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## Eat a Spoonful, Speak a Night Tale : A Domaaki (Hi)story Telling

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Research Resource

**Eat a Spoonful, Speak a Night Tale:  
A D̤omaaki (Hi)story Telling**

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一匙食べろ，夜話を話せ  
—ドマーキ語の或る（歴史）物語—

吉 岡 乾

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## 1 D̤omaaki

The D̤omaaki language (ISO 639-3: dmk)<sup>1)</sup> is an Indo-Aryan language of the Indo-European family. It belongs to the Central group of the Indo-Aryan subbranch, unlike many languages of the Northwestern group<sup>2)</sup> distributed around D̤omaaki.

D̤omaaki is spoken in northern Pakistan (see Maps 1 and 2). So far as I have confirmed, there are three communities of D̤omaaki speakers at present, in decreasing order of size: Mominabad in the Hunza Valley and Shishkat in the Gojal Valley, both which are in the Hunza District of Gilgit-Baltistan, and Beḍishal in the Nager Valley, the Nager District of the region. On Map 2, these settlements are

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Map 1 Map of South Asia



Map 2 Map of the Domaaki language

shown as three dots: Mominabad is to the west, Shishkat is to the northeast, and Beḍishal is to the south. The three points appear to be very close to one another on the map, but in reality, the 30 km journey from Mominabad to Shishkat, and the roughly 15 km way from Mominabad to Beḍishal, both take about an hour by car because of the rivers (bridges) and other intervening topographical features. The ethnic group of the language is Doma<sup>3)</sup>. Doma people live sporadically throughout northern Pakistan, in particular in Gilgit-Baltistan. However, most of them no longer speak Domaaki because they have switched to a different major language.<sup>4)</sup> Hence, Domaaki speakers are decreasing in number and less than 100 people can speak it fluently; Most speakers are elderly. Apparently, women retain more of the language than men do because, traditionally or conventionally, women, unlike men, have only been able to interact with others within their communities. Lorimer (1939: 5–6) noted that there were approximately 330 Domaaki speakers in 1931. After about 70 years, Weinreich (2008: 299) reported fewer than 350 speakers in 2004, whereas Weinreich (2011: 165) described their number as declining rapidly.

## 2 Storyteller and Recording

Herein, I introduce a Domaaki tale, *kha kiláaya báaš silóon* ‘Eat a spoonful, speak a night tale’, glossed and translated in this paper. This tale was told by Muhammad Alam (born circa 1985), one of the youngest speakers in Mominabad Village, Hunza. He is young but, unusually, knows some Domaaki stories. It was

recorded with ICD-SX55 (SONY) in ‘ST’ mode<sup>5</sup>) on 29 August 2007. The text was transcribed and interpreted with assistance by Ali Ahmad Jan (born in 1986), also one of the youngest speakers, in July 2013. He is a shopkeeper in the village who speaks Domaaki adequately, perhaps because many elders visit his shop. The total length of the tale was approximately 6 min 20 s.

The only Domaaki story presented from earlier studies is a short one in Lorimer (1939: 128–130), *Ša Ba'ra'n Pa'dša.e Šilo'k* (‘The Story of King Šā Bārān’). This paper therefore provides material for a second narrative material in the language.

### 3 Transcription

Domaaki is an unwritten language. Therefore, it is transcribed with my phonemic representation in this study.

The consonant phonemes of Domaaki are /p, ph [p<sup>h</sup>], b, t [t~t̥], th [t̥<sup>h</sup>~t̥<sup>h</sup>], d [d̥~d̥], t̥ [t̥~t̥], t̥h [t̥<sup>h</sup>~t̥<sup>h</sup>], d̥ [d̥~d̥], k, g [g], kh [k<sup>h</sup>], q, qh [q<sup>h</sup>~x], c [ts], ch [t̥<sup>h</sup>], č [t̥e], čh [t̥e<sup>h</sup>], j [d̥z], ç [t̥s̥], çh [t̥s̥<sup>h</sup>], j̥ [d̥z̥], s, š [ɕ], š̥ [ɕ̥], z [z~d̥z], y, h [h̥], m, n, ŋ, w, y [j], y̥ [u̥]<sup>6</sup>, l, r [r]. The vowels are /i, e, a, o, u/. All of them have a distinction between short (V) and long (V̄). Some words may include nasal vowels (Ṽ) irrespective of whether they are long or short. In addition, I use a more abstract morphophonemic representation //â// in the underlying forms of some words, representing a sound in a stem which is realised as [o] by default but as [a] through regressive assimilation when a suffix including /a/ is attached to the stem.

Domaaki has the two-way pitch accent: high or middle. It is unclear whether the accent system is distinctive. Every word has a high pitch on one of the syllables. Herein, I put an acute accent mark on the high-pitched vowel (V́) in multisyllabic words, whereas I omit it from monosyllabic words as surface forms, where the only vowel must take an accent.

### 4 Morphological Sketch

Domaaki is an underdocumented language, and there are few studies that have summarised its grammar: Lorimer (1939) and Weinreich (2011) are the main grammatical descriptions, but the former is written based on an outdated framework; the latter is, seemingly, an enumeration-based sketch despite having a broad view. Therefore, I draw a brief contemporary morphological sketch based on my own fieldwork to assist in elucidating the analysis of the narrative text that follows. A full-fledged description of the grammar, including morphophonology and syntax, is expected to take several more years to prepare, so please wait for my future research publication.

The language, which is highly agglutinative, employs only suffixes.

Domaaki nouns and pronouns are inflected by case suffixes. Only nouns can be marked for indefiniteness and plural absolutive. Indefiniteness is marked by two different morphemes: one is for indefinite singular, which has two allomorphs, for male *-ek* or female *-aka*; and the other is for indefinite plural *-aare*. Although there are many allomorphs of the (neutral-definite) plural suffix, their functions are not different. The plural suffix appears only when the case is absolutive.

The Domaaki language has eight cases (Table 1). However, three of them are combining two case markers. Some nouns, such as place nouns, do not use both markers, but only the latter. In such situations, the distinction between the ablative and relative cases shown in the table is lost. In the following text (§5), the zero suffix of the absolutive case singular is ignored for descriptive purposes.

Pronouns do not take any absolutive plural suffix because their base forms themselves include plural meanings. There are personal pronouns in the first and second persons, indicative pronouns in the third person, and interrogative pronouns in Domaaki.

Personal pronouns do not distinguish between absolutive and ergative cases. Furthermore, no pronouns may take either the locative or relative case marking. Table 2 shows the first- and second-person pronouns.

