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A Grammar of Palula

Henrik Liljegren

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Finally, my deepest love and appreciation to Maarit, Johanna and Jonathan, my own family, who can now take a deep breath as this piece of work is completed at last.

List of abbreviations

General abbreviations

A.	Ashret (or the dialect of Ashret Valley)
B.	Biori (or the dialect of Biori Valley)
FLI	Frontier Language Institute
HKIA	Hindu Kush Indo-Aryan
IA	Indo-Aryan
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
MIA	Middle Indo-Aryan
NIA	New Indo-Aryan
OIA	Old Indo-Aryan
PBUH	Peace Be Upon Him
pc	personal communication
PCT	Palula Common Transcription
SIL	Summer Institute of Linguistics (now SIL International)

Grammatical abbreviations

Abbreviations are listed in upper-case characters. They are used also in various formats: all capitals, small capitals and lower case, for different purposes.

A	transitive subject (as a grammatical relation)
ACC	accusative
ADJ	adjective, adjectiviser
AG	agentive (participle)
AGR	agreement (marking)

List of abbreviations

AP	adjective phrase
C	consonant
CAUS	causative
CNJ	conjunction
COMP	complementiser
CONDH	conditional with high degree of verisimilitude
CONDL	conditional with low degree of verisimilitude
CONT	continuative
CPL	complement
CPRD	copredicative
CV	converb
DEF	definite
DIST	distal
DO	direct object
DS	different subject
ERG	ergative
EXCL	exclusive
EXP	experiencer
F	feminine
FPL	feminine plural
FSG	feminine singular
GN	genitive
HOST	host element
HSAY	hearsay marker
IDEF	indefinite
IMP	imperative
INCL	inclusive
INF	infinitive
INS	instrumental

INV	invariant
IO	indirect object
IDPH	ideophone
ITR	intransitive
M	masculine
MANIP	manipulee
MPL	masculine plural
MSG	masculine singular
N	neuter
NEG	negative
NN	noun
NOM	nominative
NP	noun phrase
O	transitive object (as a grammatical relation)
OB	oblique
OBLG	obligative
PCU	perception, cognition, utterance
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PPTC	perfective participle
PRD	predicate
PROX	proximate
PRS	present
PRT	particle
PST	past
Q	question marker
QT	quotative
RECP	reciprocal
RED	reduplication

List of abbreviations

REFL	reflexive
REM	remote
S	intransitive subject (as a grammatical relation)
S-like	sentence-like
SBJ	subject
SG	singular
SS	same subject
TMA	tense, mood, aspect
TR	transitive
V	verb
V	vowel (only in reference to syllable structure)
VN	verbal noun
VOC	vocative
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
∅	zero marking

Abbreviations of example sources

Palula data references (Ashret dialect)

A:ABO	Written narrative, Sardar Hayat
A:ACR	Oral narrative, Muhammad Hussain
A:ADJ	Paradigm elicitation, Naseem Haider
A:ANC	Oral narrative, Said Rahim
A:ASC	Oral narrative, Akhund Said
A:ASH	Oral narrative, Akhund Said
A:AYA	Oral narrative, Akhund Said
A:AYB	Oral narrative, Akhund Said
A:BEW	Oral narrative, Fazal ur-Rehman

A:BEZ	Oral narrative, Akhund Said
A:BRE	Oral narrative, Haji Sami Ullah
A:CAV	Oral narrative, aunt of Naseem Haider
A:CHA	Oral narrative, Fazal ur-Rehman
A:CHE	Direct elicitation, Naseem Haider
A:CHN	Notes of language use (written), Naseem Haider
A:DHE	Direct elicitation, various informants
A:DHN	Notes of language use, various speakers
A:DRA	Oral narrative, Adils Muhammad
A:GHA	Oral narrative, Lal Zaman
A:GHU	Oral narrative, Ghulam Habib
A:HLE	Direct elicitation, various informants
A:HLN	Notes of language use, various speakers
A:HOW	Oral procedural discourse, Hazrat Hassan
A:HUA	Oral narrative, Ghulam Habib
A:HUB	Oral narrative, Muhammad Hanif
A:ISM	Oral narrative-descriptive discourse, Muhammad Ismail
A:JAN	Oral narrative, Ghulam Habib
A:KAT	Written narrative, Naseem Haider
A:KEE	Oral procedural-descriptive discourse, Lal Zaman
A:KIN	Oral narrative, Haji Sami Ullah
A:MAA	Oral narrative, aunt of Ikram ul-Haq
A:MAB	Oral narrative, Nadir Hussain
A:MAH	Oral narrative, Akhund Said
A:MAR	Oral procedural discourse, Sher Habib
A:MIT	Oral procedural discourse, Said Habib
A:OUR	Oral descriptive discourse, Muhammad Jalal ud-Din
A:PAS	Oral narrative, Ghulam Habib
A:PHN	Paradigm elicitation, Naseem Haider

List of abbreviations

A:PHS	Paradigm elicitation, Sardar Hayat
A:PIR	Oral narrative, aunt of Naseem Haider
A:PRA	Collection of proverbs, Naseem Haider
A:QAM	Direct elicitation, Munir Ahmad, Ihsan Ullah
A:Q6.	Questionnaire (6 from Bouquiaux & Thomas 1992), Naseem Haider
A:Q9.	Questionnaire (9 from Bouquiaux & Thomas 1992), Sher Haider
A:REQ	Direct elicitation, Naseem Haider
A:ROP	Oral narrative, Fazal ur-Rehman
A:SEA	Oral descriptive discourse, Khurshid Ahmad
A:SHA	Oral narrative, Akhund Said
A:SHY	Written narrative, Sher Haider
A:SMO	Oral narrative-hortatory discourse, Subadar Rehman
A:TAQ	Questionnaire, TMA (from Dahl 1985), Naseem Haider
A:THA	Oral narrative, Fazli Azam
A:UNF	Written narrative, Misbah ud-Din
A:UXB	Written narrative, Azhar Ahmad
A:UXW	Written narrative, Mushtaq Ahmad
A:WOM	Oral narrative, Sardar Hayat

Palula data references (Biori dialect)

B:ANG	Oral narrative, Atah Ullah
B:ATI	Oral narrative, Atiq Ullah
B:AVA	Oral narrative, Haji Abdul Jalil
B:BEL	Oral narrative, Atiq Ullah
B:CLE	Oral narrative, Atiq Ullah
B:DHE	Direct elicitation, various informants
B:DHN	Notes of language use, various speakers
B:DRB	Written narrative, Atiq Ullah
B:FLO	Oral narrative, Qari Ahmad Saeed
B:FLW	Oral narrative, Atiq Ullah
B:FOR	Written narrative, Riaz ur-Rehman

B:FOX	Written narrative, Miftah ud-Din
B:FOY	Written narrative, Hazrat Noor
B:HLN	Notes of language use, various speakers
B:ISH	Oral enactment, Atah Ullah
B:LET	Oral narrative, Muhammad Zahir Shah
B:MOR	Oral descriptive discourse, Atah Ullah
B:PRB	Collection of proverbs, Atiq Ullah
B:QAA	Direct elicitation, Atiq Ullah
B:SHB	Oral narrative, Atiq Ullah
B:SHC	Oral procedural-descriptive discourse, Atah Ullah
B:SHI	Oral narrative, Atiq Ullah
B:THI	Written narrative, Mir Alim
B:VIS	Oral narrative-descriptive discourse, Ghazi ur-Rehman

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1 Introduction

Palula is an Indo-Aryan language belonging to a group of speech varieties subsumed under the heading Shina. It is spoken by approximately 10,000 people in the Chitral Valley in northern Pakistan's mountain region. This study is the first attempt at a systematic description of the grammar of a language that, until recently, has been unwritten and largely undocumented. It is based on first hand data, collected and analysed in close collaboration with Palula-speaking language consultants (specially acknowledged in §1.6) during the period 1998–2008. The two main dialects, both represented in this work, correspond to the main distribution of the speakers into the two side valleys Ashret and Biori.

1.1 Language name

Palula and *Phalura* are the names most commonly used in linguistic and other literature with reference to this speech variety, the former almost exclusively used in more recent publications (Cacopardo & Cacopardo 2001; Bashir 2003; Schmidt & Kohistani 2008; Heegård-Petersen 2006).

In the earliest reference in print to this particular ethnolinguistic group (Bid-dulph 1986 [1880]: 64), the ethnomym *Dangariké* is used, but only a few years later a British officer named Gurdon, stationed in Chitral between 1895 and 1902, mentions that people in some villages in southern Chitral speak a language called *Palola*, or *Dangarikwar*¹ (Morgenstierne 1941).

Despite mainly using the name *Palula* in his earlier references (e.g. 1932: 54), the Norwegian linguist Georg Morgenstierne who conducted field research in the region in the 1920s was the one who introduced the form *Phalûra* (*Phalura* without diacritics), which is how the language was referred to in what was to remain the sole source of scholarly knowledge about this language for decades (Morgenstierne 1941) and set a standard followed by others (Buddruss 1967; Edelman 1983; Masica 1991; Decker 1992b). It seems likely, however, that this form was misapprehended, as there is no other primary source supporting it and no recollection of it in the present-day community of Palula speakers.

¹ The derivational suffix *-war* denotes 'language' in Khowar, the *lingua franca* of Chitral.

Author 1:
The first
names of
these au-
thors need
to be added
to the bib-
tex file.

The name *Palula* was brought to the fore again by Richard Strand (1997/2008), based on his own field studies in the 1980s and was transcribed as *palôlâ*, although he himself primarily refers to the language as *açharêtâ* (appr. ‘the speech of Ashret’).

Palula corresponds to the self-designation *paalûula* ‘Palula people’ (sg. *paalûulu* ‘a male person of the Palula’) and *paaluulaâ* ‘the language of the Palula’, both represented orthographically as “Palula”. There is, however, no complete internal consensus on what name to use for the language, one reason being that many speakers prefer to identify their language as well as themselves with a geographical location (a village or a valley), so that, for instance, the people of the Ashret Valley more readily refer to their tongue as *atshareetaâ* (in my transcription corresponding to Strand’s *açharêtâ*), as observed already by Morgenstierne (1941), or the even more generic *asîi çoolaâ* ‘our speech’. While the name *Palula* is indeed recognised by people with some historical awareness and a certain educational level² in both of the main geographical locations, it is also accepted at large by the speakers in the Biori Valley as a reference to their own speech as well as that of Ashret, whereas the common man in the Ashret Valley tends to regard *Palula* as designating the (slightly different) speech variety of the Biori Valley, often implying an additional “tribal”³ and genealogical distinction.

There are no suggestions as to the origin of the name *Palula* in the older literature, apart from Morgenstierne’s (1941: 53) comment that the name of the language (in its assumedly misapprehended form) is formally identical with the plural of ‘grain’. Recently however, the Italian anthropologist Alberto Cacopardo (2001: 91), has suggested a historical link between the fifth- to eighth-century Paṭola, or Palola, dynasty with its heart-land in the upper Indus Valley and the ancestors of the *Palula* speakers, who according to local oral history, migrated from the very same area. The similarity between the names is, as Schmidt & Kohistani (2008: 3) point out, too striking to be merely coincidental.

In popular use by most outsiders – mainly speakers of Khowar – is the ethnonym *Dangarik*, alternatively *Dangeri* or *Dangarikwar*, for the language itself. That use, however, is frowned upon by many *Palula* speakers, particularly in the Ashret Valley. Following Biddulph (1986 [1880]: 113), the term *Dangariké* was in

² This was reflected in the choice of a name for the local language society formed in 2003 by representatives from all the major locations: *Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Palula*, appr. ‘the society for the promotion of *Palula*’.

³ While “tribal” in today’s Western context is a marked term in comparison to “ethnic”, *tribal* in the Pakistani context is on the contrary the politically correct choice as opposed to *ethnic*, the latter being avoided as carrying a connotation of separatism; cf. the fully accepted designations *Federally Administered Tribal Areas* and *Home and Tribal Affairs Department*.

the past applied to Shina-speaking people at large, including the Chitrali *Dangariké* (i.e. the inhabitants of Ashret and Biori), carrying the connotation “cow-people”. The same IA source lexeme *dangara-* (Turner 1966: 5526, 5524) has given rise to derogatory meanings such as ‘defective, bad, unpleasant’ (see Cacopardo & Cacopardo 2001: 81 for a discussion on this). In any case, the term has often been, and is still, interpreted as derogatory by some (Decker 1992b: 69, 1996: 160, and own observations), and should therefore be avoided. A positive explanation of the same word has, on the other hand, been offered to me by the local historian Atiq Ullah from Biori as merely pointing to the geographical origin of the speech community in or near to Tangir in the Indus Valley east of Chitral. It is of course not entirely unlikely that it is exactly the use of wordplay itself that has given rise to the interpretational ambiguity, i.e. a designation intended to refer to geography being similar to a derogatory word and is subsequently applied to a community already socially stigmatised or markedly different.

Finally, some of the more educated speakers of Palula would occasionally identify their language as a dialect of Shina (Decker 1992b: 82 and my own observations), although there is no evidence of any modern-day interaction between Palula speakers in Chitral and speakers of any other Shina variety.

1.2 The general setting

1.2.1 Where and by whom the language is spoken

The geographical home of Palula is the southern part of Chitral district, in Pakistan’s North-West Frontier Province, displayed in Map 1.1. All of the Palula speaking localities are situated within a stretch of only 40 kilometres on the eastern side of the Kunar River (also called Chitral River), which crosses into neighbouring Afghanistan a few kilometres down-river from the area where the language is spoken.

The two main settlements of Palula speakers are the two side valleys Ashret and Biori. The main road, leading from lowland Pakistan to Chitral through the 10,000 ft. Lowari Pass, goes right through the Ashret Valley.

Although formally regarded as one large village, Ashret (Atshareét) is more accurately described as a rather long stretch of more or less interconnected smaller villages or hamlets (coming from the Lowari Pass going downstream towards the main valley): Buzeeghaá, Bharaadám, Patoodhám, Lookúri, Kaṇeeeghaá, Šaradeés, Koodghaá, Ghróom (or Atshareet-xaás ‘Ashret proper’), Feerimaá and Looṭanghaá. Apart from Buzeeghaá, which has a majority of Pashto speakers, the popu-

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lation of all of these hamlets is solidly Palula speaking.

Four kilometres south of the bazaar town Drosh, the Biori Valley meets the main valley along the Kunar river. There are three distinct villages in this narrow side valley, which together with the Ashret Valley is to be considered the heartland of the Palula speaking community, all of them solidly Palula speaking: Mingál (or Lower Biori), Dhamareét (or Middle Biori), and Bhiúuri (or Upper Biori/Biori proper), the latter being the largest of the three.

Apart from those two main settlements, there are a few other non-adjacent villages where Palula is or has been spoken in the recent past.

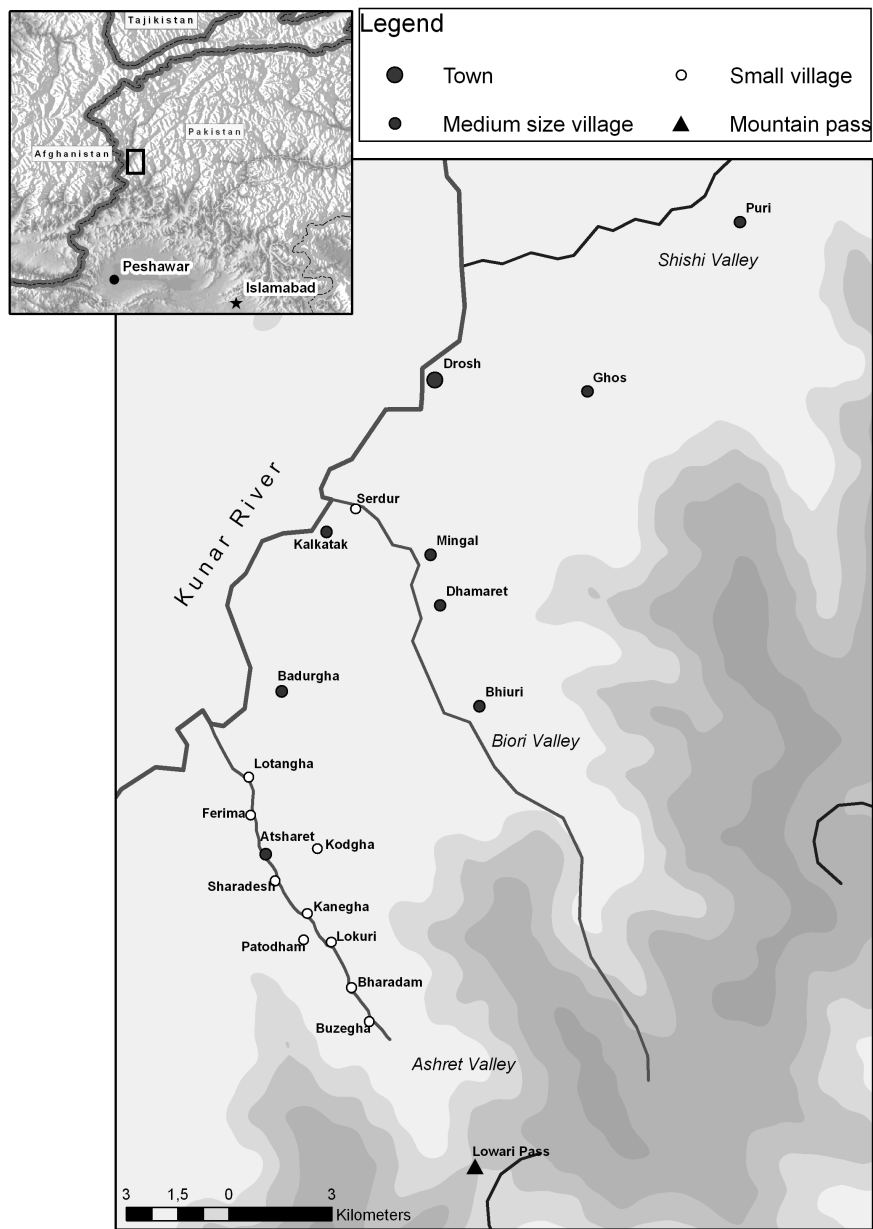
The northernmost of these villages is Purigal (Púri in Palula), which is situated about 20 kilometres north of Drosh, about 7 kilometres into the Shishi Koh Valley. Once an exclusively Palula-speaking village, the language is now competing, more than likely on the losing side, with Khowar.

The next location with a substantial number of Palula speakers – though the number is markedly in decline – is Kalkatak (Galaṭáak), a village situated in the fertile main valley, six kilometres by the main road south of Drosh, near the mouth of the Biori Valley. In this village, Palula competes primarily with Khowar, and to a considerably lesser extent with Pashto, and the usage of Palula is dramatically decreasing in the younger generation. This may in some ways be the repetition of the scenario in this village about a century ago, when Palula obviously won ground over the then dwindling Kalasha language (Decker 1996: 165; Cacopardo & Cacopardo 2001: 95). The small village Serdur (Sawdár), situated right at the mouth of Biori Valley, where the majority is reported to speak Palula, is for official purposes treated as a part of Kalkatak, but it is on the local level mostly considered a separate unit (Fakhrud Din, pc).

On the arid mountainside a couple of kilometres east of Drosh is a small and remote village called Ghos (Ghoós), which apparently was Palula-speaking in the recent past (Decker 1992b: 75, 84), but, according to an informal survey carried out in 2005 by my local language consultants, it has switched entirely to Khowar.

Another village that deserves to be mentioned is Badrugál (Baaḍurghaá), which is located in the main valley between Ashret and Kalkatak, and according to local sources is inhabited by a substantial number of people able to communicate in Palula. The first language of most (male) villagers is given as Shekhani or Shekhwar, a Nuristani language, but many have reportedly acquired Palula in frequent contact (especially through intermarriage) with the nearby Palula settlements.

Outside of what is in a strict sense part of the Palula-speaking area in Chitral, one other place that should be mentioned is a village called Gumandand (Gu-



Created with ArcMap 9.2, Henrik Liljegren & Ljuba Veselinova

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Map 1.1: The Palula-speaking area in southern Chitral

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maañḍañḍ) in Dir Kohistan (in the neighbouring Upper Dir District to the east). Previously, Morgenstierne (1941: 9) mentioned the tribal connection between this village and the Palula of Chitral, and a number of people in Ashret have similarly pointed out that they indeed have relatives there, as a result of a past migration from Ashret. However, I have yet to come across any solid evidence for the same or a similar language being spoken there. It is also unclear whether there is a linguistic or tribal connection between this village and another village in Dir Kohistan, namely Kalkot, where a closely-related speech variety has been recorded (see §1.3.1 for a discussion on the relationship between the Palula of Chitral and the speech of Kalkot).

Table 1.1: Estimated number of Palula (P.) speakers in each location

Location	P. speakers	Comment
Ashret Valley	5,899	Pashto-speaking Buzeeghaa subtracted from a total of 6071 (2004)
Biori Valley	3,000	Approximation based on number of households (2004)
Purigal	200	An estimated 50 per cent of the six to seven people in each of the 60 households (2004)
Kalkatak	541	Speakers counted (1998), includes Serdur
Badrugal	200	Rough estimate
Total	9,841	

As far as the total number of Palula speakers is concerned, we can only provide a rough estimate at best (shown in Table 1.1), due partly to the lack of any reliable census directly mapped to language use, and partly to the changeable and multilingual situation of the region. Based on a combination of population data provided by a local health network in Ashret, the results of surveys carried out by the local ethnographer/sociologist Fakhrud Din in Biori and Kalkatak, interviews with local respondents in Purigal, and an assumption that there are a couple hundred speakers of Palula in Badrugul (out of a total population of 740 in 1987 according to Decker 1992b: 143), we conclude that there are approximately 10,000 speakers of the language in Chitral, a figure that should be treated with a certain amount of healthy scepticism.⁴

⁴ The seemingly exact figure 8600 that (Decker 1992b: 74–76) arrived at (later cited by Ethnologue) was in fact also the result of quite a rough estimate, based on a combination of respon-

Provided there has been no dramatic increase in any of the other speech communities in the district, Palula is still the second largest language community in Chitral, as it was according to a survey carried out in the 1990s (Decker 1992b: 11).

1.2.2 **The socioeconomic environment**

All of the locations with any higher concentration of Palula speakers are villages with a rudimentary infrastructure. The community at large is agricultural, often combined with animal husbandry, and its inhabitants also receive income from timber harvesting, in the form of royalties on the cedar forest and through the sale of firewood. The main subsistence crops cultivated are wheat and maize, but also a variety of fruit and vegetables is grown. In most of the villages there is an ample supply of water for irrigation.

A portion of the population in the Ashret, as well as in the Biori, Valley practice transhumance, in the spring taking their herds of sheep and goats to the high pastures situated at the extreme ends of these valleys and staying there throughout the summer months. This practice, and interrelated activities such as the production of a large variety of dairy products, was a central part of community life and traditions but has given way to today's mainly agricultural society. Whereas irrigated land in and adjacent to the villages and nearby winter pastures are owned by individual families, the distant summer pastures are communal.

As the educational level is steadily increasing and the demand for an income source besides agriculture is deemed necessary, a growing number of people are being employed by the government or carry out business within the private sector, either in their home village, e.g. as school teachers, or in the bazaar town Drosh or in Chitral town, the administrative centre of the district. There is also a local bazaar in Ashret proper, occupying a smaller number of shopkeepers and craftsmen from the valley. In pursuit of other employment opportunities, a number of Palula families have migrated to urban areas, settling more or less permanently in larger cities such as Peshawar, Rawalpindi and Lahore.

1.2.3 **Local history and cultural identity**

Palula has usually been described or seen as a single-language community (Morgenstierne 1941: 7 ; Decker 1992b: 67, 1996: 160 ; Masica 1991: 21; Strand 2001: 253, 258) as well as a single-ethnic community (Cacopardo & Cacopardo 2001:

dent opinion and a 1987 census report.

79–143). Although the former is not very surprising, considering the relatively minor dialectal differences, the latter is a more complex issue.

From the outsider perspective, and more specifically from the perspective of the Khowar speaking majority of Chitral District, the people and the speech of the Ashret and Biori Valleys are indistinguishable, and they refer to the people as a whole as the Dangarik and their speech – dramatically different from their own language – as Dangarikwar. Internally, however, the picture is less clear. Indeed, from the perspective of the “southerners” in Ashret, the speech of the “northerners” in Biori is rather similar and largely comprehensible, and vice versa, but from both sides the idea is also common that the other variety is a speech form that is somehow debased or has deteriorated from its pure or original form. Although speakers of the two varieties have interacted and to some extent have also intermarried for a long time, it is obvious that the community in Ashret do not consider the community in Biori to be related to them, the main reason being that they have no genealogy in common.

As is the case in many other communities in the region, there are preserved oral traditions concerning a particular place of origin in these communities as well as genealogies memorised from generation to generation. The most extensive and consistent traditions of this kind is found in Ashret,⁵ where the entire population claims descent from a common ancestor.

According to local history, the ancestor of the people of Ashret was Choke, son of Machoke⁶, who migrated to the present location from Chilas in the Indus Valley some 15 to 16 generations ago, a scenario convincingly corroborated by recent research into local history and culture carried out by the anthropologist Alberto Cacopardo (Cacopardo & Cacopardo 2001: 84–93). One particular source states how Choke and two of his brothers arrived in Chitral and reached Drosh but subsequently separated. One brother went to Kalas, a village in the Shishi Koh Valley north of Drosh, another continued to Sau in the Kunar Valley (in present-day Afghanistan), where he settled, and Choke himself settled in Ashret (Cacopardo & Cacopardo 2001: 84). This would support a common origin of the Palula speakers of Ashret and the inhabitants of Sau, the language of the latter closely related to Palula.⁷ The inhabitants of present-day Kalas, on the other hand,

⁵ These traditions, including the important historical manuscript *Tarikh-i-Ashret*, written by the local poet and historian Mirza Guldali Shah in Persian verse, are commented on at great length and in great detail by Cacopardo & Cacopardo (2001: 79–143), and a translation of it into English is included in its entirety as an appendix to their work.

⁶ In some versions of this tradition, Choke and Machoke were brothers (Cacopardo & Cacopardo 2001: 85, and my own notes).

⁷ This was confirmed by respondents from Sau interviewed in an Afghan refugee camp in Dir in

are all Khowar speakers, but according to respondents in Puri (the only remaining Palula-speaking village in Shishi Koh Valley), the people of Kalas formerly spoke Palula. An independent local tradition among the Bozhokey in the Laspur Valley (about 200 km northeast of the Palula-speaking area) also speaks of a migration from Chilas some 12 to 15 generations ago. Dr. Inayatullah Faizi, himself a Bozhokey, has documented this tradition, according to which the two brothers Choke and Machoke left Chilas after a power struggle with their elder brother, and after having parted during their exile, Machoke arrived in Laspur where his elder son, Laphur, subsequently settled. The descendants in the Laspur Valley have since been linguistically assimilated by their Khowar-speaking neighbours. Also, some Ashreti sources claim that the Chilasi immigrants indeed came to Ashret from the north, perhaps via Laspur, rather than through the Lowari Pass and Dir Kohistan, which would agree with this Laspuri tradition (Cacopardo & Cacopardo 2001: 85, 125–126).

What then about the Palula speakers in Biori? They are not mentioned in any of the migration traditions from Ashret (or those agreeing with it), whereas it has been explicitly pointed out to me by Ashretis that the people of Biori are descendants neither of Choke nor Machoke but are Kohistanis from Dir who later adopted the language of Ashret (cf. Strand 2001: 255; Saeed 2001: 296). The first part of the statement can very well be true, as the main Biori genealogies lack any convincing links to the genealogies of Ashret, but I suspect the second part to be an overinterpretation on the part of the Ashreti informants. Although the ethnic composition of the Biori Valley population is much more complex (including considerable sections with Kalasha and Nuristani origin), and with much less consensus around its origin than what is the case in Ashret, there is indeed a local tradition that connects a major section of the population (especially in the uppermost village Bhiúuri) with Dir Kohistan, in particular with a village called Biyar (Bhiáar). Although somewhat speculative, it is possible that a genitive or perhaps an adjectival form along with a regular sound change from /a:/ to /u:/ would render the form Bhiúuri, i.e. “from Biyar”. Also Cacopardo & Cacopardo (2001: 111–108) draws the conclusion that the Palula⁸ of Biori most likely came to the valley from Dir Kohistan, somewhat later than the Palula of Ashret, possibly to escape conversion to Islam, which was common at the time in Dir Kohistan. While present-day Biyar is a Kohistani (Gawri-speaking) village, and there are

2000 by Ajmal Nuristani and myself who stated that “the people of Ashret are our brothers”.

⁸ Keeping in mind that the ancestors of a good portion of the ethnically-mixed population most likely were speakers of a variety of Kalasha, and that there may also have been other linguistic enclaves before Palula became the sole surviving language of the valley.

no obvious traces of any previous language spoken in the village, it is not wholly unlikely that the population speaking a language closely related to Palula in the relatively close village Kalkot (both being situated along the Panjkora river) is a remnant of a once more widely spoken Shina variety in this part of Dir Kohistan. Atiq Ullah, a local historian and also my main language consultant in Biori, further claims that the people who came from Biyar were originally from Tangir, one of the Indus side valleys west of Chilas (hence the name Tangiri/Dangarik as mentioned earlier).⁹ In Puri (also part of the same general dialect area as Biori), a local elder told me that their village was founded by two brothers, Dúuši and Kaṇúuši, who came via Dogdarra, a valley in Dir Kohistan, from a village in the Tangir Valley called Dangeri Phuruṛi, possibly corresponding to a very real place in central Tangir that is rendered Phurori on some maps. As a possible explanation for the exclusiveness on the part of the Ashretis vis-à-vis the Palula speakers of Biori, Inayatullah Faizi (pc) has suggested that those ancestors of the Biori Palula who came from Dir Kohistan may very well have been Shina speakers, but being Yeshkun rather than Shin¹⁰ would immediately have placed them in a non-kin category, regardless of the their linguistic relatedness.¹¹

What this gives us are (at least) two possible migration routes from the Indus Valley to Chitral. One would have originated in the Chilas area, in the main Indus Valley, taking the way over the Shandur Pass to Laspur and then continuing south through Chitral to the Ashret Valley, branching out quite early on to Sau in the Kunar Valley. The other one would have originated in the Tangir Valley,¹² taking the route over Swat/Dir Kohistan, leaving a trace in Kalkoti speech, and ending up in the Biori Valley. Whether or not there is any linguistic evidence supporting this hypothesis is something we will have reason to return to briefly below (§1.3.1).

The arrival of the Palula in Ashret must, if the local genealogical evidence and

⁹ Interestingly, while Ashreti people usually dislike the Chitrali designation Dangarik or Dangarikwar, the people of Biori do not seem to mind and sometimes even use the term referring to their own community.

¹⁰ According to Jettmar (2002: 17), the population in the traditional Shina territory was organised into four castes – Shins, Yeshkuns, Kamins and Doms – with the Shins considering themselves ritually cleaner than the other three, possibly modelled on Hindu communities in adjacent areas.

¹¹ This idea, however, is disputed by Alberto Cacopardo (pc), who holds that the awareness of such a caste identity in relatively recent times is out of question.

¹² As rightly pointed out by Alberto Cacopardo (pc), there is a narrow, modern-day use of Tangir that refers to a particular side valley to the west of Chilas in the Indus Valley, but there is also a broader, past use of Tangir that refers to the larger region around Chilas, including many of the major areas where varieties of Shina are spoken.

other historical traditions are taken into account, be dated to some time before the mid-17th century (Cacopardo & Cacopardo 2001: 88), and the migration from Dir Kohistan to Biori somewhat later (2001: 118). As for the religion of the Palula speakers, they were clearly still unconverted to Islam when they first entered Chitral, and it was probably not until the latter half of the 19th century when they embraced Islam (2001: 83), and even then only gradually and probably earlier in Ashret than in Biori. What kind of religion was practiced before the Muslim conversion remains uncertain, but elements in it are shared with the non-Islamic Kalasha as well as what is known about other pre-Islamic religions in the region.

Finally, I will quote Alberto Cacopardo's brief but interesting summary of his own findings about the great-grandfathers of today's Palula:

They were goat-herders, whose women in the summer watered the fields, while the men went up on their own to the high pastures. Cows were impure to them, like the women at the time of seclusion. They had something like a priestly lineage, and some of them held feasts of merit. They lived in densely forested valleys haunted by murderous bandits and by the fear of monstrous ghosts. They were mostly dressed in goatskins and travelled only on foot, but they remembered ancestors who rode on horses and fought with bows and arrows against princes who lived in forts. They had rites in which they drank wine and men and women danced together at night. They had temples and shrines, sacred stones and wooden idols, and they said they heard the voices of the fairies (Cacopardo & Cacopardo 2001: 143).

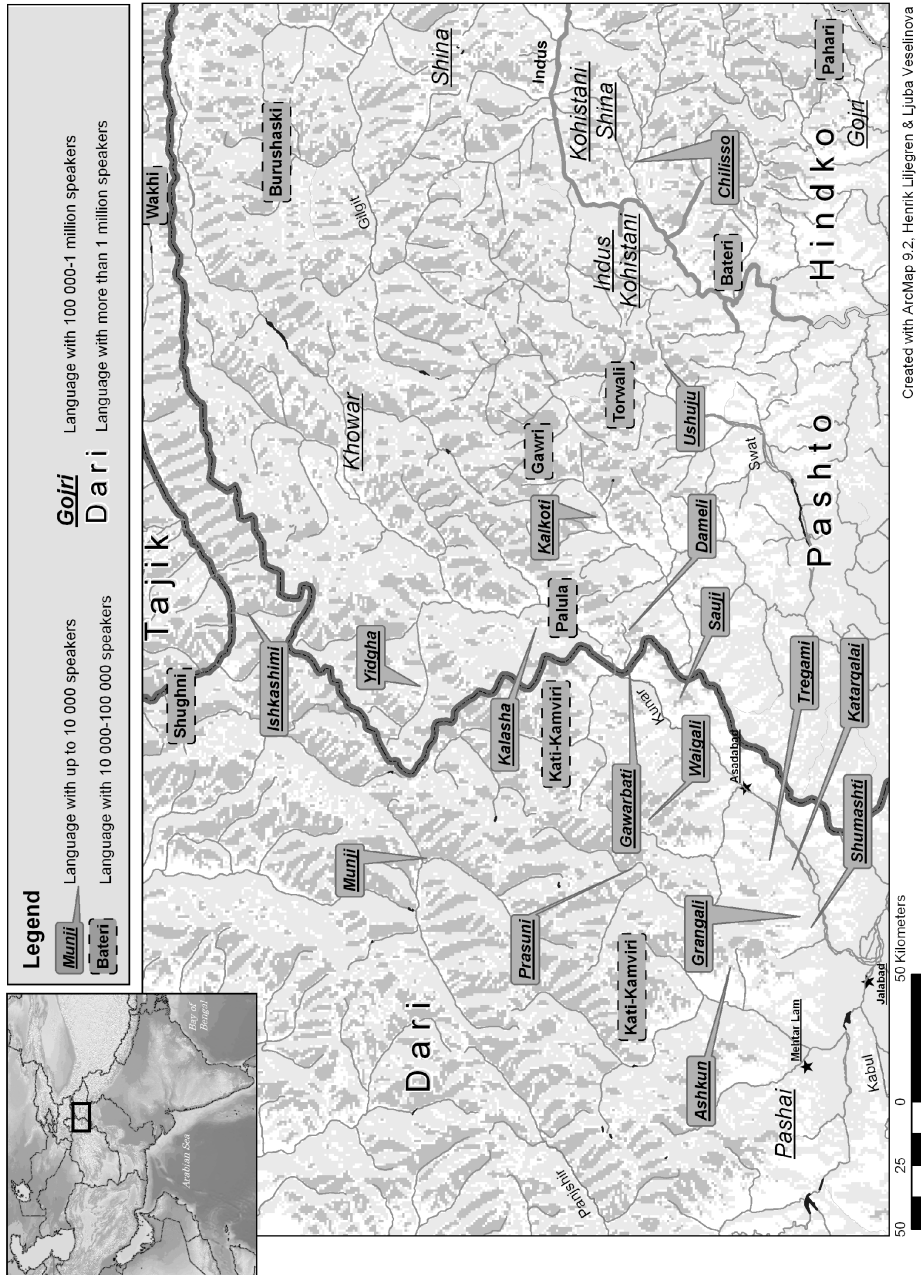
1.3 The linguistic setting

1.3.1 Genetic affiliation

Palula belongs to a group of IA languages spoken in the Hindu Kush region that are often referred to as "Dardic" languages. It has been and is still disputed to what extent this primarily geographically defined grouping has any real classificatory validity.¹³ On the one hand, Strand (2001: 251) suggests that the term should be discarded altogether, holding that there is no justification whatsoever for any such grouping (in addition to the term itself having a problematic history of use), and prefers to make a finer classification of these languages into smaller genetic groups directly under the Indo-Aryan heading, a classification we shall return to shortly.

¹³ For an overview of the terms Dard, Dardic and Dardistan and their different uses, see Mock 1997.

1 Introduction



Editors 2: Map 2 sollte vielleicht ein Querbild sein?

Others have continued using the term, for various reasons, in a classificatory sense. Bashir (2003: 822) concludes that there are enough similarities across these languages, in terms of shared retentions, areal features and innovations affecting at least subsets of the languages to justify the umbrella term “Dardic” even though she expresses doubt about the possibility of tracing them all to a single node in a Stammbaum model. Zoller (2005: 10–11) identifies the Dardic languages as the modern successors of the Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) language Gandhari (also Gandhari Prakrit), which, in contrast with other MIA languages, preserved the three Old Indo-Aryan (OIA) sibilants, subsequently retained in all Dardic languages, which is not the case elsewhere in the IA area. Along with Bashir, Zoller concludes that the family tree model alone will not explain all the historical developments.

Masica (1991: 460) questions the value of trying to sort out a complete and accurate New Indo-Aryan (NIA) historical taxonomy and contends that it would be far more interesting to focus on and recognise a number of overlapping genetic zones, some of them more strongly defined than others. Following that position, I will in the remainder of this work refer to these languages as Hindu Kush Indo-Aryan languages (HKIA), without any claim of taxonomical correctness but recognising the shared historical developments pointed out by Bashir and Zoller.

Some words should now be said about the lower-level grouping of these HKIA languages, which have as their home an extremely mountainous region that stretches from north-eastern Afghanistan over northern Pakistan all the way to Kashmir (see Map 1.2). Strand recognises in his classification (2001: 258, which represents an updated and corrected version of Strand 1973) eight groups (some of them represented by one language alone):

1. *Pashai*, with a western and an eastern dialect cluster, is spoken in an area north of Kabul River in Afghanistan, close to the Pakistani border.
2. *Pech group* includes the languages Gawarbatī, Grangali and Shumashti, of which the latter two are seriously threatened. Grangali and Shumashti are spoken in the same general area as Pashai, and Gawarbatī is spoken in the Kunar Valley on both sides of the Afghan-Pakistan border.
3. *Pech-Kunar group*, which as a group is merely hypothetical, consists of one known language, Katarqalai, perhaps still spoken in one single village in the lower Tregam Valley, not far from the main Kunar Valley in Afghanistan. Bashir (2003: 825) places it in the Kohistani group.

4. *Chitral group*, with its two languages Khowar and Kalasha, which are both spoken in Chitral District in Pakistan.
5. *Tirahi*, which is perhaps no longer, was the language of a few villages southeast of Jalalabad in Afghanistan. Bashir (2003: 824) places this language in the Kohistani group.
6. *Kohistani group*, includes a number of rather diverse languages at the centre of the HKIA region. Strand places Dir/Kalam Kohistani (or Gawri) and Dameli¹⁴ in a western cluster, the former spoken in Dir/Swat Kohistan and the latter in southern Chitral. In an eastern cluster we find Indus Kohistani, Gowro, Chilisso and Bateri, all spoken in the Indus Valley, and Torwali in upper Swat.
7. *Kashmiri*, with its two main dialects Kashtawari and Poguli, is spoken in Kashmir.
8. *Shina*, where the closest relatives to Palula are found, is traditionally described as one language with different dialects, but in actual fact it covers a number of rather diverse and geographically widespread varieties, spoken by a range of ethnic groups, from the Kunar Valley in Afghanistan all the way to Kashmir (with its largest uninterrupted area along the portion of the Indus stretching from Kohistan district in the south, through Chilas District, covering the east-west flowing portion of the river, then in the Northern Areas branching out both eastwards into the Skardu area of Baltistan and westward along the Gilgit River). Strand identifies two main clusters, a Chilasi cluster and a Gilgiti one:

Chilasi

Kohistani Shina

Eastern dialects

Astori

Drasi

Dispersed dialects

Palula

Ushuju (?)

Kalkoti (?)

Gilgiti

¹⁴ An entirely accurate classification is still lacking. Bashir (2003: 824), for instance, groups Dameli with Gawarbat in a Kunar group.

Brokskat (a Tibetanised offshoot)

Strand further identifies the dispersed and archaic varieties Palula and Sawi (or Sauji) as of particular interest (the reason he does not include Sawi in the list is perhaps that he sees Palula and Sawi as basically one and the same variety), and that two other speech enclaves, Ushuju and Kalkoti, probably should be included as well.

It is primarily in a phonological comparison between cognates that Palula appears to be conservative vis-à-vis the other Shina varieties (Table 1.2). In a comparative study between some major varieties (Palula not included), Schmidt (2002: 36) shows that three features are common to all of them: a) the preservation of the OIA three sibilants *s*, *ʃ*, *ʂ*, as in HKIA languages at large, b) the development of retracted (retroflex) fricatives *ç* and *ʐ* from OIA clusters *tr*, *kʂ*, *dr*, *bhr*, etc., and c) the development of contrastive pitch accent.

While Palula shares the first and the third of those with the other varieties, it has to a larger extent preserved consonant clusters.

Table 1.2: Comparison of cognates in five Shina varieties (based on Schmidt 2002: 37, with Palula (A.) data added)

OIA	Gilgiti	Kohi-stani	Drasi	Brok-skāt	Palula	
<i>gōṣṭá-</i>	<i>goóṭ</i>	<i>góoṣ</i>	<i>goóṣ</i>	<i>goóṣ</i>	<i>ghoóṣṭ</i>	‘house’
<i>kṣṇá-</i>	<i>kíno</i>	<i>kíṇo</i>	<i>kíṇo</i>	<i>kyóno</i>	<i>kriṣínu</i>	‘black’
<i>kárman-</i>	<i>kom</i>	<i>kom</i>	<i>krom</i>	<i>krum</i>	<i>kráam</i>	‘work’
<i>kṣétra-</i>	<i>chéec</i>	–	<i>chéec</i>	–	<i>chiitr</i>	‘field’
<i>bhrátr-</i>	<i>záa</i>	<i>záa</i>	<i>záa</i>	–	<i>bhroó</i>	‘brother’
<i>*jāmātra-</i>	<i>jamačoó</i>	<i>jamčo</i>	<i>jamačoó</i>	<i>jamó</i>	<i>jhamatroó</i>	‘son-in-law’
<i>divasá</i>	<i>déez</i>	<i>dées</i>	<i>dées</i>	<i>dis</i>	<i>deés</i>	‘day’

Something should be said about two of the other so-called “dispersed dialects”, Sawi/Sauji and Kalkoti, and their relationship to Palula.

Sauji (the form used by my respondents when referring to their language in contrast to Sawi, which is the way it has been referred to in most literature) is the speech variety of Sau, a village situated on the east bank of the Kunar River in Afghanistan, about 20 kilometers south of the Pakistani border town Arandu in southern Chitral. It is uncertain to what degree and by how many people

1 Introduction

Sauji is spoken today in this village, but according to Decker's (1992) informants, approximately 8,000–12,000 lived in the village prior to the long period of war and unrest in Afghanistan.¹⁵ That the variety spoken in Sau is closely related to Palula was pointed out previously by Morgenstierne in the first half of the last century (Morgenstierne 1941: 7), and was further confirmed by the more extensive study of the language undertaken by Buddruss in the 1950s:

Dagegen ist die nahe Verwandtschaft des Sawi mit dem Phal. bereits durch einen Blick in Grammatik und Vokabular evident und wirt überdies durch die Angabe meines Gewährsmannes bestätigt, daß er die Sprache der Leute von Ashret verstehen könne. Dennoch sind die beiden Sprachen keineswegs identisch mit einander. (Buddruss 1967: 11)

That there is a historical connection between Sau and Ashret according to local tradition was already mentioned (see §1.2.3), but no major interaction or contact between the two communities seems to have taken place in the recent past, and for a long time, the population of Sau has been included and been seen as a part of the all-surrounding Gawar community, sharing their identity in all aspects save the language, something rather remarkable from a regional perspective (Cacopardo & Cacopardo 2001: 232).

Kalkoti (or *Khalkoti*), on the other hand, has remained largely undocumented. It is spoken by approximately 6,000 people, apparently confined to a village called Kalkot, situated in the upper Panjkora Valley in Dir Kohistan. Since no systematic survey has been carried out in Dir Kohistan, however, it is too early to exclude the existence of other locations where this variety or something similar is spoken. Most other villages in the main valley, from Rajkot (Patrik) and upstream, are Gawri-speaking,¹⁶ but that the speech of this village¹⁷ could be something rather different was first hinted at in a sociolinguistic survey carried out by Rensch (1992: 7) and his colleagues: "The linguistic variety spoken in the village of Kalkot in Dir Kohistan seems to be quite distinct from that spoken in the surrounding villages of Dir Kohistan and in Kalam, although it is obviously related". Richard Strand, as was pointed out above, tentatively classified Kalkoti

¹⁵ A good portion of a refugee camp in Timargira in district Dir that I visited along with Ajmal Nuristani in 2000 was made up of Sauji-speakers from Sau. However, in the last few years many are said to have returned to their home village in Afghanistan.

¹⁶ I use Gawri to refer to the Kohistani varieties that have been variously called Bashkarik, Kalam (Kalami) Kohistani or Dir Kohistani. Gawri seems to be the preferred name and one that can be accepted by speakers from locations both in Swat and Dir Kohistan.

¹⁷ In fact, about 70 per cent of the Kalkot population are speakers of Kalkoti, whereas the remaining 30 per cent are speakers of a Gawri variety (Muhammad Zaman Sager, pc).

as a Shina variety closely related to Palula, based on the word list presented in the already mentioned survey report (Rensch 1992: 159–176), particularly pointing to the strikingly similar forms of the personal pronouns. Perhaps there is, as was mentioned above (§1.2.3), a historical connection between the Palula speakers of Biori, who tradition says came from Dir Kohistan, and the Kalkotis.

My own study, based on data collected by Naseem Haider and Muhammad Zaman Sager in Kalkot in early 2006, confirms the hypothesis that Palula and Kalkot are closely related and also that Kalkoti, although heavily influenced by Kohistani (Gawri), is essentially a Shina variety. The assumption is that certain types of words (see Table 1.3) are much less likely to be borrowed, such as personal pronouns, lower numerals, kinship terms, and basic verbs (Trask 1996: 23).

Based on this, it seems that the two main Palula dialects, Sauji and Kalkoti, although separated for perhaps several centuries, form some sort of cluster of their own.

Table 1.3: Lexical comparison between Palula (A. variety), Kalkoti and Gawri

Palula (A.)	Kalkoti	Gawri	
<i>ma</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>yä</i>	‘I’
<i>be</i>	<i>bä</i>	<i>mä</i>	‘we’
<i>tróo</i>	<i>traa</i>	<i>lää/taa</i>	‘three’
<i>akóoš</i>	<i>akaaš</i>	<i>ikää</i>	‘eleven’
<i>bóoš</i>	<i>baaš</i>	<i>bää</i>	‘twelve’
<i>baábu</i>	<i>bab</i>	<i>bob</i>	‘father’
<i>yéey</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>yeey</i>	‘mother’
<i>brhoó</i>	<i>draa</i>	<i>jää</i>	‘brother’
<i>bheén</i>	<i>bään</i>	<i>išpo</i>	‘sister’
<i>šúur</i>	<i>šur</i>	<i>šušur</i>	‘father-in-law’
<i>preš</i>	<i>irpāš</i>	<i>čiš</i>	‘mother-in-law’
<i>hínu (de)</i>	<i>in (aas)</i>	<i>thu (aaš)</i>	‘be’
<i>biáanu (gúum)</i>	<i>buun (gu)</i>	<i>bäčant (gaa)</i>	‘go’
<i>bháanu (bhílu)</i>	<i>buun (bil)</i>	<i>hoant (hu)</i>	‘become’
<i>tháanu (thíilu)</i>	<i>thuun (thääl)</i>	<i>kārant (kiir)</i>	‘do’

So far nothing has been said about Ushuju, one of the other “enclaves” mentioned by Strand. Not much was known about this language or its speakers prior to the sociolinguistic survey referred to above (Decker 1992c). Ushuju is spoken by an estimated 2,000 people in the Bishigram Valley in Swat, and the ances-

tors of the present-day speakers are said to have migrated from Kolai, a Shina speaking area in Indus Kohistan (Decker 1992c: 69), and the word list and other data¹⁸ suggest that it is at its core another dispersed Shina variety (cf. Strand 2001: 255), although Zoller (2005: 9), without further justifying it, refers to it as “a Kohistani language with Shina elements”. In any case, the preliminary lexical comparison made by Sandra Decker (1992c: 70) did not show any greater similarities with Palula or Kalkoti than with any other Shina varieties, rather the other way around, and there is nothing really that would directly connect the Ushuju community and its migration routes with the Palula-Sauji-Kalkoti cluster.

Outside this particular cluster, there are indications that it is the Kohistani Shina subvarieties spoken in the Tangir and Darel Valleys, in today’s Diamer district, that may be most similar to Palula (Radloff 1992: 142–143).

1.3.2 Areal affinities

There are of course other factors beside genetic relatedness responsible for similarities between languages, one being contact. When looking at the Hindu Kush region where Palula is spoken, one finds a highly interesting and relatively little researched region, areally as well as linguistically, which lies at the crossroads between different geographical as well as cultural zones.

From the larger perspective, the region is part of (although at the fringe of) the Indian Subcontinent, and since there are many more languages beside the Indo-Aryan in the area, many with even longer histories, the question of a linguistic area or a *Sprachbund* in South Asia becomes relevant. Besides the IA languages, there are other Indo-European languages, mainly Iranian languages in the west, as well as English (although it has a relatively short history in the region). In addition to Indo-European languages, there are representatives of Tibeto-Burman in the far north and east, Dravidian in the south (with the ‘remnant’ Brahui in the north-west), Austro-Asiatic in the northeast, the isolate Burushaski in the northwest, and even Turkic languages in the northwest, although the latter are found outside of what is normally seen as part of the Subcontinent.

A number of traits (such as retroflex consonants and dative subjects) have been suggested as areal, shared across languages and language families in South Asia, but not without lengthy discussions about what really should be considered areal (Emeneau 1965; 1980; Masica 1976; 1991; 2001; Ebert 2006).

According to Masica (2001), areal traits or features are not only of one kind,

¹⁸ Such as the “core” verbs *han-/as-* ‘be’ and *th-* ‘do’ (Decker 1992c: 71–72, 199–203), which are typical features of Shina.

which is why he suggests a finer differentiation between 1) *essentially areal features*, which would be those features really defining the language area (as, for example, the above mentioned ones); 2) *macroareal features*, for features found not only in South Asia, but in most parts of mainland Asia (such as SOV word order); 3) *marginal* or *linking features*, for features “spilling over” from adjacent areas but not necessarily affecting the entire South Asia (such as the “essentially” Southeast Asian use of numeral classifiers in the northeast, or ergativity linking together South Asia with areas of Western Asia); and 4) *subareal features*, for features defining a smaller area within South Asia.

Others (Dahl 2001; Koptjevskaja-Tamm & Wälchli 2001) have been skeptical towards the notion of linguistic areas as such, questioning whether such areas have a reality of their own rather than merely being convenient ways of summarising certain phenomena.

Regardless of the particular view one takes on areality in the end, there is reason to further inspect the languages and traits found in the northwestern corner of the Subcontinent (i.e. the Hindu Kush region) “where conflicting areal patterns meet and interact, and many peculiar languages (‘Dardic’, Burushaski,¹⁹ the Pamir group of Eastern Iranian), at once archaic and innovating, find their home” (Masica 2001: 225). To this collection of languages should be added the Tibeto-Burman language Balti, which is spoken in the eastern part of the region adjacent to the main Shina belt, and the Nuristani languages, mainly found in the part of Afghanistan bordering Chitral and, to a lesser extent, on the Pakistani side of the border. The latter were initially lumped together with the “Dardic” languages but are now considered a branch of Indo-Iranian on the same level as Indo-Aryan and Iranian.

A few other scholars of South Asian languages, in addition to those mentioned, have identified features or a certain convergence of features that seem to be of particular relevance to this region (or some similarly defined region). Some of the more promising are those suggested by Bashir (2003), including grammaticalisation of evidentiality, multi-differentiating deictic systems, predominantly left-branching structures, contrasts between dental, retroflex and palatal sibilants and affricates, and the development of tonal/accental systems, the latter feature further elaborated upon by Baart (2003: 132–144). An interesting feature, only affecting a few (mostly adjacent but not closely-related languages) in this subregion, is the development of retroflex vowels, described by Mørch (1997).

The loss of gender distinctions in the geographically-peripheral Indo-Aryan language Khowar (and also in closely-related Kalasha) was pointed out already

¹⁹ A language isolate, spoken in a few valleys in the extreme north of Pakistan.

by Emeneau (1965) as resulting from Persian influence (via the Iranian Pamir languages). More research may reveal whether Emeneau's conclusion is correct, and also how this phenomenon is related to an assumed grammaticalisation of animacy distinctions, present not only in Khowar and Kalasha (Bashir 1988: 401), but also in largely undocumented and not yet fully classified Dameli (Emil Perder, pc). Possible substratal influence, related to the isolate Burushaski or other now extinct languages, is also to a large extent *terra incognita*.

1.3.3 “Next-door” linguistic neighbours

Surveying the languages of the region in the 1920s, Morgenstierne stated that “Lower Chitral is one of the most polyglott [*sic*] regions of Asia” (1941: 7), and if something characterises the immediate surroundings of the Palula area, it is multilingualism and an ample opportunity for cross-language interaction. Decker (1992b: 10–23), in his and his team's sociolinguistic survey, identified as many as 12 languages native to the 200,000+ population of Chitral District at the time, and another four non-native languages that played some role in the lives of people in the district.

Some of the nearest linguistic neighbours of the Palula – historically or presently – are the following:

Khowar. Although not spoken in any area immediately adjacent to Palula until quite recently, Khowar is now the overall dominant one in the district. It is spoken as the first language of approximately 82 per cent of the population (Decker 1992b: 11), and functions very much as a *lingua franca*, but in competition with Pashto south of Drosh Bazaar. Khowar is an IA language classified as belonging to the Chitral group (see §1.3.1). The historical heartland of Khowar and the Kho people is the northern part of the Chitral district, north of Chitral town, from where the language apparently expanded southward to incorporate a number of other ethno-linguistically distinct groups that previously used their own languages.

Kalasha is the language spoken by and most intimately associated with the only surviving non-Muslim population in the entire region. The language is today the first language of 3,000 to 6,000 individuals (Trail & Cooper 1999: xi; Heegård-Petersen 2006: 8) in a few famous side valleys – Birir, Bumboret and Rumbur – to the west of the Kunar River, near the Afghan border, and it also includes a slightly different variety used in Urtsun Valley (where the speakers are Muslim). Due to the unique features of the traditional Kalasha religion and culture, it has received a great deal of attention from anthropologists and folklorists throughout the years and is therefore probably one of the best documented com-

Editors 3:
Hier sind
die Sprach-
namen
im ur-
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Soll es so
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Spitzmarke
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werden?

munities of the region. The Kalasha language was once spoken in a much larger area – corresponding to the local political power held by the Kalasha in earlier times (Siiger 1956: 33) – possibly the only language truly indigenous to southern Chitral (Strand 2001). The language shares a number of features with Khowar, linguistically its nearest relative in the Chitral group. Although not spoken in any location adjacent to Palula today, it was probably the closest linguistic neighbour of Palula for centuries, sometimes spoken side by side in the very same location (particularly in Kalkatak and the Biori Valley).

Dameli is spoken by about 5,000 people (Decker 1992b) in 11 small villages in the Damel Valley, the next populated side valley south of the Palula-speaking Ashret Valley. Classification has proved to be a complicated issue with this language, as it shares much lexical and phonological material with Nuristani languages at the same time being similar in most respects to other IA languages in the region. Even though the last word has most certainly not been said about Dameli classification, the tentative conclusion at the time is that it belongs to the Kohistani Group of IA languages (Strand 2001: 258), while in certain respects being strongly influenced by neighbouring Nuristani languages. The dominant second language in the Damel Valley is Pashto and all men in the valley are reported to be able to communicate in that language, whereas most women in the valley seem to be monolingual in Dameli (Decker 1992b). Its position as the primary language for in-group communication is largely unthreatened. Although there is some intermarriage between Dameli and Palula, the contact between the two groups may have been more frequent in the past, as indicated by shared vocabulary (Emil Perder, pc).

Shekhani, or Kamviri, is a northern Nuristani language. From its old heartland around Kamdesh in southern Bashgal Valley in Afghanistan, the language had already found its way into Chitral by the end of the 19th century. There are approximately 1,500 to 2,000 speakers of this language (Decker 1992b) in the villages Langorbat and Badrugul, the latter situated along the main road between the mouths of the Biori and Ashret Valleys, while about 4,000 speakers of the language remain in the old heartland in Afghanistan. The most widespread second language of Shekhani speakers is beyond a doubt Pashto, a language preferred even in interaction with Khowar speakers, but (as mentioned above) in Badrugul, Palula seems to have a rather strong position as a second (or possibly third) language, apparently resulting from intermarriage with Palula-speaking families in nearby Palula locations.

Pashto. In spite of its current dominant position as a trade language and the

unrivalled lingua franca of the entire province;²⁰ Pashto has a fairly short history in Chitral. Many of those families who now count Chitral as their home district started moving into Chitral in the 1930s. Although no more than 3,000 (Decker 1992b) individuals in Chitral had Pashto as their first language in the beginning of the 1990s (a figure that more than likely has increased a great deal), the Pashtuns (or Pathans as they are often referred to) is a very influential group and, according to one report, control 85 per cent of all trade in the district. While earlier immigrating Pashtuns learnt to speak Khowar in order to carry out their trade, it is now common for speakers of other languages to learn Pashto to have access to trade in Chitral. The largest concentration of Pashto speakers is probably in and around Drosh and along the Kunar River southwards from there. There are also Pashtun settlements in the upper parts of the Ashret Valley.

1.3.4 Patterns of language use

Palula is almost exclusively used among people who speak Palula as their first language. Within the Biori and Ashret Valleys, it is in most cases the only language in communicative use, and there are very few native speakers of other languages residing in those locations. However, as soon as there is a non-Palula speaker present, even in one of the main Palula villages, the language switches to one of wider communication, *vz.* Khowar with most other-tongue speakers from within Chitral and Pashto, which is used with some non-Khowar speakers from within Chitral, as well as with Pashtuns from places beyond the Lowari Pass.²¹

Decker (1992b) draws the conclusion that Palula speakers are probably less proficient in these other languages in domains requiring little or no out-group interaction.

The only indication that Palula may be learnt by speakers of other languages is in the, now historical, case of Kalasha speakers in Kalkatak shifting from Kalasha to the use of Palula (Decker 1992a: 55, 79), and the Shekhani speakers of Badrugul of whom reportedly a fair number use Palula as a second language 1992: 59.

The only location where a substantial number of people might be termed semi-speakers is Kalkatak. Many children of one or two Palula-speaking parents have some proficiency in Palula, but due to lack of practice and the predominance of Khowar in many daily life situations, as well as a conscious language shift even

²⁰ Pashto is an Iranian language with a total of 20 million speakers on both sides of the Pakistan-Afghanistan border.

²¹ Communication with other outsiders is still rather infrequent, but Urdu would be the natural choice of language to the extent the Palula speaker is able to communicate in it (which constituted about 50 per cent of Decker's (1992) Palula respondents).

in originally Palula-speaking families, their Palula skills are imperfect (according to other speakers in Biori and Ashret). The only situation where they have to use Palula is when speaking with elderly monolingual relatives or in interaction with people from other Palula-speaking locations.

Women with other first languages marrying into families in Biori and Ashret also learn or are expected to learn and use Palula with their in-laws as well as with their own children, which is generally the normal pattern in the region. That pattern, however, is often reversed in the case of the in-laws' language being a low-prestige language. Therefore, in a village like Kalkatak, and to some extent in Puri, where Palula identity is weak, a strong reason for choosing a Khowar-speaking wife is, contrary to this overall pattern, to ensure that the children-to-be are brought up with a good command of Khowar. A secondary effect is that also the husband and the in-laws benefit from this, by being offered an opportunity to shift from low-prestige Palula to high-prestige Khowar.

Most, if not all, children of Palula-speaking parents in Ashret and Biori learn Palula as their first language, but there is a tendency to pick up Khowar or Pashto as second languages at a very early age, although children can be said to remain virtually monolingual until they start school. Only a few Palula speaking parents (according to Decker 1992b) report that their children do not speak Palula at all, mostly in Palula locations outside Biori and Ashret, i.e. locations with an already weak or vanishing Palula identity.

There is widespread multilingualism in all of the Palula villages, and the ability to speak and understand other languages has possibly increased over time. There is, generally speaking, a strong pressure to learn other languages, regardless of location, for educational and business purposes. As soon as children start school, they need to learn Urdu in order to gain anything from the teaching. And as soon as they leave their home village or valley to go to the bazaar or to meet people from non-Palula villages, they need either Khowar or Pashto to make themselves understood. There is, on the other hand, and as far as can be observed, not much pressure to reject their own language. The only exception to this rule might be Kalkatak, where Palula is viewed as being lower in prestige and less useful than Khowar.

The exact pattern of multilingualism varies from location to location. Most of those interviewed by Decker (1992b) said they speak at least three languages besides Palula. Overall, Khowar is the most common second language among Palula speakers. It is most frequently used in the bazaar town Drosh as well as with non-Palula neighbours (in the locations outside Biori and Ashret) and in most contacts with local officials. Only in Ashret is Pashto the most common

second language. Particularly in Kalkatak and in the Biori Valley, many people are proficient in Khowar as well as in Pashto. Only a few people are purely monolingual: mainly older people, women to a larger extent than men, and small children (Decker 1992b).

The prescribed language of most formal education is the national language Urdu, which in practical terms means that teachers in the lower grades, in as far as they themselves are locals, teach and give explanations in Palula. Instruction in Palula is supposed to be gradually replaced by “Urdu only” instruction as students move into the high school level, but to what degree that is realised practically is rather uncertain. It may be foreseen that an increasing number of people in the near future will be exposed to Urdu as a language of wider communication, as a result of more and more people getting access to radio, TV and other media, and there will almost certainly be a growing emphasis on Urdu skills for obtaining qualified jobs.

English plays a role similar to that of Urdu, as it is the medium (at least technically) of instruction in the private schools of the district, including private schools in Ashret and Biori. Exposure to English as a living language is, however, restricted to ephemeral contact with foreigners coming to Chitral in the summer months. As the official language of all civil services, knowledge of English is considered very attractive and is very important for those applying for education outside their home district, a position within the local or regional administration or a job within the tourist sector. Both Urdu and English function as markers of prestige. Educated speakers tend to mix in Urdu lexical material relatively freely into their Palula speech, and to a more limited degree they also use English, almost exclusively via Urdu.

Arabic in its literary form has a status similar to that of Urdu or English, but its use is strictly limited to the topic of religion. There are probably very few if any first language speakers of Arabic in the district, though a number of religious scholars have or claim to have a command of the language. A special area of loans has to do with religion, and naturally we find a large number of Arabic or Perso-Arabic loans here, but generally it is difficult to discern for certain whether they are borrowed from Arabic or Persian directly or have come into the language via Pashto, Urdu or even Khowar.

A historically deeper level of loans in the lexicon of Palula suggests more frequent contacts with speakers of other languages, particularly Dameli and Kalasha, as was mentioned above. Persian, as the official language in the former kingdom of Chitral, once played a role similar to that played by Urdu today.

1.4 Internal variation

There is no significant dialect variation between the different Palula locations, but there is reason to speak of two dialect areas, each representing one of the two major concentrations of Palula speakers: Ashret and Biori.

Although it is not entirely clear how the speech varieties of Ghos (now extinct or nearly so) and Puri relate to these two main dialect areas, the data available for the Palula of Puri agrees more closely with the Biori variety than it does with the Ashret variety. We shall therefore regard the dialect of Puri, together with that of Kalkatak, as a subvariety of the Biori variety. There is no dialect continuum between the Biori and Ashret varieties (as the population is confined to these two relatively fertile side valleys), and the geographical proximity within each valley is high enough to exclude any significant in-dialect variations.

Individual examples representing the speech of Ashret and Biori will be indicated by A. and B., respectively, in front of the references given throughout this work, and if nothing is explicitly indicated it is the speech of Ashret that is intended.

Although individual differences will be pointed out as different features are discussed, a few salient divergent features should be mentioned briefly. They are mainly to do with morphophonology and the lexicon, and to a much lesser extent with phonology proper, morphology or syntax.

Due to differences in the historical development of accented vowel sounds, there are some regular correspondences (as shown in Table 1.4) between A. and B. cognates.

Table 1.4: Reconstructed vowel development from proto-forms to Ashret and Biori Palula respectively

Proto-form (syllable)		Ashret		Biori	
* <i>(C)áaC</i>	* <i>sáan</i>	> <i>óo</i>	<i>sóon</i>		<i>sáan</i> ‘pasture’
* <i>(C)áa#</i>	* <i>sáana</i>	> <i>óo</i>	<i>sóona</i>	> <i>úu</i>	<i>súuna</i> ‘pastures’
* <i>(C)áC</i>	* <i>krám</i>	> <i>áa</i>	<i>kráam</i>		<i>krám</i> ‘work’
* <i>(C)háC</i>	* <i>hát</i>	> <i>aá</i>	<i>haát</i>		<i>hát</i> ‘hand’
* <i>(C)(h)á#</i>	* <i>háta</i>	> <i>áa</i>	<i>háata</i>	> <i>áa</i>	<i>háata</i> ‘hands’
* <i>(C)éeC</i>	* <i>chéetr</i>	> <i>íi</i>	<i>chíitr</i>		<i>chéetr</i> ‘field’
* <i>(C)ée#</i>	* <i>chéetra</i>	> <i>íi</i>	<i>chíitra</i>	> <i>íi</i>	<i>chíitra</i> ‘fields’

That some vowel raising and lengthening have taken place in A. regardless of syllable structure, whereas the same processes have been conditioned by accent position as well as syllable structure in B., has resulted in some paradigms, particularly the nominal, displaying morphophonemic alternations in B. (sg: *sáan*, pl: *súuna*; *krám*, *kráama*; *ḥéetr*, *ḥíitra*) that are not found in A. But conversely, and for the same reason, some other alternations have arisen in A. (*sáar* ‘lake’, *sarí* ‘lakes’; *dáar* ‘door’, *dará* ‘doors’) that are *not* found in B. (*sár*, *sarí*; *dár*, *dará*).

As far as the inventory of phonological segments and suprasegmentals are concerned the two dialects are basically identical, whereas there are some phonological processes that seem to be confined to one of the two dialects. One of them is /l/-velarisation (see §3.1.2), exclusively found in B., possibly resulting from Kalasha substratal influence.

Lexically there are some differences, but these primarily have to do with separate sources of influence. While loans from Pashto have been prevalent in A., it seems that Khowar has been the more common donor language as far as B. is concerned. Sometimes a “native” word has been replaced in one of the dialects, whereas it has been preserved in the other (B. *niwešé-* (fr. Khowar) vs. A. *ḥoonṭá-* ‘write’).

Some entirely non-predictable differences in pronunciation are also found, as when a word is pronounced with aspiration in one of the dialects and not in the other (B. *ghaḍé-* vs. A. *gaḍé-* ‘take off’).

Syntactically, the Perfect formation with the Perfective finite verb and *hin-* ‘is’, the most common construction used in A., seems to be missing altogether in B. Instead a construction with the nonfinite Converb and *hin-* is used for expressing the same category.

1.5 Previous research

The first scholar to collect linguistic data from the language was the aforementioned (§1.1) Norwegian researcher Georg Morgenstierne. In 1929 he visited Chitral and collected, apart from information on other languages, Palula language material. His description, *Notes on Phalûūra – an unknown Dardic language of Chitral* (1941), is mainly based on the Ashret dialect. Briefly (ca. 50 pages), Morgenstierne outlines its assumed relationship to other “Dardic” languages, describes sketchily its phonology and morphology, and includes a translation of a standard text (The Prodigal Son) and a word list.

The next scholar to approach the subject, or something closely related, was professor Georg Buddruss, who studied the language spoken in Sau. During the

winter of 1955–56, he sat with a native informant from the village, and about a decade later published his results in *Die Sprache von Sau in Ostafghanistan: Beiträge zur Kenntnis des dardischen Phalura* (Buddruss 1967), including an outline of the phonology and morphology of this variety from a historical-comparative perspective and some comparisons with Morgenstierne's Palula material. Syntax is devoted only a few pages, but 11 shorter texts with German translation and a word list are generously included.

A sociolinguistic survey of northern Pakistan was carried out by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) in 1989–90. In the fifth volume of the report, *Languages of Chitral* (Decker 1992b), a chapter on Palula written by Kendall Decker discusses the sociolinguistic environment of the language, including its geographical extension, and summarises its history as viewed by the community. It also describes the social and economic environment and presents some factors having to do with language use. Attached to this study is a 210-item word list with words from Ashret, Biori, Purigal and Sau respectively, as well as some partly interlinearised texts. The material discussed later by Decker (1992a; 1996) overlaps to a large extent with that of the survey (1992).

Since 2000, Richard Strand has continuously posted on the Internet (1997/2008) results from a short stretch of fieldwork carried out on the Ashret dialect. Recently he has posted some historical-genealogical material from Ashret, a phonological statement and a semantically-structured lexicon (incorporating Morgenstierne's 1941 word list). This project is all part of a larger attempt at documenting the languages spoken in the Hindu Kush region, with special reference to Nuristan and the Nuristani languages.

Elena Bashir, focusing her scholarly work on Kalasha and Khowar, includes a section on Palula in *The Indo-Aryan languages*, a recently published standard work (2003). Although mainly based on Morgenstierne (1941), it is supplemented by Bashir's own field notes from the B. variety. Some original B. data of hers is also included and discussed in a paper on quotatives and complementisers in the region (1996).

Another work touching on the subject, although not linguistic per se, is the ethnohistorical work carried out by Alberto and Augusto Cacopardo (2001). In *Gates of Peristan – history, religion and society in the Hindu Kush*, one entire chapter by Alberto Cacopardo is devoted to Palula as a group, including a review and discussion of a wealth of historical sources and the local tradition, combined with a presentation of carefully recorded first hand observations and interviews. A previously unpublished essay from 1987, written by the former major Ahmad Saeed (from Ashret), is included as an appendix. In it, Saeed draws up a histori-

cal-genealogical background of the community and the area where the language is spoken today, drawing from its rich oral tradition.

Summarising all the previous research carried out, we conclude that there is still no description of Palula that has taken larger amounts of data into account or one that reflects the structures of the language at more than a rudimentary level.

Outside Palula specific studies, a number of scholars have been and continue to be actively involved in research in the region, but I will not make an attempt to paint that picture at the present time.

1.6 Current study

The aim of the current work is to provide an accurate description of Palula phonology, morphology, and syntax, based on first hand data and generously illustrated with examples from natural use. Some discourse features appearing in the language will also be mentioned, but no section as a whole will be dedicated to this topic. Neither does the present work include any sample texts, word lists or descriptions of the currently evolving orthography.

The main bulk of the material on which this grammatical description is based was collected during several periods of field work in Pakistan from 1998 to 2006. I resided along with my family in Peshawar during two longer periods, the first being 1998–2000, as a student of Pashto at the Area Study Centre of Peshawar University, and then 2003–2006 while involved in the establishment and development of the Frontier Language Institute in Peshawar. My time spent in Chitral extends from a few days to periods of two months at a time, variously staying in Drosh, Kalkatak, Biori and Ashret.

My main philosophy has been to diminish the gap between myself and my Palula respondents/consultants and their community as much as possible, thus avoiding unnecessary filtering. Therefore, I have gradually acquired not only a passive understanding of the language, but also as much as possible I have used it in interaction with Palula speakers. However, I am in no position to claim that my research has been carried out entirely monolingually. English and Pashto have also functioned as communication languages. A more passive and rudimentary understanding of Urdu has also been of some help.

Although all this started out very much as a one-man enterprise, it developed gradually into more of a collaborative undertaking, and throughout the project a number of people from the Palula community have been involved at varying levels of activity, independence and expertise:

Naseem Haider, a schoolteacher from Ashret, came to be my chief language consultant. He worked full-time together with me in Peshawar, from mid-2003 to 2006, and even after my return to Sweden, he continued assisting me from a distance. After being trained through the Frontier Language Institute (FLI) in basic language documentation, he carried out a large number of interviews and recordings with people in his community, transcribed massive amounts of text, worked with me on translation into English, filled in a number of questionnaires, participated in and gave valuable input to the on-going analysis, and worked on a Palula lexical database.

Atiq Ullah, a school principal from Dhamaret, Biori, became my main Biori language consultant in 1998. Although never under any formal agreement, he was instrumental in systematically introducing me to his language during my early visits to Chitral and helped me go through lots of language material and sort out a number of phonological and grammatical issues. He went through the same training at FLI as Naseem Haider.



Photo 1.1: Main language consultants Naseem Haider and Atiq Ullah

Ikram ul-Haq, a schoolteacher from Ashret, assisted me voluntarily in my research during the period 1998–2000. He was introduced to transcription and basic recording methods and made a number of important interviews and text recordings, which he also transcribed and provided with free translations.

Sher Haider, a schoolteacher from Ashret and older brother of Naseem Haider, assisted me voluntarily on different occasions, filling in questionnaires, providing natural examples and explaining various aspects of his language. He participated in parts of the FLI training programme.

A few other people spent considerable time with me, contributing in important ways to my research, understanding and ability to speak Palula: Saeed Ahmad, Kalkatak; Atah Ullah, Biori; and Sardar Hayat, Ashret.

My material on phonology is primarily based on separate B. and A. word lists²² that I began compiling and recording with speakers in 1999. Those have been supplemented later with other lists and recordings.

The morphological and syntactic parts of my study are primarily based on text material, in all 60 texts from 36 speakers/writers, of different length and analysed with varying accuracy and detail. Most of the texts are recorded and transcribed oral narratives, but also other textual genres are represented. A few texts in the material were written and in some cases only later recorded when read out. However, even those written texts represent an oral rather than a literary style, as there is no literary tradition. A tentative orthography was introduced as late as 2004, and the written texts were produced during an experimental phase in its development. The textual material was supplemented with elicitation of full paradigms, expressions and sentences, questionnaires and notes of language use in the community.

For details on textual genres, types of data and individual speakers and writers or informants, the list in *References* at the end of this work should be consulted. The references given after each example utterance throughout the work can be found in that list: Ex. A:SHY028 refers to a particular narrative (abbreviated SHY) in the Ashret variety (henceA:) written by Sher Haider, occurring as entry 28 in my interlinear text database.²³

Although only marginally referred to and used, a few smaller field studies carried out parallel with my Palula research also need to be mentioned:

As already hinted at earlier, some **Sauji** data was collected in 2000, by Ajmal

²² This included lexemes (primarily nouns and verbs) recorded in differently inflected forms as well as recordings of words in isolation and in frames.

²³ A few texts are not entered as interlinear texts and therefore references to individual strings in them are not numbered.

Nuristani²⁴ and myself, in Timar Camp in Lower Dir, where a substantial number of people from Sau resided at the time. Later, Ajmal Nuristani, on my request, recorded and transcribed a few other texts and word lists, both in Pakistan and in Sau (Afghanistan).

Also mentioned briefly above, a survey trip to Kalkot in Dir Kohistan was carried out under Joan Baart's (SIL) and my auspices by Naseem Haider and another FLI fellow, Muhammad Zaman Sager (from Kalam, Swat), in 2006. Apart from obtaining sociolinguistic information, they recorded a few **Kalkoti** texts, a word list with two different speakers, a questionnaire focusing on verbs and another focusing on pronouns.

As for **Dameli**, data was chiefly collected in the form of a questionnaire (dealing with pronouns and verb agreement) filled out in the summer of 2005 by Muhammad Hayat Jan of Aspar (Damel Valley), who participated in the FLI training program. The data was subsequently discussed with and commented upon by Emil Perder (Stockholm University).²⁵

Also in 2005, I carried out some interviews (based on the questionnaire also used for Dameli) in Kalkatak with Muhammad Salaam and Faiz Muhammad, two **Gawarbat**i speakers, both in their thirties and originally from Nari in Afghanistan and since the early 1980s settled in the refugee section of the village Kalkatak.²⁶

1.7 Remarks on the transcription

The transcription system used for Palula in the main bulk of this work (always occurring with italics, ex. *paaluulaá*) largely corresponds with that in general use in South Asian linguistics and by most indologists (what Masica refers to as "Standard Orientalist", 1991: xv, and some others refer to as an "indological" system, Radloff 1999: 9).

