-, vide § 255.

| | |
|--------|-------------|
| jar jo | give to me. |
|--------|-------------|

In the negative, with one exception, the only forms recorded have the pron. prefix a-, the imperative being:

| | |
|------------------|-------------------|
| ayau (a + a + u) | don't give to me. |
|------------------|-------------------|

319. There are a few DEFECTIVE VERBS which appear to exist only in the Imperative form:

a) aeo pl. aeo'in, aeo'in wait, wait ye.

aeo is used as a noun meaning "delay" or "time".

b) ga pl. gai.in take.

c) pl. go'n, go'in, gun, go'na proceed(?)
(said to be equivalent to Hindustani "chaliye")

ye go'n ni'en come now, let us go(?)

may be equivalent to the Pashtu:

"dzai i ce dzu" go ye that we may go. i.e. come along, let us go.

But in

ye go'n ai.i scu'mo glossed: "go my daughter", she said, and in another similar case, it seems from the context to mean "let us go".

d) ya, yaiye pl. yai'in, yai.in shut up, hold your tongue.

IMPERATIVE + a.

320. The Imperative is sometimes used with a suffixed -a, (generally unaccented) which does not appear materially to affect its meaning. It is possible that it softens the abruptness of the plain Imperative and imparts a slightly deprecatory tone to it, as in English: "Just go, will you?", "just wait a moment".

Perhaps this -a is by origin the Interrogative particle: "go, will you?", "wait a moment will you?" used in a somewhat conciliatory sense.

In the texts this form is frequently used by superiors to inferiors, but this may represent efforts to be tactful.

| | |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|
| lukan jar ke aeva | (just) give me a little too. |
| i'se belis tsar 'eta | cut up that sheep (will you?). |
| maltumal etina | listen (to what he says). |

For eta the form etia has once been recorded.

FORMS in -š.

321. In record-taking I have frequently marked this š-suffix as a "retracted sound" i.e. š̄, but I have also frequently not so marked it.

It is probable that it should in fact always be š̄ and I shall thus represent it here throughout.

The functions performed by these -š forms are so various and distinct that there is room for the conjecture that they are to be traced to different origins and that there has probably been partial or complete assimilation of form.

The matter is dealt with later on, v. §§ 357, 358.

As regards form the following appear to be the facts:

1. When the final of the Past Base is *l* or *r* or a vowel, the singular form is obtained by adding -š to it, the plural by adding -šan.

Thus:

| | | | |
|---------|----------------|-----------|----------|
| delaš | delaš. | detsriyaš | detsraš. |
| duwalaš | duwalaš. | niyaš | niš. |
| *-iraš | u.irašan (pl.) | juyaš | juš. |
| yaiyaš | yaš. | tsuyaš | tsuš. |

til *-alaš. til ako'liš (a + gu + ališ) 2nd sg. "don't forget".

2. Their fugitive -u- (v. § 318.3) appears in

d*-tsaš du'tsuš.

*-abaš aya'sušan (neg., let them not call me . . .).

So also, yulaš : yulurē. yulurē pl. uyulšan.

3. When the final of the Past Base is -u the singular form is usually obtained by adding -š or -č.

| | | | |
|-----------|---------|----------|---------------------------|
| *-asqalaš | *-asqaš | selas | senč, or senš. |
| du'naš | du'nš. | d*-maras | dumanč, but also dumaniš. |
| yataš | yataš. | | |

While *-manas has *-manš.

manas has man'iš } a result perhaps of the post-root
and minas } accent. Cp. the negative: omanš.

Also with -iš *-altanaš eltanš.

4. When the final sound of the Past Base is a consonant other than those mentioned above (*l, r, n*) the suffix, as far as available material indicates, is -iš:

| | | | |
|---------------|---------------|----------|---------------------------|
| d*-wabaš | da'usiš | hurartaš | hur'naš. |
| di'naš | di'usiš | *-ataš | *-atiš. |
| i'taš, yetšaš | e'itšā (neg.) | *-šiyaš | e'šiš (neg. u + i + šiš). |
| *-askartaš | *-askartiš | | |

5. Mention may be made here of the curious 2nd. person form from d*ayelaš once recorded:

atuk'ialš. thou shouldest not listen to . . . 50.15.

for which one would expect atukoye'iš parallel to the recorded 3rd pl. form atoye'lšan.

These forms recall those in -š and -šan found with manas (v. § 278) referring to all persons and not only to the 3rd. person.

PRESENT PARTICIPLE.

322. The Present Participle is regularly formed by adding -ume to the present base, or -me where the base ends in a vowel:

| | | | |
|-------|-------|---------|-----------|
| heras | herē- | herēume | weeping. |
| minas | mī- | mīme | drinking. |

In verbs with the past base ending in an -u which disappears in the present base, the Present Participle approximates closely to the form of the 3rd. sg. huxy of the future:

3rd. sg. hm. Fut. mai'imi, me'imi. Pres. Pt. mai'ime, me'ime being.

| | | |
|-----------|-------------------|----------|
| bore'imi. | bore'mi, bore'ime | looking. |
| se'imi. | se'ime | saying. |

The Present Participle has only been recorded in the 3rd. person sg. It seems probable that the -um- of the ending is the same as that of the 2nd. and 3rd. persons of the Static Participle. In that case the 1st. pers. ending would be -ame. The -e is perhaps the general oblique suffix.

PAST PARTICIPLE ACTIVE.

323. The formation of the Past Participle Active is somewhat varied and complicated. It appears in four types of form as follows:
1. n (+ vowel) + past base + -i'n (-in), or -n (occasionally -ni'n).
 2. n (+ vowel) + past base, or past base less a final -n.
 3. past base + -i'n, or -n (occasionally -ni'n).
 4. the simple past base.

The occurrence of these forms is subject to the following conditions.

- a) All verbs with Pronominal Prefixes and all verbs beginning with a vowel take an n- prefix.
- b) The n- prefix does not occur with verbs beginning with a movable d-, i.e. d⁺-, d⁺-a-, d⁺-as-, or, probably, a radical d-.
- c) After a prefixed n- the initial of the verb if it is any voiced consonant (except w) is changed to the corresponding voiceless consonant. This effect does not operate through a pronominal prefix.
- d) Where there is no pronominal prefix the n- prefix usually carries an u or u vowel, nu-, nu-, but when the vowel of the verbal root is i, the prefix is ni- or ni-
(but, minas to drink ppc. numin).
- e) Verbs whose past base ends with a vowel always take an -n suffix. In these cases the final vowel of the base is preserved in some form, frequently a reduced form, before the -n.
- f) The only two verbs recorded beginning with hu- viz. huljaiyas and hurut_{as} drop the h after the n- prefix and change -u- to -u', -u'.
- g) Many verbs have alternative forms of ppc's active.

These points will be found illustrated in the following examples

EXAMPLES of the PAST PARTICIPLE ACTIVE.

324. 1. n (+ vowel) + past base + i'n or n.
- | | | | |
|------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| *-citsas | (*-yetsas, *-itsas) | to see. | Past base *-ets-, etc. |
| ni.etsin | | having seen me. | |
| nukuritsin | | having seen thee. | |
| ni'itsin | | having seen him. | |
| ni'itsin | | having seen them. | |

- | | | | |
|-------------|---------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| *-tsuryas | to take away. | Past base *-tsu-. | |
| natsun | | having taken me away. | |
| nitsun | | having taken him away. | |
| numutsun | | having taken her away. | |
| namatsun | | having taken you (pl.) away. | |
| gurtsas | to run. | Past base gurts-. | |
| nukurtsin | } | having run. | |
| nukurts | | | |
| o'sas | to set down, place. | Past base o's-. | |
| no'sin | } | having placed. | |
| no's | | | |
| *-asas | to say to. | Past base *-as(u). | |
| nesun | | having said to him. | |
| numosun | | having said to her. | |
| hurutas | {& huručaiyas} | to sit. | |
| | nurutin | } | having sat down. |
| | nurut | | |
| | n'uručar'n (-an) | | having sat down. |
| *-a.uru'tas | to make sit down. | | |
| | nukurut | } | having made thee sit down. |
| | nuko'rutin | | |
| | no'urutin | | having made them sit down. |

Verbs with the past base ending in -a (-ā) have -an, -en.

- | | | |
|-------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| bišaiyas | to throw etc. | |
| nipišan | | having thrown. |
| *-abišaiyas | to cause to throw etc. | |
| ne'ibišen | | having caused him to throw. |
| da'aiyas | to hide v.i. | |
| nut'ayan | } | having hidden (oneself). |
| not'ayan | | |
| *-atas | to make etc. | Past base *-at- has -an. |
| netan | | having made him. |
| numotan | | having made her. |

The 2nd. sg. is however recorded as *nukotin* and the 2nd. pl. as *nama'tin* *having made you*. Cp. § 298.4.

The following forms in *-nin*, *-nin* have been recorded:

| | | |
|---------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>šilas</i> | <i>to eat</i> (sg. x obj.) | |
| | <i>nıştinin</i> | } <i>having eaten.</i> |
| | <i>nıştin</i> | |
| <i>*-uyas</i> | <i>to give</i> (hx obj.) | |
| | <i>uyunin</i> | <i>having given to him.</i> |
| | <i>un'in</i> | } <i>having given to them.</i> |
| | <i>un</i> | |
| <i>go'yas</i> | <i>to pick up.</i> | |
| | <i>nukavun(i'n)</i> | <i>having picked up.</i> |

325. 2. *n* (+ vowel) + past base, or + past base less a final *n*.

Several examples have appeared as alternatives in last section.

| | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <i>*-yanas</i> | <i>to take</i> (hx obj.) | |
| | <i>n'in</i> | <i>having taken him, it.</i> |
| | <i>numuryen</i> | <i>having taken her.</i> |
| <i>gutsaras</i> | <i>to proceed.</i> | |
| | <i>nukutsar</i> | <i>having proceeded.</i> |
| <i>bar'enas</i> | <i>to look</i> | |
| | <i>nup'aran</i> | <i>having looked.</i> |
| <i>h'eras</i> | <i>to weep.</i> | |
| | <i>nuh'er</i> | <i>having wept.</i> |
| <i>waras</i> | <i>to place over, cover with.</i> | |
| | <i>nyuwar, nyu'ar</i> | <i>having covered (it).</i> |

Here *-y-* is probably the pron. pf. *i-*, as also in *nyu.əl* || *nīwal* (*walas*) and *nyu.e'šin* (*wasīlas*).

| | | |
|-------------------|---|------------------------------|
| <i>bisorkas</i> | <i>to cut crops, reap.</i> | |
| | <i>nipi'sar</i> | <i>having reaped.</i> |
| | (with loss of <i>-k</i>). | |
| <i>gušinginas</i> | <i>to take counsel.</i> | |
| | <i>nukuškin</i> (with loss of medial <i>-u-</i>) | <i>having taken counsel.</i> |

With loss of final *-n*.

| | | |
|--------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>ganas</i> | <i>to take</i> (y objects). | |
| | <i>nuka</i> <i>nukan</i> | <i>having taken.</i> |
| <i>manas</i> | <i>to become.</i> | |
| | <i>num'a</i> <i>num'an</i> | <i>having become.</i> |
| <i>senas</i> | <i>to say.</i> | |
| | <i>n'use</i> <i>n'usen</i> | <i>having said.</i> |

The short forms corresponding to *n'-atān* from **-atan* to *make*, though ending with a vowel, lack a final *-n*.

| | | |
|---------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>*-atis</i> | <i>to make.</i> | |
| | <i>na</i> | <i>having made me</i> |
| | <i>nuko</i> | <i>having made thee</i> |
| | <i>ne</i> | <i>having made him</i> |
| | <i>num'o</i> | <i>having made her</i> |

etc., v. § 298.4.

326. 3. Past Base + *-in*, or *-n* (occasionally *-nin*).

This and type 4. are practically confined to verbs beginning with *d-* and in many cases are alternatives.

| | | |
|------------------|---|--------------------------------------|
| <i>du'nas</i> | <i>to seize.</i> | |
| | <i>du'nin</i> and <i>du'n</i> | <i>having seized.</i> |
| <i>di'usas</i> | <i>to take out.</i> | |
| | <i>di'usin</i> and <i>di'us</i> | <i>having taken out.</i> |
| <i>dursas</i> | <i>to come out.</i> | |
| | <i>dursin</i> and <i>du's</i> | <i>having come out.</i> |
| <i>ditas</i> | past base <i>dita(u)</i> <i>to bring him, it (x).</i> | |
| | <i>ditsun</i> | <i>having brought him, it (x).</i> |
| <i>dusuyas</i> | <i>to bring it, them (y).</i> | |
| | <i>dusun, dusun</i> | <i>having brought, it, them (y).</i> |
| <i>d*-ayelas</i> | <i>to hear.</i> | |
| | <i>deyelin</i> and <i>deyel</i> | <i>he having heard.</i> |
| <i>di'eyas</i> | <i>to stand up.</i> | |
| | <i>dī'en</i> | <i>having stood up.</i> |

ḏ^h-ašqaltas *to arrive.*

ḏošqaltin and ḏošqalt *they having arrived.*
 juyas *to come.* Past base ḏ^h-, ḏ^h-a-
 ḏa'n *I having come.*
 ḏin *he having come.*
 ḏumou *she having come.* etc.

This verb also gives at least some forms with the double suffix -in e.g.

ḏin'in *he having come.*
 ḏumou'in *she having come.*
 ḏu'nin beside ḏu'n *they having come.*

niryas *to go.*

This verb has forms of type 4 with the -n of the base as final, the -i of the root being lost, as well as forms of type 3 with -in added to the -u of the base. Thus:

na'n and na'in *I having come.*
 nin and nin'in *he having come.*

In these cases, if this view is correct, -nin is not a double suffix as implied by me in B. S. O. S. IV. 3 (June 1927), p. 520.

327. 4. The simple Past Base.

Examples of this have occurred in the last section as parallel to forms of type 3.

I can only add one or two of which (possibly by accident) I have not met parallel forms with -in.

ḏuso'kas *to dismantle, descend.*

ḏuso'k *having dismantled.*

ḏ^h-talas *to wake up v.i.*

ḏital *he having waked up.*

ḏ^h-aḡuḡas *to extract, draw out, etc.*

ḏeḡuḡ *having extracted (it).*

ḏumoḡus *having pulled out (her sleeves) for her.*

ḏ^h-maḡas *to be born.*

ḏiman *he having been born.*

THE STATIC PARTICIPLE.

328. The Static Participle has a variety of uses of which the name is not descriptive. These are treated at length in §§ 371 ff.

Here it may briefly be described as a participle which denotes the being in a state that results from an action.

In certain circumstances the Static Participle forms can take the case suffixes.

The Static Participles of Intransitive Verbs are ACTIVE.

" " " " Transitive Verbs are PASSIVE, like the English passive Participles "done", "seen", but they also appear sometimes to be used with an active sense, when they are equivalent to an English relative clause:

Bu. the I-have-done thing = Engl. the thing which I have done, the thing I did.

The endings, which are added to the past base of the verb, appear to be:

| | | | | |
|---------|-------|------|-------|------|
| Active. | sg 1. | -am. | pl 1. | -am. |
| | 2. | -um. | 2. | -um. |
| | 3. | -um. | 3. | -um. |

Passive. only recorded with -um.

The 1st. sg. active forms, so far as they are known, exactly duplicate the ordinary 1st. sg. of the Preterite. Only one 1st. plural form has been recorded:

ḏu'nam(or) from ḏu'nas.

In the remaining active forms, and the passive forms (only known in the 3rd. person) the suffix is -um.

When this is added to a past base with a final vowel the -u is elided, or coalesces with the final vowel of the base.

In verbs whose infinitive ending is -as the static pc. ending is ordinarily -um.

So for these -um forms we have:

| | | | | |
|-------------|----------|------------|--------------|--|
| | Infin. | Past base. | St. pt. | |
| huru'čaiyas | huru'ča- | huru'čam | seated. | |
| di'eyas | di'e | di'em | standing up. | |

| Infm. | Past base. | St. pc. | |
|---------|------------|----------------|---------------|
| n'iyas | n'i- | n'im | gone. |
| w'āi-as | w'āi- | w'āim | thrown. |
| ts'nyas | ts'u- | ts'nm | carried away. |
| man'a-s | man- | man'nim, manum | become. |

329. a) In the 3rd. person the Static Participle is of common occurrence, but in the other persons it is rare, except in the 1st. singular. It is then unfortunately identical with the 1st. sg. preterite and it is really impossible to assert that the two parts exist separately. When it belongs to an intransitive verb it is found with the case suffixes, but one cannot definitely assert that a 1st. pret. may not be capable of taking case suffixes.

It may therefore be well here to state the grounds on which the existence of a Static Participle in the first and second persons is held to be proved, and at the same time to give illustrations of its occurrence in all persons.

For the 1st. person sg. the following forms seem to be decisive:
 gats gabaṭe je hik daiyam ba I am once-having come by this road,
 i.e. I have come once. 124.21.

s's haṭureṭe hik ke huljaiyam apa I am not having-riden even
 once on that horse, i.e. I have never once ridden.

Here daiyam and huljaiyam cannot be the 1st. sg. pret.; they are really adjectives, i.e. participles, and the verb is ba. This is shown by the fact that the negative particle is attached to it in the second example and not to huljaiyam. [The 1st. sg. perfect negative given in the texts is oljaiya ba (i.e. a + oljaiya ba) where the verbal combination is treated as a unity, following the regular practice in regard to the recognised compound tenses.]

- b) This being accepted¹ the rest follows and the 1st. sg. Static Participle (not the preterite) will be seen in the following *Intransitive* forms:

¹ Further evidence could be adduced from Werschikwar, but it seems unnecessary.

- Sg. 1st. huru-tamulo when I was pregnant. 158.11.
 je dny hurutamer when I had sat for a little. 16.14.
 ni-tramer on my being dead, on my dying. 218.4.
 bas amadam diṣulo miywm I shall drink at the I-spent
 the-night place, i.e. at the place where I spend the
 night. 126.12. Note.

With *Transitive Verbs* we have examples of the following type where the verb appears to be active:

- ja guryam baskaret the I-having-given-to-you wether, i.e.
 the wether I have given you. 62.21.
 je til wlam ite čaya the I-having-forgotten story, i.e.
 the story I have forgotten. 72.3.

- c) Here I have also recorded as an alternative — wlum. Unstressed -um and -am are not always easily distinguished, and when I recorded this and similar instances I was not alive to the issue at stake.

Both forms may, however, be correct, for a-lem may be taken as 3rd. sg. passive agreeing with čaya — "the story forgotten by me".

This explanation is applicable in many cases e.g.

- ja senuman jočuma? will you give me the-thing-said-by-me? 118.22.

- d) The nominal(?) suffix -an appears in a 1st. pers. form in:
 šiaman jar bəkat! may what-I-have-eaten be my portion! 212.14.

(The -a- is probably due to a shift of accent owing to the addition of the -an,

šiAM + AN → ši.AMAN → ši.AMAD.)

An example with a case suffix is seen in:

- jame ja taakwmar tarunter maniṣ! on my drawing the bow may
 it fly in pieces! 172.5.

- e) Sg. 2nd. This form is seen in the intransitive gumarum from
 *-manas.

- u'ny ar ukumarum girat you not-fearing dance. 182.2.
 guwa'um you being lost. 264.11.

With transitive verbs it is impossible to quote examples which may not equally well be the 3rd. pers. passive form of the participle:

uŋe senum guta durro etuma ke *if you do this thing you have said, or, this thing said by you.*

In the following it is probably 2nd. sg. active:
hes dukorwa bardsa nokeri aytum(aŋe)? *why have you returned, not having done service for the king?* 40.10.

f) Sg. 3rd. h, x, y.

| | | |
|-----|----------------------|---|
| hm | mendaŋ imanumer | <i>on his becoming big.</i> 68.1. |
| | diŋmer | <i>on his coming.</i> |
| lif | dumom̄mer | <i>on her coming.</i> |
| x | iŋe diŋm burn | <i>the boulder that has come down.</i> 294.6. |
| | iŋe haŋur ɣursum ɕor | <i>the cliff into which the horse had sunk.</i> 278.1. |
| y | tsil dusumtum | <i>after the water being-come-out i.e. had come out.</i> 350.2. |

With -an.

dyu.asuman ɕapik *the bread remaining over.* 208.9.

Transitive.

| | | |
|----|---------------------|--|
| hm | aŋdar deŋum iŋe hir | <i>the man who had slain the dragon.</i> 284.8. |
| x | bura mamu etum bi | <i>the cow is having-made-milk, i.e. has become pregnant.</i> 186.5. |

Note the 3rd. sg. at'uskum, *he-not-getting-down.* 80.2, probably for a + dusokum from duso'kas and due to the shifting back of the accent.

g) Pl. 1st.

Intransitive.

mi'rum̄er, (for mi'raimer?) *on our being dead, on our dying.* 202.1.

Transitive.

je ke in (sulama) du'namer *on our wrestling, I and he.* 218.7.

Pl. 2nd.

Intransitive.

pasom̄ amamanum *you (pl.) not hesitating.* 44.23.

Pl. 3rd.

Intransitive.

| | |
|-----------------|--|
| ɣalirz umanumer | <i>on their becoming ill.</i> 114.25. |
| dum̄er | <i>on their being come, on their coming.</i> |
| wirumer | <i>for those who are dead.</i> |

Transitive.

| | |
|--|---|
| gulaŋo ɣa're aiyortem . . . fat etuman | <i>not having buried the bodies . . . they left them.</i> 240.9. |
| ɕapik̄ ditsum guŋiŋants | <i>the women bringing bread.</i> 210.17. |
| With -an giving a form identical with the 3rd. pl. pret. | |
| baten̄ duŋumantsum baxŋis̄ dum̄er̄an̄ | <i>they ask pardon from those-who-have-brought the stones.</i> 312.7. |

(Cp. baman 3rd. pl. h st.pe. of ba § 389. b.)

h) In the verb *ba* the forms of the Static Participle are identical with those of the past tense, or to state it otherwise, the same forms function both as parts of a finite past tense and as participles.

The suffix -an̄ is frequently added to the 3rd. sg. x and y forms and the plural forms. V. § 389. b.

330. a) Resuming now what we have found in studying the forms of the Future, Conditional and Preterite tenses and the Static Participle, we can form a more comprehensive view of the conjugation of the verb.

We have found that there are two series of endings:

1. Personal endings:

| | | | |
|------------|--------|--------|-------------|
| sg. 1. | -a | pl. 1. | } -an, -en. |
| 2. | -a | 2. | |
| 3. m, x, y | -i | 3. mf | -an, -en. |
| f | -a, -u | x | -en, -i.e. |
| | | y | -i. |

2. Participial endings:

| | | | |
|------------|-----|--------|------|
| sg. 1. | -am | pl. 1. | -am. |
| 2. | -um | 2. | -um. |
| 3. h, x, y | -um | 3. | -um. |

Each series may be added to both past and present bases.

b) The endings of the FIRST SERIES appear alone added to the Present Base in certain parts of the Future viz. the 1st. sg. and pl., and in alternative forms of the 3rd. sg. and 3rd. pl. x and y, e.g.

ɕam, ɕan; ɕi, ɕo; ɕem, ɕe; and ɕi.

They also appear alone added to the Past Base in an alternative series of forms of the *Preterite*, e.g.

eta, eta, eti, eta; etan, etan, etan; etien, et.

These are the normal preterite forms in Werschikwar.

The vowels are perhaps also to be recognized in those added to the bases in the compound parts of the Present, Imperfect, Perfect and Pluperfect tenses.

The endings of the SECOND SERIES appear alone, added to the Present Base in the *Conditional* (except the 1st. pl.) and added to the Past Base in the *Stative Participle*. They also seem to provide the *Present Participle* form, with an added -e.

These endings appear again in forms of the 2nd. and 3rd. sg. and the 2nd. pl. h and the 3rd. pl. h, x & y of the *Future*, e.g.

ečuma, ečimi, ečumo; ečuman, ečuman, ečuman, ečimi, ečimi.

And in alternative forms of the *Preterite*, viz. 2nd. and 3rd. sg.: 1st. and 2nd. pl. and 3rd. h x y pl. e.g.

etuma, etim, etumo; etuman, etuman, etimi, en, etimi.

In all these cases they have the endings of the first series affixed to them.

In these combined endings the vowel of the participial -um is changed to i under the influence of a following -i.

eč-um-i → ečimi.

et-um-i → etimi.

The 1st. pl. pret. etuman instead of etaman appears to be due to a generalising of the form of the 2nd. and 3rd. persons.

INFINITIVE, NOUN AGENT, GERUND etc.

331. Examples of the Infinitive have already been incidentally given in discussing the verbal bases, v. § 211. ff.

It may be recalled that the Infinitive normally consists of the Past Base + -as.

In a few verbs the ending is -a's or -as which appears to be due to the stress accent falling on the termination. V. §§ 211, 213.

Another point to be noted is that when the Infinitive form is used with the force of a noun-agent, and perhaps also, when used gerundivally, it is susceptible of inflection for the plural, v. §§ 28.12, 110, & 403. So:

etas *doer* pl. etašo.

manu's *one who becomes* pl. manušo.

The plural forms are relatively often used as attributive adjectives akin to the noun agent, e.g.

ečarsšo beričo *music-playing craftsmen* (i.e. *handsmen*).
đolat še.šo wazir'tin *wealth-devouring wazirs*.

The plural has been recorded with the -ik suffix:

henas *to know*, henašnik ha'n *you are wise people* (lit. *people who know*).

THE VERB in the NEGATIVE.

332. The negative conception of the verb is in almost all cases expressed by prefixing to it the particle a- or a-, usually unaccented.

With a few verbs, which are mentioned later, (§ 339) the prefix is a- or o- which is commonly accented.

The prefix a- precedes all other prefixes, whether prefixal pronouns or d-.

In compound tenses the prefix is added to the principal verb, not to the auxiliary:

amačiča ba (*-čičas) *I am not going to give it to you* (pl.).

ačučo bo'm (juyas) *she was not coming*.

333. When the negative of the Indefinite Pronouns and Adjectives, *no one, nothing, none* etc. is required the negative particle is added to the verb, and the particle ke is frequently subjoined to the pronoun or adjective:

beska ap'i *there is nothing, there is none*.

mi men xabar ap'an *none of us knows* (pl.).

in mentsuma ke ar emaibam (= a + imaibam) *he feared no one*.

besan ke aytuma *thou hast done nothing*.

gute ha'le besan api *there is nothing in this house*.

334. The principal problem that exists in connection with the negative prefix a- arises from the effect which it produces on a following sound.

When the following sound is a vowel either a y-glide is inserted between it and the prefix, or the two vowels amalgamate.

When the following sound is a consonant, if it is a voiced stop it becomes voiceless, and in one or two other cases voiced sounds other than stops are devoiced.

The following is a detailed scheme of the vowel changes which accompany the prefixing of the negative -a so far as I have been able to note them. The vowels in the second column represent any closely related sound, thus a stands for a', a, and ɹ; u for u', u, and u and so on:

| Neg. pref. | | Initial of verb. | Resulting combination. |
|------------|---|------------------|------------------------|
| a | + | a, ɹ | aya-, aya-, aya-, aya- |
| u | + | e, ɛ | aye-, aye-, aye- |
| u | + | i | e-, e- |
| a | + | o | ayo-, ayo- |
| a | + | u | o- (sometimes a.u.) |

Examples:

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| etiš ay'a'maiyam (a + amaiyam) | <i>I shall not be able to do it.</i> |
| ma aiyayunuman, 'ayuy'unuman | <i>you did not give (them) to me.</i> |
| aiyarin (a + arin) | <i>don't send me.</i> |
| ay'eti, aiy'eti (a + eti) | <i>don't do it.</i> |
| aiye'sqana ba (a + esqana) | <i>I have not killed him.</i> |
| ayemaimi | <i>he will not be able.</i> |
| e'čiman (a + ičiman) | <i>they did not give (it) to him.</i> |
| e'delin (a + idelin) | <i>don't beat him.</i> |
| e'irči (a + irči from *-iras) | <i>he will not die.</i> |
| e'uča ba (a + i + uča from *-uyas) | <i>I do not give (it) to him.</i> |
| The positive is yuča for i + uča. | |
| ayoltirumač (a + oltirum) | <i>without having shown (it) to them.</i> |
| ayotuma ke (a + otuma) | <i>if thou didst not make them.</i> |
| ure do-do aiyoskartsimi | <i>he did not cut their throats for them.</i> |
| o'čimi (a + u'čimi from *-čilas) | <i>he did not give (it) to them.</i> |
| o'umi (a + u'umi) from *-uyas) | <i>he did not give (it) to them.</i> |
| o'itsas p'fartsin (a + u + *-itsas) | <i>a not seeing them cap i.e. cap of invisibility.</i> |

In verbs beginning with hu- the h- disappears and they behave as if they began with u or u.

hurušarŋ they are sitting; o'rušarŋ they are not sitting.
 haγurečtə o'lja (from huljaiyas) don't mount the horse.

Over a considerable series of examples the forms are very regular.

335. Occasionally the accent has been recorded on the negative prefix, principally where it is amalgamated with the pronoun prefix.

E.g. 'e'γun (a + i'γun) don't give (it) to him.
 'ediljaŋ (a + idiljaŋ) we shall not beat him.

and sometimes with forms of ctas e.g.

ayetam 3rd. sg. plup.

'aiyetimi 3rd. sg. pret.

336. The verbs "to give" (v. § 231. d.) provide some peculiar forms: From *-čilas (v. § 294):

an.učimi beside o'čimi (a + u'čimi) he did not give to them.

From *-uyas:

ayau (a + a + u)

don't give it to me.

bese aiy'au.uča

why dost thou not give to me?

aiyau.uma (2nd. sg. pret.)

thou didst not give to me.

aiyawa, aiyau.a (2nd. sg. perf.)

thou hast not given to me.

It will be remembered that *-uyas in the positive takes a prefixed ja- when the indirect object is the 1st. pers. sg., yielding:

joyas joč- to give to me. (V. § 255).

When the indirect object is 3rd. sg. m. the form becomes

yuyas yuč- to give to him.

In the negative, however, the i-prefix amalgamates with the negative:

e'uča ba I do not (am not going to) give to him.

337. The scheme of the changes of consonants following the negative prefix a- are as follows:

| | |
|-------|-------------------------|
| g > k | γ > q (k?) |
| d > t | (j?), j > (č?), č. |
| b > p | h is variously treated. |

Examples:

gamas to take

hukəm akamas

to disobey an order.

*-iras to die

aku.irčuma

thou wilt not die.

*-aršaias to get drunk

akorša

don't get drunk.

| | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|------------------------------------|
| girminas | to write | akirmin | don't write. |
| dirni | he came | atimi, atimi | he did not come. |
| domas | to open | atomin | do not ye open. |
| d*-ašqaltas | to arrive | atšiqaltimi | he did not arrive. |
| baftas | to wash (clothes etc.) | apu't | don't wash. |
| belas | to put on (clothes etc.) | apcl | don't put on. |
| "-isi bayalte'as | to go mad | atsi aparyaltaiya ba | I have not gone mad. |
| yanas | to appear, be visible | Duma'niakanimi | Dumani (mountain) was not visible. |
| yarisas | to agree | kar'ki aq'arišo bo | (our) sister refuses (to go). |
| | | aq'orēi | he will not speak. |
| yilti'ras | to be extravagant, show off | hur' aqiltir | don't be very extravagant |
| juyas | to come | ačuēa ba | I am not coming. |
| | | ačuēai | he isn't coming. |
| | | ačuēila | it isn't coming. |

Of this verb there are many examples. I know no other verb in *j*, and only one in *j* viz. *jali'as* of which I have no negative forms.

338. It has already been mentioned (§ 334. end) that the *h-* of the two verbs beginning with *hu-*, viz. *huljaiyas* and *hur'ntas* is dropped when the negative particle is prefixed. It will be noted that the *hu-* is not accented. In *h'enas* to know the *h-* is changed to *k*.

| | |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| akeryan (1st. pl. fut. = pres.) | we do not know. |
| akevima (2nd. sg. fut. = pres.) | thou dost not understand. |
| akerya ba, ak'e.i ba | I do not know, thou dost not know. |
| ake'nimi | he did not know. |

Of *h'akinas* to learn.
and *h'er'as* to weep.

I have recorded 2nd. sg. neg. imperative forms with *o'*.

| | | | |
|-------|-------|---------|--------------|
| hakin | learn | o'hakin | don't learn. |
| her | weep | o'wer | don't weep. |

I know only two other verbs in *h-* and of these I have no negative forms. They are:

| | |
|----------|-----------------------------|
| halqas | to give birth (of animals). |
| herai'as | to urinate. |

339. a) The second negative prefix *o'*, *o'*, always, I think, stressed, is used to the exclusion of the other with the following very common verbs:

| | | | |
|--------|---------------|-------|---------|
| manas | to be, become | ni'as | to go. |
| min'as | to drink | senas | to say. |

also with *surmanas* to begin *šeryas* to eat.

Examples:

| | |
|-----------------|---------------------|
| o'mai.i bo | she is not. |
| es laq o'manimi | it didn't move. |
| o'mai.imi | it will not become. |

It is to be noted that, as far as form goes *o'manuman* may stand for either

o' + manuman, or *a + umanuman*.

o'min do not thou drink.

(The positive is *min'e*.)

| | |
|----------------|--|
| o'minum | not having drunk. |
| o'ni | do not thou go. |
| o'ničam | I shall not go. |
| o'san | do not thou say. |
| o'sena ba | I have not said (i.e. I have said not, refused?) |
| o'scuman | they did not say. |
| bušai.i o'šimi | he did not occupy (lit. eat) the land. |

b) The only other verbs with which I have noted it are *hakinas* to learn and *heras*, to weep, mentioned in the last paragraph.
taskas to draw, smoke (pipe).
a'furn o'taski don't smoke opium.

(The positive being *taska*.)

and, *tsuryas* to take away.
(guse baskaret) *o'tsuēa?* won't you take (this sheep) away?

Verbs commencing with the voiceless stops *k* and *p* not preceded by the pronoun-prefixes are scarce and I have no negative forms of them, nor of those commencing with *t* (except those just mentioned) of which there are several. It would be interesting to know whether by any chance they follow the model of *otaski* and *otsuca* and take *o-*.

THE VERB in the INTERROGATIVE.