**Table 1** Case suffixes in Domaaki

	SG	PL	remark
ABS	-∅	-a ~ -ηa ~ -iη ~ -oη ...	
ERG	-an (M) / -a (F)	-ee	
GEN	-ey	-ηe	
INS	-(a)s	-(e)c	
DAT [INS + DAT]	-(a)šu [ $< -(a)s-yu$ ]	-(e)ču [ $< -(e)c-yu$ ]	
ABL [INS + ABL]	-(a)smo [ $< -(a)s-mo$ ]	-(e)cmo [ $< -(e)c-mo$ ]	
LOC	-(a)na	-(e)ma	
ELA [LOC + ABL]	-(a)no [ $< -(a)na-(m)o$ ]	-(e)meyo [ $< -(e)ma-(m)o$ ]	allomorph: -aηo / $V_{STEM}$

**Table 2** Personal pronouns in Domaaki

	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL
ABS / ERG	<i>u</i>	<i>amé</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>tumé</i>
GEN	<i>mey</i>	<i>amáa</i>	<i>tey</i>	<i>tumáa</i>
INS	<i>mas</i>	<i>améc</i>	<i>tus</i>	<i>tuméc</i>
DAT [INS + DAT]	<i>mášu</i>	<i>améču</i>	<i>túšu</i>	<i>tuméču</i>
ABL [INS + ABL]	<i>másmo</i>	<i>amécmo</i>	<i>túsmo</i>	<i>tumécmo</i>

Verbals in Domaaki are conjugated for person and number, as well as for aspect, mood, and reality. In addition, copular auxiliaries are used to express the complex temporality of verbs. The difference in aspect is twofold: perfective or imperfective, which may or may not be indicated by a variant of the verb stem. It is difficult to extract the im/perfective elements as single affixes, and in general their forms for each verb stem must be remembered. Some verbs make the infinitive form based on the perfective stem, whereas others make the infinitive form from the imperfective stem. There are also some verbs in which perfective and imperfective stems are suppletive.

Table 3 shows verbal suffixes for person and mood. Domaaki verbs have only indicative and subjunctive moods. In indicative mood, a single set of suffixes is used for the imperfective aspect, but different sets are used for the perfective aspect depending on whether the verb is intransitive or transitive. The imperative function (for the second person) in the typological sense is included in the subjunctive mood as well as the jussive/optative (for the third person) and hortative functions (for the first person) are.

**Table 3** Person-mood suffixes

	IND.IPFV		IND.PFV.INTR		IND.PFV.TR		SUBJN	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	-aas	-aam	-is	-oom	-im	-oom	-aam	-oom
2	-ea	-eguut	-aay	-oot	-ii	-oot	-∅	-a
3M	-ega	-eye	-a	-e	-in	-inee	-oo	-on
3F	-egi		-i					

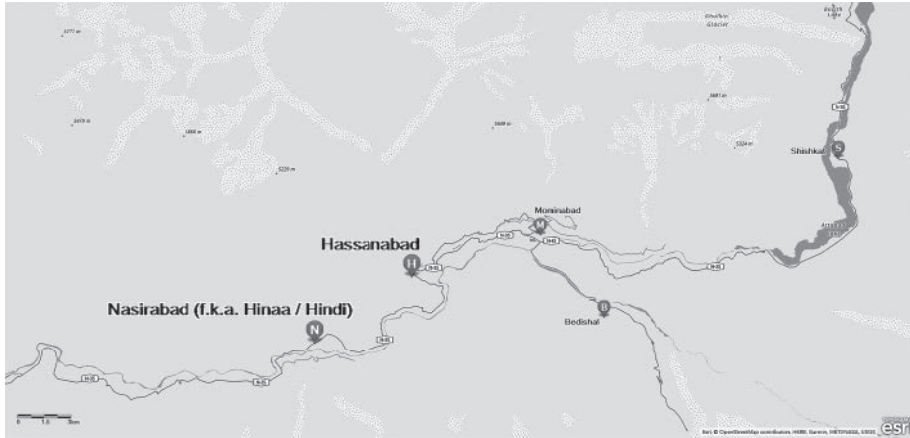
The copula employs the perfective intransitive suffix set by default and uses the irrealis marker *-aka* to represent the past tense, unlike verbs.

## 5 Narrative Text

The text below presents the interlinear glosses and translations in the following order: morphological analysis, morpheme-by-morpheme gloss, English translation, and Japanese translation. The translations have been made to accord with the original text to the greatest degree possible, so some parts may be somewhat unnatural in English and Japanese.

The story name *kha kiláaya báaš silóon* is translated as ‘Eat a spoonful, speak a night tale’. It is an actual historical event that took place around Hassanabad and Nasirabad (formerly known as Hinaa or Hindi) in the Hunza Valley (Map 3). This story is apparently commonly known in the surrounding area. It might have been transmitted from generation to generation in other languages. At least in Burushaski,

I have heard a similar story titled *še khápun* ‘eat a spoonful’ once before.



**Map 3** Map of the area within which the story takes place (with three small balloons pointing to Domaaki-speaking settlements)

- (1) *šilooyéy nóom čha, kha kiláaya báaš*  
 šilóoy-ey nóom čh-á kha-Ø kiláaya baaš-Ø  
 story-GEN.SG name COP-INTR.3SG.M eat-SUBJN.2SG spoon speak-SUBJN.2SG  
***silóon.***  
 silóon  
 pillow

The name of the story is ‘Eat a spoonful, speak a night tale [lit. speak a pillow]’.  
 物語の名前は『一匙食べろ、夜話を話せ』だ。

- (2) *yána pegáa?*  
 yá-ana peg-á=e  
 heart-LOC.SG fall:PFV-INTR.3SG.M=Q  
 Do you understand?  
 分かったか？

- (3) *kha kiláaya báaš silóon.*  
 kha-Ø kiláaya baaš-Ø silóon  
 eat-SUBJN.2SG spoon speak-SUBJN.2SG pillow  
 Eat a spoonful, speak a night tale.  
 一匙食べろ、夜話を話せ。

- (4) *ʃa juána čhéeka, ʃa yáar dóost.*  
*ʃá juáan-a čh-é-aka ʃá yáar dóost*  
 six young-PL COP-INTR.3PL-IRR six dear friend  
 There were six young friends.  
 6人の若い友人達が居た。
- (5) *juána ʃa.*  
*juáan-a ʃá*  
 young-PL six  
 Six youths.  
 6人の若者だ。
- (6) *ej ʃa sána gaḍinášu jáaye čhéeka.*  
*éj ʃá sán-a gaḍ-iná-as-yu ja-éje čh-é-aka*  
 those six gold-PL put.out-INF.M-INS.SG-DAT go-IPFV.3PL COP-INTR.3PL-IRR  
 Those six fellows were going to take out gold.  
 その6人は金取りに行っていた。
- (7) *sána gaḍinášu.*  
*sán-a gaḍ-iná-as-yu*  
 gold-PL put.out-INF.M-INS.SG-DAT  
 For taking out gold.  
 金を取りに。
- (8) *hasanabáat barášu.*  
*hasanabáat bar-as-yu*  
 PN upper.mountain.stream-INS.SG-DAT  
 To the mountain of Hasanabad.  
 ハサナバードの山へ。
- (9) *to ej sána gaḍinášu gié, ʃa biráaya*  
*tó éj sán-a gaḍ-iná-as-yu gi-é ʃá biráaya*  
 then those gold-PL put.out-INF.M-INS.SG-DAT go:PFV-INTR.3PL six brother  
*čhéeka biráara.*  
*čh-é-aka biráara*  
 COP-INTR.3PL-IRR brother:PL  
 They, six brothers, went to take out gold.  
 6人の兄弟が金を取りに行った。

