

A Comparative Analysis of Shina and Kashmiri Vocabularies

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Abstract

This paper presents lists of core vocabulary in ten dialects of Shina and Kashmiri, discussing in detail the lexical and phonological data contained in the Shina lists, with special attention to language contact phenomena. A few salient Shina grammatical features, from ancillary data, also point to contact with surrounding languages: the agent case markers, subject-verb concord, and suffix-noun concord in the possessive case.

A table of selected cognates presents a capsule overview of the lexical variation encountered in this project. It shows that Shina and Kashmiri do not share a large number of cognates even in a selective list, and that the phonological development of cognates has been strikingly different.

Loanwords are an important clue to influence from surrounding languages on Shina. Lists of loanwords show that while all Shina dialects have been in contact with Burushaski to a greater or lesser extent, there are also varying degrees of influence from especially Kashmiri, Persian (earlier the official language of the Kashmir state) and Tibetan.

The geographical sources of contact phenomena are examined to see if they correspond to Radloff's (1992) "geographical centers of Shina".

Keywords: Shina, Burushaski, Kashmiri, Pashto, Persian, Tibetan; language contact, lexical variation.

1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to summarize the lexical and phonological data contained in ten lists of Shina and Kashmiri core vocabulary (attached as the second section of this paper beginning on p. 258). Most of these word lists were collected in the early 1980s in India and Pakistan for six dialects of Shina: Gilgiti, Kohistani, Astori, Guresi,¹ Drasi and Brokskat, and four dialects at the time thought to belong to Kashmiri: Kashmiri itself, Kashtawari, Poguli and Siraji of Doda. This data has never been published. Grammatical data was also collected for the Kohistani, Guresi and Drasi dialects, but this will be the subject of separate papers.²

The word lists initially consisted of 280 core vocabulary items in eleven semantic areas of (1) body parts, (2) terms for kin and human beings, (3) human artifacts, (4) natural and weather phenomena, (5) time and space, (6) earth, (7) animals, (8) the plant world,

- 1 According to Grierson 1919: 174, the valley is known as Gurais in English and Gurēz in Persian. The speakers reported its indigenous name as Guráai.
- 2 The Gilgiti word list was originally provided by Prof. Georg Buddruss with Amin Zia, native of Gilgit. It was subsequently revised by Shakeel Ahmad Shakeel, native of Bhasin village, living in Gilgit all his life. The Kohistani word list was provided by Muhammad Manzar Zarin of Palas, living in Rawalpindi, and augmented by Razwal Kohistani, native of Palas now living in Rawalpindi. The Astori word list was provided by Begum Latif Anwar, native of Astor, now married into Chalt village in Nager. Word lists for the Tilel and Gures valleys were provided by Abdur Rahim Sheikh and Ashraf Sahil; the Drasi word list was provided by Shafi Drasi of Kargil, and the Brokskat word list by Stanzin Khurpa of Garkhon and Miskin Tshiring of Batalik.

The Kashmiri word list was provided by Vijay Kumar Kaul of Adoora village, Kashmir, and amplified from published sources. The Kishtawari word list was provided by S.L. Sharma of Kishtwar. The Poguli word list was provided by Manzoor Pogli of Banihal. The Siraji word list was provided by Nazir Ahmad of Kashtigarh, Doda. Vijay Kumar Kaul was research associate in Indian Kashmir, collecting the Drasi, Brokskat, Kishtawari, Poguli and Siraji lists, and helping to transcribe them.

The word lists were elicited in Urdu.

(9) common verbs, (10) common adjectives, and (11) pronouns and miscellaneous. A supplementary word list of 36 additional items from Fussman's (1972) linguistic atlas was later collected from five of the Shina dialects (all except Brokskat). From the resulting list, 19 items were eventually discarded as being of little etymological or cultural interest, i.e., all the dialects presented borrowings, or the phenomenon was unknown, or there was no name for it. The remaining 297 items from the combined word lists form the basis of this paper.

A count of the shared core vocabulary (based on items 1–249³) found that Gilgiti Shina shares 77 per cent of its core vocabulary with Kohistani Shina, 76 per cent with Guresi, 71 per cent with Astori, 69 per cent with Drasi and 45 per cent with Brokskat. Kashmiri, on the other hand, shares only 27 per cent of its core vocabulary with Gilgiti Shina, including many cognates whose relationship is not entirely transparent, for example: Gilgiti *cúrko* and Kashmiri *tsok*, both meaning 'sour'; Gilgiti *hat* and Kashmiri *athi*, both meaning 'hand'. (If cognates had lost all trace of phonological similarity, for example Gilgiti *záa* and Kashmiri *bo:y* 'brother', they were not counted.)

Radloff 1992, using a different vocabulary inventory, found only 65 per cent of lexical similarity between the Shina of Gilgit and that of Jalkot in Kohistan, and 63 per cent with that of Palas in Kohistan). She found 77 per cent lexical similarity between Gilgiti and Astori and 76 per cent similarity between Gilgiti and Drasi. Radloff's lists contain many of the same items as ours, but in addition contain the names of many foodstuffs, tools and implements which ours do not; instead of collecting the infinitives of verbs, she collected imperative forms and short sentences. Radloff's calculations are borne out by the results of recorded text testing, which showed that the Kohistan subjects scored only 66 per cent correct responses when asked to

3 Items 250–267 were omitted because many of the choices for pronouns were arbitrary; the supplementary list is omitted because it was not collected for all dialects. Because the responses to these items included many synonyms, the number of Gilgiti words = 288. These words had 221 easily recognizable cognates in Kohistani, 218 cognates in Guresi, 204 cognates in Astori, 200 cognates in Drasi and 131 cognates in Brokskat.

answer questions about a recorded text in the Gilgiti dialect. The Astor subjects however scored 90 per cent. (The Guresi dialect lies outside Radloff's sampling area.) Radloff's results are relevant for our own data, and are taken into account in this paper.

The Shina vocabulary items in our lists are represented in phonemic or near-phonemic transcription.⁴ The pitch accent is shown in the Gilgiti, Kohistani, Guresi, Astori and Drasi entries.⁵ The phonemic inventory for Brokskat is not finalized, and the transcription of Brokskat is semi-phonemic. A falling pitch could be heard on some items, but we could not hear a rising pitch on any item, and could not exclude the possibility that the falling pitch resulted from list intonation. Therefore, stress, not pitch, is marked in the Brokskat list. In the Brokskat list, palatalization is marked with [j]; the alveolar affricate is accordingly transcribed [dž], whereas in other Shina dialects it is transcribed /j/ (*džan'gal* instead of *jangál* 'forest'). The Kashmiri word list is near-phonemic; the Kashtawari, Poguli and Siraji lists less so. Of these latter four languages, only Kashtawari shows unambiguous evidence of pitch contours, with a *schleifton* occurring in words of which a historical voiced aspirated initial consonant has become devoiced and deaspirated (Kishtawari *pǒ:y* 'brother'; cf. Kashmiri, *bo:y* 'brother' < *bhrāt̪r*). A rising tone was occasionally heard in Siraji words, and is marked with an acute accent.

4 The phonological system of Gilgiti Shina is documented in Radloff 1999 and Degener 2008 (pp. 13–15); the phonological system of Kohistani Shina is documented in Schmidt and Kohistani 1998 and Schmidt and Kohistani 2008 (pp. 15–39). We found that these analyses worked quite well for all the dialects transcribed except for Brokskat. Phonological differences between the dialects are discussed in §3 of this article.

5 Every Shina word contains one accented syllable. In short syllables, the accent is realized as a high pitch and is shown as an acute accent over the vowel (*ázo* 'rain'). The accent need not be written on short monosyllables. Long syllables, written with double vowels, normally carry the word accent. Except in Brokskat, long vowels may have a high falling pitch, shown as an acute accent on the first vowel, or mora (*táaro* 'star'); or a low rising pitch, shown as an acute accent on the second vowel or mora (*baál* 'child'). Unaccented long vowels have been documented for Kohistani, but not for the remaining dialects.

2. Overview of cognates

Table 1 (pp. 237–8) provides a snapshot of some lexical variations in these ten speeches. It shows that Shina and Kashmiri do not share a large number of cognates even in a selective list, and that where they do occur, their phonological developments have been strikingly different.

Siraji, classified by Turner as Western Pahārī, is no close relative of Kashmiri, although items 1b, 2b, 5, 17, 20b, 24b and 25a group it with Kashmiri. Items 3, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14a, 21 and 22 on the other hand group it with Shina. Only Kishtawari and Poguli have a claim to be true dialects of Kashmiri, although a glance at the lists will find many differences between Poguli and Kashmiri. The overall unity of the Shina dialects does not exist in the “Kashmiri” sample.

Items no. 6a, 10 and 12 show Kashmiri and Poguli *h* corresponding to OIA *ṣ*, *ś* (and Shina *ṣ*). The Kashtawari cognates show this feature only in item no. 12. Siraji does not share this innovation. The *schleifton* in Kashtawari is unique to that dialect, and there are many examples of it in the Kashtawari word list. A shorter and shallower version of this tone also occurs with short vowels, and is marked in the same way.

The processes which gave rise to the cerebral consonants *ç* and *ʒ* (*ʝ*) in Shina have little counterpart in Kashmiri; compare nos. 13, 15, 19, 21 and 25a. However, nos. 17 and 20a show OIA *kṣ* > Kashmiri *c^h*, when occurring in final position.

Table 1 also shows certain features of Kashmiri which are unique in NIA languages: a set of central vowels: /i i: ə ə:/ and palatalized consonants. In Poguli items, the central vowels are transcribed phonetically. Brokskat has also developed central vowels, as discussed below.

Kashmiri is a syllable-timed language, and stress is not phonemic. It is however marked in the Kashmiri word lists when non-initial. Kashtawari and Poguli also appear to be syllable-timed; however we cannot make a definitive statement about this.

The folk tradition of the Brokskat speakers, recorded by Francke (1977: 67–73), says that their ancestors migrated to Ladakh from Gilgit. Items no. 2a, 4, 11, 14, and 18 show that Brokskat shares

phonological developments with Gilgiti, rather than with the closer Drasi dialect, although it has converged so much with the Purik dialect of Tibetan that it is no longer intelligible to speakers of any other Shina dialect.

Items no. 2a, 4 and 11 group Kohistani, Guresi, Astori and Drasi. Kohistani falls on the Gilgiti side in items no. 5 and 7. The Guresi, Astori and Drasi dialects preserve the largest inventory of final consonant clusters, which is an archaic feature. They also possess initial consonant clusters; however, except in the case of nos. 22 and (possibly) 4, these are secondary developments, due to metathesis (Morgenstierne 1947: 152–154) or vowel contraction (no. 23).

The main focus in this paper lies on the dialects of Shina in an areal, rather than historical, context.⁶ Shina, while itself fairly homogeneous, is spoken in a linguistic environment of striking diversity, ranging from dialects of Tibetan in the east, to Kashmiri in the south, Burushaski in the north, and Pashto and Indus Kohistani in the west. Moreover, Persian has been influential as an administrative language in the old Kashmir State. We wish to describe the resulting contact phenomena in Shina, and to identify the sources. We shall begin with phonological and lexical data, based on the lists themselves, and then bring in a few of the more salient grammatical features. To our colleagues working with Kashmiri, who wish for an equally detailed treatment of Kashmiri, we extend an invitation to them to use our Kashmiri data in a similar study.

3. Phonology

3.1 *Initial clusters with consonant + r.*

As is well known, the OIA *C+r* clusters disappear in Shina; *tr* > *ç*; *dr*, *bhr* > *z*, *kr* > *k*; *pr* > *p*. This describes the western dialects; however some eastern dialects retain some word-initial *C+r* clusters (some possibly original but most the result of metathesis of *r*):

6 See Schmidt 2004 for a more historically oriented approach.

Table 1: Comparative lexical items in six dialects of Shina and four related to Kashmiri

In Shina, *˘* shows the accent. In Kashmiri, *˘* = a rising tone; *˘˘* = a low rising tone.

OIA	Gilgiti	Koh.	Guresi	Astori	Drasi	Brok.	Kash.	Kisht.	Poguli	Siraji	
1a. ásva-	ášpo	ášpoo	áššp	áššp	ášsup	aayš	—	—	—	—	‘horse’
1b. ghōṭa-	—	—	—	—	—	—	gur	kōṛ	g ^h or	g ^h o:’ro	‘horse’
2a. gōṣṭhā-	goṭ	góoṣ	góoṣ	góoṣ	góoṣ	goṭ	—	—	—	—	‘house’
2b. ghara-	—	—	—	—	—	—	gari	kāri	gor	gar	‘house’
3. hásta-	hat	hat	hat	hat	hat	hat	athi	athi	a:ht	hat	‘hand’
4. *driṣṭi-	diṭ	diṣ	driṣṭi	diṣṭ	diṣṭ	ḍit	—	—	—	—	‘handspan’
5. aṣṭá	āṣ	āṣ	āṣṭ	āṣ	āṣṭ	aṣ	əṭ	e:əṭ ^h	a:ht	aṭ ^h	‘eight’
6a. kṛṣṇá-	kíno	kíno	kíṇu	kíṇo	kíṇo	’kyono	’kruhun	’kriṣun	’kriḥnu	—	‘black’
6b. kāla-	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	ka:’lo:	‘black’
7. kárman-	kom	kom	krom	krom	krom	krom	kə:m	—	—	’kammə	‘work’
8. ḡkṣa-	iç	içh	iç	iç	iṣ	—	—	—	—	ich	‘bear’
9. mūṣa-	muúzi	muúzo	muúju	muúji	muúzi	’mæuzi	—	—	—	muš’ṇi:	‘mouse’
10. śuna-	šū	šúú	šúú	súú	súú	šwaa	hun	u:n	hun	šú’ṇa:	‘dog’
11. taptá-	taáto	táto	tátu	tátto	tátto	’taato	tot	tot	—	tat’to:	‘hot’
12. śṅga-	ṣiṅo	ṣígo	ṣiṅu	ṣiṅ	ṣiṅo	ṣiṅ	heṅ	hiṅ	hiṅg	ṣiṅgə	‘horn’
13. bhūrja-	jóózi ¹	jóozi	jóozi	jóózi	jóozi	’zozi	burzu kul	—	—	—	‘birch’
14a. haridra-	halíjo	—	—	—	—	hal’ḍzuro	’ḍodur	’ḍodur	lidru	hal’dro	‘yellow’
14b. pítala-	—	píilo	píilu	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	‘yellow’

1 Means ‘pine tree’.

Table 1: Comparative lexical items in six dialects of Shina and four related to Kashmiri

In Shina, *˘* shows the accent. In Kashmiri, *˘* = a rising tone; *˘˘* = a low rising tone.