340. A question is indicated by adding a suffix *-a* to the verb. Where the verb already ends with *-a* the interrogative suffix is not apparent. It is probable that the final *-a* tends to be accented and lengthened by the reinforcement of the interrogative, but I cannot say that I have noted this as a fixed rule, and the final *-a* of a verbal form may sometimes be accented where there is no question. In the 2nd. sg. of the present and perfect tenses the *-a* of the termination is more or less long and is often accented.

When the sentence contains an interrogative word, e.g. an interrogative pronoun, adjective or adverb, the suffix *-a* is discarded. Cp. § 147. Note.

Examples:

- a) *gan mene he.iba'na* does anyone (pl.) know the road?
kitap hik bare'ima, g'oltirčama? will thou have a look at the book, shall I show it to thee?
etimi.a? has he not come?
Alqaše guyər hik šau et'ama, a'ito šau et'ama? had Alqash struck your father one blow, had he struck him two blows?
u'ye go'se mud'a man'imi.a has thy heart's desire come to pass?
gute tsane yenis bila, ap'ia, u'ye bare'n is this really gold or is it not? look and see.

In such cases as the last the idiom amounts to a dependent question: "see whether this is really gold or not".

Similarly:

u'ye atakumanam (d-manas) gu iraiya, walaiya beske lel*

api, mimen xaber apa'n (when) thou hadst not (yet) been born has thy father died or been lost? It is not known, none of us know.

Here one should probably take the *lel api* with *iraiya* etc. and translate:

"It is not known whether thy father died or went missing before thy birth".

- b) The following are examples of verbal forms which already end in *-a* and which remain without addition or alteration:

ja sanuman jočum'a? wilt thou give me what I say?
xaber dusum'a? hast thou brought (pret.) information?
astamər dukow'a? hast thou come for justice?
meniktəm dumer'a? hast thou got (asked) it from someone?
dutavš goməima? wilt thou be able to fetch (charcoal)?

- c) Examples of questions containing interrogative words:

u'ye be he.iba? what dost thou know?
bes dukow'a? why hast thou come?
ma bes herčə'n? why are you weeping?
i'nər be soyam? what shall I say to him?
ma menik bə'n? who are you?
beruman droskuyor šapik ušo.i? to how many hired servants does he give food?

ki'ne i-k besan o'š'i? what name will he give him?
e's mene tsu.a'n? who have taken it away?
Kisər beskan bai.i? what sort of a person is Kiser?
go'n manas ma belate lel ečə'n? how do you know when it is dawn?
amulo bai.i? where is he?
amit guntulo hurušam ha'le? what day shall I (begin to) stay at home?

- d) Examples of dependent questions containing interrogative words:

šapik belate jo'čo kana.o mo advise her how she may give me food.
 In the following *amulo* is the indefinite "anywhere".
ja Kisər amulo baiya iraiya, ma bare'nin see whether my Kiser is anywhere or has died.

341. *Be, be, not*, may be added at the end of an interrogative sentence meaning "or not?". It usually expects an affirmative answer like the Latin *nonne?* and the English formula illustrated by "he has come, has he not?" or "hasn't he come?" where the speaker will be surprised if he has not come. Sometimes, however, there seems to be no preconception about the answer.
- ja auwe buro'ndumuts ycaise bi'ma be? *my father's rings were of gold, were they not? or, he had gold rings, had he not?*
 nyo'naŋe i'mo i-k bilum'a be? *his name was on all of them, was it not?*
 Habasi padša eri mutaula be? *thou hast married the Habashi king's daughter, hast thou not?*
 ja e'ie dušmanan amulo baiya be *is there an enemy of my son anywhere, or not?*
 u'ŋ ju'ča be ja ka? *will thou come with me or not? you'll come with me, won't you?*
 jatsə daq sučamana be? *will you believe me or not?*
 bareyən... tsane ju'čela be ke *let us see if he will actually come or not.*
 Alqaš wazirə e'mutse pfa't gumaii ba be *art thou not in love with Alqaš Wazir's daughter?*
342. There are a few examples of what appear to be rhetorical questions in which *be* precedes the verb and has negative interrogative force:
- u'ŋ e'sqan nu'se be hukem ar etam? *hadst thou not commanded me, saying "kill him"?*
 be go'r du'tsam, u'ŋe be ŋurma? *did I not bring them, and didst thou not eat them?*
343. Occasionally *na* appears in the place of *be*. Only a few certain examples have been recorded:
- jučuma n'a? *will thou come or not?*
 banda' čape maza e'tse o'maimi na? *it won't have (there won't be on it) the taste of human flesh, will it?*
 je ke ba na? *there's I too, isn't there?*
- Once or twice I have recorded forms of the type:
- mene adeljuman na? *will anyone beat me, or not?*

But the duplication of the "n" cannot be regarded as certain; it may simply be:

mene adeljumana? *will they beat me?*

44. I may here mention two expressions which occur in my texts and which I can neither explain nor support:

yančər ničama ya? *shall I go to meet him?* 94.13.

Perhaps *ya'* is "or" and *oničama* understood "or shall I not go". Or possibly *ya'* is an interjection.

yā ja ha'le bi.a ni? *is the bear in my house? (or not?)* 230.1.

45. Occasionally there is no verb expressed in the question:

kine hirər u'ŋ riza? *(art) thou content with this man (for a husband)?* 302.18.

mi gusastsum bešan faiida? *what (would be) the advantage of our telling thee?* 38.16.

THE USES of the MOODS and TENSES.

46. We have now seen the principal types of form in which the Burushaski verb appears and it will have become sufficiently apparent that the grammatical terms ordinarily in use in Europe are not in all cases applicable with any exactitude to the phenomena of Burushaski grammar.

This inapplicability will be made still more evident by the following examination of the uses of the Burushaski moods and tenses.

Another terminology is required, but until our knowledge of the conceptions underlying the mode of expression is more precise it is impossible to invent terms which will describe them.

What conception of existence and matter is it that determines the difference between the *x* and *y* "genders"?

What makes it possible to use one form to cover the functions of the Infinitive, Gerund, Gerundive, Noun and Adjective Agent — or one type of participle to describe a thing as in the state of "having been done," and a person as in the state of "having done"?

For the present all that can be done is to use the current terms which apply to the principal functions of particular forms,

and explain those functions which are not covered by these, or which actually contradict them.

Instead of attempting a formal disquisition on the moods and tenses in Burushaski it will be simpler to take the various parts in order as they are given in the paradigms and examine their uses and signification.

347. The tenses which I have called the FUTURE and PRESENT perform in general the functions associated with the Future and Present Indicative respectively, but they have also special uses.

The FUTURE appears as:

1. the ordinary Future Indicative.
2. in uses associated in other languages with the Subjunctive.
3. in temporal expressions followed by *ke*, with the force of the Present or Preterite Indicative.
4. rarely, with the force of the Present Indicative. It was probably originally an aoristic present.

The PRESENT is used:

1. to denote momentary or continuous action or state in present time: "I am doing something", "I say you are a liar",
2. to denote customary or habitual action; the time being indefinite,
3. as the Historic Present in narrative, equivalent to the Preterite.
4. to indicate Intention or Future Certainty: "I am going to kill you", "I am going to die".

348. The following examples illustrate the USES of the FUTURE:

1. Indicating simple Future action ("I shall" etc.), or Intention of Future action ("I will").

yeñišan gučičam; ho: jayaima? Šura guquyam. I shall give thee some gold; will thou give me green vegetables? Good, I will give thee (some). 64.3.

hik bareima? go'itirčama? will thou have a look (at the book)? Shall I show it to thee? 68.24.

gute je imo harte a'ltul yatayam, wčičuma? I shall read (or I should like to read) it for a couple of days at home; will thou give it to me? 70.1.

2. With the force of the Subjunctive, Hortative etc.

hazar inemo muiyen maimia bar'enin, osumo "See (whether) perhaps there may be a son of her" she said to them. 242.10. (the *a* probably indicates a sort of indirect question with *maimi* subordinate to *bar'enin*).

ekci'l yaski atawasa ba ke da je u'ne gwi ba seyam I have not remained thus worthy that I should say 'I am thy son'. 373.8. (*ke* seems here to be the Persian *kih* introducing a subordinate clause).

It is common in the 1st. person plural with the sense of "let us (do)":

ho nišan šurcar' eč'an let us eat and make merry! 373.20.

ye muto huzar ne šičan now let us eat in comfort. 62.27.

doqarus do'djen let us first enquire and then beat them. 248.8.

But in many such instances it is possible to regard the verb as merely declaring an intention, e.g. "we shall enquire first and then beat them", or "we shall enquire before beating them".

Uses like the following are perhaps to be placed under this head: beruman guntay maimi mur'ic h'arler ni borm she had gone to her mother's house it will be some days ago, or it may be some time ago. 242.8.

3. In Temporal Expressions with *ke*.

ničuman ke ine gus nukučen . . . hičesan dimanam when they got there (lit. "will go") his wife having given birth, a son had been born. 242.12.

urtaqor bareiman ke xan ne bitar when they looked at the tracks they (saw that they) led downwards (lit. "are downwards"). 246.21.

i'ne bare'imi ke i'ne giyas'c jakume sur'at bila when he looks (he sees that) the infant's face is a donkey's; i.e. when he looked (he saw that) the infant had the face of a donkey. 102.6.

When used in this construction certain verbs appear to take normally the short form of the 3rd. sing. future.

niyas and *juyas* usually give *nič'i* and *juč'i*, and there are examples of *eč'i* from *etas*.

- nĩmi; ničĩ ke gučabo muiyen dimanaii *he went; when he goes she has given birth and a son has been born i.e. he went off when he came to his home, (his wife) had given birth and a son had been born to her.* 102.8.
- da jučĩ ke ičen dimanaii *again when he came, a son had been born to him.* 102.14.
- yā ičt'umal ečĩ ke hi're ajab čayan ečaii *when the bear listened, the man was saying a strange thing.* 228.10.
- huyes kaš ečĩ ke han ya'imunan ap'ım *when he slew the goat, one rib was missing.* 234.18.
- "ničĩmi ke . . ." *is once recorded.* 154.13.

4. With the force of the Present Indicative in a main clause.
teljuko eč akeima *thou dost not understand such things,* 66.19.
but only one or two examples can be quoted.

349. The following are Illustrations of the USES of the PRESENT:

1. Denoting Action or State in Present Time.

- bes garša? *It'stum garša ba why art thou running away?*
I am running away for that reason. 228.15, 230.3.
- je čamime e'irča ba *I am dying of hunger.* 373.5.
- bĩ ke han bolis: a'ita amulum du'sa? *there is one sheep: where do you get two from?* 64.24.
- pfut amaiya ba *I am in love (with her).* 66.13.
- wazir'e ju gušaii *the Wazir says to thee "come", i.e. summons thee.* 74.7.

2. Customary and Habitual Action.

- yat guntai ke horanuš ine har'ar ničaii *the next day the intermediary goes to his (the man's) house.* 298.8.
- šikamatiqar har'um jama'at uđim ke han p'iti ečar'n *at the (time of the) Shikamating each household make(s) a cake of bread for each person.* 320.4.
- ayo'ŋko.e taii durowan 'ečar'n *the great do things like this (lit. such a thing).* 74.12.
- yorum zama'na ulo čupursan bu't aba'd bilum seiba'n *they (i.e. people) say that in former times Chupursan was thickly inhabited.* 280.1.

3. The Historic Present used in narrative.

- hikulto i'ri.e se.ibo . . . *one day his mother said . . . (lit. says).* 62.29.
- Alqašar salam ečaii. Wazir er darl meibaii . . . kurtsi. etc. e'urušaii *he salams to Alqash. The Wazir (i.e. Alqash) gets up to (receive) him and makes him sit on a chair.* 74.9.
- bare'imān ke mcniko har or'aršar'n *when they look (they see) some people are ploughing with oxen.* 248.2.

These statements refer to events in past time.

4. Intention or Future Certainty.

- je e'rča ba *I am going to die.* 294.11.
- (guse baskaret)ortsuša? *art thou not going to take (this sheep) away?* 62.15.
- u'ye mu je asqaii b'a? *awa go'sqai.a ba art thou now going to kill me? yes, I am going to kill thee.* 66.8.
- it'e dišulo Alqaš Wazir e'raqaii ba *at that place I am going to kill Alqash Wazir.* 70.20.
- han guntanulo jar derkar' bar'n *One day you will be necessary to me (i.e. I shall have need of you).* 160.10.
- jimalc t'ordine Iran'e Pa'dša i'rčaii *tomorrow morning the King of Iran is going to die.* 38.19.

The use of the Present in certain temporal phrases where English has the Perfect Continuous, may be noted:

- akurrun demizulo je u'ye xidmat eča ba *during so many years I am doing thy service, i.e. for these many years I have been serving thee.* 374.8.

THE IMPERFECT.

350. The use of the Imperfect in Burushaski is parallel to its use in many languages. It denotes:

1. Continuous uncompleted action in past time.
2. Habitual or frequentative action in past time.
3. Occasionally it seems to bear a sense equivalent to English "might", "would" or "could".

Examples:

1. hi thar'or ničĩ bi'm, hin jat gursan tomuk man'imo *it (the bear) was going along to a certain place, (when) an old woman met it.* 228.13.

eitsum ino ha'lor jučam. juči ke Buri Buwulo gori mei bilum
da pfutu girasi bim. u'lo in ke ni'mi, seibam not having
seen (his goat) he was coming home. As he came there was a
light in the Buri Bun and Divs were dancing (there). He too
went in, they say. 234.2.

Habaše pardša i' Alqaš Wazire erimutse pfut niman, Alqašar
nokari ečam. The Habashi King's son, being in love with Alqash
Wazir's daughter, was doing service to A. 66.4.

Less simple is:

hiror yarar er di'mi, amiaa čara aiyerčilum (3rd. sg. y impf.
neg. *-ats) pride came to the man, but a remedy was not af-
fecting him i.e. the man's pride was roused, but there was nothing
he could do. 228.5.

2. u'er Baxti Ketor seibam they called, used to call, them the
Bakhti tribe. 272.2.

šiasar mene besan 'e'wčam no one (pl.) used to give him anything
to eat. 373.2.

thamo ap'am ku.e bap gati ne uri haraš traš ne šečam there
being no Thams, these (people) collecting the tax and dividing it
among them used to appropriate (lit. eat) it. 236.3.
guntš dornor ničam he used to go hunting in the daytime. 22.19.

3. In the following the verb is perhaps to be regarded as an Im-
perfect Subjunctive or Past Potential.

da besane ho.i suča baiyam? how then was I to fetch green vegetables?
(besane should probably be besan ne doing what? i.e. how?)
pforsin yači čimi ke mene ke erišam when he put on the cap no
one could see him, or, if he put on the cap no one would see him.
je be amaiya baiyam what should I be able (to do).

THE CONDITIONAL.

351. "Conditional" is here used in its technical sense as indicating
the statement not of a condition, but of a hypothetical result where
the requisite condition is treated as unrealisable. In English this
is rendered by the forms: *would do, would have done, etc.*

1. Examples of this use in Burushaski are:

Abu Kituqe hu'nts yor ne de'eguram ke 'e'irčumtse if A. K.
had pulled out the arrow forwards, he (Bawiniftan) would not
have died. 150.21.

ma han guntšarulo jar dorkor bayn be ke batulo pftiņ matsičam tse
you will be necessary to me one day, if it were not so, I would
stuff your skin(s) with ashes. 154.3. (So with minor variations,
160.10, 176.10).

duy ke fat etam ke kine ačure idim uyo'n čumare me.imtse
if thou hadst left me alone for a little the body of this brother
of mine would all have become iron. 110.8.

axona pfut ma deli bam ke bur tsil dušum tse if you had shot
the Div much water would have come out. 292.10.

ya bira? . . . nidilin a'lo traq ečam tse is the bear (there)?
. . . (if he were) I would split him in two. 228.9 & 230.2.
(The condition in brackets is probably understood.)

2. There occur instances, however, in which these forms seem to
correspond to other uses of the English *should* or *would* where
there is no condition:

ja lum ke hawa'l gute bila, daltasan amulum sučam tse? my
strength and condition are what you see; whence would I be able
to get anything fine? 138.22.

ja hik bišaiya baiyam han yumur meimtse, ko'k a'lo yumoriņ
bitša I had fired once, there should be one hole, these are two
holes, i.e. here there are 2 holes. 102.36.

torimi šaratandar asir me.imtse kine Ru'me hi're kar man'šar
galt di'mi it would be near 10 o'clock, this man of Ru'n's turn
came to go on patrol. 38.1.

3. Somewhat different again is:

bešal han . . . du'an kuli aiyawa ke ja je.imo šugv'lotiņe ka nišiniā
šuri'or ečam tse thou never gavest me a kid that, eating it
with my friends, I might make merry. 370.9.

Of the examples I have recorded in Werchikwar only one
expresses unfulfilled result. Of the remainder one expresses an

unfulfilled condition, and four habitual action in the past. (Engl. used to do, also would do).

Zarubin (p. 304) says that this construction "expresses unreal(?) condition, and also iterative action repeated in the past".

352. There is little that is peculiar about the uses of the Past-Base tenses: Preterite, Perfect, Pluperfect.

The Preterite is constantly used where the English would at least prefer the Perfect. Sometimes these two tenses are used indifferently.

One special use of the Preterite should be noted. It is employed in conditional and temporal clauses, followed by the particle *ke*, where the action of the verb, which still actually lies in the future, is anticipated as having taken place. (See below § 353.3.)

Occasionally instances occur in which the Perfect or Pluperfect is used where the Preterite would seem to be more in order.

THE PRETERITE.

353. 1. *As the ordinary Narrative Tense.*

Badša hayursum so-kimi. duso-k i-se hayurete bismilla' ne huljami
the king dismounted from his horse. Dismounting he said "bismillah"
and mounted that (other) horse. 6.17.

han he'rše uōran dirmi. Badša d'e'elimi. Badša d'e'yelin taarər
kau etimi: hin namamin menik herēa'n ke ite xabar dusu'in,
senimi a sound of (people) weeping came. The king heard it.
The king, hearing it, called to the guard "one of you, going,
fetch news who is crying" he said. 38.3.

2. *With the meaning of the Perfect.*

be gumanuma? what didst thou become? i.e. what has happened
to thee? what's the matter with thee? 228.14.

ja kine eri irum bam mu dy'uerimi; wa'lum mu d'ayayurka ba
this my son was dead (and) has now come to life; (he was) lost
and now I have found him. 373.21.

(Note the use of the Preterite in the first clause and the Perfect in the second.)

le'i Saladar, d'itsuma? awa, ditsam O Saladar, hast thou brought
(the lamb)? Yes, I have brought it. 68.7.

le Alqaš Waxir, ja o'lji ni'itsin til a'lam O Alqash Waxir, I
had a dream and have forgotten it. 72.2.

Sometimes the preterite corresponds to the pluperfect:

yū amir' ha'lar nirmi ke omičam they used not to go to any house
into which the bear had gone. 228.2.

da bešal uyo'u (ma'l) xarē etimi ke . . . dan šaman dirmi when he
had expended all (his property) . . . a severe famine came on. 372.9.

3. *In conditional and temporal clauses referring to hypothetical events.*

mene hay'es terər tsuman ke, han baskarete jorpa očun if any
one (pl.) takes their flocks to the jungle they find them a ram. 324.5.

amta hirane o'talik yu kaš o'ti ke ba-dša dyu.eši if some man
slays his two sons, the king will survive (o'ti 3rd. sg. pret. hm.
of u + °-atas). 40.16.

mamtsom du'y'orusuman ke mi ma masayundoro barn 'osun if
they inquire of you, say to them 'we are your sister's sons'. 246.16

amine g'iri d'elimi ke i-se g'iri iner yurčai.i if any one (or, whoever)
hits the mark, (the Tham) gives him the mark (plague). 316.8.

The preterite may occur in clauses with "compound relatives"
("whoever" etc.)

thame menər rak etimi ke o'girašai.i the Tham makes whomsoever
he pleases, dance. 318.5.

THE PERFECT.

354. *Examples:*

1. yū akule di bira? has the bear come here? 228.8.

kota her bes dutsun? why have you brought these oxen? 248.12.

kulto a'jab ša'an daiyeča ba today I have heard a strange thing. 228.15.

thamine ku'in mel minas fat o'tai last year and this year he
has made them give up drinking wine. 330.5.

baniladame mamu mini bi, šapik ši bi it (the sheep) has drunk
human milk and eaten human bread. 68.2.

ja be.adapi.en eta ba, w'r baššiš eti I have committed a discourtesy,
forgive me. 74.11.

2. In the following examples the Perfect is used in simple statements of historical fact in the comparatively remote past where English would use the Preterite:

Tapkients A'eš Maiyu're Thame 'o'sqanai.i *Aesh Maiyuri Tham, slew the Tapkients.* 236.7.

Alqas Wazir'e ja ruy 'o'sqanai.i *Alqash Wazir killed my father.* 70.15.

Raskame baiyu'e bap Balotse o'san *The Baltis imposed a salt-tax on Raskam.* 274.7.

Barbare gotsil Ša Gazanfere waxtulo Wazir Asadulla Bige dirusai.i *W.A.B. excavated the Berber channel in the time of Š. I.* 352.7.

3. In the case of a few verbs, owing to the nature of their concepts there is a tendency for the Perfect to assume the value of the Present. This is so with:

gučai.as, *to lie down, to lie down and sleep, to be confined:*

yu're mi myu khatače guča bai.i *down below our father has lain down on a bedstead, i.e. he is lying sleeping on a bed.* 260.8.

hurut'as *(to sit down) to be pregnant:*

ja jama'at huru'to bo *my wife is pregnant.* 56.14.

mamu e'as *to be pregnant:*

guse bura mamu eti bi *this cow is pregnant.* 186.5.

Similarly: eyenai.i *he has gone to sleep, he is sleeping.* 264.24.

THE PLUPERFECT.

355. Examples:

1. Buzur Jamhu're belate šaya e'lam ke te'ilju'ko a'lta i'skumuts bim *just as B. J. had said, there were two such young ones.* 64.28.
- i'se tuyuli bazarečar di'sam. i'te yenuš uči'mi, tuyuli di'simi *he gave the gold to the men (who) had brought the sheep to the bazar and brought the sheep (back).* 68.6.
- han ya'lm'unan kam manimi. i'se ya'lmun ine hirar iyarum yu'am *ur'atsum šap e'lam one rib was missing. They had given that rib to the man and he had hidden it from them.* 234.7.
- gusan nuku'cen da'sinen dum'o'smanu bo'm . . . in gusmo moi

mu.i-rumo *a woman being delivered, had given birth to a daughter . . . The woman's daughter died.* 72.23.

'e'palam mu dime'iyurka'n *we had lost him, now we have found him.* 374.16.

2. It is sometimes used where the Preterite might rather be expected: gute urqe kitap bila. (gopi.e) g'uminur muter'i muči bam *this book is thine. (Thy grandfather) gave it (lit. had given) it to thy mother in her trousseau.* 70.2.

in hi'ne seibai.i efati jo'tan bin e'cnubom *the one says: "she said (lit. had said) his forehead was small".* 158.16.

3. Where the Perfect may be equivalent to the Present (see end of last paragraph) the Pluperfect may be equivalent to the Imperfect: gusan huru'to bo'm, belisane mamu eti bim *a woman was pregnant, and a sheep was with young.* 66.29.

So also:

it'am *he had died* = irum bam *he was dead.* 373.21.

THE IMPERATIVE.

356. 1. There is nothing special to note about the ordinary use of the Imperative apart from its forms, which have been dealt with in §§ 318 & 319.

amulo bo ke demu'tsu *wherever she is bring her here.*

i'te han basi.ene če.i er ato'nin *don't open the door (lit. key, lock) of that garden for him.*

i'te tei'l inemur muči mo'min *give her that water and make her drink it.*

ma asta'm etin *you decide the case.*

maimo Xudai.e ganc jar 'asu.in *for your own God's sake, tell me.*
ja dolat bat bila, xerč eti, menar ke uru *I have great wealth, spend and give to others.*

šu.ni.e, dusu a'l'iri, esimi *he said to him 'good, bring (the book and) show it to me'.*

2. The form with a final -a (see § 320) has perhaps a polite or persuasive force, though it is frequently used to inferiors.

lukan (giyal) jar ke adira je ke šečam *please give me a little (bread) too, that I too may eat it.* 132.16.
 Pačču.ar bəre'nina da maltumal stina be' sebai.i *have a look at P. and listen to what he is saying.* 128.13.
 ko'le ju əsu.ina senimi *he said "say ye to him 'come here'".* 92.12.

3. One special use of the Imperative is in quasi-conditional sentences, where a result or consequence is made to depend on the execution of an order.

The Imperative is here followed by the particle *ke*.
 ine əv ditsu ke ja gar ke uŋe gər nala ečən *bring him for me and we shall celebrate my marriage and thy marriage at the same time.* 184.3.

Alqaš Wazirete haŋu'e asba'b neigin d'itsulin ke in'e'e nujen jučam *put horse equipment on Alqaš Wazir and bring him along and I shall mount him and come.*

THE FORMS in -š, (č).

357. 1. In the third person.

The simple forms in -š (č) are used as a 3rd. pers. sg. with varying senses: imperative, injunctive, permissive and optative, i.e. indicating the exercise of will or desire in relation to a third person.

A corresponding 3rd. pers. pl. is formed by the addition of a final -an.

Examples:

Kisəre ɣatenčən ine iriŋulo dumančə nusen . . . *Kisəre saying:*
 "May it come into being as a sword in his hand!" . . .
 gute jame ja taska'mər tarumter mani'š, ku'e baman uyo'mtse ɣašl
may this bow when I draw it fly in pieces, and may it strike all those present!

tham ine mani'š. *let him be Tham!*
 tso'rdine uyo'n gati mani'šan! *tomorrow let all (the people) assemble!*
 ba'dša hukum etimi ulo ju'š nusen *the king gave command, saying*
 "let her come in" (i.e. she should, or may, come in).

ju'ša go'r sala'm ečo? ju'č, demuriso *may she come to pay her respects to you? she may come, bring her.*
 bə'xxas o'manš! *there should, must, be no disputing!*

Pačču'e jaču ečai.i: padša ɣurɣuənta tso'r daŋ dusu'žen (or daytse nižen) *P. worked magic (saying) let the king's daughters go early to sleep!*

u'qar la'nat mani'š! Po'nikī Pfu'fo'ɣ mənə ak'o'sušan! *mayst thou be accursed! may no one (pl.) call thee Poniki Pfu'fo'ɣ.*
 u'ŋ gu'ɣakal mənə ča'ɣa aye'tišan, u'ŋe bər mən atoye'lšan *let none talk to thee, let none hear thee talk (the meaning being that it is inexpedient that the man should have intercourse with anyone).*

This -š form is used in formulae of cursing and blessing:
 wa ɣə'ɣu uš'ušan! *may the crows eat them! (a curse).* 256.11.
 go'r bərkat mani'š! *blessing be on thee!* 286.4.

2. In other persons.

The use of the -š forms in any other than the 3rd. person appears to be generally restricted to the verb *-manas. In the few examples available the sense appears to be: "may I etc. become, be . . .", expressing desire.

(gu'ɣa'tum) qurba'n amanša! *may I be thy sacrifice!*
 jakun am'anša! *may I become a donkey!*
 bihel gumanš! *bravo to thee! (mayst thou be blessed?)*
 gu'imo watanər xuš'e ka niyas gumanš! *mayst thou go in happiness to thine own country!*

ba'dša'tum xət mimanšan! *may we be a sacrifice for the king!*

But from the following isolated example it would seem that the meaning may also extend to cover the idea "should" or "ought".

u'ŋe guse kursi warts etas gumanš, which appears to mean "thou oughtest to repair this chair".

From other verbs we have the 2nd. sg. forms mentioned in § 321.1 & 4. viz. til ak'o'š, *dont forget*, from til *-alas;
 atə'ki.alš, *dont listen*, from d*-ayelas.

358. With *xa* and as Predicate.

Only the simple, invariable form in $\text{-}\ddot{s}$ is used with the post-position *xa* and as the predicate of certain verbs. With *xa* it appears to be used impersonally, at any rate when the verb is intransitive.

It is difficult to see any connection in meaning between the $\text{-}\ddot{s}$ forms employed in these ways and those illustrated above where they bear an imperative or optative sense.

Examples:

A. with *xa* meaning "till", "up to"; with the negative "so long as . . . not", "when . . . not", and often simply equivalent to the affirmative "until", "before".

1. guks (yenan) gukare je ju \ddot{s} xa xor \ddot{e} eti *expend this (gold) for thyself till I come (back), (till my return).*

ja a \ddot{c} u \ddot{s} xa gu \ddot{c} ama ke goyan dum \ddot{u} mano ke guguri mu \ddot{i} kan o \ddot{s} *so long as I do not return, i.e. before I return, if a daughter is born to thee, do thou thyself give her a name.*

i'n a \ddot{c} u \ddot{s} xa gu \ddot{c} amo *before he returned she gave birth.*

go'n mani \ddot{s} xa *until dawn comes.*

Pa \ddot{c} u go'n o'man \ddot{s} xa di \ddot{o} mi *when it was not yet become dawn, i.e. before dawn, P. got up.*

a \ddot{i} tuwa \ddot{i} tar kuts 'o'man \ddot{s} xa han guntan tsor dumsu \ddot{m} kuli guwir \ddot{c} a *if before 40 days are passed, one day earlier, thou comest out, thou wilt die.*

sita ta \ddot{s} xa axond yat \ddot{a} i be \ddot{i} *the Akhund reads (or, recites) till the lamp goes out.*

Thus used with an intransitive verb one is tempted to look on the $\text{-}\ddot{s}$ form as a noun, but it will be noted that in general the logical subject, where it is expressed, is in the nominative and not in the genitive case; so one is scarcely justified in regarding say

go'n mani \ddot{s} as meaning "the becoming of dawn", only in the second example have we the genitive or oblique *ja* in place of *je*.

2. Examples with transitive verbs are not very numerous and are apt to be obscure. In the 1st. and 3rd. examples below the logical subject of the verb is in the oblique form, probably the Trans. Nom. case, and in all examples the direct object is in the undifferentiated form, probably the accusative. The translations given of the 2nd. and 3rd. sentences below are doubtfully correct.

yulji yetsum ine sise i \ddot{s} kil ja e \ddot{i} tsi \ddot{s} (a + i \ddot{t} as) xa ja \ddot{r} a \ddot{c} u \ddot{c} ila *so long as I do not see the face of the man who has had the dream, (its interpretation) does not come to me. 74.18.*

ine taak deta \ddot{s} xa Bul \ddot{c} uto \ddot{k} u \ddot{e} yanay me \ddot{s} aner nilin gav \ddot{t} aimi *while she was closing the sluice, Bulchutoko put the gold into a bag and ran off.*

sise sanuman Bul \ddot{c} uto \ddot{k} u \ddot{e} yanay tso \ddot{s} xa mi be miman \ddot{u} n? Mi ke nimen su \ddot{c} an *people said: While B. has been carrying off gold what has been happening to us? Let us too go and fetch (gold). 206.5.*

guy \ddot{u} tie ako \ddot{s} kortsi \ddot{s} xa kot bar \ddot{c} ap man \ddot{u} 's ap \ddot{i} *so long as thy head is not cut off this affair is not going to remain secret.*

da ginavni 'e \ddot{s} i \ddot{s} (a + i + \ddot{s} iyas) xa h \ddot{a} ri ip \ddot{f} uparas ap \ddot{i} *then so long, as the "ginani" is not eaten, there is no rubbing the barley between the hands (i.e. it is not permitted to husk and eat it).*

(pa \ddot{d} sa ja jama \ddot{r} at) mutsu \ddot{s} xa ma mene kuli \ddot{c} ar \ddot{a} ama \ddot{t} imi.a? *up to the time that the king carried off my wife were none of you able to do anything?*

359.

B. As the predicate of another verb.

1. The verb dependent on the verb To BE ABLE appears in the $\text{-}\ddot{s}$ form. duwal \ddot{s} amoman \ddot{u} mo *she was not able to fly.*

eti \ddot{s} gomai \ddot{i} ba? *art thou able to do it?*

(hanjil) du \ddot{r} tsu \ddot{s} gomai \ddot{i} ma *will thou be able to fetch (charcoal).*

gut \ddot{c} \ddot{s} arum askiltsum ja \ddot{s} ati \ddot{s} gomai \ddot{i} ma? *will thou be able to remove this shame from my face?*

ki'n mene kuli de \ddot{i} \ddot{s} ay'o'maiman *no one (pl.) whatever will be able to beat (or, kill) this fellow.*

The following are curious:

čumruve bai.i, d'elš ma'manas api he is of iron, you will not be able to beat him. 144.20.

in be emnai bai.i je usqanš he will not be able to kill me. 70.24.

2. Similarly the -š form occurs after *-atas used in the sense of To LET, To ALLOW, To PERMIT.

in niš eti let him go away.

bayum gute tsil miniš eti let the mare drink this water.

mi ho'le du'viš ametum thou hast not let us go out.

Cp. also:

Kine hire rai.i bilum . . . wate'q . . . nuše huru'tiš this man's desire was to abide eating the husks . . . 372.14.

THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE.

360. The Present Participle indicates continuous action or state. It refers to the action as being in progress, not as completed. This action is usually more or less contemporaneous with that of the principal verb, but it may lead up to it. The essential point is that the action is represented as proceeding continuously over a certain space of time.

The Burushaski Present Participle corresponds to the English Present Participle only in certain cases, e.g. when in English the participle follows the principal verb, as: "he went along singing". It can often be rendered in English by an adverbial phrase.

Examples:

Ite pfu gutsarčume Kuli.o Laskir yakalašar di'mi the fire moving along came in the direction of K. L. 198.5.

ho herčume ni'mo then she went off weeping (or, in tears).

Šahza'da Bahram ar imai'me pfu'tar senimi . . . Sh. B. said to the Div . . . fearing (i.e., in fear and trembling). 16.10.

Puno le evi se'imc itai thami Puno pursued after him shouting "O son" (as he went).

361. The Present Participle is frequently used in conjunction with a Past Participle Active, i.e. the participle which denotes completed action.

ho in di.a ino bayuraše nuljan prik e'diljume then having mounted his horse he came along making it career. 122.21.

yuy garšume ni'min jot in ečulo waščai.i his father, having gone running (to him) embraces his younger son.

ošumtsulo durn hi'n hi'n očume oš mōra'k nō yai.i'ne hu're xa g'amo seizing them by the necks and separating them out one by one and twisting their necks she flung them into the mill-race. 206.9.

(The action of separating them out, expressed by the pres. part. is regarded as more prolonged than either the seizing or twisting the neck of each individual, expressed by the past part.)