- (10) *sána gaḍinášu hasanabáat barášu*  
*sán-a gaḍ-iná-as-yu hasanabáat bár-as-yu*  
 gold-PL put.out-INF.M-INS.SG-DAT PN upper.mountain.stream-INS.SG-DAT  
*jáaye čhéeka.*  
*ja-éŋe čh-é-aka*  
 go-IPFV.3PL COP-INTR.3PL-IRR  
 They were going to the mountain of Hasanabad to take out gold.  
 金を取りにハサナバードの山へと行っていた。

- (11) *hasanabáat barášu jáaye čhéeka,*  
*hasanabáat bár-as-yu ja-éŋe čh-é-aka*  
 PN upper.mountain.stream-INS.SG-DAT go-IPFV.3PL COP-INTR.3PL-IRR  
*hey ékdoo hey huyáta harána kom*  
*héy ék-doo héy hui-á=ta har-ana kóm*  
 that.M one.M-day that.M be:PFV-INTR.3SG.M=CONJ stream-LOC.SG work  
*iréŋe čhéeka múusa aí*  
*ir-éŋe čh-é-aka múusa aai-í*  
 do-IPFV.3PL COP-INTR.3PL-IRR flood come:PFV-INTR.3SG.F  
*baréy.*  
*bar-ey*  
 upper.mountain.stream-GEN.SG

They went to the mountain of Hasanabad; One day, when they were working in a stream, a flood came out from the mountain.

ハサナバードの山へ行って、或る日、こんな事があった；溪流で仕事をしていた所に、山 [の水流] からの洪水が来たのだ。

- (12) *baréy múusa aí háay bára*  
*bar-ey múusa a-í háay bára<sup>7)</sup>*  
 upper.mountain.stream-GEN.SG flood come-CP that.F upper.mountain.stream  
*ki huí, ban huí.*  
*kí hui-í bán hui-í*  
 what be:PFV-INTR.3SG.F closed be:PFV-INTR.3SG.F

Having come the flood from the mountain, it became closed.

山からの洪水が来て、その山 [の水流] はどうなったか；それは塞がってしまった。

- (13) *baár nikhilíná ni hui pána.*  
 baár nikhil-iná ni=hui-í pána  
 outside go.out-INF.M NEG=be:PFV-INTR.3SG.F way  
 It happened that [they] could not get out of the way.  
 道から外に出られなくなってしまった。
- (14) *pána ban hui.*  
 pána bán hui-í  
 way closed be:PFV-INTR.3SG.F  
 Their path became closed off.  
 道が塞がってしまった。
- (15) *muté aná háay harána.*  
 mut-é aná háay hár-ana  
 stay:PFV-INTR.3PL inside that.F stream-LOC.SG  
 They stayed in the stream.  
 彼らはその溪流の中に取り残されてしまった。
- (16) *eŋ garána ki huyé, çáidoo čaurdoo póidoo*  
 éŋ gár-ana kí hui-é çái-doo čaur-doo pói-doo  
 those house-LOC.SG what be:PFV-INTR.3PL three-day four-day five-day  
*šádoo sóddoo huyá ni aayéeka, eŋ*  
 šá-doo sót-doo hui-á ni=aai-é-aka éŋ  
 six-day seven-day be-INTR.3SG.M NEG=come:PFV-INTR.3PL-IRR those  
*muyé čhe iríi, éŋee hagi pačhí*  
 mui-é čh-é ir-íi éŋ-ee hagi pačhí  
 die:PFV-INTR.3PL COP-INTR.3PL do-CP those-ERG.PL forewards backwards  
*irinée.*  
 ir-inée  
 do-TR.3PL  
 How were those who were in their house? After three days, four days, five days, six days, and seven days, those [six brothers] did not come back, then they [family members] said those had died and held their funerals [lit. made their front into back].  
 彼らの家ではどうしていたか；3日，4日，5日，6日，7日経っても彼らが戻って来なかったので，恐らくもう死んでしまったのだらうと，葬儀を執り行った [lit. 前を後ろにした]。

- (17) *ša biraaréje buťé éje.*  
 šá biraara-eje buťé éj-ee  
 six brother:PL-GEN.PL all those-ERG.PL  
 [The funerals] of all six brothers.  
 6 人の兄弟全員のを。
- (18) *iríi tatá ki huyé, eŋ ni muyé*  
 ir-íi tatá kí hui-é éŋ ni=mui-é  
 do-CP and.then what be:PFV-INTR.3PL those NEG=die:PFV-INTR.3PL  
*čhéeka eŋ aná čhéeka ban huíi.*  
 čh-é-aka éŋ aná čh-é-aka bán hu-íi  
 COP-INTR.3PL-IRR those inside COP-INTR.3PL-IRR closed be-CP  
 Having done it, how was there is that they did not die and were inside [the stream] with [the way] closed.  
 そうしていたが, [本当は] どうだったか; 彼らは未だ死んではおらず, 彼らは [溪流の] 中に閉じ込められていた。
- (19) *eŋ aná čhéeka ban huíi mučči, ta ki*  
 éŋ aná čh-é-aka bán hu-íi muč-íi =ta kí  
 those inside COP-INTR.3PL-IRR closed be-CP stay-CP CONJ what  
*huyá, eŋ eŋ pačí háay góoli-móoli raašán*  
 hui-á éŋ-ee pačí háay góoli~ECHO raašán  
 be:PFV-INTR.3SG.M those-ERG.PL forewards that.F food~ASS.PL provisions  
*kísek čháakata hey khaané, ša*  
 kís-ek čh-á-aka=ta héy kha-inée šá  
 what-INDE.SG.M COP-INTR.3SG.M-IRR=CONJ that.M eat-SIM six  
*maášu qháa beeťhé háay harána*  
 máá-as-yu qháa beeťh-é háay hár-ana  
 month-INS.SG-DAT until sit:PFV-INTR.3PL that.F stream-LOC.SG  
*aná.*  
 aná  
 inside  
 They stayed inside being closed, and then what was happened; there were some food with them, so that they stayed inside the stream as eating it for six months. 彼らが閉じ込められて中に居て, それから何が起こったか; 彼らには食糧があったので, それを食べて溪流の中に 6 ヶ月間居た。

