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# A Reference Grammar of Eastern Burushaski

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## ABBREVIATIONS

A	agent	ESS	essive
ABL	ablative	F	female
ABS	absolute	FIL	filler
ADE	adessive	GA	Ganish dialect
Adj	adjective	GEN	genitive
ADJ	adjective	H	H-class
ADJVLZ	adjectivaliser	HF	HF-class
AL	Altit dialect	HM	HM-class
ANT	anterior	HO	Hopar dialect
ASP	aspect	HS	Hillside dialect
AUX	auxiliary	HZ	Hunza dialect
C	consonant	IMP	imperative
CAUS	causative	INDEF	indefinite
CF	counterfactual	INE	inessive
COM	comitative	INF	infinitive
COND	conditional	INS	instrumental
CONJ	conjunction	INTERJ	interjection
CONV	converb	INTR	intransitive
COP	copula	IO	indirect object
CP	conjunctive participle	IPFV	imperfective
CVB	converbial	J	Japanese
DAT	dative	KH	Khowar
DEM	demonstrative	LINK	linker
DIM	diminutive	LOC	locative
DIST	distal	M	male
DITR	ditransitive	MOD	modal
DO	direct object	N	noun
EB	Eastern Burushaski	NEG	negative
ECHO	echo-formation	NG	Nager dialect
EMPH	emphatic	NMLZ	nominaliser
EN	English	NOM	nominative
ERG	ergative	NPRS	non-present

NUM	numeral	T	theme
O	object	TAG.Q	tag question
OBL	oblique	TEL	telic/ity
OBJ	object	TOP	topic
ONO	onomatopoeia	TR	transitive
OPT	optative	U	undergoer
P	participle	UR	Urdu
PE	Persian	V	verb / vowel
PERS	personal	VOC	vocative
PFV	perfective	WB	Western Burushaski
PL	plural	X	X-class
PP	participle	Y	Y-class
PRED	predicate	YS	Yasin dialect
PRN	pronoun	Z	Z-class
PROX	proximal	1/2/3	first/second/third person
PRS	present	@	personal prefix slot
PUR	purposive	I/II/III	type-I/II/III
Q	interrogative	(@)ˊ	type-II personal prefix
R	recipient	(@)ˊˊ	type-III personal prefix
RDP	reduplication	ˊ	accent diacritic
REFL	reflexive	-	morpheme segment
RF	Riverfront dialect	=	clitic boundary
RMND	reminding	+	compounding
S	(intransitive) subject	< >	internal vowel change
SG	singular	< : >	vowel lengthening
SH	Shina	~	alternative form
SIM	simultaneous	√	verbal root
SUBJ	subject	μ	mora/ic



## TABLE OF NOTATIONS

Burushaski researchers use various notations on their own authority. The following table is a chart on which corresponding alphabets and spellings among the notations of main researchers.

Note that Lorimer's notation is not phonemic but phonetic, so that I list up typical examples here.

This chart includes the information about 10 phonemes, 2 forms, and the use of capital letters. The form of 'good' is an example for vowel sequence (Willson treats it as a combination of a semivowel and a vowel). 'I do it' is for complex temporal expression against which some researchers insert a space and the others do not. The last item CAPITAL is about their use of capital letters in texts; Some researchers (shown with 'yes') capitalize sentences and proper nouns. (Berger does not capitalize proper nouns in text but in vocabulary.)

IPA	This dissertation	Tiffou	Tikkanen	Berger	Willson	Lorimer
ts	c	c	ć	ć	ts	ts
ts <sup>h</sup>	ch	ch	čh	čh	tsh	ts
tɕ	č	č	ć	ć	ch	č
tɕ <sup>h</sup>	čh	čh	ćh	ćh	chh	č
tʂ	ç	ç	ç	ç	tʂ	ç
tʂ <sup>h</sup>	çh	çh	çh	çh	tʂh	ç
ɕ	š	š	ś	ś	sh	š
ʂ	ş	ş	ş	ş	sh	ş
ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ñ	ng	ŋ
ʎ	ʎ	ʎ	ʎ	ğ	gh	ʎ
'good'	šuá	šuá	śuá	śuá	shwa	šu.a ~ šu'a
'I do it'	éčabáa	éča baa	éca baa	éca baa	éčhabáa	εčΛ ba ~ εčΛba
CAPITAL	no	yes	no	no	yes	yes

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First, I would like to express my heartfelt appreciation toward my Burushaski informants, who worked with me patiently to help me complete my dissertation.

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Likewise, I am highly indebted to Professor Honoré Watanabe, who provided me with valuable technical comments and suggestions for writing this thesis.

I equally would like to address my cordial thanks to Professor Prashant Pardeshi and Associate Professor Masato Kobayashi for their valuable comments and instructive suggestions mainly from the point of view of linguistic typology and the Indian sprachbund.

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this work could never have become a reality. I cannot help but thank all of them from the bottom of my heart once again. Needless to say, I take full responsibility for all the content and descriptions in this dissertation.

## INTRODUCTION

### 0.1. Overview of this dissertation

Burushaski is an isolated language spoken in northern Pakistan. There are a lot of languages from several language families and branches in the area, and the languages show some areal features. But studies on the languages have not been done well yet. In particular, among the other languages, Burushaski has no family language, so that we can neither substitute it with nor predict it from any other language for referring to it. This language would be required its own data in such as typological study.

The primary objective of this study is to provide a reference grammar of Burushaski (Hunza-Nager dialect) written in English, and to reexamine several points which previous studies have tended to merely reiterate without looking up and citing examples. My approach in this study is based on an analysis of my own database, which is developed through field research, and of previous research.

This dissertation is divided into two main parts (grammar and theoretical issues), two chapters (introduction (this chapter) and conclusions (chapter 12)), and two appendices (texts and vocabulary).

Part I (Grammar) includes chapters 1 to 8. Chapter 1 is for the phonological description. In chapter 2, I introduce preliminary information to describe and discuss grammar, including units such as words and clauses, word classes (a.k.a. parts of speech), and nominal classes (like genders in many languages). Chapters 3 to 7 chiefly deal with the morphology of word formation and derivation. Chapter 3 is for morphology of nominals, and chapter 4 is an analysis of pronouns and demonstrative and interrogative adjectives. Normal adjectives are described in chapter 5 with numerals, which behave more like nominals than verbals in Burushaski. Chapter 6 is devoted to verbal morphology starting from internal stem derivation, then continuing to conjugation and external deverbal derivation. The last chapter of morphology is chapter 7 where the other derivational morphological processes are explained: compounding, simple reduplication, echo-formation or fixed segment reduplication, and onomatopoeia and expressive formation. Chapter 8 deals with the syntax of Burushaski. It begins with basic constituent order in phrases and clauses; Burushaski is a typical head-final language so that modifiers basically precede the head noun and arguments are stated before the head predicate. Grammatical relations and information structure are also treated in this chapter as well as morphosyntactic description of several kinds of clauses

and reference.

Part II (Theoretical issues) consists of three chapters, 9 to 11. Chapter 9 “Transitivity and Its surroundings” is concerned with splits within the cognate stems of the same transitivity. There are dozens of verbal roots which have two stems of the same transitivity formed in different ways at the personal prefix; in this chapter I explore what motivates this, and ascertain that the motivation of split intransitivity is volitionality and split transitivity is caused by the likelihood of objects. Chapter 10 “d- Derivation” also covers verbal derivation. Here I investigate the function of a mysterious prefix *d-*, which has been problematic for previous scholars. The prefix functions as resultative, venitive, or anticausative according to the characteristics of verbal bases. Finally, chapter 11 “Definiteness and specificity” deals with nominal suffixes *-an* for singular and *-ik* for plural likely to be indefinite markers and a few morphosyntactic phenomena concerning definiteness, specificity, or referentiality. Such features may influence the choice of construction and/or stem types, and constituent order in clauses would be affected by informational importance.

Appendix I (Texts) includes four texts from my collection: *čhúmoe minás* (‘Fish tale’), *The Story of Hopar*, *šon gukúr*, and *kulió laskír*. *The Story of Hopar* is a historical tale in the Nager dialect about the origin of the Hopar residence. Two short tales of two shamans: *šon gukúr*, and of a witch: *kulió laskír*, and a long tale on a laughing fish: *čhúmoe minás*, are spoken in Hunza dialects, specifically, the Haiderabad (two short tales) and Ganish dialects (*čhúmoe minás*) (see Figure 4 in §0.2).

And Appendix II (Vocabulary) contains a list of about three thousand words. It consist of all the Burushaski words in this dissertation (including appendix texts) and the basic words I have collected in fieldwork thus far. Besides the meanings of the words translated into English, I also provide morphological annotation of plural forms for nouns or imperfect and conjunctive participle forms for verbs, derivational relations, and information on the origin or on some relevant form(s) where known.

## 0.2. Geographic background

Burushaski (ISO 693-3: bsk) is spoken by about 100,000 people in separate two areas in northern Pakistan. The major valleys of the eastern Burushaski spoken area are Hunza and Nager which belong to the Karakoram Mountains and to Hunza-Nager District of Gilgit-Baltistan (a federal capital territory of Pakistan; formerly known as the Northern Areas), on one hand, and the major valley of the western area is Yasin which belongs to the Hindukush Mountains and to Ghizer District of Gilgit-Baltistan, on the other hand, see Figure 1. Thus I call the Burushaski spoken on the Hunza and Nager

side “Eastern Burushaski”, and the one on the Yasin side “Western Burushaski” hereafter.



Figure 1. Large map of Burushaski spoken area

Besides these major valleys, minor groups of Burushaski speakers live in several other areas. For example, in Ishkoman Valley next to Yasin (where most people speak mainly Khowar), in Gojal (a.k.a. Upper Hunza) Valley (where Wakhi is predominant), and around Gilgit District between the two areas of Burushaski (where Shina is predominantly spoken), see Figure 2. Munshi (2006) says that Burushaski has been spoken for over a century by about 300 people speak Burushaski in Srinagar the summer capital of Jammu and Kashmir, in the far northwest of India. In light of the grammatical characteristics of their Burushaski, it appears that these Burushaski speakers in Srinagar are the offspring of emigrants from the Nager valley.

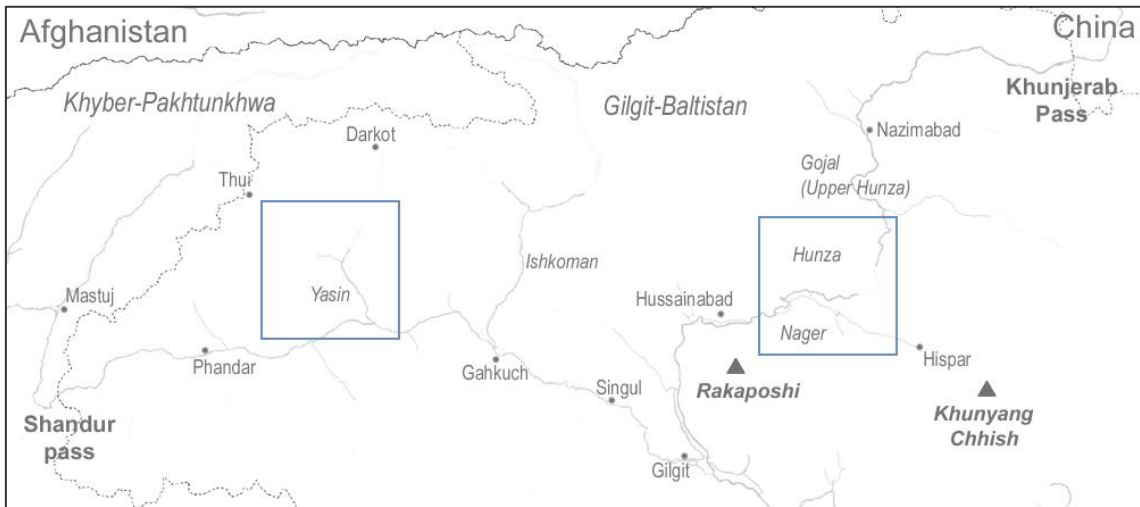


Figure 2. Western and Eastern Burushaski spoken areas



Figure 3. Yasin valley

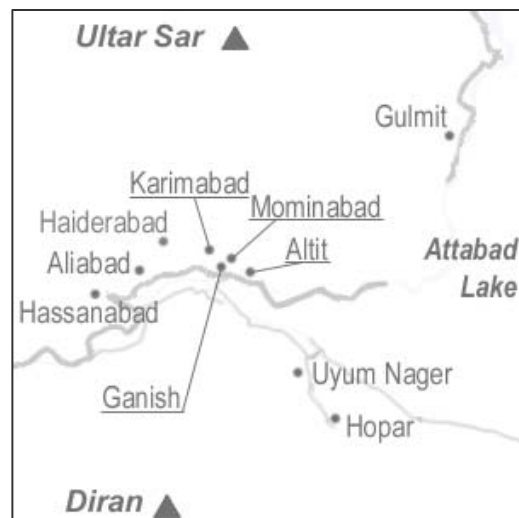


Figure 4. Hunza and Nager valleys

The Hunza and the Nager valleys face one another across the Hunza river, a tributary of the Indus (see Figure 4). Roughly speaking, the Hunza valley lies to the north of the river and the Nager valley to the south. Going east along the Hunza river, at the Ganish village of Hunza and the Sumiyar village of Nager, the Hunza river is joined by the Nager river coming from the southeast, and then both sides of the upper Hunza river, which turns north here, becomes the Gojal (or Upper Hunza) valley from the junction.

The nearest high peak from the settlement of the Hunza valley is Ultar Sar (7,388m) behind the town of Karimabad, Rakaposhi (7,788m) behind the Ghulmet village, Diran (7,266m) in the inner part of Hopar Valley, and Khunyang Chhish

(7,852m) behind the Hispar glacier are the nearest high peaks from the settlement of the Nager valley. The altitude of the residences of Burushaski speakers ranges about 1,000 up to over 3,000 meters. The terrain in Hunza and Nager is shaped by mountains belonging to subranges of the Karakoram Mountains, glaciers at the feet of mountains, and streams from the glaciers, so Burushaski speakers have settled along a radially branching rivers and streams.

Of Hunza and Nager, Hunza seems to be the main valley of Eastern Burushaski; in Nager, about 40 percent of the population speak Shina. Eastern Burushaski is directly bordered by the Gojal valley (in the Wakhi area, in the Wakhan Corridor of Afghanistan) to the north, the Shina area from the lower part of the Nager valley to around and south of the Gilgit city to the west. In a broader perspective, there are the Uyghur area, the Xinjiang Uyghur autonomous region beyond the Khunjerab pass to the northeast, the Balti area named Baltistan to the southeast, the Kashmiri area across Azad Kashmir of Pakistan to Jammu and Kashmir of India to the south, the Khowar wide area to the west beyond Western Burushaski and northwest which stretches to the Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa Province (formerly known as the North-West Frontier Province) of Pakistan.

In this way, Burushaski is situated at the intersection of these languages from different families, and this area is the north(west)most point of the Indian sprachbund. The surrounding languages are Wakhi (a Pamir language, Iranian, Indo-Iranian, Indo-European; spoken by Khik people), Shina (a Shina language, Dardic<sup>†1</sup>, IE; by the Shin people), Khowar (a Chitrali language, Dardic, IE; by the Kho people), Uyghur (an Uyghuric language, Turkic), Balti (a Ladakhi language, Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Sino-Tibetan), and Kashmiri (a Kashmiri language, Dardic, IE). There are also small communities of speakers of two languages inside the Burushaski area, Domaaki (a Romani language, Central Indo-Aryan, II, IE; spoken by the Doma people) and Guj(a)ri (a Rajastani language, Western IA, II, IE; by the Gujur people) (see Figure 5).

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<sup>†1</sup> There are still disputes regarding the classification of Dardic, Western Indo-Aryan, and Domaaki. I treat the Dardic languages as a sub-group of the Indo-Iranian group alongside Indo-Aryan, Iranian, and Nuristani, unlike Morgenstierne (1973). And I classify the Western group of the Indo-Aryan separate from the Central group. Some linguists put Domaaki into the Dardic group as based only on geographic location and some features I consider just as areal. But I deny this assertion and classify the language as a Romani language owing to my own research on the language. Kausen (2006: 18) also annotates “oder ein Dialekt des zentralind. Domari?” tentatively placing the language into the Dardic group.



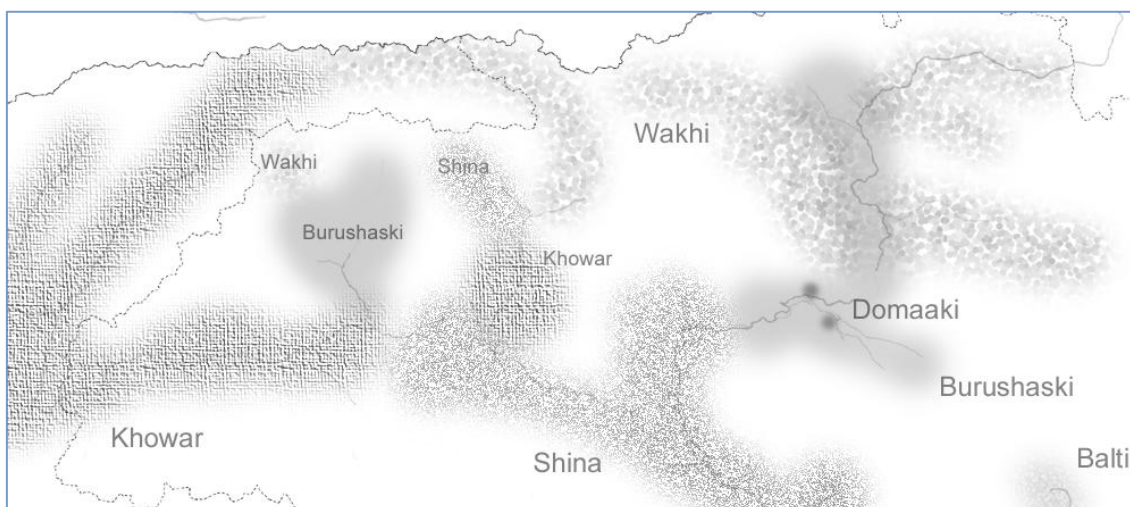


Figure 5. Map of Burushaski and the surrounding languages (based on Ethnologue (Lewis 2009) map<sup>†2</sup>)

### 0.3. Dialectology

All scholars of Burushaski unanimously agree that the most major dialectal divergence can be observed between Eastern (Hunza-Nager) Burushaski (EB) and Western (Yasin) Burushaski (WB). Comparing the 500-item basic vocabulary sets which I collected from three Eastern Burushaski consultants and one Western Burushaski consultant, 132 words (26%) of WB are not common to any of EB words. This numerical value verges upon Backstrom's (1992) result, see Table 1. And there are also many divergent grammatical features between Eastern and Western Burushaski. In phonology, Western Burushaski has no aspirated affricates and has lost the approximant with a retroflex feature (strictly it is not a retroflex approximant). In morphosyntax, it displays an optative forms of the copula for the first and the second person, the reduplicative imperfective stem formation, and a past predicative formation with a suffix *-asc* (employed for some nuance like background descriptions or topicalisation of the process of verb or mirativity (Lorimer 1935a: 436, 442; Berger 1974: 40–41; Grune 1998: 10–11; Tiffou 1999: 172; Bashir 2010: 14)), which is not observed in Eastern Burushaski. Western Burushaski has been considerably influenced by Khowar being the surrounding major language.

<sup>†2</sup> The web page: “Languages of Pakistan: NORTHERN PAKISTAN”.  
[http://www.ethnologue.com/show\\_map.asp?name=PK&seq=10](http://www.ethnologue.com/show_map.asp?name=PK&seq=10) (accessed 2012-01-17)

Table 1. Lexical similarity percentage (based on Backstrom 1992: 40)

Hussainabad				Hunza valley	Eastern Burushaski
96	Ganish				
91	95	Uyum Nager		Nager valley	
92	93	97	Hopar		
70	70	68	71	Yasin valley	Western Burushaski
67	69	67	70		

Eastern Burushaski can be classified into major and minor dialects. It can first be divided into the Hunza dialects and the Nager dialects. The Hunza dialects include the Hillside major group and the Riverfront minor group which shows more similarities with the Nager dialects. Ultimately separate dialects can be identified nearly down to the level of individual hamlets, villages, and towns based on details of vocabulary: for example, ‘egg’ is pronounced *tiján* in Hunza and *tigán* in Nager, but *tinán* only in the Ganish and Murtazabad villages (situated in the Hunza valley) irrespective of generation. The Nager dialect is influenced by Shina more than the Hunza dialect, and 40 percent of Nager people speak Shina as L1. A simplified view of dialectal diversity is shown in Figure 6.

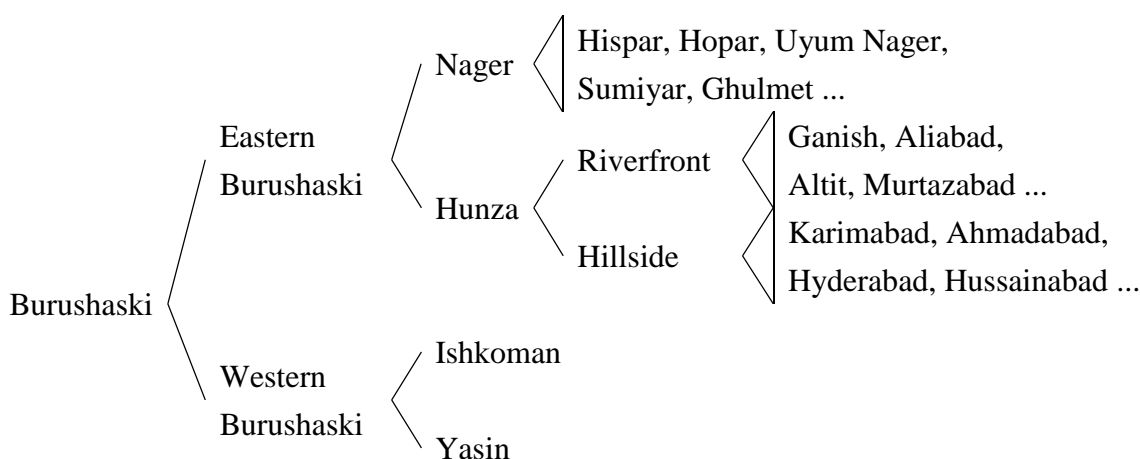


Figure 6. Dialects of Burushaski

#### 0.4. Cultural background

Burushaski is originally the ethnic language of the Burusho people. They have lived here for over a thousand years. From where they came here to settle and when it was are not yet clear. The origin of the people is still as unknown as that of the language. DNA research by Wells et al. (2001) has tentatively grouped their ancestry with the

Bartangi (Afghani in Pamir region) and the Sinte Romani (Gypsy) peoples.

Burusho people are predominantly Muslims now, and further, almost all Hunza people are Isma‘ili (Nizari) and Nager people are Shi‘ite (Twelver), but the people of Ganish in Hunza belong to the Shi‘ite sect. The propagation of Islam in this area occurred quite early and there remains no religious vestige of the pre-Islamic age. There are only a few remains of prehistoric people in Hunza-Nager represented by the “sacred rocks”, on which there are many petroglyphs of human beings and mammals like ibexes and so forth carved in between 5000 BC to 1000 BC.

Up until 25<sup>th</sup> September, 1974 there were two states in this area for centuries, two independent principalities of Hunza and Nager. These princely states were governed by the Mirs, or as he is called, particularly in Hunza, *tham*, and formerly the Hunza valley was also governed by the Nager Mir. In 1947, the states of Hunza and Nager acceded to Pakistan but continued as semi autonomous states after that. And then in 1974 the government of Pakistan dissolved the Mirs of both states and these states were merged into the Northern Areas of Pakistan. The capital of the Hunza state was Baltit (today’s Karimabad) and the capital of Nager was Uyum Nager (cf. *uyúm* ‘big’). The states had much cultural exchange with Afghan, China, Kashmir and Tibet. There are a lot of loan words from Persian, particularly in royal vocabulary, which became a superstratum of Burushaski for a while because the Mirs could speak Persian.

People mainly earn a living with agriculture and traditional industries, but lifestyles are changing particularly among the people of Hunza, as they have also begun making a living with tourism and mountaineering since the Karakoram Highway has built and opened to the public in 1986. There is a remarkable economic gap between the valleys and only a few foreigners visit Nager. The gap has led to a visible difference of education, too, so that the literacy rate of both sexes in Hunza has risen to about 95% as the highest among all areas of Pakistan, while the rate in Nager has been at a lower level but it is said that the literacy rate in Nager is approaching to Hunza nowadays, provided that there are not indisputable statistical data on it and the numbers which exist are inconsistent data cited without a source. Now they are losing basic agricultural and other technical terms of Burushaski quickly, and getting a lot of new tools along with Urdu and English words.

#### 0.5. Previous studies

There are two notable large studies on Burushaski: the first is Lorimer (1935–38) and the second is Berger (1998) both of which are comprehensive works in three volumes.

The first documentation of the Burushaski language is the work of Cunningham (1854), in which he recorded the vocabulary of ‘Khajunah’. This ‘Khajunah’ language seems equivalent to the Hunza-Nager Burushaski language. The name of “Burushaski” (actually “Boorishki”) can be seen in Biddulph (1880). He wrote a grammatical sketch of Burushaski covering a wide range of topics.

After such fragmentary documentations, D. L. R. Lorimer published the first descriptive grammar of Eastern Burushaski (with a grammatical sketch of Western Burushaski) in 1935 (vols. I and II) and 1938 (vol. III) which includes 47 texts and a list of about 7,500 or 8,000 words. He totally treated the grammar (vol. I), texts (vol. II; 67 texts), and vocabulary (vol. III; about 9,500 entries) of Eastern Burushaski with this work. After his work, Burushaski study seems to have become less popular once again.

Hermann Berger wrote a grammar of Western Burushaski (Werchikwār) in 1974 and after a quarter of century he published Berger (1998) which is the largest work on Eastern Burushaski up to now and which includes 67 texts and about 10,000 (sub)entries. Unlike Lorimer, Berger established the phonology before documenting the grammar, texts, and vocabulary.

Some studies deal in and deeply discuss individual grammatical issues: e.g., Tikkanen (1995) for converbs, Morin and Tiffou (1988) and Bashir (2004) for voice phenomena.

Burushaski stories have been well collected by Lorimer, Tikkanen (with English analyses), Berger, van Skyhawk (with German analyses), Tiffou (with French analyses), and so on. And Tiffou (1993) has recorded a great number of Burushaski proverbs.

There are several attempts to relate Burushaski to languages such as Basque, Yeniseian, Caucasian (or Dené-Caucasian), Dravidian, and Shino-Tibetan. Lately, on the genealogy of Burushaski, Čašule (1998, 2010, et al.) advocates that Burushaski is an Indo-European language. But his opinion has not had the backing of the other researchers yet but de la Fuente (2006).

Tiffou (2004b) summarizes the history and details of the other main previous studies on Burushaski well and further.

Among studies of the Burushaski, some works by Burushaski native speakers can be seen such as Hunzai (1984, 1998, 2003 among others) from Hunza, Shafi (2006) from Yasin, and Munshi (2006) from Srinagar. These studies include somewhat valuable information, are but seemingly highly subjective so that they make it hard to understand the actual situation of Burushaski, at least for non-native, readers. Hunzai and his Burushaski Research Academy are using and trying to spread the original Burushaski writing system adapted from Urdu or some other cognate ones; the writing system

includes several problems and they have not succeeded in its propagation yet. Burushaski speakers now tend to use ad hoc writing systems based on the Roman alphabet on facebook and other social media. (There is still no unified system among scholars now. As to the notation of each scholar, see Table of notations at page xv above.)

The following table shows the texts which mainly I referred to in this dissertation.

Table 2. Main reference texts from previous studies

Text title	Source	Sentences	Words	Dialect
Story of the North Wind and the Sun	Lorimer (1927)	8	116	Hunza
The Frog as a Bride	Tikkanen (1991)	506	5,038	Hunza
<i>Urke Yat</i>	Hunzai (1998)	11	126	Hunza
<i>ŽAKÚNE MARÁQ</i> (41 texts)	Hunzai (1998) Berger (1998b)	5 811	121 20,049	Hunza
Shiri Badat (26 texts)	Willson (2002) Berger (1998b)	53 353	624 9,885	Hunza Nager
<i>Híspara Šajirá</i>	van Skyhawk (2006)	24	1,534	Nager

### 0.6. Fieldwork

This dissertation will discuss not only data from previous studies, but also my own field data. I have conducted fieldwork on Burushaski six times from 2004 to 2009; the times and places of field surveys were as shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Summary of fieldwork

Year	From	To	At (Hunza; Nager; (Yasin))
2004	12 <sup>th</sup> Nov.	17 <sup>th</sup> Nov.	Karimabad;
2005a	21 <sup>st</sup> Feb.	10 <sup>th</sup> Mar.	Karimabad, Aminabad;
2005b	19 <sup>th</sup> Aug.	4 <sup>th</sup> Sep.	Karimabad, Mominabad;
2007	8 <sup>th</sup> Aug.	11 <sup>th</sup> Sep.	Karimabad, Mominabad; Hopar; (Taus, Ghojalti)
2008	7 <sup>th</sup> Sep.	17 <sup>th</sup> Nov.	Karimabad, Altit, Ahmadabad; Hopar, Uyum Nager
2009	16 <sup>th</sup> Aug.	11 <sup>th</sup> Sep.	Karimabad; Hopar

From the first time, I have been collecting Burushaski words and eliciting grammatical information in every survey. And I have recorded several stories from the work of 2005b.

Information about my principal consultants is provided in Table 4. They all are male.<sup>†3</sup> There are more people (including women) who gave me information on Burushaski and/or told me Burushaski stories, which have not yet been fully transcribed.

Table 4. Personal information of principal consultants

Name	Born in	Birthplace	Edu.	Occupation (at the time)	Other languages
Afraz ul-Lah Beg	1929	Haidderabad	9	ex-Army	UR, EN
Essa Karim	1974	Aminabad	BA	Guide, Chairperson	UR, EN, J
Alamgir Khan	1944	Aminabad	0	Receptionist	UR, EN
Ejaz ul-Lah Baig	1970	Karimabad	MA	Curator, Librarian	UR, PE, EN
Musa Baig	1979	Ganish	12	Hotel owner	UR, J, EN
Liaqat Hussain	1984	Ganish	BA	Hotel stuff	UR, EN
Muhammad Ali	1963	Ganish	0	Farmer	UR
Ainur Khayat	1973	Hopar	8	Hotel stuff, Farmer	UR, SH
Muhammad Abbas	1972	Hopar	8	Hotel-stuff, Guide	UR, EN

Field research was conducted by means of Urdu, and I built up my database chiefly from field data from elicitation and story collection.

In this dissertation, if an example sentence has no source information, the example is from own elicitation data. Source information is always cited for examples from previous studies (see Table 2) and the stories which I collected (Table 5 below).

<sup>†3</sup> Roughly speaking, Islamic societies tend not to let women go outside to public space. It is a reason for inclining towards male consultants. But sometimes I have had opportunity to speak with women in Burushaski and at the time I felt no difficulty in speaking with them. I think thus there would be no variance of Burushaski between men's and women's speaking.

Table 5. Main reference texts from my field data

Text title	Source	Sentences	Words	Dialect
<i>šhon gukúr</i>	Afraz ul-Lah Beg	15	130	Hunza
<i>kulió laskír</i>	Afraz ul-Lah Beg	26	198	Hunza
<i>čhúmoe minás</i>	Muhammad Ali	351	4,820	Hunza (Ganesh)
<i>uskó jótīšo urkái ke uyúm</i> <i>γuníqīš qhúuq</i>	Musa Beg	51	1,128	Hunza (Ganesh)
<i>uyúm dayánum búšan</i>	Musa Beg	124	1,019	Hunza (Ganesh)
The story of Hopar	Muhammad Abbas	28	370	Nager

### 0.7. Typological overview

Burushaski shows plenty of agglutinative characteristics, and there are many kinds of both prefixes and suffixes. Basic constituent order in a clause is SV/AOV (§8.3). A modifier precedes a modified word and a relative clause tends to precede a relativized word, which almost always requires a distal demonstrative according to the relativizer to become a diptych construction as a whole (§8.8). The syllable structure is CCVCC, but both onset and coda CC clusters are observed at the word initial and final position, respectively (§1.2). The language has the distinctive pitch accent system (§1.3).

From a typological viewpoint, Burushaski has the following peculiarities. There are four nominal classes (like genders in other languages) in Burushaski and all nominals belong to a class (or more than one classes) that is, briefly speaking, determined by whether it is a human male, human female, concrete thing, or abstract notion (§2.3). It has several dozen plural suffixes for nouns and there is no clear rule predicting the suffixes from the nouns, their matches are individually determined lexically fixed (§3.2.2). Nominals take case suffixes to decline in some of the following cases: absolutive, ergative, genitive, essive, dative, ablative, and several locational cases (§3.5). Morphologically the case alignment is an ergative system splitting in temporality and person-number (§9.3), while syntactically a predicate agrees by a suffix in the person-number-class of a subject argument, not absolutive argument (§§6.4 and 8.4). Some nouns which inalienably possessed by someone must take a personal prefix (§3.4), and the same personal prefix is employed on verbs to corefer with undergoer arguments (§6.3.2).

This language has some Indian areal linguistic features: the opposition of retroflex and dental consonant series (§1.1.1), echo-formations (§7.3), expressives and onomatopoeia (§7.4), and so-called conjunctive participles (§8.9.3). But, on the other hand, Burushaski lacks some of the characteristics which are commonly observed in the

large part of other languages; e.g., neither double causative nor classifiers in Burushaski. And there are some features commonly seen among the languages in northern Pakistan. Like *-ek* in Shina and *-ek/-aka* in Domaaki and *čik* in Balti; Burushaski has the general singular marker *-an* for noun to indicate the referent is indefinite (§§3.3 and 11). Burushaski and Shina have the distinctive pitch accent system (§1.3) in common, which does not seem to be in the surrounding languages like Khowar and Wakhi. From my fieldwork, it remains unclear whether or not the pitch accent of Domaaki is distinctive. The vigesimal numeral system (§5.2) can be considered as an areal feature as well.



# Part I – GRAMMAR

## THE SOUND SYSTEM

In this chapter I will describe the sound system of Burushaski. Fortunately, all the dialects of the Eastern Burushaski language are phonologically identical. Therefore I treat and present it as the common phonology of the Eastern dialects here.

### 1.1. Inventory of phonemes

Here I will list up all phonemes of Burushaski and it will serve as the model for my notation. In this dissertation, the original notation will not be changed for examples from previous studies. The notations of principal scholars, I have shown it with a chart “Table of notations” at page xv above.

#### 1.1.1. Consonants

There are 36 consonants in the language. In Table 6 below, I list the inventory of the sounds, sorted by their characteristics. Note that they are not ordered rigidly by articulatory positions. For this reason, I do not label the columns in Table 6.

Table 6. Consonants

<b>Plosive</b>	<b>vl.</b>	/p/	/t/[t̚]	/ʈ/[t̪]	/k/	/q/
	<b>asp.</b>	/ph/[pʰ]	/th/[tʰ]	/ʈh/[t̪ʰ]	/kh/[kʰ]	/qh/[qʰ]
	<b>vd.</b>	/b/	/d/[d̚]	/ɖ/[d̪]	/g/[g]	
<b>Affricate</b>	<b>vl.</b>		/c/[t͡s]	/č/[t͡ʃ]	/ç/[t͡ʃ̺]	
	<b>asp.</b>		/ch/[t͡sʰ]	/čh/[t͡ʃʰ]	/çh/[t͡ʃ̺ʰ]	
	<b>vd.</b>			/j/[d͡ʒ]	/j̣/[d͡ʒ̺]	
<b>Fricative</b>	<b>vl.</b>		/s/	/š/[ʃ̺]	/ʂ/[ʃ̺̺]	/h/
	<b>vd.</b>		/z/		/ɣ/[ɣ̺]	
<b>Approximant</b>		/w/	/y/[j]	/ỵ/[j̺]		
<b>Nasal</b>		/m/	/n/		/ŋ/	
<b>Rhotic</b>			/r/[r̺]			
<b>Lateral Approximant</b>			/l/			

There is normally a three-way contrast between voiceless unaspirated, voiced, and aspirated for plosives and affricates. Alternations caused by the morphophonological environment are always within each set, see §1.5.2 also. And exceptionally, a fricative consonant /ɣ/ belongs to the set of /q/ and /qh/.

Similar to most of the other Indian languages, in Burushaski, plosives /t/, /d/, and /th/ are pronounced as dental. But they change into alveolar sounds when they come after /l/; the consonant cluster /lt/ is common, and /ld/ and /lth/ are occasionally seen (more frequently in the Nager dialect); hence they are realised as [lt], [ld], and [lth], respectively.

In the third column of Table 6, there are four consonants. Though the three symbols are transcribed with a háček (ˇ) and the rest one is without it, this distinction is made just for convenience's sake. Contrary to the representations, these sounds are commonly coarticulated as alveolo-palatal, e.g., /č/[tɕ].

The phoneme /ph/ has the allophone [f] in addition to [p<sup>h</sup>], and /qh/ has the allophone [x] in addition to [q<sup>h</sup>]. These allophones [f] and [x], however, occur only in loan words.

There are three central (not lateral) approximant consonants in Burushaski; these sounds are placed at the positions for bilabial, dental/alveolar, and retroflex in the above table, but these positions are not strictly accurate. Approximant /w/ is pronounced as a labialized velar [w], /y/ is palatal [j], and /ɣ/ is an advanced velar [ɥ]. Although these approximants are articulated in such ways, they pattern the same as /b/, /n/, and /ç/, respectively, rather than others.<sup>†4</sup> In particular, /ɣ/ is not retroflex but shows a retroflex feature in morphophonological processes (that is why here I use an underdot to indicate this sound as well as other retroflex consonants), (26). Some researchers, such as Munshi (2006) and Čašule (2010), insist that this consonant is in fact retroflex as [ɣ]. However, I have confirmed with consultants in Hunza and Nager by asking their self-examinations and checking my pronunciations that they do not bend up the tip of their tongue in pronunciation of this phoneme but rather raise the body of tongue towards the palate.

From Table 6, we can see several asymmetries of the distribution of components.

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<sup>†4</sup> On the other hand, in Western Burushaski which no longer retains the consonant /y/, zero corresponds to /y/ in most words, but there are a few words in which /k/ corresponds to /y/ (observed in Eastern Burushaski). In the former case, since the trace (zero correspondence) still holds the retroflex feature of /y/, sometimes /ç/ appears in a position where /č/ is MORPHOPHONOLOGICALLY predicted. And in the latter, we can assume that the /k/ sound ought to PHONOLOGICALLY reflect the velar characteristic of /y/.

Certainly, the 2 “recent” voiced fricative sounds /z/ [z] and /ɣ/ [ɣ] are, historically, descendent from “missing” sounds similar to them, i.e. voiced alveolar affricate [dʒ] and voiced uvular plosive [g]. This supposition may be proven morphophonologically, and I will briefly discuss it later in the following chapter (see §1.2.1). If these correspondences were true, then the distribution of Burusahski consonants would be more symmetric.

### 1.1.2. Vowels

Burushaski has 5 short vowels, here written with /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, and /u/; all of which are the primary cardinal vowels. There are also corresponding bimoraic long vowels: /ii/, /ee/, /aa/, /oo/, and /uu/ (As to long vowels, see also §1.2.2). These sounds can be classified with the three articulatory heights, high–mid–low, and three levels of tongue backness, front–central–back. There are illustrated as follows, Table 7:

Table 7. Vowels

<b>High</b>	/i/	/u/	/ii/	/uu/
<b>Mid</b>	/e/	/o/	/ee/	/oo/
<b>Low</b>		/a/	/aa/	

In Burushaski, back vowels are always rounded. The most frequent vowel is /a/, and /e/ without an accent is remarkably rare.

We can find some phenomena associating with both the highness/midness and frontness/backness of vowels, e.g., vowel reductions in the verbal morphology and a trigrade ablaut system for the personal prefix. The ablaut system contains 3 grades as “high”, “mid”, and “mid-long”; in Burushaski study, these are usually called “Type-I”, “II”, and “III” respectively (see §§3.4, 6.3.2, *et passim*).

Here, (1) shows a minimal quintet with the short vowels:

- (1) *íi* “himself/itself”  
*éi* “his/its daughter”  
*ái* “my daughter”  
*ói* “their daughter”  
*úi* “themselves”

## 1.2. Phonotactics

### 1.2.1. Syllable structure

The syllable structure of Burushaski is illustrated as  $(C_1(C_2))V(C_3(C_4))$ .

The vowel of a given syllable can be either unimoraic and bimoraic. But bimoraic ones cannot include different vowel qualities, i.e. they have to keep a single sound value from the beginning to the end for 2 morae (see also §1.2.2).

$C_1$ : All consonants are attested in medial position of a word but neither /ŋ/ nor /y/ appear in the initial syllable.  $C_2$ : Only /r/ is available when  $C_1$  is any of /p/, /b/, /ph/, /t/, /d/, /th/, or /g/. But the initial consonant cluster  $Cr$  ( $C_1C_2$ ) occurs only in loan words and onomatopoeia.  $C_3$ : All consonants except approximants /w/ and /y/.  $C_4$ : 7 consonants: /t/, /k/, /s/, /š/, /c/, /ç/, and /č/. All of them can appear when  $C_3$  is a sonorant. If  $C_3$  is a fricative, then only /k/ is available. The restriction of  $C_3C_4$  clusters in loan words is less strict than the one in indigenous words: e.g., *qulp* ‘lock’ < UR *qufl* (قفل) ‘id.’.

Moreover, when the final consonant of a word is a voiced obstruent, then the consonant is almost always devoiced in neutralization. Similarly, when an aspirated plosive/affricate consonant occurs at the end of a word, then it becomes unaspirated. These phenomena are proven by the facts that there are few examples of words with final voiced/aspirated consonant, few with a free alternation between voiceless and voiced at the word final position: (2), and a few which show either a voiceless–voiced or unaspirated–aspirated alternative when a vowel-initial suffix is attached: (3). The first fact is reflected in that there are many loanwords losing the voicedness of the final consonant: (4). (Whereas some loanwords such as examples in (2) may retain the original voicedness at the word final position.)

- (2) a. *tées* ~ *téec* ~ *téez* ‘sharp’  
 b. *riwáač* ~ *riwáj* ‘custom’
- (3) a. *taadáat* ‘number’ — *taadáad-e* ‘of number’ (-e : GEN)  
 b. *qhuráap* ‘gold dust’ — *qhuraab-gúin* ‘gold panner’ (-gúin<sup>†5</sup>: ‘doer’)  
 c. *qulp* ‘lock’ — *qulph-ánc* ‘locks’ (-anc : PL.X)

<sup>†5</sup> This suffix is used to make a personal noun like as English suffix *-er*, and there are 2 allomorphs of this suffix: *-kuin* and *-gúin*. It seems as if they are conditioned by whether the preceding sound is voiceless or voiced, but their distribution is in fact conditioned by whether the accent of the base is in the stem or not. For example, in (3b), *qhuráap* has no accent in its stem (but the accent must occur on the final syllable because there must be a surface accent in a word and in such case it falls there), so the allomorph *-gúin*

- (4) a. *šaayát* ‘perhaps’ < UR *šāed* (شائد)  
 b. *róoṭ* ‘road’ < EN *road*  
 c. *qulp* ‘lock’ < UR *qufl* (قفل)<sup>†6</sup>

Note that the example (2a) shows evidence for the supposition of the voiced fricative /z/ mentioned above (see §1.1.1). In (2a), concerning the voiceless correspondence for /z/, there are both fricative /s/ and affricate /c/. It can be thought that the latter case is a reflection of the fact that there was a voiced alveolar affricate [dz] in Burushaski at one time, that this word was borrowed in that time, and the affricate was devoiced to /c/ [ts]. The form with /s/ can be considered as a shape borrowed again in Burushaski more recently.

In the following list (5), I list the logically possible syllable types in Burushaski with examples for each type. Regarding the CCVCC type of syllable, I have not found an adequate example yet.

- (5) V        *u*        ‘they (DIST)’  
 VC        *áar*        ‘to me’  
 VCC       *urk*        ‘wolf’  
 CV        *phu*        ‘fire’  
 CVC       *khiy*       ‘dead leaf’  
 CVCC     *lóonc*      ‘loophole’  
 CCV       *gra*        ‘gra; an imaginary animal which draws the solar and lunar eclipse’  
 CCVC     *práaq*     ‘sunrise, the rising sun’  
 CCVCC   N/A

### 1.2.2. Vowel clusters

In transcriptions, frequently we can find vowel clusters here and there. See the following examples in (6):

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is chosen by the absence of the accent. Therefore, there is not any correlation between the final consonant of the underlying stem *qhuráab* and the voicedness of the initial consonant of *-gúin*.

<sup>†6</sup> Here, through borrowing from Urdu, metathesis has happened at the coda of the word. And the [f] sound in the origin language generally correspondent with /ph/ in Burushaski. So the form has realized by changing as *qufl* (UR) > \**qulf/quphl* > *qulph* (> *qulp*; phonetic devoicing process).

- (6) a. *níironaay* ‘rainbow’  
 b. *íík* ‘his/its name’  
 c. *biénum* ‘thin’  
 d. *biái* ‘disease’

(6a) and (6b) have vowels which appear as long vowels: [íi], [aa], and [íí]. There is a vowel which seems to be a diphthong in (6c), and a triphthong in (6d).

Bimoraic vowels ( $2\mu$ -V) represented with a pair of vowels can be interpreted in two ways: as long vowels, or as vowel sequence. Strictly speaking, the former is one vowel for a syllable, and the latter is two vowels for two syllables. When a  $2\mu$ -V has a  $V\acute{V}$  accent, then the  $2\mu$ -V must be a vowel sequence since I consider that there is no rising tonal accent in the language (As for the accent system, it is dealt in at §1.3 below). But when a  $2\mu$ -V has a  $\acute{V}V$  accent or does not have an accent, then the vowel cannot be interpreted clearly either as long vowel or as vowel sequence. In the case that an accent proceeding has been morphologically invoked in a word and its accent detached from an accented  $2\mu$ -V, if the vowel becomes short, then the  $2\mu$ -V is a long vowel: e.g. *gáarcimi* ‘he ran’ vs *éeskarcimi* ‘he made it run’ (compare the wavyly underlined parts). Berger considers all  $2\mu$ -Vs as diphthong whichever accent pattern they have. But his analysis seems to be harder to explain the shortening phenomenon of  $\acute{V}V$ . Why does accent shift cause a  $\acute{V}V$  diphthong to become a single vowel despite that the shortening is not seen with the other kinds of diphthongs? Practically,  $2\mu$ -Vs, however, offer less material for interpretation, so I do not aim to make strict distinction between the kinds of  $2\mu$ -Vs now.

Most of the sequences of both the same sound and different sound vowels, and possibly some of long vowels also, in Burushaski originate from both morphological and diachronic causes<sup>†7</sup>.

### 1.2.3. Consonant clusters

Consonant clusters can occur in three types: the first one is the cluster of  $C_1C_2$  at the onset of a word initial syllable; the second one is of  $C_3C_4$  at the coda of a primary word final syllable; and the third one is an intersyllabic cluster.

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<sup>†7</sup> Some of the diachronic causes are proven by comparison with Western Burushaski (or another subdialect of Eastern Burushaski also). For examples, the Eastern Burushaski noun *biái* ‘disease’ in (6d) corresponds to the Western form *bihái*, the Eastern verbal stem *do-óq-* ‘to swell’ to the Western *do-hóq-*, &c. At least in this point, Western Burushaski seems to keep older sound forms on /h/.

The  $C_1C_2$  clusters in a word initial syllable are restricted to nine patterns (here bracketed the numbers of the entry word in Berger (1998c) which have the concerned cluster and are not derived from the other one): pr- (8), br- (8), phr- (1), tr- (12), dr- (5), thr- (1), ḍr- (1), kr- (1), and gr- (1). Furthermore, I have observed that these clusters may occur in loanwords; no previous researcher has pointed this out yet. In the word list of Berger (1998c), among the 38 words with the initial  $C_1C_2$  cluster, 29 have their resemblances in the other languages, i.e. Shina, Khowar, English, etc. Particularly, according to Berger, all of the br-, thr-, ḍr-, kr-, and gr-initial 12 words are such ones precisely. There are, however, such a small number of examples about the  $C_1C_2$  cluster, so that I refrain from concluding on it here.

On the other hand, the  $C_3C_4$  clusters in a word final syllable are, also, restricted. In general, the  $C_3$  in the cluster can only be voiceless fricatives or sonorants. The  $C_4$  can only be /t/, /k/, /s/, /ʃ/, /c/, /ç/, or /č/, and it must be /k/ when the preceding  $C_3$  is any fricative. But there are a few irregularities in loanwords. For examples, the loanword *taqt* ‘throne’ from Urdu *taxt* (تخت) ‘id.’ has the exceptional  $C_3C_4$  cluster -qt; and *zaḡs* ‘a kind of metal vessel’ in the Nagel dialect from Tibetan *zaḡs* (མཚོ་མོ་) ‘copper pot’ has -ḡs. As mentioned above, the  $C_3C_4$  cluster appears in the final syllable of a free word. What I want to say in using the term free word is the full form able to occur in text freely and a possible target for derivation. Hence, there are so many instances of the derived words exhibiting a word inner sequence with 3 consonants; e.g., the plural form of the Nagel noun *thenc* ‘fifteen days, two weeks’ become *thencmíḡ*, which contains the 3 consonants’ sequence -ncm-.

As for the intersyllable consonant clusters, there are no restrictions but a tendency for adjacency. Previous studies have not referred to the point that Burushaski shows a positive tendency to avoid sequences of identical consonants. See the examples in (7):

- (7) a. *hik* ‘one’ + -kum => *híkum* ‘one group’ (\**híkkum*)  
 b. *jaák* ‘sympathetic’ + -kuṣ => *jaákuṣ* ‘sympathy’ (\**jaákkuṣ*)  
 c. *ámit* ‘which’ + -tali => *ámitali* ‘somehow’ (\**ámittali*)  
 d. *bayárk* ‘nasty’ + -kuṣ => *bayárkkuṣ* ‘evil, vice’ (\**bayárkuṣ*)

(7a) and (7b) exemplify the tendency to avoid the expected sequence -kk-, whereas (7d) has it. This tendency is not limited for -kk-, so I also prepared the example (7c) with the avoidance of -tt- sequence.

### 1.3. Prosody

Burushaski has a distinctive pitch accent system, as in (8). All vowels are either high pitched or accentless. There must be a high pitch accent within a word (or strictly, a word stem). I use an acute accent sign (´) to mean a high pitched vowel; but I do not do it for monosyllabic word in which the vowel is unimoraic because there is only one position which can be accented. Such a word necessarily makes the accent fall on the only short vowel. Whereas I omit the accent sign for monosyllabic words with a short vowel, for ones with a bimoraic vowel I always denote the position of its high pitched vowel overtly. Therefore it is useful to interpret that a bimoraic vowel might be either a long vowel or a vowel sequence (in detail, see §1.2.2). Verbal complex forms consist of a verb and an auxiliary copula, some negative forms in Nager dialect, and few words include two or more accents in a word: (9).

- (8) a. *íne* ‘his (DIST)’  
 b. *iné* ‘that (person)’
- (9) a. *níčái* (HZ) ‘he goes’ verbal complex form  
 b. *aúgirášubái* (Ng) ‘he does not dance’ negative form  
 c. *écukóon* ‘his brothers’ plural form of *éço* ‘his brother’

Most of prefixes in Burushaski causes an accent shift. These prefixes attract accent position in the word ahead as bringing about several morphophonological changes (§1.5.2). Besides them, type-II and III personal prefixes (§4.2) fix the accent position on themselves (as causing the same morphophonological changes).

Some roots hold the default position of accent not within but just after themselves. If a nominal root of such kind is affixed for stem derivation, then its accent will be neatly realised within the stem: 10a). On the contrary, If such a root is not extended by derivational affixation, then its accent will be put on the vowel of the root final syllable as shifting ahead: 10b).

- (10) a. *huk* ‘dog’ + *-ai* ‘PL’ (derivational suffix) => *hukái* ‘the dogs’  
 (will be written as “*huk’-ai*” at the gloss)  
 b. *huk* ‘dog’ + *-an* ‘INDEF.SG’ (declensional suffix) => *húkan* ‘a dog’  
 (will be written as “*huk’-an*” at the gloss)

In the same way as nominals, if a verbal root of such kind is derived by affixation, then



its accent will be inside the stem: (11a). And a negative prefix can make the effect as well as derivational prefixes in the end: (11b). If such a root is not affixed so, then the stem keeps the accent position just after itself (and will be realised on an conjugational suffix or an epenthetic vowel occurs between the stem and a suffix): (11c). I show each verb stem with framing in (11).

- (11) a. bal ‘fall’ + -č ‘IPFV’ (derivational suffix) => balíč ‘fall:IPFV’  
 (will be written as “ bal’č- ” at the gloss)
- b. bal ‘fall’ + a- ‘NEG’ (prefix) => apál ‘not fall’  
 (will be written as “ a-bal’ ” at the gloss)
- c. bal ‘fall’ + nothing => bal’ ‘fall:PFV’  
 (will be written as “ bal’ ” at the gloss)

As noted at the second line of each example, such roots and verbal stems holding the position of accent just after themselves are shown with a following “ ’ ” symbol in the dissertation.

#### 1.4. Peripheral sounds

Besides the phonemes described at the foregoing section §1.1 (see Table 6 and Table 7), sometimes we encounter phonemes and features only used for loanwords and as part of onomatopoeia.

Nasal vowels appear in loanwords from Shina and onomatopoeia, e.g., *šúũ ét-* ‘to smell’ < SH *šũ/šúũ th-* ‘id.’, and HZ *thíãũ ét-/@-mán-* and NG *thíũ @-t-* ‘to sneeze’.

A voiceless labio-dental fricative [f] can be observed in loanwords from different languages, but it is frequently replaced with the sound [p<sup>h</sup>], which is found even in the supposedly original vocabulary, also: e.g., *sírup/síruf* ‘only’ < UR *sirf* (صرف) ‘id.’, and *phíniš/fíniš* ‘finish’ < EN *finish*. In addition, note that there are some exceptions for the order of consonants in the available cluster from loanwords (in detail see §1.2.3).

#### 1.5. Phonological rules

##### 1.5.1. Vowel changes

There seem to be no restriction on vowel sequence; but certain sequences change their own sounds almost regularly, so some sequences cannot be observed on the surface forms.

It is broadly observed that, when the vowel sequences /ai/ and /au/ has got a VV́

accent, then their sounds change into [eé] and [oó], respectively. For the time being, I show an example (12) for the case that a VV́ accent vowel sequence ([oó]) suffers the vowel change into [au] by an accent arising from the negative prefix *a-*:

- (12) a. *khólar isé yaşép boómi.* ‘The megpie sat here.’  
 b. *khólar isé yaşép apáumi.* ‘The megpie did not sit here.’

The root of the verb in (12) is  $\sqrt{\text{baú}}$ , hence it occurs actually in the form *boó-* as long as there is no prefix attached to the stem.<sup>†8</sup> On the other hand, the vowel sequences /ai/ and /au/ do not change their sounds and are pronounced straightforwardly in Nager dialect; e.g., *aúgirátimi* [aú-girát-m-i || NEG-dance-NPRS-3SG.HM] ‘he didn’t dance’.

We can observe some more vowel changes which occur in morphophonological situations.

### 1.5.2. Morphophonology

There are several morphophonological phenomena in Burusahski, some of which are caused by certain affixes and some of which are caused purely by phonological conditions produced by the morphological process.

Devoicing is a phenomenon which changes one or more following voiced consonants into voiceless consonants, see (13). This phenomenon is regularly invoked by a negative prefix *a-*, the causative prefix *s-*, the telic prefix *d-*, and the prefix *n-*.

- (13) Devoicing sound changes
- |     |                   |                 |
|-----|-------------------|-----------------|
| /b/ | → /p/             | : (14)          |
| /d/ | → /t/             |                 |
| /ḍ/ | → /ṭ/             |                 |
| /g/ | + devoicing → /k/ | : (15)          |
| /j/ | → /ç/             |                 |
| /ɣ/ | → /q/             | : see also (21) |

<sup>†8</sup> As using two styles (upright and oblique) for Burushaski forms here, I distinguish two levels of structural phases in writing the dissertation. I assume three levels of structural phases, that is, a base level for roots and affixes, a middle level for stems and affixes at where accent shift and morphophonological process have been passed, and a surface level at where speakers utter with actual sound. I show the base level with upright style, and the latter two level with oblique style together. The middle level and the surface level are seldom presented in my explanations at once.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>(14) /b/ → /p/<br/> <i>apáa</i><br/> a-bá-a-Ø<br/> NEG-COP-1SG-PRS<br/> ‘I am not’</p> | <p>(15) /g/ → /k/<br/> <i>áaskarcumo</i><br/> áːs-gáarc-m-o<br/> 1SG:III-CAUS-run-NPRS-3SG.HF<br/> ‘she made me run’</p> |
|---|--|

Whereas these voiced consonants are affected by the devoicing process, the voiced affricate /j/ is, at any position<sup>†9</sup>, not devoiced by any invoker as in (16) and (17), which is based on the only verb root with the initial /j/, i.e. *jáli* ‘scatter’.<sup>†10</sup>

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>(16) /j/ in a conjunctive participle<br/> <i>nujál(in)</i><br/> n-jáli-n<br/> CP-scatter-CP<br/> ‘having scattered’ (Berger 1998c: 221)</p> | <p>(17) /j/ in a telic stem<br/> <i>du-jáli-</i><br/> d-jáli-<br/> TEL-scatter-<br/> ‘to spread’ (Berger 1998c: 221)</p> |
|--|--|

Unaspirating makes aspirated consonants alternate with their unaspirated counterparts, see (18). Unaspirating for a consonant is caused by verbal derivational prefixes on the condition that accent attraction forwards by them moves the accent over to former than the consonant (see §1.3).

- (18) Unaspirating sound changes
- |      |                |       |        |
|------|----------------|-------|--------|
| /ph/ |                | → /p/ |        |
| /th/ |                | → /t/ |        |
| /ṭh/ |                | → /ṭ/ |        |
| /kh/ |                | → /k/ |        |
| /qh/ | + unaspirating | → /q/ | : (19) |
| /ch/ |                | → /c/ | : (20) |
| /čh/ |                | → /č/ |        |
| /çh/ |                | → /ç/ |        |

<sup>†9</sup> Though in fact all word-internal /j/ phonemes in verb forms are immediately behind a sonorant, that is they are always either /nj/ or /lj/, so it may be simply considered as not to be devoiced by the environment.

<sup>†10</sup> It may be on the ground that this verb root is a loan morpheme from Shina  $\sqrt{\text{jal}}$  (Berger 1998c: 221).

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (19) /qh/ → /q/<br><i>góqučam</i><br>gu-qhuč-a-m<br>2SG:II-be.lucky-IPFV-1SG-NPRS<br>‘I will make you lucky’ | (20) /ch/ → /c/<br><i>nícun</i><br>n-i-chú-n<br>CP-3SG.HM:I-bring.away-CP<br>‘bring him away and’ |
|--|---|

Closing changes one or more following fricatives and an approximant into plosives, see (21). This phenomenon is often<sup>†11</sup> verified by a negative prefix *a-*, the causative prefix *s-*, the conjunctive participial prefix *n-*, and so on. It is often realised when the accent of the verb form outstrips a target consonant by morphological operations.

(21) Closing sound changes

- |     |           |        |                       |
|-----|-----------|--------|-----------------------|
| /ɣ/ |           | → /q/  | : (22); see also (13) |
| /h/ | + closing | → /kh/ | : (23)                |
| /w/ |           | → /p/  | : see also (13)       |

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (22) /ɣ/ → /q/<br><i>óostaqami</i><br>u-s-dayá-m-i<br>3PL.X:III-CAUS-hide-NPRS-3SG.HM<br>‘he sheltered them (animals)’ | (23) /h/ → /kh/<br><i>akhénuman</i><br>a-hén-m-an<br>NEG-know-NPRS-1PL<br>‘we did not know’ |
|--|---|

Contrary to closing, opening serves to make a following stop (or fricative) consonant alternate with an approximant or be eliminated. It seems however no strict rule of pairs between a stop and an approximant or elimination. Or it may be conditioned by the phonetic environment. Both (24) and (25) are examples for alternation with an approximant consonant.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (24) /b/ → /w/<br><i>duwáaltimi</i><br>d-báalt-m-i<br>TEL-wash-NPRS-3SG.Y<br>‘it was washed’ | (25) /g/ → /y/<br><i>uyánam</i><br>u-gán-a-m<br>3PL.X:I-take-1SG-NPRS<br>‘I took them’ |
|--|--|

---

<sup>†11</sup> It is a strong tendency but there are some exceptions, too. Any condition for the exceptional cases has not been clarified yet.

/č/ invokes several sound changes with an immediately preceding consonant or consonants, see (26). Such sound changes are mainly seen either with the imperfective suffix for verbs -č, with a plural suffix -čo and -čuko, or the inessive case suffix -či for nominals. In examples, I indicate the parts in question with a frame, and the results with a waved underline.

(26) Sound changes with /č/

/t/	→ /č/	
/t̥/	→ /š/	
/c/	→ /š/	
/s/	→ /š/	
/y/	+ /č/	→ /ç/ : (27)
/n/		→ /y/ : (28)
/l/		→ /lj/
/rk/		→ /rš/

(27) séyam  
 sé $\boxed{n-č}$ -a-m  
 say-IPFV-1SG-NPRS  
 ‘I will say’

(28) táľjo  
 tá $\boxed{l-č}$ o  
 pigeon-PL  
 ‘pigeons’

/y/ may also change an immediately preceding consonant, see (29). This phenomenon can be observed only in the case of the stem derivation for the plurality of a subject in an intransitive clause or an object in a transitive clause (see also §6.3.5 for details).

(29) Sound changes with /y/

/t/	→ /č/	
/c/	→ /č/	
/t̥/	+ /y/	→ /č/ : (30)
/s/		→ /š/
/y/		→ /y/ : (31)

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (30) <i>hurúčaman</i><br>hurúč-ya-m-an<br>sit-PL-NPRS-3PL.H<br>'they sat' | (31) <i>gíamišo</i><br>gíy-ya-um-išo<br>let.down-PL-ADJVLZ-PL<br>'those who are let in' |
|---|---|

Epenthesis with /y/ can be seen between consecutive /a/ phonemes or between a mid vowel and the /a/ of a conjugative affix and a verbal stem. In (32) and (33), I show the boundary between the stem derivational and the conjugative suffix with “ † ” in analysis and gloss lines and underline epenthetic /y/ for convenience’s sake.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| (32) <i>ayáyayam</i><br>a † a-yan-č † a-m<br>NEG † 1SG:II-sleep-IPFV † 1SG-NPRS<br>'I will not sleep' | (33) <i>báyam</i><br>bá-a † a-m<br>COP-1SG † 1SG-NPRS<br>'(I) was' |
|---|--|

Aphesis of /l/ always happens at the stem-initial syllable with /lt/ or /lth/ cluster in C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>, see (34). These clusters are rather familiar in Burushaski and seem to be single consonants.

- |  |   |   |           |
|--|---|---|-----------|
| (34) a. <i>talén-</i> ‘change intentionally’ | — | <i>@-ltálan-</i> ‘change spontaneously’ | < √ltalén |
| b. <i>tá-</i> ‘follow’                       | — | <i>@-lta-</i> ‘make follow’             | < √ltá    |
| c. <i>tin</i> ‘born’                         | — | <i>@-ltín</i> ‘born’                    |           |

I will note irregular forms, including ones produced by the morphophonological rules which I have accounted here, of each entry in the appendix vocabulary.

## DESCRIPTIVE PRELIMINARIES

### 2.1. Descriptive units

I deal with each descriptive units in the Burushaski language, which I use in this dissertation: §2.1.1 for words, affix, and clitic, §2.1.2 for phrase, and §2.1.3 for clause and sentence.

#### 2.1.1. Word, affix, and clitics

The word is the minimal unit which can be independently used in utterances and freely alternated with any different item, which is either a word or a phrase (§2.1.2), at the identical syntactic slot. Some words are composed of multiple morphemes, i.e. affix and root, while some other words contain only a single morpheme: e.g., HZ *atésqandarčám* [a-d-i-s-γandér-č+bá-a-m || NEG-TEL-3SG.X:II-CAUS-bend-IPFV+COP-2SG-NPRS] ‘you were not bending it’ versus *awá* [awá || yes] ‘yes’. If a word includes different roots, it is called a compound word (§7.1). There are also some words without even one root, that is, personal prefixes (§4.2) sometimes take case suffixes directly and then the resulting words will have no root inside: e.g., *áar* [a-ar || 1SG:II-DAT] ‘to me’. Any word must have at least one accent, and some words have two or three accents: e.g., *éçukóon* ‘his brothers’ is a word with two accents versus NG *aúbaréibái* ‘he does not look’ a (compound) word with three accents (about complex finite forms, see §6.4.3).

There is only one clitic in Burushaski as the polar interrogative marker =*a* (§8.5.2), which can be used at the syntactically fixed position, clause final. So that it can follow a word of any word class, and this is the crucial difference between a clitic and an affix.

Affixes are not independently uttered in speech but accompany a base belonging to specific word class(es), or occasionally an affix, to form a word. An affix carries a grammatical function such as case, agreement, or derivation, rather than a concrete meaning. There are prefixes and suffixes in Burushaski, and suffixes are richer than prefixes in number.

#### 2.1.2. Phrase

Phrases are syntactic units which contain one word or more than one words and which construct clauses. A single word can be the minimal part of a phrase, and a phrase can be the minimal part of a clause. Phrases within a clause are distributed into the hierarchic construction of the clause, and then, the same level phrases receive the same

treatment regardless of how many words they contain and can replace one another. Each phrase has a head or multiple heads which belong to an identical word class and thus, a phrase also belongs to the same word class as its head(s). For nominal phrases and predicate (verbal) phrases, see §8.1.

### 2.1.3. Clause and sentence

The clause and the sentence are units difficult to distinguish, but roughly speaking, a sentence can include clauses and a clause cannot include sentences. A clause always includes a predicate, a verb or a copula, either finite or nonfinite in my definition (§8.2), however, sometimes the predicate may be omitted to all appearances if the context allows it. Even in these cases, the covert predicate should be invariably restored. There are some kinds of sentences which do not include any clause; for example, an interjection can become an exclamatory sentence such as *léei!* ‘Hey man!’, while it has no predicate and thus it cannot be considered a clause. Comparatively a clause holds an intonation but an intonational unit can be sustained over a few clauses on occasions, in particular when the successive clauses are sufficiently short. As phrases show hierarchic order, clauses are also organized into several levels and the system is usually explained with the terms coordination and subordination (§8.9). Pragmatically a clause has a topic and a comment and it can be the minimal unit for polar question, which is realised by taking the polar interrogative enclitic =*a* at the final position (§8.5.2), or, very seldomly, changing its own intonation.

## 2.2. Word classes

There are 8 word classes in Burushaski: noun, pronoun, adjective, numeral, verb, copula, conjunction, and interjection. See Figure 7 for the word classes.



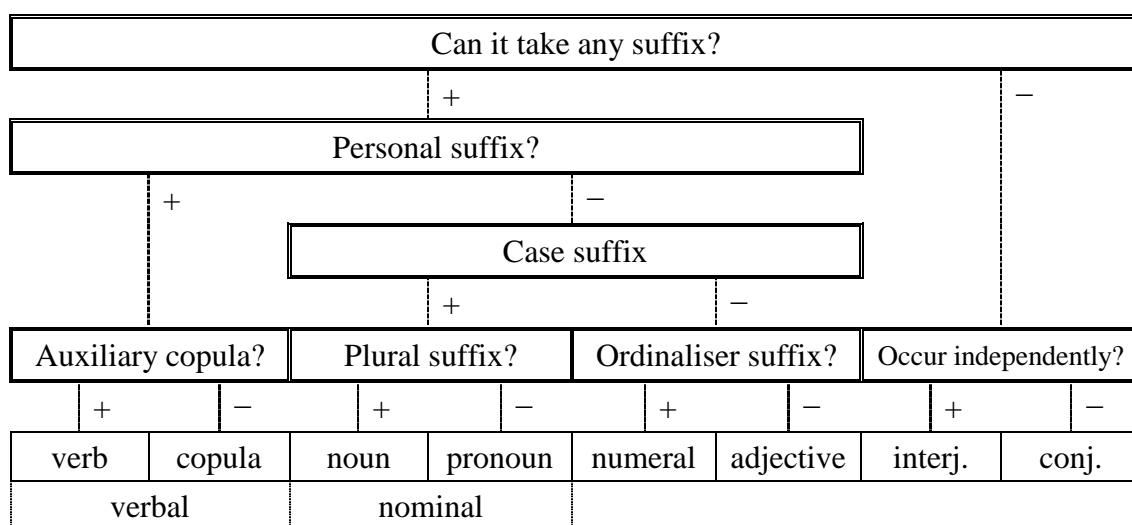


Figure 7. Word classes and the criteria of word classes in Burushaski

Berger (1998) ambiguously or equivocally uses the following labels of word classes or the like in his grammar: Nomen, Adjektiv, Pronomen, Pronominaladjektiv, Adverb, Postposition, Zahlwort, Verbum, Partikel, Konjunktion, and Interjektion. But they are not treated systematically and he does not mention clearly how he has classified them each other.

### 2.2.1. Nominal: Noun and pronoun

A nominal in Burushaski is a word able to function as a head of a nominal phrase. Nominals can take case markers (§3.5). They consist of nouns and pronouns, and nouns consist of free and bound ones. Bound nouns are either inalienable nouns (kin terms, body parts, emotions, etc.) or positional nouns and always need a personal prefix to indicate the possessor or the reference point (§3.2.1).

Nominals and adjectives in fact morphologically have some similarity each other. Nouns are easily used in the same way of adjectives to modify, and adjectives and numerals are often used just like nouns. Thus there would be no problem with grouping them together, say, as labelling “substantive”. But I feel it is not necessary in particular here.

### 2.2.2. Adjective and numeral

An adjective can modify a noun with its bare form as well as a numeral. Some adjectives take one of the plural suffixes when they modify a noun referring to plural entities. Numerals of small numbers, from 1 to 10, have more than one form corresponding to the nominal class (§2.3) to which the numeral refers to. And there are

several bound nominal morphemes able to attach only to numerals to make up quantified nouns (§5.2.3): e.g., *-kuc* ‘day’ in *iskí-kuc* ‘three days’ and *tóorimi-kuc* ‘ten days’.

### 2.2.3. Verbal: Verb and copula

Verbals consist of verbs and copulas. Verbs in Burushaski can serve independently as a predicate of a clause, while a nominal, an adjective and a numeral need a copula to predicate. Copulas are not the same as verbs in morphology, they take fewer functional categories than verbs. There are two copular roots in Hunza,  $\sqrt{bá}$ - is for H-class and  $\sqrt{b}$ - is for X- and Y-classes, and three roots in Nager,  $\sqrt{bá}$ - is for H-class,  $\sqrt{b}$ - for X-class, and  $\sqrt{d}$ - for Y-class (see §2.3 for nominal classes).

### 2.2.4. Other word classes

Besides those classes already mentioned, there are conjunctions (§8.9.2) and interjections in Burushaski; no morpheme can be attached to them to form new declined or conjugated forms. Interjections are used independently although conjunctions are used inside a clause or between clauses.

## 2.3. Nominal classes

Nominals in Burushaski show four agreement classes (HM, HF, X, and Y) like genders; a nominal can belong to any of these classes. These classes syntactically function as a feature for agreement. Roughly speaking, the extension of HM-class is human male, HF is human female, X is concrete object including animals and fruits, Y is abstract object including liquids, trees, and notions. Every noun cannot be classified by its phonological form, but plural suffixes tend to show the class of host nouns, especially distinguish between Y-class and the other classes.

In description, in addition to these four classes, I employ one more class named Z-class. This is a subclass of Y-class and has been previously introduced by Lorimer (1935–38). Numerals have Z-forms either for non-referential counting or modifying temporal nouns.

### 2.3.1. H-class: HM and HF

HM-class and HF-class are classes for human beings in general.<sup>†12</sup> These classes are neutralised when the referent is plural, and then it is referred to as H-class for the

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<sup>†12</sup> But also *qhudáa* ‘God, god’ belongs to HM-class. They seem to consider God as like a man.

sake of convenience.

Many personal nouns which inherently indicate no gender can refer to both males and females, e.g., *ápi* ‘my grandparent: HM/HF’, but there are some nouns limited to be used for either males or females and alter their ending vowel if the referent is male, then the ending vowel is *-o*, or female, *-i*, which are mostly loaned from Shina, e.g., *sómo* ‘male friend: HM’ and *sómi* ‘female friend: HF’. Of course, the classification into HM-class or HF-class accords with the actual gender of referents, *oóyar* ‘my husband’ belongs to HM-class and *oós* ‘my wife’ to HF-class.

The difference between HM- and HF-class is observed in the singular personal affixes and the oblique case marker *-mu* for HF-class singular.

### 2.3.2. X-class

The extent of X-class consists of animals, concrete things, fruits, etc. It is quite difficult to delineate the boundary with Y-class.

X-class is a class showing intermediate characteristics between H- and Y-classes. Regarding the personal prefix and the plural suffixes for example, X-class is similar to H-class, in particular HM-class, though it has the same copular root in Hunza and shares a lot of nouns jointly with Y-class.

### 2.3.3. Y-class (including Z-class)

The referents belong to Y-class are abstract notions, buildings, trees, liquids, etc., and time, place, and number which are categorised into Z-class. Most of fruit plant nouns, belong to both X- and of Y-classes, referring their fruits and trees, respectively: *báalt* ‘apple fruit: X; apple tree: Y’.

Y-class nouns may be less connected with the notion of plurality because they show a common tendency to be less concrete, so that the personal prefix of Y-class singular and plural are the same (§4.2 *et passim*) and the plural optative form lacks the reconstructed plural marker *\*-an* (§6.6).

Z-class is a subclass of Y-class. It behaves in basically the same way as Y-class, but differs from Y-class in the means of agreement on numerals (§5.2.1) and genitive marking, where Z-class employs the oblique case marker *mu-* common to HF-class (§3.5).

## NOUNS

In this chapter I discuss the nominal morphology of Burushaski. Here, I use the term “nominal” to refer to the categories of both noun and pronoun. Though the pronoun morphology is narrower than that of the nouns, pronoun declensions corresponding nominal declensions. Therefore, I will describe the nominal morphology using nouns as representative of all nominals and will provide examples of pronoun declensions when warranted.

The most important difference between the previous studies of Burushaski and this dissertation is the point that I employ zero morphemes for the nominal and verbal morphologies: the absolutive case marker (§3.5.1) and the present mood marker (§6.4). The former will be dealt with in this chapter.

### 3.1. Template

Figure 8 below illustrates the template for nouns. Note that, when referencing morphological templates, I use a square bracket ([ ]) to indicate a particular slot of a template, and a small-capital superscript added to the bracket to indicate a particular template, e.g., [+2]<sup>N</sup> is the second suffix slot of the noun template.

(-1)	0	(+1)	(+2)	(+3)	(+4)	+5
PERSON	BASE	PL	NUMBER	OBLIQUE	POSITION	CASE

Figure 8. Template for nouns

-1: @-/@'/@" person	+3: -mu/-e oblique
0: base	+4: -al/-ul locative, -aṭ instrumental, -c adessive, -či inessive
+1: -caro/-išo/-čiq/... plural	+5: -∅ absolutive, -e ergative, -e genitive, -e essive, -ar dative, -um ablative
+2: -an indefinite singular, -ik indefinite plural	

Here, the signs – and + designate the relative positioning to the base (numbered as 0), indicating that the elements appearing in each slot are prefixes and suffixes, respectively. The numbers in this template relate the relative distance from the base. If the number has a round bracket, the element is optional. Otherwise, it is obligatory.

The enclosed part of the template indicates the stem, within which an accent must be placed. The concept of stem has not been clearly used in previous studies on Burushaski but it is significant to account for accent position simply.

It should be noted that the template for pronoun lacks the [-1], [+1], and [+2] slots found in the noun template. Additionally, the pronoun root ([0]) is always filled by any of the pronominal roots (§4.2).

The slots from [+3] to [+5] are used for cases. Suffixes at the slot [+4] are always followed by any case suffix at the slot [+5]. The slot [+3] is for the oblique case marker, which is used with case markers at the slots [+4] and [+5] in certain conditions.

Nominal word formations (derivation and declension) will be dealt in in the following sections. First, I will discuss on stem formation at the slots from [-1] to [+1] in §3.2. Second, §3.3 will deal in number system concerning to the slots [+1] and [+2], and then, §3.4 in personal agreement at the slot [-1]. I will discuss on the case marking system in Burushaski in §3.5.

### 3.2. Stem formations

Typically each word in Burushaski has only one accent which falls on a syllable inside the stem.

Nominal stems are formed by two kinds of affixes; the first one is a personal prefix (§3.2.1), and the other is a plural suffix (§3.2.2).

#### 3.2.1. Inalienable possession marking

Burushaski partly distinguishes between inalienable and alienable possession by employing either the personal prefix or not.<sup>†13</sup> That is, a noun referring to an entity which is always inalienably possessed by anyone must take a personal prefix at the slot [-1]. This prefix must always agree in parameters (number and class) with the possessor.

There are three types of personal prefixes, which are differentiated by the vowel quality, see Table 8 – Table 10. For nouns, types are fixed according to their roots and no condition can explain this accordance well. Unlike verbs (§6.3.2), personally prefixed nouns do not have alternative prefix types. I use a symbol “@” to indicate a blank, i.e. unagreed, personal prefix slot and three kinds of hyphens “- / ˘ / ˙” for the personal prefix to indicate type-I, II, and III, respectively.<sup>†14</sup>

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<sup>†13</sup> Tiffou clearly makes use of the notion of alienability whereas Berger does not. Tiffou (1999: 169) simply says that affixed to a noun, the personal prefix marks the inalienable possession, on the one hand. Berger (1998a: 46) modestly states that the personal prefixes are used with substantives referring bodyparts, relatives, and things or states with which we feel strong relation in particular, on the other.

<sup>†14</sup> When stems with type-I personal prefixes get the accent at the prefix position through morphophonological procedure, then the stems are shown with “@˘”.

Table 8. Type-I personal prefixes (@-)

	SG	PL
1	<i>a-/ja-/je-</i> <sup>†15</sup>	<i>mi-</i>
2	<i>gu-</i>	<i>ma-</i>
3	HM <i>i-</i>	<i>u-</i>
	HF <i>mu-</i>	
X	<i>i-</i>	<i>u-</i>
Y	<i>i-</i>	<i>i-</i>

Table 9. Type-II personal prefixes (@')

	SG	PL
1	<i>á-</i>	<i>mé-</i>
2	<i>gó-</i>	<i>má-</i>
3	HM <i>é-</i>	<i>ó-</i>
	HF <i>mó-</i>	
X	<i>é-</i>	<i>ó-</i>
Y	<i>é-</i>	<i>é-</i>

Table 10. Type-III personal prefixes (@'')

	SG	PL
1	<i>áa-</i>	<i>mée-</i>
2	<i>góo-</i>	<i>máa-</i>
3	HM <i>ée-</i>	<i>óo-</i>
	HF <i>móo-</i>	
X	<i>ée-</i>	<i>óo-</i>
Y	<i>ée-</i>	<i>ée-</i>

All of these types can be found with inalienable nouns but nouns with type-III prefixes are quite rare. Berger (1998a: 44) states that there are approximately 150 substantives<sup>†16</sup> with the personal prefix (5 substantives are with type-III, 24 are with type-II, and all the rest are with type-I personal prefixes).

The inalienably possessed entities in Burushaski include the following categories: kin (35), body parts (36), products (37), positions (38), and some other incidental things (39).

- (35) a. @'mi 'mother'      b. @'i 'daughter'      c. @'sk 'offspring'  
 (36) a. @-súmal 'tail'      b. @-s 'heart'      c. @-súi 'navel'  
 (37) a. @-móos 'anger'      b. @-ú 'tear'      c. @-čhár 'voice, sound'  
 (38) a. @-ngi 'in front of'      b. @-lji 'behind of'      c. @-cí 'against'  
 (39) a. @-úlji 'dream'      b. @-úlgis 'nest'      c. @-ík 'name'

Note that not all the entities of such categories are inalienable. Some of the entities of such categories may be loan words since, it seems, loan words are not marked for inalienableness by adding the personal prefix, see (40).

- (40) a. buk 'throat' (< KH buk)

<sup>†15</sup> With a few words, the normal prefix *a-* is not used but the special prefix *je-/ja-* is employed for the first person: e.g., *jéi* 'myself' (not \**ái*) of @'i, and *joóas* [ja-ú-as] 'giving me' (not \**oóas*) of @-ú- 'to give s.t.(X)'.

<sup>†16</sup> As mentioned once in §2.2, Berger uses the term "substantive" to indicate nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and numerals in this dissertation. Therefore there are a few instances of the words belonging to any other classes than noun in the number.

- b. *rúu* ‘spirit’ (< UR *rūh* (روح))  
 c. *kaáko* ‘brother’ (< SH *kaáko*; cf. @-ço ‘sibling of the same sex’)

The original languages of the loan words, Khowar, Urdu, and Shina here, have no strategy to show the inalienable possession.

Additionally, it can be observed that some nouns are losing or have lost the personal prefix, see (41). Currently, this change is not wide spread and seems to be in its early stages.

- (41) a. ‘hair’: *γuyáy* (HZ 2008<sup>†17</sup>, NG 2008)  
           vs. @-*γúyaγ* (HZ 2005a)  
 b. ‘born’: *tin* (HZ 2005a, 2008, NG 2008; Berger 1998), *ten* (WB[Ys] 2007)  
           vs. @-*ltín* (Lorimer 1935–38, Berger 1998)  
 c. ‘horn’: *tur* (NG 2008, WB[Ys] 2007)  
           vs. @-*ltúr* / @-*ltúri* (HZ 2005a, 2008)

These variations are, positively, not based on the alienability of possession, rather on the diversity of each speaker, dialect, or generation. Berger (1998c) records both forms of the words as seen in example (41).

The type-I personal prefix for third person HM/X/Y-class singular *i*-morphophonologically alters its realised sound into *yu-* before /ú/. This is exemplified in *yuúl* ‘his belly’ from the noun @-*úl* ‘belly’, and the verb finite form *yuúmo* ‘she gave something X-class to him’ from the verb @-*ú-* ‘give (X-class object)’ with third person HM-class singular prefix *i-*. The type-I first person plural prefix *mi-*, however, does not behave in the same way, e.g. *miúl* ‘our belly’ and *miúmo* ‘she gave something X-class us’, instead of \**myuúl* and \**myuúmo*.

There are two special pronouns which need the personal prefix. The first is the so-called “emphatic pronoun” (Willson 1999a: 174) @-*’i* or the more emphasised form @-@-*’i* ‘own’. The second is the reflexive pronoun @-*khár* ‘oneself’. @-*’i*/@-@-*’i* always appears with the genitive case for ‘one’s own’, as in (42). However, it takes no case

<sup>†17</sup> The data of each survey are as follows (see also §0.6 for the latter two consultants):  
 HZ 2005a: Amir Khan, male, born in 1976, Hunza (Karimabad) dialect;  
 WB[Ys] 2007: Arshad Ali, male, born in 1989, Western Burushaski Yasin (Ghojalti) dialect;  
 HZ 2008: Mussa Baig, Hunza (Ganish) dialect;  
 NG 2008: Ainur Xayat, Nager (Hopar) dialect.

marker when used as an adverb ('by oneself'). @-*khár* usually occurs with the absolutive case as a direct object, as in (43), or the dative case as an indirect object in a transitive clause. Sometimes @-*khár* will occur with other cases in some expressions represented by a peripheral case such as @-*khár-e* 'for oneself' which takes the essive or complex case as in (44).

- (42) *tɔrumənər*                      *mʊ'saphurɛ*      imo                      *khòt*  
 toór-um-an-ar                      musáaphir-e    i-í-mu-e                      khóot-Ø  
 such-ADJVLZ-INDEF.SG-DAT    traveler-ERG    3SG.H:I-self-OBL-GEN    coat-ABS

*hʊ'malkom*    *diʊsɪmi ...*  
 humálk-um    d-i-gús-m-i  
 light-ADJVLZ    TEL-3SG.X:I-go.out-NPRS-3SG.HM

'Thus the traveler took off his coat (to be light)' (Lorimer 1935a, *Story of the North Wind and the Sun*: #8)

- (43) *čáp*    *numá,*    *gučhámí,*    *amaná*    *ɣamgín*  
 čáp    n-man    gučhá-m-i    amaná    ɣamgín  
 hidden    CP-become    lie-NPRS-3SG.HM    thereupon    sad

ikhár                      *étimi.*  
 i-khar'-Ø                      i-t'-m-i  
 3SG.HM:I-REFL.PRN-ABS    3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HM

'He went hiding to sleep, but he felt sad [lit. made himself sad]<sup>†18</sup>.' (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #304)

- (44) *áskumuc,*    *guté*    *khéen*    *bilá*    *ke*    *máa*  
 a-sk'muc    guté-Ø    khéen-Ø    b-il'-Ø    ké    má-e  
 1SG:I-child-PL    this:Y-ABS    period-ABS    COP-3SG.Y-PRS    LINK    you-GEN

*hóle*    *duwášase*                      *óor*    *duniáa*    *yeécase.*                      *óor*  
 hól-e    d-gús-ya-as-e                      óor    duniáa-Ø    i-ic'-as-e                      óor  
 outside-ESS    TEL-go.out-PL-INF-GEN    and    world-ABS    3SG.Y:I-see-INF-GEN    and

<sup>†18</sup> In quotation from previous studies, I will use square brackets [ ] for my annotations.



<i>makháre</i>	<i>gáne</i>	<i>han</i>	<i>háan</i>
ma-khar'-e	gan'-e	hán	ha'-an-Ø
2PL:I-REFL.PRN-GEN	way-ESS	one:Y	house-INDEF.SG-ABS

*désmanín.*

d-i'-s-man'-in

TEL-3SG.Y:II-CAUS-become-IMP.PL

‘My children, it is time for you to go out into the world. Go and build a house for yourselves.’ (*uskó jótišo urkái: #2*)

Concerning the details of the usages of each case, see §3.5 on case declensions. For the actual forms of each pronouns with respect to person, class, and number agreement, see Table 26 – Table 28 in §4.2.

### 3.2.2. Plurality

Plurality is marked by a plural suffix or two plural suffixes at the slots [+1] and [+2] selected from several types according to the stem which the suffix attaches to. When a noun takes just a plural suffix, unless it is the general (indefinite) plural suffix *-ik*, the suffix is always put at slot [+1]; that is, basically, the slot [+1] takes precedence over the slot [+2] for plural suffixes and the slot [+2] is used for a plural marker only when the noun needs to be doubly pluralised (§3.3). Double plural forms are quite low in frequency, and most plural forms only occur with a plural suffix at the slot [+1].

Though the plural slot, [+1], is inside a range of a stem while the slot [+2] is not, the plural suffixes at both slots function identically. Plural suffixes are used for countable nouns to mean that the represented entities are not single, (45). Uncountable nouns are pluralised to suggest either the overwhelming amount of the entities or the plethora of kinds of entities, (46). Such pluralisation for uncountable nouns has the same purpose as double pluralisation for countable nouns (see §3.3). Each of (45a) and (46a) has an accent within the root whereas each of (45b) and (46b) does not. The first syllable of the plural suffix takes an accent in (45b) and (46b).

- (45) a. *hunzé* ‘arrow’ + *-muc* ‘PL’ => *hunzémuc* ‘arrows’  
 b. *huk* ‘dog’ + *-ai* ‘PL’ => *hukái* ‘dogs’
- (46) a. *multán* ‘blood’ + *-iŋ* ‘PL’ => *multáiŋ* ‘bloods’  
 b. *chil* ‘water’ + *-miŋ* ‘PL’ => *chilmíŋ* ‘waters’

Some countable nouns show the same form for both singular and plural number. Additionally, the countable noun *sis* ‘person, people’ solely cannot take any plural suffix at the slot [+1] to distinguish between singular and plural.

Table 11. Three morphological groups of countable nouns with *búṭan* ‘many’

	without PL		with PL	
$\alpha$	* <i>búṭan huk</i>	–	<i>búṭan hukái</i>	‘many dogs’
	* <i>búṭan ha</i>	–	<i>búṭan hakíčəŋ</i>	‘many houses’
$\beta$	<i>búṭan báalt</i>	–	<i>búṭan báaltišo</i>	‘many apple fruit’
	<i>búṭan juú</i>	–	<i>búṭan joóŋ</i>	‘many apricot trees’
$\gamma$	<i>búṭan sis</i>	–	N/A	‘many people’

Normally, as indicated with  $\alpha$  in Table 11, countable nouns typically take a plural suffix with the adjective *búṭan* ‘many’; However, group- $\beta$ , which mainly consists of the nouns referring to fruits and/or trees, can be formed either with or without the plural suffixes, therefore both forms of group- $\beta$  appearing on the right and left side of the dash on Table 11 are equally grammatical (shown with no asterisk). The last one, group- $\gamma$ , includes the only candidate *sis* ‘person, people’ which has no appropriate plural suffix. *sis* can, however, take two kinds of general number suffixes always employed at the slot [+2] to clearly distinguish the number in a marked manner: singular *-an* and plural *-ik* (see §3.3 for details).

This differentiation of plural forms is the case only for countable nouns. Uncountable nouns, on the other hand, show no change with respect to the difference between singular and normal plural number. Hence, if they are overtly marked with a plural suffix, it indicates that the interpretation of the referents should be the same as with double pluralisation: e.g., *čúmo* ‘fish (SG/PL)’ vs. *čúmo-muc* [fish-PL] ‘a quite large number of fish; fishes’.

Minutely counting each different morphophonological shape as different forms, the number of plural forms reaches approximately a hundred. Table 12 shows the relation between nominal classes and the major types of plural suffixes. Note that there are many plural suffixes for H- and X-classes beyond the major types included here.

Table 12. Distribution of the major types of plural suffixes

classes	plural suffix types		
H	CARO, TIŋ	MUC, NC, O	óŋo
X			
Y	ŋ		

representative examples of each type:

CARO: *-aro, -caro, -taro, -daro*

TIŋ: *-tiŋ*

MUC: *-c, -uc, -muc, -umuc*

NC: *-inc, -nc, -anc, -ónc, -ianc ...*

O: *-čo, -išo, -ko, -iko, -čuko, -ú, -úu ...*

ŋ: *-iŋ, -éŋ, -miŋ, -čičŋ/-čaŋ<sup>†19</sup>, -mičičŋ, -ŋ, -aŋ, -óŋ ...*

óŋo: *-óŋo, -ómo, -óno*

There is not any strict rule that determines which plural suffix attaches to which noun stem, so the speakers ultimately have to memorize all the combinations between the stems and the suffixes in order to use the nouns correctly. Some tendencies can be observed, however. For example, the combinations may be partially conditioned by the position of the accent, the stem final sound, the semantic category of the referent entity, or the length of the host word. These tendencies hold even with loan words. (47) provides an example of native or inherent word and (48) shows the loan word pattern.

(47) *jijé* ‘sleeve’ + *-čičŋ/-čaŋ / -miŋ* ‘PL’ => *jijéčičŋ / jijéčaŋ / jijémíŋ* ‘harrows’

(48) *gaadí* ‘car’ + *-inc / -muc* ‘PL’ => *gaadénc / gaadímuc* ‘cars’  
 (< UR *gārī* (گاری) ‘car’)

Some noun loan words show more diverse plural forms than the original plural forms in the source language. Such chimaeric words look like doubly pluralised forms, but, in fact, they are simple regular plural forms, constructed out of confusion, see (49) and (50).

<sup>†19</sup> Among a variety of plural suffixes, *-čičŋ* and *-čaŋ* can be considered as dialectal variations between Hunza and Nager, at least, in most cases. Of course there are exceptions to some extent, and *-čičŋ* in Nager is more frequent than *-čaŋ* in Hunza.

- (49) PE: *pīr* (پير) ‘saint’ => *pīr-ān* (پيران) [saint-PL] ‘saints’  
 EB: *pīr* ‘saint’ => \**piiráan* + *-tij* ‘PL’ => *piirántij* ‘saints’
- (50) UR: *lafz* (لفظ) ‘word’ => *alfāz* (الفاظ) ‘words’ (loan word from Arabic)  
 EB: *laphz* ‘word’ => *alpháaz* ‘words’ + *-išo* ‘PL’ => *alpháazišo* ‘words’ †<sup>20</sup>

### 3.3. Number

Grammatical number in Burushaski is limited to either singular or plural. As mentioned in §3.2.2 above, the slots [+1] and [+2] are for number marking. Burushaski speakers employ three kinds of the suffixes which can mark number: varied plural suffixes particular to every noun (as briefly introduced in §3.2.2), the indefinite plural suffix *-ik*, and the indefinite singular suffix *-an*. The indefinite suffixes *-ik* and *-an* are arbitrary.

With respect to number marking, nouns can typically be classified into two types: countable and uncountable. However, it is not always so clear-cut. Group-β nouns in Table 11 show some of these exceptions. “Uncountable nouns”, semantically, refer to abstract nouns and mass nouns since the referents of abstract nouns cannot usually be counted, and those of mass nouns, though countable, already imply plurality.

Table 13. Relation between the countability and the function

	functions as	
	simple plural	double plural
countable	-PL <i>-ik</i>	-PL-PL <i>-PL-ik</i>
uncountable	N/A	-PL <i>-ik</i>

Uncountable nouns can be pluralised as shown by Table 13, but the semantic function is not parallel to the similar countable noun forms.

When the referent is not a single entity, then a countable noun must be pluralised with either a varied plural suffix or the general (indefinite) plural suffix, (51). If a noun is uncountable, the identical form is used for both singular and plural, (52), even if the referent is, in fact, countable and not single, (53).

†<sup>20</sup> As for (50), Burushaski speakers use both *alpháaz* and *alpháazišo* for the meaning ‘words’, and they say that there is no semantic difference between the two forms.

- (51) Countable nouns
- a. *hin hir* ‘a man’ – *altán hirí* ‘two men’
- b. *han huk* ‘a dog’ – *bútan hukái* ‘many dogs’
- (52) Uncountable nouns (abstract)
- a. *bras* ‘rice’ – *bútan bras* ‘much rice’
- b. *chil* ‘water’ – *bútan chil* ‘much water’
- (53) Uncountable nouns (mass)
- a. *han amé* ‘my tooth’ – *altác amé* ‘my two teeth’
- b. *han čúg(u)dar* ‘a peach tree’ – *altó čúg(u)dar* ‘two peach trees’

A varied plural suffix at the slot [+2] is used only after a plural suffix at the slot [+1] for double plural marking. It often functions with the stem meanings to indicate implications of “plural intensifier” such as ‘enormous amount of’, ‘many kinds of’, or ‘sets of the whole of’. But actually it seems that the function may not be effective well (I will explain it later with the example (54)). The use of double pluralisation is infrequent, however, because single pluralisation can, in practice, connote similar expansion in meaning. In the cases of double plurals, varied plural suffixes are restricted to fewer allomorphs than usual. Because the decision of suffixes is served mainly by the phonological environment and the nominal class and not dependant on the lexemes, the varied plural suffixes for double plurals may be within the range of the major types MUC, NC, o, and η shown in Table 12 as found in Berger (1998c).

Double plural forms of countable nouns can also be made with the general indefinite plural marker *-ik* at the slot [+2] as in (54) and (55). This choice appears more often in actual utterances than the double varied plural marking mentioned above. There is no semantic gap between these kinds of double pluralisation.

- (54) *hukáikar*                      *gíyasar*                      *ec*                      *hukáie*                      *nušén*  
 huk-ai-ik-ar                      *gíy*-as-ar                      *éc*                      huk'-ai-e                      n-šé-n  
 dog-PL-INDEF.PL-DAT                      let.down-INF-DAT                      those.ones:X                      dog-PL-ERG                      CP-eat:Y.OBJ-CP  
*úrien*.  
 u-ir'-∅-ien  
 3PL.X:I-die-PRS-3PL.X

‘Given them to dogs, the dogs ate [the grains] and died.’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #301)

- (55) *úe séi báan ke mi ke akhí*  
*ú-e sén-č+bá-an-∅ ké mí-∅ ké akhíł*  
 they:DIST-ERG say-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-PRS LINK we-ABS LINK in.this.way
- híkum gušíñancik báan, mi be*  
*hík-kum gus'ijanc-ik-∅ bá-an-∅ mí-∅ bé*  
 one:Z-time woman-PL-INDEF.PL-ABS COP-3PL.H-PRS we-ABS what
- mécóo, am níćóo khóle ju*  
*mi-t'č+bá-a-∅ ám ní-č+bá-a-∅ khól-e jú-i*  
 1PL:II-do-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS where go-IPFV-COP-2SG-PRS here-ESS come-IMP.SG
- náa cágan dukóyal nusénin*  
*náa čáya-an-∅ d-gu'yal-i n-sén-n*  
 TAG.Q story-INDEF.SG-ABS TEL-2SG.II-hear-IMP.SG CP-say-CP
- ópačar qáo éćóon.*  
*u-pá-či-ar qáo-∅ i-t'č+bá-an-∅*  
 3PL.H:II-place-INE-DAT cry-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-PRS

‘They say “we are such women, what do you do for us, where do you go, come here now, and listen to us” and call.’ (Berger 1998b: #5.6)

(54) exemplifies the reason why I told it seems that the intensifying function may not be effective. The speaker referred to the dogs with the double plural form *hukáik(ar)* here, and immediately after the utterance, with a simple plural form *hukái(e)* in the example (54). Additionally, the double plural form is used in the preceding sentence, thus it cannot be considered as the form is for indefinite reading here. They use indeed double plural forms to emphasise the plurality, on one hand. But it shows no consistent distribution in discourse, on the other hand.

The general plural suffix can also be utilized for overt plural marking with the nouns which have the identical forms for singular and plural (i.e. the group- $\gamma$  noun in Table 11). This use contrasts strikingly with the parallel use of the indefinite singular suffix *-an*. Table 14 shows both the singular and plural forms of *sis* ‘person, people’.

Table 14. *sis* ‘person, people’ with or without a general number suffix

	without suffix	with <i>-an</i>	with <i>-ik</i>	
SG	<i>hin sis</i>	<i>hin sísan</i>	N/A	‘a person’
PL	<i>altán sis</i>	N/A	<i>altán sísik</i>	‘two people’

*sis* ‘person, people’ allows the readings of both numbers whereas *sísan* ‘person’ and *sísik* ‘people’ do not.

Similar use can be seen with the interrogative pronouns *men* ‘who’ (Table 15) and *bes* ‘what’ (Table 16), but the outcomes of each case are little different:

Table 15. *men* ‘who’ with or without a general number suffix

	without suffix	with <i>-an</i>	with <i>-ik</i>	
SG	<i>men</i>	<i>ménan</i>	N/A	‘who’
PL	<i>men</i>	N/A	<i>ménik</i>	

Table 16. *bes* ‘what’ with or without a general number suffix

	without suffix	with <i>-an</i>	with <i>-ik</i>	
SG	N/A	<i>bésan</i>	N/A	‘what’
PL	N/A	( <i>bésan</i> )	<i>bésik</i>	

The distribution with *men* ‘who’ is the same as *sis* ‘person, people’. *bes* ‘what’, however, cannot occur in its bare form. Too, one may use the form *bésan* even when it has been estimated that the number of the interrogated object is plural. At least, its reduplicated form can be used to plural referents as in (56), though its function could be interpreted as distributive.

- (56) *íne*                      *úmo*                      *éimur*  
 ín-e                      i-í-mu-e                      i-i-mu-ar  
 s/he:DIST-ERG    3SG.HM:I-self-OBL-GEN    3SG.HM:II-daughter-OBL-DAT
- bésan*                      *bésan*                      *móor*                      *čízij*  
 bés-an                      bés-an                      mu-ar                      číz-ij-Ø  
 what-INDEF.SG    what-INDEF.SG    3SG.HF:II-DAT    thing-PL-ABS

*écúm* *ke, móor étas*  
*i-t'č+bá-i-m* *ké mu-ar i-t'-as-Ø*  
 3PL.Y:II-do-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS LINK 3SG.HF:II-DAT 3PL.Y:II-do-INF-ABS

*icé cíiz har han uyóon mu ráđi ne,*  
*icé číz-Ø hár hán uyóon-Ø muú ráđi n-i-t*  
 those:X thing-ABS every one:Y all-ABS now ready CP-3PL.Y:II-do

‘For his own daughter, whatever things he was making for her, the things that were to be made for her, all those things he made ready,’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #169)

In (56), *bésan básan* ‘what(ever)’, the reduplicated form of the singular form *bésan* ‘what’, is indeed modifying the plural noun *číizij* ‘things’.

The singular suffix *-an* is more often employed for a noun which is referring to an indefinite entity, or is non-referential (see §11 for further details). In other words, if a speaker has estimated and judged that a hearer can not accurately identify the referent which the speaker is mentioning, the speaker attaches the suffix *-an* to the noun in question. Such use, though not obligatory, occurs with reasonably high frequency.

- (57) *hin baadšáan bam. iné baadšáa čúmoe*  
*hín baadšáa-an-Ø bá-i-m iné baadšáa-e čúmo-e*  
 one:H king-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.HM-PRS that:H king-ERG fish-GEN
- čhápaṭe naašitáa éčóm. íne baadšáa*  
*čhap'at-e naašitáa-Ø i-t'č+bá-i-m iné baadšáa-e*  
 flesh-INS-ESS breakfast-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS that:H king-GEN
- hin jamaaát bom. iné [ué] óltike*  
*hín jamaaát-Ø bá-o-m iné [ué] u-ltik-e*  
 one:H spouse-ABS COP-3SG.HF-NPRS that:H [those:H] 3PL.H:II-both-ERG
- subá hamiišá subá čúmoe čhápaṭe naašitáa*  
*subá hamiišá subá čúmo-e čhap'at-e naašitáa-Ø*  
 morning always morning fish-GEN flesh-INS-ESS breakfast-ABS
- éčóm. úe hin nookáran*  
*i-t'č+bá-an-m ú-e hín nookár-an-Ø*  
 3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-NPRS they:DIST-GEN one:H servant-INDEF.SG-ABS



<i>bam.</i>	<i>iné</i>	<i>nookáre</i>	[ <i>nookár</i> ]	<i>síndaṭar</i>
bá-i-m	iné	nookár-e	[nookár-Ø]	sínda-aṭ-ar
COP-3SG.HM-NPRS	that:H	servant-ERG	[servant-ABS]	river-INS-DAT
<i>nún,</i>	<i>íne</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>atíaṣ</i>	<i>qháa</i>
n-í'-n	ín-e	baadšáa-Ø	a-d-e'-ṣ	qháaṣ
go:CP-3SG.HM-CP	s/he:DIST-GEN	king-ABS	NEG-TEL-get.up-OPT	until
<i>súba</i>	<i>súba</i>	<i>síndaṭar</i>	<i>nún.</i>	
subá	subá	sínda-aṭ-ar	n-í'-n	
morning	morning	river-INS-DAT	go:CP-3SG.HM-CP	

‘There was a king. The king was taking his breakfast with fish. The king had a wife. Both of them were taking breakfast with fish every morning. They had a servant. The servant went to the riverside every morning before his king wakes up.’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #1–6)

In text (57), two new characters out of three (underlined parts) are introduced with *-an*, *baadšáa-n* ‘a king’ and *nookár-an* ‘a servant’, while the last one is not, *jamaaát* ‘a wife’. There is no apparent syntactic gap to differentiate the manner of introduction for *jamaaát* and *nookár*. Therefore the distinction is arbitrary. Once introduced, these no longer take the suffix *-an* (wavily underlined parts).

Additionally, the suffix *-an* can be attached to both numerals and adjectives whereas the suffix *-ik* and the plural suffixes cannot be attached to numerals (§5.1.1).

*-an* seems to come from the numeral *han* ‘one (XY)’, paralleling similar markers in the surrounding languages: “indefinite particle” *-ek*<sup>†21</sup> from *ek* ‘one’ in Shina (Schmidt and Kohistani 2008: 75), “suffix of singleness” *-ek/-aka* from *ek/áka* ‘one (M/F)’ in Domaaki (Lorimer 1939: 34), “indefinite article suffix” *-a/-a:h* maybe from *akh* ‘one’ in Kashmiri (Koul 2005: 46), and “indefinite marker” *čik* from or the same as *čik* ‘one’ in Balti (Bashir 2010: 18fn.). Unlike *-an*, there is no marker in these languages which correspond to *-ik* in Burushaski. The origin of *-ik*, in my estimation, is debatable at best. Berger (1998a: 43fn.) claims “Die Endung ist aus der angehängten z-Form *hik* des zahlwortes „eins“ entstanfen, vgl. auch ys. *-ek*, von *hek* „eins“.”, but it is difficult to accept his account because the function and meaning of *-ik* as a plural marker and *hik* meaning ‘one’ is obviously conflicting. Additionally, the correspondence in Yasin

<sup>†21</sup> Or Bashir’s (2010: 40, 46) the indefiniting nominalizer *-vk*. But it is very often used with nouns, so it seems that her naming is not appropriate for its total function.

(Western Burushaski) can merely be considered as a more general phonological correspondence between /i/ in Eastern Burushaski and /e/ in Western Burushaski, e.g., EB @-ík vs. WB @-yék ‘name’, EB *chil* vs. WB *cel* ‘water’, and so on.

### 3.4. Person

The nouns related to inalienable possession, mentioned in §3.2.1 above, must be formed with the possessor person agreement by the personal prefix (see the tables reinserted below).

Table 8. Type-I personal prefixes (@-)

	SG	PL
1	<i>a-/ja-/je-</i>	<i>mi-</i>
2	<i>gu-</i>	<i>ma-</i>
3	HM <i>i-</i>	<i>u-</i>
	HF <i>mu-</i>	
X	<i>i-</i>	<i>u</i>
Y	<i>i-</i>	<i>i-</i>

Table 9. Type-II personal prefixes (@' )

	SG	PL
1	<i>á-</i>	<i>mé-</i>
2	<i>gó-</i>	<i>má-</i>
3	HM <i>é-</i>	<i>ó-</i>
	HF <i>mó-</i>	
X	<i>é-</i>	<i>ó-</i>
Y	<i>é-</i>	<i>é-</i>

Table 10. Type-III personal prefixes (@¨)

	SG	PL
1	<i>áa-</i>	<i>mée-</i>
2	<i>góo-</i>	<i>máa-</i>
3	HM <i>ée-</i>	<i>óo-</i>
	HF <i>móo-</i>	
X	<i>ée-</i>	<i>óo-</i>
Y	<i>ée-</i>	<i>ée-</i>

Note that personal prefixes agree with the possessor for nouns as well as with the undergoer for verbs (§6.3.2).

For example, the actual forms of the noun of each personal prefix type are as follows, from (58) to (61):

(58) Example with type-I (unaccented) personal prefix

@-ríŋ ‘hand’:

*aríŋ* ‘my hand’, *guríŋ* ‘your (SG) h.’, *iríŋ* ‘his/its h.’, *muríŋ* ‘her h.’;  
*miríŋ* ‘our h.’, *maríŋ* ‘your (PL) h.’, *uríŋ* ‘their (HX) h.’, *iríŋ* ‘their (Y) h.’

(59) Example with type-I (accented) personal prefix

@-mi ‘mother’:

*ámi* ‘my mother’, *gúmi* ‘your (SG) m.’, *ími* ‘his/its m.’, *múmi* ‘her m.’;  
*mími* ‘our m.’, *mámi* ‘your (PL) m.’, *úmi* ‘their (HX) m.’, *ími* ‘their (Y) m.’

## (60) Example with type-II personal prefix

@:miş ‘finger’:

ámiş ‘my finger’, gómiş ‘your (SG) f.’, émiş ‘his/its f.’, mómiş ‘her f.’;  
 mémiş ‘our f.’, mámiş ‘your (PL) f.’, ómiş ‘their (HX) f.’, émiş ‘their (Y) f.’

## (61) Example with type-III personal prefix

@:stij ‘parents-in-law’:

áastij ‘my p.-in-law’, góostij ‘your (SG) p.’, éestij ‘his/its p.’, móostij ‘her p.’;  
 méestij ‘our p.’, máastij ‘your (PL) p.’, óostij ‘their (HX) p.’, éestij ‘their (Y) p.’

There are also nouns with the personal prefix which are derived from personally prefixed adjectives or verbs: e.g., *iíras* ‘his dying, his death’, which is the infinitive form of *i-ír-* [3SG.HM:I-die-].

## 3.5. Case

Cases in Burushaski are marked by case suffixes put at the slots [+3], [+4], and [+5]. There are 6 simple main cases (absolute, ergative, genitive, essive, dative, and ablative), and 12 complex locational cases in Burushaski. The simple cases are slotted in the slot [+5], and the complex ones are represented by the combination of a positional case in the slot [+4] (locative, instrumental, adessive, and inessive) and a directional (main) case in the slot [+5] (essive, dative, and ablative). The [+3] slot is for an oblique case which is used depending on the morphological, such as the nominal class, or the morphophonological, such as the syllable weight or the final sound of a stem, situation. The oblique case is then attached to the preceding nominal stem and the following case marker.

Table 17. Case markings with nouns of each class

		<i>hir</i> ‘man’	<i>gus</i> ‘woman’	<i>huk</i> ‘dog’	<i>dan</i> ‘stone’
		HM	HF	X	Y
Absolute	-∅	<i>hir</i>	<i>gus</i>	<i>huk</i>	<i>dan</i>
Ergative	-e	<i>híe</i>	<i>gúse</i>	<i>húke</i>	<i>dáne</i>
Genitive	-e	<i>híre</i>	<i>gúsmo</i>	<i>húke</i>	<i>dáne</i>
Dative	-ar	<i>hírar</i>	<i>gúsmur</i>	<i>húkar</i>	<i>dánar</i>
Adhesive	-aṭ-e	<i>híraṭe</i>	<i>gúsmuṭe</i>	<i>húkaṭe</i>	<i>dánaṭe</i>
(complex) Ablative	-c-um	<i>hírcum</i>	<i>gúsmucum</i>	<i>húkcum</i>	<i>dáncum</i>

Table 17 is a chart of case markings with nouns of each class. Forms under the dotted line are examples for complex locational cases which consist of suffixes at the slots [+4] and [+5]. Make sure that the HF-class example shows different shapes for the lower four cases from the other three examples of HM-, X-, and Y-classes.

I will make discussion on cases in the following order: absolutive (§3.5.1), ergative (§3.5.2), genitive (§3.5.3), essive (§3.5.4), dative (§3.5.5), ablative (§3.5.6), and locational cases (§3.5.7). Additionally, I will deal with several case-like expressions in §3.5.8.

### 3.5.1. Absolutive

Burushaski is an ergative language, so it takes the absolutive and the ergative cases, not the nominal and the accusative cases seen in accusative languages.

The absolutive case marker in Burushaski is  $-\emptyset$ , and this case functions as the case for the only participant of intransitive clauses as in (62), the direct object participant of transitives as in (63), or both the subject and the complement of copular clauses as in (64).

#### (62) The absolutive case in an intransitive clause

*ha*            *dupháltimi.*  
 ha<sup>2</sup>- $\emptyset$         d-phalt<sup>2</sup>-m-i  
 house-ABS    TEL-explode-NPRS-3SG.Y

‘The house blew up.’ (*uskó jótišo urkái*: #35)

#### (63) The absolutive case in a transitive clause

*íne*            *isé*        *búše*        *isúmal*            *yeécimi.*  
 ín-e            isé        buš<sup>2</sup>-e        i-sumál- $\emptyset$         i-ic<sup>2</sup>-m-i  
 s/he:DIST-ERG    that:X    cat-GEN    3SG.X:I-tail-ABS    3SG.X:I-see-NPRS-3SG.HM

‘He saw the cat’s tail.’ (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #31)

#### (64) The absolutive case in a copular clause

*u*                *óltalik*        *húnzue*        *mašúur*        *biṭáyo*  
 ú- $\emptyset$             u<sup>2</sup>-ltalik        húnzo-e        mašúur        biṭán-čo- $\emptyset$   
 they:DIST-ABS    3PL.H:II-both    Hunza-GEN    famous        shaman-PL-ABS

*bam.*

*bá-an-m*

COP-3PL.H-NPRS

‘They were both famous Bitans [i.e. shamans] in Hunza.’ (*šon gukúr*: #2)

It is difficult to distinguish the arguments declined in the absolutive case from the nominals which have no case markers, but among them there are undoubtedly different characteristics in their roles. Thus the distinction can be accomplished depending on their syntactic characteristics. Those which take no case marker consist of pseudo-object nouns (§8.1.2), nominals before any positional noun (§3.5.8.2), nouns in adjectival use as in (65) and in vocative (or interjectional) use as in (66), and adverbial nouns such as temporals and manners (67).

(65) Noun in adjectival use

<i>toq</i>	<i>chílan</i>	<i>bilúm</i>	<i>bar</i>	<i>chílan.</i>
toq	chil'-an-Ø	b'il'-m	bar	chil'-an-Ø
mud	water-INDEF.SG	COP-3SG.Y-NPRS	gully	water-INDEF.SG-ABS

‘It was muddy gully water.’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #54)

(66) Noun in vocative use

<i>icée</i>	<i>úmie</i>	<i>uskó</i>	<i>jótišo</i>	<i>urkái</i>
icé-e	u-mí-e	uskó	jót-išo	urk'-ai-Ø
those:X-GEN	3PL.X:I-mother-ERG	three:X	small-PL.X	wolf-PL-ABS <sup>†22</sup>
<i>mópačiar</i>	<i>qáo</i>	<i>étumo</i>	<i>dáa</i>	
mu-pá-či-ar	qáo-Ø	i-t'-m-o	dáa	
3SG.HF:II-side-INE-DAT	cry-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HF	again	
<i>ósumo:</i>	<i>“áskumuc,</i>	<i>guté</i>	<i>khéen</i>	<i>bilá</i>
u-s'-m-o	a-sk'-muc	guté-Ø	khéen-Ø	b'il'-Ø
3PL.X:II-tell-NPRS-3SG.HF	1SG:I-child-PL	this:Y-ABS	time-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-PRS

<sup>†22</sup> This absolutive case may be happened by the reason that this constituent needs to be declined in the dative case but there is another dative case constituent *mópačiar* ‘to her side’ in this clause, so that the storyteller avoided double dative in a clause and used the absolutive case or it might be caseless.

ke ...

ké

LINK

‘The mother called the three little wolves around her and said, “My children, it is time that ...”.’ (uskó jótišo urkái: #2)

- (67) Temporal noun without a case

<i>ésquluman,</i>	<i>nésqul,</i>	<i>aksár yaaní</i>
i-s-yul'-m-an	n-i'-s-yul	aksár yaaní
3SG.X:II-CAUS-burn.out-NPRS-3PL.H	CP-3SG.X:II-CAUS-burn.out	often FIL

<i>híkulto</i>	<i>altúl</i>	<i>éle</i>	<i>dúwasuman.</i>
hík-ul-to	altó-ul	él-e	d-u-bás-m-an
one-day-just	two-day	there-ESS	TEL-3PL.H:I-be.left-NPRS-3PL.H

‘They burned it, [and] having burned it, they then remained there for a day or two.’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #110)

### 3.5.2. Ergative

The ergative case marker in Burushaski is *-e*, which is basically the same form as the genitive case marker but they can be distinguished from each other by the usage of the oblique case. In other words, the ergative case marker does not require an oblique case at the slot [+3] whereas the genitive case marker does.

This case marks the agent participants in both monotransitive, (68), and ditransitive clauses, (69).

- (68) The ergative case in a monotransitive clause

<i>íne</i>	<i>isé</i>	<i>búše</i>	<i>isúmal</i>	<i>yeécimi.</i>
ín- <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">e</span>	isé	buš'-e	i-sumál-∅	i-ic'-m-i
s/he:DIST- <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">ERG</span>	that:X	cat-GEN	3SG.X:I-tail-ABS	3SG.X:I-see-NPRS-3SG.HM

‘He saw the cat’s tail.’ (uyúm dayánum búšan: #31)

## (69) The ergative case in a ditransitive clause

khóle jáa baadśaí ke gučíćam.  
 khól-e jé-e baadśáa-í-∅ ké gu-čhi-č-a-m  
 here-ESS I-ERG king-NMLZ-ABS LINK 2SG:I-give:Y.SG.OBJ-IPFV-1SG-NPRS

‘Here I’ll give you the kingdom, too.’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #155)

In some conditions of the person-number and temporality, however, the agent argument in a transitive clause is not marked by the ergative marker but by the absolutive one instead, as in (70); so it is possible to say that Burusahski has a split ergative alignment system. I will go into detail on the split ergativity later in §9.3.

## (70) Agent with the absolutive case in a monotransitive clause

qhan n wásiasar, úŋe bes çhap  
 qhát n-i-t i-biśá-as-ar úŋ-e bés çháp  
 down CP-3SG.X:II-do 3SG.X:I-throw-INF-DAT thou-ERG why shooting

étám khóle, dáa uŋ je ámular  
 i-t+bá-a-m khól-e dáa úŋ-∅ jé-∅ ámul-ar  
 3SG.Y:II-do+COP-2SG-NPRS here-ESS again thou-ABS I-ABS where-DAT

lip acáa?  
 líp a-t-č+bá-a-∅  
 throwing 1SG:II-do-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS

‘On his tossing it down, “Why had you shot here, and where are you throwing me?”’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #222)

(70) is an example of the absolutive agent with the second person singular in a transitive clause.

Berger (1998a: 64) describes “Für den Erg. steht die endungslose Form in der 1. Sg. des Personalpronomens beim Fut. und Kond. transitiver Verben. ... Mit der 1.sg.präs. steht *je* [‘I:ABS’] vereinzelt auch in der futurisch-voluntativen Verwendung des Präsens. In der 2.sg. und pl. ist beim Futur transitiver Verben endungslose Form u n d Ergativ möglich ... in der 1.pl. nur die endungslose Form ... Dieselbe Verteilung gilt beim Konditional. Für den Imp. wurden die endungslosen Formen *un* [‘thou:ABS’] und *ma* [‘you:ABS’] als Norm angegeben, doch findet sich in den Texten neben ... [*un*] auch ...

[*úne* ‘thou:ERG’]” ([ ] parts are supplementation by me). He does not set the absolutive zero marker, so that he said the “endingless” forms appear in such conditions with transitive verb clauses.

Berger’s description says that the first person tends to lose the ergativity more than the second person, and, in the first person, the singular agent is more apt to lose the ergativity than the plural agent. When a predication refers to an event in the future, which can be expressed by not only future forms but also some present forms and some conditionals, then such its agent argument would lose the ergativity. He comments on cases with the imperative mood as well, but the actor of the command can be considered an “addressee” and not an agent in the clause. That is, the “endingless” pronouns *un* (SG) and *ma* (PL) are just in a vocative status, which has no case ending naturally beyond the immediate discussion.

### 3.5.3. Genitive

The genitive case marker is *-e*, similarly to the ergative case (§3.5.2), but it requires the oblique case marker *-mu* in the third person singular of HF- or sometimes Z-class nominals to become *-mo* by fusing.<sup>†23</sup> Thus, for example, the ergative and genitive forms of the third person singular H-class distal pronoun *ín* will be two different forms if the referent is a woman: *íne* ‘she (ERG)’ vs. *ínmo* ‘her (GEN)’; though they will be the same form if the referent is a man: *íne* ‘he (ERG)’ vs. *íne* ‘his (GEN)’. On one hand, the ergative and the genitive cases behave in such different manners; on the other hand, the genitive and the essive (§3.5.4) cases are morphologically similar, but they are not the same syntactically (see also the section of the essive case).

The main function of genitive case is indicating the relation, such as possession, to the following noun (see also §8.1.1) as shown in (71) and (72).

(71) Genitive case with X-class noun

<i>isé</i>	<i>buáa</i>	<i>isúmale</i>	<i>mujóq</i>	<i>burúm</i>	<i>bilúm.</i>
isé	buá- <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">e</span>	i-sumál- <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">e</span>	mujóq-∅	bur’-um	b’il’-m
that:X	cow- <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">GEN</span>	3SG.X:I-tail- <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">GEN</span>	tassel-ABS	white-ADJVLZ	COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

‘The tassel of the tail of the cow was white.’ (*šon gukúr*: #13)

<sup>†23</sup> Of course, when an HF-class noun will be pluralised, then it will become an H-class plural noun so that the oblique case marker *-mu* can no longer be used with it.



## (72) Genitive case with HF-class noun

<i>Ine</i>	<i>éimo</i>	<i>muík</i>	<i>Núuri Baanó</i>
ín-e	i-i- <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">mu</span> - <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">e</span>	mu-ik'-∅	núuri+baanó-∅
s/he:DIST-GEN	3SG.HM:II-daughter- <span style="border: 1px dashed black; padding: 0 2px;">OBL</span> - <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">GEN</span>	3SG.HF:I-name-ABS	Nuri.Bano-ABS
<i>bilúm.</i>			
b'il'-m			
COP-3SG.Y-NPRS			

‘His daughter’s name was Nuri Bano.’ (Willson [1999b] 2002, *Šíri Badát*: #18)

Further, genitive case serves a part of certain case-like expressions as in (73) also:

(73) Genitive case in a case-like expression (GEN + *káaʔ* ‘with’)

<i>ée</i>	<i>káa</i>	<i>han</i>	<i>čapátian</i>	<i>bim.</i>
i- <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">e</span>	káaʔ	hán	čapatí-an-∅	b'i-m
3SG.HM:II- <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">GEN</span>	together	one:X	chapatti-INDEF.SG-ABS	COP-3SG.X-NPRS

‘He had a chapatti. [lit. There was a chapatti with him]’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #112)

For details about such expressions, see §3.5.8.2 below.

## 3.5.4. Essive

The essive case marker in Burusahski is *-e*, and it may requires the oblique case for Z-class nouns. The morphological behaviour of the essive case is somewhat similar to the one of the genitive case, yet many Z-class nouns may not demand the use of the oblique case marker. This case is employed for two functions. First, a host nominal is the reference time or place at which the event occurs. That is, roughly speaking, in being used with a temporal or spacial noun, it can be translated with ‘at’ in English, (74) and (75). Second, a host nominal is the manner by which the event is done. That is, with a manner noun or an adjective in nominal use, it can be interpreted as ‘in the manner of, as’ in English, (76). This case is used only with Z-class, manner nouns, or adjectival words, including participles, without a positional case at the slot [+4] (§3.5.7).

## (74) Independent use of the essive case with a place noun

*éle men ke apám.*  
*él-e mén-∅ ké a-bá-i-m*  
 there-ESS who-ABS LINK NEG-COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

‘No one was there.’ (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #26)

## (75) Independent use of the essive case with a temporal noun

*han wáqtanulo isé buš han gúnce altó báar*  
*hán wáqt-an-ul-e isé buš-∅ hán gunc-e altó báar*  
 one:Y time-INDEF.SG-LOC-ESS that:X cat-ABS one:X day-ESS two:Y time

*júçibí.*

*jú-č+b'i-∅*

come-IPFV+COP-3SG.X-PRS

‘Sometimes the cat comes twice a day.’ (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #18)

## (76) Independent use of the essive case with a manner noun

*maními, phat éti, nusén, te záile*  
*man'-m-i phát i'-t'i n-sén teíl záil-e*  
 become-NPRS-3SG.HM quitting 3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG CP-say in.that.way wise-ESS

*phat étuman.*

*phát i'-t'-m-an*

quitting 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H

‘“So, let him be!”, [thus] saying they let him be like that.’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #81)

The essive case takes some locational complex cases (see §3.5.7).

## 3.5.5. Dative

As is usual with most languages, dative in Burushaski is used in the widest range of functional categories. On one hand it works for a core argument and, on the other, for a peripheral argument. Sometimes it occurs with deverbal nominals and in complex case marking with a positional case at the slot [+4] (§3.5.7).

The dative marker is *-ar* in Hunza and *-ar(e)* in Nager. When it directly attaches to a nominal stem, all HF-class nominals must take the oblique case marker *-mu*, so that

*-mu-ar(e)* reduces to *-mur(e)*. In the same way Z-class nominals can take the same oblique case marker *-mu*. Some nominals of the other classes may employ the oblique case marker *-e* or optionally change the quality of their stem final vowel.<sup>†24</sup> After /e/, the dative case marker *-ar(e)* tends to become *-er(e)*. Without a positional case at the slot [+4], this case may mark the indirect object participant in ditransitive clauses as in (77), the goal participant of a motion, change, or physical action verb as in (78), the effective recipient of a benefactive or malefactive event, the theme participant of a spontaneous event (expressed by the so-called “dative construction”) as in (79), or serve as a part of temporal, converbial, or purposive expressions as in (80).

(77) Dative for an HF-class indirect object participant

<i>uné</i>	<i>góimur</i>	<i>teí</i>	<i>móso</i>	<i>ke,</i>
ún-e	gu-i- <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">mu</span> - <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">ar</span>	teíl	mu'-s'-i	ké
thou-GEN	2SG:II-daughter-OBL-DAT	in.that.way	3SG.HF:II-tell-IMP.SG	LINK

<i>'un</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>guúmuskışan</i>	<i>báa'</i>	<i>ke,</i>
ún-Ø	bé	gu-umús-kiş-an	bá-a-Ø	ké
thou-ABS	what	2SG:I-tongue-ADJVLZ-INDEF.SG	COP-2SG-PRS	LINK

<i>'guúmušo</i>	<i>yaráasan</i>	<i>báa'</i>
gu-umús-čo	yar'-as-an-Ø	bá-a-Ø
2SG:I-tongue-PL	sound-INF-INDEF.SG-ABS	COP-2SG-PRS

‘Tell your daughter “What a liar you are! You big liar!”’ (*čhúmoē minás*: #168)

<sup>†24</sup> There might be the oblique marker *-e* with the dative form *jáar(e)* in (79). That is, the irregular genitive form of the first person singular pronoun is *jáa* [morphologically *jé-e*, but not realised with *\*jée*], and the actual dative form of the pronoun is against the theoretically expected form *\*jéer(e)* [*jé-ar(e)*]; hence it might be formed with the oblique form which is identical to the genitive form. A possible dative formation for the first person singular pronoun in two steps is as follows:

<i>jé-e-ar(e)</i>	=>	<i>jáa-ar(e)</i>	=>	<i>jáar(e)</i>
I-OBL-DAT		I:OBL-DAT		I:DAT

But I have already accepted a morphophonological irregularity with its genitive form, so there is no validity to deny another irregularity with its dative form now. That is why I analyse such forms without putting in the oblique case marker *-e*.

## (78) Dative for a goal participant

*dáa buš thum hitháanar trak*  
*dáa buš-∅ th'-um hík-tháan-ar trák-∅*  
 and cat-ABS other-ADJVLZ one:Z-place-DAT jump-ABS

*déli.*

*d-i-l'-∅-m-i*

TEL-3SG.Y:II-hit-NPRS-3SG.X

‘The cat jumped aside.’ (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #35)

## (79) Dative for a theme participant in the dative construction

*yárum jáar amóos bilá.*  
*i-yár-um jé-ar a-moos'-∅ b'-il'-∅*  
 3SG.Y:I-before-ABL I-DAT 1SG:I-anger-ABS COP-3SG.Y-PRS

‘I am angry from before. [lit. My angry is to me from before]’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride* :#479)

## (80) Dative in a purposive expression

*dáa nímo iné baadšáa yuúsmur maaní*  
*dáa ní-m-o iné baadšáa-e i-us'-mu-ar maaní-∅*  
 again go-NPRS-3SG.HF that:H king-GEN 3SG.HM:I-wife-OBL-DAT meaning-ABS

*éčar dumóom iné.*  
*i-t'-č-ar d-mu'-um iné-∅*  
 3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-DAT come:PFV-3SG.HF-ADJVLZ that:H-ABS

‘And the woman who came to explain the meaning to the king's wife went out.’ (*čhúmoé minás*: #243)

As the goal marking function indicates, the dative case marker *-ar(e)* in Burushaski serves also to function as the lative case marker within locational complex cases, see §3.5.7 for further details.

## 3.5.6. Ablative

The ablative case marker is *-um*. It is seldom used without a positional case marker at the slot [+4] (§3.5.7), and all the cases in which it can be used alone are with temporal or spacial nouns, (81) and (82). The reason for this infrequency is because, for

the ablative function, the simple ablative case marking *-um* would have been almost exclusively replaced by the complex ablative case which includes the adessive marker as well, i.e. *-c-um*.

*-um* requires the oblique case marker for z-class nouns *-mu*, and then the sequence of *-mu* and *-um* changes the sound into *-(u)mo* [*< -mu-um*]. Though this form seems the same as the genitive and essive case forms, *-mo*, it can be differentiated from them by functional and syntactic characteristics.<sup>†25</sup>

(81) Ablative case with a temporal noun

<i>yáa</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>salaamát,</i>	<i>jáa</i>	<i>gúncmo</i>	<i>gunc</i>	<i>góor</i>
<i>yáa</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>salaamát</i>	<i>jé-e</i>	<i>gunc-mu-um</i>	<i>gunc</i>	<i>gu-ar</i>
INTERJ	king	greeting	I-ERG	day-OBL-ABL	day	2SG:II-DAT
<i>čhúmo</i>	<i>duúšabáyam,</i>				<i>akhíle</i>	
<i>čhúmo-Ø</i>	<i>d-gús-č-a+bá-a-a-m</i>				<i>akhíl-e</i>	
fish-ABS	TEL-go.out-IPFV-1SG+COP-1SG-1SG-NPRS				in.this.way-ESS	
<i>čízán</i>	<i>atáayurkabáyam.</i>					
<i>číz-an-Ø</i>	<i>a-d-a-yurk-a+bá-a-a-m</i>					
thing-INDEF.SG-ABS	NEG-TEL-1SG:III-attain-1SG+COP-1SG-1SG-NPRS					

‘Oh, greetings my king, I was taking fish for you everyday [lit. from day to day], but I haven’t acquired such a thing.’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #16)

(82) Ablative case with a spacial noun

“ <i>Názer!</i>	<i>Je</i>	<i>qhaṭ</i>	<i>yákal</i>	<i>baa,</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>dal</i>
<i>názer</i>	<i>jé-Ø</i>	<i>qhát</i>	<i>i-yákal</i>	<i>bá-a-Ø</i>	<i>ún-Ø</i>	<i>dál</i>
master	I-ABS	down	3SG.Y:I-direction	COP-1SG-PRS	thou-ABS	over
<i>yákal,</i>	<i>čil</i>	<i>guyákalum</i>	<i>qhánne</i>			
<i>i-yákal</i>	<i>čil-Ø</i>	<i>gu-yákal-um</i>	<i>qhát+n-i-t</i>			
3SG.Y:I-direction	water-ABS	2SG:I-direction-ABL	down+CP-3SG.Y:II-do			

<sup>†25</sup> As for the expression including an ablative case noun in (81), *gúncmo gunc* ‘everyday’, there is the parallel expression with the complex ablative case *-c-um* which has the identical meaning: *gúncmucum* [*gunc-mu-c-um || day-OBL-ADE-ABL*] *gunc* (Berger 1998c: 160).

<i>ayákalne</i>	<i>zúçila,</i>	<i>daa</i>	<i>jaa</i>	<i>bélaṭe</i>
a-yákal+n-i-t	jú-č+b'il'-Ø	dáa	jé-e	bélaṭ-e
1SG:I-direction+CP-3SG.Y:II-do	come-IPFV+COP-3SG.Y-PRS	again	I-ERG	how-ESS
<i>toq</i>	<i>goor</i>	<i>deeram”?</i>		
toq'-Ø	gu'-ar	d-ĩ-r'-a-m		
mud-ABS	2SG:II-DAT	TEL-3SG.Y:III-send-1SG-NPRS		

‘My master! I’m down the river. You are up the river and the water is flowing down from you to me. How could I send you muddy water?’ (Hunzai 1999, *ÚRKE* YÁṬ: #4)

This case is more frequent in converbial forms (§8.9) and the complex case marking (§3.5.7), so see each of the sections for other uses of it.

### 3.5.7. Locational cases

To mark any locational case with a non-spacial nominal, complex case marking with a positional case marker at the slot [+4] and a directional one at the slot [+5] is used.

Positional case markers at the slot [+4] are always accompanied by any directional case marker at the slot [+5]. See Figure 9 for the candidates of positional and directional case and Table 18 for the details of the combinations. Here I reduce the representation of the dative case marker to *-ar* as omitting “(e)” at its end for the sake of space (see §3.5.5).

[+4]	form	label	position	[+5]	form	label	direction
	<i>-al/-ul</i>	locative	‘at’		<i>-e</i>	essive	no direction
	<i>-aṭ</i>	instrumental	‘around, by’	×	<i>-ar</i>	dative	‘towards, for’
	<i>-c</i>	adessive	‘on’		<i>-um</i>	ablative	‘away, from’
	<i>-či</i>	inessive	‘in’				

Figure 9. Complex case marking system for locationals in Burushaski

Table 18. Details of position-direction combinations

	-e	-ar	-um
-al	-ale locative	-alar lative ‘to, into’	-alum elative
/-ul	/-ulo ‘at, in’	/(-ar úlo)	/-ulum ‘from, out from’
-aṭ	-aṭe adhesive ‘around’	-aṭar apudlative ‘for’	-aṭum delative ‘from the side of’
c	-ce adessive ‘on’	-car allative ‘onto’	-cum ablative ‘from’
-čī	-čī inessive ‘in’	-čar illative ‘into’	-čim exlative ‘out from’

Each label in Table 18 is a makeshift measure to crosslinguistic references in function. Which allomorph of the locative, *-al* or *-ul*, is attached to a nominal is dependent on the nominal stem, not on any phonological condition, (83) and (84). In practice, almost all nominals require *-ul*.

(83) Complex locative case (*-al* locative + essive)

*ee, in baadšáa nookáre raffiqar sénimi ke*  
*ee ín baadšáa-e nookár-e raffiq-ar sén-m-i ké*  
 FIL s/he:DIST king-GEN servant-ERG companion-DAT say-NPRS-3SG.HM LINK

“*úne háale ḍaḍán ḍaámal biéna*”  
*ún-e ha-al-e ḍaḍán ḍaámal-Ø b’ién-Ø=a*  
 thou-GEN house-LOC-ESS large.drums timpani-ABS COP-3PL.X-PRS=Q

*sénimi.*

*sén-m-i*

say-NPRS-3SG.HM

‘The king’s servant said to the companion “Are there drums and timpani in your house?”.’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #69)

(84) Complex elative case (*-ul* locative + ablative)

*barénasar, yéniṣe altó séere akhúrut han*  
*barén-as-ar yéniṣ-e altó séer-e akhúrut hán*  
 look-INF-DAT gold-GEN two:Z ser-GEN this.weight:Y one:Y

*thóṭian isé tól-ašdáre iyúmarulum*  
*thóṭi-an-Ø isé tól+ašdár-e i-yumár-ul-um*  
 dumpling-INDEF.SG-ABS that:X snake+dragon-GEN 3SG.X:I-viscera-LOC-ABL

<i>duúy,</i>	<i>yáare</i>	<i>bilúm.</i>
d-húy	i-yáar-e	b'íl'-m
TEL:CP-melt	3SG.Y:I-downwards-ESS	COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

‘When they looked, a two-*ser* [appr. 1 kg] lump of gold of this size had melted down from inside the snake-dragon’s intestines.’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #112)

Every positional case shows the diversity of its affinity with each kind of noun. The locative *-al/-ul* and the instrumental *-at* are used with relatively many kinds of nouns. The inessive *-či* (at the slot [+4]) is used less often. The complex ablative *-c-um* can occur with every kind of non-spacial noun, whereas the adessive *-c* for the other complex cases is rather infrequent. I show some other example for complex locative cases here, see (85) for the apudlative case, and (86) for the inessive and the adessive cases.

(85) Complex apudlative case (instrumental + dative)

<i>yaaní</i>	<i>sénimi</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>isé</i>	<i>isúmal</i>	<i>ískilaṭar</i>
yaaní	sén-m-i	ké	isé	i-sumál-∅	i-skíl-at-ar
FIL	say-NPRS-3SG.HM	LINK	that:X	3SG.X:I-tail-ABS	3SG.X:I-face-INS-DAT

<i>dííbí,</i>	<i>óor</i>	<i>iséé</i>	<i>yalát</i>
d-i''+b'-i-∅	óor	isé-e	yalát
come:PFV-3SG.X+COP-3SG.X-PRS	and	that:X-ERG	wrong

<i>dukóomaninin</i>	<i>burúm</i>	<i>ṭíko</i>	<i>bi</i>
d-guː-man'-n-n	bur'-um	ṭíko-∅	b'-i-∅
TEL:CP-2SG:III-become-CP-CP	white-ADJVLZ	stain-ABS	COP-3SG.X-PRS

*séibáa.*

sén-č+bá-a-∅

say-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS

‘That is, the tail is hanging down over its face, and so you see it like that and are saying so.’ (*šon gukúr*: #9)



## (86) Complex inessive cases (inessive + essive) and adessive (adessive + essive)

<i>uyúm</i>	<i>isé</i>	<i>dayánum</i>	<i>buš</i>	<i>híje</i>	<i>épači</i>
uy'-um	isé	dayán-um	buš'-∅	hiŋ'-e	i-pá-č'i-e
big-ADJVLZ	that:X	fat-ADJVLZ	cat-ABS	door-GEN	3SG.Y:II-side-INE-ESS
<i>díimi</i>		<i>hameešámo</i>	<i>juán,</i>	<i>dáa</i>	<i>dín</i>
d-i''m-i		hamiišá-mu-um	juán	dáa	d-i''n
come:PFV-3SG.X-NPRS-3SG.X		always-OBL-ABL	like	and	come:CP-3SG.X-CP
<i>ité</i>	<i>híjce</i>	<i>čhináak</i>	<i>maními.</i>		
ité	hiŋ'-c-e	čhináak	man'-m-i		
that:Y	door-ADE-ESS	leaning	become-NPRS-3SG.X		

‘The big fat cat came to the door as usual and leaned on it [lit. on the door].’  
(*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #54)

For HF-class nominals, the positional case markers always require an oblique case marker at the slot [+3] whereas the other classes only sometimes require it. It seems difficult to predict the necessity of an oblique case marker in the latter case. For example, the complex adessive form of *sa* ‘sun’ always occurs with the oblique case suffix *-e*, but the plural form does not need it, (87).

(87)	a.	<i>sáace</i>	(* <i>sáce</i> )	b.	<i>sámucce</i>	(* <i>sámucece</i> )
		sá-e-c-e			sá-muc-c-e	
		sun-OBL-ADE-ESS			sun-PL-ADE-ESS	
		‘on the sun’			‘on the suns’	

Besides the locational senses, these complex cases may have some other uses with somewhat abstract meanings. The complex adhesive case *-ač-e* is also used for marking of instrumental participants as in (88); the complex ablative case *-c-um* also refers to the standard of comparative adjective expressions as in (89); and the complex adessive *-c-e* can mark the material of cooking as in (90).

## (88) Complex adhesive case (instrumental + essive) for instrumental marking

<i>dáa</i>	<i>uskó</i>	<i>jótišo</i>	<i>urkáie</i>	<i>uúi</i>	<i>icé</i>
dáa	uskó	jót-išo	urk'-ai-e	RDP-u-í-e	icé
again	three:X	small-PL	wolf-PL-ERG	EMPH-3PL.X:I-self-ERG	those:X

*ítate*            *háan*            *désmanimien.*  
 íit-aṭ-e        ha'-an-∅        d-i-s-man'-m-ien  
 brick-INS-ESS    house-INDEF.SG-ABS    TEL-3SG.Y:II-CAUS-become-NPRS-3PL.X

‘So the three little wolves built themselves a house of bricks.’ (*uskó jótišo urkái:*  
 #6)

- (89) Complex ablativ case (adessive + ablativ) for standard in comparative expressions

*toromanar*                            *'ite*    *'tiṣe*            *'ṣenimi*            *ke*    *'guse*  
 toór-um-an-ar                            ité    tíṣ-e            sén-m-i            ké    gusé  
 that.much-ADJV LZ-INDEF.SG-DAT    that:Y    wind-ERG    say-NPRS-3SG.Y    LINK    this:X  
  
*sà*    *jàcum*            *buṭ*    *'ṣatilo*    *bì*                    *'ṣenimi.*  
 sá-∅    jé-e-c-um            búṭ    ṣatílo    b'-i-∅                    sén-m-i  
 sun-ABS    I-OBL-ADE-ABL    much    strong    COP-3SG.X-PRS    say-NPRS-3SG.Y

‘Thus the wind said “This sun is quite stronger than me”.’ (Lorimer 1927, *Story of the North Wind and the Sun:* #8)

- (90) Complex adessive case (adessive + essive) for the material of cooking

*giri.e*    *bi:stse*            *diram*                            *pfitimots*  
 girí-e    bis'-c-e            dirám                            phítí-muc-∅  
 ibex-GEN    fat-ADE-ESS    germinated.wheat.flour    thick.pancake-PL-ABS  
  
*er*                            *oti.*  
 i'-ar                            u'-t'-i  
 3SG.HM:II-DAT    3PL.X:II-do-IMP.SG

‘make “diram” bread for him with ibex fat.’ (Lorimer 1935a: 85)

Some locational complex cases are used for temporal nouns as well as for converbials (§8.9).

### 3.5.8. Other case-like expressions

Adding to these case markers, there are several case-like expressions in Burushaski. They can be sorted into two kinds: fossilized case markers and postpositional or adjunctive nouns.

## 3.5.8.1. Fossilized case markers

Some forms may be considered fossilized cases for nominals. According to Berger (1998), there are four such “erstarren Kasusendungen”, *-aŋe* and *-ak/-k* as instrumental cases, and *-či/-i* and *-kane* as locational ones. Lorimer (1935–38) also counts *-aŋe/-eŋe* (*-aŋe*) and *-xa/-xa-šijər* (*qháašijər(e)*) among these cases, stating: “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” (Lorimer 1935a: 55).

There appears to be no appropriate reason that Berger strikes *-či* off the “zusammengesetzte Kasusendungen” despite the fact that it shows the directional declension pattern as the other “zusammengesetzte Kasusendungen” do. *-i*, which Berger would likely treat as an allomorph after consonant though he has not directly written anything about the form, can easily be analysed within the morphophonological rules of *C+/č/* which I described with (26) in §1.5.2.

With respect to *-kane* ‘along’, it seems to be a nominaliser suffix because it seldom occurs in recent texts (there are no examples in my corpus) and it seems morphologically to have no difference between other nominaliser suffixes such as *-tali* ‘via’ (which can be more often observed in texts) as in the example (91).

- (91) *ámitali*      *nías*      *apí.*  
*ámit-tali*      *ní-as-∅*      *a-b’il’∅*  
 which:Y-via      go-INF-ABS      NEG-COP-3SG.Y-PRS

‘There is no way to go. [lit. By which way there is not to go]’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #431)

Berger calls *-tali* a “reines Adverbialsuffix” (Berger 1998a: 95) or an “Endung in Adverbien” (Berger 1998c: 417) but does not give an interpretation of *-kane*. He shows only a few sporadic instances including the suffix such as *čhiškane* ‘along the mountain’, cf. *čhiš* ‘mountain’, or *kháykane* ‘along the beach’, cf. *khay* ‘beach’.

Lorimer’s *-xa/-xa-šijər* (*qháašijər(e)*) is a case-like word but it is pronounced separately from the host nouns. I will discuss this form in the next section on postpositional or adjunctive nouns.

I propose that only the two forms *-aŋe* and *-ak* are fossilized case markers. It is difficult to conclude which slot they will occupy because there are too few examples of them to sufficiently know their morphological pattern.

*-aŋe* appears occasionally in texts with the meaning ‘by means of, by, with’ or the like. The following instances, (92) and (93), from my corpus provide reference for this

suffix, here labelled as instructive case.

- (92) *ámulo hóle báyamate, ámulo cháne*  
*ámul-e hól-e bá-a-a-um-aṭ-e ámul-e chán-e*  
 where-ESS outside-ESS COP-1SG-1SG-ADJVLZ-INS-ESS where-ESS straight-ESS
- ke cháne, haráltane čhóko étibía.*  
*ké chán-e harált-ane čhóko i-t+b'-i-∅=a*  
 LINK straight-ESS rain-INSTRUCTIVE breaking.off 3SG.X:II-do+COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q
- zilziláne ámulo bésan qeréq*  
*zilzilaa-ane ámul-e bés-an qeréq-∅*  
 earthquake-INSTRUCTIVE where-ESS what-INDEF.SG crack-ABS
- étibía.*  
*i-t+b'-i-∅=a*  
 3SG.X:III-do+COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q

‘While I was out [of this house], has any rain or earthquake actually broken [the ridge]? [lit. When I was somewhere outside, in fact, has it been broken off by any rain? Has it cracked by any earthquake anywhere anyhow?]' (*čhúmoe minás*: #135)

- (93) *uskó jótišo urkáie úimo*  
*uskó jót-išo urk'-ai-e u-í-mu-e*  
 three:X small-PL wolf-PL-ERG 3PL.X:I-self-OBL-GEN
- ukhárane buṭ buṭ phoqtá háan*  
*u-khar-ane búṭ búṭ phoqtá ha'-an-∅*  
 3PL.X:I-REFL.PRN-INSTRUCTIVE much much strong house-INDEF.SG-ABS
- désmanié.*  
*d-i-s-man+b'-ién-∅*  
 TEL-3SG.Y:II-CAUS-become+COP-3PL.X-PRS

‘So the three little wolves built an extremely strong house by themselves.’ (*uskó jótišo urkáie*: #29)

It seems that *-ane* has tendencies to occur with certain nominals but is not restricted to them.

The other fossilized case marker is *-ak*, which reduces or loses the initial /a/ sound when it is attached to a vowel final stem. Since this suffix indicates the meaning ‘with, by’ as an instrument, I labelled it with comitative case (Abbr: COM) for the time being. Berger (1998c: 61) illustrates the parallellism between *jamék d-@:l-* [jamé-ak d-@:l- || bow-COM TEL-II-hit-] and *jamékaṭe d-@:l-* [jamé-ak-aṭ-e ... || bow-COM-INS-ESS] stating that both of them mean ‘shoot with the bow’. In the latter form, the comitative suffix *-ak* is at the middle of the stem with the case markers following. It seems that this suffix is getting grammaticalised from a case marker to a part of certain stems or is in the progress of becoming a derivational suffix. The following example (94) shows a case where this suffix has appeared before the case markers.

- (94) *yáṭpa*                      *ité*      *paṭáaṭe*              *yúrqun*      *yáare*  
 i-yáṭ+pá                      ité      paṭáa-aṭ-e      yúrqun-Ø      i-yáar-e  
 3SG.Y:I-upwards+site      that:Y      board-INS-ESS      frog-ABS      3SG.Y:I-downwards-ESS
- phátakalée*                      *phat*      *nétan,*                      *duúsimi.*  
 pháta-ak-ul-e                      phát      n-i-t'-n                      d-gús-m-i  
 wooden.bowl-COM-LOC-ESS      quitting      CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP      TEL-go.out-NPRS-3SG.HM

‘Leaving it in a wooden bowl there before the frog [who was sitting] up on that board, he went out.’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #303)

### 3.5.8.2. Postpositional or adjunctive nouns

Some nouns are used after other nominals as if they were postpositions to provide some adverbial meaning for the preceding nominals to form adjuncts.

The following list, (95), shows some representatives of such nouns. They may require certain cases on the preceding nominal as indicated before the nouns. If a postpositional noun does not take any case, then its preceding nominal appears in the bare form, not the absolute form, as briefly mentioned in §3.5.1. The nouns shown with hyphens at their end should be declined with some directional case marker at the slot [+5] in practice. The preceding noun declines in genitive case in (96), whereas the one in (97) does not take any case marker.

## (95) Postpositional or adjunctive noun examples

N(-GEN) <i>gán-e</i>	‘for, in order to, by way of’	[way-ESS]
N(-GEN) <i>káa(t(-e/um))</i>	‘together, with’	[together-ESS/ADJVLZ]
N(-GEN/DAT) <i>qháa(š(iŋ(-ar(e))))</i>	‘until, up to’	[until-DAT]
N(-GEN) <i>@-pa-či-</i>	‘by the side of, beside’	[II-side-INE-]
N(-GEN) <i>@-digáari(tak)</i>	‘round, around’	
N(-GEN) <i>@-yákar</i>	‘direction’	
N(-GEN) <i>@-yát-</i>	‘over, onwards’	
N(-GEN) <i>@-yáar-</i>	‘under, before’	
N(-GEN/ABL) <i>@-cí</i>	‘against, for; after (with ABL)’	
N(-GEN/ABL) <i>@-lji-</i>	‘behind, after’	
N(-GEN/ABL) <i>@-yár-</i>	‘towards, before’	

(96)	<i>in</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>iwárumkuše</i>	<i>káa</i>
	<i>ín</i>	<i>baadšáa-Ø</i>	<i>i-bar’um-kuš-e</i>	<i>káat</i>
	s/he:DIST	king-ABS	3SG.HM:I-get.tired-ADJVLZ-NMLZ-GEN	together
	<i>imóosulo</i>	<i>bam.</i>		
	<i>i-moos’ul-e</i>	<i>bá-i-m</i>		
	3SG.HM:I-anger-LOC-ESS	COP-3SG.HM-NPRS		

‘The king was angry by reason of his fatigue. [lit. The king was in his angry with his fatigue]’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #228)

(97)	<i>qha</i>	<i>néuro</i>	<i>múšaŋe</i>	<i>éi</i>	<i>mópačiar</i>
	<i>qhát</i>	<i>n-i’hurúŋ</i>	<i>muš’aŋ-e</i>	<i>i-i</i>	<i>mu-pá-či-ar</i>
	down	CP-3SG.HM:II-sit	edge-INS-ESS	3SG.HM:II-daughter	3SG.HF:II-side-INE-DAT
	<i>ními.</i>				
	<i>ní-m-i</i>				
	go-NPRS-3SG.HM				

‘As soon as he<sub>i</sub> made him<sub>j</sub> sit, he<sub>i</sub> went to [the side of] his daughter.’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #106)

They can be used independently unlike the so-called “postpositions”. For example, *káat* ‘together’ in (96) can appear in texts without any preceding nominal in genitive case as in (98).

- (98) *yáake nízá úimo díśulo zurúp phat*  
*yáa+ké nízá-∅ i-í-mu-e díś'-ul-e zaráp+<u> phát*  
 or+LINK spear-ABS 3SG.X:I-self-OBL-GEN ground-LOC-ESS sticking:DIM quitting
- éti, yáake je káa achú!*  
*i-t'-i yáa+ké jé-∅ káat a-chú-i*  
 3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG or+LINK I-ABS together 1SG:I-bring.away-IMP.SG

‘Either stick the arrow [back] into its own place and leave it there, or take me [together] with you!’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #227)

Too, there are some expressions that look like the postpositional nouns shown above which are in fact calques from Urdu, see the list (99) and the example (100).

(99) Calques from Urdu

- N-GEN *baará-ul-o* ‘with relation to, about’ [relation-LOC-ESS]  
 < UR *kē bārē mē* (کے بارے میں) [GEN:M.OBL relation:OBL LOC],  
 N-GEN *bajáae* ‘instead of, in lieu of’  
 < UR *kē bajā-e* (کے بجائے) [GEN:M.OBL in.place-LINK],  
 N-GEN *wája-c-um* ‘by reason of, because of’ [reason-ADE-ABL]  
 or N-GEN *wája-aṭ-e* ‘by reason of, because of’ [reason-INS-ESS]  
 < UR *kī waja sē* (کی وجہ سے) [GEN:F reason ABL/INS]

- (100) *han čízane wajaṭe ínar buṭ phíkar*  
*hán číz-an-e wája-aṭ-e ín-ar búṭ phíkar-∅*  
 one:Y thing-INDEF.SG-GEN reason-INS-ESS s/he:DIST-DAT much worry-ABS
- bilúm.*  
*b'il'm*  
 COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

‘Just one thing is his worry. [lit. Because of a thing, much worry is for him]’  
 (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #15)

### 3.6. Derivation into nouns

Several derivational suffixes make or have made new nouns with a specific semantic modification. Some of them are still productive, but the rest of them are losing

or have lost their productivity. Table 19 is a roughly sorted list of the nominaliser suffixes.

Table 19. Nominaliser suffixes (in part)

Suffix	Attaches to	Meaning/Function	Productivity	N. class	Remarks
-as	verbal base	infinitivisation	++	(H/X)Y	
-kuş	N, Adj	‘abstract nature’	+	Y	
-(g)í	N, Adj	‘(the) nature (of)’	+	Y	< UR -ī
-éi	N, Adj	‘(with the) nature (of)’	–	(H/X)Y	
-ki	N, Adj, verbal base	‘activity’	–	Y	
-áy	personal name	‘the son of’	–	H	
-kuc	spacial nominal root	‘the people from’	–	H	
-guin	N	‘the people of’	--	H	
-ic	ethnic nominal root	‘the people of’	--	H	
-kus	Adj	‘the tool of’	--	X	
-šal	ethnic nominal root	‘the residence of’	--	Y	
-to	temporal N	‘just’	--	Z	

Here, I use four symbols to represent the degrees of productivity for each suffix: “++” is for highly productive suffixes which can be attached to almost all candidates; “+” is for productive ones, and the bases to which they attach are fewer than those of the former ones; “–” is for fossilised ones but they can be observed in more cases than the ones of the next degree; and “--” is for highly fossilised ones which are admitted only in a few cases.

In this list, the column of the nominal class represents the realised nominal classes of derived nouns by suffixing. The round brackets in this column indicate that when the suffixed nouns function as attributive adjective then it can modify the H- or X-class entities with the possibility of taking a plural suffix for H- or X-class, and thereby their conversed noun can behave as H- or X-class.

I will discuss on each suffix with “++” and “+” productivity in the following subsections.

### 3.6.1. -as

-as is the infinitive marker. It attaches to all verbal bases to form the infinitives. Infinitives in Burushaski typically function as Y-class nouns, but sometimes may function as attributive adjectives as well. Their functioning as adjectives, however, may



not be primary and may instead be due to a conversion process. In this way, I categorized it into this nominal derivational suffixation group. *-as* is directly attached to the aspectless form of verbs as in *ní-as* ‘coming’ with *ní-* ‘to come’, *@-t-as* ‘doing’ with *@-t-* ‘to do’, see (101), which actually takes the personally agreed forms like *ét-as* ‘doing it’ is with the third person singular Y-class prefix *i-*, and *dáar-as* ‘sending me here’ with *d-@-r-* ‘to send here’ and the first person singular prefix *a-*. If the accent position is after the verb stem, *-as* suffers the vowel lengthening change to become *-áas* as in *man-áas* ‘becoming’ with *man-* ‘to become’, see (102), *γas-áas* ‘laughing’ with *γas-* ‘to laugh’, and *bal-áas* ‘falling’ with *bal-* ‘to fall’.

- (101) *isée*            *bilkúl*            *baqḥṣṣ*            *ayétas*                            *awaáji*.  
*isé-e*            *bilkúl*            *baqḥṣṣ-∅*            *a-i-t-as-∅*                            *awaáji*  
 that:X-GEN    completely    pardon-ABS    NEG-3SG.Y:II-do-INF-ABS    necessary

‘He will never forgive it. [lit. (He) should not make the pardon for it completely.]’ (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #23)

- (102) *éde*            *ité*            *dukáane*            *hiṅ*            *khúla*            *manáase*  
*éd-e*            *ité*            *dukáan-e*            *hiṅ-∅*            *khúla*            *man-as-e*  
 Ed-ERG    that:Y    shop-GEN    door-ABS    opening    become-INF-GEN  
  
*ičhár*                            *déyalimi*.  
*i-čhar-∅*                            *d-i-yal-m-i*  
 3SG.Y:I-sound-ABS    TEL-3SG.HM:II-hear-NPRS-3SG.HM

‘Ed heard the front door open. [lit. Ed heard the sound of the opening of the shop’s (front) door.]’ (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #24)

The following example (103) is of the *-as* infinitive converted into an attributive adjective, which modifies an X-class plural entity, *urkáí* ‘wolves’.

- (103) *dádar*            *umánašo,*                            *ar*            *umánumišo,*  
*dádar*            *u-man-as-čo*                            *ár*            *u-man-um-išo*  
 trembling    3PL.X:I-become-INF-PL    fearful    3PL.X:I-become-ADJVLZ-PL  
  
*masúmal*            *iyélimišo*                            *jóṭišo*            urkáí            *je*            *úlo*  
*ma-sumál-∅*            *i-yul-um-išo*                            *jóṭ-išo*            *urk-ai*            *jé-∅*            *úl-e*  
 2PL:I-tail-ABS    3SG.X:II-burn-ADJVLZ-PL    small-PL    wolf-PL    I-ABS    inside-ESS

*asárkin!*

a-sark'in

1SG:I-let.in-IMP.PL

‘Little trembling and frightened wolves with the scorched tails, let me come in!’  
(*uskó jóťišo urkái: #43*)

-as shows its infinitivising scope not only for the verbal stems but for the verb phrases as well, excepting the subject arguments. That is, its range extends over relevant verbs, object arguments, oblique arguments, and adverbial elements. For details on -as, see also §6.9.

### 3.6.2. -kuş

The next, -kuş, is a nominaliser available with both nouns and adjectives. When this suffix is used with adjective bases, it is semantically non-specific like the suffix -ness of *goodness* in English and -sa of *yo-sa* ‘goodness’ (cf. *yo-i* ‘good’) in Japanese, as in *šuá-kuş* ‘goodness’ from *šuá* ‘good’, *jót-kuş* ‘childhood’ from *jot* ‘small, young’, and *ašaátu-kuş* ‘weakness’ from *ašaáto* ‘weak’. -kuş with noun bases seems to make them have more specific meanings, and the realised meaning changes by -kuş are full of variety. So, the semantic modification would not be accomplished primarily by attaching -kuş but would be made up with expansion of the meanings of the base nouns. For example, *thám-kuş* ‘kingship, kingdom’ from *tham* ‘king’, *ťhís-kuş* ‘sexual unchastity of a girl, bad conduct’ from *ťhís* ‘mistake, error’, and *nás-kuş* ‘fragrance, aroma’ from *nas* ‘smell’ (see (105)).

The semantic neutrality of this suffix is reflected in the fact that -kuş is quite freely used with already derived adjectives and nouns. For example, as for derived adjectives: *sáu-kiş-kuş* ‘the name of the sand hill between the Hunza and Nager Rivers (lit. sandiness)’ from *sáu-kiş* which consists of the noun *sáu* ‘sand’ and an adjectivaliser -kiş (§5.1.3), and *@-wár-um-kuş* ‘fatigue’ from *@-wár-um* which is composed of the verbal stem *@-wár-* ‘be tired’ and the participialiser -um (and see *uyámkuş* ‘sweetness’ in (104) and *yutúmkuş* ‘deepness’ in (105) also); and as for derived nouns, *kačaar-í-kuş* ‘great ingratitude’ from *kačaar-í* ‘id.’, consisting of the noun *kačaar* ‘id.’ and a nominaliser -(g)í, and *sateés @-t-as-kuş* ‘the washing and covering of the corpse (of the one(s) prefixed on @-)’ from the infinitive from of the compound verb *sateés+@-t-* ‘to put in order, to repair’.