362. The Present Participle is sometimes duplicated:

gutsarčume gutsarčume han dišan(ər) (di'mi) going on and on he came to a certain place. 244.10.

363. Most frequently as in the above examples the subject of the Present Participle and of the principal verb is the same, but occasionally the subjects are different:

jo'q dox'arčume Zu'q'ar'ne giramulor askur'iq di'mi ke han dastu'ran bilum (when) the apricot trees (were) coming into blossom, (and) when the blossom reached the village of Z. there was a custom . . . 320.1.

(The opening of the blossom begins of course at the lower levels and gradually proceeds up the valley or mountain side.)

bare'imi bare'imi (for, bare'imc) ər tap manimi (as he kept) watching and watching, night came upon him. 234.1.

tai.i mai'imc ša'm xa tama'ša eča'n things going on thus (i.e., in this manner) they keep up the entertainment till evening. 302.10.

364. It is doubtful whether any case for the use of suffixes with the Present Participle can be made out from the texts supplied by Imam Yar Beg, beyond the one instance, herčume. 360.5.

On the other hand in notes obtained from Nazir I have:

ečumaše (or, ečumc) i'rimi he died while doing it,

and similarly from the verbs senas and yaras

sai'imc and yari'ečumaše while speaking, in the act of speaking.

THE PAST PARTICIPLE ACTIVE

365. The function of this participle is to express an action as completed before, or at the point at which, the action of the principal verb begins. It does not express the duration of the action but the moment at which it ceases, or at least ceases to be under consideration. It is therefore used in many instances where English (with less logic) has the present participle: "seeing him there, I turned back", "mounting his horse, he rode away".

Burushaski is averse to a series of finite verbs. As a rule only the last verb of a series is put in a finite tense, the preceding ones being expressed in the form of participles.

In Burushaski Caesar would not have said "I came, I saw, I conquered", but "having come, having seen, I conquered": *da'n, nu'aran, p'fata etam*, or words to that effect.

It is to be noted that the subject of the Past Participle Active is generally the same as that of the principal verb or of a verb immediately following, but exceptions are frequent.

Examples:

da i'i thamo o'padi mel numin nersan ju'cam then he himself,
having drunk wine, and having become drunk, used to come to the
Tham (lit. Thams).

sanduqtsum yaibi gatuz di'usin nupel tes'etor dursumo. dursin zatiqo
kao ne sanumo: "le maper hir . . ." taking the magic clothes
out of the box and putting them on, she went out on to the roof.

Going out and making a loud shout she said: "O, old man . . ."
mu.i dimar irski den manimi her son having been born three years
passed. 58.13.

Saiyid Sa nirin . . . Hunzukuts Gulmitat'or ho'l ni bam S. Sh.
having died the Hunzukuts had gone with a force to Ghulmit. 296.3.

366. The Past Participle Active normally precedes the principal verb of the sentence:

The Past Participle Active of the principal verb of one sentence is very frequently used to introduce the following sentence where the subjects of the two principal verbs are the same. It thus acts

as a sort of conjunction linking sentence to sentence and carrying on the thought from one to the next. In this rôle it might be called a Conjunctive Participle.

pa'dsa yu'ljen yetsimi. yu'lji niritsin til erlimi the king had (lit.
saw) a dream. having had the dream he forgot it.

pfar numa irni mopa'ar di'mi. di'min do'yarusumi . . . returning
he came to his mother. coming he enquired of her . . .

367. *nusen, nuse* the Past Participle Active of *senas* to say is of course used in this way, but following the reported speech it seems to tend to become attached to it, and rather to mark the end of the quotation than to introduce the next clause. This use of the corresponding participles of the verb "to say" is very common in Shina and Khowar.

Shahri Banu.e sanumo "taq aiyetin; ce.i ja'ic bi" *nusen, do'numo*

Sh. B. said "don't break it; the key is with me" saying, she opened it.

Pad'sa hukum etimi, "u'i pi'anda sisar ha'yor tsu'in" *nusen, "no'ljen d'utsu'in"* *nusen, hukum etimi* the king commanded "take horse(s) to those folk on foot", saying, "making them mount, bring them in", saying, he commanded.

pad'sa hukum etimi u'e erar'sur, "Brungkapurd'omu.e doru.ar ni'n" *nusen, u'e erar'su.e bandobas etuman* the king commanded his sons-in-law, "Go for the hunting of Brungkapurdono (the golden calf)" saying. The sons-in-law made preparations.

(See further under *Reported Speech*, § 468.)

368. There are a few isolated examples of the Past Participle Active followed by the past tense of the verb "to be", being used with the force of the imperfect:

Iran'o ha'd'sa iltumal ne bam the king of Persia was listening. 38.12, 40.17.

te'late hisar'b ne tal yaljume Hindi abad ne bam applying the water on this system he used to cultivate(?) Hindi. 262.5.

(Exact meaning doubtful.)

o'ltalik nurut bam, te'ruman'or Baltittsum . . . han buwa'n di'mi the two were sitting (together), when a cow came (down) from Baltit. 186.3.

In these *lam* is apparently regarded as a principal, not an auxiliary, verb.

369. There is no certain example of the Past Participle Active being used with a case suffix.

In the following one example it is probable that the Static Participle *dim* should be read for *di-n*.

ine Pu-nu-ε ha-ler di-n-tsum Pu-nu-ε huy-ε le da p-falo bu-t ma-nimi
after his coming to Pano's house Pano's live stock and crops became
abundant. 210.21.

370. The Past Participle is occasionally repeated, when it acquires much the same sense of continuousness as the Present Participle:
čaya n-tan n-tan Wazir-ε sanimi . . . going on talking and talking,
the Wazir said: . . .
(ha-yar) nukutsar nukutsar . . . matan itsu-mi (the horse) galloping
on and on carried him far away.

But in each case the action of the participle is probably regarded as preceding that of the principal verb to which it leads up.

THE STATIC PARTICIPLE.

371. The forms consisting of the past base of a verb plus a suffix, consisting of vowel + *m*, described in § 328 play many parts and it is open to question how far they can be regarded as referable to any one basal or central conception, and how far it is legitimate to treat them as if they constituted a unity.

It is certainly impossible to find a single descriptive term which will cover all their functions; but for convenience sake a single term is necessary and I have chosen "Static Participle" for the purpose, as it is I think more generally applicable than any other.

By "static" I mean "denoting the state resulting from the action of a verb": in the case of transitive verbs the state of "having been done", or "having done"; in the case of intransitive verbs the state of "having done", or "having become".

The passive is more or less represented by the English passive participle "things seen", the active usually requires a relative clause

in English, e.g. "the king *who has come*", but in English we can also say "the fallen tree", "the travelled and well-read scholar" meaning the tree which has fallen, the scholar who has travelled and read much, "an experienced man".

The following is an attempt to analyse and classify the principal uses of these *-m* forms. It will at least provide a practical basis for the arrangement of the examples.

372. The Static Participle with Passive Meaning. V. § 377.

Past Passive Participle from Transitive Verbs.

- a) As an attributive adjective, with or without the agent expressed.
ine hi-re yar εsum i-te bar the thing said to the bear by the man.
b) As a predicative adjective with the verb "to be", in many cases amounting to a finite tense of the passive of a transitive verb.
burondumutsa-ε i-k gir-m'inum bila his name is engraved (written)
on the rings.
c) As a noun, with or without the agent expressed, sometimes with the suffix *-an*, and capable of taking case endings.
ine gir-minumar bare-nimi he looked at the inscription (thing written).
d) As a pseudo-adjective, apparently qualifying a noun to which it does not directly refer, usually with its own noun expressed.
G. M. M. (čama) o-εsum di-ε-vo bare.i bai.i G. M. M. looks in the
place in which (the brooch) had been put (lit. in the brooch-put place).

373. The Static Participle with Active Meaning.

I. From Transitive Verbs. V. § 378.

- a. As an active participle, most commonly occurring in the negative.
Pu-nu-ε mel o-minum . . . di-mi Pano without drinking wine
(lit. not having drunk wine) . . . came.
b) As an attributive verbal adjective equivalent to a relative clause.
yu-lji ye-taum ine sis the person who has seen the dream.
c) Predicatively with the verb "to be".
gar aiyetum bo-m she was unmarried (lit. she was not-having-made-marriage).

II. From Intransitive Verbs. V. § 379.

- a) As an active participle with a noun or pronoun as subject.
jimičün pašom amamanum di'usuman *you not hesitating (grudging) sacrificed (took out) their lives.*
- b) As an attributive adjective qualifying a noun or pronoun.
ine yor dusum ine mui *that son of hers who had come out earlier.*
- c) As a noun, sometimes with the suffix -an, and capable of case inflection.
irume ha-beum... duwšāčarn *they go out from the house of the deceased.*
- d) As an adjective used predicatively with the verb "to be", equivalent to a finite past tense of an intransitive verb.
hururtum bo'm *she was sitting (seated).*
- e) As a pseudo-adjective apparently qualifying a noun to which it does not directly refer.
yu apam tereš *a father-not-being orphan, i.e. a fatherless orphan.*

374. The Static Participle as an Optative. V. § 380.

1. From an intransitive verb, active.
če.imučeri gumatum! *mayst thou become (broken into) pieces!*
2. From a transitive verb, doubtful, but probably active.
yaiyu gušum! *may the crows eat thee!*

375. The Static Participle as a Verbal Noun. V. §§ 381-387.

The Static participle is used as what is probably a verbal noun, in an oblique case, i.e. in the genitive or with case suffixes or postpositions.

ine Dunpa Miru tha yu' dumanumtum i'łji dərũanor ni'mi *that (man) D. M., after his 100 sons were born, went off on a hunting expedition.*

376. The following general points regarding the use of the Static Participle may be noted:

1. When used as a noun or pronominally (i.e. in place of a noun) the static participle can take the case suffixes.
2. A few instances exist of its taking the plural suffix -išo.

3. When the static participle is used as an attributive adjective in conjunction with a demonstrative adjective, the demonstrative adjective is usually placed between the static participle and the noun.

The above is the general scheme in outline of the uses of the Static Participle. We may now examine each point in detail and illustrate it with further examples.

STATIC PARTICIPLE with PASSIVE MEANING.

377. The Past Passive Participle of Transitive Verbs.

a) As an Attributive Adjective.

i. With Agent expressed.

Di'u Sařide cyunum i'ke biške *the hair given him by the White Div.*

ine senum ite bu'ł *the spring mentioned by him.*

u'ne babar ja goyenum (or, goyenam) gube haiyen tau *take this present (token) given thee by me to thy father.*

Šom Gukure delum čumare gi'li *the peg driven in by Šk. G.*

In some of these the *pc.* could be regarded as being active.

ii. With Agent not expressed.

itse yer dutsam itse hanji'ł o'ryami *he expended the charcoal (that had been) previously brought.*

Note the repetition of the demonstrative which often occurs.

Laša Bro'mu'e mo'pači eštaqam ine palwanor esumo *L. B.*

said to the champion concealed with her . . .

guri dšim yenis ke i'łji tau *thyself also take away the gold given to me (by thee).*

yušam ise bušošo ditsau.in *bring the fattened (nurtured) calf.*

b) As a Predicative Adjective with the verb "to be".

mazar itegare dešam bila *the grave is enclosed round about.*

han han mal thamu'e uči'm bila it'e'čje utaqo bay ošarn *there is a field (that has been) given to each by the Tham, they have fixed the "utag" tax on it.*

- ilban W. B. Bigor ičim bila the "ilban" is granted to W. A. B.
(is a grant to).
ilčumuts oštaqam bi.e ke if his eyes are closed.
qulptse čeri wašim bi'm the key was attached to the lock.
This use may amount to an equivalent of the Passive Voice.

c) As a Noun.

- ki'ne senum i'te tsan bila the thing said by him is true.
(But here *senum* may be an adjective qualifying *i'te*.)
Šon Gukure senuman tsan manimi the thing said by Sh. G. came true.
u'ne senum juwan ne in accordance with the thing said by thee.
78.24. But cp. § 378. a. end.
gute girmi'numar w'ny bore'n look at this writing (thing written).
ha'ne sa'y'am xa gim julan i'te kutuwor šeršar manimi it (the
grain) swished down into the bag like a thing poured down through
the smoke-hole of a house (but perhaps rather as if (it were
being) poured).
padša ereršive o'rumišo we o'pačar du'man those sent by the
king's sons-in-law came to them (here, however, o'rumišo can
be regarded as an adjective qualifying u'c).

d) As a Pseudo-Adjective.

- ja n'u esqanum i'te dišar at my father-killed place (i.e. at the
place where my father was killed).
au yar'e etum ise tisar nitsun taking him to the pit where my
father is buried.
i'te iri yar'e etum malor ni'man they went to the field in which
his son had been buried.
api osum dišulo it is not in the place in which it had been put.

378. STATIC PARTICIPLE with ACTIVE MEANING.
TRANSITIVE VERBS.

a) As an Active Participle with the negative particle.

- t'ik aqim mazorate hur'ataman without (lit. not) filling in the
earth, they sat over the grave.

lel amo'tum ise čama muso'yuči čam motam without making her
know (i.e. without her knowledge) he stuffed the brooch under
her clothes.

ira yar nuparan uyakal p'fut ayetum čup ne gutsərəiči looking
straight ahead, without glancing at them, he went on in silence.
(In this last example note the linked use of the static and
active participles.)

Alqaš Waxir'atun tili en dar' ay'e'tum te.i fat etuman without
removing the saddle from Alqaš Waxir's back) they let him go
as he was.

ise (čama) men le ay'o'tirum i'mo watanar o'tsumi without showing
it (the brooch) to anyone (pl.) he despatched it to his own country.
The same idiom is commonly rendered by the static participle
with the negative prefix and the suffix -a'te, v. § 384.

Instances of this use of the Static Participle not in the nega-
tive are rare.

le'i xuda'yar bandegi etumišo, but uyum hir dia O ye who do
service to God! a very great person has arrived.

It will be remarked that there is no negative in this last
example and etumišo is equivalent to a verbal noun agent.

Perhaps: ušam foster- i.e. "fostering" in ušam mama,
foster-mother, and ušam aya my foster-father, presents a parallel,
but ušam is also used in the terms "foster-brother", "foster-
sister" where the meaning cannot be "fostering". It is noteworthy
that it appears to dispense with the pronominal prefix of the
original verb *-uše.as to foster, rear, etc. Perhaps it has the
3rd. pl. pron. prefix generalised.

Of the following it is difficult to determine the exact meaning:
u'ne yetsum juwan ne ča'ya eča thou speakest, making it like a thing
seen by thee, but possibly thou speakest as though thou hadst seen it,
or it may be:

u'ne-yetsum-juwan'e, a genitive dependent on ča'ya. 80.20.

The general sense is "you speak like an eye-witness". But
cp. § 377 c.

b) *As an Attributive Verbal Adjective.*

- ine banut delim badša ka jaŋ eđam I shall fight with that king
who has made the entrenchments.
yugšaŋta utsum ine eraršalar to those sons-in-law of his who
had married his daughters.
padša o'tsum de'tma'ni the present which the king had made
them convey (i.e. had sent).
yumušo o'tum ine he who has told lies.
ašder delum ine hir the man who had slain the dragon.
šapik di'tsum gušingants o'saljalı he sees the women who bring food.
goyeŋam yeŋiš ke duš'ma thou hast also brought back the gold
which I gave thee.
ja gu'yam baskaret ke tsu take away too the wether which I have
given thee.
ja ye'tsam i'ke ye'arar kine ket bam he was a partner in the
gold which I had seen.

c) *Predicatively with the verb "to be".*

This use is not common.

- ja'tsum ke bur Šahri Ba'nu.e di'ina'te gan henum bo; ine gutsušo
Sh. B. is much better acquainted with the road to the world than
I; she will conduct thee.
jakune mamu etum birn the donkey was (in the state of) having
made milk (or, making milk).
This is the regular idiom meaning "to be pregnant".

379. **STATIC PARTICIPLE with ACTIVE MEANING.
INTRANSITIVE VERBS.**a) *As an Active Participle with a noun or pronoun as subject.*

- hunte itum par atusum iyumarulo dik etimi the arrow, not
having come out on the other side, stuck in his innards.
u laŋ o'manum ral numa huruđaman they sat in readiness, not
stirring.

In the curious phrase:

- yam eyam numa fitting, or passing, with difficulty into

yam appears to be the static participle positive of *-yaiyas
of which eyam is the negative.

- (bal) burkulo yam eyam numa ni'mi (the marrow) passing with
difficulty, went into his throat.
dari.e.ulo yam eyam numa gi'mi he entered with difficulty through
the window, he squeezed in through the window(?).

b) *As an Attributive Adjective.*

- ine iljum dimanum ine . . . šati'lo imanimi that one who had
come into existence last, became powerful.
dirum šapik cooked food, i.e. food that has become cooked.
kine di'm badša i'i itsu marry this king, who has come, himself.
bačar girkis walum ju.an like a rat fallen into a trap.
han halqum belisan a sheep that has borne (young).
han dyu.asum ise šer that one remaining tough.
urge wa'lum ine go'šo that lost brother of thine.

The following are worth note:

- dyu.asuman šapik the bread remaining over,
where the -an is unexpected.
ur yor ni'mušo padša eraršutsum . . . uryer di'asimi (dursimi?)
he came out in front of the king's sons-in-law who had gone
in front, where the plural inflection is to be remarked.

c) *As a Noun.*

- le guwa'lum tarmanum O thou who hast become lost and hast
lately arrived, i.e. O you strayed interloper.
kine dimanum (acc. or for dimanume?) sifāt mar eđam I shall
tell you the virtues of this one who has come into existence.
duwarauman garomur i'čičai he gives what remains over (of the
feaster) to the bridegroom.
je urume ha'ler aiya'riu do not send me to the house(s) of those
who have died.
dyu.asum'an urar borkat, šaman jar borkat what is left (may
be) your portion, what I have eaten (may be) my portion.

Under this heading may be placed the curious idiom:
 (ja) asər dumo-man bo I like her (she is a thing come into my heart).
 asər di-man bi I like it.
 asər di-m api I don't like it.

d) As an Adjective used predicatively with the verb "to be".

ja ki-ne ei irum bam this son of mine was dead (having-died).
 daiyam ba v. § 329. I am come, i.e. have come.

(šama) Kisəre dukarəte dimarum bi-m. but šu.a bi-m . . . the
 brooch was come-into-existence in K's shop. It was very fine . . .
 meaning, it had been made in K's shop.

mušul gi-m bila. da ni-mi her labour is come on (i.e. has come
 on and is in progress). Again he went off.

ti-šk malulo gatum bila (malak ni-m bila) the dagger is sticking
 (is stuck) upright in the field (is fallen over).

hura-tum bai.i he is sitting, he is seated.

daldiem bam he was standing.

e) As a Pseudo Adjective.

daru.ar ni-m i-te diš the he-gone-to-hunting place, i.e. the place to
 which he had gone hunting.

i-se hayur yurtsum šər the cliff into which the horse had sunk
 (supernaturally!)

paiyambəre kine dimanum gantsulo on the day on which the
 prophet's son came into being.

irəi burum manum hir a man whose beard has become white, a
 grey-beard.

(In his list of words IUB frequently gives Static Participles
 of both transitive and intransitive verbs followed by maimi and
 maimtse, e.g.

giratəm maimi, H. narəa ho-ga he will have danced.

birəqum maimi, H. kho-da ho-ga he will have dug(?)

esqanum maimtse, H. mara ho-ga he will have killed him(?)

But the correctness of the Hindustani renderings is doubtful).

STATIC PARTICIPLE as an OPTATIVE.

This has been recorded only in specimens of "women's abuse",
 in an evil wish or curse, and expressing wish or desire in some
 fragments of verse.

Of the first series alternative forms were frequently given with
 the optative in -š. So:

gatsirišo gušurum, gušurš, or gušuršen! may vultures eat thee!
 gurliš šem, or še-š! may (someone) devour thy innards! or may
 (Pl. of *-ul) thy innards be devoured!

šem was explained as = Hindustani khaye, i.e. active; and
 še-š is of course active, but it is not clear who is invoked to
 undertake the job.

Other similar expressions, but with intransitive verbs, are:

gušak galum, or galš may thy arm break!

duxau.ukuts gum'anum! mayst thou become the sacrificial(?) sheep!
 (slain 3 days after a man's death.)

hon gum'anum! mayst thou swell up as to the belly!

In the prose texts we have the objurgation:

le ma maimule ni-m!

This is obviously an expression of abuse and is possibly to be
 translated:

O, may you go to your daughter(s) (for immoral purposes?).

Otherwise: O you who have gone to your daughter(s).

The same idea seems to be contained in:

Aba Dumbu.ar xabar di-mi ke Kisəre bepəyan ya šibi. e-se ei
 dumu-isum, ja jame wə'ina when news came to Aba Dumbu that
 a bear had devoured Kisəre's yak, (he said) "May he take out its
 daughter! give me my bow" (Or, may its daughter be taken out!)

le a-u, guy'ašum qurbən amanum O, father, may I be thy sacrifice!
 here qurbən amanum (amanam?) is an alternative for qurbən
 amanəš.

In the verse texts we have:

adi-mər bu-i-ki manum! may it be funeral alms for me!

dusmayo gayar amanum! may (thy) enemies be before thee!
mi huba'le gutsum may our sins carry thee away!

It will be noted that in these examples we have had this form referring variously to all persons except the 1st. pers. plur. Its non-representation is doubtless accidental.

381. STATIC PARTICIPLE as a VERBAL NOUN.

In the uses now to be considered it is not easy to arrive at a clear conception of the exact nature and force of these forms.

They resemble in some ways the English verbal noun in *-ing* e.g. "on his saying this, they all went away", but in Burushaski the subject remains the subject and is not converted into a dependent genitive. This, however, is not unknown to English: we can say: "on the question arising" as well as "on the question's arising", and in the passive "on the question being raised" as well as "on the question's being raised" (though doubtless the genitive forms are preferable).

Whatever the fact may be, the idiom can often be most nearly rendered by the English verbal noun. I shall accordingly employ this means of rendering it, with the caveat that where the English translation has a preceding genitive that genitive represents a Burushaski subject case (nominative or "Trans. nom."). Otherwise it has to be rendered by a subordinate clause.

Under this heading the Burushaski forms are used with the following case-endings and postpositions, each denoting a different conception: the form of the General Oblique (probably Genitive).

| | | | |
|------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| the suffixes | -or, | -atc, | -tas. |
| | -tsum | and | -ulo. |
| the postposition | ka. | | |

382. Verbal Noun in the General Oblique (Genitive).

Examples are not very numerous:

ya're etume nisa'n 'e-spalimi he destroyed (all) trace(s) of the burying,
or of the being buried (i.e. of the interment).

eg'iratume da es'irume çaya or etimi he told them the story of his
being made to dance and of his then being fed.
aşder d'e'lume çaya the story of the slaying of the dragon, or, the
story of the dragon's being slain.

In these instances the form may be taken as genitive dependent on a noun. In the following it is in some manner dependent on the adjective *lel*, *known*.

ja jama'at bame lel o'manimi, hal irume lel o'manimi (nothing)
has become known of my husband's existing, nor of his being dead.
hik etimi, ya're etume lel aiyetimi he filled up (the grave) and made
it not evident of the burying, or being buried.
lel is probably treated as a noun "knowledge", "evidence".

§83. Verbal Noun + -or.

The Verbal Noun + *-or* is very common. It usually provides a temporal clause of which the subject is different from that of the principal verb of the sentence:

guke faş manumar juçam on this (grain) being used up (i.e. when
this is finished) I shall return.
hire.ulo yuski d'e'qulanumar gamu'culo del sar mai.i bilum on (their)
kneading the dough in the tray, oil used to flow out at the bottom.
abaş ayatç dirmar wutsum maddat dirmorçam on difficultly coming
on me I shall seek help from thee.

The form with *-or* is often a repetition of the principal verb of the preceding sentence and then forms a sort of connecting link between the two sentences:

ise şikari yakalaşer ni'mi. ni'mer ho şikaritsum duwaşaman he
proceeded towards the fort. On his proceeding, then they (the aress
and her seven daughters) quitted the fort.

The Static Participle may serve as a prop for the past participle active:
in nkirat basumar Baltite tranfa giras'ai. he having danced, on
his sitting down, the "tranfa" of Baltit dances.

If there were not the *basumar*, *nkirat* would have to be *giratumer* as the subject of it is not the same as that of *giras'ai*.

In the following, however, the Static Participle is used contrary to ordinary practice where the subject of it and that of the principal verb are the same:

gušingenta isc gutiar yali'z man'winar nurnin huru'čaman
women . . . on becoming ill, went and took up their abode in that hut.
 padša deytumar je ke v'n mčtalik m'ersqaimi *on the king's hearing*
of this, he will put both thee and me to death.

384. Verbal noun + -ate.

In most cases this duplicates the use of the simple form of the participle with the negative prefix. V. § 378.

je ine badša ho'le ka jaš ay'ctuniate noč'ayan 'omičam *I shall not*
slip secretly away without fighting with this king's army.
 n'inia eyenumate Siš kaš etimi *going, without waking him up, he*
sleeps Sing.

bea dukor'wa badša nokori aytum(ate) *why hast thou come back*
without doing the king service?

The subject of the static participle and of the principal verb is usually the same, as it is in the above examples, but we also have:
 ja hik ke guse'tse šyulum di'usin daq ayetumate ikoreže dimanimi
I having taken it out of the forge without hammering it once — it
came into existence of itself.

We also have an example of it without the negative:

be, dolat xorč etumate di'v'asas apaii *no, he (the king) will not*
escape by expending wealth. Here -ate has its instrumental sense.
 See also examples in §§ 70. V. a, 390 & 391 where it has temporal force corresponding to "when", "while".

385. Verbal Noun + ka.

This is used in sentences of the type "On A's doing this, B. did that".

uyon gučam senimi . . . senumc ka Pačen.c se.ibi.i: le Aba Kitun . . .
"I shall give thee all" said (A. K.). On his saying this, P. says
"O, A. K. . . ."

je'nc guse ačas čuš etumo. uyum imanume ka šapik vsirimo *she*
suckled the lamb. When it grew up she fed it with bread.
 Bręčkapurdono epačiar di'ni. di'ne ka B. se.ibi . . . *he came*
up to B. On his coming up B. says . . .
 yčis erskortsume ka qyu čup me.i bila *on its (the hen's) head being*
cut off, its clamour becomes silent.

In the following the subject of the static participle and of the principal verb is the same:

gar di'a bran walimi. walime ka Bręčkapurdono.c se.ibi le.i . . .
 kaš vti *B. became giddy and fell down with a smack. On*
falling down B. says "O . . . kill me".

386. Verbal Noun + -tse.

I can only find -tse used with *-ayenum, *gone to sleep, sleeping*, the Static Pc. of *-ayenas.

tele huru'tumo moyenumo. moyenumtse mušul gi'ni *there she sat*
down and went to sleep. On her going to sleep (or, as she slept)
her labour came on.

moyenaser is given as an alternative for moyenumtse.
 ine gi'ya's moyenumtse mu'ltsum dursin holpa . . . huru'timi *the*
infant, on her going to sleep, issuing from her belly, sat down outside.
 padša yu'gušants oyenuman. Pačen oyenumtse di.cn du'simi *the king's*
daughters went to sleep. P., on their going to sleep, getting up, went out.
 gučani. gučaiyaser eyenumtse qau manimi: Derbežo, Derbežo, nusen
(D.) lay down. On his lying down and going to sleep a voice came
saying: "Derbesho, Derbesho!"

The meaning may be "while he, etc., was sleeping".

387. Verbal Noun + -tsen.

Used with the Static Participle this ablative suffix almost always conveys the sense of "after" of time. It is frequently re-enforced or made more explicit by a following i'čji. Time "after" is similarly indicated in Shina by the simple ablative or by the ablative followed by fatu.

In this construction the subject of the Static Participle and that of the principal verb are different:

xurtisulo i'kar wasimi. xurts la'q manumtsum Lana Bro'mo ke murmi.e yetsuman *he threw himself into a dust-cloud. After the dust's moving away (i.e. after the dust had moved away) L.B. and her mother saw him.*

gay ha'tsum dyn's sailar itsu.am. sailar itsumtsum am ni'mi ke wa'limi *taking thy father out of the house he took him away for a walk. After he had taken him for the walk, wherever he (thy father) went he was lost.*

i'ne Dunpa Mi'ru ta yu' dumanumtsum i'lji dergu.abar ni'mi D.M. *after his hundred sons were born, went off on a hunting expedition.*
da in irumtsum i'lji 'aminan i'ne mazarete dursimi ke . . . then *after he had died, if anyone got on to his grave . . .*

In the following ni'mtsum may be a simple ablative of the point of departure:

muyar ni'mtsum hisa'b e'cu bo'm *she used to keep a reckoning (of the days) from (the date of) her husband's going away.*

388. Verbal Noun + -clo.

This use of the Static Participle with -ulo is very rare. It appears to denote "time at which".

kine dimanumulo u'ne čayamin etum i'ke ha'ai.iy ja kine'ete bitaan? *The marks spoken of by you at the time when he was born are on this (son) of mine.* 88.18.

i'ne wa'da etumulo dimanum i'ne šati'lo.an bam *the one born at the time the agreement was made was powerful.* 104.25.

The more probable sense from the context is "within (the terms of) the agreement made", but grammatically this is doubtfully possible.

w'bare hurn'tamulo bu'šangar pfut am'ana baiyam *when I was pregnant with you, I had looked at (or, fallen in love with) a cat.* 153.14.

THE STATIC PARTICIPLE of the VERB "TO BE".

389. The Static Participle of the verb *ba* is of special interest and importance because of its comparatively frequent occurrence and of the differentiation of its forms according to the category of the noun to which it refers.

a) It has been recorded for all persons of the sg. and pl. except the 2nd. pl., and in the 3rd. person sg. and pl. for all the categories: hm, hf, x, y.

The forms are identical with those of the past tense of the verb. Their separate existence can only be deduced from the grammatical functions they discharge and the fact that they do not necessarily refer to past time, but frequently apply to the present.

The forms that have been recorded, whether in the positive or negative, are:

| | | | |
|-------|-------------------|-------|---------------------|
| sg. 1 | baiyam | pl. 1 | bam. |
| 2 | bam | 2 | (bam?). |
| 3 hm | bam | 3 h | bam(an). |
| x | bim | x | bim. |
| y | bilum (neg. apim) | y | bitsum (neg. apim). |

b) The 3rd. person forms where they are equivalent to a relative clause:

"which there is", "who there were", "which there were", etc., usually take a suffix -an. The 3rd. pl. h has indeed been recorded only in the form bam.an.

The participle is frequently followed by uyo'n when the meaning is:

"all that there were", etc.

c) A few instances have been recorded in which the participle is used as a verbal noun with case suffixes, the result usually being the equivalent of an adverbial clause introduced by "when . . .", "while . . .".

390. Examples:

1st. sg. mi mama jot baiyam . . . asu bo'm *my mother, when I was little, . . . had said to me.*

- je ap'ayamaṭe gutsimo duməri ke eṣun *while I am not here (i.e. in my absence) if he demands them of you, don't give them to him.*
- 2nd. sg. uṇ ap'amaṭe ine ka maṣyul maiibo *in your absence she occupies herself with him.*
- 3rd. sg. hm yu apam tares *a his-father-not-being orphan, i.e. a fatherless orphan.*
- hf iṃi apom tares *a motherless orphan.*
- x iṃe teṇušulo biman mavi uyom gati oṭimi *he made them collect all the property that there was in his (the king's) palace.*
- ja besan biman uyom uṇe bi *all that there is of mine is thine.*
- y iṭe epači bilem yenis iṭimi *he gave him the gold that was in his possession.*
- iṃe maltaš biluman uyom ke iṃe kirtwar bišaman *they poured all his (the king's) ghee that-there-was into his (Paṇu's) bag.*
- sis apim gane gutsarčuman *the people will go by non-existing road(s), i.e. where there are no roads.*
- 1st. pl. čito bamaṭe goṭ eča ba *on our being alone I will tell you.*
- 3rd. pl. h imo baman siṣe ka gutsarimi *he proceeded with his own men who were present.*
- aku.e baman uyomtas yaš! *may it strike all these people who are here!*
- ja baman hanpa manin *those who are for me get to one side.*
- [Many examples of this form could be quoted; it is frequently accompanied by uyom.]
- x iṃe kirts bim uyomaṭe baṃ stimi *he kissed on all its joints that-there-were.*
- (kirts is here logically, though not formally, plural).

- y uṇe gur bitsuman . . . than ne tsuṃi *he has cleared out and carried off all your wheat that-there-was.*
- tik bitsuman di.usuman *they extracted the earth that-there-was.*
- taṣarāṅ laṅ apim hitsa *the door-frame is (plur.) there, not-having-moved, i.e. undisturbed.*
391. **With Case Suffixes.**
See also examples under 1st. and 2nd. sg. and 1st. pl. above.
- Transitive Nominative**
juwaiyo bamaṃe . . . yariṅ ečarṃ *all the young men there are make songs.*
- Genitive (?)**
ja jama'at bame lel oṃlanimi *nothing has become known of my husband's existing, i.e. being still alive.*
- With -aṭe.**
čama mundiṭse biṃaṭe ikareṅe taq manimi *the brooch while-it-was on her breast broke of itself.*
- In the following the -aṭe is due merely to the dependence of kirts biman on the following verb:
iṃe ke kirts bimaṃaṭe baṃ stimi *he kissed (on) its joints that-there-were, i.e. he kissed that child on all its limbs.*
- With -olo.**
yaron dir horagulo bilumulo qau.u ečam *formerly, when-there-was a closed boundary between them, they used to call out.*

THE INFINITIVE.

392. The Infinitive form occurs in a number of uses which it is difficult either to distinguish or to correlate precisely. The following is put forward merely as a tentative scheme which roughly covers the various phenomena:
- I. Noun of Action** "to do", "to become", "doing", "becoming".
1. Nominative and accusative. V. § 393.
uyom nun (ginami) ditsas miras bila *it is the custom for all to go and fetch (the "ginani").*

2. With case suffixes and postpositions. V. §§ 394—400.
 duwalasor raj etumo, amormanumo *she proposed to fly (but) was unable to.*

II. With the verb "to be" or "to become". V. § 401.

Indicating generally that a thing or person "is to be", "is to do", "is to be done", under some force of obligation or necessity.
 ye rse baše ju.as bilum *coming was by that bridge, i.e. one had to come by that bridge.*

III. Pseudo-Adjective. V. § 402.

Where it is juxtaposed to a noun which stands in no direct relationship to it.