- (20) *beešii ésmo báat góoli phaš hui*  
 beeš-ii é-as-mo báad góoli phaš hui-i  
 sit-CP ANAPH.PROX.M-INS.SG-ABL after food finished be:PFV-INTR.3SG.F  
*khaanášu.*  
 kha-iná-as-yu  
 eat-INF.M-INS.SG-DAT  
 Having sat there and after that, the food for eating ran out.  
 そうして暮らしていたが、食べ物が尽きてしまった。

- (21) *phaš huyáyo buçháa mariné huyé eŋ çái ša*  
 phaš hui-aŋo buçháa mar-iné hui-é éŋ çái ša  
 finished be:PFV-ELA hungry die-INF.PL be:PFV-INTR.3PL those three six  
*bandá buťé.*  
 bandá buťé  
 fellow all  
 After running out, they six fellows were all ready to die from hunger.  
 [食糧が] 尽きて、彼ら6人は皆、腹が減って死にそうだった。

- (22) *huyáyo aaqhirí kisék irinée, hey sóoč*  
 hui-aŋo aaqhirí kís-ek ir-inée héy sóoč  
 be:PFV-ELA last what-INDF.SG.M do-TR.3PL that.M thinking  
*irinéeta eŋ buťée, amée ekikíc théem.*  
 ir-inée=ta éŋ buťé-ec amé ekék-ec the-áam  
 do-TR.3PL=CONJ those all-ERG.PL we each.other-INS.PL hit-IPFV.1PL  
 After being so, what they finally did is that; they all thought that ‘we would fight with each other’.  
 そうして、終にはどうなったか；彼らは考えた「皆で互いに殴り合いをしよう」と。

- (23) *thei kóok améc minéeni pegáta*  
 the-íi kó-ek amé-ec mún-éeni peg-á=ta  
 hit-CP who-INDE.SG.M we-INS.PL down-towards fall:PFV-INTR.3SG.M=CONJ  
*hey khaš iríi, heyéy móos khaám irinée,*  
 héy khaš ir-íi héy-ey máás kha-áam ir-inée  
 that.M slaughtering do-CP that.M-GEN.SG flesh eat-IPFV.1PL do-TR.3PL  
*aamá móos.*  
 aamá máás  
 raw.M flesh  
 Having hit [ourselves], when one of us would have fallen down then we would slaughter him and eat his raw flesh: they said so.  
 「殴り合いをして倒れた者を屠殺して、そいつの肉を生で食おう」と彼らは言った。
- (24) *ša iríi kalíj iríi kalíj iríi heyás mun baíi, hey*  
 šá ir-íi kalíj ir-íi kalíj ir-íi héy-as mún ba-íi héy  
 fine do-CP fight do-CP fight do-CP that.M-INS.SG down throw-CP that.M  
*khaš iríi khaané.*  
 khaš ir-íi kha-inée  
 slaughtering do-CP eat-TR.3PL  
 Having said okay, they fought [each other] and beat down one of them, and then they slaughtered and ate him.  
 「よし」と言って、彼らは喧嘩をし、倒した者を屠殺して食べたのだった。
- (25) *heyéy móos khaané.*  
 héy-ey máás kha-inée  
 that.M-GEN.SG flesh eat-TR.3PL  
 They ate his flesh.  
 その者の肉を食べたのだ。
- (26) *hey iríi haptáak guzaaráa irinée sot dóosek,*  
 héy ir-íi haptá-ek guzaaráa ir-inée sóot dóos-ek  
 that.M do-CP week-INDE.SG.M spending do-TR.3PL seven day-INDE.SG.M  
*ésmo báat, noó buçháa huyé.*  
 é-as-mo báad noó buçháa hui-é  
 ANAPH.PROX.M-INS.SG-ABL after again hunger be:PFV-INTR.3PL  
 Having done it, they survived for a week, seven days; and they became hungry again after that.  
 そうして 1 週間を生き延びた後、再び空腹に襲われた。

- (27) *buçháa huíi noó ki irinée, noó kalíj iríi kalíj iríi*  
 buçháa hu-íi noó kí ir-inée noó kalíj ir-íi kalíj ir-íi  
 hunger be-CP again what do-TR.3PL again fight do-CP fight do-CP  
*noó ek khaš irinée.*  
 noó ék khaš ir-inée  
 again one.M slaughtering do-TR.3PL  
 Having become hungry, what did they do again?; they fought again and  
 slaughtered one of them again.  
 腹が減って、彼らは再び何をしたか；彼らは喧嘩をし、もう1人を屠殺し  
 たのだった。

- (28) *éseyta móos khaanée.*  
 és-ey=ta máás kha-inée  
 that.one.M-GEN.SG=CONJ flesh eat-TR.3PL  
 They ate his flesh, too.  
 その者の肉をも食べたのだ。

- (29) *hey irinée aaqhirí phašášu qháa dúi bandá*  
 héy ir-inée aaqhirí phaš-as-yu qháa dúi bandá  
 that.M do-TR.3PL last finished-INS.SG-DAT until two fellow  
*muté dúi biráara.*  
 mut-é dúi biráara  
 stay:PFV-INTR.3PL two brother:PL  
 Doing it, finally two of the brothers remained.  
 そうしている内に、もう残ったのは2人だけになった。

- (30) *pói, čaur bandá khaš iríi khaanée aamá móos*  
 pói čaur bandá khaš ir-íi kha-inée aamá máás  
 five four fellow slaughtering do-CP eat-TR.3PL raw.M flesh  
*biraaréje ekekíje.*  
 biráara-eje ekék-eje  
 brother:PL-GEN.PL each.other-GEN.PL  
 They slaughtered four brothers and ate their raw flesh.  
 兄弟で互いに4人を屠殺してその生肉を食べたのだ。

