Folktales

in the

Shina of Gilgit

(text, grammatical analysis and commentary)

Carla F. Radloff

with Shakil Ahmad Shakil

National Institute of Pakistan Studies
Quaid-i-Azam University

Summer Institute of Linguistics
Folktales in the Shina of Gilgit

(text, grammatical analysis and commentary)
Studies in Languages of Northern Pakistan

In this series:

- **JOAN L. G. BAART**
The Sounds and Tones of Kalam Kohistani

- **CARLA F. RADLOFF WITH SHAKEIL AHMAD SHAKEIL**
Folktales in the Shina of Gilgit

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Gilgit Valley and surrounding areas.
Foreword

Having published *The Sounds and Tones of Kalam Kohistani* in 1997, we are delighted to bring you a second volume in our series of studies in the languages of northern Pakistan—one relating to folktales in the Shina language of Gilgit. The Shina language is in everyday use in Gilgit as a *spoken* language and has a rich heritage of oral literature. This volume is a welcome contribution to collecting representative samples of that literature in *written* form. It also presents much information on the Gilgit dialect of Shina itself—insight into the grammar, sound system and discourse structure, and some glimpses into the culture, as well.

Properly relating a folktale is an art, and quite possibly is best viewed in the context of an oral culture where it is a honed to a fine edge through frequent use. In the West, this art is neglected by the rank and file, simply because it is easier to read a story than to creatively recall it from memory. But in an oral society, there are few, if any, books to read and storytelling around the fire on snowy or rainy evenings is a common occurrence.

Studying such narratives as folktales takes us to a relatively new level of linguistic analysis—the level of discourse. (The author has some 70 references to discourse features in this volume). Some of us are a bit familiar with the structure of words, phrases and sentences, but few of us are familiar with larger constructions such as paragraph and discourse. Discourse is the study of how stories and speeches are put together to form a coherent whole. The science of discourse as a sub-discipline of linguistics is still at an early stage.

To some, the very idea that a narrative has a definite structure or order is new. Yet all would agree that it would not be proper to put the climax of a story at the beginning and the setting at the end, or to dive into the middle of the story without having described the setting. For example, it would be a disaster to do such a thing in the Gilgit Shina story, “The
Foreword

Bald Little Son,” the second story of this volume. Although a good storyteller can do this kind of thing—such as begin in the middle and backtrack—the beginning is still recognized as the best place to start. So storytellers really do have set rules that they follow. The author has drawn our attention to more of these rules in the numerous notes beneath the text.

The recording and preservation of Pakistani folklore is one of the goals of the NIPS-SIL agreement. Folktales in the Shina of Gilgit is an excellent beginning in this direction. We welcome you to read and enjoy.

Dr. Ghulam Hyder Sindhi (Director, NIPS)

Dr. Ronald L. Trail (Coordinator, SIL)
Acknowledgments

The idea for this book of analyzed texts was born in 1996 when I learned that the grandmother of Shakil Ahmad Shakil was a particularly good storyteller. Subsequently, Mr. Shakil wrote down these four texts, helped me translate them into English, answered innumerable questions as I probed to understand the grammar, and provided insights to the cultural background of events in the stories. Although there is much that is technical and "linguistic" in the grammatical analysis, still I have tried to present it and the comments in a way that will hopefully hold some interest for the non-linguist reader, as well.

I am grateful to Erine Erickson, Austin Hale, and Ron Trail for reading through this manuscript and making valuable suggestions, and to Timm Erickson for the phonemic font and the map adaptations. Extra special thanks go to Joan Baart for his timely consultation and considered advice, which have done much to raise the quality of this work. Errors and mis-analyses, of course, are my responsibility.

In Gilgit, I want to acknowledge the family of Zarmast Khan, who enjoyed reading the stories and affirmed them, and also Abdullah Baig, who always welcomes a chance to discuss languages. I have always felt at home in Gilgit, and many people – such as the families of Khaliq Taj, Ashraf Ali, and the extended family of the late Ibrahim Khan – continue to open their homes and hearts to me as friends. I consider it an honour and privilege to have the opportunity to study the Shina language and I thank the National Institute of Pakistan Studies for facilitating it.

Finally, I do not want to miss thanking Shakil for his cooperation in making this volume possible. A good portion of thanks, though, goes to his grandmother, who – like any good grandmother – told her stories one more time…
Introduction to Gilgit and the Shina language

The language

The Gilgit variety of the Shina language is spoken in the fertile valley of the Gilgit River. The waters that course through this valley come from beyond Punial in the upper reaches of the watershed below Shandur Pass and the mountains that separate Gilgit from Chitral; they come from the Yasin and Ishkoman valleys; they come from the icy regions of the Karakorum mountains through the Hunza River; the waters flow from Kar Gah and Bagrot and many other side valleys – all join and contribute to the swell of the Gilgit River as it empties into the mighty Indus upriver from Chilas. The language is spoken in almost the entire area of the river’s tributaries. It is a widely spread language and the mountains of northern Pakistan are its home.

As is the case for almost any language, the further one travels, the more diversity one encounters. Even within the Gilgit River watershed there is significant variation in the Gilgit Shina dialect. And other, yet more distinct dialects of the Shina language are spoken in areas beyond the Gilgit Valley – eastward up the Indus in Haramosh and into Baltistan; southeast up the Astor Valley; down the Indus in Chilas and the valleys of Darel, Tangir, Harban, Sazin, Jalkot, Palus, Kolai, and others.

Shina belongs to the Indo-Aryan sub-branch of the Indo-European family of languages. Within Indo-Aryan, it is classified as part of the Dardic sub-group, as are other languages of the area such as Khowar and Kalasha in Chitral, Kalam Kohistani and Torwali in Swat, Indus Kohistani, and Kashmiri.

Along with the wealth of oral literature – of which the stories in this volume are examples – some written literature has also been produced in Gilgit Shina. Abdul Khaliq Taj and Mohammad Amin Zia are two
Gilgit poets who have published books in Shina. International scholars such as German Professor Georg Buddrus have introduced this literature to the western world. There have been books written in other dialects as well – Ghulam Nasir Chilasi (Baba Chilasi) has published in the Chilas variety of Shina. Razwal Kohistani has produced several volumes in Kohistani Shina. (See, for example, Taj 1989, Zia 1978 and 1986, Buddrus 1993 and 1996, Ghulam Nasir Chilasi (no date), Razwal 1997, Razwal and Schmidt 1996.)

As interest grows and more representative writing systems are accepted, there is no doubt that the written literature of Shina will increase. For the present, however, it is hoped that the small sample of the oral literature presented here will contribute to the knowledge of the area and communicate the past to us.

The valley in history

The Gilgit valley has long been a center of civilization. Evidence of ancient habitation in the Gilgit valley and surrounding areas comes from the rock carvings which date back to unknown millennia BC (Dani 1989:92).

Professor A.H. Dani suggests that the modern Dardic languages, of which Shina is one, may have an archaic link to the language of Gandhara. These languages are referred to in ancient inscriptions as early as the 3rd century BC (1989:55).

Professor Karl Jettmar notes the presence of an established state in the Gilgit valley in the 9th century AD (1989:66). And the Buddhist carving in the rock in Kar Gah dates back to the 8th century AD during the Tibetan rule of the area (1989:163). He further suggests that the bearers of the Shina language began their rule in the Gilgit area at some point following that time (1980:28).

The events of prehistory become the legends of later generations, and the entire northern reaches of Pakistan have a rich heritage of legend, mythology, and story: much containing historical truth, much containing great entertainment. For example, the Buddhist rock carving in Kar Gah is referred to as the ya-chaani ‘giantess’ and local mythology tells of how she used to eat people until fixed to the rock wall as punishment.
The entire region is now firmly Muslim in belief and practice. Yet they continue to pass on the stories rooted in their pre-Islamic past as part of their heritage as citizens of a most ancient part of the civilized world, as a testimony to the depth of their culture and history.

The people of the valley

People from a wide variety of tribal kinship groups comprise the speakers of Gilgit Shina. Although technically the language name Shina, or sinaā, means ‘language of the Shins’, the Shins are only one of the many who hold Shina as their mother tongue. Other traditional major Shina-speaking kin groups include the Rono, Yeshkun, Gushpur, Kashmiri, K(r)amin, and Dom.

The Gilgit Shina speakers are surrounded by a rich variety of other language groups. Burushaski speakers dominate in the Hunza River valley and Wakhi is spoken still further north from there. To the west the language of Chitral, Khowar, becomes influential. Eastward one finds speakers of the Balti language, and Indus Kohistani is spoken by people south of the greater Shina region. Pashto, Panjabi, and the language of Kashgar are spoken by traders and businessmen who have settled in the area. And, of course, all learn the national language Urdu as they become educated, and it serves as the language of wider communication between language groups in public settings such as the bazaars or mosques (Radloff 1992:159ff).

Contact between the speakers of Gilgit Shina and their nearer neighbours over countless generations have resulted in the sharing of many language aspects. For example, pajū is the word for ‘salt’ in Gilgit Shina; Burushaski and Balti also use variations of that word. gokpā or bokpā mean ‘garlic’ in Gilgit Shina; the words in Burushaski and Balti are similar (see Radloff 1992:134ff for more discussion of shared vocabulary). Contact has meant sharing cultural aspects, as well: many similar customs and folktales are found throughout the area, expressed through the different languages.

The greatest number of Gilgit Shina speakers live in the environs of Gilgit town. It is the centre for trade and government for the Northern Areas of Pakistan and its bazaars are filled with people speaking all the languages of the region. Gilgit town is also a centre for education: high schools, degree colleges, and a post-graduate college attract students from the area. Radio Pakistan broadcasts from Gilgit; in addition to
their Urdu transmissions, they also have several hours of programming each day in the Shina language, using the Gilgit dialect.
Introduction
to the stories and analysis

Four folktales are reproduced and analysed in this volume: The Blackberry Bush and the Pearl, The Bald Little Son, The Ibex’s Story, and The Story of Hopoti and Hopoto. These four folktales represent an important genre in the oral folk literature of Gilgit – stories told to children. Children’s stories encompass domains such as the magical or the mythological in a way that is not always present in other genres. As will be seen, they can also offer insights into the realms of nature and of traditions no longer kept by the modern town dweller. For the linguist, they provide a source for grammatical and discourse studies. And for the reader, it is hoped they will provide not only information, but also entertainment – the entertainment that comes with stories that only a grandmother can tell.

The grandmother who told these stories belongs to Shakil Ahmad Shakil. No claim is made that these stories are original with her, indeed, the reader will no doubt recognize many of the themes if not the plots themselves. These stories are presented, rather, as a sampling of stories typical of those told in Gilgit, by a typical Gilgit grandmother, in typical Gilgit Shina. Although Mr. Shakil grew up listening to these stories, he persuaded his grandmother to tell them yet again; he then wrote down each story soon after she had re-told it. Because of the practice of pardah, seclusion of women, it was not possible to tape record his grandmother as she recounted the stories. Thus, they come to us through the filter of the writing of Mr. Shakil. But because they were fresh in his mind when he wrote them down and also because he has heard them all of his life, we can be assured that they do give us the flavor of his grandmother’s style. In fact, he went back to her to have her tell The Bald Little Son even a second time in order to check on the accuracy of the story’s conclusion. These stories were re-told and written down between the summers of 1996 and 1997.
These stories offer four different samples of the genre of stories for children; the first three especially use the device of repetition, which so enthralls young listeners. The first story, *The Blackberry Bush and the Pearl*, consists of a single buildup to a dramatic climax, followed by a comparatively rapid resolution. *The Bald Little Son*, on the other hand, proceeds in stages, each part of the story building on the previous section, and each section being part of the action. The third story, *The Ibex Story*, sets the stage through the first sections, but the main action is contained in just one key section, with the resolution, again, conveying more description than action. The final story, *The Story of Hopoti and Hopoto*, has a more complicated theme complete with an evil giant, swordplay, and a faithful dog. In it the actors enter and leave the stage of action, presenting progressive pieces of the puzzle, so to speak, with a happy ending to tie it all together.

Each story is presented three times: 1) in its entirety in Shina in a phonemic transcription (explained below), and then 2) in a semi-literal English translation, and then 3) in an interlinear format along with *commentary* on cultural and grammatical items of interest in each story.

In the interlinear analysis, words are broken down into their smallest meaningful units, *morphemes*, and each morpheme is shown with its *gloss*, or one-word English equivalent, and its grammatical part of speech. This is further explained in the section on “Abbreviations used in the interlinear text”, below.

A *free translation* into English of each sentence is also given. This free translation is meant to be instructive and is not necessarily a smooth, spell-binding rendering guaranteed to captivate the English-speaking child’s attention. This free translation is a *semi-literal interpretation* that was chosen to reflect the underlying sentence structure. However, if read by itself the Gilgit Shina narrative would keep any Gilgit child enthralled – it was told by a grandmother, after all!

A *commentary* on the interlinear text is also given. This commentary provides insights into the natural, supernatural, and traditional background to the story. It also directs the reader to interesting grammatical or discourse features current at different points in the text. It is organized as notes with reference to the *paragraph* and *sentence* number in the text, for example, 1.3 refers to paragraph 1 sentence 3. Each comment is referenced to the paragraph and sentence with small raised numbers like this: ¹. References between stories are made through abbreviated titles – The Blackberry Bush and the Pearl
(Blackberry Bush), The Bald Little Son (Bald Son), The Ibex’s Story (Ibex Story), The Story of Hopoti and Hopoto (Hopoti and Hopoto). Shakil Ahmad Shakil is the source for the cultural observations included in the Commentary.

Representation of sounds

The convention used for writing the Gilgit Shina words is best termed a phonemic transcription. It represents the distinctive sounds of the language, not the minute details of an individual’s speech. This phonemic transcription also reflects the changes that occur in pronunciation when suffixes, etc., are added to words, that is, morphophonemic changes.

The purpose of the phonemic transcriptions in this volume is to provide an indication of pronunciation for the non-native speaker of Gilgit Shina. This transcription system is not meant as a practical writing system or orthography for Gilgit Shina; such a writing system for Shina would be derived from the Urdu script and would be designed for fluency of reading by native speakers – an entirely different goal from the phonemic transcription used in this volume. A key to pronunciation is provided below; a full description of the Gilgit Shina sound system, or phonology, is presented in Radloff (forthcoming).

Key to pronunciation of the phonemic script

This volume is written with the non-linguist reader in mind, and so the phonemic script is compared with both the International Phonetic Alphabet and with an equivalent in the pronunciation of American English. (Please note that for many Shina sounds there are no equivalents in American English.) Also, a non-technical, general description of each sound is given.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemic Script</th>
<th>International Phonetic Alphabet</th>
<th>American English Equivalent</th>
<th>General Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>[ə]</td>
<td>about</td>
<td>a short vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aa</td>
<td>[aː]</td>
<td>cigar</td>
<td>a long vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>[ɛ]</td>
<td>wet</td>
<td>a short vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonemic Script</td>
<td>International Phonetic Alphabet</td>
<td>American English Equivalent</td>
<td>General Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ee</td>
<td>[e:]</td>
<td>cake</td>
<td>a long vowel with no glide in it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>[i:]</td>
<td>sit</td>
<td>a short vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td>[iː]</td>
<td>seed</td>
<td>a long vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>[oː]</td>
<td>occasion</td>
<td>a short vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oo</td>
<td>[oʊ]</td>
<td>open</td>
<td>a long vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>[ʊ]</td>
<td>put</td>
<td>a short vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uu</td>
<td>[uː]</td>
<td>cool</td>
<td>a long vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>[b]</td>
<td>bag</td>
<td>as /p/ but pronounced with voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č</td>
<td>[tʃ]</td>
<td>kitchen</td>
<td>with tongue on roof of mouth pronounced without puff of air</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ć</td>
<td>[tʃʰ]</td>
<td>chip</td>
<td>with tongue on roof of mouth pronounced with puff of air</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>[ʦ]</td>
<td>as /ʾ/ but with tongue tip curled up and back</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čh</td>
<td>[tʃʰ]</td>
<td>as /ʾ/ but with a puff of air</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>[d]</td>
<td>width</td>
<td>tongue tip just behind teeth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>[d]</td>
<td>dog</td>
<td>tongue tip on ridge behind teeth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>[ɡ]</td>
<td>goat</td>
<td>as /k/ but with voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>[h]</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>a puff of air</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>[dʒ]</td>
<td>judge</td>
<td>as /ʾ/ but pronounced with voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>[k]</td>
<td>skid</td>
<td>back of tongue, no puff of air</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kh</td>
<td>[kʰ]</td>
<td>kite</td>
<td>as /k/ but with puff of air</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>[l]</td>
<td>complete</td>
<td>tongue tip behind teeth, clear sound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>[m]</td>
<td>mama</td>
<td>nasal sound with lips closed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>[n]</td>
<td>nose</td>
<td>nasal sound with tongue behind teeth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>[n]</td>
<td>nasal sound, tongue curled up and back, often flapped</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng</td>
<td>[ŋ]</td>
<td>singing</td>
<td>nasal sound, with back of tongue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>[p]</td>
<td>helicopter</td>
<td>pronounced without puff of air</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ph</td>
<td>[pʰ]</td>
<td>pipe</td>
<td>pronounced with puff of air</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>[ɾ] or [r]</td>
<td>tip of tongue flapped or trilled on ridge behind teeth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>[r]</td>
<td>flapped as /r/ but with tongue tip curled up and back</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>[s]</td>
<td>sip</td>
<td>tongue tip behind teeth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonemic Script</td>
<td>International Phonetic Alphabet</td>
<td>American English Equivalent</td>
<td>General Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ñ</td>
<td>[ʃ]</td>
<td>ship</td>
<td>tongue at roof of mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʂ</td>
<td>[ʂ]</td>
<td></td>
<td>as ʂ but with tongue tip curled up and back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>[tʃ]</td>
<td></td>
<td>with tongue tip just behind teeth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>th</td>
<td>[tʰ]</td>
<td>goat</td>
<td>as t but with a puff of air</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ð</td>
<td>[t]</td>
<td></td>
<td>as t but with tongue tip curled up and back, no puff of air</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðh</td>
<td>[tʰ]</td>
<td></td>
<td>as t but with puff of air</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts</td>
<td>[ts]</td>
<td>sits</td>
<td>with tongue behind the teeth, said as one sound, pronounced without puff of air</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʃh</td>
<td>[tsʰ]</td>
<td></td>
<td>as /ts/, but pronounced with a puff of air</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>[w]</td>
<td>wind</td>
<td>glide made with lips</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>[y]</td>
<td>year</td>
<td>glide made with tongue on roof of mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñ</td>
<td>[z]</td>
<td>zebra</td>
<td>as ʂ but pronounced with voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñ̃</td>
<td>[z̃]</td>
<td></td>
<td>as ʂ but with tongue tip curled up and back</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** Nasalized vowels are marked with a tilde ~ after the vowel: /a~/.  

Each basic word in Gilgit Shina carries an accent on one syllable, which is marked by pitch (or tone or tune). Long vowels may carry High Falling /áː/ or Low Rising /aː/ pitch accent, short vowels may carry a High Short /á/ pitch accent. (The use of acute accent on the first or second member of the geminate vowel agrees with Buddrus, e.g., 1996.) In this pitch accent system, if there is a long vowel in the root or core part of the word, that long vowel will carry the accent. If the addition of a suffix causes the accent to shift, the long vowel in the root word will be shortened. There can be a long vowel in a suffix that does not necessarily carry the accent. The first line in the interlinear text shows the Gilgit Shina words with the pitch accent marked.
Abbreviations used in the interlinear text

Each sentence of the interlinear text has a number, such as 2.4, which means “paragraph two, sentence four”. Each part of the Commentary refers to a specific sentence (or sentences) by citing this number.

The interlinear text for each sentence consists of the following lines (with an example):

1) Gilgit Shina
2) Word gloss
3) Morpheme breakdown
4) Morpheme gloss
5) Morpheme part of speech
FT: Free Translation

ma beéťunus
l (m) have sat
ma beéy -t - unus
l sit/stay PFI PRPRF1sm
pers intrans val tens
FT: I’ve sat.

1) The first line of the interlinear text, Gilgit Shina, is the phonemic transcription of the Gilgit Shina words (see “Key to pronunciation”, above). 2) The second line, Word gloss, is a simplified translation into English of the complete word or compound word (joined by an underline). 3) Morpheme breakdown, the third line, shows the individual morphemes, the smallest meaningful units, which are contained within the word. 4) Each morpheme, then, is translated into English on the fourth line as the Morpheme gloss (the suffixes, etc. use abbreviations which are explained below). 5) The fifth line, Morpheme part of speech indicates the part of speech for each of the morphemes in the word (abbreviations are explained below). 6) The Free Translation is a semi-literary English equivalent for the sentence as a whole; it is given as the sixth line.

In the third line of the interlinear text, the morpheme breakdown, standardized forms are used for suffixes that have several different forms, but retain the same meaning. For example, the third person singular masculine present tense verb ending can have the form -an in a word like háran ‘he takes away’. It can also have the form -éen in a word such as wałéen ‘he brings’. A third form of this suffix, -án, is found in the word kháan ‘he eats’. These different surface forms of the suffix are shown appropriately on the first line of the interlinear text, the Gilgit Shina line. However, in the third line, the morpheme breakdown line, only the standardized form -an will be shown. The reader will find a standardized form used for many of the suffixes used in these stories.
The following chart explains the different abbreviations used in the interlinear text for the *parts of speech* (line five) and in the *morpheme gloss* abbreviations (line four). The reader is encouraged to refer to this chart as he or she is reading through the interlinear text.

**Grammatical Abbreviations:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parts of speech abbreviations</th>
<th>Morpheme gloss abbreviations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| adj   | 1s   | 1
| adjvr | 1p   | r
| adv   | 2s   | nd
| advr  | 2p   | nd
| cas1  | 3s   | rd
| cas2  | 3p   | rd
| conj  | m or (m) | masculine |
| dem   | f or (f) | feminine |
| f n   | ADJZR | Adjectivizer |
| gndr  | AG   | Agent case marker |
| hon   | CAUS | Causative marker |
| indef | CONJP | Conjunctive participle |
| inf   | EMPH | Emphasis |
| int   | FEM  | Feminine marker |
| interj | FUT | Future tense |
| intras | GEN | Genitive case marker |
| m n   | IMP  | Imperative mood |
| mass n | IMPRF | Past Imperfective |
| mod   | INDEF | Indefinite marker |
| mood  | INF  | Infinitive marker |
| n     | NOMZR | Nominalizer |
| neg   | OBL  | Oblique case marker |
| nomlvr | PASS | Passive voice marker |
| num   | PFI  | Perfective Intransitive |
| numeral | PFT | Perfective Transitive |
| part  | PFPPASS | Perfective passive marker |
| parti | PL   | Plural marker |
| pass  | PLGEN | Plural genitive marker |
| pers  | PLOBL | Plural oblique marker |
| post  | POL  | Polite form marker |
| precat| PRES | Present tense |
| pro   | PRESP | Present Participle |
| prop  | PRPRF | Present Perfect tense |
### Parts of speech abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tens</td>
<td>Tense marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trans</td>
<td>Transitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>Verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>val</td>
<td>Valency/aspect marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voc</td>
<td>Vocative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voice</td>
<td>Voice marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vrbzr</td>
<td>Verbalizer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Morpheme gloss abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PSPRF</td>
<td>Past Perfect tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>Question marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(rem)</td>
<td>Remote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIMP</td>
<td>Simple past tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VBZR</td>
<td>Verbalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOC</td>
<td>Vocative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**Appendix – Verbs, Nouns, Pronouns**

The reader will be able to glean much information on the grammar of Gilgit Shina from reading the interlinear text itself. Certain aspects are highlighted and explained in the Comments. If more detailed information on the conjugation of verbs, the case markings of nouns, or the different types of pronouns found in Gilgit Shina is desired, an Appendix includes helpful charts.

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**Index to the Commentary**

At the end of this volume is an *Index to the Commentary*, a guide to the various Comments made upon the cultural or grammatical or discourse aspects of the stories. This will allow the reader to compare comments made on the various subjects or re-find certain comments of interest.

The index is organized by basic topics. For example, under the index topic “Culture”, the reader can find reference to all the page numbers where Comments with cultural content have been made. The entries under “Discourse” list all the Comments about discourse features of the stories, for example, how major divisions within the story have been made or what devices are used to especially attract the listener's attention. Entries under the index topics “Word” or “Sentence” guide the reader to pages where different aspects of the grammar of Gilgit Shina have been commented upon, either at the word level (such as tense markings) or at the sentence level (such as relative clauses). The entries under “Meaning” are words whose semantic content have been described more fully.
The Blackberry Bush and the Pearl

Introduction to the story

Anthropomorphizing is a feature common to children's stories all over the world - human characteristics are attributed to non-human characters, and the result is fascinating entertainment for the child. In this first story, a wild blackberry bush - a singāay - is the proud owner of a maāni, or pearl. The fact that the pearl slips from her hand one day - to be swept up by a passing bird, thus setting off a whole chain of improbable events - has nothing to do with the fact that blackberry bushes do not have pearls, let alone hands that they can slip from. But it has everything to do with the makings of a story, and that is sufficient explanation.

The possession of a maāni, or special pearl, harks back to the traditional days of Gilgit. At that time it was common for women to have a maāni as a special, treasured possession. They wore it in a necklace or kept it in a special cloth purse, a phutún. They would take these pearls out on special occasions, such as a wedding or feast day, and show them off to each other. A maāni was typically given to a woman as a wedding present, usually by her grandmother or maternal aunt. The older woman would often pass on her own maāni to the young bride.

The fact that the singāay - the wild blackberry bush - had a pearl, then, is nothing out of the ordinary. It sets this story back in the traditional days of Gilgit. The chain of improbable events that brings the maāni back into the hand of its owner becomes probable since they are set in a far-off, inaccessible time. The magical qualities of the singāay that
provide the exciting climax to the story are also nothing out of the ordinary in an extra-ordinary setting.
śingáay ga mańi
(Phonemic script)

1.1 ćal_ćal śingáayekekać mańnik aśí. 1.2 ek ćhak re mańi résey hatéjo khità gé. 1.3 ćaá-yeck thar deé wàií mańii káči akií pööli. 1.4 mańi pasíí trok deé áá-yer theé tsak bigi. 1.5 śingáay se ćaá-yejo toóm mańi bichóobal, ćaá-y se 1.6 "mas mańi neé dámis" thigí. 1.7 śingáaye saar-yt kóñok ga nilíndus. 1.8 kóño pašaróoje ćaá-yej reégi "paár oó kóño waleé they pàar ačararámaa?" 1.9 "bo, wale! ačararoök bínínee to bot!" 1.10 śingáay se kóñet reégi "bo láá kóño, paár ée ćaá-yej ek pàar ačótt!" 1.11 kóños "ma téen ačaií ačaií beétunus" theé neé aćáms thigú. 1.12 paár beé akií hágáarek gumájas. 1.13 śingáay se hágáreß reégi "bo láá hágáar, paár oó kóño dey, bot!" 1.14 hágáar se "mas kóto deyií deyií beétunus" theé neé déyamus thigú. 1.15 "sóó to, ráamaa paár oó wéyët tu nišéy?" 1.16 "bo ho, ra!" 1.17 śingáay se wéyët "paár oó hágáar nišë!" thigí. 1.18 wey se "mas kóto nišëe beétunus" theé neé nišáms thigú. 1.19 "paár oó dòono waleé tu čuuß tharámaa?" 1.20 "bo! tharoök bínínee to tharátt!" 1.21 "bo láá dòono, paár oó wey čuuß thet!" śingáay se dóoneß reégi. 1.22 dòonoos "mas čuuß theé theé beétunus" theé dubáam thigú. 1.23 "ho née, paár oó müssaat rée tu maramám, ho jéeck laáyee?" 1.24 "bo! mararoök bínínee to maramár!" 1.25 "bo láá müssaa, paár oó dòono marént!" śingáay se müssaat reégi. 1.26 müšas "mas kóto märeec maréec beétunus" theé neé máramás thigú. 1.27 "to née, paár ée múuțiit reégis to they kóorie čápéy."

1.28 "u-h! múuți çakë to née mey kóorie khoök çakë!" 1.29 "bo líí múući, paár oó müšáay kóorie čápët!" śingáay se múuțiit reégi. 1.30 múuțiis "mas kóto čåpœ fëpœ beetënis." theé neé čapámis thigí. 1.31 "to née, paár ée búusiit reé tu kheráamaa?" 1.32 "sóó ho bot, kheroök bínínee to kherát!" 1.33 "bo líí búusi, paár ée múući khat!" śingáay se búusiit reégi. 1.34 búusiis "mas kóto kheé kheé beétënis" theé dubáam thigí. 1.35 "néë ho, paár eé čéyöf reégis to tu mürütëén." 1.36 "bo mürütätërt! mürütaroöök bínínee to." 1.37 "bújaa líí čéye, paár ée búusi mürütàat!" śingáay se čéyöf reégi. 1.38 "bes mürütëéc mürütëéc beëtenes" theé mürütöök dubóon thigé. 1.39 "ho née, šal khan khanñó óo-šiḥ hóo theé tshey paş óo-ši daráamaa?" 1.40 "bo! darrowök bínínee to darét!" 1.41 śingáay hurúuy theé khanñec géi. "waá! šal khan khanñó óo-ši wa! aní čéyoo dapí ga paş óo-ši_de, wa!" thigí.

2.1 ayáakeț akií óo-ši biṭhiníi. čéyoo dapí ga paş écò ek thigí. 2.2 ho čées geé búusií mürütëége. búusiís geé múući kheeği. múuziis geé
mušáay kóorie čapeégi. 2.3 mušáas geé dóono mareégu. dóonos geé wey čuúš theégu. wey se geé hagáar nišeégu. 2.4 hagáar se geé kóno deyiígu. kóno geé čaá-yey páar ačítu. 2.5 čaá-y se waleé šingáayet maáni deégi.
The Blackberry Bush and the Pearl
(Free translation)

A long time ago a wild blackberry bush had a pearl. One day that pearl fell down out of her hand. A little bird was flying by and came and landed near the pearl. Seeing the pearl, she hopped over, picked it up in her mouth and stopped there. As the blackberry bush was asking for her pearl, the little bird said “I won’t give the pearl”. Nearby the blackberry bush a thorn had grown up. Showing the thorn she said to the little bird, “Shall I bring that thorn over there and make it prick your foot?” “Go on, bring it! If you’re able to make it prick me, please go!” The blackberry bush said to the thorn, “Go, oh thorn, and please prick the foot of that little bird over there!” “After pricking and pricking now I’ve sat down,” the thorn said and refused to prick. Just over there a fire was smouldering. The blackberry bush said to the fire, “Go, oh fire, burn that thorn over there, please go!” “After burning and burning I have sat down,” the fire said, and refused to burn it. “Well, then, shall I speak to that water over there and it will extinguish you?” “Go, then, speak to it!” The blackberry bush said to the water, “Extinguish that fire over there!” “After extinguishing and extinguishing I have just now sat down,” the water said and refused to extinguish it. “Shall I bring that ox over there and have him drink you up?” “Go on! If you’re able to make him do it, so please make him do it!” “Go, oh ox, please drink up that water over there!”, the blackberry bush said to the ox. “After drinking and drinking I have sat down,” the ox replied and said he would be unable. “So then I’ll speak to that man over there and have him kill you, then what will happen?” “Go! If you’re able to make him kill me, then please make him kill me!” “Go, oh man, please kill that ox over there!” the blackberry bush said to the man. “After killing and killing I have just now sat down,” the man said and refused to kill it. “So then, if I speak to that rat over there, she will chew your leather boots.” “Ha! Look at the rat! So then she will (be able to) eat my leather boots? (Just) look!” “Go, oh rat! Please chew the leather boots of that man over there!” the blackberry bush said to the rat. “After chewing and chewing I’ve just now sat down,” the rat said and refused to chew. “So then, shall I speak to that cat over there and make her eat you?” “Well, then, please go! If you are able to make her eat me, so make her!” “Go, oh cat, please eat that rat over there,” the blackberry bush said to the cat. The cat replied,
"After eating and eating I've just now sat down," and said she was unable. \(^{1.35}\) "Well then, if I speak to those women over there, they will bother you." \(^{1.36}\) "Go on, please make them bother me, if you're able to make them bother me." \(^{1.37}\) "Go, oh women, please bother that cat over there!" the blackberry bush said to the women. \(^{1.38}\) "After bothering and bothering we have sat down," they replied and said they would be unable to bother. \(^{1.39}\) "Well then, shall I call to the wind of a hundred mountains and make it blow away your wool?" \(^{1.40}\) "Go! If you are able to make it blow, then please make it blow!" \(^{1.41}\) Wailing like a witch the blackberry bush spiraled up and flew to the mountain. \(^{1.42}\) "Halloo! Wind of a hundred mountains, come! Blow these women's wool away, come!" she said.

\(^{2.1}\) Just then, the wind came forcefully and scattered the women's wool. \(^{2.2}\) Then the women went and bothered the cat. The cat went and ate the rat. The rat went and chewed the man's leather boots. \(^{2.3}\) The man went and killed the ox. The ox went and drank up the water. The water went and extinguished the fire. \(^{2.4}\) The fire went and burned the thorn. The thorn went and pricked the little bird's foot. \(^{2.5}\) The little bird brought the pearl and gave it to the blackberry bush.
şiŋáay ga maáŋi

The Blackberry Bush and the Pearl

Interlinear grammatical analysis

0.1 ¹

şiŋáay  ga  maáŋi
blackberry bush  and  pearl
şiŋáay  ga  maáŋi
blackberry bush  and  pearl
f n  conj  f n

IT: The blackberry bush and the pearl.

¹ 1.1-42 As mentioned above in the Introduction to the Stories chapter, this story is staged as a single buildup to a dramatic climax, followed by a comparatively rapid resolution. Accordingly, the story has been divided into two paragraphs. This first paragraph encompasses the totality of the action, up through the blackberry bush’s dramatic revelation of her magic powers.
1.1 The opening of this story sets it in the far distant, even mythical past through the use of čal čal ‘early early’ or ‘Long, long ago...’. This could even be translated in the form English-speaking story tellers would use to begin such a story, “Once upon a time...”. It is an obvious narrative device to show that the story about to be told is not necessarily true, and relates to a far distant time and place.

2 1.1 ṣingáayekač. The idea of possession is expressed in two different ways in Gilgit Shina. Possession that is more permanent (inalienable), as in having children, is expressed with the genitive case, often using a possessive pronoun: mey čće diípuç han ‘I have three children’ – literally, ‘my three children they-are’. Possession that is more temporary in the scheme of things is expressed through the use of the locative suffix -kač, which literally means ‘near’ or ‘by’. Thus, ṣingáayekač maáni ašfi, ‘the blackberry bush had a pearl’, literally means, ‘near-the-blackberry-bush the-pearl she-was’.
1.2 ¹

**ek  čhak  re  maáñi  réseý  hatéjo**
one day that(fem) pearl his/her from hand
ek  čhak  re  maáñi  ro  -e  -y  hat  -e  -jo
one day she(rem) pearl he(rem) OBL GEN hand OBL from

**numeral  fn  dem  fn  dem  cas1  cas2  mn  cas1  cas2**

khíte  géí.
down she went
khíte  búj  -í
down go SIMP3sf

*adv  intrans  tens*

FT: One day that pearl fell down out of her hand.

--- Commentary ---

¹ 1.2 *re maáñi*. Shina has several levels of distance conveyed through demonstrative pronouns. *re* is the feminine *remote* demonstrative, denoting ‘that’ which is not present, either in space or time. Having been introduced in 1.1, it is now specified: it was that very pearl so long ago that fell from her hand. *re* is a demonstrative adjective as used here: *re maáñi* ‘that(remote) pearl’. It can also be used without a referent noun as the pronoun ‘she’. The masculine counterpart is *ro*. Contrast this use of the remote *re* by the story-teller with the bush’s quoted use of the nearer ‘that’ *oo* in 1.8. (See also the *Appendix.*)
1.3 čaá-yek thar déé waií
a small bird flight having given having come
čaá-y -ek thar d -éé wá -éé
small bird INDEF flight give CONJP come CONJP
f n indef precat trans parti intrrans parti

maáníi káči akií poólí.
of pearl near EMPH she alighted
maání -e -y káči akií p -t -i
pearl OBL GEN near EMPH alight PFI SIMP3sf
f n cas1 cas2 adv part intrans val tens

PT: A little bird was flying by and came and landed near the pearl.

1.4

maání pašíí trok déé re
pearl having seen jump(up) having given that(fem)
maání paší -éé trok d -éé re
pearl see CONJP jump(up) give CONJP she(rem)
f n trans parti f n trans parti dem

áa-yer theé tsak bigí.
in mouth having done stopped she became
áa-y -e -r th -éé tsak b -éég -i
mouth OBL in do/say CONJP stopped become PFT SIMP3sf
f n cas1 cas2 trans parti adv intrans val tens

Commentary

1 1.3 čaá-yek. The enclitic -ek is the indefinite marker meaning ‘a’ or ‘one’. Although it has varied applications, its main use is to add the idea of indefiniteness to a word – čaá-y ‘little bird’, becomes čaá-yek ‘a little bird’. Although it is needful to be able to convey the idea of indefiniteness at any time, the use of this construction at the beginning of a story is a discourse device for introducing characters. Thus, the little bird is introduced with -ek (as were both the blackberry bush and the pearl in 1.1). After a character has been so introduced, it will be referred to without -ek, which, in effect, then gives the meaning ‘the little bird’ or ‘the blackberry bush’ or ‘the pearl’. (For another use of -ek see Ibex Story 1.8.) (The term enclitic is defined in Blackberry Bush 1.15.)