- (104) *nuúrućan, qhošaamadíid ne, buṭ yaaní hihíne*  
 n-húruṭ-ya-n qhošaamadíid-Ø n-i-t búṭ yaaní RDP+hín-e  
 CP-sit-PL-CP welcome-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do much FIL each-GEN  
*káa uyámkuṣ étuman.*  
*káaṭ uyá-um-kuṣ-Ø i-t'-m-an*  
 together sweet-ADJVLZ-NMLZ-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H

‘On their having settled down there, they bid them welcome and everybody showed sweetness (= hospitality) to each other.’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #48)

- (105) *ité khéen qháa isée yuṭúmkuṣe káa ṣúū*  
 ité khéen qháaṣ isé-e yuṭ-um-kuṣ-e káaṭ ṣúū-Ø  
 that:Y time until that:X-ERG deep-ADJVLZ-NMLZ-GEN together sniff-ABS  
*éćibím ke béšal qháa isée ité*  
 i-t'-č+b'-i-m ké béšal qháaṣ isé-e ité  
 3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV+COP-3SG.X-NPRS LINK when until that:X-ERG that:Y  
*náskuṣate buṭ ése dúljami.*  
 nas-kuṣ-aṭ-e búṭ és-e d-huljá-m-i  
 smell-NMLZ-INS-ESS much that.one:X-ERG TEL-fill-NPRS-3SG.X

‘He sniffed deeper and deeper [lit. with depth] until he was quite filled with the fragrant scent.’ (*uskó jótišo urkái*: #47)

### 3.6.3. -(g)í

-(g)í is a nominaliser suffix borrowed from the Urdu nominaliser -ī (ی), which is originally from Persian. In Burushaski, -í has an allomorph -gí which regularly appears after a vowel, cf. *čarbu-gí* below. This form could be inferred by analogy from Urdu forms such as *zindagī* (زندگی) ‘life’, consisting of the adjective *zindā* (زنده) ‘alive, living’ and the aforementioned suffix -ī. The appearing of [g] in this morphophonological process in Urdu is due to historical sound changes in Persian, so the analogy occurring in the Burushaski morphology is not perfect. Now, however, there is the strict rule for allomorphs of -(g)í as mentioned above. The Urdu nominaliser -ī (ی) does not always add a [g] as in Burushaski, for example, *safāī* (صفائی) ‘cleanliness, clarity’ out of *safā* (صفا) ‘clean’ (recently this adjective is not used usually) will never become \**safāgī* (صفاگی\*).

This suffix in Burushaski is usually used in loan words from Urdu but may sometimes be used with Burushaski indigenous words also, as in (106). For example, the instance (106b) is used in a text as in (107). (106c) exemplifies the allomorph *-gí* for an indigenous word with the final vowel. Though there is no case of *-gī* after /u/ in Urdu.

- (106)
- |              |    |                                       |   |                               |
|--------------|----|---------------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|
| of UR origin | a. | <i>zabardast-í</i> ‘force’            | < | <i>zabardás(t)</i> ‘powerful’ |
|              | b. | <i>mariam-í</i> ‘chamberlain’s post’  | < | <i>mariám</i> ‘chamberlain’   |
| indigenous   | c. | <i>čarbu-gí</i> ‘watchman’s post’     | < | <i>čarbú</i> ‘watchman’       |
|              | d. | <i>bualtarc-í</i> ‘pasturing of cows’ | < | <i>buáltarc</i> ‘cowherd’     |

- (107)
- |                  |   |                                  |                        |               |
|------------------|---|----------------------------------|------------------------|---------------|
| <i>daltás</i>    | <i>ne</i>   | <i>éuru[ɬ]iin</i> <sup>†26</sup> | <i>nusén</i>           | <i>bésan</i>  |
| daltás           | n-i-t   | i-hurúɬ-in                       | n-sén                  | bés-an        |
| beautiful        | CP-3SG.HM:II-do   | 3SG.HM:II-sit-IMP.PL             | CP-say                 | what-INDEF.SG |
|                  |   |                                  |                        |               |
| <i>dúum-dáan</i> | <i>ne</i>   | <i>éuru[ɬ]umen,</i>              | <i>baadigáaran</i>     |               |
| dúum+dáam        | n-i-t   | i-hurúɬ-m-en                     | baadigáar-an-Ø         |               |
| glorious         | CP-3SG.HM:II-do   | 3SG.HM:II-sit-NPRS-3PL.H         | bodyguard-INDEF.SG-ABS |               |
|                  |   |                                  |                        |               |
| <i>bésan</i>     | <i>mariamían</i>  | <i>dakhíl</i>                    | <i>eté</i>             | <i>wáqte</i>  |
| bés-an           | mariám- <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">i</span> -an-Ø | dakhíl                           | eté                    | wáqt-e        |
| what-INDEF.SG    | chamberlain-NMLZ-INDEF.SG-ABS   | in.this.way                      | that:Y                 | time-ESS      |
|                  |   |                                  |                        |               |
| <i>eké</i>       | <i>bicúm.</i>   |                                  |                        |               |
| eké-Ø            | b’icá-m   |                                  |                        |               |
| those:Y-ABS      | COP-3PL.Y-NPRS  |                                  |                        |               |

‘They said that make him up gorgeous and put him, and made him glorious and put him into the job of something like guard or chamberlain, which were there in that time.’ (van Skyhawk 2006: #12)

<sup>†26</sup> There are typos of the regular missing of the letter “ɬ” in the original text of van Skyhawk (2006); [ ] is my supplementation.

## DEMONSTRATIVES, PERSONAL PRONOUNS, AND INTERROGATIVES

This chapter explores demonstratives, personal pronouns, and interrogatives. Both the demonstratives and interrogatives consist of adjectives, pronouns, and nouns, while personal reference is constructed with pronouns or prefixes. Since demonstrative, personal, and interrogative categories show, in practice, similar behaviours, it is better that I describe them together in one chapter here.

### 4.1. Demonstrative adjectives and interrogatives

In Burushaski, demonstratives show two distinctions of distance: proximal and distal (see also §8.10.1 for the distinction). There are some phonological gaps among dialects, and so I show the diversity in demonstrative and interrogative adjectives in Table 20. Here, the left form of a tilde is the standard of Hunza dialects and the right form of a tilde is the one of Nager dialects.

Table 20. Demonstrative and interrogative adjectives

	proximal		distal		interrogative	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
H	<i>khiné</i>	<i>khué</i>	<i>iné</i>	<i>ué</i>	<i>ámin</i>	<i>ámin</i>
X	<i>gusé ~ khosé</i>	<i>gucé ~ khocé</i>	<i>isé ~ esé</i>	<i>icé ~ ecé</i>	<i>ámis</i>	<i>ámic</i>
Y	<i>guté ~ khoté</i>	<i>guké ~ khoké</i>	<i>ité ~ eté</i>	<i>iké ~ eké</i>	<i>ámit</i>	<i>ámik</i>

The following are examples for proximal demonstratives, (108), distal demonstratives, (109), and interrogatives, (110).

(108) Proximal demonstrative adjective for X-class singular

*eḍ gusé búšcum buṭ naráaz imánibái.*

*éḍ-∅ gusé buš'-c-um búṭ naaráaz i-man+bá-i-∅*

Ed-ABS this:X cat-ADE-ABL much sullen 3SG.HM:I-become+COP-3SG.HM-PRS

‘Ed is very angry at this cat.’ (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #19)

(109) Distal demonstrative adjective for Y-class singular

to *eté* *wáqtulo* *ee* *khóle* *úu* *gáran*  
 tó *eté* *wáqt-ul-e* *ee* *khól-e* *ú-e* *gar'an-Ø*  
 then that:Y time-LOC-ESS FIL here-ESS they:DIST-GEN marriage-INDEF.SG-ABS  
*tayáar maními.*  
*tayáar man'm-i*  
 prepared become-NPRS-3SG.Y

‘Then it was ready for their marriage here at that time.’ (*The Story of Hopar*: #4)

(110) Interrogative adjective for H-class singular (in relative use)

*íne* *ámin* *rafiqan* *baadšaa* *nookáre*  
*ín-e* *ámin* *rafiq-an-Ø* *baadšaa-e* *nookár-e*  
 s/he:DIST-ERG which:H companion-INDEF.SG-ABS king-GEN servant-GEN  
*káa imánóm* *ke íne*  
*káaṭ i-man+bá-i-m* *ké ín-e*  
 together 3SG.HM:I-become+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS LINK s/he:DIST-GEN  
*yuúčim húču dúisinin,*  
*i-uṭ'či-um húčo-Ø d-u-gús-n-n*  
 3SG.HM:I-foot-INE-ABL leather.high.boot-ABS TEL:CP-3PL.X:I-go.out-CP-CP

‘The companion who is accompanying the king’s servant also put out his boots from his legs’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #56)

Distal demonstratives are used for anaphora as well (§8.10.2).

Morphologically the demonstrative and interrogative adjectives have been made from the combination of the class-number axis and the demonstrative axis as follows (excepting the H-class plural interrogative *ámin*, however, which shows the same form as the singular one):

Table 21. Morphemes of the class-number axis

	SG	PL
H	in	u
X	s	c
Y	t	k

Table 22. Morphemes, frames and forms of the demonstrative axis in two series

	proximal	distal	interrogative
	<b>kh-</b>	<b>i-</b>	<b>ám-</b>
place	<i>khól-/kholéi-</i>	<i>él-/eléi-</i>	<i>ámul- ~ ámuli-/ámili-</i>
direction	<i>khíti</i>	<i>íti</i>	<i>am</i>
DEM ADJ	<i>gu...é ~ kho...é</i>	<i>i...é ~ e...é</i>	<i>ámi...</i>
DEM PRON	<i>khó...</i>	<i>é...</i>	
place	<i>(d)akhól-</i>	<i>teél-/toól-</i>	<i>men, bes (= bé...)</i>
manner	<i>(d)akhíl-</i>	<i>teíl-</i>	<i>N/A</i>
quantity	<i>(d)akhúrum</i>	<i>téerum/téurum/toórum</i>	<i>béerum/béurum</i>
weight	<i>akhúrus, akhúrut (=akhúru...)</i>	<i>?N/A</i>	<i>béerus, béerut (= béeru...)</i>
time	<i>N/A</i>	<i>N/A</i>	<i>běšal</i>
	<b>(d)akh-</b>	<b>te-</b>	<b>be-</b>

Table 21 shows the morphemes of each class-number which appear in certain demonstratives or interrogatives. The morphemes are inserted in the elliptical, "...", with the demonstratives or interrogatives shown in Table 22. Compare the frames of the demonstrative adjective in Table 22 with their actual forms listed in Table 20, or the frames of the demonstrative pronoun with their forms in Table 25 (§4.2).

Table 22 includes demonstrative and interrogative adjectives/nominals which forms include either of the two series of demonstrative morphemes found in bold type at the top and the bottom of the table. It is not clear whether there is any semantic or functional rule which determines the appropriate series of demonstrative morphemes to form a demonstrative or interrogative word or not. Regardless, there does not seem to be a semantic and functional difference between the series. The following examples (111) – (113) are random samples of words from Table 22:

(111) *íti* ‘thither’

<i>íti</i>	<i>éi</i>	<i>mópačiar</i>	<i>ními.</i>
<i>íti</i>	<i>i-i</i>	<i>mu-pá-či-ar</i>	<i>ní-m-i</i>
thither	3SG.HM:II-daughter	3SG.HF:II-side-INE-DAT	go-NPRS-3SG.HM

‘He went there to his daughter.’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #172)

(112) *bél-* ‘how, in what way’

<i>Iné</i>	<i>móguşhkibaan</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>“Un</i>
<i>iné-∅</i>	<i>mu:guşúgin-č+bá-an-∅</i>	<i>ké</i>	<i>ún-∅</i>
that:H-ABS	3SG.HF:II-confer-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-PRS	LINK	thou-ABS
<i>dughárus</i>	<i>‘Bélaṭum</i>	<i>guírcha,</i>	<i>bélaṭum</i>
<i>d-yarús-i</i>	<i>bél-aṭ-um</i>	<i>gu-ir’č+bá-a-∅</i>	<i>bél-aṭ-um</i>
TEL-be.straight-IMP.SG	how-INS-ABL	2SG:I-die-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS	how-INS-ABL
<i>akúircha?’”</i>			
<i>a-gu-ir’č+bá-a-∅</i>			
NEG-2SG:I-die-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS			

‘They are instigating her: “Ask: ‘How do you die, how don’t you die?’ !” ’  
(Willson [1999b] 2002, *Šíri Badát*: #27)

(113) (*d*)*akhúrum* ‘this much’

<i>akhúruman</i>	<i>śée</i>	<i>lúuyo</i>	<i>jáar</i>	<i>joó</i>
<i>akhúr-um-an</i>	<i>śé-e</i>	<i>lúuyo-∅</i>	<i>jé-ar</i>	<i>ja-u’i</i>
this.much-ADJVLZ-INDEF.SG	wool-GEN	tuft-ABS	I-DAT	1SG:I-give:HX.OBJ-IMP.SG
<i>wa,</i>	<i>sénimi.</i>			
<i>wáa</i>	<i>sén-m-i</i>			
INTERJ	say-NPRS-3SG.X			

‘ “Give me just a little [lit. this much] tuft of that wool!”, [the frog] said.’  
(Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #249)

Note that nouns in Burushaski can be syntactically used as adjectives without any morphological process, and vice versa. Therefore, for example, demonstrative adjectives can behave as demonstrative pronouns even to be arguments with a case marker, see (114).

(114) Demonstrative adjective *iné* ‘that (H-class)’ in (pro)nominal use

<i>inéer</i>	<i>“čáayanar</i>	<i>yatéle</i>	<i>ju”</i>
<i>iné-ar</i>	<i>čáai-an-ar</i>	<i>i-yát+él-e</i>	<i>jú-i</i>
that:H-DAT	tea-INDEF.SG-DAT	3SG.Y:I-upwards+there-ESS	come-IMP.SG



<i>ésabáte,</i>		“ <i>úne</i>	<i>háale</i>	<i>ḍaḍáj</i>
<i>i-s'-a+bá-aṭ-e</i>		<i>ún-e</i>	<i>ha'-al-e</i>	<i>ḍaḍáj</i>
3SG.HM:II-tell-1SG+COP-INS-ESS		thou-GEN	house-LOC-ESS	large.drums
<i>ḍaámal</i>	<i>biéna”</i>	<i>ásimi.</i>		
<i>ḍaámal-Ø</i>	<i>b'-ién-Ø=a</i>	<i>a'-s'-m-i</i>		
timpani-ABS	COP-3PL.X-PRS=Q	1SG:II-tell-NPRS-3SG.HM		

‘At that time I told him “Come on for a cup of tea”, he asked me “Are there drums in your house?”.’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #89)

For details on the usage of interrogative words, see also §8.5.1 concerning content interrogative sentences.

#### 4.2. Pronouns

The pronoun system includes personal for the first and the second persons, shown in Table 23, and demonstrative and interrogative pronouns for the third person, shown in Table 25 later. They refer to substantive entities instead of nouns.

Table 23. Personal pronouns

	SG	PL
1	<i>je</i>	<i>mi</i>
2	<i>un ~ um</i> <sup>†27</sup>	<i>ma</i>

There is no practical distinction between inclusive and exclusive in the first person plural. To express politeness to an addressee, the second person plural reference is sometimes employed, but it is merely a voluntary regulation, not the ordinary rule.

Personal pronouns with a vowel final sound, i.e. 1SG/PL and 2PL, decline a little irregularly as shown in Table 24.

<sup>†27</sup> *uŋ* form is used in and around Altit, where just Tikkanen (1991) has recorded the story: *The Frog as a Bride*. And further, *uŋgó(oy)* ‘just you, you here’ is used all over the Eastern Burushaski area. This *uŋ* form might be the oldest among these three forms *un*, *um*, and *uŋ*. Compare with that the corresponding personal prefix *gu-* and the ergative/genitive/oblique form in the Western Burushaski *go* (while the absolutive form is *un*) include the velar sound.

Table 24. Declension of personal pronouns (in part)

	1SG	2SG	1PL	2PL
ABS	<i>je</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>ma</i>
ERG/GEN	<i>jáa</i>	<i>úne</i>	<i>míi</i>	<i>máa</i>
DAT	<i>jáar(e)</i>	<i>únar(e)</i>	<i>mímar(e)</i>	<i>mámar(e)</i>
COMPLEX LOC	<i>jáale</i>	<i>únale</i>	<i>mímale</i>	<i>mámale</i>
COMPLEX ABL	<i>jáacum</i>	<i>úncum</i>	<i>mímacum</i>	<i>mámacum</i>

Irregularities can be observed with the ergative/genitive case and the oblique case. As for the former, the case marker *-e* has reduced and caused the root or stem final vowel to become long. For the latter, though an oblique case marker is in general *-mu* for HF- or Z-classes and *-e* for the other classes, these irregular forms of the first and the second person plural pronouns have taken *-m*, which might be reduplication of each root or *-ma* for marking of oblique case (tentatively I have adopted the former idea for the sake of glossing). They cannot be with the existing case marker *-mu*, since the dative form of 1PL and 2PL would then logically become *\*mímur(e)* and *\*mámur(e)*.

Table 25. Demonstrative and interrogative pronouns

	proximal		distal		'so-and-so'		interrogative	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
H	<i>khin</i>	<i>khu</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>alín/alés</i>	<i>alú/alés(tiŋ)</i>	<i>mén(an)</i>	<i>mén(ik)</i>
X	<i>khos</i>	<i>khoc</i>	<i>es</i>	<i>ec</i>	<i>alés</i>	<i>aléc/aléstiŋ</i>	<i>bésan</i>	<i>bésik</i>
Y	<i>khot</i>	<i>khok</i>	<i>et</i>	<i>ek</i>	<i>alét</i>	<i>alék(iŋ)</i>		

'So-and-so' demonstrative pronouns in Table 25 are not like indefinite pronouns in other languages, such as *someone* in English, which can be expressed with interrogative pronouns in Burushaski. If a speaker wants to refer to a specific (H)X-class entity but neither wants that entity to be identified by the hearer nor knows the appropriate name of the entity, she or he will use the pronoun *alés* to vaguely refer to the entity as in (115).

- (115) *hurúṭas haráñcum ke daltásko cágamiñ méer*  
*hurúṭ-as haráñ-c-um ké daltás-ko čáya-miŋ-Ø mi-ar*  
 sit-INF midst-ADE-ABL LINK beautiful-PL story-PL-ABS 1PL:II-DAT

<i>éti,</i>	<i>daltásko</i>	<i>duróin</i>	<i>éti,</i>	<i>men</i>
<i>i-t'-i</i>	<i>daltás-ko</i>	<i>duró-ij-Ø</i>	<i>i-t'-i</i>	<i>mén</i>
3PL.Y:II-do-IMP.SG	beautiful-PL	work-PL-ABS	3PL.Y:II-do-IMP.SG	who
<i>sáaptiñ</i>	<i>báan</i>	<i>ke, men</i>	<i>aléstiñ</i>	
<i>sáap-tij-Ø</i>	<i>bá-an-Ø</i>	<i>ké mén</i>	<i>alés-tij-Ø</i>	
gentleman-PL-ABS	COP-3PL.H-PRS	LINK who	so.and.so:HX-PL-ABS	
<i>báan</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>khuée</i>	<i>čágamiñ</i>	<i>ke</i>
<i>bá-an-Ø</i>	<i>ké</i>	<i>khué-e</i>	<i>čáya-mij-Ø</i>	<i>ké</i>
COP-3PL.H-PRS	LINK	these:H-GEN	story-PL-ABS	LINK
<i>écuma</i>		<i>méer.</i>		
<i>i-t'-č-m-a</i>		<i>mi-ar</i>		
3PL.Y:II-do-IPFV-NPRS-2SG		1PL:II-DAT		

‘You are sitting here with us and it is better that you tell us good stories, serve good for us, in the way how you will tell stories if there were any gentlemen and such and such men here.’ (Berger 1998b: #27.8)

There are, further, two kinds of pronouns which require the personal prefix and can be commonly interpreted with an English word ‘oneself’: the “emphatic pronoun” (Willson 1999a) in Table 26 and the reflexive pronoun in Table 28. “Emphatic pronoun” is sometimes more emphasised by a regressive reduplication of the personal prefix as Table 27 illustrates.

Table 26. “Emphatic” pronoun @- <i>i</i>			Table 27. More “Emphatic” pronoun @-@- <i>i</i>			Table 28. Reflexive pronoun @- <i>khár</i>		
	SG	PL		SG	PL		SG	PL
1	<i>jéi</i>	<i>múi</i>	1	<i>jejéi</i>	<i>mimúi</i>	1	<i>akhár</i>	<i>mikhár</i>
2	<i>gúi</i>	<i>mái</i>	2	<i>gugúi</i>	<i>mamái</i>	2	<i>gukhár</i>	<i>makhár</i>
3	HM <i>íi</i>	<i>úi</i>	3	HM <i>ííi</i>	<i>uúi</i>	3	HM <i>ikhár</i>	<i>ukhár</i>
	HF <i>múi</i>			HF <i>mumúi</i>			HF <i>mukhár</i>	
	X <i>íi</i>	<i>úi</i>		X <i>ííi</i>	<i>uúi</i>		X <i>ikhár</i>	<i>ukhár</i>
	Y <i>íi</i>	<i>íi</i>		Y <i>ííi</i>	<i>ííi</i>		Y <i>ikhár</i>	<i>ikhár</i>

For the examples in text and the respective restrictions against cases of these special pronouns, see (42) – (44) in §3.2.1.

I would like to say some more words on the personal prefix here. It is obviously that personal prefixes for the first person singular and plural and the second person plural are morphologically cognate with the personal pronouns, see the tables listed again below.<sup>†28</sup> And it may be the case that the prefixes for each nominal class of the third person singular and the genitive case marking which includes an oblique case marker if necessary, that is, *-e* or *-mo*, have the same source or that the latter, case forms, generated the former, personal prefixes.

Table 8. Type-I personal prefixes      Table 23. Personal pronouns

	SG	PL
1	<i>a-/je-/ja-</i>	<i>mi-</i>
2	<i>gu-</i>	<i>ma-</i>
3		
HM	<i>i-</i>	<i>u-</i>
HF	<i>mu-</i>	
X	<i>i-</i>	<i>u-</i>
Y	<i>i-</i>	<i>i-</i>

	SG	PL
1	<i>je</i>	<i>mi</i>
2	<i>un ~ um</i>	<i>ma</i>

As personal and/or demonstrative pronouns do, type-II personal prefixes also can be directly suffixed with case markers. In the case of direct suffixation, what is used for the first person singular is always *a-*, neither *ja-* nor *je-*. Such declension might be realised only with the ergative/genitive case suffix *-e* and the dative suffix *-ar(e)* as shown in Table 29.

Table 29. Declension with personal prefixes

	1SG	2SG	3SG.HMXY/PL.Y	3SG.HF	1PL	2PL	3PL.HX
personal prefix	<i>á-</i>	<i>gó-</i>	<i>é-</i>	<i>mó-</i>	<i>mé-</i>	<i>má-</i>	<i>ó-</i>
ERG/GEN	<i>áa</i>	<i>góo</i>	<i>ée</i>	<i>móo</i>	<i>mée</i>	<i>máa</i>	<i>óo</i>
DAT	<i>áar(e)</i>	<i>góor(e)</i>	<i>éer(e)</i>	<i>móor(e)</i>	<i>méer(e)</i>	<i>máar(e)</i>	<i>óor(e)</i>

These forms do not require oblique case suffixes and show vowel fusions at the morpheme boundary. It is unable to distinguish between the ergative/genitive form *máa* of the pronoun and the prefix for the second person plural because there appears no diversity of sound.

<sup>†28</sup> As for the second person singular, it clearly relate to the Western Burushaski *go* ‘thou:GEN/ERG/OBL’. And see a related discussion in †27.

## ADJECTIVES AND NUMERALS

Both adjectives and numerals modify nominals as entering into a noun phrase and predicates without taking any head noun. Or they can stand in by themselves for nominals so that take case markers to be an argument or adjunct in that case. Their behaviour in nominal use is completely within the range of nominals proper, see §3 for details.

Numeral may be regarded as a subclass of adjective but I deal with them dividing different word classes.

Adjectives include the perfective and imperfective participles derived from verbals which primarily function as modifier for nominals (and secondarily as in nominal status).

### 5.1. Adjectives

#### 5.1.1. Number

Some adjectives take a plural suffix and all adjectives and numerals can take the indefinite singular suffix *-an*.

##### 5.1.1.1. Plurality

Most indigenous adjectives including all im/perfective participles can take a plural suffix when their modifying or referring entities are plural both in modifying and predicative use. Adjectives employ some of the plural markers for nouns, see (116).

(116) Plural suffixes to adjectives for each class

HX: *-ko*, *-čuko*, *-čo*, *-išo*, *-uiko*, *-ono*, *-taro*, *-anc*; (only for H) *-tij*

Y: *-ij*, *-aŋ*

The use of plural suffixes in Burushaski is not as strict as the number agreement system in Indo-European languages is. Adjectives take plural suffixes in response to the plurality of host nouns, but sometimes plural suffixes are dropped in this language.

(117) is an example for simple adjectives with a plural suffix and (118) is for participles, i.e. deverbal adjectives, with a plural suffix. Sometimes *-ko* and *-čuko* for HX classes are directly attached to the stem with deleting of the neutral adjectiviser *-um*, as

in the example (117) which I exceptionally represent with the deleted *-um* in round brackets at the annotation lines. In participle forming function, *-um* does not tend to be deleted, because the plural suffix *-išo* for HX-classes is preferred to attach to participles.

- (117) *hísaṭe*                      *yaaní* *guchárasaṭe*                      *guké*    *ijí*  
 hík-sa-aṭ-e                      yaaní    guchár-as-aṭ-e                      guké    i-ŋí-∅  
 one-month-INS-ESS    FIL                      move-INF-INS-ESS                      these:Y    3SG.HM:I-beard-ABS
- akhúrcuko*                      *manícúm,*                      *yusáiko*                      *numá.*  
 akhúr-(um)-čuko                      man+b'icán-m                      yusán-(um)-ko                      n-man  
 this.weight-(ADJVLZ)-PL                      become+COP-3PL.Y-NPRS                      long-(ADJVLZ)-PL                      CP-become

‘During a month, that is while wandering, this his beard had become big like this, having grown long.’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #141)

- (118) *Balóie*                      *tháme,*                      *turma-altó*                      *thámkuyaña e*                      *íne*  
 balói-e                      tham'e                      turma-altó                      tham'kuṣ-aṅ-aṭ-e                      ín-e  
 Baltistan-GEN    king-GEN                      ten-two:Y                      king-NMLZ-PL-INS-ESS                      s/he:DIST-GEN
- thámkuṣ*                      *zabardás*                      *dilúm.*                      *íne*                      *záat*  
 tham'kuṣ-∅                      zabardást                      d'il'm                      ín-e                      záat-∅  
 king-NMLZ-ABS    correct                      COP-3SG.Y-NPRS                      s/he:DIST-GEN                      sort-ABS
- báan.*                      *mi*                      *Balóium*                      *diméemišo*  
 bá-an-∅                      mí-∅                      balói-um                      d-mĩ-um-išo-∅  
 COP-3PL.H-PRS    we-ABS                      Baltistan-ABL                      come:PFV-1PL-ADJVLZ-PL-ABS
- báan.*                      *dáa*                      *bésik*                      *máar*                      *écan,*  
 bá-an-∅                      dáa                      bés-ik-∅                      ma'ar                      i-t'č-an-m  
 COP-1PL-PRS    again                      what-INDEF.PL-ABS                      2PL:II-DAT                      3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-1PL-NPRS
- čágaiñ.*  
 čáya-iñ-∅  
 story-PL-ABS

‘The king of Baltistan [ruled] twenty kingdoms, and his kingdom was upright. We are his descendants. We are immigrants [lit. come ones] from Baltistan. Now, what stories will we tell you any more?’ (van Skyhawk 2006: #24)

Plural marking is not always used even when an adjective able to take a

corresponding plural form modifies a plural entity. For example:

- (119) *yar*                      *ne*                      *nímiri*                      *qhabáriciñ*                      *ke*                      *dáa*  
*i-yár*                      *n-i-t*                      *ní-um-iñ*                      *qhabár-ičičiñ*                      *ké*                      *dáa*  
 3SG.Y:I-forewards    CP-3SG.Y:II-do    go-ADJVLZ-PL    news-PL                      LINK    again
- yárum*                                      *íljum*                                      *yárum*  
*i-yár-um*                                      *i-ljí-um*                                      *i-yár-um*  
 3SG.Y:I-forewards-ADJVLZ    3SG.Y:I-behind-ADJVLZ    3SG.Y:I-forewards-ADJVLZ
- júas*                      *qhabáriciñ*                      *ke*                      *íljum*                                      *nim*                      *uyóon*  
*jú-as*                      *qhabár-ičičiñ*                      *ké*                      *i-ljí-um*                                      *ní-um*                      *uyóon*  
 come-INF    news-PL                      LINK    3SG.Y:I-behind-ADJVLZ    go-ADJVLZ    all
- qhabáriciñ*                      *uyóone*                      *baaráulo*                      *inée*  
*qhabár-ičičiñ-Ø*                      *uyóon-e*                      *baará-ul-e*                      *iné-e*  
 news-PL-ABS                      all-GEN                      relation-LOC-ESS                      s/he:DIST-ERG
- óóí.*  
*u-s-č+bá-i-Ø*  
 3PL.H:II-tell-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-PRS

‘He tells all the people all the news, among which something went former may come again after and something come former may go again after.’ (Berger 1998b: #2.12)

In (119), the first participle *nim* ‘gone’ which modifies *qhabáriciñ* ‘news:PL’ holds a plural marker *-iñ*, while the second *nim* which also modifies *qhabáriciñ*, is accompanied with no plural marker. Here we can see the optionality of plural suffixes on adjectives.

#### 5.1.1.2. Singular marking

The indefinite singular marker *-an* is observed with adjectives and numerals as well as nouns, but functions quite differently with each. On the one hand, with nouns, it indicates the indefiniteness and singularity of the nouns to which it attaches (§3.3); on the other hand, with adjectives and numerals, it does not represent such statuses but instead somewhat emphasises the semantic contents of said adjectives/numerals. Therefore, it might be translated into English as the adverbs ‘just’ or ‘so’ as in the translation of (120).

- (120) *káman*            *akhúruman*            *báṭiṭ*            *su!*  
 kám-an            akhúr-um-an            báṭiṭ-∅            sú-i  
 little-INDEF.SG    this.much-ADJVLZ-INDEF.SG    dusting.flour-ABS    bring-IMP.SG

‘Bring just a little dusting-flour!’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #302)

This usage of *-an* on adjectives may be used even though that adjective may be modifying substantially plural host nominals (regardless of whether those nominals are countable or uncountable). See (121) for examples of countable nominals and (122) for examples of uncountable ones, noting the occurring adjective forms.

- (121) *meherbaaní*            *nétanin,*            *ma*            *mímar*            *káman*  
 meherbaaní-∅    n-i-t'-n-n            má-∅            mí-RDP-ar            kám-an  
 kindness-ABS    CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP-CP    you-ABS    we-OBL-DAT    little-INDEF.SG  
  
*asqúriṭ*            *miyúns*            *máamaibáana?*  
 asqúr-iṭ-∅            mi-γun-ś            ma-man'-č+bá-an-∅=a  
 flower-PL-ABS    1PL:I-give:Y.PL.OBJ-OPT    2PL:III-become-IPFV+COP-2PL-PRS=Q

‘Please, will you give us some flowers?’ (*uskó jóṭišo urkái*: #39)

- (122) *isée*            *búṭan*            *báarčuko*            *ke*            *şikárkaro*            *íṭ*  
 isé-e            búṭ-an            báard-čuko            ké            šikárk-aro            íṭ-∅  
 that:X-ERG    much-INDEF.SG    red-PL            LINK    yellow-PL            brick-ABS  
  
*icéer*            *uúmi.*  
 icé-ar            u-u'-m-i  
 those:X-DAT    3PL.X:I-give:HX.OBJ-NPRS-3SG.X

‘It gave them lots of red and yellow bricks.’ (*uskó jóṭišo urkái*: #5)

The singular marker *-an* for emphasis is frequently observed with adjectives for quantity such as *kam* ‘little’, *búṭ* ‘much’, *akhúrum* ‘this much’, *téerum* ‘that much’, and *béurum/béerum* ‘how much’.

Numerals can also be emphasised by employing the indefinite singular suffix *-an* similarly to adjectives. Of course the countable head nouns should take plural suffixes to agree with respect to the number of referents. (123) is an example with a countable head noun and (124) is an example with an uncountable head noun.



- (123) *isé tootáa ičhónjuş yáare uskó*  
*isé tootá-e i-čhónjúş i-yáar-e uskó*  
 that:X parrot-ERG 3SG.X:I-beak 3SG.Y:I-downwards-ESS three:Y  
*wáltoan gúre phalóno nuká díimi.*  
*wálto-an gur'e phal'ono-∅ n-gán d-i'm-i*  
 four:Y-INDEF.SG wheat-GEN grain-PL-ABS CP-take come:PFV-3SG.X-NPRS-3SG.X  
 ‘The parrot took up some wheat grains by its beak and came.’ (čhúmoē minás: #272)

- (124) *yaaní ičíate-íčíate júču bo.*  
*yaaní i-cí-aṭ-e+RDP jú-č+bá-o-∅*  
 FIL 3SG.Y:I-against-INS-ESS+MASS come-IPFV+COP-3SG.HF-NPRS  
*yárpačiar niş qháaşiñar in aqhóne dáa*  
*i-yár+pá-či-ar ní-ş qháaş-iŋ-ar ín aqhón-e dáa*  
 3SG.Y:I-before+side-INE-DAT go-OPT until-PL-DAT s/he:DIST priest-ERG again  
*uskóan qhiyé dáal nótanin dam*  
*uskó-an qhiyé-∅ dál n-u't'n-n dám-∅*  
 three:X-INDEF.SG pebble-ABS over CP-3PL.X:II-do-CP-CP breath-ABS  
*écóí.*  
*i-t'č+bá-i-∅*  
 3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-PRS  
 ‘She comes closer and closer. Until she come to him, the priest (aqhon) picked up three more pebbles and breaths upon them.’ (Berger 1998b: #5.12)

These examples prove that the primary function of the suffix *-an* is no longer an indicator of singularity in such emphasising expressions, at least for numerals other than *hin/han/hik* ‘1’.

### 5.1.2. Person

A few of adjectives proper, i.e. the ones not derived from other word classes, require an agreement with person, class, and number which is coded by a personal prefix of either type-I or II (surely there are no adjectives with type-III personal prefixes). While other almost adjectives (excepting the cases of adjective forming to

personally prefixed words) cannot take a personal prefix.

A personal prefix on adjectives proper functions to represent the referential point of whichever type the prefix belongs to. They are interpreted as the experiencer of evaluational adjectives like @-*yarum* ‘like, beloved’ in (125), the object of the universal quantifier adjective @-*yóon* ‘all’ in (126), and so on.

- (125) *wáa daltás baadšáa éyarum tootáa, úne*  
*wáa daltás baadšáa-e [i]-yar-um tootá-<sup>†29</sup> ún-e*  
 INTERJ beautiful king-GEN [3SG.HM:II]-beloved-ADJVLZ parrot-VOC thou-GEN
- góçue gar bilá. úne joṭ*  
*gu-ço-e gar-∅ b-il-∅ ún-e jót*  
 2SG:II-same.sex.sibling-GEN marriage-ABS COP-3SG.Y-PRS thou-GEN small
- góçue gar bilá. júçuma*  
*gu-ço-e gar-∅ b-il-∅ jú-č-m-a*  
 2SG:II-sasme.sex.sibling-GEN marriage-ABS COP-3SG.Y-PRS come-IPFV-NPRS-2SG
- náa sénimi.*  
*náa sén-m-i*  
 TAG.Q say-NPRS-3SG.X

‘[The parrot] said “Oh the king’s beloved beautiful parrot [lit. his beloved beautiful parrot of the king], the wedding ceremony of your younger brother is held. You’d better come.”’ (*čúmoe minás*: #255)

- (126) “*Béeya, maa kaa qhaas chaghabáran*  
*bé+yá má-e kaaṭ qháas čáya+bar-an-∅*  
 no+INTERJ you-GEN together special chat-INDEF.SG-ABS
- éçhabaan. To itée gáne*  
*i-t-č-a+bá-an-∅ tó ité-e gan-e*  
 3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-1PL+COP-1PL-PRS then that:Y-GEN way-ESS

<sup>†29</sup> To make a noun interjectional, sometimes vowel lengthening (indicating with “:”) is utilized pragmatically. I label such a process with vocative (abbreviation: VOC) in annotations for the sake of plainness, and it does not mean that there is a vocative CASE as in other languages like Urdu.

<i>béuruman</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>baan</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>ma-mayóon</i>
béur-um-an	má-Ø	bá-an-Ø	ké	má-Ø+ <span style="border: 1px solid black;">ma</span> -yoon
how.much-ADJLVZ-INDEF.SG	you-ABS	COP-2PL-PRS	LINK	you-ABS+ <span style="border: 1px solid black;">2PL:1</span> -all
<i>júin</i> "	<i>sénuman.</i>			
jú-in	sén-m-an			
come-IMP.PL	say-NPRS-3PL.H			

‘They said: “No, we are talking about a special topic with you. Then, how many fellows among you have come here for the talk I say, all of you must come here!” ’ (Willson [1999b] 2002, *Diramiting*: #5)

### 5.1.3. Derivation into adjectives

Some derivational suffixes make adjectives with a specific semantic modification. A part of the adjective forming suffixes are still productive, but the rest are losing or have lost the productivity as shown in Table 30.

Table 30. Adjectivaliser suffixes (in part)

Suffix	Attaches to	Meaning / Function	Productivity	Remarks
-um	verbal base; adjectival root, spatial N	participliser; neutral adjectivaliser	++ +	
-kiş	N	‘with a character of’	+	
-iski	N (mostly place or ethnic)	‘in the style of’	–	
-tali	spatial N	‘by way of, via’	--	
-ki	Adj	‘about a thing’	--	
-kum	N, Adj	‘like to’	--	
-áayo/-úuyo	Adj, N	‘contemptuously’	--	

Hereinafter, I discuss the top three adjectivaliser suffixes in Table 30.

#### 5.1.3.1. -um

-um functions as an adjectivaliser which is seemingly used two ways. The first is that when it attaches to a verbal base (the form with its sufficiently fulfilled the slots of  $[-4]^V$  to  $[+3]^V$  or  $[-1]^{COP}$  to  $[+3]^{COP}$ ) it will become a perfective or imperfective participle of the verb according to whether the aspect suffix is or not at the slot  $[+2]^V$ , see (127) for perfective participles, or a participle of the copula, which has no alternation on aspect, see (128). The imperfective participle is, in particular, mainly used in

simultaneous converbial forms such as taking the essive case marker together, a kind of nominal use of participles.

## (127) Perfective participle of a verb

<i>qhúuqe</i>	<i>gantí</i>	<i>néyarín</i>	<i>sénimi:</i>	<i>“jótíšo</i>	<i>ar</i>
qhúuq-e	gantí-Ø	n-i-yar'-n	sén-m-i	jót'-išo	ár
pig-ERG	bell-ABS	CP-3SG.X:II-play-CP	say-NPRS-3SG.X	small-PL	fearful
<i>umánumišo</i>	<i>urkái,</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>úlo</i>	<i>asárkin!”</i>	
u-man'- <span style="border: 1px solid black;">um</span> -išo	urk'-ai	jé-Ø	úl-e	a-sark'-in	
3PL.X:I-become- <span style="border: 1px solid black;">ADJVLZ</span> -PL	wolf-PL	I-ABS	inside-ESS	1SG:I-let.in-IMP.PL	

‘The pig rang the bell and said, “Little frightened wolves, let me come in!” ’  
(*uskó jótíšo urkái: #20*)

## (128) Participle of a copula

<i>“čayabáre</i>	<i>yaáli</i>	<i>bilúm</i>			
čayabár-e	i-yaáli-Ø	b'il'- <span style="border: 1px solid black;">um</span>			
conversation-GEN	3SG.HM:I-technique-ABS	COP-3SG.Y- <span style="border: 1px solid black;">ADJVLZ</span>			
<i>sísan</i>	<i>báia</i>	<i>jáa</i>	<i>káa”</i>	<i>nuséninin,</i>	<i>ité</i>
sís-an-Ø	bá-i-Ø=a	jé-e	káaṭ	n-sén-n-n	ité
people-INDEF.SG-ABS	COP-3SG.HM-PRS=Q	I-GEN	together	CP-say-CP-CP	that:Y
<i>čáya</i>	<i>étimi.</i>				
čáya-Ø	i-t'-m-i				
story-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HM				

‘ “Is there any fellow to talk with me who has the art of conversation [lit. any fellow, the art of conversation being for him, to talk with me]?” he said and talked.’ (*čhúmoe minás: #155*)

The perfect participle in Burushaski has a passive reading, as is true in most languages, while the imperfect participle has only active reading. So the perfect participle is sometimes used to construct a seeming passive expression with a copula as (129).

## (129) Seeming passive construction

*khóle akhí girmínum bilá.*  
 khól-e akhíl girmín-um b'il-Ø  
 here-ESS in.this.way write-ADJVLZ COP-3SG.Y-PRS

‘Here it is written thus.’

This construction cannot be thought of as a clause with an actor-subject, but, too, may not be easily regarded as a passive clause in the respect of low frequency, subject restriction for non-human or inanimate, and so on. For now, by thinking of the perfect participle as a modifier in something like (129)', this expression should be treated as a mere copular predicate clause with some omission which may be reconstructed to an existential clause.

## (129)' Reconstruction of the seeming passive to an existential clause

*khóle akhí girmínum jumláan bilá.*  
 khól-e akhíl girmín-um jumlá-an-Ø b'il-Ø  
 here-ESS in.this.way write-ADJVLZ sentence-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.Y-PRS

‘There is a sentence written in this way here.’

For details on *-um* the participialiser, see also §6.9.

The second use of *-um* occurs when, it is attached to an adjectival root such as *uy* ‘big, large’ (bound form) or a spatial noun such as *@-yát-* ‘top’, it forms an adjective as a free form, i.e. *uyúm* ‘big, large’ (free form) as in (130) and *@-yátum* ‘upper’ as in (131). Many adjectives are formed in the combination of an adjectival root and the adjectivaliser *-um*, while the rest require the other adjectivalisers or do not require any suffix to be a free form.

(130) *-um* with an adjectival root

*isé buáa isúmale mujóq burúm bilúm.*  
 isé buá-e i-sumál-e mujóq-Ø bur'-um b'il-m  
 that:X cow-GEN 3SG.X:I-tail-GEN tassel-ABS white-ADJVLZ COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

*óor ískilar kawárd dálum manílúm.*  
*óor i-skíl-ar kawárd dál-um man+b'il'-m*  
 and 3SG.X:I-face-DAT covered over-ADJVLZ become+COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

‘The tassel of its tail was white and it was hanging down over its face.’ (šon gukúr: #13)

(131) -um with a spatial noun

*yátum gúncar yármo juán uyúm*  
*i-yát-um gunc'-ar i-yár-mu-e juán uy'-um*  
 3SG.Y:I-upwards-ADJVLZ day-DAT 3SG.Y:I-forewards-OBL-GEN like big-ADJVLZ  
  
*yuníkiş qhúuq sađáke káa liş numáninin dáa*  
*yuní-kiş qhúuq-Ø sađák-e kaaţ líş n-man'-n-n dáa*  
 mica-ADJVLZ pig-ABS road-GEN together crawling CP-become-CP-CP again  
  
*díimi.*  
*d-i'm-i*  
 come:PFV-3SG.X-NPRS-3SG.X

‘The next day [lit. the upper day] the big bad pig came prowling along the road as usual.’ (uskó jótišo urkái: #30)

5.1.3.2. -kiş

-kiş is suffix to make adjectives from nouns with the meaning ‘with a character of’, broadly speaking. For example, it is used for adjectives referring to a character of a person or it may be used as his/her nickname, e.g., @-súmal-kiş ‘tailed’ out of @-súmal ‘tail’, and @-ŋí-kiş ‘bearded’ out of @-ŋí ‘beard’, see also (132).

(132) *uné góimur teí móso ke,*  
*ún-e gu'-i-mu-ar teíl mu'-s'-i ké*  
 thou-GEN 2SG:II-daughter-OBL-DAT in.that.way 3SG.HF:II-tell-IMP.SG LINK  
  
*“un be guúmuskışan báa” ke,*  
*ún-Ø bé gu-umús-kiş-an bá-a-Ø ké*  
 thou-ABS what 2SG:I-tongue-ADJVLZ-INDEF.SG COP-2SG-PRS LINK

“guúmušo	yaráasan	báa”.
gu-umús-čo	yar’as-an-Ø	bá-a-Ø
2SG:I-tongue-PL	sound-INF-INDEF.SG-ABS	COP-2SG-PRS

‘Tell your daughter “What a liar you are! You big liar! [lit. You are what a tongued one. You are a multi-tongued speaker]”.’ (čhúmoe minás: #168)

-kiš (and maybe the nominaliser -kuš (§3.6) also) may change the sound into -qiš (and -quš) when the base includes any phoneme of the uvular obstruent consonant set /q, qh, γ/ or finishes with a back vowel. This sound change is just a tendency, however, not a strict rule: γuní-qiš (or γunikiš/γanáqiš) ‘bad, ugly’ surely out of γuní ‘mica; k.o. eye disease’, and jó-qiš ‘internal organs, dumpy’ (Berger 1998c: 228) from ju ‘internal organs of sheep still being with excrement inside’ (*ibid.*, 229), but sáu-kiš ‘sandy’ from sáu ‘sand’.

### 5.1.3.3. -iski

-iski can attach to nouns, particularly ethnic or place names, to make adjectives by adding the common semantic idea ‘in the style of’. -iski has some allomorphs such as -ki, -iki, -iski, and -aski<sup>†30</sup>, but there may not be any conditional rule to decide which allomorph is to be used with any particular base noun. It looks to be selected depending on each lexicon. The -iski suffixed adjectives refer to the nature of instrumentals, guš-íski ‘for women, ladies-’ made of gus ‘woman’ and hir-íski ‘for men, mens-’ from hir ‘man’, the language name in nominal use, burúš-aski ‘the Burushaski language, Burusho style’ made of burúšo ‘Burusho people’, guíc-iski/guič-áaski ‘the Wakhi language’ from guíc ‘Wakhi people’, and húnzu-ski ‘the Hunza dialect, Hunza style’ from húnzo ‘Hunza’, and so forth. An adjective @-šáaski ‘in the style of, in the language of’, which is quite frequently used in the form mišáaski ‘in our style; (in) Burushaski’, would also include the adjectivaliser -iski but its first half \*@-š(á) is a cranberry morpheme. (133) and (134) are examples for the adjectivaliser -iski.

(133)	nín,	téelum	duyárusimi,	béski
	n-i’n	teél-um	d-γarús-m-i	bé-iski
	go:CP-3SG.HM-CP	that.place-ABL	TEL-be.straight-NPRS-3SG.HM	what- <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">in.style</span>

<sup>†30</sup> Berger (1998) has adopted -áaski instead of the -aski allomorph, but it can be considered an accented variant of -aski, while he has given the allomorphs without accent, -ki, -iki, and -iski, together.

<i>be</i>	<i>bilá,</i>	<i>khólum</i>	<i>salaasír</i>	<i>parí</i>	<i>mópaćar</i>
bé	b'-il'-∅	khól-um	salaasír	parí-∅	mu-pá-ći-ar
what	COP-3SG.Y-PRS	here-ABL	Salasir	fairy-ABS	3SG.HF:II-side-INE-DAT
<i>níase</i>	<i>gáne</i>	<i>hazáar</i>	<i>gan</i>	<i>ámitali</i>	<i>nías</i>
ní-as-e	gán-e	hazáar	gán-∅	ámit-tali	ní-as-∅
go-INF-GEN	way-ESS	possibly	way-ABS	which:Y-via	go-INF-ABS
<i>biláa,</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>biláa,</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>apí?</i>	
b'-il'-∅=a	bé	b'-il'-∅=a	bé	a-b'-il'-∅	
COP-3SG.Y-PRS=Q	what	COP-3SG.Y-PRS=Q	what	NEG-COP-3SG.Y-PRS	

‘Having gone there, he asked: “How is it, is there perchance a road somehow to go from here to Salaasir the fairy, or is there not?”’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #449)

(134)	<i>Ine</i>	<i>hólne</i>	<i>barénasulo,</i>	
	ín-e	hól+n-i-t	barén-as-ul-e	
	s/he:DIST-ERG	outside+CP-3SG.Y:II-do	look-INF-LOC-ESS	
	<i>“ljiskum</i>	<i>ṭháng</i>	<i>éti”</i>	<i>nusén,</i>
	i-ljí-iskí-um	ṭháj	i-t'i	n-sén
	3SG.HM:I-behind- <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">in.style</span> -ABL	pushing	3SG.HM:II-do-IMP.SG	CP-say
	<i>ei</i>	<i>numóguşkin,</i>	<i>móoram.</i>	
	i-i'-∅	n-mu-guşúgin	mu-r'-a-m	
	3SG.HM:II-daughter-ABS	CP-3SG.HM:II-confer	3SG.HM:III-send-1SG-NPRS	

‘When he looked outside, I said “Push him from behind”, incited his daughter, and brought her.’ (Willson [1999b] 2002, *Širi Badát*: #40)

## 5.2. Numerals

The number system in Burushaski is vigesimal up to 100 just as the systems in the surrounding languages are. Digits are grouped every two over 1,000 as is the Indian subcontinental convention: *hazáar* ‘thousand’, *lákħ* ‘hundred thousand’ (= 100 *hazáar*), *karóor* ‘ten million’ (= 100 *lákħ*), *aráb* ‘a billion’ (= 100 *karóor*).<sup>†31</sup>

<sup>†31</sup> All of these units are loanwords from Urdu: *hazār* (ہزار) ‘thousand’, *lākħ* (لاکھ) ‘hundred thousand’, *karōr* (کروڑ) ‘ten million’, and *arab* (ارب) ‘billion’.



## 5.2.1. Cardinal numerals

Cardinal numeral is a typical numeral which takes a position different from other adjectives and is simply represented by “numeral” later in (218) in §8.1.1, the basic constituent order of a noun phrase.

Numerals for numbers from 1 to 10 have more than one form according to nominal classes as shown in Table 31. Z-class forms are used in simply counting the number or with temporal units such as *den* ‘year’, *gunc* ‘day’, and *minát* ‘minute’.

Table 31. Cardinal numerals

	h	x	y	z		z
1	<i>hin</i>		<i>han</i>		11	<i>turmahík</i>
2	<i>altán</i>	<i>altá(c)</i>		<i>altó</i>	12	<i>turma-altó</i> <sup>†32</sup>
3	<i>iskén</i>		<i>uskó</i>		20	<i>áltar ~ áltar</i>
4		<i>wáto</i>		<i>wálti</i>	30	<i>ált(h)ar tóorimi</i>
5		<i>chundó</i>		<i>chindí</i>	40	<i>altó ált(h)ar</i>
6		<i>mišíndo</i>		<i>mišíndi</i>	60	<i>iskí ált(h)ar</i>
7		<i>thaló</i>		<i>thalé</i>	100	<i>hik tha</i>
8		<i>áltambo ~ álthambo</i>		<i>alt(h)ámbi</i>	101	<i>hik tha ke hik</i>
9		<i>hunčó</i>		<i>hunčí</i>	200	<i>altó tha</i>
10		<i>tóorumo</i>		<i>tóorimi</i>	1000	<i>hik hazáar</i>

(135) and (136) are examples for numerals.

- (135) *sirph hik dámane, isé búše híjce ašaáto ašaáto*  
*sírph hík dám-an-e isé buš'e hiḡc-e ašaáto+RDP*  
 only one:Z time-INDEF.SG-ESS that:X cat-ERG door-ADE-ESS weak+MANNER

*qarqár étimi.*  
 RDP-qár i-t'-m-i  
 MASS-scratch:ONO 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.X

‘Just once [lit. one time], the cat scratched the door weakly.’ (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #84)

<sup>†32</sup> *turma-altó* is pronounced /turma.altó/, not /turma:ltó/; so that I always use a hyphen between the morphemes *turma-* ‘ten, -teen’ and *altó* ‘two’ for it and *turma-alt(h)ámbi* ‘eighteen’ unlike to the others such as *turmahík* ‘eleven’.

- (136) *íne ooláatcum wálti álthar hakíçaŋ muúto*  
*ín-e ooláat-c-um wálti álthar ha'kiçaŋ-Ø muú-to*  
 s/he:DIST-GEN generation-ADE-ABL four:Z twenty house-PL-ABS now-just  
*maujúud bicán.*  
*maujúud b'icán-Ø*  
 present COP-3PL.Y-PRS

‘There still exist eighty houses from his generation.’ (*The Story of Hopar*: #28)

### 5.2.2. Ordinal numerals

Ordinalisation, or adjectival derivation, is performed only with numerals in Z-class forms and the suffix chunk *-ulum*.

*-ulum* is analysed as the locative case marker *-ul* and the adjectiviser suffix *-um*, but there is no use outside of the *-ul-um* combination with numerals. Therefore I describe it here as if it were a simplex unit. Each ordinal numeral form are as in Table 32.

Table 32. Ordinal numerals

1	<i>híkulum</i>	11	<i>turmahíkulum</i>
2	<i>altóulum</i>	12	<i>turma-altóulum</i>
3	<i>iskíulum</i>	20	<i>ált(h)arulum</i>
4	<i>wálti(u)lum</i>	30	<i>ált(h)ar tóorimi(u)lum</i>
5	<i>chindíulum</i>	40	<i>altó ált(h)arulum</i>
6	<i>mišíndi(u)lum</i>	60	<i>iskí ált(h)arulum</i>
7	<i>thaléulum</i>	100	<i>hik tháulum</i>
8	<i>alt(h)ámbi(u)lum</i>	101	<i>hik tha ke híkulum</i>
9	<i>hunťíulum</i>	200	<i>altó tháulum</i>
10	<i>tóorimi(u)lum</i>	1000	<i>hik hazáarulum</i>

As indicated here with round brackets, the initial [u] sound of *-ulum* is sometimes omitted after an accentless /i/ vowel seen in small odd numbers.

This ordinalisation is not used with quantifiers such as *béurum/béerum* ‘how many, how much’, *@-yóon* ‘all’, or *kam* ‘little, a few’. The quasi-numeral adjective *traj* ‘half’, however, can be ordinalised when it is used in number expressions such as *hik tha ke traj* ‘150 [lit. one hundred and a half]’, and then it will become *hik tha ke tráŋulum* ‘the 150th’.

## 5.2.3. Classified numerals

There are a small number of classifier suffixes in Burushaski as listed in Table 33.

Table 33. Classifier suffixes for numerals

Suffix	Meaning	Attaches to/Productivity	N. class	Remarks
<i>-kuc</i>	day	3 to $\infty$ , interr. root	Z	cf. <i>-ul</i> also
<i>-ul</i>	day	1 or 2, DEM root, etc.	Z	cf. <i>-kuc</i> also
<i>-sa</i>	month	1 to $\infty$	Z	with <i>uskó-</i> ‘3’
<i>-kum</i>	group	1 to $\infty$	Y	
<i>-čuq</i>	k.o. unit of corn weight	1 to 4 or more?	Y?	about 10 or 11 kg
<i>-pare</i>	k.o. unit of corn weight	1	Y?	1/4 of <i>-čuq</i>
<i>-čuṭi</i>	k.o. unit of corn weight	1	Y?	1/2 of <i>-pare</i>

Having attached these suffixes to numeral roots, they are derived into temporal or unit nouns. Numeral roots in Table 34 typically have the same forms as the cardinal numerals though some may have shortened length by cutting off at the end of forms.

Table 34. Numeral roots

1	<i>hík-</i>	6	<i>mišín-</i>	20	<i>ált(h)ar-</i>
2	<i>altó-</i>	7	<i>thalé-</i>	100	<i>thá-</i>
3	<i>uskó-, iski-</i>	8	<i>alt(h)ám-</i>	1000	<i>hazáar-</i>
4	<i>wál-</i>	9	<i>hunṭi-</i>		
5	<i>chindí-</i>	10	<i>tóorimi-</i>	how many	<i>béeru(m)-/béuru(m)-</i>

*-kuc* and *-ul* are classification suffixes meaning ‘day’ which show a complementary distribution as in Table 35.

Table 35. Classified numeral nouns ‘*n* day(s)’

a day	<i>híkulto</i>	6 days	<i>mišínuc</i>	20 days	<i>ált(h)arkuc</i>
2 days	<i>altúl</i>	7 days	<i>thalékuc</i>	100 days	<i>thákuc</i>
3 days	<i>iskíkuc</i>	8 days	<i>alt(h)áaṅuc</i>	101 days	<i>tha ke hí(k)kuc</i>
4 days	<i>wálkuc</i>	9 days	<i>hunṭíkuc</i>	1000 days	<i>hazáarkuc</i>
5 days	<i>chindíkuc</i>	10 days	<i>tóorimikuc</i>	how many days	<i>béeru(m)kuc</i>

Generally speaking the ‘day’ number nouns are derived with the *-kuc* suffix, while the

-ul suffix, whose meaning may not show any difference from -kuc, is attachable only to two numeral roots *hík-* ‘1’ and *altó-* ‘2’, the approximate demonstrative root *khú-*, and some unidentified base elements. *híkulto* ‘a day, some day [lit. just one day]’ contains three parts, *hík-* ‘1’, -ul ‘day’, and a derivational suffix -to ‘just’, also observed in *muú-to* ‘just now’ which contrast with *muú* ‘now’, and the nouns indicating a specific day. The combination of -ul ‘day’, the approximate demonstrative root *khú-*, and -to ‘just’ makes the word *khúulto* ‘today [lit. just this day]’. Additionally, the following are several nouns which indicate specific days: *hípulto* ‘the day after tomorrow’, *máalto* ‘three days from today’, *číilto* ‘four days from today’, and HZ *píilto* / NG *píilto* ‘five days from today’. While all their elements have not been analysed yet, these names are collected in Karimabad and such day names vary greatly across villages or narrower areas. The numerals larger than two are attached with -kuc to make ‘day’ nouns. Of course, *turma-hík* ‘11’ is larger than two and therefore it does not take -ul but -kuc as *turma-hí(k)kuc* ‘11 days’ while the root *hík-* ‘1’ is not formed \**hí(k)kuc* by itself. (137) is an example for -kuc.

- (137) *nukúčan, qaríib altáañuc tóorimikučan hurútimi.*  
 n-gučhá-n qaríib altám-kuc tóorimi-kuc-an hurúṭ-m-i  
 CP-lie-CP near eight-day ten-day-INDEF.SG sit-NPRS-3SG.HM

‘Having slept, he stayed there for nearly eight or ten days.’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #386)

-sa ‘month’ is a living suffix like -kuc ‘day’, see (138), but its usage seems to be decreasing and changing into the alternative analytic expression by using a free word *hísa(-miñ)* ‘month(-s)’, which is originally made of *hík-* ‘1’ and -sa ‘month’.

- (138) *uskósa maními, mi miwáalja báan.*  
 uskó-sa-∅ man-m-i mí-∅ mi-balúu-č-a+bá-an-∅  
 three-month-ABS become-NPRS-3PL.Y we-ABS 1PL:I-lose-IPFV-1PL+COP-1PL-PRS

‘Three months have passed [that] we are lost [i.e. without anybody knowing our whereabouts].’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #53)

The word *hísa(-miñ)* ‘month(-s)’ has almost become so free a word that it can take a plural suffix and be modified by a numeral despite the latent numeral *hík-* ‘1’ in the word itself. This change is still in progress so that *hísa* ‘month’ is only used with a

numeral *hán* ‘1’ in (139) and the classifier suffix *-sa* ‘month’ is still used with the other numbers, i.e. *altósa* ‘two months’ and *wálsa* ‘four months’.

- (139) *mí júasate han hísá ni bilá, khóle*  
*mí-e jú-as-aṭ-e hán hík-sa-∅ ní+b’-il’-∅ khól-e*  
 we-GEN come-INF-INS-ESS one:Y one-month-ABS go+COP-3SG.Y-PRS here-ESS
- altósa dimíwasuman, dáa níasate han*  
*altó-sa-∅ d-mi-bás-m-an dáa ní-as-aṭ-e hán*  
 two-month-ABS TEL-1PL:I-be.left-NPRS-1PL again go-INF-INS-ESS one:Y
- hísá, wálsa níčilá.*  
*hík-sa-∅ wál-sa-∅ ní-č+b’-il’-∅*  
 one-month-ABS four-month-ABS go-IPFV+COP-3SG.Y-PRS

‘We have spent one month coming [lit. month has passed on coming for us], here we have remained two months, and one month for going, [altogether] four months [will] pass.’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #164)

*-kum* ‘group’ is mainly used in the form with *hík-* ‘1’, that is, *híkum* ‘(in) a group, (in) a pair, united’. Berger (1998a: 102) shows the examples *mišij̄kum* ‘6 pairs’ and *althámkum* ‘8 pairs’ but my corpus only has examples of *híkum* as in (140).

- (140) *u ke baadšáa híkum nookártij̄ u pačáas*  
*ú ké baadšáa-e hík-kum nookár-tij̄ ú-∅ pačáas*  
 they:DIST LINK king-ERG one-group servant-PL they:DIST-ABS fifty
- ke nósqan zindáanulo gódarij̄*  
*ké n-u-s-γan zindá-an-ul-e gódar-iṅ-∅*  
 LINK CP-3PL.H:II-CAUS-be.finished living-INDEF.SG-LOC-ESS thick.wall-PL-ABS
- ótimi.*  
*u-t’-m-i*  
 3PL.X:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HM

‘[Since] the king killed the fifty servants at once and built a big wall with them as human sacrifices.’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #350)

*-čuq*, *-pare*, and *-čuṭi* are the suffixes of counting units of corn weight, but their

frequencies in daily conversations have been getting lower. My informants have said that there is no longer any cases with numerals larger than four, for example <sup>?</sup>\**chindíčuq* ‘5 chuqs’. There are, however, recorded forms of them as in (141) below.

- (141) *A'łto tAlečöqij*                      *xAmali.er,*                      *tsindi čuqan*                      *šarbatər,*  
 altó-thalé-čuq-ij-Ø      qhamáli-ar      chindí-čúq-an-Ø      šarbát-ar  
 two-seven-chuq-PL-ABS      thin.bread-DAT      five-chuq-INDEF.SG-ABS      sharbat-DAT
- gəl*    *kε*      *εčöko'nər*  
 gul'-Ø    ké      i'-čo-kóon-ar  
 marriage.relative-ABS      LINK      3SG.HM:II-same.sex.sibling-PL-DAT
- dorčai.i.*  
 d-ú'-r'-č+bá-i-Ø  
 TEL-3PL.H:III-send-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-PRS

‘He sends 14 chuqs (of wheat) for thin pancake and 5 chuqs for wheat porridge to his wife’s family and his own brothers.’ (Lorimer 1935b: 300)

Too, there are some classified numeral nouns which are most likely fully-fossilised such as *hitháan* ‘a place [hík-tháan || one-place]’ and *altóman* ‘2 maunds (about 80kg) [altó-mán || two-maund]’ existing by the side of *tháan* ‘place’ and *man* ‘maund (k.o. unit of wight; about 40kg)’.

Furthermore, numerals for small numbers except ‘1’ can take the plural personal prefix to express how many persons are indicated. For example, *áľto* ‘2’ is personalised, taking the general indefinite plural suffix *-ik* and losing the ability for indefiniteness marking, for example: @-*ľtik* (also @-*ľtaik* and @-*ľtalik* in Nager) ‘two of, both’: *méľtik* ‘we two, both of us’, *máľtik* ‘you two, both of you’, *óľtik* ‘they two, both of them’, and *éľtik* ‘those (Y-class) two, both of them (Y-class)’. In the same way, after the numeral *iski* ‘3’, they will take the personal prefix of type-I accented series as @-*iski* ‘three of’, see (142) also.

- (142) *muú aaqhér qhatará oó-júas*                      *ke*      *úiski*  
 muú aaqhér qhatará-Ø      aú-jú-as-Ø                      ké      u-iskí-Ø  
 now      end                      danger-ABS      NEG-come-INF-ABS      LINK      3PL.H:I-three:Z-ABS

*dúumen.*

d-u<sup>2</sup>m-en

come:PFV-3PL.H-NPRS-3PL.H

‘Now, when such coming danger had ceased, then they three came.’ (van Skyhawk 2006, *Híspare Śajirá*: #5)

Of all these forms, @-*ltik*/@-*ltaik*/@-*ltalik* ‘two of, both’ is the most frequent one. For numerals more than ‘2’, I could not find out the upper limit of this personalising derivation, but it can be pointed out that there seems to be a tendency that the closer the referent number of a numeral is to ‘2’, the more its personalised form appears. Notice that, on one hand, this tendency may be based on morphological reasons, but, on the other hand, it may also be due to the words’ frequencies, that is, @-*ltik*/@-*ltaik*/@-*ltalik* ‘two of, both’ is more needed in texts than the others, and @-*iski* ‘three of’ is needed more than the ones for larger numbers, and so forth.

## VERBALS

I employ the term verbal to indicate a category including both verbs and copulas. That is, verbal is the name of a class that includes both, just as nominal is the name of a class consisting of nouns and pronouns.

A verbal can, by itself, be a predicate of a clause with conjugation, or can get another status, nominal or adjectival, in a clause through any deverbal morphological process. Deverbal forms include such as infinitives (§3.6.1), participles (§5.1.3.1), and converbs (§8.9.3). I describe here the forms and use of verbal conjugation.

First, I will show morphological templates for verbs and copulas in §6.1, and then stem formation of copulas (§6.2) and verbs (§6.3). §§6.4 – 6.7 will deal with finite forms in each mood (whereas syntactic modal expressions will be discussed later in §8.6), and §6.8 with negative forms. Finally, I will devote §6.9 to the deverbal morphological strategies.

### 6.1. Templates

First of all, I illustrate templates for verbal morphology. See the following templates in Figure 10 for copulas, in Figure 11 for verbs, and in Figure 12 for auxiliary copulas which are always used with verbs.

As I have mentioned in §3.1 earlier, in the description of morphologies, I use a square bracket ([ ]) to indicate a slot from either template, and a superscript in small-capitals added to the bracket to indicate from what kind of template the slot originates.

(-1)	0	+1	(+2)	(+3)	+4	(+5)
NEG	ROOT	PERS	ASP	PERS	MOD	PERS/COND

Figure 10. Template for copula

-1: a- negative

0: root

+1: person

+2: -č imperfective

+3: first person

+4: -∅ present, -m non-present, -š optative,  
-an conditional

+5: optative person, -ce counterfactual



(-4)	(-3)	(-2)	(-1)	0	(+1)	(+2)	(+3)	+4	(+5)
NEG	TEL	PERS	CAUS	ROOT	PL	ASP	PERS	MOD/AUX	PERS/COND

Figure 11. Template for verb

-4: a-/oó-/aú- negative	+3: first person
-3: d- telic, n- conjunctive participle	+4: -Ø present, -m non-present, -i/-in imperative (SG/PL), -ş optative, auxiliary copula (Figure 12)
-2: @-/@:/@¨ person	+5: indicative person, optative person, -ce counterfactual, -á reminding
-1: s- causative	
0: root	
+1: -ya plural	
+2: -č imperfective	

0	+1	(+3)	+4
ROOT	PERS	PERS	MOD

Figure 12. Template for auxiliary copula

0: root	+3: first person
+1: person	+4: -Ø present, -m non-present

For each slot, if the number is enclosed in round brackets, then the element in that slot is optional. If the number has no round brackets, however, the element in that slot is obligatory.

There are enclosed ranges of slots, from [0: root]<sup>COP</sup> to [+2: aspect]<sup>COP</sup> in Figure 10, from [-3: telicity]<sup>V</sup> to [+2: aspect]<sup>V</sup> in Figure 11, and from [0: root]<sup>AUX</sup> to [+1: person]<sup>AUX</sup> in Figure 12. These are for what I want to call the range of the verbal stem after this; §6.3 is the section for further details on stem formation. The template of the verb has two slots for personal suffixes at the slots [+3]<sup>V</sup> and [+5]<sup>V</sup>. But it does not mean that these two slots have different functions; rather it means that they serve the same function whereas they show supplementary distribution, relatively with the slot [+4]<sup>V</sup>. So do the slots [+3]<sup>COP</sup> and [+5]<sup>COP</sup>.

The reason why the slot number in Figure 12 lacks “+2” is that the template for auxiliary copula is considered a chipped variation of the one for the copula, shown in Figure 10, and thus I have adjusted the numbers of both templates to match each other. The relation between Figure 11 and Figure 12 is that in some conjugations, verbs take a complex form with an auxiliary copula (§6.4.3), illustrated by Figure 12, which occurs in the slot [+4]<sup>V</sup> of Figure 11 (at the time [+5]<sup>V</sup> cannot function). Auxiliary copulas always occur inside the template for verbs, for the reason I regard the complex forms which consist of a verb and an auxiliary copula as a single word, despite the fact that

they tend to have more than one accents.

Deverbal suffixes appears in [+4]<sup>V</sup>, therefore elements in the slot morphologically decide whether a form is finite or nonfinite.

Most studies have built the templates for the verbal using \*[+6]<sup>V</sup>, \*[+6]<sup>COP</sup>, or \*[+5]<sup>AUX</sup> slot for the interrogative; e.g., see Anderson and Eggert (2001) and Anderson (2007). And Berger (1998a: 104) lists the elements to construct verbs as including “die Fragepartikel -a”, too. This interrogative morpheme -a is, however, not just a verbal element but a clause final particle that can follow any type of word. Regarding this analysis and reform, refer to Yoshioka (2010) discussing the matter in detail.

## 6.2. Stem formation of copulas

The copula root exhibits supplementary alternation according to class-number and polarity. See Table 36 below for detailed inventories.

The root of the auxiliary copula appears at the [+4] slot of verbs when the verb should be expressed in a complex tense-aspect construction, e.g., present, imperfect, present-perfect, and past-perfect; or in the structure of a kind of quasi-converbs or declined finite verbs (Tikkanen 1995: 493) such as *sénáte* (contracted form of *\*sén báte* in Hunza) ‘upon your/his/their having said’. Unlike the free copula, the auxiliary copula in Nager has only two roots that are the same as in Hunza. While, in Yasin, the same set of three roots is used both for the free and the auxiliary copulas.

Table 36. The supplementary alternation of the copula root in the three major dialects

	Eastern		Western
	Hunza	Nager	Yasin
H	√bá	√bá	√bá
X / Y.PL / Y.SG.NEG/NONFINITE	√b	√b	√b
Y.SG.AFF.FINITE		√d	√d <sup>†33</sup>

These roots combine with each personal suffix at [+1] shown with Table 37 below to build copular stems, including auxiliary ones, except the one for both conditional mood and concessive expression that requires the imperfective aspect suffix -č at [+2]<sup>COP</sup>.

<sup>†33</sup> In Western Burushaski, the Y-class singular copula forms always include *du-* actually as in *duá* ‘(it) is’ and *dulúm* ‘(it) was’, but these may be a result of diachronic change and could be reconstructed as the same forms as those in the Nager dialect: *\*dilá* and *\*dilúm*, respectively.

Table 37. Basic personal suffixes for copula

	SG	PL
1	-a	-an
2	-a	-an
3 HM	-i	-an
HF	-o	
X	-i	-ié(n) ~ -ió (< *-i-an)
Y	-il	-icá(n) (< *-ic-an)

The plural suffixes of the X- and Y-classes are fundamentally divided into \*-an, which may be the original plural marker, and can be seen with H-class also, and \*-i of X-class or \*-ic of Y-class further; i.e. X.PL \*-i-an > -ien/-io, Y.PL \*-ic-an > -ican. It is not clear what the difference between -il in Y-class singular and -ic in Y-class plural is. And as it can be observed in several conjugated forms shown later, the element \*-an tends to be eliminated or weakened by attaching a suffix with a sound at [+4]<sup>COP/AUX</sup>, but \*-o as its completely changed part in the Nager form does not budge an inch in this situation (but see §§6.7 and 8.6.2): e.g. the imperfective stem of X.PL in Hunza b'ién-č > bíč- versus that in Nager b'ió-č > bióč- (see Table 39).

On the other hand, after attaching the personal suffix, H-class singular forms also undergo contraction into one mora by non-zero suffixation, e.g. bá-a-m > bam 'you (SG) were', not \*báam. But the third person HF-class singular form fuses the vowels of the root and the suffix, i.e. bá-o > bó, so it will not lose the vowel.

The majority of the conjugated or derived forms of the copula is based on the stem which merely consists of a root and a personal suffix, as in Table 38. The round-bracketed parts are realised when [+4] is filled by a soundless morpheme, that is, a zero morpheme. Compare the actual forms listed in §6.4.1.

Table 38. Basic stems of copula

	SG	PL
1	<i>bá(a)-</i>	<i>bá(an)-</i>
2	<i>bá(a)-</i>	<i>bá(an)-</i>
3 HM	<i>bá(i)-</i>	<i>bá(an)-</i>
HF	<i>bó-</i>	
X	<i>bí-</i>	<i>bi(én)- ~ bió-</i>
Y	<i>bil' ~ dil'-</i>	<i>bic(án)-</i>

Like verbs, the copula can also take the imperfective aspect marker *-č* inside the stem. But use of this marker is quite rare, limited to conditional forms (§6.7) and concessive expressions (§8.6.2). In this case, the root of the third person Y-class singular in Nager will be neutralized into  $\sqrt{b}$ . The imperfective stem has the following forms shown in Table 39.

Table 39. Imperfective stems of copula

	SG	PL
1	<i>báč-</i>	<i>báč-</i>
2	<i>báč-</i>	<i>báč-</i>
3 HM	<i>báč-</i>	<i>báč-</i>
HF	<i>bóč-</i>	
X	<i>bíč-</i>	<i>bíč- ~ bióč-</i>
Y	<i>bilíč-</i>	<i>bicíč-</i>

### 6.3. Stem formation of verbs

In Burushaski, a verb root can be modified with derivational affixes to build several kinds of stems containing information on telicity, voice, aspect, and sometimes the plurality of a certain participant and the nominal class of an object participant. And then, the verb root, whether derived or non-derived, needs to be attached to the conjugational affix to appear in utterances. That is, every root of verbs and copulas is a bound morpheme. I explain the elements for stem formation in order according to their slots from the front end [-3: telicity] to the rear end [+2: aspect]; among these, those which influence the valency of verb stems are the first three slots [-3: telicity] to [-1: causation].

In all the dialects of Burushaski (not only Eastern but also Western), there are two irregular verbs,  $\sqrt{jú}$  'come' and  $\sqrt{ní}$  'go', which alter whole the form of the root, or the

stem, basically according to aspect (§6.3.4). In Hunza and Nager, the former root changes or reduces into the irregular stem *d-@-* for the perfective or the conjunctive participial stem, while the perfective stem is normally made of a root itself. And the latter root reduces into *n-@-* only when it is used as a conjunctive participle, while other roots are normally prefixed with *n-* at the slot [-3]. In Nager there is also the prospective forms with the supplementary root  $\sqrt{\text{gal}}$  for  $\sqrt{\text{ni}}$ .<sup>†34</sup> The rest of the verb roots do not alter beyond the range brought about by derivational affixes.

Here I give an outline of verbal stem formations in Burushaski in the following order: formations related to telicity (§6.3.1), personal (prefixation) (§6.3.2), causative (§6.3.3), root (§6.3.4), plural (§6.3.5), and aspect (§6.3.6). The theoretical background of the *d-* prefix will be discussed and concluded later in §10.

### 6.3.1. Telicity

The [-3: telicity] slot of verb can be filled by either *n-* or *d-*. These two morphemes are functionally somewhat similar, and morphologically very different from each other.

Apparently, *d-* has a wider function than *n-*, because in the case of a conflict between *d-* and *n-*, only *d-* remains, at least, at the surface level. Also, *d-* serves the function *n-* usually does independently. But the opposite is not the case. On the one hand, *n-* might seem to be a prefix for conjugation; but, on the other hand, *d-* is undoubtedly a prefix for derivation. Thus, I describe the conjugational prefix *n-* also in this section, though this section is labelled for derivational affixes.

#### 6.3.1.1. *n-*

This prefix always appears in the same-subject anterior converb of verbs without *d-* (§8.9.3), which is called the “conjunctive participle”<sup>†35</sup> in South-Asian linguistics generally. Conjunctive participle forms with verbs not having *d-* can be briefly formulated as follows:  $n-V_{STEM} / n-V_{STEM}-n$  (strictly speaking, *n-* [-3] + perfective stem (+*n* [+4])).

<sup>†34</sup> In Yasin dialect (i.e. Western Burushaski), these roots alter supplementarily with the different ones:  $\sqrt{\text{jó}} \sim \sqrt{\text{cúr}} \sim d-@-(a)$  ‘come: aspectless ~ imperfective ~ perfective’;  $\sqrt{\text{né}} \sim \sqrt{\text{cré}} \sim \sqrt{\text{gal}} \sim n-@-$  ‘go: aspectless ~ imperfective ~ perfective ~ conjunctive participial’.

<sup>†35</sup> For example, Urdu conjunctive participle (Schmidt 2004: 108, *et passim*), which consists of a verb stem + *kar/kē* (ڪر/ڪن). There have been several alternative names for conjunctive participle called by Burushaski researchers, such as “Absolutiv” (Berger 1998), “converb proper” (Tikkanen 1995), “consecutive” (Grune 1998), or “past participle active” (Lorimer 1935–38).

Conjunctive participles express the meaning of ‘after V-ing, having V-ed’. The meaning may represent that the prefix *n-* is expressing something telic, because the smallest construction of converbs, even those that semantically include the terminus of an action, are morphologically formed by only two elements, i.e. *n-* and a verb root. Still, there is a difficulty in that the prefix *n-* and the suffix *-n* co-occur in high frequency; or, perhaps the absence of *-n* is caused by its disappearing after formation, at all times, and so the functions of the two can not be separately comprehended. Berger (1998a: 143) says that the suffix *-n* occurs facultatively only in Hunza and does not appear in Nager. But the occurrence of it is surely observed also in Nager, though the frequency is indeed lower than in Hunza, see (143). That is, it can occur from one to several times in Hunza or only one time in Nager in a converb with no semantic difference from the corresponding suffixless form: e.g., both *nétanininin* and *net* means ‘after doing it’ (< @-t- ‘to do’). It looks that this *-n* repetition in Hunza is applied to the regulation of locutional rhythm in discourse.

- (143) *taí*            *ne*                    *núya*            *nú*                    *ámit*  
 teíl            n-i-t                    n-u-gán            n-iʔ                    ámit  
 in.that.way CP-3SG.Y:II-do CP-3PL.H:I-take go:CP-3SG.HM which:Y
- dísan*                    *muqarár*            *étu bam*                    *ke*            *eléi*  
 diš-an-Ø                    muqarár            i-t+bá-an-m                    ké            eléi  
 ground-INDEF.SG-ABS continuous 3SG.Y:II-do+COP-3PL.H-NPRS LINK there
- nutáǰan*            *hurú[ʔ]umen.*  
 n-dayá-ǰ            hurúʔ-m-en  
 CP-hide-CP            sit-NPRS-3PL.H

‘In this way he took them to the place where they would lurk and stay [to wait for his order].’ (van Skyhawk 2006, *Híspare Šajirá*: #17)

Anyway, both my analysis and the other researchers’ analyses consider the prefix *n-* and the telic prefix *d-* as the alternative elements for the [-3] slot (as for *d-*, see the next subsection). For the reasons above, I call this morpheme *n-* a conjunctive participial prefix for now; and *-n* at [+4] is a conjunctive participial suffix in the same way.

The conjunctive participial prefix *n-* seems etymologically to have developed from a verb root  $\sqrt{\text{ní}}$  ‘go’ or its reduced form *\*n-*, which is seen in the conjunctive participial form of  $\sqrt{\text{ní}}$  today.

Finally with respect to the morphophonology, *n-* occasionally causes an accent shift, devoicing, consonant closing, and/or consonant unaspirating (§1.5.2) as *d-* and a negative prefix *a-* (§6.8) do as well: an accent shift and devoicing of /d/ are seen in the conjunctive participle *nutáyan* [< n-dayá-n] in (143) above.

#### 6.3.1.2. *d-*

*d-* for [-3] is a derivational prefix to add the sense of telic aktionsart. But the actual function varies according to the original meanings of the roots. The function of the *d-* prefix will be closely discussed in §10. Here, I briefly explain its function and morphophonology with viewing the previous studies.

The origin of *d-* is surely a verb root  $\sqrt{jú}$  ‘come’, cf. its irregular conjunctive participial form *d-@-n/d-@-n*.<sup>†36</sup> Now *d-* has entirely lost productivity; That is, it has lexicalized for at all the actual *d-* verbs, and there is also just one case where most native speakers have lost track of the existence of *d-* and reanalysed the conjugated stem as a new root: *d-@-l* ‘hit’ (from the root  $\sqrt{l}$ ) > *dél-* ‘hit him/it’ >> *@-dél-* ‘hit’ (the root is being considered as  $\sqrt{dél}$  through reanalysis).

None of the preceding studies have been able to solve what the function of *d-* is yet. As, for example, Berger (1998a: 110) says, “Die in diesen Paaren durch das *d-*Präfix bewirkten Bedeutungsveränderungen lassen synchronisch gesehen kaum noch einen gemeinsamen Gesichtspunkt erkennen. Bei allen anderen *d-*Verben, denen keine *d-*lose Variante zur Seite steht, ist *d-* ein bedeutungsloser, an bestimmte Verbalstämme gebundener Zusatz”, to clarify the essential function of *d-* is quite difficult. The latest well-organized study on the function of *d-* is presented by Bashir (2004): “Les développements sémantiques des verbes en *d-* ont entraîné des fonctions qui ont été étudiées dans diverses rubriques; (...) le parfait, le résultatif ou l’ingressif; (...) la voie moyenne, le passif ou l’anticausatif; (...) la télécité; (...) le point de vue. Néanmoins le préfixe *d-* ne s’accommode pas simplement d’une seule de ces catégories”. But this view still seems like a superficial description, because Bashir has tried to analyse it with the grammaticalisation scheme of “come” advocated by Lichtenberk (1991) as a principle for the analysis of the function of *d-*. That is, Bashir set about her study with an attitude of treating the individual functions in which the essential function of *d-* has emerged after conspiring with the semantics of the verbal base.

<sup>†36</sup> I use a symbol @- only for *d-@-*, the conjunctive participle or perfective stem of  $\sqrt{jú}$  ‘come’, and *n-@-*, the conjunctive participle stem of  $\sqrt{ní}$  ‘go’, to indicate an equivalent to the long variation of the type-I personal prefix @-. These stems are irregular.

I had thought the fundamental function of *d-* could be summarized in the venitive meaning, which Bashir (2004) also already listed as the one of functions of *d-* with a term “le point de vue” (for further detail see §10.2 the section devoted to *d-* prefix). Actual functions of the prefix are summarised with five specific functions: *d-* derives a venitive, fientive, stative, resultative, or anticausative stem. But all of these functions commonly have a characteristic of telicity, so I put the functions together in the term “telic” for the sake of convenience.

*d-* behaves the same as both the negative prefix *a-* and the conjunctive participle prefix *n-* in morphophonology; i.e. they commonly show the ability of an accent shift and a change in the stem consonant into the corresponding voiceless unaspirated plosive.

### 6.3.2. Personal

Some of the verb stems in Burushaski need a personal prefix at [-2] for undergoer agreement (see §3.2.1 for details on the personal prefix). Among these stems, there are both transitive and intransitive verbs.<sup>†37</sup>

There are three types of personal suffix as I mentioned in §3.2.1. Here I show the forms of each type with Table 8 to Table 10 again. I use a symbol “@” to indicate a blank, i.e. unagreed, personal prefix slot and three kinds of hyphens “- / ‘ / :” for the personal prefix to indicate type-I, II, and III, respectively.

Table 8. Type-I personal prefixes (@-)

	SG	PL
1	<i>a-/ja-/je-</i>	<i>mi-</i>
2	<i>gu-</i>	<i>ma-</i>
3	HM <i>i-</i>	<i>u-</i>
	HF <i>mu-</i>	
X	<i>i-</i>	<i>u-</i>
Y	<i>i-</i>	<i>i-</i>

Table 9. Type-II personal prefixes (@‘)

	SG	PL
1	<i>á-</i>	<i>mé-</i>
2	<i>gó-</i>	<i>má-</i>
3	HM <i>é-</i>	<i>ó-</i>
	HF <i>mó-</i>	
X	<i>é-</i>	<i>ó-</i>
Y	<i>é-</i>	<i>é-</i>

Table 10. Type-III personal prefixes (@:)

	SG	PL
1	<i>áa-</i>	<i>mée-</i>
2	<i>góo-</i>	<i>máa-</i>
3	HM <i>ée-</i>	<i>óo-</i>
	HF <i>móo-</i>	
X	<i>ée-</i>	<i>óo-</i>
Y	<i>ée-</i>	<i>ée-</i>

The DERIVATIONAL function of the personal prefix (type-I, II, and III) seems quite complex. In simple words, derivation with personal prefixes controls the transitivity of

<sup>†37</sup> Personal prefixes are used with both nouns and adjectives as well. They show agreement with the possessor of inalienable possession with nouns (§3.2.1), and the experiencer of emotional adjectives (§5.1.2).



stems. that is, the larger the number of the label of personal prefix type is (here, derivation with no personal prefix is considered as type-zero), the more transitive the derived stem tends to be. In Table 40, I illustrate an extremely brief explanation of the relation between the roots and the stems. Verb stems with personal prefixes will CONJUGATE in agreeing with the person-number-class of the undergoer argument.

Table 40. Relation between the features of roots and the transitivity of stems

Root		Stem				abb.
Valency	Volitionality	∅	I	II	III	
1	+ ~ -	Intransitive	([- Volitional]) Intransitive	([- Volitional]) In/transitive	([- Volitional]) In/transitive	V <sub>1v</sub>
1	+/-	Intransitive	Transitive	Transitive	Di/transitive	V <sub>1</sub>
2	/	(lesser) Transitive	Transitive	Transitive	Di/transitive	V <sub>2</sub>
3	/		Ditransitive	Ditransitive	Ditransitive	V <sub>3</sub>

The blank cell in the bottom line of the table indicates the lack of an adapted example.

Notice that every root cannot be derived with all the types of personal prefix. That is, I indicate that the variable volitional univalent verbal root (V<sub>1v</sub>) can take every type of personal prefix for derivation in Table 40. This chart means that when the V<sub>1v</sub> root is actually derived with, for example, the type-I personal prefix, then it almost always becomes a spontaneous (= non-volitional) intransitive stem. There is the lexically fixed combination for each verb root that which root is derived with (or without) which type(s) of personal prefix. (For the sake of convenience, I will abbreviate stems with no personal prefixes as “∅-stems”, and those with type-I personal prefixes as “I-stems”. So do “II-stems” and “III-stems”.)

Adding to this, the volitionality is, basically, related to the animacy of subject, so when the subject of a V<sub>1v</sub> is a Y-class nominal, then its intransitive stem may be, however does not have to be, derived with no personal prefix as a ∅-stem (not a non-volitional one) in Table 40 above. On this point, compare the following example pair in (144).

- (144) a. *ité wáqtulo guté mulk dumánimi.*  
*ité wáqt-ul-e guté múlk-Ø d-man'm-i*  
 that:Y time-LOC-ESS this:Y country-ABS TEL-become-NPRS-3SG.Y

‘At that time this country was born.’

- b. *ité wáqtulo gusé huk dímanimi.*  
*ité wáqt-ul-e gusé huk'Ø d-i-man'm-i*  
 that:Y time-LOC-ESS this:X dog-ABS TEL-3SG.X:I-become-NPRS-3SG.X

‘At that time this dog was born.’

In such cases, the type-I personal prefix as in (144b) is employed to indicate the lower volitionality of the HX-class subject which is able to be volitional positively. As for (144b), if the dog was born voluntarily, the sentence will alter as in (144c).

- (144) c. *ité wáqtulo gusé huk dumánimi.*  
*ité wáqt-ul-e gusé huk'Ø d-man'm-i*  
 that:Y time-LOC-ESS this:X dog-ABS TEL-become-NPRS-3SG.X

‘At that time this dog was born (of its own accord).’

There are many inanimate referents in X-class (e.g. fruits, mountains, etc.), but all the X-class subjects of the  $V_{1v}$  intransitive need the stem derived with the type-I personal prefix to express the absence of volitionality; see (144d) below.

- (144) d. *búṭan báaltišo dúmanuman.*  
*búṭ-an báalt-išo-Ø d-u-man'm-an*  
 much-INDEF.SG apple-PL-ABS TEL-3PL.X:I-become-NPRS-3PL.X

‘So many apple fruits were born.’

Fruits such as the apple should not be volitional, but the spontaneity must be apparently expressed in the example (144d).

Roughly speaking, the type-III personal prefix is used for the extended correspondent to either the type-I or II stem; e.g., the type-III stem @'t- ‘to make s.b. do’ takes one more argument than the corresponding type-II stem @t- ‘to do’. For this reason, the stems with the type-III prefix are almost always either mono- or di-transitive; this fact is obvious in Table 40.

Because of the function of the type-III prefix as a derivational affix for extension, I cannot understand what the basic meaning is of roots which have only the stems derived with the type-III personal prefix; For example, as for @-ú- ‘to give’, the meaning of the root √u must be something reduced, at least, for one valency from ‘to give’.

### 6.3.3. Causative

Here I call *s-* the causative marker which can appear at the [-1] slot. Nonetheless, as I have mentioned a bit in §6.3.2 above, this affix is just an overt causative marker, and there must be other elements, @- and @-:, with the marker, which have functions including or substituting for the causative function that *s-* marking indicates overtly. In other words, these personal prefixes do not positively prove that the verb stem that is derived using one of them has a causative meaning, but the prefix *s-* is positive evidence for causative meaning.

*s-* and the *s-*-less type-II or III personal prefix sometimes share the same root, and sometimes monopolise certain roots from each other.

- (145) a. *guté baáj dukhíkinilá.*  
*guté baáj-Ø d-khukín+b’íl’-Ø*  
 this:Y marijuana-ABS TEL-bulge+COP-3SG.Y-PRS

‘This pot has ignited.’

- b. *inée guté baáj déekukinubó*  
*inée-e guté baáj-Ø d-ĩ-khukín+bá-o-Ø*  
 that:H-ERG this:Y marijuana-ABS TEL-3SG.Y:III-bulge+COP-3SG.HF-PRS

*/ déeskukinubó.*

*d-ĩ-s-khukín+bá-o-Ø*

TEL-3SG.Y:III-CAUS-bulge+COP-3SG.HF-PRS

‘She has ignited this pot.’

In the example pair (145), there is an intransitive stem *dukhíkin-* ‘to thin, to bulge out; to ignite (INTR)’ in (145a) and the two types of its transitive correspondents *d-@’kukin-* and *d-@-s-kukin-* ‘to thin, to bulge over; to ignite (TR)’ in (145b).

In cases of verb roots which have one causative stem, unlike to the example of two causative stems above. The pair in (146) indicates that the root √bápay can be derived as the causative stem only with *s-*.

- (146) a. *ité mamú bápáyimi.*  
*ité mamú-∅ bápáy-m-i*  
 that:Y milk-ABS ferment-NPRS-3SG.Y  
 ‘That milk fermented.’
- b. *jáa ité mamú éspapayam*  
*jé-e ité mamú-∅ i-s-bápáy-a-m*  
 I-ERG that:Y milk-ABS 3SG.Y:II-CAUS-ferment-1SG-NPRS  
 / \**épapayam.*  
*i-bápáy-a-m*  
 3SG.Y:II-ferment-1SG-NPRS  
 ‘I fermented that milk.’

On the contrary, the examples in (147) show that only the *s*-less causative stem can occur with the root  $\sqrt{t}$ .

- (147) a. *gúmie un čap gótumo.*  
*gu-mí-e ún-∅ čáp gu-t'-m-o*  
 2SG:I-mother-ERG thou:SG-ABS hidden 2SG:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HF  
 ‘Your mother sheltered you.’
- b. *gúmie únar je čap gótumo*  
*gu-mí-e ún-ar jé-∅ čáp gu-t'-m-o*  
 2SG:I-mother-ERG thou:SG-DAT I-ABS hidden 2SG:III-do-NPRS-3SG.HF  
 / \**góostumo.*  
*gu-s-t'-m-o*  
 2SG:III-CAUS-do-NPRS-3SG.HF  
 ‘Your mother made you shelter me.’

The rule discerning which causative stems occur with which roots has not been clarified yet. The *s*- prefix can attach only to roots having an inactive intransitive stem, but not all the roots with an inactive intransitive stem take *s*-.

Morphophonologically, *s*- usually changes the consonant immediately succeeding

it into the corresponding voiceless unaspirated stop sound, see also §1.5.2. There are several stems of uncertain construction that may be judged as *s*-causatives, but they have no morphologically corresponding *s*-less form; e.g., the stem @'sqan- 'to beautify' derived either from <sup>2</sup>√sqan with only a type-II personal prefix or from <sup>2</sup>√qan/<sup>2</sup>√yan/<sup>2</sup>√qhan with prefixes *s*- and type-II, because there seems to be nothing else derived from the same root.

#### 6.3.4. Root

There are about 300 verb roots in Burushaski, which probably constitute a CLOSED category. Any verb form contains a single verb root and some affixes.

Most of the verb roots may alter their sounds partially by affixation, but do not change beyond what happens through morphophonological rules (§1.5.2); whereas it is also the case that there are a few stem pairs which obviously substitute their roots in the pair according to the nominal class of the object as stems which are shown in Table 41, instead of organizing the stem by means of affixation.

Table 41. Suppletive distribution of stems for 'give' and 'eat'

object is	HX.SG	HX.PL	Y.SG	Y.PL
'give'	@-ú-	@-čhi-	@-yún-	
'eat'	ší-	(@-)šú-	šé-	

As for *ší-* and *(@-)šú-* of 'eat (HX.OBJ)', they can be unified as *\*š-* and be explained by proposing that the vowel in each stem has come from a lost or present personal prefix before the stem, *i-* for singular, except for HF-class, and *u-* for plural: *ší-* < (*\*iší-* <) *\*i-š-*, and *šú-* < (*\*ušú-* <) *\*u-š-*, respectively.<sup>†38</sup>

The verbs 'come' and 'go' substitute their roots in a different way, that is with respect to the temporal/aspectual difference as in Table 42,

<sup>†38</sup> There is some other verbs which show somewhat similar vowel changes, such as @-yeéc- 'to see (mainly with HX.SG and Y objects)' versus @-yoóc- 'to see (with HX.PL objects)'.

Table 42. Suppletive distribution of stems for ‘come’ and ‘go’

stem for		CP	prospective	PFV	IPFV
‘come’		<i>d-@-</i>			<i>ǰú-</i>
‘go’	Hz	<i>n-@-</i>		<i>ní-</i>	
	NG	<i>n-@-</i>	<i>ǰál-</i>	<i>ní-</i>	
(regular verbs for comparison)					
‘bring’		<i>nusú-</i>	<i>sú-</i>	<i>súč-</i>	
‘do’		<i>n-@-t-</i>	<i>@-t-</i>	<i>@-č-</i>	

The forms *d-@-* and *n-@-* are quite strange in the following points: 1) these stems only consist of the two elements in the slots [-3] and [-2], that is these stems substantially have no roots, and 2) these include personal prefixes despite the fact that their meanings are volitional intransitive (personal suffixes for the subjects, of course, will be attached to these stems). These forms surely relate to the elements of telicity, i.e. in the slot [-3]<sup>v</sup> (§6.3.1).

### 6.3.5. Plural

There are only fifteen verbal roots that can take the suffix *-ya* in the largest word list, i.e. Berger (1998c). Because of such a constraint, I think of this suffix as a fossilised derivational one rather than a conjugational one, from a synchronic point of view.

I basically discuss the suffix *-ya* according to the description of Berger (1998). For the 21 “plural stems”, which are derived from the fifteen roots, given by Berger (1998c), explanations are given for some stems about whether the target argument of each is the subject or the object, see Table 43 below. Adding to his comments, for two stems, *@-spuya-* and *@-ǰia-*, I give actual examples from text, (148) and (149), respectively, after Table 43. Berger (1998) shows no sentence examples of the suffix.

Table 43. “Plural stems” (extracted from Berger 1998c)

root	SG stem	PL stem	meaning	PL argument
√búy	búy-	buyá-	‘dry up’	SUBJ
	@-úy-	@-úya-		SUBJ
	@-spiy-	@-spuya-	‘make dry up’	(148)
√gáarc	gáarc-	gáarc̄a-	‘run, gallop; escape, retreat, flee; charge’	SUBJ
√girát	girát-	girát̄a-	‘dance’	(150)
√gíy	gíy-	giá-	‘enter, go into, ride, fall into; attack, raid’	SUBJ
	@-gíy-	@-gia-	‘make enter; plant; put on’	(149)
√gíy	gíy-	giá-	‘overdo, build (bridge); scatter (flour, grain)’	OBJ
	<del>gíy-</del>	di-giá-	‘(grain) be ground down’	SUBJ
√gus	du-ús-	du-wáša-	‘go out, flow out; go away; appear; escape’	SUBJ
√yas	yas-	yašá-	‘rot, decay, get stink’	SUBJ
√yaṭ	du-yáaṭ-	du-yáača-	‘be chosen, be selected; (offence, case) be settled’	
√yurc	yurc-	yurčá-	‘sink; (volitionally) submerge oneself’	
√hurúṭ	hurúṭ-	hurúča-	‘sit down, sit; stay; wait; become pregnant’	SUBJ
√huy	du-úy-	du-úya-	‘(butter, snow, sugar) melt’	
√khúṭ	d-@-kuṭ-	d-@-kuča-	‘become thin, be diluted, become poor’	
√ltapú	du-ltápu-	du-ltápuya-	‘wither, (vegetation, fruit, person) dry up’	SUBJ
√pus	pus-	puša-	‘bind, tie up, fasten, put (shin guards); (shaman)	
	@-phús-	@-phúša-	“bind” with a iron bracelet; make (agreement)’	
	@-pus-	@-puša-	‘tie up’	OBJ
√phirc	di-phirc-	di-phírča-	‘come out; be out of joint; escape, run away’	SUBJ

In (148), the verb in question, @-spuya- ‘make dry up’, appears as a conjunctive participle, being attached with *n-* (§6.3.1.1) and the type-II personal prefix *é-* according to either the third person HM/X/Y-class singular or Y-class plural. Here, there is not any HM/X/Y-class singular participant but a Y-class plural participant in *gaṭóḡ* ‘the clothes’, so the prefix must agree with this.

- (148) *úe*                    *es*                    *rúñcum*                    *es*                    *yárum*  
*ú-e*                    *és*                    *ruṇ’c-um*                    *és*                    *i-yár-um*  
 they:DIST-ERG    that.one:X    meadow-ADE-ABL    that.one:X    3SG.Y:I-before-ADJVLZ

<i>esé</i>	<i>rúñar</i>	<i>dóori</i>	<i>ćúuniñ</i>	<i>nuká</i>
esé	ruŋ'-ar	d-u'-r	ćúuni-ŋ-∅	n-gán
that:X	meadow-DAT	TEL:CP-3PL.H:III-send	firewood-PL-ABS	CP-take
<i>núu</i>	<i>phu</i>	<i>netin</i>	<i>gaťón</i>	<i>néspuya</i>
n-u''	phú-∅	n-i-t'-n	gaťú-ŋ-∅	n-i-s-búy- <span style="border: 1px solid black;">ya</span>
go:CP-3PL.H	fire-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP	cloth-PL-ABS	CP-3PL.Y:II-CAUS-dry- <span style="border: 1px solid black;">PL</span>
<i>nupél</i>	<i>ícíate</i>	<i>jaş</i>	<i>manúmen.</i>	
n-bél	i-ci'-ať-e	jaş	man'-m-en	
CP-bear	3SG.HM:I-against-INS-ESS	drawing	become-NPRS-3PL.H	

‘They sent back (their servant) from this meadow to before the last meadow, procured firewood, went, made a fire, had the clothes dried, put them on again and chased him.’ (Berger, Jettmar und van Skyhawk 1996: #252)

The referent participant of the plural suffix *-ya* in the verb stem @:spuya- ‘make dry up’ can be, then, judged as the object (*gaťón* ‘the clothes’; wavy-lined). But the subject argument (*úe* ‘they’; double-lined) could also be agreed with by this suffix.

(149)	<i>čhap</i>	<i>babár</i>	<i>neti</i>	<i>śéman,</i>	<i>nuśé</i>
	čhap'-∅	babár	n-i-t'-n	śé-m-an	n-śé
	flesh-ABS	equal	CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP	eat:Y.OBJ-NPRS-3PL.H	CP-eat:Y.OBJ
	<i>músaťe</i>	<i>tinjó</i>	<i>jáma</i>	<i>ótuman.</i>	<i>tinjó</i>
	muš'-ať-e	tin'-čo-∅	jáma	u-t'-m-an	tin'-čo-∅
	edge-INS-ESS	bone-PL-ABS	gathering	3PL.X:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H	bone-PL-ABS
	<i>jáma</i>	<i>nóti</i>	<i>úimo</i>	<i>íce</i>	<i>jóođulo</i>
	jáma	n-u-t'-n	i-í-mo	íce	jóoť-ul-e
	gathering	CP-3PL.X:II-do-CP	3SG.X:I-self-GEN	those:X	joint-LOC-ESS
	<i>tinjó</i>	<i>óogiaman.</i>	<i>nóogia</i>	<i>han</i>	
	tin'-čo-∅	u-gíy- <span style="border: 1px solid black;">ya</span> -m-an	n-u-gíy-ya	hán	
	<u>bone-PL-ABS</u>	3PL.X:III-enter- <span style="border: 1px solid black;">PL</span> -NPRS-3PL.H	CP-3PL.X:III-enter-PL	one:Y	



*yaálmunan*                      *kam maními.*  
 i-yaalmún-an-Ø              kám man'-m-i  
 3SG.X:I-rib-INDEF.SG-ABS    little    become-NPRS-3SG.Y

‘After dividing the meat, they ate it and gathered its bones together beside them. After gathering the bones together, they joined up the bones at the joint. After joining them up, there was the shortage of a rib.’ (Berger 1998b: #50.18)

On the other hand, the stem @-*gia-* ‘make enter’ in (149) is formed as a finite in the simple past tense. The subject of it is an H-class plural participant as the subject personal suffix *-an* shows; the object of it is also a plural participant because the personal prefix *óo-* is for agreement with an HX-class plural. Here it is *tinjó* ‘bones; x-class’. Therefore, I cannot perceive which participant is referred to by the plural suffix *-ya* in this example.

If the verbs in question are intransitive, then the referent participant must be the subject as in (150).

(150)    *şapík*    *nóos, u*                      *şapík-mapík*    *şíman,*  
           *şapík-Ø*    *n-óos ú-Ø*                      *şapík+ECHO-Ø*    *şí-m-an*  
           food-ABS    CP-put    they:DIST-ABS    food:MASS-ABS    eat:HX.SG.OBJ-NPRS-3PL.H

*dáa*    *tamaaşá*    *étuman,*                      *girácaman.*  
*dáa*    *tamaaşá-Ø*    *i-t'-m-an*                      *girát-ya-m-an*  
           again    festival-ABS    3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H    dance-PL-NPRS-3PL.H

‘When [they] had served food for them, they ate bread and all kinds of food, and then they amused themselves [and] danced.’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #72)

There are two problematic points with the plural suffix *-ya*: the first one is the actual rarity of this suffix; and the second one, which is probably an important reason for the first issue, is the optionality of this suffix. It can be inferred from the following examples that the latter point makes it burdensome for us to collect enough data. The following examples parallel each other: both use the same subject<sup>†39</sup> and the same

<sup>†39</sup> The subject argument in (152), however, shows a different form, which is declined in the dative case, from the typical subjects. Since this clause can be understood as an irregular combination of two different clauses: *mímar hísá (níbilá)* ‘one month (has passed) on us’ and (*béşal mi*) *khóle hurúţuman* ‘(while we) stayed here’. However both (underlined) predicates in (151) and (152) are used for parallel situations, i.e. ‘we

tense-aspect, the simple past. On the one hand, the former (151) is with the plural suffix *-ya*, but on the other hand, the latter (152) does not employ it.

- (151) *mi khot uskó san wálsan hurúćaman.*  
 mí-∅ khót uskó-sa-an wál-sa-an hurút-ya-m-an  
 we-ABS this:Y three-month-INDEF.SG four-month-INDEF.SG sit-PL-NPRS-1PL

‘We stayed (here) for these three, four months.’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #477)

- (152) *kaafi guncíŋ maními: hísa júasaŋe*  
 kaaphí gunc’iŋ-∅ man’-m-i hík-sa-∅ jú-as-aŋ-e  
 enough day-PL-ABS become-NPRS-3PL.Y one-month-ABS come-INF-INS-ESS
- gáne nibilá, hísa dáa nías gáne*  
 gán-e ní+b’-il’-∅ hík-sa-∅ dáa ní-as-∅ gan’-e  
 way-ESS go+COP-3SG.Y-PRS one-month-ABS again go-INF-ABS way-ESS
- níci, mímar hísa khóle hurútuman.*  
 ní-č-m-i mí-RDP-ar hík-sa-∅ khól-e hurút-m-an  
 go-IPFV-NPRS-3SG.Y we-OBL-DAT<sup>†40</sup> one-month-ABS here-ESS sit-NPRS-1PL

‘Quite a few days have passed: one month has passed on the way coming, one month will pass on the way going, one month we stayed here.’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #52)

Now, it can be said that the suffix *-ya* is optionally, with considerable frequency, employed when the absolutive participant in an intransitive or monotransitive clause is plural and the root is one of the permitted ones. There is no example of the suffix *-ya* in ditransitive clauses.

### 6.3.6. Aspect

Except for the irregular verb  $\sqrt{\text{ni}}$  ‘go’, Burushaski verbs show the dichotomous aspect opposition between perfective and imperfective. To build an imperfective stem

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stayed’.

<sup>†40</sup> I have no idea on the reason why the dative case is employed here. It might be considered that it indicates some special nuance such as adversative affect, but it is still unclear.

they use the imperfective suffix *-č* at [+2], while there is no marker for a perfective stem, so that perfective aspect is regarded as the default value.

*-č* causes kinds of sound change with the preceding consonant regularly as illustrated in §1.5.2. And *-č* changes its sound into /ç/ after the root  $\sqrt{j}ú$  ‘come’ beyond the regular morphophonological rules:  $jú-č > júç-$ , not  $*júč-$  which regular rules predict.

#### 6.4. Indicative

The two preceding sections dealt with the stem formation of verbals, then I discuss the conjugation of verbals from this section to §6.7

There is no tense marker in Burushaski, and the temporality of the indicative verb predicate is expressed by a complex system of aspect (perfective or imperfective), mood (present or non-present), and the auxiliary copula. And the temporality of the copula can be distinguished only by mood. And Burushaski finite predicates must show person-number-class agreement, all of which are marked with a single fused marker; for example *-o* marks the third person, singular, and HF-class at the same time. As for the details of the agreement system, see §8.4 (the section for grammatical relations). The indicative major mood in Burushaski consists of two minor moods, present and non-present.

Present mood is used for descriptions of present events that are actually observed by the speaker’s cognition in the present. So this mood marker functions correspondingly with what is called the present tense marker in other languages. But it is also used for prospective events, which have not happened yet in the present, because the inceptions of these events can be evidently sensed now. For the reason, it can be said that the present mood (and the non-present mood) functions for a kind of evidentiality.

The pair to present mood is, of course, non-present mood (or it may be called absent mood). This mood functions almost like a tense for both past and future predicates (see the following subsections for each form of copulas and verbs). If an event was present but has gone now, the event is absent; and if an event will certainly be present but has not been yet now, the event is absent, too. For these events, the non-present mood marker must be used. Unlike the so-called irrealis mood in other languages, non-present mood in Burushaski is also used for past events that the speaker considers as ones that have happened in reality.

Scholars use some labels for the suffix *-m* and they do not employ zero morpheme. I list the labels of *-m* which are used in previous studies in Table 44. In this chart, the scholars under a dotted line do not analyse *-m* separate from personal suffixes (at the slots [+3] or [+5]).

Table 44. Labelling by each scholar for *-m*

	<i>-∅</i>	<i>-m</i>
this dissertation	present	non-present
Anderson (2007)	---	aorist participle
Berger (1998)	---	participle
Munshi (2006)	---	past, future
Bashir (2004)	present	past, future
Willson (1996)	present	past, future

The personal suffixes for verb indicative forms at the slots [+3] or [+5], which agree with the subject argument, are as in Table 45. These are essentially incidental suffixes to the indicative mood suffixes, present mood *-∅* or non-present mood *-m*, at the slot [+4].

Table 45. Indicative personal suffixes for verbs

	SG	PL
1	<i>-a</i> [+3]	<i>-an</i> [+3/+5]
2	<i>-a</i>	<i>-an</i>
3 HM	<i>-i</i>	<i>-an</i>
HF	<i>-o</i>	
X	<i>-i</i>	<i>-ie(n) ~ -io</i>
Y	<i>-i</i>	<i>-i</i>

The first person plural suffix appears at the slot [+3] with an imperfective stem or at the slot [+5] with a perfective stem. In Nager, lengthened variation of most suffixes at the slot [+5] is used for the future and the prospective forms, which are simple forms constructed with the present mood, see the respective tables in §6.4.2.

These personal suffixes are similar to the basic personal suffix for the copula listed in Table 37, repeated below.

Table 37. Basic personal suffixes for copula

	SG	PL
1	-a	-an
2	-a	-an
3 HM	-i	-an
HF	-o	
X	-i	-ié(n) ~ -ió
Y	-il	-icá(n)

Copulas have already included the personal marking in their stems, so that they will not take a personal suffix for the indicative forms, but the first person singular alone will take a personal suffix *-a* at the slot [+3], once again for non-present mood in the same way as verb forms do. This exception happens because the non-present mood always requires the first person singular suffix *-a*, in the slot [+3], to precede it: 1SG past *báyam* < *bá*<sub>[0]</sub> *-a*<sub>[+1]</sub> *-a*<sub>[+3]</sub> *-m*<sub>[+4]</sub>, compare with 2SG past *bam* < *bá*<sub>[0]</sub> *-a*<sub>[+1]</sub> *-m*<sub>[+4]</sub>.

Indicative copulas are classified into two temporal categories: present and past (§6.4.1); while indicative verbs conjugate in seven temporal references: future, simple past, and prospective, with simple forms (§6.4.2); and present, past imperfect, present perfect, and past perfect, with complex forms (§6.4.3).

#### 6.4.1. Finite forms of copula

Copulas in the indicative mood have only present and past forms. There are no future forms of copulas. These forms are used in a simple way; that is, present forms refer to present states and past forms refer to past states.

A present form is constructed with a stem and a present mood suffix *-∅* at the slot [+4]. It is either the same or just a little longer than its stem, owing to the fact that it is complemented with an open vowel at the accented stem-final position of the third person Y-class singular stem. See Table 46 for present forms of copula.

Table 46. Present forms of copula

	SG	PL
1	<i>báa</i>	<i>báan</i>
2	<i>báa</i>	<i>báan</i>
3 HM	<i>bái</i>	<i>báan</i>
HF	<i>bo</i>	
X	<i>bi</i>	<i>bié(n) ~ bió</i>
Y	<i>bilá ~ dilá</i>	<i>bicán</i>

The following are example for affirmatives, (153), and for negatives, (154). (For negative forms, see also §6.8.)

- (153) *yárum*                    *jáar*    *amóos*                    *bilá*.  
 i-yár-um                    jé-ar    a-moos'Ø                    b'il'Ø  
 3SG.Y:I-before-ABL    I-DAT    1SG:I-anger-ABS    COP-3SG.Y-PRS

‘I am angry from before. [lit. There is my anger for me from before]’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #479)

- (154) *bée* *yái*    *ju*                    *jáa*    *háale*                    *ḍaḍánj*  
*bé*    *yá*    *jú-i*                    *jé-e*    *ha'al-e*                    *ḍaḍánj*  
 no    INTERJ    come-IMP.SG    I-GEN    house-LOC-ESS    large.drums

*ḍaámalik*                    *apíe*.                    *je*    *bérican*  
*ḍaámal-ik-Ø*                    *a-b'ién-Ø*                    *jé-Ø*    *béric-an-Ø*  
 timpani-INDEF.PL-ABS    NEG-COP-3PL.X-PRS    I-ABS    Dom.person-INDEF.SG-ABS

*apáa*  
*a-bá-a-Ø*  
 NEG-COP-1SG-PRS

‘No, you, there’re no drums and timpani in my house. I’m not a Dom’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #73)

A past form of the copula is formed with a stem and a non-present mood suffix *-m* at the slot [+4], and a personal suffix only for the first person singular. Some of the stems, which have round brackets included in Table 38, are shortened to become indicative past forms because they are followed by a suffix with a sound: the 1PL stem

*bá(an)*- conjugates *báan* [*< bá(an)-∅*] for present whereas *bam* [*< bá(an)-m*] for past in the Hunza dialect. And the /a/ in the stem is changed into /o/ by the following -m in Nager. Thus, the actual forms are as in Table 47 (dialectal variations: Hunza ~ Nager) below.

Table 47. Past forms of copula

	SG	PL
1	<i>báyam</i>	<i>bam ~ bom</i>
2	<i>bam ~ bom</i>	<i>bam ~ bom</i>
3 HM	<i>bam ~ bom</i>	<i>bam ~ bom</i>
HF	<i>bom</i>	<i>bam ~ bom</i>
X	<i>bim</i>	<i>bim ~ bióm</i>
Y	<i>bilúm ~ dilúm</i>	<i>bicúm</i>

(155) is an example for affirmative past forms of copula, and (156) is for negative past forms. (For negative forms, see also §6.8.)

- (155) *yáare*                      *hirúmišo*                      *dayó*                      *bíma?*  
*i-yáar-e*                      *hir'-um-išo*                      *dan'-čo-∅*                      *b'-ién-m=a*  
 3SG.Y:I-downwards-ESS    sharp-ADJVLZ-PL    stone-PL-ABS    COP-3PL.X-NPRS=Q
- ek*                      *booṭále*                      *čurúkičij*                      *bicúma?*                      *simánc*  
*ék-∅*                      *booṭál-e*                      *čurúk-ičij-∅*                      *b'-icán-m=a*                      *sim'-anc-∅*  
 those.ones:Y-ABS    bottle-GEN    fragment-PL-ABS    COP-3PL.Y-NPRS=Q    wire-PL-ABS
- bíma?*  
*b'-ién-m=a*  
 COP-3PL.X-NPRS=Q

'Were there sharp stones at our feet? Were those the fragments of bottles? Or [were those] wires?' (*čhúmoe minás*: #57)

- (156) *yáare*                      *khutó*    *hóparo*    *ee*    *hóparulo*    *ee*    *sis*  
*i-yár-e*                      *khuté*    *hópar-e*    *ee*    *hópar-ul-e*    *ee*    *sís-∅*  
 3SG.Y:I-before-ESS    this:Y    Hopar-ESS    FIL    Hopar-LOC-ESS    FIL    people-ABS

*apóm.*

a-bá-an-m

NEG-COP-3PL.H-NPRS

‘There lived no one in Hopar before. [lit. There were not people in Hopar before.]’ (*The Story of Hopar*: #1)

These indicative forms of the copula, except for the forms with  $\sqrt{d}$  root in Nager (Table 36 in §6.2), are employed in the complex finite forms of the verb, too, as the auxiliary copula.

#### 6.4.2. Simple finite forms of verb

Simple finite forms of the verb in the indicative mood include the temporalities future, simple past, and prospective, as in Table 48.

Table 48. Functions of simple finite forms of verb in indicative

[+4] <sup>v</sup>	[+2] <sup>v</sup>	perfective aspect (w/o suf.)	imperfective aspect: -č
present mood: -∅		prospective	N/A
non-present mood: -m		simple past	future

Table 49 shows the third person HF-class singular forms of *še-* ‘to eat (Y.OBJ)’ for instance.

Table 49. Simple finite forms of *še-* ‘to eat (Y.OBJ)’: 3SG.HF

[+4] <sup>v</sup>	[+2] <sup>v</sup>	perfective aspect (w/o suf.)	imperfective aspect: -č
present mood: -∅		<i>šéo</i>	N/A
non-present mood: -m		<i>šémo</i>	<i>šéčumo</i>

##### 6.4.2.1. Future

The future form is made of the imperfective (-č) stem and a non-present mood suffix *-m* with a personal suffix. But, if the stem final sound is not a vowel (nor semivowel), at all the third person forms and the second person plural form, the non-present suffix *-m*, on the surface, is always or almost always elided. In Nager and the hillside area in Hunza, while it is retained in the riverfront area in Hunza around the confluence of the Hunza and the Nager river (see §0.3 for details of the areas). But in the same case, all the dialects tend to elide *-m* with the third person X-class plural. The



non-present suffix *-m*, furthermore, loses its sound after the first person plural suffix *-an*; that is, *-an-m* > *-an*. The Nager forms include the lengthened personal suffix, and *-an* is regularly lengthened to *-een*.

Table 50 is a list of the future forms of *šé-* ‘to eat (something Y-class)’ for a consonant-final stem example (imperfective stem *šéč-*), and Table 51 shows the example *girmín-* ‘to write’ for a (semi)vowel-final stem (IPFV stem *girmíy-*; see §1.5.2 (26) for the morphophonological process). The variations between dialects are shown in the order: Hunza (HS ~ RF) ~ Nager.

Table 50. Future forms of *šé-* ‘to eat (Y.OBJ)’

	SG	PL
1	<i>šéčam</i>	<i>šéčan</i>
2	<i>šéčuma</i>	<i>šéčuman ~ šéčeen</i>
3 HM	<i>šéči ~ šéčimi ~ šéčii</i>	<i>šéčuman ~ šéčeen</i>
HF	<i>šéčo ~ šéčumo ~ šéčoo</i>	
X	<i>šéči ~ šéčimi ~ šéčii</i>	<i>šéčie(n) ~ šéčio</i>
Y	<i>šéči ~ šéčimi ~ šéčii</i>	<i>šéči ~ šéčimi ~ šéčii</i>

When combining the stem and the conjugative suffix in the slot [+4] creates a consonant sequence, then an epenthetic vowel occurs between them. The epenthetic vowel is either of the high vowels, /i/ or /u/, and the choice is determined by whether the next vowel is front or not, respectively: 2SG *šéčuma* (epenthetic vowel) < *šé-č-m-a* [eat-IPFV-NPRS-2SG].

Table 51. Future forms of *girmín-* ‘to write’

	SG	PL
1	<i>girmíyam</i>	<i>girmíyan</i>
2	<i>girmíma</i>	<i>girmíman</i>
3 HM	<i>girmími</i>	<i>girmíman</i>
HF	<i>girmímo</i>	
X	<i>girmími</i>	<i>girmímie(n) ~ girmímio</i>
Y	<i>girmími</i>	<i>girmími</i>

And when a stem has an accent after it, the personal suffixes of the first person at the slot [+3] get longer. See Table 52 for *man-* ‘to become’ (IPFV stem *may-*).

Table 52. Future forms of *man'* 'to become'

	SG	PL
1	<i>mayáam</i>	<i>mayáan</i>
2	<i>maíma</i>	<i>maíman</i>
3 HM	<i>maími</i>	<i>maíman</i>
HF	<i>maímo</i>	
X	<i>maími</i>	<i>maímie(n) ~ maímio</i>
Y	<i>maími</i>	<i>maími</i>

Now I discuss the function of future forms. These forms are used for events which will happen in the future even though they are hypothetical. These events include both volitional actions, (157), and spontaneous phenomena, (158).

- (157) *ye gucé hukái góo káa júcie.*  
*yé gucé huk'ai-∅ gu'e káaṭ jú-č-m-ien*  
 INTERJ these:X dog-PL-ABS 2SG:II-GEN together come-IPFV-NPRS-3PL.X

'Now, these dogs will come with you.' (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #440)

- (158) *Lee mapéer, un guwárchuma! Ye jaar*  
*léi mapéer ún-∅ gu-bar'č-m-a yé jé-ar*  
 INTERJ:HM.OBJ aged thou-ABS 2SG:I-get.tired-IPFV-NPRS-2SG INTERJ I-DAT
- aar phat e, ke je goor*  
*a-ar phát i-t'i ké jé-∅ gu-ar*  
 1SG:II-DAT quitting 3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG LINK I-ABS 2SG:II-DAT
- halagoónan tshir díusham.*  
*halagoón-an chir'∅ d-i-gús-č-a-m*  
 furrow-INDEF.SG line-ABS TEL-3SG.Y:I-go.out-IPFV-1SG-NPRS
- Teéruman qhaa nukóonin, yesháan tshil*  
*teúr-um-an qháaṣ n-gu'n-n yašáan chil-∅*  
 that.much-ADJVLZ-INDEF.SG until go:CP-2SG-CP-CP a.little water-ABS

su.  
 sú-i  
 bring-IMP.SG

‘Hey old man, you would be tired out! So stop your work and bring me, then I will make the furrow line for you. And you will go as far as I made the furrow and irrigate onto it with a little water.’ (Willson [1999b] 2002, *Šíri Badát*: #47)

Cohortative expressions are also served by the future form of the first person plural (or with the polar interrogative, see §8.5.2) as in (159).

(159) Cohortative expression

“ <i>isé</i>	<i>şıçan</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>qha</i>	<i>hurú</i> ”	<i>nusé</i>
isé-∅	şı-č-an-m	yé	qhát	hurúṭ-i	n-sén
that:X-ABS	eat:HX.SG.OBJ-IPFV-1PL-NPRS	INTERJ	down	sit-IMP.SG	CP-say

<i>hitháane</i>	<i>yálanulo</i>	<i>ámulo</i>	<i>qha</i>
hík-tháan-e	i-yál-an-ul-e	ámul-e	qhát
one-place-ESS	3SG.Y:I-shadow-INDEF.SG-LOC-ESS	where-ESS	down

*nuúruṭinininin.*  
 n-hurúṭ-n-n-n-n  
 CP-sit-CP-CP-CP-CP

‘ “Let’s eat it, sit down” said [the servant] and they sat down there in the shade.’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #48)

#### 6.4.2.2. Simple past

Simple past forms are made of a perfect stem, and a non-present mood suffix *-m* with a personal suffix. Unlike the future form, they do not precipitate the elision of *-m* at all. Simple past forms are based on the perfective stem so that the first person plural suffix is attached at the slot [+5], not [+3], see Table 53 – Table 55.

Table 53. Simple past forms of *šé-* ‘to eat (Y.OBJ)’

	SG	PL
1	<i>šéyam</i>	<i>šéman</i>
2	<i>šéma</i>	<i>šéman</i>
3 HM	<i>šémi</i>	<i>šéman</i>
HF	<i>šémo</i>	
X	<i>šémi</i>	<i>šémie(n) ~ šémio</i>
Y	<i>šémi</i>	<i>šémi</i>

Table 54. Simple past forms of *girmín-* ‘to write’

	SG	PL
1	<i>girmínam</i>	<i>girmínuman</i>
2	<i>girmínuma</i>	<i>girmínuman</i>
3 HM	<i>girmínimi</i>	<i>girmínuman</i>
HF	<i>girmínumo</i>	
X	<i>girmínimi</i>	<i>girmínimie(n) ~ girmínimio</i>
Y	<i>girmínimi</i>	<i>girmínimi</i>

Table 55. Simple past forms of *man-* ‘to become’

	SG	PL
1	<i>manám</i>	<i>manúman</i>
2	<i>manúma</i>	<i>manúman</i>
3 HM	<i>maními</i>	<i>manúman</i>
HF	<i>manúmo</i>	
X	<i>maními</i>	<i>manímie(n) ~ manímio</i>
Y	<i>maními</i>	<i>maními</i>

Except for the third person X-class plural forms, simple past forms show no diversity among dialects, even across valleys within Eastern Burushaski. While the future forms of consonant-final stems show the dialectal gaps (see Table 50 above).

As I have mentioned in §6.3.4, *√jú* ‘come’ requires a supplementary root to make the perfective stem, and the simple past forms become as in Table 56.

Table 56. Simple past forms of *jú-* ‘to come’

	SG	PL
1	<i>dáayam</i>	<i>diméeman</i>
2	<i>dukóoma</i>	<i>damáaman</i>
3 HM	<i>díimi</i>	<i>dúuman</i>
HF	<i>dumóomo</i>	
X	<i>díimi</i>	<i>dúumie(n) ~ dúumio</i>
Y	<i>díimi</i>	<i>díimi</i>

These forms are made of either the stem either *d-@-* for the first and second persons or the stem *d-@'* for the third persons, and the non-present marker *-m* with a personal suffix. In Hunza, when the simple past forms of  $\surd j\acute{u}$  ‘come’ have the negative marker *a-* and the accent has shifted forwards onto the epenthetic vowel between /d/ and @ if there is one, then the long vowel after @ becomes short and as high as that of the corresponding type-I personal prefix; for example, 2.SG *atúkuma* and 2.PL *atámaman*, but 1.SG *atáayam*. On the other hand, in Nager, the negative marker *a-* that causes accent shift is not used. Instead, the other negative marker *aú-*, which allows double accent, is used, so that such sound change will not happen there; for example, 1.SG *aúdáayam*. Regarding the differences of negative marking between the Hunza and Nager dialects, see §6.8 for details.

Simple past forms are used for predicating events that happened once or many times, not habitually, and these events cannot be related to the present time through cause and effect or anything of the like. (160) and (161) are examples for simple past forms.

- (160) *isé buš ité saásaṭe díi dáa dubaará*  
*isé buš'∅ ité saás-aṭ-e d-i'' dáa dubaará*  
 that:X cat-ABS that:Y evening-INS-ESS come:CP-3SG.X again again

*díimi.*

*d-i''m-i*

come:PFV-3SG.X-NPRS-3SG.X

‘The cat came again that evening.’ (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #68)

- (161) *óltalike*            *bée ya.*            *óltalik*  
 uːltalik-e            bé yá            uːltalik-Ø  
 3PL.H:II-both-ERG    no    INTERJ    3PL.H:II-both-ABS

*atúmayman.*

a-d-u-maay' m-an

NEG-TEL-3PL.H:I-be.peaceful-NPRS-3PL.H

‘Both of them [say] “No”. The two disagreed.’ (*šon gukúr*: #10)

#### 6.4.2.3. Prospective

Prospective forms are constructed by a perfective stem, and a present mood suffix -Ø with a personal suffix. Just like future forms, prospectives also take longer suffixes in Nager. See Table 57 – Table 59 for prospective forms of each kind of stems.

Table 57. Prospective forms of *šé-* ‘to eat (Y.OBJ)’

		SG	PL
1		<i>šéya</i>	<i>šéyan</i>
2		<i>šéya</i>	<i>šéyan</i>
3	HM	<i>šéi</i>	<i>šéyan</i>
	HF	<i>šéo</i>	
	X	<i>šéi</i>	<i>šéie(n) ~ šéio</i>
	Y	<i>šéi</i>	<i>šéi</i>

Table 58. Prospective forms of *girmín-* ‘to write’

		SG	PL
1		<i>girmína ~ girmínaa</i>	<i>girmínan ~ girmíneen</i>
2		<i>girmína ~ girmínaa</i>	<i>girmínan ~ girmíneen</i>
3	HM	<i>girmíni ~ girmínii</i>	<i>girmínan ~ girmíneen</i>
	HF	<i>girmíno ~ girmínoo</i>	
	X	<i>girmíni ~ girmínii</i>	<i>girmínie(n) ~ girmínio</i>
	Y	<i>girmíni ~ girmínii</i>	<i>girmíni ~ girmínii</i>

Table 59. Prospective forms of *man'* 'to become'

	SG	PL
1	<i>manáa</i>	<i>manáan ~ manéen</i>
2	<i>manáa</i>	<i>manáan ~ manéen</i>
3 HM	<i>maníi</i>	<i>manáan ~ manée</i>
HF	<i>manóo</i>	
X	<i>maníi</i>	<i>maníe/maníin ~ manío</i>
Y	<i>maníi</i>	<i>maníi</i>

Like the simple past forms,  $\sqrt{jú}$  'come' gets the following forms with the perfective stem, see Table 60. The vowel length of the stems becomes shorter before a vowel brought by the personal suffix.

Table 60. Prospective forms of *jú-* 'to come'

	SG	PL
1	<i>dáaya</i>	<i>diméyan</i>
2	<i>dukóya</i>	<i>damáyan</i>
3 HM	<i>día/díi</i>	<i>dúan</i>
HF	<i>dumóyo</i>	
X	<i>día/díi</i>	<i>dúie(n) ~ dúio</i>
Y	<i>día/díi</i>	<i>día</i>

Prospective forms are used with low frequency and refer to events that are going to happen, or were going to happen, or will be going to happen. (162) – (164) are examples for prospectives.

- (162) *iné múuy éi mópačiar*  
*iné mu-úy-∅ i-i mu-pá-či-ar*  
 that:H 3SG.HF:I-father-ABS 3SG.HM:II-daughter 3SG.HF:II-side-INE-DAT
- nín saamáan phaṭ nétaninin,*  
*n-i'-n saamáan-∅ phát n-i-t'-n-n-n*  
 go:CP-3SG.HM-CP baggage-ABS quitting CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP-CP-CP

“*mehemáane* *be* *sénia* *baábo*” *sénase* *káa*.  
*mehemáan-e* *bé* *sén-Ø-i=a* *baábo* *sén-as-e* *káaṭ*  
 guest-ERG what say-PRS-3SG.HM=Q dad say-INF-GEN together

‘The father went to his daughter and tossed the baggage while she was saying  
 “What was he going to say, father?”’ (čhúmoe minás: #173)

- (163) *iphóijaṭum* *báaz* *γajám* *ne*  
*i-phoíṅ-aṭ-um* *báaz-Ø* *γajám* *n-i-t*  
 3SG.HM:I-shoulder-INS-ABL hawk-ABS snatching CP-3SG.X:II-do
- dícum* *ésulo* *duún* *maráaq*  
*d-i-sú-um* *i-ṣ’ul-e* *d-gún* *maráq-<:>*  
 TEL-3SG.X:I-bring-ADJVLZ 3SG.X:II-neck-LOC-ESS TEL:CP-pack bending-EMPH
- ne* *çaṭ* *ne* *lip* *étimi*  
*n-i-t* *çaṭ* *n-i-t* *líp* *i-t’-m-i*  
 CP-3SG.X:II-do crack CP-3SG.X:II-do dumping 3SG.X:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HM
- báas.* *lip* *éti.*  
*báaz-Ø* *líp* *i-t’-Ø-i*  
 hawk-ABS dumping 3SG.X:II-do-PRS-3SG.HM

‘He snatched the hawk from his shoulder, bent its neck, plucked it off, and  
 threw it away. Almost threw it away.’ (čhúmoe minás: #234–35)

- (164) *ése* *ikhár* *niimaráaq* *étimi*  
*és-e* *i-khar’-Ø* *niimaráaq* *i-t’-m-i*  
 that.one:X-ERG 3SG.X:I-REFL.PRN-ABS twisting:ONO 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.X
- leekín* *éde* *iríṅčijcum* *duúsiṣ*  
*leekín* *éḍ-e* *i-riiṅ’čij-c-um* *d-gús-ṣ*  
 but Ed-GEN 3SG.HM:I-hand-PL-ADE-ABL TEL-go.out-OPT
- ayéemani.*  
*a-i-man’-Ø-i*  
 NEG-3SG.X:III-become-PRS-3SG.X

‘It wiggled but stayed in Ed’s hands. [lit. It wiggled but could not be going  
 to escape from Ed’s hands.]’ (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #119)



This form can refer to either the starting point, as in (165), or the end point, as in (166), of continuous events, and it should be interpreted in context.

- (165) *thaláa thaláa yaré, iné déyali.*  
 thaláa+RDP yar'i iné-Ø d-i-yal-Ø-i  
 slow+MANNER sound-IMP.SG that:H-ABS TEL-3SG.HM:II-hear-PRS-3SG.HM

‘Sing slowly, and he is going to hear.’

- (166) *muúto mí sían.*  
 muú-to mí-e sí-Ø-an  
 now-just we-ERG eat:HX.SG.OBJ-PRS-1PL

‘We have almost eaten it up now. / We are going to finish to eat it now.’

With a punctual event, the prospective can be interpreted such that the event is ready to happen, as in (167).

- (167) *ye chor chor duró e, jáa duró*  
 yé chór+RDP duró-Ø i-t'i jé-e duró-Ø  
 INTERJ early+MANNER work-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG I-ERG work-ABS
- phaş éta.*  
 pháş i-t'a-Ø  
 finishing 3SG.Y:II-do-1SG-PRS

‘Now, do the work faster! I have almost finished it.’

Hunza people prefer to use the expression in (168) for greeting, while Nager people use the expression in (169).

- (168) *am duúsa?*  
 ám d-gús-Ø-a  
 where TEL-go.out-PRS-2SG

‘Where are you going?’

- (169) *am galáa?*  
*ám gal'-Ø-a*  
 where go-PRS-2SG

‘Where are you going?’

The form  $\sqrt{\text{gal}}$  is a supplementary alternative root for the prospective forms of  $\sqrt{\text{ní}}$  ‘go’ in (169). Its conjugation is as in Table 61.

Table 61. Prospective forms of *ní-* ‘to go’ in Nager

	SG	PL
1	<i>galáa</i>	<i>galéen</i>
2	<i>galáa</i>	<i>galéen</i>
3 HM	<i>galíi</i>	<i>galéen</i>
HF	<i>galóo</i>	
X	<i>galíi</i>	<i>galío</i>
Y	<i>galíi</i>	<i>galíi</i>

#### 6.4.3. Complex finite forms of verb

Verbs require an auxiliary copula at the [+4] slot to conjugate for four categories of temporality in the indicative: present, past imperfect, present perfect, and past perfect. In these cases a verb stem, which may be combined with a first person suffix, makes up a compound with an auxiliary copula, so that I call these complex finite forms. Four kinds of complex finite forms are cross-classified simply as in Table 62.

Table 62. Functions of complex finite forms of verb in indicative

[+4] <sup>COP</sup>	[+2] <sup>v</sup>	perfective aspect (w/o suf.)	imperfective aspect: -č
present mood: -Ø		present perfect	present
non-present mood: -m		past perfect	past imperfect

Table 63 shows the third person HF-class singular forms of *še-* ‘to eat (Y.OBJ)’ for instance.

Table 63. Complex finite forms of *še-* 'to eat (Y.OBJ)': 3SG.HF

[+4] <sup>v</sup>	[+2] <sup>v</sup>	perfective aspect (w/o suf.)	imperfective aspect: -č
present mood: -∅		<i>šěbó</i>	<i>šěčubó</i>
non-present mood: -m		<i>šěbóm</i>	<i>šěčubóm</i>

If a complex finite form must be negated, a negative prefix will be attached before the verb stem.

#### 6.4.3.1. Present

Present forms are composed of an imperfective stem with or without a first person suffix, and an auxiliary copula with the present mood suffix -∅. Unlike the simple copula, the auxiliary copula uses the root  $\sqrt{b}$  even for the Y-class singular.

Before an auxiliary copula, the first person plural suffix *-an* undergoes an apocope to become *-a*. Even in a consonant sequence between the verb stem and the auxiliary copula, an epenthetic vowel occurs, as it does in the middle of a consonant sequence within a single word. Complex forms with both 1) a consonant-final stem without an accent after it, and 2) a polymoraic-stemmed auxiliary copula, are mainly contracted in Hunza, e.g., *\*šěčubáa > šěčáa*, or *\*šěčibilá > šěčilá*. And the /a/ of an auxiliary copula changes into /o/ through the contraction, especially in or around Ganish (RF dialects). Berger (1998) evasively remarks that the contraction between a stem and an auxiliary is “nur im Hz.-Dialekt, sonst in Hz. und Ng. gleich”, but it can now be observed in the Nager valley, at least in the Qhái and the Centre of Uyum Nager. The present forms of each verb are as shown in Table 64 – Table 66 below.

Table 64. Present forms of *šě-* 'to eat (Y.OBJ)'

	SG	PL
1	<i>šěčabáa</i>	<i>šěčabáan</i>
2	<i>šěčáa ~ šěčóo ~ šěčubáa</i>	<i>šěčáan ~ šěčóon ~ šěčubáan</i>
3 HM	<i>šěčái ~ šěčói ~ šěčubái</i>	<i>šěčáan ~ šěčóon ~ šěčubáan</i>
HF	<i>šěčubó</i>	
X	<i>šěčibí</i>	<i>šěčié(n) ~ šěčibió</i>
Y	<i>šěčilá ~ šěčibilá</i>	<i>šěčicá(n) ~ šěčibicán</i>

Table 65. Present forms of *girmín-* ‘to write’

	SG	PL
1	<i>girmíyabáa</i>	<i>girmíyabáan</i>
2	<i>girmíibáa</i>	<i>girmíibáan</i>
3 HM	<i>girmíibái</i>	<i>girmíibáan</i>
HF	<i>girmíibó</i>	
X	<i>girmíibí</i>	<i>girmíibié(n) ~ girmíibió</i>
Y	<i>girmíibilá</i>	<i>girmíibicá(n)</i>

Table 66. Present forms of *man’* ‘to become’

	SG	PL
1	<i>mayáabáa</i>	<i>mayáabáan</i>
2	<i>maíabáa</i>	<i>maíabáan</i>
3 HM	<i>maíabái</i>	<i>maíabáan</i>
HF	<i>maíabó</i>	
X	<i>maíabí</i>	<i>maíabié(n) ~ maíabió</i>
Y	<i>maíabilá</i>	<i>maíabicá(n)</i>

Present forms are used to refer to events that happen, as in (170), or are happening in the present, as in (171), and logical propositions or unchanging truths remarked as timeless, as in (172).

- (170) *síse káaṭe kholé hurú. dáa Nagér aabáad*  
*sís-e káaṭ-e kholéi hurúṭ-i dáa nagér-∅ aabáad*  
 people-GEN together-ESS here sit-IMP.SG again Nager-ABS resident
- apím dísan. bes hurúsu báa*  
*a-d’-il’-um diš’an-∅ bés hurúṭ-č+bá-a-∅*  
 NEG-COP-3SG.Y-ADJVLZ ground-INDEF.SG-ABS why sit-IPFV-COP-2SG-PRS

‘Live in here with other people. Nager is an uninhabited place. Why do you stay [there]?’ (van Skyhawk 2006, *Híspare Šajirá*: #19)

- (171) *khué tha nookártij kam umánumana ke*  
*khué thá nookár-tij-∅ kám u-man’-m-an=a ké*  
 these:H hundred servant-PL-ABS little 3PL.H:I-become-NPRS-3PL.H=Q LINK

<i>dáa</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ṭeṣṭ</i>	<i>áčóo,</i>	<i>híran</i>
<i>dáa</i>	<i>jé-∅</i>	<i>ké</i>	<i>ṭéṣṭ</i>	<i>aːtˈč+bá-a-∅</i>	<i>hirˈan-∅</i>
again	I-ABS	LINK	test	1SG:II-do-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS	man-INDEF.SG-ABS
<i>bía</i>		<i>gúsan</i>		<i>bía</i>	
<i>bˈi-∅=a</i>		<i>gusˈan-∅</i>		<i>bˈi-∅=a</i>	
COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q		woman-INDEF.SG-ABS		COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q	
<i>phaúanaṭe</i>		<i>íti</i>	<i>phaláaṭ</i>	<i>khíti</i>	<i>phaláat</i>
<i>phayú-an-aṭ-e</i>		<i>íti</i>	<i>phaláṭ-&lt;: &gt;</i>	<i>khíti</i>	<i>phaláṭ-&lt;: &gt;</i>
small.wood.peg-INDEF.SG-INS-ESS		thither	spinning-EMPH	hither	spinning-EMPH
<i>áčóo.</i>					
<i>aːtˈč+bá-a-∅</i>					
1SG:II-do-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS					

‘These hundred servants decreased so that you are checking me for whether I am male or female by stroking me all over with a stick.’ (*čúmoe minás*: #345)

- (172) *Gutsé* *mamúshumutse* *chháptsum* *insáane* *chhap* *uyám*  
*gucé* *mamúšo-muc-e* *čhapˈc-um* *insáan-e* *čhap-∅* *uyá-um*  
 these:X he.lamb-PL-GEN flesh-ADE-ABL human-GEN flesh-ABS sweet-ADJVLZ
- meíbila,* *qheéran!*  
*manˈč+bˈilˈ-∅* *qhéer-an*  
 become-IPFV+COP-3SG.Y-PRS sacrifice-INDEF.SG

‘the flesh of human being should be more tasty than the flesh of lambs’  
 (Willson [1999b] 2002, *Šíri Badát*: #10)

#### 6.4.3.2. Past imperfect

Past imperfect forms are made of an imperfect stem (with a first person suffix), and an auxiliary copula in the non-present mood. See Table 67 and Table 68 for actual forms.

Table 67. Past imperfect forms of *šě-* 'to eat (Y.OBJ)'

	SG	PL
1	<i>šěčabáyam</i>	<i>šěčabám ~ šěčabóm</i>
2	<i>šěčám ~ šěčóm ~ šěčubóm</i>	<i>šěčám ~ šěčóm ~ šěčubóm</i>
3 HM	<i>šěčám ~ šěčóm ~ šěčubóm</i>	<i>šěčám ~ šěčóm ~ šěčubóm</i>
HF	<i>šěčubóm</i>	
X	<i>šěčibím</i>	<i>šěčibím ~ šěčibióm</i>
Y	<i>šěčilúm ~ šěčibilúm</i>	<i>šěčicúm ~ šěčibicúm</i>

Table 68. Past imperfect forms of *girmín-* 'to write'

	SG	PL
1	<i>girmíyabáyam</i>	<i>girmíyabám ~ girmíyabóm</i>
2	<i>girmíábám ~ girmíábóm</i>	<i>girmíábám ~ girmíábóm</i>
3 HM	<i>girmíábám ~ girmíábóm</i>	<i>girmíábám ~ girmíábóm</i>
HF	<i>girmíábóm</i>	
X	<i>girmíábím</i>	<i>girmíábím ~ girmíabióm</i>
Y	<i>girmíabilúm</i>	<i>girmíabicúm</i>

A past imperfect form is used for an event that used to happen, as in (173), or was happening at a point in time, as in (174). If an event happened at many different points in time but there seemed to be no continuity among the individual instances, then that event would be predicated with the simple past.

- (173) *óltalik nuúruṭin bam, óltalik, karagáḍie*  
*u'-ltalik-∅ n-huruṭ-n bá-an-m u'-ltalik karagáḍi-e*  
 3PL.H:II-both-ABS CP-sit-CP COP-3PL.H-NPRS 3PL.H:II-both Karagadimuts-GEN
- káa han baṭá buáan júčibím.*  
*káaṭ hán baṭá buá-an-∅ jú-č+b'-i-m*  
 together one:X bald cow-INDEF.SG-ABS come-IPFV+COP-3SG.X-NPRS

'The two of them were sitting when a piebald cow came down from Baltit by the Karagadimuts people.' (šon gukúr: #4)

(174) *Duúsas khéene, éle ité wáqchi hin*  
*d-gús-as khéen-e él-e ité wáqt-či-e hín*  
 TEL-go.out-INF period-ESS there-ESS that:Y time-INE-ESS one:H

*mapéerane hárki écham.*  
*mapéer-an-e hárki-Ø i-t'č+bá-i-m*  
 aged-INDEF.SG-ERG cultivation-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

‘In the time of going out, there was an old man working on a farm [lit. an old man who was working on a farm].’ (Willson [1999b] 2002, *Šíri Badát*: #46)

#### 6.4.3.3. Present perfect

Present perfect forms are composed of a perfective stem with the first person singular suffix, if necessary, and a present auxiliary copula. Perfective stems in complex finite forms cannot take the first person plural suffix at the slot [+3]<sup>V</sup>, which differs the personal suffixing of perfective stems from that of imperfective stems. Table 69 and Table 70 are examples for the present perfect forms of stems which will take the accent inside themselves.

Table 69. Present perfect forms of *šé-* ‘to eat (Y.OBJ)’

	SG	PL
1	<i>šéyabáa</i>	<i>šébaán</i>
2	<i>šébáa</i>	<i>šébaán</i>
3 HM	<i>šébái</i>	<i>šébaán</i>
HF	<i>šébo</i>	
X	<i>šébi</i>	<i>šébié(n) ~ šébió</i>
Y	<i>šébilá</i>	<i>šébicá(n)</i>

Table 70. Present perfect forms of *girmín-* ‘to write’

	SG	PL
1	<i>girmínabáa</i>	<i>girmínáan ~ girmínóon ~ girmínubáan</i>
2	<i>girmínáa ~ girmínóo ~ girmínubáa</i>	<i>girmínáan ~ girmínóon ~ girmínubáan</i>
3 HM	<i>girmínái ~ girmínói ~ girmínubái</i>	<i>girmínáan ~ girmínóon ~ girmínubáan</i>
HF	<i>girmínubó</i>	
X	<i>girmínibí</i>	<i>girmíníé(n) ~ girmínibió</i>
Y	<i>girmínilá ~ girmínibilá</i>	<i>girmínicá(n) ~ girmínibicán</i>

An accent after the stem obstructs most contractions between the consonant-final stem and the polymoraic-stemmed auxiliary copula, because the accents of a verb stem and an auxiliary copula should differ. This conditioning still allows the contracted forms of the third person X-class singular and Y-class singular and plural, whose copulas have an accent on the second syllable, see Table 71.

Table 71. Present perfect forms of *man'* 'to become'

		SG	PL
1		<i>manáábáa</i>	<i>manúbáan</i>
2		<i>manúbáa</i>	<i>manúbáan</i>
3	HM	<i>manúbái</i>	<i>manúbáan</i>
	HF	<i>manúbó</i>	
	X	<i>maníbí</i>	<i>maníé(n) ~ maníbíó</i>
	Y	<i>manílá ~ maníbilá</i>	<i>manicá(n) ~ maníbicán</i>

The present perfect and past perfect forms of  $\sqrt{j}$  'come' are realised with a supplementary root as in Table 72.

Table 72. Present perfect forms of  $\sqrt{j}$ - 'to come'

		SG	PL
1		<i>dáayabáa</i>	<i>diméebáan</i>
2		<i>dukóobáa</i>	<i>damáabáan</i>
3	HM	<i>díibái</i>	<i>dúubáan</i>
	HF	<i>dumóobó</i>	
	X	<i>díibí</i>	<i>dúubié(n) ~ dúubió</i>
	Y	<i>díibilá</i>	<i>díibicá(n)</i>

A present perfect form is used to refer to an event that has happened before, but whose resultant effect still remains, see the examples (175) – (177). So, the present perfect can be used in the answer portion of the following greeting exchange in (175), because the answerer is on the spot.



- (175) – *dukóoma.*  
 d-gü-m-a  
 come:PFV-2SG-NPRS-2SG  
 ‘You are welcome! [lit. Just you came.]’
- *dáayabáa.*  
 d-a-a+bá-a-Ø  
 come:PFV-1SG-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS  
 ‘I’ve arrived.’
- (176) *baadšáa jamaaáte yániše mumóos dusúninin*  
 baadšáa-e jamaaát-e yéniš-e mu-moos’Ø d-sú-n-n-n  
 king-GEN spouse-GEN queen-ERG 3SG.HF:I-anger-ABS TEL:CP-bring-CP-CP  
 “*khos, je ayákal bes déeyasibi?*  
 khós-Ø jé a-yakál bés d-ĩ-yas+b’i-Ø  
 this.one:X-ABS I 1SG:I-direction why TEL-3SG.X:III-laugh+COP-3SG.X-PRS  
 ‘The king’s queen got angry and said “Why has this fish laughed at me?”.’  
 (čhúmoe minás: #24)
- (177) *yar ámine gárar ke*  
 i-yár ámin-e gar’ar ké  
 3SG.Y:I-before which:H-GEN marriage-DAT LINK  
*atíbái, yaaní joṭ laanetí*  
 a-d-ĩ’+bá-i-Ø yaaní jóṭ laanét-í  
 NEG-come:PFV-3SG.HM+COP-3SG.HM-PRS FIL small curse-ADJVLZ  
*aí, hazáar júçáia?*  
 a-í-Ø hazáar jú-č+bá-i-Ø=a  
 1SG:I-son-ABS perhaps come-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-PRS=Q  
 ‘The one who has not come even to the wedding before, that is to say that little accursed son of mine, perhaps he comes now?’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #183)

## 6.4.3.4. Past perfect

Finally, past perfect forms are constructed out of a perfective stem with or without the first person singular suffix, and a non-present, past, auxiliary copula, see Table 73 – Table 75.

Table 73. Past perfect forms of ŠÉ- ‘to eat (Y.OBJ)’

	SG	PL
1	šéyabáyam	šébám ~ šébóm
2	šébám ~ šébóm	šébám ~ šébóm
3 HM	šébám ~ šébóm	šébám ~ šébóm
HF	šébóm	šébám ~ šébóm
X	šébím	šébím ~ šébióm
Y	šébilúm	šébicúm

Table 74. Past perfect forms of *girmín-* ‘to write’

	SG	PL
1	<i>girmínabáyam</i>	<i>girmínám ~ girmínóm ~ girmínubóm</i>
2	<i>girmínám ~ girmínóm ~ girmínubóm</i>	<i>girmínám ~ girmínóm ~ girmínubóm</i>
3 HM	<i>girmínám ~ girmínóm ~ girmínubóm</i>	<i>girmínám ~ girmínóm ~ girmínubóm</i>
HF	<i>girmínubóm</i>	<i>girmínám ~ girmínóm ~ girmínubóm</i>
X	<i>girmíníbím</i>	<i>girmíníbím ~ girmínibióm</i>
Y	<i>girmínílúm ~ girmínibilúm</i>	<i>girmínícúm ~ girmínibicúm</i>

Table 75. Past perfect forms of *man-* ‘to become’

	SG	PL
1	<i>manáabáyam</i>	<i>manúbám ~ manúbóm</i>
2	<i>manúbám ~ manúbóm</i>	<i>manúbám ~ manúbóm</i>
3 HM	<i>manúbám ~ manúbóm</i>	<i>manúbám ~ manúbóm</i>
HF	<i>manúbóm</i>	<i>manúbám ~ manúbóm</i>
X	<i>maníbím</i>	<i>maníbím ~ maníbióm</i>
Y	<i>manílúm ~ maníbilúm</i>	<i>manícúm ~ maníbicúm</i>

Past perfect is used for a past event that should be predicated by a present perfect if the reference time were the present. That is to say, past perfect refers to an event that had continuing relevance to a past time, see (178) and (179) for example.

- (178) *goroóno*                    *dúu,*                    *aččháa*    *háale*                    *ité*    *khité*  
*garoóno-Ø*                    *d-uʷ*                    *aččháa*    *ha'al-e*                    *íti*    *khíti*  
 bride.and.groom-ABS    come:CP-3PL.H    good    house-LOC-ESS    thither    hither
- ité*    *wáqtulo,*                    *hin*    *ee*    *maphээр*    *ee*    *sísan,*  
*ité*    *wáqt-ul-e*                    *hín*    *ee*    *maphээр*    *ee*    *sís-an-Ø*  
 that:Y    time-LOC-ESS    one:H    FIL    aged                    FIL    people-INDEF.SG-ABS
- hínulo*                    *gučhábóm.*  
*hiŋ'ul-e*                    *gučhá+bá-i-m*  
 door-LOC-ESS    lie+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

‘When the bride and the bride groom came and [entered] the house, then an old man had been lying inside the door.’ (*The Story of Hopar*: #7)

- (179) *édar*    *ité*    *leél*                    *maními*                    *ke*    *isé*    *buš*  
*éd-ar*    *ité*    *leél-Ø*                    *man'm-i*                    *ké*    *isé*    *buš'Ø*  
 Ed-DAT    that:Y    knowing-ABS    become-NPRS-3SG.HM    LINK    that:X    cat-ABS
- jot*    *imánibím.*  
*jót*    *i-man+b'i-m*  
 small    3SG.X:I-become+COP-3SG.X-NPRS

‘Ed noticed that the cat was smaller [lit. had become smaller].’ (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #81)

### 6.5. Imperative

The imperative forms are only used for verbs. The copula cannot be formed in imperative mood. The nearest senses are expressed with the imperative forms of the verb *man'* ‘to become’.

There are only two forms for the imperative mood, the singular and plural forms, and they are both based on a perfective stem. The singular imperative is made with the suffix *-i*, which is realised with a variety of vowels, according to the circumstances, circumstances which include the position of the accent. The plural is made with *-in*, which can vary in the length of its vowel because of an effect from the accent position. But all imperative forms of stems which have an accent on a syllable inside them tend to shorten from their final sounds, particularly vowels, even though the sound is a part of an imperative suffix (see the singular imperative form in Table 76). Some verbs regularly show an apocope after the accent position in the singular: e.g., *hurú(t)* ‘sit!’ <

*hurúṭ-* ‘to sit’, *gá(n)* ‘take!’ < *gán-* ‘to take’, or *é(ti)* ‘do it!’ < *ét-* ‘to do it’, on the other hand. Compare the two series of imperative forms shown in Table 76 and Table 77 below; the former has the fixed accent inside of the stem, and the latter needs an accent just after the stem.

Table 76. Imperative forms of *girmín-* ‘to write’

	SG	PL
2	<i>girmín</i> [girmín-i]	<i>girmínin</i> [girmín-in]

Table 77. Imperative forms of *man’* ‘to become’

	SG	PL
2	<i>mané</i> [man’-i]	<i>manúin</i> [man’-in]

The following (180) is an example for singular imperatives and (181) is for plural imperatives.

- (180) “*máma, un beḥkar hurú. mí ésar*  
*máma ún-Ø bephíkar hurúṭ-Ø mí-e ésar*  
 mum thou-ABS not.anxious sit-IMP.SG we-ERG that.one:X-DAT  
*baréyan,” uskó jóṭišo urkáie sénié.*  
*barén-č-an-m uskó jóṭ-išo urk’-ai-e sén+b-ién-Ø*  
 look-IPFV-1PL-NPRS three:X small-PL wolf-PL-ERG say+COP-3PL.X-PRS

‘ “Don’t worry [Stay without anxiety], Mother, we will watch out for him,”  
 said the three little wolves.’ (*uskó jóṭišo urkáie*: #3)

- (181) *kholéi jáa mámar bésan qhidmátan*  
*kholéi jé-e má-RDP-ar bés-an qhidmát-an-Ø*  
 here I-ERG you-OBL-DAT what-INDEF.SG service-INDEF.SG-ABS  
*étas oólaya báa. qhaṭ hópar*  
*i-t’-as-Ø a-ulán-č-a+bá-a-Ø qháṭ hópar-Ø*  
 3SG.Y:II-do-INF-ABS NEG-be.able.to-IPFV-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS down Hopar-ABS

<i>ne</i>	<i>han</i>	<i>dísan</i>	<i>dilá,</i>	<i>eté</i>	<i>aabáad</i>
n-i-t	hán	diš'an-Ø	d'il'Ø	eté-Ø	aabáad
CP-3SG.Y:II-do	one:Y	ground-INDEF.SG-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-PRS	that:Y-ABS	resident
<i>dilá.</i>	<i>eléyare</i>	<i>nín</i>			
d'il'Ø	eléi-are	ní-in			
COP-3SG.Y-PRS	there-DAT	go-IMP.PL			

‘I cannot do anything for you here. There is a resident place Hopar down there. Go there!’ (van Skyhawk 2006, *Híspare Šajirá*: #7)

To call special attention to or to remind of the order, or to lay stress on the order, one can use the suffix *-á* in the slot [+5] with imperative forms, regardless of whether singular or plural, when the listener is almost equal to, or inferior to, the speaker in status. The imperative example in (182) is used for the order of sons to their father, but the sons have no respectful manner against the father (on the contrary, they have attempted to kill him). At least, the sons have no respect so that they do not address the father with the second person plural pronoun *ma*, but with the singular pronoun *un* (see §4.2 for the honorific expression).

(182)	<i>uírase</i>	<i>káa,</i>	<i>‘ohóo</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>baréná,</i>	<i>un</i>
	u-ir'-as-e	káaʔ	ohóo	yé	barén-i-á	ún-Ø
	3PL.X:I-die-INF-GEN	together	INTERJ	INTERJ	look-IMP.SG- <b>RMND</b>	thou-ABS
	<i>ke</i>	<i>gósqanibím</i>		<i>ke</i>	<i>be</i>	
	ké	gu's-yan+b'i-m		ké	bé	
	LINK	2SG:II-CAUS-be.finished+COP-3SG.X-NPRS	LINK	what		
	<i>éčóm'</i>		<i>ésuman.</i>			
	i-t'č+bá-a-m		i-s'-m-an			
	3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV+COP-2SG-NPRS		3SG.HM:II-tell-NPRS-3PL.H			

‘For that [the dogs] died, the sons asked the father “My Heaven, look this, if [the venom] killed you also, then how was you doing?” ’ (*čhúmoé minás*: #302)

## 6.6. Optative

The optative forms are made from a perfective stem and the optative mood suffix *-š* in the slot [+4]<sup>V/COP</sup>, and may take a personal suffix to make the optative finite. Personal suffixes for optative mood are not the same as the ones for indicative, and always occur

at the slot [+5]<sup>V/COP</sup>. Verbs have the optative form for all persons as in Table 78, while copulas have the forms only for the third person in Eastern Burushaski as in Table 79.<sup>†41</sup>

Table 78. Optative personal suffixes for verbs

	SG	PL
1	-a	-an
2	-∅	-an
3 HM	-∅	-an
HF	-∅	
X	-∅	-an ~ -o
Y	-∅	-∅

Table 79. Optative personal suffixes for copulas

	SG	PL
3 HM	-∅	-an
HF	-∅	
X	-∅	-an ~ -an/-∅
Y	-∅	-∅/-an

As for the free alternation in Table 79, the former form tends to be used more than the latter one. Table 80 shows the actual forms for optative finite of *šé-* ‘to eat (Y.OBJ)’.

Table 80. Optative finite forms of *šé-* ‘to eat (Y.OBJ)’

	SG	PL
1	<i>šéša</i>	<i>šéšan</i>
2	<i>šeş</i>	<i>šéšan</i>
3 HM	<i>šeş</i>	<i>šéšan</i>
HF	<i>šeş</i>	
X	<i>šeş</i>	<i>šéšan ~ šéšo</i>
Y	<i>šeş</i>	<i>šeş</i>

After a sonorant, -ş directly attaches to the preceding perfective stem when there is

<sup>†41</sup> There are also copular optative forms for the first and second persons in Western Burushaski, and the forms have more functions than the ones in EB. For example, the expression of necessity is served by them in WB, whereas the same notion is expressed by using a word *awaáji* ‘being necessary’ loaned from Shina in EB.

not an accent after the stem, as shown in Table 81. If there is an accent after the stem, the suffix requires an epenthetic vowel /i/, which may be conditioned by the characteristics of -ş, as shown in Table 82.

Table 81. Optative finite forms of *girmín-* 'to write'

	SG	PL
1	<i>girmínşa</i>	<i>girmínşan</i>
2	<i>girmínş</i>	<i>girmínşan</i>
3 HM	<i>girmínş</i>	<i>girmínşan</i>
HF	<i>girmínş</i>	
X	<i>girmínş</i>	<i>girmínşan ~ girmínşo</i>
Y	<i>girmínş</i>	<i>girmínş</i>

Table 82. Optative finite forms of *man'-* 'to become'

	SG	PL
1	<i>maníşa</i>	<i>maníşan</i>
2	<i>maníš</i>	<i>maníşan</i>
3 HM	<i>maníš</i>	<i>maníşan</i>
HF	<i>maníš</i>	
X	<i>maníš</i>	<i>maníşan ~ maníšo</i>
Y	<i>maníš</i>	<i>maníš</i>

The conditioned epenthetic vowel /i/ can also be observed in the forms of the copula for the Y-class, see Table 83.