še.as tsil *drinking-scater.*

IV. Noun Agent. V. § 403.

Denoting the person who performs the action indicated by the verb.

1. As a noun: ɣera's *one who speaks, speaker.*

2. As an adjective.

3. As a noun + the verb "to be", or "to become", giving the sense "I am going to do", or that of the simple future.

je ešqanas ba *I am going to kill him, "I am killer-of-him".*

V. Passive Participle. V. § 404.

Used as adjective or noun.

hin Siŋ senas hiran bam *there was a man called Sing.*

We may now examine in greater detail the behaviour of the Infinitive form under these various headings.

I. INFINITIVE as NOUN of ACTION.

393. It is to be noted that as a noun of action the Infinitive form is reckoned as *y* singular.

a) It is probably accidental that few examples have been recorded of it in the Nominative:

minadavt mimanas yaški bilum *our rejoicing was right, it was right for us to rejoice.*

kerkamutse yatia ay'eškortsie xa šup etas ap'i *till (one) cuts off the fool's head there is no silencing it.*
 guyetia akoškortsie xa kot bar šup mana's ap'i *till (one) cuts off thy head this affair will not remain secret (quiet).*

The latter example may, however, be of the type IV.3, "this matter is not one-that-remains-silent".

Diramitiŋe thamu.ər maru etas qadimsum ap'i *from of old there is no gold-washing for the Thams by the Diramiting.*
 yunikš gan jaugal uyo'ne gutsoras a'sar'ne me.i bilum *going over every sort of evil road and jungle used to become easy.*
 ja (or, je) d'u'ɣasas gute bila ke . . . *my laughing is due to this that . . .*

Note the uncertain nature of the Infinitive, which can as a noun take the dependent genitive *ja*, or as a verb the nominative *je*.

b) Accusative.

ra'čakuywe heras šup ctuman *the guardians ceased (lit. silenced) their weeping.*

gute s'enas p'firt d'e'ɣelimi *the Dio heard this speaking (i.e. speech, or remark).*

go'n mana's ma belatc lel ečə'n, o'simi *"How do you know the coming of dawn?" he said to them.*

ja asqanas da u'ŋe ake.i ba *do'st thou not know also (about) the killing of me? (about my being killed).*

We may perhaps regard the Infinitive as being in the accusative when it is the complement of a verb of *perceiving* or of such verbs as "to allow", "to stop", "to give" where in English we have the Infinitive or Gerund, as: "I saw him do (or, doing) it", "I stopped him doing it", "I allowed him to go".

Kisəre hir ditsas ni'tsain *seeing Kiser bringing a man.* 184.7, ep. 110.5, 64.10.

padša de'čjaii Paŋčut qyu etas *the king hears P. screaming, or, hears P.'s outcry.*

mał minas fat o-tai.i he has made them give up drinking wine.
 burtaum hołe dursas aiyc'taman they did not let it come out of
 the boulder.

je nu niyas aiyanamam now I have been unable to go.
 But both *etas* to let, and *amanas* to be able, usually take
 the dependent verb in the *-s* form § 350.

e) The adjective *taiar*, ready to, occasionally takes the simple
 infinitive. Cp. § 395. b.

aždor dursas taiar dmanimi the dragon became ready (or, prepared)
 to come out.

ginani ditsas(er) taiar manu-mer on their becoming ready to
 fetch the "ginani".

i-ne gus gučai.as taiar bom the woman was on the point of
 giving birth.

d) The Infinitive occurs in some places where it is difficult to explain
 or even to understand it:

ja nu.c tinjo dovgus mazor ne yanas eča ba exhuming my
 father's bones I shall make a grave and make it visible (i.e.
 make a mound over it).

tinjo mazor ne yate do yanas ar etin make a grave and bury
 the bones and make (the grave) visible for me. 82.14.

yanas etas probably means "to make it appear", "make it
 apparent, visible". Cp. § 238 end.

The following sentences were given us the translation of "I
 am not worthy to be called thy son":

(1) gute yaški aiyanama ba ke je da uqe guri ba senas.

(2) gute senš aiyanaiya ba ke " " " "
 which was on another occasion rendered by

(3) sekil yaški atawaša ba ke da je uqe guri ba seyam.

(4) gute senastse yaški atawaša ba ke etc.

In (1) *senas* probably depends on *yaški* as *senastse*
 does in (4). In (2) *senas* seems to be due to confusion of
 construction.

334. Genitive.

When the Infinitive occurs in the Genitive it appears to be
 always dependent on a noun:

horip giratasc ičer the sound of music and dancing.

Irano padša irase yamulo herča bav we are weeping in grief at
 the King of Iran's dying (i.e. prospective death).

aulad dnyasac xcał aiyc'čai.i he has no thought of breeding (lit.
 extracting) descendants.

335. INFINITIVE with DATIVE SUFFIX -er.

a) The Infinitive with the Dative suffix *-er* is very common. It
 ordinarily indicates action to which the mind, intention or will
 is directed. It may be used absolutely with the sense of "in
 order to", "for the purpose of", "with a view to", but it is
 usually dependent on a verb or a noun denoting will or intention:

šiasor xura'ka food to eat (also, šias xura'ka).

Katiš Malčučo gučai.esor han a room for K. M. to sleep in.

šiasor mens bezan 'evčam no one (pl.) used to give him anything to eat.

yuyasar ber ičičai.i he gives him his word (promises) to give him
 (his daughter).

But also,

e' yuyase ber 'ečičai he does not promise to give him (his daughter).

Čilinda'nc hoł nuryca un' gosqanasar dīca Čh. has come with
 an army to kill thee.

je un' duk'oy'urasasar daiya ba I have come in order to question thee.

Pağčuc jadu netan u'e gasu.er, 'o-yasasor jadu ečai.i P. working
 magic on the princesses, works magic to make them laugh.

ya'tenč dī.urašimi ha'yure isumal čarap etasar he drew his sword
 in order to cut off the horse's tail.

aiyur' je asqanasar pferē.i etan my sons have conspired to kill me.

The Dative Infinitive is regularly used with the common expres-
 sion *rai etas*, or *rak etas*, "to intend to", "propose to",
 "decide to".

- Lazabromo mutayasər əsulə rai etimi *he intended in his heart to marry L. B.*
- ni.asər rai niyə'cəi. *he doesn't intend to go, he decides not to go.*
- b) It is used after verbs with the general significance of "to begin", and sometimes with tai.vr "ready to", "on the point of". Cp. § 393. e.
- kar manasər du'y'eskini *he began to patrol up and down.*
- yu'we . . . uyum inc i' əsmilasər du'y'uskinimi *the father began to entreat (placate) the elder son.*
- guntəin 'eyanasər (or, eyanasətse) durnimi *he set to counting the days.*
- u'ə ta uyovn Kışəcc u'itəc manasər şuru etuman *all the hundred Kiser began to separate up.*
- da in muhta'j imanasər di'mi *then he came (i.e. began) to become (be) in want.*
- dayowan oyovn fəš manasər tayıv manımı *the flour was on the point of being exhausted.*
- c) The following miscellaneous examples are worthy of note:
- dəro'yo duşmaiyo əsqanasər madad i'ci'ci birn *the stick would give (him) help in killing (his) enemies.*
- ki'ne Ru'mic yorib hi're kar manasər gəlt di'mi *the poor Rumi man's turn came to do sentry go.*
- (təro'cin) tayıasər or meşkil ju'cila *difficulty comes to them (i.e. they experience difficulty) in putting on their foot-bandages.*
- fit etasər ku'şis etimi *he tried to release (his hand).*
- d) There remains one very common application of the Infinitive + -ər which deserves separate attention.
- This is its employment absolutely, with a *Temporal Sense*.
- In this rôle it appears to duplicate in all respects the use of the Static Participle + -ər, v. § 383. The subject of the Infinitive is normally different from that of the principal verb. The Infinitive itself is usually a repetition of the verb of the preceding sentence.
- i'ke bi'ke ite pfuvər gim. giyasər pftu baxır manimicn *he threw the hair on the fire. When he threw it the Dies appeared.*

- govn manasər badša mərakət dursimi. mərakət badša dursasər inc wazirtin . . . uyovn *on its becoming dawn the king went out to the place of audience. When the king came out to the place of audience his wazirs . . . all (coming and salaaming, sat down in the audience place).*
- nuku'cən moyenumo. moyenasər (or, moyenuntse) musul gi'mi *she lay down and went to sleep. On her going to sleep (or, while she was asleep) her labour came on.*
- Aba Kitu'şə hantə dergusimi. d'ergusasər Bu'm Liffan irimi *A. K. pulled out the arrow. On his pulling it out B. I. died.*
- The following is a single example of the Infinitive having the same subject as the principal verb. The alternative Active Participle would seem more correct.
- its təil inc mırnomo. minasər (or, numin) inc gus huru'tumo *she drank the water. When she had drunk it (or, having drunk it) she became pregnant.*

396.

INFINITIVE with -tse, -tsor.

There are only a few examples of the Infinitive with -tse, and in these its presence is due to the governing word:

şiri.č stətsə durnuman *they began to make rejoicing.*

(durnas *to lay hold of* regularly takes its object with -tsr. But see also § 395. b.)

gutz senastər yaški *worthy to say (or, to be called).*

gust ha'vur ic huljaiyastəc (or, huljaiyast) yaški upi *this horse is not suitable for me to ride.*

u'xušitətsə du'y'n.şkinuman *they began to make merry.* Cp. also § 395. b.

-tsr occurs in:

ji' manas'tsum bur manas'tsər *from sunrise to sunset, i.e. from East to West.*

397.

INFINITIVE with ABLATIVE SUFFIX, -tsum.

This use is comparatively rare. The few examples available show it as serving the normal purpose of the Ablative of a noun: *dyusastsum umid iskortsimi* *he cut off hope from escaping, i.e. he abandoned hope of escaping.*

Alqas̄ Wazir̄ yavrum̄ besan̄ ne dalya ba usqanastum̄ *somehow I have escaped from the hands of A. W. (and) from (his) killing me*
 (or, from my being killed?)
 (senumo) mi gusastum̄ besan̄ favida? *(she said) what advantage would there be from our telling thee?*
 ekilat̄e orastum̄ je da'l numa jerimō auu epačar̄ ničam̄ *from my thus dying I shall arise and go to my father (or)astum̄ was given as an alternative. It is perhaps a 1st. personal form of the Static Participle).*

ju mana'stum̄ bur̄ mana'st̄er̄ *from East to West.*
 ine niyastum̄ i'lj̄i *after his going.*

398. **INFINITIVE with -ulo.**

The Infinitive with -ulo is used only with a temporal significance, when the action of the Infinitive and that of the principal verb are at least in part contemporaneous:

u'ze Di'u Safi'dtsum̄ russat̄ dumorasulo gut̄e 'orsenuma *at the time when thou askedst leave (to go) of the White Div, thou didst not say this.*
 Bur̄m̄ Liftane irasulo imo cčokor̄er̄ o'simi *B. L. at the time of his dying said to his brothers.*

k'ne gu' v'sqanasulo Alqas̄e manan̄ c'ka imant̄e itawama? *at the time of his killing this father of thine has A. taken anyone with him to help?*
 guu man'asulo *(at the time) when it becomes slain.*

ju bur̄t daltasan̄ yet̄sa baiyam̄ n'i.asulo *I had seen him (looking) very handsome at the time of his going.*

The subject of the two verbs may be the same:

gultali.asulo gap̄ jikanans̄ gultali.e baiyam̄ *at the time when I wound thee up (in swaddling bands) I had wound thee up with a strap of hide.*

399. **INFINITIVE with the POSTPOSITION gane.**

The meaning of this postposition with the Infinitive varies between "for the sake of" and "in order to".

ikorē dumv'taase gane . . . šiki mujur̄ egi bam̄ *he had . . . planted musk willows for the sake of getting her for himself.*

je jevi mutsuyase gane orma'n bilum̄ *there was desire (on my part) to marry her myself, i.e. I wanted to . . .*
 gayumo . . . guyu' je daspasase gane . . . nutsun̄ kašer̄ gu'ma *thou tookest thy sons and threw them down to slay them in order to save me.*
 bart manimi ni.asa gane *he got up to go away.*

400. **INFINITIVE with the POSTPOSITION ka.**

The Infinitive with ka does not seem to differ appreciably in use or meaning from the Infinitive + -er (v. § 395. d.) or the Static Participle with ka (v. § 385).

itetsum̄ . . . herča bar̄n senumo. senase ka bur̄t xafa niman̄ da do'arusumi *for that reason . . . we are weeping, she said. On her saying (this) he, becoming greatly distressed, again enquired.*
 da'l man'ase ka musoyte xa tik'ečor̄ walimi *on her standing up it (the brooch) fell down her side on to the ground.*

There are, however, a number of examples in which the subject of the Infinitive is the same as that of the principal verb, of which the following are two:

ite gal̄ hin̄ M. B. Tham̄ sečarade d'elimi seibar̄n. čerap̄ etase ka te'le irimi seibar̄n *A man named M. B. Tham̄ cut down that juniper. On his cutting it down he died there they say.*

ine giya's̄ ixattsum̄ ho'le wešimi. ite ho'le wešilase ka mama mama seibai *. . . he spewed the infant out of his mouth. When he had spewed it out of it (his mouth) he says "mother, mother".*

II. THE INFINITIVE with the verb "TO BE" or "TO BECOME".

401. a) The Infinitive with the verb "to be" contains in certain circumstances a sense of obligation, necessity, propriety etc. such as is found in the English: "he is to go at once", "this is to be done before tomorrow", "he had to go", "he had to do it".

What, however, is in Barushaski the exact force of the Infinitive and of the Auxiliary respectively, it is not easy to determine, and it is difficult to draw a definite line of distinction between

the use of the Infinitive with the verb "to be" as a Noun of Action (§ 393) and as a Noun Agent (infra § 403).

Further, the subject of the verb "to be" seems sometimes to be the Infinitive itself, but more often the noun that is the logical subject or object of the Infinitive. When the Infinitive is transitive, it is difficult to avoid translating it as if it were passive, which it may or may not be.

- b) As I have not myself arrived at a satisfactory solution of these problems and difficulties, the best I can do is to offer a number of examples with comments.

In the example already given in § 392. II:

ise baic ju.as bilum

from the context means that "one had to come by that bridge", as there was no other road. bilum, the y form, cannot have a personal (h or x) subject, therefore the subject must be ju.as, or else one must imagine bilum to be used impersonally when one might expect the y form at least as much as any other:

coming was (to be) by that bridge.

or, there was to be coming by that bridge.

Where there is a noun expressed, it would appear from the first two of the following examples that it is to be regarded as the subject of the verb "to be":

wazirar . . . diqa (y pl.) iyunas bita (y pl.) grass is to give
(to be given) to the wazir, i.e. it is the custom to give him grass.

(Cp. the active Inf. in English: "all was to seek", "there is much to do".)

fulane guntse ginani (x sg.) si.as bi on such and such a day
the "ginani" is to (be) eaten.

But we also have: Xuda (hm.) i-likinas bila (y) God is to be worshipped.

Kisare zame (y sg.) taskas bila, tso'rdinar ja marakar ju K's
base is to (be) drawn; tomorrow morning come to my court.

da ginani 'e'šiš za hari (y sg.) ipfuparas api (x or y) then till the
"ginani" has been eaten the barley is not to be rubbed between
the hands (to get the husks off).

One might translate "there is no barley-rubbing", but the sense is that it is not permitted to rub it.

- e) In these the logical subject of the Infinitive, if it is in the active voice, is not expressed. The following is somewhat different:

ku mene o'sqanas be these people anyone to kill them (is) not, i.e.
no one is to kill them.

Here we have both the logical subject and the logical object of the Infinitive, but unfortunately the verb "to be" is only understood. What form would it have taken? If apa'n (of which I have no example), its subject could be either ku or mene.

- d) With Intransitive verbs we have:

xonindake h'ol'or ju.as api (x or y) there is no coming into the
house of the host (?). The context implies: it is not customary,
or permitted, for people to enter the host's house.

With man'as instead of the V_{ba} forms we have:

be'as bopfan ctas manimi ke . . . ise hanik Altiter tsu'ni when-
ever the "bopfan" is to be performed, he carries the boat to Altit.
amuler ho'lgos ni.as manimi ke alam g'ui bam when it is
necessary to go anywhere to fight they carry the standard.
thamo amuler niyas manimi ke . . . when the Tham has to go
anywhere.

One or two examples may be given where it is possible to regard the Infinitive form as possessing the significance of the Noun Agent: je amulo d'umo d'umanas diš bila ke te'le d'amanas ba, ite dišor atsu
(at) whatever place it is that the fish come into existence, there
I am to come into existence. Take me to that place.
d'AMADAN ba might mean: "I am (or, shall be) One-who-comes-
into-existence.

dayu.i gap ite bu'dulo i'lan ke . . . yiryit man'as bi if people
(have) put raw hide in that spring, it will become soft.
guse jakuh d'uras bi this donkey will come out i.e. is (going) to
come out, or perhaps: is (will be) a-comer-out.

In the last two the context only requires the meaning to be that of the simple future.

III. THE INFINITIVE as a PSEUDO-ADJECTIVE.

402. Compare the similar use of the Static Participle §§ 377. d. & 379. e.
 Rumī hi-r ite herras dišar niči ke when the man of Ram went to
 the place where the weeping was going on.
 beššo halqaw dišar utsu take me to the place where the sheep have
 their young.

minaw taij drinking-water.
 esqulas yašil wood for burning (v.t.), firewood.
 gujras gunt the day of thy death.
 padša i' huljaiyas haγur go'r do'tsai.i the king has sent thee his
 own riding-horse (the himself-riding horse).
 a dancing-tune.
 han giratas heripan his place of residence was Alt(i).
 ine huru'tas diš Altī bīlum
 More examples could easily be quoted.

IV. THE INFINITIVE as a NOUN AGENT.

403. In this capacity the Infinitive is capable of taking the plural suffix
 -to, and generally, if not always, does so when the subject is plural.

1. As a Noun.

badša bur̄t γaribtiγ uše.as bai.i the king is a great cherisher of
 the poor.

maiγo'n henašuvik bar̄n you are all wise men (lit. knowers).

te'ljuko šuva manašū bar̄n such people are ones-who-become-good.

menene šalda ne ni gosarān apai.i no one, giving a command, is

a sayer of 'go' to thee, i.e. no one has authority to say 'go' to
 you. Explained as equivalent to Hind. jvo bo'newa'lar.

tsane astam tās ine daiγam I have come as he-who-does true justice.

menan bai.i matanum 'asalas ine? who is that who-is-looking-at-me
 from afar?

2. As an Adjective. Cp. § 110. a.

mi my'ušai.as padša tsordine i'rēai.i the king who-cherishes-us is
 going to die tomorrow.

ja dolat šerāšo wazirtīγ the wazirs who-devour (or who-enjoy) my wealth.

hikum duwalašo ja'awarrik umanimit they turned into a flock
 of flying-animals.

tamašū barcašo hi'ri the display-watching men, the spectators.
 eγārašo beričo the musician Doms.

3. As a Noun with the verb "to be".

This construction sometimes carries the meaning contained in
 the English "I am going to do . . .", "I am going to be . . .",
 etc., or conveyed by the simple future.

That the Infinitive form is used as a Noun Agent is certain
 in a couple of instances where it occurs in the plural. Where
 it is not so distinguished it could often be argued that it is not
 a noun agent, but a noun of action, and that the construction
 is referable to the use discussed under II above, § 401.

Plural.

tsundo aiγu dumašo bar̄n. we uγo'ško numan bi'kičēγ eγγiašo
 bar̄n. i'ke'te'z dero'γo'čo me.imi.en five sons are going to be born
 to me; they growing up will plant willow trees. On these staves
 will grow.

turmawar̄to (šariγ) xora'b manašo bita fourteen (cities) are going
 to become ruined.

In these examples the plural forms must be nouns: "persons-
 coming-into-existence", "planters", "things-becoming-ruined".

Here and elsewhere we must frequently attribute future force to
 the present of the verb "to be", *ba*, etc.

besan eti kuli dya.asas apai.i whatever he may do, he is not an
 escaper, i.e. he will not escape.

hinc yatesan . . . mer ditas ba ke, fat e'čēn if thou art a bringer
 of the head of one to us, we will let (thy horse's tail) go, i.e. if
 thou wilt bring . . .

ju.as bai.i ke . . . qau ne ditso if he is a comer, i.e. if he will
 come . . . call and fetch him.

Similarly in the following I incline to regard the Infinitive form
 as having the force of a Noun Agent, but the English equivalent

is the future tense or the idiom "I am going to . . .". I shall not attempt to reproduce the noun agent in the translation:
 be ke tsordine iras baii otherwise he will die tomorrow.
 badša dyu.šimi, nu iras apaii the king will escape, he is not now going to die.
 kintse besan ke thaiyas api nothing will have (any) effect on him.
 ye joryas ba ke, ti besan ayau wj je ntsu now if thou art going to give me (something), give me nothing else, (only) marry me.
 han bu'antsor dašqaltas ba I am going to come to a spring.
 da ja ha'lar dukotas baii he will send thee again to my house.
 je esqadas ba I am going to kill him.
 kine guri . . . jw' ke fai.lda imanas baii this son of thine is going to be of use to me too.
 ike mnyunas ba ke . . . ja ni.i gu'am if thou wilt give these things to her . . . I will give thee my daughter.
 je mazorolo Nakir u Munkire ka suluma dur'as ba in the grave I am going to wrestle with Nakir and Munkir.
 jatsum niki j'u'as bila. jatsum bayorku'a aču'ei good is going to come from me. Evil will not come from me.

V. INFINITIVE with the FORCE of a PASSIVE PARTICIPLE

404. We have already seen in examining the Infinitive with the verb "to be", II above, § 401, that the Infinitive of Transitive Verbs can in certain instances only be rendered in English by the passive infinitive.

In the case of the verb *senas*, to say, the infinitive form can sometimes only be rendered by the passive past participle. It is regularly used where in English we say: "called", "by name".
 hin Siy senas hiran bam there was a man called Sing.
 Qulio Lašker senasan bam there was one called Qulio Lashker.
 i'ic gal hin M.B.T. senasane delimi that juniper one called M.B.T. cut down.

This use is very common. Rarer is its use as "said", "spoken".

ma i'ne senas čay'a yalat.dumai.aljarn you mishear the thing said by him.
 gutz ja senas bar padša'r evu.in tell this thing said by me to the king.

There are a couple of examples of an apparently similar use of *etas* to do.

hile'se etašo i'ke čayamiq deryelimi he heard the things told by the boy.
 i'ke xu'čiču'ic šeryas watontsum ti apart from the husks eaten by the swine. 373.2.

VI. MISCELLANEA.

405. Finally two or three examples of the Infinitive form which are difficult of explanation may be recorded:

da umi'd api ke ako'le šapik gatu mi.ai.asan The meaning of this is: there is no hope that we shall get food and clothing. 34.11.
 mi.ai.asan is the infn. form of *yaiyas with prefix mi- and the suffix -an.

. . . amčmanuman ke gu.i'rča. Ia.i ji.e šugu'lo, besan amč.imanasan bila? if we cannot (do it) thou wilt die. O friend of my soul, what is it that we cannot do? 50.11.

It would now appear that *mi.ai.asan* and *amč.imanasan* are to be taken as 1st. pers. pl. forms of Prof. Siddheshwar Varma's "would" subjunctive".

wjz gutz duro etuma ke, uyo'uko padšaha'nting šabaš ju.as ečam.

The meaning is probably: If you do this thing I shall cause the applause of great kings to come (to you). 98.6.

čmna'rc baii, delš marmanas api he is (made) of iron, there is no (question of) your being able to kill him. 144.20.

THE PRESENT BASE as a NOUN of ACTION.

406. The Present Base with the Dative suffix -ar is used exactly like the dative of the Infinitive in connection with the idea of INTENTION or PURPOSE (v. § 395). It can usually be rendered by "in order to" "for the purpose of".

This use is very common.

It is also used in dependence on the noun *ra* desire, intention.

and on the adj. tai.ar ready to, on the point of, and on the adv. asir near to; further, with the verbs

duyuvskinas to begin to,
pasom²-manas to hesitate to, grudge to.

Examples:

mutsu'ar di baii he has come to marry her.
amulo yar'e e'ar diš apim there was no place anywhere to bury it, for burying it.

A. K. imo bušai.ar ai'ar nimii A. K. went off to go to his own land.
u'e ni'man i'ner bereyar (or, bere'nasar) they went off to look at him.
u'e o'squiyar u'tsi thami he pursued them in order to kill them.

mi.ar tsil drinking-water (from minas).
besan šičar rai bila? dost thou want to eat anything?
ite tla'am u'ze še'ar rai di biluma? awa še'asar rai di bilum
didst thou desire (lit. had thy desire come) to eat that food? Yes,
I wished to eat it.

u'zale ju'ar ja rai api I have no mind to come to thee.
hikulto u'e h'ac han yatisan wašii bam detsir'ar. di'ri'ar tai.ar
mani bim one day in their house they had put on a (sheep's) head
to cook (it). It had become on the point of being cooked, i.e. it
had become nearly cooked.

da'oway oyon faš maiyar (or, man'asar) taiyar manimii the flour
was all on the point of being finished.
Dagaletas i'tsi nultan dešqal'ar asir manumo the D. pursuing him
nearly overlook him.

tsil mi.ar duyuvskinimi he began to drink the water.
sandug taq e'ar manuman they set to breaking up the box.
i'ne yu'ar yuy pasom imanumi his father grudged to give him
(his son) to him.

mumupuš gaj'at m'o'u'ar pasom imanumi he was reluctant to pluck
off her nose.
yar ne bereyar šaš e'ti beware of looking down, i.e. take care not
to look down.

e'pačai.ar ni'ar or umai.i bam they were afraid to go to it. 222.5.

THE USE of FINITE PARTS of the VERB with CASE SUFFIXES.

407. Five forms have been recorded which appear to be parts of the singular of the Perfect + the suffix -a'te.

In other instances, where preterite forms occur with case-suffixes, or used adjectivally, they are to be regarded as Static Participles, v. § 329.

a) The following are examples of the Perfect + a'te:

ki'ne arar baii esaba'te nyu'ne atsi yašiq'uman on my saying
(lit. on-I-have-said): "this is my son-in-law", all will laugh at
me. 168.23.

fat'eti esaba'te fat'etimi on my saying "let me go", he let me go. 68.20.
u'n tham manuwa'te (منووا) je baspur ke o'šedama on your having
become Tham (i.e. now that you have become Tham) am I not to
eat (even?) horse's food? 380.5.

Xaruzum miš'in samo di'ba'te da besan ar di'šii when he has come
back from X. after six months he will then bring me something. 58.7.

These forms may be analysed as:

šena ba + a'te, esa ba + a'te,
manuwa + a'te di' bai + a'te.

manuwa'te (منووا) also occurs for the 3rd. person in Gh. Kh.'s text.

Ša'h Rais tham manuwa'te je baspur ke o'šedama? now that Š.R.
has become Tham, am I not to eat even horse's food? 378.11.

Here manuwa'te must stand for manuwa'i + a'te.

b) There are a few other forms which have the appearance of being the past base + a case suffix, but which are in fact probably parts of the short preterite.

The determining factor for this opinion is the form o'manitsum, which was given as an alternative for o'nitsum in:

but guntsiš herazulo o'nitsum (or, o'manitsum) jot i'ne i'e . . .
nimii after many days had not elapsed, his younger son . . .
went off. 366.5. Cp. 372.6.

(o'nitsum is twice attested by the vernacular Ms.)

o'manitsum cannot well be referred to the Past Base which is man-, and the only known form to which it can be referred is the 3rd. sg. of the short form of the Preterite, mani.

Similarly o'mitsum may be referred, not to the Past Base ni-, but to ni, the otherwise unrecorded form of the Short Preterite, ni for ni-mi.

c) The other forms to be accounted for are:

asqanate in the following:

ja asqanate go-se mud'a' belate gor me,imi? *by murdering (of) me how will the desire of thy heart come to pass for thee?* 66.11.

On the analogy of o'manitsum this must be the 2nd. sg. Short Preterite:

asqana + a'te

and not the Past Base:

asqan + a'te.

On the other hand we have once recorded:

gokc yanay melhalike tran et'ate (or, etan ke) guta ɛa'ɲa du'ni
on our both dividing up (or, sharing) this gold, this affair will come out, i.e. become known. 54.18.

Here et'ate may be the past base + -a'te, but the accent is against the ending being the suffix -a'te. Otherwise it is possible that it may be the 1st. sg. Short Pret. eta + -a'te, *on my dividing the gold between us both.*

ADVERBS.

§ 408.

98. In Burushaski adverbial expressions are drawn from various sources. These may be summarised as follows:

1. Special adverb forms, which in some cases carry, or are capable of carrying, case suffixes:

| | |
|-------------|------------------------|
| tala | <i>gently, slowly.</i> |
| ko'l, ko'le | <i>here.</i> |
| ko'lar | <i>hither.</i> |
| ko'lum | <i>hence.</i> |

2. Adjectives used as adverbs, sometimes with case suffixes:

| | |
|-----|------------------------|
| toš | <i>newly, freshly.</i> |
|-----|------------------------|

3. Nouns used as adverbs, sometimes with case suffixes:

| | |
|----------|----------------------------|
| lukan | <i>a little, somewhat.</i> |
| tape | <i>at night.</i> |
| hik dam | <i>all at once.</i> |
| hik heši | <i>once.</i> |

4. Nouns and Adverbs followed by ne:

| | |
|------------|---------------------|
| han bar ne | <i>unanimously.</i> |
| yar ne | <i>downwards.</i> |

With nouns there is every reason to believe that the ne is the past participle of ctas and it may be assumed that it has automatically come to be used with adverbs where its original force is not obvious. The same idiom occurs in Shina where the past participle of the verb "to do" and also that of the verb "to be" are used with adverbs: lo'ko the, lo'ko be *quickly.*

The strictly logical classification of Adverbs and Adverbial expressions would be a complicated business which it is not proposed to attempt here.

The bulk of Burushaski adverbs may be grouped in the ordinary categories of:

Time, Place, Manner, Quantity,
each of which includes interrogatives.

The residuum includes the Negative Particles and the Numeral adverbs, and such miscellaneous items as *moreover*, *further*, *also*, and so on.

409. The force of the case suffixes varies to some extent with the class of the adverb.

1. The Dative -or.

With adverbs of Time -or denotes POINT OF TIME or TIME AT WHICH.
terumanor "at so much", i.e. at that point, thereupon.
tsordiner in the morning.

With adverbs of Place -or denotes PLACE TO WHICH.
terik there; terlar thither.

2. The Ablative -tsum is rare. We have it in:

taminimutsum from last year. akolotsum from here.
beselmotsum? since when? terlatsum thence.

3. The conception of *from* of time or place is usually conveyed by the ending -um; but it is often difficult to be sure that this is not used with its adjectival force:

akolum from here.
yatum from above, (but yatum mirme our upper teeth).
urbum from inside.

urlem juwab atimi no answer came from inside, but,
urlem baiyu internal, i.e. locally-produced, salt.

4. The ending -mo (-mo, -imo) occurs in adverbs of Time.

tsordimo next morning.
tapmo at night.
taminimu-tsum from-last-year.

These are probably really adjectives used adverbially; cp. from *maat*:

sa-actumo šapik the evening meal, and so usually, but
savsetumo bula deljor ničavn in the evening they go to play polo.
gerumo ken spring-time, gerumo in spring.

The forms e-lum, elemo, alcumum (all supplied by Nazir) appear to be ablatives of *e-lc* there.
alemum from there.

e-lum (or, elemo) ilji ... durnuman thereafter they began, 368.16.

We get -mo, however, probably as an ablative-equivalent in:
denmo den (cp. dentsum den) year by year, yearly.
guntsumo gunt from day to day, daily.

5. -clo appears in:

amclo? where? beside am?
and in amclum? whence?

6. -ate occurs in some common adverbs of Manner:

belate? how?
tailate in such wise,
dakilate in this manner.

and with *zail*, *fashion*, *manner*, used adverbially:

be zailate somehow.

akil zailate thus.

In hecanate? how? with what?

it denotes *means*.

A common expression is:

(imo) ra-ati (=rai + -ate) of (one's) own motion, spontaneously.

7. -tsi (-tse) possibly occurs in pači (pa, or pat + tsi), yači (yat + tsi), galči (galt + tsi), *-yanči (yan + tsi).

da iljum pači gurimo dišor ilji garts then gallop back to thine own place.
(ilji is probably redundant).

| | |
|--------------------|------------------------------|
| pfortsin yāčī etas | to put on a cap. |
| šišē yāčī | up on the hill. |
| gute galčī | on this occasion, this time. |
| yāčī niyas | to go to meet someone. |

410. A number of Adverbs of Place end in -e, in some cases alternative forms exist without the -e. It is reasonable to suppose that this -e is the ending of the General Oblique:

| | | |
|-------|----------|----------|
| ko'le | (ko'l) | here. |
| yāru | (yār ne) | down. |
| yāčē | (yāč ne) | up. |
| te'le | (te'l?) | there. |
| ho'le | (ho'l) | outside. |

Similarly we have:

| | | |
|------|----------|-----------|
| tapē | at night | from tap. |
|------|----------|-----------|

and probably

| | |
|----------|-----------------------------------|
| tsordine | in the morning, tomorrow morning. |
| sar'sate | in the evening. |

There is also

| | |
|-------|---------------------------|
| tsane | truly, in truth, in fact, |
| tsan | straight, true. |

411. The postpositions *gane*, *ka* and *xa* are also used to form adverbial phrases:

| | |
|-----------|-----------------------------|
| gute gane | for this reason, therefore. |
| adape ka | with respect, respectfully. |
| mu'to xa | up to now, still. |
| ite xa | up till then. |

412. Nouns denoting TIME are used adverbially:

| | |
|----------------|------------|
| nim den | last year. |
| han guntsanulo | one day. |
| yat gunts | next day. |

The series of words for expressing points or periods of time past and future with reference to a datum time are interesting:

a) DAY.

| Past. | Present. | Future. |
|------------------------|-----------------------|---|
| | today kul'to. | |
| 1st., yesterday | sa'ati sabur | 1st., tomorrow jimale. jimden. tsordine(r). tsordimo. hipulto. |
| 2nd., day before yest. | yārbulto yer gunts | 2nd., day aft. tomorrow hipulto. |
| 3rd. day | yārēlin | 3rd. day ma'ito. |
| 4th. day | — | 4th. day ča'ito. |
| 5th. day | — | 5th. day ka'ito. |
| 6th. day | — | 6th. day ki'ito. |

b) YEAR.

| Past. | Present. | Future. |
|-------------------------|---|---|
| | this year ku.in. | |
| | ku.inmo den. | |
| 1st., last year | tamini (den) taninimo (den) nim den (yer den?) | 1st., next year miyōrum den. miyōr ju.as den. yōr den. yōrum den. yāč den. yāč den. |
| 2nd., year before last. | yōr den | 2nd., year after next |

c) MONTH.

| Past. | Present. | Future. |
|------------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| | this month gute hisa. | |
| 1st., last month | yōrum hisa nim hisa i'ljum hisa | 1st., next month yōrum hisa. i'ljum hisa. |

13. It will be seen that these recorded forms appear in certain cases conflicting; thus *yōr*, *yōrum* and *i'ljum* all seem to be used of both past and future time.

