

PŪRVĀPARAPRAJÑĀBHINANDANAM
EAST AND WEST, PAST AND PRESENT

**Indological and Other Essays
in Honour of Klaus Karttunen**

EDITED BY

BERTIL TIKKANEN & ALBION M. BUTTERS

STUDIA ORIENTALIA 110

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DOMAKI NOUN INFLECTION AND CASE SYNTAX

Bertil Tikkanen

1. OPENING REFLECTIONS

In many Indo-European languages the number of noun cases has decreased over time. This has usually occurred in conjunction with the increase of apocope, syncretism and analytic structures. Classical examples of this evolutionary pattern are French, English, Persian and Hindi-Urdu. Not counting the vocative, Latin had five noun cases, French has one; Old English had four, Modern English has two; Old Persian had six, Modern Persian has one; Sanskrit had seven, Prakrit six (in the later stage five), and Hindi-Urdu has two. For comparison, it may be mentioned that Marathi (still) has six, Dhivehi five (six for human nouns), Kashmiri five, Punjabi four, and Gujarati, Rajasthani, and Bengali three. (Of course, not all paradigms feature all the cases, and some of the cases are new.)

It is therefore captivating to observe that little Domaki [d̪oma:ki], derived from the same Midland Prakrit as Hindi-Urdu, musters eight noun cases.¹ This implies that it has boosted the number of cases it inherited, beating its great grandfather,² Old Indo-Aryan (“Sanskrit”), by one. The same feat has been accomplished by Shina and a couple of other Dardic languages. (Other examples of “case-increasing” Indo-European languages are given in Kulikov 2009.)

Domaki noun inflection has been further complicated by the emergence of bound quantifiers-determiners. Every singular noun stem can take a so-called “suffix of singleness” (m. *-[e/a]k*, f. *-[a/i]ka* < *ek*, *éka* ‘one’), denoting a single specimen, small quantity, or indefiniteness. Correspondingly, plural nouns can take a “suffix of limited plurality” (*-°aare*), denoting a small set, specific group, or multiple unity (e.g. *jóto* ‘(a/the/∅) boy’, *jóto-k* ‘one/a boy’, *jót-e* ‘(the) boys’, *jót-aare* ‘some boys; a [specific/particular] group of boys’; *jóti* ‘(a/the/∅) girl’,

1 The data given here are based on my own fieldwork on the Hunza dialect of Domaki in Mominabad in 1995. Many of the words and forms given by Lorimer in his pioneering, but fragmentary and tentative description of Domaki (1939) were rejected or corrected by my informants. For the Nager dialect, I refer to Weinreich (1999; 2008; forthcoming).

2 In Domaki and Burushaski you talk about ‘father’, rather than ‘mother’ tongue.

jóti-ka ‘one/a girl’, *jóti-ya* ‘(the) girls’, *jóti-ya-aare* ‘some girls; a [specific/particular] group of girls’).³

Of the above-mentioned suffixes, the first-mentioned one has elsewhere been called “singulative”. But this term is not appropriate, as it is defined as the marked singular form of nouns whose unmarked form is plural or collective.⁴ Weinreich (forthcoming) subsumes both suffixes under the name “singulative-indefinite”. However, nouns thus marked may take definite determiners (e.g. *hái jóto-k* ‘that one/single/particular boy’, *háai jóti-ka* ‘that one/single/particular girl’, *aśái kboi-ika* ‘this one cap’). Indefiniteness is more often marked or reinforced by adding the numeral m. *ek*, f. *éka* ‘one’ (e.g. *Ek paaśáa-k cháaka. Hey-éi ek píç-ek cháaka* ‘[Once upon a time] there was a king. He had a son.’).

Not only has the noun acquired new inflectional categories, but the verb has as well. By virtue of distinguishing between co-referential vs. switch-reference and anterior vs. simultaneous, Domaki has ended up with four distinct converbs/gerunds (compared to two in Sanskrit and one in Prakrit and Hindi-Urdu).

So one may ask, what has caused Domaki to reverse the evolutionary trend in nominal and verbal inflection that commenced in the Middle Indo-Aryan stage.

2. LOCATION AND STRENGTH

First of all let us take a look at the socio- and geolinguistic situation of the Domaki language. It is currently spoken in two slightly different forms by less than 350 souls⁵ in two mountain villages (Mominabad and Domyal, respectively) in the Hunza and Nager Valleys of the Gilgit District of the Northern Areas of Pakistan. It is surrounded on all sides by Burushaski, a small but unthreatened language isolate (c.87,000 + in AD 2000). Many Dom communities in the Northern Areas have long ago shifted to Shina (Dardic Indo-Aryan) or Burushaski, and the shift to Burushaski is continuing. Internal motivations for quitting Domaki included enhanced social status for the Doma in Hunza and Nager, who reportedly came from Kashmir or Baltistan some 300–400 years ago as musicians, blacksmiths and craftsmen.⁶ Domaki served as a secret language for these Dom communities.

3 Lorimer (1939: 34–36) noted that the “suffix of singleness” can also be attached to certain pronouns and in certain circumstances to adjectives. Apparently he did not know about the suffix *-aare*.

4 I am grateful to Jaakko Anhava for bringing this fact to my attention. Incidentally, the Burushaski counterpart *-an < han xy* ‘one’ is used as a suffix of singleness as well as a singulative suffix.

5 Weinreich’s (2008: 1–2, n. 3) estimate for 2004. In 1995 I found that all the c.600 inhabitants of Mominabad, except the youngest children, knew the language quite well. Cf. Weinreich (2010).

6 The Dom communities have no recollection of the times prior to this. Linguistically Domaki belongs to the Central Indo-Aryan group of the North Indian Plains (Buddruss 1983: 9). Some people still erroneously place Domaki within the Dardic subgroup, just as they do with Romani.

3. CASE PARADIGM

The case endings are presented in the table below. The superscript circle (°) after the hyphen indicates replacement of a final (stem) vowel. The longer allomorphs beginning with bracketed *-a-* or *-e-* are used when the stem or inflectional base ends in a consonant or elided vowel. Historically, *-a-* can be identified as the thematic vowel, and *-e-* as the plural oblique base. Many masculine nouns with *a(a)* in the final syllable undergo *o*-umlaut (indicated by the @ symbol) in the nominative singular. (The endings are essentially the same for the pronouns.)