Since this is also the basic system (with very slight variations) used by other contemporary scholars of Shina varieties (Buddruss 1987; 1993; 1996; Schmidt & Kohistani 2001; 2008; Schmidt 2000; 2001; 2002; 2003; 2004; Radloff 1992; 1999; Radloff w. Shakil 1998²⁷, including the conventions for representing accent (for

²⁴ Ajmal Nuristani's father is Nuristani and his mother's relatives come from Sau, but he is primarily a Pashto speaker who grew up as a refugee in Chitral.

²⁵ Emil Perder began field work on Dameli in 2003, through FLI, mainly with the aforementioned Muhammad Hayat and Asmat Ullah, also from Aspar, as co-researchers and informants.

²⁶ I am indebted to my friend and FLI colleague Fakhrud Din of Kalkatak for arranging these interviews.

²⁷ Also the transcriptions in Hook (1990a; 1996) and Hook & Zia (1987) agree to a large extent with the principles applied by the other scholars.

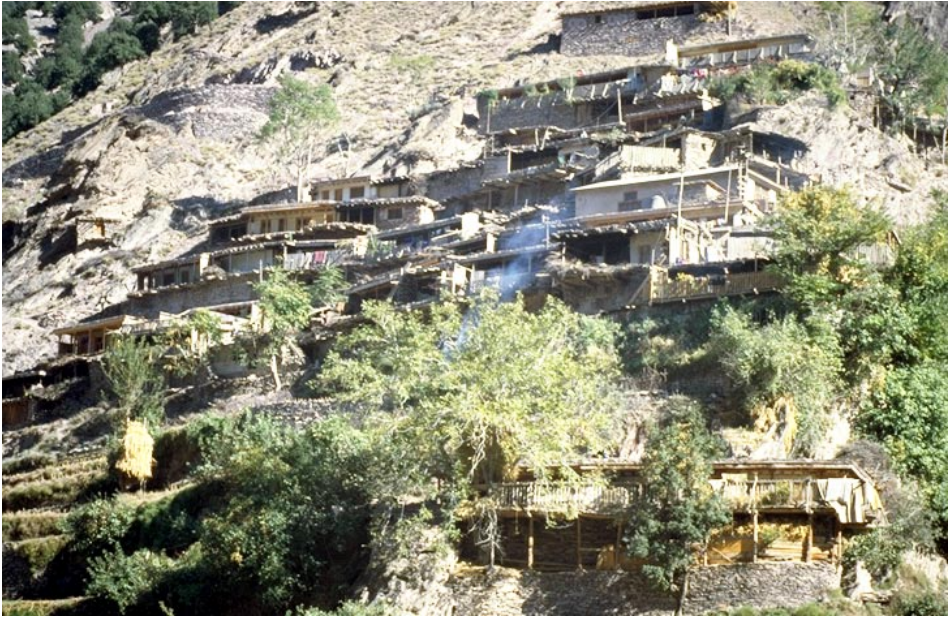


Photo 1.2: Cluster of houses in Mingal, Biori Valley (Dietmar Polster)

details, see §3.4.3), I have seen no reason to abandon it in favour of any other standard, such as a consistent use of IPA symbols, since any such decision would make inter-variety comparisons more troublesome and less straight-forward. This broad transcription, taking only phonological contrasts into account, I will refer to as *Palula common transcription*.

However, to make the work accessible to the general typologist or readers not familiar with this particular system, IPA transcription (following International Phonetic Association, 1999) has been used (parallel with the Palula common transcription within parentheses) for phonemic and phonetic transcription in Sections §3.1–§3.4 of my Phonology chapter, the former consistently surrounded by forward slashes, ex. /pa:lu:lǎ:/, and the latter by square brackets, ex. [pa:lu:lǎ:]. The symbols in my transcription deviating from IPA are presented in Table 1.5.

When citing other sources or scholars on individual IA languages, I have in most cases kept the transcription used by them, without any attempts at making them conform to the particular conventions used for Palula examples.

I should hasten to add that the Palula common transcription is not to be considered a practical orthography. For that purpose an Arabic-based script is presently being developed and promoted in the community.

Table 1.5: Symbols used in Palula common transcription (PCT) deviating from IPA notation

PCT	IPA	Comment
<i>t̥</i>	t̪	
<i>d̪</i>	d̪	
<i>ɕ</i>	t͡ɕ	
<i>č̣</i>	t͡ɕ̣	
<i>ʂ</i>	ʂ̣	
<i>ṣ̌</i>	ɕ̣	
<i>ẓ</i>	ẓ	
<i>ʃ̣</i>	ʃ̣	
<i>ɳ̣</i>	ɳ̣	
<i>ɾ̣</i>	ɾ̣	
<i>ỵ</i>	j̣	
<i>ḥ</i>	ḥ	Aspiration (h following C in PCT)
<i>aa</i>	a:	Double vowel corr. to IPA length-indicating /:/
<i>áa</i>	â:	First-mora accent
<i>áá</i>	ǎ:	Second-mora accent
<i>a~</i>	ã	Nasalisation

2 Typological overview

This section is a brief overview covering the most central features of Palula. For more in-depth coverage of each topic, and for information on those not explicitly covered here, the later chapters will need to be consulted.

2.1 Phonology

With its 27–30 members, the Palula consonant inventory is moderately large (Maddieson 2005a: 10–13) and would be considerably larger if aspiration were segmentally analysed, in which case another 20 members would be added to the inventory. There are five basic places of articulation (labial, dental, retroflex, palatal and velar), with a voicing contrast in the plosive and fricative sets:

/p	t	t̪		k	(q)
b	d	d̪		g	
	ts	t̪s	t̪ʃ		
(f)	s	ʃ	ç	x	h
	z	(z̪)	ʒ	ɣ	
m	n	ɳ			
	r	ɽ			
	l				
w			j/		

Note that aspiration occurs extensively in Palula, but is analysed as a property of the word (see below).

Palula has ten phonemic vowels, comprising five basic qualities, each having a long and a short counterpart. This inventory forms a symmetrical and typologically common system:

/i:	i				u:	u
		e:	e		o:	o
			a:	a/		

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Vowel nasalisation is a marginal, possibly emerging, feature in the language, but not so far fully contrastive.

The language has a moderately complex syllable structure (Maddieson 2005b: 54–57), permitting a limited number of consonant combinations before or after the vowel nucleus. Although the final clusters are slightly more permissive, there is a tendency to drop the final consonant in word final clusters:

Before V:	C + /r/	/kra:m/	‘work’
	C + approximant	/swa:nu/	‘is sleeping’
After V:	nasal + C	/g ^h re:ŋd/	‘knot’
	fricative + plosive (/s + t/, /ʃ + t/)	/g ^h o:ʃt/	‘house’
	C+ /r/ (/t + r/)	/putr/	‘son’

Aspiration is analysed as a property of the word as a whole in Palula. The feature, realised as [h] with a voiceless consonant and as [[^h]] with a voiced consonant (usually concomitant with the following vowel having breathy voice), occurs only once in a word, and is represented with h in the general transcription in this work. Some minimal pairs illustrate the contrastiveness of this feature:

/b ^h o:la/	‘were able to’	/bo:la/	‘hair’
/k ^h are:ɽi/	‘bolt’	/kare:ɽi/	‘leopardess’
/w ^h i:/	‘he/she will come down’	/wi:/	‘water’

Main stress falls on the final or the penultimate syllable of the lexical root. The stressed syllable receives pitch accent, phonetically realised as: a) high level or falling on a short vowel [ˈ], represented in this work as *á* (in polysyllabic words, elsewhere no marking); b) rising on a long vowel [ˊ], represented *áá*; or c) falling on a long vowel [ˋ], represented as *áa*. Pitch accent is contrastive:

/se:ti/	<i>seetí</i>	‘looked after’	/sê:ti/	<i>séeti</i>	‘thigh’			
/dě:di/	<i>deédi</i>	‘burnt F’	/dê:di/	<i>déedi</i>	‘grand- mother’			
/hár/	<i>har</i>	‘every’	/hă:r/	<i>haár</i>	‘defeat’	/hâ:r/	<i>háar</i>	‘take away!’

2.2 Morphology

Palula morphology is suffixing, and formatives are almost exclusively concatenative (Bickel & Nichols 2005a: 86–9), with a moderately high degree of synthesis (Bickel & Nichols 2005b: 94–97).

Nouns are inflected for number (singular, plural) and case (nominative, oblique, genitive). In most of the declensional classes nominative plural and oblique singular are cumulated into a single formative (Bickel & Nichols 2005c: 90–93). The genitive (at least in the plural) can be analysed as suffixed to the oblique rather than to the nominative stem. The noun in the example is *šing* ‘horn’:

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	<i>šing</i>	<i>šing-a</i>
Oblique	<i>šing-a</i>	<i>šing-am</i>
Genitive	<i>šing-ii</i>	<i>šing-am-ii</i>

There are three main functions of the oblique case of nouns: a) as the transitive subject in the Perfective; b) as the form to which postpositions are added; and c) as a locative. A number of other case-like functions (such as recipients) and more peripheral arguments appear as postpositional phrases.

Palula displays core-case asymmetry (Iggesen 2005: 206–209), within the category of nouns as well as for NPs at large (more on pronouns below). While most nouns make a nominative-oblique distinction, one declensional class in particular does not make this distinction at all, whereas some of the pronouns make an even more fine-tuned nominative-accusative-ergative distinction:

	‘man’	‘woman’	3SG
Nominative	<i>míiš</i>	<i>kúri</i>	<i>so</i>
Oblique/Accusative	<i>míiša</i>	<i>kúri</i>	<i>tas</i>
Ergative	<i>míiša</i>	<i>kúri</i>	<i>tíi</i>

Palula has a fairly typical Indo-European two-gender system, which is primarily sex-based (Corbett 2005a: 130–133). A noun is either masculine or feminine, a property established through morphological agreement. The basis for gender assignment is semantic as well as formal (Corbett 2005b: 134–137).

Adjectives are inflected for agreement in gender (masculine, feminine), number (singular, plural) and case (nominative, non-nominative). The adjective in the example is *paṇáaru* ‘white’:

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	Masculine		Feminine
	Singular	Plural	
Nominative	<u><i>paṇáaru</i></u>	<i>paṇáara</i>	<i>paṇéeri</i>
Non-nominative	<i>paṇáara</i>	<i>paṇáara</i>	<i>paṇéeri</i>

Finite verbs are inflected for tense-aspect, mood (in a limited sense) and agreement in a) gender/number, or b) person (the type of agreement expressed depending on tense, see §2.3 below). There are also some nonfinite forms. For the sake of a more economical presentation that takes verbs of different inflectional classes into account, all verbs are analysed as having a perfective and a non-perfective stem. The verb in the example is *til-* ‘walk’:

		Singular	Plural
Non-perfective stem			
Present	M	<i>til-áan-u</i>	<i>til-áan-a</i>
	F	<i>til-éen-i</i>	<i>til-éen-im</i>
Future	1	<i>tíl-um</i>	<i>til-íia</i>
	2	<i>tíl-ar</i>	<i>tíl-at</i>
	3	<i>tíl-a</i>	<i>tíl-an</i>
		<i>tíl</i>	<i>tíl-ooi</i>
Imperative		<i>til-áai</i>	
Infinitive		<i>til-í</i>	
Converb		<i>til-eeṇḍéú</i>	
Obligative		<i>til-ím</i>	
Copredicative Participle		<i>til-ainí</i>	
Verbal Noun		<i>til-áat-u</i>	<i>til-áat-a</i>
Agentive Verbal Noun	M	<i>til-éet-i</i>	<i>til-éet-im</i>
	F		
Perfective stem			
Perfective/Perfective Participle	M	<i>tilíl-u</i>	<i>tilíl-a</i>
	F	<i>tilíl-i</i>	<i>tilíl-im</i>

The pronoun system proper (i.e. 1st and 2nd person) is interesting in that it makes more distinctions in the plural than in the singular:

	Nominative	Accusative	Genitive	Ergative
1SG	<i>ma</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>míi</i>	<i>míi</i>
2SG	<i>tu</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>thíi</i>	<i>thíi</i>
1PL	<i>be</i>	<i>asaám</i>	<i>asíi</i>	<i>asím</i>
2PL	<i>tus</i>	<i>tusaám</i>	<i>tusíi</i>	<i>tusím</i>

The forms *ma* and *tu* are glossed throughout this work as nominative and *míi* and *thíi* as genitive, regardless of their functions in the clause.

The demonstratives, which are used as third-person pronouns, essentially make the same case distinctions as the plural personal pronouns. Additionally they display gender distinctions (in the nominative singular) as well as a three-way deictic contrast:

			Nominative	Accusative	Genitive	Oblique
Proximate	SG	M	<i>nu</i>	<i>nis</i>	<i>nisíi</i>	<i>níi</i>
		F	<i>ní</i>	<i>nis</i>	<i>nisíi</i>	<i>níi</i>
	PL		<i>ní</i>	<i>ninaám</i>	<i>niníi</i>	<i>niním</i>
Distal	SG	M	<i>lo</i>	<i>las</i>	<i>lasíi</i>	<i>líi</i>
		F	<i>le</i>	<i>las</i>	<i>lasíi</i>	<i>líi</i>
	PL		<i>le</i>	<i>lanaám</i>	<i>laníi</i>	<i>laním</i>
Remote	SG	M	<i>so</i>	<i>tas</i>	<i>tasíi</i>	<i>tíi</i>
		F	<i>se</i>	<i>tas</i>	<i>tasíi</i>	<i>tíi</i>
	PL		<i>se</i>	<i>tanaám</i>	<i>taníi</i>	<i>taním</i>

There is relatively little synchronically productive derivational morphology in the language, but a productive process for deriving verbs from other categories from within the language as well as entirely from novel or non-native elements is the use of verbalisers such as *the-* ‘do’ and *bhe-* ‘become’:

<i>madád</i>	‘help’	+	<i>the-</i>	>	<i>madád thíilu</i>	‘helped’
<i>tang</i>	‘narrow’	+	<i>the-</i>	>	<i>tang thíilu</i>	‘troubled’
<i>milaáu</i>	‘joined’	+	<i>bhe-</i>	>	<i>milaáu bhílu</i>	‘met’
<i>ašaq</i>	‘love’	+	<i>bhe-</i>	>	<i>ašaq bhílu</i>	‘fell in love with’

2.3 Syntax

Word order in Palula is almost exclusively head-final. This is seen in the word order in noun phrases (determiner-noun, adjective-noun, numeral-noun, genitive-noun), adjective phrases (adjunct-adjective), and postpositional phrases (NP-

2 Typological overview

postposition), as well as in clauses (SV and AOV), the latter of which will be obvious from most of the examples given below.

As far as alignment is concerned, Palula displays an intricate split system. In the Perfective, the pattern is essentially ergative, seen in example (1) as a non-nominatively marked agent-subject and verbal agreement with the feminine direct object, whereas in the non-perfective categories, it is essentially accusative, which can be observed from the nominatively marked agent-subject in (2), which is also the NP that the transitive verb agrees with in gender and number.

- (1) *[iŋç-a] [čhéeli] khéel-i*
 bear[MSG]-OB she.goat[FSG] eat.PFV-F
 A O

‘The bear ate the goat.’ (A:PAS056)

- (2) *[iŋç] áaŋç-a khiyáan-u*
 bear[MSG] raspberry[M]-PL eat.PRES-M.SG
 A O

‘The bear is eating raspberries.’ (A:KAT145)

Several NP splits further complicate the picture.

Agreement is part of all finite verb forms, but the particular agreement features realised are related to tense/aspect. In Future and Past Imperfective, the verb agrees with its target in person, as in (3), whereas in Present and the categories based on the Perfective, the verb agrees in gender and number, as can be seen in (4).

- (3) *míi se preš-ii se bhraawú ma [ghaš-îin] de*
 1SG.GN DEF mother.in.law-GN DEF brother.PL 1SG.NOM catch-3PL PST

‘The brothers of that mother-in-law of mine captured me.’ (A:HUA122)

- (4) *táapar-a túuri iŋç-a čhéeli [ghašíl-i] hín-i*
 hill below bear-OB she.goat[F] catch.PFV.FSG be.PRS-F

‘Below the hill, the bear had captured the goat.’ (PAS054)

Sentences lacking an overt copula are allowed, and for predicate nominals in the Present tense, as the one shown in (5), they are normative.

- (5) *míi baábu áak zamindaár míiš*
 1SG.GN father IDEF farmer man

‘My father is a farmer.’ (OUR002)

Although it is possible to conjoin clauses with a conjunctive suffix (also used for conjoining noun phrases), other strategies are preferred, such as juxtaposition for symmetrical clauses or the overwhelmingly favoured Converb construction, exemplified in (6), which is used for a great variety of same-subject clause combinations.

- (6) *ti ba [bhun whay-í ba] [so mhaás muṭ-í bhun
3SG.OB PRT down come.down-CV PRT DEF.MSG.NOM meat tree-GN down
wheel-í ba] [teeníi ghooṣṭ-á the ghin-í] gáu
take.down-CV PRT REFL house-OB to take-CV go.PFV.MSG
‘He came down [having come down], took down the meat from the tree
[having taken down the meat from the tree], and brought it to his house.’
(B:SHB762)*

In complex constructions, the unmarked order is a complement clause followed by (or embedded in) the main clause (7), and similarly an adverbial clause followed by (or, again, embedded in) the main clause (8).

- (7) *[neečíir theníi-a] díiš-a xalk-íim xwaaíṣ thíil-i
hunt do.VN-PL village-OB people-PL.OB desire do.PFV-F
‘People in the village wanted to go hunting.’ (B:AVA200)*
- (8) *[raajaá múr-u ta] putr-óom tasíi hukumát bulooṣṭéel-i
king die.PFV-MSG PRT son-PL.OB 3SG.GN government snatch.PFV-F
‘When the king died, the sons seized the power.’ (A:MAB003)*

However, a post-posed construction with the complementiser *ki* is also commonly used (9), especially for utterance complements.

- (9) *ghueeníi-am maníit-u ki [ni bíiḍ-a zinaawúr xálaka
Pashtun-PL.OB say.PFV-M.SG COMP 3PL.PROX.NOM much-MPL wild people
hín-a]
be.pres-MPL
‘The Pashtuns said: “These are very wild people.”’ (CHA008)*

Polar interrogatives are formed with a clitical question particle *-ee* (B. *-aa*), as in (10), whereas an indefinite-interrogative pronoun (or other proform), such as *kasée* (B.) ‘whose’ in (11), is used in content interrogatives.

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- (10) *ux-á dīi hooǰool-u ki tu insaán-ee*
camel-OB from ask.PFV-MSG PRT 2SG.NOM human.being-Q
'He asked the camel: "Are you a man?"' (A:KIN007)
- (11) *aní [kasée] ziaarat-í thaní*
PROX.NOM.PL whose shrine-PL QT
'Whose shrines are these?' (B:FOR026)

Negation is formed with a separate and invariable negative particle *na*, preceding the predicate (12).

- (12) *muṣṭúk-a xálak-a dhii-á dīi [na] khoǰ-óon de*
of.past-MPL people-PL daughter-OB from NEG ask-3PL PST
'People in the old days were not asking their daughter [who she wanted to marry].' (A:MAR018)

3 Phonology

3.1 Consonants

3.1.1 Consonant inventory

Author 2: I added the above subheading as agreed with Martin Haspelmath (for reasons of consistency, cf. §3.1 on consonants). Are you ok with this?

The consonant inventory is rather symmetrical, with the dental and retroflex places of articulation displaying the most well-developed system of manner contrasts. The ancient (OIA) contrast between the three sibilants /s ʃ ç/ is preserved (Cardona 1987: 442), with the present voicing contrast probably not evolving until quite recently, partly through lenition of voiced affricates, partly through foreign loans.

While the plosive and fricative sets show a contrast in voicing nearly throughout, voiced counterparts are missing in the small affricate set. Mirroring that is a general allophonic variation (see below) between voiced fricative and affricate pronunciations. The voiced palatal fricative could equally well be treated as an affricate, as that is the more common allophone (especially in the A. dialect), but to provide more symmetry to the system, I have chosen to include it among the voiced fricatives,¹ while in the common transcription it is represented as *ǰ*.

The post-velar (or uvular) place of articulation is represented by a voiceless post-velar or uvular plosive /q/ alone. This marginal phoneme is only pronounced distinctly post-velar by some educated speakers – and even then rather inconsistently – when occurring in loanwords of mainly Perso-Arabic origin. In many speakers' pronunciation, however, it normally tends to approximate a velar fricative pronunciation [x], thus not contrasting with the phoneme /x/. The fricatives /z, x, ɣ/ are rather frequent in present-day Palula, and many of the words probably have a long history in the language, although they to a large extent are

¹ As pointed out by Zoller (2005: 34), this particular asymmetry within the affricate/fricative sets is a feature shared by a number of languages of northern Pakistan, “due to an [sic] lenition process which is more advanced in case of the voiced phonemes than in case of the voiceless phonemes”.

3 Phonology

Table 3.1: Inventory of consonants (IPA). Marginal phonemes and combinations with aspiration within parentheses; vl.=voiceless, vd.=voiced

		Labial	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Post-velar	Glottal
Plosive	vl.	p (p ^h)	t (t ^h)	ʈ (ʈ ^h)		k (k ^h)	(q)	
	vd.	b (b ^h)	d (d ^h)	ɖ (ɖ ^h)		g (g ^h)		
Affricate	vl.		ts (ts ^h)	ʈʂ (ʈʂ ^h)	tʃ (tʃ ^h)			
Fricative	vl.	(f)	s	ʂ	ç	x		h
	vd.		z (z ^h)	(ʐ) (ʐ ^h)	ʒ (ʒ ^h)	ɣ		
Nasal		m (m ^h)	n (n ^h)	ɳ				
Flap			r (r ^h)	ɽ				
Lateral approximant			l (l ^h)					
Approximant		w (w ^h)			j (j ^h)			

found in vocabulary borrowed from languages in the immediate region, and to a much lesser extent are found in inherited vocabulary affected by phonological processes. A labio-dental [f] is sometimes heard in more recent loans, primarily from Urdu and English, but with many speakers it alternates freely with or is entirely replaced by the native voiceless plosive [p^h], especially when occurring with aspiration, hence /f/ is considered a marginal phoneme.

The voiced retroflex fricative /ʐ/ is also a marginal phoneme, but it is included for comparative reasons; an even more rarely occurring voiced retroflex affricate sound [ɖʐ] is tentatively analysed as an allophone of the same phoneme.

There is insufficient proof to regard a velar nasal [ŋ] as a phoneme independent from /n/, as it only occurs before /k/ and /g/, or as a variant pronunciation of /ng/: [ŋg]~[ŋ].

Although contrastive, aspiration is not considered a feature of individual consonant segments in this description (as indicated by the parenthetical treatment in Table 3.1) and will be discussed in §3.4.1.

3.1.2 Distribution and variation

Examples of the distribution of consonants are shown in Table 3.2.

The retroflex consonants are in some descriptions called retracted (Schmidt & Kohistani 2008: 16) or cerebrals (Morgenstierne 1941); it has been questioned whether these consonants in HKIA languages are retroflex in the same sense or to the same extent as in the main NIA languages or in Dravidian languages.

I am presently in no position to determine the exact nature of retroflexion in Palula, but I prefer, nevertheless, to retain the term, as the most prominent feature in the pronunciation of the “retroflex” consonants is the articulation with the tip of the tongue against a place at the rear end of the alveolar ridge and usually with the tongue slightly curled back. The dental consonants on the other hand are indeed dental, often articulated against the lower as well as the upper teeth. Generally the area of contact between the tongue and the place of articulation is larger than in the case of the retroflex consonants.

The palatal consonants can also be described as alveolo-palatal, with the blade of the tongue against the area covering the rear part of the alveolar and the front part of the palate, and with the tip of the tongue behind the lower teeth.

Plosives

/p/: [p], /b/: [b], /t/: [t], /d/: [d], /t/: [t]~[ɬ], /d/: [d]~[ɖ], /k/: [k], /g/: [g], (/q/: [q]~[x]).

With respect to frequency, the voiceless plosives can be considered the unmarked subset, occurring almost twice as often as their voiced counterparts. The voiced plosives do not commonly occur word-finally, and when they do they tend to be devoiced.

Intervocally, the voiced plosives are often fricativised, and occur with aspiration (see §3.4.1). Also, the voiceless plosives tend to show lenition, e.g. /p^h/ with

² In Palula common transcription: *pīli, šōpu, ɬip, bīɖi, ɟabál, ɖáab, fásil, xafá, muaáf, mīša, hīmaál, bráam, wīiwai, heewaánd, ghaáu, reetí, béerɨ, angóor, léedi, balíi, ɕhaál, téeti, phútu, baát, déedi, léedi, šid, néeri, jáanu, sōon, seetí, búusi, deés, zeerí, baazóor, angreéz, tsiipí, bútsu, uts, šéemi, húuši, díiš, ɕéeri, kučúru, baalbáč, jéeli, béeji, ráaj, yíiri, lháaya, babaái, ɬaaká, beeɬi, báaɬ, ɖaaká, géedi, haáɖ, déeɨ, bheén, déeri, kiroór, šéeti, khašii, báaɬ, ɟamí, ɟaɟzá, ríiz, ɕiinkí, téeci, dhraác, katí, bakáara, dóok, gaɖí, sígal, phaág, xatí, maaxaám, mux, qisá, alaaqá, ašáq, yeerí, kaayaáz, baáy, harí, kuhíi.*

Table 3.2: The distribution of consonants: word-initial, medial, and final.² The occurrences within parentheses are matters of interpretation (see §3.2.4, §3.4.1)

/p/	/pi:li/	‘drank (F)’	/ɕopu/	‘navel’	/tip/	‘drop’
/b/	/bi:di/	‘many (F)’	/zabal/	‘iron bar’	/da:b/	‘plain’
/f/	/fasil/	‘crop’	/xafa/	‘upset’	/mua:f/	‘excuse’
/m/	/mi:ca/	‘men’	/hi:ma:l/	‘glacier’	/bra:m/	‘joint’
/w/	/wi:waj/	‘wife’s brother’	/he:wand/	‘winter’	(/g ^h a:w/	‘cow’)
/r/	/re:ti/	‘nights’	/be:riʃ/	‘summer’	/ango:r/	‘fire’
/l/	/le:di/	‘found (F)’	/bali:/	‘roof end’	/tɛ ^h a:l/	‘goat kid’
/t/	/te:ti/	‘hot (F)’	/p ^h utu/	‘fly’	/ba:t/	‘word’
/d/	/de:di/	‘father’s mother’	/le:di/	‘found (F)’	/ɕid/	‘coldness’
/n/	/ne:ʃi/	‘stream bed’	/zanu/	‘person’	/so:n/	‘pasture’
/s/	/se:ti/	‘looked after (cv)’	/bu:si/	‘kiss’	/de:s/	‘day’
/z/	/ze:ri/	‘supplication’	/ba:zo:r/	‘bazaar’	/angre:z/	‘Brit’
/ts/	(ts) /tsi:pi/	‘squeezed (cv)’	/butsu/	‘stick’	/uts/	‘spring’
/ɕ/	(š) /ɕe:mi/	‘spleen’	/hu:ɕi/	‘wind’	/di:ɕ/	‘village’
/tɕ/	(č) /tɕe:ri/	‘spouted jug’	/kuteuru/	‘dog’	/ba:lbate/	‘child’

Table 3.2: The distribution of consonants: word-initial, medial, and final. The occurrences within parentheses are matters of interpretation (see §3.2.4, §3.4.1). (continued)

/ʒ/	(ʃ)	/ze:li/	‘bore (F)’	/be:zi/	‘heifer’	/ra:ʒ/	‘rope’
/j/	(y)	/ji:ʃi/	‘sheep’	/l ^h a:ja/	‘will find’	(/baba:ʃ/	‘apple’)
/t/	(t)	/ʔa:ka/	‘call’	/be:ʃi/	‘lamb’	/ba:t/	‘stone’
/d/	(d)	/d̪a:ka/	‘robbery’	/ge:d̪i/	‘big (F)’	/ha:d/	‘bone’
/n/	(n)	–		/de:n̪i/	‘calf (of leg)’	/b ^h e:n/	‘sister’
/ʔ/	(ʔ)	–		/de:ʃi/	‘beard’	/kiro:ʔ/	‘chest’
/s/	(s)	/ʒe:ti/	‘disputed (F)’	/k ^h a:ʒi:/	‘hoe’	/ba:ʒ/	‘rain’
/z/	(z)	/zami/	‘sister’s husband’	/ʃaŋʒa/	‘torch’	/riz/	‘track’
/ʦ/	(ç)	/ʃsinki/	‘twittered (cv)’	/te:ʃi/	‘wood chisel’	/d ^h ra:ʦ/	‘grape’
/k/		/kati/	‘how many?’	/bakara/	‘flock’	/d̪o:k/	‘back’
/g/		/gad̪i/	‘taken out (cv)’	/sigal/	‘sand’	/p ^h a:g/	‘fig’
/x/		/xati/	‘letters’	/maxa:m/	‘evening’	/mux/	‘face’
/q/		/qisa/	‘story’	/ala:qa/	‘area’	/acaq/	‘love’
/y/		/yeri/	‘caves’	/ka:ya:z/	‘paper’	/ba:y/	‘garden’
/h/		/hari/	‘removed (cv)’	(/kuhi:/	‘well’)	–	

3 Phonology

an alternating pronunciation [f]~[ɸ]~[p^h], as in /p^he:rima:/ (*pheerimaá*) ‘Ferima (PLACE NAME)’.

The phonemic status of [q] was already commented on above.

Affricates

/ts/: [ts]~[s], /tʃ/: [tʃ]~[ʃ], /tɕ/: [tɕ].

Affricates occur at three places of articulation, but with respect to frequency the dentals are quite limited compared to the other two. The explanation of the missing voicing contrast is partly explainable (as already commented on above) by the overlap or neutralisation between the affricate and fricative sets.

There is also a less consistent neutralisation of the contrast between aspirated dental (1) and retroflex voiceless (2) affricates and their voiceless fricative counterparts (but as far as I have been able to observe, never between aspirated voiceless affricates and fricatives), apparently limited to certain lexical items.

- (1) /ats^hare:t/: [ats^harě:t]~[asarě:t]
(atshareét)
‘Ashret’
- (2) /a:ʃa:r/: [a:ʃǎ:r]~[a:tʃ^hǎ:r]
(aaʃaár)
‘apricot’

Fricatives

(/f/: [f]~[p^h]), /s/: [s], /z/: [z], /ʃ/: [ʃ], /ʒ/: [ʒ]~[dʒ], /ç/: [ç], /ʒ/: [dʒ]~[ʒ], /x/: [x], /ɣ/: [ɣ], /h/: [h]~[h].

As already pointed out in connection with the affricates, there is a close link between the affricate set and the fricative set, with some overlaps and neutralisations taking place between them. The voiced palatal fricative is alternatively realised as [ʒ] and [dʒ] (more often with an affricate pronunciation in A.) and the voiced retroflex as [ʒ] and [dʒ], whereas /z/ seems to occur consistently as [z] and never with an affricate pronunciation.

The marginal phoneme /f/ is often realised as [p^h], thus neutralised with /p^h/, as in /fa:jda/ (*faaidá*) ‘benefit’: [p^ha:jdá]~[fa:jdá].

The voiced retroflex fricative is extremely rare, occurring only in a few words, with [dʒ] most likely an allophone of it in /z^hañzi:r/ (*ʒhanʒiir*) ‘chain’: [dʒ^hañdʒi:r].

There is a strong affinity between /h/, almost exclusively occurring word initially, and aspiration (§3.4.1), /^h/ (hence the same representation in the Palula common transcription), especially that which is often described as voiced aspiration or breathiness. Historical occurrences of word medial /h/ through movement to syllable onsets have often been reinterpreted as voiced aspiration. In the present language, it only rarely occurs intervocalically, and even then often with an interpretational ambivalence: [r^hai:] (*rhayíi*) ‘footprints’: /r^haji:/ or /rahi:/.

Nasals

/m/: [m], /n/: [ŋ]~[ɲ]~[ɳ], /ɲ/: [ɲ].

Phonetically there are at least five places of articulation attested for nasals: labial, dental, retroflex, palatal and velar. The palatal nasal, however, is analysed as deriving from a sequence of /n/ + a palatal consonant, as it never occurs in any other environment. The same analysis may be applied to the velar nasal, where the sequence /n/ + a velar stop usually is the likely source.

The case is a little more complicated with the retroflex nasal, /ɲ/. Although it is clear in some cases, that retroflexion is the result of assimilation with an adjacent retroflex consonant, this cannot always be concluded. Whereas a retroflex nasal normally does not occur word initially (although the word /ɲiɲe:/ (*ɲiɲéé*) ‘popcorn’ can be cited as an isolated example), it contrasts intervocalically, cf. (*déeni*) ‘is giving’ and (*déeni*) ‘calf (of the leg)’ in (3) (and word-finally (*kan*) ‘shoulder’ vs. (*kan*) ‘ear’ in B. (4)), with dental /n/.

(3) /de:ni/ – /de:ɲi/

(4) /kan/ – /kaɲ/

The labial and the dental nasals are very frequent in the language, as these two segments are part of some of the most productive inflectional forms in the language.

Flaps

/r/: [r], /ɽ/: [ɽ].

While /r/ commonly occurs word-initially, intervocalically, and word-finally, the occurrence of /ɽ/ is more restricted. In B. it does not occur word-initially at all, whereas in A. it occurs in free variation with /l/ in “weak” forms of a series of demonstratives (5), (*lo*) or (*ro*) ‘he, that’, etc., related to “strong” forms of the same series with an intervocalic /ɽ/, (*eeró*) ‘he, that’, etc., but otherwise not.

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- (5) /lo/~/ʎo/
'he, that'

Lateral approximant

/l/: [l](~[l] B.).

Preceded by a back vowel /a a: o o: u u:/, /l/ is being velarised, but only markedly so in the B. variety: cf. non-velarised (*khéeli*) 'ate F' and velarised (*khúulu*) 'ate MSG'.

- (6) /k^he:li/ [k^hê:li] – /k^hu:lu/ [k^hû:lu]

Approximants

/w/: [β]~[v], /y/: [j].

In the speech of my main A. consultant, the front-most approximant /w/ is usually pronounced bilabially [β], but with many speakers this phoneme seems to alternate between a bilabial and something close to a labiodental [v] pronunciation.

The two approximants are sometimes challenging in terms of interpretation, and are in various ways susceptible to articulatory fluctuation or variation, especially when occurring intervocally, an issue that will be further discussed in connection with vowels.

3.2 Vowels

3.2.1 Vowel inventory

For the vowels, there are five contrasting places of articulation, as can be seen in Table 3.3: a) close front, b) close back, c) open front, d) open back rounded, and e) open back unrounded. Together with phonemic length contrasts there is a ten-vowel system. A convincing and consistent contrast (as the one shown for Gilgiti Shina, Radloff 1999: 19 between oral and nasalised vowels has not been found. Instead, nasalisation seems to be a marginal suprasegmental feature of a limited number of lexemes. Apart from those, nasalisation is a non-contrastive phonetic property of vowels occurring adjacent to a nasal consonant.

Author 3: I added the above sub-heading as agreed with Martin Haspelmath (for reasons of consistency, cf. §3.1 on consonants). Are you ok with this?

Table 3.3: Inventory of vowels, with IPA symbols

		Front	Back unrounded	Back rounded
Close	short	i		u
	long	i:		u:
Open	short	e	a	o
	long	e:	a:	o:

3.2.2 Distribution and variation

Table 3.4 exemplifies target articulations of the vowels, all of which take on more centralised qualities in natural and connected speech. Generally, the short vowels /i/, /a/, and /u/ tend to be pronounced as less peripheral than their long counterparts. The short /i/ is not necessarily more open than the long /i:/, but it has a rather more central pronunciation; the short /u/, on the other hand, is both more open and slightly more central than the long /u:/; the short /a/ is also slightly less open and more fronted than the long /a:/.

Table 3.4: Vowel contrasts exemplified (see §3.4.3 for details on pitch accent)³

/i/	/gir/	‘turn around!’	/i:/	(ii)	/gĩ:r/	‘saw’
	/tiki/	‘bread’			/tĩ:ŋi/	‘sharp’
/e/	/preŋ/	‘mother-in-law’	/e:/	(ee)	/kě:ŋ/	‘cave’
	/tėka/	‘peaks’			/t̥e:ká/	‘labour’
/a/	/çak/	‘doubt’	/a:/	(aa)	/kâ:ŋ/	‘ear’
	/táka/	‘insult’			/taaká/	‘call!’
/u/	/sum/	‘dry mud’	/u:/	(uu)	/kû:ŋ/	‘corner’
	/t ^h úki/	‘spittle’			/t ^h û:ŋi/	‘pillar’
/o/	/k ^h oŋɗ/	‘speak!’	/o:/	(oo)	/kô:ŋ/	‘arrow’
	/tróki/	‘worn, thin’			/to:ká/	‘push!’

Phonetically, there is a significant difference between short and long vowels. The duration of a long vowel like /a:/ as compared to its short counterpart /a/ is not just slightly longer but usually at least twice the duration.

³ In Palula common transcription, the words are: *gir*, *gĩr*, *tiki*, *tĩni*, *preŋ*, *keén*, *tėka*, *teeká*, *šak*, *káaŋ*, *táka*, *taaká*, *sum*, *kúuŋ*, *thúki*, *thúuŋi*, *khonɗ*, *kóon*, *tróki*, *tooká*.

3 Phonology

Environment as well as accent (see §3.4.3) further influences the exact pronunciation of each of the ten vowels. Under certain conditions, some neutralisations take place (see next section).

As pointed out already by Morgenstierne (1932: 58), the most important – if not all – phonological dialect differences between A. and B. concern the vowels rather than the consonants.

3.2.3 Vowel neutralisation

While there is a consistent contrast between all the five vowel qualities as well as a contrast in length, when the vowels are accented (see Section §3.4.3 for details on accent), these contrasts are fewer and less convincing than when the vowels are unaccented. The two main dialects also show some differences in this regard.

Whereas B. maintains the /a/ vs. /e/ contrast – as is clearly evidenced in the morphological contrast between the general oblique inflection *-a* and the genitive singular *-e* of many masculine nouns – this is probably not the case with unaccented short vowels in A., where the unaccented genitive ending instead is /i/, and the contrast between /e/ and /a/ seems to be neutralised. Further, the variable (but grammatically identical) masculine endings [o] and [u] in A. seem to correspond to a more non-variable [u] in B.

Generally speaking, the qualitative contrasts are maintained between the long vowels, whereas evidence for contrast between some of the short unaccented vowels is lacking. Therefore, as far as A. is concerned, all instances of unaccented [u] and [o] are consistently transcribed as *u* in the Palula common transcription, and all instances of unaccented [a] and [e] are rendered as *a*.

3.2.4 The status of diphthongs

A complex issue still needing more careful study to be finally resolved concerns the interpretation and representation of ambiguous vowel sequences. However, for the time being there is no strong evidence for stipulating any phonemic diphthongs with a status comparable to that of the ten vowels already being introduced.

The sequences of vowels we find in lexical stems all consist of at least one close vowel (also interpretable as an approximant), such as [ai], [a:i], [ui], [o:i], [oi], [e:i], [ue:], [ua:], [ia:], [io:], [i:u], [a:u], [au]. Probably most, if not all, combinations of a short close vowel and another long or short vowel are possible. Some examples are given in (7).

(7)	[b ^h ra:dzai]	(<i>bhraaǰái</i>)	‘sister-in-law’
	[baba:i]	(<i>babaái</i>)	‘apple’
	[dzabui]	(<i>ǰabúi</i>)	‘velum’
	[b ^h o:i]	(<i>bhoói</i>)	‘daughter-in-law’
	[l ^h oilo]	(<i>lhoílu</i>)	‘red’
	[je:i]	(<i>yéei</i>)	‘mother’
	[n ^h ia:ɾa]	(<i>nhiáara</i>)	‘near’
	[p ^h io:ɾ]	(<i>phióor</i>)	‘side (of an animal)’
	[b ^h iu:ɾi]	(<i>bhiúuri</i>)	‘Biori’
	[g ^h a:u]	(<i>ghaáu</i>)	‘cow’
	[maŋɗau]	(<i>maŋɗáu</i>)	‘veranda’

Taking a number of factors into account, such as mother-tongue speakers’ counting (“knocking”) syllables, the apparent absence of sequences not including any of the two close vowels [i] and [u], and the evidence for approximants occurring word-initially as well as intervocalically (and therefore if not being interpreted consonantly leaving a gap word-finally), would favour an approximant interpretation, which would render the following phonemic output: /b^hra:záj/, /babǎ:j/, /zabúj/, /b^hǒ:j/, /l^hójlu/, /jê:j/, /n^hjâ:ɾa/, /p^hjô:ɾ/, /b^hjû:ɾi/, /g^hǎ:w/, /maŋɗáw/.

However, in a number of words with a vowel + [i] sequence, the final [i] can be considered a feminine gender suffix (in some cases derived by that suffix, at least diachronically, from a masculine stem), and in the morphological behaviour of monomorphemic stems, such as those exemplified above, it is an advantage to show that there is an underlying vowel /i/ or /u/ (rather than a consonant) involved. Therefore I have chosen to represent them as *bhraaǰái*, *yéei*, etc., in Palula common transcription, to signal precisely the connection between a stem and its derivations or inflected forms.⁴

The latter representation makes even more sense for sequences in polymorphemic words, such as *dhióomii* ‘of the daughters’ from *dhií* + *-óom* (OB.PL) + *-ii* (GN), although the “surface phonemic” representation would be /d^hjo:mi:/, the latter taking *de facto* syllabification into account at the expense of morphemic transparency. This holds for inflected forms of verbs as well: A purely phonemic representation such as /swâ:nu/ ‘is sleeping MSG’ obscures the fact that we have the verbal stem *só-* ‘sleep’ inflected for Present tense *-áan*, and therefore a Palula common transcription *suáanu* has been chosen for it.

When, on the other hand, there is a need to show that there indeed is a syllable break between two successive vowels, whether the word is mono- or polymor-

⁴ Although not attempted here, an alternative analysis of [ái] would be to consider it an allophone of first-mora accented /ée/.

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phemic, an approximant, y or w , is shown as inserted: *khilayí* /k^hilají/ ‘alone’, *bhooyóomii* /b^ho:jô:mi:/ ‘of the daughters-in-law’, and *bhariwa* /b^hari:wa/ ‘husbands’.

3.3 Phonotactics

3.3.1 Syllable structure

A typical syllable in Palula is an open syllable consisting of a consonant and a vowel. This is the most common type when the syllable is unaccented. Long, as well as short vowels (8), could constitute the nucleus of such a syllable: CV, CVV. There are monosyllabic words (/be/, /wi:/) which conform to this basic CV pattern, but most words are polysyllabic, consisting of two or more CV (or CVV) syllables (such as /gu:li/ and /ku.ŋa:ko:mi:/).

(8)	/be/	(be)	‘we’
	/wi:/	(wii)	‘water’
	/gu:li/	(gúuli)	‘bread’
	/ku.ŋa:ko:mi:/	(kuŋaakóomii)	‘of the children’

The closed-syllable pattern, CV(V)C, is also a very common syllable, see examples in (9), and the most common one in accented syllables. This type occurs in monosyllabic as well as in polysyllabic words. Commonly, however, a word is made up of a combination of open and closed syllables.

(9)	/pil/	(pil)	‘drink!’
	/ci:n/	(šiin)	‘bed’
	/ti:n.tɕuk/	(tiinčuk)	‘scorpion’
	/b ^h an.zu:m/	(bhanjúum)	‘I will beat’
	/tom.bu/	(tómbu)	‘stem’
	/piŋ.du:ru/	(piŋdúuru)	‘round’
	/he:wan.da/	(heewandá)	‘winter (OB)’

Even onsetless syllables, V(C) or VV(C), occur in Palula (10), though less frequently. That means that both the onset and the coda is optional, i.e. a vowel nucleus can occur alone or at least word-initially. Whether this is also possible word-medially or word-finally is an interpretational issue, but in any case, there are no single words consisting of only a vowel nucleus.⁵

⁵ An alternative analysis not attempted in this work would be to regard a glottal stop as a consonant phoneme preceding all vowels that are here considered word-initial, thus doing away with onsetless syllables altogether.

- (10) /u.ɾi/ (urí) ‘pour!’
 /ux/ (ux) ‘camel’
 /o:.dʰo:l/ (oodhóol) ‘flood’

The minimal word can therefore be defined as consisting of a vowel nucleus plus either an onset or a coda consonant. There seems also to be further constraints on words belonging to the major open classes as opposed to words from closed classes when it comes to minimal words. Nouns, adjectives and verbs (except for Imperative forms and a few participle forms) must consist of at least a short vowel plus a coda, or an onset plus a long vowel, which could be further generalised by confining this word type to be constructed of, at a minimum, a heavy syllable. Pronouns, on the other hand, may very well consist of only a short vowel with an onset: /ma/ ‘I’, /be/ ‘we’, etc.

3.3.2 Consonant clusters

The preservation of a number of clusters, especially some that occur word finally, sets Palula off as more conservative than most other Shina varieties.

If characterising aspiration as a feature of units larger than segments (as we have done so far and will continue to do), there is a maximum onset of two consonants in Palula words, as can be seen in (11). The second member of such a cluster is either /r/ or an approximant (if we go with the analysis presented above, §3.2.4), usually, but not exclusively, preceded by a plosive.

An interesting reflection is that the clusters with voiced plosives and + /r/ always co-occur with aspiration, whereas voiceless aspirated plosives in such clusters are rare indeed, the verb /pʰraja:nu/ (*phrayé-*) ‘send’ being the only example found so far in my data.

Some clusters with approximants have evolved through metathesis, especially in the A. dialect: /gʰwe:ɳi:/ (*ghueeníi*) ‘Pashtoon’ < /ughe:ɳi:/ (which is still the form heard in the B. dialect). Others seem to be in the process of evolving, evidenced by parallel forms: /ukʰa:ndu/ ~ /kʰwa:ndu/ (*ukháandu*) ‘is coming/going up MSG’, perhaps pointing to a preference for Cw and Cj clusters vis-à-vis word initial V-syllables.

(11)

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/pr/	/pra:ɬu/	(<i>práaču</i>)	‘guest’
/p ^h r/	/p ^h raja:nu/	(<i>phrayáanu</i>)	‘is sending (MSG)’
/b ^h r/	/b ^h ro:/	(<i>bhroó</i>)	‘brother’
/tr/	/troki/	(<i>tróki</i>)	‘thin, weak (F)’
/d ^h r/	/d ^h ru:k/	(<i>dhrúuk</i>)	‘gorge, stream’
/kr/	/kra:m/	(<i>kráam</i>)	‘work’
/g ^h r/	/g ^h re:ŋd/	(<i>ghreéŋd</i>)	‘knot’
/mr/	/mringa/	(<i>mrínga</i>)	‘deer’
/nj/	/nja:ɬa/	(<i>niaaɬá</i>)	‘shave!, shear!’
/n ^h j/	/n ^h ja:ɬa/	(<i>nhiáara</i>)	‘near’
/pj/	/pja:la/	(<i>piaalá</i>)	‘cup’
/p ^h j/	/p ^h jo:ɬ/	(<i>phióor</i>)	‘side (of animal)’
/d ^h j/	/d ^h ju:ɬi/	(<i>dhiúuri</i>)	‘granddaughter’
/sw/	/swe:ni/	(<i>suéeni</i>)	‘is sleeping (F)’
/g ^h w/	/g ^h we:ŋi:/	(<i>ghueeŋíi</i>)	‘Pashtun’
/d ^h w/	/d ^h we:li/	(<i>dhuéeli</i>)	‘washed (F)’

Consonant clusters in final position, see (12), seem to be subject to a much higher degree of variability, although the position also seems to be slightly more permissive. The more frequently occurring type consists of nasal + plosive/affricate/fricative, the other ones being more marginal in occurrence.

(12)	/nd/	/da:nd/	(<i>dáand</i>)	‘tooth’
	/ŋd/	/g ^h re:ŋd/	(<i>ghreéŋd</i>)	‘knot’
	/nk/	/g ^h ro:nk/	(<i>ghroónk</i>)	‘worm’
	/ng/	/ɬo:ng/	(<i>šóong</i>)	‘branch’
	/nz/	/pa:nz/	(<i>páanʃ</i>)	‘five’
	/nɕ/	/b ^h e:nɕ/	(<i>bheénš</i>)	‘beam’
	/ŋɬʂ/	/iŋɬʂ/	(<i>iŋɕ</i>)	‘bear’
	/tr/	/su:tr/	(<i>súutr</i>)	‘thread’
	/st/	/g ^h ra:st/	(<i>ghraást</i>)	‘wolf’
	/ʂt/	/g ^h o:ʂt/	(<i>ghoóʂt</i>)	‘house’

The final affricate or fricative is always articulated, even if sometimes only weakly, whereas the nasal (homorganic with the affricate or fricative) is sometimes – more with some speakers than others and depending on word emphasis – phonetically absent but leaving a trace of nasalisation on the preceding vowel. Even the nasal + plosive sequences are subject to much variability. With some speakers and dialects, one of the phonemes in the sequence is altogether absent, sometimes the nasal (then leaving the preceding vowel nasalised, ex. /na:ng/

(náang) ‘nail’ B.: [ɲâ:g]), sometimes the stop (ex. /ɕa:ng/ (šáang) ‘branch’ B.: [ɕâ:ŋ]), whereas in the corresponding inflected forms the stop would never be omitted: [ɲû:ŋga] (núunga), [ɕû:ŋga] (šúunga). This especially pertains to the /n + d/ sequences in singular nouns, where it seems to be more rule than exception that the final stop is dropped, especially in B., whereas these are clearly articulated when occurring non-finally in the inflected forms: /dan/ (dán) ‘tooth’ B., but /da:nda/ (dáanda) ‘teeth’; pan/(pán) ‘path’ B., but /pa:nda/ (páanda) ‘paths’.

A special case is the final cluster /ndr/ in /ja:ndr/ (yáandr) ‘mill’. This is the only three-consonant cluster at a word boundary discovered so far, but its exact phonetic realisation is not entirely easy to define in terms of segments. With some speakers, the /n/ is clearly articulated, whereas the /dr/ part is only faintly present, and in other pronunciations the final /r/ gets a schwa-like sound attached to it, in practice making it the onset of an additional syllable. As with the above mentioned clusters occurring at the end of singular nouns, the same cluster stretching over a syllable boundary in an inflected form of the same noun is clearly and unambiguously articulated: /ja:n.dra/ ‘mills’.

In the final /tr/-cluster, the /r/ is present as a segment in the speech of all my informants, but its articulation is not exactly identical to its non-final allophones (as in the inflected forms of the same lexical items). There is a strong tendency for it to be pronounced with very little energy, almost always being devoiced and sometimes also followed by an optional very short schwa-like sound: [putɾ(ə)] in /putr/ (pútr) ‘son’.

As for the realisation of the final /st/ and /ʃt/-clusters, there are differences between different speakers, and possibly between different dialects as well. My B. informants tend to articulate both members of the cluster, even in final position, though the plosive is somewhat softened, whereas my A. informants seem to prefer to omit the plosive altogether in final position, e.g [g^hõ:ʃ] ‘house’, [ɲa:s] (náas) ‘nose’. However, in all speech varieties both the fricative and the plosive are clearly present when occurring medially, i.e. in the corresponding inflected forms: [g^ho:ʃtá], [nastí].

Clusters occurring intervocalically are all of the same type as those occurring word finally; the nasal + plosive/affricate/fricative type is especially common: /o:mbar/ (oombaár) ‘canal inlet’, /tombu/ (tómbu) ‘stem’, /ka:nti:ru/ (kaantiiru) ‘insane person’, /ti:ntɕuk/ (tíinčuk) ‘scorpion’, /b^hanza/ (bhanjá) ‘beat!’, /z^haŋzi:r/ (zhanžir) ‘chain’, /he:nsili/ (heensíli) ‘stayed, existed’.

3.4 Suprasegmentals

3.4.1 Aspiration and breathiness

In the present description, aspiration has been analysed as a property or feature of a word (or more correctly the lexical stem), rather than as a segment or a secondary articulation of any one segment. This feature, [h] with a voiceless consonant and [ʰ] with a voiced consonant, occurs only once in a word⁶ (in a majority of the cases word-initially) and is represented by the letter h in the common transcription.⁷ Some minimal pairs in (13) illustrate the contrastiveness of this feature.

- | | | | | | | | |
|------|-------------------------|------------|---------------------------------|-----|-----------|-----------|--------------|
| (13) | /b ^h o:la/ | (bhóola) | ‘were
able to’ | vs. | /bo:la/ | (bóola) | ‘hair’ |
| | /k ^h are:ɽi/ | (kharéeri) | ‘bolt’ | | /kare:ɽi/ | (karéeri) | ‘leopardess’ |
| | /w ^h i:/ | (whíi) | ‘will
come
down
(3SG)’ | | /wi:/ | (wíi) | ‘water’ |

The voiced aspirated sounds are normally phonetically realised with breathy voice during their release and/or the immediately following vowel is pronounced with (at least partial) breathy voice: [b^ho:la].

Most Palula consonant phonemes can be accompanied (at syllable onset) by aspiration, as indicated within parentheses in Table 3.1 and with examples in (14), from plosives to approximants.

(14)

⁶ The process of dissimilation of aspirates in two successive syllables is known as *Grassman’s Law* within Indo-European historical linguistics (Szemerényi 1996: 19, 56; Lehmann 1962: 92–93) and has been applied to the development of OIA as well as Greek. A synchronic process or rule restricting the occurrence of aspirated sounds to one per word has also been stipulated for other NIA languages (see for example Losey 2002: 32 for Gojri, and Shackle 1976: 34–35 for Siraiki). This process, however, is not confined to Indo-European languages (cf. Tibeto-Burman Manipuri, Bhat & Ningomba 1997: 13–14).

⁷ It is also possible that a more careful analysis will result in all instances of /h/ (here considered a consonant in its own right when occurring alone in syllable onset) being treated as aspiration, i.e. a feature of the word rather than a segment.

/p ^h e:pi/	(<i>phéepi</i>)	‘paternal aunt’
/d ^h ut/	(<i>dhut</i>)	‘mouth’
/t ^h ongi/	(<i>thóngi</i>)	‘axe’
/tɕ ^h e:li/	(<i>chéeli</i>)	‘she-goat’
/z ^h a:t/	(<i>jhaát</i>)	‘goat’s hair’
/l ^h o:ŋ/	(<i>lhoón</i>)	‘salt’
/m ^h a:s/	(<i>mhaás</i>)	‘meat’
/j ^h uŋɖi/	(<i>yhúnɖi</i>)	‘stick’

Only the voiceless fricatives /s ɕ x/, the distributionally limited /ŋ t/, and the “new” phonemes /ɣ x/ do not co-occur (at syllable onset) with aspiration. This “generous”, obligatory occurrence of aspiration is not a feature of most other languages in the immediate region, possibly with the exception of Indus Kohistani, where OIA aspiration, like in Palula, has been preserved and where aspiration is concomitant with most of its consonants (Hallberg & Hallberg 1999: 19–25).

The contrastiveness of aspiration when co-occurring with the affricates /ts/ and /tɕ/ is somewhat doubtful and would deserve further, more detailed investigation. At least for the latter, it seems, it is almost by “default” more or less clearly aspirated. A similar hesitation has been expressed on the /tɕ/-/tɕ^h/ contrast in Khowar (Endresen & Kristiansen 1981: 239).

Whereas the phonetic realisation of the aspiration with the voiceless consonants is more or less equal to a secondary pronunciation, the voiced aspiration or “breathiness” affects the pronunciation of the following vowel and is also somewhat mobile within the syllable, and for some words even beyond the realm of that syllable. Especially in B., there is a fluctuation in some words, as seen in (15) and (16), between an intervocalic /h/ and the aspiration or “breathiness” as described above, the intervocalic /h/ probably representing an older pattern.⁸

- (15) /l^hóylo/~/lohílo/
 (*lhóilu*)
 ‘red’ (B.)
- (16) /b^hjú:ɾi/~/bihú:ɾi/
 (*bhiúuri*)
 ‘Biori’ (B.)

⁸ Possibly this is preserved to a larger extent in the conservative variety spoken in Puri (mainly agreeing with Biori Palula), where the following nominative-oblique alternation was recorded: /br^hu:/ (*bhruú*) ‘brother’ – /brahu/ ‘brothers’. The unstable character of the phoneme /h/ and voiced aspiration in Kalasha is also commented on by Mørch & Heegaard (1997: 50).

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But also in A. there are words, as in example (17), for which the location of aspiration is alternating (between speakers and possibly even with one and the same speaker).

- (17) /g^haɖe:ró/~/gaɖ^he:ró/
(ghaɖeeró)
‘elder’

The aspiration feature certainly has multiple diachronic sources: One is the OIA aspiration, preserved in Palula to an extent not evidenced in the major Shina varieties,⁹ such as in /g^hu:ɾu/ (*ghúuru*) ‘horse’ < OIA *ghōṭa* (Turner 1966: 4516). Another is the above mentioned intervocalic /h/ advanced to a more word-initial position. Finally, an old point of aspiration can be advanced, such as in /g^ho:ʂ/ (*ghoóʂ*) ‘house’ < OIA *gōṣṭhá* (Turner 1966: 4336). Other words may have followed other routes possibly further reinforced by the rising pitch of a second mora accent (see §3.4.3 below). In any case, not all occurrences of aspiration, even when concomitant with plosives, are justified or explained solely by etymology (as pointed out by Morgenstierne 1932: 57).

Further study is needed to determine to what extent aspiration is preserved in two aspirated words that are compounded. There is an indication that the primary stressed part of the compound keeps its aspiration, while the other point of aspiration is entirely or partly deaspirated (cf. comment in footnote 6 on *Grassman’s Law*): /d^hut/ (*dhut*) ‘mouth’ + /g^ha:nu/ (*gháanu*) ‘large’ > /dutag^ha:nu/ (*du-tagháanu*) ‘talkative’.

The interaction between accent and aspiration is another topic for further research. As voiced aspiration/breathiness quite often precedes a second-mora accented long vowel, the voiced aspiration may have influenced or reinforced the rising pitch of that accent. However, it should be pointed out that breathiness also occurs before unaccented, /ʒ^hamatro:/ (*jhamatroó*) ‘son-in-law’, as well as first-mora accented vowels, /o:d^ho:l/ (*oodhóol*) ‘flood’; hence the two suprasegmental features are, in essence, independent.¹⁰

⁹ On the contrary Schmidt & Kohistani (2008: 30) state that the voiced aspirates in modern Kohistani Shina have come into the language through borrowing, while they have been lost in OIA voiced aspirate cognates.

¹⁰ This contrasts with the situation in Kalam Kohistani and Torwali (both languages belonging to the Kohistani group of HKIA languages), where aspiration is only contrastive with voiceless consonants, whereas breathiness is a feature only optionally concomitant with low tone (Baart 1999b: 92; Lunsford 2001: 36–37).

3.4.2 Nasalisation

As mentioned earlier, nasalisation seems to be a marginal suprasegmental feature associated with a limited number of lexemes, of which some can be seen in (18). It is unclear whether in all those lexemes there is a historical loss of a nasal segment.

- (18)
- | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| /z ^h i:/ | (<i>jhií~</i>) | ‘louse’ |
| /kũj/ | (<i>kúi~</i>) | ‘valley’ |
| /hẽ:ta/ | (<i>hée~ta</i>) | ‘would (CONDL)’ |
| /sẽ:ta/ | (<i>sée~ta</i>) | ‘should (CONDH)’ |
| /d ^h rũ:ʂ/ | (<i>dhruú~ʂ</i>) | ‘Drosh’ |

3.4.3 Pitch accent

A phonological word in Palula may carry one, and only one, accent. Phonetically the accent is primarily realised as relatively higher pitch, accompanied to some extent by higher amplitude. Generally speaking, in a single word, accent is associated with high pitch, and the corresponding lack of accent is associated with low (or default) pitch.

The accent-bearing unit is the mora, which means that accent can be associated with a short vowel (as in (19)), *or* the first mora of a long vowel (as in (20)), *or* the second mora of a long vowel (as in (21)).

- (19) Accent on short vowel:
- | | | |
|--------|-----------------|---------|
| /ʂíʂ/ | (<i>ʂiʂ</i>) | ‘head’ |
| /híɽu/ | (<i>híru</i>) | ‘heart’ |
| /kilí/ | (<i>kilí</i>) | ‘key’ |
- (20) First-mora accent on long vowel:
- | | | |
|----------|-------------------|-----------------|
| /dô:k/ | (<i>dóok</i>) | ‘back’ |
| /pû:tri/ | (<i>púutri</i>) | ‘granddaughter’ |
| /aɽʂî:/ | (<i>aɽhíi</i>) | ‘eye’ |
- (21) Second-mora accent on long vowel:
- | | | |
|----------|-------------------|---------------------|
| /bă:t/ | (<i>baát</i>) | ‘talk, word, issue’ |
| /kuŋă:k/ | (<i>kuŋaák</i>) | ‘child’ |
| /bă:bu/ | (<i>baábu</i>) | ‘father’ |

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This means that the pitch accent¹¹ (henceforth only *accent*) has one of the following phonetic manifestations:

- a) high level or falling on a short vowel [ː], represented in this work with an acute accent mark: *á* (only in polysyllabic words, elsewhere no marking),
- b) rising on a long vowel [ː], represented with an acute accent mark on the second vowel symbol, *aá*, or
- c) falling on a long vowel [ː], represented with an acute accent mark on the first vowel symbol, *áa*.

A word, as referred to here, is either a bare stem, such as /dēs:/ (*deés*) ‘day’, /pa:ɽú/ (*paarú*) ‘magician’, or a stem with one or more suffixes added to it, such as /de:s-ô:m-i:/ (*dees-óom-ii*) ‘of the days’, /zô:n-um/ (*jhóon-um*) ‘I will know’. Even though some combinations of syllables and accents are more common than others, and there are restrictions on accent placement (see below), the location of the accent within a given word is not entirely predictable. Therefore, accent in Palula must be defined as lexical.

Difference in accent placement is in a few cases, as in (22), the only phonemic contrast between two lexical items.

(22)	/tɕû:r/	(čúur)	‘four’	vs.	/tɕû:r/	(čuúr)	‘hot fire’
	/káti/	(kátí)	‘saddle’		/katí/	(katí)	‘how many?’
	/dê:di/	(déedi)	‘grand-mother’		/dê:di/	(deédi)	‘burnt’
	/dʰû:ra/	(dhúura)	‘distant’		/dʰu:rá/	(dhuurá)	‘separate’

Although this kind of minimal pair is not particularly common in the language, the system definitely allows them to occur.

The position of accent on stems

Accent falls either in the final or the penultimate syllable in a non-verbal lexical stem, as seen in (23) and (24), whereas in verbal stems, as in (25), the accent is always on the final syllable.

¹¹ Pitch accent here is of the kind also observed in e.g. Lithuanian and Ancient Greek (Szemerényi 1996: 73–82), a mora accent which is “free within limits”.

- (23) Lexical accent on noun stems:
- | | | |
|-------------------------|------------|------------|
| /tô:ruŋ/ | (tóoruŋ) | ‘forehead’ |
| /pa:lă:/ | (paalaá) | ‘leaf’ |
| /kuŋô:ku/ | (kuŋóoku) | ‘puppy’ |
| /g ^h aɖe:ró/ | (ghaɖeeró) | ‘elder’ |
- (24) Lexical accent on some other non-verbal stems:
- | | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| /típa/ | (típa) | ‘now’ |
| /p ^h aré/ | (pharé) | ‘along, toward’ |
| /e:tríli/ | (eetríli) | ‘the day before yesterday’ |
| /ta:qatwár/ | (taaqa ^t wár) | ‘powerful’ |
- (25) Lexical accent on verb stems:
- | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------|----------------|
| /krín/ | (krín) | ‘sell’ |
| /pit ^h íl/ | (pičhíl) | ‘slip’ |
| /karo:ɾé/ | (karooré) | ‘dig, scratch’ |

Accent properties of suffixes

There are two types of suffixes: those that carry their own accent, which we will refer to as accent-bearing suffixes, and those that are accent-neutral. When a suffix of the first type is added to a stem, the accent of the stem is eliminated, and the word accent falls on the suffix. When a suffix of the second type is added to a stem, the stem accent may be retained. However, under certain conditions, even in the latter case, the accent (defined by the lexical stem) shifts from the stem to the suffix, a matter we will return to in §3.5.1.

The most productive accent-bearing suffixes (mainly verbal) are presented in Table 3.5. Some of them also have other allomorphs, such as *-éen*, *-áand*, and *-éend* of *-áan*.

Some of these suffixes may be added cumulatively, whereby the accent is carried by the last accent-bearing suffix.

As with the accent-bearing suffixes, only the most productive accent-neutral suffixes are presented in Table 3.6, excluding possible allomorphs.

Some quantitative and qualitative morphophonemic alternations relating to the position of the accent in the word will be dealt with in §3.5.1.

Table 3.5: Accent-bearing suffixes

Suffix	Function	Example	
-í	plural	<i>kuḍ-í</i>	‘walls’
-í	oblique, locative	<i>dukeen-í</i>	‘in the shop’
-íim /i:m/	plural oblique	<i>dukeen-íim</i>	‘in the shops’
-í	converb	<i>ghin-í</i>	‘having taken’
-áan /â:n/	present	<i>ghin-áan-u</i>	‘(he) is taking’
-íia /ij:a/	1PL	<i>ghin-íia</i>	‘we will take’
-íl	perfective (stem)	<i>čhin-íl-i</i>	‘(was) cut’
-eeṇḍeéu /e:ṇḍě:w/	obligative	<i>ghin-eeṇḍeéu</i>	‘has to be taken’
-áaṭ /â:t/	agentive	<i>čhin-áaṭ-u</i>	‘the person cutting’
-áai /â:j/	infinitive	<i>ghin-áai</i>	‘to take’
-ainií /ajnĩ:/	verbal noun	<i>ghin-ainií</i>	‘taking’
-íim /i:m/	copredicative	<i>khaṣeel-íim</i>	‘dragging’
-íĵ /íz:/	passive (stem)	<i>paš-íĵ-ar</i>	‘it will be seen (by you)’
-á	causative (stem)	<i>pal-á</i>	‘hide (it)!’

3.5 Morphophonology¹²

3.5.1 Morphophonemic alternations relating to accent

A number of segmental modifications (primarily in the nominal paradigm) are related to accent, or more precisely to the position of the accent within the word; whether they are described as synchronically productive processes or the result of a diachronic process, the latter also offering some explanations to the more regular dialectal variation observed.

Table 3.7 illustrates the main types of alternations: *ḍheér-ḍheerí* has an accent alternating between the stem and an accent-bearing suffix without any concomitant segmental modification (see §3.4.3 and Table 3.5), *kuṇaák-kuṇaaká* has an accent shifting from the stem to an accent-neutral suffix without any concomitant segmental modification (see §3.4.3 and Table 3.6), *ṣiṣ-ṣiṣóom* has an accent shifting from the stem to an affix-neutral suffix with accompanying suffix modification (the unaccented allomorph being *-ám*), and *haál-halá* has an accent shifting

¹² In this section, only the Palula common transcription is being used (as in the rest of this work) without any accompanying IPA transcription.

Table 3.6: Accent-neutral suffixes

Suffix	Function	Example	
<i>-um</i>	1SG	<i>ghín-um</i>	‘I will take’
<i>-ar</i> /aɾ/	2SG	<i>ghín-ar</i>	‘you (SG) will take’
<i>-a</i>	3SG	<i>ghín-a</i>	‘he/she/it will take’
<i>-at</i>	2PL	<i>ghín-at</i>	‘you (PL) will take’
<i>-an</i>	3PL	<i>ghín-an</i>	‘they will take’
<i>-u</i>	msg	<i>ghináan-u</i>	‘(he, etc.) is taking’
<i>-a</i>	mpl	<i>ghináan-a</i>	‘(they) are taking’
<i>-i</i>	f	<i>ghinéen-i</i>	‘(she, etc.) is taking’
<i>-a</i>	plural	<i>díiš-a</i>	‘villages’
<i>-a</i>	oblique	<i>díiš-a</i>	‘in the village’
<i>-am</i>	plural oblique	<i>díiš-am</i>	‘in the villages’
<i>-ii</i> /i:/ (B.-e)	genitive	<i>díiš-ii</i> (B. <i>díiš-e</i>)	‘of the village’

Table 3.7: Accent-related alternations in the paradigm

Stem		Inflected form	
<i>dheér</i>	‘stomach’	<i>dheer-í</i>	‘stomachs’
<i>kuṇaák</i>	‘child’	<i>kuṇaak-á</i>	‘children’
<i>şış</i>	‘head’	<i>şış-óom</i>	‘heads (OB)’
<i>haál</i>	‘plough’	<i>hal-á</i>	‘ploughs’

from the stem to an affix-neutral suffix with accompanying stem vowel modification. These four and some of their more salient subtypes will be further discussed and illustrated in the rest of this subsection.

Accent alternation (accent-bearing suffix) without modification

A stem inflected with one of the accent-bearing suffixes presented in Table 3.5 will without exception carry its accent on the accent-bearing unit of the suffix, and not on the lexically defined position in the stem. Some further examples are given in Table 3.8.

Table 3.8: Accent alternating between stem and accent-bearing suffix

Stem		Inflected form	
<i>preş</i>	‘mother-in-law’	<i>preş-î</i>	‘mothers-in-law’
<i>keén</i>	‘cave’	<i>keen-î</i>	‘in the cave’
<i>khonđ</i>	‘speak!’	<i>khonđ-îia</i>	‘we will speak’
<i>til</i>	‘walk!’	<i>til-áan-a</i>	‘(they, etc.) are walking’

Accent alternation (accent-neutral suffix) without modification

In some cases, the accent shifts to the suffix in spite of it being an accent-neutral suffix. While the previously mentioned process is fully predictable from the type of suffix itself, the reason for the current process happening is instead to be found in the lexical stem itself.

For the most part (as far as the nominal paradigm is concerned), this shift takes place when the lexical stem accent is on the last mora, as in Table 3.9.

Table 3.9: Accent shift from final-moraic accented stems to accent-neutral suffix

Stem		Inflected form	
<i>putr</i>	‘son’	<i>putr-á</i>	‘sons’
<i>oór</i>	‘chicken’	<i>oor-á</i>	‘chickens’
<i>dheerúm</i>	‘pomegranate’	<i>dheerum-á</i>	‘pomegranates’
<i>atshareét</i>	‘Ashret’	<i>atshareet-á</i>	‘in Ashret’

While this is true for all polysyllabic stems, there are quite many monosyllabic stems for which accent shift remains non-predictable from a purely synchronic perspective. On the one hand, there are those final-mora accented stems that do not produce an accent shift (Table 3.10), and on the other hand, there are those non-final mora accented stems that contrary to expectation do undergo an accent shift (the latter will be discussed below in the discussion of stem modification).

Accent alternation with suffix modification

In some cases, an accented suffix vowel is (qualitatively or quantitatively) modified as compared with an unaccented allophone. This can be seen in Table 3.11.

Table 3.10: Stems with final-mora accent not displaying accent shift

Stem		Inflected form	
<i>dhut</i>	‘mouth’	<i>dhút-a</i>	‘mouths’
<i>inç</i>	‘bear’	<i>inç-a</i>	‘bears’
<i>bhruk</i>	‘kidney’	<i>bhrúk-a</i>	‘kidneys’
<i>haát</i>	‘hand’	<i>háat-a</i>	‘hands’

This particularly concerns the accent-neutral plural oblique suffix *-am* and the genitive suffix *-e* (in B. only).

The alternation in the paradigms to some extent reflects general vowel shifts in the language (*a > aa*, *aa > oo/uu*, *ee > ii*) conditioned by accent, and in the B. dialect also by syllable structure, to which we will have reason to return to in the discussion below on stem modification.

In the A. dialect, *-am* regularly has the form *-óom* when accented.

Table 3.11: Accent shift with suffix modification (A. dialect)

Stem		Plural nom	Plural ob	Plural gn
<i>deés</i>	‘day’	<i>dees-á</i>	<i>dees-óom</i>	<i>dees-óom-ii</i>
<i>ghooşt</i>	‘house’	<i>ghooşt-á</i>	<i>ghooşt-óom</i>	<i>ghooşt-óom-ii</i>
<i>kuṇaák</i>	‘child’	<i>kuṇaak-á</i>	<i>kuṇaak-óom</i>	<i>kuṇaak-óom-ii</i>

In the B. dialect, *-am* regularly takes the form *-áam* in closed syllables, and *-úum* in open syllables (i.e. when followed by a genitive suffix), as illustrated in Table 3.12. Also the unaccented genitive suffix *-e* corresponds regularly to an accented form *-í*.

Table 3.12: Accent shift with suffix modification (B. dialect)

Stem		Singular gn	Plural nom	Plural ob	Plural gn
<i>deés</i>	‘day’	<i>dees-í</i>	<i>dees-á</i>	<i>dees-áam</i>	<i>dees-úum-e</i>
<i>ghooşt</i>	‘house’	<i>ghooşt-í</i>	<i>ghooşt-á</i>	<i>ghooşt-áam</i>	<i>ghooşt-úum-e</i>
<i>kuṇaák</i>	‘child’	<i>kuṇaak-í</i>	<i>kuṇaak-á</i>	<i>kuṇaak-áam</i>	<i>kuṇaak-úum-e</i>

Accent alternation with stem modification

In the nominal paradigm of the A. dialect, some vowel modifications affecting the nominative have been blocked by accent shift in the inflected forms, resulting in alternations between *aa* and *a*, which is obvious with the nouns in Table 3.13. The lengthening of the accented vowels has produced a second-mora accent in polysyllabic stems and vowels preceded by aspiration.

Table 3.13: Alternations between *a* and *aa* (A. dialect)

Stem		Inflected form
<i>báaṭ</i>	‘stone’	<i>baṭ-á</i>
<i>heewaán(d)</i>	‘winter’	<i>heeward-á</i>
<i>dhaán</i>	‘goat’	<i>dhan-á</i>
<i>sáar</i>	‘lake’	<i>sar-í</i>
<i>aaṣaár</i>	‘apricot’	<i>aaṣar-í</i>
<i>ṭhaár</i>	‘waterfall’	<i>ṭhar-í</i>

Along the same lines, there are regular alternations (Table 3.14) between accented stems with *ii*, *oo* (B. *uu*) and *aa* vs. unaccented stems with *ee*, *aa* and *a*.

Table 3.14: Alternations in the verbal paradigm between: *a~áa*, *aa~óo* and *ee~íi*

Form with stem accent		Form with suffix accent	
<i>páaš-um</i>	‘I will see’	<i>paš-áan-u</i>	‘(he) is seeing’
<i>ḵhóon-um</i> (B. <i>ḵhúun-um</i>)	‘I will know’	<i>ḵhaan-áan-u</i>	‘(he) is knowing’
<i>uḍhíiw-um</i>	‘I will escape’	<i>uḍheew-áan-u</i>	‘(he) is escaping’

Other alternations

Some other alternations having to do with the interaction between stem vowels and suffix vowels will be discussed at length in the chapters on noun and verb morphology, §4 and §8, respectively.

3.5.2 Morphophonemic alternations relating to syllable structure

Morphophonemic alternations relating to syllable structure, already briefly touched upon above (see Table 3.12), is exclusively a feature of the B. dialect. The alternations are between closed syllables with *ee*, *aa*, and *a* vs. open syllables with *ii*, *uu*, and *aa*. It is most clearly displayed in the nominal paradigm, as shown in Table 3.15.

Table 3.15: Alternations between: *a~áa*, *aãúu* and *ee~ii* (B. dialect)

Stem		Inflected form
<i>kaŋ</i>	‘ear’	<i>káaŋa</i>
<i>kram</i>	‘work’	<i>kráama</i>
<i>dan</i>	‘tooth’	<i>dáanda</i>
<i>oodháal</i>	‘flood’	<i>oodhúula</i>
<i>sáan</i>	‘pasture’	<i>súuna</i>
<i>baazáar</i>	‘bazaar’	<i>baazúura</i>
<i>méesš</i>	‘man’	<i>míiša</i>
<i>šéen</i>	‘bed’	<i>šiina</i>

3.5.3 Umlaut

There are numerous examples, in the nominal (Table 3.16), adjectival (Table 3.19), and verbal paradigms (Table 3.17) of anticipatory fronting (“umlaut”) of *aa* to *ee* when preceding an *i* in the following syllable. The anticipation normally does not occur if the *a* is short.

Table 3.16: Alternations in the nominal paradigm between *aa* and umlaut-*ee*

Form without umlaut		Form with umlaut	
<i>baát</i>	‘word, issue’	<i>beetí</i>	‘words, issues’
<i>gilaás</i>	‘glass’	<i>gileesí</i>	‘glasses’
<i>hiimaál</i>	‘glacier’	<i>hiimeelí</i>	‘glaciers’
<i>kitaáb</i>	‘book’	<i>kiteebí</i>	‘books’

The nouns ‘glass’ and ‘book’ in Table 3.16 show that this process has been

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productively extended even to relatively recent loans.

Table 3.17: Alternations in the verbal paradigm between aa and umlaut-ee

Form without umlaut		Form with umlaut		Form with umlaut	
<i>mhaaráanu</i>	‘(he) is killing’	<i>mheerí</i>	‘having killed’	<i>mheerílu</i>	‘killed’
<i>phaaláanu</i>	‘(he) is splitting’	<i>pheelí</i>	‘having splitted’	<i>pheelílu</i>	‘split’
<i>jhaanáanu</i>	‘(he) is knowing’	<i>jheení</i>	‘having known’	<i>jheenílu</i>	‘knew’

Umlaut is also, as can be seen in Table 3.18, applied to verbal suffixes (or the final part of the perfective stem) in anticipation of a following adjectival feminine agreement suffix *-i*.