Table 83. Optative finite forms of copula

	SG	PL
3 HM	<i>baş</i>	<i>báşan</i>
HF	<i>boş</i>	
X	<i>bış</i>	<i>bışan ~ biós(an)</i>
Y	<i>bilíš ~ dilíš</i>	<i>bicíš(an)</i>

These forms occur for desirous (183) – (184), intentional (185), and presumptive (186) expressions.

- (183) 'Kot akeya ba'n kε ko'le  
 khót-∅ a-hén-č-an+bá-an-∅ ké khól-e  
 this.one:Y-ABS NEG-know-IPFV-1PL+COP-1PL-PRS LINK here-ESS  
 biliš, nuse, fat etam.  
 b'il-š-∅ n-sén phát i-t'-∅-a-m  
 COP-3SG.Y-OPT-3SG.Y CP-say quitting 3SG.Y:II-do-PFV-3SG.HM-NPRS

'He left it behind saying: "As we do not understand it, let it remain here."' (Lorimer 1935b: 70–71)

- (184) dáal nétan, íne ésulo niyát ité  
 dál n-i-t'-n ín-e i-s'-ul-e niát-∅ ité  
 over CP-3SG.X:II-do-CP s/he:DIST-ERG 3SG.HM:II-heart-LOC-ESS oath-ABS that:Y  
 étimi ke: akbér baadšáa éi  
 i-t'-m-i ké akbér baadšáa-e i-i-∅  
 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HM LINK Akber king-GEN 3SG.HM:II-daughter-ABS  
 áar mumánš.  
 a-ar mu-man'-š-∅  
 1SG:II-DAT 3SG.HF:I-become-OPT-3SG.HF

'Having lifted it up, he decided this in his heart that: "May king Akbar's daughter become mine!"' (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #14)

- (185) hin aqhónanar qáo étuman, táake  
 hín aqhón-an-ar qáo-∅ i-t'-∅-m-an, táake  
 one:H mullah-INDEF.SG-DAT cry-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-PFV-NPRS-3PL.H for.that  
 tumáran bésan nétan guté ráfa  
 tumár-an-∅ bés-an-∅ n-i-t'-n guté-∅ ráfa  
 amulet-INDEF.SG-ABS what-INDEF.SG-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP this:Y-ABS removal  
 étiš nuse.  
 i-t'-š-∅ n-sén  
 3SG.Y:II-do-OPT-3SG.HM CP-say

'When they called a priest, then he said that he will make a talisman or the like and get rid of this one.' (Berger 1998b: #1.9)



- (186) *muú méne itibáar étışan yáa itibáar*  
*muú mén-e itibáar-Ø i-t'-ş-an yáa itibáar-Ø*  
 now who-ERG trust-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-OPT-3PL.H or trust-ABS
- ayétışan úe iqtíaar.*  
*a-i-t'-ş-an ú-e iqtíaar-Ø*  
 NEG-3SG.Y:II-do-OPT-3PL.H they:DIST-GEN choice-ABS

‘Now, who may or may not trust me; it should be under their wills.’ (Berger 1998b: #1.13)

And when the intentional use co-occurs with the interrogative clitic, the sentence can express a request for a permission as in (187).

- (187) *ju.řa go'r sala'm ečo?*  
*jú-ş-Ø=a gu'-ar saláam-Ø i-t'-č-m-o*  
 come-OPT-3SG.HF=Q 2SG:II-DAT greeting-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-NPRS-3SG.HF

‘May she have an audience with you? [lit. Will she come and greet you?]

(Lorimer 1935a: 325)

Or these forms can be used as infinitives in certain situations without taking a personal suffix. This use is mainly employed for either the potential expressions with @-*man*- ‘can’ as in (188) or *ulán*- ‘be able to, be possible’, or the expression with *qháaş* ‘until’ (see also §3.5.8.2) as in (189).

- (188) *dáa duró étaş ayémanimi.*  
*dáa duró-Ø i-t'-ş a-i'-man'-m-i*  
 again work-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-OPT TEL-3SG.HM:III-become-NPRS-3SG.HM

‘He could not work.’ (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #93)

- (189) *baadşáa ke zizí yáníş atíaş qháa síndacar*  
*baadşáa ké zizí yéniş-Ø a-d-e'-ş qháaş sínda-c-ar*  
 king LINK mother queen-ABS NEG-TEL-get.up-OPT until river-ADE-DAT

*náan*            *čhúmo*        *dúcuninin*                            *óor*    *naašitáa*  
 n-ä·n            čhúmo-Ø    d-u-sú-n-n-n                            óor    naašitáa-Ø  
 go:CP-1SG-CP   fish-ABS    TEL-3PL.X:I-bring-CP-CP-CP    and    breakfast-ABS

*tayáar*    *éčabáyam.*

*tayáar*    *i-t'č-a+bá-a-a-m*

ready      3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-1SG+COP-1SG-1SG-NPRS

‘Before the king and his queen woke up, I used to go to a river to catch fish and prepare breakfast.’ (*čhúmoē minás*: #38)

Such optative forms freely alternate with bare infinitives for the expression of possibility as in (184), or dative or genitive declined infinitives for *qháaš* ‘until’ as in (185) (see also §3.5.8.2).

### 6.7. Conditional

There is a conditional form for both copula and verb. But the functions are somewhat different from each other.

Conditional forms of verbs are composed of: 1) an imperfective stem with or without a first person suffix common to the indicative at the slot [+3], 2) the non-present suffix *-m* at the slot [+4], and 3) the effective marker for the conditional mood *-ce ~ -ceq* at the slot [+5]. Therefore, all the forms of the second and third persons do not differ morphologically, see Table 84 and Table 85.

Table 84. Conditional forms of *šé-* ‘to eat (Y.OBJ)’

		SG	PL
1		<i>šéčamce ~ šéčamceq</i>	<i>šéčance ~ šéčanceq</i>
2		<i>šéčumce ~ šéčumceq</i>	<i>šéčumce ~ šéčumceq</i>
3	HM	<i>šéčumce ~ šéčumceq</i>	<i>šéčumce ~ šéčumceq</i>
	HF	<i>šéčumce ~ šéčumceq</i>	<i>šéčumce ~ šéčumceq</i>
	X	<i>šéčumce ~ šéčumceq</i>	<i>šéčumce ~ šéčumceq</i>
	Y	<i>šéčumce ~ šéčumceq</i>	<i>šéčumce ~ šéčumceq</i>

Table 85. Conditional forms of *girmín-* ‘to write’

	SG	PL
1	<i>girmíyamce ~ girmíyamceq</i>	<i>girmíyance ~ girmíyanceq</i>
2	<i>girmíimce ~ girmíimceq</i>	<i>girmíimce ~ girmíimceq</i>
3 HM	<i>girmíimce ~ girmíimceq</i>	<i>girmíimce ~ girmíimceq</i>
HF	<i>girmíimce ~ girmíimceq</i>	
X	<i>girmíimce ~ girmíimceq</i>	<i>girmíimce ~ girmíimceq</i>
Y	<i>girmíimce ~ girmíimceq</i>	<i>girmíimce ~ girmíimceq</i>

The functions of the conditional forms are not the same for verbs and the copula. The conditional forms of verbs always express, in a main clause, counterfactual meanings, as in (190) and (191), or suspicious meanings, as in (192).

- (190) *áya máma apáma, je khóle*  
*a-úy máma-Ø a-bá-an-m=a jé-Ø khól-e*  
 1SG:I-father mum-ABS NEG-COP-3PL.H-NPRS=Q I-ABS here-ESS

*hurúsámce.*

*hurút-č-a-m-ce*

sit-IPFV-1SG-NPRS-CF

‘If I did not have a father and a mother, I would stay here.’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #159)

- (191) *Irne ik'əreŋe seibai.i: “Ja*  
*ín-e i-khar'əŋe sén-č+bá-i-Ø jé-e*  
 s/he:DIST-ERG 3SG.HM:I-REFL.PRN-INSTRUCTIVE say-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-PRS I-ERG

*hik bišaiya baiyam*

*han yomor maimtse,*

*hík bišá-a+bá-a-a-m*

*hán yumór-Ø man'č-m-ce*

one:Z throw-1SG+COP-1SG-1SG-NPRS one:Y hole-ABS become-IPFV-NPRS-CF

*kok a'lto yomoriŋ bitsa.”*

*khók-Ø altó yumór-iŋ-Ø b'icán-Ø*

these.ones:Y-ABS two:Y hole-PL-ABS COP-3PL.Y-NPRS

‘He said to himself: “I fired only once, there should be only one hole, but here are two holes.” ’ (Lorimer 1935b: 102–103)

- (192) *Amálcum*            *isé*            *guu*            *yaa góço*  
 a-malc'-um            isé-Ø            gu-úy-Ø            yáa gu'-ço-Ø  
 1SG:I-abuse-ADJVLZ    that:X-ABS    2SG:I-father-ABS    or    2SG:II-same.sex.sibling-ABS
- méeymće,*  
 man'-č-m-ce  
 become-IPFV-NPRS-CF

‘That which abused me ought to be your father or brother.’ (Hunzai 1999, ÚRKE YÁT: #10)

With copulas, the conditional forms require not only the non-present modal suffix *-m* that is employed commonly with verbs, but also a suffix *-an* that is labelled as the conditional suffix, and is ambiguous in function. For the conditional form, the third person Y-class singular employs the  $\sqrt{b}$  root. Table 86 shows the conditional forms for the copula.

Table 86. Conditional forms of the copula

	SG	PL
1	<i>báčamce(q)</i>	<i>báčance(q)</i>
2	<i>báčumce(q)/báčance(q)</i>	<i>báčumce(q)/báčance(q)</i>
3 HM	<i>báčumce(q)/báčance(q)</i>	<i>báčumce(q)/báčance(q)</i>
HF	<i>bóčumce(q)/bóčance(q)</i>	<i>báčumce(q)/báčance(q)</i>
X	<i>bíčumce(q)/bíčance(q)</i>	<i>bíčumce(q)/bíčance(q)</i>
Y	<i>bilíčumce(q)/bilíčance(q)</i>	<i>bicíčumce(q)/bicíčance(q)</i>

While the conditional forms of verbs are used for counterfactual expressions, the wquivalent forms of copulas have no such meaning at all, although I label *-ce(q)* the counterfactual marker. These copula forms are used only for the conditional function, i.e. the causal condition or the assumptive precondition. For example, (193) shows the causal function, and the preconditional function can be seen in (194).

- (193) *muú in*            *khóle*            *bóčance*  
 muú ín-Ø            khól-e            bá-o-č-an-ce  
 now s/he:DIST-ABS    here-ESS    COP-3SG.HF-IPFV-COND-CF

awárumkuş                              şaq                      dıusas  
a-bár-a-um-kuş-Ø                      şáq                      d-i-gus'as  
1SG:I-get.tired-1SG-ADJVLZ-NMLZ-ABS    smoothness    TEL-3SG.Y:I-go.out-INF

ayámamayabáa.

a-ä-man'č-a+bá-a-Ø  
NEG-1SG:III-become-IPFV-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS

'I cannot talk about how I am tired because she is here now.'

- (194) *Da han i'sə balasε se.ibi: 'Nu'širwa'n*  
dáa hán isé balás-e sén-č+b'-i-Ø nuširwán-Ø  
again one:X that:X bird-ERG say-IPFV+COP-3SG.X-PRS Nushirwan-ABS
- taxtate bačantse, Baktekale wazi'ri*  
táqt-aṭ-e bá-i-č-an-ce baqtek-al-e waziirí-Ø  
throne-INS-ESS COP-3SG.HM-IPFV-COND-CF Bakhtek-LOC-ESS wazirship-ABS
- biličantse, turma walto xəra'b mana'šo*  
b'il'č-an-ce turma-wálto qharáap man'as-čo-Ø  
COP-3SG.Y-IPFV-COND-CF ten-four:Z bad become-INF-PL-ABS
- bitša, ...'*  
b'icán-Ø  
COP-3PL.Y-PRS

'Then the first bird says: "Owing to Nushīrwān's being on the throne and to the Wazīrship's being in the hands of Bakhtek, fourteen (more cities) will be destroyed. ..." ' (Lorimer 1935b: 96–97)

## 6.8. Negative

The language uses a prefix in the slot [-4]<sup>V</sup> (and [-1]<sup>COP</sup>) to express the negation of predicates. There is only one slot for the negative formative in each template, so anything like a double negation can never be expressed only by a form of a verb.

Negation on the copula is achieved by an allomorph *a-* of the negative prefix in both dialects. This prefix always devoices the initial consonant /b/ of each copula form into /p/. And negation on the copula neutralizes the distinction among X-class singular, and Y-class singular and plural; in the other words. Table 87 and Table 88 show negative indicative forms of copulas, which parallel to the charts of affirmative forms, Table 46

and Table 47 in §6.4.1.

Table 87. Negative present forms of copula

	SG	PL
1	<i>apáa</i>	<i>apáan</i>
2	<i>apáa</i>	<i>apáan</i>
3 HM	<i>apái</i>	<i>apáan</i>
HF	<i>apó</i>	
X	<i>apí</i>	<i>apíe(n) ~ apío</i>
Y	<i>apí</i>	<i>apí</i>

Table 88. Negative past forms of copula

	SG	PL
1	<i>apáyam</i>	<i>apám ~ apóm</i>
2	<i>apám ~ apóm</i>	<i>apám ~ apóm</i>
3 HM	<i>apám ~ apóm</i>	<i>apám ~ apóm</i>
HF	<i>apóm</i>	
X	<i>apím</i>	<i>apím ~ apíom</i>
Y	<i>apím</i>	<i>apím</i>

The auxiliary copula is never negated, because negation on temporal complex predicates is always realised at the initial position of the complex predicate, i.e. on the main verb.

The negative prefixes' appearances with verbs vary in the dialects of Hunza and Nager, but previous studies do not deal with the characteristics of the variations. Therefore I describe them separately in the subsections below. The Nager dialect shows more diverse allomorphs and more diffusive distribution of them than Hunza, which is why I introduce Nager first.

#### 6.8.1. Negative morphemes for verbs in Nager

There are two main allomorphs of the negative prefix for verbs in Nager: *a-* and *aú-*.

Basically, *a-* is used for copulas and verbs initialized with any formative having an accent on the [-2: person] position, i.e. the personally prefixed verbs (§6.3.2) which have an accent at the [-2] position without the telic prefix *d-* in the slot [-3]. Other than these cases with *a-*, *aú-* is almost always used for negation. And a few verbs require the use of other allomorphs, but I have not yet found any coherent rule concerning how the verbs are grouped. The following list, which is exemplified from my own fieldwork data from collecting basic words, represents the correspondence between the negative prefixes and the simple verbal stems.

We can find from Table 89 that *aú-* presents a complicated problem because of its ability to shift the accent of the stems. From my data, there are 45 stems which prefer to *aú-* for negation. Among them, with respect to 21 stems (46.7%), it cannot be understood whether the *aú-* shifts the accent of the verb forward or not, because the

accents of the stems are either absolutely fixed or already in the initial position. Among the rest, in 18 cases (40.0%) the negative prefix does not attract an accent, and on the other hand, in 6 cases (13.3%), it does. It seems that there is some negative preference for *aú-* to cause the accent shift, but also, I cannot let the counterevidence pass by without making a protest.

Table 89. The distribution of the negative morpheme in Nager

Allomorph	Accent shift	Followed by	Example			Number of stems	Subtotal	Total	%age
			Affirmative	Negative	Meaning				
<i>a-</i>	unable	COP	<i>bá-</i>	<i>a-pá-</i>	‘be’	3	10	14	21.5
	unable	Accented @	<i>@-s-</i>	<i>a-@-s-</i>	‘tell’	9			
	yes	Accentless @	<i>@-cí-</i>	<i>a-@-cí-</i>	‘push’	1			
	unable	other	<i>óos-</i>	<i>ay-óos-</i>	‘put’	1			
<i>aú-</i>	no	Accentless @	<i>@-čí-</i>	<i>aú-@-čí-</i>	‘grant’	13	16	45	69.2
	yes		<i>@-ú-</i>	<i>aú-@-ú-</i>	‘give’	3			
	no	other	<i>girát-</i>	<i>aú-girát-</i>	‘dance’	5	9		
	unable		<i>hurút-<sup>†42</sup></i>	<i>aú-hurút-</i>	‘sit’	21			
	yes		<i>girmín-</i>	<i>aú-gírmin-</i>	‘write’	3			
<i>oó-</i>	unable	other	<i>d-@-ša-</i>	<i>oó-d-@-ša-</i>	‘grasp’	1	2	2	3.1
	yes		<i>man’</i>	<i>oó-mán-</i>	‘become’	1			
<i>oú-</i>	no	other	<i>hurút-<sup>†42</sup></i>	<i>oú-hurút-</i>	‘sit’	2	2	2	3.1
			<i>gučhá-</i>	<i>oú-gučhá-</i>	‘move’				
<i>oí-</i>	unable	Accentless @	<i>@-yás-</i>	<i>oí-@-yás-</i>	‘rot’	1	1	1	1.5
<i>ó-</i>	unable	Accentless @	<i>@-phátak-</i>	<i>ó-@-phátak-</i>	‘peel’	1	1	1	1.5
Total						65	100.0		

Morphophonologically, *a-* always attempts to attract the accent of the stem closer to just after it (that is why I represent it with an acute accent mark on the hyphen, immediately after its *a* sound, in the gloss). And it may cause consonants in the stem to change into the corresponding voiceless unaspirated plosives.

On the one hand, *aú-* does not regularly show the same characteristics as *a-*. As

<sup>†42</sup> *hurút-* ‘sit’ wavers on its property to prefer *aú-* or *oú-* (which have come out from even an individual). In a sense, this fact tells that a minor allomorph *oú-* is just a phonological variant of the major allomorph *aú-*.

mentioned above, sometimes it attracts the accent of the stem in the same way that *a-* does. But *au-* cannot cause the sound change in the stem, like when *a-* devoiced the /g/ in the example illustrated just now; e.g. *jú-* ‘come’ is not caused to change into \**auçú-*, but *ájú-* with no altering, compare with the negative form *apá-* of the copula stem for H-class *bá-*. There is, however, an interesting matter observed with *au-*. It is that I, and most other researchers also, define the word in Burushaski such that every word must have only one accent, at least. Under the existing circumstances, this definition is not impeccable but fairly useful. But, the negative forms with *au-* and the others listed under it in Table 89 can take more than one accent.

### 6.8.2. Negative morphemes for verbs in Hunza

There are two main allomorphs of the negative prefix for verbs in Hunza also: *a-* and *oó-*.

Predominantly, the Hunza dialect uses *a-* to express negation for any verbals regardless of whether anything is in the slot [-2] as the initial position or not. Only four verbs from my data (see Table 90 below) need *oó-* instead of *a-*, but those verbs show no strong relationship to each other, since the number of examples is not high enough yet. Now I suggest that the nasality (or sonority) of the succeeding consonant may be a condition for the appearance of *oó-*. Anyway, there are fewer stems with the initial nasal among the basic verbs and also fewer ones with the *oó-* negative form, so any inference from so little evidence cannot be adequate for persuasion.



Table 90. The distribution of the negative morpheme in Hunza

Allomorph	Accent shift	Followed by	Example			Number of stems	Subtotal	Total	% age
			Affirmative	Negative	Meaning				
a-	unable	COP	bá-	a-pá-	‘be’	2	30	70	90.9
	unable	Accented @	@-s-	a-@-s-	‘tell’	10			
	yes	Accentless @	@-yeén-	a-@-yan-	‘know’	20			
	unable	other	óos-	ay-óos-	‘put’	17	38		
			jú-	a-çú-	‘come’	21			
yes		hurút- <sup>†43</sup>	o-óruṭ-	‘sit’					
oó-	unable	other	man’	oó-man-	‘become’	4	4	4	5.2
			ní-	oó-ni-	‘go’				
			min’	oó-min-	‘drink’				
			hér-	oó-ar-	‘weep’				
o-	yes	other	hurút- <sup>†43</sup>	o-úruṭ-	‘sit’	1	1	1	1.3
ée-	unable	Accentless @	şı-	ée-şı-	‘eat: HX.OBJ’	1	1	1	1.3
óo-	unable	Accentless @	še-	óo-še-	‘eat: Y.OBJ’	1	1	1	1.3
Total							77	100.0	

It stands to reason that the major allomorph *aú-* in Nager cannot be found in Hunza, because the vowel cluster /a/ + /ú/ is always realised as *oó* in Hunza (see §1.5.1). That is, it is because the allomorph *oó-* in Hunza is essentially equal to the allomorph *aú-* in Nager.

The *a-* in Hunza shows the exact same characteristics as the one in Nager morphophonologically. But their occurrences are not identical. Hunza speakers employ *a-* for negation in general, while Nager speakers principally use it just before copulas or accented personal prefixes. Unlike in Nager, the negative prefixes with an inherent accent like *oó-* in Hunza have an ability to delete the original accent of the stem. So such cases in Hunza do not conflict with the definition of the word in Burushaski at all.

### 6.9. Deverbal derivation

Verbals can be changed into either nouns or adjectives through any derivational process, and the deverbal forms are basically called infinitive or participle (Table 91

<sup>†43</sup> From the field research in Hunza also, *hurút-* ‘sit’ wavers on its property to prefer *a-* or *o-*, paralleling the Nager example. Apparently *o-* is a variant of the predominant allomorph *a-*. But the informant precisely pronounced the negative form of *hurút-* as *oúruṭ-*, not *oóruṭ-* by rule, once in a compound predicate including *hurút-*.

below for each form). Roughly speaking, there are two kinds of infinitives for verbs and copulas, the (general) infinitive derived by using *-as* (§3.6.1), which is broadly used, or the optative one made by using *-ş* (§6.6), which is only for certain constructions. There are three kinds of participles for verbs, the perfective and imperfective, both of which are derived by adding *-um* (§5.1.3.1), and the conjunctive, which is composed with *n-* and frequently *-n* (this suffix *-n* can be repeated up to about five times to regulate a locutional rhythm in discourse) (§8.9.3). Concerning the copular participle, there is not a conjunctive one. And also two forms have been left out above: the one is the so-called finalis form for verbs and copulas such as *šéčar* ‘for eating’ (§8.9.3), and the other is the complex converbial form only used for verbs such as *šéyabáte* ‘when I ate, on/against that I ate’ (§8.9.4).

Table 91 shows the non-finite forms of verbs. Note that they are the most common forms and the complex converbial forms are represented with the Nager forms, which have not contracted. The conjunctive participles of *ní-* ‘go’, the perfective participles and conjunctive participles of *jú-* ‘come’ will be listed in other tables, from Table 92 to Table 94.

Table 91. Non-finite forms of verbs (“V” indicates verb stem before the slot [+2] here)

	INF	OPT.INF	PFV.P	IPFV.P	CP	finalis	complex CVB
	V-as	V-ş	V-um	V-č-um	n-V(-n)	V-č-ar	V+COP-ač-e
<i>šé-</i> ‘eat (Y.OBJ)’	<i>šéyas</i>	<i>šeş</i>	<i>šem</i>	<i>šéčum</i>	<i>nušé(n)</i>	<i>šéčar</i>	<i>šébabáte</i>
<i>girmín-</i> ‘write’	<i>girmínas</i>	<i>girmínş</i>	<i>girmínum</i>	<i>girmím</i>	<i>nukírmin</i>	<i>girmíyar</i>	<i>girmínubáte</i>
<i>ét-</i> ‘do it’	<i>étas</i>	<i>étiş</i>	<i>étum</i>	<i>éčum</i>	<i>nét(an)</i>	<i>éčar</i>	<i>étubáte</i>
<i>man-</i> ‘become’	<i>manás</i>	<i>maniş</i>	<i>manúum</i>	<i>maím</i>	<i>numán</i>	<i>maníar</i>	<i>manúbáte</i>
<i>ní-</i> ‘go’	<i>nías</i>	<i>niş</i>	<i>nim</i>	<i>níčum</i>	Table 92	<i>níčar</i>	<i>níbáte</i>
<i>jú-</i> ‘come’	<i>júas</i>	<i>juş</i>	Table 93	<i>júčum</i>	Table 94	<i>júčar</i>	<i>júbáte</i>

Adding to Table 91, there are different forms for the 1SG perfective participle *šéyam* < *šé-* ‘to eat (Y.OBJ)’, the 1SG/PL imperfective participle *šéčam/šéčan*, and the 1SG complex converb *šéyabáte*. And like the complex finite forms, complex converbial forms with a consonant-final stem and without an accent after the stem show contraction in Hunza, i.e. HZ.HS *girmínáte* ~ HZ.RF *girmínóte* ~ NG *girmínubáte*. *ní-* ‘to go’ and *jú-* ‘to come’ have irregular non-finite forms that agree with person-number-class, see the following three tables.

Table 92. Conjunctive participle forms of *ní-* 'to go'

	SG	PL
1	<i>náa(n)</i>	<i>nimée(n)</i>
2	<i>nukóo(n)</i>	<i>namáa(n)</i>
3 HM	<i>níi(n)</i>	<i>núu(n)</i>
HF	<i>numóo(n)</i>	
X	<i>níi(n)</i>	<i>núu(n)</i>
Y	<i>níi(n)</i>	<i>níi(n)</i>

Table 93. Perfective participle forms of *jú-* 'to come'

	SG	PL
1	<i>dáayam</i>	<i>d méem</i>
2	<i>dukóom</i>	<i>damáam</i>
3 HM	<i>díim</i>	<i>dúum</i>
HF	<i>dumóom</i>	
X	<i>díim</i>	<i>dúum</i>
Y	<i>díim</i>	<i>díim</i>

Table 94. Conjunctive participle forms of *jú-* 'to come'

	SG	PL
1	<i>dáa(n)</i>	<i>dimée(n)</i>
2	<i>dukóo(n)</i>	<i>damáa(n)</i>
3 HM	<i>díi(n)</i>	<i>dúu(n)</i>
HF	<i>dumóo(n)</i>	
X	<i>dí(n)</i>	<i>dúu(n)</i>
Y	<i>díi(n)</i>	<i>díi(n)</i>

All of them can be used as converbs with or without a case marker. Whereas, only the general infinitive, the perfective participle, and the imperfective participle can become arguments like nominals, or modifiers of nominals like adjectives (§3.6.1 for infinitives and §5.1.3.1 for participles). What grammatical category each converb belongs to is not an important topic, even though since most of them have some case marker, they can of course be regarded as in the category of noun (§8.9.3 for details). It is rather significant that these non-finite forms have lost their inherent predicativity as verbal, whereas they do not lose their syntactic status as verbal (such as the valency and case government).

Some verbs require a non-finite verb for their unique constructions: *duún-* ‘to pack, to catch’ has a construction with a finalis converb to express ‘to begin V-ing [lit. to package for V-ing]’ as in (195); the potential idea ‘can, able to’ is expressed by verbs like *@-man-* or *úlan-* with a general or optative infinitive as in (188) on §6.6 (given again here), and (195) below; a case-like adjunctive noun *qháaʃ* ‘until, up to’ often requires an optative infinitive as in (189) on §6.6 (given again here); and the necessity concept ‘must, should be’ is also expressed by a modal word *awaáji* with a general or optative infinitive as in §8.6.1.

- (188) *dáa duró étaʃ ayéemanimi.*  
*dáa duró-∅ i-t-ʃ a-i-man-m-i*  
 again work-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-OPT TEL-3SG.HM:III-become-NPRS-3SG.HM

‘He could not work.’ (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #93)

- (189) *baadšáa ke zizí yániʃ atíaʃ qháa síndacar*  
*baadšáa ké zizí yéniʃ-∅ a-d-e-ʃ qháaʃ sínda-c-ar*  
 king LINK mother queen-ABS NEG-TEL-get.up-OPT until river-ADE-DAT
- náan čhúmo dúcuninin óor naašitáa*  
*n-a-n čhúmo-∅ d-u-sú-n-n-n óor naašitáa-∅*  
 go:CP-1SG-CP fish-ABS TEL-3PL.X:I-bring-CP-CP-CP and breakfast-ABS
- tayáar éčabáyam.*  
*tayáar i-t-č-a+bá-a-a-m*  
 ready 3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-1SG+COP-1SG-1SG-NPRS

‘Before the king and his queen woke up, I used to go to a river to catch fish and prepare breakfast.’ (*čhúmo minás*: #38)

- (195) The finalis converb in ‘to begin, to start’ construction and the general infinitive in potential expression
- hiŋ dónas ayéemanumaʃe híŋce*  
*hiŋ-∅ d-gón-as a-i-man-um-aʃ-e híŋ-c-e*  
 door-ABS TEL-open-INF NEG-3SG.X:III-become-ADJVLZ-INS-ESS door-ADE-ESS

qar qar qar                      éčar                      *duúnimi*  
 qár+RDP+RDP-Ø              i-t'-č-ar                      d-gún-m-i  
 scratch:ONO+MASS-ABS    3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-DAT    TEL-pack-NPRS-3SG.X

‘On it could not open the door, the cat started scratching the door.’ (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #60)

Berger (1998a: 156) shows only the third person singular HM-, HF-, and X-class infinitives for the copula, but my consultant Mussa Baig has given me the whole set of infinitives for all person-number-classes as shown in Table 95.

Table 95. (General) infinitive forms of copula

		SG	PL
1		<i>báyas</i>	<i>báyas</i>
2		<i>báyas</i>	<i>báyas</i>
3	HM	<i>báyas</i>	<i>báyas</i>
	HF	<i>bóyas</i>	
	X	<i>bías</i>	<i>bías</i>
	Y	<i>bilías</i>	<i>bicías</i>

There is an example of the copula infinitive for first person singular *báyas* in (196), which is a concessive sentence (§8.6.2).

(196) *je jaapaaní báyas baa, karaaťée*  
*jé-Ø jaapaaní-Ø bá-a-as bá-a-Ø karaaťée-Ø*  
 I-ABS Japanese-ABS COP-1SG-INF COP-1SG-PRS karate-ABS

*ayéčabáa.*

*a-i-t'-č-a+bá-a-Ø*

NEG-3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS

‘I am Japanese, but I do not practice karate.’

Perfective participle forms are entirely the same as the past finite forms, see Table 96.

Table 96. Perfective participle forms of copula

		SG	PL
1		<i>báyam</i>	<i>bam ~ bom</i>
2		<i>bam ~ bom</i>	<i>bam ~ bom</i>
3	HM	<i>bam ~ bom</i>	<i>bam ~ bom</i>
	HF	<i>bom</i>	<i>bam ~ bom</i>
	X	<i>bim</i>	<i>bim ~ bióm</i>
	Y	<i>bilúm ~ dilúm</i>	<i>bicúm</i>

There are imperfective participles only for the third person in Burushaski as in Table 97.

Table 97. Imperfective participle forms of copula

		SG	PL
3	HM	<i>báčum</i>	<i>báčum</i>
	HF	<i>bóčum</i>	<i>báčum</i>
	X	<i>bíčum</i>	<i>bíčum</i>
	Y	<i>bilíčum</i>	<i>bicíčum</i>

And finalis forms may also be limited to the third person, see Table 98.

Table 98. Finalis forms of copula

		SG	PL
3	HM	<i>báčar</i>	<i>báčar</i>
	HF	<i>bóčar</i>	<i>báčar</i>
	X	<i>bíčar</i>	<i>bíčar</i>
	Y	<i>bilíčar</i>	<i>bicíčar</i>

And see also §§3.6 (Derivation into nouns), 8.6.1 (Obligation and necessity), and 8.6.2 (Concession) for the general infinitive, §5.1.3 (Derivation into adjectives) for the perfective and imperfective participles, §8.6.2 also for the imperfective participle and the finalis of the copula, §8.9 (Clause combining) for all converbials which concern general infinitives, participles, finalis forms, and complex converbial forms.

## OTHER MORPHOLOGICAL PROCESSES

I have covered the inner morphology of words in the preceding four chapters. And now in this chapter, I discuss the outer morphology that creates a new clausal constituent, which is either one word or more.

Roughly speaking, there are two types of devices here; the first is compounding, and the second is a set of reduplicational processes including simple reduplication, echo formation, and expressive formation.

### 7.1. Compounding

Compounding refers to the process whereby language forms new words by combining old words. The new constitutes produced through this process are always single words, although a similar effect may be performed by the juxtaposing of two words. That is, the examples in (197) are regarded as compounded words but those in (198) are not.

(197) compounding

- |    |   |    |                          |   |                         |
|----|---|----|--------------------------|---|-------------------------|
| a. | <i>harbuá</i> ‘cattle’                      | <= | <i>har</i> ‘ox, bull’    | + | <i>buá</i> ‘cow’        |
| b. | <i>satháp</i> ‘day and night, many an hour’ | <= | <i>sa</i> ‘sun, daytime’ | + | <i>thap</i> ‘night’     |
| c. | <i>yárpa</i> ‘before, forwards’             | <= | <i>yar</i> ‘before’      | + | <i>pa</i> ‘side, place’ |

(198) not compounding (idiomatic or set phrases)

- |    |                                    |    |                           |   |                      |
|----|------------------------------------|----|---------------------------|---|----------------------|
| a. | <i>phuk burúm</i> ‘dazzling white’ | <= | <i>phuk</i> ‘grain’       | + | <i>burúm</i> ‘white’ |
| b. | <i>tíke tik</i> ‘dirty’            | <= | <i>tík-e</i> ‘of soil’    | + | <i>tík</i> ‘soil’    |
| c. | <i>khéel @-t-</i> ‘to play’        | <= | <i>khéel</i> ‘game, play’ | + | @-t- ‘to do’         |

Note that set verbal phrases such as (198c) are often utilized in Burushaski to make new verbal expressions because the verb is a closed grammatical category. I call the former word of such set verbal phrases, like *khéel* of (198c), a pseudo-object noun; see also (221) in §8.1.2.

Burushaski is not rich in compound formation, at least, in the present, but there are many compounding nouns made of two words, including cranberry morphemes. However, new compounds are not often created any more. Burushaski does not seem to have compounding adjectivals, nor compounding verbals.

## 7.2. Simple reduplication

Simple reduplication is the process that repeats a free word fully without any phonological modification, such as phoneme alternation, vowel lengthening, phoneme augmentation, and so forth. Therefore a new constitute formed by simple reduplication is always a set of words, but this set does not allow any outside element to be inside it.

Simple reduplication does not make an entirely new meaning, but creates some pragmatic effects. For example, it is used with the aim of semantic emphasis in (199), and for limiting an adjective to adverbial use in (200).

- (199) *ke yárum zamaanáulo béuruman-béuruman*  
*ké i-yár-um zamaaná-ul-e béur-um-an+RDP*  
 LINK 3SG.Y:I-before-ADJVLZ era-LOC-ESS how.much-ADJVLZ-INDEF.SG+EMPH
- darúce buṭ mathán-mathán dišmínčum*  
*darúc-e búṭ mathán+RDP diš-miṇ-c-um*  
 hunter-ERG much far+EMPH place-PL-ADE-ABL
- yeésóon nusén akhīl čága*  
*i-ic'-č+bá-an-Ø n-sén akhíl-<:> čáya-Ø*  
 3SG.X:I-see-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-PRS CP-say in.this.way-EMPH story-ABS
- bilá.*  
*b'il'-Ø*  
 COP-3SG.Y-PRS

‘And there is such a story that quite many hunters saw it [= the dragon] from very far spots in the old days.’ (Berger 1998c: #15.4)

- (200) *thaláa thaláa in buṭ mayóos imánimi.*  
*thaláa+RDP ín-Ø búṭ maayúus i-man'm-i*  
 slow+MANNER s/he:DIST-ABS much disappointed 3SG.HM:I-become-NPRS-3SG.HM

‘Gradually, he became very upset.’ (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #98)

Simple reduplication can be used for predicates to add a repetitive meaning, as in (201), and for manner nouns to emphasise motion or the like, as in (202).



- (201) *hóo báadulo thaláa thaláa se yámu*  
*hó báad-ul-e thaláa+RDP esé yámu-Ø*  
 then following.time-LOC-ESS slow+MANNER that:X ice-ABS
- dóočumo dóočumo dóočumo dóočumo qhátum maními oo*  
*d-uː-sú-um-e+RDP+RDP+RDP qhátum man´m-i oo*  
 TEL-3PL.HX:III-bring-ADJVLZ-ESS+CONTINUOUS finish become-NPRS-3SG.X FIL
- qhátum manáas ke dobaaráa sis dúo.*  
*qhátum man´as ké dubaaráa síis-Ø d-uːØ-an*  
 finished become-INF LINK twice people-ABS come:PFV-3PL.H-PRS-3PL.H

‘And then, the glacier had been dragging out in retreating slowly and disappeared, after that people were going to come again.’ (*The Story of Hopar: #25*)

- (202) *dumóon khíti, íne kaa chággha*  
*d-muːn khíti ín-e káaṭ čáya-Ø*  
 come:CP-3SG.HF-CP hither s/he:DIST-GEN together story-ABS
- étumo ke “Béeya, íne akhí-akhí*  
*i-t´m-o ké bée+yá ín-e akhíl+RDP*  
 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HF LINK no+INTERJ s/he:DIST-ERG in.this.way+MASS
- séibai.”*  
*sén-č+bá-i-Ø*  
 say-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-PRS

‘she came to here and talked with him “No, he says such and such”.’ (Willson [1999b] 2002, *Šíri Badát: #31*)

### 7.3. Echo-formation

Echo-formation, or fixed segment reduplication, is considered the kind of reduplication that fully copies a base unit while partially altering the sound of the copied part, mostly at its initial syllable. Echo-formation is widely distributed over and around the Indian Subcontinent under the name “echo-word”, but not only can it apply to words, but also to phrases and clauses, so I call it echo-formation here.

Echo-formation is mainly applied to nouns as in (203), and seldom to adjectives and verbs, even though there are some examples like (204) and (205), respectively.

- (203) *yamú mamú* < *yamú* ‘ice’
- (204) *ašaáto kušaáto* < *ašaáto* ‘weak’
- (205) *nésqan mésqan* < *nésqan* ‘after having killed him’ (Berger 1998a: 224)

The function of echo-formation is vague; almost always echo-formation adds the meaning ‘and/or the like’ to the original meaning of a base noun, and sometimes gives the meaning ‘a good number of’. When it is applied to an adjective, it semantically emphasises the meaning of the adjective. And in all cases, echo-formation implies an informal or casual nuance. Owing to this nuance, echo-formation is not used in dialogues with speakers’ superiors in status, but well used with friends.

I define the terminology for echo-formation here with Figure 13 below:

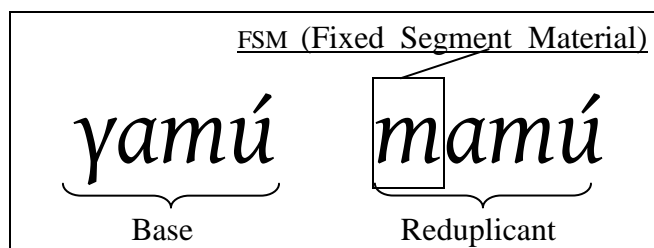


Figure 13. Terminology for echo-formation

And the characteristics of echo-formation can be defined as in (206), which is basically established according to previous studies such as Emeneau (1938), Apte (1968), Abbi (1994), and Yip (1998). Note that it is not a strict definition.

- (206) The characteristics of echo-formations

**Morphologically:** The base word is followed by a reduplicated form and is thus partially replaced or padded out with a fixed segment material;

**Functionally:** The base meaning is extended by adding an informal nuance as well as possibly the meaning ‘and/or the like’.

There are varieties of the usage of echo-formation in the sound patterns, and the extent for application depend on each individual. At the looser end, one can apply

echo-formation even to a clause, as shown in (207).

- (207) a. Word: *chil mil* < *chil* ‘water’  
 b. Phrase: *mamúe čái šamúe čái* < *mamúe čái* ‘milk tea’  
 c. Clause: *ámular níčáa? gómular níčáa?* < *ámular níčáa?* ‘Where are you going?’

In general, echo-formation has one or some FSMs to regularly make echoed reduplicants, and every language has its own particular FSM(s). For example, the primary FSM is /w/ in Urdu and /š/ in Shina. If a language has more than one FSM, there must be an order of priority for choosing among them.

In Burushaski, /m/ (sometimes /b/ or /p/, which seem to be considered random variations), is the primary FSM. This FSM appears in the greatest number, as is seen in (208), while /š/ is the secondary FSM, which may be applied when a base has a labial consonant at its initial position as in (209).

- (208) a. *urk murk* < *urk* ‘wolf’  
 b. *phéšo méšo* < *phéšo* ‘pear’
- (209) a. *makái šakái* < *makái* ‘corn’  
 b. *bépay šépay* < *bépay* ‘yak’

I have met three types of speakers in Hunza with respect to the echo-formation of personally prefixed nouns: the first type is those who employ /š/ as the only FSM for these nouns as shown in Table 100; the second type is those who use both FSMs /š/ and /m/ for personally prefixed nouns in the same way as for the other nouns, as shown in Table 101; and the third type do not use echo formation with these nouns. Compare with Table 99 as the base forms.

Table 99. Paradigm of @-rínj 'hand' with personal prefix

		SG	PL
1		<i>arínj</i>	<i>mirínj</i>
2		<i>gurínj</i>	<i>marínj</i>
3	HM	<i>irínj</i>	<i>urínj</i>
	HF	<i>murínj</i>	
	X	<i>irínj</i>	<i>urínj</i>
	Y	<i>irínj</i>	<i>irínj</i>

Table 100. Echo-forms of @-rínj 'hand' only with /š/ FSM

		SG	PL
1		<i>arínj šarínj</i>	<i>mirínj širínj</i>
2		<i>gurínj šurínj</i>	<i>marínj šarínj</i>
3	HM	<i>irínj širínj</i>	<i>urínj šurínj</i>
	HF	<i>murínj šurínj</i>	
	X	<i>irínj širínj</i>	<i>urínj šurínj</i>
	Y	<i>irínj širínj</i>	<i>irínj širínj</i>

Table 101. Echo-forms of @-rínj 'hand' with /š/ and /m/ FSMS

		SG	PL
1		<i>arínj marínj</i>	<i>mirínj širínj</i>
2		<i>gurínj murínj</i>	<i>marínj šarínj</i>
3	HM	<i>irínj mirínj</i>	<i>urínj murínj</i>
	HF	<i>murínj šurínj</i>	
	X	<i>irínj mirínj</i>	<i>urínj murínj</i>
	Y	<i>irínj mirínj</i>	<i>irínj mirínj</i>

As (206) indicates, there are some morphological patterns in echo-formation. There are thus two major patterns in Burushaski also: sound alteration and sound augmentation. The former includes alteration with an FSM, but it refers to a wider notion, that is, this pattern alters the initial syllable of a base to become a reduplicant to some extent, at only the consonant (210a, b), at only the vowel (210c), or at whole the syllable (210d).<sup>†44</sup> There are a variety of minor FSMS and patterns in Burushaski as well

<sup>†44</sup> There is no pattern to change sounds over a syllable border. And thus, echo-formation can be the certifier of a consonant /š/ unique to the noun *ŷa* 'bear', which might be \**uyá* by comparison with two adjectives between Eastern and Western Burushaski (see Table A).

Table A. Three words comparison between Burushaskis

	EB	WB
'big'	<i>uyúm</i>	<i>nyu</i>
'tasty, sweet'	<i>uyám</i>	<i>nyam</i>
'bear'	<i>ŷa</i>	<i>nya</i>

If 'bear' in Eastern Burushaski were \**uyá*, or \**ŷã* which Berger (1998c: 467) produces, then the echo-formation would be as (A), but the actual form is (B):

(see Yoshioka 2007); the range of possible FSMs cannot be entirely clarified.

- (210) a. *huk muk* < *huk* ‘dog’  
 b. *asiímuc masiímuc* < *asií-muc* ‘stars’ [star-PL]  
 c. *çóko çaáko* < *çóko* ‘clipped, paralysed’ (Berger 1998c: 105)  
 d. *jótis pátis* ‘children’ < *jótis* ‘child’

And the latter morphological pattern, sound augmentation, adds a syllable before a base to make an echo reduplicant as in (211); this pattern is less seen in Burushaski.

- (211) *maltás tamaltás* < *maltás* ‘butter’

There is no functional difference between these patterns, and recent speakers seem to extend the more common pattern in order to make the number of apparently irregular echo-forms decrease. For example, the augmented echo-form of (211) is getting replaced with an alternative form that uses the FSM /š/ as in (211)′.

- (211)′ *maltás šaltás* < *maltás* ‘butter’

Consonant alteration using an FSM in Burushaski treats a consonant cluster like a single consonant, as in (212).

- (212) a. *tráko máko* < *tráko* ‘grasshopper’  
 b. *bras mas* < *bras* ‘rice’

A reduplicant in echo-formation basically comes after a base, but sometimes it appears before a base, and both orders seem to have the same function. Compare the two examples (213) and (214), which are sampled from the same text, Tikkanen (1991).

- 
- (A) a. *\*uyá muyá* < *\*uyá*  
 b. *\*yã mã* < *\*yã*
- (B) *ỹa ma* < *ỹa* ‘bear’

And Berger also produces a form *\*ya*, but my consultant Essa Karim and others have laid emphasis on the point that pronunciation of *ỹa* has to be given with a nasal voice whereas the voice is no longer needed at the echo-reduplicant /ma/.

- (213) *ináamiŋ* *uyúnimi,* *ménar* *hayúr*  
*ináam-iŋ-Ø* *u-yun'-m-i* *mén-ar* *hayúr-Ø*  
 gift-PL-ABS 3PL.H:I-give:Y.PL.OBJ-NPRS-3SG.HM who-DAT horse-ABS
- uúmi,* *ménar* *har*  
*u-u'-m-i* *mén-ar* *har'-Ø*  
 3PL.H:I-give:HX.OBJ-NPRS-3SG.HM who-DAT bull-ABS
- uúmi,* *ménar* *yaaní* *maal-háal*  
*u-u'-m-i* *mén-ar* *yaaní* *máal+ECHO-Ø*  
 3PL.H:I-give:HX.OBJ-NPRS-3SG.HM who-DAT FIL possession:MASS-ABS
- uúmi,* *ménar* *rupiá*  
*u-u'-m-i* *mén-ar* *rupiá-Ø*  
 3PL.H:I-give:HX.OBJ-NPRS-3SG.HM who-DAT money-ABS
- uúmi.*  
*u-u'-m-i*  
 3PL.H:I-give:HX.OBJ-NPRS-3SG.HM

‘He gave them gifts, to some he gave a horse, to some he gave a bull, to some he gave, as it were, [other kinds of] possessions, to some he gave money.’  
 (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #76)

- (214) *nímišué* *garoóniar* *ménar* *hayúr*  
*ní-um-išo+ué* *garoóni-ar* *mén-ar* *hayúr-Ø*  
 go-ADJVLZ-PL+those:H bridal-DAT who-DAT horse-ABS
- uúmi,* *ménar* *čapán*  
*u-u'-m-i* *mén-ar* *čapán-Ø*  
 3PL.H:I-give:HX.OBJ-NPRS-3SG.HM who-DAT long.robe-ABS
- učími,* *ménar* *yaaní* *thum*  
*u-čhi'-m-i* *mén-ar* *yaaní* *th'-um*  
 3PL.H:I-give:Y.SG.OBJ-NPRS-3SG.HM who-DAT FIL other-ADJVLZ

*haal-máal*                      *uúmi.*  
 ECHO+máal-Ø                  u-u'-m-i  
 possession:MASS-ABS    3PL.H:I-give:HX.OBJ-NPRS-3SG.HM

‘to [the members of] that bridal party, which was now leaving, [Akbar] gave some a horse, to some he gave a long robe, to some he gave other [kinds of] possessions.’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #57)

Good story-tellers often and appropriately use echo-formation in story-telling to make long stories more attractive, and not boring. Such a tendency looks similar to the tendency towards the multiple use of the conjunctive participle suffix *-n* in Hunza, also seen in (215), since both of these tendencies are fairly preferred by good story-tellers for aesthetic reasons.

(215)    *óor iláaj piláaj*                  *nétan*                  *dáa húču*  
           *óor iláaj+ECHO-Ø*              *n-i'-t'-n*              *dáa húčo-Ø*  
           and    remedy:MASS-ABS    CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP    again    leather.high.boot-ABS

*nóotanininin*                  *dáa diméeman.*  
           *n-u'-t'-n-n-n-n*                  *dáa d-mī-m-an*  
           CP-3PL.X:III-do-CP-CP-CP-CP    again    come:PFV-1PL-NPRS-1PL

‘And I had some treatment and put on the boots again, and then we restarted to come.’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #122)

#### 7.4. Onomatopoeia and expressive words

Onomatopoeic and expressive words have been created from actual sounds and manners while obeying some phonological constraints, and through sound symbolism. But the phonological constraints on onomatopoeias are not as strict on the restriction of the word initial consonant cluster ( $C_1C_2$ ) and nasal vowel as they are on other words, see examples in (216).

(216) Examples of onomatopoeia (for sounds or voices) and expressives (for manners)

sound

a. *šaráj*                  sound of metal or glass pieces hitting each other

b. *čǎǎ*                  sound of a small high-tone pipe or whistle

voice

c. *qamqurúučo/qumqurúučo*                  voice of a chicken

- d. *miaáo/myáao* voice of a cat  
manner
- e. *maráaq* manner of idle lying about
- f. *filifilít/philiphilít* manner of a tattered thing

Both an onomatopoeia and an expressive word behave as a noun or an adjective in a clause, and they are usually accompanied by either light verb, @'t- 'to do' or *man'* 'to become'. (217) is an example of nominal use, where the onomatopoeia *qarqár* (sound of scratch) is used as the object of the predication.

- (217) *sirph hik đámane, isé búše híjce ašaáto ašaáto*  
*sírph hík đám-an-e isé buš'e hiŋ'c-e ašaáto+RDP*  
 only one:Z time-INDEF.SG-ESS that:X cat-ERG door-ADE-ESS weak+MANNER
- qarqár* *étimi.*  
 RDP-qár-Ø *i't'm-i*  
 MASS-scratch:ONO-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.X

'Just once, the cat scratched [did "scratch-scratch"] the door weakly.' (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #98)

What I mean by the term "sound symbolism" includes vowel change/selection, vowel lengthening, and reduplication with or without sound alteration.

Vowel change/selection shows some positive tendencies of correlation between vowels in onomatopoeias and the quality and quantity of actual sounds, and correlation between vowels in expressives and the degree of actual manner.

Table 102. Correlation between vowels and degrees

strong-big	<=	=>	weak-small	sound or manner of
<i>šaráj</i>			<i>širíj</i>	hitting of metal or glass pieces
<i>šaráq</i>			<i>širíq</i>	slamming of a door
<i>đam</i>	<i>đum</i>		<i>đim</i>	stepping
<i>qáo ~ qháó</i>			<i>qío</i>	shouting, screaming
<i>γarzáp</i>	<i>γurzóp</i>		<i>γirzíp</i>	sinking into
<i>qarqár</i>	<i>(qor)</i>		<i>qirqír</i>	scratching
<i>lalám</i>			<i>lilím</i>	glittering



Briefly speaking, the inclination of vowels in onomatopoeias and expressives from /a/ (via /o ~ u/) to /i/ is going along the degree continuum from the stronger-bigger end to the weaker-smaller end as shown in Table 102. Functionally, /o ~ u/ rather leans to the /i/ side. /a/ is more available among onomatopoeias and expressives that have no cognate pair.

Vowel lengthening is an iconic device to add a continuous nuance or greater degree to the original meaning of an onomatopoeia or expressive, see Table 103. As for greater degree nuance, the opposition of short and long vowel is somewhat similar to the one of /i/ and /a/ mentioned above.

Table 103. Function of vowel lengthening

short	long	added nuance	sound or manner of
<i>myáao</i>	<i>myáaaao</i>	long	cat's voice
<i>laŋ</i>	<i>láaŋ</i>	going with one's body swinging	swaying, dangling
<i>γipyíp</i>	<i>γiipyíip</i>	with sound	drinking
<i>qhaqhár</i>	<i>qhaaqháar</i>	for long and well	frying, roasting
<i>şaq</i>	<i>şáaq</i>	strong and well	stroking, dragging

Reduplication is used for a function similar to vowel lengthening. If there is any difference between these two processes, as their iconicity suggests, it may be that vowel lengthening is mainly used for onomatopoeias or expressives of atelic motions or voices, while reduplication is preferred for those of telic motions. This device is sometimes used with vowel change, and then the nuance of augmentation by /a/ and diminution by /i/ would be neutralized and become some generic meaning. The width over which the reduplicating process ranges is full or partial, and a reduplicated onomatopoeia or expressive can be either a single word or multiple words with respect to the accent. Some seemingly reduplicated onomatopoeias or expressives do not have a corresponding unreduplicated form as a free word. Table 104 shows some examples of, at least seemingly, reduplicated onomatopoeias or expressives.

Table 104. Function of reduplication

simplex	multiplex	sound or manner of
<i>ḍim</i>	<i>ḍiḍim</i>	stepping
<i>maláaq</i>	<i>malamaláaq</i>	idle lying about; devouring (with <i>malamaláaq</i> )
<i>ram (?)</i>	<i>ararám/ramráam</i>	rattling
<i>γaráu</i>	<i>γaráγarau</i>	thunder
<i>širín/šaráŋ</i>	<i>širišaráŋ</i>	hitting of metal or glass pieces
<i>širíq/šaráq</i>	<i>širíq šaráq</i>	closing of a door or window
<i>khaş</i>	<i>khişkháş</i>	creeping, crawling
<i>háa</i>	<i>haojáa/háo γáo</i>	voices of arguments or discussions
N/A	<i>ruq šuq</i>	munching
N/A	<i>čhiṭ čhuṭ</i>	sprinkling of (rain)drops
N/A	<i>ṭiṭ ṭaṭ</i>	creaking (from coitus in particular)
N/A	<i>qíqit/qotoqóto</i>	tickling

The most significant difference between the reduplicated onomatopoeias/expressives such as *ruq šuq* and the words of echo-formation such as *γamú mamú* is that the former have no base word that is able to occur in a clause freely, but the latter are necessarily based on free words.

## SYNTAX

## 8.1. Basic constituent order in phrases

## 8.1.1. Noun phrase

The basic order in noun phrases is, in general, as follows:

## (218) Noun phrase

demonstrative adjective – numeral – adjective – head noun

(219)	<i>gucé</i>	<i>uskó</i>	<i>jóṭišo</i>	<i>urkái</i>
	<i>gucé</i>	<i>uskó</i>	<i>jóṭ-išo</i>	<i>urk'-ai</i>
	these:X	three:X	small-PL	wolf-PL
	DEMONSTRATIVE	NUMERAL	ADJECTIVE	HEAD NOUN

‘these three little wolves’

In the possessive structure, the possessor nominals precede the possessed nouns. We can say that Burushaski shows the tendency for both dependent-marking and double-marking in noun phrases, see (220). The former is observed in alienable possession, and the latter is in inalienable possession (but the possessor nouns and pronouns are sometimes omitted).

## (220) Possessive structure

a.	<i>híre</i>	<i>ha</i>	(Dependent-Marking)
	<i>hir'-e</i>	<i>ha</i>	
	man-GEN	house	

‘The house of the man’

b.	<i>híre</i>	<i>iríiŋ</i>	(Double-Marking)
	<i>hir'-e</i>	<i>i-riiŋ</i>	
	man-GEN	3SG.HM:I-hand	

‘The hand of the man’

- c. \**hír* *iríij* (\*Head-Marking)  
 hir i-riij  
 man 3SG.HM:I-hand

### 8.1.2. Predicate phrase

Predicate phrases in Burushaski generally can be simplified as follows:

- (221) The predicate phrase  
 object noun – adverbial noun/adjective – pseudo-object noun – verb/copula

I use the term ‘pseudo-object nouns’ for the nouns that are compounded with verbs to make new verbal stems: e.g., *khéel* ‘sport, game’ + @:t- ‘to do’ > *khéel* @:t- ‘to play (vt.)’; see (222).

- (222) *joókheel* *káa* *khéel* *éčabáan*  
*joókheel-Ø* *káaṭ* *khéel* *i-t’č-an+bá-an-Ø*  
 hopscotch-ABS together game 3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-1PL+COP-1PL-NPRS  
 OBJECT N ADV. N P-OBJ. VERB

‘we are playing hopscotch together’

As mentioned in §6.9, the verb @:man- ‘to be able’ in (223) requires the verbal expressions being in either the infinitive or the optative non-finite form.

- (223) *mi* *joókheel* *káa* *khéel* *étiṣ* *méemanuman*  
*mí-Ø* *joókheel-Ø* *káaṭ* *khéel* *i-t’ṣ* *mī-man’-m-an*  
 we-ABS hopscotch-ABS together game 3SG.Y:II-do-OPT 1PL:III-become-NPRS-1PL  
 OBJECT N ADV. N P-OBJ. VERB  
 -----  
 ADV. N VERB  
 -----  
 SUBJ. N PREDICATE PHRASE

‘we play hopscotch together’

While *duún-* ‘to begin’ shows an association with the verbs declined in the dative or adessive cases of their infinitive forms, or the finalis ones, which consist of imperfective stem with the dative case suffix, as in (224).

- (224) *íne*            *éle*            *dérgiyar*            *duúnumo.*  
 ín-e            él-e            d-i·rgín-č-ar            d-gún-m-o  
 s/he:DIST-ERG    there-ESS    TEL-3SG.X:II-spin-IPFV-DAT    TEL-pack-NPRS-3SG.HF

‘she started to spin there.’ (Tikkanen 1991: #257)

## 8.2. Syntagms in clauses

To describe the syntactic status of all the Burushaski sentences, the units being treated in the clausal syntax are needed. The units are called syntagms. I will discuss the following syntagms, at least for Burushaski, in this section: Predicate in §8.2.1, Core argument in §8.2.2, and then Peripheral argument in §8.2.3.

### 8.2.1. Predicate

The most important syntagm is a predicate. There must be a predicate in a clause, which is the unit of propositions, even though it may, on rare occasion, be omitted. Each predicate always comprises either a verb or a copula as the head, but clauses do not always have a verbal or copular nature. Instead, they often take such a nominal nature by derivational processes. Deverbal predicates, however, retain the case frames which the base verbs have, and for the reason these predicates can be still regarded as to hold their predicativity.

I explain the details of syntagms with a simple sentence example (225) and a complex sentence example (226):

- (225) *insáane*    *gáne*    *moojizáa*    *bicán.*  
 insáan-e    gan´e    moojizáa-Ø    b´icán-Ø  
 human-GEN    way-ESS    miracle-ABS    COP-3PL.Y-PRS

‘These are miracle drugs for human beings.’ (*čhúmo minás*: #276)

- (226) *sındaṭum*    *čhúmo*    *díusase*            *iné*    *nookáre*  
 sında-aṭ-um    čhúmo-Ø    d-i-gús-as-e            iné    nookár-e  
 river-INS-ABL    fish-ABS    TEL-3SG.X:I-go.out-INF-GEN    that:H    servant-GEN

*dipťí bilúm.*  
*dipťí-Ø b'il'm*  
 duty-ABS COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

‘The duty of the servant is catching fish from the river. [lit. There is the servant’s duty of catching fish from the river.]’ (*čhúmoe minás: #7*)

These sentences (225) and (226) can be coded with the predicate syntagms as in (225)’ and (226)’ below. The square brackets ([ ]) in this coding indicate the unit size of clauses, and the underline in this coding shows the unit size of the syntagms in question.

(225)’ *insáane gáne moojizáa bicán.*  
 [ PRED ]

(226)’ *síndaṭum čhúmo díusase iné nookáre dipťí bilúm.*  
 [ [ PRED ] PRED ]

The first predicate is the genitive infinitive form of the verb *d-@’us-* ‘to catch’, and the second predicate is the third person Y-class past copula.

### 8.2.2. Core argument

What I call the core argument is simply the nominal unit whose syntagm fulfills any grammatical slot being required by a predicate. A grammatical slot of predicates must contains a core argument, and a core argument must be in such a slot. Core arguments include not only nominal phrases, but also nominalised clauses as complement clauses.

Every core argument works as a subject, an agent, or an object for the dominant predicate, including a complement for the copular predicate, in the same clause. The description about the basic constituent orders, which will be in §8.3, is based on the core argument and the predicate syntagms.

Coding of (225) and (226) can be as follows:

(225)'' *insáane gáne moojizáa bicán.*  
 [ CORE PRED ]

(226)'' *síndaṭum čhúmo díusase iné nookáre dipťí bilúm.*  
 [ [ CORE PRED ] CORE PRED ]

In the first clause, there is an overt core argument *čhúmo* ‘fish’ as the object, and there has to be an omitted subject argument *iné* ‘he’. And in the second clause, there is, too, an overt core argument *síndaṭum čhúmo díusase iné nookáre diptí* ‘the servant’s duty of catching fish from the river’ as the subject for the copular predicate. Any complement argument cannot be reconstructed in both copular clauses (225) and the matrix clause of (226), because these clauses are existential sentences (§8.3.2).

### 8.2.3. Peripheral argument

Besides the core arguments, there are also nominal syntagms, or arguments, which appear in clauses to modify predications, not simply predicate syntagms. I call these nominal syntagms peripheral arguments; They are used only for expansion of verbals to well define the predicated notions, and I think their functional status is quite different from that of the core arguments, which are included in sentential frames as indispensable elements. Any peripheral argument cannot be obligatorily needed by the predicates, even though there ought to be such a peripheral argument, including a complement argument, in some clauses with certain verbs. The peripheral argument syntagm is called an oblique argument, or simply oblique, by some linguists, but I do not adopt the term in such a way for the sake of avoiding confusion between the “oblique (argument)” and the oblique case (§3.5) with which I only want to refer to a certain case marker used on a nominal stem. I will not mainly treat the peripheral argument in the description on the basic constituent order in clauses in §8.3.

The examples (225) and (226) are finally coded as follows:

(225)''' *insáane gáne* *moojizáa bicán.*  
 [ PERIPHERAL CORE PRED ]

(226)''' *síndaṭum* *čhúmo díusase iné nookáre diptí bilúm.*  
 [ [ PERIPHERAL CORE PRED ] CORE PRED ]

There is a peripheral argument syntagm in each example. On (226), the sentence initial syntagm *síndaṭum* ‘from the river’ is the only peripheral argument, which modifies the predication *čhúmo díusas* ‘catching fish’, which is headed by the predicate *d-@-us-* ‘to catch’.

### 8.3. Basic constituent order in clauses

The basic constituent order, or syntagm order, in Burushaski clauses is SV/AOV,

but it is not rigid. In the following subsections, I will show examples of each type of clause.

### 8.3.1. Verbal clause

In intransitive clauses, normally SV order is used as in (227).

- (227)    *sis*            *heiráan*    *umánuman.*  
           *sís-∅*        *heiráan*    *u-man'-m-an*  
           people-ABS surprised 3PL.H:I-become-NPRS-3PL.H  
           S                                V

‘The people were filled with amazement.’ (*šon gukúr*: #15)

In monotransitive clauses, AOV is the most frequent order as in (228).

- (228)    *ése*            *dáa*    *koošiš*    *étimi.*  
           *és-e*        *dáa*    *koošiš-∅*    *i-t'-m-i*  
           that.one:X-ERG again effort-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.X  
           A                                O            V

‘It tried again.’ (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #57)

O and V of (228) constitute a predicate phrase as mentioned in §8.1.2 above. An S/A argument and a predicate phrase constitute a clause.

And in ditransitive clauses, too, AOV (ARTV) order is the most preferred, as in (229), though this is an example of a ditransitive converbial clause.

- (229)    *áya*    *máma*    *jáar*    *taklíif*    *nácín,*  
           *áya*    *máma-e*    *jé-ar*    *taklíiph-∅*    *n-a-čhí'-n*  
           father mother-ERG I-DAT trouble-ABS CP-1SG:I-give:Y.OBJ-CP  
                   A                    R (=IO) T (=DO) V

‘Father and mother gave me a lot of trouble’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #481)

This set of preferred order is why we can say that Burushaski has a tendency to show the accusative alignment system syntactically, even though its case marking system, i.e. the morphological rule, is obviously ergative.



For peripheral arguments, some verbs can take the complement argument as in (230) as well as copulas can (§8.3.2).

(230)	<i>jaa</i>	<i>umr</i>	<i>ćok</i>	<i>wálsan</i>	<i>maníla,</i>
	<i>jé-e</i>	<i>úmr-∅</i>	<i>ćók</i>	<i>wál-sa-an-∅</i>	<i>man+b'íl'-∅</i>
	I-GEN	age-ABS	recently	four-month-INDEF.SG-ABS	become+COP-3SG.Y-PRS
	S			COMPLEMENT	V

‘I [lit. my age] have become 4 months old,’ (Hunzai 1999, *ÚRKE YÁT*: #8)

### 8.3.2. Copular clause

Similar to the cases for the intransitive or monotransitive verbal clause, that is, SV or AOV orders, the basic order in copular clauses is S-COMPLEMENT-COPULA, as in (231).

(231)	<i>in</i>	<i>šatílo</i>	<i>híran</i>	<i>bam.</i>
	<i>ín-∅</i>	<i>šatílo</i>	<i>hir'-an-∅</i>	<i>bá-i-m</i>
	s/he:DIST-ABS	<u>strong</u>	<u>man-INDEF.SG-ABS</u>	COP-3SG.HM-NPRS
	S	COMPLEMENT		COPULA

‘He was a strong man.’ (*The Braying Donkey of Berishal*: #14)

Copular clauses are used for both attributive (i.e. ‘X=Y’), such as (231), and existential (i.e. ‘X exists / there is X’) sentences, such as (232). Of course, copulas constantly agree with the subject arguments despite the types of sentence.

(232)	<i>hin</i>	<i>baadšáan</i>	<i>bam.</i>
	<i>hín</i>	<i>baadšáa-an-∅</i>	<i>bá-i-m</i>
	<u>one:H</u>	<u>king-INDEF.SG-ABS</u>	COP-3SG.HM-NPRS
	S		COPULA

‘There was a king.’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #1)

Attributive copular clauses tend to include two arguments: subject (core) and complement (peripheral); whereas existential copular clauses do not include a complement argument. Both of these types of copular clause can take peripheral arguments other than complement. There is a tendency of existential sentences to take a locational argument as in (233).

- (233) *gánu lo han bar-čhílan bilúm,*  
*gan'ul-e hán bár+chil'an-∅ b'il'm*  
 way-LOC-ESS one:Y valley+water-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

‘There was a stream on the way.’ (Hunzai 1999, ŽAKÚNE MARÁQ: #2)

#### 8.4. Grammatical relations

Burushaski shows a clear split among the case marking pattern and the two kinds of person indexing patterns. And the core argument(s) are arranged accordingly.

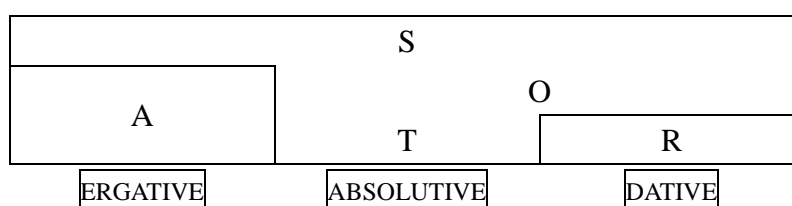


Figure 14. Flagging by the case markers

The marking pattern by the case markers shows the ergative type alignment, as seen in Figure 14. The absolutive case marker  $\emptyset$  indicates the subject of intransitive clauses, the patient of monotransitive clauses, and the theme of ditransitive clauses. The ergative case marker  $-e$  marks the agent of mono- and di-transitive clauses. And the dative case marker  $-ar$  is used for the recipient of ditransitive clauses.

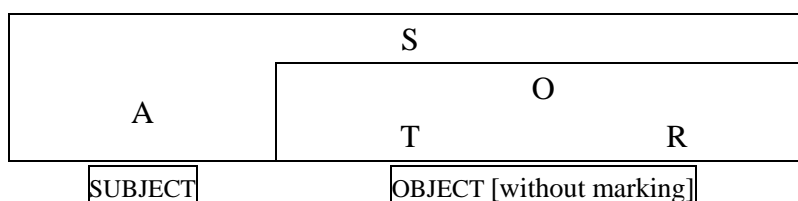


Figure 15. Indexing by the personal suffix

The indexing by the personal suffix on verbs shows which argument is the subject of the clause, because the personal suffix agrees with the subject argument irrespective of transitivity, as seen in Figure 15. That is, if a core argument is agreed with by the personal suffix on the verb as the head of a clause, it must be the only subject of the clause; and if an argument is not agreed with by the personal suffix, then it cannot be the subject, but it can be any kind of object of the clause.

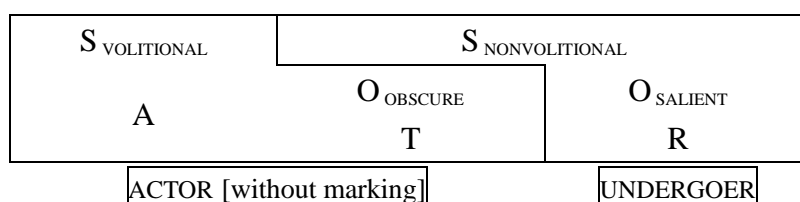


Figure 16. Indexing by the personal prefix

The indexing by the personal prefix on verbs shows the undergoer agreement system, as seen in Figure 16. This marking distinguishes even the subject argument of intransitive clauses into volitional and nonvolitional. The personal prefix on verbs is employed for nonvolitional intransitive, many monotransitive, and all ditransitive predicates. It agrees with the nonvolitional subject argument in intransitive clauses, the salient object in monotransitive clauses, and the recipient (indirect object) in ditransitive clauses. The obscure object in monotransitive clauses, surely, and the theme (direct object) argument in ditransitive clauses are not agreed with by the prefix. So there may be some hierarchy of undergoerhood, or patienthood or objecthood, of arguments, and the employment of the personal prefix is quite sensitive to the hierarchy. For the details of these parameters are dealt with in §9.

### 8.5. Interrogative

Interrogative sentences can be classified into two types. One is the content type expressed by interrogative words having the same syntactic order as the indicative ones; the other is the polar interrogative, which is indicated by the clause-final clitic =*a*.

#### 8.5.1. Content interrogative

Briefly speaking, content interrogative sentences are easily produced from indicative sentences by adding an interrogative word to a clause or putting an interrogative word into a syntactic argument slot.

There are two morphological series of interrogative words in Burushaski: the *be* and *am* series as listed in Table 22 in §4.1. Roughly classifying them by semantics, the former may be used for interrogatives asking about individual reference, and the latter may be used for interrogatives rather asking about selection of choices from sets that are considerably smaller than the ones within which the *be* series interrogatives range over.

*be* ‘how / what’ is used almost always immediately before predicates which are mainly light verbs, such as @‘*t-*’ ‘to do’ and *man-*’ ‘to become’. In (234), *be* ‘how / what’ is followed by the predicate *étuman* ‘they were doing it’. Here I indicate the interrogative word with a frame and the predicates with an underline.

- (234) *Pasán nétan,                      “be    étuman?”                      sénumar, ...*  
*pasánd n-i-t'-n                      bé    i-t'-m-an                      sén-um-ar*  
 favorite CP-3SG.HM:II-do-CP    what 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H say-ADJVLZ-DAT

‘She liked him and asked “What were they doing?”, and ...’ (Willson [1999b] 2002, *Širi Badát*: #21)

There is a quite conventionalised greeting in Burushaski to ask the addressee’s health condition as (235). In this case also, the interrogative word *be* is just before the predicate *gumái báa* ‘you are / you become’.

- (235) be    *gumáibáa?*  
 bé    *gu-man'-č+bá-a-∅*  
 what 2SG:I-become-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS

‘How are you?’

And there is an alternative phrase of (235), too, in each dialect, which is shown in (236). The Nager form (236a) is a rare case of the appearance of *be* at a position not before a predicate, but attributive to a noun; it differs from the Hunza form (236b) where *be* is compounded with the following noun, to become a complement argument. Thus, as a result of the compounding, the interrogative word including *be*, that is, *béhal* ‘how/what condition’ lies just before the predicate by rule. It is uncertain whether this has emerged from the motivation for retaining the rule or if it just happened by chance.

- (236) a. Nager dialect  
be    *hal*                      *dilá?*  
 bé    *hál-∅*                      *d'il-∅*  
 what condition-ABS COP-3SG.Y-PRS

‘How is your condition?’

- b. Hunza dialect  
béhal                      *bilá?*  
 bé+hál-∅                      b'il-∅  
 what+condition-ABS COP-3SG.Y-PRS

‘How is your condition? [lit. How condition is it?]

The following example (237) is a case in which an interrogative word is functioning as a core argument.

- (237) *To tshórdimo dāmaṭe duúsin, hóle*  
*tó chórdin-mu-e dām-aṭ-e d-gús-n hól-e*  
 then morning-OBL-GEN time-INS-ESS TEL:CP-go.out-CP outside-ESS
- barénasar, in shékar wálimi, “Muú*  
*barén-as-ar ín-Ø šek’-ar i-bal’-m-i muú*  
 look-INF-DAT s/he:DIST-ABS doubt-DAT 3SG.HM:I-fall-NPRS-3SG.HM now
- ḃésan meími, ḃésan*  
*bés-an-Ø man’č-m-i bás-an-Ø*  
 what-INDEF.SG-ABS become-IPFV-NPRS-3SG.Y what-INDEF.SG-ABS
- oómairi?” nusén.*  
*aú-man’č-m-i n-sén*  
 NEG-become-IPFV-NPRS-3SG.Y CP-say

‘After that he went out at morning, looked outside, and wondered as saying “Now, what is happened and what isn’t happened?” ’ (Willson [1999b] 2002, *Širi Badát: #39*)

Both of the two interrogative words *bésan* ‘what’ are used in the subject positions for each predeicate, *maími* (represented in the original text as *meími*) ‘it will become’ and *oómairi* ‘it will not become’, respectively.

Contrary to the preceding example, the following (238) exemplifies a case of the peripheral argument use of interrogative words.

- (238) “Bésantse yuúshabom ke gusée  
*bés-an-c-e i-ušá+bá-o-m ké gusé-e*  
 what-INDEF.SG-ADE-ESS 3SG.X:I-raise+COP-3SG.HF-NPRS LINK this:X-GEN
- akhúruman uyám chhap maníla?”*  
*akhúr-um-an uyá-um čhap’-Ø man+b’-il’-Ø*  
 this.much-ADJVLZ-INDEF.SG sweet-ADJVLZ flesh-ABS become+COP-3SG.Y-PRS

*sénaṭe,*                    *ínmotsum*  
*sén+bá-aṭ-e*            *ín-mu-c-um*  
 say+COP-INS-ESS    s/he:DIST-OBL-ADE-ABL

*dumóghurushaan.*  
*d-mu-ḡarús-č+bá-an-Ø*  
 TEL-3SG.HF:II-be.straight-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-PRS

‘ “**With what** (food) did she raise it to make the flesh so tasty like this?” said so, they asked her.’ (Willson [1999b] 2002, *Šíri Badát*: #8)

Here, the interrogative word *bésance* (spelled as *bésantse*) ‘on/by/with what’, which asks the material of cooking, is the adessive form of *bésan* ‘what’ and is modifying the predicate *yuúshabom* ‘she was raising / raised it’ for expansion.

#### 8.5.2. Polar interrogative

In Burushaski, polar interrogative expression is encoded by the clause-final clitic =a. To attach the interrogative particle to an indicative clause does not change the syntagm order from the original clause.

(239)    *khot*                    *jáar*    *ité*                    *ačí*                    *ḡasícár*            *guté*  
           *khót-Ø*                *jé-ar*    *ité-Ø*                *a-cí-e*                *ḡas-č-ar*            *guté-Ø*  
           this.one:Y-ABS    I-DAT    that:Y-ABS        1SG:I-behind-ESS    laugh-IPFV-DAT    this:Y-ABS

*étáia*  
*i-t+bá-i-Ø=a*  
 3SG.Y:II-do+COP-3SG.HM-PRS=Q

‘Has he done this just to make fun of me?’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #339)

This polar interrogative clause (239) corresponds to the following indicative clause (239)’, in which the interrogative clitic =a has been deleted from (239).

(239)’    *khot*                    *jáar*    *ité*                    *ačí*                    *ḡasícár*            *guté*  
           *khót-Ø*                *jé-ar*    *ité-Ø*                *a-cí-e*                *ḡas-č-ar*            *guté-Ø*  
           this.one:Y-ABS    I-DAT    that:Y-ABS        1SG:I-behind-ESS    laugh-IPFV-DAT    this:Y-ABS

*étái*

i-t+bá-i-∅

3SG.Y:II-do+COP-3SG.HM-PRS

‘He has done this just to make fun of me’

In this way, there is no necessity to change the syntagm order to alter indicative mood with the polar interrogative.

Such polar interrogative clauses, however, represent specific intonation patterns; when one wants to ask about a whole proposition, then s/he has to pronounce a polar interrogative clause marked by =a while putting the highest intonation in the clause on its head predicate (to which =a is directly attached in general, because Burushaski needs a predicate at the end of each clause). When a head predicate forms a complex predicate, which consists of a main verb and an auxiliary copula, for certain temporality, then the highest intonation is put on the auxiliary copula. In the following examples, (240) and (241), the intonational peaks are on the underlined parts, which will be the interrogated focus; Compare the correlations between the intonations and the translations of them.

- (240) *ué hirí pešaahúrcum dúubána?*  
*ué hir’i-∅ pešaahúr-c-um d-u”+bá-an-∅=a*  
 those:H man-PL-ABS Peshawar-ADE-ABL come:PFV-3PL.H+COP-3PL.H-PRS=Q

‘Have those men come from Peshawar?’

- (241) *ué hirí pešaahúrcum dúubána?*  
*ué hir’i-∅ pešaahúr-c-um d-u”+bá-an-∅=a*  
 those:H man-PL-ABS Peshawar-ADE-ABL come:PFV-3PL.H+COP-3PL.H-PRS=Q

‘Is it Peshawar that those men have come from?’

And then the clitic =a must be pronounced with low intonation, see the underline in (240) attentively.

Generally the previous studies say that this interrogative element \*-a, in temporary representation, is just a suffix of verbals and can be in the last verbal suffix slot, i.e. after the personal suffix slot [+5] in my description. Certainly they think that this element always appears as attaching to predicates at the end of fully stated sentences. This pattern looks true because the element \*-a comes at the final position of clauses, and every predicate syntagm normally occurs clause-finally, thus almost always \*-a is

directly adhered to a predicate syntagm as an ending would be. Whereas, particularly in conversations, one can omit any syntagms when context allows, therefore the element \*-a, in fact, also occurs with elements other than predicates. For this reason, I consider the element a clitic =a as noted above. (And it can also be said that the equivalent interrogative elements, e.g. =a's, of the surrounding languages Domaaki, Shina, Khowar, and Wakhi, behave similarly, although there is some diversity between the types of elements they will attach to.<sup>†45</sup>)

- |       |                         |       |              |
|-------|-------------------------|-------|--------------|
| (242) | <i>un jaapaaníia?</i>   | (243) | <i>bása?</i> |
|       | ún-Ø jaapaaníi-Ø=a      |       | bás=a        |
|       | thou-ABS Japanese-ABS=Q |       | enough=Q     |
|       | ‘(Are) you Japanese?’   |       | ‘Enough?’    |

- (244) *hoṭélaṭara?*  
 hoṭél-aṭ-ar=a  
 hotel-INS-DAT=Q  
 ‘To around the hotel?’

The polar interrogative examples (242) – (244) have no overt predicates in the clauses and the interrogative clitic is pronounced with the clause final words, which are not verbals but nouns and an adjective, here. For more details about this issue, see Yoshioka (2010).

## 8.6. Syntactic modal expressions

In this section, I will describe non-morphologic modal expressions, which may be called modalities, in Burushaski: obligation and necessity, concession, and tag questions. As for morphological modal expressions, see §§6.4 – 6.7.

### 8.6.1. Obligation and necessity

Expressions for necessity as to what must be or what is necessary are accomplished through two methods. The first one is a construction coded with an infinitive and a copula. This construction is used for both deontic and epistemic predications, as in (245) and (246), respectively.

<sup>†45</sup> As to =a in Wakhi, I am grateful to Koji Kamioka and Satoko Yoshie who informed me of it. Whereas =a's in the other languages are founded on my own field research.



- (245) *iné yáarum díwasum isé*  
*iné i-yáar-um d-i-bás-um isé-Ø*  
 that:H 3SG.HM:I-downwards-ABS TEL-3SG.X:I-be.left-ADJV LZ that:X-ABS
- inée níşin, díwasum isé*  
*iné-e n-i-şí-n d-i-bás-um isé-Ø*  
 that:H-ERG CP-3SG.X:I-eat:HX.SG.OBJ-CP TEL-3SG.X:I-be.left-ADJV LZ that:X-ABS
- un şías bilúm.*  
*ún-Ø şí-as-Ø b'il'm*  
 thou-ABS eat:HX.SG.OBJ-INF-ABS COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

‘When he ate what was left before him, then you had to eat what was left.’  
 (čhúmoe minás: #178)

- (246) *to khúule qhudáaye taráfcum yazáb*  
*tó khú-al-e qhudáa-e taráph-c-um yazáb-Ø*  
 so they:PROX-LOC-ESS god-GEN direction-ADE-ABL misfortune-ABS
- óor júas dilá.*  
*u-ar jú-as-Ø d'il'Ø*  
 3PL.H:II-DAT come-INF-ABS COP-3SG.Y-PRS

‘Thus, regarding them, misfortune must come from the God for them.’ (*The Story of Hopar*: #17)

In these clauses, in principle, the agent is represented as the subject in ergative case for transitive verbs or absolutive case for intransitive verbs, which is the same as in the indicative clauses. Whereas the ergativity may tend to fade away when the agent *un* ‘you (SG)’ is in fact expressed with the absolutive case in (245).

This construction is always used with verbal predicates, and is not used with copulas. The similar construction of an infinitive of the copula plus a finite copula is used for concessive expressions, as mentioned in §8.6.2.

The other construction uses a modal predicative adjective *awaáji*. This adjective *awaáji* always appears in the predicative function with a copula whether it is overtly pronounced or not, and is a loan word from Shina *awaájei* ‘he/it will be necessary’, being an conjugated form of the verb *awajoók* ‘to be necessary’.

This construction (*N-DAT* +) *awaáji* + *COP* literally means ‘be necessary (for N)’ and

it functions as meaning ‘should’ / ‘had better’ when there is also a general or optative infinitive preceding the construction, that is (*N-DAT* +) *INF* + *awaáji* + *COP*.

- (247) *hʌn ʌki'l bʌlkʌn ja'r awa:je bila.*  
*hán akhíl balk'-an-∅ jé-ar awaáji b'il'-∅*  
 one:Y in.this.way board-INDEF.SG-ABS I-DAT necessary COP-3SG.Y-PRS

‘I require a plank like this. [lit. A plank like this is necessary to me.]’ (Lorimer 1938: 6)

- (248) *khué ar oómanum béske*  
*khué-∅ ár a-u-man'um bés+ké*  
 these:H-ABS fearful NEG-3PL.H:I-become-ADJVLZ what+LINK
- écáan ke, khué ar*  
*i-t'-č+bá-an-∅ ké khué-∅ ár*  
 3SG.X:II-do-IPFV=COP-3PL.H-PRS LINK these:H-ABS fearful
- umánas awaáji bilá.*  
*u-man'-as-∅ awaáji b'il'-∅*  
 3PL.H:I-become-INF-ABS necessary COP-3SG.Y-PRS

‘When these fellows do something without fear, then they should be frightened.’ (Berger 1998b: #27.19; Hunza)

What is needed in (247) is a time-stative referent represented by the noun *balk* ‘board’, while what is obliged in (248) is just an action expressed by the gerund, or nominal infinitive, of the predicate phrase *gáran ét-* ‘to marry’. And thus (248) can be considered a case of the obligative construction. In this necessitative expression, the agent is represented with either the case appropriate for an independent clause or the dative case. The former case marking shows that the agent is in the infinitive clause, while the latter shows that the dative argument is in the main clause predicated by *awaáji* + *COP*.

- (249) *míi gáran étas awaáji.*  
*mí-e gar'-an-∅ i-t'-as-∅ awaáji*  
 we-ERG marriage-INDEF.SG-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-INF-ABS necessary

‘It is necessary for us to marry.’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #6)

A copula in the construction including *awaáji* is often omitted when it is both affirmative and in the present mood, as in (249). Whereas a copula which is either negative or non-present in this construction cannot be elided, because both negation and non-present mood must be marked by affixes on predicate verbs or copulas. So the corresponding past expression to (249) will be as follows, (249)':

(249)'	<i>mí</i>	<i>gáran</i>	<i>étas</i>	<i>awaáji</i>	<i>*(bilúm)</i> .
	<i>mí-e</i>	<i>gar'an-Ø</i>	<i>i't-as-Ø</i>	<i>awaáji</i>	<i>b'il'm</i>
	we-ERG	marriage-INDEF.SG-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-INF-ABS	necessary	COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

‘It was necessary for us to marry.’

Besides these analytic constructions, necessitative expression can also be realised by the optative finite predicates as in (250).

(250)	<i>in</i>	<i>khólar</i>	<i>juş.</i>
	<i>ín-Ø</i>	<i>khól-ar</i>	<i>jú-ş-Ø</i>
	s/he:DIST-ABS	here-DAT	come-OPT-3SG

‘He should come here.’

#### 8.6.2. Concession

Roughly speaking, there are two major types of concessive expressions in Burushaski as in (251): (a) One consists of the infinitive form and the finite form of the same predicate verbs or copulas; (b) the other is made of the concessive form and the finite form of copulas.

(251) Two types of concessive expressions:

- (a) V-as V-FINITE, or COP-as COP-FINITE
- (b) COP-č-um COP-FINITE, or COP-č-ar COP-FINITE

The former type (a) is realised as in the examples for verbs (252) and copulas (253).

- (252) *baláas balími, leekín til áaljabáa.*  
 bal'-as bal'-m-i leekín tíl a-l'-č-a+bá-a-∅  
 fall-INF fall-NPRS-3SG.HM but oblivious 1SG:III-insert-IPFV-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS

‘He did fall down, but I do not remember it.’

- (253) *je jaapaaníi báyas báa, karaaṭée*  
 jé-∅ jaapaaníi-∅ bá-a-as bá-a-∅ karaaṭée-∅  
 I-ABS Japanese-ABS COP-1SG-INF COP-1SG-PRS karate-ABS

*ayéčabáa.*

a-i-t'-č-a+bá-a-∅

NEG-3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS

‘I am Japanese, but I do not practice karate.’

Note that, as for verbs, the construction constituted by an infinitive and a finite copula expresses necessity, as mentioned above in §8.6.1, while the seemingly equivalent construction for the copula, that is an infinitive copula and a finite copula, is utilized for concessive expression.

The latter type (b) is only used for the third person and only for the copular predications which purposefully utilize the special forms to build this type of concessive construction. This construction consists of either an imperfective participle (Table 97) or a finalis (Table 98) and a finite form of copula, both of which are conjugated from the same copula stem, i.e. the basic form, with respect to person-number-class.

- (254) *waqt bilíčar bilá, júase rái*  
 wáqt-∅ b-il'-č-ar b-il'-∅ jú-as-e rái-∅  
 time-ABS COP-3SG.Y-IPFV-DAT COP-3SG.Y-PRS come-INF-GEN wish-ABS

*apí.*

a-b-il'-∅

NEG-COP-3SG.Y-PRS

‘I do have time [lit. There is time], but do not want to come.’

- (255) *sabúur gúsan éle bóčum*  
*sabúur gús-an-Ø él-e bá-o-č-um*  
 yesterday woman-INDEF.SG-ABS there-ESS COP-3SG.HF-IPFV-ADJVLZ
- bom, (mágar) éle múšaṭe amúicam.*  
*bá-o-m mágar él-e muš'aṭ-e a-mu-ic'a-m*  
 COP-3SG.HF-NPRS but there-ESS edge-INS-ESS NEG-3SG.HF:I-see-1SG-NPRS

‘Yesterday there wás a woman, but I did not see her there at the time.’

Some informants told me with assurance that there is no semantic difference between instances with finalis forms such as (254) and those with imperfective participles such as (255).

Besides these modal constructions, concessive mode can be easily expressed by using a conjunctive *kúli* ‘though’, which I describe later in §8.9.2.

### 8.6.3. Tag question

Tag questions are used to make some tentative or confrontational nuance, mostly in conversation. Sometimes they can also be employed to function as leading question markers.

The Burushaski tag question marker *náa* is attached to the end of non-interrogative clauses, and holds rising intonation on its position up to the highest pitch in the base clauses. The following examples are the cases in which the tag question is used with an indicative clause (256), an imperative clause (257), and an obligative-indicative clause (258):

- (256) *hunc éer atuúsimi, atúusasar,*  
*hunc-Ø i-ar a-d-gús-m-i a-d-gús-as-ar*  
 arrow-ABS 3SG.HM:II-DAT NEG-TEL-go.out-NPRS-3SG.X NEG-TEL-go.out-INF-DAT
- khos jáar atuúsimi náa, sénimi.*  
*khós-Ø jé-ar a-d-gús-m-i náa sén-m-i*  
 this.one:X-ABS I-DAT NEG-TEL-go.out-NPRS-3SG.X TAG.Q say-NPRS-3SG.HM

‘The arrow did not come out for him, and on its not coming out, he said: “This did not come out for me, you know”.’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #217)

- (257) *ni na uŋ guí nía nusén gušpúr*  
*ní-i náa úŋ-Ø gu-í ní-i=a n-sén gušpúr-Ø*  
 go-IMP.SG TAG.Q thou-ABS 2SG:I-self go-IMP.SG=Q CP-say prince-ABS
- íi éercái.*  
*i-í ĩ-r'č+bá-i-Ø*  
 3SG.HM:I-self 3SG.HM:III-send-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-PRS

‘Go now [with an urging nuance], go you yourself!’”, thus saying he sends the prince himself.’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #184)

- (258) *pašuuáre íchías awaáji, náa.*  
*pašuu-are i-čí-as-Ø awaáji náa*  
 sacrificing.man-DAT 3SG.HM:I-give:Y.SG.OBJ-INF-ABS necessary TAG.Q

‘He ought to give the sacrifice to the sacrificing man, oughtn’t he?’ (van Skyhawk 2003: #7.16)

Before the tag question marker *náa*, a short pause may tend to be put in.

### 8.7. Complement clause

A complement clause may appear with or without the linker *ke*<sup>†46</sup>. For complement clauses, the linker *ke* appears in the main clause, and it precedes a complement clause, see (259). No word indicates the end of a complement clause, despite the fact that a single complement clause can consist of more than two clauses. Complement clauses are subordinate clauses that always function as core arguments. (259) is an example for complement clauses with the linker *ke*, and (260) is for complement clauses without *ke*.

- (259) *yaaní sénimi [ke] isé isúmal ískilaṭar*  
*yaaní sén-m-i ké isé i-sumál-Ø i-skíl-aṭ-ar*  
 FIL say-NPRS-3SG.HM LINK that:X 3SG.X:I-tail-ABS 3SG.X:I-face-INS-DAT
- dííbí, óor isée ḡalát*  
*d-i''+b'-i-Ø óor isé-e ḡalát*  
 come:PFV-3SG.X+COP-3SG.X-PRS and that:X-ERG wrong

<sup>†46</sup> The linker *ke* actually has a wide variety of usages. See also §§8.8 and 8.9.2.

*dukóomaninin*                      *burúm*                      *tíko*                      *bi*  
 d-gu'-man'-n-n                      bur'-um                      tíko-Ø                      b'-i-Ø  
 TEL:CP-2SG:III-become-CP-CP    white-ADJVLZ    stain-ABS    COP-3SG.X-PRS

*séibáa.*  
 sén-č+bá-a-Ø  
 say-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS

‘[Shon Gukur] said that the tail is hanging down over its face, and so you see it like that and are saying so.’ (*šon gukúr*: #9)

(260) *šon gukúre*                      *húke mamúar*                      *ésimi,*  
 šón+gukúr-e                      húke+mamó-ar                      i'-s'-m-i  
 Shon.Gukur-ERG    Huke.Mamo-DAT    3SG.HM:II-tell-NPRS-3SG.HM

*ískan*                                      *bi,*                                      *óor*    *akhóle*  
 i-sk'-an-Ø                                      b'-i-Ø                                      óor    akhól-e  
 3SG.X:I-young-INDEF.SG-ABS    COP-3SG.X-PRS    and    here-ESS

*iphátiąte*                                      *burúm*                                      *péčan,*                                      *rágan*  
 i-phaťi-ať-e                                      bur'-um                                      péč-an-Ø                                      rag'-an-Ø  
 3SG.X:I-forehead-INS-ESS    white-ADJVLZ    patch-INDEF.SG-ABS    tint-INDEF.SG-ABS

*bilá.*  
 b'-il'-Ø  
 COP-3SG.Y-PRS

‘Shon Gukur said to Huke Mamo, “[This cow] is in calf, and there is a white patch on the fore head of the young one here.”’ (*šon gukúr*: #6)

The presence and absence of the linker *ke* makes no difference, either semantically or intonationally; speakers insert an intonational break before a complement clause to divide its intonational unit from that of the main clause.

Locutional verbs *sén-* ‘to say’ and *@'s-* ‘to tell’ are transitive verbs that almost always take a complement clause as an absolutive object; thus, their subjects are declined in ergative case when said subjects are overtly mentioned, as with *šon gukúre* in (260).

### 8.8. Relative clause

A relative clause consists of a verbal or copular clause and one of the relativisers, which are identical to interrogatives (§4.1). Sometimes the linker *ke* is also included in a relative clause. And the host noun that receives the modification by relative clauses very often requires a distal demonstrative word corresponding to the relativiser in the relative clause. Hence, the appropriate view may be that relative clauses do not modify, but correlate with host nouns. This relationship is just what is called correlative diptych by Lehman (1989) in his parameter of hierarchical downgrading, such that this relationship is on the hierarchical position in the middle between parataxis and hypotaxis.

The typical construction of relative expression can be illustrated as in (261). The position of relativisers in a clause is not different from the correspondent arguments in the basic constituent order, as well as that of interrogatives is.

(261) Typical construction of relative expression

... interrogative ... predicate ( <i>ke</i> )	distal demonstrative ...
RELATIVE CLAUSE	HOST NOUN

Relatively speaking, relative clauses precede the main clauses as in (262) and (264), whereas these clauses can follow the main clauses with no restriction as in (263).

(262)	<i>ámit</i>	<i>dísulo</i>	<i>nizá</i>	<i>ya bim</i>	<i>ke</i> ,	<i>ité</i>
	ámit	diš'-ul-e	nizá-∅	i-ya+b'-í-m	ké	ité
	which:Y	ground-LOC-ESS	spear-ABS	3SG.X:I-get+COP-3SG.X-NPRS	LINK	that:Y
	<i>dísulo</i>	<i>yáare</i>	<i>ité</i>	<i>γítulo</i> ,	<i>nizá</i>	
	diš'-ul-e	i-yáar-e	ité	γit'-ul-e	nizá-∅	
	ground-LOC-ESS	3SG.Y:I-downwards-ESS	that:Y	sludge-LOC-ESS	spear-ABS	
	<i>níyan</i>	<i>taí</i>	<i>záile</i>	<i>bim</i> ,		
	n-i-ya'-n	teíl	záil-e	b'-i-m		
	CP-3SG.X:I-get-CP	in.that.way	wise-ESS	COP-3SG.X-NPRS		

'In whichever place the arrow had landed, in that place, down in that sludge, the arrow was stuck in that way,' (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #207)



- (263) *unn gopachi ja ikay tasveerin bichana?*  
 ún gu-pá-či-e jé-e iké tasvíir-iŋ-Ø b'icán-Ø=a  
 thou 2SG:II-side-INE-ESS I-GEN those:Y picture-PL-ABS COP-3PL.Y-PRS=Q
- un amík mee hotalatay jaa chum  
 ún[-e] amík-Ø mí-e hoṭál-aṭ-e jé-e-c-um  
 thou[-ERG] which:Y.PL-ABS we-GEN hotel-INS-ESS I-OBL-ADE-ABL
- divsom kay  
 d-i-gús+bá-a-m ké  
 TEL-3PL.Y:I-go.out+COP-2SG-NPRS LINK

‘Do you have my photos which you were taking at our hotel?’ (Liaqat Hussain’s message on facebook: 25th of October, 2011; this unusual notation depends on his custom)

- (264) šon gukúr biṭáne bésan sénuma ke *ité*  
 šón+gukúr biṭán-e bés-an-Ø sén-um=a ké ité-Ø  
 Shon.Gukur shaman-ERG what-INDEF.SG-ABS say-ADJVLZ=Q LINK that:Y-ABS
- sahíi maními.*  
 sahíi man'-m-i  
 correct become-NPRS-3SG.Y

‘What Shon Gukur had said turned out to be true.’ (šon gukúr: #14)

And headless relative clause can be seen also, in particular, with the temporal relative expression introduced by *béšal* ‘when’ as in (265) below.

- (265) *Leekín síse zéhenulo ité árkuṣh darúm*  
 leekín sís-e zéhen-ul-e ité ár-kuṣ-Ø dar'-um  
 but people-GEN mind-LOC-ESS that:Y fearful-NMLZ-ABS still-ADJVLZ
- bilúm ke béshal qámar qhaṭ wáshiman*  
 b'il'-m ké béšal qam'-ar qhaṭ i-biśá-m-an  
 COP-3SG.Y-NPRS LINK when hole-DAT down 3SG.HM:I-throw-NPRS-3PL.H

[ke], “Zamúine hóle teí úlo Puyáayar  
 ké zamín-e hól-e teíl úl-e punyáãy-ar  
 LINK ground-GEN outside-ESS in.that.way inside-ESS Punial-DAT

duúsai” nusé.  
 d-gús+bá-i-Ø n-sén  
 TEL-go.out+COP-3SG.HM-PRS TEL-say

‘But in the minds of the people there was still fear for that when they threw him into the hole, then they did it as saying “Such as on the ground, he is going to Punial in the ground”.’ (Willson [1999b] 2002:Šíri Badát #45)

In Burushaski, relative clauses can modify a pronoun as in (266).

(266) uyátumuce gódarıj no, u [ámin]  
 u-yaťıs-muc-e gódar-ıj-Ø n-u’t ú ámin  
 3PL.H:I-head-PL-GEN thick.wall-PL-ABS CP-3PL.X:II-do they:DIST which:H

[bičaarámuc] [úi] [dowášabám] [ke]  
 bičaará-muc-Ø u-ı d-gús-ya+bá-an-m ké  
 miserable-PL-ABS 3PL.H:I-self TEL-go.out-PL+COP-3PL.H-NPRS LINK

u waphaadárišo ménik bam ke  
 ú-Ø waphaadáar-išo mén-ik-Ø bá-an-m ké  
 they:DIST-ABS trusty-PL who-INDEF.PL-ABS COP-3PL.H-NPRS LINK

úar čapán baqħşán nóotan úar  
 ú-ar čapán-Ø baqħşán n-ı’t-n ú-ar  
 they:DIST-DAT long.dress-ABS giving CP-3PL.H:III-do-CP they:DIST-DAT

buť óor izát nétan.  
 búť óor izát-Ø n-ı’t-n  
 much and grace-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP

‘Built a big wall with their heads, they<sub>i</sub> graced the miserable fellows who have come out by themselves; [lit. them<sub>j</sub> who are miserable and have come out by themselves<sub>j</sub>] with long robes by reason that they<sub>j</sub> were trusty.’ (čhúmoe minás: #343)

## 8.9. Clause combining

When two or more clauses are juxtaposed, then they can be regarded as combined if some contextual sequency is recognized. Clause combining is also done overtly through two strategies in Burushaski. The first is by conjunctives, and the second is by converbs.

## 8.9.1. Juxtaposition

Coordinate clause combining is frequently accomplished by the juxtaposition of two or more clauses, as in (267) and (268).

- (267) *biṭáyue yeécuman, húke mamúe šon gukúrar*  
*biṭán-čo-e i-ic'-m-an húke+mamó-e šón+gukúr-ar*  
 shaman-PL-ERG 3SG.Y:I-see-NPRS-3PL.H Huke.Mamo-ERG Shon.Gukur-DAT

*ésimi:*

*i'-s'-m-i*

3SG.HM:II-tell-NPRS-3SG.HM

‘The shamans saw it and Huke Mamo said to Shon Gukur.’ (*šon gukúr*: #5)

- (268) *jap chími, téele hurúṭimi.*  
*jáp chí-m-i teél-e hurúṭ-m-i*  
 underneath descend-NPRS-3SG.HM that.place-ESS sit-NPRS-3SG.HM

‘He went down and settled there.’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #490)

## 8.9.2. Conjunctive

The following conjunctives are used for coordination: *ke* ‘and’ at the clause-final position here as in (269), and clause-initial *dáa* ‘and then’, *óor* ‘and’ [< UR *aur* (اور) ‘and’] as in (270), and *leekín* ‘but’ [< UR *lēkin* (ليكن) ‘but’].

- (269) *éḍe búšar teí sénimi ke búše myáao*  
*éḍ-e buš'-ar teíl sén-m-i ké buš'-e myáao-Ø*  
 Ed-ERG cat-DAT in.that.way say-NPRS-3SG.HM LINK cat-ERG meow:ONO-ABS

*étimi.*

*i-t'-m-i*

3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.X

‘Ed said so and the cat purred.’ (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #121)

- (270) *káman guncíjcum, buá halkími óor*  
*kám-an gunc'-ij-c-um buá-∅ halk'-∅-m-i óor*  
 little-INDEF.SG day-PL-ADE-ABL cow-ABS bear-PFV-NPRS-3SG.X and

*isk désmanimi.*

*i-sk'-∅ d-i-s-man'-m-i*

3SG.X:I-young-ABS TEL-3SG.X:II-CAUS-become-NPRS-3SG.X

‘Some days later the cow gave birth and a calf was born to it.’ (*šon gukúr*: #12)

On the other hand, the following conjunctives are usually employed to make subordinate clauses: clause-initial *ágar* ‘if’ [< PE/UR *agar* (اگر) ‘if’] which usually cooccurs with the clause-final linker *ke*, shown in (271), similar to the relativiser *béšál* ‘when’ shown in (265) in §8.8; while *kúli* ‘though’ occurs in the clause-final position, as in (272). These conjunctives indicate the subordinate clauses which cannot occur independently from main clause.

- (271) *et zéhere chil bilúm iné baadšáa*  
*ét-∅ záhar-e chil'-∅ b'-il'-m iné baadšáa-∅*  
 that.one:Y-ABS poison-GEN water-ABS COP-3SG.Y-NPRS that:H king-ABS

*iírčóm agár ité minúwám ke*  
*i-ir'-č+bá-i-m ágar ité min+bá-i-m ké*  
 3SG.HM:I-die-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS if that:Y drink+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS LINK

*čémiliḡe chil bilúm.*  
*čémiliḡ-e chil'-∅ b'-il'-m*  
 poison-GEN water-ABS COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

‘It was such poison water that if he drinks it then the king dies.’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #237)

- (272) *éde* *ɣuyáŋcum* *darúm* *qháa* *íi* *bluuberíe* *nas*  
*éd-e* *ɣuyáŋ-c-um* *dar'-um* *qháaʃ* *íi* *bluuberíi-e* *nas'-∅*  
 Ed-GEN hair-ADE-ABL still-ADJVLZ until just blueberry-GEN smell-ABS  
*júçilúm,* *altó* *ɖam* *yátis*  
*jú-č+b'il'-m* *altó* *ɖám* *i-yaʔís-∅*  
 come-IPFV+COP-3SG.Y-NPRS two:Y time 3SG.HM:I-head-ABS  
*yáaltóm* *kúli.*  
*i-báalt+bá-i-m* *kúli*  
 3SG.X:I-wash+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS though

‘Ed’s hair still smelled like blueberry though he had taken two showers.’ (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #21)

Berger (1998c: 138) says that a conjunctive *éŋuʃe* ‘despite, although’ is always used with either of the two conjunctives *kúli* or *ke*, but my consultant Mussa Baig has given me sentences without employing the following conjunctive as in (273).

- (273) *búʔan* *ʃim* *éŋuʃe* *khiné* *hir* *dayánum*  
*búʔ-an* *ʃí-um* *éŋuʃe* *khiné* *hir'-∅* *dayán-um*  
 much eat:HX.SG.OBJ-ADJVLZ despite this:H man-ABS thick-ADJVLZ  
*eémanimi.*  
*a-i-man'-m-i*  
 NEG-3SG.HM-become-NPRS-3SG.HM

‘This man ate so much but did not grow stout.’

For concessive clauses done by kinds of analytic verbal expression, instead of with *kúli*, see §8.6.2.

The linker *ke* can also be used to mark a subordinate clause.

- (274) *ménan* *díya* *ke* *júçi,*  
*mén-an-∅* *d-i'-∅-i* *ké* *jú-č-m-i*  
 who-INDEF.SG-ABS come:PFV-3SG.HM-PRS-3SG.HM LINK come-IPFV-NPRS-3SG.HM

nusé mubaarakí mučí bam.  
 n-sén mubaarák-í-Ø mu-čhi+bá-an-m  
 CP-say congratulatory-NMLZ-ABS 3SG.HF:I-give:Y.SG.OBJ+COP-3PL.H-NPRS

‘Whoever comes, may he come!’, [thus] saying they had given her congratulations.’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #42)

Here in (274), *ke* cooccurs with the interrogative word *ménan* to build a concessive clause, a type of clause which is regularly expressed in English with “-ever”. Such meaning can be expressed even as a constituent, not necessarily as a clause, see (275).

(275) leekín hij dóonasulo kaamiáab béšal ke  
 leekín hij-Ø d’gón-as-ul-e kaamiáab béšal ké  
 but door-ABS TEL-open-INF-LOC-ESS successful when LINK  
 ayéemanimi.  
 a-ĩ-man’-m-i  
 NEG-3SG.X:III-become-NPRS-3SG.X

‘It never succeeded in opening the door. [lit. Whenever it did not succeed in ...]’ (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #75)

It can be thought that conjunctives are sometimes used in insubordinate sentences as if they were sentence final particles, as in (276).

(276) oóarimi ke?  
 aú-hér-m-i ké  
 NEG-sob-NPRS-3SG.HM LINK

‘Since he didn’t cry?’

Such an insubordinate clause has no following clause in practice, so that it is not easy to understand the status of this clause in relation to the clause that the clause-final conjunctive suggests. There remain some shades of meaning implied by the type of conditional or event sequential clauses that are usually introduced by *ke*.

### 8.9.3. Converb

The term “converb” is used for nonfinite verb forms that mark adverbial

subordination. There are a lot of converbs in Burushaski and most of them consist of some locational case marking with any of the following: an infinitive, a perfective participle, or an imperfective participle. They can be categorized into switch-reference, temporal relativity, or other particular adverbial functions.

In this section, first, I will refer to and summarize the previous study of Tikkanen (1995), which is devoted to the issues of converbs. And then, I will discuss converbs and revise the total system of converbs.

Tikkanen (1995: 492–93) lists about 20 (he says 18 but actually he has shown 21 or more forms) converb forms in Burushaski with consecutive numbers, which will be shown in the list (277) again. Here I have sorted out and arranged the classification of converbs according to Tikkanen (1995) in Table 105 but I have changed the stem from *hér-* ‘to sob, to cry’ into *gáarc-* ‘to run’, because it conjugates more regularly. For precaution’s sake, recall that the perfective participle of *gáarc-* is *gáarcum* and the imperfective participle is *gáaršum*, and that a negative prefix *a-* and the conjunctive participle prefix *n-* cause the devoicing phenomenon.

Table 105. Classification of converbs according to Tikkanen (1995)<sup>†47</sup>

	ANTERIOR	SIMULTANEOUS	PURPOSIVE (FINALIS)
SAME SUBJECT	<i>nukáarc</i> (c-1) <i>gáarcumaṭe</i> (c-2) <i>akáarcumaṭe</i> (c-3)	<i>gáaršume</i> (c-10) <i>gáaršumaṭe</i> (c-11)	<i>gáaršar</i> (c-14) <i>gáarcasar</i> (c-7) <i>gáarcase gáne</i> (c-15)
OPEN SUBJECT		<i>gáarcumulo</i> (c-12) <i>gáarcasulo</i> (c-13)	
DIFFERENT SUBJECT	<i>gáarcumar</i> (c-4) <i>gáarcumcum</i> ( <i>lji</i> ) (c-5) <i>gáarcume káa</i> (c-6) <i>gáarcasar</i> (c-7) <i>gáarcascum lji</i> (c-8) <i>gáarcase káa</i> (c-9)		
IMPROPER CONVERBS (PHRASAL CONVERBS; HYBRIDS)			
<i>gáarcum khéenu/wáqtulo</i> (c-16), <i>gáarcum lji/icíate</i> (c-17), <i>gáarcascum yar</i> (c-18), <i>gáarcı̄ş qháa</i> (c-19), <i>gáarcum juán</i> (c-20); <i>gáarcáte</i> (c-21a), <i>gáarcabáte</i> (c-21b)			

<sup>†47</sup> All with the terminology of Tikkanen (1995) here.

But his classification is not sufficient nor constant. There seem to be different functions in a single class; that is, there are three different kinds of annotations for the forms classified as anterior same-subject converbs. He says nothing about why he does not classify the “improper converbs” with the same criteria as the other converbs. Here I list the converb (including improper ones) in Tikkanen (1995) below, see (277).

(277) 21 converbs in Tikkanen (1995)

	form	construction	gloss
c-1	<i>nukáarc</i>	n-V	CP-V
c-2	<i>gáarcumaṭe</i>	V-um-aṭ-e	V-ADJ-INS-ESS
c-3	<i>akáarcumaṭe</i>	a-V-um-aṭ-e	NEG-V-ADJ INS ESS
c-4	<i>gáarcumar</i>	V-um-ar	V-ADJ-DAT
c-5	<i>gáarcumcum (ilji)</i>	V-um-c-um ( <i>ilji</i> )	V-ADJ-ADE-ABL (after)
c-6	<i>gáarcume káa</i>	V-um-e <i>káa(t)</i>	V-ADJ-GEN with
c-7	<i>gáarcasar</i>	V-as-ar	V-INF-DAT
c-8	<i>gáarcascum ilji</i>	V-as-c-um <i>ilji</i>	V-INF-ADE-ABL after
c-9	<i>gáarcase káa</i>	V-as-e <i>káa(t)</i>	V-INF-GEN with
c-10	<i>gáaršume</i>	V-č-um-e	V-IPFV-ADJ-ESS
c-11	<i>gáaršumaṭe</i>	V-č-um-aṭ-e	V-IPFV-ADJ-INS-ESS
c-12	<i>gáarcumulo</i>	V-um-ul-e	V-ADJ-LOC-ESS
c-13	<i>gáarcasulo</i>	V-as-ul-e	V-INF-LOC-ESS
c-14	<i>gáaršar</i>	V-č-ar	V-IPFV-DAT
c-15	<i>gáarcase gáne</i>	V-as-e <i>gáne</i>	V-INF-GEN for
c-16	<i>gáarum khéenulo/wáqtulo</i>	V-um <i>khéenulo/wáqtulo</i>	V-ADJ in.the.time
c-17	<i>gáarcum ilji/iciáṭe</i>	V-um <i>ilji/iciáṭe</i>	V-ADJ after
c-18	<i>gáarcascum yar</i>	V-as-c-um <i>yar</i>	V-INF-ADE-ABL before
c-19	<i>gáarcis qháa</i>	V-š <i>qháa(š)</i>	V-OPT until
c-20	<i>gáarcum juán</i>	V-um <i>juán</i>	V-ADJ as
c-21a	<i>gáarcáṭe</i>	V+COP-áṭ-e	V+COP-INS-ESS
c-21b	<i>gáarcabáṭe</i>	V-a+COP-áṭ-e	V-1SG+COP-INS-ESS

Some of his converbs cannot be regarded as simplex, but rather analytic expressions that do not act as a single unit. I recognise only nonfinite verb forms to be converbs. Some of the converbs listed by him that I do not regard as converbs are constructed with a nonfinite form and a case-like expression (§3.5.8.2) so that later I will account for them separately in a manner similar to how I have divided cases and



case-like expressions previously. And there are some forms in Tikkanen (1995) that are simply made of morphosyntactic combinations of a deverbal adjective and a modified noun with adverbial (locational) case, which can be understood compositionally through their individual meanings or functions.

I discuss the clause-combining functions of converbs here. A conjunctive participle (n-V; c-1) is used for the preceding events of some events if the subject of these events is identical, and there is no need for a statement to specify the eventual relationship between the events, as in (278).

(278) Conjunctive p(artici)p(le). (n-V; c-1): Same-subject Anterior

<u>qhúuqe</u>	<i>gantí</i>	<i>néyarin</i>	<i>sénimi ...</i>
qhúuq-e	gantí-Ø	n-i-yar'n	sén-m-i
pig-ERG	bell-ABS	CP-3SG.X:II-play-CP	say-NPRS-3SG.X

‘The pig rang a doorbell and said ...’ (*uskó jótišo urkái: #20*)

[[the pig rang]<sub>ANT</sub> the pig said]<sub>FINITE</sub>

To make the construction clearer, hereafter I illustrate each clause using square brackets to annotate the functional status of each clause after the lines of free translation. The predicate of anterior converbs is represented with past tense, and those of conditional converbs with present perfect, those of simultaneous converbs with present progressive, and those of purposive converbs with “for V-ing” forms. A symbol “&” means the border of two finite clauses, which may be accompanied by some converbal clauses.

Concerning converbs, Tikkanen (1995: 509–10) says “if the time reference switches explicitly from past to present or future, a finite coordinated clause is preferred (switch from present to future reference is tolerated)” and shows the following examples (279a, b):

(279) a.	<i>Sabúur</i>	<i>íne</i>	<i>gáne</i>	<i>jáa</i>	<i>qhat</i>
	sabúur	ín-e	gan'e	jé-e	qhát-Ø
	yesterday	s/he:DIST-GEN	way-ESS	I-ERG	letter-ABS
	<i>girmína</i>	<i>báyam/*nikírminin</i>	<i>khúulto/jímale</i>	<i>éer</i>	
	girmín-a+bá-a-a-m/*n-girmín-n		khúulto/jímal-e	i-ar	
	write-1SG+COP-1SG-1SG-NPRS/*CP-write-CP		today/tomorrow-ESS	3SG.HM:II-DAT	

óocučam.

u+chú-č-a-m

send.for-IPFV-1SG-NPRS

‘Yesterday I wrote a letter to him and today[/tomorrow] I will send it to him.’ (Tikkanen 1995: 510)

- b. *Khúulto je ínar qhátan*  
 khúulto jé-∅ ín-ar qhát-an-∅  
 today I-ABS s/he:DIST-DAT letter-INDEF.SG-ABS

*girmíyam/nikírmin jímale éer*  
 girmín-č-a-m/n-girmín jímal-e i-ar  
 write-IPFV-1SG-NPRS/CP-write tomorrow-ESS 3SG.HM:II-DAT

óocučam.

u+chú-č-a-m

send.for-IPFV-1SG-NPRS

‘Today I will write a letter to him and tomorrow I will send it to him.’ (*ibid.*)

He says that the conjunctive participle (c-1) is not available in (279a) because it consists of a past and a present or future reference, and (279b) is suited for the conjunctive participle because it is constructed with a present and a future reference. But actually (279b) is made of two future references, and then the conjunctive participle is naturally used there (see also his translation). If the predicates are formally both a present and a future, then the proposition of (279b) will not be expressed with the conjunctive participle *nikírmin* but then only the (complex present) finite form *girmíya baa* will be grammatically accepted as well as (279a) is accepted. The tolerance of the use of the conjunctive participle depends on the formal temporality, not on the interpretational temporality; only if the finite forms are parallel in conjugation, including the subject reference, can the anterior event be predicated with a converb.

Whereas if the result of the preceding event is still effective at the time the following event begins, then a conditional converb is used for the predication of the preceding event, as in (280).

(280) Perfective pp. + Adessive (V-um-c-e; c-23): Same-subject Conditional

<i>noború</i>	<i>éyanumce</i>	<i>hérčái.</i>
noború-Ø	i'-yan-um-c-e	hér-č+bá-i-Ø
Noboru-ABS	3SG.HM:II-sleep-ADJVLZ-ADE-ESS	sob-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-PRS

‘Noboru slept and is shedding tears.’

[[Noboru has slept]<sub>COND</sub> Noboru is shedding tears]<sub>FINITE</sub>

In (280), the preceding event expressed with a conditional converb means that the change of the subject’s physical position or status occurred first, and the following event occurred in the changed position or status, maybe lying down or being asleep.

Converbs, at least the ones of a perfective participle plus the adhesive case marking (c-2), can be made out of copulas also, as in (281). There seems no difference in function between converbs from verbs and those from copulas.

(281) Copular pp. + Adhesive (V-um-aṭ-e; c-2): Open-subject Simultaneous

<i>Nóguṣhkinin,</i>	<span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">in</span>	<i>thápe</i>	<i>úlo</i>
n-u'-guṣúgin-n	ín-Ø	thap'-e	úl-e
CP-3PL.H:II-confer-CP	s/he:DIST-ABS	night-ESS	inside-ESS
<i>bámaṭe</i>		<i>iḍigaariṭák</i>	<i>biráquman.</i>
bá-i-um-aṭ-e		i-ḍigaarṭák	biráq-m-an
COP-3SG.HM-ADJVLZ-INS-ESS		3SG.Y:I-around	dig-NPRS-3PL.H

‘Informed them and when he was in the house at night then they dug around it’  
(Willson [1999b] 2002, *Širi Badát*: #33)

[[he informed them]<sub>ANT</sub> [he is staying inside at night]<sub>SIM</sub> they dug around the house]

Now, I show some examples to verify the revisions to Tikkanen (1995):

(282) Infinitive + Adhesive (V-as-aṭ-e; c-24 later): Open-subject SimultaneousInfinitive + Dative (V-as-ar; c-7): Open-subject Anterior

<i>rafiq</i>	<i>óltike</i>	<i>čáyamiṭ</i>	<i>éčume</i>
rafiq	u'-ltik-e	čáya-miṭ-Ø	i'-t'-č-um-e
companion	3PL.H:II-both-ERG	story-PL-ABS	3PL.Y:II-do-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS

*guchárčume piadál gánane hóle*  
 guchár-č-um-e piaadál gan'an-e hól-e  
 move-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS on.foot way-INDEF.SG-GEN outside-ESS

*guchárasate, hitháanar níasar çhámine*  
 guchár-as-aṭ-e hík-tháan-ar ní-as-ar çhámine  
 move-INF-INS-ESS one-place-DAT go-INF-DAT hungry

*umánuman*  
 u-man'm-an  
 3PL.H:I-become-NPRS-3PL.H

‘The companions both were going along talking and when they reached a place out of a pedestrian way [lit. while moving outside a pedestrian way] then they felt hungry’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #47)

[[the companions both are talking]<sub>SIM</sub> [the companions both are moving]<sub>SIM</sub>  
 [the companions both are moving outside a pedestrian way]<sub>SIM</sub> [the companions both went to a place]<sub>ANT</sub> the companions both felt hungry]<sub>FINITE</sub>

(283) Perfective pp. + Adhesive (V-um-aṭ-e; c-2): Open-subject Conditional

*dáa khúulto guté neekí díimia*  
 dáa khúulto guté neekí-∅ d-i'm-i=a  
 again today this:Y luck-ABS come:PFV-3SG.Y-NPRS-3SG.Y=Q

*awáramate, huróyo díimate,*  
 a-bar'a-um-aṭ-e huróyo-∅ d-i'um-aṭ-e  
 1SG:I-get.tired-1SG-ADJVLZ-INS-ESS sweat-ABS come:PFV-3SG.Y-ADJVLZ-INS-ESS

guté amóos *ke awáramate, chil*  
 guté a-moos'∅ ké a-bar'a-um-aṭ-e chil'∅  
 this:Y 1SG:I-anger-ABS LINK 1SG:I-get.tired-1SG-ADJVLZ-INS-ESS water-ABS

*mináas ayátum úne bes*  
 min'as-∅ a-a't'um ún-e bés  
 drink-INF-ABS NEG-1SG:II-do-ADJVLZ thou-ERG why

*déemima*

d-ĩ-mi-m-a

TEL-3SG.Y:III-collect-NPRS-2SG

‘And today this good luck seems to have come; on the occasion that I had been exhausted and in a sweat [lit. sweat had come out] so that I could not keep even my anger [lit. this my anger also exhausted], why did you collect water despite the fact that you would not let me have it?’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #233)

[and today this good luck seems to have come]<sub>FINITE</sub> & [[I have been tired]<sub>COND</sub> [sweat has come out]<sub>COND</sub> [my anger has been tired]<sub>COND</sub> why did you collect water despite the fact that you would not let me have it?]<sub>FINITE</sub>

(284) Complex perfective + Adhesive (V+COP-at-e; c-21): Different-subject Conditional

<i>“čáayanar</i>	<i>ju”</i>	<i>ésabáte,</i>	<i>“bée ya</i>
<i>čáai-an-ar</i>	<i>jú-i</i>	<i>i-s’-a+bá-aṭ-e</i>	<i>bée yá</i>
tea-INDEF.SG-DAT	come-IMP.SG	3SG.HM:II-tell-1SG+COP-INS-ESS	no INTERJ

<i>úne</i>	<i>háale</i>	<i>ḍaḍánj</i>	<i>ḍaámal</i>	<i>biéna”</i>
<i>ún-e</i>	<i>ha’-al-e</i>	<i>ḍaḍánj</i>	<i>ḍaámal-Ø</i>	<i>b’-ién-Ø=a</i>
thou-GEN	house-LOC-ESS	large.drums	timpani-ABS	COP-3PL.X-PRS=Q

*ásimi.*

a-s’-m-i

1SG:II-tell-NPRS-3SG.HM

‘Upon my telling him “Come on, have a tea”, he told me “No, there may be drums in your house”.’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #130)

[[I have told him “ ... ”]<sub>COND</sub> he told me “ ... ”]<sub>FINITE</sub>

In (282), both *guchárasaṭe* ‘while moving’ (c-24 later) and *níasar* ‘after going’ (c-7) are used with a superordinate clause without the switching of subject reference, while Tikkanen (1995) remarks that these converbs are of different-subject use. Surely there are cases of these converbs with switch-reference in texts, thus they can be regarded as open-subject converbs. On the contrary, however, with (283) I show that the V-um-aṭ-e converbs (c-2) used in combining the clauses that have different subjects. (284) is the example of the “hybrid” form (c-21) which Tikkanen (1995) does not classify. This converb predicates the conditional event upon which the following event in a

superordinate clause depends. This converb always switches the references between its own and those of the superordinate clause.

From the distributive divergence between participle and infinitive, it is inferred that a converb made of a participle is retaining predicatehood more than one based on an infinitive. The predicatehood can be seen at the fact that participles have a choice of aspect and take a suffix for first person, though infinitives do not. For the following three converbs, their infinitive or participle parts may be functioning rather in a nominal state:

(285) Infinitive + Locative (V-as-ul-e; c-13): Free-subject Simultaneous

<span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">in</span>	<i>éyanasulo</i>	<span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">zilzilá</span>
ín-∅	i-gán-as-ul-e	zilzilá-∅
s/he:DIST-ABS	3SG.HM:II-sleep-INF-LOC-ESS	earthquake-ABS

*díimi.*

d-i'm-i

come:PFV-3SG.Y-NPRS-3SG.Y

‘When he was sleeping, the earthquake came.’

[[he is sleeping]<sub>SIM</sub> the earthquake came]<sub>FINITE</sub>

(286) Infinitive + Dative case (V-as-ar; c-7): Finalis

<i>phalaaná</i>	<i>gúncar</i>	<i>jáar</i>	<i>guté</i>	<i>čáaie</i>	<i>šapíke</i>	<i>óor</i>	<i>jáar</i>	<i>úne</i>
phalaaná	gunc'ar	jé-ar	guté	čáai-e	šapík-e	óor	jé-ar	ún-e
so.and.so	day-DAT	I-DAT	this:Y	tea-GEN	food-GEN	and	I-DAT	thou-GEN

<i>káa</i>	<i>prátulo</i>	<i>nuúro,</i>	<i>čayabár</i>	<i>étasar</i>
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káaṭ	prát-ul-e	n-hurúṭ	čayabár-∅	i-t'-as-ar
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together	similarity-LOC-ESS	CP-sit	conversation-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-INF-DAT
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*áar*      *izát*      *ne,*      *áar*      *qáo*      *éti.*  
 a·ar      izát-Ø      n-i·t      a·ar      qáo-Ø      i·t·i  
 1SG:II-DAT    grace-ABS    CP-3SG.Y:II-do    1SG:II-DAT    cry-ABS    3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG

‘At such and such day, in deference to me, call me for tea and foods to talk with me.’ (*čúmoe minás*: #208)

[at such and such day, [for having tea and meal]<sub>ANACOLUTHON</sub> [[you allowed me to have a seat with you]<sub>ANT</sub> for talking with me]<sub>PUR</sub> [you gave grace to me]<sub>ANT</sub> (you) call me]<sub>FINITE</sub>

(287) Imperfective pp. + Adessive (V-č-um-c-e; c-25 later): Finalis

*Nupíraqin,*    *tshórdimo*      *đámaṭe*      *in*  
 n-biráq-n-n    chórdin-mu-e    đám-aṭ-e      ín-Ø  
 CP-dig-CP-CP    morning-OBL-GEN    time-INS-ESS    s/he:DIST-ABS

*hólne*                      *úimo*                      *bésan*                      *shayád*  
 hól+n-i·t                      i-í-mu-e                      bés-an                      šayád  
 outside+CP-3SG.Y:II-do    3SG.HM:I-self-OBL-GEN    what-INDEF.SG    maybe

*ibaadátan*                      *échumtse*                      *bésanar*  
 ibaadát-an-Ø                      i-t·č-um-c-e                      bés-an-ar  
 worship-INDEF.SG-ABS    3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ADE-ESS    what-INDEF.SG-DAT

*majítanar*                      *níchama,*                      *mandáranar*  
 majít-an-ar                      ní-č-a-m=a                      mandír-an-ar  
 mosque-INDEF.SG-DAT    go-IPFV-1SG-NPRS=Q    temple-INDEF.SG-DAT

*níchama -*                      *bésanar*                      *nícham*                      *ke ...*  
 ní-č-a-m=a                      bés-an-ar                      ní-č-a-m                      ké  
 go-IPFV-1SG-NPRS=Q    what-INDEF.SG-DAT    go-IPFV-1SG-NPRS    LINK

‘They dug and at morning, he went outside to go to say a prayer, maybe to something like a temple’ (Willson [1999b] 2002, *Šíri Badát*: #35)

[[they dug]<sub>ANT</sub> at morning, he went out side [for something like doing worship]<sub>PUR</sub> to somewhere like a masjid or a temple]<sub>FINITE</sub>

For the former two cases, (285; c-13) and (286; c-7), the reason why it is felt that they are nominal may be owing to the comparison with the participial counterparts that serve

the same function. On the other hand, the converb in question in (287; c-25 later) is a form not mentioned by Tikkanen (1995) and looks to be used for purposive expression. But there appear less examples of this converbal form, and the adhesive case with a nominal can often mean the target point of an action or movement with an implication of the adhesion of some theme to the point. That is, it is not too difficult to imagine the converbal function from the nature of the infinitive and the adhesive case.

Of course almost all converbs show nominal characteristics to some extent since they include a case marker, and so, viewed by how sufficiently each of them constructs a clause, converbs would be considered like a bridge between finite verbals and nominals in a continuum. And the likelihood of each converb formation may be in inverse proportion to the degree of its functional establishment as a fixed formation. Once a converbal formation has been functionally well established, then it could be more contracted, as the irregularly formed purposive, or finalis, form represented with *gáaršar* (c-14) in Table 105 above, see (288).

(288) Imperfective stem + Dative (V-č-ar; c-14): Finalis

<i>isé</i>	<i>ašdāre</i>	<i>téelum</i>	<i>yaaní</i>	<i>qhat</i>
isé	ašdár-e	teél-um	yaaní	i-qhát-∅
that:X	dragon-ERG	that.place-ABL	FIL	3SG.X:I-mouth-ABS
<i>a</i>		<i>n,</i>	<i>ínaṭar</i>	<i>hamalá</i>
á		n-i-t	ín-aṭ-ar	hamalá-∅
mouth.opening:ONO		CP-3SG.X:II-do	s/he:DIST-INS-DAT	attack-ABS
<i>éčar</i>		<i>díimi.</i>		
i-t-č-ar		d-i''m-i		
3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-DAT		come:PFV-3SG.X-NPRS-3SG.X		

‘The dragon then opened its mouth wide and came to attack him.’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #97)

[[the dragon opened its mouth wide]<sub>ANT</sub> the dragon came [for attacking him]<sub>PUR</sub> to him]<sub>FINITE</sub>

This formation is, unlike the other participial converbs, based on the imperfective stem, while there is no case of a verbal stem taking a case marker for nominal, other than this formation. Hence, this converb appears more fixed and specialised in form than others, and is used more frequently than the formations which in fact serve seemingly the same



function. And the other irregular formation shown in (284) is also considered similar.

Some converbs are also used in somewhat wider constructions. The same-subject simultaneous converb V-č-um-e (c-10) is used also for some expressions with particular aspectual meanings, such as progressive in (289) and (290), and continuous in (291).

(289) Imperfect pp. + Essive (V-č-um-e; c-10) with Copula finite form: Progressive

<i>isé</i>	<i>búše</i>	<i>íne</i>	<i>isé</i>	<i>bluuberíi</i>	<i>šuróce</i>	<i>šúũ</i>
isé	buš'-e	ín-e	isé	bluuberíi-e	šuró-c-e	šúũ-Ø
that:X	cat-ERG	s/he:DIST-GEN	that:X	blueberry-GEN	pie-ADE-ESS	sniff-ABS

<i>écume</i>	<i>bim.</i>
i-t'-č-um-e	b'-i-m
3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS	COP-3SG.X-NPRS

'The cat was sniffing his blueberry pie.' (uyúm dayánum búšan: #32)

(290) Imperfect pp. + Essive (c-10) with man' 'to become' finite form: Progressive

<i>es</i>	<i>yátumpa</i>	<i>téele</i>	<i>paťáate</i>	
és-Ø	i-yát-um+pá	teél-e	paťáa-ať-e	
that.one:X-ABS	3SG.HM:I-upwards-ABL+side	that.place-ESS	board-INS-ESS	
<i>yáte,</i>	<i>taťtáate</i>	<i>yáte,</i>	<i>akhíl</i>	<i>numá</i>
i-yát-e	taqhťáa-ať-e	i-yát-e	akhíl	n-man
3SG.X:I-upwards-ESS	plank-INS-ESS	3SG.X:I-upwards-ESS	in.this.way	CP-become
<i>hiš</i>	<i>écume</i>	<i>maí bim,</i>	<i>yúrqun.</i>	
hiš-Ø	i-t'-č-um-e	man'-č+b'-i-m	yúrqun-Ø	
sigh-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS	become-IPFV+COP-3SG.X-NPRS	frog-ABS	

'Up there on the board, on the throne, that frog was sighing like this.' (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #295)

(291) Imperfect pp. + Essive (c-10) with ní- 'to go' finite form: Continuous

<i>es</i>	<i>šícume</i>	<i>níman,</i>
és-Ø	ší-č-um-e	ní-m-an
that.one:X-ABS	eat:HX.SG.OBJ-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS	go-NPRS-3PL.H

<i>atíyanimi,</i>	<i>phaş</i>	<i>eémanimi.</i>
a-d-i-yan'-m-i	phás	a-i-man'-m-i
NEG-TEL-3SG.X:I-be.finished-NPRS-3SG.X	finishing	NEG-3SG.X:I-become-NPRS-3SG.X

‘They went on eating it, but it did not run out, did not come to an end.’  
(Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #348)

Semantically they can be merely analysed as ‘be/become + doing’ (progressive) and ‘go + doing’ (continuous), respectively, but look to be getting grammaticalised to become fixed analytic aspectual expressions. In the same way, the analytic perfective, which includes various meanings, is also made with a conjunctive participle n-V (c-1), as in (292) and (293).

(292) Conjunctive pp. (n-V; c-1) with Copula: Perfective (accomplishment)

<i>pađáanaṭe</i>	<i>yáṭe</i>	<i>taí</i>	<i>ne</i>
pađáa-an-aṭ-e	i-yáṭ-e	teíl	n-i-t
board-INDEF.SG-INS-ESS	3SG.X:I-upwards-ESS	in.that.way	CP-3SG.Y:II-do
<i>íne</i>	<i>éuruṭimi;</i>	<i>néuruṭ</i>	<i>bam,</i>
ín-e	i-huruṭ-m-i	n-i-huruṭ	bá-i-m
s/he:DIST-ERG	3SG.X:II-sit-NPRS-3SG.HM	CP-3SG.X:II-sit	COP-3SG.HM-NPRS
<i>baadśáa</i>	<i>déyalimi.</i>		
baadśáa-e	d-i-yal-m-i		
king-ERG	TEL-3SG.X:II-hear-NPRS-3SG.HM		

‘He seated it up on a board like this; [when] he had seated it, the king heard [of it].’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #236)

(293) Conjunctive pp. (n-V; c-1) with Copula: Perfective (consequence of a situation)

<i>ámis</i>	<i>gusé</i>	<i>yar</i>	<i>gan</i>	<i>biláa,</i>	
ámis	gusé-Ø	i-yár	gan'-Ø	b'-il'-Ø=a	
which:X	this:X-ABS	3SG.Y:I-before	way-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-PRS=Q	
<i>apí,</i>	<i>es</i>	<i>be,</i>	<i>ité</i>	<i>gánulo</i>	<i>han</i>
a-b'-il'-Ø	és-Ø	bé	ité	gan'-ul-e	hán
NEG-COP-3SG.Y-PRS	that.one:X-ABS	no	that:Y	way-LOC-ESS	one:X

*déu-ašdáran*                      *nukúca*    *bi.*  
 déu+ašdár-an-Ø                  n-gučhá    b'i-Ø  
 demon+dragon-INDEF.SG-ABS    CP-lie        COP-3SG.X-PRS

‘As for there being or not being a road onwards from here, it is not [now], [because] in that road a dragon-demon is lying.’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #428)

Hence, I rearranged converbs by separating both converb-like expressions, which are dealt with in the next section §8.9.4, and simple combinations, in Table 106 with the new list (294). In this table, framed forms are changed in their position from Tikkanen’s (1995) classification, and underlined forms (and a category) are newly added. Some converbs listed with parentheses in Table 106 may be regarded as having a more nominal nature.

Table 106. Rearranged converbs

	ANTERIOR	<u>CONDITIONAL</u>	SIMULTANEOUS	PURPOSIVE
SAME SUBJECT	<i>nukáarc</i> (c-1)	<u><i>gáarcumce</i></u> (c-23)	<i>gáaršume</i> (c-10) <i>gáaršumaṭe</i> (c-11)	<i>gáaršar</i> (c-14) ( <i>gáarcasar</i> (c-7)) ( <i>gáaršumce</i> (c-25))
OPEN SUBJECT	<u><i>gáarcasar</i></u> (c-7) <i>akáarcasar</i> (c-22)	<u><i>gáarcumaṭe</i></u> (c-2) <u><i>akáarcumaṭe</i></u> (c-3)	<i>gáarcasaṭe</i> (c-24) <i>gáarcumulo</i> (c-12) ( <i>gáarcasulo</i> (c-13))	
DIFFERENT SUBJECT	<i>gáarcumar</i> (c-4) <i>gáarcumcum</i> (c-5)	<u><i>gáarcáte</i></u> <u><i>gáarcabáṭe</i></u> (c-21)		
DIRECTIONAL CASE	ABLATIVE DATIVE	ESSIVE	ESSIVE	DATIVE

(294) 15 converbs in this dissertation (with the common numbers to (277))

	form	construction	gloss
c-1	<i>nukáarc</i>	n-V	CP-V
c-2	<u><i>gáarcumaṭe</i></u>	V-um-aṭ-e	V-ADJ-INS-ESS
c-3	<u><i>akáarcumaṭe</i></u>	a-V-um-aṭ-e	NEG-V-ADJ INS ESS
c-4	<i>gáarcumar</i>	V-um-ar	V-ADJ-DAT
c-5	<i>gáarcumcum</i>	V-um-c-um	V-ADJ-ADE-ABL
c-7	<u><i>gáarcasar</i></u>	V-as-ar	V-INF-DAT

c-10	<i>gáaršume</i>	V-č-um-e	V-IPFV-ADJ-ESS
c-11	<i>gáaršumaṭe</i>	V-č-um-aṭ-e	V-IPFV-ADJ-INS-ESS
c-12	<i>gáarcumulo</i>	V-um-ul-e	V-ADJ-LOC-ESS
c-13	<i>gáarcasulo</i>	V-as-ul-e	V-INF-LOC-ESS
c-14	<i>gáaršar</i>	V-č-ar	V-IPFV-DAT
c-21	<span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;"><i>gáarcáṭe, gáarcabáṭe</i></span>	V+COP-aṭ-e	V+COP-INS-ESS
c-22	<i>akáarcasar</i>	a-V-as-ar	NEG-V-INF-DAT
c-23	<i>gáarcumce</i>	V-um-c-e	V-ADJ-ADE-ESS
c-24	<i>gáarcasaṭe</i>	V-as-aṭ-e	V-INF-INS-ESS
c-25	<i>gáaršumce</i>	V-č-um-c-e	V-IPFV-ADJ-ADE-ESS

I distinguish anterior and conditional because anterior converbs suggest just that in a sequence of events the converbal clause event precedes the main clause event, and conditional converbs imply that the superordinate clause event happens in response to or as a result of the converbal clause event; therefore, here the term conditional also includes, in practice, causal and instrumental.

As the bottom row “directional case” of indicates, this classification correlates with locational complex case despite the fact that there is a difference between temporal or spatial dimensions. That is, converbs with the essive case marker represent some simultaneity, including perfect, relative to the time indicated by the superordinate clause. On the other hand, relatively distant temporality is expressed with the ablative or dative markers. For the directional cases, see also §§3.5.4 – 3.5.7.

I devote the next section to converbal analytic expressions, and will summarize both converbs and converbal analytic expressions together at the end of the section.

#### 8.9.4. Converbal analytic expressions

Besides converbs, there are several expressions working in functions similar to converbs, but their formations are difficult to regard as single units instead of analytic constructions. So I account for them here with a label “converbal analytic expression”. Furthermore there are several expressions that are less grammaticalised than converbal analytic ones, e.g., *hérum khéenulo/wáqtulo* [hér-um khéen/wáqt-ul-e || sob-ADJVLZ period/time-LOC-ESS] ‘at the time of crying’ from Tikkanen (1995). I do not adopt these because they have not become even set phrases and seem mere plain phrases. Of course, there is a certain breadth of the idiomaticity among converbal analytic expressions, also, as well as the fact that converbs show a diversity of fixed-formness, or as it were, grammaticalisation.

In this section, first, I will show the list of converbal analytic expressions. And then I discuss one of the expressions, which includes finite form unlike the other converbs and converbal expressions. After that I deal with the functions of converbal expressions, which seem to have different function from those on which Tikkanen (1995) described. Finally, I will summarize both converbs and converbal analytic expressions together.

Like Table 106 for converbs, I have arranged converbal analytic expressions with respect to switch reference and temporal relativity in Table 107 and the new list (295) below. Again, boxed forms are set at a different position from Tikkanen (1995), or have not been classified in function by him. Underlined forms are the ones which I regard as converbal analytic expressions, but which Tikkanen (1995) does not.

Table 107. Rearranged converbal analytic expressions

	ANTERIOR	CONDITIONAL	PURPOSIVE	POSTERIOR
SAME SUBJ.			<i>gáarcase gáne</i> (c-15)	
OPEN SUBJ.	<u><i>gáarcascum ilji/iciáte</i></u> (c-8)	<i>FINITE=a ke</i> (c-27)		<u><i>gáarciş qháa</i></u> (c-19) <i>akáarciş qháa</i> (c-26)
DIFFERENT SUBJ.	<u><i>gáarcumcum @'lji/@-ciáte</i></u> (c-5) <i>gáarcume káa</i> (c-6) <i>gáarcase káa</i> (c-9)	<i>gáarcas ke</i> (c-28)		<u><i>gáarcascum yar (ne)</i></u> (c-18)

(295) 10 converbal analytic expressions (with the common numbers to (277))

	form	construction	gloss
c-5	<u><i>gáarcumcum @'lji/@-ciáte</i></u>	<i>V-um-c-um @'lji/@-ciáte</i>	V-ADJ-ADE-ABL after
c-6	<i>gáarcume káa</i>	<i>V-um-e káa(t)</i>	V-ADJ-GEN with
c-8	<u><i>gáarcascum ilji/iciáte</i></u>	<i>V-as-c-um ilji/iciáte</i>	V-INF-ADE-ABL after
c-9	<i>gáarcase káa</i>	<i>V-as-e káa(t)</i>	V-INF-GEN with
c-15	<i>gáarcase gáne</i>	<i>V-as-e gáne</i>	V-INF-GEN for
c-18	<u><i>gáarcascum yar (ne)</i></u>	<i>V-as-c-um yar (ne)</i>	V-INF-ADE-ABL before
c-19	<u><i>gáarciş qháaş</i></u>	<i>V-ş qháa(ş)</i>	V-OPT until
c-26	<i>akáarciş qháaş</i>	<i>a-V-ş qháa(ş)</i>	NEG-V-OPT until
c-27	<i>FINITE=a ke</i>	<i>V<sub>FINITE</sub>=a ke</i>	V <sub>FINITE</sub> =Q that
c-28	<i>gáarcas ke</i>	<i>V-as ke</i>	V-INF that

It might be better to exclude the form  $V_{FINITE}=a ke$  (c-27) here; for example, *gáarcama ke* ‘after my running; I run and’ (simple past with the first person) consists of a finite

simple past form, the interrogative clitic, and the linker, though the other converbal expressions do not have a finite form but rather a nonfinite form. See (296) for the form in question with a third person plural H-class subject.

(296) Simple past + Interrogative + Linker (c-27): Open-subject Conditional

<i>khu</i>	<i>pačáas</i>	<i>nookárišo</i>	<i>góor</i>	<i>hirí</i>	<i>kam</i>
khú	pačáas	nookár-išo-Ø	gu-ar	hir'-i-Ø	kám
they:PROX	fifty	servant-PL-ABS	2SG:II-DAT	man-PL-ABS	little

<i>umánumana</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>dáa</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ṭeṭ</i>
u-man'-m-an=a	ké	dáa	jé-Ø	ké	ṭéṭ
3PL.H:I-become-NPRS-3PL.H=Q	LINK	again	I-ABS	LINK	test

*áčóo*

*a-t'-č+bá-a-Ø*

1SG:II-do-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS

'your fifty serving men decreased and then you are checking me also' (*čhúmoe minás*: #346)

Such expression can certainly be made of all kinds of finite forms as in (297) and (298).

(297) Past imperfect + Interrogative + Linker (c-27): Open-subject Conditional

<span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">ué</span>	<span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">wálto</span>	<span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">yuúá</span>	<i>iné</i>	<i>uú</i>	<i>nidíl</i>
ué	wálto	i-i'-ua-e	iné	u-uy'-Ø	n-i-d+i+l
those:H	four:H	3SG.HM:I-son-PL-ERG	that:H	3PL.H:I-father-ABS	CP-3SG.HM:I-hit

<i>íiras</i>	<i>éčóm.</i>	<i>gun</i>
i-ir'-as-Ø	i-t'-č+bá-an-m	gún-Ø
3SG.HM:I-die-INF-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-NPRS	bow.string-ABS

<i>déljume</i>	<i>pran</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>déljóm.</i>
d'+i+l-č-um-e	prán	n-i-t	d'+i+l-č+bá-an-m
hit-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS	blam:ONO	CP-3SG.X:II-do	hit-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-NPRS

<i>déljóma</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>aaqhiríar</i>	<span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">iné</span>	<span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">mapéer</span>
d'+i+l-č+bá-an-m=a	ké	aaqhirí-ar	iné	mapéer-Ø
hit-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-NPRS=Q	LINK	end-DAT	that:H	aged-ABS

*déyalin*                      *ke ...*  
*d-i-yal-n*                      *ké*  
 TEL:CP-3SG.HM:II-hear-CP    LINK

‘Those four sons had killed their father by hitting, with a blam of a bow. They hit him and the old man finally heard that ...’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #292–93)

(298) Single imperative + Interrogative + Linker (c-27): Open-subject Conditional

*sénaṭe,*                      *be ya, ye*                      *jáar ruqsát*  
*sén+b’-aṭ-e*                      *bé yá yé*                      *jé-ar ruqsát-Ø*  
 say+COP-INS-ESS    no    INTERJ    look:INTERJ    I-DAT    leaving-ABS

*ačhía*                                      *ke!*    mi                      *khot uskó san*  
*a-čhí-i=a*                                      *ké*    *mí-Ø*                      *khót uskó-sa-an*  
 1SG:I-give:Y.SG.OBJ-IMP.SG=Q    LINK    we-ABS    this:Y    three-month-INDEF.SG

*wálsan*                                      *hurúcaman.*  
*wál-sa-an*                                      *hurúṭ-ya-m-an*  
 four-month-INDEF.SG    sit-PL-NPRS-1PL

‘On [his] saying [this], [the prince answered:] “No way, just give me leave now! We stayed here for this three months, four months.” ’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #476–77)

They may seem similar to the other anterior converbs or converbal expressions, but may be considered to be the same as coordinate conjunction simply by the conjunctive *ke*. At least, two clauses in this expression are coordinated, so that the clauses before and after *ke* in (298) show different illocutionary forces, and there remains no meaning of interrogative despite the fact that =*a* appears. Broadly speaking,  $V_{FINITE}=a$  *ke* (c-27) might be classified as functioning to give a special anterior reading to the predicate, such as ‘as soon as’ (or so-called “after perfect”), which is surely derived from ‘while it is unclear whether the event has happened or not’.

This finite expression somewhat resembles the expression *V-as ke* (c-28), as in (299). But the expression always switches the subject references of the clause it belongs to and the successive superordinate clause.

(299) Infinitive + Linker (V-as ke; c-28): Different-subject Conditional

<i>ichúyas</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ín</i>	<i>buṭ</i>	<i>taŋ</i>
i-chu'as	ké	ín-∅	búṭ	tán
3SG.HM:I-bring.out-INF	LINK	s/he:DIST-ABS	much	depressed

*díimi.*

d-i''m-i

come:PFV-3SG.HM-NPRS-3SG.HM

‘[They] ejected him and he got quite irritated.’ (*The Story of Hopar*: #10)

This sentence can be paraphrased with a converb (c-21) as (299)’:

(299)'	<i>ichúbáte</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>buṭ</i>	<i>taŋ</i>
	i-chu+bá-aṭ-e	ín-∅	búṭ	tán
	3SG.HM:I-bring.out+COP-INS-ESS	s/he:DIST-ABS	much	depressed

*díimi.*

d-i''m-i

come:PFV-3SG.HM-NPRS-3SG.HM

‘[They] ejected him and he got quite irritated.’

The converbal form which consists of a perfective participle and the complex ablative case (V-um-c-um) often takes @'lji/@-cíate ‘after’ without any semantic or functional diversity, that is, the whole analytic expression (c-5) works with the different-subject switch-reference and the anterior temporality as shown in (300).

(300) Perfective pp. + Ablative with @'lji/@-cíate (c-5): Different-subj. Anterior

<i>je</i>	<i>níamcum</i>	<i>álji/acíate</i>
jé-∅	ní-a-um-c-um	a-ljí-e/a-cí-aṭ-e
I-ABS	go-1SG-ADJVLZ-ADE-ABL	1SG:I-behind-ESS/1SG:I-against-INS-ESS

*ín* *díimi.*

ín-∅ d-i''m-i

s/he:DIST-ABS come:PFV-3SG.HM-NPRS-3SG.HM

‘He came after he went.’



In this expression, on the one hand, the case-like postpositional noun @-lji/@-cíate will agree with the subject at its personal prefix; On the other hand, the next converbal expression which includes an infinitive with the ablative case and the postpositional noun @-lji/@-cíate ‘after’ does not show agreement on the noun with the subject of the clause, but the noun instead always agrees with the third person Y-class singular referent (V-as-c-um *ílji/icíate*; c-8), that is, the infinitive as a gerund, as seen in (301). Therefore, there is a gap in the degree of predicateness, to some extent, between the expressions with a perfective participle and those with an infinitive: the former are more verbal and the latter are more nominal.

(301) Infinitive + Ablative + *ílji/icíate* (c-8): Open-subject Anterior

<i>barénascum</i>	<i>icíate</i>	<i>góšam.</i>
barén-as-c-um	i-cí-aṭ-e	gu-s’č-a-m
look-INF-ADE-ABL	3SG.Y:I-against-INS-ESS	2SG:II-tell-IPFV-1SG-NPRS

‘I will tell you after watching [= I watch].’

This expression can be used for either case, whether the subject reference will switch or not switch.

As mentioned once in §6.6, an expression with an optative infinitive plus a postpositional noun *qháa(š)* ‘until’ (V-š *qháa(š)*; c-19) functions as a kind of converbal expression, while there is no use of a bare optative infinitive form to modify any nominal.

(302) Optative infinitive + *qháa(š)* (c-19): Open-subject Posterior

<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>zizí</i>	<i>ýániš</i>	<i>atíaš</i>	<i>qháa</i>	<i>síndacar</i>
baadšáa	ké	zizí	ýániš-Ø	a-d-e’š	qháaš	sínda-c-ar
king	LINK	mother	queen-ABS	NEG-TEL-get.up-OPT	until	river-ADE-DAT
<i>náan</i>	<i>čhúmo</i>	<i>dúcuninin</i>		<i>óor</i>	<i>naašitáa</i>	
n-aːn	čhúmo-Ø	d-u-sú-n-n-n		óor	naašitáa-Ø	
go:CP-1SG-CP	fish-ABS	TEL-3PL.X:I-bring-CP-CP-CP		and	breakfast-ABS	

tayáar éčabáyam.  
 tayáar i-t'-č-a+bá-a-a-m  
 ready 3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-1SG+COP-1SG-1SG-NPRS

'Before the king and his queen woke up, I used to go to a river to catch fish and prepare breakfast.' (čhúmoe minás: #38)

As in (302), when this converbial analytic expression is used with negation (a-V-š qháa(š); c-26), then it means the limitation of time as 'before V-ing', while the corresponding affirmative represents a terminal point of time as 'until V-ing', see (303).

- (303) *šarík mané, sénasar, šuá nusé, taíl ité*  
 šarík man'-i sén-as-ar šuá n-sén teíl ité  
 joining become-IMP.SG say-INF-DAT good CP-say in.that.way that:Y
- gar garóoni básis qháa, iné ité*  
 gar'-Ø garóoni-Ø bas'-š qháaš iné-Ø ité  
 marriage-ABS bridal-ABS settle-OPT until that:H-ABS that:Y
- háale hurútimi, joṭ iné íl.*  
 ha'-al-e hurúṭ-m-i jóṭ iné i-i'-Ø  
 house-LOC-ESS sit-NPRS-3SG.HM small that:H 3SG.HM:I-son-ABS

'On his saying "Take part [in my wedding]!", [the youngest son] said: "Good!", and so remained in his house until the completion of the marriage [lit. until disposing of the wedding and bridal party], that little son.' (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #199)

An infinitive with the ablative case and *yar (ne)* 'before, ahead of' (V-as-c-um *yar (ne)*; c-18) construct a converbial analytic expression 'before (something else's) doing' as in (304). This looks like it has a straightforward meaning from a simple combination of each constituent that appears, but it is in fact restricted to different-subject switch-reference, an unpredictable property.

- (304) Infinitive + Ablative + yar (ne) (c-18): Different-subject Posterior  
*uskó jóṭišo urkái gucé íṭišo qha giyáascum*  
 uskó jóṭ-išo urk'-ai-Ø gucé íṭ-išo-Ø qhát giy'-as-c-um  
 three:X small-PL wolf-PL-ABS these:X brick-PL-ABS down enter-INF-ADE-ABL

*yar*                      *ne*                      *íi*    *gáarcimien,*  
*i-yár*                      *n-i-t*                      *íi*    *gáarc-m-ien*  
 3SG.Y:I-forewards    CP-3SG.Y:II-do    just    run-NPRS-3PL.X

‘The three little wolves only just managed to escape before the bricks crumbled,’ (*uskó jótišo urkái: #13*)

By comparison with Tikkanen’s (1995) account shown in Table 105, above, my rearrangement of converbs and converbal analytic expressions is summed up (in disregard of the first person suffix) as Table 108.

Table 108. Converbs and converbal analytic expressions

	ANTERIOR	CONDITIONAL	SIMULTANEOUS	PURPOSIVE	POSTERIOR
SS	<i>n-V(-n)</i> (c-1)	<i>V-um-c-e</i> (c-23)	<i>V-č-um-e</i> (c-10) <i>V-č-um-aṭ-e</i> (c-11)	<i>V-č-ar(e)</i> (c-14) <i>V-as-ar(e)</i> (c-7) <i>V-as-e gáne</i> (c-15) <i>V-č-um-c-e</i> (c-25)	
OS	<i>(a-)V-as-ar(e)</i> (c-7, 22) <i>V-as-c-um ílji/icíate</i> (c-8)	<i>(a-)V-um-aṭ-e</i> (c-2, 3) <i>V<sub>FINITE</sub>=a ke</i> (c-27)	<i>V-as-aṭ-e</i> (c-24) <i>V-as-ul-e</i> (c-13) <i>V-um-ul-e</i> (c-12)		<i>(a-)V-ṣ qháaṣ</i> (c-19, 26)
DS	<i>V-um-ar(e)</i> (c-4) <i>V-um-c-um (@-lji/@-cíate)</i> (c-5) <i>V-um-e káaṭ</i> (c-6) <i>V-as-e káaṭ</i> (c-9)	<i>V<sub>PFV</sub>+báte</i> (c-21) <i>V-as ke</i> (c-28)			<i>V-as-c-um yar (ne)</i> (c-18)

Even if there is no good converb or converbal fixed expression suitable for an idea to be uttered, then one can, of course freely, make further predications by means of periphrastic ways, which include the phrases that Tikkanen (1995) has adopted but that are not in Table 108 here. Such periphrastic expressions ought to be interpretable through a combination of general morphosyntactic analyses.

### 8.10. Reference and deixis

In this section I will describe deictic and anaphoric expressions in Burushaski. First I explain the deixis system, and second I discuss anaphora.

#### 8.10.1. Deixis

Demonstratives (§4) are usually used according to the judgement as to whether the dimensional (or mental) distance of objects from speakers is close (proximal) or distant (distal). This distinction only depends on judgement from the speakers' point of view; thus, even if an object far from a speaker is close to a hearer, the speaker indicates the object to the hearer with the adequate distal demonstrative.

Unlike referring to first and second person, there is no pronoun for referring to third person referents, but these are expressed instead with demonstrative nouns or adjectives as anaphora.

Two half pieces of a chapatti are involved in (305), one of which the speaker ate and the other one of which was eaten by the hearer. The speaker refers to the former one by a proximal demonstrative adjective owing to the closeness of the half piece to him, and indicates the latter one with a distal demonstrative adjective due to the fact that it is not his part.

(305)	<i>ité</i>	<i>maaní</i>	<i>bésan</i>	<i>maními,</i>	<i>gusé</i>
	<i>ité</i>	<i>maaní-Ø</i>	<i>bés-an-Ø</i>	<i>man'-m-i</i>	<i>gusé</i>
	that:Y	meaning-ABS	what-INDEF.SG-ABS	become-NPRS-3SG.Y	this:X
	<i>lap</i>	<i>jéi</i>	<i>şám</i>	<i>gusé</i>	<i>thi</i>
	<i>lap-Ø</i>	<i>je-í</i>	<i>şí-a-m</i>	<i>gusé-Ø</i>	<i>thí</i>
	half.part-ABS	1SG:I-self	eat:HX.SG.OBJ-1SG-NPRS	this:X-ABS	empty
	<i>ními,</i>	<i>iné</i>	<i>moomín</i>	<i>musalmáan</i>	<i>uᅅgóoye</i>
	<i>ní-m-i</i>	<i>iné</i>	<i>moomín</i>	<i>musalmáan-Ø</i>	<i>uᅅgóoy-e</i>
	go-NPRS-3SG.X	that:H	pious	muslim-ABS	just.you-ABS

<i>guqháṭar</i>	<i>ními</i>	<i>isé</i>	<i>jáa</i>	<i>sawáapar</i>
gu-qhaṭ'-ar	ní-m-i	isé-Ø	jé-e	sawáap-ar
2SG:I-mouth-DAT	go-NPRS-3SG.X	that:X-ABS	I-GEN	rectitude-DAT

*ními*  
 ní-m-i  
 go-NPRS-3SG.X

‘What I mean is that this half part which I ate by myself became wasted, and that half part which just you, who are a devout muslim, ate became virtue for me.’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #141)

Basically, distal references are used in discourse more frequently than proximal. Table 109 is the list of numbers of each deictic words, including the ones in anaphoric use, from the text of Berger (1998b). Table 109 demonstrates the inclination towards distal reference in Burushaski. Two main reasons can be estimated to influence the preference for distal references: i) they are used for the relativised constituent marker (§8.8), and ii) they are also employed for anaphoric use (§8.10.2) so that they are very frequently used in narrative texts.

Table 109. Ratio of distal to proximal reference

			proximal	distal	ratio	
demonstrative	adjective	singular	H	<i>khiné</i> 54	<i>iné</i> 541	10.0
			X	<i>gusé ~ khosé</i> 81	<i>isé ~ esé</i> 451	5.6
			Y	<i>guté ~ khoté</i> 218	<i>ité ~ eté</i> 643	2.9
	plural	H	<i>khué</i> 75	<i>ué</i> 198	2.6	
		X	<i>gucé ~ khocé</i> 45	<i>icé ~ ecé</i> 109	2.4	
		Y	<i>guké ~ khoké</i> 27	<i>iké ~ eké</i> 74	2.7	
subtotal			500	2016	4.0	
demonstrative	pronoun	singular	H	<i>khin</i> 47	<i>in</i> 631	13.4
			X	<i>khos</i> 33	<i>es</i> <sup>†48</sup> 128	3.9
			Y	<i>khot</i> 55	<i>et</i> 54	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">1.0</span>
	plural	H	<i>khu</i> 60	<i>u</i> 273	4.6	
		X	<i>khoc</i> 9	<i>ec</i> 8	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">0.9</span>	
		Y	<i>khok</i> 14	<i>ek</i> 8	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">0.6</span>	
subtotal			218	1102	5.1	
direction			<i>khíti</i> 31	<i>íti</i> 43	1.4	
place			<i>khól-/kholéi-</i> 92	<i>él-/eléi-</i> 127	1.4	
			<i>(d)akhól-</i> 23	<i>teél-/toól-</i> 142	6.2	
manner			<i>(d)akhíl-</i> 213	<i>teíl-</i> 167	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">0.8</span>	
quantity			<i>(d)akhúr-</i> 45	<i>téer-/téur-/toór-</i> 58	1.3	
total			1122	3655	3.3	

The items whose distal pair is less frequent than their proximal one are emphasised by framed numbers in Table 109. It seems there is no definite answer for why these items have been reversed, but it may be due to the fact that for demonstrative pronouns, X-class plural and Y-class are not familiar because of how rarely they are needed in discourse and that speakers substitute adjective references for them, and that for the manner nouns the proximal *(d)akhíl-* has an immediately context-referential conjunctive use, i.e. *(d)akhílate* or *(d)akhíl ne* interpreted in ‘in this way, so, then’, which is often utilized for the progress of the narrative, and then this functional asymmetry can directly and/or indirectly influence the usage ratio. That is, the latter case may be not caused by

<sup>†48</sup> A few, an insignificant number of, homophones, e.g. *es* ‘his/its heart’ from Berger’s (1998) texts might be included, because I have not finished glossing them and have searched by the surface form.

the relatively low frequency of use of the distal pair, but indeed by the exceptionally high rate of appearance of the proximal pair.