While admitting the possibility of errors due to misunderstanding, I think that this ambiguity of use does actually exist and that to some extent it can be explained.

Normally the meaning of these qualifying words seems to be as follows:

yər = *before* = *preceding* refers to past time.
 yaʃ = *on, in addition* = *succeeding, next* refers to future time.
 iʃjum = *coming after, following* = *last of series* refers to future time.

all, however, reckon from the DARVU TIME that is present to the mind.

Thus I think we may explain the appearance of yər den as both "last year" and "the year before last". In the first case the present year is taken as the starting point, in the second the reckoning commences from last year.

So I have recorded yər guntš *the day before yesterday.*
 ite-taum yər guntš *the day before that.*

Again we have yaʃ guntš fairly frequently in narrative meaning "the next day" or even "a later day", so assuming "next year" in our minds, we may call the next year after that yaʃ den.

Similarly it would appear that iʃjum, iʃjum *the one following* may signify either what follows the central point of time, i.e. *succeeding, next*, or what follows a preceding series but precedes the central point of time, so that we have:

iʃjum ju:as den *the year coming after (the present one), i.e. next year.*

or iʃjum hiša *the month following the past series of months, but prior to the present month, i.e. last month.*

With the latter we may compare

iʃjum di-manum hičw *the last-born child.*

Returning again to yər we have seen how it may refer to the period before any fixed point. This is based on the temporal sense of yər *before* (of time), so:

yorum zama:na.ule *in former times.*

but yər also has a locative sense *before, in front of, ahead of* (in place).

It may be this place-sense which is dominant in the expression given for "next year"

yər den *the year on ahead, i.e. next year.*

In miyarum and miyar the mi- is simply the 1st. pl. pronoun prefix and the meaning is therefore:

the year ahead of us, i.e. ahead of the year in which we are, and so, next year.

These remarks and probable explanations are only tentatively put forward. The forms which I have given were not all collected at one time, but have been put together from various records, and I did not realise the difficulties they presented till it was too late to make special investigations.

The fact that one form of words represent such different ideas as "yesterday" and "tomorrow" is curious but need not be ruled out as impossible. It is paralleled by the ambiguous Hindustani kal *yesterday* and *tomorrow*, parsō and tarsō, *the second day* and *the third day* in both past and future.

44. A further point to note is the specialised use of
 ni:m *gone* in the sense of *past*.
 ju:as *coming*.

To the examples already given may be added:

kulto ni:m tap *last night.*

The use of

tsordins, tsordiner, tsordimo
early in the morning, tomorrow morning, and
 sabur *sunset, yesterday evening*

as often practically equivalent to "tomorrow" and "yesterday" represents a common tendency. Cp. Pashtu saba and berga, Shina loštai.iki *tomorrow*, Scots "the morn".

45. Among the Adverbs of PLACE the nouns pa and pačī *side* or *direction* provide a number of forms:

its pa *(on) that side.*
 ki:ts pa (kuts pa, guts pa) *(on) this side.*
 hanpa *on one side, aside.*

| | |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| holpa, holum pa | outside. |
| yər pa | forward, in front. |
| i'tum pər | on the other side. |
| i'ljum pačī (ga'rts) | to the back side. |
| i'ne holpačī yetsumo | she saw him outside. |
| i'te pačī.e | on that side. |

416. Adverbial expressions formed with *ne*.

Where *ne* is used with a noun the combination may be regarded as an ordinary participial clause.

| | |
|------------|--------------------------------------|
| rtifa'q ne | in agreement. |
| han bər ne | saying one thing, i.e. unanimously. |
| besan ne | having done something, i.e. somehow. |

ki'ne ka galt ne suluma dūmin *wrestle ye with him in turn.*

Not so readily intelligible are the cases where it is used with an adverb and has no direct object. As far as has been recorded it is only employed with Adverbs of PLACE.

| | |
|----------|---------------------------------|
| dəl ne | upwards. |
| i'lji ne | backwards. |
| ho'l ne | towards the outside. |
| u'l ne | towards the inside. |
| ya't ne | downwards. |
| yər ne | forwards, first, before others. |
| ya't ne | upwards. |

khan ne and xan ne, two or three times recorded, should probably be kha ne, or xa ne downwards.

Examples:

| | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
| ya't ne ap'əran | don't look upwards. |
| hunts i'lji ne de'əgusimi | he pulled the arrow out backwards. |

417. There is a series of Adverbs, not very important in themselves but interesting from the morphological point of view.

These adverbs are used with adjectives expressing some physical quality to denote "quite", "very". They consist of the sound

preceded by the initial consonant of the adjective so that there is alliteration. Thus:

| | |
|-----------|-----------------|
| čam čo'ko | very sleep. |
| ram rat | quite smooth. |
| sam saŋ | very bright. |
| sam sa'da | quite plain. |
| tam taš | quite smooth. |
| tsam tsan | quite straight. |

418. As with Pronouns and Adjectives the same forms are used both as Interrogatives and as Indefinites, so also a number of adverbial forms can be used as either Interrogative or Indefinite Adverbs:

| | | | |
|---------|--------|-------------|----------------------|
| amulo? | where? | amulo | somewhere, anywhere. |
| bešel? | when? | bešel bešel | sometimes. |
| belate? | how? | belate | somehow. |

419. Having illustrated the main principles which govern their forms and uses, I shall not attempt to give a list of all adverbs and adverbial expressions. It would take much space and would largely duplicate the vocabulary to which reference may be made direct. I shall content myself with referring to a few cases which are of special interest or difficulty.

be.

Doubtless identical with the interrogative *be?* = *what?* This adverb is used before adjectives with the meaning *what a . . . , what . . .*

| | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| be hircun hircan brai | what a smart boy he is! |
| be šura ta.a'm detsirčai | what excellent food he his cooking! |

da.

This is in extremely common use with a variety of shades of meaning. The most definite meaning is *again*. More vaguely it presents such senses as "further", "more", "and also", "and then", "then", "and", "moreover".

It may come at the beginning of a sentence or clause, but it

tends to indicate that there is some connection in the mind between what follows and what precedes.

It is perhaps to be thus distinguished from *ho*, which is generally used at the beginning of a sentence but merely introduces a fact as the next episode in a narrative, between which and what precedes there need be no logical connection, though such connection frequently exists.

da plays much the same part in Burushaski that *ne* does in Shina.

da tsor ja'le ju come to me again soon.
yaḡ gumtse Š. B. da sailer dursimi next day Sh. B. again went
out for a walk.

da jo . . . give me again, i.e. give me more.
da ke yašil su bring more wood.
ine hir ke ine yu's da u'e jotumuts . . . ditsuman they brought
the man and his wife and further their children.
ine pfut' but jat bam, da kam deyeljam the Div was very old
and he was also hard of hearing.
. . . kašor gu'ma, da čur iserkuma . . . da je dau.šam thou
threwest them down to slay them and then thou broughtest down
the knife . . . and I was saved.

xura'k ečam da numin ara'm ečam I shall eat and then drink and rest.
i'mo ha'ler ni'mi. da o'simi yor ne . . . ju'ča baiyam he went to
his home. Then he said to them: "formerly I used to come . . ."
beruman gumtsiḡ . . . huru'čaman. da Š. B. gumts dərul'er ničam
they stayed some days, and in the day time Sh. B. used to go hunting.

421. hik, hik ke.

hik one time, once.
hik ke once more, just once, (not) even once.
gute ganate je hik daiyam ba I have come once by that road.
je ke bareyam, hik tešatər dušam I'll have a look too. I'll just
go up on the roof.
hik ke bareyen let us have one more look.

hik ke sen besan se.i ba say once more, i.e. repeat, what thou sayest.
ma hik ke namayn malturmal etina just go once again and listen.

22. ho then, thereafter. (V. under da § 420).
nik'iratin ho šapik gər'oni.or ditsuman when they had finished dan-
cing, they then brought food for a wedding-party.
ilji aram ne niki'ltir huru' (mosimi). ho sailer dursimi "after that
stay here taking your ease and have a good time" (he said to her).
23. ka. Then he went off on a trip.

ka is usually used as a postposition: "along with", "with"; but it is also used adverbially: "at the same time", "along (with)" (no complement being expressed), "in company", "together".

je ke ka atsučam they used to take me along too (with them).
a'ito traq šamtu miru ke ha'ur ka ayotuma ke if thou dost not
cleave Sh. M. and (his) horse in two at the same time.
emiš ke ka čuruk etimi and at the same time he bit his finger.
Š. B. ke utsi nultan ka ni'mi Sh. B. also following after them
went along (with them).

čuram tahšulo bam. i'mi ke ka ditsuman Ch. was in swaddling
clothes; they brought him and his mother along together.

It is to be remembered, however, that *ke* and sometimes sounds as *kə* or *ka*.

24. ke.

This particle plays many parts. As an adverb it supplies the place of the English "also", "too".

u'e gurtəšo ke yar'e ayotum . . . fat ortuman their bodies too they
left there without burying them.
tale kutsum daman ke hartsum ho'le dirušan at the end of 7 days
they make the master also come out of the house.
u'lo in ke nimi se.iba'n they say that he too went inside.

The combination *ke da* is sometimes used:
čuram ke da Bulu'ki muy'en durn tale nal her ke wman taking
Ch. and B. they came (back with them) and they also gave them
seven yoke of oxen.

425. kuli.

This particle occurs usually after a verb with the meaning of "if", "if ever", very much as an equivalent of *ke*. V. § 448.

It is also used after the Indefinite Pronouns, v. §§ 148.5; 153.5. Occasionally it seems to be used adverbially:

ba'dša be zailate kuli 'atiw'eše.a? *will the king not escape in any way at all?*

bešel dirmi kuli deljam *whenever he comes I'll kill him, (but the meaning may be, "if he ever does come").*

12 tsir ayormanuman ke, talo kuli gwčan *if they are unable (to give) 12 goats, they will give thee at any rate seven.*

Here talo kuli is glossed Hindustani sarthi "exactly 7", but the context suggests "at least 7", "at any rate 7".

amma jar uqe b'ešal ke han tsirə du'an kuli aiya'wa *but to me thou hast never given even(?) one kid. (Here kuli possibly only duplicates ke).*

426. xair ke.

xair ke is used after a verb in the interrogative, and the xair is probably the Persian negative particle. It seems to be equivalent to the English form of question "is he not?" expecting the affirmative answer "yes, he is".

From this it comes to have the force of an emphatic affirmation "assuredly", "to be sure", "indeed". It was explained as equivalent to Persian *albatla*.

mamayo'n h'enašuvik ba'na xair ke *you are all wise men to be sure.*
do'uman bai.a xair ke? *is he not a strong man?*

427. mu, mu'to.

mu and mu'to are the ordinary words for "now".

Twice I have recorded *mu gute* which seems to be emphatic: "this very moment", "out of hand", "on the spot", American "right now", Persian *hamin ha'la*.

ko'lar ditsu. mu gute deljam *Bring him here and I'll kill him straightaway.*

Baxtek Waxirə guse kursi.çe mu gute gorušam *I'll seat thee on this chair of B. W.'s now at once.*

It probably stands for *mu gute waxtulo* recorded once elsewhere.

28. tsan ke tsan.

This is an emphatic reduplication of which I have no other example:

| | |
|--------------|------------------------------------|
| tsan | <i>straight, true.</i> |
| tsane | <i>truly, in truth.</i> |
| tsan ke tsan | <i>in very truth, sure enough.</i> |

29. tu'm, tum.

tu'm is ordinarily an adjective meaning "other", but it appears also to be occasionally used as an interrogative particle. In the two examples available it is followed by the negative:

amulo bai.i ke tu'm ašu'čaiya? *wherever he is why doesn't he come?*
padša'nalar tum je reču'čama? ju'čam *(why) will I not come to a king? (Of course) I will come.*

As the verb takes the interrog. suffix -a, it would seem that tum does not itself possess interrogative force.

30. ya're.

ya're occurs sometimes with the sense of "further", "beyond this", and is often equivalent to "other", "others", "rest".

It is probably to be referred to *ya'r* = *yar* *before, ahead*, and not to *ya're* = *below*.

ya're a'lto ro'm . . . aba'd manuwa'n *further two tribes . . . have settled down.*

Pa'ņčuvər evučai.i. Ya're ta uyo'nər ma'l u'mi *to P. he does not give anything. To all the other hundred he gave property.*

ya're beske le'l omanimi *nothing further became known.*

AFFIRMATIVE and NEGATIVE PARTICLES.

431. Yes awa.
 a'u (responding to a call).
 No be (also, *not*, v. §§ 341—342).
 Not a- (prefixed to verbs, §§ 332. ff.).
 o- (prefixed to a few verbs, § 339).

It will be enough here to examine the use of *be*:

1. As the simple exclamatory negative:

Xaməre senimi, be, traŋ aiyəčə'n Kh. said: "No, we won't divide it".

be, mama . . . 'asu.in No, mother, . . . tell me.

be senimi he said "no", i.e. he denied, refused.

2. Following the verb in interrogative sentences, with the meaning "or not?" v. § 341.

yər go'sa baiyama be? had I said to thee before, or not? i.e. had I not said to thee before?

3. Occasionally it appears to take the place of a negative part of the verb "to be".

in murto be he is not here now.

ku mənə o'sqanas be let no one kill them (be a killer of them).

The combination *be ke*, *if not, otherwise*, used as a Subordinating Conjunction is dealt with in § 456.

CONJUNCTIONS.

§ 482.

The following are the principal Conjunctions:

32. I. Co-ordinating Conjunctions.

| | |
|-----------------|-----------------------|
| amma, ama | but. |
| ke (kə, ka, ki) | and. |
| ke . . . ke | both . . . and. |
| le·kin | but. |
| magər | but. |
| ne . . . ne | neither . . . nor. |
| ya' | or. |
| ya' . . . ya' | either . . . or . . . |

a) The words for "but" are all foreign words, and there appears to be no distinction in their use. I have recorded *le·kin* only once and the others not frequently, and then not always with an adversative sense.

b) *ke* covers the meanings "and", "also".

When connecting single words it follows the first of them.

je ke uŋ ke miyu o'talik I and thou and our two sons,
 imo wazirtiŋ ke aka·birtinər senimi he said to his wazirs and
grandees. Note that the first noun is not inflected for case.

It rarely occurs as a connector of clauses owing to the fact that of two parallel clauses the first is usually expressed participially and the need for a conjunction does not arise.

Where, however, there are two such participial clauses they may be connected by *ke*.

rušie ka xabər nukān gu'imo guyu ke nuyen jamā'ate ka ha'lor ni
happily bearing the news, and taking thy sons, with thy wife
go home.

But connectives are commonly dispensed with (see the next example) and in this last example *guyu ke nuyen* may be translated as "taking thy sons too".

u'kōre šlasər xurā'ka, gen pfi'ti, uy'a're uyateki, tobak mōbaq,
 asba'b nukān duwašaman. Paḥču ke du'sin u'tsi tar'mi *Taking*
for themselves food to eat, (i.e.) food for the road, under-bedding,
upper-bedding, firearms (and) kit, they went off, and P. going
out followed after them (or, P. also . . .).
 mel numin neršan juḏ'am *he used to drink wine and get drunk,*
and then come.

Verbs are to be understood in:

Xuda ke riza, mi ke riza. uyur'm guri kaš ε *God is pleased,*
and we are pleased. Slay thy eldest son.

c) We have already seen that the adverb *da* frequently represents the English "and then", "and", v. § 420.

u'ke da Xamər ke irimi *they (died) and Kh. also died.*

d) *ne . . . ne* and *ya* are rare in the texts and call for no special remark:

ne hayur bi ne ba'dša tarḡulo bai.i *the horse is not there nor is*
the king in the palace.

433. II. Subordinating Conjunctions.

The function of connecting a subordinate adverb or noun clause to the main clause can be performed by various parts of speech which may then be regarded from one point of view as Conjunctions. In practice it is often difficult to distinguish when an adverb, noun case, or relative is to be regarded as a conjunction¹, nor is much practical advantage to be gained from the attempt.

¹ Cp. English Grammar, Hall and Sonnenschein, 1909, §§ 16—19.
 An Advanced English Syntax, C. T. Onions, 1905, § 14, 3—7.

In a later section I illustrate as far as I can the various types of subordinate sentence to be found in Burushaski: and those who please may analyse them. Here it will be sufficient to mention the one or two words which act only as Conjunctions, in the sense that they play the part performed by conjunctions in English and other Indo-European languages.

| | | |
|-----------|--------|--|
| axana } | ... ke | if. |
| agər } | | |
| ... be ke | | if not, otherwise. V. § 456. |
| bese ke | | because. V. § 446. |
| ... ke | | if, when. |
| ke | | that (after verbs of "saying", "perceiving", etc.) |
| kuli | | if. |

axana & *agər* have been seldom recorded and are perhaps then occasional borrowings from Shina and Hindustani.

... *ke* meaning *if, when*, and *kuli if*, immediately follow the verb of the subordinate clause.

They resemble in use the particle *to* in Shina. They are therefore not conjunctions, if it is an essential feature of a conjunction that it stand at the beginning of the clause.

ke, that, after verbs of "saying" and as a general connective only occurs occasionally and appears to be an exotic introduced from Hindustani & Persian.

bese ke because is doubtless based on *bea*, or *bese, why?*
be ke if not, otherwise, is obviously a reduced protasis of a conditional sentence.

... *kuli* is somewhat enigmatic but seems to be used in the same way as ... *ke*.

The various uses of *ke* and *kuli* are summarised in the Vocabulary, and examples of their employment as conjunctions will be found in the following section on subordinate clauses, v. §§ 435 and 448—455; and corresponding to the Persian *kih*, § 458.

SUBORDINATE CLAUSES and CLAUSE-EQUIVALENTS.

This section is intended to illustrate the chief ways in which principal and subordinate conceptions are linked to each other in Burushaski.

Participial and verbal constructions which do not strictly constitute "clauses" have therefore been included.

ADVERBIAL CLAUSES and CLAUSE-EQUIVALENTS.

I. TIME.

434. When there is a sequence of actions, the earlier action or actions are commonly expressed by the Past Participle Active of the corresponding verbs, only the last action in the sequence being expressed by a finite tense of the verb.

By this method what might be co-ordinate principal clauses, or else subordinate temporal clauses, introduced by "when", "after" etc. are rendered simply by Past Participles Active.

As a rule this method is only used when the verbs have all the same subject, but whether due to inadvertence or because this is not a binding condition, instances occur where the subject of the participle is different from that of the finite verb.

hikulto Xurukuts nuryan ni'n thape Xarum Bat i'lji kan no'obir'aq
daḍaḥ hērip no gotsil do'ugusimi one day, taking the *Khurukuts*
(and) going by night and making them dig behind the *Kherum Bat*
(and) making them play on drums, he made them excavate the
water channel. 352.15.

duso'k numu'or guḍ'amo having come down and having become tired
she lay down. 108.17.

With different subject: equivalent to the "Nominative Absolute" construction in English.

da muḥul niki'n dumu'talmo again her labour coming on, she woke up. 110.1.

S. Š. ni'rin beruman deniḥsum i'lji Hunzukuts fulmitaḥar ho'l ni bam
S. Sh. having died, after some years the *Hunzukuts* proceeded in
force against Gh. 296.3. Cp. 104.21, 132.4, 196.10, 340.23, 344.11.

Continuous action, contemporaneous with another principal action is rendered by the present participle:

le eri se.ime i'tsi thami crying out "O son", he pursued him, i.e.
he pursued him calling out "O son" (as he went). 212.13.

435. When, at the time that,

may be rendered by *ke* placed immediately after the verb of the clause. The verb usually appears in the future form with the force of the preterite or historic present, or else in the preterite form:

bəre'imi ke batulo a'lto yumo'riḥ bitsa when he looks (i.e. looked)
there are (i.e. were) two holes in the skin. 102.24.

bəre'imo ke . . . i'ne ho'lpači yetsumo when she looked she saw
him outside. 110.1.

The preterite may have the force of the present with some degree of implied hypothesis: "when (if ever)", "when (supposing)" etc.

da'ria dal ne gutsarimi ke jučam when the river flows uphill, I shall
come (back). 142.27.

pfartsin yači stimi ke mene e'išam when he put on the cap, no one
would see him. 28.16.

But in the last instance, as frequently, the *ke* clause may be conditional: *if he were to put on . . .*

bešal may be used in addition at the beginning of the clause in conjunction with *ke*, but the meaning then seems to be usually: *if ever* or *whenever*.

bešal uyo'n xərē stimi ke . . . čaman dirmi when he had expended
everything a famine came. 372.8. Cp. 373.23, 374.10.

bešal ke(?) guryaḥ abašan dirmi ke gu'ke pfu'ar gi whenever, or
if ever, trouble comes on you throw this in the fire. 22.9. Cp.
172.14, 15, 284.9, 294.1.

436. Temporal clauses are frequently introduced by a case form of the Infinitive or of the Static Participle, which is usually a repetition of the verb of the preceding sentence or synonymous with it.

These infinitives and static participles give the equivalent of clauses beginning in English with:

- when + past tense.
- on (something happening, someone's doing something).
- at the time that, when + imperfect.
- from the time that, after, since.
- while.

As a general rule the subject of the Infinitive or Static Participle is different from the subject of the principal verb. These are then what grammarians know as "absolute" constructions.

437. **Inf. or St. Pc. + -ər, or + the postpos. ka.**

give clauses of the type of *when he did this, when he had done this, on his doing this:*

epačər . . . huru'tumo. huru'tasər padša taš imai.i bali she sat
down beside him. When she sat down beside him, the king was
annoyed. 120.15.

da'l manu'mo . . . da'l manar'se ka (čama) t'kečar walimi she got
up, on her getting up the brooch fell to the ground. 168.4.

gu'ke faš manu'mar ju'čam when this (grain) is finished I shall
come (back). 144.2.

ine šu etase ka ikəreče dimanimi on his blowing (the bellows) the
article came into existence of itself. 162.9.

Of the above, the two forms with -ər are extremely common.

438. **Infinitive, occasionally the St. Pc., + -ulo**

give clauses of the type of: *at the time when he was (or is) doing it, at the time of his doing it:*

B. L. e itasulo mimər me'sai when he was dying, on his death bed,
B. L. said to us . . . 154.10.

ki'ne gu' e'sqanasulo at the time when he was killing your father.
82.21. Cp. 136.13, 152.2, 158.4, 176.28, 246.14, 314.2, 332.6.

ki'ne dimanumulo u'ne čayamiš etum i'ke hai.ai.iy . . . bitsan the
marks mentioned by you at the time when he was born, are present.
88.18. Cp. 158.14.

39. **The Static Participle, occasionally the Infin., + -tsum**

give clauses of the type of: *from the time that he did it, after he did it, since he did it.* The verb is usually intransitive or passive:

xurta la'v manu'tsum L. B. ke mu'mi.e ye'tsuman after the dust
had passed by, L. B. and her mother saw him. 122.13.

ine gili modelumtsum har den . . . kaš oč'am from the time that
he pegged her down, every year they used to slaughter (goats). 194.14.

ine . . . i'rumtsum to'rimi . . . deni'v maimi it is ten years since
he died. 226.10.

The sense of "after" may be re-enforced by the use of *il'ji* after the participle:

in i'rumtsum il'ji after he had died. 220.4.

u'e Tapki.ents o'sqanastsum il'ji Hunzulo herki etuman after they
had slain the Tapki.ents they cultivated crops in Hunza. 240.17.

ine niyastsum il'ji after he had gone.

40. **The Infin. + -tsum followed by yər, yər ne**

gives clauses of the type of: *before he did it.* This has been recorded in:

ine juyastsum yər before he came.

Tapki.ents o'sqanastsum yər ne before (they) slew the Tapki.ents. 242.9.

41. **The Short Preterite + -tsum occurs in:**

burt guntaš hərə'ulo o'mitsum (or, o'manitsum) jot ine i'e . . . ni'mi
after many days had not passed (i.e. before many days had passed)
the younger son went off. 366.5, 372.5.

42. **The Static Participle + -tse and -ate.**

-tse is recorded only with the verb *-ayenas to go to sleep. It carries the sense of "while sleeping" or "on going to sleep":

o'yenuman. P. o'yenumtse di'en dursimi They went to sleep. While
they slept (or, on their going to sleep) P. got up and went out.
118.2. Cp. 108.18, 180.4, 222.10.

nirnin 'eyenumate Si'v kaš etimi he went and slew S. while he
slept, in his sleep. 266.3.

-ate occurs with the same sense with the St. pc. of the verb
ba: cp.

je ap'aiyamaṭe while I am not here, i.e. in my absence. 210.14.

čito bamaṭe when we are alone. 84.18.

(čama) mu'ndivtae biṃmaṭe ikəreṃe taq imanimi (the brooch) while
it was on her breast broke of itself. 164.18.

443. Till, until, up to the time that, so long as . . . not, before

are rendered by the -š form of the verb followed by xa, xašiqər.

je juš xa till I come back. 56.13.

uṃe niš xa till you go.

γiryit etiš xa praq duṃi manimi by the time that they had
softened them it was full midday. 132.7.

in ačuš xa guč'amo up to the time that he had not returned,
i.e. before he returned, she was brought to bed. 58.9. Cp. 154.5,

314.3; Negative 56.3, 14, 74.18.

444. When in the act of, while.

One or two examples show that this idea can be conveyed by
using the present participle + -aṭe:

ečumaṭe irimi he died in the act of doing it.

saimaṭe in the act of saying.

γərivəumaṭe in the act of speaking.

On the other hand this construction may have an instrumental
force in:

hečumaṭe je šərn amana by continual weeping I have become blind.
360.8.

II. PLACE.

445. Where, wherever, whither, whence.

giri amulo halkiölen ke te'le dambaras ba where the ibex have
their young, there I am to be born.

am nımı ke wa'limi wherever he went he got lost.

amulum dukəwa ke ni go wherever you have come from.

See further under Relative Clauses § 463 and cp. § 418.

III. REASON, CAUSE.

46. Because, since, as are rendered by bəse ke.

The principal clause usually precedes the "reason"-clause:

tsil ak'ərər guiyam, bəse ke yərum ite basəclo tsil api I shall
take water with me, because there is no water at the stage on ahead.
124.15. Cp. 6.16, 8.10, 12.6, 14.1, 18.10, 18, 20.21, 22.16, 116.1, 210.16,
218.5, 266.12, 280.13, 344.2, 348.1, 368.15, 372.10, 373.14, 374.15.

Frequently the structure of the sentence is inverted, the causal
circumstances being stated first in the principal clause, and the
result being then stated in a clause introduced by ite'tsum for
that reason, therefore, so. Gutetsum, gəte gənc, on this account, can
also be used in place of ite'tsum. V. 38.18, 374.2.

ine kurto hik o'manimi, ite'tsum qyu ečume tsučai.i his bag has
not been filled, therefore he is carrying it away, crying out (as he
goes). 142.2. Cp. 50.6, 54.19, 56.5, 210.20, 230.3, 8, 312.16.

In the following bačantse probably means "owing to his
being . . ." and biličantse "owing to its being . . ."

Nuširwa'n taxtaṭe bačantse Baxtekale wazi'ri biličantse 14 xəra'b
manašo bitsa owing to N.'s being on the throne and owing to
the wazirship's being in the possession of B., 14 (cities) will be
ruined. 96.22.

IV. PURPOSE.

47. (In order) that, (in order) to, so that, for the purpose of are
expressed by:

1. The Present Base of the verb + ər.

ite xabər dusučər ta'ntsum dursimi he went out from the palace
to get the information. 38.8.

u'e niman iner bəreyər they went to look at him. 124.9, 130.17.

This idiom is extremely common: cp. 40.16, 54.4, 80.13, 90.4,
94.16, 21, 112.24, 116.7, 118.8, 126.18, 162.4, 14, 180.3, 204.6, 206.8,
246.10, 19, 260.18, 294.13, 298.5, 306.3, 4, 18, 330.8, 340.7, 372.13.

Other uses of the Present Base + ər are mentioned in § 406.

2. The Infinitive + or.

ɣateɾnē di.n'simi haɣur(ε) isumal čərap etasər *he drew his sword in order to cut off his horse's tail.* 156.11. Cp. 26.8, 116.12, 240.1, 260.17, 264.9, 276.8, 10, 302.15, 334.2. V. also § 395.

3. The Infinitive + gane.

hərt manimi ni'asə gane *he got up (in order) to go away.* 142.24. Cp. 44.18, 244.9.

4. The Persian *ta' ki*, *in order that*, occurs a couple of times in the texts:

hai.enan ači ta'ki . . . maddat du'mərčam *give me a token so that I may seek help.* 22.7. Cp. 34.13.

5. *bə'səkə* in a couple of passages seems to be used as an equivalent for *in order that*. This is probably due to contaminated construction:

bə'səkə . . . men . . . duyan ke or taldif o'manš *in order that if anyone comes along, they may not experience discomfort.* 36.5. Cp. 326.13 & note.

6. The Conditional is used in this rôle in:

ume bešal han . . . du.an kuli aiyawa ke ja . . . šuri.a'r ečamtse *you never gave me a kid that I might make merry.* 370.9.

It will be noted that methods 1, 2 & 3 above are used when the subjects of the main clause and the subordinate clause are the same. 4, 5 & 6 represent efforts to deal with the situation when the subjects are different, for which there appears to be no recognised technique.

V. CONDITIONAL Sentences.

448. The following analysis is based on about 90 examples of conditional sentences noted in the texts.

The verb of the Protasis may be in:

1. any tense of the Indicative.
2. the Imperative.
3. the form of the Noun Agent with the present of the verb *to be*.

"if" is represented by *ke* or sometimes by *kuli* placed immediately after the verb. Occasionally the Protasis is introduced by *agər* or *axəna*. V. Vocab. s. vv.

The verb of the Apodosis may similarly be in any of the above-mentioned forms, or in:

4 the $-\dot{\text{š}}$ form.

5. the Conditional.

In over 64% the verb of the protasis is in the Preterite Indicative, and

in over 23% it is in the Present Indicative.

In the apodosis the Future Indicative much preponderates with 46%, the Present Indicative coming next with 15%.

It is to be borne in mind that the values of the Burushaski tenses do not in all cases strictly correspond to the English titles which have been given to them.

The following are examples of the principal types of sentence:

49. a) Protasis: *Pres. Indicative*, Apodosis: *Fut. Indicative*.

uŋ niča ke je ke jučam *if you go, I shall come too.* 94.19.
ba'wər akurmai.i ba ke teš 'ečən *if you don't believe it, we shall (or, let us) take oath.* 250.8.

b) Protasis: *Pres. Indicative*, Apodosis: *Pret. Indicative*.

gute čaɣa ja'r aiye.č'a ke je k' uŋ həraŋulo ni'mi *if you don't tell me this, then it has passed between you and me, i.e. all is over between us.* 96.9.

The only other example is 114.19.

c) Protasis: *Pres. Indicative*, Apodosis: *Perf. Indicative*.

ti'ək ti'kulo gatəm bila ke ja šat sta ba *if the dagger is sticking in the ground, then I have prevailed.* 198.11. Cp. 218.8.

In the only other example (264.24) the verb is *eyənai.i* which has the meaning "is asleep". It is paralleled in the following sentence by *šəɣ bai.i*, "he is awake".

d) Protasis: *Pres. Indicative*, Apodosis: *Imperative*.

damši ača ke čumar lukan ači *if you approve of me give me a little iron.* 172.17.

e) Protasis: *Pres. Indicative.* Apodosis: *Conditional.*

In the only two apparent examples (160.10 & 228.8) the sentences are elliptical and the construction is probably contaminated. In each case the normal tense in the protasis would be the pluperfect.

450. Protasis: *Fut. Indicative.* Apodosis: *Fut. Indicative.*

Only one example:

guse hurnts čap ečam ke hurntsetse dunimi ke, ja haγurtse du'imi
if I shoot this arrow and if (the cliff) catches it, it will (likewise)
catch my horse. 156.6.

451. Protasis: *Impf. Indicative.* Apodosis: *Imperative.*

Only one example, apparently ungrammatical:

aki'l or gumai.i bam ke yor ne omi if you were so afraid, don't
go in the first instance (you should not have gone?). 282.21.

452. Protasis: *Preterite Indicative.*

This is the commonest form of protasis. It usually refers to a condition in future time and appears in statements corresponding to the English:

If A were to do this, B would do that.

If A did this, B would do that.

If A does this B, will do that.

It may, however, refer to a condition in past time, in which case the verb of the apodosis appears in the present or imperfect indicative.

Again it may occur in general propositions where the time is not limited. The short forms of the preterite are very frequently used in this construction. V. § 314.

a) Protasis: *Preter. Indicative.* Apodosis: *Fut. Indicative.*

This is the commonest form of conditional sentence in the texts, constituting more than 28% of the examples noted:

ki'ne i'kər e'sqanimi ke pfurte mi . . . mesqaimi if he were to
kill himself, the Div would kill us, or, if he kills himself, the
Div will kill us. 12.10

xa awe'ši ke . . . be ečam? if it throtes me down . . . what
shall I do? 76.20

b) Protasis: *Preter. Indicative.* Apodosis: *Pres. Indicative.*

In this situation the present has often the meaning of the future:

ja qau eta kuli æčučaj.i if I were to call, he would not come. 172.13.
gute durro etuma ke u'q ju.anan menan kuli apai.i if you were
to do this, there is no one like you. 82.1.

han guntsen tso'r du'suma kuli guwi'rča if you should come out
one day too soon, you will die. 50.17.

In one instance the present is replaced by the Noun Agent + verb "to be":

daywi gap i'te bu'lulo idan ke . . . γirγit mana's bi if we soak
raw hide in that spring, it will become soft. 128.19.