Table 3.18: Umlaut in verbal suffixes anticipating feminine agreement suffixes

Form without umlaut		Form with umlaut	
<i>mhaaráanu</i>	‘(he) is killing’	<i>mhaaréeni</i>	‘having killed’
<i>phaaláanu</i>	‘(he) is splitting’	<i>phaaléeni</i>	‘having splitted’
<i>phooťóolu</i>	‘broke (MSG)’	<i>phooťéeli</i>	‘broke (FSG)’
<i>mučóolu</i>	‘opened (MSG)’	<i>mučéeli</i>	‘opened (FSG)’
<i>láadu</i>	‘found (MSG)’	<i>léedi</i>	‘found (FSG)’
<i>nikháatu</i>	‘(he) appeared’	<i>nikhéeti</i>	‘(she) appeared’

Also in the adjectival stem (Table 3.19), we find umlaut in anticipation of a feminine agreement suffix.

Table 3.19: Umlaut in adjectival stems anticipating feminine agreement suffixes

Form without umlaut		Form with umlaut	
<i>paṇáaru</i>	‘white (MSG)’	<i>paṇéeri</i>	‘white (FSG)’
<i>táatu</i>	‘hot (MSG)’	<i>téeti</i>	‘hot (FSG)’
<i>sóoru</i>	‘fine, whole (MSG)’	<i>séeri</i>	‘fine, whole (FSG)’

Umlaut is also applied to derivations of various kinds (Table 3.20) in which the derivational suffix contains *i*.

Table 3.20: Umlaut in derivations

Corresponding form without umlaut		Derived form with umlaut	
<i>káaku</i>	‘older brother’	<i>kéeki</i>	‘older sister’
<i>kuṇóoku</i>	‘puppy’	<i>kuṇéeki</i>	‘female dog’
<i>ghwaaṇaá</i>	‘Pashto (language)’	<i>ghweeníi</i>	‘Pashtun (person)’
<i>bakaraál</i>	‘shepherd’	<i>bakareelí</i>	‘shepherding’

4 Nouns

4.1 The noun and its properties

Semantically, nouns are often identified vis-à-vis the other major parts of speech by the relative temporal stability of their referents (Givón 2001a: 51), and most typically, they denote concepts such as things, places, animals and people, which are perceived as entities, having temporal existence and being concrete. They may be further specified for animacy or humanness.

<i>báaɬ</i>	‘stone’
<i>kuɖ</i>	‘wall’
<i>díiš</i>	‘village’
<i>phútu</i>	‘fly’
<i>gúu</i>	‘bull’
<i>kúri</i>	‘woman’

However, the time-stability criterion alone does not define or describe the Palula noun. We will therefore look at three other criteria: distribution, phonological structure and morphology, the latter making up the main part of this chapter.

Distributionally (i.e. syntactically) the noun functions as the head of a noun phrase. Within the noun phrase, the head is placed finally, as in ‘man’ in example (1), and preceding modifiers agree with the head in gender, number and case (for further details, see Chapter §10).

- (1) *aní* *dúu dhríg-a* [*míiš-a*]
 PROX(NOM.MPL) two tall-MPL man-PL
 ‘these two tall men’ (A:ADJ048)

On the clause level, a phrase where a noun is the head can serve as a subject (2) or a direct object (3).

- (2) *[se kúri] búd-i ki anú míi bharíiu na*
 the woman understand.PFV-F that this my husband NEG
 ‘The woman understood that this wasn’t her husband.’ (A:WOM646)
- (3) *teeníi čúti-m de [baṭ] uḥ-áan-u*
 REFL paw-PL give.CV stone pick.up-PRS-MSG
 ‘It (the leopard) picked up a stone with his paws.’ (B:SHB749)

It can also be the head of an indirect (‘oblique’) object, as in (4) and (5).

- (4) *[áa baṭ-á] jhulí dhreég de*
 a stone-OB on stretched.out was
 ‘She stretched out on top of a stone.’ (A:BRE009)
- (5) *[hasé díiš-a] hateen-ú yam bhíl-u*
 that village-OB such-MSG grief become.PFV-MSG
 ‘There was such grief in the village.’ (B:AVA221)

Phonologically, the most frequent Palula noun stem (i.e. the nominative singular form) in my data consists of two syllables, comprising about half of all nouns in my database, 30 per cent are monosyllabic, and 16 per cent are three syllables. Four-syllable nouns are rare in my database, and possibly most if not all of these are either derived from three-syllable words or are compounds of two noun stems. There is no evidence of noun stems exceeding four syllables.

The minimal Palula noun stem consists of a rhyme where the nucleus is built up by a short vowel and a coda consonant: *uṭ* ‘camel’ (B.), *uts* ‘well’. Though simple vowel words do exist in Palula, there are no such nouns. A noun stem with a consonant onset must have at least a long vowel nucleus, or a short vowel and a consonant coda: *bíi* ‘seed’, *kud* ‘wall’. There are no nouns consisting of only consonant onset and a short vowel, though there are such words belonging to other parts of speech.

Morphologically, the prototypical Palula noun is inflected for number (§4.4) and case (§4.5), which is intimately related with declensional membership (§4.6) as well as inherent grammatical gender (§4.3).

4.2 Noun morphology

Palula has two grammatical genders: masculine and feminine. Gender is an inherent, lexically defined, property of the noun and is partly predictable on semantic

and formal grounds. Nouns are inflected to show number (singular-plural) and case. For the latter inflectional category the primary distinction is between nominative (§4.5.1) and oblique (§4.5.2) case, but other inflectional case distinctions will also be discussed. Gender, number and case control agreement within the noun phrase (§10.3), and therefore have relevance also for adjectives, demonstratives and numerals. Gender and number have further relevance for clause-level agreement and case for alignment of grammatical relations (§11.1–§11.2). Definiteness and deixis are central components of the noun phrase but are not part of the inflectional system of the noun and will be discussed in §5.2.

As in many other NIA languages, the Palula nominal paradigm is built up from a combination of inherited synthetic elements, “new” agglutinative elements and analytical elements (Masica 1991: 212). The declensional classes (§4.6) suggested in this chapter are mainly based on the formation of the plural, but case forms as well as gender play a role. On functional grounds, this chapter includes slightly more than what would typically be included under the heading of morphology proper.

4.3 Gender

A feature associated with, or assigned to, each noun is its grammatical gender. The language has two grammatical genders; each noun is either *masculine* or *feminine* (following the general tradition in describing IA languages):

Masculine		Feminine	
<i>phóó</i>	‘boy’	<i>kéeki</i>	‘older sister’
<i>ghúuru</i>	‘horse, stallion’	<i>phúti</i>	‘mosquito’
<i>ghoóşţ</i>	‘house’	<i>hiimaál</i>	‘avalanche’

In my database, which comprises about 1300 nouns,¹ masculine nouns were slightly more numerous than feminine nouns with 58 per cent masculine as compared to 42 per cent feminine.

There are no traces here of the three-gender system of OIA, still present in some western NIA languages (Masica 1991: 220–221). As in many of the two-gender systems found in NIA, it is mainly the old masculine and neuter that have merged. Although gender has otherwise been fairly stable as far as inherited vocabulary is concerned, there has been a rather radical restructuring of the old

¹ In the A. dialect. There is an additional database with about 400 B. dialect nouns, many of them overlapping with the former.

declensional system, partly as a result of segmental loss, a phenomenon we will have reason to discuss further in §4.6.

While gender is an inherent and classificatory property of the noun lexeme itself, it is essentially established through morphological agreement with adjectives/demonstratives (6) and verbs (7), for which it is a variable property.

- (6) *hasó bidráag-u kuṇaák*
 that.MSG sick-MSG child.[M]
 ‘that sick child’ (B:ATI057)
- (7) *phaí na yhéel-i*
 girl.[F] not come.PFV-F
 ‘The girl didn’t come.’ (A:SHY058)

4.3.1 Gender assignment

There are plenty of semantic and formal clues to gender assignment in Palula. Looking again at the examples at the beginning of Section §4.3, we do not have a problem making an intelligent guess as to the gender of the words for ‘boy’ and ‘older sister’, if we assume that there is a connection between biological gender or sex and this particular grammatical two-gender differentiation between feminine nouns and a masculine nouns (Dahl 2000: 102). Those nouns, as is the case for other nouns denoting humans and higher animates, are indeed assigned gender according to meaning – masculine gender if male, and feminine if female, a phenomenon we refer to as semantic gender assignment (Corbett 1991: 7–32). For the word ‘horse, stallion’, we can similarly draw the conclusion that it is a masculine noun (especially if we are told that another word is used to refer to a mare). The other three words, however, referring to either lower animates, inanimate objects or phenomena, have – some way or another – been assigned to one of the two genders: *himaál* and *phúti* are feminine nouns and *ghoóṣṭ* is a masculine noun. We cannot see any obvious semantic reason for this to be so, and we will therefore have to look at other assigning criteria.

Male/female word pairs with a common lexical “root” are frequent in the Palula lexicon, especially as kinship terms, and the derivation of a feminine counterpart from a masculine (except in a few cases when it may be the other way around) could be described as a rather productive state of affairs, even synchronically. Some examples are given in Table 4.1.

Beside the obvious correlation between biological and grammatical gender, we have a somewhat related but less regular connection between gender and rela-

tive size/power. Alternatively there is some kind of complementarity implied. This is mainly detectable in lexical pairs of the kind displayed in Table 4.2, which although similar to the male-female pairs in Table 4.1, are related to other scales than pure masculinity versus femininity and also with a more approximate similarity in kind. While this derivative process (in its essence very much like diminutive-formation) may have been productive in the past, it is uncertain how productive this extended gender differentiation is among today's Palula speakers.

Table 4.1: Male/female pairs vis-à-vis gender

Masculine		Feminine	
<i>práaču</i>	'male guest'	<i>préeči</i>	'female guest'
<i>dóodu</i>	'paternal grandfather'	<i>déedi</i>	'paternal grandmother'
<i>phoó</i>	'boy'	<i>phái</i>	'girl'
<i>phóopu</i>	'father's sister's husband'	<i>phéepi</i>	'father's sister'
<i>jhambróoru</i>	'bridegroom'	<i>jhambréeri</i>	'bride'
<i>khaár</i>	'donkey'	<i>khári</i>	'female donkey'
<i>púšu</i>	'tom-cat'	<i>púši</i>	'cat'

For most higher animates, the masculine noun is the “default” gender, and the feminine, when used, is a marked form (cf. §4.3.3). Practically, that means that either only a masculine form is available or that the masculine member in a masculine/feminine pair is used when no specification is needed. However, in a few cases, the feminine is the default, even when there is a distinct masculine form available, such as *luumái* ‘fox’ vs. *luumóo* ‘male fox’, and the above exemplified (Table 4.1) pair *púši* ‘cat’ vs. *púšu* ‘tom-cat’ (cf. Dahl 2000: 103–104). A different relation holds between masculine *čhaál* ‘goat kid’ and feminine *chéeli* ‘goat’, where the feminine noun is not the female counterpart to the masculine but instead the generic term for goat, whereas the masculine is used to refer to the young kid regardless of sex.

Now we will turn to formal properties that may stand in relation to gender association. First, a comparison of a large number of nouns reveals that particular phonological properties really seem to be related to either of the two genders. A word final *u* is for instance a formal feature of a major group of masculine nouns, as are *á* and *oó* for smaller groups of nouns that are all masculine:

Table 4.2: Masculine/feminine lexical pairs

Masculine		Feminine	
<i>phútu</i>	‘fly’	<i>phúti</i>	‘mosquito’
<i>khaláaru</i>	‘large leather bag, made from skin of a he-goat’	<i>khaléeri</i>	‘smaller leather bag, made from the skin of a she-goat’
<i>şúuru</i>	‘hole’	<i>şúuri</i>	‘cap’
<i>angúru</i>	‘thumb, big toe’	<i>angúri</i>	‘finger, toe’
<i>açhibáaru</i>	‘eyebrow’	<i>açhibéeri</i>	‘eyelashes’

final u	<i>áangu</i>	‘sickle’
final á	<i>kunḁá</i>	‘hook, peg’
final oó	<i>muuṣoó</i>	‘elbow’

A word-final unaccented *i* is in the same way a feature of a very large group of feminine nouns, and *ái* for a smaller group of them:

final i	<i>thúuṇi</i>	‘pillar’
	<i>súuri</i>	‘sun’
final ái	<i>koogái</i>	‘cheek’

This kind of correlation between phonological properties and gender, not uncommon in IA (Masica 1991: 219) and referred to as “overt gender”² (see also Corbett 1991: 44, 62), is of course significant, but whether we should talk about “gender marking” is not equally clear. We can hypothesise that *-u* is a nominative case marker, available for some nouns like *ghúuru*, for which segmental material is added to what we may view as a root *ghúur-* when inflecting for case and number. For a large number of feminine nouns with a final *i* (including *ghúuri* ‘mare’), we may in addition to that describe them as derived from such a masculine root with the help of a derivational affix *-i* denoting something female (or something smaller of approximately the same kind). In a diachronic perspective both seem in fact to go back on OIA derivational suffixes with – at least partly – diminutive senses: a masculine *-aka-* and a feminine *-ikā-* (Masica 1991: 222; Morgenstierne 1941: 15; Buddruss 1967: 29).

² Alternative terms offered by Masica (1991: 219) are *thematic*, *strong thematic*, *extended*, *augmented* or *enlarged*.

Table 4.3: Toponyms and gender assignment

Masculine		Feminine	
<i>atshareét</i>	‘Ashret’	<i>ṭiṭlái</i>	‘Titley’ (in Sharadesh)
<i>chatróol</i>	‘Chitral’	<i>bhiúuri</i>	‘Biori’
<i>buzeeghaá</i>	‘Buzegha’ (hamlet in Ashret)	<i>lawañí</i>	‘Lawani’ (in Sharadesh)
<i>baṭsúm</i>	‘Batsum’ (settlement in Ashret)	<i>meethíl</i>	‘Meethil’ (field in Ashret)

Also proper nouns referring to inanimates, such as toponyms (Table 4.3), have gender assigned to them. Gender assignment here seems to be primarily morphologically determined, but since phonology is interrelated with morphological behaviour there is no surprise that those toponyms that end with *i* or *ai* are feminine, whereas most of the rest are masculine. In some cases the etymology is overt enough to connect the last part of a toponym with a proper noun with a particular and known gender (such as *-deéš* in *šaradeés*, which is related to the masculine noun *díiš* ‘village’).

There are also, as we shall see in Section §4.6, obvious connections between noun morphology and gender, or what is referred to as morphological gender assignment (Corbett 1991: 34–50), which is really a matter of co-variation rather than one feature necessarily being primary and the other secondary. Some declensions and subdeclensions consist entirely or to a large extent of feminine or masculine nouns, whereas for other declensions the gender distribution is quite even. Gender can, for instance, be predicted to some degree from the plural formation or the case inflections applied to a particular noun.

We can thus say that an interplay of semantic, phonological and morphological properties make a noun masculine or feminine, or at least tells us whether a particular noun is more likely to be one or the other.

4.3.2 Gender stability and consistency

An issue that deserves some attention is the relative stability and variability of gender in Palula. First, across the two main dialects, there is almost no variation

at all,³ at least as far as words with a longer history in the language are concerned. This almost complete correspondence is on the other hand not surprising, considering that the noun paradigms and the declensions are near-identical in those two varieties. Comparing with something less closely related, the Shina variety of Gilgit, we observe (see Table 4.4) more divergence between that variety and Palula as far as gender assignment is concerned. If we limit our comparison to inanimate and lower animate cognate nouns, and exclude higher animates, which are all assigned gender according to rather transparent semantic criteria, as well as what we with confidence can regard as recent loans, we come up with a 79 per cent correspondence between gender in Palula and gender in Gilgiti. This is still quite a high figure, considering that Palula and Gilgiti speakers most likely have not had any shared development or even any non-trivial contact for at least a few centuries (see §1.2.3).

Table 4.4: Gender in Palula and Gilgiti Shina cognate nouns compared (word lists from Bailey 1924 and Radloff 1999: items (%))

	Gilgiti	
	M	F
Palula		
M	63(41)	17(11)
F	15(10)	58(38)

4.3.3 Gender markedness

Morphologically and otherwise, the feminine tends to be the marked gender in Palula. Many nouns with an ending *i* are derived from a masculine noun (see Table 4.1), while the opposite seems to be extremely rare (*phóopu* from *phéepi* is a possible example). Also, the most common complement-taking verbs agree, by default, with the masculine singular (see §13.5.1) regardless of the content of the complement clause. There is similarly an indication that in other cases of agreement without an accessible controller, the masculine singular form of the target is chosen. Perhaps the obligatory number distinction in agreement with masculine heads vis-à-vis the optionality as far as feminine heads are concerned (see §10.3) is related to this as well. These observations suggest that the “default”

³ In my present database I have only eight nouns that differ in gender assignment between A. and B.

in Palula is the masculine. Interestingly, this stands in direct contrast to the feminine as the default gender in Gilgiti Shina (Hook & Zia 1987). This, however, is a topic for further studies.

4.4 Number

Number is one of the basic, and possibly the most straightforward, of the inflectional categories related to nouns in Palula. There are two number categories, singular and plural, with no traces of the OIA dual category. There are a number of different plural formations in the language: *-a*, *-i*, *-m*, *-ee* and *-aan*, as seen in Table 4.5, some of them with additional stem changes. As these inflections (along with oblique case inflections) form the basis of the declensional distinctions, the various forms will be discussed in more detail in Section §4.6.

Some groups of nouns (§4.4.1–§4.4.3) are special in that they normally do not pluralise or display a regular contrast between a singular and a plural form.

Table 4.5: Examples of plural formation

Singular		Plural	
<i>bhit</i>	‘plank’	<i>bhíta</i>	‘planks’
<i>áangu</i>	‘sickle’	<i>áanga</i>	‘sickles’
<i>kitaáb</i>	‘book’	<i>kiteebí</i>	‘books’
<i>saaréeni</i>	‘wife’s sister’	<i>saaréenim</i>	‘wife’s sisters’
<i>ǰandoó</i>	‘he-goat’	<i>ǰandéé</i>	‘he-goats’
<i>duşmaán</i>	‘enemy’	<i>duşmanaán</i>	‘enemies’

4.4.1 Non-count nouns

Non-count or mass nouns normally do not have plural forms, nor are they modified by numerals. Many of them refer to what is perceived as a substance:

<i>wíi</i>	‘water’	<i>ghiír</i>	‘ghee’
<i>chiír</i>	‘milk’	<i>angóor</i>	‘fire’
<i>číčal</i>	‘mud, sand’	<i>kir</i>	‘snow’
<i>lhoón</i>	‘salt’	<i>mhaás</i>	‘meat’
<i>póos</i>	‘dung’	<i>rúji</i>	‘rice’
<i>paañí</i>	‘clothes’	<i>lheés</i>	‘plaster’

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Such nouns are usually quantified by adjectives with the meaning ‘much’, ‘some’, ‘a little’, a measuring unit or a noun referring to some sort of container or a quantifiable part of the whole, as in (8) and (9).

- (8) *máathe tuús [çhiír] da*
to.me some milk give.IMP.SG
‘Give me some milk!’ (A:HLE2298)
- (9) *máathe dúu gileesí [çhiír] da*
to.me two glass.PL milk give.IMP.SG
‘Give me two glasses of milk!’ (A:HLE2298)

Only exceptionally, when speaking of more than one variety of a substance, for instance, may a mass noun be pluralised. Some mass nouns may also occur in a plural form, as ‘blood’ (11), as well as in a singular form (10), while still being regarded as a substance, sometimes with the connotation of large volumes or weights somehow divided up into several separate chunks or volumes. It would, however, still be ungrammatical to quantify such a noun directly with a numeral, whether in its singular or its plural form.

- (10) *áak tip [ráat]*
one drop blood
‘a drop of blood’ (A:HLE2334)
- (11) *tasii mútíi [rat-á] nikháa-t-a*
his arm.GN blood-PL appear-PFV-MPL
‘Blood came from (many places of) his arm.’ (A:HLE2335)

Also some abstract nouns are treated as non-count nouns that do not normally pluralise:

<i>insaáf</i>	‘justice’	<i>muúl</i>	‘value’
<i>rahái</i>	‘desire, appetite’	<i>šid</i>	‘coldness’

However, since non-count nouns also occur in oblique forms (such as *inseefi* from *insaáf*), and the singular oblique in most Palula declensions is formally identical with a nominative plural, there is usually no need to come up with a novel plural form, since the step towards pluralisation is never far away, so to speak.

Other nouns have a unique reference, at least in one or more senses of the word, and therefore normally do not occur pluralised, but must be considered as special cases of non-count nouns: *súuri* ‘sun’, *ghuaaṇaá* ‘Pashto (language)’ and *xudái* ‘God’.

4.4.2 Collective nouns

While the nouns dealt with above as non-count nouns, often referring to substances, etc., are largely limited to the singular, a few nouns have a collective meaning and occur in a plural form only, or almost exclusively so:

<i>bakáara</i>	‘(flock of) sheep and goats’
<i>xálak, xálaka</i>	‘people’
<i>gookh(u)rá</i>	‘cattle’

4.4.3 Proper names

A structural property typical of proper names is that they do not normally pluralise, as they are seen as having a unique reference, tied to one person or to one place. There is, however, no such restriction on case inflection. As proper names can take on any function in the clause, they also inflect like other nouns for case, as can be seen in (12).

- (12) [*fazelnuur-á*] *díi ba paṇṇ putrá bhíla*
 Fazal.Nur-OB from PRT five sons became
 ‘Fazal Noor had five sons.’ (B:ATI079)

Complex names consisting of several elements are common and are treated as lexical units and often as single phonological words (see §10.1.3).

4.5 Case

Noun phrases are marked for case, either with noun suffixes, or – as far as pronouns are concerned – through distinct forms and also by cross-referencing within the noun phrase between the noun head and its dependents. There is also cross-referencing within the clause between the verb and one of its arguments (see Chapter §11).

Even though the following presentation focuses on case inflection rather than grammatical relations, it is, as Masica (1991: 230–231) phrases it, “easily the most

problematic nominal category in NIA”. Case in Palula can, as in many other NIA languages, be described as accumulative inflectional layers with case-like functions, and the comparison between languages is complicated by the fact that a function in a given layer in one language is managed in a different layer in another language. The actual case forms (mainly the oblique case) in Palula differ between the declensions as does the actual occurrence of certain case distinctions.

The most basic formal distinction is that between the nominative (or direct) case and the oblique case, but even that is not realised in all declensions, but is, for instance, totally missing in the *m*-declension (see §4.6.3). Form syncretism (Matthews 1991: 27) between nominative plural and oblique singular is found in most declensions, reminiscent of the paradigm of “overtly” masculine nouns in Urdu-Hindi (Schmidt 1999: 1).

The only other inflectionally distinct case for nouns is the genitive, although it must be considered more peripheral than the basic distinction between nominative and oblique. The evidence for ergative, instrumental and vocative cases, respectively, will also be discussed below, whereas a rather large number of case-like functions expressed with postpositions will be discussed in §7.2.

4.5.1 Nominative case

The nominative is the form of the noun used as the citation form, the subject of intransitive verbs (13) and as the direct object (14) of most transitive verbs. In the non-perfective categories, it is also the case with which subjects of transitive verbs occur.

- (13) *miír thaní áak [míiš] heensíl-u de*
 Mir called one man exist.PFV-MSG PST
 ‘There was a man called Mir.’ (A:GHA051)

- (14) *haláal the [púustu] ghaḍ-í*
 slaughter do.cv skin take.off-cv
 ‘After slaughtering it, he took off the skin.’ (B:SHB732)

For all nouns ending in a consonant, the nominative is identical with the noun stem, whereas for nouns ending in gender-typical vowels, it could be argued that these vowels are in fact nominative case-markers. The latter interpretation may be especially relevant for those nouns ending in *u* and *i*, for which there are distinct vocative forms (see §4.5.4) without gender-typical “nominative” endings.

4.5.2 Oblique case

For those nouns that take an oblique case suffix, this is the form the noun occurs in when followed by a postposition (15), when serving as the agent of Perfective transitive verbs (16) and when a noun is used as an adverbial of time or place (17).

- (15) *teŋ teeníi [ghooŝt-ám] the búi*
 RED REFL house-PL.OB to go.IMP.PL
 ‘Go each to your own houses!’ (B:DHE5705)
- (16) *[míð-a] maníit-u ki beedawaá na bh-úuy-a*
 ram-OB say.PFV-MSG COMP impatient NEG become-IMP.PL-Q
 ‘The ram said: Let’s not be impatient!’ (B:SHI005)
- (17) *muxáak zamanée asée [díiš-a] ak bakaraál de*
 before time our village-OB one shepherd PST
 ‘Once there was a shepherd in our village.’ (B:SHB715)

This is also the form used for the causee in causative constructions, as in the case of ‘son’ in (18).

- (18) *ma teeníi [putr-á] čéi pilayáan-u*
 I REFL son-OB tea make.drink.PRS-MSG
 ‘I make my son drink tea.’ (A:DHE6693)

As mentioned above, only in some of the declensions (see §4.6) is there a nominative/oblique differentiation. The singular oblique is formed by a suffix *-a*, *-í*, etc. added to the noun stem, alternatively by an ending *eé*, *a* etc. replacing the ending vowel of the nominative. In most declensions the oblique singular is formally identical with the nominative plural. The oblique plural is formed by a suffix *-am*, *-óom*, *-íim*, or *-eém* added to the noun stem, except for nouns forming a plural with *-aán*, for which the plural oblique suffix *-óom* (or *-úm*) may be attached subsequent to the plural suffix.

4.5.3 Genitive case

The genitive is used for the noun heading a possessive construction, (19)–(20) and for an ablative function, the latter with (22) or without (21) an additional postposition.

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- (19) *[khangar-ii-e] zaxum lab saas bh-áan-u*
sword-OB-GN wound quickly whole become-PRS-MSG
'The wound of a sword heals quickly.' (B:PRB018)
- (20) *ma [šaak-uum-e] ghoóṣṭ saas th-áan-u*
I wood-OB.PL-GN house whole do-PRS-MSG
'I'm building a wood house.' (B:DHE6733)
- (21) *ma [çhetruul-e] wh-áand-u*
I Chitral-GN come.down-PRS-MSG
'I'm coming (down) from Chitral.' (B:DHE4795)
- (22) *ma [koodgháii] thii yhool-u*
I Kotgha.GN from come.PFV-MSG
'I came from Kotgha.' (A:HLE2265)

This genitive is also used for the object in constructions with the verb *je-* 'hit', (23). The background of this special case may possibly be explained (as Baart 1999a: 43, has done for Kalam Kohistani) with an implicit object with the nominal meaning 'hit'.

- (23) *ma paalaá ghin-í [phút-am-e] j-áan-u*
I leaf take-CV fly-OB.PL-GN hit-PRS-MSG
'I'm driving away flies with leaves.' (B:DHN4851)

The genitive case inflection is less variable than the oblique. In A., the genitive is formed with an invariable *-ii*, whereas in B. it has one accented form *-í* and one unaccented *-e*. It can be argued that the genitive belongs in a layer outside of or based on the oblique. This makes most sense for the genitive plural, which is formed by attaching *-ii* to the oblique plural form of the noun: *-am + -ii > -amii*, *-iim + -ii > -iimii*, *-óom + -ii > -óomii*. The genitive singular on the other hand is usually the noun stem followed by the genitive suffix, save for the nouns of the *i*-declension in B., where the (strengthened) oblique singular suffix mediates between the stem and the genitive suffix: *dheer-ii-e* 'belly-OB-GN'. It is, therefore, possible that an old genitive plural has been replaced by this new "peripheral" genitive, formed analogically from the singular genitive.

4.5.4 Other cases or case-like categories

A few other case categories should also be mentioned, although they are rather marginal or seldom used.

One of the expressions of an *instrumental* function, or possibly case, is (as far as I have evidence) formally identical with the oblique plural and occurs in the form of ‘gun’ in example (24), regardless of number reference.

- (24) *se míiš-a ba huṇḍii thūi se bhalaay-īi [toobak-īm] jīt-i*
 DEF man-OB PRT from.above from DEF spirit-GN gun-INS hit.PFV-F
 ‘The man shot from above with his gun at the spirit.’ (A:WOM671)

This example of case syncretism is in itself a hint that the origin of the ergative marking is in the instrumental.

However, instrumentality is also, and more frequently, expressed with a Converb (see §13.4.1), such as *ghiní* from *ghin-* ‘take’ (as in example (23) above).

Unique *vocative* forms (whether we regard it as a case or not) of nouns only occur with some kinship terms, as in (25)–(26). These forms are shorter than the corresponding nominative forms, appearing without their “gender signaling” *u* or *i*-endings.

- (25) [*phéep*] *séer-i-ee*
 father’s.sister.VOC fine-F-Q
 ‘How are you auntie [politely addressing any middle-aged woman]?’ (A:HLE3088)
 [*phéepi* in NOM.SG]
- (26) [*dóod*] *sóor-u-ee*
 father’s.father.VOC fine-MSG-Q
 ‘How are you grandpa [politely addressing any aged man]?’ (A:HLE3090)
 [*dóodu* in NOM.SG]

A great number of other case-like meanings are expressed with the help of postpositions, usually preceded by the noun in its oblique case form (see §7.2 for a further discussion). Postpositions tend to receive stress like other free morphemes, but in a few cases, where the postposition is de-accented, we may see the early grammaticalisation of a postposition into a case suffix. This is especially true of the postposition *wée* ‘in, into’, as can be seen in (27), which in some speech styles is phonologically fused with the singular oblique suffix, possibly developing into a more specialised locative case suffix.

- (27) *so [meedóon-ee] (=meedóon-a wée) nikháat-u*
 he field-”LOCATIVE” [=field-OB in] appear-PFV-MSG
 ‘He appeared in the field.’ (A:ROP003)

4.6 Declensions

The formal realisations of the categories – gender, number and case – can be grouped into inflectional classes, which I will refer to as noun declensions. There are three main declensions and a few minor ones. These are primarily based on the various plural formations (hence the declension labels, “*a*-declension”, etc., given here) and to a lesser degree on oblique case forms. Masica (1991: 219) points out that gender in NIA “often entails declensional differences”. That is true to some extent also with Palula, but there is far from any one-to-one mapping between gender and declensional affinity. Below I present the declensions, one by one; there is a short characterisation of each (including phonological forms and any correlation to semantic content), its relative frequency,⁴ a number of examples, important subgroups and some suggestions as to the historical development as far as it is traceable.

4.6.1 *a*-declension

Nouns belonging to the *a*-declension form their plural and oblique case with an *a*-suffix, as is evident from Table 4.6.

Table 4.6: *a*-declension nouns

Singular		Plural	
Nominative	Oblique	Nominative	Oblique
<i>kráam</i>	<i>kráam-a</i>		<i>kráam-am</i> ‘work’ (M)
<i>śing</i>	<i>śing-a</i>		<i>śing-am</i> ‘horn’ (M)
<i>chatróol</i>	<i>chatróol-a</i>		‘Chitral’ (M)
<i>bii</i>	<i>bii-a</i>		<i>bii-am</i> ‘seed’ (F)

This is the largest declensional class as far as my data goes with 50 per cent of my nouns belonging to this particular declension. A clear majority (79 per cent) of them are masculine. A great number of toponyms are also included.

Quite a number of nouns in this declension can be traced back to the large OIA declension of masculine and neuter nouns ending in *a*. The OIA neuter nouns have largely fused with the masculine. In the nominative singular there is a regular loss of the final OIA segment *a(s)*, as in a number of other NIA languages (Masica 1991: 222), while the Palula plural inflection *-a* may reflect one or more

⁴ Based on a database with about 1,700 nouns.

of the OIA dual or plural forms that include a long *ā*: *kāmāu*, *kāmās*, *kāmān*, *kāmānām* (of *kāma* ‘love’, see Whitney 1960 [1889]: 330). I would like to suggest the following diachronic developments (partly based on Turner 1966):

angóor ‘fire’ (M) < **angáar* < **ángaar* < *ángāra*- ‘glowing charcoal’ (M, N)

čhiitr ‘field’ (M) < **chéetr* < *kṣētra*- ‘land’ (N)

bīi ‘seed’ (F) < **bīya* < *bīja*- ‘seed, semen’ (N)

śing ‘horn’ (M) < **śinga* < *ṣṛnga*- ‘horn’ (N)

Also a few nouns of the OIA declension with stems ending in a consonant have ended up here, particularly neuters with a final *n* in their stems. Some examples are:

brāam ‘joint’ (M) < **brāama* < **mrama* < **marma* < *marman*- ‘vulnerable spot; secret; limb, joint’ (N)

krāam ‘work’ (M) < **krāama* < **krāma* < **kārma* < *kārman*- ‘act, work’ (N)

nóo ‘name’ (M) < **nóowa* < **náawa* < **nāama* < *nāman*- ‘name’ (N)

However, this is far from a totally uniform declension in Palula. Nouns with an alternating accent (as explained in §3.5.1) form their plural oblique with *-óom* instead of *-am*, exemplified in Table 4.7, due to an historical tensing and raising of the accented vowel (*ám* > *áam* > *óom*).

Table 4.7: *a*-declension nouns with accent shift

Singular		Plural	
Nominative	Oblique	Nominative	Oblique
<i>deés</i>	<i>dees-á</i>		<i>dees-óom</i> ‘day’ (M)
<i>ghoóṣṭ</i>	<i>ghooṣṭ-á</i>		<i>ghooṣṭ-óom</i> ‘house’ (M)
<i>pútr</i>	<i>putr-á</i>		<i>putr-óom</i> ‘son’ (M)
<i>ṣiṣ</i>	<i>ṣiṣ-á</i>		<i>ṣiṣ-óom</i> ‘head’ (M)

With a rather high level of confidence we can trace this Palula accent shift to an originally stressed (or accented) root final *-á* (found among OIA nouns with a stem ending in *a*), which was deleted through apocope some time between MIA (Pischel 1900: 247–248) and the emergence of a Palula protolanguage (in proto-Shina or at an even earlier stage), leaving the last remaining vocalic mora of the

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noun in the nominative singular with the accent, while preserving it on the original segment in the inflected noun forms, as in the OIA *devās*, *devān*, *devānām*, the nominative, accusative and genitive plural forms of *devá* ‘god’ respectively (Whitney 1960 [1889]: 330):

deés ‘day’ (M) < **deesá* < *divasá*- ‘heaven, day’ (M)

ghoóṣṭ ‘house’ (M) < **ghoosṭá* < **goosṭhá* < *gōṣṭhá*- ‘cow-house, meeting-place’ (M)

pútr ‘son’ (M) < *putrá*- ‘son’ (M)

śís ‘head’ (M) < **śiśá* < **šiśá* < *śīrśá*- ‘head, skull’ (N)

These words all go back to the OIA declension with nouns ending in *a* being mostly masculine, but with a few Palula masculine nouns in this group originating in OIA neuters. That final-accented nouns in OIA always end up as accent-shifting nouns in Palula is, however, not an infallible rule. There are indeed counterexamples, like *dīiš* ‘village’ (M) < *deesá*- ‘point, region, part, province, country’ (M), where it is likely that a stress-shift took place prior to the apocope process (an assumption that is further supported by the regular strengthening of first-mora accented *ée* into *ii* in the Palula protolanguage, while the quality of second-mora accented *eé* in most cases has been preserved): *dīiš* < *dées* < *déesa* < *deesá*-.

Among *a*-inflecting nouns in Palula, I have at least one example of a word that can be traced back to the rather limited OIA declension of stems with a final syllabic *r*: *dhií* ‘daughter’ < *duhitṛ*- ‘daughter’.

A sub-irregularity in the *a*-declension is a group of nouns (Table 4.8) ending with an accented vowel *ú* or *í* that usually have a shared singular form (nominative and oblique), while the two plural cases are formally distinct.

Table 4.8: *a*-declension nouns with ending *ú* or *í*

Singular	Plural		
	Nominative	Oblique	
<i>kilí</i>	<i>kili(y)-á</i>	<i>kili(y)-óom</i>	‘key’ (F)
<i>beeṭí</i>	<i>beeṭi-á</i>	<i>beeṭi-óom</i>	‘lamb’ (M)
<i>bhaampú</i>	<i>bhaapu-á</i>	<i>bhaampu-óom</i>	‘ball’ (M)
<i>kursí</i>	<i>kursi-á</i>	<i>kursi-óom</i>	‘chair’ (F)

Because of the historical development mentioned above, by which accented *á* was strengthened, some nouns (examples in Table 4.9) now show an alternation

between a long (accented) vowel *áa* or *aá* in the singular and a short (unaccented) vowel *a* in the inflected forms. All disyllabic nouns and monosyllabic nouns with aspiration (including a preceding *h*) have developed a second-mora accent *aá* on the lengthened vowel.

Table 4.9: *a*-declension nouns with length alternation

Singular		Plural	
Nominative	Oblique	Nominative	Oblique
<i>dáar</i>	<i>dar-á</i>	<i>dar-óom</i>	‘door’ (M)
<i>dáag</i>	<i>dag-á</i>	<i>dag-óom</i>	‘markhor’ (M)
<i>haál</i>	<i>hal-á</i>	<i>hal-óom</i>	‘plough’ (M)
<i>dhaataár</i>	<i>dhaatar-á</i>	<i>dhaatar-óom</i>	‘fireplace’ (M)

There are also many highly frequent nouns (examples in Table 4.10) that in the nominative singular end with an unaccented *u*, as already pointed out in connection with gender assignment, where this ending *u* does not appear in the plural or in any of the case inflected forms. This could in fact qualify as very important subdeclension.

Table 4.10: *a*-declension nouns with ending unaccented *u*

Singular		Plural	
Nominative	Oblique	Nominative	Oblique
<i>jáanu</i>	<i>jáan-a</i>	<i>jáan-am</i>	‘person’ (M)
<i>tóoru</i>	<i>tóor-a</i>	<i>tóor-am</i>	‘star’ (M)
<i>phalúuru</i>	<i>phalúur-a</i>	<i>phalúur-am</i>	‘grain’ (M)
<i>thaskúuru</i>	<i>thaskúur-a</i>	<i>thaskúur-am</i>	‘hoe’ (M)

Morgenstierne (1941: 15), as well as Buddruss (1967: 29), suggests the OIA derivation *-aka-* (also belonging to the large *a*-ending declension in OIA) as the origin of these typically masculine endings. According to Masica (1991: 222), this *-aka-* (in the nominative singular *-akas*) has been subject to weakening via *-akō* > *-agō* > *-ahu* > *-au*, ending up as *-ō* or *-ā* in many NIA languages. That may be so, but I also hold it for very likely that this rather major group of masculine nouns has been further expanded through analogy with the *aka*-derived nouns, some of them possibly with an adjectival origin. In any case, for a few Palula

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nouns with an ending *u* there is indeed evidence of OIA cognates (or established reconstructions) with *-aka-* (or *-uka*) formation, although it will be necessary to posit a stress or accent-shift (due to reasons I am not able to formulate now) to have taken place for those words that were stressed on the final syllable in OIA:

bóolu ‘hair’ (M) < **báalo* < **báalau* < *vālaka-* ‘tail of horse or elephant’ (M)

tóoru ‘star’ (M) < **táaro* < **táarau* < *tāraká-* ‘belonging to the stars’ (M)

Earlier a derivational suffix forming adjectives from nouns, *-aka-* (and a group of similar endings) was already in OIA widened in its use to include diminutive formations as well as a number of less easily definable noun to noun derivations. In the older sources, one basic form occurs as well as a derived form with seemingly identical semantic content (Whitney 1960 [1889]: 1222). The above exemplified *vālaka-* ‘tail of horse or elephant’ is for instance derived from *vāla-*, glossed very similarly as ‘hair of tail, tail, hair’ by Turner (1966: 12056). Masica (1991: 222) describes it as a diminutive suffix, which later became a meaningless “extension”. There is a corresponding (Whitney 1960 [1889]: 1181, 1222) feminine formation made with *-ikā* that will be discussed below. However, as pointed out already, we will certainly find nouns in this declensional subgroup with an altogether different origin. One such example is *hīru* ‘heart’ (M) < *hṛdaya-* ‘heart’, where the final *-aya-* may have gone through a weakening process, similar to that of *-aka-*, also ending up with a final *u* vowel.

In a few nouns (Table 4.11) with an accented final *ó* in the nominative singular, this *ó* also disappears in the inflected forms, and the inflectional endings are *ā* and *óom*, respectively.

Table 4.11: *a*-declension nouns with ending accented *ó*

Singular		Plural	
Nominative	Oblique	Nominative	Oblique
<i>ghaḍeeró</i>	<i>ghadeer-ā</i>	<i>ghaḍeer-óom</i>	‘elder’ (M)
<i>ṇhaanbharó</i>	<i>ṇhaanbhar-ā</i>	<i>ṇhaanbhar-óom</i>	‘load of holly-oak branches’
			(M)

Another relatively large group of nouns (Table 4.12), ending in *ái*, may be considered a subdeclension and may eventually develop into a declension of their

own or even fuse with the *ee*-declension (see below), one of the minor declensions described below.⁵

Table 4.12: *a*-declension nouns with ending *ái*

Singular		Plural		
Nominative	Oblique	Nominative	Oblique	
<i>mangái</i>	<i>mang-ée</i>	<i>mang-ée-a</i>	<i>mang-éem</i>	‘water pot’ (F)
<i>koogái</i>	<i>koog-ée</i>		<i>koog-éem</i>	‘cheek’ (F)
<i>boojái</i>	<i>booj-ée</i>		<i>booj-éem</i>	‘sack’ (F)
<i>amzarái</i>	<i>amzar-ée</i>		<i>amzar-éem</i>	‘lion’ (M)

The actual pronunciation of the inflected forms seems to be rather variable, with a preserved ending *a* (in line with the typical *a*-declined nouns) in some of the variant forms. These nouns are almost exclusively feminine.

4.6.2 *i*-declension

Nouns belonging to the *i*-declension form their plural and oblique case with an *i*-suffix, as exemplified in Table 4.13.

Table 4.13: *i*-declension nouns

Singular		Plural		
Nominative	Oblique	Nominative	Oblique	
<i>kuḍ</i>	<i>kuḍ-í</i>		<i>kuḍ-íim</i>	‘wall’ (F)
<i>ḍheer</i>	<i>ḍheer-í</i>		<i>ḍheer-íim</i>	‘belly’ (F)
<i>preṣ</i>	<i>preṣ-í</i>		<i>preṣ-íim</i>	‘mother-in-law’ (F)
<i>maṇḍáu</i>	<i>maṇḍaw-í</i>		<i>maṇḍaw-íim</i>	‘veranda’ (M)

This is the second-most frequent noun declension with 20 per cent of the nouns in my database belonging to this declension. Most of them, about 70 per cent, are feminine. These nouns regularly form their plural and oblique forms with an accented suffix.

⁵ Note, however, that the ending with the feminines is a first-mora accented *ée*, whereas the ending of the masculines is a second-mora accented *eé*.

4 Nouns

Like the *a*-declension this is far from a uniform class, and in some cases it is not entirely clear whether a noun should be included or rather be considered part of a separate declension. I have, for instance, chosen to regard a group of masculine nouns ending in *oó* or *á* as a separate minor declension (see §4.6.4), although it may possibly be analysed as part of the *i*-declension. Occurring particularly frequently in this declension are plurals with an additional umlaut (Table 4.14), of which almost all are feminine, a considerable number of them relatively recent loans from other languages.

Table 4.14: *i*-declension nouns with umlaut

Singular		Plural	
Nominative	Oblique	Nominative	Oblique
<i>baát</i>	<i>beet-í</i>	<i>beet-íim</i>	‘talk, issue’ (F)
<i>dukaán</i>	<i>dukeen-í</i>	<i>dukeen-íim</i>	‘shop’ (F)
<i>jum(i)aát</i>	<i>jumeet-í</i>	<i>jumeet-íim</i>	‘mosque’ (F)
<i>himaál</i>	<i>himeel-í</i>	<i>himeel-íim</i>	‘glacier’ (F)

As with the *a*-nouns, there are several *i*-nouns that have gone through vowel lengthening in its basic form but have kept a short vowel in its inflected form, as in the examples in Table 4.15.

The origin of this declension is less straightforward as far as OIA is concerned, and the history of the large bulk of this declension may be found either in MIA or in rather recent developments. It is indeed home to a considerable amount of “modern” loans from Urdu.

Table 4.15: *i*-declension nouns with length alternation

Singular		Plural	
Nominative	Oblique	Nominative	Oblique
<i>dharaán</i>	<i>dharaṇ-í</i>	<i>dharaṇ-íim</i>	‘ground, earth’ (F)
<i>čáar</i>	<i>čar-í</i>	<i>čar-íim</i>	‘grass, fodder’ (F)
<i>jhangaár</i>	<i>jhangaṛ-í</i>	<i>jhangaṛ-íim</i>	‘liver’ (F)
<i>čhaár</i>	<i>čhar-í</i>	<i>čhar-íim</i>	‘waterfall’ (F)

The nouns for which I have been able to trace an OIA cognate and also am able to hypothesise on their development into the Palula form are either from the OIA

declension with stems ending in a short vowel *i* or *u*, the declension with stems ending in a long vowel *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, or are derived nouns in OIA ending in *-ya*:

- dīṣṭ* ‘hand-span’ (F) < *dīṣṭi-* ‘a measure of length’ (F)
grheēṇḍ ‘knot’ (F) < **grheēṇḍī* < **graṇḍhī* < *granthī-* ‘knot, etc.’ (M)
bheēṇ ‘sister’ (F) < **bhaīṇ* < **bhaiṇi* < *bhaginī-* ‘sister’ (F)
dharaāṇ ‘ground, earth’ (F) < **dharāṇ* < *dharāṇī-* ‘ground’ (F)
kúḍ ‘wall’ (F) < *kuḍya-* ‘wall’ (N)
muúḷ ‘price, value’ (F) < *mūlya-* ‘original value, price’ (N)

The proposed intermediary forms remain tentative, although most of the processes are evident from parallel comparative material, such as apocope, umlaut, forward shift of aspiration, *a*-lengthening and intervocalic lenition of plosives.

4.6.3 *m*-declension

Nouns belonging to the *m*-declension typically form their plural with an *m*-suffix, but they do not inflect for oblique case. Examples are displayed in Table 4.16.

Table 4.16: *m*-declension nouns

Singular	Plural	
<i>čhéeli</i>	<i>čhéeli-m</i>	‘she-goat’ (F)
<i>déeri</i>	<i>déeri-m</i>	‘beard’ (F)
<i>phéepi</i>	<i>phéepi-m</i>	‘paternal aunt’ (F)
<i>phai</i>	<i>phaii-m</i>	‘girl’ (F)

According to my data, this declension is slightly smaller (at 16 per cent) than the *i*-declension. It is also the most homogenous of the main declensions, as all nouns in this class are feminine,⁶ and their basic form ends in *i* (unaccented except in a few cases).

This pattern is the result of a rather recent historical process that is only partly clear to us. The basic assumption is that the previous plural marking (as far as

⁶ A possible counter-example is the Pashto loan *malgiri* ‘friend, companion’, with the plural form *malgirim*, which seems to be assigned gender referentially rather than having an inherent and invariable gender.

there was an overt marking at all) disappeared in a process of apocope that affected all final unaccented vowels, and the plural oblique (with an *m*) was (maybe compensatorily) extended to all nouns with a plural reference, hence becoming a plural-marker rather than a case-marker.

The development of this declension is to some extent a feminine parallel to that of the masculine *u*-ending nouns of the *a*-declension. A feminine derivational suffix *-ikā-* was used in OIA in very much the same way as the above-mentioned *-aka-* (Whitney 1960 [1889]: 1222), while the NIA endings with their origin in *-ikā-* probably retain much more of the Sanskritic diminutive sense (Masica 1991: 222). OIA nouns with the ending *-ikā-* are part of the OIA declension 3 together with other nouns ending in a long vowel. Below are some examples of Palula *m*-declension nouns with probable OIA *ikā*-cognates:

čhéeli ‘goat (she-goat)’ (F) < **chaali* < **chawali* < *čhagalikā-* ‘goat’ (F)

déeri ‘beard’ (F) < **daari* < *dādhikā-* ‘beard’ (F)

béeji ‘heifer’ (F) < **biadzi* < *dvivatsikā-* ‘two year old’ (F)

However, there are nouns in the Palula *m*-declension for which we cannot be absolutely certain that they derive from OIA nouns with an *ikā*-suffix.⁷ They may, for instance, derive from nouns ending in a long vowel *ī* (*séeti* ‘thigh’ (F) <? *sakthī-* ‘thigh, thighbone’ (F)) or nouns ending in a short *i* (*héeri* ‘duck’ (F) <? *āti-* ‘an aquatic bird’ (F)) and have, for reasons I am presently unable to explain, come to declensionally converge with the above-mentioned *ikā*-derived nouns and not with the Palula *i*-declension nouns. Thus Masica (1991: 222) comments on the development of the NIA feminine marker (such as the ending *i* of the *m*-declension nouns in Palula): “Its evolution was no doubt influenced, however, by the existence of a Feminine in *-ī*, at times restrengthened, in all periods of the language.”

Although regular masculine-feminine pairings with the endings *aka* and *ikā* respectively seem to have been common already in OIA, I would not suggest that similar pairings so common in Palula all go back to nouns with these suffixes. It is, I think, much more likely that many of them were formed at a much later stage, maybe as feminine derivations of semantically generic masculine nouns, or are both adjectives that have come to be increasingly used as nouns. My hypothesis is that the more lexicalised pairs (including those where the feminine counterpart

⁷ At least there are no *ikā*-formations occurring in the older literature, which of course is no proof they have never existed.

is primarily a diminutive (see Table 4.2)) belong to an older layer, whereas the simple male/female pairs (see Table 4.1) are formed to a large extent at a later stage, somewhat in analogy with the former.

Also nouns ending in unaccented *u*, such as the ones in Table 4.17, should probably be considered part of this declension.

Table 4.17: *m*-declension nouns with ending unaccented *u*

Singular	Plural	
<i>máaṭu</i>	<i>máaṭum</i>	‘neck’ (F)
<i>pháapu</i>	<i>pháapum</i>	‘lung’ (F)
<i>práašu</i>	<i>práašum</i>	‘rib’ (F)

These, however, show some instability in their inflectional pattern (with an alternative paradigm: *pháapu*, *pháapa*, *pháapam*), and it is possible that in spite of their being feminine are becoming part of the subgroup of the *a*-declension, which drops the final *u* when inflecting. This may or may not be the first step towards a subsequent gender-shift. Historically, the few nouns of the *m*-declension that end in a short unaccented *u* probably derive from OIA feminines with a suffix *-ukā*, such as *práašu* ‘rib’ (F) < *paršukā*- ‘rib’ (F).

4.6.4 Smaller declensions and irregular nouns

Apart from the main declensions, there are groups of nouns that, for various reasons, do not conform to any of the previously introduced declensions, although in many respects they seem to share features with one or the other of them.

ee-declension

A group of nouns, presently making up about 8 per cent of my database, has a plural form ending with a second-mora accented *éé* (Table 4.18).

Characteristically the nominative singular ends in an accented *á*, and the *éé* may be described as the result of hiatus between the stem *á* and the suffix *-í*, thus basically qualifying to be included in the *i*-declension. (The latter is even more apparent in the B. dialect, where the plural form suffix *-í*, has fused to a much lesser extent with the final stem vowel: *kuṇḍá* - *kuṇḍaí*.) However, contrary to the typical *i*-declension nouns, these nouns do not distinguish between nominative and oblique singular, while that case distinction is upheld in the plural. As it is

phonologically rather distinct from other *i*-declension nouns in the present stage of the language (at least in the A. dialect), I prefer to treat it as a declension of its own.

Table 4.18: *ee*-declension nouns

Singular	Plural		
	Nominative	Oblique	
<i>kuṇḍá</i>	<i>kuṇḍ-eé</i>	<i>kuṇḍ-eém</i>	‘hook, peg’ (M)
<i>jínaazá</i>	<i>jínaaz-eé</i>	<i>jínaaz-eém</i>	‘corpse’ (M)
<i>qisá</i>	<i>qis-eé</i>	<i>qis-eém</i>	‘story’ (M)
<i>paalaá</i>	<i>paal-eé</i>	<i>paal-eém</i>	‘leaf’ (M)

This declension includes a number of nouns with a long history in the language, but at the same time, it seems a rather productive one as far as incorporation of more recent loans are concerned.

All of the nouns from this declension for which gender is known are masculine. This should be compared with the group of nouns, already introduced under the *a*-declension, with a singular *ái*-ending and a plural *ée*-ending (i.e. first-mora accented). Although their plural forms are segmentally very similar to the ones discussed here, I hesitate to include them in this group, as they behave like *a*-declension nouns (and in an alternative pronunciation receive a plural ending *-éea* or *-áya*) in most other respects. In addition, almost all of those are feminine.

This group of nouns contains a large number of non-inherited words, some rather recent loans from Urdu or Pashto, others with a longer history in the language, but only a few that can be regarded as inherited from OIA. The only one I have been able to trace comes from the *a*-ending declension in OIA, and here it is likely that apocope along with stress on the remaining final segment has resulted in a second-mora accented long *áa* in Palula: *paalaá* ‘leaf’ (M) < **paalaawá*- < *pallava*- ‘sprout, twig, blossom’ (M, N).

Another, very limited group of masculine nouns, with ending *oó* in the singular (Table 4.19), behave in a very similar manner, and show similar forms in the plural, but they tend (with a few exceptions) to use the same form for the singular oblique as for the plural nominative.

It makes most sense to consider these nouns as another subcategory of the *ee*-declension.

This group is closely related to the *u*-ending nouns of the *a*-declension (in the closely related variety spoken in Sau, Afghanistan, these two build up a declen-

Table 4.19: *ee*-declension nouns with ending *oó*

Singular		Plural	
Nominative	Oblique	Nominative	Oblique
<i>ḡandoó</i>	<i>ḡand-eé</i>	<i>ḡand-eém</i>	‘he-goat’ (M)
<i>ḡhamatroó</i>	<i>ḡhamatr-eé</i>	<i>ḡhamatr-eém</i>	‘son-in-law’ (M)
<i>muuṣoó</i>	<i>muuṣ-eé</i>	<i>muuṣ-eém</i>	‘elbow’ (M)
<i>paitsoó</i>	<i>paitse-eé</i>	<i>paitse-eém</i>	‘trouser leg’ (M)

sion of their own vis-à-vis the other nouns in the *a*-declension). Like those, the *oo*-ending nouns derive from the OIA declension of *a*-ending nouns.

haṇoó ‘egg’ (M) < **haṇoo-* < **aaṇáa-* < *āṇḍaka-* ‘egg; testicles’ (N)

ḡamatroó ‘son-in-law’ (M) < **ḡamatróo-* < **ḡamaatráa-* < *ḡāmātraka-* ‘daughter’s husband’ (M)

muuṣoó ‘elbow’ (M) < **muuṣóo-* < **muuṣáa-* < **mūṣala-* ‘muscle’

For the first two words we have to assume a change in accent-pattern in the development into modern Palula. A second-mora accented long *áa* would have kept the vowel quality, whereas there is a regular development of first-mora accented long *áa* into *oó*, so we assume that after the apocope had taken place we were left with a final long *áa* with a first-mora accent. This could be compared with two other (irregular) *oo*-ending nouns, where the *aa* is preserved in the inflected forms: *phoó* (NOM.PL *phaayá*) ‘boy’ < **pháa*, and *bhroó* (NOM.PL *bhraawú*) ‘brother’ < **bhráa*. To that should be added that we find some irregularities in this group that may constitute remnants of an earlier inflectional pattern, such as with words referring to ‘descendant of so and so’ as with *phaṭakoó* ‘descendant of Paṭak’: *phaṭakeé* NOM.PL, *phaṭakeé* OB.SG, *phaṭakúm* OB.PL.

aan-declension

Although nouns forming plural with *-aán* (Table 4.20) in many ways could be described as a subcategory of the *a*-declension, it is an interesting group because of its maximum formal number and case differentiation and also because of the semantics of these particular nouns.

While in the main declensions there is either a formal collapse between the nominal plural and the oblique singular or a total absence of nominal/oblique

Table 4.20: *aan*-declension nouns

Singular		Plural		
Nominative	Oblique	Nominative	Oblique	
<i>yaár</i>	<i>yaar-á</i>	<i>yaar-aán</i> (<i>yaar-á</i>)	<i>yaar-aan-óom</i> (<i>yaar-óom</i>)	‘friend’ (M)
<i>deéw</i>	<i>deew-á</i>	<i>deew-aán</i>	<i>deewaan-óom</i>	‘giant’ (M)
<i>zámí</i>	<i>zámí</i>	<i>zámí-aán</i>	<i>zámí-óom</i>	‘brother-in-law’ (M)
<i>angreez</i>	<i>angreez-á</i>	<i>angreez-aán</i>	<i>angreez-aan-óom</i>	‘Englishman, foreigner’

case distinctions, there is a four-way contrast displayed for many of the *aan*-nouns.

Almost all of the nouns in my database with *-aán* as a plural marker denote male higher animates, often referring to occupations, but there are apparent exceptions such as inanimate *aalugaán* ‘potatoes’, low animate *traambuaán* ‘wasps’ and the abstract noun *hamaliyaán* ‘habits’.

This declension is heterogeneous in the sense that many of the nouns have alternative forms. Many of the nouns are basically accent-shifting *a*-declension nouns, but have alternative plural forms with a plural suffix *-aán* and a plural oblique in *-aanóom* (or for some nouns *-aanúm*). To some extent this may be an effect of borrowing, where the plural form of some Pashto nouns along with its suffix has also been copied *saṇḍá* ‘male buffalo’ – *saṇḍagaán* ‘male buffaloes’. In this case, it is not entirely clear whether the word is the one inherited from OIA (*sāṇḍa* ‘uncastrated (of bull)’) that later acquired its morphology through Pashto influence or as a whole has been reintroduced via Pashto (*saṇḍa* ‘a male buffalo’) rather recently. But whatever the origin may be in every single case, it has become a very common pattern, especially for nouns with male human reference, even with words that are very clearly inherited from OIA, such as *saṇḍú* ‘wife’s sister’s husband’ (< **sā’(n)ḍhu-*) – *saṇḍugaán*. In the latter case, with its epenthetic *-g-* in the plural, it is tempting to suggest a form-analogy with the already mentioned *saṇḍá* – *saṇḍagaán*. *-aan* is a common plural formation for nouns denoting human referents not only in Pashto but also in the locally influential languages Persian (Lambton 1953: 8) and Khowar (Endresen & Kristiansen 1981: 221–225).

Irregular nouns

There is a small group of nouns, exemplified in Table 4.21, that either have unique paradigms or are otherwise highly irregular, and in some cases also display alternative forms for some categories.

Table 4.21: Irregular nouns

Singular Nominative	Oblique	Plural Nominative	Oblique	
<i>kúri</i>	<i>kúri</i>	<i>kuṛĩna</i>	<i>kuṛĩna</i>	‘woman, wife’ (F)
<i>brhoó</i>	<i>bhraawú</i>	<i>bhraawú</i>	<i>brhaawóom</i>	‘brother’ (M)
<i>phoó</i>	<i>phoó,</i> <i>phoowá</i>	<i>phaayá</i>	<i>phayóom</i>	‘boy’ (M)
<i>maámu,</i> <i>maamaá</i>	<i>maáma,</i> <i>maamaá</i>	<i>maamayeé,</i> <i>maameé</i>	<i>maamayúm,</i> <i>maameém</i>	‘uncle’ (M)
<i>muloó</i>	<i>muloó</i>	<i>mulhaán</i>	<i>mulhaanúm</i>	‘mullah’ (M)

Most of these are kinship terms. In the case of *maámu/maamaá*, there is probably some sort of paradigm mixing with no clear distinction going on, although there may have been a distinction in the past.

5 Pronouns and determiners

5.1 Introduction and overview

The main reason for keeping various kinds of pronouns and determiners together in one chapter is simply grammatical tradition (Bhat 2004: 5) and not any claim that they are a word class kept together by a single definition. Additionally, it has been observed that a number of Palula “pronominal” forms are used as pro-NPs as well as adnominally.

Palula is essentially a ‘two-person’ language (Bhat 2004: 4–15), having distinct first- and second-person (singular, plural) pronouns, i.e. the speech act participants, whereas third person is expressed by forms belonging in the category of demonstratives. Third person displays a number of properties (such as distinction in gender, distance and accessibility) not shared with the personal pronouns, but that are shared to a large extent with a larger category of pro-forms, which build a number of symmetrical sets that cut across several word classes.

5.2 Personal pronouns

The personal pronouns, 1SG, 2SG, 1PL and 2PL, occur in two to four case forms each, as displayed in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Personal pronouns

	Nominative	Accusative ^a	Ergative	Genitive
1SG	<i>ma</i>		<i>mii</i>	
2SG	<i>tu</i>		<i>thii</i>	
1PL	<i>be</i>	<i>asaám</i>	<i>asím</i>	<i>asii</i> (B. <i>asée</i>)
2PL	<i>tus</i>	<i>tusaám</i>	<i>tusím</i>	<i>tusii</i> (B. <i>tusée</i>)

^a However, *máa-the* ‘to me’ is special. As far as I know, it is only together with this particular postposition that the vowel of the pronoun is lengthened. What this shows is that the pronoun forms a phonological word with the postposition and has gone through regular a-lengthening.

While the singular persons make a two-way nominative-genitive distinction, the plural persons make a four-way distinction between nominative, accusative, genitive and ergative.

That means that, whereas most nouns only distinguish between nominative and oblique case (beside the genitive forms), and the agent of transitive Perfective clauses is expressed in the oblique, the plural personal pronouns have a unique ergative pronominal form, cf. the ergative 1PL *asím* in example (2) with the nominative *be* and accusative *asaám* in example (1).

- (1) *[be]* *yhóol-a* *ta* *hiimaál* *čhinǵ-í* *[asaám]* *hír-a*
 1PL.NOM come.PFV-MPL when avalanche shake-CV 1PL.ACC take.away.PFV-MPL

‘When we came there, an avalanche struck and swept us away.’ (A:ACR012)

- (2) *[asím]* *tu* *na* *bulaǰíl-u* *hín-u*
 1PL.ERG 2SG.NOM NEG call.PFV-MSG be.PRS-MSG
 ‘We haven’t called you.’ (A:GHU030)

The first- and second-person singular pronouns on the other hand make less distinction than most full nouns, with its two-way case contrast. As in Kohistani Shina, the oblique case has merged with the nominative (Schmidt & Kohistani 2008: 82). The nominative is thus used for intransitive subjects, as the 1SG *ma* in (3), all direct objects, as the 1SG *ma* in (5), as well as for transitive agents in the imperfective, while the genitive covers the possessor of a possessive construction, as the 1SG *múi* in (3), as well as the agent of Perfective clauses, as exemplified by 1SG *múi* in (4).

- (3) *[ma]* *seé* *hín-u* *[múi]* *kúri* *seé* *hín-i*
 1SG.NOM sleep.CV be.PRS-MSG 1SG.GN woman sleep.CV be.PRS-F
 ‘I was asleep and my wife was also asleep.’ (A:HUA015)
- (4) *[múi]* *lhénǰu* *láad-u*
 1SG.GN bald.one find.PFV-MSG
 ‘I found the bald one.’ (A:KAT119)
- (5) *ro* *[ma]* *kháain-u* *than-íi* *de*
 it 1SG.NOM eat.PRS-MSG say-3SG PST
 ‘He said: “It is eating me”.’ (A:GHA018)

The form used for direct objects is also the form preceding postpositions. It would be possible to analyse some of those combinations of pronoun and postposition (examples (6) and (7)) as case forms, as the two tend to be phonologically slightly more fused as compared to what is observed with most combinations of full nouns and postpositions. However, for the sake of descriptive economy, I have here chosen to treat them as postpositions.

- (6) *[asaám the] xabaár dí-t-i*
 1PL.ACC to news give.PFV-FSG
 ‘In the morning we were given the news.’ (A:GHA006)
- (7) *[tu díi] ma góo-bi-na lhéest-i*
 2SG.NOM from 1SG.NOM where-also-NEG escape.PFV-F
 ‘Nowhere am I safe from you.’ (A:PAS126)

There is nothing comparable in Palula to the honorific levels in second-person pronouns found in regionally influential Urdu (Schmidt 2004: 17), and to a lesser degree in Pashto (own personal observations). The use of the second-person singular is in itself not perceived as derogatory or unsuitable, and neither is the second-person plural pronoun ever used with singular reference in Palula.

To personal pronouns can also be added a suffix of emphasis or exclusiveness, *-ee* (in B. *-e*), cf. exclusiveness with numerals §6.4.1. It seems to be most frequently used together with the genitive form of the first- and second-person singular pronouns, in (8) giving the approximate meaning ‘my own’.

- (8) *fazelnuúr ba [mii-e] gaadubaábu de*
 Fazel.Noor PRT 1SG.GN-EXCL grandfather PST
 ‘And Fazel Noor was my own grandfather.’ [Preceded by a genealogy starting with a distant forefather.] (B:ATI078)

However, in uses with nominative pronominal forms, as in (9), it takes on a meaning similar to ‘I, myself, etc’. Note that this, in Palula, is a function distinct from that of the reflexive pronouns (see §5.4).

- (9) *típa aní moojuudá waqt-íi [má-ee] bakáara-m-íi kasúb th-áan-u*
 now this present time.GN 1SG.NOM-EXCL herd-OB-GN occupation do-PRS-MSG

‘Nowadays I myself am engaged in shepherding.’ (A:KEE079)

This suffix *-ee* can be used with the demonstratives as well, when these are used as third-person pronouns.

Also a reduplicated form of a pronoun and the suffix, as in (10)–(11), is used in approximately the same sense.

- (10) *[mám-ee] gii hín-i aḍaphaár tií*
 1SG.NOM.RED-EXCL go.PFV.FSG be.PRS-F halfways until
 ‘I myself went halfways.’ (A:CAV010)
- (11) *dúu ta [mii-mii-ee] aḥii-a dúu ba tóoruṇ-a wée*
 two PRT 1SG.GN.RED-EXCL eye-PL two PRT forehead-OB in
 ‘Two were my own eyes, and two were up on my forehead.’ (A:HUA114)

5.3 Demonstratives

5.3.1 Relationship to the larger pro-form system

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the demonstrative pronouns are part of a larger system of pro-forms (pro-NPs, pro-adverbs, pro-adjectives, etc.), displaying some sort of symmetry (Table 5.1). Most (but not all) of those pro-forms have similar-looking sets consisting of a proximate, a distal, a remote and an indefinite/interrogative member (see Haspelmath 1993: 187–188 for some strikingly similar correlations in Lezgian).

Somewhat simplified, an initial element (*n-*, *r-*, *s-/t-* or *k-/g-*) regularly indicates the deictic function. Other dimensions are relevant to certain subsets, such as case, number, gender and emphases for the adnominally and nominally used demonstratives, animacy for indefinite/interrogative pronouns, and spatial specification (primarily) for locational pro-forms. For further discussion and examples, see §5.3.2, §5.3.7, §7.1.1–§7.1.2, §7.1.4–§7.1.5, §14.2.2, §14.2.4 and §14.3.2.

5.3.2 Demonstratives and third person

As already hinted at above, a basic three-way distance differentiation is used extensively with demonstratives and has at least to a certain degree been extended to the realm of unstressed third-person reference. I have chosen to regard all of these as demonstratives, of which many can and are indeed being used as third-person pronouns, some more so than others. It is even typologically speaking problematic to make any clear-cut distinction between personal pronouns and demonstratives, a fact pointed out by Himmelmann (1996: 206), which is why it makes most sense to present them together.

Table 5.2: Correlations between pro-forms

	Proximate	Distal	Remote	Indefinite/ interrogative
Attributive	<i>anú, eenú</i>	<i>aṛó, eeró</i>	<i>eesó</i>	<i>khayí, ga</i>
Nominal	<i>anú, eenú</i>	<i>aṛó, eeró</i>	<i>eesó</i>	<i>koó, gubáa</i>
Location I	<i>índa</i>	<i>eeráa</i>	<i>eetáa</i>	<i>góo</i>
Location II ^a	<i>aníi-</i>	<i>eeríi-</i>	<i>eetíi-</i>	<i>kíi-</i>
Source	<i>andóoi</i>	<i>eeráai</i>	<i>eetáai</i>	<i>góoii</i>
Quality			<i>eeteenú</i>	<i>kateenú</i>
Quantity			<i>eetí</i>	<i>katí</i>
Manner			<i>eendáa-</i>	<i>kanáa-</i>

^a It is only with a following postposition that these forms have a locational interpretation. Used alone they (ergatively) code the agent subject of a perfective transitive clause.

A distinction, however, that needs to be made within the category of demonstratives, is that between pronominal (or pro-NPs) and adnominal demonstratives. As pointed out by Himmelmann (1996: 206), pronominally used demonstratives tend, from a typological perspective, to occur with a lower frequency and in fewer contexts than adnominally used demonstratives. Since the pronominal demonstratives often are derived from the adnominal ones, the former are usually more complex.

As can be seen in Table 5.3, the basic adnominal demonstratives occur in only two different forms in each deictic set, as compared to the much more complex system of pronominal demonstratives that we will discuss shortly.

Table 5.3: Adnominal demonstratives

	Nominative masculine singular	Non-nominative/Plural/ Feminine
Proximate	<i>anú, eenú (B. hanú)</i>	<i>aní, eení (B. haní)</i>
Distal	<i>eeró (B. haṛó)</i>	<i>eeré (B. haṛé)</i>
Remote	<i>eesó (B. hasó)</i>	<i>eesé (B. hasé)</i>

The only contrast is one between the demonstrative functioning attributively with a masculine singular nominative referent vs. a referent agreeing with its

head in any other case, gender or number category. The forms are identical to the pronominally used masculine singular nominative and feminine singular nominative, respectively (see below), a situation not uncommon in languages at large (Himmelman 1996: 214).

In example (12), the masculine noun *xoorá* ‘betrothal’ first occurs in the nominative and is preceded by the adnominal demonstrative in its masculine singular nominative form, then it occurs in the genitive and is then preceded by the adnominal demonstrative in its other (non-nominative, plural, feminine) form.

- (12) *khayí dees-á [eeró xoorá]_{NOM} hensíl-u, [eeré xoorá-ii]_{GN}*
 which day-OB DIST.NOM.MSG betrothal stay.PFV-MSG DIST betrothal-GN
teem-í jhaamatroó moojúd na hensíl-u hée~ta...
 time-OB son-in-law present not stay.PFV-MSG would
 ‘If, on the day that betrothal took place, the son-in-law were not present at the time of that betrothal...’ (A:MAR116-7)

The relevant categories for the pronominally used (or substantivised) demonstratives, presented in Table 5.1, are number, case, gender and distance/visibility, the first three also found with Palula nouns.

We can also differentiate between so-called strong and weak forms of demonstratives (or at least for most of them). Initial *ee-* in the strong forms in A. (the ones displayed in Table 5.4) regularly corresponds to B. *ha-*.

The masculine-feminine gender distinction is found only in the singular nominative, cf. (13) and (14), whereas there is regular form syncretism between the plural, as in (15), and the singular feminine.

- (13) *[so] aní kaafir-aan-óom sangí madád th-áan-u*
 3MSG.NOM these unbeliever-PL-OB.PL with help do-PRS-MSG
 ‘He is helping these unbelievers.’ (A:BEZ053)
- (14) *tasíi múur-a wée ba [se] baḍíl-i de*
 3SG.GN lap-OB in PRT 3FSG.NOM grow.PFV-F PST
 ‘She had grown up in his lap (i.e. in his house).’ (A:PAS132)
- (15) *[se] bhraawú bh-áan-a*
 3PL.NOM brother.PL become-PRS-MPL
 ‘They become brothers.’ (A:MIT011)

⁰ Some of the forms do not occur in text data but are affirmed through direct elicitation as possible forms.

Table 5.4: Pronominal demonstratives¹ (Only markedly different B. forms are cited in the table. w=weak, s=strong.)

			NOM	ACC	OB	GN
Proximate						
SG	M	W	<i>nu</i>	<i>nis</i>	<i>nii</i>	<i>nisii</i>
		S	<i>anú, eenú</i>	<i>anís</i>	<i>anii</i>	<i>anisii</i>
	F	W	<i>ni</i>	<i>nis</i>	<i>nii</i>	<i>nisii</i>
		S	<i>aní, eení</i>	<i>anís</i>	<i>anii</i>	<i>anisii</i>
PL		W	<i>ni</i>	<i>niaám</i>	<i>niním</i>	<i>ninii</i>
		S	<i>aní, eení</i>	<i>aniaám</i>	<i>aniním</i>	<i>aninii</i>
						(B. haninúme)
Distal						
SG	M	W	<i>lo, ɾo</i>	<i>las, ɾas</i>	<i>líi, ɾíi</i>	<i>lasíi, ɾasíi</i>
		S	<i>eeró, aɾó</i>	<i>eerás, aɾás</i>	<i>eeríi, aɾíi</i>	<i>eerasíi, aɾasíi</i>
	F	W	<i>le, ɾe</i>	<i>las, ɾas</i>	<i>líi, ɾíi</i>	<i>lasíi, ɾasíi</i>
		S	<i>eeré, aɾé</i>	<i>eerás, aɾás</i>	<i>eeríi, aɾíi</i>	<i>eerasíi, aɾasíi</i>
PL		W	<i>le, ɾe</i>	<i>lanaám, ɾanaám</i>	<i>laním, ɾaním</i>	<i>laníi, ɾaníi</i>
		S	<i>eeré, aɾé</i>	<i>eeranaám, aɾanaám</i>	<i>eeraním</i>	<i>eeranii</i>
						(B. haɾenúme)
Remote						
SG	M	W	<i>so</i>	<i>tas</i>	<i>tíi</i>	<i>tasíi</i>
		S	<i>eesó</i>	<i>eetás</i>	<i>eetíi</i>	<i>eetasíi</i>
	F	W	<i>se</i>	<i>tas</i>	<i>tíi</i>	<i>tasíi</i>
		S	<i>eesé</i>	<i>eetás</i>	<i>eetíi</i>	<i>eetasíi</i>
PL		W	<i>se</i>	<i>tanaám</i>	<i>taním</i>	<i>taníi</i>
		S	<i>eesé</i>	<i>eetanaám</i>	<i>eetaním</i>	<i>eetaníi</i>
						(B. hatenúme)

The pronouns in the weak remote sets of the demonstratives (*so, etc.*), are the default choice and most frequently used as typical third person pronouns, with easily accessible discourse referents (Diessel 2006: 432–433), and could be said to stand particularly close functionally to the personal pronouns proper.

The primary function of the distance differentiation is to distinguish three basic degrees of distance from the speaker/experiencer, where the proximal is used with referents close at hand, the distal with referents further removed from the speaker, and the remaining category, here labeled “remote”, is used to refer to something or someone out of sight.

The weak-strong opposition is related to accessibility. The strong forms tend to be picked for deictic or anaphoric use in order to keep track of less accessible discourse referents, or to contrast another referent or switch from one referent to another. They are also the ones used in relative-correlative clauses and in most cases as adnominal demonstratives.

In the example sentence (16), the speaker has for some time been talking about making doors when building a house, but is here switching to talking about windows instead.

- (16) *sée~ta [eetás] samóol-ii pahúrta theé ba khiṛkí bi tarkaán*
 when 3SG.REM.ACC build.PPTC-GN after then PRT window also carpenter
khoojáain-u
 ask.PRS-MSG
 ‘Then when that has been built, the carpenter will ask about the window.’
 (A:HOW044)

The weak forms, on the other hand, are used almost exclusively non-contrastively and to pick out the most natural or accessible referent in a discourse. In example (17) the antecedent of the pronoun (the cupboard) is very close and there is no ambiguity in what is referred to.

- (17) *aalmaaríi bi muxtalíf dizeen-í yh-éend-i.*
 cupboard.GN also different design-PL come-PRS-F
 ‘A cupboard can also have different designs.’
[tasíi] xaaneé muxtalíf muxtalíf yh-áand-a
 3SG.REM.GN shelf.PL different different come-PRS-MPL
 ‘It can have many different kinds of shelves.’ (A:HOW049-50)

Thus, it is the weak form that functions most like a third-person pronoun. The contrast is similar to the distinction Givón (2001a: 417–419) makes between

“stressed independent pronouns” and “unstressed anaphoric pronouns”. Palula has also developed definite articles, formally identical with the nominative weak remote/non-visible demonstratives (see §5.3.6). This strong-weak continuum mirrors in many respects the relative anaphoric distance of Givón (2001a: 419), as well as the grammaticalisation cline described by Diessel (2006: 432). However, the absence of an absolute distinction between demonstratives and third-person pronouns across the board in Palula, and the presence of a number of borderline cases, may very well reflect an ongoing grammaticalisation (Himmelman 1996: 213).

The weak distal forms with *r* and *l*, respectively, are mere pronunciation variants, of which only the *l*-variant is phonologically possible in B. Nor is there anything indicating any significance in the alternation between the strong distal forms beginning with *a*- and *ee*-, respectively, but more detailed analysis is needed to be certain.

There is also another continuum that cuts across the entire paradigm. While the remote category is primarily a phoric device (Saxena 2006: 131), with a high frequency in, for instance, narrative discourse, and only secondarily functions deictically, the opposite holds for the proximal category, which is primarily deictic and only rarely functions phorically. The mid-level category, the distal, is used extensively in both functions.