### 8.10.2. Anaphora

The demonstratives listed in §4.1 are also used for anaphoric expressions. Anaphora is mainly represented by the distal series of demonstratives, as seen in (306), but sometimes the proximal demonstratives will be employed in accordance with the mental speaker-oriented dichotomy on deixis, as seen in (307).

- (306) *bahaarí* *táimulo* *šon gukúr* *ke* *húke mamó,* *áltitar*  
*bahaarí-e* *téem-ul-e* *šón+gukúr* *ké* *húke+mamó-Ø* *áltit-ar*  
 spring-GEN time-LOC-ESS Shon.Gukur LINK Huke.Mamo-ABS Altit-DAT  
*dúcám.* u *óltalik* *húnzue*  
*d-u-su+bá-an-m* *ú-Ø* *u'ltalik* *húnzo-e*  
 TEL-3PL.H:I-bring+COP-3PL.H-NPRS they:DIST-ABS 3PL.H:II-both Hunza-GEN  
*mašúur* *biṭáyo* *bam.*  
*mašúur* *biṭán-čo-Ø* *bá-an-m*  
 famous shaman-PL-ABS COP-3PL.H-NPRS

‘In the springtime they had brought Shon Gukur and Huke Mamo to Altit. Both of them were famous in hunza as Bitans.’ (*šon gukúr*: #1–2)

- (307) *ésqulasar,* *in* *yaaní* *muriñcaṅ*  
*i's-yul'-as-ar* *ín-Ø* *yaaní* *mu-riiñ'-čaṅ-Ø*  
 3SG.Y:II-CAUS-burn.out-INF-DAT s/he:DIST-ABS FIL 3SG.HF:I-hand-PL-ABS  
*qharć* *ne,* *tar* *numá,* *duwáľumo.* *bas*  
*qhárc-Ø* *n-i-t* *tár-Ø* *n-man* *d-wal'-m-o* *bás*  
 clapping-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do flap-ABS CP-become TEL-fly-NPRS-3SG.HF enough  
*duwáľasar,* *in* *yásaṭe* *tik*  
*d-wal'-as-ar* *ín-Ø* *i-yaṭís-aṭ-e* *tík-Ø*  
 TEL-fly-INF-DAT s/he:DIST-ABS 3SG.HM:I-head-INS-ESS soil-ABS  
*écume,* *hércume,* *thoṣ* *phar* *numá,*  
*i-t'-č-um-e* *hér-č-um-e* *thoṣ* *phár* *n-man*  
 3SG.X:II-do-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS sob-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS new turning CP-become

*dúwasimi.*                                      *da khol bé-ećam,*  
d-u-bás-m-i                                      *dáa khól-e bé+i-t'č-a-m*  
TEL-3PL.H:I-be.left-NPRS-3SG.HM      again    here-ESS    what+3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-1SG-NPRS

*thuum*                                      *áćar*                                      *dacáma?*  
th'-um-Ø                                      a'-či-ar                                      d-a-sú+bá-a-m=a  
other-ADJVLZ-ABS    1SG:II-INE-DAT    TEL-1SG:I-bring+COP-2SG-NPRS=Q

khot                                      *ja ya jejéimo*                                      *yam*                                      *ćok*  
khót-Ø                                      jé-e yá                                      RDP-je-í-mu-e                                      yám-Ø                                      ćók  
this.one:Y-ABS    I-GEN    INTERJ    EMPH-1SG-self-OBL-GEN    sorrow-ABS    recently

khot                                      *qhudáaye alés*                                      *étóm.*  
khót-Ø                                      qhudáa-e alés-Ø                                      i'-t+bá-i-m  
this.one:Y-ABS    god-ERG    something:X-ABS    3SG.X:II-do+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

‘On his burning it, she clapped her hands, flapped her wings and flew away.  
Then on her flying away, he put earth on his head and returned again crying to  
the vizir’s house. “What more shall I do here now, what else did you bring me  
here for? Oh, this here my own sorrow that God has just bestowed upon me[?]’  
(Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #373–76)

With respect to the anaphoric usage of a proximal demonstrative in (307), it may be motivated by the grief of the speaker (the prince) for the loss of his wife (the fairy) attracting the sorrowful event to himself, that is the anaphor may be closer for him mentally.

A proximal demonstrative word is usually used for anaphora concerning an immediately preceding reference. This pattern is deeply related to the atypical behaviour of the proximal manner nouns in that the proximal more frequently occurs than its distal counterpart, as mentioned before. As for contextual reference, demonstratives of the distal series are freely used, even under the situation valid for the proximal demonstrative, while the proximal series is limited to any new participant of the immediately preceding sentence.

(308) *ité hij đáđam laṭháaq imánum*  
ité hij'-Ø    RDP-đám    laṭháq-<:>    i-man'-um  
that:Y    door-ABS    EMPH-bam:ONO    swing:ONO-EMPH    3SG.Y:I-become-ADJVLZ



<i>bilúm</i>	<i>ité</i>	<i>díšulo</i>	<i>thum</i>	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">šiišáa</span>		
b'il-um	ité	diš-ul-e	th'um	šiišáa-e		
COP-3SG.Y-ADJVLZ	that:Y	ground-LOC-ESS	other-ADJVLZ	glass-GEN		
<span style="border: 1px solid black;">hijan</span>	<i>déli</i>		<span style="border: 1px solid black;">guté</span>	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">hij</span>	<i>dastáaṭe</i>	
hij'an-∅	d-i-l'm-i		guté	hij'∅	dastá-aṭ-e	
door-INDEF.SG-ABS	TEL-3SG.Y:II-hit-NPRS-3SG.HM		this:Y	door-ABS	knob-INS-ESS	
<i>hij</i>	<i>bilúm.</i>	<i>isé</i>	<i>buš</i>	<i>dáa</i>	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">ité</span>	<i>doónas</i>
hij'∅	b'il-m	isé	buš'∅	dáa	ité-∅	d-gón-as
door-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-NPRS	that:X	cat-ABS	again	that:Y-ABS	TEL-open-INF
<i>to</i>	<i>ayéemaibím.</i>					
tó	a-ĩ-man'č+b'i-m					
then	NEG-3SG.X:III-become-IPFV+COP-3SG.X-NPRS					

‘The shattered swinging door was replaced with a new glass door. This door had a doorknob. The cat could not open it.’ (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #48–50)

In (308), two anaphoric references for a single referent, *šiišáa hij* ‘a glass door’, are observed, and they are each expressed by a separate deixis, one proximal and one distal. After the referent is mentioned, the proximal anaphoric reference *guté (hij)* ‘this (door)’ first appears at the immediately succeeding clause, and then at the next clause the same referent is referred to by the distal expression *ité* ‘that’.

### 8.11. Information structure

From an information structure point of view, Burushaski sentences tend to show topics in sentence initial position. And so, topicalisation is mainly accomplished by fronting of the elements which are to be treated as topics.

(309)	<i>Híkulto</i>	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">han</span>	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">mamúshiane</span>	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">ámit</span>	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">chhápan</span>		
	hík-ul-to	hán	mamúši-an-e	ámit	čhap'an-∅		
	one-day-just	one:X	she.lamb-INDEF.SG-GEN	which:Y	flesh-INDEF.SG-ABS		
	<i>íne</i>	<i>shémi</i>		<i>ke,</i>	<i>nushén,</i>	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">itée</span>	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">buṭ</span>
	ín-e	šé-m-i		ké	n-šé-n	ité-e	búṭ
	s/he:DIST-ERG	eat:Y.OBJ-NPRS-3SG.HM	LINK	CP-eat:Y.OBJ-CP	that:Y-GEN		much

<u>mazá</u>	<i>déetsimi.</i>	<i>Inar</i>	<u>ité</u>	<u>chhápe</u>
mazá-Ø	d-ĩ-sú-m-i	ín-ar	ité	čhap'e
taste-ABS	TEL-3SG.HM:III-bring-NPRS-3SG.Y	s/he:DIST-DAT	that:Y	flesh-GEN

<u>mazá</u>	<i>díinin,</i>	<i>dughárusimi</i>	<i>ke</i>	“ <u>Gusé</u>
mazá-Ø	d-ĩ-n-n	d-γarús-m-i	ké	gusé
taste-ABS	come:CP-3SG.Y-CP-CP	TEL-be.straight-NPRS-3SG.HM	LINK	this:X

<u>mamúshi</u>	<i>maa</i>	<i>ámulum</i>	<i>dítsam?”</i>
mamúši-Ø	má-e	ámul-um	d-i-sú-m-an
she.lamb-ABS	you-ERG	where-ABL	TEL-3SG.X:I-bring-NPRS-2PL

‘One day, he ate the flesh of a lamb and it was so tasty [for him]. After he enjoyed the taste of the flesh, [he] asked “Where did you bring this lamb from?” ’ (Willson [1999b] 2002, *Šíri Badát*: #4–5)

In the context of (309), the topic is the framed element ‘(the taste of) the meat of a lamb’, so that this argument appears in every subsequent clause. The other core arguments ‘he’ as eater of the lamb meat, and ‘you’ as giver of it, which are underlined here, are not regarded as being the central participants; hence the former argument tends to be mentioned before the latter ones, despite the normal tendencies of core arguments such that the subject argument comes earlier than the object argument as described in §8.3.1 above.

On the contrary, it can be considered that the information of the argument which is not topicalised is more focused than that of the topicalised argument in a sentence.

(310) a. *khóle huk bi.*  
 khól-e huk'Ø b'i-Ø  
 here-ESS dog-ABS COP-3SG.X-PRS

‘Here is the dog.’

b. *huk khóle bi.*  
 huk'Ø khól-e b'i-Ø  
 dog-ABS here-ESS COP-3SG.X-PRS

‘The dog is here.’

It seems that (310a) is a clause with focusing ‘the dog’, and (310b) is with focusing

‘here’. And then the corresponding interrogative clauses tend to show the same constituent order as in (311).

- (311) a. *khóle bésan bi.*  
 khól-e bés-an-∅ b’i-∅  
 here-ESS what-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.X-PRS

‘What (concrete thing) is here?’

- b. *huk ámuló bi.*  
 huk’-∅ ámul-e b’i-∅  
 dog-ABS where-ESS COP-3SG.X-PRS

‘Where is the dog?’

The questions can be constructed in a different constituent order but sound less natural.

And if need be, topics are obviously expressed by employing the topic marker *to*, or by putting a pause after parts that need to be topicalised.

- (312) *In* to *ité díshulo ii úram,*  
 ín-∅ tó ité díš’-ul-e íi i-ir+bá-i-m  
 s/he:DIST-ABS TOP that:Y ground-LOC-ESS just 3SG.HM:I-die+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS
- ámit díshulo qam diu, leél*  
 ámit díš’-ul-e qam’-∅ d-i-gús leél  
 which:Y ground-LOC-ESS hole-ABS TEL:CP-3SG.Y:I-go.out knowing
- áyéetum úlo wáshibam ke.*  
 a-ĩ-t’-um úl-e i-biśá+bá-an-m ké  
 NEG-3SG.HM:III-do-ADJVLZ inside-ESS 3SG.HM:I-throw+COP-3PL.H-NPRS LINK

‘He should die at the place where the hole was dug and without informing him they threw him into it.’ (Willson [1999b] 2002, *Šíri Badát*: #49)

This example is of the topic marker *to*, which is a loan word from Urdu *to* (تو). The initial part *in to* in (312) means ‘as for him, concerning him’, which sets the topic of these clauses. Almost always, this marker *to* ends the intonational unit which it belongs to. Therefore, there is no difference between intonational patterns whether the marker *to* is used or if pause insertion is employed for topicalisation.

Similarly to the general tendencies of languages over the world, the Burushaski language tends to put new information in the predicate. See the following textual example with simplified glosses and informational status of every referential participant:

- (313) a. *hin baadšáan bam.*  
 one king was  
 NEW
- b. *iné baadšáa čúmoe čhápaṭe naašitáa éčóm.*  
 the king with fish meat was having breakfast  
 OLD NEW
- c. *íne baadšáa hin jamaaát bom.*  
 a wife of the king was  
 NEW
- d. *iné [ué] óltike subá hamiišá subá čúmoe čhápaṭe naašitáa éčóm.*  
 both of them morning always morning with fish meat were having breakfast  
 OLD NEW
- e. *úe hin nookáran bam.*  
 their servant was  
 NEW
- f. *iné nookáre síndaṭar nín,*  
 the servant for a river having gone  
 OLD NEW
- g. *íne baadšáa atíaṣ qháa súba súba síndaṭar nín.*  
 he before the king's waking up every morning for a river having gone  
 OLD NEW

- h. *síndaṭum* *čhúmo díusase iné nookáre diptí* *bilúm.*  
 from a river catching of fish as duty of the servant was  
 OLD NEW

‘There was a king. // The king was taking his breakfast with fish. // The king had a wife. // Both of them were taking breakfast with fish every morning. // They had a servant. // The servant went to the riverside every morning before his king woke up. // The duty of the servant is catching fish from the river.’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #1–7)

Here, in (313), the difference between old and new information clearly reflects the syntactic position of arguments within clauses. (The line (313g) seems to be a repetition of (313f) with some additional information. For the reason, I interpret *síndaṭar* in (313g) as new information again.)

## Part II – THEORETICAL ISSUES

### TRANSITIVITY AND ITS SURROUNDINGS

The aim of this chapter is to show the characteristics and the relationship among issues concerning transitivity and its surroundings in Burushaski. First, I show the transitivity parameters by Hopper and Thompson (1980) in §9.1. And then, §9.2 deals with preliminaries for the discussion of transitivity and the marking system in Burushaski. Mainly treated here are the relations between transitivity and ergativity (§9.3), (in)transitivity and volitionality (§9.4), and transitivity and likelihood of the object (§9.5).

#### 9.1. **Transitivity: Hopper and Thompson (1980)**

Hopper and Thompson (1980) identified the following ten semantic parameters which are components of transitivity, see Table 110.

Table 110. Components of transitivity (Hopper and Thompson 1980: 252)

	HIGH	LOW
(A) PARTICIPANTS	2 or more participants, A and O	1 participant
(B) KINESIS	action	non-action
(C) ASPECT	telic	atelic
(D) PUNCTUALITY	punctual	non-punctual
(E) VOLITIONALITY	volitional	non-volitional
(F) AFFIRMATION	affirmative	negative
(G) MODE	realis	irrealis
(H) AGENCY	A high in potency	A low in potency
(I) AFFECTEDNESS OF O	O totally affected	O not affected
(J) INDIVIDUATION OF O	O highly individuated	O non-individuated

Among them, (E) VOLITIONALITY and (J) INDIVIDUATION OF O will be related to the discussion on Burushaski in this dissertation.

As far as I know, no article or book is solely devoted to transitivity in Burushaski, so only general information is covered here.

## 9.2. Preliminaries

Here I give preliminary information as follows: template for verbs (§9.2.1), nominal classes (§9.2.2), marking systems (§9.2.3), and distinction of stems in terms of transitivity (§9.2.4).

### 9.2.1. Template for verbs

As a preliminary to transitivity considerations, I show the concrete system of verb stem formation here. For the details of the verbal morphology, see §6.

Burushaski has a templatic morphology and the derivation of verb stems is also explained by accounts with a template. First, note the following template for the verb, Figure 17.

(-4)	(-3)	(-2)	(-1)	0	(+1)	(+2)	(+3)	+4	(+5)
NEG	TEL	PERS	CAUS	ROOT	PL	ASP	PERS	MOD/AUX	PERS/COND

Figure 17. Template for verbs

The framed part is the range of stems. Stem formation slots are [-3: Telic (Aktionsart)], [-2: Personal], [-1: Causative], [0: Root], [+1: Plural Absolutive Participant], and [+2: Aspect]. Among them, those which influence the changing of stem valency are the former three slots.

The [-3: Telic] slot has a stem forming prefix *d-* (telic) that may decrease the valency of a stem.

The [-2: Personal] slot can take personal prefixes for stem formation. Personal prefixes are classified into three types according to the vowel quantity (see Table 111), and the stems formed by the prefixes vary depending on which type of personal prefix is attached. The neutral personal prefix slot (which has not yet agreed with any referent) is represented by “@”. The types are represented by the following symbols over a hyphen “ - / ˘ / ˙ / ˚ ”, showing Type-I without an accent, I with an accent, II, and III, respectively. These personal prefixes are used for some nouns to indicate inalienable possession as well.

Table 111. Three types of personal prefixes

	Type-I (@-/@')		Type-II (@')		Type-III (@')	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	<i>a-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>á-</i>	<i>mé-</i>	<i>áa-</i>	<i>mée-</i>
2	<i>gu-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>gó</i>	<i>má-</i>	<i>góo-</i>	<i>máa-</i>
3	HM	<i>i-</i>	<i>é-</i>		<i>ée</i>	
	HF	<i>u-</i>	<i>mó-</i>	<i>ó-</i>	<i>móo-</i>	<i>óo-</i>
	X	<i>i-</i>	<i>é-</i>	<i>ó-</i>	<i>ée-</i>	<i>óo-</i>
	Y	<i>i-</i>	<i>é-</i>	<i>é-</i>	<i>ée-</i>	<i>ée-</i>

In the view of stem formation, roughly speaking, the valency of a stem tends to increase from stems without a personal prefix ( $\emptyset$ -stems) as the least valent, stems with type-I personal prefixes (I-stems), to stems with type-II prefixes (II-stems), to stems with type-III prefixes (III-stems) as the most valent. Derivation is not freely processed and each stem has a fixed pattern of personal prefix types that are able to attach to it. By the derivational pattern with the personal prefix, Burushaski verbs can be briefly classified into four groups of root:  $V_{1V}$ ,  $V_1$ ,  $V_2$ , and  $V_3$ . The subscripted numbers indicate radical valency of each verb from mono- to trivalent.

The [-1: Causative] slot has the only option *s-* (causative). This prefix always requires the Type-II or III personal prefix at [-2]. Both Type-II and III personal prefixes increase the valency of stems by one basically, thus it may be thought that *s-* (causative) serves only the function of clarifying that the valency of the stem is more than that of the root. This function can be detected by the fact that there are several pairs of stems with and without *s-* (causative) such that both members of a pair have the same meaning and usage, such as *d-@'kukin-* = *d-@'s-kukin-* 'to thin down, to extend; to ignite a fire' (cf. *du-khíkin-* 'to thin down itself, to spread; to catch fire').

### 9.2.2. Nominal classes

Burushaski nouns are classified into four agreement classes: HM, HF, X, and Y-class. The classification nearly aligns with the characteristics of each referent entity and, roughly speaking, HM-class is composed of human-male referents, HF is human-females, X is concrete things, and Y-class is made up of abstract concepts.

HM- and HF-classes neutralize in the plural so that they behave in the same way, and then the merged class is called H-class. Some Y-class referents have a unique behaviour in that they sometimes appear in adverbial use without any case marking and that they take the same oblique case marker as HF-class. These referents can be



considered as being in a subclass of the Y-class, called Z-class. Z-class includes mainly temporal nouns. Table 112 shows some examples of each nominal class.

Table 112. Extension examples of each nominal class

H		X	Y						
HM	HF		Z						
<i>hir</i>	‘man’	<i>gus</i>	‘woman’	<i>huk</i>	‘dog’	<i>chil</i>	‘water’	<i>gunc</i>	‘day’
@-úy	‘father’	@-mi	‘mother’	<i>juú</i>	‘apricot fruit’	<i>juú</i>	‘apricot tree’	<i>chórdi</i>	‘morning’
@-i	‘son’	@-i	‘daughter’	@-s	‘heart’	@-ríŋ	‘hand’	<i>ađít</i>	‘Sunday’

The names of each class are traditional in Burushaski studies and I adopt them, in accord with most Burushaski studies.

### 9.2.3. Marking systems

Burushaski has the following three systems for marking core arguments:

- Marking by the nominal case suffix,
- Marking by the verbal personal suffix,
- Marking by the verbal personal prefix.

Each marking system is explained by different sections below.

#### 9.2.3.1. Case suffixing

Nominal arguments take case suffixes for marking several syntactic or semantic functions. Core arguments require any of the following three cases:

- Absolutive:  $-\emptyset$ ,
- Ergative:  $-e$ ; shows the same form as the genitive marking but with HF- and Z-classes they differ in whether they take an oblique case marker before them or not (§3.5.3),
- Dative:  $-ar$ ; which is also used for peripheral arguments.

Relationships between case and grammatical role will be explained in detail in §9.2.3.4. Burushaski has the case marking system of the ergative pattern.

## 9.2.3.2. Personal suffixing

Finite (verbal) predicates always takes a personal suffix at the [+3] or the [+5] slot. These two slots serve the same function but personal suffixes are distributed to either slot according to person-number and aspect. Personal suffix sets are listed separately for verbs, Table 113, and (auxiliary) copulas, Table 114.

Table 113. Subject suffixes for verbs

	SG	PL
1	-a	-an
2	-a	-an
3 HM	-i	-an
HF	-o	
X	-i	HZ -ie(n) / NG -io
Y	-i	-i

Table 114: Subject suffixes for copulas

	SG	PL
1	a	-an
2	-a	-an
3 HM	-i	-an
HF	-o	
X	-i	HZ -ié(n) / NG -ió
Y	-il	-icá(n)

The function of the personal suffix is, as the titles of these tables show, to mark for subject. Details will be given later in §9.2.3.4. Burushaski has the personal agreement system by suffixes of the accusative pattern.

## 9.2.3.3. Personal prefixing

Besides the personal suffix, some verb stems hold a slot for the personal prefix (Table 111) as mentioned §9.2.1 above. Briefly speaking, the function of the personal prefix for verbs is marking for undergoer or theme. See §9.2.3.4 for further discussion.

## 9.2.3.4. Split of marking axes

The three marking systems quite briefly accounted previously serve on different functional axes, and then, of course, their marking patterns show different distributions (see §8.4 for details, in the grammar section). Illustrated first are the most typical sample sentences of an intransitive (314), a monotransitive (315), and a ditransitive (316) clause.

## (314) Intransitive

*ín*            *hérumo.*  
*ín-Ø*        *hér-m-o*  
 s/he:DIST-ABS cry-NPRS-3SG.HF

‘She cried.’

## (315) Monotransitive

*íne*            *huk*        *ésqanumo.*  
*ín-e*            *huk’-Ø*    *i’-s-γán-m-o*  
 s/he:DIST-ERG dog-ABS 3SG.X:II-CAUS-be.finished-NPRS-3SG.HF

‘She killed the dog.’

## (316) Ditransitive

*íne*            *únar*        *huk*        *guúmo.*  
*ín-e*            *ún-ar*        *huk’-Ø*    *gu-u’-m-o*  
 s/he:DIST-ERG thou-DAT dog-ABS 2SG:I-give:X.OBJ-NPRS-3SG.HF

‘She gave you the dog.’

Illustrated here are the divergent patterns of each marking system with mapping on figures so that they may be easily compared with one another: intransitive clauses with a core argument, S(ubject), monotransitives with two core arguments, A(gent) and O(bject), which accords with the terminology of Hopper and Thompson (1980), and ditransitives with three core arguments, A, T(heme), and R(ecipient). Note that these abbreviations are merely the representative and central role of each argument so that the actual semantic roles of arguments in texts can vary as depending on predicates, but they are represented here with the simplified abbreviation for the benefit of general discussion.

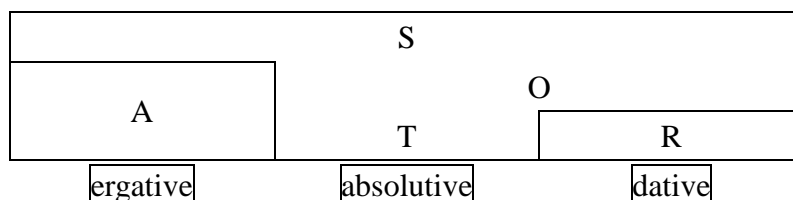


Figure 18. Marking by the case markers

Case marking is tripartite as mentioned in §9.2.3.1. As shown in Figure 18,

Burushaski case marking shows the indirective alignment pattern, in the terminology of Haspelmath (2005). The only argument in intransitive clauses [S] and a (direct) object argument [O/T] in transitive clauses are marked with the absolutive case marker, a subject argument [A] in transitive clauses is declined by the ergative case marker, and an indirect object argument [R] in ditransitive clauses is marked with the dative marker. (However, there is split ergativity in Burushaski, with which a subject argument is able to take a case other than ergative. The phenomenon is discussed in detail in §9.3, and Figure 18 abstracts away from the split ergativity.)

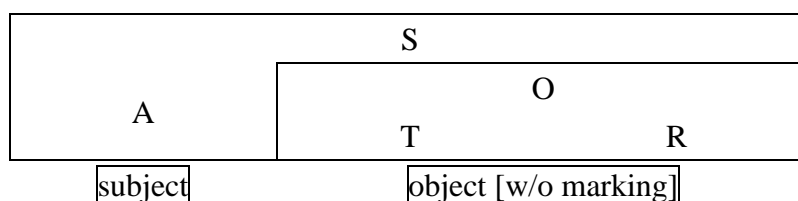


Figure 19. Marking by the personal suffix

Concerning the personal suffix, the marking system is dichotomous: a personal suffix agrees with the subject argument S/A, and no suffix is used to mark the object arguments O/T/R, see Figure 19. Here, Burushaski does not show ergative verbal morphology. (This is a point where Burushaski shows a different feature from the general languages in the Indian Subcontinent.)

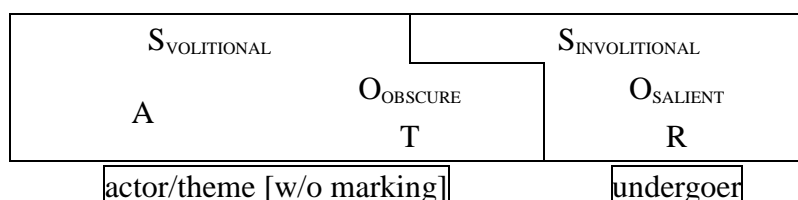


Figure 20. Marking by the personal prefix

Finally, the marking system of the personal prefix is somewhat complicated as shown in Figure 20. In this agreement system, both the only arguments in intransitive clauses (S) and the only object arguments in monotransitive clauses (O) are subdivided by whether the stem takes the personal prefix slot or not. Their behaviour can be surmised in that the only arguments in involitional intransitive clauses (S<sub>INVOLITIONAL</sub>) and the salient object arguments in monotransitive clauses (O<sub>SALIENT</sub>) are marked with a personal prefix, and so are the indirect object arguments in ditransitive clauses (R). This agreement tendency can be regarded as agreeing with an argument that brings a higher likelihood of being an undergoer, so that the target of the agreement by the personal

prefix is undergoer arguments (U). In other words, the personal prefix divides all arguments into two groups, so that there is not agreement with typical S/A and T, but there is agreement only with U. I will discuss this agreement system furthermore in §9.4 for the only arguments in intransitive clauses (S) and in §9.5 for the object arguments in monotransitive clauses (O), respectively, so see these sections also.

The roles of case marking, personal suffixes, and personal prefixes have been detailed above. These three different axes all contribute to transitivity. In the next section, I propose the way to know the valency of a verb in discourse by the lines of determining the functions of individual markings, which would be useful for discussions of transitivity in Burushaski.

#### 9.2.4. Distinction among intransitive, monotransitive, and ditransitive verbs

To distinguish whether a finite verb in Burushaski is intransitive or monotransitive or ditransitive, the gap among the axes of three kinds of marking systems mentioned in §9.2.3.4 is sufficiently useful.

§9.2.4.1 deals with the flow diagram and the account for the distinction of different types of verbs, and then §9.3 details the issue of ergativity, and these issues work as effective characteristics for distinction.

##### 9.2.4.1. Flow diagram and distinction

Figure 21 is the flow diagram for distinction of verb stems among in-, mono-, and ditransitive.

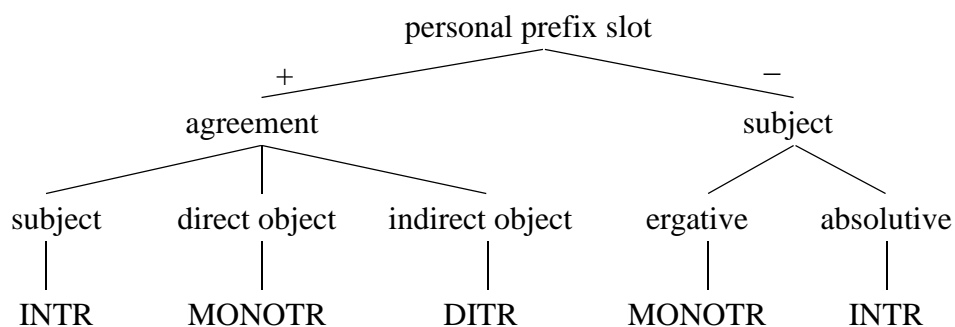


Figure 21. Flow diagram for distinction of verb stems

The first step in distinguishing a stem is to check whether it has the personal prefix slot or not. Diverge to the left branch if it has the slot, or to the right branch if not.

At the left branch, stems with the personal prefix at the [-3] slot branch off

according to the argument agreement type of the prefix. When a personal prefix and a personal suffix are agreeing with the same referent, then the verb stem is intransitive. In the cases that the indexed referents of a personal prefix and a personal suffix are not the same, if the indexed argument of a personal prefix takes the absolutive case marker; that is, the argument is the (direct) object in the clause, and the stem is monotransitive; if the indexed argument is in dative case as an indirect object, then the verb stem is ditransitive.

On the other hand, at the right branch, it is important to distinguish the kind of stems that are indexed by the case indicated by the personal suffix. The argument takes the ergative case marker if the stem is monotransitive, and takes the absolutive case marker if it is intransitive. Detailed background of this criterion will be covered in §9.3 below. Here I give the three typical sentences of intransitive (314), monotransitive (315), and ditransitive (316) clauses again.

## (314) Intransitive

<i>ín</i>		<i>hérumo.</i>
ín-Ø		hér-m-o
s/he:DIST-ABS		cry-NPRS-3SG.HF

‘She cried.’

## (315) Monotransitive

<i>íne</i>	<i>huk</i>	<i>ésqanumo.</i>
ín-e	huk’-Ø	i’-s-γán-m-o
s/he:DIST-ERG	dog-ABS	3SG.X:II-CAUS-be.finished-NPRS-3SG.HF

‘She killed the dog.’

## (316) Ditransitive

<i>íne</i>	<i>únar</i>	<i>huk</i>	<i>guúmo.</i>
ín-e	ún-ar	huk’-Ø	gu-u’-m-o
s/he:DIST-ERG	thou-DAT	dog-ABS	2SG:I-give:X.OBJ-NPRS-3SG.HF

‘She gave you the dog.’

The flow diagram is practically valid for distinction within finite verbs in clauses without argument omission. On the contrary, if this method fails in distinction of a finite verb in transitivity, then it suggests that there must be some core argument(s) omitted in

the clause.

### 9.3. Transitivity and ergativity

The Burushaski language allows free omission of the argument so long as it is in some sense pragmatically inferable. Consequently, it is not rare that there is just one argument or no argument in a clause even though the predicate verb of the clause is transitive, which of course requires two or more core arguments, in isolated utterances. In such instances of argument omission, however, the cases of core arguments in a clause are constantly decided by the system which Figure 18 shows.

By definition, the subject arguments in ergative languages are given the status of the absolutive case in intransitive clauses as well as the one of ergative case in transitive clauses. Some languages, however, employ the ergative case as reflecting the agency of an argument, in clauses of varying degrees of transitivity. For example, Urdu has a fluid-S system, which allows the appearance of ergative in an intransitive clause:

- (317) a. *Zubiya rō-ī*  
 Zubiya:NOM cry-PFV.F.SG  
 ‘Zubiya cried’
- b. *Zubiya=ne rō-yā*  
 Zubiya=ERG cry-PFV.M.SG  
 ‘Zubiya cried (on purpose)’

Here, the subject is in nominative case in (317a): it is not that the referent Zubiya cried actively but that the agency of the subject is low so that it remains in nominative case; on the other hand, (317b) mentions the proposition in which Zubiya intentionally cried and she is high in agency (volitionality here), and it can be considered that hence the subject Zubiya is marked in ergative not in nominative, despite that the predicate verb is intransitive. This is an example of the fluid-S system in Urdu.

But Burushaski does not show such fluidity in case marking. Any verb stem has a strictly fixed case for its subject. On one hand, any verb with an absolutive subject cannot have an object argument, even if all the contents of the clause are fully reconstructed. On the other hand, any verb with an ergative subject always has an absolutive argument (or a complement clause) in the fully reconstructed clause. From a different point of view, it can be said that a subject argument in a transitive clause takes the ergative case marker as a lower ranked case because the absolutive case, which is

the highest case in rank, is carried by an object argument whether that object is overt or covert.

- (318)    *Zubiá*        *hérumo*  
           *Zubiá-Ø*     *hér-m-o*  
           Zubiya-ABS cry-NPRS-3SG.HF

‘Zubiya cried (whether or not on purpose)’

The intransitive verb stem *hér-* ‘to cry’ takes an absolutive subject argument whether it is used in the volitional or nonvolitional sense as the example (318) shows.

In this way, the case of a subject is tightly fixed for each stem depending on its transitivity in Burushaski. Unlike Urdu, Burushaski shows a perfect correlation between the ergativity of subject arguments and the transitivity (the opposition of transitive to intransitive) of verb stems.

But in Burushaski, parallel to the fluid-S case system in Urdu and some other languages, there is a split derivational system for intransitive stems that I will mention later in §9.4.

Furthermore ergativity in Burushaski splits in relation to presentness and person, while the language shows considerably consistent ergative alignment in the case marking. Adding to the above description on ergativity, here I account for the split ergativity in Burushaski.

Dixon (1994: 99–100) refers to Lorimer (1935a) and Tiffou et Morin (1982), saying that both person and the opposition of past tense vs. non-past tense cause the split in Burushaski.

But actually the loss of ergativity is seen in the first person singular future and conditional (except for the Nager dialect) expressions and the second person future and conditional ones. The construction of each form are shown in Table 115, and conditional forms include both the imperfective suffix *-č* and the non-present suffix *-m* as well as future forms do (§6.7 for details). Here the term future indicates both the future form and the present form with a future sense (‘to be going to do (now)’). However, present forms with a future temporal reading often retain ergativity and actual future forms also may take the ergative case marker as in (319).



Table 115. Temporal labels which finite verbs can be conjugated in

[+4] <sup>v</sup>	[+2] <sup>v</sup>	perfective aspect (w/o suf.)	imperfective aspect: -č
present mood: -∅		prospective	N/A
non-present mood: -m		simple past	future
COP-∅		present perfect	present
COP-m		past perfect	past imperfect

- (319) *je / jáa imóos éča báa.*  
*jé-∅ / jé-e i-moos'∅ i-t'č-a+bá-a-∅*  
 I-ABS / I-ERG 3SG.HM:I-anger-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-1SG+COP:H-1SG-PRS

'I make him angry now.' (Berger 1998a: 64)

There is no semantical gap between the sentence with the absolutive subject and with the ergative subject in (319).

Isolating first and second persons accords with the universal nominal animacy hierarchy. The nominal hierarchy shown in Figure 22 illustrates that the further left a nominal is, the higher its agency; that is, the more easily it stands for an agent in an unmarked status.

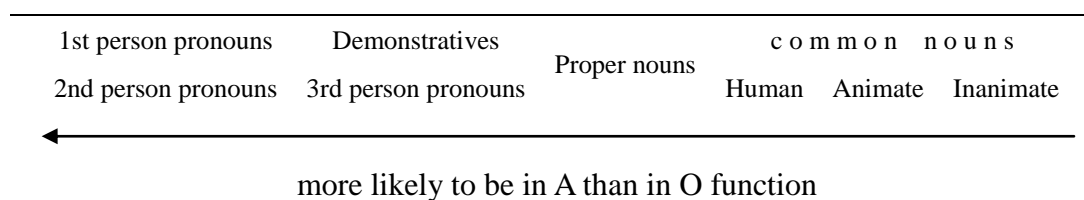


Figure 22. The Nominal Hierarchy (Dixon 1994: 85; modified as referring to *ibid.* 83–97)

Furthermore, in Burushaski the second person tends to lose ergativity more than first person, as mentioned above, so that second person should come to the leftmost position in Figure 22. And all the items further right than the first person pronouns take the ergative case marker to be a subject in transitive clauses. Then the split ergativity in Burushaski can be illustrated as Figure 23.

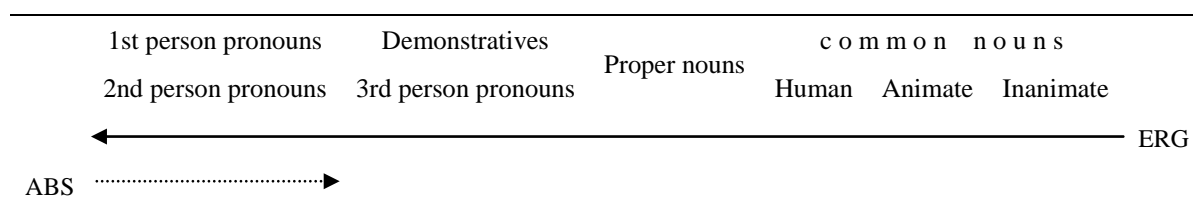


Figure 23. The range of split ergativity in Burushaski

#### 9.4. Split intransitivity among intransitive stems

The functional opposition indicated by a fluid-S case system in Urdu is similar to the difference in stem derivation in Burushaski. This section deals with the opposition, which is observed as split intransitivity among intransitive stems, or as a fluid-intransitivity system with  $V_1$  roots.

Here I have made sure of what Berger (1998) described on the function of personal prefixes for intransitive stems.

##### 9.4.1. Paired intransitive stems

Univalent verb roots in Burushaski ( $V_1/V_{1V}$ ) (§6.3.2) are mainly subdivided into three types in derivational morphology. The first type is for those which cannot take the personal prefix slot at all ( $V_1$ ): *ní-* ‘to go’, *hér-* ‘to cry’, and so on; the second type is for those which have to take the personal prefix slot ( $V_{1V}$ ): *@-ír-* ‘to die’, *@-yan-* ‘to sleep’, and so on; and the third type is for those which have both stems with and without the personal prefix slot ( $V_{1V}$ ). I list all verbs of the third type from the word list of Berger (1998c) in Table 116.

Table 116. Ø- vs. I-stem pairs of intransitive verbs

ROOT	Ø-STEM	I-STEM	MEANING
√bal	<i>bal’</i>	<i>@-wár-</i>	fall
√balúu	<i>balúu-</i>	<i>@-wáal-</i>	be lost
√bar	<i>du-wár-</i>	<i>d-@’war-</i>	revive
√bás	<i>du-wáas-</i>	<i>d-@’was-</i>	remain
√búy	<i>búy-</i>	<i>@-úy-</i>	dry up
√čhayúr	<i>du-čháγur-</i>	<i>d-@’čaγur-</i>	get cold
√garáy	<i>di-yáray-</i>	<i>d-@’yaray-</i>	get worm
√gir	<i>gir’</i>	<i>@-gír-</i>	be familiar
√yan	<i>du-γán-</i>	<i>d-@’yan-</i>	be finished
√yanđer	<i>du-γánđar-</i>	<i>d-@’yanđar-</i>	be bent
√γas	<i>γas’</i>	<i>@-γás-</i>	rot

ROOT	Ø-STEM	I-STEM	MEANING
√yul	yulú-	@-yúl-	be burnt
√yun	du-yún-	d-@'yun-	ripen
√yurc	yurc'	@-yúrc-	dive / drown
√huy	du-úy-	d-@'y-	melt
√kharán	kharán-	@-kharán-	be late
√khaṭ	du-khát-	d-@'kaṭ-	be obstructed
√ltalén	talén-	@-ltálan-	change
√ltapú	du-ltápu-	d-@'ltapu-	wither
√maay	du-máay-	d-@'may-	live in peace
√man	man'	@-mán-	become
	du-mán-	d-@'man-	be born
√ri	di-r'	d-@'ri-	be boiled up
√šawár	di-šáwar-	d-@'šawar-	melt
√ški	di-ški-	d-@'ški-	sprout
√šqur	du-šqúr-	d-@'šqur-	be acidified
√thamí	thamí-	@-thámi-	be closed
√waq	du-wáq-	d-@'waq-	get wet
√yaay	di-yáay-	d-@'yay-	be fixed

The second and third types have the personal prefix slot on stems, and the personal prefix agrees with a nonvolitional subject as mentioned in §9.2.3.3 above. The next section deals with the agreement in detail.

#### 9.4.2. Intransitivity and volitionality

Here I first describe the verb roots which have to have the personal prefix slot. I have shown two example stems of this type of verb: @-ír- 'to die' and @'yan- 'to sleep'.

The events that these verb stems refer to are the ones that occur spontaneously and cannot happen intentionally. @-ír- 'to die' is not used for the proposition whereby one gets dead by oneself. Instead, such a proposition would be expressed with a transitive verb stem and a reflexive pronoun as in (320).

- (320) *íne mukhár ésqanumo.*  
*ín-e mu-khar'-∅ i'-s-yan'-m-o*  
 s/he:DIST-ERG 3SG.HF:I-REFL.PRN-ABS 3SG.Y:II-CAUS-be.finished-NPRS-3SG.HF

‘She died by herself. [lit. She killed herself.]’

That is to say, “intransitive verbs unable to lack the personal prefix” consist of nonvolitional verb roots.

Next, the verb roots which have both stems with and without the personal prefix slot will be described.

Intransitive verb stem pairs derived from this type of verb root show the kind of actions which can be either volitional or nonvolitional. For example, intransitives *man'* and *@-mán-* are derived from  $\sqrt{\text{man}}$  and both of them mean ‘to become’; there are events such that one becomes a state by oneself (+ volitional), and such that one becomes a state regardless of one’s consciousness (– volitional). The difference in volitionality is distinguished by using either the stem with the personal prefix or the stem without it as in (321).

- (321) a. *je yuníqışan amánabáa.*  
*jé-∅ yuníqış-an a-man'-a+bá-a-∅*  
 I-ABS bad-INDEF.SG 1SG:I-become-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS

‘(Unconsciously,) I have become a bad man.’

- b. *je yuníqışan manábáa.*  
*jé-∅ yuníqış-an man'-a+bá-a-∅*  
 I-ABS bad-INDEF.SG become-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS

‘(Deliberately,) I have become a bad man.’

Some roots are realised with somewhat different meanings of the stems according to the presence or absence of volitionality, (322).

- (322) a. *un yurcúma.*  
*ún-∅ yurc'-m-a*  
 thou-ABS sink-NPRS-2SG

‘You submerged yourself.’

- b. *un*            *guyúrcuma*.  
 ún-∅        gu-yurc'-m-a  
 thou-ABS    2SG:I-sink-NPRS-2SG

‘You were drowned.’

√yurc is a verb root having the meaning of going deeper in water or similar, but once it has been tied up with volitionality, on one hand, the intransitive stem without the personal prefix *yurc'* means ‘to dive, to submerge oneself’, or on the other hand, when it has taken nonvolitionality by having the personal prefix, the intransitive stem @-yúrc- gets the meaning ‘to drown, to sink down.’

That intransitive I-stems express the nonvolitionality of action in this way depends on the function of the prefix as indexing an undergoer. The fact it has an undergoer indexed by the prefix while being an intransitive verb stem is interpreted such that the subject participant, the only argument in the intransitive clause, undergoes or suffers the event that the verb predicates. If it is an undergoing event, not an acting event, then it can be said that any intention of the subject is irrelevant there. That is to say, an undergoer subject is a nonvolitional subject.

As the line for the component (E) VOLITIONALITY in Hopper and Thompson’s list says, the degree of the intentionality of a subject is relative to the degree of the transitivity of a verb. It accords with the split between  $S_{VOLITIONAL}$  and  $S_{INVOLITIONAL}$  in Figure 20. That is, on one hand, the  $S_{VOLITIONAL}$  is indexed by the personal prefix and treated as an actor; and on the other hand, the  $S_{INVOLITIONAL}$  is treated more like an undergoer.

Thus ∅-stems are used for volitional events, and I-stems are for nonvolitional events. I conclude that this is the actual situation of split intransitivity in the derivation of intransitive verb stems.

## 9.5. Split transitivity among transitive stems

The next issue concerns split transitivity among transitive verb stems.

### 9.5.1. Paired transitive stems

Transitive verb stems in Burushaski can also be subdivided into three types. The first type is for those which have to take a personal prefix: @-t- ‘to do’, @-s- ‘to tell’, and so on; the second type is for those which cannot take a personal prefix: *sén-* ‘to say’, *óos-* ‘to put’, and so forth; and the third type is for those which are derived either with or

without the personal prefix slot, as listed in Table 117.

Table 117. Ø- vs. I-stem pairs of transitive verbs

ROOT	Ø-STEM	I-STEM	MEANING
√báalt	báalt-	@-yáalt-	wash
√bél	bél-	@-yoól-	wear
√bišá	bišá-	@-waší-	throw
√cucór	cucór-	@-chócur-	comb
√chapán	chapán-	@-chápan-	sew
√charkín	charkín-	@-chárkin-	cut up
√chu	chú-	@-chú-	bring away
√čhayált	čhayált-	@-čháyalt-	clamp
√čhamúr	čhamúr-	@-čhámur-	smash
√gámi	gámi-	@-yámi-	pay
√gán	gán-	@-yán-	take
√gaṭámur	gaṭámur-	@-yáṭamur-	full (cloth)
√gukór	gukór-	@-khókur-	peel
√gurgín	gurgín-	@-úrgin-	grind
√γark	γark´	@-γárk-	capture
√hén	hén-	@-yeén-	know
√ic	yoóc-	@-yeéc-	see
√jáli	jáli-	@-jáli-	scatter
√ltá	tá-	@-ltá-	put on
√ltan	tan´	@-ltán-	mash
√ltask	task´	@-tásk-	pull
√mac	du-mác-	d-@-´mac-	wrap
√malc	malc´	@-málc-	abuse
√maltár	maltár-	@-máltar-	spread
√murúṭ	murúṭ-	@-múruṭ(in)-	trim
√phus	pus´	@-phús-	tie up
√sarúu	sarúu-	@-sáru-	transport
√sú	du-sú-	d-@-´c-	bring to
√şú	şú-	@-şú-	eat
√ṭhaṭhár	ṭhátṭhar-	@-ṭhátar-	peck

### 9.5.2. Previous study: Berger (1998)

Berger (1998a: 120) states that a part of verb root may or may not take the prefix according to the class of an object argument: “Die primären trs. Verben, die nie ein Pron.präfix haben, waren ursprünglich wohl nur solche mit typischem y-Objekt, wie heute noch *thí-* „gießen“, *min-* „trinken“ (Flüssigkeiten y), und solche mit ständigem Pron.präfix bezogen sich auf Menschen oder Tiere, wie *[@]-ílikin-* „verehren“, *[@]-yáran-* „weiden (trs.)“<sup>†49</sup>, *[@]-mír-* „(unnatürlich) koitieren“. Die Festlegung der Pron.präfixe ist aber heute konventionell”. (Berger’s “die primären trs. Verben” are equal to V<sub>2</sub> verbs in Table 40.)

But his account of the transitive verbs with or without the type-I personal prefix slot barely deals with the verb stem pairs which oppose based on the presence of the prefix. Berger’s (1998a: 120) only description on such verb pairs is as follows: “In *[@]-wási-* „werfen (hx-Obj.)“ [the pair of a non-prefixed stem *bišá-*] fehlt das Pron.präfix regelmäßig in der 3.sg. hmx; es findet sich ohne erkennbare Nuance in einem Text aus Mu. (6.10; 11). Bei *chú-/[@]-chú-* „nehmen“ werden die Pron.präfixe nur bei Objekten der h-Klasse gesetzt, nicht bei solchen der x-Klasse, doch steht *ichúmi* in einem Text wiederum aus Mu. auch bei einem Tier (4.11; 13)”. His view is that the difference between the pairs of cognate Ø-stem and I-stem is determined by the nominal class of an object argument. While he suggests this diversity is based on the nominal class of the objects, I will show a sufficient number of examples contradict his opinion in §9.5.5.

### 9.5.3. Research method

Now I want to consider the criteria which decide and divide the verb stems with or without the type-I prefix slot. For that purpose, I will present evidence from the data of verb stem pairs *chú-/[@]-chú-* ‘to bring away’, which is referred to with the condition in Berger (1998), and *gán-/[@]-yán-* ‘to take’, which is not conditionalised by him, being detected from a narrative corpus.

If Ø-stems are regularly employed for Y-class objects and I-stems for HX-class objects as Berger (1998) advocates, then the distinction between Ø- and I-stems can be regarded as owing to the difference in objecthood inherently brought about by each nominal class. Figure 22 (The Nominal Hierarchy by Dixon) shows that H-class (for human referents) and X-class (for concrete referents including animals) are more likely to be S/A than the Y-class (for abstract referents), which is situated in the rightmost

<sup>†49</sup> It should be either word of *@-yár-* „weiden (trs.)“ or *@-yáran-* „(Kleinvieh) scheren“ according to his dictionary (Berger 1998c: 473).

position and is the most likely to be O. Extending this idea, and coupling it with Hopper and Thompson's suggestions, I suppose that the derivational division into Ø- and I-stems is caused by the likelihood of objects.

Therefore I present evidence of the characteristics of objects with their respective verb stems statistically, and try to determine an effective factor. For this research, I tentatively suppose the following characteristics of objects: overtness, nominal class, specificity, definiteness, and distance from the predicate. When collecting the data, if some examples of the verbs concerned have appeared repeatedly in the successive clauses in the same behaviour on classification, that is, the examples are in repeating utterances, then only the first example is used for data in this research.

#### 9.5.4. Data

This research is based on data from the following texts. All of these are narrative texts and are from these genres: legend, history, folktale, and fairy tale. Table 118 is the list of the source, the title, the approximate word volume, and the dialectal information of each sample text.

Table 118. Sample texts (texts from my own research are shown with [consultant's name - research year])

SOURCE	TEXT/BOOK TITLE	WORDS	DIALECT
Berger et al. (1996)	Libi Kisar	12,000	Nager; Hispar
van Skyhawk (2003)	Burushaski-Texte aus Hispar	39,000	Nager; Hispar
van Skyhawk (2006)	<i>Híspare Šajirá</i>	1,600	Nager; Hispar
[Muhammad Abbas - 2007]	The Story of Hopar	400	Nager; Hopar
Tikkanen (1991)	The Frog as a Bride	5,500	Hunza; Haiderabad
[Muhammad Ali - 2008]	<i>čhúmoe minás</i>	4,850	Hunza; Ganish
[Musa Beg - 2009]	<i>uskó jótišo urkái</i>	1,200	Hunza; Ganish
[Musa Beg - 2009]	<i>uyúm dayánum buš</i>	1,000	Hunza; Ganish

My analyses of examples from the textual data hereafter deal one by one with the supposed characteristics of objects: overtness, nominal class, definiteness, and distance from the head. First of all, I give the numbers for each verb stem in question in Table 119.



Table 119. The numbers of each stem

STEM	<i>chú-</i>	<i>@-chú-</i>	<i>gán-</i>	<i>@-yán-</i>
AMOUNT	28	31	53	33

In the discussion below, I disregard the differences of moods and finiteness for each stem because these things are unrelated to the choice of stems.

#### 9.5.5. Discussion

I observe the verb clauses, including verb stems listed in Table 119, with the preceding context, if necessary, to determine the characteristics of the arguments that each verb stem involves as an object.

At first, for each verb in question, I examine both i) whether there is an overt or a covert object with it and ii) in the cases where there is an overt object, whether the reference for the object is in the identical clause to the verb or in a different clause from it. (Burushaski is the kind of language which allows argument dropping so that transitive clauses do not always have both A and O arguments overtly.) The statistical result of the examination is in Table 120 below.

Table 120. Distribution of c/overt objects of each stem

		<i>chú-</i>		<i>@-chú-</i>		<i>gán-</i>		<i>@-yán-</i>		Ø-STEM		I-STEM	
IN THE SAME CLAUSE	OVERT	21	17	42	30	63	47						
IN A DIFFERENT CLAUSE	OBJECT	7	24	3	3	10	10	73	57				
COVERT OBJECT		0		7		8		0		8		7	

If I-stems are preferred as reflecting the likelihood of objects, they would take more objects overtly referred to in the same clause than Ø-stems. But both types of stems actually show similar distributions with each other, whether with overt or covert objects, and whether in the same clause or in a different clause.

Though I have lumped covert objects together in a category, the covert objects with *@-chú-* are shown in agreement by a personal prefix on the verb and so they may not be considered as having the same ambiguity as the ones with *gán-*. Further evidence of their clarity is that in all of the seven covert objects, the agreement targets of personal prefixes with *@-chú-* are either first or second person references, and consequently no ambiguity is detected with them, on one hand. On the other hand, the covert objects with *gán-* are not understandable from the context, or are clearly referred to in the subsequent clause; that is, the object is unclear or unknown to the hearer when the

clause with *gán-* has been uttered, as in (323).

(323) Covert object informed later

<i>qáo</i>	<i>manáasar,</i>	<i>yáare,</i>	<i>be ya,</i>	<i>akhíl</i>	
<i>qáo-Ø</i>	<i>man'as-ar</i>	<i>i-yáar-e</i>	<i>bé yá</i>	<i>akhíl</i>	
call-ABS	become-INF-DAT	3SG.Y:I-downwards-ESS	no INTERJ	in.this.way	
<i>numá</i>	<i>qáo</i>	<i>maními,</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>ga,</i>	<i>nusé.</i>
n-man	<i>qáo-Ø</i>	<i>man'm-i</i>	<i>yé</i>	<i>gán-i</i>	<i>n-sén</i>
CP-become	cry-ABS	become-NPRS-3SG.Y	look:INTERJ	take-IMP:SG	CP-say
<i>akhúrus</i>	<i>tilíe</i>	<i>phúlanulo</i>		<i>qham</i>	
<i>akhúrus</i>	<i>tilí-e</i>	<i>phúl-an-ul-e</i>		<i>qhám-Ø</i>	
this.weight:X	walnut-GEN	small.wooden.bawl-INDEF.SG-LOC-ESS		curry-ABS	
<i>bilúm.</i>					
<i>b'il'm</i>					
COP-3SG.Y-NPRS					

‘When the call came, down the frog said: “No doubt, in this way the call has come, so take [this]!”, thus saying. In a tiny walnut shell pot of this size there was vegetable-soup.’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #309–11)

The object of *ga* ‘take! (IMP.SG)’ is not concretely indicated in the preceding context and is thus unclear here. It becomes clear afterwards that the potential object is *qham* ‘curry, vegetable soup’, which is first introduced in the subsequent clause. In this way, it can be regarded that when an object for a verb is still unclear, the verb cannot take the personal prefix slot because the coreference is not realised, and this realisation may be a condition for its stem determination.

Next, I examine the distribution of overt objects in their nominal classes. This is the factor which Berger (1998) mentions with *chú-/@-chú-*.

Table 121. Distribution of overt objects to the nominal class

	<i>chú-</i>	<i>@-chú-</i>	<i>gán-</i>	<i>@-yán-</i>	Ø-STEM	I-STEM
H	0	19	0	9	0	28
X	16	4	4	22	20	26
Y	13	1	41	4	54	5

It is clear from Table 121 that there is a positive tendency of division of stems depending on the nominal classes of objects. At least within these two pairs of stems, in particular, H-class objects have a certain correlation with stems that have the personal prefix slot.

Meanwhile, X- and Y-class objects still show inconsistency. Berger (1998) specifies that almost all X-class objects and all Y-class ones require *chú-*, while all H-class objects and a few X-class ones appear with *@-chú-*. Now, what is the proportion of each stem in the data? Some counterexamples to Berger's view are observed, in fact (the numbers of counterexamples are framed in Table 121): (324) is an example of an X-class object with  $\emptyset$ -stem *chú-*, and (325) is an example of a Y-class object with I-stem *@-chú-* (but the agreement of the prefix on the verb and the object is showing a solecism here). X-class objects exhibit even a tendency to occur with the verb stems that do not show the personal prefix slot for  $\surd$ *chú*, but this is not the case for  $\surd$ *gán*.

(324) *chú-* with X-class object

<i>ye</i>	<i>jáa</i>	<span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;"><i>khosé</i></span>	<i>chúca báa</i>	<i>léé</i>
<i>yé</i>	<i>jé-e</i>	<i>khosé-<math>\emptyset</math></i>	<i>chú-č-a+bá-a-<math>\emptyset</math></i>	<i>léi</i>
look:INTERJ	I-ERG	this:X-ABS	bring.away-IPFV-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS	INTERJ:HM.OBJ
<i>babáa</i>	<i>wazíir.</i>			
<i>babá</i>	<i>wazíir</i>			
dad	minister			

‘Then I will get this, okay? You minister.’ (Berger et al. 1996: #222)

(325) *@-chú-* with Y-class object

<i>... ga,</i>	<i>nusé,</i>	<i>yákala</i>	<i>dip</i>	<i>ne,</i>			
<i>gán-i</i>	<i>n-sén</i>	<i>i-yákal-ar</i>	<i>díp-<math>\emptyset</math></i>	<i>n-i-t</i>			
take-IMP:SG	CP-say	3SG.X:I-direction-DAT	wink-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do			
<span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;"><i>et</i></span>	<span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;"><i>še</i></span>	<span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;"><i>ke</i></span>	<span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;"><i>phaló</i></span>	<span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;"><i>ke</i></span>	<span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;"><i>maltáš</i></span>	<span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;"><i>ke</i></span>	<i>wazíire</i>
<i>ét</i>	<i>še</i>	<i>ké</i>	<i>phaló</i>	<i>ké</i>	<i>maltáš-<math>\emptyset</math></i>	<i>ké</i>	<i>wazíir-e</i>
that.one:Y	wool:Y	LINK	grain:PL.Y	LINK	butter:Y-ABS	LINK	minister-GEN

*háalar*            *núćun*                            *phat*    *étimi*.  
 ha'al-ar            n-u-chú-n                            phát    i-t'm-i  
 house-LOC-DAT   CP-3PL.X:I-bring.away-CP    quitting    3PL.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HM

‘winking up at the frog, saying: “Take it!”, he then took the wool and the grain and the butter to the vizir’s house and left them there.’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #252)

Since X- and Y-class objects distribute over both types of stems in practice, what factor, then, causes such divergence? Now, I examine the data on Hopper and Thompson’s (J) INDIVIDUATION OF O. The reason why I broach the component (J) here is that the issue I am struggling with is a problem in comparison of stems with the same meanings and argument structures (at least in dictionary senses), and therefore I expect that the motivation of the divergence must be searched on the side of objects, not verb stems. Among the 10 components by Hopper and Thompson, there are two components relating to characteristics of O: (I) and (J). The component (I) AFFECTEDNESS OF O may not be relevant in this issue because the effectivity of each stem in the pair of root  $\sqrt{\text{chú}}$ , such as ‘bring away’, cannot diverge, at least with singular objects.

The following tables are classifications in the number of X-class objects (Table 122) and Y-class objects (Table 123), respectively. And when an object is singular, then I have subcategorized it for whether it has the indefinite singular suffix *-an* or not, which is optionally attached to indefinite singular nouns (§3.3). Simplifying the (J) component, it is expected that a singular object tends to occur in a transitive clause more often than a plural one, and a definite object is preferred for a highly transitive clause more than an indefinite one, so that an I-stem is more required by definite singular objects than indefinite ones and less demanded by plural objects.

Table 122. Distribution on number of X-class overt objects

		<i>chú-</i>		<i>@-chú-</i>		<i>gán-</i>		<i>@-yán-</i>		$\emptyset$ -STEM		I-STEM	
WITH <i>-an</i>	SINGULAR	1		1		0		0		1		1	
WITHOUT <i>-an</i>		14	15	2	3	2	2	16	16	16	17	18	19
PLURAL		1		1		2		6		3		7	

Table 123. Distribution on number of  $\gamma$ -class overt objects

		<i>chú-</i>		<i>@-chú-</i>		<i>gán-</i>		<i>@-yán-</i>		$\emptyset$ -STEM		I-STEM	
WITH <i>-an</i>	SINGULAR	0	12	0	0	4	37	1	4	49	1	4	
WITHOUT <i>-an</i>		12		0		33		3	4	45		3	
PLURAL		1		1		4		0		5		1	

But no particular inclination in the distributions has appeared. This result indicates that neither the plurality nor the formal indefiniteness of objects influences the determination to use the  $\emptyset$ -stem or I-stem of a root.

Furthermore I examine the definiteness of objects in semantics. Definiteness cannot be strictly judged only by formal criteria with *-an*, so I have acknowledged the arguments which have already been introduced in discourse, which are modified by a demonstrative adjective, or which refer to proper referents as definite. Table 124 shows the distribution on definiteness of  $\chi/\gamma$ -class objects that overtly appeared in the corpus. If the definiteness of objects relates to the transitivity of verbs, then it tends to be that indefinite objects would correlate with  $\emptyset$ -stems, while definite objects would co-occur with I-stems.

Table 124. Definiteness of  $\chi/\gamma$ -class overt objects

	<i>chú-</i>	<i>@-chú-</i>	<i>gán-</i>	<i>@-yán-</i>	$\emptyset$ -STEM	I-STEM
INDEFINITE	6	1	15	11	21	12
DEFINITE	22	4	30	13	52	17

Like the examination of individuality, this examination has resulted in no distributive particularity for the definiteness of objects. Definite objects are greater than indefinite objects in every column, and *@-yán-*, in particular, exhibits a tendency contrary to my expectations; that is, the I-stem might prefer definite objects if definiteness is effective for stem derivation.

Considering the circumstances mentioned above, it is concluded that the likelihood of objects would not be relevant to the choice of stem. The only effective conditions are that H-class objects require the personal prefix slot, and that entirely unknown objects, whose overtness is mostly low or zero, demand stems without the slot.

#### 9.5.6. Further possibilities

In addition to the statistical examinations in the preceding section, I discuss this issue with another supposed factor from the point of view of pragmatics. See the

following table:

Table 125. Average distances of X/Y-class overt objects occurring in the same clause (figures in words)

	<i>chú-</i>	<i>@-chú-</i>	<i>gán-</i>	<i>@-yán-</i>	Ø-STEM	I-STEM
DISTANCE BETWEEN OBJECTS AND VERBS	1.05	0.60	0.57	0.26	0.73	0.42

Table 125 represents the average distances between X- and Y-class objects and verbs in the same clause. I have omitted H-class objects because they had shown no divergence for stems and occurred only with I-stems. The numerical values in this table mean the number of words between objects and verbs: e.g., *[khosé] chúca baa* ‘I will get this’ in (324) is scored as zero points versus *[et sé ke phaló ke maltás ke] wazíre háalar núcun* lit. ‘he took to the vizir’s house the wool and the grain and the butter’ in (325) is scored as two points. Both of these two pairs of verbs show the same tendency, in that the farther verbs are from objects, the lesser they are used with the personal prefix slot. Concerning objecthood, it may be that objects will lose their own objecthood, or will diminish the transitivity of verbs to the point of lacking the indexing marker of undergoer, because the relationship between the object and the verb gets weaker the further they are apart.

#### 9.5.7. Transitivity and the likelihood of objects

These examinations find some tendencies of relations between the transitivity of verb stems and the likelihood of object arguments. Here I simplify and arrange the relations as follows:

- H-class objects co-occur with highly transitive stems,
- undetermined objects lower the transitivity of verbs,
- verbs farther from objects are lower in transitivity.

The first relation is suited for the nominal hierarchy shown in Figure 22 as there is a hierarchic typology of the objects of H-class as a nominal class for human referents that should be marked for object status, and a typology of the objects of X/Y-class as nominal classes for non-human referents, including animals and notions that easily function as object while being unmarked. Verb stems with the personal prefix slot are those which are typically transitive verbs using a marking system to agree with an object. However, verb stems without the slot are transitive verbs with respect to

syntactic status, but are not transitive verbs with regard to formal status.

That is why for an object that is unreasonable, even potentially obscure, speakers tend to choose a verb stem of lower transitivity; that is, a stem without the personal prefix slot if a root has a pair of stems with and without the prefix.

Or when an argument that is likely to be an object is not absent in that way, an object distant from a verb shows less influence on the verb, and it is possible that the further away an object appears from a verb, the lower the transitivity of the verb. It may be considered that it is reasonable that an object argument and a predicate should adjoin in every language.

## 9.6. Conclusion

In this chapter I aimed to search for the relationship between transitivity and other characteristics in Burushaski. Therefore, I discussed the following three relations: transitivity and ergativity, (in)transitivity and volitionality, and transitivity and likelihood of objects.

Burushaski shows an accusative alignment system in the personal indexing on the verbal suffix, but shows an ergative alignment system in the case marking of the noun suffix, so there is some split. The factor which decides the ergativity of subject arguments is the transitivity of verbs, and consequently ergative case is quite sensitive to transitivity.

Regarding intransitive verb stems, the personal prefix slot on stems is or is not employed according to the absence of the volitionality of subjects. That is, volitional intransitive stems do not have the prefix and nonvolitional stems take the prefix if there is a choice of stems. What the personal prefix shows is that the subject argument is likely to be both an actor and an undergoer simultaneously, and it means that the predicated action or event includes the middle voice, the nuance between active and passive. In other words, nonvolitional actions are related to lower agenthood of the actors and are less transitive actions than volitional ones. (Furthermore, there are many verb roots that have no choice of intransitive stems, and these are derived for intransitive to either stem with or without the prefix slot on the basis of the following: the intransitive predicate inherently tends to be volitional or nonvolitional, so that the only fixed intransitive stems are rather used without a conflict between the volitionality of subjects and the intransitivity of predicates represented by the absence or presence of the personal prefix.)

Finally, concerning the relation between transitive verb stems with and without the

personal prefix slot, I conclude that the choice of the prefix slot on a verb stem is motivated by the likelihood of an object argument in being indexed there. Human (H-class) nominals are rather agentive in natural circumstances so that they need to be indexed for being an object argument more than both thing (X-class) and concept (Y-class) nominals. The verbs which have obtained the object marking system in that way are more likely to be transitive verbs because they always indicate the object argument overtly. Contrary to that, if an object is less likely, so that it is not reasonable that a verb will index the object, then a verb stem without the personal prefix is employed. But these relations are still tendencies so that we have to verify the nature of verb stems with and without personal prefixes, and then the study will also need some other perspectives for analysis.

Adding to these relations, taking the characteristic of dative undergoer, which differentiates ditransitive from monotransitive, into consideration, I illustrate here all possible patterns of verb stems in Burushaski within the hierarchy in Table 126.

Table 126. The hierarchy of verb stems in Burushaski

+@ INTR	-@ INTR	-@ MONOTR	+@ MONOTR	+@ DITR	properties
	✓	✓	✓	✓	+ volitionality
		✓	✓	✓	+ ergativity
			✓	✓	+ likelihood of O
				✓	+ dative undergoer

In this diagram, the leftmost stem is the one with the lowest transitivity and then, the further right a stem is situated, the higher its transitivity. There is no ditransitive stem without the personal prefix slot, while there are monotransitives without the slot, and so ditransitive verb stems should be considered as more transitive than monotransitive, even formally. And consequently, the number of characteristics written in the rightmost column in the diagram that a verb stem holds is proportional to how transitive the stem is; the characteristics are, that is, the components of transitivity.

Though Hopper and Thompson's components cannot alone arrange the verb stems in Burushaski, supposing the other characteristics discussed so far helps to construct a general hierarchic diagram of the verb stems. But there is furthermore a controversial issue concerning *d*-stems, and stems without a prefix *d*- also, in the derivation of verb stems in Burushaski (§10). Thus, the discussion hereafter is needed to further the broader extent of these considerations, including stem opposition on the prefix.



## D- DERIVATION

In this chapter I will deal with issues on the derivation of Burushaski verb stems with the prefix *d-*. In conclusion, with using the framework of Haspelmath (1987), the functions of the prefix *d-* can be summarized into five principal functions, which are derived through grammaticalization from the one of them, the venitive function. And finally, I will call these five functions “telic” together, since that they have the telic feature in common.

First, I devote §10.1 to preliminaries for discussion. Second, §10.2 deals with the previous studies dealing with the prefix *d-*. And then I will discuss it in §10.3, and finally, give a conclusion in §10.4.

### 10.1. Preliminaries

Here I give information about the template for verbs (§10.1.1), the derivation of verb stems with personal prefixes (§10.1.2), and terminology (§10.1.3), as preliminaries for discussing the derivation with the prefix *d-*.

#### 10.1.1. Template for verbs

As a preliminary to considering *d-* derivation, I show the concrete system of verb stem formation here.

Burushaski has a templatic morphology and the derivation of verb stems can also be explained by means of a template, see Figure 24.

(-4)	(-3)	(-2)	(-1)	0	(+1)	(+2)	(+3)	+4	(+5)
NEG	TEL	PERS	CAUS	ROOT	PL	ASP	PERS	MOD/AUX	PERS/COND

Figure 24. Template for verbs

The framed part is the range of stems. Stem formation slots are [-3: telicity], [-2: person], [-1: causation], [0: root], [+1: plurality (of the absolutive participant)], and [+2: aspect].

Among these, I deal with a stem forming prefix *d-*, in the slot [-3], which may alter the voice or the diectic perspective of a stem. Note that *d-* is attached before the personal prefix in the slot [-2] (§§6.3.2 and 10.1.2), which also appears in discussion in this chapter.

## 10.1.2. @- derivation

Derivation with the personal prefix effectively controls the number of core arguments on stems, and then it is the leading figure in this chapter on changing valency.

Berger (1998a: 117) says “Man kann nach der Verwendung der Präfixtypen zwischen primären und sekundären Verben unterscheiden. Primäre Verben haben entweder gar keine Pron.präfixe oder durchgehend oder nur in einem teil der Formen solche des Typus I. Sekundäre Verben sind durch Präfixe des Typus II und/oder III (mit oder ohne das Präfix -s-, ...), oder durch das *d*-Präfix von primären abgeleitet” with showing the following examples as the “regular types [regulären Typen]”. See Figure 25 which illustrates his account for stem derivation of verbs.

<u>Type-I : intransitive</u> <i>i-gúrcimi</i> ‘he sank’ ↓	<u>Primary</u>	<u>Type-I : transitive</u> <i>i-phúsimi</i> ‘he bound him’ ↓
<u>Type-II with s- : transitive</u> <i>é-s-qurçimi</i> ‘he sank him’ ↓	<u>Secondary</u>	<u>d- without pers.pref. : intransitive</u> <i>du-phúsimi</i> ‘he was bound’ ↓
<u>Type-III with s-</u> <i>ée-s-qurçimi</i> ‘he made him <sub>i</sub> sink him <sub>j</sub> , he sank him <sub>i</sub> for him <sub>j</sub> ’	<u>Caus.-appl.</u>	<u>Type-III</u> <i>ée-pusimi</i> ‘he made him <sub>i</sub> bind him <sub>j</sub> ’

Figure 25. “Regular types” of stem derivation by Berger (1998)

But there is no description of by what reason he is calling them “regular”. Furthermore, the stem \*@-*squrc-* ‘make sink’ from which *ée-s-qurçimi* is formed is not recorded in his vocabulary (Berger 1998c). And as it will be statistically demonstrated in this chapter, \*@-*squrc-* ought not to be realised owing to the typology of verbal roots. So his description on this issue is suspicious unless any example of \*@-*squrc-* is found out from actual speech data.

The larger the personal prefix type is, the higher a stem with the prefix is transitive. And a stem without a personal prefix is considered as the least extended stem straightly reflecting the default valency of the base, while a trivalent base cannot be derived without a personal prefix. Jumping to a conclusion and quite roughly (or even carelessly) illustrating, the relation between bases and stems derived only with the personal prefix may be represented on a tentative chart as follows:

Table 127. Relation between the features of bases and the transitivity of stems

Base		Stem				abb.
Valency	Volitionality	∅	I	II	III	
1	+ ~ -	Intransitive	Intransitive	In/transitive	In/transitive	V <sub>IV</sub>
1	+/-	Intransitive	Transitive	Transitive	Di/transitive	V <sub>1</sub>
2	/	Transitive	Transitive	Transitive	Di/transitive	V <sub>2</sub>
3	/		Ditransitive	Ditransitive	Ditransitive	V <sub>3</sub>

Abbreviation “V<sub>IV</sub>” in Table 127 indicates the variable volitional univalent verbal root, which can be derived to an intransitive stem for non-volitional HX-class subjects with personal prefixes. For the volitionality, it is discussed in §9.4.2.

There are 63 V<sub>IV</sub>, 161 V<sub>1</sub>, 136 V<sub>2</sub>, and only 6 V<sub>3</sub> roots.

### 10.1.3. Terminology for discussion

Verbal derivation (concerning valency changing) in Burushaski is based on three axes: (i) whether *d-* is present or absent at the slot [-3]; (ii) which type of personal prefixes is present at the slot [-2]; (iii) whether *s-* is present or absent at the slot [-1].

I call the group classified by axis (i) SERIES and call the unit of stems derived from the BASE for each series SET which includes roots with or without *d-* prefix. This means that one or two sets can be derived from every root and every set has six possible forms (see Table 128). The term TYPE refers to the variations in (ii). All verb stems, then, are formally classified into 12 combinations as illustrated in the following table.

Table 128. Combinations and abbreviations of verb stems

	(i)	none (non-d-series)				<i>d</i> - (d-series)			
	(iii) \ (ii)	none (type-Ø)	@- (type-I)	@- (type-II)	@- (type-III)	none	@- (type-I)	@- (type-II)	@- (type-III)
root A	none	Ø-stem	I-stem	II-stem	III-stem	d-stem	dI-stem	dII-st.	dIII-st.
	<i>s</i> - (causative)	N/A	N/A	sII-st.	sIII-st.	N/A	N/A	dsII-st.	dsIII-st.
root B	none	Ø-stem	I-stem	II-stem	III-stem	d-stem	dI-stem	dII-st.	dIII-st.
	<i>s</i> - (causative)	N/A	N/A	sII-st.	sIII-st.	N/A	N/A	dsII-st.	dsIII-st.
⋮				⋮				⋮	

Sometimes I categorize verbs (which abstract just one or two features), such as “d-series stems” include all six combinations with *d*- prefix mapped at the right side on Table 128: i.e. *d*-, *dI*-, *dII*-, *dIII*-, *dsII*-, and *dsIII*-stems; and “s-causative stems” consist of the four combinations which bring *s*- prefix arranged at the bottom line on Table 128: i.e. *sII*-, *sIII*-, *dsII*-, and *dsIII*-stems.

All the 315 verb roots in Berger (1998c)<sup>†50</sup> have one of the above stems; 172 of them have only the non-d-series set, 86 roots have only the d-series one, and the other 57 roots have both non-d- and d-series of stem sets. The total number of sets amounts to 372. There are 143 d-series sets (38%) out of 372 sets, and 57 of them have the non-d-series set also, as illustrated in Figure 26.

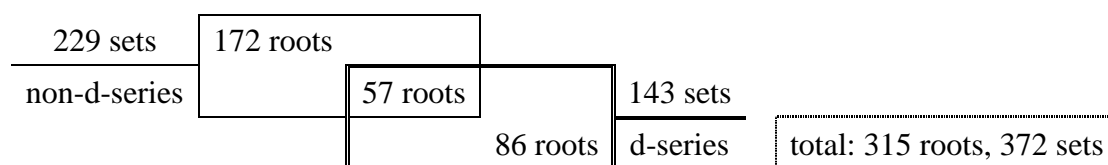


Figure 26. Number of sets and roots in each series of verbs

## 10.2. Previous studies of *d*- derivation

In the following, I discuss on the derivation by the prefix *d*- which is the outermost derivational element in the verbal stem formation of Burushaski.

<sup>†50</sup> Berger (1998c) actually includes 312 verb roots, but there are some questionable points in his classification between roots and stems. Therefore I sorted out and arranged them by considering the total derivational system with 315 roots.

Concerning the *d*- prefix, several studies deal with it and describe it in many ways. The meaning or function of *d*- is still controversial. Etymologically *d*- has been developed from a verb *jú*- ‘come’, see §6.3.1.2. Here I pick up the core description on *d*- prefix in several studies and see how those studies have treated this complicated prefix (underlines mine).

- As regards *d*\*- generally, an examination of all known examples has failed to throw any light on its meaning or function. It cannot originally have been without significance, but whether it still possesses any must remain a problem for future enquirers. (Lorimer 1935a: 226)
- Глаголы с основообразующим превербом *d*- присоединяют префиксальные показатели после *d*- перед основой. (Климов и Эдельман 1970: 63)
- ... , hat das *d*-Präfix in der heutigen Sprache keine bestimmte Funktion mehr; die wenigen Paare, in denen sich eine *d*-lose Form von einer *d*-Form durch die Bedeutung unterscheidet, ... lassen synchronisch keinen gemeinsamen Gesichtspunkt mehr erkennen. (Berger 1974: 32; WB)
- ... , at the most general level, to distinguish process/state/result-oriented verbal conceptions from actor-oriented ones. (Bashir 1985: 19)
- The *d*- prefix, however, cannot be considered to be a passive marker, and its status in the language is less than obvious, as we now observe. (Morin and Tiffou 1988: 504; WB)
- The function of the prefix is not clear. It may well be an aspectual one, indicating that an element affected by the verbal action is being modified. (Tiffou 1993: 15)
- Zu primären Transitiva bildet das *d*-Präfix, immer ohne Pron.präfixe, reguläre Intransitiva ... . Wohl als Folge dieser intr. Funktion kommt das *d*-Präfix mit primären Transitiva nur vereinzelt vor ... . Etwa zwanzig Verben kommen in Paaren mit und ohne *d*-Präfix vor, womit eine geringere oder keine Verschiedenheit in der Bedeutung verbunden ist ... . Die in diesen Paaren durch das *d*-Präfix bewirkten Bedeutungsveränderungen lassen synchronisch gesehen kaum noch einen gemeinsamen Gesichtspunkt erkennen. Bei allen anderen *d*-Verben, denen keine *d*-lose variante zur Seite steht, ist *d*- ein bedeutungsloser, an bestimmte Verbalstämme gebundener Zusatz ... . (Berger 1998a: 110)

- More d-verbs than non-d verbs have a stative (describing a state) or passive meaning. (Grune 1998: 13; WB)
- Le bourouchaski connaît un préfixe verbal en *d-* qui permet le plus souvent de dériver un intransitif à partir d'un transitif. D'après certaines analyses, la fonction fondamentale de ce préverbe serait d'évacuer du procès toute notion d'agence. (Tiffou 1999: 171; WB)
- The etymological meaning of the verbal prefix *d-* '(coming to be) right here' underlies the abstract interpretation 'transition to (and remaining in) a state', which has also led to the denominative function. (Tikkanen 1999: 298)
- Les développements sémantiques des verbes en *d-* ont entraîné des fonctions qui ont été étudiées dans diverses rubriques ; l'une était consacrée aux catégories aspectuelles, telles que le parfait, le résultatif ou l'ingressif ; l'autre, aux catégories de diathèse, telles que la voie moyenne, le passif ou l'anticausatif ; l'autre, aux catégories de genre d'action, telles que la télélicité ; la dernière, à des catégories pragmatiques, tel que le point de vue. Néanmoins le préfixe *d-* ne s'accommode pas simplement d'une seule de ces catégories. (Bashir 2004: 62)
- It is not clear so far as to what the semantic or morphological status of the *d*-prefix is. It could possibly be a remnant of a historically important morphological unit which was perhaps lost in other verbs. (Munshi 2006: 196–97)
- El carácter aglutinativo del B[urushaski] se manifiesta sobre todo en la parcela verbal, p. ej. *a-ti-mi-s-man-u-wá-i-a* «¿no nos ha parido él?», cuyo análisis morfológico es el siguiente: ... *-tí-* marca de proceso; (de la Fuente 2006: 558)
- The semantics of the *d*-prefix in these pairs range from a clear cislocative meaning, to vaguely (de-)transitivizing functions, to actor/subject focus, to various idiosyncratic, sometimes opaque semantic nuances. (Anderson 2007: 1249)

Logimer, Климов и Эдельман, Berger, and Munshi abandon the solution of the meaning or function of the *d-* prefix or preverb, and the other studies each enunciate its meanings or functions in their own ways: process/state/result-oriented (Bashir 1985), not just only passive (Morin and Tiffou 1988), aspectual one denoting the change of

state (Tiffou 1993), stative or passive (Grune 1998), evacuating of the whole process of agent notion (Tiffou 1999), ‘coming to be right here’ and ‘transition to a state’ (Tikkanen 1999), perfect, resultative, ingressive, middle, passive, anticausative, telic, or the point of view (Bashir 2004), process (de la Fuente 2006), and cislocative, (de-)transitivizing, and actor/subject focus (Anderson 2007).

There are some common opinions among the previous studies, that is, passive, transition to a state, venitive (or cislocative), but there is a conflict between Bashir’s (1985) process/state/result-oriented account and Anderson’s (2007) actor/subject focus one. It seems that Anderson’s (de-)transitivizing function is in itself conflicting, or does he say *d-* prefix will change intransitive into transitive as well as transitive into intransitive?

The studies of Bashir (1985, 2004) are concentrated to the *d-* prefix and minutely analysing its functions. My conclusion will be close to those of Bashir but will differ in some points. Bashir (2004) finally considers that there are seven functions of the *d-* prefix (but a different set of five functions is used in the account of grammaticalization), I think, however, there remains some misjudgement between the function of the *d-* prefix and the meaning of stems with the prefix, which is carried in by their roots.

### 10.3. Discussion

In this section I will discuss and demonstrate that the function of the *d-* prefix consists of resultative (§10.3.1), venitive, fientive, stative (these three in §10.3.2), and anticausative (§10.3.3), and that they may be reduced to venitive. Finally I will point out that there are some pairs where the function of the *d-* prefix is not clear but a strange asymmetric distribution is observed (§10.3.4).

#### 10.3.1. Resultative out of transitive

15 pairs of non-*d-* and *d-*series out of 57 can be grouped by a function of *d-*, that is, resultativization.

Table 129. *d-*-less transitive and *d-*-prefixed resultative verbs

root	non- <i>d-</i> stem	<i>d-</i> stem
<i>báalt</i>	<i>báalt-</i> ‘wash’ /@- <i>yáalt-</i>	<i>du-wáalt-</i> ‘be washed; become poor, fade’
<i>čhayált</i>	<i>čhayált-</i> ‘clamp; tan with a /@- <i>čhávalt-</i> cudgel; castrate’	<i>du-čhávalt-</i> ‘be clamped’

root	non-d-stem	d-stem
<i>gaṭámur</i>	<i>gaṭámur-</i> /@- <i>yáṭamur-</i> ‘wash, full (tanned hide), soften’	<i>du-yáṭamur-</i> ‘become soft’
<i>giy</i>	<i>gíy-</i> ‘put on; dump; knock down; toss’	<i>di-gía-</i> (PL) ‘be ground down, hang down’
<i>gurgín</i>	<i>gurgín-</i> /@- <i>úrgin-</i> ‘grind by a round stone on a flat stone, pulverise’	<i>du-úrgin-</i> ‘be ground’
<i>yas</i>	@- <i>yas-</i> ‘make laugh’	<i>d-@-yas-</i> ‘laugh’
<i>hurúṭ</i>	@- <i>uruṭ-</i> ‘seat; lie down; keep after; raise’	<i>d-@-uruṭ-</i> ‘take residence; be settled; like’
<i>jáli</i>	<i>jáli-/@-jáli-</i> ‘scatter, knock down; sweep up together’	<i>du-jáli-</i> ‘spread, be extended’
<i>ltan</i>	<i>tan-/@-ltán-</i> ‘crush in a mortar; forge by hammering’	<i>du-ltán-</i> ‘be crushed’
<i>ltask</i>	<i>task-/@-tásk-</i> ‘pull, draw (bow)’	<i>du-tásk-</i> ‘be elastic, stretch’
<i>máltár</i>	<i>máltár-</i> /@- <i>máltar-</i> ‘daub, wind around’	<i>du-máltar-</i> ‘be daubed’
<i>philán</i>	@- <i>philan-</i> ‘deceive, fabricate’	<i>d-@-philan-</i> ‘calm down; be deceived’ (NG)
<i>phus</i>	<i>pus(ú)-</i> /@- <i>phús-</i> ‘tie up, tuck up, put (shinguards)’	<i>du-phús-</i> ‘be tied; stay at home without working’
<i>qhulán</i>	<i>qhulán-</i> ‘knead’	<i>du-qhúlan-</i> ‘be kneaded’
<i>wáar</i>	<i>wáar-</i> ‘cover with, use as a lid’	<i>du-wáar-</i> ‘be used as a lid’

From the point of view of non-d-series transitives, d-prefixed intransitive stems in Table 129 have lost the agent argument through decrease of their valency. These intransitive verbs cannot be accompanied by an actor, which is expressed in the state of the agent argument in corresponding non-d-series transitives, and of course then these intransitive verbs with *d-* are resultative or anticausative, not passive.<sup>†51</sup> All of these

<sup>†51</sup> According to Hapelmath’s definition that “In the passive, the actor is not in the subject position, but it can often be expressed in an actor phrase, and in any case the existence of an actor is implied in a passive clause. In the anticausative, however, the actor is completely eliminated, not only syntactically, but also semantically, and the process is presented as going on spontaneously.” (Hapelmath 1987: 7). And the difference between anticausative and resultative are discussed soon.



intransitive verbs have a spontaneous characteristic, so that the meaning of *d-@'yas-* ‘laugh (spontaneously)’ is not the same as a *d-*-less intransitive cognate stem *yas'* ‘laugh (intentionally)’ as I have mentioned in §9.4. These *d-*-intransitives are not even anticausative because they indicate the change of the state of subject arguments effected with specific means. Haspelmath (1987: 15) says that for anticausative ‘all actions are excluded which imply specific instruments or methods, like *bite*, *cut*, *dig*, *grind*, *sow*, *thrash*, *build*, *prepre*, *paint*, *operate*, *revise* etc.’ with three excluding examples of *bite*, *cut*, and *wash* (*ibid.*; underline mine). Some of Burushaski *d-*-prefix intransitives in Table 129 are derived from actions implying specific change of state, like *grind* and *wash*, which Haspelmath has mentioned, even though some of the others are recorded with losing the implication of specific instruments as with *du-ltán-* ‘be crushed’ vs. *tan'/@-ltán-* ‘crush in a mortar’, and *du-úrgin-* ‘be ground’ vs. *gurgín-/@-úrgin-* ‘grind by a round stone on a flat stone’.

Besides the 15 pairs, the following pairs may be explained by this resultative reading:

Table 130. Two pairs possibly with resultative interpretation

root	non-d-stem	d-stem
<i>rgin</i>	<i>@-rgín-</i> ‘enliven; stir; beat’	<i>d-ú-rgin-</i> ‘cluster; come to blows; deliberate’
<i>sal</i>	<i>@'sal-</i> ‘show’	<i>d-@'sal-</i> ‘solve’

As for the former pair in Table 130, there is the idiomaticity caused by the third person H/X-class plural personal prefix *u-* in the *d-*-series part, but when reading the idiomaticity as something like reciprocal or collective meaning, the *d-*-stem *d-ú-rgin-* ‘cluster; come to blows’ may be regarded as a derivative of *@'rgin-* ‘stir; beat’.

The latter ditransitive-transitive pair seems parallel to transitive-intransitive pairs in Table 129.

In this way, a function of *d-* is that it derives resultative bases from  $V_2$  roots.

### 10.3.2. Venitive, fientive, and stative

There are a few pairs of andative and venitive verbs with and without the *d-* prefix, respectively, see Table 131.

Table 131. Pairs of d-less andative and d-prefixed venitive verbs

root	non-d-stem	d-stem
<i>mas</i>	@'mas- 'hand over, send in'	d-@'mas- 'hand over hither'
<i>r</i>	@'r- 'send (out); make go, remove'	d-@'r- 'send hither'

These two verb pairs obviously show a semantic difference in terms of deixis where non-d-stems imply an andative (or neutral) direction while d-stems hold a venitive meaning 'hither, to here'. This function is deeply related to the meaning of the origin of the *d*- prefix, that is, a verb *jú*- 'come' and therefore this can be regarded as the most primitive function.

And now, venitive nuance might be understood from the stems which are shown in Table 132, too:

Table 132. Other d-verbs possible to be considered as venitive

root	non-d-stem	d-stem
<i>birán</i>	@'biran- 'fill up'	d-@'spiran- 'fill up (to the rim), level off (hole)'
<i>gáarc</i>	gáarc- 'run, gallop; run away; be arbitrated'	di-áarc- 'rain; (hives) be caused'
<i>úl</i>	@'l- 'thread, insert'	d-@'ul- 'put (thread) through'

Water level is COMING up to a rim while pouring into a vessel, rain COMES down from the sky, and the head of a thread COMES out from the hole of a needle when a threading action has been achieved.<sup>†52</sup> In these cases the venitive meaning is weakened and it is

<sup>†52</sup> Also in Japanese, what meanings a venitive stem *di-áarc-* indicates can be expressed with a verbal complex including a directional marker *k-* 'come', while another marker *ik-* 'go' cannot be employed, see the examples (C) and (D) which are contrastive sentence pairs of Japanese and Burushaski.

(C) J: *ame=ga fut-te k-ita* / \**fut-te it-ta*.  
rain=NOM fall-CONV come-PFV / \*fall-CONV go-PFV

EB: (*harált*) *diáarcilá*.  
*harált-Ø d-gáarc+b'il-Ø*  
rain-ABS TEL-run+COP-3SG.Y-PRS

'It has rained.'

gradually changing into another function, that is the fientive function which indicates ‘come into a state’ as verbs in Table 133 below.

Table 133. Fientive verb stems

root	non-d-stem	d-stem
<i>chí</i>	<i>chí-</i> ‘descend; sit, crouch down; (fire) visit’	<i>di-chí-</i> ‘(raincloud) come together to form, occur’
<i>man</i>	<i>man-</i> ‘be; become; occur, /@- <i>mán-</i> appear; exist’	<i>du-mán-</i> ‘be born, occur; be made; /d-@- <i>man-</i> solidify; become frozen’

This fientive function of the *d-* prefix are seen with the pairs of an adjective and a fientive verb such as *du-čhájur-/d-@-čaqur-* ‘become cold, be cold’ from *čhayúr-um* ‘cold’ (*-um* is an adjectiviser). Like this deadjectivised verb, most fientive verbs in Burushaski have also developed the stative meanings of ‘be in a state’, not including the nuance of the transition into a state, see Table 134. In the preceding table, *du-mán-/d-@-man-* has both fientive meanings ‘occur; solidify; become frozen’ and stative meanings ‘be born; be made’.

Table 134. Secondary stative verb stems

root	non-d-stem	d-stem
<i>huljá</i>	<i>huljá-</i> ‘be complete, grow to the full, ripen; ride on’	<i>d-úlja-</i> ‘be full, have enough; be /du-súlja- disgusted’
<i>man</i>	<i>man-</i> ‘be; become; occur, /@- <i>mán-</i> appear; exist’	<i>du-mán-</i> ‘be born, occur; be made; /d-@- <i>man-</i> solidify; become frozen’

The following examples are the sentence of a d-less stem, (326a), and a d-stem, (326b), of the root  $\sqrt{\text{man}}$ .

(D) J: (*wataši=wa*) *jimmašin=ga de-te k-ita /\*de-te it-ta.*  
I=TOP hives=NOM get.out-CONV come-PFV /\*get.out-CONV go-PFV

EB: *ačí doş diáarcien.* (Berger 1998c: 122)  
*a-cí-e dóş-Ø d-gáarc+b'-ien-Ø*  
1SG:I-against-ESS hives-ABS TEL-run+COP-3PL.X-PRS

‘I have come out in hives. [lit. Hives has come out on me.]’

- (326) a. *khok*                    *uskó*    *maními*.  
 khók-Ø                    uskó    man'-m-i  
 those.ones:Y-ABS    three:Y    become-NPRS-3PL.Y

‘These [solutions] became three.’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #149)

- b. *ité*    *dísulo*                    *makáan*    *dumánimi*.  
 ité    diš'-ul-e                    makáan-Ø    d-man'-m-i  
 that:Y    ground-LOC-ESS    house-ABS    TEL-become-NPRS-3SG.Y

‘in that place a house was built.’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #489)

These stative verbs are secondary (derived with *d-*) ones but their meanings are by no means inferior to ones of primary (non-*d*-derived) statives, like @-*yan-* ‘sleep, fall asleep’ and @-*wár-* ‘be tired’.

The *d*-prefixed stems dealt with in this section show no valency gap with non-*d*-series stems, but semantically they show a transition from venitive to fientive and stative and then it will stretch to resultative while decreasing valency, see §10.3.1.

### 10.3.3. Anticausative

The preceding two sections dealt with stem pairs with the same type of personal prefix, and here in this section I discuss pairs of non-*d*-series type-I transitive stems and *d*-series type-Ø intransitive stems. The verb roots which show this pattern of stem derivation seem to behave in an identical way.

There are 12 pairs of cognate transitive Ø-I-stem and intransitive *d*-Ø-stem out of 315 roots.

Table 135. Transitive Ø-I-stem and intransitive *d*-Ø-stem verbs

root	non- <i>d</i> -stem	<i>d</i> -stem
chil	@- <i>il-</i> ‘macerate (TR), immerse’	<i>di-il-/di-sil-</i> ‘get wet, macerate / <i>di-chil-</i> (INTR)’
garán	@- <i>yáran-</i> ‘trim (small livestock); exploit, decieve’	<i>du-yáran-</i> ‘be trimmed’
khačí	@- <i>kháči-</i> ‘confine’	<i>du-kháči-</i> ‘be confined’
ltayáy	@- <i>ltáyay-</i> ‘plaster (wall) with mud, smear’	<i>du-ltáyay-</i> ‘be plastered with mud’

root	non-d-stem	d-stem
moq	@-móq- ‘pull out, pluck off’	du-móq- ‘fall out, become bald’
murmúy	@-múrmuy- ‘polish, rasp’	du-múrmuy- ‘be sanded down, be polished, be refined’
mut	@-mút- ‘break into pieces, crush and put in’	du-mút- ‘be put in as crushing’
phalt	@-phált- ‘break, smash, wrench open, dig, blow away’	du-phált- ‘burst, (gun) be fired, rupture’
phaṭár	@-phaṭar- ‘skin, peel’	du-phaṭar- ‘come off, molt’
qhis	@-qhís- ‘tear up’	di-qhís- ‘tear (INTR), be torn’
uśá	@-úša- ‘bring up, take care of’	du-úša- ‘be brought up’
yar	@-yár- ‘graze (TR); monitor, watch’	du-yár- ‘graze (INTR)’

The detransitive process between the pairs in Table 135 looks like the resultative one shown in Table 129. But it seems that the relation between transitive Ø-I-stems vs. intransitive d-Ø-stems is somewhat anticausative due to the shortage, but not the absence, of the specific semantic features.

The pair of @-qhís- ‘tear up’ and di-qhís- ‘tear, be torn’ has another intransitive stem without *d-* prefix, *qis-* ‘tear up’, and the three stems show a quite significant semantic relation as Figure 27 illustrates.

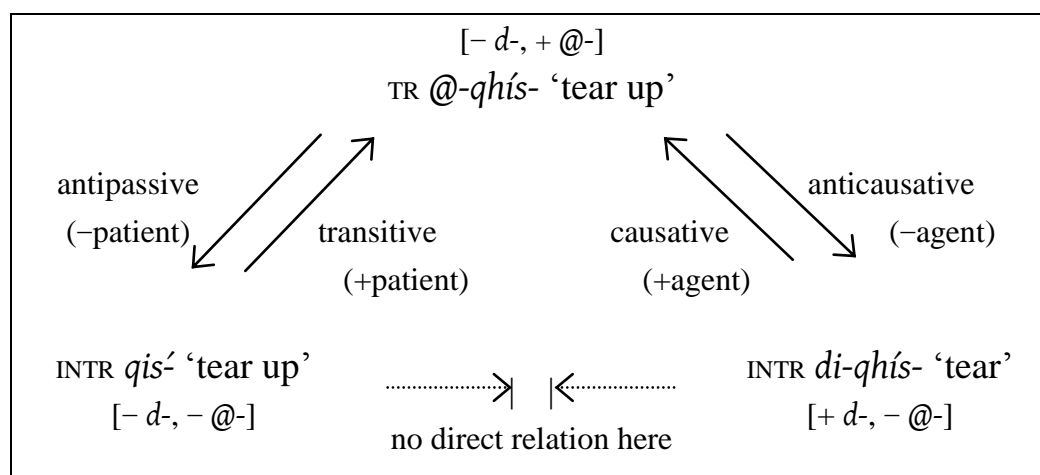


Figure 27. Antipassive and anticausative

Not all the 12 pairs have the same set of stems as this root  $\sqrt{qhis}$  have, however all of their stems appear in the system according to this relationship.

10.3.4. Pairs with and without *d-* in the same meaning

There are 9 pairs of stems with or without *d-* being annotated with exactly or almost the same meaning in Berger (1998c).<sup>†53</sup> When the described meanings of stems are exactly the same, then I represent them with “id.” in Table 136.

Table 136. Pairs of stems with and without *d-* prefix in the same meaning

root	non-d-stem	d-stem
gir	@- <i>skir-</i> ‘dye’	<i>d-</i> @- <i>skir-</i> id.
γul	<i>γulú-</i> ‘be destroyed by fire, be burnt to ashes, get frostbitten’ / <i>@-γúl-</i>	<i>du-γúl-</i> ‘be destroyed by fire’
γuṭin	@- <i>γuṭin-</i> ‘empty out by tilting gradually’	<i>d-</i> @- <i>γuṭin-</i> id.
huškín	<i>huškín-</i> ‘(only a little water) be drained’	<i>du-úš(ki)kin-</i> ‘(water) be drained, recede, (man) lose power’
huy	@- <i>stuy-</i> ‘melt’ / <i>@-scuy-</i>	<i>d-</i> @- <i>uy-</i> id. / <i>d-</i> @- <i>scuy-</i>
qhar	<i>qhár-</i> ‘(skin, limb) crack by drying’	<i>du-qhár-</i> ‘(timber) crack’
	@- <i>qhár-</i> ‘break (timber, stone, ceramic ware, walnut); saw; cut up’	<i>d-</i> @- <i>q(h)ar-</i> ‘chop (timber); cut down (tree); part (hair with comb)’
sók	<i>sók-</i> ‘descend, get off, dismount’	<i>du-sók-</i> id.
sú	<i>sú-</i> ‘bring, fetch; mention, state’	<i>du-sú-</i> id. / <i>d-</i> @- <i>c-</i>

The difference between stems in a pair is unclear. In (327), the pair of *sú-* and *du-sú-* ‘bring’ show free alternation in consecutive sentences.

<sup>†53</sup> There is one more case for this definition in the Nager dialect: @-*doon-* ‘make open’ vs. *dóon-* ‘open’. But it is regarded as an irregular derivation with a reanalysed root and should be ignored in this discussion.

- (327) a. *moóq numán déeyasase káa, iné*  
*moóq n-man d-ĩ-yas'-as-e káaṭ iné*  
 grinning CP-become TEL-3SG.X:III-laugh-INF-GEN together that:H  
*baadšáa yániṣe mumóos súmo.*  
*baadšáa-e yéniṣ-e mu-moos'-∅ sú-m-o*  
 king-GEN queen-ERG 3SG.HF:I-anger-ABS bring-NPRS-3SG.HF
- ‘Having grinned, the king’s queen got angry.’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #23)
- b. *baadšáa jamaaáte yániṣe mumóos*  
*baadšáa-e jamaaát-e yéniṣ-e mu-moos'-∅*  
 king-GEN spouse-GEN queen-ERG 3SG.HF:I-anger-ABS
- dusúninin* “*khos, je ayákal bes*  
*d-sú-n-n-n khós-∅ jé a-yakál bés*  
 TEL:CP-bring-CP-CP-CP this.one:X-ABS I 1SG:I-direction why  
*déeyasibi?*”  
*d-ĩ-yas+b'-i-∅*  
 TEL-3SG.X:III-laugh+COP-3SG.X-PRS
- ‘The king’s queen got angry and said “Why has this fish laugh at me?” ’  
 (*čhúmoe minás*: #24)

I have tried to elicit examples of some of these verbs from native speakers but they have unanimously told me that there is no gap between these stems with and without *d-*. There are few examples of these verbs in recorded texts, therefore it is a task for the future.

There is a strange asymmetry with a pair in this group, so I point out the fact as a considerable peculiarity here. It is possible that *sók-* and *du-sók-* ‘descend’ are both used interchangeably in affirmative sentences while only *a-tú-sok-* (the negative form of *du-sók-*) is used in negative sentences and *\*a-sók-/oó-sok-/\*aú-sók-* (possible negative forms of *sók-*) are never observed.

#### 10.4. Conclusion: Functions of *d-* prefix

Some other roots have both the non-*d-* base and the *d-* base but the semantic content of these stems is hard to compare because of the complexity of derivational patterns with the personal prefix. For example, I do not know how to compare *phirkán-* ‘be

unstable (like a shaking stone)' with *d-@-pirkan-* 'stumble' given that there is no other stem cognate with them.

There are 86 roots with only the *d*-set besides, and they may have the same or similar meanings with the meanings of the verbs I have dealt with in the preceding sections, but clearly they are not suitable for discussing the meaning or function of the *d*- prefix as a derivational strategy.

If one considers the meanings of *d*-stems more closely, then some other functions may be discovered. But for now, I have demonstrated the meaning or the function of *d*- as a sequential, venitive => fientive => stative => resultative => anticausative, through considerations based on Berger's (1998c) vocabulary. Out of the 57 pairs, there are 15 or 17 pairs with the resultative function of *d*-, 5 with venitive, 2 with fientive (and many adjective roots are verbalised by the fientive function of *d*-), 2 with stative, 12 with anticausative. For the rest pairs I could not reveal the function in this discussion.

Venitive is realised with verbs denoting or including the transfer, fientive function ('coming to a state') is performed with verbs of occurrence, and when fientive function loses the meaning of change because it is already implied by a verb root, then the root takes the *d*- prefix for stative nuance ('having come to and remaining in a state').  $V_2$  roots tend to realise resultative function of *d*-, while it appears that anticausative *d*-stems are derived from  $V_1$  roots (both imply 'coming or having come to a state spontaneously'). The resultative function causes detransitivisation or valency decreasing and then  $V_2$  roots become inactive  $V_1$  bases by taking the *d*- prefix as well as the anticausative function by *d*- which alters active  $V_1$  into inactive  $V_1$ , as with  $\sqrt{qhar}$ . The verbs prefixed *d*- in these functions basically do not have the type-I stem because the subject of their intransitive stems is always nonvolitional, so that they look like simple (active)  $V_1$  at first glance, but they cannot be derived into a ditransitive stem (most of them have only the type-Ø intransitive stem and the others also have the type-II transitive stem). As for details of the classification of univalent verb bases, I will discuss this in the next section. All of these functions include a goal point of action, namely a state, a result, or a location, and then therefore they all share TELIC characteristics.

As for typological study, Lichtenberg (1991) surveys patterns of the semantic change in grammaticalisation of 'come', 'go', and 'return' forms. He gives a diagram, Figure 28, as the conclusion of the patterns of grammaticalised 'come':



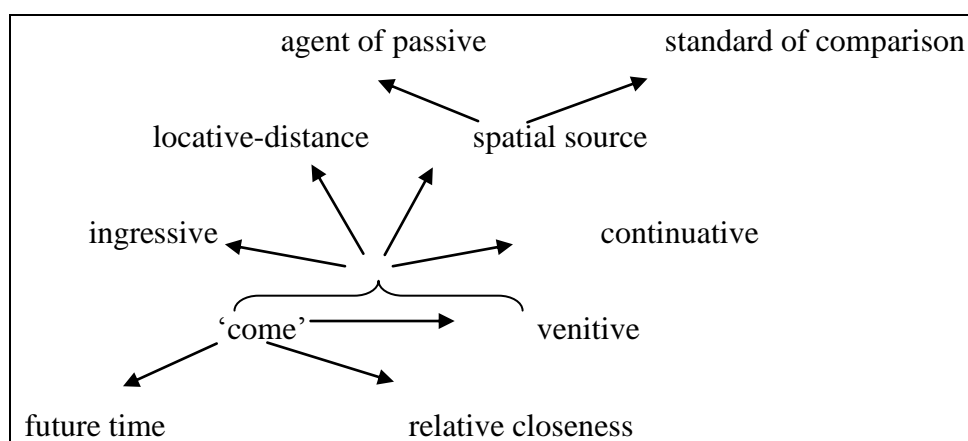


Figure 28. Grammaticalizations of COME forms (Lichtenberg 1991: 490)

Two developed meanings in his study, venitive and ingressive, are detected in the Burushaski *d-* prefix. That is to say, venitive meaning is still found in a few stems on the one hand, and ingressive (fientive in the Haspelmath's terminology) meaning has been developed further as focusing on the resulting state to stative, resultative, and anticausative on the other.<sup>†54</sup>

And thus, among the functions in previous studies, passive function is not striking and rather it should be understood as anticausative or resultative, and actor/subject focus and transitivising functions are not suitable for *d-* prefix. With respect to aspect, or aktionsart, *d-* adds telicity for verb bases although it may be not the core function but a secondary effect.

<sup>†54</sup> *n-* prefix for the conjunctive participle in the same slot as *d-* (§6.3.1.1) is also explained within a cross-linguistic typology of grammaticalised 'go' forms by Lichtenberg; that is, a grammaticalised 'go' form can be used as a sequencer in the sense that "it highlights the fact that the event of its own clause takes place after a prior extended event" (Lichtenberg 1991: 492).

## DEFINITENESS AND SPECIFICITY

Burushaski has two curious suffixes, *-an* and *-ik*, designating number, possibly with some nuance. These suffixes appear in a different position to the other plural number suffixes; see Figure 29 the template for nouns.

(-1)	0	(+1)	(+2)	(+3)	(+4)	+5
PERSON	BASE	PL	NUMBER	OBLIQUE	POSITION	CASE

Figure 29. Template for nouns

Plural suffixes are attached at the  $[+1]^N$  slot inside stems, and it is possible for these suffixes to take the accent of the word, but the number suffixes in question are put at the  $[+2]^N$  slot outside stems, which never take an accent.

The suffixes are not always attached in the same situation and they seem to indicate not only number but also something on another parameter concerning definiteness or specificity. In this chapter I will discuss the suffixes first (§§11.1 – 11.3), and then certain syntactic phenomena related to definiteness and specificity in Burushaski (§11.4).

### 11.1. Previous studies on the suffixes at $[+2]^N$ slot

Lorimer (1935–38) and Berger (1998) mention that *-an* functions as an equivalent of an indefinite particle in European languages or a partitive marker functioning as a quantifier:

- 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. (Lorimer 1935a: 47)
- В роли показателя неопределенности имени существительного, стоящего в единственном числе, употребляется суффикс *-an*. (Климоб и Эдельман 1970: 38)
- *-an* gleicht in der Verwendung weitgehend dem unbestimmten Artikel der europäischen Sprachen, doch ist die zugrundeliegende Vorstellung mehr eine partitive als eine zählende. (Berger 1998a: 39)

- The indefinite is formed by suffixing *-en* to h nouns and *-an* to xy nouns. (Grune 1998: 4; WB)
- Le bourouchaski dispose d'une marque de singulier correspondant à l'article "un" du français: *-en* pour les noms h et *-an* pour les noms xy. (Tiffou 1999: 159; WB)

Scholars have also described that *-ik* serves the function of an indefinite plural article or a plural partitive marker.

- The suffix *-ik* is added to plural forms of nouns or noun-equivalents, or to forms not specifically plural but having a plural significance. ... 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*. (Lorimer 1935a: 50)
- Если имя существительное стоит в форме множественного числа, то в качестве показателя неопределенности выступает суффикс *-ik*. (Климоб и Эдельман 1970: 38)
- Die Funktion des *ik*-Suffixes besteht darin, aus der Menge der vorhandenen bzw. in rede stehenden Personen oder Gegenstände eine begrenzte Anzahl herauszuheben. Es entspricht damit im wesentlichen dem partitiveb Pl. in d. *Kinder* gegenüber *die Kinder*, franz. *des enfants* gegenüber *les enfants*, doch wird im Bur. dabei mehr als in den westlichen Sprachen anschaulich die damit verbundene Besonderheit, Bestimmtheit erlebt ... (Berger 1998a: 39)
- The group plural (also called 'double plural') is formed by adding *-ek* to the singular or plural of the word. (Grune 1998: 4; WB)
- Outre un morphème *-ek* à valeur de pluriel indéterminée ou de partitif, que je n'ai pu moi-même relever, il existe environ une trentaine de suffixes dont l'usage est la plupart du temps impédicible. (Tiffou 1999: 160; WB)
- The plural article is *-ik*; it follows the plural suffix. The corresponding indefinite article used in the singular is *-an* (Anderson 2002: 1235)
- When the NP is not specified, a suffix for Indefinite Article may be attached to the noun stem. This is *-an* 'a/any' for singular and *-ik* for plural nouns. (Munshi 2006: 122)

- Se diferencian cuatro números: singular, indefinido, grupal y plural, p. ej. *hayor* ‘caballo’, *hayor-en* ‘algunos caballos’, *hayor-ek* ‘un grupo de caballos’ y *hayor-a* ‘caballos’ respectivamente. (de la Fuente 2006: 557)

As for *-an*, it is commonly called an indefinite marker, but some scholars think *-ik* is partitive or a group plural marker whereas the others regard it also as indefinite.

All agree that both *-an* for singular and *-ik* for plural are not obligatorily employed to express indefiniteness.

### 11.2. Preliminaries

There are many articles and definitions on definiteness, specificity, and the like. In this chapter I use these terms under the following definitions.

In the case of definiteness, Givón (1978: 296) says “The notions ‘definite’ and ‘indefinite,’ so far as referential nominals are concerned, are used here strictly in their discourse-pragmatic sense, i.e. ‘assumed by the speaker to be uniquely identifiable to the hearer’ vs. ‘not so assumed,’ respectively.”

And concerning specificity, Kagan (2006) summarizes the two approaches that have been advocated in previous studies, i.e. semantic and pragmatic approaches. The former is so-called scopal specificity, and the latter is termed speaker-identifiability now. She sums up that under the latter pragmatic approach “the crucial component of specificity is identifiability to the speaker. Thus, the referent of a specific NP is identifiable to the speaker, whereas the referent of a non-specific NP is not.” (Kagan 2006: 82)

With these understandings, definiteness and specificity can be described within a single scale of identifiability as von Heusinger (2002) represented on the following chart (328):

(328) The “identifiability” criteria for definiteness and specificity (von Heusinger 2002: 249)

<i>identified by</i>	definite (+ specific)	indefinite specific	indefinite non-specific
speaker	+	+	–
hearer	+	–	–

Besides these notions, referentiality of nominals can affect or influence morphosyntax. Here I use the term referentiality in the sense of Givón (1973), that is, in

other words, existential quantification (also in Givón 1973). Riley (2007) says that Givón's (1973) referentiality is the same as his semantic individuality (Riley 2007: 848–49). If this is the case, it can be considered identical to the specificity which is semantically defined with respect to relative quantifier scope and is called scopal specificity (as in Ioup 1977 and Farkas 2002), but actually referentiality is understood as a pragmatic parameter whereas scopal specificity is semantic and therefore there is some gap in the categorical extension between scope distinction and referentiality (Lyons 1999: 172–78).

If a speaker refers to an entity believing in the existence of the individual referent which s/he wants to refer to, then the referred entity is referential. Referential entities are the objects which can be identified in the mental space of each participant in conversation. On the other, any referent of non-referential expression will be neither identified nor specific. Referentially identified nominals can be substituted with pronouns later.

Now von Heusinger's (2002) chart, (328), can be expanded as follows in (329):

(329) The identifiability and referentiality criteria for definiteness and specificity

<i>identified by</i>	definite	indefinite	indefinite	indefinite
	specific	specific	non-specific	non-specific
	referential	referential	referential	non-referential
speaker	+	+	–	–
hearer	+	–	–	–
<i>reference</i> <sup>†55</sup>	de re	de re	de re	de dicto

### 11.3. Definiteness or specificity

At first, I will describe the functions of the two suffixes at [+2]<sup>N</sup> slot, *-an* and *-ik*, which mark the number of referents and also denote that the referents are indefinite or nonspecific.

#### 11.3.1. Singular suffix *-an*

Previous studies say the singular suffix *-an* also shows indefiniteness. If it is an indefinite marker, then it should not co-occur with any of the demonstrative adjectives,

<sup>†55</sup> For referentiality, “de re” means ‘taking the thing of reference in consideration’; “de dicto” means ‘taking the utterance in consideration, without having a particular referent in mind’.

which indicate definiteness.<sup>†56</sup>

Table 137. Correlation between demonstratives and *-an* in texts from Hunza

		∅		-an		total	
proximant	<i>khiné</i> H	23	88.5	3	11.5	26	100.0
	<i>gusé</i> X	24	96.0	1	4.0	25	100.0
	<i>guté</i> YZ	85	98.8	1	1.2	86	100.0
distal	<i>iné</i> H	234	99.2	2	0.8	236	100.0
	<i>isé</i> X	186	97.4	5	2.6	191	100.0
	<i>ité</i> YZ	295	96.7	10	3.3	305	100.0
total		848	97.5	22	2.5	870	100.0

Table 137 obviously shows the negative correlation between demonstratives and *-an* in the texts of Tikkanen (1991; *Frog as a Bride*), Berger (1998b: ##1–41), and *čhúmoe minás* (included in Appendix I – Texts). It seems there is no reasonable motivation for their co-occurrence of them, so that they might be regarded as accidental misapplications for now.

- (330) isé    *han*    *yániṣe*    *čhúmoan*    *duúṣas*    *ke*    *isé*  
 isé    hán    yéniṣ-e    čhúmo-an-∅    d-gús-as-∅    ké    isé  
 that:X    one:X    gold-GEN    fish-AN-ABS    TEL-go.out-INF-ABS    LINK    that:X
- yániṣe*    *čhúmo*    *núcininin*    *íne*    *baadšáa*    *nookár*  
 yéniṣ-e    čhúmo-∅    n-i-ic'-n-n-n    iné    baadšáa-e    nookár-∅  
 gold-GEN    fish-ABS    CP-3SG.X:I-see-CP-CP-CP    that:H    king-GEN    servant-ABS
- buṭ*    *heiráan*    *imánimi*.  
 búṭ    heiráan    i-man'-m-i  
 much    amazed    3SG.HM:I-become-NPRS-3SG.HM

‘There came out that golden fish, and the king’s servant saw the golden fish and was really amazed.’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #11)

<sup>†56</sup> This is based on Lyons’s (1999) opinion: “The deictic feature typically expressed on a demonstrative plays a similar role to pointing, guiding the hearer’s attention to the referent. This suggests a necessary connection between [+ Dem] and [+ Def], the former implying the latter. I take demonstratives, then, to be necessarily definite.” (Lyons 1999: 21).

For example, the initial noun phrase of the sentence (330) *isé han yániše čhúmoan* ‘that golden fish’ includes a demonstrative and the suffix *-an* although its referent has been already introduced into the discourse and therefore it must be semantically definite.

And the positive correlation between *-an* and numeral *hin/han/hik* ‘one’ tells us that the numeral serves as a quasi-indefinite marker<sup>†57</sup> and then they often co-occur.

Table 138. Correlation between *hin/han/hik* ‘one’ and *-an* in texts from Hunza<sup>†58</sup>

		∅		<i>-an</i>		total	
<i>hin</i>	H	9	12.0	66	88.0	75	100.0
<i>han</i>	XY	12	7.1	158	92.9	170	100.0
<i>hik</i>	Z	1	14.3	6	85.7	7	100.0
total		22	8.7	230	91.3	252	100.0

As shown in (328), indefinite referents consist of specific and non-specific referents. On the one hand, if a referent is specific, it can be either definite or indefinite. On the other hand, if a referent is non-specific, it ought to be indefinite. Table 138 has demonstrated that *-an* shows indefiniteness of referents, and this means that it can function not as an indefinite marker but just as a non-specific marker, because the latter logically implies the former function also.

<sup>†57</sup> Lyons (1999: 36fn.) uses the label quasi-indefinite article for the articles which do not itself encode [– Def] but signal indefiniteness indirectly.

<sup>†58</sup> Here I removed the two texts in Berger (1998b) which I judged as showing the quite peculiar distributions: #36 and #41. The distributions in the texts are as follows:

Table B. Distribution of *-an* and *hin/han/hik* ‘one’ in the biased texts (deviation value)

text	36		41	
	∅	<i>-an</i>	∅	<i>-an</i>
<i>hin</i> H	0 (44.3)	1 (47.1)	1 (73.4)	0 (38.5)
<i>han</i> XY	4 (132.1)	2 (43.9)	1 (64.3)	1 (39.3)
<i>hik</i> Z	1 (132.8)	0 (45.0)	3 (321.4)	0 (45.0)
total	5 (124.7)	3 (43.5)	5 (124.7)	1 (36.4)

The deviation values are figured out within the Hunza texts recorded in Berger (1998b).

The total combination of *-an* and HIK does not normally distribute, but it can be said that the two texts unreasonably add the number of instances of HIK without *-an* owing to the extreme deviation values in Table B. As an additional note, the two texts are recorded from the same consultant.

To make it clear whether *-an* functions as an indefinite or a non-specific marker, I examined all the singular nouns which have an overt head<sup>†59</sup> from the text *čhúmoe minás* in respect of specificity (speaker-identifiability) and referentiality. The statistical figures are in the following Table 139:

Table 139. Distribution of singular nouns along specificity and referentiality

	specific		non-specific		non-referential		total	
∅	656	71.8	55	6.0	203	22.2	914	100.0
	95.5		51.9		76.0		71.8	
<i>-an</i>	31	21.2	51	34.9	64	43.8	146	100.0
	4.5		48.1		24.0		28.2	
total	687	64.8	106	10.0	267	25.2	1060	100.0
	100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0	

The low frequency of non-specific reference is surely due to the text genre of storytelling, because such a tale normally has to be told with a simple and straightforward plot, so that it will tend to contain fewer participants.

There is no strict functional distinction in the use of *-an* revealed by this chart, but we can see a tendency of the suffix to be used more in non-referential contexts than referential and more in non-specific contexts than specific. Whereas the reference without *-an* is most often used with a specific referent; however, non-referential denotations prefer the noun forms without *-an*. Alternatively, it can be understood that the suffix *-an* tends to be rather used for referential non-specific singular nominal entities to distinguish them from referential specific ones, but when a singular entity is non-referential then its non-specificity is not necessarily denoted in the overt way by employing *-an* because non-referentiality has already implied its non-specificity. Also in Table 139, we can see that the proportion of non-referential nouns with *-an* to ones without *-an* (24.0%) is nearly the same as the total proportion of nouns with *-an* to ones without *-an* (28.2%). Such an asymmetric distribution is somewhat similar to the one depending on opacity and reference in ChiBemba which was introduced in Givón (1973), though they differ in that the morphological contrast in ChiBemba is neutralised for referential nouns, while the contrast in Burushaski becomes hazy for non-referential nouns.

<sup>†59</sup> This database is made for the syntactic analyses in §11.4 at first, so that I only extracted the (both singular and plural) nouns which have an overt head for the sake of distinction of their syntactic status.



11.3.2. General plural suffix *-ik*

The general plural suffix *-ik* has been treated as an indefinite plural suffix as well as singular *-an*. So at first I look over the distribution of *-ik* for co-occurrence with demonstratives and numerals in *čhúmoe minás*, see Table 140.

Table 140. Distribution of all plural nouns in the text *čhúmoe minás*

DEM	NUM	∅	<i>-ik</i>	total
✓	–	12 100.0	0 0.0	12 100.0
✓	✓	5 100.0	0 0.0	5 100.0
–	✓	17 100.0	0 0.0	17 100.0
–	–	122 93.8	8 6.2	130 100.0
total		156 95.1	8 4.9	164 100.0

But there is no example of a noun with *-ik* modified by a demonstrative and/or a numeral in the text.<sup>†60</sup> This reveals the strong tendency of *-ik* to appear in indefinite reference.

In the following, let us discuss the distribution of *-ik* in terms of specificity and referentiality with Table 141.

Table 141. Distribution of plural nouns along specificity and referentiality

	specific	non-specific	non-referential	total
∅	74 47.4 98.7	40 25.6 95.2	42 26.9 89.4	156 100.0 95.1
<i>-ik</i>	1 12.5 1.3	2 25.0 4.8	5 62.5 10.6	8 100.0 4.9
total	75 45.7 100.0	42 25.6 100.0	47 28.7 100.0	164 100.0 100.0

Table 141 shows that the behaviour of *-ik* for these properties is not same as that of *-an*; With plural nouns, the indefinite suffix *-ik* is mostly preferred for non-referential use. (However it will be the case that the ratio has gone up accidentally owing to the small number of nouns with *-ik*.) Anyway, *-ik* is used rather for indefinite non-specific

<sup>†60</sup> The infrequency of the suffix *-ik* is observed not just in this text but in all texts of Eastern and Western Burushaski now.

interpretation as well as *-an*.

### 11.3.3. Diversity along specificity

Considering these indefinite suffixes, *-an* and *-ik*, it seems there is some asymmetry between the corresponding affirmative and negative sentences. See the next examples:

- (331) “*bée ya áso náa. úne háale ɖaɖán*  
*bé yá a-s’i náa ún-e ha’al-e ɖaɖán*  
 no INTERJ 1SG:II-tell-IMP.SG TAG.Q thou-GEN house-LOC-ESS large.drums  
*ɖaámal bié ke áso” sénase káa.*  
*ɖaámal-Ø b’ién-Ø ké a-s’i sén-as-e káaɕ*  
 timpani-ABS COP-3PL.X-PRS LINK 1SG:II-tell-IMP.SG say-INF-GEN together

‘[The servant] said “No, tell me the truth. Tell me that there are drums and timpani in your house”.’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #72)

- (332) “*bée yái ju jáa háale ɖaɖán*  
*bé yá jú-i jé-e ha’al-e ɖaɖán*  
 no INTERJ come-IMP.SG I-GEN house-LOC-ESS large.drums  
*ɖaámalik apíe je bérican*  
*ɖaámal-ik-Ø a-b’ién-Ø jé-Ø béric-an-Ø*  
 timpani-INDEF.PL-ABS NEG-COP-3PL.X-PRS I-ABS Dom.person-INDEF.SG-ABS  
*apáa” nusé heiráan imánimi.*  
*a-bá-a-Ø n-sén heiráan i-man’-m-i*  
 NEG-COP-1SG-PRS CP-say surprised 3SG.HM:I-become-NPRS-3SG.HM

‘“No, you, there’re no drums and timpani in my house. I’m not a Dom” [the companion] said and was surprised.’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #73)

Here all of the references in affirmative and negative copular predication are (non-specifically and) non-referentially interpreted nouns, and the speaker referred without an indefinite suffix in affirmative clause in (331), whereas he referred with an indefinite suffix in the negative clauses in (332). It is noted that negative non-referential nouns are relatively marked by the indefinite suffixes, although referentiality seems not to be an effective feature to explain the distributional gap between nouns with and without the indefinite suffixes, at least the indefinite singular suffix *-an*. See Table 142,

illustrated with the data from *čhúmoe minás*.

Table 142. Formal distribution of copular predicate arguments on polarity and referentiality (Spec./Non-Spec./Non-Ref.)

	Affirmative						Negative					
	SG		PL		subtotal		SG		PL		subtotal	
∅	46	52.3	34	94.4	80	65.6	3	33.3	3	50.0	6	40.0
	(22/4/20)		(3/2/29)				(0/0/3)		(0/0/3)			
-an/-ik	42	47.7	2	5.6	44	34.4	6	66.7	3	50.0	9	60.0
	(6/10/26)		(0/0/2)				(0/0/6)		(0/0/3)			
total	88	100.0	36	100.0	124	100.0	9	100.0	6	100.0	15	100.0

It is clear that the indefinite suffixes are more frequently used in negative clauses than affirmative clauses. Hence it can be said that the indefinite suffixes are used to index de dicto referents which have less informational saliency or semantic individuality. This use can be paraphrased with a partitive function (in negative propositions), and it may be the motivation why Tiffou (1999) labels the function of *-ek* in WB (corresponding to *-ik* in EB) with “partitif” though he is not explained it.

#### 11.3.4. Definiteness encoded in Burushaski

Despite the existence of the indefinite markers *-an* and *-ik*, there is no definite marker in Burushaski so definiteness is not always represented overtly but it is sometimes signaled by demonstrative adjectives, pronouns, or personal pronouns. In particular, the arguments which receive modification by relative clauses almost always take such definite designation with them.

(333)	<i>iné</i>	<i>áminan</i>	<i>silajínan</i>
	<i>iné-∅</i>	<i>ámin-an</i>	<i>silajín-an-∅</i>
	that:H-ABS	which:H-INDEF.SG	female.relative-INDEF.SG-ABS
	<i>dumóobóm</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>baadšáa</i> <i>yuúsmur</i>
	<i>d-muː+bá-o-m</i>	<i>ké</i>	<i>baadšáa-e</i> <i>i-usː-mu-ar</i>
	come:PFV-3SG.HF+COP-3SG.HF-NPRS	LINK	king-GEN    3SG.HM:I-wife-OBL-DAT

<i>maaní</i>	<i>étase</i>	<i>gáne,</i>	<i>iné</i>	<i>muyánčiar</i>
maaní-Ø	i-t'-as-e	gan'-e	iné-Ø	mu-gan'či-ar
meaning-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-INF-GEN	way-ESS	that:H-ABS	3SG.HF:I-welcome-DAT

<i>numóonin</i>	<i>muúto</i>	<i>muriñ</i>	<i>dúmarinin,</i>
n-mú'-n-n	muú-to	mu-riiñ'-Ø	d-u-mar'-n-n
go:CP-3SG.HF-CP-CP	now-just	3SG.HF:I-hand-ABS	TEL:CP-3PL.X:I-take.up-CP-CP

‘the woman, who came there to teach the meaning for the king’s queen, had an audience with her, and now is ready to take up her question.’ (*čhúmoē minás*: #194)

- (334) 

<i>šon gukúr</i>	<i>biṭáne</i>	<i>bésan</i>	<i>sénuma</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ité</i>
šón+gukúr	biṭán-e	bés-an-Ø	sén-um=a	ké	ité-Ø
Shon.Gukur	shaman-ERG	what-INDEF.SG-ABS	say-ADJVLZ=Q	LINK	that:Y-ABS
- sahíi maními.*  
*sahíi man'-m-i*  
 correct become-NPRS-3SG.Y

‘What Shon Gukur had said turned out true.’ (*šon gukúr*: #14)

The underlined demonstratives in (333) and (334) demonstrate what the boxed relative clauses refer to and therefore they must be definite. The relativized referent can be represented by a head noun with demonstrative modification as in (335):

- (335) 

<i>ámit</i>	<i>dísulo</i>	<i>isé</i>	<i>nizá</i>	<i>ya bim</i>	<i>ke,</i>
ámit	diš'-ul-e	isé	nizá-Ø	i-ya+b'-i-m	ké
which:Y	ground-LOC-ESS	that:X	spear-ABS	3SG.Y:I-get+COP-3SG.X-NPRS	LINK
- ité han dísulo yaaní akhúrut darían*  
*ité hán diš'-ul-e yaaní akhúrut darí-an-Ø*  
 that:Y one:Y ground-LOC-ESS FIL this.size:Y window-INDEF.SG-ABS
- balílúm, yumór, yumór balílúm.*  
*bal+b'-il'-m yumór-Ø yumór-Ø bal+b'-il'-m*  
 fall+COP-3SG.Y-NPRS small.hole-ABS small.hole-ABS fall+COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

‘In the place where that arrow had struck, down there there was a small hole, a hole there was.’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #392)

In this way relative constructions mostly employ demonstratives or pronouns as corresponding to the definiteness of the relativized referent, while the unique referents in the real world, like the sun in (336), and the already mentioned referents in the discourse, such as the wind in (337), are less frequently encoded by demonstratives despite the definiteness.

- (336) *ʃu'malɛ* *tɪʃ* *kɛ* *sà* *'gutɛ* *'cagaʔɛ* *caɪ*  
*ʃumáal-e* *tíʃ* *ké* *sá-∅* *guté* *čáɣa-aʔ-e* *čál-∅*  
 north-GEN wind LINK sun-ABS this:Y story-INS-ESS quarrel-ABS
- u'manɪbɪm,* *mi* *mɛ̀ltalikɛum* *mèn*  
*u-man+b'ién-m* *mí-e* *mí-ltalik-c-um* *mén-∅*  
 3PL.X:I-become+COP-3PL.X-NPRS we-GEN 1PL:II-both-ADE-ABL who-ABS
- 'ʃatɪ|o* *bàn.*  
*ʃatɪlo* *bá-an-∅*  
 strong COP-1PL-PRS

‘The North Wind and the Sun had argued “which of us is stronger than the other?”.’ (Lorimer 1935a, *Story of the North Wind and the Sun*: #1)

- (337) *tɔrɔmanɔr* *tɪʃ* *ho* *buʔ* *mʌnɪmi.*  
*tóor-um-an-ar* *tíʃ-∅* *hóo* *búʔ* *man'í-m-i*  
 that.much-ADJV LZ-INDEF.SG-DAT wind-ABS whizz much become-NPRS-3SG.Y

‘And then the North Wind blew very much.’ (Lorimer 1935a, *Story of the North Wind and the Sun*: #4)

#### 11.4. Relationship between morphosyntax and pragmatics

The last section for discussion chiefly dealt with the indefinite suffixes, *-an* and *-ik*, and the demonstrative with respect to morphology concerning definiteness, specificity, or referentiality.

In this section I take up the morphosyntactic realization of pragmatic and semantic content, presupposing that differences in informational importance among referents should draw out some distributional tendency of their usage in clauses or sentences. The statistics of each item in the following subsections are based on the text of *čhúmoe minás*, which contains 1,624 nominals as core arguments (subject or object use), peripheral

arguments (genitive, locative, or complement use), and pseudo-object elements which are not argument.

#### 11.4.1. Grammatical roles and information flow

It seems that definiteness affects grammatical roles; an indefinite referent which is newly introduced into the discourse are difficult to place in subject position in a verbal clause and so tends to be in the object position. In Table 143, A indicates the subject argument in transitive clauses, S is the subject of intransitives, and O denotes the object argument including recipient in ditransitive clauses. Given and Accessible referents are definite and New referents are indefinite, at least in the corpus, where there is no proper noun and no unique entity in the real world.

Table 143. Relation between grammatical roles and information flow

	Given		Accessible		New		total	
A	127	92.7	3	2.2	7	5.1	137	100.0
	30.6		6.4		3.2		20.2	
S	104	72.7	8	5.6	31	21.7	143	100.0
	25.1		17.0		14.3		21.1	
O	184	46.1	36	9.0	179	44.9	399	100.0
	41.9		76.6		82.5		58.8	
total	415	61.1	47	6.9	217	32.0	679	100.0
	100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0	

As for verbal clauses, a large number of indefinite referents are brought into the discourse as an object argument at first. Agent role is not suitable for introducing new referents and is less frequently mentioned overtly in storytelling because the given, predictable arguments are freely omissible. Subject position is occasionally used to introduce a new referent and its action as in (338).

- (338) “*akhí*      *akhí*      *sísan*                      *áa*      *káa*  
*akhíl*      *akhíl*      *sís-an-Ø*                      *a'e*      *káaṭ*  
in.this.way    in.this.way    people-INDEF.SG-ABS    1SG:II-GEN    together
- imánóm.*                                      *phalaaná*      *ité*      *díšcum*  
i-man+bá-i-m                                      *phalaaná-Ø*      *ité*      *diš'-c-um*  
3SG.HM:I-become+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS    so.and.so-ABS    that:Y    ground-ADE-ABL

<i>báači</i>	<i>íne</i>	<i>phalaaná</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>
báad-či-e	ín-e	phalaaná	baadšáa-e
following.time-INE-ESS	s/he:DIST-ERG	so.and.so	king-GEN
<i>nookáran</i>	<i>báa'</i>	<i>séibái.</i>	
nookár-an-∅	bá-a-∅	sén-č+bá-i-∅	
servant-INDEF.SG-ABS	COP-1SG-PRS	say-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-PRS	

‘ “Such a person has become a companion for me. That so-and-so came with me from a certain place and he said ‘I’m a king’s servant’.” ’ (čhúmoē minás: #86)

For this reason, the behaviour of Subject arguments is in between that of Agent and Object arguments.

Alternatively, an indefinite referent is often grounded into the discourse with a copular clause. Here I have not counted the subject and complement arguments in copular clauses because Burushaski allows the omission of arguments so that distinguishing between whether an argument in a copular predicate is subject or complement cannot be simply done. Just for reference, 125 (65.1%) out of 192 subject or complement arguments in copular clauses refer to new information.

#### 11.4.2. Grammatical roles and the content of nominal phrases

The definiteness and the shape of nominal phrases correlate with each other, so that the shape shows variation according to grammatical roles. When a relative clause or a demonstrative modifies a noun, then the noun phrase will be mostly definite; and numerals, genitive nouns, and some adjectives sometimes modify nouns and make the noun phrases definite. Whereas, of course, some bare nouns may be definite in context. On the other hand, new reference, which is almost always indefinite, tends to be introduced into a discourse as an object argument in a transitive clause or as a subject argument in an existential copular clause, where are the most focused position, at first.

Table 144 is a cross-classification chart of the grammatical roles in the clauses which are headed by verbs, not copulas,<sup>†61</sup> and the types of the modification and/or head of nominal phrases: Relative clause, Demonstrative, Numeral, Genitive, Adjective including perfective and imperfective participles, Pronoun, and simple Bare noun.<sup>†62</sup> If

<sup>†61</sup> I ruled out the arguments in copular clauses here, because it is hard to formally distinguish subject arguments from complement arguments in copular clauses.

<sup>†62</sup> In Burushaski, personal and demonstrative pronouns can be modified by relative

a nominal had taken two or more modifiers, then I classified it into the class to the left in the table.

Table 144. Relation between grammatical roles and shapes of nominal phrases

	Relative		Pron/Dem/Num		Genitive		Adjective		Bare		total	
A	5	3.6	74	54.0	29	21.2	0	0.0	29	21.2	137	100.0
	33.3		29.4		25.7		0.0		10.7		20.2	
S	8	5.6	64	44.8	29	20.3	9	6.3	33	23.1	143	100.0
	53.3		25.4		25.7		32.1		12.2		21.1	
O	2	0.5	114	28.6	55	13.8	19	47.6	209	52.4	399	100.0
	13.3		45.2		48.7		67.9		77.1		58.8	
total	15	2.2	252	37.1	113	16.6	28	4.1	271	39.9	679	100.0
	100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0	

Comparing with the total average, Agent arguments are clustered on the left side in Table 144, while Object ones are relatively gathered on the right side. Bare forms can represent both definite and indefinite referents but actually Agents and Subjects are more often modified by something than Objects. As for shapes also, the distribution of Subjects (in intransitive clauses) is about average.

#### 11.4.3. How far or where is an argument situated from the predicate?

Besides the shape and information flow, grammatical roles are associated with the position of arguments in clauses. This can be summarized as so-called basic constituent order, which is described as SV/AOV in Burushaski as mentioned in §8.3. It can be simply illustrated by the average distance of all the arguments of each role as shown in Table 145. The arguments labelled with “Copular” are subject or complement arguments in copular clauses, and “Locatives” are spacial peripheral arguments in all kinds of clauses. The scale of distance is based on word number, and when an argument immediately precedes the predicate, then its distance counts 1. Arguments stated after the predicate in utterance are not enumerated in this table.

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clauses, genitives, and adjectives including participles and nouns can also.



Table 145. Distance of the arguments of each role from the predicate

	Agent	Subject	Object	Copular	Locative
DISTANCE FROM THE PREDICATE (WORDS)	3.15	2.13	1.45	1.68	2.27

This difference of distance seems not so important to be especially mentioned when it is treated solely, but the characteristic is actually reflected not only in this facet of constituent order.

Sometimes arguments follow the host predicate in the clause as if they were additional information. That is, it can be regarded that such arguments are not so important that they are not stated inside the intonation unit, i.e. phonological clause, headed by the predicate and situated after the predicate which is so to speak the most peripheral position for assertion of the proposition. Table 146 is a chart showing the number and the rate of the arguments which are expressed after the predicate as arranged in respect of grammatical roles.

Table 146. Rate of following the predicate

	Agent	Subject	Object	Copular	Locative
RATE OF FOLLOWING THE PREDICATE	3.65%	2.80%	1.26%	1.56%	2.89%
	5/137	4/143	5/398	3/192	11/380

The rate of following implies strictly same hierarchy as the distance of arguments for each roles; the farther from the predicate the arguments of a grammatical role are, the more frequently they can be postponed to the predicate. Object role arguments have the strongest linkage to the predicate on the one side, and Agent arguments have the weakest connection with the predicate on the other side.

Calculating the distance of the locative arguments from the predicate precisely, we can divide the distances into three groups by the predicate types as follows:

Table 147. Distance of the locatives of each kind of clauses from the predicate

	Transitive	Intransitive	Copula
DISTANCE FROM THE PREDICATE (WORDS)	2.51	1.77	2.57

Table 147 shows that locatives in verbal clauses are situated between the subject/agent and the predicate, but those in copular clauses are not simply so. “Copular” arguments include both subject and complement, and they are very frequently omitted, either one, or both. For this reason, the Copular arguments and the Locative argument cannot be

equally treated and compared with each other.

(339) Strength of syntactic linkage between the argument of each role and the VERBAL predicate in Burushaski

OBJECT > LOCATIVE > SUBJECT/AGENT

This order (339) also suggests that Burushaski has an accusative characteristic in respect of the informational procedure despite exhibiting ergative alignment in case marking.

### 11.5. Conclusion: Definiteness and specificity

I have surveyed definiteness and specificity of Burushaski in this chapter.

In the case of indefinite nominals, they can take an indefinite suffix and its employment is orientated towards non-identifiably and moreover non-referentially interpreted nouns, rather than identifiable ones; and speakers instead to use an indefinite suffix for negative predication. The suffixes *-an* and *-ik* should be simply labelled “(arbitrary) indefinite suffixes” but their actual occurrence has to be understood with respect to specificity containing speaker-identifiability, referentiality, and polarity where it positively shows some pattern, not complete randomness.

Definiteness is not overtly expressed in morphological shapes in Burushaski, but it influences grammatical roles and therefore syntactic behaviours of arguments. Among all roles, Object arguments are placed in the closest position to the predicate in transitive clauses and most frequently encode indefinite referents, while Subject/Agent arguments are furthest from the predicate and relatively of pronouns or definite nouns shaped with attributive or determinative modification. Newly introduced referents hold more informational importance than already given ones and thus they are referred to rather as Object, appearing next to the predicate which is the centre of information in a clause.

### 11.6. Further issues

Characteristics of nominals such as definiteness and/or specificity will influence the choice of predicate verb stems: transitive with or without the personal prefix, d-less transitive or d-prefixed intransitive, and so on, see §§9 and 10. Burushaski shows a gap in transitivity between case flagging and argument structure, so that, in some cases, an intransitive verb requires an absolutive, not ergative, subject and, besides it, an absolutive (or possibly caseless) object. Anticausative stems will typically be connected with non-referential objects, whereas opposite transitive stems will tend to take

referential objects. Transitive stems with the personal prefix are commonly linked with objects in higher position in the likelihood continuum of object, while transitives without the personal prefix are linked with lower objects. To survey this issue, plenty of natural utterance examples are required. There are too few relevant examples to compare for complete discussion.

In addition, the informational characteristics of nominals will have a relation with topicality, or more broadly functional sentence perspective. The most focused position in a clause is the syntactic slot immediately before the predicate (§8.11), which even a new referent can easily occupy as mentioned in §11.4.3 above. Topics are liable to be formally treated in such a restrained way in discourse that we are faced with difficulty dealing with them. Referentiality is an indispensable condition for topic, but inclination towards topic may be based on specificity and/or definiteness.

Modality has an affinity with definiteness or something similar, surely in general. Realis moods are more connected with referential establishment such as speaker- or hearer-identifiability. Contrary to that, irrealis makes scopally opaque-context (Lyons 1999: 166–70), for example negation invokes more use of indefinite suffixes to overtly draw the semantic scope as seen in §11.3.3 before. Such diversity would be observed in the other irrealis contexts.

As before, there are only short texts to debate these issues, therefore it needs further investigation and future study is desirable.

## CONCLUSIONS

### 12.1. Generalizations

This dissertation consists of an introductory chapter; chapters 1 to 8, which deal with grammar; chapters 9 to 11, which deal with theoretical issues; this chapter, which provides the conclusions; and, lastly, appendices of four texts and a vocabulary section for future reference. In the grammar section, chapter 1 is devoted to the phonology of Eastern Burushaski, chapter 2 to 7 deal the morphology, and then chapter 8 covers the (morpho)syntax.

Introduction: At first I exhibited the basic information on Burushaski in this part. I declared that the subject language of this study is Eastern Burushaski which contains dialects spoken in Hunza and Nager valleys. And in this chapter I explained my fieldwork with the places, the consultants, the time periods, and the methods.

### **Part I – Grammar**

Chapter 1 – The Sound System: This chapter provides phonological information. Burushaski has 36 consonants and 10 vowel sounds: /p, ph, b, m, t, th, d, n, ʈ, ʈh, ɖ, ɕ, ɕh, j, c, ch, ɟ, ɟh, j, k, kh, g, ŋ, q, qh, s, z, š, ʂ, ɣ, h, r, l, w, y, ʏ; i, e, a, o, u, ii, ee, aa, oo, uu/. Briefly, the syllable structure of Burushaski is CCVCC. This language has a pitch accent system. Major phonological and morphophonological rules are also described at the end of this chapter.

Chapter 2 – Descriptive Preliminaries: Here I introduced the terminology for the descriptive unit, such as word, phrase, and clause, used in the dissertation. Then, I defined the eight word classes I used to examine the Burushaski language: noun, pronoun, adjective, numeral, verb, copula, conjunctive, and interjection. There is not a class of adverb to be adopted. This language has five nominal classes, HM, HF, X, Y, and Z, and each noun belongs to some class. HM-class contains human male referents, while HF-class members are human female. X-class is the class of concrete objects such as animals, fruits, and mountains, on the one hand; Y-class is of abstract entities like as buildings, trees, liquids, notions, and so forth, on the other hand. And Z-class is a subclass of Y-class and predominantly consists of temporal nouns.

Chapter 3 – Nouns: This chapter is named as though it only describes nouns, but actually pronouns, adjectives, and numerals can be used for nouns and can take nominal

formatives such as case markers and number markers, so that this chapter deals with these word classes too. Burushaski has a system of declension and conjugation which can be explained with templatic interpretation. Nominals can decline for number and case and sometimes for person. There is a large variety of plural suffixes for nouns, despite the fact that no strict rule to combine a suffix with a nominal base exists. Note, however, that only certain of the plural suffixes are used in a double plural expression. Besides the problematic plural suffixes, we can find two indefinite suffixes *-an* for singular and *-ik* for plural (§11). Some nouns require the personal prefix to regularly index the possessor, and the possession expressed with the personal prefixes is always inalienable. Case suffixes serve to perform the function of case marking; more than a dozen cases can be detected in Burushaski, in particular, locational cases are built up by combinations of a positional case and a directional case. I employ  $-\emptyset$  for the absolutive case, despite the fact that previous research has not used zero morphemes for morphological description. Furthermore I distinguish nouns between with the zero suffix and with no suffix in terms of their syntactic status in clauses.

Chapter 4 – Demonstratives, Personal Pronouns, and Interrogatives: Here treated demonstratives, interrogatives, and personal pronouns. Demonstratives alter their form according to the noun class of the referent. Morphologically and semantically, demonstratives are divided into two groups, i.e. proximal and distal, while interrogatives constitute the third group paralleling demonstratives. Personal pronouns are used for only the first and second person, the third person HM- or HF-class referents are replaced by the corresponding demonstrative pronoun in H-class form which can imply deictic difference unlike the personal pronouns which cannot.

Chapter 5 – Adjectives and Numerals: Some attributive adjectives that modify plural entities take a plural suffix, and some emotional adjectives require the personal prefix to designate the experiencer of the emotion: e.g., *@-yarum* ‘beloved, one’s favorite’. Additionally, numerals are a special kind of adjective and behave in a somewhat different manner from normal adjectives. The imperfective participle and the perfective participle are, in fact, adjectivalised deverbal forms, and therefore half of their morphological and syntactic behaviour is explained by annotations for adjectives. The other half should be understood as retaining verbal characteristics such as governing the arguments, and this will be made clear in the chapter dealing with verbals.

Chapter 6 – Verbals: This is one of the most important chapters in the dissertation, because the predicate indexes argument information by affixes and is seldom omitted in

utterances, so it functions as the centre for clause construction. Verbs show a complicated derivational process, with five choices at the slots [-3] to [-1], i.e. telicity, person, and causative, and the slots [+1] to [+2], i.e. plurality and aspect, for stem formation. These choices with the exception of aspect tend to have fixed combinations with each other and with verbal roots. Their derivational patterns are quite difficult to sum up (the derivation at the [-3] slot will be done in chapter 10). Verbals can denote the subject participant, polarity, and mood as well as, in some cases, the undergoer participant. Thus, the verbal template had developed into something larger and had become able to carry much information at once in this way. Semantically and morphologically there are five moods in Burushaski: present indicative, non-present indicative, imperative, optative, and conditional. Among them, surely “non-present mood” is not familiar to most readers. I have coined this term to represent a notion, that previous studies on Eastern Burushaski did not examine. The non-present suffix *-m* is employed in temporal references to the past or future, the former is realised with perfective aspect and the latter is realised with imperfective aspect. Contrary to this, the present suffix *-∅* is used in situations where an event or the effect of an event is evidently considered to be still present by the speaker, and hence it is used for present time reference or for prospective events which are evidently about to happen. (The use of this zero suffix for the present mood is my original idea as well as the zero suffix for the absolutive case, which I have mentioned in §3.5.1.)

Chapter 7 – Other Morphological Processes: I devoted this chapter to the examination of four types of word formation not related to affixation. Presently, compounding in Eastern Burushaski does not appear to be productive: formerly established compound words are freely used but there seem to be few or no spontaneously built compound words. Additionally, while simple reduplication is seldom used in Eastern Burushaski, but echo-formation, or fixed-segment reduplication, is relatively prevalent in daily conversation. Echo-formation is listed in the characteristics of Indian languages and is reported outside the Indian Subcontinent. This type of formation reduplicates a base form by overwriting a segment with another segment, rendering the reduplicant part meaningless and attaching it to the base part. Echo-formation adds some rough nuance or some semantic modification to the original meaning of a base part. In Burushaski, the primary and secondary fixed segments for echo-formation are /m/ and /š/ respectively. Though the choice of segments depends on each speaker. I attested the fact with the instances here. Onomatopoeic words are familiar in Burushaski. Speakers often use onomatopoeia and modify a sound to express different images on the basis of their sound symbolism. For example, /a/ can be

connected to a louder or more vivid image than /u/ and /i/.

Chapter 8 – Syntax: This chapter is quite important and dealt with syntax and morphosyntax together. After examining the basic constituent order in phrases and clauses, I discussed grammatical relations and agreement systems. In sum, Burushaski verbs govern the cases of core arguments in an ergative alignment, while some verbs show agreement of a personal suffix according to the subject argument, not the absolutive one as ergative languages generally do. Moreover, the personal prefix on verbs agrees with the argument in the undergoer role. Interrogative clauses and syntactic modal expressions basically do not change constituent order but informational operations such as topicalization affects the order to make the target salient in context. To topicalize a constituent it is moved forwards. Burushaski has several converbal forms that are used to combine clauses as well as conjunctives. These forms may be in the process of changing their functions from same-subject conjunctions (as described in Tikkanen (1995)) to free-subject ones, or of getting looser functions with regard to switch-reference.

## **Part II – Theoretical Issues**

Chapter 9 – Transitivity and Its Surroundings: I discussed mainly intransitive stem pairs and transitive stem pairs; each type of pairs shows a gap in the personal prefix slot. Significantly, previous studies did not examine why transitive stem pairs are differentiated from each other. Therefore, I examined the issue myself and concluded that the employment of the prefix slot on a transitive stem is motivated by the likelihood of the presence of an object argument. This likelihood is relative to nominal properties such as nominal class and definiteness. At the end, I drew a transitivity chart of all the Burushaski verbs ordered from ditransitives with the personal prefix as the most transitive stems, then through monotransitives with the prefix, monotransitives without the prefix, and intransitives without the prefix, to intransitives with the personal prefix as the least transitive stem types.

Chapter 10 – *d-* Derivation: I examined the system of verb stem derivations with the *d-* prefix. *d-* remains a controversial prefix. This prefix has been described with a variety of meanings and functions. I discussed the meaning and functions of the prefix in this chapter and listed five functions with a directional suggestion of grammaticalization: venitive => fientive => stative => resultative => anticausative. These functions are realised according to the meaning of verbal bases which may be comprehended from the derivational patterns of the roots with the personal and the

causative prefix. All these functions involve a goal point of action, namely a state, a result, or a location, and therefore share telic characteristics.

Chapter 11 – Definiteness and Specificity: In this chapter, I researched the indefinite markers *-an* and *-ik* and surveyed the morphosyntactic and pragmatic relationship among nominal characteristics on the basis of the database of a text *čúmoe minás*. These indefinite markers are often used in non-specifically interpreted situations and in negative clauses. Speakers choose grammatical roles for referents in utterances on the basis of definiteness and specificity, and it can be said that these properties affect syntactic expressions. Definite referents are apt to be expressed as the actor of transitive clauses, or the subject of copular clauses, with more modifiers and more distant from the predicate, while less specified referents tend to be expressed as the object of transitive clauses, or the complement of copular clauses, near the predicate.

§§9 and 10 dealt with the derivations of verb stem and §11 is devoted to the characteristics of nominals such as definiteness and/or specificity. These topics correlate with each other in morphosyntax. Characteristics of nominals such as definiteness and/or specificity will influence the choice of predicate verb stems: transitive with or without the personal prefix, d-less transitive or d-prefixed intransitive, and so on. Additionally, the informational characteristics of nominals will have a relation with topicality, or more broadly functional sentence perspective. Modality has an affinity with definiteness or something similar, surely in general. Realis moods are more connected with referential establishment such as speaker- or hearer-identifiability. Contrary to that, irrealis makes scopally opaque-context, for example negation invokes more use of indefinite suffixes to overtly draw the semantic scope.

As appendices to the dissertation, I provided texts with morphological analysis (Appendix I) and English translation and vocabulary of about 3,000 words (Appendix II) at the back for future reference.

## 12.2. Next problems to be solved

I treated and described extensive topics in this dissertation, but it cannot be denied that the individual linguistic phenomena are treated only superficially and in a limited way. I think the future development of my study will be based on this work and will solve this deficiency by deeper considerations and research. For a long-term plan, I will strive to extend the research field to the whole of Burushaski and the surrounding languages such as, in particular, Domaaki/Domaa and Shina.



I think the following problems remain to be solved in the dissertation.

As for the phonology, there should be more morphophonological patterns that I have not explained here. For example, the elimination of /h/ does not always happen in certain conditions, I have not grasped when or with what kind of /h/ it will be eliminated among all /h/ initial words. As for long vowels and vowel clusters, I have described them in a completely different way, but they may be treated more closely, in particular, some long vowels may have to be regarded rather as vowel clusters, to all appearances looking like long vowels by chance. There may be some patterns or tendencies of accent position in Burushaski. I guess that indigenous words prefer the initial second syllable to put an accent so that many monosyllabic nouns are apt to put an accent on the plural suffix. This shift is based on the fact that the Burushaski language seems to decide an accent position as counting syllables from the front of words and it realises the accent attraction by prefixation on to verbals.

In morphology, the issue of oblique case marking remains. It is still unclear under what condition an oblique marker will be employed. It may or may not appear in the same morphological situations and so there might be a prosodic motivation or a related explanation. And the dative case marker in the Nager dialect is realised in two forms *-ar* and *-are*, but the condition has not been proved yet.

With respect to syntax, there is a problem with the gap between morphological case alignment given by a predicate and syntactic valency of the predicate. Some verbs require the absolutive subject (and if it has the personal prefix slot then it agrees with the subject) as well as intransitive verbs and also the absolutive object as well as transitive verbs.

Besides these problems, long-term research will deal with the question of how Burushaski and the surrounding languages correlate and influence each other. From my fieldwork I have felt that Domaaki is fairly affected by Burushaski and Domaa is exceedingly affected by Shina. Western Burushaski is influenced by Khowar, and Eastern Burushaski is influenced by Shina likewise. But Shina undergoes some influences caused by contact with Burushaski, too. How and how much have they affected each other? Which grammatical features have become common among languages and in which direction? Similarly to Burushaski, these languages have not been well studied yet, and since Domaaki/Domaa is an extremely endangered language, I will have to go research the languages in future. The only two Domaa speakers do not speak Urdu but both speak the Nager dialect of Burushaski, hence I think I am one of the very few people who are able to do linguistic research on the language.

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## Appendix I – TEXTS

Here I provide with the following four texts, which I recorded on fieldwork, for the appendix to my dissertation: *čhúmoe minás* ('Fish tale') from Ganish in Hunza, *The Story of Hopar* from Hopar in Nager, and *šon gukúr* and *kulió laskír* from Haiderabad in Hunza.

I give these texts with morphological analyses, the gloss, and free translations for future reference.

### I. ČHÚMOE MINÁS (FISH TALE)

Narrator: Muhammad Ali  
Date: 20<sup>th</sup> Oct, 2008  
Time length: 39' 3"  
Location: Toursit Cottage in Karimabad  
Dialect: Hunza (Ganish)  
Genre: Fairy tale  
Remarks: Transcribed with a help of Musa Baig.

#### Synopsis:

One day, a servant of the Royal Household found a gold fish in a river. He brought it to his king and queen. The fish then grinned at the queen, she felt revolting for it and got ill. The king ordered the servant to seek a solution. The servant come out from the palace and went round. He met with a man and they arrived the man's house. There was a daughter of the man. The servant brought her to the queen, and then she told some stories to the queen. The stories of retribution convinced the queen. The daughter and the servant got adopted into the Royal Family and inherited the property of the Household. Then the servant avenged many murdered servants on the queen (and king?).

## čhúmoe minás - 1

*hin baadšáan bam.*  
 hín baadšáa-an-Ø bá-i-m  
 one:H king-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

There was a king.

## čhúmoe minás - 2

*iné baadšáa čhúmoe čhápaṭe naašitáa*  
 iné baadšáa-e čhúmo-e čhap'at-e naašitáa-Ø  
 that:H king-ERG fish-GEN flesh-INS-ESS breakfast-ABS  
*éčóm.*  
 i-t'č+bá-i-m  
 3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

The king was taking his breakfast on fish.

## čhúmoe minás - 3

*iné baadšáa hin jamaaát bom.*  
 iné baadšáa-e hín jamaaát-Ø bá-o-m  
 that:H king-GEN one:H spouse-ABS COP-3SG.HF-NPRS

The king had a wife.

## čhúmoe minás - 4

*iné [ué] óltike subá hamiišá subá čhúmoe*  
 iné [ué] u:ltik-e subá hamiišá subá čhúmo-e  
 that:H [those:H] 3PL.H:II-both-ERG morning always morning fish-GEN  
*čhápaṭe naašitáa éčóm.*  
 čhap'at-e naašitáa-Ø i-t'č+bá-an-m  
 flesh-INS-ESS breakfast-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-NPRS

Both of them were taking breakfast on fish every morning.



čhúmoē minás - 5

*úe hin nookáran bam.*  
*ú-e hín nookár-an-∅ bá-i-m*  
 they:DIST-GEN one:H servant-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

They had a servant.

čhúmoē minás - 6

*iné nookáre [nookár] síndaṭar níin, íne*  
*iné nookár-e [nookár-∅] sínda-aṭ-ar n-i''n ín-e*  
 that:H servant-ERG [servant-ABS] river-INS-DAT go:CP-3SG.HM-CP s/he:DIST-ERG

*baadšáa atíaş qháa súba súba síndaṭar*  
*baadšáa-∅ a-d-e'ş qháaş súba súba sínda-aṭ-ar*  
 king-ABS NEG-TEL-get.up-OPT until morning morning river-INS-DAT

*níin.*  
*n-i''n*  
 go:CP-3SG.HM-CP

The servant went to the riverside every morning before his king woke up.

čhúmoē minás - 7

*síndaṭum čhúmo dúsase iné nookáre diptí*  
*sínda-aṭ-um čhúmo-∅ d-i-gús-as-e iné nookár-e diptí-∅*  
 river-INS-ABL fish-ABS TEL-3SG.X:I-go.out-INF-GEN that:H servant-GEN duty-ABS

*bilúm.*  
*b'il'm*  
 COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

The duty of the servant is catching fish from the river.

## čhúmoe minás - 8

*dipťí bilúm.*  
 dipťí-Ø b'il'm  
 duty-ABS COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

It is [his] duty.

## čhúmoe minás - 9

<i>híkulto</i>	<i>ními</i>	<i>ními</i>	<i>gunc</i>	<i>níčóm</i>
hík-ul-to	ní-m-i	ní-m-i	gunc	ní-č+bá-i-m
one-day-just	go-NPRS-3SG.HM	go-NPRS-3SG.HM	day	go-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

<i>čhúmo</i>	<i>dúšóm</i>	<i>níčóm</i>	<i>etee</i>
čhúmo-Ø	d-u-sú-č+bá-i-m	ní-č+bá-i-m	etee
fish-ABS	TEL-3PL.X:I-bring-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS	go-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS	FIL(?)

<i>baadšáar</i>	<i>éer</i>	<i>čhúmoe</i>	<i>naašitáa</i>
baadšáa-ar	i-ar	čhúmo-e	naašitáa-Ø
king-DAT	3SG.HM:II-DAT	fish-GEN	breakfast-ABS

<i>éčóm,</i>	<i>teí</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>gunc</i>	<i>nínin</i>
i-t'-č+bá-i-m	teíl	n-i-t	gunc	n-i''n-n
3SG.Y:III-do-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS	such	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	day	go:CP-3SG.HM-CP-CP

<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>atíaş</i>	<i>qháa</i>	<i>súba</i>	<i>chor</i>	<i>níninin</i>
baadšáa-e	a-d-e-ş	qháaş	súba	chór	n-i''n-n-n
king-GEN	NEG-TEL-get.up-OPT	until	morning	early	go:CP-3SG.HM-CP-CP-CP

<i>čhúmo</i>	<i>dúcun</i>	<i>éer</i>	<i>tayáar</i>
čhúmo-Ø	d-u-sú-n	i-ar	tayáar
fish-ABS	TEL-3PL.X-bring-CP	3SG.HM:II-DAT	ready

*óčóm.*  
 u-t'-č+bá-i-m  
 3PL.X:II-do-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

One day, he went to catch fish to make the king have breakfast with fish; in this way, everyday he goes to bring out fish at early morning before the king woke up and prepares his breakfast with them.

## čhúmoe minás - 10

*tayáar étase káa híkulto níninin*  
 tayáar i-t'-as-e káaṭ hík-ul-to n-i"-n-n-n  
 ready 3SG.Y:II-do-INF-GEN together one-day-just go:CP-3SG.HM-CP-CP-CP

*barénasar síndaulo jaalí nipiša barénasar han yániše*  
 barén-as-ar sínda-ul-e jaalí-Ø n-biśá barén-as-ar hán yéniṣ-e  
 look-INF-DAT river-LOC-ESS net-ABS CP-throw look-INF-DAT one:X gold-GEN

*čhúmoan duúsimi.*  
 čhúmo-an-Ø d-gús-m-i  
 fish-INDEF.SG-ABS TEL-go.out-NPRS-3SG.HM

For preparing it, one day, he went and threw a net into the river, and watched that a golden fish had been caught out.