The same sentence is repeated at 130.6 with *mai.i bi* for *mana's bi*.

c) Protasis: *Preter. Indicative.* Apodosis: *Imperfect Indicative.*

men alt'an te'lar nišan ke hin nišun hin fat ečubom if two
men came there she used to eat one and let one go. 200.2.

d) Protasis: *Preter. Indicative.* Apodosis: *Imperative.*

gutsimo duməri ke 'e'γun if he demands (the things) of you, don't
give (them) to him. 210.14.

e) Protasis: *Preter. Indicative.* Apodosis: *-š forms.*

Desiderative:

akovmanuma ke u'qor la'nat maniš if you are unable to do it,
i.e. if you fail, may curses be on you! 150.2.

Injunctive:

agər pasom imanumi ke . . . i'se gajət numo mazare'ər mo'e'wešiš
if he hesitates to do so, let him pluck it off and throw it on the
grave. 152.5.

53. Protasis: *Perfect Indic.* Apodosis: *Fut. or Pres. Indicative.*

ja besan γuniki.ay durō'iq eta ba ke padšaha'ntiγ ači gasi'čuman
if I have committed any evil acts, the kings will laugh at me. 98.1.

u'qe e'sqan'a ke je mu go'sqaiya ba if you have killed him, I
shall now kill you. 72.15.

It is to be noted, however, that the 2nd. sg. Perfect is indistin-

guishable in form from the short form of the 2nd. sg. Preterite. It is probable that *esqana* here is perfect, while *duwa* (50.18) is preterite.

454. Protasis: *Plup. Indicative*. Apodosis: *Conditional*.
gute lel aiyet'am ki batulo pfeṭiṅ matsičamtse if you had not found this out, I would have stuffed your skins with ashes. 154.2.
 Cp. 292.10, & § 351.1.

455. Protasis: *Imperative*. Apodosis: *Future Indicative*.
 Sentences of this type as they follow the pattern of Conditional sentences are probably felt to be of a conditional nature. They correspond to English sentences of the form:
 "You do this and I will help you",
 where my help is conditional on your action.
ine ar ditsu ke ja gər ke ur̄e gər nala ečen you bring him and we shall celebrate your marriage and mine at the same time. 184.8.
 It is probably only a coincidence that in four out of the five examples noted in the texts the verb in the protasis is *ditsas*.

456. **If not, otherwise.**
 Elliptical conditional clauses, expressed in English by *if not, otherwise*, are rendered in Burushaski by *be ke*.
ar do'nin, be ke ja akər esqai'am open (the door) for me, otherwise I will kill myself. 12.9. Cp. 40.2, 15, 44.10, 154.3, 176.10, 242.3.

VI. COMPARISON, MANNER.

457. *so . . . as, so . . . that, as if, just as, like.*
 Only a few miscellaneous examples can be offered:
guse belate bim ke i'se juwanan eti make it so as it was (before). 164.24. Cp. 166.11.
ja belate yetsa baiyam ke ite ju'an ne ar čayā ečai.i as I had seen it, like that he tells me about it, i.e. hē describes things just as I saw them. 84.16. Cp. 230.4.
gurimo rai.ete belate juča teilaṭe ju as you come by your own choice, so come, i.e. come in whatever way you yourself choose. 78.11.

belate čayā et'am ke tei'ju'ko w'ita i'skumuts bim there were two young ones just as he had said, or just such as he had described. 64.28.
apim juwan stai.i he has made as if it were not. 84.1.
ha'ne sayam xa gi'm ju'an ite kutuwər šaršər manimi (the grain) poured into the bag with a noise as if it were pouring down through the smoke-hole of a house. 140.6. Cp. 160.6.

VII. CONSEQUENCE, RESULT.

458. *so that . . . , so . . . that.*
akureman muṅere bərči bo'm ke i'ne ite bartsum ga'hi ho'le aturšo bom she was so obedient to her husband that she never departed from his instructions. 34.8.
əkil' yaski atawasa ba ke da je ur̄e gu'i ba se'yam I have not remained thus worthy that I may again say: "I am your son". 373.8.
 In these examples *ke* appears to be the Persian Hindustani *kih*.
 In sentences of the type of:
 "he had broken his leg so that he was unable to walk",
so that would probably be rendered by: *itetsum, gute gane owing to this, or some such expression.*

VIII. CONCESSION.

459. **though.**
 This type of clause does not appear to exist. "Though he was old, he was wise" would probably be rendered: "He was old, but (nevertheless) he was wise".

ADJECTIVAL CLAUSES and CLAUSE-EQUIVALENTS.

460. In the absence of any regular Relative Pronouns, adjectival clauses are rendered by a participial construction of one kind or another. The Static Participle most often serves this purpose. The following are examples of its use:

Static Participle.

1. Intransitive.

mu yarē walum i'ne gya's yer mur'tsum du'sum i'ne i'ne lap etimi the now-fallen infant put in its mouth the one earlier-emerged

from her belly, i.e. the infant who was now born put in its mouth the infant who had previously come to birth. 110.4.
 u'e urmišindo yer nirmišo padša erəršutsum . . . uyər di.usimi
 (dursimi?) he came out ahead of those 6 sons-in-law of the king
 who had gone on ahead. 124.4.

2. Transitive.

Active:

šura xidmat etum sis mərü aje'čə'n they do not make men who
 have done good service wash for gold. 348.11.
 hukum etimi yu'gušents utsum u'e erəršuar he gave orders to
 those sons-in-law of his who had married his daughters. 120.21.

Passive:

inə senum ite bultər do'šqaltuman they arrived at the spring
 which had been spoken of by him. 128.5.
 tsurman G. M. M. alər padša otsum me'rmanı they carried off to
 G. M. M. the present sent by the King. 168.15.

In these and similar cases, however, it is impossible to be sure that the participle is used with a passive and not an active sense, e.g.

uy'ne ulji inə ašdər de'lum inə hir yetsuman all saw in dreams
 the man who had slain the dragon, or the man by whom the
 dragon had been slain. 284.8.

3. The Static Participle in some instances apparently qualifies a noun with which it has no direct logical connection. The English equivalent is a clause introduced by a relative pronoun in the locative case, or by "where".

o'sum dišulo bore.i bai.i api o'sum dišulo he looks (for it) in the
 put place, i.e. in the place in which he had put it. It is not in
 the place in which he had put it. 166.20.

Alqaše ja au.u erəqanum ite dišər namatsun (I), taking you away
 to the place where Alqash killed my father. 80.21. Cp. 40.21, 82.7.

4. Reference must be made to the use of the Static Participles of Intransitive verbs with the suffix -AN as the equivalents of

relative clauses. Examples are almost wholly confined to the St. P.c.s of the verb "to be": baman, biman, biluman, bituman.

u'e mərakavulo baman uyo'ntse yami it struck all those who were
 present in the court. 172.8.
 inə ke kivrts bimanatə barn etimi and he kissed (on) its (every) joint
 that there was, i.e. he kissed it on all its limbs. 92.16.

For other examples v. § 389.

Forms without the -AN, bim, bilum are also employed in a similar way, cp. 68.22, 90.23.

I have noted only a few instances of the same use of the suffix -AN with other verbs:

dyu.asuman čap ke šapik Baltitor . . . dišam he used to bring back
 to Baltit the meat and bread that remained over. 208.9. Cp. 212.14.

Also: uyaman kurtsimuts. 88.6.

61. There is some warrant for supposing that, as in English, a finite clause may be treated as a relative one:

u'ne gulji yetša je čaya etiš aya'maiyam I am unable to tell the
 dream (which) you have seen. 72.3.

Here yetša is either the 2nd. sg. perf. or the short form of the 2nd. sg. pret.

Other instances are uncertain as the 1st. sg. of the St. Pc. and of the pret. are indistinguishable:

u'ne babar ja goyenam gute haiyen tsu take to your father this
 token given by me to you, or this token I have given you. 136.15.

Cp. 60.12, 62.21, 72.11.

NOTE. In one or two cases in the 1st. and 2nd. persons singular alternative forms with -AM and -UM have been recorded. Too much reliance must not be placed on these, as the difference between unstressed -AM and -UM is slight and at the time when I recorded them I was not alive to their significance. If they are correct they represent the difference between active and passive constructions. So:

je ti'l a'lum (or, a'lum) ite čaya u'q a'r eti tell me the story (of
 the dream) I have forgotten, or, (the dream) forgotten by me. 72.3.

In the second example above *goyenem* for *goyenam*, where *a'lam*, *goyenam* are 1st. sg. St. Pc. active, or 1st. sg. Pret., and *a'lem*, *goyenem* are 3rd. sg. St. Pc. passive agreeing with *čaya* and *haiyen*.

Similarly in the second person:

ur̥e seram (or, *serum*) *juwan ne . . . ditsa'n* we have brought him in the way you had said, or, as said by you. 78.24.

462. The Infinitive form.

1. Transitive: as agent.

ine ma'ululo čayamin etas ine giyas . . . mul'taum dursin ho'ipa . . . huru'timi the child who had spoken inside her belly, coming out of her belly sat down outside. 110.2.
kintse besan ke thaiyas api there is nothing that will have any effect on him. 110.10. Cp. 40.12, 76.13.

2. As Passive Participle. (?)

ma ine senas čaya čalat dumai'alja'n you mis-hear the thing that is said by him, or, the thing that he says. 128.12.
ja senas bər padšar əsu.in tell the king the thing said by me, or, that I have said. 76.23.

3. As in the case of the Static Participle, the Infinitive form may be brought into relation with a noun with which it has no logical connection:

čumo dumanas diš the place where the fish are born. 108.14.
burā ikačilas ite terkər itsumo she carried him to the byre where the cows are shut up. 108.23.
gu'iras gunts di'mi your dying-day has come, i.e. the day on which you are to die. 50.6. Cp. 76.13, 164.5, 290.4.

463. The Indefinite Relative used adjectivally.

The Indefinite Relative (v. § 186) may supply the equivalent of an adjectival clause:

amin gu'ie goxakin goyerum bo ke irte . . . tsil inemur whichever daughter-in-law is dear to you, give her the water, give the water to the daughter-in-law who is dearest to you. 106.20. Cp. 298.1, 314.7, 366.3, 372.3, 372.14.

NOUN CLAUSES.

64. Noun clauses considered from the point of view of English idiom may be classified as follows:

1. Dependent Statements: expressing that something is, was etc.
2. Dependent Commands: expressing that something shall, or should be.
3. Dependent Questions: introduced by an interrogative word.
4. Dependent Exclamations: introduced by an exclamatory word.

In Burushaski clauses that can be expressed in the actual words of the subject of the principal verb are expressed in the *Oratio Recta*, followed commonly by the participle *nusen saying*.

This applies where the principal verb is a verb of "SAYING" or "THINKING" and includes all Dependent Commands. No Dependent Exclamation has been recorded:

padša samba stimi besan čunikiš duro'wan etuman nusen the king thought, saying: "what evil action have we done?"

In English we should say: *the king wondered whether he had done some evil action, or, wondered what evil action he had done.*

uyo'ne ka't etuman ki'ne mene ke aiye'sqaiyan . . . nusen they all made agreement saying: "None of us will kill this fellow, i.e. they all agreed that none of them would kill him". 262.8.
ni'n bəre'nin o'suman they said to them: "go and see", i.e. they told them to go and see.

65. Very few Dependent Statements have been recorded in Burushaski. It is unfortunate that we do not know the equivalents for the English: "I know that he has come", "I wished that he would

The ORDER of WORDS in the SENTENCE.

469. The arrangement of words in the Burushaski sentence is liable to considerable variation. The main fixed principle is that a finite verb is placed at the end of the sentence or clause to which it belongs. In this position it may be followed by the particle *ka* and the negative *be?* (*or not*).

Even this general rule is occasionally infringed.

Reported Speech frequently follows the introductory verb when the latter is *senas*, *duyarusas*, *hukum stas* etc. The verb **-asari* however, follows its speech. Cp. last example above.

In other cases, in the texts, where a word is added after the finite verb, it is probably an afterthought to make good an omission or to remove a possible ambiguity, e.g.

qau etin A. M.ər *call (him i.e.) Abdul Mutalib.*
 tran seibai senimi padša *"he speaks truly" he (i.e. the king) said*

470. I. In sentences containing an *Intransitive Verb* the typical arrangement is:

| Subject. | Predicate. (Noun or adjective.) | Verb. |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. kin <i>this-person</i> | maper <i>old (or old man)</i> | imanai.i. <i>has-become.</i> |
| 2. (ja) evik <i>my-name</i> | Munulum Dardo <i>M. D.</i> | bila. <i>is.</i> |
| 3. kursimuts <i>the-chairs</i> | yenise <i>of-gold</i> | maimi.e. <i>will-be.</i> |

II. In sentences containing a *Transitive Verb* the typical arrangement is:

| Subject. | Indirect Object. | Direct Object. | Verb. |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|
| 1. farajje <i>the-slewcard</i> | — | gvr <i>wheat</i> | iyunimi. <i>to-him-gave.</i> |
| 2. — | u'ner <i>to-you</i> | hik traŋ <i>a half</i> | gučičam. <i>to-you-I-shall-do</i> |
| 3. yu'se <i>his-wife</i> | er <i>for-him</i> | pfitimuts (er) <i>cakes-of-bread (for-him)</i> | o'tumo <i>them-made.</i> |

III. But the relative position of the Indirect and Direct Objects is unstable, as the Direct Object frequently takes precedence, and where it does not, the Indirect Object is frequently repeated after it as in No. 3 above and No. 4 below:

| Direct Object. | Indirect Object. | Verb. |
|---|--|-------------------------------|
| 1. jakune go'ko <i>the donkey-foal</i> | jar <i>to-me</i> | jo. <i>to-me-give.</i> |
| 2. gute čaya <i>this story</i> | maner <i>to-anyone</i> | ayeti. <i>do-not-tell.</i> |
| 3. i'ne <i>him</i> | ar <i>to me</i> | ditsu. <i>bring him.</i> |
| 4. yenaŋ A. Mutalibar <i>gold to A. M.</i> | mirma'ni er <i>a-present to-him</i> | stimi. <i>he-made.</i> |

IV. Apart from the apparently accidental cases mentioned above in which additions are made after the finite verb, a number of cases occur in which the order: Subject — Predicative Noun etc. etc. and Subject — Direct Object is reversed:

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Kiser je ba | <i>I am Kiser.</i> |
| ja au.u Pisanikutse esqanuman | <i>the people of Pisan slew my father.</i> |
| ise pfavt je mar di.ušam | <i>I shall get that demon out for you.</i> |

The effect of such disturbances of the normal order must of course be to throw emphasis on some element in the sentence, though it is not always clear which.

So far we have dealt with the sentence only in its simplest forms, we have now to consider the cases where it is complicated by the presence of qualifying elements. These are of two kinds:

- the Attribute: an adjective or adjective-equivalent.
- the Adjunct: an adverb or adverb-equivalent.

i. The *attribute* immediately precedes the noun or pronoun which it qualifies.

The two words *uyo'n all* and *o'talik both* follow the noun. They are in fact probably pronouns used in apposition with it.

Where the attribute consists of more than one component the normal order of the different types of adjectives appears to be: Possessive, Demonstrative, Numeral, Others.

ja gute hiñ sam *this door and smoke-hole of mine.*
guse han balasane han isçv acibi *this one bird is saying to that one.*

guyumo a'tan isken goycrumišo guyu *your two or three beloved sons.*

- ii. Where there is a *static participle* or *infinitive* corresponding to an English relative clause (v. § 460) it usually precedes a demonstrative adjective, but the demonstrative may be expressed both before and after it:

i'ne senum i'te bultsar *to the spring mentioned by him.*
gute uñe senum gute duro etuma ke *if you did this thing mentioned by you.*

- iii. The order given above is liable to variation.

paiyambere kine i' *this son of the prophet.*
(kine paiyambere i' would mean *this prophet's son* or *this son-of-a-prophet*. But apart from this, paiyambere may be regarded as a Possessive Genitive).

kot ja ha deurin *knocking down this house of mine.*
yunikiš yarum i'te bater nikin *entering into that former ugly skin (of his).*

472. i. The *adjunct* similarly precedes the word or words to which it refers. Where the connection with a specific word is intimate it immediately precedes it, as in the case of an adverb qualifying an adjective:

but uyum hir bai.i *he is a very great man.*
aki'l uyum padšan *so great a king.*
i'ne giya's ixatsum ho'le wešimi *he spewed the infant out of his mouth.*

i'n ke čoratum xau walimi *he likewise fell down from the cliff.*
guke ta.oëñ ke ifayo sandurqulo o's *put these legwrappers and stick in the bag.*

- ii. Where, however, the adjunct is not so closely related to one particular word it is allowed great latitude of position.

Adverbs and adverb-equivalents are frequently placed at the commencement of the sentence or clause. That is the normal position of ho, terrumaner, and itetsum.

daki'l zailaže tale de'nulo šapik hanikulo ati.usimi *in this way for seven years the food did not remain in the dish.*

mu'to Xaiber Ba're Danulo Čil Gazi.e horu'tas diš čorulo bila *at the present day C. G.'s dwelling place is in the cliff in*

Bare Dan at Khaiber.
hikulto han hirane huysesan tis manimi *one day a man's goat went missing.*

Hunzulo yer ne dastur bilum *it was formerly the custom in Hunza.*
paiyambere kine i' dimanum guntsalo ja ke e'iyen dimanai.i *on the day that this son of the prophet was born, a son of mine was also born.*

tsor gero'nimutsum axome tala doyarošai.i *the akhund first quietly enquires of the bride.*

- iii. *Interrogative words* are generally attached to the predicate, i.e. their position is so far fixed that they do not precede the subject if it is expressed, and where possible they appear to be excluded from the first place in the sentence:

ja Kisar amulo bai.i? *where is my Kiser?*
kin amulum ditsuma? *from where did you bring him?*
gute duro je belaze ečam? *how shall I do this?*
uñ . . . kiner bese aki'l izzat er etuma? *why did you do such honour to this (child)?*

je bese juča ba? *why should I come?*
gute duro bešelmutsom etum bila? *since when has this been done?*

3. In Burushaski sentences which are in their nature complex are built up either:

- i. by the combination of participles and infinitives with a finite verb.
ii. by the combination of a subordinate clause, or clauses, and a principal clause.
iii. by a combination of the two preceding systems.

The first type of sentence may consist of a case form of the Static Participle or Infinitive followed by Past or Present Participles Active leading up to a finite verb.

The case form of the static participle or infinitive resumes the action expressed in the preceding sentence, the Past Pcs Active denote actions leading up to that of the finite verb and the Present Pcs denote action contemporaneous with that of the finite verb.

Examples of these varieties of sentence will be found in the sections dealing with the uses of the various Participles and of the Infinitive.

Examples of the second type of sentence will be found in the section relating to subordinate clauses.

The principles regulating the position in the sentence of subordinate clauses may be summarised as follows:

Adverbial Clauses and *Adverbial Clause-Equivalents* normally precede the main clause, or at least the verb of the main clause. Clauses introduced by *beseke* *because* are an exception.

Adjectival Clause-Equivalents precede the noun they qualify. True *adjectival clauses*, if they exist, (v. §§ 460 ff.) also precede the noun, though we have:

gulji.e čaŋa ja goŋ etam maŋi akevi ba? *do you not know the meaning of the dream I have told you of?*

Here the relation of čaŋa to both gulji.e and etam has probably had an effect. If gulji.e were omitted we should certainly have: ja goŋ etam čaŋa . . .

NOTES ON NAGIRI BURUSHASKI.

§ 474.

74. The following notes are based on material collected by my wife (EOL) in the summer of 1921 from Gushpūr Mahbūb 'Alī Khān, then the second living son, now the eldest surviving son of the Mir of Nagir.

I did not myself touch the language till 1924, and EOL approached it without any previous knowledge or anything to guide her, as she was not in possession of Biddulph's and Leitner's writings. Her work therefore has the merit of being entirely independent and unprejudiced.

In the short time at her command EOL obtained a very comprehensive, and, in the light of later knowledge, accurate view of the main features of the language. Naturally her material is not exhaustive and the lack of texts, or of anything but very simple sentences, makes it impossible to judge of the syntactical side of the language in all its aspects.

Her method of transcription differs from that later adopted by myself and it is not always easy to correlate her vowels with mine e.g. her *i* with my *i* and *ɪ*. On the whole she is more generous with long marks for vowels than I am.

I have not attempted here to take account of the material supplied by Biddulph and Leitner, which in both cases is derived from Nagiri sources. It contains a large proportion of Shina words and Leitner appears to me to be frequently wrong in the "genders" which he assigns to his nouns. With him, or his informant, the

x and y plural endings were not apparently differentiated, but were used indiscriminately¹.

This might indicate that Nagiri had lost the x and y sense which still survives in Hunza, but this is contradicted by the fact that Bidulph's and still more EOL's inanimate m and f categories, and their assignment to them of the plural endings correspond in the great majority of cases with my own Hunza x and y categories and endings.

Leitner has provided much information, but in my opinion it can only be relied on, in regard to any particular point, where it can be corroborated from other sources.

475. Vowels.

PHONETICS.

There are differences which are probably subjective and due to the idiosyncrasies of the recorders.

a) Thus EOL uses æ frequently where I have a, a, or ε. So in:

| | | |
|----------|----------|---------------------|
| -æŋ | N. y pl. | Hz. -aŋ, -εŋ. |
| gæn | road | gan. |
| æpi | is not | api. |
| phærtsin | cap | pfærtsin, pfartsin. |
| gæski | rope | gæsk. |
| yære | down | ya're. |

and many others.

b) In some words Nagiri o appears for Hz. u, u.

| | | |
|-----------|-------------|----------------|
| N. o'yo'n | all | Hz. uyo'n. |
| do'nas | to seize | du'nas. |
| doro | work | du'ro. |
| do'so'kas | to get down | du'so'kas |
| gonektā | bad | γuniktā. |
| gono | seed | γuno |
| go'mur | hole | γumur, γumo'r. |

Generally speaking, however, the vowel systems are the same.

¹ B., L. and EOL all call my x "masculine" and my y "feminine", but EOL observed that this terminology was unsatisfactory and misleading and recommended that some non-committal terms should be devised.

c) The Pronoun Prefixes + *-a result in the same forms as in Hunza.

Thus: gu + a > go.

i + a > ε.

u + a > o.

But the 1st. sg. a- does not as a rule combine with a following i or u.

Thus:

| | | |
|-----------|-----------------|-----------|
| N. æ'i | my son | Hz. o'i. |
| a'ik | my name | ε'ik. |
| a'il | my lip | ε'l. |
| a'irča ba | I am dying | ε'rča ba. |
| a'u'l | my belly | o'l. |
| a'us | my wife | o's. |
| a'urtis | my foot | o'tis. |
| a'uyər | my husband | o'yər. |
| ja'n | give to me | jo. |
| ulanas | to be able | — |
| a'ulanas | not to be able | — |
| cp. au- | negative prefix | o'. |
| ga'un | musk melon | γo'n. |
| ša'uq | noose | šo'k. |

476. Consonants.

a) N. k- appears for Hz. g- and γ- in.
 kuse, kute etc. this guse, gute.
 kili nail, peg gi'li, but Sh. ki'li.
 kaski girth γaski (trouser-string).
 Sh. gaski trouser-string, but kasko girth.

b) N. q appears sometimes for Hz. k and vice versa, but this is probably a question of personal judgement.

N. -x appears for Hz. -q in:

| | | |
|-----|-------------|-----------------|
| RAX | wish | Hz. raq, (rak). |
| lax | bare, naked | laq. |

c) N. g (often marked ḡ) usually takes the place of Hz. initial γ (g-).

| | | |
|--------|----------------|-----------------|
| ḡali's | <i>ill</i> | γali's, ḡali'z. |
| ḡamu | <i>ice</i> | γamu. |
| ḡandir | <i>crooked</i> | γandir, ḡandir. |
| ḡaniš | <i>gold</i> | γeniš. |
| ḡim | <i>thief</i> | γim, ḡim. |
| ḡutum | <i>deep</i> | γutum. |
| ḡuyəḡ | <i>hair</i> | γuyəḡ, γoyəḡ. |

Medially also in:

| | | |
|--------|----------------------|---------|
| ḡaguts | <i>mountain-pass</i> | ḡaguts. |
| horogo | <i>sweat</i> | huroγo. |

d) N. ph usually takes the place of Hz. pf.

We have, however, mafer *elderly*, Hz. map'er.

e) N. intervocalic -b- becomes -w- in sawur *yesterday*, but is on the contrary preserved in the parts of the verb containing parts of *ba* e.g.

| | | |
|------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| N. duko ba | <i>thou hast come</i> | Hz. dukorwa. |
| delju bai | <i>he strikes</i> | deljaii. |

f) N. -m- appears for -b- in tum'aq *gun*, Hz. tob'ak. (Cp. Sh. turmak, t'umak).

g) N. ž, ž̄ are recorded in žak'un and ḡažam stas *to bite*, but j and j̄ appear to be the usual sounds.

h) No peculiar l̄ is recorded corresponding to Werchikwar l̄.

477. Cerebrals or Post-Alveolars.

š is shown and occasionally č and j (ž), e.g.

šiš, ḡajati, juyas.

The plural ending is frequently written -išo.

č and č̄ are only noted once or twice: ičim *trunk of tree*. (i.e. *-čim).

What I now represent in Hz. as y is represented in the Nagiri material as R. It was noted that this sign was provisional and more or less arbitrary pending more exact phonetic determination.

and that R appeared to be akin to French r *grasséyée* and also to γ but identical with neither.

The records of the occurrence of this sound closely agree, but it is given in some Nagiri words where I did not note it in their Hz. counterparts:

N. dir'yanum *old (of clothes) worn out* Hz. dir'yanum.
girisitum "*fine*" γir'itum *soft*.

But from Nz. I recorded γirari't, girari't.

šakišum *smooth* šir'itum, šir'itum.

It is also suggested in: ḡi(r)as, ḡu(r)as and espu(r)as.

78. Aspirates. Except for ph and a few th, aspirates are not recorded.

ph as a rule stands for my Hz. pf.

79. Consonantal Combinations.

There is perhaps a tendency to simplify certain consonantal combinations, or to favour the simpler of two alternatives:

| | | |
|----------------------|--------|--------------------|
| N. dur'tak, dur'tsak | beside | Hz. dur'tsak. |
| destalas | | dest(s)alas, |
| altas, altats | | altats. |
| gosil | | gots'il. |
| bakinš | | bakinč (-tš). |
| gatenš, yatēnē | | γate'nč. |
| halans | | halants. |
| *-ltans | | *-ltants. |
| *-dumus | | *-dumuts, *-dumus. |

In the first two examples the second s is probably really intrusive and the presence or absence of t between n and s, š is liable to be a matter of individual opinion.

In any case such reductions are not carried out systematically, cp.:

N. -ints, -muts, hurnts, phurnts, ḡačanč, and girkitis in spite of girkitis.

Hz. *-altir'as *to show to s.o.* is recorded as *-atir'as, perhaps in error.

NOUNS.

480. The categories and the correspondence with them of the plural endings seem generally to agree with what has been recorded of Hz. There are a few discrepancies in the allocation of individual nouns to the x and y categories, but these are very rare where the plural endings are given. It is more reasonable to attribute them to errors and misunderstandings than to any radical difference in theory or practice. It must however be mentioned that three plural forms are given for the common word **-ntis foot*, viz. **-ntiṣo*, **-ntiṣnts* and **-ntiṣ*, of which the first two are x forms and the last y, as in Hz.

The grammatical effects of the categories are the same in Nagiri as in Hz. v. § 20.

There are differences in the plural endings attributed to nouns within the same category, but this is natural, as latitude undoubtedly exists and IYB often hesitated in giving a plural form, or gave alternatives.

481. Number.

A few plural endings are characteristic of N. as compared with Hz. The most important are the x endings *-iṣnts* and *-aṣnts*, *-eṣnts*. Thus:

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| N. <i>haṣurṣnts</i> | <i>horses</i> | Hz. <i>haṣurṣo</i> . |
| <i>ṣapikiṣnts</i> | <i>pieces of bread</i> | <i>ṣapikuṣts</i> . |
| <i>yaṣaṣiṣnts</i> , <i>yaṣuṣo</i> | <i>handles</i> | <i>yaṣaṣnts</i> . |
| <i>du.ṣaṣiṣnts</i> | <i>kids</i> | <i>du.ṣaṣnts</i> . |
| <i>urkaṣiṣnts</i> | <i>wolves</i> | <i>urkaṣiṣ</i> . |

There are differences in the plurals of some of the commonest words:

| | | | |
|-------------|----------------------|------------------|---------------|
| <i>hir</i> | N. <i>hirikuṣnts</i> | Hz. <i>hiri</i> | <i>men.</i> |
| <i>gus</i> | <i>guṣiṣyents</i> | <i>guṣiṣants</i> | <i>women.</i> |
| * <i>-i</i> | * <i>-yu'w'a</i> | * <i>-yu</i> | <i>sons.</i> |

The suffixes *-an* and *-ik* are employed in the same way as

in Hz., but to judge from the examples *-ik* is more generally used in N. than in Hz.

The curious alternative plural in Hz. for *ṣiṣn thief*, viz. *ṣiṣaṣn*, is also recorded in N. *ṣiṣyaṣn*.

92. Case.

The case-endings agree substantially with Hz., but in the sample declension of *hir* there are the following:

| | | | |
|-------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>dat.</i> | <i>-ir (-ir?)</i> | sg. <i>hirir</i> | pl. <i>hirikuṣtsir.</i> |
| <i>abl.</i> | <i>-iṣum, -um</i> | <i>hiriṣum</i> | <i>hirikuṣtsuṣum.</i> |

The forms for *gus woman* are:

| | | |
|-------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| <i>dat.</i> | <i>gusuṣur</i> | <i>guṣiṣyentsir.</i> |
| <i>abl.</i> | <i>gusuṣuṣuṣum</i> | <i>guṣiṣyentsuṣum.</i> |

In other words, however, ending in consonants we find *-er* and *-tuṣum* and these may be taken as the normal inflections for nouns.

The *dat.* ending *-ere, -re* which is the rule with the pronouns appears to be rare with nouns.

The other case-endings and postpositions recorded agree with those of Hz.

| |
|---|
| <i>-ale</i> , <i>-aṣe</i> , <i>-faṣ</i> (once), <i>-ulu</i> , <i>-ulo</i> . |
| * <i>-apaṣi</i> , <i>paṣi</i> , <i>həraṣn</i> , <i>gane</i> , <i>iṣji</i> . |
| <i>ka</i> <i>yaṣe</i> , * <i>-yekal</i> , <i>yer</i> . |

-aṣe appears as *-iṣye* in *ṣaniṣye aṣir* *near the stone.*
as *-iṣe* in *ikuṣiṣe* *of oneself.*

xa (*kha*) appears as *xat*.

Examples are given of the use of *ka* to indicate human instrumentality:

ṣame ine ustaṣde ka ha'n eṣtimi *the Mir made his builder build a house.*

ṣame uṣe ka ha'n goṣtimi *the Mir made you build a house.*

The idiom, if correctly translated, is difficult to analyse.

ADJECTIVES.

483. A number of plural forms varying for x and y have been recorded:

| | | | | | |
|-------|---------------|-----------|-------------|---|----------|
| saŋ | light, bright | pl. x | saŋišo | y | saŋičaŋ. |
| therk | dirty | pl. h & x | therki'nts | | therkiŋ. |
| tsan | straight | | tsana'ints. | | |

There are a few peculiar forms:

| | | | |
|-----------|-------|-----------|--------------|
| daltas | fine | pl. x & y | daltasako. |
| uyur'm | big | | oyoko(ik). |
| jut | small | x | juturko. |
| bærdum | red | | bærjako. |
| čat | short | | čat'uryoko. |
| bi'y'enum | thin | | bi'y'eya'ko. |

Similarly: tar'enum.

tanum tall tar'yoko.

Similarly: gus'anum.

A few adjectives borrowed from Shina have -o and -i for the hm and hf sg. respectively:

| | | |
|---------|---------|--------|
| āšarto | āšarti | weak. |
| ji'no | ji'ni | alive. |
| šati'lu | šati'li | strong |

For the plural, -muts is added to each of these.

- 484.

PRONOUNS.

The Personal Pronouns are practically the same as in Hz.

N. has um thou, instead of Hz. uŋ, u'n.

The dat. suffix is generally -ere, -re.

ja're, umere, inere, but inemur.

mi'mere, ma'mere, u're.

485. Prefixal Pronouns.

The prefixal pronouns are identical with Hz. When used independently with the dative suffix they appear as:

| | | | |
|------|-------|-------|-------|
| a're | g'ure | ere, | more. |
| mere | ma're | o're. | |

With *-aka and *-apači they resemble Hz. in the sg. except mupači for mo'pači.

In the plural, and also optionally in the singular, they are replaced by the non-prefixal pronouns with ka and pači. Thus:

| | | | |
|-------|--------|----------|----------|
| mi'ka | u'eka; | mi'pači, | u'epači. |
| ja'ka | umeka; | ja'pači, | umepači. |

86. The Demonstratives.

The forms in use are:

| | | | |
|------|-------|------|---------------|
| h | x | y | |
| kine | kuse | kute | this (one). |
| ku.e | kutse | kuke | these (ones). |
| ine | ese | ete | that (one). |
| u'e | etse | eke | those (ones). |

87. The Corroborative Pronouns.

The double forms as in Hz.:

| | | | |
|---------|---------|-------|----------|
| ji'je.i | gugu.i | ji' | mu'muri. |
| mi'mi | ma'ma'i | u'u'i | |

88. The Possessive Adjectives.

As in Hz.

je'mo my gu.i'mo, i'mo etc.

89. The Reflexive Pronouns.

We find *-kər as in Hz., but the 1st. sg. is ji'kər.

ja ji'k'ər delam I hit myself.

ja ji'k'əre gane for myself.

Also, however, a'kər in

ja a'k'əriŋe senam I said to myself.

90. Indefinite and Interrogative Pronouns and Adjectives.

The following forms have been recorded:

| | | | |
|-------|-------------|-------------|------------------------|
| men, | menən, | meni'k | (-er, -təm). |
| amin, | amis, | amit; | men(ik), amits, amik; |
| tuman | (one more); | je.ib | (another person, etc.) |
| besan | what? | besane gane | wherefore? |

(Also the adverb bes? why?)

