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A BURUSHASKI FOLKTALE, TRANSCRIBED AND TRANSLATED:
THE FROG AS A BRIDE, OR, THE THREE PRINCES AND THE FAIRY
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1. Field research

In the summer of 1989 I spent two months in the Northern Areas of Pakistan, conducting linguistic and ethnographic research in Swat Kohistan, Gilgit and Hunza (Western Karakoram).¹ My main purpose was to study Hunza Burushaski and investigate some areally relevant syntactic features of this complex language isolate.²

In addition to doing this, I recorded three so far unrecorded folktales in Burushaski (one of which has been taken down by Lorimer in Shina, MSS.), two fairytales in Wakhi (with Urdu/Burushaski translations), two songs in Upper Swat Kohistani (Gawri) and several linguistically or ethnographically directed interviews or discussions in these and other local languages ("Indus Kohistani", Khowar, Balti, Yasin Burushaski, etc.). My chief means of communication was Urdu, to a lesser extent Burushaski, but some of my informants were also conversant with English.

During the restricted time at my disposal it was not, however, within my capacity to transcribe and translate (or have translated) all the recordings. A further harassment was that in the middle of transcribing the first Burushaski folktale my cassette tape recorder broke down.

Fortunately, before this happened, I had had the opportunity to have most of the difficult passages explained and translated to me by my main informant, Mr. Ata Ullah Beg, a retired army officer and present hotel manager from the village of Haidarabad (Hyderabad), near Baltit (Hunza). The actual transcription and translation of this folktale took place at home without a Burushaski informant at my disposal and so some very rapidly or indistinctly pronounced words and morphemes have remained unidentified or problematic. In addition there are some idiosyncratic expressions, which I have not been able to ascertain elsewhere.

¹ This work was sponsored by the Nordic Institute of Asian Studies and the Academy of Finland. I would here also like to express my deepest gratitude to my chief Burushaski informant, mentor and guide, Mr. Ata Ullah Beg, who explained most of the contents of the story to me and helped me transcribe some of the most difficult passages. No less grateful am I to Prof. Hermann Berger (Heidelberg) for reading and listening to the whole text and suggesting innumerable corrections.

² *Buruśáski* is an unwritten language isolate spoken by less than 100,000 people in the mountain valleys of Hunza-Nager and Yasin in the Gilgit District of Northeastern Pakistan (for descriptions, see Zarubin 1927; Lorimer 1935-1938, MSS.; Berger 1974, MS.; Tiffou & Pesot 1989).

2. The storyteller: Mr. Qalandar Qhan (Haidarabad, Hunza)

The storyteller that whom I was directed was an elderly (then 63 years) sympathetic farmer, called Qalandar Qhan. His home was in the village of Haidarabad, a few miles southwest of the head village Baltit (renamed Karimabad).

His dialect was generally that of Baltit, but with some admixture of Ganish/ Aliabad (the villages south of Baltit), e.g. *écóm* = *écám* < *éc-um ba-m* 'was doing'. The second personal pronoun, nowadays almost exclusively *un* in Baltit, he pronounced as *uŋ*, a variant which is restricted to elderly people or Altit, southeast of Baltit. In addition, even sporadic (semi-)Nagerisms can be detected in his speech.

More interestingly, he used some idiosyncratic forms (e.g. *sén-ate* [obviously for *sén-as-ate*, less likely *sén-á-ŋe*] 'having said', see fn. 22 to sentence 27; *hunc-énc* 'arrows', see fn. 12 to 9; *gán-éi* 'at the road', see fn. 173 to 442; *majbúuri-mar* 'for sure', see fn. 107 to 229) and words that have not been previously documented (e.g. *áajo-ayúla* 'oh me, oh my', fn. 129 to 293; see also the list of novel lexical items at the end of the article, section 7).

Apart from Burushaski, his mother-tongue (or, as the Burusho say, 'father-tongue'), he knew some Shina (the language of lower Hunza and Gilgit), Urdu (the national language of Pakistan), and a very little English. He had served for ten years in the Pakistani army, so I gather he must then have been living in Gilgit, and possibly in other places. His Urdu was not very fluent, however.

Perhaps because he was telling the stories to a foreigner who knew Urdu far better than Burushaski, he sometimes glossed Burushaski words with their Urdu equivalents (e.g. *ŷúrquŋ*, *mendák* 'frog'). His pronunciation of Urdu loanwords was very careful. Occasionally he used pure English words (adapted to Burushaski phonetics), either to show his learning, facilitate comprehension on my part, or for mere stylistic effect. (It should hardly surprise the reader, if it had all these effects.)

Some of these words are not common or recognized loanwords in Burushaski, e.g. *condemn* (*kandám -mán-* 325), *fail* (*phéel -mán-* 277 etc.), *ready* (*ráđi* -.t- 169, 260), *fit* (*phit jú-* 278). Note also *light* (*láit*) in the phrase *gaadí láit* 'headlights of a car' (365), an appreciably anachronistic simile for the effulgence of the fairy princess in King Akbar's time.

After his first story (*minás*), we conversed a little in Burushaski and Urdu. He told me that he had learned all the stories he knew from his father, whom he characterized as a very "beneficent man" (*buŋ sáaran bam*), because he knew so many stories: "...He had an excellent memory for stories, but I have forgotten many of them. He knew local stories as well as stories from other places. Every evening some ten two twelve persons used to collect in his house to listen to stories. If there was no other place to go, they used to come to father's place to listen to stories, ... every day. --- Yes, long stories. --- While I served in the army during ten years, people could not get sleep sometimes and so they came to me to ask me to tell stories. Once I started to tell and finish stories, sleep would come sweetly. In that way the stories are very useful."³

³ A similar 'sleep-inducing' function of stories and appreciation of the story teller have been found

3. Type, motifs and parallels of the folktale

The type of this folktale is well-known in Central and South Asia as well as Europe. In the general type-index of Aarne & Thompson it can be identified as No. 402 *The Mouse (Cat, Frog, etc.) as Bride*, and in the type-index of Indian oral tales (Thompson & Roberts) as No. 402A Ind. *The Monkey Bride* (cf. also Eberhard & Baratov, type 86 "*Das Froschmädchen*"). As an extension it contains motifs relating to No. 400 *The Man on a Quest for his Lost Wife*.

The Burushaski version is unique owing to its very length (45 min. on tape) and many locally tinged and unparalleled motifs or theme variations (especially relating to the long journeys of the elder brothers to India and China and the 'Alice in Wonderland'-like subterranean adventures during the quest for the vanished wife).⁴

The story seems to have no standard model and parallels of very varying character are found in a number of languages in (North) India (see Mayeda & Brown 63), Pamir (Shughni [Grjunberg & Steblin-Kamenskij 6: "Tri brata"]; Bartangi [Sokolova 1960, 12: "O carevice i ljaguške"]; Roshani [Sokolova 1959, 14: "Tri brata"]) and Central Asia (Uighur, etc. [Reichl 9: "Das Affenmädchen", with references]; Nogai [Halén 9: "Prüfungen der drei Khansöhne"]). The story is not recorded in the available collections and type-indexes of Persian, Tajik, Mongolian and Chinese folktales.

One would expect the closest parallels to be found in the neighbouring languages: Shina, Domaaki (Dumaki), Khowar, Wakhi, Sarikoli, Balti (West Tibetan) and, of course, Yasin Burushaski. But the available collections of Sarikoli, Wakhi and Yasin folktales do not contain this fairy tale, and I have not been able to obtain collections of Shina, Khowar and Balti folktales. Neither have I found any parallel in Lorimer's unpublished texts of the Karakoram languages (Lorimer MSS.). Prof. Georg Buddruss (Mainz) has informed me in a letter that he has found a couple resembling motives in his Domaaki material, but nothing similar in Shina and Khowar. Dr. Knut Kristiansen (Oslo) has kindly checked the late Prof. Georg Morgenstierne's Khowar and Kati material for me, but he has found no parallel.

A possible key to the immediate history of this folktale might be in the enigmatic

e.g. in Pamir, see Grjunberg & al. 1976: 12ff.

⁴ Most of the (major) motifs of this fairy tale are found in some form or other in Thompson's general motif-index: D 1314.1.3 *Magic arrow shot to determine where to seek bride* [magic arrow is to hit the palace door of the chosen princess], D 418.1.2 *Transformation of snake into dragon*, B 107 *Animal with treasure inside it* [killing and burning the dragon for the gold inside its stomach], B 645.1.2 *Marriage to frog*, H 382.2 *Bride test: cloth-working*, H 383.4 *Bride test: cooking*, D 1652.1 *Inexhaustible food*, H 1242 *Youngest brother alone succeeds on quest*, F 234.1.6 *Fairy in form of frog*, D 712.2.1 *Disenchantment by throwing into fire* or, more precisely, D 793.2 *Disenchantment made permanent by burning cast-off skin*, F 234.4 *Transformed fairy* [is transformed into a bird-like creature and flies away after throwing a ring to husband], H 1385.3 *Quest for vanished wife* (type 400), F 92 *Pit entrance to lower world*, F 721 *Subterranean world*, D 102.1 *Demon becomes animal* [demon-dragon who has swallowed the road: F 910 *Extraordinary swallowings*], F 564.3.1 *Long sleep, long waking* [six months, of demon-dragon], H 1233.1.2 *Old man helps on quest* [gives dogs who eat out the intestines of the sleeping demon-dragon], H 1233.1.1 *Old woman helps on quest* [foster mother leads hero to fairy princess, i.e. her foster daughter], H 94 *Identification by ring* [foster mother recognizes hero's ring as given by fairy princess], F 370 *Visit to fairyland*, T 96 *Reunion of lovers after many adventures*.

(perhaps foreign) name, *Salaastir*, of the heroine.

The major motifs and episodes of this fairy tale are summarized below. Where the Indian or Central Asian/Turkish types differ substantially, the divergences are briefly noted in square brackets. The indented episodes refer only to the Burushaski version.

I. A king has three sons [Ind.: seven], who want to marry. The vizir advises the king to order them to climb onto the roof of his palace and shoot arrows from there in the names of the princesses they want to marry. [Where the arrows/bullets land they are to find their brides.] (D 1314.1.3)⁵

The eldest prince wants King Akbar's daughter, and his arrow hits Akbar's palace door-frame. The second prince wants the princess of the King of China, and his arrow hits his palace door-frame.

The youngest son, feeling nothing good is left for him, shoots his arrow randomly into the sandy sludge of a nearby ravine or dried-up mountain river valley (*har*).

The youngest son's arrow hits a frog (as he discovers later) and he is ashamed to return to the palace with his frog-wife. [Ind./Turk.: The youngest one's arrow falls in a tree (or on a roof) and he must marry a monkey/frog; Pamir: The youngest one's bullet hits a heap of stones (Shughni, Roshani) or lake (Bartangi) and he finds a girl (Shughni), snake (Roshani) or frog (Bartangi) there. Uigur: The youngest one's arrow flies into a desert, where he finds a monkey.] (B 645.1.2)

The youngest son goes to hide in his foster father's (= the vizir's) house (children of royal and socially distinguished families are always brought up by foster parents in Hunza and Nager).

The first son sets out with his bridegroom's party on a month's journey to Akbar's palace (i.e. Delhi), where he stays with his bride for one month, then returning with his bride and many presents by way of the court of the king of Rome (*Ruum*, i.e. Byzantium).

After the wedding of the first son is completed, the second son sets out with his bridegroom's party on a month's journey to China. On the road he encounters a snake that has turned into a many-headed road-eating dragon (D 418.1.2), which he kills and burns with juniper wood to obtain the gold that is hidden in its intestines (cf. B 107). Taking that melted lump of gold weighing two *sers* (appr. one kg), the prince heads on, but gets lost and reaches China with difficulty after climbing a mountain and going along a long river bank. After the matrimonial rites, he stays at the court of the King of China for one month and then returns home with the bridal party. The youngest son is again asked to join the wedding, but he refuses, until the second son comes and entertains him and gives him the lump of gold.

After the wedding of the second son, the third son is persuaded by his foster brother to go with him and fetch his arrow. But when the youngest son pulls out his arrow, he finds a frog sitting on it. He tosses it down, but it starts following him, saying "Wherever you go, I come with you" (B 645.1.2). Then, embarrassed, he puts it into his pocket and brings it to his foster father's (= the vizir's) house, where he places it in a dish (or shelf) for keeping candles.

II. When all the sons are married, the king announces two [some Indian versions: three] tests for his daughters-in-law (H 360): [Elsewhere except in some Indian versions and in the Uigur and Nogai versions: no bride tests, instead rivalry and unsuccessful attempts to destroy or put the youngest son to the test.]

⁵ In the Pamir Iranian versions, the sons shoot with rifles, aiming at the roof holes of distinguished people. In the west European versions, three feathers are thrown into the air (cf. BP 63).

(a) Who weaves the finest long-sleeved winter cloak out of wool? (H 382.2)
[Ind./Nogai: Fine cloth or handkerchief. Uigur: Shirt. H 1306.1.]

Only the frog succeeds in producing a fitting cloak and hence wins the first contest.

(b) Who prepares the best meal? (H 383.4)

The wives of the elder sons put too much or too little salt into their food and fail, but the frog makes delicious vegetable soup in a tiny walnut pot. The king puts his finger into it, licks his finger and bites it in delight until it starts to bleed, and so do the others testers, but the walnut pot does not empty and everybody gets his fill (D 1652.1).

The youngest son's wife wins the contests and the prince is successful (H 1242).

The king rewards the frog and invites the prince and the frog to return to the palace. Just in front of the palace door the frog abandons her skin and turns into the shining fairy Salaasir, whose bright radiance resembles the headlights of a car [!]. (F 234.1.6)

The king receives the prince and his wife, standing up to strew flour on her head. Dismayed at this, the fairy Salaasir drops the frog's skin. (Cf. 302.6)

III. Desiring to see her for at least one day as she really is, the king quickly throws the frog skin into the fire. [Elsewhere: The prince burns his wife's animal skin.] The wife turns into a bird-like creature and disappears and the prince has to go and look for her. After many adventures he finds her and is reunited with her. [Some Indian versions: The wife is disenchanting. Nogai: The wife is lost for good.] (D 700, H 1385.3; AT 400)

When the frog skin is burned, the fairy Salaasir claps her hands, makes a flapping sound and flies away (D 712.2.1, D 793.2, F 234.4). Just before disappearing she throws a ring down to the prince with the enigmatic words: "If you can, come on the wet side, if you cannot, you'll remain there; don't come on the dry side!"

Depressed, the youngest prince returns to his foster father's house, but his foster brother persuades him to go and seek Salaasir according to her instructions. Both return to the place where the arrow landed and still lies. With the help of his foster brother, the prince descends into a hole in the earth beside the arrow, but on reaching the bottom, the hole is immediately covered up behind him (cf. F 92, F 721).

He then finds himself in a pitch-black forest, but manages to come out into the light by holding the tail of a leopard, which he follows.

Having come out into the light, the prince finds himself in a quaint world (F 700), where people are playing polo (a distinctly local game, also known in the surrounding areas) on cows but threshing wheat on horses (cf. J 1759.4).

Having taught these people the correct ways of playing polo and threshing, the prince then rides away to a place where a dragon-demon (*déu-aśdár*) has swallowed the road (cf. D 102.1). An old man gives him some dogs (cf. 1233.1.2), which he takes and lets gnaw out the dragon-demon's intestines during its six month's sleep (F 564.3.1).

Having got out from inside the dragon-demon just before it wakes up, he finds Salaasir's foster mother in a house on a sandy river bank (*khay*, cf. "come on the wet side!") and introduces himself as Salaasir's husband from the face of the earth. Salaasir's foster mother asks him for a token from Salaasir, and the prince shows her the ring (cf. H 94). Then she takes his message to Salaasir, who asks her to bring him up to her house in the fairy-world (cf. H 1233.1.1, F 370; cf. F 300.2).

The prince is reunited with his wife (T 96). Salaasir's father offers his fairy-kingdom to the prince, who declines it because of his resentment at his own father and mother for their arranging such good marriages for his elder brothers but only trouble for him by, among other things, burning the frog skin. Salaasir's father gives the young couple houses to live in, among them one where even the demons obey. Having taken possession of these, they return (to the earth) and build a house of their own in the old sludge.

The prince's father and mother repent and come with grass in their mouths to visit the prince and his fairy-bride, who persuades the prince to forgive them and receive them. The kingdom is given to the fairy Salaasir and the little hero-prince.

4. Concerning the transcription and translation

The system of transcription employed is the one developed by Prof. Hermann Berger.⁶ The transcription is broad, but phonetic peculiarities or idiosyncracies are mentioned in the footnotes. Emendations are added in square brackets.

Unrecognizable or problematic words or morphemes are underlined, usually with some conjecture in square brackets or in the footnotes. Morphological and syntactic oddities are discussed in the footnotes. Words that have to be supplied are given in square brackets and untranslatable idioms are explained in square brackets or footnotes.

For the sake of simplicity and to save space, I have used minuscule throughout the transcription. Major punctuation marks are added for clarity, and commas are inserted after subordinate and non-finite adverbial/copulative clauses to facilitate decoding. Quotation marks are not used, although they appear in the translation.

The syntactic (rather than intonational/prosodic) units that can be recognized as minimal distinct sentences are numbered to enable cross-reference. As in spoken language in general, these syntactic units are not necessarily separated by any kind of prosodic juncture, while considerable pauses may occur within such units or between strings of such units. Burushaski sentences tend to digress and mingle into each other, owing to the connective effect of the quotative verb and the various recursive non-finite structures.

Hence the segmentation into sentences may at times be arbitrary, and the correspondence between transcription and translation is not always one to one. (The Burushaski basic word order is SOV, but (S)VO and OVS, etc. are also found sporadically.) The translation is furthermore marred by frequent repetitions and some unintentional omissions or syntactic "false starts" by the storyteller.

The verbatim translation may from time to time appear painfully literal, owing, *inter alia*, to the ubiquitous postposed non-finite quotative verb after direct speech (e.g. "We will go now", [thus] saying/having said, they set out) and the mechanical

⁶ The letters used in transcription: a i u e o; p ph (f) b m w, t th d n s z é ç h r l, ʧ ʤ ʦ j ç ç h y, é ç h j s y, k kh g ŋ, q qh γ, h. Retroflexes are marked by subscript dots (except y, which seems to be dorso-palatal rather than retroflex), dental affricates with superscript dots, palatals with superscript acute accents (except j = j), aspirates are written qh (etc.), high tone on a long vowel áa (etc.), low-rising tone aá (etc.). Burushaski has a distinctive shifting accent, but monosyllables are for convenience left unaccented in transcription. Also affectively prolonged vowels are here written without accent marks in monosyllabic words, e.g. jaaş = jaş.

non-finite converbial repetition of the finite verb phrase of the preceding sentence (e.g. *They bid farewell to the king and went home. Having gone home, they...; They bid farewell to the king and he went home. On his going home, they...*).

This discourse feature, which enables 'switch reference' by means of distinct non-finite structures (conjunctive participle if the subject remains the same, [mostly] other converbial forms if the subject changes), is part of the local narrative and mnemonic technique, well known also in India and Central Asia.

N.B. A free translation of the folktale appears at the end of this article (section 6).

5. The transcribed Burushaski text with literal translation and notes⁷

1. **hin baadśáan⁸ bam.**

[Once upon a time] there was a king.

2. **iné baadśáa iskén yúa bam.**

That king had three sons.

3. **iskén yúa bam; ué dóşqalt baaleyíi [= baaleyí], juwáayo umánuman.**

[He] had three sons; having attained puberty, they became adolescent.

4. **juwáayo núman, wáqtanćum ué [y]úe úuyar sénuman:**

Having become adolescent, after some time, those sons said to their father:

5. **babá-a⁹, mi uyóŋko baaleyíar diméeman.**

"Father, we have become big [and] reached puberty.

6. **míi gáran¹⁰ étas awaáji.**

It is necessary for us to marry."

7. **gar étas awaáji, sénumar, buť šuá, [u]yúar nusén, téelum íne wazíirar¹¹ qáo étimi.**

Upon [their] saying: "It is necessary for us to marry", [the king said] to his sons: "Very good!", and then called the vizir.

8. **wazíirar qáo ne, sénimi ke: jáa khu ayúa muú gáran étas pasán écáan.**

Having called the vizir, he said that: "These sons of mine now fancy getting married."

9. **muú khúe gáne huncćnćike¹² káa jamé[e]n dusú, sénimi.**

⁷ The text was recorded on tape on June 19, 1989, in Karimabad (capital village of Hunza). Before the actual narration there is a brief self-introduction by the story-teller: *jáa aík Qaláandar Qháan bilá, dáa úmur iski áltar iski den bilá* 'My name is Qalandar Khan and [my] age is 63 years'.

⁸ Normally pronounced as *baacáa* or *baasáa* < Persian/Urdu *baadśaah*; the native word is *tham* 'king, prince'.

⁹ This word is used only in the royal family. The corresponding female word is *zizi* (cf. Parkin 1987: 328). The neutral genuine Burushaski terms are -'u(y) 'father' and -'mi 'mother'. Affectionate words are *áya* 'papa, my/our father', *máma* 'ma, aunt'.