## čhúmoe minás - 11

*isé han yániše čhúmoan duúsas ke isé yániše*  
 isé hán yéniṣ-e čhúmo-an-Ø d-gús-as-Ø ké isé yéniṣ-e  
 that:X one:X gold-GEN fish-INDEF.SG-ABS TEL-go.out-INF-ABS LINK that:X gold-GEN

*čhúmo nícininin íne baadśáa nookár buṭ heiráan*  
 čhúmo-Ø n-i-ic'-n-n-n iné baadśáa-e nookár-Ø búṭ heiráan  
 fish-ABS CP-3SG.X:I-see-CP-CP-CP that:H king-GEN servant-ABS much amazed

*imánimi.*  
 i-man'-m-i  
 3SG.HM:I-become-NPRS-3SG.HM

There came out that golden fish, and the king's servant saw the golden fish and was really amazed.

## čhúmoe minás - 12

*íne nookár heiráan níman, sénimi ke "óhoo!*  
 iné nookár-Ø heiráan n-i-man sén-m-i ké óhoo  
 that:H servant-ABS amazed CP-3SG.HM:I-become say-NPRS-3SG.HM LINK INTERJ

*gúncace khoc čúmo dušabáyam,*  
 gunc'c-e khóc čúmo-Ø d-u-gús-č-a+bá-a-a-m  
 day-ADE-ESS these.ones:X fish-ABS TEL-3PL.X:I-go.out-IPFV-1SG+COP-1SG-1SG-NPRS

*khot khúulto be daltás moojizáan maními ke*  
 khót khúulto bé daltás moojizáa-an-Ø man'm-i ké  
 this:Y today what beautiful miracle-INDEF.SG-ABS become-NPRS-3SG.Y LINK

*buṭ daltás čúmoan áar duúsimi" nusén,*  
 búṭ daltás čúmo-an-Ø a'ar d-gús-m-i n-sén  
 much beautiful fish-INDEF.SG-ABS 1SG.II-DAT TEL-go.out-NPRS-3SG.X CP-say

*baadšáa nookár buṭ qhoš imánimi.*  
 baadšáa-e nookár-Ø búṭ qhóš i-man'm-i  
 king-GEN servant-ABS much happy 3SG.HM:I-become-NPRS-3SG.HM

The servant was amazed and said that “Wow! I was taking such fish everyday, but how great miracle the one of today is. A very beautiful fish has come to me.” The king’s servant became so happy.

čúmoe minás - 13

*qhoš nímaninin ke, ye isé han čúmo*  
 qhóš n-i-man'n-n ké yé isé hán čúmo-Ø  
 happy CP-3SG.HM:I-become-CP-CP LINK look:INTERJ that:X one:X fish-ABS

*níyan dími.*  
 n-i-gán d-i'm-i  
 CP-3SG.X:I-take come:PFV-3SG.HM-NPRS-3SG.HM

Becoming happy, he took the fish and came.

čúmoe minás - 14

*síndacum isé han čúmo níya dáa dubaaráa*  
 sínda-c-um isé hán čúmo-Ø n-i-gán dáa dubaaráa  
 river-ADE-ABL that:X one:X fish-ABS CP-3SG.X:I-take again twice

*apáranum, dáa dubaaráa koošiš étum ye isé*  
 a-barén-um dáa dubaaráa koošiš-Ø i-t'-um yé isé  
 NEG-look-ADJVLZ again twice effort-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-ADJVLZ look:INTERJ that:X

*han daltás čúmoan éer duúšas ke isé*  
 hán daltás čúmo-an-Ø i-ar d-gús-as ké isé-Ø  
 one:X beautiful fish-INDEF.SG-ABS 3SG.HM:II-DAT TEL-go.out-INF LINK that:X-ABS

*níya díimi.*  
 n-i-gán d-i"-m-i  
 CP-3SG.X:I-take come:PFV-3SG.HM-NPRS-3SG.HM

In the river there was no such fish being taken out again, and he made effort once again to find any enough beautiful fish and took it out and came.

čhúmo minás - 15

*díininin ke isé čúmo níya*  
 d-i"-n-n-n-n ké isé čúmo-Ø n-i-gán  
 come:CP-3SG.HM-CP-CP-CP-CP LINK that:X fish-ABS CP-3SG.X:I-take

*níininin baadšáa yáare épatulo*  
 n-i"-n-n-n baadšáa-e i-yáar-e i-pat-ul-e  
 go:CP-3SG.HM-CP-CP-CP king-GEN 3SG.HM:I-downwards-ESS 3SG.HM:II-side-LOC-ESS

*phat étimi.*  
 phát i-t'-m-i  
 quitting 3SG.X:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HM

Having come, he brought the fish to the king and handed him it.

čhúmo minás - 16

*“yáa baadšáa salaamát, jáa gúncmo gunc góor čúmo*  
 yá baadšáa salaamát jé-e gunc'-mu-um gunc gu'-ar čúmo-Ø  
 INTERJ king tranquillity I-ERG day-OBL-ABL day 2SG:II-DAT fish-ABS

*dúušabáyam, akhíle číizán*  
 d-u-gús-č-a+bá-a-a-m akhíl-e číz-an-Ø  
 TEL-3PL.X:I-go.out-IPFV-1SG+COP-1SG-1SG-NPRS in.this.way-ESS thing-INDEF.SG-ABS

**atáayurkabáyam.**

a-d-a-yurk-a+bá-a-a-m

NEG-TEL-1SG:III-attain-1SG+COP-1SG-1SG-NPRS

“Oh, greetings my king, I was taking fish for you everyday, but I haven’t acquired such a thing.

## čhúmoe minás - 17

**khúulto akhí daltás yéniše čhúmoan**  
 khúulto akhíl daltás yéniš-e čhúmo-an-Ø  
 today in.this.way beautiful gold-GEN fish-INDEF.SG-ABS

**dáayurkabáa. ye ga.” nusén “barén”**  
 d-a-yurk-a+bá-a-Ø yé gán-i n-sén barén-i  
 TEL-1SG:III-attain-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS look:INTERJ take-IMP.SG CP-say look-IMP.SG

**nusén baadšáar yuíyas ke baadšáa yáre**  
 n-sén baadšáa-ar i-u’-as ké baadšáa-e i-yár-e  
 CP-say king-DAT 3SG.HM:I-give:HX.OBJ-INF LINK king-GEN 3SG.HM:I-before-ESS

**phat teebálate phat étase káa baadšáa nupáran.**  
 phát teebál-aṭ-e phát i-t’-as-e káaṭ baadšáa-e n-barén  
 quitting table-INS-ESS quitting 3SG.X:II-do-INF-GEN together king-ERG CP-look

**heiráan imánimi.**

heiráan i-man’-m-i

surprised 3SG.HM:I-become-NPRS-3SG.HM

I have acquired such a beautiful golden fish today. Now, please take it. Here.” he said and gave it to the king, and then the king let him put it on the table in front of himself and looked at it. He was amazed.

## čhúmoe minás - 18

**heiráan nímanin sénimi ke “ye guse**  
 heiráan n-i-man’-n sén-m-i ké yé guse  
 surprised CP-3SG.HM:I-become-CP say-NPRS-3SG.HM LINK look:INTERJ this:X

*čhúmo nucún úlo yanış mópačiar*  
 čhúmo-∅ n-chú-n úl-e yenış mu-pá-či-ar  
 fish-ABS CP-bring.away-CP inside-ESS queen 3SG.HF:II-site-INF-DAT

*chu ke yánişe ináaman*  
 chú-i ké yéniş-e ináam-an-∅  
 bring.away-IMP.SG LINK queen-ERG award-INDEF.SG-ABS

*gučhíčoo.”*

gu-čhi-č-m-o

2SG:I-give:Y.SG.OBJ-IPFV-NPRS-3SG.HF

He was surprised and said “Now, take this fish and go inside to the queen, and she will praise you.”

čhúmoe minás - 19

*yánişe ináaman gučhíčoo sénase*  
 yéniş-e ináam-an-∅ gu-čhi-č-m-o sén-as-e  
 queen-ERG award-INDEF.SG-ABS 2SG:I-give:Y.SG.OBJ-IPFV-NPRS-3SG.HF say-INF-GEN

*káa, “šuá” nusén in baadšáa nookáre isé čhúmo dáal*  
 káaṭ šuá n-sén ín baadšáa-e nookár-e isé čhúmo-∅ dáal  
 together good CP-say s/he:DIST king-GEN servant-ERG that:X fish-ABS over

*ne núco úlo yanış mópačiar*  
 n-i-t n-i-chú úl-e yenış mu-pá-či-ar  
 CP-3SG.X:II-do CP-3SG.X:I-bring.away inside-ESS queen 3SG.HF:II-site-INE-DAT

*cúmi.*

chú-m-i

bring.away-NPRS-3SG.HM

When the king said “she will praise you”, the servant said “good”, took up the fish, and brought it inside to the queen.

## čhúmoe minás - 20

*yániṣ mopačiar*                      *cúyasar*                      *in*                      *yániṣe*                      *béetumo*  
 yéniṣ mu-pá-či-ar                      chú-as-ar                      ín                      yéniṣ-e                      béet-mu-um  
 queen 3SG.HF:II-site-INE-DAT bring.away-INF-DAT s/he:DIST queen-ERG bed-OBL-ABL

*muyármō*                      *phat*                      *ṭeebálate*                      *phat*                      *nétan,*  
 mu-yár-mu-um                      phát                      ṭeebál-aṭ-e                      phát                      n-i-t'-n  
 3SG.HF:I-before-OBL-ABL quitting table-INS-ESS quitting CP-3SG.X:II-do-CP

*phayúan*                      *muríij*                      *yánumo.*  
 phayú-an-∅                      mu-riiṣ                      i-gán-m-o  
 small.wood.peg-INDEF.SG-ABS 3SG.HF:I-hand 3SG.X:I-take-NPRS-3SG.HF

When he brought it to the queen, she reached a wood peg on a table from her bed and took it in her hand.

## čhúmoe minás - 21

*phayúan*                      *muríij*                      *níya*                      *isé*                      *čhúmo*                      *íti*  
 phayú-an-∅                      mu-riiṣ                      n-i-gán                      isé                      čhúmo-∅                      íti  
 small.wood.peg-INDEF.SG-ABS 3SG.HF:I-hand CP-3SG.X:I-take that:X fish-ABS thither

*pháar*                      *khíti*                      *pháar*                      *íti*                      *pháar*                      *khíti*                      *pháar*  
 phár-⟨:⟩                      khíti                      phár-⟨:⟩                      íti                      phár-⟨:⟩                      khíti                      phár-⟨:⟩  
 turning-EMPH hither turning-EMPH thither turning-EMPH hither turning-EMPH

*étumo.*  
 i-t'-m-o  
 3SG.X:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HF

Having taken a peg in her hand, she turned the fish in every direction.

## čhúmoe minás - 22

*híran*                      *bía*                      *gúsan*                      *bía*                      *itée*  
 hir'-an-∅                      b'-i-∅=a                      gus'-an-∅                      b'-i-∅=a                      ité-∅  
 man-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q woman-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q that:Y-ABS



<b>ṭeṣṭ</b>	<b>étumo</b>	<b>aqhéer,</b>	<b>ṭeṣṭ</b>	<b>étase</b>	<b>gáne</b>	<b>íti</b>
ṭeṣṭ	i-t'-m-o	aaqhér	ṭeṣṭ	i-t'-as-e	gan'e	íti
test	3SG.X:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HF	end	test	3SG.X:II-do-INF-GEN	way-ESS	thither

<b>khíti</b>	<b>pháar</b>	<b>étasar</b>	<b>isé</b>	<b>čhúmo</b>	<b>muyákal</b>
khíti	phár-<:>	i-t'-as-ar	isé	čhúmo-∅	mu-yákal
hither	turning-EMPH	3SG.X:II-do-INF-DAT	that:X	fish-ABS	3SG.HF:I-direction

<b>ne</b>	<b>moóq</b>	<b>numán</b>	<b>déeyasimi.</b>
n-i-t	moóq	n-man	d-i-yas'-m-i
CP-3SG.Y:II-do	grinning	CP-become	TEL-3SG.X:III-laugh-NPRS-3SG.X

She tried to judge whether it is male or female, and finally while she was turning it in many directions the fish had grinned against her.

#### čhúmoe minás - 23

<b>moóq</b>	<b>numán</b>	<b>déeyasase</b>	<b>káa,</b>	<b>iné</b>	<b>baadšáa</b>
moóq	n-man	d-i-yas'-as-e	káaṭ	iné	baadšáa-e
grinning	CP-become	TEL-3SG.X:III-laugh-INF-GEN	together	that:H	king-GEN

<b>yániṣe</b>	<b>mumóos</b>	<b>súmo.</b>
yéniṣ-e	mu-moos'-∅	sú-m-o
queen-ERG	3SG.HF:I-anger-ABS	bring-NPRS-3SG.HF

Having grinned, the king's queen got angry.

#### čhúmoe minás - 24

<b>baadšáa</b>	<b>jamaaáte</b>	<b>yániṣe</b>	<b>mumóos</b>	<b>dusúninin</b>
baadšáa-e	jamaaát-e	yéniṣ-e	mu-moos'-∅	d-sú-n-n-n
king-GEN	spouse-GEN	queen-ERG	3SG.HF:I-anger-ABS	TEL:CP-bring-CP-CP-CP

<b>“khos,</b>	<b>je</b>	<b>ayákal</b>	<b>bes</b>	<b>déeyasibi?</b>
khós-∅	jé	a-yákal	bés	d-i-yas'+b'-i-∅
this.one:X-ABS	I	1SG:I-direction	why	TEL-3SG.X:III-laugh+COP-3SG.X-PRS

The king's queen got angry and said “Why has this fish laughed at me?”

## čhúmoe minás - 25

*khot* [khos] *jáace* *ací* *yasími* *bes*  
 khót-∅ [khós-∅] jé-e-c-e a-ci yas'-m-i bés  
 this.one:Y-ABS [this.one:X-ABS] I-OBL-ADE-ESS 1SG:I-against laugh-NPRS-3SG.X why

*ací* *yasíbí* *ke* *jáar* *maaní* *óotin*  
 a-ci yas+b'-i-∅ ké jé-ar maaní-∅ u'-t'-in  
 1SG:I-against laugh+COP-3SG.X-PRS LINK I-DAT meaning-ABS 3PL.X:III-do-IMP.PL

*nusé*, “*déeyasume*” *maaní* *óotin* *nusénin*,  
 n-sén d-ĩ-yas'-um-e maaní-∅ u'-t'-in n-sén-n  
 CP-say TEL-3SG.X:III-laugh-ADJVLZ-GEN meaning-ABS 3PL.X:III-do-IMP.PL CP-say-CP

*baadšáa* *jamaaáte* *mukhár* *beemáar* *étumo*.  
 baadšáa-e jamaaát-e mu-khar'-∅ beemáar i'-t'-m-o  
 king-GEN spouse-ERG 3SG.HF:I-REFL.PRN-ABS sick 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HF

This laughed at me. Tell me why was this laughing at me”, she said. Saying “Tell me the meaning of its laughter”, the king’s queen got sick.

## čhúmoe minás - 26

*buṭ* *mukhár* *tan* *ne* *mukhár*  
 búṭ mu-khar'-∅ tán-∅ n-i-t mu-khar'-∅  
 much 3SG.HF:I-REFL.PRN-ABS slap.sound-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do 3SG.HF:I-REFL.PRN-ABS

*beemáar* *étumo* “*khusé* *bes* *ací* *yasími*  
 beemáar i'-t'-m-o khusé-∅ bés a-ci yas'-m-i  
 sick 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HF this:X-ABS why 1SG:I-against laugh-NPRS-3SG.X

*ke*” *nusén* *mukhár* *tan* *nétan* *sénumo*  
 ké n-sén mu-khar'-∅ tán-∅ n-i'-t'-n sén-m-o  
 LINK CP-say 3SG.HF:I-REFL.PRN-ABS slap.sound-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP say-NPRS-3SG.HF

*ke*, “*ye*” *muú* *gusé* *ayákal* *moóq* *numán*  
 ké yé muú gusé-∅ a-yákal moóq n-man  
 LINK look:INTERJ now this:X-ABS 1SG:I-direction grinning CP-become

*déeyasum*                      *itée*              *áar*              *maaní*              *étin*”,  
 d-ĩ-γas'-um                      ité-e              a'-ar              maaní-∅              i-t'-in,  
 TEL-3SG.X:III-laugh-ADJVLZ    that:Y-GEN    1SG:II-DAT    meaning-ABS    3SG.X:II-do-IMP.PL

*sénase*              *káa,*              *dáa*              *muú*              *khóle*              *méne*              *maaní*  
 sén-as-e              káat              dáa              muú              khól-e              mén-e              maaní-∅  
 say-INF-GEN    together    again    now    here-ESS    who-ERG    meaning-ABS

*éčuman.*

i-t'-č-m-an  
 3SG.X:II-do-IPFV-NPRS-3PL.H

She slapped herself and got sick, and then said “why does this laugh at me?”, having slapped herself she said “now, tell me the meaning of that it had grinned at me!”, but now who will interpret the meaning here?

čhúmoe minás - 27

*nusén*    *heiráan*    *níman*                      *parišáan*    *nímanin,*                      *baadšáa*  
 n-sén    heiráan    n-i-man                      parišáan    n-i-man'-n                      baadšáa-e  
 CP-say    surprised    CP-3SG.HM:I-become    anxious    CP-3SG.HM:I-become-CP    king-GEN

*ee*    *nookár*              *baadšáa*    *épačiar*                      *ními.*                      “*yáa*              *baadšáa*  
 ee    nookár-∅    baadšáa    i-pá-či-ar                      ní-m-i                      yá              baadšáa  
 FIL    servant-ABS    king              3SG.HM:II-side-INE-DAT    go-NPRS-3SG.HM    INTERJ    king

*salaamát,*    *úne*              *akhílaṭe*                      *ýaniṣ*    *mópačiar*  
 salaamát    ún-e              akhíl-aṭ-e                      yéniṣ    mu-pá-či-ar  
 tranquillity    thou-ERG    in.this.way-INS-ESS    queen    3SG.HF:II-side-INE-DAT

*cu*                      *ke,*    *ináaman*                      *gučhíčoo*  
 chú-i                      ké    ináam-an-∅                      gu-čhí-č+bá-a-∅  
 bring.away-IMP.SG    LINK    award-INDEF.SG-ABS    2SG:I-give:Y.SG.OBJ-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS

*senóm.*                      *khíne*                      *dóon*                      *mukhár*                      *biáe*  
 sén+bá-a-m                      khín-e                      dóon                      mu-khar'-∅                      bíái  
 say+COP-2SG-NPRS    s/he:PROX-ERG    nevertheless    3SG.HF:I-REFL.PRN-ABS    disease

*wášimo.*

i-biśá-m-o

3SG.Y:I-throw-NPRS-3SG.HF

After she said, the king's servant got surprised and uneasy, he then went to the king and said "Oh, greetings my king, you said I should bring the fish to your queen and she would praise me. But she got sick.

čhúmo e minás - 28

<i>isé</i>	<i>čhúmo</i>	<i>íti</i>	<i>pháar</i>	<i>khíti</i>	<i>pháar</i>	<i>ne</i>
isé	čhúmo-Ø	íti	phár-<:>	khíti	phár-<:>	n-i-t
that:X	fish-ABS	thither	turning-EMPH	hither	turning-EMPH	CP-3SG.X:II-do

<i>muyárum</i>	<i>phat</i>	<i>noo</i>	<i>íti</i>	<i>pháar</i>	<i>khíti</i>	<i>pháar</i>
mu-yár-um	phát	n-ü-t	íti	phár-<:>	khíti	phár-<:>
3SG.HF:I-before-ABL	quitting	CP-3PL.H:III-do	thither	turning-EMPH	hither	turning-EMPH

<i>net</i>	<i>ṭeṣṭ</i>	<i>nétanin,</i>	<i>isé</i>	<i>čhúmo</i>	<i>muyákal</i>
n-i-t	ṭeṣṭ	n-i-t'-n-n	isé	čhúmo-Ø	mu-yákal
CP-3SG.X:II-do	test	CP-3SG.X:II-do-CP-CP	that:X	fish-ABS	3SG.HF:I-direction

<i>ne</i>	<i>moóq</i>	<i>numán</i>	<i>déeyasimi</i>	<i>aqhéer,</i>
n-i-t	moóq	n-man	d-ĩ-yas'-m-i	aaqhér
CP-3SG.Y:II-do	grinning	CP-become	TEL-3SG.X:III-laugh-NPRS-3SG.X	end

<i>déeyasas</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>iné</i>	<i>yániṣe</i>	<i>zizíe</i>	<i>mukhár</i>
d-ĩ-yas'-as	ké	iné	yéniṣ-e	zizí-e	mu-khar'-Ø
TEL-3SG.X:III-laugh-INF	LINK	that:H	queen-ERG	mother-ERG	3SG.HF:I-REFL.PRN-ABS

<i>biimáar</i>	<i>étubó.</i>	<i>khóse</i>	<i>bes</i>	<i>ací</i>
biimáar	i-t+bá-o-Ø	khós-e	bés	a-ci
disease	3SG.Y:II-do+COP-3SG.HF-PRS	this.one:X-ERG	why	1SG:I-against

<i>yasími</i>	<i>nusén</i>	<i>mukhár</i>	<i>biimáar</i>	<i>étubó.</i>
yas'-m-i	n-sén	mu-khar'-Ø	biimáar	i-t+bá-o-Ø
laugh-NPRS-3SG.X	CP-say	3SG.HF:I-REFL.PRN-ABS	disease	3SG.Y:II-do+COP-3SG.HF-PRS

She turned the fish in all directions, made us to give it her and she turned it for checking, and then the fish grinned at her finally, so she felt sick.

## čhúmoe minás - 29

*‘muú čhúmoe déeyasum itée maaní*  
 muú čhúmo-e d-i-‘yas’-um ité-e maaní-Ø  
 now fish-GEN TEL-3SG.X:III-laugh-ADJVLZ that:Y-GEN meaning-ABS

*óotase gáne ménan áar*  
 ú-t’-as-e gan’-e mén-an-Ø a’-ar  
 3PL.X:III-do-INF-GEN way-ESS who-INDEF.SG-ABS 1SG:II-DAT

*dícu’ séibó. muú be*  
 d-i-sú-i sén-č+bá-o-Ø muú bé  
 TEL-3SG.HM:I-bring-IMP.SG say-IPFV+COP-3SG.HF-PRS now what

*éčam” nusé baadšáar rapóoṭ étimi.*  
 i-t’-č-a-m n-sén baadšáa-ar rapóoṭ-Ø i-t’-m-i  
 3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-1SG-NPRS CP-say king-DAT report-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HM

She was saying ‘bring anybody who can explain the meanings of the laughter by the fish for me’. What will I do?’ saying so he reported to the king.

## čhúmoe minás - 30

*baadšáar rapóoṭ étas ke, baadšáa sénimi ke*  
 baadšáa-ar rapóoṭ-Ø i-t’-as ké baadšáa-e sén-m-i ké  
 king-DAT report-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-INF LINK king-ERG say-NPRS-3SG.HM LINK

*“dáa khot méne éčuman.*  
 dáa khót-Ø mén-e i-t’-č-m-an  
 again this.one:Y-ABS who-ERG 3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-NPRS-3PL.H

He reported to the king, and the king said “and then, who will do it.

## čhúmoe minás - 31

*čhúmo díčoó úne awá awá ye muú*  
 čhúmo-Ø d-i-sú+bá-a-Ø ún-e awá awá yé muú  
 fish-ABS TEL-3SG.X:I-bring+COP-2SG-PRS thou-ERG yes yes look:INTERJ now

*un zimadáar baa bélaṭe maaní óoçar*  
 ún-∅ zimadáar bá-a-∅ bél-aṭ-e maaní-∅ uṭ-t-č-ar  
 thou-ABS responsible COP-2SG-PRS how-INS-ESS meaning-ABS 3PL.X:III-do-IPFV-DAT

*men dúšó ke hir diš*  
 mén-∅ d-u-sú-č+bá-a-∅ ké hir'-∅ d-i-sú-č  
 who-ABS TEL-3PL.H:I-bring-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS LINK man-ABS TEL-3SG.HM:I-bring-IPFV

*híran díšó gúsan*  
 hir'-an-∅ d-i-sú-č+bá-a-∅ gus'-an-∅  
 man-INDEF.SG-ABS TEL-3SG.HM:I-bring-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS woman-INDEF.SG-ABS

*dumúšó úne rái.*  
 d-mu-sú-č+bá-a-∅ ún-e rái  
 TEL-3SG.HF:I-bring-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS thou-GEN desire

You got the fish, so that's okay, now, you are responsible for looking for somebody who make the meanings, so that you can freely choose whether man or woman for the task.

čhúmoe minás - 32

*ámulum men dúšó ke ye*  
 ámul-um mén-∅ d-u-sú-č+bá-a-∅ ké yé  
 where-ABL who-ABS TEL-3PL.H:I-bring-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS LINK look:INTERJ

*gúimo rái móor maaní óoti" sénase*  
 gu-í-mu-e rái mu'-ar maaní-∅ uṭ-t-i sén-as-e  
 2SG:I-self-OBL-GEN desire 3SG.HF:II-DAT meaning-ABS 3PL.X:III-do-IMP.SG say-INF-GEN

*káa, in baadšáa nookáre, "ye šuá" nusén ité*  
 káaṭ ín baadšáa-e nookár-e yé šuá n-sén ité  
 together s/he:DIST king-GEN servant-ERG look:INTERJ good CP-say that:Y

*baadšáa mahálcum duúsimi.*  
 baadšáa-e mahál-c-um d-gús-m-i  
 king-GEN court-ADE-ABL TEL-go.out-NPRS-3SG.HM

From wherever, whoever you bring is by your free hand, you have to make the meanings for her" said the king, and then the king's servant said "okay" and went out from the king's court.

## čhúmoe minás - 33

<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>mahálcum</i>	<i>duúsin</i>	<i>guchárimi</i>	<i>guchárimi</i>
baadšáa-e	mahál-c-um	d-gús-n	guchár-m-i	guchár-m-i
king-GEN	court-ADE-ABL	TEL:CP-go.out-CP	move-NPRS-3SG.HM	move-NPRS-3SG.HM
<i>guchárimi</i>	<i>guchárimi</i>	<i>isé</i>	<i>han</i>	<i>épači</i>
guchár-m-i	guchár-m-i	isé	hán	i-pá-či-e
move-NPRS-3SG.HM	move-NPRS-3SG.HM	that:X	one:X	3SG.HM:II-side-INE-ESS
<i>phítian</i>	<i>níya</i>	<i>guchárimi.</i>		
phítī-an-∅	n-i-gán	guchár-m-i		
thick.pancake-INDEF.SG-ABS	CP-3SG.X:I-take	move-NPRS-3SG.HM		

Having gone out from the court, he walked long as taking only a phiti.

## čhúmoe minás - 34

<i>nukúcar</i>	<i>nukúcar</i>	<i>nukúcarin</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>yuúči</i>	<i>qhoş</i>
n-guchár	n-guchár	n-guchár-n	ké	i-uṭ-či-e	qhóş-∅
CP-move	CP-move	CP-move-CP	LINK	3SG.HM:I-foot-INE-ESS	itch-ABS

*bim.*

b'-i-m

COP-3SG.X-NPRS

By the long walking, he got dull pain on his foot.

## čhúmoe minás - 35

<i>ye</i>	<i>guchárasar</i>	<i>matháan</i>	<i>díšanar</i>	<i>níasar</i>	<i>hin</i>
yé	guchár-as-ar	mathán-<?>	diš'-an-ar	ní-as-ar	hín
look:INTERJ	move-INF-DAT	far-EMPH	place-INDEF.SG-DAT	go-INF-DAT	one:H

<i>ée</i>	<i>káa</i>	<i>rafiqan</i>	<i>káa</i>	<i>imánimi.</i>
i-e	káaṭ	rafiq-an-∅	káaṭ	i-man'-m-i
3SG.HM:II-GEN	together	companion-INDEF.SG-ABS	together	3SG.Y:I-become-NPRS-3SG.Y

Thus, when he arrived at a far place then there came a man and became his companion.

## čhúmoe minás - 36

*iné raffiq káa níma, iné [ué] óltike*  
 iné raffiq-e káaṭ ní-m-an iné [ué] u-ltik-e  
 that:H companion-GEN together go-NPRS-3PL.H that:H [those:H] 3PL.H:II-both-ERG

*gantálí čayabár éčume, “bes*  
 gan-tali čayabár-Ø i-t-č-um-e bés  
 way-via conversation-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS why

*dukóowáa bes atúkowáa be*  
 d-gu-+bá-a-Ø bés a-d-gu-+bá-a-Ø bé  
 come:PFV-2SG+COP-2SG-PRS why NEG-come:PFV-2SG+COP-2SG-PRS what

*manílá be oómanilá úne bésan*  
 man+b-il-Ø bé aú-man+b-il-Ø ún-e bés-an  
 become+COP-3SG.Y-PRS what NEG-become+COP-3SG.Y-PRS thou-ERG what-INDEF.SG

*duró éčóm bésan*  
 duró-Ø i-t-č+bá-a-m bés-an-Ø  
 work-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV+COP-2SG-NPRS what-INDEF.SG-ABS

*ayéčom” sénase káa óltikane*  
 a-i-t-č+bá-a-m sén-as-e káaṭ u-ltik-an-e  
 NEG-3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV+COP-2SG-NPRS say-INF-GEN together 3PL.H:II-both-INDEF.SG-ERG

*mulaaqáat ne gánulo gapšáp éčume*  
 mulaaqáat-Ø n-i-t gan-ul-e gapšáp-Ø i-t-č-um-e  
 encounter-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do way-LOC-ESS chat-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS

*guchárasar bas akhí akhí nétanininin.*  
 guchár-as-ar bás akhíl akhíl n-i-t-n-n-n-n  
 move-INF-DAT enough in.this.way in.this.way CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP-CP-CP-CP

[He and] the companion went together as having a conversation each other on the way, that is, why you have come or not, how is it or not, what were you doing or not, with saying in such a way they introduced themselves and knew each other enough on the way.



## čhúmoe minás - 37

*“baadšáa bam, iné baadšáale nookár báyam,*  
 baadšáa-Ø bá-i-m iné baadšáa-al-e nookár-Ø bá-a-a-m  
 king-ABS COP-3SG.HM-NPRS that:H king-LOC-ESS servant-ABS COP-1SG-1SG-NPRS

*baadšáa háale nookár báyam, inéer subáa*  
 baadšáa-e ha'-al-e nookár-Ø bá-a-a-m iné-ar subáa  
 king-GEN house-LOC-ESS servant-ABS COP-1SG-1SG-NPRS that:H-DAT morning

*subáa čhúmoe čhápaṭe naašitáa éetas jáa*  
 subáa čhúmo-e čhap'-aṭ-e naašitáa-Ø i'-t'-as-Ø jáe-e  
 morning fish-GEN flesh-INS-ESS breakfast-ABS 3SG.HM:III-do-INF-ABS I-GEN

*dipṭí bilúm.*  
 dipṭí-Ø b'il'-m  
 duty-ABS COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

“There was a king and I was a servant of the king, I was a servant in his house; Making his breakfast with fish every morning was my duty.

## čhúmoe minás - 38

*baadšáa ke zizí yániṣ atlaṣ qháa síndacar*  
 baadšáa ké zizí yéniṣ-Ø a-d-e-ṣ qháaṣ sínda-c-ar  
 king LINK mother queen-ABS NEG-TEL-get.up-OPT until river-ADE-DAT

*náan čhúmo dúcuninin óor naašitáa tayáar*  
 n-a'-n čhúmo-Ø d-u-sú-n-n-n óor naašitáa-Ø tayáar  
 go:CP-1SG-CP fish-ABS TEL-3PL.X:I-bring-CP-CP-CP and breakfast-ABS ready

*éčabáyam.*  
 i'-t'-č-a+bá-a-a-m  
 3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-1SG+COP-1SG-1SG-NPRS

Before the king and his queen woke up, I used to go to a river to catch fish and prepare breakfast.

## čhúmoe minás - 39

<i>ité</i>	<i>híkulto</i>	<i>barénasar,</i>	<i>síndacar</i>	<i>náanininin</i>	<i>jaalí</i>
ité-∅	hík-ul-to	barén-as-ar	sínda-c-ar	n-aːn-n-n-n	jaalí-∅
that:Y-ABS	one-day-just	look-INF-DAT	river-ADE-DAT	go:CP-1SG-CP-CP-CP-CP	net-ABS
<i>bišáyamar</i>	<i>barénamar</i>	<i>har</i>	<i>yániṣe</i>	<i>čhúmoan</i>	
bišá-a-um-ar	barén-a-um-ar	hár	yéniṣ-e	čhúmo-an-∅	
throw-1SG-ADJVLZ-DAT	look-1SG-ADJVLZ-DAT	every	gold-GEN	fish-INDEF.SG-ABS	

*duúsimi.*

d-gús-m-i

TEL-go.out-NPRS-3SG.X

One day I saw it; having gone to the river, I threw a net and then saw that there came a fish which is covered with gold everywhere.

## čhúmoe minás - 40

<i>isé</i>	<i>duúsase</i>	<i>káa</i>	<i>buṭ</i>	<i>qhoš</i>	<i>namánin,</i>	<i>ye</i>
isé-∅	d-gús-as-e	káaṭ	búṭ	qhóš	n-a-manˈn	yé
that:X-ABS	TEL-go.out-INF-GEN	together	much	happy	CP-1SG:I-become-CP	look:INTERJ

<i>isé</i>	<i>han</i>	<i>níya</i>	<i>dáanin</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>
isé	hán-∅	n-i-gán	d-aːn-n	baadšáa-∅
that:X	one:X-ABS	CP-3SG.X:I-take	come:CP-1SG-CP-CP	king-ABS

<i>éetiram,</i>	<i>‘akhí</i>	<i>čhúmoan</i>	<i>duúsimi</i>	<i>ke</i>
ĩˈltir-a-m	akhíl	čhúmo-an-∅	d-gús-m-i	ké
3SG.HM:III-show-1SG-NPRS	in.this.way	fish-INDEF.SG-ABS	TEL-go.out-NPRS-3SG.X	LINK

<i>khúulto,</i>	<i>yáa</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>salaamát’</i>	<i>nusé</i>	<i>éeltiramar</i>
khúulto	yá	baadšáa	salaamát	n-sén	ĩˈltir-a-um-ar
today	INTERJ	king	tranquillity	CP-say	3SG.HM:III-show-1SG-ADJVLZ-DAT

<i>íne</i>	<i>‘yániṣ</i>	<i>mópačiar</i>	<i>chu</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>yániṣe</i>
ín-e	yéniṣ	muˈpá-či-ar	chú-i	ké	yéniṣ-e
s/he:DIST-GEN	queen	3SG.HF:II-side-INE-DAT	bring.away-IMP.SG	LINK	queen-ERG

*ináaman*                      *gučhíčoo'*                                      *sénas*    *ke*    *dáa*    'šúa'  
 ináam-an-∅                      gu-čhi'-č-m-o                                      sén-as    ké    dáa    šúa  
 award-INDEF.SG-ABS    2SG:I-give:Y.SG.OBJ-IPFV-NPRS-3SG.HF    say-INF    LINK    again    good

*nusé*    *dáa*    *baadšáa*    *yáarum*                                      *dáal*    *ne*  
 n-sén    dáa    baadšáa-e    i-yáar-um                                      dáal    n-i-t  
 CP-say    again    king-GEN    3SG.HM:I-downwards-ABL    over    CP-3SG.X:II-do

*dumúco*                                      *yániš*    *mópačiar*                                      *chúyamar*  
 d-mu-sú-a-∅                                      yéniš    mu-pá-či-ar                                      chú-a-um-ar  
 TEL-3SG.HF:I-bring-1SG-PRS    queen    3SG.HF:II-side-INE-DAT    bring.away-1SG-ADJVLZ-DAT

*in*                      *yániše*    *phayúan*                                      *muríj*                      *níya*  
 ín                      yéniš-e    phayú-an-∅                                      mu-riiŋ                      n-i-gán  
 s/he:DIST    queen-ERG    small.wood.peg-INDEF.SG-ABS    3SG.HF:I-hand    CP-3SG.X:I-take

*híran*                                      *bía*                                      *gúsan*                                      *bía*                                      *teṣṭ*  
 hir'-an-∅                                      b'-i-∅=a                                      gus'-an-∅                                      b'-i-∅=a                                      teṣṭ  
 man-INDEF.SG-ABS    COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q    woman-INDEF.SG-ABS    COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q    test

*étase*                                      *gáne*    *íti*    *pháar*                                      *khíti*    *pháar*  
 i-t'-as-e                                      gan'e    íti    phár-<ɣ>                                      khíti    phár-<ɣ>  
 3SG.X:II-do-INF-GEN    way-ESS    thither    turning-EMPH    hither    turning-EMPH

*étumo.*

i-t'-m-o

3SG.X:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HF

'I was overjoyed to catch it up, so I brought it up to the king to show; 'I got such a fish today! Oh, greetings my king!' as saying so I showed it to the king, and then the king said 'bring it to the queen and you'll be praised by her', I replied 'okay', picked it up from the king, and brought it to the queen; so the queen took a small peg and began to check the fish for whether it was male or female as turning up and down.

čhúmoe minás - 41

*étase*                                      *káa*                      *isé*                      *čhúmo*                      *muyákal*  
 i-t'-as-e                                      káaṭ                      isé                      čhúmo-∅                      mu-yákal  
 3SG.X:II-do-INF-GEN    together    that:X    fish-ABS    3SG.HF:I-direction

*déeyayasimi.*

d-ī-γas'-m-i

TEL-3SG.X:III-laugh-NPRS-3SG.X

Doing that, then the fish laughed at her.

čhúmoe minás - 42

<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>γániṣ</i>	<i>muyákal</i>	<i>déeyayase</i>	<i>káa</i>	<i>muú</i>
baadšáa-e	γéniṣ	mu-yákal	d-ī-γas'-as-e	káaṭ	muú
king-GEN	queen	3SG.HF:I-direction	TEL-3SG.X:III-laugh-INF-GEN	together	now

<i>mokhár</i>	<i>biimáar</i>	<i>étubó.</i>
mu-khar'-∅	biimáar	ī-t+bá-o-∅
3SG.HF:I-REFL.PRN-ABS	disease	3SG.Y:II-do+COP-3SG.HF-PRS

The fish's laughing at her caused her to get sick at the time.

čhúmoe minás - 43

<i>ǰáace</i>	<i>čhúmo</i>	<i>ací</i>	<i>γásibí,</i>	<i>aa</i>	<i>ací</i>
ǰé-e-c-e	čhúmo-∅	a-ci	γas+b'-i-∅	aa	a-ci
I-OBL-ADE-ESS	fish-ABS	1SG:I-against	laugh+COP-3SG.X-PRS	FIL	1SG:I-against

<i>nuqásin</i>	<i>moóq</i>	<i>maníbí.</i>	<i>itée</i>	<i>áar</i>	<i>maaní</i>
n-γas'-n	moóq	man+b'-i-∅	ité-e	a'-ar	maaní-∅
CP-laugh-CP	grinning	become+COP-3SG.X-PRS	that:Y-GEN	1SG:II-DAT	meaning-ABS

*éti.*

ī-t'-i

3SG.X:II-do-IMP.SG

‘The fish has laughed at me, it grinned at me. Tell me the meaning of that.

čhúmoe minás - 44

<i>men</i>	<i>dúšóo</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ni'</i>	<i>nusén</i>
mén-∅	d-u-sú-č+bá-a-∅	ké	ní-i	n-sén
who-ABS	TEL-3PL.H:I-bring-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS	LINK	go-IMP.SG	CP-say

*máyo*                      *náa*                      *dáusubó.*  
 máyo-Ø                      n-aːt                      d-a-gús+bá-o-Ø  
 compensation-ABS    CP-1SG:III-do    TEL-1SG:I-go.out+COP-3SG.HF-PRS

Bring me somebody, go!’ said the queen, and she imposed the compensation and sent me out.

čhúmoe minás - 45

*nuséninin,*    *han*    *phítian*                      *čapatian*                      *áa*                      *káa*  
 n-sén-n-n    hán    phítian-an                      čapatí-an-Ø                      aːe                      káaɬ  
 CP-say-CP-CP    one:X    thick.pancake-INDEF.SG    chapatti-INDEF.SG-ABS    1SG:II-GEN    together  
  
*níyaninin.*                      *aa*    *níyanin.*  
 n-i-gán-n-n                      aa    n-i-gán-n  
 CP-3SG.X:I-take-CP-CP    FIL    CP-3SG.X:I-take-CP

Having said, I took a phiti.

čhúmoe minás - 46

*dáayabáa*                                      *gusé*    *čapatí*                      *áa*                      *káa*  
 d-aːa+bá-a-Ø                                      gusé    čapatí-Ø                      aːe                      káaɬ  
 come:PFV-1SG-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS    this:X    chapatti-ABS    1SG:II-GEN    together  
  
*níyan*                      *dáayabáa*                                      *‘móo*                      *men*  
 n-i-gán                      d-aːa+bá-a-Ø                                      muːar                      mén-Ø  
 CP-3SG.X:I-take    come:PFV-1SG-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS    3SG.HF:II-DAT    who-ABS  
  
*dúšam*                                      *méne*    *atúšam’*  
 d-u-sú-č-a-m                                      mén-Ø    a-d-u-sú-č-a-m  
 TEL-3PL.H:I-bring-IPFV-1SG-NPRS    who-ABS    NEG-TEL-3PL.H:I-bring-IPFV-1SG-NPRS  
  
*séime*                      *duúsabáa,”*                                      *nuséninin.*  
 sén-č-um-e                      d-gús-a+bá-a-Ø                                      n-sén-n-n  
 say-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS    TEL-go.out-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS    CP-say-CP-CP

I have come as taking the phiti with me, while saying ‘whom will I bring to her and whom will not I bring to her’ I have come” [the servant] said.

## čhúmoe minás - 47

*ye teí nusén. raffiq óltike čáyamiŋ*  
*yé teíl n-sén raffiq u-ltik-e čáya-miŋ-∅*  
 look:INTERJ in.that.way CP-say companion 3PL.H:II-both-ERG story-PL-ABS

*éčume guchárčume piadál gánane*  
*ĩ-t'-č-um-e guchár-č-um-e piaadál gan'-an-e*  
 3PL.Y:II-do-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS move-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS on.foot way-INDEF.SG-GEN

*hóle guchárasaŋe, hitháanar níasar çhámine*  
*hól-e guchár-as-aŋ-e hík-tháan-ar ní-as-ar çhámine*  
 outside-ESS move-INF-INS-ESS one-place-DAT go-INF-DAT hungry

*umánuman óltik çhámine númanininin,*  
*u-man'-m-an u-ltik-∅ çhámine n-u-man'-n-n*  
 3PL.H:I-become-NPRS-3PL.H 3PL.H:II-both-ABS hungry CP-3PL.H:I-become-CP-CP-CP

*baadšáa nookáre sénimi ke, "jáale*  
*baadšáa-e nookár-e sén-m-i ké jé-al-e*  
 king-GEN servant-ERG say-NPRS-3SG.HM LINK I-LOC-ESS

*phítian bi.*  
*phítĩ-an-∅ b'-i-∅*  
 thick.pancake-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.X-PRS

He said so. The companions both were going along talking and when they reached a place out of a pedestrian way then they felt hungry; And the king's servant said "I have a phiti.

## čhúmoe minás - 48

*isé šíčan ye qha hurú" nusé*  
*isé-∅ ší-č-an-m yé qhát hurúŋ-i n-sén*  
 that:X-ABS eat:HX.SG.OBJ-IPFV-1PL-NPRS look:INTERJ down sit-IMP.SG CP-say

*hitháne yálanulo ámulo qha nuúruŋininin.*  
*hík-tháan-e i-yal'-an-ul-e ámul-e qhát n-hurúŋ-n-n-n*  
 one-place-ESS 3SG.Y:I-shadow-INDEF.SG-LOC-ESS where-ESS down CP-sit-CP-CP-CP-CP

Let's eat it, sit down" said [the servant] and they sat down there in the shade.

## čhúmoe minás - 49

<i>isé</i>	<i>phíti</i>	<i>lap</i>	<i>traj</i>	<i>nétaninin,</i>	<i>iné</i>	
isé	phíti-∅	lap	tráj	n-i-t'-n-n-n	iné	
that:X	thick.pancake-ABS	half.part	half	CP-3SG.X:II-do-CP-CP-CP	that:H	
<i>rafiqar</i>	<i>yuúmi,</i>			<i>isé</i>	<i>lap</i>	<i>phíti</i>
rafiq-ar	i-u'-m-i			isé	lap	phíti-∅
companion-DAT	3SG.HM:I-give:HX.OBJ-NPRS-3SG.HM			that:X	half.part	thick.pancake-ABS
<i>baadšaa</i>	<i>nookáre</i>	<i>şími.</i>				
baadšaa-e	nookár-e	şí-m-i				
king-GEN	servant-ERG	eat:HX.SG.OBJ-NPRS-3SG.HM				

The king's servant tore the phiti in half and gave it to the companion, and ate the [rest] half phiti.

## čhúmoe minás - 50

<i>níşinin</i>	<i>múşate</i>	<i>baadšaa</i>	<i>nookáre</i>	<i>sénimi</i>
n-i-şí-n-n	muş'at-e	baadšaa-e	nookár-e	sén-m-i
CP-3SG.X:I-eat:HX.SG.OBJ-CP-CP	edge-INS-ESS	king-GEN	servant-ERG	say-NPRS-3SG.HM
<i>ke,</i>	<i>“şúkuro alhámdu+lilláa,</i>	<i>lap</i>	<i>jéi</i>	<i>şám,</i>
ké	şúkuro+alhámdu+lilláa	lap-∅	je-í	şí-a-m
LINK	thanksgiving+praise+to.the.God	half.part-ABS	1SG:I-self	eat:HX.SG.OBJ-1SG-NPRS
<i>lap</i>	<i>chílaye</i>	<i>étam”,</i>	<i>sénimi.</i>	
lap-∅	chil'aye	i-t'-a-m	sén-m-i	
half.part-ABS	water-INSTRUCTIVE	3SG.X:II-do-1SG-NPRS	say-NPRS-3SG.HM	

Having eaten it the king's servant said “Thank God, I ate the half part by myself, and waisted the [rest] part”.

## čhúmoe minás - 51

<i>“lap</i>	<i>jéi</i>	<i>şám,</i>	<i>lap</i>	<i>chílaye</i>
lap-∅	je-í	şí-a-m	lap-∅	chil'aye
half.part-ABS	1SG:I-self	eat:HX.SG.OBJ-1SG-NPRS	half.part-ABS	water-INSTRUCTIVE

*étam”, nuséninin. sénase káa in baadšáa*  
 i-t'-a-m n-sén-n-n sén-as-e káať ín baadšáa-e  
 3SG.X:II-do-1SG-NPRS CP-say-CP-CP say-INS-GEN together s/he:DIST king-GEN

*nookáre káaťum iné rafíq heiráan*  
 nookár-e káať-um iné rafíq-Ø heiráan  
 servant-GEN together-ADJVLZ that:H companion-ABS surprised

*imánimi.*

i-man'-m-i  
 3SG.HM:I-become-NPRS-3SG.HM

For his saying, the companion accompanying the king's servant was surprised.

čhúmoe minás - 52

*heiráan níma sénimi ke “khos*  
 heiráan n-i-man sén-m-i ké khós-Ø  
 surprised CP-3SG.HM:I-become say-NPRS-3SG.HM LINK this.one:X-ABS

*chílaŋe éčóm ke jáar bes*  
 chil'-aŋe i-t'-č+bá-a-m ké jé-ar bés  
 water-INSTRUCTIVE 3SG.X:II-do-IPFV+COP-2SG-NPRS LINK I-DAT why

*joómi jáa bes šlam ní”. khíne*  
 ja-u'-m-a jé-e bés ší-a-m níí khín-e  
 1SG:I-give:HX.OBJ-NPRS-2SG I-ERG why eat:HX.SG.OBJ-1SG-NPRS TEG.Q s/he:PROX-GEN

*chílaŋe imánas bim ke khíne*  
 chil'-aŋe i-man'-as b'-i-m ké khín-e  
 water-INSTRUCTIVE 3SG.X:I-become-INF COP-3SG.X-NPRS LINK s/he:PROX-ERG

*gúse nusé in sóočar wálimi.*  
 gúse-Ø n-sén ín-Ø sóoč-ar i-bal'-m-i  
 this:X-ABS CP-say s/he:DIST-ABS thought-DAT 3SG.HM:I-fall-NPRS-3SG.HM



*ée káaṭum raffiq.*  
 i-e káaṭ-um raffiq-Ø  
 3SG.HM:II-GEN together-ADJVLZ companion-ABS

Having been surprised he said “why did you give me it as feeling that to be a waste, [if you did not give me] why did I eat it, or not?”. His part became a waste, the companion accompanying the servant said so and went into consideration.

## čhúmoē minás - 53

*dáa teí numá núun núun núun*  
 dáa teíl n-man n-u''n n-u''n n-u''n  
 again in.that.way CP-become go:CP-3PL.H-CP go:CP-3PL.H-CP go:CP-3PL.H-CP

*núun guchárčuman, núun núuninin*  
 n-u''n guchár-č-m-an n-u''n n-u''n-n-n  
 go:CP-3PL.H-CP move-IPFV-NPRS-3PL.H go:CP-3PL.H-CP go:CP-3PL.H-CP-CP-CP

*barénasar hitháane bar chílan dími.*  
 barén-as-ar hík-tháan-e bar chíl'an-Ø d-i''m-i  
 look-INF-DAT one-place-ESS gulley water-INDEF.SG-ABS come:PFV-3SG.Y-NPRS-3SG.Y

They went long in that way, and found gulley water coming out at a place.

## čhúmoē minás - 54

*toq chílan bilúm bar chílan.*  
 toq chíl'an-Ø b'il'm bar chíl'an-Ø  
 mud water-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.Y-NPRS gulley water-INDEF.SG-ABS

It was a muddy gulley water.

## čhúmoē minás - 55

*ité toq chílulo, in baadšáa nookáre yuúčim*  
 ité toq chíl'ul-e ín baadšáa-e nookár-e i-uṭ'či-um  
 that:Y mud water-LOC-ESS s/he:DIST king-GEN servant-GEN 3SG.HM:I-foot-INE-ABL

*táučij ke ité húčue káa humá ne*  
 táuc-čij ké ité húčo-e káaṭ humá-Ø n-i-t  
 leather.puttee-PL LINK that:Y leather.high.boot-GEN together ford-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do

*íti dúusimi.*  
 íti d-u-gús-m-i  
 thither TEL-3PL.X:I-go.out-NPRS-3SG.HM

In the muddy water, the king's servant put out his puttees from his legs and went over there wading across a ford with high boots.

čhúmoe minás - 56

*íne ámin rafiiqan baadšaa nookáre káa*  
 ín-e ámin raffiiq-an-Ø baadšaa-e nookár-e káaṭ  
 s/he:DIST-ERG which:H companion-INDEF.SG-ABS king-GEN servant-GEN together

*imánóm ke íne yuúčim*  
 i-man+bá-i-m ké ín-e i-uṭ-č-i-um  
 3SG.HM:I-become+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS LINK s/he:DIST-GEN 3SG.HM:I-foot-INE-ABL

*húču dúisinin, čhu ke čhu*  
 húčo-Ø d-u-gús-n-n čhú ké čhú  
 leather.high.boot-ABS TEL:CP-3PL.X:I-go.out-CP-CP barefoot LINK barefoot

*duúsasate, íne rafiiqe yuúṭijulo*  
 d-u-gús-as-aṭ-e ín-e raffiq-e i-uṭ-iṅ-ul-e  
 TEL-3PL.X:I-go.out-INF-INS-ESS s/he:DIST-GEN companion-GEN 3SG.HM:I-foot-PL-LOC-ESS

*multán duúsimi.*  
 multán-Ø d-gús-m-i  
 blood-ABS TEL-go.out-NPRS-3SG.Y

The companion who is accompanying the king's servant also put out his boots from his legs to become completely barefoot, but in putting out his legs [were injured and] bled.

## čhúmoe minás - 57

<i>yáare</i>	<i>hirúmišo</i>	<i>dayó</i>	<i>bíma?</i>	
i-yáar-e	hir'-um-išo	dan'-čo-∅	b'-ién-m=a	
3SG.Y:I-downwards-ESS	sharp-ADJVLZ-PL	stone-PL-ABS	COP-3PL.X-NPRS=Q	
<i>ek</i>	<i>bootále</i>	<i>čurúkičij</i>	<i>bicúma?</i>	<i>simánc</i>
ék-∅	bootál-e	čurúk-ičij-∅	b'-ic-m=a	sim'-anc-∅
those.ones:Y-ABS	bottle-GEN	fragment-PL-ABS	COP-3PL.Y-NPRS=Q	wire-PL-ABS
<i>bíma?</i>				
b'-ién-m=a				
COP-3PL.X-NPRS=Q				

Were there sharp stones at our feet? Were those the fragments of bottle(s)? Or wires?

## čhúmoe minás - 58

<i>yuúťijce</i>	<i>qar</i>	<i>néetan</i>	<i>multáij</i>
i-uť-ij-c-e	qár-∅	n-i't'-n	multán-ij-∅
3SG.HM:I-foot-PL-ADE-ESS	scratching-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP	blood-PL-ABS
<i>déegusimi.</i>			
d-i'gús-m-i			
TEL-3PL.Y:III-go.out-NPRS-3PL.Y			

Having scratched on his legs, much blood trickled down.

## čhúmoe minás - 59

<i>iláaj</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>barcíncum</i>	<i>galáas</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>íti</i>
iláaj-∅	n-i't	bacín-c-um	galáas-∅	n-i-gán	íti
remedy-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	thigh-ADE-ABL	glass-ABS	CP-3PL.Y:I-take	thither
<i>duwášanin</i>	<i>táučij</i>	<i>húčo</i>	<i>nóotan</i>		
d-gús-an-n	táuč-čij	húčo-∅	n-u't'-n		
TEL:CP-go.out-PL-CP	leather.puttee-PL	leather.high.boot-ABS	CP-3PL.X:III-do-CP		
<i>iláaj</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>yuúťijcum</i>	<i>multán</i>	<i>yašáp</i>	
iláaj-∅	n-i't	i-uť-ij-c-um	multán-∅	yašáp	
remedy-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	3SG.HM:I-foot-PL-ADE-ABL	blood-ABS	whisk	

<i>ne</i>	<i>néspininin,</i>	<i>húčo</i>	<i>nóotan</i>
n-i-t	n-i-s-búy-n-n-n	húčo-Ø	n-u-t'-n
CP-3SG.Y:II-do	CP-3SG.Y:II-CAUS-dry.up-CP-CP-CP	leather.high.boot-ABS	CP-3PL.X:III-do-CP

*gucháruman.*

guchár-m-an

move-NPRS-3PL.H

They treated it, picked up glasses from his thigh, threw them away, put the leather puttees and boots, wiped away the blood on his legs, dried [the injury/blood], and went.

čhúmoe minás - 60

<i>dáa</i>	<i>nukúcar</i>	<i>nukúcar</i>	<i>nukúcar</i>	<i>kaaffi</i>	<i>díšan</i>
dáa	n-guchár	n-guchár	n-guchár	kaaphí	diš'-an-Ø
again	CP-move	CP-move	CP-move	sufficient	ground-INDEF.SG-ABS

*bilúm.*

b-il'-m

COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

Having proceeded more, there were great extent of fields.

čhúmoe minás - 61

<i>éle</i>	<i>barénasar,</i>	<i>saḍákane</i>	<i>yáare</i>
él-e	barén-as-ar	saḍák-an-e	i-yáar-e
there-ESS	look-INF-DAT	street-INDEF.SG-GEN	3SG.Y:I-downwards-ESS

<i>épatulo,</i>	<i>málanulo</i>	<i>gúur</i>	<i>baríčóm.</i>
i-pat-ul-e	mal'-an-ul-e	gur'-Ø	bar'-č+bá-an-m
3SG.Y.II-site-LOC-ESS	field-INDEF.SG-LOC-ESS	wheat-ABS	thresh-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-NPRS

<i>dárcan</i>	<i>baríčóm.</i>
darc'-an-Ø	bar'-č+bá-an-m
threshing.circle-INDEF.SG-ABS	thresh-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-NPRS

Watching there, at a place under a street, they were threshing wheat in a field, [strictly speaking,] in a threshing circle.

## čhúmoe minás - 62

<i>darc</i>	<i>baráasaṭe,</i>	<i>úar</i>	<i>sénimi</i>	<i>ke,</i>
darc-∅	bar'-as-aṭ-e	ú-ar	sén-m-i	ké
threshing.circle-ABS	thresh-INF-INS-ESS	they:DIST-DAT	say-NPRS-3SG.HM	LINK
<i>“šéčer</i>	<i>baričóona</i>	<i>léi</i>	<i>ačukóon,</i>	
šé-č-ar	bar'-č+bá-an-∅=a	léi	a'-čo-kóon	
eat:Y.OBJ-IPFV-DAT	thresh-IPFV+COP-2PL-PRS=Q	INTERJ:HM.OBJ	1SG:II-same.sex.sibling-PL	

<i>darc,</i>	<i>bée ya</i>	<i>nušén</i>	<i>baričóon”,</i>	<i>sénase</i>
darc	bée yá	n-šé-n	bar'-č+bá-an-∅	sén-as-e
threshing.circle	no	INTERJ	CP-eat:Y.OBJ-CP	thresh-IPFV+COP-2PL-NPRS
				say-INF-GEN

*káa.*

káaṭ

together

For the threshing he said to them “are you threshing for eating, my brother? Or, are you threshing after eating?”.

## čhúmoe minás - 63

<i>u</i>	<i>dáa</i>	<i>heiráan</i>	<i>umánuman</i>	<i>heiráan</i>	<i>núman</i>
ú-∅	dáa	heiráan	u-man'-m-an	heiráan	n-u-man
they:DIST-ABS	again	surprised	3PL.H:I-become-NPRS-3PL.H	surprised	CP-3PL.H:I-become

<i>sénuman</i>	<i>guté</i>	<i>sambá</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>sénuman</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>“bée</i>
sén-m-an	guté	sambá-∅	n-i't	sén-m-an	ké	bée
say-NPRS-3PL.H	this:Y	thought-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	say-NPRS-3PL.H	LINK	no

<i>ya,</i>	<i>nušén</i>	<i>baričabáan”</i>	<i>sénuman.</i>
yá	n-šé-n	bar'-č-an+bá-an-∅	sén-m-an
INTERJ	CP-eat:Y.OBJ-CP	thresh-IPFV-1PL+COP-1PL-NPRS	say-NPRS-3PL.H

They were surprised and as thinking said “no, we are threshing after eating”.

## čhúmoē minás - 64

*“nušén           baričabáan”                           sénase           káa,           uyáṭis*  
 n-šé-n           bar’č-an+bá-an-Ø                   sén-as-e           káat           u-yaṭis-Ø  
 CP-eat:Y.OBJ-CP   thresh-IPFV-1PL+COP-1PL-PRS   say-INF-GEN   together   3PL.H:I-head-ABS

*laṅ           laṅ           ne                           “šua”   nusén   dáa   gucháruman.*  
 láṅ           láṅ           n-i’t                           šua   n-sén   dáa   guchár-m-an  
 moving   moving   CP-3SG.X:II-do   good   CP-say   again   move-NPRS-3PL.H

“We are threshing after eating” said [the threshers] so, [the servant and the companion] swayed their heads and said “well” and went more.

## čhúmoē minás - 65

*nukúcar   núun                   núun                   núun                   núun*  
 n-guchár   n-u”n                   n-u”n                   n-u”n                   n-u”n  
 CP-move   go:CP-3PL.H-CP   go:CP-3PL.H-CP   go:CP-3PL.H-CP   go:CP-3PL.H-CP

*núun                   núun,                   mathán   dīšanar                   níasar   dáa*  
 n-u”n                   n-u”n                   mathán   diš’an-ar                   ní-as-ar   dáa  
 go:CP-3PL.H-CP   go:CP-3PL.H-CP   far                   ground-INDEF.SG-DAT   go-INF-DAT   again

*hitháane   saḍákum           yáare                           épat                   íne*  
 hík-tháan-e   saḍák-c-um           i-yáar-e                           i-pat                   ín-e  
 one-place-ESS   street-ADE-ABL   3SG.Y:I-downwards-ESS   3SG.Y:II-side   s/he:DIST-GEN

*rafiqē                   háa                   ámulo   bilúm                   ke   ité   ha*  
 rafíq-e                   ha’Ø                   ámul-e   b’il-m                   ké   ité   ha’[ar]  
 companion-GEN   house-ABS   where-ESS   COP-3SG.Y-NPRS   LINK   that:Y   house-DAT

*díimi.*

d-i”m-i

come:PFV-3SG.HM-NPRS-3SG.HM

They went farther and arrived a far place where there was the companion’s house by the street, and he [the servant] come to the house [(?) following to the companion].

## čhúmoe minás - 66

<i>rafiqe</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>díinin</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>ité</i>	<i>rafiqe</i>
rafiq-e	ha-[ar]	d-i'n-n	ké	ité	rafiq-e
companion-GEN	house-DAT	come:PFV-3SG.HM-CP-CP	LINK	that:Y	companion-GEN
<i>háaṭe,</i>	<i>caṭ</i>	<i>manúman</i>	<i>óltik.</i>		
ha'aṭ-e	caṭ	man'm-an	u'ltik-Ø		
house-INS-ESS	still	become-NPRS-3PL.H	3PL.H:II-both-ABS		

Having gone to the companion's house, they both stopped by the house.

## čhúmoe minás - 67

<i>iné</i>	<i>rafiqe</i>	<i>ine</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>nookárar</i>	<i>sénimi</i>	<i>ke,</i>	
iné	rafiq-e	iné	baadšáa-e	nookár-ar	sén-m-i	ké	
that:H	companion-ERG	that:H	king-GEN	servant-DAT	say-NPRS-3SG.HM	LINK	
<i>“ye</i>	<i>ju,</i>	<i>áço</i>	<i>léi,</i>	<i>yáar</i>			
yé	jú-i	a'ço	léi	i-yáar			
look:INTERJ	come-IMP.SG	1SG:II-same.sex.sibling	INTERJ:HM.OBJ	3SG.Y:I-downwards			
<i>guté</i>	<i>jáa</i>	<i>yaríib</i>	<i>qhaaná</i>	<i>bilá.</i>	<i>jáa</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>bilá.</i>
guté	jé-e	yaríib	qhaaná-Ø	b'il'-Ø	jé-e	ha'Ø	b'il'-Ø
this:Y	I-GEN	poor	hut-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-PRS	I-GEN	house-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-PRS

The companion said to the king's servant “Come on my brother, this is my poor house. It's my house.

## čhúmoe minás - 68

<i>háalar</i>	<i>dukóoninin</i>	<i>čáayan</i>	<i>numíni</i>	<i>şapíkan</i>
ha'al-ar	d-gu'n-n-n	čáai-an-Ø	n-min'n	şapík-an-Ø
house-LOC-DAT	come:CP-2SG-CP-CP-CP	tea-INDEF.SG-ABS	CP-drink-CP	food-INDEF.SG-ABS
<i>níşinin</i>	<i>ámular</i>	<i>níčóo</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>čáai</i>
n-i-şí-n-n	ámul-ar	ní-č+bá-a-Ø	ké	čáai-Ø
CP-3SG.X:I-eat:HX.SG.OBJ-CP-CP	where-DAT	go-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS	LINK	tea-ABS

*miné*      *şapík*      *şi*                                      *ye*                      *ju*  
 min-í-i      şapík-Ø      şí-i    yé                      jú-i  
 drink-IMP.SG      food-ABS      eat:HX.SG.OBJ-IMP.SG      look:INTERJ      come-IMP.SG

*guwárčuma.*                                      *je*      *ke*      *awárabáa*                                      *un*  
 gu-bar-č-m-a                                      jé-Ø      ké      a-bar-a+bá-a-Ø                                      ún-Ø  
 2SG:I-get.tired-IPFV-NPRS-2SG      I-ABS      LINK      1SG:I-get.tired-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS      thou-ABS

*ke*      *guwárčuma*”,                                      *sénase*                      *káa.*  
 ké      gu-bar-č-m-a                                      sén-as-e                      kaaṭ  
 LINK      2SG:I-get.tired-IPFV-NPRS-2SG      say-INF-GEN      together

Having come to my house, drunk a [cup of] tea, and eaten a [portion of] food, you go where [you want]. So drink tea, eat food, okay, come on, or you'll be tired. I have been tired, so you'll be tired”.

čhúmoe minás - 69

*ee, in*                      *baadšáa*      *nookáre*      *rafiqar*                      *sénimi*                      *ke*  
 ee ín                      baadšáa-e      nookár-e      raffiq-ar                      sén-m-i                      ké  
 FIL      s/he:DIST      king-GEN      servant-ERG      companion-DAT      say-NPRS-3SG.HM      LINK

“*úne*      *háale*                      *ḍaḍáj*                      *ḍaámal*                      *biéna*”                      *sénimi.*  
 ún-e      ha-al-e                      ḍaḍáj                      ḍaámal-Ø                      b'-ién-Ø=a                      sén-m-i  
 thou-GEN      house-LOC-ESS      large.drums      timpani-ABS      COP-3PL.X-PRS=Q      say-NPRS-3SG.HM

The king's servant said to the companion “Are there drums and timpani in your house?”.

čhúmoe minás - 70

“*úne*      *háale*                      *ḍaḍáj*                      *ḍaámal*                      *biéna*”                      *sénase*  
 ún-e      ha-al-e                      ḍaḍáj                      ḍaámal-Ø                      b'-ién-Ø=a                      sén-as-e  
 thou-GEN      house-LOC-ESS      large.drums      timpani-ABS      COP-3PL.X-PRS=Q      say-INF-GEN

*káa,*      *ḍuúŋ*      *sambá*                      *netaninin.*                                      *heiráan*  
 kaaṭ      ḍuúŋ      sambá-Ø      n-i-t'-n-n-n                                      heiráan  
 together      moment      thought-ABS      CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP-CP-CP      surprised



*imánimi.*

i-man'-m-i

3SG.HM:I-become-NPRS-3SG.HM

Saying “Are there drums and timpani in your house?”, he [the companion] thought just a moment. And he was surprised.

## čhúmoe minás - 71

<i>“léi</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>ju</i>	<i>léi</i>	<i>béske</i>
léi	yá	yé	jú-i	léi	bés+ké
INTERJ:HM.OBJ	INTERJ	look:INTERJ	come-IMP.SG	INTERJ:HM.OBJ	what+LINK

<i>akhár</i>	<i>nuqátanin</i>	<i>nuyárenin</i>	<i>besk</i>	<i>akhár,</i>
a-khar'-∅	n-yatán-n	n-u'-yar'-n-n	bés+ké	a-khar'-∅
1SG:I-REFL.PRN-ABS	CP-learn-CP	CP-3PL.X:II-sound-CP-CP	what+LINK	1SG:I-REFL.PRN-ABS

<i>jáa</i>	<i>háale</i>	<i>ḍaḍán</i>	<i>ḍaámalik</i>	<i>apíe.</i>	<i>je</i>
jé-e	ha'-al-e	ḍaḍán	ḍaámal-ik-∅	a-b'-ién-∅	jé-∅
I-GEN	house-LOC-ESS	large.drums	timpani-INDEF.PL-ABS	NEG-COP-3PL.X-PRS	I-ABS

<i>bésan</i>	<i>bérican</i>	<i>apáa.”</i>	<i>sénase</i>	<i>káa.</i>
bés-an	béric-an-∅	a-bá-a-∅	sén-as-e	káaṭ
what-INDEF.SG	Dom.person-INDEF.SG-ABS	NEG-COP-1SG-PRS	say-INF-GEN	together

[He was surprised] saying “hey you, (?) did I learn and play anything you say? There are no drums and timpani in my house, I’m not a Dom.”

## čhúmoe minás - 72

<i>“bée</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>áso</i>	<i>náa.</i>	<i>úne</i>	<i>háale</i>	<i>ḍaḍán</i>
bée	yá	a'-s'-i	náa	ún-e	ha'-al-e	ḍaḍán
no	INTERJ	1SG:II-tell-IMP.SG	TAG.Q	thou-GEN	house-LOC-ESS	large.drums

<i>ḍaámal</i>	<i>bié</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>áso”</i>	<i>sénase</i>	<i>káa.</i>
ḍaámal-∅	b'-ién-∅	ké	a'-s'-i	sén-as-e	káaṭ
timpani-ABS	COP-3PL.X-PRS	LINK	1SG:II-tell-IMP.SG	say-INF-GEN	together

[The servant] said “No, tell me the truth. Tell me that there are drums and timpani in your house”.

## čhúmoe minás - 73

*“bée yái ju jaa háale ɖaɖán ɖaámalik*  
*bée yá jú-i jé-e ha'al-e ɖaɖán ɖaámal-ik-∅*  
 no INTERJ come-IMP.SG I-GEN house-LOC-ESS large.drums timpani-INDEF.PL-ABS

*apíe. je bérican apáa” nusé*  
*a-b'ién-∅ jé-∅ béric-an-∅ a-bá-a-∅ n-sén*  
 NEG-COP-3PL.X-PRS I-ABS Dom.person-INDEF.SG-ABS NEG-COP-1SG-PRS CP-say

*heiráan imánimi.*  
*heiráan i-man'm-i*  
 surprised 3SG.HM:I-become-NPRS-3SG.HM

“No, you, there’re no drums and timpani in my house. I’m not a Dom” [the companion] said and was surprised.

## čhúmoe minás - 74

*dáa ɖuúnar “ju bée níčabáan*  
*dáa ɖuún-an-ar jú-i bée ní-č-a+bá-an-∅*  
 again moment-INDEF.SG-DAT come-IMP.SG no go-IMPF-1PL+COP-1PL-PRS

*léi ye háalar čái góomiyabáa*  
*léi yé ha'al-ar čái-∅ gu'min'a+bá-a-∅*  
 INTERJ:HM.OBJ look:INTERJ house-LOC-DAT tea-ABS 2SG:III-drink-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS

*ju.” sénase káa.*  
*jú-i sén-as-e káaɖ*  
 come-IMP.SG say-INF-GEN together

And soon [the companion] said “Come on, shall we go now, I make tea for you in my house, come on”.

## čhúmoe minás - 75

*“úne háa šinç phuqtá bíá”*  
*ún-e ha'e šinç'∅ phuqtá b'i-∅=a*  
 thou-GEN house-GEN beam-ABS strong COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q

*ésimi. baadšáa nookáre íne rafiiqar.*  
 i-s'-m-i baadšáa-e nookár-e iné rafiiq-ar  
 3SG.HM:II-tell-NPRS-3SG.HM king-GEN servant-ERG that:H companion-DAT

The king's servant asked the companion "Is the ridge of your house strong?"

čhúmoe minás - 76

*"úne háa šinçh phuqtá bía" sénase káa.*  
 ún-e há'e šinç'-Ø phuqtá b'-i-Ø=a sén-as-e káaṭ  
 thou-GEN house-GEN beam-ABS strong COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q say-INF-GEN together

When [he] said "Is the ridge of your house strong?"

čhúmoe minás - 77

*íne sénimi ke, iné rafiiq sóočar*  
 ín-e sén-m-i ké iné rafiiq-Ø sóoč-ar  
 s/he:DIST-ERG say-NPRS-3SG.HM LINK that:H companion-ABS thought-DAT

*wálimi.*

i-bal'-m-i  
 3SG.HM:I-fall-NPRS-3SG.HM

After he [the servant] said so, the companion went into thinking.

čhúmoe minás - 78

*buṭ yuṭúm sóočanar níwalin sénimi ke,*  
 búṭ yuṭ-um sóoč-an-ar n-i-bal'n sén-m-i ké  
 much deep-ADJVLZ thought-INDEF.SG-DAT CP-3SG.HM:I-fall-CP say-NPRS-3SG.HM LINK

*"áyalulo, ye hóle mazuurúlo, hóle*  
 áyalulo yé hól-e mazuurí-ul-e hól-e  
 my.dear look:INTERJ outside-ESS wage.earning-LOC-ESS outside-ESS

*pardéesonamulo hóle báyamaṭe ámulo*  
 pardées-an+ámul-e hól-e bá-a-a-um-aṭ-e ámul-e  
 alien.country-INDEF.SG+where-ESS outside-ESS COP-1SG-1SG-ADJVLZ-INS-ESS where-ESS

<i>harálte</i>	<i>háae</i>	<i>šinçh</i>	<i>čhóko</i>	<i>étibía,</i>	<i>be</i>
harált-e	há'e	šinç'-Ø	čhóko	i-t+b'i-Ø=a	bé
rain-GEN	house-GEN	beam-ABS	breaking.off	3SG.X:II-do+COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q	what
<i>étibí,</i>		<i>ke</i>	<i>ámulo</i>	<i>leél</i>	<i>étasan</i>
i-t+b'i-Ø		ké	ámul-e	leél	i-t'as-an-Ø
3SG.X:II-do+COP-3SG.X-PRS	LINK	where-ESS	knowing	3SG.Y:II-do-INF-INDEF.SG-ABS	
<i>báya</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>bái</i>	<i>ke"</i>	<i>nusén.</i>	
bá-i-Ø=a	bé	bá-i-Ø	ké	n-sén	
COP-3SG.HM-PRS=Q	what	COP-3SG.HM-PRS	LINK	CP-say	

He was in very deep consideration and said “My dear, you know, while I was out [of this house] to earn wages in foreign places any rain broke off the ridge of the house or did like that, so I have to inquire somebody who informs me (of that).”

čhúmoe minás - 79

<i>dáa</i>	<i>heiráan</i>	<i>imánimi.</i>
dáa	heiráan	i-man'm-i
again	surprised	3SG.HM:I-become-NPRS-3SG.HM

And he was surprised.

čhúmoe minás - 80

<i>heiráan</i>	<i>níma</i>		<i>sénimi</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>“ya</i>	<i>ye</i>		
heiráan	n-i-man		sén-m-i	ké	yá	yé		
surprised	CP-3SG.HM:I-become		say-NPRS-3SG.HM	LINK	INTERJ	look:INTERJ		
<i>ju"</i>	<i>sénas</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>“bée</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>úne</i>	<i>háa</i>	<i>šinçh</i>	<i>phuqtá</i>
jú-i	sén-as	ké	bée	yá	ún-e	há'e	šinç'-Ø	phuqtá
come-IMP.SG	say-INF	LINK	no	INTERJ	thou-GEN	house-GEN	beam-ABS	strong
<i>bi</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>juáb</i>	<i>ačhíi</i>		<i>ke</i>			
b'i-Ø	ké	juáb-Ø	a-čhí-i		ké			
COP-3SG.X-PRS	LINK	answer-ABS	1SG:I-give:Y.SG.OBJ-IMP.SG	LINK				

*júcabáa*”,                      *sénase*      *káa*.  
 jú-č-a+bá-a-Ø                      sén-as-e      káaṭ  
 come-IPFV-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS      say-INF-GEN      together

[The companion] was surprised and said “okay, come on”, but for that [the servant] said “No. Answer me whether the ridge of your house is strong or not, and after that I am coming with you”.

čhúmoē minás - 81

*“yáa      ačhó      náa      yáke      un      khóle      caṭ      miṭlulo*  
 yá      ačhó      náa      yáke      ún-Ø      khól-e      cáṭ      mi-ul’-ul-e  
 INTERJ      wait:INTERJ      TAG.Q      or.else      thou-ABS      here-ESS      still      1PL:I-belly-LOC-ESS

*mésulo                      apálašo                      iké                      yáričoó*”,  
 mi-s’-ul-e                      a-bal’-as-čo                      iké-Ø                      yar’-č+bá-a-Ø  
 1PL:II-heart-LOC-ESS      NEG-fall-INF-PL      those:Y-ABS      sound-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS

*yáare                      háalar                      náa      níin                      “háale*  
 i-yáar-e                      ha’-al-ar                      náa      n-i”n                      ha’-al-e  
 3SG.Y:I-downwards-ESS      house-LOC-DAT      TAG.Q      go:CP-3SG.HM-CP      house-LOC-ESS

*jamaát      men      báan                      ke,      uéer                      nósunini*  
 jamaaát-Ø      mén-Ø      bá-an-Ø                      ké      ué-ar                      n-u’-s’-n-n-n  
 spouse-ABS      who-ABS      COP-3PL.H-PRS      LINK      those:H-DAT      CP-3PL.H:II-tell-CP-CP-CP

*háar      nupáran      júcam*”,                      *nuséninin*.  
 ha’-ar      n-barén      jú-č-a-m                      n-sén-n-n  
 house-DAT      CP-look      come-IPFV-1SG-NPRS      CP-say-CP-CP

Saying “So, wait a moment or speak about what we could not understand standing here”, [the companion] went to his house and said “I will tell the members who are in home it, see inside the house, and come back”.

čhúmoē minás - 82

*in                      rafiiq                      yáare                      háalar                      ními*  
 ín                      rafiiq-Ø                      i-yáar-e                      ha’-al-ar                      ní-m-i  
 s/he:DIST      companion-ABS      3SG.Y:I-downwards-ESS      house-LOC-DAT      go-NPRS-3SG.HM

*in baadšáa nookár sađákulo caṭ maními.*  
 ín baadšáa-e nookár-Ø sađák-ul-e cáṭ man' m-i  
 s/he:DIST king-GEN servant-ABS street-LOC-ESS still become-NPRS-3SG.HM

The companion went down to the house, and the king's servant waited on the road.

čhúmoe minás - 83

*caṭ manáase káa, in rafiiq nínin*  
 cáṭ man'as-e káaṭ ín rafiiq-Ø n-i' n-n  
 still become-INF-GEN together s/he:DIST companion-ABS go:CP-3SG.HM-CP-CP

*yáare háale éi bom, iné*  
 i-yáar-e ha'al-e i-i-Ø bá-o-m iné  
 3SG.Y:I-downwards-ESS house-LOC-ESS 3SG.HM:II-daughter-ABS COP-3SG.HF-NPRS that:H

*híne éi bom, iné éi*  
 hín-e i-i-Ø bá-o-m iné i-i-Ø  
 one:H-GEN 3SG.HM:II-daughter-ABS COP-3SG.HF-NPRS that:H 3SG.HM:II-daughter-ABS

*háale bom, iné baadšáa nookár sađákulo caṭ*  
 ha'al-e bá-o-m iné baadšáa-e nookár-Ø sađák-ul-e cáṭ  
 house-LOC-ESS COP-3SG.HF-NPRS that:H king-GEN servant-ABS street-LOC-ESS still

*manúám.*

man+bá-i-m

become+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

When the servant was waiting, the companion went down to the house and there was his daughter; his only daughter was in the house; the king's servant was standing still on the road.

čhúmoe minás - 84

*in rafiiqe yáare níin háa*  
 ín rafiiq-e i-yáar-e n-i' n há'e  
 s/he:DIST companion-ERG 3SG.Y:I-downwards-ESS go:CP-3SG.HM-CP house-GEN

*şınçhar barénimi.*  
 şınç'ar barén-m-i  
 beam-DAT look-NPRS-3SG.HM

The companion went down and looked at the ridge of his house.

čhúmoē minás - 85

*háa şınçhar nupáraninin éimur sénimi*  
 ha'e şınç'ar n-barén-n-n i-i-mu-ar sén-m-i  
 house-GEN beam-DAT CP-look-CP-CP 3SG.HM:II-daughter-OBL-DAT say-NPRS-3SG.HM

*ke, "áimo qháir" sénase káa "be*  
 ké a-i-mu-e qháir sén-as-e káaṭ bé  
 LINK 1SG:II-daughter-OBL-GEN luck say-INF-GEN together what

*manlá baábo" sénumo "bésanar*  
 man+b'il-∅ baábo sén-m-o bés-an-ar  
 become+COP-3SG.Y-PRS father say-NPRS-3SG.HF what-INDEF.SG-DAT

*baréibáa" sénas ke.*  
 barén-č+bá-a-∅ sén-as ké  
 look-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS say-INF LINK

Having looked at the ridge of the house, he said to his daughter "Okay, my daughter", and then she said "What's happened, father? What are you looking at?"

čhúmoē minás - 86

*"akhí akhí sísan áa káa*  
 akhíl akhíl sís-an-∅ a'e káaṭ  
 in.this.way in.this.way people-INDEF.SG-ABS 1SG:II-GEN together

*imánóm. phalaaná ité díšcum*  
 i-man+bá-i-m phalaaná-∅ ité díš-c-um  
 3SG.HM:I-become+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS so.and.so-ABS that:Y ground-ADE-ABL

*báači íne phalaaná 'baadšáa nookáran*  
 báad-či-e ín-e phalaaná baadšáa-e nookár-an-∅  
 following.time-INE-ESS s/he:DIST-ERG so.and.so king-GEN servant-INDEF.SG-ABS

**báa'**            **séibái.**  
 bá-a-∅        sén-č+bá-i-∅  
 COP-1SG-PRS   say-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-PRS

“Such a person has become a companion for me. That so-and-so came with me from a certain place and he said ‘I’m a king’s servant’.

čhúmoe minás - 87

**óor akhí        akhí        nétanininin,**                    **yáte**  
 óor akhíl        akhíl        n-i-t'-n-n-n-n                    i-yát-e  
 and in.this.way in.this.way CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP-CP-CP-CP    3SG.HM:I-upwards-ESS

**máyuan**                                    **díininin**                                    **'itée**            **gáne**  
 máyo-an-∅                                    d-i''n-n-n                                    ité-e            gan'é  
 compensation-INDEF.SG-ABS    come:CP-3SG.Y-CP-CP-CP    that:Y-GEN    way-ESS

**ménan**                    **maaníe**            **gáne**            **díušan'**  
 mén-an-∅                    maaní-e            gan'é            d-i-gús-č-an-m  
 who-INDEF.SG-ABS    meaning-GEN    way-ESS    TEL-3SG.HM:I-go.out-IPFV-1PL-NPRS

**nuséninin.**  
 n-sén-n-n  
 CP-say-CP-CP

Having done in this way, he got compensation saying that we have to look for somebody for the explanation [of the fish’s laughter].

čhúmoe minás - 88

**ee, díibái.**  
 ee d-i''+bá-i-∅  
 FIL    come:PFV-3SG.HM+COP-3SG.HM-PRS

And he has come.



## čhúmoe minás - 89

<i>inéer</i>	<i>‘čáayanar</i>	<i>yaṭéle</i>	<i>ju’</i>		
iné-ar	čáai-an-ar	i-yáṭ+él-e	jú-i		
that:H-DAT	tea-INDEF.SG-DAT	3SG.Y:I-upwards+there-ESS	come-IMP.SG		
<i>ésabáṭe,</i>		<i>‘úne</i>	<i>háale</i>	<i>ḍaḍán</i>	<i>ḍaámal</i>
ì-s’-a+bá-aṭ-e		ún-e	ha’-al-e	ḍaḍán	ḍaámal-Ø
3SG.HM:II-tell-1SG+COP-INS-ESS		thou-GEN	house-LOC-ESS	large.drums	timpani-ABS
<i>biéna’</i>	<i>ásimi.</i>				
b’-ién-Ø=a	a’-s’-m-i				
COP-3PL.X-PRS=Q	1SG:II-tell-NPRS-3SG.HM				

At that time I told him ‘Come on for a cup of tea’, he asked me ‘Are there drums in your house?’.

## čhúmoe minás - 90

<i>teílaṭe</i>	<i>heiráan</i>	<i>amánam</i>	<i>léi</i>	<i>ya</i>		
teíl-aṭ-e	heiráan	a-man’a-m	léi	yá		
in.that.way-INS-ESS	surprised	1SG:I-become-1SG-NPRS	INTERJ:HM.OBJ	INTERJ		
<i>ye</i>	<i>ju</i>	<i>čuk</i>	<i>ne’</i>	<i>sename</i>	<i>káa</i>	<i>‘bée</i>
yé	jú-i	čúk	n-i’t	sén-a-um-e	káaṭ	bée
look:INTERJ	come-IMP.SG	silent	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	say-1SG-ADJVLZ-GEN	together	no
<i>ya</i>	<i>úne</i>	<i>háale</i>	<i>ḍaḍán</i>	<i>ḍaámal</i>	<i>bié</i>	<i>ke</i>
yá	ún-e	ha’-al-e	ḍaḍán	ḍaámal-Ø	b’-ién-Ø	ké
INTERJ	thou-GEN	house-LOC-ESS	large.drums	timpani-ABS	COP-3PL.X-PRS	LINK
<i>áso’</i>	<i>sénimi.</i>					
a’-s’-i	sén-m-i					
1SG:II-tell-IMP.SG	say-NPRS-3SG.HM					

By such I was surprised and said ‘Hey you, shut up and come on’, but he said ‘No, there must be drums in your house, tell me the truth’.

## čhúmoe minás - 91

*‘bée ya ye ju, bes ke ɖaɖán ɖaámalik*  
*bée yá yé jú-i bés ké ɖaɖán ɖaámal-ik-∅*  
 no INTERJ look:INTERJ come-IMP.SG why LINK large.drums timpani-INDEF.PL-ABS

*apíe, je béric apáa’ ésame*  
*a-b’i-én-∅ jé-∅ béric-∅ a-bá-a-∅ i-s’a-um-e*  
 NEG-COP-3PL.X-PRS I-ABS Doma-ABS NEG-COP-1SG-PRS 3SG.HM:II-tell-1SG-ADJV LZ-GEN

*káa, ee dáa ‘bée ya úne háa şinçh phuqtá*  
*káaɖ ee dáa bée yá ún-e ha’e şinç’∅ phuqtá*  
 together FIL again no INTERJ thou-GEN house-GEN beam-ABS strong

*bi ke áso’ sénimi.*  
*b’i-∅ ké a-s’i sén-m-i*  
 COP-3SG.X-PRS LINK 1SG:II-tell-IMP.SG say-NPRS-3SG.HM

‘No, you come on because there are no drums, I’m not a Dom man.’ I told him, but now he said again ‘No, your house has a strong ridge. Tell me truly.’

## čhúmoe minás - 92

*‘háa şinçh phuqtá bi ke áso’ sénase*  
*ha’e şinç’∅ phuqtá b’i-∅ ké a-s’i sén-as-e*  
 house-GEN beam-ABS strong COP-3SG.X-PRS LINK 1SG:II-tell-IMP.SG say-INF-GEN

*káa, ‘ámulo je hóle báyamate,*  
*káaɖ ámul-e jé-∅ hól-e bá-a-a-um-aɖ-e*  
 together where-ESS I-ABS outside-ESS COP-1SG-1SG-ADJV LZ-INS-ESS

*pardéesulo maziúriulo báyamate ámulo*  
*pardées-ul-e mazuurí-ul-e bá-a-a-um-aɖ-e ámul-e*  
 alien.country-LOC-ESS wage.earning-LOC-ESS COP-1SG-1SG-ADJV LZ-INS-ESS where-ESS

*háa haráltaje čhóko étibía.*  
*ha’e harált-aɖe čhóko i-t+b’i-∅=a*  
 house-GEN rain-INSTRUCTIVE breaking.off 3SG.X:II-do+COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q

‘The ridge of the house is strong, tell me’ saying so, ‘In the alien country where I was working for wage, has [the ridge] of a house been broken by rain there?’

## čhúmoe minás - 93

<i>et</i>	<i>bésane</i>	<i>zilziláaje</i>	<i>bésan</i>	<i>čhóko</i>
ét-∅	bés-an-e	zilzilá-aje	bés-an	čhóko
that.one:Y-ABS	what-INDEF.SG-GEN	earthquake-INSTRUCTIVE	what-INDEF.SG	breaking.off

*étibía.*

i-t+b'-i-∅=a

3SG.X:II-do+COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q

‘Has an earthquake or anything been broken it off?’

## čhúmoe minás - 94

<i>khin</i>	<i>bésan</i>	<i>leél</i>	<i>étasan</i>
khín-∅	bés-an-∅	leél	i-t'-as-an-∅
s/he:PROX-ABS	what-INDEF.SG-ABS	knowing	3SG.Y:II-do-INF-INDEF.SG-ABS

<i>báya</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>bái</i>	<i>ke'</i>	<i>nusén,</i>	<i>'chóor</i>	<i>jéimo</i>
bá-i-∅=a	bée	bá-i-∅	ké	n-sén	chór	je-í-mu-e
COP-3SG.HM-PRS=Q	no	COP-3SG.HM-PRS	LINK	CP-say	early	1SG:I-self-OBL-GEN

<i>háar</i>	<i>baréyam</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ho</i>	<i>guchúčam</i>
ha'-ar	barén-č-a-m	ké	hó	gu-chu-č-a-m
house-DAT	look-IPFV-1SG-NPRS	LINK	then	2SG:I-bring.away-IPFV-1SG-NPRS

<i>ju'</i>	<i>nusén,</i>	<i>'barén,</i>	<i>nupára</i>	<i>guchúčam'</i>	<i>nusén.</i>
jú-i	n-sén	barén-i	n-barén	gu-chu-č-a-m	n-sén
come-IMP.SG	CP-say	look-IMP.SG	CP-look	2SG:I-bring.away-IPFV-1SG-NPRS	CP-say

‘Is there someone who tells me the state of affairs? I shall watch my house in a glance and then bring you, come on. Watch it, and then I'll bring you.’

## čhúmoe minás - 95

<i>dáayabáa</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>yaṭéle</i>	<i>caṭ</i>
d-a'a+bá-a-∅	ín-∅	i-yáṭ+él-e	caṭ
come:PFV-1SG-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS	s/he:DIST-ABS	3SG.Y:I-upwards+there-ESS	still

<i>étabáa.</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>‘óosin’</i>	<i>sénase</i>	<i>káa.</i> ”
i-t’a+bá-a-∅	ín-∅	óos-in	sén-as-e	káaṭ
3SG.HM:II-do-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS	s/he:DIST-ABS	put-IMP.PL	say-INF-GEN	together

I have come and stopped him over there. Saying [to] him ‘Stay’.”

čhúmoe minás - 96

<i>íne</i>	<i>éie</i>	<i>sénumo</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>“waw</i>	<i>baábo”</i>
ín-e	i-i-e	sén-m-o	ké	wáw	baábo
s/he:DIST-GEN	3SG.HM:II-daughter-ERG	say-NPRS-3SG.HF	LINK	INTERJ	father

*sénumo.*  
sén-m-o  
say-NPRS-3SG.HF

His daughter said “Oh, my father”.

čhúmoe minás - 97

<i>“in</i>	<i>dimáaye</i>	<i>buṭ</i>	<i>uśáaran</i>	<i>bái.</i>	
ín-∅	dimáay-e	búṭ	uśáar-an-∅	bá-i-∅	
s/he:DIST-ABS	brain-GEN	much	intelligent-INDEF.SG-ABS	COP-3SG.HM-PRS	
<i>waazíire</i>	<i>íían</i>	<i>bái.</i>	<i>buṭ</i>	<i>duúrginum</i>	
wazíir-e	i-i’an-∅	bá-i-∅	búṭ	d-gurgín-um	
minister-GEN	3SG.HM:I-son-INDEF.SG-ABS	COP-3SG.HM-PRS	much	TEL-grind-ADJVLZ	
<i>sísan</i>	<i>bái.</i>	<i>dáa</i>	<i>áqalaṭe</i>	<i>jáa</i>	<i>íi</i> <i>leél</i>
sís-an-∅	bá-i-∅	dáa	áqal-aṭ-e	jé-e	íi leél
people-INDEF.SG-ABS	COP-3SG.HM-PRS	again	intelligence-INS-ESS	I-ERG	just knowing

*étam.*  
i-t’a-m  
3SG.HM:II-do-1SG-NPRS

“He is a very intelligent man, is a son of a minister, and is a quite cultivated person. And I understood him just by intellect.

## čhúmoe minás - 98

*un bélaṭe leél akúmanuma”, sénase káa.*  
 ún-∅ bél-aṭ-e leél a-gu-man’-m-a sén-as-e káaṭ  
 thou-ABS how-INS-ESS knowing NEG-2SG:I-become-NPRS-2SG say-INF-GEN together

How could you avoid knowing [of him]?” she said.

## čhúmoe minás - 99

*“bas, jáa ásulo apálimi. akhéṣcuko akhéṣcuko*  
 bás jé-e a’s’-ul-e a-bal’-m-i akhéṣ-čuko akhéṣ-čuko  
 enough I-GEN 1SG:II-heart-LOC-ESS NEG-fall-NPRS-3SG.Y strange-PL strange-PL

*čáyamiṅ étimi gántali, oólulo*  
 čáya-miṅ-∅ i-t’-m-i gan’tali a-ul’-ul-e  
 story-PL-ABS 3PL.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HM way-via 1SG:I-belly-LOC-ESS

*ásulo apálimi”, sénase káa.*  
 a’s’-ul-e a-bal’-m-i sén-as-e káaṭ  
 1SG:II-heart-LOC-ESS NEG-fall-NPRS-3SG.Y say-INF-GEN together

“Well, I don’t see. He was telling me very strange stories on our way, and I couldn’t understand it” he said.

## čhúmoe minás - 100

*iné éie sénumo ke “wáa baábo, ye*  
 iné i-i-e sén-m-o ké wáa baábo yé  
 that:H 3SG.HM:II-daughter-ERG say-NPRS-3SG.HF LINK INTERJ father look:INTERJ

*míi háale ḍaḍán ḍaámal ke apíe míi*  
 mí-e ha’-al-e ḍaḍán ḍaámal-∅ ké a-b’-i-én-∅ mí-e  
 we-GEN house-LOC-ESS large.drums timpani-ABS LINK NEG-COP-3PL.X-PRS we-GEN

*háa ṣinḥ ke phuqtá bi.*  
 ha’-e ṣinḥ-∅ ké phuqtá b’-i-∅  
 house-GEN beam-ABS LINK strong COP-3SG.X-PRS

His daughter said “Oh, my father, see that there are no drums in our house and the ridge of our house is strong.

## čhúmoe minás - 101

*ju áso". sénase káa.*  
*jú-i a:s-i sén-as-e káat*  
 come-IMP.SG 1SG:II-tell-IMP.SG say-INF-GEN together

Come on, tell me” she said.

## čhúmoe minás - 102

*“šúa ái” nuséninin ho iné rafiiq sađákar*  
*šúa a:i n-sén-n-n hó iné rafiiq-Ø sađák-ar*  
 good 1SG:II-daughter CP-say-CP-CP then that:H companion-ABS street-DAT

*duúsin.*  
*d-gús-n*  
 TEL:CP-go.out-CP

Having said “Okay my daughter”, the companion then went out to the street.

## čhúmoe minás - 103

*ju léi áço léei, bée ya*  
*jú-i léi a:čo-Ø léi bée yá*  
 come-IMP.SG INTERJ:HM.OBJ 1SG:II-same.sex.sibling-ABS INTERJ:HM.OBJ no INTERJ

*qhudáae mehrbaaní mí háa şinçh ke phuqtá*  
*qhudáa-e mehrbaaní mí-e ha'-e şinç'-Ø ké phuqtá*  
 god-GEN thanksgiving we-GEN house-GEN beam-ABS LINK strong

*bi háale đadáy đáámal apie”*  
*b'-i-Ø ha'-al-e đadáy đáámal-Ø a-b'-ién-Ø*  
 COP-3SG.X-PRS house-LOC-ESS large.drums timpani-ABS NEG-COP-3PL.X-PRS

*nuséninin.*  
 n-sén-n-n  
 CP-say-CP-CP

“Hey my brother, no, I swear by the God that the ridge of my house is strong and there are not drums in my house” said he.

## čhúmoe minás - 104

<i>ho</i>	<i>ée</i>	<i>káa</i>	<i>icúmi</i>	<i>háalar.</i>
hó	i-e	káaʔ	i-chu'-m-i	ha'-al-ar
then	3SG.HM:II-GEN	together	3SG.HM:I-bring.away-NPRS-3SG.HM	house-LOC-DAT

Then he bring him into his house.

## čhúmoe minás - 105

<i>háalar</i>	<i>nícunininin,</i>	<i>háale</i>	<i>in</i>
ha'-al-ar	n-i-chu'-n-n-n-n	ha'-al-e	ín
house-LOC-DAT	CP-3SG.HM:I-bring.away-CP-CP-CP-CP-CP	house-LOC-ESS	s/he:DIST

<i>mehmáan</i>	<i>alág</i>	<i>kamaráulo</i>	<i>qha</i>	<i>éuruʔimi.</i>
mehmáan-∅	alág	kamará-ul-e	qhát	i-huruʔ-m-i
guest-ABS	separate	room-LOC-ESS	down	3SG.HM:II-sit-NPRS-3SG.HM

Having brought him into the house, he made him to sit in a separate room.

## čhúmoe minás - 106

<i>qha</i>	<i>néuro</i>	<i>múšaʔe</i>	<i>éi</i>	<i>mópačiar</i>
qhát	n-i-huruʔ	muš'-aʔ-e	i-i	mu'-pa-či-ar
down	CP-3SG.HM:II-sit	edge-INS-ESS	3SG.HM:II-daughter	3SG.HM:II-side-INE-DAT

*ními.*  
ní-m-i  
go-NPRS-3SG.HM

As soon as he made him sit, he went to his daughter.

## čhúmoe minás - 107

<i>“éer</i>	<i>čáayan</i>	<i>šapíkane</i>	<i>bandibást</i>
i-ar	čáai-an	šapík-an-e	bandibást-∅
3SG.HM:II-DAT	tea-INDEF.SG	food-INDEF.SG-GEN	preparation-ABS

<i>éčam</i>	<i>nusé, éi</i>	<i>mópačiar</i>	<i>úlo</i>
i-t'č-a-m	n-sén i-i	mu-pá-či-ar	úl-e
3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-1SG-NPRS	CP-say 3SG.HM:II-daughter	3SG.HF:II-side-INE-DAT	inside-ESS

<i>háalar</i>	<i>níninin.</i>
ha'al-ar	n-i'n-n-n
house-LOC-DAT	go:CP-3SG.HM-CP-CP-CP

Saying “Prepare tea and food for him”, he went to his daughter in the hearth room.

čhúmoe minás - 108

<i>éi</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>óltike</i>	<i>šapíkane</i>	<i>čáayane</i>
i-i	ké	u-ltik-e	šapík-an-e	čáai-an-e
3SG.HM:II-daughter	LINK	3PL.H:II-both-ERG	food-INDEF.SG-GEN	tea-INDEF.SG-GEN

<i>bandibást</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>čhápan</i>	<i>décirase</i>
bandibást-Ø	n-i't	čhap'an-Ø	d-i-s-ri'as-e
preparation-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	flesh-INDEF.SG-ABS	TEL-3SG.Y:II-CAUS-ripen-INF-GEN

<i>bandibást</i>	<i>étuman.</i>
bandibást-Ø	i-t'm-an
preparation-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H

After his daughter and [he] both prepared food and tea, they also got ready for cooking with meat.

čhúmoe minás - 109

<i>bandibást</i>	<i>ne,</i>	<i>éie</i>	<i>sénumo</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>“awá</i>
bandibást-Ø	n-i't	i-i-e	sén-m-o	ké	awá
preparation-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	3SG.HM:II-daughter-ERG	say-NPRS-3SG.HF	LINK	yes

<i>baábo, bésan</i>	<i>bésan</i>	<i>gapšáp</i>	<i>étuman</i>	<i>mehmáan</i>
baábo bés-an	bés-an	gapšáp-Ø	i-t'm-an	mehmáan
father what-INDEF.SG	what-INDEF.SG	chat-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-2PL	guest



*maltíke gántali bésan yarúman”, sénase káa.*  
 ma<sup>2</sup>-ltik-e gan<sup>2</sup>-tali bés-an-Ø yar<sup>2</sup>-m-an sén-as-e káaṭ  
 2PL:II-both-ERG way-via what-INDEF.SG-ABS sound-NPRS-2PL say-INF-GEN together

Having got ready, his daughter said “Yes my father, what did both [you and] the guest speak about on your way?”

čhúmoe minás - 110

*ee, “mehmáan maltíke bésan yarúman” sénas ke.*  
 ee mehmáan ma<sup>2</sup>-ltik-e bés-an-Ø yar<sup>2</sup>-m-an sén-as ké  
 FIL guest 2PL:II-both-ERG what-INDEF.SG-ABS sound-NPRS-2PL say-INF LINK

“What did both [you and] the guest speak about?” said she.

čhúmoe minás - 111

*“ye akhí akhí ne oólulo*  
 yé akhíl akhíl n-i<sup>2</sup>-t a-ul<sup>2</sup>-ul-e  
 look:INTERJ in.this.way in.this.way CP-3SG.Y:II-do 1SG:I-belly-LOC-ESS

*ásulo apálašo iké yarími.*  
 a<sup>2</sup>-s<sup>2</sup>-ul-e a-bal<sup>2</sup>-as-čo iké-Ø yar<sup>2</sup>-m-i  
 1SG:II-heart-LOC-ESS NEG-fall-INF-PL those:Y-ABS sound-NPRS-3SG.HM

“Now, he spoke such and such stories, which I couldn’t understand a bit.

čhúmoe minás - 112

*ée káa han čapatian bim.*  
 i<sup>2</sup>-e káaṭ hán čapatí-an-Ø b<sup>2</sup>-i-m  
 3SG.HM:II-GEN together one:X chapatti-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.X-NPRS

He had a chapatti.

čhúmoe minás - 113

*isé gánulo ‘miwárase káa gáṭi*  
 isé gan<sup>2</sup>-ul-e mi-bar<sup>2</sup>-as-e káaṭ gáṭi  
 that:X way-LOC-ESS 1PL:I-get.tired-INF-GEN together gathering



## čhúmoe minás - 116

*ee, ye*            *guté čáya étimi.*  
 ee yé            guté čáya-Ø i-t'-m-i  
 FIL look:INTERJ this:Y story-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HM

Er, he gave such a word.

## čhúmoe minás - 117

*isé phíṭi níṣi múṣaṭe" sénase káa,*  
 isé phíṭi-Ø n-i-ṣí muš'-aṭ-e sén-as-e káaṭ  
 that:X thick.pancake-ABS CP-3SG.X:I-eat:HX.SG.OBJ edge-INS-ESS say-INF-GEN together  
 “*ácha baábo, dáa be maními” sénase káa.*  
 ačcháa baábo dáa bé man'-m-i sén-as-e káaṭ  
 good father again what become-NPRS-3SG.Y say-INF-GEN together

He ate the chapatti and” he said, and then [his daughter] said “okay dad, and what’s happened?”

## čhúmoe minás - 118

*“dáa guchárčume isé phíṭi śímcum*  
 dáa guchár-č-um-e isé phíṭi-Ø śí-um-c-um  
 again move-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS that:X thick.pancake-ABS eat:HX.SG.OBJ-ADJVLZ-ADE-ABL  
*báadulo dáa guchárčume diméen*  
 báad-ul-e dáa guchár-č-um-e d-mĩ-n  
 following.time-LOC-ESS again move-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS come:CP-1PL-CP  
*diméeninín bar chílan díimi.*  
 d-mĩ-n-n-n bar chíl'-an-Ø d-i'-m-i  
 come:CP-1PL-CP-CP-CP gulley water-INDEF.SG-ABS come:PFV-3SG.Y-NPRS-3SG.Y

“And we were going forwards after eating of the chapatti, and then we came up to where a gulley water coming.

## čhúmoe minás - 119

*bar chilan júase káa ité toq*  
 bar chil'an-∅ jú-as-e káaṭ ité-∅ toq  
 gully water-INDEF.SG-ABS come-INF-GEN together that:Y-ABS mad

*chílan bilím. ité tóqulo iné baadšáa*  
 chil'an-∅ b'il'm ité toq'ul-e iné baadšáa-e  
 water-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.Y-NPRS that:Y mad-LOC-ESS that:H king-GEN

*nookáre yuúčim icé atúisum*  
 nookár-e i-uṭ'či-um icé-∅ a-d-u-gús-um  
 servant-ERG 3SG.HM:I-foot-INE-ABL those:X-ABS NEG-TEL-3PL.X:I-go.out-ADJVLZ

*hučúe káa duúsimi. jáa oóčim*  
 húčo-e káaṭ d-gús-m-i jáe a-uṭ'či-um  
 leather.high.boot-GEN together TEL-go.out-NPRS-3SG.HM I-ERG 1SG:I-foot-INE-ABL

*dúisabáyam. oóṭiṅce multán*  
 d-u-gús-a+bá-a-a-m a-uṭ'iṅ-c-e multán-∅  
 TEL-3PL.X:I-go.out-1SG+COP-1SG-1SG-NPRS 1SG:I-foot-PL-ADE-ESS blood-ABS

*dáagusimi.*  
 d-a'gús-m-i  
 TEL-1SG:III-go.out-NPRS-3SG.Y

There came a gully water but it was maddy. The king's servant put off them [his puttees] from his legs and went into the mad water with leather boots. I put off [boots] from my legs. And then my legs bled out.

## čhúmoe minás - 120

*hirúmišo dayó bíma. ec*  
 hir'um-išo dan'čo-∅ b'ién-m=a éc-∅  
 sharp-ADJVLZ-PL stone-PL-ABS COP-3PL.X-NPRS=Q those.ones:X-ABS

*yáare simánc bíma. bootále čurúkičij*  
 i-yáar-e sim'anc-∅ b'ién-m=a bootál-e čurúk-ičij-∅  
 3SG.Y:I-downwards-ESS wire-PL-ABS COP-3PL.X-NPRS=Q bottle-GEN fragment-PL-ABS

*bicúm ke, leél ayámanam.*  
 b'íc'-m ké leél a-a-man'-a-m  
 COP-3PL.Y-NPRS LINK knowing NEG-1SG:I-become-1SG-NPRS

I didn't understand whether there were sharp stones, wires, or the fragments of a bottle under the water.

čhúmoe minás - 121

*yáare multáij duwášami.*  
 i-yáar-e multán-iŋ-Ø d-gús-ya-m-i  
 3SG.Y:I-downwards-ESS blood-PL-ABS TEL-go.out-PL-NPRS-3PL.Y

My blood flowed down.

čhúmoe minás - 122

*óor iláaj piláaj nétan dáa húču*  
 óor iláaj+ECHO-Ø n-i-t'-n dáa húčo-Ø  
 and remedy:MASS-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP again leather.high.boot-ABS

*nóotanininin dáa diméeman.*  
 n-ú-t'-n-n-n-n dáa d-mī-m-an  
 CP-3PL.X:III-do-CP-CP-CP-CP again come:PFV-1PL-NPRS-1PL

And I had some treatment and put on the boots again, and then we restarted to come.

čhúmoe minás - 123

*diméen diméen diméen barénasar, dáa hitháane*  
 d-mī-n d-mī-n d-mī-n barén-as-ar dáa hík-tháan-e  
 come:CP-1PL-CP come:CP-1PL-CP come:CP-1PL-CP look-INF-DAT again one-place-ESS

*híkume barénasar, dárcan baríčóm*  
 hík-kum-e barén-as-ar darc'-an-Ø bar'-č+bá-an-m  
 one-group-ESS look-INF-DAT threshing.circle-INDEF.SG-ABS thresh-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-NPRS

*yáar pa, sađákcum yáar pa*  
 i-yáar pá sađák-c-um i-yáar pá  
 3SG.Y:I-downwards side street-ADE-ABL 3SG.Y:I-downwards side

<i>zamindáarike</i>	<i>dárcan</i>	<i>baríčóm.</i>
zamindáar-ik-e	darc'an-Ø	bar'č+bá-an-m
landowner-INDEF.PL-ERG	threshing.circle-INDEF.SG-ABS	thresh-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-NPRS
<i>úar</i>	<i>qáo</i>	<i>étimi.</i>
ú-ar	qáo-Ø	i-t'm-i
they:DIST-DAT	cry-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HM

We came and looked at a place that landowners are threshing in circles below, and then he called them.

čhúmoē minás - 124

<i>'yáa</i>	<i>áčukóon,</i>	<i>šěčar</i>	<i>baríčóona</i>		
yá	a'čo-kóon	šé-č-ar	bar'č+bá-an-Ø=a		
INTERJ	1SG:II-same.sex.sibling-PL	eat:Y.OBJ-IPFV-DAT	thresh-IPFV+COP-2PL-PRS=Q		
<i>nušén</i>	<i>baríčóon',</i>	<i>nusén</i>	<i>qáo</i>	<i>étase</i>	<i>káa.</i>
n-šé-n	bar'č+bá-an-Ø	n-sén	qáo-Ø	i-t'as-e	káaʔ
CP-eat:Y.OBJ-CP	thresh-IPFV+COP-2PL-PRS	CP-say	cry-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-INF-GEN	together

He called as saying 'Hey my brothers, are you threshing for eating? Or are you threshing after eating?'

čhúmoē minás - 125

<i>úe</i>	<i>'bée</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>méčo,</i>	
ú-e	bée	yá	léi	mí'čo	
they:DIST-ERG	no	INTERJ	INTERJ:HM.OBJ	1PL:II-same.sex.sibling	
<i>yárum</i>	<i>iké</i>	<i>šébáan.</i>	<i>dáa</i>	<i>muú</i>	<i>iké</i>
i-yár-um	iké-Ø	šé+bá-an-Ø	dáa	muú	iké-Ø
3SG.Y:I-before-ADJVLZ	those:Y-ABS	eat:Y.OBJ+COP-2PL-PRS	again	now	those:Y-ABS
<i>mikháre</i>	<i>óosase</i>	<i>gáne,</i>	<i>dáa</i>	<i>baríčabáan',</i>	
mi-khar'e	óos-as-e	gan'e	dáa	bar'č-a+bá-an-Ø	
1PL:I-REFL.PRN-ESS	put-INF-GEN	way-ESS	again	thresh-IPFV-1PL+COP-1PL-PRS	

*sénuman.*

sén-m-an

say-NPRS-3PL.H

They said ‘No brother, you’d eat them before. And we thresh them for our stocking now’.

## čhúmoe minás - 126

<i>‘teí</i>	<i>ya’</i>	<i>nusén,</i>	<i>dáa</i>	<i>toórum</i>	<i>guchárčume</i>
teí	yá	n-sén	dáa	toór-um	guchár-č-um-e
in.that.way	INTERJ	CP-say	again	such-ADJVLZ	move-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS

<i>guchárčume</i>	<i>diméenin,</i>	<i>aaqhiríar</i>	<i>khóle</i>	<i>háaṭar</i>
guchár-č-um-e	d-mĩ:n-n-n	aaqhirí-ar	khól-e	há-aṭ-ar
move-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS	come:CP-1PL-CP-CP-CP	end-DAT	here-ESS	house-INS-DAT

*diméen.*

d-mĩ:n

come:CP-1PL-CP

We said ‘Do so’, then walked in such way and we came around this house here finally.

## čhúmoe minás - 127

<i>háaṭar</i>	<i>júasar,</i>	<i>‘čáayanar</i>	<i>ju’</i>	<i>ésam</i>
há-aṭ-ar	jú-as-ar	čáai-an-ar	jú-i	i-s’a-m
house-INS-DAT	come-INF-DAT	tea-INDEF.SG-DAT	come-IMP.SG	3SG.HM:II-tell-1SG-NPRS

<i>‘jáa</i>	<i>háa</i>	<i>variibqhaaná</i>	<i>guté</i>	<i>bilá.</i>
jé-e	há-e	variib+qhaaná-Ø	guté-Ø	b-il’-Ø
I-GEN	house-GEN	poor+hut-ABS	this:Y-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-PRS

Having come around the house I told him ‘Come on to drink tea, this is my poor house.

## čhúmoe minás - 128

<i>yáara</i>	<i>háale</i>	<i>jamaát</i>	<i>bóa.</i>
i-yáar-e	há-al-e	jamaát-Ø	bá-o-Ø=a
3SG.Y:I-downwards-ESS	house-LOC-ESS	spouse-ABS	COP-3SG.HF-PRS=Q

*ái*                      *bóa.*                      *baréyam.'*  
 a'i-∅                      bá-o-∅=a                      barén-č-a-m  
 1SG:II-daughter-ABS    COP-3SG.HF-PRS=Q    look-IPFV-1SG-NPRS

Down there, is my wife and daughter in the house? I'll look it'.

čhúmoē minás - 129

*ee, nusén, sóoč*                      *gíyibilúm.*  
 ee n-sén sóoč-∅                      gíy+b'il-m  
 FIL CP-say thought-ABS enter+COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

Saying so, [my] thoughts went deeper.

čhúmoē minás - 130

*'čáayanar*                      *ju'*                      *ésabáṭe,*                      *'bée ya*                      *úne*  
 čáai-an-ar                      jú-i                      i-s'a+bá-aṭ-e                      bée yá                      ún-e  
 tea-INDEF.SG-DAT    come-IMP.SG    3SG.HM:II-tell-1SG+COP-INS-ESS    no    INTERJ    thou-GEN

*háale*                      *ḍaḍáj*                      *ḍaámal*                      *biéna'*                      *ásimi.*  
 ha'al-e                      ḍaḍáj                      ḍaámal-∅                      b'ién-∅=a                      a's-m-i  
 house-LOC-ESS    large.drums    timpani-ABS    COP-3PL.X-PRS=Q    1SG:II-tell-NPRS-3SG.HM

When I said him 'Come on, have a tea', then he told me 'No, there may be drums in your house'.

čhúmoē minás - 131

*'be ya,*                      *ye*                      *ju,*                      *béske akhár*                      *je*                      *be*  
 bée yá                      yé                      jú-i                      bés+ké a-khar                      jé-∅                      bé  
 no    INTERJ    look:INTERJ    come-IMP.SG    because    1SG:I-REFL.PRN    I-ABS    what

*béric*                      *báa.'*                      *ésabáṭe*                      *'bée ya*                      *un*  
 béric-∅                      bá-a-∅                      i-s'a+bá-aṭ-e                      bée yá                      ún-∅  
 Doma-ABS    COP-1SG-PRS    3SG.HM:II-tell-1SG+COP-INS-ESS    no    INTERJ    thou-ABS





*háa be maníla'.*  
 ha-∅ bé man+b'il'-∅  
 house-ABS what become+COP-3SG.Y-PRS

When he said ‘the ridge of the house is strong, isn’t it?’, [then I said] ‘So what is my house, you mean?’

čhúmoē minás - 135

*ámulo hóle báyamaṭe, ámulo cháne ke*  
 ámul-e hól-e bá-a-a-um-aṭ-e ámul-e chán-e ké  
 where-ESS outside-ESS COP-1SG-1SG-ADJVLZ-INS-ESS where-ESS straight-ESS LINK

*cháne, haráltaje čhóko étibía.*  
 chán-e harált-aṅe čhóko i-t+b'i-∅=a  
 straight-ESS rain-INSTRUCTIVE breaking.off 3SG.X:II-do+COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q

*zilziláaje ámulo bésan qeréq*  
 zilzilá-aṅe ámul-e bés-an qeréq-∅  
 earthquake-INSTRUCTIVE where-ESS what-INDEF.SG crack-ABS

*étibía.*  
 i-t+b'i-∅=a  
 3SG.X:III-do+COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q

While I was out [of this house], has any rain or earthquake actually broken [the ridge]?

čhúmoē minás - 136

*ee, sóoč sambáar awášimi.*  
 ee sóoč sambá-ar a-biśá-m-i  
 FIL thought thought-DAT 1SG:I-throw-NPRS-3SG.Y

I was thrown into deep consideration.

čhúmoē minás - 137

*sóoč sambáar awášinin, ásulo oólulo*  
 sóoč sambá-ar n-a-biśá-n-n a-s'-ul-e a-ul'-ul-e  
 thought thought-DAT CP-1SG:I-throw-CP-CP 1SG:II-heart-LOC-ESS 1SG:I-belly-LOC-ESS

*apálašu iké yaráase káa yáar ne*  
 a-bal'-as-čo iké-∅ yar'-as-e káaṭ i-yáar n-i-t  
 NEG-fall-INF-PL those:Y-ABS sound-INF-GEN together 3SG.Y:I-downwards CP-3SG.Y:II-do

*háar nupára, 'ho guchúčam áčo'*  
 ha'-ar n-barén hó gu-chú-č-a-m a-čo  
 house-DAT CP-look then 2SG:I-bring.away-IPFV-1SG-NPRS 1SG:II-same.sex.sibling

*nusé dáayabáa", sénase káa.*  
 n-sén d-á~a+bá-a-∅ sén-as-e káaṭ  
 CP-say come:PFV-1SG-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS say-INF-GEN together

Having thrown into consideration, with such unconvincing conversation I looked at the house and told him 'Now, I'll bring you soon', and then I have come" he spoke.

čhúmoe minás - 138

*ye iké uyóon éimo mósulo*  
 yé iké-∅ u'yoon i-i-mu-e mu'-s'-ul-e  
 look:INTERJ those:Y-ABS all 3SG.HM:II-daughter-OBL-GEN 3SG.HF:II-heart-LOC-ESS

*giyámi.*  
 giy'-ya-m-i  
 enter-PL-NPRS-3PL.Y

And so his daughter understood all the stories.

čhúmoe minás - 139

*éimo mósulo nuktya sénimi*  
 i-i-mu-e mu'-s'-ul-e n-giy'-ya sén-m-i  
 3SG.HM:II-daughter-OBL-GEN 3SG.HF:II-heart-LOC-ESS CP-enter-PL say-NPRS-3SG.HM

*ke, háale čhap šapíke éer tayáar étuman.*  
 ké ha'-al-e čhap šapík-e i-ar tayáar i-t'-m-an  
 LINK house-LOC-ESS flesh food-GEN 3SG.HM:II-DAT ready 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H

*čhap táaq nétan déciruman.*  
 čhap'-∅ táq n-i-t'-n d-i-s-ri'-m-an  
 flesh-ABS chop CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP TEL-3SG.Y:II-CAUS-ripen-NPRS-3PL.H



<i>gánulo</i>	<i>şim</i>	<i>isé</i>	<i>phíti</i>	<i>lap</i>	<i>jáa</i>
gan-ul-e	şı-um	isé	phíti-∅	lap	jé-e
way-LOC-ESS	eat:HX.SG.OBJ-ADJVLZ	that:X	thick.pancake-ABS	half.part	I-ERG
<i>şlam,</i>		<i>lap</i>	<i>chılaje</i>	<i>étam,</i>	
şı-a-m		lap-∅	chıl-aŋe	i-t'a-m	
eat:HX.SG.OBJ-1SG-NPRS		half.part-ABS	water-INSTRUCTIVE	3SG.X:II-do-1SG-NPRS	
<i>alhámdu lilláa".</i>	<i>sénase,</i>	<i>"ité</i>	<i>maaní</i>	<i>bésan</i>	
alhámdu+lilláa	sén-as-e	ité	maaní-∅	bés-an-∅	
praise+to.god	say-INF-GEN	that:Y	meaning-ABS	what-INDEF.SG-ABS	
<i>maními,</i>	<i>gusé</i>	<i>lap</i>	<i>jéi</i>	<i>şlam</i>	<i>gusé</i>
man'-m-i	gusé	lap-∅	je-í	şı-a-m	gusé-∅
become-NPRS-3SG.Y	this:X	half.part-ABS	1SG:I-self	eat:HX.SG.OBJ-1SG-NPRS	this:X-ABS
<i>thi</i>	<i>ními,</i>	<i>iné</i>	<i>moomín</i>	<i>musalmáan</i>	<i>uŋgóoye</i>
thí	ní-m-i	iné	moomín	musalmáan-∅	uŋgóoy-e
empty	go-NPRS-3SG.X	that:H	pious	muslim-ABS	just.you-ABS
<i>guqhátar</i>	<i>ními</i>	<i>isé</i>	<i>jáa</i>	<i>sawáapar</i>	<i>ními",</i>
gu-qhat'-ar	ní-m-i	isé-∅	jé-e	sawáap-ar	ní-m-i
2SG:I-mouth-DAT	go-NPRS-3SG.X	that:X-ABS	I-GEN	rectitude-DAT	go-NPRS-3SG.X
<i>nusé</i>	<i>teí</i>	<i>sénimi.</i>			
n-sén	teíl	sén-m-i			
CP-say	in.that.way	say-NPRS-3SG.HM			

He has said such and such, "On the bread eaten in that way, the half part I ate, and the rest part I wasted, by the grace of the God. What I mean is that the half part which I ate by myself became wasted, and the half part which just you, who are a devout muslim, ate became virtue for me".

čhúmo e minás - 142

<i>"jéimo</i>	<i>es</i>	<i>jukáŋar</i>	<i>wálimi,</i>	<i>jéi</i>
je-í-mu-e	és-∅	jukáŋ-ar	i-bal'-m-i	je-í
1SG:I-self-OBL-GEN	that.one:X-ABS	cesspit-DAT	3SG.X:I-fall-NPRS-3SG.X	1SG:I-self

*şíam*                      *isé.*  
 şí-a-um                      isé-Ø  
 eat:HX.SG.OBJ-1SG-ADJVLZ    that:X-ABS

“My part, which I ate, fell into a cesspit.

čhúmoe minás - 143

*iné*    *moomín*    *musalmáane*    *qhátar*                      *éeram*  
 iné    moomín    musalmáan-e    i-qhat'ar                      i'r'a-um  
 that:H    pious            muslim-GEN    3SG.HM:I-mouth-DAT    3SG.X:III-send-1SG-ADJVLZ

*isé*                      *úne*                      *şim*    *isé*                      *áar*                      *sawáapar*  
 isé-Ø                      ún-e                      şí-um    isé-Ø                      a'-ar                      sawáap-ar  
 that:X-ABS    thou-ERG    eat:HX.SG.OBJ-ADJVLZ    that:X-ABS    1SG:II-DAT    rectitude-DAT

*ními*”,                      *nusé*    *ité*                      *čáya*                      *étimi.*  
 ní-m-i                      n-sén    ité                      čáya-Ø                      i-t'm-i  
 go-NPRS-3SG.X    CP-say    that:Y    story-ABS    3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HM

The part which I sent to the mouth of a devout muslim and which you ate became my virtue” saying so, he told the story.

čhúmoe minás - 144

*“étcum,*                      *dáa*    *damáan*                      *damáanininin*                      *ámit*    *bar*  
 ét-c-um                      dáa    d-ma'n                      d-ma'n-n-n-n                      ámit    bar  
 that.one:Y-ADE-ABL    again    come:CP-2PL-CP    come:CP-2PL-CP-CP-CP-CP    which    gully

*chílan*                      *bilím*                      *ke,*    *éle*                      *íne*                      *áqhal*  
 chil'an-Ø                      b'il-m                      ké    él-e                      ín-e                      áqhal-Ø  
 water-INDEF.SG-ABS    COP-3SG.Y-NPRS    LINK    there-ESS    s/he:DIST-ERG    intelligence-ABS

*nétaninin*                      *yuútiŋe*                      *hifaazáte*                      *húčue*  
 n-i-t'n-n-n                      i-uŋ-iŋ-e                      hifaazát-e                      húčo-e  
 CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP-CP-CP    3SG.HM:I-foot-PL-GEN    preservation-GEN    leather.high.boot-GEN

*káa*                      *duúsimi,*    *úne*                      *guúčim*  
 kaaŋ    d-gús-m-i    ún-e                      gu-uŋ-či-um  
 together    TEL-go.out-NPRS-3SG.HM    thou-ERG    2SG:I-foot-INE-ABL

*duúsuma*                      *guútiŋulo*                      *multán*                      *duúsimi.*  
 d-u-gús-m-a                      gu-uṭ'ij-ul-e                      multán-Ø                      d-gús-m-i  
 TEL-3PL.X:I-go.out-NPRS-2SG                      2SG:I-foot-PL-LOC-ESS                      blood-ABS                      TEL-go.out-NPRS-3SG.Y

*úne*                      *sóoč*                      *sambá*                      *ayétuma.*  
 ún-e                      sóoč                      sambá-Ø                      a-i-t'm-a  
 thou-ERG                      thought                      thought-ABS                      NEG-3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-2SG

[She said,] “And then you walked again and there appeared muddy water, so he was astute enough to thrust his legs still putting his leather boots, but you put them off from your legs and (got injured to) bleed. It was imprudent of you.

čhúmoe minás - 145

*yáare*                      *hirúmišo*                      *dayó*                      *bíma.*  
 i-yaar'e                      hir'um-išo                      dan'čo-Ø                      b'ién-m=a  
 3SG.Y:I-downwards-ESS                      sharp-ADJVLZ-PL                      stone-PL-ABS                      COP-3PL.X-NPRS=Q

*čháay*                      *bicúma.*                      *yáa* *simánc*                      *bíma.*  
 čháṣ-ay-Ø                      b'ic'm=a                      yáa                      sim'anc-Ø                      b'ién-m=a  
 sea.buckthorn-PL-ABS                      COP-3PL.Y-NPRS=Q                      or                      wire-PL-ABS                      COP-3PL.X-NPRS=Q

*bésik*                      *bim*                      *ke,*                      *'ačhó*                      *náa*                      *oótiŋ*                      *laáš*  
 bés-ik-Ø                      b'ién-m                      ké                      ačhó                      náa                      a-uṭ'ij                      laáš  
 what-INDEF.PL-ABS                      COP-3PL.X-NPRS                      LINK                      wait:INTERJ                      TAG.Q                      1SG:I-foot-PL                      spread

*maími'*                      *nusé*                      *sóoč*                      *sambá*                      *ne*                      *bes*  
 man'č-m-i                      n-sén                      sóoč                      sambá-Ø                      n-i-t                      bés  
 become-IPFV-NPRS-3PL.Y                      CP-say                      thought                      thought-ABS                      CP-3SG.Y:II-do                      why

*atíusuma.*  
 a-d-gús-m-a  
 NEG-TEL-go.out-NPRS-2SG

Were there sharp stones, spikes, or iron wires under the water? Whatever there were, you said ‘Wait! My feet were smeared’ but why you didn’t think and come out?

## čhúmoe minás - 146

*úne áqhale duró ayétume čhu*  
 ún-e áqhal-e duró-Ø a-i-t'-um-e čhu'-Ø  
 thou-ERG intelligence-GEN work-ABS NEG-3SG.Y:II-do-ADJVLZ-ESS blade-ABS

*duúsase wájaṭe multán díusuma*  
 d-gús-as-e wája-aṭ-e multán-Ø d-i-gús-m-a  
 TEL-go.out-INF-GEN reason-INS-ESS blood-ABS TEL-3SG.Y:I-go.out-NPRS-2SG

*guúṭiṅcum, íne yuúṭiṅe hifaazát*  
 gu-uṭ'-iṅ-c-um ín-e i-uṭ'-iṅ-e hifaazát-Ø  
 2SG:I-foot-PL-ADE-ABL s/he:DIST-ERG 3SG.HM:I-foot-PL-GEN preservation-ABS

*ne húčoce atéeyanum*  
 n-i-t húčo-c-e a-d-i'-yan'-um  
 CP-3SG.Y:II-do leather.high.boot-ADE-ESS NEG-TEL-3SG.Y:III-be.finished-ADJVLZ

*húčue káa galáas étimi.*  
 húčo-e káaṭ galáas-Ø i-t'-Ø-m-i  
 leather.high.boot-GEN together glass-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HM

You didn't use your head and picked out the stuck thing to bleed out at your feet. He didn't grudge his boots and protected his legs, so the glass stuck on the boots.

## čhúmoe minás - 147

*étcum báadulo, dárcecum uéer*  
 ét-c-um báad-ul-e darc'-e-c-um ué-ar  
 that.one:Y-ADE-ABL following.time-LOC-ESS threshing.circle-OBL-ADE-ABL those:H-DAT

*qáo étas ité maaní, 'šéčer*  
 qáo-Ø i-t'-as ité maaní-Ø šé-č-ar  
 cry-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-INF that:Y meaning-ABS eat:Y.OBJ-IPFV-DAT

*baričóona nušen baričóon' sénase*  
 bar'-č+bá-an-Ø=a n-šé-n bar'-č+bá-an-Ø sén-as-e  
 thresh-IPFV+COP-2PL-PRS=Q CP-eat:Y.OBJ-CP thresh-IPFV+COP-2PL-PRS say-INF-GEN



*teí*      *maaní,*      *‘yárum*      *iké*      *šébaan,*  
 teí      maaní-Ø      i-yár-um      iké-Ø      šé+bá-an-Ø  
 in.that.way      meaning-ABS      3SG.Y:I-before-ADJVLZ      those:Y-ABS      eat:Y.OBJ+COP-3PL.H-PRS

*dáa*    *iké*      *méncum*      *dusúm*      *šébaan,*      *dáa*  
 dáa    iké-Ø      mén-c-um      d-sú-um      šé+bá-an-Ø      dáa  
 again    those:Y-ABS      who-ADE-ABL      TEL-bring-ADJVLZ      eat:Y.OBJ+COP-3PL.H-PRS      again

*iké*      *uyúyar*      *baričóona’*,  
 iké-Ø      u-γun’č-ar      bar’č+bá-an-Ø=a  
 those:Y-ABS      3PL.H:I-give:Y.PL.OBJ-IPFV-DAT      thresh-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-PRS=Q

*nusénininin.*

n-sén-n-n-n

CP-say-CP-CP-CP

After that, why did you call [farmers] on a threshing circle and asked ‘Whether are you threshing for eating or after eating?’, he replied ‘if they have eaten those before then it should be that they had taken those from the ones whom they are threshing those to give’.

čhúmoe minás - 148

*‘bée mái*      *šéčar*      *baričóon’*,      *nusén*    *ité*      *čáya*  
 bée    ma-í      šé-č-ar      bar’č+bá-an-Ø      n-sén    ité      čáya-Ø  
 no    2PL:I-self    eat:Y.OBJ-IPFV-DAT    thresh-IPFV+COP-2PL-PRS    CP-say    that:Y    story-ABS

*étóm.*

i-t+bá-an-m

3SG.Y:II-do+COP-3PL.H-NPRS

‘No, you thresh to eat by yourself’ they told the story.

čhúmoe minás - 149

*khok*      *uskó*    *maními.*      *ee,*    *khok*      *uskó*  
 khók-Ø      uskó    man’-m-i      ee    khók-Ø      uskó  
 those.ones:Y-ABS    three:Y    become-NPRS-3PL.Y    FIL    those.ones:Y-ABS    three:Y

<i>maními.</i>	<i>dáa</i>	<i>aaqhiríulo</i>	<i>ité,</i>	<i>‘máa</i>	<i>háale</i>	<i>ḍaḍán</i>
man'-m-i	dáa	aaqhirí-ul-e	ité	má-e	há'al-e	ḍaḍán
become-NPRS-3PL.Y	again	end-LOC-ESS	that:Y	you-GEN	house-LOC-ESS	large.drums
<i>ḍaámal</i>	<i>biéna'</i>	<i>sénase</i>	<i>ité</i>	<i>maqsád.</i>		
ḍaámal-Ø	b'ién-Ø=a	sén-as-e	ité	maqsád-Ø		
timpani-ABS	COP-3PL.X-PRS=Q	say-INF-GEN	that:Y	purpose-ABS		

These [solutions] became three. And finally ‘Are there drums in your house’ you said on purpose.

čhúmoē minás - 150

<i>‘máa</i>	<i>háale</i>	<i>ḍaḍán</i>	<i>ḍaámal</i>	<i>biéna'</i>	<i>sénase</i>
má-e	há'al-e	ḍaḍán	ḍaámal-Ø	b'ién-Ø=a	sén-as-e
you-GEN	house-LOC-ESS	large.drum	timpani-ABS	COP-3PL.X-PRS=Q	say-INF-GEN
<i>maqsád</i>	<i>joṭpát</i>	<i>báana</i>	<i>šóor-o-šár</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>čáya</i>
maqsád-Ø	joṭpát-Ø	bá-an-Ø=a	šóor+o+šár-Ø	n-i-t	čáya-Ø
purpose-ABS	children-ABS	COP-3PL.H-PRS=Q	uproar-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	story-ABS
<i>míltumalar</i>	<i>amébišačar.</i>				
mi-ltumál-ar	a-mi-biśá-č-ar				
1PL:I-ear-DAT	NEG-1PL:III-throw-IPFV-DAT				

The purpose of saying ‘Are there drums in your house?’ should be that there may be children in this house so that they would make sound and we would not be able to hear each other.

čhúmoē minás - 151

<i>‘máa</i>	<i>háale</i>	<i>joṭpát</i>	<i>báana</i>	<i>šóor-o-šár</i>	<i>ne</i>
má-e	há'al-e	joṭpát-Ø	bá-an-Ø=a	šóor+o+šár-Ø	n-i-t
you-GEN	house-LOC-ESS	children-ABS	COP-3PL.H-PRS=Q	uproar-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do
<i>ité</i>	<i>čáya</i>	<i>atímeyalas</i>	<i>métase</i>	<i>gáne'</i>	<i>sénase</i>
ité	čáya-Ø	a-d-mi-yal-as-Ø	mi-t'-as-e	gan'e	sén-as-e
that:Y	story-ABS	NEG-TEL-1PL:II-hear-INF-ABS	1PL:II-do-INF-GEN	way-ESS	say-INF-GEN

<i>káa.</i>	<i>et</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>sóoçar</i>	<i>wálimi.</i>
káaṭ	ét-∅	n-i-t	sóoč-ar	i-bal'-m-i
together	that.one:Y-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	thought-DAT	3SG.HM:I-fall-NPRS-3SG.HM

With saying ‘Are there children in your house being noisy to make us unable to talk?’, he set himself thinking.

čhúmoe minás - 152

<i>itée</i>	<i>gáne</i>	<i>téi</i>	<i>gósói</i>	<i>‘máa</i>	<i>háale</i>
ité-e	gan'-e	teíl	gu'-s+bá-i-∅	má-e	ha'-al-e
that:Y-GEN	way-ESS	in.that.way	2SG:II-tell+COP-3SG.HM-PRS	you-GEN	house-LOC-ESS

<i>joṭpát</i>	<i>báana,</i>	<i>čáya</i>	<i>diméyalas</i>
joṭpát-∅	bá-an-∅=a	čáya-∅	d-mi'-yal-as
children-ABS	COP-3PL.H-PRS=Q	story-ABS	TEL-1PL:II-hear-INF

<i>atímeyalas</i>	<i>métase</i>	<i>gáne</i>	<i>joṭpát</i>	<i>báana'</i>
a-d-mi'-yal-as-∅	mi'-t'-as-e	gan'-e	joṭpát-∅	bá-an-∅=a
NEG-TEL-1PL.II-hear-INF-ABS	1PL:II-do-INF-GEN	way-ESS	children-ABS	COP-3PL.H-PRS=Q

<i>sénase</i>	<i>káa.</i>
sén-as-e	káaṭ
say-INF-GEN	together

For the purpose he has asked you ‘Are there children in your house? Are there children to make us not to hear?’

čhúmoe minás - 153

<i>ité</i>	<i>gósóm</i>	<i>etéulo</i>	<i>gósulo</i>
ité-∅	gu'-s+bá-i-m	ité-ul-e	gu'-s'-ul-e
that:Y-ABS	2SG:II-tell+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS	that:Y-LOC-ESS	2SG:II-heart-LOC-ESS

<i>apálimi.</i>
a-bal'-m-i
NEG-fall-NPRS-3SG.Y

He had told you that [but] you didn't understand that.

## čhúmoe minás - 154

*ee, dáa 'ámitan řinçh phuqtá bíá' sénase*  
 ee dáa ámit-an řinç'-∅ phuqtá b'-i-∅=a sén-as-e  
 FIL again which-INDEF.SG beam-ABS strong COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q say-INF-GEN

*maaní, jáa káa čayabárar daltás akaabíran*  
 maaní-∅ jé-e káač čayabár-ar daltás akaabír-an-∅  
 meaning-ABS I-GEN together conversation-DAT beautiful high.up-INDEF.SG-ABS

*báia háale'.*  
 bá-i-∅=a ha'al-e  
 COP-3SG.HM-PRS=Q house-LOC-ESS

And his aim of saying 'Any ridge [of your house] is strong, isn't it' is as follows: 'Is there any noble fellow to talk with me in this house?'

## čhúmoe minás - 155

*'čayabáre yaáli bilúm sísan*  
 čayabár-e i-yaáli-∅ b'il-um sís-an-∅  
 conversation-GEN 3SG.HM:I-technique-ABS COP-3SG.Y-ADJVLZ people-INDEF.SG-ABS

*báia jáa káa' nuséninin, ité čáya*  
 bá-i-∅=a jé-e káač n-sén-n-n ité čáya-∅  
 COP-3SG.HM-PRS=Q I-GEN together CP-say-CP-CP that:Y story-ABS

*étimi."*  
 i-t'-m-i  
 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HM

'Is there any fellow to talk with me who has the art of conversation?' he said."

## čhúmoe minás - 156

*nuséninin guké čáyamiñ nétin éie*  
 n-sén-n-n guké čáya-miñ-∅ n-i-t'-n i-i-e  
 CP-say-CP-CP these:Y story-PL-ABS CP-3PL.Y:II-do-CP 3SG.HM:II-daughter-ERG

*éer*                      *maaní*                      *étumo.*  
 i-ar                      maaní-Ø                      i-t'-m-o  
 3SG.HM:II-DAT    meaning-ABS    3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HF

Saying so, his daughter told these stories and explained the meaning for him.

čhúmoe minás - 157

*éie*                                      *éer*                      *maaní*                      *nétaninin*                      *uyóon*  
 i-i-e                                      i-ar                      maaní-Ø                      n-i-t'-n-n-n                      uyóon-Ø  
 3SG.HM:II-daughter-ERG    3SG.HM:II-DAT    meaning-ABS    CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP-CP-CP    all-ABS

*ésulo*                                      *néebišanin*                      *altó*    *qhamáličij*  
 i-s-ul-e                                      n-i'-bišá-n-n                      altó    qhamáli-čij-Ø  
 3SG.HM:II-heart-LOC-ESS    CP-3SG.HM:III-throw-CP-CP    two:Y    thin.pancake-PL-ABS

*étumo.*  
 i-t'-m-o  
 3PL.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HF

His daughter explained the meaning and brought him to a complete understanding, and then she made two thin pancakes.

čhúmoe minás - 158

*altó*    *qhamáličij*                      *nétanininin,*                      *iné*    *mehmáan*                      *alág*  
 altó    qhamáli-čij-Ø                      n-i-t'-n-n-n-n                      iné    mehmáan-Ø                      alág  
 two:Y    thin.pancake-PL-ABS    CP-3PL.Y:II-do-CP-CP-CP-CP    that:H    guest-ABS                      separate

*néuro*                      *kamaráaulo*                      *bam.*  
 n-i-hurúř                      kamará-ul-e                      bá-i-m  
 CP-3SG.H:II-sit    room-LOC-ESS    COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

She made the two thin pancakes, and the guest had been seated leaving a little space in the room.

## čhúmoe minás - 159

<i>tháajanulo</i>	<i>qhamáličij</i>	<i>altó</i>	<i>éer</i>		
tháaŋ-an-ul-e	qhamáli-čij-Ø	altó	i-ar		
palace-INDEF.SG-LOC-ESS	thin.pancake-PL-ABS	two:Y	3SG.HM:II-DAT		
<i>óocumo,</i>	<i>háath páathulo</i>	<i>šapík</i>	<i>qham</i>	<i>éer</i>	
u̇-chu'-m-o	háath+ECHO-ul-e	šapík	qham'-Ø	i-ar	
3PL.H:III-bring.away-NPRS-3SG.HF	hand+MASS-LOC-ESS	food	curry-ABS	3SG.HM:II-DAT	
<i>óocumo,</i>	<i>qham</i>	<i>nóocunin</i>		<i>tayáar</i>	
u̇-chu'-m-o	qham'-Ø	n-u̇-chu'-n-n		tayáar	
3PL.H:III-bring.away-NPRS-3SG.HF	curry-ABS	CP-3PL.H:III-bring.away-CP-CP		ready	
<i>ne</i>	<i>sénumo</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>“mehmáanar</i>	<i>teí</i>	
n-i-t	sén-m-o	ké	mehmáan-ar	teíl	
CP-3SG.Y:II-do	say-NPRS-3SG.HF	LINK	guest-DAT	in.that.way	
<i>éso</i>	<i>baábo”</i>	<i>sénumo,</i>	<i>“awá”</i>	<i>sénase</i>	<i>káa.</i>
i-s-i	baábo	sén-m-o	awá	sén-as-e	káaŋ
3SG.HM:II-tell-IMP.SG	father	say-NPRS-3SG.HF	yes	say-INF-GEN	together

In the kitchen she handed her father the two pancakes in him [the servant], prepared curry and said “tell the guest in that way, father”. [And he said] “okay”.

## čhúmoe minás - 160

<i>“halánc</i>	<i>altó</i>	<i>taaríq</i>	<i>bilá”</i>	<i>éso,</i>	<i>“muú</i>	<i>leél</i>
halánc-e	altó	taaríq-Ø	b-il'-Ø	i-s-i	muú	leél
moon-GEN	two:Y	date-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-PRS	3SG.HM:II-tell-IMP.SG	now	knowing
<i>ayéetuma</i>	<i>baré,</i>	<i>muú</i>	<i>leél</i>	<i>ayéetum</i>		
a-i-t'-m-a	barén-i	muú	leél	a-i-t'-um		
NEG-3SG.HM:III-do-NPRS-2SG	look-IMP.SG	now	knowing	NEG-3SG.HM:III-do-ADJVLZ		
<i>ágar</i>	<i>gánulo</i>	<i>gusé</i>	<i>šapík</i>	<i>yaíki</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>káman</i>
ágar	gan'-ul-e	gusé	šapík-Ø	yaíki	n-i-t	kám-an
if	way-LOC-ESS	this:X	food-ABS	theft	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	little-INDEF.SG

*şıcı* *míłmi,* *leél*  
 şí-č-m-i min-č-m-i leél  
 eat:HX.SG.OBJ-IPFV-NPRS-3SG.HM drink-IPFV-NPRS-3SG.HM knowing

*małmi”* *nusén.*  
 man-č-m-i n-sén  
 become-IPFV-NPRS-3SG.HM CP-say

Tell him “It is the second day of the moon. See, if you didn’t inform him of it then he will steal this chapatti to eat and drink something and know it”.

čhúmoe minás - 161

*muúar* *leél* *ayéetum* *sénum* *ke* *“halánc*  
 mu-uy-ár leél a-i-t-um sén-um ké halánc-e  
 3SG.HF:I-father-DAT knowing NEG-3SG.Y:III-do-ADJVLZ say-ADJVLZ LINK moon-GEN

*altó* *bilúm”.*  
 altó-∅ b-il-m  
 two-ABS COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

Without any explanation for her father she said “it is the second day of the moon”.

čhúmoe minás - 162

*“halánc* *altó* *bilá”* *éso,* *“tiş* *harált* *ke*  
 halánc-e altó-∅ b-il-∅ i-s-i tiş harált-∅ ké  
 moon-GEN two:Y-ABS COP-3SG.Y-PRS 3SG.HM:II-tell-IMP.SG wind rain-ABS LINK

*bilá”* *sen.*  
 b-il-∅ sén-i  
 COP-3SG.Y-PRS say-IMP.SG

Tell him “It’s the second day of the moon. And there is a rainstorm”.

## čhúmoe minás - 163

óor “káman asiímuc ke ziaadá bié” sen.  
 óor kám-an asií-muc-Ø ké ziaadá b’ién-Ø sén-i  
 and little-INDEF.SG star-PL-ABS LINK much COP-3PL.X-PRS say-IMP.SG

And say “There are a lot of stars also”.

## čhúmoe minás - 164

“káman asiímuc ke bié” sen”, sénase káa,  
 kám-an asií-muc-Ø ké b’ién-Ø sén-i sén-as-e káat  
 little-INDEF.SG star-PL-ABS LINK COP-3PL.X-PRS say-IMP.SG say-INF-GEN together  
 “šúa ái” nusén.  
 šúa a-i n-sén  
 good 1SG:II-daughter CP-say

“Say ‘There are a lot of stars also’ ” said she, and [he] replied “Okay, my daughter”.

## čhúmoe minás - 165

íne mehmáanar šapík níya nínininin,  
 ín-e mehmáan-ar šapík-Ø n-i-gán n-i’-n-n-n  
 s/he:DIST-ERG guest-DAT food-ABS CP-3SG.X:I-take go:CP-3SG.HM-CP-CP-CP-CP

gánulo han qhamálian šémi yaíki  
 gan’ul-e hán qhamáli-an-Ø šé-m-i yaíki  
 way-LOC-ESS one:Y thin.pancake-INDEF.SG-ABS eat:Y.OBJ-NPRS-3SG.HM theft

ne, úlum čhápe phalóno altó uskó  
 n-i’t úl-um čhap’e phal’ono-Ø altó uskó  
 CP-3SG.Y:II-do inside-ABL flesh-GEN grain-PL-ABS two:Y three:Y

šémi.

šé-m-i

eat:Y.OBJ-NPRS-3SG.HM

Having taken the meal, he brought it for the guset as stealing and eating a pancake and a few pieces of meat from inside the meal.



## čhúmoe minás - 166

<i>nušéninin</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>núco</i>	<i>mehmáane</i>	<i>yáar</i>
n-šé-n-n-n	ké	n-u-chú	mehmáan-e	i-yáar
CP-eat:Y.OBJ-CP-CP-CP	LINK	CP-3PL.X:I-bring.away	guest-GEN	3SG.HM:I-downwards

*óosimí.*  
 óos-m-i  
 put-NPRS-3SG.HM

Having eaten [them], he brought and put it before the guest.

## čhúmoe minás - 167

<i>nóosininin,</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>mehmáane</i>	<i>yuúm</i>	<i>isé</i>	<i>šapík</i>
n-óos-n-n-n	ín	mehmáan-e	i-u'um	isé	šapík-Ø
CP-put-CP-CP-CP	s/he:DIST	guest-ERG	3SG.HM:I-give:X.OBJ-ADJVLZ	that:X	food-ABS

<i>niší</i>	<i>numín</i>	<i>múšate</i>	<i>sénimi</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>“uné</i>
n-ší	n-min	muš'aṭ-e	sén-m-i	ké	ún-e
CP-eat:HM.SG.OBJ	CP-drink	edge-INS-ESS	say-NPRS-3SG.HM	LINK	thou-GEN

<i>góimur</i>	<i>teí</i>	<i>móso”.</i>
gu'i-mu-ar	teíl	mu:s'i
2SG:II-daughter-OBL-DAT	in.that.way	3SG.HF:II-tell-IMP.SG

Having put it there, the guest ate the meal which the father brought and drank and soon said “Tell your daughter in this way”.

## čhúmoe minás - 168

<i>“uné</i>	<i>góimur</i>	<i>teí</i>	<i>móso</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>‘un</i>
ún-e	gu'i-mu-ar	teíl	mu:s'i	ké	ún-Ø
thou-GEN	2SG:II-daughter-OBL-DAT	in.that.way	3SG.HF:II-tell-IMP.SG	LINK	thou-ABS

<i>be</i>	<i>guúmuskišan</i>	<i>báa'</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>‘guúmušo</i>
bé	gu-umús-kiš-an	bá-a-Ø	ké	gu-umús-čö-Ø
what	2SG:I-tongue-ADJVLZ-INDEF.SG	COP-2SG-PRS	LINK	2SG:I-tongue-PL-ABS

*yaráasan*                      *báa’.*  
 yar’-as-an-∅                      bá-a-∅  
 sound-INF-INDEF.SG-ABS    COP-2SG-PRS

“Tell your daughter ‘What a liar you are! You big liar!’.

čhúmoē minás - 169

*nusé teí móso,*                      *‘mehmáane teí*  
 n-sén teíl                      mu’-s’-i                      mehmáan-e teíl  
 CP-say in.that.way 3SG.HF:II-tell-IMP.SG guest-ERG in.that.way

*gósói’*                                      *sen.*                      *be manílá”*                                      *sénase*  
 gu’-s+bá-i-∅                                      sén-i                      bé man+b’-il’-∅                                      sén-as-e  
 2SG.II-tell+COP-3SG.HM-PRS say-IMP.SG what become+COP-3SG.Y-PRS say-INF-GEN

*káa.*  
*káaṭ*  
 together

Tell her so and ‘the guest is telling you so’. Is it okay?” he said.

čhúmoē minás - 170

“*halánce hik bilúm’*                      *sen.*                      *‘tiṣ harált káman*  
 halánc-e hík b’-il’-m                      sén-i                      tiṣ harált-∅ kám-an  
 moon-GEN one:Z COP-3SG.Y-NPRS say-IMP.SG wind rain-ABS little-INDEF.SG

*bilúm’*                                      *sen.*                      *‘asíimuc ke buṭ káman bim’*  
 b’-il’-m                                      sén-i                      asíi-muc-∅ ké búṭ kám-an                      b’-ien-m  
 COP-3SG.Y-NPRS say-IMP.SG star-PL-ABS LINK much little-INDEF.SG COP-3PL.X-NPRS

*sen.”*                      *nusé “teí*                      *gósubóm”*                                      *sénase*                      *káa.*  
 sén-i                      n-sén teíl                      gu’-s+bá-i-m                                      sén-as-e                      káaṭ  
 say-IMP.SG CP-say in.that.way 2SG.II-tell+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS say-INF-GEN together

The guest said “He said to tell you ‘It was the first day of the moon. Neither wind nor rain but there were several stars’ ”.

## čhúmoe minás - 171

<b>“šúa”, nusén,</b>	<b>“šúa léi</b>	<b>áço</b>	<b>lée”</b>			
šúa n-sén	šúa léi	a'ço	léi			
good CP-say	good INTERJ:HM.OBJ	1SG:II-same.sex.sibling	INTERJ:HM.OBJ			
<b>nuséninin,</b>	<b>dáa et</b>	<b>čáya</b>	<b>nukán</b>	<b>saamáan</b>	<b>šapík</b>	<b>saamáan</b>
n-sén-n-n	dáa ét	čáya-Ø	n-gán	saamáan	šapík	saamáan-Ø
CP-say-CP-CP	again that.one:Y	story-ABS	CP-take	baggage	food	baggage-ABS
<b>sambáar</b>	<b>nétanininin.</b>					
sambá-ar	n-i-t'-n-n-n					
thought-DAT	CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP-CP-CP-CP					

The father said “Okay, my brother”, cut off the talk, and thought about baggage (? took up baggage).

## čhúmoe minás - 172

<b>íti</b>	<b>éi</b>	<b>mópačiar</b>	<b>ními.</b>
íti	i-i	mu-pá-či-ar	ní-m-i
thither	3SG.HM:II-daughter	3SG.HF:II-side-INE-DAT	go-NPRS-3SG.HM

He went to his daughter.

## čhúmoe minás - 173

<b>iné</b>	<b>múuy</b>	<b>éi</b>	<b>mópačiar</b>	<b>nín</b>	
iné	mu-uy'-Ø	i-i	mu-pá-či-ar	n-i'-n	
that:H	3SG.HF:I-father-ABS	3SG.HM:II-daughter	3SG.HF:II-side-INE-DAT	go:CP-3SG.HM-CP	
<b>saamáan</b>	<b>phaṭ</b>	<b>nétaninin,</b>	<b>“mehmáane</b>	<b>be</b>	<b>sénia</b>
saamáan-Ø	phát	n-i-t'-n-n-n	mehmáan-e	bé	sén-Ø-i=a
baggage-ABS	quitting	CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP-CP-CP	guest-ERG	what	say-PRS-3SG.HM=Q
<b>baábo”</b>	<b>sénase</b>	<b>káa.</b>			
baábo	sén-as-e	káaṭ			
dad	say-INF-GEN	together			

The father went to his daughter and tossed the baggage while she was saying “What was he going to say, father?”

## čhúmoe minás - 174

“*haláncé hik bilúm’ sénimi. óor ‘tiş harált kam*  
*halánc-e hík b’íl’-m sén-m-i óor tiş harált-Ø kám*  
 moon-GEN one:Z COP-3SG.Y-NPRS say-NPRS-3SG.HM and wind rain-ABS little

*bilúm’ sénimi. ‘asímuc ke kam bim’*  
*b’íl’-m sén-m-i así-muc-Ø ké kám b’ién-m*  
 COP-3SG.Y-NPRS say-NPRS-3SG.HM star-PL-ABS LINK little COP-3PL.X-NPRS

*sénimi.”*

*sén-m-i*

say-NPRS-3SG.HM

[The father answered] “He said ‘It was the first day of a moon, there were few rainstorm and stars’.”

## čhúmoe minás - 175

*sénase káa éi icí gápali*  
*sén-as-e káaṭ i-i-Ø i-ci gápali*  
 say-INF-GEN together 3SG.HM:II-daughter-ABS 3SG.HM:I-against jumbled

*manúmo.*

*man’-m-o*

become-NPRS-3SG.HF

As he said so, his daughter got jumbled against him.

## čhúmoe minás - 176

“*léi áya, úne gúlčumuc şúum úne*  
*léi áya ún-e gu-lčín’-muc-Ø şú-um ún-e*  
 INTERJ:HM.OBJ father thou-GEN 2SG:I-eye-PL-ABS eat:HX.PL.OBJ-ADJVLZ thou-GEN

*gukhár şím.*  
*gu-khar’-Ø şí-um*  
 2SG:I-REFL.PRN-ABS eat:HX.SG.OBJ-ADJVLZ

“My father, your eyes and yourself have been eaten!

## čhúmoe minás - 177

<i>mehmáan</i>	<i>teí</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>biizát</i>	<i>éčóo</i>
mehmáan-Ø	teí	n-i-t	biizát	i-t'č+bá-a-Ø
guest-ABS	in.that.way	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	disgraced	3SG.HM:II-do-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS

*na.*

náa

TAG.Q

You acted disrespectively to the guest such and such.

## čhúmoe minás - 178

<i>iné</i>	<i>yáarum</i>	<i>díwasum</i>	<i>isé</i>	<i>inéé</i>
iné	i-yáar-um	d-i-bás-um	isé-Ø	iné-e
that:H	3SG.HM:I-downwards-ABL	TEL-3SG.X:I-be.left-ADJVLZ	that:X-ABS	that:H-ERG

<i>níšin,</i>	<i>díwasum</i>	<i>isé</i>	<i>un</i>
n-i-ší-n	d-i-bás-um	isé-Ø	ún-Ø
CP-3SG.X:I-eat:HX.SG.OBJ-CP	TEL-3SG.X:I-be.left-ADJVLZ	that:X-ABS	thou-ABS

<i>śías</i>	<i>bilúm.</i>
śi-as-Ø	b'il'm
eat:HX.SG.OBJ-INF-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

He ate that put before him which you had eaten and left behind.

## čhúmoe minás - 179

<i>khot</i>	<i>bes</i>	<i>dakhí</i>	<i>biizatí</i>	<i>étuma,</i>	<i>háa</i>
khót-Ø	bés	dakhíl	biizatí	i-t'm-a	há-Ø
this.one:Y-ABS	why	in.this.way	disgrace	3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-2SG	house-ABS

<i>gúimo</i>	<i>háa</i>	<i>biizatí</i>	<i>étuma,</i>	<i>jáa</i>	<i>biizatí</i>
gu-í-mu-e	há-Ø	biizatí	i-t'm-a	jé-Ø	biizatí
2SG:I-self-OBL-GEN	house-ABS	disgrace	3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-2SG	I-ABS	disgrace

*áatuma,*”                    *nusén.*  
 á-t’-m-a                    n-sén  
 1SG:III-do-NPRS-2SG CP-say

Why did you belittle this, run down my house, and disparage me” she said.

čhúmoe minás - 180

*óor múuye                    káa                    čal                    ne                    nuqárininin,*  
 óor mu-uy’-e                    káaṭ                    čal’-Ø                    n-i’t                    n-yar’-n-n-n  
 and 3SG.HF:I-father-GEN together quarrel-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do CP-sound-CP-CP-CP

*toórum                    mehmáanar                    ijaazát                    étuman.*  
 toór-um                    mehmáan-ar                    ijaazát-Ø                    i-t’-m-an  
 that.much-ADJVLZ guest-DAT permission-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H

And then [she] and her father talked with a quarrel and gave a permission for the guest to do so.

čhúmoe minás - 181

*ijaazát                    ne,                    éie                    chor sénumo                    ke.*  
 ijaazát-Ø                    n-i’t                    i-i-e                    chór sén-m-o                    ké  
 permission-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do 3SG.HM:II-daughter-ERG early say-NPRS-3SG.HF LINK

As soon as giving a permission, the daughter said.

čhúmoe minás - 182

*“bée ya, áya, khiné                    buṭ                    áqalkiṣan                    báí.*  
 bée yá áya khiné-Ø                    búṭ                    áqal-kiṣ-an                    bá-i-Ø  
 no INTERJ father this:H-ABS much intelligence-ADJVLZ-INDEF.SG COP-3SG.HM-PRS

*buṭ                    waazíire                    uían                    báí.                    buṭ                    qhaandaaní*  
 búṭ wazíir-e                    u-i’an-Ø                    bá-i-Ø                    búṭ qhaandaan-í  
 much minister-GEN 3PL.H:I-son-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.HM-PRS much family-ADJVLZ

*šúa                    sísan                    báí.                    adáp                    izáte                    sísan*  
 šúa sísan-Ø                    bá-i-Ø                    adáp                    izát-e                    sísan-Ø  
 good people-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.HM-PRS politeness grace-GEN people-INDEF.SG-ABS

**bái.**

bá-i-Ø

COP-3SG.HM-PRS

“No, father. He is so intelligent. He is just like a son of ministers, he is quite homey good person. Just a splendid man he is.

čhúmoe minás - 183

<i>ee, ye</i>	<i>yuúčóo</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>khinéer</i>	<i>íi</i>
ee yé	i-u'č+bá-a-Ø	ké	khiné-ar	íi
FIL look:INTERJ	3SG.HM:I-give:X.OBJ-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS	LINK	this:H-DAT	just

<i>yáar</i>	<i>nikáane</i>	<i>yuú,</i>	<i>khiné</i>	<i>ámitan</i>
i-yáar	nikáane	i-u'i	khiné-Ø	ámit-an
3SG.HM:I-downwards	???	3SG.HM:I-give:X.OBJ-IMP.SG	this:H-ABS	which:Y-INDEF.SG

<i>díšancum</i>	<i>dífbái</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ámin</i>
diš'an-c-um	d-i''+bá-i-Ø	ké	ámin
ground-INDEF.SG-ADE-ABL	come:PFV-3SG.HM+COP-3SG.HM-PRS	LINK	which:H

<i>baadšáane</i>	<i>déerói</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>inéer</i>	<i>čhúmoe</i>
baadšáa-an-e	d-ĩ-r+bá-i-Ø	ké	iné-ar	čhúmo-e
king-INDEF.SG-ERG	TEL-3SG.HM:III-send+COP-3SG.HM-PRS	LINK	that:H-DAT	fish-GEN

<i>maaní</i>	<i>étas</i>	<i>ité</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>éer</i>
maaní-Ø	ĩ-t'-as	ité-Ø	jé-Ø	ĩ-ar
meaning-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-INF	that-ABS	I-ABS	3SG.HM:II-DAT

**éčam.**

ĩ-t'č-a-m

3SG.HM:II-do-IPFV-1SG-NPRS

Give \*\*\* just for him. He have come here from where the king is who sent him out; I will let him know what the fish wanted to mean.

## čhúmoe minás - 184

<i>iné</i>	<i>yanísmur</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>yuúsmur</i>	<i>maaní,</i>	
iné	yéniṣ-mu-ar	baadšáa-e	i-us'-mu-ar	maaní-Ø	
that:H	queen-OBL-DAT	king-GEN	3SG.HM:I-wife-OBL-DAT	meaning-ABS	
<i>mucí</i>	<i>nuqás</i>	<i>ámis</i>	<i>čhúmoan</i>	<i>mucí</i>	<i>nuqás</i>
mu-ci	n-γas	ámis	čhúmo-an-Ø	mu-ci	n-γas
3SG.HF:I-against	CP-laugh	which:X	fish-INDEF.SG-ABS	3SG.HF:I-against	CP-laugh
<i>déeyasibím</i>		<i>ke.</i>			
d-i'-γas+b'-i-m		ké			
TEL-3SG.X:III-laugh+COP-3SG.X-NPRS		LINK			

The meaning of that the fish laughed at the king's queen.

## čhúmoe minás - 185

<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>yániṣ</i>	<i>muyákal</i>	<i>ne.</i>
baadšáa-e	yéniṣ	mu-yákal	n-i't
king-GEN	queen	3SG.HF:I-direction	CP-3SG.Y:II-do

As facing to the king's queen.

## čhúmoe minás - 186

<i>itée</i>	<i>maaní</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>éer</i>	<i>éčam.</i>
ité-e	maaní-Ø	jé-Ø	i-ar	i-t'-č-a-m
that:Y-GEN	meaning-ABS	I-ABS	3SG.HM:II-DAT	3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-1SG-NPRS

I'll tell him its meaning.

## čhúmoe minás - 187

<i>ye</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>níčam,</i>	<i>áya.</i>	<i>awál</i>	<i>qhudáace</i>	<i>hawáala</i>
yé	jé-Ø	ní-č-a-m	áya	awál	qhudáa-c-e	hawáala-Ø
look:INTERJ	I-ABS	go-IPFV-1SG-NPRS	father	first	god-ADE-ESS	commitment-ABS
<i>yáte</i>	<i>únce</i>	<i>hawaalá</i>	<i>guté</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>ye</i>	
i-yáṭ-e	ún-c-e	hawaalá-Ø	guté	ha	yé	
3SG.Y:I-upwards-ESS	thou-ADE-ESS	commitment-ABS	this:Y	house	look:INTERJ	



*khóle hurí.*

khól-e hurúṭ-i

here-ESS sit-IMP.SG

Then, I will go, father. I swear by the God that [I'll be back] so you stay here [as waiting for me].

čhúmoe minás - 188

<i>je</i>	<i>náaninin</i>	<i>baadšáar,</i>	<i>yuúsmur</i>	<i>maaní</i>
jé-Ø	n-ạ-n-n-n	baadšáa-ar	i-us'-mu-ar	maaní-Ø
I-ABS	go:CP-1SG-CP-CP-CP	king-DAT	3SG.HM:I-wife-OBL-DAT	meaning-ABS

<i>nétan</i>	<i>mósulo</i>	<i>numóobiša</i>	<i>júcam.</i>
n-i-t'-n	mu-s'-ul-e	n-mu'-bišá	jú-č-a-m
CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP	3SG.HF:II-heart-LOC-ESS	CP-3SG.HF:III-throw	come-IPFV-1SG-NPRS

I'll go to the king and inform the meaning to his wife to well understand and come back.

čhúmoe minás - 189

<i>ínmu</i>	<i>tamán</i>	<i>náa</i>	<i>purá</i>	<i>móočam"</i>	<i>nusénininin,</i>
ín-mu-ar	tamáam	náa (?)	purá	mu-t'-č-a-m	n-sén-n-n-n
that:H-OBL-DAT	entire	TAG.Q	whole	3SG.HF:III-do-IPFV-1SG-NPRS	CP-say-CP-CP-CP

*ho gucháruman.*

hó guchár-m-an

then move-NPRS-3PL.H

I'll make her to comprehend everything" saying so, they went out.

čhúmoe minás - 190

<i>ité</i>	<i>háacum</i>	<i>múuyar</i>	<i>qhudáa haafíz</i>	<i>ne</i>
ité	ha'-e-c-um	mu-uy'-ar	qhudáa+haaphíz-Ø	n-i-t
that:Y	house-OBL-ADE-ABL	3SG.HF:I-father-DAT	goodbye-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do

<i>duwášaman</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>nookár</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>iné</i>
d-gús-ya-m-an	ín	baadšáa-e	nookár-Ø	ké	iné
TEL-go.out-PL-NPRS-3PL.H	s/he:DIST	king-GEN	servant-ABS	LINK	that:H
<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>yuúsmur</i>	<i>maaní</i>	<i>étase</i>	<i>gáne</i>	<i>iné</i>
baadšáa-e	i-us'-mu-ar	maaní-Ø	i'-t'-as-e	gan'-e	iné
king-GEN	3SG.HM:I-wife-OBL-DAT	meaning-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-INF-GEN	way-ESS	that:H
<i>silajín</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>gáti</i>	<i>duwášaman.</i>		
silajín-Ø	ké	gáti	d-gús-ya-m-an		
female.relative-ABS	LINK	gathering	TEL-go.out-PL-NPRS-3PL.H		

She said goodbye to her father and the king's servant and the woman for informing of the meaning to the king's wife went out from the house together.

#### čhúmoe minás - 191

<i>duwášan</i>	<i>núun</i>	<i>núun</i>	<i>núun</i>			
d-gús-ya-n	n-u''n	n-u''n	n-u''n			
TEL:CP-go.out-PL-CP	go:CP-3PL.H-CP	go:CP-3PL.H-CP	go:CP-3PL.H-CP			
<i>núunúnúnúnún,</i>	<i>iné</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>asiír</i>	<i>manáasar,</i>	<i>asiír</i>
n-u''n-n-n-n-n	iné	baadšáa-e	ha'-Ø	asiír	man'-as-ar	asiír
go:CP-3PL.H-CP-CP-CP-CP	that:H	king-GEN	house-ABS	near	become-INF-DAT	far
<i>manáasar,</i>	<i>núicinininin</i>	<i>leél</i>	<i>umánuman</i>	<i>ke,</i>		
man'-as-ar	n-u-ic'-n-n-n-n	leél	u-man'-m-an	ké		
become-INF-DAT	CP-3PL.H:I-see-CP-CP-CP-CP	knowing	3PL.H:I-become-NPRS-3PL.H	LINK		
<i>bée ya,</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>iné</i>	<i>yánişmur</i>	<i>maaníe</i>	<i>gáne,</i>	<i>iné</i>
bée yá	baadšáa-e	iné	yéniş-mu-ar	maaní-e	gan'-e	iné
no INTERJ	king-GEN	that:H	queen-OBL-DAT	meaning-GEN	way-ESS	that:H
<i>nookár,</i>	<i>buṭ</i>	<i>şuá</i>	<i>áqale</i>	<i>silajínan</i>	<i>numúya</i>	
nookár-Ø	búṭ	şuá	áqal-e	silajín-an-Ø	n-mu-gán	
servant-ABS	much	good	intelligence-GEN	female.relative-INDEF.SG-ABS	CP-3SG.HF:I-take	

***díibái.***

d-i''+bá-i-Ø

come:PFV-3SG.HM+COP-3SG.HM-PRS

They went out and moved and moved to the point is close to the king's house. Now, the servant took a quite intelligent woman and have been coming to instruct the king's queen in the meaning.

## čhúmoē minás - 192

<b><i>nusé,</i></b>	<b><i>leél</i></b>	<b><i>númanininin</i></b>	<b><i>béričo</i></b>
n-sén	leél	n-u-man'-n-n-n-n	béric-čo-Ø
CP-say	knowing	CP-3PL.H:I-become-CP-CP-CP-CP	Doma-PL-ABS

***dúcuman.***

d-u-sú-m-an

TEL-3PL.H:I-bring-NPRS-3PL.H

They gave notice in advance and brought Doma people together.

## čhúmoē minás - 193

<b><i>tamašáar</i></b>	<b><i>béričo</i></b>	<b><i>dúcuman.</i></b>	<b><i>kuyoóč</i></b>	<b><i>gáři</i></b>
tamaašá-ar	béric-čo-Ø	d-u-sú-m-an	kuyoóč-Ø	gáři
fest-DAT	Doma-PL-ABS	TEL-3PL.H:I-bring-NPRS-3PL.H	subject.people-ABS	gathering

***ótuman.***

u-t'-m-an

3PL.H:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H

They brought Doma for a festival. They gathered obedient ones.

## čhúmoē minás - 194

<b><i>kuyoóč</i></b>	<b><i>gáři</i></b>	<b><i>nótanininin,</i></b>	<b><i>iné</i></b>	<b><i>áminan</i></b>
kuyoóč-Ø	gáři	n-u-t'-n-n-n-n	iné-Ø	ámin-an
subject.people-ABS	gathering	CP-3PL.H:II-do-CP-CP-CP-CP	that:H-ABS	which:H-INDEF.SG

<i>silajínan</i> silajín-an-Ø female.relative-INDEF.SG-ABS	<i>dumóobóm</i> d-mu̇+bȧ-o-m come:PFV-3SG.HF+COP-3SG.HF-NPRS	<i>ke</i> ké LINK	<i>baadšáa</i> baadšáa-e king-GEN		
<i>yuúsmur</i> i-us'-mu-ar 3SG.HM:I-wife-OBL-DAT	<i>maaní</i> maaní-Ø meaning-ABS	<i>étase</i> i-t'-as-e 3SG.Y:II-do-INF-GEN	<i>gáne, iné</i> gan'-e iné-Ø way-ESS that:H-ABS		
<i>muyánčiar</i> mu-gan+či-ar 3SG.HF:I-welcome-DAT	<i>numóonin</i> n-mu̇-n-n go:CP-3SG.HF-CP-CP	<i>muúto</i> muú-to now-just	<i>muríñ</i> mu-riiñ'-Ø 3SG.HF:I-hand-ABS		
<i>dúmarinin,</i> d-u-mar'-n-n TEL:CP-3PL.X:I-take.up-CP-CP	<i>toórum</i> toór-um that.much-ADJV LZ	<i>tamaašá</i> tamaašá-Ø fest-ABS	<i>éčume</i> i-t'-č-um-e 3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-ADJV LZ-ESS		
<i>buṭ</i> búṭ much	<i>bandibáste</i> bandibást-e preparation-GEN	<i>káa</i> káaṭ together	<i>tháman</i> thám-an-Ø king-INDEF.SG-ABS	<i>díusum</i> d-i-gús-um TEL-3SG.HM:I-go.out-ADJV LZ	<i>juán</i> juán like
<i>ne,</i> n-i-t CP-3SG.Y:II-do	<i>buṭ</i> búṭ much	<i>róop dáape</i> róop+ECHO-e fear+MASS-GEN	<i>káa</i> káaṭ together	<i>dumóomo.</i> d-mu̇-m-o come:PFV-3SG.HF-NPRS-3SG.HF	

Having gathered the obedient Doma people, the woman, who came there to teach the meaning for the king's queen, had an audience with her, and now is ready to take up her question. It is at the time when even the king went out being busy on preparation of a festival, so the woman felt a severe terror by coming.

čhúmoe minás - 195

<i>dumóoninininin,</i> d-mu̇-n-n-n-n-n come:CP-3SG.HF-CP-CP-CP-CP-CP	<i>dumóon</i> d-mu̇-n come:CP-3SG.HF-CP	<i>dumóon</i> d-mu̇-n come:CP-3SG.HF-CP		
<i>dumóon</i> d-mu̇-n come:CP-3SG.HF-CP	<i>baadšáa</i> baadšáa-e king-GEN	<i>yuús</i> i-us 3SG.HM:I-wife	<i>mópači</i> mu-pá-či-e 3SG.HF:II-side-INE-ESS	<i>qha</i> qhát down

*hurúṭumo kursíate.*  
 hurúṭ-m-o kursí-aṭ-e  
 sit-NPRS-3SG.HF chair-INS-ESS

She came and sit down on a chair by the king's queen.

čhúmoe minás - 196

*filháal qha nuúruṭinin sénumo ke, qha hurúṭase*  
 filháal qhát n-hurúṭ-n-n sén-m-o ké qhát hurúṭ-as-e  
 at.the.present.time down CP-sit-CP-CP say-NPRS-3SG.HF LINK down sit-INF-GEN

*káa, baadšáa yuús gáaršume*  
 káaṭ baadšáa-e i-us'Ø gáarc-č-um-e  
 together king-GEN 3SG.HM:I-wife-ABS run-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS

*dumóomo.*  
 d-mu'm-o  
 come:PFV-3SG.HF-NPRS-3SG.HF

Now she sat down there, and the king's queen approached her running.

čhúmoe minás - 197

*muyáṭe barkát apíman bom*  
 mu-yát-e barkát-Ø a-b'i-um-an bá-o-m  
 3SG.HF:I-upwards-ESS blessing-ABS NEG-COP-3SG.Y-ADJVLZ-INDEF.SG COP-3SG.HF-NPRS

*aqhéer. choór dumóon sénumo ke, "ye baré*  
 aqhéer chór d-mu'n sén-m-o ké yé barén-i  
 final early come:CP-3SG.HF-CP say-NPRS-3SG.HF LINK look:INTERJ look-IMP.SG

*bée dukóobáa ke jáar čhúmo déeyasum*  
 bée d-gu'+bá-a-Ø ké jé-ar čhúmo-Ø d-ĩ-γas'-um  
 no come:PFV-2SG+COP-2SG-PRS LINK I-DAT fish-ABS TEL-3SG.X:III-laugh-ADJVLZ

*ité atíyasum ité maaní éti"*  
 ité a-d-ĩ-γas'-um ité maaní-Ø i-t'i  
 that:Y NEG-TEL-3SG.X:III-laugh-ADJVLZ that:Y meaning-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG

**sénumo.**

sén-m-o

say-NPRS-3SG.HF

At last no blessing has come onto her yet. She came rapidly and said “Now welcome to you, and tell me the meaning that the fish did and did not laugh at me”.

## čhúmoe minás - 198

<b>“áar</b>	<b>maaní</b>	<b>éti”</b>	<b>sénase</b>	<b>káa,</b>	<b>ee</b>
a-ar	maaní-Ø	i-t'i	sén-as-e	káaṭ	ee
1SG:II-DAT	meaning-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG	say-INF-GEN	together	FIL

**étumo.**

i-t'm-o

3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HF

“Teach me the meaning” saying, she did it.

## čhúmoe minás - 199

<b>“čhúmo</b>	<b>ayákal</b>	<b>ne</b>	<b>déeyasum</b>	<b>ité</b>
čhúmo-Ø	a-yákal	n-i-t	d-i-yas'-um	ité
fish-ABS	1SG:I-direction	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	TEL-3SG.X:III-laugh-ADJVLZ	that:Y

<b>maaní</b>	<b>éti</b>	<b>sénase</b>	<b>káa”,</b>	<b>iné</b>	<b>dasíne</b>
maaní-Ø	i-t'i	sén-as-e	káaṭ	iné	dasín-e
meaning-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG	say-INF-GEN	together	that:H	girl-ERG

**sénumo****“sen”.**

sén-m-o

sén-i

say-NPRS-3SG.HF say-IMP.SG

“The fish watched me and laughed, teach me the meaning” the lady said, and the lady said “please continue to talk”.

## čhúmoe minás - 200

*sénumo*      *ke*      “*se*      *biiyariáat*      *daiúus*”  
 sén-m-o      ké      isé-∅      biiyariáat      dayúus  
 say-NPRS-3SG.HF      LINK      that:X-ABS      lacking.honour      shameless

*mósmo.*

mu'-s'-m-o  
 3SG.HF:II-tell-NPRS-3SG.HF

She [= the queen] said to her “the fish is shameless”.

## čhúmoe minás - 201

“*un*      *juánan*      *apáa.*      *je*      *ke*      *áqal*      *qhudáae*  
 ún-∅      juán-an      a-bá-a-∅      jé-∅      ké      áqal-∅      qhudáa-e  
 thou-ABS      like-INDEF.SG      NEG-COP-2SG-PRS      I-ABS      LINK      intelligence-ABS      god-ERG

*ačhíman*      *báa.*      *šuá*      *sis*      *bandáa*  
 a-čhí-um-an      bá-a-∅      šuá      sís      bandáa-∅  
 1SG:I-give:Y.SG.OBJ-ADJVLZ-INDEF.SG      COP-1SG-PRS      good      people      fellow-ABS

*óyanabáa.*      *šuá*      *akaabíre*      *óyanabáa.*  
 u-gán+bá-a-∅      šuá      akaabír-e      u-gán+bá-a-∅  
 3PL.H:I-take+COP-1SG-PRS      good      noblesse-GEN      3PL.H:I-take+COP-1SG-PRS

“As you are not, I am endowed with intelligence by the God. I have ruled good citizens, good aristocrats.

## čhúmoe minás - 202

*jáar*      *ke*      *qhudáae*      *máto*      *ačhíman*      *báa.*  
 jé-ar      ké      qhudáa-e      máto-∅      a-čhí-um-an      bá-a-∅  
 I-DAT      LINK      god-ERG      brain-ABS      1SG:I-give:Y.SG.OBJ-ADJVLZ-INDEF.SG      COP-1SG-PRS

I am who the God gave great brains.

## čhúmoe minás - 203

*jáa*      *úne*      *prátulo*      *kursían*      *bi.*      *izáte*  
 jé-e      ún-e      prá-t-ul-e      kursí-an-∅      b'-i-∅      izát-e  
 I-GEN (?)    thou-GEN    similarity-LOC-ESS    chair-INDEF.SG-ABS    COP-3SG.X-PRS    grace-GEN

*káa.*      *suufáan*      *bi*      *úne*      *ayárapat*      *teebálan*  
 káaṭ      suufáa-an-∅      b'-i-∅      ún-e      yár-pát      teebál-an-∅  
 together    sofa-INDEF.SG-ABS    COP-3SG.X-PRS    thou-GEN    before-side    table-INDEF.SG-ABS

*bi.*      *čáai*      *mináase*      *gáne*      *şapík*      *şíasar*  
 b'-i-∅      čáai-∅      min'-as-e      gan'-e      şapík-∅      şí-as-ar  
 COP-3SG.X-PRS    tea-ABS    drink-INF-GEN    way-ESS    food-ABS    eat:HX.SG.OBJ-INF-DAT

*izáte*      *káa.*  
 izát-e      káaṭ  
 grace-GEN    together

As you have, fortunately I have a chair, a sofa, and a table in front of you to drink tea and to eat meal.

## čhúmoe minás - 204

*jáa*      *káa*      *daltás*      *čayabárar*      *am*      *báan,*      *ménik."*  
 jé-e      káaṭ      daltás      čayabár-ar      ám      bá-an-∅      mén-ik-∅  
 I-GEN    together    beautiful    convesation-DAT    where    COP-3PL.H-PRS    who-INDEF.PL-ABS

Where are those who tell me good stories?"

## čhúmoe minás - 205

*nusé*      *biizát*      *mótumo,*      *yániş.*  
 n-sén      biizát      mu'-t'-m-o      yéniş  
 CP-say    disgraced    3SG.HF:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HF    queen

Saying so the queen acted disgracefully.



## čhúmoe minás - 206

*beežát numó, “ye guté sóoč sambá ne*  
*biizát n-mu't yé guté sóoč sambá-Ø n-i't*  
 disgraced CP-3SG.HF:II-do look:INTERJ this:Y thought thought-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do

*jáar bandibást nétan qáo éti” nusén dáa*  
*jé-ar bandibást-Ø n-i't-n qáo-Ø i't-i n-sén dáa*  
 I-DAT preparation-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP cry-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG CP-say again

*nímo.*

*ní-m-o*

go-NPRS-3SG.HF

Having acted badly, she said “Well, consider it and call me if you have been ready” and went away again.

## čhúmoe minás - 207

*láj numán numóon. mumóos dífin*  
*láj-<:> n-man n-mu'n mu-moos'Ø d-i'n-n*  
 swinging-EMPH CP-become go:CP-3SG.HF-CP 3SG.HF:I-anger-ABS come:CP-3SG.Y-CP-CP

*hitháanar numóoninin.*

*hík-tháan-ar n-mu'n-n-n*

one-place-DAT go:CP-3SG.HF-CP-CP-CP

She moved around nervously and having got angry went to a position.

## čhúmoe minás - 208

*sénumo ke “phalaaná gúncar jáar guté čáaie řapíke óor*  
*sén-m-o ké phalaaná gunc'ar jé-ar guté čái-e řapík-e óor*  
 say-NPRS-3SG.HF LINK so.and.so day-DAT I-DAT this:Y tea-GEN food-GEN and

*jáar úne káa prátulo nuúro, čayabár*  
*jé-ar ún-e káař prát-ul-e n-hurúř čayabár-Ø*  
 I-DAT thou-GEN together similarity-LOC-ESS CP-sit conversation-ABS

<i>étasar</i>	<i>áar</i>	<i>izát</i>	<i>ne,</i>	<i>áar</i>	<i>qáo</i>
i-t'as-ar	a'-ar	izát-Ø	n-i-t	a'-ar	qáo-Ø
3SG.Y:II-do-INF-DAT	1SG:II-DAT	grace-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	1SG:II-DAT	cry-ABS

*éti''.*

i-t'-i

3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG

As saying “At such and such day, in deference to me, call me for tea and foods to talk with me”.

čhúmoe minás - 209

<i>nusén,</i>	<i>numóonin</i>	<i>dáa</i>	<i>hitháane</i>	<i>alág</i>	<i>hurúţumo.</i>
n-sén	n-mu'n-n	dáa	hík-tháan-e	alág	hurúţ-m-o
CP-say	go:CP-3SG.HF-CP-CP	again	one-place-ESS	separate	sit-NPRS-3SG.HF

Having said so, she went away to a certain position and sat down there.

čhúmoe minás - 210

<i>alág</i>	<i>nuúruţininin,</i>	<i>muxtasáre kaláam</i>	<i>ité</i>	<i>íimo</i>	<i>gunc</i>
alág	n-hurúţ-n-n-n	muqtasár+e+kaláam	ité	i-í-mu-e	gunc'-Ø
separate	CP-sit-CP-CP-CP	in.short	that:Y	3SG.Y:I-self-OBL-GEN	day-ABS

<i>díimi</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>ité</i>	<i>gúncar,</i>	<i>dáa</i>
d-i'm-i	ké	ité	gunc'-ar	dáa
come:PFV-3SG.Y-NPRS-3SG.Y	LINK	that:Y	day-DAT	again

*dumóomo.*

d-mu'm-o

come:PFV-3SG.HF-NPRS-3SG.HF

She sat in distance. In the other time, when the designated day had come then she [= the daughter] came again.

## čhúmoē minás - 211

<i>“ye</i>	<i>ju</i>	<i>béesa”,</i>	<i>nusén.</i>	<i>“ye</i>	<i>ju</i>	<i>béesa”</i>
yé	jú-i	béesa	n-sén	yé	jú-i	béesa
look:INTERJ	come-IMP.SG	nicht.wahr	CP-say	look:INTERJ	come-IMP.SG	nicht.wahr

<i>nusén,</i>	<i>dáa</i>	<i>móor</i>	<i>qáo</i>	<i>étumo.</i>
n-sén	dáa	mu'-ar	qáo-Ø	i-t'-m-o
CP-say	again	3SG.HF:II-DAT	cry-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HF

“Come on now” she [= the queen] said and called her [= the daughter].

## čhúmoē minás - 212

<i>móor</i>	<i>qáo</i>	<i>étasar</i>	<i>dumóoninin,</i>
mu'-ar	qáo-Ø	i-t'-as-ar	d-mu'-n-n-n
3SG.HF:II-DAT	cry-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-INF-DAT	come:CP-3SG.HF-CP-CP-CP

<i>múimo</i>	<i>róop dáape</i>	<i>káa</i>	<i>dumóonin</i>	<i>barénasar,</i>
mu-í-mu-e	róop+ECHO-e	káaṭ	d-mu'-n-n	barén-as-ar
3SG.HF:I-self-OBL-GEN	fear:MASS-GEN	together	come:CP-3SG.HF-CP-CP	look-INF-DAT

<i>ho</i>	<i>šúa</i>	<i>móor</i>	<i>čáai,</i>	<i>šúa</i>	<i>kurcí,</i>	<i>suufáa,</i>	<i>ṭebél</i>	<i>muyár</i>
hó	šúa	mu'-ar	čáai	šúa	kursí	suufáa	ṭebál-Ø	mu-yár
then	good	3SG.HF:II-DAT	tea	good	chair	sofa	table-ABS	3SG.HF:I-before

<i>móphat</i>	<i>nídil</i>	<i>móor</i>	<i>bandibást</i>	<i>nétan,</i>	<i>šúa</i>
mu'-phat	n-i-d+i+l	mu'-ar	bandibást-Ø	n-i-t'-n	šúa
3SG.HF:I-side	CP-3PL.Y:I-hit	3SG.HF:II-DAT	preparation-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:I-do-CP	good

<i>tayáar</i>	<i>étubóm.</i>
tayáar	i-t+bá-o-m
ready	3PL.Y:II-do+COP-3SG.HF-NPRS

She came at the [queen's] summons; the queen looked her coming with the tremendous strain and then, [before the daughter arrives at her,] well prepared good tea, a good chair, a sofa, a table in front of her to welcome.

## čhúmoe minás - 213

<i>tayáar</i>	<i>ne,</i>	<i>šúa</i>	<i>čáai</i>	<i>numín</i>	<i>naašítáa</i>	<i>nétanin</i>
tayáar	n-i-t	šúa	čáai-∅	n-min	naašítáa-∅	n-i-t'-n-n
ready	CP-3PL.Y:II-do	good	tea-ABS	CP-drink	breakfast-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP-CP
<i>níši</i>		<i>numíninin</i>	<i>ho</i>	<i>móor</i>	<i>qisáan</i>	
n-i-ší		n-min'-n-n	hó	mu'-ar	qisá-an-∅	
CP-3SG.X:I-eat:HX.SG.OBJ		CP-drink-CP-CP	then	3SG.HF:II-DAT	history-INDEF.SG-ABS	

*étumo.*

i-t'-m-o

3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HF

Having prepared and they had good tea and breakfast, and after that [the daughter] told a history for her.

## čhúmoe minás - 214

<i>íne</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>nookáre</i>	<i>dumócum</i>	<i>inée</i>
ín-e	baadšáa-e	nookár-e	d-mu'-sú-um	inée-e
s/he:DIST-ERG	king-GEN	servant-ERG	TEL-3SG.HF:II-bring-ADJVLZ	that:H-ERG

<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>yuúsmur</i>	<i>qisáan</i>	<i>ne</i>
baadšáa-e	i-us'-mu-ar	qisá-an-∅	n-i-t
king-GEN	3SG.HM:I-wife-OBL-DAT	history-INDEF.SG-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do

<i>sénumo</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>“hin</i>	<i>baadšáane</i>	<i>éyarum</i>
sén-m-o	ké	hín	baadšáa-an-e	i-yar-um
say-NPRS-3SG.HF	LINK	one:H	king-INDEF.SG-GEN	3SG.HM:II-beloved-ADJVLZ

<i>tootáan</i>	<i>bim”,</i>	<i>sénumo.</i>
tootá-an-∅	b'-i-m	sén-m-o
parrot-INDEF.SG-ABS	COP-3SG.X-NPRS	say-NPRS-3SG.HF

The lady whom the king's servant fetched told a history for the king's wife: “There was a parrot loved by a king”.

## čhúmoe minás - 215

*“hin baadšáane bée báazan bim,*  
 hín baadšáa-an-e bée báaz-an-∅ b’i-m  
 one:H king-INDEF.SG-GEN no hawk-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.X-NPRS

*éyarum báazan bim.*  
 i-yar-um báaz-an-∅ b’i-m  
 3SG.HM:II-beloved-ADJVLZ hawk-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.X-NPRS

“No, there was a hawk loved by a king.

## čhúmoe minás - 216

*isé báaz iphóijate níya čakárar*  
 isé báaz-∅ i-phoíj-aṭ-e n-i-gán čakár-ar  
 that:X hawk-ABS 3SG.HM:I-shoulder-INS-ESS CP-3SG.X:I-take stroll-DAT

*níčóm.*  
 ní-č+bá-i-m  
 go-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

He used to walk around taking the hawk on his shoulder.

## čhúmoe minás - 217

*isé báaz iphóijate níya šikáarar*  
 isé báaz-∅ i-phoíj-aṭ-e n-i-gán šikár-ar  
 that:X hawk-ABS 3SG.HM:I-shoulder-INS-ESS CP-3SG.X:I-take hunt-DAT

*níčóm. isé báaz iphóijate níya*  
 ní-č+bá-i-m isé báaz-∅ i-phoíj-aṭ-e n-i-gán  
 go-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS that:X hawk-ABS 3SG.HM:I-shoulder-INS-ESS CP-3SG.X:I-take

*har díšar tímo yáar dóoste káa čakárar*  
 hár diš’-ar i-í-mu-e yáar dóost-e káaṭ čakár-ar  
 every ground-DAT 3SG.HM:I-self-OBL-GEN partner friend-GEN together stroll-DAT

***duúšóm.***

d-gús-č+bá-i-m

TEL-go.out-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

He used to go hunting taking the hawk on his shoulder. He went out everywhere always with his friend the hawk taking on his shoulder.

## čhúmoe minás - 218

***úmo***

i-í-mu-e

3SG.HM:I-self-OBL-GEN

***mahále***

mahál-e

court-GEN

***čakárij***

čakár-iŋ-Ø

stroll-PL-ABS

***éčóm.***

i-t'-č+bá-i-m

3PL.Y:II-do-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

***úmo***

i-í-mu-e

3SG.HM:I-self-OBL-GEN

***iđigáarimo***

i-đigaarí-mu-um

3SG.HM:I-circumference-OBL-ABL

***jaagíre***

jaagíir-e

fief-GEN

***čakárar***

čakár-ar

stroll-DAT

***duúšóm.***

d-gús-č+bá-i-m

TEL-go.out-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

He used to take a walk in his palace, neighbourhood, and each area of his fief.

## čhúmoe minás - 219

***aaqhirí***

aaqhirí

end

***barénasar,***

barén-as-ar

look-INF-DAT

***iné***

iné

that:H

***baadšáa***

baadšáa-Ø

king-ABS

***aaqhirí***

aaqhirí

end

***darúanar***

darú-an-ar

hunting-INDEF.SG-DAT

***ními.***

ní-m-i

go-NPRS-3SG.HM

At last the king went to a hunting.

## čhúmoe minás - 220

***darúanar***

darú-an-ar

hunting-INDEF.SG-DAT

***níninininin***

n-i''n-n-n-n-n

go:CP-3SG.HM-CP-CP-CP-CP-CP

***dásanulo***

das'-an-ul-e

wasteland-INDEF.SG-LOC-ESS

*ye káaṭum uée káa nookáre káa*  
*yé káaṭ-um ué-e káaṭ nookár-e káaṭ*  
 look:INTERJ together-ADJVLZ those:H-GEN together servant-GEN together

*íimo baadigáare káa daltáško síse káa*  
*i-í-mu-e baadigáar-e káaṭ daltás-ko sí-s-e káaṭ*  
 3SG.HM:I-self-OBL-GEN bodyguard-GEN together beautiful-PL people-GEN together

*darúanar níbám.*  
*darú-an-ar ní+bá-i-m*  
 hunting-INDEF.SG-DAT go+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

He went to a hunting to a field with his servants, bodygurads, and good fellows.

čhúmoe minás - 221

*ité darú étas díšulo mathán dásanar*  
*ité darú-Ø i-t'-as diš'-ul-e mathán das'-an-ar*  
 that:Y hunting-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-INF ground-LOC-ESS far wasteland-INDEF.SG-DAT

*núin, choq ne choq ne,*  
*n-i'n chóq-Ø n-i't chóq-Ø n-i't*  
 go:CP-3SG.HM-CP looking.around-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do looking.around-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do

*garúrum waqt bilúm. choq ne*  
*garúr-um wáqt-Ø b'il'-m chóq-Ø n-i't*  
 hot-ADJVLZ time-ABS COP-3SG.Y-NPRS looking.around-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do

*choq ne choq ne darú*  
*chóq-Ø n-i't chóq-Ø n-i't darú-Ø*  
 looking.around-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do looking.around-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do hunting-ABS

*oómanum.*  
*aú-man'-um*  
 NEG-become-ADJVLZ

While he was going far away in the hunting field as looking all around, it became a so hot time that the hunting should not be continued.

## čhúmoe minás - 222

*baadšáa gaár dími.*  
 baadšáa-Ø gaár d-i'm-i  
 king-ABS dizzy come:PFV-3SG.HM-NPRS-3SG.HM

The king felt dizzy.

## čhúmoe minás - 223

*gaár júase káa, 'baréin náa léi*  
 gaár jú-as-e káaṭ barén-in náa léi  
 dizzy come-INF-GEN together look-IMP.PL TAG.Q INTERJ:HM.OBJ

*áčukóon, óor, chílan áaminin, be*  
 a-čo-kóon óor chil'an-Ø a-min'in bé  
 1SG:II-same.sex.sibling-PL and water-INDEF.SG-ABS 1SG:III-drink-IMP.PL what

*maními.*  
 man'-m-i  
 become-NPRS-3SG.Y

Feeling dizzy he said 'Hey, my brothers, get me some water. What's up?

## čhúmoe minás - 224

*chíle buṭ tráa oúyam garúrum*  
 chil'e búṭ tráa a-búy-a-m garúr-um  
 water-GEN much exceedingly 1SG:I-dry.up-1SG-NPRS hot-ADJVLZ

*amánam awáram, chílan áaminin.*  
 a-man'a-m a-bar'a-m chil'an-Ø a-min'in  
 1SG:I-become-1SG-NPRS 1SG:I-get.tired-1SG-NPRS water-INDEF.SG-ABS 1SG:III-drink-IMP.PL

*ba'éin.' sénase káa. et dásulo chílan*  
 ba'éin-in sén-as-e káaṭ ét das'ul-e chil'an-Ø  
 look-IMP.PL say-INF-GEN together that.one:Y wasteland-LOC-ESS water-INDEF.SG-ABS



*apím.*

a-b'il'm

NEG-COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

I have got so thirsty, felt hot, and been tired, so get me some water. Hurry.' But there was no water in the field.

čhúmoe minás - 225

*chílan*

chil'an-Ø

water-INDEF.SG-ABS

*apím.*

a-b'il'm

NEG-COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

*'éle*

él-e

there-ESS

*choq*

chóq-Ø

looking.around-ABS

*e*

i't'i

3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG

*khóle*

khól-e

here-ESS

*choq*

chóq-Ø

looking.around-ABS

*e*

i't'i

3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG

*éle*

él-e

there-ESS

*choq*

chóq-Ø

looking.around-ABS

*e*

i't'i

3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG

*khóle*

khól-e

here-ESS

*choq*

chóq-Ø

looking.around-ABS

*e'*

i't'i

3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG

*çháa*

çháa

everywhere

*barénuman*

barén-m-an

look-NPRS-3PL.H

*ke*

ké

LINK

*ámulo*

ámul-e

where-ESS

*chílan*

chil'an-Ø

water-INDEF.SG-ABS

*apím.*

a-b'il'm

NEG-COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

No water there was. 'Look there! Search here!' they looked for everywhere but there was no water.

čhúmoe minás - 226

*ité*

ité

that:Y far

*mathán*

mathán

*díšanar*

diš'an-ar

ground-INDEF.SG-DAT

*núun*

n-u'n

go:CP-3PL.H-CP

*barénasar,*

barén-as-ar

look-INF-DAT

*čháránulo*

čhar'an-ul-e

rocky.mountain-INDEF.SG-LOC-ESS

*çátane*

çať'an-e

crack-INDEF.SG-GEN

*hóle*

hól-e

outside-ESS

*káman*

kám-an

little-INDEF.SG

<i>búlan,</i>	<i>čuṭ</i>	<i>čuṭ</i>	<i>čuṭ</i>	<i>čuṭ</i>
bul'-an-Ø	čuṭ	čuṭ	čuṭ	čuṭ
spring-INDEF.SG-ABS	trickling:ONO	trickling:ONO	trickling:ONO	trickling:ONO
<i>maḃilúm</i>	<i>iláaj</i>	<i>ne.</i>		
man'-č+b'il'-m	iláaj-Ø	n-i'-t		
become-IPFV+COP-3SG.Y-NPRS	remedy-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do		

They went to a far place and sought that there was a small spring in a crack at a rock trickling out for their help.

čhúmoe minás - 227

<i>čuṭ</i>	<i>čuṭ</i>	<i>maḃilúm</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>ité</i>
čuṭ	čuṭ	man'-č+b'il'-m	ké	ité-Ø
trickling:ONO	trickling:ONO	become-IPFV+COP-3SG.Y-NPRS	LINK	that:Y-ABS
<i>iláaj</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>baḃalíkanulo</i>		<i>nuqárkininin,</i>
iláaj-Ø	n-i'-t	baḃalík-an-ul-e		n-γark'-n-n
remedy-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	small.metal.vessel-INDEF.SG-LOC-ESS		CP-capture-CP-CP-CP
<i>iné</i>	<i>baadšáar</i>	<i>táake</i>	<i>nuqárkin</i>	<i>dusúman.</i>
iné	baadšáa-ar	táake	n-γark'-n	d-sú-m-an
that:H	king-DAT	so.that	CP-capture-CP	TEL-bring-NPRS-3PL.H

They poured the helpful trickling water into a small metal water pot and brought it to the king.

čhúmoe minás - 228

<i>dusúninin</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>ité</i>	<i>baadšáar</i>	<i>'miné</i>	<i>ga'</i>	<i>nusén</i>
d-sú-n-n-n	ké	ité-Ø	baadšáa-ar	min'-i	gán-i	n-sén
TEL:CP-bring-CP-CP-CP	LINK	that:Y-ABS	king-DAT	drink-IMP.SG	take-IMP.SG	CP-say
<i>ičhíasar,</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>				
i-čhí'-as-ar	ín	baadšáa-Ø				
3SG.HM:I-give:Y.SG.OBJ-INF-DAT	s/he:DIST	king-ABS				

<i>iwárumkuṣe</i>	<i>káa</i>	<i>imóosulo</i>	<i>bam.</i>
i-bar'-um-kuṣ-e	káaṭ	i-moos'-ul-e	bá-i-m
3SG.HM:I-get.tired-ADJVLZ-NMLZ-GEN	together	3SG.HM:I-anger-LOC-ESS	COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

They brought and was going to give it the king saying 'Drink it, take now!', then the king was angry by reason of his fatigue.

čhúmoe minás - 229

<i>iwárumkuṣ</i>	<i>óor</i>	<i>éer</i>	<i>darú</i>	<i>oómanas</i>
i-bar'-um-kuṣ-Ø	óor	i-ar	darú-Ø	aú-man'-as
3SG.HM:I-get.tired-ADJVLZ-NMLZ-ABS	and	3SG.HM:II-DAT	hunting-ABS	NEG-become-INF

<i>et</i>	<i>imóos</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>gáṭi,</i>	<i>éte</i>	<i>baḍalíkulum</i>
ét	i-moos'-Ø	ké	gáṭi	ité	baḍalík-ul-um
that.one:Y	3SG.HM:I-anger-ABS	LINK	gathering	that:Y	small.metal.vessel-LOC-ABL

<i>chil</i>	<i>miyáar</i>	<i>duúnase</i>	<i>káa</i>	<i>iphóíṇaṭum</i>
chil'-Ø	min'-č-ar	d-gún-as-e	káaṭ	i-phoíṇ-aṭ-um
water-ABS	drink-IPFV-DAT	TEL-pack-INF-GEN	together	3SG.HM:I-shoulder-INS-ABL

<i>báaze</i>	<i>galgí</i>	<i>raráp</i>	<i>étimi.</i>
báaz-e	galgí-Ø	RDP-ráp	i-t'-m-i
hawk-GEN	feather-ABS	MASS-flattering:ONO	3SG.X:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HM

He had got angry because of both the fatigue and that now he could not do hunting, so he started to drink the water out from the small pot and made the hawk on his shoulder to flatter its wing.

čhúmoe minás - 230

<i>iphóíṇaṭum</i>	<i>báaze</i>	<i>galgí</i>	<i>raráp</i>	<i>ne</i>
i-phoíṇ-aṭ-um	báaz-e	galgí-Ø	RDP-ráp	n-i-t
3SG.HM:I-shoulder-INS-ABL	hawk-GEN	feather-ABS	MASS-flattering:ONO	CP-3SG.X:II-do

<i>chil</i>	<i>déemimi.</i>
chil'-Ø	d-i'-mi-m-i
water-ABS	TEL-3SG.Y:III-collect-NPRS-3SG.HM

Having made the hawk on his shoulder to flatter its wing, he collected water.

## čhúmoe minás - 231

<i>chil</i>	<i>déemiase</i>	<i>káa,</i>	<i>'áa</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>íi</i>
chil'-∅	d-ī-mi-as-e	káaʔ	a·e	ún-∅	íi
water-ABS	TEL-3SG.Y:III-collect-INF-GEN	together	1SG:II-ERG	thou-ABS	just
<i>čiráaqar</i>	<i>gušúa</i>	<i>jáa</i>	<i>gutée</i>	<i>gáne</i>	
čiráq-ar	gu-šú-a-∅	jé-e	guté-e	gan'e	
lamp-DAT (?)	2SG:I-eat:HX.OBJ-1SG-PRS	I-ERG	this:Y-GEN	way-ESS	

*guúšayabáyama.*

gu-ušá-a+bá-a-a-m=a

2SG:I-bring.up-1SG+COP-1SG-1SG-NPRS=Q

As collecting water [he said] 'I eat you to the light (?), I brought you up on the purpose.

## čhúmoe minás - 232

<i>aphóinjaṭe</i>	<i>daltás,</i>	<i>aphóinjaṭe</i>	<i>jáa</i>	<i>eíane</i>
a-phoín-aṭ-e	daltás	a-phoín-aṭ-e	jé-e	a-i'an-e
1SG:I-shoulder-INS-ESS	beautiful	1SG:I-shoulder-INS-ESS	I-GEN	1SG:I-son-INDEF.SG-GEN
<i>díšanulo,</i>	<i>auláatane</i>	<i>díšanulo</i>		
diš'an-ul-e	auláad-an-e	diš'an-ul-e		
ground-INDEF.SG-LOC-ESS	descendant-INDEF.SG-GEN	ground-INDEF.SG-LOC-ESS		
<i>nukúyar</i>	<i>dáa</i>	<i>káar</i>	<i>nukóotan.</i>	
n-gu-yar	dáa	káar-∅	n-gu't-n	
CP-2SG:I-graze	again	job-ABS	CP-2SG:III-do-CP	

I had watched and gave a job for you on my shoulder where is good for my son or descendant.

## čhúmoe minás - 233

<i>dáa</i>	<i>khúulto</i>	<i>guté</i>	<i>neekí</i>	<i>díimia</i>
dáa	khúulto	guté	neekí-∅	d-ī'm-i=a
again	today	this:Y	luck-ABS	come:PFV-3SG.Y-NPRS-3SG.Y=Q

<i>awáramate,</i>		<i>huróyo</i>	<i>dfimate,</i>	<i>guté</i>
a-bar'a-um-aṭ-e		huróyo-Ø	d-i'um-aṭ-e	guté
1SG:I-get.tired-1SG-ADJVLZ-INS-ESS		sweat-ABS	come:PFV-3SG.Y-ADJVLZ-INS-ESS	this:Y
<i>amóos</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>awáramate,</i>	<i>chil</i>	<i>mináas</i>
a-moos'Ø	ké	a-bar'a-um-aṭ-e	chil'Ø	min'as-Ø
1SG:I-anger-ABS	LINK	1SG:I-get.tired-1SG-ADJVLZ-INS-ESS	water-ABS	drink-INF-ABS
<i>ayátum</i>	<i>úne</i>	<i>bes</i>	<i>déemima'</i>	<i>nusén.</i>
a-a't'um	ún-e	bés	d-i'mi-m-a	n-sén
NEG-1SG:II-do-ADJVLZ	thou-ERG	why	TEL-3SG.Y:III-collect-NPRS-2SG	CP-say

And today this good luck seems to have come; on the occasion that I had been exhausted and in a sweat so that I could not keep even my anger, why did you collect water despite the fact that you would not let me have it?' he said.

#### čhúmoe minás - 234

<i>iphóinaṭum</i>	<i>báaz</i>	<i>γajám</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>dícum</i>	
i-phóin-aṭ-um	báaz-Ø	γajám	n-i't	d-i-sú-um	
3SG.HM:I-shoulder-INS-ABL	hawk-ABS	snatching	CP-3SG.X:II-do	TEL-3SG.X:I-bring-ADJVLZ	
<i>éşulo</i>	<i>duún</i>	<i>maráaq</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>çaṭ</i>	<i>ne</i>
i-ş'ul-e	d-gún	maráaq-<:>	n-i't	çaṭ	n-i't
3SG.X:II-neck-LOC-ESS	TEL:CP-pack	bending-EMPH	CP-3SG.X:II-do	crack	CP-3SG.X:II-do
<i>lip</i>	<i>étimi</i>	<i>báas.</i>			
líp	i-t'm-i	báaz-Ø			
dumping	3SG.X:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HM	hawk-ABS			

He snatched the hawk from his shoulder, bent its neck, plucked it off, and threw it away.

#### čhúmoe minás - 235

<i>lip</i>	<i>éti.</i>
líp	i-t'Ø-i
dumping	3SG.X:II-do-PRS-3SG.HM

Almost threw it away.

## čhúmoe minás - 236

<i>ité</i>	<i>chil</i>	<i>ámitan</i>	<i>bilúm</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ité</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>
ité	chil'-∅	ámit-an	b'il'-m	ké	ité-∅	baadšáa-e
that:Y	water-ABS	which:Y-INDEF.SG	COP-3SG.Y-NPRS	LINK	that:Y-ABS	king-GEN
<i>gáne</i>	<i>zéhere</i>	<i>chil</i>	<i>bilúm.</i>			
gan'-e	záhar-e	chil'-∅	b'il'-m			
way-ESS	poison-GEN	water-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-NPRS			

The water was of poison for the king.

## čhúmoe minás - 237

<i>et</i>	<i>zéhere</i>	<i>chil</i>	<i>bilúm</i>	<i>iné</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>
ét-∅	záhar-e	chil'-∅	b'il'-m	iné	baadšáa-∅
that.one:Y-ABS	poison-GEN	water-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-NPRS	that:H	king-ABS
<i>ířčóm</i>		<i>agár</i>	<i>ité</i>	<i>minúwám</i>	<i>ke</i>
i-ir'-č+bá-i-m		ágar	ité-∅	min+bá-i-m	ké
3SG.HM:I-die-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS		if	that:Y-ABS	drink+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS	LINK
<i>čhémilije</i>	<i>chil</i>	<i>bilúm.</i>			
čhémiliḡ-e	chil'-∅	b'il'-m			
poison-GEN	water-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-NPRS			

It was such poison water that if he drinks it then the king dies.

## čhúmoe minás - 238

<i>teflaṭe</i>	<i>isé</i>	<i>báase</i>	<i>wafadaarí</i>	<i>netanin</i>
teíl-aṭ-e	isé	báaz-e	waphaadáar-í-∅	n-i-t'-n-n
in.that.way-INS-ESS	that:X	hawk-ERG	faithfulness-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP-CP
<i>galgí</i>	<i>rarám</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>déemimi.</i>	
galgí-∅	RDP-rám	n-i-t	d-ĩ-mi-m-i	
feather-ABS	MASS-flattering:ONO	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	TEL-3SG.Y:III-collect-NPRS-3SG.X	

*baadšáa bačát imánimi.*  
 baadšáa-Ø bačát i-man'-m-i  
 king-ABS residue 3SG.HM:I-become-NPRS-3SG.HM

Thus, by the faithfulness, the hawk collected it as flattering its wing. And the king survived.

čhúmoe minás - 239

*bačát níman, múšate sóoč sambá*  
 bačát n-i-man muš'-aṭ-e sóoč sambá-Ø  
 residue CP-3SG.HM:I-become edge-INS-ESS thought thought-ABS

*ayétum[an].*

a-i-t'-m-an  
 NEG-3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H

He survived; At the time [everybody] did not thought that.

čhúmoe minás - 240

*sóoč sambá ayétuman ke insáan daltáško*  
 sóoč sambá-Ø a-i-t'-m-an ké insáan-Ø daltás-ko  
 thought thought-ABS NEG-3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H LINK human-ABS beautiful-PL

*čízizcum chil maníbáan. íne jíí bačát*  
 číz-iz-c-um chil man+bá-an-Ø ín-e jíí-Ø bačát  
 thing-PL-ADE-ABL water become+COP-3PL.H-PRS s/he:DIST-GEN life-ABS residue

*éetase gáne ése chil*  
 ĩ-t'-as-e gan'-e és-e chil'-Ø  
 3PL.H:III-do-INF-GEN way-ESS that.one:X-ERG water-ABS

*déemibím.*

d-ĩ-mi+b'-i-m  
 TEL-3SG.Y:III-collect+COP-3SG.X-NPRS

They did not believe that it [= the hawk] collected water to save his life, because man procures water from clean things.

## čhúmoe minás - 241

<i>íne</i>	<i>akhénúm</i>	<i>sóoč</i>	<i>ayétum</i>	<i>'khóse</i>
ín-e	a-hén-um	sóoč-∅	a-i't'-um	khós-e
s/he:DIST-ERG	NEG-know-ADJVLZ	thought-ABS	NEG-3SG.Y:II-do-ADJVLZ	this.one:X-ERG

<i>jáa</i>	<i>káa</i>	<i>dušmaní</i>	<i>étibi'</i>	<i>nusén,</i>	<i>eş</i>
jé-e	káaṭ	dušmaní-∅	i-t+b'-i-∅	n-sén	i-ş'-∅
I-GEN	together	hostility-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do+COP-3SG.X-PRS	CP-say	3SG.X:II-neck-ABS

<i>maráaq</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>çaṭ</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>lip</i>	<i>étimi.</i>
maráq-<:>	n-i't	çaṭ	n-i't	líp	i-t'-m-i
bending-EMPH	CP-3SG.X:II-do	crack	CP-3SG.X:II-do	dumping	3SG.X:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HM

He did not know it and did not think so, and then saying ‘This has turned against me!’ folded its neck, plucked and threw it.

## čhúmoe minás - 242

<i>ya</i>	<i>akhíljuko</i>	<i>daltáško</i>	<i>čízijcum</i>	<i>chil</i>
yá	akhíl-čuko	daltás-ko	číz-iṭ-c-um	chil'-∅
INTERJ	in.this.way-PL	beautiful-PL	thing-PL-ADE-ABL	water-ABS

<i>maíbaan.</i>	<i>sóoč</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>sambá</i>	<i>éti'</i>
man'-č+bá-an-∅	sóoč-∅	n-i't	sambá-∅	i-t'-i
become-IPFV+COP-2PL-PRS	thought-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	thought-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG

*nusén.*  
n-sén  
CP-say

Now, you are procureing water from such clean things. Consider about it” she said.

## čhúmoe minás - 243

<i>dáa</i>	<i>nímo</i>	<i>iné</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>ee</i>	<i>yuúsmur</i>	<i>maaní</i>
dáa	ní-m-o	iné	baadšáa-e	ee	i-us'-mu-ar	maaní-∅
again	go-NPRS-3SG.HF	that:H	king-GEN	FIL	3SG.HM:I-wife-OBL-DAT	meaning-ABS



*éčar*                      *dumóom*                      *iné.*  
 i-t'č-ar                      d-mu'um                      iné-∅  
 3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-DAT    come:PFV-3SG.HF-ADJVLZ    that:H-ABS

And the woman who came to explain the meaning to the king's wife went out.

čhúmoé minás - 244

*dáa*    *numóon*                      *múimo*                      *kamaráulo*    *hurúřumo.*  
 dáa    n-mu'n                      mu-í-mu-e                      kamará-ul-e    hurúř-m-o  
 again    go:PFV:3SG.HF-CP    3SG.HF:I-self-OBL-GEN    room-LOC-ESS    sit-NPRS-3SG.HF

She [= the daughter] had gone and [the queen] sat down in her room.

čhúmoé minás - 245

*nuúro*    *dáa*    *wáqtan*                      *gúzra*    *manáasar,*                      *dáa*    *wáqtan*  
 n-hurúř    dáa    wáqt-an-∅                      gúzra    man'-as-ar                      dáa    wáqt-an-∅  
 CP-sit    again    time-INDEF.SG-ABS    passed    become-INF-DAT    again    time-INDEF.SG-ABS

*gúzra*    *manáasar,*                      *dáa*    *qáo*                      *étumo.*  
 gúzra    man'-as-ar                      dáa    qáo-∅    i-t'm-o  
 passed    become-INF-DAT    again    cry-ABS    3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HF

Having sat down, she passed her time and called her again.

čhúmoé minás - 246

*"bée*    *ya,*                      *ju,*                      *jáar*    *maaní*                      *éti*                      *choór"*  
 bée    yá                      jú-i                      jé-ar    maaní-∅                      i-t'i                      chóř-<:>  
 no    INTERJ    come-IMP.SG    I-DAT    meaning-ABS    3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG    early-EMPH

*sénase*                      *káa.*  
 sén-as-e                      káař  
 say-INF-GEN    together

As saying "No, come on and tell me the meaning right now".

## čhúmoe minás - 247

<b>“saátimo</b>	<b>itée</b>	<b>sóoč</b>	<b>sambá</b>	<b>étóo”</b>			
saáṭi-mu-e	ité-e	sóoč	sambá-∅	i-t+bá-a-∅			
yesterday-OBL-GEN	that:Y-GEN	thought	thought-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do+COP-2SG-PRS			
<b>sénase</b>	<b>káa,</b>	<b>“bée ya,</b>	<b>daltás</b>	<b>ne</b>	<b>sóoč</b>	<b>sambá</b>	
sén-as-e	káaṭ	bée yá	daltás	n-i-t	sóoč	sambá-∅	
say-INF-GEN	together	no INTERJ	beautiful	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	thought	thought-ABS	
<b>éti”</b>	<b>mósumo.</b>						
i-t-i	mu-s-m-o						
3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG	3SG.HF:II-tell-NPRS-3SG.HF						

“Have you considered about the yesterday’s story?” [the daughter] asked, and [the queen] answered to her “No, you explain with a beautiful idea”.

## čhúmoe minás - 248

<b>“bée ya,</b>	<b>ye</b>	<b>juú,</b>	<b>bas</b>	<b>étabáa”</b>		<b>nusén,</b>	<b>dáa</b>
bée yá	yé	juú	bás	i-t-a+bá-a-∅		n-sén	dáa
no	INTERJ	look:INTERJ	mister	enough	3SG.Y:II-do-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS	CP-say	again
<b>wáqtan</b>	<b>níasar</b>	<b>dáa</b>	<b>móor</b>	<b>qáo</b>	<b>ne</b>	<b>dáa</b>	
wáqt-an-∅	ní-as-ar	dáa	mu-ar	qáo-∅	n-i-t	dáa	
time-INDEF.SG-ABS	go-INF-DAT	again	3SG.HF:II-DAT	cry-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	again	
<b>zabardastí</b>	<b>dumúcumo.</b>						
zabardastí-∅	d-mu-sú-m-o						
greatness-ABS	TEL-3SG.HF:I-bring-NPRS-3SG.HF						

“No, Your Majesty, I have finished to explain” she said; After a short while she [= the queen] called her again and pestered her.

## čhúmoe minás - 249

<b>dumúcunininin</b>	<b>sénumo</b>	<b>ke,</b>	<b>dumúcase</b>
d-mu-sú-n-n-n-n	sén-m-o	ké	d-mu-sú-as-e
TEL-3SG.HF:I-bring-CP-CP-CP-CP	say-NPRS-3SG.HF	LINK	TEL-3SG.HF:I-bring-INF-GEN

*káa*     *dáa*     *sénumo*             *ke,*     “*ye*             *khóle*     *ésal,*  
*káaṭ*     *dáa*     *sén-m-o*             *ké*     *yé*             *khól-e*     *i-sal-i*  
together     again     say-NPRS-3SG.HF     LINK     look:INTERJ     here-ESS     3SG.Y:II-watch-IMP.SG

*hin*     *baadšáane*             *éyarum*                             *tootáan*  
*hín*     *baadšáa-an-e*             *i-yar-um*                             *tootá-an-∅*  
one:H     king-INDEF.SG-GEN     3SG.HM:II-beloved-ADJVLZ     parrot-INDEF.SG-ABS

*bim”*                     *sénumo.*  
*b’i-m*                     *sén-m-o*  
COP-3SG.X-NPRS     say-NPRS-3SG.HF

To that the queen pestered her so, she said “Er, listen, there was a parrot loved by a king”.

čhúmoe minás - 250

“*isé*             *baadšáa*     *éyarum*                             *tootáan*                     *bim.*  
*isé-∅*             *baadšáa-e*     *i-yar-um*                             *tootá-an-∅*                     *b’i-m*  
that:X-ABS     king-GEN     3SG.HM:II-beloved-ADJVLZ     parrot-INDEF.SG-ABS     COP-3SG.X-NPRS

*isé*             *iphóijate*                             *níya,*                     *ee, gaár*  
*isé-∅*             *i-phóij-aṭ-e*                             *n-i-gán*                     *ee gaár*  
that-ABS     3SG.HM:I-shoulder-INS-ESS     CP-3SG.X:I-take     FIL     dizzy

*maibám.*  
*man’č+bá-i-m*  
become-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

“It was the king’s beloved parrot. He looked after it perching on his shoulder.

čhúmoe minás - 251

*iphóijate*                             *níya*                             *šícóm*  
*i-phóij-aṭ-e*                             *n-i-gán*                             *ší-č+bá-i-m*  
3SG.HM:I-shoulder-INS-ESS     CP-3SG.X:I-take     eat:HX.SG.OBJ-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

*miibám*                             *naašitáa*                             *éčóm.*                             *óor*  
*min’č+bá-i-m*                             *naašitáa-∅*                             *i-t’č+bá-i-m*                             *óor*  
drink-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS     breakfast-ABS     3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS     and

*teebálate*    *épači*                      *néuro*                      *khaanáa*    *káa*  
 teebál-aṭ-e    i-pá-či-e                      n-i-hurúṭ                      khaaná-e    káaṭ  
 table-INS-ESS    3SG.HM:II-side-INE-ESS    CP-3SG.X:II-sit    food-GEN    together

*ésirčóm.*

i-sir-č+bá-i-m

3SG.X:III-feed-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

With it on his shoulder he used to eat and drink and have breakfast. And seated it by the table to feed.

čhúmoe minás - 252

*ámular*    *daltás*    *díšar*                      *dauráar*                      *níasar*    *ke*    *isé*  
 ámul-ar    daltás    diš'-ar                      daurá-ar                      ní-as-ar    ké    isé  
 where-DAT    beautiful    ground-DAT    going.round-DAT    go-INF-DAT    LINK    that:X

*tootáa*    *níya*                      *níčóm.*

tootá-∅    n-i-gán                      ní-č+bá-i-m

parrot-ABS    CP-3SG.X:I-take    go-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

When he went to somewhere to a tour then he used to brought it together.

čhúmoe minás - 253

*ee*, *aaqhiríar*    *ke*    *hik*    *barénasar*    *ámitan*                      *daltás*  
 ee    aaqhirí-ar    ké    hík    barén-as-ar    ámit-an                      daltás  
 FIL    end-DAT                      LINK    one:Z    look-INF-DAT    which:Y-INDEF.SG    beautiful

*kirkían*                      *bilúm*                      *baadšáa*    *saámarum*    *mahále*  
 kirkí-an-∅                      b-il'-m                      baadšáa-e    saámarum    mahál-e  
 window-INDEF.SG-ABS    COP-3SG.Y-NPRS    king-GEN    ???                      court-GEN

*kirkíe*    *hóle*                      *isé*    *tootáa*    *éçuan*  
 kirkí-e    hól-e                      isé    tootá-e    i-ço-an-∅  
 window-GEN    outside-ESS    that:X    parrot-GEN    3SG.X:II-same.sex.sibling-INDEF.SG-ABS

*dími.*

d-i''m-i

come:PFV-3SG.X-NPRS-3SG.X

One day it was witnessed a parrot which is a brother of the king's beloved one coming outside the palace of the king's beautiful window.

čhúmoē minás - 254

<i>tootáa</i>	<i>éçuan</i>		<i>díin,</i>	<i>tootá</i>	<i>ke</i>
tootá-e	i-ço-an-Ø		d-i''n	tootá	ké
parrot-GEN	3SG.X:II-same.sex.sibling-INDEF.SG-ABS		come:CP-3SG.X-CP	parrot	LINK

<i>tootá</i>	<i>óltik</i>	<i>gáti</i>	<i>numá,</i>	<i>isé</i>	<i>hólum</i>	<i>díin</i>
tootá	u:ltik-Ø	gáti	n-man	isé	hól-um	d-i''n
parrot	3PL.X:II-both-ABS	gathering	CP-become	that:X	outside-ABL	come:CP-3SG.X-CP

<i>isé</i>	<i>tootáa</i>	<i>éçue</i>	<i>sénimi</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>'wáa</i>
isé	tootá-e	i-ço-e	sén-m-i	ké	wáa
that:X	parrot-GEN	3SG.X:II-same.sex.sibling-GEN	say-NPRS-3SG.X	LINK	INTERJ

<i>daltás</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>éyarum</i>	<i>tootáa,</i>	<i>úne</i>
daltás	baadšáa-e	i-yar-um	tootá	ún-e
beautiful	king-GEN	3SG.HM:II-beloved-ADJVLZ	parrot	thou-GEN

<i>góçue</i>	<i>gar</i>	<i>bilá.</i>	<i>úne</i>	<i>joṭ</i>
gu-ço-e	gar'-Ø	b'il'-Ø	ún-e	joṭ
2SG:II-same.sex.sibling-GEN	marriage-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-PRS	thou-GEN	small

<i>góçue</i>	<i>gar</i>	<i>bilá.</i>	<i>júçuma</i>	<i>náa'</i>
gu-ço-e	gar'-Ø	b'il'-Ø	jú-č-m-a	náa
2SG:II-same.sex.sibling-GEN	marriage-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-PRS	come-IPFV-NPRS-2SG	TAG.Q

*sénimi.*

sén-m-i

say-NPRS-3SG.X

A brother of the parrot came, they two parrots gathered here, the [brother] parrot came from the outside and said to its brother 'Oh the king's beloved beautiful parrot, the wedding ceremony of your younger brother is [held]. You'd better come'.

## čhúmoē minás - 255

*ee baadšáa mahálar díninin mahálulo bim*  
 ee baadšáa-e mahál-ar d-í'n-n-n mahál-ul-e b'i-um  
 FIL king-GEN court-DAT come:CP-3SG.X-CP-CP-CP court-LOC-ESS COP-3SG.X-ADJVLZ

*isé tootáar dín ésimi ke 'úne*  
 isé tootá-ar d-í'n i-s'm-i ké ún-e  
 that:X parrot-DAT come:CP-3SG.X-CP 3SG.X:II-tell-NPRS-3SG.X LINK thou-GEN

*góçue gar bilá. laazmí júas*  
 gu'çø-e gar'∅ b'il'∅ laazmí-e jú-as  
 2SG:II-same.sex.sibling-GEN marriage-ABS COP-3SG.Y-PRS responsibility-GEN come-INF

*gumáibáa.' sénase káa.*  
 gu-man'č+bá-a-∅ sén-as-e káaṭ  
 2SG:I-become-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS say-INF-GEN together

[The brother parrot] came to the king's palace, to the parrot which lived in the palace, and told it 'There is your brother's marriage. You are responsible for coming'.

## čhúmoē minás - 256

*óltike čayabár ne tootámuc óltike*  
 u-ltik-e čayabár-∅ n-i't tootá-muc u-ltik-e  
 3PL.X:II-both-ERG conversation-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do parrot-PL 3PL.X:II-both-ERG

*čayabár ne, 'jée khiné baadšáacum ijaazát*  
 čayabár-∅ n-i't jé-e khiné baadšáa-c-um ijaazát-∅  
 conversation-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do I-ERG this:H king-ADE-ABL permission-ABS

*nukán júçam. khiné íane díšulo*  
 n-gán jú-č-a-m khiné-e i-i'an-e díš'ul-e  
 CP-take come-IPFV-1SG-NPRS this:H-ERG 3SG.HM:I-son-INDEF.SG-GEN ground-LOC-ESS

*éianmo díšulo oušabái.*  
 i-i-an-mu-e díš'ul-e a-ušá+bá-i-∅  
 3SG.HM:II-daughter-INDEF.SG-OBL-GEN ground-LOC-ESS 1SG:I-bring.up+COP-3SG.HM-PRS

Those both talked [and the king's beloved parrot said] 'I'll come after taking a permission from this king. This king has brought me up as if I were his son or daughter.

## čhúmoe minás - 257

<i>dáa</i>	<i>khíncum</i>	<i>atéeyuršume</i>	<i>káaṭum</i>
dáa	khín-c-um	a-d-a-yurk-č-um-e	káaṭ-um
again	s/he:PROX-ADE-ABL	NEG-TEL-1SG:III-attain-IPFV-ADJVLZ-GEN	together-ADJVLZ
<i>méne</i>	<i>júcam.</i>		
mén-e	jú-č-a-m		
who-ERG (?)	come-IPFV-1SG-NPRS		

So how will I come without taking permission from him.

## čhúmoe minás - 258

<i>khiné</i>	<i>baadšáacum</i>	<i>ijaazát</i>	<i>dáayurkam</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>dáa</i>
khiné	baadšaa-c-um	ijaazát-∅	d-a-yurk-a-m	ké	dáa
this:H	king-ADE-ABL	permission-ABS	TEL-1SG:III-attain-1SG-NPRS	LINK	again
<i>ya</i>	<i>gon.</i>	<i>inšallaa.'</i>	<i>nusén.</i>		
yá	gón-i	inšallaa	n-sén		
INTERJ	INTERJ-IMP.SG	if.god.wills	CP-say		

When I have taken a permission from the king, then shall we go. If the God wills' it said.

## čhúmoe minás - 259

<i>hólum</i>	<i>dúm</i>	<i>isé</i>	<i>tootáar</i>	<i>ijaazát</i>
hól-um	d-í-um	isé	tootá-ar	ijaazát-∅
outside-ABL	come:PFV-3SG.X-ADJVLZ	that:X	parrot-DAT	permission-ABS
<i>níchi</i>	<i>éerimi.</i>			
n-i-čhi	ĩ-r'-m-i			
CP-3SG.X:I-give:Y.SG.OBJ	3SG.X:III-send-NPRS-3SG.X			

It gave a permission for the parrot come from outside and sent away.

## čhúmoe minás - 260

*néerinininin,*                      *múšaṭe*      *iné*      *isé*      *tootáa*      *baadšáa*  
 n-i-r'-n-n-n                      muš'-aṭ-e      iné      isé      tootá-e      baadšáa  
 CP-3SG.X:III-send-CP-CP-CP-CP      edge-INS-ESS      that:H      that:X      parrot-ERG      king

*épači*                      *isée*              *sóoč*              *étimi*              *ke*  
 i-pá-či-e                      isé-e              sóoč-∅              i-t'-m-i              ké  
 3SG.HM:II-side-INE-ESS      that:X-ERG      thought-ABS      3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.X      LINK

*'ye*              *muú*      *baadšáacum*      *muú*      *duyárušam'*              *nusén.*  
 yé              muú      baadšáa-c-um      muú      d-γarús-č-a-m              n-sén  
 look:INTERJ      now      king-ADE-ABL      now      TEL-be.straight-IPFV-1SG-NPRS      CP-say

*baadšáacum*      *duyárusimi.*  
 baadšáa-c-um      d-γarús-m-i  
 king-ADE-ABL      TEL-be.straight-NPRS-3SG.X

At the time of sending it [= the brother] out, the parrot which is by the king thought 'Now I shall ask the king' and did it.

## čhúmoe minás - 261

*'yáa*      *baadšáa*      *salaamát,*      *akhí*              *nétan*              *jáa*      *joṭ*  
 yá      baadšáa      salaamát      akhíl              n-i-t'-n              jé-e      jóṭ  
 INTERJ      king              tranquillity      in.this.way      CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP      I-GEN      small

*áço*                      *dííbám.*  
 a'-ço-∅                      d-i'+bá-i-m  
 1SG:II-same.sex.sibling-ABS      come:PFV-3SG.HM+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

'Your Majesty, my king. For these reasons my younger brother had come.

## čhúmoe minás - 262

*jóorojót*      *iné*      *méçue*                      *gar*              *bilá.*  
 joorojót      iné      mi'-ço-e                      gar'-∅              b'il'-∅  
 youngest      that:H      1PL:II-same.sex.sibling-GEN      marriage-ABS      COP-3SG.Y-PRS

Our youngest brother's marriage is held.



## čhúmoe minás - 263

<i>“laazmí</i>	<i>júas</i>	<i>gumáima”</i>	<i>nusé</i>	<i>áar</i>	<i>qáo</i>
laazmí-e	jú-as	gu-man’č-m-a	n-sén	a-ar	qáo-Ø
responsibility-GEN	come-INF	2SG:I-become-IPFV-NPRS-2SG	CP-say	1SG:II-DAT	cry-ABS
<i>ne</i>	<i>níbái.</i>				
n-i-t	ní+bá-i-Ø				
CP-3SG.Y:II-do	go+COP-3SG.HM-PRS				

He [it] invited me as saying “you are responsible for coming” and left.

## čhúmoe minás - 264

<i>be</i>	<i>éčabáa</i>		<i>yáa</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>salaamát’</i>	<i>nusé</i>
bé	i-t’č-a+bá-a-Ø		yá	baadšáa	salaamát	n-sén
what	3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS		INTERJ	king	tranquillity	CP-say
<i>tootáa</i>	<i>baadšáacum</i>	<i>duyárusase</i>	<i>káa</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>		
tootá-e	baadšáa-c-um	d-yarús-as-e	káaṭ	baadšáa-e		
parrot-ERG	king-ADE-ABL	TEL-be.straight-INF-GEN	together	king-ERG		
<i>sénimi</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>‘wáa</i>	<i>jáa</i>	<i>áyarum</i>	<i>tootáa,</i>	<i>úne</i>
sén-m-i	ké	wáa	jé-e	a-yar-um	tootá	ún-e
say-NPRS-3SG.HM	LINK	INTERJ	I-GEN	1SG:II-beloved-ADJVLZ	parrot	thou-GEN
<i>káa</i>	<i>šíase</i>	<i>mináase</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>mazá</i>		
káaṭ	ší-as-e	min’-as-e	ké	mazá-Ø		
together	eat:HX.SG.OBJ-INF-GEN	drink-INF-GEN	LINK	taste-ABS		
<i>júčilá.</i>		<i>úne</i>	<i>káa</i>	<i>čakáre</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>mazá</i>
jú-č+b’il’-Ø		ún-e	káaṭ	čakár-e	ké	mazá-Ø
come-IPFV+COP-3SG.Y-PRS		thou-GEN	together	stroll-GEN	LINK	taste-ABS
<i>júčilá.</i>		<i>úne</i>	<i>káa</i>	<i>darúar</i>	<i>níase</i>	<i>ke</i>
jú-č+b’il’-Ø		ún-e	káaṭ	darú-ar	ní-as-e	ké
come-IPFV+COP-3SG.Y-PRS		thou-GEN	together	hunting-DAT	go-INF-GEN	LINK

*mazá júçilá.*  
 mazá-Ø jú-č+b'il'Ø  
 taste-ABS come-IPFV+COP-3SG.Y-PRS

So, what do I do? My king' said the parrot to ask him, and for that the king said 'Oh, my dear parrot, it's interesting for me that eating and drinking with you, go walking and hunting with you.

čhúmoe minás - 265

*dáa béšalar dáa choór júçuma' sénase káa.*  
 dáa béšal-ar dáa chó<:> jú-č-m-a sén-as-e káaṭ  
 again when-DAT again early-EMPH come-IPFV-NPRS-2SG say-INF-GEN together

When will you come back?' he said.

čhúmoe minás - 266

*'yá baadšáa salaamát' sénimi ke 'béšal iné*  
 yá baadšáa salaamát sén-m-i ké béšal iné  
 INTERJ king tranquillity say-NPRS-3SG.X LINK when that:H

*áçue gar šuákuṣe káa basími*  
 a-çø-e gar'Ø šuá-kuṣ-e káaṭ bas'm-i  
 1SG:II-same.sex.sibling-GEN marriage-ABS good-NMLZ-GEN together settle-NPRS-3SG.Y

*ke amaná hik dam júçam', sénase káa.*  
 ké amaná hík dām jú-č-a-m sén-as-e káaṭ  
 LINK then one:Z breath come-IPFV-1SG-NPRS say-INF-GEN together

The parrot said 'Your Majesty, my king. When my brother's marriage finished without incident, then I will come back in the blink of an eye'.

čhúmoe minás - 267

*'bésan áar toofá díšan, díšuma'*  
 bés-an a-ar toophá-Ø \*\*\* d-i-sú-č-m-a  
 what-INDEF.SG 1SG:II-DAT gift-ABS \*\*\* TEL-3SG.Y:I-bring-IPFV-NPRS-2SG

*sénase káa.*  
*sén-as-e káaʔ*  
 say-INF-GEN together

The king said ‘Will you bring some present for me?’

čhúmoe minás - 268

*‘góçoe gar ne bésan toofá*  
*gu’çø-e gar’∅ n-i-t bés-an toophá-∅*  
 2SG:II-same.sex.sibling-GEN marriage-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do what-INDEF.SG gift-ABS

*áar díšuma’ sénas ke.*  
*a-ar d-i-sú-č-m-a sén-as ké*  
 1SG:II-DAT TEL-3SG.Y:I-bring-IPFV-NPRS-2SG say-INF LINK

He said ‘Will you finish your brother’s marriage and bring some present for me?’

čhúmoe minás - 269

*‘bésan úne nasípulo bi ke bésan qhudáae*  
*bés-an ún-e nasíib-ul-e b’i-∅ ké bés-an qhudáa-e*  
 what-INDEF.SG thou-GEN fate-LOC-ESS COP-3SG.X-PRS LINK what-INDEF.SG god-ERG

*nasípulo girmínói ke isé góor*  
*nasíib-ul-e girmín+bá-i-∅ ké isé-∅ gu-ar*  
 fate-LOC-ESS write+COP-3SG.HM-PRS LINK that:X-ABS 2SG:II-DAT

*díšam.’ nusén. ními.*  
*d-i-sú-č-a-m n-sén ní-m-i*  
 TEL-3SG.X:I-bring-IPFV-1SG-NPRS CP-say go-NPRS-3SG.X

The parrot replied ‘I’ll bring the gift which the God has written on your fate back for you’ and went.

čhúmoe minás - 270

*‘ye šuá qhudáa haafiz, ni,’ nusén baadšáa ijaazát*  
*yé šuá qhudáa+haaphíz ní-i n-sén baadšáa-e ijaazát-∅*  
 look:INTERJ good goodbye go-IMP.SG CP-say king-ERG permission-ABS

*ičhías*                      *ke*    *tootáa*    *ními.*  
 i-čhi'-as                      ké    tootá-Ø    ní-m-i  
 3SG.X:I-give:Y.SG.OBJ-INF    LINK    parrot-ABS    go-NPRS-3SG.X

‘Okay, goodbye, you go’ the king said and gave it a permission, and then the parrot left.

čhúmoē minás - 271

*nínininin*                      *ke, éçue*                      *muqtasáre kaláam*  
 n-i''n-n-n-n                      ké    i-ço-e                      muqtasár+e+kaláam  
 go:PFV:3SG.X-CP-CP-CP    LINK    3SG.X:II-same.sex.sibling-GEN    in.short

*éçue*                      *gar*                      *manáase*                      *sakaráat*  
 i-ço-e                      gar'-Ø                      man'-as-e                      sakaráat-Ø  
 3SG.X:II-same.sex.sibling-GEN    marriage-ABS    become-INF-GEN    arrangement-ABS

*nétaninin*                      *íimo*                      *ṭéemaṭe*                      *gar*  
 n-i-t'-n-n-n                      i-í-mu-e                      ṭéem-aṭ-e                      gar'-Ø  
 CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP-CP-CP    3SG.X:I-self-OBL-GEN    time-INS-ESS    marriage-ABS

*néspasinininin.*  
 n-i-s-bas'-n-n-n-n  
 CP-3SG.Y:II-CAUS-settle-CP-CP-CP-CP

It went, arranged its brother’s marriage ceremony and then finished it in its own good time.

čhúmoē minás - 272

*isé*    *tootáa*    *ičhónjuṣ*    *yáare*                      *uskó*    *wáltoan*  
 isé    tootá-e    i-čhónjúṣ    i-yáar-e                      uskó    wálto-an  
 that:X    parrot-ERG    3SG.X:I-beak    3SG.Y:I-downwards-ESS    three:Y    four:Y-INDEF.SG

*gúre*    *phalóno*    *nuká*    *díimi.*  
 gur'-e    phal'-ono-Ø    n-gán    d-i''m-i  
 wheat-GEN    grain-PL-ABS    CP-take    come:PFV-3SG.X-NPRS-3SG.X

The parrot took up some wheat grains by its beak and came.

## čhúmoe minás - 273

<i>uskó</i>	<i>wáltoan</i>	<i>gúre</i>	<i>phalóno</i>	<i>nuká</i>	<i>díinininin</i>
uskó	wálto-an	gur'e	phal'ono-Ø	n-gán	d-i'n-n-n-n
three:Y	four:Y-INDEF.SG	wheat-GEN	grain-PL-ABS	CP-take	come:CP-3SG.X-CP-CP-CP-CP
<i>gar</i>	<i>néspasin</i>	<i>iné</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>yáre</i>	<i>phat</i>
gar'Ø	n-i-s-bas'n	iné	baadšáa	i-yár-e	phát
marriage-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-CAUS-settle-CP	that:H	king	3SG.HM:I-before-ESS	quitting
<i>teebálate</i>	<i>phat</i>	<i>étimi,</i>	<i>iké</i>	<i>gúre</i>	<i>phalóno.</i>
teebál-aṭ-e	phát	i-t'm-i	iké	gur'e	phal'ono-Ø
table-INS-ESS	quitting	3PL.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.X	those:Y	wheat-GEN	grain-PL-ABS

Having taken some grains of the wheat, finished the marriage, it came back and put out the wheat grains on the table before the king.

## čhúmoe minás - 274

<i>'bésan</i>	<i>áar</i>	<i>dícóo</i>	<i>áyarum</i>				
bés-an	a-ar	d-i-sú+bá-a-Ø	a-yar-um				
what-INDEF.SG	1SG:II-DAT	TEL-3SG.Y:I-bring+COP-2SG-PRS	1SG:II-beloved-ADJVLZ				
<i>tootáa'</i>	<i>sénase</i>	<i>káa,</i>	<i>'yáa</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>salaamát,</i>	<i>guké</i>	<i>gúre</i>
tootá	sén-as-e	káaṭ	yá	baadšáa	salaamát	guké	gur'e
parrot	say-INF-GEN	together	INTERJ	king	tranquillity	these:Y	wheat-GEN
<i>phalóno</i>	<i>góor</i>	<i>súyabáa'</i>	<i>sénase</i>	<i>káa.</i>			
phal'ono-Ø	gu-ar	sú-a+bá-a-Ø	sén-as-e	káaṭ			
grain-PL-ABS	2SG:II-DAT	bring-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS	say-INF-GEN	together			

The king asked 'My dear parrot, what have you brought for me?'; The parrot answered 'Your Majesty, my king, I have brought these wheat grains for you'.

## čhúmoe minás - 275

<i>'khótulo</i>	<i>bésan</i>	<i>alaamát</i>	<i>bilá.'</i>	<i>sénase</i>	<i>káa.</i>
khót-ul-e	bés-an	alaamát-Ø	b'il'Ø	sén-as-e	káaṭ
these.ones:Y-LOC-ESS	what-INDEF.SG	sign-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-PRS	say-INF-GEN	together

The king said 'What is the meaning with these?'

## čhúmoe minás - 276

*‘insáane gáne moojizáa bicán.*  
 insáan-e gan’-e moojizáa-Ø b’icán-Ø  
 human-GEN way-ESS miracle-ABS COP-3PL.Y-PRS

‘These are miracle drugs for human beings.

## čhúmoe minás - 277

*heiwáane gáne zéher bicán.’ sénimi.*  
 heiwáan-e gan’-e záhar-Ø b’icán-Ø sén-m-i  
 animal-GEN way-ESS poison-ABS COP-3PL.Y-ABS say-NPRS-3SG.HM

These are poison for animals’ he said.

## čhúmoe minás - 278

*‘insáane gáne moojizáa bicán. heiwáane gáne zéher*  
 insáan-e gan’-e moojizáa-Ø b’icán-Ø heiwáan-e gan’-e záhar-Ø  
 human-GEN way-ESS miracle-ABS COP-3PL.Y-PRS animal-GEN way-ESS poison-ABS  
*bicán.’ nusén dusún. phat étasar.*  
 b’icán-Ø n-sén d-sú-n phát i-t’-as-ar  
 COP-3PL.Y-PRS CP-say TEL:CP-bring-CP quitting 3PL.Y:II-do-INF-DAT

‘These are a miracle drug for human beings and poison for animals’ he said and ordered to take them out.

## čhúmoe minás - 279

*ee ‘baadšáa, guté šéčan’ nusé sakaráat*  
 ee baadšáa guté-Ø šé-č-an-m n-sén sakaráat-Ø  
 FIL king this:Y-ABS eat:Y.OBJ-IPFV-1PL-NPRS CP-say arrangement-ABS  
*étasar, in baadšáa nookáre sénimi ke, ‘bée,*  
 i-t’-as-ar ín baadšáa-e nookár-e sén-m-i ké bée  
 3SG.Y:II-do-INF-DAT s/he:DIST king-GEN servant-ERG say-NPRS-3SG.HM LINK no

*yáa baadšáa salaamát. khos balás číz bi*  
*yá baadšáa salaamát khós-∅ balás číz-∅ b'-i-∅*  
 INTERJ king tranquillity this.one:X-ABS bird thing-ABS COP-3SG.X-PRS

*khósale baáj maí.*  
*khós-al-e baáj-∅ man'-č-m-i (?)*  
 this.one:X-LOC-ESS prayers-ABS become-IPFV-NPRS-3SG.Y

‘Let’s eat it, my king’ [the parrot] said and was going to prepare, at that time a servant of the king said ‘No, Your Highness, my king. This is just a bird, it may entertain a wish.

čhúmoe minás - 280

*ikhár aazáad étase gáne, nukósqan*  
*i-khar'-∅ aazáad i-t'-as-e gan'-e n-gu'-s-yan*  
 3SG.X:I-REFL.PRN-ABS free 3SG.Y:II-do-INF-GEN way-ESS CP-2SG:II-CAUS-be.finished

*ikhár aazáad étase gáne, čémilij góor*  
*i-khar'-∅ aazáad i-t'-as-e gan'-e čémilij-∅ gu'-ar*  
 3SG.X:I-REFL.PRN-ABS free 3SG.Y:II-do-INF-GEN way-ESS poison-ABS 2SG:II-DAT

*súbía et bésan súbí ke,*  
*sú+b'-i-∅=a ét bés-an-∅ sú+b'-i-∅ ké*  
 bring+COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q that.one:Y what-INDEF.SG-ABS bring+COP-3SG.X-PRS LINK

*be leél, čhup ne oóši.' sénase káa.*  
*bé leél čúp-∅ n-i-t aú-šé-i sén-as-e káat*  
 what knowing hiding-ABS CP-3SG.Y:II-do NEG-eat:Y.OBJ-IMP.SG say-INF-GEN together

It has brought this as poison to kill you on the purpose to make itself free. I don’t know what it brought is but don’t eat it as keeping away’, he said.

čhúmoe minás - 281

*šúa' nusén, 'dáa khok be éčan'*  
*šúa n-sén dáa khók-∅ bé i-t'-č-an-m*  
 good CP-say again these.ones:Y-ABS what 3PL.Y:II-do-IPFV-1PL-NPRS

*sénimi*            *baadšáa*    *hárki*            *éčan*.  
 sén-m-i            baadšáa-e    hárki-∅            i-t'-č-an-m  
 say-NPRS-3SG.HM    king-ERG    cultivation-ABS    3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-1PL-NPRS

The king said 'Well, then how will we do with these?', [and the servant said] 'We'll sow them'.

čhúmoe minás - 282

*hárki*            *éčan*                            *sénase*    *káa.*    *šúa'*    *nusén*  
 hárki-∅            i-t'-č-an-m                            sén-as-e    káaṭ    šuá    n-sén  
 cultivation-ABS    3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-1PL-NPRS    say-INF-GEN    together    good    CP-say

*hárki*            *étuman.*  
 hárki-∅            i-t'-m-an  
 cultivation-ABS    3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H

For the saying 'We'll sow them', [the king] said 'Okay' and they cultivated.

čhúmoe minás - 283

*málanar*            *muqtasáre kaláam,*    *hárki*            *nétan*  
 mal'-an-ar            muqtasár+e+kaláam    hárki-∅            n-i-t'-n  
 field-INDEF.SG-DAT    in.short                            cultivation-ABS    CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP

*duyúnasar*            *nupárinininin*            *dusúman.*  
 d-yun'-as-ar            n-bar'-n-n-n-n            d-sú-m-an  
 TEL-be.ripen-INF-DAT    CP-thresh-CP-CP-CP-CP    TEL-bring-NPRS-3PL.H

After the cultivation they brought them which had been threshed to grow well to a field.

čhúmoe minás - 284

*dárce*            *phónance*                            *čhoṭ*    *ne*            *bicúm.*  
 darc'-e            phon'-an-c-e                            čhóṭ    n-i-t            b'-icán-m  
 threshing.circle-GEN    furrow-INDEF.SG-ADE-ESS    heap    CP-3PL.Y:II-do    COP-3PL.Y-NPRS

And those grains had been sown in a furrow of a threshing circle.



## čhúmoē minás - 285

*dárculo*                      *čhoṭ ne*                      *nupárin*                      *tayáar ne*  
 darc'ul-e                      čhóṭ n-i-t                      n-bar'n                      tayáar n-i-t  
 threshing.circle-LOC-ESS    heap    CP-3PL.Y:II-do    CP-thresh-CP    ready    CP-3PL.Y:II-do

*bicúm.*

b'icán-m

COP-3PL.Y-NPRS

Having sown in the circle, these had got threshed and ready.

## čhúmoē minás - 286

*tayáar ne*                      *bicúma*                      *ke, 'ye*                      *dusúin*                      *be*  
 tayáar n-i-t                      b'icán-m=a                      ké yé                      d-sú-n                      bé  
 ready    CP-3PL.Y:II-do    COP-3PL.Y-NPRS=Q    LINK    look:INTERJ    TEL-bring-CP    what

*šéčan'*                      *sénimi*                      *baadšáa*                      *'šéčan*  
 šé-č-an-m                      sén-m-i                      baadšáa-e                      šé-č-an-um-Ø  
 eat:Y.OBJ-IPFV-1PL-NPRS    say-NPRS-3SG.HM    king-ERG    eat:Y.OBJ-IPFV-1PL-ADJVLZ-ABS

*chúin'*                      *sénase*                      *káa.*  
 chu'in                      sén-as-e                      káaṭ  
 bring.away-IMP.PL    say-INF-GEN    together

These had got ready and the king said 'Now, after having brought them, what will we eat? Rather, bring what we have eaten'.

## čhúmoē minás - 287

*'bée ya,'*                      *khókeee,*                      *khóke*                      *sénuman*                      *ke,*  
 bée yá                      khók-e                      khók-e                      sén-m-an                      ké  
 no    INTERJ    these.ones:Y-GEN    these.ones:Y-GEN    say-NPRS-3PL.H    LINK

*khóke,*                      *'un*                      *baadšáan*                      *báa,*                      *khok*                      *jóṭišo*  
 khók-e                      ún-Ø                      baadšáa-an-Ø                      bá-a-Ø                      khók                      jóṭ-išo-Ø  
 these.ones:Y-GEN    thou-ABS    king-INDEF.SG-ABS    COP-2SG-PRS    these.ones:Y    small-PL-ABS

*úe ke šéčuman, úne ke šéma*  
 ú-e ké šé-č-m-an ún-e ké šé-m-a  
 they:DIST-ERG LINK eat:Y.OBJ-IPFV-NPRS-3PL.H thou-ERG LINK eat:Y.OBJ-NPRS-2SG

*káa, gučimo khuó uyójkó*  
 káaṭ gu-cí-mu-e khué uy'-um-ko-∅  
 together 2SG:I-against-OBL-GEN these:H big-ADJVLZ-PL-ABS

*umáiman. óor uyúm umánumar*  
 u-man'-č-m-an óor uy'-um u-man'-um-ar  
 3PL.H:I-become-IPFV-NPRS-3PL.H and big-ADJVLZ 3PL.H:I-become-ADJVLZ-DAT

*úlčín atúkucum guyáči raq*  
 u-lčín-∅ a-d-gu-sú-um gu-yaṭís-či-e ráq-∅  
 3PL.H:I-eye-ABS NEG-TEL-2SG:I-bring-ADJVLZ 2SG:I-head-INE-ESS desire-ABS

*díim umáiman.*  
 d-i'-um u-man'-č-m-an  
 come:PFV-3SG.X-ADJVLZ 3PL.H:I-become-IPFV-NPRS-3PL.H

People (?) said ‘No. You are a king, people will eat these small ones or you will have eaten, but [if you haven’t eaten] these will be so big and they will admire you despite of that now they are not respecting you.

čhúmoe minás - 288

*un baadšáa báa, khok kuyoóč jótíšo jótíšo*  
 ún-∅ baadšáa-∅ bá-a-∅ khók kuyoóč-∅ jót-išo jót-išo  
 thou-ABS king-ABS COP-2SG-PRS these.ones:Y subject.people-ABS small-PL small-PL

*báan. góor káa búuo oómaiman'*  
 bá-an-∅ gu-ar káaṭ búuo-∅ aú-man'-č-m-an  
 COP-3PL.H-PRS 2SG:II-DAT together helper-ABS NEG-become-IPFV-NPRS-3PL.H

*sénase káa.*  
 sén-as-e káaṭ  
 say-INF-GEN together

You are a king. Your subject people are now so small and will not be your help.’ they said so.

## čhúmoe minás - 289

*‘šua’ sénimi.*                    *‘šua’ nusén,* *‘bée ya*    *guúmušo.*    *khok*  
 šua    sén-m-i                    šua    n-sén    bée    yá            gu-umús-čo    khók-Ø  
 good   say-NPRS-3SG.HM    good   CP-say    no    INTERJ    2SG:I-tongue-PL    these.ones:Y-ABS

*čhémiliḡe gur*            *bicá’*                    *sénase*            *káa.*            *‘bée ya*  
 čhémiliḡ-e    gur’-Ø            b’icán-Ø            sén-as-e            káaṭ            bée    yá  
 poison-GEN    wheat-ABS    COP-3PL.Y-PRS    say-INF-GEN    together    no    INTERJ

*uúmušo’*                    *nusén.*    *‘khok*                    *heiwáane*    *gáne*            *čhémiliḡe*  
 u-umús-čo            n-sén            khók-Ø                    heiwáan-e    gan’-e            čhémiliḡ-e  
 3PL.H:I-tongue-PL    CP-say            these.ones:Y-ABS    animal-GEN    way-ESS    poison-GEN

*[gur]*            *bicá.*                    *insáanar*    *moojizáa*            *bicá’*  
 gur’-Ø            b’icán-Ø            insáan-ar            moojizáa-Ø            b’icán-Ø  
 wheat-ABS    COP-3PL.Y-PRS    human-DAT    miracle-ABS            COP-3PL.Y-PRS

*sénóm.*

sén+bá-an-m  
 say+COP-3PL.H-NPRS

As the king said ‘Okay, you are lying. These are poison wheat’, they denied ‘No, they are liars. These are poison for animals but miracle drug for man’.

## čhúmoe minás - 290

*sénase*            *káa,*            *‘barénasar*    *dárce*                    *phónance*  
 sén-as-e            káaṭ            barén-as-ar            darc’-e                    phon’an-c-e  
 say-INF-GEN    together    look-INF-DAT    threshing.circle-GEN    furrow-INDEF.SG-ADE-ESS

*bicúm.*                    *šéčar*                    *ke*    *atúcum.*                    *dárce*  
 b’icán-m                    šé-č-ar                    ké    a-d-sú-um                    darc’-e  
 COP-3PL.Y-NPRS    eat:Y.OBJ-IPFV-DAT    LINK    NEG-TEL-bring-ADJVLZ    threshing.circle-GEN

*phónance*                    *bicúm’.*  
 phon’an-c-e                    b’icán-m  
 furrow-INDEF.SG-ADE-ESS    COP-3PL.Y-NPRS

With saying ‘There were the grains in a furrow, not brought away even for eating’.

## čhúmoe minás - 291

<i>hin</i>	<i>híran</i>	<i>mapéerene</i>	<i>iskén</i>	<i>wáltoan</i>	<i>yuúa</i>
hín	hir'-an	mapéer-an-e	iskén	wálto-an	i-i'-ua-Ø
one:H	man-INDEF.SG	aged-INDEF.SG-GEN	three:H	four:H-INDEF.SG	3SG.HM:I-son-PL-ABS
<b><i>bam.</i></b>					
bá-an-m					
COP-3PL.H-NPRS					

There were several sons of an old man.

## čhúmoe minás - 292

<i>ué</i>	<i>wálto</i>	<i>yuúa</i>	<i>iné</i>	<i>uú</i>	<i>nidíl</i>
ué	wálto	i-i'-ua-e	iné	u-uy'-Ø	n-i-d+i+l
those:H	four:H	3SG.HM:I-son-PL-ERG	that:H	3PL.H:I-father-ABS	CP-3SG.HM:I-hit
<b><i>íras</i></b>		<b><i>éčóm.</i></b>		<b><i>gun</i></b>	
i-ir'-as-Ø		i-t'-č+bá-an-m		gún-Ø	
3SG.HM:I-die-INF-ABS		3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-NPRS		bow.string-ABS	
<b><i>déljume</i></b>	<b><i>pran</i></b>	<b><i>ne</i></b>	<b><i>déljóm.</i></b>		
d+i+l-č-um-e	prán	n-i-t	d+i+l-č+bá-an-m		
hit-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS	blam:ONO	CP-3SG.X:II-do	hit-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-NPRS		

Those four sons had killed their father by hitting, with a blam of a bow.

## čhúmoe minás - 293

<b><i>déjlóma</i></b>	<b><i>ke</i></b>	<b><i>aaqhiríar</i></b>	<b><i>iné</i></b>	<b><i>mapéer</i></b>		
d+i+l-č+bá-an-m=a	ké	aaqhirí-ar	iné	mapéer-Ø		
hit-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-NPRS=Q	LINK	end-DAT	that:H	aged-ABS		
<b><i>déyalin</i></b>	<b><i>ke</i></b>	<b><i>'ité</i></b>	<b><i>phalaaná</i></b>	<b><i>dárculo</i></b>	<b><i>iné</i></b>	
d-i-yal-n	ké	ité	phalaaná	darc'-ul-e	iné	
TEL:CP-3SG.HM:II-hear-CP	LINK	that:Y	so.and.so	threshing.circle-LOC-ESS	that:H	
<b><i>baadšáa</i></b>	<b><i>isé</i></b>	<b><i>tootáa</i></b>	<b><i>dusúm</i></b>	<b><i>iké</i></b>	<b><i>gur</i></b>	<b><i>hárki</i></b>
baadšáa-e	isé	tootá-e	d-sú-um	iké	gur'-Ø	hárki-Ø
king-GEN	that:X	parrot-ERG	TEL-bring-ADJVLZ	those:Y	wheat-ABS	cultivation-ABS

*ne,*                    *désqunininin,*                    *tayáar ne*  
 n-i-t                    d-i-s-yun'-n-n-n                    tayáar n-i-t  
 CP-3SG.Y:II-do    TEL-3PL.Y:II-CAUS-be.ripen-CP-CP-CP    ready    CP-3PL.Y:II-do

*bicán.*  
 b'icán-Ø  
 COP-3PL.Y-PRS

They hit him and the old man finally heard that 'there are the wheat which the king's parrot brought sown in such and such threshing circle as being ready to be ripen up.

čhúmoē minás - 294

*čhémilije gur bicá, séibáan, insáane gáne,'*  
 čhémilij-e gur'-Ø b'icán-Ø sén-č+bá-an-Ø insáan-e gan'e  
 poison-GEN wheat-ABS COP-3PL.Y-PRS say-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-PRS human-GEN way-ESS

*'náaninin šéčam.*  
 n-a'n-n-n                    šé-č-á-m  
 go:CP-1SG-CP-CP-CP    eat:Y.OBJ-IPFV-1SG-NPRS

Those are the poison wheat, they say, for human beings.' and then he said 'I'll go and eat them.

čhúmoē minás - 295

*náaninin šéčam,' sénase káa.*  
 n-a'n-n-n                    šé-č-á-m                    sén-as-e káat  
 go:CP-1SG-CP-CP-CP    eat:Y.OBJ-IPFV-1SG-NPRS    say-INF-GEN    together

I'll go and eat them' he said.

čhúmoē minás - 296

*barénasar, gáaršume n'ininin šémi.*  
 barén-as-ar gáarc-č-um-e                    n-i'n-n-n                    šé-m-i  
 look-INF-DAT    run-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS    go:CP-3SG.HM-CP-CP-CP    eat:Y.OBJ-NPRS-3SG.HM

And then he looked, went running, and ate them.

## čhúmoe minás - 297

*uskó wáltoan phalóno šébám. iné mapéere,*  
 uskó wálto-an phal'ono-∅ šé+bá-i-m iné mapéer-e  
 three:Y four:Y-INDEF.SG grain-PL-ABS eat:Y.OBJ+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS that:H aged-ERG

*'khué ayúa guté mapeerúlo eéras*  
 khué a-í-ua-e guté mapéer-í-ul-e a-ir'-as  
 these:H 1SG:I-son-PL-ERG this:Y aged-NMLZ-LOC-ESS 1SG:I-die-INF

*átascum báli čhémiliŋ nušé eéras šuá*  
 a-t'-as-c-um báli čhémiliŋ-∅ n-šé a-ir'-as-∅ šuá  
 1SG:II-do-INF-ADE-ABL rather poison-ABS CP-eat:Y.OBJ 1SG:I-die-INF-ABS good

*bilá. ákhar ésqanas šuá*  
 b-il'-∅ a-khar'-∅ i-s-yan'-as-∅ šuá  
 COP-3SG.Y-PRS 1SG:I-REFL.PRN-ABS 3SG.Y:II-CAUS-be.finished-INF-ABS good

*bilá.' nusé.*  
 b-il'-∅ n-sén  
 COP-3SG.Y-ABS CP-say

He had eaten some grains. And the old man said 'Rather than that these sons cause me die in such old age, it is better that I eat poison to suicide'.

## čhúmoe minás - 298

*yuúa ke níunin altó uskóan phalóno,*  
 i-í-ua-∅ ké n-u'n-n altó uskó-an phal'ono-∅  
 3SG.HM:I-son-PL-ABS LINK go:CP-3PL.H-CP-CP two:Y three:Y-INDEF.SG grain-PL-ABS

*'míi khiné múyeye káa čal mimánascum*  
 mí-∅ khiné mi-uy'-e káač čal'-∅ mi-man'-as-c-um  
 we-ABS this:H 1PL:I-father-GEN together quarrel-ABS 1PL:I-become-INF-ADE-ABL

*mi ke mífras šuá' nusé úe ke*  
 mí-∅ ké mi-ir'-as-∅ šuá n-sén ú-e ké  
 we-ABS LINK 1PL:I-die-INF-ABS good CP-say they:DIST-ERG LINK

*šéman.*                      *úyue*                      *ke*    *šémi.*                      *šéase*  
 šé-m-an                      u-uy'-e                      ké    šé-m-i                      šé-as-e  
 eat:Y.OBJ-NPRS-3PL.H    3PL.H:I-father-ERG    LINK    eat:Y.OBJ-NPRS-3SG.HM    eat:Y.OBJ-INF-GEN

*káa,*    *úyu*                      *ke*    *yúa*                      *haráŋulo*                      *pháraq*  
 káaṭ    u-uy                      ké    i-i'-ua-e                      haráŋ-ul-e                      pháraq-Ø  
 together    3PL.H:I-father    LINK    3SG.HM:I-son-PL-GEN    between-LOC-ESS    difference-ABS

*oómanimi.*

aú-man'-m-i

NEG-become-NPRS-3SG.Y

The sons also went and saying 'we quarreled with our father so we also have to die' ate some grains, too. Their father also ate. By eating them, the gap between the father and the sons disappeared.

čhúmoe minás - 299

*úyu*                      *ke*    *turmaaltámbi*    *déne*                      *náu-jawáan*  
 u-uy'-Ø                      ké    turma-altámbi    den'-e                      náu+jawáan  
 3PL.H:I-father-ABS    LINK    ten-eight:Z                      year-GEN    fresh.and.young

*imánimi*    *yúa*                      *ke*    *umánuman.*  
 i-man'-m-i    i-i'-ua-Ø                      ké    u-man'-m-an  
 3SG.HM:I-become-NPRS-3SG.HM    3SG.HM:I-son-PL-ABS    LINK    3PL.H:I-become-NPRS-3PL.H

Both the father and the sons were rejuvenated to 18 years old.

čhúmoe minás - 300

*umánase*                      *káa,*    *dáa*    *múšaṭe*                      *barénasar*  
 u-man'-as-e                      káaṭ    dáa    muš-aṭ-e                      barén-as-ar  
 3PL.H:I-become-INF-GEN    together    again    edge-INS-ESS    look-INF-DAT

*hukáikar*                      *gíman.*  
 huk'-ai-ik-ar                      gíy-m-an  
 dog-PL-INDEF.PL-DAT    let.down-NPRS-3PL.H

They became young and then gave [the grains] to dogs on probation.

## čhúmoe minás - 301

<i>hukáikar</i>	<i>gíyasar</i>	<i>ec</i>	<i>hukáie</i>	<i>nušén</i>
huk'-ai-ik-ar	gíy-as-ar	éc	huk'-ai-e	n-šé-n
dog-PL-INDEF.PL-DAT	let.down-INF-DAT	those.ones:X	dog-PL-ERG	CP-eat:Y.OBJ-CP

*uirién.*

u-ir+b'-ién-Ø

3PL.X:I-die+COP-3PL.X-PRS

Having given them to dogs, the dogs ate [the grains] and have died.

## čhúmoe minás - 302

<i>uirase</i>	<i>káa,</i>	<i>'ohóo</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>baréná,</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>ke</i>
u-ir'-as-e	káaṭ	ohóo	yé	barén-i-á	ún-Ø	ké
3PL.X:I-die-INF-GEN	together	INTERJ	look:INTERJ	look-IMP.SG-RMND	thou-ABS	LINK

*gósqanibím*

gu's-yan+b'-i-m

2SG:II-CAUS-be.finished+COP-3SG.X-NPRS

*ke*

ké

LINK

*be*

bé

what

*éčóm'*

i-t'-č+bá-a-m

3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV+COP-2SG-NPRS

*ésuman.*

i-s'-m-an

3SG.HM:II-tell-NPRS-3PL.H

For that the dogs died, the sons asked the father ‘My Heaven, look this, if the venom killed you also, then how was you doing?’

## čhúmoe minás - 303

<i>'un</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>gósqanibím</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>be</i>
ún-Ø	ké	gu's-yan+b'-i-m	ké	bé
thou-ABS	LINK	2SG:II-CAUS-be.finished+COP-3SG.X-NPRS	LINK	what

*éčóm'*

i-t'-č+bá-a-m

3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV+COP-2SG-NPRS

*sénase*

sén-as-e

say-INF-GEN

*káa."*

káaṭ

together

‘If the venom killed you also, then how was you doing?’ they said.”



## čhúmoē minás - 304

*ínee*      *gutée*      *maaní*      *nétaninin*      *inée,*      *ámine,*  
 iné-e      guté-e      maaní-∅      n-i-t'-n-n-n      iné-e      ámin-e  
 that:H-ERG      this:Y-GEN      meaning-ABS      CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP-CP-CP      that:H-ERG      which:H-ERG

*baadšáa*      *yuúsmur*      *maaníar*      *dumúcum*      *ke*  
 baadšáa-e      i-us'-mu-ar      maaní-ar      d-mu-sú-um      ké  
 king-GEN      3SG.HM:I-wife-OBL-DAT      meaning-DAT      TEL-3SG.HF:I-bring-ADJV LZ      LINK

*iné*      *silajíne*      *sénumo*      *ke,*      *“bée*      *ya,*      *gucé*  
 iné      silajín-e      sén-m-o      ké      bée      yá      gucé-∅  
 that:H      female.relative-ERG      say-NPRS-3SG.HF      LINK      no      INTERJ      these.X-ABS

[*guké*]      *heiwáane*      *gáne*      *zéhere*      *bicúm.*      *insáanar*  
 guké-∅      heiwáan-e      gan'-e      záhar-e      b'-icán-m      insáan-ar  
 these.Y-ABS      animal-GEN      way-ESS      poison-GEN      COP-3PL.Y-NPRS      human-DAT

*moojizáa*      *bicúm.*  
 moojizáa-∅      b'-icán-m  
 miracle-ABS      COP-3PL.Y-NPRS

To explain this meaning the woman who is to bring the king's wife to the meaning [of the fish's act] said “No, these are poison for animal but a miracle drug for human beings.

## čhúmoē minás - 305

*khok*      *daltáško*      *čízijcum*      *chil*  
 khók      daltás-ko      číz-iŋ-c-um      chil'-∅  
 these.ones:Y      beautiful-PL      thing-PL-ADE-ABL      water-ABS

*umáibáan.*      *ye*      *akhílaṭe*      *sóoč*  
 u-man'-č+bá-an-∅      yé      akhíl-aṭ-e      sóoč-∅  
 3PL.H:I-become-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-PRS      look:INTERJ      in.this.way-INS-ESS      thought-ABS

*ayétuman*                      *ke,” sénase káa.*  
*a-i-t'-m-an*                      *ké sén-as-e káaʔ*  
 NEG-3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H LINK say-INF-GEN together

They are taking water from these beautiful things. So when they didn't think in this way [then how were they]?" she said.

## čhúmoe minás - 306

*“chil*              *umáibáan,*    *ye*              *sóoč*  
*chil'-Ø*              *u-man'č+bá-an-Ø*    *yé*              *sóoč-Ø*  
 water-ABS 3PL.H:I-become-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-PRS look:INTERJ thought-ABS

*e,”*                      *nusé dáa nímo*    *iné baadšáa*  
*i-t'-i*                      *n-sén dáa ní-m-o*    *iné baadšáa-e*  
 3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG CP-say again go-NPRS-3SG.HF that:H king-GEN

*yuúsmur*                      *maaníar*              *dumóom,*    *iné dáa*  
*i-us'-mu-ar*                      *maaní-ar*              *d-mu'um*    *iné-Ø dáa*  
 3SG.HM:I-wife-OBL-DAT meaning-DAT come:PFV-3SG.HF-ADJVLZ that:H-ABS again

*numóon*                      *múimo*    *makáanar nímo.*  
*n-mu'-n*                      *mu-í-mu-e*    *makáan-ar ní-m-o*  
 go:CP-3SG.HF-CP 3SG.HF:I-self-OBL-GEN hut-DAT go-NPRS-3SG.HF

She, who has come here to make the king's wife to reach the meaning as a goal, said "They are taking water, so think about it" and went to her own house.

## čhúmoe minás - 307

*níase káa, dáa wáqtan níasar, dáa barénasar, dáa*  
*ní-as-e káaʔ dáa wáqt-an-Ø ní-as-ar dáa barén-as-ar dáa*  
 go-INF-GEN together again time-INDEF.SG-ABS go-INF-DAT again look-INF-DAT again

*móor*                      *móikinumo.*    *ke “bée ya. ju bée*  
*mu'-ar*                      *mu-hákin-m-o*    *ké bée yá jú-i bée*  
 3SG.HF:II-DAT 3SG.HF:II-learn-NPRS-3SG.HF LINK no INTERJ come-IMP.SG no

*choór áar maaní éti.*  
 chór-<:> a-ar maaní-Ø i-t'-i  
 early-EMPH 1SG:II-DAT meaning-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG

She went and time passed, and then she [= the daughter] taught her [= the queen] again.  
 “No. Come on and teach me the meaning.

čhúmoe minás - 308

*áar maaní éti ju” sénase káa.*  
 a-ar maaní-Ø i-t'-i jú-i sén-as-e káaṭ  
 1SG:II-DAT meaning-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG come-IMP.SG say-INF-GEN together

Tell me the meaning, come on!” said the queen.

čhúmoe minás - 309

*“saáṭi čok gósabáa bée guké guké guké*  
 saáṭi čok gu-s'-a+bá-a-Ø bée guké guké guké  
 yesterday recently 2SG:II-tell-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS no these:Y these:Y these:Y

*bicá. sóoč sambá éti.*  
 b'-icán-Ø sóoč sambá-Ø i-t'-i  
 COP-3PL.Y-PRS thought thought-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG

“Just yesterday I have told you that there are these stories and you'd better think about them.

čhúmoe minás - 310

*sóoč ayétuman ke daltáško číziṅcum*  
 sóoč-Ø a-i-t'-m-an ké daltás-ko číiz-iṅ-c-um  
 thought-ABS NEG-3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H LINK beautiful-PL thing-PL-ADE-ABL

*chil umáibáan, gósabáa bée,*  
 chil'-Ø u-man'-č+bá-an-Ø gu-s'-a+bá-a-Ø bée  
 water-ABS 3PL.H:I-become-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-PRS 2SG:II-tell-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS no

*maaní*      *sóoč*      *étóo.*      *bée ya.*  
 maaní-e      sóoč-Ø      i-t+bá-a-Ø      bée yá  
 meaning-ABS    thought-GEN    3SG.Y:II-do+COP-2SG-PRS    no    INTERJ

They took water from beautiful things without thinking I told you, so you have considered on the meaning, or not?

čhúmoe minás - 311

*dáa be maními.*      *dáa bésanar*      *ačhará*  
 dáa bé man'-m-i      dáa bés-an-ar      ačhará  
 again what become-NPRS-3SG.Y    again what-INDEF.SG-DAT    confused

*maíbáa,*"      *sénase*      *káa.*  
 man'-č+bá-a-Ø      sén-as-e      káaṭ  
 become-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS    say-INF-GEN    together

And what? What are you confusing for?" she said.

čhúmoe minás - 312

*"bée ya jáar choór maaní étuma ke jáa*  
 bée yá jé-ar chór-<?> maaní-Ø i-t'-m-a      ké jé-e  
 no INTERJ I-DAT early-EMPH meaning-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-2SG LINK I-GEN

*áscum*      *dúusi."*  
 a-s'-c-um      d-i-gús-i  
 1SG:II-heart-ADE-ABL    TEL-3SG.Y:I-go.out-IMP.SG

"No, Tell me the meaning right now and remove it from my heart" [the queen said].

čhúmoe minás - 313

*"ye phalaaná taaríqar góor maaní*  
 yé phalaaná taaríq-ar gu-ar maaní-Ø  
 look:INTERJ so.and.so date-DAT 2SG:II-DAT meaning-ABS

*écam,*      *óor tha*      *úne*      *guúyare*      *nookárišo*  
 i-t'-č-a-m      óor thá      ún-e      gu-uy'-ar      nookár-išo-Ø  
 3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-1SG-NPRS    and hundred thou-GEN    2SG:I-father-DAT    servant-PL-ABS

*béeruman*                      *báan*                      *ke, tha*                      *nookártij*  
 béer-um-an                      bá-an-Ø                      ké      thá                      nookár-tij-Ø  
 how.much-ADJVLZ-INDEF.SG      COP-3PL.H-PRS      LINK      hundred      servant-PL-ABS

*báan.”*                      *sénase*                      *káa.*  
 bá-an-Ø                      sén-as-e                      káaṭ  
 COP-3PL.H-PRS      say-INF-GEN      together

“Well, I will teach you the meaning at such and such day, and now, there are about hundreds of servants of your father [I think]” [the daughter said].

čhúmoe minás - 314

*“tha*                      *nookártij*                      *gáṭi*                      *óti.*  
 thá                      nookár-tij-Ø                      gáṭi                      u-t’i  
 hundred      servant-PL-ABS      gathering      3PL.H:II-do-IMP.SG

“Get hundred servants together.

čhúmoe minás - 315

*gúimo*                      *kuyoóč*                      *gáṭi*                      *óti.*  
 gu-í-mu-e                      kuyoóč-Ø                      gáṭi                      u-t’i  
 2SG:I-self-OBL-GEN      subject.people-ABS      gathering      3PL.H:II-do-IMP.SG

Get your subject people together.

čhúmoe minás - 316

*óor ité*                      *gúncar*                      *jáar*                      *qáo*                      *éti.”*                      *nusén*                      *dáa*  
 óor ité                      gunc’ar                      jé-ar                      qáo-Ø                      i-t’i                      n-sén                      dáa  
 and      that:Y      day-DAT      I-DAT      cry-ABS      3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG      CP-say      again

*nímo.*  
 ní-m-o  
 go-NPRS-3SG.HF

And call me at the day.” said, she left.

## čhúmoe minás - 317

*níase káa, “šúa” nusén.*  
 ní-as-e káaṭ šúa n-sén  
 go-INF-GEN together good CP-say

For her leaving, [the queen] said “Okay”.

## čhúmoe minás - 318

*barénasar, dáa ámitan ímo t́éeman*  
 barén-as-ar dáa ámit-an i-í-mu-e t́éem-an-Ø  
 look-INF-DAT again which:Y-INDEF.SG 3SG.Y:I-self-OBL-GEN time-INDEF.SG-ABS

*éeyurusum ke ité t́éemar gáṭi manúman,*  
 ĩ-yarús-um ké ité t́éem-ar gáṭi man'-m-an  
 3SG.Y:III-be.straight-ADJVLZ LINK that:Y time-DAT gathering become-NPRS-3PL.H

*kuyoóč gáṭi manúman. gáṭi numán*  
 kuyoóč-Ø gáṭi man'-m-an gáṭi n-man  
 subject.people-ABS gathering become-NPRS-3PL.H gathering CP-become

*úimo iné baadšáa tha nookártij bam.*  
 u-í-mu-e iné baadšáa-e thá nookár-tij-Ø bá-an-m  
 3PL.H:I-self-OBL-GEN that:H king-GEN hundred servant-PL-ABS COP-3PL.H-NPRS

*u ke gáṭi no dúcuman.*  
 ú-Ø ké gáṭi n-u't d-u-sú-m-an  
 they:DIST-ABS LINK gathering CP-3PL.H:II-do TEL-3PL.H:I-bring-NPRS-3PL.H

Now, confirm the appointed time and then they got servants, subject people, and also the king's hundred servants together to the time and made them follow.

## čhúmoe minás - 319

*dúcunin, sénumo ke iné baadšáa*  
 d-u-sú-n-n sén-m-o ké iné baadšáa-e  
 TEL:CP-3PL.H:I-bring-CP-CP say-NPRS-3SG.HM LINK that:H king-GEN

<i>yuúsmur</i>	<i>maaníar</i>	<i>dumóom</i>	<i>iné</i>	<i>dáa</i>
i-us'-mu-ar	maaní-ar	d-mú'-um	iné-Ø	dáa
3SG.HM:I-wife-OBL-DAT	meaning-DAT	come:PFV-3SG.HF-ADJVLZ	that:H-ABS	again

*dumúcuman.*

d-mu-sú-m-an

TEL-3SG.HF:I-bring-NPRS-3PL.H

Having brought them, they call in [the daughter] who come to teach the meaning for the king's wife again.

čhúmoe minás - 320

<i>dumúcunin</i>	<i>sénumo</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>“áçhaa,</i>	<i>gáti</i>
d-mu-sú-n-n	sén-m-o	ké	áçhaa	gáti
TEL-3SG.HF:I-bring-CP-CP	say-NPRS-3SG.HF	LINK	good	gathering

<i>ótóo</i>	<i>náa,</i>	<i>awá,</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>muú</i>	<i>guté</i>	<i>phalaanáa</i>
u-t'-Ø+bá-a-Ø	náa	awá	yé	muú	guté	phalaaná
3PL.H:II-do-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS	TAG.Q	yes	look:INTERJ	now	this:Y	so.and.so

<i>ité</i>	<i>jaagírulo</i>	<i>buşáyulo</i>	<i>uyúm</i>	<i>phárian</i>
ité	jaagír-ul-e	buşái-ul-e	uy'-um	phári-an-Ø
that:Y	fief-LOC-ESS	farmland-LOC-ESS	big-ADJVLZ	pond-INDEF.SG-ABS

<i>éti,</i>	<i>óso.</i>
i-t'-i	u-s'-i
3SG.X:II-do-IMP.SG	3PL.H:II-tell-IMP.SG

After they brought her to here, she said “Good, you have gathered them perfectly. Okay. So, give them orders to build a big pond in farmland in your domain.

čhúmoe minás - 321

<i>uyúm</i>	<i>phárian</i>	<i>étin</i>	<i>muú,</i>	<i>uyúm</i>
uy'-um	phári-an-Ø	i-t'-in	muú	uy'-um
big-ADJVLZ	pond-INDEF.SG-ABS	3SG.X:II-do-IMP.PL	now	big-ADJVLZ

<i>phárian</i>	<i>étin</i>	<i>sénase</i>	<i>káa.</i>
phári-an-Ø	i-t'-in	sén-as-e	káaʔ
pond-INDEF.SG-ABS	3SG.X:II-do-IMP.PL	say-INF-GEN	together

Make a large pond now” as saying so.

čhúmoe minás - 322

<i>“kuyoóč</i>	<i>nóoduro</i>	<i>uyúm</i>	<i>phárian</i>
kuyoóč-Ø	n-u-˘duró	uy-um	phári-an-Ø
subject.people-ABS	CP-3PL.H:III-work	big-ADJVLZ	pond-INDEF.SG-ABS

<i>étin</i>	<i>sénase</i>	<i>káa.</i>
i-t'-in	sén-as-e	káaʔ
3SG.X:II-do-IMP.PL	say-INF-GEN	together

She said “Use your subject people to make for a big pond”.

čhúmoe minás - 323

<i>“šua”</i>	<i>nusén</i>	<i>kuyoóč</i>	<i>uyóon</i>	<i>gáti</i>	<i>nóo</i>	<i>bičaarámuc</i>
šua	n-sén	kuyoóč-Ø	u-yoon	gáti	n-u-˘t	bičaará-muc
good	CP-say	subject.people-ABS	3PL.H:I-all	gathering	CP-3PL.H:II-do	miserable-PL

<i>karaáto</i>	<i>nóotan</i>	<i>isé</i>	<i>kandák</i>	<i>nupíša</i>	<i>uyúm</i>	<i>phári</i>
karaáto-Ø	n-u-˘t'-n	isé	kandák-Ø	n-biśá	uy-um	phári-Ø
insect-ABS	CP-3PL.X:III-do-CP	that:X	shovel(?) -ABS	CP-throw	big-ADJVLZ	pond-ABS

*étuman.*

i-t'-m-an

3SG.X:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H

“Okay” [the queen] said, gathered the subject people, handled their shovels which was infested with wretched insects, and they made a big pond.

čhúmoe minás - 324

<i>phári</i>	<i>nétanin</i>	<i>ke,</i>	<i>“ye</i>	<i>baré</i>	<i>phári</i>
phári-Ø	n-i-t'-n-n	ké	yé	barén-i	phári-Ø
pond-ABS	CP-3SG.X:II-do-CP-CP	LINK	look:INTERJ	look-IMP.SG	pond-ABS



*étóon,*                      *sénase*              *káa.*  
 i-t+bá-an-Ø              sén-as-e              káaṭ  
 3SG.X:II-do+COP-2PL-PRS    say-INF-GEN    together

Having made the pond, she said “Look! They have made a pond”.

čhúmoe minás - 325

*“chil              étin”*                      *sénumo.*  
 chil’Ø              i-t’in                      sén-m-o  
 water-ABS    3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.PL    say-NPRS-3SG.HF

“Pour water!” she said.

čhúmoe minás - 326

*“chil              šek      étin”*                      *nusé,      óor      šaldá              étasar*  
 chil’Ø              šék      i-t’in                      n-sén      óor      šaldá-Ø              i-t’-as-ar  
 water-ABS    full    3SG.Y:III-do-IMP.PL    CP-say    and    order-ABS    3SG.Y:II-do-INF-DAT

*chil              šek      étuman.*  
 chil’Ø              šék      i-t’-m-an  
 water-ABS    full    3SG.Y:III-do-NPRS-3PL.H

“Fill with water!” she said and ordered so that they filled with water.

čhúmoe minás - 327

*chil              šek      étasar,*                      *“khué      baadšáa      béerum*  
 chil’Ø              šék      i-t’-as-ar                      khué      baadšáa-e      béer-um  
 water-ABS    full    3SG.Y:III-do-INF-DAT    these:H    king-GEN    how.much-ADJVLZ

*nookártiŋ              báan”*                      *sénase              káa,              “tha              báan”*  
 nookár-tiŋ-Ø      bá-an-Ø                      sén-as-e              káaṭ              thá              bá-an-Ø  
 servant-PL-ABS    COP-3PL.H-PRS    say-INF-GEN    together    hundred    COP-3PL.H-PRS

*sénumo,*                    *“khol[ar] dúcuin,”*                    *nusén.*  
 sén-m-o                    khól-ar    d-u-sú-in                    n-sén  
 say-NPRS-3SG.HF    here-DAT    TEL-3PL.H:I-bring-IMP.PL    CP-say

At the time they filled with water, [the daughter] asked “What is the number of these servants of the king?”; [the queen] answered “One hundred”, and then [the daughter] said “Bring them here”.

čhúmoe minás - 328

*ópačiar,*                    *mópačiar*                    *dúcun*                    *“úlo*  
 u-pá-či-ar                    mu-pá-či-ar                    d-u-sú-n                    úl-e  
 3PL.H:II-side-INE-DAT    3SG.HF:II-side-INE-DAT    TEL:CP-3PL.H:I-bring-CP    inside-ESS

*gúin*                                    *pháriar.*  
 gúy-in                                    phári-ar  
 let.down:HX.PL.OBJ-IMP.PL    pond-DAT

Having brought them to her, [the daughter said] “Let them in the pond!

čhúmoe minás - 329

*pháriar*    *khué*    *tha*    *nookártij*    *uyóon*    *úlo*  
 phári-ar    khué    thá    nookár-tij-Ø    u-yoon    úl-e  
 pond-DAT    these:H    hundred    servant-PL-ABS    3PL.H:I-all    inside-ESS

*gúin”*                                    *sénase*    *káa,*    *“šua”*    *nusé,*    *utótolo*  
 gúy-in                                    sén-as-e    káaṭ    šua    n-sén    u-totó-ul-e  
 let.down:HX.PL.OBJ-IMP.PL    say-INF-GEN    together    good    CP-say    3PL.H:I-paw-LOC-ESS

*duún*    *úlne*                                    *úlne*                                    *gúman.*  
 d-gún    úl+n-i-t                                    úl+n-i-t                                    gúy-m-an  
 TEL:CP-pack    inside+CP-3SG.Y:II-do    inside+CP-3SG.Y:II-do    let.down:HX.PL.OBJ-NPRS-3PL.H

*tha*    *nookártij*    *uyóon.*  
 thá    nookár-tij-Ø    u-yoon  
 hundred    servant-PL-ABS    3PL.H:I-all

Let all these hundred servants in the pond” she said, and [the queen] said “Okay”, caught them in their arms, and let them in. All the hundred servants.

## čhúmoe minás - 330

<i>úlo</i>	<i>gúyase</i>	<i>káa</i>	<i>uécum,</i>	<i>pačáas</i>
úl-e	gúy-as-e	káaṭ	ué-e-c-um	pačáas
inside-ESS	let.down:HX.PL.OBJ-INF-GEN	together	those:H-OBL-ADE-ABL	fifty

<i>nookártiṭ</i>	<i>úi</i>	<i>duwášaman,</i>	<i>pačáas</i>	<i>nookártiṭ</i>
nookár-tiṭ-∅	u-í	d-gús-ya-m-an	pačáas	nookár-tiṭ-∅
servant-PL-ABS	3PL.H:I-self	TEL-go.out-PL-NPRS-3PL.H	fifty	servant-PL-ABS

<i>íli</i>	<i>phat</i>	<i>umánuman</i>	<i>chílulo.</i>
i-ljí-e	phát	u-man'm-an	chil'ul-e
3SG.Y:I-behind-ESS	quitting	3PL.H:I-become-NPRS-3PL.H	water-LOC-ESS

After letting them in, fifty of the servant came out by themselves and fifty of the servant stayed in the water.

## čhúmoe minás - 331

<i>phat</i>	<i>umánase</i>	<i>káa</i>	<i>chílulo</i>	<i>uée</i>	<i>iláaj</i>
phát	u-man'as-e	káaṭ	chil'ul-e	ué-e	iláaj-∅
quitting	3PL.H:I-become-INF-GEN	together	water-LOC-ESS	those:H-GEN	remedy-ABS

<i>ne,</i>	<i>úi</i>	<i>dúisuman</i>	<i>jaás</i>
n-i't	u-í	d-u-gús-m-an	jaás-<:>
CP-3SG.Y:II-do	3PL.H:I-self	TEL-3PL.H:I-go.out-NPRS-3PL.H	forcibly.drawing-EMPH

<i>no</i>	<i>“ye</i>	<i>khué</i>	<i>mái</i>	<i>dúisin,”</i>	<i>nusén.</i>
n-u't	yé	khué-∅	ma-í	d-u-gús-in	n-sén
CP-3PL.H:II-do	look:INTERJ	these:H-ABS	2PL:I-self	TEL-3PL.H:I-go.out-IMP.PL	CP-say

They stayed and treated them in the water, came out by themselves and as drawing them they said “Pull them up by yourselves”.

## čhúmoe minás - 332

<i>óor</i>	<i>yárne</i>	<i>men</i>	<i>tézišo</i>	<i>takađámuc</i>	<i>bam</i>
óor	i-yár+n-i't	mén-∅	tézišo	takađá-muc	bá-an-m
and	3SG.Y:I-before+CP-3SG.Y:II-do	who-ABS	sharp-PL	stout-PL	COP-3PL.H-NPRS

*ke úi duwášabám chílcum.*  
*ké u-í d-gús-ya+bá-an-m chíl'-c-um*  
 LINK 3PL.H:I-self TEL-go.out-PL+COP-3PL.H-NPRS water-ADE-ABL

Those who are speedy and strong earlier came out from the water by themselves.

čhúmoe minás - 333

*duwášan, u pačáas ílji*  
*d-gús-ya-n ú-Ø pačáas i-ljí-e*  
 TEL:CP-go.out-PL-CP they:DIST-ABS fifty 3SG.Y:I-behind-ESS

*giyámišo u alág ótumo,*  
*gíy-ya-um-išo ú-Ø alág u't'-m-o*  
 let.down-PL-ADJVLZ-PL they:DIST-ABS separate 3PL.H:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HF

*yárum úi duwášam u alág*  
*i-yár-um u-í d-gús-ya-um ú-Ø alág*  
 3SG.Y:I-before-ADJVLZ 3PL.H:I-self TEL-go.out-PL-ADJVLZ they:DIST-ABS separate

*ótumo.*  
*u't'-m-o*  
 3PL.H:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HF

After that she separated those fifty who were let in later from those who came out by themselves earlier.

čhúmoe minás - 334

*u alág no sénumo ke, “ye khóle*  
*ú-Ø alág n-u't sén-m-o ké yé khól-e*  
 they:DIST-ABS separate CP-3PL.H:II-do say-NPRS-3SG.HF LINK look:INTERJ here-ESS

*ésal” baadšáa jamaát mósumo zizíe*  
*i-sal-i baadšáa-e jamaát-Ø mu's'-m-o zizí-e*  
 3SG.Y:II-watch-IMP.SG king-GEN spouse-ABS 3SG.HF:II-tell-NPRS-3SG.HF mother-ERG

*“yéniş, ye khóle ésal.*  
*yéniş yé khól-e i-sal-i*  
 queen look:INTERJ here-ESS 3SG.Y:II-watch-IMP.SG

Having separated them and [the queen] said “Well, look here”, the mother [= the daughter] said to the king’s wife “My queen, watch this”.

čhúmoe minás - 335

*gusé čhúmo teilaṭe déeyasíbí ke,*  
*gusé čhúmo-Ø teíl-aṭ-e d-ĩ-γas+b’i-Ø ké*  
 this:X fish-ABS in.that.way-INS-ESS TEL-3SG.X:III-laugh+COP-3SG.X-PRS LINK

*úne khué tha nookártiṭ, ee khué be báan.*  
*ún-e khué thá nookár-tiṭ-Ø ee khué-Ø bée bá-an-Ø*  
 thou-GEN these:H hundred servant-PL-ABS FIL these:H-ABS no COP-3PL.H-PRS

*pačáas nookártiṭ.*  
*pačáas nookár-tiṭ-Ø*  
 fifty servant-PL-ABS

This fish has laughed in this way. That, your these hundred servants, and, these fifty servants are not [yours].

čhúmoe minás - 336

*awá, khué úne guúsmo, guúsmur,*  
*awá khué-Ø ún-e gu-us’-mu-e gu-us’-mu-ar*  
 yes these:H-ABS thou-GEN 2SG:I-wife-OBL-GEN 2SG:I-wife-OBL-DAT

*dówaranašo ué báan.*  
*d-u-wáran-as-čo ué-Ø bá-an-Ø*  
 TEL-3PL.H:II-desire-INF-PL those:H-ABS COP-3PL.H-PRS

Yeah, they are aroused for your wife. [Is she talking for the king?]

## čhúmoe minás - 337

<i>guúsmo</i>	<i>káa</i>	<i>zináa</i>	<i>étašo</i>	<i>ué,</i>
gu-us'-mu-e	káaʔ	zináa-∅	i-t'-as-čo	ué-∅
2SG:I-wife-OBL-GEN	together	fornication-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-INF-PL	those:H-ABS
<i>guúsmo</i>	<i>dówaranašo</i>	<i>ué,</i>	<i>tha</i>	<i>nookártiŋ</i>
gu-us'-mu-e	d-u'-wáran-as-čo	ué-∅	thá	nookár-tiŋ-∅
2SG:I-wife-OBL-GEN	TEL-3PL.H:II-desire-INF-PL	those:H-ABS	hundred	servant-PL-ABS
<i>yárno</i>	<i>úi</i>	<i>chílcum</i>	<i>be</i>	
i-yár+n-u't	u-í	chil'-c-um	bée	
3SG.Y:I-before+CP-3PL.H:II-do	3PL.H:I-self	water-ADE-ABL	no	
<i>duwášabáan</i>	<i>khué,</i>	<i>úne</i>	<i>dušmáyo</i>	<i>báan.</i>
d-gús-ya+bá-an-m	khué-∅	ún-e	dušmán-čo-∅	bá-an-∅
TEL-go.out-PL+COP-3PL.H-NPRS	these:H-ABS	thou-GEN	enemy-PL-ABS	COP-3PL.H-PRS

Those hundred servants are desiring to fornicate with your wife, and these servants who have not been out of the water are your enemy.

## čhúmoe minás - 338

<i>khué</i>	<i>lji</i>	<i>chílulo</i>	<i>phat</i>	<i>mamáí</i>	<i>ba</i>
khué-∅	i-ljí-e	chil'-ul-e	phát	RDP-ma-í	bée
these:H-ABS	3SG.Y:I-behind-ESS	water-LOC-ESS	quitting	EMPH-2PL:H-self	no
<i>dúisuman.</i>					
d-u-gús-m-an					
TEL-3PL.H:I-go.out-NPRS-3PL.H					

Just you did not moved them out to remain in the water.

## čhúmoe minás - 339

<i>awá.</i>	<i>khué</i>	<i>ásal</i>	<i>únar</i>	<i>xidmatgáarišo</i>	<i>únar</i>	<i>góor</i>
awá	khué-∅	ásal	ún-ar	qhidmatgáar-išo-∅	ún-ar	gu'-ar
yes	these:H-ABS	original	thou-DAT	serving.man-PL-ABS	thou-DAT	2SG:II-DAT

*barénašo imaandáarišo sis khué báan.*  
 barén-as-čo imaandáar-išo sís-Ø khué-Ø bá-an-Ø  
 look-INF-PL faithful-PL people-ABS these:H-ABS COP-3PL.H-PRS

These are truly your serving men, faithful watchmen.

čhúmoē minás - 340

*ye baré," sénase káa.*  
 yé barén-i sén-as-e káaṭ  
 look:INTERJ look-IMP.SG say-INF-GEN together

But look" she said.

čhúmoē minás - 341

*"bo očan" sénas ke "qátal ótin, qátal*  
 bé u-t'-č-an-m sén-as ké qátal u-t'-in qátal  
 what 3PL.H:II-do-IPFV-1PL-NPRS say-INF LINK murder 3PL.H:II-do-IMP.PL murder

*ótin," qátal no úu pačáas úi*  
 u-t'-in qátal n-u-t ú-e pačáas u-í  
 3PL.H:II-do-IMP.PL murder CP-3PL.H:II-do they:DIST-ERG fifty 3PL.H:I-self

*duwášamišo ué baadšáa yuúsmo hirí*  
 d-gús-ya-um-išo ué baadšáa-e i-us'-mu-e hir'-i-Ø  
 TEL-go.out-PL-ADJVLZ-PL those:H king-GEN 3SG.HM:I-wife-OBL-GEN man-PL-ABS

*qátal ótuman.*  
 qátal u-t'-m-an  
 murder 3PL.H:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H

"What will we do on them?" said and they [found an answer] "Kill them", so they killed them and those fifty servants of the king's wife who came out by themselves.

čhúmoē minás - 342

*qátaliṅ no zindáanulo gódariṅ*  
 qátal-iṅ n-u-t zindá-an-ul-e gódar-iṅ-Ø  
 murder-PL CP-3PL.H:II-do living-INDEF.SG-LOC-ESS thick.wall-PL-ABS

*ótuman*                      *uyátise.*  
 u-t'-m-an                      u-yaťís-e  
 3PL.H:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H    3PL.H:I-head-GEN

They killed [the servants] and built big and thick walls with their freshly-severed heads.

čhúmoe minás - 343

*uyátumuce*              *gódariŋ*              *no,*              *u*              *ámin*              *bičaarámuc*  
 u-yaťís-muc-e              gódar-iŋ-∅              n-u-t'              ú              ámin              bičaará-muc  
 3PL.H:I-head-PL-GEN    thick.wall-PL-ABS    CP-3PL.X:II-do    they:DIST    which:H    miserable-PL

*úi*              *dowášabám*                      *ke*              *u*                      *waphaadárišo*  
 u-í              d-gús-ya+bá-an-m              ké              ú-∅                      waphaadár-išo  
 3PL.H:I-self    TEL-go.out-PL+COP-3PL.H-NPRS    LINK    they:DIST-ABS    trusty-PL

*ménik*              *bam*              *ke*              *úar*              *čapán*              *baqḥsán*  
 mén-ik-∅              bá-an-m              ké              ú-ar              čapán-∅              baqḥsán  
 who-INDEF.PL-ABS    COP-3PL.H-NPRS    LINK    they:DIST-DAT    long.dress-ABS    giving

*nóotan*              *úar*              *buṭ*              *óor*              *izát*              *nétan.*  
 n-u-t'-n              ú-ar              búṭ              óor              izát-∅              n-i-t'-n  
 CP-3PL.H:III-do-CP    they:DIST-DAT    much    and    grace-ABS    CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP

Having built a big wall with their heads, they [= the king and the queen] graced the miserable fellows who have come out by themselves with long robes by reason that they were trusty.

čhúmoe minás - 344

*óuruťimi.*                      *baadšáa*              *u*                      *ósqanuman.*  
 u-huruť-m-i                      baadšáa-e              ú-∅                      u-s-yan'-m-an  
 3PL.H:II-sit-NPRS-3SG.HM    king-ERG              they:DIST-ABS    3PL.H:II-CAUS-be.finished-NPRS-3PL.H

The king took them in and killed.



## čhúmoe minás - 345

*iné áminan čhúmo teilaṭe*  
 iné ámin-an čhúmo-∅ teíl-aṭ-e  
 that:H which:H-INDEF.SG fish-ABS in.that.way-INS-ESS

*déeyasibím ke, “khué tha nookártiṅ kam*  
 d-ĩ-yaṣ+b'-i-m ké khué thá nookár-tiṅ-∅ kám  
 TEL-3SG.X:III-laugh+COP-3SG.X-NPRS LINK these:H hundred servant-PL-ABS little

*umánumana ke dáa je ke ṭeṣṭ*  
 u-man'-m-an=a ké dáa jé-∅ ké ṭéṣṭ  
 3PL.H:I-become-NPRS-3PL.H=Q LINK again I-ABS LINK test

*áčóo, híran bía gúsan*  
 a-t'-č+bá-a-∅ hir'-an-∅ b'-i-∅=a guś'an-∅  
 1SG:II-do-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS man-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q woman-INDEF.SG-ABS

*bía phayúanaṭe íti phaláat khíti*  
 b'-i-∅=a phayú-an-aṭ-e íti phalát-<:> khíti  
 COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q small.wood.peg-INDEF.SG-INS-ESS thither spinning-EMPH hither

*phaláat áčóo.*  
 phalát-<:> a-t'-č+bá-a-∅  
 spinning-EMPH 1SG:II-do-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS

The fish had laughed by reason [that] “These hundred servants decreased so that you are checking me for whether I am male or female by stroking me all over with a stick.

## čhúmoe minás - 346

*'híran bía gúsan bía' nusé*  
 hir'-an-∅ b'-i-∅=a guś'an-∅ b'-i-∅=a n-sén  
 man-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q woman-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q CP-say

*ṭeṣṭ áčóo, khu pačáas nookárišo góor*  
 ṭéṣṭ a-t'-č+bá-a-∅ khú pačáas nookár-išo-∅ gu'-ar  
 test 1SG:II-do-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS they:PROX fifty servant-PL-ABS 2SG:II-DAT

*hirí kam umánumana ke dáa je ke tɛʃt*  
 hir'-i-∅ kám u-man'-m-an=a ké dáa jé-∅ ké tɛʃt  
 man-PL-ABS little 3PL.H:I-become-NPRS-3PL.H=Q LINK again I-ABS LINK test

*áčóo" nusé "teilaṭe guyákal*  
 a'-t'-č+bá-a-∅ n-sén teíl-aṭ-e gu-yákal  
 1SG:II-do-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS CP-say in.that.way-INS-ESS 2SG:I-direction

*déeyasibím" nusé.*  
 d-ĩ-γas+b'-i-m n-sén  
 TEL-3SG.X:III-laugh+COP-3SG.X-NPRS CP-say

Saying ‘Is it male or female?’ you are checking me, your fifty serving men decreased and then you are checking me also”. She [= the daughter] said “In that way, the fish had laughed at you”.

čhúmoe minás - 347

*nuséninin móor maaní étumo.*  
 n-sén-n-n mu'-ar maaní-∅ i'-t'-m-o  
 CP-say-CP-CP 3SG.HF:II-DAT meaning-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HF

Having said so, she explained the meaning to her.

čhúmoe minás - 348

*móor maaní étasar ho, iné áminan*  
 mu'-ar maaní-∅ i'-t'-as-ar hó iné-∅ ámin-an  
 3SG.HF:II-DAT meaning-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-INF-DAT then that:H-ABS which:H-INDEF.SG

*baadšáa nookáre maaníar dumúcum ke iné*  
 baadšáa-e nookár-e maaní-ar d-mu-sú-um ké iné-∅  
 king-GEN servant-ERG meaning-DAT TEL-3SG.HF:I-bring-ADJVLZ LINK that:H-ABS

*uúšam éi numúya iné baadšáa*  
 u-ušá-um i'-i-∅ n-mu-gán iné baadšáa-e  
 3PL.H:I-bring.up-ADJVLZ 3SG.HM:II-daughter-ABS CP-3SG.HF:I-take that:H king-GEN

<i>théerjuş</i>	<i>uyóon</i>	<i>íkate</i>		<i>néetan</i>	<i>íne</i>
théerjuş-Ø	u+yoon	i-ik'aṭ-e		n-i't-n	ín-e
palace-ABS	all	3SG.HM:I-name-INS-ESS		CP-3PL.Y:II-do-CP	s/he:DIST-GEN
<i>éimo</i>		<i>díşulo</i>	<i>íne</i>	<i>íte</i>	
i-i-mu-e		diş-ul-e	ín-e	i-i'e	
3SG.HM:II-daughter-OBL-GEN		ground-LOC-ESS	s/he:DIST-GEN	3SG.HM:I-son-GEN	
<i>díşulo</i>	<i>nóuro,</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>íji</i>	<i>óuruṭimi.</i>	
diş-ul-e	n-hurúṭ	ú-Ø	i-ljí-e	u-hurúṭ-m-i	
ground-LOC-ESS	CP-sit	they:DIST-ABS	3SG.Y:I-behind-ESS	3PL.H:II-sit-NPRS-3SG.HM	

After [the daughter's] teaching of the meaning for her, the king's servant who [brought the daughter and] led the queen to the meaning, adopted the servant and the daughter and inherit all the things in the king's palace. He took the king's prince and princess's place as leaving them behind.

## čhúmoē minás - 349

<i>íne</i>	<i>yuús</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>qátal</i>	<i>numó</i>
ín-e	i-us-Ø	ké	qátal	n-mu't
s/he:DIST-GEN	3SG.HM:I-wife-ABS	LINK	murder	CP-3SG.HF:II-do

*mósqanimi.*

mu's-yan'm-i

3SG.HF:II-CAUS-be.finished-NPRS-3SG.HM

[The servant] killed his [= the king's] wife also.

## čhúmoē minás - 350

<i>u</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>baadšáa</i>	<i>híkum</i>	<i>nookártiṭ</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>pačáas</i>	<i>ke</i>
ú	ké	baadšáa-e	hík-kum	nookár-tiṭ	ú-Ø	pačáas	ké
they:DIST	LINK	king-ERG	one-group	servant-PL	they:DIST-ABS	fifty	LINK

*nósqan*

n-u's-yan

CP-3PL.H:II-CAUS-be.finished

*zindáanulo*

zindá-an-ul-e

living-INDEF.SG-LOC-ESS

*gódariṭ*

gódar-iṭ-Ø

thick.wall-PL-ABS

*ótimi.*

u-t'-m-i

3PL.X:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HM

[Since] the queen and the king killed the fifty servants at once and built a big wall with them as human sacrifices.

čhúmoe minás - 351

*bas náa juú, phaş.*

bás náa juú pháş

enough TAG.Q mister finishing

That's all, mister. Finish.

## II. THE STORY OF HOPAR

Narrator: Muhammad Abbas

Date: 21<sup>st</sup> Aug, 2007

Time length: 4' 8"

Location: Hopar Inn in Hopar

Dialect: Nager (Hopar)

Genre: Old tale

## Synopsis:

It is a history telling about Hopar and the neighbouring places. Once there was no residence in Hopar and all people was living in upper palces. But one elder suffered bad treatment from young men and then cursed all people. After that a glacier came down to their villages and covered over. And then the glacier went back to mountains and Borosh Bulsing came to Hopar and settled here. It is the beginning of Hopar village.

## Hopar - 1

<i>yáare</i>	<i>khutó</i>	<i>hóparo</i>	<i>ee</i>	<i>hóparulo</i>	<i>ee</i>	<i>sis</i>
i-yár-e	khuté	hópar-e	ee	hópar-ul-e	ee	sís-Ø
3SG.Y:I-before-ESS	this:Y	Hopar-ESS	FIL	Hopar-LOC-ESS	FIL	people-ABS

*apóm.*

a-bá-an-m

NEG-COP-3PL.H-NPRS

In the old days there was nobody resident here in Hopar.

## Hopar - 2

<i>to</i>	<i>úloyo</i>	<i>úlo</i>	<i>képal dǝŋs</i>	<i>óur</i>	<i>ee</i>	<i>balpóo</i>	<i>elé</i>	<i>hin</i>
tó	***	úl-e	képal+dǝŋs	óor	ee	balpóo	él-e	hín
then	***	inside-ESS	Képal+king's.garden	and	FIL	Balpo	there-ESS	one:H

<i>tháman</i>	<i>bom,</i>	<i>kholé</i>	<i>képal dǝŋsulo</i>	<i>hin</i>
thám-an-Ø	bá-i-m	khól-e	képal+dǝŋs-ul-e	hín
king-INDEF.SG-ABS	COP-3SG.HM-NPRS	here-ESS	Képal+king's.garden-LOC-ESS	one:H

*tháman bom, muú ke moojúud dílá, muú*  
 thám-an-Ø bá-i-m muú ké moojúud d'il'-Ø muú  
 king-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.HM-NPRS now LINK present COP-3SG.Y-PRS now

*ke moojúud dílá eté úe hakičar.*  
 ké moojúud d'il'-Ø eté ú-e ha'kičar-Ø  
 LINK present COP-3SG.Y-PRS that:Y they:DIST-GEN house-PL-ABS

There was a king in the Kepal Garden, and there was a king in Balpo. There are their residences now, too.

Hopar - 3

*to esé wáqtulo gamú mamúan bes ke apí,*  
 tó esé wáqt-ul-e gamú+ECHO-an-Ø bés ké a-b'i-Ø  
 then that:X time-LOC-ESS ice:MASS-INDEF.SG-ABS what LINK NEG-COP-3SG.X-PRS

*bilkúl aée aabáad dilúm.*  
 bilkúl aée aabáad d'il'-m  
 quite FIL resident COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

And at that time, there was not any kind of glacier there so that there were residents.

Hopar - 4

*to eté wáqtulo ee khóle uú gáran*  
 tó eté wáqt-ul-e ee khól-e ú-e gar'an-Ø  
 then that:Y time-LOC-ESS FIL here-ESS they:DIST-GEN marriage-INDEF.SG-ABS

*tayáar maními.*  
 tayáar man'-m-i  
 prepared become-NPRS-3SG.Y

Then, it had prepared their marriage there.

Hopar - 5

*elúm balphúulum hilés bom, khólum dasín*  
 él-um balpoo-ul-um hilés-Ø bá-i-m khól-um dasín-Ø  
 there-ABL Balpo-LOC-ABL boy-ABS COP-3SG.HM-NPRS here-ABL girl-ABS

**bom.**

bá-o-m

COP-3SG.HF-NPRS

One boy from Balpo, and one girl from here [the Kepal Garden].

Hopar - 6

<i>gar</i>	š	<i>ée</i>	<i>tayaarí</i>	<i>núman</i>	<i>ée</i>	<i>gáre</i>
gar'-Ø	***	ée	tayáar-í-Ø	n-man	ée	gar'-e
marriage-ABS	***	FIL	prepared-NMLZ-ABS	CP-become	FIL	marriage-GEN

<i>maqmasámiŋ</i>	<i>šurúu</i>	<i>maními.</i>
maqmasá-miŋ-Ø	šurúu	man'-m-i
trouble-PL-ABS	beginning	become-NPRS-3PL.Y

Having prepared, the marriage ceremony was begun.

Hopar - 7

<i>šurúu</i>	<i>numán</i>	<i>ee</i>	<i>dúuman</i>	<i>goroóno,</i>
šurúu	n-man	ee	d-u''m-en	garoóno-Ø
beginning	CP-become	FIL	come:PFV-3PL.H-NPRS-3PL.H	bride.and.groom-ABS

<i>goroóno</i>	<i>dúu,</i>	<i>aččháa</i>	<i>háale</i>	<i>ité</i>	<i>khité</i>	<i>ité</i>
garoóno-Ø	d-u''	aččháa	ha'al-e	íti	khíti	ité
bride.and.groom-ABS	come:CP-3PL.H	good	house-LOC-ESS	thither	hither	that:Y

<i>wáqtulo,</i>	<i>hin</i>	<i>ee</i>	<i>maphéer</i>	<i>ee</i>	<i>sísan,</i>	<i>híjulo</i>
wáqt-ul-e	hín	ee	maphéer	ee	sís-an-Ø	hiŋ'-ul-e
time-LOC-ESS	one:H	FIL	aged	FIL	people-INDEF.SG-ABS	door-LOC-ESS

**gučhábóm.**

gučhá+bá-i-m

lie+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

Having started it, when the bride and groom came and approached a good house, an old man was lying at the door.

## Hopar - 8

<i>gučhén</i>	<i>wáqtulo</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>síse</i>	<i>iné</i>	<i>buṭ</i>	<i>bemazáat</i>
gučhá-um	wáqt-ul-e	ín	sís-e	iné-∅	búṭ	bée+mazáat
lie-ADJVLZ	time-LOC-ESS	s/he:DIST	people-ERG	that:H-ABS	much	bawling.out
<i>maíme</i>		<i>maphéer</i>	<i>iné.</i>			
man'č-um-e		maphéer	iné-∅			
become-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS		aged	that:H-ABS			

The old man was lying there and the bride bawled him out.

## Hopar - 9

<i>méne</i>	<i>dápišiki</i>	<i>déljume</i>		<i>hólne</i>
mén-e	dápišiki	d-i-l'č-um-e		hól+n-i't
who-ERG	kicking	TEL-3SG.HM:II-hit-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS		outside+CP-3SG.Y:II-do
<i>icúmen</i>		<i>méne</i>	<i>dápišik</i>	<i>déljume</i>
i-chu'm-en		mén-e	dápišiki	d-i-l'č-um-e
3SG.HM:I-bring.out-NPRS-3PL.H		who-ERG	kicking	TEL-3SG.HM:II-hit-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS
<i>úlne</i>		<i>dícumen.</i>		
úl+n-i't		d-i-sú-m-en		
inside+CP-3SG.Y:II-do		TEL-3SG.HM:I-bring-NPRS-3PL.H		

Someone kicked him out and someone else kicked him in.

## Hopar - 10

<i>ichúyas</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>buṭ</i>	<i>taṅ</i>
i-chu'as	ké	ín-∅	búṭ	táṅ
3SG.HM:I-bring.out-INF	LINK	s/he:DIST-ABS	much	cramp
<i>dími.</i>				
d-i'm-i				
come:PFV-3SG.HM-NPRS-3SG.HM				

Having been driven out, he got infuriated.



## Hopar - 11

*taŋ dí inée ee qhudáaye*  
 táŋ d-í' iné-e ee qhudáa-e  
 cramp come:CP-3SG.HM that:H-ERG FIL god-GEN

*déerubóm, khué sis ú čhek*  
 d-ĩ-r+bá-i-m khué sís-∅ ú čhék-∅  
 TEL-3SG.HM:III-send+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS these:H people-ABS they:DIST check-ABS

*óti nuse.*  
 u-t'-i n-sén  
 3PL.H:II-do-IMP.SG CP-say

He got infuriated and told the God: "Judge and punish them".

## Hopar - 12

*to úu íne buṭ béezati etúman.*  
 tó ú-e ín-e búṭ bée+ezát-í-∅ i-t'-m-en  
 then they:DIST-ERG s/he:DIST-GEN much no+polite-NMLZ-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H

They roughed him up very much.

## Hopar - 13

*etás ke buṭ naaráaz imánimi, naaráaz*  
 i-t'-as ké búṭ naaráaz i-man'-m-i naaráaz  
 3SG.Y:II-do-INF LINK much sullen 3SG.HM:I-become-NPRS-3SG.HM sullen

*níman bom, hin maphéer gúsan*  
 n-i-man bá-i-m hín maphéer gus'-an-∅  
 CP-3SG.HM:I-become COP-3SG.HM-NPRS one:H aged woman-INDEF.SG-ABS

*damóomo.*  
 d-mu'-m-o  
 come:PFV-3SG.HF-NPRS-3SG.HF

Because they behaved so, he was in a quite bad humor. And then, there came an old woman.

## Hopar - 14

*hin, hin maphéer gúsan dumóo íne*  
 hín hín maphéer gus'an-Ø d-mu' ín-e  
 one:H one:H aged woman-INDEF.SG-ABS come:CP-3SG.HF s/he:DIST-ERG

*sénumo ke baaí ee um méé šuá moojíz*  
 sén-m-o ké baaí ee úm-Ø mí-e šuá moojíz  
 say-NPRS-3SG.HF LINK brother FIL thou-ABS we-GEN good miracle

*sísan dáa buṭ behtarín sísan báa,*  
 sísan-an-Ø dáa búṭ bahtarín sísan-an-Ø bá-a-Ø  
 people-INDEF.SG-ABS again much best people-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-2SG-PRS

*itécum han páči phaár mané, óor jáare*  
 ité-e-c-um hán pá-či-e phár-<:> man'í óor jé-e-are  
 that:Y-OBL-ADE-ABL one:Y side-INE-ESS turning-EMPH become-IMP.SG and I-OBL-DAT

*díšaare ke úlo níčán.*  
 diš'are ké úl-e ní-č+bá-an-m  
 ground-DAT LINK inside-ESS go-IPFV+COP-1PL-NPRS

An old woman had come to him and said: “You are a very good miraculous man for us, after this please leave here and go for inside [the valley] to our place”.

## Hopar - 15

*sénas qháaṣiṅ háart maními, háart*  
 sén-as-Ø qháaṣiṅ hárt man'm-i hárt  
 say-INF-ABS until sudden.rising become-NPRS-3SG.HM sudden.rising

*numán ínmore móor diš étimi.*  
 n-man ín-mu-are mu'ar diš'Ø i't'm-i  
 CP-become s/he:DIST-OBL-DAT 3SG.HF:II-DAT ground-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HM

When she said so, he suddenly stood up and gave her a space.

## Hopar - 16

<i>diš</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>sénimi</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>khuéete</i>	<i>khuté</i>	
diš-∅	n-i-t	ké	sén-m-i	ké	khué-aṭ-e	khuté	
ground-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	LINK	say-NPRS-3SG.HM	LINK	these:H-INS-ESS	this:Y	
<i>watánulo</i>	<i>šúa</i>	<i>sísik</i>	<i>apáan</i>	<i>khué</i>	<i>thámo</i>		
watán-ul-o	šúa	sís-ik-∅	a-bá-an-∅	khué	thám-o-∅		
country-LOC-ESS	good	people-INDEF.PL-ABS	NEG-COP-3PL.H-PRS	these:H	king-PL-ABS		
<i>khušú</i>	<i>šúa</i>	<i>sísik</i>	<i>apáan,</i>	<i>khu</i>			
khú-∅+***	šúa	sís-ik-∅	a-bá-an-∅	khú-∅			
they:PROX-ABS+***	good	people-INDEF.PL-ABS	NEG-COP-3PL.H-PRS	they:PROX-ABS			
<i>ke</i>	<i>khóle</i>	<i>báan,</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>éle</i>	<i>báan,</i>	<i>leékin</i>
ké	khól-e	bá-an-∅	ú-∅	ké	él-e	bá-an-∅	leékin
LINK	here-ESS	COP-3PL.H-PRS	they:DIST-ABS	LINK	there-ESS	COP-3PL.H-PRS	but
<i>khu</i>	<i>šúa</i>	<i>sísik</i>	<i>apáan.</i>				
khú-∅	šúa	sís-ik-∅	a-bá-an-∅				
they:PROX-ABS	good	people-INDEF.PL-ABS	NEG-COP-3PL.H-PRS				

He gave her a space and said: “There are no good people among them in this country, and their kings are not good. Here are these ones, and there are those ones, all of them are not good ones.

## Hopar - 17

<i>to</i>	<i>khúule</i>	<i>qhudáaye</i>	<i>taráfcum</i>	<i>γazáb</i>	<i>óor</i>
tó	khú-al-e	qhudáa-e	taráph-c-um	γazáb-∅	u-ar
then	they:PROX-LOC-ESS	god-GEN	direction-ADE-ABL	misfortune-ABS	3PL.H:II-DAT
<i>júas</i>	<i>dilá.</i>				
jú-as-∅	d-il-∅				
come-INF-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-PRS				

And so, misfortunes should be given onto them by the God.

## Hopar - 18

<i>yazáb</i>	<i>óor</i>	<i>júas</i>	<i>dilá,</i>	<i>etéecum</i>	<i>han</i>
yazáb-Ø	u'-ar	jú-as-Ø	d'il-Ø	eté-e-c-um	hán
misfortune-ABS	3PL.H:II-DAT	come-INF-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-PRS	that:Y-OBL-ADE-ABL	one:Y
<i>páči</i>	<i>pháar</i>	<i>mané</i>	<i>ke, ée khúu</i>	<i>yamú</i>	<i>laáš</i>
pá-či-e	phár-<:>	man'-i	ké ée khú-e	yamú-Ø	laáš
side-INE-ESS	turning-EMPH	become-IMP.SG	LINK FIL they:PROX-GEN	ice-ABS	spread
<i>étas</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>yamú</i>	<i>júas</i>	<i>bi.</i>	
i-t'-as-Ø	b'-i-Ø	yamú-Ø	jú-as-Ø	b'-i-Ø	
3SG.Y:II-do-INF-ABS	COP-3SG.X-PRS	ice-ABS	come-INF-ABS	COP-3SG.X-PRS	

Misfortunes should come onto them. Whereas a glaciár should come and cover them over.”

## Hopar - 19

<i>etéecum</i>	<i>han</i>	<i>páči</i>	<i>pháar</i>	<i>masée</i>	<i>qháaş</i>
eté-e-c-um	hán	pá-či-e	phár-<:>	man'-as-e	qháaş
that:Y-OBL-ADE-ABL	one:Y	side-INE-ESS	turning-EMPH	become-INF-GEN	until
<i>núim</i>	<i>chíle</i>	<i>íne</i>	<i>maphéer</i>	<i>gus</i>	<i>múimo</i>
n-i'-m	chíl-e	iné	maphéer	gus'-Ø	mu-í-mu-e
go:PFV:3SG.HM-NPRS	water-GEN	that:H	aged	woman-ABS	3SG.HF:I-self-OBL-GEN
<i>baraqbéesen</i>	<i>bim.</i>				
baraqbées-en-Ø	b'-i-m				
large.sieve-INDEF.SG-ABS	COP-3SG.X-NPRS				

Then they approached a place, there was a large sieve with the rough mesh of the old woman in the water [river?].

## Hopar - 20

<i>múimo</i>	<i>baraqbées</i>	<i>séibáan;</i>	<i>esé</i>
mu-í-mu-e	baraqbées-Ø	sén-č+bá-an-Ø	esé-Ø
3SG.HF:I-self-OBL-GEN	large.sieve-ABS	say-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-PRS	that:X-ABS

*murtiniŋ*      *níya*      *damóobóm;*      *ése*  
 mu-riiŋ'-iŋ      n-i-gán      d-mu'-'+bá-o-m      esé-Ø  
 3SG.HF:I-hand-PL      CP-3SG.X:I-take      come:PFV-3SG.HF+COP-3SG.HF-NPRS      that:X-ABS

*gáŋi*      *humáلكum*      *šiškin*      *séibáan;*      *šiškin,*      *alé*  
 gáŋi      humáلك-um      šiškin-Ø      sén-č+bá-an-Ø      šiškin-Ø      aléi  
 gathering      light-ADJV LZ      Shishkin-ABS      say-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-PRS      Shishkin-ABS      there

*alé*      *pháar*      *manúmo.*  
 aléi      phár-<:>      man'-m-o  
 there      turning-EMPH      become-NPRS-3SG.HF

They say it was her own “large sieve”; She caught it and came back; They call [her?] “light Shishkin” with the sieve; Shishkin turned back there.

## Hopar - 21

*pháar*      *manáasaŋe*      *eté*      *dooráanulo*      *úu*      *gáre*  
 phár-<:>      man'-as-aŋ-e      eté      dooráan-ul-e      ú-e      gar'-e  
 turning-EMPH      become-INF-INS-ESS      that:Y      period-LOC-ESS      they:DIST-GEN      marriage-GEN

*eté*      *maqhmaysálo*      *maqmasáulo*      *bómaŋe*      *yáŋum*  
 eté      \*\*\*      maqmasá-ul-e      bá-an-um-aŋ-e      i-yáŋ-um  
 that:Y      \*\*\*      difficulty-LOC-ESS      COP-3PL.H-ADJV LZ-INS-ESS      3SG.Y:I-over-ABL

*ŋamú*      *díimi.*  
 ŋamú-Ø      d-í'-m-i  
 ice-ABS      come:PFV-3SG.X-NPRS-3SG.X

When she turned back, then their marriage had almost finished and a glacier came down from the upper side.

## Hopar - 22

*júas*      *ke*      *sis*      *waawailáa*      *zacháamaŋ*  
 jú-as-Ø      ké      sí-s-Ø      waawailá-Ø      cacamáŋ-Ø  
 come-INF-ABS      LINK      people-ABS      lamentation-ABS      rapid.transaction-ABS

<i>étuman</i>	<i>qhudáa</i>	<i>yákal</i>	<i>buṭ</i>	<i>phariáad</i>
i-t'-m-en	qhudáa-Ø	i-yákal	búṭ	phariáad-Ø
3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H	god-ABS	3SG.HM:I-backwards	much	complaint-ABS

<i>etúman</i>	<i>leékin</i>	<i>béske</i>	<i>wajáa</i>
i-t'-m-en	leekín	bés+ké	wajáa-Ø
3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H	but	what+LINK	reason-ABS

*audími.*

au-d-i''m-i

NEG-come:PFV-3SG.Y-NPRS-3SG.Y

A glaciär came down, people ceased from bewailing and rather complained to the God much. But any forgiveness did not come to them.

Hopar - 23

<i>audíi</i>	<i>yamúu</i>	<i>tamáam</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>laás</i>
au-d-i''	yamú-e	tamáam	ú-Ø	ké	laás
NEG-come:CP-3SG.HM	ice-ERG	entire	they:DIST-ABS	LINK	spread

<i>étimi;</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>laás</i>	<i>étimi;</i>	<i>purá</i>
i-t'-m-i	ú-Ø	ké	laás	i-t'-m-i	purá
3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.X	they:DIST-ABS	LINK	spread	3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.X	all

<i>hópar</i>	<i>alaaqá</i>	<i>uyóonare</i>	<i>púre</i>	<i>báaraa</i>	<i>umánubáan.</i>
hópar	alaaqá	uyóon-are	purá	bharáa	u-man+bá-an-Ø
Hopar	region	all-DAT	all	full	3PL.H:I-become+COP-3PL.H-PRS

Having had no mercy of the God, the glaciär wholly covered them up; Hopar valley has been completely swallowed up.

Hopar - 24

<i>numán</i>	<i>púre</i>	<i>uyóon</i>	<i>qhátum</i>	<i>étimi.</i>
n-man	purá	u-yoon-Ø	qhátum	i-t'-m-i
CP-become	all	3PL.H:I-all-ABS	finish	3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.Y

Covered up and all things was over.

## Hopar - 25

*qhátum néti hóo báadulo thaláa thaláa se*  
 qhátum n-i-t hóo báad-ul-e thaláa thaláa esé  
 finish CP-3SG.Y:II-do then following.time-LOC-ESS slow slow that:X

*yamú dóočumo dóočumo*  
 yamú-Ø d-ụ-sú-um-e d-ụ-sú-um-e  
 ice-ABS TEL-3PL.HX:III-bring-ADJVLZ-ESS TEL-3PL.HX:III-bring-ADJVLZ-ESS

*dóočumo dóočumo qhátum*  
 d-ụ-sú-um-e d-ụ-sú-um-e qhátum  
 TEL-3PL.HX:III-bring-ADJVLZ-ESS TEL-3PL.HX:III-bring-ADJVLZ-ESS finish

*maními oo qhátum manáas ke dobaaráa sis*  
 man'-m-i oo qhátum man'-as ké dubaaráa sí-s-Ø  
 become-NPRS-3SG.X FIL finished become-INF LINK twice people-ABS

*đuó.*  
 d-ụ-Ø-en  
 come:PFV-3PL.H-PRS-3PL.H

Once all things was over, and then the glaciár slowly went away and disappeared. When it had finished, people started to come here again.

## Hopar - 26

*khuté hópar aabáad étuman.*  
 khoté hópar-Ø aabáad i-t'-m-en  
 this:Y Hopar-ABS resident 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H

They settled down in this Hopar valley.

## Hopar - 27

*gósulo balímia.*  
 gu-s'-ul-e bal'-m-i=a  
 2SG:II-heart-LOC-ESS fall-NPRS-3SG.Y=Q

Have you understood?

## Hopar - 28

*yarkamáas*      *díi*                      *aabáad*   *etúm*                      *inée*  
 yarkamáas      d-í'                      aabáad   i-t'-um                      iné-e  
 at.the.beginning   come:CP-3SG.HM   resident   3SG.Y:II-do-ADJVLZ   that:H-GEN

*ík*                      *boróş bul siŋ*                      *bom.*  
 i-ik'-Ø                      boróş búlsiŋ-Ø                      bá-i-m  
 3SG.HM:I-name-ABS   Borosh.Bulsing-ABS   COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

The name of who first came and settled down here was Borosh Bulsing.

## Hopar - 29

*íne*                      *ooláatcum*                      *wálti*   *álthar*   *hakíčarŋ*                      *muúto*   *maujúud*  
 ín-e                      ooláat-c-um                      wálti   álthar   ha'-kičarŋ-Ø                      muú-to   maujúud  
 s/he:DIST-GEN   generation-ADE-ABL   four:Z   twenty   house-PL-ABS   now-just   present

*bicán.*  
 b'icán-Ø  
 COP-3PL.Y-PRS

After his age, there still remains eighty houses now.



## III. ŠON GUKÚR

Narrator: Afraz ul-Lah Beg  
 Date: 14<sup>th</sup> Sep, 2008  
 Time length: 7' 30"  
 Location: His house in Haiderabad  
 Dialect: Hunza (Haiderabad)  
 Genre: Old tale  
 Remarks: Translated based on his translation.

## Synopsis:

There were two famous shamans Shon Gukur nad Huke Mamo in Altit. One day they had a match each other in the skill of prediction about a calf whether the calf has a stain on its forehead or not. The calf was born and then there was no stain as Shon Gukur had predicted.

## šon gukúr - 1

*bahaarí*    *ṭáimulo*    *šon gukúr*    *ke*    *húke mamó,*    *áltitar*  
 bahaarí-e    ṭéem-ul-e    šón+gukúr    ké    húke+mamó-Ø    áltit-ar  
 spring-GEN    time-LOC-ESS    Shon.Gukur    LINK    Huke.Mamo-ABS    Altit-DAT

*dúćám.*

d-u-sú+bá-an-m

TEL-3PL.H:I-bring+COP-3PL.H-NPRS

In the springtime they had brought Shon Gukur and Huke Mamo to Altit.

## šon gukúr - 2

*u*    *óltalik*    *húnzue*    *mašúur*    *biṭáyo*    *bam.*  
 ú-Ø    u-ltalik    húnzo-e    mašúur    biṭán-čo-Ø    bá-an-m  
 they:DIST-ABS    3PL.H:II-both    Hunza-GEN    famous    shaman-PL-ABS    COP-3PL.H-NPRS

Both were famous in Hunza as Bitans.

## šon gukúr - 3

<i>óltalik</i>	<i>gáṭi</i>	<i>numánin</i>	<i>hurúṭám.</i>
u-ltalik-Ø	gáṭi	n-man'-n	hurúṭ+bá-an-m
3PL.H:II-both-ABS	gathering	CP-become-CP	sit+COP-3PL.H-NPRS

The two of them were sitting together.

## šon gukúr - 4

<i>óltalik</i>	<i>nuúruṭin</i>	<i>bam,</i>	<i>óltalik,</i>	<i>karagáḍie</i>
u-ltalik-Ø	n-hurúṭ-n	bá-an-m	u-ltalik	karagáḍi-e
3PL.H:II-both-ABS	CP-sit-CP	COP-3PL.H-NPRS	3PL.H:II-both	Karagadimuts-GEN

<i>káa</i>	<i>han</i>	<i>baṭá</i>	<i>buáan</i>	<i>júṭibím.</i>
káaṭ	hán	baṭá	buá-an-Ø	jú-č+b'-i-m
together	one:X	bald	cow-INDEF.SG-ABS	come-IPFV+COP-3SG.X-NPRS

The two of them were sitting when a piebald cow came down from Baltit by the Karagadimuts people.

## šon gukúr - 5

<i>biṭáyue</i>	<i>yeécuman,</i>	<i>húke mamúe</i>	<i>šon gukúrar</i>
biṭán-čo-e	i-ic'-m-an	húke+mamó-e	šón+gukúr-ar
shaman-PL-ERG	3SG.Y:I-see-NPRS-3PL.H	Huke.Mamo-ERG	Shon.Gukur-DAT

<i>ésimi:</i>	<i>khóse</i>	<i>yuúlulo</i>	<i>isk</i>
i-s'-m-i	khós-e	i-ul'-ul-e	i-sk'-Ø
3SG.HM:II-tell-NPRS-3SG.HM	this:X-GEN	3SG.X:I-belly-LOC-ESS	3SG.X:I-young-ABS

*bi.*

b'-i-Ø

COP-3SG.X-PRS

The Bitans saw it and Huke Mamo said to Shon Gukur: ‘This cow is in calf’.

## šon gukúr - 6

<b>šon gukúre</b>	<b>húke mamúar</b>	<b>ésimi,</b>		
šón+gukúr-e	húke+mamó-ar	i-s'-m-i		
Shon.Gukur-ERG	Huke.Mamo-DAT	3SG.HM:II-tell-NPRS-3SG.HM		
<b>iskan</b>	<b>bi,</b>	<b>óor</b>	<b>akhóle</b>	<b>iphátiąte</b>
i-sk'-an-∅	b'-i-∅	óor	akhól-e	i-phaṭi-aṭ-e
3SG.X:I-young-INDEF.SG-ABS	COP-3SG.X-PRS	and	here-ESS	3SG.X:I-forehead-INS-ESS
<b>burúm</b>	<b>pečan,</b>	<b>rágan</b>	<b>bilá.</b>	
bur'-um	peč'-an-∅	rag'-an-∅	b'-il'-∅	
white-ADJV LZ	patch-INDEF.SG-ABS	tint-INDEF.SG-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-PRS	

Shon Gukur said to Huke Mamo, ‘(This cow) is in calf, and there is a white patch on the fore head of the young one here’.

## šon gukúr - 7

<b>šon gukúre</b>	<b>sénimi,</b>	<b>be</b>	<b>ya</b>	<b>un</b>	<b>yalát</b>	<b>báa,</b>
šón+gukúr-e	sén-m-i	bée	yá	ún-∅	yalát	bá-a-∅
Shon.Gukur-ERG	say-NPRS-3SG.HM	no	INTERJ	thou-ABS	wrong	COP-2SG-PRS
<b>esé</b>	<b>ṭiko</b>	<b>apí.</b>	<b>burúm</b>	<b>akhóle</b>		
isé-∅	ṭiko-∅	a-b'-i-∅	bur'-um	akhól-e		
that:X-ABS	stain-ABS	NEG-COP-3SG.X-PRS	white-ADJV LZ	here-ESS		
<b>ḍáako</b>	<b>apí.</b>					
ḍáako-∅	a-b'-i-∅					
embroidery.pattern-ABS	NEG-COP-3SG.X-PRS					

‘You are wrong, it is not a white patch’, said Shon Gukur.

## šon gukúr - 8

<b>ése</b>	<b>isúmale</b>	<b>múšaṭe</b>	<b>élar</b>	<b>akhíle</b>
és-e	i-sumál-e	muš'-aṭ-e	él-ar	akhíl-e
that.one:X-GEN	3SG.X:I-tail-GEN	edge-INS-ESS	there-DAT	such-ESS

*díibilá,*    *óor isé éndulo isé aqhíirulo*  
d-i''+b'-il'-Ø                                    óor isé énd-ul-e       isé aqhíir-ul-e  
come:PFV-3SG.Y+COP-3SG.Y-PRS    and    that:X    end-LOC-ESS    that:X    last-LOC-ESS

*burúm            bílá.*  
bur'-um            b'-il'-Ø  
white-ADJV LZ    COP-3SG.Y-PRS

'The tassel on the end of its tail has come there, and it is white.'

šon gukúr - 9

*yaaní sénimi            ke isé isúmal            ískilaṭar*  
yaaní s'én-m-i            ké isé i-sumál-Ø       i-skíl-aṭ-ar  
FIL            say-NPRS-3SG.HM    LINK    that:X    3SG.X:I-tail-ABS    3SG.X:I-face-INS-DAT

*díibí,*    *óor isée            yalát dukóomaninin*  
d-i''+b'-i-Ø                                    óor isé-e            yalát d-gu''man'-n-n  
come:PFV-3SG.X+COP-3SG.X-PRS    and    that:X-ERG    wrong    TEL:CP-2SG:III-become-CP-CP

*burúm            tíko            bi            séibáa.*  
bur'-um            tíko-Ø            b'-i-Ø            s'én-č+bá-a-Ø  
white-ADJV LZ    stain-ABS    COP-3SG.X-PRS    say-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS

That is, the tail is hanging down over its face, and so you see it like that and are saying so.'

šon gukúr - 10

*óltalíke            bée ya.            óltalik            atúmayman.*  
u'-ltalik-e            bée yá            u'-ltalik-Ø            a-d-u-maay'-m-an  
3PL.H:II-both-ERG    no    INTERJ    3PL.H:II-both-ABS    NEG-TEL-3PL.H:I-be.peaceful-NPRS-3PL.H

Both of them say: 'No'. The two disagreed.

šon gukúr - 11

*yáa            téerumanar    isé            buá            áltitar*  
yá            téer-um-an-ar                                      isé            buá-Ø            áltit-ar  
INTERJ    so.much-ADJV LZ-INDEF.SG-DAT    that:X    cow-ABS    Altit-DAT

*dícuman.*

d-i-sú-m-an

TEL-3SG.X:I-bring-NPRS-3PL.H

Then presently men brought the cow into Altit.

šon gukúr - 12

<i>káman</i>	<i>guncíȳcum,</i>	<i>buá</i>	<i>halkími</i>	<i>óor</i>	<i>isk</i>
kám-an	gunc'íȳ-c-um	buá-Ø	halk'm-i	óor	i-sk'Ø
little-INDEF.SG	day-PL-ADE-ABL	cow-ABS	bear-NPRS-3SG.X	and	3SG.X:I-young-ABS

*désmanimi.*

d-i-s-man'm-i

TEL-3SG.X:II-CAUS-become-NPRS-3SG.X

Some days later the cow gave birth and a calf was born to it.

šon gukúr - 13

<i>isé</i>	<i>buáa</i>	<i>isúmale</i>	<i>mujóq</i>	<i>burúm</i>	<i>bilúm.</i>	<i>óor</i>
isé	buá-e	i-sumál-e	mujóq-Ø	bur'um	b'il'm	óor
that:X	cow-GEN	3SG.X:I-tail-GEN	tassel-ABS	white-ADJVLZ	COP-3SG.Y-NPRS	and

<i>ískilar</i>	<i>kawárd</i>	<i>dálum</i>	<i>manílum.</i>
i-skíl-ar	kawárd	dál-um	man+b'il'm
3SG.X:I-face-DAT	covered	over-ADJVLZ	become+COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

The tassel of its tail was white and it was hanging down over its face.

šon gukúr - 14

<i>šon gukúr</i>	<i>biṭáne</i>	<i>bésan</i>	<i>sénuma</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ité</i>	<i>sahíi</i>
šón+gukúr	biṭán-e	bés-an-Ø	sén-um=a	ké	ité-Ø	sahíi
Shon.Gukur	shaman-ERG	what-INDEF.SG-ABS	say-ADJVLZ=Q	LINK	that:Y-ABS	correct

*maními.*

man'm-i

become-NPRS-3SG.Y

What Shon Gukur had said turned out to be true.

šon gukúr - 15

*sis*            *heiráan*    *umánuman.*

sís-Ø          heiráan    u-man'-m-an

people-ABS   surprised   3PL.H:I-become-NPRS-3PL.H

The people were filled with amazement.

## IV. KULIÓ LASKÍR

Narrator: Afraz ul-Lah Beg  
 Date: 14<sup>th</sup> Sep, 2008  
 Time length: 5' 52"  
 Location: His house in Haiderabad  
 Dialect: Hunza (Haiderabad)  
 Genre: Old tale  
 Remarks: Translated based on his translation.  
 Synopsis:

A young man (in Haiderabad) called Kulio Laskir encountered a great witch in his field. He wrestled her to the ground and stabbed a dagger at her. Next morning villagers went to the field to make sure of his saying. And there was really his dagger sticking upright on the ground there.

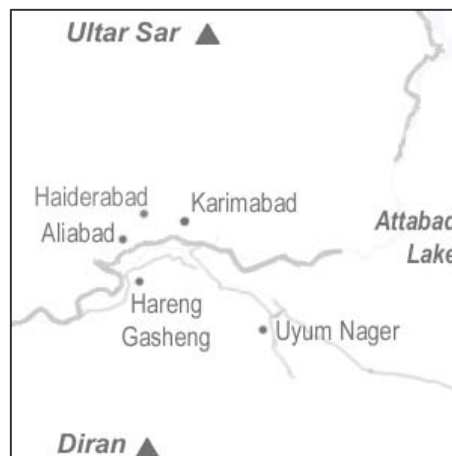


Figure 30. Hareng Gacheng and Haiderabad

kulió laskír - 1

<i>kúlio laskér</i>	<i>nuséninin</i>	<i>hin</i>	<i>juáanan</i>	<i>bam</i>
kulió+laskír-Ø	n-sén-n-n	hín	juáan-an-Ø	bá-i-m
Kulio.Laskir-ABS	CP-say-CP-CP	one:H	young-INDEF.SG-ABS	COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

<i>inée</i>	<i>híkulto</i>	<i>ímo</i>	<i>málar</i>	<i>chíl</i>
iné-e	hík-ul-to	i-í-mu-e	mal'-ar	chil'-Ø
that:H-ERG	one:Z-day-just	3SG.HM:I-self-OBL-GEN	field-DAT	water-ABS

*jáličám.*

jáli-č+bá-i-m

scatter-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

There was a young man called Kulio Laskir, and one day he was running water onto his field.

## kulió laskír - 2

*ité thápe, thápan bilúm.*  
 ité-Ø thap'e thap'an-Ø b'il'm  
 that:Y night-ESS night-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

It was night.

## kulió laskír - 3

*óor íne chíle gan díibilúm.*  
 óor ín-e chil'e gan'Ø d-i''+b'il'm  
 and s/he:DIST-GEN water-GEN way-ABS come:PFV-3SG.Y+COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

And the turn for the water had come to him.

## kulió laskír - 4

*in iđímaṭe bam, in*  
 ín-Ø i-đim'aṭ-e bá-i-m ín-Ø  
 s/he:DIST-ABS 3SG.HM:I-body-INS-ESS COP-3SG.HM-NPRS s/he:DIST-ABS

*iđímaṭe bam, dáa tuṭán thap bilúm,*  
 i-đim'aṭ-e bá-i-m dáa tuṭán thap'Ø b'il'm  
 3SG.HM:I-body-INS-ESS COP-3SG.HM-NPRS again dark night-ABS COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

*halánc apím.*  
 halánc-Ø a-b'i-m  
 moon-ABS NEG-COP-3SG.X-NPRS

He was alone and the night was dark and moonless.

## kulió laskír - 5

*ité wáqtulo haréj gašéjate iné han garían*  
 ité wáqt-ul-e haréj+gašéj-aṭ-e iné hán garí-an-Ø  
 that:Y time-LOC-ESS Hareng.Gasheng-INS-ESS that:H one:Y lamp-INDEF.SG-ABS



*yeécimi.*

i-ic'-m-i

3SG.Y:I-see-NPRS-3SG.HM

At this point a fire appeared on the Hareng Gasheng.

kulió laskír - 6

*ité garí kúlio laskíri yákal díimi.*

ité garí-Ø kulió+laskír-Ø+i-yákal d-i''m-i

that:Y light-ABS Kulio.Laskir-ABS+3SG.HM:I-direction come:PFV-3SG.Y-NPRS-3SG.Y

The fire came moving along in Kulio Laskir's direction.

kulió laskír - 7

*kúlio laskíre épačar ité garí*

kulió+laskír-e i-pá-či-ar ité garí-Ø

Kulio.Laskir-GEN 3SG.HM:II-side-INE-DAT that:Y light-ABS

*déşqaltimi.*

d-i-şqalt-m-i

TEL-3SG.Y:II-reach-NPRS-3SG.Y

The fire came up to Kulio Laskir.

kulió laskír - 8

*íne béwaqte ite garí yákal barénimi ke*

ín-e bé+wáqt+e ité garí-Ø i-yákal barén-m-i ké

s/he:DIST-ERG at.the.time that:Y light-ABS 3SG.Y:I-direction look-NPRS-3SG.HM LINK

*ité úlo hin dāḡalaṭhasan bom.*

ité úl-e hín dāḡalaṭhas-an-Ø bá-o-m

that:Y inside-ESS one:H danglathas-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.HF-NPRS

And when he looked he saw that there was a danglathas.

## kulió laskír - 9

*ḍáŋalaṭhas uyúm bilásmo séibáan.*  
 ḍáŋalaṭhas-Ø uy'-um bilás-mu-e sén-č+bá-an-Ø  
 danglathas-ABS big-ADJVLZ witch-OBL-GEN say-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-PRS

It is said that she is a danglathas of a great witch.

## kulió laskír - 10

*óltalike salamáa duúnuman, óor ye íne*  
 u:l'talik-e salamáa-Ø d-gún-m-an óor yé ín-e  
 3PL.H:II-both-ERG wrestling-ABS TEL-pack-NPRS-3PL.H and look:INTERJ s/he:DIST-ERG

*yáar muwáši.*  
 i-yáar mu-biśá-Ø-i  
 3SG.Y:I-downwards 3SG.HF:I-throw-PRS-3SG.HM

The two began to wrestle and he threw her.

## kulió laskír - 11

*íne ee ee épači qhanjáran bilúm.*  
 ín-e ee ee i-pá-či-e qhanjár-an-Ø b'il'm  
 s/he:DIST-GEN FIL FIL 3SG.HM:II-side-INE-ESS dagger-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

He had a dagger.

## kulió laskír - 12

*béwaqte íne mowášubám ke*  
 bé+wáqqt+e ín-e mu-biśá+bá-i-m ké  
 at.the.time s/he:DIST-ERG 3SG.HF:II-throw+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS LINK

*munḍilulo ité qhanjáran mudéli.*  
 mu-ndil'-ul-e ité qhanjár-an-Ø mu-d+i+l-Ø-i  
 3SG.HF:I-breast-LOC-ESS that:Y dagger-INDEF.SG-ABS 3SG.HF:I-hit-PRS-3SG.Y

And when he had thrown her, he smote her on the breast with it.

## kulió laskír - 13

*ye dáa bas kóči iné bes ke ec féil*  
*yé dáa bás kóči iné-e bés+ké éc-Ø leél (?)*  
 look:INTERJ again enough lack that:H-ERG what+LINK those.ones:X-ABS knowing

*eemáibám.*

a-i-man'č+bá-i-m

NEG-3SG.HM:I-become-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

He knew nothing more.

## kulió laskír - 14

*ye in téelumo yáib manúmo.*  
*yé ín-Ø téel-um yáib man'm-o*  
 then s/he:DIST-ABS there-ABL absent become-NPRS-3SG.HF

She vanished somewhere.

## kulió laskír - 15

*íne, ímo háalar waapás*  
*ín-e i-í-mu-e há-al-ar waapás*  
 s/he:DIST-ERG 3SG.HM:I-self-OBL-GEN house-LOC-DAT back

*dími, ímo jamáat aa jamáat*  
*d-i'm-i i-í-mu-e jamáat-Ø aa jamáat-Ø*  
 come:PFV-3SG.HM-NPRS-3SG.HM 3SG.HM:I-self-OBL-GEN spouse-ABS FIL spouse-ABS

*mos purá waaqíá móor ee čáya*  
*mu's-Ø purá waaqíá mu-ar ee čáya-Ø*  
 3SG.HF:II-heart-ABS full actually 3SG.HF:II-DAT FIL story-ABS

*étimi.*

i-t'm-i

3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HM

He returned to his home and told his wife about it fully.

kulió laskír - 16

*ité baaráulo íne sénimi.*  
 ité baará-ul-e ín-e sén-m-i  
 that:Y relation-LOC-ESS s/he:DIST-ERG say-NPRS-3SG.HM

He said to them:

kulió laskír - 17

*bilás soláan bi haréj gašéj.*  
 bilás-Ø soláan b'i-Ø haréj+gašéj  
 witch-ABS ??? COP-3SG.X-PRS Hareng.Gasheng

A bilas from the Hareng Gasheng.

kulió laskír - 18

*je ke iné bilás méltalik ité málulo híne kaa*  
 jé ké iné bilás mi:lalik-Ø ité mal'ul-e hín-e kaaṭ  
 I LINK that:H witch 1PL:II-both-ABS that:Y field-LOC-ESS one:H-GEN together

*salamáa duúnam.*  
 salamáa-Ø d-gún-a-m  
 wrestling-ABS TEL-pack-1SG-NPRS

And I had wrestling about in the “round field”.

kulió laskír - 19

*jáamo numúwašin jéimo qhanjár étu*  
 je-í-mu-e n-mu-biśá-n je-í-mu-e qhanjár ét-Ø  
 1SG:I-self-OBL-GEN CP-3SG.HF:II-throw-CP 1SG:I-self-OBL-GEN dagger that.one:Y-ABS

*modélam.*  
 mu-d+i+l-a-m  
 3SG.HF:I-hit-1SG-NPRS

I threw her and stabbed her with my dagger.

kulió laskír - 20

*jáa qhanjár ité málulo phaṭ maníla.*  
 jé-e qhanjár-Ø ité mal'ul-e pháṭ man+b'il'Ø  
 I-GEN dagger-ABS that:Y field-LOC-ESS quitting become+COP-3SG.Y-PRS

The dagger has remained behind in the field.

kulió laskír - 21

*ma namáanen ité dusúin.*  
 má-Ø n-mä'n-n ité-Ø d-sú-in  
 you-ABS go:CP-2PL-CP-CP that:Y-ABS TEL-bring-IMP.PL

You people go and fetch it.

kulió laskír - 22

*han čížanar qhayáal óosin.*  
 hán číž-an-ar qhayáal-Ø óos-in  
 one:Y thing-INDEF.SG-DAT idea-ABS put-IMP.PL

Take note a point that:

kulió laskír - 23

*agár jáa ité qhanjár yáṭe akhílaṭe dáal*  
 agár jé-e ité qhanjár-Ø i-yáṭ-e akhíl-aṭ-e dáal  
 if I-GEN that:Y dagger-ABS 3SG.Y:I-upwards-ESS in.this.way-INS-ESS over

*diém bilá ke, jáa šat*  
 d-e'um b'il'Ø ké jé-e šat'Ø  
 TEL-get.up-ADJVLZ COP-3SG.Y-PRS LINK I-ERG power-ABS

*étabáa.*

i-t'a+bá-a-Ø

3SG.Y:II-do-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS

If the dagger is sticking upright in the ground I have had the best of it.

## kulió laskír - 24

<i>agár qha balíla</i>	<i>ke, ye</i>	<i>dáa íne</i>	<i>dáa</i>
agár qhát bal+b'il-∅	ké yé	dáa ín-e	dáa
if down fall+COP-3SG.Y-PRS	LINK look:INTERJ	again s/he:DIST-ERG	again
<i>šat atúmo.</i>			
šat'∅ i't-m-o			
power-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HF		

If it has fallen over, then she has had the best of it.

## kulió laskír - 25

<i>yáṭe</i>	<i>gúncan</i>	<i>béwaqte</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>málar</i>
i-yát-e	gunc'an	bé+wáqt+e	ú-∅	mal'ar
3SG.Y:II-upwards-ESS	day-INDEF.SG	at.the.time	they:DIST-ABS	field-DAT
<i>níman, íne</i>	<i>ité</i>	<i>qhanjár</i>	<i>zamínulo</i>	<i>akhí</i>
ní-m-an	ín-e	ité	qhanjár-∅	zamín-ul-e
go-NPRS-3PL.H	s/he:DIST-GEN	that:Y	dagger-ABS	land-LOC-ESS
				in.this.way
<i>numá bilúm.</i>				
n-man	b'il'm			
CP-become	COP-3SG.Y-NPRS			

On the morrow when they went to the field the dagger was sticking in the ground.

## kulió laskír - 26

<i>ye</i>	<i>dáa</i>	<i>ité</i>	<i>málcum</i>	<i>gugo</i>	<i>waapás</i>	<i>súman.</i>
yé	dáa	ité-∅	mal'c-um	???	waapás	sú-m-an
look:INTERJ	again	that:Y-ABS	field-ADE-ABL	???	back	bring-NPRS-3PL.H

They brought it back from the field.

## Appendix II – VOCABULARY

For Appendix II, I give the word list of approximately three thousand entries. These entries include the words appeared in the dissertation and the texts (Appendix I) as well as the basic words and some proper names (of places and people) I collected on field research.

Contents of each entry item (and two guide symbols) are shown in the following order, where parenthetical information is optional. Each entry item are written in **bold italic style**. Some stems which seem to be hard to detect the roots are given in *normal italic style*.

Entry items are sorted into the following alphabetical order: a (á, a), b, c, ch, č, čh, ç, çh, d, e (é, e), f, g, γ, h, i (í, i), j, j, k, kh, l, m, n, ŋ, o (ó, o), p, ph, q, qh, r, s, š, š, t, th, ʈ, ʈh, u (ú, u), w, y, z.

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**Root / *Root*** : If it has not a stem with the same form and no variations, it is shown in roman style.

---

**(*Stem*)** : If there are little variations in sound, those are put together.  
If the gap is considerably big, the variations are treated as different words with information of variations.

---

**(Word class)** : Bare nominal class abbreviations (H, HM, HF, X, Y, and Z) indicate the stem is a noun, as well as bare transitivity abbreviations (INTR, TR, and DITR) indicate the stem is a verb.  
The word class of compound words and set phrases are basically omitted.

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**(Morphological notes)** : Those which are realised in different shapes from their underlying forms are noted. Even though the morphophonological rules lead the forms.

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**(Dialectal cognate variations)** : Dialectal variations from different origins are noted in the constituent “Dialectal synonym” below.

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**Meanings** : Meanings and functions

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(  )	: Leading symbol for the information of other studies
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(AA.#00)	: Basic word number according to Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa (ed.) (1967)
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(B.00)	: Page number in Berger (1998c). Additionally, I give some information with round brackets after citing the page number, when
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(i)	the form of stem is not identical to Berger's entry, then the relevant form by Berger is given. e.g. <i>asmáan</i> ... B.22 ( <i>asmáan</i> );
(ii)	the form is the same as Berger's second (or lesser) entry, then I give his first entry with the same entry as mine (i.e. the latter item is identical to mine). e.g. <i>baadšáa</i> ... B.25 ( <i>baacáa</i> , <i>baadšáa</i> );
(iii)	Berger attaches a superscript number to his entry (to make distinction among synonymous words), I always specify it. e.g. <i>adáp</i> ... B.12 ( <sup>2</sup> <i>adáp</i> ).

The absence of this content indicates the fact that there is no entry in Berger (1998c).

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(¶)	: Leading symbol for the information of other languages or dialects
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(Relevant words)	: Synonym (indicated with “ = ”), Antonym (with “ × ”), Constituents of word formation (without symbol), or Some relevant words (without symbol)
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(Dialectal synonym)	: Dialectal synonyms which have no cognacy with each other
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(Origins)	: The information of the sources of loanwords, including the ones which I am to some extent uncertain whether they are so or not, are written here as far as I know.
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- á** ONO manner of opening mouth wide || B.9 (*a ét-*, *ã ét-* ‘open (mouth)’)
- aabáad** Y resident, residence || B.10 (*abáat*) ¶ UR *ābād*
- aalú** X PL *aaloínc* potato || AA.#520 ¶ UR *ālū*  
**aalúe čips** Y PL *-ij* french fries ¶ EN *chips*
- aalubuqhaará** X plum, prune ¶ UR *ālūbuxārā*
- aaqhér** **aaqhér**, **aaqhír**, **aqhéer**, **aqhír** ADJ last, lastly, final || B.10 ¶ UR *āxir*  
**aaqhírí** Y last, end || B.10 ¶ UR *āxirī*
- aaráam** Y rest, relaxation || B.10 ¶ UR *ārām*  
**aaráam né** for rest, for relaxation
- aasmáan** Y sky || AA.#157 B.22 (*asmáan*) ¶ = *ayáš* UR *āsmān*
- aazáad** ADJ free ¶ UR *āzād*
- ačás** X PL *ačášo* goat-antelope || AA.#97 B.11
- ačháa** **ačháa**, **aččháa**, **áčhaa** ADJ good, nice, okay ¶ UR *aččhā*
- ačhará** ADJ confused || B.11
- ačhó** INTERJ PL *ačhóin* wait, please || AA.#972 B.12  
**ačhó ná áya** please || AA.#972
- ačhéemi** ADJ HF PL NG RF *-muc*, HS *-tij* shameless, mean, dirty, crafty || AA.#927 B.12 ¶ SH *ačhéemi*
- ačhéemo** ADJ HM PL NG RF *-muc*, HS *-tij* shameless, mean, dirty, crafty || AA.#927 B.45 ¶ SH *ačhéemo*
- ačhém** ADJ bad, disgusting
- áda** GA ADJ half || AA.#193 ¶ UR *ādā*
- adáp** Y politeness || B.12 (<sup>2</sup>*adáp*) ¶ UR *adab*
- adít** Z Sunday || AA.#645 B.12 ¶ SH *adít*
- aée** INTERJ ah, ooh
- ágar** CONJ if || AA.#491 B.12 (*ágar ... ke*) ¶ UR *agar*
- agást** Z August || AA.#634 ¶ UR *agast*, EN *August*
- ainá** **ainá**, **ainé**, **eína** X PL *-muc* mirror || AA.#560 B.13 (*aína*) ¶ UR *āina*
- ajíbo yaríib** ADJ disgusting, strange || B.13 (*ajíibu-ğaríip*) ¶ UR *ajīb-o yarīb*
- akaabír** ADJ noblesse, high-up || B.13 ¶ UR *akābir*
- aksár** ADJ often || B.14 ¶ UR *aksar*
- aktoobár** Z October || AA.#636 ¶ UR *aktūbar*, EN *October*

- akhés** ADJ PL -čuko strange, foreign || B.14 ¶ hén- ‘know’
- akhíl** Y PL -čuko this way || B.14 ¶ = *dakhíl*  
**akhílaṭe** in this way || AA.#953 B.14
- akhól** **akhóle** Z here || AA.#257 B.14 ¶ = *dakhóle, khóle*
- akhúr** **akhúrum** ADJ this much, such as this || B.15 ¶ = *dakhúrum*  
 X **akhúrus**, Y **akhúrut** ADJ this weight || B.15
- alaamát** Y sign ¶ UR ‘alāmat
- alaaqá** Y region || B.15 ¶ UR ‘ilāqa
- alačǐ** Y SG PL cumin
- alág** **alág/alák man’** part, separate || AA.#860 ¶ UR *alag* ‘separated’  
**alág/alák @’t-** divide, separate, part || AA.#822
- alám** Y PL -iṅ, -ičiṅ flag || AA.#591 ¶ UR ‘alam
- aléi** Z there || B.15 (<sup>1</sup>aléi) ¶ = *éle, eléi*
- alét** SG H **alín**, X **alés**, Y **alét**, PL H **alú**, X **aléc**, HX **aléstiṅ**, Y **alék**, **alékiṅ** PRN  
 so-and-so, something || B.15 (*alés*)
- alhámdu lilláa** INTERJ praise to the God ¶ AR *al-hamdu li-llāh*
- almaarí** Y PL -miṅ chest of drawers, wardrobe ¶ UR *almārī*
- altáayuc** NG Y week || AA.#165 B.16 ¶ = *haptá*, HZ *thalékuc altámbi*  
 ‘eight’, -kuc ‘day’
- altámbi** NUM HXY **altámbo**, Z **altámbi** eight || AA.#186 B.16
- áltar** NUM twenty || AA.#189 B.16  
**áltar tóorimi** NUM thirty || AA.#676 B.16 (*áltar-tóorimo*)
- áltit** Z Altit (place name in Hunza) || B.487
- altó** NUM H **altán**, X **altá**, **altác**, YZ **altó** two || AA.#180 B.16  
**altóolum**, **altóolum** ADJ second || AA.#686 B.16  
**altúl** Y PL two days || B.17 ¶ -ul ‘day’  
**altó áltar** NUM forty || AA.#677 B.16 (*altó-áltar*)  
**altó áltar tóorimi** NUM fifty || AA.#678 B.16 (*altó-áltar tóorumo*)
- altíuu** ADJ PL -kianc twins || B.17 ¶ *altó* ‘two’ + ? -úu PL
- althámbi** NG NUM HXY **althámbo**, Z **althámbi** eight || AA.#186 B.16 (*altámbo*)  
 ¶ *altámbi*
- álthar** NG NUM twenty || AA.#189 B.16 (*áltar*) ¶ *áltar*
- ám** Z for where, at where || AA.#260 B.18

- amaná** CONJ then, therefore, thereupon || B.17
- amír** ADJ PL -išo rich || AA.#920 ¶ UR *amīr*
- ámit** ADJ H *ámin*, X SG *ámis*, X PL *ámic*, Y SG *ámit*, YPL *ámik* which || AA.#237, 252, 955 B.17
- ámitali** Z which way, somehow || AA.#264 B.18 ¶ -*tali* ‘via’
- ámul** *ámulo* HZ Z NG *ámuli*, *ámile* where || AA.#260 B.18  
*ámulum* HZ NG *ámulim* from where || B.18
- ámuli** *ámuli*, *ámile* NG Z HZ *ámulo* where || AA.#260 B.18  
*ámulim* NG HZ *ámulum* from where || B.18
- anjáro** Z Tuesday || AA.#640 B.19 ¶ = *anjáaro* SH *anjáaro*
- anjáaro** Z Tuesday || AA.#640 B.19 ¶ = *anjáro* SH *anjáaro*
- anjgréez** H PL -išo foreigner || B.487 ¶ UR *angrēz* ‘English’
- apárc** see *wárc*
- apóo jut** Z place name of a green tract in the upper side of *uyúm nagér* ¶ *jut* ‘green’
- apqhoorá** X PL -*muc* jar, goblet, ewer ¶ UR *āb-xōrā*
- apréel** Z April || AA.#630 ¶ UR *aprail*, EN *April*
- apsúus** *apsúus* @-*t-* regret, grieve || AA.#295 B.12 ¶ UR *afsōs* ‘grief’
- áqal** *áqal*, *áqhal* Y intelligence || B.19 ¶ UR ‘*aql*’  
*áqalkiṣ* ADJ PL *áqalkianc* intelligent, clever || B.20
- aqhón** H PL *aqhóyo* priest, mullah || B.20 ¶ UR *āxūn(d)*
- ár** ADJ fearful, afraid || B.20 (*ar-mán-* ‘be afraid of’)  
*árkuṣ* Y PL *árkuyaṅ* fear, fright, horror || B.20  
*ár @-mán-* be afraid of, be frightened, fear || AA.#294 B.20  
*ár @-t-* frighten, scare, scold, rape || AA.#772 B.20
- aráb** Y Arab (place name) ¶ UR ‘*arab*’
- aráb** Z billion ¶ UR *arab*
- áraṅ** Y PL -*ičij* barbecue cooker
- aráq** Y DOUBLE PL HZ -*ičij*, NG -*ičay* spirits || B.20
- áren** Y PL -*ij* rack of baskets (*šaq*) for drying apricot || B.20 (*áran*)
- árz** *árz ét-* require, give an account || AA.#851 B.21 ¶ UR ‘*arz*’
- arzóq** X SG PL DOUBLE PL -*išo* deep-fried bread || B.21

- asáan* ADJ PL -*ij* easy, simple || AA.#947 B.10 (*aasáan*) ¶ UR *āsān*
- ásal* ADJ original, radical ¶ UR *asl* ‘origin’
- asíí* X PL -*muc* star || AA.#162 B.21
- asiír* ADJ near || AA.#458 B.21
- asqúr* Y PL -*ij* flower, blossom || AA.#125 B.22  
*sáa asqúr* PL - -*ij* sunflower || B.369 (*sa asqúr*) ¶ *sá* ‘sun’
- assaláam aléikum* INTERJ hello || AA.#494 B.372 ¶ UR *assalām* ‘alaikum
- astaaná* Z place name behind Baltit Fort in west
- astám* Y PL -*ičij*, -*ij* judgement || B.22
- ašaáto* ADJ PL -*tij*, -*taro*, -*muc* lean, weak, slender, thin || AA.#432, 438, 904  
 B.22  
*ašaátukuş* Y weakness || B.22
- aşđár* X PL -*išo* dragon
- ataşbél* Y PL -*ij* poker, fire hook
- áti* Y PL -*ij* [slang] sex, coitus
- atirim* see *ri*
- atúyunum* see *yun*
- auláad* *auláat* H PL GEN *auláade* descendant || B.24 ¶ UR *aulād*
- awá* INTERJ yes || AA.#492 B.24
- awaáji* ADJ PL -*miij* necessary, important || AA.#950 B.24  
*awaáji man’* be necessary || AA.#897
- awál* ADJ first || AA.#685 B.24 ¶ UR *awwal*  
*awálum* ADJ first || AA.#685 ¶ UR *awwal*
- áyalulo* INTERJ my dear ¶ @-*yarum* ‘dear’
- ayáš* Y PL -*ij* sky || AA.#157 B.24 ¶ = *aasmáan*  
 ADJ happy, heavenly ¶ = *qhóš*  
*ayáš @-mán-* be glad, be happy, rejoice || AA.#293 B.24
- ayášo* H PL royalty, royal members || B.488 ¶ *ayáš* ‘heaven’
- áya* HM PL -*caro* father || AA.#202 B.460  
*áya máma* H PL DOUBLE PL -*caro* parents || AA.#700 ¶ *máma*  
 ‘mother’
- azáab* *azáab @-t-* cause to do that all over again

- b **b'** COP HZ XY.SUBJ NG X.SUBJ be || AA.#424, 499 B.25 ¶ **d'** NG COP  
Y Ys **b'**
- bá** Y kiss || B.25
- bá bá-** COP H.SUBJ be || AA.#424, 499 B.25 ¶ **d'** NG COP Y Ys **bá-**
- baábo** HM PL -*muc* father || AA.#202 B.25
- baád** Z following time || B.27 (**báat**) ¶ UR **ba'ad**
- baadšáa** HM PL -*tiŋ*, *baadšaaaháatiŋ* king || B.25 (**baacáa**, **baadsáa**) ¶ UR PE  
*bādšāh*, PE PL *bādšāhā*  
**baadšai** Y kingdom, crown, throne ¶ UR *bādšāhī*
- baaḍigáar** H PL -*išo* bodyguard || B.25 ¶ EN *bodyguard*
- baaíi baafi**, **bhaafi** HM PL -*caro*, -*muc* brother, first cousin brother || AA.#705  
¶ UR *bhaaii*
- báalaa** Z place name in the upper side of Uyum Nager
- baalíy** ADJ PL -*išo* adult, grown-up || AA.#698 ¶ UR *baaliy*
- báalt** XY DOUBLE PL X -*išo*, Y -*iŋ* apple || B.26
- báalt báalt-** TR IPFV *báalč-*, CP *nupáalt* wash || AA.#354 B.26  
**@-yáalt-** TR IPFV @-*yáalč-*, NEG HZ *a-@'yalt-* wash || AA.#354  
B.26  
**duwáalt-** INTR IPFV *duwáalč-* be washed, become poor, fade ||  
AA.#354 B.26
- baáŋ** Y marijuana || B.26 (<sup>1</sup>**baán**) ¶ UR *bhaŋg*
- baáŋ** Y prayer || B.26 (<sup>2</sup>**baán**) ¶ SH *baáŋ*, UR *bāg*
- baaqí baaqí duwáas-** be left, remain || AA.#895 B.26 (**baaqí**) ¶ UR *bāqī*  
**baaqí óos-** leave
- báar** Z time || AA.#198 ¶ UR *bār*
- baará baaráulo** (+GEN) as for, with the respect of, by means of || AA.#989, 990  
B.27 (**baará**) ¶ UR *bāra* 'time, relation'
- báard báardum** ADJ PL HX -*išo*, *báarčuko*, Y -*iŋ* red || AA.#479 B.27
- báart báart-** TR IPFV *báarč-* bring, transport || AA.#831
- báaṣ** Y PL -*iŋ* language || AA.#243 B.27 ¶ SH *báaṣ*
- báaz báas**, **báaz** X PL -*išo* (male) eagle, hawk ¶ UR *bāz* 'hawk'
- baazáar** Y PL -*iŋ* shopping centre, market || AA.#729 ¶ UR *bāzār*

- babá* HM father || B.27 ¶ UR *bābā*
- babár* ADJ equal, even || B.28
- babár* *babárum* ADJ PL X -išo, Y -ij hot, spicy || AA.#444 B.28
- bac* Y PL -éj division in a field, small field || B.28
- bácín* Y PL HZ *bácimij*, NG -ij leg, thigh || B.28 ¶ RF *barcín*
- bačát* Y residue
- bačík* Y belief, faith, confidence || B.28  
ADJ indeed, actually, truly || B.28
- badá* Y PL -mij, *badáij* sole of a foot || B.29 (<sup>1</sup>*badá*)  
*badáane* immediate || AA.#962 B.29  
*hík badáane* I'm sorry || AA.#973
- badál* *badál man-* change || AA.#870 B.29 ¶ UR *badal* 'changing'  
*badál @-t-* change, alter || AA.#871 B.29
- badám* XY PL X -išo, Y -ij almond || B.29 ¶ UR *bādām*
- badmazá* ADJ PL -mij bad taste || AA.#912 ¶ UR *bad-maza*
- bađalík* X PL -išo small metal vessel || B.29
- bayárk* ADJ PL -išo mischievous, bad, ill-intentioned, nasty || B.30  
*bayárkkuş* Y evil, vice || B.30
- bayéer* ADJ without (+ABL) ¶ UR *bayair*
- bayéij* Y cow dung, manure, chaff || B.30
- bayúndo* XY PL X -muc, Y -mij X leavened bread, buckwheat pancake, Y yeast || B.30  
*bayúndikiş* Y PL *bayúndikij* fermentation container for dough || B.30
- bahaarí* Z spring || AA.#623 B.30 ¶ UR *bahār*
- bahtarín* ADJ best ¶ UR *bahtarīn*
- bái* Z PL -mij winter || AA.#626 B.30
- baítin* X PL -jó clavicle || B.31 (*báitin*) ¶ = *yareéy*; *tin* 'bone'
- bajáae* (+GEN) substitute for, instead of, in lieu of || AA.#987 ¶ UR *bajāe*
- bákuc* H clan name of Uyum Nager || B.488  
*bákuşal* Z place name in the lower side of Uyum Nager || B.488 ¶  
-şal 'place of residence'

- bál** *d-@-spapal-* TR IPFV -j- make circle or spin in midair, fly (kite) || B.32
- bal** Y PL -éŋ wall || AA.#109 B.31 (<sup>3</sup>bal)
- bal** *bal'* INTR IPFV -ič- fall, fall down || AA.#405 B.32
- @-wál-** INTR IPFV -j- fall, fall down, lose || AA.#384, 405 B.32
- balás** X PL *balášo* bird || AA.#63 B.33
- baldá** Y PL -ŋ burden, load, rucksack, hay bundle (made of about 20 *búuyomuc*) || B.33
- baldí** X PL *baldénc* veranda, sun lounge || B.34
- balđékuc** H clan name of *gošúšal*
- bálgi** HZ *bálgičij*, NG *bálgičay* Y PL body part around scapulae || B.34
- báli** ADJ rather, moreover, more || B.34 (<sup>2</sup>báli) ¶ UR *balke*
- balk** Y PL -óŋ board, wood board for laying chapatti dough, plank, roof board || B.34
- balógan** X SG PL DOUBLE PL *balógayo* tomato || B.35
- balói** Z Baltistan (area name in Pakistan Kashmir) || B.488
- balóoş** X PL *balóanc* stone pan, stone pot || AA.#104 B.35
- balpú** Z place name in Nager behind Hopar
- balpú yamú** X glacier name which has incised *şártar* gorge
- báltit** Z Baltit (old name of Karimabad in Hunza) || B.489
- balúu** *balúu-* INTR CP *nupál* be lost, disappear, vanish || AA.#795 B.35
- @-wáal-** INTR IPFV -j- be lost, disappear, vanish || AA.#795 B.35
- @-spal-** TR IPFV -j- lose, make in short, deprive exhaustively || B.35 (<sup>2</sup>-spal-)
- bám** Y the second and third strings of a *lubáab* which have grave tone ¶ *intiháa*  
*bám*
- bán** *bán man'* finish, come to stop || AA.#874 B.36 ¶ UR *band* 'closed'
- bán @-t-** close, shut, end, cease, stop, put an end to, cover up || AA.#364, 797, 875 B.36
- bandá** H fellow || B.36 ¶ UR *banda*
- bandibást** *bandibást, bandibás* Y PL -ij preparation || B.36 (*bandibás*) ¶ UR *band-o-bast*
- banéen** X PL *banéeyo, -išo* T-shirt, pullover sweater || B.36 ¶ UR *baniyān*
- bápay** *bápay-* INTR IPFV *bápaç-* ferment, boil || B.37

- @:spapay-** TR IPFV **@:spapaç-** leaven, boil, be enraged at || B.37
- baqşış** **baqşış ét-** forgive || B.38 ¶ UR **baxşış** ‘gratuity’
- baqşân** ADJ giving ¶ UR **baxş** ‘giving’
- bar** Y PL **-kîj** gorge || AA.#613 B.38 (<sup>1</sup>bar)
- bar** Y PL **-éj** word || B.38 (<sup>2</sup>bar) ¶ **čayabár** ‘conversation’
- bar** **bar’** INTR IPFV **-ič-** thresh with oxen or cattle || B.38
- @-wár-** INTR get tired, be exhausted || AA.#367 B.464
- @-wárumkuş** Y fatigue || B.464
- duwár-** INTR revive, recover, come out of hibernation || B.465
- d-@’war-** INTR revive, recover, come out of hibernation || B.465
- baraabár** ADJ same, equal, surely || B.39
- thap baraabár** Z midnight
- baráncal** Y SG PL gut || B.39
- baraqbéeš** **baraqbéeš, baraqbéeš** X PL **-išo** sieve of large mesh || B.39
- barátaliŋ** H clan name of Karimabad || B.489
- barášal** Z place name in the foot of Baltit Fort in west || B.489 ¶  
-šal ‘place of residence’
- barbár góchil** X channel name of Hunza drawn from Ultar || B.489 (*Barbár*) ¶  
*góchil* ‘water channel’
- barcín** RF Y PL **-ij** leg, thigh ¶ = *bácin*
- barčhátinŋ** H clan name of *hólšal* in Hopar || B.489
- barén** **barén-** TR IPFV **baréy-**, CP **nupáran**, NEG **apáran-** look, watch ||  
AA.#275 B.40
- @:baran-** DITR IPFV **@:baray-** show || AA.#276 B.40
- barés** HS X PL **baréšo** NG RF **barís** blood vessel, pulse || B.40
- barís** NG RF X PL **barišo** HS **barés** blood vessel, pulse || B.40
- barkát** Y blessing || B.40 ¶ UR *barkat*
- barkát góor** INTERJ thank you || B.40 (*góor barkát*) ¶ = *juú góor*
- barpiá** NG Y PL **-ŋ** HZ **jarpá** poplar || B.224 (<sup>1</sup>*jarpá*)
- bárşun** X PL **bárşuyo** sieve || B.41
- bartán** X pot, jar || AA.#107 ¶ UR *bartan*
- bás** ADJ enough || B.41 ¶ UR *bas*
- bás** **duwáas-** INTR IPFV **duwáaş-** survive, remain, be left || B.462



- d-@'was-* INTR IPFV *d-@'waš-* survive, remain, be left || B.462  
*d-@'spas-* TR IPFV *d-@'spaš-* save, rescue, protect, detain, leave, keep || B.462
- bas* *bas'* INTR IPFV *-ič-* settle, sit, come down, be down || B.41  
*basúm* ADJ mild, quiet, still || B.41  
*basúmkuš* Y tranquility, quietness, silence || B.41
- basí* Y PL *baséj* garden || B.42
- baskáraṭ* X PL *baskárašo* adult (castrated) ram || B.42
- baskóči* X larger part || B.42 (<sup>1</sup>*bask*)
- baš* X PL *-ánc* bridge || AA.#134 B.43 (<sup>1</sup>*baš*)
- bašá* X PL *-muc* turban || B.43
- bat* Y PL *-éj* flat stone, slate || B.43 (<sup>1</sup>*bat*)
- baṭ* NG Y PL *-ójo* HZ *@-wát* skin, drum head, sheep/goat hide || AA.#38, 102 B.44 (<sup>1</sup>*baṭ*)  
*@-wát* HZ Y PL *-ij* NG *baṭ* skin || AA.#38 B.44 (<sup>1</sup>*baṭ*)  
*waṭ* HZ Y PL *-éj* NG *wáṭhar* bark || AA.#128 B.466  
*wáṭhar* NG Y PL *-ij* HZ *waṭ* bark || AA.#128 B.466 (PL *wáṭharin*)  
*bátkuš* Y laziness, bother, idleness || B.44  
*bátkuš jú-* feel troublesome, be tired of, become lazy
- baṭá* ADJ PL *-tij, -muc* bald, bald-headed, hornless || B.44 ¶ *baṭ* 'skin'  
*baṭá khan* Z place and fort name in the lower side of Uyum Nager || B.490 ¶ *baṭá* 'bald', *khan* 'fort'
- baṭakóro* X PL *-muc* bald head ¶ *baṭá* 'bald'
- baṭán* X PL *baṭáyo* button ¶ EN *button*
- baṭér* Y PL *-ij* cut and dried fruit or vegetable || B.44
- bátiṭ* Y dusting flour || B.45
- baú* *boó-* INTR NEG *apáu-*, CP *nupáu* sit, perch on || B.58
- bayú* Y DOUBLE PL *-muc, -nc* salt || AA.#53 B.45  
*bayúkiš* ADJ PL *bayúkianc* salty || AA.#443 B.45
- bé* ADJ how, what || AA.#256 B.46 (<sup>2</sup>*be*)
- béḍic* NG H PL *béḍico* HZ *béric* Doma people || B.48  
*béḍišal* Z place name in the lower side of uyúm nagér || B.490 (*Bérisal*)  
¶ *-šal* 'place of residence'

- bée** INTERJ no || AA.#493 B.46 (<sup>1</sup>*be*, *bée*)  
**bée ya, béya** INTERJ (reply) no, nope || AA.#493 B.50 (*béya*)
- béej** Y PL *-ij* buckle ¶ ? EN *badge*
- béer** **béerum** ADJ how many, how much || AA.#191, 192 B.47 ¶ =  
*béurum*  
 X **béerus**, Y **béerut** ADJ how heavy, what weight || B.47  
**béerukuc, béerumkuc** how many days || B.47 ¶ *-kuc* ‘day’
- béesa** INTERJ is it not?, surely?, eh?, will you? || B.47
- beetaphsīli** ADJ PL *-ŋ* rough, coarse || AA.#906 ¶ UR *bē* ‘without’, *tafsīl* ‘analysis’
- béet** Y bed ¶ EN *bed*
- béhen** H PL *-išo* first cousin sister || AA.#705 ¶ UR *bahin*
- behéšt** Y paradise, heaven || B.47 ¶ UR *bihīšt*
- bél** **bélaṭe** in which way, how || AA.#256, 956 B.48  
**béljuko** ADJ which || AA.#956 B.48 ¶ ? *-čuko* PL
- bél** **bél-** TR IPFV *-j-* wear || AA.#356 B.47  
**@-yoól-** TR IPFV *-j-* wear || AA.#356 B.47
- bélis** X PL *bélišo* ram || B.48
- bélt** Y PL *-ij* belt ¶ EN *belt*
- bemazáat** ADJ bawling out
- bépay** X PL *-išo* yak || B.48
- bephíkar** ADJ without worry ¶ *phíkar* ‘worry’ UR *bē-fíkr*
- béric** HZ H PL *béričo* NG *béđic* Doma people || B.48  
**béričiski** Y Domaaki language || B.48 (*bériski*, *béđiski*)
- bés** **bésan** XY SG PL PL *bésik* what || AA.#253 B.49  
 ADJ some, something || AA.#755, 952 B.49  
**bés ké bée** nothing in particular || B.49 (*béske be*)
- bés** Y why || AA.#254 B.49 (*bése*, *bes*)  
**béseke, béske** Y because || AA.#979 B.49
- béšal** Z when || AA.#176, 660 B.49  
 CONJ when || AA.#982 B.49  
**béšal béšal** sometimes || AA.#964 B.49 (*béšal-béšal*)
- béški** ADJ in which style || B.49 ¶ *bé* ‘what’

- béur** *béurum* ADJ how many, how much || AA.#191, 192 B.47 ¶ = *béurum*  
**bewáqte** at the time || B.464 (*bé-waqte*) ¶ UR *bi-waqt-e*  
**biái** Y PL -ŋ, -mičij disease || AA.#48 B.50  
**bičaará** ADJ PL -muc miserable, helpless || AA.#938 B.46 (*bečaará, bičaará*)  
**biđíro** ADJ PL X -muc, *biđírčuko* round || AA.#448 B.51  
 X PL -muc, *biđírčuko* circle, [slang] money || AA.#117, 750  
**bién** *biénum, biéno* ADJ PL *biéiko* lean, thin, slender || AA.#432, 434, 904  
 B.51  
**biiyariáat** ADJ dishonourable, lacking in honour ¶ UR *bē-yairat*  
**biik** Y PL HZ -ičij, NG -ičaŋ white willow (*Salix alba*) || B.51  
**biimáar** *beemáar, biimáar* ADJ sick || B.46 (*beemáar*) ¶ UR *bīmār*  
**biimazá** ADJ PL -miŋ bad taste || AA.#912 B.46 (*beemazá* -t- ‘bawl out’) ¶  
 UR *bē-maza*  
**bíiro** X PL *bírumuc* cock, drake || AA.#542 B.52 ¶ × *sóoči*  
**biisukúun** ADJ PL -ij noisy || AA.#926 ¶ UR *bē-sukūn*  
**biizát** ADJ disgraced ¶ UR *bē-‘izzat*  
*biizatí* Y disgrace || B.47 (*beezatí*) ¶ UR *bē-‘izzatí*  
**bilás** H PL *bilášo* witch || B.53  
**bilís** Y PL *bilíšij* weeding in farmland, NG wood, grove || AA.#130 B.53  
**billkúl** ADJ quite, whole, completely || B.53 ¶ UR *bi-l-kul*  
**birán** @-*biran-* TR IPFV @-*biray-* fill up || B.54  
*d-@-spiran-* TR IPFV *d-@-spiray-* fill up to the rim, level off (hole) ||  
 B.54  
**biránç** XY PL Y *biráaŋ*, DOUBLE PL -čij mulberry || B.54  
**biráq** *biráq-* TR IPFV -ič- dig || AA.#379 B.54  
**birčá** Y PL -ŋ scoop  
**birdí** Y earth, land, soil || B.54 ¶ × *ayáš* ‘sky’  
**biré** X PL -muc fermentation wood box for dough (one-metre long rectangular  
 parallelepiped) || B.54  
**biréspat** Z Thursday || AA.#642 B.55 ¶ SH *biréspat*  
**birgá** Y PL -miŋ battle, match, war || AA.#594 B.55  
**bíri** XY PL X -muc X bubble, Y boiling || AA.#616 B.55

- bfri d-@c-** bring to a boil || AA.#346 B.55
- biriáatiŋ** H clan name of rářar
- birindí** X SG PL rivet, hobnail
- biróonç** NG Y PL -iŋ HZ burúnç fog, cloud, overcast sky || B.64 (burúnç)
- bis** Y PL bišó, bišóŋo fat || AA.#43 B.55
- bisárş** Y PL bisáraŋ sickle || B.55
- bisqá** Y PL -iŋ spit || AA.#12 B.56 ¶ = *thú*
- bišá** **bišá-** TR throw, drop, cast, lay eggs, put down, fit up || AA.#792 B.56  
**méši bišá** Y strap (of an instrument) ¶ @:ši ‘neck (INESSIVE)’  
**@-wáši-** TR throw, drop, cast, lay eggs, put down, fit up, pour in ||  
 AA.#792, 842 B.56  
**@-bišá-** DITR make throw, put at || B.56
- bišké** Y PL -miŋ fur || AA.#42, 102 B.56
- biřán** HM PL biřáyo shaman || B.57
- bizáar** **bizáar jú-** lose interest, be bored || AA.#861 ¶ UR *bē-zār* ‘disgusted’
- bluuberfi** Y blueberry ¶ EN *blueberry*
- bó** Y SG PL DOUBLE PL HZ -čij, NG -čaŋ seed, sperm || AA.#127 B.57
- bódo** Z Wednesday || AA.#641 B.57 ¶ SH *bódo*
- bonđarí** X PL -muc boundary, border || AA.#733 ¶ EN *boundary*
- bóot** Y PL -ičaŋ, -iŋ clear sky || B.59 (<sup>2</sup>*bóot*)
- boořál** X PL -išo bottle || AA.#552 ¶ EN *bottle*
- boróřal** Y place name in Hopar || B.490 ¶ -řal ‘place of residence’
- boróřkuc** H clan name of rářar
- bós** **bós man’** have enough, be sufficient || AA.#896 B.59 (bos)
- bot** X PL -ánc NG RF *but* HZ idol, [slang] (woman’s) private part || B.59 ¶  
 UR *but*
- bozórg** ADJ old, aged, admirable || B.67 (*buzurúk*) ¶ PE *bozorg*, UR *buzurg*
- brás** HZ Y DOUBLE PL -miŋ NG *brú* rice || AA.#51 B.59
- brú** NG X HZ *brás* rice || AA.#51 B.60
- buá** X PL *buénc*, -inc, -nc cow || B.60
- buáľtar** Y glacier name between Hopar and the *pindárgos* hill || B.490
- buáľtarç** H PL *buáľtarčo* cowherd || B.60

- bualtarcí** Y pasturing of cows || B.60
- buáţar** X PL -išo heifer || B.60
- bubaarák** INTERJ congratulations || AA.#975 B.60 ¶ = *mubaarák*
- buč** X PL -ánc over two-year-old stud he-goat, stud || B.60
- buçhá** Y PL -ŋ, -miŋ, buçheíŋ net, rattrap, snare, trap || AA.#93 B.60
- buí** Y PL HZ -mičij, NG -mičan scapula, shoulder blade, shovel, scoop || B.61
- buk** X PL -ánc throat || AA.#19 B.61 ¶ KH *buk*  
**búkane man'** flung the arms around neck, cling to, hug || AA.#828
- bul** Y PL -iáiŋ spring, fountain || AA.#612 B.62 (<sup>1</sup>*bul*)
- bulá** X PL *buláinc*, -*muc* bred red-legged partridge, black kite, ptarmigan || B.62
- bulá** Y polo || B.62
- bulbuúlo** ADJ lukewarm || B.62 (*bulbūūlo*)
- búlmal** Z place name behind Baltit Fort in west || B.491
- bun** X PL -dó rock, rocky mountain, crag || B.63
- bupúr** Y PL DOUBLE PL -iŋ down, fine wool, downy hair
- búpuş** X PL *búpuyanc* gourd, gourd pot
- buqhaarí** X fireplace, furnace || B.63 ¶ UR *buxārī*
- bur** Y PL -iáiŋ, NG -éŋ hair || AA.#42
- bur **burúm** ADJ PL HX -išo, Y -iŋ white || AA.#477 ¶ *phuk burúm*  
 'dazzling white'
- burí** Y PL -miŋ silver || AA.#582 B.175
- buróoŋ** H clan name of Karimabad || B.491  
**buróoŋşal** Z place name in the foot of Baltit Fort in west || B.491  
 (*Buróoŋuşal*) ¶ -*şal* 'place of residence'
- burúnc** HZ Y PL -iŋ NG *biróoŋc* fog, cloud, overcast sky || B.64
- burús **burúsin** H PL *burúšo* member of Burusho tribe || B.491  
**burúşal** Z place name in Hopar at the most inner part ¶ -*şal* 'place  
 of residence'  
**burúşaski** ADJ (in the style) of Burushos, Burushaski || B.491
- bus** X PL HS NG *buşóŋo*, RF *buşóno* bundle of straw || B.64
- buş** X PL HS NG -óŋo, RF -óno, -úu cat || AA.#537 B.64

- búšo, búušo** INTERJ hey kitty || B.65
- bušái** Y PL -*mičij, -mij* farmland || B.65
- bušóšo** X PL *bušóanc* calf under one year of age || B.65 (<sup>1</sup>*bušóšo*)
- but** X PL -*ác* HS *bot* NG RF idol, [slang] (woman's) private part || B.59 (*bot*)
- butún** X PL *butúyo* sack, bag || AA.#103 B.65
- bút** ADJ much, many || AA.#471 B.65
- bút man'** increase, propagate || AA.#888
- bužár** X PL -*išo* over one-year-old he-goat || B.65
- búuo** H PL -*tij* helper || B.66
- buúr** **buúr man'** (sun) set || B.66 (*buúr*)
- buúr manás** Y west || AA.#735 B.66
- buurá** X PL -*muc* gunnysack
- búuyo** X PL -*muc, búumuc* haycock of four bundles of straw (*bus*) || B.66 ?
- búy-** 'dry'
- búy** **búy-** INTR IPFV *búç-*, CP *nupún*, PL *buyá-*, PFV.PP *bum* dry up || AA.#389 B.67
- @-úy-** INTR IPFV @-*úç-*, PL @-*úya-* become thirsty, dry up || AA.#332, 389 B.67
- @-spiy-** TR IPFV @-*spiç-*, PL @-*spuya-* dry, air, make dried || AA.#817 B.67
- cacamát** Y rapid transaction || B.68
- cák** **cák, caák** ADJ just after (now), right now, in a minute || B.68
- cák né** soon
- cakóo** **cakóo man'** lean on, sit down, help, wait || AA.#400, 401 B.68 (*cáko, cakóo*)
- candúra** Z Monday || AA.#639 B.69 ¶ SH *candúro*
- cáp** **cáp/caáp ét-** touch || AA.#312 B.69
- cápi** NG X PL -*muc* sandal || B.69
- cár** **cár man'** tear, split, rip || AA.#813 B.69 (<sup>2</sup>*car man'*)
- cár ní-** break, crack, crevice || AA.#815 B.69 (<sup>2</sup>*cácar ní-*)
- cár/caár @-t-** tear, split, crack, cut, rip, rend || AA.#336, 341, 361, 814 B.69 (<sup>2</sup>*car -t-*)
- cát** **cát man'** stop, stand, wait, finish, come to stop || AA.#838, 874 B.70

- cát** @'t- cease, stop, put an end to || AA.#839, 875 B.70
- ci @-cí Z behind of, after || B.70 (-*ce/-cí*)
- @-cíate as following after || B.70
- icí freshly caught, garden-fresh (predicative)
- icímo freshly caught, garden-fresh (attributive)
- icíate after that, and then || AA.#977
- cucór **cucór-** TR comb || B.71
- @-**chócur-** TR comb || B.71
- cha @-**chá-** TR surround with walls and thorny hedges, enclose with a fence  
|| B.73
- @-**ca-** TR fit up (withered thorny bushes on the walls) || B.73
- d-@-**ca-**, d-@-**sca-** TR dam up (water), close (sluice gate) || B.73
- chayór** X PL -išo large oblong chest || B.73 (*chágur*)
- chalk** Y PL -ičij store, forge || B.73
- chan** ADJ PL RF -óno, HS NG -óno straight, right, correct || AA.#452, 487 B.73
- cháne** truly, actually, completely, wholly || AA.#958, 960 B.74
- chánkuş** Y PL *chánkuyan* correctness, right, correctitude || B.74
- duchán-** INTR IPFV *ducháy-* become straight, be straight || B.74
- duchánum** ADJ PL -išo straight || AA.#452
- d-@-**can-** TR complete, carry out, mediate, put to rights || B.74
- chan @-**chán-** TR IPFV @-*cháy-*, NEG HZ a-@-*can-* count, add, reckon, regard  
|| AA.#393 B.74
- uchánas** Y number || AA.#196
- @-**chan-** approve, praise, include, regard, reproach || B.74 (-*can-*)
- @-**chanas** ADJ blameful, disagreeable || AA.#936
- chapán **chapán-** TR IPFV *chapáy-* sew || B.75
- @-**chápan-** TR IPFV @-*chápáy-* sew || B.75
- cháq **cháq** @'t- crush, smash, knock down || AA.#344 B.75
- chár **chár** @'t- scatter, drip || AA.#821 B.75
- cháriş** Y PL *cháraŋ*, DOUBLE PL -čij lintel, jamb, threshold, sill, PL doorframe ||  
B.75
- charkín **charkín-** TR IPFV *charký-* cut up || B.75
- @-**chárkin-** TR IPFV @-*chárkiy-* cut up || B.75
- chayáan** Z place name in Nager with assembled houses on a hill between Uyum

Nager and Hopar || B.491 (*Chayá*)

*chí chí-* INTR burn, blaze up, go down, squat down, descend, (fire) visit ||  
AA.#385 B.75

*dichí-* INTR (raincloud) come together to form, occur || B.76

*chi @-cí-* NG TR push ¶ ?= @-ci- ‘push’

*@-ci-* TR stick, stab, press against, trample, press, push, squash, tread on,  
supress, stuff || AA.#305, 308, 317 B.75

*chiár* X PL -išo bullock, steer || B.76

*chígin d-@-cikin-* TR IPFV *d-@-cikiy-* hang out, suspend || AA.#799 B.76

*chigír* NG X PL -inc, -išo HZ *chiír* adult she-goat, adult she-ibex || B.76

*gírí chigír* adult she-ibex

*chiír* HZ X SG PL DOUBLE PL -inc, -išo NG *chigír* adult she-goat, adult she-ibex ||  
B.76

*gírí chiír* adult she-ibex || B.76

*chil* Y PL -míŋ water || AA.#143 B.76

*@-íl-* TR IPFV -j- macerate, immerse || B.212

*diíl-, dichíl-, disíl-* INTR IPFV -j- get wet, macerate || AA.#388 B.212

*chindí* NUM HXY *chundó*, Z *chindí* five || AA.#183 B.80 (*chundó*)

*chir* Y PL -míŋ line, number, number of times || AA.#196 B.78

*chir ét-* spin (thread) || B.78 (*chir -t-* ‘make a line’)

*chírate @-gíy-* line up, arrange || AA.#824 ¶ @-gíy- ‘put on’

*@-chír* Y PL -iŋ intestines || AA.#37 B.78 (<sup>1</sup>*-chír*)

*chirís* Y PL *chiráaŋ* root || AA.#123 B.78

*dan chirís* tourmaline ¶ *dan* ‘stone’

*chóq* *chóq @-t-* search, look for, look up, wander about, beg || AA.#391 B.78  
(<sup>1</sup>*choq ét-* ‘roam’)

*chór* *chór, choór* ADJ fast, early, immediate || AA.#446, 929 B.78

*choór @-t-* hurry || AA.#834 B.78 (*chór ét-* ‘hurry oneself’)

*chórdi, chórdin* Z morning || AA.#168, 650 B.79

*chórdimo* in the morning || B.79

*chu chuúm* ADJ PL HX -išo, Y -iŋ heavy || AA.#435 B.80

*chu chú-* TR bring away || B.79

*@-chú-* TR bring away || B.79

*@-chu-, @-cu-* DITR make bring away || B.79



- chuťí @-chúťi X PL -muc whorl of hair || B.80  
 čáã ONO (whistle, trumpet, pipe) ffee, tweet  
 čaadár X PL -išo sheet || B.81 ¶ UR čādar  
     čhumáre čaadár tinplate ¶ čhumár 'iron'  
 čáai Y PL -mičij tea || AA.#526 B.82 (čái) ¶ UR čāē  
     sábač čáai Y green tea ¶ UR subj čāē  
 čaarpáo X PL -muc quadruped, animal, beast || AA.#91, 541 B.81 (čaarpáayo)  
     ¶ UR čār-pā, čār-pāya 'quadruped', ? pāō 'foot'  
 čaarpáur NG X PL -muc quadruped, animal, beast || AA.#91, 541 B.81  
     (čaarpáayo) ¶ = čaarpáo UR čār-pā, čār-pāya  
 čáato GA ADJ PL -tij dumb || AA.#221  
 čáčír Y PL -ij kind of globe thistle (? Echinops sphaerocephalus) || B.220  
     (jáčír)  
 čáya Y PL -mij, -ij story, tale || AA.#603 B.82  
     čayabár Y PL -ij conversation, consultation, conference || AA.#603  
     B.82 ¶ bar 'word'  
 čainák X PL -uc teapot || AA.#107 B.82  
 čajá Y PL -mij eaves  
 čajúuṣ X PL -išo jar, jug || AA.#106 B.82  
 čak HS NG Y PL -ičaṅ RF čáki hoe, pickaxe || AA.#609 B.82  
 čakár Y PL -ij stroll, walk || B.82 (čakár(in) ét- 'stroll') ¶ UR čakkar  
     'circuit'  
 čakás X PL čakášo cowry || B.83  
 čáki RF Y PL -mij HS NG čak hoe, pickaxe || AA.#609  
 čakóolti ADJ difficult  
 čal Y PL -mij quarrel, fight, battle || AA.#219, 594 B.83  
     čal @-mán- fight, become a quarrel || AA.#403 B.83  
     čal ét- fight, quarrel || AA.#403 B.83  
 čamáat Y effort || B.83 (čamáat ét- 'make effort')  
 čámaliṅ čámaliṅ, čámaliṅ pañij Z place name in the upper side of uyúm nagér  
     || B.492  
 čamdá X PL -muc pocket || B.84 (čandá, čamdá)  
 čan d-@-čan- INTR IPFV d-@-čay- need, require || B.83

- čáp **čáp @-t-** hide, conceal, roll, cover || AA.#390, 798 B.84  
**čáp yuṭ** ADJ PL *-ij* quite, silent, reticent || AA.#925 B.182 (*čap-gút*)  
 ¶ **yuṭ** ‘deaf’
- čapán** Y PL *čapáij* long dress, long robe || B.84
- čapatí** X PL *-muc* chapatti, pancake || B.84 (*čapáti*) ¶ UR *čapātī*
- čáq **čáq @-t-** chew || AA.#756 B.85 (<sup>3</sup>*čaq -t-*)
- čaqár** X PL *-išo* small rake || B.223 (*jaqár*)
- čaqás **čaqás @-t-** crush to pieces, pulverize, break into shatters || AA.#306  
 B.85 (*čaqís -t-*, *čaqás -t-*)
- čaqdár** X PL *-išo* iron pan, frying pan || AA.#104 B.85
- čaqótišal** Z place name in the lower side of Uyum Nager || B.492 ¶ *-šal*  
 ‘place of residence’
- čarák** X PL *-uc* washed dead body of animal, buttock of human || AA.#23  
 B.85
- čarbú** H PL *-tij* official watchman in village || B.86  
**čarbugí** Y the post of an official watchman in village || B.86
- čarqhá** Y PL *-ŋ* spinning wheel ¶ UR *čarxā*
- čašmá** X PL *-muc* glasses, spectacles ¶ UR *čašma*
- čidín** X PL *čidíyo* metal pot with legs || B.87
- čidín** X PL *čidíyo* floor, ground free from weeds, barren field || AA.#571 B.87  
 (*čidín*)
- číi **číi gán-/@-yán-** carry on the back, shoulder || AA.#830 B.87 (<sup>2</sup>*číi -yán-*)
- čílto** Z four days from today || B.238 (*káalto*, *čílto*) ¶ *-ul* ‘day’, *-to* ‘just’
- čiiní** X PL *-muc* porcelain, china ware, teacup || B.87 ¶ UR *čīnī* ‘chinese’
- číiz **číz, čís, číc** XY PL X *-išo*, Y *-aŋ, -ij*, XY *-ee* things || AA.#81 B.87 ¶  
 UR *číz*, PL *čízē*
- čír **čícir man’** spin || AA.#881 B.89
- čiráq** X PL *-išo* lamp (made of stone and used with apricot oil) || B.89  
**čiraqdáan** X PL *čiraqdáayo* lamp stand
- čiríčir **čiríčir @-t-** chirp, twitter || AA.#759 B.89 (*čiríu ét-*)
- čók** ADJ recently, just, just now, a moment ago, latest || B.90  
**čókmo** fresh || B.90 (<sup>1</sup>*čók*)  
**čók čók** freshly

- čópuri** X PL -muc caper || B.91
- čúčo** NG RF Y PL *čúčumiŋ, čúčiŋ* breast || AA.#25 B.92 ¶ = NZ @-mámut,  
NG @-maámo
- čúgudar** HZ *čúgudar*, NG *čúgdar* XY PL X -išo, Y -iŋ peach || B.92
- čúk** NG RF ADJ HS *čúp* silent  
*čúk man'* HS *čúp man'* be silent, become still || B.92
- čukán** RF X PL *čukáyo* HS *jukáj*, NG *čukáj* lavatory, toilet || AA.#576
- čukáj** NG X PL -išo RF *čukán*, HS *jukáj* lavatory, toilet || AA.#576 B.230  
(*jukán, čukán*)
- čúp** HS ADJ NG RF *čúk* silent  
*čúp man'* NG RF *čúk man'* be silent, become still || B.92  
*čúp nétan* such a little, mere ¶ = *teílaŋe í*
- čuq** -*čuq* unit of corn weight (about 10 or 11 kg) || B.93
- čurúk** Y PL -*ičiŋ* fragment, broken piece || B.93  
*čurúkan purúkan* just a little, a bit ¶ = *tóq táq, ruk phuk*  
*čurúkum čurúk* in fragments, in small parts  
*čurúk @-t-* cut || AA.#361 B.93  
*čurúk čurúk @-t-, čurúkum čurúk @-t-* crush to pieces || AA.#306  
B.93
- čurúŋ** *čurúŋ @-t-* chew || AA.#290 B.93
- čúš** *čúš @-t-* suck, slurp, sip || AA.#287 B.93
- čuŋi** -*čuŋi* unit of corn weight (1/2 -*pare*, about 1.2 or 1.5 kg)
- čuuná** Y PL plaster, limestones ¶ UR *čūrŋa* 'fossil alkali'
- čúuni** Y PL -*ŋ* firewood || B.94
- čhaapát** Y PL -*iŋ* kitchen knife
- čhayált** *čhayált-* TR IPFV *čhayálš-* clamp || B.95  
*@-čhayált-* TR IPFV *@-čhayálš-* clamp || B.95  
*dučhayált-* INTR IPFV *dučhayálš-* be clamped || B.95
- čhayáras** *@-čhayaras* NG RF X PL *@-čhayarašo* HS *@-čhayaras* back part of a  
head || B.97 (-*čháŋaras, -čhágaras*)
- čhayén** X PL *čhayéyo* red-billed chough || B.95
- čhájur** X PL -*išo* corn tub (with about 200cm length, 90cm width, and 100cm  
height)

- čhayúr *čhayúrum* ADJ PL X -išo, Y -ij cold, chilly || AA.#462, 464 B.95  
*dučháyur-* INTR get cold, become chill || B.95  
*d-@'čaqur-* INTR get cold, become chill || B.95
- čhai* X PL -muc key || B.96  
*đóđoe čhai* Adam's apple ¶ *đóđo* 'throat'  
*búke čhai* Adam's apple ¶ *buk* 'neck'
- čhamúr *čhamúr-* TR smash || B.96  
*@-čhámur-* TR smash || B.96
- čhan *čhanúm* ADJ PL X -išo, Y -ij narrow || AA.#460 B.96  
*dučhán-* INTR IPFV *dučháy-* become narrow, be narrow, be limited ||  
 B.96
- čhaŋáras *@-čhánaras* HS X PL *@-čhánarašo* NG RF *@-čháyaras* back part of a  
 head || B.97
- čhap* Y PL -ičaŋ flesh, meat || AA.#46, 60 B.97
- čhar* X PL -kó mountain, craggy mountain || AA.#136 B.97 (<sup>1</sup>*čhar*)
- čhar *@-čhár* Y PL -ij voice, sound || AA.#241, 242 B.98
- čharbán* X PL *čharbáyo* hip || AA.#23 B.98
- čhardá* Y PL -miŋ guiter || B.98
- čhás* Y PL *čháaŋ* thorn, seabuckthorn, stimulus, barbed wire || B.98
- čhatarí* Y PL -miŋ umbrella, parasol || AA.#564 ¶ UR *čatrī*
- čhatí* X PL -muc dipper with a squared cup
- čhaṭ* ADJ PL HZ HX *čhaṭóiko*, HS Y *čhaṭóŋo*, RF Y *čhaṭóno*, NG *čhatúyuko* low,  
 small, short || AA.#430 B.99  
 Y PL -óŋo low place, bottom || B.99
- čhék* Y check ¶ EN *check*
- čhémiliŋ* Y poison || AA.#517 B.99
- čhi *@-čhí-* DITR Y.SG.OBJ give || AA.#418 B.99
- čhíkas* X PL *čhíkašo* garnet || B.99
- čhináak *čhináak man'* lean
- čhipkirí* GA X PL -muc lizard
- čhiṣ* X PL -kó hill, small mountain || B.100 (<sup>1</sup>*čhiṣ*)  
*čhiṣkane* along the mountain
- čhóko* ADJ breaking off

- čhóko** @-t- break off
- čhonjús @-čhónjuş Y PL @-čhónjuŋ, -iŋ beak || AA.#67 B.100
- čhoogá** X PL -muc choga, short slip (historically brought from Chitral) ¶ UR  
čōyā
- čhót **čhót man-'/@-mán-** tear, split || AA.#342 B.101 (<sup>2</sup>čhót man-'/-mán-)
- čhu** X PL čhoŋo bunch (of grapes), head (of wheat, barley)  
Y PL -míŋ head (of polostick, spear), edge || B.101 (<sup>1</sup>čhu)
- čhú** ADJ in bare foot || B.101 (<sup>2</sup>čhu)
- čhumár** Y PL -iŋ iron, reinforcement || AA.#584 B.101
- čhúmo** X PL HZ -muc, NG -inc fish || AA.#89 B.101
- čhút** ADJ a drop of, a little, a few || AA.#472 B.102  
**čhít čhút, čhút čhút** ONO sprinkle-sprinkle, sound of pattering
- čakún** X PL čakúyo paramecium || B.232 (jakún)
- çaŋ** Y PL -éŋ rip, closed slit, tear, crack, rift || B.103  
**çaŋ man-'** tear, split, rip || AA.#813 B.104  
**çaŋ @-t-** tear, rip, rend, split, tear off, pick, pull off, bend || AA.#336, 341,  
376, 814 B.104  
**çoŋ @-t-** tear off, pluck off || AA.#341
- čík **čík man-'** sprout, come up || AA.#884 B.104
- čo @-čo H PL @-čukoón same sex sibling (brother of a man, sister of a woman) || AA.#215, 216 B.104
- čoóko** ADJ HM čoóko, HF čóki clipped, paralysed || B.105  
**čoóko-çaáko** ADJ HM čoóko-çaáko, HF čóki-çaáki fully clipped, paralysed ||  
B.105
- čuk** Y PL HZ -míŋ, NG -iŋ embroidery, sewing || AA.#558 B.105  
**čuk @-t-** sew, stitch, embroider || AA.#353 B.105
- čháa** ADJ always, thorough, everywhere || AA.#469 B.106
- čham** Y PL -íčaŋ hunger || B.106  
HZ **čhámíne**, NG **čhámíni** hungry || B.106  
**čhámíne/čhámíni hurút-** be hungry || AA.#331  
**čhámíne/čhámíni @-mán-** become hungry || AA.#331 B.106
- čhan** ADJ empty, unemployed, free || B.106
- čháp** Y ducks and drakes (kind of play)

- çháp @'t-** shoot, NG sift || B.106
- çhar** X diarrhoea || B.106
- çháu** Y milking
- çháu @'t-** milk (a cow) || B.106 (çháo 't-)
- çhín** X PL HZ *çhío*, NG *çhiú* sparrow, small bird || AA.#63 B.107
- çhitó** ADJ alone, by oneself || B.107
- çhur** X PL -*ánc* knife || AA.#70 B.107
- d **d'** COP HZ Y.SUBJ *b'* NG Y.SUBJ be || AA.#424, 499 ¶ *b'* COP NG X, HZ XY, *bá-* COP H Ys *dú-*
- dáa** CONJ again, and, more, then || AA.#490, 976 B.108
- dáake dáake** et cetera || AA.#993 B.108 (*dáa ke*) ¶ *ké* 'and'
- dáado** HM PL -*caro* grandfather || AA.#204 B.108
- dáay **dáaq, dáay** Y PL *dáayiçij* stain, smear, smudge ¶ UR *dāy*
- dáan** X PL *dáayo* pot
- dáan **dáan, dháan** Y SG PL DOUBLE PL -*içij* rice plant || AA.#532 ¶ UR *dhān*
- daasír** Y place name between Uyum Nager and Hopar
- dádar** ONO trembling
- dádar @-mán-** tremble || B.114 (<sup>2</sup>*dar*)
- dayá **dayá-** INTR CP *nutáya* hide oneself, lurk, break a promise, escape, seek asylum || AA.#348 B.109
- @'staya-** TR steal, hide || AA.#372, 390 B.109
- dayán **dayánum** ADJ PL HZ *dayáiko*, NG *dayáyuko* fat, thick || AA.#431, 903 B.110
- dayóay** Y PL DOUBLE PL -*çij* flour, powder || AA.#52, 522 B.110
- dakhíl** Y this way || B.14 ¶ = *akhíl*
- dakhól **dakhóle** Z here || AA.#257 ¶ = *akhóle, khóle*
- dakhúr **dakhúrum** ADJ this much, such as this || B.15 ¶ = *akhúrum*
- dál **dál, dáal** ADJ up, upwards, over, above || B.110 (<sup>1</sup>*dal*)
- dál/dáal dié-** stand up, get up || AA.#321, 327 B.137 ¶ *dié-* 'stand up'
- dál/dáal man'** pass away, die
- dál/dáal @'t-** raise, lift, pick up, put up, take || AA.#378, 793, 843

- dálum** ADJ above, over
- daláaz** X PL -išo drawer
- dalbát** **dalbát jú-** surface, come to the surface  
**dalbát man'** float || AA.#339 B.111
- dáldal** **dáldalum** ADJ PL X **dáldaljuko**, NG -išo, Y **dáldaliŋ** broad || AA.#459 B.111
- daltalén** **daltalén-** INTR IPFV **daltaléy-** cross over, (the inner part of clothes) get twisted and turn outwards (from a loosened seam or a frayed hem), become big, grow, have influence || B.112 ¶ **dál** 'over', **talén-** 'turn around'
- daltás** ADJ PL **daltáško** beautiful, clean, fine || AA.#453, 484 B.112  
**daltáško** Y PL removal of impurities
- dam** Y breath, magic || B.112 (<sup>1</sup>**dam**) ¶ UR **dam**
- damán** H PL **damáyo** owner, master, mister || AA.#713 B.112
- dan** X PL **dayó** stone || AA.#145 B.113 (<sup>1</sup>**dan**)  
**qaimatí dan** jewel, jewellery, gem ¶ UR **qīmatī** 'expensive'  
**díŋe dan** malachite ¶ **díŋ** 'lapis lazuli'  
**balóoş dan** kind of soft stone (worked into pots and dishes) || B.35 ¶  
**balóoş** 'stone pot'
- dánŋ** Y drowsiness, sandman || B.114  
**dánŋ jú-** become sleepy || AA.#931
- dáo** X PL **dáwainc** frying pan, iron plate || B.114 ¶ ?= **daú** 'ironpanel'
- dápiski** **dápiski d-@-l-/@-dél-** HZ NG **dápišiki** kick || AA.#320 B.114  
**dápišiki** **dápišiki d-@-l-/@-dél-** NG HZ **dápiski** kick || AA.#320
- dar** **darúm** ADJ still || B.116
- darc** Y PL -éŋ threshing circle || B.115
- darí** Y PL -miŋ casement window || B.115
- daróyo** X PL -muc stalk || AA.#122 B.115
- darú** Y hunting, hunt || AA.#92 B.116  
**darúc** H PL -tiŋ, -išo hunter || B.116
- das** Y PL -míŋ desert, pasture, steppe, wasteland, plain || B.116
- dasguyó das** Z place name in the lower side of Uyum Nager || B.493 ¶ **das** 'wasteland'

- dasín* HF PL *dasíwanc* girl || B.116
- dasmbár* Z December || AA.#638 ¶ UR *disambar*, EN *December*
- dastá* X knob, handle ¶ UR *dasta*
- datú* Z autumn || AA.#625 B.116
- daú* X PL *dawánc* frontpanel of a stove including frontdoor for firewood || ?=  
*dáo* ‘frying pan’
- daurá* Y going round, tour ¶ UR *daura*
- dawaagír* Y PL *-ij* horizontal line of carving wood on walls ¶ UR *dawāir*  
‘circles’ (SG *dāirah* ‘circle’)
- dayúus *dayúus*, *daúus* ADJ shameless || B.117 ¶ UR *daiyūs* ‘wittol’
- dáy* ADJ PL *-óño*, HZ *-ánc*, RF *-óno* fat, thick, robust || AA.#431, 433 B.117
- d-@‘c-*, *d-@‘c-* see *sú*
- d-@‘ca-* see *cha*
- d-@‘can-* see *chan*
- d-@‘cikin-* see *chígin*
- d-@‘cir-* see *ri*
- d-@‘čan-* see *čan*
- d-@‘čaqr-* see *čhayúr*
- deék* X PL *-uc*, *-išo* kettle, curry pot || AA.#105 ¶ UR *dēg*
- @-dél-* see *l*
- del* Y DOUBLE PL *-míj* oil || AA.#54 B.117
- délgus* X PL *délgušo* oil vessel || B.118
- den* Y PL *-íj*, *-míj* year, age || AA.#167, 197 B.455 ¶ *yoól* ‘the year, term’  
*júas den* next year || AA.#658 ¶ = *miyáar*; *júas* ‘coming’ (INF < *jú-* ‘come’)  
*ním den* last year || AA.#657 ¶ = *thamíni*; *ním* ‘gone’ (PFV.PP < *ní-*  
‘go’)
- déu* X PL *-muc* demon, devil || B.118 ¶ UR *dēō*
- d-@‘gus-* see *gús*
- d-@‘yan-*, *d-@‘yan-* see *yan*
- d-@‘yaṇḍar-* see *yaṇḍér*
- d-@‘yarus-* see *yarús*
- d-@‘yas-* see *yas*



*d-@'γay-* see *γay*

*d-@'γun-* see *γun*

*d-@'γunja-* see *γunjá*

*d-@'γurk-* see *γurk*

*d-@'γuṭin-* see *γuṭin*

*d-@'i-* see *i*

*diáarc-* see *gáarc*

*dichí-* see *chí*

*dichíl-* see *chil*

*dié-* see *e*

*digía-* see *gíy*

*diíl-* see *chil*

*d-@'ikin-* see *hákin*

**dilk** Y SG PL DOUBLE PL *-íṭ* manure, dung || B.119

**dimáay** Y brain, intellect || B.119 ¶ UR *dimāy*

**díṭ** Y lapis lazuli || B.119

**dipṭí** Y duty, obligation, job work ¶ ? EN *duty*

*diphíl-, diphílan-* see *philán*

*diphírc-* see *phirc*

*diphís-* see *qhis*

*dir'* see *ri*

**dirám** Y flour of germinated wheat || B.120

**dirámatij** H folk name of Hopar, clan name of Karimabad || B.494

**dirámišal qhán** Z place name behind Baltit Fort in west || B.494  
(*Dirámišal*)

*disíl-* see *chil*

**díš** X parabola antenna ¶ EN *dish*

**diš** Y PL *-míṭ* ground, place, position, space || AA.#265 B.120

**diš gán-** take the place || AA.#872 B.120

**díšar sú-** carry out a promise ('bring to the place')

*dišáwar-* see *šawár*

*diškí-* see *ški*

- diyáay-* see *yaay*  
*diyáray-* see *garáy*  
*d-@'karan-* see *karan*  
*d-@'kaṭ-* see *khaṭ*  
*d-@'kukin-* see *khukín*  
*d-@'kuṭ-* see *kuṭ*  
*d-@'l-* see *l*  
*d-@'ltapu-* see *ltapú*  
*d-@'ltumuy-* see *ltumuy*  
*d-@'mac-* see *mac*  
*d-@'man-, d-@'man-* see *man*  
*d-@'mar-* see *már*  
*d-@'mas-* see *mas*  
*d-@'matal-, d-@'matl-* see *matal*  
*d-@'may-* see *maay*  
*d-@'mi-* see *mi*  
**dooká** Y fraud, deception || B.121 ¶ UR *dhōkā*  
     **dooká @'chí-** cheat, deceive, outwit || AA.#773  
     **dooká d-@'l-** cheat, deceive || AA.#773  
**dóon** CONJ nevertheless || B.121  
**doón** X PL *dooyo* women's stole, bed sheet, dupatta || B.122  
*dóon-, @'doon-* see *gón*  
*@'doon-* see *gún*  
*doóq-* see *hoq*  
**dooráan** Y period ¶ UR *daurān*  
**dóost** H friend || B.122 ¶ UR *dōst*  
**dóškuc** H clan name of *hakálšal* in Hopar  
**dóy** Y right position || AA.#267 B.122 (<sup>1</sup>*doy*, *dóyum*) ¶ × *yáy* 'left position'  
     **dóyum** ADJ right || AA.#267 B.122 ¶ × *yáyum* 'left'  
     **dóypaçi** Y right side || AA.#267 B.122 ¶ × *yáypaçi* 'left side'  
*d-@'pirkan-* see *phirkán*  
*d-@'philan-* see *philán*

- d-@'phirkan-* see phirkán
- d-@'qar-*, *d-@'qar-*, *d-@'qar-* see qhar
- d-@'qulan-* see qhulán
- d-@'qhar-* see qhar
- d-@'qhulan-* see qhulán
- d-@'r-* see r
- dráj* ***dráj dél-*** get off, jump off || AA.#382 B.123 (*drañ man'-*, *drañ dél-*)
- d-@'rgin-* see rgin
- d-@'ri-* see ri
- d-@'sal-* see sal
- d-@'sca-* see cha
- d-@'scuy-* see huy
- d-@'skaran-* see karan
- d-@'skír-* see gir
- d-@'sku-* see sók
- d-@'skukin-* see khukín
- d-@'sman-* see man
- d-@'spapal-* see bál
- d-@'spas-* see bás
- d-@'spiran-* see birán
- d-@'sqan-* see yan
- d-@'sqandar-* see yandér
- d-@'sqar-* see qhar
- d-@'sqat-* see yaat
- d-@'squn-* see yun
- d-@'stay-* see yaay
- d-@'stuy-* see huy
- d-@'sulja-* see huljá
- d-@'ša-* see ša
- d-@'šun-* see šun
- d-@'šawar-* see šawár

- d-@'ški-* see *ški*
- d-@'şqalt-* see *şqalt*
- d-@'şqur-*, *d-@'şqur-* see *şqur*
- d-@'tal-* see *tal*
- d-@'tarkin-* see *tarkin*
- du** X PL *-ánc* kid under one year of age || B.123
- dubaaráa** ADJ again || B.123 ¶ UR *dubāra*, *dō-bāra*
- duchán-* see *chan*
- dučhávalt-* see *čhayált*
- dučháýur-* see *čhayúr*
- dučhán-* see *čan*
- duyáaṭ-* see *yaṭ*
- du-γán-* see *γan*
- duyándaṛ-* see *yaṇḍér*
- duyárus-* see *yaṛús*
- duyói** RFNGZ HS *duyúi* noon, midday || AA.#169, 651 B.124 (*dujúi*, *dugói*)  
**duyóimo**, **duyúimo** in the midday, at the noon || B.124 (*dujúimo*)
- duyoobí** X PL *-muc* porcelain bowl || B.124
- duyúi** HSZ RFNG *duyói* noon, midday || AA.#651 B.124
- duyúl-* see *γul*
- duyún-* see *γun*
- duhákin-* see *hákin*
- dujáli-* see *jáli*
- duk** Y PL *-áη* large spindle composed of a shaft and a disc wing || B.124 ¶  
 = *júkanç*
- dukáan** Y PL *-ičiη* shore, shop || AA.#730 ¶ UR *dukān*
- dukháči-* see *khačí*
- dukháṭ-* see *khaṭ*
- dukhíkin-* see *khukín*
- d-@'ul-* see *ul*
- d-@'ul-* see *úl*

- dúlja-* see *huljá*
- dultáyay-* see *ltayáy*
- dultán-* see *ltan*
- dultápu-* see *ltapú*
- dumáay-* see *maay*
- dumác-* see *mac*
- dumáltar-* see *maltár*
- dumán-* see *man*
- dúmar-* see *már*
- dumóq-* see *moq*
- dumúrmuy-* see *murmúy*
- dumús* @-*dúmus* X PL @-*dúmučo* knee || AA.#34 B.125  
 @-*dúmuse phul* X PL - *-ánc* patella, kneecap ¶ *phul* ‘small wooden bowl’
- dumút-* see *mut*
- duniáa* Y world || AA.#726 ¶ = *kaináat* UR *duniyā*
- duṅgá* X PL -*muc* small pot with two handles
- duphált-* see *phalt*
- dupháṭar-* see *phaṭár*
- duphús-* see *phus*
- duqhár-* see *qhar*
- duqháša* Y PL -*miṅ* festival || AA.#246 B.125  
*duqhášam* NG ADJ PL -*iṅ* festive || AA.#246 B.125
- duqhúlan* see *qhulán*
- durbín* X PL *durbío* binoculars, telescope || B.125 ¶ UR *dūr bīn*
- dúrgin-* see *rgin*
- duró* Y PL -*iṅ*, RF NG *duroíṅ* work, job || AA.#116, 718 B.126  
*duró ét-* work, labour || AA.#366  
 @-*duru-* TR make work, employ || B.126
- duróišal* Z place name in Hopar ¶ -*šal* ‘place of residence’
- d-@-uruṭ-* see *hurúṭ*
- d-@-us-* see *gús*

**duscák** XY PL X -išo, Y -ij NG *dusták* X bowl, pot, utensil, Y object, thing ||  
AA.#107 B.126 (*duscák, dusták*)

**duscakbáariş** XY PL tool, instrument, utensil || AA.#562 B.126  
(*duscák-báariş*) ¶ *wáariş* ‘lid’

*dusók-* see *sók*

**dusták** NG XY PL X -išo, Y -ij X bowl, pot, utensil, Y object, thing || AA.#107  
B.126 (*duscák, dusták*)

*dusú-* see *sú*

*dúsulja-* see *huljá*

**dušmán** H PL *dušmáyo* enemy || AA.#593 B.127 ¶ UR *dušman*  
**dušmaní** Y hostility, enmity ¶ UR *dušmanī*

*duşqúr-* see *şqur*

*dutásk-* see *ltask*

**dúum dáam** ADJ glorious || B.127 (*dúum-dáam*) ¶ UR *dhūm dhām*

*duún-* see *gún*

*duúrgin-* see *gurgín*

*duús-* see *gús*

*duúša-* see *uśá*

*duúşkin-, duúşkikin-* see *huşkín*

*duúy-* see *huy*

*duwáalt-* see *báalt*

*duwáar-* see *wáar*

*duwáas-* see *bás*

*duwál-* see *wal*

*duwáq-* see *waq*

*duwár-* see *bar*

*duyár-* see *yar*

*duyáran-* see *garán*

*duyáţamur-* see *gaţámur*

*d-@-waq-* see *waq*

*d-@-war-* see *bar*

*d-@-was-* see *bás*

d-@'yaray- see garáy

d-@'yay- see yaay

d-@'y- see huy

**ḍáako** X PL -muc (embroidery) pattern, design || B.128

**ḍaaktár** H PL -išo doctor || AA.#717 ¶ UR *ḍāktar*, EN *doctor*

**ḍaámál** X SG PL DOUBLE PL -išo timpani || B.128

**ḍabá** X PL *ḍabaínc* box ¶ *ḍabí* 'small box' UR *ḍabbā*

**ḍabí** X PL -muc small box, smoke extraction box part of a stove || B.128 ¶  
*ḍabá* 'box'

**ḍablrootfi** X PL -muc bread || AA.#519 ¶ EN *double*, UR *rōtī*

**ḍaḍán** RFX PL *ḍaḍáyo* NG HS *ḍaḍáy* large drums || AA.#588

**ḍaḍáy** HS NG X PL HS -uc, NG -išo RF *ḍaḍán* large drums || AA.#588 B.128

**ḍaḍáy ḍaámál** X PL timpanis and drums || AA.#588 B.128

**ḍáḍar** X PL -išo gravel, pebble || B.128 (<sup>1</sup>*ḍáḍar*)

**ḍák** **ḍák @-t-** toast, give a toast

**ḍák** **ḍák ḍák** ONO glug-glug

**ḍáko** X PL -muc pillar, post || AA.#575 B.129

**ḍaláša** see juú

**ḍálo** Y strong wind in December

**ḍám** Z time || AA.#198 B.129

**ḍám** **ḍám, ḍím, ḍúm, ḍiḍím** ONO (foot, drums) rub-a-dub, boom, bang-bang ||  
B.129 (<sup>2</sup>*ḍám* -t- 'beat')

**ḍambúur** X PL -išo reed and mouthpiece || B.129 (? *ḍambú* 'mouthpiece')

**ḍámo** X PL -muc stick || B.130 (<sup>1</sup>*ḍámo*)

**ḍan** RFADJ PL -ó HS NG *ḍay* hard || AA.#440

**ḍay** HS NG ADJ PL HS -ó, NG -óo RF *ḍan* hard || AA.#440 B.130

**ḍay @-mán-** ripen || AA.#375 B.130

**ḍánlathas** **ḍánlathas, ḍánalathas** HF X PL *ḍánlathašo, ḍánalathašo* man-eater  
ogress || B.131

**ḍapá** NG RFX PL -muc HS *japá* wrapping cloth, bundle || B.233 (*japá, ḍapá*)

**ḍár** ADJ (moon) full, round || B.131 (*ḍar man*')

**ḍáro** Y hoop rolling

- ḍáro ḍáḍar ét-** play hoop rolling, roll a hoop
- ḍarám** X PL -išo drum (of oil) ¶ EN *drum*
- ḍataáño ḍataáño, ṭataáño** X PL -muc large tambourine || B.445
- ḍigaarí @-ḍigáari** HZ Y NG @-ḍigáariṭak round, around, surroundings ||  
AA.#743, 984 B.132
- @-ḍigáartali** as surrounding, in cordoning situation || B.132 ¶  
-tali ‘via’
- ḍigaariṭak @-ḍigáariṭak** NG Y HZ @-ḍigáari round, around, surroundings ||  
AA.#743 B.132
- ḍim @-ḍím** X PL -uc, -išo body || AA.#47 B.132
- @-ḍímate** alone, by oneself || AA.#688 B.132
- ḍir** XY PL X -ánc line, borderline, limits, footpath, ridge (between rice fields) Y  
hostility || AA.#751, 733 B.133
- ḍíro** X PL -muc bullet, pill || B.133
- ḍóḍo** X PL -muc throat, respiratory tract || B.133
- ḍók ḍók man’/@-mán-** meet on the street || AA.#402 B.133
- ḍóm ḍóm man’** break (a promise), cancel (an agreement), pull out, hang about,  
run away, go around, stray || AA.#349 B.133
- ḍóḅs** Y garden, beautiful place, residence of feudal lord (*míir*) || B.494  
Z place name in the upper side of Uyum Nager || B.494
- ḍoóm** ADJ PL X -išo, Y -iḅ strong, powerful, brave, hard, difficult || AA.#440  
B.134
- ḍóri** NG X PL -muc ladle, spoon || B.134
- ḍuáko** X PL -muc hammer
- ḍuló** X PL -nc, ḍuloínc strap || AA.#96 B.135 (*ḍulú*)
- ḍumiáal** Z old name of Mominabad in Hunza
- ḍundú** X PL -muc bee, beetle || B.136
- ḍuṭáj** RF NG ADJ PL ḍuṭáiko HS NG ṭuṭáj dark, shadow || AA.#475, 747  
B.449 (*ḍuṭán, ḍuṭán*)
- ḍuṭaáño** NG on the darkness of sunrise or sunset
- ḍuúmo** HS X PL -muc RF NG ḍuúño large wood case of dough, large bottle ||  
B.136
- ḍuúḅ** Y moment, blink || B.136



- đuúŋo** RF NG X PL -*muc* HS *đuúmo* large wood case of dough, large bottle || B.136
- đuuré najáb** Y rutile
- e **dié-** INTR NEG HZ *atía-*, *atí-* wake up, stand up, erect oneself || AA.#326 B.137
- eína* see *ainá*
- eetibáal **eetibáal óos-/@-t-** believe || AA.#763 B.218 (*itibáar*, *eetibáar*) Ur *a'tibāl* 'trust'
- ék PRN X *éc*, Y *ék*, SG *ét* those || B.217 (*ité*) ¶ H *ú*, DIST X *khóc*, Y *khók*
- ét PRN X *és*, Y *ét*, PL *ék* that || B.217 (*ité*) ¶ H *ín*, DIST X *khós*, Y *khót*
- él HZ *éle*, NG *élei*, *eleí* Z there || AA.#258 B.137 ¶ = *teéle*, *toóle*
- aít éle** Z over there || AA.#259 ¶ *ité* 'that' + *éle* 'there'
- élgit** X PL -*aro* over one-year-old nulliparous she-goat || B.138
- énd** Y end ¶ EN *end*
- énuše** CONJ despite, although || B.138 (*énuše kúli/ké*)
- eqhbáar** Y PL -*ij* newspaper || AA.#600 ¶ UR *axbār*
- éš** see *š*
- filháal** Z now, at present || B.139 ¶ UR *fi-l-hāl*
- fíniš** see *phíniš*
- gaadí** X PL -*muc*, *gaadénc* car || AA.#113 ¶ UR *gārī*
- gaál** Y PL -*ij* injury, wound || AA.#49 B.140
- gaár** ADJ dizzy || B.140
- gáarc** **gáarc-** INTR IPFV *gáarš-*, PL *gáarča-* run, move, escape, run after ADE, chase, be arbitrated || AA.#319, 347, 348 B.141
- @-skarc-** TR IPFV *@-skarš-* make run, gallop, decide, fix || B.141
- diáarc-** INTR IPFV *diáarš-* rain, (hives) be caused || AA.#387 B.141
- gaásurkuc** H clan name of *hakálšal* in Hopar
- gabí** X PL -*muc* flute, pipe || AA.#590 B.141
- gaját** **gaját/gaját @-t-** pinch, pull, scratch, ignite || AA.#314 B.142
- gajáto** X SG PL DOUBLE PL -*muc* match || AA.#549 B.142
- gakás** XY some kinds of apricot || B.142 ¶ *juú* 'apricot'

- gál** *gál-* INTR IPFV -j- break, be broken, be damaged || AA.#307 B.143  
*@-yál-* TR IPFV -j- break || AA.#336 B.143
- gal** Y PL -jój juniper, kind of aromatic tree || B.143
- gal** *gal'* NG INTR go (only used with prospective forms) || B.143 ¶ *ní-*  
 'go'
- galáas** Y glass ¶ ?= *giláas* EN *glass*
- galgí** Y PL -čaŋ wing || AA.#64 B.143  
*plaaštike galgí* plastic flyswatter ¶ EN *plastic*  
*phío dólás galgí* flyswatter ¶ *phío* PL 'fly', *dólás* 'hitting' (INF < *d-@-l-*  
 'hit')
- gámi** *gámi-* TR pay, atone for || B.145  
*@-yámi-* TR pay, atone for || B.145
- gamphúri** X PL -muc small axe for ceremonies || B.145 ¶ *gaŋí* 'axe'
- gamún** X PL *gamúyo* stem || AA.#119 B.145
- gán** *gán-* TR IPFV *gáy-* get, take || AA.#371, 378 B.145  
*šúa akánas* ADJ unpleasant, disagreeable || AA.#936 ¶ *šúa* 'good'  
*@-yán-* TR IPFV *@-yáy-* take, have, get, bear (fruit), come to fruition ||  
 AA.#310, 371, 378, 887 B.145
- yan** X PL -áinc, -ánc handle, knob, neck (of a stringed instrument), shaft  
 || B.471
- gan** Y PL -éŋ, -íŋ road, way || AA.#132 B.145  
*gáne* for the sake of (+GEN) || AA.#988 B.146  
*gántali* on the way, along the way || -*tali* 'via' B.145
- gán búuŋ** X PL -muc long boot ¶ EN *gun boot*
- gánç** XY PL X -išo, Y *gáaŋ* spindle without a whorl || B.146
- gandá** ADJ dirty, filthy || AA.#454 B.146 ¶ UR *ganda*
- ganťá** Z PL -ŋ hour || AA.#647 B.146 ¶ UR *ghanťā*
- ganťí** X PL -muc bell ¶ UR *ghanťī*
- gáŋi** Y PL -miŋ axe || B.146
- gap** X PL -ánc leather, hide || AA.#102 B.146
- gapál** NG X PL -išo HZ *kapál* head, forehead || B.146
- gápali** ADJ jumbled ¶ UR *ghapalā*
- gapšáp** Y conversation, chat ¶ UR *gapšap*

- gar* Y PL -*íj*, -*míj* marriage || AA.#201 B.146
- garán* @-*yáran-* TR IPFV @-*yáray-* trim, exploit, deceive || B.473  
*duyáran-* INTR IPFV *duyáray-* be trimmed || B.473
- garáy* *diyáray-* INTR IPFV *diyáraç-* get worm, become hot || B.473 ¶ ?  
 NG *garúum*, HZ *garúrum* ‘hot’  
*d-@-‘yaray-* INTR IPFV *d-@-‘yaraç-* get worm, become hot || B.473  
 ¶ ? NG *garúum*, HZ *garúrum* ‘hot’
- garbúluṭ* Y PL -*ij* parapet on the edge of a flat roof or a terrace || B.147
- garí* Y PL *garéj* lamp, light, eyes, glance, glint || B.147  
*álčine garí* INTERJ [polite] farewell || B.148 ¶ @-*lčín* ‘eye’
- gármun* X PL *gármuyo* eagle (trained for hunting) || B.148
- garoóni* H SG PL PL -*muc* HF bride, H PL bride and groom || B.148
- garoóno* H SG PL PL -*muc* HM bridegroom, H PL bride and groom || B.148
- garú* Z spring || AA.#623 B.148
- garú* *garúum* NG ADJ PL X -*išo*, Y -*ij* HZ *garúrum* hot, warm ||  
 AA.#461, 463 B.148 (*garúrum*, *garúm*)  
*garúumkuṣ* NG Y PL *garúumkuyaṅ* HZ *garúumkuṣ* fever, heat
- garúr* *garúrum* HZ ADJ PL X -*išo*, Y -*ij* NG *garúum* hot, warm ||  
 AA.#461, 463 B.148  
*garúumkuṣ* HZ Y PL *garúumkuyaṅ* NG *garúumkuṣ* fever, heat ||  
 B.149
- gas* HF PL *gašú* princess || B.149 ¶ × *gušpúr* ‘prince’
- gas* X PL *gašúu* warp || B.149 ¶ × *ju* ‘weft’
- gaš* Y PL -*míj* quarrel, fight, battle || AA.#219, 594 B.149  
*gaš ét-* compete, quarrel || AA.#858
- gašár* *gašárum* ADJ PL X -*išo*, Y -*ij* sweet and salty, NG sweet, tasty || B.149
- gašíl* Y PL -*ij* firewood || B.173
- gašk* X PL -*ó* rope || AA.#95 B.149
- gaš* Y PL -*míj* value, price || AA.#598 B.150  
*gaš manáas* on sale  
*gaš @-‘t-* sell || AA.#370 B.150  
*gášar gán-/@-yán-* buy, purchase || AA.#369 B.150  
*gášaṭe d-@-‘c-* NG buy, purchase || AA.#369

- gaṣákušal* Z place name in the lower side of Uyum Nager || B.495 ¶ -šal  
'place of residence'
- gaṭ* X PL -áinc, -ánc grain of wood, annual ring of a tree, knot, joint, knuckle,  
cycle, period || B.150
- gaṭ gaṭ'* INTR IPFV -ič-, NEG IPFV *akátič-* bite on, get into, get stuck, fit into  
|| AA.#290 B.150
- @-gaṭ-* TR IPFV *@-gaš-* make intimidation (against somebody weaker)  
|| B.150
- gaṭál* ADJ on foot || B.150
- gaṭál guchár-* walk || AA.#316 ¶ *guchár-* 'move'
- gaṭámur gaṭámur-* TR dull (cloth), wash, full (tanned hide), soften || B.150
- @-yáṭamur-* TR dull (cloth), wash, full (tanned hide), soften ||  
B.150
- duyáṭamur-* INTR become soft || B.150
- gáti* ADJ gathering, together || B.151
- gáti man'* gather, crowd together || AA.#878 B.151
- gáti @-t-* collect || AA.#414 B.151
- gaṭú* XY PL X *gaṭónc*, Y *gaṭónj*, DOUBLE PL -ičij cloth; Y PL clothes, clothing ||  
AA.#79 B.151
- gayú* X PL -nc red-legged partridge || B.151
- gé* Y PL HZ -čij, -mij, NG -čañ snow || AA.#156 B.151
- giḍiūū* ONO (labáab, guiter) twang || B.152 (*giḍiú ét-* 'ring (a bell), resound')
- gílt* Z Gilgit (city name of the capital city of Gilgit-Baltistan) || B.495 (*Gílt*,  
*Gilgít*)
- gilá* Y trouble, pain, lament || B.152 ¶ UR *gila*
- giláan* ADJ PL -ij troublesome, difficult, tough || AA.#948
- giláas* NG XY PL X -išo, Y -ij cherry || B.153
- giláas* X PL *giláašo* glass cup || B.152 ¶ ?= *galáas* EN *glass*
- gli* X PL -muc peg, stake, nail, compressor bandage || B.153
- bilásmo gli* dragonfly ¶ *bilás* 'witch'
- giligin giliginum, gilinum* ADJ PL *gilíiko* thin, lean || AA.#434, 432 B.153
- gilóos* XY PL X -išo, Y -ij cherry || B.153
- ginḍáwar* HZ XY PL X -išo, Y -čij NG *yindáwar* jujube, silver berry, oleaster ||

## B.153

- gir *gir'* INTR IPFV *-ič-* be dyed || B.153 (<sup>1</sup>*gir'*)  
*@'skír-* TR dye || B.153  
*d-@'skír-* TR dye || B.153 (<sup>1</sup>*d'skír-*)
- gir *gir'* INTR IPFV *-ič-* be familiar with || B.153 (<sup>2</sup>*gir'*)  
*@-gír-* INTR be familiar with || B.153
- girám* Y PL *-ičij* clan, hamlet, village, farm || AA.#247 B.154
- girán* X PL *giráyo* large basket for grass or manure || B.154
- girát *girát-* INTR IPFV *giráš-*, PL *giráča-* dance, play, enjoy oneself ||  
 AA.#284, 399 B.154  
*girátas* Y PL *-ij* dance || AA.#605
- gírgi* X PL *-šo* female wild goose
- gírí* X SG PL ibex || B.154
- gírjá* Y PL *-mij* church ¶ UR *gírjā*
- gírkić* NG X PL *gírkičo* HZ *gírkić* mouse, rat, muscle (of brachia or calves in particular) || AA.#504, 535 B.154
- gírkić* HZ X PL *gírkičo* NG *gírkić* mouse, rat, muscle (of brachia or calves in particular) || AA.#504, 535 B.155
- girmín *girmín-* TR IPFV *girmý-* write, draw || AA.#358 B.155  
*girmínas* X PL *girmínašo* letter, character || AA.#240
- gišá *gišá-* TR weave, crochet, knit, braid || AA.#803, 804 B.155  
*@-yáši-* TR weave, crochet, knit, braid || AA.#803, 804 B.155  
*@-giša-*, *@-yaši-* DITR make weave, make knit || B.155
- gíy. *gíy-* INTR IPFV *gíć-*, CP *nikí*, PL *giá-* enter, mount, fall in, raid, go into ||  
 AA.#411 B.155 (<sup>1</sup>*gíy-*)  
*@-gíy-* TR IPFV *@-gíć-*, PL *@-gia-* plant, put on, wear, fix, let in, put in,  
 pour in || AA.#819, 823, 842 B.155 (<sup>1</sup>*@-gíy-*)
- gíy. *gíy-* TR IPFV *gíć-*, CP *nikí*, HX.PL.OBJ *gúy-*, PL.OBJ *giá-* scatter, sow, seed,  
 put on, knock out, throw away, bridge over, let in, dump, toss ||  
 AA.#820 B.155 (<sup>2</sup>*gíy-*)  
*digía-* INTR PL (grain) be ground down, hang down || B.156
- giyáas* ADJ PL *giyáančo* baby, infant || AA.#697 B.156
- góchil* X PL *-išo* water channel || B.156

- gódar* Y PL -*ij* thick wall || B.156
- gókuç* Y PL -*ij* scoop, spoon-shaped chisel || B.157
- gón* Z dawn, daybreak || B.157 (<sup>2</sup>*gon*)  
ADJ all night  
*gón saán* NG Z daybreak, sunrise
- gón dóon-* TR IPFV *dóoy-* open || AA.#363 B.122  
*@ːdoon-* NG DTR IPFV *@ːdooy-* make open || B.122
- gón gón, gó* INTERJ PL OBJ *góin* go, come on, do it || B.157 (<sup>3</sup>*gon*)
- goojá* X PL -*muc* stake, dowel, joggle
- goór* X PL -*išo* waterfall || B.158
- goorá* X PL -*muc* cradle || B.158
- gótukšal* Y place name in Uyum Nager || B.495 (*Gótkušal*) ¶ -*šal* ‘place of residence’
- gozá* X PL -*muc* jug
- grá* NG X *gra*, an imaginary animal which draws the solar and lunar eclipse || B.158
- guchár* *guchár-* INTR move, walk, flow, strem || AA.#316, 380, 416 B.158  
*@ːgucar-* TR drive, make move || B.158
- gučhá* *gučhá-* INTR CP *nukúčan* lie, sleep || AA.#324, 325 B.158
- guđúr* X PL -*išo* large wooden bowl (about 60cm across, larger than *pháta*) || B.159
- guíc* H PL *guičo* member of Khik tribe (Wakhi speaking people) || B.495  
*guíciski, guičáaski* ADJ (in the style) of Khiks, Wakhi language || B.495
- guké* ADJ H *khué*, X HZ *gucé*, RF *khucé*, NG *khocé*, Y HZ *guké*, RF *khuké*, NG *khoké* these || AA.#255 B.163 (*guté*)
- gukór* *gukór-* TR peel, scrape off, gnaw, mow || B.159  
*@ːkhókur-* TR peel, scrape off, gnaw, mow || B.159
- gul* *gul, gulché* H PL marriage relative || B.160
- gul* Y PL -*míj* kind of aromatic moss || B.160 (?*gulgúl*)
- gún* X bow string || B.160
- gún duún-* INTR IPFV *duúy-* freeze || AA.#892 B.456
- gún duún-* TR IPFV *duúy-* catch, seize, pack, begin (+ INF DAT/ADE, or FINALIS of V) || AA.#311, 790 B.456

- @˘doon-** NG DITR IPFV **@˘dooy-** make catch, make pack || B.456
- gunc** Y PL -*íj* day, daytime || AA.#163, 169 B.160
- gúncmo gunc** everyday || AA.#164 B.160
- hár gunc** everyday || AA.#164 ¶ **hár** ‘every’
- gupáltij** HZ Y PL DOUBLE PL -*čij* NG **gurpáltij** trousers, slacks, breeches || AA.#569 B.161
- gur** Y SG PL DOUBLE PL -*éj* wheat || B.161
- gurgín** **gurgín-** TR IPFV **gurgíy-** grind, mash, pulverize || AA.#812 B.161
- @-úrgin-** TR IPFV **@-úrgiy-** grind, mash, pulverize || AA.#812 B.161
- @-úrgiṣ @-t-** thresh
- duúrgin-** INTR IPFV **duúrgiy-** be ground || B.161
- gurkón** X PL **gurkóyo** stone plate for apricot oil || B.161
- gurmaalá** HZ Y PL -*ŋ* ground rake without teeth ¶ NG **maúṣ**
- gurpáltij** NG Y PL HZ **gupáltij** trousers, slacks, breeches || B.161
- gús** **duús-** INTR IPFV **duúš-**, PL HZ **duwáša-**, NG **duwás-**, IPFV **duwáš-** climb, go/come up, rise, ascend, cross, pass, bud, germinate || AA.#381, 383, 832, 837, 884 B.457
- d-@-us-** TR IPFV **d-@-uš-** take off, undress, find out, let out, take out, bring out || AA.#357, 392, 841 B.458
- d-@-gus-** DITR IPFV **d-@-guš-** let out from, rob of || B.458
- gus** HF PL **gušínanc**, RF **gušínanc**, NG **gušíanc** woman || AA.#225 B.162 ¶ × **hir** ‘man’
- X PL **gušínanc** female, doe, hind || AA.#543 B.162 ¶ × **hir** ‘male’
- gušíski** ADJ for women, ladies- || B.162 ¶ × **hiríski** ‘for men’
- guspén** X PL **guspéyo** round dung of sheep or goat || B.162
- gušbén** Z old name of Ainabad in Hunza
- gušpúr** HM PL -*taro, -tij* prince || B.162 ¶ × **gas** ‘princess’
- gušúgin** **gušúgin-** INTR IPFV **gušúgiy-**, NEG HZ **akúṣkin-** confer, discuss, consult || B.163
- @-guškin-** TR IPFV **@-guškiy-** give notice, coax into, make do, instigate || B.163
- guté** ADJ H **khiné**, X HZ **gusé**, RF **khusé**, NG **khosé**, Y HZ **guté**, RF **khusé**, NG **khoté** this || AA.#249 B.163 ¶ **ité** ‘that’, **guké** ‘these’

- gútas** X PL *gútašo* dead body, corpse, thumb || B.163
- guyált** X PL -išo dipper, ladle || B.156 (*giyált*) ¶ *gý-*, *gúy-* ‘let in’
- gúzra** **gúzra**, **guzrá** ADJ passed, gone ¶ UR *guzrā* (PFV.PP M SG < *guzár-* ‘pass’)
- gá** X INDEF.SG *gáan*, *gáanan*, PL *gáayo* crow || AA.#538 B.164
- ya @-yam** ADJ PL -išo disagreeable, detestable, unpleasant, dislike, hate || B.167 ¶ × @-*yarum* ‘like’
- yaan @-gáan** X PL @-*gáayo* heel || AA.#33 B.164
- yaáro** NG X PL -*muc* swollen lymph nodes, lymphoma || B.164 ¶ = HZ *yuqú*
- yaat d-@-sqat-** TR IPFV *d-@-sqaş-* select, choose, mediate || AA.#783 B.164
- yačí** Y PL -*miŋ* scissors || AA.#557 B.340 (*qačí*, *gáčí*)
- yaíb** **yaíb**, **yaíp** ADJ absent, invisible || B.166 (*gáíp man’/-mán-* ‘disappear’) ¶ UR *yaib*
- yaíki** Y PL -*aŋ* theft || B.165  
**yaíki @-t-** steal || AA.#372 B.165
- yaímaš** Z place name behind Baltit Fort in west
- yaíŋ** Y NG DOUBLE PL -*ičaŋ* grape || B.166
- yaís** X PL *yaíso* rolling pin || B.166
- yaítin** RF NG X PL *yaítio* HZ *yeéltin* ankle || B.151 (*geéltin*, *gáitin*, *gáiltin*) ¶ *tin* ‘bone’
- yajám** **yajám @-t-** scratch, claw || AA.#314 B.166  
**yajayajám @-t-** furrow (a field), dig || AA.#379
- yalát** ADJ wrong || B.166 ¶ UR *yalat*
- yalýú** X PL *yalýónc*, *yalýóinc*, -*muc* worm || AA.#83 B.167
- yalýúkuc** H clan name of *yušóšal* in Hopar ¶ *yalýú* ‘worm’
- yalís** XY PL *yalíišo* sick, patient, illness || AA.#48 B.167 (*gálíz*, *gálís*)
- yamgín** ADJ sad || B.167 ¶ UR *yamgín*
- yamú** X PL *yamúnc*, -*muc* ice, glacier || AA.#144 B.168
- yamún** X PL *yamúyo* bottom || AA.#749 B.168
- yan yan’** INTR IPFV -*ič-*, NEG *aqán-* see, be visible, seem, appear || B.168  
**@-yán-** TR IPFV @-*yáy-* count, take care of, caress || B.168 (<sup>2</sup>-*gán-*)  
**@-yan-** TR IPFV @-*yay-* regard, interpret as, understand, notice ||



B.168

yan @'sqan- TR IPFV @'sqay- kill, make die, perform || AA.#349 B.169  
(<sup>1</sup>'sqan-)

du-γán- INTR IPFV du-γáy- be ended, be used up, be exhausted ||  
B.168

d-@'yan- INTR IPFV d-@'γay- be ended, be used up, be exhausted ||  
B.168

d-@'sqan- TR IPFV d-@'sqay- exhaust, use up || B.169

yan yan' INTR IPFV -ič-, NEG aqán- leak out, soak through || B.168

@-γán- INTR IPFV @-γáy- be scratched, become sore || B.168 (<sup>1</sup>-gán-)

du-γán- INTR IPFV du-γáy- chip, be worn out || B.168

d-@'yan- INTR IPFV d-@'γay- chip, be worn out || B.168

d-@'yan- TR IPFV d-@'γay- grudge, skimp on, give reluctantly, make  
scrape by || B.169

γandáwar Y PL -iη bushes, thicket

γandér ADJ PL X -išo, Y -iη bent || AA.#917 B.169

γandér @'t- bend || AA.#376

γindiyandér ADJ zigzag || B.169

duyáñdar- INTR be bent || B.169

d-@'γandár- INTR be bent || B.169

d-@'sqandár- TR bend || AA.#376 B.169

yaqáy yaqáyum ADJ PL X -išo, Y -iη bitter || AA.#445 qaqáyum B.169

yaqúl X PL -išo wound, rash || B.169

tiş yaqúlišo goosebumps || B.169 ¶ tiş 'wind'

yar Y PL -iη, -éη song || AA.#604 B.170 (<sup>1</sup>gar)

yar ét- sing || AA.#283 B.170

yar yar' INTR PL -ič-, NEG aqár- sound, speak, chime || AA.#285 B.170

yarími o'clock (used with Z NUM) || AA.#647

@'yar- TR sound, play (music instrument), ring || B.170

γaraará Y gargling

γaraará ét- gargle || B.171 (garjará ét-)

γaráu Y PL -miη thunder || AA.#617 B.170 (garáo)

γaráu man' howl, roar || AA.#758

γaráu étas ADJ H PL -étašo noisy, loud, fussy || AA.#926

- yarayaráu** ONO clap of thunder
- yarbél** X PL -jo sieve of fine mesh || B.171
- zareéy** X PL -muc clavicle || B.171 (<sup>1</sup>zareéy) ¶ = baítin
- yariib** ADJ PL -išo poor, shabby || AA.#921 B.171 (ǵariíp) ¶ UR yarīb  
**yariibqhaaná** Y PL -miḡ (modest expression) house, hut ¶ qhaaná  
 ‘room of a cabinet’
- yark **yarǵ-** TR IPFV -íč- catch, capture, grasp, deliver, make (ox) plough ||  
 B.171  
**@-yárǵ-** TR IPFV @-yárš- catch, capture, grasp, deliver, make (ox)  
 plough || B.171
- yárq **qhudáae yárq étis** INTERJ may the God forsake you ¶ UR yárq  
 ‘overwhelming, drowning’
- yarqáamuc** RF NG X PL yarqáamučo HS qarqáamuc chicken, hen || AA.#62  
 B.343 (qarqáamuč, ǵarqáamuč)
- yarqác** X PL yarqáčo HZ yarqás lizard || B.172 (ǵarqás, ǵarqác)
- yarqás** X PL yarqáčo NG yarqác lizard || B.172
- yarús **yarús-** INTR IPFV yarúš- be straight, go smoothly || B.172  
**@-yurus-** TR IPFV @-yuruš- put on (a CD), sound || B.172  
**yarús, yarúso** ADJ right, straight, in order || B.172  
**duyárus-** INTR IPFV duyáruš- ask, inquire, question (+ABL) ||  
 AA.#766 B.172  
**d-@-yarus-** TR IPFV d-@-yaruš- ask, confer || B.172
- yarzáp **yarzáp, yurzóp, yirzíp** ONO manner of sinking into || B.172 (ǵarzáp  
 -mán- ‘sink’)
- yas **yas-** INTR IPFV -íč- laugh at || AA.#291 B.173 (<sup>1</sup>ǵás-)  
**@-yas-** TR IPFV @-yaš- make laugh || AA.#291 B.173  
**d-@-yas-** INTR IPFV d-@-yaš- laugh || AA.#291 B.173
- yas **yas-** INTR IPFV -íč-, PL yašá- rot, decay || AA.#335 B.173 (<sup>2</sup>ǵás-)  
**@-yás-** INTR IPFV @-yáš- rot, decay || AA.#335 B.173
- yašú** X PL -nc onion || B.173
- yašáp **yašáp/yašaáp @-t-** wipe, sweep, seize, dip up, draw, ladle || AA.#355,  
 844 B.173
- yašép** X PL -išo megpie || B.174

- yaşk** X PL -ó shoot, twig, young and supple branch || B.174  
**báanse yaşk** rattan, cane ¶ UR *bās* ‘bamboo’  
**čhumáre yaşk** steel wire || B.174 ¶ *čhumár* ‘iron’
- yatán** **yatán-** TR IPFV **yatáy-** read, study || AA.#359 B.174
- yaténc** Y PL **yatáaŋ** sword || AA.#71 B.174
- yatin** **d-@-yatin-**, **d-@-yati-** INTR IPFV **d-@-yatiy-**, **d-@-yatič-** hate, envy || B.174
- yaṭ** **duyáaṭ-** INTR IPFV **duyáaš-**, PL **duyáača-** be selected, be chosen, be settled || B.164
- yáy** Y left position || AA.#266 ¶ × *dóy* ‘right position’  
**yáypaçi** Y left side || AA.#266 ¶ × *dóypaçi* ‘right side’  
**yáyum** ADJ left || AA.#266 B.175 ¶ × *dóyum* ‘right’
- yaŋ** X PL -ánc marking thread for making adjustments to the warp in weaving || B.175
- yaŋ** **d-@-yaŋ-** INTR IPFV **d-@-yaç-** itch || B.175
- yaýú** ADJ PL -muc lame, limper || AA.#719 B.175
- yazáb** Y misfortune || B.175 (*ğazáp*) ¶ UR *yazab* ‘calamity’
- yeéltin**, **yeél tín** HZ X PL **yeéltio**, - *tío* RF NG **yaítin** ankle || B.151 (*geéltin*, *gaítin*, *gaíltin*) ¶ *tin* ‘bone’
- yéniş** HF PL -anc queen || B.175
- yéniş** Y PL **yénaŋ** gold || AA.#581 B.175  
**yéniş dan** yellow topaz ¶ *dan* ‘stone’
- yífn** H PL **yííanc** thief || AA.#720 B.175
- yiltír** **@-yiltir-** TR decorate, adorn, indulge, favour || AA.#849 B.176
- yindáwar** NG XY PL X -išo, Y -iŋ HZ **gindáwar** jujube, silver berry, oleaster || B.153
- yíp** **yipyíp**, **yipyííp** ONO glub-glub, glug-glug || B.176 (*ğūp-ğūp min’* ‘glug’)
- yistá** NG X HZ **qhistá** thick sour bread from leavened dough || B.344 (*qistá*)  
 ¶ *qistá*
- yit** Y PL -iŋ sludge || B.177
- yókurac** NG X PL **yókuračo** HZ **yókuras** raven || AA.#538 B.177
- yókuras** HZ X PL **yókuračo** NG **yókurac** raven || AA.#538 B.177
- yúl** **yúl@-mán-** sad || AA.#295 B.177 (<sup>1</sup>*ğul* ‘grudge’) ¶ UR *yul*

- yul **γulʹ, γulú-** INTR IPFV *γulíč-, γulúč-* be burnt to ashes, burn, be on fire, be destroyed by fire, get frostbitten || AA.#385 B.178  
**@-γúl-** INTR IPFV *-j-* be burnt to ashes, burn, be on fire, be destroyed by fire, get frostbitten, be scalded || AA.#385 B.178  
**@-squl-** TR IPFV *-j-* burn, set fire to, burn up || AA.#345 B.179  
**duyúl-** INTR IPFV *-j-* be destroyed by fire || B.178
- γuljátkuc** H clan name of *borósal* in Hopar
- γulk** X PL *-ánc* well || AA.#115 B.178
- γumáč** Y PL *-ij* braid || B.179 (? *gumás* ‘rope’)
- γumár** **@-γúmar-** Y PL *-ij* viscera || B.179
- γumór** Y PL *-ij* hole || AA.#133 B.179  
**γumór ét-** dig || AA.#379  
**γumór @-t-** make dig
- yun **@-γún-** DITR IPFV **@-γúy-** Y.PL.OBJ give || AA.#418 B.179
- yun **duyún-** INTR IPFV *duyúy-* ripen, mature || AA.#375 B.179  
**atúyunum** ADJ X PL *-išo* raw, unripe || AA.#913  
**d-@-γun-** INTR IPFV *d-@-γuy-* ripen, mature || AA.#375 B.179  
**d-@-squn-** TR IPFV *d-@-squy-* let ripen, bring to matured || B.179
- γuní** Y PL *-miŋ* mica, kind of medical stone (for headache), k.o. eye disease || B.179  
**γuníqiş** ADJ PL HX *γuníqianc*, Y *γuníqianŋ* bad, ugly, dirty || AA.#486, 454, 934 B.179
- yunjá **@-γúnja-** INTR be eclipsed || B.180  
**d-@-γunja-** INTR be calm || B.180
- γunó** X PL *-nc*, *γuneínc*, RF *γunoínc* seed, sperm, stamen, pistill || AA.#127 B.180
- γuqú** X PL *γuqónc* cut, gorge || AA.#613 B.180
- γuqú** HZ X PL *-muc* swollen lymph nodes, lymphoma || B.180 ¶ = NG *yaáro*
- yurá **γurá-** HZ INTR NG *γuriá-* defecate || B.180  
**γuráš** HZ Y PL *γuráaŋ* NG *γuriáš* excrement, shit, faeces, dung || AA.#508 B.180  
**@-γura-** TR make defecate || B.180
- yurc **γurcʹ** INTR IPFV *-ič-*, PL *γurčá-* sink, dive, submerge oneself ||

AA.#340 B.180

**@-yúrc-** INTR IPFV **@-yúrš-** sink, drown || AA.#340 B.180**@-squrc-** TR IPFV **@-squrš-** stick, stab || AA.#305 B.181yuriá **yuriá-** NG INTR HZ **yurá-** defecate || B.180 ¶ **@-yura-** ‘make defecate’**yuriás** NG Y PL **yuriáaŋ** HZ **yurás** excrement, shit, faeces, dung || AA.#508 B.180yurk **d-@-yurk-** INTR IPFV **d-@-yurš-**, **d-@-yurkič-** attain, find, meet, bet, achieve, reach, become || AA.#392, 827 B.181**yúrquc** X PL **yúrqučo** HZ **yúrquŋ** frog || B.181**yúrquŋ** X PL **yúrquyo** NG **yúrquc** frog || B.181yusán **yusánum** ADJ PL **yusáiko** long || AA.#455 B.181**yuskí** XY PL X **-muc** dough || B.181**yušóšal** Y place name in Hopar || B.496 ¶ **-šal** ‘place of residence’yuş **@-yúš** Y PL **-iŋ**, **@-yúraŋ** vulva, vagina || AA.#511 B.182**yutí** X PL **-muc** leather bag for gunpowder || B.182**yuṭ** ADJ PL **-óŋo**, RF **-óno**, NG **-úyuko** deaf || AA.#222 B.182**@-yút-** INTR IPFV **@-yúš-** get deaf-mute || B.182yuṭ **yutúm** ADJ PL **-iŋ** deep, dense || AA.#901, 907 B.183**yutúmkuş** Y deepness, depth**yúṭas** Z place name in the upper side of Uyum Nager || B.497**yuṭí** X PL **-muc** crate, basket for preservation of cereals || AA.#546yuṭin **@-yuṭin-** TR IPFV **@-yuṭiy-** empty out by tilting gradually || B.182**d-@-yuṭin-** TR IPFV **d-@-yuṭiy-** empty out by tilting gradually || B.182**yuíya** Y PL **-miŋ** downhill slope || B.183 (*gúya*)yuyáŋ **yuyáŋ**, **@-yúyaŋ** Y hair || AA.#2 B.183**ha** Y PL **-kíčáŋ** house || AA.#112 B.184**háar** Y PL **-iŋ** necklace || AA.#565 ¶ UR *hār***háasto** X PL **-muc** elephant || B.195 (*hásto*)**háath** Y hand ¶ UR *hāth***hayúr** X PL HZ **-išo**, NG **-inc** horse || AA.#98 B.185**bilásmo hayúr** mantis || B.53 ¶ *bilás* ‘witch’

- hak** Y PL -míj fog, steam || AA.#154 B.186 (<sup>2</sup>hak)
- hakálšal** Z place name in Hopar just before the entrance bridge || B.497 ¶  
-šal ‘place of residence’
- hakím** H PL -išo healer ¶ UR *hakīm*
- hákin** @-ikin- TR IPFV @-ikiy- teach || AA.#360 B.186  
**duhákin-** INTR IPFV *duhákiy-* study (about), become skilled || B.186  
**d-@-ikin-** INTR IPFV *d-@-ikiy-* learn (from some bad experience such as penalty) || B.186
- hál** Y condition || B.184 (*háal*) ¶ UR *hāl*  
HZ *béhal bilá?*, NG *bé hál dílá?* How are you? || B.184 (*be háal bilá*)
- hál** *hál dél-* jump, jump about || AA.#318 B.187 (<sup>3</sup>hal del-)
- hal** X PL -jó fox || B.186 (<sup>2</sup>hal)
- halagoón** Y PL -ij furrow || B.187
- halánc** X PL -išo moon || AA.#160 B.187
- haldén** X SG PL DOUBLE PL *haldéyo* adult he-goat, adult he-ibex || B.187  
*gírí haldén* adult he-ibex ¶ *gírí* ‘ibex’
- halíbi** Y PL -mij hoe
- halíci** X PL -muc curcuma, turmeric (ointment for face) || B.188 ¶ SH *halízi*
- halk** *halk’* INTR IPFV -ič- bear young, give birth || B.188  
*halkís* Y PL -ij stomach, mother’s womb || AA.#507 B.188
- hamál** ADJ SG PL DOUBLE PL -išo neighbouring, neighbourhood || AA.#732  
B.188 (<sup>1</sup>hamál)
- hamalá** Y attack, charge || B.188 ¶ UR *hamla*
- hamári** Z place and mountain name in the lower side of Uyum Nager || B.497
- hamiišá** *hamiišá, hamíša, hameešá* ADJ always || AA.#469 B.189 ¶ UR  
*haměša*
- hanjíl** X DOUBLE PL -išo charcoal || B.189
- hánjuan** ADJ PL -juko same, identical, like || AA.#488 ¶ *hán* ‘one’, *juán*  
‘same’
- háo** Y PL -mij noise, voice of discussion || B.190  
*háo/háohao man’* become noisy, riot || B.190  
*háo yáo / haojáo man’* discuss heatedly || B.190  
*háo hilíy man’* become a spree, become merry ¶ *hilíy* ‘noise’

- haptá** Y PL -*ij* week || AA.#165 ¶ UR *hafta*
- hár** ADJ every, each || AA.#754 B.191 (<sup>4</sup>*har*) ¶ UR *har*  
**hár hín/hán/hík** each one || AA.#754 B.191 ¶ *hín/hán/hík* ‘one’ UR  
*har*
- har** Y PL -*mij* small gorge, ravine, eroded waterbed, wrinkle || AA.#613  
 B.191 (<sup>1</sup>*har*)
- har** X PL -*ó* ox, bull || B.191 (<sup>2</sup>*har*)  
**harbuá, har buá** X PL cattle || B.191 ¶ *buá* ‘cow’
- hará hará-** INTR HZ NEG *oára-* urinate || B.191  
**harás** Y PL -*ij* urine, piss || AA.#509 B.192 ¶ = *tharkúr*  
**@-wara-** TR make urinate || B.191
- haraamí haraamí, haramí** H PL -*tij* untouchable, forbidden, wicked, bastard  
 || B.192 (*haraamzaadá, haraamí*) ¶ UR *harāmī*
- haráči** Y PL -*mij* saw ¶ = *haráči*
- harái** Z place name in Uyum Nager
- harált** Y PL -*ij* rain, nimbus || AA.#155 B.192  
**harált man’** rain || AA.#387  
**harált déer-** send rain, make rain
- haránc** Y PL *haráan* rake || B.192
- haránj** Y midst, centre, middle || AA.#272 B.192  
**haránjuči** in the middle, amid || B.192  
**haránjulo, haránulo** in the middle, amid || B.192
- harčónj** Y spade
- haréi girám** Z place name in the upper side of Uyum Nager || B.498
- haréj gašéj** Z mountain name in Nager || B.498
- harí** Y SG PL DOUBLE PL *haréj* barley || AA.#531 B.193
- haríči** Y PL -*mij* saw || B.193 ¶ = *haráči*
- harís** X PL *haráanc* shovel with a long handle || B.194
- hárki** Y PL -*čij* cultivation || AA.#608 B.194 ¶ *har* ‘ox’  
**hárki @-t-** cultivate, plough || AA.#818 B.194 (*hárki ét-*)
- hárph hárp** X PL -*uc, -išo, hurúupišo* letter, character || AA.#240 ¶ UR  
*harf, PL hurūp*
- harš** Y PL -*ij* plough || AA.#610 B.194

- hárt *hárt man'* suddenly stand up, get up || AA.#321, 327 B.194
- háş *háaş @'t-* bite || AA.#290
- haşháş @'t-* cut with a dull blade || B.195
- hathóoda* X PL *-muc* mallet, hammer ¶ UR *hathaurā*
- hawá* Y air || AA.#619 B.195 (*hawáa*) ¶ UR *hawā*
- hawaalá* Y commitment ¶ UR *hawāla*
- hayán* Y PL NG *-ij*, HZ *hayáij* present, souvenir, trophy, mark, sign, gift || B.196
- hazáar* NUM thousand || AA.#683 B.196 (<sup>2</sup>*hazáar*) ¶ UR *hazār*
- hazáar* ADJ perhaps || B.196 (<sup>1</sup>*hazáar*) ¶ SH *hazáar*
- héeši* Y time, turn, part || AA.#198 B.196
- heiráan* ADJ surprised, unwilling, repugnant ¶ UR *hairān*
- heiráan @-mán-* be surprised || AA.#297 B.186 (*hairáan -mán-*)
- heiwáan* X PL *heiwáayo* livestock, [slang] scoundrel ¶ UR *haiwān* 'beast'
- hén* *hén-* TR IPFV *héy-*, NEG *akhén-* know, recognize, understand || AA.#421 B.196
- @-yeén-* TR IPFV *@-yeéy-*, NEG HZ *a-@'yan-*, PL NG *@-yoón-* know, recognize, understand || AA.#421 B.196
- hér* *hér-* INTR NEG HZ *oóar-* weep, cry, sob, shed || AA.#292 B.197
- hét* ADJ free, untied, (weed) wantonly thrived || AA.#352 B.197
- hét @'t-* release, let go || AA.#352 B.197
- hí* *hí-* INTR soak into || B.197
- hifaazát* Y preservation || B.197 ¶ UR *hifāzat*
- hiís* *hiísan*, *hiís* ADJ much, rich in, plenty of || B.197
- hiispá*, *hiís pá* mostly, very, often, many times, frequently || AA.#965 B.197
- hík* NUM H *hín*, XY *hán*, Z *hík* one || AA.#179 B.198 (<sup>1</sup>*hik*)
- hík ké* again, once more || AA.#490 B.198
- híkulto* one day, someday || B.198 ¶ *-ul* 'day', *-to* 'just'
- híkulum* ADJ first || B.198
- híkum* one group, together, in a pair, united || B.247 ¶ *-kum* 'group'
- hilés* HM PL *hiléšo* boy || B.198
- hilíkin* *@-líkin-* TR IPFV *@-líkiy-* worship, believe in || AA.#780 B.212



- hilíl* **hilílum** ADJ PL *hilíiko, hilíljuko* soft || AA.#441 B.198  
*hilíj* Y noise || B.198 ¶ *háó hilíj man-'* 'become a spree'  
*hímaltar* HZ Y PL *-ij* NG *híjbaltarc* gate, gateway, entrance || AA.#577  
 B.199  
*hindúkuc* H clan name of *boróšal* in Hopar  
*hiy* Y PL *-áij* door, gate || AA.#111 B.199  
*híjbaltarc* NG Y PL *híjbaltarčij* HZ *hímaltar* gate, gateway, entrance ||  
 AA.#577 B.199  
*hípulto* Z the day after tomorrow || AA.#653 B.200 ¶ *-ul* 'day', *-to* 'just'  
*hir* HM PL *-í*, NG *-íkanc* man || AA.#224 B.200 ¶ × *gus* 'woman'  
 X PL *-í* male, buck, stag || AA.#542 B.200 ¶ × *gus* 'female'  
*hiríski* ADJ for men, mens- || B.200 ¶ × *gušíski* 'for women'  
*hir* **hirúm** ADJ PL X *-išo*, Y *-ij* NG *hirím* sharp || AA.#449 B.200  
**hirúmkuš** Y NG *hirímkuš* sharpness, blade, edge || AA.#72  
*hirí* **hirím** NG ADJ PL *-išo* sharp || B.200 ¶ = *hirúm*  
**hirímkuš** NG Y sharpness, blade, edge || AA.#72 ¶ = *hirúmkuš*  
*híriman* X PL *hírimayo* house centipede (*Scutigera coleoptrata*) || B.200  
*hísa* Y PL *-miij* month || AA.#166 B.200 ¶ *hík-* 'one', *-sa* 'month'  
**júas hísa** next month || AA.#655 ¶ *júas* 'coming' (INF < *jú-* 'come')  
*hisk* Y PL *-ámij, -áj* comb, reed (of a loom) || AA.#559 B.200  
*híš* **híš/híš/híšš ét-** breathe || AA.#279 B.201  
*hitháan* Y certain place || B.435 ¶ *hík-* 'one', *tháan* 'place'  
*hó* CONJ then, and so || B.201 (<sup>1</sup>*ho*)  
*hói* Y PL *-čij* greens, vegetable || AA.#529 B.201  
*hól* **hóle** Z outside || × *úlo* 'inside' AA.#271 B.201  
**hóliskum** ADJ outside of || B.202  
**hólum** ADJ outer, outwards || B.202  
**hólumpa** Y outer side || B.202  
**hólumpači** at outside  
*hólšal* Z place name in Hopar at the most inner part || B.498 ¶ *hól* 'outside',  
*-šal* 'place of residence'  
*hóo* **hóo, hó** ONO whizz  
*hoólalas* X PL *hoólalašo* butterfly, moth || B.202

- hópar** Z Hopar (place name in Nager) || B.498  
**hópar yamú** X glacier name which has incised *buártar* gorge
- hoq **doóq-** INTR IPFV -ič- swell || AA.#315 B.308
- hósar** X PL -inc, -išo pumpkin || B.203
- hoṭál **hoṭál, hoṭél** Y PL -ij hotel ¶ EN *hotel*
- húčo** X SG PL DOUBLE PL -muc leather high boot || B.203
- huk** X PL -ái dog || AA.#94 B.203
- húkum** Y PL -ij order, command || B.204 ¶ UR *hukm*  
**húkum ét-** order, give orders || AA.#768 B.204
- hulç** Y PL -áj poplar thin stick to crack nuts and apricot seeds || B.204
- huljá **huljá-** INTR NEG HZ *oólja-* get on, ride on || AA.#409 B.204  
**@-ulja-** TR make ride on, make mount || B.204
- huljá **huljá-** INTR NEG HZ *oólja-* be full, be complete, finish, get ripen fully,  
have enough, be disgusted, (time) come to end || B.204  
**@-sulja-** TR fill up || B.204  
**dúlja-** INTR become full, have enough, be disgusted || B.204  
**dúsulja-** INTR become full, have enough, be disgusted || B.204  
**d-@-sulja-** TR fill, stuff, cram in, spoil, ruin, satisfy || B.204
- humá** Y PL -ij ford || B.205
- humálk **humáلكum** ADJ PL HX -išo, Y -ij light || AA.#436 B.205
- humúl** Y PL -ij dead leaf, fallen leaf || B.205 (*humól*) ¶ = *khiy*
- hun** X PL -ánc wood, timber || B.205
- hunarmánd** ADJ PL -išo skillful || AA.#945 ¶ UR *hunarmand*
- húnc** X PL -išo arrow || AA.#75 B.205 ¶ = *hunzé*
- hundár** X PL -išo rafter ¶ ?= *hundáris*
- hundáris** X PL *hundárišo* purlin (*yáṭum*), girth, tie beam (*yárum*) || B.206
- huntí** NUM HXY *hunčó*, Z *huntí* nine || AA.#187 B.205
- hunúno** Z place name in Hopar || B.499
- hunzé** X PL -muc arrow || AA.#75 B.206 ¶ = *húnc*
- húnzo** Z Hunza (valley name) || B.499  
**húnzuski** ADJ (in the style) of Hunza, Hunza dialect || B.499
- hur** X PL -ánc drain, drainage ditch, furrow, shuttle (of a loom) || B.206

- hurgás* ADJ PL *hurgásiko* thick || AA.#433 B.206
- hurgó* Y PL *-miŋ* uphill slope || B.206
- huróyo* Y PL *-miŋ* sweat || AA.#39 B.206
- hurş* X PL *-ánc, húrşıŋo* haystack, compost || B.206
- hurúŋ *hurúŋ-* INTR IPFV *hurúŋ-*, NEG HZ *óoruŋ-*, CP *nuúruŋ*, PL *hurúča-* sit, settle, live, stay, dwell || AA.#322, 365, 425 B.207
- @-uruŋ-* TR IPFV *@-uruŋ-* put down, seat, set, keep after, raise || AA.#408 B.207
- d-@-uruŋ-* INTR IPFV *d-@-uruŋ-* waste time, settle down, unable to do any more, be fond of, like || B.207
- hušáar* ADJ PL *-iŋo* intelligent, smart || AA.#943 B.207
- huškín *huškín-* INTR IPFV *huškíy-* (only a little water) be drained || B.207
- duúŋskin-*, *duúŋkikin-* INTR IPFV *duúŋkiy-*, *duúŋkikiy-* (water) be drained, recede, (man) lose power || B.207
- huúp *huúp @-t-* suck, slurp || AA.#287 B.208
- húuŋ* Y consciousness, feeling, sense, intelligence || AA.#722 B.208 ¶ UR *hōŋ*
- huyés* X PL DOUBLE PL *huyéŋo*, NG *-inc* livestock, domestic animals || B.209
- huyés buá* X PL animal || AA.#91 ¶ *buá* ‘cow’
- huy *duúy-* INTR IPFV *duúç-*, PL *duúya-* melt || AA.#893 B.461
- d-@-y-* INTR IPFV *d-@-ç-* melt || AA.#893 B.461
- @-stuy-*, *@-scuy-* TR IPFV *@-stuç-*, *@-scuç-* melt || B.461
- d-@-stuy-*, *d-@-scuy-* TR IPFV *d-@-stuç-*, *d-@-scuç-* melt || B.461
- í *@-i*, *@-@-i* Z oneself || AA.#235 B.210
- í *@-í* HM PL *@-yúa* son || AA.#206 B.210
- í *@-i* HF PL HZ *@-yúguŋanc*, NG *@-íguŋanc* daughter || AA.#207 B.210
- í *d-@-i-* INTR smell, be fragrant || B.210 (<sup>2</sup>*d-i-*)
- ibaadát *ibaadát @-t-* pray, worship, believe in || AA.#779, 780 B.210 (*ibaadát* ‘prayer’) ¶ UR *ibādat*
- ic *@-yeéc-* TR IPFV *@-yeéŋ-*, CP HZ *n-@-ic*, NG *@-yeec*, NEG HZ *a-@-ic* see || AA.#275 B.477 ¶ NG HX.PL.OBJ *@-yoóc-*
- @-yoóc-* NG TR IPFV *@-yoóŋ-*, CP *@-yooc* HX.PL.OBJ see || AA.#275 B.477

*icí, icímo, icíaṭe* see *ci*

*íi* ADJ just || AA.#959 ¶ UR *hī*

*íil íile* Z that way || AA.#262

*íṭṭ* X SG PL brick ¶ UR *ĩṭ*

*ijaazát* Y permission || B.211 ¶ UR *ijāzat*

*ijaazát gán-* take a permit, get allowed || B.211

*ik @-ík* Y PL HZ *-ičiṅ, NG -ičaṅ* name || AA.#238, 239 B.211

*iké* ADJ H *ué, X HZ icé, NG ecé, Y HZ iké, NG eké* those || B.217 (*ité*)

*@-ikin-* see *hákin*

*il @-íl* Y PL *-ij* lip, shore, bank, rand || AA.#10, 614 B.212

*@-íl-* see *chil*

*iláaj* Y remedy || B.212 ¶ UR *'ilāj*

*iláaj @-t-* cure || AA.#301 B.212 (*iláaj ét-*)

*ilaawá* without (+ABL), besides (+ABL) || AA.#992 ¶ UR *'ilāwa* 'adding to'

*ilán-* see *lan*

*@-líkin-* see *hilíkin*

*imá* Y PL *-ṅ* yeast || B.213

*imá d-@-c-/@-t-* leaven

*imáam bargá* Y imam barga (an institution of Shi'ites) ¶ UR *imām bargā*

*imandáar* ADJ PL *-išo* honest || AA.#939

*imdáad imdáad ét-* make a help || AA.#400 B.213 (*imdáat ét-*) ¶ UR *imdād* 'helps'

*imdáad @-čí-/@-t-* help || AA.#786 B.213 (*imdáat -čí-*)

*ín* PRN DIST she, he || AA.#229, 230 B.213 (*iné, in*) ¶ X *és, Y ét, PROX khín*

*ináam* Y PL *-ij* award, gift ¶ UR *inām*

*insáan* H SG PL human being, mankind || B.214 ¶ UR *insān*

*inšalláa* INTERJ if the God wills ¶ UR *inšā-llā*

*intezáar intezáar ét-* wait || AA.#401 B.214 (*intizáar ét-*) ¶ UR *intizār* 'waiting'

*intiháa intiháa bām* Y the third string of a *lubáab* which has the gravest tone ¶ *bām* 'string of a *lubáab*' UR *intihā* 'limit'

- injkáar* **injkáar ét-** reject, refuse || AA.#855 B.214 ¶ UR *inkār* ‘rejection’
- iphtháar* Y iftar (slight repast with which the daily fast of Ramazan is broken) ¶  
UR *iftār*
- iqtiáar* Y choice || B.214 ¶ UR *ixtiyār*
- ir **@-ír-** INTR die || AA.#397 B.214
- íran* Y PL *íraj* skin of milk, cream || B.214
- iskí NUM H *iskén*, XY *uskó*, Z *iskí* three || AA.#181 B.215 (<sup>1</sup>*iskí*)  
*iskíkuc* three days || B.215 ¶ *-kuc* ‘day’  
*iskiulum* ADJ third || AA.#687 B.215  
**@-iski** ADJ three of || B.215 (*úiski(an)*, *úusko*)  
*uskósa* three months || B.215 ¶ *-sa* ‘month’  
*iskí áltar* NUM sixty || AA.#679 B.215 (*iskí-áltar*, *iskí-álthar*)  
*iskí áltar tóorimi* NUM seventy || AA.#680 B.215 (*iskí-áltar tóorumo*)
- istimáal **istimáal @-t-** use, utilize || AA.#850 B.216 (istimáal ‘use’) ¶ UR  
*isti‘māl* ‘use’
- išák* see *šak*
- iškín* Y PL *-iŋ* berberis, kind of medical plant (for external injury) || B.216
- işqur* see *şqur*
- ité ADJ H *iné*, X HZ *isé*, NG *esé*, Y HZ *ité*, NG *eté* that || AA.#250, 251 B.217  
*aít ité* ADJ HZ farther that || AA.#251  
*itée itée* et cetera || AA.#993
- iteráaz **iteráaz ét-** oppose || AA.#857 ¶ UR *i‘tirāz* ‘opposition’
- íti* Z thither, there || B.217  
*íti khíti* all around, here and there || B.217 (*íti-khíti*) ¶ *khíti* ‘hither’  
*íti khíti @-t-* exchange || AA.#873 B.217 (*íti-khíti -t-*)
- itibáar* Y trust || B.218 ¶ UR *i‘tibār*
- itipháaq **itipháaq ét-** approve, concur || AA.#856 ¶ UR *ittifāq* ‘concurrence’
- izát* Y grace || B.218 (*izát ét-* ‘honour’) ¶ UR *izzat*
- jaagír* Y fief, territory || B.219 ¶ UR *jāgīr*
- jaák* ADJ sympathetic || B.219  
*jaákuş* Y sympathy || B.219
- jaalí* Y PL *-miŋ* net || AA.#93 ¶ UR *jālī*
- jaám* H PL *-išo* relative || B.219

- jaám qhéēs* H PL - -išo relative || AA.#706 B.219 (*jaám-qhíiš*)
- jaáj* Y standing on end, deep bow
- yé jaája yáa* [slang] bored and frustrated, tiresome (‘one’s underhair bristles up’)
- jaapáan* Z Japan ¶ UR *jāpān*, EN *Japan*
- jaapaanú* ADJ Japanese ¶ UR *jāpānī*
- jaarí* *jaarí duwáas-* continue, last || AA.#876 ¶ UR *jārī* ‘ongoing’
- jaarí óos-* go on, continue, keep on || AA.#877
- jaháaz* NG *jaháas*, HZ *jaháaz* X PL -išo ship, airplane || AA.#114 B.220 ¶ UR *jahāz*
- jakás* X PL *jakášo* cowrie || B.83 (*ćakás*)
- jáli* *jáli-* TR scatter, sprinkle, sow, defeat, sweep up together || B.221
- @-jáli-* TR scatter, sprinkle, sow, defeat, sweep up together || B.221
- dujáli-* INTR spread, be scattered, be extended || B.221
- jalúkuc* H clan name of *hakálšal* in Hopar
- jám* *jám man’/@-mán-* be burnt black, be singed || B.221 (<sup>1</sup>*jam man’/-mán-*)
- jáma* ADJ gathering || B.222 ¶ UR *jama*‘
- jamaát* *jamaát*, *jamaaát* H SG PL DOUBLE PL -inc spouse, PL family, family members, family women || AA.#217 B.222
- háa jamaát* H PL -inc family, home || AA.#217 B.222 ¶ *ha* ‘house’
- jamaát qhaaná* Y PL -miŋ jamaat khana ¶ *qhaaná* ‘room of a cabinet’ UR *jamā’at xāna*
- janjír* Y PL -iŋ zip
- jannát* Y heaven, paradise, the Garden of Eden ¶ UR *jannat*
- janphálo* X (SG), Y (PL) PL *janpháliŋ* comb for carpeting || B.223
- janwarí* Z January || AA.#627 ¶ UR *janwarī*, EN *January*
- jangál* Y PL -iŋ forest || AA.#131 B.223 ¶ UR *jangal*
- jáp* ADJ underneath
- jáp chí-* go down, descend || B.223
- jáp @-ci-* push down, squeeze into, condemn || AA.#308 B.223
- japhákuc* H clan name of *hólšal* in Hopar
- jarmás* *jarmás @-t-* mix, stir || AA.#415 B.224

- jarmá jarmás @-t-** NG mix, stir || AA.#415
- jarpá** HZ Y PL -ŋ NG *barpiá* poplar || B.224 (<sup>1</sup>*jarpá*)
- jás jás man'** move, come closer to || AA.#416 B.224 (<sup>1</sup>*jaş man'*)
- jaás @-t-** draw, pull, tighten, be tight for || AA.#784, 806 B.224 (<sup>1</sup>*jaş -t-*)  
¶ = *jaás @-t-*
- jaṭká** X PL -muc mallet
- jaṭhír** Y PL -iŋ wooden frame for a cord made by entwining different kinds of threads || B.225 (*jaṭhír*)
- jawá** X PL -muc tendon || B.225 (<sup>1</sup>*jawá*)
- jawáab** Y PL -içij answer || AA.#710 ¶ = *juáab* UR *jawāb*  
**jawáab @-çhí-** answer || AA.#767
- jawáan** ADJ PL *jawáayo* young || AA.#465 B.229 (*juáan*, *jawáan*) ¶ = *juáan* UR *jawān*  
**náu jawáan** ADJ young and fresh ¶ UR *nau-jawān*
- jaziirá** Y PL -miŋ island || AA.#142 ¶ UR *jazīra*
- jé** PRN ERG GEN *jáa*, DAT *jáar* I || AA.#227 B.226
- jeráab jeráap** Y PL *jeráabiŋ*, NG -içañ, HZ -içij sock ¶ UR *jurrāb*
- jíí** Y PL -miŋ, -miçij spirit, mind, life || AA.#516 B.226
- jíil jíil, jhíil** Y PL -iŋ lake || AA.#140 ¶ UR *jhīl*
- jítip** X PL -išo jeep, NG car || AA.#113 B.226 ¶ EN *jeep*
- jíl jíil man'** (sun) rise || AA.#383 B.227  
**jíl manáas** Y east || AA.#734 B.227
- jímale** Z tomorrow || AA.#173 B.227
- jol** Y PL -iáŋ, -míŋ pus || AA.#41 B.228
- jóoḍ jóoṭ, jóoḍ** X joint || B.228 ¶ UR *jōr*
- joodá** ADJ PL -muc couple || B.228 (*joodí*) ¶ UR *jōrī*
- joohariáat** X PL -išo [old use] jewel, gem ¶ UR *jauharī*  
**láal joohariáat** ruby ¶ UR *lāl* 'ruby, red'
- jookhéel** Y hopscotch ¶ = *peesúu khéel*
- joolá** X PL -inc bag, backpack, sack ¶ UR *jhōlā*
- joorojót** ADJ youngest || B.228 (*joorijót*, *joorojót*) ¶ *jót* 'small'
- jór jojór @-t-** burn, broil, fire || AA.#345 ¶ ? SH *jájar* 'spark'

- jót* ADJ PL HX -išo, Y -ij small, little, young || AA.#428 B.228
- jótis* H PL *jótumuc* child || AA.#208 B.228 ¶ *jót* ‘small’
- jótis pátis* H PL children || AA.#208 B.229 ¶ *jót* ‘small’, = *joṭpát*
- joṭpát* H PL children || AA.#208 B.229 ¶ *jót* ‘small’, = *jótis pátis*
- jú* Y PL -mij internal organs of sheep still being with excrement inside || B.229
- jóqiş* X PL *jóqianc* internal organs, dumpy || B.228
- juááb* Y answer ¶ = *jawááb* UR *jawāb*
- juááb @-čhí-* give an answer || B.229 (*juáap -čhí-*)
- juáan* ADJ PL *juáayo* young || AA.#465 B.229 ¶ = *jawáan* UR *jawān*
- juán* ADJ PL *juáiko* same, identical, like || AA.#488 B.229
- juán man-’* imitate || AA.#781
- juánan man-’* suit, fit || AA.#417
- jučór* Y PL -ij chip of wood, wood splinter, wood shavings || B.229
- éyaras jučór* plectrum, pick ¶ *éyaras* ‘playing’ (INF < @-yar- ‘play (music instrument)’)
- jukánj* HS X PL *jukáyo*, -uc RF *čukán*, NG *čukánj* lavatory, toilet || AA.#576 B.230
- julaaí* Z July || AA.#633 ¶ UR *julāi*, EN *July*
- jumlá* Y PL -mij sentence ¶ UR *jumla*
- junúub* Y south || AA.#736 ¶ UR *junūb*
- jut* Y PL -éj lawn, fertile soil || B.230
- juú juú, juúna* HM gentleman, mister || B.231
- juú góor* INTERJ thank you || B.231 (*juú góor maníş*) ¶ = *barkát góor*
- júun* Z June || AA.#632 ¶ UR *jūn*, EN *June*
- jayíni* Y PL -mij violin ¶ ?= *jiyíni* ‘two-stringed instrument’
- jaít* X PL -aro from two- to four-year-old gelt goat || B.232
- jaíte gaṭ* NG X PL - -ánc young he-goat ¶ ? *gaṭ* ‘joint, period’
- jakún* X PL *jakúyo* donkey, shaft (of (hay)fork) , bridge (of strings of an instrument), [slang] scoundrel || B.232
- jamé* Y PL -čij, -mij, -j bow || AA.#74 B.233
- jamék* with bow
- japá* HS Y PL -mij NG RF *ḍapá* wrapping cloth, bundle || B.233



- japhát* ADJ loose, mushy, languid || B.234
- jáṣ jaás/jás @'t-* pull, drag, draw || AA.#309 B.224 ¶ = *jaás @'t-*
- jeék jeék/jiik man'* stretch oneself, stretch out, lie, creep || AA.#324 B.234  
*jeék né* even, levelled, flat, level || AA.#916
- jigá* Z late time || AA.#930 B.234
- jiyíni* Y two-stringed instrument (which play with a bow) || B.234 ¶ ?=*jayíni*  
 'violin'
- jiyé* Y PL *-miŋ*, HZ *-čij*, NG *-čaŋ* sleeve, hem (of trousers) || B.235
- joóli* X PL *-muc* leather bag for filtering of milk || B.235
- jú jú-* INTR IPFV *-ç-*, NEG *açu-*, PFV CP *d-@'/d-@'* come || AA.#412 B.235
- ju* X PL *-ánc* woof, weft || B.235 ¶ × *gas* 'warp'
- juk* X PL *-ánc* kidney || AA.#506 B.236
- júkanç júkanç, júkan* Y PL *júkançiŋ* large spindle composed of a shaft and a disc wing || B.236 ¶ = *duk*
- júkumal* X PL *-išo* small spindle composed of a shaft and a disc wing || B.236
- júmus* X PL *júmuyanc, júmušo* metal bracelet, bangle || AA.#566 B.236
- juú* XY PL X *juínc*, Y *-miŋ, joóŋ* apricot || B.236  
*baláanimojúú* kind of apricot (with large fruits)  
*burúmjuú* kind of apricot (with light coloured small fruits) || B.236 ¶  
*burúm* 'white'
- daláša* kind of apricot
- habíjúú* kind of apricot (with large fruits having double kernels for dried fruits) || B.236
- haríša gakás* kind of apricot
- jaanglír, jaanglíre juú* kind of apricot (with small sweet fruits for eating raw) || B.236 ¶ UR *jahāngīr* 'Jahangir (person name 'world-taking')'
- mirmaamudíjuú* kind of apricot
- nabát šaaíjuú* kind of apricot
- káači* Y PL *-ŋ* caff
- kaayáz* Y PL *-ij* paper || AA.#80 B.237 ¶ UR *kāyaz*
- kaáki* HF PL *-caro* sister || AA.#216 B.237 ¶ SH *kaáki*
- kaáko* HM PL *-caro* brother || AA.#215 B.237 ¶ SH *kaáko*

- káam* Y job, work ¶ UR *kām*
- kaamiáab* *kaamiáab @-mán-* succeed, be successful || AA.#862 ¶ UR  
*kāmiyāb*
- kaaphí* *kaaphí, kaafí* ADJ sufficient ¶ UR *kāfí*
- káar* X PL -išo car || AA.#586 ¶ EN *car*
- káaṭ* Y together, with (+GEN) || AA.#498 B.238  
*káaṭum* ADJ PL -išo companionate, accompanying || AA.#592 B.238
- kaát* Y PL -iṅ promise, appointment, condition, agreement || B.238  
*kaát óos-* promise, make an appointment || AA.#859
- kabáai* X PL -muc jacket
- kabáap* Y PL -ičiṅ kebab || B.238 ¶ UR *kabāb*
- kabgír* Y PL -iṅ spatula, rice scoop ¶ UR *kafgír* ‘skimmer, spoon’
- kačáar* Y great ingratitude || B.239  
*kačaarí, kačaaríkuṣ* Y great ingratitude || B.239
- kaḍaaí* Y line pattern embroidery, embroidery motif (historically brought from Chitral)
- kaḍár* Y PL -iṅ thick and heavy cloth for menswear
- kaḍí* X PL -muc ridge, girder, beam
- kaináat* Y PL -iṅ world || AA.#726 ¶ = *duniáa*
- kakumárč* X PL -o cardamom
- kalburáa* Z place name in Hopar
- kalónç* Y PL *kalóañ* scorching
- kám* ADJ little, few, in short || AA.#195, 472 B.446  
*kám man’/@-mán-* fall, drop, decline, decrease || AA.#889 B.240  
*kampáçi* X smaller part || B.241
- kamálo* X PL -muc quilt, blanket || B.240
- kamará* Y PL -miṅ room || AA.#574 B.241 ¶ UR *kamrā*
- kambá* X PL -muc pylon
- kampyyuutár* X PL -išo computer ¶ EN *computer*
- kandák* X shovel
- kanjóokušal* Z place name in the lower side of Uyum Nager ¶ -šal ‘place of residence’

- kaŋ* X PL -*ánc* pond, pool || AA.#139 B.241
- kapál* X PL -*išo* skull, head, forehead, frontal bone || B.146 (*gapál*)
- kapatóo* NG RFX PL -*muc* HS *tukóro* eggshell
- kapšá* X PL -*muc* shoe || AA.#570 B.239 (*kafšá*) ¶ UR *kafš*
- kár kiikáar* Y stroll, walk || B.242 (*kī-kāār man-'* 'stroll')
- karaaí* X PL -*muc* small boiling pan || AA.#104 ¶ UR *kaṛāhī*
- karaaṭée* Y karate ¶ JAPANESE *karate*
- karaáto* X insect || B.242
- karaburá* X PL -*muc* iron pot
- karagáđi* HSG PL PL -*muc* clan name in Karimabad || B.500 (*Karagáđimuc*)
- karan d-@-'karan-, d-@-'skaran-* TR IPFV *d-@-'karay-, d-@-'skaray-* surround, wall in || B.242
- karéeli* X NG PL -*muc* female lamb
- karéelo* X NG PL -*muc* male lamb || B.242
- karkiná* Y PL -*miŋ* yolk and white of an egg
- karóor* Z ten million ¶ UR *karōr*
- kašwáar* Y PL -*iŋ* earring || B.243 (*kašawáar*) ¶ UR *gōš wāra*
- kaṭál* HZ ADJ on foot || B.150 (*gaṭál, kaṭál*) ¶ = *gaṭál*
- kawárd* ADJ covered ¶ EN *covered*
- kayá* X PL -*muc* worn-out shoe, leather of worn-out shoes || B.243
- kayám* Y PL -*iŋ* a kind of califlower || B.244
- kazimabáat* Y place name in Uyum Nager
- ké* CONJ (linker) and, then, also, too || AA.#497, 966 B.244 (<sup>1,2</sup>*ke*) ¶ ?UR, PE *ke*
- kéek* X PL -*uc* cake ¶ EN *cake*
- képal* Y glacier name behind the *pindárgos* hill || B.500
- képal dóŋs* Z place name in Hopar on the *képal* glacier || B.500 (*Képal* *Đoms*)
- képal pŋik* X peak name of a mountain at the inner part of *képal* glacier in Hopar ¶ EN *peak*
- kibén* Y PL *kibéyo* street stall
- kin @-'kin* Y PL HZ @-'*kimiŋ*, NG -*iŋ* liver || AA.#35 B.245

- kitáab* **kitáab, kitáap** Y PL -ičij, -ičaŋ book || AA.#599 ¶ UR *kitāb*  
*kitilí* X PL -muc kettle || AA.#105 B.245 (*kitalí, kitilí*)  
*kóči* Y lack, shortage || B.245  
*kočekóoço* Y PL *kočekóoçumiŋ* metal scoop for dough || B.245 (*koçokóoço*)  
*koontár* X PL -išo counter ¶ EN *counter*  
*kóop* X PL -išo cup || AA.#554 ¶ EN *cup*  
*koošš* Y effort || B.256 (*khoošís, koošís*) ¶ UR *kōšiš*  
*kóši* Z old place name of Faizabad in Hunza  
*kuc* -kuc Z day || AA.#646 B.246 (<sup>2</sup>-*kuć*)  
*kúli* CONJ though || B.247  
*kulíkuc* H clan name of *yušóšal* in Hopar || B.501  
*kum* -kum Y group || B.247 (<sup>1</sup>-*kum*)  
*kuná* X PL -muc bar, rod || AA.#73 B.247  
*kundá* X PL -muc bar of gates, knob ¶ UR *kunḍā*  
*kundí* X PL -muc bolt of windows ¶ UR *kunḍī*  
*kuráto* NG ADJ PL X -muc hard, stiff || AA.#440 B.247  
*kurčí* X PL -muc chair || AA.#573 ¶ = *kursí* UR *kursī*  
*kursí* X PL *kursénc* chair, foundation (of a house) ¶ = *kurčí* UR *kursī*  
*kuyoóč* H PL subject people || B.249  
*kúyukuc* H clan name of Ganish  
*khaaná* Y food, provisions || B.250 ¶ UR *khānā*  
*kháči* X PL -muc bucket || B.250  
     *čháue kháči* tub for milking ¶ *čháu* ‘milking’  
*khačí* @-*kháči*- TR confine || B.250  
     *dukháči*- TR be confined || B.250  
*khaḍí* X PL -muc loom  
*khái* Y place name in Uyum Nager || B.501  
*khakháayo* NG X PL -muc walnut || = *tilí*  
*khan* X PL -ánc fort, town, village, centre of village || AA.#247, 248 B.251  
*khapíčan* **khapíčan yeéc-** be in trouble, be in a fix, have a hard time || AA.#775  
*khápun* X PL *khápuyo* spoon || AA.#555 B.251

- khar** @-*khár* PRN oneself (used as an object or peripheral argument) || B.252  
 @-*kháranje* by oneself
- kharán** *kharán-* INTR IPFV *kharáy-* be late || B.252  
 @-*kháran-* INTR IPFV @-*kháray-* be late || B.252
- kharẽti** X PL -*muc* small wicker basket || B.252
- kháruu** X PL -*muc* lice || AA.#87 B.252
- kháš** *kháš* @-*t-* slaughter || B.252  
*khaás/khişkhás man-'* move, creep, squirm || AA.#416 B.253 (*khişkhás man-'*)
- khaṭ** X PL -*áinc* bed
- khaṭ** *dukhát-* INTR IPFV *dukháš-* be obstructed, be choked || B.253  
*d-@-kaṭ-* INTR IPFV *d-@-kaš-* be obstructed, be choked || B.253
- khay** X PL -*ánc* sandbar, sandbank, beach, outcrop of riverbed, stirrup || B.253  
 (<sup>1</sup>*khay*)  
*kháykane* along the beach
- khéel** Y PL -*ij* game, play || B.254 ¶ UR *khēl*  
*khéel* @-*t-* play (a game) || AA.#399  
*peesúu khéel* Y hopscotch ¶ = *jookhéel*
- khéen** Y PL -*ij* period, time, season, fest || AA.#178, 246 B.254
- khíif** X PL -*muc* shield, buckler || B.254
- khíil** *khíile* Z this way, hither, to here || AA.#261 B.14 (*akhíile*)
- khín** X PL HZ *khío*, NG *khíu* flea || AA.#86 B.255 (<sup>1</sup>*khin*)
- khín** PRN PROX she, he || AA.#229, 230 B.255 (*khiné*, *khin*) ¶ X *khós*, Y *khót*, DIST *ín*
- khirc** X PL -*áinc* joint, part of a limb between joints || B.255
- khíšo** X PL -*muc* mosquito || AA.#85 B.255
- khíti** Z hither, here || B.255
- khítítí** Y PL -*miṅ* pelvis, pubis ¶ *khíti* 'hither', *íti* 'thither'
- khitkí** *khitkí*, *kidkí*, *kirkí*, *kirkí* Y PL *khitkēj*, -*miṅ* window || AA.#110 B.256 (*khitkí*) ¶ UR *khirkī*
- khiy** Y PL -*áj* leaf, dead leaf || B.256 ¶ = *humúl*
- khók** PRN X *khóc*, Y *khók*, SG *khót* these || B.163 (*guté*) ¶ H *khú*, DIST X *éc*,

Y *ék*@-*khókur*- see *gukór**khól* HZ *khóle*, NG *khólei*, *kholeí* Z here || AA.#257 B.256*khón* X PL *khóyo* ant || AA.#88 B.256*khóot* X coat ¶ EN *coat**khót* PRN X *khós*, Y *khót*, PL *khók* this || B.163 (*guté*) ¶ H *khín*, DIST X *és*, Y *ét**khós* X [slang] penis*khú* PRN PROX they || AA.#233, 234 B.255 (*khiné*) ¶ X *khóc*, Y *khók*, DIST *ú**khúin* Z this year || AA.#656 B.257*khukín* *dukhíkin*- INTR IPFV *dukhíkiy*- ignite, be lit, catch fire, thin, bulge out || B.254*d-@'kukin*-, *d-@'skukin*- TR IPFV *d-@'kukiy*-, *d-@'skukiy*- ignite, light, put fire, thin, bulge over || B.254*khúla* ADJ open, opening, being opened ¶ UR *khulā**khut* ADJ PL -*óiko*, -*úiko* short || AA.#456 B.257*d-@'kut*- INTR IPFV *d-@'kuš*-, PL *d-@'kuča*- become thin, become poor, be diluted || B.248*khúulto* Z today || AA.#174 B.258 ¶ -*ul* 'day', -*to* 'just'I *d-@'l*-, *@-dél*- TR IPFV -*j*- hit, beat, slash || AA.#298 B.259*@'l*-, *@'l*- see *úl**laajawár* Y PL -*ij* lapis lazuli ¶ = *laajuardí* UR *lājaward**laajuardí* Y PL -*ij* lapis lazuli ¶ = *laajawár* UR *lājwardī* 'of lapis lazuli'*láakh* Z hundred thousand ¶ UR *lākh**lál* Y PL -*ij* ruby || B.259 ¶ = *yaaqúut* UR *la'l**laanetí* ADJ accursed ¶ UR *la'natī**láo* *láo ét*- call || AA.#281 B.260 (*láo* 'hello')*laás* ADJ spread, covering || B.260 (*laás man'* 'spread oneself')*laazmí* Y responsibility ¶ UR *lāzmī**laçaár* X PL -*išo* morning star || B.260*layán* ADJ PL *layáyo* dumb || AA.#221 B.260*lám* *lálám*, *lílám* ONO glittering, glistening, dazzling

- lálam* Y PL -ičij lightning || AA.#618  
*lálam man'* twinkle, shine, glitter || AA.#891 B.261 (<sup>1</sup>*lálam man'*)
- lamán* Y PL *lamáij* skirt, hem (of shirts) || B.261
- lambár* Y PL -ij number || AA.#196, 694 B.261 ¶ = *nambár* EN number,  
 UR *nambar*, *lambar*
- lan *ilán-* NG INTR IPFV *iláy-* can || AA.#423 B.454 (*ulán-*, *ilán-*)  
*ulán-* INTR IPFV *uláy-*, NEG HZ *oólan-* can || AA.#423 B.454
- lančpák* Y PL -ičij packed lunch ¶ EN *lunch pack*
- láj *láj man'* move, twitch, wriggle, shake, swing, sway || AA.#416, 880  
 B.262  
*láj/láj @'t-* shake, swing, rock || AA.#377 B.262  
*liláj man'* move, twitch, wriggle, shake || AA.#416
- láp* ADJ half || AA.#193 B.262
- laphz *laphz, lafz* Y PL -ij, *alphááz, alpháazišo* word || AA.#243 B.263  
 (*laphas, lafz*) ¶ UR *lafz*, PL *alfáz*
- laq* ADJ PL -úu naked, bare || AA.#512 B.263 (<sup>1</sup>*laq*)
- láša* X PL -muc noodle || B.263
- laš *laš @'t-* lick || AA.#757 B.264
- laṭháq *laṭháq, laṭháaq* ONO sound and manner of swinging || B.264 (*laṭháq man'* 'quake')
- lčín *@'lčín* X PL HS *@'lčimuc*, RF NG *@'lčimuc* eye || AA.#5 B.264
- leekín* CONJ but || B.265 ¶ UR *lėkin*
- leél* Y PL -ij mark, sign, symbol, emotion || AA.#752
- leél* ADJ knowing  
*leél man'/@-mán-* know, notice || AA.#421, 760 B.265  
*leél @'t-* inform || AA.#286 B.265
- léi *léi, léei* INTERJ HM.OBJ hi, hey || AA.#494 B.265 (*léei*, <sup>1</sup>*léi*)
- líp *líp @'t-* throw || AA.#303 B.266
- líš *líš man'* grovel, crawl || B.266
- ljí *@'lji* Z behind, back, after (+ABL), behind || AA.#269, 662 B.266  
*@'ljikan* ADJ behind || B.267  
*@'ljine, @'lji né* behind, backwards || B.267 (*'lji né*)  
*@'ljiskim* from behind || B.267 (*'ljiskum*) ¶ *-iski* 'in style of'

- @'ljitali** Z backwards ¶ -*tali* 'via'
- loyán** Y PL *loyáinj* paint, colours
- lónc** X loophole || B.268
- lóoto** X PL -*muc* ball of yawn || B.268 ¶ ? *lót* 'wrinkled'
- lót** **lót man'** become wrinkled, crumple || B.268 ¶ ? *lóoto* 'ball of yawn'
- lpúr** **@'lpur** HZ Y PL -*aŋ, -iaŋ* NG **@'rpur** eyelid, eyelash || B.268
- ltá** **tá-** INTR run after (+ADE/@-*cí*), follow, reach || AA.#347 B.413 (<sup>1</sup>*tá-*)  
**@'lta-** TR make follow || B.413
- ltá** **tá-** TR put on || B.413 (<sup>2</sup>*tá-*)  
**@-ltá-** TR put on || B.413  
**@'lta-** DITR make put on || B.413
- ltayáy** **tayáy** Y mud, cement, freshly mixed concrete || B.268  
**@-ltáyay-** TR IPFV **@-ltáyac-** grout, plaster, cement, smear || B.268  
**dultáyay-** INTR IPFV **dultáyac-** be plastered with mud || B.268
- ltaik** **@-ltaik, @'ltalik** NG ADJ HZ **@-ltik** both || B.269 ¶ *altó* 'two', -*ik*  
 INDEF.PL
- ltalén** **talén-** INTR IPFV **taléy-** change, turn around, wander, circle, plough  
 || B.416 (<sup>1</sup>*talén-*), 417 (<sup>2</sup>*talén-*)  
**@-ltálan-** INTR IPFV **@-ltálay-** change || B.417  
**@'ltálan-** TR IPFV **@-ltálay-** turn upside down, call back, turn, roll,  
 make plough || B.417
- ltaltár** **táltar** Y PL -*iŋ* thigh || B.269 (-*ltáltar, táltar*)
- ltan** **tan'** TR IPFV **tay'** mash, crush in a mortar, forge by hammering ||  
 B.419  
**@-ltán-** TR IPFV **@-ltáy-** mash, crush in a mortar, forge by hammering  
 || B.419  
**dultán-** INTR IPFV **dultáy-** be crushed || B.419
- ltapú** **dultápu-** INTR PL **dultápuya-** wither, (vegetation, fruit, person) dry up  
 || B.269  
**d-@'ltapu-** INTR wither, (vegetation, fruit, person) dry up || B.269
- ltask** **task'** TR IPFV -*ič-* pull, draw (bow) || B.423  
**@-ltásk-** TR IPFV -*ič-* pull, draw (bow) || B.423  
**dutásk-** INTR IPFV -*ič-* be elastic, stretch || B.423



- ltés **@-ltés** X PL **@-ltáanc** eyebrow || AA.#4 B.269
- ltik **@-ltik** HZ ADJ NG **@-ltaik**, **@-ltalik** both || B.269 ¶ **altó** ‘two’, -ik  
INDEF.PL
- ltin **tin**, **@-ltín** X PL **tinjó**, **@-ltío** bone || AA.#45 B.269  
**baítin** clavicle || B.31 (**báitin**) ¶ = **γareéy**  
**bácine tin** femur, thighbone ¶ **bácin** ‘thigh’  
**@-yáane tin** calcaneus  
**pínie tin** tibia, fibula ¶ **píni** ‘lower leg’  
**@-şçıne tin** lumbar vertebra ¶ **@-şçıñ** ‘waist’  
**@-şe tin** cervical vertebra ¶ **@-ş** ‘neck’  
**@-wáldase tin** vertebra, backbone ¶ **@-wáldas** ‘back’
- ltir **@-ltir-** DITR IMP **@-ltiri** show || AA.#276 B.269
- ltumál **@-ltúmal** Y PL RF -iañ, HS NG -ij ear || AA.#7 B.269
- ltumuy **d-@-ltumuy-** INTR IPFV **d-@-ltumuç-** make the upper part of cap a  
uniform height, get ready || B.270
- ltur **tur** Y PL -iány HZ **@-ltúr** horn || AA.#68 B.270 (<sup>1</sup>-ltúr, <sup>1</sup>tur)  
**@-ltúr** HZ Y PL -iañ horn, antenna, feeler || AA.#68 B.270 (<sup>1</sup>-ltúr,  
<sup>1</sup>tur)
- ltur **@-ltúr man’** imitate || AA.#781 B.270 (<sup>2</sup>-ltúr man’)
- ltus **@-ltús** Y **@-ltúşij** funeral service, burial || AA.#580 B.270
- lubáab** X kind of stringed instrument with 20 strings (14 **simánc** and 6 **baláncal**)
- luúk **luúk @-t-** move, shift || AA.#879 B.271
- lúuyo** X PL -muc tuft || B.271
- má** PRN ERG GEN **máa**, DAT **mámar** you || AA.#232 B.272 (<sup>1</sup>ma)
- maahóol** Y PL -ij environment, circumstance ¶ UR **mā-haul**
- máal** X possession || B.272 (<sup>2</sup>máal) ¶ UR **māl**  
**maalháal**, **haalmáal** X PL possessions, property, treasures
- máalto** Z three days from today || B.272 ¶ -ul ‘day’, -to ‘just’
- maamó **@-maámo** NG Y PL -čañ breast || AA.#25 B.277 (-mámut,  
-maámo) ¶ = HZ **@-mámut**, NG RF **čúčo**
- maamulí** ADJ normal || AA.#949 B.272 ¶ UR **ma’mulī**
- maaní** Y meaning || B.272 ¶ UR **ma’nī**
- máaph **máaph éti** PL **máaph étin** I’m sorry || AA.#973 B.272 (**máap ét-**,

- maafí ét-* ‘forgive’ ¶ UR *mu‘āf* ‘forgiveness’  
*maaphí dúmar-* apologize || AA.#770 B.272 ¶ *dúmar-* ‘reply’  
 UR *mu‘āfi* ‘forgiving’
- máarč* Z March || AA.#629 ¶ UR *mārč*, EN *March*
- maastár* H PL -išo teacher, master || AA.#711 ¶ EN *master*
- maayúus* ADJ disappointed ¶ UR *māyūs*
- maay *dumáay-* INTR IPFV *dumáač-* fit, agree, match, live in peace ||  
 AA.#417 B.273  
*d-@‘may-* INTR IPFV *d-@‘mač-* fit, consent, match, live in peace ||  
 AA.#417 B.273
- mac *dumác-* INTR IPFV *dumáš-* wrap || B.274  
*d-@‘mac-* INTR IPFV *d-@‘maš-* wrap || B.274
- mačháari* X PL -muc bee || B.274
- mačhalá* Y brass instrument
- madád *madád/madát man’* help || AA.#400 B.274 (*madát* ‘help’) ¶ UR  
*madad* ‘help’
- mágar* ADJ but, however || AA.#980 B.274 ¶ UR *magar*
- mayrīb* Y west || AA.#735 ¶ UR *mayrīb*
- máyun* X PL -išo, *máyuyo* pearl, male wild goose || B.274  
*díj máyun* onyx || B.274  
*matúm máyun* kind of mineral (onyx?) ¶ *matúm* ‘black’
- mahál* Y palace, court ¶ UR *mahall*
- maí* Z May || AA.#631 ¶ UR *maī*, EN *May*
- májal* Y PL -ij brass instrument || B.275 (? *májal* ‘side zigzag binding of  
 drams’)
- majít* Y PL -ij mosque || B.275 ¶ = *masjíd* UR *masjid*
- makáan* Y hut, house || B.275 ¶ UR *makān*
- makái* Y maize, Indian corn ¶ UR *makaī*
- mákuči* Y between, midst || AA.#272, 748 B.275  
*mákučim* ADJ central, middle, intermediate, mid || AA.#748 B.275
- mal* Y PL -éj field, farmland, acre || AA.#129 B.275 (<sup>1</sup>*mal*)
- maláq *maláq ní-* fall down, topple, tumble down, die || AA.#840 B.275  
*maláaq @‘t-* roll, turn, pack, wind || AA.#798, 802 B.275 (*malāāq*)

- t-)  
*maláaq, malamaláaq* ONO rumble-rumble (lying about idly)  
*malamaláaq* ONO scrub-a-dub, scrap-scrap, gobble-gobble (wolfing down)  
 @'s *malamaláaq man'* feel bad, be sick || B.276 (as *malāāq maními* 'I feel bad') ¶ @'s 'heart'
- malc *malc'* TR IPFV -ič- abuse || B.276  
 @-*málc-* TR IPFV @-*málč-* abuse || B.276
- maldin @-*maldin-* INTR IPFV @-*maldiy-* twine two threads into yarn || B.276
- maliám* Y PL -ij ointment || B.276  
*maliám @'t-* rub ointment || AA.#847
- maltár *maltár-* TR spread, daub, wind around || B.276  
 @-*máltar-* TR spread, daub, wind around || B.276  
*dumáltar-* INTR be daubed || B.276
- máma* HF PL -caro mother || AA.#203 B.276
- mamú* Y PL -čij milk || AA.#528 B.277
- mamúkuc* H clan name of *yušóšal* in Hopar
- mamúrukuc* H clan name of Ganish
- mamúša* X PL -muc HZ female lamb, NG lamb
- mamúši* X HZ PL -muc male lamb, lamb || B.277
- mamút @-*mámut* HZ Y PL @-*mámučij* breast || AA.#25 B.277 ¶ = NG  
 @-*maámo*, NG RF *čúčo*
- mán* X PL -išo balance, pair of scales
- mán* Z unit of weight (about 40 kg), mound || B.278 (<sup>3</sup>*man*) ¶ UR *man*
- man *man'* INTR IPFV *may'*, NEG *oóman-* be, become, occur, appear, exist || AA.#424, 865 B.278  
 @-*mán-* INTR IPFV @-*máy-* be, become, occur, appear, exist || AA.#424, 865 B.278  
 @'-*man-* INTR IPFV @'-*may-* can || AA.#423 B.278  
*dumán-* INTR IPFV *dumáy-* be born, occur, be made, solidify, become frozen || AA.#395 B.278  
*d-@'man-* INTR IPFV *d-@'may-* be born, occur, be made, solidify, become frozen || AA.#395 B.278

- d-@'sman-* TR IPFV *d-@'smay-* make, build, bear, create, curdle ||  
AA.#362, 394 B.278
- man *d-@'man-* INTR IPFV *d-@'may-* become aware, realise
- man *d-@'man-* INTR IPFV *d-@'may-* become numb || B.278
- manáalukušal* Z place name in the upper side of Uyum Nager ¶ -šal 'place of residence'
- mancé @-mánce *man'* help || AA.#400 B.279
- mandír* Y PL -ij temple || AA.#727 ¶ UR *mandir*
- mánokuc* H clan name of *hólšal* in Hopar
- manpháat* Y PL -ij income, benefit || B.279 ¶ UR *manfa'at*
- mapéer* HZ ADJ PL -išo, -tij NG *maphéer* aged, old || AA.#466, 699 B.279  
*mapeerí* Y old age || B.280
- maphéer* NG ADJ PL -išo HZ *mapéer* aged, old || AA.#466, 699 B.279  
(*mapéer*, *maphéer*)
- maqmasá* Y PL -mij trouble, dilemma || B.280 ¶ UR *maxmasa*
- maqsád* Y purpose || B.280 (*maqsát*) ¶ UR *maqsad*
- maqhmótkuc* H clan name of *hakálšal* in Hopar
- már *d-@'mar-* TR take away, accept, take off || B.280  
*dúmar-* TR ask, require, accept, get, reply, answer || AA.#766, 767  
B.280
- maraká* Y palace, meeting, council || B.281 (*marká*, *maraká*)
- maramí* HZ H PL -tij untouchable, forbidden, wicked, bastard ¶ ?= *haraamí*
- maráq* Y PL -ičij curve, bending || B.281  
*maráaq* ONO manner of bending  
*niimaráaq* ONO manner of twisting or wiggling
- mardakháy* X PL -išo poppy || B.281
- mariám* NG H chamberlain, confidant(e) || B.273 (*maarám*, *mariám*) ¶ UR  
*mahram*  
*mariamí* NG Y the post of a chamberlain ¶ UR *mahramí*
- martabáan* X PL *martabáayo* pot, jar || AA.#107 ¶ UR *martabān*
- máručo* NG ADJ hot, spicy, chilli || AA.#444 B.282 (*máruć* 'pepper',  
*márčo-sáručo* 'spicy')
- mas @-mas- TR IPFV @-maš- hand over, send in || B.282

- d-@'mas-* TR IPFV *d-@'maš-* hand over hither || B.282
- masjíd* Y PL *-iḡ* mosque ¶ = *majít* UR *masjid*
- masrúuph* ADJ busy || AA.#928 ¶ UR *masrūf*
- mašarba* X PL *-muc* jar, goblet, ewer, small bucket, small pot used in lavatory ¶  
UR *mašrab*
- mašín* Y PL *-ičij* machine || AA.#585 ¶ EN *machine*
- mašíjuc* H clan name of *hólšal* in Hopar
- mašríq* Y east || AA.#734 ¶ UR *mašriq*
- mašúur* ADJ famous || B.283 (*mašhúur*, *mašúur*) ¶ UR *mašhūr*
- máš* *máš/maáš @'t-* boil, (*maáš*) boil well || AA.#346 B.283
- maškáat* NG X PL *-išo* small yak ¶ = HZ *zó*
- mat* *matúm* ADJ PL HX *-išo*, Y *-iḡ* black || AA.#478 B.284
- matal* *d-@'matal-*, *d-@'matl-* INTR IPFV *-j-* give a yawn || B.283  
*d-@'matalas*, *d-@'matlas* Y yawn || AA.#515
- matláb* Y PL *-ičij* meaning || AA.#724 ¶ UR *matlab*
- máto* Y PL *-miḡ* brain, mind || AA.#501, 244 B.284
- mathán* *mathán*, *matháan* ADJ far || AA.#457 B.284
- maṭkáa* X PL *-muc* jar, jug || AA.#106 ¶ UR *maṭkā*
- maujúud* NG ADJ HZ *moojúud* present, existent ¶ UR *maujūd*
- maúš* NG X PL *mawánc* ground rake without teeth || B.284 (*máuš*) ¶ HZ  
*gurmaalá*
- mayón* X PL *mayóyo* parrot || B.284
- máyo* Y compensation || B.285
- mazá* Y PL *-miḡ* taste || AA.#57 B.285 ¶ UR *maza*  
*mazájú-* be joyful to
- mazuurí* Y wage earning || B.285
- me @-mé* X tooth, fang, tusk || AA.#13, 536 B.285
- méekap* Y make-up || AA.#561 ¶ EN *make-up*
- meélgus* HF X PL *meélgušinc* fire-sparkling spirit lady, shooting star || B.285
- meén* ADJ PL X *meéyanc*, *meéenc*, Y *meéj* old, awe-inspiring || AA.#468  
B.285
- méeq* NG X PL *-išo* HZ *meq* hoof nail, nail, spike || B.289 (*miq*) ¶ UR *mēx*

- méeski* XY PL -*muc*, -*miŋ* table ¶ ? *mééz* ‘desk’
- mééz* X PL -*išo* desk || AA.#572 ¶ UR *mēz*
- mehmáan* H guest || B.286 ¶ UR *mihmān*
- mehrbáan* ADJ PL -*išo* kindhearted, kind || AA.#941 B.286 ¶ UR *mihrbān*  
*mehrbaaní* Y thanksgiving, gratitude || B.286 ¶ UR *mihrbānī*  
*mehrbaaní étin* please (do it), excuse me
- mehsúul* Y PL -*iŋ* tax || AA.#597 ¶ UR *mahsūl*
- mel* Y DOUBLE PL HZ -*míŋ*, NG -*míčəŋ* liquor, wine || AA.#55 B.286
- melç @-mélç* Y PL @-*mélčəŋ* jaw || AA.#14 B.286
- mélukušal* Z place name in the lower side of Uyum Nager || B.503 ¶ -*šal*  
‘place of residence’
- mén* H who, somebody || AA.#237 B.286  
*méniko* H PL anybodies || B.286 ¶ ? -*ik* INDEF.PL
- ménis* X PL *ménišo* NG ewe, HZ female lamb
- meq meq, miq* HZ X PL -*ánc*, -*áinc* NG *méeq* hoof nail, nail, spike, screw ||  
B.289 (*miq*) ¶ UR *mēx*
- meş* Y PL -*míŋ* nursery tree, young plant || B.286
- mí* PRN ERG GEN *míi*, DAT *mímar* we || AA.#231 B.286
- mí @-mi* HF PL -*caro* mother || AA.#203 B.286
- mi d-@-mi-* TR collect || B.287
- miaóo miaáo/myáao @-t-* meow || AA.#759
- michír* NG X PL -*išo* marten, ermine || B.287
- mičchi* AL X SG PL shoe
- míim* HF Ms. || AA.#708 B.287  
*míim sáap* HF PL -*išo* public servant woman, government official woman  
|| AA.#715 ¶ *sáap* ‘Mr.’
- milí* X PL *milénc* medicine || AA.#50 B.287  
*milí @-t-* cure || AA.#301 B.287 (*milí ét-*)
- min min-’* TR IPFV *miy-’*, IMP *miné*, NEG HZ *oómin-* drink || AA.#329  
B.288  
@-*min-* DITR IPFV @-*miy-* make drink || B.288
- mináltin* X PL *minaltio* pelvis, ischium || B.288 ¶ *tin* ‘bone’

- minás* HZ Y PL *minášij* NG *nimás* tale, story || B.288 ¶ WB *minás*  
*minát* Z minute || AA.#648 ¶ EN *minute*  
 mir @-*mír-* TR commit sodomy, practice anal sex upon, copulate || B.289  
 mis @-*mis* H PL @-*mišo* grandchild || AA.#210 B.289  
 mišíndi NUM HXY *mišíndo*, Z *mišíndi* six || AA.#184 B.289  
 miš @-*miš* X PL @-*mianc* finger || AA.#31 B.289  
     *yáir/yeér @-miš* little finger || B.289 (*ǰaíl/ǰayeél -miš*) ¶ UR *yair*  
     ‘outer’  
     *laphót @-miš* thumb || B.289  
*miṭhaaí* X PL -*muc* sweets, confectionary || AA.#524 ¶ UR *miṭhāī*  
*miwá* X SG PL DOUBLE PL RF *miwaínc* fruit || AA.#126 ¶ UR *mēwa*  
*miyáar* see *yár*  
*mobaal* X PL -*išo* cellular phone ¶ EN *mobile*  
*moojíz* ADJ miraculous, miracle ¶ UR *mo’jiz*  
*moojizáa* Y miracle ¶ UR *mo’jiza*  
*moojúud* HZ ADJ NG *maujúud* present, existent ¶ UR *maujūd*  
*moomín* ADJ pious || B.290 ¶ UR *mōmin*  
*mominaabáad* Z Mominabad (village name in Hunza) || B.503 (*moominabáat*)  
     ¶ *dumiáal* (old name)  
*moóq* ADJ grinning  
     *moóq @-t-* grin, smile || B.287 (*moóq ét-*)  
 moos @-*móos* Y anger || B.291  
     @-*móos @-mán-/jú-* get angry || AA.#296  
*moosám* Y PL -*ičij* weather, season || AA.#620 ¶ UR *mausam*  
 moq @-*móq-* TR IPFV -*ič-* pull out, pluck off || B.291  
     *dumóq-* INTR IPFV -*ič-* fall out, become bald || B.291  
 moqíš @-*móqiš* Y PL @-*móqiaŋ* cheek || AA.#15 B.291  
*mós* Y PL HZ -*ij*, NG -*aŋ* muddy current, muddy ravine, flood || B.291  
*mubaarák* INTERJ congratulations, blessing || AA.#975 B.60 (*bubaarák*,  
     *mubaarák*) ¶ = *bubaarák* UR *mubāarak*  
     *mubaaraki* Y congratulatory address ¶ UR *mubārakī*  
*mučúšk* Y PL *mučúaŋ* bread turner wooden stick with a plate on the top ||

B.291

- múç* Y PL -*ij* fist || AA.#503 B.292
- muyúle cák dirámišal* Z place name behind Baltit Fort (a part of *dirámišal*)
- mujóq* Y PL HZ -*ičij*, NG -*ičaŋ* tassel || B.292
- mulaaqaát* Y greeting || B.293 ¶ UR *mulāqāt* (PL < *mulāqat* ‘greeting’)
- mulaazím *mulaazím @-urut-* employ ¶ UR *mulāzim* ‘employment’
- múlk* Y country, state || B.293 ¶ UR *mulk*
- multán* Y PL HZ *multáij*, NG -*ičaŋ* blood || AA.#44 B.293
- mun* X PL -*ánc* stump, stubble, grip, PL gleaning || B.294
- múni* X PL -*muc* forearm
- múnikuc* H clan name of *boróšal* in Hopar
- mupúš *@-múpuš* X PL *@-múpuyanc* nose || AA.#8 B.294
- muqaabilá *muqaabilá @-t-* compare || AA.#782 B.294 ¶ UR *muqābila* ‘comparison’
- muqárar* ADJ continuous || B.294 ¶ UR *muqarrar*
- muqtasáre kaláam* CONJ in short, that is || B.294 ¶ UR *muxtasar* ‘in short’, *kalaam* ‘word’
- murdé* X PL -*muc* ring, rim, hoop (of the drum) || AA.#567 B.295
- murmúy. *@-múrmuy-* TR IPFV *@-múrmuç-* polish, rasp || B.295  
*dumúrmuy-* TR IPFV *dumúrmuç-* be sanded down, be polished, be refined || B.295
- murók* Y plague ¶ UR *marak*
- murúť *murúť-* TR IPFV *murúš-* trim || B.295  
*@-múruť-*, *@-múruťin-* TR IPFV *@-múruš-*, *@-múruťiy-* trim || B.295
- musaaphír* H traveler ¶ UR *musāfir*
- musalmáan* H SG PL PL *musalmáayo* Muslim || B.295 (*musulmáan*) ¶ UR *musalmān*
- muskuraaná* ADJ smiley, shining ¶ UR *muskurānā*
- muš* X PL -*ánc*, RF *múšmuc* end, side, edge, bank, shore, cant, border, corner, site || AA.#614, 739 B.295
- múš *múš @-mán-* swell, bulge, be constipated || AA.#315 B.296 (*muš-mán-*)
- múšk* X PL -*išo* wood, grove, forest || AA.#130, 131 B.296



- mut @-mút- TR IPFV @-múč- break into pieces, crush and put in || B.296  
 dumút- INTR IPFV dumúč- be put in as crushing || B.297
- muú Z now || AA.#175 B.297  
 muúto Z just now, right now || AA.#175 B.297  
 muúto qháa still, yet || AA.#967 B.297 ¶ qháaṣ ‘until’
- muzá X PL -muc long leather boot || B.297
- náa INTERJ (tag question) || B.298 (<sup>1</sup>náa)
- naakáam *naakáam* @-mán- fail || AA.#863 ¶ UR *nā-kām* ‘failed’
- naaráaz ADJ sullen || B.298 ¶ UR *nā-rāz*
- naašitáa Y breakfast ¶ UR *nāšitā*
- náat Y eulogium, religious song, encomium ¶ UR *na‘at*
- nagér Z Nager (valley name) || B.504  
*nagériski, nagaráaski* ADJ (in the style) of Nager, Nager dialect || B.504
- naháj NG X PL -išo shellfish || AA.#90
- nám ADJ light, pale, faint || AA.#908
- nambár Y PL -ij number || AA.#196, 694 B.300 ¶ = *lambár* EN *number*, UR *nambar*
- náni HF PL -caro, -muc mother, mummy, mom || AA.#203 B.300 (<sup>1</sup>nána, *náni*)
- náni X PL -muc pupil of an eye
- náro X PL -muc waterwheel || B.300
- nárum ADJ PL X -išo, Y -ij soft || AA.#441 ¶ UR *narm*
- nas Y PL HZ -míj, NG -míčaj smell, fragrance || AA.#58 B.301 (<sup>1</sup>nas)  
*nas jú-* smell, be fragrant, stink || AA.#890  
*nas d-@‘l-* sniff, smell || AA.#278  
*náskiṣ* ADJ PL *náskiaṣ* fragrant, smelly || AA.#910 B.301  
*yuníqiṣ náskiṣ* stinky, foul-smelling || AA.#910 ¶ *yuníqiṣ* ‘bad’  
*náskuṣ* Y fragrance, aroma
- nasáp H PL -ij family, household || AA.#217 ¶ UR *nasab*
- nasawáar Y plug, dipping tobacco ¶ UR *naswār*
- nasíib *nasíib, nasíp* Y luck, fortune, fate || B.301 ¶ UR *nasīb*  
*nasíibkiṣ* ADJ PL *nasíibkianc* lucky, fortunate || B.301 (*nasípkiṣ*)

- yuníqiş nasíbkis** unfortunate, unlucky ¶ **yuníqiş** ‘bad’
- naša** Y drunkenness, intoxication || B.301 ¶ UR *naša*
- naumbár** Z November || AA.#637 ¶ UR *navanbar*, EN *November*
- názar** Y sacrifice, offering || B.302 (<sup>1</sup>*názar*, <sup>1</sup>*nazér*) ¶ UR *nazr*
- názar** **názar, názer** H master || B.302 (<sup>2</sup>*názar*, <sup>2</sup>*nazér*)
- nazís** ADJ PL *nazišo* ill-natured
- ndil** @-**ndíl** Y PL -*ij* chest || AA.#24 B.302
- néeki** Y luck, virtue || B.303 (*neekí*) ¶ UR *nēkī*
- nezá** X PL -*muc* spear, arrowhead || AA.#76 ¶ *nizá* UR *nēza*
- ni** @-**ní** RFY HS @-*ní*, NG @-*né* beard || B.306 (-*ní*, -*ní*, -*né*)
- ní** **ní-** INTR CP *n-@~/n-@~*, NEG HZ *oóni-* go || AA.#413 B.303
- niát** Y oath || B.303 (*niát ét-* ‘take an oath’) ¶ UR *niyyat* ‘intention’
- niḍaaráa** ADJ bad, disgusting
- ní** INTERJ (tag question) || B.303 ¶ = *náa*
- niilám** Y PL -*ičij* sapphire ¶ UR *nīlam*
- niimaráaq** see *maráq*
- niijaranaájo** X PL -*muc* rainbow || B.303 (*níironaani*) ¶ *niironáaj*,  
*niironaáro*
- niironáaj** X PL -*uc* rainbow || AA.#158 B.303 (*níironaani*) ¶ *niironaáro*,  
*niijaranaájo*
- niironaáro** **niironaáro, niironaáro** X PL -*muc* rainbow || AA.#158 B.303  
(*níironaani*) ¶ *niironáaj*, *niijaranaájo*
- nikó khán** Z place name in the lower side of Uyum Nager || B.504
- nimás** NG Y PL *nimásij* HZ *minás* tale, story || B.288 (*minás*, *nimás*) ¶  
WB *minás*
- niré** Y mercy, sympathy || B.304 (*niré-mán-* ‘sympathise’)  
**niré sú-** have mercy on, sympathise
- nišék** X PL -*išo* funnel || B.304
- nizá** X PL -*muc* spear, arrowhead || AA.#76 B.304 ¶ *nezá* UR *nēza*
- nookár** H PL -*tij*, -*išo* servant ¶ UR *nōkar*
- nuqsáan** Y damage, loss || B.305 (*nuqs*, *nuqsáan*) ¶ UR *nuqsān*  
**nuqsáan** @-**čhí-** damage, break || AA.#810

- nuúldukuc** H clan name of *boróšal* in Hopar
- ŋe @-ŋé** NG Y PL -*caro* HS @-*ŋí*, RF @-*ní* beard || B.306 (-*ní*, -*ní*, -*né*)
- ŋgí @-ŋgi** Z front || AA.#268 B.306
- ŋi @-ŋí** HS Y PL -*čaŋ* RF @-*ní*, NG @-*ŋé* beard || B.306
- @-ŋikiš** ADJ bearded
- ohóo ohóo, óohoo** INTERJ oh, wow, ooh || B.307
- ooláat** Y generation, posterity ¶ UR *aulād*
- óor** CONJ and || B.307 (<sup>2</sup>*óor*) ¶ UR *aur*
- óos óos-** TR IPFV *óoš-* put, hang on || AA.#408, 800 B.308
- oowán** Y PL -*iŋ* oven ¶ EN *oven*
- óq óq ét-** vomit || AA.#288 B.308 (*oq -t-*)
- pá** Z side, site, place || B.309 (-*pa*, -*pá*) ¶ *phat*
- @-pa** Y side, place || B.309 (-*pačí* ‘by’)
- paagál** ADJ PL -*išo* fool, crazy, mad || AA.#721 B.309 ¶ UR *pāgal*
- paawardáar** NG ADJ powerful || AA.#437 ¶ EN *power*, UR -*dār* ‘having’
- pačáas** NUM fifty ¶ UR *pačās*
- páči** Y PL -*miŋ* cloth || B.309 (*páči* ‘cotton cloth’)
- padár** X PL -*išo* stirrer pestle || B.310 (*padér*)
- paidáa paidáa @-man-** be born || AA.#395 B.310 (*paidáa man-’*) ¶ UR *paidā* ‘giving a birth’
- páip** X PL -*uc* hose ¶ EN *pipe*
- palastár** Y concrete, plaster ¶ EN *plaster*
- palastík** ADJ plastic ¶ EN *plastic*
- palós** X PL *palóšo* large carpet, blanket || B.310
- panďá** NG X PL -*muc* metal bucket || B.311
- paŋkhá** Y PL -*ŋ* fan ¶ UR *pākhā*
- paragáai** X PL -*muc* leg of cooking stove (*ši*) || B.311 (? *paragaái wási-* ‘bind, enclose’, *paranáai gán-* ‘decolorate with silver’)
- pardá** Y PL -*ŋ* fret, curtain || B.311 ¶ UR *parda*
- pardées** Y foreign country ¶ UR *par-dēs*
- paré -pare** unit of corn weight (1/4 -*čuq*, about 2.5 or 3 kg) || B.311 (*paré*, *hípare*)

- parí* X PL -*tiŋ*, -*muc*, NG *paríáŋtiŋ* fairy || B.312 ¶ UR *parī*
- pariáad* Y complaint
- parindáaz *parindáaz @-t-* dump, spread || B.312 (*parindáas biśá-*)
- parišáan *parišáan @-mán-* suffer, be distressed, confuse || AA.#774 B.312  
(*parišáan* ‘confused’) ¶ = *phikarmánd @-mán-*  
UR *parēšān* ‘confused’
- paronṭá* X PL -*muc* parata (panfried chapatti for breakfast) ¶ UR *parātā*
- partaúus* X PL *partaúušo* peacock
- pasánd *pasán/pasánd @-t-* like, prefer || AA.#333 B.312 ¶ UR *pasand*  
‘favorite’
- pašúu* NG Y distinction of sex
- pašuú* HM PL -*muc* man who sacrifices goats to a witch in dream and can provide  
warning || B.313
- pat *@-pat* HZ Y PL -*iŋ* NG *@-phat* side, beside, flank || AA.#743 B.313  
¶ *@-pa*, *phat*
- paṭáa* Y board ¶ UR *paṭā*
- paṭí* Y bandage, puttees || B.313 ¶ UR *paṭṭī*
- payáalukuśal* Z place name in the lower side of Uyum Nager || B.505 ¶ *-śal*  
‘place of residence’
- peč* X patch ¶ EN *patch*
- péeš *péeš @-t-* present, hand in || B.314 (*píiś -t-*, *pées -t-*) ¶ UR *pěš*  
‘presentation’
- pešaahúr* Y Peshawar (city name in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa)
- pi *@-pi* H PL -*caro* grandfather, grandmother || AA.#204, 205 B.314
- piaadál* ADJ on foot || B.314 ¶ SH *peádal*, UR *paidal*
- píilto* NG Z HZ *qíilto* five days from today ¶ *-ul* ‘day’, *-to* ‘just’
- piir* H PL -*ántiŋ* saint || B.314 ¶ PE *pīr*, PL *pīrān*
- pin* X PL -*óŋo* (safety) pin || B.315 (<sup>2</sup>*pin*) ¶ EN *pin*
- pindárgos* Y place name of a hill between glaciers behind Hopar
- píni* Y PL -*miŋ* tibia, lower leg || B.315
- pipín *d-@-pipin-* INTR IPFV *d-@-pipiy-* grow stout, be constipated || B.315
- pírč* X PL -*išo* saucer || AA.#554 B.315 ¶ UR *pirč*

- pítal** Y PL -iŋ copper || AA.#583
- piwán** Y PL *piwáin* grafted tree, grafting || B.316 ¶ UR *paiwand*
- práaq** Z time of sunrise, rising sun ¶ ? *praáq* ‘beforenoon’
- praáq** Z around 10 or 11 a.m., beforenoon || B.316 (*prāāq*) ¶ ? *práaq* ‘sunrise’
- prán** ONO blam (sound of string) || B.317
- prát** Y similarity || B.317 (*prátulum* ‘similar’)
- prát** **prát man’** burst, explode, blow up || B.317
- puđiná** Y PL -miŋ mint, kind of medical plant (for plague) ¶ UR *pūđina*
- punyāāy** Z Punial (name of the valley which stretches westwards from Gilgit city to Shandur Pass as traversing the Ghizer district) || B.505
- púpo** X PL -muc hoopoe || B.318
- purá** **purá**, **puurá** ADJ all || AA.#194 B.318 ¶ UR *pūrā*  
**purá man’** achieve, accomplish || B.318
- puún** X PL *puúyo* gourd (particularly for liquor) || B.319
- pháan** **pháan-** INTR IPFV *pháay-* grow up, grow stout || AA.#396 B.320
- phaaték** Y PL -ičŋ gate
- phaidá** Y PL -miŋ benefit || B.320 ¶ UR *fāida*
- phál** **phál man’** ride, sit on || AA.#409 B.321  
**phál @-t-** throw, launch || AA.#303 B.320
- phal** X PL RF -óno, HS NG -óŋo grain || B.320  
**phaló** Y PL DOUBLE PL *phaloóin*, -iŋ cereals, corn || AA.#521 B.320
- phalaaná** ADJ so-and-so || B.321 (*phaláan*, *phalaaná*) ¶ UR *fulān*, *falān*
- phalát** **phalát/phaláat @-t-** turn, overturn || B.321 (*phalát -t-*)
- phalátuŝ** X PL *phalátuyanc* beam (of a loom) (*philáme* or *júe*)
- phalcí** NG X PL -muc HZ *phálco* bedbug || B.321 (*phálco*, *phalcí*)
- phálco** HZ X PL -muc NG *phalcí* bedbug || B.321
- phalí** X PL -muc bearing block with bracket at the top of a pillar || B.321
- phalt @-phált-** TR IPFV **@-phálč-** break, smash, wrench open, dig, blow away || B.322  
**duphált-** INTR IPFV *duphálč-* burst, tear, split, explode, blow up, (flash flood) gush out, rapture || AA.#342 B.322

- phamóncal *phamóncal, phamólcal* X PL -išo NG *phamúncal* wooden plate on which spindle used in spinning || B.322
- phamúncal* X PL -išo HZ *phamóncal* wooden plate on which spindle used in spinning || B.322
- phanís* X PL *phaníšo* chopping board || B.322
- pháo *pháo @'t-* scatter, sow || AA.#821 B.322 (<sup>1</sup>*pháo 't-*)
- pháq* Y leaping up, springing, an action of winnowing  
*pháq @'t-* toss up, sift || B.323  
*ye pháqa yáa* [slang] bored and frustrated, tiresome ('it's galling')
- phár *phár man'* look back, turn round, bend || AA.#882 B.323  
*hóle phár ét-* [slang] be tired out, be completely exhausted ('it turns inside out')
- pharáŋ* H foreigner ¶ ? EN *foreign*
- pháraq* Y difference || B.324 ¶ UR *farq*
- phárcin* X PL *phárcimuc* cap || AA.#563 B.324
- phári* X PL -muc pond, pool, lake, water tank, reservoir || AA.#139, 140 B.324
- pháris* X PL *phárianc* wild duck || B.324
- phártin* NG X PL *phártimuc* cap || AA.#563 ¶ = *phárcin*
- pharwarí* Z February || AA.#628 ¶ UR *farwarī*, EN *February*
- phás* Y finish, end, solution || AA.#664, 710 B.325  
*phás man'* be ended, finish || AA.#869 B.325  
*phás @'t-* solve, give an answer || AA.#767 B.325  
*phás ét-* research, search for || AA.#391 B.325
- phát *phát @'t-* release, cease, abandon, lay aside, let go, tip, dump, part from || AA.#352, 794, 860 B.326 (<sup>1</sup>*phát 't-*)  
*khót phát* [slang] tired out, done in ('shit out') ¶ *khót* 'this (= shit)'
- phat *@'phat* NG Y PL -iŋ HZ *@'pat* side, flank || B.313 (*'pat, 'phat*)
- pháta* X PL -muc body (of a stringed instrument or a drum), middle size wooden bowl (larger than *phul*, smaller than *guđúr*) || B.326
- phaṭ* ADJ PL -óiko, RF -óno, HS NG -óŋo dull || AA.#450 B.327
- phaṭáj* ADJ open || B.327  
*phaṭáj man'* appear, go away, disperse || B.327

- phaṭáy @-mán-* fall over || B.327  
*phaṭáy @-t-* open, unveil, remove || AA.#363 B.327
- phaṭár @-pháṭar-* TR peel, pare, skin || AA.#343 B.327  
*dupháṭar-* INTR come off, peel off, molt || B.327
- phaṭí @-pháṭi* X PL -*muc* forehead || AA.#3 B.327
- phayú* X PL *phayónc* ramifiedly fixed arms of a catapult, stem of a matchstick, spindle, small wooden peg || B.328
- pheislá pheislá @-t-* decide || AA.#853 ¶ UR *faisla*
- phelc* XY PL Y -*ij* goumi, silverberry || B.328
- phéšo* XY PL X -*muc*, Y -*miṭ* pear || B.328
- phétij* Y PL HZ -*čij*, NG -*ičar* ash || AA.#150 B.328
- phidáa* X PL *phidaímuc* sacrifice || AA.#544 ¶ UR *fidā*
- phíkar* Y worry, anxiety, uneasiness, sadness || B.329 ¶ UR *fíkr*  
*phíkar @-mán-* be worried, be sad  
*phíkar @-t-* worry, be anxious || AA.#776  
*phikarmánd* ADJ worrisome, distressed ¶ UR *fíkrmand*  
*phikarmánd @-mán-* suffer, be distressed || AA.#774 ¶ = *parišáan @-mán-*
- philál* Y PL -*ij* mint, kind of medical plant (for stomach health) || B.329
- philám* Y PL -*ičij* handwoven wool cloth || B.329
- philán @-phílan-* TR IPFV @-*phílay-* deceive, fabricate || B.329  
*diphíl-, diphílan-* HZ INTR IPFV *diphílj-*, *diphílay-* NG *d-@-phílan-* (brawl, noisy child) calm down, bend back, be deceived, be cheated || B.329  
*d-@-phílan-* NG INTR IPFV *d-@-phílay-* HZ *diphíl-, diphílan-* (brawl, noisy child) calm down, bend back, be deceived, be cheated || B.329
- philít* *philíphilit man-'* become in tatters, be worn out || B.321 (*phalát man-'*)
- philító* X PL -*muc* chunk of oil cake (for a light) || B.329
- phín* X PL HZ *phío*, NG *phiu* fly || AA.#84 B.329
- phíniš* *phíniš, fíniš* Y finish ¶ B.330 EN *finish*
- phirán* X PL *phiráyo* spider || B.330
- phirc* *diphírč-* INTR IPFV *diphírš-*, PL *diphírča-* come out; be out of joint;

- escape, run away || B.330
- phiréi @-phirai Y deceit, deception, cheat, treachery || B.331 (phiréi)
- phiríj phiríč Y PL phiríj refrigerator ¶ EN fridge
- phirkán phirkán- INTR IPFV phirkáy- be unstable (like a shaking stone) || B.331
- d-@-pirkan- HZ INTR IPFV d-@-pirkay- NG d-@-phirkan- stumble, tumble, fall down || B.331
- d-@-phirkan- NG INTR IPFV d-@-phirkay- HZ d-@-pirkan- stumble, tumble, fall down || B.331
- phiroozá Y PL -ŋ turquoise || B.331 (phiróoz)
- phíti X PL -muc thick pancake backed in ash || B.332 (<sup>1</sup>phíti)
- phítwan ADJ little, few, a bit || AA.#195 B.332
- phoiŋ @-phóiŋ Y PL HZ -čij, NG -čaŋ shoulder || AA.#20 B.333
- @-phóiŋate gán-/@-yán- carry on the shoulder || AA.#829
- phon X PL -éinc furrow, ridge between rice fields || B.333
- phóqunas Y PL phóqunašo blister, swollen bud || B.333
- phós Y scale (of snake) || B.333
- phú phú ét- (breath) blow || AA.#386 B.334 (<sup>2</sup>phu ét-)
- phúu @-t- blow on || AA.#386
- phuphú @-t- blow on repeatedly || AA.#386
- phu Y PL -míŋ fire || AA.#151 B.334 (<sup>1</sup>phu)
- phu chías fire-hazard, striking of fire, burn-out, conflagration || AA.#595
- phu ét- put fire, light, ignite || AA.#845 B.334 (<sup>1</sup>phu ét-)
- phuk Y PL -áŋ fragment, broken piece, grain || B.334
- ruk phuk just a little, a bit ¶ = tóq táq, čurúkan purúkan
- phuk burúm dazzling white ('white as grain') || B.64 (phuk-burúm)
- ¶ burúm 'white'
- phul X PL -áinc, -ánc small wooden bowl (smaller than pháta), accessory case, small container || B.334 (<sup>1</sup>phul)
- @-dúmuse phul X patella, kneecap ¶ @-dúmus 'knee'
- phulyúuy Y PL HZ phulyúučiŋ, NG phulyúuçaŋ feather || AA.#65 B.335
- phúji NG Y PL -ŋ mustache || B.336
- phupúr @-phúpur- TR rub (cereals) between the palms of the hands, shell,



- clear off (flour, straw) || B.336
- @-pupur-, @-špupur-** TR rub (cereals) between the palms of the hands, shell, clear off (flour, straw) || B.336
- phuqtá** RFADJ PL *-taro, -muc* strong, powerful || AA.#437
- phuryó @-phúryo** Y PL *@-phúryučij* lump, bump || B.337 (? *phuróqo* ‘small lump of grass’)
- phus pus’, pusú-** TR IPFV *pusúč-, pusíč-, PL pušá-* bind, tie, fasten, tuck up, put (shinguards), (shaman) “bind” with a iron bracelet, make (agreement, promise), twine (a rope) || AA.#350 B.318
- @-phús-** TR IPFV *@-phúš-, PL @-phúša-* bind, tie, fasten, tuck up, put (shinguards), (shaman) “bind” with a iron bracelet, make (agreement) || AA.#350 B.318
- @-pus-** DITR IPFV *@-puš-, PL @-puša-* make bind || B.318
- duphús-** INTR IPFV *duphúš-* be bound, be tied, stay at home without working || B.318
- phutún** NG X PL *phutúyo* sack, bag || AA.#103 B.65 (*butún, phutún*)
- phúu** ONO (pipe, flute) ffee, hum || B.339 (*phúu-phúu -t-* ‘blow’)
- phuuldáan** X PL *-išo, phuuldáayo* vase, cup ¶ UR *phūldān*
- qáa qáa man’** bend, curve, be awry || AA.#808
- qáa @-t-** bend, tilt, distort || AA.#809
- qábar** X PL *qábrišo* grave || AA.#579 B.340 (*qábur*) ¶ UR *qabr*
- qaburistán** Y graveyard || B.340 ¶ UR *qabristān*
- qabgír** Y PL *-ij* scoop
- qabzá** Y PL *-ij, -mij* hinge ¶ UR *qabza*
- qaimát** Y PL *-ij* price, value || AA.#598 ¶ UR *qīmat*
- qaimatí** ADJ PL *-ij* expensive || AA.#919 B.341 ¶ UR *qīmatī*
- qalamčhá** X PL *-muc* stalk
- qalí** X PL *-muc, qalénc* carpet || B.341
- qalíp** X PL *-išo* mould (for a bullet)
- qam** X PL *-ánc* hole, pit, hollow || B.341
- qamqurúučo qamqurúučo, qumqurúučo** ONO (cock) cock-a-doodle-doo || B.341 (*qamqurúučo ét-* ‘(cock) crow’) ¶ *qarqáamuc* ‘chicken’

- qáo **qáo ét-** call || AA.#281 B.341
- qáp Y blow, sudden and strong catch, bite || B.341 (*qap* -t- ‘bite’)
- qapyá Y PL -*ŋ* steel trap, leg hold trap || B.341
- qaqás Y PL *qaqásij* paper || AA.#80 B.237 (*kaaǵáz, ǵaqás*) ¶ UR *kāyaz*
- qaqáy **qaqáyum** ADJ PL X -*išo*, Y -*ij* bitter || AA.#445 ¶ *yaqáyum*
- qár **qár/qaár @-t-** scrub, shave, scratch, mow, cut down, reap || AA.#313, 314, 816 B.342
- qár/qaár ét-** scratch on || AA.#314
- qár @-tas** itchy || AA.#932
- qarqár, qirqír, qór** ONO scratch-scratch
- qaráaŋ** ADJ squeaking, creaked || B.342 (? *qarám man’* ‘make a loud sound’)
- qarīb** ADJ near || B.343 ¶ UR *qarīb*
- qarqáamuc** HS X PL *qarqáamučo* RF NG *yarqáamuc* chicken || AA.#62 B.343
- qarúuyo** X PL -*muc* heron, crane || B.343
- qarzá **qarzá @-ú-/@-ǵhí-/@-yún-** NG lend || AA.#373 ¶ UR *qarza*
- qat **@-qat** Y PL -*ij* armpit, axilla || B.343 ¶ = @-*qhaqhat*
- qátal** Y PL -*ij* murder, killing ¶ UR *qatl*
- qátal @-t-** kill || AA.#349
- qeréq** Y crack
- qílto** HZZ NG *pílto* five days from today ¶ -*ul* ‘day’, -*to* ‘just’
- qíqit** ONO manner of tickling || B.344 (*qíqit ét-* ‘tickle’) ¶ = *qotoqóto*
- qisá** Y PL -*miŋ* history, narration, story || B.344 ¶ UR *qissa*
- qistá** X PL -*muc* thick sour bread from leavened dough || B.344
- qíu **qíu ét-** cry, shout || AA.#282 B.341 (*qío ét-*)
- qóõ** ONO growling, rumbling sound of the stomach
- qóõ man’** (stomach) rumble, growl
- qotoqóto** ONO manner of tickling || B.344 (*qíqit ét-*, *qotoqóto ét-* ‘tickle’) ¶ = *qíqit*
- quáal** X PL -*muc* skull || B.345 (*quáalo*)
- qulph **qulp** X PL *qulphánc, qulpháinc* lock, padlock, mansion || B.346 ¶ UR *qufl*

- qurdí* X PL *qurdénc* shirt, chemise
- quró* X pit dug down at the groundwork for a building
- qurqún* X PL *qurqúyo* oil press (*del díusas* -)
- qhaaná* Y PL -*ŋ* room of a cabinet, house ¶ UR *xāna*
- qhaandáan* Y family, dynasty || B.348 ¶ UR *xāndān*  
*qhaandaaní* ADJ of family, domestic, family-oriented ¶ UR  
*xāndānī*
- qhaáp* *qhaáp man'* wither, fade, wilt || AA.#885 B.349
- qháaš* *qháa*, *qháaš*, *qháašij* until (+DAT/GEN) || AA.#999 B.348
- qhabár* Y PL -*ičij* news || B.349 ¶ UR *xabar*
- qháír* Y luck || B.350 ¶ UR *xair*
- qhalk* X PL -*išo* female hawk || B.350
- qham* X curry || B.351 (<sup>1</sup>*qham*)
- qhamáli* Y PL -*miŋ*, -*čij* thin bread from unleavened dough || B.351
- qhánda* Z place name in the foot of Baltit Fort
- qhanjár* X dagger, poniard ¶ UR *xanjar*
- qhaqhat* @-*qhaqhat* Y PL -*ij* armpit, side ¶ = @-*qat*
- qhár* *qhaqhár*, *qhaaqhár* ONO fizzle, sizzle, sound and manner of frying or  
 roasting || B.353 (<sup>5</sup>*qhaqhár* -*t*- 'roast')
- qhar* *qhár-* INTR (skin, limb) crack by drying || B.353  
 @-*qhar-* TR break (by beats or chops), saw, cut up || B.353  
*duqhár-* INTR crack || B.353  
*d-@-qar-*, *d-@-qhar-* TR chop, cut down, part || B.353  
*d-@-qar-* DITR make chop || B.353
- qhar* *duqhár-* INTR bloom, blossom || AA.#886 B.353  
*d-@-qar-* TR make bloom || B.353  
*d-@-sqar-* TR make in bloom, make open, give an opportunity to open  
 || B.353
- qharáab* *qharáap*, *qharáab* ADJ PL X -*išo*, Y -*ičij* bad, wrong, corrupt ||  
 B.353 (*qharáap*) ¶ UR *xarāb*
- qhárc* Y clapping || B.353 (*qharc* -*t*- 'clap hands')
- qhašij* @-*qhášij* X PL @-*qhášimuc* anus, hips || B.354
- qhás* *qhás man'* creep, crawl || AA.#323 B.354

- qhás @-t-* rub, spread on, polish || AA.#313 B.354  
*qhaşqhás @-t-* rub into, rub against, spread on, wipe off, rub  
 cheek-to-cheek with hugging each other (as a farewell  
 manner) || AA.#313, 355 B.354  
*qhís ét-* annoy, hound, dun, pester  
*qhós* Y itch  
*qhós @-t-* rub gently, scrub softly || AA.#313 B.354  
*qhat @-qhát* Y PL *-iŋ*, INE *@-qháci* mouth || AA.#9 B.354  
*qhat* Y PL *-éŋ* letter || AA.#602 ¶ UR *xatt*  
*qhatará* Y danger ¶ UR *xatra*  
*qhatarnáak* ADJ PL *-išo* dangerous || AA.#927 ¶ UR *xatrnāk*  
*qhátum* Y finish || B.355 ¶ UR *xatm*  
*qhátum man-* end, be finished, be over || B.355  
*qhátum @-t-* finish, end || B.355  
*qhát qhát*, HZ *qhá* ADJ down, downwards, beneath || B.348 (*qha*, *qhaŋ*)  
*qhát @-wál-* fall down, (sun) set || AA.#384 B.348  
*qhánne*, *qhán né* below, downwards || B.348 (*qhan ne*)  
*qhayáal qhayáal ét-* think, consider || AA.#406 ¶ UR *xayāl*  
*qhéer* Y sacrifice || B.355  
*qhídmát* Y service || B.356 ¶ UR *xídmát*  
*qhídmátgáar* X PL *-išo* serving man ¶ UR *xídmátgār*  
*qhis qis-* TR IPFV *-ič-* tear up || B.344  
*@-qhís-* TR IPFV *@-qhíš-* tear up || B.344  
*díqhís-* INTR IPFV *díqhíš-* tear, be torn || B.344  
*qhistá* HZ X NG *yistá* thick sour bread from leavened dough || B.344 (*qistá*) ¶  
*qistá*  
*qhóš* ADJ happy, glad, pleasant || AA.#923 B.358 ¶ UR *xuš*  
*qhóš @-mán-* be glad, be happy, rejoice || AA.#293 B.358  
*qhoší* Y PL *-miŋ* pleasure || B.358 (*qhuśaaní*, *qhuśí*) ¶ UR *xušt*  
*qhošaamadíd* Y welcome ¶ UR *xuš-āmadíd*  
*qhudáa* HM PL *-muc*, *-caro* god, the God || AA.#245 B.358 ¶ UR *xudā*  
*qhudáa haaphíz* INTERJ good-bye || AA.#495 B.358 (*qhudáa*  
*haafíz*, *qhudáa haaphís*) ¶ UR *xudā hāfíz*  
*qhudaayáar* INTERJ good-bye || AA.#495

- qhulán @-qhól- TR IPFV -j- pain, have a pain, hurt || B.357  
 @-qulan- DITR IPFV @-qulay- make hurt || B.357  
 @-qhólas ADJ PL X @-qhólašo, Y -ij painful, sore, prickly  
 @-qhólaskış ADJ painful, sore, prickly  
 @-qhólaskuş Y pain, ache
- qhulán qhulán- TR IPFV qhuláy- knead (dough) || B.357 (d-qulan-,  
 qhulán-)  
 @-qulan- TR IPFV @-qulay- attempt to guard, make (a word) catch  
 (in the throat) || B.357  
 duqhúlan- INTR IPFV duqhúlay- be kneaded || B.357  
 d-@-qulan-, d-@-qhulan- TR IPFV d-@-qulay-, d-@-qhulay- knead  
 (dough) || B.357
- qhumrí X kind of stringed instrument with 7 strings || B.358
- qhuráab qhuráap, qhuráab Y gold dust || B.359 (qhuráap, qhuráapo ‘gold  
 pan’)  
 qhuraabgúin H gold panner || B.359
- qhurc Y PL -ij, -mij dust || AA.#148 B.359 (<sup>1</sup>qhurc)  
 qhurc qhamás XY rubbish, garbage || B.360 (qhuşqhamás,  
 qhurcqhamás)
- qhuramá XY date palm, date tree || B.359 ¶ UR xurmā
- qhurónç Y PL -ij cloud || AA.#153 B.359
- qhurónj NG Y cloud, fog || AA.#153, 154 ¶ qhurónç
- qhurpát @-qhúrpat Y PL -ij lung || AA.#505 B.359
- qhúrukuc H clan name of Karimabad || B.506  
 qhúruşal Z place name in Karimabad (between Karimabad chawk  
 and Japan chawk) || B.506 (Qhúrukušal) ¶ -şal ‘place of  
 residence’
- qhus Y PL -mij cough || AA.#514 B.359
- qhuş ADJ PL qhuáanc empty, unskilful || AA.#914, 946 B.360
- qhu @-qhúu- INTR become lucky, be rich || B.360  
 @-qu- TR make lucky || B.360
- qhúuq X PL -išo pig || AA.#99 ¶ = súur
- r @-r- TR CP n-@-ri send off, send out, make go, remove || AA.#833  
 B.361

- d-@-r-** TR CP *d-@-ri* send here || AA.#833 B.361
- ráam** Y sympathy, mercy || B.361  
**qhudáae ráam étis** INTERJ may the grace of the God with you
- rabónj** Y SG PL DOUBLE PL *-ičij* lentil, pea, bean || AA.#530 B.362
- raç** **raç @-t-** guard, keep watch, protect, wait || AA.#401 B.362 ¶ **raçheés**  
‘safe’
- raçheés** ADJ safe, secure, protected || B.362 (**raçheés @-t-** ‘protect’) ¶ **raç**  
**@-t-** ‘guard’
- rádi** ADJ ready ¶ EN *ready*
- ráfa** ADJ removal, getting rid of ¶ UR *rafá*  
**ráfa @-t-** remove, get rid of || B.362
- rafñiq** H PL *-išo* companion ¶ UR *rafñiq*
- rag** Y tint, colour, hue ¶ UR *rāg*
- rahundíl** ADJ PL *-išo* kind, tender, gentle || AA.#940 ¶ UR *rahm-dil*
- rái** HS Y PL *-miñ* wish, desire, will, hope || B.362 ¶ NG RF *ráq*  
**rái @-t-** want, hope || AA.#333, 422 B.362 (**rái ét-**)
- rám** **rarám, ararám, ramrám** ONO raqtile-rattle, flap-flap, whack-whack ||  
B.363 (*ram man-’* ‘make a loud sound’)
- ran** RF Y PL *-ičañ* colour || AA.#483 ¶ *rañ*
- randá** Y PL *-miñ* plane, planer ¶ UR *randa*
- rañ** Y PL *-ičañ* colour || AA.#483 B.363 ¶ UR *rang*  
**rañ duús-** fade, discolour  
**rañ @-t-** paint || AA.#847  
**tíke rañ** gray, khaki ¶ *tík* ‘soil’
- ráp** **raráp** ONO sound of flattering, whip-whip, flap-flap || B.363 (*raráp man-’*  
‘flatter’)
- rapóot** Y report || B.363 (**rapóot ét-** ‘report’) ¶ EN *report*
- raptér** X PL *-išo* rafter ¶ EN *rafter*
- ráq** NG RF Y wish, desire, will, hope || B.362 (**rái, raq**) ¶ HS **rái**  
**ráq @-t-** want, hope || AA.#333, 422 B.362 (**rái ét-, raq ét-**)
- ráš** Y colour, light, shine || AA.#483, 476 B.364
- rátar** Z place name in Hopar just around the entrance bridge
- reedáa** X PL *-muc* wheelbarrow ¶ UR *rēṛhī*

- rgin **@-rgín-** TR IPFV **@-rgíy-** stir, beat, cheer up, enliven || B.364  
**dúrgin-** INTR IPFV **dúrgiy-** crowd, cluster, be close together, besieged  
as crowding, come to blows, deliberate on || B.364  
**d-@'rgin-** TR IPFV **d-@'rgiy-** spin (thread) || B.364
- ri **dir'** INTR IPFV **-ič'** ripen, mature, be boiled up || AA.#375 B.361  
**d-@'ri-** INTR ripen, mature, be boiled up || AA.#375 B.361  
**atírím** ADJ Y PL **-ij** raw, uncooked || AA.#913 B.361 (*atírum*)  
**d-@'cir-** TR cook, boil, prepare food || B.361
- riíl** Y PL **-čaj** copper || AA.#583 B.364
- riij **@-ríij** Y PL HZ **-ičij**, NG **-ičaj** hand || AA.#30 B.364  
**@-ríij @'t-** get, obtain || AA.#371
- rikoođár** Y PL **-ij** recorder ¶ EN *recorder*
- riwáj **riwájaj**, **riwáač** Y custom || B.365 ¶ UR *riwāj*
- róođ **róođ**, **róoť** Y road || B.366 (*róoť*) ¶ EN *road*
- roóm** H clan, tribe, community, herd || B.365
- roóp** Y fear || B.366 ¶ UR *ru'b*  
**roóp-dáape káať** tremendous, severe, terrible
- rpúr **@-rřpur** NG Y PL **-aj** HZ **@'lřpur** eyelid, eyelash || B.268 (*lřpur*, *řpur*)
- rřa **@-rřa-** INTR get drunk, be intoxicated || AA.#330 B.366
- ruj** X PL **-ánc** high meadow || B.366
- rupáai** X PL **-muc** money || AA.#117 B.366 (*rupiá*, *rupáai*) ¶ = *rupiá* UR  
*rupaē*
- rupiá** XZ PL **rupiaánc** X money, Z rupee (monetary unit) || AA.#117, 695  
B.366 ¶ = *rupáai* UR *rupiyā*
- rupíkuc** H clan name of Ganish
- ruq šúq** ONO sound and manner of munching, munch-munch, chomp-chomp
- ruqhsát** **ruqhsát**, **ruqsát** Y permission to go, leaving ¶ UR *ruxsat*  
**ruqhsát/ruqsát @'t-** permit to depart, give leave to go, dismiss ||  
AA.#860  
**ruqhsát góore** NG INTERJ good-bye || AA.#495
- ruú** X PL **-muc** spirit || B.367 ¶ UR *rūh*
- s **@'s** X PL **-muc** heart, mind || AA.#36, 244 B.368
- s **@'s-** DITR IPFV **@'š-** tell || B.368 (<sup>1</sup>'s-)

- sa **-sa** Z month || AA.#166 B.369 (<sup>2</sup>sa, -sa) ¶ *hísa*
- sá X PL **-muc** sun || AA.#159 B.368 (<sup>1</sup>sa)  
**satháp** day and night, many an hour || B.376 ¶ *thap* ‘night, evening’  
**sá d-@’l-** get a suntan, get sunburnt
- saamáan** Y baggage || B.369 ¶ UR *sāmān*
- saamná** Z front || AA.#268 ¶ UR *sāmnā*
- sáap** HM PL **-išo, -tij** gentleman, Mr., public servant man, government official man || AA.#708, 715 B.369 ¶ UR *sāhab*
- sáaph** ADJ PL **-išo** clean || AA.#933 ¶ UR *sāf*
- saásat** Z evening || AA.#170 B.370  
**saásate** in the evening || AA.#170 B.370
- saát **saát man’** start, begin || AA.#867 B.370 (saát ‘point in time’) ¶ UR  
**sā’at** ‘hour’  
**saát @’t-** start, begin || AA.#868
- saáti** Z for a short while, for these days || B.370
- sabokábo** X PL things || AA.#81
- sábur **sábur @’t-** endure, have patience, put up with || B.371 (*sábur ét-*)
- sabuúr** Z yesterday || AA.#172 B.371
- sadžák** Y street, road, highway || B.371 ¶ UR *sarak*
- safáiar** Y PL **-ij** sapphire ¶ EN *sapphire*
- sayún **@-sáyun** H PL **-daro** nephew, niece || AA.#703, 704 B.371
- sahíi **sahíi, saíi** ADJ just, exact, right, correct || B.372 ¶ UR *sahih*
- sáil Y PL **-ij** trip, journey, travel, stroll || AA.#606 B.372 ¶ UR *sair*
- sakaráat** Y arrangement, preparation || B.372 (*sakaráat ét-* ‘pack’) ¶ UR  
*sakarāt* ‘agony of death’
- sal** X PL NG **-ánc, HZ -ó** millstone || B.372
- sal **@’sal-** TR IPFV **-j-** look at, watch, glance, observe || AA.#275 B.372  
**@’sal-** DITR IPFV **-j-** show || B.372  
**d-@’sal-** TR IPFV **-j-** solve || B.372
- saláam** Y greeting || B.372 ¶ UR *salām*
- salaamát** Y peace, tranquillity, greetings || B.373 ¶ UR *salāmat*
- salaamí** Y PL **-čij** greetings || AA.#707 ¶ UR *salāmī*



- salamáa* Y wrestling || B.373  
*salamáa duún-* wrestle || B.373
- salát* Y PL mustache || B.373
- samandár* Y PL -iŋ sea || AA.#141 ¶ UR *samandar*
- sambá* Y PL -miŋ mind, thought || AA.#244 B.373  
*sambá @-t-* think, consider || AA.#406, 420 B.373 (*sambá ét-*)
- samowáar *samowáar, samawáar* X PL -išo teapot, small teapot ¶ RUSSIAN  
*samovar* 'teapot'
- san @-sán X PL -išo, @-sáyo chin || AA.#14 B.373 (<sup>1</sup>-sán)
- san @-sán X PL -išo, @-sáyo spleen || B.374 (<sup>2</sup>-sán)
- sandá* ADJ surprised, surprising  
*sandá @-mán-* be surprised || AA.#297  
*sandáar @-wál-* be surprised || AA.#297
- sandóq* X PL -uc (wood) box || AA.#547 B.374
- sanzár* Y sahari (food eaten a little before dawn during the fast of Ramazan)
- saŋ* ADJ PL RF -óno, HS NG -óŋo light, bright || AA.#474 B.374  
 Y flash of lightning, light || B.374  
*saŋ man'* flash, shine || B.374  
*sánkuş* Y PL *sánkuyaŋ* light, beam || AA.#476 B.374
- sapháa* ADJ clean, clear || AA.#453, 933 B.371 (*safáa*) ¶ UR *safā*
- sár* Y PL -miŋ flooding, inundation, puddle after a flood, pond || AA.#139  
 B.375 (<sup>1</sup>sar)
- sar* X PL -ó rabbit, hare || AA.#534 B.375 (<sup>2</sup>sar)
- sar* X PL -ó thread || AA.#77 B.375 (<sup>3</sup>sar)
- saríkus* X PL *saríkušo* wooden bolt on a door (old-fashioned) || B.375 (*sarík,*  
*saríkus*)
- sark @-sárk- TR IPFV -ič- let in, leave, keep after, put || B.375
- sáro* Y PL *sárumiŋ* kind of cedar (*Thujopsis* or *Callitropsis*)
- sarúu *sarúu-* TR transport || B.376  
 @-sáru- TR transport || B.376
- sastá* ADJ PL -miŋ low-priced, cheap || AA.#918 ¶ UR *sastā*
- sataránji* Y PL -miŋ large carpet
- saŋeéş *saŋeéş @-t-* put in order, repair || B.376

- sateés @'taskuș** washing and covering of the one's corpse || B.376  
(*sateés-étaskuș*)
- sáu** Y PL -*miŋ*, RF NG *saumiŋ* sand || AA.#147 B.374 (*sáo*)  
**sáukiș** ADJ sandy || B.374  
**sáukișkuș** Z place name of the sandy hill at the watershed of Hunza and Nager rivers
- sawáap** Y rectitude || B.376 (*sawáab-*) ¶ UR *sawāb* 'virtuous act'
- sawéen** ADJ PL *sawéeyo* clever, intelligent || B.377 ¶ SH *sawēn*
- sazáa** Y PL -*miŋ* punishment || AA.#596 B.377 ¶ UR *sazā*
- sciŋ @'sciŋ** H PL parents-in-law, family-in-law || B.383 (:-*stiŋ*, :-*sciŋ*) ¶  
@'stiŋ
- @'scuy- see *huy*
- séer** Z unit of weight (about 2 lb or 1 kg) || B.377 ¶ UR *sēr*
- séi séi, séei** INTERJ HF.OBJ hi, hey || AA.#494 B.377
- sel** Y PL -*míŋ* needle || AA.#78 B.377
- sén sén-** TR IPFV *séy-*, NEG HZ *oósen-* say, speak || AA.#280, 285 B.377
- setembár** Z September || AA.#635 ¶ UR *sitambar*, EN *September*
- siaahí** Y PL -*miŋ* ink ¶ UR *siyāhī*
- sigaréet** Y PL -*išo* cigarette || B.378 ¶ EN *cigarette*
- síiq** X PL -*uc* skewer for kebab ¶ UR *sīx*
- sikánd** Z second || AA.#649 ¶ EN *second*
- silajín** HF PL *silajío* female relative, lady || B.378
- sim** X PL -*ánc* wire, fine string || B.379
- siñç** X PL -*kó* GA *siñç* beam, crossbeam || B.379
- sínda** Y PL -*miŋ* river || AA.#135 B.379
- síphar** Y zero || AA.#666 ¶ UR *sifār*
- siqá** X PL -*muc* coin
- siqáa** ADJ (door) open || B.379  
**siqáa @'t-** open (door) || AA.#363 B.379
- sir @'sir-, @'ser-** DITR feed, raise, make eat || AA.#788 B.379
- síruph sírup, síruph, síruf** ADJ only || B.380 (*sírup*, *síruf*, *síríp*) ¶ UR *sirf*
- sis** H person, people || AA.#226 B.380

- háa síš** H SG PL family member || AA.#217 ¶ *ha* ‘house’
- sitáar** Y PL -*ij* sitar ¶ UR *sitār*
- siťóop** Y PL -*ij* stove ¶ EN *stove*
- sk @-*sk*, @-*sko* X PL @-*skumuc*, NG @-*skindaro* young animal, offspring || AA.#209 B.380
- @-*skarc-* see *gáarc*
- ski @-*ski* HZ Y memory || B.380
- @-*ski jú-* remember, recall || AA.#762
- @-*ski ét-* RF memorize || AA.#761 B.380
- skíl @-*skil* Y PL -*ij* face || AA.#17 B.380
- @-*skír-* see *gir*
- sók **sók-** INTR IPFV -*ič-*, NEG *atúsok-* get off, go/come down, fall, descend, dismount || AA.#382, 883 B.381
- dusók-** INTR IPFV -*ič-* get off, go/come down, descend, dismount || AA.#382 B.381
- d-@-sku-** TR drop off, let off, unload, make go/come down || B.381
- sómi** HF PL -*caro* female friend || AA.#218 B.381 ¶ *sómo* ‘male friend’
- sómo** HM PL -*caro* male friend || AA.#218 B.381 ¶ *sómi* ‘female friend’
- sóoč **sóoč ét-** think || AA.#420 B.381 ¶ = *sambá @-t-* UR *sōč*
- sóoči** ADJ PL -*muc* hen, duck || AA.#543 B.381 ¶ × *bíro*
- soodá** NG Y PL -*miŋ* cloth
- soodagár** H PL -*išo* trader, merchant || AA.#716 ¶ UR *saudāgar*
- @-*spal-* see *balúu*
- @-*spapay-* see *bápay*
- @-*spiy-* see *búy*
- sqan @-*sqan-* TR IPFV @-*sqay-* beautify, adorn, decorate || B.382 (<sup>2</sup>-*sqan-*)
- @-*sqan-* see *yan*
- sqaran @-*sqaran-* TR IPFV @-*sqaray-* empty out (manure, earth) and split into piles; sculpt, carve || B.382
- húnate ésqaranas** wood carving
- @-*squl-* see *yul*
- @-*squrc-* see *γurc*

- @<sup>ˈ</sup>staya- see dayá
- stiŋ @<sup>ˈ</sup>stiŋ H PL parents-in-law, family-in-law || B.383 ¶ @<sup>ˈ</sup>sciŋ
- @<sup>ˈ</sup>stuy- see huy
- sú sú- TR bring, fetch, mention, state || B.383  
*tašríp súin* please, come on ¶ UR *tašrīf* ‘honouring’  
*dusú-* TR bring, fetch, mention, state || B.383  
*d-@<sup>ˈ</sup>c-* TR IPFV *d-@<sup>ˈ</sup>š-*, IMP SG *d-@<sup>ˈ</sup>cu* bring, fetch, mention, state || B.383  
*d-@<sup>ˈ</sup>c-* DITR IPFV *d-@<sup>ˈ</sup>š-*, IMP SG *d-@<sup>ˈ</sup>cu* bring to, make bring || B.383
- suaáko duaáko* ADJ suddenly
- subá *subá, subáa* Z morning ¶ UR *subah*
- suí @<sup>ˈ</sup>súi X PL HZ -šo, NG -muc navel || AA.#27 B.384
- sukúul* Y PL -iŋ school || AA.#728 ¶ UR (*i*)skūl, EN school
- @<sup>ˈ</sup>sulja- see huljá
- sumál @<sup>ˈ</sup>súmal X PL -išo tail || AA.#100 B.385  
*hayúre isúmal* flyswatter ¶ *hayúr* ‘horse’  
*phío dólas isúmal* flyswatter ¶ *phío* ‘flies’, *d-@<sup>ˈ</sup>l-* ‘hit’  
 @<sup>ˈ</sup>súmalkiŋ ADJ tailed || B.385
- suná makí* Y pyrite ¶ UR *sōnā makkī*
- supándur* X PL -išo wild rue, harmal, kind of aromatic plant || B.385
- súputar* Z place name of an elevation in Nager between Uyum Nager and Hopar  
*súputar har* Y brook name in Nager between šókušal and Uyum Nager
- suqíŋ @<sup>ˈ</sup>súqiŋ X PL @<sup>ˈ</sup>súqianc gullet, oesophagus
- surát* NG Y face, figure, shape || AA.#17, 753 B.386 (*suurát, surát*) ¶ =  
*suurát* UR *sūrat*
- surnái* X PL -muc trumpet
- surúŋ* Y PL HZ -ičŋ, NG -ičaŋ blasting || B.386  
*surúŋ ét-* blast
- susún @<sup>ˈ</sup>súsun X PL @<sup>ˈ</sup>súsuyo elbow || AA.#29 B.386
- suufáa* Y sofa ¶ EN *sofa*, UR *suffa*
- súur* X PL -išo pig || AA.#99 ¶ = *qhúuq* UR *suar, sūr*
- suurát* Y PL -iŋ figure, shape, face || AA.#17, 753 B.386 ¶ UR *sūrat*

- ša **d-@-ša-** TR seize, hinder, arrest, hitch, fasten, stop, grip, dam up ||  
AA.#311, 791 B.387
- šáal X shawl || B.387 (<sup>2</sup>šáal) ¶ UR šāl
- šáám Z PL -iŋ HZ evening before sunset, NG night || AA.#170 B.387 ¶  
UR šām ‘evening’
- šaamán Z place name of a low land in Nager spread downwards from Hopar ||  
B.507
- šáar šáar, šéher, šáhar Y PL -iŋ city, town || AA.#248 B.387 (<sup>1</sup>šáar) ¶  
UR šahr
- šaaskí @-šáaski ADJ in the style of, in the language of || B.388
- šaayád šaayád, šaayát, šaaíd ADJ perhaps || B.388 (šaayát, šaaít) ¶ UR  
šāyad
- šabirabáat Y place name in Uyum Nager
- šadí X PL -muc monkey, ape || AA.#540 B.388
- šagírd H PL -aro student || AA.#712 B.388 (šagír) ¶ UR šāgird
- šak @-šák Y PL HZ -ičŋ, NG -ičaŋ arm || AA.#28 B.389  
išák Y PL -ičaŋ crosspiece, bracket || B.389
- šákal Y PL -iŋ form, figure, shape || AA.#753 B.389 ¶ UR šakal
- šákar Y SG PL DOUBLE PL -čŋ sugar || AA.#523 B.389 ¶ UR šakar  
ADJ dear, sweet || B.389  
mámamo šákar beloved, dear, best ¶ máma ‘mother’
- šal ADJ PL -óŋo shallow || AA.#902 B.389
- šal šal’ INTR IPFV -ič- (leaf, fruit) fall || B.389
- šaldá Y PL -iŋ, -miŋ order, command || B.389
- šalph šalp, šalph Y PL -ičŋ shelf, cupboard, cabinet ¶ EN shelf
- šamá Y PL -miŋ tea leaves, stub of cigarette || B.390
- šaméc Y farmland in the flood plain along the Hunza river by Ganish || B.508
- šanťá šanťá man’ become numb with cold || B.390 (šanťóoro)
- šáj ADJ attentive, awake || B.390  
šáj @-t- inform, wake, notify || B.390  
šáj/šááj ét- be careful with, watch out || B.390
- šanjal Y PL -ičŋ chain, manacles, handcuffs || B.390 ¶ šanjáli

- šanjáli** Y PL -ŋ, -čəŋ chain, zip, handcuff, manacle || B.390 (šanjál, šanjáli) ¶  
šanjál
- šapós** X PL šapóšo blanket, mattress || B.391
- šaq** Y PL -ičəŋ flat basket (colander) for drying apricot || B.391
- šarəŋ** **šarəŋ, širíŋ, širišarəŋ** ONO (metal, glass, stone) jingle-jingle, rattle-rattle, clink-clank || B.395 (širíŋ ét-)
- šarəq** **šarəq, širíq, širíq šarəq** ONO (doors, windows, ironware) whack-whack, flap-flap, rattle-rattle || B.391
- šarbát** Y sharbat (kind of sweet soft drink), wheat porridge ¶ UR šarbat
- šarík** ADJ joint, united ¶ UR šarík  
šarík man' join
- šarmindá** ADJ shameful, embarrassed, ashamed || AA.#935 ¶ UR šarminda
- šask** Y PL -ičəŋ small willow (for weaving material) || B.392
- šat** Y PL -míŋ power, force || AA.#220 B.392  
šátíŋe strongly, severe, loud, quick || B.393 ¶ -əŋe INSTRUCTIVE  
šát ét- win, resort to, use violence || AA.#404 B.392  
šát né by force, forcibly || B.392  
šátkuš Y PL šátkuəŋ strength || AA.#220
- šatflo** ADJ PL -muc strong, powerful || AA.#437 B.392 ¶ šat 'power'
- šaṭ @-šát X PL -išo penis || AA.#510 B.393 ¶ = @-šúpin
- šáu šáu @-t- throw
- še** Y PL HZ -číŋ, NG -čəŋ wool || AA.#101 B.393
- šé** šé- TR NEG HZ oóši-, oóše- Y.OBJ eat || AA.#328 B.393
- šek** Y PL -míŋ doubt, suspicion || B.393 ¶ UR šakk  
šek @-t- doubt || AA.#765
- šél dan** **šél dan, šéldan** X PL šél dayó, šéldayo quartz || B.394 (šéldan)
- šérma** X PL -nc carpet
- ši** Y PL -míŋ cooking stove, cooker, kitchen range, fireplace, stove, heater || B.394
- šíbéri** Y PL -miŋ rear opening of a stove for ignition
- šiišá** X PL -muc glass, windowpane, earthenware, pottery || AA.#551 B.396  
(šísá) ¶ UR šiša
- šikáar** Y hunting || B.394 ¶ = darú UR šikār

- @-šiki see š
- šiliko** X PL -muc bell
- šimšér** Z Saturday || AA.#644 B.394 ¶ SH šimšér
- šiní** Z summer || AA.#624 B.395
- šintirá** X PL -muc railing, handrail, squared timber || B.395
- šinjór** X PL -išo ginger || B.395
- šipít** Y PL -ij alfalfa, lucerne, clover, trifolieae plant || B.395
- šiškin** Y place name of sandy plain behind Hopar
- šitík** Y side, edge || B.396  
     **wálti šitík** ADJ PL -išo square || AA.#915 ¶ wálti ‘four’
- šoál** X PL -išo shawl ¶ šáal
- šoldár** Y PL -ij epaulette ¶ EN shoulder
- šón** ADJ PL -óro, RF -óno, šoyo, NG -ánc blind || AA.#223 B.396
- šóoro šár** Y uproar ¶ UR šōr-šār
- šóq šóqum** ADJ PL X -išo, Y -ij wide, broad || AA.#459 B.397
- šóqušal** Z place name in Nager between Uyum Nager and Hopar ¶ ? šóqum  
     ‘wide’, -šal ‘place of residence’
- šóto** Y minty herb, lady’s bedstraw || B.397
- šóto** X PL -muc boil, pimple, bump || B.397
- @-špupur- see phupúr
- šuá** ADJ PL -muc good, fine, nice, great, interesting, amusing || AA.#485, 922,  
     944 B.397  
     **šuá ké** about, something like || AA.#994 B.398  
     **šuá gán-** like || AA.#333  
     **šuá sén-** approve || AA.#856  
     **šuá @-t-** repair || AA.#302  
     **šuákuš** Y PL šuákuyaj goodness, elegance || B.398
- šugúli** HF PL -muc female friend || AA.#218 B.398 ¶ SH šugúli
- šugúlo** HM PL -muc male friend || AA.#218 B.398 ¶ SH šugúlo
- šúkuro** Z Friday || AA.#643 B.398 (<sup>1</sup>šúkuro) ¶ SH šúkuro
- šúkuro alhámdulilláa** INTERJ thank the God, thanks to the God ¶ AR šukur o  
     al-hamdu li-llāh

- šul** Y PL -*mij*, -*ij* love, affection, sympathy || B.399 (<sup>2</sup>*šul*)  
**šúl ét-** (+GEN *káaʔ*) like, love, be fond of || AA.#778 B.399  
**šul étas** H PL - *étašo* lover  
**šulgúin** Y friendship || B.399
- šumáal** Y north || AA.#737 ¶ UR *šumāl*
- šun** X PL -*ánc* grapevine || B.399
- šun **d-@-šun-** IPFV *d-@-šuy-* untie, loosen || AA.#351 B.399
- šupín **@-šúpin** X PL @-šupiyo penis || AA.#510 ¶ = @-šát
- šuqá** X PL -*muc* long slip, long choga || B.399
- šuró** X DOUBLE PL -*muc* local pie with apricot kernels, pumpkin flowers, stewed meat, and/or something else put inside || B.400
- šurúu** Y beginning, start || AA.#663 B.400 ¶ UR *šurū'*  
**šurúu man'** start, begin || AA.#867 B.400  
**šurúu @-t-** start, begin || AA.#868 B.400 (*šurúu ét-*)
- šúti** X PL -*muc* sunken hearth || B.400 (*šútin*)
- šutúko** X PL -*muc* bud || B.401
- š **@-š** X PL -*muc*, -*umuc*, INE @-š*i* neck, guiter neck, nape || AA.#18, 568 B.402  
**éš** X PL -*umuc* collar, lapel || B.402 (-š)  
**@-šiki** Y PL -*čij*, -*mij* belt (of the bag or the rifle) || AA.#568 B.402
- šaabaš **šaabaš @-č*h*i-** praise, commend || AA.#771 ¶ UR *šābāš* 'excellent'
- šačáŋ** Y charm || B.406 (? *šašán* 'pure, unmixed')
- šáo** Y PL -*mij* blow, beating, strike, impact, slash || B.404 (<sup>1</sup>*šáo*)  
**šáo ét-** smash, hit, punch, slash || AA.#300 B.404  
**šáo @-t-** DITR have a headache (because of drinking cold drink) || B.404 (*šáo áatimi* 'I got a headache')
- šáo** ADJ too salty || B.404 (<sup>2</sup>*šáo*)
- šapík** X PL -*uc* food, bread, chapatti || AA.#59, 519 B.404
- šáq** Y smoothness, slip, [slang] masturbation  
**šáq d-@-us-** release, declare, give vent to || B.405 (*šaq díus-*)  
**šáq man'/@-mán-** glide, (clothes) become threadbare, (skin) come off, (snow) become an avalanche, become a landslide || B.405



- śaq/śaaq dusú-** [slang] masturbate  
**śaq/śaaq @-t-** take off, smooth, sleek, make slip down, stroke, drag || AA.#357 B.405
- śar** HZ X PL -kó branch || AA.#120 B.405 (<sup>1</sup>śar) ¶ NG śark  
**śark** NG X PL -ó branch || AA.#120 ¶ HZ śar
- śarónj** Y henna || B.406  
**śarónj gý-** dye (with henna), colour
- śártar** Y gorge name behind *pindárgos* hill in Hopar  
**śártar púik** X peak name of a mountain at the inner part of *śártar* gorge in Hopar ¶ EN *peak*
- śawár diśáwar-** INTR melt || B.406  
**d-@-śawar-** INTR melt || B.406
- śçij @-śçij** Y NG RF @-śçij waist || AA.#22 B.407
- śék** ADJ full || AA.#470 B.407  
**śék @-mán-** eat one's fill, be full, grow stout || AA.#396 B.407
- śí śí-** TR IPFV -ç-, CP *n-@-śí*, NEG HZ *eési-*, *éesi-* X.OBJ eat || AA.#328 B.393 (*śé-*, *śí-*)
- śidékuc** H clan name of *rátar* in Nager
- śiyiş śiyişum** ADJ PL X -išo, Y -ij smooth, slippery || AA.#451 B.407
- śikárk** ADJ PL -aro yellow || AA.#482 B.407  
**śikárkaro man'-** (leaves) turn yellow
- śinç** GAX PL -kó crossbeam, beam || B.379 (*śinç*, *śinç*) ¶ *śinç*
- śij** X PL -ánc feather, pipe, plume, bobbin || AA.#65 B.408 (<sup>1</sup>śiñ)
- śiqá** Y PL -ij, RFNG *śiqáij* grass || AA.#121 B.408  
**sar śiqá** X PL -muc foxtail, yellow bluestem, miscanthus || B.375 ¶  
*sar* 'rabbit, hare'
- śiqám** ADJ PLHX -išo, Y -ij blue, green || AA.#480, 481 B.408  
**ayáš śiqám** blue || AA.#480 B.408 ¶ *ayáš* 'sky'  
**jut śiqám** green || AA.#481 B.408 ¶ *jut* 'lawn, fertile soil'  
**phiroozáa śiqám** turquoise blue ¶ *phiroozá* 'turquoise'
- śiqámatij** Z place name in Nager on a cliff between the Nager river and Hopar
- śiqár** X PL -išo wasp, hornet || B.408 (<sup>1</sup>śiqár)
- śişar** X round deep-fried cake, doughnut || B.409

- ʃki *diʃkt-* INTR sprout || B.409  
*d-@-ʃki-* INTR sprout || B.409
- ʃólto* X PL *-muc* new branch with no bark || B.409
- ʃoóq* Y PL *-ičij, -ij* trap, snare, loop, ring || AA.#545 B.409  
*ʃoóq man'* get entangled
- ʃpaṭ @-ʃpaṭ* Y PL *-ij* nape || B.410 ¶ *@-ʃ* 'neck'
- ʃqalt d-@-ʃqalt-* INTR IPFV *d-@-ʃqalč-* arrive, reach, ripen, reach puberty,  
 (animal) attack || AA.#836 B.410
- ʃqur ʃuqúrum* ADJ PL X *-išo, Y -ij* sour || AA.#909 B.410  
*iʃqur* Y acidity, sour taste || B.217  
*duʃqúr-* INTR become sour, ferment || B.410  
*d-@-ʃqur-* INTR become sour, ferment || B.410  
*d-@-ʃqur-* TR make sour, acidify, ferment || B.410
- ʃtiŋ @-ʃtiŋ* NG RF Y *@-ʃciŋ* waist || AA.#22 B.407 (*-ʃciŋ, -ʃtiŋ*)
- ʃú ʃú ʃú ét-* blow (wind-instrument), play (flute) || B.412 (*ʃúú ét-*)
- ʃú ʃú-* TR IPFV *-ç-* H.OBJ X.PL.OBJ eat || AA.#328 B.393 (*ʃé-, ʃú-*)  
*@-ʃú-* TR IPFV *-ç-* H.OBJ eat || AA.#328 B.393 (*ʃé-, -ʃú-*)
- ʃúk ʃúk/ʃuúk @-t-* suck, slurp, gobble up, devour || AA.#287 B.411 (*ʃuk -t-*)  
*rúk ʃúk* ONO chomp-chomp, munch-munch, manna of gobbling
- ʃúli* X PL *-muc* pipe, cylinder, stovepipe, barrel || B.411
- ʃun* HO X PL *-ánc* small pathway, lane, narrow ravine, animal trail || AA.#613  
 B.411 (*ʃun, ʃun*) ¶ *ʃunŋ*
- ʃunŋ* X PL *-ánc* HO *ʃun* small pathway, lane, narrow ravine, animal trail ||  
 AA.#613 B.411
- ʃúu ʃúu/ʃúú ét-* sniff, smell || AA.#278 B.412 (*ʃúú ét-*)
- ʃúu* Y rest, recess, break || AA.#607  
*ʃúu díus-* rest || AA.#368 B.412  
*ʃúu ét-* rest || AA.#368 B.412
- t *@-t-* TR IPFV *@-č-*, CP *n-@-tan* do, make, [slang] have sex with ||  
 AA.#419, 362 B.413  
*@-t-* DITR IPFV *@-č-* make do, cause || B.413
- tá-* see *ltá*
- taadáad taadáad, taadáat* Y number, total || B.413 (*taadáat, taadáad-*) ¶

UR *ta'dād*

- táake* CONJ so that || B.413 ¶ UR *tā-ke*
- táaŋ* ONO (small drums) thump-thump, tap-tap, bling-bling
- táar* X PL -išo electric wire ¶ UR *tār*
- taaríq* Y date || B.414 ¶ UR *tārīx*
- taaspáar* Y PL -iŋ potato sack
- tábaŋ* Y DOUBLE PL -ičīŋ bridle, reins || B.414
- tabíib* H PL -išo physician ¶ UR *tabīb*
- tayáš* ADJ soon, immediately, at once || AA.#962
- tayáy* see *ltayáy*
- takađá* ADJ PL -muc stout, strong ¶ UR *takrā, tagrā*
- taklíiph* *taklíp, taklíiph* Y trouble || B.415 (*taklíp, taklíif*) ¶ UR *taklíif*
- tál* X PL -jo dove, pigeon || AA.#539 B.416 (<sup>3</sup>*tal*)
- tal* Y PL -míŋ ceiling || AA.#108 B.416 (<sup>1</sup>*tal*)
- tal* *d-@'tal-* INTR IPFV -j- wake up || B.416
- talaazú* X PL -muc balance, scales ¶ UR *tarāzū*
- talabúuđo* X PL -muc spider || B.416
- taláš* ADJ rapid, speedy, fast || AA.#446
- talén-* see *ltalén*
- táltar* see *ltáltár*
- tám* *tám dél-* swim, bathe || AA.#338 B.418
- tamáam* ADJ entire, whole, all over || B.418 ¶ UR *tamām*
- tamaašá* *tamaašá, tamašá* Y PL -ŋ festival, party, joy || AA.#246 B.418  
¶ UR *tamaša*
- tamaašá ét-* treat, entertain, amuse, play || AA.#399 B.418
- tamáku* *tamáku, tamáako* Y PL NG *tamáakučay* tobacco || AA.#56 B.418  
¶ UR *tambākū*, EN *tabacco*
- tamós* Y PL -iŋ, *tamóšij* midsummer, plenty of farmwork, tilling of uncultivated land, fallow || B.419
- tán* ONO sound of slap || B.419 (<sup>2</sup>*tan*)  
*tán @'t-* slap || B.419
- tan'* see *ltan*

- táno** X PL -*muc* rectum || B.419 (<sup>1</sup>*táno*)
- tanós** X PL *tanóšo* mortar || AA.#611 B.420
- táj** ADJ depressed, sad, worrying, confined, tight, cramp || B.420 ¶ UR *tang*  
'confined, tight'
- táj @-mán-** become depressed, become sad, be irritated, deplore ||  
AA.#295 B.420
- tájkuş** Y sadness, grief, sorrow
- tap** Y PL -*óŋ* leaf, petal, sepal || AA.#124 B.420 (<sup>1</sup>*tap*)
- tapóo** Y ghee || B.420
- taphsíli** ADJ PL -*ŋ* fine, minute, small, detailed || AA.#905 ¶ UR *tafsīlī*
- táq** Y fragment
- táq man'/@-mán-** break, be broken, be smashed || AA.#307 B.421 (*taq*  
-*mán-*)
- táq @'-t-** smash, mash, break into fragments, bend || AA.#344, 376  
B.420 (*taq* -*t-*)
- tóq táq** just a little, a bit ¶ = *čurúkan purúkan, ruk phuk*
- táqum táq @'-t-** smash, mash, break into fragments || AA.#344 B.421
- taqšá** Y PL -*miŋ* cupboard
- táqt** Y PL -*miŋ* throne || B.421 ¶ UR *taxt*
- taqhtá** Y PL -*miŋ* board, plate || AA.#550 ¶ UR *taxta*
- tár** Y flap || B.421 (<sup>1</sup>*tar*)
- tár dél-** fly || AA.#337 B.421 (<sup>2</sup>*tar dél-*)
- taráaqi** Y PL -*miŋ* wave, ripple || AA.#615
- táraŋ** GA ADJ half || AA.#193 ¶ *tráj*
- taráp** **taráp @'-t-** slurp, sip || B.421
- taráph** Y PL -*ičŋ* direction, PL circumference || AA.#738, 744 ¶ UR *taraf*
- taráqhan** H PL name of a dynasty || B.509 (*Traqhanáatiŋ*)
- taréel** X PL -*išo* tray ¶ *tharéel*
- tarkin** **d-@'-tarkin-** INTR IPFV **d-@'-tarkiy-** shiver, feel dizzy || B.422
- tarmúk** Y PL -*iŋ* catapult || B.422
- tarzápkuc** H clan name of *ráŋtar* in Nager
- task'** see *ltask*
- tasmuzá** Y PL -*ŋ* glove || B.423 ¶ PE *dast mūzah*

- taspiá* X PL -*muc* prayer beads, rosary ¶ UR *tasbīh*
- tasvīr* Y PL -*ij* picture, photo || AA.#601 ¶ UR *tasvīr*
- taš* ADJ PL -*mīj* smooth, slippery || B.423
- taš man'-* slip through, slip down || B.423
- taš @-mán-* slip (and fell) || B.423
- tatápal* X PL -*išo* bat || B.424
- tatápalas* NG X PL *tatápalašo* butterfly
- tatás @-tátas* Y PL -*ij* palm of the hand || AA.#502 B.424
- táti* HM PL -*muc* father || AA.#202 B.424
- táto* H PL -*muc* child, young || AA.#208 B.424
- táuc* Y PL -*čij* leather puttee || B.424 (<sup>1</sup>*táuc*)
- tayáar* ADJ ready, prepared || B.424 ¶ UR *taiyār*
- tayaarí* Y preparation ¶ UR *taiyārī*
- teél* *teéle, téele* Z there || AA.#258 B.424 ¶ = *éle, toóle*
- tээр* *tээрum* ADJ that much, such as that, some, thus far || B.425 ¶ =  
    *toórum, téurum*
- téez* *téez, tées, téec* ADJ PL *téezišo* sharp, fast || B.425 ¶ UR *tēz*
- teíl* *teí, teíl* Y that way || B.415 (*taí*), 415 (*taíl*)
- teílaṭe* in that way, such, so that, such a little, mere || AA.#954, 978  
    B.415 (*taílaṭe*)
- teš* NG RF Y PL -*mīj* HS *téši* roof || AA.#108 B.425 (*téši, teś*)
- téši* HS Y PL *tešmīj* NG RF *teš* roof || AA.#108 B.425
- teš* Y PL -*mīj* oath || B.425
- tээр* *tээрum* ADJ that much, such as that, some, thus far || B.425 ¶ =  
    *tээрum, toórum*
- tīr* X PL -*išo* arrow || AA.#75 ¶ = *húnc, hunzé* UR *tīr*
- tik* Y PL -*mīj, -íj* soil || AA.#146 B.425 (<sup>1</sup>*tik*)
- tíke tik* dirty || B.425
- tíl* *tíl @-l-* INTR IPFV *-j-* forget || AA.#407 B.426 (<sup>1</sup>*til* <sup>2</sup>*-l-*)
- tilí* XY PL X *tilénc, -muc*, Y *tiléj* walnut || B.426
- tilíarj* Y PL -*čij* saddle || B.426
- tin* see *ltin*

- tiş** Y PL -*míj* wind || AA.#152 B.427  
**tiş guchár-** (wind) blow || AA.#386
- tó** CONJ then, so, as for || B.428 ¶ UR *to*
- tól** X PL -*jo* snake || AA.#82 B.428 (<sup>1</sup>*tol*)
- tom** Y PL -*ičaŋ* tree || AA.#118 B.428
- tóol** **tóol @-t-** measure, weigh, judge || AA.#785 B.428
- toól** **toóle** Z there || AA.#258 B.428 ¶ = *éle, teéle*
- tooliá** Y PL -*ŋ* towel ¶ UR *tauliyā*, EN *towel*
- tóop** X PL -*išo* canon || B.429 ¶ UR *tōp*
- toophá** Y present, gift || B.429 ¶ UR *tuhfa*
- toór** **toórum** ADJ that much, such as that || B.429 ¶ = *téerum, téurum*
- tóorimi** NUM HXY **tóorumo**, Z **tóorimi** ten || AA.#188 B.429 (*tóorumo, tóorimi*)  
**tóorimi hazáar** NUM ten thousand || AA.#684  
**tóorimi thá** NUM one thousand || AA.#683 ¶ = *hazáar*
- tootá** X PL -*muc* parrot ¶ = *mayón* UR *tōtā*
- toq** Y PL -*íj* mad, mire || B.429
- totó** **@-tóto** Y PL -*miŋ* paw, hand || B.430
- tót** Y [slang] coitus  
**tót @-t-** [slang] have sex with || B.424  
**tít tít** ONO creak, squeak, slosh
- tráa** ADJ exceedingly || B.430 (<sup>1</sup>*tráa-*)  
**tráa @-t-** tie, tighten, fasten tight, give a hard blow || AA.#806, 801  
B.430 (<sup>2</sup>*tráa -t-*)
- trák** **trák dél-** hop || AA.#318 B.430
- tráko** X PL -*muc* grasshopper || B.430 ¶ *trák* ‘hopping’
- trán** **trán @-t-** fire, shoot || AA.#299 B.430
- tránj** ADJ half || AA.#193 B.430 (<sup>1</sup>*tránj*)  
**iskí tránj** ADJ one third || B.430 ¶ *iskí* ‘three’  
**wálti tránj** ADJ quarter ¶ *wálti* ‘four’  
**tranj @-t-** part, divide, distribute || AA.#825 B.430
- tráp** Y handshaking, slap, whap  
**tráp/taráp ét-** tap, beat || AA.#807 B.431 (<sup>2</sup>*trap ét-*)
- tráq** **tráq @-t-** tear off, rend || AA.#341

- tuyulí* X PL *tuyulénc*, -muc ewe || B.431 ¶ = NG *ménis*
- tumáq* ***tumáq***, ***tubáq*** X PL -uc weapon, arms || AA.#587 B.431 (*tubáq*,  
*tumáq*)
- tumáqiski d-@-l-*** fire, shoot || AA.#299 B.431 (*tubáqiski d'-l-*)
- tumár* Y PL -ij amulet, charm, talisman || B.432
- tumúro* Y PL -mij a kind of dracocephalum (*Dracocephalum bipinnatum* Rupr.),  
herb tea of its leaf || B.432
- tur* see *ltur*
- túranas* X PL *túranašo* carabid, scarab || B.433
- turma-altambí* NUM eighteen || AA.#674
- turma-altó* NUM twelve || AA.#668 B.433
- turmachindí* NUM fifteen || AA.#671 B.433 (*turma-čhundó*)
- turmahík* NUM eleven || AA.#667 B.433 (*turma-hín*, -hík)
- turmahuntí* NUM nineteen || AA.#675
- turmaiskí* NUM thirteen || AA.#669
- turmamišíndi* NUM sixteen || AA.#672
- turmathalé* NUM seventeen || AA.#673
- turmawálti* NUM fourteen || AA.#670
- tuspór* X PL -išo round container with a lid for food || B.433
- tuték* X PL -uc pipe, recorder || AA.#590 B.433
- tutí* X PL -muc tap, faucet ¶ ? UR *tutaī* ‘small earthen vessel with a spout’
- thá* NUM hundred || AA.#190 B.435
- thá* @-sta- TR put out, extinguish, turn off || AA.#846 B.435 (-*stha-*, -*sta-*)
- thaál* ***tháal***, ***thaál*** X PL -išo plate, large bowl, large dish, platter || AA.#553  
B.435 ¶ UR *thāl*
- tháan* ***tháanum*** ADJ PL *tháaiko* high, tall || AA.#429 B.435  
Y PL *tháaiko* high place, heights, top || B.435
- tháan* Y PL HZ -ičij, NG -ičan palace, castle, fort || B.435 ¶ = *théenyş*
- thaláa* ADJ slow, late, slowly || AA.#447, 963 B.436
- thalé* NUM HXY ***thaló***, Z ***thalé*** seven || AA.#185 B.436 (*thaló*, *thalé*)
- thalékuc*** HZ Y PL -ij week || AA.#165 B.436 ¶ = *haptá*, NG  
*altáanuc*; -kuc ‘day’

- thám** HM PL -o, -išo king || AA.#714 B.436  
**thámkuş** Y PL *thámkuyaŋ* kingship, kingdom || B.436
- thamí **thamí-** INTR be closed, keep silent || B.437  
**@-thámi-** INTR be closed, keep silent || B.437
- thamíni** Z last year || AA.#657 B.437
- than **@-thán** X PL **@-tháyo** point, tip, end, head || AA.#739 B.437
- thanás** X PL -išo, *thanášo* long pail to drink water (often in a public rainwater tank) || B.437
- thap** Z PL -ícaŋ HZ night, NG evening || AA.#171 B.437
- thár **thár@-t-** untie, loosen, spread (a cloth), string (a bow) || AA.#351 B.438
- tharéel** X PL -išo tray ¶ = *taréel*
- tharkúr** Y urine, piss ¶ = *harás*
- thas** Y PL -míŋ smoke, haze || AA.#149 B.438
- théenyuş** Y PL *théenyuyaŋ* palace, castle || B.439 ¶ = *tháaŋ*
- thenc** NG Y PL -míŋ fifteen days, two weeks, half a month || B.439
- ther** Y PL HZ -míŋ, NG -méŋ filth || AA.#40 B.439  
**ther kaáto** ADJ PL -muc dirty, filthy || AA.#454  
**thérkiş** ADJ dirty, filthy || AA.#454 B.439 (*ther*, *thérkiş*)
- thí** ADJ free, gratis, gratuitous || B.439 (<sup>1</sup>*thi*)
- thiãũ **thiãũ ét-/@-mán-** HZ sneeze || B.440 ¶ *thiśáo* Y ‘sneeze’, NG *thiũ* @-t-
- thiś** Y drop || B.440  
ADJ a drop of, little || AA.#472 B.440
- thiśáo** Y PL -miŋ sneeze || AA.#513 B.440 (*thiãũ ét-*, *thiśáo -mán-* ‘sneeze’)
- thiũ **thiũ@-t-** NG sneeze || B.440 (*thiãũ ét-*, *thiũ -t-* ‘sneeze’) ¶ *thiśáo* Y ‘sneeze’, HZ *thiãũ ét-/@-mán-*
- thómal** Y PL -iŋ aromatic smoke || B.441
- thóol** Z place name in the upper side of Uyum Nager || B.510
- thóoro** X nasal septum || B.441
- thoş** ADJ PL HX *thuáanc*, Y *thuáaŋ* new, fresh, newly, again || AA.#467, 490  
B.441  
**thoş@-t-** have new one made, renew



- thót **@-skil thót** sad, displeased, sullen, indignant || B.439
- thóti Y dumpling, lump || B.442 (*thóti* ‘buckwheat dumpling’)
- thú Y spit || AA.#12 ¶ = *bisqá*  
**thú/thúu ét-** spit || AA.#289 B.442
- thú **thúm** ADJ PL X -išo, Y -iŋ different, other, next, second || AA.#236,  
 489, 665 B.442  
**thúúm** ADJ completely different  
**thúmiŋ thúmiŋ** et cetera || AA.#993
- thúmušaliŋ** Y winter solstice festival || B.442
- thur HZ X, NG Y PL HZ -ánc, NG -iáŋ whip || B.442
- thúri X PL -muc tuning peg
- ťák ADJ exact, indeed, particular || AA.#957 B.444 (<sup>2</sup>ťák)  
**ťák man’** match, be a match for, ride out || B.444 (*ťák -mán-*)  
**ťamťák** only, equal, equivalent || AA.#995 B.444 (*ťam-ťák*)
- ťak XY PL X -ánc, HZ PL Y -míŋ X strings or buttons to bind a choga, button, Y  
 bundle, tie || AA.#350 B.444 (<sup>1</sup>ťak)  
**ťak @-t-** bind, tie, fasten, hitch || AA.#350, 801, 805 B.444
- ťám **ťám @-t-** close (door) || AA.#364 B.444
- ťáŋ ADJ cloudy, threatening || B.444
- ťár **ťár @-t-** break, split, chop, cut, fell, tear, bend, crack || AA.#336, 361, 376,  
 810 B.445
- ťáro HZ X PL -muc NG **ťatár**, GA **ťóro** scarab beetle || B.445 (<sup>2</sup>ťáro)
- ťatár** NG X PL -muc GA **ťóro**, HZ **ťáro** scarab beetle || B.445 (<sup>2</sup>ťáro, <sup>2</sup>ťatár)
- ťém Y time || AA.#178 B.445 ¶ EN *time*
- ťelí X PL -muc bell || AA.#589 ¶ UR *ťālī*
- ťést Y test, examination ¶ EN *test*
- ťibél X PL -išo table ¶ EN *table*
- ťigán **ťigán, ťián** NG X PL **ťigáyo, ťiáyo** RF **ťinán**, HS **ťiŋán** egg || AA.#61  
 B.446 (*ťinán, ťigán*)
- ťiko X PL -muc stain || B.445
- ťinán RF X PL **ťináyo** HS **ťiŋán**, NG **ťigán, ťián** egg || AA.#61 B.446 (*ťinán*,  
 GA PL **ťináyo**)
- ťiŋán HS X PL **ťiŋáyo** RF **ťinán**, NG **ťigán, ťián** egg || AA.#61 B.446

- ṭók** ADJ all, complete, whole, full || AA.#194, 473 B.446  
**ṭók man'** achieve, accomplish || B.446
- ṭókur** **ṭókur khái, ṭókur kooṭ** Z place and fort name in the upper side of Uyum Nager immediately near Hopar behind *ṣiqámatij* (having a waterfall and a power plant) || B.510  
 (Ṭokurkhái)
- ṭónj** **ṭónj, ṭónj phéso** XY sand pear || B.446 ¶ *phéso* 'pear'
- ṭóri** X PL -muc stopper, plug, regulator stone of the irrigation canal, part, mouthpipe || B.447
- ṭóro** GA X PL -muc HZ *ṭáro*, NG *ṭaṭár* scarab beetle || B.445 (<sup>2</sup>*ṭáro*, <sup>1</sup>*ṭóro*)
- ṭukdá** Y piece ¶ UR *ṭukrā*  
**ṭukdá ṭukdá @'t-** crush to pieces || AA.#306
- ṭukóro** HS X PL -muc NG RF *kapatóo* eggshell || B.448
- ṭúnjuru** X PL -šo buttock || AA.#23 B.448 (*ṭúnuro, ṭúnur*)
- ṭušék** X PL -uc mattress
- ṭuṭáj** HS NG ADJ PL X -išo, Y -ij RF NG *ḍuṭáj* dark, shadow || AA.#475, 747  
 B.449  
**ṭuṭaáj** Z evening after sunset  
**(sá) ṭuṭaáj man'** (sun) set ¶ = *buúr man'*
- ṭuṭóro** X PL -muc corn bread, sour bread (*qhistá čapatí*) || B.449
- ṭúúro** X PL -muc gourd || B.449
- ṭhám** ADJ clean || B.450 (*ṭham 't-* 'clean')  
 Y cleaning
- ṭháj** **ṭháj @'t-** thrust, push, press || AA.#304, 308 B.450
- ṭhaṭhár** **ṭháṭhar-** TR peck, gnaw, cut off || B.451  
**@-ṭháṭar-** TR peck, gnaw, cut off || B.451
- ṭhíik** **ṭhíika gán-** undertake, take on || AA.#852 B.451 ¶ UR *ṭhīk* 'fine, nice'  
**ṭhíik ṭháak** ADJ robust, healthy || AA.#942 ¶ UR *ṭhīk-ṭhāk*
- ṭhis** Y PL -mij mistake, error || B.451  
**ṭhis @-mán-** err, be mistaken || AA.#864 B.451  
**ṭhis @'t-** mistake || AA.#864 B.451  
**ṭhiskuṣ** Y sexual unchastity of a girl, bad conduct || B.452

- ṭhóko** X PL -*muc* lump || B.452
- ṭhúk** **ṭhúk @-mán-** tumble
- ṭhuk** X PL -*ánc* wooden peg || B.452 (<sup>1</sup>*ṭhuk*)
- ṭhúmuk** Y encounter  
**ṭhúmuk man'/@-mán-** meet, encounter, appear || AA.#402 B.452  
 (*ṭhúmuk man'*)
- ṭhúuko** X PL -*muc* kind of flute || B.452
- ú** PRN DIST they || AA.#233, 234 B.213 (*iné, u*) ¶ X *éc*, Y *ék*, PROX *khú*
- u @-ú** X PL -*muc* tear || AA.#6 B.453
- u @-ú-** DITR 1SG.OBJ *joó-* HX.OBJ give || AA.#418 B.453
- ucháнас** see *chan*
- udáar** NG **udáar/udháar gán-/@-yán-** borrow || AA.#374 ¶ UR *udhār* 'rental'
- úl úlo** Z inside || AA.#270 B.455  
**úliskum** ADJ inside of || B.454  
**úlum** ADJ inner, inwards || B.455  
**úlumpa** Z inner side || B.455 (*úlpa, úlumpa*)  
**úlumpači** at inside  
**@-l-** TR IPFV -*j-* thread (a needle), insert || B.259  
**@-l-** TR IPFV -*j-* prick (with a needle) || B.259  
**d-@-ul-** TR IPFV -*j-* put through || B.259
- ul @-úl** X PL -*išo* belly || AA.#26 B.453
- ul -ul** Z day || AA.#646
- ul d-@-ul-** TR IPFV -*j-* build (a house), thatch, cover, shingle || AA.#848  
 B.454
- ulán-** see *lan*
- ulgış @-úlgış** Y PL **@-úlgiaŋ** nest || AA.#66 B.454 ¶ ? *úl* 'inside', -*kiş*  
 ADJVLZ
- @-ulja-** see *huljá*
- uljí @-úlji** Y PL -*miŋ* dream || AA.#723 B.454 (<sup>1</sup>-*úlji*)
- ulús @-úlus** HM PL HZ **@-úluvaro**, NG -*varo* brother of a woman || AA.#215  
 B.455
- úm** NG PRN HS *ún*, RF *úŋ* thou || AA.#228 B.456 (*un, um*)
- úmur** Y PL -*iŋ* age || AA.#197 B.455 ¶ UR *umr*

- úmuraṭe barkát** INTERJ God bless you
- umús @-úmus X PL @-úmuyanc, @-úmušo tongue, lie, fib || AA.#11  
B.455
- @-úmušo ót-/sén- tell a lie, fib || B.456
- @-úmuskış ADJ PL @-úmuskianc liar, fibber || B.456
- ún HS PRN NG úm, RF úḡ thou || AA.#228 B.456
- uḡgóoy PRN just you || B.456 (uḡgó, uḡgóoy)
- úḡ RF PRN NG úm, HS ún thou || AA.#228 B.456 (un, uḡ)
- uráq yuúraq- INTR IPFV -ič- turn up and stir (inside flour), dig a hole ||  
B.456
- @-úrgin- see gurgín
- urí @-úri HZ X PL -muc NG @-úro nail, crow || AA.#32 B.66
- urk X PL -ái wolf || B.457
- uró @-úro NG X PL @-úrumuc HZ @-úri nail, crow || AA.#32
- urší X PL -muc gun with a long unrifled barrel || B.457 (uruusí)
- @-uruṭ- see hurúṭ
- us @-ús HF PL @-úšinc wife || AA.#200 B.457 ¶ ? gus ‘woman’
- @-ús @-úyar H PL DOUBLE PL -išo husband and wife, married couple ||  
AA.#701 ¶ @-úyar ‘husband’
- ušá @-úša- TR bring up, raise, foster, take care of || AA.#787 B.458
- yuúšayas Y keeping alive by the God, the sacrifice slaughtered on the  
winter solstice festival (thúmušaliḡ) which will be eaten for  
months || B.458
- duúša- INTR be brought up || B.458
- ušáar ADJ intelligent, mindful || B.207 (hušáar) ¶ UR hušyār
- uṣ Y PL NG -míḡ debt, responsibility || B.459
- úṣ @-t- borrow || AA.#374
- úṣar gán-/@-yán- borrow || AA.#374
- úṣar d-@-c- borrow || AA.#374
- úṣar @-ú-/@-čí-/@-yún- lend || AA.#373
- uṭ @-úṭ Y foot, step || B.459 ¶ = @-úṭis
- uṭ X PL -ánc camel || B.459 ¶ UR úṭ, SH úṭ
- uṭis @-úṭis X (SG), Y (PL) PL @-úṭiḡ foot || AA.#33 B.460 ¶ = @-úṭ

- yuúťis** X (SG), Y (PL) PL **yuúťij** treadle, pedal
- uy **uyúm** ADJ PL **uyóŋko** big, large || AA.#427 B.460  
**uyúm nagér** Z Uyum Nager (place name in Nager) || B.510
- uyá **uyám** ADJ PL X **-išo**, Y **-ij** sweet, tasty || AA.#442, 911 B.460  
**uyámkuş** Y sweetness || B.460
- uyár **@-úyar** HM PL **-išo** husband || AA.#199 B.460
- uyóon see yoon
- uy **@-úy** HM PL **-caro** father (not with 1SG) || AA.#202 B.460 ¶ = *áya*  
**@-úy @-mi** H PL DOUBLE PL **-caro** parents || AA.#700 B.460 ¶  
**@-mi** ‘mother’  
**@-úy @-pi** H PL DOUBLE PL **-caro** ancestors || AA.#702 B.460 ¶  
**@-pi** ‘grandparent’
- @-úy-** see *búy*
- wáa **wáa, wáw** INTERJ oh, wow, hey || B.462
- @-wáal-** see *balúu*
- waapás** ADJ back, returning || B.462 (*waaphás, waphás*) ¶ UR *wāpas*
- waaqíá **waaqíá man-'** happen, occur || AA.#866 B.462 ¶ UR *wāqí'a*  
‘happening’
- wáar **wáar-** TR use as a lid, put on, cover with || B.462  
**duwáar-** INTR be used as a lid || B.462  
**wáariş** Y PL **wáariŋ** lid, cap || AA.#548 B.462 ¶ *duscakbáariş*  
‘tool’
- waasikát** X PL **-išo** waistcoat ¶ EN *waistcoat*
- waawailá** Y lamentation, wailing, noise || B.463 (*waawailá ét-* ‘wail’) ¶ UR  
*wāwailā*
- wája **wája, wájá** Y reason || B.463 ¶ UR *waja*
- wal **@-wál-** TR IPFV **-j-** blow off, fly, winnow, distribute || AA.#792 B.463  
**duwál-** INTR IPFV **-j-** fly || AA.#337 B.463
- @-wál-** see *bal*
- waldás **@-wáldas** X PL **@-wáldašo** back || AA.#21 B.463
- wálgi** Y PL **-miŋ** shoulder belt || B.463
- wálti NUM HXY **wálto**, Z **wálti** four || AA.#182 B.463 (*wálto, wálti*) ¶ *wálti*  
*šitík* ‘square’, *wálti tráj* ‘quarter’

- wálti áltar* NUM eighty || AA.#681 B.464 (*wálti-áltar*)  
*wálti áltar tóorimi* NUM ninety || AA.#682  
*wálsa* four months || B.463 ¶ -sa ‘month’  
*wáo wáo @-t-* bark || AA.#758 B.464 (*wáo* ‘bark’)  
*waphaadáar* ADJ PL -išo trusty ¶ UR *wafādār*  
*waphaadaarí* Y faithfulness ¶ UR *wafādārī*  
*waq duwáq-* INTR IPFV -ič- get wet || B.464  
*d-@-waq-* INTR IPFV -ič- get wet || B.464  
*wáqt* Y time || AA.#178 B.464 ¶ UR *waqt*  
@-wár- see bar  
@-wara- see hará  
*wáran d-@-waran-* INTR desire, wish for || B.465 ¶ ? *barén-* ‘look’  
*wárc* ADJ PL *wárcuko* correct, complete, right side, in order || AA.#745 B.465  
*wárc @-mán-* recover, get well, heal || AA.#894 B.465  
*wárc ét-* repair || AA.#302 B.465 (*warc -t-*)  
*apárc* ADJ PL *apárcuko* incorrect, incomplete, reverse side, out of order || AA.#746 B.465 ¶ a- NEG  
*apárc čáya* Y PL *apárcuko -miŋ* sex talk, dirty talk  
@-wárumkuş see bar  
@-wáši- see bišá  
*waški @-wáški* Y PL -čaŋ gum || B.466 (-*wáškičin*, -*wáškičan*)  
*watán* Y PL -ičiŋ country, native place || AA.#725 B.466 ¶ UR *watan*  
@-wát, waṭ, wáṭhar see baṭ  
*wazír* H PL -tiŋ minister, wazir, high officer || B.466 ¶ UR *wazír*  
*waziirí* Y wazirship ¶ UR *wazírī*  
*yá* INTERJ yeah, uh, er, oh, hi || B.467 (<sup>2</sup>*ya*) ¶ *bée yá, béya* ‘no’  
*yáa @-s-* stop, forbid || AA.#769  
*ŷá* X PL -muc bear || B.467 (<sup>1</sup>*ya*, *yã*)  
*ya @-yá-* INTR obtain possession of, be given, find out, happen, beat at, make (a bullet) hit, put into, enter, get scratched || B.467  
*yáa* CONJ or || AA.#981 B.467 (<sup>2</sup>*yáa*) ¶ UR *yā*  
*yaáli @-yaáli* Y technique, skill || B.467  
@-yaalí *man-* NG help || AA.#400

- yaalmún **@-yaálmun** X PL **@-yaálmuyo** rib, costa || B.467  
**@-yáalt-** see báalt
- yaaní** CONJ (sometimes used as a filler) that is, namely || B.467 ¶ UR *ya'anī*
- yaaquíut** Y SG PL ruby || B.468 ¶ = *lál* UR *yāqūt*
- yáar** **@-yáare** Z lower part, toe, downwards, below || AA.#274 B.468  
**yáare @-t-** bury || AA.#796 B.468  
**@-yáarum** ADJ lower, downward || B.468  
**@-yáarumpa** Z lower side
- yáar** H PL **-išo** partner, friend || B.468 (<sup>1</sup>*yáar*) ¶ UR *yār*
- yaay **diyáay-** INTR IPFV **diyáaç-** be fixed || B.469  
**d-@-yay-** INTR IPFV **d-@-yaç-** be fixed || B.469  
**d-@-stay-** TR IPFV **d-@-staç-** fix, support, forbid, hinder || AA.#769  
 B.469
- yaǵá **@-yáǵa-** INTR get used to, live comfortably || B.470
- yáinǵ** X PL **-išo, -uc** water mill || B.470
- yak **yak, @-yák** Y PL **yakíčañ, @-yákíčañ** residence, house || B.470 (*-yák*)  
 ¶ = *ha*
- yákal **@-yákal** Y direction, for (the direction of) || AA.#738, 985 B.470  
**@-yákal né** in the direction of, for || B.470
- yáke** CONJ otherwise, or, at least || B.470 ¶ UR *yā-ke*
- yal** Y PL **-mínǵ** shade, shadow || AA.#161 B.470 (*-yál, yal*)
- yal **d-@-yal-** INTR IPFV **-j-** hear, follow a speech || AA.#277 B.471  
**@-yál-** see *gál*  
**@-yámi-** see *gámi*
- yan **@-yan-** INTR IPFV **@-yay-** sleep || AA.#325 B.471  
**@-yán-** see *gán*
- yaqín **yaqín.jú-** feel relieved, be convinced || AA.#777 B.472 ¶ UR *yaqīn*  
 ‘conviction’
- yár **@-yár** Z forwards, before, formerly || AA.#268, 661 B.473  
**@-yárne, @-yár né** forwards, ahead  
**yár né** already, formerly || AA.#968, 983 B.473 (*yar ne*)  
**@-yáre** in front of, before  
**yárpa, yárvat** Z front side, before, forwards || B.474 (<sup>1</sup>*yarpá, yárpa*) ¶

*pá* ‘side’

- yárum* ADJ PL -*išo* former, old || AA.#468 B.473  
*yárum hísa* last month || AA.#654 ¶ *hísa* ‘month’  
*miyáar* Z next year || AA.#658 B.473 (*miyárar*)
- yar @-*yár-* TR graze, watch, gaze, monitor, put out to pasture || B.473  
*duyár-* INTR graze || B.473
- yar @-*yarum* ADJ PL -*išo* like, beloved, adorable, dear || AA.#937 B.474  
 ¶ ?*garúrum* ‘hot’; × @-*yam* ‘dislike’
- yaráan* H PL *yaráayo* friend || AA.#218  
 @-*yáran-* see *garán*
- yár bun* X peak name of a rocky hillock at *pindárgos* hill ¶ *yár* ‘forward’, *bun* ‘rocky mountain’
- yárgunc* Z the day before yesterday || AA.#652 B.474 ¶ *yár* ‘forward’, *gunc* ‘day’
- yaríkuc* H clan name of Ganish
- yarimúš* X PL -*umuc* tip, point, forefront || B.474 ¶ *yár* ‘forward’, *muš* ‘end’  
*yarimúšun* ADJ first || AA.#685
- yarkamáas* ADJ at the beginning || B.474
- yas @-*yás* HF PL -*caro*, HZ -*taro* sister of a man || AA.#216 B.474
- yašáan* ADJ a little || B.475  
 @-*yáši-*, @-*yaši-* see *gišá*
- yát* @-*yáte* Z upper part, top, crown, upwards, above || AA.#273 B.475  
 @-*yátne*, @-*yát né* up, upwards || B.475 (<sup>1</sup>*yát ne*)  
 @-*yátum* ADJ upper, upward || B.475  
 @-*yátumpa* Z upper side
- @-*yátamur-* see *gaťámur*
- yaťís* @-*yátis* X PL @-*yátimuc* head, guiter head || AA.#1 B.476 ¶ *yát* ‘up, top’
- yátkus* HZ X PL *yátkušo* NG *yátukus* mallet || B.476 ¶ *yát* ‘up, top’  
*yátukus* NG X PL *yátukuyanc* HZ *yátkus* mallet || B.476 ¶ *yát* ‘up, top’
- yé* INTERJ hey, look || B.477  
 @-*yeéc-* see *ic*



- @-yeén- see hén
- @-yoóc- see ic
- yoól Y the year, age || AA.#696 B.477 ¶ den ‘year’
- @-yoól- see bél
- yoon @-yóon ADJ all, every || AA.#194, 473 B.477  
 uyóon ADJ all || B.477  
 @-yóoncum most, among all || AA.#951
- yuúraq- see uráq
- yuúšayas see ušá
- yuúṭis see uṭis
- zaarmulá Y PL -miṅ kind of medical stone (antidote)
- záat Y sort, kind || B.481
- zabardást *zabardást, zabardás* ADJ powerful, intense, great, exact, superior,  
 high-handed || B.481 ¶ UR *zabardast*  
*zabardastí* Y greatness, force, intensity || B.481 ¶ UR  
*zabardastī*
- záhar *záhar, zéher* Y poison || B.481 ¶ UR *zahr*
- zail Y wise, way, means, method || B.481 (*záil*)
- zál *zál/zalzál @:t-* shake, swing || AA.#377 B.481 ¶ *zalzalá* ‘earthquake’
- zalzalá *zalzalá, zilzilá* Y earthquake ¶ ? *zál* ‘shake’ UR *zalzala*
- zamaaná Y era, period, the times || B.482 ¶ UR *zamāna*
- zamín Y land, ground, field || B.482 ¶ UR *zamīn*  
*zamindáar* H PL -išo landowner || B.482 ¶ UR *zamīndār*
- zamrúut Y PL -iṅ emerald ¶ UR *zamurrud*
- zán *zán @:t-* grind, smash, crush, pound, crack open, hurt || AA.#344, 811,  
 812 B.482
- zanqán X PL -išo long neck metal teapot || B.482 (*zamqán*)
- záṅs NG X PL -išo HZ *záṅsa* metal vessel || B.482 (*záṅsa, záṅis*) ¶ TIBETAN  
*zaṅs*
- záṅsa HZ X PL -muc NG *záṅs* metal vessel || B.482
- záp *záp @:t-* learn by heart, memorize || B.483
- záq *záq @:t-* hurt, injure, bruise || B.483 (<sup>1</sup>*zaq :t-*)

- záq @-t-** hurt, make feel pain
- zaráp **zaráp @-t-** stick, stab, pierce || AA.#305 B.483  
**zurúp** ONO thuck, tsak
- zariá **zariáate** by (+GEN), with (+GEN) || AA.#991 B.484 ¶ UR *zari'a*  
 ‘method’
- zaruúr** ADJ surely, always, necessarily || AA.#961 B.484 ¶ UR *zarūr*  
**zaruulí, zaruurí** ADJ necessary || AA.#961 B.484 ¶ UR *zarūrī*
- zayá **zayá @-t-** make waste ¶ UR *zāi* ‘waste’
- zéhen** Y mind ¶ UR *zahn*
- zeibaakí** Y PL *-miŋ* cloth made of fine yarns (brought from the Tajiki culture  
 about 300 years ago)
- ziaadá** ADJ much, many || B.484 ¶ UR *ziyāda*
- zíl** Y the first string of a *lubáab* which has the highest tone, harmony, elegance ||  
 B.484 (<sup>1</sup>*zíl*)
- zimá **zimá gán-** undertake, take on || AA.#852 ¶ UR *zimma* ‘charge’  
**zimadáar** ADJ responsible ¶ UR *zimmedār*
- zináa** Y fornication ¶ UR *zinā*
- zindá** ADJ living, alive ¶ UR *zinda*  
**zindagí** Y life || B.485 ¶ UR *zindagī*
- zizí** HF PL *-caro* mother (only used in royal or upper class families) || B.485
- zó** HZ X PL *-muc* small yak || B.485 ¶ = NG *maşkáat*
- zóol** NG ADJ painful, sore, prickly
- zóor** Y power, force || B.485 ¶ UR *zōr*  
 ADJ strong, severe, quick, tough, energetically || B.485
- zuzáq** Y hell || B.486 ¶ SH *zozák*, UR *dōzax*

要旨 / Abstract

和文要旨 / Japanese

英文要旨 / English

## 要 旨

本論文は、以下の二点を目的として書かれている：(i) パキスタン北部で話されているブルシャスキー語のフンザ・ナゲル方言（これを「東ブルシャスキー語」と呼ぶ）のリファレンスグラマーを記述することと、その中で (ii) 先行研究で記述されている文法現象への疑問点を再検討、再考察して明らかにすることである。本論文を書くにあたって筆者は、先行研究に収録されているテキストの他に、自らフィールドワークで収集したテキストデータも用いて分析を行った。

論文の本体は以下に示す章構成で書かれている：「はじめに」（第 0 章）、文法の部（第 1～8 章）、理論的問題の部（第 9～11 章）、「まとめ」（第 12 章）。更に附録として、4 本のテキスト（附録 I；フンザ方言 3 本、ナゲル方言 1 本）と約 3,000 項目の語彙集（附録 II）とを巻末に収録した。文法と理論的問題とを扱っている部分の、各章の詳細は以下の通りである：

### 第 I 部 一 文法

**第 1 章 一 音体系** この章では音韻的な情報を扱っている。東ブルシャスキー語には 36 の子音と 10 の母音がある。大まかに言えば、音節構造は CCVCC であり、更にこの言語は弁別的なピッチアクセント体系を持っている。ブルシャスキー語全体での形態音韻論的ルールもこの章で記述した。

**第 2 章 一 予備知識** ここでは本論文で用いる記述の単位に関する用語を導入した。それに加えて、論文内でブルシャスキー語を考察する際に必要となる品詞分類を示し、以下 8 つの品詞を定義した：名詞・代名詞・形容詞・数詞・動詞・コピュラ・接続詞・間投詞。更に、この言語には 5 つの名詞クラスが存在し、全ての名詞が必ず以下のクラスのいずれかには属するというのもこの章では述べた：HM・HF・X・Y・Z。

**第 3 章 一 名詞** ブルシャスキー語の名詞は、数や格で、或いは名詞によっては人称によっても曲用する。名詞に用いる複数接尾辞には何十もの形式があり、いずれの接尾辞が用いられるかは語基ごとに決まっている。その組み合わせには厳密なルールというものがない。けれども一方で、複数接尾辞を二つ組み合わせてなされる二重複数表現に用いられる（二つ目の）複数接尾辞は、その何十もの接尾辞の中の一部だけであることを記述した。一部の譲渡不能名詞は人称接頭辞を必ず要求し、常に所有者の人称を示す。この人称接頭辞は形容詞（の感情経験主）や動詞（の受動者）に用いられるものと同一である。ブルシャスキー語で格の標示は、格接尾辞によってなされ、その形式は十種類を上回る。

その中でも、場所を示す格に関しては、4つの位置格と3つの方向格との組み合わせで実現する。いずれの先行研究もがゼロ形態素を立てていないが、筆者は絶対格接尾辞の-Øを立てて格体系を記述した。

**第4章 — 指示詞・人称代名詞・疑問詞** ブルシャスキー語の指示詞（指示代名詞・指示形容詞）は指示対象の名詞クラスに合わせて異なった語形を取る。形態的にも意味的にも、指示詞は二つのグループ——近称・遠称とに分類され、更にそれに並行する形で疑問詞が存在する。人称代名詞は一・二人称にのみ存在し、三人称には指示代名詞が用いられる。

**第5章 — 形容詞・数詞** 指示対象が複数である名詞を修飾する場合に、一部の形容詞は、名詞と同様に複数接尾辞を任意で取る。この接尾辞は、名詞に用いられるものの内の一部である。それとは別に、一部の感情形容詞は感情経験主を示す為に人称接頭辞を常に取る。数詞とは、一種の特別な形容詞のことであり、一般的な形容詞と形態的、統語的に異なった振る舞いを示す（序数接尾辞、Z類形、類別接尾辞を取れる、など）。

**第6章 — 動詞類** ブルシャスキー語の動詞（語根）は、接辞による以下の五つの派生プロセスの複雑な組み合わせによって語幹派生される：完結・人称・使役・複数・アスペクト。アスペクトを除いたこれらの派生プロセスは語根ごとにその選択肢が限られており、その組み合わせは（少なくとも現代語では）生産的ではない。使役接頭辞に関して言えば、一部の一項動詞語根が他動詞に派生される時にしか用いられない。動詞・コピュラは主語参加者の人称・数・クラス、極性、ムードを示し、更に一部の動詞は受動者（undergoer）参加者の人称・数・クラスとも一致する。ブルシャスキー語には五つのムードがある：現在直説法・非現在直説法・命令法・希求法・条件法。「(非)現在法」というのは筆者のオリジナルな用語であり、少なくともブルシャスキー語の先行研究には見られない概念を指しているものである。非現在接辞 *-m* は時間性表現では過去・未来を指すために用いられ、或いは条件表現にも用いられる。一方で現在接辞 *-Ø* は、話者がその事態（、或いはその事態からの影響）が現在時に存在していると捉えている場面、即ち現在・将然などの叙述で用いられる。フンザ方言で動詞が補助コピュラを伴って複合的に時間性表現などを作る際にコピュラの語頭子音が脱落することがある、と先行研究には述べられていたが、近年ではナゲル方言でもその傾向が現れて来ているということも、この章では指摘した。

**第7章 — その他の形態操作** この章では、接辞付加によらない四つの語形成法を記述した。複合操作はブルシャスキー語では、用いられているけれども、生産的ではない。単純反響操作もブルシャスキー語ではほとんど用いられていない。反響形成（echo formation）、或いは固定分節重複（fixed segment reduplication）と呼ばれる操作は日常会話で頻繁に用い

られている。反響形成とは、語形の一部を別の分節と置換して（無意味形式に変形させて）重複させる操作のことであり、ブルシャスキー語ではその置換用の分節（＝固定分節）として、第一に /m/ が、そして第二には /s/ が好まれて用いられている。反響形成が個人差の大きい語形成であることを考慮して、話者によって許容範囲や反響形式に差が出ることも実例を挙げて併せて示した。擬音語（onomatopoeia）や擬態語（expressive）もしばしば用いられていて、その使用に際して話者は母音を交替させることや部分重複・完全重複させることによって異なった音・様態の印象を描写している。その母音交替における音象徴については、/a/ を用いることによって、/u/ や /i/ などを用いた場合よりも、より大きい音、大きい動作を表現するものであるということが出来る。

**第 8 章 — 統語論** この章では、句内や節内での基本的な構成要素の順序を説明した後、文法関係と一致体系に関して論じた。結論としては、ブルシャスキー語の動詞は、中核項（core arguments）の格を能格型で支配する一方で、人称接尾辞においては、機能的に、絶対格項ではなく、主語項の人称・数・クラスとの一致を果たしている。更に、動詞における人称接頭辞は受動者役割の項との一致を見せる。節単位の側面で見れば、ブルシャスキー語には様々な副動詞的形式があり、接続詞と同様に、種々の機能を伴いつつ節の連結を果たしている。これらの副動詞的形式に関しては、先行研究での記述とは異なり、同一主語の節連結で用いられていたものが自由主語連結に変わって来ている、或いは、指示交替に関して全体的に機能が曖昧になって来ているという傾向が窺えた。

## 第 II 部 — 理論的問題

**第 9 章 — 他動性とそれにまつわる問題** この章では、人称接頭辞を取る自動詞と取らない自動詞との対、並びに同様の（二項）他動詞の対の機能差を中心に考察した。特にその他動詞の対に関して、先行研究は何故そのような対があるのかを十分に検証して来ない部分であった。筆者の考察から、（二項）他動詞において人称接頭辞が付加されるか否かは、その他動詞節の中で目的語がどれだけもってもらいやすいか、言い換えれば、その目的語がどれだけ標示されるべきであるかに依存しているということが明らかになった。そして、その目的語のもってもらいやすさは、その目的語名詞が持っている特性、即ち、名詞クラスや定性と関連していると結論付けた。

**第 10 章 — d-派生** ここでは、d-接頭辞による動詞派生について論じた。この d- という接頭辞は、研究者間で意見の分かれている接頭辞である。筆者は本章での考察を通して、この接頭辞の示す様々な意味・機能を、五つの機能（接近移動・状態変化・静的状態・結果状態・逆使役表現）に集約することを提案し、更にその機能間には文法化の方向性による説明が可能であることを示唆した。これらの機能は各動詞語基の具体的な意味に合わせて実現するものである。これら全ての機能において、動作の終着点が含まれていると考えら

れ、従って、これらは完結的 (telic) な特性を共有していると言える。

**第 11 章 — 定性と特定性** この章ではまず、不定接辞である *-an* と *-ik* に関してテキストデータを用いて調査をし、それぞれの名詞が持っている特性の間に見られる形態統語的・語用論的關係を考察した。その結果、不定標識は、指示対象が不定である場合の中でも、不特定のな解釈や否定節の中で比較的多く用いられる傾向にあることが分かった。更に、話者は発話内で指示対象の定性・特定性に基づいて文法役割を選んでおり、従って、そういった属性が統語的な表現を左右していることが明らかになった。

## ABSTRACT

The primary objective of this study is to provide a reference grammar of the Hunza-Nager dialect of Burushaski (which I refer to as Eastern Burushaski), an isolated language spoken in northern Pakistan, and to reexamine several points which previous studies have tended to merely reiterate. My approach in this study is based on an analysis of my own database—developed through field research—and of previous research.

This dissertation consists of an introductory chapter; chapters 1 to 8, which deal with grammar; chapters 9 to 11, which deal with theoretical issues; chapter 12, which provides the conclusions; and, lastly, appendices of four texts and a vocabulary section with approximately 3,000 items for future reference. The contents of chapters 1 to 11 are as follows:

### **Part I – Grammar**

**Chapter 1 – The Sound System** This chapter provides phonological information. Eastern Burushaski has 36 consonants and 10 vowel sounds. Briefly, the syllable structure of Eastern Burushaski is CCVCC. This language has a pitch accent system.

**Chapter 2 – Descriptive Preliminaries** Here, I introduced the terminology for the descriptive unit used in the dissertation. Then, I defined the eight word classes I used to examine the language: noun, pronoun, adjective, numeral, verb, copula, conjunctive, and interjection. This language has five nominal classes—HM, HF, X, Y, and Z—and each noun belongs to some class.

**Chapter 3 – Nouns** Nouns in Eastern Burushaski can decline for number and case and sometimes for person. There is a large variety of plural suffixes for nouns, despite the fact that no strict rule to combine a suffix with a nominal base exists. Note, however, that only certain of the plural suffixes are used in a double plural expression. Some nouns require the personal prefix to regularly index the possessor, and the possession expressed with the personal prefixes is always inalienable. Case suffixes serve to perform the function of case marking; more than a dozen cases can be detected in Eastern Burushaski. I employ -∅ for the absolutive case, despite the fact that previous research has not used zero morphemes for morphological description.



**Chapter 4 – Demonstratives, Personal Pronouns, and Interrogatives**

Demonstratives alter their form according to the noun class of the referent. Morphologically and semantically, demonstratives are divided into two groups—proximal and distal—while interrogatives constitute the third group paralleling demonstratives. Personal pronouns are used for only the first and second person.

**Chapter 5 – Adjectives and Numerals**

Some attributive adjectives that modify plural entities take a plural suffix, and some emotional adjectives require the personal prefix to designate the experiencer of the emotion. Additionally, numerals are a special kind of adjective and behave in a somewhat different manner from normal adjectives.

**Chapter 6 – Verbals**

Verbs show a complicated derivational process, with five choices—telicity, person, causative, plurality, and aspect—for stem formation. These choices—with the exception of aspect—tend to have fixed combinations with each other and with verbal roots. Verbals can denote the subject participant, polarity, and mood as well as, in some cases, the undergoer participant. There are five moods in Eastern Burushaski: present indicative, non-present indicative, imperative, optative, and conditional. I have coined the expression ‘(non-)present mood’ to represent a notion, that previous studies on Eastern Burushaski did not examine. The non-present suffix *-m* is employed in temporal references to the past or future. Contrary to this, the present suffix *-∅* is used in situations where an event or the effect of an event is evidently considered to be still present by the speaker.

**Chapter 7 – Other Morphological Processes**

I devoted this chapter to the examination of four types of word formation not related to affixation. Presently, compounding in Eastern Burushaski does not appear to be productive. Additionally, while simple reduplication is seldom used in Eastern Burushaski, but echo-formation is relatively prevalent in daily conversation. This type of formation reduplicates a base form by overwriting a segment with another segment, rendering the reduplicant part meaningless and attaching it to the base part. In Eastern Burushaski, the primary and secondary fixed segments for echo-formation are /m/ and /š/ respectively. Speakers often use onomatopoeia and modify a sound to express different images on the basis of their sound symbolism. For example, /a/ can be connected to a louder or more vivid image than /u/ and /i/.

**Chapter 8 – Syntax** Here, after examining the basic constituent order in phrases and clauses, I discussed grammatical relations and agreement systems. In sum, Eastern Burushaski verbs govern the cases of core arguments in an ergative alignment, while some verbs show agreement of a personal suffix according to the subject argument, not the absolutive one. Moreover, the personal prefix on verbs agrees with the argument in the undergoer role. Eastern Burushaski has several converbal forms that are used to combine clauses as well as conjunctives. These forms may be in the process of changing their functions from same-subject conjunctions to free-subject ones, or of getting looser functions with regard to switch-reference.

## **Part II – Theoretical Issues**

**Chapter 9 – Transitivity and Its Surroundings** I discussed mainly intransitive stem pairs and transitive stem pairs; each type of pairs shows a gap in the personal prefix slot. Significantly, previous studies did not examine why transitive stem pairs are differentiated from each other. Therefore, I examined the issue myself and concluded that the employment of the prefix slot on a transitive stem is motivated by the likelihood of the presence of an object argument. This likelihood is relative to nominal properties such as nominal class and definiteness.

**Chapter 10 – *d*- Derivation** I examined the system of verb stem derivations with the *d*- prefix. *d*- remains a controversial prefix. I discussed the meaning and functions of the prefix in this chapter and listed five functions—venitive, fientive, stative, resultative, and anticausative—with a directional suggestion of grammaticalization. These functions are realised according to the meaning of verbal bases. All these functions involve a goal point of action and therefore share telic characteristics.

**Chapter 11 – Definiteness and Specificity** In this chapter, I researched the indefinite markers *-an* and *-ik* and surveyed the morphosyntactic and pragmatic relationship among nominal characteristics on the basis of the database of a text. These indefinite markers are often used in non-specifically interpreted situations and in negative clauses. Speakers choose grammatical roles for referents in utterances on the basis of definiteness and specificity, and it can be said that these properties affect syntactic expressions.