OIA	Gilgiti	Koh.	Guresi	Astori	Drasi	Brok.	Kash.	Kisht.	Poguli	Siraji	
14c. gaurá-	—	—	—	—	gúuro	—	—	—	—	—	‘yellow’
15. kṣétrā-	ḥéec̣	—	ḥéec̣	ḥéec̣,	ḥéec̣	kheey	k ^h ah	—	—	—	‘field’
				khái							
16a. cakrá-	cárko	—	cáku ²	caáko	cáko	caq	—	—	—	—	{‘spinning’}
16b. yantrá-	yōr ³	yōōṣ	yūṣ	no data	no data	no data	yāndir	yāndir	yandiri	džān’tar	{‘wheel’}
17. ákṣi-	aḥíi	aḥíi	aḥíi	aḥíi	aḥíi	a’ḥii	əc ^h	əc ^h i	aš	ach ⁱ	‘eye’
18. phalá-?	phalaá	paloó	paloó	paloó	paloó	pa’laa	—	—	—	—	‘apple’
19. bhráṭṛ-	záa	záa	jáa	záa	záa	’baayo	bory	pōry	ba:run	brá:u	‘brother’
20a. kákṣa-	kaç	kaç	kaç	no data	kaç	—	kac ^h	—	—	—	‘grass’
20b. ghāsá-	—	—	—	—	—	ḡaas	ga:si	kā:si	gɜ:əs	g ^h á:s	‘grass’
21. *jāmātra-	jamaçóó	jamçó	jaməçóó	jamaçóó	jamaçóó	ž’a’moo	za:mtur	za’motur	zamoto:ru	džama’tro:	‘son-in-law’
22. *priṣu-	píiḷjo	píizo	príiḷjo	príizu	príizo	’puzo	p ^h uš	p ^h uš	p ^h uh	pri:’šu:	‘flea’
23. purāṇá-	próoṇo	póoṇo	próoṇu	no data	no data	no data	prom	no data	no data	no data	‘old’
24a. āṇḍá-	haṇéé	haṇó	haṇóó	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	‘egg’
24b. sthūlá-	—	—	ṭhuúl	ṭhuúl	ṭhuúl	ṭhul	ṭhu:l	ṭhu:l	ṭho:l	ṭhú:l	‘egg’
25a. tráyaḥ	çée	çée	çe	çée	çée	—	tre	tre	—	trei	‘three’
25b. trāyaḥ	—	—	—	—	—	traa	—	—	cai	—	‘three’

2 Means ‘spindle’.

3 Means ‘water mill’ in Gilgiti and Kohistani.

Ex. 1a: *C+r* clusters in word-initial position

OIA **prīṣu-* ‘flea’: Gil. *pīṣo*. Koh. *pīzo*, but Gur. *prījo*, As. *prīzu*, Dr. *prīzo*

OIA *diṣṭi-*, **driṣṭi-* ‘hand span’: Gil. *diṣ*, Koh. *diṣ*, but Gur. *driṣṭi*

OIA *kārman-* ‘work’: Gil. Koh. *kom*, but Gur. As./Dr. *krom* (< **kra(m)ma-*)¹

But: OIA *dīrghá* ‘long’: Gil. Gur. *jīgo*, Koh. As. *zīgo*, Dr. *jīno*

(The normal development of *dr* would be *z*: *zīgo* ‘long’ < *dīrghá*- with metathesis.² Turner gives two different etyma for ‘hand span’, of which the first lacks the *dr*-cluster.) There are many more examples; these are merely those we have documented best. There are also some riddles which we cannot solve, such as the existence of some bilabial stops with *r-* in Gilgiti: *prik* ‘jump’,³ *próono* ‘old’ (compare Kohistani *póono*); *bríw* ‘rice paddy’ (compare Kohistani *byū*). But by and large the eastern dialects appear to be more influenced by Kashmiri, which does retain word initial *C+r* clusters⁴ (compare Kashmiri *tre* with Shina *çée* ‘three’). Such clusters appear to be limited in Shina to *pr-*, *br-*, *dr-* and *kr-*. Only Brokskat has a *tr*-cluster: *traa* ‘three’, *trobeš* ‘thirteen’. However these items are unique in the Brokskat sample, and most other items show the expected

- 1 Morgenstierne 1947: 10. Metathesis of both anteclassonantal and postclassonantal *r* is common in Dardic, and the tendency is attested as early as Aśoka’s Kharoshthi inscriptions, and must have preceded the loss of *r*, in fact the regular development of *tr* > *ç*, *dr* > *z* et cetera testifies to the development of initial *C+r* clusters through metathesis. However there is no scope for a discussion of this in this paper.
- 2 In Palula, an archaic dialect of Shina which must have separated from the other dialects before the mid-seventeenth century (Cacopardo and Cacopardo 2001: 88), not all of these changes have yet taken place: *dhrīgu* ‘long’, *bhroó* ‘brother’ (Liljegren 2008: 131, 69). Nevertheless, Palula already has the retracted fricatives: *dhraáč* ‘grape’, *zami* ‘sister’s husband’ (Liljegren 2008: 60).
- 3 *prik* is shared with Burushaski and is probably borrowed from that language. It is not listed in Turner.
- 4 Koul 2007: 902–3.

development (Brokskat *'cyya* 'cold'; cf. Guresi, Astori *çaiũ* < ? *trāsa-*).

Ex. 1b. Brokskat items

traa 'three'

trobeš 'thirteen'

But: *'cyya* 'cold' < ? *trāsa-*

And: *'çiŋo* ~ *'tiŋo* 'bitter' (< *tṛṣṭá-*)

Besides the expected *'çiŋo* 'bitter' (< *tṛṣṭá-*), Brokskat also has *'tiŋo*; compare Kashmiri *teṭh* 'bitter'. Guresi has a *tr*-cluster in *tráam* 'copper' (< *tāmrá-*); cf. Kashmiri *tram* 'copper'. Guresi does show the expected development in *çakyoónu* 'to look at' (< *tarkáyati*). The occurrence of word initial *C+r* clusters probably reflects contact with Kashmiri, even if these are sometimes borrowings, and not the retention of old OIA clusters.

Ex. 1c. Guresi items

tráam 'copper' (< *tāmrá-*)

But: *çakyoónu* 'to look at' (< *tarkáyati*)

3.2. *Central vowels*

As is well-known, Kashmiri has central vowels, both long and short high and mid: /i/, /i:/, /ə/, /ə:/.⁵ Guresi has [i ~ ə] as a short, unstressed allophone of /a/, and while it is not a phoneme, this vowel is among other things the masculine plural gender suffix, so that it occurs frequently. In Example 2, it is transcribed phonetically.

Ex. 2: Guresi schwa

phúũŋi 'moustache' (cf. Gilgiti *phúŋe*)

úŋi 'sickle' (cf. Drasi *óŋo*)

jaanəwáar 'bird'

ášip 'horse' (cf. Gilgiti *ášpo*)

5 Koul 2007: 899–900.

The outlying Ladakhi Shina dialect Brokskat of Garkon has developed the central vowels [ɤ] and [ɜ] (see example 3a), but their origin is uncertain, because Garkon lies at a considerable distance from Kashmir, and the overwhelming influence on Brokskat is from Purik, which is a dialect of Tibetan.⁶ To complicate the picture, the Brokskat back vowels [u] and [o] have unrounded variants [ɯ] and [ɤ], and we are unable to isolate the determining factor(s). For [a] and [ɜ] the sample provides a minimal pair: *byɜɜ* ‘man, *byaa* ‘hen’.

Ex. 3a: Brokskat central and unrounded back vowels

byɜɜ ‘man : *byaa* ‘hen’

nɯʂ ‘daughter-in-law’ (cf. Gil. Koh. Gur. As. Dr. *nuúʂ*)

wɜɜ ‘water’ (cf. Gil. As. *wéi*, Koh. Dr. *wóí*)

hɜɜ ‘heart’ (cf. Gil. *híyo*, As. *híio*)

ʷtsɯ ‘spring’ (cf. Gil. Gur. As. Dr. *uts*)

nyɜ ‘new’ (cf. Gil. *naáwo*, As. *náao*)

nũũ ‘nine’ (cf. Gil. Gur. As. *náu*, Koh. *nãõ*, Dr. *naũ*)

Schmidt and Koul (1984: 18), reporting on the original Shina-Kashmiri project, wrote that Kashmiri, Poguli and Kashtawari have developed both central vowels [ɨ ə] and (phonetic) unrounded back vowels [ɯ ɤ]. The appearance of these vowels in Brokskat may be an areal feature, rather than a specific contact feature. According to Marius Zemp (2008: p.c.), there is a tendency in Purik to centralize the vowels /u/ and /a/ that is most clearly audible in an alveo-palatal environment. Bielmeier finds the sounds [ə] and [ɤ] in the closely-related Balti dialect, but as allophones of /a/ and /u/ in restricted environments.⁷ Rangan (1979: 16) shows the vowel [ʌ] as a short allophone of /a/, and this is also true of all the Shina dialects; however we recorded the quality of Brokskat /ɜ/ as slightly lower and backer than [ʌ].

Developments within Shina itself may account for the unrounded back vowels, as Schmidt and Kohistani (2008: 17–18) show

6 Ramaswami 1975: 64, 1982: 7 does not mention these vowels.

7 “/a/ wird nach postkonsonantischem /j/ gehoben und zentralisiert zu [ə]. Diese Palatalisierung tritt aber nicht ein, wenn dem Vokal /ñ/ folgt.../u/ vor /l/ wird palatalisiert zu [ɤ] (nicht aber vor /r/, /m/, /n/ oder /ñ/...” Bielmeier (1985: 65).

unrounded allophones of /u/ and /o/ as a result of regressive vowel assimilation across syllable boundaries. The same phenomenon can be found in Guresi and Drasi. The conditioning factor appears to have been mostly lost in Brokskat, however:

Ex. 3b. Possible conditioning factor for Brokskat unrounded vowels

ʔyyɟi ‘granddaughter’. Cf. Gil. Koh. As. Dr. *ʔooɟi*
ʔooɟo ‘grandson’. Cf. Gil. Koh. As. Dr. *ʔooɟo*

3.3. Miscellaneous Guresi features

Guresi shows Kashmiri influence in a few other ways. It has a bilabial fricative in initial and intervocalic positions, while other dialects have a back vowel glide (*v* instead of *w*). Compare Gur. *vói* ‘water’ to *wéi*, *wói* in the other dialects.

Retraction of *ɟ*, *ɟ* is rather weak in Guresi. Kashmiri does not have these sounds.

3.4. Voiced aspirates in Kohistani

The OIA voiced aspirated consonants have been lost in the majority of Dardic languages, as is quite clear from the vocabulary in Table 1. However voiced aspirates do occur in the Kohistani dialect of Shina, and there are minimal pairs for some of them.⁸ A comparison with various dialects of Indus Kohistani⁹ has turned up cognates with voiced aspirates for most such items, suggesting that the feature has come back into Kohistani Shina through borrowing from the languages spoken across the Indus.

8 Schmidt and Kohistani 2008: 30–31.

9 Sources: Zoller 2005, Razwal Kohistani 2007, p.c.

Ex. 4. Voiced aspirates in Kohistani

- ghaná* ‘item held in trust’. Patani *gha’ṇa* (< *gráhaṇa-* with left-shift of aspiration)
- dhaará* ‘robbery’. Patani *dha:’ra*; Bhatīsē *dhārāh* ‘cattle raid’ (< *dhātī-*)
- jharí* ‘heavy rain’. Patani *jha’ri*; Gabār *žharéy* ‘continuous rain’ (< *jhadī*). Cf. Gil. *jarí*, Gur. *jarí*.
- bhaaráa* ‘cash payment’. Patani *bha:’ra*; Indus Koh. *bhārà^h* ‘wage for laborers; bribe’ (< **bhārta-*)
- bhaák* ‘bull’ (no cognates) (< **bhakkha-*)

Most words with voiced aspirates do not have cognates in other Shina dialects. *jharí* ‘heavy rain’ has cognates in Gilgiti and Guresi, however without the aspiration.

2. Implications of loanwords

Loanwords are relatively few in these lists of core vocabulary, but those which do occur point to different sources. In example 5, we show for the most part only those words the source of which we can confirm with reasonable certainty.¹⁰ In some cases, a question mark is shown before an item: this indicates that we think we have identified the source of a loanword, but could not confirm it positively. Radloff (1992: 136, 139) provides a list of vocabulary shared by Shina and Burushaski, but does not attempt to identify the source language.

Approximately 31 per cent of the Brokskat vocabulary in our sample is not of Indo-Aryan origin. Much of this appears to be borrowed from Purik – a Tibetan language – while 11 of the Indo-Aryan words are borrowings from Kashmiri or other unidentified Indo-Aryan language(s), and are not Shina. There are also a few

10 The references consulted were: Burushaski: Berger 1974, Lorimer 1935, Willson 1999; Kashmiri: Tickoo 2006; Purik/Balti: Bailey 1975, Sprigg 2002, Rangan 1979, Bielmeier 1985; Pashto: Raverty 1980; Indus Kohistani: Zoller 2005; general: Fussman 1972, Degener 2008.