491. Quantitative Pronouns and Adjectives.

| | |
|----------|-----------|
| beru'man | how many? |
| o'yo'n | all. |

492. Relative Pronouns.

Equivalents are supplied by idioms with the Static Participle and Noun Agent.

493. Numerals.

The forms of the *Cardinals* agree closely with those recorded for Hz.

| | |
|----------------------------|---------------------|
| The h form of 3 | is iske. |
| x " 2 " | altats. |
| 10 by itself | is torumo. |
| in the numbers 11, 12 etc. | it is turma. |
| 20 | is given as alther. |
| 100 | " tha. |

The use of h x y and z forms coincide, as far as recorded, with that in Hz.

| | |
|--------|---|
| once | } etc. are given as hik daman, alto daman, iski daman, walti daman etc. |
| twice | |
| thrice | |

Fractions:

| | | | |
|-----------|-------------|---------------|----------------|
| tran | one half; | trantsum tran | one quarter. |
| alto bago | two thirds; | iski bago | three fourths. |

The *Ordinals* are as follows:

| | | | |
|------|-------------|-------|-----------------|
| 1st. | awa'lum | 8th. | altambi'lum. |
| 2nd. | alto'lum | 9th. | hunti'lum. |
| 3rd. | iski'lum | 10th. | torimi'lum. |
| 4th. | walti'lum | 11th. | turma hi'kulum. |
| 5th. | tsindi'lum | 12th. | turma alto'lum. |
| 6th. | mišindi'lum | 20th. | altheri'lum. |
| 7th. | tal'elum | 21st. | altherhi'kulum. |

VERBS.

94. As far as the Nagiri material goes it appears to support what has been given in §§ 210—247 in regard to the formation of the Present Base and of the Transitive and Causative verbs.

The same distinctions as in Hz. hold good in Nagiri in the use of the verbs:

| | | |
|---------|--------|-------------|
| galas | and | yalas. |
| d*tsas | " | dosu'yas. |
| šilas | šu.as | šeyas. |
| *-čilas | *-uyas | *-(A)yo'nas |

and probably of giyas and guyas. (Hz. *-(A)yunas).

95. The Prefixal Pronouns.

The pronominal prefixes are used in the same way as in Hz. The distinction between *- and *-A forms is generally observable, and the latter appear in the causative forms as in Hz.

With the verb *-čilas to give, when the Indirect Object is the 1st. sg., da- is prefixed instead of ja-. V. § 255.

Thus:

| | |
|----------------|---------------------------------------|
| dači'yas: | (jare) tsil dači'ubai, dačimi, dači. |
| to give to me; | he gives, he gave, give, water to me. |

With *-uyas in the same circumstances, instead of the Hz. jo'yas, N. has ja'uyas e.g.

| | |
|-----------------|--------------------|
| šapik ja'u'ubai | he gives me bread. |
|-----------------|--------------------|

This is only the characteristic non-coalescence of a + u.

From *-yetsas the form yo'tsuma (for Hz. uyetsuma), thou hast seen them, has twice been recorded, but otherwise ayets, muyets, uyets see me, her, them.

96. Inflexion.

a) The general system of inflexion is the same as in Hz., but there are a few special forms of the verb *ba* which are of importance.

Pres. 3rd. sg. y di'la Past 3rd. sg. y di'lum.

3rd. pl. x bi'o 3rd. pl. x bivum (bi'm).

The corresponding negative forms are:

Pres. sg. *api* pl. *api'o*.

Past sg. *apim* pl. *apim*.

Very few *x* and *y* 3rd. pers. forms of other verbs have been recorded, but we have of *x* forms:

amən axulji bi, axulji bim *my tooth is hurting me, was hurting me.*

me bi, mani bi, mani bim *is becoming, has become, had become.*

əci bi *is making.*

yen'ei'nts galimio *the handles broke.*

Of *y* forms: *mani di-la* *has become.*

b) The conjugation of the various types of verbs of which examples are given in §§ 274—310 is in the main the same in Nagiri as in Hz.

The forms of the verb *ba* occurring in the Present, Imperfect, Perfect, Pluperfect are, however, preserved intact in all the parts of those tenses. So:

| | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|
| N. <i>idelju ba</i> | <i>thou art beating him.</i> | Hz. <i>idelja.</i> |
| <i>idelju bai</i> | <i>he is beating him.</i> | <i>ideljai.</i> |
| <i>ure mudelu bam</i> | <i>they had beaten her.</i> | <i>mudclam.</i> |

In the Future there have been recorded only forms without *-m-*, except in the 1st. and 2nd. sg. (*ideljam, ideljuma*).

Thus the 1st., 2nd., 3rd. pl. *h* is *ideljən*.

In the Preterite, on the other hand, only the *-m-* forms have been recorded.

The Imperative and the few *-š* (*-š*) forms recorded call for no comment.

c) The Participles have not in general been recorded. Of Past Participles Active we have:

From **-širas* to deprive s.o. of s.t. *niširi* and *nurmuširi*.

Here there is a loss of final *-n* (*niširin* etc.). (So in Hz. Nz. gave *di'ni* for *di'nin* and *deni* for *denin*).

From *basas* to settle down, etc. *nupas ju'in* "come slowly".

d) A number of Static Participle forms of the 1st. and 3rd. sg. and of the 3rd. pl. are given in illustration of how the lack of Relative Pronouns is made good:

sawur dumo'm inə gas kine bo *this is the woman who came yesterday.*

So also 3rd. sg. *m. di'm.*

3rd. pl. *h. dumišo.*

Similarly from *d*-tsas*:

1st. sg. *di'tsam* and *dutsam.*

Other forms: 1st. sg. *etam, yetsam, muyetsam,*
yuyam, muyam.

3rd. sg. *serum.*

The Infinitive and Noun Agent forms are as in Hz.

THE NEGATIVE & INTERROGATIVE.

97. The Negative is indicated by prefixing:

1. *a-*, *a'*, *ae-* } to the verb.

or, 2. *au-*

au- probably corresponds to the Hz. *or*.

- | | | | |
|--------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>api, əpi</i> | <i>is not.</i> | 2. <i>au dastal</i> | <i>don't wake me.</i> |
| <i>ai'etas</i> | <i>not to do.</i> | <i>au d'e.i</i> | <i>don't make him stand up.</i> |
| <i>ai'eti</i> | <i>don't do it.</i> | <i>au diye</i> | <i>don't stand up.</i> |
| <i>ai(y)əča ba</i> | <i>I am not doing it.</i> | <i>au dego'ni</i> | <i>raw(?) of fruit.</i> |
| <i>ai'ati</i> | <i>don't make me.</i> | <i>au dirri</i> | <i>raw i.e. not having (been) cooked.</i> |
| <i>ai'oti</i> | <i>don't make them.</i> | <i>*-as angusuyas</i> | <i>not to be afraid.</i> |
| <i>ai(y)axuli</i> | <i>don't hurt me.</i> | but, <i>es ai'egusu</i> | <i>don't frighten him.</i> |
| <i>ai(y)exuli</i> | <i>don't hurt him.</i> | | |
| <i>ai(y)eyal</i> | <i>don't make him break it.</i> | | |
| <i>arulanas</i> | <i>not to be able.</i> | | |
| <i>aken</i> | <i>don't know (henas).</i> | <i>ayal</i> | <i>don't break it.</i> |

The Interrogative is marked by *-a* suffixed to the verb as in Hz.

ADVERBS.

498. There are a few variant adverb forms:

| | | | |
|----------------|--------------|----------------|-----------------------------------|
| amuli | where? | jimden | tomorrow. |
| amulim | whence? | kute (ete) kin | this (that) side. |
| amulire | whither? | kule.i | here. |
| e'le.i, al'e.i | there. | kulemo | hence. |
| elamo | thence. | kulere | hither. |
| elere | thither. | also kulu | here, cp. hulu (and Hz. aku'lo?). |
| iti il'e.i | over there | | |
| hulu (niyas) | (to go) out, | kute qa'sinor | up till now (Hz. xa'sinor). |
| but also ho'le | outside. | sawur | yesterday. |

VOCABULARY.

499. Such Nagiri words as have not been recorded in Hz., or which differ in form or meaning from the Hz. equivalents, are mentioned in the Vocabulary.

Here it will only be necessary to comment on a few of them. The form aruyaba "I have got thirsty" is doubtless to be explained as the 1st. sg. perf. of *-uyas or *-uyai.as, to become dry, postulated in § 232. The corresponding Causative is given as espuryas as well as espuryas, which strengthens the assumption that all these related verbs have y in them.

N. ul'anas, ul'anas, to be able to, corresponds in meaning to Hz. *-amanas. It takes the dependent verb in the -s form, or in the infinitive.

N. dii'io (baba etc.) step-(father etc.). This looks as if it might be a Shina word (-o being a common noun and adjective ending in Shina, and -io a noun agent suffix), but I cannot trace anything resembling it in my Shina records.

N. gorum hot. The Werehikwar is gorum. The Hz. gorurum is perhaps due to the influence of ḍayurum, ḍayurum cold.

N. gurkuta pl. gurku'io, frog, corresponds to Hz. yurkun pl. yurkuyo. Perhaps there is something in the fact that it appears as the ending of several animal names:

balats bird, girki'its rat (Hz. girkis),

Hz. yarkas (probably for yarkats, the pl. being yarka'io) lizard, y'okurats raven, qarqamuts fowl.

N. *-as gusu'yas (Pres. base gusu'io-) to fear, be afraid.

Cs. *-as *-agusu'yas to make fear, frighten.

Biddulph and Leitner give (3rd. sg. in pu.pf. forms):
esgusa's and es-egusa's.

N. j'e.ib seems to correspond semantically to the Hz. jami'p outsider, other person, but there is no known parallel to such a phonetic equation.

N. ti'gan (and ti'g?), pl. ti'gayo, egg.

Cp. Hz. ti'an (and tin), pl. tinaiyo.

Biddulph: tin, pl. -aiyo.

Leitner: tin and tigan, pl. tigayo.

PHONOLOGY.

501. There does not appear to be any radical difference between the W. and Bu. Phonetic Systems.

There are, however, a few sporadic variations which deserve to be noted:

| W. | Bu. | W. | Bu. | |
|------------|----------|----|------------|----------------------------|
| Δ = ɪ, i | | in | hale's | hile's boy. |
| -ai.in(i) | -an(i)? | " | eryai.mi | } v. Vocab. s. vv. |
| | -a'n(i)? | " | dɛ'smai'ma | |
| | | " | dusmai.mi | |
| ε = j | | " | čɛn | čɛn bird. |
| | | " | dasen | dasin girl. |
| | | " | hək | hik 1. one, 2. full. |
| | | " | hɛn | hin one. |
| | | " | nem | nim gone. |
| | | " | *-rek | *-rik brother-in-law. |
| | | " | *-ren | *-riŋ hand. |
| | | " | sɛs | sis persons. |
| | | " | šɛ'nj | sinč beam. |
| | | " | *-(y)ɛk | *-ik name. |
| -ur = -jɪr | | " | asur | asir near. |
| | | " | hurɪ | hirɪ men. |
| | | " | *-yurɛs | *-irɛs to die. |

502. In W. *h* sometimes appears initially, and medially between vowels, where it is not found in Bu.

| W. | Bu. | |
|------------|--------------|-------------------|
| hi'likinas | *-i'li'kinas | to placate (him). |
| *-hu'les | *-ulus | woman's brother. |
| *-hu'ts | *-urtis | foot. |
| *-yu'har | *-uyor | husband. |
| do'oras | do'ras | to fall down. |

Other examples are to be found in Zarubin's vocabulary e.g.

NOTES ON THE WERCHIKWÂR DIALECT OF YASIN.

§ 500.

500. The following notes, except when otherwise stated, are based solely on material collected by myself. This material was recorded in a few hours and is necessarily quite insufficient to provide a full view of the language.

The notes therefore can only be expected to give a partial view of its features and to summarise what it is possible to deduce from the short texts.

A fuller and admirable survey of Werchikwâr has been published by I. I. Zarubin¹ to which reference should be made. It too is admittedly based on incomplete material, which leaves many points of grammar unexplained or unrevealed; but the author has spared himself no pains and has succeeded in furnishing a comprehensive and very valuable exposition of the language far in advance of anything previously published. His vocabulary contains about 600 entries (including loan words and cross-references).

What is here offered in part supplements and in part corroborates Zarubin's work, while the additional knowledge which has been acquired of Burushaski also throws light on certain characteristics of Werchikwâr.

The time has not yet come for any final treatment of Werchikwâr, but any contribution to our knowledge of it, or any verification of what has already been recorded is not without value.

¹ Verchikskoe Narechie Kundzhatokogo Yazika. Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedenii, 2. Izd. Akademija Nauk SSSR. Leningrad, 1927, pp. 276-364.

| | | |
|----------|-----------|------------------|
| W. | Bu. | |
| duhóni | durni(mi) | he laid hold of. |
| haltó | alto | two. |
| tiliháng | tili.saj | saddle. |

503. *l*, a peculiar *l*, occurs in some words in W., e.g. *duləm it* (y sg.) *was*.

I cannot give a scientific description of this sound, but to my ear it frequently appeared somewhat like *ð*.

An identical, or similar, *l* occurs in Khowar.

I have myself noted no corresponding sound in Burushaski. Cp. § 5. Zarubin records *l* (1) in a good many words where I did not notice it:

Cp. *altán*, *hepu'tu*, *ma'tiás*, *nát*, where it may be voiceless *l*. He is no doubt correct.

In some words he shows it as occurring in some forms and not in others, e.g.

| | | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>tūmał</i> | <i>ear</i> , | pl. <i>tumaling</i> . |
| <i>aváldum</i> | <i>I shall fall</i> , | <i>aváta I fell</i> . |
| <i>valí</i> | <i>he fell</i> . | |

504. Other equations are:

| | | | | |
|---------|------|----|-----------|---------------------------------|
| W. | Bu. | W. | Bu. | |
| m = | b | in | tamaŋ | tabaŋ <i>bridle</i> . |
| -ŋ | -n | " | *-Δčukorŋ | *-Δčukon <i>man's brother</i> . |
| rč, | č, š | " | e'rčo | e'rčo <i>his brother</i> . |
| rč(?) } | | " | barč | baš <i>bridge</i> . |
| š | s | " | šerŋj | sinč <i>beam</i> . |

505. There is contraction in one dialect or the other in a few words:

| | | |
|--------|---------|-------------------|
| W. | Bu. | |
| bo'šo | bušo'šo | <i>calf</i> . |
| tsigir | tsi'r | <i>she-goat</i> . |
| tsuləm | tsu'm | <i>heavy</i> . |

There seems to be metathesis in *mačukus*, *the middle one*, which is presumably derived from *makuči*, *makučo*.

NOUNS.

506. Nouns are grouped in the same categories as in Bu. Viz. *hm*, *hf*, *x* and *y*. (V. § 19.)

These produce the same grammatical reactions as in Bu., and are distinguished by their plural endings to the extent that the *y* endings are distinct from the *h* and *x* endings.

The *h* and *x* endings are largely common to both categories. *x* plural endings not occurring in Bu.:

| | | | | |
|------|-----|-------|-------|-------------|
| -a, | -ə | haγur | horse | pl. haγurə. |
| -mu, | -mo | nya | bear | nyamo. |
| | | šuqa | choga | šuqamo. |

As in Bu. final *-n* is replaced in the plural by *-yo*.

-muts and *-uts* have not been recorded.

y pl. endings are characterised by final *-ŋ*:

-iŋ, *-oŋ*, *-ičaŋ*.

A few special forms are:

| | | |
|----------|----------|------------------------------|
| hir | man | pl. hu'ri. |
| gus | woman | gušŋ. |
| dasen | girl | gušŋ.angi.a. |
| *-Δmīš | finger | *-Δmats. |
| *-ren | hand | *-re'ŋ. |
| dan | stone | γoro. |
| sind | river | sinde'o. |
| *-ye | son | *-yu (as in Bu.). |
| *-Δ.i | daughter | *-yugšants (Bu. *-yugšants). |
| *-hurtis | foot | *-hurtŋ. |

(but *hurtiša* has also been recorded, probably meaning "on his feet".)

The suffix of singleness *-an*, *-en* is in common use; the plural *-ik* ('k) has only been recorded in

haγurek *horses*.

507. Case Inflection.

| | |
|-------------|---------|
| Nom. | — |
| Trans. Nom. | -e, -ε. |

| | |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Gen. | -e, -e. |
| Dat. | -a, -a; after vowel, -ya. |
| Abl. | -tsum, -um. |
| Loc. <i>in, into</i> | -ule, -ule, -ulo. |
| <i>from in</i> | -ulum. |
| <i>on</i> | yate, yete, yet (postposition), (t?) |
| <i>on(?)</i> | -tse. |

-ëi is found in fola'ni jaya ëi *at such and such a place.*
 a'ltumalëi . . . qisa dura *there is a story in my*
ear(s), i.e. I know a story.

Cp. also paëi and tseëi.

-alc has not been recorded, but may be present in ha'le *at the*
house, to the house etc.

-ane is perhaps represented by -nga, or -ya in dur'stisu'nga,
 v. 412.22, Note.

-ate is replaced by the full form yate, yete (t?) used as a post-
 position.

Nouns ending in -a dispense with the -e of the Trans. Nom.
 and Gen. e.g.:

badsa seni *the king said.*
 badsa ye *the king's son.*

For the Dative of hiq *door* both hiqa and h'iqaya have
 been recorded.

Bu. *-apaëi, *-apaëer *to* (a person) is represented by

W. *-apai, *-apaiya and paëi.

POSTPOSITIONS.

508. The only unfamiliar one is tseëi (tse + ëi?) in
 ja aiyurum (-am?) tseëi *on my dying.* 406.3.

The W. form of the Bu. gane is gandi.

Bu. ka appears as W. ka and is also replaced by W. yare.

Bu. xa and xa'siqar are replaced by W. xa's.

W. horan, i'iji, yakal, yarz have all been recorded.

W. yate (t?) is used as a postposition.

ADJECTIVES.

509. The only plural adjective form recorded is
 tu'a y pl. of toš *new*, cp. Bu. tuwa'n.
 tu'a ai.ariki *fresh bedding.*

PRONOUNS.

510. Personal Pronouns.

| | 1st. Sing. | 1st. Plur. | |
|----------|---------------------------------|--------------|-----------|
| Nom. | } ja, jae, je | mi. | |
| Tr. Nom. | | | |
| Gen. | ja' | mi'. | |
| Dat. | jaya | mi'ya. | |
| Abl. | jatsum | m'imitsum. | |
| | jatse ("with me"). | m'imitsae. | |
| | 2nd. Sing. | 2nd. Plur. | |
| Nom. | uq | ma. | |
| | (only used in Nom. — and Acc.?) | | |
| Gen. | go | ma'. | |
| Dat. | goya | ma'ya, maya. | |
| Abl. | gotsum, go gutsum | mamatsum. | |
| | gotse | mamatse. | |
| | 3rd. Sing. | 3rd. Plur. | |
| | hm. | hf. | |
| Nom. | ne, ne | mo | ue, we. |
| Gen. | ne, ne | momo, momu | ue. |
| Dat. | neya | momoya | ueya. |
| Abl. | netsum | momctsum | (uctsum). |
| | netse | momutse | (uctse). |

It will be noted that forms approximating to those of the Prefixal
 Pronouns are used in the oblique cases of the 2nd. sing. and
 throughout the 3rd. sing. feminine.

ne and ue are also Demonstratives.

The x and y pronouns:

| | | | | |
|---|-----|-----|-----|------|
| x | sg. | se, | pl. | tse. |
| y | sg. | te, | pl. | ke. |

are also Demonstratives and will be mentioned under that heading.

511. Prefixal Pronouns.

The normal forms occurring before a consonant appear to be:

| | | | |
|-------|------------|--------|--------|
| sg. 1 | a- | pl. 1. | mi- |
| 2. | gu- | 2. | ma- |
| 3.m. | (i-), (e-) | 3. | u-, u- |
| 3.f. | mu- | | |

Initially before a consonant the 3rd. sg. m prefix is usually omitted:

| | | | | |
|--------|---------|-----------|--------|--------------------|
| | re'iq | hands. | | |
| sg. 1. | are'iq | my hands. | pl. 1. | mire'iq our hands. |
| 2. | gure'iq | thy " | 2. | mare'iq your " |
| 3.m. | ere'iq | his " | 3. | ure'iq their " |
| 3.f. | mure'iq | her " | | |

(ere'iq is perhaps an error for ne re'iq).

The genitive forms of the independent personal pronouns are also used before them:

| | | | | |
|--------|---------------|-------|--------|--------------|
| | hur'is | foot. | | |
| sg. 1. | ja uhur'is | | pl. 1. | mi mihur'iq. |
| 2. | go g(uh)ur'is | | 2. | ma mahur'iq. |
| 3.m. | ne hur'is | | 3. | u'e chur'iq. |
| 3.f. | (mo muhur'is) | | | |

In the case of *l'umal, ear, the -l- is dropped when the pn.pf. if present would be the 3rd. sg. m. Thus:

| | | |
|--------------|----------|------|
| go gult'umal | thy ear | but, |
| ne turmal | his ear. | |

512. When the pn.pf. is followed by a- or a- the same reactions take place in W. as in Bu.

Thus:

| | | | |
|---------|------------------|------------|---------------|
| *-ačō | a man's brother. | *-amīš | finger. |
| go'čō | thy brother. | amīš, amīš | my finger(s). |
| čō | his " | go'mīš | thy finger. |
| | | e'mīš | his " |
| *-a.i | daughter. | | |
| ja ai | my daughter. | | |
| go go'i | thy " | | |
| ne ei | his " | | |

Cp. also es (his) heart.
e'si.ave under his neck.

Other examples could be quoted from the verbs.

513. So far as available material goes, the case of the pn.pfs being followed by -i- or -u- seem rarely to occur, since words which in Bu begin with -i and -u appear in W. with an initial y- or h-:

Bu. W.

| | | |
|---------|-----------------|--|
| *-i | son | *-ye, *-ye.i, (aye.i, gye.i, ye, also ire, iye). |
| *-ik | name | *-yek (uiyek, guyek, yek; mi.ekiŋ, ma.ekiŋ, uye.ekiŋ). |
| *-il | lip | hił (Zarubin). |
| *-urtis | foot | *-hur'is (see § 511). |
| *-ulus | woman's brother | *-hur'us (u-, gu-, mu-, u-). |
| *-uyer | husband | *-yuh'er (ai-, gu-, m-, u-). |

The only exceptions I can quote are:

| | | | |
|----------|-------|--------|------------------|
| W. *-u'l | belly | sg. 1. | au.ul, my belly. |
| *-us | wife. | | |

| | |
|---------|----------|
| 'a.us | my wife. |
| gus | thy " |
| u's, us | his " |

For 'a.us Zarubin gives ávus, and similarly for a + ul, my belly, Bu. o'l, he gives awíl.

514. Though go and mo almost entirely replace the independent non-prefixal pronouns of the 2nd. sg. (excluding the nom.) and 3rd. sg. hf., the other prefixal pronouns do not seem to be used independently so much in W. as in Bu.

There appear to be no W. equivalents for Bu. a'r, e'r, mo'r and o'r, unless miya and mayā perhaps represent mer and ma'r, rather than m'imər and m'amər.

Forms corresponding to Bu. *-tsi and *-tsimo have not been recorded.

Instead of Bu. ayakal, guyakal we have W. ja yekul, go yækal.

515. Demonstrative Pronouns and Adjectives.

The forms of the NEARER DEMONSTRATIVE: *this, this one*, are:

| | m. | f. | x. | y. |
|-----|-------|------|-------|-------------|
| sg. | ki'ne | kumo | guse | gute, kute. |
| pl. | ku.e | ku.e | gutse | gute. |

The forms of the REMOTER DEMONSTRATIVE: *that, that one*, are:

| | | | | |
|-----|----------|---------|-----|-----|
| sg. | ne (ine) | ne | se | te. |
| | u'e, we | u'e, we | tse | ke. |

These remoter demonstratives are also used as the ordinary Personal Pronouns of the 3rd. person: *he, she, it, they*.

The following oblique forms have been recorded:

| | | | | |
|-------|------|-----------|------|----------|
| kumo | gen. | kum'omo | dat. | kum'oya. |
| ku.e | dat. | ko(w)e'ya | | |
| gutse | dat. | gutseyā | | |
| ne | gen. | ne | dat. | neyā. |
| se | dat. | seyā | | |
| u'e | gen. | u'e | dat. | u'e'ya. |
| tse | dat. | tseyā. | | |

The terminal vowel of the singular appears to vary between e and e.

When used as adjectives these demonstratives are not inflected for case.

The forms ne, se, te and ke suggest that the i- in the Bu. ine, ise etc. may be the pn. pf. i-. The i- of itse would then be due to analogy.

516. Possessive Adjectives.

Possessive Adjectives referring to the subject of the sentence are of the form *-ya.

Only the singular forms have been recorded:

| | | |
|-------------|--|---------------|
| aiya | | my, my own. |
| guya, gu'ia | | thy, thy own. |
| ia | | his (own). |
| muya(?) | | her (own). |

These correspond to the Bu. jeimo, (aimu?), guimo, imo etc.

517. Reflexive Pronouns.

These seem to be the same as in Bu.:

| | |
|-------|----------|
| akər | myself. |
| gukər | thyself. |

have been recorded.

518. Indefinite Pronouns and Adjectives.

The forms recorded are:

| | | |
|------------------------|--------------|---|
| men | sg. and pl. | anyone, some one; any persons, some persons. |
| men (ka) | . . . + neg. | no one etc. |
| men ka apai, apam | | there is no one, there are no people. |
| bo | | anything, something; any, some. |
| bo . . . + neg. | | nothing, not any. |
| gute duro bo ka net et | | doing something or other, do this thing, i.e. do this somehow or other. |
| botan | | anything. |

519. Interrogative Pronouns and Adjectives.

The Indefinite Pronouns and Adjectives just mentioned serve also as Interrogatives.

| | |
|-----------|--|
| bo | is to be equated with Bu. be. |
| botan | " " " " with Bu. besan. |
| botan | is to be regarded as bot + an (the suffix of singleness) |
| botan bi? | what is it? |

ma botan ečum bə'n? *what are you doing?*
 botane etum bə'n? *of what have they made it?*

The dative or general oblique of the simple *bot* is probably to be recognised in:

bota siya *you say "for what?" i.e. if you say "why?" (it is because . . .), i.e. because.*

Cp. Shina: *ke thi'ga to, if you say "why" = because. bota* would be equivalent to Bu. *bess, for what? why?*

The W. *bes ka api there is nothing* is possibly borrowed from Burushaski.

520. Quantitative Pronouns and Adjectives.

berum *a certain number or quantity of, some.*
 berum waxta *in some time.*
 berum den guts'ori *some years passed.*
 berum burt mazdur'isu! *how many hired servants!*
 burt *much, many, very, is used as in Bu.*

uyorn *all, has been recorded only in the 3rd. pl. form uyorneya to all (of them).*

No W. equivalent of Bu. **-altalik, both*, has been recorded. (Zarubin gives only *wé-altan*).

berum is doubtless also used interrogatively = *how much? how many?*

521. Indefinite Relative Pronouns.

men, bo and berum with *ka (ke)* following the verb serve as Indefinite Relatives.
 men . . . bəriñ etan ka . . . neya weam *whoever make(s) (lit. made. conversation . . . to him I will give . . .*
 bo za bi ka go guri.a bi *whatever is mine is thine own.*
 berum auñiq di.a ke . . . *however many guests came . . .*

522. Numerals.

The following forms have been recorded

h forms:
 1 hen 2 altan 3 iske.

x and y forms:

1 han

z forms:

| | |
|----------------|-------------|
| 1 hek | 6 bə'sinde. |
| 2 alto | 7 tale. |
| 3 iski, (iske) | 8 alt'ambe. |
| 4 walt, walt | 9 luti. |
| 5 tsendi | 10 t'orum. |

Universal forms:

| | |
|-----------------|----------------|
| 20 alter, altar | 80 walt altar. |
| 40 alto altar | 100 tha. |
| 60 iski altar | 1000 haza'r. |

(Zarubin gives the x and y forms for the numbers from 4 to 20).

VERBS.

23. The general principles governing the formation of the present bases of the Transitive and Causative Verbs in Bu. appear to hold good in W. So also the principles governing the Prefixal Pronouns and the Verbs in *d**- and *d*-A-*.

Of Verbs differing in form according as they are Transitive or Intransitive, mentioned in § 229, nothing can be said.

galas and *yalas, to break,*
d-nts'iras* and *d*-nts'iras to spread out*

have not been recorded in W.

The same has to be said of the verbs which are used both transitively and intransitively in the same form, v. § 230.

24. As regards verbs which vary according to the category of the direct object, cp. § 231, the following facts may be stated:

a) *ganas to take (y objects)* has not been recorded.

yanas occurs with a y sg. object *hai.an*, and with *sanda* of which the category is not known. V. 400.13-14.

**-awelas*, corresponding to Bu. **-abilas Cs. of belas*, has been recorded, but not *yo'las*.

wašias has been recorded only with šenĵ, which is almost certainly x.

There is no evidence to show whether it is or is not used with a y object, and bišaiyas has not been recorded.

b) Of the verbs with internal change, the forms:

ši.as, šu.as, še.as, to eat,

seem to be used as in Bu. V. § 252.

Forms from both

giyas and guyas (v. § 253)

occur in the texts, 406.13-16 & 408.5-6. The giyas forms have a y pl. object, and the guyas forms an x pl. object, except in one case (406.16) where the unexpressed object is y pl.

c) Of parallel verbs from different roots:

*-uyas and *-či.as, to give,

appear to be used as in Bu.

*-(a)yunas has not been recorded.

With reference to § 255, the 1st. sg. pn.pf. with *-uyas appears in the form of a- not ja-.

jaŷa a'u give it to me.

Of the trio

d*-tsas, dusnyas, suryas, to bring.

dusnyas has only been once doubtfully recorded in the imperative form dusu without expressed object.

On the other hand ditsas occurs three times in the texts with a y sg. object (hai.an) and once with an x sg. object (bošo).

525. Of the verbs mentioned in § 232 which differ in form according as the subject is h, x or y:

walas has been recorded with an hm subject.

baluryas has not been recorded. The Causative or Transitive espaŷuyas presents the u of the latter, but might equally be based on a hypothetical ŷwaluryas.

Zarubin has recorded forms of

*-walas, walas and balas (baličimi and bali), to fall.

The two first occur with h and x subjects respectively. Of the last he gives x subject forms in his Vocabulary:

baličum bi and balum bim,

but in the only two examples in his texts one has for subject pu fire which is y and the other, either pu, or ni, beard, which is also y.

Zarubin gives the meaning of balas as to embrace, envelop (of fire), lay hold of, obtain and the corresponding passives, but I believe that the essential meaning of balas, at least in Burushaski, is to fall (on).

26. Pronoun Prefixes with Verbs.

The remarks made in § 249 about the use of the Pronoun Prefixes with Intransitive and Transitive Verbs in Bu. appear to hold good for W.

Examples of their use as *Ethic Datives* are perhaps to be seen in:

ne halese emiša barōndu 'ediliŷ. Hurta qau.ūsumo 'eltaŷiŷ
put a ring on the finger of the youth (for him), put shoes on his
feet (for him).

The pn.pf. referring to the subject of a transitive verb is found in

d*-a.e.las, to hear.

The pronoun prefixes in similar circumstances generally take the same forms as in Bu., but the 3rd. sg. hm and x prefix (i-) appears to be dropped with Verbs beginning with a consonant. Thus:

amana I became, but mani he became.

In Zarubin's records gu- and mu- and u- appear occasionally for go-, mo- and o- in verbs beginning in Bu. with *-a.

I have also aiyomanen || aiy'umanen, they could not. There is no available example for a W. verb beginning with *-i-

Bu. *-i'ras, to die, is represented by

W. *-yur'as.

An example of a verb beginning with *-u- is afforded by

*-uyas to give.

In it the 1st. sg. prefix *a-* does not coalesce with the *-u-*, and the 3rd. sg. prefix *i-* is not expressed:

jaya u'u give to me. ne'ya u' give to him.

527. **Inflection.**

The following parts of the verb *ba* have been recorded:

| | | | | |
|-------------|-------------------|-------------|-------|-------------------------------|
| Pres. sg. 1 | (je) ba | <i>I am</i> | pl. 1 | (mi) ba'n, bā. |
| 2 | (u'u) ba | | 2 | (ma) ba'n. |
| 3 m | (ne) bai.i | | 3 m | (u'e) ba'n. |
| f | (gus) bu (bo) | | f | |
| x | (ha'ur) bi | | x | (ha'ura) bi.e, bi.en (bi.em). |
| y | (tsil) du'a, duwa | | y | (haki'ān) bitāa. |
| Past sg. 1 | bam (baiyam) | | pl. 1 | bam. |
| 2 | bam | | 2 | bam. |
| 3 m | bam | | 3 m | } bam. |
| f | bum (bom) | | f | |
| x | bim | | x | bim. |
| y | dulum | | y | bitsum. |

The following additional forms have also been recorded:

| | | |
|---------------|-----|-------------|
| Past sg. 3 hm | x y | ba'stini. |
| f | | bu.astumo. |
| pl. 3 h neg. | | apa'stuman. |

These are perhaps due to the influence of the Khowar ending of the Preterite: *-istam*, *-stam* etc.

Other negative forms beside *apa'stuman* are:

| | | | |
|----------------|--------|---------|--------|
| Pres. sg. 3 hm | apai.i | pl. 3 h | apa'n. |
| x | api | | |
| Past sg. 3 y | apim | | |

528. As in Bu. the conjugation of the verb is founded on a Past Base and a Present Base. The Present Base is a derivative from the Past Base, which is the simplest form of the verb, deprived of all extraneous elements.

The Present Base is used to form:

The Future and Present tenses and one form of the Imperfect.

A Participle or Gerund analogous in form to the Static Participle.

From the Past Base are derived:

The Preterite, Perfect, Pluperfect and one form of Imperfect.

The Imperative and forms in *-š*.

The Past Participle Active and the Static Participle.