2 1.3 akií. The word akií has two primary uses; the one use is as a reflexive pronoun meaning ‘self’ (see Ibex Story 5.12). The other is as an emphatic particle. In the present story, usage only conveys the emphatic sense.
FT: Seeing the pearl, she hopped over, picked it up in her mouth and stopped there.

1.5

štýááy se čáá-yējo toóm maání
blackberry bush AG from bird own pearl
štýááy -se čáá-y -e -jo toóm maání
blackberry bush AG small bird OBL from own pearl
fn cas1 fn cas1 cas2 adv fn

bičhóobal čáá-y se
during the asking small bird AG
bičh -óobal čáá-y -se
ask for during small bird AG
trans parti fn cas1

FT: As the blackberry bush was asking for her pearl, the little bird

1.6

"mas maání neé dámis" thgfs.
I(ag) pearl not (f) give she did/said
ma -se maání neé d -amis th -eég -i
I AG pearl not give PRES1sf do/say PFT SIMP3sf
pers cas1 fn neg trans tens trans val tens

FT: said “I won't give the pearl”.
1.7 1 2
śingáayesaat'  kóno  ga
with blackberry bush a thorn also
śingáay  -e  -saat'  kóno  -ek  ga
blackberry bush OBL with thorn INDEF also
f n  cas1  cas2  m n indef  adv
nilfidus.
he had grown
nil  -fid  -us
grow up PFPASS  PSPRF3sm
intrans  voice  tens
FT: Nearby the blackberry bush a thorn had grown up.

Commentary

1 1.7 śingáayesaat- The suffix -saat- 'with' requires the oblique case on its antecedent, hence the -e suffixed to śingáay. The part of speech for -saat- is “cas2” because it is always second in line from the noun (see Appendix for more detail). An adverb káči ‘near’, used back in 1.3, requires the genitive case for its antecedent, normally expressed through the compound suffix -ey (oblique plus genitive).

In 1.3, since maání ends with the short vowel i, the oblique and genitive case markers assimilate to that vowel and become a long ii sound. This is a morphophonemic change: a change that happens in the phonemes when morphemes come together. Another such change is found here in 1.7 – when a word ends in a vowel, the vowel of the -ek enclitic assimilates to that vowel. Thus kóno + -ek becomes kóno, not *kónek.

2 1.7 nilfidus. The main verb in this sentence is in the past perfect tense rather than the simple past tense which has been used up to this point – this is background information, which predates the immediate storyline. (See the Appendix for more detail on the Gilgit Shina tense system.)
1.8

kόνο pašaróójé čaá-yet reégi
thorn while showing to small bird she said
kόνο paáš -ar -óojé čaá-y e t r -cég i
thorn see CAUS PRES P small bird OBL to speak PFT SIMP3sf
m n trans caus parti fn cas1 cas2 trans val tens

“paár oó kόno waleé they páar
over there he/that thorn having brought your in foot
paár oó kόno wál -ée they páá e r
over there that(m) thorn bring CONJP your foot OBL in
adv pers m n trans parti pers m n cas1 cas2

ačararámaa?”
shall I cause to prick?
ač -ar -ar -am =aa
prick CAUS CAUS FUT1s Q
intr trans caus caus tens qmkr

FT: Showing the thorn she said to the little bird, “Shall I bring that thorn over there and make it prick your foot?”

Commentary

1 1.8 paár oó kόno. oó represents greater proximity in demonstrative pronouns than the remote ro, the masculine form of re (see note on 1.2, above). oó denotes ‘that’ which is present in space or time, but is distant. Actually, in this sentence the blackberry bush refers to that thorn ‘over there’, which is paár oó, signaling a spatial distance greater than just oó would indicate. anú is the demonstrative used to express ‘this’, which is near at hand in space or time; it is only used once in this story, later on in sentence 1.41 as anuí ‘these’. (Please refer to the Appendix for more information on Gilgit Shina pronouns.)
The Blackberry Bush and the Pearl

1.9

"bo, walé! ačararoók
go! bring! to cause to prick
buj -e wall -e ač -ar -ar -óók
IMP2s bring IMP2s prick CAUS CAUS INF
intrans mood trans mood intrans caus caus inf
bfiniee to bot!"

you(f) become so please go!
b -iniec to buj -e -t
become PRES2sf so go IMP2s polite
intrans tens conj intrans mood hon

FT: "Go on, bring it! If you're able to make it prick me, please go!"

Commentary

1.9 ačararoók. The idea of causation is expressed through a suffix added to the verb root before other suffixes for tense, person, etc. are added. The basic form of this suffix is -ar; thus, tham ‘I will do’ and tharám ‘I will cause to do’. The causative in this sentence and the one before presents a bit more complex picture, however. ačám ‘I will prick’ carries the meaning that the agent is inherently capable of pricking, such as a thorn. A person, on the other hand, would require some instrument – such as a thorn – before being capable of pricking, thus, ačarám brings this transitive sense but still means ‘I will prick’. In the current sentence the causative suffix is doubled, -arar, in order to convey the sense that the blackberry bush will cause the thorn to prick the little bird: ačaráram ‘I will cause to prick’ and ačararoók ‘to cause to prick’. It is interesting to note that in connected speech the actual pronunciation often finds the -arar condensed into a prolonged trilled ŋ.
1.10 ¹

The blackberry bush said to the thorn, “Go, oh thorn, and please prick the foot of that little bird over there!”

--- Commentary ---

¹ 1.10 ačót. Building on the comment on 1.9 and the interesting case of causation, here we see the verb ačōōk ‘to prick’ in its basic, intransitive form. The blackberry bush wants the thorn to use its inherent ability to prick and deal with that stubborn little bird: ačót! ‘prick!’ However, as an intransitive verb, ačōōk ‘to prick’ does not take a direct object; therefore, in this sentence pāa ‘foot’, the semantic object (the undergoer of ‘pricking’) is expressed using a locative case: pāar ‘in the foot’. Another example of this type of intransitive verb taking an inflected semantic object is the verb amušōōk ‘to forget’. In Bald Son 8.6 the bear becomes engrossed in eating the berries and forgets the bald little son: šūuy̓ amúütu ‘he forgot the little son’, or literally ‘of-small(son) he-forgot’.
1.11 1

ko•pos  "ma téen a•c•a•f  a•c•a•f
thorn AG I now having pricked having pricked
ko•no -se ma téen aç -c•e  aç -c•e
thorn AG I ma now prick CONJP prick CONJP
m n cas1 pers adv intrans parti intrans parti

be•tunus"  theè  neè  aç•amus
l(m) have sat having said not I(m) prick
be•ëy -t -unus th -c•e neè aç -amus
sit/stay PFI PRPRF1sm do/say CONJP not prick PRES1sm
intrans val tens trans parti neg intrans tens

thigu.
he did/said
th -cëg -u
do/say PFT SIMP3sm
trans val tens

FT: “After pricking and pricking now I’ve now sat down,” the thorn
said and refused to prick.

Commentary

1 1.11 theè. The conjunctive participle theè has many uses. The use in
focus here is to mark speech; it closes the direct quote. The part of the
sentence which follows this could also be interpreted as direct speech
since the first person form of the verb is used – neè aç•amus ‘I won’t
prick’. However, this latter part of the construction is more properly
viewed as the expression of intent, in this case refusal. An alternate
interpretation could present the latter part as indirect speech, “and he
said he wouldn’t prick”, but the real meaning, according to Mr. Shakil,
is better expressed as “and he refused to prick”.

1.12

paár beat akif hagáarek gumfijas.
over there having become EMPH a fire he was smouldering
paár b -eék akif hagáar -ek gumfij -as
over there become CONJP EMPH fire INDEF smoulder IMPRF3sm
adv intrans parti part m n indef intrans tens

FT: Just over there a fire was smouldering.

1.13

singáay se hagáareť reégi
blackberry bush AG to fire she said
singáay -se hagáar -e -t -r -eég -i
blackberry bush AG fire OBL to speak PFT SIMP3sf
fn cas1 m n cas1 cas2 trans val tens

Commentary

1 1.12 This is the second – and last – descriptive sentence, that is, a sentence setting the scene to introduce the next character. From this point on the pace picks up and there is only conversation, each new character is introduced in the blackberry bush’s threat of retaliation.

2 1.12 gumfijas. The verb in this sentence is in the past imperfective tense. This Gilgit Shina tense can be translated in two different ways into English, for example, gumfijas can mean ‘he was smouldering’ or ‘he used to smoulder’. Obviously at this point the first translation is appropriate since the reference is setting the immediate scene of a fire smouldering nearby, which will be called on for assistance. The imperfect tense is extensively used in the beginning of both Ibex Story and Hopoti and Hopoto to set the background for the story. In both of these latter cases the translation is always ‘they used to...’ or ‘she used to...’ as the normal behaviors are described.

3 1.13 dey. The verb deyok ‘to burn’ is of the class of transitive verbs that keep the accent on the root as they are inflected for the non-perfective tenses: déyam ‘I will burn’, déyonese ‘we were burning’, déyan ‘they will burn’. The second person singular imperative form of such verbs consists of just the verb root (one syllable words carry the accent by definition, thus it is not marked): dey ‘burn!’ (See the Appendix for more detail on verb conjugation.)
"bo láa hagáar, paár oó kóño dey,
go! oh(m) fire over there he/that thorn burn it!
búj -e álá hagáar paár oó kóño dey -e
go IMP2s oh(m) fire over there that(m) thorn burn IMP2s
intrans mood interj m n adv pers m n trans mood

bot!"
please go!
búj -e -t
go IMP2s polite
intrans mood hon

FT: The blackberry bush said to the fire, "Go, oh fire, burn that thorn over there, please go!"

1.14

hagáar se "mas kóto deyiá deyiá
fire AG l(ag) just now having burned having burned
hagáar -se ma -se kóto dey -éé dey -éé
fire AG l AG just now burn CONJP burn CONJP
m n cas1 pers cas1 adv trans parti trans parti

beétnunus"
theé neé déyamus
l(m) have sat having said not l(m) burn it
beéy -t -unus th -éé neé dey -amus
sit/stay PFI PRPRF1sm do/say CONJP not burn PRES1sm
intrans val tens trans parti neg trans tens

thigú.
he did/said
th -éég -u
do/say PFT SIMP3sm
trans val tens

FT: "After burning and burning I have sat down," the fire said, and refused to burn it.
"šóō to, ráamaa paār oō wéyeț

good so shall I speak? over there he/that to water
šóō to r -am -aa paār oō wey -e -t

good so speak FUT1s Q over there that(m) water OBL to
interj conj trans tens qmkr adv pers m n cas1 cas2

tu nišéy?"
you s/he will extinguish
tu niš -ey
you extinguish FUT3s
pers trans tens

FT: “Well, then, shall I speak to that water over there and it will extinguish you?”

Commentary

1.15 ráamaa. Yes/no questions are formed by adding an enclitic particle =aa to the end of an utterance. In the current sentence the word with =aa – ráamaa ‘shall I say?’ – comes in the middle of the sentence, due to the focus on the verb which has brought it forward (in 1.8 it is at the end of a sentence). Even one word, though, can be turned into a yes/no question: básaa? ‘enough?’.

An enclitic is a word (normally consisting of only one syllable) that is itself unaccented and is closely attached in pronunciation to a preceding word. As opposed to a suffix, an enclitic is itself a word that can combine with a wide range of other words; a suffix is usually limited to one kind of word stem. For example, the suffix -amus occurs only on verb stems and brings the meaning of ‘present tense first person singular’: khámus ‘I(m) eat’ or ráamus ‘I(m) speak’. The enclitic -aa, on the other hand, can attach to any type of word, bringing the notion of a yes/no question to it. For example, it can attach to a noun: wéyaa? ‘the water?’ or to an adverb básaa? ‘enough?’ or to a verb nišéyaa? ‘will s/he extinguish?’ (See 1.3 in this story for discussion of the enclitic -ek).
1.16 ¹

"bo   ho,    ra!"
go! then say!
búj  -e  ho  r  -e
go IMP2s then speak IMP2s
intrans mood adv trans mood
FT: "Go, then, speak to it!"

1.17

singáay  se  wéyet  "paár  oo  hagáar
blackberry bush AG to water over there he/that fire
singáay  -se  wey  -e  -t  paár  oo  hagáar
blackberry bush AG water OBL to over there that(m) fire
f n  cas1  m n  cas1  cas2  adv  pers  m n

nišél"

extinguish it! she did/said
niš  -e  th  -eég  -i
extinguish IMP2s do/say PFT SIMP3sf
trans mood trans val tens
FT: The blackberry bush said to the water, "Extinguish that fire over there!"

--- Commentary ---

¹ 1.16 bo. The verb *bujoók* 'to go' is an "exception to the rule" in many aspects of its conjugation. For example, in the perfective tenses, the stem becomes *gé*, which is quite different from *búj! See, for example, *gei* 'she went' in sentence 1.2, above. In the current sentence we find the imperactive form to be different: Normally, the second person singular imperative is formed from the verb stem plus the suffix -e (for many verbs; for other verbs it is just the verb stem). Here the imperative form *bo! 'go!' looks quite different from the stem plus -e. To confuse matters even more (for the language learner, not the native speaker!) the second person singular imperative for the verb *boók* 'to become' is also *bo! 'become!'"
1.18

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nišeé</th>
<th>beéčunus</th>
<th>theé</th>
<th>neé</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>having extinguished</td>
<td>l(m) have sat</td>
<td>having said</td>
<td>not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niš</td>
<td>-cè</td>
<td>-è</td>
<td>-é</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>extinguish</td>
<td>CONJP</td>
<td>sit/stay</td>
<td>PF1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trans</td>
<td>parti</td>
<td>intrans</td>
<td>val</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

nišámus

l(m) extinguish | he did/said
niš | -amus | th | -èg | -u |

extinguish | PRES1sm | do/say | PFT | SIMP3sm |
| trans | tens | trans | val | tens |

FI: “After extinguishing and extinguishing I have just now sat down,” the water said and refused to extinguish it.

1.19

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>paár</th>
<th>oo</th>
<th>dóono</th>
<th>waleé</th>
<th>tu</th>
<th>čuíš</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>over there</td>
<td>he/that</td>
<td>ox</td>
<td>having brought</td>
<td>you</td>
<td>sucking</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

paár | oo | dóono | wal | -cè | tu | čuíš |

over there | that(m) | ox | bring | CONJP | you | sucking |
| adv | pers | m n | trans | parti | pers | precat |

tharámaa?”

shall I cause to do?

th | -ar | -am | -aa |

do/say | CAUS | FUT1s | Q |
| trans | caus | tens | qmkp |

FT: “Shall I bring that ox over there and have him drink you up?”

1.18 nišeé nišeé. The repetition of the conjunctive participle, that occurs in all the characters’ refusals, gives a sense of intensity, often of repeated action. One could elaborate the water’s speech: “I’ve been extinguishing all day long and this is the first chance I’ve had to sit down. I’m not moving!”

2.19-22 čuíš tharámaa. The interaction between the blackberry bush and the water involves a complex verb construction čuíš thoók ‘to suck up’, describing the way a cow sucks up water as it drinks. Most such complex constructions in Gilgit Shina consist of a word that is a verbal
nour-like form plus a normal verb. The exact part of speech of that first element, the verbal noun-like form, is yet to be defined and it is usually glossed as a gerund. For example, čuús is classed as a precategorical form in the interlinear analysis and is glossed as ‘sucking’. It is not a verb root nor is it a normal noun; it occurs only in a complex construction such as čuús thoök.

Other Indo-Aryan languages such as Urdu have compound verb and conjunct verb constructions (see, for example, Masica 1991:326). Such a compound verb is defined as a verb-verb combination, that is, a verb stem or participle paired with a vector verb — a small class of verbs which carry the inflection of person, number, tense, etc. for the combined verb form, and which lose their primary meaning in the pairing. A conjunct verb is defined as a noun or adjective plus either ‘to do’ or ‘to be’. Since the Gilgit Shina precategorical forms such as čuús do not fit either of these definitions, it is perhaps easier to just term such constructions as a type of complex verb, and describe them, rather than trying to make them fit within a pre-existing definition.

While the first element in the Gilgit Shina complex verb constructions is usually this precategorical form, sometimes nouns are also found in this position. The second, normal verb element is usually thoök ‘to do’, doök ‘to give’, or boök ‘to be or become’. Other verbs are used less frequently; for example, dijoök ‘to fall’ is emphasizes the suddenness or unexpectedness of the happening; poök ‘to alight’ gives more the idea of something happening, rather than being done. Of course, these verbs do not carry their original meaning in these constructions, they combine with the first element to produce the new meaning: hay thoök ‘to run’, drang doök ‘to descend’, taš boök ‘to slip’. More examples of this complex verb construction are found in the current story: 1.39 óo-ši doök ‘to winnow or blow away’ and 1.3 thar doök ‘to fly’.
The Blackberry Bush and the Pearl

tharét!"

cause to do it!
th -ar -e -t
do/say CAUS IMP2s polite
trans caus mood hon
FT: “Go on! If you’re able to make him do it, so please make him do it!”

1.21
“bo láa dóono, paár oó wey čuùš

go! oh(m) ox over there he/that water sucking
búj -e álা dóono paár oó wey čuùš

go IMP2s oh(m) ox over there that(m) water sucking
intrans mood interj m n adv pers m n precat

thet!” šingáay se dóoneč
do/say! blackberry bush AG to ox
th -e -t šingáay -se dóono -e -t

do/say IMP2s polite blackberry bush AG ox OBL to
trans mood hon fn cas1 m n cas1 cas2

reégi.
she said
r -eég -i

speak PFT SIMP3sf
trans val tens
FT: “Go, oh ox, please drink up that water over there!”, the blackberry bush said to the ox.

1.22 ¹

díonoš “mas čuùš theé theé
ox(ag) l(ag) sucking having done having done
díono -se ma -se čuùš th -é th -éé
ox AG l AG sucking do/say CONJP do/say CONJP
m n cas1 pers cas1 precat trans parti trans parti

beé̱tuñus” theé dubám
l(m) have sat having said I will not be able
bečy -t -unus th -éé dub -am
sit/stay PFI PRPRF1sm do/say CONJP be unable FUT1s
intrans val tens trans parti intrans tens

-------------------------------- Commentary --------------------------------

¹ 1.22 (dubám ‘I won’t be able’ – See the note on sentence 1.32 about “being able”.)
thigú.
he did/said
th -eég -u
do/say PFT SIMP3sm
trans val tens
FT: "After drinking and drinking I have sat down," the ox replied and said he would be unable.

1.23 ¹

"ho née, paár oó mušâat reé
then again over there he/that to man having spoken
ho née paár oó mušâa -c –r -êé
then again over there that(m) man OBL to speak CONJP
adv adv adv pers m n cas1 cas2 trans parti

tu mararám, ho jéek laáyee, to?"
you I will cause to kill then what you will find so
tu mar -ar -am ho jéek laáy -ee to
you kill CAUS FUT1s then what find FUT2s so
pers trans caus tens adv int trans tens conj

FT: "So then I'll speak to that man over there and have him kill you, so then what will happen?"

1.24

"bo! mararoók b'niíce to
go! to cause to kill you(f) become so
búj -c mar -ar -óók b -iníce to
go IMP2s kill CAUS INF become PRES2sf so
intrans mood trans caus inf intrans tens conj

mararét!"

cause to kill!
mar -ar -c –t
kill CAUS IMP2s polite
trans caus mood hon

--- Commentary ---

¹ 1.23 ho jéek laáyee, to?literally 'then what you-will-find so' is given a free translation of "So then what will happen?" and is spoken as an obvious threat. An idiomatic expression such as this depends much on the intonation of the speaker to carry its meaning. In English, even such an innocuous expression as "I'll clean your clock!" takes on menacing tones when spoken by a bully with his fist in the air. Similarly the expression in this sentence becomes ominous with the threat to the ox of calling the man over...
FT: “Go! If you’re able to make him kill me, then please make him kill me!”

1.25

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bo</th>
<th>láa</th>
<th>mušáa, paár</th>
<th>oo</th>
<th>dóono</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>go!</td>
<td>oh(m)</td>
<td>man over there</td>
<td>he/that ox</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>búj</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>álal mušáa paár</td>
<td>oo</td>
<td>dóono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>IMP2s</td>
<td>oh(m) man over there that(m) ox</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

intrans mood | interj | m n | adv | pers | m n |

marét!" | šingáay | se | mušáat |

kill! | blackberry bush | AG | to man | |
mar | -e | -t | šingáay | -se | mušáa-e-č | -č |
kill | IMP2s polite | blackberry bush | AG | man | OBL | to | |

trans mood | hon | fn | cas1 | m n | cas1 | cas2 |

reégi.
she said
r | -eég | -i |
speak PFT | SIMP3sf | trans val | tens |

FT: “Go, oh man, please kill that ox over there!” the blackberry bush said to the man.

---

Commentary

1 1.25 marét. The affixation of the enclitic =ta on the end of a command gives a covering of politeness to the imperative. If it is to be affixed to an imperative that ends with a consonant, such as beéy! 'sit!', it remains =ta, as in beéy ta! 'please sit!' If, as in the present case, the imperative ends with a vowel, it is shortened to =t, marét 'kill!' versus marét 'please kill!' (Compare this with the behavior of =se in Ibex Story 4.3.) This politeness marker is used in all four stories. It is significant that commands are usually tempered by using it. A grandmother is telling these stories and no doubt wants to reinforce the example to her young listeners of being courteous – even when threatening to prick or extinguish or have killed or what! Mr. Abdul Khaliq Taj published a version of this story in his Shina Qaida (1989). His version not only has a significantly different resolution to the story, but the manner of conversation is much more informal, as between two men meeting in the bazaar, for example. The grandmother’s touch on the stories in this volume is unmistakable!
1.26
muśáas “mas kóto maréé maréé
man AG l(ag) just now having killed having killed
muśáa-se ma -se kóto mar -éé mar -éé
man AG l AG just now kill CONJP kill CONJP
m n cas1 pers cas1 adv trans parti trans parti

beéțunus” theé neé marámus
l(m) have sat having said not l(m) kill
beéy -t -unus th -éé neé mar -amus
sit/stay PFI PRPRF1sm do/say CONJP not kill PRES1sm
intrans val tens trans parti neg trans tens

thígú.
he did/said
th -éég -u
do/say PFT SIMP3sm
trans val tens

FT: “After killing and killing I have just now sat down,” the man said and refused to kill it.

1.27 1
“to née, paár éé múuzít reégis
so again over there that(f) to rat l(f) spoke

to née paár éé múuzi -e -t r -éég -is
so again over there that(f) rat OBL to speak PFT SIMP1sf
conj adv adv dem f n cas1 cas2 trans val tens

1 1.27 kóorie ‘leather boots’ were loose, cow leather boots worn in inclement weather. Women’s kóorie had more pointed toes, men’s more rounded toes. They belong to a time now past, but still people in Gilgit are familiar with what they were.

The traditional method of preparing cow leather began with leaving the hide for four days in a shady place until it became half dry. It was then scraped clean by rubbing it with ash. Then it was beaten for a full day with a warm, flat stone block to soften it. Finally, it was spread in the sun till fully dry.

Leather made in this way was used for kóorie ‘boots’, kúuto ‘small leather bag’ (see Ibex Story 6.3), amagáč ‘large leather bag’, and čapaáy ‘leather mat’. Nowadays kúuto and amagáč are still used for various household purposes.
to they kóorie čapéy.”
so your leather boots s/he will chew
to they kóori -čap -ey
so your leather boot PL chew FUT3s
conj pers fn num trans tens

FT: “So then, if I speak to that rat over there, she will chew your leather boots.”

1.28

“u-h! múuzi čaké to née mey
(disbelief) rat look! so again my
múuzi čak -č to née mey
rat look IMP2s so again my
interj fn trans mood conj adv pers

kóorie khoók čaké!”
leather boots to eat look!
kóori -č kho-oók čak -č
leather boot PL eat INF look IMP2s
fn num trans inf trans mood

FT: “Ha! Look at the rat! So then she will (be able to) eat my leather boots? (Just) look!”

1.29

“bo ifi múuzi, paár oó mušáay
go! oh(f) rat over there he/that of man
búj -č ali múuzi paár oó mušáa-e -y

GO IMP2s oh(f) rat over there that(m) man OBL GEN
intrans mood interj fn adv pers m n cas1 cas2

kóorie čapéy!” šingáay se
leather boots chew! blackberry bush AG
kóori -č čap -č -t šingáay -se
leather boot PL chew IMP2s polite blackberry bush AG
fn num trans mood hon fn cas1

Commentary

1 1.28 The man’s cynical, disbelieving reply to the blackberry bush’s threat is truncated, with the full meaning to be carried by the storyteller’s intonation. Probably the full expression would include bhín ‘she becomes’ in order to express ability: mey kóorie khoók bhínaa ‘is she is able to eat my boots?’.
múužiť  reégi.
to rat  she said
múuži -e  -t  r  -éég  -i
rat  OBL  to  speak  PFT  SIMP3sf
f n  ·cas1  cas2  trans  val  tens
FT: “Go, oh rat! Please chew the leather boots of that man over there!”
the blackberry bush said to the rat.

1.30
múužis  “mas  kóto  čapeé  čapeé
rat AG  l(ag)  just now  having chewed  having chewed
múuži -se  ma -se  kóto  čap  -éé  čap  -éé
rat AG  l  AG  just now  chew  CONJP  chew  CONJP
f n  cas1  pers  cas1  adv  trans  parti  trans  parti
beéťinis.”
theé  neé  čapámis
l(f) have sat  having said  not  l(f) chew
beéy  -t  -inis  th  -éé  neé  čap  -amis
sit/stay PFI  PRPRF1sf  do/say  CONJP  not  chew  PRES1sf
intrans  val  tens  trans  parti  neg  trans  tens
thigf.
she did/said
th  -éég  -i
do/say PFT  SIMP3sf
trans  val  tens
FT: “After chewing and chewing I've just now sat down,” the rat said
and refused to chew.

1.31
“to  née,  paár  eé  buuíšť  reé
so  again  over there  that(f)  to cat  having spoken
to  née  paár  eé  buuíši -e -t  r  -éé
so  again  over there  that(f)  cat  OBL  to  speak  CONJP
conj  adv  adv  dem  f n  cas1  cas2  trans  parti
1 tu kherámaa?  
    you shall I cause to eat/feed?  
    tu kh -ar -am -aa  
    you eat CAUS FUT1s Q  
    pers trans caus tens qmkr  
FT: “So then, shall I speak to that cat over there and cause her to eat you?”

1.32  "šóo ho bot, kheroók  
    good then please go! to cause to eat/feed  
    šóo ho buíj -e -t kh -ar -oók  
    good then go IMP2s polite eat CAUS INF  
    interj adv intrans mood hon trans caus inf  
    bfiniee to kherét!”  
you(f) become so cause to eat/feed!  
b -iniee to kh -ar -e -t  
become PRES2sf so eat CAUS IMP2s polite  
intrans tens conj trans caus mood hon  
FT: “Well, then, please go! If you are able to make her eat me, so make her!”

Commentary

1 1.31 kherámaa. The formation of a causative verb in Gilgit Shina is quite simple, just add the -ar suffix to the verb stem (see note on 1.9). But in English many words must be used: ‘to cause to …’. Nevertheless, in this sentence there is a causative with a single word equivalent in English: kheroók ‘to feed’. Alas, the formulaic sentences that are the charm of this story almost dictate use of ‘cause’, after all, to really convey the idea of the threat. Somehow it doesn’t sound quite so intimidating to have the blackberry bush threaten, “Shall I feed you to the cat?”

2 1.32 kheroók béennie. The idea of being able to do something is conveyed in Gilgit Shina through combining the infinitive of a verb with the inflected form of the verb boók ‘to be, become’. Thus, kheroók béennie ‘you(f) are able to make eat’. Shina has a separate verb to convey the idea of inability – duboók ‘to be unable’. For example: čuús thoók dubám ‘I am unable to drink’ (see sentences 1.34 and 1.38).
1.33

“bo  lfi  búuši,  paár  eé  múuži
go!  oh(f)  cat  over there  that(f)  rat
búj  -c  áli  búuši  paár  eé  múuži
go  IMP2s  oh(f)  cat  over there  that(f)  rat
intrans  mood  interj  f n  adv  dem  f n
khat!”  šingáy  se  búušít
eat!  blackberry bush  AG  to cat
kh  -e  -t  šingáy  -se  búuši  -e  -t
eat  IMP2s  polite  blackberry bush  AG  cat  OBL  to
trans  mood  hon  f n  cas1  f n  cas1  cas2

reégi.
she said
r  -eég  -i

speak  PFT  SIMP3sf
trans  val  tens
FT: “Go, oh cat, please eat that rat over there,” the blackberry bush said to the cat.

1.34

búušis  “mas  kóto  kheé  kheé
cat(ag)  l(ag)  just now  having eaten  having eaten
búuši  -se  ma  -se  kóto  kh  -ée  kh  -ée
cat  AG  l  AG  just now  eat  CONJP  eat  CONJP
f n  cas1  pers  cas1  adv  trans  parti  trans  parti

beéťinis”  theé  dubám
l(f)  have  sat
beéy  -t  -inis  having  said  I  will  not  be  able
th  -ée  dub  -am
sit/stay  PFI  PRPRF1sf  do/say  CONJP  be  unable  FUT1s
intrans  val  tens  trans  parti  intrans  tens

thigf.
she did/said
th  -eég  -i
do/say  PFT  SIMP3sf
trans  val  tens
FT: The cat replied,”After eating and eating I’ve just now sat down,” and said she was unable.
1.35

"née ho, paár cée čeyot
then then over there those to women
née ho paár eée čey -o -t
again then over there those woman PLOBL to
adv adv adv dem fn cas1 cas2
reégis to tu muruţéen."

l(1) spoke so you they will bother
r -eég -is to tu muruţ -an
speak PFT SIMP1sf so you bother FUT3p
trans val tens conj pers trans tens
FT: “Well then, if I speak to those women over there, they will bother you.”

1.36

“bo muruţaré! muruţaroôk
please cause to bother! to cause to bother
búj -e muruţ -ar -e -t muruţ -ar -ôôk
go IMP2s bother CAUS IMP2s polite bother CAUS INF
intrans mood trans caus mood hon trans caus inf
bšiniee to.”

you(f) become so
b -iniee to
become PRES2sf so
intrans tens conj
FT: “Go on, please make them bother me, if you're able to make them bother me.”

—— Commentary ———

1 1.35 muruţéen. The threat that the blackberry bush holds over the cat is that the women ‘will bother’ her, muruţéen. Poking, squeezing, teasing – this is behavior any cat would surely avoid at all costs. This same word also can mean ‘tickle’, and so often proves to be an effective threat for small children, too! ‘Shall I tickle you?’ muruţámaa?
1.37

"bújaa"  lfi   čéye,      paár    ée    buuší
you all go!  oh(f) women  over there  that(f) cat
búj   -aa  áli  čey   -e  paár  ée  buuší
go IMP2p  oh(f) woman PL  over there  that(f) cat
intrans mood  interj  f n  num  adv  dem  f n

muruţaat!"  sîngáay  se  čeýoţ
you all bother!  blackberry bush  AG  to women
muruţ  -aa  -t  sîngáay  -se  čey  -o  -t
bother IMP2p  polite  blackberry bush  AG  woman PLOBL to
trans mood  hon  f n  cas1  f n  cas1  cas2

reégi.
she said
r  -eég  -i
speak PFT  SIMP3sf
trans val  tens

FT: "Go, oh women, please bother that cat over there!" the blackberry
bush said to the women.

1.38

"bes  muruţee  muruţee  beţenées"
we  having bothered  having bothered  we have sat
be  -se  muruţ  -éé  muruţ  -éé  beéy  -t  -enes
we  AG  bother  CONJP  bother  CONJP  sit/stay PFI  PRPRF1p
pers  cas1  trans parti  trans parti  intrans val  tens

theé  muruţoňk  dubóon  thigé.
having said  to bother  we will be unable  they said
th  -éé  muruţ  -oňk  dub  -on  th  -eég  -e
do/say CONJP  bother INF  be unable  FUT1p  do/say PFT  SIMP3p
trans parti  trans inf  intrans tens  trans val  tens

FT: "After bothering and bothering we have sat down," they replied
and said they would be unable to bother.

----------------------------------------- Commentary -----------------------------------------

1 1.37 muruţaat. Gilgit Shina has different pronouns for 'you (singular)'
tu and 'you all (plural)’ tsho; it also has different verb inflections for
the singular and plural second person, including the imperative. Usually the
singular and plural imperatives are relatively close in form: muruţe
‘bother!’ versus muruţaň ‘you all bother!’ With the verb bújooľ ‘to go’,
however, the forms are quite different: bo ‘go!’ bújaa ‘you all go!’ (See
also the comment on sentence 1.16 about bo!)
1.39

"ho née, šal khan khanóo
then again hundred mountain of mountains
ho née šal khan khan -o -o
then again hundred mountain mountain PLOBL PLGEN
adv adv numeral m n m n cas1 cas2

óo-ši théé tshyè paš
to wind calling having done of you all raw wool
óo-ši -c -t hōo th -ée tshyè paš
wind OBL to calling do/say CONJP of you all raw wool
f n cast1 cast2 precat trans parti pers m n

óo-ši_darámaa?"
shall I cause to winnow/blow away?
óo-ši d -ar -am -aa
wind give CAUS FUT1s Q
f n trans caus tens qmkr

FT: "Well then, shall I call to the wind of a hundred mountains and make it blow away your wool?"

1.40

"bo! daróōk biffinée to
go! to cause to give you(f) become so
buŋ -e d -ar -oōk b -ininée to
imp de give CAUS INF become PRES2sf so
intrans mood trans caus inf intrans tens conj
darál!"
do cause to give!
d -ar -e -t
give CAUS IMP2s polite
trans caus mood hon

Commentary

1 1.39 khan khanóo. Gilgit Shina often uses the repetition of words to indicate intensity. Here the repetition of 'mountain' – khan khanóo 'mountain of-mountains' – emphasizes the vast number of mountains whose wind the blackberry bush will call.

2 1.39 óo-ši_darámaa. The complex verb construction óo-ši doōk means 'to winnow, to toss the grain up into the air so that the wind will blow away the chaff'. Here, though, it pretty much carries a more literal meaning – 'to blow away'. (Note that the complex verb is made up of a noun and the verb 'to give'; see also the comment on 1.19.)
IT: “Go! If you are able to make it blow, then please make it blow!”

1.41 ¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>singáay</th>
<th>hurúuy</th>
<th>theé</th>
<th>khanéé</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>blackberry bush</td>
<td>wailing/spiraling</td>
<td>having done</td>
<td>on mountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singáay</td>
<td>hurúuy</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>-ée</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blackberry bush</td>
<td>wailing/spiraling</td>
<td>do/say</td>
<td>CONJP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fn</td>
<td>precat</td>
<td>trans</td>
<td>parti</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ché.
she went
búj   -i
go SIMP3sf
intrans tens

IT: Wailing like a witch the blackberry bush spiraled up and flew to the mountain.

—— Commentary ———

¹ 1.41 hurúuy theé. It is necessary to understand the implications of the term hurúuy in order to fully grasp the sudden action by the blackberry bush which brings this story to its dramatic climax. hurúuy refers both to the wailing sound and action made by a ru-y, a witch, as she flies up like a spiraling whirlwind. The action is sudden, malevolent, and powerful! Evidently the mild-mannered blackberry bush who politely requested help from the various characters in the story was something more than she appeared. And that something more is what gives the special twist to this telling of the tale!

hurúuy is also used in conversation without the connotations of malevolence or the supernatural, rather, just referring to intense wailing. Here is an example sentence given by Shakil:

rinéy baábey khat haróbal ris hurúuy thigé
their father-of coffin while-taking they(ag) intense_wailing they-did ‘While carrying away their father’s coffin, they wailed loudly.’
“waá! šal khaŋ khaŋóo ōo-ši wá!
halloo! hundred mountain mountains of wind come!
waá šal khaŋ khaŋ -o -o ōo-ši wá –e
halloo! hundred mountain mountain PLOBL PLGEN wind come IMP2s
interj numeral m n m n cas1 cas2 f n intrans mood
anf čeyoo dapf ga paš
these of women cleaned wool(pl) and raw wool
anf čey -o -o dap -i ga paš
these woman PLOBL PLGEN cleaned wool PL and raw wool
dem f n cas1 cas2 f n num conj m n
ōo-ši de, wa!” thigf.
winnow! come! she did/said
ōo-ši d -e wá –e th -eég -i
wind give IMP2s come IMP2s do/say PFT SIMP3sf
f n trans mood intrans mood trans val tens
FT: “Halloo! Wind of a hundred mountains, come! Blow these women’s wool away, come!” she said.

--- Commentary ---

1 1.42 waá. Interjections are often hard to write down because they are a matter of emotional outburst, not specific semantic content – somehow spelling conventions do not seem to apply! The cry of waá is written here with the low rising pitch accent on the long vowel, not because that is really what it is, in this case, but rather this cry is made with a rising intonation and is rather stretched out, depending on the situation. Perhaps here the blackberry bush would cry out waaaaaaa! with the pitch of her voice rising higher and higher as she catches the attention of the wind.