Purik loanwords in Drasi. The resources to check Purik vocabulary are however very inadequate.¹¹

Example 5: Loanwords in the word lists

Gilgiti

From Burushaski : *chĩĩš* ‘mountain’, *chúmu* ‘fish’, *tharĩji* ‘churn’, *bári* ‘field’, *hésko* ‘loom’, *táši* ‘roof’, *bisáac* ‘sickle’, *pajúu* ‘salt’,¹² *bur(gaál)* ‘cloud’, *birdí* ‘earth’, *jakún* ‘ass’, *?(hará)çip* ‘sparrow’,¹³ *duđúyo* ‘bumblebee’, *búuši* ‘cat’,¹⁴ *phurguú* ‘feather’,¹⁵ *karkáamuš* ‘hen’, *karéelo* ‘ram’, *jaroófi* ‘apricot’, *tom* ‘tree’, *zamoók* ‘to beat’, *thar (doók)* ‘to fly’, *šak* ‘full’, *tušáar* ‘many’, *biđíriko* ‘round’, *hameçi* ‘cheese’

From Persian:¹⁶ *šáam* ‘evening’, *hazáar* ‘thousand’, *dušman* ‘enemy’, *parí* ‘fairy’, *eéno* ‘mirror’, *šarm* ‘shame’

From Kashmiri: *bat* ‘rice’¹⁷

- 11 For Purik itself there is Bailey 1975 (a word list) and, Rangan 1979. Sprigg 2002 and Bielmeier 1985 (for Balti) were also consulted.
- 12 Radloff (1992: 135) considers this a loan word from Balti, however (Zeisler (p.c., 4 June 2008) wonders whether this is a true Balti (Tibetan) word and not a loan. “In Balti, the Tibetan word is *tsha*.” See also Bailey (1975: 41), who reports the Purik word for salt as *tshā*. Degener (2008: 291) points to Burushaski *bayú* ‘salt’.
- 13 Turner 1966 provides no Indo-Aryan etymology for this word. The segment *çip* however may be borrowed from Burushaski *çen* ‘bird’ (Berger 1974: 140) with assimilation of the final vowel to a retroflex point of articulation.
- 14 Degener 2008: 253 points to Burushaski *buš* ‘cat’. See also Fussman 2: 105–08. This word must have been originally borrowed by Burushaski from Shina, but it has apparently been borrowed back into Gilgiti, as the other dialects show forms in *p-*: *puši*, *piši*, *pišu*.
- 15 Lorimer 1935: 293 gives Burushaski *pfulgo*, *fulxu*, Berger 1974 gives *pholvo*; the match is not exact, but we can find no Indo-Aryan etymology for this word.
- 16 It is impossible in most cases to ascertain whether borrowings from Persian have come directly from Persian, which for some centuries was the administrative language of Kashmir State, or more recently via Hindi-Urdu. If the loanword is originally Persian, it is identified as a borrowing from Persian.
- 17 Buddruss (1983: p.c.), without then knowing about Astori *baát* ‘rice’, identified Gilgiti *bat* ‘rice’ as a Kashmiri loan because the regular development of *bhaktá-* would be *bhatta* > *baát*. In other words, *v́* (accent on the second mora) in most cases results from secondary lengthening following the

(Gilgiti)

From Pashto: *tumák* ‘gun’

Kohistani

From Burushaski: *chúbo* ‘fish’, *phúu* ‘fire’, *jakún* ‘ass’, *zaroóto* ‘apricot’, *cherís* ‘root’, *tom* ‘tree’, *thor (doón)* ‘to fly’, *básko* ‘all’, *tušáar* ‘eating to satisfaction’, *burús* ‘cheese’

From Pashto: *mágaz* ‘brain’ (Pers.?), *kóoṭ* ‘village’, *asmán* ‘sky’, *nur xáataa* ‘east’, *qablá* ‘west’, *zir* ‘thousand’, *ux* ‘camel’, *dušman* ‘enemy’,¹⁸ *šaram* ‘shame’, *zhanzhír*, ‘chain’(Pers.?), *tubák* ‘gun’, *laṛám* ‘scorpion’

From Indus Kohistani: *ḍóoli* ‘field’,¹⁹ *cágar* ‘spinning wheel’,²⁰ *talúun* ‘rice paddy’, *bhoráa* ‘bumblebee’

From Persian: *péesī* ‘afternoon’

Guresi

From Burushaski: *chíiṣ* ‘mountain’, *pfúu* ‘fire’, *burús* ‘curds’, *jakún* ‘ass’, *jaroótu* ‘apricot’, *cherís* ‘root’, *tom* ‘tree’, *básko* ‘all’, *ṣak* ‘full’, *tišáar* ‘many’

From Kashmiri: *káčṇ* ‘armpit’, *mámu* ‘breast’, *khaṭ* ‘bed’, *váan* ‘loom’, *traṭ* ‘lightning’, *bunílu* ‘earthquake’, *ṭhuúl* ‘egg’, *delú* ‘bark of tree’, *daṣ* ‘grape(s)’,²¹ *tráam* ‘copper’

reduction of ancient consonant clusters. Ex.: *lavitra-* > *letra* > *leéc* ‘sickle’, *taptá-* > *tatta* > *taáto* ‘hot’. OIA \bar{V} (a long vowel) results in \acute{v} (accent on the first mora): *bhrátṛ-* > *záa*.

- 18 *dušman* and *šaram* could hypothetically have been borrowed from either Persian or Pashto; but since Indus Kohistan was never a part of the Kashmir State and was not exposed to Persian as an administrative language, we assume that these items have been borrowed from Pashto, which is a second language for many speakers of Kohistani Shina.
- 19 Indus Kohistani has *ḍól* ‘field’; Zoller 2005: 225 points to Kashmiri *ḍōr* ‘land covered with very shallow water’ and West Pahari *ḍortu* ‘small field’. This study also collected Kashmiri *ḍal* ‘field’. There are thus many sources for the Kohistani Shina word; of these, Indus Kohistani lies in closest proximity.
- 20 Zoller 2005: 159 gives Indus Kohistani *élgar* ‘spinning wheel; loom’; one would expect Kohistani Shina to have preserved the initial consonant in the loan, however it may have been contaminated by *c-* in Shina *cárko*, *caáko*, *cáku* (all ‘spinning wheel’).

(Guresi)

From Persian: *maǵzǐi* 'brain', *tír* 'arrow', *mašrik* 'east', *péešin* 'afternoon', *šáam* 'evening', *magrǐb* 'west', *zamín* 'earth', *jaanəwáar* 'bird', *dušman* 'enemy'

From Pashto: *tumák*, *tubák* 'gun'

From Balti: *zams* 'copper'

Astori

The Astori speaker who supplied our list had married into a Burushaski-speaking family; therefore a list of Burushaski loan words in her list might not reflect the Astori dialect. For example, Radloff (1992: 135) reports that Astori does not use the word *pajúu* 'salt' but uses the same word as the Diamer and Kohistan clusters (*luúni*). Our Astori speaker uses *pajúu*. Loanwords from other dialects are noted here.

From Kashmiri: *mam* 'breast',²² *khaṭ* 'bed', *khái* 'field', *ṭhuúl* 'egg', *tíiri* 'feather'

From Persian: *bel* 'mattock', *zilzilá* 'earthquake', *jangál* 'forest', *dušman* 'enemy', *šiišá* 'mirror'

From Pashto: *tumák* 'gun'

Drasi

From Burushaski: *phúu* 'fire', *chímo* 'fish', *zakún* 'ass', *karéelo* 'ram'

From Kashmiri: *mámé* 'breast(s)', *palánj*, *caarpái* 'bed'; *gáãm* 'village', *ṭhuúl* 'egg', *daṣ* 'grape(s)'

From Persian: *šáam* 'evening', *jangál* 'forest' (Urdu?), *injír* 'fig' (Urdu?), *dušman* 'enemy', *šiišá* 'mirror'

21 The Kashmiri word is *dac*^h, the Shina word is *jaç~zaç*; Guresi *daṣ* has borrowed the first consonant and vowel of the Kashmiri word, but retained the retraction in the final consonant.

22 *mam* and its variants (*mámu*, *mamé*) are shown as loanwords from Kashmiri, because the Gilgiti and Kohistani dialects show a different word: *cucu*, *cíci* (T. 4855). However it could be just as well borrowed from Burushaski, and could be considered one of the isoglosses separating the western dialects of Shina from the eastern ones.

(Drasi)

From Purik: *gurgúr* 'churn', *?thokteé* 'mattock', *tsaŋgúl* 'earthquake',
?ša(bóko) 'good', *kirkíro* 'round',²³ *tsat* 'fever'

From Pashto: *tumák* 'gun'

Brokskat

As mentioned, much of the non-Indo-Aryan vocabulary in Brokskat appears to be borrowed from Purik. There are however few published sources for Purik vocabulary (mainly Bailey 1975 and Rangan 1979), necessitating recourse to the neighbouring dialect Balti (Sprigg 2002). With better data for Purik, we might have traced additional loanwords.

From Burushaski: *tharíŋi* 'churn', *pa'yũũ* 'salt'

From Kashmiri: *?khũn* 'elbow', *car'pii* 'bed', *džan'gal* 'forest', *kxar* 'ass',²⁴ *thul* 'egg', *'tiito* 'bitter'

From Purik: *caŋ'khoy* 'armpit', *smã'raa* 'beard', *?xor'mo* 'brain', *?kxal'ma* 'kidney', *sam'dal* 'moustache', *žij'gaŋ* 'neck', *stod* 'shoulder', *daah* 'arrow', *thal'tsir* 'ashes', *g'ãã'tsi* 'honey', *thak'saa* 'loom', *?thok'tse* 'mattock', *ɣ'džen* 'milk', *brok* 'lightning',²⁵ *char'chũ* 'rain', *šar* 'east', *griḥ* 'shady side of mountain', *n'uḥ* 'west', *lo'kyr* 'year', *tsaŋ'gul* 'earthquake', *den'mo* 'bear', *zo*, *laŋ'to* 'bull', *šok'paa* 'feather', *nyãã* 'fish', *byaa mo* 'hen', *byaa pho* 'rooster', *chur'di* 'ram', *chah* 'maize', *laq'tshuks* 'tree', *caŋ'ma* 'willow', *?škela'ris* 'to swim', *cuk* 'all', *žar'ḥaa* 'blind', *h'in* 'left (direction)', *traŋ wu'ji* 'right (direction)', *titaq* 'small', *'stoy* 'thousand'

23 According to Claus Peter Zoller (p.c.), this word is also found in Western Pahari; but Purik *kirkir* 'round' (Rangan 1979: 37) seems a more immediate source (although the word may be a loan in Purik as well). Most Shina dialects (including Brokskat) have *diđũro-đuđuũru*.

24 *car'pii* 'bed' *džan'gal* 'forest' and *kxar* 'ass' might have been listed as loans from an unidentified Indo-Aryan language, or in the case of *džan'gal* and *kxar*, from Persian; however as these words occur in Kashmiri, this would seem to be the more immediate source.

25 The semantics of this loan are not quite straightforward, as Purik *brũk* means 'thunder' (Bailey 1975: 43); Claus Peter Zoller (p.c.) points to possible influence through the widespread *baraq* 'lightning' (see Fussman 1972, 45 *éclair*).

(Brokskat)

From unidentified Indo-Aryan language(s): 'guli 'finger', 'baayo
'brother', 'kheey 'field', 'bi'l~~tu~~ 'cat', 'sææno 'small'

Grammatical features*5.1. The agent case marker in sV ~ -s ~ -es*

The Guresi, Drasi and Kohistani dialects have two agent cases, one marking subjects of imperfective transitive verbs (*sV ~ -s ~ -es*), the other marking subjects of perfective transitive verbs (*-e ~ -i, -o*). Bailey (1924: 222 ff.) calls them Agent I and Agent II. Gilgiti has only one agent case (Agent I, or *se ~ -s*) which marks the subjects of all tenses of transitive verbs. In Guresi, the two agent cases have almost completely collapsed in nouns, but are distinguished in some pronouns.²⁶ We do not have grammatical data for Astori, but our rather sketchy data for Brokskat bear out what has been reported by Grierson (1919: 210–211) for the “Brökpā” of Dah-Hanu, that it also has two agent cases.

Ex. 6 Examples of agent cases

Agent I: *sV ~ -s ~ -es*

Kohistani: *cayããi-s çĩ çĩ thĩni*
sparrow-AG1 chirp chirp does
The sparrow is chirping.²⁷

Guresi: *jaa sæ mo-ʈ kalám dáu* (also: *jaa-s*)
brother AG1 me-DAT pen gave
Brother gave me the pen.

Gilgiti: *cããy se “ma-s maãni neé dámis” thigí*
bird AG1 I-AGI pearl not give she.did/said
The bird said, “I won’t give the pearl.”²⁸

26 Schmidt 2004: 49–50.

27 Schmidt and Kohistani 2008: 52.

28 Radloff and Shakil 1998: 23.

Drasi: *aaje su karcé-ga cheeç-o nin théi nuš*
 mother AG1 when-also field-OBLpl. weeding does not
 Mother never pulls weeds in the fields.

Agent II: *-e ~ -i, -o*
 Kohistani: *mī bubá-e mo-r̥ tak-ak aṭáaus*
 my father-AG2 I-DAT button-one had.brought
 My father had brought me a button.

Guresi: *m-ēī háti dijaryáas*
 I-AG2 hands I.washed
 I washed my hands.

Drasi: *myō báb-e gújar-ek mazúuri deé laş caryoóno cheráũ*
 My father-AG2 Gujar-one labor giving sheep to.graze kept
 My father hired a Gujar to graze the goats.

Agent II is attested historically, as Buddruss (1967: 33) reports an agent case suffix in *-e* with perfective transitive verbs in Sawi, which is an archaic dialect of Shina;²⁹ but neither Buddruss nor Liljegren (2008) reports an agent case with *imperfective* transitive verbs for dialects of Sawi or Palula; thus Shina probably did not possess the agent case in *sV ~ -s ~ -es* at the time Palula and its cousins separated from the other dialects before the middle of the seventeenth century. The earliest mention of this suffix which we have found is in Wilson (1899), describing the Guresi dialect. It reminded Bailey (1924: 211) of the “Tibetan agent which ends in *-s*”. Unlike all the other noun cases, it is added to the nominative stem, rather than to the oblique. It is an innovation, probably a borrowing, but from where? Schmidt and Kohistani (2008: 51) quote Zeisler (2007: p.c.) as reporting that in the lower Ladakhi varieties (Sham, western Nubra, Purik) the agent marker is *-is* (after a consonant) and *-s* (after a vowel). However after subsequent research, Zeisler (2008: p.c.) finds that the *-s* or *sV* marker was alien to an early version of

29 In Palula, the noun takes the oblique case when serving as the agent of perfective transitive verbs; this has the form (in the singular) of a suffix in *-a, -i* (Liljegren 2008: 94).