¹⁰ The singulative suffix *-an* is normally used in verbal compounds to express singular action or diminution (Berger MS. Grammatik § 3.24). It is therefore somewhat strange in this context. It does not occur in the repetition of this phrase at the beginning of the next sentence, but later on it reoccurs (8). The final nasal is somewhat unclear, and it is possible that it is velar, in which case this word could be an idiosyncratic variant of the plural *gar-ig* 'marriages', cf. sentence 481 below.

¹¹ Perhaps because of the preceding *w*, the short *a* of this Perso-Arabic loanword is pronounced as if long in all instances by this speaker.

¹² This is the genitive of the partitive or determinative plural of *huncć/hunz-* 'arrow', the plural ending of which should be *-ánć/-é*. Perhaps there is some contamination with the Nageri plural *-áinć*,

“Now bring a bow with some arrows for them!”, [the vizir] said.

10. **huncéncike káa jamé[e]n su, sénimi.**

“Bring a bow with some arrows”, he said.

11. **huncéncike káa jamé[e]n íne dusúmi, dusún, uu¹³ yáte tháage tésaṭar níman.**

He brought a bow with some arrows, and having brought it, they went up onto the roof of the palace.

12. **tháage tésaṭar núun, téelum baadśáa sénimi ke: wa ayúa, máa máimo ráiaṭe ámin baadśáane éianmo gáne¹⁴ pasán écáan ke, íne baadśáa éimo muíkate muíkaso [? mu-í-kuṣ-e]¹⁵ hunc çhap étin, nusén, jamée káa huncánc uskó dúcun, téele phat ótimi.**

Having gone onto the roof of the palace, the king then said that: “Hey my sons, according to your own wish, whosoever king’s daughter you fancy, in the name of that king’s daughter shoot an arrow!”, [thus] having said, he brought three arrows with the bow and left them there.

13. **phat ótumar, awáalum íie jamée káa hunc dáal étimi.**

On [his] leaving them [there], his first son lifted up an arrow with the bow.

14. **dáal nétan, íne ésulo niyát ité étimi ke: akbér baadśáa éi áar mumánṣ.**

Having lifted it up, he decided this in his heart that: “May king Akbar’s daughter become mine!”

15. **nusé ésulo niyát ne, hunc jaaṣ ne, phat étasar, se¹⁶ huncán níninin, akbér baadśáa hígaçe yámi.**

Having thus decided in his heart, when he drew the bow and let [the arrow] go, that arrow went and hit king Akbar’s gate.

16. **altóulum íiar dáa hunc yuúmi, jamé íchími.¹⁷**

Again [the king] gave an arrow to his second son, gave the bow to him.

17. **íchíasar, ínee ésulo niyát ité étimi: éíine baadśáa éi jáar mumánṣ, nusé.**

Upon [his] giving it to him, he [= the boy] decided this in his heart: “May the daughter of the king of China become mine!”, [thus] saying.

18. **jaméar hunc nídeli, çhap étimi.**

Having placed the arrow on the bow, he gave a shot.

19. **es hunc níin, éíine baadśáa hígçe yámi.**

That arrow went and hit the gate of the king of China.

20. **iskíulum¹⁸ íiar jamée káa hunc yuúmi.**

which according to Lorimer (1938: 208b) occurs beside *-iso* in this word. The normal plural occurs in sentence 12.

¹³ The vowel of this shortened form of the demonstrative-anaphoric pronoun *ue* hmf ‘they’ is for some reason prolonged in this instance.

¹⁴ Lit. ‘for’, although the compound verb *pasán* *-t-* is not elsewhere recorded as taking an oblique direct object.

¹⁵ Cf. *mu-ík-uṣ-aṭe* ‘in her name’ < *-ík-uṣ* ‘namehood’ (see Berger MS. Hunza Wörterbuch, s.v.).

¹⁶ The shortened form of the demonstrative-anaphoric *isé* xsg ‘that’. Reduced here to [sə] or [sɔ].

¹⁷ Note the repetition of the suppletive verb *-ú/-éhi/-γún-* ‘to give’ according to the gender/class of the object.

¹⁸ Pronounced more or less as if *iskéulum*.

He gave an arrow with the bow to his third son.

21. **yuúyasar, íne, khu uyóŋko áçukóone altán baadsáahaantiŋ¹⁹ uyóŋko bam, úe uyúgušanç khu uyánuman; jéimo bésanar éçam, nusén.**

Upon [his] giving it to him, he [= the son thought], saying: "These big brothers of mine took the daughters of the [only] two kings [that] were great; for what purpose should I shoot [my arrow]?"

22. **íne ílji yákal han háran bilúm.**

Behind him there was a ravine (dried-up mountain river valley, i.e. a small *nala*).

23. **háruło čaár yáare han ýíte tóqan bilúm.**

In the ravine, on the opposite side, below, there was a stretch of sandy sludge²⁰.

24. **yáare néeyurus, ité ýítar çhap étimi.**

Aiming downwards, he shot at the sludge.

25. **éçasar, níin, yáare ýítulo isé hunč iyúrcimi.**

On [his] shooting it, the arrow went down and sank into the sludge.

26. **iyúrcasar, uŋ²¹ ámular çhap étuma, [é]si.**

On its sinking, "Where did you shoot it?", [the king] said to him.

27. **ámular çhap étuma, sénate²², uyóŋko baadsáahaantiŋe úar²³ uyúgušanç khu guyú uyánuman.**

Upon [his] saying: "Where did you shoot it?", [the prince answered:] "These your sons took the daughters of the great kings.

28. **je dáa ámular éçam, da jáa tálawalaadáq [? ... athák]²⁴ ámulo ke yaş, nusé, çup ne çhap éta báa, sénimi.**

¹⁹ Note the pleonastic plural: **-haan-tiŋ**, where **-haan** is a contamination of Persian **-hā** and **-ān**.

²⁰ Mud mixed with water (**toq y**) + sand mixed with water (**ýit y**).

²¹ This variant, so pleasant to the ear, of the second singular person pronoun seems to be losing ground to **un**. Berger (MS. Grammatik § 6.1) reports that **uŋ** was used in his texts by only two Altit speakers. Note that Baltit lies between, and to the north of, Haidarabad and Altit. The normal form in Nageri is **um**. These variants instance the tendency to free variation of final nasals.

²² This idiosyncratic non-finite verb-form may be a syncopated version of ***sén-as-aŋe/sén-um-aŋe** 'on/while saying [with change of subject]', which is the superessive of the infinitive/stative participle of **sén-** 'to say'. It occurs in altogether 16 sentences: 27, 56, 137, 158, 191, 244, 267, 356, 359, 388, 389, 450, 451, 452, 455, and 476.

For referring back to the preceding finite verb in narrative discourse the (past) conjunctive participle, alias anterior same-subject converb characterized by the prefix **n[V]-** and optional suffix **[-(i)n]** is used when the 'acting subject' remains unchanged (e.g. **nu-sén** 'having said'). If there is a switch of 'acting subject', the dative or some other case of the infinitive or stative participle is used instead as a different-subject anterior converb (e.g. **sén-as-ar, sén-um-ar** 'on saying').

Were it not for its single accent, the peculiar form **sénate** could, in principle, also be interpreted as the superessive of the 3. hmsg of the perfect tense of **sén-** 'to say' (> **sén-á-ŋe** or **sén-á-i[-ya]ŋe** 'on his having said'). Such declined finite verb-forms do occur sporadically, e.g. **sén-a bá-ŋe** 'upon my having said', **sén-á-ŋe ke** 'upon your having said' (Berger MS. Grammatik § 16.52), **man-ú-wá-ŋe** 'on his having become' (Lorimer 1935: § 407). However, this interpretation is less likely, because **sénate** occurs also with reference to a feminine third person subject (451, 455), which would have demanded something like ***sén-ó-ŋe**, if the system is to prevail.

²³ '*Dativus possessoris*', used pleonastically with the genitive: lit. 'Of the great kings, to them their daughters these your sons took'.

²⁴ ?? **thaláa baláa athák/dak** 'my quiet damned wish/hope'.

Thinking [lit. saying]: ‘So where should I shoot it? My wish does not matter [lit. ? my ... wish is as good anywhere]’, I shot [lit. have shot] it in silence”, he said.

29. **sénasar, íne yúu uúšam wazír bam.**

Now [lit. on saying]²⁵, his foster father²⁶ was the vizir.

30. **wazíire yuúšam bam in, uúšam yúu.**

A vizir-foster was he, a foster father.

31. **téelum ye in dáa dáal numá, phaṭáḡ numá, baltáanimi.**

From there he then stood up, left in a fit [of anger], and was a sulk.

32. **uúšam yúuye háale níi, hurúṭimi.**

Going to his foster father’s house, [he] sat down [there].

33. **uúšam yúuye háale níi hurúṭimi, nuúruṭin, yaṭ[i]sar kamál níwaši, čap numá, yáarikil[um] hólar atúsumi.**

Having gone to his foster father’s house, [he] sat down [there], [and] having sat down [there], he threw a blanket over his head, hid himself, and did not come out from under [that blanket].

34. **hólar atúsum, taí zaíle ye in hurúṭimi.**

Without coming out, he just sat like that.

35. **nuúruṭ ke, baadšáa sénimi: in yaṭ ačúčáia?**

When he was sitting, the king said: “Is he not coming up?”

36. **be ya, in ačúčabái²⁷, baltáaná, sénuman.**

“Nope, he is not coming, he is sulking”, they said.

37. **uúšam yúuye háale hurúṭimi.**

He sat in his foster father’s house.

38. **hurúṭas ke, téelum uyúm iné íie káa garóoni, — akbér baadšáa yákal ne han híšane gan bilúm, — téelum garóoni jaš numá, ye gučháruman.**

While he was sitting [there], then the bridegroom’s party with the eldest son—to king Akbar it was a month’s journey—the bridegroom’s party set off and proceeded [on their way] from there.²⁸

39. **nukúčar, núun, níman, níman, níman, núuninin, aksár akbér baadšáa híčar dóšqaltuman.**

Having proceeded and gone, they went [and] went [and] went, [and] having gone, finally²⁹ they reached king Akbar’s gate.

40. **akbér baadšáa híčar dóšqaltuman, dóšqalt barénasar, yaṭe guté čháriṣulo nizá níya bim, akhíl numá.**

²⁵ An instance of the quite mechanical nature of the discourse repetition referred to above (fn. 20).

²⁶ It is still the custom in Hunza and Nager for royal and socially distinguished families to send their new-born children to foster parents. This helps them come to terms with the local people and conditions. Even my informant, who was born in a vizir family, had been brought up by foster parents in Šškat, Guújal (Upper Hunza).

²⁷ This may be a mere slip of the tongue for ačúčái ‘he does not come’, cf. the following *baltáanai*.

²⁸ This is not a well-formed sentence, but the meaning can be inferred: While the youngest son was sulking, the eldest son with his party set out for king Akbar’s court, which was at a distance of a month’s journey.

²⁹ This meaning of *aksár* ‘most[ly]’ has not been recorded elsewhere. Perhaps *aaqhér* was meant.

They reached king Akbar's gate, [and] having reached it, when they took a look, up in that doorframe the arrow was stuck, like this.

41. **yar ne iné baadsáa éimur mubaarakí ni bilúm: úge gáne híran duúsimi.**
Before [their coming], congratulations had gone [= come] to the daughter of the king:
"A man has come out for you.

42. **ménan díya ke júçi, nusé mubaarakí mučí bam.**

Whoever comes, may he come!", [thus] saying they had given her congratulations.

43. **u béšal dóşqaltuman, dóşqalt, núninin, éle hurúţasar, ye baré, ug nukóon, gúimo nízá díus!**

When they had arrived and gone and sat down there³⁰, [the king said:] "Look here now! Go and pull out your arrow!"

44. **sénasar, iné guşpúr nín, ámit nízá çhap étám ke, iné nínin, sénasar, jaş nétan, díusimi.**

Upon [his] saying [that], the prince went, and the arrow he had shot, he went, upon [the king's] saying [so], and giving it a jerk, pulled it out.³¹

45. **díusimi, díusasar, baadsáa qáo ne, ul ne ichúmi.**

He pulled it out, and on [his] pulling it out, the king called him and brought him inside.

46. **nícun, téelum han akhí báipaş, ban³² [= ban] kamará[a]n, óoltiruman.**

Having brought him, then they showed them a treasury³³, a closed [?] room.

47. **nóoltir, han makáanan učíman ke makáanulo téel hurúcaman.**

Having showed them [that], they gave them a house and they settled down there in that house.

48. **nuúručan, qhoşaamadiid ne, buţ yaaní hihíne káa uyámkuş³⁴ étuman.**

On their having settled down there, they bid them welcome and everybody showed sweetness (= hospitality) to each other. (Or: Having settled down and been bid welcome, everybody showed sweetness to each other.)

49. **uyámkuş ne, úe níkaa béšan bilúm ke, níkaa³⁵ étuman.**

Having showed sweetness, they performed all the matrimonial rites that were to be performed.

50. **níkaa ne, qaríp iné jamáat ke numúya, ité báipaşulo in han hísa téele yaaní hurúţimi, maşyuuláat, iné jamáatmo káa.**

After the matrimonial rites had been performed, soon he took also his wife and stayed in that treasury for one month, [with]³⁶ pastimes, with his wife.

51. **téele hurúţimi, nuúruţ, dáa iné: mi níčan, náa?**

He stayed there, [and] having stayed then he [said:] "We are going [now], can't we?"

³⁰ Lit. 'When they had arrived, on their sitting down, having arrived and gone'

³¹ The phrase order has been retained intact for demonstration, but in Burushaski all the verbs except the last one and 'had shot' (*çhap étám*) are diverse non-finite forms.

³² Apparently Persian *band* 'closed', but the final nasal is velarized in sandhi.

³³ According to my informant 'a palace' or 'a good room'.

³⁴ Pronounced with velarization of -a-: [ujɔŋkuş].

³⁵ A subphonemic prothetic glide [-j-] is inserted between the vowels at the word boundary.

³⁶ Observe the (elliptic?) omission of the postposition (*káa* 'with') after *maşyuuláat* 'pastimes'.

52. **kaafí guncíŋ maními: hísa júasaŋe gáne³⁷ ni bilá, hísa dáa nías gáne níci, mímar hísa khóle hurúŋuman.**

Quite a few days [have] passed: one month has passed on the way coming, one month will pass on the way going, one month we [have] stayed here.

53. **uskósa maními, mi miwáalja báan.**

Three months have passed [that] we are lost [i.e. without anybody knowing our whereabouts].

54. **uŋ ijaazát mi chí, mi dáa míimo ha yákal ne waap[h]ás nícan, nusén, baadśáacum ijaazát dúmaruman.**

You give us permission [to leave]! We are going back again to our home", [thus] saying they asked for permission from the king.

55. **baadśáacum ijaazát dúmarasar, baadśáa, darúm ke hísan hurúcaín, sénimi.**

On [their] asking for permission from the king, the king said: "Stay for another month!"

56. **sénaŋe, be ya, ye dáa mi níca báan, sénuman.**

On [his] saying [that], "Nope, now we are going again", they said.

57. **níca báan, nusé, téelum tayaarí étasar, baadśáa káa iné guśpúre káa garoóni men men ni bam ke, nímiśué [= nímišo ué] garoóniar ménar haŋúr uúmi, ménar čapán u chími, ménar yaaní thum haal-máal uúmi.**

Having said: "We are going", then when arrangements had been made, the bridal party that had gone with the king, [i.e.] with the prince, to [the members of] that bridal party, which was now leaving, [Akbar] gave some a horse, to some he gave a long robe, to some he gave other [kinds of] possessions.

58. **káa káa nímiśué [? -o ué] sísar inaamaatiŋ piís óor étimi.**

To the people who went together [with the prince and princess] he presented gifts.

59. **piís óor étimi, piís óor étasar, iké nukán, téelum iné gas ke numúya, akbér baadśáa híŋcúm waap[h]así jaś manúman.**

He presented [gifts] to them, [and] on [his] presenting [gifts] to them, taking them, then taking also the princess, they set forth back from king Akbar's gate.

60. **jaś manúman, jaś numán, téelum dúuman, dúuman, dúun, yar gan babárančum altánan haŋúr čho no, ye dáa mímayar duwášan nícan, garoónie tayaaríar maími.**

They set forth [and] having set forth, then they came [and] came [and] having come halfway ahead on the road, two men made their horses gallop [saying:] "Well now, let us [two] leave and go ahead of [all of] us, [so] that there will be preparations [lit. it will be for the preparations] for the bridal party.

61. **ye tayáar óor écan, śapíke bandobást, kháana óor bandobást écan, nusén, altá haŋuríśuaŋe³⁸ altán uyár gáarcaman.**

Let us make preparations for them, arrangements for food, let us arrange food for

³⁷ Lit. 'while/for coming on the way', glossed as *āte vaqt* 'at the time coming' by my informant. Cf. *nías gáne* 'on the way going' ≠ *níase gáne* 'for going'. For the locative use of the genitive of *gan* 'road, way', see Berger MS. § 4.31 and Lorimer 1935: § 64.i.

³⁸ Etymologically *haŋúr-išo-aŋe*: unstressed *o* in non-final syllable > *u* (Berger MS. § 2.18).

them!", [thus] saying, the two men galloped ahead of them on two horses.

62. **hayúr ého no, nukáarcán, qaríib yaaní altúlan iskíkučane úyar yar qhabár čhúmišúé**³⁹ [ʔ čhúmišo ué] **rúume baadsáa híjčar dóšqaltuman.**

Having made their horses gallop, they rode, and bringing the news some two or three days ahead of them, they arrived at the gate of the king of Rome.

63. **rúume baadsáa híjčar dóšqalt, téelum baadsáa mubaarakí íchíman ke: be ya, ye ganáte báan.**

Then having arrived at the gate of the king of Rome, they then gave the good news to the king that: "No doubt, they are still on the road.

64. **mu[ú] júčuman, míyar ađváans**⁴⁰ **dimée báan, nusé, ho éle úe kháana-píina har bésan bandobást šurúu maními.**

Now they are coming, we have come in advance of us", [thus] having said, then all kinds of arrangements started to take place here for their eating and drinking.

65. **šurúu numá, garoóni juš qháa, bésan úar bandobást étas bilúm ke, ité úi úimo bandobástij tayaarí étuman.**

After this, until the coming of the bridal party, whatever arrangements were to be made for them, this [= those] their own arrangements they made [lit. made ready].

66. **tayaarí ne barénasar, altúlan iskíkučancum garoóni numúyan dóšqaltuman.**

Having made ready when they took a look, after two or three days they [= the prince, etc.] arrived with the bride.

67. **dóšqaltuman, dóšqalt, téelum inée garoóni numúcun, dayóaq, dumóskun**⁴¹, **mudélumo**⁴².

They arrived [and] having arrived, then taking the bride along, they threw flour on her [head to welcome her], having helped her down [from the horse].

68. **numúdili, téelum háalar mučhúman.**

Having thrown [flour on] her [head], they then took her along to the house.

69. **háalar numúcun, háale sútinaŋe čap ne, ba étumo.**⁴³

When they had taken her along to the house, she touched the hearthstones in the house and kissed her fingers [in sign of respect for the house she had not previously visited].

70. **téelum yaaní dal numóon, dalmišúice**⁴⁴ [ʔ dálum šíisače] **téelum qha móuruŋuman.**⁴⁵

From there, as it were, she went up and they placed her to sit down up by the window

³⁹ Ergative in spite of the intransitive verb *d-šqalt*- 'arrive'. But probably contraction of *čhúmišo ué*.

⁴⁰ An unusual English loanword on the spur of the moment.

⁴¹ Note the insertion of the participle within the main verb phrase: [flour [having helped her down] threw on her].

⁴² The final vowel sounds like *o*, as if 3sgf, which is not possible with coreference of subject. I agree with Prof. Berger (*p.c.*) that one would have expected the overstrong grade of the prefix here to show reference to the beneficiary: *móodiluman* 'they threw (flour) on her'.

⁴³ Observe the irregular switch of subject in connection with the conjunctive participle.

⁴⁴ Possibly *dál-imuš-ce* 'at the back side of the room'.

⁴⁵ Observe the irregular switch of subject in connection with the conjunctive participle.

[? or at the back side of the room].

71. **qha numóuruṭ, béśal garóoni úlo giáman ke, uyóon ho úar dáa kháana-píina bandobást ho úar řapík óor óosuman.**

Having seated her, then when the bridal party came in there, they [made] all [kinds of] eating and drinking arrangement[s] for them, served food for them.

72. **řapík nóos, ú[e] řapík-mapík říman, dáa tamaasá étuman, girácaman.**

When [they] had served food for them, they ate bread and all kinds of food, and then they amused themselves [and] danced.

73. **qhuśí manáaya⁴⁶ ne, qaríib yaaní bíis⁴⁷ dínan hurúcaman u.**

Spending a good time [?], they stayed there for almost twenty days.

74. **nuúrućan, téelum dáa u ruqsát dúmaruman ke: be ya, ye dá[a] mi ke waap[h]así níćan, mímar ijaazát mićhí.**

Having stayed [there], then they again asked for leave [lit. that]: "No, well, you see, we too are going back now again, give us leave!"

75. **sénasar, dá[a] iné baadsáa íti níi ne [?], béśan béśan yaaní úar inaamáatig píis étám ke, káa nímiśuđer⁴⁸ dá[a] khítum khíne altó mobár⁴⁹ ho béśke ináamig uyúyar duúnimi.**

On [his] saying [that], then when the king, had gone there, had presented them with all kinds of gifts, he then also started to give all kinds of gifts doubly [?] to them who were going with [the prince] from here.