Table 1 Domaki case endings

CASES	Singular	Plural
1. Nominative	<i>-∅, @</i>	m. <i>-a, -[°]e, -<i>ɲa</i>, -[°]aɲa, -∅</i> f. <i>-[°]oɲ, -[°]iɲ, -<i>ɲ</i>, -<i>ɲa</i></i>
2. Instrumental-ergative	m. <i>-(a)n</i> f. <i>-a[a]</i>	<i>-[°]ee, -[°]e</i>
3. General oblique	<i>-(a)s</i>	<i>-([°]e)ć</i>
4. Dative (only in Hz.)	<i>-(a)śu, -iśu</i>	<i>-([°]e)ću</i>
5. Genitive	<i>-[°]ei, -i, -ye</i>	<i>-([°]e)ɲe</i>
6. Ablative	<i>-(a)smo, -o[o]</i>	<i>-([°]e)ćmo</i>
7. Inessive-illative	<i>-(a)na</i>	<i>-([°]e)mei, -([°]e)ma</i>
8. Elative	<i>-(a)no</i>	<i>-([°]e)meyo</i>
9. Vocative	vowel lengthening	vowel lengthening

3.1 Paradigmatic accent shift and declensions

In several paradigms the stress accent shifts to the final vowel of the stem, or first vowel of the ending. In monosyllabic and diphthongal stems before consonantal endings, the accent may shift to the last mora of a final long (double) vowel, causing a rising tone.⁷ All in all there are 23 declensions, depending on gender, stem or base final, syllable structure, accent shift, umlaut, and nominative plural ending:

Etymologically, the ethnonyms Dom and Rom are the same, but Domaki is an *a*-dialect (nouns in *-o* are usually loans from Shina or Burushaski), whereas Romani is an *o*-dialect.

7 Accent shifts occur especially in monosyllabic nouns ending in a consonant and having a short stem-vowel, nouns ending in unaccented *-a*, and nouns ending in a single consonant and having a short accented final syllable. Some mono- and bisyllabic nouns ending in a consonant are treated differently by different speakers (or at different times by the same speaker). Yet the endings *-a, -ɲa, -[°]aɲa* (NOM.PL) and *-ye, -i* (GEN.SG) are never accented.

1. masculines ending in consonant without accent shift and umlaut: nominative plural in *-a*
2. masculines ending in consonant with accent shift but without umlaut: plural in *-a*
3. masculines ending in consonant with accent shift and umlaut: plural in *-a*
4. masculines ending in *-ú*, *-áú* [*> -aw-*], *-áo*, *-áúu* or *-éu* without accent shift: plural in *-a*
5. masculines ending in *-ú* or *-úu* [*> -uuw-*] with accent shift: plural in *-a*
6. masculines ending in variable *-á* or *-o* without accent shift: plural in *-^oe* or *-^oé*
7. masculine monosyllabics ending in *-óo* without accent shift but with umlaut: plural in *-ya*
8. masculine monosyllabics ending in *-óo* [*> -o(o)w-*] with accent shift but without umlaut
9. masculines ending in *-a*, *-á(a)* or *-o* without accent shift: plural in *-ya*
10. masculines ending in *-a*, *-á* or *-é* without accent shift: plural in *-^oaaya* or *-^oáaya*
11. masculine monosyllabics ending in *-óo* [*> -aa-*] with accent shift and umlaut: plural in *-Ø*
12. masculine(s) ending in long diphthong *-áai* with accent shift and vowel shortening
13. feminines ending in consonant or variable *-a* without accent shift: plural in *-^ooy*
14. feminines ending in consonant or variable *-a* with accent shift: plural in *-^oóy*
15. feminines ending in consonant or variable *-a* without accent shift: plural in *-^oiy*
16. feminines ending in consonant or variable *-a* with accent shift: plural in *-^oíy*
17. feminines ending in unaccented *-i* without accent shift: plural in *-ya*
18. feminines ending in accented *-i* (incl. *-ai*, *-ói*) without accent shift: plural in *-y*
19. feminines with inflectional base in accented *-i* without accent shift: plural in *-y*
20. feminines ending in long diphthong (*-óoi*, *-áai* *>* *-ói-*, *-ái-*) with accent shift: plural in *-y*
21. masculine 'marked/indefinite singular' stems in *-(V)k(-i-)* ('suffix of singleness')
22. feminine 'marked/indefinite singular' stems in *-(V)ka(-i-)* ('suffix of singleness')
23. masculine and feminine 'limited plural' stems in *-^oaare*

4. DISTRIBUTION AND USE OF CASE ENDINGS

Some interesting features strike us as we proceed to examine the case endings and their uses. First, the endings are different in the singular and in the plural (just as they were in Sanskrit and Prakrit), but they are not always descendants of Sanskrit and Prakrit endings. Secondly, some cases are innovations.

4.1 Nominative

4.1.1 Singular

The nominative has no case ending in the singular. However, many mono- and bisyllabic masculine nouns with *a(a)* in the final syllable undergo *o*-umlaut, reflecting the MIA nominative ending *-ō* < OIA *-ah* (e.g. *gor* (inflectional base *gar-*) ‘house, home’ (< MIA *gharō*, cf. Hindi *ghar*); *póo* (*pa-*) ‘foot’ (< MIA *pādō*, cf. Hindi *pāṁ*); *nóom* (*naam-*) ‘name’ (< **nāmō*, cf. Hindi *nām*); *agóos* (*agáas-*) ‘sky, heaven’ (< MIA *āgāsō* < OIA *ākāśah*); *śarón* (*śarán-*) ‘roof’ (< OIA *śaraṇah*); *kiróoy* (*kiráy-*) ‘shoulder-basket’ (< Bur. *girán*, pl. *giráyo*)).

4.1.2 Marked/indefinite singular (“suffix of singleness”)

The “suffix of singleness” is always added to the nominative singular form:⁸

Masculine: *-ek*, *-ak* (after *-a*, *-á*), *-k* (after *-áa*, *-o*, *-óo*)

Feminine: *-ka*, *-aka* (after consonant and long diphthong), *-ika* (after *-i*)

Thus, for example, *gór-ek* ‘one/a house’; *kaiúu-ek* ~ *kaiúw-ek* ‘one/a dove’; *kanádu[w]-ek* ~ *kanaáw-ek* ‘one/a piece of advice’;⁹ *goowá-ak* ‘one/a horse’, *paasáa-k* ‘one/a king’, *paani-ik* ‘some water, a little water’ (irregular); *jóti-ka* ‘one/a girl’; *láac-aka* ‘one/a fox’; *chaali-ika* ‘one/a goat’; *gáay-aka* (<=*gáai*) ‘one/a cow’.

Before oblique case endings *-i-* is added (*-ek* may then change to *-ik*), which replaces the feminine marker *-a*. Examples will be given below.

Etymology: < OIA m. *ēka-*, f. *ēkā-* ‘one’ (> Dom. m. *ek(i-)*, f. *eka*). Cf. also Shina *-k*, and, further afield, Sinhala and Dhivehi *-ek*, *-ak* ‘INDEF.SG’.