Tibetan.³⁰ Given however that the Shina agent case in *sV ~ -s ~ -es* does not appear before the seventeenth century, is apparently alien to the Indo-Aryan system, and moreover appears only with imperfective verb forms, Zeisler would preclude a borrowing from Shina into West Tibetan; while it is possible that Shina has borrowed the form from West Tibetan.

We can however be sure that it has not been borrowed by Shina from Burushaski, as in that language the agent marker is *-e*, which reminds of Shina Agent II.

5.2 Subject-verb concord

The verb in all these dialects agrees with the subject/agent, whether the dialect has both agent cases, or only one. This is another innovation; in Palula and Sawi a transitive verb agrees with the object (or patient) in perfective tenses.³¹ Here the stimulus for the innovation may indeed be Burushaski, in which the verb agrees with the subject (or agent, for which reason Lorimer [1935: 65] calls the actor-subject case the agential case). It cannot be Kashmiri, which is typically split-ergative with verb-object agreement,³² nor can it be Indus Kohistani, which is weakly split-ergative, and does not have gender or number concord between verb and either object or patient (the verb takes an absolute form).³³

30 Zeisler considers the possibility that the Tibetan ergative marker is derived from the genitive marker. In more recent research she has discovered that there is no formal distinction in Burushaski and some of the Upper Ladakhi dialects between the genitive and agent markers (Berger 1974: 20–21: the same formal marker *-e* designates both the agent and the genitive). She adds: “Now it is also long known that the Tibetan ergative marker is derived from the genitive marker by an additional, originally syllabic morpheme **so* or **su*, which finds its reflection in some of the Ladakhi dialects as /si/, or /se/ ~ /ze/ (Classical Tibetan {kyi} > {kyis}).”

31 Liljegren 2008: 255–6, Buddruss 1967: 51–2.

32 Koul 2007: 919.

33 Zoller 2008: p.c.: “Indus Kohistani has split ergativity with ergative constructions basically in all the past tenses except the imperfective pluperfect. No ergative constructions are used in the present and future tense. In reality, however, the situation in the past tenses is frequently quite variable ... and it

5.3 Suffix-noun concord in the possessive case

In the Kohistani and Gilgiti dialects, the possessive singular case suffix is invariant, regardless of whether the possessed noun is masculine or feminine. The dialects on the fringes of the Kashmiri speech area: Guresi and Drasi, have developed possessive suffixes which inflect for gender, agreeing with the gender of the possessed noun. This probably reflects contact with Kashmiri, in which the possessive suffix also inflects to agree with the possessed noun.³⁴

Ex. 7 Examples of possessive singular cases

Gilgiti:³⁵ *ĩç-éy řingáay*
 bear-POS blackberry-bush (f.)
 the bear's blackberry bush

muláay-ey nóom
 girl-POS name (m.)
 the girl's name

Kohistani: *góoz-ee řaróon*
 house-POS roof (m.)
 the roof of the house

góoz-ee řiki
 house-POS bread (f.)
 home-made bread/food

appears to me that the just-given characterization is in fact an ideal image provided by Urdu. In the ergative constructions the subject has to take on its ergative form or add an ergative suffix. As already pointed out, in many cases ergative constructions with transitive and causative verbs are, however, not obligatory but optional. This fact may either reflect a partial continuation of a pre-ergative state of grammatical development or it may have something to do with another important fact characterizing the Indus Kohistani past tenses: in most cases the verb takes on an absolute form, i.e., there is no accord in number or gender between verb and object (or verb and subject)."

34 Wali and Koul 1997: 330.

35 Source: Radloff and Shakil 1998: pp. 97, 147. Radloff analyzes the suffix as consisting of the oblique suffix (-e-) and the genitive suffix (-y). In Kohistani, where the oblique suffix is -a, such an analysis does not work.

- Guresi: *gooj-ō šarín*
house-POS roof (m.)
the roof of the house'
- gooj-ĩ bái*
house-POS bread (f.)
home-made bread/food
- Drasi: *m-yō bábo*
I-POS father
my father
- bazík-i bái*
evening-POS bread (f.)
evening meal

Schmidt 2004: 48 stated that the possessive suffix does not inflect in the Shina of the Tilel Valley (a more archaic dialect of Guresi). We have since found this statement to be incorrect.

- Tileli: *m-yō góoş*
I-POS house (m.)
my house
- bazúk-ei bái*
evening-POS bread (f.)
evening meal

There is no agreement in the possessive plural suffix, which is always *-o* or *-ō*.

The oldest form of the possessive case appears to be *-ey*, Bailey (1924) reports it as *-ái* (Gilgiti) and *-eĩ* (Kohistani).³⁶ In some Kohistani speech the suffix was a diphthong 25 years ago: *góozey*. It looks as though this form has been reinterpreted in the Tileli dialect as the feminine form of the possessive, while the masculine form

36 Bailey 1924: 13, 211. In Palula, the genitive suffix has the forms *-e*, *-i* (Liljegren 2008: 94–5).

takes *-ō* (apart from the nasalization, like a masculine singular adjective). In the Guresi and Drasi dialects, the resemblance to adjectives is even closer.

6. Radloff's geographical clusters of Shina

Radloff (1992: 122–150), working with word lists from 27 Shina-speaking locations (with the single exception of Drasi, all in Pakistan) found that these locations can be grouped in four slightly overlapping geographical dialect clusters. The members of each geographical cluster demonstrate 85 per cent or above lexical similarity with each other. In contrast, similarity with non-cluster locations is generally less than 80 per cent. These clusters were named the Northern, Eastern, Diامر³⁷ and Kohistan clusters. The Northern cluster is centered on Gilgit; Astori and Drasi belong to the Eastern cluster, and Kohistani belongs to the Kohistan cluster. Our corpus contains no data from members of the Diامر cluster, which is centered on Chilas.³⁸

To what extent do the dialects we studied fit into Radloff's geographical clusters? To begin with, we found more similarity between Gilgiti and Kohistani than Radloff does (77 per cent versus her 63 per cent). This is probably explained by differences in the type of vocabulary we collected. Even so, Gilgiti and Kohistani clearly belong to different clusters.

If we compare our Astori and Drasi samples to each other, they have only 75 per cent³⁹ similarity, and therefore do not fall into one cluster as Radloff places them. They are situated geographically distant from each other, separated by the 12,000–13,000 foot Deosai Plateau, and are not connected by historical trade routes.

Guresi has 81 per cent similarity with Astori (despite the fact that they now lie on opposite sides of the cease fire line between Pakistan and India). Moreover, Guresi has 83 per cent similarity with Kohistani, close to Radloff's threshold of 85 per cent lexical

37 Diامر is the district of which Chilas is the district capital.

38 It comprises Chilasi and the dialects of Tangir-Darel, Sazin and Harban.

39 Versus Radloff's 89 percent similarity.

similarity.⁴⁰ Kohistani and Astori on the other hand, are not so close, with only 74 per cent lexical similarity. These figures suggest that Guresi forms a link between Astori and Kohistani. Its geographical situation (north of the Kashmir valley in the Kishenganga/Neelum valley along the old route from Abbottabad to Astor via Srinagar and the Burzil pass⁴¹ suggest that if Guresi were included in Radloff's calculations, both Kohistani and Guresi might fall into a Southern cluster, lacking any geographic center, but with Kashmir as a central location on its line of communication.

This does not explain how communication might have taken place between Gures and Kohistan, which even in modern times is isolated from the rest of Pakistan in side valleys of the Indus. We may prefer to explain the connection by the Kohistani oral tradition which says that the Darma lineages of Chilas and Kohistan have migrated from Gures;⁴² however supporting evidence could come only from a historical-linguistic analysis which would lie outside the scope of this paper.

Radloff's geographical clusters are useful as descriptive categories for summarizing language contact. While all the Shina dialects have some residue of Burushaski vocabulary, attesting to ancient contact between these two languages, Burushaski loanwords predominate in the Northern cluster, whereas in the Eastern cluster and in Guresi, Kashmiri loanwords become more common. Only in the Kohistan cluster do we see any great number of loans from Pashto and Indus Kohistani, bringing with them traces in the phonology.

Burushaski has influenced not only the Shina lexicon, but also its grammar; however this influence is difficult to demonstrate. The influence of Kashmiri on both the lexicon and the grammar is on the other hand quite transparent.

To conclude, what surprises us is that the various Shina dialects still have so much in common. With dialects spoken at distances of hundreds of kilometers apart, separated by great mountain ranges, a

40 Informal mutual intelligibility tests of Guresi and Kohistani in 1989 also show that speakers of these dialects have little difficulty understanding each other.

41 Drew 1980: 395, 528.

42 Schmidt and Kohistani 2008: 3.

high plateau and mighty rivers, we might have expected even more diversity than we see here.

Abbreviations

AG1	Agent I	Gur.	Guresi
AG2	Agent II	Koh.	Kohistani
As	Astori	NIA	New Indo-Aryan
DAT	Dative	OIA	Old Indo-Aryan
Dr.	Drasi	Pers.	Persian
Gil.	Gilgiti	POS	Possessive

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TABLE 2: COMPARATIVE SHINA VOCABULARIES

<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Gilgiti</u>	<u>Kohistani</u>	<u>Guresi</u>	<u>Astori</u>	<u>Drasi</u>	<u>Brokskat</u>
<i>I. Body parts</i>						
1. armpit	gitíiti	gitít	kácı, gikíiti	gikíiti	khiŋ, gikhítı	caŋ'khon
2. beard	dááy	dáae	dái	dái	dáae	smá'raa
3. belly	ǵeér	ǵeér	ǵeér	ǵeér	ǵeér	wor
4. blood	léel	léel	léel	léel	léel	lyl
5. bone	áti	áthi	áti	áti	áti	'aati
6. brain	máto	mótho, mágaz	maǵzí, mótu	máto	móto	xor'mo
7. breast	cúcu	cíci	mámu	mam	mamé	kry, dut
8. ear	koŋ	koŋ	koŋ	koŋ	kon	ka'ni
9. elbow	bakhúni	thugúri, photoúti	bakhúni <i>pl.</i> , photoúti	bakhúni	bakhúni	khən
10. eye	açhíi	açhíi	açhíi	açhíi	açhíi	a'çhii
11. face	mukh	muk	muk, roói	mukh	mukh	'andžak
12. finger	haguí	hagwí	āwíi	aŋwíi	aŋwíi	'guli
13. fingernail	nóoro	núuro	nóor	nóor	nóor	'nuuri
14. flesh	moós	moós	moós	moós	moóst	moos
15. foot	páa	páá	páa	páa	páa	'kuti

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16. hair	jakúr	báal, jáako	jakúu, báal	jaáko	jakúu	'žokur
17. hand	hat	hat	hat	hat	hat	hat
18. head	šiš	šiš	šiš	šiš	šiš	šiš
19. heart	híyo	hyúu	híi, híiu	hyúu	híiu	h33
20. kidney	juk, zuk	zuúk	júuk	juk	zuúk	kxal'ma
21. knee	kúto	kútho	kútu	kúto	kúto	'kuṭo
22. lip	óoto	thurúuti	óoti	óot	óoto	'yti
23. liver	yúum	yúu	yúu	yúu	yúu	g'im
24. moustache	phúŋe <i>pl.</i>	phúgo	phúŋi <i>pl.</i>	phúŋi <i>pl.</i>	phúŋo	sam'dal
25. mouth	áay	áazi	áazu	áazo	áazo	'uzi
26. neck	šak	šak	šooŋu, šak	šak	chágan	grii, žiŋ'gaṭ
27. nose	náto	nóthi	nótu	náto	nóto	'nuto
28. skin	com	com	com	com	com	'thuro
29. shoulder	phíco	phíjo, muṭh, kaŋí	phíjo, miṭhíj	phéelo, miṭhíjo	kaŋí	stoḍ
30. thumb	agúto	hagúu	oŋúutu	aŋúuto	aŋúu	guḍ 'guli
31. tongue	jib	jip	jip	jip	jip	g'ip

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32. tooth	don	don	don	don	don	da'nii <i>pl.?</i>
33. urine	miŋke	mhiŋki	múũcu, myaakul	miŋko	miŋko	tshə
<i>II. Terms for kin and human beings</i>						
34. brother	záa	záa	jáa	záa	záa	'baayo
35. brother's wife	jajeé	jazá	kaáki	jajeé	jajeé	'kaak'e, chi'gaa
36. child	baál	baál	cúŋu 'small'	baál	baál	si'naa
37. daughter	dií	dií	mulái, dií	diíh	mulái	mu'ley
38. daughter-in-law	nuúş	nuúş	nuúş	nuúş	nuúş	nəş
39. father	maálo, baábo	bubáa, maálo	maálu	baábo	bábo	boo
40. father's brother	picáa ¹	picáar	piçfi	cúno maálo	cúŋo bábo	'səno boo
41. father-in-law	şáyur	şéer	şéer	şáwur	şéer	şur
42. granddaughter	póoçi	póoçi	póoçi	póoçi	póoçi	'pyyçi