76. **ináamig uyúnimi, ménar hayúr uúmi, ménar har uúmi, ménar yaaní maal-háal uúmi, ménar rupiá uúmi.**

He gave them gifts, to some he gave a horse, to some he gave a bull, to some he gave, as it were, [other kinds of] possessions, to some he gave money.

77. **nuún, téelum úar ruqsát étuman, ruqsát ne, u waap[h]ás téelum duwásan, níman.⁵⁰**

Having given them, he [lit. they/He] then bid farewell to them, [and] having bid farewell, they left and went back from there.

78. **ním khéene ílji, u éle dúwasuman.**

After the time of going, they remained here [? = Upon coming home, they remained there].

79. **dúwas, íne gar bilá, gáre gáne kúli ámin yáare nupáltan, uúśam yúue épací hurútam ke, jóṭi[s] iné júyasařar óikinasar, aqárisimi.**

Then his wedding takes place, [but] the one who had settled sulking down at his foster father's place, that little boy, when they told him to come at least for the wedding, he refused.

80. **bilkúl aćuća baa, bilkúl yař atíimi.**

⁴⁶ Possibly the Urdu phrase *xuśí manāyā* 'enjoyed (themselves)' < *xuśí manānā* 'be pleased, enjoy, hold festivities' with tautological verbalizing *ne* 'having done'.

⁴⁷ Urdu for Bu. *áhtar* 'twenty'. Burushaski numerals are being increasingly replaced with Urdu ones.

⁴⁸ According to Prof. Berger (*p.c.*) *nímiśo uđer* 'to those going'.

⁴⁹ According to my informant: *altó baraabár* 'equal to two', meaning perhaps 'twice as many [gifts as they had when they came]'.

⁵⁰ Observe the switch of subject in spite of the conjunctive participles.

"I am not coming at all!", he did not come up at all.

81. **maními, phat éti, nusén, te záile phat étuman.**

"So, let him be!", [thus] saying they let him be like that.

82. **phat ne, u waap[h]así niman.**

Having left him, they went back.

83. **nímčum ičíate, ité iné híne gáre bandobást basími.**

After [their] going, this [first] one's wedding arrangement was completed.

84. **basáasar, muúto altóulum iie gáre bandobást maními.**

On [its] being completed, now the arrangement for the [king's] second son's wedding started.

85. **altóulum iie gáre bandobást maními, numán, téelum garoóni tayáar manúman.**

The arrangement for the [king's] second son's wedding started, [and] having started, then the bridegroom's party got ready.

86. **garoóni tayáar numán téelum — éiin yákal ne muúto dáa hísa safár bilúm, hísa safár bilúm.**

When the bridegroom's party had got ready, then—it was now also a month's journey to China, a month's journey it was.⁵¹

87. **éiin yákal ne jaş manúman, jaş numá, hayúrisuaŋe suá úimo óo káa, qharé qharajáat níyan, téelum u jaş numá niman.**

They set out in the direction of China, [and] having set out, taking their goods on their horses and expenses [and] resources with them, they set out from there.

88. **niman, niman, niman yáre tháanar mathán altó iskíkučan nukúcar, wálkučan no gánar níasar, yar núun, han tólan aśdár taléni bim.**

They went [and] went [and] went, [and] having travelled for two or three days towards a distant place ahead, when they had gone for four days on the road, there in front [of them] a snake had come [lit. gone] and turned itself into a dragon.⁵²

89. **tólan bim, buŋ uyúm ke dayánum tólan aśdárčum taléni bim.**

[It] was a snake, a very big and fat snake had changed from [? into]⁵³ a dragon.

90. **gánulo se yaaní gan nuqárk, a ne, bim iqhátane.**

In the road it had, as it were, snatched the road into its wide-open mouth.

91. **téelum, be akhí baláan han gánulo dal diém bi?**

Then, "What [is] this kind of disaster [that] has arisen on the road?"

92. **ise gáne muú be écan, bésan iláaj écan, sénuman.**

What shall we now do for this, what remedy shall we resort to?", they said.

93. **u ar núma, phar manúman.**

Frightened, they turned back.

94. **phar manáasar, in guşpúre sénimi: ma ar amámanin, jáale yaténç bilá.**

On [their] turning back, the prince said: "Do not become frightened, I have a sword!"

⁵¹ The sentence is anacolouthic but understandable.

⁵² My informant told me in this context that when a snake becomes a hundred years old, it is believed to change its body into human form.

⁵³ One would have expected 'into a dragon' (dative, allative or absolutive: *aśdárar, aśdárčar, aśdár*).

95. **jáa yaténc nuká jén-jén [= jan-ján]⁵⁴ écam, álji hurúcaín, nusén, in íimo talwáar⁵⁵, yaténc, nukán, yar es asdáre épaçi yar ne ními.**

I'll chop it into pieces with the sword, sit behind me!", [thus] having said, he went forward with his sword against the dragon that [was lying] in front.

96. **yar ne níasar, isé asdár gánulo bim.**

On [his] going forward, the dragon was in the road.

97. **isé asdáre téelum yaaní qhat a n[e], inaṭar hamalá écar díimi.**

The dragon then opened its mouth wide and came to attack him.

98. **júasar, ité káa yaténc nídilín, uskó ṭukoḍámuc⁵⁶ ótimi.**

On [its] coming, he immediately struck with the sword and made it into three pieces.

99. **uskó ṭukoḍámuc no, téele yaaní ṭórimuc⁵⁷ ótimi.**

Having cut it into three pieces, he made them there into small fragments.

100. **ṭórimuc no barénasar, isé han yáṭis isé buṭ dayánum bim.**

Having made them into small fragments and having looked, [he noticed that] one of its heads was exceptionally thick.

101. **téelum inée sénimi ke: ye júin!**

Then he said that: "Hey come!"

102. **isé qáo ne, dúcimi.**

Having shouted this to them, he brought them [= the men].

103. **dúcun, éle jaggál bilúm.**

Now [lit. having brought them]⁵⁸, there was a forest there.

104. **jaggálcum yaśíl dóocimi.**

He made them fetch firewood from the forest.

105. **yaśíl dóocimi, dóocun, íke té[e]le yaaní tíke karát ne, han qáḡan étuman.**

He made them bring firewood, [and] having made them bring [it], they dug the ground and made a hole there for them [= the pieces].

106. **qáḡan ne, isé qáḡar icé ṭórimuc úlo gúman.**

Having made a hole, they threw those fragments into that hole.

107. **úlo nukún, yáṭe gále yaśíl nuká dúun, yáṭe ṭáal⁵⁹ étuman.**

Having thrown them in there, they fetched juniper firewood and stacked it on top of them.

108. **ṭáal ne, gajáṭo qaar⁶⁰ ne, ité icé phu étuman⁶¹.**

Having stacked it on top of them, they scratched fire on a piece of kindling wood and set fire to them.

109. **phu étuman, phu nétin, isé tól-asdár ésquluman.**

They set fire to them, [and] having set fire to them, they burned that snake-dragon.

⁵⁴ Prof. Berger (*p.c.*).

⁵⁵ Urdu for **yaténc** 'sword'.

⁵⁶ Based on Urdu **ṭukṛā** 'piece', not recorded in Burushaski dictionaries, see section 7.

⁵⁷ According to my informant, this would be **tóol ótimi** 'he weighed them'.

⁵⁸ An example of the mechanical nature of the finite verb phrase repetition.

⁵⁹ From Urdu **ṭāil** 'stack (of wood), heap', not entered in Burushaski dictionaries, see section 7.

⁶⁰ Expressive lengthening of vowel.

⁶¹ Pronounced [etiman].

110. **ésquluman, nésqul, aksár yaaní híkulto altúl éle dúwasuman.**

They burned it, [and] having burned it, they then remained there for a day or two.

111. **ité díšulo altúl dúwasuman; bešalar yaaní isé iyúlimi ke, babárcum phu laam⁶² ne, yáare barénuman.**

They remained in that place for two days; when it had burned, [on their] having put fire to half of it, they looked down.

112. **barénasar, yénişe⁶³ altó séere akhúrut han thóřian isé tól-aşdäre iyúmarulum dúuy, yáare bilúm.**

When they looked, a two-*ser* [appr. 1 kg] lump of gold of this size had melted down from inside the snake-dragon's intestines.

113. **itée káa nukán — díimi; itée káa gánimi, ité yéniş.**

Having taken that—he came with it [lit. with that having taken, he came]; that [lit. with that] he took, that gold.

114. **itée gáne ésqulám, b[e] ité iyúmarulo yéniş bilúm.**

For that purpose they had burned it, [was it] not, [because] in its intestines there was gold.

115. **itée gáne ésqulám.**

For that purpose they had burned it.

116. **ité yéniş đusún, ée káa gánimi, nukán, ye téelum gučháruman.**

Bringing out that gold, he took it with him, [and] having taken it, they then wandered away from there.

117. **nukúçar, níman, níman, níman yar núun, hitháanar dóşqaltuman.**

Having wandered, they went [and] went [and] went, [and] having gone ahead, they arrived at a place.

118. **dóşqalt barénasar, gan řhis⁶⁴ numá, yáare sínda níman.**

On [their] taking a look, having arrived [there], the road was mistaken [= they took the wrong road] and they were going down to the river.

119. **et madáale gáne bilúm.**

It [= the right way] was on the road going uphill.

120. **téele buř kaafí yaaní taklíif uyánuman.**

There they experienced a good deal of trouble.

121. **núyan, thoş dáa khitépa maráq numá, yáte niş qháa, taş éháre balbál bilúm.**

Having experienced [trouble], then again turning back on this side, before going up [there], [they found that] there was a slippery perpendicular cliff.

122. **mu[ú] be mayáan be oómayan, nusén, buř taklíife káa éle altúlan iskíkučan dúwas, gan řhis ne, ho dá[a] khitépa maráq numá, han chířan iyářisařar⁶⁵ duwášaman.**

Saying: "Now what will become of us, what will not become of us?", they remained

⁶² Expressive lengthening of the second vowel.

⁶³ Pronounced idiosyncratically mostly without affrication of initial uvular γ and with conspicuous lowering of subsequent $e \Rightarrow [G(\gamma)\acute{a}niş]$.

⁶⁴ Pronounced with initial affrication.

⁶⁵ The sublative $yářisařar$ of $yářis$ 'head', not otherwise known to mean 'peak'.

there for two or three days, having lost their way, [and] then having again returned on this side, they set off up for a mountain top.

123. **duwásan, dáa itepá qha dusók, isé[e] káa ho yáare maidáanaṭar giáman.**
Having set off, they descended on the other side, and then entered down onto a plain.

124. **maidáanaṭar níkiá, sáue khay bim.**

When they had entered onto the plain, there was a sandy dry river-bed [or strand].

125. **isé sáue kháyulo] ho phaṭáj maími.**

In [?] that sandy river-bed it will then be exhausting [?]⁶⁶.

126. **gučháruman, nuká, háyur[e] káa buṭ taklípaṭe — éiin buṭ mathán bilúm.**
They wandered, having taken [their things], with the horses, with great trouble—China was very far.

127. **ho [i]té ya téelum qaríib éiinar dóṣqaltuman.**

Then finally they arrived near to China.

128. **éiinar dóṣqaltuman, dóṣqalt, téelum ámis yaaní isé hunc níninin, háa čháriṣulo níya bim ke, iné gásmur mu[ú] mubaarakí yaaní mučhíman [i]t[é]⁶⁷ úge jamáat mu[ú] déṣqaltimi.**

They arrived in China, [and] having arrived in China, then that arrow that had flown and hit the door-frame of the house [of the princess], to that princess people had now given the good news: “Your husband [has] arrived now.”

129. **úge jamáat góor mu[ú] déṣqaltimi, mubaarák góor, nusén, ínmur mubaarakí móor čhúman.**

“Your husband [has] arrived now for you, congratulations to you!”, [thus] saying they brought the good news to her.

130. **mubaarakí móor dučhúyasar⁶⁸, in qhoš mumánumo.**

When they had brought her the good news, she became happy.

131. **qhoš numúman, taíl maními, níin, íimo nízá čháriṣcum díusimi.⁶⁹**

On [her] becoming happy, it thus happened, he went and pulled out his arrow from the door-frame.

132. **nízá čháriṣcum díusimi, díusin, téerumanar baadśáalar qhabár maními ke: be, akhíl nétan déṣqaltái úge górar.**

He pulled out the arrow from the door-frame, [and] having pulled it out, after this had happened, news came to the king that: “No [doubt], having done like this [= in this way] your son-in-law has arrived.”

133. **sénasar, baadśáa qáo étimi.**

On [their] saying [that], the king called him.

134. **qáo étasar, níninin baadśáa épačar níin, saláam ne, iríiḡ dúmarimi.**

⁶⁶ Thus according to my informant. The dictionaries give only ‘open, uncovered, removed’ for **phaṭáj**, but cf. **phaṭáj man-** ‘leave in displeasure’.

⁶⁷ Pronounced very indistinctly. Unless to be interpreted as **ke** ‘that’, **ité** would be here the anaphoric pronoun used in a rather unusual way cataphorically introducing direct speech.

⁶⁸ Apparently a contamination between **čhúyasar** < **čhú-** ‘take away, carry off’, and **dušúyasar** < **sú-** ‘bring, fetch’.

⁶⁹ Observe the switch of subject in spite of the conjunctive participle.

On [his] calling him, [the prince] went, [and] having gone to the king, greeted him and asked for his hand [to kiss it in token of affection and respect].

135. **iríiḡ dúmar, taíl épaći kursíaṭe éuruṭimi.**⁷⁰

On [his] asking for his hand, [the king] then seated him on a chair beside him[self].

136. **néuruṭ, gánaṭe bes máar taklíif manímia?**

Having seated him, [he asked:] "Why, did you encounter difficulty on the road?"

137. **aí, béyaṣki, be aaráame káa damáaman, sénate, babáa, be ya, dá[a] gan ṭhis ke mimánuman, taklíif ke méer maními.**

My son, have you come with some unfitting experiences, or [lit. not] with comfort?", on [his] saying [this the prince answered:] "[Royal] father⁷¹, no [doubt], you see, we both lost our way and ran into trouble."

138. **taklíif ke méer maními, sénimi, nusén, téerumanar, yéniḡ⁷² máimo — han makáaniḡ⁷³ ke dúumiśuér [=dúumiśo uéer] síse káa béeruman manúman ke, úe gáne hóle makáaniḡ óoltiruman.**⁷⁴

"We ran into trouble, too", he said, [and] having said [that], then [the king said:], "Come on [?], your own—", one houses [? one house he gave], and [to them] who were coming with the people, however many they were, they showed houses for them outside.⁷⁵

139. **iké makáaniḡulo óuruṭimi.**

They seated them in these houses.

140. **nóuruṭ, in dáa khóle baadśáa épaćiar díimi.**⁷⁶

On [their] having seated them [there], he again came to the king.

141. **hísaṭe yaani gućháraṣaṭe guké iḡi⁷⁷ akhúrcuko manícúm, yusaiko numá.**

During a month, that is while wandering, this his beard had become big like this, having grown long.

142. **téelum yaani to hólumpa u óuruṭum díśulo iḡi qya [= ke]⁷⁸ qar ne, śuá yóq ne, gaṭoḡ badál ne, juáan numá, ho muúto úlo ními.**

Then there outside in the place they had seated him, he trimmed his beard, washed and cleaned up, changed his clothes, and having becoming [like a] young man, he then now went inside.

143. **úlo níyasar, ho iné baadśáa sénimi, maními, muú aqhónan dícuin, nusén, hin qhalipáan díćuman.**

On [his] going inside, then the king said [to his servants]: "That's it, now bring a

⁷⁰ Observe the switch of subject in spite of the conjunctive participle.

⁷¹ Cf. footnote 7.

⁷² Perhaps the plural in *-in* of the interjection *ye* 'come on', cf. *yá-in* 'stop!, let be!'

⁷³ Note the incongruence between *han* 'one (xy)' and *makáan-iḡ* 'house-s'. One would have expected *makáan-an* 'a house'.

⁷⁴ Observe the switch of subject in spite of the conjunctive participle.

⁷⁵ This does not seem like a well-formed sentence. The general purport can, however, be deduced from the tentative literal translation.

⁷⁶ Observe the switch of subject in spite of the conjunctive participle.

⁷⁷ *-ḡi* 'beard' seems to be used dialectically with plural reference, as in Nageri [-ḡé] (Berger, *p.c.*).

⁷⁸ Thus also according to Prof. Berger (*p.c.*). My informant translated: 'he cleaned his beard'.

priest!”, [thus] having said, they brought a *caliph* [= Ismailite priest].

144. **qhalipáan díçun, iné qhalipáa téele úar níkaa yatánimi.**⁷⁹

The *caliph* having been brought [lit. Having brought the *caliph*], that *caliph* read the matrimonial ceremony there for them.

145. **nikáa nuqátan, téelum bésan yaaní şuk óotas bilúm ke, níkaaçe şuk óotuman.**⁸⁰

After [his] reading the matrimonial ceremony, then whatever [soups or drinks] were to be made to be lapped at the ceremony, they made them lap them.

146. **şuk nóo, hihíinar mubaarakí níçi, mularaqáat nóo, waap[h]ás ité ke úimo han baípaşan óoltirimi.**

After making them lap them, everybody congratulated each other, had themselves presented, and [when they went] back, he showed them their own treasury [or: fine room].

147. **éiine baadśáa, ye ma khóle hurúcain, nusén, iné jamáat óoltik taíl ámane káa hurúcaman.**⁸¹

When the king of China said: “Come on, you settle down here!”⁸² he [and his] wife both settled down thus in comfort.

148. **qaríib altósa éle hurúcaman; phat ayótimi baadśáa.**

For about two months they stayed there; the king did not let them go.

149. **phat ayótasar, ine sénimi ke: be, jáa máma ke áya, babá ke zizí, taş umáiman.**

On [his] not letting them go, [the prince] said that: “Nope, my mummy and daddy, [royal] father and mother⁸³ will be worrying.

150. **ámulo be manúman ke gánate, ámulo nuqsáan umánmana?**

‘What might have happened to them on the road, have they perhaps become injured?’

151. **khu be manúman ke, séiman.**

What have become of them?’, they will be saying.

152. **itéeçum ye dáa mímar ijaazát miçhí wáawu [? wáa babá]⁸⁴!**

Therefore give us now permission [to leave] again, oh father [?!]

153. **mi níçan, sénimi.**

We are going!”, he said.

154. **sénasar, léi áia [? aía]⁸⁵, khóle hurú, bálki akhóle baadśaahí⁸⁶ še!**

On [his] saying [this, the king answered:] “Hey my son [?], settle down here, nay enjoy kingship here!

⁷⁹ Observe the switch of subject in spite of the conjunctive participle.

⁸⁰ Note the switch of subject despite the conjunctive participle.

⁸¹ Observe the switch of subject in spite of the conjunctive participle.

⁸² Lit. ‘The king of China, “...”, having said,...

⁸³ Observe the characteristic word order, which varies according to whether the terms are native (*máma áya* ‘mother father’) or Indo-European (?) loans (*babá zizí* ‘father mother’), cf. footnote 9.

⁸⁴ Alone *wáa* would be the vocative-like interjection ‘hey (you)!’.

⁸⁵ The final enclitic *-a* here is problematic: it looks like the interrogative particle, but then it should be clause-final or cliticized to the clause-focus; added to a verb, it would be the imperative particle.

⁸⁶ The same as *baadśa-í* ‘kingship’ in the next sentence.

155. **khóle jáa baadśái ke gučícam.**

Here I'll give you the kingdom, too.

156. **akhóle hurú uq ke, jáa aí gumánaa.**

Live here and at the same time be my son, too.

157. **uq oóni, ésimi.**

Do not go!", he said to him.

158. **oóni, sénate, be ya, ye dáa jáa áya máma báan.**

On his saying: "Do not go!", [the prince responded:] "No way! You see I too have a father and a mother.

159. **áya máma apáma, je khóle hurúsamce.**

If I did not have a father and a mother, I would stay here.

160. **áya máma báan; u intizáarate, be maími gánate, b[e] oómanuman, nusén, úar buq taklíif maími.**

[But I have] a father and a mother; while waiting they will be greatly worried, saying: 'What will [have] happen[ed] on the road, what has not happened to them?'

161. **nusé, taí éle hurúcaman.**

Having said [this], they stayed there thus [for some time].

162. **nuúrućan, — ité ámit altó séer yéniş bilúm ke, ité yéniş thóti íne íimur jamáatmur, şaazaadímur, ye gána, guté gópaći óos, nusén, mučími.**

Having stayed there,— those two *sers* of gold, that lump of gold, he gave to his wife, to the princess, saying: "Take [this], take care of it [lit. put it beside you]!"

163. **mučími, taí íne sandóqar biśámo.**

He gave it to her, so she threw it into a box.

164. **nipíşan, téelum íne baadśaaćum ho ijaazát dúmaras[a]r, ayétum ke: mí[i] júasaće han hísa ni bilá, khóle altósa dimíwasuman, dáa níasaće han hísa, wálsa níćilá.**

On her having thrown it [there], then on [his] asking for permission [to leave] from the king, [and] on his not giving it, [he said]: "We have spent one month coming [lit. one month has passed on coming for us], here we have remained two months, and one month for going, [altogether] four months [will] pass.

165. **wálsa qháa, yaaní buq taklíif maími ke áya ke máma buq yaaní ukhár beetáab éćuman.**

For four months, that is, there will be a lot of trouble and father and mother will worry themselves sick.

166. **gánulo ámulo be manúman, be oómanuman, umáiman.**

'On the road what on earth [has] happened, what [has] not happened?', they will be [= thinking].

167. **mímar ijaazát mičí, nusén, cíine baadśaaćum ijaazát gánuman.**

Give us permission [to leave]!", [thus] saying, they took leave from the king of China.

168. **cíine baadśaaćum ijaazát nukán, téelum cíine baadśaa bésan yaaní íimo garoóni tayáar ótimi.⁸⁷**

[On their] having taken leave from the king of China, then the king of China made

⁸⁷ Observe the switch of subject notwithstanding the conjunctive participle.

things ready for the bridal party.

169. **íne ímo éimur bésan bésan móor éíiziḡ éćúm [= éćóm]⁸⁸ ke, móor étas icé éíiz har han uyóon mu[ú]⁸⁹ ráđi⁹⁰ ne, élum garóoni ke káa ho waap[h]así jaṣ manúman.**

For his own daughter, whatever things he was making for her, the things that were to be made for her, all those things he made ready, and then they set out back from there together with the bride.

170. **waap[h]así jaṣ manúman, jaṣ numá, téelum dúuman, dúuman, dúuninin, mathán yar dóṣqaltuman.**

They set out, [and] having set out, they then came [and] came, [and] having come, they reached far ahead.

171. **qaríib yaaní áltarkučan gućhárasar, altánan juwáayo yar ne qhabár dóoćuman.**

When they had journeyed some twenty days, they sent two young men with news in advance.

172. **ma hayúr čo no, ma yar namáan, babáalar qhabár ćhúin!**

“Making your horses gallop, go you in advance and bring news to father!

173. **khu garóoniar bandobást éti juṣ qháa, kháana-píina, ṣapík, óor bandobást maími.**

Make arrangements for this bridal party, before [its] coming, [so that] there will be arrangements for food and drink, food, for them.

174. **ma qhabár ćhúin, nusén.**

Bring news [to them]!”, [thus] saying [they sent them off].

175. **u altán garóoni hayúrišo čo no, úyar u duwášan, cáar-pán[ć] dínan uyár u dóṣqaltuman.**

Making their horses gallop, those two members of the bridal party went ahead of them, arriving four or five days ahead of them.

176. **dóṣqaltuman, dóṣqalt, barénasar, téelum kháana-píina bandobást śurúu maními.**

They arrived, [and] having arrived when they took a look, then arrangements for food and drink started to take place.

177. **baadśáa, ye barénin, nusén, éle decircar dáa khóle har híne yaaní śurúu maními.**

The king, having said: “Look here!”, everybody started then to cook here.

178. **śurúu numá, ćhindíkuć miśíḡuć tayáar har han uyóon éíiz u juṣ qháa tayaarí étuman.**

After they had started, then during five or six days before their coming they made everything ready.

179. **tayaarí ne, bésal yaaní u ćhindíkuć miśíḡuććum dóṣqaltuman, dóṣqaltum khéene mubaarakbaadí ućhíman.**

⁸⁸The sporadically occurring Ganish-Aliabad variant for Baltit-Altit éćám < éć-um ba-m ‘was doing’.

⁸⁹Pronounced as [mo].

⁹⁰A compound based on an otherwise unrecorded English loanword ráđi < ready.

Then [lit. having made ready] when after five or six days they arrived, at the time of their arrival, they conferred congratulations on them.

180. **téelum in dáa gas numóon, háalar nímó.**

Then that princess, having gone [= come], went into the house.

181. **móoskusmo muriig dúmarumo, móoskire iriig dúmarumo.**

She asked for her mother's-in-law hand, she asked for her father's-in-law hand [to kiss them in token of respect and affection].

182. **téele qha móuruṭuman.**

There they seated her down.

183. **qha ne móuruṭ, téelum dáa séi báí: yar ámine gárar ke atíi báí, yaaní joṭ laaneti⁹¹ aí, hazáar júçáia?**

Having seated her, [the king] then says [to the prince]: "The one who has not come even to the wedding before, that is to say that little accursed son of mine, perhaps he comes [now]?"

184. **ni ná[a], uḡ gúi nía, nusén, guṣpúr íi éercái.**

Go now, go you yourself [and ask him]!", [thus] saying he sends the prince himself.

185. **íi éerasar, téelum ními.**

When he had sent his son, then he [= the son] went.

186. **ye júa, taí oóman, séi báí.**

"Come on now, don't be like that!", he says.

187. **taí oóman, ye ju, je jéi dáaya báa, nusén, buṭ yaaní icé qhiṣ-phíṣ étimi.**

"Don't be like that, come on now, I myself have come", [thus] saying, he, as it were, begged and coaxed him a lot.

188. **qhiṣ-phíṣ étasar, téelum yaaní minnat ne, yáṭe háalar díçimi.**

On coaxing and then entreating him, he brought him up to the house.

189. **háalar díçimi, díçun, téelum yaaní inar balkí ité ke étimi, ke ámit altó séer yéniṣe thóṭi bilúm ke, ité iné jamáatmo sandóqulo bilúm.**

He brought him to the house, [and] having brought, then in addition to this he also made [the following:] the two *sers* lump of gold that he had, that was in his wife's box.

190. **niin, jamáat, jáa úgar amanát gópaçi yéniṣe thóṭian phat éta báiyam, ité be étóo⁹²?**

Having gone, [he said to his wife]: "Wife, the lump of gold that I had left with you as an entrusted thing, what have you done with it?"

191. **açhí, sénaṭe, dáa jáa áuye be yénaḡ apíma?**

Give it to me!", on [his] saying [thus], "Oh, so did my father not have gold [enough]?"

192. **dáa úḡe yéniṣ jáa be séya báa, jáale bilá, ga; bes ar gumái báa, nusén, iné ité yéniṣe thóṭi içhímo.**

Well, I have not eaten your gold, it is with me, take it! Why are you afraid?", [thus] saying, she gave him that lump of gold.

193. **içhíasar, ité ke nuká, díinin, çap ne íne joṭ éçuar içhími.**

⁹¹ From Arabic *laʿnatī* 'accursed'.

⁹² The sporadic Ganish-Aliabad variant in *-óo* for Baltit-Altit *étáa* < *ét-um báa* 'you have done'

On [her] giving it, he took it also and went and gave it secretly to that little brother of his.

194. **uŋ apáltan, jáaĉum naaráaz oóman!**

“Don’t sulk, don’t be angry with me!”

195. **naaraazí bilá ke, áya mámaĉum bilá, jáa úŋĉum naaráaz apáa, nusé, iríiŋ dúmari.**

“If there is anger, it is with father and mother, I am not angry with you”, [thus] saying [? on his saying that], he [? the elder brother]⁹³ asked for his hand.

196. **ité yéniŋe thóti ke íhími.**

He gave him also that lump of gold.

197. **guté ke gukháre gan!**

“Take this, too, for yourself!

198. **ye uŋ yaaní dukóon, jáa guté gárulo šariik mané, sénimi.**

So come now and take part in this wedding of mine!”, he said.

199. **šariik mané, sénasar, šuá nusé, taíl ité gar garoóni basiŋ qháa, iné ité háale hurúĉimi, joŋ iné íf.**

On [his] saying “Take part [in my wedding]!”, [the youngest son] said: “Good!”, and so remained in his house until the completion of the marriage [lit. wedding (and) bridal party], that little son.

200. **hurúĉimi, nuúruŋ, béšalar⁹⁴ gar ité téele u altá[a]ŋ[uĉ]⁹⁵ tóorimikuĉan, bíis dínan, qháa hurúĉaman.**

He remained [there], [and] having remained, they stayed there for eight [or] ten days, twenty days, for the time of the wedding [celebrations].

201. **garoóni nuúruĉa, úar ke dáa waap[h]asi ruqsát maními.**

The bridal party having stayed [there], they also got leave to return again [to China].

202. **ruqsát manáasar, básan básan yaaní úar ke úimo darjá-badarjá, ménar haŋúr uúyas bim, ménar máal uúyas bim, ménar rupiá uúyas bim, darjá-badarjá uyúĉum jótĉar qháa har hínar inaaamáatiŋ baadšáa yákalĉum úar píis étimi.**

On [their] getting leave, [the king] presented from the king’s side all kinds of gifts to each and everyone of them according to their status, from big to small, that is, to whom a horse was to be given, to whom goods were to be given, to whom money was to be given, all kinds of things according to their status.⁹⁶

203. **píis étasar, úe [= ué] ke qhuší buŋ umánuman.**

On [his] presenting [gifts], they too were very pleased.

⁹³ One would have expected [explicit] change of subject at this juncture.

⁹⁴ Temporal conjunction **béšalar** ‘when, at which time’ in a nominal clause.

⁹⁵ According to Prof. Berger (*p.c.*), it is very unlikely that this is a mere elliptical elision for **altáaŋ-uĉ** ‘eight days’, the suffix of which would be supplied by **tóorimi-guĉ-an** ‘ten days’. Alternatively, though even less likely, **altáŋ** stands for **altán** ‘two (h)’: ‘they both stayed...’.

⁹⁶ The complex structure of this sentence cannot be properly rendered in translation: lit. ‘On their getting leave, whatever to them too, according to their status, to whom a horse was to be given, to whom goods were to be given, to whom money was to be given, according to status, from big to small, to each and everyone from the side of the king he presented gifts to them.’

204. **núman, u waap[h]ás úimo éiin yákal jaş manúman.**

Having become [pleased], they started out back for their own China.

205. **jaş manáasar, joţ iné íí níininin, dáa yáare uúsam iné wazíire háale ye taíle nuúru, lağ oómanimi, dáa yáte atíimi.**

On [their] setting out, that young[est] son went and settling down again in his foster [father-]vizir's house in that [same] way, did not move, and did not come up [to the palace].

206. **açúasar, téelum iné wazíire sénimi, — baadśáa sénimi, ke: léi wazír!**

On [his] not coming, then the vizir said—the king said that: "Oh Vizir!"⁹⁷

207. **iné wazíire íian ke iné éço bam; baraabár éçukóon bam óltik.**

That vizir's son too was his [foster] brother; brothers of the same age they were both.

208. **uğ muú nukóon, gúimo hunç díus, díças bi, nizá!**

"You go now and pull out your own arrow, the arrow is to be pulled out!

209. **ámit díşulo nizá ya bim ke, ité díşulo yáare ité yítulo, nizá níyan taí záile bim, es ra [ʔ dáa] çap étum apím.**

In whichever place the arrow had landed, in that place, down in that sludge, the arrow was stuck⁹⁸ in that way, and [ʔ] it was not touched⁹⁹.

210. **wazíire íiar sénimi ke: yáa, uğ isé hunç díçu, séi báan.**

He said to the vizir's son: "Now you fetch that arrow!", they say [ʔ = He says].

211. **uğ nukóon, díçu ni, téelum isé hunç, nusé, je ke góo káa júçam.**

"You go and fetch the arrow from there", having said, "I too will go with you.

212. **ni, yaaní hunç díçu, hunç uğ díus díçu, séi báí.**

Go, fetch the arrow, pull out the arrow and bring it!", he says.

213. **śuá, nusén, óltik wazíire íí ke baadśáa yu óltik jaş numá níman.**

Having said: "Good", both the vizir's son and the king's son¹⁰⁰, both set off.

214. **masalán ílji guté gúurtara [ʔʔ ke últare] har apía, guté juán ílji yákalum har juán akhíl háranul yáare yítanulo bim, yákal... níman.**

Now [lit. for example] behind [here] there is the Ultar [ʔʔ] ravine¹⁰¹, isn't there, a ravine just like the ravine behind here [lit. from the back side like a ravine like this], down in such a ravine in a sludge it was, towards [that] they went.

215. **níman, núunin, wazíire íie isé hunçulo duún, akhíl ne jaaş étimi, yákal ne.**

They went there, [and] having gone, the vizir's son, taking hold of the arrow, pulled it like this towards himself.

216. **jaaş étasar, es jáar, — éer atúsim[i] hunç.**

When he pulled it, "It to me—", it did not come out for him, the arrow.

217. **hunç éer atuşimi, atuşasar, khos jáar¹⁰² atuşimi náa, sénimi.**

⁹⁷ The sentence is not completed.

⁹⁸ **níyan**, the conjunctive participle of either **-yá-** 'hit, strike' or **-yán-** 'take'.

⁹⁹ Owing to the unusual speed, the latter half of this sentence is extremely hard to decode. According to my informant the verb is **çap étas** 'to touch with one's fingers'; the form would be the negated passive.

¹⁰⁰ Note the somewhat anomalous plural **yu** 'sons', as referring conjunctively to both the vizir's and the king's sons.

¹⁰¹ Cf. **Ultar bar** 'Ultar mountain river valley ("nala")', north of Baltit.

The arrow did not come out for him, [and] on its not coming out, he said: "This did not come out for me, you know."

218. **dáa es úgar be maí bi, bésan taí đáğan bía, nusén, baadśáa íi íi níinín, es húnčáče čap ne, akhíl ne juş, akhíl ne juş étasar, hunc iriigar díimi.**

Saying: "What's the matter with you again, is it something so hard?", the king's son went himself, and touching the arrow, just pulled it a little like this, upon which the arrow came [out] into his hand.

219. **júasar, yáar ne akhúrut đarían¹⁰³ balími, yumóran, yumóran yáar ne balími.**

On its coming, a hole of this size emerged underneath [it], a crevice, a crevice emerged underneath [it].

220. **isé húnčáče [i]čí han yúrqunan, mendák¹⁰⁴, yúrqunan han¹⁰⁵ isé nizáače akhíl ne duún phat ayétum káa díimi.**

On the back side of that arrow a frog, *frog*, a frog was coming, holding on to that arrow without letting it go.

221. **júasar, es téelum — uđ dáa bésan akhóle guse nizáače duúnáa, nusén, isé yúrqun díu[s] qhan n[e] dáa wásimi, nizáacum.**

On its coming, it then¹⁰⁶—[he] took away the frog and tossed it down again from the arrow, saying: "Why now have you taken hold of this arrow here?"

222. **qhan n[e] wásiasar, úge bes čap étám khóle, dáa uđ je ámular lip acáa?**

On his tossing it down, "Why had you shot here, and where are you throwing me?"

223. **es phat ne, yaaní nizá níya, gučhárími.**

Leaving it there and taking the arrow he walked away.

224. **gučhárasar, es yúrqun top maíme íčí tácar duúními.**

On [his] walking away, that frog started to follow him bouncing.

225. **uđ ámular níčaa ke, je ke júča baa góokáa, gon, nusé, phat ayétimi yúrqune.**

Saying: "Wherever you go, I too come with you; let us go!", the frog did not let him go.

226. **úge bés čap étám?**

"Why had you shot [here]?"

227. **yáake nizá íimo díşulo zurúp phat étí, yáake je káa achú!**

Either stick the arrow [back] into its own place and leave it there, or take me with you!

228. **úge čap étám, séními.**

You had shot me", it said.

229. **majbúuri mar¹⁰⁷ khot duniáatulo šaru[m].**

"For sure [I am stuck with] shame in this world.

230. **iné íi-íe¹⁰⁸ áçuane akbér baadśáa éi mučhúmi, hin áçuane cíine baadśáa**

¹⁰² Pronounced without plosion as a fricative [jäär].

¹⁰³ Given as 'window' by Lorimer and Berger, but here in the meaning 'hole', as corroborated by *yumór*.

¹⁰⁴ The Urdu equivalent of *yúrqun* 'frog'.

¹⁰⁵ Note the chiasmic or emphatic inversion of word order.

¹⁰⁶ False start.

¹⁰⁷ Perhaps *majbúuri* + *-ar* dat. with some kind of idiosyncratic glide.

éi **mučhúmi**.

That [one?] brother of mine married the daughter of king Akbar, my other [lit. one] brother married the daughter of the king of China.

231. **muú jáa aćiaṭe gusé yúrquṇ top maíme díimi**.

Now this frog came jumping at my heel.

232. **díimar ke, mu[ú] duniáatulo sárum, síse códo aćhícuman, nusén ke, es top maíme ići táyasar, es ǎp ne, dáal ne, ǎndáaar wásimi**.

Because of its coming now, shame in the world [for me], people will show me contempt", having said [thus], on its following him jumping, he took it and lifted it up and threw it into [his] pocket.

233. **ǎndáaar wásimi, ǎndáaar níwašin, téelum yaṭe háalar díimi, wazíire háalar**.

He threw it into [his] pocket, [and] having thrown it into [his] pocket, then he came up to the house, the vizir's house.

234. **wazíire háalar díin, — téele hurúcaman**.

Having come to the vizir's house,—they settled down there.

235. **nuúrućan, isé yúrquṇ yaṭpa paṭáanate¹⁰⁹ éuruṭimi**.

Having settled down [there], he seated the frog up on a board [? candle-shelf].

236. **paṭáanate yaṭe taí ne íne éuruṭimi; néuruṭ bam¹¹⁰, baadśáa déyalimi**.

He seated it up on a board [? candle-shelf] like this; [when] he had seated it, the king heard [of it].

237. **baadśáa déyalimi ke: be ya, ínar yúrquṇan díi bim**.

The king heard that: "Oh no, to him a frog had come."

238. **sénasar, baadśáa, ye šuá maníla, aí munasíib laa bii¹¹¹ be iláaji, sénimi**.

On [their] saying [that], the king said: "Well, this is [lit. was] good, my son's luck, it can't be helped."

239. **nusén, baadśáa híkulto, be ya, ye jáa aqhákindaro ṭeṣṭ¹¹² óca baa**.

[Thus] having said, one day the king [decided]: "No, well, I make a test for my daughters-in-law."

240. **ṭeṣṭ óca baa; še ućhími, iskí man gur, bíis séer maltaş kaa še ućhími**.

"I make a test"; he gave them wool, three *maunds* of wheat, twenty *sers* of butter and wool he gave them.

241. **han¹¹³ cóyámuc óti, šuqámuc óti, nusé, yoól[j/as]ar šuqá, cóyá**.

¹⁰⁸ Perhaps *hin* 'one' was meant.

¹⁰⁹ Urdu *paṭā* means 'cudgel, foil, wooden scimitar' but also 'seating plank or board' (= *paṭṭā*, *paṭrā*; geminates are usually simplified in loanwords in Burushaski). My informant kept assuring me that this word is really *táqht-an-aṭe*, which he explained as 'on a place for keeping candles', cf. *táqht* 'throne, wooden bed' or *táqhta* plank, board'.

¹¹⁰ Periphrastic stative aspect.

¹¹¹ Look like privative suffixes, paraphrased by Burushaski *be* 'what; not'.

¹¹² A compound verb based on the English loanword *ṭeṣṭ* < *test* (not recorded previously, but in common use for example at the Karimabad Hospital).

¹¹³ *han* can only be the numeral 'one (xy)', but perhaps with the meaning of *hánjuko* 'similar'. According to prof. Berger (*p.c.*) obviously merely a lapse.

śuqámuc iman [ʔ **chúman**].

Saying: "Make similar [ʔ] choghas, make cloaks [with long sleeves]!", he sent [ʔ] them a cloak to dress, choghas.

242. **íne íe iqhákinar**¹¹⁴ **óocumi**.

He sent them to his son's daughter-in-law [= > wife].

243. **óocuyasar, in joʔ in yúrquu bi, ménar ke íchími, ga uʔ ke, nusé.**

On [his] sending them, [to] that young one [who] has the frog, to everybody, he gave [those] things, saying: "You take [this] too!"

244. **iné, jáar méne dérgii báan, méne écáan, sénate, be ya, códo uŋgóoy máue**¹¹⁵ **díimi**.

He [= the prince] [said:] "Who spins for me, who makes it?", at which¹¹⁶ [the king answered]: "No, well, you, you all [ʔ] got shame coming on you!"

245. **bélate écáa ke, éti, nusé, ś[e] eśquu éetimi**.

In whatever way you do it, do it!", [thus] saying, he handed over the wool to him.

246. **ek nuká níininin, uśsam ími mópaći hérćar duúnimi**.

Taking them, he went and burst out crying at his foster mother's place.

247. **y[e] akhí haalát bilá, sénasar, isé yáʔum yúrquu ími káa cáya éćar duúnimi**.

On his saying: "This is the situation", the frog started to talk from above with his mother.

248. **léi, ar akúman, khok éizizij núcu, ité máma mópaći phat o, uśsam gúmi mópaći**.

"Hey, don't be afraid! Take these things and leave them with mother, with your foster mother!"¹¹⁷

249. **isé akhúruman śée lúuyo jáar joó wa, sénimi**.

Give me just a little tuft of that wool!", [the frog] said.

250. **akhúruman śée lúuyo jáar joó wa, sénimi, śuá, nusé, icé śée lúuyo es bé-ecáa, sénimi íne**.

Give me a little tuft of that wool!", he said, at which he [= the prince] said: "Good", "what are you doing with that tuft of wool?"

251. **ćup ne, joó ke, sénimi**.

"Give it to me!", [the frog] said quietly.

252. **śuá, nusé, isé śéećum ćuʔ ne, yáʔpa isé yúrquu épaći, ga, nusé, yákala[r] dip ne, et śe ke phaló ke maltaş ke waziire háalar núcuu, phat étimi**.

Saying: "Good", he snapped off a bit of the wool and winking up at the frog, saying: "Take it!", he then took the wool and the grain and the butter to the vizir's house and left them there.

253. **máma akhí haalátan bilá**.

¹¹⁴ Corrected by my informant as **yúsmur** 'to his wife'

¹¹⁵ According to Berger there is a Nageri expression **maué** to address several people: 'you here/there'. **uŋgóoy** is an expression to address a single person: 'you here'.

¹¹⁶ Lit. 'on [his] saying'.

¹¹⁷ It seems the frog is saying these words to the prince after having said something to his foster mother.

“Mother, this is how things are.

254. **uḡ dérgiyar duún!**

You start to spin.

255. **ye baré, akhí bilá.**

Look here, this is how it is.

256. **khóle ya ité yúrqune béske éci bía?**

What can [lit. does] the frog do here [with] this?”

257. **yúrquncum bésan júci, sénasar, íne éle dérgiyar duúnomo.**

On [his] saying: “What will come of the frog?”, she started to spin there.

258. **khíti ámit yaaní han hísá gunc uchi bám, hísamo cóyámuc dúc[u]in, nusén.**

On this side [= the king] had given them a month[’s] day[s]’ [time], saying: “After a month bring the cloaks!”

259. **téerumanar yaṭ u ke suqámučar philámig díusinín, baadsáa, cíine baadsáa éi ke étumo, akbér baadsáa éi ke étumo.**

Then those too [living] above [near the palace] prepared [also] woven scarves for the cloaks, the king, the daughter of the king of China made [a cloak] and king Akbar’s daughter made it, too.

260. **ne, u ráḡi¹¹⁸ ótasar, phaláan ki gúnčar, máa máimo suqámuč núya dúcin darbáarar, sénimi, marakáar.**

Then on their having made them ready, on that settled day, “Take your cloaks and bring them to the king’s court!”, he said, “to the (royal) assembly!”

261. **marakáar ma yaaní suqámuč núya júin!**

Take your cloaks and come to the assembly!

262. **marakáulo muú cíkiḡ¹¹⁹ étas bicá.**

In the (royal) assembly the checking is [lit. checks are] now to be done.

263. **ámine daltás étóon¹²⁰ ke, daltás étum isée gáne éle inémo numaahís¹²¹ étas bilá.**

The one who has made the best [lit. beautiful, fine] one, for the one who has made the best one, an exhibition is to be held here for her.

264. **ámin buṭ qaabíl bo ke, inémo isé leél maími, nusén.**

Who is the most able, her that [cloak] will be known”, he said [lit. having said].

265. **téerumanar qáo óor maními.**

Then the call came to them.

266. **qáo manáasar, téelum isé yúrqune ínar sénimi ke: léi séer, sénimi.**

On the call having come, then the frog said to him: “Hey lion!”, it said.

267. **bésan, sénate, am báa, khol ju na, ye ga guse chu, nusé, han cóyáan dímac butúnanulo isé yúrqune iné gušpúrar yuúmi.**

¹¹⁸ A compound verb based on an otherwise not recorded English loanword *ráḡi* < *ready*.

¹¹⁹ Apparently from English *check* with the Burushaski plural ending *-iḡ* (y). If it were not for the plural predicate verb *bicá(n)* ‘they (y) are’, *číking* could be from English *checking*.

¹²⁰ A sporadic Ganish-Aliabad variant for Baltit-Altit *étáan* < *étum báan* ‘they have made’.

¹²¹ Actually *numaís*, but pronounced with an h-like glide to prevent hiatus.

On [his] saying: "What?", the frog [answered] "Where are you? Come here now, take this!", and thus saying he folded a cloak into a bag and gave it to the prince.

268. **gušpúrar yuúmi, núču [? dúču], isé níya, in yáte níinin, baadśaa tháagar, tháagar ními.**

He gave it to the prince, [and the latter] took it [lit. having brought it having taken it] and going up went to the king's palace, to the palace.

269. **tháagar níininin, téelum íne sénimi, — achá, híkum u iqhákindaro ke šuqámuc níya, dúcuman.**

Having gone to the palace, [the king] then said,¹²²—well, both his daughters-in-law have taken and brought cloaks.

270. **dúcasar, uyúm iné íie isé šuqá dícun, baadśaa yoólimi, čoýa.**

On [their] bringing them, the king took the eldest son's cloak and put it on, the cloak.

271. **yoólasar hanpámo guse gálian yáare tíkcar ními, han gálian yar khólar díimi.**

On his putting it on, one sidepiece went down on the ground, the other came [up] here in front [= was too short].

272. **díin, baraabár atíimi.**

[Thus] coming, it did not fit [him].

273. **baadśaa téelum sis uyóone yaaní pasán ayétuman.**

The king [and] then all the people did not like it.

274. **ayéțasar, altóulum íne šuqá níya dumóomo.**

On [their] not liking it, the second one's [wife] came with the cloak.

275. **es dícun, baadśaa é[e]ulasar, jígécig buț yar yusaiko maními, idím khuț maními.**

On [their] taking it out and making the king put it on, the sleeves turned out to be very long in front, the body [part] turned out to be short.

276. **es ke éer baadśaar baraabár atíimi.**

This too did not fit the king.

277. **u phéel¹²³ umánuman, altán iqhákindaro.**

They failed, both the daughters-in-law.

278. **iskíulum yúrqune ámis yaaní dímac šuqá yuú bim ke, isé yuúm isé čoýa nícun, baadśaa é[e]ulasar, iné darbáar íi yaaní han čoýa yuúțiscum iyáțiscar phiț¹²⁴, baraabár, díimi.**

When the third [son] brought and made the king put on that cloak which the frog had folded and given, the cloak given by it [= the frog], it fitted, suited, him from foot to head, [like] one of his own court cloak[s].

279. **yaaní téelum har hin uyóone buț yaaní ...**

That is to say, everybody very much...¹²⁵ [praised it ?].

280. **isé yúrquncum akhíl duróan díimi, nusén, baadśaa buț qhoš imánimi.**

¹²² False start.

¹²³ A compound verb based on an otherwise not recorded English loanword *phéel* < *fail*.

¹²⁴ A compound verb based on an otherwise not recorded English loanword *phiț* < *fit*.

¹²⁵ End of side A of tape, with inadvertent loss of the last couple of words.

Saying: "Such a work came from the frog", the king was very pleased.

281. **qhoś niman, téermanar iné baadśaa dáa sénimi: maními.**

Having become pleased, then the king said again: "[That] was [it] [= you've done it]."

282. **nín, ruqsát oor étimi.**

He went and gave them leave.

283. **ruqsát no, yaṭ gúnčar sénimi ke: jáa dáa aqhákindaro muúto teṣṭ máca baa.**

Having given them leave, on the following day he said that: "Now again, my daughters-in-law, I [will] test you.

284. **kháana ámine daltás écaan ke, ṣapík.**

Who makes the best food [will win].

285. **máa máimo hakícaṅulo ṣapík nétan, marakáar ma ṣapík níya júin, sénuman.**

Prepare food in your own houses and come with it to the assembly!", He said.

286. **nusén, baadśaa yákalčum baskaraṭ, haldén ke uúmi, maltaş ke ućhími, phaló ke uyúnimi, yaśíl ke uyúnimi.**

Having said [that], he [= the king] gave them from the side of the king a wether and also a full-grown he-goat as well as butter, mixed flour and fire-wood he gave them.

287. **bésan uyóon qharé qharajáat uúmi.**

He provided them with all costs [and] expenses.

288. **ma décir, marakáar, ámine daltás étuman ke, máa numaahís bilá.**

"You cook for the (royal) assembly and whoever makes the best [lit. fine] [food], her [lit. your] exhibition will be.

289. **éiṭ¹²⁶ bilá.**

There is check[ing].

290. **ma décir, yaaní kháana jímalar níya júčuman, nusén, ho yaaní úar qharé uúmi.**

You cook, that is food for tomorrow you will take and come", having said [that], then he provided them with the expenses.

291. **qharé uúyasar, isé qharé níya, da iné joṭ guśpúr ními.**

On [his] providing them with the expenses, taking those expenses the young prince went again [to his house].

292. **yáare yúrqune básan yaaní áar éci?**

"Now what will the frog do for me down there?"

293. **jáar khot be zarúlan¹²⁷, ho khot du¹²⁸ séime áajo-ayúla¹²⁹ écume íimo qharé níya nínin ke, uúsam yúue háalar čhúmi.**

Now what a trouble this is for me", saying this again groaning, he took his own expenses and went and carried [the things] to his foster father's house.

¹²⁶ Obviously for éik 'check[ing], test', cf. footnote 119.

¹²⁷ Urdu *zarūr* 'necessary' in the meaning 'need, trouble', glossed by my informant as *muṣībat* 'trouble'.

¹²⁸ Perhaps a very reduced form of *dáa* 'again, then, more, and'.

¹²⁹ Perhaps a combination of *áajo* 'alas' (*áajo ét-* 'groan') with a contracted form of *áyalúlo* 'alas my father'.

294. *chúyasar, khíti mar*¹³⁰ *kamaráar júyasar, yúrqune duyárusimi, bes guchúám, léé, máa babá, sénimi.*

On [his] carrying them and coming here to [his] room, the frog asked [him]: “Why did he call [lit. had he taken] you, hey, your father?”, it said.

295. *es yáɬumpa téele paṭáaṭe yáṭe, taṭṭáaṭe*¹³¹ *yáṭe, akhíl numá hiṣ écume maí bim, yúrqu.*

Up there on the board [? candle-shelf], on the throne, that frog was sighing like this.

296. *bes guchúám, sénimi.*

“Why did he call you?”, it said.

297. *bé-ecáa, sénimi, bésk[e] achús, be góor díá, sénimi.*

“What do you do [with that piece of information]?”, he said, “for anything he may call me, what is it to you [lit. what does it come to you]?”, he said.

298. *imóos étimi.*

He lost his temper.

299. *imóos étasar, isé khaś ne, ékine akhúruman ésue akhúruman jáa[r] káa*¹³² *dícu, suá, sénimi.*

On [his] losing his temper, “Slaughter it and bring this much of its liver and this much of its kidney[s] for [lit. with] me, all right!”, it said.

300. *sénasar, bé-ecáa, sénimi.*

On [its] saying [that], he said: “What will you do [lit. what do you do]?”

301. *ya dícu, gósam dícu, dáa béseke ecáa báa.*

“Just bring it, bring it, I told you, because I make [food].

302. *káman akhúruman báṭiṭ su!*

[And] bring just a little dusting-flour!”

303. *sénasar, isé haldén khaś ne, ékine curúkan, ésuan, káman báṭiṭe dusún, yáɬpa ité paṭáaṭe yúrqu yáare pháta~~kalée~~ [? ...éle] phat nétan, duúsimi.*

On [its] saying [that], he slaughtered the goat and brought a piece of its liver, a kidney, a little dusting-flour, and leaving it in a wooden bowl there [?] before the frog [who was sitting] up on that board [? candle-shelf], he went out.

304. *éap numá, guchámi, amaná*¹³³ *yamgíin ikhár étimi.*

He went hiding to sleep, but he felt sad [lit. made himself sad].

305. *jáar yúrqu wálimi, nusé, ikhár yamgíin icómi* [= *écume*], *yaaní éap numá, ye dáa guchámi.*

Feeling sad, saying: “I ended up with [this] frog [lit. a frog fell to me]”, he then went hiding to sleep.

306. *nukúca, jímalar íti wazíire éie — jamáate, uúsam ímie — ṣapík étumo é/śom* [*ḍusún* or ? *chúmi* (Berger, *p.c.*)].

Having slept, in the morning there the vizir’s daughter—[correction:] wife—his foster

¹³⁰ Perhaps *khíti* ‘this side’ + *ar* {dat.} > ‘onto this side’.

¹³¹ Perhaps for *taḥtáaṭe* ‘on the throne or plank, board’, cf. footnote 107.

¹³² According to my informant this would be *jáar ke áar* ‘for me and for me’ [pleonastic repetition].

¹³³ There is no pause between *amaná* ‘but’ and the preceding word, but instead a considerable pause between it and the following word.

mother made [? was going to make] bread [for breakfast], having brought [?] it [there].

307. **ine şapík étas íti étu bom** [? ... **étas itéer çhu bom** (Berger, *p.c.*)].

She had caused to make bread there. [? She had brought (things) to make bread.]

308. **khíti barénasar, yáte qáo maními.**

On their looking towards this side, the call came [from] above [= from the palace].

309. **be ya, şapíkinç étáan ke, díçuin, nusé, marakáacum qáo maními.**

A call came from the assembly, saying: "Now, bring the food that you have made!"

310. **qáo manáasar, yáare, be ya, akhíl numá qáo maními, ye ga, nusé.**

When the call came, down [the frog said:] "No doubt, in this way the call has come [lit. came], so take [this]!", [thus] saying.

311. **akhúrus tilíe phúlanulo qham bilúm.**

In a [tiny] walnut shell pot of this size there was vegetable-soup.

312. **akhúrut qhamálian yáte top maí bilúm.**

A [tiny] thin piece of bread of this size was on top of it.

313. **isé ité yáte yáare dastarqháan nuqún** [? **nukun**], **isé ité çap ne gu gu gu** [? **guy**]¹³⁴ **qhaalí dastarqháan igú** [? **nukú**], **isé akhíl nétan, níyan, ye ni, sénumo, çhu, sénumo.**

Upon that [the foster mother] put a table-cloth on it [and] under it, covering it thoroughly by putting just a table-cloth over it, after which she took it and said: "Now go, take it!", she said.

314. **khot bélaçe çhúca báa, sénimi.**

"How can [lit. do] I take this?", he said.

315. **çhu, sénumo.**

"Take it!", she said.

316. **çhu, sénimi isé yúrqune çup ne.**

"Take it!", said the frog quietly.

317. **şuá, nusén, téelum isé níya ními**¹³⁵, **yáte níinin ke téele qhátpa in dáa joṭ bam.**

Saying: "Good", he then took it and went up there, [and] having gone up there, then there on the lower side [? on a seat or in a room below the others] the young[est son] was there.

318. **alág téele hurúṭimi.**

He sat down there alone.

319. **nuúruṭinin, uyúm iie déçirum isé kháana marakáar ními.**¹³⁶

On [his] sitting down, the food prepared by the eldest son[']s wife] went into the assembly.

320. **níasar, éle cíkiṭ**¹³⁷ **şurúu manúman.**

On its going, they started to check [it] here.

321. **u yáare şapík óosuman.**

¹³⁴ The repetition indicate duration or plurality: **ḍāl ḍāl kar** 'having put on and on [for a long time or several table-clothes]'.
¹³⁵ Alternatively **níinin** 'having gone'.

¹³⁶ Note change of subject in spite of the conjunctive participle.

¹³⁷ Either from English *checking* or the Burushaski plural of **çik** < Engl. *check*, see footnote 119.

They placed the food before them.

322. **nóos barénasar**¹³⁸, **uyóone lik-lúk lik-lúk écóm.**

When they had placed it, everybody was munching at it in small bits (or: taking small bites of it).

323. **qhaṭimús hin tuṣpúṭan báma, inée sénimi: áya-lólo, bayú ṣáo étu bo, léé, nusé qáo étimi.**

At the lower end of the room [= by the door], there was a spoilt rascal, wasn't there, who [lit. he] said: "Oh my goodness, she has poured salt into it, hey!", he shouted.

324. **háó maními.**

There was a hullabaloo.

325. **dóḡarusuman, kanḡám**¹³⁹ **umánuman.**

[When] they asked, they condemned [the food].

326. **dáal étuman ṣapík.**¹⁴⁰

They took away [lit. lifted up] the food.

327. **marakáulo ṣapík es dáal étuman, dáal ne, altóulum in iqhákinmo ṣapík élar ními.**

They took away the food from [lit. in] the assembly, [and on their] having taken it away, the second one's daughter's-in-law [= > wife's] food went there.

328. **níasar, íne dáa bayú étu bom qhámulo.**

Now [lit. on its going], she again had put salt into the vegetable-soup.

329. **uyóon u luk écume barénuman.**

Everybody was tasting at it in small bits [lit. looked/tried while munching at it].

330. **hiṣ ke ayétuman.**

They did not even make a sound.

331. **qhaṭimús in bayárkan báma, iné luk**¹⁴¹, **áya-lólo, bayú iik ke apí, tamturgót bilá, nusé qáo étimi.**

At the lower end of the room there was that mischievous brat, wasn't there, who [lit. he] [tasting] a bit exclaimed: "Oh dear, there is not even the name of salt, it is utterly insipid."

332. **in ke phéel mumánumo.**

She too failed.

333. **phéel numúman ke**¹⁴², **ye joṭ inée dícu, ési[mi].**

When she had failed, [the king] said: "Now bring the young[est] one's [food]!"

334. **sénasar, úlo marakáar chúman.**

On [his] saying [so], they took [it] into the assembly

335. **núcun ke, dalbáṭum dastarqháayo dáal écume, dáal écume, dáal écume, dáal écume barénasar, a**¹⁴³ **yáare gamúnulo tilíe han phúlan, akhúrus**

¹³⁸ The conjunctive participle **nóos**'their [= the servants] having placed' is either absolute or **barénasar** 'on their [= the king and his assembly] looking' must be taken as an expletive. In fact, it carries no independent meaning here.

¹³⁹ A compound verb based on an otherwise unrecorded English word **kanḡám** <condemn.

¹⁴⁰ Observe VO owing to object focus.

¹⁴¹ Note the lack of verb.

¹⁴² Note the conjunction **ke** 'and, when, if' after the conjunctive participle, which is absolute.

phúlan, isé phúlulo qham bilúm.

Having taken it, when they were lifting away the table-clothes from it [one after the other], they looked: Oh, there underneath a walnut pot, a [tiny] pot of this size, [and] in that pot there was vegetable-soup.

336. **yáte qhamálian bilúm.**

On top of it there was a thin piece of bread.

338. **isé dáal ne barénasar, baadśáa imóos dusúmi.**

Having removed it and taken a look, the king lost his temper.

339. **khot jáar ité ací yasícár guté étáia khíne, nusé, imóos dusúmi.**

Saying: "Has he done this just to make fun of me?", he lost his temper.

340. **dusúyasar, hin wazíirane sénimi ke: baadśáa, khok akhíljuko ke manáaso bicá, uq, bismillá ne, guse gúmiş [= gómiş] čak ne, laş e!**

On his losing his temper, one of the vizirs said that: "King! Even if these are to be like this, dip your finger into it and lick it, saying [lit. making] 'In Allah's name!'"

341. **gúmiş [= gómiş] čak ne laş e, sénasar, baadśáa isé tilie phúlulo émiş čak ne, akhíl ne laş étimi.**

On [his] saying: "Dip your finger and taste it!", the king dipped his finger into that walnut pot like this and licked it.

342. **laş étasar, guse émiş éurúk étimi, káa káa.**

On [his] licking it, he bit his finger, immediately [out of delight].

343. **émiş éurúk numá barénasar, wáqtanćum khíil ne ke, qhúun¹⁴⁴, multán, chúchut mayáar duúnimi.**

Having bitten his finger [lit. his finger having been bitten] when he took a look, after a while when he looked, blood, blood, started to drip out.

344. **émiş čak ne laş k[e]¹⁴⁵, émiş, uyám émiş, éurúk étimi.**

Having dipped his finger, when he licked it, the finger, he bit the tasty finger.

345. **altóulum, yá[a] chírcum múşćar duúsiş qháa, uyóon ómianć éurúk ótuman.**

The second one, or in due order [from first] to last, everybody bit their fingers.

346. **uyóon ómianć ke multáiq díimi, mazá óor díimi.**

[From] everybody's fingers there came blood, they all enjoyed it.

347. **mazá díin, iné yúrqune taaríp maními.**

Enjoying it, they praised the frog [lit. the frog's praise came about].

348. **es şícume níman¹⁴⁶, atíyanimi, phaş eémanimi.**

They went on eating it, [but] it did not run out, did not come to an end.

349. **uyóone uúlişo maními.**

Everybody got his fill.

350. **buţ mazá díimi óor.**

They enjoyed it very much.

¹⁴³ Apparently the interjection **a** indicating surprise.

¹⁴⁴ From Urdu **xūn** = Bu. **multán**.

¹⁴⁵ Note the lack of verb, cf. Berger MS. Grammatik § 16.38.

¹⁴⁶ Continuative aspect.

351. **es şapík dáa phaş ke eémanimi.**

And that food did not come to an end.

352. **bi tilíe phul, úlumo şıçume níman.**

There was [lit. is] a walnut pot, they went on eating from it.

353. **péeş bar maními, leekín şapík phaş eémanimi.**

The stomach[s] were [lit. was] filled, but the food did not come to an end.

354. **eémanum, aaqhirúlum [= aaqhiríulum] ináam ýúrqune joş iné séere inéer ináam deşqaltimi.**

Because of its not coming to an end, the prize finally [?] came to the frog's young [prince], to that hero [lit. lion].

355. **taarıp numán, dáa muúto ité séi báı ke: baadşaa, le aí, be ya, ye dáa jáa muú dayoşaş yaşap góoća baa, háalar qáo éća baa, háalar júas gumái baa.**

On [the prince] receiving praise, he, the king then now says¹⁴⁷: "Hey my son! No doubt I will now fling flour on you[r head], I call you home, you are to come home."

356. **sénaşe, yá[a] áya je ke ýúrqunan áakaa níya, to bé-ećume je bélaşe júcam?**

On [his] saying [this], "Oh my father! If the frog goes with me, then in what way [lit. doing what], how, am I to come?"

357. **be ya, sénimi, be ya, júas gumái baa, jáa qáo éća baa, nusén, baadşaa buş zóor étimi.**

"No problem", he said, "no doubt you must come, I am calling you", [thus] saying the king insisted very much.

358. **buş zóor étasar, téelum majbúurg díin, ýúrqunar sénimi ke: akhíl akhíl éáyan maı bilá.**

Upon [his] insisting much, [the prince] then, forced to come, said to the frog: "This is the way things are [lit. the story is like this] now.

359. **mu[ú] be amáya baán ke, sénaşe, beske be, gun [= gon], nícan!**

What will become of us now?", at which [the frog answered]: "Nothing to worry about, come, let us go!

360. **uş ayár mané, je júcam.**

You go ahead of me, I will come."¹⁴⁸

361. **téelum yaş gúnçar óor qáo maními.**

Then on the following day the call came to them.

362. **qáo manáasar, téele baadşaa tháage híşe úlo níman.**

On the call having come, they went there to the king's gate.

363. **níasar, isé ýúrqune bātulo salaasır parı bom, parı bom.**

On [their] going there, [it appeared] that inside the frog's skin was the fairy *Salaasır*¹⁴⁹, was the fairy.

¹⁴⁷ Note the change of subject in spite of the conjunctive participle.

¹⁴⁸ My informant added the following point to the story here: Salaasır told the prince when the king requested him to come that she will never come with him, if his parents stand up to greet her in the palace. This promise was violated when the king stood up to strew flour on them.

¹⁴⁹ My informant did not know of any such fairy name.

364. **bésal yaaní tháaḡe híge úlo giyáman ke, yúrqune ité baḡ phat étumo.**
When they entered through [lit. in at] the gate of the palace, the frog abandoned that skin.

365. **ínmo ráščum gaadí láit wálum juán yar ne láit wálimi, háalar.**

From her effulgence a light, as if falling from a car's headlights¹⁵⁰, fell on the house.

366. **láit wálasar, úlo baadsáa taí sénimi ke: yúrqun yar bésan dáa géesišo¹⁵¹ núya díi báí, aí ye, séi báí úlo.**

The light falling, the king said inside [the palace] like this: "What gases [i.e. lights] is the frog now bringing in front, my son?", he says inside [the palace].

367. **et ínár be leél, ke yaaní iné yaaní parí bo, nusé.¹⁵²**

He did not know, in other words, that she is a fairy.

368. **bésan yaaní uyái báí, sénimi.**

"What is he¹⁵³ bringing?", he said.

369. **úlo háalar çam manúman.**

They stepped inside the house.

370. **çam manáasar, dayóḡ [ú]ar¹⁵⁴ dólíman.**

On [their] stepping inside, they strew flour on them.

371. **núdil[j]ar, achará numá, ité yúrqune phos téele phat étumo.**

On [their] strewing [flour] on them, she became confused and left the frog skin there.¹⁵⁵

372. **phat étasar, dayóḡ numúdili, in numúic, ye akhílaḡe híkulto kúli mímar gúi gumánas awaáji, nusé, ité yúrqune ité baḡ dáal ne, phúar nipísa, ésquluman.**

On [her] leaving it, [the king] having thrown flour and seen her, lifted up the frog skin and threw it into the fire, saying: "Now this way at least for one day you have to be yourself for us!"

373. **ésqulasar, in yaaní muríḡçḡ¹⁵⁶ qharç ne, tar numá, duwálumo.**

On [his] burning it, she clapped her hands, flapped [her wings] and flew away.

374. **bas duwálasar, in yásaḡe tik éçume, hérçume, thoḡ phar numá, dúwasimi¹⁵⁷.**

Then on [her] flying away, he [= the prince] put earth on his head and returned again crying [to the vizir's house].

375. **dá[a] khol bé-eçam, thuum áçar daçáma?**

"What more shall I do here now, what else did you bring me here for?"

376. **khot já[a] ya jejéimo çam çok khot qhudáaye alés étóm¹⁵⁸.**

¹⁵⁰ An anachronistic simile.

¹⁵¹ Apparently the Burushaski plural of *gées* < engl. *gas*, in the meaning of light, but cf. also Kashmiri *gaas* 'light' < ? *kās* - 'shine'.

¹⁵² Observe the postposed quotative verb *nusé(n)* 'having said' in spite of the subordinating conjunction *ke*, which introduces the clausal object of the cognitive verb *leél bá-/man-* 'be known'.

¹⁵³ This must refer to the fairy, but the gender is misleading.

¹⁵⁴ Pronounced very indistinctly.

¹⁵⁵ My informant explained at this juncture that when a snake is fed, it sheds and leaves its skin.

¹⁵⁶ Nageri plural form for Hunza -*çij*.

¹⁵⁷ Honorific plural for *díwasimi* 'he remained'.

Oh, this here my [lit. my own] sorrow that God has [lit. had] just bestowed upon me.
 377. **khúulto khin mápaçar júasar, yaaní thoş in muriŋçaŋ qharç ne íne sénumo, góomanuma, hayúmpa ju, akóomanuma, dukúwasuma, nusé, buróndo éer qha wásimo.**

Today on her coming to your place, that is, just a while ago, she clapped her hands and said: 'If you can, come on the wet side! If you cannot, you'll remain [there]', saying [which] she threw down a ring to me [lit. him¹⁵⁹].

378. **yátum buróndo, ágguti¹⁶⁰, buróndo qha wásimo yátum.**

From above a ring, a ring, a ring she threw down from above.

379. **hayúmpa ju!**

'Come on the wet side!

380. **jee, dukóoma ke;¹⁶¹ baaqí ye níam, nusé, es dáa íne duwálumo.**

If you come [you will find me], otherwise I went [for good]', she said and flew away again."

381. **duwálumo; téelum yaaní ye duús ními.**

She flew away; then he went away from there.

382. **nín, iskí tíkçe yácume, maláq nín, badá éer apálimi.**

Having gone, he fell down striking thrice [his head] on the ground, he could not walk [lit. his step did not fall to him].

383. **badá éer apálum ke, níya téelum iláaji ne, uúsam yúue háalar ními.**

Being unable to walk, he took it [= the ring] and exerting himself made his way to his foster father's house.

384. **uúsam yúue háalar níninin, téelum yaaní guchámi, çap numá.**

Having gone to his foster father's house, he then went to sleep, hiding himself.

385. **çap numá, guchámi.**

Hiding himself, he went to sleep.

386. **nukúçan, qaríib altáaŋuç tóorimikuçan hurúçimi.**

Having slept, he stayed there for nearly eight or ten days.

387. **hurúçasar, léi, bésan, yaaní uúsam íne éçue séi báí, bésan góor şaldáan maníluma, bésan góor leél maníluma, bésan sénu bóma, dukóyaluma?**

On his staying there, "Hey, any —", his foster brother says, "— did you get [lit. had you got] any instruction? Did you find [lit. had you found] out anything? Did she say [lit. had she said] anything? Did you hear?"

388. **sénaçe, dukóoma ke, hayúmpa ju, búmpa açú, nusé jáar yaaní akhíl şaldáan manílum.**

On [his] saying [this], "If you come, come on the wet side, don't come on the dry side!', this kind of instruction I got [lit. I had got].

¹⁵⁸ Ganish-Aliabad variant for Baltit-Altit **étám** < **ét-um ba-m** 'had done'.

¹⁵⁹ Anacolouthon. Note also **hayúm-pa** '(on the) wet side', a not previously documented compound or derivative of **hayúm** 'wet', cf. 388 **búm-pa** '(on the) dry side' < **búy-** 'dry'.

¹⁶⁰ The Urdu equivalent (**angūṭhī**) for **buróndo** 'ring'.

¹⁶¹ The apodosis seems to be missing. My informant completed the sentence as follows: **je úne ayéşuma/dukóoyurşuma** 'you will see/find me'.

389. **akhíl nusé ásu bo, sénate, ye goná, je ke góokaa júçam.**

Thus she has told me", he said, at which¹⁶² [the foster brother said:] "Come on now, I too will come with you.

390. **je ke uq káa níçan, ye gún [= gon], sén[imi].**

I too will go with you, come now!", he said.

391. **je ke uq káa níçan, gún [= gon], nusén, téelum ité háaçum óltik saphár duwášan ílji níman.**

Having said: "I too will go with you, come on!", then the two of them set out on a journey from the house and went behind [the house].

392. **ámit díçulo isé nizá ya bim ke, ité han díçulo yaaní akhúrut ðarían¹⁶³ balílúm, yumór, yumór balílúm.**

In the place where that arrow had struck, down there there was a small hole, a hole there was.

393. **téelum, uq guriñçe duún, yáare bábal nukó, dukóskiçam ke, dáa je dusókiçam.**

Then, "Taking hold of your hand and letting you hang, I'll lower you down and then I'll descend [myself].

394. **gon kakáa¹⁶⁴, nusé, iné waziire iie iné guçpúr yáare ité ðaríe qha şaaq ne, qha níwaşi, yáare ðraq manáasar, yáçe et ban numá liş maními, yumór.**

Come on big brother!", [thus] saying the vizir's son slipped down the prince through the hole and threw him down, and on his reaching the ground below, the hole closed above him and shut up.

395. **altóulum in yáçe díwasimi.**

The other one remained above.

396. **iné éekaa nías eémanimi.**

He could not go with him.

397. **eémanimi; yáare barénasar han táoçuñaq jaggálanulo phat imánimi.**

He could not [go]; on looking down, he [= the prince] found himself in a pitch-black forest.

398. **táoçuñaq jaggálanulo phat imánimi; úlo barénasar, úlo iriñçe çap-çap étasulo yaaní jaggál, han — táan díimi.**

He found himself in a pitch-black forest; on his looking inside, inside [the forest], and touching with his hand, that is to say the forest, a leopard¹⁶⁵ came.

399. **táan díin, isé táane isúmal içíaçe akhíl-akhíl étimi.¹⁶⁶**

The leopard having come, he made after [= tried to catch] that leopard's tail like this.

400. **éçasar, isé táa isúmalçe akhí ne iriñçiçe duúnimi.¹⁶⁷**

Having done so, he caught hold of the leopard's tail with his hands like this.

¹⁶² Lit. 'on [his] saying [thus]'.
¹⁶³ Cf. 219, fn. 100.

¹⁶⁴ Elder brother in Rajah families.

¹⁶⁵ My informant insisted that a bear (*ya*) rather than a leopard (*ta*) was meant here. I doubt this very much, especially since there is later talk about the leopard's *tail*.

¹⁶⁶ Note the change of subject in spite of the conjunctive participle.

¹⁶⁷ Note identity of subject in spite of the 'final infinitive' (-é-*ar*) of the verb.

401. **duúnasar, isé isúmal es táyar [pro táyas] gučhárími.**¹⁶⁸

Having caught hold of it, he started to follow it.

402. **in icíate káa-káa hóle ho sáŋčar díusimi.**

Then it brought him [who was] following after it to the light.

403. **sáŋčar díusimi, sáŋčar díusinín, isé saŋ dísuló phat ne, isé ta waap[h]ás jaŋgálar díimi.**

It brought him to the light, [and] having brought him to the light, the leopard left him there in the light place and returned [lit. came] back to the forest.

404. **ye júasar, ye in téelum níci ke, yar akhéš han duniyáatanar phat imánimi.**

Now on [its] returning, when he went from there, he found himself in a quaint world.

405. **akhéš han duniyáatanar phat imánimi, phat níman ke, muú be maími, hairáan díwasimi.**

He found himself in a quaint world, [and] having found himself [there], he remained at a loss: "What will now happen?"

406. **díwas, téelum yar ne níninín barénasar, hitháane híkum sísike buáate šabárane bulá déljam, buáate bulá déljam.**

Remaining [at a loss], when he went forwards and looked, in a certain place some folks were playing polo on cows in a polo-field, they were playing on *cows*.

407. **étčum yárpa níasar, hayúr dárčulo gur barícám.**

On his going forward from there, they were threshing wheat on a threshing-floor [with] horses.

408. **umúpianc tak nóotan, gur barícám šaturgát.**

Having tied their muzzles [lit. having caused their muzzles to be tied], they were threshing wheat [going] around.

409. **gur barícám, téelum ué ópačar níninín, úe qáo ne dúčimi.**

They were threshing wheat, then he went up to them, called them and brought them.

410. **dúčun, buá dóočimi.**

Having brought them, he made them bring the cows.

411. **buá dóočun, ité dárčulo uphúsami.**

Having made them bring the cows. he tied them at the threshing-floor.

412. **gučé buáate guké gur baríin, sénimi.**

"With these cows thresh this wheat!", he said.

413. **hayúr dúčimi.**

He brought the horses.

414. **hayúr dúčun, tábaŋ tiliaŋ hayúrate óogimi.**

Having brought the horses, he made them put the bridles and saddles on the horses.

415. **hayúrate nóogi, phiné nóoya, šabáranar dóogus, bulá óikinimi.**

Having made them put [these things] on the horses, and having made them fetch polo-sticks and bring [the horses] to the polo-ground, he taught them polo.

416. **gučé hayúrate bulá délias bilá, gučé buáate darč baráas bilá.**

"With these horses [you] are to play polo, with these cows [you] are to thresh on the

¹⁶⁸ Cf. the preceding footnote.

threshing-floor.

417. **qhabardáar mamánin, ité ʔhis mamánaan, nusé, ité watáne ué sis ité óikinimi**

Pay attention, you have got this wrong!”, [thus] saying he taught this to the people of that country.

418. **nóikin, ye téelum hayúranate phal numá, gučhárimi.**

Having taught them [this], he then mounted a horse and rode away.

419. **nukúčar, ními, níninin, yar hitháanar mathán déşqaltimi.**

Riding he went, [and] having gone, he reached a distant place ahead.

420. **déşqalt barénasar, han makáanar phat imánimi.**

When he reached there and looked, he found himself by a house.

421. **ité makáne híçar níin, téele úlo gími.**

Having gone to the door of that house, he entered in there.

422. **úlo níkin, hánuman háan bilúm.**

Having entered, [he saw that] there was a single room.

423. **téele basá imánimi.**

There he spent the night.

424. **basá níman, sénimi ke, — iné mapéerar cáya étimi.**

Having spent the night [there], he said that,— he told the story to that old man.¹⁶⁹

425. **muú akhólum yar ne jáa akhíl haalátan bilúm, salaasír parí dum¹⁷⁰ — bom.**

“Now before this [lit. here] my situation was like this, the fairy Salaasir was [there].

426. **iné akhí numá ni bo.**

She has gone like this.

427. **gusé yar ne gan biláa gan apí, muú bé-eča baa, bélate nícam, nusé, inéecum maşwará ikháre gátimi [? gánimi].**

Is there a road onwards [from here] [or] is there no road? What do I do now? How will I go?”, [thus] saying he asked [lit. took] advice from him.

428. **gánasar, íne sénimi: ámis gusé yar gan biláa, apí, es be, ité gánulo han déu-aşdaran nukúča bi.**

On [his] taking [advice], he [= the old man] said: “As for there being or not being a road onwards from here, it is not [now], [because] in that road a dragon-demon is lying.

429. **isée iyúmarulo gan bilá.**

The road is in its intestines.

430. **déu-aşdare iyúmarulo gan bilá, ganúlo bi.**

The road is in the intestines of the dragon-demon, it is in the road [i.e. the dragon is lying on the road, which it has devoured and which is in its stomach].

431. **ámitali nías apí.**

There is no way to go.

¹⁶⁹ The old man is introduced without previous reference and the sentence is anacolouthic. My informant supplied in Urdu: **vahā par ek būḥā milā** ‘there he met an old man’.

¹⁷⁰ An odd slip of the tongue.

432. **es gánulo nukúca bi, men¹⁷¹ mišínsa éyai bi, dá[a] mišínsa dítalji bi, yaaní şağ imái bi.**

It lies on the road [and] sleeps for six months, and stays awake for six months, that is to say remains awake for six months.

433. **mišínsa qháa néya díwaşı bi, mišínsaşe şağ imái bi.**

For six months it remains sleeping, for six months it stays awake.

434. **isé¹⁷² gan bilá níase gáne.**

That is the way to go.

435. **itée gáne muú bésan yaaní iláaj bilá k[e], úğale?**

Now is there some expedient for you at this point?

436. **guté waqt isé éyanum bi.**

At this moment it is sleeping.

437. **bésan iláaji ne niş góomai báa ke, ye baré, sénimi.**

By whatever means you are able to go, now try it [lit. look]!", he said.

438. **baré sénasar, muúto bé-écam, bé-ayécam, nusén hairáanar iwálimi.**

On [his] saying: "Try it!", he was at a loss, saying: "What shall I do now, what shall I not do?"

439. **iwálasar, téelum hukái bim éle iné mapéer épaci.**

Now [lit. on his being at a loss], the old man had some dogs there.

440. **ye gucé hukái góo kaa júcie.**

"Now, these dogs will come with you.

441. **bésan iláaji úğale bilá ke, ye baré, nusé, téelum yaaní mišínsa qháa bésan étám kúli, es déu şağ eémai bi.**

If it is of some help to you, look here [i.e. take these dogs]!", he said and then [continued:] "For six months whatever you do, that demon cannot wake up."

442. **han hía nými, isé déue iyúmarulo icé hukáie úlum yaaní gánci¹⁷³ yaş çaş écume, hukáie çaş écume, chap hol ne díusimi.**

One month passed, [while] those dogs, tearing at the road inside the intestines of the demon, were taking meat out.

443. **es iyúmar ke díusinín, aaqhirí múşaşar dítaljar han gunc duwáasilúm isé déu.**

And having taken out its intestines too, there was finally only one day left until that demon would wake up.

444. **dítaljar han gunc duwáasilúm, isúmalaşar núuninín, hóle parşaş manúman.**

[When] one day remained until the waking up [of the demon], they reached the tail and came out into the open.

445. **şáğcar duwáşaman, iyúmarulo band teúle [? téele].**

¹⁷¹ As such this would be the interrogative-indefinite pronoun 'who, somebody', but the gender is wrong. Hence it is probably a mere false start for the following word, **mišínsa**.

¹⁷² Perhaps a mistake for **ité** y.

¹⁷³ Pronounced with emphasis, as if **kánci**, but can only be **gan** 'road' with the sporadic locative ending **-éi**, cf. **hála-éi** 'in the goal (polo)', Berger MS. Grammatik § 4.13.

They came into the light, [from being] shut inside the intestines.

446. **sájčar duwásaman, sájčar duwásan, ye téelum, ye khot ke jáar maními, šukuró, gan áar duúsími, nusén, ye jaš numá, gučhárími.**

They came out into the light, [and] having coming out into the light, then, “Well now, this too happened to me [= I managed this, too], thank [God], I came upon the road [lit. the road came out to me], [thus] saying, he set out wandering.

447. **nukúčar, nínin, nínin, nínin, nínin, nínin, nínin, níninin, yar han a[a]baadíanar wálimi.**

Having wandered, he went [and] went [and] went [and] went [and] went [and] went, [until] he arrived at a settlement.

448. **a[a]baadíanar níwal, téelum iné a[a]baadíe háalar ními, dálpa kháyanulo bám.**

Having arrived at a settlement, he then went into a house, which [lit. Ø = it] was high up on a sandy river bank.

449. **nín, téelum duýarusími, béški be bilá, khólum salaasír parí mópačar níase gáne hazáar gan ámitali nías biláa, be biláa, be apí?**¹⁷⁴

Having gone there, he asked: “How is it, is there perchance a road somehow to go from here to Salaasir the fairy, or is there not [lit. what is there, what is there not]?”

450. **sénače, in bésan uúšam múmi bom íne, salaasír parí[mo] — acháa —.**¹⁷⁵
Now [lit. on his saying this], she was no other than [lit. what] her foster mother, the fairy Salaasir’s—well—.

451. **uğ be bam baa apám, sénače, bée es taí ité salaasír parímo jamáat baa, zamíin ískilatum.**

On her saying: “Who on earth are you [lit. what were you, are you, were you not]?”, [he answered:] “No, it is like this that I am the fairy Salaasir’s husband from the face of the earth.”

452. **sénače, mubaarák góor, ye uğ khóle hurú!**

On [his] saying [this], [she answered:] “Congratulations to you, come, sit down here!

453. **je uúšam múmi baa.**

I am her foster mother.

454. **je ín[mo] mópačar móor qhabár góor chúcam, sénumo.**

I will bring the message to her place to her, for you”, she said.

455. **qhabár góor chúcam, nusén, téelum inée qhabár nukán, bes ínmo níšaan bía, sénače, jáale bim khos buróndo bi.**

Having said: “I will bring the message for you”, then having taken the message, [she said:] “Have you any token from her?”, at which¹⁷⁶ [he answered:] “I had [one], [it] is this ring.”

456. **maními, nusén, téelum iné uúšam ími**¹⁷⁷ **jaš numá, yáče nímo.**

Saying: “Fine [lit. that was it]”, her [lit. his] foster mother then set off and went up.

¹⁷⁴ The sentence structure is somewhat confused, owing to the repetition of the infinitive *nías* ‘to go’.

¹⁷⁵ The word *achá* ‘good’ is here a metatextual device to explain the preceding context or to connect this with the following sentence.

¹⁷⁶ Lit. ‘on [her] saying [this]’.

¹⁷⁷ For *múmi* ‘her foster mother’, as pointed out by my informant.

457. **numóon, salaasír parímor mubaarakí mučímo.**

Having gone [there], she congratulated the fairy Salaasír,

458. **k[e] úge zamíin ískilaṭum úge jamáat déşqaltimi.**

[saying] that: “Your husband from the face of the earth [has] arrived.

459. **u¹⁷⁸ yáare báí.**

He is [waiting] down [on the earth].”

460. **sénasar, cháne séi báa, áya máma, ásua, nusén, ho buṭ yaaní hart numá, muriig dúmarumo.**

On [her] saying [this], [Salaasír] jumped high up and asked for her hand [to kiss it in affection], saying: “Do you speak the truth, dear mother [lit. father-mother]?”

461. **se cháne séi báa, yáa sákar máma, sénumo.**

Are you speaking the truth there [lit. correctly that], oh sweet [lit. sugar] mother?”, she said.

462. **awá náa, thum básan, sénumo.**

“Yes of course, what else?”, [her foster mother] said.

463. **muú bélaṭe díśáa ke, in yaaní khóle dícase gáne košíś éti ápaćiar, sénasar, mazáa káa, nusé, téelum draṅ numá, ye ju séer, nusén, téelum ɣuyáḡ-baṭóḡ igí néetan, yoq né, gaṭóḡ badál ne¹⁷⁹ ho yáṭe salaasír parí mópaćiar iné uúśam múmie iné yáṭe díusumo.**

On [her] saying: “Now in whatever manner you bring him, try to bring him here to my place!”, [the foster mother] said: “With pleasure” and then descending from there, she said [to the prince:] “Come now, lion [i.e. hero]!”, and then when he had had his hair and beard cut, trimmed his beard, tidied up and changed his clothes, then the foster mother took him out up to the fairy Salaasír.

464. **yáṭe díus, íimo jamáatmo káa mullaqaát maními.**

Having taken him up, then he was reunited with his wife.

465. **hihíne búkane manúman, héruman.**

They fell on each others’ necks [and] cried.

466. **nuhér, qhuśí étuman hihíne káa.**

Having cried, they rejoiced together.

467. **ne, ho éle úimo báipaşulo mazáa káa hurúcaman.**

Having rejoiced, then they settled down here in their own treasury¹⁸⁰ with pleasure.

468. **mazáa káa nuúrućan, éle qaríiban altósan uskósan hurúcaman.**

Having settled down with pleasure, they stayed here for about two or three months.

469. **hurúcám khéene ke, ínmo múu ke baadśáa bám.**

Now [lit. while they were staying] also her father was a king.

470. **salaasír parímo múu ke baadśáa bám.**

Also the fairy Salaasír’s father was a king.

471. **íne sénimi: ye khiné hin ái bom.**

He said: “Look, this was my only daughter!”

¹⁷⁸ Honorific plural not signalled in the verb.

¹⁷⁹ Note the change of subject in spite of the conjunctive participles.

¹⁸⁰ Glossed by my informant as **maḡal** ‘palace’.

472. **khin úje muú numúya níćaa.**

Now you are taking her away.

473. **akhóle baadśaahí še!**

Enjoy kingship here!

474. **uj oóni!**

Do not go!

475. **uj khóle hurú, sénimi.**

You live here!”, he said.

476. **sénate, be ya, ye jáar ruqsát aćhía ke!**

On [his] saying [this], [the prince answered:] “No way, just give me leave now!

477. **mi khot uskó san wálsan hurúćaman.**

We stayed here for this three months, four months.

478. **buć kaafí waqt hurúća baa.**

We have stayed here for quite some time.

479. **yárum jáar amóos bilá.**

I am angry from before.

480. **bésan amóos bilá?**

What is my anger [you may ask]?

481. **áya máma jáar taklíif náćin, uyóńko [u]yúar suá ne garíń étuman.**

Father and mother gave me a lot of trouble arranging good marriages for their big sons.

482. **jáar yaaní taklíife káa khot áar ńhúmuk manílúm.**

I met [lit. had met] with all this trouble.

483. **khoté ke dáa yaaní músařar háalar níasar, et bař, ýurqune bař nésqul, dáa khot darpadarí, jáar buć taklíif aćhí baa.**

This too [they did] when finally we went to the house, they burned the skin, the frog’s skin, and then this [by] being driven from door to door, they gave me a lot of trouble.

484. **je élar nías zaruurí bilá.**

I have to go here.

485. **ye dáa muú níća baa, míimo makáanar niméen, hurúsan, sénuman.**

Now we are going again, we will go and settle down in our own house”, they [? He]¹⁸¹ said.

486. **sénasar, buć suá, nusé, téelum baadśaa sénimi ke: maními ye barénin!**

On [his] saying [this], the king said that: “Very good, that’s fine, look here!”

487. **nusé, téelum ámit¹⁸² makáanig bićúm ku [? ke], hurúśiké¹⁸³ makáanig, makáan ke káa déumuć taabía bim.**

Having said [thus], [he showed them] then the houses that were there, houses for living, also a house that the spirits obeyed [i.e. served, lit. house too with (which) the spirits were obeying].

¹⁸¹ Change of number of subject or honorific plural.

¹⁸² For *ámik* ypl.

¹⁸³ Pronounced very indistinctly: either to be emended as *hurúśaan iké* ‘the [houses] that they live [in]’ or *hurúćas iké* ‘the [houses] for living’.

488. **makáan éqe** [ʔ **makáanige**] **ɖok** [ʔ **ɖok**] **nuká mahál, jaʃ manímie**¹⁸⁴.
Having taken possession [ʔ] of the entire house[s?], palace, they [ʔ the demons] set off.

489. **jaʃ numá núuninin, ámit díʃulo húnçe níin, yáare yiʃtulo ya bim ke, ité díʃulo makáan dumánimi.**

On [their] having set off and gone, at the place were the arrow had hit down in the sludge, in that place a house was built.

490. **jap chími, téele hurúçimi.**

He went down [and] settled there.

491. **jap chími, téele hurúçimi, hurúçasar, téelum yáte baadśáalar qhabár ními ke: be ya, úge gúi ke guqhákin akhíl haalátate ike makáanigulo báan.**

He went down [and] settled there, [and on his] having settled there, a message came to the king [saying] that: 'No good, your son and your daughter-in-law are in such a condition in those houses.

492. **muú be mayáa báan, bé-eçáan ke, ye barénin, sénasar, baadśáa sénimi ke, — sísan hin éerimi.**

Now what will become of us? Whatever you do, look now!', at which [lit. on saying] the king said that¹⁸⁵—he sent a man [with the following message].

493. **be ya, mi mápaçiar élar**¹⁸⁶ **júçan.**

"No good, we will come to your place.

494. **ma ijaazát miçhín!**

Give us permission [to come]!

495. **mi armáan mimánáan, nusé yaaní qhabár dóoçimi.**

We have come to miss you", such [lit. saying] a message he sent.

496. **qhabár dóoçasar, in guşpúre máan**¹⁸⁷ **ayétimi.**

On [his] sending [this] message, the prince did not allow them [to come].

497. **yar ne úğçum şuákuşan atíi bilá.**

"Previously nothing good has come from you.

498. **náa úğçum şuákuş júçilá.**

And there is nothing good coming now.

499. **bílkul**¹⁸⁸ **hargíc yaaní khólar ma júas bé, sén[imi].**

There is nothing at all for you to come here for", he said.

500. **sénasar, téerumanar dáa íne sénimi, baadśáa, bée, çhan ke çhan mímaçum yaltí duúsilá.**

On [his] saying [that], then he [= the king] said again: "No doubt, king [= prince], truly indeed, a misdeed has come from us.

501. **míi baqşış dúmarça báan, nusén, uqháci guké şiqá, uqháci nukán dúuman.**

¹⁸⁴ The verb, which has the personal suffix corresponding to x-class, cannot refer to humans.

¹⁸⁵ False start.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. the Urdu expression **tumhāre yahā** 'at/to your place', lit. 'your here'.

¹⁸⁷ Evidently from Urdu **mānnā** 'believe, obey, allow, accept, yield to', cf. **mān lenā** 'accept, etc.'.

¹⁸⁸ Initial accent due to emphasis.

We ask for forgiveness”, [thus] saying, they took grass in their mouth[s] and came.

502. *yúu ke ími júasar, salaasír paríe sénumo ke: be ya, khot áya máma haq gunáa buṭ uyúm bilá.*

When his father and mother came, Salaasir the fairy said that: “No doubt, this sin of father and mother is great, indeed.

503. *u taí numá dúwáan.*

They have come now like this.”

504. *ími numúya, ye muú phat óti, ya ye, nusén, ho makáanar úlo usárkuman.*

Having taken [i.e. received] his mother, she said [lit. having said]: “Let them be [= come] now, won’t you!” then they/He let them enter the house.

505. *úlo núsark, téelum iné salaasír parí ke séer, gušpúr, gáti, baadśaa ke yéniš, gáti manúman.*

Having let them in, then the fairy Salaasir and the lion, the prince, were united with the king and queen.

506. *ité baadśaí, íne ité baadśaí, iné joṭ yaaní salaasír parí ke iné séerar maními.*

The kingdom, that kingdom of his, came to the little fairy Salaasir and the lion.

507. *ye je dáa sécume míime dáayam, bas.*

So I came again eating [and] drinking, that’s all.¹⁸⁹

6. Free translation of the Burushaski text

Once upon a time there was a king, who had three sons. When they reached puberty and became young men, they said after some time to their father: “Father, we have become big and reached puberty, we should marry.” The King answered: “Very good!” Then he called the vizir, saying: “These sons of mine now fancy getting married.” The vizir advised him: “Now bring a bow with some arrows for them!” So he brought a bow with some arrows, and then they went up onto the roof of the palace. There the King said to his sons: “Hey my sons, shoot an arrow in the name of that king’s daughter whom you fancy!” Then he brought three arrows and the bow and left them there.

The first son raised the bow and arrow and decided in his heart: “May King Akbar’s daughter be mine!” Having decided, he drew the bow and let the arrow go. The arrow went and hit King Akbar’s gate.

The King gave an arrow and the bow to his second son. He decided in his heart: “May the daughter of the King of China be mine!” Having placed the arrow onto the bow, he gave a shot. That arrow went and hit the gate of the King of China.

The King gave the bow and an arrow to his third son. He thought: “These big brothers of mine took the daughters of the only two kings that are great. For what purpose should I shoot my arrow?” Now, behind him there was a dried-up mountain river valley. Below on the opposite side there was sandy sludge. Aiming downwards, he shot right at the sludge. The arrow went down and sank into the sludge. “Where

¹⁸⁹ The standard finishing phrase.

did you shoot it?”, the King said to him. The prince answered: “These your sons took the daughters of the great kings. Thinking: ‘Now, where should I shoot it? My wish does not matter’, I shot it in silence.”

The youngest prince had a foster father, who was none other than the vizir. Now he stood up from there and left in a fit of anger. In a sulking mood he went to his foster father’s house. There he sat down. He threw a blanket over his head, hid himself, and did not come out from under that blanket. Without coming out, he just sat like that.

When he was sitting hiding like that, the King said: “Is he not coming up?” “No, you see, he is not coming, he is sulking”, they said. He just sat in his foster father’s house.

While he was sitting there, the eldest son set off from there with his bridegroom’s party. It was a month’s journey to King Akbar. Having set off, they journeyed a long way and finally they reached King Akbar’s gate. Having reached it, they saw that the arrow was stuck high up in the doorframe. But before their arrival, the King’s daughter had received congratulations: “A man has come out for you. Whoever comes, may he come!”

When the eldest prince had arrived and sat down there, the King said to the prince: “Look here now! Go and pull out your arrow!” Upon his saying this, the prince went, and giving a jerk at the arrow he had shot, he pulled it out, just as the King had ordered him. When he had pulled it out, the King called him and brought him inside the palace. There he showed them a treasury, a fancy closed room. They also gave them a house and they settled down there.

Having settled down and been made welcome, everybody paid respect to each other. Next they performed all the matrimonial rites that were to be performed. After that the eldest prince took his wife and stayed in that treasury for one month, enjoying himself with his wife. Having stayed there for one month, he said to the King: “We would like to go now. Quite a few days have passed. One month has passed on the way here, one month will pass on the way back, one month we have stayed here. Three months have passed without anybody knowing our whereabouts. Give us permission to leave! We are going back again to our home.” Thus they asked the King for permission to leave. But the King entreated them: “Stay for another month!” They said: “No, we are going again now.”

Then Akbar started to make arrangements for gifts. He started to give presents to all the members of the bridal party, which was now leaving. To some he gave a horse, to some a long robe, to some other kinds of possessions. To all the people who went together with the prince and princess he presented gifts. Taking these gifts as well as the princess, they then set forth back from King Akbar’s gate.

When they had come halfway on the road, two men made their horses gallop, saying: “Well now, let us two leave and go ahead, so that there will be preparations for the bridal party. Let us make preparations for them, arrangements for food!” Thus saying, the two men galloped ahead of them on two horses. Having made their horses gallop, they rode, and bringing the news some two or three days ahead of them, they

arrived at the gate of the King of Rome. Having arrived at the gate of the King of Rome, they then gave the good news to the King: "No doubt, they are still on the road. Now they are coming, we have come in advance." Then all kinds of arrangements started to take place for eating and drinking.

When everything was ready, then after two or three days the prince arrived with the bride. When they had arrived, they took the bride along and threw flour on her head to welcome her, having helped her down from the horse. Then they took her along to the house. There she touched the hearthstones of the house and kissed her fingers in sign of respect. From there she went up and they placed her to sit up by the window. When the bridal party came in, they catered well for them. Having eaten bread and all kinds of food, everybody then amused themselves and danced. Spending a good time, they stayed there for almost twenty days.

Then they asked for permission to leave: "No, well, you see, we too are going back now again. Give us leave!" The King ordered gifts and presented them with all kinds of gifts, even doubly as many as they had from before. To some he gave a horse, to some he gave a bull, to some he gave other kinds of possessions, to some he gave money. Having given them gifts, he then bid farewell to them, after which they left and went back home.

Having reached home, they remained there. Then the wedding ceremonies took place. But the youngest son, who had settled down sulking at his foster father's place, refused to come even when they told him to come at least for the wedding. "I am not coming at all!", he said. He did not come up at all. "So, let him be!", the King said and they let him be like that. They left him alone and went back. After that the eldest son's wedding ceremonies were completed.

Next, the arrangement for the King's second son's wedding started. The bridegroom's party got ready. It was a month's journey also to China. So the prince with his party set out in the direction of China, having made their servants load their horses well with their own goods, and taking money to cover expenses and other resources with them. Having travelled far ahead for two or three or four days, there appeared in front of them on the road a snake, who had come and turned itself into a dragon. It was a very big and fat snake that had changed from [? into] a dragon. It had, as it were, snatched the road into its gaping mouth.

"Now what is this disaster that has arisen on the road? What shall we do now? What shall we do about this?", they exclaimed and turned back frightened. But the prince said: "Do not be afraid, I have a sword! 'I'll chop it into pieces with the sword. You sit behind me!" With these words he went forward with his sword against the dragon, which was lying in the road in front of him. The dragon opened its mouth wide and came to attack him. But when it came, he immediately struck it with the sword and cut it into three pieces. Then he cut these pieces into small fragments. He noticed that one of its heads was exceptionally thick. He called his men and brought them. There was a forest there. He made them fetch firewood from the forest. Then they dug the ground and made a hole there for the fragments. They threw the

fragments into the hole, fetched juniper firewood and put it on top of them. Having made a fire with kindling wood, they set fire to the fragments. Having set fire to them, they burned the snake-dragon.

Having burned it, they then remained there for a day or two. When it had burned half-way, they looked down and saw a lump of gold weighing two sers that had melted from inside the snake-dragon's intestines. Taking that gold, the prince came out with it. For that very purpose they had burned the dragon: because in its intestines there was gold. Bringing out that gold, he took it and with it they then wandered away from there.

Wandering a long way, they finally arrived at a place far ahead. Then they discovered that they had lost their way. They were going down towards the river. The right way was on the road going uphill. So they experienced a good deal of trouble there. Turning back, they found that there was a slippery perpendicular cliff before them. They remained there for two or three days, saying: "Now what will become of us, what will not become of us?"

Then having again come back to the right way, they set off for a mountain top. Having reached there, they descended on the other side, and then entered onto a plain. They came to a sandy river bank there, which was quite exhausting. But they wandered along it with their things and horses, and with great trouble—China was very far—they finally reached China.

Now the arrow had flown and hit the door-frame of the house of the princess and the people had given her the good news: "Your husband has arrived now, congratulations to you!" When they had brought her the good news, she became happy. Then the prince went and pulled out his arrow from the door-frame and the news came to the King saying: "Look, your son-in-law has arrived." The King called him. Having gone to the King, the prince greeted him and asked for his hand to kiss it in token of respect. The King seated him on a chair beside himself and asked him: "Why, did you encounter difficulty on the road? My son, have you come with some unfitting experiences, or with comfort?" At this the prince answered: "Royal father, no doubt, you see, we both lost our way and run into trouble." Then the King gave him a house to live in, and likewise showed houses outside to all of those who were coming with him, however many they were. The King seated them in these houses.

Then the prince wanted to go to the King again. While wandering for a month his beard had grown quite long. There outside in the place they had seated him, he trimmed his beard, washed and cleaned up, changed his clothes, and having becoming like a young man again, he went inside. The King said to his servants: "That's it, now bring a priest!" On his saying this, they brought a *caliph* [= Ismailite priest]. The *caliph* was brought and he read the matrimonial ceremony there for them.

After his reading the matrimonial ceremony, then whatever soups or drinks were to be lapped at the ceremony, they lapped them. Next everybody congratulated each other and mingled. When they went back, the King showed them their treasury and said: "Come on, settle down here!" The prince and the princess both settled down in comfort. For about two months they stayed there; the King did not let them go. But

then the prince said: "No way, my mummy and daddy, royal father and mother will be worrying. 'What might have happened to them on the road, have they perhaps been injured? What have become of them?', they will be saying. Therefore give us now permission to leave again, oh father! We are going!"

The King entreated him: "Oh my son, settle down here, nay enjoy kingship here! Here I'll give you a kingdom, too. Live here and at the same time be my son, too. Do not go!" But the prince responded: "No way! You see I too have a father and a mother. If I did not have a father and a mother, I would stay here. But I have a father and a mother. While waiting they will be greatly worried, saying: 'What on earth can have happened to them on the road?'" But even so they continued to stay there for some time. The prince gave his wife, the princess, that lump of gold weighing two sers, saying: "Take well care of this!" On his saying this, she threw it into a box.

Then the prince asked again the King for permission to leave, but when the latter did not grant it, he said: "We have spent one month coming, here we have lived two months, and one month it will take to return, altogether four months we will be away. For four months father and mother will worry themselves sick. 'What on earth can have happened on the road?', they will be thinking. Therefore give us now permission to leave!" With these words they took leave from the King of China.

Then the King of China made things ready for the bridal party. Whatever things that were to be given for his daughter, all those things he made ready. After that the prince set out back from there together with the bride and the bridal party. They travelled a long way and when they had journeyed some twenty days, they sent two young men with news in advance. "Make your horses gallop and go in advance and bring news to father! See that arrangements are made for this bridal party, before its arrival, so that there will be plenty of food and drink for them. Bring such news to them!" With these words they sent them off.

Making their horses gallop, those two members of the bridal party went ahead of them, arriving four or five days ahead of them. Having arrived, they saw to it that arrangements for food and drink started to take place. At the King's order, everybody started to cook. Then during the five or six days before the arrival of the bridal party, they made everything ready. On their arrival, they received congratulations from the King and his court.

The princess went then into the house and asked for her mother's-in-law hand to kiss it, then also for her father's-in-law hand. There they seated her. Having seated her, the King then said to the prince: "The one who has not come even to the wedding before, that is to say that little accursed son of mine, perhaps he will come now? Go yourself now and ask him!"

With these words he sent the prince himself. The prince went and begged and coaxed the youngest son to come: "Come on now, don't be like that! I myself have come." With these words he succeeded in bringing him up to the house. Having brought him to the house, he also wanted to give him that lump of gold weighing two sers, which was in his wife's box. Therefore he went and said to his wife: "Wife, the

lump of gold that I had left with you as an entrusted thing, what have you done with it? Give it to me!"

"Oh, so did my father not give you enough gold? Well, I have not eaten your gold, it is with me, take it! Why are you afraid?", thus joking, she gave him that lump of gold. He took it and went and gave it secretly to that little brother of his, saying: "Don't sulk, don't be angry with me!"

"If there is anger, it is with father and mother, I am not angry with you." At these words the elder brother asked for his hand and gave him that lump of gold with the words: "Take this, too, for yourself! And come now and take part in this wedding of mine!" The youngest son agreed and remained in the house until the completion of the wedding party. He settled down there, and stayed there for eight or ten days, twenty days, for the time of the wedding celebrations.

Also the bridal party stayed there until the wedding celebrations were over and then they got leave to return again to China. At the time of departure, the King presented all kinds of gifts to each and everyone of the bridal party according to their status, from big to small. Thus to some a horse was to be given, to some goods were to be given, to some money was to be given, he gave all kinds of things according to each one's status. On receiving gifts everybody was very pleased. Then they started out back for their own China.

On their setting out, the youngest son went and settled down again in his foster father's house, the vizir's house. In that same way he sat there without moving, without coming out. As he did not come out, the King called the vizir and was very worried. Now, the vizir also had a son, who was the foster brother of the prince. They were foster brothers of the same age. The foster brother said: "Go and pull out your own arrow now, the arrow is to be pulled out!" The arrow was still stuck in the very place it had landed in, that is to say in the sludge. It had not been touched. But the prince said to the vizir's son: "No, you fetch that arrow!" But the vizir's son insisted: "Go and fetch the arrow from there! I too will go with you. Go, fetch the arrow, pull out the arrow and bring it!"

Finally the prince agreed to go with the vizir's son. Now behind here there is the Ultar ravine, isn't there? At the back side of a ravine just like that there was sludge below. There they went. Having gone there the vizir's son took hold of the arrow, pulled it like this towards himself. But when he tried to pull it, it did not come out for him. Surprised at this, he said: "It did not come out for me, you know."

Answering: "What's the matter with you again, is it something so hard?", the King's son went himself, and, touching the arrow, just pulled it slightly, upon which the arrow came out neatly into his hand. But when it had come out, a small hole emerged underneath it, a small crevice, as it were. On the back side of that arrow a frog was sitting. It came out on that arrow without letting it go. When the frog did not let go of the arrow, the prince took it away and tossed it down, saying: "Now why have you taken hold of this arrow here?"

But the frog answered: "Why did you shoot it here, and where are you throwing me?" Leaving the frog there and taking the arrow, the prince started to walk away. On

his walking away, the frog started to bounce behind him, saying: "Wherever you go, I'll come with you too. Let's go!" The frog did not let him go, but said: "Why did you shoot here? Either stick the arrow back in its own place and leave it there, or take me with you! You have shot me."

The prince was dismayed: "For sure I am stuck with shame in this world. That brother of mine married the daughter of King Akbar, my other brother married the daughter of the King of China. But this frog came jumping at my heel. Because of that I'll have shame coming in the world for me. People will show me contempt."

But the frog just followed him jumping. Then he took it and lifted it up and threw it into his pocket and went up to the vizir's house. There they settled down. He seated the frog high up on a candle-shelf, but the King heard of it. When the King heard that he had got a frog, he sighed: "Well, this is just as good. My son's luck! It can't be helped."

One day the King decided: "Well, I'll make a test for my daughters-in-law." So he gave them wool, three maunds of wheat, twenty sers of butter and wool. And sending them cloaks as a model he ordered: "Make *shuqas*, cloaks, like this, winter cloaks with long sleeves!" He also gave those things to the youngest son who had married the frog, saying: "You take this too!" The prince said: "Who will spin for me, who will make it?", but the King just answered: "Well, no, you seem to be getting shame coming on you! In whatever way you do it, just do it!" With these words he handed the wool over to the prince.

Taking them, the prince went and burst out crying at his foster mother's place. When he told them the situation, the frog started to talk with his mother. To the prince the frog said: "Hey, don't be afraid! Take these things and leave them with mother, with your foster mother! Give me just a little tuft of that wool!" The prince said: "Good! What are you doing with that tuft of wool?" "Just give it to me!", the frog said quietly. Saying: "Good", the prince snapped off a bit of the wool and winked up at the frog. Then he took the wool and the grain and the butter to the vizir's house and left them there. "Mother, this is how things are. You start to spin. Look here, this is how it is. What can the frog do with this?" But his foster mother said: "Let us see what the frog can do?". So she started to spin.

The King had given them a month's time: "After a month bring the cloaks!" The wives of the elder brothers, who lived in houses near by the palace, also prepared woven scarves for the cloaks. The daughter of the King of China made a cloak and King Akbar's daughter made one, too. Then on the day agreed, the King said: "Take your cloaks and bring them to the King's court, to the royal assembly! In the royal assembly they will be checked. The one who has made the best one will receive an exhibition for her cloak. Who is the most able, her cloak will be made known."

Then the call came to them. The frog said to the prince: "Hey lion!" The prince answered: "What?" The frog said: "Where are you? Come here now, take this!" And with these words it folded a cloak into a bag and gave it to the prince. The latter took it and left for the King's palace.

The King saw that both his daughters-in-law had brought their cloaks. Then he took the eldest son's cloak and tried it on. On his putting it on, one sidepiece went down on the ground, the other was too short on the front side. It did not fit him. The King and all the people disliked it.

Then the second one's wife came with her cloak. When they took it out and put it on the King, the sleeves turned out to be too long in front, while the body part turned out to be short. Neither this did fit the King. They failed, both the daughters-in-law.

When the third son made the King put on the cloak which he had brought and which the frog had folded and given him, it fitted the King tip to toe, just like one of his own court cloaks. So everybody started to praise the frog greatly. "Such a work came from the frog. You've done it", the King was very pleased and gave them leave to go.

On the following day the King said: "Now I will test you again, my daughters-in-law. Who makes the best food? You are to prepare food in your own houses and bring it to the royal assembly!" Then he gave them a wether and a full-grown he-goat as well as butter, mixed flour and fire-wood. He provided them with all costs and expenses, saying: "You will cook for the royal assembly. Whoever makes the best food, her skill will be known. It will be checked. You are to cook food for tomorrow and bring it there!" Then he provided them with the expenses.

Taking everything, the young prince went again to his house. "Now what will the frog do for me down there? What a torture this is for me!" Groaning, he took his own things and went and carried them to his foster father's house. When he came to his room, the frog asked him: "Why did your father call you, hey? Why did he call you?" The frog was sighing like this on the candle-shelf. The prince answered: "What will you do with that piece of information? For whatever reason he may have called me. What is it to you?" The prince lost his temper. But the frog said: "Slaughter the goat and bring this much of its liver and this much of its kidneys for me! All right?" The prince asked: "What will you do?" The frog answered: "Just bring it, as I told you! Because I'll make food. And bring just a little dusting-flour too!"

Then the prince slaughtered the goat and brought a piece of its liver, a kidney, and a little dusting-flour. Leaving it in a wooden bowl before the frog, who was sitting on the candle-shelf, he went out. He went hiding to sleep, but he felt sad. "I ended up with this frog", with these words he went hiding to sleep. Having slept, in the morning the vizir's wife—his foster mother—made bread for breakfast. When she had made the bread, the call came from the palace: "Now, bring the food that you have made!" When the call came, the frog said: "No doubt, the call has come. So take this!"

In a tiny walnut shell pot the frog had made vegetable-soup and had placed a tiny thin piece of bread on top of it. The foster mother wrapped a table-cloth around it. Covering it thoroughly with table-cloths, she took it and said: "Now go, take it!"

"How can I take this?", the prince asked. "Take it!", she said. "Take it!", the frog, too, said quietly. Saying "Good", he then took it and went up to the palace. There on the lower side the youngest son sat down quite alone. When he had sat down, the food prepared by the eldest son's wife went into the assembly. The

checking started. They placed the food before the assembly. Then everybody was munching at it in small bits. At the lower end of the room, there was a spoilt rascal, wasn't there, who exclaimed: "Oh my goodness, she has poured salt into it, hey!" Then there was a hullabaloo. When they were asked, everybody condemned the food. The food was immediately removed.

Next, the second daughter's-in-law food went into the assembly. Now she, on the other hand, had put salt only into the vegetable-soup. Everybody was tasting at it in small bits. Nobody made even a sound. But at the lower end of the room there was that same mischievous brat, wasn't there, who tasting a bit exclaimed: "Oh dear, there is not even a grain of salt! It is utterly insipid!" She too failed.

When she had failed, the King said: "Now bring the youngest one's food!" Then they took it into the assembly. When it appeared there, they lifted away the table-clothes from above it. Surprised they saw that underneath it there was a walnut pot, just a tiny pot and in that pot vegetable soup. And on top of that a thin piece of bread. Having removed it and taken a look, the King lost his temper: "Has he done this just to make fun of me?"

But one of his vizirs said: "King! Whatever these things should be like, dip your finger into the soup and lick it, saying 'in Allah's name!'" Accordingly the King dipped his finger into the walnut pot and licked it. As he was licking it, he bit his finger out of delight. After a while when he looked, he saw that blood had started to drip from his tasty finger.

Then everybody licked and bit their fingers in due order from the second to the last. Everyone's fingers started to bleed. They all enjoyed the food so much. Enjoying it, they praised the frog and went on eating, but the food did not run out. Everybody got his fill. Everybody enjoyed the food thoroughly. But the food did not come to an end. They went on eating from the walnut pot. Their stomachs were filled, but the food did not come to an end. Hence the prize was given to the frog's young prince, to that lion.

When the prince had received praise, the King then said to him: "Hey my son! No doubt I will now fling flour on your head. I call you to come home, you are to come home!" But the prince answered: "Oh my father! If the frog accompanies me, then how am I to come?" The King assured him: "No problem! Surely you must come! I am calling you." Upon his insisting so much, the prince was forced to come. He said to the frog: "This is the way things are now. What will become of us now?" But the frog answered coolly: "Nothing to worry about, come, let us go! You go ahead of me, I will come after you."

On the following day the call came to them. So they went to the King's gate. On reaching the gate, it now appeared that inside the frog skin there was the fairy Salaasir. There on entering the gate of the palace, the frog abandoned her skin. At the same moment a beam of light resembling a car's headlights fell radiantly on the house. When the beam of light fell, the King in the palace said: "What strange *gases* is the frog now bringing in front of her, my son?" He did not know, you see, that she was a

fairy. "What is she bringing?", he said.

They entered the house respectfully. At the same moment the King flung flour on them. Then she became quite confused and left the frog skin there. The King, who had flung flour and seen her, lifted up the frog skin and threw it into the fire with the words: "Now this way at least for one day you have to be yourself for us!" But when he had burned the skin, she clapped her hands, made a flapping sound and flew away.

On her flying away, the prince put earth on his head and returned again crying to the vizir's house. He cried: "What more shall I do here now, what else did you bring me here for? Oh, the deep sorrow which God has just bestowed upon me. Today on her coming to your place, that is, just a while ago, she clapped her hands and said: 'If you can, come on the wet side! If you cannot, you'll remain there'. Then she threw down a ring to me from above. 'Come on the wet side! If you come, you will find me, otherwise I am gone for good'. So she said and flew away again."

With these words he went away from there. While going he fell down striking his head thrice on the ground. He was unable to walk. But taking the ring and exerting himself, he made his way to his foster father's house. Having gone to his foster father's house, he then went to sleep, hiding himself. Having slept, he stayed in his foster father's house for nearly eight or ten days. While he was staying there, his foster brother asked him: "Hey, did you get any instructions? Did you find out anything? Did she say anything? Did you hear?"

The prince answered: "She said: 'If you come, come on the wet side, don't come on the dry side!' I got these instructions. This is what she told me." The foster brother said: "Come on now! I too will go with you, come!"

Then the two of them started out on a journey in the direction behind the house. Down in the place where the arrow had hit, there was a small hole. Having come there, the foster brother said: "I'll take hold of your hand and let you down hanging from it, then I'll descend myself. Come on big brother!" With these words the vizir's son helped the prince slip down all the way through the hole. But when the prince reached the ground below, the hole closed above him and shut up. The vizir's son remained above. He could not go with the prince.

When the prince looked around, he found himself in a pitch-black forest. He was just trying to feel what was inside the forest with his hand, when a leopard came. He tried to get hold of the leopard's tail with his hands, and when he had caught it, he started to follow it. It led him to the light. There the leopard left him and returned to the forest.

After it had returned, the prince went ahead and found himself in a quaint world. He was quite at a loss as to what to do. When he went forwards, he saw that some people were playing polo on cows in a polo-field, they were playing on *cows*. On his proceeding a little while from there, he saw that other people were threshing wheat on a threshing-floor with horses. Having tied their muzzles, they were actually threshing wheat going around. Then he went up to them, called them and brought them to him. He made them bring the cows, which he tied at the threshing-floor.

"Thresh the wheat with these cows!", he said. Next he brought the horses, put

bridles and saddles on them. Then he made the people fetch polo-sticks and bring the horses to the polo-ground. He taught them polo: "Play polo with these horses, with these cows you should thresh on the threshing-floor. Pay attention! You have got this all wrong!" So he taught the people of that country.

Having taught them this, he then mounted a horse and rode away. After some time he reached a distant place ahead. He found himself near a house there. Having gone to the door of the house, he entered. He saw that there was a single room. There he spent the night. Having spent the night there, he told his story to an old man there: "Now the fairy Salaasir was with me before, you know. But she has gone away for that reason, you know. Is there a road onwards from here or is there no road? What shall I do now? How can I go?" Thus he asked for advice from the old man.

The old man said: "As for there being or not being a road onwards from here, there is not now, because a dragon-demon is lying in that road. The road is in its intestines. The road is in the intestines of the dragon-demon. You see, the dragon is lying on the road, which it has devoured and which is in its stomach. There is no way to go. It lies on the road and sleeps for six months and stays awake for six months. For six months it remains sleeping, for six months it stays awake. That is the only way to go. Now what is expedient for you at this point? At this moment it is sleeping. By whatever means you are able to go, now try to go!" But the prince was at a loss, and said: "What shall I do now, what shall I not do?"

Now, the old man had some dogs there. "Well, these dogs will come with you, if it is of some help to you!", the old man said and then continued: "For six months whatever you do, that demon cannot wake up."

One month passed while those dogs were tearing along the road inside the intestines of the demon and were taking meat out. Having taken out its intestines, there was finally only one day left until the demon would wake up. Then just at that time they reached the tail of the dragon and came out into the open. They came into the light, from being shut inside the intestines. "Well now, at least I managed to do think, thank God. I came upon the road", the prince said and set out on his way.

Having wandered a long long way, he finally arrived at a settlement. There he went into a house, which was located high up on a sandy river bank. Having gone there, he asked an old woman: "How is it? Is there perchance a road somehow going from here to Salaasir the fairy, or is there not?"

The woman was no other than Salaasir's foster mother. She asked him: "Who, I wonder, are you?" "Well, actually I am the fairy Salaasir's husband from the face of the earth", he said. "Congratulations to you! Come, sit down here! I am her foster mother. I will take the message to her for you", she said. Then having taken the message, she asked: "Have you any token from her?" "I have this ring here", he answered. "That is fine", her foster mother said and went up.

Having gone up, she congratulated the fairy Salaasir, saying: "Your husband from the face of the earth arrived. He is waiting down on the earth." Hearing this, Salaasir jumped up high and asked for her hand to kiss it in affection, saying: "Do you speak

the truth, dear mother? Are you speaking the truth there, oh sweet mother?" "Yes of course, what else?", her foster mother said. Salaasir said: "Now in whatever manner you bring him, try to bring him here to my place!" "With pleasure", the foster mother said, and descending from there, she came to the prince and said to him: "Come now, lion!" Then when he had cut his hair, trimmed his beard, tidied up and changed his clothes, the foster mother took him up to the fairy Salaasir.

There he was reunited with his wife. They fell on each others' necks and cried. After crying, they rejoiced together. Having rejoiced, they settled down there in their own treasury and enjoyed themselves. Enjoying themselves they stayed here for about two or three months. Now Salaasir's father was a king, too. He was a fairy-king. He said: "Look, this was my only daughter! Now you are taking her away. Enjoy kingship here! Do not go! You can live here!"

But the prince answered: "No way, just give me leave now! We stayed here for these three or four months. We have stayed here for quite some time. I am angry because of earlier events. Why am I angry, you may ask? Well, father and mother gave me a lot of trouble arranging good marriages for their big sons. I met with all this trouble. And when we finally went to their house, they went and burned the skin, the frog skin. Then being driven from door to door, I had to go around looking for her. They really gave me a lot of trouble. I have to go now. Now we are going again. We will go and settle down in our own house."

"Very good! That's fine! Look here!", the King said and showed them houses to live in, among them a house where even the demons obeyed. Having taken possession of all the houses, palaces, they set off. They went to the place where the arrow had fallen in the sludge. In that place a house was built. There the prince went down and there he settled with his wife.

When they had settled down there, a message came to the King telling him of the condition of his son and daughter-in-law in those houses. When he was asked: "What are we to do now?", the King sent a man with the following message: "Now we will come to your place and visit you. Give us permission to come! We have come to miss you."

But the prince did not allow them to come. "Previously nothing good has come from you. And there is nothing good coming now. There is nothing at all for you to come here for", he said. Then the King pleaded again: "No doubt, prince, truly indeed, we have committed a misdeed. We ask for forgiveness." With these words they took grass in their mouths and came.

When his father and mother came, Salaasir the fairy said: "No doubt, this sin of father and mother is great, indeed. But they have now come like this with repentance." Having received his mother, she said: "Let them come now, won't you!" Then he let them enter the house. Thus the fairy Salaasir and the lion, the prince, were united with the King and the Queen. The kingdom, that kingdom of his, came to the little fairy Salaasir and the lion.

So I came again eating and drinking. That's all.

7. List of novel lexical items

búmpa (388) '(on) the dry side', an adverbial derivative of **búm** 'dry' < **búy-** 'to (become) dry' with the semiproductive suffix **-pa, -pá** 'side, direction' (cf. **ité-pa** 'on that side', **han-pá** '(one) side, (one) party'; Berger MS. Hunza Wörterbuch, s.v.; Lorimer 1938: 281, s.v.).

číkiŋ ét- (262, fn. 119) 'to check' < ***čík**, pl. **-iŋ** < English *check*.

darí (219, fn. 103) 'hole, aperture' (= **ɣumór**) in addition to the meaning 'window' (Berger, MS. Hunza Wörterbuch, s.v.; Lorimer 1938: 114a, s.v.).

gaađí láit (365, fn. 150) 'headlight(s) of a car' < Urdu **gāṛī** 'cart, carriage, car, train' + English *light*.

gées-íso (366, fn. 151) 'gases, burning lights' < ***gées** < English *gas*.

hayúmpa (377, 379, 388) '(on) the wet side', an adverbial derivative of **hayúm** 'wet, moist', with the semiproductive suffix **-pa, -pá** 'side, direction' (cf. **búmpa**).

hairáanar -wál- (438) 'to fall into confusion, to be at a loss', with **hairáan** 'confused, astonished' (< Urdu/Persian < Arabic **hairān**) used as the nominal component of a compound verb.

kandám -mán- (325) 'to condemn' < ***kandám** < English *condemn*.

lik-lúk lik-lúk -.t- (322) ? 'taste little bits or bites of something': a reduplicated combination of **luk(an)** '(a) (little) bit' and its diminutive **lik** 'tiny little bit', which words are used independently with the verb **-.t-** 'do, make' with reference to eating in small bits: **luk -.t-** 'eat in small bits, munch at something', **lik -.t-** 'eat a little; Yasin: eat reluctantly' (Berger MS. Hunza Wörterbuch, s.v.; Lorimer 1938: 252b, *sub lukan*).

mobár (75, fn. 49) = ? **baraabár** 'equal' (< Persian/Urdu **barābar**) in the phrase **altó mobár** = ? **altó baraabár** 'equal to two, twice as many'.

paṭá 'plank, board, candle-shelf' (in **paṭá-an-aṭe** 235, fn. 109) < Urdu **paṭā** 'cudgel, foil, wooden scimitar; seating plank or board (= **paṭṭā, paṭrā**)' = **táqht** 'throne, wooden bed'.

phéel -mán- (277, 332, 333) 'to fail' < ***phéel** < English *fail*.

phit jú- (278) 'to fit, to suit' (= **baraabár jú-**) < ***phit** < English *fit*.

qhiṣ-phiṣ ét- 'to coax' (187), an echo compound of **qhiṣ ét-** 'to entreat' < **qhaṣ** 'tickling between fingers and toes' < Shina **khaṣ thoiki** 'to wipe, to sweep, to rub off' (Berger MS. Hunza Wörterbuch, s.vv.; Lorimer 1938: 240b, s.v.) Note that **phiṣ ét-** alone means 'to fart' (Berger MS. Hunza Wörterbuch, s.v.).

qhuśi manáaya ne (73, fn. 46) ? 'having enjoyed (oneself)', evidently an adverbial phrase based on the preterite of Urdu **xuśi manānā** 'be pleased, enjoy, hold festivities' with **ne** 'having done'.

ráđi -.t- (169, 260) 'to make ready, prepare' < ***ráđi** < English *ready*.

Salaasír (363, fn. 149; & *passim*) proper name of a fairy < ?

ťaal -.t- 'to stack, to pile on something' (107, fn.59) < ***ťaal** < Urdu **ťāl** f. 'stack, heap, firewood shop stack (of wood)', cf. Urdu **ťāl karnā** 'to set up a stack'.

teṣṭ -.t- (239, fn. 112) 'to test someone' < **teṣṭ** < English *test*.

ťukodámuč -.t- 'to make or strike into pieces' (98, fn. 56). < ***ťukodá**, pl. -**muč** < Urdu **ťukṛā** 'piece, portion, fraction, slice, morsel', cf. Urdu **ťukṛe (ťukṛe) karnā** 'to cut or divide into pieces'.

yátiṣ 'peak of a mountain' (in **yátiṣ-at-ar** 122, fn. 65), in addition to the meanings 'head, leader' (Berger MS. Hunza Wörterbuch, s.v.).

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