4.1.3 Plural

Masculine:

1. *-a* (declensions 1–5): e.g. *manís-a* <=*manís* ‘man’; *tóm-a* <=*tom* (< Bur.) ‘tree’; *tárk-a* <=*tork* @ (< Bur. *tark*) ‘byre’; *árb-a* <=*orp* @ (*arb-*) ‘rain’; *háq-a* <=*hoq* @ (*haq-*) ‘bone’; *náam-a* <=*nóom* @ ‘name’; *kiráy-a* <=*kiróoy* @ ‘shoulder-basket’; *haráa[n]ç-a* <=*haróoç* @ ‘pitchfork’; *čípáag-a* <=*čípóo[y]* @

⁸ Added to the infinitive (*-[i]ná*), this suffix produces singular agent nouns (e.g. *nikhil-ná* ‘to come out, go out; climb’ => *nikhil-ná-ak* m. ‘climber’, pl. *nikhil-n-é*).

⁹ Before *-ek* a diphthong may be monophthongized and a homorganic semivowel (*w*, *y*) may intervene between *-ek* and *-ú(u)* or *-é/áu*. *Pia* ‘father’ drops its final vowel before *-ek*: *pí-ek*.

(*ćipaag-*) ‘tail’; *khaṭú-a* <= *khaṭú* ‘garment, cloth’; *jáw-a* <= *jáu* (*jaw-*) ‘sinew’; *múuw-a* <= *múu* (*muuw-*) ‘face’; *kaúu[w]-a* <= *kaúu* ‘dove’

2. *-°e* (declension 6): e.g. *goow-é* <= *goowá* ‘horse’; *dio[o]w-é* (~ *dio[o]wáaya* → 4) <= *dio[o]wá* ‘grandson’; *muus-é* (~ *muusáaya* → 4) <= *muusá* ‘mouse’; *jót-e* <= *jóto* ‘boy’; *payáal-e* <= *payáalo* ‘herdsman’; *biráy-e* (~ *biráyo-ya* → 3) <= *biráyo* ‘foal’

3. *-ya* (declensions 7–9): e.g. *máa-ya* <= *móo* @ ‘month’; *paasáa-ya* <= *paasáa* ‘king’; *usáyo-ya* <= *usáyo* ‘hare’; *sunáa-ya* <= *sunó* @ (*sunáa-*) ‘dog’ (< OIA *śvā[n]/sun-*)

4. *-°aaya*, *-°áaya* (declension 10): e.g. *yáaya* <= *ya* 1. ‘heart’, 2. ‘bear’; *kirmáaya* <= *kirmá* ‘snake’; *naaláaya* <= *naalá* ‘nullah, water-course, brook, ravine’; *śaldáaya* <= *śaldá* ‘command’; *bábaaya* <= *bába* m. ‘father’; *jiyáaya* <= *jiyé* ‘falling stone’

5. *-Ø* (declension 11): e.g. *páa* <= *póo* @ ‘foot’; *táa* <= *tóo* @ ‘sun(light)’

Feminine:

1. *-°oy*, *-°óy* (declensions 13–14): e.g. *alfáaz-oy* (double pl.) <= *alfáaz* ‘words’; *barís-oy* <= *barísá* ‘year’; *ánj-oy* <= *ánja* ‘intestine, entrails’; *čhaar-óy* <= *čháar* ‘cliff’; *ṭiket-óy* <= *ṭikét* ‘ticket, stamp (post)’; *gi-óy* <= *gía* ‘song’; *mart-óy* <= *márta* ‘earth cliff’; *danu-óy* <= *danúa* ‘bow’; *šapik-óy* <= *šapika* ‘bread’¹⁰

2. *-°iy*, *-°íy* (declensions 15–16): e.g. *báaš-iy* <= *báaš* ‘language’; *[h]unár-iy* <= *[h]unár* ‘skill’; *phúul-iy* <= *phúula* ‘small wooden bowl’; *agul-iy* <= *agúla* ‘finger’; *bar-iy* <= *bára* ‘pond, artificial lake, tank’; *čil-iy* <= *čila* ‘fireplace’; *sin-iy* <= *sína* ‘river’

3. *-ya* (declension 17): e.g. *góoli-ya* <= *góoli* ‘bread; food’; *phúyi-ya* <= *phúyi* ‘moustache’. Irregular: *búuḍ-iya* <= *búuṭ* ‘boot’; *čili-(i)ya* <= *čili* ‘juniper’

4. *-y* (declensions 18–20): e.g. *phaṭoori-y* <= *phaṭoori* ‘dried apricot’; *babai-y* <= *babai* ‘apple’; *áčhi-y* <= *áč[h]* (*áčhi-*) ‘eye’; *joi-y* <= *jó[o]i* (*joi-*) ‘woman’; *gai-y* <= *gái* (*gai-*) ‘cow’

Etymologies: (i) *-a*, *-Ø* < MIA *-ā*, *-a* < OIA *-(ak-)āḥ*, cf. Romani *-a*;

(ii) *-°e* < MIA *-ayā* < OIA *-ak-āḥ*; cf. Hindi *-°e*; (iii) *-°oy* < ? OIA *-an-aḥ*;

(iv) *-°(i)y*, *-°(aa)ya* < OIA *-(ā/ī)n-i*, cf. Kangri *-iy*, Gujri *-ī*, Hindi, Gujri *-ē* (Lorimer 1939: 29).

¹⁰ The last-mentioned three words were incorrectly cited as masculine by Lorimer (1939: 32).

4.1.3.1 Irregular plurals

Many kinship terms have plural inflectional bases in m. $-(^{\circ}aa)r-$, f. $-(i)ri-$, to which the various case endings are suffixed (e.g. *píaar-a* (< MIA *piyara* < OIA *pitar-ah*) <=*pía* (< MIA *piya* < OIA *pitā*) m. ‘father’; *biráar-a* <=*biráaya* m. ‘brother’; *meerí-ŋ* (Ng. *maairí-ŋ*) <=*máaya* f. ‘mother’; *diiri-ŋ* <=*día* f. ‘daughter’ (cf. Hindko *dhīrī*); *bendirí-ŋ* <=*béen* f. ‘sister’).

Some masculine kinship terms borrowed from Shina suffix $-é$ rather than $-a$ in the nominative plural (e.g. *jamaaçar-é* <=*jamaaça* m. ‘son-in-law’; *maudur-é* <=*maamú* m. ‘maternal uncle’). Also, *puç* m. ‘son’ is borrowed from Shina and has the irregular plural form *peé*, found in Shina dialects (Lorimer 1939: 33).

A few kinship terms (may) take Burushaski plural or collective suffixes (e.g. *dáad-e* ~ *-çaro* ~ *-çara* <=*dáado* m. ‘grandfather’; *naan-iŋ* ~ *nána-çare* <=*nána* f. ‘grandmother’; *bitár-kuça*¹¹ <=*bitóor* @ m. ‘husband’).

The Persian loanword *śái* (*śái-*) m. ‘king, chief’ is not inflected for the plural, which is formed from *śaukúl* (pl. $-a$) m. ‘king, royal family, ruler’.

4.1.4 Limited/indefinite plural

The suffix is $^{\circ}aare$ for both genders, but feminine nouns postfix it to the nominative plural ending (e.g. *manís-aare* ‘some men; a [specific] group of men’; *beeđ-óy-aare* ‘some/certain sheep; a flock of sheep’ <=*béeđa* f. ‘sheep’).