1 Also: *baŋo maálo* 'elder father', *cúno maálo* 'younger father'.

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<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Gilgiti</u>	<u>Kohistani</u>	<u>Guresi</u>	<u>Astori</u>	<u>Drasi</u>	<u>Brokskat</u>
43. grandson	póoço	póoço	póoço	póoço	póoço	'pooço
44. man	mušáa	mušáa	mušáa, mišáa	mušáa	mušáa	byz3 ²
45. mother	aáji, mãá	mãá, áji	mãá, aáji	aáji	áaje	'aae
46. mother's brother	máamo, moól	mamáa, mahuúl	múumu	móomo	móomoo	'muumo
47. mother-in-law	šaş	šaş	šaş, şaş	şaş	šaş	šaş
48. name	nóom	núum	nóom	nóom	nóom	nũũ
49. person	manújo	manúzo	manúju	manúzo	manúzo	mşş
50. sister	sa	sas	sas	sas	káaki, sas	'kaak'e
51. son	puç	puç	baál, puç	puç	baál ³	byz3
52. son-in-law	jamaçoó	jamçó	jaməçoó	jamaçoó	jamaçoó	ža'moo
53. wife's brother	šerí	šerí	šaerí	šairí	šayrí	šadže'rii
54. woman	cey	céi	céi	céi	céeĩ	chi'gaa, mu'ley

2 Not an error; same words provided by two separate speakers for 'son' and 'man'.

3 The same word was given for 'son' and 'child'.

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<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Gilgiti</u>	<u>Kohistani</u>	<u>Guresi</u>	<u>Astori</u>	<u>Drasi</u>	<u>Brokskat</u>
<i>III. Human artifacts</i>						
55. arrow	kóoŋ	kóoŋ	tíir, kóoŋ	kóoŋ	kóon	daah
56. ashes	dáal	šóo	dáal	dáal	dáal	thal'tsir
57. bed	šéen	šen	khaṭ, caarpái	khaṭ	paláŋ, caarpái	car'pii
58. bread	ṭíki	ṭíki, ṭíkki	ṭíki	ṭíki	ṭíkki	man'nili
59. churn	tharíŋi	chapóoro	ḥapáru	jagú	gurgúr, chapáro	tha'riŋi
60. curds	múuṭo dut	múutho dut	cúrku dut, méel, burús	cúrko dut	móṭo dut	gaan
61. dream	sāāḥe <i>pl.</i>	sáaḥo	sáaḥu	sāāḥo	sáaḥo	'šaaci <i>pl.?</i>
62. fertilizer	páaṣ, swaáḥ	páaṣ	páaṣ	páaṣ	páaṣ	puṣ
63. field	ḥéecḥ, bári	dóoli	ḥéecḥ	ḥéecḥ, khái	ḥéeeṣ	bun, kheey
64. fire	agáar, hagáar	phúu	pfúu, aŋgáaru	phúu	phúu	góor
65. ghee	gíí	gíí	gíí	gíí	daí lojuúli	g'ii
66. grease	míí	myú, carbíi	míí	míí	míí	miŋ
67. handspan	diṭ	diṣ	dríṣṭi	diṣṭ	diṣṭ	ḍiṭ

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68. honey	maçhíi	maçíi	maçhíi	maçhíi	maçhíi	g'ǎǎ 'tsi
69. house	góoṭ	góoṣ	góoṣ, şikáar	goóṣ	góoṣ	goot
70. irrigation channel	yap, íil	yab, íil	yab, íil	yap, íil	yap, íil	g'ab, ṣka
71. loom	hésko	éeni	luṭhúru, vaán	no data	coṣ	thak'ṣaa
72. mattock (hoe)	phyóǒli, genṭí	pheélo, genṭí	phyóǒli, genṭí	bel, ginṭí	thokteé, phyóǒri, ginṭí	thok'tse
73. milk	dut, aṇaáwo	dut	dut	dut	āṇṇáũ, dut	ɜ'džen
74. path	pon	pon	pon	pon	pon	pon
75. plow	hal	hal	hal	hal	hal	hal
76. roof	táši	šaróon	šarún, tal	šarín	šeróon	'šaltaa
77. salt	pajúu	luúṇi	luúṇi	pajúu	luúṇi	pa'y uu
78. sickle	bisáaç, leéç	léeçi	óṇo, óṇi	dáli	óṇo, yóo léeçi	bo'ṣuṇṣ
79. smoke	duúm	duúm	duúm	duúm	duúm	d uu
80. spinning wheel	cárko	cágar	yōṣ	caáko	cáku	caq

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81. village	kúi, het	kóoṭ	kwíi	giróom, het	kwíi, gǎām	bun
82. wood	káaṭo, juk	káaṭho	káaṭo	káaṭho	káaṭo	'kooṭ
83. work	kom	kom	krom	krom	krom	krom
<i>IV. The sky, weather</i>						
84. blue sky	béjei	bízi	béju	—	—	—
85. cloud	burgaál, ájo	ázo	áju, kavúu	ázo	ázo	á'zeṣ
86. lightning	bícuṣ	bícaṣ	bícuṣ, traṭ	bicúṣ	bícuṣ	brok
87. moon	yúun	yúun	yúun	yúun	yúun	g'un
88. rain	ájo	ázo	áju	ázo	ázo, méi	char'cha
89. sky	agaáy, hagaáy	asmán	aṅgaái	asmán	aṅái	do'lo
90. snow	hin	hin	hin	hin	hin	'azo
91. star	táaro	táaro	táaru	táaro	táaro	'turi
92. sun	súuri	súuri	súuri	súuri	súuri	'suri
93. water	wey	wói, wíi	wói	wói	wói	w33
94. wind	óóši, óoši	óoši	íši, óoši	óoši	óoṣ	yyš

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<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Gilgiti</u>	<u>Kohistani</u>	<u>Guresi</u>	<u>Astori</u>	<u>Drasi</u>	<u>Brokskat</u>
<i>V. Time and space</i>						
95. afternoon	balakaál	peeší	peešin	dazoó	belukhén, bazukhén	ba'zun, taas ha'raŋ
96. autumn	šaróo	šaryóo	šaróo	šaróo	šaróo	'yuuno
97. day	déez, chak	deés, chak	dées, chak, súuri	déez	dées	dis, 'səri
97a. Saturday	šimšér	—	baṭaár	šimšér	baṭavaár	no data
97b. Sunday	adít	itváar	aitvaár, áathi vaár	adít	adít	no data
97c. Monday	tsandúro	suwáar	tsādraár	tsandraálo	tsādraál	no data
97d. Tuesday	aŋgáaro	—	bóŋu vaár	aŋgáaro	aŋgáaro	no data
97e. Wednesday	bóodo	—	bodvaár	bóodo	bóodo	no data
97f. Thursday	bréspat	—	brestvaár	bréspat	bréspat	no data
97g. Friday	šúkur	jumá	jumáh	šúkur	jumáã	no data
98. day after						
tomorrow	çíriŋ	mút-chak	çíri	çízi	çírye	çe dis
99. down(hill)	khíri	khári	khári	laáṭhi	khári	khah

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100. east	jil bey	nur xáataa	mašrík	mašrík	súuri déen warí	šar
101. evening	šáam	beláa(ɾ)	šáam	bazúko	šáam	bal'bul, 'beldaj
102. month	máaz	móos	móos	móos	móos	no data
102a. Vaisakha	—	besáak	vaaék, wáihék	—	—	(Tibetan)
102b. Jestha	—	jéeth	jéeth, zeeṣṭ	—	—	
102c. Asadh	—	haɾ, haarḥ	háa	—	—	
102d. Sravan	—	paškál	šáawon	—	—	
102e. Bhadra	—	bhaadró	badirét, báadret	—	—	
102f. Ashvina	—	ássu	—	—	—	
102g. Kartika	—	katák	kártik, kartiík	—	—	
102h. Marga	—	magár	magár	—	—	
102i. Pausha	—	póo	póo, poohóo	—	—	
102j. Magha	—	—	máag	—	—	
102k. Phalguna	—	phagán	phagún	—	—	
102l. Chaitra	—	ceetár	tsíithir	—	—	

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103. morning	calbúc, luṣṭikaál	loṣkí	lóoṣṭ, lóoṣṭeĩ	lóoṣṭeĩ	cal	'cwalto
104. night	ráati	ráati	ráati	ráati	ráati	raat
105. sunny side of mountain	súuri deéç, suréen	suréeṇ	suréen	suréen	suryóon	n'in mys
106. shady side of mountain	cijoóṭ, 'shadow'	chóri	chóri	cijoóṭ	churyóon	grīb
107. seasonal migration	ucáai	ujaái	daróõ bojoónu	—	niríl	'paae 'nakhlis
108. spring (season)	bazoóno	bazoódo	bazoónu	bazanoó	uzáalo	ba'zun, 'uulo
109. summer	uwáalo	wáalo	wáalu	wáalo	bazoóno	'uulo, ba'zun
110. today	aš	aš	aš	aš	aš	aš
111. up(hill)	ají(t)	ají, húuṇ	ajá	utháli	ajá	hūn
112. west	buúr bey	qablá	magrīb	magrīb	súuri béen warí	n'uḅ
113. winter	yoóno	yoódo	yoónu	yoóno	yoóno	'yuuno
114. year	kaál, baríš, sáal, awéelo	kaál	avéelu	sáal	awéelo	lo'kyr, saar

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<i>VI. Earth</i>						
115. earth	sum, birdí	sum, uzmúke	zamín	sum	kwíi	pə3
116. earthquake	būyál	myaál	mūyál, bunílu	zilzilá	būcáal, tsangúl	tsaŋ'gul
117. forest	jeél	jeél	jeél	jaŋgál	jaŋgál, jeél	tshoq, dʒaŋ'gal
118. highest summer pasture	niriíl	maáli	niriíl	niriíl	šáay	'uulo tsib̥ caris, naǵ'lis
119. hill	ʰóko, huç	ʰóko, huç	ʰóku, huç	thúko	thúko	zuŋ
120. mountain	çhíŋ, khaŋ	khoŋ~khaŋ	khoŋ, çhíŋ	çhíŋ	šáay	zuŋ
121. river	sin, ga	sin, ga	sin, gáa	sin, gah	sin	sin
122. sand	sígal	sígal	síŋil	síŋel	síŋel	'siri
123. spring (of water)	uts	utsh	uts	uts	uts	'urtsu
124. stone	baʔ	baʔ	baʔ	baʔ, gíri	baʔ	'naaro

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<i>VII. Animals</i>						
125. ant	philíli	phibíli	pfilíli	philíli	philíli	pi'nili
126. ass	jakún	zakún	jakún	zakún	zakún	kxar
127. bear	ĩç	iç	iç	iç	iş	den'mo
128. bird	brin	minj 'pheasant'	jaanəwáar	cáaĩ	cææĩ	'ceşok thoq
128a. sparrow	haráçin	cayaá	cái	—	—	—
129. bull	dóono	bhaák	dóonu	dóono	dóono	zo, lan'to
130. bumblebee	duđúyo	gunǵúto, bhoráa	zombuú	—	zombuú	uş'kuo
131. cat <i>m.</i>	búušo	púšo	púšu, gánju	píšo	gájo, pišu	bi'læ
132. cat <i>m.</i>	búuši	púši	púši	píši	pišu	bi'læ
133. crow	káã	qáa	káa	káa	kórkuts	qoo
134. cow	goó, gáaw	gáao	gaáu	gaáo	gaáo	goo
135. dog	şü	şüü	şüü	süü	süü	şwaa
136. egg	hañeé	hañó	hañóó, ðhuúl	ðhuúl	ðhuúl	ðhul
137. feather	phurguú, paçháali	paçháali	paçu	tíiri	páto	şok'paa

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138. fish	chúmu	chúbo	chími, chúmo	chúmo	chímo	nyãã
139. flea	píŋjo	pízo	príjo	prízu	prízo	'puzo
140. goat <i>m.</i>	múgar	thooŋ, múgar	chatílu	thóo	chatílo	'miar, ža'too
141. goat <i>m.</i>	ái, ái	ái	ái	ái	ái	'aau, 'chaati, chal
142. hen	karkaámuš	kukwíi	kokói	karkaámuc ⁴	kokoó	byaa mo
143. horn	šínjo	šigo	šínju	šínj	šínjo	šínj
144. horse	ášpo	ášpoo	ášp, ášip	ášip	ášup	aayš
145. louse	júú	júú	júú	juú	juú	žwaa
146. louse (nit)	lič	lič	lič	lič	lič <i>pl.</i>	lič'aa
147. mouse, rat	múuji	múuzo	múuju	múuji	múuzi	'muuzi
148. rooster	kaŋkaroóco	kukúú	kokoó	kaŋkaroóco ⁵	bíiro kokoó	byaa pho
149. sheep	éji	laç	laç	ijíilo	laç	ni'lo
149a. ewe	éji, ijíili	eš	eš	eš	eš	eey
149b. ram	karéelo, un	karaá	karaá, šaróoŋu	karéelo	karéelo	chuur'di

4 Shina of Nager.

5 Shina of Nager.

TABLE 2: COMPARATIVE SHINA VOCABULARIES

<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Gilgiti</u>	<u>Kohistani</u>	<u>Guresi</u>	<u>Astori</u>	<u>Drasi</u>	<u>Brokskat</u>
150. snake	jon	judraá	jon	jon	jon	žun
151. tail	phacoó	lamtoó	lamóotu, lamtoó	lamóti	lamúti	pi'çoo
152. wasp	iškáar	çubúu	būyaári	zombuú	çazáa	ton'ze
<i>VIII. Plants and trees</i>						
153. apple	phalaá	paloó	paloó	paloó	paloó	pa'laa
154. apricot	jaroóti	zaroóto	phaóoor jaroóti <i>pl.</i>	jaroóti	phaóoor	phaa'tir
155. bark (of tree)	dílo	dílo	delú	dílo	dílo	phar'put
156. barley	yóo	yóo	yóo	yóo	yóo	go'no
157. birch	buç	jóõzi	jóoji	jóõzi	jóozi	'zozi, zuru'zii
158. cedar	phuluúş	phulúuzo	déva daár, cfi	cilíi	díiv daár	dyo'daar
159. fig (fruit)	phaág	phagwíi kúla	káã áşip, phaóooru	pfaák	injír	an'jiir
160. grape(s)	jaç	zaç	daş, dáştom	jaç	daş	zaş
161. grass/fodder	kaç, car	kaç	kaç	no data	kaş	gaas
162. leaf	páto	pátho	pátu	páto	páto	pan'nii