2 1.42 dapf ga paš. The blackberry bush calls on the wind of a hundred mountains to blow away not only the paš, the raw wool that she threatened to disperse in 1.39, but also now includes the dapí, the women’s cleaned wool. paš is wool just as it comes from the sheep, full of dirt and sand and all matted together (or it can be a generic term for wool at any stage of preparation). dap, on the other hand, is wool that has been cleaned and carded for spinning. The primary method for this is to beat the raw wool with thin rods for a full day, a process which removes the dirt and separates the wool, fluffing it up. Since this cleaned wool is put into bunches, the plural dapí is used.
2.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ayaakte</th>
<th>EMPH</th>
<th>wind</th>
<th>she came forcefully</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>just</td>
<td>then</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayaak</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-t</td>
<td>akif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>much</td>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>óo-ši biθišli.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>adv</td>
<td>cas1</td>
<td>cas2</td>
<td>part f n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>val</td>
<td>trans</td>
<td></td>
<td>tens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čeyyoo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of</td>
<td>women</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čey</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman</td>
<td>PLOBL</td>
<td>PLGEN</td>
<td>cleaned wool PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cleaned</td>
<td>wool</td>
<td>(pl)</td>
<td>and raw wool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga</td>
<td>paš</td>
<td></td>
<td>scattered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éko_ek</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

thigf.

| she did/said | PFT | SIMP3sf |
|              | trans | val | tens |

FT: Just then, the wind came forcefully and scattered the women's wool.

2.2

| ho čeyes | geé | búuši | muruteége. |
| then    | women(ag) | having gone | cat | they bothered |
| ho čey  | -e | -se | búj | -éé | búuši | murut | -éég | -e |
| then    | woman PL | AG | go | CONJP | cat | bother | PFT | SIMP3p |
| adv f n | num | cas1 | intrans | parti | f n | trans | val | tens |

--- Commentary ---

1 2.1-5 This second paragraph is set off simply to highlight the resolution of the story. The main aspect which distinguishes it from the part preceding the climax is the lack of conversation – this part is pure activity, the chain of improbable events unravels and comes to completion.

2 2.1 biθišli. The wind came with a whoosh and blew away the ladies' wool. The verb biθišli brings a meaning of 'she shook': the wind came with such force that everything was shaken and the wool was blown away. (In the Introduction to the Stories chapter, it was explained that the third line of the interlinear analysis uses standard forms for the morphemes. -išli is a variant of the intransitive valency/aspect marker -i, see Hopoti and Hopoto 9.5 and the Appendix for more explanation.)
FT: Then the women went and bothered the cat. The cat went and ate the rat. The rat went and chewed the man's leather boots.

2.3

FT: The man went and killed the ox. The ox went and drank up the water. The water went and extinguished the fire.

Commentary

1 2.3 Form transcends logic in this story. In paragraph one all the characters couched their refusal in the formalized: “After (doing and doing) I’ve just sat down.” This included the man, who was “killing and killing”! Now, in this resolution paragraph, form continues to surpass logic: after being killed by the man the ox still manages to drink the water, which, in turn, still manages to put out the fire, which, somehow can still burn the thorn! Ah, yes, but let us remember that entertainment is not necessarily served by adult logic. This is a children’s story. Full stop.
2.4

hagáar se geé kóño deyifgu. kóño
fire AG having gone thorn he burned thorn
hagáar -se búj -éé kóño dey -éég -u kóño
fire AG go CONJP thorn burn PFT SIMP3sm thorn
m n cas1 intrans parti m n trans val tens m n
géé čaá-yey páar
having gone of little bird in foot
búj -éé čaá-y -e -y páa -e -t
go CONJP small bird OBL GEN foot OBL in
intrans parti f n cas1 cas2 m n cas1 cas2
ačítu.
he pricked
ač -t -u
prick PFI SIMP3sm
intrans val tens

FT: The fire went and burned the thorn. The thorn went and pricked the little bird's foot.

Commentary

2.4 ačítu. Gilgit Shina is a polysynthetic language, that is, words in this language tend to consist of several morphemes, the basic units of meaning. It can be further classified as a fusional language since one morpheme can contain several meanings simultaneously. Verbs are good examples of this: their inflected forms contain the basic meaning of the verb root plus all the additional meanings conveyed by the suffixes. (See the Appendix and the comments on Hopoti and Hopoto 9.5 and 9.7 for discussion of the part of speech abbreviations val (valency/aspect marker) and tens (tense) which carry much verb information.)
The little bird brought the pearl and gave it to the blackberry bush.

--- Commentary ---

2.5 We can only presume that the little bird was contrite as it dropped the pearl into the blackberry bush’s hand. At least it was compliant. Because the tone of the story is courteous, with the majority of the imperatives couched in politeness, we will conclude that the grandmother’s intonation shows a humble little bird at the end.
Introduction to the story

This second story is set in the realm of the natural, not the fantastic. Nevertheless, the animals talk, and the bald little son fits nicely into a drum (a musical drum, not an oil drum!) which rolls down the mountainside. The natural setting is provided as the bald little son travels up to the high pasture to spend some time with his grandmother and grandfather. He treks from the valley floor up the mountain and encounters four hungry wild animals, each in their own habitat. He meets them in reverse order as he rolls back down the mountain, to the point that when the drum stops and the fox is not where it should be, the narrator inquires after it (see 7.13). Another point for the natural setting of the story is that the bald little son eludes his would-be eaters not by chicanery or wizardry, but by quick actions and wit.
pharáko šuúo
(Phonemic script)

1.1 ek mušáakey pharáko pucék asúú theé. 1.2 ro bóóo ašaało asúú.

2.1 ek čhak résey aajís toóm pučey ayée beé ašatiíoók ginií bóó bihiphaa bigí. 2.2 toóm pučet reégi, "bo láa puč, rúngiet bo, ya! toóm dáádo ga dadińkač. nan bóóo ašatiíoó. réngir čhamańi dú meél kheé thúlo bée, bo!" 2.3 pharáko šuúos bújam theé garás bugú. 2.4 ho née réset póónit čhupátíq ka thigí. 2.5 pharáko šuúos brakér čhupáți deé rúngiet zas bugú.

3.1 théängek pon⁹ thigúš nalaá akií réset lo-yek dōk bigí. 3.2 lo-y se "téeen tu neé kheé koó kham?" theé akií réset prik dígí. 3.3 pharáko šuúos "ma téen neé kha!" thigú. 3.4 "rúngier toóm dadií ga däädekač géé čhamańi dú meél kheé thúlo bée wátus to ho khááa. mey čom ga á-ťie jéék they séwo doónetaa?" 3.5 "sóo to, bó! wátoo to čakám." 3.6 muçhoó phirí gáus akií t-cek dōk bugú. "álá pharáko šuúo jáá bűjanaa? tu neé kheé ho?" 3.7 "dáádo bóóo, ma téen neé kha! rúngier toóm dáádo ga dadińkač géé čhamańi dú meél kheé thúlo bée álulus to ho khááa. téen mey dímér jéék han they séwo doónetaa?" 3.8 "sóo ho, bó!" 3.9 tušáar pon⁹ thigúš muçhoó šáá-lek biráčo asúú. "tu neé khigás to?" theé čhup dígí. 3.10. "dáádo bóóo, ma téen neé kha! rúngier toóm dáádo ga dadińkač géé čhamańi dú meél kheé sám thúlo bée álulus to ho kha. téen mey dímér jéék han they séwo doónetaa?" 3.11 "sóo ho, bó! wátoo, čakám." 3.12 láhháa dúuek wiígus nalaá akií, muçhoó phirí díí-č chóko asúú. pharáko šuúo pašíí akií čhup dígí. "tu neé kheé koó kham?" 3.13 "ma neé kha, dáádo bóóo, ma neé kha! toóm dáádo ga dadińkač rúngier géé čhamańi dú meél kheé thúlo bée álulus to ho khááa. téen mey dímér jéék han they séwo doónetaa?" 3.14 "sóo to, bó!" 3.15 rinójo mučíí rúngii břléč učhačíí ho "úšwaa jiíl!" thigú.

4.1 duúroo beé résey dáádo ga dadií toóm důkúrir asée. résey dáádos toóm póóčo pašíí hay thigú. 4.2 wáií toóm póóčey hatéč lamíí důkúří hariígu.

5.1 rúngier pharáko šuúos sókoti theé theé básko ga ašatiílu. 5.2 résey dáádo ga dadií résey sam theé tìki neé khoók ginií hée-sér gée. 5.3 ho résejo mor ikhaláoon theé šaa-te. tušáar khéenejo ho toóm póóii čága thigú. 5.4 ri hayijíjí réset réege, "rinéy dáádos ga tu khoók
6.1 ក្លោះនៅពេលទឹកទក់ពីការពារក្រោយដើម៖ បានបញ្ច្ក់ដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មីក្រោយត្រូវតែប្រឹក្សាការដំណើរការ។ 6.2 ជាមួយនារីរឿងស្តីព្រម្យាល់ដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មីគឺមានចំណុះ។ 6.3 រឿងស្តីសេចក្តីនាអំពីកូនបាននៅថ្មី។ 6.4“រ៉ូយ៉ាសាច ដីបេស្នោតខ្លាំងថ្មី ។ ថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។ 6.5“អាច។ ក្រោយដើម្បីថ្មី។ 6.6“ខ្ញុំនៅថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។ ថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។

7.1 ថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។ ថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។ 7.2 ថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។ ថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។ 7.3 ថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។ 7.4 ថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។ 7.5 ថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។ 7.6 ថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។ 7.7 ថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។ 7.8 ថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។

8.1 ថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។ ថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។ ថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។ 8.2 ថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។ 8.3 ថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។ 8.4 ថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។ 8.5 ថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។ 8.6 ថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។ 8.7 ថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។ 8.8 ថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។ 8.9 ថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។ 8.10 ថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។ 8.11 ថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។ 8.12 ថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។ 8.13 ថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។ 8.14 ថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។ 8.15 ថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។ 8.16 ថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។ 8.17 ថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។ 8.18 ថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។

9.1 ថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។ ថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។ 9.2 ថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។ ថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។ 9.3 ថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។ ថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។ 9.4 ថ្មីដើម្បីពារក្រោយថ្មី។
kriw bigí re júuli jáa pharáko šúuey šišéč géin. 9.6 lo-y se “nan čhaṭ_díti” theé ućón thigí. puure ráloo ućúte. 9.7 pharáko šuíño šong beé čóokejo ikhaí “úswaa jiśl” thigú. 9.8 ho ráloo hío kaáy ek theé toóm gotoéwaar žas bugú.
The Bald Little Son
(Free translation)

1.1 A man had a bald son, they say. 1.2 He was very thin.

2.1 One day, realizing her son was so thin, his mother became sad. 2.2 She said to her bald son, “Oh son, go to the high pasture with your grandfather and grandmother! Here you have become very thin. In the high pasture, having eaten cheese, milk, and buttermilk you will become fat, go!” 2.3 The bald little son agreed to go and became ready. 2.4 Then also she made a chupatti for his trip. 2.5 The bald little son tied the chupatti to his waist with a cloth and set out.

3.1 He had gone some distance on his path when just then he encountered a fox. 3.2 The fox said. “If I don’t eat you, now who will I eat?” and jumped at him. 3.3 The bald little son said, “Don’t eat me now! 3.4 When I go to the high pasture to my grandmother and grandfather and eat cheese, milk, and buttermilk and become fat and come, then you will eat me. Are my skin and bones even enough to fill a cavity in your (‘blind’) tooth?” 3.5 “Well then, go! When you come I will see.” 3.6 Just when he had gone ahead some, he met a bear. “Oh bald son, where are you going? If I don’t eat you, then...?” 3.7 “Dear grandfather, don’t eat me now! When I go to the high pasture to my grandfather and grandmother and eat cheese, milk, and buttermilk and become fat and come, then you will eat me. Now what is in my body to fill even a cavity in your (‘blind’) tooth?” 3.8 “Well, then, go!” 3.9 He went a long ways on his path and ahead a wolf blocked the way. “If I don’t eat you?” he said and jumped (toward the bald little son). 3.10 “Dear grandfather, don’t eat me now! When I go to the high pasture with my grandfather and grandmother and eat cheese, milk, and buttermilk, and become nice and fat and come, so then eat me! Now what is in my body to fill even the cavity in your (‘blind’) tooth?” 3.11 “Well, then, go! When you come then I’ll see.” 3.12 He had taken a couple steps when just then a little ahead stood a leopard. Just as he saw the bald son he jumped. “If I don’t eat you, who will I eat?” 3.13 “Don’t eat me, dear grandfather, don’t eat me! When I go to my grandfather and grandmother in the high pasture and eat cheese, milk, and buttermilk and become fat and come, then you will eat me! Now what is in my body to even fill the cavity in your (‘blind’) tooth?” 3.14 “Well, then, go!” 3.15 Having escaped from them he reached the edge of the high pasture; “Oh my dear life!”, he said.
A little ways away, his grandfather and grandmother were in their mountain hut. His grandfather saw his grandson and ran (to him). He came and took his grandson's hand and brought him to the mountain hut.

In the high pasture the bald son kept mulling over (what had happened) and became even thinner. His grandfather and grandmother realized he was not eating well and became worried. Then they decided to find out from him what happened. After a long time then he told the tale of his trip. They were amused and said to him. "Their grandfather (who is more powerful) is not even able to eat you! Don't say a word! Eat whatever you wish! Become nice and fat! We're here, where have we gone?" The bald son was content. Then he began to have an appetite. He began to really eat.

After some time the bald son became nice and fat. Then he asked permission to go from his grandmother and grandfather. They made a big drum and put the bald son into it. Having put him into the drum, his grandmother gave him some advice. "If the fox, wolf, bear, and leopard meet you, they will ask you, 'Grandfather drum, haven't you seen the bald little son?' and you say, 'I didn't see him, dear grandfather, please roll me!' then they will roll the drum." "Very good, Grandmother." Then grandmother rolled the drum.

The drum rolled and came to a point and stopped. Just when it had stopped, the leopard suddenly appeared. "Grandfather drum, didn't you see the bald little son?" "I didn't see him, dear grandfather, please roll me!", he said. The leopard rolled the drum. The drum rolled on and was stopped at a stone. From a cave the wolf slipped out and asked the drum, "Grandfather drum, didn't you see the bald little son?" "I didn't see him, dear grandfather, please roll me!" he said. The wolf rolled the drum. After some time, just as the drum was stopped near a stone the bear suddenly appeared. "Grandfather drum, didn't you see the bald little son?" "I didn't see him, dear grandfather, please roll me!" he said. Then the bear also rolled him. The drum rolled on and stopped at a point. Where was the fox? I don't know. (Then) she came trotting in and asked the drum, "Grandfather drum, didn't you see the bald son?" "I didn't see him, dear grandmother, please roll me!" he said. Just as she rolled him, she threw a stone from behind. The stone hit the drum and broke it. As the drum burst, the bald son slipped out. She gave a loud call. "Look! Look! Oh leopard, oh bear, oh wolf! I found the bald son. Come, look!"
this cave and that they came and gathered. Then they decided to eat the bald little son and got ready. The fox assigned each one a cooking utensil to bring. They left the bear with the bald son and dispersed to bring the cooking things.

8.1 A little above on the hillside a wild blackberry bush was ripe. When he saw it, the bear's mouth began to water. He turned toward the bald son and said, "Hasn't that blackberry bush ripened nicely?" 8.2 "If you want to, go and eat then!" 8.3 "(If) you will flee, what will happen?" he said. 8.4 "(If) I flee, where would I go from you powerful genies?"

8.5 "Well, then, you sit here, I'll eat a little and come." 8.6 The bear began to eat the blackberries and forgot about the bald little son. 8.7 Down below was a hole (in the ground). The bald son avoided the bear and slipped into the hole. Then he quickly spread dust on his head and hid.

9.1 After some time, when they came with the utensils, both the bald son and the bear weren't there. 9.2 When they looked up, there was the bear, sitting and eating blackberries. 9.3 When they called the bear and brought him and asked him, the bear said, "I didn't see him". 9.4 Then together they caught the bear and killed him. 9.5 They cooked and ate (the bear) and threw out the leftover curry and just then a cry was heard. Where had that curry gone but on the bald son's head. 9.6 The fox said, "Some evil has happened here!", and said they should flee. All of them fled from there. 9.7 The bald son carefully came out of the hole and said, "Oh my dear life!" 9.8 Then he was encouraged and set out from there toward his home.
pharáko šuúo

The Bald Little Son

Interlinear grammatical analysis

0.1

pharáko šuúo
bald small son
pharako šuúo
bald small(son)
adj m n
PT: The bald little son.

Commentary

šuúo or šuúwo is an adjective meaning ‘small’, and nowadays almost exclusively refers to one’s small son, that is, it is not used in other contexts for ‘small’. Used as an adjective, it would be mey šuúo puč ‘my little son’. The feminine counterpart – šuúi – is evidently no longer used widely, and, thus, for many people šuúo has taken on the status of a noun: ‘small son’. So whether it is an adjective or a noun or a nominal – another part of speech used as a noun – it refers to one’s young son. The young boy in this story is probably seven or eight years old.
1.1 1 2

**ek**  mušáakey  pharáko  púček
one  of a man  bald  a son

**ek**  mušáa-ek  -c  -y  pharáko  puč-ek
one  man  INDEF  OBL  GEN  bald  son  INDEF

**numeral**  **m n**  **indef**  **cas1 cas2**  **adj**  **m n indef**

**asúu**  **theč.**
he was  having said

**han**  **-u**  **th**  **-cč**
be  SIMP3sm  do/say  CONJP

**intrans**  **tens**  **trans**  **parti**

IT: A man had a bald son, they say.

1.2 3

**ro**  **bódo**  **āshaato**  **asúu.**
he  much  thin  he was

**ro**  **bódo**  **āshaato**  **han**  **-u**
he(rem)  much  thin  be  SIMP3sm

**dem**  **adv**  **adj**  **intrans**  **tens**

IT: He was very thin.

--- Commentary ---

1 1.1-2 This short opening paragraph serves to introduce us to the main character of the story, the bald little son.

2 1.1 theč. The narrative device, theč ‘having said’ is present at the end of the opening statement. (See also Ibex 1.1.) This gives the listener the idea that the infamous “they” report this story, which perhaps helps set it more in the realm of the possible in the mind of the listener, rather than the fantastic. It also makes it clear that this is a relating of something heard, that is, a story. The lack of the opening phrase čal čal ‘early early’ also helps detach it from the mythical past. It is a story about a boy.

3 1.2 Why is the son bald? Why is he called pharáko? If he is so ‘thin’, āšaato, perhaps it is due to lack of nutrition. Most likely, though, his hair has simply been shaved off. Even today this is the custom in Gilgit for children under the age of about ten years. The hair is shaved at the beginning of the hot season for hygiene and also for coolness. In a gently joking manner, then, the child is often referred to as pharáko, or pharaki, for a girl. One also hears it pronounced phatáko by some.
2.1

ek  čhak rése  ađis  toóm  puçéy
one  day  his/her  mother(ag)  own  of son

ek  čhak  rò  ᵅ-e ᵅ-y  aāji  ᵅ-se  toóm  puç  ᵅ-े  ᵅ-y
one  day  he(rem)  OBL  GEN  mother  AG  own  son  OBL  GEN

numeral  fn  dem  cas1  cas2  fn  cas1  adv  mn  cas1  cas2

ayée  bèé  aśatíočk  giniř  bódi
like this  having become  to become thin  (reason)  much(f)

ayée  b  ᵅ-cé  ašati  ᵅ-oök  gīn  ᵅ-cé  bódo  ᵅ-1
like this  become  CONJP  become thin  INF  take  CONJP  much  FEM

adv  intrans  parti  intrans  inf  trans  parti  adv  gndr

hiphaā  bigf.
sad  she became

hiphaā  b  ᵅ-cég  ᵅ-i
sad  become  pft  simp3sf

adj  intrans  val  tens

PT: One day, realizing her son was so thin, his mother became sad.

Commentary

1 2.1-5 Paragraph two provides the background for the story – the bald little son is too thin, so his mother sends him up to the mountain meadow to be with his grandparents and grow healthy. In a land where excess food is a luxury few can afford, to be thūlo ‘fat’ is to be healthy. To be ‘thin’ aśaāto is to invite sickness and weakness. To restore him to good health, then, the bald little son’s mother sends him off.

2 2.1 hiphaā. For those readers who know Urdu, the adjective hiphaā ‘sad’ should not be confused with khapā ‘angry’, which is like the Urdu xafā.

3 2.1 giniř. See the comment on 5.2 explaining the use of the infinitive plus the conjunctive participle of ginočk ‘to take’ to express a motivating reason.
2.2 A **růngi**, the destination of the bald little son, is a meadow in a mountain valley. One can imagine the lush green grass available for the animals during the warmer months.

His grandparents are up in the meadows tending the flocks of cows and goats as they graze on the sweet summer grass available at the higher altitudes. Part of their duty is to deal with all the milk produced each day, and this is the source of the nutritious “cheese, milk, and buttermilk” that he is sent to partake of. čamaní, rendered ‘cheese’ here, is better understood as a generic term for ‘milk products’. All of the milk by-products made in the high meadows are long lasting. They include such traditional items as pagoráa, a rubbery cheese-like food made from curd and milk, which are cooked till dry. kilarji is similar to pagoráa, but made from just curd, which is boiled till fully dry; it is a bit sour-tasting. **bak** is a thicker buttermilk than **meél**, less butter has been removed from it.
The Bald Little Son

meél kheé thúlo bée, bo!

buttermilk having eaten fat you will be go!

meél kh -eé thúlo b -ee buj -e

buttermilk eat CONJP fat become FUT2s go IMP2s

m n trans parti adj intrans tens intrans mood

FT: She said to her bald son, “Oh son, go to the high pasture with your grandfather and grandmother! Here you have become very thin. In the high pasture, having eaten cheese, milk, and buttermilk you will become fat, go!”

2.3

pharako šuúos bujám theé garás

bald son(ag) I will go (intent) ready

pharako šuo -še buj -am th -ée garás

bald small(son) AG go FUT1s do/say CONJP prepared

adj adj cas1 intrans tens trans parti adj

bugú.

he became

b -éeğ -u

become PFT SIMP3sm

intrans val tens

FT: The bald little son agreed to go and became ready.

__________________________ Commentary ____________________________

1 2.3 bujám theé. The construction using the first person future form of the verb ‘go’ and the conjunctive participle of ‘do, say’ – bujám theé – in this sentence is to express intent, in this case agreement. It is similar to that mentioned in the note on Blackberry Bush sentence 1.11. As mentioned in that previous note, it could also be translated as indirect speech: “The bald little son said he would go and became ready.” However, as in the first story, the use of the abstract verb seems more fitting – “He agreed to go.”

2 2.3 garás. The adjective garás ‘complete’ has in it the related meanings of being ‘ready’ or ‘repaired’ as well. It is semantically related to the verb garasoök, which carries the meanings ‘to prepare, repair, change, exchange, make right, complete’. Another such adjective-verb semantic pair would be kúri ‘forcefully or greatly’ and kurioök ‘to strengthen’. Or the pair aśaato ‘thin’ (sentence 1.2) and aśatioök ‘to grow thin’ (sentence 2.2).
2.4

ho née res réset pónit
then again she(ag) to him/her to path
ho née re -se ro -e -t pon -e -t
then again she(rem) AG he(rem) OBL to path OBL to
adv adv dem cas1 dem cas1 cas2 fn cas1 cas2

čhupášič ga thigř.
a chupatti also she did/said
čhupáṭi -ek ga th -ečėg -i
baked bread INDEF also do/say PFT SIMP3sf
fn indef adv trans val tens

FT: Then also she made a chupatti for his trip.

—— Commentary ——

1 2.4 čhupáți. Although the name sounds similar to the traditional Panjabi chapatti, čhupáṭi is a very different kind of bread. A Panjabi chapatti is a very thin, round, unleavened bread that is baked on both sides on an open, dry griddle, and is similar to a Mexican tortilla. They make a similar such bread in Gilgit, but call it phůlka. Gilgit čhupáṭi, on the other hand, is a raised bread, made with natural leavening and also a bit of baking soda. It is left to rise to a height of about three inches and then it is baked in a heavy cast iron pot with a tight-fitting lid. Traditionally, the coals from the cooking fire are heaped over and around it and it is baked that way. In modern Gilgit it has become popular to buy small electric ovens and bake it in a “modern” way. čhupáṭi is a daily food for the people of Gilgit: it is eaten with tea in the morning, then the left over portion is eaten with afternoon tea. Often čhupáṭi is made with corn (maize) flour mixed with the wheat flour. For special occasions a sweet čhupáṭi is made by adding a bit of sugar to the dough.

Still another kind of bread popular in Gilgit is kistá. This is a soft, griddle-cake type bread. It is also raised with natural leavening, but with more liquid in the dough. The dough is poured onto the dry griddle, a kááwo, and baked on one side, then the other. It is turned with great acquired skill using a tanůuši, a traditional wooden, sword-shaped spatula. When it is done, it is soft and perhaps a half-inch thick and the tiniest bit sour. It is eaten while still warm, tearing off bits to pick up sáa, the vegetable curry.
2.5

pharko šuutos čhupáti brakèr deè
bald son(ag) raised bread in waist having given
pharko šuúo -se čhupáti brak -e -r d -éé
bald small(son) AG baked bread waist OBL in give CONJP
adj adj cas1 fn fn cas1 cas2 trans parti

rúngièt żas bugú.
to high pasture departure he became
rúngi -è -t żas b -éé -u
meadow OBL to departure become PFT SIMP3sm
fn cas1 cas2 precat intrans val tens

FT: The bald little son tied the chupatti to his waist with a cloth and set out.

3.1

thaángek pon' thigús nalaá aki í
to some distance path he had done just then EMPH
thaáng -ek pon' th -éé -us nalaá aki í
some/approx INDEF path do/say PFT PSPRF3sm just then EMPH
adv indef fn trans val tens adv part

Commentary

1 2.5 brakèr. The bald little son tied the čhupáti bread to his waist with a cloth: brakèr deè ‘having tied to waist’. This is a traditional way of carrying small things, which leaves the hands free. With the advent of the modern dress shalwar-qameez, the loose fitting long shirt and baggy trousers, this tradition is no longer practiced.

2 3.1-15 The preceding paragraph sets the stage and prepares the groundwork for the beginning of the action. This third paragraph sees the bald little son actually on the road and the adventure begins!
3.1 réset ló-yek dok bigf. The meeting of boy and fox in this instance is more a matter of happenstance than purpose. Thus, the construction puts the boy, the natural or semantic subject of the verb, into the oblique dative case – réset ‘to him’. The grammatical subject of the verb is then the fox, even though she was met by him, not he by her! It is possible to make the boy both the semantic and the grammatical subject of the construction – šuuo ló-yesaatê dok bugú, literally, ‘little son with-fox he-met’, or ‘The little son met the fox’. This construction, however, has the connotation of a purposeful meeting, and we can be sure the bald little son did not intend to ever meet a fox!
The Bald Little Son

thigú.

he did/said

th -češ -u
do/say PFT SIMP3sm
trans val tens

FT: The bald little son said, “Don't eat me nowl”

3.4

"rúngier toóm dadiʃ ga dáadekač
in high pasture own grandmother and near grandfather
rúngi -c -r toóm dadiʃ ga dáado -c -kač
meadow OBL in own grandmother and grandfather OBL near
f n cas1 cas2 adv f n conj m n cas1 cas2

gée čhamaŋf dut meél kheē thúlo
having gone cheese milk buttermilk having eaten fat
búj -če čhamaŋf dut meél kh -če thúlo
go CONJP cheese milk buttermilk eat CONJP fat
intrans parti f n m n m n trans parti adj

beē wáitus to ho kháa.
having become l(m) came so then you will eat
b -če wá -t -us to ho kh -ce
become CONJP come PFI SIMP1sm so then eat FUT2s
intrans parti intrans val tens conj adv trans tens
1 2 mey čom ga á-tie jéek they séwo doónetaa?
    my skin and bones what your blind to tooth?
    mey čom ga á-tí -č jéek they séwo don -č -t =aa
    my skin and bone PL what your blind tooth OBL to Q
    pers m n conj f n num int pers adj m n cas1 cas2 qmkr

PT: “When I go to the high pasture to my grandmother and
grandfather and eat cheese, milk, and buttermilk and become fat and
come, then you will eat me. Are my skin and bones even enough to fill
a cavity in your (‘blind’) tooth?”

3.5
śóo to, bol wátoo ho čakám.”
good so go! you(m) came then I will look
śóo to búj -č wá -t -oo ho čak -am
good so go IMP2s come PFI SIMP2sm then look FUT1s
interj conj intrans mood intrans val tens conj trans tens

FT: “Well then, go! When you come I will see.”

---------------------------- Commentary --------------------------

1 3.4 séwo doónetaa. A blind tooth is a bad tooth, generally one with a
cavity in it. “What are my skin and bones to your blind tooth?” The
sense is that it would be so small an amount of food that it wouldn’t be
enough to fill a cavity in a tooth. This saying might be used today by
someone wryly commenting on the small amount of food served by
their hosts – rinéy tíki aséy séwo doónet ga neé bigi! ‘of-them
food(f) our blind tooth-to also not she-became’, “Their food wasn’t
even enough for our blind tooth!”

2 3.13 doónetaa. The masculine noun don ‘tooth’ belongs to a small
class of nouns that undergo a transformation of the root vowel when
inflectional suffixes are added: the vowel becomes long and the pitch
accent on that vowel changes from a high short to a low rising accent.
For example: doónet ‘tooth-to’, doóney ‘tooth-of’, etc. Some other
words in this class include dar ‘door’ – daári ‘doors’, daárec ‘door-on’,
etc.; kom ‘work’ – koómet ‘work-to’, koómejo ‘work-from’, etc.
3.6
muçhoó phirí gáus akií f-çek ñok
in front a bit he had gone EMPH a bear meeting
muçhoó phirí búj -us akií i-ç -ek ñok
in front a bit go PSPRF3sm EMPH bear INDEF meeting
adv adv intrans tens part m n indef precat
bugú. “álá pharáko šuúo jáá
he became oh(m) bald small(son) where
b -cég -u ála pharáko šuúo jáá
become PFT SIMP3sm oh(m) bald small(son) where
intrans val tens interj adj adj adv
bújanoo? tu neé kheé ho?”
you(m) go you not having eaten then
búj -anoo tu neé kh -cë ho
go PRES2sm you not eat CONJP then
intrans tens pers neg trans parti adv
FT: Just when he had gone ahead some, he met a bear. “Oh bald son, where are you going? If I don’t eat you, then...?”

--- Commentary ---

1 3.6 This sentence employs a similar construction to that described in the comment on sentence 9.5, only this time using just the emphatic particle akií, instead of nalaá akií, along with the past perfect tense; whether used separately or together, both words give the sense of ‘just then’ to the construction – “Just when he had gone ahead a bit, he met a bear.”
3.7 1 ḏáado bóōoo, ma téen neé kha! rúngier
grandfather dear I now not eat! in high pasture
dáado bóōoo ma téen neé kh -e rúngi -e -r
grandfather dear I now not eat IMP2s meadow OBL in
m n interj pers adv neg trans mood f n cas1 cas2

Commentary

1 3.7 ḏáado bóōoo. In a society where increase in age brings increase in respectability, to address the bear as ḏáado bóōoo ‘dear grandfather’ is probably the most respectful thing the bald little son could do – and the most prudent! Depending on the situation and the age difference involved, it is appropriate to address a stranger as máamo ‘(maternal) uncle’, or baábo ‘father’, but in this situation, the bald little son was wise to address the bear as “grandfather”. The appellation bóōoo ‘dear’ is only used in this way in stories, not in regular conversation.

2 3.7 The idea of a subordinate clause in English, beginning with ‘when’ or ‘if’, is expressed through syntax in Shina with the the subordinating conjunction at the end of the subordinate clause rather than at the beginning, as in English. The syntactical device is to link the subordinate clause to the main clause with the conjunction to ‘so, then’. In this conversation with one of the animals, álalus ‘I(m) came’ is in the simple past tense. This verb is followed by to, and so when combined with the main verb of the sentence (in this case in the future tense) the meaning is given, “when I come then you will eat”. The same construction is used back in sentence 3.5 – wátoo to cákám ‘you(m)-came so I-will-look’, “When you come I will see.” An example of this syntax giving the idea of if is found in the threat expressed in sentence 3.9, although the construction is a bit truncated – tu neé khigás to... ‘you not I(m)-ate so…’, “If I don’t eat you…” Other examples of subordinate clauses giving the idea of if are found in Blackberry Bush when the different characters toss aside the seriousness of the blackberry bush’s threats: ‘make him do it if you are able!’ In that story, the subordinate verbs are in the present tense (see Blackberry Bush 1.9, 1.20, 1.24, 1.32). It is interesting that in Blackberry Bush 1.36 the main verb is fronted to a position before the subordinate clause; however, the conjunction to ‘so’ stays with the subordinate clause, which keeps it marked as subordinate.
The Bald Little Son

toom dáado  ga  dadiškač  geé
own grandfather and near grandmother having gone
toom dáado  ga  dadiš -e  -kač  buj  -éé
own grandfather and grandmother OBL near go CONJP
adv  m  n  conj  fn  cas1  cas2  intrans parti

čamaňíf  dut  meél  kheé  thúlo  beé
cheese milk buttermilk having eaten fat having become
čamaňíf  dut  meél  kh  -éé  thúlo  b  -éé
ccheese milk buttermilk eat CONJP fat become CONJP
fn  mn  mn  trans parti  adj  intrans parti

álus  to  ho  kháa.  téen  mey
(lm) came so then you will eat now my
aal  -us  to  ho  kh  -ee  téen  mey
came SIMP1sm so then eat FUT2s now my
intrans tens  conj  adv  trans tens  adv  pers

ğimér  jéek han  they  şéwo  doónečaa?
’in body what he is your blind to tooth?
ğim  -e  -r  jéek han  -an  they  şéwo  don  -e  -t  =aa
body OBL in what be PRES3sm your blind tooth OBL to Q
mn  cas1  cas2  int  sta  tens  pers  adj  mn  cas1  cas2  qmkr

FT: “Dear grandfather, don’t eat me now! When I go to the high
pasture to my grandfather and grandmother and eat cheese, milk, and
buttermilk and become fat and come, then you will eat me. Now what
is in my body to fill even a cavity in your (‘blind’) tooth?”

3.8

“şóó  ho,  bol!”
good then go!
şóó  ho  buj  -e
good then go IMP2s
interj  adv  intrans mood

FT: “Well, then, go!”
3.9

**The Bald Little Son**

tušār pon' thigús muchoò šāa-lek birāčo
much path he had done in front a wolf wide

**asūū.**

he was you not l(m) ate so
han -u tu neé kh -eég -us to
be SIMP3sm you not eat PFT SIMP1sm so
intrans tens pers neg trans val tens conj

**Thee**

having said jump(over) he gave
th -eč chup d -eég -u
do/say CONJP jump(over) give PFT SIMP3sm
trans parti f n trans val tens

FT: He went a long ways on his path and ahead a wolf blocked the way. “If I don’t eat you?” he said and jumped (toward the bald little son).

3.10

“dáado bódoo, ma téen neé khal! rúngier
grandfather dear I now not eat! in high pasture
dáado bódoo ma téen neé kh -e rúngi -e -r
grandfather dear I now not eat IMP2s meadow OBL in

**Commentary**

1 3.9 birāčo asūū. The wolf was “wide” in front of the bald little son; he blocked the path.

2 3.9 Here is the truncated “if” construction referred to in 3.7: “If I don’t eat you...”. The simple past tense verb of the subordinate clause followed by to ‘so, then’ gives the “if” aspect to the sentence. One would presume that had the wolf finished the sentence he would have growled out the main clause, “then who will I eat?”
čhamañṭí dut meēl khee sam thūlo
cheese milk buttermilk having eaten well fat
čhamañṭí dut meēl kh -eē sam thūlo
cheese milk buttermilk eat CONJP well fat
f n m n trans parti adv adj
beē āalus to ho kha. tēen
having become l(m) came so then eat! now
b -eē āal -us to ho kh -e tēen
become CONJP came SIMP1sm so then eat IMP2s now
intrans parti intrans tens conj adv trans mood adv
mey dīmēr jēek han they šēwo
my in body what he is your blind
mey dīm -e -r jēek han -an they šēwo
my body OBL in what be PRES3sm your blind
pers m n cas1 cas2 adv intrans tens pers adj
doōnetaa?”
to tooth?
don -e -t =aa
tooth OBL to Q
m n cas1 cas2 qmkr
FT: “Dear grandfather, don’t eat me now! When I go to the high pasture with my grandfather and grandmother and eat cheese, milk, and buttermilk, and become nice and fat and come, so then eat me! Now what is in my body to fill even the cavity in your (blind’) tooth?”

3.11
“šōo ho, bol wātoo čakām.
good then go! you(m) came I will look
šōo ho búj -e wā āt -oo čak -am
good then go IMP2s come PFI SIMP2sm look FUT1s
interj adv intrans mood intrans val tense trans tense
FT: “Well, then, go! When you come, then I’ll see.”
3.12  

{lapháa dűuek wiígus nalaá akíí,
step some two he had put just then EMPH
lapháa dúu -ek wií -éég -us nalaá akíí
step two INDEF put PFT PSPRF3sm just then EMPH
f n numeral indef trans val tens adv part

muchoo phirí dif-ek chóko asúu. pharáko
in front a bit a leopard standing he was bald
muchoo phirí dií- -ek chóko han -u pharáko
in front a bit leopard INDEF standing be SIMP3sm bald
adv adv m n indef adj intrans tens adj

šuúo pašíí akií čhup digú. 
small(son) having seen EMPH jump(over) he gave
šuúo paáš -éc akií čhup d -éég -u
small(son) see CONJP EMPH jump(over) give PFT SIMP3sm
adv trans parti part f n trans val tens

"tu neé kheé koó kham?"
you not having eaten who I will eat
tu neé kh -éc koó kh -am
you not eat CONJP who eat FUT1s
pers neg trans parti int trans tens

FT: He had taken a couple steps when just then a little ahead stood a leopard. Just as he saw the bald son he jumped. “If I don’t eat you, who will I eat?”

3.13

"ma neé kha, dáado bóóoo, ma neé kha!
I not eat! grandfather dear I not eat!
ma neé kh -éc dáado bóóoo ma neé kh -éc
I not eat IMP2s grandfather dear I not eat IMP2s
pers neg trans mood m n interj pers neg trans mood

toóm dáado ga dadiškač rúngier
own grandfather and near grandmother in high pasture
toóm dáado ga dadií -e -kač rúngí -e -r

own grandfather and grandmother OBL near meadow OBL in
adv m n conj f n cas1 cas2 f n cas1 cas2

__________________________ Commentary ____________________________

1 3.12 lapháa dűuek. The indefinite enclitic -ek is used here to make the numeral dúu ‘two’ more approximate – dűuek has more the meaning of ‘a couple’ or ‘a few’.
The Bald Little Son

geé čhamañf dut meél kheé thúlo
having gone cheese milk buttermilk having eaten fat
búj -éé čhamañf dut meél kh -éé thúlo
go CONJP cheese milk buttermilk eat CONJP fat

intrans parti fn mn mn trans parti adj

beé áalus to ho kháa.
having become (m) came so then you will eat
b -éé ál -us to ho kh -ée
become CONJP came SIMP1sm so then eat FUT2s
intrans parti intrans tens conj adv trans tens

téen mey dímér jéeck han they
now my in body what he is your
tréen mey dim -e -r jéeck han -an they
now my body OBL in what be PRES3sm your
adv pers mn cas1 cas2 adv intrans tens pers

šéwo dôñetaa?”
blind to tooth?
šéwo don -e -t =aa
blind tooth OBL to Q
adj mn cas1 cas2 qmkr

FT: “Don’t eat me, dear grandfather, don’t eat me! When I go to my grandfather and grandmother in the high pasture and eat cheese, milk, and buttermilk and become fat and come, then you will eat me! Now what is in my body to even fill the cavity in your (‘blind’) tooth?”

3.14
“šóo to, bol!”
good so go!
šóo to búj -e
good so go IMP2s
interj conj intrans mood

FT: “Well, then, go!”
3.15 The bald little son arrived safely at the rúngi, the mountain valley meadow. He had passed through the habitats of four wild animals native to the area. The lowest elevation was the home of the fox. Somewhat higher was the home of the bear. Still higher he passed through the wolf’s area, and the leopard lived closest to his destination at the high meadow. He had escaped the hungry jaws of them all with the promise of returning “nice and fat” – to what end? At any rate, that is for the future and for the moment the bald little son can relax; “Oh my dear life!” he sighs.
4.1 duúroo beé résey dáado
bit far having become his/her grandfather
duúr -oo b -eé ro -e -y dáado
far MIN become CONJP he(rem) OBL GEN grandfather
adv adv intrans parti dem cas1 cas2 m n
ga dadi f toóm dukúrir asée.
and grandmother own in hut they were
ga dadi f toóm dukúri -e -r han -e
and grandmother own hut OBL in be SIMP3p
conj fn adv fn cas1 cas2 intrans tens
résey dáados toóm póóço
his/her grandfather(ag) own grandson
ro -e -y dáado -sc toóm póóço
he(rem) OBL GEN grandfather AG own grandson
dem cas1 cas2 m n cas1 adv m n

--- Commentary ---

1 4.1-3 This short paragraph provides the welcome transition from the perils of the path up the mountain to the peace of the mountain meadow. What a welcome sight it must have been for the bald little son to see his grandfather running toward him!

2 4.1 duúroo beé. This derived form of the adverb duúr 'far' serves to minimize it: duúroo beé 'being a bit far'. Actually, two changes have taken place in the root adverb during this process: the root vowel is lengthened with the low rising accent kind of like a "side effect" when the unaccented long -oo suffix is added. More examples of this minimizing derivation process are shown here; note that the vowel modification only shows up in those adverbs which have a short root vowel in their base form:

yar 'before' yaároo 'a bit before'
čhuút 'late' čhuútoo 'a little late'
káči 'near' kaáčii 'a bit near'

Note, too, that the final vowel from káči takes precedence over the basic suffix -oo, but is still lengthened to -ii.
pašif hay thigú.
having seen running he did/said
pašš -éć hay th -éг -u
see CONJP running do/say PFT SIMP3sm
trans parti precat trans val tens

FT: A little ways away, his grandfather and grandmother were in their mountain hut. His grandfather saw his grandson and ran (to him).

4.2

waił toóm póoçey hatěć
having come own of grandson on hand
wá -éć toóm póoço -ę -y hat -ę -ć
come CONJP own grandson OBL GEN hand OBL on
intrans parti adv m n cas1 cas2 m n cas1 cas2
lamif ęukuürü hariśgu.
having caught in the hut he took
laám -éć ęukuři -ę -ť har -éг -u
catch CONJP hut OBL to take away PFT SIMP3sm
trans parti fn cas1 cas2 trans val tens

FT: He came and took his grandson's hand and brought him to the hut.

5.1

rungier pharāko šuúos sókoti
in high pasture bald son(ag) deep thoughts
rungi -ę -r pharāko šuúo -se sókot -i
meadow OBL in bald small(son) AG deep thought PL
fn cas1 cas2 adj adj cas1 fn num
theè theè básko ga ašati flu.
having done having done more also he grew thin
th -éć th -éć básko ga ašati -ť -u
do/say CONJP do/say CONJP more also become thin PFI SIMP3sm
trans parti trans parti adv adv intrans val tens

FT: In the high pasture the bald son kept mulling over (what had happened) and became even thinner.

--- Commentary ---

5.1-5 The plot thickens in this fifth paragraph. Arriving at the high meadow does not seem to be the sure solution for his thinness after all.
5.2

résey dáado ga dadíñt résey
his/her grandfather and grandmother his/her
ro -e -y dáado ga dadiñt ro -e -y
he(rem) OBL GEN grandfather and grandmother he(rem) OBL GEN
dem cas1 cas2 m n conj fn dem cas1 cas2

sam theé ţíki neé khoôk giniñ
well having done bread/food not to eat (reason)
sam th -éé ţíki neé kh -ôôk gîñ -éé
well do/say CONJP bread/food not eat INF take CONJP
adv trans parti fn neg trans inf trans parti

hée-šer gée.
in worry they went
hée-š -e -r búj -e
worry OBL in go SIMP3p
fn cas1 cas2 intrans tens

FT: His grandfather and grandmother realized he was not eating well and became worried.

Commentary

1 5.2 khoôk giniñ. The conjunctive participle giniñ can mean ‘having taken’, its primary meaning, or ‘with’ as in “cut wheat with a sickle”, or it can express a motivating reason as it does here. The grandparents worried by reason of the bald little son’s not eating food well. The sentence structure for such a use requires use of the infinitive followed by giniñ: ţíki neé koôk giniñ ‘because of not eating food’ or, literally, ‘food not eating (reason)’.
5.3 2ho résejo mor ikhalóon théé
then from him/her matter we will take out (intent)
ho ro ´c jo mor nikhal ˘n th ˘c
then he(rem) OBL from matter take out FUT1p do/say CONJP
adv dem cas1 cas2 mn trans tens trans parti

šaáte. tušáar khéenejo ho toóm
they began much from time then own
šaác ˘c tušáar khéen ˘c jo ho toóm
begin PFI SIMP3p much time OBL from then own
intrans val tens adv fn cas1 cas2 adv adv

pónii čága thigú.
of path story he did/said
pón ˘c y čága th ˘ceg ˘u
path OBL GEN story do/say PFT SIMP3sm
fn cas1 cas2 fn trans val tens

FT: Then they decided to find out from him what happened. After a long time then he told the tale of his trip.

Commentary

1 5.3 mor ikhalóon theé. Again the use of the first person future mid-sentence combined with the conjunctive participle of ‘do, say’ to express intent: mor ikhalóon theé ‘they decided to find out’.

2 5.3 pónii. The feminine noun pón ‘path’ is one of a small class of words that end in a palatalized consonant, that is, the consonant is pronounced with the tongue slightly spread out over the roof of the mouth to give a y-ish quality to it; thus it is written pón. Historically there was probably a final vowel i on the word, which, with time, has stopped being pronounced separately, but its effect is heard on the consonant and also affects the pronunciation of the oblique case suffix, which becomes pónii ‘to path’ above in 2.4, not *pónet, with the normal oblique marker e, and pónii ‘of path’ in this sentence, not *póney. In the phonemic way of writing Gilgit Shina which we have adopted here, this palatalization is written with a raised y behind the consonant, in this case n. Other members of this small class of words include adverbs such as ad ‘there’, aín ‘here’, and the postposition -saa ‘‘with’. In each case, the final consonant is pronounced in a palatalized fashion. The palatalization process is a relatively strong one in Gilgit Shina. (For more discussion on this matter see Radloff [forthcoming].)
5.4

ri hayijīf réset
they(rem) having been amused to him/her
ri háay -fīj -é rée ro -e -t
those(rem) laugh PASS CONJP he(rem) OBL to
dem intrans voice parti dem cas1 cas2

reég, "rinéy dáados ga tu
they spoke their(rem) grandfather(ag) also you
r -éég -e ri -e -y dáado -se ga tu
speak PFT SIMP3p those(rem) OBL GEN grandfather AG also you
trans val tens dem cas1 cas2 m n cas1 adv pers

khoók dubéy. tus hi-$s$ neé the!
to eat s/he will be unable you(ag) word not do!
kh -óok dub -cy tu -se hi-$s$ neé th -e
eat INF be unable FUT3s you AG word not do/say IMP2s
trans inf intrans tens pers cas1 n neg trans mood

akóf rak áalok kha! sam
to self desire he who comes eat! well
akíf -e -t rak áal -u -ek kh -e sam
self OBL to desire came SIMP3sm INDEF eat IMP2s well
pro cas1 cas2 fn intrans tens indef trans mood adv

thúlo bo! be hánes, jáa géenes?"
fat become! we we are where we have gone
thúlo b -e be han -ones jáa búj -enest
fat become IMP2s we be PRES1p where go PRPRF1p
adj intrans mood pers sta tens adv intrans tens

FT: They were amused and said to him, "Their grandfather (who is more powerful) is not even able to eat you! Don’t say a word! Eat whatever you wish! Become nice and fat! We’re here, where have we gone?"

--- Commentary ---

1 5.4 As mentioned above in the comment on 3.7, increase in age brings increase in respectability – it also brings increase in power. By saying that the grandfather of these animals would not be able to eat him, the bald little son’s grandparents were taking the fear of his being eaten out of the realm of possibility. Not only were the animals themselves not powerful enough to eat him, their more powerful father – no, their still more powerful grandfather was not able to eat him!
5.5  ṣa̱āṭi...ṣa̱āṭu. Here we have two senses of the verb ṣa̱āṭo̱ḵ: appetite ‘stuck’ to him and he ‘began’ to eat well. Although one could say that appetite ‘began’ as well, still there is the sense of attaching. In Urdu, a related Indo-Aryan language, hunger ‘sticks’ to one: mujhe bhuukh lagti-hae ‘to-me hunger she-sticks’.
khéenekejo pharáko šuúo sam thúlo
after some time bald small(son) well fat
khéen -êk -e -jo pharáko šuúo sam thúlo
time INDEF OBL from bald small(son) well fat
f n indef cas1 cas2 adv adj adv adj
bugú. ho toóm dadíf ga
he became then own grandmother and
b -eég -u ho toóm dadíf ga
become PFT SIMP3sm then own grandmother and
intrans val tens adv adv f n conj
dádect ma bújam thigú.
to grandfather l l will go he did/said
dáado -ê - tô ma búj -am th -eég -u
grandfather OBL to l go FUT1s do/say PFT SIMP3sm
m n cas1 cas2 pers intrans tens trans val tens

FT: After some time the bald son became nice and fat. Then he asked permission to go from his grandmother and grandfather.

--- Commentary ---

1 6.1-5 After the interlude of rest and restoration in the meadow, paragraph six presents the stirring of action again. This paragraph is the pivotal point of the story; although the activity is, in a sense, just beginning, still it’s downhill from here in more senses than one. The suspense that has been built in the bald little son’s trek up the mountain will be resolved as he goes back down – either he’ll be eaten, or his wits will rescue him again. This paragraph proposes a solution.

2 6.1 ma bújam. In keeping with the courteous tone [See Blackberry Bush 1.25 for a description of the politeness marker on imperative verbs.] of all these stories (a teaching device used by a wise grandmother?) the bald little son asked permission of his grandparents to go. His saying “I will go” in this sense should not be interpreted literally; cultural constraints dictate translating this as asking permission, not as a bold statement of intent. Actually, in that face to face situation, he very likely said, ma bújamaa? ‘Shall I go?’ As discussed above in Blackberry Bush 1.15, the enclitic -aa at the end of an utterance marks yes/no questions. Use of this question particle combined with the future tense verb form produces the system for asking permission.
6.2
ris báro dañàngek theé pharáko
they(rem)(ag) big a drum having done bald
ri -se báro dañàng -ek th -ée pharáko
those(rem) AG big drum INDEF do/say CONJP bald
dem cas1 adj m n indef trans parti adj
šuño réser wífge.
small(son) in her/him they put
šuño ro -c -r wí -ée -q -e
small(son) he(rem) OBL in put PFT SIMP3p
adj dem cas1 cas2 trans val tens
FT: They made a big drum and put the bald son into it.

6.3
résey dadiís dañàngér wíf
his/her grandmother(ag) in drum having put
ro -c -y dadií -se dañàng -e -r wí -ée
he(rem) OBL GEN grandmother AG drum OBL in put CONJP
dem cas1 cas2 fn cas1 m n cas1 cas2 trans parti
réset kanaáw thígí.
to him/her advice she did/said
ro -e -t kanaáw th -ée -g -i
he(rem) OBL to advice do/say PFT SIMP3sf
dem cas1 cas2 m n trans val tens
FT: Having put him into the drum, his grandmother gave him some advice.
6.4 \textsuperscript{1} “lo-\textsuperscript{y} šáa-l i-ç dif- dok bigé to
fox wolf bear leopard meeting they became so
lo-\textsuperscript{y} šáa-l i-ç dif- dok b -eég -e to
fox wolf bear leopard meeting become PFT SIMP\textsuperscript{3p} so
fn mn mn mn mn precat intran val tens conj
ris túujo khujéen, ‘dáado dádáng,
they(rem)(ag) from you they will ask grandfather drum
ri -se tu -e -jo khuj -an dáado dádáng
those(rem) AG you OBL from ask FUT\textsuperscript{3p} grandfather drum
dem cas1 pers cas1 cas2 trans tens fn mn
pharakó šuúo neé pašifgaα?‘ tus ‘neé
bald small(son) not did you(m) see? you(ag) not
pharakó šuúo neé paš -eég -oo -aa tu -se neé
bald small(son) not see PFT SIMP\textsuperscript{2sm}Q you AG not
adj adj neg trans val tens qmkr pers cas1 neg
pašifgas, dáado bóđoo, dfrek
l(m) saw grandfather dear a roll
paš -eég -us dáado bóđoo dir -ek
see PFT SIMP\textsuperscript{1sm} grandfather dear push down INDEF
trans val tens mn interj precat indef

--- Commentary ---

\textsuperscript{1} 6.4 khujéen, ‘dáado dádáng... A quote within a quote: in her advice to the bald little son (which is quoted directly) the grandmother coaches him in the exact words to say (which she dictates directly). As an additional point, observe that Gilgit Shina is a SOV language, that is, a language whose sentences generally keep the order Subject-Object-Verb. Note, however, that the main verb can occur before the embedded quote – the object – when it occurs in the middle of a sentence: \textit{khujéen ‘they will ask’ occurs before the question that she predicts they will ask. It could just as easily been said after the embedded quote. The second embedded quote has its main verb at the end: \textit{the ‘say!’ occurs after the reply she tells him to give. Were it to occur before the embedded quote, it would probably need some sort of object inserted, such as

‘tus ayée the “neé pašifgas...”
‘you(ag) like-this you-say “not l(m)-saw...”
‘You say like this, “I didn’t see...”
The Bald Little Son

thet!’ do/say! the do! ho then ris
th -e -t th -e ho ri -se

do/say IMP2s polite do/say IMP2s mood hon mood adv
do/say those(rem) AG dem cas1
trans trans

dādāng dir thēn.”
drum push down dir they will do

sādāng dir th -an

FT: “If the fox, wolf, bear, and leopard meet you, they will ask you, ‘Grandfather drum, haven’t you seen the bald little son?’” and you say, ‘I didn’t see him, dear grandfather, please roll me!’ then they will roll the drum.”

6.5

“sōo dadi f.” ho dadi f’s dādāng
well grandmother then grandmother(ag) drum
sōo dadi f ho dadi f -se dādāng
well grandmother then grandmother AG drum

dir thigf.
she pushed down

δir th -eēg -i

push down do/say PFT SIMP3sf precat trans val tens

FT: “Very good, Grandmother.” Then grandmother rolled the drum.

Commentary

1 6.5 dir thigf. dir is translated as ‘roll’ in this story. It is as much of a pushing down or forward motion as it is a rolling motion; imagine the movement you would make to get such a large drum rolling down a hill. This pushing down aspect is seen in another example: résey hatí pāae ganeē dir thigf ‘his hands feet having-tied pushing-down he-did’, or “He tied him hand and foot and made him lie down.”
7.1 This long paragraph contains the action as the bald little son meets the four wild animals again as he rolls down the mountain in his drum. When the time comes that this story is published in an Urdu-derived script for Gilgit Shina speakers to read, this long paragraph should be divided up for ease of reading. Paragraph breaks could occur after the interaction with each animal is finished, for example, after sentences 3, 7, 11, and perhaps after 14 or 17. For the purposes of dividing the story for discourse cohesiveness, this seventh paragraph is kept as a long whole – detailing The Journey Down the Mountainside!

2 7.1 ‘dir...direker’. Here in one sentence is a good example of a retroflexed or retracted consonant versus its dental associate. The words ‘dir ‘roll, push down’ and ‘dir ‘point, place’ illustrate what is called a minimal pair in sound system analysis. They are exactly the same except for one element, in this case the first sound of the word.
7.2

“neé paśífgas, dáado bódoo, dfrek
not l(m) saw grandfather dear a roll
evé paás -éég -us dáado bódoo dír -ek
not see PFT SIMP1sm grandfather dear push down INDEF
neg trans val tens m n interj precat indef

thet!” thígú.
do/say! he did/said
th -c -t th -éég -u
do/say IMP2s polite do/say PFT SIMP3sm
trans mood hon trans val tens

FT: “I didn't see him, dear grandfather, please roll me!”, he said.

7.3

díf-s ḍaḍáng dír thígú.
leopard(ag) drum push down he did/said
díf -se ḍaḍáng dír th -éég -u
leopard AG drum push down do/say PFT SIMP3sm
m n cas1 m n precat trans val tens

FT: The leopard rolled the drum.

— Commentary —

1 7.2 The interaction between animal and drum is carried off successfully just as the bald little son’s grandmother had predicted.
7.4  

dādāng  waif  
drum  having come  
dādāng  wá  -eé  
drum  come  CONJP  
m n  intrans  parti  

bāškekač  
near a stone  
baš  -ek  -e  -kač  

m n  indef  cas1  cas2

raftídú.  

he was stopped  
raft  -íd  -u  

stop  PFPASS  SIMP3sm  
trans  voice  tens

FT: The drum rolled on and was stopped at a stone.

7.5  

gómekojo  šáa-1  taš beam  
from a cave  wolf  having slipped out  
góm  -ek  -e  -jo  šáa-1  taš  b  -eé  
cave  INDEF  OBL  from  wolf  slipping  become  CONJP  
m n  indef  cas1  cas2  m n  precat  intrans  parti

ikhái  
dādangéjo  

having come out  from drum  he asked  

khujeegu  

grandfather  

“dáado  

come out  CONJP  drum  OBL  from ask  PFT  SIMP3sm  grandfather  
intrans  parti  m n  cas1  cas2  trans  val  tens  m n

dādāng, pharako šuúo  neé  pašífgaa?”


drum  bald  small(son)  not  did you(m) see?  
dādāng  pharako  šuúo  neé  paš  -eég  -oo  -aa  
drum  bald  small(son)  not  see  PFT  SIMP2smQ

m n  adj  adj  neg  trans  val  tens  qmkr

FT: From a cave the wolf slipped out and asked the drum,  
“Grandfather drum, didn’t you see the bald little son?”

Commentary

1 7.4 bāškekač. The drum stopped at a stone, no particular stone, just a stone. That’s why the enclitic -ek is suffixed to baš to make it indefinite: bāš ‘a stone’. The same for gómek ‘a cave’ in the next sentence (7.5). However, šáa-1 ‘wolf’ does not carry the indefinite marker because it has definitely been introduced back in paragraph three (3.9)!

2 7.5 taš beam. taš boök ‘to slip out’ is a complex verb construction, a “precategorical” plus verb construction described in Blackberry Bush 1.19.
7.6

“neé paśīfgas, 
not l(m) saw 
neé paąš -eég -us 
not see PFT SIMP1sm 
neg trans val tens 

díado, bódoo, ḋirrek 
grandfather dear a roll 
dáado bó多多 ċir -ek 
grandfather dear push down INDEF 
m n interj precat indef 
thet!” thigú. 
do/say! he did/said 
th -e -t th -eég -u 
do/say IMP2s polite do/say PFT SIMP3sm 
trans mood hon trans val tens 

FT: “I didn’t see him, dear grandfather, please roll me!” he said.

7.7

šáá-l se ḋadağáng ḋir 
wolf AG drum push down he did/said 
štáá-l -se ḋadağáng ḋir th -eég -u 

wolf AG drum push down do/say PFT SIMP3sm 
m n cas1 m n precat trans val tens 

FT: The wolf rolled the drum.

7.8

khéenekejo ḋadağáng waiľ 
after some time drum having come near stone 
khéen -eck -e -jo ḋadağáng wá -eé bat -e -kač 
time INDEF OBL from drum come CONJP stone OBL near 
fn indef cas1 cas2 m n intran part m n cas1 cas2 

raṭh fidus 
he was stopped just then EMPH bear suddenly visible 
raṭh -řid -us 
nalaá akiř i-č ḋam baş 
stop PFPASS PSPRF3sm just then EMPH bear suddenly visible 
trans voice tens adv part m n adv mod 

bugú. 
he became 
b -eég -u 
become PFT SIMP3sm 
intrans val tens 

FT: After some time, just as the drum was stopped near a stone the bear suddenly appeared.
7.9.

"dáado  đañg, pharáko  şuuo  neé  pašífgaa?"

grandfather  drum  bald  small(son)  not  did you(m) see?

dáado  đañg  pharáko  şuuo  neé  paáš  -eég  -oo  =aa

grandfather  drum  bald  small(son)  not  see  PFT  SIMP2smQ

m  n  m  n  adj  adj  neg  trans  val  tens  qmkr

FT: “Grandfather drum, didn’t you see the bald little son?”

7.9 pašífgaa. As introduced above in Blackberry Bush 1.15, yes/no questions are formed by adding the enclitic particle -aa to the end of the utterance. The main verb of the oft repeated question here in 7.9 is pašífgaa ‘you(m) saw’. The -aa at the end of this verb is the suffix showing simple past tense second person masculine on transitive verbs (the -oo in the morpheme breakdown line is the standard entry for that suffix; see the “Introduction to the Stories”). So how does one mark a yes/no question on such an inflected verb which ends in a long vowel already? Gilgit Shina speakers do lengthen the vowel in such a case, but they probably do not double the length: *pašífgaaa. Rather, the main indication of the question intent comes through the characteristic intonation of a yes/no question where the second to the last syllable of the last word of the question is spoken with a sharply rising pitch, which then falls on the last syllable. This last syllable is usually the -aa enclitic question particle or, in this case, the final (unaccented) long (lengthened) vowel of the inflected verb. (It seems to be similar for all words that end in vowels: the primary question intent is carried by the characteristic intonation. Only occasionally does one hear the -aa on a word ending in a long vowel.)

In the diagram below, the line above the word represents the pitch of the voice as the word is pronounced. The valency marker -iíq carries the low rising pitch accent, which means the vowels which precede it are pronounced at a low pitch and then this pitch rises with the accent to become higher on the syllable after the accented one and then falls with normal intonation. For the yes/no question intonation the rise in pitch is much sharper and the fall more abrupt.

Normal intonation:  pašífgaa. ‘You saw.’

Y/N Ques. intonation:  pašífgaa? ‘Did you see?’
7.10
"nee pašīgas, dáado bóodo, ḏīrek
not l(m) saw grandfather dear a roll
nee paas -ēég -us dáado bóodo dir -ek
not see PFT SIMP1sm grandfather dear push down INDEF
neg trans val tens m n interj precat indef

thet!" thigú.
do/say! he did/said
th -e -t th -ēég -u
do/say IMP2s polite do/say PFT SIMP3sm
trans mood hon trans val tens

FT: “I didn’t see him, dear grandfather, please roll me!” he said.

7.11
nee i-č se ga dir thigú.
again bear AG also push down he did/said
nee i-č -se ga dir th -ēég -u
again bear AG also push down do/say PFT SIMP3sm
adv m n cas1 adv precat trans val tens

FT: Then the bear also rolled him.

7.12
daďang wáií ḏfrequer tsak
drum having come in a point stopped
daďang wá -ēé dir -ēk -e -t tsak
drum come CONJP place INDEF OBL in stopped
m n intrans parti fn indef cas1 cas2 adv

bugú.
he became
b -ēég -u
become PFT SIMP3sm
intr trans val tens

FT: The drum rolled on and stopped at a point.
7.13 koón ašfí, buš, lo-y? dódol

where she was I don't know fox trotting
koón han -i buš lo-y CVrdp dol

where be SIMP3sf I don't know fox (faster) crawling
adv intrans tens interj f n mod precat
bóóje uchačíf dađangéjo
while being having arrived from drum
b -óóje uchač -ée dađang -e -jo
become PRESp arrive CONJP drum OBL from
intrans parti intran parti m n cas1 cas2

dáado dađang, pharáko
she asked grandfather drum bald
kuχj -eég -i dáado dađang pharáko
ask PFT SIMP3sf grandfather drum bald
trans val tens m n m n adj
śuúdo neé pašíÍgaa? small(son) not did you(m) see?
śuúdo neé paas -eég -oo -aa
small(son) not see PFT SIMP2smQ
adj neg trans val tens qmkr

FT: Where was the fox? I don't know. (Then) she came trotting in and asked the drum, “Grandfather drum, didn't you see the bald son?”

—— Commentary ———

1 7.13 koón ašfí, buš, lo-y. This sentence is unique in this story for several reasons. It anticipates the appearance of the fox: the little bald son has descended through the habitats of the other three wild animals and he is now down where the fox lives. The other three animals had appeared at once upon the drum’s stopping, but the fox is not immediately present. The asking of a question is unique in that it invites the direct involvement of the listener – even though the story teller answers the question herself with buš ‘I don’t know’ (buš is a rather indeclinable form used in informal conversation). A third aspect that is unique is the sentence structure: the subject of the query, lo-y ‘fox’, is brought into focus by moving it to the end of the sentence. A normal word order would be: lo-y koón ašfí? ‘fox where she-was?’ By moving the subject to the end of the sentence, it is brought into sharp focus. Perhaps this is significant, considering what the fox does next!

2 7.13 (See the note in Hopoti and Hopoto sentence 7.2 describing the reduplication process at work in dódol ‘trotting’.)
7.14

“neē pašīgas, dadīf bōdīi,
not l(m) saw grandmother dear(f)
neē paās -cēg -us dadīf bōdū -i
not see PFT SIMP1sm grandmother dear FEM
neg trans val tens fn interj gndr

ḍīrek thēt!” thigū.
a roll do/say! he did/said
ḍīr -ēk th -ē -t th -cēg -u
push down INDEF do/say IMP2s polite do/say PFT SIMP3sm
precat indef trans mood hon trans val tens
FT: “I didn’t see him, dear grandmother, please roll me!” he said.

7.15

ḍīr theē akī phatunōo bat gīnīf
push down having done EMPH from behind stone with
ḍīr th -cē akī phatunōo bat gīn -cē
push down do/say CONJP EMPH from behind stone take CONJP
precat trans parti m n trans parti

dīgīf. bat se đādangēy ōōē
she gave stone AG of drum having given
d -cēg -i bat -se đādāng -ē -y d -cē
give PFT SIMP3sf stone AG drum OBL GEN give CONJP
trans val tens m n cas1 m n cas1 cas2 trans parti

phayeēgū.
he broke
phay -cēg -u
break PFT SIMP3sm
trans val tens

FT: Just as she rolled him, she threw a stone from behind. The stone
hit the drum and broke it.

--- Commentary ---

1 7.15 bat gīnīf dīgīf. The verb doōk ‘to give’ is often used similarly to
the English in such constructions as “give a kick” or “give it a toss”. In
this sentence the fox ‘gave with a rock’ bat gīnīf dīgīf.
7.16

dadáng phayijí pharáko šuuo taš
drum having been broken bald small(son) slipping
dadáng phay ri'î -é pharáko šuuo taš
drum break PASS CONJP bald small(son) slipping
m n trans voice parti adj adj precat

beé darú wátu.
having become out he came
b -é darú wá -t -u
become CONJP out come PFI SIMP3sm
intrans parti adv intrans val tens

FT: As the drum burst, the bald son slipped out.

7.17

ho hóo hawít digf. “lóoy! lóoy! ála
then calling loudly she gave look! look! oh(m)
ho hóo hawít d -éég -i lóoy lóoy ála
then loud calling give PFT SIMP3sf look! look! oh(m)
adv precat trans val tens interj interj interj
dif-, ála i'c, ála šáa-l pharáko šuuo
leopard oh(m) bear oh(m) wolf bald small(son)
dif- ála i'c ála šáa-l pharáko šuuo
leopard oh(m) bear oh(m) wolf bald small(son)
m n interj m n interj m n adj adj

layifgis. wáa lóoy!”
l(f) found you all come! look!
lááy -éég -is wá -aa lóoy
find PFT SIMP1sf come IMP2p look!
trans val tens intrans mood interj

7.17 hóo hawít digf. hóo thoök is a complex verb meaning ‘to call’. hóo hawít doök is ‘to give a loud call’. hawít has no real meaning on its own; combined with hóo it brings the sense of a loud call. Echo formation is the term used to describe a form which follows another word and ‘echoes’ it with a change in the initial consonant. For a Gilgit Shina example: raası means ‘greetings’; raası daaasley means ‘greetings and all else that goes along with it’. Masica (1991:80) describes this phenomena as an example of language creativity in the sub-continent. An Urdu echo formation is chaí mai ‘tea and accompanying eatables’. Meanwhile, back to hóo hawít – it does not fit the definition of an echo formation; hawít just enhances the meaning of hóo!
FT: She gave a loud call. “Look! Look! Oh leopard, oh bear, oh wolf! I found the bald son. Come, look!”

7.18

gom gomőjo ri wait gáti
cave from caves they(rem) having come together
gom gom -o -jo ri wá -eč gáti

cave cave PLOBL from those(rem) come CONJP together
m n m n cas1 cas2 dem intr trans parti adj

bigé.
they became ho pharáko šuúo khón
b -eég -e ho pharáko šuúo kh -on

become PFT SIMP3p then bald small(son) we will eat
intr trans val tens adv adj adj trans tens

theé garás bigé.
(intent) ready they became
th -éč garás b -eég -e
do/say CONJP prepared become PFT SIMP3p
trans parti adj intr trans val tens

FT: From this cave and that they came and gathered. Then they decided to eat the bald little son and got ready.

7.19 1

lo-y se dim ga ek theé
fox AG one to each having done
lo-y -se dim ga ek th -eč
fox AG body and one do/say CONJP
f n cas1 m n conj numeral trans parti

rinůť sače wifgi.
to them cooking utensils she put
ri -o -š sabo -e wí -eég -i

those(rem) PLOBL to utensil PL put PFT SIMP3sf
dem cas1 cas2 m n num trans val tens

FT: The fox assigned each one a cooking utensil to bring.

------------------------------- Commentary -----------------------------

1 7.19 dim ga ek. Each one was assigned one thing to bring. Had they each been assigned five things to bring it would have been dim ga poš ‘five to each’. As with any idiom, there is no one-to-one correspondence between the parts of the construction and its final meaning.
7.20

i-č pharāko šūekač phat theē
bear bald near the son left alone having done
i-č pharāko šuuo -e -kač phat th -eć
bear bald small(son) OBL near dropped do/say CONJP
m n adj adj cas1 cas2 precat trans parti

ri sābe - waloök šor bigē.
they(rem) cooking utensils to bring dispersed they became
ri sābo -e wal -oök šor b -eég -e
those(rem) utensil PL bring INF dispersed become PFT SIMP3p
dem m n num trans inf adj intrans val tens

FT: They left the bear with the bald son and dispersed to bring the cooking things.

8.1

ajī phirī hūcekač šingáayek
above a bit on hillside a blackberry bush
ajī phirī hūc -e -kač šingáay -ēk
above a bit edge OBL near blackberry bush INDEF
adv adv m n cas1 cas2 fn indef

pākiš. i-čey šingáay pašīf
she had ripened of bear blackberry bush having seen
pač -t -iš i-č -ē -y šingáay paāš -ēć
ripen PFI PSPRF3sf bear OBL GEN blackberry bush see CONJP
intrans val tens m n cas1 cas2 fn trans parti

áa-ye r láale wáte. pharāko
in mouth saliva(pl) they came bald
áa-y -e -t láal -e wá -t -e pharāko
mouth OBL in saliva PL come PFI SIMP3p bald
fn cas1 cas2 fn num intrans val tens adj

—— Commentary ———

1 8.1-7 This is a wonderful paragraph – set off to focus on the interaction between bear and boy – the bald little son escapes!
The Bald Little Son

1 šuuewaar phirif "je pákin
toward small (son) having turned isn't it? she has ripened
šuu - e -waar phir -é je pač t -in
small(son) OBL toward turn CONJP isn't it? ripen PFI PRPRF3sf
adj cas1 cas2 trans parti interj intrans val tens

náa eé šingáay?" thigú.
EMPH that(f) blackberry bush he did/said
náa eé šingáay th -éég -u
EMPH that(f) blackberry bush do/say PFT SIMP3sm
interj dem fn trans val tens

FT: A little above on the hillside a wild blackberry bush was ripe. When he saw it, the bear's mouth began to water. He turned toward the bald son and said, "Hasn't that blackberry bush ripened nicely?"

8.2
"rak hin to geé kha, náa!"
desire she is so having gone eat! EMPH
rak han in to búj -ékh -é náa
desire be PRES3sf so go CONJP eat IMP2s EMPH
fn intrans tens conj intrans parti trans mood interj

FT: "If you want to, go and eat, then!"

8.3
"tu uçée jéek bée?" thigú.
you you will run away what you will be he did/said
tu uç -ee jéek b -ee th -éég -u
you flee FUT2s what become FUT2s do/say PFT SIMP3sm
pers intrans tens adv intrans tens trans val tens

FT: "(If) you will flee, what will happen?" he said.

—— Commentary ———

1 8.1 je. Interjections are often hard to classify. je usually gives the sense of 'isn't it?', which reaches out to the listener for agreement. A longer form of this word eeje is used as a tag question at the end of sentences: tu bújanoo eeje? 'you are going, aren't you?'

2 8.2 The bald little son was showing respect to the bear in the wording of this sentence. A more informal way to say it could have been rak hin to kha, bo! 'desire she-is so eat, go!' or 'Go on and eat if you want!' Evidently, using the conjunctive participle and also moderating the imperative with the interjection náa both work to put the sentence into a more polite register. It obviously had its desired effect on the bear – he went and ate!
8.4 1

"ma učeey jaá bujam, tsho šatile
I having fled where I will go you all powerful(pl)
ma ucz -ée jaá buj -am tsho šatílo -e
I flee CONJP where go FUT1s you all powerful PL
pers intrans parti adv intrans tens pers adj num

bala-tsójo?"
from genies
balá-ts -o -jo
genie PLOBL from
m n cas1 cas2

FT: "(If) I flee, where would I go from you powerful genies?"

8.5

"šóo ho, tu aán' beéy mas
good then you here sit! l(ag)
šóo ho tu aán' beéy -e ma -se
good then you here sit/stay IMP2s l AG
interj adv pers adv intrans mood pers cas1

kánek kheé wáam."
a little having eaten I will come
kam -ek kh -ée wá -am
less INDEF eat CONJP come FUT1s
adv indef trans parti intrans tens

FT: "Well, then, you sit here, I'll eat a little and come."

8.6

i-č šingáay khoök šačif pharako
bear blackberry bush to eat having begun bald
i-č šingáay kh -oök šaač -ée pharako
bear blackberry bush eat INF begin CONJP bald
m n fn trans inf intrans parti adj

-------------------------------------- Commentary --------------------------------------

1 8.4 bala-tsójo. An adequate translation of balá-ts seems to be 'genie'. A balá-ts is powerful and can be either helpful or harmful. Since the bald little son did not want necessarily to compliment the bear yet not insult him openly, using such a term seems a good compromise. It is in the plural to refer to all four of the "powerful" animals.
The bald little son

şúuey amúuţu.
of small(son) he forgot
şuúo -e -y amúuš -t -u
small(son) OBL GEN forget PFI SIMP3sm
adj cas1 cas2 intranS val tens

FT: The bear began to eat the blackberries and forgot about the bald little son.

8.7

khíří  beé  ḍóokok  asúu.  pharáko
down having become a hole he was bald
khíří  b -ée ḍóoko -ek han -u pharáko
down become CONJP hole INDEF be SIMP3sm bald
adv intranS parti m n indef intranS tens adj

šuúo  i'-čéjo  loót  beé  ḍóoker
small(son) from the bear dodging having become in hole
šuúo  i'-č -e -jo loót  b -ée ḍóoko-e -t
small(son) bear OBL from dodging become CONJP hole OBL in
adv m n cas1 cas2 precat intranS parti m n cas1 cas2

ačťúu.  née  loóko  loóko  théé  tooám
he went in again quick quick having done own
ač -t -u née loóko loóko th -ée tooám
enter PFI SIMP3sm again quick quick do/say CONJP own
intranS val tens adv adv . adv trans parti adv

şišéč  sum  pharée  liśťu.
on head soil having spread he hid
şiš -e -č sum phar -ée lišš -t -u
head OBL on soil spread CONJP hide PFI SIMP3sm
m n cas1 cas2 m n trans parti intranS val tens

FT: Down below was a hole (in the ground). The bald son avoided the bear and slipped into the hole. Then he quickly spread dust on his head and hid.

----------------------------- Commentary -----------------------------

1 8.7 ačťúu. The intransitive verb ačććk was introduced in Blackberry Bush 1.10 when the thorn was requested to 'prick' the little bird's foot. A second sense of that verb means 'to go in' or 'enter'. The bald little son went in to the hole.
9.1

khéenekejo, ris sábe
after some time they(rem)(ag) cooking utensils
khéen -ek -e -jo ri -se sáo bo -e
time INDEF OBL from those(rem) AG utensil PL
f n indef cas1 cas2 dem cas1 m n num
gini₁ wáan to pharáko šuúo ga i-č
having taken they will come so bald small(son) and bear
gín -ée wá -an to pharáko šuúo ga i-č
take CONJP come FUT3p so bald small(son) and bear
trans parti intrans tens conj adj adj conj m n
beéne nuš.
both not is
beéne nuš
both not is
adv neg

FT: After some time, when they came with the utensils, both the bald son and the bear weren’t there.

--- Commentary ---

1 9.1-8 The animals are fed and the bald little son goes home – are not these results mutually exclusive? Suspense and action mark this final paragraph where everything is resolved!

2 9.1 Use of the future and present tenses in this sentence and the next creates a feeling of suspense or immediacy to pull the listener into the action. This contrasts sharply with the typical use of the simple past tense in the story. Using the future and present tenses, then, is a discourse device to especially draw the reader’s attention and focus it on the immediate state of affairs. This focus device is also used in other stories in this volume, such as Ibex Story 5.1 and 5.6 and Hopoti and Hopoto 10.1. Note, too, that the future tense is on the subordinate verb, followed by to ‘so’; even so English requires a past tense translation, “When they came back they weren’t there.”

3 9.1 nuš. The word nuš ‘not is’ is a special construction, called a portmanteau morph, that is, a single, fused morph that represents two morphemes, the basic units of meaning. In this case, nuš is a fusion of neé ‘not’ and some form of the verb ‘to be’, such as han ‘he is’ or hain ‘she is’ or han ‘they are’, depending on the context.
9.2

ají beé çakéen to i-ç se
above having become they will look so bear AG

ají b -ée çak -an to i-ç -se
above become CONJP look FUT3p so bear AG

adv intrans parti trans tens conj m n cas1

beyíf šingáay kháan.
having sat blackberry bush he eats
beéy -ée šingáay kh -an

sit CONJP blackberry bush eat PRES3sm
intrtrans parti fn trans tens

FT: When they looked up, there was the bear, sitting and eating blackberries.

9.3

i-çéť hóo theé waleé khóojan
to bear calling having done having brought inquiry
i-ç -e -t hóo th -ée wal -ée khóojan

bear OBL to calling do/say CONJP bring CONJP inquiry
m n cas1 cas2 precat trans parti trans parti fn

thigé i-ç se “mas neé
they did bear AG l(ag) not
th -éeğ -e i-ç -se ma -se neé
do/say PFT SIMP3p bear AG l AG not
trans val tens m n cas1 pers cas1 neg

pašíf gas” thigú.
I(m) saw he did/said
paás -éeğ -us th -éeğ -u
see PFT SIMP1sm do/say PFT SIMP3sm
trans val tens trans val tens

FT: When they called the bear and brought him and asked him, the bear said, “I didn't see him”.
9.4 The bear has been portrayed as a slow-moving, slow-witted creature whose stomach commands far more attention than any good sense he may have had. His own stupidity has done him in.

9.5 The construction marked by use of a verb in the past perfect tense followed by *nalaá akií ‘just right then’ is pronounced with no pause between those words; a slight pause follows *nalaá akií. English has a parallel construction for marking such a sudden change in action, so translation comes easily – "They had thrown out the curry when just then..." This construction has been used frequently in this story. For example, in sentence 3.1 only *nalaá occurs with the past perfect tense: "He had gone some distance when just then..." (See also the comment on sentence 3.6.)
1 re júuli jáa pharáko šúuey šisgč
that(fem) curry where bald of small(son) on head
re júuli jáa pharáko šuíő -e -y sis -e -č
she(rem) curry where bald small(son) OBL GEN head OBL on
dem f n inter adj adj cas1 cas2 m n cas1 cas2

géín.
she has gone
buį -in
go PRPRF3sf
intrans tens

FT: They cooked and ate (the bear) and threw out the leftover curry when just then a cry was heard. Where had that curry gone but on the bald son’s head!

9.6
lo-y se “nan čhat dšči” theé
fox AG here evil activity happened having said
lo-y -se nan čhat dįį -t -i th -eč
fox AG here evil activity fall PFI SIMP3sf do/say CONJP
f n cas1 adv f n intr val tens trans parti
uçóon thigf.
püure rálloo
we will flee she did/said all(pl) from there
uç -on th -eçg -i púúro -e rel -jo
flee FUT1p do/say PFT SIMP3sf all PL there(rem) from
intr val tens trans val tens adj num adv cas2

Commentary

1 9.5 jáa ... géín. Using the word jáa ‘where’ in this way (coupled with the present perfect tense on the verb) is a way of adding intensity or focus to the sentence. Without jáa, the sentence would merely read, “The curry went on the bald little son’s head.”

2 9.6 čhat dšči. dijoók ‘to fall’ is often used in complex verb constructions such as this to give a sense of suddenness or something “just happening”. čhat is an ‘evil activity’ of malevolent spirits with its accompanying weird sound. A cry coming up from the ground is certainly sufficient reason to suspect evil activity!

Pairing a noun with a verb in this way produces a new meaning; this result is called a complex verb. This construction was introduced in Blackberry Bush 1.19.
uçûte.
they ran away
uç -t -e
flee PFI SIMP3p
intrans val tens
FT: The fox said, “Some evil has happened here!”, and said they should flee. All of them fled from there.

9.7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pharâko</th>
<th>suûo</th>
<th>šong</th>
<th>beê</th>
<th>ðóokejo</th>
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<tr>
<td>bald</td>
<td>small(son)</td>
<td>care/alert</td>
<td>having become</td>
<td>from hole</td>
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<tr>
<td>pharâko</td>
<td>suûo</td>
<td>šong</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>-ée</td>
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<tr>
<td>bald</td>
<td>small(son)</td>
<td>care/alert</td>
<td>become</td>
<td>CONJP hole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adj</td>
<td>adj</td>
<td>adj</td>
<td>intrans parti</td>
<td>m n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ikhai f “úswaa jîfl” thígû.
having come out oh my! life he did/said
nikhâ -ée úswaa jîfl th -eég -u
come out CONJP oh my! life do/say PFT SIMP3sm
intrans parti interj fn trans val tens
FT: The bald son carefully came out of the hole and said, “Oh my dear life!”

--- Commentary ---

1 9.7 úswaa! is a positive exclamation of delight or happiness or approval. The shortened form uš! is also used. An example of the latter: uš, je čhilik! ‘Oh, what nice cloth!’ (See also the note on 8.1, above.)
9.8

ho raloó hfo kaáy ek theé
then from there heart disposition one having done
ho rel -jo hío kaáy ek th -cée
then there (rem) from heart disposition one do/say CONJP
adv adv cas2 m n f n numeral trans parti

toÓm gotéwaar zas bugú.
own toward house departure he became
toÓm goót -e -waar zas b -cég -u
own house OBL toward departure become PFT SIMP3sm
adv m n cas1 cas2 precat intrans val tens

FT: Then he was encouraged and set out from there toward his home.

--------------------------------- Commentary ---------------------------------

1 9.8 To be honest, it is difficult to find an adequate translation of hío kaáy ek theé. This idiom occurs at the end of Hopoti and Hopoto as well (12.1), so some decision must be reached! There it is rendered 'they were content'. Here, 'he was encouraged'. Perhaps 'be at peace' could be entered into this definition competition. Or 'reconcile to one's fate' or even 'sigh with relief'. At any rate, some sort of equilibrium was again attained and the bald little son went on his merry way.
šará áyey šilóok
The Ibex’s Story

Introduction to the story

The three baby ibexes in this third story have unusual names. If the story is told properly, the long vowels are drawn out and the whole name is pronounced rhythmically each time it is encountered. One could compare it to the type of rhythm used to lull children to sleep.

In fact, this rhythmic pattern with its drawn out vowels is in the style of ugaālic, the songs of the dayá-/, or shaman. The dayá-/- in his or her traditional role inhales a lot of the smoke of a burning číli, the juniper. Eventually she or he falls into a trance and begins singing an ugaāli. In this trance the dayá-/- is often put into contact with the baraaye, or fairies, that live on the mountain Nanga Parbat, which the locals call Diamer. The message that comes out of the singing of the ugaāli concerns the future or past of the person sponsoring the occasion. This tradition is rarely seen nowadays, but the influence has come down the generations and is seen in such instances as the pronunciation of the names of these baby ibexes.

Outside of the fact that animals talk, however, the magical is not resorted to in this story. It is raw courage and a mother’s concern for her child that spurs the ibex to the bold action which marks the climax of this story.

An interesting aspect which separates this story from the preceding one about the Bald Son is the lack of direct conversation. In this story, the only direct speech comes from the villain, the bear. In the Bald Son story, there was lots of talking, especially from the main character as he tried to save his skin!
šará áyey śilóok
(Phonemic script)

1.1 ĉal căl búnker šará áyek aší theé. 1.2 re čeif čée pāłe thigís. 1.3 chálóó née nóomi ga čhībirígiš. 1.4 pumuiko jáalo cháléy nóó mšurújanaa pāłó asúu. 1.5 itsí jáalo cháléy nóó mmaamújianaa pāłó asúu. 1.6 née phátú čhúper jáalo cháléy phaačúnáa pāłó theégi. 1.7 mšurújanaa pāłó ga mmaamújianaa pāłó beéne biiotek asée. 1.8 magám phaačúnáa pāłó ačhëemok asúu.

2.1 har chák čalbují čal ay čarijoók géi to chálf sam theé khačí fůjiš. 2.2 ris ga arunípar dar_kursínes. 2.3 bunér duúr boósang geé čarijí wayoósang balakaábl biší. 2.4 daáréč waii chálóó nóomi dée hóó thfís. 2.5 ris loóko loóko theé dar wiyéenes. 2.6 dar wiyéé čhúpe dōjo darú waii toóm mayé čhíriń paliójanes.

3.1 ek chák balakaál ay čarijií waii toóm pálót hóó thigí. 3.2 ris dar wiyéé čhúpe dōjo darú waií réseye dút pioók šaaše. 3.3 ičček se duréjo ri pašíí doól beé waii keénekey phátú jàp beé ri čakeégu. 3.4 chálí pašíí réseye híí maaş_maaş bugú. 3.5 ros toóm híir gùneégu, “lusťáak ay čarijooí géi to géé aní chálf kham.”

4.1 čalbují čal ay se chálí khačí bunét ikháti. 4.2 ho ič doól beé daáréč waií rinéy nóómi dée hóó thigí, “mšurújanaa pálóo, mmaamújianaa pálóo, phaačúnáa pálóo dar wiyáat!” 4.3 mšurújanaa pálóo ga mmaamújianaa pálóos dar née wiyóon thigí. 4.4 magám phaačúnáa pálóo rinóc née sunjíí, pírk dée géé dar wiyééegú. 4.5 dar wiyééegus akií ič se dar garaáng theé arú waií ro lóp_thigí. 4.6 mšurújanaa pálóo ga mmaamújianaa pálóo ráloo ucée géé jéeler thap jío-zíkey khíří jàp bitígé.

5.1 balakaál ay waií čakéy to dūkúrii dar báato han, pírk dée arú géi to pálé nuš. 5.2 ée kéeen réseye híir jéek__ga neé pòólú. 5.3 kheének sambá theé pálé udaroók ikhám theé ikháti. 5.4 ho saát née hararees šaato jéeler ri udoór thigí. 5.5 tušáar mučhoó géiš akií réseye páléthap jío-zíkey khíröo ikhái réset hóó thigí. 5.6 phar beé čakéy to mšurújanaa pálóo ga mmaamújianaa pálóo chóke han. 5.7 hay thóóje rinówaar géi. 5.8 née loóko loóko rínój phaačúnáa páléy kheeégi. 5.9 ris čhúpejo cága theé waleé baș thigí. 5.10 róloo toóm pálé ginií hoy theé dūkúrii wáíi. 5.11 dūkúrii waleé pálóol dút digí. 5.12 née ri sam theé khačí akií akharékač géi. 5.13 akharékač géé sam tóine
khaṭarí thareé toóm ċhingoč ċaareégi. 5.14 ráloo ziśk_čhineé i-č beéyey jéelewaar géi. 5.15 jéele bujíš akiíf réset i-č dok bugú. 5.16 ek neé reé itsíč čhup déé i-čéy derér khaṭarí šée thrak thigí. 5.17 thrak thigíš nalaá akiíf phaačuňáá paálo deréjo taš beé darú wátu. 5.18 i-č paár phirí geé ťam beé múo.

6.1 dúu déezo majaá akiíf phaačuňáá paálo bilijíí haguño sámek bugús. 6.2 ráloo phaačuňáá paálo gíníf dukúrir waleégi. 6.3 dukúrir waleé ro kúuter wifgi. 6.4 máazekejo ho phaačuňáá paálo yayoök bás bugú. 6.5 aályo phatu máá paále gáti beé bunéč geé ċaáránas.
The Ibex’s Story
(Free translation)

1.1 Very long ago, they say, a female ibex lived in a high pasture. 1.2 She had given birth and had triplets. 1.3 She had even given names to the kids. 1.4 The first born kid’s name was Shuurujanaa Paalo. 1.5 The next born kid’s name was Maamujanaa Paalo. 1.6 And the last born she called Phaacunaa Paalo. 1.7 Shuurujanaa Paalo and Maamujanaa Paalo were both gentle. 1.8 But Phaacunaa Paalo was naughty.

2.1 Every day, early in the morning, when the ibex went to graze she used to lock up her kids safely and go. 2.2 They also used to lock the door from inside. 2.3 She used to go far in the high pasture to graze and by the time she came back it would be late afternoon. 2.4 She used to come to the door and call the kids by name. 2.5 They would quickly open the door. 2.6 Having opened the door, they used to come skipping and jumping out and would nurse hungrily (cling to her udder).

3.1 One day in the late afternoon the ibex returned from grazing and called to her little ones. 3.2 They opened the door and came jumping out and began to nurse. 3.3 A bear saw them from far away, crept up, and watched them, hidden behind a big rock. 3.4 When he saw the kids he became greedy for them. 3.5 He thought to himself, “Tomorrow when the ibex goes to graze, I will go and eat those kids.”

4.1 Early in the morning the ibex locked up the kids and set out to the pasture. 4.2 Then the bear crept up to the door and called them by name, “Shuurujanaa Paalo, Maamujanaa Paalo, Phaacunaa Paalo please open the door!” 4.3 Shuurujanaa Paalo and Maamujanaa Paalo refused to open the door. 4.4 But Phaacunaa Paalo didn’t agree with them, he jumped to the door and opened it. 4.5 Just as he had opened the door, the bear came in with a big push and gulped him down. 4.6 Shuurujanaa Paalo and Maamujanaa Paalo fled away from there and went into the forest and hid under a dense pine tree.

5.1 Late in the afternoon when the ibex came, she saw that the door of the hut was open! She leapt over and went in and her little ones weren’t there! 5.2 At that time she didn’t understand anything. 5.3 She considered (the situation) for a while and decided to go out and look for her children and left. 5.4 Then she wasted no time and searched for them in the nearby forest. 5.5 When she had gone a long ways, her little ones
came out from beneath a dense pine tree and called to her. 5.6 When she turned and looked, Shuurujanaa Paalo and Maamujanaa Paalo were standing there! 5.7 She ran over to them. 5.8 And quickly she asked them about Phaacunaa Paalo. 5.9 They told her the whole story in detail. 5.10 From there she hurried with her little ones and came to the hut. 5.11 She brought her little ones inside the hut and nursed them. 5.12 Then she locked them up carefully and went (herself) to the blacksmith. 5.13 She went to the blacksmith and had two really sharp knives made and had them attached to her horns. 5.14 From there she boldly set off to the forest where the bear lived. 5.15 Just as she had gone into the forest she met the bear. 5.16 Without saying a word she jumped at it and tore open the bear's belly with the knife. 5.17 Just when she had torn it open, Phaacunaa Paalo slipped out of the (bear's) belly. 5.18 The bear went a little ways, fell down and died.

6.1 In just two days Phaacunaa Paalo had shrunk down to a mere thumb's size. 6.2 From there she took Phaacunaa Paalo and brought him to the hut. 6.3 Having brought him to the hut she put him in a leather bag (to keep him warm). 6.4 After a month, then PhAACUNAA Paalo was able to walk. 6.5 After that the mother and the little ones used to go together to the high pasture to graze.
šará áyey šilóok

The Ibex’s Story

Interlinear grammatical analysis

0.1

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<tr>
<th>šará</th>
<th>áyey</th>
<th>šilóok</th>
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</thead>
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<td>ibex</td>
<td>of goat</td>
<td>story</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šará</td>
<td>ay</td>
<td>-c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibex</td>
<td>goat(f)</td>
<td>OBL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mn</td>
<td>fn</td>
<td>cas1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FT: The ibex’s story.

1.1

<table>
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<tr>
<th>čal</th>
<th>čal</th>
<th>bûneker</th>
<th>šará</th>
<th>áyek</th>
<th>ašī</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>long ago</td>
<td>in a high pasture</td>
<td>ibex</td>
<td>a goat(f)</td>
<td>she was</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čal</td>
<td>čal</td>
<td>bun</td>
<td>-ek</td>
<td>-c</td>
<td>-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>early</td>
<td>early</td>
<td>pasture</td>
<td>INDEF</td>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adv</td>
<td>adv</td>
<td>mn</td>
<td>indef</td>
<td>cas1</td>
<td>cas2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

theē.

having said
th | -cē |
do/say | CONJP |
trans | parti |

FT: Very long ago, they say, a female ibex lived in a high pasture.

____________________ Commentary __________________

1 1.1-8 This first paragraph sets the background for the story. The actions significant to the setting of the story, that of giving birth and assigning names, are both in the past perfect tense. These things had already taken place and are the foundation for the story line.

2 1.1 theē. The sentence final theē ‘having said’ is a narrative device used to signal the beginning of a folktale, something not necessarily factual, but well worth listening to. The complete thought would be theē rānecn ‘having-said they-say’ or ‘so they say’. As a story-telling convention there is no need for the full thought. theē at the end of the opening sentence signals the beginning of a journey into a time and place far removed. The thought is completed in the listener’s mind.
1.2  
re čaílf čée paále thig și.
that(fem) having given birth three babies she had done
re č -ée čée paálo-e th -eég-îš
she(rem) give birth CONJP three baby PL do/sayPFT PSPRF3sf
dem intrans parti numeral m n num trans val tens
FT: She had given birth and had triplets.

1.3  
čhalóo née nóomi ga čhibifgiš.
of kids even names also she had kept
čhaãl-o -o née nóom-i ga čhib -eéal-îš
kid PLOBL PLGEN again nam PL also keep PFT PSPRF3sf
e
m n cas1 cas2 adv m n num adv trans val tens
FT: She had even given names to the kids.

1.4  
pumuúko jáalo čhaléy nóom šuurujaanaa paálo
first born of kid name Shuurujanaa baby
pumuúko jáalo čhaãl-e -y nóom paálo
first born kid OBL GEN name baby
adj adj m n cas1 cas2 m n prop m n

asúu.
he was
han -u
be SIMP3sm
intrans tens
FT: The first born kid's name was Shuurujanaa Paalo.

1.5  
itsí jáalo čhaléy nóom maamuujanaa paálo
before born of kid name Maamuujanaa baby
itsí jáalo čhaãl-e -y nóom paálo
before born kid OBL GEN name baby
adv adj m n cas1 cas2 m n prop m n

----------------------------------------------- Commentary -----------------------------------------------

1 1.2 paálo refers specifically to a baby animal. It is used with humans only as a term of endearment, such as a mother to her little son.
asúu.
he was
han -u
be SIMP3sm
intrans tens

FT: The next born kid's name was Maamujanaa Paalo.

1.6

née phatú čhúper jáalo čhalét phaačunáa
and behind in end born to kid Phaacunaa
néc phatú čhup -e r jáalo čhaal -e t
again behind end OBL in born kid OBL to
adv adv m n cas1 cas2 adj m n cas1 cas2 prop

paálo theégi.
baby she said
paálo th -eég i
baby do/say PFT SIMP3sf
m n trans val tens

FT: And the last born she called Phaacunaa Paalo.

--------- Commentary ---------

1 1.6 čhúper. The noun čhup is ‘end’, either the front end or the back end, hence the need for phatú ‘behind’ in the modifying phrase. The ‘behind in-the-end born’ kid was named Phaacunaa Paalo.
1.7

**bišóotek**

gentle ones

asée.

gentle they were

Shuurujanaa Paalo and Maamujanaa Paalo were both gentle.

--- Commentary ---

1.7 *bišóotek*. The presence of the enclitic *-ek*, the indefinite marker, on the adjectives in this sentence and the next seems to be related to their use in these *equative* sentences: X is/was X. It gives the sense that they were “gentle ones” or a “naughty one”. Note that the final vowel of the word takes precedence over the vowel of *-ek*. In this sentence it is the plural marker *-c* on *bišóoto ‘gentle’* that gets pronounced. In the next sentence the final vowel of *achéemo ‘naughty’* is pronounced. The familiar use of *-ek* as a discourse device for introducing characters is, of course, also present in this story, as seen in sentence 1.1 – *šará áyek ‘an ibex’*. (See also the note on *Blackberry Bush* sentence 1.3.)
2.1

\[ \text{har} \ \check{c}hak \ \check{c}albuji\check{f} \ \check{c}al \ \text{ay} \ \check{c}arijo\check{g}k \]
\[ \text{every day} \ \text{morning} \ \text{early} \ \text{goat(f) to graze(self)} \]

\[ \text{har} \ \check{c}hak \ \check{c}albuji\check{f} \ \check{c}al \ \text{ay} \ \check{c}a\check{a}r \ -\check{fij} \ -\check{o}k \]
\[ \text{every day} \ \text{morning} \ \text{early} \ \text{goat(f) graze} \ \text{PASS INF} \]
\[ \text{adv} \ f \ n \ \text{adv} \ f \ n \ \text{intrans voice inf} \]

\[ \text{g\text{\'e}i} \ \text{to} \ \check{c}half \ \text{sam} \ \text{the\'{e}} \]
\[ \text{she went} \ \text{so} \ \text{kids} \ \text{well} \ \text{having done} \]
\[ \text{bu\j} \ -i \ \text{to} \ \check{c}ha\check{a}l\check{-}i \ \text{sam} \ \text{th} \ -\check{e}c \]
\[ \text{go} \ \text{SIMP3sf} \ \text{so} \ \text{kid} \ \text{PL} \ \text{well} \ \text{do/sayCONJP} \]
\[ \text{intrans tens} \ \text{conj} \ m \ n \ \text{num} \ \text{adv} \ \text{trans parti} \]

--- Commentary ---

1 2.1-6 This second paragraph brings the setting for the action closer. All the verbs are in the past imperfective tense, defining action that was not completed in the past, rather, was on-going or habitual. By describing the usual behavior of the ibex and her children, the events of the coming paragraphs have greater meaning.

2 2.1 \text{\check{c}arijo\check{g}k g\'e}i. The verb \text{\check{c}arijo\check{g}k} ‘to graze’ demonstrates an interesting morphophonemic process, that is, when the morphemes come together a predictable change in the phonemes occurs. Three morphemes come together here: \check{c}a\check{a}r, the intransitive verb root meaning ‘graze’, -\check{fij}, the suffix which marks the passive voice, and -\check{o}k, the infinitive suffix. The present tense form of the verb, \check{c}a\check{a}rin ‘she grazes’, shows the long vowel of the verb root with its low rising pitch accent. However, a suffix with a long vowel and accent of its own is stronger, so to speak, than what precedes it. Thus, when the passive suffix -\check{fij} (with the high falling accent on the long vowel) is added to the root, it is stronger than the long vowel of the verb root, and so that root vowel is shortened and loses its accent. So we get \check{c}h\check{a}ri\check{fij}in ‘she grazes’ (note: the normal and passive forms of this verb are used interchangeably; compare with 6.5). When still another suffix with a long vowel and accent is added, in this case oo\k, the infinitive suffix, the long vowel of the preceding suffix is shortened and loses its accent. The result is \text{\check{c}arijo\check{g}k} ‘to graze’. This phenomenon is a manifestation of the culmination characteristic of accent, that is, in any word there can only be one strong vowel, that is, one vowel carrying the accent. The other vowels are all short or shortened. This pitch accent system is more fully described in Radloff (forthcoming).
The Ibex’s Story

2.2

ris ga arunípar dar kurfínes.

they(rem)(ag) also from inside they used to lock
ri -se ga arunípar dar kurí -anes

those(rem) AG also from inside door strengthen IMPRF3p
dem cas1 adv adv m n trans tens

FT: They also used to lock the door from inside.

2.3

bunér duúr boósang geé

in high pasture far up to being having gone
bun -c -r duúr b -oósang búj -ée

pasture OBL in far become up to go CONJP
m n cas1 cas2 adv advzr intrans parti

čarįjįf wayoósang balakaál bfiš.

having grazed until coming late afternoon she used to be
čaár -fįj -ée wá -oósang balakaál b -iš

graze PASS CONJP come up to late afternoon become IMPRF3sf
intrans voice parti intrans advzr fn intrans tens

Commentary

1 2.3 duúr boósang. The adverbalizer suffix -oósang ‘up to’ or ‘until’ is an interesting derivation – it attaches to any verb root and turns it into an adverb. In the first instance in the current sentence it describes how far the ibex went, in the second it describes when she returned. A Gilgit woman once said this to me:

akáay báay bašoósang be neé sóones, hun beé beéyones
eleven twelve until-striking we not we-sleep, up having-been we-stay
‘We don’t sleep until eleven or twelve o’clock, we stay up.’

2 2.3 bfiš. The main verb of this sentence, bfiš ‘she used to be’ agrees with the grammatical subject balakaál ‘late afternoon’. The mother ibex is still the semantic subject of the sentence (albeit unstated) since it was she who used to go far into the high pasture and graze.
FT: She used to go far in the high pasture to graze and by the time she came back it would be late afternoon.

2.4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>daáreč</th>
<th>waiʃ</th>
<th>čhalőo</th>
<th>nóomí</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>on door</td>
<td>having come</td>
<td>of kids</td>
<td>names</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

dar -é č wá -éé čhaál-o -o nóom -i

doors OBL on come CONJP kid PLOBL PLGEN name PL

m n cas1 cas2 intrans parti m n cas1 cas2 m n num

dee hőo thfiš.

having given calling she used to do
d -éé hőo th -iš
give CONJP calling do/sayIMPRF3sf
trans parti precat trans tens

FT: She used to come to the door and call the kids by name.

2.5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ris</th>
<th>loóko loóko theé</th>
<th>dar</th>
<th>wiyéenes.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>they(rem)(ag)</td>
<td>quick quick having done</td>
<td>door</td>
<td>they used to open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ri -se</td>
<td>loóko loóko th</td>
<td>-éé</td>
<td>dar wi -anes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>those(rem) AG</td>
<td>quick quick do/sayCONJP</td>
<td>door</td>
<td>open IMPRF3p</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

dem cas1 adv adv trans parti m n trans tens

FT: They would quickly open the door.

1 2.4 hőo thfiš. The verb hőo thoık ‘to call’ is the kind of calling the mother did to her babies upon her return each day. If the causative form of the verb is used, the definition changes to mean ‘to call for’ someone, or ‘to summon’ someone, hőo tharoök.

2 2.5 loóko loóko theé. loóko means both ‘light’ and ‘quick’. Combined with theé ‘having done’ it is definitely the adverb ‘quickly’. Repetition is a grammatical device to show intensification in Gilgit Shina. The repetition of loóko shows that the three kids truly wasted no time in opening the door for their mother – they were hungry!
2.6

dar wiyéé chupé dóoje darú waif
door having opened jumps while giving out having come
dar wi-ée chup -e d -dóoje darú wá -ée
door open CONJP jump(over) PL give PRESR out come CONJP
mn trans parti fn num trans part adv intrans parti
tóóm mayéy chfiriṭ palifianes.
own of mother to udder they used to cling
tóóm maá -e -y chfiri -e -t pal -řij -anes
own mother OBL GEN udder OBL to spread PASS IMPRF3p
adv fn cas1 cas2 fn cas1 cas2 trans voice tens

FT: Having opened the door, they used to come skipping and jumping out and would nurse hungrily (clinging to their udder).

3.1

ek čhak balakaál ay čarijjí waif
one day late afternoon goat(f) having grazed having come
ek čhak balakaál ay čaár -řij -ée wá -ée
one day late afternoon goat(f) graze PASS CONJP come CONJP
numeral fn fn fn intrans voice parti intrans parti

Commentary

1 2.6 chupé. There are several words for ‘jump’ in Gilgit Shina. The word used here chup means a jump over something. One can picture the scene with three spindle-legged ibex babies jumping over each other as they rush out the door to their mother! The word for just ‘jump’ is prik, as in Bald Son 3.2; trok means ‘jump (up)’, as in Blackberry Bush 1.4.

2 3.1-5 This third paragraph brings the action that much closer. The main verbs are all in the simple past tense, since we’re now in a definite day when definite actions took place. Note that the introductory ek čhak ‘one day’ brings this into focus. And the enclitic -ek is used again to introduce a new character in sentence 3.3, the villain!

3 3.1 Use of a time phrase appears to be a discourse device used to mark off most of the major divisions of this story, divisions we can distinguish by arranging the text into paragraphs at those points. The second paragraph began with, “Every day, early in the morning…” Now this third paragraph begins, “One day…” This pattern is repeated throughout this story.
The Ibex's Story

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toöm paálotɬ hóo thígif.

own to babies calling she did/said
toóm paáloɬ-o -t hóo th -eég -i

own baby PLOBL to calling do/say PFT SIMP3sf adv m n cas1 cas2 precat trans val tens

FT: One day in the late afternoon the ibex returned from grazing and called to her little ones.

3.2

ris dar wiyéé chupé dóoje darú

they(rem)(ag) door having opened jumps while giving out
ri -se dar wi -cé chup -e d -óoje darú

those(rem)AG door open CONJP jump(over) PL give PRESP out
dem cas1 m n trans parti f n num trans part adv

waíf résey dut pioók şaaète.

having come his/her milk to drink they began
wá -cé ro -e y dut pí -oók şaa ac -t -e

come CONJP he(rem) OBL GEN milk drink INF begin PFI SIMP3p intrans parti dem cas1 cas2 m n trans inf intrans val tens

FT: They opened the door and came jumping out and began to nurse.

3.3

î-ček se duréjo ri pášif doól

a bear AG from far they(rem) having seen creeping
i-č -se duûr -e -jo ri páš -cé -Vrdp- dol

bear INDEF AG far OBL from those(rem) see CONJP (slower) crawling
m n indef cas1 adv cas1 cas2 dem trans parti mod precat

beé waíf keénekey

having been having come of a boulder
b -cé wá -cé keên -ek -e y

become CONJP come CONJP boulder INDEF OBL GEN intrans parti intrans parti f n indef cas1 cas2

phatú jap beé ri çakeégu.

behind covered having been they(rem) he looked
phatú jap b -cé ri çak -eég -u

behind covered become CONJP those(rem) look PFT SIMP3sm adv precat intrans parti dem trans val tens

FT: A bear saw them from far away, crept up, and watched them, hidden behind a big rock.

—— Commentary ——

1 3.3 (Regarding doól 'creeping', see the note on reduplication in Hopoti and Hopoto sentence 7.2.)
The Ibex’s Story

3.4

čahlí pašíf résey hío maš maš
kids having seen his/her heart itching
čaahlí paší f-e ré-y hío CV Crdp maš
kid PL see CONJP he(rem) OBL GEN heart (vigor) itching
m n num trans parti dem cas1 cas2 m n mod precat

bugú.
he became
b -cég -u
become PFT SIMP3sm
intrans val tens

FT: When he saw the kids he became greedy for them.

3.5

ros toóm hír gunneégú, “lušták
he own in hear he thought tomorrow
ro -se toóm hír -e r gun -cég -u lušták
he(rem) AG own heart OBL in think PFT SIMP3sm tomorrow
dem cas1 adv m n cas1 cas2 trans val tens adv

ay čarijoök géí to geé
goat(f) to graze(self) she went so having gone
ay čaar -řij -oök búj -i to búj -čé
goat(f) graze PASS INF go SIMP3sf so go CONJP

fn intrans voice inf intrans tens conj intrans parti

—— Commentary ———

1 3.4 The idiom hír maš maš bugú means ‘he became greedy’. Literally, his heart was itching with the kind of irritating itchy pain that an infected wound gives. maš maš is always used double like this, one maš alone would not carry this particular meaning. It can be shortened to mámas similarly to the reduplication process described Hopoti and Hopoto sentence 7.2.

2 3.5 As described above in Bald Little Son 3.7, the idea of a subordinate clause in English, beginning with ‘when’ or ‘if’, is expressed through syntax in Shina by linking the subordinate clause to the main clause with the conjunction to ‘so, then’. In this sentence, ‘she went’ is in the simple past tense. This verb is followed by to, and so when combined with the main verb of the sentence (in this case in the future tense) the meaning is given, “when she will go”.

anf čaļAf kham."
these kids I will eat
anĩ čhaał-i kh -am
these kid PL eat FUT1s
dem m n num trans tens
FT: He thought to himself, “Tomorrow when the ibex goes to graze, I will go and eat those kids.”

4.1
čałbujíf čaļ ay se čaļAf khačAf
morning early goat(f) AG kids having locked up
čałbujíf čaļ ay -se čhaał-i khač -ée
morning early goat(f) AG kid PL lock up CONJP
adv adv fn cas1 m n num trans parti
bunět ikhátí.
to high pasture she came out
bun -e -t nikhá -t -i
pasture OBL to come out PFI SIMP3sf
m n cas1 cas2 intrans val tens
FT: Early in the morning the ibex locked up the kids and set out to the pasture.

4.2
ho i-č doól beée daáreč
then bear creeping having been on door
ho i-č -Vrđp- dol b -ée dar -e -č
then bear (slower) crawling become CONJP door OBL on
adv m n mod precat intrans parti m n cas1 cas2

------------- Commentary -------------

1 4.1-6 The time phrase čałbujíf čaļ ‘early in the morning’ introduces a new phase of the plot, the day of sinister action! Thus, it is good to mark it off as a new paragraph.

2 4.1 ikhátí. The verb ‘to come out’ has two common forms in Gilgit, nikhooák and ikhoók.

3 4.2 Whereas in an English children’s story a bear might speak in a low, gruff, growly voice (when impersonated by the storyteller), in Gilgit Shina stories a bear evidently speaks in a low, nasal voice. Rather than change the spelling of all the words in his speech to reflect this nasalization, the reader is informed via this commentary!
having come their(rem) names having given calling
wá -cé ri -e -y nóm -i d -cé hóo
come CONJP those(rem) OBL GEN name PL give CONJP calling
intrans parti dem cas1 cas2 m n num trans parti precat

thígú, “šuurújanaa paáloo, maamújanaa paáloo,
he did/said Shuurujanaa baby(voc) Maamujanaa baby(voc)
th -eég -u paálo -oo paálo -oo
do/say PFT SIMP3sm baby VOC baby VOC
trans val tens prop m n voc prop m n voc

phaacúnáa paáloo dar wiyáat!”
Phaacunaa baby(voc) door you all please open
paálo -oo dar wi -aa -t
baby VOC door open IMP2p polite
prop m n voc m n trans mood hon

PT: Then the bear crept up to the door and called them by name, “Shuurujanaa Paalo, Maamujanaa Paalo, Phaacunaa Paalo please open the door!”

4.3

šuurújanaa paálo ga maamújanaa paálos dar
Shuurujanaa baby and Maamujanaa baby(ag) door
paálo ga paálo -se dar
baby and baby AG door
prop m n conj prop m n cas1 m n

née wiyóon thígé.
not we will open they said
née wi -on th -eég -e
not open FUT1p do/say PFT SIMP3p
neg trans tens trans val tens

—— Commentary ———

1 4.3 maamújanaa paálos. The agent case marker, the enclitic -se, is suffixed to the subject of the transitive verb. It does not require the oblique suffix, as other case markers such as the genitive do. If the subject ends in a vowel, -se is truncated to just s. Thus, paálo ‘kid’ becomes paálos ‘kid AG’ here, the subject of the transitive verb thóók ‘to do or say’ (compare ay se ‘ibex AG’ in 4.1). In the current sentence, moreover, the subject is compound: both Shuurujanaa Paalo and Maamujanaa Paalo refused to open the door. -se, however, is only affixed to the final member of that compound subject.
FT: Shuurujanaa Paalo and Maamujanaa Paalo refused to open the door.

4.4

magám phaačunáa paálo rinóč neé
but Phaacunaa baby on them not
magám paálo ri -o -č neé
but baby those(rem) PLOBL on not
conj prop m n dem cas1 cas2 neg

suníjí, prik deé geé dar
having agreed jump having given having gone door
sun -fíj -eé prik d -éé búj -éé dar
agree PASS CONJP jump give CONJP go CONJP door
trans voice parti f n trans parti intrans parti m n

wiyeégú.
he opened
wi -éég -u
open PFT SIMP3sm
trans val tens

FT: But Phaacunaa Paalo didn't agree with them, he jumped to the door and opened it.

4.5

dar wiyeégus akíí i-č se dar
door he had opened EMPH bear AG door
dar wi -éég -us akíí i-č -se dar
door open PFT PSPRF3sm EMPH bear AG door
m n trans val tens part m n cas1 m n

garáng theé arú wáíf ro
shove having done inside having come he
garáng th -eé arú wá -éé ro
shove do/say CONJP inside come CONJP he(rem)
f n trans parti adv intrans parti dem

Commentary

1 4.5 dar wiyeégú...dar wiyeégus. The main verb of the preceding sentence is repeated at the beginning of this sentence, this time in the past perfect construction. This is known as a tail-head construction and is a common narrative device to enhance continuity.
lap_thigú.
he swallowed whole
lap th -eég -u
mouthful do/say PFT SIMP3sm
fn trans val tens
FT: Just as he had opened the door, the bear came in with a big push
and gulped him down.

4.6

šuurújanaa pâlo ga maamújanaa pâlo râloo
Shuurújanaa baby and Maamújanaa baby from there
pâlo ga pâlo rel -jo
baby and baby there(rem) from
prop m n conj prop m n adv cas2
uçéé geé jéeler thap
having run away having gone in jungle dense/dark
uç -eé búj -ée jéel -e thap
flee CONJP go CONJP jungle OBL in dense
intrans parti intrans parti m n cas1 cas2 adj
jóo-zikey khiri jap bigé.
of a pine tree down covered they became
jóo-zi -ek -e -y khiri jap b -eég -e
pine INDEF OBL GEN down covered become PFT SIMP3p
fn indef cas1 cas2 adv precat intrans val tens
FT: Shuurújanaa Paalo and Maamújanaa Paalo fled away from there
and went into the forest and hid under a dense pine tree.

1 4.6 khiri is often shortened to khir in the stream of normal speech.
This dropping of a final short vowel is accompanied by a slight
lengthening of the preceding consonant, in compensation for the timing
difference for the lack of vowel. Another example would be ‘Did you
eat (yet)?’ tikí khígáa?, where tikí becomes tik as the i is lost between
the two consonants k and kh. There is even some perceptible
lengthening of k in such a case: [tik:khígáa?]
5.1

balakaál  ay  wáif  çakéy  to
late afternoon goat(f) having come s/he will look so
balakaál  ay  wá  -cé  çak  -cy  to
late afternoon goat(f) come CONJP look FUT3s so
f n  f n  intrans part | trans tens  conj

dukúrii  dar  báato  han,  prik  deé
hut  door open he is jump having given
dukúri-é  -y  dar  báato  han  -an  prik  d  -cé
hut OBL GEN door open be PRES3sm jump give CONJP
f n  cas1  cas2  m n  adj  sta  tens  f n  trans parti

aru  géi  to  paále  nuš.
inside she went so babies not is
aru  bűj  -i  to  paálo-e  nuš
inside go SIMP3sf so baby PL not is
adv  intrans tens  conj  m n  num  neg

FT: Late in the afternoon when the ibex came, she saw that the door of the hut was open! She leapt over and went in and her little ones weren't there!

5.2

eé  khéen  résey  hför  jéek_ga  neé
that(f) time  his/her  in heart  anything  not
eé  khéen  ro  -c  -y  hío  -c  -r  jéek  ga  neé
that(f) time he(rem) OBL GEN heartOBL in what and not
dem  f n  dem  cas1  cas2  m n  cas1  cas2  adv  conj  neg

Commentary

1 5.1-18 The action shifts back to focus on the mother ibex and again a time word, balakaál ‘late afternoon’ helps mark the shift. Hence, a new paragraph.

2 5.1 This particular scene of the mother ibex discovering her babies missing could be thought of as the crisis or turning point of the story. Before this the plot had been thickening with each additional event. But from this point on, all the action moves toward resolving the crisis – her babies are gone!

3 5.2 hför poólo ‘he alighted in the heart’ This is a commonly used idiom to convey the meaning ‘understood’.

poólú.
he alighted
p -t -u
alight PFI SIMP3sm

*intrans val tens*
FT: At that time she didn't understand anything.

5.3

Khéénk sambá theé paále udaroók
some time deep thought having done babies search
khéen -ek sambá th -ée paálo-e udar -oók
time INDEF deep thought do/say CONJP baby PL search INF
f n indef f n trans parti m n num trans inf

Ikháam theé ikháti.
i will come out (intent) she came out
nikhá -am th -ée nikhá -t i
come out FUT1s do/say CONJP come out PFI SIMP3sf
*intrans tens trans parti intrans val tens*
FT: She considered (the situation) for a while and decided to go out
and look for her children and left.

5.4¹

Ho saât neé harareé šááto
then short interval not having caused to take nearby
ho saât neé har -ar -ée šááto
then short while not take away CAUS CONJP nearby
adv f n neg trans caus parti adv

Jéélér ri udooór thiíf.
in jungle they(rem) search she did/said
jéél -e -r ri udooór th -cég -i
jungle OBL in those(rem) search do/say PFI SIMP3sf
m n cas1 cas2 dem f n trans val tens

FT: Then she wasted no time and searched for them in the nearby
forest.

¹ 5.4 saât neé harareé ‘having wasted no time’, is literally, ‘she didn’t
cause any interval to be taken’. When she acted, she acted!
5.5

tuşáar mučhoó gēíš akií résey
much in front she had gone EMPH his/her

tuşáar mučhoó búj -iš akií ro -e -y
much in front go PSPRF3sf EMPH he/rem OBL GEN

adv adv intrans tens part dem cas1 cas2

paále thap jío-zíkey khíoó
babies dense/dark of a pine tree from below
paálo-e thap jío-zí-ek -e -y khirí -jo
baby PL dense pine INDEF OBL GEN down from
mn num adj fn indef cas1 cas2 adv cas2

ikhaií réseṯ hóo thigé.
having come out to him/her calling they did
nikhá -eé ro -e -t hóo th -eég -e
come out CONJP he/rem OBL to calling do/say PFT SIMP3p
intrans parti dem cas1 cas2 precat trans val tens

FT: When she had gone a long ways, her little ones came out from
beneath a dense pine tree and called to her.

5.6

phar beé čakéy to šuuřújanaa paálo
returning having been s/he will look so Shuurujanaa baby
phar b -eé čak -ey to paálo

return become CONJP look FUT3s so baby
precat intrans parti trans tens conj prop mn

Ga maamuñjanaa paálo čóke han.
and Maamujanaa baby standing(pl) they are
Ga paálo čóko -e han -anen
and baby standing PL be PRES3p
conj prop mn adj num intrans tens

FT: When she turned and looked, Shuurujanaa Paalo and
Maamujanaa Paalo were standing there!

___________________________ Commentary ___________________________

1 5.6 In contrast to the typical narrative use of the simple past tense, the
future and present tenses are used again here to focus the listener’s
attention, maybe not to signal such a crisis in the action, as was the case
in 5.1, but surely to register the surprise and relief of the ibex mother as
she saw her children. (See note on Bald Son 9.1.)
5.7
hay thóoje rinówaar gíi.
running while doing toward them(rem) she went
hay th thóoje ri -o waar buj -i
running do/say PRESP those(rem) PLOBL toward go SIMP3sf
precat trans part dem cas1 cas2 intrans tens

FT: She ran over to them.

5.8
née loóko loóko rinójó phaačunáá
then quick quick from them Phaaacunaab
née loóko loóko ri -o -jo
again quick quick those(rem) PLOBL from
adv adv adv dem cas1 cas2 prop

paáley khujeégi.
of baby she asked
paálo -e -y khuj -cég -i
baby OBL GEN ask PFT SIMP3sf
m n cas1 cas2 trans val tens

FT: And quickly she asked them about Phaaacunaab Paalo.

5.9
ris čhúpejo čága theé
they(rem)(ag) from end story having done
ri -se čhup -e -jo čága th -eć
those(rem) AG end OBL from story do/say CONJP
dem cas1 m n cas1 cas2 f n trans parti

waleé baş thigé.
having brought visible they did
wal -eć baş th -cég -e
bring CONJP visible do/say PFT SIMP3p
trans parti mod trans val tens

FT: They told her the whole story in detail.

Commentary

1 5.8 phaačunáá paáley khujeégi. The mother ibex asked about Phaaacunaa Paalo’s whereabouts. The Gilgit Shina way of expressing this is to use the genitive, to ask of him.

2 5.9 čhup means ‘end’, whether the front end or the back end. The kids ‘brought from the end and made it visible’, that is, they told the whole story.
5.10
ráloo  toóm  paále  ginií  hoy  theé
from there  own  babies  having taken  rush  having done
rel  -jo  toóm  paálo-e  gín  -ée  hoy  th  -ée
there(rem) from  own  baby  PL  take  CONJP  rush  do/say  CONJP
adv  cas2  adv  m  n  num  trans parti  fn  trans parti

dúkúrir  wáti.
in  hut  she  came
dúkúri-e  -t  wá  -t  -i
hut  OBL in  come  PFI  SIMP3sf
fn  cas1  cas2  intrans  val  tens

FT: From there she hurried with her little ones and came to the hut.

5.11
dúkúrir  waleé  paáloť  dut
in  hut  having brought  to  babies  milk
dúkúri-e  -t  wal  -ée  paálo  -o  -ť  dut
hut  OBL in  bring  CONJP  baby  PLOBL to  milk
fn  cas1  cas2  trans parti  m  n  cas1  cas2  m  n
digf.
she  gave
d  -ée  ĝ  -i
give  PFT  SIMP3sf
trans  val  tens

FT: She brought her little ones inside the hut and nursed them..
5.12  

nēē  ri  sam  theē  khačīf  akiī
then  they(rem)  well  having done  having locked up  self
nēc  ri  sam  th  -ēē  khač  -ēē  akiī
again  those(rem)  well  do/say  CONJP  lock up CONJP  self
adv  dem  adv  trans  parti  trans  parti  pro

akharēkač  gēi.
near blacksmith  she went
akhār  -ē  -kač  būj  -i
blacksmith OBL  near  go  SIMP3sf
m  n  cas 1  cas 2  intrans  tens
FT: Then she locked them up carefully and went (herself) to the blacksmith.

5.13

akharēkač  geē  sam  tfīne  khaṭarīf
near blacksmith  having gone  well  sharp(pl)  knives
akhār  -ē  -kač  būj  -ēē  sam  tfīno  -ē  khaṭarī -ī
blacksmith OBL  near  go  CONJP  well  sharp PL  knife  PL
m  n  cas 1  cas 2  intrans  parti  adv  adj  num  m  n  num

thareē  toōm  ūngōē
having caused to do  own  on horns
th  -ēē  -ēē  toōm  ūng  -ō  -ē
do/say  CAUS  CONJP  own  horn  PLOBL  on
trans  caus  parti  adv  m  n  cas 1  cas 2

Commentary

1 5.12 akhār ‘blacksmith’ – These blacksmiths (who are also musicians) are a caste of people, called Doma, who wandered up from the southern plains centuries ago. Historically, the skills of these technicians made them welcome in Gilgit, but their status as foreigners kept them separate. The clan of the Doma which include the blacksmiths is called akharōo. Nowadays all Doma of Gilgit speak Shina as their mother tongue and are integrated into the community.

2 5.12 In this sentence, the word akiī is used in the main verb phrase. This brings to the fore that the mother ibex went to the blacksmith herself, she did not depute another for this important task. (Compare the use of this word in 5.15.)
śaareégi.
s - ar - cég - i

connect CAUS PFT SIMP3sf
trans caus val tens
FT: She went to the blacksmith and had two really sharp knives made and had them attached to her horns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5.14</th>
<th>1 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rálo</td>
<td>žiǐk čhineé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from there</td>
<td>boldly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rel -jo źiǐk čhin -éé</td>
<td>i-ç</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there(rem) from</td>
<td>pulling cut down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adv cas2 precat trans parti m n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

--- Commentary ---

1 5.14 žiǐk čhineé is an interesting idiom – from words meaning ‘pulling’ and ‘having cut down’ comes the idea ‘boldly’. This, then, truly illustrates the definition of idiom as being a construction whose overall meaning cannot be understood from the combined meanings of its parts.

2 5.14 i-ç beéyey jēél ‘the forest where the bear lives’ – This interesting relative clause construction modifies the noun ‘forest’ by using the future tense of beyoɔk ‘sit, stay’. beéyey jēél ‘the he-will-stay jungle’ or ‘the jungle where he lived’. Another example illustrating this construction, taken from a text by Shakil:

ma beéyam ee hoṭalér mey sómok ga beéyas
I I-will-stay that hotel-in my a-friend also he-was-staying
‘In that hotel where I stayed a friend of mine also was staying.’

Here it is the first person singular form of the future tense, ma beéyam ‘I I-will-stay’, that tells us which hotel the friend was staying in. Gilgit Shina does not require a specific relative pronoun on a relative clause as English does (such as where in the above sample sentence). It handles it just through the syntax – the sentence structure itself. Please refer to the note on Hopoti and Hopoto 6.3 for other examples of Gilgit Shina relative clauses.
The Ibex’s Story

beéyey jéelewaar géi.
s/he will stay toward jungle she went
beéy -eý jéel -e -waar buj -i
sit/stay FUT3s jungl OBL toward go SIMP3sf e

intrans tens m n cas1 cas2 intrans tens
FT: From there she boldly set off to the forest where the bear lived.

5.15
jéelër bujíš akiř réset
in jungle she had gone EMPH to him/her
jéel -e r buj -iš akiř ro -e -t
jungle OBL in go PSPRF3sf EMPH he(rem) OBL to
m n cas1 cas2 intrans tens part dem cas1 cas2
i-ç dok bugú.
bear meeting he became
i-ç dok b -eeg -u
bear meeting become PFT SIMP3sm
m n precat intrans val tens
FT: Just as she had gone into the forest she met the bear.

5.16
ek néé réé itsît chup
one not having spoken to next jump(over)
ek néé r -éé itsî -e -t chup
one not speak CONJP before OBL to jump(over)
numeral neg trans parti adv cas1 cas2 f n
deé i-çéy déerér khatarf
having given of bear in belly knives
d -éé i-ç -e -y déer -e -r khatar-i
give CONJP bear OBL GEN belly OBL in knife PL
trans parti m n cas1 cas2 f n cas1 cas2 m n num

šeé thrak thigf.
having connected tearing she did/said
šeé thrak th -eeg -i
connect CONJP tearing do/say PFT SIMP3sf
trans parti precat trans val tens
FT: Without having said a word she jumped at it and tore open the bear’s belly with the knife.

Commentary

1 5.15 Here the word akiř adds emphasis to the past perfect verb – ‘just when she had gone into the forest…’
5.17 \[ \text{thrak} \quad \text{thigfs} \quad \text{nalaå} \quad \text{aki} \quad \text{phaaçuánå} \quad \text{paålo} \]

\begin{tabular}{llllll}
\text{tearing} & \text{she had done} & \text{just then} & \text{EMPH} & \text{Phaacunaa} & \text{baby} \\
\text{thrak} & \text{th} & -eég & -iš & \text{nalaå} & \text{aki} & \text{paålo} \\
\text{tearing} & \text{do/say} & \text{PFT} & \text{PSPRF3sf} & \text{just then} & \text{EMPH} & \text{baby} \\
\text{precat} & \text{trans} & \text{val} & \text{tens} & \text{adv} & \text{part} & \text{prop} & \text{m n} \\
\end{tabular}

dérejo \quad \text{taå} \quad \text{beé} \quad \text{darú} \quad \text{wåtu}.

\begin{tabular}{llllllll}
\text{belly from} & \text{slipping} & \text{having been} & \text{out} & \text{he came} & \text{deé} & \text{-e} & \text{-jo} & \text{tas} & \text{b} & \text{-cé} & \text{darú} & \text{wá} & \text{-t} & \text{-u} \\
\text{belly OBL from} & \text{slipping become} & \text{CONJP out} & \text{come PFI} & \text{SIMP3sm} & \text{f n} & \text{cas1} & \text{cas2} & \text{precat} & \text{intrans parti} & \text{adv intrans val tens} \\
\end{tabular}

FT: Just when she had torn it open, Phaacunaa Paalo slipped out of the (bear's) belly.

5.18

\begin{tabular}{llllllllllll}
\text{i-ç} & \text{paå} & \text{phirí} & \text{geé} & \text{tam} & \text{beé} & \text{bear} & \text{over there} & \text{a bit} & \text{having gone} & \text{falling} & \text{having been} \\
\text{i-ç} & \text{paå} & \text{phirí} & \text{búj} & \text{-cé} & \text{tam} & \text{b} & \text{-cé} \\
\text{bear} & \text{over there} & \text{a bit} & \text{go} & \text{CONJP falling} & \text{become CONJP} & \text{m n} & \text{adv} & \text{intrans parti} & \text{precat} & \text{intrans parti} \\
\end{tabular}

múo.

\begin{tabular}{llllllllllll}
\text{he died} & \text{mirí} & \text{-u} \\
\text{die SIMP3sm} & \text{intrans tens} \\
\end{tabular}

FT: The bear went a little ways, fell down and died.

| Commentary |

5.17 **thrak thigfs.** There are only a few instances in Gilgit Shina of consonant clusters of the type where two consonants fill the slot normally occupied by one consonant. All such clusters occur only at the beginning of words, and all have \textit{r} as the second member of the cluster. The word *thrak* ‘tearing’ used in this sentence is one example. These are some other examples of these word initial consonant clusters: *prik* ‘jump’, *bring* ‘bird’, *trang* ‘half’, *tróti* ‘shortie(f)’, *bréspat* ‘Thursday’. Two other words, *krom* ‘work’ and *krap* ‘fold’, are more commonly pronounced *kom* and *kap* today, although the older form is still recognized.
6.1. In this final paragraph, all the action and trauma are resolved. Interestingly, a time phrase again helps to introduce the paragraph – dũu déezo majaa aki’/ ‘in just two days’.

2 6.1 In Gilgit a day is reckoned as beginning at sunset. Phaacunaa Paalo was in the bear’s belly the day he was gulped down and into the next, when his mother rescued him. Since the ibex did not return until late afternoon, when that first day was almost over, by the time she found her other children, took them home, went to the blacksmith’s, and then tracked the bear in the forest, the next day was far gone – hence, Phaacunaa Paalo was two days in the bear’s belly.

3 6.1 sámek is used when comparing something in age or size, as here hagúto sámek means ‘a thumb’s size’. To compare something in manner, one would use širi’, as in aán gilter toóm gotéy širi’ beéyones, ‘We feel at home here in Gilgit’, literally, ‘here in-Gilgit own house-of like we-stay’.
waleégi.

she brought
wal  -éég  -i
bring  PFT  SIMP3sf
trans  val  tens
FT: From there she took Phaacunaa Paalo and brought him to the hut.

6.3

\[
\begin{align*}
dúkúrir & \quad \text{waleé} & \quad \text{ro} & \quad \text{kúuter} \\
\text{in hut} & \quad \text{having brought} & \text{he} & \quad \text{in leather bag} \\
dúkúri -e & \quad -r & \text{wal} & \quad -éé & \text{ro} & \quad \text{kúuto} -e & \quad -r \\
\text{hut} & \quad \text{OBL in} & \text{bring} & \quad \text{CONJP he(rem)} & \quad \text{leather bag} & \quad \text{OBL in} \\
f_n & \quad \text{cas1 cas2} & \text{trans parti} & \text{dem} & \quad m_n & \quad \text{cas1 cas2} & \quad wiígi. \\
\text{she put} & \quad & \quad & \quad & \quad & \quad \\
\text{wi} & \quad -éég  -i & \quad put  & \quad \text{PFT} & \quad \text{SIMP3sf} & \quad trans  val  tens \\
\text{FT: Having brought him to the hut she put him in a leather bag (to keep him warm).}
\end{align*}
\]

6.4

\[
\begin{align*}
máazekejo & \quad \text{ho} & \quad \text{phaačunáa} & \quad \text{paálo} & \quad \text{yayoók} \\
\text{from a month} & \quad \text{then} & \text{Phaacunaa} & \quad \text{baby} & \quad \text{to walk} \\
máaz  -ek  -e  -jo & \quad \text{ho} & \quad \text{paálo} & \quad \text{yaáy  -oók} \\
\text{month} & \quad \text{INDEF} & \quad \text{OBL from} & \quad \text{then} & \quad \text{baby} & \quad \text{walk} & \quad \text{INF} \\
m_n & \quad \text{indef} & \quad \text{cas1 cas2} & \quad \text{adv prop} & \quad m_n & \quad \text{intrans inf} \\
\text{baş} & \quad \text{bugú.} \\
\text{able} & \quad \text{he became} \\
\text{baş} & \quad b  -éég  -u & \quad \text{able} & \quad \text{become} & \quad \text{PFT} & \quad \text{SIMP3sm} \\
\text{adj} & \quad \text{intrans} & \quad \text{val} & \quad \text{tens} & \quad \text{FT: After a month, then Phaacunaa Paalo was able to walk.}
\end{align*}
\]

Commentary

1 6.3 A kúuto is a leather bag. In earlier times such a bag also served as an incubator for premature infants. They would be put in a kúuto to keep them warm. It is said that the bag would be filled with dried goat manure as an insulator. Strange as such a custom would seem in today’s world, the intense rays of the hot sun probably acted as a sterilizing agent as the manure dried, so the infant was probably not exposed to any dangerous amount of germs.
6.5

aályo phatú maá paále gáti beé
from there behind mother babies together having been
aályo -jo phatú maá paálo -c gáti b -c
there from behind mother baby PL together become CONJP
adv cas2 adv fn mn num adj intrans parti

bunéché geé čáranes.
on high pasture having gone they used to graze
bun -e -c büj -c é čáár -anes
pasture OBL on go CONJP graze IMPRF3p
mn cas1 cas2 intrans parti intrans tens

FT: After that the mother and the little ones used to go together to the high pasture to graze.

Commentary

1 6.5 Not only had Phaacunaa Paolo healed to the point where he could walk again, all three kids were now a month older and probably old enough to gain nourishment from grazing. That in addition to the safety factor saw the whole family going to the high pasture to graze. The use of the past imperfective or habitual tense on the verb emphasizes that the adventure is over, "normal life" has begun again.
hopóti ga
hopótay šilóok
The Story of Hopotí and Hopoto

Introduction to the story

Replete with derring-do, a beautiful heroine and a faithful dog, this final story is perhaps aimed at a larger audience than the previous stories. Whereas the other stories, such as The Blackberry Bush and the Pearl, rely on cleverness of form to convey the story line, The Story of Hopotí and Hopoto presents a more complicated plot to captivate even older children. And maybe even the occasional adult...

Interestingly, the title characters are not the protagonists, as they have been in the other stories. The main character in this story is šámligas `Shamligas` (accent on the first syllable), the mother of the title characters. The faithful dog comes in a close second for “main” character, though, since it saves the day! Hopotí and Hopoto really have little to do with the story, other than providing an identification point for the child-listener. Even so, the name of the story is correct: Shakil Ahmad Shakil reports hearing his young relatives clamoring for the story, “Grandmother, tell us the story of Hopotí and Hopoto!”

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hopóti ga hopótey šílóók
(Phonemic script)

1.1 čal čal áno bayeége to barúti muláayekey hatér khóorok deé čhéecey phóonič phat théenes. 1.2 res khóoro bašőojé aál'y bečiš. 1.3 ke to áno báaner čaá-ye böde wáanes. 1.4 khóorey haráw se čaá-ye čhéecey walaroók phat neé thřiš.

2.1 ek čhak čéyek se toóm áno báan thříto čhéecey phóonič toóm barúti diič phat theé résey hatér khóorok deé gęi. 2.2 re muláayeý nóom šámligas asúu. 2.3 res aál'y khóoro bašőojo bašőojé nírre gęi.

3.1 khéenekejo deéwek aályoo bujóojé šámligas pašíf tsak bugú. 3.2 re bódí minalíčlik aši. 3.3 résey minalaár se dewěy hó marák thareégi. 3.4 deéw se re aályoo múuní theé toóm beéyey dišět hariígu. 3.5 ral hariíguš akíi re šong bigi. 3.6 šong beé deéw pašíf kriw thigí. 3.7 deéw se zúu- theé re bijareé thů thareégu. 3.8 née réset jěek ga deé juleégu.

4.1 har čhak čalbujiš čal deéw daruí doók bůjas. 4.2 deéw se daruí deé wayoósang šámligas se duńゲgek niméezosaa-t'y háaye thřiš née duńゲgek tsháger geé akóọt nothřišiš.

5.1 tušáar mudáajo re garéy báarir wáti. 5.2 ho deéw se re akóọt gar thigú. 5.3 dewějo résey ek dič ek puč bigé. 5.4 dijéy nóom hopóti née pučey nóom hopóto čhibišge. 5.5 hopóti ga hopóteč beé šámligasey aál'y tušáar hó phiříflu.

6.1 šámligasey maas in re hůié theé theé raíf raíf šušiš túuli bigíš. 6.2 tušáar mudá yar résey kutúrik aši. re nátiš. 6.3 khéee beé eč náti kutúri šámligasey tsháger učhátin.

7.1 šámligas se toóm hopóti ga hopóteň phalaák walám theé tsháger gěi. 7.2 kutúris šámligas pašíf phačoó khol khol theé résekáč wáti. 7.3 šámligas se kutúri pašíf su-yiši. 7.4 hay theé goćër waií réset loóko čharmúki theé hariígi. 7.5 kutúri bódi uyaníšiš. 7.6 ham ham theé čharmúki kehé ho réseewaar law law thigí. 7.7 šámligas ho geé toóm aájji tharři the eč rařaáy waleé kutúirii šoťer tak thareé réset reégi. 7.8 "waá mey aájji kutúri! ané rařaáy harií mey aájji učhačaré." 7.9 ho kutúri aályoo gěi.
tušáar khéenejo ho re toóm gošt ucháti. šámligasey maás toóm kutúri paší bódi khoš bigí. née loóko theé réset charmúki theé waleégi. kutúris charmúki khee toóm šóter šak thiřiti rayaány pašaroókekaar toóm šóter théoirie giniñ kakaaróo waleégi. šámligasey aáji hay theé gošt geé toóm dáariót mey náti kutúri wáinit thigí. ri ga darú wáte. waif çakéen to kutúris toóm šákér thóorie giniñ kakkaróo walfín. šákér jéekek han bey theé résey báro puç se kutúri šák pharangeégu. çakéy to kutúri šóter rayaány hin. šong theé thurieé rayaány toóm aájiót paleégu. rayaány paší akií kriw thigí. waaf mey šámligasey rayaány náal álá dáarie mey díf koónyeker šacíí hin. bújaat, kutúri giniñ geé mey díf udaráát." ho ris kháií xangár kayeé kutúri giniñ zas bigé.

díšeker geé çakéen to kutúri dulaáýek dapar šaár beé tshágeker ačtí. ri aály tsak bigé. kutúris tshágo tareé arú gošty daáreç géi. šámligas se kutúri paší loóko résekač waií jéek bigiée kutúri thigí. kutúris tróke dóoje re giniñ goštojo darú waleégi. šámligas se darú waií çakéy to résey záare čóike han. res hay theé waií rinót krum bigí. née loóko ri arú gošt harígi. tifik theé rinót khérée ho chúpejo toóm čága thigí. née rinójo khújeégi "álá mey záare, tsho aš khée beé damfídet?" ris réset kutúri púuri čága thigé. née réset toóm diípuç giniñ asóosaa-ty zas bo thigé. toóm diípuç samateé rinósaa-ty zas bigé.

cuúit balakaál deéw daruí déé gošt wáay to šámligas ga diípuç nuš. ínte paáte bugús magám rinéy dáp neé ašíí. ho mukhamées theé šámligasey mamáaloó gošt bújey póníč çoót harígu.

tušáar khéenejo šámligas déene paší hóo hawít digú. résey záares toóm khangár kháífojo taš taš theé deéw maróon theé muchoót sariñe. deéw rinéy káči wátus akií résec pírk digé. tušáar khéen dewésaa-ty maárman theé ro khirí pareé khangaro dée mareége.

dílyoo ho hóo káay ek theé zas beé tušáar khéenejo toóm gošt ucháte. gošt ucháte to rinéy mamáales ri paší bódi šuriaár thigé.

hopóti ga hopótos toóm dadidáadet bódo kom théenes. dadidáado ga moðli paší hopótí ga hopóto khoš asée.
The Story of Hopoti and Hopoto  
(Free translation)

1.1 A long time ago when they cultivated barley, they used to give a young girl a tin can and seat her on the path between the fields. 1.2 She used to sit there, beating on the tin can. 1.3 (They did this) because a lot of sparrows used to come to the barley fields. 1.4 The banging on the tin can wouldn’t allow the sparrows to come to the field.

2.1 One day a woman sat her young daughter on the path between her barley fields, gave her a tin can, and went on. 2.2 The girl’s name was Shamligas. 2.3 As she sat there beating and beating the tin can, she fell asleep.

3.1 After some time, as a giant was passing by, he saw Shamligas and stopped. 3.2 She was very beautiful. 3.3 Her beauty made the giant change his intentions. 3.4 The giant picked her up and took her away to the place where he lived. 3.5 Just as he brought her there, she woke up. 3.6 As she woke up, she saw the giant and cried out. 3.7 With a threat the giant frightened her and caused her to shrink back in fear. 3.8 Then he gave her something just to keep her quiet.

4.1 Every day in the early morning the giant used to go out to hunt. 4.2 Until the giant returned from hunting, Shamligas would play with dolls or play by herself for a while in the big garden.

5.1 After a long time she was old enough to marry. 5.2 Then the giant married her himself. 5.3 From the giant she had a girl and a boy. 5.4 They named the girl Hopoti, Chubby Girl, and the boy Hopoto, Chubby Boy. 5.5 Having Hopoti and Hopoto really made Shamligas adjust to being there.

6.1 Meanwhile, Shamligas’ mother missed her very much and cried and cried until she had dried up like a twig. 6.2 A long time before she had a female dog. (But) it had disappeared. 6.3 Somehow that lost dog reached Shamligas’ garden.

7.1 Shamligas went to the garden to get an apple for her Hopoti and Hopoto. 7.2 The dog saw Shamligas and came toward her, wagging its tail. 7.3 Shamligas saw the dog and recognized it. 7.4 She ran into the house and quickly made some “charmuki” and brought it. 7.5 The dog had become very hungry. 7.6 The dog gulped down the charmuki and
Then gazed fondly at her. Then Shamligas went and got the necklace her mother had given her and tied it around the dog’s neck and said, “Oh, my mother’s dog! Take this necklace and bring it to my mother!” Then the dog left there.

After a long time it reached it’s home. Seeing her dog, Shamligas’ mother became very happy. Then she quickly made some charmuki for the dog and brought it. The dog ate the charmuki and then scratched at its neck with its paws to show the necklace tied there. Shamligas’ mother ran into the house and told her sons that her dog which had disappeared has returned. They also came outside. They came out and saw that the dog was scratching its neck with its paws. Thinking there must be something on its neck, the oldest son examined the dog’s neck. He saw that there was a necklace on the dog’s neck. He carefully untied it and handed the necklace to his mother. As soon as she saw the necklace she cried out, “Oh! It’s my Shamligas’ necklace! Oh sons, my daughter is caught somewhere. Go! Take the dog and go search for her!” Then they slung their shields and swords over their shoulders, took the dog and set out.

They went to a place and saw that the dog crept across a covered water channel and entered a big garden. (So) they stopped there. The dog crossed the garden and went to the door of the house. Shamligas saw the dog and quickly came to it and asked it what had happened. Jumping up and down, the dog brought her out of the house. Shamligas came outside and saw her brothers standing there. She ran and embraced them. Then she quickly brought them into the house. She made some food and fed them and then told her story from the beginning. Then she asked them, “Oh my brothers, how did you all come to be here today?” They told her the whole story about the dog. Then they told her to get her children and go with them. So she gathered up her children and left with them.

Late in the afternoon the giant returned from hunting and saw that Shamligas and the children were gone. He went here and there but found out nothing about them. Then he ran straight on the path toward Shamligas’ parents’ house.

After a long time he saw Shamligas and her brothers and called loudly to them. Her brothers pulled their swords out from their shields and advanced to kill the giant. Just as the giant came near them, they attacked him. After fighting fiercely with the giant for a
long time, they knocked him down and struck him with their swords and killed him.

12.1 Then they were content and set out from there and after a long time they reached their home. 12.2 When they reached home their parents saw them and felt very happy.

13.1 Hopoti and Hopoto always did a lot of work for their grandparents. 13.2 Being with their grandparents and uncles, Hopoti and Hopoto were happy.
hopóti ga hopótey šilóok

The Story of Hopoti and Hopoto

Interlinear grammatical analysis

0.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hopóti</th>
<th>ga</th>
<th>hopótey</th>
<th>šilóok</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chubby(f)</td>
<td>and</td>
<td>of chubby</td>
<td>story</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hopóto</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>ga</td>
<td>hopóto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>and</td>
<td>chubby OBL</td>
<td>GEN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adj</td>
<td>gndr</td>
<td>conj</td>
<td>adj</td>
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FT: The story of Hopoti and Hopoto.

1.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>čal</th>
<th>čal</th>
<th>áñò</th>
<th>bayéége</th>
<th>to</th>
<th>barúti</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>long ago</td>
<td>barley</td>
<td>they cultivated</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>young</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čal</td>
<td>čal</td>
<td>áñò</td>
<td>bay</td>
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<td>-e</td>
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<td>early</td>
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<td>cultivate</td>
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<td>SIMP3p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>adv</td>
<td>mn</td>
<td>trans</td>
<td>val</td>
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</table>

Commentary

1 1.1-4 In this first paragraph, note the use of the past imperfective or habitual tense on the verbs – this sets the stage of normal behavior. What follows then is outside the norm: an adventure!

2 1.1 áñò. Although barley grows in the Gilgit valley, that is, the flat valley bottom through which the river runs, it grows better in high areas, such as Kar Gah, a steep narrow valley on the south side of the main valley.

Traditionally, barley is primarily used to make saá-to ‘roasted barley flour’, a food staple of highland folks across the Himalaya into Tibet. To make saá-to, the barley grains are dry roasted (ros áñò toyaárán ‘He dry roasts the barley.’), then ground. Traditionally, a garáas ‘stone hand mill’ was used for grinding the roasted barley. When hungry, then, this dry roasted barley flour is mixed with tea and made into little balls called miíne and popped into the mouth. When available, maská ‘fresh butter’ is also mixed in for more nutrition and taste.
The Story of Hopoti and Hopoto

muláayekey    hatér    khóorok
of a girl    in hand    a tin can
muláay -ek    -e    -y    hat -e    -r    khóoro -ek
girl . INDEF OBL GEN hand OBL in tin can INDEF
f n    indef    cas1    cas2    m n    cas1    cas2    m n    indef
déé    čhéec ey    phóonič    phat
having given of field on field path left alone
d -éé    čhéec -e    -y    phóon -e    -é    phat
give CONJP field OBL ·GEN ridge OBL on dropped
trans parti    m n    cas1    cas2    m n    cas1    cas2    precat

théenes.
they used to do
th    -anes
do/say IMPRF3p
trans tens

FT: A long time ago when they cultivated barley, they used to give a young girl a tin can and seat her on the path between the fields.

1.2
res    khóoro    bašóoje    aátý    beeíš.
she(ag)    tin can    while striking there she used to sit
re    -sc    khóoro    baš    -óoje    aátý    beéy    -iš
she(rem) AG tin can strike/play PRESP there sit/stay IMPRF3sf
dem    cas1    m n    trans parti    adv    intrans tens

FT: She used to sit there, beating on the tin can.

1.3
ke to    ánó    bánar    čaá-ye    bóde
because barley in cultivated field small birds much(pl)
ke to ánó bán -e    -r    čaá-y -e    bódo -e
why so barley ploughed field OBL in small bird PL much PL
adv conj    m n    m n    cas1    cas2    f n    num    adv    num

wáanes.
they used to come
wá    -anes
come IMPRF3p
intrans tens

FT: (They did this) because a lot of sparrows used to come to the barley fields.

Commentary

1 1.3 A bán is a ‘cultivated field’, one that is ploughed and with seed sown or a crop growing. A čhéec (see 1.4) is more the generic ‘field’.
1.4 ké̱‘orey haráw se čaá‘ye čhééčer
of tin can banging AG small birds in field
kñóoro -e y haráw -se čaá‘ y -e čhééč -e -r
of tin can OBL GEN banging AG small bird PL field OBL in
m n cas1 cas2 fn cas1 fn num m n cas1 cas2

walaróök phat neé thfiš.
to cause to bring left alone not she used to do
wal ar oök phat neé th -iš
bring CAUS INF dropped not do/say IMPRF3sf
trans caus inf precat neg trans tens

IT: The banging on the tin can wouldn't allow the sparrows to come to the field.

2.1 ek čhak čéyek se toóm ánó báan
one day a woman AG own barley ploughed field
ek čhak čey -ek -sc toóm ánó báan
one day woman INDEF AG own barley ploughed field
numeral fn fn indef cas1 adv m n m n

thíto čhééčer phóoníč toóm barúți
done of field on field path own young
th -íto čhééč -e y phóoon -e -č toóm barúți
do/say ADJZR field OBL GEN ridge OBL on own young
trans adjzr m n cas1 cas2 m n cas1 cas2 adv adj

díšk phat_théé résey
a daughter having left his/her
dí –ck phat th -cé ro -e -y
daughter INDEF dropped do/say CONJP he(rem) OBL GEN
fn indef precat trans parti dem cas1 cas2

— Commentary —

1 1.4 čhééčer walaróök. Note the use of the causative here – as though the field would draw the sparrows with its promise of food.

2 2.1-3 The laying of the background moves one step forward in this second paragraph with the introduction of the main character, Shamligas. The verbs are all in the simple past tense. We have moved from the general to the specific now. A specific young girl.
hatér khórök déé géí.
in hand a tin can having given she went
hat -e -r khórör -ek d -éé búj -í
hand OBL in tin can INDEF give CONJP go SIMP3sf
m n cas1 cas2 m n indef trans parti intrans tens
FT: One day a woman sat her young daughter on the path between
her barley fields, gave her a tin can, and went on.

2.2

re muláayey nóom šámligas asúu.
that(fem) of girl name Shamilgas he was
re muláay -e -y nóom han -u
she(rem) girl OBL GEN name be SIMP3sm
dem f n cas1 cas2 m n prop intrans tens
FT: The girl's name was Shamilgas.

2.3

res aál' khóroro bašóoje bašóoje
she(ag) there tin can while striking while striking
re -se aál' khórör baš -óoje baš -óoje
she(rem) AG there tin can strike/play PRES strike/play PRES

dem f n cas1 adv m n trans parti trans parti

nfrer géí.
in sleep she went
nir -e -r búj -í
sleep OBL in go SIMP3sf
f n cas1 cas2 intrans tens
FT: As she sat there beating and beating the tin can, she fell asleep.

Commentary

1 2.3 (See the note on palatalized consonants – Bald Son 5.3.)
3.1 A new paragraph for a new character: enter the giant! One can only presume that in that day and age giants "just happened" to pass by barley fields! No matter how happenstance his passing, it brought woe for our heroine. Truly this is a dark chapter in the life of little Shamligas.

3.1 *deéw* is usually translated 'giant'. When one asks for a description of a giant, one hears about the horns and long pointed ears and great strength. So the giant here is more than just a large human, he is a supernatural being with no good intent!

3.2 *minaliflik* (with the feminine *-i* ending in this sentence) is an alternate, more classical word for 'beautiful' – many people today use *mililiiflo*. It often happens, then, that in running speech the second short *i*, the one sandwiched between the two *l* sounds, is *minimized*. This results in what is articulated as a three-syllable word with a *lengthened l*: – *[mil:ifi:lo]*. Sometimes when said quickly, the Gilgit Shina preference for palatalization takes over and the long *[ifi:lo]* becomes a lengthened palatalized fusion, which results in a two-syllable word – *[mil:iyõ]*. (See also *Bald Son* 5.3 for more on palatalized consonants.)
3.3 résey  
minalaár  
se  
dewéy
his/her beauty AG of giant
ro  -e  -y minaliílo -aár  -se  deéw  -e  -y
he(rem) OBL GEN beautiful NOMZR AG giant OBL GEN
dem  cas1  cas2  adj  nomnlzr  cas1  m  n  cas1  cas2
hío marák_thareégi.
heart she caused to change
hío marák th  -ar  -eég  -i
heart turned do/say CAUS PFT SIMP3sf
m  n  adj  trans  caus  val  tens

FT: Her beauty made the giant change his intentions.

3.4 deéw  se  re  aályoo  múuni  théé
giant AG that(fem) from there lap having done
déew  -se  re  aál  -jo  múuni  th  -eé
giant AG she(rem) there from lap do/say CONJP
m  n  cas1  dem  adv  cas2  fn  trans  parti
toóm  beeýey  dišéét  harífgu.
own s/he will stay to place he took
toóm  beéey  -ey  diš  -e  -t  har  -eég  -u
own sit/stay FUT3s place OBL to take away PFT SIMP3sm
adv  intrans  tens  fn  cas1  cas2  trans  val  tens

FT: The giant picked her up and took her away to the place where he lived.

Commentary

1 3.3 minalaár. A derivational process at work! The adjective minaliílo was introduced in the sentence just above. In the current sentence it has been changed into a noun. The suffix -aár is a nominalizer, something which turns another part of speech into a noun. An additional characteristic of -aár is that all such newly derived nouns will be feminine. With minalaár there has been a bit of truncating as well as the addition of the suffix, but observe these additional examples (‘appetite’ occurs in Bald Son 5.5):

šurioók  ‘to make happy’  šuriaár  ‘happiness’
uyanioók  ‘to become hungry’  uyaniaár  ‘appetite’
abaš  ‘difficult’  abašaár  ‘difficulty’
3.5

ral hariːgfxus akiʃ re šong
there(rem) he had taken away EMPH that(fem) care/alert
rel har -cég -us akiʃ re šong
there(rem) take away PFT PSPRF3sm EMPH she(rem) care/alert
adv trans val tens part dem adj

bigf.
she became
b -cég -i
become PFT SIMP3sf
intrans val tens

FT: Just as he brought her there, she woke up.

3.6

šong_bée deéw paʃįʃ kriw thigf.
having awakened giant having seen cry she did/said
šong b -cē deéw paːs -cē kriw th -cég -i
care/alert become CONJP giant see CONJP cry do/say PFT SIMP3sf
adj intrans parti m n trans parti f n trans val tens

FT: As she woke up, she saw the giant and cried out.

3.7

deéw se zūː- theé re bijareé
giant AG threat having done that(fem) having scared
deéw -se zūː- th -eé re bij -ar -cē
giant AG threat do/say CONJP she(rem) fear CAUS CONJP
m n cast f n trans parti dem intrans caus parti

Commentary

1 3.5 See Ibex Story 3.6 and 9.5 for more discussion of this construction with the past perfect tense followed by the emphatic particle akiʃ.

2 3.4, 3.5, 3.6 These three sentences are linked by tail-head constructions, that is, the main verb of the previous sentence is repeated in a subordinate construction at the beginning of the following sentence as a point of continuity. See also the comment on Ibex Story 4.5.

3 3.7 thiš tharoők brings the picture of not only causing someone to be afraid, but of making them shrink back or cower in fear. Interestingly, this construction is also used to talk about chasing flies away; presumably the same idea of making something or someone draw back in fear.
The Story of Hopoti and Hopoto

thiš  theérégü.
cowering  he caused to do
thiš  th  -ar  -eég  -u
frightened  do/say CAUS  PFT  SIMP3sm
adj  trans  caus  val  tens

FT: With a threat the giant frightened her and caused her to shrink back in fear.

3.8  
née  réset  jéek ga  deé
then  to him/her  anything  having given
née  ro  -c  -t jéek ga  d  -ée
again  he/rem  OBL  to  what  and  give  CONJP
adv  dem  cas1  cas2  adv  conj  trans  parti

juleégü.
he quietened
jul  -eég  -u
quieten  PFT  SIMP3sm
trans  val  tens

FT: Then he gave her something just to keep her quiet.

4.1  
har  čak čalbujiś čal  deéw  daruū_doōk  bujjas.
every day  morning  early  giant  to hunt  he used to go
har  čak čalbujiś čal  deéw  daruū  d  ooğ  buj  -as
every day  morning  early  giant  hunting  give  INF  go  IMPRF3sm
adv  fn  adv  adv  mn  fn  trans  inf  intrans  tens

FT: Every day in the early morning the giant used to go out to hunt.

----------------------------- Commentary -----------------------------

1 3.8 juleégü. What did the giant give Shamligas to make her calm down? There’s no guessing about a distant time and place where ice cream or computer games weren’t readily available to make children quiet. The verb juloōk refers especially to getting a child to quiet down, to agree, to reconcile. If one wants to speak of adults reconciling, then the verb to use would be manoçoōk.

2 4.1-2 We step back from the foundational action here for some background information. A certain equilibrium has been eventually reached and this paragraph describes this new “normal” behavior, hence the use of the past imperfective or habitual tense on the verbs.
4.2

deéw se daruú_deé wayoósang šámligas se
giant AG having hunted until coming Shamligas AG
deéw -se daruú d -éé wá -oósang -se
giant AG hunting give CONJP come up to AG
m n cas1 f n trans parti intrans advr prop cas1

duúngek niméezosaa-t\(^\text{y}\) háaye
a while with dolls laugh/play(pl)
duúng -ek niméez -o -saa-t\(^\text{y}\) háay -c
a while INDEF doll PLOBL with laughter/play PL
adv indef f n cas1 cas2 num

thííš née duúngek tsháger
she used to do then a while in orchard
th -íš néc duúng -ek tshágo -e -r
do/say IMPRF3sf again a while INDEF orchard OBL in
trans tens adv adv indef m n cas1 cas2

geé akóót nothííšiíš.
having gone to self she used to play
búj -éé akií -e -t noóth -ííš -íš
go CONJP self OBL to play PASS IMPRF3sf
intrans parti pro cas1 cas2 intrans voice tens

FT: Until the giant returned from hunting, Shamligas would play with
dolls or play by herself for a while in the big garden.

5.1

tušáar mudáájo re garéý
much after time that(fem) of wedding
tušáar mudá -e -jo re gar -c -y
much period OBL from she(rem) marriage OBL GEN
avd m n cas1 cas2 dem f n cas1 cas2

--- Commentary ---

\(^1\) 4.2 daruú deé. The idea of complex verb constructions in Gilgit Shina was introduced in Blackberry Bush 1.19. In this current sentence a noun is paired with a verb to obtain a new meaning. daruú doák ‘to hunt’ is formed from the feminine noun ‘hunting’ and the verb ‘to give’. Pairing ‘hunting’ with ‘to give’ produces the complex verb ‘to hunt’.

\(^2\) 5.1-5 tušáar mudáájo. The time phrase ‘after a long time’ moves the foundation-lying action forward to some significant events. Hence, the use of the simple past tense on the verbs again.
báarir       wáti.
in age       she came
báari -c    -t  wá -t    -i
age  OBL in  come  PFI  SIMP3sf
fn  cas1  cas2  intrans  val  tens
IT: After a long time she was old enough to marry.

5.2

ho  deéw  se    re  akóòt    gar
then giant  AG  that(fem)  to self  marriage
ho  deéw  -se  re  akií  -e  -t  gar
then giant  AG  she(rem)  self  OBL  to  marriage
adv  m n  cas1  dem  pro cas1  cas2  fn

thigú.
he did/said
th  -cég  -u
do/say  PFT  SIMP3sm
trans  val  tens
IT: Then the giant married her himself.

5.3

dewéjo       résey       ek   dif  ek
from giant   his/her   one  daughter  one
deéw  -c  -jo  ro  -c  -y  ek  dif  ek
giant  OBL  from  he(rem)  OBL  GEN  one  daughter  one
m n  cas1  cas2  dem  cas1  cas2  numeral  fn  numeral

puç  bigé.
son they became
puç  b  -cég  -e
son become  PFT  SIMP3p
m n  intrans  val  tens
IT: From the giant she had a girl and a boy.
5.4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dijéy</th>
<th>nóm'hopótî</th>
<th>née puçéy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>of daughter</td>
<td>name chubby(f)</td>
<td>and of son</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dií</th>
<th>-e</th>
<th>-y</th>
<th>nóm hopótî</th>
<th>-i</th>
<th>née puç</th>
<th>-e</th>
<th>-y</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>daughter</td>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>name chubby</td>
<td>FEM</td>
<td>and</td>
<td>son</td>
<td>OBL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>f</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>cas1</th>
<th>cas2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>adj</td>
<td>gndr conj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FT: They named the girl Hopoti, "Chubby Girl", and the boy Hopoto, "Chubby Boy".

5.5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hopótî</th>
<th>ga</th>
<th>hopótèc</th>
<th>beé</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chubby(f)</td>
<td>and</td>
<td>on chubby</td>
<td>having been</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hopótî</th>
<th>-i</th>
<th>ga</th>
<th>hopótî</th>
<th>-e</th>
<th>-ë</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>-ëë</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chubby</td>
<td>FEM</td>
<td>and</td>
<td>chubby</td>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>become</td>
<td>CONJP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| adj | gndr conj | adj | cas1 | cas2 | intrans | parti |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>šámiligasey</th>
<th>aálë</th>
<th>tušâar hîó phirîflu.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>of Shamlugas</td>
<td>there much heart he was turned</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>šamligas</th>
<th>-e</th>
<th>-y</th>
<th>aálë</th>
<th>tušâar hîó phîr</th>
<th>-t</th>
<th>-u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shamlugas</td>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>there much heart turn</td>
<td>PFI</td>
<td>SIMP3sm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| prop | cas1 | cas2 | adv | adv | m | n | trans | val | tens |

FT: Having Hopoti and Hopoto really made Shamlugas adjust to being there.

--- Commentary ---

1 5.4 hopótî...hopóto. At last the advent of Hopoti and Hopoto! As mentioned in the Introduction to this story, although these children are featured in the title, they figure little in the story.

Hopoto is really an adjective meaning ‘chubby’ and Hopoti is the feminine form. This chubbiness especially refers to being 'chubby-cheeked' – the mark of a healthy child. Gilgit Shina often uses descriptors in the place of nouns (which then are called nominals), so here, too, the description becomes a name.

2 5.5 hîó phirîflu. Some happiness returns to Shamlugas’ life. Her heart is turned and she is reconciled or adjusted to her fate as she centers her attention on her children.
6.1  

The Story of Hopoti and Hopoto

śāmligasey  maás  in  re  hūjē
do of Shamliga mother(a) here that(fem) remembrance
śamligas  -e  -y  maá  -se  aán  -e  hūjē
Shamliga OBL GEN mother AG here she(rem) remembrance
prop  cas1  cas2  fn  cas1  adv  dem  fn
theē  raif  raif
having done  having done  having cried  having cried
th  -ée  th  -ée  r  -ée  r  -ée
do/say CONJP  do/say CONJP cry  CONJP cry  CONJP trans parti  trans parti  intrans parti  intrans parti

šūšīf  tūuli  bigīš.

having dried  twig  she had become
šūš  -ée  tūuli  b  -cég  -iš
become dry CONJP twig become PFT PSPRF3sf
intrans parti  fn  intrans val  tens

FT: Meanwhile, Shamliga's mother missed her very much and cried and cried until she had dried up like a twig.

Commentary

1 6.1-4 Back to the mother, who set her little girl upon the barley field path lo, these many years ago. Shamliga’s disappearance has traumatized her mother and she has cried so much that she has dried up and ‘become a twig’. Gilgit Shina has a metaphor here: tūuli bigīš ‘twig she-had-become’. In English, probably a simile would be used to translate the metaphor, turning it into a comparison: “like a twig”.

Also, “enter stage left” the other character who vies with Shamliga for the title of protagonist of the story: her mother’s female dog.

The use of the past perfect tense in this paragraph serves to reach back in time and establish a circumstance which now affects the current story line. Note, though, that the main verb of the final sentence of this paragraph is in the present perfect tense, bringing things up to the present: the dog has arrived at the giant’s garden – so by the end of this paragraph the stage is fully set, the curtain opens...

2 6.1 in. The shortened form of aán ‘here’ that is used in this sentence in this way is a discourse device used to mark an abrupt shift of scene, as when the storyteller turns to another arena to bring in information from a totally different direction. In a free translation, the English equivalent is to start out the sentence, “Meanwhile,...”
6.2
tušár mudá yar résey kutúrik ašťi.
much time before his/her a female dog she was
tušár mudá yar ro -e -y kutúři - ck han -i
much period before he(rem) OBL GEN bitch INDEF be SIMP3sf
adv m n adv dem cas1 cas2 f n indef sta tens
re nátiš.
that(fem) she had disappeared
re náš - t -iš
she(rem) disappear PFI : PSPRF3sf
dem intrans val tens

FT: A long time before she had a female dog. (But) it had disappeared.

6.3
khée beé cée náti kutúri
how that(f) she disappeared bitch
khée b -cée cée náš - t -i kutúri
how become CONJP that(f) disappear PFI SIMP3sf bitch
adv intrans parti dem intrans val tens f n
šámligasey tsháger učháťin.
of Shamilgas in orchard she has arrived
-e -y tshágo - e - t učháč - t -in
OBL GEN orchard OBL in arrive PFI PRPRF3sf
prop cas1 cas2 m n cas1 cas2 intrans val tens

FT: Somehow that lost dog reached Shamilgas' garden.

Commentary

6.3 náti. The verb naśoök ‘to disappear’ was used in the previous sentence in the past perfect tense to tell us what had happened to the dog. Now in this sentence it appears in a relative clause, modifying the dog – cée náti kutúri ‘that she-disappeared dog’. The simple past tense is sufficient to identify the dog as that very one we were talking about. The note on *Ibex Story* 5.14 also discusses relative clauses and describes how Gilgit Shina does not require a relative pronoun, as English does, it simply uses the word order of the sentence. If a verb in a clause occurs just before a noun, then it’s probably modifying that noun. As an example of a relative clause with present tense, my arrival in Gilgit is usually announced throughout the neighborhood by children shouting:

ṣinaá théin angaréez wátin!
Shina she-speaks foreigner she-has-come
‘The foreigner who speaks Shina has come!’
7.1

šámligas se toóm hopótì ga hopótìt
Shamilgas AG own chubby(f) and to chubby
-se toóm hopótì -i ga hopótì -e -t
AG own chubby FEM and chubby OBL to
prop cas1 adv adj gndr conj adj cas1 cas2

phalaák walám theè tsháger
an apple I will bring (intent) in orchard
phalaá -ek wal -am th -ée tshágo -e -r
apple INDEF bring FUT1s do/say CONJP orchard OBL in
m n indef trans tens trans parti m n cas1 cas2

géi.
she went
búj -i
go SIMP3sf
intrns trans tens

FT: Shamilgas went to the garden to get an apple for her Hopoti and Hopoto.

7.2

kutúris šámligas pašìf phačòô khol_khol
bitch(ag) Shamilgas having seen tail wagging
kutúrì -se paás -éé phačòô CVCrdp khol
bitch AG see CONJP tail (vigor) wagging
f n cas1 prop trans parti m n mod. precat

— Commentary ——-

1 7.1-9 Now we’re finally at blow-by-blow action (although the real “blows” are reserved for paragraph eleven!). This and the following paragraphs are the heart of the story. The storyline is in full swing and the simple past tense focuses our attention on the time of action.

2 7.2 khol khol. An interesting linguistic process in Gilgit Shina modifies a verb form in three different ways to create three different degrees of vigor or intensity. For example, phal boök means ‘to wave’, as in janda phal bëen ‘the flag is flying’. janda phal phal bëen, on the other hand, means ‘the flag is waving’, as when there is a breeze. If, however, the wind is blowing quite hard, the sentence would be janda phàphal bëen ‘the flag is flapping’. If the wind then quit, it would be janda phaal bëen ‘the flag is barely moving’.

In our current story we’re looking at a modification of khol ‘wagging’. The dog, however, is quite glad to see Shamilgas, so the story describes
theč résekač wáti.
having done near her/him(rem) she came
th -čē ro -ē -kač wā -t -i
do/say CONJP he(rem OBL near come PFI SIMP3sf

trans parti dem cas1 cas2 intrans val tens

FT: The dog saw Shampilgas and came toward her, wagging its tail.

Commentary

the wagging of her tail as phačoó khol khol theč ‘wagging (her) tail’ with some ‘vigor’. This linguistic process is reduplication, whereby a root or part of it is duplicated to express some meaning. This first degree of vigor reduplicates the entire root word, khol, which comprises a Consonant-Vowel-Consonant. Thus, it is glossed CVCrdp; the whole word is reduplicated. Examples of this first degree of enhanced vigor are found in *Ibex Story* 3.4 and *Hopoti and Hopoto* 7.6 and 11.2.

An example of the second degree of vigor is found in *Bald Son* 7.13. Remember the fox? dódol beé wáti, ‘she came trotting’. dol is ‘crawl’, but a fox-type crawl is done with considerably more vigor and is really a ‘trot’. This second degree of vigor, then, is formed by duplicating only the first consonant and vowel of the first part of the verb form such as the dódol ‘fast crawling’ of that *Bald Son* sentence; it is represented by CVrdp in the analysis. The high short pitch accent is on the first syllable of this new word.

A third variation conveying the opposite end of the spectrum of vigor, "slowness", occurs in *Ibex Story* 3.3 and 4.2: in each case the approach of the bear is described as doöl beé wáto ‘he came slowly crawling’ or ‘ambling’ as only a bear can. Slowness, the opposite degree of vigor, is formed by duplicating only the vowel of the first part of the verb form – which actually results in lengthening it – consequently it is marked as Vrdp in the analysis. This lengthening process carries with it the low rising accent. Thus dol beé ‘crawling’ becomes doöl beé ‘slowly crawling’ when the opposite degree of vigor is expressed.

One final note – This reduplication process only occurs on the first element of complex verbs. And, in my experience with the language, only on such "precategorical" forms that are single-syllable, CVC words. The note on *Blackberry Bush* 1.19 introduces complex verbs and their constituent parts.
7.3

šāmligas se kutúri pašif su-yīği.

Shamligas AG bitch having seen she knew
-ṣe kutúri paš -ēe suū-y -ēg -i

AG bitch see CONJP know PFT SIMP3sf
prop cas1 fn trans parti trans val tens

FT: Shamligas saw the dog and recognized it.

7.4

hay theé goṭér waiṣ
running having done in house having come
hay th -ēç goōt -ē - r wā -ēç

running do/say CONJP house OBL in come CONJP
prec cat trans parti m n cas1 cas 2 intr ans parti

réset loōko čharmũki theé
to him/her quick bread/butter mix having done
ro -ē -t loōko čharmũki th -ēç

he(rem) OBL to quick bread/butter mix do/say CONJP
dem cas1 cas2 adv fn trans parti

hariği.

she took away
har -ēg -i

take away PFT SIMP3sf
trans val tens

FT: She ran into the house and quickly made some “charmuki” and brought it.

7.5

kutúri bóđi uyani fliš.
bitch much(f) she had become hungry
kutúri bóđo -i uyani -t -iš

bitch much FEM be hungry PFI PSPRF3sf
fn adv gndo intr ans val tens

FT: The dog had become very hungry.

Commentary

1 7.4 čharmũki is a mixture of crumbled bread and butter, sometimes with jam added. Corn or wheat čhpāṭi or kistā (both are described in Bald Son 2.4) is crumbled and mixed and mashed thoroughly with local ghee or maskā ‘fresh butter’. Sometimes dišāw, a fruit jam made from mulberries or grapes, is added to make it special. Some types add a bit of milk as well, and then cook it down to a dry consistency.
The dog gulped down the charmuki and then gazed fondly at her.

--- Commentary ---

1 7.6 ham ham...law law. (See the note on 7.2, which explains the reduplication process abbreviated CVCrdp.)
7.7 1

 síamlugas  ho  geé  toóm  aājii
 Shamlugas  then  having gone  own  of mother

 prop  adv  intrans  parti  adv  fn  cas 1  cas 2

 tharifié  éé  rayaáy  waleé
 that caused to be done  that(f)  necklace  having brought

 th  -ar  -íto  -i  éé  rayaáy  waíl  -cè
 do/say  CAUS  ADJZR  FEM  that(f)  necklace  bring  CONJP

 trans  caus  adjzr  gndr  dem  fn  trans  parti

 Commentary

 1 7.7 tharifié. An adjectivizer turns another part of speech into an adjective. The particular adjectivizer at work in this sentence is -íto, which often derives adjectives from verb roots, with a resultant past tense sense. These new adjectives are then used to modify nouns, almost like a mini-relative clause. To express it in English, at any rate, requires a relative clause: "Shamlugas brought the necklace which her mother had made." Other examples can be expressed more simply, as in this sentence from another of Shakil’s grandmother’s stories:

 kapharifié  šingaálior  ganliti  hin.
 fairy_princess  in-chains  bind-(adjectivizer)-(fem.)  she-is
 The fairy princess is bound in chains.

ganpòk means ‘to bind or tie up’, such as the bristles of a broom are gathered and bound together. (This same derived modifier construction is also used in sentences 2.1 and 8.4 of this story. See also Masica 1991:323 for a discussion of Perfective Adjectival Participles.)

Given the Gilgit Shina predilection for using modifiers as nouns (see also the note on 5.4 concerning nominals), these newly derived adjectives are often used as nouns by adding the indefinite enclitic -ek, which, in such a case is better translated as ‘one’. For example, phat bōōk means ‘to be left’. So through the magic of the -íto suffix we have phat bǐti júuli ‘the left over curry’. We then can hear the mother call in to her daughter who is cleaning up after dinner:

 phat bǐtik  ěúur  the!
 left  be-(adjectivizer)-(fem.)-one  throwing_out  do!
 Throw out what’s left over!

(See also the comment about -ek on Blackberry Bush 1.3)
The Story of Hopoti and Hopoto

kutúrii  šóter  ţak_tharée
of female dog in throat having tied
kutúri -e -y šóto -e -r ţak th -ar -éé
bitch OBL GEN throat OBL in button do/say CAUS CONJP
f n  cas1 cas2 m n  cas1 cas2 m n  trans caus parti

réset  reégi,
to him/her she said
ro -c -t r -èég -i
he(rem) OBL to speak PFT SIMP3sf
dem  cas1 cas2 trans val tens

FT: Then Shamligas went and got the necklace her mother had made for her and tied it around the dog's neck and said,

7.8
"waá mey aájiī kutúri! ané rayaáy
halloo! my of mother bitch this(f) necklace
waá mey aáji -e -y kutúri ané rayaáy
halloo! my mother OBL GEN bitch this/she necklace
interj pers f n  cas1 cas2 f n  dem f n

haríf  mey aájiţ  učhačaréé.”
having taken my to mother cause it to reach!
har -èé mey aáji -e -t učháč -ar -é
take away CONJP my mother OBL to arrive CAUS IMP2s
trans parti pers f n  cas1 cas2 intrans caus mood

FT: “Oh, my mother's dog! Take this necklace and bring it to my mother!”

7.9
ho kutúri aályoo géi.
then bitch from there she went
ho kutúri aál’ -jo búj -i
then bitch there from go SIMP3sf
adv f n  adv cas2 intrans tens

FT: Then the dog left there.
8.1  

Tušáar kéenejo ho re toóm goót
much after some time then that(fem) own house
tušáar kéén -e jo ho re toóm goót
much time OBL from then she(rem) own house
adv f n cas1 cas2 adv dem adv m n

Ucháti.
she arrived
ucháč -t -i
arrive PFI SIMP3sf
intrans val tens
IT: After a long time it reached it's home.

8.2  

Šámligasey maás toóm kutúri paší f
of Shamligas mother(ag) own bitch having seen
šámligas -e -y maá -se toóm kutúri paás -eé
Shamligas OBL GEN mother AG own bitch see CONJP
prop cas1 cas2 f n cas1 adv f n trans parti

Bódí khoš bigf.
much(f) happy she became
bódó -i khoš b -eég -i
much FEM happy become PFT SIMP3sf
adv gndr adj intrans val tens
IT: Seeing her dog, Shamligas' mother became very happy.

8.3  

Néé loóko théé réset čharmúki
then quick having done to him/her bread/butter mix
néé loóko th -eé ro -e -t čharmúki
again quick do/say CONJP he(rem) OBL to bread/butter mix
adv adv trans parti dem cas1 cas2 f n

Théé waleégi.
having done she brought
th -eé wal -eég -i
do/say CONJP bring PFT SIMP3sf
trans parti trans val tens
IT: Then she quickly made some charmuki for the dog and brought it.

Commentary

8.1-14 This long paragraph, introduced with a time phrase, marks a turning point in the story; from now on all the action moves toward resolving the main problem of the story: Shamligas' fate.
8.4

kutúris čcharmúki kheé toóm šóter
bitch(AG) bread/butter mix having eaten own in throat
kutúri -se čcharmúki kh -éé toóm šóto -c -r
bitch AG bread/butter mix eat CONJP own throat OBL in
f n cas1 f n trans parti adv m n cas1 cas2

țak_tharšiti rayaáy
which was tied necklace
țak th -ar -ító -i rayaáy
button do/say CAUS ADJZR PL necklace
m n trans caus adjzr num f n

pašaroókekaar toóm šóter
in order to show own in throat
paáš -ar oök -c -kaar toóm šóto -c -r
see CAUS INF OBL for own throat OBL in
trans caus inf cas1 cas2 adv m n cas1 cas2

thóorie giniítakaróóe waleégi.
paws with scratchings she brought
thóori -c gín -éé kakaróóe wal -éé -g -i
paw PL take CONJP scratching bring PFT SIMP3sf
f n num trans parti mass n trans val tens

FT: The dog ate the charmuki and then scratched at its neck with its paws to show the necklace tied there.

8.5 ¹

šámligasey aáji hay theé gotér
Shamligas’ mother running having done in house
-é -y aáji hay th -éé goôt -c -r
OBL GEN mother running do/say CONJP house OBL in
prop cas1 cas2 f n precat trans parti m n cas1 cas2

¹ 8.5 dáriót. The plural form of the noun puč ‘son’ is dárié ‘sons’ and the oblique dative is dáriót ‘to sons’. The singular form of that is obsolete; however, the plural form continues to be used. Many kinship terms have unique plural forms that are different from regular pluralization. For example: maáé ‘mother’ and mayáare ‘mothers’, dif ‘daughter’ and difáarie ‘daughters’, jamaçoó ‘son-in-law’ and jamaçáarie ‘sons-in-law’, etc. (See also 8.12.)
The Story of Hopoti and Hopoto

geé toóm dáarioṯ mey náti
having gone own to sons my she disappeared
búj -ée toóm puč -o -t mey náš -t -i
go CONJP own son PLOBL to my disappear PFI SIMP3sf
intrans parti adv m n cas1 cas2 pers intrans val tens

kutúri wátiń thig₁.
bitch she has come she did/said
kutúri wá -t -in th -ée -i
bitch come PFI PRPRF3sf do/say PFT SIMP3sf
f n intrans val tens trans val tens

FT: Shamligas' mother ran into the house and told her sons that her
dog which had disappeared has returned.

8.6

ri ga darú wáte.
they(rem) also out they came
ri ga darú wá -t -e
do(rem) also out come PFI SIMP3p
dem adv adv intrans val tens

FT: They also came outside.

8.7¹

waiř čakéen to kutúris toóm šakér
having come they will look so bitch(ag) own in neck
wá -ée čak -an to kutúri -še toóm šak -e -r
come CONJP look FUT3p so bitch AG own neck OBL in
intrans parti trans tens conj f n cas1 adv m n cas1 cas2

thórie giniř kakaroœe wafin.
paws with scratchings she brings
thóri -e gín -ée kakaroœe wai in
paw PL take CONJP scratching bring PRES3sf
f n num trans parti mass n trans tens

FT: They came out and saw that the dog was scratching its neck with
its paws.

Commentary

¹ 8.7, 9 The use of future and present tenses (instead of the normal
simple past) in these two sentences brings sharp focus and immediacy
to the situation. One can almost hear the music swell dramatically as the
oldest son moves from noticing something odd to zeroing in on the
necklace. (See note on Bald Son 9.1)
The Story of Hopoti and Hopoto

8.8 bey.

The sentence structure employed in the first part of this sentence shows that the character was making a judgment about the situation. The oldest son is surmising or speculating or deducing that something is on the dog’s neck, based on the dog’s actions:

\[ \text{šakėr jéek \ han \ bey} \]

‘There must be something on it’s neck (since it is scratching).’

The future tense verb bey ‘she/he/it will be’ makes the subordinated clause that precedes it into its subject, so to speak: ‘(this situation) will be’. (Compare the use of théé in this sentence to express thought with its use to express intent, as in Bald Son 2.3.)

Here are two more examples of this surmising sentence structure taken from texts given by Mr. Shakil:

\[ \text{ros namaāl neč suú-yas \ bey.} \]

he-AG swimming not know-IMPERF3sm be-FUT3s

‘It may be that he wasn’t knowing how to swim (that’s why he drowned).’

\[ \text{koōn šudārias phurūč hagāar šeēgen \ bey.} \]

(some)where boys-AG coarsegrass-on fire connect-PRPRF3p be-FUT3s

‘Some boys must have set grass on fire’ (that’s why there’s smoke).
FT: Thinking there must be something on its neck, the oldest son examined the dog's neck.

8.9

çaƙéy to kutúrii ʂóter
s/he will look so of female dog in throat
çaƙ -cy to kutúri -e -y ʂóto -e -r
look FUT3s so bitch OBL GEN throat OBL in
trans tens conj fn cas1 cas2 m n cas1 cas2

rayaáye\k hin.
a necklace she is
rayaáy -ek han -in
necklace INDEF be PRES3sf
fn indef intrans tens

FT: He saw that there was a necklace on the dog's neck.

8.10

šong theé thurieé rayaáy toóm
song care/alert having done having loosed necklace own
šong th -éé thuri -éé rayaáy toóm
song care/alert do/say CONJP loose CONJP necklace own
adj trans parti trans parti fn adv

aájiıt paleégu.
to mother he handed over
aáji -e -t pal -éég -u
mother OBL to hand over PFT SIMP3sm
fn cas1 cas2 trans val tens

FT: He carefully untied it and handed the necklace to his mother.

8.11

res rayaáy pašít akiʃ kriw thigí.
she(ag) necklace having seen EMPH cry she did/said
re -se rayaáy paas -éé akiʃ kriw th -éég -i
she(rem) AG necklace see CONJP EMPH cry do/say PFT SIMP3sf
dem cas1 fn trans parti part fn trans val tens

FT: As soon as she saw the necklace she cried out.

——— Commentary ———

1 8.10 šong thoók means 'to do carefully', whereas šong boók means 'to awake' (see sentence 3.6, above). But then, it can mean 'to do carefully' as well! (See Bald Son 9.7)
8.12

"waá míy šámligasey rayaáy náá! álá dáäríe
halloo! my of Shamligas necklace EMPH oh(m) sons
waá míy šamligas -e -y rayaáy náá álá puç -e
halloo! my ShamligasOBL GEN necklace EMPH oh(m) sonPL
interj pers prop cas1cas2 f n interj interj m n num
mey dií koón’eker sáčíí hin.
my daughter in somewhere having stuck she is
mey dií koón -ek -e -t sááč -ée han -in
my daughter where INDEF OBL in stick CONJP be PRES3sf
pers f n adv indef cas1cas2 intrans parti sta tens
FT: “Oh! It’s my Shamligas’ necklace! Oh sons, my daughter is caught somewhere.

8.13

bújaat, kutúri giniíí geé mey
you all go! bitch with having gone my
búj -aa -t kutúri gín -éé búj -éé mey
go IMP2p polite bitch take CONJP go CONJP my
intransmood hon f ntrans parti intrans parti pers
díí udaráát.”
daughter you all search!
díí udar -aa -t
daughter search IMP2p polite
f ntransmood hon
FT: Go! Take the dog and go search for her!”

8.14

ho ris khaííí khangár kayééé kutúri
then they(rem)(ag) shield sword having slung bitch
ho ri -se khaííí khangár kay -éé kutúri
then those(rem) AG shield sword sling CONJP bitch
adv dem cas1 f n m ntrans parti f n
giniíí zas bigéé.

having taken departure they became
gín -éé zas b -éeég -e
take CONJP departure become PFT SIMP3p
trans parti precat intrans val tens
FT: Then they slung their shields and swords over their shoulders, took the dog and set out.

------------- Commentary -------------

1 8.12 (koón’eker – See the note on palatalization in Bald Son 5.3.)
The Story of Hopoti and Hopoto

9.1

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{ek} & \text{dfšeker} & \text{geé} & \text{čakéén} & \text{to} \\
\text{one} & \text{in a place} & \text{having gone} & \text{they will look} & \text{so} \\
\text{ek} & \text{-diš -ek -e -t} & \text{-bůj -éé} & \text{-čak -an} & \text{to} \\
\text{one} & \text{place INDEF OBL in} & \text{go CONJP} & \text{look FUT3p} & \text{so} \\
\text{numeral} & \text{fn indef cas1 cas2 intrans parti trans tens conj} \\
\text{kutúris} & \text{dulaýyek} & \text{dapár šár} & \text{beé} & \\
\text{bitch} & \text{a covered channel} & \text{upon creeping} & \text{having been} \\
\text{kutúris} & \text{dulaýy} & \text{-ek} & \text{dapár šár b} & \text{-éé} \\
\text{bitch} & \text{covered channel INDEF upon} & \text{creeping} & \text{become CONJP} \\
\text{fn} & \text{fn indef post precat intrans parti} \\
\text{tșágeker} & \text{ačši} & & & \\
\text{in a garden} & \text{she entered} \\
\text{tșágo} & \text{-ek -e -t} & \text{ač -t -i} \\
\text{orchard INDEF OBL in} & \text{enter PFI SIMP3sf} \\
\text{mn indef cas1 cas2 intrans val tens} \\
\end{array}
\]

FT: They went to a place and saw that the dog crept across a covered water channel and entered a big garden.

9.2

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{ri} & \text{aáł’ tsak bigé} & & \\
\text{they(rem)} & \text{there} & \text{stopped} & \text{they became} \\
\text{ri} & \text{aáł’ tsak b} & \text{-eég -e} & \\
\text{those(rem)} & \text{there} & \text{stopped} & \text{become PFT SIMP3p} \\
\text{dem} & \text{adv adv intrans val tens} & & \\
\end{array}
\]

FT: (So) they stopped there.

9.3

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{kutúris} & \text{tșágo tareé arú gotéy} & & \\
\text{bitch(ag)} & \text{orchard} & \text{having passed inside of house} \\
\text{kutúris} & \text{-se tșágo tar -éé arú goót -e -y} & & \\
\text{bitch AG} & \text{orchard pass CONJP inside house OBL GEN} \\
\text{fn cas1 mn trans parti adv mn cas1 cas2} & & & \\
\end{array}
\]

--- Commentary ---

9.1-13 The action shifts from the mother and focuses on Shamligas’ brothers as they find their lost sister and the dog’s involvement reaches its fulfillment.

Note that this first sentence uses the future and present tenses to focus the listener’s attention on the unexpected action of the dog.
9.4

Shamligas se kutúri paši f loóko résekač
having come what you(f) became bitch

FT: Shamligas saw the dog and quickly came to it and asked it what had happened.
The Story of Hopoti and Hopoto

1. gotéjo darú walegéi.
   from house out she brought
   goót -e -jo darú wal -éeg -i
   house OBL from out bring PFT SIMP3sf
   m n cas1 cas2 adv trans val tens

FT: Jumping up and down, the dog brought her out of the house.

--- Commentary ---

1. 9.5 walegéi. By virtue of the nature of the art, past tenses are the primary tenses used in story telling. Gilgit Shina verbs are divided into the **perfective tenses** and the **non-perfective tenses** as far as their conjugations are concerned. We'll concentrate on the perfective tenses just now because of their frequent use. (The reader is urged to consult the Appendix for more detail on this subject.) Perfective verb forms are composed of three parts: the verb stem, a perfective aspect cum valency marker (abbreviated PFT for transitive and PFI for intransitive verbs), and a suffix showing tense/person/number.

The perfective aspect cum valency marker (PFT or PFI) lets us know whether the verb is transitive or intransitive to begin with, that is, what its valency is. Transitive verbs fall into two groups in this way: one group takes -éeğ as their valency/aspect marker (and carries the pitch accent on the suffixes in the non-perfective tenses), and the other group takes -ífíg (and carries the accent on their roots in the non-perfective tenses). Intransitive verbs, on the other hand, take a dizzying variety of valency/aspect markers: -t, -t, -k, -íl, -ööl, -áál, etc. (and it is not necessarily predictable where the accent will be carried in their non-perfective conjugations). All verbs in the passive mood have -röd as their **perfective passive tense** marker (PFPASS), which fills the same slot as the valency/aspect marker (and passive verbs always carry the accent on the passive suffix).

So, in the face of all this diversity, it's what follows the PFT or PFI or PFPASS marker that is nice and consistent across verbs. For example, -i tells us "third person feminine simple past tense", whether it follows -éeğ (walegéi 'she brought'), -ífíg (hariígí 'she took away'), or -t (acíti 'she entered'), or -t (beéti 'she sat'), -ööl (roóli 'she cried'), -áál (dubaálí 'she was unable'), etc.
9.6
šámligas se darú wai̱f çakéy to
Shamligas AG out having come s/he will look so
-se darú wá -cé çak -ey to
AG out come CONJP look FUT3s so
prop cas1 adv intrans parti trans tens conj

résaye žáare čóke han.
his/her brothers standing(pl) they are
ro -e -y žáa -e čóko -e han -anen
he(rem) OBL GEN brother PL standing PL be PRES3p
dem cas1 cas2 m n num adj num intrans tens

FT: Shamligas came outside and saw her brothers standing there.

9.7
res hay theé wai̱f
she(ag) running having done having come
re -se hay th -éé wá -éé
she(rem) AG running do/say CONJP come CONJP
dem cas1 precat trans parti intrans parti

rinóť krum bigî.
to them she embraced
ri -o -t krum b -ég -i
those(rem) PLOBL to embrace become PFT SIMP3sf
dem cas1 cas2 m n intrans val tens

FT: She ran and embraced them.

' 9.7 krum bigî. In light of the comment on 9.5 something should be said about bigî ‘she became’. The verbs ‘to be’ and ‘to go’ have irregular conjugations in many languages – English, for example, has “am, was, have been” and “go, went, gone”. In Gilgit Shina, boök ‘to be’ is most definitely not a transitive verb, yet its past tenses are conjugated similarly to the abbreviated form of the transitive valency/valency marker (see the note on 9.9 below). This definitely qualifies as “irregular”. Note the past tense of bujoök ‘to go’ above in 9.3 – the root buj changes to gé for the past tenses. Again an irregular form. Note, though, that the person/number/tense suffix on these irregular verbs is the same as for all other verbs. For example, -i still tells us “third person singular feminine simple past tense” – géi ‘she went’. bigî ‘she became’. Even though there are occasional exceptions to the rule and irregular forms, languages have much that is consistent, as well.
9.8

nēe loōko ri arū goṭēr
then quick they(rem) inside in house
nēe loōko ri arū goōt -c -r
again quick those(rem) inside house OBL in
adv adv dem adv m n cas1 cas2

harīṣgi.

she took away
har -eēg -i
take away PFT SIMP3sf
trans val tens

FT: Then she quickly brought them into the house.

9.9

ţfīkik theē rinōt
some food having done to them
ţīki -ēk th -ēē ri -o -t
bread/food INDEF do/say CONJP those(rem) PLOBL to
f n indef trans parti dem cas1 cas2
The Story of Hopoti and Hopoto

1 khereé
having fed
kh  -ar  -ée

ho  čhúpejo
then  from end
ho  čhup  -e  -jo

toóm  čága
own  story
toóm  čága

trans  CAUS  CONJP
caus  parti
then  end  OBL  from  own
adv  m n  cas1  cas2  adv  f n

thigí.
she did/said
th  -eég  -i

do/say  PFT  SIMP3sf
trans  val  tens

Commentary

1 9.9 čága thigí. As explained above in 9.5, the perfective aspect cum valency marker for transitive verbs is either -eég or -ííg. Common verbs such as thóók ‘to do’, khoók ‘to eat’, doók ‘to give’ are in the group that use -eég before the person/number/tense suffix. Such common verbs as these are also candidates for an abbreviation process in the perfective tenses. The normal long vowel of the valency marker is shortened and the accent shifts to the next syllable, which happens to be the short vowel of the person/number/tense suffix. An example would be kheégi ‘she ate’ and the alternate form khigí ‘she ate’. Some examples of both forms in use:

theégi ‘she did’ (Ibex Story 1.6)  thigí ‘she did’ (Hopoti-Hopoto 9.9)
deégi ‘she gave’ (Blackberry 2.5)  digí ‘she gave’ (Bald Son 3.2)

Phonologically, we can understand the evolution of this process by looking at the nature of the low rising pitch accent. Because the pitch or tone of such a long vowel is low, the rise of pitch always “spills over” onto the vowel of the following syllable (whether in the same word or the next) which, thus, carries a high pitch even though it bears no accent. With the melding that accompanies the fast rate of normal conversational speech, one can see where extensive use of such common verbs could result in the shortening of the long vowel and the shifting of the accent to the next vowel, which already had a high pitch. This sort of thing is explained more fully in Radloff (forthcoming).

As to when the abbreviated form is used in preference to the normal longer form, this is a discourse feature embedded in the intuitions of the mother tongue speaker and is related to the emphasis given to the verb in that particular circumstance – where and when this emphasis is given is a subject worthy of further study!
FT: She made some food and fed them and then told her story from the beginning.

9.10  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>née</th>
<th>rinójo</th>
<th>khujeégi</th>
<th>“ála</th>
<th>mey</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>then</td>
<td>from them</td>
<td>she asked</td>
<td>oh(m)</td>
<td>my</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>née</td>
<td>ri</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>-jo</td>
<td>kujh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>again</td>
<td>those(rem)</td>
<td>PLOBL</td>
<td>from ask</td>
<td>PFT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adv</td>
<td>dem</td>
<td>cas1</td>
<td>cas2</td>
<td>trans</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

záare,     tsho   aš   khée_beé
brothers you all today how
záa -e tsho aš khée b -é
brother PL you all today how become CONJP

damfídet?"
you all were troubled
dam -íd -éct
trouble PFPASS SIMP2p
v voice tens

FT: Then she asked them, “Oh my brothers, how did you all come to be here today?”

9.11  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ris</th>
<th>réset</th>
<th>kutúrii</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>they(rem)(ag)</td>
<td>to him/her</td>
<td>of female dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ri</td>
<td>-se</td>
<td>ro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>those(rem)</td>
<td>AG</td>
<td>he(rem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dem</td>
<td>cas1</td>
<td>dem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Commentary

9.10 damfídet. Perhaps at one time there was a verb damoók in active use in Gilgit Shina. It would have carried a sense of ‘trouble’, maybe it was even a transitive verb. At any rate, only the passive or causative forms of this verb seem to be used widely today – damijoók ‘to be troubled’ and damaroók ‘to cause trouble’. It is used in such circumstances as our story: inquiring in a rather formal way about someone’s journey. It is also used in a complimentary way to a hostess: ke damfídiniee, kaáki? ‘Why have you been troubled, sister? (done all this for us)’. The causative form can also be used here: aš tu bódi damareégés ‘Today we have caused you lots of trouble.’
púuri čága thigé.
all(f) story they said
púuro -i čága th -cég -e
all FEM story do/say PFT SIMP3p
adj gndr fn trans val tens
FT: They told her the whole story about the dog.

9.12
nee reseṯ toóm dispuç giniği
then to him/her own children having taken
nee ro -e -t toóm dis puç gîn -e
gain he(rem) OBL to own daughter son take CONJP
adv dem cas1 cas2 adv fn mn trans parti
asósaa-t'y žas bo thigé.
with us departure go! they said
be -o -saa-t'y žas büj -e th -cég -e
we PLOBL with departure go IMP2s do/say PFT SIMP3p
pers cas1 cas2 precat intrans mood trans val tens
FT: They then told her to get her children and go with them.

9.13
res toóm dispuç samaṭeē
she(ag) own children having gathered
re -se toóm dis puç samaṭ -e
she(rem) AG own daughter son gather CONJP
dem cas1 adv fn mn trans parti
rinósaa-t'y žas bigf.
with them(rem) departure she became
ri -o -saa-t'y žas b -cég -i
those(rem) PLOBL with departure become PFT SIMP3sf
dem cas1 cas2 precat intrans val tens
FT: So she gathered up her children and left with them.
10.1

čhuít  balakaál  deéw  daruút  deé  goóst
late  late afternoon  giant  hunting  having given  house
čhuít  balakaál  deéw  daruút  d  -éé  goóst
slowly  late afternoon  giant  hunting  give  CONJP  house

adv  f n  m n  f n  trans  parti  m n

wáay  to  šámligas  ga  difpuç  nuš.
s/he will come  so  Shamligas  and  children  not is
wá  -ey  to  ga  dif  puç  nuš

come  FUT3s  so  and  daughter  son  not is

intrans  tens  conj  prop  conj  f n  m n  neg

FT: Late in the afternoon the giant returned from hunting and saw that Shamligas and the children were gone.

10.2

ftné_paáte  bugús  magám
here and there  he had become  but
-ftné  paáte  b  -éég  -us  magám

over here  over there  become  PFT  PSPRFS3sm  but

adv  adv  intrans  val  tens  conj

rinéy  dap  néé  ašfi.
their(rem)  information  not  she was
ri  -e  -y  dap  néé  han  -i

those(rem)  OBL  GEN  information  not  be  SIMP3sf
dem  cas1  cas2  f n  neg  intrans  tens

FT: He went here and there but found out nothing about them.

10.3

ho  mukhamées_theé  šámligasey
then  having gone straight  of Shamligas
ho  mukhamées  th  -éé  šámligas  -e  -y
then  straight  do/say  CONJP  Shamligas  OBL  GEN

adv  adv  trans  parti  prop  cas1  cas2

Commentary

1 10.1-3 True to his daily routine (as established up in paragraph 4), that evening the giant returns from his hunting only to find his ordered life upset...

The time phrase introduces this new paragraph and immediate focus is placed on the absence of Shamligas and the children through use of the future tense and the present tense nuš 'not is' (see note on nuš in Bald Son 9.1).
mamaáloo gotét bújey
of parents to house s/he will go
mamaále -o goöt -c -t búj -c'éy
parents PLOBL PLGEN house OBL to go FUT3s
mass n cas1 cas2 m n cas1 cas2 intrans tens

pónič čoot háriğu.
on path hastening he took
pony -e -c čoot har -cég -u
path OBL on hastening take away PFT SIMP3sm
fn cas1 cas2 precat trans val tens

FT: Then he ran straight on the path that goes to Shamligas' parents' house.

11.1 p. 2

tušáar khéenejo šámligas déene pashif
much after some time Shamligas family(present) having seen
tušáar khéen -e -jo déene paash -cég
much time OBL from family see CONJP
adv fn cas1 cas2 prop mass n trans parti

hóo_haw fit digú.
calling loudly he gave
hóo haw fit d -cég -u
calling loudly give PFT SIMP3sm
precat trans val tens

FT: After a long time he saw Shamligas and her brothers and called loudly to them.

Commentary

1 11.1-4 This exciting paragraph is the culmination of the action – swords clash! Fists fly! The valiant are victorious!

2 11.1 šámligas déene. An interesting compound construction – šámligas déene – is found here. The word déene is used only with a proper noun or title, such as aáji ‘mother’ or dáado ‘grandfather’, etc. It means “all the family present with the person named”. So in other words, the giant saw Shamligas and her brothers and her children. Her parents were back at home, so are not included in the déene.
11.2 1

résey  záares  toóm  khangarél
his/her  brothers(ag)  own  swords
ro  -e  y  záa  -e  -se  toóm  khangár -i
he(rem)  OBL  GEN  brother  PL  AG  own  sword  PL

dem  cas1  cas2  m  n  num  cas1  adv  m  n  num

khai fojo  taš taš  théé  deéw
from shields  pulling out  having done  giant
khaií  -o  -jo  CVCrdp  taš  th  -éc  deéw
shield  PLOBL  from  (vigor)  slipping  do/say  CONJP  giant
f  n  cas1  cas2  mod  precat  trans  parti  m  n

marón  théé  mučhoó  sari fle.
we will kill  (intent)  to ahead  they moved
mar  -on  th  -éc  mučhoó -e  -t  saár  -t  -e
kill  FUT1p  do/say  CONJP  in front  OBL  to  move  on  PFI  SIMP3p
trans  tens  trans  parti  adv  cas1  cas2  intrans  val  tens

FT: Her brothers pulled their swords out from their shields and advanced to kill the giant.

11.3

deéw  rínéy  káči  wátus  akií
giant  their(rem)  near  he had come  EMPH
deéw  ri  -e  -y  káči  wá  -t  -us  akií
giant  those(rem)  OBL  GEN  near  come  PFI  PSPRF3sm  EMPH
m  n  dem  cas1  cas2  adv  intrans  val  tens  part

résec  prik  digé.
on her/him  jump  they gave
ro  -e  -č  prik  d  -eég  -e
he(rem)  OBL  on  jump  give  PFT  SIMP3p
dem  cas1  cas2  f  n  trans  val  tens

FT: Just as the giant came near them, they attacked him.

---------------------------------- Commentary ----------------------------------

1 11.2 taš taš théé. In Shamligas’ day, swords were kept in the shield, rather than in a scabbard worn at the waist. The sword was slid into balanced slots in the shield, to ride at a diagonal angle. When peril struck, then, taš describes how the sword was ‘slipped’ out of the shield. taš taš gives the sense of a number of swords vigorously being pulled out as brave men prepare to face their foe. (See the discussion on CVCrdp in 7.2.)
11.4 1 tuśāar khéen dewésaa-t⁵ maárman theé
tuśāar khéen deē w-e -saa-t⁵ maárman th -ée
much time with giant fierce fighting having done
much time giant OBL with fierce fighting do/say CONJP
adv f n m n cas1 cas2 f n trans parti

ro khirí pareé khangaró deé
he down having made fall stabbing having given
ro khirí p -ar -ée khangár -ó d -ée
he(rem) down alight CAUS CONJP sword VBZR give CONJP
dem adv intrans caus parti m n vrbzr trans parti

mareége.
they killed
mar -éeq -e
kill PFT SIMP3p
trans val tens

Fi: After fighting fiercely with the giant for a long time, they knocked him down and struck him with their swords and killed him.

12.1 2 aályoo ho hío kaáy ek theé
from there then heart disposition one having done
aál' -jo ho hío kaáy ek th -ée
there from then heart disposition one do/say CONJP
adv cas2 adv m n f n numeral trans parti

1 11.4 khagaró deé. The construction detailing how Shamligas’ brothers killed the giant is interesting. Derived from khangár ‘sword’, the form here – khangaró deé ‘having stabbed’ – has a parallel form khagaráa deé ‘having done a sword dance’. Both forms take the noun and along with the verb doök ‘to give’, turn it into a new verb (the function of a verbalizer). The short -ó suffix gives more of the connotation of ‘taking care of business’, whereas the -áa suffix lends a more playful aspect to the verb. These two suffixes are quite productive: another example uses the noun čatál ‘axe’. čataláa doök is to play a game of tossing axes. čataló doök is actually to chop something, such as firewood.

2 12.1-2 With the battle won and Shamligas’ peaceful future ensured, the story is rapidly brought to a close and the finale brings everyone safely home again.
The Story of Hopoti and Hopoto

źas beć tušār khéenejo toóm goōt
departure having been much after some time own house
źas b -ē tušār khéen -e -jo toóm goōt
departure become CONJP much time OBL from own house
precat intrans parti adv fn cas1 cas2 adv m n

ucháte.
they arrived
uchăč -t -e
arrive PFI SIMP3p
intrans val tens
FT: Then they were content and set out from there and after a long
time they reached their home.

12.2
goōt ucháte to rinéy
in house they arrived so their(rem)
goōt -e -r ucháč -t -e to ri -e -y
house OBL in arrive PFI SIMP3p so those(rem) OBL GEN
m n cas1 cas2 intrans val tens conj dem cas1 cas2

mamaáles ri paśif bódi
parents(ag) they(rem) having seen much(f)
mamaále -se ri paśš -ēe bódo -i
parents AG those(rem) see CONJP much FEM
mass n cas1 dem trans parti adv gndr

šuriaār thigé.
happiness they did
šūri -aār th -eēg -e
make happy NOMZR do/say PFT SIMP3p
trans nomnLR trans val tens

FT: When they reached home their parents saw them and felt very
happy.

13.1
hopótī ga hopótos toóm
chubby(f) and chubby(ag) own
hopótō -i ga hopótō -se toóm
chubby FEM and chubby AG own
adj gndr conj adj cas1 adv.

Commentary

1 13.1-2 Having had no role in the story but as title-bearers, Hopoti and
Hopoto are brought again into the story in what could be called a
postscript. The wise grandmother leaves no opportunity un-utilized to
The Story of Hopoti and Hopoto

dadidáadeŋ  bódo kom théenes.
to grandparents much work they used to do
dadiʃ dáado -e -ː bódo kom th -anes
grandmother grandfather OBL to much work do/say IMPRF3p
f n m n cas1 cas2 adv m n trans tens
FT: Hopoti and Hopoto always did a lot of work for their grandparents.

13.2
dadidáado  ga moóli pašif
grandparents and uncles having seen
dadiʃ dáado ga moól-i paása -eé
grandmother grandfather and uncle PL see CONJP
f n m n conj m n num trans parti
hopóti  ga hopóto khoš asée.
chubby(f) and chubby happy they were
hopóto -i ga hopóto khoš han -e
chubby FEM and chubby happy be SIMP3p
adj gndr conj adj adj intrans tens
FT: Being with their grandparents and uncles, Hopoti and Hopoto were happy.

Commentary

encourage obedience and diligence in her listeners: The two chubby-cheeked children are held up as model, hard-working grandchildren who love being with their family.
Appendix

This appendix contains more detailed information on the conjugation of verbs and the case system of nouns in Gilgit Shina. Charts of pronouns are also presented.

Verbs

The conjugation system of Gilgit Shina verbs is elaborate, but not complicated. Verb endings occur in two groups: one for tenses which express completed action or states, another for tenses which express action or states which are not necessarily complete. The tenses expressing completed action or states are called Perfective, not in the sense of “faultless”, but in the sense of being “finished” or “culminated”. These perfective tenses include the Simple Past, the Present Perfect and the Past Perfect tenses. Examples in Gilgit Shina would be yaátu ‘he walked’ (Simple Past), yaátun ‘he has walked’ (Present Perfect), and yaátus ‘he had walked’ (Past Perfect). (Mohammad Amin Zia (1986) uses the terms Near Past tense for the Present Perfect and Remote Past tense for the Past Perfect — a nomenclature which may ultimately prove more expressive of these tenses.)

Another set of endings marks the Non-Perfective tenses. These are tenses which express action or states which are not necessarily “complete” or “finished”. Non-Perfective tenses include the Future, the Present and the Past Imperfective. Examples of the Future and Present tenses in Gilgit Shina would be yaáyey ‘he will walk’ and yaáyan ‘he walks’. The Past Imperfective can be translated into English in two different ways depending on the context: yaáyas can mean ‘he used to walk’ or ‘he was walking’.

Perfective tenses

In Perfective verb tenses, tense suffixes are attached to the verb stem following a valency/aspect marker. This valency/aspect marker occurs
only in the perfective tenses (thus showing Perfective aspect). While the presence of the valency/aspect marker indicates Perfective aspect, its form also indicates whether the verb is transitive (can take a direct object) or intransitive (cannot take an object). The valency/aspect markers for transitive verbs are -eég and -iíg. Probably the majority of intransitive verbs have the valency/aspect marker -t, but -t is also common and one also sees -k, -iíl, -oól, -aál, etc. In spite of this variety of valency/aspect markers, the suffixes which follow are quite consistent and they communicate the core information: the tense and agreement (person, number, and gender) information.

Thus, a verb in one of the perfective tenses has three parts: the verb stem, then the valency/aspect marker, then the tense/agreement marker. This chart shows the tense/agreement markers for the perfective tenses.

**Perfective tense/agreement suffixes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Simple Past</th>
<th>Present Perfect</th>
<th>Past Perfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sm</td>
<td>-us*</td>
<td>-unus</td>
<td>-usus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sf</td>
<td>-is</td>
<td>-inis</td>
<td>-isis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>-es</td>
<td>-encs</td>
<td>-eses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sm</td>
<td>-oo**</td>
<td>-unoo</td>
<td>-usoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sf</td>
<td>-iee</td>
<td>-iniee</td>
<td>-išee</td>
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<td>-iš</td>
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<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>-es</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Transitive verbs use -as. **Transitive verbs use -aa.

Before describing the non-perfective tenses, four example verbs are conjugated in the perfective tenses. Note that spaces separate the three parts of each conjugated verb. The first verb, walooík ‘to bring’, is a transitive verb that takes the valency/aspect marker -eég. The second, harooík ‘to take away’, is also transitive but takes the -iíg valency/aspect marker. Two intransitive verbs are next: the first, rodk ‘to weep’ has the -oól valency/aspect marker and the second, amušoók ‘to forget’ has the -t valency/aspect marker. It is important to note, however, that the suffixes of the perfective tenses that follow the valency/aspect marker are the same as those outlined in the chart just above.
### Appendix

<table>
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<th>Simple Past</th>
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<th>Past Perfect</th>
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<td>wal eég unus</td>
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<td>wal eég is</td>
<td>wal eég inis</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1p</td>
<td>wal eég es</td>
<td>wal eég enes</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>wal eég aa</td>
<td>wal eég unoo</td>
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<td>wal eég iee</td>
<td>wal eég iniee</td>
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<th>Simple Past</th>
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<td>amušoók ‘to forget’</td>
<td>1sm</td>
<td>aműu ť us</td>
<td>aműu ť unus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1sf</td>
<td>aműu ť is</td>
<td>aműu ť inis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Non-perfective tenses

The Non-Perfective tenses, that is, the Future, Present and Past Imperfective, use a set of tense/agreement markers that is similar for both intransitive and transitive verbs. Some verbs have the pitch accent on the suffix rather than the stem in these non-perfective tenses. In such cases the vowel is lengthened for many of the suffixes. The accent-bearing form of the suffixes are in parentheses in the following table:

Non-Perfective tense/agreement suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sm</td>
<td>-am (-ám)</td>
<td>-amus (-ámus)</td>
<td>-amusus (-âmusus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>-am (-ám)</td>
<td>-amis (-ámis)</td>
<td>-amisis (-âmisis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>-on (-óon)</td>
<td>-ones (-óones)</td>
<td>-oneses (-óoneses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sm</td>
<td>-ee (-ée)</td>
<td>-anoo (-éenoo)</td>
<td>-asoo (-éesoo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2st</td>
<td>-ee (-ée)</td>
<td>-aniee (-éeniee)</td>
<td>-iee (-éisee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>-at (-áat)</td>
<td>-anet (-áanet)</td>
<td>-aset (-áaset)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sm</td>
<td>-ey (-éy)</td>
<td>-an (-éen)</td>
<td>-as (-ées)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3st</td>
<td>-ey (-éy)</td>
<td>-in (-éin)</td>
<td>-iš (-éis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>-an (-éen)</td>
<td>-anen (-éenen)</td>
<td>-anes (-éenes)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The four example verbs are now conjugated in these non-perfective tenses. Note that transitive verbs fall into two classes: verbs like waloók ‘to bring’ which have the accent on the suffix in these non-perfective tenses also have the -eey valency marker in the perfective tenses. Conversely, transitive verbs like haroók ‘to take away’ have the accent on the verb root in the non-perfective tenses and also have the -iig valency marker in the perfective tenses. There are no such apparent class divisions among intransitive verbs and the accent is usually on the verb root for these non-perfective tenses, except for single consonant verb roots like r(oók) ‘to weep’, where the accent falls on the suffix.
waloök ‘to bring’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sm</td>
<td>wal ám</td>
<td>wal ámus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sf</td>
<td>wal ám</td>
<td>wal ámis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>wal óon</td>
<td>wal óones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sm</td>
<td>wal ée</td>
<td>wal éenoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sf</td>
<td>wal ée</td>
<td>wal éenie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>wal áat</td>
<td>wal áanet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sm</td>
<td>wal éy</td>
<td>wal éen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sf</td>
<td>wal éy</td>
<td>wal éin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>wal éen</td>
<td>wal éenen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

harooök ‘to take away’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sm</td>
<td>hár am</td>
<td>hár amus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sf</td>
<td>hár am</td>
<td>hár amis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>hár on</td>
<td>hár ones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sm</td>
<td>hár ee</td>
<td>hár anoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sf</td>
<td>hár ee</td>
<td>hár anice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>hár at</td>
<td>hár anet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sm</td>
<td>hár ey</td>
<td>hár an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sf</td>
<td>hár ey</td>
<td>hár in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>hár an</td>
<td>hár anen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

roók ‘to weep’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sm</td>
<td>rám</td>
<td>rámus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sf</td>
<td>rám</td>
<td>rámis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>róon</td>
<td>róones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sm</td>
<td>rée</td>
<td>réenoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sf</td>
<td>rée</td>
<td>réenie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ráat</td>
<td>ráanet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sm</td>
<td>rey</td>
<td>réen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sf</td>
<td>rey</td>
<td>réin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>réen</td>
<td>réenen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

amušoök ‘to forget’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sm</td>
<td>amúuš am</td>
<td>amúuš amus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sf</td>
<td>amúuš am</td>
<td>amúuš amis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1p amúuš on  amúuš ones  amúuš oneses
2sm amúuš ee  amúuš anoo  amúuš asoo
2sf amúuš ee  amúuš aniee  amúuš išee
2p amúuš et  amúuš anet  amúuš aset
3sm amúuš ey  amúuš an  amúuš as
3sf amúuš ey  amúuš in  amúuš iš
3p amúuš an  amúuš anen  amúuš anes

Nouns

Noun cases

Case markers are *suffix*ed to nouns and other words functioning as nouns (such as adjectives, infinitive verbs, etc.). These case markers fall into two groups: those which attach directly to the noun, called Case 1, and those which follow the oblique case marker, called Case 2 (see Masica 1991:232 for discussion of *Layer I* and *Layer II* case markers). The oblique and agent case markers are two which attach directly to the noun. The majority of case markers attach to the oblique marker; these include the genitive case marker and the different locative markers such as -t ‘to’, -r ‘in’, etc.

The order of case marker attachment, then, can be presented in chart form using the example *muláay* ‘girl’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun + Case 1</th>
<th>+ Case 2</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>muláay</td>
<td>=se (agent)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-e (oblique)</td>
<td>-y (genitive)</td>
<td>muláayey ‘of the girl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-e (oblique)</td>
<td>-t ‘to’</td>
<td>muláayet ‘to the girl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-e (oblique)</td>
<td>-r ‘in’</td>
<td>muláayer ‘in the girl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-e (oblique)</td>
<td>-č ‘on’</td>
<td>muláayet ‘on the girl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-e (oblique)</td>
<td>-jo ‘from’</td>
<td>muláayejo ‘from the girl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-e (oblique)</td>
<td>-kač ‘near’</td>
<td>muláayekač ‘near the girl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-e (oblique)</td>
<td>-waar ‘toward’</td>
<td>muláayewaar ‘toward the girl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-e (oblique)</td>
<td>-kaar ‘for’</td>
<td>muláayekaar ‘for the girl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-e (oblique)</td>
<td>-saa-t’ ‘with’</td>
<td>muláayesaa-t’ ‘with the girl’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For plural forms, the agent case marker attaches directly to the plural noun. A special plural oblique marker fills the Case 1 slot, indicating that the noun is in the plural and also inflected with the oblique case. The Case 2 markers remain the same for singular or plural forms except
for the genitive, which has a special plural form. This chart gives a sampling of plural inflected forms using the example *muláaye* ‘girls’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Noun + Case 1 + Case 2</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>=se (agent) - o (plural oblique) - o (genitive) - o (plural oblique) - ꦡ ‘to’ - o (plural oblique) - ꦙ ‘from’ - o (plural oblique) - ꦜ ‘near’ - etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>muláayes ‘girls (agent)’ muláayoo ‘of the girls’ muláayo ꦡ ‘to the girls’ muláayoo ꦙ ‘from the girls’ muláayoka ꦜ ‘near the girls’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Postpositions or adverbs such as *phatú* ‘behind’ or *khirí* ‘below’ (Layer III case, Masica 1991:234) require the genitive case on the antecedent. For example in *Ibex Story* 3.3 the bear hid behind a big rock: *keénekey phatú* ‘of-a-big_rock behind’. A while later in that same story (sentence 4.6) the two ibex babies hid under a pine tree: *jóo-zikey khirí* ‘of-a-pine_tree below’.

The Case 1 and Case 2 suffixes attach to the noun and do not carry any inherent pitch accent of their own. The postpositions or adverbs such as *phatú* ‘behind’ or *khirí* ‘below’, on the other hand, are separate from the noun and have their own accent. There is a class of nouns and nominals (other parts of speech functioning as nouns), though, which experience a shift of accent to the suffix when they are inflected.

**Noun classes**

Nouns and nominals fall into two basic classes according to the behavior of the pitch accent when inflected: the accent remains on the root noun in what can be called Class 1 nouns, and the accent shifts to the oblique suffix (that is, the first vowel of the suffix) in what can be called Class 2 nouns. For example, the noun *muláay* ‘girl’ is a Class 1 noun, the pitch accent remains on the root noun when inflectional suffixes are added: *muláayesaa* ꦡ ‘with the girl’. On the other hand, *daďang* ‘drum’ is a Class 2 noun, the accent shifts to the oblique, the first vowel of the suffix: *daďangér* ‘in the drum’. Plural forms are similar: *daďangóır* ‘in the drums’.

In general, nouns with the high falling pitch accent in their root form are always Class 1, that is, the accent remains in place when the noun is inflected, such as *muláay* ‘girl’.
Two-syllable words that end in an accented vowel also seem to be Class 1 nouns (note that the oblique suffix assimilates to the final vowel of the noun):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bulá</td>
<td>'polo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buláar</td>
<td>'in polo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šutií</td>
<td>'corner'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šutií.ir</td>
<td>'in the corner'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pajúu</td>
<td>'salt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pajúu.ur</td>
<td>'in the salt'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Words of two or more syllables whose accent is on the penultimate (second from last) syllable also seem to be Class 1 nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>á-spo</td>
<td>'horse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>á-spéč</td>
<td>'on the horse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dégar</td>
<td>'ram'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dégarey</td>
<td>'of the ram'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karkaámoš</td>
<td>'hen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karkaámošet</td>
<td>'to the hen'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interestingly, words that end with the consonant glide y also seem to be Class 1 nouns, no matter how many syllables or which accent they have:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rayaáy</td>
<td>'necklace'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rayaáye</td>
<td>'necklaces'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>makéy</td>
<td>'maize'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>makéyey</td>
<td>'of corn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wey</td>
<td>'water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wéyer</td>
<td>'in water'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the other hand, single-syllable words that end in a vowel tend to be Class 2 nouns (note that a glide is inserted before the suffixes and long root vowels are shortened when they lose the accent):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ča</td>
<td>'tea'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čayéy</td>
<td>'of tea'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dí-</td>
<td>'leopard'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dr-yét</td>
<td>'to the leopard'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šu-</td>
<td>'dog'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šu-wéét</td>
<td>'to the dog'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Words which end in a consonant and have low rising accent on the final syllable long vowel also seem to be Class 2 nouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baál</td>
<td>'boy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>balét</td>
<td>'to the boy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goót</td>
<td>'house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gotéř</td>
<td>'in the house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deéw</td>
<td>'giant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dewéjo</td>
<td>'from giant'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most polysyllable words which end in a consonant and have the pitch accent on the short vowel in the final syllable are Class 2 nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>phutún</td>
<td>'cloth purse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phutunér</td>
<td>'in cloth purse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khangár</td>
<td>'sword'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khangarí</td>
<td>'swords'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gamúk</td>
<td>'glacier'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gamukéč</td>
<td>'on glacier'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix

However, single-syllable words that *end* in a *consonant* can either be Class 1 or Class 2 nouns, there is no way for the non-native speaker to predict; one must learn each instance.

**Class 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nir</th>
<th>‘sleep’</th>
<th>nírer</th>
<th>‘in sleep’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>čhup</td>
<td>‘end’</td>
<td>čhúper</td>
<td>‘in the end’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huč</td>
<td>‘edge’</td>
<td>húčefo</td>
<td>‘from the edge’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Class 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>diš</th>
<th>‘place’</th>
<th>dišér</th>
<th>‘in place’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bun</td>
<td>‘jungle’</td>
<td>bunét</td>
<td>‘to the jungle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puc</td>
<td>‘son’</td>
<td>pucéy</td>
<td>‘of son’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Pronouns**

Gilgit Shina has personal pronoun forms for the first person singular and plural and for the second person singular and plural, as shown in this chart:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Agentive</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma</td>
<td>mas ‘I (agent)’</td>
<td>mey ‘my’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be</td>
<td>bes ‘we (agent)’</td>
<td>aséy ‘our’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu</td>
<td>tus ‘you (agent)’</td>
<td>they ‘your’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsho</td>
<td>tshos ‘you all (agent)’</td>
<td>tshey ‘of you all’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The demonstrative pronouns can be used as adjectives in a noun phrase to modify a noun, such as *anú mušáa* ‘this man’ or *re maápi* ‘that (remote) pearl’. Demonstratives can also be used alone as third person pronouns: *anú* ‘he’ or *re* ‘she (remote)’. This chart illustrates the different levels of distance and the different forms for the demonstratives:
| Close at hand | anú | 'this(m)' | ané | 'this(f)' | anésay | 'of this' |
| | anék | 'these' | aní | 'of these' |

| Distant (within sight) | ooú | 'that(m)' | éc | 'that(f)' | écsey | 'of that' |
| | ecú | 'those' | ecény | 'of them' |

| Further away (within sight) | paár ooú | 'that(m) (over there)' | paár éc | 'that(f) (over there)' | paár écsey | 'of that (over there)' |
| | paár écú | 'those (over there)' | paár écény | 'of them (over there)' |

| Remote (out of sight) | ro | 'that(m) (remote)' | re | 'that(f) (remote)' | résey | 'of that (remote)' |
| | ri | 'those (remote)' | rinéy | 'of those (remote)'' |
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nalaá ‘just then’, 103
nuš ‘is not’, 101
óo-sí doök ‘winnow’, 45
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ziřík chineé ‘boldly’, 132

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