29. Also, as in Bu., there are two series of endings for person and number:

| | | | |
|----------|---------|-------|----------------|
| I. sg. 1 | -a | pl. 1 | -ān, -ēn. |
| 2 | -a | 2 | -ān, -ēn. |
| 3 hm | -i | 3 h | -ān, -ēn. |
| hf | -u (-o) | x | (-i.e, -i.en?) |
| x | -i | y | (-i?) |
| y | -i | | |

The x pl. ending is perhaps the same as the h pl. ending. Cp. x pl. manen, which is the only example recorded except bi.en.

| | | | |
|-----------|---------|-------|--------------------|
| II. sg. 1 | -am | pl. 1 | -umen (or -uman). |
| 2 | -uma | 2 | -umen. |
| 3 hm | -imi | 3 h | -umen. |
| hf | -umo | x | (-imi.e, -imi.en?) |
| x | -imi | y | (-imi?) |
| y | (-imi?) | | |

This second series appears to consist of the participial endings of the Present-base Participle and of the Static Participle + the first series of personal endings, only that the 1st. sg. lacks the final *-a*, and the 1st. pl. has *-umen* where one would expect *-amen*.

As a rule the Preterite is formed of the Past Base + the first series, and the Future of the Present Base + the second series, (except that the 1st. pl. has the ending *-ān*).

Thus:

| | | | | | |
|--------------|-------|--------|-------------------|-------|--------------|
| <i>Pres.</i> | sg. 1 | 'eta | <i>I did</i> | pl. 1 | 'eten (-an). |
| | 2 | 'eta | | 2 | 'eten (-an). |
| | 3 hm | 'eti | | 3 h | 'eten (-an). |
| | x | | | | |
| | hf | | 'etu | | |
| <i>Fut.</i> | sg. 1 | ečam | <i>I shall do</i> | 1 | ečan. |
| | 2 | ečumna | | 2 | ečumen. |
| | 3 hm | ečimi | | 3 h | ečumen. |
| | hf | ečumo | | | |

530. The remaining tenses are based on the Present Base Participle and the Past Base Static Participle which have the following endings:

| | | | |
|-------|-----|-------|--------------|
| sg. 1 | -am | pl. 1 | -am, or -an. |
| 2 | -um | 2 | -um. |
| 3 hmf | -um | 3 h | -um |
| x | | x | |
| (y?) | | (y?) | |

So: ečam *doing*, etam *done*.

| | | | | | |
|-------|------|------|-------|--------|---------|
| sg. 1 | ečam | etam | pl. 1 | { ečam | { etam. |
| | | | | { ečan | { etan. |
| 2 | ečum | etum | 2 | ečum | etum. |
| 3 | ečum | etum | 3 | ečum | etum. |

531. From the Present Base Participial forms are derived:

1. The PRESENT TENSE by the addition of the parts of the present tense of *ba*.

| | | | | |
|-------|--------------|-------------------|-------|------------------------|
| sg. 1 | ečam ba | <i>I am doing</i> | pl. 1 | ečam ba'n (ečan ba'n). |
| 2 | ečum ba | | 2 | ečum ba'n. |
| 3 hm | ečum bai | | 3 hm | ečum ba'n. |
| hf | ečum bu | | hf | |
| x | ečum bi | | x | |
| y | (ečum du.a?) | | y | (ečum bitsa?) |

2. A form of the IMPERFECT by the addition of the parts of the past tense of *ba*.

| | | |
|-------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| sg. 1 | ečam bam (or, baiyam) | <i>I was doing.</i> |
| 2 | (ečum bam). | |
| 3 hm | ečum bam. | |
| hf | ečum bum. | |
| x | ečum bim. | |

3. The CONDITIONAL etc. by the addition of the invariable particle: tsik (istq).

The Present Base Participial form by itself is used as a verbal noun or adjective with nominal inflection where necessary:

gučāčum kenar *at lying-down time.*
gute bær ečume saxen *by reason of her making this remark.*

Verbs were commonly quoted to me in this form:
e.g. walčum, *to fall*, where in Bu. *walas* would have been given.

532. The Simple Present Base + the dative ending -a (-ya) is used as a connective, resuming the verb of the preceding sentence, where Bu. uses the Static Participle and Infinitive + or and ka.

533. From the Past Base Participial forms (the Bu. Static Participle) are derived:

1. The PERFECT by the addition of the present of the verb *ba*.

| | | |
|-------|-------------|---------------------|
| sg. 1 | etam ba | <i>I have done.</i> |
| 2 | etum ba. | |
| 3 hm | etum bai.i. | |
| hf | etum bu. | |

2. The PLUPERFECT by the addition of the past of the verb *ba*.

| | | | | |
|-------|----------|-------------------|-------|-----------|
| sg. 1 | etam bam | <i>I had done</i> | pl. 1 | etam bam. |
| 2 | etum bam | | 2 | etum bam. |
| 3 hm | etum bam | | 3 h | etum bam. |
| hf | etum bum | | | |
| x | etum bim | | | |

534. From the Simple Past Base are derived:

1. The IMPERATIVE.

For the 2nd. sg. the plain form is apparently used as in Bu. There is only one example of the Imperative of a verb with posterior accent, such as *man'a's*:

min'a's to drink, impv. sg. 2 *mina*.

The plural has the suffix *-in*, *-in* added to the past base.

Examples:

| | | | | |
|-------------------|----------|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| <i>etas</i> | 2nd. sg. | ' <i>et, eti</i> | pl. <i>etiŋ</i> | <i>do.</i> |
| <i>ne.as(?)</i> | | <i>ne</i> | <i>nerin</i> | <i>go.</i> |
| <i>žo.as</i> | | <i>žo</i> | — | <i>come.</i> |
| <i>di.e'as(?)</i> | | <i>di'e</i> | — | <i>stand up.</i> |
| <i>e'tai.as</i> | | — | <i>e'tai.in</i> | <i>put on to.</i> |
| <i>e'dil.as</i> | | — | <i>e'dil.in</i> | <i>put on to.</i> |

2. The IMPERFECT is formed by the reduplicated past base followed by the parts of the past tense of the verb *la*.

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| <i>'ertit bam</i> | <i>he used to go.</i> |
| <i>n'ene bam</i> | <i>I was going (thou, he, we, you, they were [going]).</i> |
| <i>žožo bam</i> | <i>I was coming.</i> |
| <i>huru't huru't bam</i> | <i>I was sitting.</i> |
| (also <i>huru'č huru'ča bam</i>) | <i>I was sitting.</i> |
| <i>di.e di.e bam</i> | <i>I was standing.</i> |
| <i>hu.e hu.e bam</i> | <i>she was running.</i> |
| <i>duwal duwal bim</i> | <i>it was flying.</i> |

3. The \ddot{s} FORMS are obtained by adding to the past base 3rd. sg. *-iš*, pl. *-išan*, *-išen*.

| | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| <i>etas</i> | sg. <i>etiš</i> | pl. <i>etišan.</i> |
| <i>ne.as(?)</i> | <i>niš</i> | <i>nišen.</i> |

for further examples v. § 548.

4. The PAST PARTICIPLE ACTIVE is formed from the past base in various ways. The final *-n* of Bu. is sometimes dropped, but the same general rules as in Bu. seem to hold good.

Verbs beginning with a vowel (pn.pf.) take an *n-* prefix, those beginning with *d-* do not.

Examples:

| | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------|---|
| <i>etas</i> | <i>to do</i> | <i>net, nete, neti.</i> |
| <i>ya'nas</i> | <i>to see, look at</i> | <i>nuya'nin.</i> |
| (<i>hu.eyas</i>) | <i>to run</i> | <i>nahu'ni.</i> |
| <i>huru'tas</i> | <i>to sit down</i> | <i>nur'rut.</i> |
| (<i>xatas?</i>) | <i>so say</i> | <i>nuxat.</i> |
| *- <i>manas</i> | <i>to become</i> | <i>nima (it (x) having become).</i> |
| <i>se'as</i> | <i>to say</i> | <i>nuse'ni(n).</i> |
| <i>ši.as</i> | <i>to eat</i> | <i>ni'ši.</i> |
| <i>te(y)en</i> | <i>they took oath</i> | <i>nur'te (he taking oath).</i> |
| *- <i>tsuryas</i> | <i>to take away</i> | <i>ni'tsu (x sg. obj.)</i> |
| <i>walas</i> | <i>to fall</i> | <i>nyu'al.</i> |
| <i>yadas</i> | <i>to take</i> | <i>nira.</i> |
| <i>yetsas</i> | <i>to see</i> | <i>nirets, ni.etsə (hm. sg. and y sg. obj.)</i> |
| <i>d*-ašqaltas</i> | <i>to arrive</i> | <i>d'ešqalt (he having arrived).</i> |
| <i>di.eyas</i> | <i>to stand</i> | <i>di.e.</i> |
| (<i>d*-awakalas?</i>) | <i>to make someone talk(?)</i> | <i>dumo'wakal (making her talk).</i> |

(See also the paradigms of *ni.as* and *žo.as*.)

5. The forms of the STATIC PAST PARTICIPLE have been given above (*etam*, *etum*).

It is only to be remarked that, as in Bu., the vowel of the ending (*-um*) is liable to elision or alteration when the past base of the verb ends in a vowel.

So:

| | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>ne.as</i> , or <i>ni.as</i> | <i>to go</i> | St.Pc. |
| <i>d*-(a)</i> the past base | <i>to come</i> | <i>nem, ni.em.</i> |
| of <i>žo.as</i> | | <i>di'm he having come.</i> |
| *- <i>uyas</i> | <i>to give</i> | <i>dumo'm she etc.</i> |
| <i>waši.as</i> | <i>to throw</i> | *- <i>um.</i> |
| | | <i>wešim.</i> |

35. The Bu. INFINITIVE Form in *-as*, *-a's* exists in W.

It was quoted without context as *žo.as*, *etas*, *min'a's* etc., but there is no example of its being used as an Infinitive. V. § 552.

536. Attention may here be called to certain peculiar forms of the PRETERITE.

We have already seen the alternative forms of the past tenses of *ba*:

ba'stimi bu.astumo and *ap'a'stumam*.

This *-st-* has also been recorded in:

ni'eta'stumo *she did not do, or make, (for aiyetu).*

It is perhaps due to the influence of the Khowār past tense endings *-istam, -istai* etc.

E.g.

Khow. *as-i'k* *to be* *as'istam* *I was.*
as'istai *he was.*

mašk-i'k *to demand* *mašk'istai* *he demanded.*

It is to be remembered that Khowār has for generations been the language of the local rulers of Yasin, and the official medium of administration, and many of the adult male population are bilingual, speaking both Werchikwār and Khowār.

537. In answer to enquiries Bu. forms were occasionally given, e.g. *baiyam* *I was*; *miya ba* *I am drinking*; *hur'u'ta bam* *I had sat down*; *ni.a ba* *I have gone*. Such forms do not appear in the texts and are to be regarded with suspicion.

538. The following paradigms of the important verbs *To Come* and *To Go*, obtained for the most part by direct enquiry, though incomplete, are of interest. Out of the 6 roots employed, 3 are not found in Bu. and 2 are unknown to Zarubin:

NI.AS(?), NE.AS(?) *to go.*

Past bases. *ne- ne- ni-; gal-*

Present base. *tsara- (tsera-, tsira-).*

| | | | | |
|----------------|-------|----------------|-------|---------------------|
| <i>Future.</i> | sg. 1 | <i>tsara'm</i> | pl. 1 | <i>tsira'n.</i> |
| | 2 | <i>tserema</i> | 2 | <i>tsere'men.</i> |
| | 3 hm | <i>tserimi</i> | 3 h | <i>tsere'men.</i> |
| | hf | <i>tserimo</i> | x | <i>(tserimi.e?)</i> |
| | xy | <i>tserimi</i> | y | <i>(tserimi?)</i> |

| | | | | |
|---------------------------|----------|----------------------------|---------|------------------------|
| <i>Present.</i> | sg. 1 | <i>tsera'm ba</i> | pl. 1 | <i>tsira'm ba'n.</i> |
| | 2 | <i>tsirim ba</i> | 2 | <i>tsirim ba'n.</i> |
| | 3 hm | <i>tserim bai.i</i> | 3 h | <i>tsirim ba'n.</i> |
| | hf | <i>tsirim bu</i> | x | <i>(tsirim bi.en?)</i> |
| | x | <i>tsirim bi</i> | y | <i>(tsirim bitsa?)</i> |
| | y | <i>(tsirim du.a?)</i> | | |
| <i>Imperfect I.</i> | sg. 1 | <i>tsera'm baiyam</i> | pl. 1 | <i>tsera'm baiyam</i> |
| | | <i>(bam?)</i> | | <i>(bam?)</i> |
| | 2 | — | 2 | — |
| | 3 hm | <i>tserem bam</i> | 3 h | <i>tserem bam.</i> |
| <i>Present Base. + ya</i> | | <i>tsora'ya.</i> | | |
| <i>Preterite.</i> | sg. 1 | <i>gala</i> | pl. 1 | <i>galen.</i> |
| | 2 | <i>gala</i> | 2 | <i>gal'en.</i> |
| | 3 hm | <i>gali</i> | 3 h | <i>galen.</i> |
| | hf | <i>(galu?)</i> | | |
| | x | <i>gali</i> | | |
| | y | <i>gali</i> | | |
| <i>Perfect.</i> | sg. 1 | <i>ni.a ba (neyam ba?)</i> | pl. 1 | <i>nem ba'n.</i> |
| | 2 | <i>ni.a ba (nem ba?)</i> | 2 | <i>nem ba'n.</i> |
| | 3 hm | <i>nem bai.i</i> | 3 h | <i>nem ba'n.</i> |
| | hf | <i>nem bu</i> | | |
| | x | <i>nem bi</i> | | |
| | y | <i>(nem du.a?)</i> | | |
| <i>Pluperfect.</i> | sg. 1 | <i>neyam bam</i> | pl. 1 | <i>neyam bam.</i> |
| | 2 | <i>nem bam</i> | 2 | <i>nem bam.</i> |
| | 3 hm | <i>nem bam</i> | 3 h | <i>nem bam.</i> |
| | hf | <i>nem bum</i> | | |
| | x | <i>nem bim</i> | | |
| <i>Imperfect II.</i> | sg. 1 | <i>n'ene bam</i> | pl. 3 | <i>n'ene bam.</i> |
| | 2 | <i>n'ene bam</i> | 2 | <i>n'ene bam.</i> |
| | 3 hm | <i>n'ene bam</i> | 3 h | <i>n'ene bam.</i> |
| <i>Imperative.</i> | sg. 2 | <i>ne</i> | pl. 2 | <i>ne'in.</i> |
| <i>§ Forms.</i> | sg. 3 hm | <i>niš</i> | pl. 3 h | <i>nišen.</i> |

| | | | | |
|-------------------|-------|------|-------|-------|
| <i>Past Part.</i> | sg. 1 | na | pl. 1 | — |
| <i>Active.</i> | 2 | nuko | 2 | nama. |
| | 3 hm | ni' | 3 | — |
| | x | ni' | | |

Static Part. sg. 3 x ni'em.

Presumably the first elements in the Pluperfect are the *St.Pc.* forms, which would give for the 1st. sg. and pl. neyam, other persons nem, of which ni'em would be a variant.

(The forms of this verb given by Zarubin are:

Pret. sg. 1 néyam, 2 néma, 3 m némi, f nému.

Plup. sg. 1 néyam bam.

Gerund néyan. *Impv.* ne (nä), neg. aine.

Pret. sg. 1 galú, 2 galú, 3 m galú, f galú; pl. galéu).

ZO.AS to come.

539. *Past Bases:* zo- d*- d*-a-.

Present Base: tsur- tsur-.

| | | | | |
|----------------|-------|---------|-------|-----------|
| <i>Future.</i> | sg. 1 | tsuram | pl. 1 | tsuran. |
| | 2 | tsuruma | 2 | tsurumen. |
| | 3 hm | tsurimi | 3 h | tsurumen. |
| | hf | tsurumo | | |

| | | | | |
|-----------------|-------|--------------|-------|--------------|
| <i>Present.</i> | sg. 1 | tsuram ba | pl. 1 | tsuram ba'n. |
| | 2 | tsurum ba | 2 | tsurum ba'n. |
| | 3 hm | tsurum bai.i | 3 h | tsurum ba'n. |
| | hf | tsurum ba. | | |
| | x | tsurum bi. | | |

Imperfect I. not recorded.

Present Base + a. tsura, tsura.

| | | | | |
|-------------------|-------|----------|-------|----------|
| <i>Preterite.</i> | sg. 1 | daiya | pl. 1 | dime'ya. |
| | 2 | duko'ya | 2 | dama'ya. |
| | 3 hm | di.a | 3 h | d'ya. |
| | hf | dumo'ya. | | |
| | xy | di.a. | | |

| | | | | |
|--------------------|-------|-------------------------|-------|--------------|
| <i>Perfect.</i> | sg. 1 | — | pl. 1 | — |
| | 2 | — | 2 | — |
| | 3 hm | di'm bai.i | 3 h | du'm ba'n. |
| | y | di'n (di'm?) dura | | |
| <i>Pluperfect.</i> | sg. 1 | daiyam bam | pl. 1 | dimeyam bam. |
| | 2 | duko'm bam | 2 | dama'm bam. |
| | 3 hm | di'm bam | 3 h | du'm bam. |
| | hf | du'm'o (du'm'o'm?) bam. | | |
| | x | dim bim. | | |
| | y | dim du'om. | | |

Imperfect II. sg. 1, 2, 3 hm zo'zo bam.

pl. 1, 2, 3 h zo'zo bam.

Imperative. sg. 2 zo.

§ Forms. not recorded.

Past Pc. Active. sg. 3 hm di, di'nin.

Static Pc. The forms presumably are those of the first elements in the Pluperfect.

(The forms of this verb given by Zarubin are:

Impv. sg. 2 zo, pl. 2 zo'ing.

Pret. and Plup. 1, 2, 3 hm, hf, which agree with those given above except the following:

Pret. sg. 2 dukuya, 3 f dumuya, pl. 1 demeya.

Plup. (same parts) dukam bam, dumum bam, demem bam).

540 The following are a few tenses and parts of tenses of several verbs, also almost entirely obtained by direct enquiry, which afford additional or corroborative information.

DI.ECUM to stand up.

| | | | | |
|--------------|------------------|--------------|------------|----------------|
| <i>Pres.</i> | sg. 1 | di'e'cam ba. | | |
| <i>Impf.</i> | 1, 2 sg. and pl. | 3rd. sg. hm, | 3rd. pl. h | di.e di.e bam. |
| <i>Pret.</i> | sg. 1 | di'a'ia | pl. 1 | di'e'en. |
| | 2 | di'e'a | 2 | di'e'en. |
| | 3 hm | di'e'i | 3 h | di'e'en. |
| <i>Impv.</i> | sg. 2 | di'e. | | |
| <i>Ppa.</i> | | di.e. | | |

541.

**HU.ĒĀM to run and
DUHANJAĀM (to gallop?) only of horses).**

| | | |
|---------------------|---------|------------------|
| <i>Fut.</i> | sg. 1 | hu.ēām. |
| | 3 hm | hu.ēāmi. |
| | hf | hu.ēāmo. |
| | x | duhanjaāmi. |
| <i>Pres.</i> | sg. 3 m | hu.ēām bai.i. |
| | f | hu.ēām bo. |
| | x | duhanjaāum bi. |
| <i>Impf.</i> | sg. 3 m | hu.e hu.e bam. |
| | f | hu.e hu.e bum. |
| | x | duhanjaāum bim. |
| <i>Pret.</i> | sg. 1 | hu.eya. |
| | 2 | — |
| | 3 m | hu.e.i. |
| | f | hu.eyu. |
| | x | duhanjai.i. |
| <i>Ppa. contin.</i> | mf | hu.e hu.e. |
| | x | duhanja duhanje. |

542.

***-WALĀM, WALĀM to fall.**

| | | |
|--------------|----------|--------------|
| <i>Fut.</i> | sg. 3 hm | walāmi. |
| | f | walāmo. |
| | x | walāmi. |
| <i>Pres.</i> | sg. 3 hm | walām bai.i. |
| | f | walām bu. |
| | x | walām bi. |
| <i>Impf.</i> | sg. 3 hm | walām bam. |
| | f | walām bum. |
| | x | walām bim. |
| <i>Pret.</i> | sg. 3 hm | wali. |
| | f | walo. |
| | x | wali. |
| | y | wali. |

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The following enigmatic forms were subsequently given. Several of them seem to postulate a base *-awāl, *-āwāl. It is conceivable that they are forms of *-wa-las to become lost.

The second w, y and the ḍ probably all represent ʃ.

| | | | | |
|--------------|-------|--------|-------|-----------|
| <i>Pret.</i> | sg. 1 | awauwa | pl. 1 | mewauḍen. |
| | 2 | gowāwa | 2 | mawauwen. |
| | 3 hm | wali | 3 h | uwauwen. |
| | f | mowaḍu | | |

If the form wali given above as 3rd. sg. y is correct, it would mean that walas is not confined to use with h and x subjects, as in Bu.

| | | |
|-------------|---------|----------|
| <i>Ppa.</i> | sg. 3 m | nīwal. |
| | f | numūwal. |
| | x | nīwal. |

Continuous m and x niwal niwal.
f numūwal numūwal.

The 3rd. sg. x occurs in the texts as nyūwal which is possibly the form when there is no pn.pf. The same duplication of forms occurs in Bu.

543.

DUWALĀM to fly.

Fut. and *Pres.* similar to those of walām.

| | | |
|--------------|----------|------------------|
| <i>Impf.</i> | sg. 3 hm | duwal duwal bam. |
| | f | duwal duwal bum. |
| | x | duwal duwal bim. |
| <i>Plup.</i> | sg. 3 hm | duwalum bam. |
| | f | duwalum bum. |
| | x | duwalum bim. |

Forms with f and x sg. pronoun infixes were also given

| | | |
|-------------|----------|------------------|
| <i>Ppa.</i> | sg. 3 hm | duwal. |
| | f | dumowal dumowal. |
| | x | diwal diwal. |

In the texts duwal occurs for the 2nd. sg. and duwāl for the 3rd. sg. x.

447

544. HURU·TAS to sit down.

| | | | |
|--------------|---------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| <i>Fut.</i> | sg. 1 | huru·šam. | |
| <i>Impf.</i> | | { huru·t huru·t bam. | |
| | | { huru·č huru·ča bam. | |
| <i>Pret.</i> | sg. 1 | huru·ta | pl. 1 huru·čai.en. |
| | 2 | huru·ta | 2 huru·čai.en. |
| | 3 hm | huru·ti | 3 h huru·čai.en. |
| <i>Plup.</i> | pl. 3 x | huru·čam bi.en. | |
| <i>Impv.</i> | sg. 2 | huru·t. | |
| <i>Ppa.</i> | | nu·hrut. | |

*AHURU·TAS to make s.o. sit down.

| | | | |
|--------------|---------|----------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>Impv.</i> | sg. 2 | e·hurut | make him sit down. |
| | pl. 2 | e·huru·čai.en. | |
| <i>Pret.</i> | pl. (?) | o·uru·čan | we (you, they) made them sit down. |

For other forms with pn.pfs and infixes v. Vocab. s.vv. *-ATAS, *-ASKORTSAS, *-ATAS, d*-AYORTSAS, & d*-AYASAS.

545. THE VERB in the NEGATIVE and INTERROGATIVE.

The negative is expressed by prefixing ai.i, ai.e- or a- to the verb: e.g.

ai.igali, ai.ewešim ba'n, ai.eyu·rčum, ataw'asa.

In the last example it will be noticed that the negative prefix changes the voiced d- to voiceless t (a+daw'asa).

In my texts a- only occurs in this one instance, but it has also been recorded by Zarubin.

No form corresponding to the Bu. o- has been recorded.

In the absence of any specifically interrogative word in the sentence, the Interrogative is denoted, as in Bu., by suffixing -a to the verb:

šura pako guyəna? have they given you good food?

46. THE USES of the MOODS and TENSES.

In general W. seems to follow Bu. closely in its methods of expressing ideas, but paucity of material makes it impossible in many cases to say whether or not a particular Bu. idiom is duplicated in W.

There are, however, some points in its use of verbal parts in which W. pursues a line of its own, quite distinct from that adopted by Bu. Of these its employment of the Conditional is one, and its use of the -š forms is another.

Much more important is the use of the PRESENT BASE + the dative suffix -a, -ya, where Bu. uses the Infinitive or Static Participle + -ar, or ka. How other uses in Bu. of the Infin. and St.Pc. as verbal nouns are represented in W. does not fully appear from the material available.

Again of the strictly participial use of the Static Participle in W. there are only two or three examples.

47. THE CONDITIONAL.

There are seven instances of the use of the Conditional in W. occurring in the texts. In four of these it denotes

Habitual Action in the Past:

še bəriy ka maškuli čdum tsik it (the parrot) used to manage the business and affairs (do the talking and entertaining). 400.3.
Cp. 400.2, 406.8, 10.

In one instance it signifies in order that, so that.
baša ka du'an aiyaum ba aiya du'stišunga xušarni ččam tsik you have never given me a kid that I might make merry with my friends. 412.22.

In the remaining instances it occurs in the Protasis and Apodosis respectively of a conditional sentence, where an unfulfillable condition is followed by an unrealisable result:
gute sala'm . . . aiyečam tsiq ka šura du'lum guse ai.eyu·rčum tsiq if I had not made the greeting, it would have been well, this (parrot) would not have died. 402.5.

The ka is probably the ordinary particle signifying *if, when*.

548.

THE -š FORMS.

There are only four examples of these in the texts:

| | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------|---------|
| mahtarj maniš tai | he began to be in want. | 410.7. |
| we xušani etiš tai(y)en | they began to make merry. | 412.12. |
| de'yeresiš tai | he proceeded to question him. | 412.14. |
| ne hi'liki-niš tai | he began to entreat him. | 412.19. |

The principal verb in all these sentences is perhaps the same as the Bu. taiyas to follow, pursue.

549.

THE PRESENT BASE + -a, -ya.

1. Appears as the equivalent of a temporal clause, e.g. "when he had done this", "on his doing this", the subject of the main clause being different.

Very often the verb is a repetition of the verb of the preceding sentence:

mai.a'ya se toti.e te bər ne hire eski di.a. Tsura se te salam tse totimuya 'eti. eča tse čik sust man'en. *Things being thus, the saying of the parrot came into the man's heart. When it came (into his heart) he made the greeting to those parrots. On his doing so, they all became unconscious.* 402.1.

Note in this mai.a'ya (from mana's), tsura, and eča.

Cp. učiča, se.a, yurča, eča, & dešqalča, in the passage 402.7-13. Also tsura 406.12, maiya'wa 406.24.

This construction does not seem to occur in Text No. 3.

2. It is used with the verb to be able *-amanas.

mene bəriq moča aiyomanen ka if no people are able to make her talk. 404.4.

3. There are a couple of instances of the use of this Dative form from the Present Base as in Bu. to express aim, intention, purpose:

hu'kišu yarča eri he sent him to pasture the swine. 410.8.

u'le tsara'ya rai aiyeti he did not wish to go in (or he determined not to go in). 412.18.

ya'ya hen scsan eri he sent a man to look. 406.17.

550.

THE PRESENT BASE PARTICIPLE.

Two examples of its use as a noun or adjective without any part of the auxiliary verb *ba* or the particle *tok* have been given in § 531.3. The following may be added:

| | | |
|--|---|---------|
| xušanī ečum ka xušan gumaiyum muna'sib dolum | it was right for you to make merry and be happy. | 414.4. |
| er'arčum ka yəriq ečume hawarza de'eli | he heard the sound of playing music and singing. | 412.14. |
| bo hai.an ya'iyum baš dolum ka yeni | whatever present it was necessary to get, he got. | 400.14. |

(ya'iyum = pres. base pc. of YANAS to take, buy etc.).

551.

THE STATIC PARTICIPLE.

1. Used as a participle or adjective:

se yurum to'ti akulum ni.em se'ya seni the parrot that had died, said to the parrot that had gone from here. 402.13.

u'sim bo'so the nurtured calf, "the fatted calf". 412.10.

2. Used as a verbal noun(?)

ju aiyurum tseči after my having died. 406.8.

552.

THE PAST BASE + -as FORM.

This Bu. Infinitive and Noun Agent form has only been recorded in W. as:

1. Noun or adjective, denoting the Agent.

han bəriq etas bulya a talking monkey 404.7.

bəriq ni'itas e.i. his not-talking daughter, i.e. his daughter who would not speak. 408.13.

badša pako etas de'yerisi the king questioned the foodmaker, i.e. the cook. 406.21.

2. Past participle active used absolutely.

toi.i senas . . . se to'ti ke yurri (the man) having spoken thus, that parrot also died. 402.10. Cp. 404.10.

553. ADVERBS.

A point of interest is the existence in W. of the basal forms of the Bu. *ko-le here*, and *to-le there*; viz. *ko*, *akto*, and *to*.

In: "ne hale's matan i'a bam" the context seems to give i'a the meaning of "still", "yet".

554. CONJUNCTIONS and SUBORDINATE CLAUSES.

W. *ka* (*ka*, *ke*) is the equivalent of the Bu. *ke* and appears to perform the same functions.

As an adverb it means *also*; as a conjunction connecting nouns it means *and*.

Placed after the verb it converts a preceding Indefinite Pronoun or Adjective into an Indefinite Relative.

In the absence of such a word it imparts the sense of "when" or "if" to a clause.

It is frequently used after verbs of "saying" etc., and in a general way like the Persian *kih*, to introduce the dependent clause:

gute gandi ka . . . for this (reason) that . . .

Faš man'imi.

CORRIGENDA.

BURUSHASKI GRAMMAR.

| Page | Line | | | | |
|------|------|--------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 11 | 9-10 | from bottom. | For: <i>benas</i> | <i>not to know</i> , | <i>benas</i> |
| | | | | <i>to know</i> , | <i>akenas</i> , |
| | | | | read: <i>benas</i> | <i>to know</i> , <i>akenas</i> |
| | | | | | <i>not to know</i> . |
| 37 | 13 | for | <i>to'me</i> | | |
| 39 | 22 | " | <i>galeu</i> | read | <i>to'm eġ</i> . |
| 41 | 4 | " | <i>roit</i> | " | <i>galeġ</i> . |
| 46 | 3 | " | <i>geciġ</i> | " | <i>roit</i> . |
| 57 | 11 | " | <i>HM, X and X</i> | " | <i>geciġ</i> . |
| 62 | 7 | " | <i>meniktacm</i> | " | <i>HM, X and Y</i> . |
| 64 | 10 | " | <i>adaɔd</i> | " | <i>meniktacm</i> . |
| 93 | 4 | " | <i>gi'mi</i> | " | <i>adaɔd</i> . |
| 112 | 10 | " | <i>šon</i> | " | <i>gi'mi</i> . |
| 136 | 26 | " | <i>uri</i> | " | <i>šon</i> . |
| 149 | 21 | " | <i>she</i> | " | <i>*uri</i> . |
| 166 | 20 | " | <i>disan</i> | " | <i>her</i> . |
| 183 | 12 | " | <i>rather than</i> | " | <i>disan</i> . |
| | 27 | " | <i>t aġ</i> | " | <i>rather than</i> . |
| 185 | 3 | " | <i>days</i> | " | <i>t aġ</i> . |
| 189 | 4 | from bottom | <i>three</i> | " | <i>years</i> . |
| 193 | 12 | " | <i>ecume</i> | " | <i>two</i> . |
| 212 | 4 | for | <i>both</i> | " | <i>ecume</i> . |
| 227 | 19 | " | <i>event</i> | " | <i>both (without full stop)</i> . |
| 241 | 25 | " | <i>(api.ca)</i> | " | <i>even</i> . |
| 245 | 8 | " | <i>x ečitsan</i> | " | <i>api</i> . |
| 290 | 10 | " | <i>*-itiras *-itiri</i> | " | <i>y ečitsan</i> . |
| 296 | 11 | " | Align <i>goyas</i> | vertically with <i>ši as</i> | and <i>*-nyas</i> . |
| | 13 | " | <i>vowel</i> | read | <i>vowel</i> . |
| 300 | 11 | " | <i>assert</i> | " | <i>assert</i> . |

For the page heading "Verbs" substitute as follows:

pp. 307-379 *Adverbs*.

p. 381 *Conjunctions*.

pp. 383-399 *Subordinate Clauses*.

pp. 401-405 *Order of words in the Sentence*.

It is impossible to bring this book up to date with my now somewhat increased knowledge, but it may be worth while to correct a few statements and clear up a few doubts:

P. 24, § 25, Note (b). I tried to clear up this question with a very intelligent informant, but he soon became so confused that he did not know what he naturally said and began to contradict himself. It was useless to go on. He seemed, however, to favour the x form of the transitive verb with the y subject. I have also heard its use once or twice in casual conversation. So far the evidence is in favour of the x form, but not to the exclusion of the y form.

P. 43. l. 19 pñimij means *ripples* not *foam*.

§ 41. It appears that Super-plurals do not denote a large quantity of matter in one place, but a number of lots of matter in different places, e.g. grain collected or growing on different people's holdings.

§ 61. l. end. Where the Static Participle is used as a passive participle I am now able to state that in phrases like: *urje senum the thing said by thee*, *urje* may be either the transitive nominative or the genitive, as is shown by the parallel expression: *guse senum bar and gusem senum bar, the thing said by the woman and what the woman said*, which are both considered admissible.

§ 212. The present base of *tsindas* is *tsindič*, not *tsindač*, so this verb is to be included in type 1.

§ 231. The *y-* of *yurginas* is the Pa.pf. *l-*. With a plural object the verb becomes *urginas*. The basal form is therefore **urginas*.

Similarly *yodas* becomes *uodas* when it has a plural object. It is therefore to be reckoned as **yodas*, or probably rather **odas*. Cp. the causative **aodas*. *Yadās* also takes the plural Pa.pf. and is to be reckoned as **yadās*.

§ 241, p. 212. *Yadās* gives a causative **ayadās*. It is correct that *ñilas* and its cognates have no causative form.

§ 339. As far as I have yet been able to investigate the subject, verbs with initial *č*, *đ* (not *d** or *d*-a-* or *da-*), *h* (with exceptions noted in § 338) *j*, *k*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *s*, *š*, *t*, and *ts* take the negative prefix *o-*. The total number of such verbs is small, as all verbs taking pronoun prefixes are excluded. Three verbs in *h* change *h* to *w* after the *o-*, one retains the *h*. The negative present base of *ñilas* and allied forms is *oñič*.

It is to be noted that *suryas* and (normally) *deuryas* do not take a negative prefix. When required in the negative they are replaced by *atutās* (= *a + dutās*). Hence in the Texts the forms *atutsema* (83.17) and *atutša ban* (82.2) are correct. *Dutās* seems to be a neutral form. Cp § 256.II.

§§ 377 and 378. Vide note above under § 61.I.

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Nazar of Allabád.