Etymology: The same ending is used to form the nominative plural of the interrogative/indefinite pronouns *ko* ‘who, someone’ => *káare* and *kis* ‘what, something’ => *kís-aare* (cf. also *ekaari*, *ekare* ‘a few, some’ < *ek* ‘one’). This ending is obviously derived from the plural morph $^{\circ}aar-$ (4.1.3.1) + $-e$ (NOM. PL). In the Nager dialect, $^{\circ}aare$ is used as the oblique base and $^{\circ}aara$ as the nominative (Weinreich forthcoming).

4.1.5 Uses of the nominative

1. Subject and predicative complement of intransitive verb or copula:

U *tharés* *çh-íis-aka*
 I² orphan be-1SG-IPF
 ‘I was an orphan.’

11 < Bur. $-kuç$ pl. ‘people, folks’ + Dom. $-a$ ‘NOM.PL’ Lorimer (1938: 26) reported only the regular form *bitáar-a*, which was rejected by my informants.

12 In the absence of any other gloss, it is assumed that (pro)nouns are (nominative) singular.

Aṣéi kīs-ek ḥ-a?
 this(M) what-SGL be-3M.SG.PRES

‘What is this?’

Aṣéi gór-ek ḥ-a.
 this(M) house-SGL be-3M.SG.PRES

‘This is a house.’

Aṣé-y kīs-áare ḥ-e?
 this-PL what-PL be-3PL.PRES

‘What [sort of things] are these?’

Aṣé-y beeḍ-óy-aare ḥ-e.
 this-PL sheep-PL-LTD be-3PL.PRES

‘These are sheep / a flock of sheep.’

2. Direct object (patient) of transitive verb:

Paṅkháa áan er!
 fan on do:IPV(2SG)

‘Turn on the fan.’

3. Adverbial of duration or distance traversed:

Tu tháa katéi dóo(s) beeś-éya?
 thou here how.many day sit/stay-2SG.FUT

‘How many days (= how long) will you stay here?’

4.2 Instrumental-ergative

4.2.1 Singular

Masculine:

-(a)n, -(á)n (the “oblique base vowel” -a/á- appears after consonant, -ú, -úu > -uuw-, -éu, and -ó[o] > -o[o]w-):¹³ e.g. *ḍaámal-an* <= *ḍaámal* ‘kettledrum’; *manís-án* <= *manís* ‘man’; *déu-an* <= *déu* ‘demon’; *goowá-n* <= *goowá* ‘horse’; *śunó-n* <= *śunó* @ (*śunaa-*) ‘dog’; *pía-n* ~ *píi-n* <= *pía* (*píi-*) ‘father’; *śái-n* <= *śái* (*śái-*) ‘king’; *jóṭo-ki-n* <= *jóṭok* (*jóṭoki-*) ‘one/a boy’ <= *jóṭo*.

Etymology: < OIA -(V)nā ~ -(V)na. Cf. Kashmiri -(V)n, Khowar -en, Central Pahari -n.

Feminine:

-ya[a], -yá[a] (with kinship terms in -a and after long diphthongs): e.g. *máma-ya* <= *máma* ‘mother’; *joo-yá[a]* ~ *jooy-á[a]* <= *jó[o]i* (*jói-*) ‘woman’; *maa-yáa* or *maay-á(a)* <= *máaya* (*maí-*) ‘mother’.

¹³ Similarly before other consonant-initial oblique case endings of the singular.

-a (elsewhere): e.g. *diá-a* <= *día* (*diá-*) ‘daughter’; *beedá-a* <= *béeda* ‘sheep’; *meeli-a* <= *meeli* ‘wife’; *agi-a* <= *ák* (*agi-*) ‘fire’; *jóti-ki-a* <= *jótika* (*jótiki-*) ‘one/a girl’ <= *jóti*.

Etymology: < OIA *-ā*. Cf. Kashmiri *-ī*.

4.2.2 Plural

-°ee, -°ée, -°e (added to the singular stem, but to the NOM.PL ending if the latter is nasal; liable to shortening when unstressed and preceded by a heavy syllable): e.g. *manís-ée* <= *manís* m. ‘man’; *gar-ée* <= *gór* @ m. ‘house, home’; *jót-ee* <= *jóto* m. ‘boy’; *joṭi-y-ée* <= *jóti-ya* <= *jóti* f. ‘girl’; *meeri-y-ée* <= *máaya* (pl. *meeri-*) f. ‘mother’; *joṭi-y-aar-ée* <= *jóti-y-aare* ‘some girls’ (note accent shift!); *báb-aay-e* <= *báb-aaya* <= *bába* m. ‘father’.

Etymology: < MIA *-ehi* < OIA (Vedic) *-ebhiḥ*.

4.2.3 Uses of the instrumental-ergative

1. Subject (agent) of transitive verb:

Ṣunó-n wan ir-ég-a ḥh-a
dog-INERG bow-wow do/say-FUT-3M.SG AUX-3M.SG.PRES

‘The dog says bow-wow.’

P[h]itiiśi-a m(y)áu ir-ég-i ḥh-ii
cat-INERG miaou do/say-FUT-3F.SG AUX-3F.SG.PRES

‘The cat says miaou.’

2. Instrument:

Hey-án apan-éi biroí-s khangar-án te-i maar-i-n
he-INERG own-GEN brother-OBL sword-INERG strike-CP kill-PFV-3SG.PRET

‘He killed his own brother with a sword.’

4.3 General oblique

4.3.1 Singular

-(a)s, -(á)s: e.g. *miüz-as* ~ *miüz-ás* <= *miüz* f. ‘table’; *kan-ás* <= *kon* @ m. ‘ear’; *bat-ás* <= *hot[h]* @ m. ‘hand’; *muuw-ás* <= *múu* m. ‘face’; *diá-s* <= *día* f.

‘daughter’; *taá-s* <= *tóo* @ m. ‘sun(-light)’; *śái-s* <= *śáai* (*śái-*) m. ‘king’; *píi-s* <= *píi* (*píi-*) m. ‘father’; *maí-s* <= *máaya* (*maí-*) f. ‘mother’.¹⁴

Etymology: < MIA *-(a)ssa* < OIA *-(a)sya*. Cf. Domari *-as* OBL/ACC.SG, Kashmiri *-(V)s* DAT.SG.

4.3.2 Plural

-(°e)ć, *-(°é)ć* (the “oblique base vowel” *-°e-*, *-°é-* of the plural appears after consonant and variable *-á* and *-o* (i.e. in declensions 1–8 and 13)):¹⁵ e.g. *míiz-eć* <= *míiz* f. ‘table’; *manís-éć* <= *manís* m. ‘man’; *goow-éć* <= *goowá* m. ‘horse’; *jót-eć* <= *jótto* m. ‘boy’; *birśá-ć* <= *birśá* f. ‘land, ground’; *beeđá-ć* <= *béeđa* f. ‘sheep’; *diiri-ć* <= *dia* (pl. *diiri-*) f. ‘daughter’.

Etymology: Formally the affricativized general oblique singular *-(a)s*.

4.3.3 Uses of the general oblique

1. Complement of locative and directional postpositions:

Śái-s pà gi-á.
king-OBL near go(PFV)-3M.SG.PRET
‘He went to the King.’

2. Adverbial adjunct or complement of verbs signifying position or movement ‘on[to]’, ‘at’:

Birśá-s bées!
ground-OBL sit:IPV(2SG)
‘Sit down on the ground!’

Śaran-ás nikhit-á.
roof-OBL climb:PFV-3M.SG.PRET
‘He climbed up onto the roof.’ (Lorimer 1939: 49)

14 Lorimer (1939: 41) suggested that *-i-* replaces *-a-* in the oblique case endings of a few feminine nouns, but the examples he gave can be explained by assuming inflectional bases in *-i-*: *agí-s* <= *ak* (*ag-i-* < OIA *agni-*) f. ‘fire’, cf. *agí-ŋ* NOM.PL, *agí-śu* DAT.SG; *bari-śu* DAT.SG <= *bára* f. ‘pond’, cf. *bar-iy* NOM.PL (< ? Shina *bári*); *sini-no* ELA.SG <= *sina* f. ‘river’, cf. *sin-iy*; *agaśi-na* INEILL.SG <= *agóś* @ m. [not f.!] ‘sky’ cf. *agáśi-s* GEN.OBL.SG.

15 Similarly this is found in the following oblique cases of the plural.

Goowá-s pina-í-n.
horse-OBL mount-PFV-3SG.PRET

‘He mounted the horse.’

3. Direct object or complement (especially if definite and animate) of verbs signifying ‘seizing’, ‘hitting’, ‘setting about’, ‘emotional commitment’, ‘setting fire to’, ‘looking at’, ‘seeing’:

Amé-e kam-ás lom-óom.
we-INERG work-OBL seize-1PL.PRET

‘We set about (=started) the work.’

Mée apan-éi diá-s (diiri-ċ) dekb-i-m.
I:INERG OWN-GEN daughter-OBL (daughter-OBL.PL) see-PFV-1SG.PRET

‘I saw my own daughter(s).’

Hey-án háai joi-s ten-í-n.
he-INERG that woman-OBL hit-PFV-3SG.PRET

‘He hit that woman.’ (Lorimer 1939: 52)

Qhudáa-s amáa itibáar ċh-a.
God-OBL we:GEN faith be-3M.SG.PRES

‘We believe in God.’

4. Causee (causative agent):

U ek darzi-ki-s khatuw-áare çuk ir-waa-i-m.
I one tailor-SGL-OBL cloth-LTD.PL sewing do-CAUS-PFV-1SG.PRET

‘I had a tailor sew some clothes [for myself].’

5. Instrument, means, tool, transport:

Hey-án hathoođ-as yáa đáko-as kom ir-ég-a ċh-a.
he-INERG hammer-OBL or hammer-OBL work do-FUT-3M.SG AUX 3M.SG.PRES

‘He works with a hammer.’

6. Lexicalized adverbs of place, time, manner (e.g. *gar-ás* ‘at home’ <= *gor* @ m. ‘house, home’; *hagíden-as* ‘the year before last’ <= *hagi* ‘before’ + *den* m. ‘year’; *asaani-s* ‘easily’ <= Urdu *āsānī* ‘ease’).

4.4 Dative

4.4.1 Singular

-(a)śu, -(á)śu: e.g. *duniáat-aśu* <= *duniáat* m. ‘world’; *sáil-aśu* <= *sáil* m. ‘walk, stroll’; *gar-ásu* <= *gor* @; *máma-śu* <= *mama* f. ‘mother’; *Qhudaáa-śu* <= *Qhudaáa* m. ‘God’; *píi-śu* <= *pía* (píi-) m. ‘father’; *śái-śu* <= *śáai* (*śái*-) m. ‘king’; *manís-iki-śu* <= *manís-ek* (*manísiki*-) ‘one/a man’.
-íśu in *śunaa-íśu* <= *śunó* (*śunaa*-) @ m. ‘dog’.¹⁶

Etymology: Lorimer (1939: 53) suggested *-as* [GEN.OBL, 4.3.] + *yu* or *+’u*, but the latter element is left unidentified. More probably the ending is taken over from the pronominal inflection (cf. *má-śu* ‘to me’ < Ap. *majjhu* < MIA *majjha* < *mayha* < OIA *mahyam*).

4.4.2 Plural

-(^oe)ću, -(^oé)ću: e.g. *jót-écú* <= *jóto* m. ‘boy’; *diś-écú* <= *diśa* f. ‘place’; *beeḍá-ću* <= *beeḍa* f. ‘sheep’; *jót-aare-ću* <= *jót-aare* ‘some boys, a group of boys’.

Etymology: Lorimer (1939: 53) suggested a derivation in analogy with the DAT.SG: *-ats* [= *-ac*] + *yu* or *+’u*, which is again problematic. Formally it is the affricativized DAT.SG (cf. GEN.OBL.PL, 4.3.4.). Lorimer noted directional adverbs with this ending that are not plural: *kajek-aću* *whither?* [= *káajek-aću* ~ *-á/é/e/i/ću* < *káaje(k)* ‘where; somewhere’ < *káa* ‘where, whither; somewhere’], *thijéću* *thither* [= *thijéću* < *thiij* ‘there’]. Such adverbs generally have alternative forms with the DAT.SG ending *-(a)śu*, but some have only the latter ending (e.g. *tháanaśu* ‘hither’ < *tháa* ‘here’).

4.4.3 Uses of the dative¹⁷

1. Destination of movement:

U lambardáar-ei gar-ásu jáa ḥ-iis.
 I village.headman-GEN house-DAT go AUX-1SG.PRES

‘I am going to the Village Headman’s house.’

¹⁶ On this basis it is possible to postulate allomorphs with initial *-i-* in the oblique cases also for diphthongal stems (e.g. *jo-íśu* <= *jó(o)i* (infl. *jo-?*)). I prefer now the analysis *jót-śu*.

¹⁷ Ng. Dom. has the same set of endings *-(a)s*, *-(e)ć* for the general oblique and dative.

Agí-éú ni ðáá
fire-DAT.PL not run:IPV:2PL

‘Don’t run into the fires!’

2. Recipient, beneficiary:

Kóono manís-iki-éú dée-s?
which man-SGL-DAT give-1SG.FUT

‘To which man should I give [it]?’

Mée /U tú-éú ek qhát-ek girmin-áas.
I:INERG / I thou-DAT one letter-SGL write-1SG.FUT

‘I shall write you a letter.’

3. Experiencer, obligee:

Ey-éú sárum a-i kis tà ni mun-i-née.
they-DAT.PL shame come-CP something too/even not say-PFV-3PL.PRET

‘Feeling ashamed, they said nothing.’