An indirect effect of the differences in deictic scope is the ability to signal a contrast in the presence-absence of the third-person object or person in the speech situation. It is normally only when a person or object is present in the speech situation that the proximal and distal terms are used (exophorically or anaphorically), whereas the remote assumes its absence. The same holds for a distinction between narration and direct speech - especially crucial in oral story-telling. Along with other quotative devices, the proximal and distal terms refer to the outside world as perceived by the quoted speaker, whereas the narrator (whether identical to the former or not) would use the corresponding remote terms to refer to the same entities.

Schmidt (2000: 204–205, 207–212) and Schmidt & Kohistani (2001: 134–136) describe similar effects obtained in the use of different sets of pronouns in some other Shina varieties. In Tileli there are two sets of third-person pronouns, where one set signals visibility and first-hand knowledge, whereas the other one codes what is invisible, unknown or indirectly inferred. In Kohistani Shina, a similar discrimination can be made between information derived by visual means and information received by other means, through contrasting a proximate set of demonstratives with a remote set.

Three particular functions (exophoric, anaphoric and discourse-deictic) will be further discussed and exemplified below (§5.3.3–§5.3.5), following the pragmatic taxonomy of demonstratives suggested by Himmelmann (1996: 205–254) and discussed by Diessel (2006: 432). I do not have any clear examples of recognitional use, a fourth category; however, there is evidence for the development of a definite, or “anaphoric article” (Juvonen 2006: 486), contrasting with a similarly developing indefinite article. These two will be discussed in §5.3.6. A secondary spatial specification will also be touched upon briefly (§5.3.7).

5.3.3 Exophoric use

The exophoric, or situational, use orients the hearer in the outside world and points to an entity in the speech situation. This could be said to be the basic or original use of the demonstrative. In Palula, it is primarily the proximal and distal levels that enter into this function, and it is almost without exception the strong forms that are being used, whether pronominal or adnominal.

The proximal term *aní*, *aní* ‘this’ points to something or someone close at hand. In its most typical use, it is adnominal while pointing to an object, as in (18).

- (18) [*aní kakaríi*] *kasíi thaní*
 PROX skull whose QT
 ‘(He) said: “Whose is this skull?”’ (A:WOM459)

In (19), on the other hand, it refers pronominally to a man who in the quoted speakers’ presence has just defeated a fierce bear, what Himmelmann (1996: 222) describes as reference in the narrated situation. IHHn (20), it points, in a similar fashion, to a boy who is threatened to be captured and taken away from his step-father, who is the speaker within the narrative, and who is standing right next to the boy. In (21) the location is the same as where the speaker finds himself in at the speaking moment, although talking about times long ago, and is therefore an instance of situational use in the actual utterance situation (Himmelmann 1996: 222).

- (19) [*aníi*] *asíi nóo zindá thíil-u thaní*
 3SG.PROX.ERG 1PL.GN name life do.PFV-MSG QT
 ‘They said: “This (man) has saved our reputation.”’ (A:BEW008)

- (20) [hanís] ghin-í háar-ui típa ba
3SG.PROX.ACC take-CV take.away-IMP.PL now PRT

‘Then, go ahead and take him away!’ (B:ATI066)

- (21) [anú watán] áa zangál de
3SG.PROX.NOM land IDEF forest PST

‘This land was a forest (uncultivated).’ (A:ANC006)

The proximal term could also refer to temporal closeness, such as in (22), where it refers to the time of the utterance.

- (22) [aní dees-óom] atsareet-á wée qariiban čúur zára kušúni
PROX day-OB.PL Ashret-OB in about four thousand-PL households
hín-a
be.IPF-MPL

‘In these days there are about 4000 households in Ashret.’² (A:PAS007)

This stands in contrast to the past times that this particular narrative focuses on, which are elsewhere in this discourse referred to as *eesé waxtú* ‘of those times’, thus using the remote term.

A simultaneous (and explanatory) reference to, for example, a body part of a character in a narrative and the body part of the speaker, in (23) (accompanied by a pointing gesture), is also done with the proximal term.

- (23) áak-ii ta dheerdár nikhéet-i áak-ii ba [aní phiaarṁaj-í] wée
one-GN PRT stomach.pain appear.PFV-F one-GN PRT PROX side-OB in
breéx nikhéet-i
pain appear.PFV-F

‘One of them got stomach pain and the other in this side.’ (A:GHA059)

The distal term *aṛó* (B. *haró*) ‘that’ points to something a little farther away, but still fully visible and identifiable, as in (24), where it refers to something in the actual utterance situation, and in (25), where it refers to something in the narrated situation.

- (24) [haró] kasée ghoóṣṭ
3SG.DIST.NOM whose house

‘Whose house is that [pointing]?’ (B:DHN4839)

² It must be assumed that the speaker means ‘4000’ inhabitants, although he uses a word normally used for ‘household, family’

- (25) *[aró miiš] thii khañiit-u ga hée~ta ma tu the*
 3SG.DIST.NOM man 2SG.GN hit.PFV-MSG what would 1SG.NOM 2SG.NOM to
biiḍ-i inaám d-úum
 much-F gift give-1SG
 ‘If you hit that man, I will reward you richly.’ (A:BEZ011)

It is probably futile to try and give absolute measures of when the proximal term is used as compared to when the distal term is used. It is more a matter of relative distance, as perceived by the speaker/experiencer in the situation. There are no apparent animacy restrictions on any of these terms when used exophorically, which seems to be the case with the corresponding terms in, for instance, Kohistani Shina (Schmidt & Kohistani 2001: 135).

In as far as the remote term is being used exophorically, it is in referring to an entity that is *not* present or visible in the utterance situation.

5.3.4 Anaphoric use

The anaphoric, or tracking, use is used to keep track of referents in discourse, and can be seen as being derived from the exophoric use by analogical extension, from pointing in the outside world to “pointing” to referents within the discourse. The remote is used particularly often for this, but the distal sets are also frequently used, whereas the use of the proximal seems highly limited in this regard. Depending on how easily accessible the referents are, either the strong or the weak form may be used. The more accessible, the more likely it is that the weak (unstressed) form is chosen, whereas the greater the need to refocus the hearer’s attention, the more likely it is that the strong (stressed) form is selected.

In a passage, exemplified in (26), belonging to a procedural discourse, the remote term is used, both in its weak and its strong form).

- (26) *tsiip-áan-a tsiip-áan-a tsiip-áan-a tas dii [ák paṇáar-u*
 squeeze-PRS-MPL (RED) (RED) 3SG.REM.ACC from IDEF white-MSG
šái] nikh-áand-u. [tas] the man-áan-a iští [eetás]
 thing come.out-PRS-MSG 3SG.REM.ACC to say-PRS-MPL “ishti” 3SG.REM.ACC
matíl-u sée~ta [tasí] bi ghiir bh-áan-u
 churn.PFV-MSG CONDH 3SG.REM.GN also butter become-PRS-MSG
 ‘We keep squeezing, and from it comes out a white thing. We call that/it “ishti”. When that has been churned, it becomes butter.’ (A:KEE040-1)

Although the strong form tends to be used as an anaphoric demonstrative – with a refocusing or contrastive function (Diessel 2006: 432) – and the weak

tends to be used as a personal pronoun, the distinction between the two is not all that clear and is deserving of further research.

When the distal term is used anaphorically (without any additional exophoric function), it is usually coreferential with a main character or a referent with special focus. Whereas the other referents, in an exposé on the benefits of keeping goats, in (27), are referred to by the remote term, the goats are repeatedly – although not exclusively – referred to by the distal term (mostly in the singular).

- (27) *eeré chéeli seetíl-i sée~ta /.../ las eendáa the saat-eeñdeéu*
 DIST goat keep.PFV-F CONDH 3SG.DIST.ACC like.this do.CV keep-OBLG
ki tariqá báandi wíi /.../
 COMP method by water

‘If this goat is taken care of... It should be taken care of by giving her water in time...’

- las the beezáaya toḍusóol-u sée~ta bi le xaráap*
 3SG.DIST.ACC to extra cut.PFV-MSG CONDH also 3FSG.DIST.NOM spoiled
bh-éen-i
 become-PRS-F

‘Also, if she is given more than necessary, that is not good for her.’ (A:KEE012-4)

When the term is used in this discourse, it is first in the strong form, but as it continues to be referred to, the weak form is used, thus functioning more like a regular third-person pronoun.

In a particular historical account, of which (28) is part, two groups of people are referred to, and while the remote term is used for either of them when it is clear which one is intended, the distal is used at a point when there is a need for special emphasis or clarification.

- (28) *ma díi xu [aranaám] mheeríl-a, ugheeníi-a*
 1SG.NOM from but 3PL.DIST.ACC kill.PFV-MPL Pashtun-PL

‘They (the people you gave me) were killed, the Pashtuns.’ (A:BEZ116-7)

When a referent is present and close by in the speech situation (in (29), a shepherd’s flock of sheep and goats), it is referred to anaphorically with the proximal term.

- (29) *[aniaám] wíi keé-na piláain-u thaní*
 3PL.PROX.ACC water why-NEG make.drink.PRS-MS.G QT
 ‘Why not let them/these drink water.’ (A:PAS070)

The latter could alternatively be described as an instance of the proximal term being used as (an unstressed) third-person pronoun, since there is no competing antecedent, and the pronoun is not really used in order to refocus the listeners.

5.3.5 Discourse-deictic use

The discourse-deictic use is to do with entire propositions being referenced rather than with tracking individual discourse participants. Its function is to combine chunks of discourse (Diessel 2006: 432), and is thus more abstract in its scope.

In this rather specialised function, it seems the distal term is used most of the time. It may be either anticipatory, as in (30), or refer back to a rather long preceding chunk of discourse as in (31).

- (30) *tartíb lasii [eeré] ki...*
 method 3SG.DIST.GN 3FSG.DIST.NOM COMP
 ‘Its method is as follows....’ (A:KEE024)

- (31) *čhéelii faaidá [eeró]*
 goat.GN benefit 3MSG.DIST.NOM
 ‘That is the benefit of goats.’ (A:KEE065)

Although the typical use seems to be pronominal, it also occurs adnominally, as in (32).

- (32) *theé se miiš-a the [eeró qisá] páta de ki bhalaá*
 then DEF man-OB to 3MSG.DIST.NOM story knowledge be.PST COMP evil.spirit
áa čhaṭ-í báandi ta mar-áan-u
 one shot-OB by PRT die-PRS-MSG
 ‘Then the man remembered the saying that an evil spirit dies by a single shot.’ (A:WOM675)

It usually occurs in its strong form, but it may occasionally be less emphasised, as in (33), where the weak form refers back to the preceding proposition, thus “naming” what has already been defined through discourse.

- (33) *[ras] the asii čoolaá man-áan-a dúula*
 3SG.DIST.ACC to our language say-PRS-MPL “duula”
 ‘In our language we call this “duula” [appr. proposal of marriage].’ (A:MAR026)

If the demonstrative is immediately introducing a chunk of discourse, the proximal term can also be used, as in (34), probably with the additional effect that the listener is invited into a private exchange between a husband and his wife.

- (34) *teeníi mají [eenú mašwará] thíil-u*
 REFL among 3MSG.PROX.NOM consultation do.PFV-MSG
 ‘Between themselves they made this plan...’ (A:WOM474)

The same ‘plan’ or ‘consultation’ is a little later, in (35), referred to with the distal term, then from the perspective of a secret listener, standing outside the house where the exchange was taking place.

- (35) *dharéndi ba áa bhalaá kúri-ee míiš-ii [eeró mašwará]*
 outside PRT IDEF evil.spirit woman-CNJ man.GN 3SG.DIST.NOM consultation
šún-a de
 listen-3SG PST
 ‘Outside an evil spirit was listening to that plan the wife and husband made.’ (A:WOM632)

The remote term does not seem to be frequently used discourse-deictically. A possible example may be the one in (36), where the demonstrative refers to a point in time in a narrative, the ‘night’ following the events described in the immediately preceding chunk of discourse.

- (36) *[eesé róot-a] tíi se jinaazá the róota díptí thíil-i*
 3SG.REM.OB night-OB 3SG.ERG DEF corpse to at.night duty do.PFV-F
 ‘That night he held a vigil for the corpse.’ (A:WOM665)

However, this rather specialised function, Himmelmann (1996: 225) defines as a subtype of discourse-deictic use.

Sometimes there is also an ambiguity as to whether the demonstrative refers anaphorically to a particular discourse referent or to a preceding chunk of discourse:

- (37) *aalmaarí wée ba páan]paaw-á dhíngar bhit bhakúl-u lagaijíl-u*
 cupboard into PRT five quarter-PL wood plank thick-MSG be.put.PFV-MSG
hee~ta [eesó] bíid-u šoo bh-áan-u
 CONDL 3MSG.REM.NOM much-MSG good.MSG become-PRS-MSG
 ‘If five quarters of wooden planks are put into the cupboard, that will look very beautiful.’ (A:HOW051)

Here, the plank as well as the totality are possible referents for the demonstrative.

5.3.6 Article-like uses

Closely related to adnominally used demonstratives, and still possibly a subcategory of them, are the forms *so* and *se* (formally the weak form masculine and feminine pronominal demonstratives of the remote set), used for signalling definite or previously introduced and firmly established entities in the discourse. Their distribution is the same as that of the adnominal demonstratives: the form *so* is used preposed to a masculine singular nominative head, whereas *se* is used with a head in any other case, gender or number.

Table 5.5: Definite “articles”

Nominative masculine singular head	Non-nominative / Plural / Feminine head
<i>so</i>	<i>se</i>

Contrasting in definiteness and identifiability with *so/se* used in this way, is the “indefinite article” *áa* or *ák* (B. *a* or *ak*), derived from, and in one of its forms still homonymous with, the numeral *ák* ‘one’.

While *áa* is used for introducing a participant, *áa míiš* ‘a (certain) man’, *so/se* is used in order to refer to or track an already earlier introduced participant, *so míiš* ‘the/that man’.

The examples (38)–(41) are all taken from one and the same story, where the two main characters are a man and a (male) monster. At the very beginning of the story, in (38), the man is introduced, with a full noun and the indefinite *áa*.

- (38) *muştú zamanáyii [áa míiš] de*
 before time.GN IDEF man be.PST
 ‘Once upon a time, there was a man.’ (A:THA001)

In the sentences that immediately follow (not included here), the man is referred to by a third-person pronoun only (i.e. by the remote demonstrative, as described above), and we learn that the man goes hunting, shoots a deer and takes it to a hut, where he prepares the meat and starts eating. Then, in (38), the next participant shows up, the monster, which is also introduced by a full noun preceded by the indefinite *áa* and a descriptive attribute, ‘hairy’.

- (39) *tíi maǵí [áa jhaṭíl-u ṭhaaṭáaku] yhóol-u*
 3SG.OB on IDEF hairy-MSG monster come.PFV-MSG
 ‘Meanwhile a hairy monster came along.’ (A:THA005)

In the next sentence, in (40), the *ṭhaaṭáaku* ‘monster’ is referred to by a full noun only, without any determiner or attribute (which perhaps has some sort of intermediate status between the indefinite and the definite), while *míiš* ‘man’, when he is referred to again, is done so through the use of a full noun marked with the definite *so*.

- (40) [*ṭhaaṭáaku*] *yhayí šíṭi ačíit-u ta [so míiš] mhaás*
 monster come.CV inside enter.PFV-MSG PRT DEF.MSG.NOM man meat
khóo de
 eat.3SG PST

‘When the monster came inside, the man was eating.’ (A:THA006)

In the same way, when the monster is referred to in the following sentence, in (41), after the man is mentioned, he too is referred to using a full noun and the definite *se* (that form because the head is in the oblique case).

- (41) *the ba [se ṭhaaṭáak-a] bi [tas] sangí khainíi široó thíil-u*
 do.CV PRT DEF monster-OB also 3SG.ACC with eat.VN start do.PFV-MSG
 ‘And the monster started eating with him.’ (A:THA007)

Having exemplified this use of the “definite article” primarily as a tracking device, it should be pointed out that there are no clear and unambiguous examples of it being used as identifiable in the larger situation or associative-anaphorically, two uses that are typical for definite articles, while not generally associated with demonstratives at large (Juvonen 2006: 485; Himmelmann 1996: 233). Therefore, since the use of adnominal *so/se* is not dramatically different from the anaphoric use of adnominal demonstratives, an alternative labelling of it would be “anaphoric article” (Juvonen 2006: 486), but it also comes close to what Himmelmann (1996: 230–239) includes in the recognitional use of demonstratives. What sets it apart from the (strong) anaphoric use (see §5.3.4), however, and thus points to it being further grammaticalised towards a more typical definite article interpretation as “identifiable” in general (Juvonen 2006: 485), is its frequent and near-obligatory presence with already introduced and well-established referents in a discourse, its weak, thus phonetically reduced, form and its paradigmatic contrast with the indefinite article.

Along the same lines, the use of *áa/áak* exemplified above does not set it apart as radically estranged from its use as a numeral, but it could be said to have gone through an initial grammaticalisation stage (as a phonetically reduced presentative marker) towards a full-blown indefinite article (Juvonen 2006: 486).

The full system of reference and deixis, needless to say, is deserving of much more in-depth research, and the sections above should be taken as a preliminary analysis and suggestion as to what devices are being used in Palula.

5.3.7 Spatial specification

In addition to the basic differentiation between remote, distal and proximate, there are a number of further spatially defined specifications that can be made. To the demonstratives (particularly in their adnominal used) of the distal set, certain spatial adverbs (§7.1.2) can be added (or fused with the demonstratives) to indicate finer degrees of distance as well as vertical and horizontal position in relation to the speaker, as shown in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6: Secondary spacial specifications of distal demonstratives

	Nominative	Non-nominative/ Plural/Feminine
‘that/those down there’	<i>bhunaṛó</i>	<i>bhunaṛé</i>
‘that/those straight up there’	<i>huṇḍaṛó</i>	<i>huṇḍaṛé</i>
‘that/those up there’	<i>aṛaṛó</i>	<i>aṛaṛé</i>
‘that/those over there’	<i>pharaṛó</i>	<i>pharaṛé</i>
‘that/those far away over there’	<i>phaaraṛó</i>	<i>phaaraṛé</i>

5.4 Possessive pronouns

What is sometimes referred to as a category of distinct possessive pronouns were already introduced above as genitive case forms of the personal and demonstrative pronouns, and are exemplified in (42) and (43).

- (42) *ma bhíiru ghin-í [thii] ghooṣṭ-á the yh-úum*
 1SG.NOM he.goat take-CV 2SG.GN house-OB to com-1SG
 ‘I will come to your house and bring a he-goat.’ (A:MIT013)
- (43) *bíiḍ-u gáaḍ-u [tesée] dabdabá de*
 much-MSG big-MSG 3SG.REM.GN pomp PST
 ‘His power was great.’ [B. *tesée* = A. *tasii*] (B:ATI022)

5.5 Reflexive pronouns

There is one frequently used pronoun, *teeníi*, that can be described as reflexive. It occurs in this form only, as is evident from the examples (44)–(47). Usually, but not exclusively, it is the possessor in a possessive construction, and its referent is then identical with the clause subject (whether explicit or implicit).

- (44) *se míiš-e kiraamát míi [teeníi] ačhíi-am drhíšt-i*
 DEF man-GN power 1SG.GN REFL eye-OB.PL see.PFV-F
 ‘I saw the man’s power with my own eyes.’ (B:ATI072)
- (45) *[teeníi] ak putr kaarél thaní hatáa gal-í ba gáu*
 REFL one son Carel QT there throw-CV PRT go.PFV.MSG
 ‘(He) left his son, called Carel, there and left.’ (B:ATI010-1)
- (46) *se bhalaá se kúri the maníit-u ki [teeníi] bangleé na*
 DEF spirit DEF woman to say.PFV.MSG COMP REFL bracelet.PL NEG
širingá
 rattle.IMP.SG
 ‘The spirit said to the woman: “Don’t rattle your bracelets!”’ (A:WOM643)
- (47) *janj gúum [teeníi] sangí bíiḍ-a ba xálak-a ghin-í*
 wedding.party go.PFV.MSG REFL with much-MPL PRT people-PL take-CV
gúum
 go.PFV.MSG
 ‘He went together with a lot of people in a wedding party.’ (A:GHU008)

However, when the reflexive occurs in the object position, as in (48), it seems necessary to use the construction *teeníi zaán* ‘own self’, where the reflexive pronoun remains in the possessive.

- (48) *karáar-a díi handáa the [teeníi zaán] bač thíl-i*
 leopard-OB from this.way do.CV REFL self salvation do.PFV-F
 ‘This way he saved himself from the leopard.’ (B:CLE381)

5.6 Reciprocal pronouns

The pronoun *akaadúi* (literally ‘one’ + a segment *aa* + ‘other’) is reciprocal, as illustrated in examples (49) and (50).

- (49) *dúu jáan-a [akaadúi] xox bhíl-a hée~ta*
 two person-PL RECP liking become.PFV-MPL CONDL
 ‘If two people would become fond of one another...’ (A:MIT010)
- (50) *taníi kupaak-á [akaadúi] gaadbaábu lhookbaábu*
 3PL.REM.GN child-PL RECP father’s.older.brother father’s.younger.brother
man-áan-a
 say-PRS-MPL
 ‘Their children call one another uncle.’ (A:MIT026)

The finite verb agrees in the plural, and if the agent/direct object is a pronoun that makes a case differentiation between agent and direct object, it occurs in the accusative as in (51).

- (51) *eetanaám [akaadúi] mheer-íl-a*
 3PL.REM.ACC RECP kill.PFV-MPL
 ‘They killed each other.’ (A:MAB004)

The reciprocal pronoun may, however, also occur in case-inflected forms, such as the genitive form in (52).

- (52) *dhuimeém [akaaduém-e] haalát khoojéel-i*
 both.OB RECP.OB-GN condition ask.PFV-F
 ‘The two inquired about each other’s well-being.’ (B:FOY)

5.7 Indefinite-interrogative pronouns

The area of indefinite pronouns and their distribution is needing further research, but there are strong indications that most, if not all, indefinite pronouns are also used as interrogative pronouns (as further exemplified in §14.2.2). As mentioned above (§5.3.1), the indefinite-interrogative pronouns belong together with the demonstratives in the larger system of pro-forms. An animacy distinction is also made here, not otherwise part of the pronominal system.

<i>koó</i>	‘who, someone, anyone’	NOM
<i>kaseé</i>	‘whom, etc.’	ACC
<i>kasíi</i> (B. <i>kasée</i>)	‘whose, etc.’	GN
<i>kií</i>	‘who, etc.’	OB
<i>gubáa</i>	‘what, etc.’	INANIMATE
<i>ga</i>	‘what kind, etc.’	ATTRIBUTE
<i>khayú, khayí</i>	‘which one, etc.’	ATTRIBUTE

See also §14.3.2 about a possible development of a set of negative indefinite pronouns (*gá-bi-na* ‘nothing’, *koó-bi-na* ‘nobody’, *góo-bi-na* ‘nowhere’), based on the basic indefinite ones.

5.8 Relative pronouns

There are no distinct relative pronouns in Palula. Instead the demonstratives and the indefinite-interrogative pronouns are used in relative constructions, or what is the functional equivalent of relative clauses (see §13.6).

6 Adjectives and quantifiers

This chapter is primarily about descriptive adjectives and their properties, but some other classes with close affinities to descriptive adjectives, particularly those used in quantifying noun heads, are included and discussed briefly. This is also the rationale for numerals being presented in this chapter. Additionally, there is some focus on semantic aspects of the adjective category and its status vis-à-vis nouns and verbs.

6.1 The adjective and its properties

A core group of descriptive adjectives in Palula forms a lexical category clearly differentiated semantically, morphologically and syntactically from nouns as well as from verbs. It seems, however, size-wise to be a rather limited class when compared with nouns and verbs and also less uniform as a whole. To what extent adjectives should be considered an open word class will be discussed below.

Among the adjectives there are those that display a close affinity with nouns and another group that shares characteristics with some verb forms. A considerable overlap between adjectives and nouns, on the one hand, and between adjectives and participles, on the other, was a feature also of OIA (Whitney 1960 [1889]: 322, 967). There is also a group of words that can be used either as adjectives or as adverbs. There are also a number of properties that tend to be coded as adjectives in languages with large inventories, such as English and Japanese (Pustet 2006: 60), that are either verbs or nouns in Palula. Those groups of potential adjectives roughly correspond to the two “swing-categories” suggested by Givón (1979: 321), based on their respective time stability as compared to the most typical members of the class.

Before dealing in more depth with semantic (§6.2) and morphological (§6.3) properties of adjectives, we shall say something about their distribution and phonological structure.

Normally adjectives do the job of modifying nouns, as in example (1), or that of descriptive predication, as in (2).

- (1) *líi bíiḍ-i [géed-i] rusóx léed-i*
 he.ERG very-F big-F power find.PFV-F
 ‘He gained very much power.’ (B:ATI021)
- (2) *pirsaahíb [jáand-u] de*
 Pir.Sahib alive-MSG was
 ‘Pir Sahib (a pious man) was (still) alive.’ (B:ATI047)

Occasionally, some adjectives may also occur on their own in noun phrases and then distributionally function as nouns (see §6.3.1). On the other hand, another noun may also modify the head noun of a noun phrase, in genitive as well as in its basic form, and also be used predicatively (see Chapter §10).

Structurally, inflected adjectives have a lot in common with nouns and some of the most common finite verb forms (those historically based on participles). Compare, for instance, the words highlighted in examples (3) and (4) (the first an adjective, the second a noun, and the third a verb), all with an ending segment *éeli* (which illustrates the partial alliterative agreement found in Palula, Corbett 2006: 87–88).

- (3) *aní kuḍ [čéel-i]*
 PROX wall[F.SG] thick-F
 ‘This wall is thick.’ (B:DHE4885)
- (4) *inç-a [chéeli] [khéel-i] thaní*
 bear-OB goat[F.SG] eat.PFV-F QT
 ‘The bear has eaten the goat.’ (A:PAS056)

However, while gender is an inherent property of nouns, gender marking of adjectives and verbs is only in the form of agreement with the gender of a noun.

The most typical Palula adjectives belong to the inflecting group and comprise a monosyllabic stem and an agreement suffix (see §6.3.1). The stem typically consists of a long first-mora accented vowel, maximally preceded by a two-consonant onset and followed by a two-consonant cluster: *trúimb-* ‘thick’, minimally without an onset but followed by a stem consonant: *áaq-* ‘half’. Almost equally common is a monosyllabic stem consisting of a short accented vowel, maximally preceded by a two-consonant onset and followed by a two-consonant cluster: *tríṣṭ-* ‘bitter’, minimally without an onset but followed by a stem consonant: *úč-* ‘little’. There are also monosyllabic stems with a long second-mora accented vowel: *mhoór-* ‘sweet’, *lhuún-* ‘salty’. An interesting fact is that a word structure resulting from this latter type of stem plus the obligatory agreement

suffix is not uncommon for adjectives, i.e. a second-mora accented penultimate syllable – *mhoóru*, whereas the same word structure is rather uncommon with nouns – *mheéli* ‘mother’.

Adjectives belonging to the inflecting group, but with a two-syllable stem, are also frequent in the language. All such stems are accented on the vowel of the last syllable, which is either a short vowel – as in *bhakúl-* ‘fat’ – or a first-mora accented long vowel – as in *šidáal-* ‘cold’. The first unaccented vowel may be either long or short. I do not have any evidence of three-syllable adjective stems in the inflecting group.

Non-inflecting adjectives may be monosyllabic or polysyllabic. A number of the monosyllabic ones have a CVC-structure: *šut* ‘sour’, *zer* ‘yellow’, *paák* ‘clean’, whereas the polysyllabic ones are structurally more diverse, though almost exclusively accented on the last syllable: *muškíl* ‘hard, difficult’, *naawás* ‘dangerous’, *arzaán* ‘cheap’, *askóon* (B. *askáan*) ‘easy’.

6.2 Semantic properties of adjectives

Properties or qualities that are typically coded or lexicalised as adjectives in many other languages generally occur as such in Palula as well. Dixon concludes from a comparative study, that adjectives with the semantic content of dimension, colour, age and value are the most likely to occur, however small the class of adjective is in a language (Dixon 1982: 46). Along similar – but not identical – lines, Givón (2001a: 82) points out size, colour and a number of qualities perceived by human senses as most typically expressed with adjectives.

The inflecting adjectives exemplified in the following sections are given in their masculine singular form, and the invariant adjectives are consistently indicated with the abbreviation INV.

6.2.1 Dimensional adjectives

Many of the adjectives denoting spatial dimensions come as antonym pairs. It is not uncommon that the choice between near-synonyms is dictated by animacy in one way or another:

6 Adjectives and quantifiers

<i>gáaḍu</i>	‘big, grown, important’	<i>lhoóku</i>	‘small, young’
<i>gháanu</i>	‘large’	<i>léku</i>	‘small’
<i>čóolu</i>	‘thick, wide’	<i>čúṇu</i>	‘thin’
<i>bhakúlu</i>	‘fat, thick’	<i>tróku</i>	‘thin, weak’
<i>thúlu</i>	‘fat’	<i>khaṭáanu</i>	‘short’
<i>dhrígu</i>	‘long, tall’		
<i>čaáx</i>	‘fat, strong’ (INV)		

As can be seen in the list, many of the adjectives here are of the inflecting type.

The antonym pair *gáaḍu-lhoóku* has the additional connotation of age – further extended to relative importance when applied to human beings – which the pair *gháanu-léku* lacks insofar as it simply refers to physical size. While the former word pair often occurs with humans, the latter pair tends to be used more frequently with animals and inanimates, but also for qualifying small children (as far as *léku* is concerned).

The adjectives *čóolu*, *bhakúlu*, *thúlu* and *čaáx* all have to do with thickness, but here also additional semantic properties as well as the animacy of the noun being qualified governs their selection. Whereas *čóolu* is used invariably to define the thickness of inanimate objects, *čaáx* is never used to refer to anything other than animates, and is used primarily when talking about fat, strong and well-fed domestic animals. The group of nouns being qualified by *thúlu* is similar to that of *čaáx*, but with less emphasis on the strength and more on the actual dimensions, whereas the “in-between” adjective *bhakúlu* is very widely applied to humans and animals, as well as inanimates.

The opposite (and in this culture, negatively rather than positively associated) terms available in this case (*čúṇu* and *tróku*) are fewer, and as expected, each has a wider scope than any of the aforementioned antonyms; *tróku* is used at the upper end of the animacy continuum and *čúṇu* at the lower end. The pair *dhrígu-khaṭáanu* refers to length as well as to vertical extension.

6.2.2 Colour adjectives

Adjectives denoting brightness (dark/light, black/white) come in antonym pairs, whereas the other colour terms cover particular sections of the rainbow and, as such, similar to other languages, form a complement set with a very restricted size (Dixon 1982: 19, 46):

<i>k(r)işînu</i>	‘black’	<i>paṇáaru</i>	‘white’
<i>lhóilu</i>	‘red, (brown)’	<i>çhiṇ</i>	‘dark’ (INV)
<i>níilu</i>	‘blue, green’	<i>práal</i>	‘light’ (INV)
<i>zer</i>	‘yellow’ (INV)	<i>aagabháanu</i>	‘sky-coloured’

Many of these adjectives are of the inflecting type, but hardly all of them.

Including the terms for ‘black’ and ‘white’, there are four basic colour-terms in Palula: *k(r)işînu*, *paṇáaru*, *níilu*, *lhóilu*. For reasons we will return to below, *zer* and *aagabháanu* must be considered less basic and less typical than other Palula adjectives, and among them *zer* at least must be considered a recent Pashto loan (*ziyar* ‘yellow; brass’, Raverty 1982 [1901]). The term *níilu* covers the whole spectrum referred to with English ‘blue’ and ‘green’, but the particular nuance can be specified with nominal derivations, such as *aagabháanu*. The pair *çhiṇ-práal* act as rather marginal adjectives; they tend to be used as nouns, ‘darkness’ and ‘light’, respectively.

The occurrence of the four basic terms, as well as the acquisition of new terms, confirms the hierarchy and distributional restrictions suggested by Berlin & Kay (1969: 2–5). That yellow (and perhaps light colours in general) used to be associated with *paṇáaru* ‘white’ is supported by historical-comparative data, where the cognate of this in a number of NIA languages, in some MIA languages as well as in the OIA use of *pāṇḍara-* (in Śatapatha-Brahmāṇa), covers senses such as ‘whitish-yellow, yellow, pale, white’ (Turner 1966: 8047). That *paṇáaru*, at least in the not too distant past, was associated with the colour of maize is hinted at in the present use of the derived verb *paṇará* ‘rinsing or peeling the ears of corn, white-wash’. Similarly for *k(r)işînu* ‘black’, historical-comparative data suggests a past usage covering dark colours in general, or more specifically ‘dark blue, black’ as attested for OIA *kṛṣṇá-* (in Rgveda, according to Turner 1966: 3451).

Composite categories of blue/black and yellow/white, respectively, unattested in the previous findings of Berlin & Kay (1969), have been attested in the more recent findings of Kay, Berlin & Merrifield (1991: 17). Following their reasoning, a first stage in the evolution of basic colour terms would consist of two composites (Kay, Berlin & Merrifield 1991: 19), one white/yellow/red and one green/blue/black, essentially embodying a distinction between “light” colours and “dark” colours and, in turn, would correspond to a universal or near-universal distinction between day (light time) and night (dark time) (Wierzbicka 1996: 288). These two super-categories may perhaps roughly correspond to a presumed historical “wider” usage of the cognates of *paṇáaru* and *k(r)işînu*, respectively.

That would also assume that the other two basic terms have entered into the

Table 6.1: Hypothetical evolution of Palula colour terms

Stage 1		Stage 2		Stage 3	
<i>k(r)iṣṇu</i>	(bk/bu/g)	<i>k(r)iṣṇu</i>	(bk)		
		<i>nīlu</i>	(bu/g)		
<i>paṇáaru</i>	(w/y/r)	<i>lhóilu</i>	(r)		
		<i>paṇáaru</i>	(w/y)	<i>zer</i>	(y)
				<i>paṇáaru</i>	(w)

system some time later and only gradually gained their status as basic and – in relation to the first two – completely complementary terms. The cognate of *nīlu* is known also in OIA, *nī la-* (Turner 1966: 7563), which refers to ‘dark blue, dark green, black’, thus competing with OIA *kṛṣṇá-* but also used as a noun ‘blue substance; indigo’. This probably means that it started out as a noun specifically referring to a particular plant and then gradually gained its more general use to signify the colour of that plant before becoming associated with the blue/green segment of the blue/green/black composite. The etymology for *lhóilu* seems somewhat shakier, but Turner (1966: 11168, 11158) connects it with an OIA root *lōhá-*, variously glossed as ‘red, copper-coloured; made of copper; copper; iron’. This, at least, hints at a background as a noun even for this term, suggesting that it has gradually gained status as a basic colour term, possibly competing with a former white/yellow/red composite.

Somewhat speculatively we may therefore make some guesses as to the evolution of colour terms in previous stages of Palula, as displayed in Table 6.1.

That the blue/green composite is a persistent one is confirmed by some languages in which this composite remains undissolved even after brown and purple have become thoroughly introduced into the system (Kay, Berlin & Merrifield 1991: 18).

It is obvious from this discussion that it is the less basic and relatively newly acquired colour adjectives that are invariant, such as *zer* ‘yellow’, whereas the most basic and firmly established terms, such as *kṛṣṇu* ‘black’ and *paṇáaru* ‘white’, are inflecting.

6.2.3 Age adjectives

The size of the age type of adjectives is, like in many other languages, very restricted (Dixon 1982: 46). Those that occur come in antonym pairs, similar to the

dimensional adjectives:

<i>puróonũ</i>	‘old’ (inanimate)	<i>náawu</i>	‘new’
<i>búuɖu</i>	‘old’ (animate)	<i>zuwaán</i>	‘young’ (INV)
<i>ghaɖeeró</i> (<i>gaɖheeró</i>)	‘older’	<i>lhookeeró</i>	‘younger’

The antonym pair *búuɖu* – *zuwaán* are perhaps used more as independent nouns in the sense of ‘old man’ and ‘young man’, respectively, especially the latter, than as adjectives modifying another noun.

The pair *ghaɖeeró*–*lhookeeró* reveals a trace of an earlier comparative formation, those forms being old comparatives of *gáaɖu* ‘big, grown, important’, and *lhoóku* ‘small, young’ (see above). In this case, however, it is solely the age component that remains, as in *ghaɖeeró* *bhroó* ‘elder brother’. In particular, *ghaɖeeró* is used as a noun, and often in a more restricted sense, meaning an ‘elder’ of an entire village, clan or tribe.

6.2.4 Value adjectives

While Dixon (1982: 46) places a semantic type “value” among those most likely to belong to the adjectives, even when the class is small, Givón (2001a: 83) includes what he calls “evaluative” in the less prototypical group:

<i>šóo</i>	‘good’	<i>kháaču</i>	‘bad’
<i>šišówu</i>	‘beautiful’	<i>beetseerá</i>	‘ugly’ (INV)
<i>sóoru</i>	‘healthy, whole’	<i>naawás</i>	‘difficult, dangerous’ (INV)
<i>askóon</i>	‘easy’ (INV)	<i>zoór</i>	‘difficult’ (INV)
<i>paák</i>	‘clean’ (INV)	<i>muškíl</i>	‘difficult’ (INV)
<i>arzaán</i>	‘cheap’ (INV)	<i>g(i)raán</i>	‘expensive’ (INV)

In Palula, one of the more obvious characteristics of this type is that to a large extent it is made up of relatively recent loans, and many of them are morphologically invariant.

6.2.5 Physical-property adjectives

Lacking a better term, I chose to use the term suggested by Dixon (1982: 16) for properties that in different ways parallel human sensory capacities. What is essentially the same class of potential adjectives, Givón (2001a: 82) divides into four groups: auditory qualities, shape, taste and tactile. For reasons having to do with

their lower temporal stability, Givón (2001a: 83) places some of Dixon's physical properties under transitory states (e.g. temperature and external condition), a group that Givón considers less prototypically coded as adjectives:

<i>piṇḍúuru</i>	'round'	<i>lhuúṇu</i>	'salty'
<i>mhoóru</i>	'sweet'	<i>tríṣṭu</i>	'bitter'
<i>kooṭáatu</i>	'hard'	<i>koomáalu</i>	'soft'
<i>tíiṇu</i>	'sharp'	<i>búku</i>	'dull'
<i>táatu</i>	'warm'	<i>šidáalu</i>	'cold'
<i>páaku</i>	'ripe, cooked'	<i>óomu</i>	'unripe, raw'
<i>šúku</i>	'dry'	<i>síndu</i>	'wet'

As can be seen, and also pointed out by Dixon (1982: 19), the properties of this type that code taste seem to be members of a complement set akin to that of colour terms (which in themselves very well could be treated as physical properties that are visually perceived), whereas some of the other clusters (like the tactile suggested by Givón 2001a: 82) occur in antonym pairs in a fashion similar to that of dimensional adjectives.

While all the aforementioned types (dimensional, colour, age and value) are among those typically occurring as adjectives, according to Dixon (1982: 46), this type occur with less frequency in languages with smaller inventories of adjectives.

Whereas tactile- and taste-related properties are rather well-represented, auditory qualities and more specialised shape (i.e. visually perceived) properties are generally not coded as adjectives in Palula. Some of those signifying less temporally stable properties, such as *šúku* 'dry' and *páaku* 'ripe, cooked' are less adjectival; both are in fact formally identical with Perfective (and Perfective Participle) forms of the verbs *šuš-* 'dry' and *pač-* 'ripen, become cooked', respectively.

However, it is interesting to note that all of the exemplified adjectives of this type are inflecting.

6.2.6 Speed adjectives

It is uncertain whether this type really qualifies as a main adjective type, or rather ought to be included among physical property adjectives, but in order to compare with Dixon's results I have kept it separate. As predicted by Dixon (1982: 46), it is a very restricted type with respect to size:

<i>teéz</i>	'fast, strong' (INV)	<i>bhraáš</i>	'slow' (INV)
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It is doubtful how much these words are really used as adjectives. Mostly they are used as adverbs, qualifying verbs rather than nouns. Used as an adverb, *teéz*, for instance, has at least two near-synonyms, *lap* (or *lab*) and *táru*, both meaning ‘quickly, fast’. Dixon (1982: 47–48) notes a certain conditional relationship between the physical property and the speed type: if the physical property type in a given language is associated with the verb type (which we saw above that it to some extent is), then the speed type will be associated with the class of adverbs.

6.2.7 Human-propensity adjectives

A type of adjective that tends to be particularly numerous is one that is applied to human behaviour and states. Although primarily qualifying nouns referring to humans, it is often extended to include all higher animates (Dixon 1982: 16, 46). The distinction between this type and value adjectives (see above) is at best approximate. Many of the properties found here correspond to Givón’s (2001: 83) transitory states and states of living, both of which less prototypically occur as adjectives. Some of them have more or less obvious antonyms, but for others, there is not one clear opposite term, or it would simply not make sense to talk about an opposite trait:

<i>sóoru</i>	‘whole, healthy’	<i>bidráagu</i>	‘sick’
<i>ačhíiwu</i>	‘sane’	<i>kaantiiru</i>	‘mad’
<i>bhúuru</i>	‘deaf’	<i>şıiru</i>	‘blind’
<i>čaaraá</i>	‘dumb’	<i>khúšu</i>	‘left-handed’
<i>lheéñdu</i>	‘bald’	<i>khútu</i>	‘lame’
<i>bhiiroó</i>	‘male’	<i>súutri</i>	‘female’
<i>khíndu</i>	‘tired’		

Whereas languages with a very small class of adjectives tend to associate physical property with verbs, human propensity instead tends to be associated with nouns. In fact, a number of the Palula adjectives of this type that have to do with (more permanent) states, can equally well function as nouns and often do; e.g. *şıiru* could have the sense ‘blind’ when modifying a noun and the sense ‘blind person’ as the head of a noun phrase. On the other hand, some other adjectives presented here that are used for (more temporary) mental-internal states are closely associated – or even identical – with verb forms, e.g. *khíndu*, which is the Perfective (or Perfective Participle) of *khínj*- ‘become tired’.

6.2.8 Adjectival quantifiers

Another group of Palula adjectives with no counterpart either in Givón's or Dixon's discussion is made up of quantifying or somewhat existential expressions. Some of them are distributionally rather flexible:

<i>bíiḍu</i>	'many, much'	<i>úču</i>	'few, a little'
<i>bijóolu</i>	'several'	<i>phalúuru</i>	'sole, only'
<i>áaḍu</i>	'half'	<i>púuntu</i>	'full'
<i>xaalí</i>	'empty (also: pure, whole)' (INV)	<i>puunjí</i>	'full' (INV)
<i>falaankí</i>	'unknown, so and so' (INV)		

Both *púuntu* 'full' and *puunjí* 'full' are essentially verbal, the first being the Perfective Participle of *púunj-* 'become filled' and the second the Converb of the same verb.

6.2.9 Summary of findings

The investigation in Sections §6.2.1 – §6.2.8 gives us a somewhat clearer idea how to view the class we have referred to as adjectives in Palula.

First, there is a core of typical adjectives, used exclusively or nearly exclusively as descriptive or qualitative modifiers of nouns. Many of those are found among words referring to dimension and colour.

Second, there are a number of overlaps, and some words from the following categories can also be used as modifiers of nouns: a) adverbs (i.e. as modifiers or adjuncts of verb phrases or adjective phrases), particularly words referring to speed or quantity; b) nouns, particularly words referring to age and human propensity, but also some of those referring to dimension, quantity, age and colour; c) verbs (or more specifically participles), particularly words referring to physical property but also some of those referring to quantity and human propensity.

Third, while the firmly established adjectives (used with relative freedom attributively as well as predicatively) tend to be of the inflecting type, most newly acquired words used as noun modifiers are invariant and usually more restricted in their distribution (more readily used predicatively than attributively), especially newly acquired evaluative words. The relative age of the colour terms discussed in §6.2.2, also illustrates this difference: while the older and most basic terms are inflecting adjectives, the relatively newly acquired colour terms are less basic, distributionally more restricted and invariant.

The relative closeness between important groups of adjectives and nouns on the one hand and verbs on the other suggests that the diachronic rise of agreement features within the noun phrase (which are to some extent alliterative, Corbett 2006: 87) is to be sought either in the nominal paradigm or in the agreement features of participles, or perhaps both, thus reinforcing one another and possibly strengthened further through analogy.

6.3 Morphological properties of adjectives

6.3.1 Inflectional morphology

As has been mentioned already, adjectives can be divided into two main categories as far as morphology is concerned: inflecting and invariant (or non-inflecting) adjectives. When they qualify nouns, as modifiers or as predicative complements, inflecting adjectives show agreement in gender, number and case. Although the inflectional morphology in many ways mirrors that of nouns, adjectival inflection shows a considerably lower degree of declensional variation and fewer available forms. Case agreement is, for instance, part of the inflectional properties of adjectives, but it plays a minor part in the paradigm as compared to the nominal paradigm, and number contrast is only partially displayed.

Inflecting adjectives

The great majority of inflecting adjectives occur in three forms ending in *-u*, *-a* and *-i*, respectively, as displayed in Table 6.2. (There is also a marginal FPL form ending in *-im*, although mainly realised when an adjective is being substantivised, §6.3.2.)

Table 6.2: Inflection of adjectives

Nominative masculine singular	Nominative masculine plural/oblique masculine	Feminine	
<i>dhríg-u</i>	<i>dhríg-a</i>	<i>dhríg-i</i>	'long, tall'

The first two forms are a direct reflection of the nominative singular and the nominative plural/oblique singular forms of the *u*-marked nouns of the *a*-declension, and the feminine forms correspond to the singular and plural forms of the *m*-declension nouns.

6 Adjectives and quantifiers

Inflecting adjectives with an accent on a long *óo* (< *áa*) or *áa* (< *a*) in NOM.MSG undergo vowel modification (umlaut) to *ée* in the feminine agreement forms with an *i*-suffix (Table 6.3).

Table 6.3: Inflection (involving umlaut) of adjectives

NOM.MSG	NOM.MPL/OB.M	Feminine	
<i>gáađu</i>	<i>gáađa</i>	<i>géėđi</i>	‘big, important, grown’
<i>paṇáaru</i>	<i>paṇáara</i>	<i>paṇéeri</i>	‘white’
<i>áađu</i>	<i>áađa</i>	<i>éeđi</i>	‘half’
<i>óomu</i>	<i>óoma</i>	<i>éemi</i>	‘raw, unripe’
<i>puróoṇu</i>	<i>puróoṇa</i>	<i>puréeṇi</i>	‘old’
<i>sóoru</i>	<i>sóora</i>	<i>séeri</i>	‘healthy, whole’

There are individual adjectives inflecting differently (Table 6.4), but they are too few to analyse meaningfully as parts of separate declensions; however, it should be pointed out that they do bear resemblances to some of the other noun declensions and may possibly reflect earlier more widespread declensional differences among adjectives, similar to the adjective classes in Kohistani Shina (Schmidt & Kohistani 2008: 100–103).

Table 6.4: Irregularly inflecting adjectives

NOM.MSG	NOM.MPL/OB.M	Feminine	
<i>śóo</i>	<i>śóo-a</i>	<i>śu(y)-i</i>	‘good’ ^a
<i>bhiiroó</i>	<i>bhiireé</i>	–	‘male’
<i>čaaráá</i>	<i>čaaráá</i>	<i>čaarái</i>	‘dumb’

^a In the Biori dialect this adjective has been reinterpreted as an invariant adjective: *śúi*.

Invariant adjectives

Adjectives that do not inflect for agreement with a noun head either end in a consonant or a vowel other than *u*.

The following are examples of invariant (non-inflecting) adjectives:

<i>dang</i>	‘hard’	<i>takrá</i>	‘strong’
<i>zoór</i>	‘difficult’	<i>dhíla</i>	‘loose’
<i>šum</i>	‘stingy’	<i>teét</i>	‘tight’
<i>xaróob</i>	‘bad’	<i>yor</i>	‘greasy’
<i>saká</i>	‘real’	<i>taaqaťwár</i>	‘powerful’

Although most of these without doubt function as adjectives, there are a number of features that make at least a fair number of them slightly less prototypical: A large proportion of the invariant adjectives are fairly recent loans from other languages, and although some of them are old enough in the language to have acquired an indigenised phonology (such as *xaróob* from the Perso-Arabic *xarāb*), they have not yet developed the inflectional paradigm typical of most inflecting adjectives. Furthermore, many of these tend to be used predicatively, whereas the inflecting adjectives are used equally well attributively and predicatively. They can also to a larger extent be used as nouns and adverbs apart from their adjectival usage.

6.3.2 Substantivisation

An adjective can occur on its own as the head of a noun phrase when substantivised, i.e. an adjective like *gáađu* ‘grown, big, important’ thus being used as in (5) in the sense ‘the big one, the adult’. Apart from a slight semantic shift, being substantivised also means that case forms otherwise only applied to nouns have to be used (when applicable). This is also the realm where the otherwise rare feminine plural forms with *-im*, as in (6), are non-optional.

- (5) *so [gáađ-am] dīi náqal th-áan-u*
 3MSG.NOM big-MPL.OB from copying do-PRS-MSG
 ‘He is imitating the adults (the grown up men).’ (A:SMO005)
- (6) *se [éeđ-im] bhīlam khonđíl-im*
 DEF half-FPL fearfully speak.PFV-FPL
 ‘The rest of them spoke fearfully.’ (A:BEZ022)

6.3.3 Comparison of degree

As we saw above, there are some traces of an earlier inflection for comparison, and Morgenstierne (1941: 17) also points out some remains of the OIA superlative degree, but in the modern language these degrees are exclusively expressed periphrastically. The comparative is expressed by a standard of comparison in

oblique case and the postposition *díi* ‘from’, as illustrated in (7) and (8), preceding the adjective functioning as the parameter of comparison, literally translatable as ‘X is large from Y’.

- (7) *bhiúuri [dhamareet-á díi gáaḍ-u] déeš*
 Biori Dhamaret-OB from large-MSG village
 ‘Biori is a larger village than Dhamaret.’ (B:DHE4803)
- (8) *[kúuk-a díi] kúuk-e putr [hušiaár]*
 crow-OB from crow-GN son wise
 ‘The son of a crow is wiser than the crow [himself].’ (B:PRB004)

A construction having a function close to the superlative of many European languages similarly uses the oblique form of the indefinite pronoun *buṭheé* ‘all’ and *díi*, example (9), literally meaning something like ‘X is more powerful than all’.

- (9) *[buṭhimeém díi taaqatwár] hín-u insaán*
 all-OB from powerful be.PRS-MSG human
 ‘Man is the most powerful (creature).’ (A:KIN003)

6.3.4 Derivational morphology

Apart from the general flexibility of some words, as we saw above (§6.2.9), being used as nouns *and* adjectives or as nouns *and* participials etc., adjectives may also be derived morphologically from other parts of speech, particularly from nouns and adverbs. A commonly occurring adjectival derivative suffix applied to nouns, particularly referring to materials or substances, is the accent-bearing derivational suffix *-íil*, as shown in Table 6.5, to which agreement suffixes are subsequently added.

The difference between the noun-to-adjective derivation in *-íil* and the Perfective Participles with an *íl*-segment should be noted, as they may take on slightly different semantics when used attributively: *jhaṭíilu* ‘made of fur’ vs. *jhaṭílu* ‘fur-clad, hairy’. A special group of adjectives is morphologically derived from the relatively small class of non-derived (primarily calendrical) temporal adverbs (see §7.1.3) by means of an accent-bearing suffix *-úk* (Table 6.6), to which agreement suffixes are added.

Table 6.5: Adjectives derived from nouns

Derived adjective			Noun derived from	
<i>šaak-ĩlu</i>	‘wooden’	←	<i>šaák</i>	‘wood’
<i>koow-ĩlu</i>	‘made of olive wood’	←	<i>koó</i>	‘olive tree wood’
<i>wii-lu</i>	‘watery’	←	<i>wii</i>	‘water’
<i>čimar-ĩlu</i> , <i>čeemáar-u</i>	‘of steel, iron’	←	<i>čimar</i>	‘steel’
<i>jhaṭ-ĩlu</i>	‘made of fur’	←	<i>jhaát</i>	‘fur’

Table 6.6: Adjectives derived from temporal adverbs

Derived adjective			Adverb derived from	
<i>aaĵ-úku</i>	today’s	←	<i>aaĵ</i>	today
<i>dhoor-úku</i>	yesterday’s	←	<i>dhoór</i>	yesterday
<i>tip-úku</i>	the present	←	<i>típa</i>	now
<i>bhiaal-úku</i>	last night’s	←	<i>bhióol</i>	last night

6.4 Numerals

The Palula numeral system is basically vigesimal, a system common to most languages of the region (Bashir 2003: 823). The numerals discussed in this section are cardinal numerals, substantivised numerals, and ordinal numerals.

6.4.1 Cardinal numerals

The cardinals from 20 to 100 are vigesimal, which means that 20 (and not ten) functions as a base, preceded by a multiplier. The word *bhiš* ‘20’ is essentially a noun in this construction, plural inflected and preceded by a modifying lower numeral:

<i>bhiš</i> (<i>purá bhiš</i>)	‘twenty’ (‘full twenty’)	
<i>dúu bhiš-á</i> (<i>dubhišá</i>)	‘forty’	2 x 20
<i>tróo bhiš-á</i>	‘sixty’	3 x 20
<i>čúur bhiš-á</i>	‘eighty’	4 x 20
<i>páanĵ bhiš-á</i>	‘one hundred’	5 x 20

The numbers between 20, 40, and 60 etc. are formed by coordination, whereby a coordinating element (cf. §13.2.1) is attached to 20 and then followed by one of the numerals 1–19, as exemplified in (10) and (11). Phonologically, the complex is one word with one main accent. Note that the order is the reverse in some other languages in the region (cf. Kalam Kohistani, Baart 1999a: 57).

- (10) *bhiš-ee-šó*
twenty-and-six
'26'
- (11) *dubhiš-ee-šoríiš*
two.twenty-and-sixteen
'56'

Table 6.7 presents the Palula numerals from 1–40, the system after that being regular up to 100.

Although even the numerals one hundred and above can be given according to the vigesimal system, this is no longer in common use. Instead, the numerals 100, 200, etc., 1000, 2000, etc., and all higher numbers are represented by loans from languages of wider communication, essentially words from Pashto:

100	<i>áak sóo (paanj-bhišá)</i>
200	<i>dúu sóo/sówa (dáaš bhišá)</i>
1 000	<i>áak zir</i>
2 000	<i>dúu zára</i>
10 000	<i>dáaš zára</i>
100 000	<i>áa láak</i>

With a growing emphasis on education in the Palula-speaking area, even small children are familiar with Urdu numerals and use them in free variation with the native Palula words, especially for all numbers above ten. For indicating years according to the common era, Urdu numerals are used exclusively.

Reduplication, as in (12), is used to form distributive numerals.

- (12) *tus [aak-áak] looríi-a aṭ-óoi*
2PL.NOM RED-one bowl-PL bring-IMP.PL
'Go and get a bowl each [all of you]!' (A:KAT125-6)

Emphasis or exclusiveness can be added to a numeral with a suffix *-ee* (cf. emphasised pronouns, §5.1), as in (13), giving the meaning 'only ten, etc.'

Table 6.7: Cardinal numerals

1–20		21–40	
1	<i>áak, áa</i>	21	<i>bhiš-ee-áak</i>
2	<i>dúu</i>	22	<i>bhiš-ee-dúu</i>
3	<i>tróo</i>	23	<i>bhiš-ee-tróo</i>
4	<i>čúur</i>	24	<i>bhiš-ee-čúur</i>
5	<i>páanĵ</i>	25	<i>bhiš-ee-páanĵ</i>
6	<i>šo</i>	26	<i>bhiš-ee-šo</i>
7	<i>sáat</i>	27	<i>bhiš-ee-sáat</i>
8	<i>áaṣṭ</i>	28	<i>bhiš-ee-áaṣṭ</i>
9	<i>núu</i>	29	<i>bhiš-ee-núu</i>
10	<i>dáaš</i>	30	<i>bhiš-ee-dáaš</i>
11	<i>akóoš</i>	31	<i>bhiš-ee-akóoš</i>
12	<i>bóoš</i>	32	<i>bhiš-ee-bóoš</i>
13	<i>tríiš</i>	33	<i>bhiš-ee-tríiš</i>
14	<i>čandíiš</i>	34	<i>bhiš-ee-čandíiš</i>
15	<i>panĵíiš</i>	35	<i>bhiš-ee-panĵíiš</i>
16	<i>šoṛíiš</i>	36	<i>bhiš-ee-šoṛíiš</i>
17	<i>satóoš</i>	37	<i>bhiš-ee-satóoš</i>
18	<i>aṣṭóoš</i>	38	<i>bhiš-ee-aṣṭóoš</i>
19	<i>aṇabhiš</i>	39	<i>bhiš-ee-aṇabhiš</i>
20	<i>bhíš</i>	40	<i>dubhišá</i>

- (13) *eesé waxt-íi [dáaš-ee] kušúni de*
 REM time-GN ten-EXCL household be.PST

‘In those days there were only ten households.’ (A:PAS010)

For inclusiveness, on the other hand, i.e. to give the meaning ‘all ten, etc.’, a form of the numeral with an accented ending *éé* and the numeral stem deaccented (cf. the ordinal numerals, §6.4.3) is used, as can be seen in (14).

- (14) *šiin-ii čureé šeenbóo-a phooṭíl-a*
 bed-GN four.INCL leg.of.bed-PL break.PFV-MPL

‘All four legs of the bed broke.’ (A:GHU024)

6.4.2 Substantivised numerals

Apart from being used attributively, cardinal numbers, at least the lower ones, can also be used independently, as heads of noun phrases (like many adjectives and demonstratives). Used this way they are inflected for case, (15)–(16).

- (15) [áak-ii] ta dheerdár nikhéet-i [áak-ii] ba aní phyaarṁaṁ-í
 one-GN PRT stomach.pain come.out.PFV-F one-GN PRT PROX side-OB
wée breéx nikhéet-i
 in pain come.out.PFV-F
 ‘One of them started to feel pain in his stomach, whereas the other felt it in his side.’ (A:GHA058-9)
- (16) eesé [dašúm] maṁi dúu bhraawú de
 REM ten.OB among two brother.PL be.PST
 ‘Among these ten were two brothers.’ (A:PAS011)

6.4.3 Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numbers (Table 6.8) are formed with an accented and somewhat variable suffix *-úma/-íma/-íma*, added to a de-accented form of the cardinal numerals. The ordinal ‘first’ is altogether suppletive (but a form *akúme* has been noted in the B. dialect).

Table 6.8: Ordinal numerals

1–10		11–20	
<i>aaweelii</i>	first	<i>akaašúma</i>	11th
<i>dhuúima, dhuyáama</i>	second	<i>baašúma</i>	12th
<i>trayíma, trayáama</i>	third	<i>treešúma</i>	13th
<i>čuríma</i>	fourth	<i>čandeešúma</i>	14th
<i>pañjúma</i>	fifth	<i>pañjeešúma</i>	15th
<i>ṣuyíma</i>	sixth	<i>ṣureešúma</i>	16th
<i>satúma</i>	seventh	<i>sataašúma</i>	17th
<i>aṣṭúma</i>	eighth	<i>aṣṭaašúma</i>	18th
<i>nuyíma</i>	ninth	<i>aṇabhišúma</i>	19th
<i>dašúma</i>	tenth	<i>bhišúma</i>	20th

7 Adverbs and postpositions

7.1 Adverbs

Hardly surprising, adverbs and adverbial expressions comprise a heterogenous category in Palula. Only a few adverbs are entirely non-derived (whether synchronically or diachronically speaking), and as a word class, if it can at all be described as such, it is a small, closed class rather than a large, open one. Most spatial and temporal adverbs are pronominal or nominal, most manner adverbs are verbal and some members of the small subclass of degree adverbs are also used as modifiers of nouns. Many spatial adverbs are also used as postpositions. Still, as described in §6.3.4, some adjectives are derived from the small group of non-derived (primarily calendrical) adverbs.

7.1.1 Symmetrical adverb sets

The systematic differentiation between the categories ‘proximate’, ‘distal’, ‘remote’ and ‘indefinite-interrogative’ among pronouns (and other pro-forms; see §5.3.1) is to some extent carried over to and partly overlapping with certain sets of adverbial pro-forms.

Although the symmetry is not complete, the relevant forms are given in Table 7.1, to be easily identified when referred to in the sections to follow.

For the spatial adverbs (also referred to as adverbial demonstratives or locational deictics, Diessel 2006: 431), all four categories are represented, and as with the pronouns, there are in most cases two forms available in each category: a neutral (or highly accessible) form, and an emphasised form (used for referring back to something less accessible in the discourse, or correlatively, see §13.6), the latter with an initial *ee-*. As not to clutter the table more than necessary, only the emphasised forms are included (e.g. emphasised *ee-táa* corresponds to neutral *táa*). Neither are the B. forms included in the table (there is a regular correspondence between A. *ee-* and B. *ha-*; A. *góo* – B. *gúu*; ablative forms A. *-áai* – and B. *-áauu*.)

Used adverbially, the oblique forms (also functioning as 3SG ergative pronouns) are always used along with a positional or directional postposition (hence the hyphen), see §7.2.2, the only exception being the indefinite-interrogative *kíi*, which

can be used alone meaning ‘where to’. The locative and ablative can also be followed by a directional postposition, but can also stand alone as spatial adverbs. As will be further discussed and exemplified in §7.2, the members of the spatial set may also take on a temporal interpretation along with certain postpositions.

Table 7.1: Symmetrical adverb sets

	Proximate	Distal	Remote	Indefinite-interrogative
Spatial				
– locative	<i>índa</i> ‘here’	<i>eeráa</i> ‘there (visible)’	<i>eetáa</i> ‘there (invisible)’	<i>góo</i> ‘where’
– oblique	<i>aníi-</i> ‘here’	<i>eeríi-</i> ‘there (visible)’	<i>eetíi-</i> ‘there (invisible)’	<i>kíi-</i> ‘where’
– ablative	<i>andóoii</i> , <i>indóoii</i> ‘from here’	<i>eeráai</i> ‘from there (visible)’	<i>eetáai</i> ‘from there (invisible)’	<i>góoii</i> ‘from where’
Degree			<i>eetí</i> ‘so, such’	<i>katí</i> ‘how, how much’
Manner				
– intransitive			<i>eendáa-bhe</i> ‘like that’	<i>kanáa-bhe</i> ‘like what, how’
– transitive			<i>eendáa-the</i> ‘like that’	<i>kanáa-the</i> ‘like what, how’

The degree adverbs are primarily modifiers of adjectives, whereas the manner adverbs modify entire clauses. The form *eendáa* with the Converb form of *bhe* ‘become’ is used with intransitive clauses, while that with *the* ‘do’ is used with transitive clauses.

There is no obvious symmetrical correspondence to the indefinite-interrogative temporal adverb *kareé* ‘when’, but the nearest functional equivalent is *eetheél* ‘then, at that time’.

7.1.2 Spatial adverbs

Most adverbial expressions with spatial semantics are either pronominal/deictic or nominal in nature or derived from those word classes, often playing a syntactic role similar to that of noun phrases and postpositional phrases.

The deictic set *índa* – *eeráa* – *eetáa* – *góo* etc.

As mentioned above, most of these adverbial deictics are related to demonstratives, and some may be used pronominally as well as adverbially. Typically they describe location, meaning *índa* ‘here’, *eeráa* ‘there (further away but still visible)’, *eetáa* ‘there’ (not visible), *góo* ‘where’, the latter primarily interrogatively. It may, beside its primary static reading, as in (1), also imply goal, as in (2).

- (1) *áaḍ-a [índa] bhíl-a áaḍ-a ba naaréy-a the gíia*
 half-MPL here become.PFV-MPL half-MPL PRT Narey-OB to go.PFV.PL
 ‘Some remained here, while others went to Narey.’ (A:ANC005)
- (2) *[táa] yhaí ba góo hín-u bhraapútr thaníit-u*
 there come.CV PRT where be.PRS-MSG nephew say.PFV-MSG
 ‘When he came there, he said: “Where is he, nephew?”’ (A:PAS058)

The members of the series *andóoi* – *eeráai* – *eetáai* – *góoi* have an ablative function, expressing a movement away from a location, as in example (3), or an origin in a certain location.

- (3) *[eetáai] wheel-í ghróom-a phedóol-u*
 from.there take.down-CV village-OB bring.PFV-MSG
 ‘Taking it [the corpse] down from there, we got it to the village.’ (A:GHA075)

The members of the locative series as well as of the ablative may be further specified (for goal or source) or emphasised by a following postposition, and for some postpositions, such as *wée* in (4), the members of the oblique series have to be used instead of those of the locative or ablative series (for further examples, see §7.2.2).

- (4) *şış ba [aníi-wee] bi buṭí [aníi-wee] bi buṭí*
 head PRT 3SG.PROX.OB-in also plait-CV 3SG.PROX.OB-in also plait-CV
 ‘As for his head, here and here he had braided [his hair].’ (A:JAN069)

Various spatial adverbs

huṇḍ ‘up’. This essentially nominal adverb is used for a location situated in a more or less vertical upward direction (not necessarily visible) from the point of reference. Used alone it can refer to a location ‘up (there)’, as in (5), as well as a movement to such a location.

- (5) [huṇḍ] ta χhiitr-ee [bhun] ba ghaawaáz de
 above PRT field-CNJ below PRT stream.bed be.PST
 ‘The field was up above and the stream-bed down below.’ (A:JAN082)

From *huṇḍ* a number of other semantically related adverbs or adverbial phrases can be derived: *huṇḍ the/húṇṭe* ‘up (to)’, as in (6); *huṇḍii/huṇḍii thii* ‘from above’; *huṇḍgiraá* (A.), example (7); or *huṇṭegiráak/huṇṭráak* (B.) ‘upward, uphill’, *huṇḍaráa* (< *huṇḍ* + *eeráa*) ‘up there’.

- (6) sum [huṇḍ the] ṣugal-í ba čo ba thaniit-u
 soil up to throw-CV PRT go go.IMP.SG say.PFV-MSG
 ‘He threw soil up [in the air] and said: “Go on!”’ (A:PIR037)
- (7) [huṇḍgiraá] daçh-iin ta inç muṭ-ii phúṭi jhulí bheš-í áaṇç-a
 upward look-3PL PRT bear tree-GN top on sit-CV raspberry-PL
 khiáan-u
 eat.PRS-MSG
 ‘They were looking up and saw the bear sitting in the top of the tree eating raspberries.’ (A:KAT145)

bhun ‘down’. This essentially nominal adverb is used for a location situated downward or below the point of reference. Used alone it can refer to a location ‘down (there)’ (see (5)) as well as a movement to such a location, as in (8).

The following adverbs or adverbial phrases are examples of derivations from *bhun*: *bhún the/bhuná* ‘down (to)’, *bhuníi thii* ‘from below’, *bhungiraá* (A.) or *bhunṭegiráak/bhunráak* (B.) ‘downward’, *bhunimaá* ‘(on the way) downhill’, exemplified in (9), *bhunaráa* (and other deictic forms based on it) ‘down there’.

- (8) so mées hatí maǰí-e uṭik-í [bhun] whayí ba
 DEM.MSG.NOM man 3SG.REM.OB in-CNJ jump.CV down come.down.CV PRT
 uḍheew-í wháat-u
 flee-CV come.down.PFV-MSG
 ‘Meanwhile, the man jumped down [from the tree] and fled down [to the village].’ (B:CLE377)

- (9) *tuúš [bhunimaá] wh-íi ta karáaru ukh-áand-u*
 some downhill come.down-3SG PRT leopard come.up-PRS-MSG
 ‘Getting some ways downhill, [he meets] the leopard coming up.’ (A:KAT095)

***ajá* (B. *ajé*) ‘up (there)’.** This essentially deictic adverb is used for a location situated upstream or in a slightly upward location from the point of reference (cf. *hunḍ* which implies a place more or less straight above the point of reference). Used alone it can refer to a location ‘up/over (there), upstream’ as well as a movement to such a location, as in (10). Although not quite as productive as *hunḍ* and *bhun*, this adverb is similarly used as a building block for other adverbs and adverbial expressions, such as *ajímaá* ‘upward’, *ajaraa* ‘up/over there’, *ají/ají thii* (B.) ‘from upstreams/up-country’.

- (10) *yáab ghaš-í [ajá] gúum ta*
 canal take-CV up go.PFV.MSG PRT
 ‘I went up along the irrigation canal.’ (A:HUA053)

***túuri* ‘down (there)’.** This adverb, otherwise mostly used as a postposition (see §7.2.2), is only occasionally used without a noun or pronoun as an argument. It seems to be contrasting with the aforementioned adverb in describing a location or movement downstream from the point of reference, such as in (11). It may also be followed by the postposition *wée* (see §7.2.2).

- (11) *dúi xálak ba [túuri] drhúuk-a the géa*
 other people PRT down gorge-OB to go.PFV.PL
 ‘The other people went down to the valley.’ (B:AVA205)

***rhalá* ‘up (above, on top)’.** This adverbial expression, related to the adjective *raal* (primarily occurring as a host element in conjunct verbs with meanings such as ‘raise, lift up’), is used for describing the position on top of a structure or object, as in example (12). In some sentences its function may rather be analysed as that of a manner adverb or a postposition.

- (12) *dúi hiimaál whayí tópa traác de asaám [rhalá] gaḍíl-a*
 other glacier come.down.CV down IDPH give.CV 1PL.ACC up take.out.PFV-MPL

‘Another avalanche struck, pushing from below, and brought us up [on top of the snow].’ (A:ACR015)

awaagír ‘up high, at a high elevation’. This adverbial expression (possibly also adjectival) seems to be exclusively used for referring to a high elevation in the mountains.

phará ‘yonder, over there’. This deictic adverb (probably based on a spatial noun **phaár* or **paár*, cf. *adaphaár* ‘halfways’ below) is used for a location some distance away but still visible (and in a straight line) from the point of reference, as in (13), often in contrast with *oóra* ‘on this side, over here’ (see below). Like some of the other spatial adverbs above, it is used as a building block for other adverbs and adverbial expressions: such as *pharimaá* (A.)/*pehrimaá* (B.) ‘(some ways) forward, onward’, *pharaára* ‘over there, yonder’, *pharií thii* (A.)/*parí thii* (B.) ‘from some distance away’, *pharagiraá* ‘at some distance’. The deictic expression *pharaára* may be further modified by vowel lengthening: *phaaraára*, implying a location even further away than *pharaára*. (Cf. also the postposition *pharé*, §7.2.2).

- (13) *so šái bi tanaám sangí yhaí [oóra] šan-á, ma*
 DEM.MSG.NOM thing also 3PL.ACC with come.CV over.here roof-OB 1SG.NOM
ba [phará] khilayí dharíit-u
 PRT yonder alone remain.PFV-MSG
 ‘That thing also came with them to the roof over here, but I remained alone over there.’ (A:HUA032-3)

oóra ‘on this side, over here’. As already mentioned and exemplified in (13), this deictic adverb is used in contrast with **phará**, implying a location close to the point of reference as opposed to a location further away. I am not aware of any derivations from this adverb.

patú ‘behind, in back’. This basic form is, according to my material, only used as a postposition (in A.) or conjunction (in B.), see §7.2.2; however, a couple of (partly spatial, partly temporal) adverbial expressions are clearly derived from it: *patugiraá* (exemplified in (14))/*patugiróo*/*paturaá* (A.)/*patugiráak* (B.) ‘back’, *padúši* (< *patú*+*dúši*) ‘behind’, as in (15), the latter almost exclusively used in a temporal sense in B. (cf. §7.1.3).

- (14) *se páand [patugiraá] na lháay-a de*
 3PL.NOM path back NEG find-3SG PST
 ‘It did not find its way back.’ (A:CAV020)

- (15) *bakáara ta muştú bhe whéet-i-ee be ba [padúši]*
 flock PRT in.front become.CV come.down.PFV-F-CNJ 1PL.NOM PRT behind
wh-áand-a
 come.down-PRS-MPL

‘The flock got down before us, and then we came down behind.’ (A:PAS052)

***muştú* (A. only) ‘in front, ahead, forward’.** As with the aforementioned adverbial group, *muştú* has in addition to its basic spatial meaning, as in (16), acquired some largely temporal aspects (see §7.1.3). A nearly synonymous *muştugiraá* is also derived from it.

- (16) *tuúš [muştú] bii ta áak luumái dhoó dít-i hín-i*
 some in.front go.3SG PRT IDEF fox sight give.PFV-F be.PRS-F
 ‘Going some distance forward, he saw a fox.’ (A:KAT011)

***nhiáara* (B. *niháara*) ‘near, nearby’.** This adverb is often used in a so-called compound postposition (§7.2.3) but may also be used alone (17) as a spatial adverb.

- (17) *tasíi ba páanǰ ʃo bhraawú [nhiáara] hóons-an de*
 3SG.GN PRT five six brother.PL near stay-3PL PST
 ‘Five or six of her brothers were living nearby.’ (A:HUA119)

***dhúura* ‘far away’.** Like the aforementioned adverb, it is often used in a compound postposition (§7.2.3), but may also be used independently.

***šíiti* ‘inside’.** This adverb, also used as a simple postposition (§7.2.2), as well as in postpositional sequences (§7.2.4), may be derived diachronically from a noun formerly denoting ‘house’ or ‘home’¹ and a postposition ‘to’ (cf. Kalkoti *šii* ‘house’, *šíiti* ‘inside, into the house’), or it may have been borrowed as a whole or partly from a variety of Kohistani (cf. Kalam Kohistani *šit* ‘house, home’, *šitši* ‘inside’, *ši* ‘in, into’, Baart 1997: 119; 1999: 76). It is mostly used dynamically, as in example (18), as a spatial adverb.

- (18) *ma šíiti be tes sangí madád th-ám*
 1SG.NOM inside go.CV 3SG.ACC with help do-1SG
 ‘I will go inside and help him.’ (B:FOY)

¹ For ‘house’ as well as ‘home’, *ghoóšt* is used in today’s Palula.

aḍaphaár ‘halfways’. Composed of **aḍa* > *áaḍa* ‘half’ and **phaar* (see above) ‘yonder’, it is used in this essentially nominal form for the movement up to a point somewhere right between the point of origin and an expected goal, but it may occur in an oblique form *aḍaphará* with no obvious difference in meaning, a form to which the postposition *tii* (§7.2.2) can be added, rendering the approximate meaning ‘as far as halfway’. It can also occur in the genitive *aḍapharíi* ‘from the middle’, as seen in example (19).

- (19) [*aḍapharíi*] *hunḍ the ta ḵaláš bhun the ba lhíst-u*
 from.middle up to PRT hairy down to PRT bald-MSG
 ‘From the middle and up it was hairy, whereas it was bald below.’ (A:HUA075)

7.1.3 Temporal adverbs

Like spatial adverbs, many adverbial expressions with temporal semantics are nominal in nature, but there are also a number of synchronically non-derived temporal adverbs.

General deictic adverbs

típa ‘now’. This frequently used and synchronically non-derived adverb is used for referring to the present moment, as illustrated in (20), as well as to ‘nowadays’ in general. There is also a rather little used form *tipaán tii* ‘until now, even to this day’. Interestingly ‘from now, after this’ is expressed with the proximate ablative member of the spatial set, *andóoii pahúrta*.

- (20) [*típa*] *ba ma tasíi paalaweeníi qiseé tháan-u*
 now PRT 1SG.NOM 3SG.GN strongmanship.GN story.PL do.PRS-MSG
 ‘Now I am telling the stories about his strongmanship.’ (A:PAS029)

***muṣṭú* (A.) / *muxáak* (B.)** ‘before, in the past, once’. The A. adverb has spatial functions (see §7.1.2) along with its temporal ones. Both the A. and the B. adverb may take additional modifiers, such as degree adverbs (*bíiḍu muṣṭú* ‘long before, a long time ago’) or calendrical expressions (*dúu yúuna muxáak* ‘two months ago’). The meaning ‘since then, for a long time’ can be expressed by *muṣṭúi niigiraá*. A sentence with the B. adverb *muxáak* is given in (21).

- (21) [*muxáak*] *be iskuul-í the b-íia de*
 before 1PL.NOM school-OB to go-1PL PST
 ‘Once, when we were going to school...’ (B:ANG001)

eetheél/(eesé) waxtíi ‘at that time, in those days, then’. Usually, for reference to a specific time (usually in the past), as in (22), the genitive of the noun *waxt* (or *waqt*) ‘time’ is used with a preceding demonstrative (if referred to contextually) or another identifying modifier (*kufurdóore waxtíe* ‘in the pagan era’ B.), but also the synchronically non-derived adverb *eetheél*, possibly more widely used in the past, is still in use, as can be seen in example (23). The latter can refer to a point of time in the past as well as in the future (e.g. in *eetheél tíi* ‘before that time, up to that time’).

- (22) *neečíir ba eesé [waxt-íi] bíiḍ-i*
 hunting PRT REM.OB time-GN much-F
 ‘As for hunting, there was a lot of it in those days.’ (A:HUA046)
- (23) [*eetheél*] *maidaaní ǰang de*
 that.time of.field war be.PST
 ‘In those days there used to be fighting in the fields.’ (A:PIR005)

The genitive of the English loan *teém* ‘time’ is used in a way quite similar to *waxtíi*, taking various modifiers, such as *basandíi teemíi* ‘at spring time’.

aakatí waxtí (mají)/waxt bhe/padúši (B.) ‘later, after some time’. A number of expressions, some of them containing forms of the noun *waxt*, are used when referring to a later point in time, in (24) with the Converb of *bhe-* ‘become’ (cf. manner adverbs formed with Converbs, §7.1.4). Only in the B. variety is *padúši* used in a clearly temporal sense (see §7.1.2).