TABLE 2: COMPARATIVE SHINA VOCABULARIES

<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Gilgiti</u>	<u>Kohistani</u>	<u>Guresi</u>	<u>Astori</u>	<u>Drasi</u>	<u>Brokskat</u>
163. maize	makáy	makái	makái	makíi	makái	chah, mak'kii
164. mulberry tree	maróoç	maróoço	marúç	maróoç	maróoş	ma'rōōş
165. pomegranate	daṇúũ	daṇúũ	daṇú	daṇúũ	anáar	a'nar
166. poplar	phaltsí	no data	phrāts	phrats	fras	phal'tsaa
167. root	mulií	cheriş	chiriş	chiriş	chilíş	paṭ'taq
168. seed	bíi	bíi	bíi	bíi	bíi	bii
169. tree	múto, tom	mútho, tom	tom	tom	byéí	şin'tso, laq'tshuks
170. walnut	açhoó	açhoó, khakáy	açhoó	kakáĩ	açhoó	a'çhoó
171. willow	bew	byō	béi	no data	byéí	caṇ'ma
<i>IX. Verbs</i>						
172. to beat	zamoók	ḍagoón	kutyoónu	kuṭoónu	kutyoóno	khu'tis
173. to bite	capoók	capoón	capyoónu	jan thoónu	jan thyoóno	caṇ this
174. to burn <i>i</i>	dajoók	dajoón	dajoónu	dajoónu ⁶	dajoóno	'daaʒis

6 Some nasalization on the suffix, *dajōónu*

TABLE 2: COMPARATIVE SHINA VOCABULARIES

<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Gilgiti</u>	<u>Kohistani</u>	<u>Guresi</u>	<u>Astori</u>	<u>Drasi</u>	<u>Brokskat</u>
175. to burn <i>tr.</i>	dayoók	dahoón	dayoónu	dayoónu	dayoóno	'daahis
176. to come	wayoók	ayoón	oónu, ayoónu	wazoónu	oóno	is
177. to cry	roók	roón	hívi dyoónu, roónu	roónu	roóno	ræs
178. to die	miroók	miryoón	miryoónu	miróonu	miryoóno	mi'nis
179. to drink	piyoók	pyoón	piyoónu	piyoónu ⁷	piyoóno	pis
180. to eat	khoók	khoón	khoónu	khoónu	khoóno	kxus
181. to fly	thar doók	thor doón	talée dyoónu	hun boónu	talwí dyoóno	u'this
182. to give	doók	doón	dyoónu	doónu	dyoóno	dis
183. to go	bujoók	bojoón	bojoónu	bujoónu	bojoóno	byaas
184. to harvest	leéc thoók, loók	loón	lyoónu	curúk thoónu	lyoóno	l3ss
185. to hear	parujoók	şuṇoón	parjoónu	parjoónu	parjoóno	kon this
186. to kill	maroók	maroon	maryoónu	maroónu	maryoóno	ma'ris

7 *piyoónu*

TABLE 2: COMPARATIVE SHINA VOCABULARIES

<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Gilgiti</u>	<u>Kohistani</u>	<u>Guresi</u>	<u>Astori</u>	<u>Drasi</u>	<u>Brokskat</u>
187. to know	daṣṭoók, sūyoók	laçhoón, siyoón	daṣṭyoónu	daṣṭhoónu	daṣṭyoóno	žas
188. to laugh	hayijoók, hayoók	hazoón	hajoónu	hazoónu	háaji thyoóno	'haazis
189. to lie (down)	jeék boók, ṭaám boók	zeék boón	ṭam boónu	jek boók	dil boóno	sas
190. to say	rayoók	razoón	rajoónu	razoónu	rajoóno	'raazis
191. to see	pašoók, çakoók	pašoón, çakoón	pašoónu, çakyoónu	çakoónu	çakyoóno	skis
192. to sit	bayoók	byoón	byoónu	biyoónu	biyoóno	bʒʒs
193. to sleep	soók	nfiṣ thoón	soónu	soónu	soónu	sas
194. to stand	cóko book, uthyoók	cóko boon, uthyoón	cok boónu	hun boónu	uthyoóno	u'this
195. to swim	tam doók taroók	taroón	núuš dyoónu, tam dyoónu	tam doónu	nooṣyoóno	škela'ris
196. to walk	yayoók	yaazoón	yajoónu	yazoónu	yažoóno	zaa'zis
197. to wash <i>tr.</i>	dujoók	dijaaróon	dijaaryoónu	dijaroónu	dowææno	das

TABLE 2: COMPARATIVE SHINA VOCABULARIES

<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Gilgiti</u>	<u>Kohistani</u>	<u>Guresi</u>	<u>Astori</u>	<u>Drasi</u>	<u>Brokskat</u>
214. fourteen	coóndei	cahúdee	codéĩ	coóděĩ	codéĩ	'cuudeš
215. full	šek, šak	phúuŋo	šek	šek	phúuŋo, pují	'pʉnjis, pe'ree
216. good	míšto, sam	míštho, sam	míšthu, siyóo	míšthu	sfi, šabóko	'thaalo
217. green	níilo	níilo	níilu	níilu	níilo	'niilo
218. hot	taáto	táto	tátu	tátto	tátto	'taato
219. hundred	šal	šal	šal	šal	šal	šo
220. hungry	uyáno, niráno	niróono	unyaálu, niróŋu	nirónu	niróno	ṭhaa, ṭhan'yaa
221. left (direction)	khábo	khabóoto	kha, khái	kháau	khaibón	h'in
222. long	jígo	zigo	jígu	zigu	jíŋo	'zigo
223. many	laáwo, tušáar	lára	tišáar, lára	lára	mága láu	'bede
224. new	naáwo	nóõ	náã	náũ	náao	nyy
225. nine	naw	náõ	náu	náu	náũ	nũũ
226. nineteen	kuníi	ukaníi	kuníi	kuníih	kuníih	'kunjaa
227. old (person)	járo	járo	járu	járo	járo	'jaaro
228. one	ek	ek	ek	ek	ek	ek
229. red	loólyo	lhíilo	loólu	loólo	loólo	'looðo

TABLE 2: COMPARATIVE SHINA VOCABULARIES

<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Gilgiti</u>	<u>Kohistani</u>	<u>Guresi</u>	<u>Astori</u>	<u>Drasi</u>	<u>Brokskat</u>
230. right (direction)	daçhíno, daçhiboóm	daçhíno	daçínu	daşínu	daştibón	traŋ wur'ji
231. round	biðiríko	ðiðuúro	ðuðuúru	ðiðuúro	kirkíro	dí'duuro, 'rilbu
232. seven	sat	sat	sat	sat	sat	sat
233. seventeen	sattááy	sattáái	sattáai	sattáái	sattáai	sat'tóõš
234. sharp	tíno	tíno	tínu	tíno	tíno	'tino, tsap tsap
235. six	şa	şa	şa	şa	şa	şaa
236. sixteen	şóõy	şóõi	şóõi	şóĩ	şóõi	'şobeš
237. small	cúno	cúno	cúnu	khútu	cúno	'titaq, 'sææno
238. sour	cúrko	cúko	cúrku	cúrko	cíto	'cukro
239. ten	day	dáai	dái	dái	dái	daaş
240. thirteen	çóõy	çóoi	çói, cóoi	çóĩ	çóõĩ	trobeš
241. thirty-nine	bií-ga kunií	bhyo ukaníi	bi-gə kunií	bií-ga kuniíh	bií-ga kuniíh	'bizur 'kunjaa
242. three	çée	çée	çe	çée	çée	traa
243. thousand	hazáar, sáás	zir	sáas	dái šal	sáas	'stoj
244. twelve	báay	báai	báai	báai	bwáai	'budeš

TABLE 2: COMPARATIVE SHINA VOCABULARIES

<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Gilgiti</u>	<u>Kohistani</u>	<u>Guresi</u>	<u>Astori</u>	<u>Drasi</u>	<u>Brokskat</u>
245. twenty	bií	bií	bií	bií	bií	bi'žaa
246. twenty-nine	bií-ga naw	bhyo nãō	bi-gə náu	bií-ga náu	no data	biži'nũũ
247. two	dúu	dúu	dúu	du	du	du
248. white	šáyo	šóo	šóo	šéeo	šyóo	šoo
249. yellow	halíjo	píilo	píilu, kumúũmu	komúmo	gúuro	hal'dzuro
<i>XI. Pronouns etc.</i>						
250. he	ro, ros ri, ris pl.	sa, sési	so, jo, aá senó, jeséĩ, aáséĩ		zo	pho
251. I	ma, mas	mo, mō	mu?, méĩ	mũh	moh	mō
252. not	ne, neé	na, nēē, niš	ne?, niš	no data	nũš	nũš
253. she	re, res	sa, sésoo	se, je, aá sésō, jésō, aásō	no data	ze	pho mu'ley

TABLE 2: COMPARATIVE SHINA VOCABULARIES

<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Gilgiti</u>	<u>Kohistani</u>	<u>Guresi</u>	<u>Astori</u>	<u>Drasi</u>	<u>Brokskat</u>
254. they <i>m.</i> far	oó	sa, seṇáa	se, je, aá ses, jes, aás	no data	ze, paraá,	'pheetu
255. they <i>f.</i> far	oó	sa, seṇáa	sáæ, jáæ, ayáa sáæes, jáæes, ayáas	no data	zo, paraáo	'pheetu
256. they <i>m.</i> near	no data	ye, yeṇáa	anyáa	no data	ze, anú	a'lo
257. they <i>f.</i> near	no data	ye, yeṇáa	anyáa	no data	zæ, aní	a'lo
258. that <i>m.</i>	oó	asá, asési	peraá, paraá	no data	paraáo	a'lo
259. that <i>f.</i>	eé	asá, asésoo	no data	aá	no data	no data
260. this <i>m.</i>	anú, anús	aáe, aáysi	anú, nu	anúh	anúh, aá	a'lam
261. this <i>f.</i>	ané, anés	aáe, aáysoo	aní	aníh	no data	no data
262. these	ni, nis	aáe	no data	no data	no data	no data
263. we	be, bes	be, asáa	be?	be, bes	be	beɲ, bɜɜ
264. what?	jéek, je	jóo, káa	jóok	yóok	jok	yee

TABLE 2: COMPARATIVE SHINA VOCABULARIES

<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Gilgiti</u>	<u>Kohistani</u>	<u>Guresi</u>	<u>Astori</u>	<u>Drasi</u>	<u>Brokskat</u>
265. who?	koó, koós <i>m.</i> keé, keés <i>f.</i> keéi, keéis <i>pl.</i>	koé	koóe	koí	koói	koo
266. you <i>sg.</i>	tu, tus	tu, thóo	tu?	tuh	tuh	ti
267. you <i>pl.</i>	tsho, tshos	tsho, tsháa	tshō, tshōs	tsho, tshos	tsho	tshur
<i>XII. Supplementary list</i>						
268. camel	úũṭ	ux	úũṭ	úũṭ	úũṭ	no data
269. chain	šijaáli	zhanzhír	šajaáli	šajaáli	šajaáli	no data
270. cheese	hamíci, haméçi	burús	ãĩçi, burús	koóni	ãĩçi	no data
271. copper	loólyo riíl	phéṭi	tráam, zams	no data	táam	no data
272. enemy	dušmán, béero	dušmán	dušmán	dušmán	dušmán	no data
273. fairy	parí	xaapreé	parí	parí, ruí	parí	no data
274. far	duúr	dúur	duúr	duúr	ašcáat	no data
275. fever	šaál	šaál	tap, tat	tátto	buxáar, tsat	no data

TABLE 2: COMPARATIVE SHINA VOCABULARIES

<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Gilgiti</u>	<u>Kohistani</u>	<u>Guresi</u>	<u>Astori</u>	<u>Drasi</u>	<u>Brokskat</u>
276. flour	áãṭe	phuk	áaṭe	áãṭe	áãṭe	no data
277. foam	phíin	phéen	phíini	phíini~ phíini	pfíin	no data
278. fox	lói	lói	lói	lói	lói	no data
279. frog	maṇúuko	maṇóoq	maṇóõk	maṇóoko	maṇóõk	no data
280. gold	soṇ	soóṇ	soóṇ	soná	sóoṇ	no data
281. gun	tumák	ṭubák	tumák, tubák	tumák	tumák	no data
282. hedgehog	—	—	—	šááti	žukúl	no data
283. heel	khúuri	thúri	thúri	khirkáli	thúri	no data
284. lamb	urán	mamtoó	urán	urán	urán	no data
285. leopard	ḍíí	ḍíí	ḍíí, dhíí	ḍíí	dhíí	no data
286. Milky Way	balajé ⁸	bólaj	balājée	no data	táaro aṇái	no data
287. mirror	eéno, gayuúri	mukcáaki	šiišá	šiišá	šiišá	no data
288. nut	khakáaĩ	khakái, gayáa	gayáa	no data	açhoó, káli	no data

8 Also: *ášpo-ga dóoney pon*, ‘path of the horse and bull’.

TABLE 2: COMPARATIVE SHINA VOCABULARIES

<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Gilgiti</u>	<u>Kohistani</u>	<u>Guresi</u>	<u>Astori</u>	<u>Drasi</u>	<u>Brokskat</u>
289. palm of hand	háta táawo	hattóo	hatatáa	hattáao	hattáa	no data
290. rainbow	bijoón, bizoón	bizoón	bijoóni	bijoón	bizoóni	no data
291. rice (paddy)	bríw	byū, talúuṅ	dayó	briú	dayóó	no data
292. rice (cooked)	bat	baát	bríim, báí	baát	brim	no data
293. scorpion	karaáto ⁹	laṛám	bic	junumáaro	bic	no data
294. shame	laš, šarm	šarám	laš	be šarm	šarm, laš	no data
295. sleep	nir	níṣ	níṣ	níṣ	níṣ	no data
296. spleen	šóom	šóom	šóom	no data	šóom	no data
297. to write	likhoók	likoón	likhyoónu	likhoónu	líkhyoónu	no data

9 This may mean 'poisonous spider'. Scorpions are not found in Gilgit.

TABLE 3: COMPARATIVE KASHMIRI VOCABULARIES

Stress on first syllable unless otherwise noted. ˆ = a rising tone; ˇ = a low rising tone.

