Folktales

in the

Shina of Gilgit

(text, grammatical analysis and commentary)

Carla F. Radloff
with Shakil Ahmad Shakil

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Studies in Languages of Northern Pakistan

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- JOAN L. G. BAART
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- CARLA F. RADLOFF WITH SHAKIL AHMAD SHAKIL
  Folktales in the Shina of Gilgit

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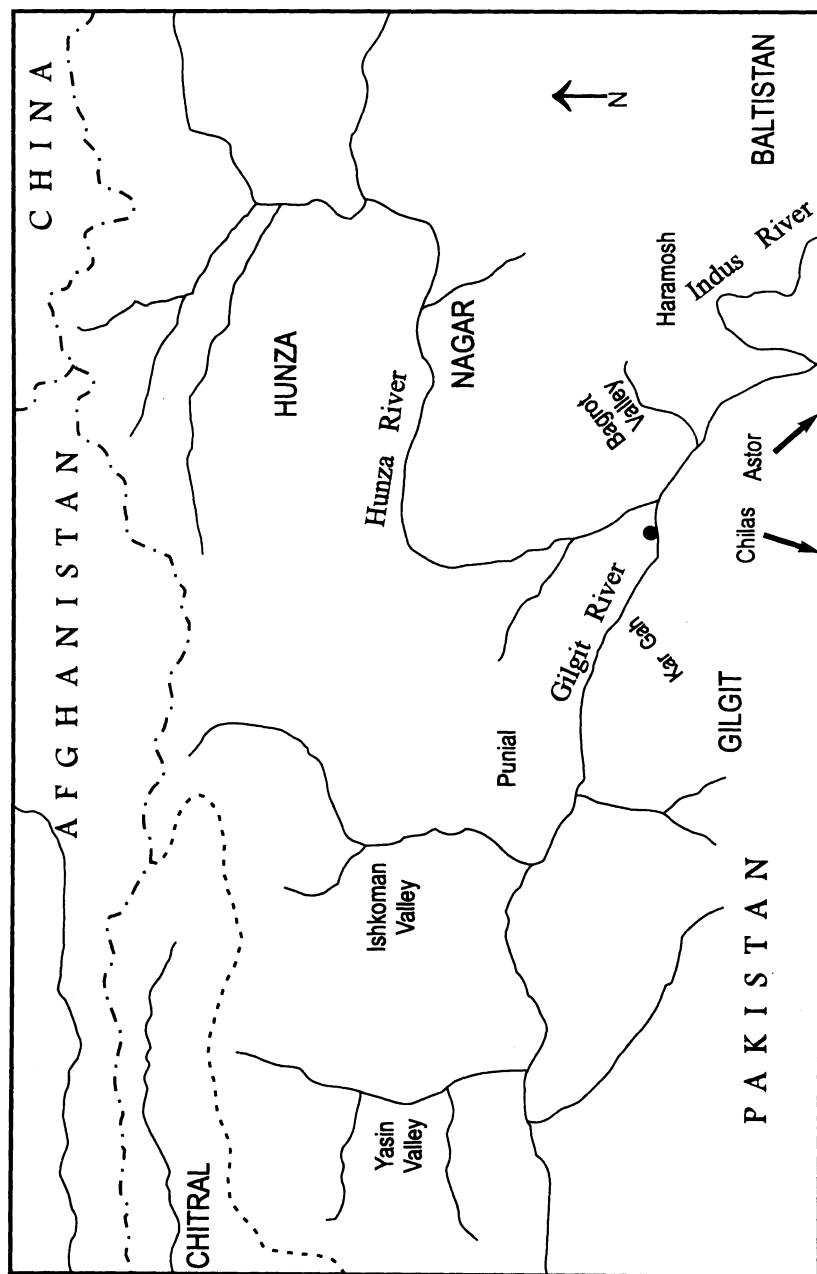*Government College Asghar Mall, Rawalpindi, Pakistan*

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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

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

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

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Gilgit poets who have published books in Shina. International scholars such as German Professor Georg Buddruss 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, Buddruss 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~çhaãni* '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 *sinaá*, 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, *pajúu* is the word for 'salt' in Gilgit Shina; Burushaski and Balti also use variations of that word. *gokpá* or *bokpá* 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.

Phonemic Script	International Phonetic Alphabet	American English Equivalent	General Description
a	[ə]	*a*bout	a short vowel
aa	[aː]	cig*a*r	a long vowel
e	[ɛ]	w*e*t	a short vowel

Phonemic Script	International Phonetic Alphabet	American English Equivalent	General Description
ee	[eː]	c*a*ke	a long vowel with no glide in it
i	[ɪ]	s*i*t	a short vowel
ii	[iː]	s*ee*d	a long vowel
o	[ŏ]	*o*ccasion	a short vowel
oo	[oː]	*o*pen	a long vowel
u	[ʊ]	p*u*t	a short vowel
uu	[uː]	c*oo*l	a long vowel
b	[b]	*b*ag	as /p/ but pronounced with voice
č	[tʃ]	kit*ch*en	with tongue on roof of mouth pronounced without puff of air
čh	[tʃʰ]	*ch*ip	with tongue on roof of mouth pronounced with puff of air
ç	[t͡ʂ]		as /č/ but with tongue tip curled up and back
çh	[t͡ʂʰ]		as /ç/ but with a puff of air
d	[d]	wi*d*th	tongue tip just behind teeth
ḍ	[ḍ]	*d*og	tongue tip on ridge behind teeth
g	[g]	*g*oat	as /k/ but with voice
h	[h]	*h*ouse	a puff of air
j	[dʒ]	*j*udge	as /č/ but pronounced with voice
k	[k]	s*k*id	back of tongue, no puff of air
kh	[kʰ]	*k*ite	as /k/ but with puff of air
l	[l]	comp*l*ete	tongue tip behind teeth, clear sound
m	[m]	*m*ama	nasal sound with lips closed
n	[n]	*n*ose	nasal sound with tongue behind teeth
ṇ	[ɳ]		nasal sound, tongue curled up and back, often flapped
ng	[ŋ]	si*ng*ing	nasal sound, with back of tongue
p	[p]	helico*p*ter	pronounced without puff of air
ph	[pʰ]	*p*ipe	pronounced with puff of air
r	[ɾ] or [r̃]		tip of tongue flapped or trilled on ridge behind teeth
ṛ	[ʈ]		flapped as /r/ but with tongue tip curled up and back
s	[s]	*s*ip	tongue tip behind teeth

Phonemic Script	International Phonetic Alphabet	American English Equivalent	General Description
š	[ʃ]	*sh*ip	tongue at roof of mouth
ṣ	[ʂ]		as /š/ but with tongue tip curled up and back
t	[t̪]		with tongue tip just behind teeth
th	[tʰ]		as /t/ but with a puff of air
ṭ	[ʈ]	goa*t*	as /t/ but with tongue tip curled up and back, no puff of air
ṭh	[ʈʰ]		as /ṭ/ but with puff of air
ts	[ts]	si*ts*	with tongue behind the teeth, said as one sound, pronounced without puff of air
tsh	[tsʰ]		as /ts/, but pronounced with a puff of air
w	[w]	*w*ind	glide made with lips
y	[y]	*y*ear	glide made with tongue on roof of mouth
z	[z]	*z*ebra	as /s/ but pronounced with voice
ẓ	[ʐ]		as /z/ but with tongue tip curled up and back

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* /áa/ or *Low Rising* /aá/ 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 Buddruss, 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	ma beéṭunus
2) Word gloss	I I(m) have sat
3) Morpheme breakdown	ma beéy -t ⁻unus
4) Morpheme gloss	I sit/stay PFI PRPRF1sm
5) Morpheme part of speech	*pers intrans val tens*
FT: Free Translation	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-literal 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 *waléen* 'he brings'. A third form of this suffix, *-áan,* 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:

Parts of speech abbreviations

adj	Adjective
adjzr	Adjectivizer
adv	Adverb
advzr	Adverbalizer
cas1	Case 1 marker
cas2	Case 2 marker
conj	Conjunction
dem	Demonstrative pronoun
f n	Feminine noun
gndr	Gender marker
hon	Honorific marker
indef	Indefinite marker
inf	Infinitive marker
int	Interrogative pronoun
interj	Interjection
intrans	Intransitive verb
m n	Masculine noun
mass n	Mass noun
mod	Modifier
mood	Mood marker
n	Noun
neg	Negator
nomnlzr	Nominalizer
num	Number marker
numeral	Numeral (number)
part	Particle
parti	Participle marker
pass	Passive marker
pers	Personal pronoun
post	Postposition
precat	Precategorical
pro	Pronoun
prop	Proper noun

Morpheme gloss abbreviations

1s	1st person singular
1p	1st person plural
2s	2nd person singular
2p	2nd person plural
3s	3rd person singular
3p	3rd person plural
m *or* (m)	masculine
f *or* (f)	feminine
ADJZR	Adjectivizer
AG	Agent case marker
CAUS	Causative marker
CONJP	Conjunctive participle
EMPH	Emphasis
FEM	Feminine marker
FUT	Future tense
GEN	Genitive case marker
IMP	Imperative mood
IMPRF	Past Imperfective
INDEF	Indefinite marker
INF	Infinitive marker
NOMZR	Nominalizer
OBL	Oblique case marker
PASS	Passive voice marker
PFI	Perfective Intransitive
PFT	Perfective Transitive
PFPASS	Perfective passive marker
PL	Plural marker
PLGEN	Plural genitive marker
PLOBL	Plural oblique marker
POL	Polite form marker
PRES	Present tense
PRESP	Present Participle
PRPRF	Present Perfect tense

Parts of speech abbreviations		Morpheme gloss abbreviations	
tens	Tense marker	PSPRF	Past Perfect tense
trans	Transitive verb	Q	Question marker
v	Verb	(rem)	Remote
val	Valency/aspect marker	SIMP	Simple past tense
voc	Vocative	VBZR	Verbalizer
voice	Voice marker	VOC	Vocative
vrbzr	Verbalizer		

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.

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.

singáay ga maáni

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 *singáay* – is the proud owner of a *maáni*, 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 *maáni*, or special pearl, harks back to the traditional days of Gilgit. At that time it was common for women to have a *maáni* 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 *maáni* 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 *maáni* to the young bride.

The fact that the *singáay* – 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 *maáni* back into the hand of its owner becomes probable since they are set in a far-off, inaccessible time. The magical qualities of the *singáay* that

provide the exciting climax to the story are also nothing out of the ordinary in an *extra*-ordinary setting.

ṣingáay ga maáṇi
(Phonemic script)

[1.1] čal_čal ṣingáayekekač maáṇik ašíi. [1.2] ek čhak re maáṇi résey hatéjo khíṭe géi. [1.3] čaá⁓yek thar deé waií maáṇii káči akií poóli. [1.4] maáṇi pašií trok deé áa⁓yer theé tsak bigí. [1.5] ṣingáay se čaá⁓yejo toóm maáṇi bičhóobal, čaá⁓y se [1.6] "mas maáṇi neé dámis" thigí. [1.7] ṣingáaye saa⁓yt kóṇok ga nilíidus. [1.8] kóṇo pašaróoje čaá⁓yeṭ reégi "paár oó kóṇo waleé they páar ačararámaa?" [1.9] "bo, walé! ačararoók bíiniee to bot!" [1.10] ṣingáay se kóṇeṭ reégi "bo láa kóṇo, paár eé čaá⁓yey ek páar ačót!" [1.11] kóṇos "ma téen ačaií ačaií beéṭunus" theé neé ačámus thigú. [1.12] paár beé akií hagáarek gumíijas. [1.13] ṣingáay se hagáareṭ reégi "bo láa hagáar, paár oó kóṇo dey, bot!" [1.14] hagáar se "mas kóto deyií deyií beéṭunus" theé neé déyamus thigú. [1.15] "šóo to, ráamaa paár oó wéyeṭ tu nišéy?" [1.16] "bo ho, ra!" [1.17] ṣingáay se wéyeṭ "paár oó hagáar nišé!" thigí. [1.18] wey se "mas kóto nišeé beéṭunus" theé neé nišámus thigú. [1.19] "paár oó dóono waleé tu čuúṣ tharámaa?" [1.20] "bo! tharoók bíiniee to tharét!" [1.21] "bo láa dóono, paár oó wey čuúṣ thet!" ṣingáay se dóoneṭ reégi. [1.22] dóonos "mas čuúṣ theé theé beéṭunus" theé dubám thigú. [1.23] "ho née, paár oó mušáaṭ reé tu mararám, ho jéek laáyee?" [1.24] "bo! mararoók bíiniee to mararét!" [1.25] "bo láa mušáa, paár oó dóono marét!" ṣingáay se mušáaṭ reégi. [1.26] mušáas "mas kóto mareé mareé beéṭunus" theé neé marámus thigú. [1.27] "to née, paár eé múuẓiṭ reégis to they kóorie čapéy." [1.28] "u⁓h! múuẓi çaké to née mey kóorie khoók çaké!" [1.29] "bo líi múuẓi, paár oó mušáay kóorie čapét!" ṣingáay se múuẓiṭ reégi. [1.30] múuẓis "mas kóto čapeé čapeé beéṭinis." theé neé čapámis thigí. [1.31] "to née, paár eé búušiṭ reé tu kherámaa?" [1.32] "šóo ho bot, kheroók bíiniee to kherét!" [1.33] "bo líi búuši, paár eé múuẓi khat!" ṣingáay se búušiṭ reégi. [1.34] búušis "mas kóto kheé kheé beéṭinis" theé dubám thigí. [1.35] "née ho, paár eé čéyoṭ reégis to tu muruṭéen." [1.36] "bo muruṭarét! muruṭaroók bíiniee to." [1.37] "bújaa líi čéye, paár eé búuši muruṭáat!" ṣingáay se čéyoṭ reégi. [1.38] "bes muruṭeé muruṭeé beéṭenes" theé muruṭoók dubóon thigé. [1.39] "ho née, šal khaṇ khaṇóo óo⁓šiṭ hóo theé tshey paṣ óo⁓ši_darámaa?" [1.40] "bo! daroók bíiniee to darét!" [1.41] ṣingáay hurúuy theé khaṇéč géi. "waá! šal khaṇ khaṇóo óo⁓ši wa! aní čéyoo dapí ga paṣ óo⁓ši_de, wa!" thigí.

[2.1] ayáakeṭ akií óo⁓ši biṭhiíli. čéyoo dapí ga paṣ éko ek thigí. [2.2] ho čéyes geé búuši muruṭéege. búušis geé múuẓi kheégi. múuẓis geé

mušáay kóorie čapeégi. ^{2.3} mušáas geé dóono mareégu. dóonos geé
wey čuúṣ theégu. wey se geé hagáar nišeégu. ^{2.4} hagáar se geé kóṇo
deyiígu. kóṇo geé čaá~yey páar ačítu. ^{2.5} čaá~y se waleé ṣingáayeṭ
maáṇi deégi.

The Blackberry Bush and the Pearl
(Free translation)

1.1 A long time ago a wild blackberry bush had a pearl. 1.2 One day that pearl fell down out of her hand. 1.3 A little bird was flying by and came and landed near the pearl. 1.4 Seeing the pearl, she hopped over, picked it up in her mouth and stopped there. 1.5 As the blackberry bush was asking for her pearl, the little bird 1.6 said "I won't give the pearl". 1.7 Nearby the blackberry bush a thorn had grown up. 1.8 Showing the thorn she said to the little bird, "Shall I bring that thorn over there and make it prick your foot?" 1.9 "Go on, bring it! If you're able to make it prick me, please go!" 1.10 The blackberry bush said to the thorn, "Go, oh thorn, and please prick the foot of that little bird over there!" 1.11 "After pricking and pricking now I've sat down," the thorn said and refused to prick. 1.12 Just over there a fire was smouldering. 1.13 The blackberry bush said to the fire, "Go, oh fire, burn that thorn over there, please go!" 1.14 "After burning and burning I have sat down," the fire said, and refused to burn it. 1.15 "Well, then, shall I speak to that water over there and it will extinguish you?" 1.16 "Go, then, speak to it!" 1.17 The blackberry bush said to the water, "Extinguish that fire over there!" 1.18 "After extinguishing and extinguishing I have just now sat down," the water said and refused to extinguish it. 1.19 "Shall I bring that ox over there and have him drink you up?" 1.20 "Go on! If you're able to make him do it, so please make him do it!" 1.21 "Go, oh ox, please drink up that water over there!", the blackberry bush said to the ox. 1.22 "After drinking and drinking I have sat down," the ox replied and said he would be unable. 1.23 "So then I'll speak to that man over there and have him kill you, then what will happen?" 1.24 "Go! If you're able to make him kill me, then please make him kill me!" 1.25 "Go, oh man, please kill that ox over there!" the blackberry bush said to the man. 1.26 "After killing and killing I have just now sat down," the man said and refused to kill it. 1.27 "So then, if I speak to that rat over there, she will chew your leather boots." 1.28 "Ha! Look at the rat! So then she will (be able to) eat my leather boots? (Just) look!" 1.29 "Go, oh rat! Please chew the leather boots of that man over there!" the blackberry bush said to the rat. 1.30 "After chewing and chewing I've just now sat down," the rat said and refused to chew. 1.31 "So then, shall I speak to that cat over there and make her eat you?" 1.32 "Well, then, please go! If you are able to make her eat me, so make her!" 1.33 "Go, oh cat, please eat that rat over there," the blackberry bush said to the cat. 1.34 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.

ṣingáay ga maáṇi

The Blackberry Bush and the Pearl

Interlinear grammatical analysis

0.1 [1]

ṣingáay	ga	maáṇi
blackberry bush	and	pearl
ṣingáay	ga	maáṇi
blackberry bush	and	pearl
f n	conj	f n

FT: The blackberry bush and the pearl.

———————————— Commentary ————————————

[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 [1] [2]

čal_čal	ṣingáayekekač				maáṇik	
long ago	near a wild blackberry bush				a pearl	
čal čal	ṣingáay	-ek	-e	-kač	maáṇi	-ek
early early	blackberry bush	INDEF	OBL	near	pearl	INDEF
adv adv	*f n*		*indef*	*cas1*	*cas2*	*f n*	*indef*

aš íi.

she was

han	-i
be	SIMP3sf
intrans	*tens*

FT: A long time ago a wild blackberry bush had a pearl.

——————————————— Commentary ———————————————

[1] **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 çéc 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 maáṇi aš íi*, 'the blackberry bush had a pearl', literally means, 'near-the-blackberry-bush the-pearl she-was'.

1.2 ¹

ek	čhak	re	maáṇi	résey			hatéjo	
one	day	that(fem)	pearl	his/her			from hand	
ek	čhak	re	maáṇi	ro	-e	-y	hat -e	-jo
one	day	she(rem)	pearl	he(rem)	OBL	GEN	hand OBL	from
numeral	*f n*	*dem*	*f n*	*dem*	*cas1*	*cas2*	*m n cas1*	*cas2*

khíṭe géi.

down	she went	
khíṭe	búj	-i
down	go	SIMP3sf
adv	*intrans*	*tens*

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

———————————— Commentary ————————————

¹ **1.2 *re maáṇi*.** 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 maáṇi* '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' *oó* in 1.8. (See also the *Appendix*.)

1.3 [1] [2]

čaá~yek	thar	deé	waií
a small bird	flight	having given	having come
čaá~y -ek	thar	d -eé	wá -eé
small bird INDEF	flight	give CONJP	come CONJP
f n indef	precat	trans parti	intrans parti

maánii	káči	akií	poóli.
of pearl	near	EMPH	she alighted
maáni -e -y	káči	aki í	p -t -i
pearl OBL GEN	near	EMPH	alight PFI SIMP3sf
f n cas1 cas2	adv	part	intrans val tens

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

1.4

maáni	pašií	trok	deé	re
pearl	having seen	jump(up)	having given	that(fem)
maáni	paáš -eé	trok	d -eé	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 -eé	tsak	b -eég -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

şingáay	se	čaá~yejo			toóm	maáni
blackberry bush	AG	from bird			own	pearl
şingáay	-se	čaá~y	-e	-jo	toóm	maáni
blackberry bush	AG	small bird	OBL	from	own	pearl
f n	cas1	f n		cas1 cas2	adv	f n

bičhóobal		čaá~y	se
during the asking		small bird	AG
bích	-óobal	čaá~y	-se
ask for	during	small bird	AG
trans	parti	f n	cas1

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

1.6

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

FT: said "I won't give the pearl".

1.7 [1] [2]

ṣingáayesaa⁓t^y			kóṇok		ga
with blackberry bush			a thorn		also
ṣingáay	-e	-saa⁓t^y	kóṇo	-ek	ga
blackberry bush	OBL	with	thorn	INDEF	also
f n	*cas1*	*cas2*	*m n*	*indef*	*adv*

nilíidus.		
he had grown		
nil	-íid	-us
grow up	PFPASS	PSPRF3sm
intrans	*voice*	*tens*

FT: Nearby the blackberry bush a thorn had grown up.

——————————— Commentary ———————————

[1] **1.7** *ṣingáayesaa⁓t.* The suffix *-saa⁓t^y* 'with' requires the oblique case on its antecedent, hence the *-e* suffixed to *ṣingáay.* The part of speech for *-saa⁓t^y* 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 *-e-y* (oblique plus genitive).

In 1.3, since *maáṇi* 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 *kóṇo* + *-ek* becomes *kóṇok*, not **kóṇek.*

[2] **1.7** *nilíidus.* 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 [1]

kóṇo	pašaróoje			čaá-yeṭ			reégi		
thorn	while showing			to small bird			she said		
kóṇo	paáš	-ar	-óoje	čaá-y	-e	-ṭ	r	-eég	-i
thorn	see	CAUS	PRESP	small bird	OBL	to	speak	PFT	SIMP3sf
m n	*trans*	*caus*	*parti*	*f n*	*cas1*	*cas2*	*trans*	*val*	*tens*

"paár	oó	kóṇo	waleé		they	páar		
over there	he/that	thorn	having brought		your	in foot		
paár	oó	kóṇo	wal	-eé	they	páa	-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
intrans	*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 kóṇo. 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 *aní* 'these'. (Please refer to the *Appendix* for more information on Gilgit Shina pronouns.)

1.9 [1]

"bo,	walé!	ačararoók			
go!	bring!	to cause to prick			
búj -e	wal -e	ač -ar -ar -oók			
go IMP2s	bring IMP2s	prick CAUS CAUS INF			
intrans mood	*trans mood*	*intrans caus caus inf*			

bíniee	to	bot!"	
you(f) become	so	please go!	
b -iniee	to	búj -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] **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: *ačararám* '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 *r̃*.

1.10 [1]

șingáay	se	kóneț			reégi		
blackberry bush	AG	to thorn			she said		
șingáay	-se	kóno -e	-ț	r	-eég	-i	
blackberry bush	AG	thorn OBL	to	speak	PFT	SIMP3sf	
f n	cas1	m n cas1	cas2	trans	val	tens	

"bo		láa	kóno,	paár	eé	čaá~yey		
go!		oh(m)	thorn	over there	that(f)	of little bird		
búj	-e	ála	kóno	paár	eé	čaá~y	-e	-y
go	IMP2s	oh(m)	thorn	over there	that(f)	small bird	OBL	GEN
intrans	mood	interj	m n	adv	dem	f n	cas1	cas2

ek	páar		ačóț!"		
one	in foot		please prick!		
ek	páa -e	-r	ač	-e	-ț
one	foot OBL	in	prick	IMP2s	polite
numeral	m n cas1	cas2	intrans	mood	hon

FT: 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 *ačóț*.** Building on the comment on 1.9 and the interesting case of causation, here we see the verb *ačoók* '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: *ačóț!* 'prick!' However, as an intransitive verb, *ačoók* 'to prick' does not take a direct object; therefore, in this sentence *páa* 'foot', the *semantic* object (the undergoer of 'pricking') is expressed using a locative case: *páar* 'in the foot'. Another example of this type of intransitive verb taking an inflected semantic object is the verb *amušoók* 'to forget'. In *Bald Son* 8.6 the bear becomes engrossed in eating the berries and forgets the bald little son: *šúuey amúuțu* 'he forgot the little son', or literally 'of-small(son) he-forgot'.