- (24) *khéli [waxt bhe] daçh-íi ta*
 quite.some time become.CV look-3SG PRT
 ‘Some time later he was looking.’ (A:SMO016)

waxtíi thíi ‘early’. Again, the noun *waxt* is used, now in the genitive and with the directional postposition *thíi*. Also the adverb *rayáṣṭi* has been noted in B.

kareé ‘when, what time’. This is a member of the series of indefinite-interrogative pronouns and other pro-forms (see §13.4.1 and §14.2.2).

Adjectival derivations with *-úk-* are also used in expressing similar temporal-deictic propositions, e.g. *tipúku* ‘of now, “nowish”’, *muṣṭúku* ‘of the past, of old, “oldish”’, as seen in (24), *eetheelúku* ‘of that time’ (see Table 7.2 on p. 153).

- (25) [*muştúk-a xálak-a*] *dhii-á* *díi na khooj-óon de*
 of.past-MPL people-PL daughter-OB from NEG ask-3PL PST
 ‘People in the old days were not asking their daughter [who she wanted to marry].’ (A:MAR018)

Calendrical adverbs

The most common calendrical adverbs used deictically are synchronically non-derived:

<i>áaǵ</i>	‘today’	<i>heenşúka</i>	‘this year’
<i>dhoór</i>	‘yesterday’	<i>páar</i> (B. <i>par</i>)	‘last year’
<i>eetríli</i>	‘the day before yesterday’	<i>triimbarús</i> (B. <i>trimbarış</i>)	‘two years ago’
<i>trúnji</i> (B.)	‘the day after tomorrow’	<i>bhióol</i>	‘last night’

In (26), the use of *dhoórır* ‘yesterday’ is illustrated.

- (26) [*dhoór*] *ında kir dít-u de típa bi kir hín-u*
 yesterday here snow give.PFV-MSG PST now also snow be.PRS-MSG
 ‘It was snowing here yesterday, and even now there is snow.’ (A:CHE070320)

These adverbs also behave morphologically more like spatial deictic adverbs than nouns, when expressing notions such as ‘before, until’ or ‘from, since’. While the basic form is used with postpositions otherwise taking oblique arguments, an inflection *-ii* or an idiosyncratic *-oo* (cf. B. *hatáwuu* ‘from there’ and related forms) with an ablative function is used with *pahúrta* and *niigiraá*:

<i>áaǵ tíi</i>	‘until today’	<i>áaǵii niigiraá, áaǵii pahúrta</i>	‘from today, after today’
<i>dhoór tíi</i>	‘until yesterday’	<i>dhoóroo niigiraá</i>	‘since yesterday’
<i>eetríli tíi</i>	‘until the day before yesterday’	<i>eetríloo niigiraá</i>	‘since the day before yesterday’

Although *heenşúka* ‘this year’ diachronically may be an adjectivally derived form (with *-úk-*), it is used like the other non-derived deictic adverbs, as in (27), without modifying a noun head.

- (27) [heenşúka] ma číirít-u
 this.year 1SG.NOM be.delayed.PFV-MSG
 ‘This year I’m delayed.’ (A:SHY026)

Belonging semantically to this group is also *rhootašíia* (also with the forms *rhoošíia* and *rhoošée*) ‘tomorrow’, used as in (28), which, however, is the oblique case of the noun *rhootašíi* ‘morning’.

- (28) ma nis áaǵ kh-úum ta [rhootašíi-a] ba kanáa bh-úum
 1SG.NOM 3SG.ACC today eat-1SG PRT morning-OB PRT like.what become-1SG

‘If I eat this today, what will then become of me tomorrow.’ (A:HUB005)

As with the general deictic adverbs, adjectival forms in *-úk-* can be productively derived from most, if not all, of these calendrical adverbs: *aaǵúku* ‘of today’, today’s, *bhiaalúku* ‘of/from last night’, *parúku* ‘of/from last year, last year’s’, etc.

The identity of most calendrical cyclic expressions (Table 7.2), on the other hand, is clearly nominal, although the oblique case forms can be said to have been lexicalised as adverbs.

Table 7.2: Calendrical cyclic adverbs

Nominative (basic)		Oblique (adverbial)	
<i>deés</i>	‘day’	<i>deesá</i>	‘during the day, on the day’
<i>róot</i> (B. <i>raát</i>)	‘night’	<i>róota</i> (B. <i>ruuta</i>)	‘at night’
<i>basaánd</i> (B. <i>basán</i>)	‘spring’	<i>basandá</i>	‘in the spring’
<i>béeriş</i>	‘summer’	<i>béerişa</i>	‘in the summer’
<i>šaraál</i> (B. <i>šarál</i>)	‘autumn’	<i>šaralá</i>	‘in the autumn’
<i>heewaánd</i> (B. <i>heewán</i>)	‘winter’	<i>heewandá</i>	‘in the winter’

In (29), the use of *heewandá*, *róota* and *deesá* can be seen.

- (29) [heewand-á] tas the [róot-a] chóon lamayáan-a [dees-á] har-í
 winter-OB 3SG.ACC to night-OB oak.twigs hang.PRS-MPL day-OB take.away-CV
wii pilayáan-a tas šišáwi the šúwi zhay-ím ghin-í
 water make.drink.PRS-MPL 3SG.ACC beautiful do.CV good.F place-PL.OB take-CV

gir-áan-a

turn-PRS-MPL

‘In the winter we hang oak-branches for her [the goat] during the night, and in the day we take her to drink plenty of water in beautiful places.’
(A:KEE091)

While the above oblique forms of the calendrical nouns express a “temporal location”, a couple of these and a number of other temporal nouns (such as *kaál* ‘year’, *yúun* ‘month’, *haftá* ‘week’) may be used in various forms and derivations to express temporal quantities or frequencies. The examples (30)–(39) all constitute adverbial phrases in Palula.

- (30) *har deés*
every day
‘every day’
- (31) *dees-íi*
day-GN
‘daily’
- (32) *dáaš panjiiš reet-íi*
ten fifteen night-GN
‘every ten to fifteen days’
- (33) *čáar reet-í padúši*
four night-OB behind
‘four days later’ (B.)
- (34) *bhiš-raatúku*
twenty-of.night
‘for twenty days’
- (35) *daš reet-í tií*
ten night-OB until
‘for as long as ten days’ (B.)
- (36) *tróo yúun-ii baád*
three month-GN after
‘after three months’
- (37) *bhiš kaal-á maxadúši*
twenty year-PL in.front
‘20 years earlier/ago’

- (38) *šo kaal-ii niigiráá*
 six year-GN since
 ‘since six years’
- (39) *dúi kaal-á the*
 other year-OB to
 ‘another year, next year’

Most time-of-day expressions are nouns, quite a few of them loans from Pashto. They are like the calendrical cyclic ones above in that they occur in their oblique case form when functioning as time-of-day adverbs. Two exceptions are *rhooš-naám* ‘morning’ (in (40)) and *dhrumanaám* ‘mid-afternoon’, which are synchronically non-derived adverbs.

- (40) [*dhrumanaám*] *ba pašambeé ta čhóon-ii bháaru ghin-í ma ba*
 afternoon PRT Pashambi PRT oak-GN load take-CV 1SG.NOM PRT
gúči
 free
 ‘In the afternoon Pashambi carried fodder [to the goats] while I was free.’
 (A:PAS051)

Other temporal adverbs

<i>aajkál</i>	‘nowadays’	<i>ĵim-ĵim</i>	‘all day’
<i>líu-líu</i>	‘all night’	<i>raat-uu-deés (B.)</i>	‘day and night’

7.1.4 Manner adverbs

Manner is mainly expressed by nonfinite verb forms, primarily the Converb and the Copredicative Participle. The former of those is the basis for what can be considered a derivation of manner adverbs (or its nearest equivalent) from other parts of speech, particularly from adjectives.

Non-derived manner adverbs

There is a small class of non-derived manner adverbs (the list is not meant to be exhaustive):

<i>bhraáš</i>	‘slowly’	<i>lap</i>	‘quickly, fast’
<i>táru</i>	‘quickly, soon’	<i>khilayí</i>	‘alone’

- (41) *ǰangibaazxaan-á [bhraáš] šukhaáu gad-í čhúuŋ-u*
 Jangibaz.Khan-OB slowly coat take.off-CV put.PFV-MSG
 ‘Slowly, Jangibaz Khan took off his coat.’ (A:JAN066)

The deictic set *eendáa-bhe* – *kanáa-bhe* – *eendáa-the* – *kanáa-the*

This series exemplifies the derivation of manner adverbs. Here a deictic manner adverb (or adverb phrase) is formed by adding the Converb form of a verbaliser (*the*- ‘do’ or *bhe*- ‘become’) to the deictic adjective² *eendáa* (B. *handáa* or the alternative non-emphatic form *andáa*). For modifying an intransitive predicate, as in (42), *bhe* is used, for modifying a transitive predicate, as in (43), *the* is used, and for questioning the manner by which something is done, the indefinite-interrogative *kanáa* and the relevant Converb is used (see §14.2.2).

- (42) *[andáa-bhe] praš-í wée baṭ-á wh-áand-a*
 like.that-become.CV slope-OB in stone-PL come.down-PRS-MPL
 ‘Just like that, stones came down the slope.’ (A:AYB008)
- (43) *dharéndi mhaálu daḥ-áaṭ-u bhíl-u hín-u sigrét dhraḥ-í*
 outside father look-AG-MSG become.PFV-MSG be.PRS-MSG cigarette pull-CV
ba [andáa-the]
 PRT like.that-do.CV
 ‘While looking at his father outside, he was smoking the cigarette like that.’
 (A:SMO009)

The clue to the interpretation of the deictic manner adverb is usually found in the immediate context of the utterance, either explicitly in the wider discourse, sometimes rendering ‘thus’ a good translation equivalent, or by extralinguistic means, such as gestures by the speaker.

Derivation of manner adverbs

The derivational process described above is quite productively applied to words from various parts of speech (primarily adjectives and pronouns) in forming manner adverbial expressions, as illustrated in Table 7.3. To what extent these derivations are adverbs, adverbial phrases or adverbial (mini-)clauses is still open to further analysis, but considering their embedded status and the fact that they

² This can also be analysed as a pro-form of the host element in a conjunct verb (which does not necessarily need to be an adjective) or a predicate phrase (whether nominal or adjectival).

form a phonological word, we tentatively define them as derived adverbs. Neither is the relationship between Converb clauses with conjunct verbs and these manner adverbials entirely clearcut. An exact parallel to this formation is described by Schmidt & Kohistani (2008: 219) for Kohistani Shina.

Table 7.3: Examples of manner adverbial derivation

Adjective, etc.		Derived manner adverbial	
<i>šúi</i>	‘good’	> <i>šúi-the, šúi-bhe</i>	‘well’
<i>šišáwi</i>	‘beautiful’	> <i>šišáwi-the, šišáwi-bhe</i>	‘completely’
<i>teéz</i>	‘strong’	> <i>teéz-bhe</i>	‘hard, with force’
<i>tíiṇu</i>	‘sharp’	> <i>tíiṇu-bhe</i>	‘carefully, intently’
<i>buṭheé</i>	‘all’	> <i>buṭheé-bhe,</i> <i>bhuṭeé-the</i>	‘all of them, together’

Also ideophonic expressions (without any specific or standardised lexical source), such as those in (44), can be made manner adverbs this way. (The adverbs in the English translation in (44) are only approximate equivalents of the Converb cum reduplicated ideophone complexes.³)

- (44) *se insaan-á ráaǵ mučaa o muṭ-á sangí so amzarái seéb*
 DEF man-OB rope open.CV and tree-OB with DEM.MSG.NOM lion Sir
[ram-raám-the] [kaš-kaáš-the] ghaṇḍ-í gáil-u
 RED-“firm”-do.CV RED-“tight”-do.CV tie-CV throw.PFV-MSG
 ‘The man opened a rope and tied Lord Lion firmly and tightly to the tree.’
 (A:KIN023)

7.1.5 Degree adverbs

The function of degree adverbs is mostly to modify adjectives, but some of them also function as modifiers of other adverbs as well as of nouns.

Non-derived degree adverbs

Forming a small class, non-derived degree adverbs are mainly used as modifiers of other adverbs but also as quantifiers of nouns, especially non-count nouns

³ A widespread covariation of so-called periphrastic ‘do’-constructions and reduplicated stems has been noted by Jäger (2006).

(this list is not meant to be exhaustive). See (9) for an example with *tuúš*:

tuúš ‘some, little’ *khéli* ‘several, somewhat’

The deictic pair *eetí* (B. *hatí*) – *katí*

These deictic degree adverbs intensify adjectives, meaning ‘such, so’, as in (45), and ‘what, how’, as in (46). (Note that *katí* in particular also functions as a direct quantifying modifier of a noun head, meaning ‘how much, how many’.)

- (45) *baş [hatí] teéz bhíl-u oodháal whéet-i*
rain such strong become.PFV-MSG flood come.down.PFV-F
‘The rain became so strong that it flooded.’ (B:FLO169)

- (46) *nu ba [katí] uthaal-u táapar*
3SG.PROX.NOM PRT how.much high-MSG hill
‘What a high hill!’ (A:HLE3117)

Reduplication

Reduplication is one strategy applied for degree modification of manner adverbs. The process can be full reduplication, as seen in (47), or reduplication of the first syllable. In example (48) both full and first-syllable reduplication are being used.

- (47) *wháat-a andáa bhe [bhraáš bhraáš]*
come.down.PFV-MPL like.that become.CV RED slowly
‘We came down like that, very slowly.’ (A:GHA056)

- (48) *mhaamajaán ba [la-láp la-láp] khóo de*
3SG.PROX.NOM PRT RED-fast RED-fast eat.3SG PST
‘Mahmad Jan was eating very fast.’ (A:MAH044)

Lexicalised intensifiers

There is a number of more or less standard compounds with an adjective/adverb and a (mostly) unique element, where the latter serves the purpose of intensification, not much different from the effect other degree adverbs have on the modified constituent. It seems those elements are mostly made up of a single closed syllable:

<i>phaş pańáaru</i>	‘white as a sheet’	<i>tap çhiñ</i>	‘pitch dark’
<i>kham kişĩnu</i>	‘pitch black’	<i>bak práal</i>	‘shining bright’
<i>čáu lhóilu</i>	‘bright red’	<i>đang khilayí</i>	‘all alone’
<i>tak zer</i>	‘bright yellow’		

7.2 Postpositions

All regularly used adpositions in Palula are postpositions. Most of them have spatial-temporal functions, but a few express some grammatical as well as spatial-temporal functions. Whenever a full noun is followed by a postposition it occurs in the oblique case (for those nouns that display a distinct oblique case), except for a couple of postpositions that take a full noun genitive argument. When a pronoun is followed by a postposition, there is a slightly higher degree of case differentiation (this will be commented on under each individual postposition presented) as compared to nouns followed by postpositions.

Apart from simple single word postpositions (§7.2.2), there are two types of complex postpositions, compound postpositions (§7.2.3) and postpositional sequences (§7.2.4). Some of the postpositions also function as adverbs (see above) or as heads of adverb phrases.

7.2.1 Postpositions vis-à-vis case inflection

Case inflection has been treated elsewhere (see §4.5), but since the differentiation between this category and adpositions (both following nouns) is not always obvious, particularly in IA languages, this should be commented on briefly.

One line of argumentation is phonological, where a string of segments with its own pitch accent would be considered a separate word, thus a postposition and not an inflection. This would definitely place the longer strings, i.e. those with two or more syllables, in the postposition category. The shorter, monosyllabic ones, however, are phonologically weak, and tend to cliticise to the preceding noun word or pronoun. Another line of argument is morphological, by which case-inflections occur close to the stem, whereas postpositions combine with already case-inflected forms of the noun (and mostly by non-nominative forms of pronouns), and thus are more peripheral. Using this argument, the genitive morpheme ends up as somewhat ambiguous in this respect (see §4.5.3).

A third line of argumentation may be more helpful, a mainly syntactic one, with the coordinating suffix or clitic *-ee* as a diagnostic tool (see Baart 1999a: 77, for his analysis on case marking in Kalam Kohistani). While inflectional suffixes

obligatorily occur on both of two nouns coordinated with *-ee*, a postposition is attached once, to the coordination as a whole, and does not occur inside the coordination. According to the latter diagnostics, the genitive along with the other case inflections (as described in §4.5) are clearly distinguished from the postpositions (as described below).

Many of the postpositional functions described below, especially those of the more central simple postpositions, are expressed by what are clearly inflectional case-suffixes rather than free postpositions in closely related Kohistani Shina (Schmidt & Kohistani 2001: 115–130).

7.2.2 Simple postpositions

The order of the following presentation, without any claim of total comprehensiveness, reflects to a great extent the relative centrality and frequency of simple postpositions in Palula, proceeding from the more central/frequent to the more specialised or less frequent ones.

The postpositions *the* and *dii* are very common and express a number of grammatical as well as spatial-temporal functions.

***the* ‘to, for’.** This postposition takes an oblique nominal argument, ‘house’ in (50), or an accusative pronominal argument, ‘us’ in (49). There is a wide range of meanings, all having the core semantics of marking the recipient of a transaction or the goal of a movement.

- (49) *na ta tanaám the dít-i na ba [asaám the] dít-i*
 NEG PRT 3PL.ACC to give.PFV-F NEG PRT 1PL.ACC to give.PFV-F
 ‘Neither did they give them [the guns] to them, nor to us.’ (A:GHA089)

- (50) *ma bhíiru ghin-í thii [ghooṣṭ-á the] yhúum*
 1SG.NOM he.goat take-CV 2SG.GN house-OB to come.1SG
 ‘I’ll take a goat with me and come to your house.’ (A:MIT013)

Apart from marking the recipient in a typical “ditransitive” clause, *the* can also identify a beneficiary in a transitive clause and the recipient of an abstract entity, such as the utterance in (51).

- (51) *dhii-á [maçook-á the] maníit-u...*
 daughter-OB Machoke-OB to say.PFV-MSG
 ‘The daughter told Machoke...’ (A:MAA016)

If *the* marks a goal expressed as a spatial pro-adverb (also functioning as an inanimate/abstract demonstrative pronoun), the locative member of the set, *táa* ‘there’, in (52), is used.

- (52) [*táa the*] *misrí bulaḍ-eeṇḍéú*
 there to mason call.for-OBLG
 ‘A mason is called to there [or: to see to that].’ (A:KAT009)

However, if the goal of a movement carried out by a person is another person, the postpositions *khúna* or *kéeči* (see below) have to be used instead.

Verbal Nouns in complements of permissive predicates as well as Verbal Nouns in purpose clauses are also taken as arguments by *the* (see §13.5.3 and §13.4.2). Some arguments with *the* are part of the valence pattern of some predicates, particularly non-nominative experiencers (§12.2.6) and objects of some conjunct verbs (§12.2.8).

It is also used in some temporal expressions (see §7.1.3) as well as in specifying the direction of spatial adverbs (see §7.1.2). Also, see (§7.2.4), for the use of *the* in postpositional sequences.

***díi* ‘from, (out) of, than’.** This postposition takes an oblique nominal argument, ‘the Damelis’ in (53), or an accusative pronominal argument. There is a wide range of meanings, all referring to the source of a transaction or the point of origin/reference.

- (53) *ṛaníṃ eeré riwaayát /.../ [giḍúuč-am díi] ghíin-i hín-i*
 3PL.DIST.ERG DIST tradition Dameli-OB.PL from take.PFV-F be.PRS-F
 ‘They have received [lit. taken] this tradition from the Damelis.’ (A:MIT002-5)

Whereas a place as the source or starting point for a movement is almost always expressed with the genitive (along with the postposition *thíi*), *díi* is primarily postposed to nouns denoting human sources, such as ‘my grandmother’ and ‘my father’ in (54). The transferred, or brought forth, entity, however, can be abstract, such as an utterance, as well as concrete, for instance in expressing the animate source of reproduction, as in (55).

- (54) [*míi déedi díi*] *míi šúunt-u* [*míi baába díi*] *míi*
 1SG.GN grandmother from 1SG.GN hear.PFV-MSG 1SG.GN father.OB from 1SG.GN

şúunt-u

hear.PFV-MSG

‘I heard it from my grandmother, and I heard it from my father.’ (A:PAS005)

- (55) [*khar-á díi*] *khar ĵa-yáan-u*

donkey-OB from donkey be.born-PRS-MSG

‘A donkey is born by a donkey.’ (B:PRB006)

Some arguments with *díi* are part of the valence pattern of some complex predicates (§12.2.8), and Verbal Nouns in complements of negative implicative predicates are also taken as arguments by *díi* (§13.5.2).

The possessor in one main (primarily alienable, as the ‘mason’s hammer’ in (56)) possessional construction is marked with *díi*.

- (56) *misrí yhóol-u sée~ta [misrí díi] tsaťák hóons-a*
mason come.PFV-MSG when mason from hammer stay-3SG

‘When the mason comes he will have a hammer.’ [lit. ‘When the mason has come, from the mason a hammer will be present.’] (A:HOW010)

Inalienable possession, on the other hand, is often expressed with the genitive case (a distribution parallel to that in Kohistani Shina, where the genitive case similarly is used for inalienable possession while the addessive case *-di* or *-idi* is used for alienable possession, Schmidt & Kohistani 2008: 65, 69–70).

The postposition *díi* is also used to express the comparative degree of the standard of comparison (§6.3.3).

***sangí* ‘(along) with, at’.** This postposition takes an oblique nominal argument or an accusative pronominal argument. It typically expresses accompaniment, as in (57).

- (57) *ḍaaku-aan-óom yhayí [bakáara-m sangí] tas ghaš-í híř-u*
robber-PL-OB come.CV flock-OB with 3SG.ACC take-CV take.away.PFV-MSG
de
PST

‘The robbers came and abducted him along with his flock.’ (A:GHA005)

Used with an inanimate noun, such as the ‘tree’ in (58), it can have a further connotation of being attached to.

- (58) *ma tu raáj-a de ghaṇḍ-í gal-áan-u [aní muṭ-á*
 1SG.NOM 2SG.NOM rope give.CV tie-CV throw-PRS-MSG PROX tree-OB
sangí]
 with

‘I will tie you with ropes to this tree.’ (A:KIN021)

Some arguments with *sangí* are part of the valence pattern of some intransitive verbs with a postpositional object (§12.2.4) as well as that of some complex predicates (§12.2.8), typically those coding events or actions involving two participants on some sort of equal basis.

The postposition *sangí* may also take as an argument a Verbal Noun in a simultaneity clause (§13.4.1).

***jhulí* ‘on (top of), on to, over, about, due to’.** This postposition takes an oblique nominal argument or (in most cases) an accusative pronominal argument in its essentially spatial sense ‘on, onto’ and an oblique pronominal argument in more abstract senses such as ‘about, concerning’. It typically expresses a position on the immediate surface of something, such as the ‘stone’ in (59), or somebody.

- (59) [*se baṭ-á jhulí*] *se kuṇaak-íi paanṭí bi heensíl-i de*
 DEF stone-OB on DEF child-GN clothes also stay.PFV-F PST
 ‘On the stone were also the child’s clothes.’ (A:BER012)

It is also used for the movement onto the surface or into the position on top of something or somebody.

A pronoun referring to an inanimate but still concrete entity can also (optionally it seems) occur in the oblique form with this postposition, the case otherwise used in pronominal reference to abstract entities (as in example (60)). Note that the oblique pronoun (which is the same as the 3SG agent in ergative alignment) here in fact is referring to the plural entity *muṣtookhurá* ‘forelegs’.

- (60) *muṣtookhur-á dhrajaá ba [tíi jhulí] šiṣ čhoor-í ba bhét-u*
 foreleg-PL stretch.out.CV PRT 3SG.OB on head put-CV PRT sit.down.PFV-MSG

‘Stretching out its forelegs, it put its head on them/there and sat down.’
 (A:PAS061)

Used with abstract nouns it can encode a whole range of meanings, some of them probably shading out into idiomatic expressions. The more common ones

denote the topic of an utterance ‘on, about, concerning’, a reason for something to happen ‘due to, with that’, as in (61), or the means or attitude by which something is carried out.

- (61) *lhooméi [teeníi mákar-a jhulí] [askúun-a báandi] kuheé díi nikhéet-i*
fox REFL cunning-OB on ease-OB on well.OB from appear.PFV-F

‘The fox easily got out of the well due to his own cunning.’ (B:FOX)

The reason reading is also the usual when *jhulí* takes a Verbal Noun as its argument (§13.4.3).

In this abstract usage, another postposition, *báandi*, also in (61), a loan from Pashto, is alternatively used, particularly in A.

Some arguments with *jhulí* are part of the valence pattern of some predicates, particularly non-nominative experiencers and objects of some conjunct verbs (§12.2.6 and §12.2.8 respectively).

***mají* ‘among, in, inside, during’.** This postposition takes an oblique nominal argument in its spatial (and temporal) sense ‘in, into, inside’, an animate oblique plural nominal or accusative plural argument in the sense ‘among, out of’, whereas the oblique form is used when its temporal sense is expressed with a pronoun.

One of the basic uses of *mají* is to single somebody out as part of a group, as in example (62), ‘of them’ or ‘among them’. The argument taken is always a plural entity or a collective expression.

- (62) *[tanaám mají] áak míiš muṭ-á je ukh-áai bhóo de*
3PL.ACC among one man tree-OB up ascend-INF be.able.3SG PST
‘Of them only one man was able to climb the tree.’ (A:UNF007)

The other basic use of this postposition is to express a position inside of something, the ‘bazaar’ in (63), often in a certain geographical location.

- (63) *a yaríb méesh [baazúur-a mají] teeníi kuṇaák bhanj-úu de*
DEF poor man bazaar-OB in REFL child beat-3SG PST
‘A poor man was beating his own child in [the middle of] the bazaar.’
(B:ANG002)

It is also used for the movement of something ‘into’ another something.

As mentioned above, *mají* can also be used in a temporal sense, ‘while, at, during’, with an oblique pronoun such as in (64), a nominal time expression or a Verbal Noun (§13.4.1).

- (64) [tíi mají] áak jhaṭíl-u ɬhaaṭáaku yhóol-u
 3SG.OB at IDEF hairy-MSG monster come.PFV-MSG
 ‘Meanwhile a hairy monster came in.’ (A:THA005)

túuri ‘under, beneath, below’. This postposition takes an oblique nominal argument, e.g. the ‘deodar tree’ in (65), or an accusative (or alternatively oblique) pronominal argument. It describes a position which is in a purely spatial sense the opposite to that of *jhulí* but does not seem to have any other non-spatial or abstract semantic extensions, and it is not particularly frequent in my data. It typically expresses the position in or the movement into a position lower than or beneath something.

- (65) karáaru [se loomuṭ-á túuri] yeyí ba
 leopard DEF deodar.tree-OB under come.CV PRT
 ‘The leopard got in under the deodar tree.’ (B:CLE357)

Either an oblique or an accusative pronoun can be taken as an argument of this postposition referring to an inanimate entity, the former exemplified in (66), and the latter in (67). Whether this reflects a dialectal difference or is just an example of free variation, is a matter for further study.

- (66) karáaru [tíi túuri] bheš-í hín-u
 leopard 3SG.OB under sit.down-CV be.PRS-MSG
 ‘The leopard had sat down under it [the tree].’ (B:SHB749)
- (67) dhariit-u tasíi so wíi tas ba angóor-a jhulí
 remain.PFV-MSG 3SG.GN DEM.MSG.NOM water 3SG.ACC PRT fire-OB on
 čhoor-í ba khaṭúur-a d-áan-a [tas túuri]
 put-CV PRT log-PL give-PRS-MPL 3SG.ACC under
 ‘The remaining water is heated over fire, putting logs under it.’ (A:KEE048)

wée ‘in, on, into’. This spatial postposition takes an oblique nominal argument or an oblique pronominal argument. It is exclusively used as a postposition of nouns or pronouns with inanimate referents. In most cases it signals contact with

the surface of something, as the fruit put into the bag in (68), or the penetration into a location or beneath the surface of an object, such as the hunter sitting in the tree in (69), i.e. inside the structure of tree branches. This latter characterisation is basically what differentiates it from the locative use of the oblique case of a noun or a locative pro-adverb as well as the use of the goal-specific postposition *the* with a noun. It seems, however, that many locative nominal expressions can occur almost interchangeably as oblique nouns and as nouns followed by *wée*. Perhaps the postposition serves a function of further emphasising the locative reading, especially when a movement is implied.

- (68) *tii so meewá samat-í ba [boojée wée] de wheelil-u*
 3SG.OB DEF fruit collect-CV PRT bag.OB in put.CV take.down.PFV-MSG

‘He collected the fruit, put it into the bag and brought it down [home].’
 (A:HUB010)

- (69) *so iškaarí méesh [mut-á wée] hín-u*
 DEF.MSG.NOM hunter man tree-OB in be.PRS-MSG
 ‘The man is in the tree.’ (B:CLE375)

The noun taking this postposition may also be an abstract entity, such as ‘our school class’ in (70).

- (70) *[asii jumeet-í wée] áaşt kuṇaak-á hín-a*
 1PL.GN class-OB in eight child-PL be.PRS-MPL
 ‘There are eight children in our class.’ (A:OUR010)

je ‘up (into), up (along)’. This rather specialised spatial postposition takes an oblique nominal argument or an oblique pronominal argument. It is exclusively used with nouns or pronouns with inanimate referents. It is similar to *wée*, in that it signals contact with the surface of something or the penetration into a location, but it is restricted to an upward movement, such as that of the hunter making his way up into the tree in (71), and it occurs mostly with verbs having a connotation of upward movement.

- (71) *hasó iškaarí ba bhíilam-e [loomuṭ-á je] huṇṭráak ukháat-u*
 REM.MSG.NOM hunter PRT fear-GN deodar.tree-OB up upward come.up.PFV-MSG

‘Due to fear, that hunter climbed into a deodar tree.’ (B:CLE357)

It seems that this postposition primarily has a connotation of movement, but there are examples of it being used in a static sense as well.

thíi ‘from’. This spatial postposition takes a genitive nominal argument, whereas there is no evidence for any pronominal form occurring with it. It is exclusively used with inanimate nouns (and as a directional specifier of spatial adverbs, see §7.1.2) and is in many ways used interchangeably with a locative nominal expression in the genitive case. However, it may serve a function of emphasising the movement away from (as it does when used with certain adverbs), whether in a concrete spatial sense, as in (72), or in an extended temporal sense, as in (73), although the latter is not very common.

- (72) *eé wíi tu xu [sóon-ii thii] wh-áand-u*
 oh water 2SG.NOM PRT pasture-GN from come.down-PRS-MSG
 ‘Oh water, you are obviously coming down from the pastures.’ (A:SHY047)

- (73) *rhoošnaám [waxt-ii thii] be chíitr-a be kráam th-íia*
 morning time-GN from 1PL.NOM field-OB go.CV work do-1PL
 ‘Let’s go to the field early in the morning and work.’ (A:WOM474)

khúna/kéeči ‘(near) to, with’. These two synonymous postpositions take an oblique nominal argument (75) or an accusative pronominal argument (74). They are almost exclusively postposed to nouns or pronouns with animate (and particularly human) referents. It can describe the position ‘near to, at, with’ as well as the movement ‘(near) to’.

- (74) *amzarái [tas khúna] yhóol-u hín-u*
 lion 3SG.ACC near.to come.PFV-MSG be.PRS-MSG
 ‘The lion approached him.’ (A:UNF013)

7 Adverbs and postpositions

- (75) *tusím [lúug-a míiš-a kéeči] ma baasaá mii bheezatí*
 2PL.ERG strange-OB man-OB with 1SG.NOM spend.night.CV 1SG.GN disgrace
thawéel-i
 cause.to.do.PFV-F

‘You disgraced me by making me spend the night with a stranger.’ (A:UXW051)

In the directional meaning, *khúna/kéeči* may also be followed by *the* ‘to’ in a postpositional sequence (see §7.2.4).

šiiṭi ‘in, inside’. This postposition also used as a spatial adverb (see §7.1.2) takes an oblique nominal argument or an oblique pronominal argument. It is exclusively postposed to nouns or pronouns with inanimate referents, particularly those denoting enclosed areas or places, such as the ‘house’ in (76). It can describe the position ‘in, inside’ as well as the movement ‘into, inside’.

- (76) *[aní ghooṣṭ-á šiiṭi] ma seé hín-u*
 PROX house-OB inside 1SG.NOM sleep.CV be.PRS-MSG

‘Inside this house I was asleep.’ (A:HUA014-5)

In the directional meaning, *šiiṭi* may also be followed by *the* in a postpositional sequence (§7.2.4).

pharé (B. phará) ‘along, through, across, over’. This postposition takes an oblique nominal argument or an oblique pronominal argument. It is exclusively used as a postposition of nouns or pronouns with inanimate referents. It expresses an outstretched contact of one entity with the surface of another entity or that the two are located parallel to one another. Typically this is the way of expressing path, as in (77).

- (77) *hazrát iisá aleehi-salaám eesé páand-a pharé biáan-u*
 Lord Isa peace.be.upon.him REM path-OB along go.PRS-MSG

‘Lord Isa [Jesus] (PBUH) came walking along that path.’ (A:ABO033)

However, this postposition can capture a number of slightly different, but still related, positions and movements, such as the bread put on the mouth of the dead man in example (78).

- (78) *tas mheer-í gal-í zaalim-aan-óom [dhút-a pharé] gúuli bi*
 3SG.ACC kill-CV throw-CV brute-PL-OB mouth-OB toward bread also
de gúia de
 put.CV go.PFV.PL PST
 ‘The brutes, who had killed him, had also put bread in his mouth and left.’
 (A:GHA076-7)

dúši/ḍāḍi ‘toward, at, in the direction of’. This postposition takes an oblique nominal argument or an accusative pronominal argument if animate and an oblique argument if inanimate/locative. While *dúši* is used in A. as well as in B., *ḍāḍi* seems to be most common in B. It is used with nouns or pronouns with human or animate referents as well as with locative expressions, such as the ‘village’ in (79).

- (79) [*díiš-a dúši*] *tilíl-i hín-i*
 village-OB toward walk.PFV-F be.PRS-F
 ‘She started to walk toward the village.’ (A:KAT085)

maxadúši (B. *muxadúši*) ‘before, in front of’. This diachronically complex postposition (with the above introduced *dúši* as one of its components) is also used as an adverb. It takes a genitive argument, *kunaak-ii* in (80), which in most cases has a human referent. The relation expressed is commonly of an abstract kind.

- (80) [*kunaak-ii*] *maxadúši šóo kráam ta th-eenḍeéu*
 child-GN in.front.of good.MSG work PRT do-OBLG
 ‘One should act properly in front of children.’ (A:SMO022)

For temporal precedence a compound postposition *dii muṣṭú/dii muxáak* ‘before’ is used (§7.2.3).

patú ‘after, behind’. This postposition takes an oblique nominal argument, as in (81), or an accusative pronominal argument. While the same word is almost exclusively used as a subordinate conjunction in B. (corresponding to *pahúrta* in A.), it primarily expresses a spatial relationship in A.

- (81) *pal-í [áak tómb-a patú]*
 hide-CV IDEF trunk-OB behind
 ‘Hiding behind a tree trunk...’ (A:HUA072)

It is also used in the sense of being ‘in the pursuit of’ something.

tií ‘until, up to, as far as’. This postposition takes an oblique nominal (and inanimate) argument, ‘knees’ in (83), or, if referring to a point in time or space, a locative spatial adverb, as seen with *eeṛáa* in (82). It shows that something extends to a specific point in space or time.

- (82) [*eeṛáa tií*] *ta máa-the šijrá páta náin-u*
 there.DIST up.to PRT 1SG.NOM-to line knowledge NEG.be.PRS-MSG
 ‘I don’t know his line until that point.’ (A:ASH015)

- (83) *heewand-á [khút-am tií] kir d-áan-u*
 winter-OB knee-OB.PL as.far.as snow give-PRS-MSG
 ‘In the winter the snow reaches up to the knees.’ (B:DHN4628)

dapáara (A.)/**pándee** (B.) ‘for’. This postposition, which expresses purpose (if inanimate) or beneficiary (if human), takes a genitive argument. The beneficiary use can be seen in (84).

- (84) *ma ba aní pooštrá abaím [thíi dapáara] saat-áan-u-ee*
 1SG.NOM PRT PROX fattened she.goat.PL 2SG.GN for keep-PRS-MS.G-Q
 ‘Do you think I have taken care of these fattened goats for you?’ (A:PAS093)

When a purpose is expressed pronominally, it is the form of the pro-adverb that expresses a movement from a location (i.e. an ablative) that is being used, e.g. *eeṛáai* (85) in A., or *hatáawuu* (86) in B.

- (85) [*eeṛáai dapáara*] *muxtalíf muxtalíf teeṇteeṇíi saamaán hín-i*
 from.there.DIST for different different REFL things be.PRS-F
 ‘For that a lot of different things are needed.’ (A:HOW018)
- (86) *súun-a the [hatáawuu pándee] har-áan-a*
 pasture-OB to from.there for take.away-PRS-MPL
 ‘That’s why we take them to the pastures.’ (B:SHC015)

The postposition *dapáara/pándee* may also take as an argument a Verbal Noun in a purpose clause, (see §13.4.2).

7.2.3 Compound postpositions

Compound postpositions are phrases consisting of one of the simple directional postpositions, *dii* ‘from, of’ and *the* ‘to’, followed by an adverb. Although this list probably is far from exhaustive, this postpositional type does not seem to be extremely common in Palula.

the nhiáaɾa ‘close to, next to’.

- (87) *milikcheétr thaní [ghróom-a the nhiáaɾa] áak ɕhúitr hín-u*
 Milikchetre call.CV village-OB to near IDEF field be.PRS-MSG
 ‘Close to the village there is a field called Milikchetre.’ (A:JAN029)

The adverb component in the compound can be further modified, such modifications, in (88) *tuúš bi*, occurring between the adverb and the simple postposition.

- (88) *se [wíi-a the tuúš bi nhiáaɾa] gúi hín-i*
 DEF water-OB to a.little also near go.PFV.F be.PRS-F
 ‘She went a bit closer to the water.’ (A:SHY054)

If the argument is human, e.g. ‘me’ in (89), a compound *keeči the nhiáaɾa*, consisting of a postpositional sequence (§7.2.4) and an adverb, is used.

- (89) *[ma kéeči the nhiáaɾa] bheš*
 1SG.NOM with to near sit.down.IMP.SG
 ‘Sit down next to me!’ (A:AYB029)

dii muşţú/muxáak/maxadúši ‘before, prior to’.

- (90) *eeráa dii bi qaríban bhiš kaal-á maxadúši*
 there.DIST from also about twenty year-PL in.front.of
 ‘About 20 years prior to this...’ (A:GHA048)
- (91) *asíi dóodu ɕóók [kaɕur-á dii dúu sóo kaal-á muşţú]*
 1PL.GN grandfather Choke Kator-OB from two hundred year-PL before
yhóol-u hín-u
 come.PFV-MSG be.PRS-MSG
 ‘Our ancestor Choke arrived two hundred years prior to the Kator [dynasty].’ (A:ASH047)

The compound *dii muşţú/muxáak* also occurs with Verbal Nouns in temporal subordination (§13.4.1).

díi dhuúra ‘far from, away from’.

- (92) *taníi cíitr ba [taníi ghoosť-á díi taqríiban tróo čúur kulumíter-á*
 3PL.GN field PRT 3PL.GN house-OB from about three four kilometre-PL
dhuúra] de
 away.from be.PST
 ‘Their field was about three to four kilometres away from their house.’
 (A:WOM468)

7.2.4 Postpositional sequences

Another kind of complex postposition consists of a sequence of two simple postpositions. The first in the sequence is the semantically more central one, whereas the second is a further fine-tuning or specification, usually as far as the direction is concerned. Exactly which postpositions can and which cannot be combined in this fashion is a matter of further research; (93)–(98) are only a few illustrative examples.

- (93) *[dukur-á šiiti the] ghin-í gúia hín-a*
 hut-OB inside to take-CV go.PFV.PL be.PRS-MPL
 ‘They took him inside the hut.’ (A:KAT062)
- (94) *so kuṇaák [se thaataak-a khúna the] gúum*
 DEF.MSG.NOM child DEF monster-OB near to go.PFV.MSG
 ‘The child went over to the monster.’ (A:BER003)
- (95) *[tasíi šan-á jhulí the] wháat-u*
 3SG.GN roof-OB on to come.down.PFV-MSG
 ‘I got down to the roof of his house.’ (A:HUA091)
- (96) *aakatí kasaán nikháat-a [giđ-á dúšii thíi]*
 some persons appear.PFV-MPL Damel-OB toward.GN from
 ‘A few people came down, from the direction of Damel.’ (A:JAN043)
- (97) *gulsambér ghambúri-m-e bhéti wíi [tesée muxadúši phará] wheelíl-i*
 forest.flower flower-PL-GN bouquet water 3SG.GN in.front.of along bring.down.PFV-F

‘The water brought down a bouquet of forest flowers in front of her.’ (B:FLW805)

- (98) [ʃeep-í wée yúu] se ghambúri-m ghaḍil-im
 pocket-OB in from DEF flower-PL take.out.PFV-FPL
 ‘He brought out the flowers from inside his pocket.’ (B:FLW794)

It should be noted that the noun preceding the postpositional sequence is regularly assigned case by the first component of the sequence. The (nominally derived) postposition *dúši*, itself assigning oblique case to the preceding noun in (96), receives genitive marking from the second postposition *thíi*.

The second component in the sequence *wée yúu* in (98) does not occur as an independent postposition but is certainly related to the ablative function of this particular segment *(y)uu/w(uu)* occurring in a few spatial expressions, especially in the B. variety: *hatáa-(w)uu* ‘from there’, *aṛáa-(y)uu* ‘from there’, *indee-(y)uu* ‘from here’, *góo-(y)uu* ‘from where’, but also as *-oo* in some temporal adverbs in A. (see §7.1.3 above). Schmidt & Kohistani mention a rare ablative suffix *-nyuu~nuu~uu* in Kohistani Shina with a very similar distribution (2001: 130).

8 Verbs

8.1 The verb and its properties

At the other end of the time-stability scale, as compared with the time-stable entities often referred to with nouns, we find rapid changes, less time-stable experiences or transitory states (Givón 2001a: 52). Such a “temporary state of affairs” (Wierzbicka 1988: 486), with reference to a particular time rather than a particular entity, is typically encoded as a verb in Palula:

<i>utrapáanu</i>	‘runs’
<i>mhaaráanu</i>	‘dies’
<i>yháandu</i>	‘comes’
<i>čhináanu</i>	‘cuts’
<i>dáanu</i>	‘gives’

However, as with nouns, this semantic criterion alone is not enough to define or describe the Palula verb. We will therefore have to look at other criteria: distribution, phonological structure and morphology, the latter making up the main part of this chapter. There is also reason to say something about the relative size of the Palula verb lexicon and whether it should be considered an open class on par with the nouns or if verbs in some ways is a different kind of creature.

Distributionally, the verb normally occurs clause-finally, functioning as the main predicate of the clause. The verb in (1) is preceded by a single argument, a subject, whereas the verb in (2) is preceded by an oblique (postpositional) object, a subject and a direct object (see Chapter §11).

- (1) *hazratjaán uthíit-u*
Hazrat.Jan stand.up.PFV-MSG
‘Hazrat Jan stood up.’ (A:GHU025)
- (2) *se yar-í the asím tas phedóol-u*
DEF peak-OB to 1PL.ERG 3SG.ACC bring.PFV-MSG
‘We brought him to the peak.’ (A:GHA029)

Verbs can also function as the predicate of a dependent clause, and depending on what type of clause this is, the verb occurs as an inflected finite verb (as in the examples above) or in one of its nonfinite forms (see §9.3 and §13.3–§13.5). Usually, the verb also then is clause-final.

Phonologically, the vast majority of all verb stems in Palula are either mono- or disyllabic, the monosyllabic stem being the most commonly occurring non-derived¹ stem. Verb stems are without exception accented on their final syllable, either on a short vowel or on the first mora of a long vowel.

The typical monosyllabic verb stem has a CVC-structure, but CVCC (almost exclusively with a nasal+obstruent cluster), VC and CCVC also occur. A small class of (about ten) monosyllabic verbs has a CV stem, among them some of the most frequently occurring verbs in the language. These are all exemplified in (3).

(3)	<i>buḍ-</i>	‘cause pain, sting’	CVC
	<i>bháaš-</i>	‘bark’	CVC
	<i>kamb-</i>	‘shiver’	CVCC
	<i>ač-</i>	‘enter’	VC
	<i>krin-</i>	‘sell’	CCVC
	<i>su-</i>	‘sleep’	CV

There is a variety of structures among disyllabic verb stems, the most common being a CVCV stem, and for the small group of trisyllabic verb stems, CVCVCV is the most common. Examples are given in (4).

(4)	<i>mané-</i>	‘say’	CVCV
	<i>čhooré-</i>	‘put’	CVCV
	<i>khaṣaalé-</i>	‘drag, haul’	CVCVCV

Although verbs form a major word class in most, if not all, of the world’s languages, the way events are encoded varies a great deal. One effect of this is a dramatic variation in the number of verbs found in languages. While at one extreme, the main European languages, such as English, can boast 10,000 or more verbs, there are at the other extreme languages in other parts of the world with markedly different lexical structures that manage with minimal verbal systems of 10–40 simple verbs (Viberg 1993: 347–348, 2006: 409). In the light of that

¹ The distinction between derived and non-derived stems is not altogether straightforward, as from a diachronic perspective, many transitive stems that can be considered derived causatives do not have any synchronic non-causative counterparts. For the most part in this work, I consider those as stems in their own right, i.e. non-derived. I refrain from distinguishing between root and stem, as that would raise more questions than could be answered here.

we will try to discern whether Palula has a verbal structure similar to European languages or should rather be included in the category of languages with minimal verbal systems or at least be said to share some lexical characteristics of either one.

Regardless of the size of the verb lexicon, the 20 most frequent verbs in any one language tend to have some characteristics in common, and a number of basic meanings coded as verbs are more or less bound to show up here (Viberg 2006: 209). The presence of the verbs GO, GIVE, TAKE, MAKE, SEE and SAY, Viberg (1993: 247) points out as unmarked, in this sense, occurring as highly frequent verbs in English and in a number of other European languages as well as in non-European languages.

In Palula, too, we find these verbs among the Top Twenty (Table 8.1), if we count *har-* ‘take away’ as roughly corresponding to TAKE and *daḥé-* ‘look’ as equivalent to SEE, although in the latter case there is a more general perception verb *paš-*, glossed as ‘see’, that is 27th in the ranking. Viberg (2006: 409) refers to these “universal” verbs as *nuclear*, covering such basic semantic domains as motion, possession, production, verbal communication and perception. He also mentions the verbs HIT, COME, KNOW and WANT as possible candidates for this *nuclear* group, although with a typologically slightly more marked status. In the Palula Top Twenty list we also find HIT and COME, whereas the closest equivalent of WANT shows up in the 21–40 range as *dawá-* ‘ask for’ and KNOW (as a simple verb) with an even lower frequency.

Not all the Top Twenty verbs of European languages, such as English, are *nuclear* in the same sense and must therefore be defined as language- or area-specific. This is the case with BE and HAVE, the first one being the overall most frequent in almost all European languages, and the second a verb with few parallels outside Europe. In English the modals *will*, *can*, *may*, *shall* and *must* are all among the twenty most frequent, and in many other European languages the modals CAN and MUST are found in this frequency range (Viberg 1993: 346–349).

A similar tendency can be seen when studying the Palula Top Twenty list. As in European languages, an equivalent of BE tops the list by a wide margin, not wholly surprising considering the solidly Indo-European identity of this language. The suppletive and defect verb *hin-* with its invariable Past tense form *de* (itself possibly a grammaticalisation of a participle form of GIVE) is the Palula copula as well as an important auxiliary participating in the formation of a number of periphrastic tense-aspect categories. The verb *háans-* ‘live, exist’ is in a similar manner grammaticalised in one of its uses, mainly “standing in” for the defect *hin-* in some of the TMA categories.

Table 8.1: Palula Verbs Top Twenty. The 20 most frequent verbs. (The percentage is calculated on occurrence of finite verb forms in the text corpus.)

	Palula verb stem	Approximate gloss	% occurrence
1	<i>hin-</i>	‘be’	25.0
2	<i>bhe-</i>	‘become’	8.2
3	<i>the-</i>	‘do, make’	7.7
4	<i>be-</i>	‘go’	5.5
5	<i>mané-</i>	‘say’	5.0
6	<i>háans-</i>	‘live, exist’	3.9
7	<i>de-</i>	‘give’	3.6
8	<i>yhe-</i>	‘come’	3.6
9	<i>thané-</i>	‘call, say, name’	2.3
10	<i>whe-</i>	‘get down’	1.8
11	<i>kha-</i>	‘eat’	1.7
12	<i>nikhé-</i>	‘appear, get out’	1.4
13	<i>daçhé-</i>	‘look’	1.2
14	<i>har-</i>	‘take away’	1.1
15	<i>mhaaré-</i>	‘kill’	1.1
16	<i>je-</i>	‘hit, beat’	1.1
17	<i>urí-</i>	‘let out, pour’	0.9
18	<i>bheš-</i>	‘sit down’	0.9
19	<i>čhooré-</i>	‘put’	0.8
20	<i>khoojá-</i>	‘ask’	0.8
			77.7

The two verbal communication verbs *thané-* and *mané-* interact in a language-specific way and are beyond their simple characteristic as utterance-verbs that take direct-quote complements (Givón 2001a: 155) also grammaticalised in one or more forms as quotatives and hearsay markers, respectively.²

The high frequency of the verbs *bhe-* ‘become’, *the-* ‘do, make’ and *de-* ‘give’ reflects an area-specific feature that we will have reason to return to in our discussion below, namely that in addition to their more literal meaning mainly are featured as verbalisers (Masica 1991: 368) or “dummy verbs” in so-called “con-

² This, however, is not reflected to any greater extent in this frequency count where only finite verb forms are taken into account.

junct verbs” (1991: 326), see §8.6.1.

Another language-specific or possibly subarea specific feature can be traced in the presence of at least four verbs coding events close to COME and GO among the Top Twenty: *be-* ‘go’, *yhe-* ‘come’, *we-* ‘get down’ and *nikhé-* ‘appear, get out’. While the first two of these four motion verbs are spatially (but not directionally) neutral, the two others include a spatial specification (along with a directional neutralisation), *we-* coding a movement up-to-down, and *nikhé-* a movement inside-to-outside. Another verb belonging to this group, although with respect to frequency at a much lower ranking, is *ukhé-* ‘get up’, coding a movement reverse of *we-*, i.e. down-to-up. This tendency finds a number of parallels in other areas of the lexicon (spatially “fine-tuned” adverbs, demonstratives, postpositions, etc).

Leaving the individual verbs, their lexical-grammatical characteristics and the events they code aside, one of the more striking observations we can make is to do with the relative textual verb occurrence within certain frequency ranges. Viberg (2006: 409) claims that the 20 most frequent verbs tend to cover close to 50 per cent of the textual frequency in European languages. He compares that with the language Kalam in Papua New Guinea, with a total number of simple verbs around 100, of which 15 verbs account for 90 per cent of the total textual occurrence.

As indicated in Table 8.2, Palula places itself between these two, with close to 80 per cent accounted for by the Top Twenty verbs. That makes it significantly different from the European type, but it is still quite different from languages with minimal verbal systems.

Table 8.2: Palula textual verb occurrence related to frequency ranges

Frequency range (number of verbs)	% finite verb occurrence
1–5 (5)	51.5
6–20 (15)	26.2
21–40 (20)	10.0
41–138 (98)	12.3
All (138)	100.0

Interestingly, half of the occurrences in text is accounted for by only the five topmost verbs, among them the two most productive verbalisers, *bhe-* ‘become’ and *the-* ‘do, make’, with the other 15 verbs in the Top Twenty comprising another quarter of all verbs. The following 20 verbs account for a tenth, while the remaining 100 or so verbs only represent 12 per cent of the total number of verbs

occurring in the text corpus. This does not mean that Palula has no more than 138 simple verbs (in fact I have elicited more or less complete paradigms for well over 300 verbs³), but it suggests that the total number is likely to be in the hundreds rather than in the thousands, and that any verbs beyond these 138 are quite rare, although we must not make too hasty conclusions based on a rather small corpus that is somewhat limited in terms of genre.

Can the lexical structure observed for Palula in some ways be related to lexical typology at large? Is it possible to trace any particular areal or subareal features responsible for some of the properties of the lexical structure in Palula? Are we observing the effects of an ongoing development of the lexical structure in one direction or the other? These are big and interrelated questions, and I only intend to hint at some possible explanations and give suggestions for further research.

Viberg (2006: 409) only contrasts two extremes as it seems; on the one hand, we have, from a European perspective, well-known languages with large verbal systems, comprising thousands of simple verbs, some with very specialised meanings; on the other, we have languages with minimal systems, comprising less than 100 simple verbs. In the latter case a small set of simple verbs are used systematically as building blocks to form complex verbs with more specialised meanings equal to those of semantically specialised simple verbs in the languages of the former type.

Palula, however, does not really fit into any of those two extremes. Instead it seems to belong to an intermediary type. Its verb inventory is quite rich, and some meanings are rather specialised, as we saw above with the spatially specified motion verbs, but we can probably count the total number in the hundreds rather than in the thousands. It shares the ability with the “minimal type” of specialised event coding by means of complex verbs. Viberg (2006: 348) exemplifies two such strategies, one combining a noun or an adjective with a verb, and in effect forming new lexical units equal to simple verbs: noun+verb > VERB (predicate) or adjective+verb > VERB; another by combining two verbs: verb1+verb2 > VERB.

The former strategy (discussed below, §8.6.1) is well attested in Palula, and I will, in line with Masica (1991: 326), refer to this as the *conjunct verb* construction (while in some other traditions it is called a *light verb* construction). It is a productive and easily applicable strategy, especially for verbalising culturally new concepts, and we find, perhaps not surprisingly, a substantial number of loan words (primarily from Urdu or Pashto) in the so-called “host” slot of *conjunct*

³ As simple verbs in this case, I also consider attested stems derived productively with the valence-increasing *á/awá*-suffix and the valence-decreasing *ĩj*-suffix respectively.

verbs.

The *conjunct verb* as a phenomenon is neither language-specific nor area-specific. Instead it seems to be a feature (although not exclusively) of languages in a larger “macro-area”, possibly comprising a large part of Asia. Nevertheless, Masica notes “impressionistically” that it does appear to be more common in the northern part of South Asia than in the south, possibly owing something to Persian influence (1991: 368). As already noted above, there are primarily three verbs acting as verbalisers in Palula, representing each a particular argument structure (see §12.2.8).

This strategy may very well be on the increase in Palula, partly due to influence from languages of wider communication. Since it is such a productive strategy, especially for incorporating culturally new concepts (Gambhir 1993: 85), it is not too farfetched to assume that once a model like this has been established even simple verbs with a specific meaning already existing in the language may be replaced by the more easily accessible *host* + *verbaliser* constructions. So far in Palula, however, it seems to be primarily a question of creating entirely new vocabulary to suit new situations, such as the access to new technology, formal education and acquisition of new knowledge, and only to a limited extent a matter of replacing already existing basic vocabulary.

The latter is of course not in itself a threat to the Palula inherited lexicon, but it may eventually mean a rather radical restructuring. An example of this we can see in Persian, which in many ways stands as an “areal model” as far as conjunct verbs are concerned. In Persian these “new” verb complexes have been gradually replacing “old” simple verbs for the last 700 years, resulting in the existence of numerous parallel complex and simple verbs corresponding to more or less the same verbal concepts. An additional effect of this phenomenon has been to provide a literary language or prestigious register in which the simple verb is used vis-à-vis an everyday language in which the corresponding complex predicate is applied to a much higher degree (Folli, Harley & Karimi 2005: 1369).

The second strategy mentioned above, through which new predicates are formed by combining two simple verbs, is not as well attested in Palula (some possible examples will be discussed under §8.6.2), while it is considered a typical – although not exclusive – IA feature (Ebert 2006: 559; Masica 2001: 250–252).

As to the structural properties of verbs, all the three morphological markers commonly found on verbs (Viberg 2006: 409) are present in Palula: TMA markers, agreement markers and valency markers. These will be dealt with in §8.4–§8.5, but before discussing these inflectional categories, some important classes of verb stems will be introduced and exemplified.

8.2 Stems and verb classes

As far as inflectional morphology is concerned, there are two main morphological verb classes in Palula, which I have chosen to refer to as L-verbs – an open, productive and large class – and T-verbs; additionally there is a small group of verbs with stems that to a varying degree are suppletive (see Table 8.3). Also within each of the main classes there are variations in the inflectional paradigms (described in detail below) due to accent-position and the quality of stem vowels.

Table 8.3: Partial paradigm illustrating stems and main morphological verb classes

	L-verb 'cross'	T-verb 'climb, rise, quarrel'	Suppletive verb 'see'
Imperfective stem	<i>láng-</i>	<i>śáč-</i>	<i>páš-</i>
Present (MSG)	<i>lang-áan-u</i>	<i>śáč-áan-u</i>	<i>páš-áan-u</i>
Future (3SG)	<i>láang-a</i> (B. <i>láang-e</i>)	<i>śaač-a</i> (B. <i>śaač-e</i>)	<i>páaš-a</i> (B. <i>páaš-e</i>)
Imperative (SG)	<i>láang</i>	<i>śaač</i>	<i>páaš</i>
Perfective stem	<i>langíl-</i>	<i>śaat-</i>	<i>dhrišt-</i>
Perfective (MSG)	<i>langíl-u</i>	<i>śaat-u</i>	<i>dhrišt-u</i>
Perfective (FSG)	<i>langíl-i</i>	<i>śéet-i</i>	<i>dhrišt-i</i>

All of the inflectional suffixes are each associated with either a perfective or an imperfective stem, as illustrated in the partial paradigm (Table 8.3). For most verbs the perfective stem (stripped of its Perfective “inflection”) is identical to the imperfective stem (see §8.4.3), but in some of the classes the two are clearly distinguished as separate stems. For a more consistent treatment, however, I have chosen to indicate all perfective stems in this work inclusive of morphological perfectivity, regardless of it being present in a regular or predictable form or as stem modification/alternation only. Apart from imperfective-perfective stem alternations, some imperfective stems show vowel alternations between imperfective verb forms with an accent-bearing suffix and those imperfective verb forms that are formed with an accent-neutral suffix (as described in §3.4.3 and §3.5.1). What I cite as a stem (with a final hyphen) is an underlying form, mostly corresponding to the non-strengthened vowel quality/quantity found with accent-bearing suffixes.

8.3 Morphological verb classes

The following classification of verbs into different classes is based on formal criteria, taking both stem alternation and inflectional allomorphy into consideration.

8.3.1 Consonant-ending L-verbs

As mentioned above, the L-class, so named because of its Perfective ending in *íl*, *óol*, etc., includes the majority of verbs and is also the productive formation insofar as new simple verbs are formed (which, however, is synchronically quite rare). Within this large class, we can discern three important subclasses, each including a substantial number of verbs, primarily recognised on the basis of suffix vowels (or more correctly the vowels arising from the coalescing of final stem vowel and an actual suffix vowel).

The first is verbs with consonant-ending stems (Table 8.4). The great majority of them are intransitive, and all morphological passives formed with *-îj* (see §8.5.2) also belong to this subclass, but a few non-derived transitive verbs are also found. For perfective stems, the accent always occurs on the final vowel *í* (of the segment *íl*), which is the single feature setting them apart from the imperfective stems. One of the more prominent features of this subclass are the consonant-ending singular Imperatives, for most of these verbs identical with the stem itself.

Table 8.4: Partial paradigm for consonant-ending L-verbs

	‘reach, arrive’
Imperfective stem	<i>phéd-</i>
Present (MSG)	<i>phed-áan-u</i>
Future (3SG)	<i>phéd-a</i> (B. <i>phéd-e</i>)
Imperative (SG)	<i>phéd</i>
Perfective stem	<i>phedíl-</i>
Perfective (MSG)	<i>phedíl-u</i>
Perfective (FSG)	<i>phedíl-i</i>

Regular morphophonemic alternations *aāoo~ee*, *ee~ii* and *āaa* (as shown by the parenthetical forms in the lists with examples) are results of historical strengthening/lengthening and umlaut (as described in §1.4 and §3.5). The following are a few examples of the large subclass of consonant-ending L-verbs:

<i>čhín-</i>	‘cut’	<i>ghuár-</i> (<i>ghuáar-</i>)	‘boil’ (<i>itr</i>)
<i>báṭ-</i> (<i>báaṭ-</i>)	‘fit’	<i>bišám-</i> (<i>bišáam-</i>)	‘rest’
<i>biliṣ-</i>	‘melt’	<i>khónḍ-</i>	‘talk’
<i>háans-</i> (<i>hóons-</i> , <i>heens-/hans-</i>)	‘stay, live’	<i>jháan-</i> (<i>jhóon-</i> , <i>jheen-</i>)	‘recognise, know’
<i>buḥún-</i>	‘card (wool)’	<i>kámb-</i> (<i>káamb-</i>)	‘shiver’
<i>buláḍ-</i> (<i>buláaḍ-</i>)	‘search for’	<i>núuṭ-</i>	‘return’ (<i>tr</i>)
<i>čár-</i> (<i>čáar-</i>)	‘graze’ (<i>itr</i>)	<i>pičhíl-</i>	‘slip’
<i>utráp-</i> (<i>utráap-</i>)	‘run’	<i>uḍhéew-</i> (<i>uḍhíiw-</i>)	‘flee’

8.3.2 *a*-ending L-verbs

The next subclass comprises verbs with stems ending in an accented *á* (Table 8.5). Many, but not all, of these verbs are transitive, and among them we also find all causative and transitive verbs (productively) derived with *-á* or *-awá* from non-causative and intransitive verbs.

The final vowel of the stem has coalesced with the suffix vowel and sometimes been subject to further historical strengthening or given rise to umlaut. Unique for this particular subclass are thus the Future verb forms with *óo* and the Perfective segments *óol* or *éel*.

Table 8.5: Partial paradigm for *a*-ending L-verbs

	‘eat’
Imperfective stem	<i>khá-</i>
Present (MSG)	<i>khá(a)in-u</i> (B. <i>kha-yáan-u</i>)
Future (3SG)	<i>khóo</i> (B. <i>khúu</i>)
Imperative (SG)	<i>khá</i>
Perfective stem	<i>kháal-</i> (< <i>khá-</i> + <i>-íl</i>)
Perfective (MSG)	<i>khóol-u</i> (B. <i>khúul-u</i>)
Perfective (FSG)	<i>khéel-i</i>

The stem-*á* followed by the suffix *-áan* has resulted in a few parallel Present tense forms: *khayáanu*, *khiáanu*, *kháainu*, *kháinu*. The form with the epenthetic *-y-* is the dominant one in the B. variety, whereas the other two are commonly heard in A.⁴

⁴ Morgenstierne (1941: 22) does not report any forms other than those with *y*, which is why we

This is one of the largest subclasses, and – again – the following are only some examples of such verbs:

<i>samá-</i>	‘build’	<i>ḡhaaná-</i>	‘wake up’ (<i>itr</i>)
<i>leewá-</i>	‘lie (tell a lie)’	<i>khooḡá-</i>	‘ask’
<i>butsá-</i>	‘inject, pierce’	<i>langá-</i>	‘take across’
<i>bhá-</i>	‘be able to’	<i>bhuuḡá-</i>	‘wake up’ (<i>tr</i>)
<i>bhanḡá-</i>	‘beat’	<i>lišá-</i>	‘close’
<i>čooṇṭá-</i>	‘write, embroider’	<i>mučá-</i>	‘open, untie’
<i>čulá-</i>	‘rock’	<i>pačá-</i>	‘cook’
<i>ḡhangá-</i>	‘bury, plant’	<i>ṣá-</i>	‘put on’

8.3.3 *e*-ending L-verbs

The third important subclass of L-verbs (Table 8.6) includes both intransitive and transitive verbs. Here we find some transitive verbs clearly corresponding to or derived from intransitive verbs in other verb classes, although often through less transparent (and synchronically unproductive) processes than the ones we found in the *a*-ending class.

Table 8.6: Partial paradigm for *e*-ending L-verbs

	‘kill’
Imperfective stem	<i>mhaaré-</i>
Present (MSG)	<i>mhaar-áan-u</i>
Future (3SG)	<i>mhaar-íi</i>
Imperative (SG)	<i>mhaar-á</i> (B. <i>mhaaré</i>)
Perfective stem	<i>mheeríl-</i> (< <i>mhaaré-</i> + <i>-íl</i>)
Perfective (MSG)	<i>mheeríl-u</i>
Perfective (FSG)	<i>mheeríl-i</i>

An underlying (and historical) final accented *é* is assumed here that also occurs in the surface form of the B. (but not A.) Imperative singular. Although the final *é* has been subject to deletion in most other forms, the Future tense *-íi* results from the coalescence of this stem-*é* and the suffix-*e* (cf. the *-ée* in the closed syllable of

can assume that to be the more conservative pronunciation and the other ones to have evolved during the last few decades.

the 2SG Future verb form in B., *aṭ-ээр*, etc, where this strengthening process has not applied):

<i>akaṭé-</i>	‘gather’ (<i>tr</i>)	<i>ghašé-</i>	‘catch, take’
<i>aṭé-</i>	‘bring’	<i>name-</i> (<i>neem-</i>)	‘bow’
<i>buḥhaalé-</i> (<i>buḥheel-</i>)	‘become hungry’	<i>gaḍé-</i> (<i>B. ghaḍé-</i>)	‘take off, take out’
<i>niaaṭé-</i> (<i>nīeṭ-</i>)	‘shave, shear’	<i>whaalé-</i> (<i>wheel-</i>)	‘take down’
<i>bhe-</i>	‘become’	<i>the-</i>	‘do’
<i>čapé-</i>	‘chew, gnaw’	<i>piṭé-</i>	‘close’
<i>daḥhé-</i>	‘look’	<i>phaalé-</i> (<i>pheel-</i>)	‘newline, chop’
<i>čuuşé-</i>	‘suck’	<i>ghaṇḍé-</i>	‘fasten, tie’

Only some of the verbs in this class have a long accented vowel in the Perfective forms with *íil*, while most are left with a short *íl*. I don’t have any explanation for this, but interestingly Morgenstierne (1941: 22–23) has documented alternative (“older”) forms of *the-* ‘do’: *thiānu* (PRS MSG) and *thiēlo* (PFV MSG), which suggests that there may have been for all *e*-ending verbs an intermediate form with both the vowel quality of the stem and that of the suffix preserved. For this particular verb, the modern Perfective forms differ between the dialects, so that the A. form uses a long *íil*, whereas B. has a short *íl*. Also, the Converbs of *the-* and *bhe-* (two extremely frequent verbs, being the two most common verbalisers, see §8.6.1 and §12.2.8) are formed with *e* (*the* and *bhe*) instead of the *-í* of the other verbs of this subclass.

8.3.4 Other L-verbs

Two other frequent L-verbs should be mentioned that do not easily fit into any of the above-mentioned subclasses: *yhe-* ‘come’ and *ru-* ‘cry’ (in Table 8.7). Both have (at least historically) stems ending in vowels that in various ways interact with the suffix-vowels.

Although the paradigm of *ró-* in many ways reminds us of that of the *e*-ending L-verbs, and therefore in some sense could be seen as a subgroup of that class, *yhe-* presents a more complicated case. For one thing, the Present tense is not like anything we have seen in the classes presented above, with its *áand*-formation instead of the *áan*-suffix we have seen so far. There is reason to return to this issue shortly, as this Present-formation is also a conspicuous feature of a group of T-verbs. The other problem has to do with the quality of the underlying stem vowel, giving rise to a Future suffix akin to the *e*-ending verbs above, while the

Table 8.7: Partial paradigm for two vowel-ending L-verbs

	‘come’	‘cry’
Imperfective stem	<i>yhe-</i>	<i>ru-</i>
Present (MSG)	<i>yh-áand-u</i>	<i>ru-áan-u</i>
Future (3SG)	<i>yh-íi</i> (B. <i>yíi</i>)	<i>r-íi</i>
Imperative (SG)	<i>yhá</i> (B. <i>yé</i>)	<i>ró</i>
Perfective stem	<i>yháal-</i>	<i>rúul-</i>
Perfective (MSG)	<i>yhóol-u</i> (B. <i>yúul-u</i>)	<i>rúul-u</i>
Perfective (FSG)	<i>yhéel-i</i> (B. <i>yéel-i</i>)	<i>rúul-i</i>

Perfective is more what would be expected with a final *á*. Although I represent the stem with a final *e* for the time being, it is merely a vocalic placeholder; it may very well go back on a stem ending in a diphthong *ái* or *éi*. In B. there is also an unexpected alternation between *y* and *yh*, stem-initially, an alternation that cuts right through the imperfective realm. We will return to this issue of aspiration when discussing the other verbs with *-áand*, but for now we will only regard it as an irregularity among the L-verbs.

While the L-verbs within their respective three subclasses present a rather homogenous picture, the paradigms of the T-verbs display a much higher degree of irregularity. In reality these verbs, together with the suppletive verbs mentioned, could be seen as a continuum stretching from verbs with almost agglutinative morphology, through verbs that show an increasingly irregular correspondence between perfective and imperfective stems, and ending up at the other extreme with entirely suppletive verbs, without any segments in common and with irregular inflections.

8.3.5 Consonant-ending T-verbs

The T-verbs form together with the suppletive verbs a closed class of verbs, comprising between 50 and 60 verbs altogether in my database. Many of these verbs form their perfectives with a plosive segment, in the clear cases a *t*-suffix, but often this has been assimilated with preceding stem segments, hence the name.

The largest subclass of the T-verbs are those with a stem ending in a consonant (Table 8.8). Like the consonant-ending L-verbs, the Imperative singular is identical with the imperfective stem, save for historical strengthening/lengthening. This class includes intransitive as well as transitive verbs, with no particular pref-

erence for one or the other.

Table 8.8: Partial paradigm for consonant-ending T-verbs

	‘forget’	‘understand’	‘take’
Imperfective stem	<i>aamúuṣ-</i>	<i>búj-</i>	<i>ghín-</i>
Present (MSG)	<i>aamuṣ-áan-u</i>	<i>búj-áan-u</i>	<i>ghín-áan-u</i>
Future (3SG)	<i>aamúuṣ-a</i>	<i>búj-a</i>	<i>ghín-a</i>
Imperative (SG)	<i>aamúuṣ</i>	<i>búj</i>	<i>ghín</i>
Perfective stem	<i>aamúuṣṭ-</i>	<i>búd-</i>	<i>ghíin-</i>
Perfective (MSG)	<i>aamúuṣṭ-u</i>	<i>búd-u</i>	<i>ghíin-u</i>
Perfective (FSG)	<i>aamúuṣṭ-i</i>	<i>búd-i</i>	<i>ghíin-i</i>

In some cases, the imperfective and perfective stems are identical or nearly identical, save for a *t*-segment added to the Perfective. In other cases, the stems are considerably different, involving stem vowel alternation, alternation between an aspirated and an unaspirated stem, metathesis or assimilation of a final consonant with the Perfective *t*-element. In the following list, the imperfective stem is listed in the first column along with an alternating imperfective stem form within parenthesis, followed by the perfective stem in the second column:

<i>béešt-</i> (<i>bíišt-</i>)	<i>bíišt-</i>	‘wind up’
<i>lhay-</i> (<i>lháay-</i>)	<i>láad-</i>	‘find’
<i>har-</i>	(<i>háar-</i>) <i>hiř-</i>	‘take away’
<i>kirn-</i>	(<i>krin-</i>) <i>kríint-</i>	‘sell’
<i>khinj-</i>	<i>khind-</i>	‘become tired’
<i>lun-</i>	<i>lúunt-</i>	‘cut, reap’
<i>bheš-</i>	<i>bheř-</i>	‘sit down’
<i>muč-</i>	<i>mut-</i>	‘rain’
<i>pač-</i> (<i>páač-</i>)	<i>páak-</i>	‘ripen, be cooked’
<i>mar-</i> (<i>máar-</i>)	<i>muř-</i>	‘die’
<i>péeš-</i> (<i>píiš-</i>)	<i>píšt-</i>	‘grind’
<i>pil-</i>	<i>píil-</i>	‘drink’
<i>sil-</i>	<i>síit-</i>	‘sew’
<i>šuj-</i>	<i>šud-</i>	‘end, finish’ (<i>itr</i>)
<i>níiš-</i>	<i>níišt-</i>	‘falter’
<i>šuš-</i>	<i>šuk-</i>	‘dry’ (<i>itr</i>)
<i>šun-</i>	<i>šúunt-</i>	‘hear’
<i>šač-</i> (<i>šáač-</i>)	<i>šáat-</i>	‘quarrel, climb, light’

8.3.6 *e*-ending T-verbs

The next subclass, *e*-ending T-verbs (Table 8.9), is considerably smaller than the consonant-ending and is entirely parallel to the *e*-ending L-verbs. Even here we need to reconstruct a stem ending in an accented *é*, and again the B. variety has regularly preserved this *é* in Imperative singular. The perfective and imperfective stems are identical for all of these verbs, save for an ending segment *íit* or *ít* in the Perfective.

Some of these verbs are to varying degrees grammaticalised in some of their uses, *de-* (and possible also *je-*) as a verbaliser, and *thané-* and *mané-* as quotatives. Like *the-* and *bhe-* of the *e*-ending L-verbs, *de-* and *je-* occur as Converbs (see §12.2.8) in the forms *dé* and *jé* instead of with the regular suffix *-í*:

<i>bhayé-</i>	<i>bhayíit-</i>	‘sow, cultivate’	<i>khál-</i>	<i>khalíit-</i>	‘stir’ ⁵
<i>čiré-</i>	<i>čiriit-</i>	‘be delayed’	<i>mané-</i>	<i>maníit-</i>	‘say’
<i>de-</i>	<i>dít-</i>	‘give’	<i>phrayé-</i>	<i>phrayíit-</i>	‘send’ ⁶
<i>je-</i>	<i>jít-</i>	‘hit, shoot’	<i>thané-</i>	<i>thaníit-</i>	‘say, call’

Table 8.9: Partial paradigm for *e*-ending T-verbs

	‘apply’
Imperfective stem	<i>malé-</i>
Present (MSG)	<i>mal-áan-u</i>
Future (3SG)	<i>mal-íi</i>
Imperative (SG)	<i>malá</i> (B. <i>malé</i>)
Perfective stem	<i>malíit-</i>
Perfective (MSG)	<i>malíit-u</i>
Perfective (FSG)	<i>malíit-i</i>

8.3.7 Accent-shifting T-verbs

Two small groups of T-verbs can be described as hybrids between consonant-ending and *e*-ending verbs. The verbs in one of them behave like the consonant-ending verbs in the imperfective and like the *e*-ending verbs in the perfective:

<i>áč-</i> (<i>ááč-</i>)	<i>ačíit-</i>	‘enter’	<i>pál-</i> (<i>páal-</i>)	<i>palíit-</i>	‘be hidden’
<i>bhíy-</i>	<i>bhiyíit-</i>	‘be afraid’	<i>šíy-</i>	<i>šiyíit-</i>	‘fall, be dropped’
<i>dhár-</i> (<i>dháar-</i>)	<i>dhariit-</i>	‘remain’			

The verbs of the other group look like *e*-ending verbs in the imperfective but like consonant-ending verbs in the perfective:

<i>galé-</i>	<i>géel-/géel-</i>	‘throw, leave’ ⁷	<i>ukualé-</i>	<i>ukuéel-</i>	‘bring up’ ⁸
<i>čhooré-</i>	<i>čhúuŋ-</i>	‘put’			

Whereas the first group is all intransitive, with similar imperfective and perfective stems, the second are all transitive with some sort of unpredictable stem alternation. Most likely, *galé-* and *ukualé-* have developed from being *e*-ending L-verbs (which they still are in B.) to assimilating the two identical segments adjacent to one another and thus losing their characteristic *íl*-endings. The *e*-ending

⁵ The paradigm of this verb is not entirely stable within the A. dialect; it is sometimes treated as an L-verb.

⁶ In B. (and for some A-speakers) an *e*-ending L-verb.

⁷ In B. an *e*-ending L-verb.

⁸ In B. an *e*-ending L-verb.

L-verb *whaalé*- ‘take down’ (presented above), which is structurally similar and semantically parallel to *ukualé*-, is accent-shifting with some speakers of the A. variety.

8.3.8 *aand*-verbs

As already hinted above, there is a group of four (intransitive) motion verbs that all share the Present-tense allomorph *-áand* vis-à-vis the usual *-áan*. One of them, *yhe*- ‘come’, an L-verb with a unique paradigm, was mentioned already. The remaining three (in Table 8.10) are T-verbs. As with *yhe*-, the final *e*-element is merely a vocalic placeholder as far as representation is concerned.

Table 8.10: Partial paradigm for T-verbs with *-aand* (Present)

	‘appear, come out’	‘come/go/ climb up’	‘come/go down’
Imperfective stem	<i>nikhé-</i>	<i>ukhé-</i>	<i>whé-</i>
Present (MSG)	<i>nikh-áand-u</i>	<i>ukh-áand-u</i>	<i>wh-áand-u</i>
Future (3SG)	<i>nikh-íi</i>	<i>ukh-íi</i>	<i>wh-íi</i>
Imperative (SG)	<i>nikhá</i>	<i>ukhá</i>	<i>whá</i>
Perfective stem	<i>nikháat-</i>	<i>ukháat-</i>	<i>wháat-</i>
Perfective (MSG)	<i>nikháat-u</i>	<i>ukháat-u</i>	<i>whaát-u</i>
Perfective (FSG)	<i>nikhéet-i</i>	<i>ukhéet-i</i>	<i>whéet-i</i>

Following Morgenstierne (1941: 22), the Present-tense suffix is an old participle *-ant*-. What we do not know at this point is why most of them have resulted in *-áan*, whereas only this small group of verbs has preserved the consonant cluster in *-áand* (although with a lengthened vowel and with the plosive voiced in the position before the vocalic gender/number suffix, of which both are well-supported processes in the Palula diachronic development). One line of thought to be pursued is that aspiration, now segmentally at the onset of the first syllable, historically would have been located at the morpheme break, i.e. between the stem and the participial suffix (*ukháand*- < *uké+h+ánt*), only later transposed leftwards (another well-attested process in the Palula lexicon). This is supported by the lack of aspiration in, for instance, the historical derivation *ukualé*- ‘bring up’ from *ukhé*- ‘come/go/climb up’.

8.3.9 *i*-ending T-verbs

Another subclass of equal size is one ending (at least underlyingly) with the vowel *i*, as seen in (Table 8.11).

Table 8.11: Partial paradigm for *i*-ending T-verbs

	‘get/stand up’
Imperfective stem	<i>uthí-</i>
Present (MSG)	<i>uth-áan-u</i>
Future (3SG)	<i>uthíi</i>
Imperative (SG)	<i>uthí</i>
Perfective stem	<i>uthíit-</i>
Perfective (MSG)	<i>uthíit-u</i>
Perfective (FSG)	<i>uthíit-i</i>

They are also, like the previous group, in some sense motion verbs, at least three of them describing upward motion. Two of them are transitive and two intransitive (including the already exemplified *uthí-*):

<i>uçh(i)-</i>	<i>uçhíi-</i>	‘lift (up)’	<i>ur(i)-</i>	<i>uríi-</i>	‘pour, let out’
<i>urbh(i)-</i>	<i>urbhíi-</i>	‘fly’			

8.3.10 *u*-ending T-verb

In my database, there is a single T-verb ending in a vowel *u* (or *o*), the verb *su-* ‘sleep, fall asleep’ (in Table 8.12).

8.3.11 Suppletive verbs

There are only three radically suppletive verbs in the language. One, *paš-/dhriřt-* ‘see’, was already introduced in Table 8.3. The other two are the verbs *be-/g(a)-* ‘go’ and the copula/auxiliary *hin-/de*. The latter will be presented in Section §8.3.12 along with other highly irregular or defective verbs.

Due to its unique forms, the verb ‘go’ is presented in a more comprehensive paradigm in Table 8.13, although we will return to the inflectional categories themselves and their functions in the sections to follow.

Table 8.12: Partial paradigm for the vowel-ending verb *su-*

	‘sleep’
Imperfective stem	<i>su-</i>
Present (MSG)	<i>su-áan-u</i>
Future (3SG)	<i>s-íi</i>
Imperative (SG)	<i>só</i>
Perfective stem	<i>sut-</i>
Perfective (MSG)	<i>sút-u</i>
Perfective (FSG)	<i>sút-i</i>

Table 8.13: Paradigm for suppletive *be-/g(a)-* ‘go’

		Singular	Plural
Imperfective stem	<i>be-</i>		
Present	M	<i>báinu, biáanu</i> (<i>B. bayáanu</i>)	<i>báina, biáana</i> (<i>B. bayáana</i>)
	F	<i>béini, biéeni</i> (<i>B. bayéeni</i>)	<i>béinim, biéenim</i> (<i>B. bayéenim</i>)
Future	1st	<i>béem</i>	<i>báaya (B. béea)</i>
	2nd	<i>búir (B. béer)</i>	<i>búit (B. béet)</i>
	3rd	<i>búi</i>	<i>búin (B. béen)</i>
Imperative		<i>ba (B. be)</i>	<i>bóoi (B. búi)</i>
Perfective stem	<i>g(a)-</i>		
Perfective	M	<i>gúum (B. gáu)</i>	<i>gúia (B. géea)</i>
	F	<i>gúi (B. géi)</i>	<i>gúia (B. géea/géi)</i>

8.3.12 Irregular verbs and verbs with highly grammaticalised functions

The copula/tense auxiliary

The copula/tense auxiliary has an incomplete paradigm, displayed in Table 8.14, using forms of the verb *háans-* ‘live, stay’ in the imperfective with non-present reference.

The Perfective (or more correctly Simple Past as far as this particular verb is concerned) *de* is invariable and most probably a (fairly recent) grammaticalisa-

Table 8.14: Paradigm for copula

		Singular	Plural
Present	M	<i>hín-u</i>	<i>hín-a</i>
	F	<i>hín-i</i>	<i>hín-im</i>
Perfective/Simple Past		<i>de</i>	<i>de</i>

tion of the conjunctive participle of *de-* ‘give, put’. There is as far as I know no other Shina variety with a similar past-tense copula. Instead they all tend to go back on the same stem: Kalkoti *aas*, Sauji *al-*, Gilgiti *as-* (Radloff w. Shakil 1998), Kohistani Shina *asílo-*, Drasi *asíló-*, Guresi *asúlu-* (Schmidt 2002: 44–45).

The use of these forms as tense auxiliaries will be further discussed and exemplified in §9.1.5–§9.1.8, and their copular use in §12.1.

Modal verbs and verb forms with highly grammaticalised functions

śaat- ‘start, begin’. The Perfective of the verb *śač-* ‘climb, rise’, functions, apart from its lexical use, as a modal verb with a complement predicate in the Infinitive (see §12.2.7 and §13.5.2).

bhá- ‘can, be able to’. This *a*-ending L-verb is an entirely modal verb, taking complement predicates in the Infinitive (see §12.2.7 and §13.5.2).

thaní ‘called, said’ (labelled QṬ). Although the verb *thané-* ‘call, say’ does occur (but rarely) in a few other verb forms, it has become grammaticalised in its Converb form *thaní*, and as such has come to function as a quotation marker (see §9.2.4) and may potentially develop into an auxiliary or clitic with an even more restricted syntactic distribution.

maní ‘it has been told’ (labelled HSAY). Like *thaní*, *maní* is a Converb, related to the verb *mané-* ‘say’, and has in this particular form become grammaticalised as a hearsay marker (see §9.2.4). It is also distributionally more restricted and even more specialised than *thaní*, and can therefore alternatively be described as a special type of auxiliary or verb clitic. It can also be said to have become enough separate from the “regular” use of the verb *mané-*.

Although not necessarily analysable as verbs any more, two other important modality words or markers should be mentioned:

hée~ta ‘would, might, were’ (labelled CONDL). Invariably in this form, it occurs in constructions primarily expressing conditionality and is therefore as much to be regarded as a subordinate conjunction (functioning like ‘if’-‘then’) as a verb form. See §13.4.4.

sée~ta (B. *síinta*) ‘should, shall, will’ (labelled CONDH). Like *hée~ta* it is formally invariable, occurring in conditional constructions, where the connection between cause and result essentially is factual and temporal (functioning similarly to ‘when’-‘then’). See §13.4.4.

8.4 Inflectional categories

Verbs are primarily inflected for tense and argument agreement, whereas aspect in the present analysis is considered as already inclusive in a perfective or imperfective stem. The stem itself may be analysed as composed of a base and a valence specification (see §8.5).

Some TMA-categories (such as Perfect and Past Imperfective) are expressed periphrastically, i.e. outside the actual system of inflectional morphology.

Argument agreement occurs immediately outside the stem, except for when it occurs subsequent to inflectional tense. Two different kinds of agreement are part of the paradigm, person agreement and gender/number agreement, the former confined to the agreement marking directly attached to the imperfective stem. Gender/number agreement occurs twice in the case of the Perfect, as main verb inflection as well as auxiliary verb inflection.

The singular Imperative is basically an accented form of the verb stem, whereas the plural is formed with a unique suffix, without any direct correspondence to the agreement system at large.

Apart from finite inflectional categories, there are a number of important non-finite forms.

Table 8.15, with *til-* ‘walk’ as an example verb, gives an overview of verbal inflectional categories, including finite as well as nonfinite forms.

8.4.1 Agreement morphology

As mentioned briefly already, two different types of argument agreement are present in the language: a) person agreement, and b) gender/number agreement. A similar situation where different sets of agreement markers are being used in one and the same language is not at all uncommon in IA languages, where the

Table 8.15: Verb forms (*til*- ‘walk’)

		Singular	Plural
Imperative		<i>til</i>	<i>tíl-ooi</i>
Future	1st	<i>tíl-um</i>	<i>tíl-íia</i>
	2nd	<i>tíl-ar</i>	<i>tíl-at</i>
	3rd	<i>tíl-a</i>	<i>tíl-an</i>
Present	M	<i>til-áan-u</i>	<i>til-áan-a</i>
	F	<i>til-éen-i</i>	<i>til-éen-im</i>
Perfective	M	<i>tilíl-u</i>	<i>tilíl-a</i>
	F	<i>tilíl-i</i>	<i>tilíl-im</i>
Obligative		<i>til-eeṇḍeéu</i>	
Infinitive		<i>til-áa(i)</i>	
Converb		<i>til-í</i>	
Copredicative Participle		<i>til-úm</i>	
Verbal Noun		<i>til-ainíí</i>	
Agentive Verbal Noun	M	<i>til-áat-u</i>	<i>til-áat-a</i>
	F	<i>til-éet-i</i>	<i>til-éet-im</i>
Perfective Participle (formally identical to Perfective)			

“primary” person forms almost always descend from the OIA Present Active – although not necessarily every single suffix as such – while the “secondary” gender/number forms are adjectival and connected with verb forms built on participles, which have only later come to function as finite verbs (Masica 1991: 259–260).

While person agreement is always with the intransitive subject or the transitive agent, the gender/number agreement follows an ergative pattern in the perfective and an accusative pattern in the imperfective. For details on agreement patterns, see §11.1.

Person agreement

Person agreement (Table 8.16) occurs with the non-tense marked imperfective stem, and more specifically with the Future and the Past Imperfective categories. All person-agreement suffixes added to the stem, except the 1PL, are accent-neutral.

Table 8.16: Person-agreement suffixes

	Singular		Plural	
1	<i>khónḍ-um</i>	‘I will speak’	<i>khónḍ-íia</i>	‘we will speak’
2	<i>khónḍ-ar</i>	‘you (SG) will speak’	<i>khónḍ-at</i>	‘you (PL) will speak’
3	<i>khónḍ-a</i>	‘he, she will speak’	<i>khónḍ-an</i>	‘they will speak’

The consonant segments in 1SG, 2PL and 3PL are fully recognisable from the ancient present ending (*-āmi*, *-asi*, *-ati*, *-āmas*, *-atha*, *-anti*), and are also, including 3SG, somewhat expected considering the general diachronic loss of final syllables. The Palula 2SG and 1PL, however, remain largely unexplained. Similar person agreement suffixes are found in other Shina varieties, such as those of the Kohistani Shina subjunctive: *-am*, *-ii~ -ee*, *-ee*, *-oon*, *-at*, *-an~ -en* (Schmidt & Kohistani 2008: 114).

Due to interaction with a final stem-vowel, however, whether synchronically realised or underlying, the actual Future endings may take a number of different shapes, as can be seen in Table 8.17, but they all go back on the same basic suffixes, and there is therefore in a strict sense only one “conjugation” (Masica 1991: 261) in Palula.

Table 8.17: Person-agreement allomorphs

	Singular	Plural
1	<i>-um</i> , <i>-úum</i> (B. <i>-áam</i>)	<i>-íia</i> , <i>-áaya</i>
2	<i>-ar</i> (B. <i>-er</i>), <i>-óor</i> (B. <i>-áar</i>), <i>-íir</i> (B. <i>-éer</i>)	<i>-at</i> (B. <i>-et</i>), <i>-óot</i> (B. <i>-áat</i>), <i>-íit</i> (B. <i>-éet</i>)
3	<i>-a</i> (B. <i>-e</i>), <i>-óo</i> (B. <i>-úu</i>), <i>-ii</i>	<i>-an</i> (B. <i>-en</i>), <i>-óon</i> (B. <i>-áan</i>), <i>-íin</i> (B. <i>-éen</i>)

The first form displayed in each cell in Table 8.17 is the unassimilated suffix following a consonant-ending verb stem. The second form displayed is the person-suffix fused with the final vowel of an *a*-ending stem, and the third form is used with *e*-ending stems. 1SG uses the second form for *a*-ending and *e*-ending verbs alike, and 1PL uses the first form for consonant-ending and *e*-ending verbs.

Verb stems ending in *u* make use of the third ending for second and third persons, and the second ending for both 1SG and 1PL. That is also the case with the

áand-verbs, except that there is a special 1PL form *-éeya* or *-éya* in the B. dialect with these verbs (as in *nikh-éeya* ‘we will appear’ and *y-éya* ‘we will come’). The verb *the-* ‘do’ shows some variation in its 1PL, *th-íiãth-áaya*, and there is similar variability in the paradigms of the *i*-ending verbs; a 1SG form *ur-ím* has, for instance, been noted in the B. dialect for the verb *urí-* ‘pour’.

The deviant pattern of suppletive *be-* ‘go’ has already been displayed in Table 8.13, with all its person agreement forms included.

Gender/number agreement

Gender/number agreement occurs with the perfective stem and with Present tense. All these categories are historically participial categories, hence also referred to as adjectival agreement (Masica 1991: 260).

The interaction of gender and number results in four possible agreement suffixes, all familiar from noun and adjective morphology. The suffixes are the same, but with the Present (Table 8.18) there is always the additional property of vowel alternation (umlaut) occurring inside the preceding Present tense suffix, when the agreement suffix includes a high front vowel (as in the two feminine suffixes).

In some sense, the *-m* of the feminine plural could be seen as a plural marking added to the (for plural otherwise unmarked) feminine *-i*, as a more peripheral layer, thus being a “tertiary” (later added⁹) element to use Masica’s (1991: 260–261) terminology. Its use is indeed also less stable or optional (as compared to the non-optional opposition MSG vs. MPL vs. F). It has a direct parallel in the nasal element – marking feminine plural – in Urdu-Hindi verb morphology. Its origin is probably to be found in noun morphology rather than in adjective morphology (see §4.6.3).

Table 8.18: Gender/number agreement with Present

	Singular		Plural	
M	<i>pil-áan-u</i>	‘I, you, he, it (MSG) am/are/is drinking’	<i>pil-áan-a</i>	‘we, you, they (MPL) are drinking’
F	<i>pil-éen-i</i>	‘I, you, she, it (FSG) am/are/is drinking’	<i>pil-éen-im</i>	‘we, you, they (FPL) are drinking’

⁹ Compare the number/gender forms of ‘go’, which lacks this four-way contrast.

With the Perfective the occurrence of such vowel alternation in the preceding segments of the word varies between different verb classes. With the most commonly occurring L-verbs with a consonant-ending stem the agreement suffixes are the sole reflexes of agreement (Table 8.19).

Table 8.19: Gender/number agreement with Perfective

	Singular		Plural	
M	<i>phedíl-u</i>	‘I, you, he, it (MSG) arrived’	<i>phedíl-a</i>	‘we, you, they (MPL) arrived’
F	<i>phedíl-i</i>	‘I, you, she, it (FSG) arrived’	<i>phedíl-im</i>	‘we, you, they (FPL) arrived’

However, accented *áa* and *óo* (in B. *úu*, historically derived from *áa*) in the perfective stem, as in Table 8.20, are subject to vowel alternation (umlaut), just parallel to the Present verb forms.

Table 8.20: Vowel alternation related to gender/number agreement

	Singular		Plural	
M	<i>mučóol-u</i>	‘X opened (MSG)’	<i>mučóol-a</i>	‘X opened (MPL)’
	<i>nikháat-u</i>	‘(MSG) appeared’	<i>nikháat-a</i>	‘(MPL) appeared’
	<i>šáat-u</i>	‘(MSG) quarreled’	<i>šáat-a</i>	‘(MPL) quarreled’
	<i>páak-u</i>	‘(MSG) ripened’	<i>páak-a</i>	‘(MPL) ripened’
F	<i>mučéel-i</i>	‘X opened (FSG)’	<i>mučéel-im</i>	‘X opened (FPL)’
	<i>nikhéet-i</i>	‘(FSG) appeared’	<i>nikhéet-im</i>	‘(FPL) appeared’
	<i>šéet-i</i>	‘(FSG) quarreled’	<i>šéet-im</i>	‘(FPL) quarreled’
	<i>péek-i</i>	‘(FSG) ripened’	<i>péek-im</i>	‘(FPL) ripened’

In some of the periphrastic categories agreement occurs twice, shown in Table 8.21, first in the main verb, then also in the auxiliary (although there is a strong tendency for at least one *-m* in the FPL agreement forms to be dropped).

8.4.2 Verb forms derived from the imperfective stem

Imperative. All verbs form distinct singular and plural imperatives, ex. *čhín* (SG) – *čhínooli* (PL) ‘cut!’ More examples are provided in Table 8.22.

Table 8.21: Double gender/number agreement

	Singular		Plural	
M	<i>so phedíl-u</i> <i>hín-u</i>	‘I, you, he, it (MSG) have/has arrived’	<i>se phedíl-a</i> <i>hín-a</i>	‘we, you, they (MPL) have arrived’
F	<i>se phedíl-i</i> <i>hín-i</i>	‘I, you, she, it (FSG) have/has arrived’	<i>se phedíl-im</i> <i>hín-i(m)</i>	‘we, you, they (FPL) have arrived’

The Imperative singular is in the typical case identical with the imperfective stem, and it always carries the accent on its last syllable. For nouns with a consonant-ending stem, Imperative singular is always the same as the stem, but with additional lengthening of an accented stem-vowel *á* to *áa* (in the A. dialect only), and strengthening of an accented stem-vowel *áa* to *óo* (in B. *úu*), and *ée* to *íi*. In the *e*-ending verbs, the underlying final *é* has (in the A. dialect) become *á* in Imperative singular and are thus formally identical with the Imperative of *a*-ending verbs.

Table 8.22: Imperative formation

Stem	Imperative singular	Imperative plural	
<i>čár-</i>	<i>čáar</i>	<i>čáar-ooi</i>	‘graze!’ (<i>itr</i>)
<i>lamá-</i>	<i>lamá</i>	<i>lam-óoi</i>	‘hang!’ (<i>tr</i>)
<i>čaaré-</i>	<i>čaará</i> (B. <i>čaaré</i>)	<i>čaar-óoi</i>	‘graze!’ (<i>tr</i>)
<i>uthí-</i>	<i>uthí</i>	<i>uth-óoi</i>	‘stand up!’
<i>su-</i>	<i>só</i>	<i>s-óoi</i>	‘sleep!’

The Imperative plural is invariably formed with a suffix *-ooi* (in B. *-uui*). This suffix receives the accent with vowel-ending verb stems (replacing its final vowel with the Imperative suffix), whereas consonant-ending stems keep the word-accent on the stem-vowel, often with a subsequent weakening of the suffix to *-oi* /-oj/ (B. *-ui* /-uj/).

Converb. Undoubtedly the Converb (or the “conjunctive participle” as it often is called when referring to IA languages) is the most frequent and important nonfinite form, not only in Palula but in IA languages at large (Masica 1991: 323). There are two frequently occurring and regular forms of the Converb, an ac-

cented suffix *-í* added to consonant-stems, *e*-ending stems and (replacing the final vowel of) *i*-ending stems, and an ending *áá* replacing the final vowel of *a*-ending verb stems. Verb stems with other vowel endings (*su*- ‘sleep’ and *ru*- ‘cry’) have gone through assimilation to *-eé*. However, a few verbs (the *áand*-verbs, see above) keep a vowel-segment of the stem and add *-í* (without assimilation or forming a diphthong). In addition to that, a small group of verbs (*the*¹⁰ ‘do’, *de*- ‘give’, *je*- ‘hit’, *be*- ‘go’, *bhe*- ‘become’) have a Converb identical to the stem, i.e. with a short *-e*. Examples are provided in Table 8.23.

Table 8.23: Converb formation

Stem	Converb	
<i>čár-</i>	<i>čar-í</i>	‘having grazed’ (<i>itr</i>)
<i>lamá-</i>	<i>lamaá</i>	‘having hung’ (<i>tr</i>)
<i>uthí-</i>	<i>uthí</i>	‘having stood up’
<i>ukhé-</i>	<i>ukha-(y)í</i>	‘having gone up’
<i>de-</i>	<i>de</i>	‘having given’
<i>su-</i>	<i>seé</i>	‘having slept’

Infinitive. The Infinitive is formed with *-áai* (in B. *-ái*)¹¹, leaves the stem unaccented, and except for in a few cases (stems with final *u* and in Biori *bayái* ‘to go’ and *khayái* ‘to eat’) replaces the final stem-vowel (see Table 8.24). It appears to be in free variation with the form *-áa*.

Table 8.24: Infinitive formation

Stem	Infinitive	
<i>utráp-</i>	<i>utrap-áa(i)</i>	‘run’
<i>samá-</i>	<i>sam-áa(i)</i>	‘build, make’
<i>kha-</i>	<i>kh-áa(i)</i> (B. <i>khay-ái</i>)	‘eat’
<i>su-</i>	<i>su-áa(i)</i> /swáay/	‘sleep’

¹⁰ The converb of this verb, *thé*, is under certain circumstances (especially in some grammaticalised functions) lengthened to *theé*.

¹¹ It could be argued that it is altogether deaccented, either functioning as a clitic or together with the next morpheme constituting a phonological word.

It is, however, still somewhat doubtful whether what I have labelled here an Infinitive really is to be considered an independent verb form and a free morpheme rather than a secondary stem formation (see §9.3.6).

Future. Future tense, or the tense-unspecified imperfective, is always realised as the imperfective stem directly followed by one of six person agreement suffixes (see §8.4.1 and Table 8.16).

Historically this is the old present tense, which in the modern language has become confined to the non-present imperfective realm. While in many IA languages the old present has been driven out by newer formations and been left with less central functions, some of them with vague future or subjunctive meanings, it is especially in the north-western IA languages where it has come to function as the Future *per se* (Masica 1991: 288). It is interesting, however, that these forms seem rather marginal even in the closest relatives of Palula, namely Sauji and Kalkoti. In Sauji, they are used as subjunctives, but very infrequently, and only the 1SG forms *-um/-om/-aam* correspond with any greater precision with the Palula forms. The form *-iyee* is used for 3SG, 1PL and 3PL alike, and comes closest in resemblance to the 1PL of Palula. On the other hand, a particular verb form built up with the 1SG subjunctive, an *n*-element and a gender/number agreement suffix (giving *dumnoo*, *dumnee*, *dumni*, *dumne* ‘will give’) is being used as a Future in Sauji. This morphological construction is obviously a Sauji-specific innovation; I hold it very likely that the combination *n* + gender/number agreement is somehow related to the copula (*hinoo*, *hinee*, *hini*, *hine*): *dumnoo* < *dum hinoo*. For imperfective past, the other instance where the imperfective stem + person agreement forms are used in Palula (with the Past tense marker *de*), Sauji uses a construction with the present imperfective verb form (*-aan*) followed by a suffigated form of *aalo* ‘was (msg)’ or one of its gender/number alternants: *thaan-aloo* ‘was doing’, etc. The ancient agreement pattern (in person) has therefore been given up almost exclusively in favour of the new gender/number pattern in Sauji (Buddruss 1967: 46–54).

The near absence of any forms related to the Palula Future in Kalkoti tends to point in the same direction. Elicitation of future propositions tends to produce the same imperfective verb forms as for most present tense propositions. I only have a few examples where some of the forms with person agreement are used: 1SG *-am/-um* (as in *ma guwaa tham* ‘What should I do?’), 2/3SG *-ä*, and 3PL *-ään*., rather closely corresponding to the Palula 1SG, 3SG and 3PL forms, respectively. Although the form sharing between the 2SG and 3SG forms of the aorist is also found in Kohistani Shina (Schmidt 2002: 39), I would rather assume a loss of con-

trast, probably as the result of sound changes in a more distant past in Kalkoti (and Kohistani Shina), than to suggest a split into 2SG and 3SG in Palula, although the actual form of the modern and somewhat “mysterious” 2SG in Palula is an innovation peculiar to this Shina variety.

Present. The frequently used Present tense is regularly formed with a suffix *-áan* (see Table 8.18), which invariably carries the accent.

The origin of this element is not an entirely uncontroversial issue. Both Morgenstierne (1941: 22) and Buddruss (1967: 48) clearly state that the *-áan* of Palula as well as the virtually identical element in closely related Sauji goes back on the OIA present active participle *-ant* or *-antaka*, even this with numerous parallels (involving various degrees of reduction) in other NIA languages (Masica 1991: 270–271). What complicates the picture is the small class of verbs in Palula, already mentioned, that form their present tense not with *-áan*-AGR but with *-ánd*-AGR. Of course, we may decide that these are a few residual forms, occurring only with a group of high-frequency motion verbs, which for some reason or another have resisted a change affecting all other verbs (further supported by the fact that the form is missing altogether in Sauji and Kalkoti), but a question of separate origins is equally justified. We have in any case no difficulty in showing a development *-ant* > *-ánd*, as it is entirely parallel to other examples of *a*-lengthening and voicing in the language (cf. OIA *vansantá* > **basant* > Palula *basaánd* ‘spring’). However, if we want to propose that the form *-áan* is merely a reduced form of *-ánd*, we would want to explain why neither *dáanda* ‘teeth’ nor *páanda* ‘pats’ (both going back on forms containing an OIA *ant*-segment) have been similarly reduced to ***daana* and ***paana* in the modern languages. We also have a particular problem posed by the imperfective/present verb forms of Kalkoti with three different gender/number allomorphs: *-uun*, *-iin*, *-aan*. I see it as very unlikely that the different vowel qualities would be straightforward examples of umlauts triggered by a now lost final vowel of an agreement suffix. Although umlaut is a feature of the historical development of Kalkoti, we do not have any parallel cases where *a* or *aa* has developed into *uu* or *ii* elsewhere in this variety. Another possible origin is in a gender/number agreeing auxiliary *hino* or *hano*, etc. ‘is’ being attached to the aspectually unmarked verb stem (as suggested by Schmidt, pc).

This historical participial form, regardless of its exact origin, has probably entered the TMA system as an aspectual marker with a rather limited imperfective – probably progressive – use, but has steadily gained ground within the imperfective realm, marginalising the former present tense to the non-present

imperfective, thus establishing itself as the sole marker of present-tense reference. An argument for regarding this as primarily a tense category and the suffix as a present-tense marker and not an aspect marker is that the unmarked imperfective as well as the Perfective can be further specified with tense auxiliaries (see Section §9.1.5), whereas this is normally not the case with the Present.¹²

The suffix *-áan* never appears as the final segment of a verb, but to it is always added a number/gender suffix, agreeing with the subject argument (see §8.4.1). The Present tense inflection undergoes an umlaut-process when one of the feminine agreement suffixes (with a high-front vowel) is attached, with the form *-éen* as a result. As already pointed out above, a handful of verbs use the Present tense inflection *-áand* instead, and even undergo umlaut formation with the feminine suffixes resulting in the forms *wh-éend-i* ‘she is coming down’, *wh-éend-im* ‘they (PL) are coming down’, etc. In some speech varieties (particularly within the A. dialect), a third variant is presenting itself in one of the verb classes, as the result of interaction with the final vowel of the *a*-ending verbs, potentially creating a new causative Present-tense marker, as shown in Table 8.25.

Table 8.25: Present formation with a-ending L-verbs

	Singular		Plural	
M	<i>pil-áin-u</i> (< <i>pila(y)-áanu</i>)	‘(MSG) am/are/is making someone drink’	<i>pil-áin-a</i>	‘(MPL) are making someone drink’
F	<i>pil-éin-i</i>	‘(FSG) am/are/is making someone drink’	<i>pil-éin-im</i>	‘(FPL) are making someone drink’

The temporal versus aspectual character of this particular verb form is further discussed under Section §9.1.3.

Copredicative Participle.¹³ This participle seems to be invariably formed from the verb stem with an accent-bearing suffix *-úm* (Table 8.26). It is formally reminiscent of the instrumental noun suffix, with which it has obvious semantic

¹² There are a few exceptions in my data where the present-tense auxiliary is used with the Present, but it is very unusual and perhaps only used when the Present is interpreted as a participle rather than as a finite verb. The past auxiliary *de*, however, is considered entirely ungrammatical following on the Present verb form.

¹³ See Haspelmath (1995: 17-20) for a more precise definition.

parallels.

Table 8.26: Copredicative Participle formation

Stem	Copredicative Participle	
<i>buláḍ-</i>	<i>buláḍ-îim</i>	‘calling, searching’
<i>ḍuḍúr-</i>	<i>ḍuḍur-îim</i>	‘rolling, tumbling’
<i>khaṣaalé-</i>	<i>khaṣeel-îim</i>	‘dragging’
<i>čulá-</i>	<i>čula-îim</i>	‘waving, shaking’
<i>daḥché-</i>	<i>daḥ-îim</i>	‘looking’
<i>de-</i>	<i>da(y)-îim</i>	‘giving’
<i>je-</i>	<i>ja(y)-îim</i>	‘hitting’

Due to its adverbial character (see §9.3.5 and §13.4.1 for details), there are rather severe semantic restrictions on what verbs can occur as Copredicative Participles.

Obligative. This chiefly modal category has an invariant suffix-accented form *-aiṇḍéú* (in the A. dialect mostly pronounced *-eeṇḍéú*), added to basically any verb stem (Table 8.27). It seems that it is in most cases simply substituting the vowels in vowel-ending stems.

Table 8.27: Obligative formation

Stem	Obligative	
<i>hár-</i>	<i>har-aiṇḍeeú</i>	‘has/is to be taken’
<i>lagayé-</i>	<i>lagay-aiṇḍéú</i>	‘has/is to be attached’
<i>čooṇṭá-</i>	<i>čooṇṭ-aiṇḍéú</i>	‘has/is to be written’
<i>nikhé-</i>	<i>nikh-aiṇḍéú</i>	‘has to appear’
<i>the-</i>	<i>th-aiṇḍéú</i>	‘has/is to be done’
<i>su-</i>	<i>su-(w)aiṇḍéú</i>	‘has to sleep’

This exemplifies a verb form that seems to “fall between the stools” as far as finiteness is concerned (see §9.2.3 for a further discussion).

Schmidt’s (2003: 139) “injunctive” in Kohistani Shina, with its invariant form *-óoṇṭha* and its similar semantics, is probably related to the Palula Obligative.

8.4.3 Verb forms derived from the perfective stem

Perfective (Simple Past). This is the single most frequently used verb form in narrative types of discourse. The most common perfective stems end with an *l*-element, also being the defining feature of the class referred to as L-verbs. The final syllable of the stem (which alternatively could be analysed as a Perfective suffix) is always accented and thus carries the accent of the whole word. Like the Present-tense inflected stem, the perfective stem must be followed by a number/gender suffix (see §8.4.1 and Table 8.19), agreeing with the intransitive subject or the transitive direct object.

The ending elements of the L- and T-based Perfective verb forms are obviously quite old. The Perfective forms belonging to the class of T-verbs with a discernable *t*-element, sometimes realised as *d* or *t*, most certainly derive from an OIA past (passive) participle *-ta* (Whitney 1960 [1889]: 952), representing an early development of a perfectivity category, contrasting initially with an aspectually unmarked plain verb stem. This element has a number of parallels in other NIA languages (Masica 1991: 269, 272). The other perfectivity marking element, with *l*, is a more recent development and can be traced back to the Prakrit *-illa* (Schmidt, pc); outside Shina, it mostly occurs in NIA languages in the eastern and southern parts of the Subcontinent (Masica 1991: 270). The T-forming class is clearly a kind of residual and closed category in Palula as well as in its closest-related varieties (particularly in Sauji and Kalkoti), and it is limited in number and productivity, whereas the paradigm of the L-forming class (and its subclasses) has become the normative or system-defining structural property (McMahon 1994: 104) for verbs, evidenced by the inclusion of rather recent (although few and far between) loans into this class, such as B. *newešíl*- ‘wrote’ (from Khowar *niweš*-). The class as such has been subject to much more levelling and innovation as compared to the older T-class (Schmidt, pc).

Perfective Participle. The nonfinite Perfective Participles are formally identical with the finite Perfectives (Table 8.19) to which they are diachronically related. They are essentially adjectival but may also function as nominal forms and therefore be inflected for case. These are distinguished from the Perfective finite verbs only by their distribution, and when they happen to be inflected like nouns.

Verbal Noun. The Verbal Noun is probably in some sense a secondary verb form, based (at least in the A. dialect) on the Infinitive to which the invariable suffix *-nií* is added (Table 8.28). This nominalising suffix always carries the accent, while the infinitival part is deaccented (and its vowel subsequently shortened).

Table 8.28: Verbal Noun formation

Stem	Infinitive	Verbal Noun	
<i>utráp-</i>	<i>utrap-áai</i>	<i>utrap-ai-nií</i>	‘run’
<i>samá-</i>	<i>sam-áai</i>	<i>sam-ai-nií</i>	‘build, make’
<i>kha-</i>	<i>kh-áai</i>	<i>kh-ai-nií</i>	‘eat’
<i>su-</i>	<i>su-áai</i>	<i>su-ai-nií</i>	‘sleep’
		/swaynií/	

As a nonfinite verb form with noun-like qualities, it may inflect for case and perhaps also for number (although there is no strong evidence for that in my data).

8.5 Valence-changing morphology

Although mechanisms involved in stem-derivation are derivational rather than inflectional, the area of valence is a morphologically important and complex issue in Palula like in many other IA languages (as pointed out by Masica 1991: 315). The two primarily morphological processes of valence reduction and valence addition, each with its unique suffix, interact with transitivity, causativity and in a more limited sense with voice. Palula verb stems come with, or are normally reserved for, a certain degree of valence – they are either intransitive or transitive – but this basic valence can be changed morphologically, resulting in derived stems with either an increased valence (§8.5.1) or a reduced valence (§8.5.2). Of the two, the former process seems synchronically slightly more productive and more frequently occurring in the language.

8.5.1 Valence addition

The productive (and regular) way of increasing or adding valence is by adding an accented suffix *-á* or *-awá*¹⁴ to another (imperfective) verb stem, as can be seen in Table 8.29.

The valence-increasing suffix added to an intransitive imperfective stem (*núut-*) thus derives a transitive imperfective verb stem (*nuuṭá-*), and when added to

¹⁴ Which really can be understood as a secondary or doubled causative *-á-á*.

Table 8.29: Regular valence addition

Non-derived stem		Stem derived by valence addition	
<i>buj̃-</i>	‘understand’	> <i>buj̃-á-</i>	‘make someone understand’
<i>nuuṭ-</i>	‘return, turn around’	> <i>nuuṭ-á-</i>	‘turn someone or something around’
<i>paš-</i>	‘see’	> <i>paš-awá-</i> (B. <i>paš-á-</i>)	‘show’
<i>the-</i>	‘do’	> <i>th-awá-</i>	‘have someone do’

an already transitive stem (*the-*), a causative verb is derived (*thawá*). As this process is a matter of stem formation, any inflectional morphology, as described above, occurs after the derivational suffix: *pašáan-a* ‘are seeing’ > *pašawa-(y)áan-a* (*pašawáyna*) ‘are showing’, as is also apparent from the examples below.

For the perfective stems, which were analysed as inclusive of e.g. an *l*-element, valence addition takes place before that element (thus within the stem itself), cf. the stems in examples (5) and (6).

- (5) *xu bhúilam ma [nuuṭil-i] hín-i*
 but of.fear 1SG.NOM return.PFV-F be.PRS-F
 ‘But because of fear I turned back.’ (A:CAV025)
- (6) *ghaš-í ba ghúuru [nuuṭóol-u]*
 catch-CV PRT horse turn.around.PFV-MSG
 ‘Holding it he turned the horse around.’ (A:MAB044)

There are also some non-productive (or irregular) derivations, reflecting historical or alternative patterns, with root vowel alternation, aspiration alternation, and a derivative segment *-aal*:

<i>mar-</i>	‘die’	>	<i>mhaaré-</i>	‘kill’
<i>čar-</i>	‘graze’ (<i>itr</i>)	>	<i>čaaré-</i>	‘graze’ (<i>tr</i>)
<i>whe-</i>	‘come down’	>	<i>whaalé</i>	‘take down’
<i>ukhé-</i>	‘come up’	>	<i>uk(u)aalé</i>	‘bring up’ ¹⁵

¹⁵ The form without *-u-* has been noted for Biori Palula.

The alternation *már-/mhaaré-* is related to the OIA causative *-áya*, which was accompanied by a strengthened grade of the root (Masica 1991: 316–321). While the causative suffix itself was reduced to *-ē* already in MIA (of which the underlying *-e* in the *e*-ending L-verbs may be descended from), the root vowel alternation survived, at least in a few verbs. The more productive *-á* and *-awá*, on the other hand, most probably go back on the OIA causative pseudo-allomorph (to borrow Masica's term) *-āpaya*, which in Sanskrit became a productive form of the causative. It has since eroded substantially, phonetically speaking. The history of the segment *-aal* (occurring in a few verbs) is much less certain. It may have a connection with the regular causative marker *-ar* in other Shina varieties (Radloff w. Shakil 1998: 26) and/or the irregular causative formation of 'bring up' from 'come up' with *-l* (*ukāg* > *ukālūg*) found also in Kalam Kohistani (Baart 1999a: 88); there are also a few causatives in Urdu-Hindi (Schmidt 1999: 87) and in Siraiki (Shackle 1976: 74) that are formed with a suffix containing an *l*-element.

In the examples above, the semantics is not radically altered in the process. That, however, is not always the case, and the respective stems have sometimes, since being derived from others lived their own lives, so to speak, shifting semantic focus or developing secondary senses. Some have obviously drifted apart more than others:

<i>muč-</i>	'rain'	>	<i>muč-á</i>	'open, release'
<i>phed-</i>	'arrive, reach'	>	<i>phed-á</i>	'send, take'
<i>de-</i>	'give'	>	<i>d-awá</i>	'ask for'
<i>jháan-</i>	'know, recognise'	>	<i>jhaan-á</i>	'wake up'
<i>pal-</i>	'hide' (<i>itr</i>)	>	<i>pal-á</i>	'steal, hide' (<i>tr</i>)

As a great number of verbs in the *a*-ending class are either inherently transitive (without any apparent intransitive counterpart that it has been derived from) or are derived transitives, the final *-á* has in itself become a transitivity marker of some sort.

The causative or valence-increasing formation, as described above, can apply to intransitive and transitive, as well as stems already derived by the valence-increasing formation.

Transitives derived from intransitive verbs

First, the formation can be applied to intransitive verbs.

Although this, strictly speaking, is not part of our focus here but primarily a matter for syntax, we can see that the same construction is used regardless of

the degree of voluntary control that the causee exercises: cf. (7) with (8), (9) with (10), and (11) with (12).

- (7) *hanú* [su-áan-u]
 3MSG.REM.NOM sleep-PRS-MSG
 ‘He’s sleeping.’ (B:DHE1523)
- (8) *ma teeníi putr* [suwa-yáan-u]
 (su-á-áan-u)
 1SG.NOM REFL son make.sleep.PRS-MSG
 ‘I make my son sleep (I put my son to bed).’ (B:DHE6695)
- (9) *ma* [hansíl-u]
 1SG. NOM laugh.PFV-MSG
 ‘I laughed.’ (A:PHN6002)
- (10) *míi tas* [hanséel-i]
 1SG.GN 3SG. ACC make.laugh.PFV-F
 ‘I made her laugh.’ (A:HLE2546)
- (11) *se muştú* [khoṇḍíl-i]
 3FSG. NOM before speak.PFV-F
 ‘She spoke first.’ (A:HLE2552)
- (12) *eeré kúri teeníi dhi-á* [khoṇḍéel-im]
 REM woman REFL daughter-PL make.speak.PFV-FPL
 ‘That woman made her daughters speak.’ (A:HLE2553)

While all the verb stems thus regularly derived causatively end up in one and the same morphological class, namely the *a*-ending L-class, the corresponding intransitive verb could come from virtually any verb class, although the most common source is the consonant-ending class of L-verbs:

<i>utráp-</i>	‘run’	C-ending L	>	<i>utrapá-</i>	‘make someone run’	<i>a</i> -ending L
<i>bheš-</i>	‘sit down’	C-ending T	>	<i>bhešá-</i>	‘make someone sit, seat’	<i>a</i> -ending L
<i>buuḍé-</i>	‘grow old’	<i>e</i> -ending L	>	<i>buuḍá-</i>	‘make someone grow old (grieve)’	<i>a</i> -ending L
<i>urbhí-</i>	‘fly’	<i>i</i> -ending T	>	<i>urbhá-</i>	‘fly (something), make something fly’	<i>a</i> -ending L

Causatives derived from transitive verbs

The same process of valence addition can also be applied to transitive verbs. Here we start out with a verbal event involving two participants (as in (13)), a subject and a direct object. Through the process of causation we end up with a verbal event involving three participants (as in (14)): a) a causer, b) a manipulee (the person actually carrying out the verb act on behalf of the ultimate causer), and c) a direct object.

- (13) *jaangul-á ma [bhanjool-u]*
 Jangul-OB 1SG.NOM beat.PFV-MSG
 ‘We beat them up.’ (A:HUA120)

- (14) *tíi asáam šaawaá kučúru [bhanjawóol-u]*
 3SG.REM.OB 1PL.ACC MANIP dog make.beat.PFV-MSG
 ‘She/He made us beat up the dog.’ (A:HLE2527)

The manipulee is marked as such with a special marker, a grammaticalised Converb of *šaawá-* ‘dress, turn on’.

By the same process some transitive verbs can also be made into the equivalent of ditransitive verbs, like *pilá-* ‘feed, give to drink (especially used with children and domestic animals as indirect objects)’ in example (15), from *pil-* ‘drink’.

- (15) *aníi wée wíi hín-u činaaróom aniniaám wíi kééna*
 3SG.PROX.OB in water be.PRS-MSG Chinaron 3PL.PROX.ACC water why.not
[piláain-u] thaní
 give.drink.PRS-MSG QT
 ‘“Here is water, why not have them (the goats) drink in Chinaron”, he said.’ (A:PAS070)

Second causatives

It is also possible to form so-called second causatives, with a doubled causative suffix *-awá* (*-á* + *-á* with an epenthetic *-w-* in between), as in (16). Primarily its function is to derive causatives from derived transitives.

- (16) *mīi teenīi putr-á šaawaá teenīi práač-am čái [pilawéel-i]*
 (pil-á-á-íl-i)
 1SG.GN REFL SON-OB MANIP REFL guest-PL.OB tea make.give.drink.PFV-F
 ‘I had my son give the guests tea to drink.’ (A:HLE2506)

in (17) with its corresponding valence-decreased stem *ḍhangijīl*- ‘be buried’ in (18)).

- (17) *qadīm ṭópa dīt-ii pahúrta tas [ḍhangóol-u]*
 Qadim down give.PPTC-GN after 3SG.ACC bury.PFV-MSG
 ‘After he had knocked down Qadim, he buried him.’ (A:SHA037)
- (18) *aašt-bhiš-á kaal-á pahúrta mīi háat-a ba se [ḍhangijīl-i]*
 eight-twenty-PL year-PL after 1SG.GN hand-OB PRT 3FSG.NOM be.buried.PFV-F

‘160 years later she was buried by my hand.’ (A:PAS133)

Historically (Masica 1991: 316–317), the *-iṣ* suffix undoubtedly goes back on an OIA passive in *-yá*., which in some MIA dialects was phonetically strengthened to *-iṣṣa*. A similar form is found in a number of modern western IA language, e.g. *-iṣ* in Gilgiti Shina (Radloff w. Shakil 1998: 116).

There are also a number of intransitive verbs in Palula with a *ṣ*-element which may originally have been derived from transitive verb stems, but for which the valence-reduced member is now either the sole survivor, or has due to a semantic shift lost its productive connection with a transitive counterpart.

There is no valence-reducing process comparable to the doubled causative suffix.

8.6 Complex predicates

Two other constructions (which were alluded to in the beginning of this chapter) that in some sense also may be described as derivational, although not morphological in a formal sense, are the “conjunct verb” and the “compound verb”. Although two separate phenomena, they are similar in that they are both typically (but not exclusively) Indo-Aryan, and both are complex constructions in the sense that they use “building material” from more than one lexeme and still in many ways function lexically like a single verb stem. The two terms are in themselves confusing and prone to be mixed up, and possibly it would make more sense if they were swapped for one another (as already pointed out by Masica 1991: 326), but in order to avoid adding even more confusion to the discussion, I will primarily use what has become – more or less – standard terminology in South Asian linguistics, but also under each heading mention and discuss some

alternative terms that are also widely used, some of them for the same or closely related phenomena elsewhere in the world.

8.6.1 Conjunct verbs

Conjunct verbs are complex constructions that function as lexical units, usually consisting of a verb preceded by a noun or an adjective (but also words from other parts of speech are possible). There are also some cases where it is not obvious to what part of speech the non-verb component (which will be referred to as a *host*) belongs, sometimes because it does not occur in the language outside of this particular conjunct verb construction.

The verb in such a construction comes from a small set of verb stems that I will refer to as *verbalisers*. This verbaliser does not contribute to the construction with much more than the general “verbness” (including the ability to be inflected), whereas it is the host that tends to contribute the main semantic content to the complex. The verb is here merely a “dummy” without any semantic weight of its own. Some conjunct verbs formed through such host-verbaliser combinations are exemplified in Table 8.31.

Table 8.31: Derivations of conjunct verbs

Host		Verbaliser		Conjunct verb
<i>káan</i>	‘ear’ (NN)	<i>the-</i>	‘do’	> <i>káan thíilu</i> ‘listened’
<i>tang</i>	‘narrow’ (ADJ)	<i>the-</i>	‘do’	> <i>tang thíila</i> ‘troubled’
<i>široó</i>	‘start’ (NN)	<i>the-</i>	‘do’	> <i>široó thíilu</i> ‘started’
<i>rhoó</i>	‘song’ (NN)	<i>de-</i>	‘give’	> <i>rhoó dítu</i> ‘sang’
<i>dhreég</i>	–	<i>de-</i>	‘give’	> <i>dhreég dítu</i> ‘stretched out’
<i>ašáq</i>	‘love’ (NN)	<i>bhe-</i>	‘become’	> <i>ašáq bhíli</i> ‘fell in love’
<i>teér</i>	‘lapsed’ (ADJ)	<i>bhe-</i>	‘become’	> <i>teér bhíla</i> ‘went by’

Usually the host element occurs immediately preceding the verbaliser, as can be seen in examples (19)–(20).

- (19) *tanaám bíiḍ-a* [*tang thíil-a* *hín-a*]
 3PL.ACC much-PL narrow do.PFV-MPL be.PRS-MPL
 ‘(He) has troubled them a lot.’ (A:KIN003)

- (20) *se phai se maçook-á the [ašaq bhíl-i]*
 DEF girl DEF Machoke-OB to love become.PFV-F
 ‘The girl fell in love with this Machoke.’ (A:MAA005)

The three verbalisers exemplified in the table, ‘do’, ‘give’ and ‘become’, are the only ones that seem to be used productively to construct conjunct verbs (although there are a few infrequent combinations with other verbs that come close). It is, however, no mere coincidence that we find these particular verbs in the “dummy” role; as we shall see, they are functionally precisely what it takes.

So, what is the function? First, it is a derivative process, deriving verbs from other parts of speech, primarily – but not exclusively – from nouns. A wide range of phenomena that are lexicalised as nouns, adjectives or something else can thus easily be depicted as events in Palula, as illustrated in examples (21) and (22).

- (21) *be teenîi mají [jargá th-íia]*
 1PL.NOM REFL inside council do-1PL
 ‘We will discuss it among ourselves.’ (A:MAR015)
- (22) *kuṛiina ta támbul-am-ii ĵ-íin [rhoó d-íin de]*
 woman.PL PRT drum-PL.OB-GN beat-3PL song give-3PL PST
 ‘The women were beating the drums and singing.’ (A:JAN034)

That is further achieved in an economical way, limited strictly to only a few inflectional paradigms. An extended advantage of this “verbal flexibility” is the relative ease with which entirely new verbs can be made or brought into the language, sometimes as totally novel constructions, sometimes as calques of conjunct verb constructions in languages of wider communication. This does not necessarily mean that a new verb will be made just to fill a hole or to replace one that is already there; instead these constructions could elaborate on or refine the meaning of other verbs. We also find, perhaps not surprisingly, a substantial number of loan words (primarily from Urdu or Pashto) in the host slot of conjunct verbs, such as *daawát* and *muqaabilá* in (23).

- (23) *deewúl-ii xálak-am [daawát díit-i] atshariit-am the ki [muqaabilá th-íia]*
 Dir-GN people-PL.OB invitation give.PFV-F Ashreti-PL.OB to that contest
 do-1PL
 ‘The people of Dir invited the Ashretis to compete with them.’ (A:CHA001)

But also lexical material from a structurally and culturally very different language like English can thus be made into “new” verbs (usually via Urdu, but people with direct access to English have no problem applying it on the spot), as exemplified in (24) and (25).

- (24) *çatróol-a the bi [fuún thíl-i] de*
 Chitral-OB to also phone do.PFV-MSG PST
 ‘I also phoned to Chitral.’ (A:CHN070403)
- (25) *čúur reet-í jheez-í fláit na bhíl-i hín-i áaǵ bi*
 four night-PL airplane-GN flight NEG become.PFV-F be.PRS-F today also
[kansál bhíl-i]
 cancelled become.PFV-F
 ‘There have been no flights for four days, and also today it was cancelled.’
 (A:CHN070110)

Having this type of mechanism, we need to answer the question why Palula needs three different “dummy” verbs when one would be the most economical. The answer lies in what the verb contributes in addition to its “verbness”, namely valence: *bhe-* ‘become’ provides an intransitive frame, *the-* ‘do’ a transitive, and *de-* ‘give’ a transitive frame with place for an oblique object.

There are, however, some complexities connected with argument structure, and to what extent the host element takes part in it; this will be discussed further on (see §12.2.8).

8.6.2 Compound verbs

The other strategy, commonly found in IA languages, uses two verb stems, a construction sometimes referred to in South Asian linguistics (Masica 1991: 326) as the *compound verb* construction. The first verb stem (verb1), occurring in a non-finite form, carries the main semantic content, while the second (verb2), drawn from a small set of verbs, carries the inflections as a finite verb. The second verb is usually subject to semantic bleaching but without being fully grammaticalised. The second component (verb2) has variously been referred to as a *vector*, an *intensifier*, an *operator* and an *explicator*. I will use *vector*. This is certainly not a verb derivation in the same sense as the *conjunct verb* construction (although for instance Butt (1993: 31; 2003) considers the verb2 of compound verbs as well as the verbaliser of conjunct verbs as “light verbs”, a particular class of verbs being used in forming complex predicates, whether the other – in IA, preceding – component in the complex is a verb, a noun or an adjective). Masica (1991:

326–330) argues that the construction primarily functions as a specification of Aktionsart as far as IA languages are concerned, whereas in other descriptions the relexicalisation taking place is being emphasised, i.e. the meaning of the complex is not really predictable from its components but must be learnt (Schmidt 1999: 143). Although a true innovation of IA languages (Masica 1991: 326; Hook 1977) in more recent times (in NIA, or possibly MIA), it has several parallels in other parts of the world (Hook 1977: 348–349), where they have sometimes been labelled *serial verb constructions* (Ansaldò 2006), as well as in other parts of Asia (Ebert 2006: 559).

Schmidt (2004: 20) points out that the compound verb construction is a far more marginal feature in Kohistani Shina than in Urdu-Hindi and Punjabi, and my present assumption is that the same is true of Palula, but this issue will need further research. The inventory of vectors commonly include: 1. directionals ('go', 'come'), 2. disposals ('throw', 'send', 'put aside'), 3. verbs expressing suddenness or unexpectedness ('fall', 'rise'), and 4. auto- and other benefactives ('give', 'take'). Only categories 1 and 2 seem to appear in what can be termed as possible examples of compound verbs in Palula, as shown by the examples (26) and (27), but even then relatively infrequently.

- (26) *bhun whayí ba [uðheew-í wháatu]*
 down get.down.CV PRT flee-CV get.down-PFV-MSG
 'He got down (from the tree) and escaped (downhill).' (B:CLE377)

- (27) *mut-á sangí so amzarái seéb /.../ [ghandí géeil-u]*
 tree-OB with DEF lion sir tie-CV throw.PFV-MSG
 '(He) tied up Mr. Lion to a tree.' (A:KIN023)

The first verb occurs as a nonfinite Converb, and carries the main semantic content, and the second is a regularly inflected finite verb but is semantically weighing rather lightly when considering the meaning of the sentence as a whole. It is, however, not always easy to make a clear differentiation between possible instances of compound verbs and the regular use of a Converb, the latter in which it is the head of a dependent clause.

I am in no position to say whether this is a construction on the rise, due to contact with lowland languages where this is a conspicuous feature, or rather is one dwindling in importance and productivity. It should be noted that the construction also exists in neighbouring Kalasha, where it reinforces already morphologically expressed inferentiality contrasts (Bashir 1993: 1–4).

9 Verbal categories

9.1 Tense-aspect categories and their functions

Tense differentiation is in Palula, as in many other IA languages (Masica 1991: 262), secondary as compared to aspectual differentiation. Whereas aspect – or to be more precise, perfectivity – as an inflectional element occurs next to the stem, followed by agreement suffixes, tense categories are, at least historically speaking, latecomers, and are still not fully part of the verb word in Palula. There is possibly one very visible and unexpected exception to this rule: the Present, which occurs with a unique TMA-marking morpheme that for various reasons should be viewed as a marker of tense rather than aspect. Insofar as tense other than that is deemed relevant, it is indicated periphrastically by auxiliaries positioned after the finite verb (§9.1.5).

9.1.1 Basic tense-aspect categories

There are (as shown in Figure 9.1) three non-periphrastic categories that can be considered basic: Future, Present and Perfective (Simple Past).

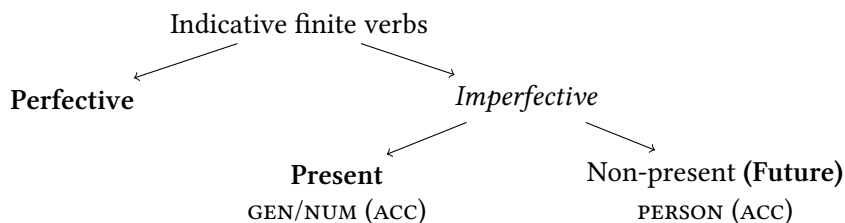


Figure 9.1: Basic non-periphrastic tense-aspect categories (bold type: inflectionally realised forms; GEN/NUM: gender/number agreement; ERG: ergative alignment; ACC: accusative alignment)

9.1.2 Future

Within the imperfective, the Future category in Palula is the morphologically unmarked counterpart of the Present, but it is also the periphrastically unmarked counterpart of the Past Imperfective (see §9.1.6).

This category is almost exclusively used in reference to future, i.e. not yet realised, situations, as in (1) and (2), whether close or distant in time, and covers intention as well as prediction (Dahl 1985: 105–108):

Author 6:
In example
1, I added
a space be-
tween "[kh-
úum]" and
"ta". Is this
correct?

- (1) *ma nis áaǵ [kh-úum]ta rhootašíia ba kanaá [bh-úum]*
1SG.NOM 3SG.PROX.ACC today eat-1SG PRT tomorrow PRT how become-1SG

‘If I eat it today, what will I then do tomorrow?’ (A:HUB005)

- (2) *theé míi baábu [máar-a] yaába tu [mhaar-ír] yaába ró-(w)ee*
then 1SG.GN father die-3SG either 2SG.NOM kill-2SG or 3SG.DIST.NOM-EXCL
[máar-a]
die-3SG

‘Then my father will die, either you will kill him or he himself will die.’
(A:MAA013)

While Present (§9.1.3) is used for actions started but not yet seen as completed at the time of the utterance, the Future is used with reference to all future situations that have not yet commenced, such as the ones in (3), regardless of the degree of probability or volitionality. There is no other major construction in the language competing with this verb form.

- (3) *ma aní šaak-á [háar-um] ghoošt-á har-í kúři angóor jheel-í*
1SG.NOM PROX wood-PL take-1SG house-OB take-CV wife fire light-CV
tanaám the gúuli [th-íi]
3PL.REM.ACC to bread do-3SG

‘I will bring this wood to the house, and my wife is going to make a fire and bake bread for them.’ (A:KIN017)

Future is also often part of a conditional expression as the apodosis verb (‘will eat’ in (4)) and is sometimes used to express hopes and congratulations (as in (5)), i.e. optative modality (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 179).

- (4) *kasée galé máaṭu dhraǰáá ba šúul-a the phedíl-u hée~ta*
 whose PRT neck stretch.CV PRT grass.heap-OB to reach.PFV-MSG CONDL
hasó [khúu]
 3MSG.REM.NOM eat.3SG
 ‘The one whose neck can reach to the heap of grass may eat.’ (B:SHI016)
- (5) *re xu biid-i šúyi baát, mubaarák [bhú]*
 3FSG.REM.NOM PRT much-F good.F talk blessing become.3SG
 ‘That was very good [to hear], congratulations!’ (A:CHN070717)

9.1.3 Present

The only non-periphrastic category that is primarily a tense (and not an aspect or mood) category is the Present, neither standing in a direct morphological contrast with the Future nor the Perfective. Somewhat surprisingly, both from the perspective of languages at large (Dahl 1985: 103–128) and IA comparative studies (Masica 1991: 282, 288–289), Present is the only category morphologically marked for tense (at least if analysed from a synchronic perspective). It is as such one of the most frequently used verb forms and covers, within the temporal realm of the present, a range of aspectual areas.

Present typically refers to progressive situations, as illustrated in examples (6)–(7), whether durative or punctual, with present time reference.

- (6) *míi dáand-a [šila-yáan-a]*
 1SG.GN tooth-PL ache-PRS-MPL
 ‘I’ve got a toothache.’ (B:DHE5112)
- (7) *tu gubáa [th-áan-u]*
 2SG.NOM what do-PRS-MSG
 ‘What are you doing?’ (B:DHE1333)

However, it also covers habitual situations, such as those in examples (8) and (9), which can be considered repeated on a regular basis, at or after the time of the utterance:

- (8) *ma roošnaám rayáṣṭi [uth-áan-u] uth-í ba yusulxaaná the*
 1SG.NOM morning early get.up-PRS-MSG get.up-CV PRT bathroom to
[bayáan-u]
 go.PRS-MSG
 ‘I get up early in the morning. After I get up I go to the bathroom.’ (B:MOR001-2)

- (9) *heewand-á dúu diṣṭ-í kir [dáan-u]*
 winter-OB two hand.span-PL snow give-PRS-MSG
 ‘In the winter we [usually] get two hand-spans of snow.’ (B:HLN1015)

The Present is also used for general statements (10) or sayings (11).

- (10) *tarkaaṇ-íi dapáara bíiḍ-i saamaán [lagaiṣ-éen-i]*
 carpenter-GN sake much-F thing be.applied-PRS-F
 ‘A carpenter needs a lot of tools.’ (A:HOW019)
- (11) *har kaantíiru teeníi kráam šóo [jhaan-áan-u]*
 every fool REFL work good.MSG know-PRS-MSG
 ‘Every fool knows his own work best.’ (A:PRA004)

Quite infrequently, Present is used in historical narratives, especially if describing a situation from the perspective of a role character. In (12) the narrator switches from the regular narration tense (i.e. the Perfective) to the Present:

- (12) *eetáa wháat-u ta tsak-tsák thaní áak šái wíi [tsak-áan-u]*
 there come.down-PFV.MSG PRT lick-lick QT IDEF thing water lick-PRS-MSG

‘Coming down there he sees a thing making sounds licking the water.’
 (A:PAS037)

Present is used rather than the Future for imminent future reference, for instance, when someone is just about to do something, as when the speaker in (13) is just beginning to tell a story.

- (13) *típa ba ma tasíi paalaween-íi qiseé [th-áan-u]*
 now PRT 1SG.NOM 3SG.GN strong.man-GN story.PL do-PRS-MSG
 ‘Now I’m going to tell you the story about this strong man.’ (A:PAS029)

9.1.4 Perfective (Simple Past)

The Perfective is primarily an aspectually defined category, referring to events and actions completed before the time of the utterance. But it can alternatively be labelled a Simple Past, as it is indeed restricted to past time reference (Dahl 1985: 79), and since it contrasts clearly with the Past Imperfective (see Section §9.1.6) and other periphrastic categories that have relevance for more than one point in time, such as the Perfect and the Pluperfect (Sections §9.1.7–§9.1.8).

The Palula Perfective is used to refer to completed events in the past, whether remote or close in time. The examples (14)–(18) illustrate the use of the Perfective, from the very remote event in (14), then gradually decreasing in remoteness in the following examples to the very close at hand reference in (18).

- (14) *raajaá [múr-u] ta putr-óom tasíi hukumát [bulooştéel-i]*
king die.PFV-MSG PRT son-OB.PL 3SG.GN government snatch.PFV-F
'When the king died the sons fought for the power [several hundred years ago].' (A:MAB003)
- (15) *míi beenk-í qarzá [ghíin-u]*
1SG.GN bank-OB debt take.PFV-MSG
'I took a bank loan [several years ago].' (A:ISM003)
- (16) *xeer-á sangí [phedíl-u-eé]*
happiness-OB with arrive.PFV-MSG-Q
'Did you arrive safely [some days ago]?' (A:CHN070104)
- (17) *áaj índa ghuumaál [dít-i] xu xeér hín-u*
today here earthquake give.PFV-F but safety be.PRS-MSG
'Today there was an earthquake here, but it's alright [earlier today].' (A:CHN070403)
- (18) *ma tu sangí khonḍ-í bíḍ-u xušaán [bhíl-u]*
1SG.NOM 2SG.NOM with speak-CV much-MSG happy become.PFV-MSG
'It was really nice to speak to you [the conversation that made the speaker happy is still going on at the time of the utterance.].' (A:CHN070104)

It is also the category used for the main story line in narratives (whether historical or fictional), referring to sequences of events in the past, such as in (19).

- (19) *deewúlii xálak-am daawát [dít-i] atsharíit-am the ki muqaabilá*
Dir.GN people-OB.PL invitation give.PFV-F Ashreti-OB.PL to COMP competition
th-íia [thaníit-u] ta atshareet-íi paalawaan-aán [gúia] paalawaan-aán
do-1PL say.PFV-MSG PRT Ashret-GN strong.man-PL go.PFV.PL strong.man-PL
be deewúli [phedíl-a]
go.CV Dir arrive.PFV-MPL
'The people of Dir issued an invitation to have a competition with them. The strong men of Ashret left and reached Dir.' (A:CHA001-3)

Depending on the analysis, Perfective could also be said to include most types of conditionality. However, I have chosen to describe the conditional under non-indicative categories (see §9.2.2).

9.1.5 Periphrastic tense-aspect categories

What I refer to as periphrastic tense-aspect categories are those that are formed by a finite inflected verb and one or more auxiliaries. While the so very central aspectual distinctions “at the heart of the NIA verbal system” (Masica 1991: 262) very often are made morphologically and close to the verb stem, tense and mood are normally more peripherally marked functions in most modern IA languages. That is also the case with Palula, possibly with the exclusion of the morphologically marked Present (as was pointed out above).

Interesting to note is that this may be a relatively recent (or early stage of) grammaticalisation. We find the same principle applied in the two closely related varieties Sauji and Kalkoti, i.e. the addition of elements to the basic aspectual categories to obtain tense contrasts and to form Perfects and Pluperfects. Partly, however, we find other elements than those used in Palula, and in some cases, the former auxiliaries have become part of inflectional morphology and even fused with aspect suffixes. In Kalkoti, for instance, an *s*-suffix (most certainly derived from the Past copula *aas* ‘was, were’) is added to the imperfective (mostly corresponding to Palula Present) to make it Past Imperfective, *čun-uun-s* ‘was writing’, and to the Perfective (mostly corresponding to Palula Perfective) to make it Pluperfect, *čun-i-s* ‘had written’ (the final consonant of the Perfective *čun-il* ‘wrote’ has been dropped in phonological developments involving apocope and cluster reduction). There is generally speaking a great variety among the Shina varieties in how the less central TMA categories have been grammaticalised. Schmidt (2002: 38) provides examples of forms of ‘be’, ‘go’ as well as ‘come’ as origins of such grammaticalisations in the respective varieties.

Tense, for instance, is mainly auxiliary, occurring outside the actual verb morphology (although this “outside” is not to be taken as an absolute, as will be observed below when pointing out an ongoing grammaticalisation process). The Present tense copula *hin-* in its different agreement forms is used as a present tense auxiliary (be.PRS) and the (invariable) Past tense copula *de* is used as a Past tense auxiliary (pst).

Supplementing Figure 9.1, we now add the periphrastic marking (at least as far as tense is concerned) to get the fuller picture of the tense-aspect dimensions relevant for the language, as illustrated in Figure 9.2. This characterisation is, however, a slight simplification, as there are also resultative categories that are not taken into account as well as some dialectal differences between A. and B. that will be discussed in the following sections.

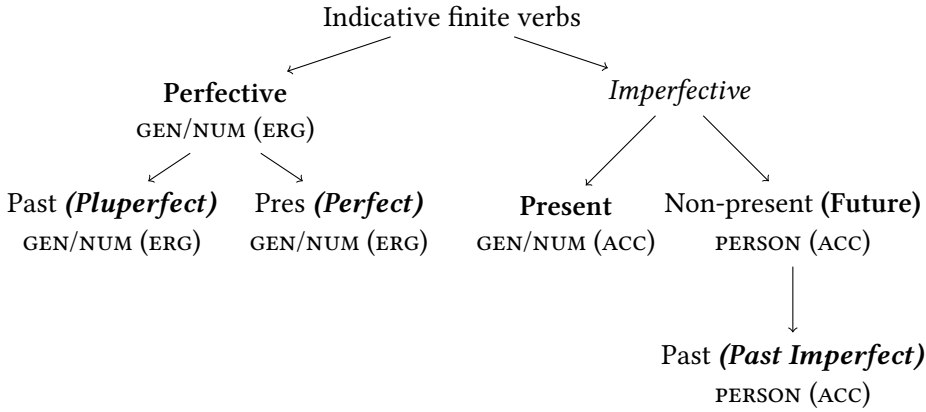


Figure 9.2: Basic and periphrastic tense-aspect categories (bold type: inflectionally realised forms; *bold italics*: periphrastically realised forms; GEN/NUM: gender/number agreement; ERG: ergative alignment; ACC: accusative alignment)

9.1.6 Past Imperfective

The Past Imperfective is formed by means of the person-inflected imperfective verb stem (i.e. the Future verb form) followed by the invariable Past tense copula *de*. It has two main functions, as a past habitual (20) and a past progressive (21).

- (20) *míi so šúur máa-the bíiḍ-u šóo [j'hóon-a*
 1SG.GN DEF.MSG.NOM father.in.law 1SG.NOM-to much-MSG good.MSG know-3SG
de], ma ba tas the šóo [j'hóon-um de], máa-ee so
 PST 1SG.NOM PRT 3SG.ACC to good.MSG know-1SG PST 1SG.NOM-CNJ 3SG.NOM
mušqúl [bh-íia de]
 on.terms become-1PL PST

‘That father-in-law of mine liked me a lot, I liked him a lot, and the two of us used to talk freely with each other.’ (A:HUA006-8)

- (21) *so kuṇaák bhešóol-u, bhešaá tasíi paaṇtí [gaḍ-íi*
 DEF.MSG.NOM child make.sit.PFV-MSG make.sit.CV 3SG.GN clothes take.off-3SG
de], paaṇtí gaḍ-íi čhúuṇ-i tasíi gaḍ-í ba táa khóol-u
 PST clothes take.off-CV put.PFV-F 3SG.GN take.off-CV PRT there eat.PFV-MSG

so kuṇaák číyi [d-íi de]
 DEF.MSG.NOM child crying give-3SG PST

‘He [an evil creature] made the child sit and there he was taking off its clothes. When he had taken them off and put them down he ate the child while it was crying.’ (A:BRE005-6)

An indication of an ongoing grammaticalisation (or more correctly) morphologisation, by which the Past copula may become part of the verb morphology as a past-tense suffix (*d-íi-de*), is the fact that *de* phonologically rather behaves like a clitic than an independent word, without independent word-accent. In beginning attempts at writing the language, the inflected main verb has often been observed as written together with the copula auxiliary as if it were one word (while the more common tendency when writing Palula with an Arabic-based script is splitting rather than lumping), and it has become the topic of discussion among Palula writers whether this should be done or not.

9.1.7 Perfect

The most common way of expressing the Perfect, i.e. a reference to a past (completed) event with current relevance, is by combining the Perfective verb form with the Present tense copula *hin-* (at least that is the case in the A. dialect, while we shall have reason to return to the situation in the B. dialect). Both the Perfective verb and the auxiliary agree in gender and number with S (as in (22)) or O (as in (23) and (24)) according to an ergative pattern.

- (22) *míi baábu bi [wháat-u hín-u], salaám th-íi de*
 1SG.GN father also come.down.PFV-MSG be.PRS-MSG greeting do-3SG PST
 ‘My father has also come, and he was telling you his greetings.’ (A:CHN070309)

- (23) *na ba asaám the gookhíi-am [dít-u hín-u] asaám the*
 NEG PRT 1PL.ACC to Chitrālī-OB.PL give.PFV-MSG be.PRS-MSG 1PL.ACC to
anú alaqá asím-ee teeníi zoor-í báandi ghiin-u-bháawu
 PROX.MSG.NOM area 1PL.ERG-EXCL REFL power-OB on take.PPTC-MSG-ADJ

‘Neither have the Chitralis given this to us, but it is an area conquered with our very own power.’ (A:ASH052)

- (24) *islaám ba [aṭíl-i hín-i] gabarúuṭ-ii putr-óom*
Islam PRT bring.PFV-F be.PRS-F Gabarut-GN son-OB.PL
‘It was Gabarut’s sons who brought Islam.’ (A:ASH054)

An extended use of the Perfect (like in a number of other languages, Dahl 1985: 152) is inferential. In (25) it has actually stopped snowing, but it is inferred from looking at the ground on the morning after a snowfall, that it must have been snowing during the night.

- (25) *kir [dít-u hín-u]*
snow give.PFV-MSG be.PRS-MSG
‘It has been snowing.’ (A:CHE070320)

It is also used, instead of the Perfective (Simple Past), in some narratives, perhaps indicating the hearsay character – similar to the use of *maní* – of the narrated content, as in (26), which is part of a narrative where the Perfect is used throughout.

- (26) *so utrap-í muṭ-á je [ukháat-u hín-u]*
3SG.NOM run-CV tree-OB up go.up.PFV-MSG be.PRS-MSG
‘He ran up into the tree.’ (A:UNF008)

There is what appears to be a parallel perfect form, used in a very similar manner to the regular Perfect in (27)–(29). This is formed by combining the Converb (cv) with the Present tense copula *hín-*.

- (27) *[mar-í hín-u], tas xudaái ubax-ii*
die-CV be.PRS-MSG 3SG.ACC God forgive-3SG
‘He has died, may God forgive him.’ (A:ACR024)

- (28) *zoór janat-ii-e [yeyí hín-i]*
power paradise-OB-GN come.CV be.PRS-F
‘Power has come from above.’ (B:SHI019)

- (29) *gíri jhulí xaamaár [dhreég de hín-u]*
rock on dragon stretched give.CV PRS-MSG
‘The dragon was lying (outstretched) there on the rock.’ (A:DRA009)

It is possible that the focus is on the resulting stage rather than on the preceding event leading up to it in this construction, as it seems more commonly used with stative verbs and verbs with a low degree of volitionality. It may therefore

make more sense to see this as a more lexically limited resultative construction (Dahl 1985: 135) than a pure perfect. In example (29) the temporal aspect is perhaps more that of a pluperfect, ‘had stretched out’.

Example (30) clearly illustrates the use of this resultative constructing. Here the resulting absence of the husbands is focused, rather than their going away. The translation ‘our husbands are gone’ seems more natural than ‘our husbands have gone’. Note also how it interacts with the Past Imperfective as the tense-aspect category used for the waiting of the women and children at home, and the Future is used for the hoped for outcome in the form of fresh meat being brought home.

- (30) *díiš-a ba baalbač-á kuřina tamá th-éen de: asée bhariiw-a*
 village-OB PRT child-PL women.PL waiting do-3PL PST 1PL.GN husband-PL
[be hín-a] neečír the whaal-éen mhaas-á whaal-éen
 go.CV PRS-MPL hunt do.CV bring.down-3PL meat-PL bring.down-3PL
 ‘In the village the women and children were waiting, (saying) “Our husbands are gone for a hunt. They will bring home meat”.’ (B:AVA218)

When used with a motion verb such as ‘get up’, the Converbial construction brings forth the “adjectival” meaning ‘is standing’, as in (31).

- (31) *ak čhéeli maidúun-a wée du-khur-áam jhulí [uth-í hín-i]*
 IDEF goat field-OB in two-foot-OB.PL on get.up-CV be.PRS-F
 ‘A goat has got up [i.e. is standing] on two feet in the field.’ (B:SHB721)

The interesting thing, however, is that the “regular” Perfect as described in the beginning of this section, seems to be missing altogether in the B. dialect. Instead, the Converbial construction is widely used with intransitive verbs, as in the examples (27)–(28) and (30)–(31), and probably marginally also with transitive verbs, as in (32)–(33) (although my B. data is too limited to the genre of narrative discourse to provide a clear indication).

- (32) *ma gúuli [khaá hín-u] (=khaánu)*
 1SG.NOM bread eat.CV be.PRS-MSG
 ‘(Yes,) I have eaten.’ [= ‘I have been eating already’, as an answer to a question or an invitation to eat.] (B:DHE2170)
- (33) *ma na [niweš-í hín-u] thaníit-u*
 1SG.NOM NEG write-CV be.PRS-MSG say.PFV-MSG
 ‘I have not written [referring to some suspicious letters], he said.’ (B:LET027)

Note that this construction, again focusing on the result rather than on the event itself, is based on a transitive imperfective stem and therefore requires an accusative agreement pattern, while the agreement with the regular Perfect, using the perfective transitive stem is ergative. But there is also another (possibly more “regular” or lexically less restricted) Perfect used in this dialect formed with Converb+ *heensíl-* (the Perfective of the intransitive verb *háans-* ‘stay, live, exist’) as in (34).

- (34) *ma* [*khaá heensíl-u*]
 1SG.NOM eat.CV stay.PFV-MSG
 ‘I have eaten.’ (B:HLE1034)

Even the A. variety has this construction (but with an added Present copula), used in some instances of hearsay as in (35) or inferentially (by seeing water on the ground and subsequently reporting it to another person who has not been able to infer it), as in (36), but possibly still in free variation with the “regular” Perfect:

- (35) *so* *tas* *khút-a wée* [*čuk-í heensíl-u* *hín-u*]
 3MSG.NOM 3SG.ACC leg-OB in bite-CV stay.PFV-MSG be.PRS-MSG
 ‘It (so he said) bit him in the leg.’ (A:TAQ178)
- (36) *áaj* *peexáur-a* [*muč-í heensíl-u* *hín-u*]
 today Peshawar-OB rain-CV stay.PFV-MSG be.PRS-MSG
 ‘Today it has been raining in Peshawar.’ (A:CHE070320)

9.1.8 Pluperfect

While the regular Perfect is the perfective with relevance for the present situation, the Pluperfect is the perfective with relevance for a past situation. This is also reflected in the formal expression: Perfect is formed with the perfective verb and a Present tense copula, and the Pluperfect is formed with the Perfective verb and a Past tense copula *de* ‘was, were’.

The contrast between these is illustrated in (37) and (38). (37) refers to an event with present time relevance and a still visible result, a recently painted house, hence Perfect, while (38) has past time relevance only, i.e. a house that was built but had been torn down prior to the utterance, hence Pluperfect.

- (37) *aní* *ghooṣṭ-á* *ráang kií* [*dít-u* *hín-u*]
 PROX house-OB paint who.OB give.PFV-MSG be.PRS-MSG
 ‘Who painted this house?’ (A:TAQ130)

- (38) *anú* *ghoóşt kii* [*samóol-u* *de*]
 PROX.MSG.NOM house who.OB build.PFV-MSG PST
 ‘Who built this house?’ (A:TAQ129)

In narratives, the Pluperfect is used to refer to an event taking place prior to, and thus contrasting with, the time line of the story (which normally would be related with the Perfective), as in (39).

- (39) *atáa giia* *ta dóodu* *ayaan-miir ta jáand-u hín-u,*
 there go.PFV.PL PRT grandfather Ayan.Mir PRT alive-MSG be.PRS-MSG
 xaamaár ba [mheeril-u de]
 dragon PRT kill.PFV-MSG PST
 ‘When they came there, grandfather Ayan Mir was alive, but the dragon
 had been killed.’ (A:AYB044)

There seems to be a drift towards a use of Pluperfect as a general remote past, not an uncommon development generally (Dahl 1985: 147), and in the region in particular. However, that is not to say that the two constructions – Perfective (Simple Past) and Pluperfect – would therefore be in totally free variation when referring to remote past, although I am not able to pinpoint exactly where the dividing line goes. The utterance (40) is an answer to the question whether the speaker had met the other person recently, and it could perhaps be that it is the temporal adverbial phrase that somehow favours the Pluperfect, but this is so far only speculative on my part.