<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Kashmiri</u>	<u>Kishtawari</u>	<u>Poguli</u>	<u>Siraji</u>
<i>I. Body parts</i>				
1. armpit	kats ^h	kas	kats ^h	ka:sa: ^l li:
2. beard	də:ɾ	tə:ɾi	də:ɾ	da: ^l ri:
3. belly	yaḍ	yaḍ	i:ḍ	iḍ
4. blood	rat ^h	rat ^h	rat ^h	rat ^h
5. bone	aḍidž	aḍur	aḍ ^l e	ha' ^l ḍi:
6. brain	di'ma:ḡ ¹	de'ma:ḡ	de'ma:ḡ	me' ^l dzo
7. breast	mami	məm	sina	tsu'tsu
8. ear	kan	kan	kan	kan
9. elbow	k ^h oniwaṭ ^h	k ^h ōi va:ṭ ^h	thon ^l u wa:ṭ ^h	k ^h undri
10. eye	əc ^h	əc ^h j	aš	ac ^h j
11. face	but ^h	šōṇḍ	ḍik	mū:
12. finger	oṅḡidž	aṅḡul ^l	aṅḡ ^l e	āṅḡ ^l li:
13. fingernail	nam	nam	nam	nam

1 According to Wali and Koul 1997: 307, Kashmiri is a syllable-timed language, and stress is not distinctive. When non-initial, it is marked in this transcription on items 1–197, which have been transcribed from recorded data, but not on items 198–267, which are taken from written sources using phonemic transcription.

TABLE 3: COMPARATIVE KASHMIRI VOCABULARIES

Stress on first syllable unless otherwise noted. ˘ = a rising tone; ˇ = a low rising tone.

<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Kashmiri</u>	<u>Kishtawari</u>	<u>Poguli</u>	<u>Siraji</u>
14. flesh	ma:z	ma:z	ma:z	ma:s
15. foot	k ^h ɔr	k ^h ɔr	k ^h ur	k ^h or
16. hair	mas	va:l, tso:ʈ	masti	zu'to
17. hand	athi	athi	a:ht	hat
18. head	kali	šir ^j	loʈ	roʈ
19. heart	dil	dil	dil	dil
20. kidney	bokɪwaʈ ^h	gur'di	buk ^h	gur'da
21. knee	koʈ ^h	koʈ ^h	kuʈ ^h e	kuʈ ^h
22. lip	vuʈ ^h	uʈ ^h	lemur	ho:ʈ
23. liver	krəhni ma:z	ka'ledža	k ^j a:liz	ka:l'zo
24. moustache	go:əʈs	kōtsi	guc ^h e	muc ^h
25. mouth	ə:s	ə:s ^j	mo'i:	a:si
26. neck	gardan	gar'dan	gar'dun, maʈ ^h	mūᅇdi
27. nose	nas	nas	na:ht	nak
28. skin	misli	musli	tsam, n ^j a:l	niya:li
29. shoulder	p ^h ok	šok	nak ^h	p ^h ak'ku

TABLE 3: COMPARATIVE KASHMIRI VOCABULARIES

Stress on first syllable unless otherwise noted. ˆ = a rising tone; ˇ = a low rising tone.

<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Kashmiri</u>	<u>Kishtawari</u>	<u>Poguli</u>	<u>Siraji</u>
30. thumb	n ^ˆ ɔʈ ^h	nɔʈ ^h	n ^ˆ ɔʈ ^h	noʈ
31. tongue	z ^ˆ ʌu	z ^ˆ ʌu	ɖe ^ˆ 'bɑ:n, z ^ˆ ʌu	zib
32. tooth	dɑnd	dād	dāt	dānt
33. urine	mɪθ ^h ir	muθ ^h ir	muc	mu'tar
<i>II. Terms for kin and human beings</i>				
34. brother	bɔ:y	pɔ̌:y	bɑ:rʌn	brá:u
35. brother's wife	bəy kɑ:kin	pə̌:b ^ˆ j	kɑ:kin	bar'džá:i
36. daughter	ku:r	ku:r ^ˆ j	ku:r ^ˆ j	rē'ti:
37. daughter-in-law	nɔš	nɔš	nuh	nuš
38. father	mɔ:l	mɔ̌:l	mɔ:ɛl, bɔ:əb	bɑ:bo
39. father's brother	p ^ˆ ət ^h ir	ca:ci	pi'cau	nikɾo bɑ:bo, baɖo bɑ:bo
40. father-in-law	h ^ˆ o ^h ur	yǎ:r	ša'hur	šuro
41. granddaughter	po'tir	pu:'tir	pɔ:ət ^h ri	po'tri, dhiyo:'ri:
42. grandson	po'tur	pu:'tur	pɔ:ut ^h ru	po'tro, dhiyo:'ro:
43. mother	mə:dž	mə̌:l	məæ:l	ma'li:

TABLE 3: COMPARATIVE KASHMIRI VOCABULARIES

Stress on first syllable unless otherwise noted. ˘ = a rising tone; ˇ = a low rising tone.

<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Kashmiri</u>	<u>Kishtawari</u>	<u>Poguli</u>	<u>Siraji</u>
44. mother's brother	mam	ma:əm	ma:əm	mam'mō
45. mother-in-law	haš	a:š	šah	šaš
46. sister	beni	did	b'ěǝn	ben
47. son	necu	bo'kuṭ	n'uk, ba'kuṭ	ma'tʰo:
48. son-in-law	za:mtur	za'motur	zamotru	džama'tro:
49. wife's brother	həhar	sa:li	sa:le	sa:lo, bei'mo
50. child	šur	baci	n'uk	ma'tʰo:
51. man	marid	mɔ:n	ma'hun	mard
52. name	na:o	na:m	na:m	nā:m
53. person	in'sa:n, a:dam	mǎi	maṛd	ma:ṇū:
54. woman	ze'nam	ze'nam mǎi	kuṛ nah'i'ni	ze'nam
<i>III. Human artifacts</i>				
55. arrow	tir	tir	tir	tír
56. ashes	sur	swa:s	swa:s, swa:h	swa:h
57. bed	pa'laṅ, carpai	kʰaṭʰ	kʰaṭ	kʰaṭi
58. bread	tsoṭ	māndž	mēṇḍ	ro'ti:

TABLE 3: COMPARATIVE KASHMIRI VOCABULARIES

Stress on first syllable unless otherwise noted. \acute{v} = a rising tone; \check{v} = a low rising tone.

<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Kashmiri</u>	<u>Kishtawari</u>	<u>Poguli</u>	<u>Siraji</u>
59. churn	do:ən, c ^h o:ə̃p	c ^h o:p	ma'd ^h æ̃n, c ^h op	c ^h ā:mpwə
60. curds	za:mut dwad	daĩ	zam dud	zam'ro dudi
61. dream	sopun, xwa:b	sopan	k ^h wa:b	semi'ṅō
62. fertilizer	pah	pāma	gun	hí:l
63. field	k ^h ah, ɖal	vodʒ ^j	væ:gə	ba'gi:
64. fire	na:r	na:r	na:r	agi
65. ghee	g ^j au	k ^j āu	g ^j u:	gyu:
66. grease	car ^l bi:h	ts ^j op	car ^l bi:	mēz
67. handspan	asti	pa:u	bithi	griṭi
68. honey	ma:ch	mā:ch	mæ:ch	ma:chi:
69. house	gari	kāri	gor	gar
70. irrigation channel	yan, kəl	koi	la:b	kulə
71. loom	va:n	va:n	va:n	k ^h addi
72. mattock (hoe)	bi:lci	də:l ^j	no data	də:l ⁱ
73. milk	dwad	dwad	dud	dudi
74. path	vat ^h	vat ^h	vat ^h	bat ^l t ⁱ :
75. plow	a:li	a:li	al	hali

TABLE 3: COMPARATIVE KASHMIRI VOCABULARIES

Stress on first syllable unless otherwise noted. ˆ = a rising tone; ˇ = a low rising tone.

<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Kashmiri</u>	<u>Kishtawari</u>	<u>Poguli</u>	<u>Siraji</u>
76. roof	paš	lõṛ	c ^h at	la'ṛo:
77. salt	nu:m	lu:m	nu:m	lu:ṇ
78. sickle	dro:ət	dro:t	da:ch	no data
79. smoke	dih	tũ:m	du:om	dú:m
80. spinning wheel	yāndir	yāndir	yandiri	džān'tar
81. village	ga:m	gā:m	ga:m	gra:m
82. wood	z'un	tsu:ṛ ^j	ka:ṛ ^h e	ka:ṛ ^h a, tso:ri'ya
83. work	kə:m	kar	ka:r	kammə
<i>IV. The sky, weather</i>				
84. blue sky	n'ju:l as'ma:m	n'jo:l as'ma:m	n'ju:l as'ma:m	ni:lo a'mar
85. cloud	obur	abar	paḍ	badə'lo
86. lightning	vuzmal	tsapkī	bidž'li	uzmuli'ya
87. moon	zu:m	zo:'san	tsandiri	ca:'ni:
88. rain	ru:d	ru:d	ro:ət	de:o:
89. sky	as'ma:m	as'ma:m	as'ma:m	a'mar
90. snow	ši:n	ši:m	ši:n	hím

TABLE 3: COMPARATIVE KASHMIRI VOCABULARIES

Stress on first syllable unless otherwise noted. \acute{v} = a rising tone; \check{v} = a low rising tone.

<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Kashmiri</u>	<u>Kishtawari</u>	<u>Poguli</u>	<u>Siraji</u>
91. star	tarux	tor	ta:rgan	ta:'ro:
92. sun	si'ri:, af'ta:b	do:s	du:s	di:s
93. water	po:æŋ ^ˀ , a:b	pāī	paē	paṃi
94. wind	hava:, va:u	va:u	hawa, ts ^h aṭ	bát ^h
<i>V. Time and space</i>				
95. afternoon	pešin, digar	do:s'le	dusli ba:d	bya:li ku'ṇo
96. autumn	harud	šær ka:l	panti	šer
97. day	doh	do:s'le	du:s	diya:'ṛi:
97a. Saturday	baṭ(i) var	šæcīr var	no data	šā'cal
97b. Sunday	a:t ^h var	æt ^h var	no data	a:t ^h
97c. Monday	tsandīr var	tsandīr var	no data	tsan'dar
97d. Tuesday	bō: var	maṅgal var	no data	maṅ'gal
97e. Wednesday	bod(u) var	bod var	no data	bodī
97f. Thursday	bres var	brest var	no data	br'e'fati
97g. Friday	džumah	šukīr var	no data	šu'kar

TABLE 3: COMPARATIVE KASHMIRI VOCABULARIES

Stress on first syllable unless otherwise noted. ˆ = a rising tone; ˇ = a low rising tone.

<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Kashmiri</u>	<u>Kishtawari</u>	<u>Poguli</u>	<u>Siraji</u>
98. day after tomorrow	kə:lʲ ket ^h	tre do:s	cindis	ʧē:ʲtsē
99. down(hill)	bon	bon pa:ras kin ^j	ba:lus k ^h al	o'ro:
100. east	pu:r, mašrik	pu:rəb	mašrik	tsa:ni ti'wā:ti
101. evening	ša:mi, ša:m	kwali	varni	biya:'lo:
102. month	no data	no data	no data	no data
102a. Vaisakha	vaihek	və'ša:k	no data	bi'ša:k ^h
102b. Jestha	ze:əʧ ^h	ze:əʧ ^h	no data	dže:ʧ ^h
102c. Asadh	ha:r	əʃ	no data	hi'ša:ʃ
102d. Sravan	šra:vun	šra:van	no data	šro:n
102e. Bhadra	bə:dir p ^j at ^h	pā:drət	no data	b ^h a:'dro
102f. Ashvina	əsu:dž	a:šət	no data	ə'su:dž
102g. Kartika	ka:rtik ^h	ka:rtik ^h	no data	ka:t'ti:
102h. Marga	magar	ma:džar		mə'gir
102i. Pausha	poh	poh	no data	pa:p ^h i:
102j. Magha	ma:g	ma:g		dar'mi:

TABLE 3: COMPARATIVE KASHMIRI VOCABULARIES

Stress on first syllable unless otherwise noted. ˆ = a rising tone; ˇ = a low rising tone.

<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Kashmiri</u>	<u>Kishtawari</u>	<u>Poguli</u>	<u>Siraji</u>
102k. Phalguna	p ^h a:gun	p ^h argun	no data	p ^h a:ˆ'gun
102l. Chaitra	tsit ^h ir	tsit ^h ir		tsit ^h ar
103. morning	sub ^h ai	ig ^l ri:	rec ^h i	o: ^l tre
104. night	rar ^h	rar ^t i	rat	ra: ^l ti
105. sunny side of mountain	—	—	dašno	da ^l lā ti ^l wā:ti
106. shady side of mountain	—	—	k ^h auru	tsarni ti ^l wā:ti
107. seasonal migration	nai gatsnuk waxit	ret ka:l	a ^l d ^h ær	retu: ^l ro
108. spring (season)	sō:ˆt ka:l	sō:ˆt ka:l	ba ^l har	ne: ^l la:
109. summer	ret ko:l	ret ka:l	garma	retu: ^l ro
110. today	az	az	a:z	a:zi
111. up(hill)	peṭ ^h	peṭ ^h paṛas kin ^j	ma:l	k ^h a: ^l ro:
112. west	qibli, pašim, maḡrib	pascim	magrib	ma ^l grib
113. winter	vandī	pā ^l di	bānd	hindi
114. year	vəri:	p ^h uri:	veh, ver	ba: ^l ri:

TABLE 3: COMPARATIVE KASHMIRI VOCABULARIES

Stress on first syllable unless otherwise noted. ˆ = a rising tone; ˇ = a low rising tone.