Tú-éú mútuk héi kom ir-iná hóo éh-áai.
thou-DAT now that work do-INF be AUX-2SG.PRES

‘You have to do that work now.’

4. Complement of phasal and naming/defining verbs:

Éy ro-iná-éú lom-i-née ~ sakir-é.
they cry-INF-DAT seize/start-PFV-3PL.PRET start-3PL.PRET

‘They started to cry.’

Hey-áú Domaaki báas-ana kis-ek mun-éy-e éh-e?
that-DAT Domaki language-INEILL what-SGL say-FUT-3PL AUX-3PL.PRES

‘What do you call that in the Domaki language?’

5. Adverbials signifying price, time, unit of count, duration, direction, etc.:

Ðáúðo katéyek-éú éh-íi?
noodle.soup how.many-DAT.PL be-3F.SG.PRES

‘How much is the noodle soup?’

Guč-ásu katéyek gaadı-ŋ mun-ásu jáa-ŋ-e čh-e?
 day-DAT how.many car-NOM.PL down-DAT go-FUT-3PL AUX-3PL.PRES

'How many cars go down [to Gilgit] every day?'

Nóo muúto sáal-ek čh-a gar ir-iná-śu.
 still now year-SGL be-3M.SG.PRES marriage do-INF-DAT

'Now there is still one more year left before I'll get married (/for me to get married).'

oşť baaťh-á-śu wáqt-iki-śu
 eight sound:PFV-3M.SG-DAT time-SGL-DAT
 'at eight o'clock' 'for some time'

6. Purpose:

Óće khaa-ná-śu kis-ek čh-a?
 today eat-INF-DAT what-SGL be-3M.SG.PRES

'What is there to eat (= What do you serve) today?'

4.5 Genitive

4.5.1 Singular

-°ei, -°éi (after [inflectional base in] consonant or -a [f.]): e.g. *đaaámal-ei* <= *đaaámal* m. 'kettledrum'; *miiz-ei* <= *miiz* f. 'table'; *nak-éi* <= *nok* @ m. 'nose'; *mu[u]w-éi* <= *múu* m. (*muuw-*) 'face'; *mow-éi* <= *mó[o]* m. 'wine'; *di-éi* <= *día* f. 'daughter'; *beed-éi* <= *béeda* f. 'sheep'.

-ye (after long vowel, or diphthong):¹⁸ e.g. *paá-ye* <= *póo* @ m. 'foot'; *mulaá-ye* <= *mulaí* f. 'girl'; *aśaa-ye* <= *aśai* f. 'apricot'; *śaa-ye* <= *śai* (*śai-*) m. 'king'; *píi-ye* <= *pía* (*píi-*) m. 'father'; *śunaá-ye* ~ *śunaá-i* (→ 3) <= *śunó* (*śunaa-*) @ m. 'dog'; *biroó-ye* <= *biráaya* (*biroí-*)¹⁹ m. 'brother'.

-i (elsewhere): e.g. *goowá-i* <= *goowá* m. 'horse'; *birśá-i[-ye]* <= *birśá* m. 'land, ground'; *phičo-i* <= *phičo* m. 'mosquito'; *meeli-i* <= *meeli* f. 'wife'; *jóto-ki-i* <= *jótok* (*jótoki-*) <= *jóto*; *jóti-ki-i* <= *jótika* (*jótiki-*) <= *jóti*.

Etymology: < ? Ap. -he, -bi ABL-GEN. Or analogy: *meé/mei* 'my' < Ap. *mabe*, *me*. Cf. Shina -ei, -ai.

¹⁸ Diphthongs are monophthongized before -y-, causing accent shift to the second mora.

¹⁹ *Biráaya* has reversed umlaut in Hz., but not in Ng.: *biróoi* : *birooi-* (Weinreich forthcoming).

4.5.2 Plural

-(^oe)ye-, -(^oé)ye: e.g. *miiz-eye* <= *miiz* f. 'table'; *gar-éye* (~ *gar-éiye* [A.J.]) <= *gor* @ m. 'house'; *piáar-eye* <= *piá* (pl. *piáar-*) m. 'father'; *goow-éye* <= m. *goowá* 'horse'; *birsá-ye* <= *birsá* m. 'land, ground'; *beedá-ye* <= *béeda* f. 'sheep'; *peé-ye* <= *puç* (pl. *peé*) m. 'son'; *jóti-ŷ-aare-ye* <= *jóti-ŷ-aare* f. 'some girls'.

Etymology: < MIA *-(ā)nā* < OIA *-(ā)nām*. Cf. Romani *-en* OBL.PL.

4.5.3 Uses of the genitive

1. Possession, inalienable relationship, part of whole:

<i>jóto-i</i>	<i>khaṭú-a</i>	<i>mulaá-ye</i>	<i>nóom</i>	<i>gar-éye</i>	<i>dár-a</i>
boy-GEN	cloth-NOM.PL	girl-GEN	name	house-GEN.PL	door-NOM.PL
'the boy's clothes'		'the girl's name'		'the doors of the houses'	

2. Origin, source, material:

<i>maá-ye</i>	<i>alóo</i>	<i>chaarú/o-i</i>	<i>téel</i>
mother-GEN	word(s)	earth-GEN	oil
'mother's words'		'kerosene'	

Tu Yuurup-éi ch-áay-e
 thou Europe-GEN be-2SG.PRES-Q

'Are you from Europe?'

3. Class, type, species, purpose of use:

<i>aśaá-ye</i>	<i>tom</i>	<i>bakr-éye</i>	<i>tork</i>
apricot-GEN	tree	sheep-GEN.PL	byre
'apricot tree'		'hut for sheep'	

4. Complement of certain postpositions:

Zamindáar-iye káaro kaśii diś-óy-aare ch-e?
 farmer-GEN.PL for what.kind.of place-PL-LTD be-3PL.PRES

'What kind of (specific) places are there for farmers?'

5. Lexicalized adverbs of time:

<i>hund-éi</i>	<i>gaarun-éi</i>	<i>yaay-éi</i>	<i>thap-éi</i>	<i>so-iná</i>
winter-GEN	spring-GEN	summer-GEN	night-GEN	sleep-INF
'in the winter'	'in the spring'	'in the summer'	'to sleep at night'	

4.6 Ablative

4.6.1 Singular

-(a)smo, -(á)smo: e.g. *bebáal-asmó* <= *bebáal* m. 'midday'; *beeḍá-smó* <= *béeḍa* f. 'sheep'; *móo-ki-smó* <= *móok* 'one/a month' <= *móo* @ m. 'month'; *maí-smó* <= *máaya* (*maí-*) f. 'mother'.

-o[o], -ó[o] with place names [alternatively elative, see 4.8.] and some adverbs: e.g. *Yúurup-oo* ~ *Yuurup-áno* 'from Europe'; *mun-óo* 'from below, from down-valley/country' <= *mun* 'down(wards), below' (4.8.3).