- (31) *aaqhirí eŋ atétaare huyéta, yáça*  
 aaqhirí eŋ atét-aare hui-é=ta yáâç-a  
 last those this.much-INDF.PL be:PFV-INTR.3PL=CONJ ogre-PL  
*phirée dooyé biráaya.*  
 phir-é dooyé biráaya  
 change-INTR.3PL both brother  
 At the end when they became two brothers, both changed into ogres.  
 最終的に彼らはこうなった；兄弟の2人ともが鬼になってしまった。
- (32) *aaqhirí pói şa móok bardáaşt irinéeta bardáaşt*  
 aaqhirí pói şá máâ-ek bardáaşt ir-iné=ta bardáaşt  
 last five six month-INDF.SG.M endurance do-TR.3PL=CONJ endurance  
*ni huyá buçháa búuŋ jĩşu aii.*  
 ni=hui-á buçháa búuŋ jii-as-yu aai-í  
 NEG=be:PFV-INTR.3SG.M hunger much life-INS.SG-DAT come:PFV-INTR.3SG.F  
 They finally endured for five or six months but a hunger against which they  
 were unable to endure any more came to their lives.  
 結局彼らは5～6ヶ月は忍耐したのだが、我慢ならない空腹が彼らの生命  
 を脅かした。
- (33) *to eŋ dooyé biraarée ekikíc thenée salamúa*  
 to eŋ dooyé biráara-ee ekék-ec the-inée salamúa  
 then those both brother:PL-ERG.PL each.other-INS.PL hit-TR.3PL scuffle  
*lominée dooyée.*  
 lom-inée dooyé-ee  
 catch-TR.3PL both-ERG.PL  
 Then they, both brothers started to fight each other.  
 そして彼ら双方の鬼は互いに殴り合いを始めた。
- (34) *lomii lomii lomii aaqhirí ekín ekís ðam*  
 lom-ii lom-ii lom-ii aaqhirí ék-an ék-as ðám  
 catch-CP catch-CP catch-CP last one.M-ERG.M one.M-INS.SG slam:ONO  
*baín.*  
 ba-ín  
 throw-TR.3SG  
 Having started to fight, one finally beat down the other.  
 殴り合いを始めて、最終的に一方がもう一方を叩きのめした。

- (35) *ḍam baíi hey khaš iríi éta*  
 ḍám ba-íi héy khaš ir-íi é=ta  
 slam:ONO throw-CP that.M slaughtering do-CP ANAPH.PROX.M=CONJ  
*khaín eyán.*  
 kha-ín é-an  
 eat-TR.3SG ANAPH.PROX.M-ERG.M  
 Having beat [him] down, he slaughtered and ate him, too.  
 叩きのめして、屠殺して彼をも食べたのだった。

- (36) *khaíi eyéy móos phaṣ huiná qháa hey*  
 kha-íi é-ey máás phaṣ hu-iná qháa héy  
 eat-CP ANAPH.PROX.M-GEN.SG flesh finished be-INF.M until that.M  
*kísek huyá hey jín phirá, yóoç.*  
 kís-ek hui-á héy jín phir-á yáâç  
 what-INDF.SG.M be:PFV-INTR.3SG.M that.M jinn change-INTR.3SG.M ogre  
 Having eaten his flesh up to when it had run out, what did happen on him?; he  
 became a jinn, an ogre.  
 食べて、その肉がなくなるまでに彼はどうなったか；彼は魔物に、鬼になっ  
 てしまった。

- (37) *yóoç phiríi ki huyá, múto éšu*  
 yáâç phir-íi kí hui-á muúto é-as-yu  
 ogre change-CP what be:PFV-INTR.3SG.M just.now ANAPH.PROX.M-INS.SG-DAT  
*masalá ni huyá háay díšáno baár*  
 masalá ni=hui-á háay díša-ana-o baár  
 problem NEG=be:PFV-INTR.3SG.M that.F place-LOC.SG-ABL outside  
*nikhilíná.*  
 nikhil-iná  
 go.out-INF.M  
 Having become an ogre, what did happen?; now it had no difficulty going out  
 from the place.  
 鬼になってどうなったか；今やそいつにはその場所から外に出るのに何の  
 問題もなくなったのだ。

- (38) *niilinána dekháño haráagana aná*  
 nikhil-iná-ana dekh-ano haráag-ana aná  
 go.out-INF.M-LOC.SG watch-ELA shelter-LOC.SG inside  
*huyeltarcikín.*  
 huyéltarc-ek-an  
 shepherd-INDF.SG.M-ERG.M  
 While going out, it saw that there was a shepherd man in a shelter.  
 外に出ようとして見遣ると、野営の囲いの中に居る羊飼いが居た。
- (39) *lam irín čháaka ací ek huíi čháaka*  
 lám ir-ín čh-á-aka ací ék hu-íi čh-á-aka  
 lit:ONO do-TR.3SG COP-INTR.3SG.M-IRR up one.M be-CP COP-INTR.3SG.M-IRR  
*đímás bakiré čhaaréga čháaka*  
 đim-as bakiré čhaar-éga čh-á-aka  
 body-INS.SG goat:PL drive-IPFV.3SG.M COP-INTR.3SG.M-IRR  
*huyeltarcikín.*  
 huyéltarc-ek-an  
 shepherd-INDF.SG.M-ERG.M  
 The shepherd had lit a fire and was there alone while grazing goats.  
 その羊飼いは火を起こして、一人でヤギを放牧していたのだった。
- (40) *hey lam dekhii heyán munínta ya thii*  
 héy lám dekh-íi héy-an mun-ín=ta yá thii  
 that.M lit:ONO watch-CP that.M-ERG.M say-TR.3SG=CONJ INTERJ there  
*kóokta bandáak hóoga, hey jeíi*  
 kó-ek=ta bandá-ek hu-éga héy ja-íi  
 who-INDF.SG.M=CONJ fellow-INDF.SG.M be-IPFV.3SG.M that.M go-CP  
*kháas iríi, ek irín dúi irínta háay hára*  
 kha-áas ir-íi ék ir-ín dúi ir-ín=ta háay hára  
 eat-IPFV.1SG do-CP one.M do-TR.3SG two do-TR.3SG=CONJ that.F stream  
*qaráas iríi.*  
 qaráas ir-íi  
 across do-CP  
 Having seen the fire, he said ‘Oh, there is someone, I’ll go there and eat him’;  
 then he did this and that while crossing the stream.  
 [鬼は] その火を見, 「あそこに誰か居るな。あいつの所へ行って屠殺して  
 食おう」と言って、あれこれしつづ溪流を渡った。



- (44) *goorús iréga čháaka aná.*  
 goorús ir-éga čh-á-aka aná  
 rassi do-IPFV.3SG.M COP-INTR.3SG.M-IRR inside  
 He was taking rassi inside [the shelter].  
 [野営の囲いの] 中で, ラッスイーを飲んでいてた。
- (45) *to e baár baár leél huyáta*  
 tó é baár baár leél hui-á=ta  
 then ANAPH.PROX.M outside outside knowing be:PFV-INTR.3SG.M=CONJ  
*yoóček áaya čha iríi.*  
 yááč-ek aai-á čh-á ir-íi  
 ogre-INDE.SG.M come:PFV-INTR.3SG.M COP-INTR.3SG.M do-CP  
 He came to understand [what happened] outside as an ogre had come.  
 そして彼は外で何が起きているかに気付いた; 鬼が来ている, と。
- (46) *ésey yána ni pegá ar huyá*  
 és-ey yá-ana ni=peg-á ár hui-á  
 that.one.M-GEN.SG heart-LOC.SG NEG=fall:PFV-INTR.3SG.M fear be:PFV-INTR.3SG.M  
*aná e ðímás.*  
 aná é ðím-as  
 inside ANAPH.PROX.M body-INS.SG  
 As soon as he understood it, he became frightened because he was alone inside.  
 それに気付くや否や彼は恐怖した, その中には彼一人しか居ないのだ。
- (47) *ek huíi čháaka ek saatiik*  
 ék hu-íi čh-á-aka ék saati-ek  
 one.M be-CP COP-INTR.3SG.M-IRR one.M companion-INDE.SG.M  
*garášu gié čháaka.*  
 gár-as-yu gi-á čh-á-aka  
 house-INS.SG-DAT go:PFV-INTR.3SG.M COP-INTR.3SG.M-IRR  
 He was alone; his companion had gone to the house.  
 彼は今は独りで, 1 人居た連れは家に行ってしまった。

- (48) *to kísek irégaka eyán muú*  
 tó kís-ek ir-éga-aka é-an muú  
 then what-INDF.SG.M do-IPFV.3SG.M-IRR ANAPH.PROX.M-ERG.M now  
*ésey yána ni pegá.*  
 és-ey yá-ana ni=peg-á  
 that.one.M-GEN.SG heart-LOC.SG NEG=fall:PFV-INTR.3SG.M  
 Then, he did not understand what he should do now.  
 そして何をすべきか、彼にはそれが解らなかった。

- (49) *yána ni peí goorús iréga čháaka goorús*  
 yá-ana ni=pei-íi goorús ir-éga čh-á-aka goorús  
 heart-LOC.SG NEG=fall-CP rassi do-IPFV.3SG.M COP-INTR.3SG.M-IRR rassi  
*phaş iríi.*  
 pháş ir-íi  
 finished do-CP  
 Without understanding it, he was taking rassi; it was almost exhausted.  
 理解せずして、彼はラッスイーを入れ始めた；ラッスイーはなくなりかけていた。

- (50) *phaş irásmo hagí iríi hey munéga*  
 pháş ir-as-mo hagí ir-íi héy mun-éga  
 finished do-INS.SG-ABL forwards do-CP that.M say-IPFV.3SG.M  
*čháakata.*  
 čh-á-aka=ta  
 COP-INTR.3SG.M-IRR=CONJ  
 Before it ran out, he was saying that:  
 なくなる前に、彼は言った。

- (51) *kha kiláaya čáya er silóon iréga*  
 kha-Ø kiláaya čáya ir-Ø silóon ir-éga  
 eat-SUBJN.2SG spoon story do-SUBJN.2SG pillow do-IPFV.3SG.M  
*čháaka.*  
 čh-á-aka  
 COP-INTR.3SG.M-IRR  
 ‘Eat a spoonful, speak a night tale!’ he was saying.  
 「一匙食べろ、夜話をしろ」と彼は言った。

- (52) *báaš silóon kha kiláaya.*  
*báaš-Ø silóon kha-Ø kiláaya*  
 speak-SUBJN.2SG pillow eat-SUBJN.2SG spoon  
 ‘Speak a night tale, eat a spoonful.’  
 「夜話を話せ, 一匙食べろ」
- (53) *eyán hey muninée kii iréa čháay*  
*é-an héy mun-inée kí ir-éa čh-áay*  
 ANAPH.PROX.M-ERG.M that.M say-SIM what do-IPFV.2SG COP-INTR.2SG  
*goorús irín čha.*  
*goorús ir-ín čh-á*  
 rassi do-TR.3SG COP-INTR.3SG.M  
 Saying ‘What are you doing?’, he had taken rassi.  
 彼は「どうしたんだ?」と言いつつ, ラッスイーを飲んだ。
- (54) *iríi tatá ayén eyán qhayáal*  
*ir-íi tatá á-an é-an qhayáal*  
 do-CP and.then ANAPH.DIST.M-ERG.M ANAPH.PROX.M-ERG.M thought  
*irínta yaçán aná dúi čhe.*  
*ir-ín=ta yáãç-an aná dúi čh-é*  
 do-TR.3SG=CONJ ogre-ERG.M inside two COP-INTR.3PL  
 Having done it, he thought that the ogre [would think] ‘there are two men inside’.  
 そうして, 彼は考えた「鬼は中に2人居ると考えているだろう」と。
- (55) *ey sutáyo eýec hamalá iráas irín baár*  
*éŋ sut-aŋo éŋ-ec hamalá ir-áas ir-ín baár*  
 those sleep:PFV-ELA those-INS.PL attack do-IPFV.1SG do-TR.3SG outside  
*beeṭhá čha raç iríi.*  
*beeṭh-á čh-á ráç ir-íi*  
 sit:PFV-INTR.3SG.M COP-INTR.3SG.M lookout do-CP  
 ‘I’ll attack them after they sleep’, said the ogre and sat outside while watching.  
 「奴らが眠っている時に襲撃しよう」と言って, [鬼は] 外に座り, 監視していた。

- (56) *beešii ki huyá, eyán goorús phaş*  
 beeš-íi kí hui-á é-an goorús phás  
 sit-CP what be:PFV-INTR.3SG.M ANAPH.PROX.M-ERG.M rassi finished  
*irín, phaş iríi maaná talána bábar iríi, čuná*  
 ir-ín phás ir-íi maaná táł-ana bábar ir-íi čuná  
 do-TR.3SG finished do-CP stirrer.bag ceiling-LOC.SG hunged do-CP small.M  
*qómek baíi minéene traamáaka theíi.*  
 qóm-ek ba-íi mún-éeni traamá-aka the-íi  
 hole-INDF.SG.M throw-CP down-towards platter-INDF.SG.F hit-CP

After the ogre sat, what did happen?; having exhausted rassi, he hung a stirrer bag on the ceiling, made a small hole on it, and put a platter under it.

座って、どうなったか；彼はラッスイーを飲み終わると、攪拌袋を天井に吊るし、小さな穴を開け、その下に大きな受け皿を置いた。

- (57) *hey paaní čhuţ iruaané čhuţ iruáayo*  
 héy paaní čhúţ ir-uaa-inée čhúţ ir-uaa-ayo  
 that.M water trickle:ONO do-CAUS-SIM trickle:ONO do-CAUS-ELA  
*minéeni čhoţ nikhítá ʔap ʔap ʔap*  
 mún-éeni čhóţ nikhit-á ʔáp ʔáp ʔáp  
 down-towards sound go.out:PFV-INTR.3SG.M drip:ONO drip:ONO drip:ONO  
*huíi.*  
 hu-íi  
 be-CP

He made the water [in the bag] spill out; Then it fell out downwards and made a sound as drip, drip, drip.