<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Kashmiri</u>	<u>Kishtawari</u>	<u>Poguli</u>	<u>Siraji</u>
<i>VI. Earth</i>				
115. earth	zə'mim	zə'mim	ze'min	dze'mī:
116. earthquake	bun'ul	pū'mil	bum tsal	bō'tsal
117. forest	džəŋgal	van	van	dzaŋ
118. highest summer pasture	nai, n'ur	řaŋ	cargama	adu'var
119. hill	ře:ŋg	tob	ma:l	no data
120. mountain	ba:l, pa'haŋ, koh	pāŋ	ba:l	pa'haŋ
121. river	dər'yarū	dər'yarū	dar'ya:u	dar'ya:u
122. sand	s'ak ^h	re:t	re:ət	re:t
123. spring (of water)	na:g	na:g	na:g	na:g
124. stone	kəŋ ^j	k ^h əŋ, rwād	ru:ŋdi	go:ŋ
<i>VII. Animals</i>				
125. ant	rei	bi'di:l	krimni	bid'li:
126. ass	k ^h ar	k ^h o:'ta	k ^h ar	k ^h ə:'to
127. bear	ha:put	a:pət	řa:put	ich

TABLE 3: COMPARATIVE KASHMIRI VOCABULARIES

Stress on first syllable unless otherwise noted. ˘ = a rising tone; ˇ = a low rising tone.

<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Kashmiri</u>	<u>Kishtawari</u>	<u>Poguli</u>	<u>Siraji</u>
128. bird	džamvar, džam:var	pa'rindi	pa'rindo	pak ^h nū:
129. bull	damd	dā:t	dā:nt	dā:nt
130. bumblebee	bombur	t̃:d	b ^h umur	b ^h õ:'ro
131. cat <i>m.</i>	bro:r	bro:r	bra:r	bila:'ru:
132. cat <i>f.</i>	brær	brær ⁱ	brær:	bila:'ri:
133. crow	karu	karu	karu	káru
134. cow	garu	garu	garũ	ba'ts ^h i:
135. dog	hun	u:n	hun	šũ'ṇa:
136. egg	ṭhu:l	ṭhu:l	ṭho:l	ṭhú:l
137. feather	pak ^h	pak ^h	pāḥṭ	pak ^h
138. fish	gær	garḍ	gar:i	mac ^h li:
139. flea	p ⁱ uš	p ⁱ uš	p ⁱ uh	pri:'šu:
140. goat <i>m.</i>	tsarvul	s̃'du:l	kaṭlo	twar ^h , tse'lu
141. goat <i>f.</i>	tsarvidž	si:l ⁱ	ts ^h el	bak'ri:
142. hen	kək̃ir	ku'kir ⁱ	kuk'ri:	kuk ⁱ 'ri:
143. horn	heṅ	hiṅ	hiṅ	šingə
144. horse	gur	kõr	g ^h or	g ^h o:'ro

TABLE 3: COMPARATIVE KASHMIRI VOCABULARIES

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<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Kashmiri</u>	<u>Kishtawari</u>	<u>Poguli</u>	<u>Siraji</u>
145. louse	zɔu	tsõĩ	zo:e	džũ:
146. louse (nit)	lic ^h	lic ^h	d ^h ak	lic ^h
147. mouse, rat	k ^h rõ:ts, gagir	ga'gəɽ	gagri	muš'ņĩ:
148. rooster	kɔ:kɔr	kokəɽ	ku'kuɽ	ku'kaɽ
149. sheep	tir ^j	gəbiz, tir ^j	g ^j eb	b ^h edđi
149a. ewe	gəb	gəbiz	lao	b ^h edđe:
149b. ram	kaɽ ^h	gəbuɽ	g ^j eb	b ^h edđu:
150. snake	saruf	sa'rap ^h	sarap ^h	sappi
151. tail	ləɽ	põ:sir	ləɽ	leŋani
152. wasp	tulir, dətir	tsræ:dõ:l ^j	cum ^h hæ:ɽ	trim ^h ri: træŋđi ^h ha:l
<i>VIII. The plant word</i>				
153. apple	tsũ:r ^h	tsũ:r ^h	tsɔh	se:o
154. apricot	tse:r	k ^h o'bam	ba'tsir	k ^h oba:ni
155. bark (of tree)	del	d ^h al	d ^h il	šo'kaɽ
156. barley	viški	vor	dža'war	džo:u

TABLE 3: COMPARATIVE KASHMIRI VOCABULARIES

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<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Kashmiri</u>	<u>Kishtawari</u>	<u>Poguli</u>	<u>Siraji</u>
157. birch	burzu kul	ɖa:l	rayil	ɖa:'li:
158. cedar	ɖ'ovdar	ɖ'o'dar	ɖ'ov'dar	di'yar
159. fig (fruit)	an'džir	p ^h ɔ:g	p ^h ɔ:g	an'džir
160. grape(s)	ɖac ^h	no data	ɖac ^h	no data
161. grass/fodder	ga:si, kac ^h	kă:si	gɜ:s	g ^h á:s
162. leaf	panivətir	patar	patiri	pat'tar
163. maize	ma'kəi	kok'ɾe	ma'kai	kukar'i'ya
164. mulberry tree	tul kul	tul kul	tul	tutta də buɟə
165. pomegranate	də:n	də:n	darɾim	a'nar, dar'mo:li
166. poplar	fras	frast kul	phrastī k ^w ul	safe:'do:
167. root	mu:l	zi:l	mu:l	ɖzi:l
168. seed	b'o:l	b'ɔ:l	b'ɔ:l	bidžə
169. tree	kul	kul	kwalə	buɟə
170. walnut	ɖun ^j	churɾ	ochurɾ	acho:l
171. willow	vir	yir	yer k ^w ul	be:di də buɟə

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<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Kashmiri</u>	<u>Kishtawari</u>	<u>Poguli</u>	<u>Siraji</u>
<i>IX. Verbs</i>				
172. to beat	laryun	c ^h o:b din	mar d ⁱ eni~demi	mar ^l nō
173. to bite	tsop h ^l on	tsop koron	tsop d ⁱ enu	cak ^l ku de: ^l nō
174. to burn <i>i.</i>	dazun	dazun	zalnu	ɖal ^l nō
175. to burn <i>t.</i>	za:lun	za:lun	za:l ^l nu	ɖa:l ^l nō
176. to come	yun	yun	ye:nu	cæ: ^l nō
177. to cry	vadun h ^l on, vadun	run	baro d ⁱ eni	lera k ^h a: ^l nō
178. to die	marun	marun	p ^h aṭnu	mar ^l nō
179. to drink	con	con	pi:nu	pi: ^l nō
180. to eat	k ^h on	k ^h on	k ^h a:l ^l nu	k ^h a: ^l nō
181. to fly	vuḍun	uḍun	uḍnu	uḍ ^l nō
182. to give	d ⁱ un	d ⁱ un	d ⁱ enu	de: ^l nō
183. to go	gatsun	gatsun	gatsnu	ga: ^l nō
184. to harvest	lo:nun	lo:nun	tsaṭnu	lon ^l nō
185. to hear	bo:zun	bo:zun	hunnu	ṣun ^l nō
186. to kill	marun	ma:run	an ^j ʃenu	mar ^l nō

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<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Kashmiri</u>	<u>Kishtawari</u>	<u>Poguli</u>	<u>Siraji</u>
187. to know	zɑ:nun	zɑnun	zɑ:nnu	ɕɑ:ŋ'ŋõ
188. to laugh	ɑsun	ãsun	hasnu	has'nõ
189. to lie (down)	ɖɑ:f trɑ:vun	ɖɑ:f trɑ:vin	šũŋnu	ɕul'nõ
190. to say	vɑnun	zɑbun	vɑnnu	ɕo:'ŋõ
191. to see	vuc ^h un	uc ^h un	bɑ:lɪnu	her'nõ
192. to sit	bih ^j un	b ^j un	bimnu	biš'nõ
193. to sleep	šɑŋun	šõŋun	šũŋnu	ɕul'nõ
194. to stand	thod vɔt ^h un	oši vatun	thoɖ uthnu, k ^h ɑŋ hunu	k ^h ɑro:ɖ ^h 'nõ
195. to swim	tsã:ɖ vɑin	ɖ'orun	tɜ:ər d ^j e:n ^j i	tar'nõ
196. to walk	pɑk ^h un	õt ^h un	c ^h ɑlɪnu	cal'nõ
197. to wash <i>t.</i>	c ^h ɑlun	c ^h ɑlun	d ^h ɑunu	c ^h ɑl'nõ
<i>X. Adjectives</i>				
198. all (sārā)	sə:ri: ²	sə:ri:	sor	sa:'re

2 The Kashmiri word list was incomplete, and items 198–267 have been filled in from the following two sources: Wali and Koul 1997 (especially 5.2), and Kachru 1973, Vol. 2 (Glossary).

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Stress on first syllable unless otherwise noted. ˆ = a rising tone; ˇ = a low rising tone.

<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Kashmiri</u>	<u>Kishtawari</u>	<u>Poguli</u>	<u>Siraji</u>
199. all (sab)	kul	soru'wi:	sor'wi:	mat'te:
200. big	boḍ	boḍ	boḍ	ba'ḍo:
201. bitter	no data	t̪oṭ ^h	tsiṭu	ko:'ṛo:
202. black	kruhun	kriṣun	krihnu	ka:'lo:
203. blind	no data	koṛ	on	ka:'ṇo:
204. cold	t̪iṛ	thāṭ ^h	tur̪	ṭhā'ḍo:
205. dry	k ^h oṣ̄ik ^h	huk ^h	huk ^h	ṣuk'ro:
206. eight	əṭ	eṛəṭ ^h	aḥṭ	aṭ ^h
207. eighteen	ardah	aṛ'dah	aṛ'dah	aṭ ^h a:'ra
208. eleven	kah	kah	kah	ya:'ra:
209. few	kēh	k'ē:	kī:ts	ke:
210. fifteen	pandah	pan'dah	pas'tah	pan'dra:
211. five	pā:ts ^h	pā:ts ^h	pā:ts	pā:ts ^h
212. forty-one	ak̪iṭə:d̪žih	ak ta:lih	yak ta:lih	ikta:'li:
213. four	tsor	tsor	tsa:war	tsur
214. fourteen	tso'dah	tso'dah	tso'dah	tsa:'li:

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<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Kashmiri</u>	<u>Kishtawari</u>	<u>Poguli</u>	<u>Siraji</u>
215. full	bərit ^h , puri	par ^h ye:ət ^h	b ^h er	b ^h au ^h ro:
216. good	džam	džam	layex	ro ^h lo:
217. green	sabiz	n ^h u:l	sabzi	ni:lo:
218. hot	tot, garim	tot	garmə	ta ^h to:
219. hundred	hat ^h , šat ^h	hat ^h	har ^h thi	šou
220. hungry	no data	poc ^h wi	bu:ch	buc ^h co:
221. left (direction)	k ^h ə:rvur	k ^h ə:rvur	no data	ba: ^h mē:
222. long	z ^h u:ṭ ^h	lambi	zehtu	lam ^h mō:
223. many	variyah	variyah	z ^h a:di	ma ^h te:
224. new	nov	nau	nau	na ^h vo
225. nine	nav	naũ	nāũ	nao
226. nineteen	kunivuh	kunnō	kun ^h vih	un ^h ni:
227. old (person)	buḍi	buḍi	buḍ ^h	bu ^h ḍo:
228. one	ak ^h	ek ^h	yah	ekə
229. red	vəzul	la:l	uzlu	la:l
230. right (direction)	dəc ^h un	dəc ^h un	daš niš	də ^h ṇō:
231. round	go:l	go:l	go:əl	go:l

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<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Kashmiri</u>	<u>Kishtawari</u>	<u>Poguli</u>	<u>Siraji</u>
232. seven	sat ^h	sat ^h	sat	sar ^h
233. seventeen	sadah	sa'dah	sa'dah	sita:'ra:
234. sharp	tez	te:z	te:iz	no data
235. six	še	še	šeh	šah
236. sixteen	šurah	šu'dah	šo'dah	šo'ra:
237. small	lɔkuṭ	lɔ'kuṭ	lokts ^h u	nik'ɔ
238. sour	tsok	tsok	tsuk ^h	am'lo
239. ten	dəh	dəh	dah	daš
240. thirteen	truvah	truvah	tro'vah	te:'ra:
241. thirty-nine	kunitə:džih	kun'ta:lih	kun'ta:lih	unta:'li:
242. three	tre	tre	cati	trei
243. thousand	sa:s	sa:s	sa:s	ha'zar
244. twelve	bah	bah	bah	ba:'ra:
245. twenty	vuh	uh	vih	bi:
246. twenty-nine	kunītrih	kun'tri:h	kun'trih	una'tri:
247. two	zi	zi	dih	du'i

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<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Kashmiri</u>	<u>Kishtawari</u>	<u>Poguli</u>	<u>Siraji</u>
248. white	sap ^h e:d	safe:d	safæ:əd	ç ^h it'to:
249. yellow	ʃodur	ʃodur	lidru	hal'dro
<i>XI. Pronouns etc.</i>				
250. he	su	hu, su	su	tæŋə
251. I	bɪ	bɔ	a:ũ	a:ũ
252. not	nɪ	no data	na	na
253. she	sɔ	hu, s ^j e	sa	tæ ^h na
254. they <i>m.</i> far	tim	hum	ʃã:ũ	tæŋə
255. they <i>f.</i> far	timi	hum	ʃã:ũ vah	tæ ^h na
256. they <i>m.</i> near	yim	yim	ʃã:ũ	æŋə
257. they <i>f.</i> near	yimi	yim	ʃã:ũ vah	æŋə
258. that (thing)	ti	su, s ^j e	sa	tæŋ ci:z
259. that (person)	su	su	su	tæ ma: ^h ũ:
260. this (thing)	yi	yi	ya	in ci:z
261. this (person)	yi	yi	yu	in ma: ^h ũ:
262. we	əs ^j	əs ^j	as	a:ũ

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Stress on first syllable unless otherwise noted. \acute{v} = a rising tone; \check{v} = a low rising tone.

<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Kashmiri</u>	<u>Kishtawari</u>	<u>Poguli</u>	<u>Siraji</u>
263. what?	k ^j a:	k ^j a:	kut	ko:
265. who?	kus	k ^h ũ	kam	k ^j e:
266. you <i>sg.</i>	tsi	tu	tu	tu
267. you <i>pl.</i>	toh ^j	tus ^j	tus	tu: