A GRAMMATICAL SKETCH OF GURESI SHINA

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PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The Guresi and Tileli dialects of Shina are variants of the same dialect, spoken in the Gures and Tilel valleys to the north of the Kashmir Valley.[1] Research on the Tileli dialect of Shina was conducted in autumn 1981 in the Kashmir Valley by Ruth Laila Schmidt and Vijay Kumar Kaul, working as a team; this data was supplemented in autumn 1989 by data collected in Delhi from a speaker of Guresi proper.[2] Thus the data presented below was collected in two brief periods of research, and a comprehensive description of the dialect could not be completed in the time available; however as the chances of a revisit are nil, it is time to publish what we have. Even if the data leaves important questions unanswered, it does shed light on a subject about which very little is known.

A vocabulary list of 297 Guresi Shina items (Schmidt & Kaul 2008) has already been published, as part of a comparative analysis of Shina and Kashmiri vocabularies. That list was based primarily on the dialect spoken in Gures proper, whereas the grammatical sketch which follows here is based both on Guresi proper and on the dialect spoken in the Tilel valley. Tileli is very similar to Guresi, but has some aberrant and archaic features. Thus vocabulary cited below may not correspond exactly to the Guresi vocabulary presented in Schmidt and Kaul 2008.

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1   Only Bailey (1924: xii–xiv) attempts to classify Guresi Shina, grouping it with Astori and Drasi. Strand (2001) attributes the source of all the Eastern Shina dialects to Chilas, the dialect of which according to him must have spread upstream along the Indus basin. Schmidt & Kaul (2008: 253–254) find that Guresi has greater lexical similarity with the dialect of Kohistan (83%) than with Astori (81%), although Kohistani and Astori have only 74% lexical similarity. A folk tradition says that the Darmá lineages of Chilas and Kohistan have migrated from Gures.

2   Research in 1981 was conducted under grants from the Social Science Research Council and American Institute of Indian Studies; research in 1989 was conducted under a grant from the American Institute of Indian Studies. The focus in 1989 differed from that in 1981 due to requirements of the granting institutions: in 1981 the focus was on a linguistic survey of Shina and Kashmiri dialects; while in 1989 the focus was on Shina lexical data, thus it was not always possible to obtain comparable data for both dialects. Data for the Tilel and Gures valleys were provided by Abdur Rahim Sheikh and Ashraf Sahil. The data was elicited in Urdu. Vijay Kumar Kaul recorded much of the data and assisted in its analysis.

1. PHONOLOGY

In the Shina dialects which have received a comprehensive study of the sound system (Gilgiti and Kohistani), every word has been found to contain one accented syllable. In short syllables, the accent is realized as a high pitch and is shown as an acute accent over the vowel (áẓo 'rain'). The accent need not be written on short monosyllables. Long syllables, written with double vowels, normally carry the word accent. Long vowels may have a high falling pitch, shown as an acute accent on the first vowel, or mora (*táaro* 'star'); or a low rising pitch, shown as an acute accent on the second vowel or mora (*baál* 'child').

It was not possible to undertake a comprehensive study of the accent. Pitch contours were however marked on the phonetic transcription, and we found in subsequent analysis that transcription of pitch in terms of accent on the mora could capture all the contrasts. In the data which follows, we represent pitch as accent on the mora; if an accent is not written (apart from short monosyllables), that information is missing in the data.

The segmental phonemes of the Tileli dialect are almost identical to those of other Shina dialects, with the exception that the phoneme /a/ has [ɨ ~ ə] as a short, unstressed allophone. This does not occur in other dialects, and must be due to Kashmiri influence.[3]

Phonemes of Guresi Shina (Tileli dialect)

Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	/ i		u
Mid	e		o
Low	æ	a	(ɔ) /

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[3] The phonological system of Gilgiti Shina is documented in Radloff 1999 and Degener 2008 (pp. 13–15); the phonological system of Kohistani Shina is documented in Schmidt & Kohistani 1998 and Schmidt & Kohistani 2008 (pp. 15–39).

Consonants

	Labial	Dental	Alveolar Palato-alveolar	Retracted	Velar	Glottal
Stops	/ p b	t d		ṭ ḍ	k g	
Fricatives	(f)		s š z	ṣ ẓ		h
Affricates		ts	c j	ç (j)		
Nasals	m	n		ṇ	ŋ	
Liquids						
Lateral		l				
Trill			r			
Flap				ṛ		
Glides	w		y /			

Aspiration: /h/, occurs with / p t ts ṭ k c ç k /
Suprasegmentals (shown above the vowel /a/):
/á/   Short, accented vowel
/ã/   Nasalized vowel
/aa/   Long vowel
/áa/   Accent on first mora (high falling pitch)
/aá/   Accent on second mora (low rising pitch)

2. INFLECTION OF NOUNS (TILELI DIALECT)

The inflection of nouns resembles that of the Gilgiti dialect, rather than that of the Kohistani dialect, to which Guresi otherwise seems to be more closely related. Two genders may be distinguished, and these may have vocalic gender suffixes, or end in a consonant (i.e. may be suffixless). Three of these resulting four noun types inflect in the same way, forming the plural with the plural suffix *-e*, which is lengthened if the gender suffix is long, and nasalized if the gender suffix is nasalized. Only masculine nouns ending in consonants add a different suffix: *-i*. So there are in fact only two declensional classes. For a glimpse of a nearly identical situation, one may compare Degener 2008: 16–21.

2.1   Masculine nouns ending in *-u, -o, -oo*: replace the gender suffix with *-e ~ -ee*:

Singular	Plural
kúṭu 'knee'	*kuṭé*
táaro 'star'	*táare*
lamṭoó 'tail'	*lamṭeé*
haṇṍ 'egg'	*haṇẽ́*

2.2   Feminine nouns ending in short *-i* and consonants: change *-i* to *-y-* and add the plural suffix *-e ~ -ee*:

pfiliíli 'ant'	*pfiliílye*
ṭíki 'bread'	*ṭíkye*
yúuṇ 'moon'	*yúuṇe* [4]
ḍeér 'belly'	*ḍereé*
mūyál 'earthquake'	*mūyále*

2.3   Feminine nouns ending in long *-ii*: replace the gender suffix with *-ee*:

aċhíi 'eye'	*achée* [5]
kaṇíī 'shoulder'	*kaṇéē*

2.4   Masculine nouns ending in consonants: add the plural suffix *-i*:

nóor 'fingernail'	*nóori*
don 'tooth'	*dóni*
ẓuúk 'kidney'	*ẓukí*
góoṣ 'house'	*góoẓi*
iċh 'bear'	*iċhí*
jaanǝwáar 'bird'	*jaanǝwáari*

2.5 Accent shift

There is no consistent evidence of conditioned accent shift to the suffix, as described by Radloff 1999: 90 ff. Radloff's rule for accent shift states that accent on the last vocalic mora of a *root* shifts to the suffix. This would include nouns with low rising tones in the last syllable (accent on the second mora), nouns of which the final syllable is accented, and monosyllables. Some items (*ẓuúk* 'kidney', *ḍeér* 'belly', *iċh* 'bear') suggest that it would be worth looking at a larger sample of nouns. Evidence against a conditioned accent shift is provided by *kúṭu* 'knee' (in which accent shift occurs unpredictably) and *don* 'tooth' and *mūyál* 'earthquake' (in which the accent does not shift even though it is on the last vocalic mora).

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4   Means 'yolks of eggs'; the moon itself does not have a plural form.
5   The retroflexion of *-ċ-* disappears in the plural, as is the case also in Kohistani Shina.

2.6 Noun cases

There are six noun cases: nominative, agent, genitive, dative, ablative and locative. (The direct object takes the nominative case.) One paradigm, that of the word for 'bread', bears traces of a second agent case (as in Kohistani Shina).[6] Intransitive verbs take the nominative case of a noun subject in all tenses. Transitive verbs take the first agent case in *-sV ~ -s ~ -es* in all tenses; however the verb always agrees with the subject, whether it is in the nominative or agent case. The following Tileli paradigms show typical inflections; where available, data for the Guresi dialect is also given. The genitive singular case, unlike either Gilgiti or Kohistani, inflects to agree with the gender of the modified noun.[7] In the Tileli paradigms, some dative, ablative or locative suffixes have word accents, i.e. they behave like free postpositions rather than bound suffixes. In the Guresi paradigms, only the ablative suffix behaves like a postposition.

Inflection of selected nouns

kúṭo m. 'knee' (Tileli dialect)		
	Singular	**Plural**
Nominative	*kúṭu*	*kuṭé*
Agent I	*kúṭus*	*kúṭes*
Genitive	*kuṭṓ* m., *kuṭéĩ* f.	*kuṭṍõ*
Dative	*kuṭéṭ*	*kuṭṍõṭ*
Ablative	*kúṭijõ*	*kuṭṍõjõ*
Locative	*kúṭiji*	*kuṭṍõji*

ṭíki f. 'bread' (Tileli dialect)		
Nominative	*ṭíki*	*ṭíkye*
Agent I	*ṭíkes*	*ṭíkyes*
Agent II	*ṭíkyõ*	*ṭíkyes*
Genitive	*ṭíkyõ* m., n.d.	*ṭikeṍ*
Dative	*ṭíkye ṭe*	*ṭikyṍõ ṭe*
Ablative	*ṭíki jõ*	*ṭikyṍõ jo*
Locative	*ṭíki ji*	*ṭikyṍõ ji*

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6 The Guresi, Drasi and Kohistani dialects have two agent cases, one marking subjects of imperfective transitive verbs (*sV ~ -s ~ -es*), the other marking subjects of perfective transitive verbs (*-e ~ -i, -o*). Bailey (1924: 222 ff.) calls them Agent I and Agent II. Gilgiti has only one agent case (Agent I, or *se ~ -s*) which marks the subjects of all tenses of transitive verbs. In Guresi, the second agent case has almost completely disappeared in nouns, but occurs in some pronouns.

7 Schmidt & Kaul (2008: 251) find that this is probably a result of contact with Kashmiri.

ṭíki f. 'bread' (Guresi dialect)		
Nominative	*ṭíki*	*ṭíke*
Agent I	*ṭíkis*	*ṭíkes*
Genitive	*ṭíkyõ* m., *tikī̃* f.	*ṭikeṍ*
Dative	*ṭíkiṭ*	*ṭikyṍṭ*
Ablative	*ṭíki jõ*	*ṭikyṍ jo*
Locative	*ṭíkij*	*ṭikyṍj*

yúuṇ f. 'moon' (Tileli dialect)		
Nominative	*yúuṇ*	*yúuṇe*
Agent I	*yū́ũs*	*yúuṇes*
Genitive	*yuuṇṍ* m. *yuuṇẽ̄* f.	*yúuṇṍõ*
Dative	*yuuṇíṭ*	*yúuṇṍõṭ*
Ablative	*yúuṇi jõ*	*yúuṇṍõ jo*
Locative	*yúuṇi ji*	*yúuṇṍõ ji*

góoṣ 'house' (Tileli dialect)		
Nominative	*góoṣ*	*góoẓi*
Agent I	*góoṣ se*	*góoẓis*
Genitive	*góoẓõ* m., *góoẓeī̃* f.	*góoẓõ*
Dative	*góoẓeṭ*	*góoẓṍõṭ*
Ablative	*góoẓi jõ*	*góoẓṍõ jõ*
Locative	*góoẓiji*	*góoẓṍõji*

góoṣ 'house' (Guresi dialect)		
Nominative	*góoš~góoṣ*	*góoji*
Agent I	*góoj sə*	*góojis*
Genitive	*góojõ* m., *góojĩ* f.	*góojõ*
Dative	*góojiṭ~góojəṭ*	*góojū̃ṭh*
Ablative	*góoji jõ~góojõ*	*góojõ jo*
Locative	*góojij*	*góojũ̃j*

Examples (Guresi)

(1) *so kuṭ-ū̃ŭj yaaz h-ū*
     he knee-LOCPl. go.3.sg AUXpres-3.m.sg.
     He crawls on his knees.

(2) *gooj-ṓ šarún*
house-GENm. roof (m.)
the roof of the house

(3) *gooj-ī́ bái*
house-GENf. bread (f.)
home-made bread/food

(4) *góoj-ij jok h-ū̄?*
house-LOCsg. what is-3.m.sg.
What is in the house?

(5) *mo góoj-ṓ áa-l-us*
I house-ABLsg. come-PERF-1.m.sg.
I came out of the house.

2.7 Oblique case

Examples of nouns followed by postpositions, though few in number, attest to an oblique case in *-e* (singular). This suffix is also used as a locative (*góoẓe* '[to] home'). The plural oblique suffix *-ṓ ~ -ṓṓ* can be isolated from the ablative case of the noun paradigms. This agrees with comparative data for related dialects, particularly Gilgiti.[8]

Examples (Tileli)

góoẓe muchṓ 'in front of the house' (oblique sg. case of 'house')
góoẓe patṓ 'in back of the house' (oblique sg. case of 'house')

Some postpositions take the genitive, locative or ablative case:
góoẓeī́ kínuse 'beside the house' (genitive f. sg. case of 'house')
góoẓṓṓji ajaní 'inside the houses' (locative pl. case of 'house')
góoẓṓṓ jṓ daraní 'outside the houses' (ablative pl. case of 'house')

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8   This would make the oblique plural case homophonous with the genitive plural.

3. PRONOUNS

3.1 Distinctions of gender, distance and visibility

Most of the data for pronouns was collected for the Tileli dialect. The first and second person plural pronouns in the Tileli dialect distinguish masculine and feminine gender, and most of the third person pronouns distinguish gender in both singular and plural.[9] The reader may compare the verb paradigms under §4 in which equivalent Guresi pronouns are provided.

In the genitive singular case, pronouns agree with the noun they qualify in gender and number. Pronouns take the same case inflections as do nouns, with one exception: with perfective tenses most of them take the second agent case (corresponding to Kohistani "agent-perfective"). This case has all but disappeared in nouns.

Third person pronouns distinguish the following parameters: close:remote and visible:invisible. Deictics distinguish three degrees of visible distance: near, distant, and remote.

We did not find any examples of pronominal suffixes, even though Bailey (1924: 218) cites examples of these in Guresi.

Tileli pronouns (nominative case)

Person	Deixis	Singular		Plural	
		m.	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**
1.		*mō̃*	*mō̃*	*be*	*byáa*
2.		*tu*	*tu*	*tšõ*	*tšáã*
3. Personal pronouns					
	Visible or known, 'he/she/it'	*ẓo*	*ẓe*	*ẓe*	*ẓyáa*
	Invisible or unknown, 'he/she/it'	*so*	*se*	*se*	*syáa*
3. Demonstrative pronouns					
	Close, visible, 'this'	*anú, nu*	*aní, ni*	*aní*	*anyáa*
	Remote, visible, 'that'	*aá*	*aá*	*aá*	*ayaá*
Deictics					
	9 to 10 feet away, visible, 'this'	*peraá*			
	More distant, visible, 'that'	*paraá*			
	Remote visible, 'that yonder'	*paáʔr aá*[10]			

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9   Much of this data was originally published in Schmidt 2000.

10 The glottal stop in this item is nonphonemic. Compare Schmidt & Kohistani 2008: 95 for an example of the same phenomenon in Kohistani Shina.

A close, observable subject is rendered by *anú*. In the Tileli dialect, a visible subject which is not close at hand is rendered by *aá* in the first reference. In further references it is rendered by *ẓo* if it is visible, known first hand, or regularly referred to; and by *so* if it is invisible, unknown, reported second hand or merely inferred. *aá* inflects and is used both as a personal and demonstrative pronoun.

3.2 Case inflection of pronouns

Pronouns are inflected for the same cases as nouns, with the exception that there is a second agent case, which occurs in the 1st person, 2nd person sg. and 3rd person sg. (both visible and invisible). The inflections of the first, second and visible third persons are illustrative.

Inflection of the Tileli first person pronoun mõ

	M. sg.	F. sg.	M. pl.	F. pl.
Nom.	*mõ*	*mõ*	*be*	*byáa*
Ag. 1	*mos ~ mósi*	*mos*	*bes ~ bési*	*byáɛs*
Ag. 2	*mḗĩ*	*mḗĩ*	*bési*	*byáɛs*
Gen.	*myṍ*	*mḗĩ*	*asṍ*	*asḗĩ*
Dat.	*mót̥e ~ mot̥*	*mot̥*	*asṍt̥*	*asṍt̥*
Abl.	*mójyõ*	*mójyõ*	*asójyõ*	*asójyõ*
Loc.	*móji*	*móji*	*asóji*	*asóji*

Inflection of the Tileli second person pronoun tu

	M. sg.	F. sg.	M. pl.	F. pl.
Nom.	*tu*	*tu*	*tṣhõ*	*tṣháã*
Ag. 1	*tus ~ túsi*	*tus*	*tṣhõs*	*tṣháãs*
Ag. 2	*thḗĩ*	*thõ*	*tṣhõs*	*tṣháãs*
Gen.	*thõ*	*thḗĩ*	*tṣhõ*	*tṣhá̃ã̃*
Dat.	*tút̥e*	*tút̥e*	*tṣhõt̥*	*tṣhá̃ã̃t̥*
Abl.	*tújyõ*	*tújyõ*	*tṣhõjyõ*	*tṣhánojyõ*
Loc.	*túji*	*túji*	*tṣhõji*	*tṣhánoji*

Inflection of the Tileli third person pronoun ẓo

	M. sg.	**F. sg.**	**M. pl.**	**F. pl.**
Nom.	ẓo	ẓe	ẓe	ẓǽæ
Ag. 1	ẓos	ẓési	ẓes	ẓǽæs
Ag. 2	ẓésē̃ī	ẓésõ	ẓes	ẓǽæs
Gen.	ẓésõ	ẓésǽē	ẓenṍ	ẓhã̃ã̃nṍ
Dat.	ẓéseṭ	ẓéseṭ	ẓenóṭ	ẓhã̃ã̃nóṭ
Abl.	ẓésijyõ	ẓésijyõ	ẓenójyõ	ẓhǽæ̃nojyõ
Loc.	ẓésiji	ẓésiji	ẓenóji	ẓhǽæ̃noji

Examples (Tileli)

(6) *aní kaalíin-o qíimat jok h-ū? ẓés-õ qíimat põš šal rupáai h-ḗī,*
     this-f. carpet-GENm. price what is-m.sg.? its.VIS-m.sg. price five hundred rupees
     is-f.sg.
     What is the price of this carpet? Its price is 500 rupees,

(7) *magár góoẓ-iji ek h-ēī, sés-õ qíimat cáar šal rupáai h-ḗī*
     but house-LOCsg. one is-f.sg. its.INV-m.sg. price four hundred rupees is-f.sg.
     But in the house there is one which costs 400 rupees.[11]

(8) *so ẓabaáṭi kóon h-ū kóoi th-ḗī šahr-ṍ aṭ-á-a*
     it.INV medicine where is-m.sg. which you-AG2m.sg. city-abl bring-perf-2.sg.
     Where is that medicine you brought from the town?[12]

(9) *so aní almáaire-ji h-ū*
     it.INV this-f. cupboard-LOC is-m.sg.
     It is in this cupboard.

4. VERBS

The data which follows is based primarily on the dialect of Gures proper. The
major distinction in verb structure is between the imperfective tenses and the

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11 The agreement in (6) and (7) is not very straightforward: *qíimat* 'price' is clearly masculine,
as evidenced by the noun and pronouns in the genitive m. sg. case and the masculine verb
hū; but the verbs at the end of the sentences are feminine. They appear to agree with the
adjacent noun *rupáai*.

12 Examples (8) and (9) contain another puzzle: *ẓabaáṭi* 'medicine' apparently has a feminine
gender suffix, but the pronouns and verb agreeing with it are masculine. In the dialect of
Gures proper, 'medicine' is clearly feminine: *ċíṭi jabaáṭi* 'bitter medicine'.

perfective tenses. The former consist of the future tense (historically the old present) plus auxiliaries; the latter of the past tense plus auxiliaries. As in other Shina dialects, intransitive past tense forms may have perfective aspect markers in *-l-* (L-forms) or in *-t- ~ -d-* (T-forms). Transitive past tense forms are much reduced, and may have the perfective aspect marker *-a-*, or may lack an overt aspect marker.[13]

Despite its proximity to, and influence from, Kashmiri, there is no trace of verbs occurring in second position in the sentence (SVO). The verb always occurs in final position (SOV).

4.1 The auxiliary 'is'; 'are' etc.

4.1.1 Present tense (Guresi)

	Singular	**Plural**
1.	*mo hū̃s*	*be hã́ãs*
1.f.	*mo hī̃s*	*be hī̃s*
2.m.	*tu hū̃*	*tshõ hã́ãt*
2.f.	*tu hī̃*	*tshõ hī́ĩt*
3.m.	*so hũ*	*se hã́ã*
3.f.	*se hī̃*	*sáa hī́ĩ*

The Tileli forms have historically older variants (the third person pronoun cited by the speaker is *aá* rather than *so*):

	Singular	**Plural**
1.	*mõ hánus ~ hōs*	*be hánis*
1.f.	*mõ háinis ~ hæ̃s*	*byáa háinis*
2.m.	*tu hanṍṍ*	*tshõ hánith*
2.f.	*tu hæné*	*tshã́ã háinit ~ hã́æ̃t*
3.m.	*aá hũ*	*aá hána ~ hã́ã*
3.f.	*aá hḗĩ*	*ayáa háine ~ hḗẽi*

The past tense has an L-form perfective aspect marker. Once again the Tileli forms (shown in parentheses) are more archaic.

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13 Compare Schmidt & Kohistani 2008: 129 ff.

4.1.2 Past tense (Guresi; Tileli forms in parentheses)

	Singular	**Plural**
1.	*mo sulús* (*mō asúlus*)	*be silés* (*be asílis*)
1.f.	*mo silís* (*mō asílyis*)	— (*byáa asilyés*)
2.m.	*tu silóo* (*tu asiloó*)	*tʂhō silét* (*tʂhō asilét*)
2.f.	*tu silée* (*tu asílyei*)	— (*tʂháā asilyét*)
3.m.	*so sul* (*aá asúlu*)	*se sil* (*aá asíle*)
3.f.	*se síli* (*aá asíli*)	*sáa síli* (*ayaá asílye*)

As in other dialects of Shina, the verb 'be' has two paradigms; the ones shown above show existential states ('is', 'was'), while another set of paradigms shows change ('becomes', 'became').[14] These have two different infinitives: *ašoónu* 'to be', and *boónu* 'to become'. The data does not contain full paradigms for the latter, but there are contrastive examples from the Guresi dialect:

(10) *hin h-ū*
      snow is-m.
      It is snow. (Present tense of *ašoónu*)

(11) *hin šóo áas-u h-ū*
      snow white is-m. AUXpres-3.m.sg.
      Snow is white. (Existential present tense of *ašoónu*)

(12) *thap asú-l-u*
      dark be-PERF-3.m.sg.
      It was dark. (Existential past tense of *boónu*)

(13) *thap bí-l-u*
      dark become-PERF-3.m.sg.
      It got dark. (Commencing past tense of *boónu*)

A homophone of the verb *boónu* 'to be' means 'to be able'. It takes the infinitive of the main verb, which determines the case of the subject (nominative with intransitive verbs, agent case with transitives).[15]

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14 Cf. Schmidt & Kohistani 2008: 120–124; Degener 2008: 60–62.

15 Cf. Schmidt & Kohistani 2008: 198–202.

Examples (Guresi)

(14) *mo boj-oónu b-em*
    I go-INF can-1.sg.
    I can go.

(15) *mo sad boj-oónu nə bí-l-us*
    I there go-INF not can-PERF-1.m.sg.
    I couldn't go there.

(16) *tu-s mo-ṭ madád thy-oónu b-e daa*
    you-AG1 I-DAT help do-INF can-2sg. INT
    Can you help me?

The following proverb also shows a present tense of *boónu* 'to be able'. However we cannot explain why *dyoónu* 'give' does not take the first agent case of *jaanəwáari* and *caarwaai*.

(17) *jaanəwáar-i talée dy-oónu b-éen h-áã, caarwaai nə*
    bird-pl. flight give-INF can-3.m.pl. AUXpres-3.m.pl. cattle not
    Birds can fly, but cattle cannot.

4.2 Intransitive verbs

The nominative form of the subject occurs with intransitive verbs. *khajoónu* 'to rise, go up, climb' (Guresi) is a regular intransitive verb.

khajoónu *'to rise' (Guresi)*

Future tense

	Singular	**Plural**
1.m./f.	*mo kházim*	*be khazóon*
2.m./f.	*tu kháze*	*tʂhō khazáat*
3.m./f.	*so khaz*	*se kházin*

<u>Present tense</u>: *mo kházim hũs / mo kházim hīs*; *be khazóon háãs / be khazóon hīs*; *tu kháze hũ / tu kháze hī*; *tʂhō khazáat háãt / tʂhō khazáat híĩt*; *so khaz hũ / se khaz hī*; *se kházin háã / sáa kházin híĩ*

In the following paradigm of imperfect tense forms, the speaker distinguishes no feminine plural forms, indicating that these are disappearing. This is also typical of Kohistani Shina verb inflections.

<u>Imperfect tense</u>: *mo kházim sulús / mo kházim silís*; *be khazóon silés* (m./f.); *tu kháze silóo / tu kháze silée*; *ʦhõ khazáat silét* (m./f.); *so khaz sulú / se khaz síli*; *se kházin silé* (m./f.)

The past tense is a good example of a T-form perfective aspect marker. An example of the variant in *-d-* of this aspect marker is *bujoónu* 'to wake up': *so búdu* 'he woke up'.

Past tense

	Singular	**Plural**
1.m./f.	*mo khátus*	*be khátes*
2.m./f.	*tu khéte*	*ʦhõ khátet*
3.m.	*so khátu*	*se khátə*
3.f.	*se kháti*	*sáa kháti*

The imperative has the same form as the verb root, but the final vowel may be devoiced.

Examples (Guresi)

(18) *ajá kh-as*
      up rise-IMP.sg.
      Go up.

(19) *so ajá kh-az*
      he up rise-FUT.3.sg.
      He will go up.

(20) *bukháari jõ duúm kh-az h-ū*
      firepot ABL smoke rise-fut.3.sg. AUXpres-3.m.sg.
      Smoke is coming up from the firepot.

(21) *mo ajá khá-t-us*
      I up rise-PERF-1.m.sg.
      I went up.

(22) *yúun khá-t-i*
      moon rise-PERF-3.f.sg.
      The moon rose.

The data does not contain examples of the perfect or the pluperfect of this verb. For a fuller picture of the inflection of verbs with auxiliaries we may look at *bojoónu* 'to go', which is an irregular verb. The Tileli forms are provided in parentheses.

bojoónu *'to go'* (Guresi; Tileli forms in parentheses)

Future tense

	Singular	**Plural**
1.m./f.	*mo bójim (mõ bójim)*	*be bojóon (be bojóon)*
2.m./f.	*tu bojée (tu bojée)*	*ʦhō bojáat (ʦhō bojáa)*
3.m./f.	*so boj (aá bojí)*	*se bójin∼bójən (aá bójin)*
3.f.	*(aá bójin)*	*sáa bójin (ayaá bójin)*

Present tense: *mo bójim hũs / mo bójim hĩs*; *be bojóon hắãs* (m./f.); *tu bojée hũ / tu bojée hĩ*; *ʦhō bojáat hắãt* (m./f.); *so boj hũ / se boj hĩ*; *se bójin hắã* (m./f.)

No feminine plural forms are distinguished in the imperfect of *bojoónu* either:

Imperfect tense: *mo boj sulús / mo bojim silís /be bojóon silés* (m./f.); *tu boj sulóo / tu boj silée*; *ʦhō bojáat silét* (m./f.); *so boj súlu / se boj síli / se boj silín∼se bójinsil* (m./f.)

Past tense

	Singular	**Plural**
1.m.	*mo gáas (mõ gáas)*	*be gyées (be gyées)*
1.f.	*mo gées (mõ gyées)*	*— (byáa gyées)*
2.m.	*tu ga (tu gáa)*	*ʦhō gyéet (ʦhō gyéet)*
2.f.	*tu ge (tu gyéi)*	*ʦhắã gyéet (ʦhắã gyéet)*
3.m.	*so gáu (aá gáu)*	*se gée (aá gyéei)*
3.f.	*se géi (aá gyéei)*	*sáa gée (ayaá gyéei)*

Present perfect: *mo gáas hũs / mo gées hĩs*; *be gyées hắãs* (m./f.); *tu ga hũ / tu ge hĩ*; *ʦhō gyéet hắãt* (m./f.); *so gáu hũ / se géi hĩ*; *se gée hắã* (m./f.)

In the pluperfect of the Guresi dialect, the past auxiliary loses its accent and behaves like a suffix:

Pluperfect: *mo gáalus / mo géesilis*; *be gyéesiles* (m./f.); *tu gáasulo / tu gáasile*; *ʦhō gyéesilet* (m./f.); *so gáusul / se géesil* ; *se géesil* (m./f.)

Examples (Guresi)

The imperative of *bojoónu* 'to go' (*bo*) is not identical with the verb root (*boj*). The third example contains a conjunctive participle of *bojoónu* (*bojií*).[16]

(23)   *tu bo!*
       you.sg. go.IMPsg.
       You go!

(24)   *tshō boj-áa!*
       you.pl. go-IMPpl.
       You (pl.) go!

(25)   *so góoj-e boj-ií aaráam th-éi*
       he house-OBL go-CP rest do-FUT.3.sg.
       He will go home and rest.

4.3 Transitive verbs

The Guresi paradigm of *thyoónu* 'to do', an irregular verb, shows how the auxiliaries function to develop the tense system. This is the only transitive verb for which we have reasonably complete data. Following this paradigm we present a partial paradigm for *khyoónu* 'to eat', representing a verb with a stem vowel in *-o-* (cf. Schmidt & Kohistani 2008: 181–183 for a paradigm of this verb in Kohistani Shina).

The perfective tenses of *thyoónu*, unlike those of Gilgiti or Kohistani 'do' show no trace of the grammaticalization of 'go' which has contributed to forming the perfective aspect marker for transitive verbs in those dialects.[17] Since data for archaic dialects of Shina such as Palula and Sawi show that in those dialects, transitives, like intransitives, are formed with aspect markers in *-l-* (L-forms) or

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16 In Kohistani Shina, 'go' has two conjunctive participles, the imperfective conjunctive participle *bojií*, and the perfective conjunctive participle *gyeé*, both meaning 'having gone' (Schmidt & Kohistani 2008: 222). The Tileli data also contains an example of *gyeé*: *khári ḍhíiṣ khári gyeé jakṓ ṭe myō oónu báariji páta de*, 'Go down from the mountain and tell the people of my arrival', lit. 'down from the mountain having gone, to the people about my coming give news'. On the basis of this slender evidence, it appears that *bojií* is used only when the main verb is in the future tense. Note that one would expect the oblique case of *ḍhíiṣ* 'mountain' before the postposition *khári* 'down', but it cannot be heard in the recording.

17 In Gilgiti Shina, transitive perfective tenses are elaborated from the conjunctive participle plus grammaticalized forms of the past tense of 'go', for example *theé* 'having gone' + *gáas* '(I) went' → *theégas* '(I) did'. Synchronic analysis yields a perfective aspect marker *-eég-*. In Kohistani, the *-eég-* element survives in only three forms, whereas in Gilgiti it is present throughout the paradigm (Schmidt & Kohistani 2008: 131–133).

in *-t-˜-d-* (T-forms), for example Palula *thíilu* '(he) did', *dítu* '(he) gave' (Liljegren 2008: 210); Sawi *thilo* 'did', *ditó* 'gave' (Buddruss 1967: 131, 92), we may assume that if grammaticalization of 'go' had never taken place in Guresi, perfective verb tenses would have presented similar L-forms or T-forms. What we see however resembles the Kohistani perfective forms minus the surviving *-eég-* element. We may infer that grammaticalization of 'go' did indeed take place, but that the resulting forms were subsequently levelled, leaving a perfective aspect marker *-a-* or Ø.

Note that the transitive verbs take the first agent case of pronouns with imperfectives, and the second agent case with perfectives. (As mentioned under 2.6, there are only traces of the second agent case in nouns.)

thyoónu *'to do'* (Guresi; the Tileli forms are provided in parentheses)

Future tense

	Singular	**Plural**
1.m./f.	mos them (mos them)	bes thóon (bes thóon)
1.f.	— (—)	— (byǽæs thóon)
2.m./f.	tus thée (tus thée)	ʦhõs thyáat (ʦhõs thyáat)
2.f.	— (—)	— (ʦháãs thyáat)
3.m./f.	sos théi (aás théi)	ses théen (aás théen)
3.f.	— (—)	sáas théen (ayaás théen)

<u>Present tense</u>: *mos them hū̃s / mos them hī̃s*; *bes thóon hã̃ãs* (m./f.); *tus thée hū̃ / tus thée hī*; *ʦhõs thyáat hã̃ãt* (m./f.); *sos théi hū̃ / sos théi hī*; *ses théen hã̃ã / sáas théen hã̃ã* (for the Tileli forms of the auxiliary, see §4.1.1).

The imperfect tense is missing in the Guresi data and these forms are supplied from Tileli:

<u>Imperfect tense</u>: *mos them asúlus / mos them asílyis*; *bes thóon asílis* (m./f.); *tus thée asiloó / tus thée asílyei*; *ʦhõs thyáat asilét* (m./f.); *aás théi asúlu / aás théi asíli*; *aás théen asíle / ayaás théen asílye* (for the Tileli forms of the auxiliary, see §4.1.2).

With the perfective tenses of *thyoónu*, the second agent case of the pronoun occurs in the first and second persons. There are no feminine plural first and second person forms of either the verb or the pronoun.

Past tense	**Singular**	**Plural**
1.m.	méĩ tháas (méĩ tháas)	bes thiyées (bési thyées)
1.f.	méĩ thées (méĩ thées)	— (byǽæs thyées)
2.m.	théĩ tha (théĩ tha)	ʦhõs thiyeét (thyeét)[18]
2.f.	théĩ thi (thõ théi)	— (ʦháãs thyeét)
3.m.	ses~sésĩ tháu (aásẽĩ tháu)	ses thiyeé (aás~ses thiyeé)
3.f.	ses thi (aásõ thi)	sáas thiyeé (ayaás~sáas thiyeé)

<u>Present perfect</u>: *mẽĩ tháas hũs / mẽĩ thées hĩs*; *bes thiyées hã́ãs* (m./f.); *théĩ tha hũ / théĩ thi hĩ*; *ʦhõs thiyeét hã́ãt* (m./f.); *ses~sésĩ tháu hũ / ses thi hĩ*; *ses thiyeé hã́ã / sáas thiyeé hĩ́ĩ* (for the Tileli forms of the auxiliary, see §4.1.1).

<u>Past perfect</u>: *mẽĩ tháa sulús / mẽĩ thées silís*; *bes thiyée silés* (m./f.); *théĩ tháa silóo / théĩ thíi silée*; *ʦhõs thiyeé silét* (m./f.); *ses~sésĩ tháu sul / ses thi síli*; *ses thiyeé sil / sáas thiyeé síli* (for the Tileli forms of the auxiliary, see §4.1.2).

Examples (Guresi)

(26) *baál-s ʦəkee th-éi h-ũ*
child-AG1 playing do-3.sg. AUXpres-3.m.sg.
The child is playing.

(27) *cei sə ṭiki th-éi h-ĩ*
woman AG1 bread do-3.sg. AUXpres-3.f.sg.
A wife makes bread.

(28) *mẽĩ baál míṭh-ij huṇ ṭh-á-as*[19]
I-AG2 child shoulder-LOC up do-PERF-1.m.sg.
I lifted my child on my shoulder(s).

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18 A rising tone (stress on the second mora) is unambiguously written in the research notes for the 2nd and 3rd person plural forms; however we do not have acoustic data for it. If our transcriptions are correct, this tone may be a remaining trace of the lost perfective aspect marker *-eég-*.

19 The initial *t-* of *tháas* has been assimilated to the final *-ṇ* of *huṇ*.

khyoónu *'to eat'* (Guresi; Tileli forms in parentheses)

Future tense

	Singular	**Plural**
1.m./f.	*mos khom (mos khem)*	*bes khóon (bes khóon)*
1.f.	*— (—)*	*— (byáæs khóon)*
2.m./f.	*tus kha (khée)*	*tshōs khyáat (n.d.)*
3.m./f.	*sos kha (aás khéi)*	*ses khóon (n.d.)*

Past tense

1.m.	*mḗĩ khyáas (mḗĩ kháas)*	*bes khiyées (n.d.)*
1.f.	*mḗĩ khées (mḗĩ khées)*	*— (n.d.)*
2.m.	*thḗĩ khya (thḗĩ kha)*	*tshōs khiyeét (n.d.)*
2.f.	*thḗĩ khi (thō khéi)*	*— (n.d.)*
3.m.	*ses~sésĩ kháu~khyáu (senṍ kháu)*	*ses khiyeé (n.d.)*
3.f.	*ses khi (sésō khi)*	*sáas khiyeé (n.d.)*

Examples (Guresi)

(29) *eyá bái khy-a*
      come.IMP bread eat-IMP
      Come and eat food.

(30) *be-s hat sə bái kh-óon h-ǽās*
      we-AG1 hand AG1 bread eat-FUT.1.pl. AUXpres-1.pl.
      We eat meals with our hands.

(31) *so-s my-ō hak kh-a h-ū*
      he-AG1 my-m. right(s) eat-FUT.3.sg. AUXpres-3.m.sg.
      He is depriving me of my rights.

(32) *se-s mé-ĩ paisáai khy-a-u*
      he-AG2 my-f. money eat-PERF-3.m.sg.
      He borrowed my money and didn't return it

ABBREVIATIONS

ABL	ablative	INV	invisible
AG1	agent I	LOC	locative
AG2	agent II	m.	masculine
AUX	auxiliary	m./f.	masculine and feminine
CP	conjunctive participle	n.d.	no data
DAT	dative	OBL	oblique
f.	feminine	PERF	perfective
GEN	genitive	pl.	plural
IMP	imperative	sg.	singular
INF	infinitive	VIS	visible
INT	interrogative particle		

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