1.11 [1]

kóṇos	"ma	téen	ačaií		ačaií	
thorn AG	I	now	having pricked		having pricked	
kóṇo -se	ma	téen	ač	-eé	ač	-eé
thorn AG	I	now	prick	CONJP	prick	CONJP
m n cas1	*pers*	*adv*	*intrans*	*parti*	*intrans*	*parti*

beéṭunus"			theé		neé	ačámus
I(m) have sat			having said		not	I(m) prick
beéy	-t	-unus	th	-eé	neé	ač	-amus
sit/stay PFI	PRPRF1sm		do/say	CONJP	not	prick	PRES1sm
intrans val	*tens*		*trans*	*parti*	*neg*	*intrans*	*tens*

thigú.

he did/said
th　　　-eég　-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** *theé.* The conjunctive participle *theé* 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 – *neé ačámus* '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 [1] [2]

paár	beé		akií	hagáarek	gumíijas.
over there	having become		EMPH	a fire	he was smouldering
paár	b	-eé	akií	hagáar -ek	gumíij -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 [3]

ṣingáay	se	hagáareṭ	reégi
blackberry bush	AG	to fire	she said
ṣingáay	-se	hagáar -e -ṭ	r -eég -i
blackberry bush	AG	fire OBL to	speak PFT SIMP3sf
f n	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** *gumíijas.* 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, *gumíijas* 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 *deyoók* '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', *déyoneses* '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	kóno	dey,
go!		oh(m)	fire	over there	he/that	thorn	burn it!
búj	-e	ála	hagáar paár		oó	kóno	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	deyií	deyií
fire	AG	I(ag)		just now	having burned	having burned
hagáar	-se	ma	-se	kóto	dey -eé	dey -eé
fire	AG	I	AG	just now	burn CONJP	burn CONJP
m n	*cas1*	*pers*	*cas1*	*adv*	*trans parti*	*trans parti*

beéṭunus"		theé		neé	déyamus
I(m) have sat		having said		not	I(m) burn it
beéy -t -unus		th -eé		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   -eég -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.

1.15 [1]

"šóo	to,	ráamaa		paár	oó	wéyet̪
good	so	shall I speak?		over there	he/that	to water

šóo	to	r	-am	=aa	paár	oó	wey	-e	-t̪
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] **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

şingáay	se	wéyeṭ	"paár	oó	hagáar
blackberry bush	AG	to water	over there	he/that	fire
şingáay	-se	wey -e -ṭ	paár	oó	hagáar
blackberry bush	AG	water OBL to	over there	that(m)	fire
f n	*cas1*	*m n cas1 cas2*	*adv*	*pers*	*m n*

nišé!"	thigí.
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, *géi* 'she went' in sentence 1.2, above. In the current sentence we find the *imperative* 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 [1]

wey	se	"mas		kóto	nišeé
water	AG	I(ag)		just now	having extinguished
wcy	-se	ma	-se	kóto	niš	-eé
water	AG	I	AG	just now	extinguish CONJP
m n	*cas1*	*pers*	*cas1*	*adv*	*trans*	*parti*

nišeé		beéṭunus"			theé	neé
having extinguished		I(m) have sat			having said	not
niš	-cé	beéy	-t	-unus	th	-eé	neé
extinguish CONJP		sit/stay PFI PRPRF1sm			do/say CONJP	not
trans	*parti*	*intrans* *val*		*tens*	*trans* *parti*	*neg*

nišámus		thigú.		
I(m) extinguish		he did/said		
niš	-amus	th	-eég	-u
extinguish PRES1sm		do/say PFT SIMP3sm		
trans	*tens*	*trans* *val* *tens*		

FT: "After extinguishing and extinguishing I have just now sat down," the water said and refused to extinguish it.

1.19 [2]

"paár	oó	dóono	waleé	tu	čuúṣ
over there	he/that	ox	having brought	you	sucking
paár	oó	dóono	wal -cé	tu	čuúṣ
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*	*qmkr*

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

——————————————— Commentary ———————————————

[1] **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] **1.19-22 *čuúṣ tharámaa.*** The interaction between the blackberry bush and the water involves a *complex verb construction čuúṣ 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

1.20

"bo!		tharoók			bfiniee		to
go!		to cause to do			you(f) become		so
búj	-e	th	-ar	-oók	b	-iniee	to
go	IMP2s	do/say	CAUS	INF	become	PRES2sf	so
intrans	*mood*	*trans*	*caus*	*inf*	*intrans*	*tens*	*conj*

──────────────── Commentary ────────────────

noun-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, *čuúṣ* 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 *čuúṣ thoók*.

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 *čuúṣ* 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 *thoók* 'to do', *doók* 'to give', or *boók* 'to be or become'. Other verbs are used less frequently; for example, *dijoók* 'to fall' is emphasizes the suddenness or unexpectedness of the happening; *poók* '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 thoók* 'to run', *drang doók* 'to descend', *taṣ boók* 'to slip'. More examples of this complex verb construction are found in the current story: 1.39 *óo-ši doók* 'to winnow or blow away' and 1.3 *thar doók* 'to fly'.

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	čuúṣ
go!		oh(m)	ox	over there	he/that	water	sucking
búj	-e	ála	dóono	paár	oó	wey	čuúṣ
go	IMP2s	oh(m)	ox	over there	that(m)	water	sucking
intrans	mood	interj	m n	adv	pers	m n	precat

thet!"			ṣingáay		se	dóoneṭ	
do/say!			blackberry bush		AG	to ox	
th	-e	-t	ṣingáay		-se	dóono	-e	-ṭ
do/say	IMP2s	polite	blackberry bush		AG	ox	OBL	to
trans	mood	hon	f n		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]

dóonos	"mas		čuúṣ	theé		theé	
ox(ag)	I(ag)		sucking	having done		having done	
dóono	-se	ma	-se	čuúṣ	th	-eé	th	-eé
ox	AG	I	AG	sucking	do/say	CONJP	do/say	CONJP
m n	cas1	pers	cas1	precat	trans	parti	trans	parti

beéṭunus"			theé		dubám	
I(m) have sat			having said		I will not be able	
beéy	-t	-unus	th	-eé	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	mušáaṭ			reé
then	again	over there	he/that	to man			having spoken
ho	née	paár	oó	mušáa -e	-ṭ	r	-eé
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	bíiniee	to
go!		to cause to kill	you(f) become	so
búj	-e	mar -ar -oók	b -iniee	to
go	IMP2s	kill CAUS INF	become PRES2sf	so
intrans	*mood*	*trans caus inf*	*intrans tens*	*conj*

mararét!"
cause to kill!
mar -ar -e -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 [1]

"bo		láa	mušáa, paár	oó	dóono
go!		oh(m)	man	over there	he/that ox
búj	-e	ála	mušáa paár	oó	dóono
go	IMP2s	oh(m)	man	over there	that(m) ox
intrans	mood	interj	m n adv	pers	m n

marét!"		şingáay	se	mušáat
kill!		blackberry bush	AG	to man
mar	-e -t	şingáay	-se	mušáa -e -t
kill	IMP2s polite	blackberry bush	AG	man OBL to
trans	mood hon	f n	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*, *maré* '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

mušáas	"mas	kóto	mareé	mareé
man AG	I(ag)	just now	having killed	having killed
mušáa -se	ma -se	kóto	mar -eé	mar -eé
man AG	I AG	just now	kill CONJP	kill CONJP
m n cas1	*pers cas1*	*adv*	*trans parti*	*trans parti*

beéṭunus"		theé	neé	marámus
I(m) have sat		having said	not	I(m) kill
beéy -t -unus		th -eé	neé	mar -amus
sit/stay PFI PRPRF1sm		do/say CONJP	not	kill PRES1sm
intrans val tens		*trans parti*	*neg*	*trans tens*

thigú.
he did/said
th -eég -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	eé	múuẓiṭ		reégis
so	again	over there	that(f)	to rat		I(f) spoke
to	née	paár	eé	múuẓi -e -ṭ		r -eég -is
so	again	over there	that(f)	rat OBL	to	speak PFT SIMP1sf
conj	*adv*	*adv*	*dem*	*f n cas1*	*cas2*	*trans val tens*

──────────────── Commentary ────────────────

[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), *amagáç* 'large leather bag', and *čapaáy* 'leather mat'. Nowadays *kúuto* and *amagáç* are still used for various household purposes.

to	they	kóorie		čapéy."
so	your	leather boots		s/he will chew
to	they	kóori	-e	čap -ey
so	your	leather boot	PL	chew FUT3s
conj	pers	f n	num	trans tens

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

1.28 [1]

"u~h!	múuẓi	çaké	to	née	mey
(disbelief)	rat	look!	so	again	my
	múuẓi	çak -e	to	née	mey
	rat	look IMP2s	so	again	my
interj	f n	trans mood	conj	adv	pers

kóorie		khoók	çaké!"
leather boots		to eat	look!
kóori	-e	kh -oók	çak -e
leather boot	PL	eat INF	look IMP2s
f n	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		lĩi	múuẓi,	paár	oó	mušáay
go!		oh(f)	rat	over there	he/that	of man
búj	-e	áli	múuẓi	paár	oó	mušáa -e	-y
go	IMP2s	oh(f)	rat	over there	that(m)	man	OBL	GEN
intrans	mood	interj	f n	adv	pers	m n	cas1	cas2

kóorie		čapét!"		şingáay	se
leather boots		chew!		blackberry bush	AG
kóori	-e	čap -e	-t	şingáay	-se
leather boot	PL	chew	IMP2s	polite	blackberry bush	AG
f n	num	trans	mood	hon	f n	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 *bíin* 'she becomes' in order to express ability: *mey kóorie khoók bíinaa* 'is she is able to eat my boots?'.

múuẓiṭ	reégi.
to rat	she said

múuẓi	-e	-ṭ	r	-eég	-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

múuẓis	"mas	kóto	čapeé	čapeé
rat AG	I(ag)	just now	having chewed	having chewed

múuẓi	-se	ma	-se	kóto	čap	-eé	čap	-eé
rat	AG	I	AG	just now	chew	CONJP	chew	CONJP
f n	*cas1*	*pers*	*cas1*	*adv*	*trans*	*parti*	*trans*	*parti*

beéṭinis."		theé	neé	čapámis
I(f) have sat		having said	not	I(f) chew

beéy	-t	-inis	th	-eé	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	-eég	-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	búušiṭ	reé
so	again	over there	that(f)	to cat	having spoken

to	née	paár	eé	búuši	-e	-ṭ	r	-eé
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 ²

"šóo   ho   bot,   kheroók

good	then	please go!		to cause to eat/feed
šóo	ho	búj	-e	-t	kh	-ar	-oók
good	then	go	IMP2s	polite	eat	CAUS	INF
interj	adv	intrans	mood	hon	trans	caus	inf

bíiniee   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!"

<hr>

— 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 béeniee.* 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 béeniee* 'you(f) are able to make eat'. Shina has a separate verb to convey the idea of *inability* – *duboók* 'to be unable'. For example: *čuúṣ thoók dubám* 'I am unable to drink' (see sentences 1.34 and 1.38).

1.33

"bo		lfi	búuši,	paár	eé	múuẓi
go!		oh(f)	cat	over there	that(f)	rat
búj	-e	áli	búuši	paár	eé	múuẓi
go	IMP2s	oh(f)	cat	over there	that(f)	rat
intrans	*mood*	*interj*	*f n*	*adv*	*dem*	*f n*

khat!"			ṣingáay	se	búušiṭ		
eat!			blackberry bush	AG	to cat		
kh	-e	-t	ṣingáay	-se	búuši	-e	-ṭ
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)	I(ag)	just now	having eaten	having eaten
búuši -se	ma -se	kóto	kh -eé	kh -eé
cat AG	I AG	just now	eat CONJP	eat CONJP
f n *cas1*	*pers* *cas1*	*adv*	*trans* *parti*	*trans* *parti*

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

thigí.

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 [1]

"née	ho,	paár	eé	čéyoṭ		
then	then	over there	those	to women		
née	ho	paár	eé	čey	⁻o	⁻ṭ
again	then	over there	those	woman PLOBL to		
adv	adv	adv	dem	f n	cas1	cas2

reégis			to	tu	muruṭéen."
I(f) spoke			so	you	they will bother
r	⁻eég	⁻is	to	tu	muruṭ	⁻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		muruṭarét!				muruṭaroók
go!		please cause to bother!				to cause to bother
búj	⁻e	muruṭ	⁻ar	⁻e	⁻t	muruṭ ⁻ar ⁻oók
go	IMP2s	bother	CAUS	IMP2s	polite	bother CAUS INF
intrans	mood	trans	caus	mood	hon	trans caus inf

bíiniee		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 muruṭéen.** The threat that the blackberry bush holds over the cat is that the women 'will bother' her, *muruṭéen.* 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?' *muruṭámaa?*

1.37 [1]

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

murutáat!"	şingáay		se	čéyoț	
you all bother!	blackberry bush		AG	to women	
muruț -aa	-t	şingáay	-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	muruțeé	muruțeé	beéțenes"
we	having bothered	having bothered	we have sat
be -se	muruț -eé	muruț -eé	beéy -t -enes
we AG	bother CONJP	bother CONJP	sit/stay PFI PRPRF1p
pers cas1	*trans parti*	*trans parti*	*intrans val tens*

theé	muruțoók	dubóon	thigé.
having said	to bother	we will be unable	they said
th -eé	muruț -oók	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** *muruțáat.* 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: *muruțé*
'bother!' versus *muruțáa* 'you all bother!' With the verb *bujoók* 'to go',
however, the forms are quite different: *bo* 'go!' *búȷaa* 'you all go!' (See
also the comment on sentence 1.16 about *bo!*)

1.39 [1] [2]

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

óo-šiṭ	hóo	theé	tshey	paṣ
to wind	calling	having done	of you all	raw wool
óo-ši -e -ṭ	hóo	th -eé	tshey	paṣ
wind OBL to	calling	do/say CONJP	of you all	raw wool
f n cas1 cas2	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!	daroók	bíiniee	to
go!	to cause to give	you(f) become	so
búj -e	d -ar -oók	b -iniee	to
go IMP2s	give CAUS INF	become PRES2sf	so
intrans mood	trans caus inf	intrans tens	conj

daŕét!"
cause to give!
d -ar -e -t
give CAUS IMP2s polite
trans caus mood hon

──────────── Commentary ────────────

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

[2] **1.39 *óoši darámaa*.** The complex verb construction *óo-ši doók* 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.)

FT: "Go! If you are able to make it blow, then please make it blow!"

1.41 [1]

șingáay	hurúuy	theé		khaṇéč		
blackberry bush	wailing/spiraling	having done		on mountain		
șingáay	hurúuy	th	-eé	khaṇ	-e	-č
blackberry bush	wailing/spiraling	do/say	CONJP	mountain	OBL	on
f n	*precat*	*trans*	*parti*	*m n*	*cas1*	*cas2*

géi.	
she went	
búj	-i
go	SIMP3sf
intrans	*tens*

FT: 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 khaṭ haróobal 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.'

1.42 [1] [2]

"waá!	šal	khaṇ	khaṇóo			óo~ši wa!	
halloo!	hundred	mountain	mountains of			wind come!	
waá	šal	khaṇ	khaṇ	~o	~o	óo~ši wá	~e
halloo!	hundred	mountain	mountain	PLOBL	PLGEN	wind come	IMP2s
interj	*numeral m n*	*m n*	*cas1*	*cas2*	*f n*	*intrans mood*

aní	čéyoo			dapí		ga	paṣ
these	of women			cleaned wool(pl)		and	raw wool
aní	čey	~o	~o	dap	~i	ga	paṣ
these	woman	PLOBL	PLGEN	cleaned wool	PL	and	raw wool
dem	*f n*	*cas1*	*cas2*	*f n*		*num conj*	*m n*

óo~ši_de,	wa!"	thigí.	
winnow!	come!	she did/said	
óo~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 *waaaaaa!* with the pitch of her voice rising higher and higher as she catches the attention of the wind.

[2] **1.42 *dapí ga paṣ.*** The blackberry bush calls on the wind of a hundred mountains to blow away not only the *paṣ*, the raw wool that she threatened to disperse in 1.39, but also now includes the *dapí*, the women's cleaned wool. *paṣ* 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 [1] [2]

ayáakeṭ			akif	óo͂ši	biṭhifli.			
just then			EMPH	wind	she came forcefully			
ayáak	-e	-ṭ	akií	óo͂ši	biṭh	-ṭ	-i	
this much	OBL	to	EMPH	wind	shake	PFI	SIMP3sf	
adv	cas1	cas2	part	f n	trans	val	tens	

čéyoo			dapí		ga	paṣ	éko_ek
of women			cleaned wool(pl)		and	raw wool	scattered
čey	-o	-o	dap	-i	ga	paṣ	éko_ek
woman	PLOBL	PLGEN	cleaned wool	PL	and	raw wool	scattered
f n	cas1	cas2	f n		num	conj	m n	adj

thigí.

she did/said

th   -eég -i

do/say PFT SIMP3sf

trans   val   tens

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

2.2

ho	čéyes			geé		búuši	muruṭeége.		
then	women(ag)			having gone		cat	they bothered		
ho	čey	-e	-se	búj	-eé	búuši	muruṭ	-eég	-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** *biṭhifli.* The wind came with a whoosh and blew away the ladies' wool. The verb *biṭhifli* 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. *-ifl* is a variant of the intransitive valency/aspect marker *-ṭ*; see *Hopoti and Hopoto* 9.5 and the *Appendix* for more explanation.)

búušis	geé		múuẓi	kheégi.		múuẓis	
cat(ag)	having gone		rat	she ate		rat(ag)	
búuši -se	búj	-eé	múuẓi	kh	-eég -i	múuẓi -se	
cat AG	go	CONJP	rat	eat	PFT SIMP3sf	rat	AG
f n cas1	*intrans*	*parti*	*f n*	*trans*	*val tens*	*f n*	*cas1*

geé		mušáay		kóorie		čapeégi.	
having gone		of man		leather boots		she chewed	
búj	-eé	mušáa -e	-y	kóori	-e	čap -eég -i	
go	CONJP	man OBL	GEN	leather boot	PL	chew PFT SIMP3sf	
intrans	*parti*	*m n*	*cas1 cas2*	*f n*	*num*	*trans val tens*	

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 [1]

mušáas	geé		dóono	mareégu.		dóonos	
man(ag)	having gone		ox	he killed		ox(ag)	
mušáa -se	búj	-eé	dóono	mar -eég -u		dóono -se	
man AG	go	CONJP	ox	kill PFT SIMP3sm		ox	AG
m n	*cas1*	*intrans parti*	*m n*	*trans val tens*		*m n*	*cas1*

geé		wey	čuuṣ	theégu.		wey	se
having gone		water	sucking	he did		water	AG
búj	-eé	wey	čuuṣ	th -eég -u		wey	-se
go	CONJP	water	sucking	do/say PFT SIMP3sm		water	AG
intrans	*parti*	*m n*	*precat*	*trans val tens*		*m n*	*cas1*

geé		hagáar	nišeégu.	
having gone		fire	he extinguished	
búj	-eé	hagáar	niš -eég -u	
go	CONJP	fire	extinguish PFT SIMP3sm	
intrans	*parti*	*m n*	*trans val tens*	

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 refusals in the formalized: "After (do)ing and (do)ing 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 [1]

hagáar	se	geé	kóno	deyiígu.	kóno
fire	AG	having gone	thorn	he burned	thorn
hagáar	-se	búj -eé	kóno	dey -eég -u	kóno
fire	AG	go CONJP	thorn	burn PFT SIMP3sm	thorn
m n	*cas1*	*intrans parti*	*m n*	*trans val tens*	*m n*

geé	čaá~yey	páar
having gone	of little bird	in foot
búj -eé	čaá~y -e -y	páa -e -r
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 ————————————

[1] **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.)

2.5 [1]

čaá~y	se	waleé	şingáayeţ
small bird	AG	having brought	to blackberry bush
čaá~y	-se	wal -eé	şingáay -e -ţ
small bird	AG	bring CONJP	blackberry bush OBL to
f n	*cas1*	*trans parti*	*f n* *cas1 cas2*

résey			maáni	deégi.
his/her			pearl	she gave
ro	-e	-y	maáni	d -eég -i
he(rem)	OBL	GEN	pearl	give PFT SIMP3sf
dem	*cas1*	*cas2*	*f n*	*trans val tens*

FT: The little bird brought the pearl and gave it to the blackberry bush.

Commentary

[1] **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.

pharáko šuúo

The Bald Little Son

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.

phaɽáko šuúo
(Phonemic script)

1.1 ek mušáakey phaɽáko púçek asúu theé. 1.2 ro bódo ašaáto asúu.

2.1 ek čhak résey aájis toóm puçéy ayée beé ašatioók ginií bódi hiphaá bigí. 2.2 toóm puçéṭ reégi, "bo láa puç, rúngieṭ bo, ya! toóm dáado ga dadiíkač. nan bódo ašatiílooˑ. rúngir čhamaṇí ḍut meél kheé thúlo bée, bo!" 2.3 phaɽáko šuúos bújam theé garás bugú. 2.4 ho née réseṭ póniṭ chupáṭik ga thigí. 2.5 phaɽáko šuúos brakér čhupáṭi deé rúngieṭ ẓas bugú.

3.1 ṭhaángek ponʸ thigús nalaá akií réseṭ lóˑyek ḍok bigí. 3.2 loˑy se "téen tu neé kheé koó kham?" theé akií réseṭ prik digí. 3.3 phaɽáko šuúos "ma téen neé kha!" thigú. 3.4 "rúngier toóm dadií ga dáadekač geé čhamaṇí ḍut meél kheé thúlo beé wátus to ho kháa. mey čom ga áˑṭie jéek they ṣéwo doóneṭaa?" 3.5 "šóo to, bo! wátoo to çakám." 3.6 muçhoó phirí gáus akií íˑçek ḍok bugú. "ála phaɽáko šuúo jáa bújanoo? tu neé kheé ho?" 3.7 "dáado bódoo, ma téen neé kha! rúngier toóm dáado ga dadiíkač geé čhamaṇí ḍut meél kheé thúlo beé áalus to ho kháa. téen mey ḍimér jéek han they ṣéwo doóneṭaa?" 3.8 "šóo ho, bo!" 3.9 tušáar ponʸ thigús muçhoó šáaˑlek biráčo asúu. "tu neé khigás to?" theé çhup digú. 3.10 "dáado bódoo, ma téen neé kha! rúngier toóm dáado ga dadiíkač geé čhamaṇí ḍut meél kheé sam thúlo beé áalus to ho kha. téen mey ḍimér jéek han they ṣéwo doóneṭaa?" 3.11 "šóo ho, bo! wátoo, çakám." 3.12 lapháa dúuek wiígus nalaá akií, muçhoó phirí diíˑek čhóko asúu. phaɽáko šuúo pašií akií çhup digú. "tu neé kheé koó kham?" 3.13 "ma neé kha, dáado bódoo, ma neé kha! toóm dáado ga dadiíkač rúngier geé čhamaṇí ḍut meél kheé thúlo beé áalus to ho kháa. téen mey ḍimér jéek han they ṣéwo doóneṭaa?" 3.14 "šóo to, bo!" 3.15 rinójo mučií rúngii bíleč uçhačií ho "úẓwaa jiíl!" thigú.

4.1 duúroo beé résey dáado ga dadií toóm ḍukúrir asée. résey dáados toóm póoço pašií hay thigú. 4.2 waií toóm póoçey hatéč lamií ḍukúriṭ hariígu.

5.1 rúngier phaɽáko šuúos sókoti theé theé básko ga ašatiílu. 5.2 résey dáado ga dadií résey sam theé ṭíki neé khoók ginií héeˑṣer gée. 5.3 ho résejo mor ikhalóon theé ṣáate. tušáar khéenejo ho toóm pónii čága thigú. 5.4 ri hayijií réseṭ reége, "rinéy dáados ga tu khoók

dubéy. tus hi˜ṣ neé the! akóṭ rak áalok kha! sam thúlo bo! be hánes, jáa géenes?" ⁵·⁵ pharặko šúuey hío wátu. ho uyaniaár ṣaáti. sam theé ṭíki khoók ṣaátu.

⁶·¹ khéenekeǰo pharặko šuúo sam thúlo bugú. ho toóm dadií ga dáadeṭ ma bújam thigú. ⁶·² ris báṛo dạdángek theé pharặko šuúo réser wiíge. ⁶·³ résey dadiís dạdangér wií réseṭ kaṇaáw thigí. ⁶·⁴ "lo˜y šáa˜l i˜ç dií˜ ḍok bigé to ris túujo khuǰéen, 'dáado dạdáng, pharặko šuúo neé pašiígaa?' tus 'neé pašiígas, dáado bódoo, ḍírek thet!' the ho ris dạdáng ḍir théen." ⁶·⁵ "šóo dadií." ho dadiís dạdáng ḍir_thigí.

⁷·¹ dạdáng ḍir beé díreker waií tsak bugú. tsak bugús nalaá akií dií˜ ḍam baṣ bugú. "dáado dạdáng, pharặko šuúo neé pašiígaa?" ⁷·² "neé pašiígas, dáado bódoo, ḍírek thet!" thigú. ⁷·³ dií˜s dạdáng ḍir thigú. ⁷·⁴ dạdáng waií báṭekekač raṭhíidu. ⁷·⁵ gómekeǰo šáa˜l taṣ_beé ikhaií dạdangéǰo khuǰeégu "dáado dạdáng, pharặko šuúo neé pašiígaa?" ⁷·⁶ "neé pašiígas, dáado bódoo, ḍírek thet!" thigú. ⁷·⁷ šáa˜l se dạdáng ḍir thigú. ⁷·⁸ khéenekeǰo dạdáng waií báṭekač raṭhíidu nalaá akií i˜ç ḍam baṣ bugú. ⁷·⁹ "dáado dạdáng, pharặko šuúo neé pašiígaa?" ⁷·¹⁰ "neé pašiígas, dáado bódoo, ḍírek thet!" thigú. ⁷·¹¹ née i˜ç se ga ḍir·thigú. ⁷·¹² dạdáng waií díreker tsak bugú. ⁷·¹³ koón ašíi, buš, lo˜y? dódol bóoje uçhacií dạdangéǰo khuǰeégi "dáado dạdáng, pharặko šuúo neé pašiígaa?" ⁷·¹⁴ "neé pašiígas, dadií bódii, ḍírek thet!" thigú. ⁷·¹⁵ ḍir theé akií phatunóo baṭ ginií digí. baṭ se dạdangéy deé phayeégu. ⁷·¹⁶ dạdáng phayiǰií pharặko šuúo taṣ beé darú wátu. ⁷·¹⁷ ho hóo_hawíit digí. "lóoy! lóoy! ála dií˜, ála i˜ç, ála šáa˜l! pharặko šuúo layiígis. wáa lóoy!" ⁷·¹⁸ gom gomóǰo ri waií gáṭi bigé. ho pharặko šuúo khóon theé garás bigé. ⁷·¹⁹ lo˜y se ḍim_ga_ek theé rinóṭ sábe wiígi. ⁷·²⁰ i˜ç pharặko šúuekač phat theé ri sábe waloók šor bigé.

⁸·¹ aǰí phirí húçekač ṣingáayek pákiš. i˜çéy ṣingáay pašií áa˜yer láale wáte. pharặko šúue wáar phirií "ǰe pákin náa eé ṣingáay?" thigú. ⁸·² "rak hin to geé kha, náa!" ⁸·³ "tu uçée ǰéek bée?" thigú. ⁸·⁴ "ma uçéey ǰáa bújam, tsho šatíle bala˜tsóǰo?" ⁸·⁵ "šóo ho, tu aányᵉ beéy mas kámek khéé wáam." ⁸·⁶ i˜ç ṣingáay khoók ṣacií pharặko šúuey amúuṭu. ⁸·⁷ khirí beé ḍóokok asúu. pharặko šuúo i˜çéǰo loóṭ beé ḍóoker ačítu. née loóko loóko theé toóm ṣiṣéč sum phareé liíṭu.

⁹·¹ khéenekeǰo, ris sábe ginií wáan to pharặko šuúo ga i˜ç beéne nuš. ⁹·² aǰí beé çakéen to i˜ç se beyií ṣingáay kháan. ⁹·³ i˜çéṭ hóo theé waleé khóojan thigé i˜ç se "mas neé pašiígas" thigú. ⁹·⁴ ho gáṭi beé i˜ç lamií mareége. ⁹·⁵ ranií khéé baskóči ǰúuli čúur thigés nalaá akií

kriw bigí. re júuli jáa phaṛáko šúuey ṣiṣéč géin. [9.6] lo⁻y se "nan čhaṭ_díti" theé uçóon thigí. púure ráloo uçúte. [9.7] phaṛáko šuúo šong beé ḍóokejo ikhaií "úṣwaa jiíl" thigú. [9.8] ho ráloo hío kaáy ek theé toóm goṭéwaar ẓas 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.

^{4.1} A little ways away, his grandfather and grandmother were in their mountain hut. His grandfather saw his grandson and ran (to him). ^{4.2} He came and took his grandson's hand and brought him to the mountain hut.

^{5.1} In the high pasture the bald son kept mulling over (what had happened) and became even thinner. ^{5.2} His grandfather and grandmother realized he was not eating well and became worried. ^{5.3} Then they decided to find out from him what happened. After a long time then he told the tale of his trip. ^{5.4} 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?" ^{5.5} The bald son was content. Then he began to have an appetite. He began to really eat.

^{6.1} After some time the bald son became nice and fat. Then he asked permission to go from his grandmother and grandfather. ^{6.2} They made a big drum and put the bald son into it. ^{6.3} Having put him into the drum, his grandmother gave him some advice. ^{6.4} "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} "Very good, Grandmother." Then grandmother rolled the drum.

^{7.1} 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?" ^{7.2} "I didn't see him, dear grandfather, please roll me!", he said. ^{7.3} The leopard rolled the drum. ^{7.4} The drum rolled on and was stopped at a stone. ^{7.5} From a cave the wolf slipped out and asked the drum, "Grandfather drum, didn't you see the bald little son?" ^{7.6} "I didn't see him, dear grandfather, please roll me!" he said. ^{7.7} The wolf rolled the drum. ^{7.8} After some time, just as the drum was stopped near a stone the bear suddenly appeared. ^{7.9} "Grandfather drum, didn't you see the bald little son?" ^{7.10} "I didn't see him, dear grandfather, please roll me!" he said. ^{7.11} Then the bear also rolled him. ^{7.12} The drum rolled on and stopped at a point. ^{7.13} 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?" ^{7.14} "I didn't see him, dear grandmother, please roll me!" he said. ^{7.15} Just as she rolled him, she threw a stone from behind. The stone hit the drum and broke it. ^{7.16} As the drum burst, the bald son slipped out. ^{7.17} She gave a loud call. "Look! Look! Oh leopard, oh bear, oh wolf! I found the bald son. Come, look!" ^{7.18} From

this cave and that they came and gathered. Then they decided to eat the bald little son and got ready. [7.19] The fox assigned each one a cooking utensil to bring. [7.20] 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.

phaṛáko šuúo

The Bald Little Son

Interlinear grammatical analysis

0.1 [1]

phaṛáko_šuúo
bald small son
pharáko   suúo
bald   small(son)
adj   *m n*
FT: The bald little son.

──────────────── Commentary ────────────────

[1] *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 puç* '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	púçek
one	of a man				bald	a son
ck	mušáa ck	-c	-y		pharáko	puç -ck
one	man	INDEF	OBL	GEN	bald	son INDEF
numeral	*m n*	*indef*	*cas1*	*cas2*	*adj*	*m n indef*

asúu		theé.	
he was		having said	
han	-u	th	-cé
be	SIMP3sm	do/say	CONJP
intrans	*tens*	*trans*	*parti*

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

1.2 [3]

ro	bódo	ašaáto	asúu.
he	much	thin	he was
ro	bódo	ašaáto	han -u
he(rem)	much	thin	be SIMP3sm
dem	*adv*	*adj*	*intrans tens*

FT: 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 *theé*.** The narrative device, *theé* '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', *ašaáto*, 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 *pharakí*, for a girl. One also hears it pronounced *phaṭáko* by some.

2.1 [1] [2] [3]

ek	čhak	résey			aájis		toóm	puçéy
one	day	his/her			mother(ag)		own	of son
ek	čhak	ro	-e	-y	aáji	-se	toóm	puç -e -y
one	day	he(rem)	OBL	GEN	mother	AG	own	son OBL GEN
numeral	*f n*	*dem*	*cas1*	*cas2 f n*		*cas1*	*adv*	*m n cas1 cas2*

ayée	beé		ašatioók		ginií		bódi	
like this	having become		to become thin		(reason)		much(f)	
ayée	b	-eé	ašati	-oók	gín	-eé	bódo	-i
like this	become	CONJP	become thin	INF	take	CONJP	much	FEM
adv	*intrans*	*parti*	*intrans*	*inf*	*trans*	*parti*	*adv*	*gndr*

hiphaá	bigí.
sad	she became
hiphaá	b	-eég	-i
sad	become	PFT	SIMP3sf
adj	*intrans*	*val*	*tens*

FT: 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 *thúlo* 'fat' is to be healthy. To be 'thin' *ašaáto* 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 *hiphaá.*** For those readers who know Urdu, the adjective *hiphaá* 'sad' should not be confused with *khapá* 'angry', which is like the Urdu *xafa.*

[3] **2.1 *ginií.*** See the comment on 5.2 explaining the use of the infinitive plus the conjunctive participle of *ginoók* 'to take' to express a motivating *reason.*

2.2 [1]

toóm	puçéṭ		reégi,			"bo		láa
own	to son		she said			go!		oh(m)
toóm	puç -e	-ṭ	r	-eég	-i	búj	-c	ála
own	son OBL	to	speak	PFT	SIMP3sf	go	IMP2s	oh(m)
adv	m n cas1	cas2	trans	val	tens	intrans	mood	interj

puç,	rúngieṭ		bo,		ya!	toóm	dáado
son	to high pasture		go!		EMPH	own	grandfather
puç	rúngi -e	-ṭ	búj	-e	ya	toóm	dáado
son	meadow OBL	to	go	IMP2s	EMPH	own	grandfather
m n	f n	cas1 cas2	intrans	mood	interj	adv	m n

ga	dadiíkač.			nan	bódo
and	near grandmother			here	much
ga	dadií	-e	-kač	nan	bódo
and	grandmother OBL	near	here	much
conj	f n	cas1 cas2	adv	adv

ašatiíloo.			rúngier			čhamaṇí	dut
you(m) became thin			in high pasture			cheese	milk
ašati	-t	-oo	rúngi	-e	-r	čhamaní	dut
become thin	PFI	SIMP2sm	meadow OBL	in		cheese	milk
intrans	val	tens	f n	cas1 cas2	f n		m n

———————————— Commentary ————————————

[1] **2.2** A *rúngi*, 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 *pagoṛáa*, a rubbery cheese-like food made from curd and milk, which are cooked till dry. *kiḷaṛíí* is similar to *pagoṛáa*, 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.

meél	kheé	thúlo	bée,	bo!"
buttermilk	having eaten	fat	you will be	go!
meél	kh -eé	thúlo	b -ee	búj -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 [1] [2]

pharáko	šuúos		bújam		theé	garás
bald	son(ag)		I will go		(intent)	ready
pharáko	šuúo	-se	búj	-am	th -eé	garás
bald	small(son)	AG	go	FUT1s	do/say CONJP	prepared
adj	adj	cas1	intrans	tens	trans parti	adj

bugú.
he became
b -eég -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 *garasoók*, 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 *kurioók* 'to strengthen'. Or the pair *ašaáto* 'thin' (sentence 1.2) and *ašatioók* 'to grow thin' (sentence 2.2).

2.4 [1]

ho	née	res			réseṭ			póniṭ		
then	again	she(ag)			to him/her			to path		
ho	née	re	-se		ro	-e	-ṭ	pon^y	-e	-ṭ
then	again	she(rem)	AG		he(rem)	OBL	to	path	OBL	to
adv	*adv*	*dem*	*cas1*		*dem*	*cas1*	*cas2*	*f n*	*cas1*	*cas2*

čhupáṭik		ga	thigí.		
a chupatti		also	she did/said		
čhupáṭi	-ek	ga	th	-eég	-i
baked bread	INDEF	also	do/say	PFT	SIMP3sf
f n	*indef*	*adv*	*trans*	*val*	*tens*

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

——————————— Commentary ———————————

[1] **2.4 *čhupáṭi*.** 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 *phúlka*. 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 *kaáwo,* and baked on one side, then the other. It is turned with great acquired skill using a *tanúuṣi,* 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 *šáa,* the vegetable curry.

2.5 [1]

pharáko	šuúos		chupáti	brakér		deé	
bald	son(ag)		raised bread	in waist		having given	
pharáko	šuúo	-se	chupáti	brak -e	-r	d	-eé
bald	small(son)	AG	baked bread	waist OBL	in	give	CONJP
adj	adj	cas1	f n	f n cas1	cas2	trans	parti

rúngiet̤			̤zas	bugú.			
to high pasture			departure	he became			
rúngi	-e	-t̤	̤zas	b	-eég	-u	
meadow	OBL	to	departure	become	PFT	SIMP3sm	
f n	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 [2]

thaángek		pon^y	thigús			nalaá	akií
to some distance		path	he had done			just then	EMPH
thaáng	-ek	pon^y	th	-eég	-us	nalaá	akií
some/approx	INDEF	path	do/say	PFT	PSPRF3sm	just then	EMPH
adv	indef	f n	trans	val	tens	adv	part

————————————— Commentary —————————————

[1] **2.5 *brakér*.** The bald little son tied the *chupáti* bread to his waist with a cloth: *brakér deé* '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!

¹ réseț lóˉyek ḍok bigí.

réseț			lóˉyek	ḍok	bigí.
to him/her			a fox	meeting	she became
ro	-c	-ț	loˉy -ck	ḍok	b -cég -i
he(rem)	OBL	to	fox INDEF	meeting become	PFT SIMP3sf
dem	cas1	cas2	f n indef	precat intrans	val tens

FT: He had gone some distance on his path when just then he encountered a fox.

3.2

loˉy	se	"téen	tu	neé	kheé		koó	kham?"
fox	AG	now	you	not	having eaten		who	I will eat
loˉy	-se	téen	tu	neé	kh -cé		koó	kh -am
fox	AG	now	you	not	eat	CONJP	who	eat FUT1s
f n	cas1	adv	pers	neg	trans	parti	int	trans tens

theé		akií	réseț			prik	digí.
having said		EMPH	to her/him			jump	she gave
th -eé		akií	ro	-c	-ț	prik	d -cég -i
do/say	CONJP	EMPH	he(rem)	OBL	to	jump	give PFT SIMP3sf
trans	parti	part	dem	cas1	cas2	f n	trans val tens

FT: The fox said, "If I don't eat you now who will I eat?" and jumped at him.

3.3

phaṛáko	šuúos		"ma	téen	neé	kha!"
bald	son(ag)		I	now	not	eat!
pharáko	šuúo	-sc	ma	téen	neé	kh -e
bald	small(son)	AG	I	now	not	eat IMP2s
adj	adj	cas1	pers	adv	neg	trans mood

———————————— Commentary ————————————

¹ **3.1 réseț lóˉyek ḍok bigí.** 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 – *réseț* '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 – *šuúo lóˉyesaaˉtᵞ ḍok 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!

thigú.
he did/said
th   -cég -u
do/say PFT SIMP3sm
trans   val   tens
FT: The bald little son said, "Don't eat me now!"

3.4

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

geé		**čhamaní**	**dut**	**meél**	**kheé**		**thúlo**
having gone		cheese	milk	buttermilk	having eaten		fat
búj	-cé	čhamaní	dut	meél	kh	-cé	thúlo
go	CONJP	cheese	milk	buttermilk	eat	CONJP	fat
intrans	*parti*	*f n*	*m n*	*m n*	*trans*	*parti*	*adj*

beé		**wátus**			**to**	**ho**	**kháa.**	
having become		I(m) came			so	then	you will eat	
b	-cé	wá	-t	-us	to	ho	kh	-cc
become	CONJP	come	PFI	SIMP1sm	so	then	eat	FUT2s
intrans	*parti*	*intrans*	*val*	*tens*	*conj*	*adv*	*trans*	*tens*

¹ ² mey	čom	ga	á~ṭie	jéek	they	ṣéwo	doóneṭaa?"
my	skin	and	bones	what	your	blind	to tooth?
mey	čom	ga	á~ṭi -e	jéek	they	ṣéwo	don -e -ṭ =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

FT: "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

"šóo	to,	bo!	wátoo			ho	çakám."
good	so	go!	you(m) came			then	I will look
šóo	to	búj -e	wá -t -oo			ho	çak -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 ṣéwo doóneṭaa.** 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 ṣéwo doónet ga neé bigí!* '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 doóneṭaa.** 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', *daáreč* 'door-on', etc.; *kom* 'work' – *koómet* 'work-to', *koómejo* 'work-from', etc.

3.6 [1]

muçhoó	phirí	gáus		akií	í~çek	ḍok
in front	a bit	he had gone		EMPH	a bear	meeting
muçhoó	phirí	búj	-us	akií	i~ç	-ek	ḍok
in front	a bit	go	PSPRF3sm	EMPH	bear	INDEF	meeting
adv	adv	intrans	tens	part	m n	indef	precat

bugú.		"ála	pharáko	šuúo	jáa
he became		oh(m)	bald	small(son)	where
b	-eég -u	ála	pharáko	šuúo	jáa
become	PFT SIMP3sm	oh(m)	bald	small(son)	where
intrans	val tens	interj	adj	adj	adv

búujanoo?		tu	neé	kheé	ho?"
you(m) go		you	not	having eaten	then
búj	-anoo	tu	neé	kh -eé	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] [2]

"dáado	bódoo,	ma	téen	neé	kha!		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
m n	interj	pers	adv	neg	trans	mood	f n	cas1	cas2

──────────────── Commentary ────────────────

[1] **3.7 *dáado bódoo*.** In a society where increase in age brings increase in respectability, to address the bear as *dáado bódoo* '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 *bódoo* '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, *áalus* '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 çakám* '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.

toóm	dáado	ga	dadiíkač			geé	
own	grandfather	and	near grandmother			having gone	
toóm	dáado	ga	dadií	-e	-kač	búj	-eé
own	grandfather	and	grandmother	OBL	near	go	CONJP
adv	m n	conj	f n		cas1 cas2	intrans	parti

čhamaní	dut	meél	kheé		thúlo	beé	
cheese	milk	buttermilk	having eaten		fat	having become	
čhamaní	dut	meél	kh	-eé	thúlo	b	-eé
cheese	milk	buttermilk	eat	CONJP	fat	become	CONJP
f n	m n	m n	trans	parti	adj	intrans	parti

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

dimér			jéek	han		they ṣéwo doónețaa?"				
in body			what	he is		your blind to tooth?				
dim	-e	-r	jéek	han	-an	they ṣéwo don	-e	-ț	=aa	
body	OBL	in	what	be	PRES3sm	your blind tooth	OBL	to	Q	
m n	cas1	cas2	int	sta	tens	pers adj m n	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

"šóo	ho,	bo!"	
good	then	go!	
šóo	ho	búj	-e
good	then	go	IMP2s
interj	adv	intrans	mood

FT: "Well, then, go!"

3.9 [1] [2]

tušáar	pon^y	thigús			mučhoó	šáa⁻lek	biráčo
much	path	he had done			in front	a wolf	wide
tušáar	pon^y	th	-eég	-us	mučhoó	šáa⁻l -ek	biráčo
much	path	do/say	PFT	PSPRF3sm	in front	wolf INDEF	wide
adv	*f n*	*trans*	*val*	*tens*	*adv*	*m n indef*	*adj*

asúu.		"tu	neé	khigás		to?"
he was		you	not	I(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*

theé			čhup	digú.	
having said			jump(over)	he gave	
th	-eé		čhup	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	kha!	rúngier
grandfather	dear	I	now	not	eat!	in high pasture
dáado	bódoo	ma	téen	neé	kh -e	rúngi -e -ⲅ
grandfather	dear	I	now	not	eat IMP2s	meadow OBL in
m n	*interj*	*pers*	*adv*	*neg*	*trans mood*	*f n cas1 cas2*

toóm	dáado	ga	dadiíkač		geé
own	grandfather	and	near grandmother		having gone
toóm	dáado	ga	dadií -e -kač		búĭ -eé
own	grandfather	and	grandmother OBL near		go CONJP
adv	*m n*	*conj*	*f n cas1 cas2*		*intrans parti*

────────── Commentary ──────────

[1] **3.9** *biráčo asúu.* 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?"

čhamaṇí	dut	meél	kheé		sam	thúlo	
cheese	milk	buttermilk	having eaten		well	fat	
čhamaṇí	dut	meél	kh	-eé	sam	thúlo	
cheese	milk	buttermilk	eat	CONJP	well	fat	
f n	*m n*	*m n*	*trans*	*parti*	*adv*	*adj*	

beé		áalus		to	ho	kha.		téen
having become		I(m) came		so	then	eat!		now
b	-eé	áal	-us	to	ho	kh	-e	téen
become	CONJP	came	SIMP1sm	so	then	eat	IMP2s	now
intrans	*parti*	*intrans*	*tens*	*conj*	*adv*	*trans*	*mood*	*adv*

mey	ḍimér			jéek	han		they	şéwo
my	in body			what	he is		your	blind
mey	ḍim	-e	-r	jéek	han	-an	they	şéwo
my	body	OBL	in	what	be	PRES3sm	your	blind
pers	*m n*	*cas1*	*cas2*	*adv*	*intrans*	*tens*	*pers*	*adj*

doóneṭaa?"

to tooth?

don	-e	-ṭ	=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

"šóo	ho,	bo!		wátoo			çakám.	
good	then	go!		you(m) came			I will look	
šóo	ho	búj	-e	wá	-t	-oo	çak	-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 [1]

lapháa	dúuek		wiígus			nalaá	akií,
step	some two		he had put			just then	EMPH
lapháa	dúu	-ek	wí	-eég	-us	nalaá	akií
step	two	INDEF	put	PFT	PSPRF3sm	just then	EMPH
f n	numeral	indef	trans	val	tens	adv	part

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

šuúo	pašií		akií	çhup	digú.	
small(son)	having seen		EMPH	jump(over)	he gave	
šuúo	paáš	-eé	akií	çhup	d	-eég	-u
small(son)	see	CONJP	EMPH	jump(over)	give	PFT	SIMP3sm
adj	trans	parti	part	f n	trans	val	tens

"tu	neé	kheé		koó	kham?"	
you	not	having eaten		who	I will eat	
tu	neé	kh	-eé	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	bódoo,	ma	neé	kha!
I	not	eat!	grandfather	dear	I	not	eat!
ma	neé	kh	-e	dáado	bódoo	ma	neé	kh	-e
I	not	eat	IMP2s	grandfather	dear	I	not	eat	IMP2s
pers	neg	trans	mood	m n	interj	pers	neg	trans	mood

toóm	dáado	ga	dadiíkač		rúngier		
own	grandfather	and	near grandmother		in high pasture		
toóm	dáado	ga	dadií	-e	-kač	rúngi	-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 dúuek.* The indefinite enclitic *=ek* is used here to make the numeral *dúu* 'two' more approximate – *dúuek* has more the meaning of 'a couple' or 'a few'.

geé		čhamaṇí	dut	meél	kheé		thúlo
having gone		cheese	milk	buttermilk	having eaten		fat
búj	-eé	čhamaṇí	dut	meél	kh	-eé	thúlo
go	CONJP	cheese	milk	buttermilk	eat	CONJP	fat
intrans	*parti*	*f n*	*m n*	*m n*	*trans*	*parti*	*adj*

beé		áalus		to	ho	kháa.	
having become		I(m) came		so	then	you will eat	
b	-eé	áal	-us	to	ho	kh	-ee
become	CONJP	came	SIMP1sm	so	then	eat	FUT2s
intrans	*parti*	*intrans*	*tens*	*conj*	*adv*	*trans*	*tens*

téen	mey	ḍimér		jéek	han		they
now	my	in body		what	he is		your
téen	mey	ḍim	-e	-r	jéek	han	-an	they
now	my	body	OBL	in	what	be	PRES3sm	your
adv	*pers*	*m n*	*cas1*	*cas2*	*adv*	*intrans*	*tens*	*pers*

ṣéwo	doóneṭaa?"
blind	to tooth?
ṣéwo	don	-e	-ṭ	=aa
blind	tooth	OBL	to	Q
adj	*m n*	*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,	bo!"	
good	so	go!	
šóo	to	búj	-e
good	so	go	IMP2s
interj	*conj*	*intrans*	*mood*

FT: "Well, then, go!"

3.15 [1]

rinǫ́jo			mučií		rúngii		
from them			having escaped		of high pasture		
ri	-o	-jo	múč	-eé	rúngi	-e	-y
those(rem)	PLOBL	from	escape	CONJP	meadow	OBL	GEN
dem	*cas1*	*cas2*	*intrans*	*parti*	*f n*	*cas1*	*cas2*

bíleč			uçhačií		ho	"úṣwaa	jifl!"
on edge			having arrived		then	oh my!	life
bil	-e	-č	uçháč	-eé	ho	úṣwaa	jiíl
edge	OBL	on	arrive	CONJP	then	oh my!	life
m n	*cas1*	*cas2*	*intrans*	*parti*	*adv*	*interj*	*f n*

thigú.

he did/said		
th	-eég	-u
do/say	PFT	SIMP3sm
trans	*val*	*tens*

FT: Having escaped from them he reached the edge of the high pasture; "Oh my dear life!", he said.

———————————————— Commentary ————————————————

[1] **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 [1] [2]

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	dadií	toóm	ḍukúrir			asée.
and	grandmother	own	in hut			they were
ga	dadi í	toóm	ḍukúri -e	-r	han	-e
and	grandmother	own	hut	OBL in	be	SIMP3p
conj	*f n*	*adv*	*f n*	*cas1 cas2*	*intrans*	*tens*

résey			dáados		toóm	póoço
his/her			grandfather(ag)		own	grandson
ro	-e	-y	dáado	-se	toóm	póoço
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*.

pašií	hay	thigú.		
having seen	running	he did/said		
paáš -eé	hay	th	-eég	-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

waií	toóm	póoçey		hatéč		
having come	own	of grandson		on hand		
wá -eé	toóm	póoço	-e -y	hat	-e	-č
come CONJP	own	grandson	OBL GEN	hand	OBL	on
intrans parti	*adv*	*m n*	*cas1 cas2*	*m n*	*cas1*	*cas2*

lamií	dukúrir		haríígu.		
having caught	in the hut		he took		
laám -eé	dukúri	-e -ṭ	har	-eég	-u
catch CONJP	hut	OBL to	take away	PFT	SIMP3sm
trans parti	*f n*	*cas1 cas2*	*trans*	*val*	*tens*

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

5.1 [1]

rúngier			pharáko	šuúos		sókoti		
in high pasture			bald	son(ag)		deep thoughts		
rúngi	-e	-r	pharáko	šuúo	-se	sókot	-i	
meadow	OBL	in	bald	small(son)	AG	deep thought	PL	
f n	*cas1*	*cas2 adj*		*adj*	*cas1*	*f n*		*num*

theé		theé		básko ga	ašatiílu.		
having done		having done		more also	he grew thin		
th	-eé	th	-eé	básko ga	ašati	-t	-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 ————————————————

[1] **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 [1]

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

sam	theé		ṭíki	neé	khoók	ginií	
well	having done		bread/food	not	to eat	(reason)	
sam	th	-eé	ṭíki	neé	kh	-oók	gín -eé
well	do/say	CONJP	bread/food	not	eat	INF	take CONJP
adv	*trans*	*parti*	*f n*		*neg*	*trans inf*	*trans parti*

hée-şer		gée.		
in worry		they went		
hée-ş	-e -r	búj	-e	
worry	OBL in	go	SIMP3p	
f n	*cas1 cas2 intrans*		*tens*	

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

––––––––––––––––––––––––– Commentary ––––––––––––––––––––––––

[1] **5.2** *khoók ginií.* The conjunctive participle *ginií* 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 *ginií: ṭíki neé koók ginií* 'because of not eating food' or, literally,
'food not eating (reason)'.

5.3 [1] [2]

ho	résejo			mor	ikhalóon		theé
then	from him/her			matter	we will take out		(intent)
ho	ro	-e	-jo	mor	nikhal	-on	th	-eé
then	he(rem)	OBL	from	matter	take out	FUT1p	do/say	CONJP
adv	dem	cas1	cas2	m n	trans	tens	trans	parti

şaáte.			tušáar	khéenejo			ho	toóm
they began			much	from time			then	own
saac	-t	-e	tušáar	khéen	-e	-jo	ho	toóm
begin	PFI	SIMP3p	much	time	OBL	from	then	own
intrans	val	tens	adv	f n	cas1	cas2	adv	adv

pónii			čága	thigú.
of path			story	he did/said
pon`	-e	-y	čága	th	-eég	-u
path	OBL	GEN	story	do/say	PFT	SIMP3sm
f n	cas1	cas2	f n	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 *pon`* '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 *pon`*. 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 *pónit* '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 *aát* 'there', *aán`* 'here', and the postposition *-saa-t`* '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 [1]

ri	hayïjif				réseṭ		
they(rem)	having been amused				to him/her		
ri	háay	-íij	-eé		ro	-e	-ṭ
those(rem)	laugh	PASS	CONJP		he(rem)	OBL	to
dem	intrans	voice	parti		dem	cas1	cas2

reége,			"rinéy			dáados		ga	tu
they spoke			their(rem)			grandfather(ag)		also	you
r	-eég	-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-ṣ	neé	the!	
to eat	s/he will be unable		you(ag)		word	not	do!	
kh	-oók	dub	-ey	tu	-se	hi-ṣ	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

akóṭ		rak	áalok			kha!		sam
to self		desire	he who comes			eat!		well
akií	-e	-ṭ	rak	áal	-u	-ek	kh	-e	sam
self	OBL	to	desire	came	SIMP3sm	INDEF	eat	IMP2s	well
pro	cas1	cas2 f n		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	-enes
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 [1]

pharáko	šúuey			hío_wátu.				ho
bald	of son			became content				then
pharáko	šuúo	-e	-y	hío	wá	-t	-u	ho
bald	small(son)	OBL	GEN	heart	come	PFI	SIMP3sm	then
adj	*adj*	*cas1*	*cas2*	*m n*	*intrans*	*val*	*tens*	*adv*

uyaniaár		şaáti.			sam	theé	
appetite		she stuck			well	having done	
uyani	aár	şaáč	-t	-i	sam	th	-eé
be hungry	NOMZR	stick	PFI	SIMP3sf	well	do/say	CONJP
intrans	*nomnlzr*	*intrans*	*val*	*tens*	*adv*	*trans*	*parti*

ţíki	khoók	şaátu.		
bread/food	to eat	he began		
ţíki	kh	-oók	şaáč	-t	-u
bread/food	eat	INF	begin	PFI	SIMP3sm
f n	*trans*	*inf*	*intrans*	*val*	*tens*

FT: The bald son was content. Then he began to have an appetite. He began to really eat.

———————————— Commentary ————————————

[1] **5.5 şaáti...şaátu.** Here we have two senses of the verb *şačoók*: 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-hæ* 'to-me hunger she-sticks'.

6.1 ¹ ²

khéenekejo				pharáko	šuúo	sam	thúlo
after some time				bald	small(son)	well	fat
khéen	-ek	-e	-jo	pharáko	šuúo	sam	thúlo
time	INDEF	OBL	from	bald	small(son)	well	fat
f n	indef	cas1	cas2	adj	adj	adv	adj

bugú.			ho	toóm	dadií	ga
he became			then	own	grandmother	and
b	-eég	-u	ho	toóm	dadií	ga
become	PFT	SIMP3sm	then	own	grandmother	and
intrans	val	tens	adv	adv	f n	conj

dáadeṭ			ma	bújam		thigú.	
to grandfather			I	I will go		he did/said	
dáado	-e	-ṭ	ma	búj	-am	th	-eég	-u
grandfather	OBL	to	I	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	báṛo	ḍaḍángek	theé	pharáko
they(rem)(ag)	big	a drum	having done	bald
ri -se	báṛo	ḍaḍáng -ek	th -eé	pharáko
those(rem) AG	big	drum INDEF	do/say CONJP	bald
dem cas1	*adj*	*m n indef*	*trans parti*	*adj*

šuúo	réser			wiíge.		
small(son)	in her/him			they put		
šuúo	ro	-e	-r	wí	-eég	-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		ḍaḍangér		wií
his/her			grandmother(ag)		in drum		having put
ro	-e	-y	dadií	-se	ḍaḍáng -e	-r	wí -eé
he(rem)	OBL	GEN	grandmother	AG	drum OBL	in	put CONJP
dem	*cas1*	*cas2*	*f n*		*cas1 m n*	*cas1 cas2*	*trans parti*

réseṭ			kaṇaáw	thigí.		
to him/her			advice	she did/said		
ro	-e	-ṭ	kaṇaáw	th	-eég	-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 [1]

"lo~y	šáa~l	i~ç	di í~	ḍok	bigé		to
fox	wolf	bear	leopard	meeting	they became		so
lo~y	šáa~l	i~ç	di í~	ḍok	b -eég -e		to
fox	wolf	bear	leopard	meeting	become PFT SIMP3p		so
f n	m n	m n	m n	precat	*intrans val tens*		*conj*

ris		túujo		khujéen,	'dáado	ḍaḍáng,
they(rem)(ag)		from you		they will ask	grandfather	drum
ri -se		tu -e -jo		khuj -an	dáado	ḍaḍáng
those(rem) AG		you OBL from		ask FUT3p	grandfather	drum
dem	*cas1*	*pers cas1*	*cas2*	*trans tens*	*m n*	*m n*

pharáko	šuúo		neé	pašígaa?'			tus	'neé
bald	small(son)		not	did you(m) see?			you(ag)	not
pharáko	šuúo		neé	paáš -eég -oo		=aa	tu -se	neé
bald	small(son)		not	see PFT SIMP2sm		Q	you AG	not
adj	*adj*		*neg*	*trans val tens*		*qmkr*	*pers cas1*	*neg*

pašígas,		dáado	bódoo,	ḍírek		
I(m) saw		grandfather	dear	a roll		
paáš -eég -us		dáado	bódoo	ḍir	-ek	
see PFT SIMP1sm		grandfather	dear	push down	INDEF	
trans val tens		*m n*	*interj*	*precat*	*indef*	

──────────── Commentary ────────────

[1] **6.4** *khujéen, 'dáado ḍaḍáng...* 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: *khojéen* '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: *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 pašígas..."'
'you(ag)	like-this	you-say	"not I(m)-saw..."'

'You say like this, "I didn't see..."'

thet!'			the		ho	ris	
do/say!			do!		then	they(rem)(ag)	
th	-e	-t	th	-e	ho	ri	-se
do/say	IMP2s	polite	do/say	IMP2s	then	those(rem)	AG
trans	*mood*	*hon*	*trans*	*mood*	*adv*	*dem*	*cas1*

ḍaḍáng	ḍir	théen."
drum	push down	they will do
ḍaḍáng	ḍir	th	-an
drum	push down	do/say	FUT3p
m n	*precat*	*trans*	*tens*

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 [1]

"šóo	dadií."	ho	dadiís	ḍaḍáng
well	grandmother	then	grandmother(ag)	drum
šóo	dadií	ho	dadií	-se	ḍaḍáng
well	grandmother	then	grandmother	AG	drum
adv	*f n*	*adv*	*f n*	*cas1*	*m n*

ḍir_thigí.
she pushed down
ḍir	th	-eég	-i
push down	do/say	PFT	SIMP3sf
precat	*trans*	*val*	*tens*

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

———————————————— Commentary ————————————————

[1] **6.5 ḍir thigí.** *ḍir* 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 páae ganeé ḍir thigú* 'his hands feet having-tied pushing-down he-did', or "He tied him hand and foot and made him lie down."

7.1 [1] [2]

ḍaḍáng	ḍir	beé		díreker		
drum	push down	having become		in a point		
ḍaḍáng	ḍir	b	-eé	dir	-ek	-e	-r
drum	push down	become	CONJP	place	INDEF	OBL	in
m n	*precat*	*intrans*	*parti*	*f n*	*indef*	*cas1*	*cas2*

waíí	tsak	bugú.		tsak
having come	stopped	he became		stopped
wá	-eé	tsak	b	-eég	-u	tsak
come	CONJP	stopped	become	PFT	SIMP3sm	stopped
intrans	*parti*	*adv*	*intrans*	*val*	*tens*	*adv*

bugús		nalaá	akíí	díf~	ḍam	baṣ
he had become		just then	EMPH	leopard	suddenly	visible
b	-eég	-us	nalaá	akíí	díf~	ḍam	baṣ
become	PFT	PSPRF3sm	just then	EMPH	leopard	suddenly	visible
intrans	*val*	*tens*	*adv*	*part*	*m n*	*adv*	*mod*

bugú.			"dáado	ḍaḍáng,	pharáko	šuúo
he became			grandfather	drum	bald	small(son)
b	-eég	-u	dáado	ḍaḍáng	pharáko	šuúo
become	PFT	SIMP3sm	grandfather	drum	bald	small(son)
intrans	*val*	*tens*	*m n*	*m n*	*adj*	*adj*

──────────── Commentary ────────────

[1] **7.1-20** 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** *ḍir...direker.* Here in one sentence is a good example of a retroflexed or *retracted* consonant versus its dental associate. The words *ḍir* '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.

neé   pašifgaa?"
not   did you(m) see?
ncé   paáš -eég -oo   =áʼɪ
not   see   PFT SIMP2sm Q
neg   trans val   tens   qmkr

FT: 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?"

7.2 [1]

"neé pašifgas,   dáado   bódoo, dírek
not   I(m) saw   grandfather dear   a roll
ncé   paáš -eég -us   dáado   bódoo   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   -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.

7.3

difˆs   dadáng dir   thigú.
leopard(ag)   drum   push down   he did/said
dií- -se   dadáng dir   th   -eég -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 [1]

ḍaḍáng	waif			báṭekekač			
drum	having come			near a stone			
ḍaḍáng	wá	-eé		baṭ	-ek	-e	-kač
drum	come	CONJP		stone	INDEF	OBL	near
m n	*intrans*	*parti*		*m n*	*indef*	*cas1*	*cas2*

raṭhíidu.
he was stopped

raṭh	-íid	-u
stop	PFPASS	SIMP3sm
trans	*voice*	*tens*

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

7.5 [2]

gómekejo				šáa˜l	taṣ_beé		
from a cave				wolf	having slipped out		
gom	-ek	-e	-jo	šáa˜l	taṣ	b	-eé
cave	INDEF	OBL	from	wolf	slipping	become	CONJP
m n	*indef*	*cas1*	*cas2*	*m n*	*precat*	*intrans*	*parti*

ikhaíf			ḍaḍangéjo			khujeégu			"dáado
having come out			from drum			he asked			grandfather
nikhá	-eé		ḍaḍáng	-e	-jo	khuj	-eég	-u	dáado
come out	CONJP		drum	OBL	from	ask	PFT	SIMP3sm	grandfather
intrans	*parti*		*m n*	*cas1*	*cas2*	*trans*	*val*	*tens*	*m n*

ḍaḍáng,	pharáko	šuúo		neé	pašiígaa?"			
drum	bald	small(son)		not	did you(m) see?			
ḍaḍáng	pharáko	šuúo		neé	paáš	-eég	-oo	=aa
drum	bald	small(son)		not	see	PFT	SIMP2sm	Q
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 báṭekekač.** The drum stopped at a stone, no particular stone, just a stone. That's why the enclitic =ek is suffixed to *baṭ* to make it indefinite: *báṭek* 'a stone'. The same for *gómek* 'a cave' in the next sentence (7.5). However, *šáa˜l* 'wolf' does not carry the indefinite marker because it has *definitely* been introduced back in paragraph three (3.9)!

[2] **7.5 taṣ beé.** *taṣ boók* 'to slip out' is a *complex verb construction*, a "precategorical" plus verb construction described in *Blackberry Bush* 1.19.

7.6

"neé	pašiígas,			dáado	bódoo,	ḍírek	
not	I(m) saw			grandfather	dear	a roll	
neé	paáš	-eég	-us	dáado	bódoo	ḍir	-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	-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

šáa~l	se	ḍaḍáng	ḍir	thigú.		
wolf	AG	drum	push down	he did/said		
šáa~l	-se	ḍaḍáng	ḍir	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				ḍaḍáng	waií		báṭekač		
after some time				drum	having come		near stone		
khéen	-ek	-e	-jo	ḍaḍáng	wá	-eé	baṭ	-e	-kač
time	INDEF	OBL	from	drum	come	CONJP	stone	OBL	near
f n	*indef*	*cas1*	*cas2*	*m n*	*intrans*	*parti*	*m n*	*cas1*	*cas2*

raṭhíidus			nalaá	akií	i~ç	ḍam	baṣ
he was stopped			just then	EMPH	bear	suddenly	visible
raṭh	~íid	-us	nalaá	akií	i~ç	ḍam	baṣ
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 [1]

"dáado	dadáng,	pharáko	šuúo	neé	pašiígaa?"	
grandfather	drum	bald	small(son)	not	did you(m) see?	
dáado	dadáng	pharáko	šuúo	neé	paáš -eég -oo	=aa
grandfather	drum	bald	small(son)	not	see PFT SIMP2sm	Q
m n	*m n*	*adj*	*adj*	*neg*	*trans val tens*	*qmkr*

FT: "Grandfather drum, didn't you see the bald little son?"

―――――――――――――――― Commentary ――――――――――――――

[1] **7.9 *pašiígaa*.** 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 *pašiígaa* '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: **pašiígaaaa*. 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 *-iíg* 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:          pašiígaa. 'You saw.'

                                    _‾_
                                 ―――_./ ‾ \
Y/N Ques. intonation:       pašiígaa? 'Did you see?'
```

7.10

"neé	pašiígas,			dáado	bódoo,	ḍírek	
not	I(m) saw			grandfather	dear	a roll	
neé	paáš	-eég	-us	dáado	bódoo	ḍir	-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	-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.

7.11

née	i⁻ç	se	ga	ḍir	thigú.		
again	bear	AG	also	push down	he did/said		
née	i⁻ç	-se	ga	ḍir	th	-eég	-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

ḍaḍáng	waií			díreker				tsak
drum	having come			in a point				stopped
ḍaḍáng	wá	-eé		dir	-ek	-e	-r	tsak
drum	come	CONJP		place	INDEF	OBL	in	stopped
m n	intrans	parti		f n	indef	cas1	cas2	adv

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

FT: The drum rolled on and stopped at a point.

7.13 [1] [2]

koón	ašíi,		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

bóoje		uçhačíí		ḍaḍangéjo		
while being		having arrived		from drum		
b	-óoje	uçháč	-eé	ḍaḍáng	-e	-jo
become	PRESP	arrive	CONJP	drum	OBL	from
intrans	parti	intrans	parti	m n	cas1	cas2

khujeégi			"dáado	ḍaḍáng,	phaṛáko
she asked			grandfather	drum	bald
khuj	-eég	-i	dáado	ḍaḍáng	phaṛáko
ask	PFT	SIMP3sf	grandfather	drum	bald
trans	val	tens	m n	m n	adj

šuúo	neé	pašíígaa?"		
small(son)	not	did you(m) see?		
šuúo	neé	paáš	-eég	-oo	=aa
small(son)	not	see	PFT	SIMP2sm	Q
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 ašíi, 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 ašíi?* '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

"neé	pašiígas,			dadií	bódii,
not	I(m) saw			grandmother	dear(f)
neé	paáš	-eég	-us	dadií	bódoo -i
not	see	PFT	SIMP1sm	grandmother	dear FEM
neg	trans	val	tens	f n	interj gndr

dírek		thet!"			thigú.		
a roll		do/say!			he did/said		
dir	-ek	th	-e	-t	th	-eég	-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 [1]

dir		theé		akií	phatunóo	baṭ	ginií	
push down		having done		EMPH	from behind	stone	with	
dir		th	-eé	akií	phatunóo	baṭ	gín	-eé
push down		do/say	CONJP	EMPH	from behind	stone	take	CONJP
precat		trans	parti	part	adv	m n	trans	parti

digí.			baṭ	se	ḍaḍangéy		deé	
she gave			stone	AG	of drum		having given	
d	-eég	-i	baṭ	-se	ḍaḍáng -e	-y	d	-eé
give	PFT	SIMP3sf	stone	AG	drum	OBL GEN	give	CONJP
trans	val	tens	m n	cas1	m n	cas1 cas2	trans	parti

phayeégu.		
he broke		
phay	-eég	-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** *baṭ ginií digí.* The verb *doók* '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' *baṭ ginií digí.*

7.16

ḍaḍáng	phayijií			pharáko	šuúo	taṣ
drum	having been broken			bald	small(son)	slipping
ḍaḍáng	phay	-íij	-eé	pharáko	šuúo	taṣ
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	-eé	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 [1]

ho	hóo_hawíit	digí.			"lóoy!	lóoy!	ála
then	calling loudly	she gave			look!	look!	oh(m)
ho	hóo hawíit	d	-eég	-i	lóoy	lóoy	ála
then	loud calling	give	PFT	SIMP3sf	look!	look!	oh(m)
adv	*precat*	*trans*	*val*	*tens*	*interj*	*interj*	*interj*

dií~,	ála	i~ç,	ála	šáa~l!	pharáko	šuúo
leopard	oh(m)	bear	oh(m)	wolf	bald	small(son)
di í~	ála	i~ç	ála	šáa~l	pharáko	šuúo
leopard	oh(m)	bear	oh(m)	wolf	bald	small(son)
m n	*interj*	*m n*	*interj*	*m n*	*adj*	*adj*

layiígis.			wáa		lóoy!"
I(f) found			you all come!		look!
laáy	-eég	-is	wá	-aa	lóoy
find	PFT	SIMP1sf	come	IMP2p	look!
trans	*val*	*tens*	*intrans*	*mood*	*interj*

———————————— Commentary ————————————

[1] 7.17 *hóo hawíit digí. hóo thoók* is a complex verb meaning 'to call'. *hóo hawíit doók* is 'to give a loud call'. *hawíit* 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: *raáši* means 'greetings'; *raáši daáši* 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 *čhai mai* 'tea and accompanying eatables'. Meanwhile, back to *hóo hawíit* – it does not fit the definition of an echo formation; *hawíit* 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	gomójo			ri	waíf		gáṭi
cave	from caves			they(rem)	having come		together
gom	gom	-o	-jo	ri	wá	-eé	gáṭi
cave	cave	PLOBL	from	those(rem)	come	CONJP	together
m n	m n	cas1	cas2	dem	intrans	parti	adj

bigé.		ho	pharáko	šuúo	khóon
they became		then	bald	small(son)	we will eat
b	-eég -e	ho	pharáko	šuúo	kh	-on
become	PFT SIMP3p	then	bald	small(son)	eat	FUT1p
intrans	val tens	adv	adj	adj	trans tens

theé	garás	bigé.
(intent)	ready	they became
th	-eé	garás	b	-eég -e
do/say CONJP	prepared	become PFT SIMP3p
trans parti	adj	intrans 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]

lo͡y	se	ḍim_ga_ek			theé
fox	AG	one to each			having done
lo͡y	-se	ḍim	ga	ek	th	-eé
fox	AG	body	and	one	do/say CONJP
f n	cas1	m n	conj	numeral	trans parti

rinóṭ			sábe	wifgi.
to them			cooking utensils	she put
ri	-o	-ṭ	sábo	-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 *ḍim ga ek*.** Each one was assigned *one* thing to bring. Had they each been assigned *five* things to bring it would have been *ḍim 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

i̧ç	phaṛáko	šúuekač			phat	theé
bear	bald	near the son			left alone	having done
i̧ç	phaṛáko	šuúo	-e	-kač	phat	th	-eé
bear	bald	small(son)	OBL	near	dropped	do/say	CONJP
m n	adj	adj	cas1	cas2	precat	trans	parti

ri	sábe	· waloók	šor	bigé.
they(rem)	cooking utensils	to bring	dispersed	they became
ri	sábo	-e	wal	-oók	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 [1]

ají	phirí	húçekač			šingáayek
above	a bit	on hillside			a blackberry bush
ají	phirí	huç	-e	-kač	šingáay	-ek
above	a bit	edge	OBL	near	blackberry bush	INDEF
adv	adv	m n	cas1	cas2	f n	indef

pákiš.			i̧çéy		šingáay	pašií
she had ripened			of bear		blackberry bush	having seen
pač	-t	-iš	i̧ç	-e	-y	šingáay	paáš	-eé
ripen	PFI	PSPRF3sf	bear	OBL	GEN	blackberry bush	see	CONJP
intrans	val	tens	m n	cas1	cas2	f n	trans	parti

áa̧yer	láale	wáte.			phaṛáko
in mouth	saliva(pl)	they came			bald
áa̧y	-e	-r	láal	-e	wá	-t	-e	phaṛáko
mouth	OBL	in	saliva	PL	come	PFI	SIMP3p	bald
f n	cas1	cas2	f n	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!

¹ šúuewaar   phiri̋f   "je   pákin
  toward small (son)   having turned isn't it?   she has ripened
  šuúo   -e   -waar   phir -eé   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   ṣingáay?"   thigǔ.
EMPH   that(f) blackberry bush   he did/said
náa   eé   ṣingáay   th   -eég -u
EMPH   that(f) blackberry bush   do/say PFT SIMP3sm
interj dem   f n   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 ²
"rak   hin   to   geé   kha,   náa!"
desire   she is   so   having gone   eat!   EMPH
rak   han   -in to   búj   -eé   kh   -e   náa
desire   be   PRES3sf so go   CONJP   eat   IMP2s EMPH
f n   intrans tens   conj intrans parti trans mood interj

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

8.3
"tu   uçée   jéek   bée?"   thigǔ.
you   you will run away   what   you will be   he did/said
tu   uç   -ee   jéek   b   -ee   th   -eég -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 *eéje* is used as a *tag question* at the end of
sentences: *tu búsjanoo eéje?* '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	uçeéy	jáa	bújam,		tsho	šatíle
I	having fled	where	I will go		you all	powerful(pl)
ma	uç -eé	jáa	búj -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^y	beéy		mas	
good	then	you	here	sit!		I(ag)	
šóo	ho	tu	aán^y	beéy -e		ma -se	
good	then	you	here	sit/stay IMP2s		I AG	
interj	adv	pers	adv	intrans mood		pers cas1	

kámek	kheé	wáam."
a little	having eaten	I will come
kam -ek	kh -eé	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⁓ç	şingáay	khoók	şačíí	pharáko
bear	blackberry bush	to eat	having begun	bald
i⁓ç	şingáay	kh -oók	şaáč -eé	pharáko
bear	blackberry bush	eat INF	begin CONJP	bald
m n	f n	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.

šúuey			amúuṭu.		
of small(son)			he forgot		
šuúo	-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 [1]

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

šuúo	i⁓çéjo		loóṭ	beé		ḍóoker	
small(son)	from the bear		dodging	having become		in hole	
šuúo	i⁓ç	-e	-jo	loóṭ	b	-eé	ḍóoko	-e	-r
small(son)	bear	OBL	from	dodging	become	CONJP	hole	OBL	in
adj	*m n*	*cas1*	*cas2*	*precat*	*intrans*	*parti*	*m n*	*cas1*	*cas2*

ačítu.			née	loóko	loóko	theé		toóm
he went in			again	quick	quick	having done		own
ač	-t	-u	née	loóko	loóko	th	-eé	toóm
enter	PFI	SIMP3sm	again	quick	quick	do/say	CONJP	own
intrans	*val*	*tens*	*adv*	*adv*	*adv*	*trans*	*parti*	*adv*

ṣiṣéč			sum	phareé		liíṭu.		
on head			soil	having spread		he hid		
ṣiṣ	-e	-č	sum	phar	-eé	liíš	-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** *ačítu.* The intransitive verb *ačoók* 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 [1] [2] [3]

khéenekeǰo,			ris		sábe
after some time			they(rem)(ag)		cooking utensils
khéen -ek	-e	-ǰo	ri	-se	sábo -e
time INDEF	OBL	from	those(rem)	AG	utensil PL
f n *indef*	*cas1*	*cas2*	*dem*	*cas1*	*m n* *num*

giniĺ	wáan		to	phaṛáko	šuúo	ga	i˞ç
having taken	they will come		so	bald	small(son)	and	bear
gín -eé	wá	-an	to	phaṛáko	šuúo	ga	i˞ç
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 *háin* 'she is' or *han* 'they are', depending on the context.

9.2

ajíf	beé		çakéen	to	i˜ç	se
above	having become		they will look	so	bear	AG
ají	b	-eé	çak	-an	to	i˜ç	-se
above	become	CONJP	look	FUT3p	so	bear	AG
adv	intrans	parti	trans	tens		conj	m n	cas1

beyif		şingáay	kháan.
having sat		blackberry bush	he eats
beéy	-eé	şingáay	kh	-an
sit	CONJP	blackberry bush	eat	PRES3sm
intrans	parti	f n		trans	tens

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

9.3

i˜çéţ	hóo	theé	waleé	khóojan
to bear	calling	having done	having brought	inquiry
i˜ç	-e	-ţ	hóo	th	-eé	wal	-eé	khóojan
bear	OBL	to	calling	do/say	CONJP	bring	CONJP	inquiry
m n	cas1	cas2	precat	trans	parti	trans	parti	f n

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

pašifgas"		thigú.	
I(m) saw		he did/said	
paáš	-eég	-us	th	-eég	-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 [1]

ho	gáṭi	beé		i~ç	lamií		mareége.
then	together	having become		bear	having caught		they killed
ho	gáṭi	b	-eé	i~ç	laám	-eé	mar -eég -e
then	together	become	CONJP	bear	catch	CONJP	kill PFT SIMP3p
adv	adj	intrans	parti	m n	trans	parti	trans val tens

FT: Then together they caught the bear and killed him.

9.5 [2]

ranií		kheé		baskóči	júuli	čúur
having cooked		having eaten		in excess(f)	curry	throwing out
ran	-eé	kh	-eé	baskóčo -i	júuli	čúur
cook	CONJP	eat	CONJP	excess FEM	curry	throwing out
trans	parti	trans	parti	adv gndr f n		precat

thigés			nalaá	akií	kriw	bigí.
they had done			just then	EMPH	cry	she became
th	-eég	-es	nalaá	akií	kriw	b -eég -i
do/say	PFT	PSPRF3p	just then	EMPH	cry	become PFT SIMP3sf
trans	val	tens	adv	part	f n	intrans val tens

—————— Commentary ——————

[1] **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.

[2] **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**   **şişéč**
that(fem)   curry   where bald   of small(son)   on head
re   júuli   jáa   pharáko šuúo   -e   -y   şis   -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*

géin.
she has gone
búj   -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 ²

lo⁻y   **se**   **"nan   čhaṭ_díti"**   **theé**
fox   AG   here   evil activity happened   having said
lo⁻y   -se   nan   čhaṭ   díj   -t   -i   th   -eé
fox   AG   here   evil activity fall   PFI SIMP3sf do/say CONJP
f n   *cas1* *adv*   *f n*   *val* *tens*   *trans* *parti*

uçóon   **thigf.**   **púure**   **ráloo**
we will flee   she did/said   all(pl)   from there
uç   -on   th   -eég -i   púuro -e   rel   -jo
flee   FUT1p   do/say   PFT SIMP3sf all   PL   there(rem) from
intrans tens   *trans*   *val* *tens*   *adj*   *num*   *adv*   *cas2*

––––––––––––––––––––– Commentary –––––––––––––––––––––

¹ **9.5** *jáa … géin.* 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** *čhaṭ díti.* *dijoók* 'to fall' is often used in *complex verb*
constructions such as this to give a sense of suddenness or something
"just happening". *čhaṭ* 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.

uçúte.
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 [1]

pharáko	**šuúo**	**šong**	**beé**		**ḍóokejo**	
bald	small(son)	care/alert	having become		from hole	
pharáko	šuúo	šong	b	-eé	ḍóoko -e	-jo
bald	small(son)	care/alert	become	CONJP	hole OBL	from
adj	*adj*	*adj*	*intrans*	*parti*	*m n cas1*	*cas2*

ikhaií		**"úṣwaa**	**jiíl"**	**thigú.**		
having come out		oh my!	life	he did/said		
nikhá	-eé	úṣwaa	jiíl	th	-eég	-u
come out	CONJP	oh my!	life	do/say	PFT	SIMP3sm
intrans	*parti*	*interj*	*f n*	*trans*	*val*	*tens*

FT: The bald son carefully came out of the hole and said, "Oh my dear life!"

——————————— Commentary ———————————

[1] **9.7** *úṣwaa!* is a positive exclamation of delight or happiness or approval. The shortened form *uš!* is also used. An example of the latter: *uṣ, je çhíilik!* 'Oh, what nice cloth!' (See also the note on 8.1, above.)

9.8 [1]

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

toóm	goṭéwaar			ẓas	bugú.		
own	toward house			departure	he became		
toóm	goóṭ	-e	-waar	ẓas	b	-eég	-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 *ugáalic*, the songs of the *dayá-l*, or shaman. The *dayá-l* in his or her traditional role inhales a lot of the smoke of a burning *çíli*, the juniper. Eventually she or he falls into a trance and begins singing an *ugáali*. In this trance the *dayá-l* is often put into contact with the *baráaye*, or fairies, that live on the mountain Nanga Parbat, which the locals call Diamer. The message that comes out of the singing of the *ugáali* 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 šilóok

(Phonemic script)

1.1 čal_čal búneker šará áyek ašíi theé. 1.2 re čeií çée paále thigíš.
1.3 čhalóo née nóomi ga čhibiígiš. 1.4 pumuúko jáalo čhaléy nóom
šuurújanaa paálo asúu. 1.5 itsí jáalo čhaléy nóom maamújanaa paálo
asúu. 1.6 née phatú čhúper jáalo čhaléṭ phaačuṇáa paálo theégi.
1.7 šuurújanaa paálo ga maamújanaa paálo beéne biṣóotek asée.
1.8 magám phaačuṇáa paálo aᶜhéemok asúu.

2.1 har čhak čalbujií čal ay čarijoók géi to čhalí sam theé khačií
bújiš. 2.2 ris ga arunípar dar_kuríines. 2.3 bunér duúr boósang geé
čarijií wayoósang balakaál bíiš. 2.4 daáreč waií čhalóo nóomi deé
hóo thíiš. 2.5 ris loóko loóko theé dar wiyéenes. 2.6 dar wiyeé çhupé
dóoje darú waií toóm mayéy çhíiriṭ palíijanes.

3.1 ek čhak balakaál ay čarijií waií toóm paálot hóo thigí. 3.2 ris dar
wiyeé çhupé dóoje darú waií résey dut pioók ṣaáte. 3.3 í~çek se
duréjo ri pašií doól beé waií keéṇekey phatú jap beé ri çakeégu.
3.4 čhalí pašií résey hío maṣ_maṣ bugú. 3.5 ros toóm híir guṇeégu,
"luṣṭáak ay čarijoók géi to geé aní čhalí kham."

4.1 čalbujií čal ay se čhalí khačií bunéṭ ikháti. 4.2 ho i~ç doól beé
daáreč waií rinéy nóomi deé hóo thigú, "šuurújanaa paáloo,
maamújanaa paáloo, phaačuṇáa paáloo dar wiyáat!" 4.3 šuurújanaa
paálo ga maamújanaa paálos dar née wiyóon thigé. 4.4 magám
phaačuṇáa paálo rinóč neé ṣunijií, prik deé geé dar wiyeégu. 4.5 dar
wiyeégus akií i~ç se dar garáng theé arú waií ro lap_thigú.
4.6 šuurújanaa paálo ga maamújanaa paálo ráloo uçeé geé jéeler thap
jóo~zikey khirí jap bigé.

5.1 balakaál ay waií çakéy to ḍukúrii dar báato han, prik deé arú géi
to paále nuš. 5.2 eé khéen résey híir jéek_ga neé poólu. 5.3 khéenek
sambá theé paále uḍaroók ikháam theé ikháti. 5.4 ho saát neé hararé
ṣaáto jéeler ri uḍoór thigí. 5.5 tušáar muçhoó géiš akií résey paále
thap jóo~zikey khíroo ikhaií réseṭ hóo thigé. 5.6 phar beé çakéy to
šuurújanaa paálo ga maamújanaa paálo čhóke han. 5.7 hay thóoje
rinówaar géi. 5.8 née loóko loóko rinójo phaačuṇáa paáley khujeégi.
5.9 ris čhúpejo čága theé waleé baṣ thigé. 5.10 ráloo toóm paále ginií
hoy theé ḍukúrir wáti. 5.11 ḍukúrir waleé paálot dut digí. 5.12 née ri
sam theé khačií akií akharékač géi. 5.13 akharékač geé sam tíine

khaṭarí thareé toóm ṣíngoč ṣaareégi. [5.14] ráloo ẓiík_čhineé i⁓ç beéyey jéelewaar géi. [5.15] jéeler bújiš akií réseṭ i⁓ç ḍok bugú. [5.16] ek neé reé itsíṭ çhup deé i⁓çéy ḍerér khaṭarí ṣeé thrak thigí. [5.17] thrak thigíš nalaá akií phaačuṇáa paálo ḍeréjo taṣ beé darú wátu. [5.18] i⁓ç paár phirí geé ṭam beé múo.

[6.1] dúu déezo majaá akií phaačuṇáa paálo bilijií hagúṭo sámek bugús. [6.2] ráloo phaačuṇáa paálo ginií ḍukúrir waleégi. [6.3] ḍukúrir waleé ro kúuter wiígi. [6.4] máazekejo ho phaačuṇáa paálo yayoók baṣ bugú. [6.5] aályo phatú maá paále gáṭi beé bunéč geé čaáranes.

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 Maamujunaa 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, Phaachunaa 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 Phaachunaa 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

šará	áyey			šilóok
ibex	of goat			story
šará	ay	⁻e	⁻y	šilóok
ibex	goat(f)	OBL	GEN	story
m n	*f n*	*cas1*	*cas2*	*f n*

FT: The ibex's story.

1.1 ¹ ²

čal_čal	búneker			šará	áyek		ašíi
long ago	in a high pasture			ibex	a goat(f)		she was
čal	čal	bun	⁻ek ⁻e ⁻r	šará	ay ⁻ek	han	⁻i
early	early	pasture	INDEFOBL in	ibex	goat(f)INDEF	be	SIMP3sf
adv	*adv*	*m n*	*indef cas1 cas2*	*m n*	*f n indef*	*intrans*	*tens*

theé.

having said
th	⁻eé
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** *theé.* The sentence final *theé* '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 *theé ráanen* 'having-said they-say' or 'so they say'. As a story-telling convention there is no need for the full thought. *theé* 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 [1]

re	čaiʃ	çée	paále	thigʃš.
that(fem)	having given birth	three	babies	she had done
re	č	⁻eé	çée	paálo⁻e	th	⁻eég⁻iš
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

čalóo	née	nóomi	ga	čhibiʃgiš.
of kids	even	names	also	she had kept
čhaál⁻o	⁻o	née	nóom⁻i	ga	čhib ⁻eég⁻iš
kid	PLOBL PLGEN	again	nam PL	also	keep PFT PSPRF3sf
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	šuurújanaa	paálo
first	born of kid			náme	Shuurujanaa	baby
pumuúko	jáalo čhaál⁻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

itsʃ	jáalo čhaléy			nóom	maamújanaa	paálo
before	born of kid			name	Maamujanaa	baby
itsʃ	jáalo čhaál⁻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 [1]

née	**phatú**	**chúper**			**jáalo**	**chalét́**			**phaačuńáa**
and	behind	in end			born	to kid			Phaacunaa
née	phatú	čhup -e	-r		jáalo	čhaál -e	-t̤		
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 *chúper.*** The noun *chup* 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 [1]

šuurújanaa	paálo	ga	maamújanaa	paálo	beéne
Shuurujanaa baby	and	Maamujanaa	baby	both
	paálo	ga		paálo	beéne
	baby	and		baby	both
prop	*m n*	*conj*	*prop*	*m n*	*adv*

bişóotek	asée.
gentle ones	they were
bişóoto -e -ek	han -e
gentle PL INDEF	be SIMP3p
adj numindef	*intrans tens*

FT: Shuurujanaa Paalo and Maamujunaa Paalo were both gentle.

1.8

magám	phaaču̧n̥áa	paálo	achéemok	asúu.
but	Phaacunaa	baby	naughty one	he was
magám		paálo	achéemo-ek	han -u
but		baby	naughty INDEF	be SIMP3sm
conj	*prop*	*m n*	*adj indef*	*intrans tens*

FT: But Phaacunaa Paalo was naughty.

——————————— Commentary ———————————

[1] **1.7 bişóotek.** 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 *-e* on *bişóoto* '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 [1] [2]

har	čhak	čalbuji í	čal	ay	čarijoók
every	day	morning	early	goat(f)	to graze(self)
har	čhak	čalbuji í	čal	ay	čaár	-íij	-oók
every	day	morning	early	goat(f)	graze	PASS	INF
adv	f n	adv	adv	f n	intrans	voice	inf

géi		to	čhal í	sam	theé
she went		so	kids	well	having done
búj	-i	to	čhaál	-i	sam	th	-eé
go	SIMP3sf	so	kid	PL	well	do/sayCONJP
intrans	tens	conj	m n	num	adv	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** *čarijoók géi.* The verb *čarijoók* '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: *čaár*, the intransitive verb root meaning 'graze', *-íij*, the suffix which marks the passive voice, and *-oók*, the infinitive suffix. The present tense form of the verb, *čaárin* '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 *-íij* (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 *charíijin* '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 *oók*, the infinitive suffix, the long vowel of the preceding suffix is shortened and loses its accent. The result is *čarijoók* 'to graze'. This phenomenon is a manifestation of the *culminative* 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).

khačií   búji̠š.
having locked up   she used to go
khač   -eé   búj   -iš
lock up CONJP   go   IMPRF3sf
trans   parti   intrans tens

FT: Every day, early in the morning, when the ibex went to graze she used to lock up her kids safely and go.

2.2

ris   ga   arunípar   dar_kurínes.
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 [1] [2]

bunér   duúr boósang   geé
in high pasture   far   up to being   having gone
bun   -c   -r   duúr b   -oósang búj   -eé
pasture OBL in   far   become up to   go   CONJP
m n   cas1 cas2 adv   intrans advzr   intrans parti

čariji̠í   wayoósang   balakaál   bíiš.
having grazed   until coming   late afternoon she used to be
čaár   -íij   -eé   wá   -oósang balakaál   b   -iš
graze   PASS CONJP   come   up to   late afternoon become IMPRF3sf
intrans voice parti   intrans advzr   f n   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** *bíiš.* The main verb of this sentence, *bíiš* '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 [1]

daáreč	waif	čhalóo	nóomi
on door	having come	of kids	names
dar ⁻e ⁻č	wá ⁻eé	čhaál⁻o ⁻o	nóom ⁻i
door OBL on	come CONJP	kid PLOBL PLGEN	name PL
m n cas1 cas2	*intrans parti*	*m n cas1 cas2*	*m n num*

deé	hóo	thíiš.
having given	calling	she used to do
d ⁻eé	hóo	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 [2]

ris	loóko loóko	theé	dar	wiyéenes.
they(rem)(ag)	quick quick	having done	door	they used to open
ri ⁻se	loóko loóko	th ⁻eé	dar	wi ⁻anes
those(rem) AG	quick quick	do/sayCONJP	door	open IMPRF3p
dem cas1	*adv adv*	*trans parti*	*m n*	*trans tens*

FT: They would quickly open the door.

──────────── Commentary ────────────

[1] **2.4 *hóo thíiš.*** The verb *hóo thoók* '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, *hóo tharoók.*

[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 [1]

dar	wiyeé	çhupé		dóoje		darú	waií
door	having opened	jumps		while giving	out	having come	
dar	wi -eé	çhup	-e	d -óoje	darú	wá -eé	
door	open CONJP	jump(over)	PL	give PRESP	out	come CONJP	
m n	trans parti	f n		num	trans part	adv	intrans parti

toóm	mayéy			çhíiriṭ			palíijanes.
own	of mother			to udder			they used to cling
toóm	maá -e	-y		çhíiri -e	-ṭ		pal -íij -anes
own	mother OBL	GEN		udder OBL	to		spread PASS IMPRF3p
adv	f n	cas1 cas2		f n	cas1 cas2		trans voice tens

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

3.1 [2] [3]

ek	čhak	balakaál	ay	čarijií			waií
one	day	late afternoon	goat(f)	having grazed			having come
ek	čhak	balakaál	ay	čaár -íij	-eé		wá -eé
one	day	late afternoon	goat(f)	graze PASS	CONJP		come CONJP
numeral f n	f n		f n	intrans voice	parti		intrans parti

——————————— Commentary ———————————

[1] **2.6 çhupé.** There are several words for 'jump' in Gilgit Shina. The word used here çhup 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.

toóm   paáloṭ   hóo   thigí.
own   to babies   calling she did/said
toóm   paálo-o   -ṭ   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 wiyeé   çhupé   dóoje   darú
they(rem)(ag)   door having opened   jumps   while giving out
ri   -se   dar wi   -eé   çhup   -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   ṣaáte.
having come   his/her   milk to drink   they began
wá   -eé   ro   -e   -y   dut pí   -oók   ṣaáč   -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 [1]

í-çek   se   duréjo   ri   pašíf   doól
a bear   AG   from far   they(rem)having seen creeping
i-ç   -ek   -se duúr -e   -jo   ri   paáš -eé   -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   keéṇekey
having been   having come   of a boulder
b   -eé   wá   -eé   keéṇ   -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   -eé   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.)

3.4 [1]

čhalí	pašíf	résey			hío	mas̱_mas̱
kids	having seen	his/her			heart	itching
čhaál -i	paáš -eé	ro	-e	-y	hío	CVCrdp mas̱
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   -eég -u

become PFT SIMP3sm

intrans   *val*   *tens*

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

3.5 [2]

ros		toóm	hír			guṇeégu,	"lus̱t̤áak
he		own	in hear			he thought	tomorrow
ro	-sc	toóm	hío -c	-r		guṇ -eég -u	lus̱t̤áak
he(rem)	AG	own	heart OBL	in		think PFT SIMP3sm	tomorrow
dem	cas1	adv	m n cas1	cas2		trans val tens	adv

ay	čarijoók			géi		to	geé
goat(f)	to graze(self)			she went		so	having gone
ay	čaár -íij	-oók	búj	-i		to	búj -eé
goat(f)	graze PASS	INF	go	SIMP3sf		so	go CONJP
f n	intrans voice	inf	intrans	tens		conj	intrans parti

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

[1] **3.4** The idiom *hío mas̱ mas̱ bugú* means 'he became greedy'. Literally, his heart was itching with the kind of irritating itchy pain that an infected wound gives. *mas̱ mas̱* is always used double like this, one *mas̱* alone would not carry this particular meaning. It can be shortened to *mámas̱* 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".

aní   *čhalí*   kham."
these   kids   I will eat
aní   čhaál-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 [1] [2]

čalbují í   *čal*   ay   se   *čhalí*   khačií
morning   early   goat(f)   AG   kids   having locked up
čalbují í   čal   ay   -se   čhaál-i   khač   -eé
morning   early   goat(f)   AG   kid PL   lock up   CONJP
adv   adv   f n   cas1   m n num   trans   parti

bunéṭ   **ikháti.**
to high pasture   she came out
bun   -e   -ṭ   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 [3]

ho   i~ç   doól   beé   daáreč
then   bear   creeping   having been   on door
ho   i~ç   -Vrdp- dol b   -eé   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 *čalbují í* *čal* '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** *ikháti*. The verb 'to come out' has two common forms in Gilgit, *nikhoók* 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!

waíf	rinéy			nóomi	deé	hóo
having come	their(rem)			names	having given	calling
wá	-ce�adí ri	-e	-y	nóom -i	d -ce̴	hóo
come CONJP	those(rem)	OBL	GEN	name PL	give CONJP	calling
intrans parti	*dem*	*cas1*	*cas2 m n*	*num*	*trans parti*	*precat*

thigú,			"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*

phaaču̴ɳáa	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*

FT: 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 [1]

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*

neé	wiyóon	thigé.
not	we will open	they said
neé	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 *thoók*
'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	phaačuṇáa	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

ṣuniǰif,		prik	deé	geé		dar
having agreed		jump	having given	having gone		door
ṣun	-ŕij -eé	prik	d -eé	búj	-eé	dar
agree	PASS CONJP	jump	give CONJP	go	CONJP	door
trans	voice parti	f n	trans parti	intrans	parti	m n

wiyeégu.
he opened
wi -eég -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 [1]

dar	wiyeégus			akif	i~ç	se	dar
door	he had opened			EMPH	bear	AG	door
dar	wi -eég -us			akif	i~ç	-se	dar
door	open PFT PSPRF3sm			EMPH	bear	AG	door
m n	trans val tens			part	m n	cas1	m n

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

—————————————— Commentary ——————————————

[1] **4.5 *dar wiyeégu...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
f n   *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 ¹

šuurújanaa	**paálo**	**ga**	**maamújanaa**	**paálo**	**ráloo**	
Shuurujanaa	baby	and	Maamujanaa	baby	from there	
	paálo	ga		paálo	rel	⁻jo
	baby	and		baby	there(rem)	from
prop	*m n*	*conj*	*prop*	*m n*	*adv*	*cas2*

uçeé		**geé**		**jéeler**		**thap**
having run away		having gone		in jungle		dense/dark
uç	-eé	búj	-eé	jéel	-e -r	thap
flee	CONJP	go	CONJP	jungle	OBL in	dense
intrans	*parti*	*intrans*	*parti*	*m n*	*cas1 cas2*	*adj*

jóo⁓ẓikey			**khirí**	**jap**	**bigé.**	
of a pine tree			down	covered	they became	
jóo⁓ẓi	-ek	-e -y	khirí	jap	b	-eég -e
pine	INDEF	OBL GEN	down	covered	become	PFT SIMP3p
f n	*indef*	*cas1 cas2*	*adv*	*precat*	*intrans*	*val tens*

FT: Shuurujanaa Paalo and Maamujanaa Paalo fled away from there
and went into the forest and hid under a dense pine tree.

———————————— Commentary ————————————

¹ **4.6** *khirí* 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)?' *ṭikí khigáa?*, where *ṭikí* becomes *ṭik* as the *í* is lost between
the two consonants *k* and *kh*. There is even some perceptible
lengthening of *k* in such a case: [ṭik:khigáa?]

5.1 [1] [2]

balakaál	ay	waiʃ		çakéy	to
late afternoon	goat(f)	having come		s/he will look	so
balakaál	ay	wá	-eé	çak -ey	to
late afternoon	goat(f)	come	CONJP	look FUT3s	so
f n	f n	intrans	parti	trans tens	conj

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

arú	géi		to	paále	nuš.
inside	she went		so	babies	not is
arú	búj	-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 [3]

eé	khéen	résey			híir		jéek_ga	neé
that(f)	time	his/her			in heart		anything	not
eé	khéen	ro	-e	-y	hío -e	-r	jéek ga	neé
that(f)	time	he(rem)	OBL	GEN	heart OBL	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** *híir poólo* 'he alighted in the heart' This is a commonly used
idiom to convey the meaning 'understood'.

poólu.
he alighted
p   -t   -u
alight   PFl   SIMP3sm
intrans val   *tens*

FT: At that time she didn't understand anything.

5.3

khéenek	sambá	theé		paále	uḍaroók
some time	deep thought	having done		babies	search
khéen -ek	sambá	th	-eé	paálo-e	uḍar -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 -eé		nikhá -t -i
come out FUT1s		do/say CONJP		come out PFl 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.

5.4 [1]

ho	saát	neé	hararéé		ṣaáto
then	short interval	not	having caused to take		nearby
ho	saát	neé	har -ar -eé		ṣaáto
then	short while	not	take away CAUS CONJP		nearby
adv	*f n*	*neg*	*trans* *caus* *parti*		*adv*

jéeler		ri	uḍoór	thigí.
in jungle		they(rem)	search	she did/said
jéel -e -r		ri	uḍoór	th -eég -i
jungle OBL in		those(rem)	search	do/say PFT 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.

———————————— Commentary ————————————

[1] **5.4** *saát neé hararéé* 'having wasted no time', is literally, 'she didn't cause any interval to be taken'. When she acted, she acted!

5.5

tušáar	muçhoó	géiš		akií	résey		
much	in front	she had gone		EMPH	his/her		
tušáar	muçhoó	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	jóo-ẓikey			khíroo		
babies	dense/dark	of a pine tree			from below		
paálo-e	thap	jóo-ẓi	-ek	-e	-y	khirí	-jo
baby PL	dense	pine	INDEF	OBL	GEN	down	from
m n num	adj	f n	indef	cas1	cas2	adv	cas2

ikhaií		réseṭ			hóo	thigé.	
having come out		to him/her			calling	they did	
nikhá	-eé	ro	-e	-ṭ	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 [1]

phar	beé		çakéy	to	šuurújanaa	paálo
returning	having been		s/he will look	so	Shuurujanaa	baby
phar	b	-eé	çak	-ey	to	paálo
return	become	CONJP	look	FUT3s	so	baby
precat	intrans	parti	trans	tens	conj prop	m n

ga	maamújanaa	paálo	chóke		han.	
and	Maamujanaa	baby	standing(pl)		they are	
ga		paálo	cóko	-e	han	-anen
and		baby	standing	PL	be	PRES3p
conj	prop	m n	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			géi.	
running	while doing			toward them(rem)			she went	
hay	th	-óoje	ri		-o	-waar	búj	-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 [1]

née	loóko	loóko	rinójo			phaačuṇáa	
then	quick	quick	from them			Phaacunaa	
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	-eég	-i
baby	OBL	GEN	ask	PFT	SIMP3sf
m n	*cas1*	*cas2*	*trans*	*val*	*tens*

FT: And quickly she asked them about Phaacunaa Paalo.

5.9 [2]

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

waleé		baṣ	thigé.		
having brought		visible	they did		
wal	-eé	baṣ	th	-eég	-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** *phaačuṇáa paáley khujeégi.* The mother ibex asked *about* Phaacunaa 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	-eé	hoy	th	-eé
there(rem) from	own	baby PL	take	CONJP	rush	do/say	CONJP
adv	cas2	adv	m n	num	trans parti	f n	trans	parti

dukúrir		wáti.			
in hut		she came			
dukúri -e	-r	wá	-t	-i	
hut	OBL in	come	PFI	SIMP3sf	
f n	cas1 cas2	intrans	val	tens	

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

5.11

dukúrir		waleé		paálot		dut
in hut		having brought		to babies		milk
dukúri -e	-r	wal	-eé	paálo -o	-t	dut
hut	OBL in	bring	CONJP	baby PLOBL	to	milk
f n	cas1 cas2	trans	parti	m n cas1	cas2	m n

digí.		
she gave		
d	-eég	-i
give	PFT	SIMP3sf
trans	val	tens

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

5.12 [1] [2]

née	ri	sam	theé		khačií		akií
then	they(rem)	well	having done		having locked up		self
néc	ri	sam	th	-eé	khač	-eé	akií
again	those(rem)	well	do/say	CONJP	lock up	CONJP	self
adv	dem	adv	trans	parti	trans	parti	pro

akharékač			géi.	
near blacksmith			she went	
akhár	-e	-kač	búj	-i
blacksmith	OBL	near	go	SIMP3sf
m n	cas1	cas2	intrans	tens

FT: Then she locked them up carefully and went (herself) to the blacksmith.

5.13

akharékač			geé		sam	tíine		khaṭarí	
near blacksmith			having gone		well	sharp(pl)		knives	
akhár	-e	-kač	búj	-cé	sam	tíino	-c	khaṭaár	-i
blacksmith	OBL	near	go	CONJP	well	sharp	PL	knife	PL
m n	cas1	cas2	intrans	parti	adv	adj	num	m n	num

thareé			toóm	ṣíngoč	
having caused to do			own	on horns	
th	-ar	-eé	toóm	ṣing	-o	-č
do/say	CAUS	CONJP	own	horn	PLOBL	on
trans	caus	parti	adv	m n	cas1	cas2

———————————— Commentary ————————————

[1] **5.12** *akhár* '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 *akharóo*. 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 *akií* 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.)

şaareégi.
she caused to connect
ş   -ar   -eég -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.

5.14 [1] [2]

ráloo		ẓiík_čhineé			i~ç
from there		boldly			bear
rel	-jo	ẓiík	čhin	-eé	i~ç
there(rem)	from	pulling	cut down	CONJP	bear
adv	*cas2*	*precat*	*trans*	*parti*	*m n*

———————————— Commentary ————————————

[1] **5.14** *ẓiík 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 jéel* 'the forest where the bear lives' – This interesting *relative clause* construction modifies the noun 'forest' by using the future tense of *beyoók* 'sit, stay'. *beéyey jéel* 'the he-will-stay jungle' or 'the jungle where he lived'. Another example illustrating this construction, taken from a text by Shakil:

> *ma beéyam   eé 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.

beéyey	jéelewaar	géi.		
s/he will stay	toward jungle	she went		
becy -ey	jéel -e -waar	búj -i		
sit/stay FUT3s	jungle OBL toward	go SIMP3sf		
intrans tens	*m n cas1 cas2*	*intrans tens*		

FT: From there she boldly set off to the forest where the bear lived.

5.15 [1]

jéeler	búji̠š	akií	rése̠t	
in jungle	she had gone	EMPH	to him/her	
jéel -e -r	búj -iš	akií	ro -e -t̠	
jungle OBL in	go PSPRF3sf	EMPH	he(rem) OBL to	
m n cas1 cas2	*intrans tens*	*part*	*dem cas1 cas2*	

i̠ʰç	d̠ok	bugú.	
bear	meeting	he became	
i̠ʰç	d̠ok	b -eég -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	neé	reé	itsít̠	çhup
one	not	having spoken	to next	jump(over)
ek	neé	r -eé	itsí -e -t̠	çhup
one	not	speak CONJP	before OBL to	jump(over)
numeral	*neg*	*trans parti*	*adv cas1 cas2*	*f n*

deé	i̠ʰçéy	d̠erér	khat̠arí
having given	of bear	in belly	knives
d -eé	i̠ʰç -e -y	d̠eér -e -r	khat̠aár -i
give CONJP	bear OBL GEN	belly OBL in	knife PL
trans parti	*m n cas1 cas2*	*f n cas1 cas2*	*m n num*

şeé	thrak	thigí.
having connected	tearing	she did/said
ş -eé	thrak	th -eég -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 *akií* adds emphasis to the past perfect verb – '*just when she had gone into the forest...*'

5.17 [1]

thrak	thigíš			nalaá	akií	phaačuṇáa	paálo
tearing	she had done			just then	EMPH	Phaacunaa	baby
thrak	th	-eég	-iš	nalaá	akií		paálo
tearing	do/say	PFT	PSPRF3sf	just then	EMPH		baby
precat	*trans*	*val*	*tens*	*adv*	*part*	*prop*	*m n*

ḍeréjo			taṣ	beé		darú	wátu.
belly from			slipping	having been		out	he came
ḍeér	-e	-jo	taṣ	b	-eé	darú	wá	-t	-u
belly	OBL	from	slipping	become	CONJP	out	come	PFI	SIMP3sm
f n	*cas1*	*cas2*	*precat*	*intrans*	*parti*	*adv*	*intrans*	*val*	*tens*

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

5.18

i~ç	paár	phirí	geé		ṭam	beé	
bear	over there	a bit	having gone		falling	having been	
i~ç	paár	phirí	búj	-eé	ṭam	b	-eé
bear	over there	a bit	go	CONJP	falling	become	CONJP
m n	*adv*	*adv*	*intrans*	*parti*	*precat*	*intrans*	*parti*

múo.
he died
mirí	-u
die	SIMP3sm
intrans	*tens*

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

──────────── Commentary ────────────

[1] **5.17 *thrak thigíš*.** 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 *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 [1][2][3]

dúu	déezomajaa			akií	phaačuṇáa	paálo
two	among days			EMPH	Phaacunaa	baby
dúu	déez ⁻o	⁻majaa		akií		paálo
two	day PLOBL	between/among		EMPH		baby
numeral	m n cas1	cas2		part	prop	m n

bilijií		hagúṭo	sámek	bugús.
having been melted		thumb	like a	he had become
bil ⁻íij	⁻eé	hagúṭo	sam ⁻ek	b ⁻eég ⁻us
melt PASS	CONJP	thumb	well INDEF	become PFT PSPRF3sm
trans voice	parti	m n	adv indef	intrans val tens

FT: In just two days Phaacunaa Paalo had shrunk down to a mere thumb's size.

6.2

ráloo		phaačuṇáa	paálo	ginií		ḍukúrir		
from there		Phaacunaa	baby	having taken		in hut		
rel	⁻jo		paálo	gín ⁻eé		ḍukúri ⁻e	⁻r	
there(rem)	from		baby	take CONJP		hut	OBL	in
adv	cas2	prop	m n	trans parti		f n	cas1	cas2

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

[1] **6.1-5** In this final paragraph, all the action and trauma are resolved. Interestingly, a time phrase again helps to introduce the paragraph – *dúu déezo majaá akií...* '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 *hagúṭo sámek* means 'a thumb's size'. To compare something in *manner*, one would use *širií*, as in *aán giltér toóm gotéy širií beéyones*, 'We feel at home here in Gilgit', literally, 'here in-Gilgit own house-of like we-stay'.

waleégi.
she brought

wal	-eég	-i
bring	PFT	SIMP3sf
trans	*val*	*tens*

FT: From there she took Phaacunaa Paalo and brought him to the hut.

6.3 [1]

ḍukúrir			waleé		ro	kúuter		
in hut			having brought		he	in leather bag		
ḍukúri -e	-r		wal	-eé	ro	kúuto	-e	-r
hut	OBL	in	bring	CONJP	he(rem)	leather bag	OBL	in
f n	*cas1*	*cas2*	*trans*	*parti*	*dem*	*m n*	*cas1*	*cas2*

wifgi.
she put

w í	-eég	-i
put	PFT	SIMP3sf
trans	*val*	*tens*

FT: Having brought him to the hut she put him in a leather bag (to keep him warm).

6.4

máazekejo				ho	phaačuṇáa	paálo	yayoók	
from a month				then	Phaacunaa	baby	to walk	
máaz -ek	-e	-jo		ho		paálo	yaáy	-oók
month INDEF	OBL	from		then		baby	walk	INF
m n	*indef*	*cas1*	*cas2*	*adv*	*prop*	*m n*	*intrans*	*inf*

baṣ bugú.
able he became

baṣ	b	-eég	-u
able	become	PFT	SIMP3sm
adj	*intrans*	*val*	*tens*

FT: After a month, then Phaachunaa Paalo was able to walk.

─────────────────── 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[1]

aályo	phatú	maá	paále		gáṭi	beé
from there	behind	mother	babies		together	having been
aál^y	-jo	phatú	maá	paálo -e	gáṭi	b -eé
there from	behind	mother	baby PL		together	become CONJP
adv	cas2	adv	·f n	m n	num adj	intrans parti

bunéč			geé		čaáranes.	
on high pasture			having gone		they used to graze	
bun	-e	-č	búj	-eé	čaár	-anes
pasture	OBL	on	go	CONJP	graze	IMPRF3p
m n	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 Paalo 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
hopótey šilóok
The Story of Hopoti 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 Hopoti 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! Hopoti 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 Hopoti and Hopoto!"

hopóti ga hopótey šilóok
(Phonemic script)

[1.1] čal čal áṇo bayeége to barúṭi muláayekey hatér khóorok deé çhéeçey phóoṇič phat théenes. [1.2] res khóoro bašóoje aálʸ beéiš. [1.3] ke to áṇo báaner čaá~ye bóde wáanes. [1.4] khóorey haráw se čaá~ye çhéeçer walaroók phat neé thíiš.

[2.1] ek čhak čéyek se toóm áṇo báan thíito çhéeçey phóoṇič toóm barúṭi díik phat theé résey hatér khóorok deé géi. [2.2] re muláayey nóom šámligas asúu. [2.3] res aálʸ khóoro bašóoje bašóoje nírer géi.

[3.1] khéenekeǰo deéwek aályoo buǰóoje šámligas pašíi tsak bugú. [3.2] re bódi minaliílik ašíi. [3.3] résey minalaár se dewéy híio marák thareégi. [3.4] deéw se re aályoo múuṇi theé toóm beéyey dišéṭ hariígu. [3.5] ral hariígus akíi re šong bigí. [3.6] šong beé deéw pašíi kriw thigí. [3.7] deéw se zúu~ theé re biǰareé thiš thareégu. [3.8] née réseṭ ǰéek ga deé juleégu.

[4.1] har čhak čalbuǰií čal deéw daruú doók búǰas. [4.2] deéw se daruú deé wayoósang šámligas se duúngek niméezosaa~tʸ háaye thíiš née duúngek tsháger geé akóoṭ noṭhíijiš.

[5.1] tušáar mudáajo re garéy báarir wáti. [5.2] ho deéw se re akóoṭ gar thigú. [5.3] dewéjo résey ek díi ek puç bigé. [5.4] diǰéy nóom hopóti née puçéy nóom hopóto čhibiíge. [5.5] hopóti ga hopóteč beé šámligasey aálʸ tušáar híio phiriílu.

[6.1] šámligasey maás in re híije theé theé raií raií šušíi túuli bigíš. [6.2] tušáar mudá yar résey kutúrik ašíi. re náṭiš. [6.3] khée beé eé náṭi kutúri šámligasey tsháger uçhátin.

[7.1] šámligas se toóm hopóti ga hopóteṭ phalaák walám theé tsháger géi. [7.2] kutúris šámligas pašíi phačoó khol khol theé résekač wáti. [7.3] šámligas se kutúri pašíi su~yiígi. [7.4] hay theé goṭér waií réseṭ loóko čharmúki theé hariígi. [7.5] kutúri bódi uyaniíliš. [7.6] ham ham theé čharmúki khée ho résewaar law law thigí. [7.7] šámligas ho geé toóm aáǰii tharíiti eé rayaáy waleé kutúrii ṣóṭer ṭak thareé réseṭ reégi, [7.8] "waá mey aáǰii kutúri! ané rayaáy harií mey aáǰiṭ uçhačaré." [7.9] ho kutúri aályoo géi.

8.1 tušáar khéeneɉo ho re toóm gooṭ uçháti. 8.2 šámligasey maás toóm kutúri pašií bódi khoš bigí. 8.3 née loóko theé réseṭ čharmúki theé waleégi. 8.4 kutúris čharmúki kheé toóm ṣóṭer ṭak tharíiti rayaáy pašaroókekaar toóm ṣóṭer thóorie ginií kakaroóe waleégi. 8.5 šámligasey aáji hay theé goṭér geé toóm dáarioṭ mey náṭi kutúri wátin thigí. 8.6 ri ga darú wáte. 8.7 waií çakéen to kutúris toóm ṣakér thóorie ginií kakaroóe walíin. 8.8 ṣakér jéekek han bey theé résey báṛo puç se kutúrii ṣak pharangeégu. 8.9 çakéy to kutúrii ṣóṭer rayaáyek hin. 8.10 šong theé thurieé rayaáy toóm aájiṭ paleégu. 8.11 res rayaáy pašií akií kriw thigí. 8.12 "waá mey šámligasey rayaáy náa! ála dáarie mey dií koón^yeker ṣačií hin. 8.13 bújaat, kutúri ginií geé mey dií uḍaráat." 8.14 ho ris khaií khangár kayeé kutúri ginií ẓas bigé.

9.1 ek díšeker geé çakéen to kutúri dùlaáyek dapár ṣaár beé tshágeker ačíti. 9.2 ri aál^y tsak bigé. 9.3 kutúris tshágo tareé arú goṭéy daáreč géi. 9.4 šámligas se kutúri pašií loóko résekač waií jéek bigiée kutúri thigí. 9.5 kutúris tróke dóoje re ginií goṭéjo darú waleégi. 9.6 šámligas se darú waií çakéy to résey ẓáare čóke han. 9.7 res hay theé waií rinóṭ krum bigí. 9.8 née loóko ri arú goṭér hariígi. 9.9 ṭíkik theé rinóṭ khereé ho čhúpeɉo toóm čága thigí. 9.10 née rinóɉo khuɉeégi "ála mey ẓáare, tsho aš khée beé dam íidet?" 9.11 ris réseṭ kutúrii púuri čága thigé. 9.12 née réseṭ toóm diípuç ginií asóosaa~t^y ẓas bo thigé. 9.13 res toóm diípuç samaṭeé rinósaa~t^y ẓas bigí.

10.1 čhuút balakaál deéw daruú deé gooṭ wáay to šámligas ga diípuç nuš. 10.2 ínṭe paáṭe bugús magám rinéy ḍap neé ašíi. 10.3 ho mukhamées theé šámligasey mamaáloo goṭéṭ bújey pónič çooṭ hariígu.

11.1 tušáar khéeneɉo šámligas déene pašií hóo hawíit digú. 11.2 résey ẓáares toóm khangarí khaiíojo taṣ taṣ theé deéw maróon theé muçhoóṭ sariíle. 11.3 deéw rinéy káči wátus akií réseč prik digé. 11.4 tušáar khéen dewésaa~t^y maárman theé ro khirí pareé khangaró deé mareége.

12.1 aályoo ho hío kaáy ek theé ẓas beé tušáar khéeneɉo toóm gooṭ uçháte. 12.2 goṭér uçháte to rinéy mamaáles ri pašií bódi šuriaár thigé.

13.1 hopóti ga hopótos toóm dadidáadeṭ bódo kom théenes. 13.2 dadidáado ga moóli pašií hopóti 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. [7.7] Then Shamligas went and got the necklace
her mother had given her and tied it around the dog's neck and said,
[7.8] "Oh, my mother's dog! Take this necklace and bring it to my
mother!" [7.9] Then the dog left there.

[8.1] After a long time it reached it's home. [8.2] Seeing her dog, Shamligas'
mother became very happy. [8.3] Then she quickly made some charmuki
for the dog and brought it. [8.4] The dog ate the charmuki and then
scratched at its neck with its paws to show the necklace tied there.
[8.5] Shamligas' mother ran into the house and told her sons that her dog
which had disappeared has returned. [8.6] They also came outside.
[8.7] They came out and saw that the dog was scratching its neck with its
paws. [8.8] Thinking there must be something on its neck, the oldest son
examined the dog's neck. [8.9] He saw that there was a necklace on the
dog's neck. [8.10] He carefully untied it and handed the necklace to his
mother. [8.11] As soon as she saw the necklace she cried out. [8.12] "Oh! It's
my Shamligas' necklace! Oh sons, my daughter is caught somewhere.
[8.13] Go! Take the dog and go search for her!" [8.14] Then they slung their
shields and swords over their shoulders, took the dog and set out.

[9.1] They went to a place and saw that the dog crept across a covered
water channel and entered a big garden. [9.2] (So) they stopped there.
[9.3] The dog crossed the garden and went to the door of the house.
[9.4] Shamligas saw the dog and quickly came to it and asked it what had
happened. [9.5] Jumping up and down, the dog brought her out of the
house. [9.6] Shamligas came outside and saw her brothers standing there.
[9.7] She ran and embraced them. [9.8] Then she quickly brought them into
the house. [9.9] She made some food and fed them and then told her story
from the beginning. [9.10] Then she asked them, "Oh my brothers, how did
you all come to be here today?" [9.11] They told her the whole story about
the dog. [9.12] Then they told her to get her children and go with them.
[9.13] So she gathered up her children and left with them.

[10.1] Late in the afternoon the giant returned from hunting and saw that
Shamligas and the children were gone. [10.2] He went here and there but ·
found out nothing about them. [10.3] Then he ran straight on the path
toward Shamligas' parents' house.

[11.1] After a long time he saw Shamligas and her brothers and called
loudly to them. [11.2] Her brothers pulled their swords out from their
shields and advanced to kill the giant. [11.3] Just as the giant came near
them, they attacked him. [11.4] 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

hopóti		ga	hopótey			šilóok
chubby(f)		and	of chubby			story
hopóto	-i	ga	hopóto	-e	-y	šilóok
chubby	FEM	and	chubby	OBL	GEN	story
adj	gndr	conj	adj	cas1	cas2	f n

FT: The story of Hopoti and Hopoto.

1.1 [1] [2]

čal_čal		áno	bayeége			to	barúti
long ago		barley	they cultivated			so	young
čal	čal	áno	bay	-eég	-e	to	barúti
early	early	barley	cultivate	PFT	SIMP3p	so	young
adv	adv	m n	trans	val	tens	conj	adj

─────────────────── 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 áno.** 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 áno toyaáran* 'He dry roasts the barley.'), then ground. Traditionally, a *garáaṣ* '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.

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*

deé		çhéeçey			phóoṇič			phat
having given		of field			on field path			left alone
d	-eé	çhéeç	-e	-y	phóoṇ	-e	-č	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		aál^y	beéiš.
she(ag)	tin can	while striking		there	she used to sit
re	-se	khóoro	baš	-óoje	aál^y	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 [2] [1]

ke_to	áṇo	báaner			čaá˜ye		bóde
because	barley	in cultivated field			small birds		much(pl)
ke	to	áṇo	báan	-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 *báan* is a 'cultivated field', one that is ploughed and with seed sown or a crop growing. A *çhéeç* (see 1.4) is more the generic 'field'.

1.4 [1]

khóorey	haráw	se	čaá~ye	chéeçer
of tin can	banging	AG	small birds	in field
khóoro -c -y	haráw -se		čaá~y -c	chéeç -c -r
tin can OBL GEN	banging AG		small bird PL	field OBL in
m n cas1 cas2	*f n cas1*		*f n num*	*m n cas1 cas2*

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

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

2.1 [2]

ek	čhak	céyek	se	toóm	áno	báan
one	day	a woman	AG	own	barley	ploughed field
ek	čhak	čey -ck	-sc	toóm	áno	báan
one	day	woman INDEF	AG	own	barley	ploughed field
numeral	*f n*	*f n indef*	*cas1*	*adv*	*m n*	*m n*

thíito	chéeçey	phóoniç		toóm	barúti
done	of field	on field path		own	young
th -íito	chéeç -c -y	phóon -e -č		toóm	barúti
do/say ADJZR	field OBL GEN	ridge OBL on		own	young
trans adjzr	*m n cas1 cas2*	*m n cas1 cas2*		*adv*	*adj*

díik	phat_theé		résey
a daughter	having left		his/her
dií -ck	phat th -eé		ro -e -y
daughter INDEF	dropped do/say CONJP		he(rem) OBL GEN
f n indef	*precat trans parti*		*dem cas1 cas2*

———————————— Commentary ————————————

[1] **1.4 chéeçer walaroók.** 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	khóorok	deé	géi.
in hand	a tin can	having given	she went
hat -e -r	khóoro -ek	d -eé	búj -i
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	Shamligas	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 Shamligas.

2.3 [1]

res	aály	khóoro	bašóoje		bašóoje	
she(ag)	there	tin can	while striking		while striking	
re -se	aály	khóoro	baš	-óoje	baš	-óoje
she(rem) AG	there	tin can	strike/play	PRESP	strike/play	PRESP
dem cas1	*adv*	*m n*	*trans*	*parti*	*trans*	*parti*

nírer		géi.
in sleep		she went
nir -e	-r	búj -i
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 [1] [2]

khéenekejo			deéwek	aályoo	bujóoje
after some time			a giant	from there	while going
khéen -ek	-e	-jo	deéw -ek	aál^y -jo	búj -óoje
time INDEF	OBL	from	giant INDEF	there from	go PRESP
f n indef	*cas1*	*cas2*	*m n indef*	*adv cas2*	*intrans parti*

šámligas	pašií	tsak	bugú.
Shamligas	having seen	stopped	he became
	paáš -eé	tsak	b -eég -u
	see CONJP	stopped	become PFT SIMP3sm
prop	*trans parti*	*adv*	*intrans val tens*

FT: After some time, as a giant was passing by, he saw Shamligas and stopped.

3.2 [3]

re	bódi	minaliílik			ašíi.
that(fem)	much(f)	beautiful			she was
re	bódo -i	minaliílo -i	-ek	han	-i
she(rem)	much	FEM beautiful	FEM INDEF	be	SIMP3sf
dem	*adv*	*gndr adj*	*gndr indef*	*intrans*	*tens*

FT: She was very beautiful.

———————————— Commentary ————————————

[1] **3.1-8** 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.

[2] **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] **3.2** *minaliílo* (with the feminine *-i* ending in this sentence) is an alternate, more classical word for 'beautiful' – many people today use *mililiílo*. 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:* – [mil̤iílo]. Sometimes when said quickly, the Gilgit Shina preference for palatalization takes over and the long [iílo] becomes a lengthened palatalized fusion, which results in a two-syllable word – [mil̤yó]. (See also *Bald Son* 5.3 for more on palatalized consonants.)

3.3 [1]

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   marák̠thareégi.

hío	marák	th	-ar	-eég	-i
heart	she caused to change				
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	theé	
giant	AG	that(fem)	from there		lap	having done	
deéw	-se	re	aál^y	-jo	múuni	th	-eé
giant	AG	she(rem)	there	from	lap	do/say	CONJP
m n	*cas1*	*dem*	*adv*	*cas2*	*f n*	*trans*	*parti*

toóm	beéyey		dišéṭ			harígu.		
own	s/he will stay		to place			he took		
toóm	beéy	-ey	diš	-e	-ṭ	har	-eég	-u
own	sit/stay	FUT3s	place	OBL	to	take away	PFT	SIMP3sm
adv	*intrans*	*tens*	*f n*	*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'
abáš	'difficult'	*abašaár*	'difficulty'

3.5 [1]

ral	harífgus				akif	re	šong
there(rem)	he had taken away				EMPH	that(fem)	care/alert
rel	har	-eég	-us		akií	rc	šong
there(rem)	take away	PFT	PSPRF3sm		EMPH	she(rem)	care/alert
adv	*trans*	*val*	*tens*		*part*	*dem*	*adj*

bigí.

she became

b	-eég	-i
become	PFT	SIMP3sf
intrans	*val*	*tens*

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

3.6 [2]

šong_beé			deéw pašií		kriw	thigí.	
having awakened			giant having seen		cry	she did/said	
šong	b	-eé	deéw paáš	-eé	kriw	th	-eég	-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 [3]

deéw	se	zúu⁻	theé		re	bijareé		
giant	AG	threat	having done		that(fem)	having scared		
deéw	-sc	zúu⁻	th	-eé	re	bij	-ar	-eé
giant	AG	threat	do/say	CONJP	she(rem)	fear	CAUS	CONJP
m n	*cas1*	*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 *akií.*

[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 tharoók* 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.

thiš	thareégu.			
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 [1]

née	réset			jéek_ga	deé		
then	to him/her			anything	having given		
née	ro	-e	-ț	jéck	ga	d	-eé
again	he(rem)	OBL	to	what	and	give	CONJP
adv	dem	cas1	cas2	adv	conj	trans	parti

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

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

4.1 [2]

har	čhak	čalbujií	čal	deéw	daruú_doók		bújas.
every	day	morning early		giant	to hunt		he used to go
har	čhak	čalbujií	čal	deéw	daruú	d	oók	búj	-as
every	day	morning early		giant	hunting	give	INF	go	IMPRF3sm
adv	f n	adv	adv	m n	f n		trans	inf	intrans	tens

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

———————————— Commentary ————————————

[1] **3.8** *juleégu.* 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 *juloók* 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 *manoçoók.*

[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 [1]

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

duúngek		niméezosaa-t[y]			háaye	
a while		with dolls			laugh/play(pl)	
duúng	-ek	niméez	-o	-saa-t[y]	háay	-e
a while	INDEF	doll	PLOBL	with	laughter/play	PL
adv	indef	f n	cas1	cas2	m n	num

thíiš		née	duúngek		tsháger	
she used to do		then	a while		in orchard	
th	-iš	née	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		akóoṭ			noṭhíijiš.	
having gone		to self			she used to play	
búj	-eé	akií	-e	-ṭ	noóth	-íij	-iš
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 [2]

tušáar	mudáajo		re	garéy	
much	after time		that(fem)	of wedding	
tušáar	mudá	-e	-jo	re	gar	-e	-y
much	period	OBL	from	she(rem)	marriage	OBL	GEN
adv	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 doók* '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 mudáajo.* The time phrase 'after a long time' moves the foundation-laying 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 -e	-r		wá	-t	-i
age OBL	in		come	PFI	SIMP3sf
f n *cas1*	*cas2*		*intrans*	*val*	*tens*

FT: After a long time she was old enough to marry.

5.2

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

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

FT: Then the giant married her himself.

5.3

dewéjo			résey			ek	dií	ek
from giant			his/her			one	daughter	one
deéw -e	-jo		ro	-e	-y	ek	dií	ek
giant OBL	from		he(rem)	OBL	GEN	one	daughter	one
m n *cas1*	*cas2*		*dem*	*cas1*	*cas2*	*numeral*	*f n*	*numeral*

puç	bigé.		
son	they became		
puç	b	-eég	-e
son	become	PFT	SIMP3p
m n	*intrans*	*val*	*tens*

FT: From the giant she had a girl and a boy.

5.4 [1]

dijéy	nóom hopóti	née puçéy
of daughter	name chubby(f)	and of son

dií	-e	-y	nóom hopóto	-i	néc	puç	-e	-y
daughter	OBL	GEN	name chubby	FEM	and	son	OBL	GEN
f n	cas1	cas2	m n adj	gndr	conj	m n	cas1	cas2

nóom	hopóto	čhibiíge.
name	chubby	they kept

nóom	hopóto	čhib	-eég	-e
name	chubby	keep	PFT	SIMP3p
m n	adj	trans	val	tens

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

5.5 [2]

hopóti	ga	hopótec	beé
chubby(f)	and	on chubby	having been

hopóto	-i	ga	hopóto	-e	-č	b	-eé
chubby	FEM	and	chubby	OBL	on	become	CONJP
adj	gndr	conj	adj	cas1	cas2	intrans	parti

šámligasey	aál^y	tušáar	hío	phiriílu.
of Shamligas	there	much	heart	he was turned

šamligas	-e	-y	aál^y	tušáar	hío	phir	-t	-u
Shamligas	OBL	GEN	there	much	heart	turn	PFI	SIMP3sm
prop	cas1	cas2	adv	adv	m n	trans	val	tens

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

————————————— Commentary —————————————

[1] **5.4** *hopóti...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** *hío phiriílu.* Some happiness returns to Shamligas' life. Her heart is *turned* and she is reconciled or adjusted to her fate as she centers her attention on her children.

6.1 [1] [2]

šámligasey			maás		in	re	híije
of Shamligas			mother(ag)		here	that(fem)	remembrance
šamligas	-e	-y	maá	-se	aán^y	re	híije
Shamligas	OBL	GEN	mother	AG	here	she(rem)	remembrance
prop	*cas1*	*cas2*	*f n*	*cas1*	*adv*	*dem*	*f n*

theé		theé		raif		raif	
having done		having done		having cried		having cried	
th	-eé	th	-eé	r	-eé	r	-eé
do/say	CONJP	do/say	CONJP	cry	CONJP	cry	CONJP
trans	*parti*	*trans*	*parti*	*intrans*	*parti*	*intrans*	*parti*

šušif		túuli	bigíš.		
having dried		twig	she had become		
šúš	-eé	túuli	b	-eég	-iš
become dry	CONJP	twig	become	PFT	PSPRF3sf
intrans	*parti*	*f n*	*intrans*	*val*	*tens*

FT: Meanwhile, Shamligas' 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. Shamligas' 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: *túuli bigíš* '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 Shamligas 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^y* '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

tušáar	mudá	yar	résey			kutúrik	ašíi.
much	time	before	his/her			a female dog	she was
tušáar	mudá	yar	ro	-e	-y	kutúri -ek	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 [1]

khée_beé			eé	náti			kutúri
how			that(f)	she disappeared			bitch
khéc b -eé			eé	náš -t -i			kutúri
how become CONJP			that(f)	disappear PFI SIMP3sf			bitch
adv intrans parti			dem	intrans val tens			f n

šámligasey			tsháger			uchátin.
of Shamligas			in orchard			she has arrived
-e	-y		tshágo -e	-r		uchác -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 Shamligas' garden.

———————————— Commentary ————————————

[1] **6.3 náti.** The verb *našoók* '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 – *eé 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:

> | şinaá | théin | angaréez | wátin! |
> |-------|-------|----------|--------|
> | Shina | she-speaks | foreigner | she-has-come |
>
> 'The foreigner who speaks Shina has come!'

7.1 [1]

šámligas	se	toóm	hopóti		ga	hopótet		
Shamligas	AG	own	chubby(f)		and	to chubby		
	-se	toóm	hopóto	-i	ga	hopóto	-e	-ṭ
	AG	own	chubby	FEM	and	chubby	OBL	to
prop	*cas1*	*adv*	*adj*	*gndr*	*conj*	*adj*	*cas1*	*cas2*

phalaák	walám	theé		tsháger	
an apple	I will bring	(intent)		in orchard	
phalaá -ek	wal -am	th	-eé	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
intrans tens

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

7.2 [1]

kutúris	šámligas	pašií	phacoó	khol_khol
bitch(ag)	Shamligas	having seen	tail	wagging
kutúri -se		paáš -eé	phacoó	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 boók* means 'to wave', as in *janḍa phal béen* 'the flag is flying'. *janḍa phal phal béen*, 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 *janḍa pháphal béen* 'the flag is flapping'. If the wind then quit, it would be *janḍa phaál béen* '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 Shamligas, so the story describes

theé	résekač	wáti.
having done	near her/him(rem)	she came
th -eé	ro -e -kač	wá -t -i
do/say CONJP	he(rem OBL near)	come PFI SIMP3sf
trans *parti*	*dem* *cas1* *cas2*	*intrans* *val* *tens*

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

———————————— Commentary ————————————

the wagging of her tail as *phačoó khol khol theé* '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 *doól 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 *doól 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

šámligas	se	kutúri	pašiʃ		suᵔyiʃgi.	
Shamligas	AG	bitch	having seen		she knew	
	-se	kutúri	paáš -eć		suúᵔy -eég -i	
	AG	bitch	see CONJP		know PFT SIMP3sf	
prop	*cas1*	*f n*	*trans parti*		*trans val tens*	

FT: Shamligas saw the dog and recognized it.

7.4 [1]

hay	theé		goṭér			waiʃ	
running	having done		in house			having come	
hay	th -cé		goóṭ -e -r			wá -cé	
running	do/say CONJP		house OBL in			come CONJP	
precat	*trans parti*		*m n cas1 cas2*			*intrans parti*	

réseṭ			loóko	čharmúki	theé	
to him/her			quick	bread/butter mix	having done	
ro -e -ṭ			loóko	čharmúki	th -eć	
he(rem) OBL to			quick	bread/butter mix	do/say CONJP	
dem cas1 cas2			*adv*	*f n*	*trans parti*	

hariʃgi.	
she took away	
har -eég -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	bódi	uyaniʃliš.	
bitch	much(f)	she had become hungry	
kutúri	bódo -i	uyani -ṭ -iš	
bitch	much FEM	be hungry PFI PSPRF3sf	
f n	*adv gndr*	*intrans val tens*	

FT: The dog had become very hungry.

———————————— Commentary ————————————

[1] **7.4** *čharmúki* is a mixture of crumbled bread and butter, sometimes with jam added. Corn or wheat *čhupáṭi* or *kistá* (both are described in *Bald Son* 2.4) is crumbled and mixed and mashed thoroughly with local ghee or *maská* 'fresh butter'. Sometimes *diṣáw*, 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.

7.6 [1]

ham_ham		theé		čharmúki	kheé		ho
gulping		having done		bread/butter mix	having eaten		then
CVCrdp	ham	th	-eé	čharmúki	kh	-cé	ho
(vigor)	gulping	do/say	CONJP	bread/butter mix	eat	CONJP	then
mod	*precat*	*trans*	*parti*	*f n*		*trans*	*parti*	*adv*

résewaar			law_law		thigí.		
toward her/him			gazing fondly		she did/said		
ro	-e	-waar	CVCrdp	law	th	-eég	-i
he(rem)	OBL	toward	(vigor)	gazing fondly	do/say	PFT	SIMP3sf
dem	*cas1*	*cas2*	*mod*	*precat*	*trans*	*val*	*tens*

FT: 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]

šámligas	ho	geé		toóm	aájii		
Shamligas	then	having gone		own	of mother		
	ho	búj	-eé	toóm	aáji	-e	-y
	then	go	CONJP	own	mother	OBL	GEN
prop	*adv*	*intrans*	*parti*	*adv*	*f n*	*cas1*	*cas2*

tharfiti				eé	rayaáy	waleé
that caused to be done				that(f)	necklace	having brought
th	-ar	-fito	-i	eé	rayaáy	wal	-eé
do/say	CAUS	ADJZR	FEM	that(f)	necklace	bring	CONJP
trans	*caus*	*adjzr*	*gndr*	*dem*	*f n*	*trans*	*parti*

——————————————— Commentary ———————————————

[1] **7.7 *tharfiti.*** An *adjectivizer* turns another part of speech into an adjective. The particular adjectivizer at work in this sentence is *-fito*, 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: "Shamligas 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:

> kapharfí   šingaálior ganfiti   hin.
> fairy_princess in-chains   bind-(adjectivizer)-(fem.)   she-is
> The fairy princess is *bound* in chains.

ganoók 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 indefinte enclitic *=ek*, which, in such a case is better translated as 'one'. For example, *phat boók* means 'to be left'. So through the magic of the *-fito* suffix we have *phat bfiti júuli* 'the left over curry'. We then can hear the mother call in to her daughter who is cleaning up after dinner:

> phat bfitik   čúur   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)

kutúrii			şóţer			ţak_thareé			
of female dog			in throat			having tied			
kutúri	-e	-y	şóţo	-e	-r	ţak	th	-ar	-eé
bitch	OBL	GEN	throat	OBL	in	button	do/say	CAUS	CONJP
f n	*cas1*	*cas2*	*m n*	*cas1*	*cas2*	*m n*	*trans*	*caus*	*parti*

réseţ			reégi,			
to him/her			she said			
ro	-e	-ţ	r	-eég	-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	aájii			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*

harií		mey	aájiţ			uçhačaré."		
having taken		my	to mother			cause it to reach!		
har	-eé	mey	aáji	-e	-ţ	uçháč	-ar	-e
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^y	-jo	búj	-i
then	bitch	there	from	go	SIMP3sf
adv	*f n*	*adv*	*cas2*	*intrans*	*tens*

FT: Then the dog left there.

8.1 [1]

tušáar	khéenejo			ho	re	toóm	goóṭ
much	after some time			then	that(fem)	own	house
tušáar	khéen	-e	-jo	ho	re	toóm	goóṭ
much	time	OBL	from	then	she(rem)	own	house
adv	f n	cas1	cas2	adv	dem	adv	m n

uçháti.

she arrived
uçháč -t -i
arrive PFI SIMP3sf
intrans val tens

FT: After a long time it reached it's home.

8.2

šámligasey			maás		toóm	kutúri	pašií
of Shamligas			mother(ag)		own	bitch	having seen
šámligas	-e	-y	maá	-se	toóm	kutúri	paáš -eé
Shamligas	OBL	GEN	mother	AG	own	bitch	see CONJP
prop	*cas1*	*cas2 f n*		*cas1 adv*		*f n*	*trans parti*

bódi		khoš	bigí.		
much(f)		happy	she became		
bódo	-i	khoš	b	-eég	-i
much	FEM	happy	become	PFT	SIMP3sf
adv	*gndr*	*adj*	*intrans*	*val*	*tens*

FT: Seeing her dog, Shamligas' mother became very happy.

8.3

née	loóko	theé		réseṭ			čharmúki
then	quick	having done		to him/her			bread/butter mix
née	loóko	th	-eé	ro	-e	-ṭ	čharmúki
again	quick	do/say	CONJP	he(rem)	OBL	to	bread/butter mix
adv	*adv*	*trans*	*parti*	*dem*	*cas1*	*cas2 f n*	

theé		waleégi.			
having done		she brought			
th	-eé	wal	-eég	-i	
do/say	CONJP	bring	PFT	SIMP3sf	
trans	*parti*	*trans*	*val*	*tens*	

FT: Then she quickly made some charmuki for the dog and brought it.

———————————————— Commentary ————————————————

[1] **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	čharmúki	kheé	toóm	ṣóṭer		
bitch(ag)	bread/butter mix	having eaten	own	in throat		
kutúri -se	čharmúki	kh -eé	toóm	ṣóṭo -e	-r	
bitch AG	bread/butter mix	eat CONJP	own	throat OBL	in	
f n cas1	f n	trans parti	adv	m n cas1	cas2	

ṭak_tharſiti					rayaáy	
which was tied					necklace	
ṭak th	-ar	-ſito	-i		rayaáy	
button do/say	CAUS	ADJZR	PL		necklace	
m n trans	caus	adjzr	num		f n	

pašaroókekaar				toóm	ṣóṭer	
in order to show				own	in throat	
paáš -ar	oók	-e	-kaar	toóm	ṣóṭo -e	-r
see CAUS	INF	OBL	for	own	throat OBL	in
trans caus	inf	cas1	cas2	adv	m n cas1	cas2

thóorie	giniſ		kakaroóe	waleégi.	
paws	with		scratchings	she brought	
thóori -e	g ín	-eé	kakaroóe	wal -eég	-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	goṭér		
Shamligas'			mother	running	having done	in house		
	-e	-y	aáji	hay	th -eé	goóṭ -e	-r	
	OBL	GEN	mother	running	do/say CONJP	house OBL	in	
prop	cas1	cas2	f n	precat	trans parti	m n cas1	cas2	

————————————— Commentary —————————————

[1] 8.5 *dáarioṭ*. The plural form of the noun *puç* 'son' is *dáarie* 'sons' and the oblique dative is *dáarioṭ* '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: *maá-* 'mother' and *mayáare* 'mothers'; *díʃ* 'daughter' and *dijáarie* 'daughters'; *jamaçoó* 'son-in-law' and *jamaçáarie* 'sons-in-law', etc. (See also 8.12.)

geé	toóm	dáarioṭ		mey	náṭi
having gone	own	to sons		my	she disappeared
búj -eé	toóm	puç -o	-ṭ	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	wátin		thigí.	
bitch	she has come		she did/said	
kutúri	wá -t -in		th -eég -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
those(rem)	also	out	come PFI SIMP3p
dem	adv	adv	intrans val tens

FT: They also came outside.

8.7 [1]

waí	çakéen	to	kutúris	toóm	ṣakér
having come	they will look	so	bitch(ag)	own	in neck
wá -eé	çak -an	to	kutúri -se	toóm	ṣak -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

thóorie	giní		kakaroóe	walíin.
paws	with		scratchings	she brings
thóori -e	gín -eé		kakaroóe	wal -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)

8.8 [1]

şakér			jéekek		han		bey	
in neck			something		he is		s/he will be	
şak	-e	-r	jéek	-ek	han	-an	b	-ey
neck	OBL	in	what	INDEF	be	PRES3sm	become	FUT3s
m n	cas1	cas2	adv	indef	intrans	tens	intrans	tens

theé		résey			báṛo	puç	se	
(thinking)		his/her			big	son	AG	
th	-cé	ro	-e	-y	báṛo	puç	-se	
do/say	CONJP	he(rem)	OBL	GEN	big	son	AG	
trans	parti	dem	cas1	cas2	adj	m n	cas1	

kutúrii			şak	pharangeégu.		
of female dog			neck	he examined		
kutúri	-c	-y	şak	pharang	-eég	-u
bitch	OBL	GEN	neck	find out	PFT	SIMP3sm
f n	cas1	cas2	m n	trans	val	tens

———————————— Commentary ————————————

[1] **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:

> *šakér jéekek 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 *theé* 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:

ros   namaál   neé 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).'

koón   šudáaries phurúuč   hagáar şeégen   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

çakéy	to	kutúrii			şóţer		
s/he will look	so	of female dog			in throat		
çak ⁻ey	to	kutúri ⁻e	⁻y		şóţo ⁻e	⁻r	
look FUT3s	so	bitch OBL	GEN		throat OBL	in	
trans tens	*conj*	*f n cas1*	*cas2*		*m n cas1*	*cas2*	

rayaáyek	hin.
a necklace	she is
rayaáy ⁻ek	han ⁻in
necklace INDEF	be PRES3sf
f n indef	*intrans tens*

FT: He saw that there was a necklace on the dog's neck.

8.10 ¹

šong	theé		thurieé		rayaáy	toóm
care/alert	having done		having loosed		necklace	own
šong	th	⁻eé	thuri	⁻eé	rayaáy	toóm
care/alert	do/say	CONJ	loose	CONJ	necklace	own
adj	*trans*	*parti*	*trans*	*parti*	*f n*	*adv*

aájiţ			paleégu.		
to mother			he handed over		
aáji	⁻e	⁻ţ	pal	⁻eég	⁻u
mother	OBL	to	hand over	PFT	SIMP3sm
f n	*cas1*	*cas2*	*trans*	*val*	*tens*

FT: He carefully untied it and handed the necklace to his mother.

8.11

res		rayaáy	pašií	akií	kriw	thigí.
she(ag)		necklace	having seen	EMPH	cry	she did/said
re	⁻se	rayaáy	paáš ⁻eé	akií	kriw	th ⁻eég ⁻i
she(rem)	AG	necklace	see CONJP	EMPH	cry	do/say PFT SIMP3sf
dem	*cas1*	*f n*	*trans parti*	*part*	*f n*	*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 [1]

"waá	mey	šámligasey			rayaáy	náa!	ála	dáarie
halloo!	my	of Shamligas			necklace	EMPH	oh(m)	sons
waá	mey	šamligas	-e	-y	rayaáy	náa	ála	puç -e
halloo!	my	Shamligas	OBL	GEN	necklace	EMPH	oh(m)	son PL
interj	*pers*	*prop*	*cas1*	*cas2*	*f n*	*interj*	*interj*	*m n num*

mey	dií	koón^yeker			şačií	hin.
my	daughter	in somewhere			having stuck	she is
mey	dií	koón -ek	-e	-r	şaáč -eé	han -in
my	daughter	where INDEF	OBL	in	stick CONJP	be PRES3sf
pers	*f n*	*adv indef*	*cas1*	*cas2*	*intrans parti*	*sta tens*

FT: "Oh! It's my Shamligas' necklace! Oh sons, my daughter is caught somewhere.

8.13

bújaat,			kutúri ginií			geé		mey
you all go!			bitch with			having gone		my
búj -aa		-t	kutúri gín -eé			búj -eé		mey
go IMP2p		polite	bitch take CONJP			go CONJP		my
intrans mood		*hon*	*f n trans parti*			*intrans parti*		*pers*

dií	udaráat."		
daughter	you all search!		
dií	udar -aa	-t	
daughter	search IMP2p	polite	
f n	*trans mood*	*hon*	

FT: Go! Take the dog and go search for her!"

8.14

ho	ris		khaií	khangár	kayeé		kutúri
then	they(rem)(ag)		shield	sword	having slung		bitch
ho	ri	-se	khaií	khangár	kay -eé		kutúri
then	those(rem)	AG	shield	sword	sling CONJP		bitch
adv	*dem*	*cas1*	*f n*	*m n*	*trans parti*		*f n*

ginií		zas	bigé.		
having taken		departure	they became		
gín -cé		zas	b -eég -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^yeker* – See the note on palatalization in *Bald Son* 5.3.)

9.1 [1]

ek	díšeker				geé		çakéen	to
one	in a place				having gone		they will look	so
ek	diš	-ek	-e	-r	búj	-eé	çak	-an	to
one	place	INDEF	OBL	in	go	CONJP	look	FUT3p	so
numeral	*f n*	*indef*	*cas1*	*cas2*	*intrans*	*parti*	*trans*	*tens*	*conj*

kutúri	dulaáyek		dapár	şaár	beé
bitch	a covered channel		upon	creeping	having been
kutúri	dulaáy	-ek	dapár	şaár	b	-eé
bitch	covered channel	INDEF	upon	creeping	become	CONJP
f n	*f n*	*indef*	*post*	*precat*	*intrans*	*parti*

tshágeker				ačíti.		
in a garden				she entered		
tshágo	-ek	-e	-r	ač	-t	-i
orchard	INDEF	OBL	in	enter	PFI	SIMP3sf
m n	*indef*	*cas1*	*cas2*	*intrans*	*val*	*tens*

FT: They went to a place and saw that the dog crept across a covered
water channel and entered a big garden.

9.2

ri	aály	tsak	bigé.	
they(rem)	there	stopped	they became	
ri	aály	tsak	b	-eég -e
those(rem)	there	stopped	become	PFT SIMP3p
dem	*adv*	*adv*	*intrans*	*val* *tens*

FT: (So) they stopped there.

9.3

kutúris		tshágo	taree	arú	gotéy		
bitch(ag)		orchard	having passed	inside	of house		
kutúri	-se	tshágo	tar	-eé	arú	goót	-e	-y
bitch	AG	orchard	pass	CONJP	inside	house	OBL	GEN
f n	*cas1*	*m n*	*trans*	*parti*	*adv*	*m n*	*cas1*	*cas2*

————————————— Commentary —————————————

[1] **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.

daáreč			géi.	
on door			she went	
dar	⁻e	⁻č	búj	⁻i
door	OBL	on	go	SIMP3sf
m n	*cas1*	*cas2*	*intrans*	*tens*

FT: The dog crossed the garden and went to the door of the house.

9.4

šámligas	se	kutúri	pašií		loóko	résekač		
Shamligas	AG	bitch	having seen		quick	near her/him(rem)		
	⁻se	kutúri	paáš	⁻eé	loóko	ro	⁻e	⁻kač
	AG	bitch	see	CONJP	quick	he(rem)	OBL	near
prop	*cas1*	*f n*	*trans*	*parti*	*adv*	*dem*	*cas1*	*cas2*

waií		jéek	bigiée,			kutúri,
having come		what	you(f) became			bitch
wá	⁻eé	jéek	b	⁻eég	⁻iee	kutúri
come	CONJP	what	become	PFT	SIMP2sf	bitch
intrans	*parti*	*adv*	*intrans*	*val*	*tens*	*f n*

thigí.		
she did/said		
th	⁻eég	⁻i
do/say	PFT	SIMP3sf
trans	*val*	*tens*

FT: Shamligas saw the dog and quickly came to it and asked it what had happened.

9.5

kutúris	tróke		dóoje		re	ginií
bitch(ag)	jumps		while giving		that(fem)	having taken
kutúri	⁻se	trok	⁻e	d	⁻óoje	re	gín	⁻eé
bitch	AG	jump(up)	PL	give	PRESP	she(rem)	take	CONJP
f n	*cas1*	*f n*	*num*	*trans*	*parti*	*dem*	*trans*	*parti*

¹   goṭéjo   darú   waleégi.
      from house   out   she brought
      goóṭ   ⁻e   ⁻jo   darú   wal   ⁻eég   ⁻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** *waleégi.* 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 *-eég* as their valency/aspect marker (and carries the pitch accent on the suffixes in the non-perfective tenses), and the other group takes *-iíg* (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, -ṭ, -k, -iíl, -oól, -aál*, 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 *-iíd* 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 *-eég* (*waleégi* 'she brought'), *-iíg* (*hariígi* 'she took away'), or *-t* (*acíti* 'she entered'), or *-ṭ* (*beéṭi* 'she sat'), *-oól* (*roóli* 'she cried'), *-aál* (*dubaáli* 'she was unable'), etc.

9.6

šámligas	se	darú	waif		çakéy		to
Shamligas	AG	out	having come		s/he will look		so
-se	darú	wá	-eé	çak	-ey	to
AG	out	come	CONJP	look	FUT3s	so
prop	cas1	adv	intrans parti	trans	tens	conj

résey			ẓáare		čóke		han.	
his/her			brothers		standing(pl)		they are	
ro	-e	-y	ẓáa	-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 [1]

res		hay	theé		waif	
she(ag)		running	having done		having come	
re	-se	hay	th	-eé	wá	-eé
she(rem)	AG	running	do/say	CONJP	come	CONJP
dem	cas1	precat	trans	parti	intrans	parti

rinóṭ			krum_bigf.			
to them			she embraced			
ri	-o	-ṭ	krum	b	-eég	-i
those(rem)	PLOBL	to	embrace	become	PFT	SIMP3sf
dem	cas1	cas2	m n	intrans	val	tens

FT: She ran and embraced them.

———————————————— Commentary ————————————————

[1] **9.7 *krum bigf.*** In light of the comment on 9.5 something should be said about *bigf* '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, *boók* '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 definitly qualifies as "irregular". Note the past tense of *bujoók* 'to go' above in 9.3 – the root *búj* 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" – *géí* 'she went', *bigf* 'she became'. Even though there are occasional exceptions to the rule and irregular forms, languages have much that is *consistent*, as well.

9.8

née	loóko	ri	arú	goțér		
then	quick	they(rem)	inside	in house		
née	loóko	ri	arú	goóț	⁻e	⁻r
again	quick	those(rem)	inside	house	OBL	in
adv	adv	dem	adv	m n	cas1	cas2

hariígi.		
she took away		
har	-eég	⁻i
take away	PFT	SIMP3sf
trans	val	tens

FT: Then she quickly brought them into the house.

9.9

țíkik		theé		rinóț		
some food		having done		to them		
țíki	-ek	th	-eé	ri	⁻o	⁻ț
bread/food	INDEF	do/say	CONJP	those(rem)	PLOBL	to
f n	indef	trans	parti	dem	cas1	cas2

[1] | khereé | | | ho | chúpejo | | | toóm | čága |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| having fed | | | then | from end | | | own | story |
| kh | -ar | -eé | ho | chup | -e | -jo | toóm | čága |
| eat | CAUS | CONJP | then | end | OBL | from | own | story |
| *trans* | *caus* | *parti* | *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 *-íg*. Common verbs such as *thoók* '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 [1]

née	rinójo			khujeégi			"ála	mey
then	from them			she asked			oh(m)	my
née	ri	-o	-jo	khuj	-eég	-i	ála	mey
again	those(rem)	PLOBL	from	ask	PFT	SIMP3sf	oh(m)	my
adv	dem	cas1	cas2	trans	val	tens	interj	pers

ẓáare,	tsho	aš	khée_beé		
brothers	you all	today	how		
ẓáa	-e	tsho	aš	khée b	-eé
brother	PL	you all	today	how become	CONJP
m n	num	pers	adv	adv intrans	parti

damíidet?"
you all were troubled
dam -íid -et
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

ris		réseṭ			kutúrii		
they(rem)(ag)		to him/her			of female dog		
ri	-se	ro	-e	-ṭ	kutúri	-e	-y
those(rem)	AG	he(rem)	OBL	to	bitch	OBL	GEN
dem	cas1	dem	cas1	cas2	f n	cas1	cas2

———————————— Commentary ————————————

[1] **9.10** *damíidet.* 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 damíidiniee, kaáki?* 'Why have you been troubled, sister? (done all this for us)'. The causative form can also be used here: *aš tu bódi damareéges* 'Today we have caused you lots of trouble.'

púuri	čága	thigé.			
all(f)	story	they said			
púuro -i	čága	th	-eég	-e	
all FEM	story	do/say	PFT	SIMP3p	
adj gndr	f n	trans	val	tens	

FT: They told her the whole story about the dog.

9.12

née	réseṭ			toóm	díṣpuç		ginií
then	to him/her			own	children		having taken
née	ro	-e	-ṭ	toóm	dií	puç	gín -eé
again	he(rem)	OBL	to	own	daughter son		take CONJP
adv	dem	cas1	cas2	adv	f n	m n	trans parti

asóosaa~t^y			ẓas	bo		thigé.	
with us			departure	go!		they said	
be	-o	-saa~t^y	ẓas	búj	-e	th -eég -e	
we	PLOBL	with	departure	go	IMP2s	do/say PFT SIMP3p	
pers	cas1	cas2	precat	intrans	mood	trans val tens	

FT: Then they told her to get her children and go with them.

9.13

res		toóm	díṣpuç		samaṭeé	
she(ag)		own	children		having gathered	
re	-se	toóm	dií	puç	samaṭ -eé	
she(rem)	AG	own	daughter son		gather CONJP	
dem	cas1	adv	f n	m n	trans parti	

rinósaa~t^y			ẓas	bigí.		
with them(rem)			departure	she became		
ri	-o	-saa~t^y	ẓas	b	-eég	-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 [1]

čhuút	balakaál	deéw	daruú	deé		goóṭ
late	late afternoon	giant	hunting	having given		house
čhuút	balakaál	deéw	daruú	d	-eé	goóṭ
slowly	late afternoon	giant	hunting	give	CONJP	house
adv	f n	m n	f n	trans	parti	m n

wáay		to	šámligas	ga	diʃpuç		nuš.
s/he will come		so	Shamligas	and	children		not is
wá	-ey	to		ga	diʃ	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

ínte_paáṭe		bugús			magám
here and there		he had become			but
ínte	paáṭe	b	-eég	-us	magám
over here	over there	become	PFT	PSPRF3sm	but
adv	adv	intrans	val	tens	conj

rinéy			ḍap	neé	ašʃi.
their(rem)			information	not	she was
ri	-e	-y	ḍap	neé	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	-eé	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			goţéţ			búʲjey		
of parents			to house			s/he will go		
mamaále	-o	-o	goóţ	-e	-ţ	búj	-ey	
parents	PLOBL	PLGEN	house	OBL	to	go	FUT3s	
mass n	*cas1*	*cas2*	*m n*	*cas1*	*cas2*	*intrans*	*tens*	

pónič			çoóţ	haríʲgu.		
on path			hastening	he took		
pon^y	-e	-č	çoóţ	har	-eég	-u
path	OBL	on	hastening	take away	PFT	SIMP3sm
f n	*cas1*	*cas2*	*precat*	*trans*	*val*	*tens*

FT: Then he ran straight on the path that goes to Shamligas' parents' house.

11.1 [1] [2]

tušáar	khéenejo			šámligas	déene	pašiʲ
much	after some time			Shamligas	family(present)	having seen
tušáar	khéen	-e	-jo		déene	paáš -eé
much	time	OBL	from		family	see CONJP
adv	*f n*	*cas1*	*cas2 prop*		*mass n*	*trans parti*

hóo_hawʲit	digú.		
calling loudly	he gave		
hóo hawʲit	d	-eég	-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			ẓáares			toóm	khangarí	
his/her			brothers(ag)			own	swords	
ro	-e	-y	ẓáa	-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

khaiíojo			taṣ_taṣ		theé		deéw
from shields			pulling out		having done		giant
khaií	-o	-jo	CVCrdp	taṣ	th	-eé	deéw
shield	PLOBL	from	(vigor)	slipping	do/say	CONJP	giant
f n	cas1	cas2	mod	precat	trans	parti	m n

maróon	theé		muçhoóṭ			saríîle.		
we will kill	(intent)		to ahead			they moved		
mar	-on	th	-eé	muçhoó	-e	-ṭ	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	rinéy			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

réseč			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 *taṣ taṣ theé.*** 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, *taṣ* describes how the sword was 'slipped' out of the shield. *taṣ taṣ* 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]

tušáar	khéen	dewésaa~t^y			maárman	theé	
much	time	with giant			fierce fighting	having done	
tušáar	khéen	deéw	-e	-saa~t^y	maárman	th	-eé
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	-eé	khangár	-ó	d	-eé
he(rem)	down	alight	CAUS	CONJP| sword	VBZR	give	CONJP
dem	adv	intrans	caus	parti| m n	vrbzr	trans	parti

mareége.		
they killed		
mar	-eég	-e
kill	PFT	SIMP3p
trans	val	tens

FT: 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^y	-jo	ho	hío	kaáy	ek	th	-eé
there	from	then	heart	disposition	one	do/say	CONJP
adv	cas2	adv	m n	f n	numeral	trans	parti

──────────────── Commentary ────────────────

[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 *doók* '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 *čaṭál* 'axe'. *čaṭaláa doók* is to play a game of tossing axes.
čaṭaló doók 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.

ẓas	beé		tušáar	khéenejo			toóm	goóṭ
departure	having been		much	after some time			own	house
ẓas	b	-eé	tušáar	khéen	-e	-jo	toóm	goóṭ
departure	become	CONJP	much	time	OBL	from	own	house
precat	*intrans*	*parti*	*adv*	*f n*	*cas1*	*cas2*	*adv*	*m n*

uçháte.
they arrived

uçháč	-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

goṭér			uçháte			to	rinéy		
in house			they arrived			so	their(rem)		
goóṭ	-e	-r	uçháč	-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		pašif		bódi	
parents(ag)		they(rem)		having seen		much(f)	
mamaále	-se	ri		paáš	-eé	bódo	-i
parents	AG	those(rem)		see	CONJP	much	FEM
mass n	*cas1*	*dem*		*trans*	*parti*	*adv*	*gndr*

šuriaár		thigé.		
happiness		they did		
šuri	-aár	th	-eég	-e
make happy	NOMZR	do/say	PFT	SIMP3p
trans	*nomnlzr*	*trans*	*val*	*tens*

FT: When they reached home their parents saw them and felt very happy.

13.1 [1]

hopóti		ga	hopótos		toóm
chubby(f)		and	chubby(ag)		own
hopóto	-i	ga	hopóto	-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

dadidáadeṭ

to grandparents

dadií	dáado	-e	-ṭ
grandmother	grandfather	OBL	to
f n	m n	cas1	cas2

bódo kom théenes.

much work they used to do

bódo	kom	th	-anes
much	work	do/say	IMPRF3p
adv	m n	trans	tens

FT: Hopoti and Hopoto always did a lot of work for their grandparents.

13.2

dadidáado

grandparents

dadií	dáado
grandmother	grandfather
f n	m n

ga moóli pašií

and uncles having seen

ga	moól	-i	paáš	-eé
and	uncle	PL	see	CONJP
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

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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 *-ífg*. Probably the majority of *intransitive* verbs have the valency/aspect marker *-t*, but *-ṭ* is also common and one also sees *-k*, *-ííl*, *-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

	Simple Past	Present Perfect	Past Perfect
1sm	-us*	-unus	-usus
1sf	-is	-inis	-isis
1p	-es	-enes	-eses
2sm	-oo**	-unoo	-usoo
2sf	-iee	-iniee	-išee
2p	-et	-enet	-eset
3sm	-u	-un	-us
3sf	-i	-in	-iš
3p	-e	-en	-es

*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, *waloók* 'to bring', is a *transitive* verb that takes the valency/aspect marker *-eég*. The second, *haroók* 'to take away', is also transitive but takes the *-ífg* valency/aspect marker. Two *intransitive* verbs are next: the first, *roók* 'to weep' has the *-oól* valency/aspect marker and the second, *amušoók* 'to forget' has the *-ṭ* 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.

waloók 'to bring'		Simple Past	Present Perfect	Past Perfect
	1sm	wal eég **as**	wal eég unus	wal eég usus
	1sf	wal eég is	wal eég inis	wal eég isis
	1p	wal eég es	wal eég enes	wal eég eses
	2sm	wal eég **aa**	wal eég unoo	wal eég usoo
	2sf	wal eég iee	wal eég iniee	wal eég išee
	2p	wal eég et	wal eég enet	wal eég eset
	3sm	wal eég u	wal eég un	wal eég us
	3sf	wal eég i	wal eég in	wal eég iš
	3p	wal eég e	wal eég en	wal eég es

haroók 'to take away'		Simple Past	Present Perfect	Past Perfect
	1sm	har iíg **as**	har iíg unus	har iíg usus
	1sf	har iíg is	har iíg inis	har iíg isis
	1p	har iíg es	har iíg enes	har iíg eses
	2sm	har iíg **aa**	har iíg unoo	har iíg usoo
	2sf	har iíg iee	har iíg iniee	har iíg išee
	2p	har iíg et	har iíg enet	har iíg eset
	3sm	har iíg u	har iíg un	har iíg us
	3sf	har iíg i	har iíg in	har iíg iš
	3p	har iíg e	har iíg en	har iíg es

roók 'to weep'		Simple Past	Present Perfect	Past Perfect
	1sm	r oól **us**	r oól unus	r oól usus
	1sf	r oól is	r oól inis	r oól isis
	1p	r oól es	r oól enes	r oól eses
	2sm	r oól **oo**	r oól unoo	r oól usoo
	2sf	r oól iee	r oól iniee	r oól išee
	2p	r oól et	r oól enet	r oól eset
	3sm	r oól u	r oól un	r oól us
	3sf	r oól i	r oól in	r oól iš
	3p	r oól e	r oól en	r oól es

amušoók 'to forget'		Simple Past	Present Perfect	Past Perfect
	1sm	amúu ṭ **us**	amúu ṭ unus	amúu ṭ usus
	1sf	amúu ṭ is	amúu ṭ inis	amúu ṭ isis

1p	amúu ṭ es	amúu ṭ enes	amúu ṭ eses
2sm	amúu ṭ oo	amúu ṭ unoo	amúu ṭ usoo
2sf	amúu ṭ iee	amúu ṭ iniee	amúu ṭ išee
2p	amúu ṭ et	amúu ṭ enet	amúu ṭ eset
3sm	amúu ṭ u	amúu ṭ un	amúu ṭ us
3sf	amúu ṭ i	amúu ṭ in	amúu ṭ iš
3p	amúu ṭ e	amúu ṭ en	amúu ṭ es

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

	Future	Present	Past Imperfective
1sm	-am (-ám)	-amus (-ámus)	-amusus (-ámusus)
1sf	-am (-ám)	-amis (-ámis)	-amisis (-ámisis)
1p	-on (-óon)	-ones (-óones)	-oneses (-óoneses)
2sm	-ee (-ée)	-anoo (-éenoo)	-asoo (-éesoo)
2sf	-ee (-ée)	-aniee (-éeniee)	-išee (-éešee)
2p	-at (-áat)	-anet (-áanet)	-aset (-áaset)
3sm	-ey (-éy)	-an (-éen)	-as (-ées)
3sf	-ey (-éy)	-in (-éin)	-iš (-éiš)
3p	-an (-éen)	-anen (-éenen)	-anes (-éenes)

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 *-eég* 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 *-iíg* 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.

waloók 'to bring'		*Future*	*Present*	*Past Imperfective*
	1sm	wal ám	wal ámus	wal ámusus
	1sf	wal ám	wal ámis	wal ámisis
	1p	wal óon	wal óones	wal óoneses
	2sm	wal ée	wal éenoo	wal éesoo
	2sf	wal ée	wal éeniee	wal éešee
	2p	wal áat	wal áanet	wal áaset
	3sm	wal éy	wal éen	wal ées
	3sf	wal éy	wal éin	wal éiš
	3p	wal éen	wal éenen	wal éenes

haroók 'to take away'		*Future*	*Present*	*Past Imperfective*
	1sm	hár am	hár amus	hár amusus
	1sf	hár am	hár amis	hár amisis
	1p	hár on	hár ones	hár oneses
	2sm	hár ee	hár anoo	hár asoo
	2sf	hár ee	hár aniee	hár išee
	2p	hár at	hár anet	hár aset
	3sm	hár ey	hár an	hár as
	3sf	hár ey	hár in	hár iš
	3p	hár an	hár anen	hár anes

roók 'to weep'		*Future*	*Present*	*Past Imperfective*
	1sm	r ám	r ámus	r ámusus
	1sf	r ám	r ámis	r ámisis
	1p	r óon	r óones	r óoneses
	2sm	r ée	r éenoo	r éesoo
	2sf	r ée	r éeniee	r éešee
	2p	r áat	r áanet	r áaset
	3sm	r ey	r éen	r ées
	3sf	r ey	r éin	r éiš
	3p	r éen	r éenen	r éenes

amušoók 'to forget'		*Future*	*Present*	*Past Imperfective*
	1sm	amúuš am	amúuš amus	amúuš amusus
	1sf	amúuš am	amúuš amis	amúuš amisis

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 *suffixed* 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 -*ṭ* 'to', -*r* 'in', etc.

The order of case marker attachment, then, can be presented in chart form using the example *muláay* 'girl':

Noun +	*Case 1*	+ *Case 2*	*Example*
muláay	=se (agent)		muláay se 'girl(ag)'
	-e (oblique)	-y (genitive)	muláayey 'of the girl'
	-e (oblique)	-ṭ 'to'	muláayeṭ 'to the girl'
	-e (oblique)	-r 'in'	muláayer 'in the girl'
	-e (oblique)	-č 'on'	muláayeč 'on the girl'
	-e (oblique)	-jo 'from'	muláayejo 'from the girl'
	-e (oblique)	-kač 'near'	muláayekač 'near the girl'
	-e (oblique)	-waar 'toward'	muláayewaar 'toward the girl'
	-e (oblique)	-kaar 'for'	muláayekaar 'for the girl'
	-e (oblique)	-saa-t^y 'with'	muláayesaa-t^y 'with the girl'

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':

Plural

Noun +	Case 1	+ Case 2	Example
muláaye	=se (agent)		muláayes 'girls (agent)'
	⁻o (plural oblique)	⁻o (genitive)	muláayoo 'of the girls'
	⁻o (plural oblique)	⁻ṭ 'to'	muláayoṭ 'to the girls'
	⁻o (plural oblique)	⁻jo 'from'	muláayojo 'from the girls'
	⁻o (plural oblique)	⁻kač 'near'	muláayokač 'near the girls'
		etc.	

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⁻ẓikey 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⁻ť* 'with the girl'. On the other hand, *ḍaḍáng* 'drum' is a Class 2 noun, the accent shifts to the oblique, the first vowel of the suffix: *ḍaḍangér* 'in the drum'. Plural forms are similar: *ḍaḍangór* '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):

bulá	'polo'	*buláar*	'in polo'
šutií	'corner'	*šutií.ir*	'in the corner'
pajúu	'salt'	*pajúu.ur*	'in the salt'

Words of two or more syllables whose accent is on the *penultimate* (second from last) *syllable* also seem to be Class 1 nouns:

á~špo	'horse'	*á~špeč*	'on the horse'
ḍégar	'ram'	*ḍégarey*	'of the ram'
karkaámoš	'hen'	*karkaámošeṭ*	'to the hen'

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:

rayaáy	'necklace'	*rayaáye*	'necklaces'
makéy	'maize'	*makéyey*	'of corn'
wey	'water'	*wéyer*	'in water'

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):

ča	'tea'	*čayéy*	'of tea'
dií~	'leopard'	*di~yéṭ*	'to the leopard'
šu~	'dog'	*šu~wéṭ*	'to the dog'

Words which *end* in a *consonant* and have low rising accent on the final syllable long vowel also seem to be Class 2 nouns.

baál	'boy'	*baléṭ*	'to the boy'
goóṭ	'house'	*goṭér*	'in the house'
deéw	'giant'	*dewéjo*	'from giant'

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:

phutún	'cloth purse'	*phutunér*	'in cloth purse'
khangár	'sword'	*khangarí*	'swords'
gamúk	'glacier'	*gamukéč*	'on glacier'

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

nir	'sleep'	*nírer*	'in sleep'
čhup	'end'	*čhúper*	'in the end'
huç	'edge'	*húçejo*	'from the edge'

Class 2

diš	'place'	*dišér*	'in place'
bun	'jungle'	*bunéṭ*	'to the jungle'
puç	'son'	*puçéy*	'of son'

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:

Nominative		*Agentive*		*Genitive*	
ma	'I'	mas	'I (agent)'	mey	'my'
be	'we'	bes	'we (agent)'	aséy	'our'
tu	'you'	tus	'you (agent)'	they	'your'
tsho	'you all'	tshos	'you all (agent)'	tshey	'of you all'

The demonstrative pronouns can be used as adjectives in a noun phrase to modify a noun, such as *anú mušáa* 'this man' or *re maáṇi* '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)'	ancscy	'of this'
	anc	'this(f)'		
	aní	'these'	ninćy	'of these'
Distant	oó	'that(m)'	cćscy	'of that'
(within sight)	cć	'that(f)'		
	cć	'those'	ccncy	'of them'
Further away	paár oó	'that(m) (over there)'	paár cćscy	'of that (over there)'
(within sight)	paár cć	'that(f) (over there)'	paár ccncy	'of them (over there)'
	paár cć	'those (over there)'		
Remote	ro	'that(m) (remote)'	rćscy	'of that (remote)'
(out of sight)	rc	'that(f) (remote)'		
	ri	'those (remote)'	rinćy	'of those (remote)'

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