-mo only in the adverb *ačí-mo* 'from above/upon' <= *ačí* 'upon, above'.

Etymology: < -(a)s GEN.OBL.SG (4.3.1) + -mo < *mah-o (< OIA *madhya-* 'middle' T 9804), where -o[o] < MIA -ō < OIA -tah. Cf. *pó[o]* 'from' < *pa* 'at, beside' (< OIA *pārsve* T 8118). For the semantics, compare Bur. -č-um 'at-from' (delative). Incidentally, -mo is also an allomorph of the Burushaski ablative (-um).

4.6.2 Plural

-(°e)čmo, -(°é)čmo: e.g. *míiz-ečmo* <= *míiz* f. 'table'; *jót-ečmo* <= *jóto* m. 'boy'; *beeḍá-čmo* <= *béeḍa* f. 'sheep'; *meeri-čmo* <= *máaya* (pl. *meeri-*) f. 'mother'.

Etymology: analogous with the ablative singular.

4.6.3 Uses of the ablative

1. Separation, distance or staying away 'from':

Míiz-asmó pén-ek mun ba-in.
 table-ABL pen-SG down throw-3SG.PRET
 'He/She threw down a pen from the table.'

Agí-ćmo mućáa-i!
fire-ABL.PL beware-IPV:2SG

‘Beware of the fires!’

2. Object of comparison: ‘than’:

Bas-éye raftáar-asmó gaađi-i raftáar buṭ téz čh-a.
bus-GEN.PL speed-ABL car-GEN speed very fast be-3M.SG.PRES

‘The speed of a car is much greater than the speed of buses.’

3. ‘After, since’:

Nóo kám-ek waqt-ásmo u waapás áa-s.
and little-SGL time-ABL I back come-1SG.FUT

‘And after a little while I will come back.’

Dúi móo-ki-smo meé naam-ás leṭár-ek aa-y-á.
two month-SGL-ABL I:GEN name-OBL letter-SGL come-PFV-3M.SG.PRET

‘After two months a letter came in my name (= I received a letter).’

4. Complement of postpositions ‘after’, ‘before’:

Bebáal-asmó pachóosi aa-y-á.
midday-ABL after come-PFV-3M.SG.PRET

‘He came after midday.’ (Lorimer 1939: 72)

Má-smo hagi gi-á.
I(OBL)-ABL before go(PFV)-3M.SG.PRET

‘He went before me.’

5. Source of knowledge, fear, etc.:

U tú-smo (= tú pòo) čhić-áas.
I thou-ABL (thou from near) learn-1SG.FUT

‘I will learn from you.’

Jóto mai-smo ar hu-y-á.
boy mother-ABL afraid become-PFV-3M.SG.PRET

‘The boy became afraid of his mother.’

4.7 Inessive-illative

4.7.1 Singular

-(a)na, -(á)na: e.g. *kiraay-ána* <= *kiróoy* @ m. ‘shoulder-basket’; *ćáay-ana* <= *ćáay/i* f. ‘tea’; *yá-na* <= *ya* m. ‘heart, mind’; *gúć-iki-na* <= *gúćek* ‘a day’ <= *gúć* m ‘day’. (The variant *-ena* was sometimes used by Abdullah Jan.)

Etymology: < *aná* ‘in(side), into’ < OIA *ántara-* (T 357). The ending is often reinforced by the adverb *aná*. For the semantics, compare Bur. *-ul* ‘belly, innards’ > *-úlo* inessive, *úlo* ‘inside’.

4.7.2 Plural

-(^oe)mei, -(^oé)mei: e.g. *jíip-emei* <= *jíip* m. ‘jeep’; *goow-émei* <= *goowá* m. ‘horse’; *birśá-me* <= *birśá* m. ‘land, ground’.

-(^oe/i)ma, (^oé/i)ma (common in Nager but rare in Hunza): e.g. *dúi barís-éma* ‘in/during two years’ <= *barísá* f. ‘year’.

Etymology: << OIA *madhyé* ‘in the middle’ (T 9804). Cf. Hindi *mē* ‘in(to)’.

4.7.3 Uses of the inessive-illative

1. Location in or movement into space, mood or time:

Gar-ána kóok ch-á-a?
house-INEILL somebody be-3M.SG.PRES-Q

‘Is there anybody in the house?’

Jíip-emei buṭ díśa náa.
jeep-INEILL.PL much space be.not(PRES)

‘There is not much space in the jeeps.’

Éy roos-ána čak huṭ-é.
they anger-INEILL erect stand.up-3PL.PRET

‘They stood up in anger.’

Thiyéécú jáa-g-a bas báai baath-á,
 thither go-FUT-3M.SG bus twelve sound:PFV-3M.SG.PRET

ekáai o tray-ána áa-g-a.
 eleven and half-INEILL come-FUT-3M.SG

‘The bus going there will arrive at twelve or half past eleven.’

Angreezi katéyek bariš-éma chíc-áa čh-áai?
 English how.many year-INEILL.PL learn-2SG AUX-2SG.PRES

‘For how many years do you study English?’

Gaađi-na jáa-m.
 car-INEILL go-1PL.FUT

‘Let us go into the car.’

2. Reason, background circumstance, range, reference:

Phásal-ana awál-o awál goomú báa čh-íis.
 crop-INEILL first-ABL first wheat sow AUX-1SG.PRES

‘As for crops, first of all I sow wheat.’

4.8 Elative

4.8.1 Singular

-(a)no[o], -(á)no: e.g. *kiraay-áno* <= *kiróoy* @ m. ‘shoulder-basket’; *Giltáa-no* <= *Giltáa* m. ‘Gilgit’; *Hunzé-noo* <= *Hunzé* m.

-(a)yo[o] (only in switch-reference anterior converbs): e.g. *aa-y-áyo[o]* ‘on coming; having come (with switch of subject)’ <= *aa-ná* ‘to come’.

-eyo[o] fossilized in *asmaan-eyo* ‘from heaven, from the sky, from the side of heaven’ <= *asmáan* m. ‘heaven’.

Etymology: < *aná* ‘inside’ (4.7.1.) + *-o[o]* ABL.SG (4.6.1.). Cf. Romani (eur.) *andral* ‘out of’. For a structural parallel, compare also Bur. *-ul-um* ‘inside-from’ = elative.

4.8.2 Plural

-(°e)meyo[o], -(°é)meyo: e.g. *gar-émeyo* <= *gor* @ m. ‘house’; *birśá-meyo* <= *birśá* m. ‘land, ground’; *agi-meyo* <= *ak* (*agi-*) f. ‘fire’.

Etymology: < ^(e)mei INEILL.PL (4.7.2.) + -o[o] ABL.SG (4.6.1.).

4.8.3 Uses of the elative

Movement from inside space or place:

Kiraay-áno gaḍ-ám ħ-óom.
 shoulder.basket-ELA take.out-1PL.FUT AUX-1PL.PRES

‘We take it out from the shoulder basket.’

U mun-óo Giltáa-no tháan-aśu a-i ħ-iis.
 I down-ELA Gilgit-ELA here-DAT come-CP be-1SG.PRES

‘I have come here from down-country Gilgit.’

4.9 Vocative

The vocative is formed from the nominative singular and plural by lengthening the vowel of the final syllable, sometimes accompanied with accent shift. The interjection *bé(e)* or *ya/wáa* (for girls and women) ‘O hello! Hey there!’ usually precedes; e.g. *Bé(e) babáa* ‘O father!’ <= *bába*; *Bé(e) púúç!* ‘Hey son!’, *Ya/Wáa mámaa!* ‘O mother!’, *Wáa sulajim!* ‘O lady, listen you!’.

5. COMPARISON WITH OTHER INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES

Not counting the vocative, Sanskrit had seven morphological noun cases for thematic masculines in the singular: nominative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive, and locative. Domaki lacks the accusative (partly taken over by the general oblique), but has two separative cases. On the reverse side, Domaki has a narrower definition of the locative (partly restored by the general oblique).

If we compare Domaki with other New Indo-Aryan languages, the closest parallel would be the Shina language of Gilgit. This language also has eight morphological noun cases (Degener 2008: 15–16). But whereas Domaki has two separative cases and one locative case, Shina has one separative case and two locative cases.²⁰ Another striking difference is that whereas Shina uses identical oblique case markers for the singular and plural (except in the general oblique and genitive) added to different oblique bases (*-e/-o-*), Domaki has different endings for almost all cases in the singular and plural. In other words, the Domaki case

²⁰ The Guresi and Tileli dialects have only one locative case (Schmidt & Kaul 2010: 199).

endings are portmanteau morphs, expressing case and number (and sometimes even gender) cumulatively.²¹

6. COMPARISON WITH BURUSHASKI

Seeing that Domaki has been heavily influenced by Burushaski in many ways, one may feel drawn to compare their case systems. Burushaski has fifteen productive noun cases. The five basic ones are absolutive (-Ø), ergative (-e), genitive (-e, f. -mo), dative (-ar), and ablative (-um). The genitive is also used as a kind of general oblique with locative or instrumental sense. Twelve of the cases can be defined as spatio-temporal. They are symmetrically structured in a 5' 2' 2 cell matrix: (A) orientation: 'unspecified' vs. 'surface' vs. 'inside' vs. 'above' vs. 'vicinity; by (*apud*)' (Ba) aspect: 'stative' : 'dynamic' (Bb) deixis: 'here; now' vs. 'there; then'.

So from *dan* 'stone' we can form (in the Hunza dialect): *dán-ċ-e* 'at/by the stone' (adessive), *dán-ul-o* 'in(side) the stone' (inessive), *dán-aṭ-e* 'on/above/with the stone' (superessive-instrumental), *dán-al-e* 'at the stone's, in the stone's possession' (apudessive-possessive), *dán-um* 'from/of stone' (ablative), *dán-ċ-um* 'from (near or surface of) the stone' (delative), *dán-ul-um* 'from inside the stone' (elative), *dán-aṭ-um* 'from upon or above the stone' ("superrelative"), *dán-al-um* 'from the vicinity or place of the stone' (apudelative), *dán-ar* 'to/for the stone' (dative), *dán-ċ-ar* '(on)to the surface of the stone' (allative), *dán-aṭ-ar* 'up onto to or above the stone' (sublative), *dán-al-ar* 'to the place of the stone' (apudlative).

Add to these half a dozen unproductive cases: illative (-ul-ar), general locative (-ċi, -i), illative-allative (-ċ-ar), ablative-elative (-ċi-m[o]), perlativ-peressive (-kan-e), comitative (-aṇe), and instrumental-applicative (-[a]k).

If we compare the systems, we observe that six of the twelve spatio-temporal cases of Burushaski have (discrete or syncretistic) matches in Domaki (i.e. (1) dative, (2) inessive + (3) illative, (4) ablative + (5) delative, and (6) elative). But as we can see, Domaki lacks the finer distinctions expressed by the -aṭ- 'super-' and -al- 'apud-' -series. So it cannot be said that the Domaki case system is a calque from Burushaski. Yet the distinction between delative-ablative and elative is perhaps attributable to Burushaski influence, seeing that the compound endings in question are constructed in a similar fashion: 'at, on' / 'inside' + 'from'.

There are also some non-trivial parallels in the specific uses of the cases, such as the temporal use of the ablative case to express sequence (i.e. 'after'). This

²¹ In addition to the productive noun cases mentioned above, Domaki has two unproductive case suffixes, mostly found in adverbs: -eeni/-eene prolativ-perlativ, and -eenio deprolativ-deperlativ.

peculiarity is shared by Shina (Lorimer 1939: 54) and curiously reminds us of Paninian usage. The use of the instrumental-ergative with transitive verbs in all tenses in Domaki is in line with Burushaski and Shina. But with first and second person singular agents the nominative is preferred. Burushaski has a similar type of ergative split in the first and second persons singular and plural, though mainly in the future, conditional and imperative, and more strongly in the Hunza than Nager dialect (Berger 1998: I: 64–65, §§4.18–19).

Other relevant morphological parallels between Domaki and Burushaski include bound quantifiers-determiners and the lack of case inflection for adjectives. Of course, these features are also shared by Shina.

7. CLOSING REFLECTIONS

Case systems are known to pattern areally (cf. Kulikov 2009). But also inherited typological factors may be involved when changes occur. In contrast to Indo-European and Semitic languages in general, most Uralic languages have amplified the number of noun cases (Janhunen 1982; Anhava 2010). This trend may have been facilitated by their agglutinative and postpositional typology. The Indo-Aryan languages are postpositional, but essentially fusional. Burushaski is postpositional and essentially agglutinative (pre- and suffixing). Like Finnish and Hungarian, it can concatenate case markers (superdeclension). Shina and Domaki have moved a bit into that direction, but whereas Shina became essentially agglutinative in nominal inflection, Domaki combined agglutination with fusion.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
Ap.	Apabhraṃśa
AUX	auxiliary
Bur.	Burushaski
CAUS	causative
CP	conjunctive participle
DAT	dative
Dom.	Domaki
ELA	elative
f./F	feminine
FUT	future-inaccomplished
GEN	genitive, general
Hz.	Hunza dialect
INEILL	inessive-illative
INERG	instrumental-ergative
INF	infinitive
IPF	imperfect
IPV	imperative
LTD	limited/indefinite (plural)
m./M	masculine
MIA	Middle Indo-Aryan
Ng.	Nager dialect
NOM	nominative
OBL	(general) oblique
OIA	Old Indo-Aryan
PFV	perfective
pl./PL	plural (nominative)
PRES	present
PRET	preterite
Q	question marker
SG	singular
SGL	marked singular/indefinite
x, y	Burushaski non-human noun classes

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