袋から水を滴らせ、下でポタポタと音をさせたのだ。

- (58) *nikhitáyo eyán munínta aná*  
 nikhit-ayo é-an mun-ín=ta aná  
 go.out:PFV-ELA ANAPH.PROX.M-ERG.M say-TR.3SG=CONJ inside  
*suté čhé qhéer tayáar huyé*  
 sut-é čh-é=e qhéer tayáar hui-é  
 sleep:PFV-INTR.3PL COP-INTR.3PL=Q surely ready be:PFV-INTR.3PL  
*čhe.*  
 čh-é  
 COP-INTR.3PL

After dripping, he said ‘surely [the ogre thought that] we inside have already gone to sleep and they prepare [to attack]’.

音を立てて彼は言った、「中ではもう眠っているだろうと考えて、鬼は支度をしている筈だ」と。

- (59) *e baár hey sóočas čháaka*  
 é baár héy sóoč-as čh-á-aka  
 ANAPH.PROX.M outside that.M thinking-INS.SG COP-INTR.3SG.M-IRR  
*pačhóo haráagey pačhóo kúđa potii.*  
 páčhi-o haráag-ey páčhi-o kúđa pot-ii  
 backwards-ABL shelter-GEN.SG backwards-ABL wall demolish-CP  
 He guessed ‘the ogre outside thought so’ and broke the back wall of the shelter.  
 「外で奴はそう考えているだろう」と考えて、野営の囲いの裏手の壁を取り壊した。
- (60) *đom huíi hináašu nikhítá.*  
 dóm hu-ii hináa-as-yu nikhit-á  
 escaping be-CP PN-INS.SG-DAT go.out:PFV-INTR.3SG.M  
 He went down running to Hinaa.  
 彼はヒナーの方へと走り出た。
- (61) *kabée hey tap tap ban huyáyo dekhégata,*  
 kabé héy táp táp bán hui-aŋo dekh-éga=ta  
 when that.M drip:ONO drip:ONO closed be:PFV-ELA watch-IPFV.3PL=CONJ  
*dóor marii aná jáagata yoç aná maanána*  
 dár mar-ii aná ja-éga=ta yáaç aná maaná-ana  
 door open-CP inside go-IPFV.3PL=CONJ ogre inside stirrer.bag-LOC.SG  
*paaní čháaka phaş huyá bandá náa*  
 paaní čh-á-aka pháş hui-á bandá náa  
 water COP-INTR.3SG.M-IRR finished be:PFV-INTR.3SG.M fellow COP.NEG  
*aná. huyéltarc.*  
 aná huyéltarc  
 inside shepherd  
 When the dripping stopped, it saw that: when it opened the door and went in, then the water in the bag had been exhausted and there was nobody inside.  
 ポタポタというのが終わると同時に、鬼は見た；扉を開けて中に入ると、攪拌袋の中の水が尽きていて、羊飼いの姿はなかった。
- (62) *yáa eyán mas čaaraakis baín ačhó irii.*  
 yá é-an mas čaaraakí-as ba-ín ačhó ir-ii  
 INTERJ ANAPH.PROX.M-ERG.M I:INS cheat-INS.SG throw-TR.3SG INTERJ do-CP  
 ‘Oh, he tricked me! Wait!’, it said.  
 「クソ、あいつめ、俺を騙しやがった！ 待ちやがれ！」と言った。

- (63) *čáási, hináas díri jaš huyá čha.*  
 čáási hináa-as díri jáš hui-á čh-á  
 subsequently PN-INS.SG towards drawing be:PFV-INTR.3SG.M COP-INTR.3SG.M  
 After that, it departed for Hinaa.  
 それからヒナーの方へと向かったのだった。

- (64) *kabé hey maniš deinée ésey anjón khašéeni*  
 kabé héy maniš dei-inée és-ey ánja-ón kháša-éeni  
 when that.M man run-SIM that.one.M-GEN.SG gut-PL mouth-towards  
*baár nikhité čhe deinée aii.*  
 baár nikhit-é čh-é dei-inée a-ii  
 outside go.out:PFV-INTR.3PL COP-INTR.3PL run-SIM come-CP  
 When the man was running his internal organs had come out from his mouth.  
 走っている内にその男の内臓が口から外へ飛び出して来た。

- (65) *kabé garéy darás aii munín čháta*  
 kabé gár-ey dár-as a-ii mun-ín čh-á=ta  
 when house-GEN.SG door-INS.SG come-CP say-TR.3SG COP-INTR.3SG.M=CONJ  
*ašii ašii yóček meé püčhá páða*  
 ašii ašii yáâç-ek méy piičhá páða  
 in.this.way in.this.way ogre-INDF.SG.M I:GEN back.M chasing  
*huyá čha mas pačhí.*  
 hui-á čh-á mas pačhí  
 be:PFV-INTR.3SG.M COP-INTR.3SG.M I:INS backwards  
 Having come to the door of the house he said, ‘In this way the ogre was chasing me, just behind me’.  
 家のドアに到着して言った, 「こうこういった感じで鬼が俺の後を追って来ているんだ！」

- (66) *to, hey čokás u ðom huíi aii*  
 tó héy čók-as ú ðóm hu-íi aai-íis  
 then that.M means-INS.SG I escaping be-CP come:PFV-INTR.1SG  
*čhíis iríi.*  
 čh-íis ir-íi  
 COP-INTR.1SG do-CP  
 ‘So, I escaped and came here for that reason’, he said.  
 「そういった訳で俺は逃げて来たのだ」と。

- (67) *garášu*            *baš*        *huíi* *hey*    *mapéer*, *huyéltarc* *garána*  
 gár-as-yu        báš        hu-íi   héy    mapéer   huyéltarc   gár-ana  
 house-INS.SG-DAT intruding be-CP that.M aged    shepherd house-LOC.SG  
*muyá*                    *čha*.  
 mui-á                    čh-á  
 die:PFV-INTR.3SG.M COP-INTR.3SG.M  
 Having entered the house, the old shepherd has died in the house.  
 家に入ると、その年老いた羊飼いは家の中で死んでしまった。

- (68) *muyáño*    *eŋ*,    *hináayey* *eŋ*    *bandáa*, *gáti*        *huíi*    *čaťála*  
 mui-año        eŋ    hináa-ey    eŋ    bandá    gáti    hu-íi    čaťál-a  
 die:PFV-ELA those PN-GEN.SG those fellow gathering be-CP axe-PL  
*eŋ*    *kísta*        *leíi*    *baár*    *panášu*        *nikhitáño*    *yoč*  
 eŋ    kí=ta        le-íi    baár    pána-as-yu    nikhit-año    yááč  
 those what=CONJ take-CP outside way-INS.SG-DAT go.out:PFV-ELA ogre  
*hey*    *dišqaltá*                    *čha*                    *eéť*.  
 héy    dišqalt-á                    čh-á                    eéť  
 that.M arrive-INTR.3SG.M COP-INTR.3SG.M there  
 After he died, having gathered, those Hinaa fellows took things such as axes  
 and went out to the road; then the ogre arrived there.  
 彼が死んでから、ヒナーの村人衆が手に斧やら何やらを持って集まってい  
 ると、そこへ村の外から例の鬼が到着した。

- (69) *dišqaltáño* *ki*    *irinée*        *čhe*                    *hey*    *yačás*        *lomíi*.  
 dišqalt-año    kí    ir-inée        čh-é                    héy    yáč-as        lom-íi  
 arrive-ELA what do-TR.3PL COP-INTR.3PL that.M ogre-INS.SG catch-CP  
 After [the ogre] arrived, what they did is that they arrested the ogre.  
 到着してからどうしたか；その鬼を捕えた。

- (70) *eŋ*    *hináayey* *eŋ*    *juáanee*        *hey*    *yoč*    *maarinée*    *čhe*.  
 eŋ    hináa-ey    eŋ    juáan-ee        héy    yáč    maar-inée    čh-é  
 those PN-GEN.SG those young-ERG.PL that.M ogre kill-TR.3PL COP-INTR.3PL  
 Those Hinaa youths have killed the ogre.  
 彼ら、ヒナーの若者たちは、その鬼を殺した。

- (71) *maarinée, bas e bandá huyéltarcta muyá*  
 maar-inée bás é bandá huyéltarc=ta mui-á  
 kill-TR.3PL enough ANAPH.PROX.M fellow shepherd=CONJ die:PFV-INTR.3SG.M  
*aaqhirí ej şa biraaréje náamo-nišáanta phaş*  
 aaqhirí éj şá biráara-eje náam+o+nişáan=ta pháş  
 last those six brother:PL-GEN.PL symbol=CONJ finished  
*huyá yóçta muyá.*  
 hui-á yáâç=ta mui-á  
 be:PFV-INTR.3SG.M ogre=CONJ die:PFV-INTR.3SG.M  
 They killed it. Finally now, the shepherd died, the traces of the six brothers disappeared, and also the ogre died.  
 殺して、さて、あの羊飼いやも亡くなったし、最終的にあの6人兄弟も姿形なくなり、あの鬼も死んだ。

- (72) *u khaanée piinée aáis.*<sup>8)</sup>  
 ú kha-inée piy-inée aai-íis  
 I eat-SIM drink-SIM come:PFV-INTR.1SG  
 I came eating and drinking.  
 私は食べつつ飲みつつ来た。

- (73-EN)<sup>9)</sup> *iz da enđ av suđóri.*  
 (is the end of story)  
 (be:PRS.3SG DEF end GEN story)  
 [This] is the end of story.  
 で、この話の終わり。

- (74-BU) *minás phaş maními.*  
 (minás-Ø pháş man-m-i)  
 (story-ABS finished become-NPRS-3SG.Y)  
 The story has finished.  
 お話はお終い。

## Abbreviations

1	first person	INTERJ	interjection
2	second person	INTR	intransitive
3	third person	IPFV	imperfective
ABL	ablative	IRR	irrealis
ABS	absolute	LOC	locative
ANAPH	anaphoric	M	masculine
ASS	associative	NEG	negative
BU	Burushaski	NG	Nager
CAUS	causative	NPRS	non-present
CONJN	conjunction	ONO	onomatopoeia
COP	copula	PFV	perfective
CP	conjunctive participle	PL	plural
DAT	dative	PN	proper noun
DEF	definite	PROX	proximal
DIST	distal	PRS	present
ECHO	echo-formation reduplicant	Q	interrogative
ELA	elative	SG	singular
EN	English	SH	Shina
ERG	ergative	SIM	simultaneous
F	feminine	SUBJN	subjunctive
GEN	genitive	TR	transitive
HZ	Hunza	Y	Y-class
INDF	indefinite	=	clitic boundary
INF	infinitive	+	compound
INS	instrumental	~	reduplication

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## Notes

- 1) The language is also spelled as Dumaaki, Domaki, or Dumaki, with or without a dot under ‘D’ representing the sound of the retroflex /d/. Its other names are Doma, Dawoodi, and Beriski. Doma is apparently the endonym of the language, *domaá*, among Nager speakers, the name certainly formed in the same way as Shina (cf. their endonym of the language SH *šinaá* ‘Shina’, derived from the ethnic group SH *šiin* ‘Shin people’), a regional major Indo-Aryan language belonging to the Northwestern group. A few Doma people want to call themselves *dāūd* (داود), from the Arabic word referring to ‘King David’. Dawoodi is an adjective form of the name. The name Beriski comes from the exonym *bēriski* in Burushaski, an adjacent language isolate.
- 2) Those languages were sometimes regarded as an independent group with the name of ‘Dardic’, but most of scholars recently have not classified them as such because they have insufficient phylogenetic characteristics exclusively than the other Northwestern Indo-Aryan languages.
- 3) In Domaaki, *dóma* is the plural form of *dom* ‘Doma person’.
- 4) For example, Doma people living in the Dumyal area of Gilgit City have completely lost the Domaaki language and speak the Shina language instead. The name Dumyal means ‘Doma residential (quarter)’ in Shina.
- 5) The range of frequencies is 60–13,500 Hz. More details related to the recording mode are unknown.
- 6) Yoshioka (2006: 341) does not acknowledge the phoneme /y/, whereas Lorimer (1937: 73) and Lorimer (1939: 23) report that he heard the sound in Domaaki, although he also did not consider it a full-fledged phoneme. I regard /y/ as a phoneme seen not only in loan words from Burushaski, but also in native Domaaki words such as *yáaye* ‘summer’ (BU *šini*, SH *váalo*) and *šilóoy* ‘story’ (BU.HZ *minás*, NG *nimás*, SH *šilóok*).
- 7) It is not clear why the teller only used the form *bára* for ‘upper mountain stream’ instead of *bar* here. Perhaps the *\*-a* in *bára* is the same element as the *\*-a* at the end of the locative case singular *-ana* or plural *-ema* (Table 1). If this is the case, then it would be correct to examine the locative and elative cases as *\*-an* and *\*-em* with *\*-a* and *-(m)o*. However, although I have found many uses of *-(m)o* attached to locational nouns alone, no case has been found of *\*-a* attached directly to such nouns without the element *\*-an*. Therefore, in this paper, I infer the elative case as *-ana* or *-ema* with *-(m)o* (the minimal ablative marker, for which /m/ is regularly dropped after a vowel), which has undergone a morphophonological change.
- 8) This is an idiomatic phrase of story closing. Sometimes Burushaski storytellers use the similar phrase *je (dáa) séčume mīme dáayam* ‘(again) I came eating and drinking’, but my informants seldom use it despite that. Tikkanen (1991: 111) considers it the standard finishing phrase.
- 9) The story is finished in sentence (72). Then the teller repeatedly uttered the phrase to finish the story in English and Burushaski.

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