- (40) *áak haftá muştú [dhríşt-u de]*
 one week back see.PFV-MSG PST
 ‘(I) saw him a week ago.’ (A:CHN070110)

Another possible indication of which category to use seems to be related to whether or not a measurable chunk of time (exactly how long is probably not that important) can be considered to have elapsed between the event – or the end-point of the event if durative – and the time of reference, as contrasted with the event coinciding too closely with the time of reference. This again points to the Pluperfect as developing a secondary sense of temporal remoteness. This can be seen when comparing (41) and (42) (both part of the questionnaire prepared by Dahl (1985) and applied to Palula), where the former uses the Perfective and the latter the Pluperfect.

- (41) *dhoór ma yhóol-a díi muştú tíi dúu xat-í [čooŋtéel-im]*
yesterday 1SG.NOM come.PPTC-OB from back 3SG.OB two letter-PL write.PFV-FPL

‘When I came yesterday, he had (just) written two letters.’ (A:TAQ138)

- (42) *dhoór ma ghooşt-a yhóol-u ta tíi dúu xat-í [čooŋtéel-im de]*
yesterday 1SG.NOM house-OB come.PFV-MSG PRT 3SG.OB two letter-PL write.PFV-FPL
PST

‘When I came home yesterday, he had written two letters (during my absence).’ (A:TAQ139)

However, it is also possible to describe the difference as being one of perspective. In (41) the utterance can be said to describe what took place during the time before my arrival, whereas (42) describes the resulting situation at my arrival.

Again, although this particular form of the Pluperfect does occur in the B. dialect, it seems markedly less frequent than in the A. dialect. There is also another construction in B., illustrated in (43) and (44), somewhat parallel to the Converb+*heensil*-construction above, but with an additional Past tense copula, which certainly shares at least some of the semantic characteristics of the “regular” Pluperfect in A. (the phonologically reduced alternative form *khasúlde* in (44) may point to an ongoing grammaticalisation).

- (43) *búđ-u purúuŋ-u maastér, so baraaníi-e waxt-íi-e sabáq*
much-MSG old-MSG teacher 3MSG.NOM foreigner-GN time-OB-GN lesson
[*man-í heensil-u de*]
say-CV stay.PFV-MSG PST

‘He was a very old teacher, he had studied during the British rule.’ (B:LET003)

- (44) *ma gúuli [khaá heensil-u de](=khasúlde)*
1SG.NOM bread eat.CV stay.PFV-MSG PST
‘I had eaten (already).’ (B:DH5378)

9.2 Non-indicative finite categories and their functions

Not all of the following categories are equally central or to the same extent grammaticalised, but they are all somehow part of the modal realm within the TMA system and thus deserve to be mentioned together in one place.

9.2.1 Imperative

The bare Imperative, in its two forms SG ((46) and (47)) and PL ((45) and (48)), is mainly used for commands (45) and not overly polite requests (46)–(48).

- (45) *koó hin-eé [yh-óoi]*
 who.NOM be.PRS-MPL.Q come-IMP.PL
 ‘If there is anyone (who is ready to take up the challenge), come!’ (A:JAN038)
- (46) *amzarái seéb zeerí th-áan-u ki eé insaán ma [urí]*
 lion sir supplication do-PRS-MSG COMP oh man 1SG.NOM let.out.IMP.SG

‘Sir Lions is begging: Oh man, set me free!’ (A:KIN025)

- (47) *anís míi doost-á the [phedá]*
 3SG.PROX.ACC 1SG.GN friend-OB to make.reach.IMP.SG
 ‘Take this (one) to my friend!’ (B:FLW797)
- (48) *man-éen-i ki ma patú [yh-óoi], ma [saat-óoi]*
 say-PRS-F COMP 1SG.NOM after come-IMP.PL 1SG.NOM take.care-IMP.PL
 ‘It (the goat) says: Come after me, take care of me!’ (A:KEE007-8)

Normally, it seems, the second person is not explicitly expressed with a pronoun in imperative clauses, but occasionally it does occur, as in (49).

- (49) *míi maníit-u ki šóo [tus b-óoi]*
 1SG.GN say.PFV-MSG COMP good.MSG 2PL.NOM go-IMP.PL
 ‘I said: You may go!’ (A:ACR010)

The PL form is always used with reference to more than one person, but a more polite request could be done by adding the suffix/particle *neé* or *na*, to any of the two forms, to the singular in (50) and to the plural in (51).

- (50) *tu [daçh-á neé]*
 2SG.NOM look-IMP.SG HON
 ‘You take a look!’ (A:AYB012)
- (51) *dar [muč-úi neé]*
 door open-IMP.PL HON
 ‘Open the door, please!’ [uttered by a little girl addressing older women, supposedly mother and grandmother, in the household] (B:HNL1020)

The Imperative is regularly negated with the negation particle *na*, as in (52), and there is therefore no prohibitive category distinct from the Imperative in the language.

- (52) *kúri the maníit-u ki teeníi bangleé [na širingá]*
 woman to say-PFV-MSG that REFL bracelet.PL NEG rattle.IMP.SG
 ‘He said to the woman: Don’t rattle your bracelets!’ (A:WOM643)

Author 7:
 Please check
 the char-
 acters in
 this word.
 Is „širingá“
 correct?

9.2.2 Conditional

Conditionality is essentially expressed with the protasis verb in a conditional clause in the Perfective (or one of the periphrastic categories built on it), while the apodosis verb may be in the Present or the Future, a “split tense/aspect reference” not uncommon in languages overall (e.g. in Arabic, Dahl 1985: 80). It is commonly, in such constructions, used together with an additional element that can be analysed alternatively as a subjunction, alternatively as an auxiliary. There are two such elements in Palula, one *sée~ta* (B. *síinta*) which is used to form constructions of assumed conditionality, *yhóolu sée~ta* ‘if he comes, when coming’ (53) and another, *hee~ta*, which usually carries a hypothetical meaning, *dítu hee~ta* ‘if you would give, were you to give’ (54). Further details on conditionality can be found in §13.4.4.

- (53) *misrí [yhóol-u sée~ta] misrí díi tsaták hóons-a*
 mason come.PFV-MSG CONDH mason from hammer stay-3SG
 ‘When the mason comes he would have a hammer (i.e. he would bring a hammer with him).’ (A:HOW010)
- (54) *bíiḍ-u táru bi [dít-u hee~ta] xaraáb bh-éen-i*
 much-MSG fast also give.PFV-MSG CONDL bad become-PRS-F
 ‘If it (salt) is given very soon it will harm her (the goat).’ (A:KEE019)

9.2.3 Obligative

Whether or not the verb form coding the Obligative should be seen as a finite or a nonfinite verb form is not as straightforward a matter as it may first seem. It is analysable as both, and it is possible that we are witnessing a still ongoing development from one to the other.

The function of the Obligative is to express obligation, need or predestination to carry out a particular action. This is the agent-oriented modality expressed in

languages at large, though not necessarily inflectionally (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 177–187). Often in IA languages this particular semantics is connected with what Masica (1991: 322) refers to as a *future passive participle (of obligation)*, which behaves like an adjective, but may in some languages be formally identical with a Verbal Noun, as is the case with the Urdu-Hindi infinitive formed with *-nā*.

In Palula, the Obligative is used both in the personal sense ‘scheduled to, is to’ (55) and in a more general or impersonal sense of ‘ought to, one should’ (56).

- (55) *muníir-ii rhootašíia dhruú~š-a the [b-eeṇḍéú]*
 Munir-GN tomorrow Drosh-OB to go-OBLG
 ‘Munir has/is to go to Drosh tomorrow.’ (A:HLE3059)
- (56) *kháač-a kráam-a díi ba teeṇíi zaán bač [th-eeṇḍéú]*
 bad-OB work-OB from PRT REFL self safe do-OBLG
 ‘One should avoid (=save oneself from) evil actions.’ (A:SMO023)

Sometimes the future reading of ‘will inevitably happen’ is clearly present, as in (57), while in other cases there is no such future sense, only an instructional one with the sense of ‘the way it should be/usually is being done’, as in (58).

- (57) *so mhaás aaxér xátum [bh-eeṇḍéú] bhíl-u*
 DEF.MSG.NOM meat end finished become-OBLG become.PFV-MSG
 ‘The meat was doomed to finish in the end.’ (A:THA008)
- (58) *páanĵ sáat ba bheénš [lagay-aṇḍéú]*
 five seven PRT beam apply-OBLG
 ‘Then a five by seven beam is attached.’ (A:HOW076)

The dual syntactic character of the construction is seen if we compare (55) with (57). In (55) it is noun-like (‘Munir’s inevitable going to Drosh’), with the agent in the genitive, whereas in (57) it is adjective-like (‘the inevitably finishing meat’). It is also in the first instance where the Obligative is most finite, whereas its finiteness can be questioned in the second one.

It seems the agent is generally avoided with Obligative transitive verbs, and as such is also becoming an alternative way of expressing a passive meaning (cf. §8.5.2), with sense of ability (or inability) rather than of obligation. I would still hold that Obligative is primarily modality and only secondarily voice. Possibly related to the degree of obligation is an alternation between the coding of the agent in the nominative (59) versus the genitive coding we saw above (55).

- (59) *so típa [b-eeṇḍéú]*
 3SG.NOM now go-OBLG
 ‘He’s about to leave./He must leave now.’ (A:Q9.0003)

In my data I do not have any clear examples of transitive verbs showing the same alternations, but as far as the agent is at all explicitly mentioned, he/she always occurs in the genitive. However, Morgenstierne (1941: 24) gives examples of a few transitive Obligatives where it seems the nominative and the genitive are equally possible, while his subjects of intransitive Obligatives invariable occur in the nominative¹: *mī / ma krām thāiṇḍēu* ‘I must(?) do the work’; *mī / ma wī pilāiṇḍēu (hinu)* ‘I can(?) drink water’; *āḥ ma y[25B?]ṇḍēu hinu* ‘I can (or must) come to-day’.

9.2.4 Hearsay and “quotative”

Hearsay, formed with *maní* is grammaticalised to a much lower extent than the hitherto mentioned categories, and is thus only in a peripheral sense part of the TMA system. When it occurs, it occurs at the end of a sentence, like an auxiliary, thus after the inflected finite verb form (whether simple or periphrastically formed) to indicate reported (but not self-experienced) information. It is chiefly (but optionally) used in narratives, especially those of a legendary character, and mostly at the beginning of such a narrative, which is seen in (60).²

- (60) *bīḍ-u muṣṭú áak miiš-íi áak dhii de [maní]*
 much-MSG before IDEF man-GN IDEF daughter be.PST HSAY
 ‘A long time ago there was a man who had a daughter.’
se áak bakaraál phóo the ašáq de [maní]
 3FSG.NOM IDEF shepherd boy to love be.PST HSAY
 ‘She was in love with a shepherd boy.’
so phóo bi táš the bīḍ-u šóo jhóon-a de
 DEF.MSG.NOM boy also 3SG.ACC to much-MSG good.MSG know-3SG PST
 ‘The boy too liked her very much.’ (A:SHY001-3)

¹ Although we can exclude the genitive, we in fact do not know, due to the absence of such examples, whether any pronouns other than the 1SG (which lacks a nom/acc contrast) would have been coded in the nominative or accusative in those days (the 1920s).

² I am inclined not to consider it a story starter as such; that function is instead carried by *bīḍu muṣṭú*, *muṣṭú zamaanéyii*, *muxáak zamaanée* or similar more or less standardised story-starters. Also the initial sentence(s) occurrence of the participant-introduction *heensílu de* ‘there was’ is typical of the Palula storytelling discourse.

As can be seen in example (60), *maní* is used only in the two first sentences, but there are also narratives where this is used much more frequently, in the extreme case after almost all sentences. It is also used when presenting legendary or questionable facts in a narrative, as in (61), otherwise unmarked in this respect.

- (61) *tasíi áaşţ zára kuṇaak-á heensíl-a de [maní]*
 3SG.GN eight thousand.PL child-PL stay.PFV-MPL PST hsay
 ‘He had 8,000 children (it has been said).’ (A:ABO008)

It is, however, not restricted to narrative discourse. It may be used in any everyday conversation, as in (62) with the Perfect. Also in this utterance it is only after the first finite verb form that the hearsay marker/auxiliary occurs.

- (62) *asíi atshareet-á bíiḍ-u kir [dít-u hín-u maní], hiimeel-í*
 1PL.GN Ashret-OB much-PL snow give.PFV-MSG be.PRS-MSG HSAY glacier-PL
bi whéet-im hín-i
 also come.down.PFV-FPL be.PRS-F
 ‘(I have been told that) a lot of snow has fallen in our (village) Ashret, and there have been avalanches as well.’ (A:CHN070320)

Related to this issue, is the use of the quotation marker *thaní*, with a very similar etymology, which may develop into an auxiliary. Triggered by the verb-final word order, it may become restricted to the position after the finite verb and become narrowed down to this particular verb form (now it is alternatively expressed with other verb forms). In the process it may also become a marker of a more grammaticalised inferentiality category, as such contrasting with hearsay, rather than now as chiefly a marker of direct quotation/perception (see §13.5.1). In (63) it has taken on a function beyond mere quotation.

- (63) *so búḍ-u ki míi kúri dúi koó [gaḍ-í*
 3MSG.NOM understand.PFV-MSG COMP 1SG.GN woman other someone pull-CV
ghin-í gíia thaní]
 take-CV go.PFV.PL QT
 ‘He understood, that someone else had taken his wife away.’ (A:WOM656)

The grammaticalisation of Hearsay as well as other types of inferentiality is documented for a number of other languages in the region, especially in the geographically adjacent Khowar and Kalasha, where it is particularly well-developed and is an integral part of verb morphology (Bashir 1996).

9.3 Nonfinite forms and their functions

Most of the nonfinite verb forms have implications for syntax and are hard to define functionally without discussing syntactic structure. The following sections therefore only aim at giving a basic characterisation of their function; where to find them in the grammatical system and what their further inflectional properties are, wherever the latter is relevant. For further details in this regard, the cross-references given at the end of each subsection should be consulted.

9.3.1 Converb (Conjunctive Participle)

The Converb (defined by Haspelmath (1995) as “a nonfinite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination”) is essentially a perfective adverbial participle (cf. the Copredicative Participle, §9.3.5, which is an imperfective adverbial participle). It carries an approximate meaning of ‘having done, etc.’ and is, as in many other IA languages (Masica 1991: 323, 397–401), where it often is referred to as a Conjunctive Participle,³ a characteristic, very frequently occurring and syntactically important nonfinite verb form. It is (as Haspelmath’s definition also spells out) especially important in adverbial subordination and in expressing perfective sequentiality, as illustrated in (64) (see §13.3.1 and §13.4.1 for further details).

- (64) *aḍaphará [whayí] ba damá thíil-u*
 halfways come.down.CV PRT pause do.PFV-MSG
 ‘We rested when we had come down halfway.’ (A:GHA057)

It is also a component in some resultative constructions mentioned above (§9.1.7) as well as in compound verbs (§8.6.2), and is possibly a source for the grammaticalisation of verbs to postpositions.

9.3.2 Perfective Participle

Since the Perfective Participle is formally identical to the Perfective (and as such has become a finite verb form), it only occurs marginally in what must be interpreted as a nonfinite function. When it does, such as in the (Perfective) nominalisation below, it can also (but only optionally) be inflected for case, genitive in (65) and oblique in (66).

³ The identification of the corresponding verb form in Kohistani Shina (otherwise referred to as a Conjunctive Participle) with the Converb, according to Haspelmath’s (1995) definition, is carried through in Schmidt (2003).

- (65) *eetás [samóol-ii] pahúrta*
 3SG.REM.ACC build-PPTC-GN after
 ‘After the (completed) construction of it...’ (A:HOW044)
- (66) *dhoór ma [yhóol-a] díi muşú tíi dúu xat-í čooŋtéel-im*
 yesterday 1SG.NOM come.PPTC-OB from back 3SG.OB two letter-PL write.PFV-FPL

‘When I came yesterday, he had (just) written two letters.’ (A:TAQ138)

The Perfective Participle is also, as seen in (67), used attributively in some relativisations (see §13.6.6 for further details).

- (67) *phaí teenii háat-am [čooŋtéel-i rumiaál] díit-i hín-i*
 girl REFL hand-INS embroider.PPTC-F handkerchief give.PFV-F be.PRS-F
 ‘The girl gave [him] the handkerchief which she herself had embroidered.’
 (A:SHY031)

Often however, as can be seen in (68), the Perfective Participle will occur with an additional adjectiviser *bháau* or *wáandu/wéendi*, maybe to mark it off as different from the otherwise formally identical Perfective.

- (68) *muşú zamanáyii paŋardóor-a búud-a gáađ-a xalk-ím díi qisá*
 back period.GN elder-PL old-PL big-PL people-PL.OB from story
[şuunt-u-wáand-u] áa eeteŋ-ú hín-u ki
 hear.PPTC-MSG-ADJ-MSG IDEF such-MSG be.PRS-MSG COMP
 ‘Once, a story goes, which has been heard from the elders, the old and the powerful people....’ (A:KIN001)

Some Perfective Participles have been fully lexicalised as adjectives: *şúku* ‘became dry’ > ‘dry’, *páaku* ‘ripened’ > ‘ripe’, *khínu* ‘became tired’ > ‘tired’, etc.

9.3.3 Verbal Noun

The Verbal Noun is in many ways the imperfective counterpart of the Perfective Participle, although their respective usages do not exactly mirror each other. The Verbal Noun is the form that most clearly in the eyes/ears of educated mother-tongue speakers essentialises the verb, the form first given or normally used when talking metalinguistically about functions and meanings of individual verbs. It is also regarded as the most natural choice as a citation form in word lists.

Although textually not as frequent as the Converb, it is a form used in a number of dependent clauses, such being the predicate in many complement clauses (69) (for details, see §13.5) as well as in some clauses with adverbial functions (§13.4).

- (69) *pirsaahib-á ba inkaár thíl-i [so phoó dení dí]*
 Pir.Sahib-OB PRT refusal do.PFV-F DEF.MSG.NOM boy give.VN from
 ‘Pir Sahib refused to hand over the boy [lit. from giving the boy].’ (B:ATI062)

It may also, as in (70), although quite infrequently, be used attributively (see §13.6.6 for a discussion).

- (70) *rhootašii-a jhambréeri [har-ainii waxt] yhool-u ta*
 morning-OB bride take.away-VN time come.PFV-MSG PRT
 ‘In the morning, at the time of taking the bride...’ (A:GHU010)

The Verbal Noun can also occur with nominal inflection, although again it is rather unusual (and in the A. dialect often phonologically neutralised), as in the causality clause in (71), where it takes a genitive case inflection.

- (71) *[jenii-e] inç zaxmát bhíl-u*
 hit.VN-GN bear wounded become.PFV-MSG
 ‘The bear was wounded from the firing.’ (B:BEL320)

9.3.4 Agentive Verbal Noun

The Agentive Verbal Noun is another nominalisation but in many ways is secondary as a nominal formation and is semantically rather restricted. It is a way of singling out an agent of an action (provided with a gender/number ending) but often reflects a more idiomatic or lexicalised meaning than the semantics of the verb itself. When used as nouns they inflect as nouns (72), but they can equally well function as adjectival modifiers (73) of other nouns.

- (72) *pairaán gaḍ-í [šekáaiṭ-u]*
 djinn.PL take-CV lead.out.AG-MSG
 ‘a saviour from djinns’ (A:HUA129)
- (73) *aní phái [ur-éet-i]*
 PROX girl let.out.AG-F
 ‘This girl has a bad character (she is “loose”).’ (A:HLE2084)

However, it also occurs rather systematically in a special construction with *bhīlu hīnu* ‘has become’, where the whole sentence seems to communicate either the beginning of an event (possibly leading up to some sort of climax) or the co-occurrence of two events, as in (74), maybe related to the *vālā* of Urdu-Hindi, which added to the oblique form of the infinitive⁴ captures a meaning of imminent action (Schmidt 1999: 139).

- (74) *deerá šīṭi sigrēt dhṛak-í ba tasīi maxadūši wée tasīi putr tas*
 room inside cigarette pull-CV PRT 3SG.GN front.of in 3SG.GN son 3SG.ACC
the [daḥ-áaṭ-u bhīl-u hīn-u]
 to look-AG-MSG become.PFV-MSG be.PRS-MSG
 ‘As he smoked a cigarette in the room, in front of him his son had started to look at him.’ (A:SMO001-2)

9.3.5 Copredicative Participle

This (imperfective or aspectually non-specified) participle form functions as a modifier of the main verb in a clause, often functionally equal to that of a manner adverb. There is probably a higher degree of lexicalisation as far as combinations of head verbs and adverbial participles are concerned than with most other participle forms. In many ways, the kind of interaction of the two verb forms, the participial and the finite verb, as can be seen in (75) and (76), with a resulting “specified” meaning is not too different from the function of the Conjunct verb. For more details of use, see §13.4.1.

- (75) *se yēei jhaanaá [bulaḍ-īim gīi]*
 DEF mother wake.up.CV search-CPRD go.PFV.FSG
 ‘The mother woke up and went searching.’ (A:BRE010)
- (76) *aḍaphará tīi [khaṣeel-īim wheelīl-u]*
 halfway until drag-CPRD bring.down.PFV-MSG
 ‘The dragged him down halfway.’ (A:GHA032)

9.3.6 Infinitive

The Infinitive occurs solely, as far as my data goes, as the head of the complement of two modal verbs, *bha-* ‘be able to, can’ (77) and *śāat-* ‘began’ (78), see also

⁴ The Urdu verb form with an ending *-nā* is traditionally called an infinitive but occurs in a number of constructions, often as a verbal noun and as such being subject to case inflection (Schmidt 1999: 132–142).

§12.2.7. In this combination the Infinitive tends to be more or less deaccented and phonologically fused with the matrix clause finite verb.

- (77) *dúi ta gaṭíl-u áak ḍaaku-waan-óom-ii qiláá tii na [gaṭ-áa*
 other PRT defeat.PFV-MSG one robber-PL-OB-GN for 3SG.OB NEG win-INF
bhóol-u]
 be.able.to.PFV-MSG
 ‘He defeated them all, only one den of thieves he was not able to defeat.’
 (A:PIR008)

- (78) *phooy-ii mhaás uṭut-ii paxpúla [ši-y-áa ṣáat-u]*
 boy-GN meat body-GN by.itself fall.off-INF start.PFV-MSG
 ‘The boy’s flesh (skin) began to fall off from his body.’ (A:DRA026-7)

10 Noun phrases and non-verbal agreement

10.1 Noun phrase properties

10.1.1 Types of noun phrases

A noun phrase can consist of:

A pronoun, as in (1).

- (1) [taním] [ga] na láad-u
3PL.ERG anything NEG find.PFV-MSG
'They didn't find anything.' (A:DRA003)

A nominalised clause, as in (2).

- (2) [putríi jhaní thainii] zarurí bháanu
son-GN marriage do.VN necessity become.PRS-MSG
'It is necessary to get one's son married [lit. Making a son's marriage becomes a necessity].' (A:MAR009)

Or a noun head, with or without preceding modifiers, as can be seen in (3).

- (3) [šiṣ-íi so tuúš tukrá mhaás] aṭ-í [qábur] the aṭ-í
head-GN DEF.MSG.NOM some piece flesh bring-CV grave to bring-CV
tíi wée dhangóol-u
3SG.OB in bury.PFV-MSG
'[He] brought some piece of the flesh to the grave and buried it there.'
(A:BER014)

It is the latter type that will be the main focus of this chapter. Pronouns (see Chapter §5), in the sense of pro-noun phrases, are not treated here, other than very briefly in connection with apposition, and nominalised clauses, as described in §13.4 and §13.5) have the internal syntax of clauses and are thus not examples of noun phrase syntax proper.

A number of modifiers can precede (and exceptionally follow) a noun head within the noun phrase, some of them single words, others phrases or even clauses in themselves: adjectives/adjective phrases, genitive phrases, quantifiers/quantifier phrases, determiners and relative clauses. As will be clear in the discussion below some words can fill more than one such modifier function, and in some cases even extend into adverbial modification, and the differentiation between the classes of modifiers is not always clearcut.

It is also possible for a (substantivised) modifier alone to function as the head of a noun phrase. This is particularly common with adjectives, and to lesser extent cardinal numerals. The ability of demonstratives to function as modifiers as well as pro-NPs is of course another example of the same tendency.

10.1.2 Modifiers in noun phrases

Adjectives or adjective phrases roughly answer to the question ‘what kind of’. They are descriptive in nature, often capturing inherent properties or qualities of the entity referred to by the head noun. They may consist of a single adjective, as *gáaḍu* in (4).

- (4) *so ba [gáaḍ-u maidóon]*
 3MSG.NOM PRT big-MSG field
 ‘It was a big field.’ (A:JAN030)

An adjective phrase can also be complex. It can consist of two or more adjectives, symmetrically related to each other, such as *dhrígi* and *bhakúli* in (5), both pointing to certain characteristics of the noun it modifies.

- (5) *se insaan-á [áa dhríg-i bhakúl-i lhaléemi] ghin-í*
 DEF human-OB IDEF long-F thick-F stick take-CV
 ‘The man took a long, thick stick...’ (A:KIN024)

The adjective head can also in itself be modified, usually by a scalar quantifier, such as *bíiḍu* modifying *tróku* in (6), assuming that the noun can have more or less of the quality implied by the modifying adjective phrase.

- (6) *so [bíiḍ-u trók-u] de*
 3MSG.NOM much-MSG thin-MSG be.PST
 ‘He was very thin.’ (A:KAT003)

A repeated adjective, on the other hand, *muxtalíf* in (7), usually signifies a distributive meaning. (Although the adjective phrase in the example is predicative, it still illustrates the point.)

- (7) *tasíi xaaneé [muxtalíf muxtalíf] yháand-a*
 3SG.GN shelf.PL different different come.PRS-MPL
 ‘There are different kinds of shelves.’ (A:HOW050)

Finally, Perfective Participial clauses with the external syntax of APs, can also function as modifiers of a head noun (see §13.6.6).

Genitive phrases are very common and answer to questions quite similar to that of adjectives: ‘whose, from where, of what’, but although this is also a matter of quality in some sense, it is usually a specification of origin, relatedness or material, as illustrated in (8)–(11), more than a simple “multiple-choice labelling”. They therefore also share some of the “identifying” characteristics of demonstratives and relative clauses (see below).

- (8) *tarkaán [maṇḍaw-íi kráam] široo th-áan-u*
 carpenter veranda-GN work start do-PRS-MSG
 ‘The carpenter start making the veranda [lit. start the work of the veranda].’
 (A:HOW072)
- (9) *ni xu [ux-íi rhayíi] hín-i*
 3PL.PROX.NOM but camel-GN foot.print be.PRS-F
 ‘These must be the foot prints of a camel.’ (A:HUA061)
- (10) *[phayíi baábu] jhamatreé díi xarčá bi dawíáan-u*
 girl.GN father son.in.law.OB from costs also ask.for.PRS-MSG
 ‘The girl’s father also asks the son-in-law to cover the expenses.’ (A:MAR032)
- (11) *[diiš-e xálak] jamá bhe*
 village-GN people collected become.CV
 ‘The people of the village gathered...’ (A:MAR032)

A modifying genitive phrase can also be a nominalised clause with a Verbal Noun in the genitive case as its head (see §13.6.6).

Quantifiers or quantifier phrases are as a modifier category rather heterogeneous and comprise a few subclasses. What they have in common is that they all answer the quantitative question ‘how much’ or ‘how many’.

One easily distinguishable subclass is cardinal numerals. Used alone they provide very specific answers to the quantity question, as in (12), but they can also, as

seen in (13), be modified themselves by e.g. *taqríiban* (often pronounced *qaríiban*) ‘about, approximately’, a Perso-Arabic loan, thus becoming a bit more relative.

- (12) *so ta bač bñil-u [trúu jáan-a] ba hiimeel-í híř-a*
 3MSG.NOM PRT saved become.PFV-MSG three person-PL PRT glacier-OB take.away.PFV-MPL

‘He was saved, but three persons were taken by the avalanche.’ (B:AVA214)

- (13) *[qaríiban bñiř kaal-á] muxadúř*
 about 20 year-PL before
 ‘About 20 years ago...’ (A:GHA049)

While cardinal numerals can be used only to modify count nouns, scalar quantifiers, such as *tuúř* ‘some’ (14) and *úča* ‘a few’ (15) are used to quantify mass nouns as well as count nouns in plural.

- (14) *[tuúř čhoót] mí se yaar-íi rumeel-í mají ghañđ-í wíi-a*
 some cheese 1SG.GN DEF friend-GN handkerchief-OB in tie-CV water-OB
keé-na gal-úum
 why-NEG throw-1SG
 ‘Why don’t I put some cheese in my friend’s handkerchief and throw it in the water.’ (A:SHY043)
- (15) *atshareet-á wée [úč-a xálak-a] de*
 Ashret-OB in few-MPL people-PL be.PST
 ‘There were few people in Ashret.’ (A:JAN001)

Some of these are also freely used in adverbial constructions, for instance to modify adjectives, adverbs or entire clauses. One particularly frequent multipurpose modifier is *bíiđu* ‘much, many, very’.

Another strategy for quantification, seen in (16) and (17), is by means of a “partitive” noun phrase. It specifies the quantity of the head noun, often itself preceded by or modified by a cardinal numeral. Typically, but not exclusively, the nouns used in such partitive phrases denote containers or measuring terms of various kinds.

- (16) *[panj phuř-í řo phuř-í kir] díř-u síinta*
 five foot-PL six foot-PL snow fall.PFV-MSG CONDH
 ‘When five or six feet snow had fallen...’ (B:AVA198)

- (17) *máa-the [dúu gilees-í chíir] da*
 1SG.NOM-to two glass-PL milk give.IMP.SG
 ‘Give me two glasses of milk!’ (A:HLE2298)

In many ways it would make sense to describe higher numerals (such as 20, 100, 1000) as heads of partitive phrases, modified by the cardinal numerals 1–19 to express the numbers 21–39, etc. (see §6.4).

Determiners and their use in noun phrases have been described elsewhere (see §5.2 and §5.3.6). This class includes all words or phrases that have the function of singling out a referent in contrast to other referents. By answering the question ‘which one’, it primarily identifies the referent of the noun head among a number of potential referents. Whereas the genitive phrase modifier defines or introduces a referent, the determiner points out a particular referent, ‘this house’ in (18), and ‘the man’, ‘another day’, ‘other people’ in (19), whether already defined or not.

- (18) *[aní ghooṣṭ-a] šiiti ma seé hín-u*
 PROX.OB house-OB inside 1SG.NOM fall.asleep.CV be-PRS-MSG
 ‘I was asleep inside this house.’ (A:HUA014)
- (19) *[se míiš-a] [dúi dees-á] baačaa waziir o [dúi xálak-a] samaṭ-i*
 DEF man-OB other day-OB king minister and other people-PL gather-CV
ilaán thíil-i
 announcement do.PFV-F
 ‘Next day the man called the king, the prime minister and other people together and made an announcement.’ (A:UXW060)

Relative clauses (see §13.6) serve a very similar purpose of identifying or “ringing in” the referent, as the ‘brutes’ in (20), and the ‘stories’ in (21).

- (20) *[tas mheer-í gal-í zaalim-aan-óom] dhút-a pharé gúuli bi*
 3SG.ACC kill-CV throw-CV brute-PL-OB mouth-OB toward bread also
de gíia de
 put.CV go.PFV.PL PST
 ‘The brutes, who had killed him, had also put bread in his mouth and left.’
 (A:GHA076-7)
- (21) *xalk-iim ṣaawaá [teér bhíl-a qiseé] thawóol-a*
 people-PL.OB MANIP passed become.PPTC-MPL story.PL make.do.PFV-MPL
 ‘He had the people tell him what had happened [lit. stories which had passed].’ (A:UXW057)

For many relative clauses, however, it is unclear to what extent they should be considered part of the noun phrase at all or rather be analysed as entirely paratactic constructions (this is especially true of the so-called co-relative or relative-correlative constructions common in IA languages).

10.1.3 Apposition

Apposition is another phenomenon with seemingly fuzzy borders, and it is not always obvious what is to be analysed as noun phrase syntax and what as noun derivation.

The following are a few different types of noun phrases consisting of a final noun head and one or more modifying (or further specifying) noun phrases (or what would at least constitute noun phrases if used independently). The head and the modifier have the same referent.

The head is a title or a designation and the preceding apposition is usually a proper name. Only the head, *hakím* ‘ruler’ in (22), and *šoó* ‘king’ in (23), is inflected.

- (22) [*yeyrat-xaán hakim-í*] *ghoošt-á panaahí dawéel-i*
 Ghairat.Khan ruler-GN house-OB shelter ask.for.PFV-F
 ‘He asked for shelter in the ruler Ghairat Khan’s house.’ (B:ATI025)
- (23) [*šujaaulmúlk šoo-íi*] *waxt-íi ba lo daarulxalaafā çatróol-a*
 Shuja.ul.Mulk king-GN time-GN PRT DIST.MSG.NOM capital Chitral-OB
the gúum
 to go.PFV.MSG
 ‘During the reign of king Shuja-ul-Mulk the capital was moved to Chitral.’
 (A:MAH005)

A complex proper name (i.e. many names referring to the same person), as in (24) or in (25), functions in much the same way, as the last component is more prominent. Quite often this component is (or has been) a title of some kind. For short complexes, it is probably a matter of word formation rather than apposition, by which the included names constitute a single phonological word, with the last syllable of the final component receiving the main accent (or the suffix according to shift-accent rules applied), whereas the preceding parts are entirely or partly deaccented.

- (24) *bhioorkúí~ ba [piir-saahíb] jáand-u de*
 Biori.valley PRT Pir.Sahib alive-MSG be.PST
 ‘In Biori vally Pir Sahib was [still] alive.’ (B:ATI047)
- (25) *[mulaa-mhaamad-seed-á] the maalúm heensíl-u hín-u ki*
 Mullah.Mahmad.Said-OB to knowledge stay.PFV-MSG be-PRS-MSG COMP
 ‘Mullah Mahmad Said knew that...’ (A:MAH011)

A special case is when the obligatory string *aleehisalaám* ‘peace be upon him’ (PBUH) is added after that the name of a prophet has been uttered, according to Islamic tradition. Then the final syllable of that standard phrase receives the accent, as is seen in (26), and any inflections are attached to the end of the entire phrase.

- (26) *xu [eesé waqt-íi peeyambár hazrát ilyaas-aleehisalaam-íi] beet-í*
 but DIST.OB time-GN prophet lord Elijah.peace.be.upon.him-GN word-PL
káaṇ na th-íi de
 ear NEG do-3SG PST
 ‘But he didn’t listen to Elijah (PBUH), the prophet of that time.’ (A:ABO011)

The head as well as the preceding apposition are common nouns. Although the apposition functions as the modifier, and as such takes the place of an adjective phrase, both nouns together contribute almost equally to the identification or specification of the referent, ‘female person’ and ‘women’ in (27), and ‘shepherd’ and ‘boy’ in (28). Each of them can separately and independently function as a referring noun phrase.

- (27) *tas sangí [čúur páanĵ jéeni kurĭina] áa ba míiš [...]*
 3SG.ACC with four five female.person woman.PL one PRT man
phray-áan-a
 send-PRS-MPL
 ‘They send with her four or five women and one man.’ (A:MAR082-3)
- (28) *se [áak bakaraál phoó] the ašáx de*
 3FSG.NOM IDEF shepherd boy to in.love be.PST
 ‘She was in love with a shepherd boy.’ (A:SHY002)

The head is a proper name and the preceding apposition is a kinship term. In (29) both the noun head, ‘Mullah Mahmad Said’, and the head of the apposition, ‘grandfather’, take inflections, thus displaying a higher degree of independence (and symmetry) than the aforementioned types.

- (29) [*míi se dóod-a mulaa-mhaamad-seed-á*] *the ba eesó*
 1SG.GN DEF grandfather-OB Mullah.Mahmad.Said-OB to PRT REM.MSG.NOM
paalawaán maalúm heensil-u hín-u
 strong.man knowledge stay.PFV-MSG be.PRS-MSG
 ‘My grandfather Mullah Mahmad Said knew this strong man.’ (A:MAH027)

The head is a common noun and the preceding apposition a pronoun. The role of the pronoun here (‘we’ in (30) and ‘you’ in (31)) is not much different from that of a determiner.

- (30) [*be páanǝ jáan-a*] *ba gíia*
 1PL.NOM five person-PL PRT go.PFV.PL
 ‘The five of us left.’ (A:GHA007)
- (31) [*tu ateen-ú takrá inç-a*] *díi ma kanáa bhe*
 2SG.NOM such-MSG strong bear-OB from 1SG.NOM like.what become.CV
uḍhíiw-um?
 flee-1SG
 ‘How can I flee from such as strong bear as you?’ (A:KAT136)

10.2 Word order in the noun phrase

Although it is possible to use more than two modifiers in the same noun phrase, it is not too common in natural speech, and therefore the following description of the relative word order should be regarded as a presentation of tendencies more than as hard and fast rules without exceptions.

The clearest tendencies can be seen in the order of genitive phrases, determiners, quantifiers and adjective phrases with respect to each other. The following order seems to be more or less fixed:

Genitive NP + Determiner + Quantifier + Adjective Phrase + Head

The determiner, *se* in (32) and *aní* in (33), precedes the quantifier.

- (32) *se dúu mítr-a*
 DEF two friend-PL
 ‘the two friends’ (A:MIT025)
- (33) *aní páanǝ bhraawú*
 PROX five brother.PL
 ‘these five brothers’ (A:ASC003)

The determiner, *se* in (34) and *góo* in (35), also precedes the adjective phrase.

- (34) *se búuḍ-i kúri*
 DEF old-F woman
 ‘the old woman’ (A:WOM462)
- (35) *góo saxt xálak-a*
 some tough people-PL
 ‘some tough people’ (A:KEE043)

The quantifier, *dúu* in (36), precedes the adjective phrase *géed-i*. Although numerals and adjective phrases only rarely co-occur in the same noun phrase, there is a strong feeling about the grammaticality of this order vis-à-vis the opposite one.

- (36) *dúu géed-i durbaṭ-i* (**géed-i dúu durbaṭ-i*)
 two big-F pot-PL
 ‘two big pots’ (A:HLE2474)

The genitive NP, regardless of its internal complexity, generally precedes all other modifiers whenever they occur in the same noun phrase: adjective phrases (37), quantifiers (38), indefinite determiners (39) and definite determiners (3).

- (37) [*kaṭamuš-ii*] *lhénḍ-i kakarii*
 Katamosh-GN bald-F skull
 ‘the bald scalp of Katamosh’ (A:KAT152)
- (38) [*míi*] *dúu kučúr-a*
 1SG.GN two dog-PL
 ‘my two dogs’ (A:HUA017)
- (39) [*díiš-ii yáa teeníi qoom-ii*] *áa ghaḍeeró*
 village-GN or REFL tribe-GN IDEF elder
 ‘an elder of the village or of one’s own tribe’ (A:MAR060)
- (40) [*míi se preṣ-ii*] *se bhraawú*
 1SG.GN DEF mother.in.law-GN DEF brother.PL
 ‘the brothers of that mother-in-law of mine’ (A:HUA122)

Author 8:
 Is the reference to example 3 correct? Or did you mean to refer to example 40 here?

Another modifier preceding the head of the genitive NP, the definite *se* in (41) and the indefinite *ak* in (42), is normally interpreted as part of the genitive NP and as such a modifier of the genitive noun rather than the head of the main noun phrase.

- (41) [*se kuṇaak-ii*] *paanṭi*
 DEF child-GN clothes
 ‘the/that child’s clothes’ (A:BER012)
- (42) [*ak táaper-e*] *ték-a*
 IDEF hill-GN top-OB
 ‘on the top of a hill’ (B:BEL301)

However, the order between the genitive NP and other modifiers is not entirely fixed, and although the preferred order is genitive NP first, there are a few cases, such as (43) and (44), where the preceding modifier most likely is a direct modifier of the main noun head, ‘owner’ and ‘fort’ respectively, rather than being a part of the genitive NP. This interpretation is based partly on agreement features, partly on context and opens the construction up to a certain degree of syntactic ambiguity but seldom with any real risk of semantic misinterpretation.

- (43) *so* [*ghooṣṭ-ii*] *khaamaád*
 DEF.MSG.NOM house-OB owner
 ‘the house owner’ (A:MIT020)
- (44) *áak* [*daaku-aan-óom-ii*] *qilaá*
 IDEF robber-PL-OB-GN fort
 ‘a fort of thieves’ (A:PIR008)

Occasionally a genitive modifier is heavy-shifted to a position after the noun head, as *míišii práačamii* in (45). This may alternatively be interpreted as an example of afterthought.

- (45) *áak gáaḍ-u haál* [*míiš-ii práač-am-ii*]
 IDEF big-MSG hall man-GN guest-PL.OB-GN
 ‘a big hall for the guests of the man’ (A:SMO021)

It is harder to make any generalisations about the position of relative clauses vis-à-vis other modifiers, partly due to their questionable status as an integral part of the noun phrase (as already mentioned), and partly because of the lack of any clear evidence as far as co-occurrence of relative clauses and other modifiers is concerned.

10.3 Agreement patterns

There are two main types of agreement within the noun phrase, a lower-differentiating determiner agreement and a higher-differentiating adjectival agreement. Agreement between a predicate adjective phrase and the subject noun phrase basically follows the same principles as attributive adjectival agreement. In addition to those patterns, there is an “extended” partial agreement between a scalar quantifier used adverbially and the head of a noun phrase.

10.3.1 Determiner agreement

For the most common determiners, there is one form agreeing with a nominative-masculine singular head, within each determiner set, and another form used with all other heads, as far as case, number and gender are concerned. This kind of agreement is displayed in Table 10.1.

Table 10.1: Determiner agreement (the “definite article” *so/se*)

	Masculine		Feminine
	Singular	Plural	
NOM	<i>so</i>	---	
NON-NOM	<i>se</i>	---	

All determiners with more than one form have one that agrees with the nominative-masculine singular head, ending in an accented *ó* or *ú*, such as *so* agreeing with the nominative singular masculine head in (46), contrasting with another form ending in an accented *é* or *í*, e.g. *se* agreeing with the non-masculine head in (47), *se* agreeing with the non-nominative head in (48), and *se* agreeing with the non-singular head in (49).

- (46) *eesé zangal-i áa baṭ-á ḡhulí harí [so kuṇaák]*
 REM.OB forest-OB IDEF stone-OB on take.away-CV DEF.NOM.MSG child[NOM.MSG]
bheešóol-u
 seat.PFV-MSG

‘In that forest he took the child to a stone and seated him.’ (A:BER005)

- (47) *ghaḡeerá phed-í laṣ-čax kaṭéeri ghin-í [se taáj] čhiníl-i*
 elder.OB arrive-CV swiftly knife take-CV DEF crown[NOM.FSG] cut.PFV-F

‘The elder (brother) came, took a knife, and cut off the crown.’ (A:DRA016)

- (48) *aǰdahaá katoolíi-a wée ač-aníi sangi-eé lhooméea [se míiš-a]*
 dragon fodder.sack-OB in enter-VN with-CNJ fox.OB DEF man[MSG]-OB
ǰáǰi išaará thíil-u, thanáau dhrak-é
 toward hint do.PFV-MSG string pull-IMP.SG

‘Just as the dragon went into the sack, the fox signaled to the man to pull the string.’ (B:DRB)

- (49) *[se xálaka] qalang na d-aa bhaá ba uǰheew-í*
 DEF people[NOM.MPL] tax NEG give-INF be.able.to.CV PRT flee-CV
ǰíia
 go.PFV.MPL

‘The people were not able to pay the taxes, so they left, fleeing.’ (A:MAB030)

10.3.2 Adjectival agreement

Also, for most cases of adjectival agreement, there is a unique nominative masculine singular form ending in *u*, but there is an additional differentiation between masculine and feminine, as shown in Table 10.2.

Table 10.2: Adjectival agreement (dhríg- ‘tall, long’)

	Masculine		Feminine
	Singular	Plural	
NOM	<i>dhríg-u</i>		<i>dhríg-i</i>
NON-NOM	<i>dhríg-a</i>		

The great majority of inflecting adjectives occur in the three forms ending *-u*, *-a* and *-i* (and an additional but marginally used feminine plural *-im* in predicative sentences, see §10.3.3 below).

There is thus agreement with the noun head in gender, number and case. Whereas agreement in gender is consistently maintained, cf. (50) and (51), number agreement, cf. (52) and (53), and case agreement, cf. (54) and (55), is mostly neutralised.

- (50) *ma ba [gáaḍ-u zuwaán míiš] de*
 1SG.NOM PRT grown-MSG young man[NOM.MSG] PST
 ‘I was in the prime of my youth.’ (A:PAS004)
- (51) *eesé dáwur-ii eeré keén [géed-i keén] hín-i*
 DIST.OB age-GN REM.F cave big-F cave[NOM.FSG] be.PRS-F
 ‘In those times that case was a big cave.’ (A:CAV008)
- (52) *míi ghooṣṭ-á [lhoók-a lhoók-a maasuumaán kuṇaak-á] hín-a*
 1SG.GN house-OB small-MPL small-MPL innocent child[NOM.M]-PL be.PRS-MPL

‘There are small innocent children in my house.’ (A:KIN017)

- (53) *[se lhoók-a kuṇaak-á] ba sigrét uḥ-i ba áak dúu tróo*
 DEF.OB small-OB child[MSG]-OB PRT cigarette lift-CV PRT one two three
kaš the ba
 drag do.CV PRT
 ‘The little child lifted the cigarette and started smoking.’ (A:SMO007)
- (54) *[puróoṇ-a xálak-a] asíi díiš-a wée hín-a*
 old-MPL people[NOM.M]-PL 1PL.GN village-OB in be.PRS-MPL
 ‘There are old people in our village.’ (A:MAR127)
- (55) *[puróoṇ-a xalkíim] the patá*
 old-OB people[M].PL.OB to known
 ‘The old people know [lit. It is known to old people].’ (A:MAR126)

However, as was pointed out in Chapter §6, there is a category of invariable (non-inflecting) adjectives, not showing any kind of overt agreement at all with the head of the noun phrase, such as *muxtalíf* in (56) and *taaqaṭwár* in (57).

- (56) *almaarii bi [muxtalíf dízeen-i] yhéendi*
 cupboard.GN also different design-PL come.PRS-F
 NOM.FPL
 ‘Cupboards come in many different designs.’ (A:HOW049)
- (57) *insaán xu [bíiḍ-u taaqaṭwár šái]*
 human.being but much-MSG powerful thing
 NOM.MSG
 ‘Man, however, is a very powerful being.’ (A:KIN006)

It should be noted that although such adjectives do occur attributively, they are more readily used predicatively and some of them exclusively so.

10.3.3 Predicate agreement

Just as adjectival attributes agree with their head, the heads of predicate phrases agree in gender and number with the head of the subject noun phrase, as displayed in Table 10.3. That is in as far as the particular adjective belongs to the inflecting class. It should be noted, however, that the large majority of adjectives used in the predicative function are of the invariable type.

Table 10.3: Predicate agreement

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
NOM	-u		-i	(-im)
NON-NOM	-a			

As with attributively used adjectives, there is a non-optional inflectional contrast between adjectives agreeing with a masculine-singular head (58) and adjectives agreeing with a masculine-plural head (59).

- (58) [so] [bīd-u trók-u] de
 3MSG.NOM much-MSG thin-MSG be.PST
 ‘He was very thin.’ (A:KAT003)

- (59) aksár [jandéé] [trók-a] bh-áan-a
 often he.goat[M].PL thin-MPL become.PRS-MPL
 ‘Often the he-goats become thin.’ (A:MAR069)

A secondary (optional) feminine singular-plural inflectional differentiation seems to be permitted in at least copula-less sentences, as can be seen when comparing the adjectives in (62) and (63).¹

¹ The status of agreement with *-im* requires further investigation. The form as relating to plurality has probably originated (relatively recently) in the class of feminine nouns (see Chapter 4) ending in *-i* and has subsequently spread analogically to the verbal and adjectival paradigms, although not yet consistently applied in the latter two.

- (60) [aní kaṭéri] [búk-i], maa-the dúi da
 PROX knife[F] dull-F 1SG.NOM-to another give.IMP.SG
 ‘This knife is dull. Give me another one!’ (A:Q9.0160)
- (61) [tíinčuk-am-i laméeti-m] [tíiṇ-im]
 scorpion-OB-GN tail[F]-PL sharp-FPL
 ‘The tails of scorpions are sharp.’ (A:PHS2118.06)

Apart from a larger variety of adjectives and adjective phrases allowed predicatively than attributively, even quantifiers may occur in a predicative function. Quantifiers with the ability to inflect agree with the subject noun phrase in gender/number, as can be seen with *bíiḍ*- ‘much, many’ in (62) and (63), and *bijóol*- ‘several’ in (64).

- (62) [eeré šáy-a] [bíiḍ-a]
 DIST thing[M]-PL much-MPL
 ‘There are lots of those things.’ (A:HUA047)
- (63) [tasii duṣmaán] [bíiḍ-u]
 3SG.GN enemy[MSG] much-MSG
 ‘It has a lot of enemies.’ (A:KEE008)
- (64) atshareet-á wée [xálak] [bijóol-a] bhíl-a
 Ashret-OB in people[MPL] several-MPL become.PFV-MPL
 ‘In Ashret people became numerous.’ (A:GHA001)

10.3.4 Extended agreement

The adjectival agreement is also extended or “copied” to inflecting adjectives used as adjuncts of other adjectives (primarily *bíiḍ*- ‘much’), i.e. as adverbs. That means that the gender and number of the noun that the adjective head agrees with (whether attributively or predicatively) is also lended in agreement to the adjective adjunct, this regardless of the ability of the adjective head itself to inflect (cf. the agreement patterns of adverbs in Gujarati, Hook & Joshi 1991). This is seen in the forms of *bíiḍ*- in (65)–(69) and *śóo* in (70).

- (65) [čhéel-ii phaaidá] bi [bíiḍ-u gáaḍ-u], [karaáu] bi [bíiḍ-u
 she.goat-GN benefit[MSG] also much-MSG big-MSG effort[MSG] also much-MSG
 ziaát]
 great
 ‘The benefit you get from the goat is very great, but very great is also the

effort.’ (A:KEE078)

- (66) [lasíi phaaideé] [bíiḍ-a ziaát] hín-a
3SG.DIST.GN benefit[M].PL much-MPL great be.PRS-MPL

‘It’s benefits are very great.’ (A:KEE021)

- (67) [tasíi yéei] /.../ [bíiḍ-i xafá] bhíl-i
3SG.GN mother[FSG] much-F upset become.PFV-F

‘His mother became very upset.’ (A:KAT004)

- (68) [kaṭamúš] /.../ [bíiḍ-u xušaán] bhíl-u hín-u
Katamosh[MSG] much-MSG happy become.PFV-MSG be.PRS-MSG
MSG

‘Katamosh became very happy.’ (A:KAT078)

- (69) [se] heewand-á [bíiḍ-a xušaán] hóons-an de
3PL.NOM winter-OB much-MPL happy stay-3PL PST

‘They remained very happy during the winter.’ (A:SHY008)

- (70) [kaṭamúš] [šóo čaáx] bhíl-u hín-u
Katamosh[MSG] good.MSG fat become.PFV-MSG be.PRS-MSG

‘Katamosh became really fat.’ (A:KAT082)

This is also the case with adjuncts in adverbial phrases used predicatively in which the adjunct agrees in gender and number with the noun head of the subject. Again, it is primarily the scalar modifier *bíiḍ* ‘much’ that is being used. In (71) *bíiḍ* agrees in feminine gender with *iskuúl* ‘school’, and in (72) it agrees in masculine singular with *ghoóšt* ‘house’.

- (71) [asíi iskuúl] bi asaám the [bíiḍ-i dhúura] hín-i
1PL.GN school[FSG] also 1PL.ACC to much-F distant be.PRS-F

‘Our school is also very far away for us.’ (A:OUR016)

- (72) [míi ghoóšt] [bíiḍ-u dhúura] hín-u
1SG.GN house[MSG] much-MSG distant be.PRS-MSG

‘My house is very far away.’ (A:DHE3174)

A form of incomplete agreement pattern is seen between an argument in a nominalised complement clause and the adjunct of the complement-taking adjective. In example (73) the adjunct *bíiḍ* agrees with the feminine direct object of the nominalised verb *xat* ‘letter’, whereas in (74) and (75) the choice of the masculine singular seems to be due to its default value rather than one triggered by

agreement with any particular argument. This certainly deserves more in-depth study. (Note that *askóon* ‘easy’ is a non-inflecting adjective.)

- (73) *urdú xat čoonṭainiī bíḍ-i askóon*
 Urdu letter[FSG] write.VN much-F easy
 ‘It’s very easy to write a letter in Urdu.’ (A:HLE3131)
- (74) *lab utrap-ainiī bíḍ-u askóon*
 fast run-VN much-MSG easy
 ‘It’s very easy to run fast.’ (A:HLE3130)
- (75) *kunṭaak-á saatainiī bíḍ-u askóon*
 children-PL take.care.VN much-MSG easy
 ‘It’s very easy to take care of children.’ (E:HLE3129)

Whether adjectival agreement of this kind may be extended even to clause-level adverbial modification remains unclear at this point. In the examples (76) and (77) we do not know whether the masculine-singular form *bíḍu* is chosen as the default form or is indeed the target of agreement in gender and number with an argument noun head as its controller.

- (76) *aṛó bíḍ-u bhakulíil-u hín-u*
 DIST.MSG.NOM much-MSG fatten.PFV-MSG be.PRS-F
 ‘He has fattened a lot.’ (A:DHE3162)
- (77) *míi tas sangí bíḍu bhaaruróol-u*
 1SG.GN 3SG.ACC with much-MSG argue.PFV-MSG
 ‘I argued a lot with him.’ (A:HLE2677)

11 Grammatical relations

Palula, like many related IA languages, displays an intricate and quite complex relationship between the grammatical cases expressed, the particular case forms and agreement patterns available and the various functions a noun phrase can have in a given utterance (Masica 1991: 230–231). A complicating factor is the type of split ergativity displayed, related to aspect on the one hand and the nature of the NP on the other. The former is a rather straightforward matter, with ergativity being a feature only of perfective clauses, whereas the relationship between properties of the NP and ergativity is less transparent, with several different cutoff points, some of them less expected from a typological standpoint. Word order is unmarkedly intransitive subject – verb and transitive subject – object – verb, but it allows for quite a deal of pragmatic flexibility. As the two other factors weigh heaviest as far as grammatical relations and alignment are concerned, word order will not enter into the present discussion. This also goes along with the general observation that the presence of the other mechanisms in a language correlates to a relative flexibility in the basic word order (Blake 1994: 15).

Following Dixon (1994: 6–8) and Comrie (1989: 110–116), I will be using the following abbreviations for the three grammatical relations (also syntactic primitive relations): S – intransitive subject, A – transitive subject, and O – transitive object.¹ This means that a verb with one core noun phrase is intransitive and the sole argument relation we refer to as S, a verb with two core noun phrases is transitive and the two argument relations we call A and O, respectively: S-*Vitr* and A-O-*Vtr*.

11.1 Verb agreement

As already described in §8.4.1, grammatical relations can be reflected in the marking of the predicate itself, i.e. by verb agreement. In Palula, the verb can only display agreement with a single argument of the clause. While agreement in

¹ P (for patient) in some of the typological literature (Comrie 1989; Croft 1990).

person is limited to the non-present imperfective (Future and Past Imperfective), the main type of agreement is one in gender and number, found in the perfective categories and in Present tense (see §9.1).

However, as far as grammatical alignment is concerned, the dividing line goes between the perfective and all non-perfective TMA categories: In the Perfective there is ergative verb agreement, and in the non-perfective there is accusative verb agreement.

11.1.1 Accusative alignment

In the non-present imperfective (Past Imperfective in (1) and Future in (2)), the verb always agrees in person in accordance with an accusative alignment, i.e. with the subject, whether S (as in (1)) or A (as in (2)).

- (1) *praší phará [se] b-éen de*
 slope along 3PL.NOM go-3PL PST
 S
 ‘They were moving along the slope.’ (B:AVA211)
- (2) *[se zinaawur-aán] xu [ma] kh-óon*
 DEF beast-PL but 1SG.NOM eat-3PL
 A O
 ‘The beasts will eat me.’ (A:KAT059)

The same accusative agreement pattern is displayed in the Present, as can be seen in examples (3)–(4), although here in the form of number/gender agreement.

- (3) *[ma] rhoošíia sóon-a the biáan-u*
 1SG.NOM tomorrow pasture-OB to go.PRS-MSG
 S
 ‘I am going to the (high) pastures tomorrow.’ (A:SHY028)
- (4) *[tu] [aniaám] keé-na khiáan-u*
 2SG.NOM 3PL.PROX.ACC why-NEG eat.PRS-MSG
 A O
 ‘Why don’t you eat these?’ (A:KAT067)

11.1.2 Ergative alignment

When, on the other hand, any of the TMA categories based on the Perfective are used, the verb always agrees – in accordance with an ergative alignment – with

S, as in (5), or O as in (6) and (7), whereas it never agrees in gender and number with A.

- (5) [čhéeli] eetáa the gíi de ta
 she.goat[FSG] there to go.PFV.F PST PRT
 S
 ‘The goat had gone there.’ (A:CAV026)
- (6) [ínç-a] [čhéeli] khéel-i
 bear[MSG]-OB she.goat[FSG] eat.PFV-F
 A O
 ‘The bear ate the goat.’ (A:PAS056)
- (7) [kúri] teeníi deechinéeti dádi [ghúuru] nuuťool-u
 woman[FSG] REFL right side horse[MSG] turn.PFV-MSG
 A O
 ‘The woman turned the horse to the right.’ (A:UXW028)

11.2 NP case differentiation

Three sub-instances of case differentiation will be exemplified below as they relate to grammatical relations and alignment: inflectional case marking of nouns, pronominal case differentiation and dependent marking.

11.2.1 Inflectional case marking

As we saw in §4.5, the central case distinction made inflectionally is that between the nominative and the oblique cases. As for the relations we are interested in, the nominative is used for S, A and O alike in the non-perfective categories, whereas in the Perfective, A, as in (10), is singled out as coded in the oblique case (*kaťamuš-â*) versus the nominatively coded² S (8) and O (9), *kaťamúš*.

- (8) [kaťamúš-ø] sóon-a dúši gúum hín-u
 Katamosh pasture-OB toward go.PFV.MSG be.PRS-MSG
 S
 ‘Katamosh went set out of the (high) pastures.’ (A:KAT010)

² In the description of a system with a consistently ergative alignment, this would be referred to as absolutive, a term I prefer not to use when describing the split ergative system of Palula.

11 Grammatical relations

- (9) *inç-a [kaṭamuš-ø] aamúuṣṭ-u hín-u*
 bear-OB Katamosh forget.PFV-MSG be.PRS-MSG
 A O

‘The bear forgot about Katamosh.’ (A:KAT140)

- (10) *[kaṭamuš-á] gábina khóol-u hín-u*
 Katamosh-OB nothing eat.PFV-MSG be.PRS-MSG
 A O

‘Katamosh didn’t eat anything.’ (A:KAT065)

This, however, is a somewhat simplified picture. In actual fact, not all nouns make the distinction between the nominative and the oblique, and some make it in the plural and not in the singular. The forms themselves occurring as morphological markers of ergativity also differ between nouns belonging to different declensions (see §4.6):

a-declension	<i>putr</i> ‘son’ (<i>m</i>)	SG	PL
	S/O	<i>putr</i>	<i>putrá</i>
	A	<i>putrá</i>	<i>putróom</i>

i-declension	<i>ghaáu</i> ‘cow’ (<i>f</i>)	SG	PL
	S/O	<i>ghaáu</i>	<i>gheyí</i>
	A	<i>gheyí</i>	<i>gheyíim</i>

m-declension	<i>méemi</i> ‘grandmother’ (<i>f</i>)	SG	PL
	S/O/A	<i>méemi</i>	<i>méemim</i>

aan-declension (V-ending)	<i>baačaá</i> ‘king’ (<i>m</i>)	SG	PL
	S/O	<i>baačaá</i>	<i>baačaán</i>
	A		<i>baačaanoóm</i>

aan-declension (C-ending)	<i>angreéz</i> ‘Brit’ (<i>m</i>)	SG	PL
	S/O	<i>angreéz</i>	<i>angreezaán</i>
	A	<i>angreezá</i>	<i>angreezaanoóm</i>

Although there is a form syncretism between the oblique singular and the nominative plural in the large *a*- and *i*-declensions, that does not distort the nominative-oblique contrast *per se*. Here, a suffix *-a* or *-i* is the morphological reflex of ergativity in the singular and a suffix *-óom* or *-íim* in the plural.

In the *m*-declension, on the other hand, there is no differentiating ergative case marking available at all. For some *aan*-declension nouns, the case differentiation is neutralised in the singular but maintained in the plural, while for a few others there are four distinct forms available: nominative singular, nominative plural, oblique singular and oblique plural. The *ee*-declension nouns (not displayed here) largely make the same distinctions as *a*- and *i*-declension nouns.

With respect to frequency, the “full contrast pattern” represents the large majority of all Palula nouns (the *a*-declension and the *i*-declension together making up 70 per cent of all nouns), masculine as well as feminine, while the “no contrast pattern” is relatively small (about 16 per cent), comprising exclusively feminine nouns.

11.2.2 Pronominal case differentiation

The noun phrase slot could of course also be filled with a pronoun, and here too we have different forms bearing a relation to case. Apart from the singling out of A in the Perfective (*asím* in (12)), we also have pronominal forms particular to O (*asaám* in (13)) vis-à-vis S (*be* in (11)) and A (in the Perfective and the non-perfective alike).

- (11) *rhootašíia ba [be] gúia*
 morning PRT 1PL.NOM go.PFV.PL
 S

‘In the morning we left.’ (A:GHA006)

- (12) [*asím*] *jinaazá khašeel-í wheelíl-u de*
 1PL.ERG corpse drag-CV take.down.PFV-MSG PST
 A O

‘We dragged the corpse down.’ (A:GHA044)

- (13) *nu ba [asaám] mhaaraníi the ukháat-u de*
 3SG.PROX.NOM PRT 1PL.ACC kill.NVERB to come.up.PFV-MSG PST
 O

‘He has come up here to kill us.’ (A:HUA071)

This again is only part of the whole picture. Starting with the personal pronouns proper, these do not uniformly have the same number of forms or make the same distinctions formally, as can be seen in Table 11.1.

Table 11.1: Personal pronouns and case differentiation in the Perfective

	O	S	A
1SG		<i>ma</i>	<i>míi</i>
2SG		<i>tu</i>	<i>thíi</i>
1PL	<i>asaám</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>asím</i>
2PL	<i>tusaám</i>	<i>tus</i>	<i>tusím</i>

The first- and second-plural personal pronouns make a three-way distinction, with unique ergative forms, *asím* and *tusím*, whereas the first- and second-singular only have two forms each (with nominative-accusative neutralisation as well as an ergative-genitive neutralisation).

The demonstratives, which are used as third-person pronouns, see Table 11.2, show differentiation to the same extent as the plural personal pronouns, i.e. with a three-way case contrast.

Table 11.2: Demonstrative case differentiation in the Perfective (only the remote set represented)

	O	S	A
SG	<i>tas</i>	<i>so/se</i>	<i>tíi</i>
PL	<i>tanaám</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>taním</i>

11.2.3 Dependent marking

Case marking is also relevant for dependents in the noun phrase, although it has a much more limited scope (for details, see §10.3). There are two kinds of dependent agreement: a) determiner agreement and b) adjectival agreement.

Determiners occur in a maximum of two forms, one of them occurring only with a singular masculine noun head in the nominative, the other occurring elsewhere, i.e. with non-nominative singular heads, feminine and plural heads.

Adjectives of the inflecting category display three different forms to reflect properties of the noun head: one for a singular masculine head in the nominative,

another for non-nominative singular and plural masculine head, and a third for feminine heads, regardless of case or number.

The agreement displayed by dependents is therefore not adding anything to the differentiation already made explicit by the case-inflected head as far as case is concerned.

11.3 The split system summarised

Summarising the findings in §11.1–§11.1, we have two dimensions on which ergative vs. accusative alignment and their expressions depend in Palula. First and foremost, the presence of ergative alignment is aspectually determined. While accusative properties can be present regardless of the TMA category realised, it is in the Perfective only that an (additional) ergative pattern is found. A consistent correlation (see Figure 11.1) exists between perfective aspect and ergative verb agreement, and an accusative verb agreement and non-perfective categories.

Aspect	A	S	O	Alignment
Non-perfective				Accusative
Perfective				Ergative

Editors 4: Wäre das nicht besser als Tabelle?

Figure 11.1: Correlations between aspect and alignment in verb agreement (shading represents verb agreement)

Much less straightforward is the relationship between the nature of the NP and case marking. Even within the same aspectual category (the perfective) we have examples of non-differentiation (ASO all the same as far as case marking is concerned), a two-way differentiation (A marked differently from S and O) as well as a tripartite differentiation (A, S and O all distinguished by case marking). Table 11.3 illustrates how case differentiation is displayed for four different categories of NPs in Palula:

1. Pron1 are the first- and second-person plural as well as all the third-person pronouns; they display a tripartite subsystem.
2. Noun1 are all the nouns that make a nominative/oblique distinction, and Pron2 are the first- and second-singular pronouns; they display an ergative subsystem.

3. Noun2 are the nouns that do not make a nominative/oblique distinction; they display a neutral subsystem.

Table 11.3: Morphologically realised case distinctions related to grammatical relations (The case marking below the dotted line applies in the Perfective only.)

	Pron1	Noun1	Pron2	Noun2
O	Accusative	Nominative	Nominative	Nominative
S	Nominative			
A	Ergative/oblique	Oblique	Genitive	

11.4 Alignment and split features in the region and beyond

How do the features summarised above relate to those found in the surrounding region and in related languages?

As far as the presence of (morphological) ergativity is concerned, the situation in Palula is far from unique, neither among NIA languages (Deo & Sharma 2006) in the region nor beyond, but its manifestations and more precise characteristics are manifold and quite diverse in what Masica (2001: 250) describes as an “ergative belt” stretching from the north-eastern part of the Subcontinent all the way to Caucasus, with modern Persian as one major exception in the middle of it. This belt includes Indo-Aryan, Iranian and Tibeto-Burman, as well as the isolate Burushaski and some of the language families represented in the Caucasus.

While ergativity is conditional in Palula, ergative case marking is applied across the board in Burushaski and in the Shina varieties spoken adjacent to it (as far as case marking is concerned³). Although the latter is due to substratum effects from Burushaski according to Masica (2001: 248), another phenomenon, termed “dual ergativity” by Hook & Koul (2004: 213), is observed in certain Eastern (including Kohistani) Shina varieties, where there is a TMA-related (imperfective vs. perfective according to Schmidt & Kohistani 2008: 51–53) alternation between

³ As pointed out to me by Carla Radloff (pc), there is in Gilgit Shina a clearcut split between accusatively aligned verb agreement and ergatively aligned case marking (invariably with *-se* or *-s*).

ergativity markers of IA origin and an ergativity marker supposedly of Tibetan origin (Hook & Koul 2004: 214; Bailey 1924: 211).

However, far more common in NIA languages as well as in Tibeto-Burman, is some sort of TMA split between ergative patterns and accusative patterns (Masica 2001: 248), usually between perfective and non-perfective tenses (Masica 1991: 342–343). This may be manifested, as in Palula, in the agreement of transitive verbs with O in the perfective along with a distinctive case marking of A. That is the case in Urdu-Hindi (Schmidt 1999: 124) as well as in many of the other major NIA languages of the Subcontinent (Masica 2001: 248). Geographically closer to Palula, this is also observed for the Kohistani languages (Baart 1999a: 136; Hallberg & Hallberg 1999: 34; Lunsford 2001: 93–95⁴). While ergativity is seen in the case marking of A in other Shina varieties, verb agreement with O is not a feature of Gilgiti or Kohistani Shina. Instead, as in neighbouring Dameli and Gawarbat (personal observations), the verb agrees (accusatively) with S or A and never with O, whether or not there are other manifestations of ergativity or accusativity.

A number of Iranian languages in the region also display split ergativity (Payne 1980), although with certain peculiarities (to which we will return shortly). For one, Pashto exemplifies a tense split rather than an aspectual split, with verb agreement with O and ergative case marking of A in past tenses, regardless of aspect (Tegey 1977: 4–5; Lorenz 1979: 71–72). In addition, a class of intransitive verbs (expressing involuntary activity) also require an ergatively marked A (Babrakzai 1999: 112), a phenomenon also described by Hook & Koul (2004: 217) for Indo-Aryan Kashmiri.⁵

While most languages within this so-called ergative belt show some ergative features, there are nevertheless some where they are entirely absent. In the immediate vicinity of Palula, the most notable examples are Kalasha and Khowar (Bashir 1988: 41). While this absence is a retention feature of Kalasha and Khowar, in some languages in other parts of the Subcontinent, such as Bengali, Oriya and Sinhalese, a former ergative construction has probably been replaced only later by a consistent accusative alignment (Masica 1991: 343–344).

A number of different patterns are observed in the region as far as case marking, case syncretism and various types of NP splits being realised. Those languages manifesting verb agreement with O in some TMA categories, also tend to case mark A distinctively vis-à-vis S and O, but there are also those languages that maintain a tripartite S vs. O vs. A differentiation, if not for nouns, at least

⁴ In the case of Torwali, ergativity is also manifested in the future tense.

⁵ This is also found in Urdu to a limited extent (Schmidt 1999: 168).

for the pronouns or a subset of them. In Punjabi, there is a shared 1SG nominative/oblique form, whereas 2SG, 1PL, as well as 2PL and the third-person pronouns differentiate between these two cases (Bhatia 1993: 229). In Kalam Kohistani, the 1SG and 2SG make a subject vs. object/oblique/agent distinction, the 1PL and 2PL a subject/agent/object vs. oblique distinction, a subject vs. agent vs. object/oblique distinction in the 3SG, and a subject/object/oblique vs. agent distinction in the 3PL (Baart 1999a: 39).

In neighbouring Dameli (Morgenstierne 1942 and own observations), there is a nominative vs. accusative/ergative differentiation⁶ in first- and second-singular as well as in plural, but where 1SG and 1PL nominative somewhat surprisingly have merged. For the demonstratives functioning as third-person pronouns, the situation is further complicated by animacy distinctions. In Gawarbatl (Morgenstierne 1950 and personal observations), there seems to be an almost complete nominative vs. accusative vs. ergative differentiation upheld in all persons and in singular and plural (with nouns and pronouns alike), but only in as far as the NPs are definite and occur in the perfective. However, due to the lack of a more comprehensive study of the language to base any conclusions on, the analysis remains tentative.

11.5 The split system and possible explanations

The natural question to ask now is how the patterns in Palula can be related to split-ergative typology. Of the four possible factors that Dixon (1994: 70) presents as conditioning such a split, the two relevant ones here are: a) a split conditioned by the semantic nature of the noun phrase, and b) a split conditioned by the tense, aspect or mood of the clause.

As far as the first factor is concerned, we have already seen that different Palula nouns behave differently when it comes to ergative case marking, and we have also seen that nouns and pronouns display different morphological systems. That in itself is hardly surprising or contrary to any typological tendencies, as languages that display some degree of ergativity usually do so only with a subset of its noun phrases (Garrett 1990: 261). Depending on where the splits occur along a Nominal Hierarchy (Dixon 1994: 84–85)/NP Hierarchy (Garrett 1990: 262)/Empathy Hierarchy (DeLancey 1981: 626–627), we may make finer classifications of split types, regardless of that classification being seen as reflecting some fundamental functional properties of language (DeLancey 1981), or mainly as a product

⁶ This rather unexpected grouping of A with O vs. S is sometimes referred to as “double-oblique” (Payne 1980).

of diachronic developments (Garrett 1990): Pron 1st > Pron 2nd > Pron 3rd or Dem > N Proper > N Human > N Animate > N Inanimate (after Dixon 1994: 85).

The way we are supposed to read this hierarchy is that the more to the left, the more likely that the noun phrase is an agent (A), the more to the right, the more likely it is to be a patient (P). That also carries over to ergative case marking: the less likely a noun phrase is to be A, the more of a need it has to be marked as such, which means that ergative case marking – when it occurs in a language – spreads from the right, i.e. from inanimate nouns and “upward” (DeLancey 1981: 645; Dixon 1994: 84; Garrett 1990: 262). The opposite is believed to hold true for accusative case marking, where spreading is from the left and “downward”. If, for instance, nouns and pronouns happen to follow different systems of case marking, we would expect the former to distinguish between AS and O (accusatively), whereas the latter would distinguish between A and SO (ergatively).

The cutoff point could theoretically be anywhere along this scale, but some points have been pointed out as more crucial (and possibly more commonly occurring in languages) than others. One is that between second- and third-person pronouns, forming the boundary between SAPs (Speech Act Participants) and everyone/everything else (DeLancey 1981: 644). Another one is between first- and second-person, although the exact hierarchical relationship between 1 and 2 person is not generally agreed upon (DeLancey 1981: 644; Dixon 1994: 88–90). Pointing to the formal divergence between pronominal and nominal morphology and the lower likelihood of analogical extensions to cross over from one to the other, the boundary between third-person pronouns and nouns may equally well be regarded as the most crucial one (Garrett 1990: 286).

As real language data confirms, there is not necessarily only a simple split between accusatively marked noun phrases on the one hand and ergatively marked on the other. Instead there are various logical possibilities of the two systems overlapping or being inclusive of one or the other, or one of them being present while the other is absent (Dixon 1994: 109).

Interestingly, there are according to Dixon, no known examples of ergative marking within an otherwise accusative system, nor any language known where a subset is marked accusatively, another one ergatively, while a middle area is left where neither applies. This is where Palula may turn out to be typologically interesting. Not that it straightforwardly exemplifies any of these two “missing” types, but what we seem to have is a kind of “crossbreed”, where most NPs display ergative marking (A-SP) and some of them with an added accusative marking (A-S-P), whereas another category of NPs lack such marking altogether, as to produce the following pattern:

A-S-P	A-SP	ASP
Author 9: Is shading ok instead of hatched?		

Another problem is of course that these markings in Palula do not line up neatly with the Nominal Hierarchy mentioned above, or at least not with a couple of the more crucial typological expectations connected with it, one having to do with accusative marking and the other with ergative marking.

First, we learned that accusative marking spreads from left, and therefore at the very least first-person pronouns would be marked accusatively: “Since first person is on the extreme left of the hierarchy, it is the strongest candidate for accusative marking.” (Dixon 1994: 89) That is true of 1PL in Palula (S: *be* ‘we’, O: *asaám* ‘us’) but not of 1SG (SO: *ma* ‘I, me’). The same split along the number category with 2 person (S: *tus* ‘you 2PL.NOM’, O: *tusaám* ‘you 2PL.ACC’; but SO: *tu* ‘you 2SG.NOM’), even here with only the plural having accusative marking, even though the singular is as high on the animacy scale as the plural. Typologically speaking, more grammatical distinctions would be expected to crop up in the singular than in the plural (Dixon 1994: 92), but that is obviously the opposite in Palula as far as case distinctions are concerned.

Second, we saw that ergativity normally spreads from right to left, and therefore at the very least inanimate nouns would be marked ergatively if the language displays any ergative marking. However, in Palula, the nouns that do not display any ergative marking at all (neither in singular or plural) belong to one particular inflectional class that exclusively contains feminine gender nouns, animate as well as inanimate, whereas the classes that do mark ergativity are equally inclusive of (mainly masculine) animate and inanimate nouns. More detailed research would be needed to be able to say anything more insightful about any possible correlation between the animacy of the nouns and the presence/absence of ergative marking.

Even though we are able to give a functional explanation to the overall NP split pattern in Palula – such as accusative marking being confined to pronouns, while ergative marking is found with pronouns as well as nouns – functionality fails to explain the exceptions mentioned above. As Garrett (1990) has shown in regard to the instrumental origin of ergative case-marking in Anatolian and Gorokan, the answers may as well be found in specific diachronic developments – something that Dixon (1994: 93) points out as well. Even though we can be very specific as to the leftward direction of ergative spreading, Garrett holds that the

initial distribution of the marking in any one language is due to language-internal factors (1990: 286).

We would therefore have to look for possible sources of the present-day Palula case inflections, especially ergative case marking, and how it might have spread throughout the Nominal Hierarchy by analogy or otherwise. Even though that in itself is well beyond the scope of this work, it should of course be pointed out that the history of ergativity in Palula must take the Indo-Iranian (Garrett 1990: 263–264) or Indo-Aryan (Masica 1991: 341–346) development at large into account, where the instrumental case seems to be an important source for what came to be a perfective agent marker (Skalmowski 1985: 13). In connection with that, it is interesting to note that the instrumental role in Palula sometimes is expressed with a noun form *-am/-îim/-óom*, i.e. a form identical with the oblique plural (also with a singular referent as in (14)).

- (14) *míiš-a ba tesée háat-a wée [thupúk-am] jít-i*
man-OB PRT 3SG.GN hand-OB into gun-INS shoot.PFV-F
‘Then the man shot through its hand with his gun.’ (B:BEL317)

Whether the source of the Palula ergative marking is to be found in this instrumental or the ergative-oblique and the instrumental at some point formally started to merge, it is not wholly unlikely that it spread analogically throughout the nominal system. However, in the case of the *-im/-îim* plural forms of our “problematic” inflectional class, a neutralisation between the present plural form and an earlier distinctly expressed instrumental is likely to have developed, which may also explain the apparent lack of a distinctive ergative marking with this class of (feminine) nouns.

What then about the first- and second-person singular pronouns showing less differentiation than the rest of the pronouns? Here again, we may have to resort to a language-specific diachronic development. Schmidt (2000: 208) and Schmidt & Kohistani (2001: 133) seem to hint that the now identical first- and second-person singular nominative and oblique in Kohistani Shina once had their unique forms but have later merged. If that is the case, that may very well be a development that can be traced back to the time before Palula split off from the Shina varieties spoken in the Indus Valley.

Now, the second factor conditioning a split, namely TMA, can be related in a much more straightforward way to case marking typology. According to Dixon (1994: 99, 101), ergative marking is always used for describing definite results or past/perfective events, if there is any kind of split conditioned by TMA. As with the semantic factor, Dixon (1994: 110) presents the possible types of split that are

conditioned by TMA, pointing out that unlike the semantically conditioned splits we only find a maximum of two kinds of marking in any one language. Palula is accordingly a representative of an ‘all accusative, part ergative’ language. In the perfective as well as in the imperfective, accusative case marking is present, while in the perfective, ergative case marking is added to the accusative marking.

The development and naturalness of this kind of split is once again the topic of an ongoing discussion, with some scholars trying to motivate the split functionally, as, for example, DeLancey (1981: 639–647), who holds that this kind of split is a result of the speaker’s viewpoint being associated with the patient and the event’s natural starting point with the agent, whereas in the imperfective both are associated with the agent. Garrett (1990: 262–263), on the other hand, sees this split as the ordinary result of a common diachronic reinterpretation process, in which a passive verbal has been reinterpreted as an active, transitive verb, and as a kind of “by-product” an old instrumental case marking has become an agent marker, sometimes analogically further spread throughout the morphology of the language. According to Garrett (1990: 264), the correlation between ergative marking and perfectivity is therefore in itself not significant.

Another factor, although not really seen by Dixon (1994: 94) as a kind of conditioning fully comparable with the two already mentioned, rather a secondary phenomenon, has to do with whether a ‘free’ or a ‘bound’ form is being used. Two major kinds of morphology are involved in case marking: nominal (or case proper) and verbal (for cross-referencing). The nominal morphology is the one here referred to as ‘free’ and the verbal as ‘bound’. If both are being used in a language, they may treat and group the clausal agent, subject and patient, respectively along the same lines, but the two may also be in conflict, i.e. go along with different principles.

In Palula, both mechanisms are present, but they do not stand in conflict. We could rather see them as features supporting or reinforcing one another, sometimes disambiguating what would otherwise remain as an ambiguity between the agent and the patient. The ‘bound’ forms, i.e. the verbal agreement suffixes, stand in a straightforward relationship to the aspectual split, so that in the imperfective agreement is always accusative, whereas in the perfective it is always ergative. The ‘free’ forms, as we have already seen, may alternatively reflect an absence of distinctions (ASO), an ergative distinction (A-SO) or an ergative-cum-accusative distinction (A-S-O), all depending on the other two factors, the semantics of the NP and the aspect of the utterance.

DeLancey, who prefers to define ergativity solely on basis of transitive agent marking (1981: 628), points out that agreement corresponds to – while being

independent of – NP case marking rather than to case-role (1981: 631), and that in, for instance, Gujarati, the verb agrees with the unmarked NP if one is present. That could possibly be said of Palula as well, with the modification that the verb agrees with the NP with the less frequently occurring case marking within each aspectual category, which in our case would be the unmarked or the accusatively marked patient NP in the perfective, and the consistently unmarked agent NP in the imperfective.

12 Simple clauses and argument structure

In this chapter, I present the different types of simple clauses found in Palula. In the first section (§12.1), nonverbal or nominal clauses are introduced, and the presence vs. absence of an overt copula is discussed. In the second section (§12.2), verbal clauses are introduced, with a focus on subclassification of verbs based on argument structure and transitivity. At the end of that section (in §12.2.8), a tentative analysis of conjunct verbs and the syntactic role of the host element in these constructions is offered.

12.1 Nonverbal predicates

The type of construction and the particular copular form a nominal predication typically occurs with is primarily a question of phrasal identity (whether it is another NP, an adjective phrase or a locative expression), but it is also related to the semantic distinction between equation/identification, property and location, as well as to tense.

Although Table 12.1 is a generalisation that does not take every single instance into account, it shows a very clear tendency for the different phrase categories – and the semantic relationships coded by them – to be mapped systematically to certain copular forms and expressions.

Table 12.1: Distribution of standard copular forms and expressions

	NP – NP (Equation/ Identification)	NP – AP (Property)	NP – Loc (Location)
Present	ZERO	<i>hin-</i>	
Past	<i>de</i>		<i>heensil- de</i>

There is also a special affinity between the copular clauses with a locational expression and two other constructions: existentials and possessives. Besides the

standard copular forms, some alternative copulas that occur are presented under each section.

12.1.1 Copular clauses with nominal predicates

As seen in examples (1)–(3), predicate noun phrases typically occur without an overt copula in the Present tense. Masica (1991: 337) mentions this feature in Eastern NIA languages and in Sinhalese, where NP + NP as well as NP + AP clauses without a copula are normative, but he also remarks that it is not found in the more central Hindi. Baart (1999a: 118–122) however, describes it as an option in Kalam Kohistani copular clauses expressing identity. This absence of a copula form is in Palula regardless of the phrase being used for classification (ascriptively) or identification.

- (1) *[míi nóo]_{SBJ} [laalzamaán]_{PRD}*
 1SG.GN name Lal.Zaman
 ‘My name is Lal Zaman.’ (A:KEE001)
- (2) *[ma]_{SBJ} [tarkaán]_{PRD} bi [misrí]_{PRD} bi*
 1SG.NOM carpenter also mason also
 ‘I’m a carpenter as well as a mason.’ (A:HOW009)
- (3) *[aní]_{SBJ} [mheerabaán thaní ak kúri-e ziaarát]_{PRD}, [aré]_{SBJ}*
 3FSG.PROX.NOM Meherban QT IDEF woman-GN shrine 3FSG.DIST.NOM
ba [tesée dhii-yí ziaarát]_{PRD}
 PRT 3SG.GN daughter-GN shrine
 ‘This (one) is the shrine of a woman called Meherban, and that (one) is her daughter’s shrine.’ (B:FOR034-035)

The unmarked word order in such clauses is SBJ - PRD, as in the examples, but a reverse word order, for focus and various other discourse purposes is also possible with this type of clause ((4) and (5)), as well as clauses with a discontinuous predicate (6).

- (4) *muṣṭuí niigiraá [mal-îim-ii kasubgár]_{PRD} [ma]_{SBJ}*
 of.past since property-PL.OB-GN professional 1SG.NOM
 ‘I am a shepherd since a long time.’ (A:KEE003)
- (5) *se nóo-wa maǰí [aakatí nóo-wa]_{PRD} [aní]_{SBJ}*
 DEF name-PL among some name-PL 3MPL.PROX.NOM
 ‘Some names (among these names) are these...’ (A:SEA002)

- (6) [beezaadxaan-ii]_{PRD...} [ma]_{SBJ} [putr]_{...PRD}

Bezaad.Khan-GN 1SG.NOM son

‘I am the son of Bezaad Khan’ (A:GHA001)

The absence of an overt copula is, as noted above, normally confined to the Present tense, whereas clauses of the above type with past tense reference, as in (7) and (8), appear with a Past tense copula *de*, reflecting a widespread pattern for languages that allow so-called copula dropping (Pustet 2003: 34; Givón 2001a: 120) as well as other South Asian or neighbouring languages where copula-less sentences are allowed or normative (Masica 1991: 339; Baart 1999a: 121).

- (7) [miirjamadaár]_{PRD} ba [tasii nóo]_{SBJ} de

Mir.Jamadar PRT 3SG.GN name be.PST

‘And Mir Jamadar was his name.’ (A:GHA051)

- (8) [áak]_{SBJ} ba [habibulaaxaán thani míiš]_{PRD} de

one PRT Habibullah.Khan QT man be.PST

‘And one of them was a man named Habibullah Khan.’ (A:ACR023)

However, the presence of a copula in the past tense is not an absolute, as past-tense copulaless sentences do occur, especially in “list-like” discourses such as in (9).

- (9) [mhamadíin-e putr]_{SBJ} ba [xaeerudíin]_{PRD}, [xaeerudíin-e putr]_{SBJ} ba
Mahmuddin-GN son PRT Khairuddin Khairuddin-GN son PRT
[yeyratxaán]_{PRD}

Ghairat.Khan

‘And Mahmuddin’s son was Khairuddin, and Khairuddin’s son Ghairat Khan.’ (B:ATI016-017)

Copular clauses involving a change of state can be formed with *bhe*- ‘become’ (not to be confused with the superficially similar *bhe*-conjuncts, see §12.2.8), as in (10).

- (10) [ma]_{SBJ} [míiš]_{PRD1} na de, báiki majburí ki [míiš]_{PRD2} bhíl-i
1SG.NOM man NEG be.PST however necessity COMP man become.PFV-F
de
PST

‘I was not a man, but out of necessity I had become a man.’ [Uttered by a woman in a story who had on a previous occasion dressed up like a man.] (A:UXW061)

Another (normally intransitive) verb *gir-* ‘turn’ may rarely be used in a similar way, carrying the approximate meaning ‘X turns into Y’.

The above mentioned *bhe-* ‘become’ and *gir-* ‘turn’, along with a few other verbs, such as *dhar-* ‘remain’ and *yhe-* ‘come’, as they are used in some clauses, seem to occupy an intermediate position between copular and full verbs, and can thus be described as semi-copulas (Pustet 2003: 5–6).

A special type of subjectless copular clause is illustrated in (11)–(12), thus referring to a temporal setting introduced earlier. Often such expressions occur at the beginning of a story. The standard Past copula *de* is used.

- (11) [*lhoók-u díiš*]_{PRD} *de*
 small-MSG village be.PST
 ‘It was a small village.’ (A:JAN003)
- (12) [*çhiṇ zamaan-á*]_{PRD} *de*
 dark time-PL be.PST
 ‘These were dark times.’ (A:JAN010)

12.1.2 Copular clauses with adjectival predicates

While clauses with a predicate adjective phrase do occur without an overt copula, they seem to do so with less regularity than those with a predicate noun phrase. While it is left out in some fixed expressions, such as in greetings, a Present-tense form *hin-* (agreeing in gender and number with the NP) of the standard copula is normally present in running discourse, as is evident from examples (13) and (14).

- (13) *aṛó jinaazá asaám díi ghašá, [zhaái]_{SBJ} [naawás]_{PRD}*
 DIST.MSG.NOM corpse 1PL.ACC from take.out.IMP.SG place dangerous
hín-i
 be.PRS-F
 ‘Hold this corpse away from us, the place is dangerous.’ (A:GHA039)
- (14) [*moosúm*]_{SBJ} *típa [šúi]_{PRD} hín-u*
 weather now good be.PRS-MSG
 ‘The weather is good now.’ (B:VIS245)

The nearly obligatory copula dropping with nominal predicates compared to the optional or variable pattern with adjectival predicates may imply that the Present-tense copula *hin-* is not entirely devoid of meaning (Pustet 2003: 8, 31,

66), which is also supported by the existential use of *hin-* (§12.1.3), but that is a matter for further research.

The examples (15) and (16) show that with past-tense reference *de* is used, just as with the nominal predicates.

- (15) [so báat]_{SBJ} [yor]_{PRD} de
 DEF.MSG.NOM stone greasy be.PST
 ‘The stone was greasy.’ (A:BER012)

- (16) tasii nóo kařamúř de, [so]_{SBJ} [bíid-u trók-u]_{PRD} de
 3SG.GN name Katamosh be.PST 3SG.NOM very-MSG thin-MSG be.PST
 ‘His name was Katamosh and he was very thin.’ (A:KAT002-003)

When a simple-present (*hin-*) or past (*de*) time reference is not sufficient, the relevant forms of the existential (see §12.1.4) verb *háans-* ‘stay, remain, find oneself, be present’ is used in place of the standard copula. In (17) the longer duration of the happiness needs to be expressed with the Past Imperfective of *háans-*.

- (17) [se] heewand-á [bíid-a xuřaán] hóons-an de
 3PL.NOM winter-OB very-PL happy stay-3PL PST
 ‘They were/remained very happy during the winter.’ (A:SHY008)

As with noun phrase predicates, adjective phrase predicates, as in example (18), also occur with *bhe-* ‘become’ as a copula.

- (18) aní čhoot-á kha ta, [tu]_{SBJ} [čaáx]_{PRD} bh-íir
 PROX cheese-PL eat.IMP.SG PRT 2SG.NOM fat become-2SG
 ‘Eat this cheese, and you will become fat.’ (A:KAT075)

Some predicative adverbial phrases can function just like predicative adjective phrases. However, in such clauses the adverbial phrase, ‘alone’ in (19), in actual fact denotes a property of the subject.

- (19) [be]_{SBJ} [khilayí]_{PRD} ba na de
 1PL.NOM alone PRT NEG be.PST
 ‘We were not alone.’ (A:ACR017)

12.1.3 Copular clauses with locative expressions

In clauses with a predicate locative phrase, the copula is always overt. With present-time reference the standard copula is used in its Present-tense form *hín-*

(agreeing in gender and number with the NP). The semantics of such clauses, examples (20)–(21), is to declare something or someone referred to by a definite NP as present (or absent) in a certain location.

- (20) *[múi ghoóʃt]_{SBJ} [lookúri]_{PRD} hín-u*
 1SG.GN house Lokuri be.PRS-MSG
 ‘My house is in Lokuri.’ (A:OUR001)
- (21) *[so iškaari mééʃ]_{SBJ} [mut-á wée]_{PRD} hín-u*
 DEF.MSG.NOM hunting man tree-OB in be.PRS-MSG
 ‘The hunter is in the tree.’ (B:CLE368)

With past tense reference the Pluperfect of the verb *háans*- ‘stay, remain, find oneself, be present’, as in (22), is used.

- (22) *daçh-úi ta [kúri]_{SBJ} ba [ghooʃt-á šiiṭi]_{PRD} na heensíl-i de*
 look-3SG PRT woman PRT house-OB inside NEG stay.PFV-F PST
 ‘Looking (around), he saw that the woman was not in the house.’ (A:WOM656)

Normally the subject precedes the locative predicate phrase, but this can be reversed, as in (23), when the focus is shifted, although the order locative-subject is more typical of the closely related existential construction (see §12.1.4).

- (23) *[se baṭ-á jhulí]_{PRD} [se kuṇaak-úi paanṭi]_{SBJ} bi heensíl-i de, [teewiz-í]_{SBJ}*
 DEF stone-OB on DEF child-GN clothes also stay.PFV-F PST amulet-PL
bi heensíl-i de
 also stay.PFV-F PST
 ‘On the stone were the child’s clothes and also his amulets.’ (A:BER012)

12.1.4 Other copular or copula-like expressions

Existentials. Although similar to copular clauses with a locative expression, the function of existentials is not to specify the location of a known entity but to assert the existence of some previously unintroduced entity.

Therefore, while the subjects of local copular clauses are definite, the subjects of existential clauses are indefinite. Normally the word order is also the reverse of most local copular clauses, i.e. the locative expression precedes the subject noun phrase, and can probably not be considered a predicate in the same sense as in the copular locative expressions. The verb used is either *háans*- ‘stay, remain, find oneself, be present’, especially with past time reference (25), or the Present form (24) – and occasionally the Past form – of the standard copula.

- (24) *aní dees-óom atshareet-á wée [qariiban čúur zára kušúni]_{SBJ} hín-a*
 PROX day-PL.OB Ashret-OB in about four thousand inhabitants be.PRS-MPL

‘In these days there are about 4,000 inhabitants in Ashret.’ (A:PAS007)

- (25) *bhuná [áak gíri]_{SBJ} heensíl-i*
 below IDEF rock stay.PFV-F

‘Down below there was a big rock.’ (A:GHA043)

In many existential expressions, (26)–(28), there is no overt location at all.

- (26) *koó hín-ee, yh-óoi thaní*
 someone be.PRS-MPL.Q come-IMP.PL QT

‘If there is anyone, come!’ (A:JAN038)

- (27) *miír thaní áak míš heensíl-u de*
 Mir QT IDEF man stay.PFV-MSG PST

‘There was a man called Mir.’ (A:GHA051)

- (28) *eesé dášum mají dúu bhraawú de*
 REM ten.OB among two brother.PL be.PST

‘Among them there were two brothers.’ (A:PAS011)

The (normally) intransitive verb *yhe-* ‘come’ could in some sentences be analysed as having a function similar to *háans-* with the approximate meaning ‘X comes into existence’, such as in (29).

- (29) *tasíi watan-í qahtí yhéel-i*
 3SG.GN country-OB famine come.PFV-F

‘There was a famine in his country.’ (A:ABO019)

Another similarly functioning verb is *lhaiǵ-* ‘to be found’, the passive or valence-reduced form of *lhay-* ‘find’.

Possessives. There are two types of possessive constructions in which both are similar in structure to the existential expressions, where the possessor is expressed either as a genitive NP or as a postpositional phrase with ‘from’. There is an approximate but not absolute correspondence between the first construction, in (30)–(32), and inalienable possession and the second construction, in (33)–(34), and alienable possession.

12 Simple clauses and argument structure

- (30) *[tasii] ba ga wása na heensíl-u*
 3SG.GN PRT any strength NEG stay.PFV-MSG
 ‘And he had no strength at all.’ [lit. ‘And his strength was not present.’]
 (A:GHA017)
- (31) *[har qóom-ii][har qabiléyii] teñteenñi jhaníi dasturá haans-áan-u*
 every tribe-GN every clan.GN REFL marriage.GN customs stay-PRS-MSG
 ‘Each tribe and clan has its own marriage customs.’ [lit. ‘Every tribe’s and every clan’s custom of marriage is present.’] (A:MAR001)
- (32) *muştóoyi zamanáyii [áak míiš-ii] áak lhéñd-u putr de maní*
 of.past time.GN IDEF man-GN IDEF bald-MSG son be.PST HSAY
 ‘Once upon a time a man had a bald son.’ [lit. ‘In the past of a man a bald son was.’] (A:KAT001)
- (33) *[ma díi] paiseé náhin-a*
 1SG.NOM from money.PL NEG.be.PRS-MPL
 ‘I don’t have any money.’ [lit. ‘From me money is not.’] (B:ANG008)
- (34) *misrí yhóol-u sée~ta [misrí díi] tsaťák hóons-a*
 mason come.PFV-MSG CONDH mason from hammer stay-3SG
 ‘When the mason comes he will have a hammer.’ [lit. ‘When the mason has come, from the mason a hammer will be present.’] (A:HOW010)

Transitive copular clauses. The verb *the-* ‘do’ can be used as the transitive equivalent of the adjectival copular *bhe-* ‘become’, as shown in example (35).

- (35) *ghađerá tas perišaán thíil-u de*
 elder.OB 3SG.ACC worried do.PFV-MSG PST
 ‘The elder had made him worried.’ (A:Q9.0088)

12.2 Verbal predicates

12.2.1 Argument structure and transitivity

There is a strict distinction between intransitive and transitive verbs in Palula. Almost without exception, a verb stem is either intransitive or transitive and

cannot be ambivalent or polyvalent as far as transitivity is concerned. There is, on the other hand, a fairly productive valence-changing morphology (as described in §8.5) by which a stem can increase or decrease its valence. A verb's transitivity is primarily diagnosed on basis of its absence/presence of ergative morphology in the perfective and the aspectual shift between accusative alignment and ergative alignment as far as verb agreement is concerned (see §11.1).

Within each of these two main categories, intransitive verbs and transitive verbs, there is another distinction made between simple intransitive/transitive verbs and intransitive/transitive verbs with an indirect object. I am here using a very broad definition of an indirect object, as a non-nominative/non-ergative argument, usually coded by a postposition.

The four resulting argument structures (in Table 12.2) cover a large majority of all verbs. Also a few verbs displaying a non-standard pattern are discussed, as well as complement-taking verbs and the somewhat analytically challenging conjunct verbs.

Table 12.2: Valence patterns summarised

Basic pattern	Intransitive	Transitive
Simple	NPSBJ V	NPSBJ NP _{DO} V
With indirect object	NPSBJ PP/NP _{IO} V	NPSBJ NP _{DO} PP/NP _{IO} V

12.2.2 Simple intransitive verbs

The typical pattern for intransitive verbs is to take a single argument in the form of a subject noun phrase coded in the nominative: NPSBJ V. This pattern is exemplified in (36) and (37) with the verbs 'die' and 'break', respectively.

- (36) *aak-katí reet-í baád [so]_{SBJ} múr-u*
 some night-pl after 3MSG.REM.NOM die.PFV-MSG
 'A few days later, he died.' (A:ABO024)

- (37) *andáa bhíl-u ta [šíin-ii čoreé šeenbóo-a]_{SBJ} phooṭíl-a*
 like.that become.PFV-MSG PRT bed-GN all.four leg-PL break.PFV-MPL

'When that happened, all four legs of the bed broke.' (A:GHU024)

Many such verbs are process verbs and the subject noun phrase has a semantic role that (following Givón 2001a: 125) could be described as a patient-of-change, whether human, animate or inanimate:

<i>mar-</i>	‘die’	<i>bhakulé-</i>	‘fatten’
<i>ǰandé-</i>	‘become alive, regain strength’	<i>čĩiré-</i>	‘be delayed’
<i>phooǰé-</i>	‘break’	<i>čhinǰ-</i>	‘fall’
<i>buuǰé-</i>	‘grow old’	<i>dhraǰ-</i>	‘stretch’
<i>bučhaalé-</i>	‘become hungry’	<i>baǰ-</i>	‘grow’

Other verbs, to a lesser extent, can take as a single argument an agent subject or a patient-of-state subject:

<i>uthí-</i>	‘stand up, get up’	<i>muutré-</i>	‘urinate’
<i>bheš-</i>	‘sit down’	<i>su-</i>	‘sleep, fall asleep’

Example (38) illustrates the use of *uthí-* ‘stand up, get up’.

- (38) *[ma]_{SBJ} roošnaám rayáṣṭi uth-áan-u*
 1SG.NOM morning early get.up-PRS-MSG
 ‘I get up early in the morning.’ (B:MOR001)

It should be noted that these verbs primarily are process verbs with a punctual interpretation, closely corresponding to English ‘stand up, sit down, etc’. The corresponding stative meaning ‘stand, sit’ is derived through a resultative construction (see §9.1.7). Compare examples (39) and (40), where the verb *bheš-* in the latter is expressed resultatively, and hence receives a stative (durative) interpretation.

- (39) *so [bhéṭ-u sée~ta] so bi [bhéš-a de]*
 3MSG.NOM sit.down.PFV-MSG CONDH 3MSG.REM.NOM also sit.down-3SG PST
maní
 HSAY
 ‘When he had sat down, the other one obviously also sat down.’ (A:UXB017)
- (40) *aǰaphaár whayí ǰačh-ii ta amzarái [bheš-í hín-u]*
 halfway come.down.CV look-3SG PRT lion sit.down-CV be.PRS-MSG
 ‘He comes down halfway and sees the lion sitting there.’ (A:KAT086)

12.2.3 Simple transitive verbs

The typical pattern for transitive verbs is to take as arguments: a) one subject noun phrase, always coded in the nominative in the imperfective, while in the perfective some NPs are non-optionally coded in a non-nominative case (oblique or ergative), and b) one direct object noun phrase coded in the nominative or the accusative (again depending on the nature of the NP, but regardless of aspect, see §11.2). The unmarked word order is subject preceding direct object: **NPSBJ NPDO V**.

This pattern is exemplified in (41) and (42) with the verbs ‘eat’ and ‘kill’, respectively.

- (41) *[karáaru]_{SBJ} [asaám]_{DO} khúu*
 leopard 1PL.ACC eat.3SG
 ‘The leopard will eat us.’ (B:FOY)

- (42) *[tíi]_{SBJ} [áa dáag]_{DO} mheeríl-u*
 3SG.OB IDEF deer kill.PFV-MSG
 ‘He killed a deer.’ (A:THA002)

The direct object in many transitive verbs of this type has a patient-of-change role corresponding rather closely with the role of the subject of the typical intransitive verb (cf. *mar-/mhaaré-*, *phooṭé-/phooṭá-* etc.):

<i>mhaaré</i>	‘kill’	<i>pil</i>	‘drink’
<i>jandá</i>	‘make alive’	<i>kha</i>	‘eat’
<i>phooṭá</i>	‘break’	<i>pičhá</i>	‘sweep, wipe’
<i>samá</i>	‘build, put together’	<i>taapé</i>	‘heat up’
<i>čooṇṭá</i>	‘write, embroider’	<i>ghuaṛá</i>	‘boil’

Following Givón (2001a: 127), such verbs could be further classified according to several types of change: a) creation (e.g. *samá-*), b) destruction (e.g. *kha-*), c) change in physical condition (e.g. *phooṭá-*), d) change in surface conditions (e.g. *pičhá-*), e) change in internal qualities (e.g. *taapé-*). It is especially in the categories c. and e. that we find most parallels between the direct object and the subject in typical intransitive verbs.

Also some less prototypically transitive verbs conform to this pattern, e.g. those with dative-subjects (in a semantic sense) rather than agent-subjects as in the verbs exemplified above:

paš- ‘see’ *ṣuṇ-* ‘hear’

Example (43) illustrates the use of *paš-* ‘see’.

- (43) *eetii maǰí [luumée]_{SBJ} [kaṭamuš-íi lhéṇḍ-i kakaríi]_{DO} dhríṣṭ-i*
 3SG.REM.OB in fox.OB Katamosh-GN bald-F scalp see.PFV-F
hín-i
 be.PRS-F
 ‘There the fox saw Katamosh’s bald scalp.’ (A:KAT152)

12.2.4 Intransitive verbs with an indirect object

The next major type of intransitive verbs take, in addition to a subject, an indirect object (the term here used in a broad sense, which will become even more obvious when discussing the parallel situation with transitive verbs taking an indirect object). The indirect object occurs mostly as a postpositional phrase, but occasionally as a non-nominative noun phrase. In the typical cases the subject is an agent and the indirect object a locative: **NPS_{BJ} PP/NP_{IO} V**.

This pattern is exemplified in (44) and (45) with the verbs ‘enter’ and ‘reach’ respectively.

- (44) *[ak čóór]_{SBJ} [tesée ghooṣṭ-á]_{IO} ačíit-u*
 IDEF thief 3SG.GN house-OB enter.PFV-MSG
 ‘A thief entered his house.’ (B:THI)
- (45) *[tusaám the]_{IO} rhootašíia [páanǰ toobak-í]_{SBJ} phéd-an*
 2PL.ACC to tomorrow five gun-PL reach-3PL
 ‘Tomorrow five guns will reach you (i.e. will be sent to you).’ (A:GHA085)

Many verbs of this type code events of motion:

<i>yhe-</i>	‘come’	<i>ač-</i>	‘enter, go in’
<i>whe-</i>	‘come/go down’	<i>lang-</i>	‘cross’
<i>ukhé-</i>	‘come/go up’	<i>phed-</i>	‘arrive, reach’
<i>be-</i>	‘go’	<i>nam-</i>	‘get down’
<i>nikhé-</i>	‘appear, come out’	<i>uḍhéew-</i>	‘flee’

For some of these verbs, especially those which are already spatially defined (e.g. *whe-* and *ukhé-*), the argument status of the indirect object is somewhat

doubtful, and they may alternatively be classified as simple intransitive verbs with possible (but optionally occurring) locative complements or elaborators (Allerton 2006: 304–305).

Whether verbs whose meanings include vertical directional senses ‘up’, ‘down’, ‘level’, is a feature of an area comprising several languages, particularly a mountainous region such as the Hindu Kush, is a matter for further research. It is in any case a feature pointed out by Noonan (2003: 9) and summarised as the presence of “vertical case and vertical verbs” in some languages of the Himalayas. In Palula, spatial and vertical differentiation among pronouns and adverbs, can certainly be seen as part of the same phenomenon.

12.2.5 Transitive verbs with an indirect object

The contrast between simple intransitive verbs and intransitive verbs with an indirect object is more or less parallel to a contrast between simple transitive verbs and transitive verbs with an indirect object. We recognise here quite a few verbs as transitive (or causative) counterparts of the verbs presented in the section above and sometimes they also happen to be transparent morphological derivations of those (cf. *lang-/langá-*).

To the pattern of simple transitive verbs is added an indirect object, occurring mostly as a postpositional phrase but alternatively as a non-nominative noun phrase. Again, the indirect object is a very broadly defined argument type that includes a whole range of postpositional phrases and noun phrases coded as non-core participants. In the typical case the subject is an agent, the direct object a patient whose physical location is being changed, and the indirect object a locative: **NPSBJ PP/NP_{IO} NP_{DO} V**.

This pattern is exemplified in (46) with the verb ‘throw’.

- (46) [tíi]_{SBJ} bi [teeníi zaán]_{DO} [wíi-a]_{IO} gáil-i hín-i
 3SG.OB also own self water throw.PFV-F be.PRS-F
 ‘He threw himself into the water.’ (A:SHY062)

The movement can also be extended into the abstract realm, as with the verb *gaḍé-* ‘take off, extract’ in (47).

- (47) [ḍaaktar-á]_{SBJ} [bidráagu]_{DO} [xatrá díi]_{IO} gaḍil-u
 doctor-OB ill.person danger from take.off.PFV-MSG
 ‘The doctor brought the patient out of danger.’ (A:Q9.0594)

Many verbs of this type code events of movement (concrete as well as abstract) caused by a human agent, some of them inclusive of a vertical specification (as some of the intransitive verbs with an indirect object) :

<i>čhooré</i>	‘put’	<i>gaḏé</i>	‘take off, extract’
<i>bhešá</i>	‘seat’	<i>langá</i>	‘take across’
<i>galé</i>	‘throw’	<i>whaalé</i>	‘carry down, take down’
<i>lamá</i>	‘hang’	<i>ukuaalé</i>	‘carry up, take up’

Other events, coded with verbs traditionally labelled bi- or ditransitive, can easily be seen as extensions of these, where the indirect object instead of being a locational goal (often) is a human “goal” with a benefactive role. There is, not surprisingly, some overlap between these two, so that some of the verbs may be used with a locative non-human goal as well as with a benefactive human goal:

<i>de-</i>	‘give’	<i>amzayé-</i>	‘send (something)’
<i>aṭé-</i>	‘bring (something to someone)’	<i>phedá-</i>	‘take (something to someone)’
<i>phrayé-</i>	‘send (someone)’		

Examples (48) and (49) illustrate the use of *phedá-* ‘take, make reach’ and *phrayé-* ‘send’, respectively.

- (48) [*se yar-í the*]_{IO} [*asím*]_{SBJ} [*tas*]_{DO} *phedóol-u*
 DEF peak-OB to 1PL.ERG 3SG.ACC take.PFV-MSG
 ‘We took him to the peak.’ (A:GHA029)

- (49) [*šiši-e hakim-á*]_{SBJ} [*thii so duşmán*]_{DO} [*nawaab-á ḏáḏi*]_{IO}
 Shishi-GN ruler-OB 2SG.GN DEF.MSG.NOM enemy prince-OB toward
phreyíl-u thaní
 send.PFV-MSG QT
 ‘He said: The ruler of Shishi has sent that enemy of yours in the direction of the prince (of Dir).’ (B:ATI031)

In fact, not even *de-* ‘give’, the verb most typically fitting the description ditransitive in a comparative perspective, is essentially or inherently ditransitive, but merely a transitive verb with an indirect object which has a certain preference for the goal-role, but which shows quite some variability in this respect (cf.

§12.2.6, §12.2.8). Baart (1999a: 43) notes a similar range of usage and variability in the valence-pattern of GIVE in Kalam Kohistani.

The pattern is extended to other verbs with “movements” that only allow for an abstract interpretation:

pašawá- ‘show’ *mané-* ‘tell, read’

Example (50) illustrates the use of *mané-* ‘tell, read’.

- (50) *[so]_{SBJ} [nis]_{DO} [har áak-a the]_{IO} man-áan-u*
 3SG.NOM 3SG.PROX.ACC every one-OB to say-PRS-MSG
 ‘He’s telling everybody about it.’ (A:Q9.575)

With some verbs of this kind, an alternation in coding between the two objects is possible; each corresponding to the particular perspective taken describing what is virtually one and the same event.

- (51) *aní phái mangée wée wii puuril-u*
 PROX girl pot.OB into water fill.PFV-MSG
 ‘This girl filled the pot with water (lit. poured water into the pot).’ (A:CHE070918)
- (52) *aní phái wii-yii mangái puuril-i*
 PROX girl water-GN pot fill.PFV-F
 ‘This girl filled the pot with water (lit. filled the pot of water).’ (A:CHE070918)

In (51), the content, i.e. the ‘water’, is coded as a direct object (agreeing with the finite verb) and the vessel as a locative indirect object, whereas in (52), the vessel is coded as a direct object (agreeing with the finite verb) and the content in the genitive.¹

Some verbs coding transactions, such as ‘ask for’ in (53) and (54), seem to take a direct object and two potential indirect objects, although in actual usage only one of these indirect objects seem to appear as independent sentence arguments at a time.

- (53) *phayii baábu jhaamatréé díi xarčá bi dawí-áan-u*
 girl.GN father son.in.law.OB from compensation also ask.for-PRS-MSG
 ‘The girl’s father demands compensation from the son-in-law.’ (A:MAR032)

¹ It is equally possible to interpret the genitive NP ‘of water’ in this sentence as a dependent of ‘pot’, rather than an “indirect object”, thus making the sentence a simple transitive one; however, that is a less likely interpretation in the sentence *tii baaltí wíiyii puurili* ‘She filled the bucket with water’, where the direct object instead precedes the genitive NP.

- (54) *taním teeníi bhariw-a the baačaa-yii-ee waziir-ii dhii-á dawéel-im*
 3PL.ERG REFL husband-OB to king-GN-CNJ minister-GN daughter-PL ask.for.PFV-FPL

‘They demanded the king’s and the minister’s daughters (in marriage) for their husband.’ (A:UXW059)

12.2.6 Non-standard valence patterns

Dummy-subject or subjectless verbs. Although Palula generally seems to avoid subjectless clauses, there are a few instances, particularly in weather expressions, where this is possible:

beedré- ‘clear up’ *muč-* ‘rain’

These two verbs are exemplified in (55) and (56).

- (55) *(aaghaá) beedriil-u*
 sky clear.up.PFV-MSG
 ‘The sky cleared/It cleared up.’ (A:HLE3047)
- (56) *ḡulaí yúun-a daš taarexée bioorḡuí~ sax mūt-u*
 July month-OB 10 date.GN Biori.valley heavy rain.PFV-MSG
 ‘The tenth of July it rained heavily in Biori Valley.’ (B:FLO166)

In both of these cases, the verb is strictly limited to certain forms (those with masculine singular agreement) and each is, generally speaking, only used with one particular noun, *beedré-* with *aaghaá* and *muč-* with *báaṣ* (B. *baṣ*) ‘rain’. In the latter case, the noun needs to be explicitly included in the A. variety, whereas it is often left implicit in B. In any case, it is clear that even when the subject is present, it does not add anything semantically to the clause that is not already implicit in the meaning of the verb.

Some other weather expressions make use of the verb *de-* ‘give’, which normally is a transitive verb with an indirect object, but appears here as formally intransitive (rendering ‘fall’ a better gloss for *de-*). However, it would also be possible to analyse these expressions as subject-deprived, resulting in the object formally filling the subject position, thus agreeing with the verb in the imperfective as well as in the perfective:

<i>kir de-</i>	‘snow’	<i>húuši de-</i>	‘blow’
<i>áašunđ de-</i>	‘hail’		

The expression *kir de-* is exemplified in (57).

- (57) *panj phuť-í kir díť-u*
 five foot-PL snow give.PFV-MSG
 ‘(We) had five feet of snow.’ (B:AVA200)

Intransitive verbs with a non-nominative experiencer. A special case of intransitive verbs with an indirect object (§12.2.4) can be said to be used for a number of constructions where a sensation is coded as the nominative subject – agreeing with the verb – whereas the human or animate experiencer appears as a non-nominative (often coded like or perceived as a locative) NP or PP. Formally the pattern is equal to §12.2.4, but due to the special status of the non-nominative argument, this particular construction deserves special treatment here. Note that the verb used in these constructions have more generic meaning and scope when used in other, non-experiential, clauses: *de-* ‘give’, *šač-* ‘adhere to, climb’, *yhe-* ‘come’, *đhak-* ‘touch’:

<i>(bhíili, šid) de-</i>	‘feel (fear, cold, etc.)’	<i>(níindra) yhe-</i>	‘feel (sleepy)’
<i>(bhíili, šid) šač-</i>	‘feel (fear, cold, etc.)’	<i>(jáar) đhak-</i>	‘be affected by (fever)’

Some of these are illustrated in examples (58)–(60).

- (58) [*tusaám*]_{IO(EXP)} [*níindra*]_{SBJ} *yh-éend-im*
 2PL.ACC sleep come-PRS-FPL
 ‘You are feeling sleepy.’ (A:CHE071001)
- (59) [*múiš-a*]_{IO(EXP)} [*bhíili*]_{SBJ} *šéet-i*
 man-OB fear adhere.PFV-F
 ‘The man was overcome by fear.’ (A:CHE070927)
- (60) [*tas the*]_{IO(EXP)} [*marg-ii jaar*]_{SBJ} *đhakíl-u*
 3SG.ACC to death-GN fever touch.PFV-MSG
 ‘He got a severe fever.’ (A:ABO023)

Similar expressions that code an experiencer non-nominatively and the sensation nominatively, often referred to as “dative subjects”, are found in various South Asian languages (both in IA and non-IA languages²), as shown by Hook (1990b: 326–330) and Abbi (1990: 256–263). However, a construction involving (formal) causatives for expressing involuntary experience, found in Kalasha (Bashir 1990: 310) as well as in Gilgiti Shina (Hook & Zia 1987), is not at all evidenced in Palula.

In some sense, also the conjunct verb *ḍhoó/ḍhoowá de-* ‘see, notice/appear’ (see §12.2.8) can be described along the same lines, where the experiencer (if explicit in the clause) occurs as a non-nominative NP or a PP, while what appears or is seen is a nominative NP agreeing with the verb, as can be seen in (61).

- (61) *akáaš kaal-á padúši[nis the][dúu ziaarat-i] ḍhoowá dít-im*
 eleven year-PL after 3SG.PROX.ACC to two shrine-PL HOST give.PFV-FPL

‘Eleven years later two shrines appeared to him/Eleven years later he saw two shrines.’ (B:FOR021)

Another construction in which the experiencer also is “demoted” to non-nominative coding is found with e.g. some bodily sensations, as in (62), where the body part occurs, in this case ‘teeth’, as the head of the subject NP, and the experiencer appears as the genitive modifier ‘my’.

- (62) *mīi dáand-a šila-yáan-a*
 1SG.GN tooth-PL hurt-PRS-MPL
 ‘I’ve got a toothache (lit. My teeth are hurting).’ (B:DHE5112)

Intransitive verbs with a postpositional object. What can be viewed as a metaphoric extension of the pattern of intransitive verbs with an indirect object (see §12.2.4) is the pattern of intransitive verbs with a dative or patient indirect object. Such indirect objects are coded with oblique case and a postposition although they in a semantic sense can be said to be primary objects:

² Outside IA, however, non-nominative experiencers are primarily found in Dravidian (Abbi 1990: 260–263), a reason for Dravidian to be suggested as a possible source of the construction (Hock 1990: 136). It is not a typical feature of Tibeto-Burman (Abbi 1990: 260; Bickel 2004: 82), and they are obviously only found in those Tibetan languages in close contact with IA (Bickel 2004: 83, 88; Noonan 2003: 8–9).

khónḡ- ‘talk (with)’ *uṭík-* ‘be angry (with) (lit. jump at)’

Example (63) illustrates the use of *khónḡ-* ‘talk with’.

- (63) [*ma*]_{SBJ} [*tas sangí*]_{IO(PRIMARY OBJECT)} *khónḡ-um de ta bi so*
 1SG.NOM 3SG.ACC with talk-1SG PST PRT also 3SG.NOM
kráam th-íi de
 work do-3SG PST
 ‘He continued working while I talked to him.’ (A:Q9.1105)

Some conjunct verbs with *bhe-* (§12.2.8) display the same pattern: *ašáq bhe-* ‘fall in love (with)’, *milaáu bhe-* ‘meet’.

Transitive verb with a genitive object. One verb, the transitive *je-* ‘hit, beat’, is exceptional in that it codes the direct object – or at least what seems to be the only explicit object – in the genitive (instead of the usual nominative/accusative), as seen in (64).

- (64) [*kuríina*]_{SBJ} *ta* [*tambul-am-íi*]_{GN} *ǰ-íin*
 woman.PL PRT drum-PL.OB-GN beat-3PL
 ‘And the women were beating the drums.’ (A:JAN034)

That we are indeed dealing with a formally (and not only “logically”) transitive verb is confirmed by the ergative pattern in the perfective (i.e. non-nominative coding of the subject and non-subject verbal agreement). Here, however, another anomaly shows up, namely that the verb agrees, seemingly “by default”, in the feminine singular, even when the explicit object is masculine, as in (65), or plural.

- (65) [*aṛé miiš-a aní dúu lhoók-a kučúr-am-ii ǰít-i*]
 DIST man-OB PROX two small-OB dog-PL.OB-GN beat.PFV-F
 ‘That man hit these two small dogs.’ (A:ADJ80)

Baart (1999a: 43), who observes the same anomaly in Kalam Kohistani with a verb meaning ‘hit, beat’ (where it happens to be one sense of the verb ‘give’), suggests by pointing to a synonymous construction that this particular pattern is historically elliptic, leaving out a feminine singular noun meaning ‘stroke’, which is itself the direct object being modified by the genitive noun phrase.

The genitive coding does not show up when *je-* is being used as a verbaliser in a conjunct (§12.2.8).

12.2.7 Verbs with clausal complements

The syntax of verbs that take a clause as their complements will be treated in detail elsewhere (§13.5). As a part of this chapter, only some major subtypes, as they relate to argument structure, are pointed out and exemplified.

Modality verbs. The subject of the main clause – which is headed by the finite modality verb – is coreferent with the subject of the complement clause, the latter being left unexpressed. The complement-clause verb appears either as an Infinitive or a Verbal Noun. Quite a few modality verbs are conjunct verbs (the ones in the right column):

<i>bhá-</i>	‘can/could, be able’	<i>inkaár the-</i>	‘refuse’
<i>śáat-</i>	‘begin’ ³	<i>iraadá the-</i>	‘plan’
<i>dawá-</i>	‘want’	<i>koošiš the-</i>	‘plan’

Examples (66) and (67) illustrate the use of *bhá-* ‘can/could, be able’ and *śáat-* ‘begin’, respectively.

- (66) *tanaám mají [áak míiš]_{SBJ} muṭ-á ĵe ukh-áai bhóo de*
 3PL.ACC among one man tree-OB up ascend-INF be.able.3SG PST
 ‘Of them only one man was able to climb the tree.’ (A:UNF007)

- (67) *[čhéeli]_{SBJ} líiwee čaapeerá giráa śéet-i*
 goat in.there around turn.INF begin.PFV-F
 ‘The goat started to turn from side to side in there.’ (B:FOX)

The scope of these verbs, the grammatical categories available to them, and the degree of their grammaticalisation varies extensively. For example, some of them are modality verbs only, as is the case of *bhá-*, whereas some other verbs in this group, such as *śáat-*, display multiple membership. Although occurring sometimes in otherwise perfectly parallel constructions (as far as surface valency is concerned), their inherent transitivity/intransitivity and argument coding is kept intact. That is, with the transitive modality verb *bhá-*, the direct object of the complement clause is coreferent with the direct object of the main clause (68), whereas with the intransitive modality verb *śáat-*, the direct object of the

³ This modality verb, which as a non-modal verb corresponds to the imperfective stem *šač-* of a very polysemous verb with meanings such as ‘climb, argue, be lit’, also implies aspectuality and occurs in my data only in the perfective, hence the perfective stem given.

complement clause stands outside the argument structure of the modality verb (69).

- (68) [asím]_{SBJ} [pileet-ii buṭheé mhaás]_{DO} kháai bhóol-u
 1PL.ERG plate-GN all meat eat.INF be.able.PFV-MSG
 ‘We were able to eat all the meat on the plates.’ (A:CHE070920)

- (69) [be]_{SBJ} mhaás kháai/khainíí šáat-a
 1PL.NOM meat eat.INF/eat.VN begin.PFV-MPL
 ‘We started to eat meat.’ (A:CHE070920)

Complement-taking conjunct verbs (such as *iraadá the-*) are a rather fluid and open class, with the potential of easily introducing new modality senses through direct calques from e.g. Urdu.

Manipulation verbs. The (human) agent-subject of the main clause – which is headed by a manipulation verb – manipulates the behaviour of a manipulee, the latter being coreferential with the agent of the complement clause. The complement-clause verb often appears as a Verbal Noun coded as an indirect object, *bainíí the* in (70), of the main clause.

- (70) ghaḍeer-á xálak-a bainíí the uṛit-a
 elder-OB people-OB go.VN to let.PFV-MPL
 ‘The elder allowed people to leave.’ (A:Q6.13.03)

There is also a special causative construction, using *šaawaá*, the Converb of *šaawá-* ‘dress (someone), turn on (e.g. a light or a fire)’ preceded by the manipulee coded as an indirect object. The inflected finite verb in this construction could be any verb derived causatively (see §8.5.1). The causative verb in (71) is derived from *aṭé-* ‘bring’.

- (71) mii tas teeníí putr-á šaawaá aṭawóol-u
 1SG.GN 3SG.ACC REFL son-OB MANIP cause.to.bring.PFV-MSG
 ‘I made my son bring him.’ (A:HLE2589)

Perception, cognition and utterance (PCU) verbs. The subject of a verb of this kind, perceives or cognises a state or event, or utters a proposition concerning a state or event. The complement clause corresponds to what is perceived, cognised or uttered. Some such verbs are only or primarily used with a clausal complement, whereas a few of them display multiple membership:

<i>buǰ-</i>	‘understand’	<i>mané-</i>	‘say’
<i>dun-</i>	‘think’	<i>şuŋ-</i>	‘hear’
<i>khooǰá-</i>	‘ask’	<i>taaké-</i>	‘call out to’

There are reasons for not regarding the complement clause a direct object, one being the non-verb-final position of the complement clause, the other being that the structure stays the same regardless of the “inherent” argument structure of the PCU verb being used. In the examples (72) and (74), *mané-* ‘say’ and *khooǰá-* ‘ask’ are both transitive verbs with indirect objects (although explicit only in (74)), whereas *buǰ-* ‘understand’ in (73) is intransitive. Transitive PCU verbs with a complement display masculine-singular agreement in the perfective, by default. This is similar to the “mismatch” between argument coding and the valency patterns with the intransitive vs. transitive modality verbs above.

- (72) *[ghueeŋi-am]_{SBJ} maníit-u ki [ni bíid-a zinaawúr xálak-a*
 Pashtun-PL.OB say.PFV-MSG COMP 3PL.PROX.NOM very-MPL wild people-PL
hín-a]_{CPL}
 be.PRS-MPL

‘The Pashtuns said: These are very wild people.’ (A:CHA008)

- (73) *haré waxtíe [şıáal-ee lhooméi]_{SBJ} bi búd-a ki [karáaru*
 DIST time.GN jackal-CNJ fox also understand.PFV-MPL COMP leopard
asaám khúu]_{CPL}
 1PL-ACC eat.3SG

‘At that time also the jackal and the fox understood: The leopard will eat us.’ (B:FOY)

- (74) *[şıúul-a]_{SBJ} [lhooméea díi]_{IO} khoǰúul-u ki [eé lhooméi...]_{CPL}*
 jackal-OB fox.OB from ask.PFV-MSG COMP oh fox

‘The jackal asked the fox: Oh, fox...’ (B:FOY)

Normally the complement clause is preceded by the complementiser *ki*, as in the examples above, but there are also other (and additional) strategies available, some of them with relevance only for individual PCU verbs (see §13.5.1).

12.2.8 Valence patterns of conjunct verb constructions

Conjunct verbs (see §8.6.1) are special in that the host (i.e. the element that combines with a verbaliser to form a conjunct verb) in some of them stands in no

grammatical relation whatsoever to other parts of the sentence, whereas with others it functions as a direct object of the verbaliser and as such controls agreement in the perfective. Using various diagnostics, some scholars (Verma 1993: 201; Mohanan 1993: 165) have suggested that only some of these combinations are “true” conjunct verbs (particularly those of the former kind), while the rest are normal syntactic combinations of nouns and verbs.

This, however, seems somewhat oversimplified and would possibly exclude (as pointed out by Masica 1993: 160) the more productive in the language as well as obscure the mechanisms by which this pattern has come about in the first place. Therefore I prefer to regard all of them, at least preliminary, as conjunct-verb constructions, but on different levels of lexicalisation or grammaticalisation, and with a possible subclassification into: a) conjuncts with a host contributing to the argument structure (what I refer to as “internal agreement” below) and b) conjuncts with hosts playing no role in argument structure and agreement patterns (referred to below as “external agreement”). The latter is supported by a distinction suggested by Jäger (2006: 69–74) between light-verb constructions (by him defined narrower than Butt 2003, and equal to my internal agreement) and periphrastic constructions (equal to my external agreement, but discussed by Jäger particularly with reference to so-called ‘do’-periphrasis), also acknowledging that the two constructions in fact form a cross-linguistic continuum and may share functional properties in individual languages.

Conjunct verbs with *the*- ‘do’

The most productive means of forming conjunct verbs is with *the*- ‘do’, and we accordingly notice a wide variety of constructions and possible argument structures for conjuncts formed this way. For a large part of them, but far from all, the host is a relatively recent loan from another language. All of these constructions are transitive, which is obvious from the ergative alignment in the perfective. While Verma (1993: 201) suggests a subclassification of conjuncts into three types – lexically complex, syntactically complex and a purely analytical sequence (the latter only superficially looking like a conjunct verb) – I see no reason to make a distinction between the two latter categories. Instead I will distinguish between *internal agreement conjuncts* and *external agreement conjuncts* only.

External agreement *the*-conjuncts (no host-verbaliser agreement). These conjuncts (examples listed in Table 12.3) are internally complex but externally uni-

tary. While being phonologically two words (each carrying its own accent), the complex is syntactically equal to simple transitive verbs.

Table 12.3: External agreement *he*-conjuncts

Host + Verbaliser	
<i>tang the-</i>	‘trouble’
<i>teér the-</i>	‘spend’
<i>široó the-</i>	‘start’
<i>bayaán the-</i>	‘tell’
<i>hawaalá the-</i>	‘hand over’
<i>káaṇ the-</i>	‘listen to’
<i>ḡamá the-</i>	‘gather’
<i>muḡarár the-</i>	‘fix’
<i>rekaáḡ the-</i>	‘record’

This also means that the direct object in such constructions is an argument of the complex as a whole, and the complex can be analysed as a single predicate. It is still possible, however, for the host to be separated from the verbaliser by, for instance, a negation. All conjunct *the*-verbs with an adjective host, such as *tang the-* exemplified in (75) – or at least what is an adjective in other uses or in a donor language – belong to this particular type. What is more interesting, however, is that we also find complexes of this type formed with a noun as a host (at least in a historical-etymological sense) that in no way participates as an NP in the argument structure. The conjunct *káaṇ the-* in (76) is an example.

- (75) [*dunyéyii zinaawur-aán*]_{DO} [*thíi*]_{SBJ} *aní zangal-í buṭheé tang thíil-a*
 world.GN beast-PL 2SG.GN PROX forest-OB all narrow do.PFV-MPL
hín-a
 be.PRS-MPL
 ‘All the beasts in this forest you have troubled.’ (A:KIN013)
- (76) [*eesé waxt-íi peeyambár hazrát ilyaás aleehi-salaam-íi beetí*]_{DO} *káaṇ*
 REM time-GN prophet lord Elijah peace-upon-him-GN word.PL ear
na thíi de
 NEG do.3SG PST
 ‘He was not listening to the words of the prophet of that time, Elijah (PBUH).’ (A:ABO011)

I suggest that a host element, which may be homonymous with another noun in the language – such as *káaŋ* ‘ear’ in *káaŋ the-* ‘listen’ – with which it is historically related, has in fact ceased to constitute an NP in this construction, or, in the case of a loan from another language – such as the Perso-Arabic noun *široó* in *široó the-* ‘start’ – it may never even have been interpreted as an NP from the very start (which is probably the case with the English origin element *rekaád* in *rekaád the-* ‘record’ as well), no matter how much of a noun it is in the donor language. This process of lexical incorporation (Verma 1993: 203) is simply a convenient way of deriving new verbs, combining the semantics (or some aspects of it) of the host element with the “verbness” of the verbaliser with the resulting verb behaving, as far as argument structure is concerned, in no way different from any other simple transitive verb (cf. Haspelmath 1993: 286 for Lezgian). In some cases it is not entirely unlikely that the complex as a whole is a calque from another language, without even going through a process of lexical incorporation, as there are several close parallels in Urdu as well as in Pashto to Palula conjuncts. The conjunct verb of this type as a whole is lexical in nature (Verma 1993: 199).

Internal agreement *the*-conjuncts (host-verbaliser agreement). In the next type of conjunct verb, the verbaliser does agree with the nominal host (in the perfective), thus, if holding on to the conjunct idea, meaning that the predicate agrees with an element internal to itself (Mohanen 1993: 168). Examples of conjuncts of this kind are given in Table 12.4.

Table 12.4: Internal agreement *he*-conjuncts

Host + verbaliser	
<i>madád the-</i>	‘help’
<i>šuweelí the-</i>	‘show goodness’
<i>ǰargá the-</i>	‘consult’
<i>muaáf the-</i>	‘forgive’
<i>salaám the-</i>	‘greet’
<i>phóom the-</i>	‘take care of’
<i>toóp the-</i>	‘charge’
<i>amál the-</i>	‘obey, give heed, follow’
<i>hamlá the-</i>	‘attack’

As with the former type, many of the host elements are transparent loans, such as *madád* in (77) and (78), but there are also a good number of hosts with a longer

history in the language. Most of them, however, are not normally used or do not have any clear homonyms outside their conjunct use.

- (77) *[ma]_{SBJ} šiiti be [tes sangi]_{IO} [madád]_{DO} th-áam*
 1SG.NOM inside go.CV 3SG.ACC with help do-1SG
 ‘When I have gone inside, I will help him.’ (B:FOY)

- (78) *[eetii]_{SBJ} [ma sangi]_{IO} [madád]_{DO} thiil-i*
 3SG.OB 1SG.NOM with help[FSG] do.PFV-F
 ‘He helped me.’ (A:GHA069)

One solution to the somewhat puzzling situation of the host being part of the argument structure is to analyse the noun in the complex as itself assuming the role of a predicate (Verma 1993: 204–212; Mohanan 1993: 164–170). This predicate chooses a suitable verbaliser to team up with and contributes itself to the total number of arguments of the clause, but at the same time it assigns roles and case marking to its “own” arguments. I hold, however, that it is sufficient and far easier to see the valence pattern displayed (e.g. the host coded as a direct object and the occurrence of indirect objects, i.e. certain postpositional phrases) as a property (or lexical specification) of each individual construction in its entirety.

- (79) *[so]_{SBJ} [yariib-aan-óom the]_{IO} bíid-i [phóom]_{DO} th-íi de*
 3SG.NOM poor-PL-OB to much-F care do-3SG PST
 ‘He used to take good care of the poor.’ (A:ABO004)

- (80) *[suú]_{SBJ} [tusaám jhulí]_{IO} [hamlá]_{DO} th-áan-u*
 king 1PL.ACC on attack do-PRS-MSG
 ‘The king is going to attack you.’ (B:ATI040)

As far as perfective agreement, the verbaliser agrees in the same manner with the host as any transitive verb does with its direct object, while the subject is ergatively coded. A remaining argument (which in that case could be considered a “logical object” vis-à-vis the host) has to be coded as an indirect (postpositional) object, e.g. *yariibaanóom the* ‘to the poor’ in (79) and *tusaám jhulí* ‘on you’ in (80). The postposition used for that argument is (as noted above) specified by each conjunct. Some of these are displayed in Table 12.5.

The complexes, which Verma (1993: 201) considers “purely analytical” sequences and no “true” conjuncts, only differ from the ones already discussed in that they do not include a postpositional phrase in their valence pattern. To treat them as

Table 12.5: Postpositions in the valence pattern of some *the*-conjuncts

IO Postposition		Conjunct verb
<i>sangí</i>	‘with’	<i>madád the-</i> , <i>šuweelí the-</i> , <i>ǰargá the-</i>
<i>the</i>	‘to’	<i>phóom the-</i> , <i>muaáf the-</i> , <i>salaám the-</i>
<i>ǰhulí</i>	‘on’	<i>amál the-</i> , <i>hamlá the-</i>
<i>dúši</i>	‘toward’	<i>ʔoóp the-</i>

different phenomena on the basis that they are logically intransitive, i.e. not having a “logical object” beside the direct object-coded “formal” host, is not a very convincing argument; they are in fact only “logically intransitive” in the trivial sense of translation equivalence (as pointed out by Masica 1993: 157). These would in Palula be conjuncts such as *kráam the-* ‘work’, *nimóos* (*B. nimáas*) *the-* ‘pray’, exemplified in (81), and *hiǰrát the-* ‘migrate’.

- (81) *[ak buzrúg]_{SBJ} teeníi ghoošt-á maṇḍayí [nimáas]_{DO} th-íi de*
 IDEF wise.man REFL house-OB porch.OB prayer do-3SG PST
 ‘A wise man was praying on the porch of his own house.’ (B:THI)

Just as with the other internal agreement conjuncts, the verb agrees with the nominal host in gender/number (in the perfective), the latter thus being part of its argument structure in the form of a direct object.

Looking at the conjunct *hiǰrát the-* ‘migrate’ in (82), we also notice that this indeed specifies a particular valence pattern, including a source (realised by *taayúu* ‘from there’ in the example) beside the subject and the direct object.

- (82) *[tíi]_{SBJ} taayúu [hiǰrát]_{DO} thíil-i*
 3SG.OB from.there migration do.PFV-F
 ‘He migrated from there.’ (B:ATI002)

The suggested distinction becomes even more superficial when considering a conjunct like *bhootíi the-* ‘plough’, which can code the non-nominative argument denoting ‘field’ alternatively as a locative NP (oblique case), as in (84), and a postpositional phrase, as in (83).

- (83) *[tíi]_{SBJ} [teeníi chíitr-a wée]_{IO?} [bhootíi]_{DO} thíil-i*
 3SG.OB REFL field-OB in ploughing do.PFV-F
 ‘He ploughed his own field.’ (A:CHE070925)

- (84) [taním]_{SBJ} [teeníi chíitr-am]_{IO?} [bhootíi-a]_{DO} thíil-im
 3PL.ERG REFL field-PL.OB ploughing-PL do.PFV-FPL
 ‘They ploughed their own fields.’ (A:CHE070925)

Another argument for treating all these instances of *the*-conjuncts as a single phenomenon is the means of passivisation/valence reduction. While other transitive nouns are amenable to morphological passivisation with the affix *-ĩĩ* (see §8.5.2), *the*-conjuncts – regardless of subtype – are passivised or valence-reduced by substituting *the*- for *bhe*- ‘become’, as shown in (85)–(87), the other main verbaliser (see below).

- (85) *théba* [jhaníi *deés*]_{SBJ} *muqarár bh-áan-u*
 then wedding.GN day fixing become.PRS-MSG
 ‘Then the day of the wedding is being fixed.’ (A:MAR073)
- (86) [tasíi *mansubá jhulí*]_{IO} [amál]_{SBJ} *bhíl-i*
 3SG.GN planning on obedience become.PFV-F
 ‘His plan was followed.’ (A:Q9.0739)
- (87) *muloó díi yeér* [kráam]_{SBJ} *na bh-áan-u*
 mullah from without work NEG become.PRS-MSG
 ‘Without a mullah the work is not being done.’ (A:MAR043)

Conjunct verbs with *bhe*- ‘become’

The other productive means of forming conjunct verbs is with *bhe*-, some examples given in Table 12.6, but here we do not observe the same variety of construction types and argument structures as with the *the*-conjuncts, the most obvious reason being that all complexes with *bhe*- are intransitive and thus bound to have fewer potential arguments. For the most part, but again not exclusively, the host element is often an element copied from another language.

While verbaliser-host agreement seemed to be relatively common with *the*-conjuncts, this is, as far as I have been able to observe, not found with *bhe*-conjuncts outside of passive constructions derived from *the*-conjuncts with host agreement exemplified above in (85)–(87).

Although a number of these conjuncts are made up of the same host element as some of the *the*-conjuncts, such as *teér bhe*- in (88) and *jamá bhe*- in (89) they are not simply derived from these, as the meaning of the corresponding *bhe*-conjunct is not necessarily passive, but rather they stand in the same kind of relationship

Table 12.6: *bhe*-conjuncts

Host + verbaliser	
<i>teér bhe-</i>	‘pass, go by’
<i>široó bhe-</i>	‘begin’
<i>darák bhe-</i>	‘appear, turn up’
<i>rawaán bhe-</i>	‘move, get going’
<i>râal bhe-</i>	‘rise, climb’
<i>jamá bhe-</i>	‘gather, assemble’
<i>ašâq bhe-</i>	‘fall in love (with)’
<i>ting bhe-</i>	‘challenge, face’
<i>milaáu bhe-</i>	‘meet’

to one another as any other transitive/intransitive pairs with or without a common base segment.

- (88) [*dees-á*]_{SBJ} *teér* *bhíl-a*
 day-PL passed become.PFV-MPL
 ‘The days went by.’ (A:SHY037)
- (89) [*butheé*]_{SBJ} *be* *jamá* *bhíl-a* *hín-a*
 all go.CV collection become.PFV-MPL be.PRS-MPL
 ‘They all went and gathered.’ (A:KAT120)

The historical-etymological identity of the host element as far as part of speech is concerned is not unitary: a) *teér* originates in Pashto where it is an adjective ‘passed, gone by, done, accomplished, spent (as time), over, lapsed, that has been’, and even there is used in a conjunct, in some tenses morphologically incorporated into the verb (*teredal*), with a meaning very similar to the Palula conjunct; b) *jamá* is of Perso-Arabic origin and is listed as a noun or verbal noun in Urdu, Pashto as well as in Persian (the three most likely donor candidates) with an approximate meaning ‘collection, assembly, congregation, whole’; c) *râal* is used in Palula outside of this construction as an adverb meaning ‘high’. The crucial point is that it is not interpreted as an NP, even when the origin happens to be nominal.

As with many of the *the*-conjuncts, some *bhe*-conjuncts are also specified for an argument structure involving postpositionally coded participants, such as

‘Machoke’ in (90), and ‘he’ in (91). Some of these indirect objects would fit the description “human dative”.

- (90) *[se phai]_{SBJ} [se maçook-á the]_{IO} ašáq bhíl-i*
 DEF girl DEF Machoke-OB to love become.PFV-F
 ‘The girl fell in love with Machoke.’ (A:MAA005)
- (91) *óo, [ma]_{SBJ} [tas sangí]_{IO} milaáu bhíl-u hin-u*
 yes 1SG.NOM 3SG.ACC with meeting become.PFV-MSG be.PRS-MSG
 ‘Yes, I have met him.’ (A:TAQ037)

Conjunct verbs with *de-* ‘give’ and other verbalisers

The situation is in many ways much more complex when it comes to conjunct verbs formed with verbalisers other than the above mentioned *the-* and *bhe-*, as they tend to fade out into the area of idiomatic expressions and it is difficult to specify any grammatical conditions for choosing any of them instead of the transitively triggered *the*-conjuncts or the intransitively triggered *bhe*-conjuncts. While DO and BE/BECOME verbalisers in IA languages do not to any larger extent contribute to the semantics of the complexes, that is less true when it comes to other verbalisers (Gambhir 1993: 78–79), “shading off”, as Masica (1993: 157) phrases it, through GIVE and TAKE into individual combinations of certain verbs and nonverbal elements of a mostly idiomatic character.

Nevertheless, some of the observations and categorisations outlined above for *the-* and *bhe-* are in some ways relevant even for conjuncts with *de-* ‘give’. As already noted above, *de-* is already as a simple verb rather polysemous and as such is associated with a few different valance patterns, something that further blurs the picture.

External agreement *de*-conjuncts (no host-verbaliser agreement). These conjuncts (examples given in Table 12.7) are internally complex but externally unitary, as we saw with the external agreement *the*-conjuncts above.

Table 12.7: External agreement *de*-conjuncts

Host + verbaliser	
<i>dhreég de-</i>	‘lie down, stretch out’
<i>ðhoó/ðhoowá de-</i>	‘appear/notice’

Often no exact meaning can be assigned to the host element, and the basic meaning of *de-* has been considerably bleached, why the complex meaning seldom can be deduced or guessed from its individual components. The two conjuncts in Table 12.1 are exemplified in (92) and (93).

- (92) *tuúš muştú b-íi ta, [áak luumái]_{SBJ} dhoó dít-i hín-i*
 a.little before go-3SG PRT IDEF fox.[FSG] HOST give.PFV-F be.PRS-F
 ‘Walking a little forward, a fox appeared/Walking a little forward, (he) noticed a fox.’ (A:KAT011)
- (93) *[so]_{SBJ} ba [dharan-í pharé]_{IO} dhreég dít-u hín-u*
 3MSG.NOM PRT ground-OB along HOST give.PFV-MSG be.PRS-MSG
 ‘And he lay down on the ground.’ (A:UNF010)

These complexes are intransitive, but other non-nominative arguments may appear, which also opens up the possibility for analysing e.g. *dhoó/dhoowá de-* as taking a non-nominative experiencer subject (either explicitly or implicitly), see §12.2.6.

Internal agreement *de*-conjuncts (host-verbaliser agreement). In other *de*-conjuncts (Table 12.8), the verbaliser does agree with the nominal host (in the perfective), and is therefore an argument of the clause.

Table 12.8: Internal agreement *de*-conjuncts

Host + verbaliser	
<i>haát de-</i>	‘touch’
<i>póo de-</i>	‘step on’

It is obvious from (94) and (95) that the host element in this case is perceived as an NP, even when it does not appear synchronically as a noun in the language outside of the particular conjunct. (Although *póo* is related to the word for foot in the protolanguage *páda-* (Turner 1966: 8056), the word in current use with the meaning ‘foot’ is *khur*).

- (94) *[taním]_{SBJ} [šóo wée]_{IO} [haát]_{DO} na dít-i*
 3PL.ERG vegetables in hand NEG give.PFV-F
 ‘They didn’t touch the vegetables.’ (A:UXW035)

- (95) [míi]_{SBJ} [áa jhandray-í jhulí]_{IO} [póo]_{DO} díi-i
 1SG.GN IDEF snake-OB on host give.PFV-F
 ‘I stepped on a snake.’ (A:TAQ167)

These complexes are transitive with an indirect object, although what is coded as the indirect object is semantically really the (most affected) patient.

Extended uses of GIVE or internal agreement *de*-conjuncts? For one group of *de*-conjuncts, which in no formal sense behaves differently than the conjuncts above, it can be argued that the basic meaning of *de*- as ‘give’ is preserved to such an extent that it would be trivial to consider them conjuncts. But we can also argue that these constructions (where the receiver is coded with the postposition *the*) happen to coincide with the basic semantics of sentences where a simple verb *de*- is used to describe how concrete objects are being handed over to someone. Examples of such conjuncts (or standard combinations of an abstract object and GIVE) are *húkum de*- ‘order’ (96), *daawát de*- ‘invite’, *xabaár de*- ‘inform’ and *baát de*- ‘tell’ (97).

- (96) [alahtaalaá]_{SBJ} [farišteém the]_{IO} [húkum]_{DO} díi-u
 God angel.PL.OB to order give.PFV-MSG
 ‘God ordered the angels.’ (A:ABO031)
- (97) [baát]_{DO} [máa-the]_{IO} da
 word 1SG.NOM-to give.IMP.SG
 ‘Tell me!’ (A:MAA008)

Most conjuncts of this type, such as *daawát de*- ‘invite’ in (98), can also take a clausal complement, thus function as PCU-verbs (see §12.2.7).

- (98) [deewúl-ii xálak-am]_{SBJ} [daawát]_{DO} [díi-i] [atshariit-am the]_{IO} ki
 Dir-GN people-PL.OB invitation give.PFV-F Ashreti-PL.OB to COMP
 [muqaabilá th-íia]_{CPL}
 contest do-1PL
 ‘The people of Dir invited the Ashretis to compete with them’ (A:CHA001)

Conjuncts with other verbs. There are a few other combinations of a verb and a host element that may be considered conjuncts. In particular the transitive *je*- ‘hit’ used as a verbaliser should be mentioned.

Most, or maybe all such conjuncts, are of the host-agreeing type, as can be seen in examples (99) and (100).

- (99) *har̥iwee [peereŋii-a]_{SBJ} har deés [laambu]_{DO} ʃ-éen de*
 in.there fairy-PL every day bath hit-3PL PST
 ‘Every day the fairies used to take a bath in it.’ (B:FOR029)
- (100) *[miiš-a]_{SBJ} ba [axsi]_{DO} ʃ-iin*
 man-PL PRT “akhsi” hit-3PL
 ‘The men are playing “akhsi”.’ (A:JAN035)

However, this again borders on the idiomatic, and these possible conjuncts are in any case less central and productive than the ones formed with *the-* and *bhe-*.

13 Complex constructions

13.1 Introduction and overview

The absolute binary distinction between coordinate and subordinate clauses is not very helpful when describing complex (i.e. multi-clause) constructions in Palula. Instead it makes more sense to regard inter-clausal dependence as a continuum, as suggested by Givón (2001b: 327–328), ranging from the least dependent coordinate clauses expressing cross-event coherence through various intermediate stages – including chained clauses, adverbial clauses – to clauses with a high degree of dependency and event integration, as exemplified in some types of complementation.

In the following sections, this gliding scale is reflected, both in the way typical functions relate to particular constructions and in the way different subtypes are being categorised within these sections. In Section §13.2, on coordination, the constructions described are to a large extent symmetrical, whereas Section §13.3 exemplifies a type I call clause chaining. The latter shows a higher degree of asymmetry but not enough to be labelled subordinate, and therefore an intermediate category “cosubordinate” seems better suited. This naturally leads over to the structurally closely related Section §13.4, which deals with clauses with adverbial functions, themselves displaying a continuum from a low degree of asymmetry to clearly asymmetrical constructions involving nominalised clauses. Section §13.5, on complementation, contains the same kind of internal continuum, ranging from a comparatively low degree of event integration to clause union. Section §13.6 covers relative clauses and presents a special analytical challenge as far as the distinction between parataxis and embedding is concerned, and here too we witness a continuum from clauses displaying mere discourse coherence to those involving various types of nominalisation.

13.2 Coordination

Although coordinators in the traditional sense of the term are used, there seem to be stronger constraints on their use than in the more familiar European lan-

guages. Perhaps the alternative strategies for coordination, such as juxtaposition, discourse particles and suffixes, represent the more native means for conjoining phrases and sentences. However, as will be seen in the next main section (§13.3), many sequences that in English are coded with the coordinating conjunction *and*, correspond to clause chaining in Palula.

In the subsections §13.2.1–§13.2.4 I follow the semantic subdivisions and their associated terms as used and discussed by Payne (1985): *conjunction* (p and q), *postsection* (p and not q), *presection* (not p and q), *disjunction* (p or q) and *rejection* (not p and not q).

13.2.1 Conjunction

Suffixal *ee*-conjoining. A suffix *-ee* is primarily used to conjoin two noun phrases, as can be seen in examples (1)–(3). It is suffixed to the first constituent, following on any other word class specific inflections.

- (1) *hatés díi ba dúu putr-á yúul-a [fazelnuúr-ee hayaatnuúr]*
 3SG.rem.ACC from PRT two son-PL come.PFV-MPL Fazal.Noor-CNJ Hayat.Noor

‘He had two sons, Fazal Noor and Hayat Noor.’ (B:ATI076)

- (2) *le bi [çook-ii-ee maçook-ii] aulaád*
 3PL.DIST.NOM PRT Choke-GN-CNJ Machoke-GN descendants

‘They are also the descendants of Choke and Machoke.’ (A:ASC004)

- (3) *[máa-ee so] mušqúl bh-íia de*
 1SG-CNJ 3MSG.NOM in.agreement become-1PL PST

‘He and I used to be talking freely with each other.’ (A:HUA008)

Infrequently the use of this suffix is extended to the conjoining of two constituents of other kinds, such as two verb phrases that are intimately linked and expressing something symmetrical or simultaneous, as in (4) and (5) (cf. §13.4.1 for simultaneity expressed with a Verbal Noun followed by what is possibly the same suffix *-ee*). This should, however, not be seen as a matter of sentential coordination in a strict sense, as the verb phrases have a subject in common.

- (4) *gíri dhiaár [ráal bh-éen-i-ee nam-éen-i]*
 big.stone rock high become-PRS-F-CNJ get.down-PRS-F

‘The big stone or rock is moving up and down.’ (A:DRA007)

- (5) *táa gúia ta gíri jhulí xaamaár [dhreég de hín-u-ee*
 there go.PFV.PL PRT big.stone on dragon stretched.out give.CV be.PRS-MSG-CNJ
núindra-m mají hín-u aaraám ki hín-u]
 sleep-OB in be.PRS-MSG resting PRT be.PRS-MSG
 ‘When they came there, a dragon was lying on top of the big stone, sleeping peacefully.’ (A:DRA009-10)

Juxtaposition. Conjunction of more than two noun phrases is often expressed by juxtaposition, in a list-like manner, (6)–(7), but can occasionally be used with two noun phrases only, as in example (8).

- (6) *ghireé çook-íi-ee maçook-íi aulaád [mirmaadikoór, mulaakoór,*
 again Choke-GN-CNJ Machoke-GN descendants Mirmadikor Mullahkor
baðileé, zariñee, phatakey]
 Badiley Zariney Phatakey
 ‘After that, the descendants of Choke and Machoke are Mirmadikor, Mullahkor, Badiley, Zariney, and Phatakey.’ (A:ASC005)
- (7) *ak zamaanée [ak gúu, mið, ut] doost-aán de*
 IDEF time.GN IDEF OX ram camel friend-PL be.PST
 ‘Once upon a time there where three friends: an ox, a ram and a camel.’ (B:SHI001)
- (8) *díiš-a ba [baalbač-á kuřina] tamá th-éen de*
 village-OB PRT child-PL woman.PL waiting do-3PL PST
 ‘In the village the children and women were waiting.’ (B:AVA218)

Juxtaposition is also applied to closely interrelated verb phrases or clauses, for instance, when a particular verbal action or event is identical for several subjects, as in (9), or when the verb phrases, as in (10), have an identical subject as well as an identical recipient or beneficiary. A sequence of events with the same subject, such as the one in (11), would in most cases be coded with clause chaining (§13.3), but for some reason, maybe reflecting how upset the speaker is, juxtaposition is used instead.

- (9) *aní ghoosť-a šíiti [ma seé hín-u, míi kuři seé*
 PROX house-OB inside 1SG.NOM sleep.CV be.PRS-MSG 1SG.GN woman sleep.CV
hín-i, míi preş seé hín-i]
 be.PRS-F 1SG.GN mother.in.law sleep.CV be.PRS-F
 ‘Inside this house I was asleep, my wife was asleep, and my mother-in-law

was asleep.' (A:HUA014-5)

- (10) *[sigrét gaḍ-í dít-i činí phuukawéel-i]*
cigarette take.out-CV give.PFV-F sugar make.blow.PFV-F
'We offered them cigarettes and sugar.' (A:GHA060)
- (11) *karáaru yhóol-u kučúr-a khóol-a*
leopard come.PFV-MSG dog-PL eat.PFV-MPL
'A leopard has come and eaten the dogs.' (A:HUA020)

The conjunction *o/oór*. A special conjunction, *o* alternatively *oór*, is used sparingly and sometimes in addition to other conjunction strategies. It is not wholly unlikely that they owe something to Pashto and Urdu influence, respectively, being close in form and function to the most important conjunctions in each of these languages. The latter form is, in particular, found primarily in data obtained from younger persons (in A.) and in written discourse (in B.).

As a conjunction between noun phrases, it is mainly found where more than two noun phrases are conjoined, as in (12) and (13), and then the position is always and only between the last two phrases.

- (12) *se miiš-a dúi dees-á [baačaa wazíir o dúi xálak-a] samaṭ-í*
DEF man-OB other day-OB king minister and other people-PL gather-CV
ilaán thíil-i
announcement do.PFV-F
'Next day the man called the king, the prime minister and other people together and made an announcement.' (A:UXW060)
- (13) *mheeril-ii pahúrta [tasii híru tasii jhangaár oór tasii aandáara]*
die.PPTC-GN after 3SG.GN heart 3SG.GN liver and 3SG.GN intestines
gaḍ-í khóol-a
take.out-CV eat.PFV-MPLhín-u ki...
'After he had killed her, he took out her heart, her liver, and her intestines and ate them up.' (A:WOM651)

As we saw above, this kind of stringing together of several noun phrases can also be done by mere juxtaposition. In fact, when a dialect adaptation was made (from B. to A.) of a story that (7) is taken from, the same sentence was equipped with the conjunction *o* between the two last noun phrases.

A conjunction word is also used sometimes to conjoin closely interrelated verb phrases or same-subject clauses, as the ones exemplified in (14) and (15). Often,

the second proposition or phrase provides additional information about the action or event mentioned in the first. The two are sometimes but not necessarily co-temporal.

- (14) *oothóon-a the nhiáaɾa phed-í ba bişamíl-u hín-u o dun-áaɾ-u*
 settlement-OB to near arrive-CV PRT rest.PFV-MSG be.PRS-MSG and think-AG-MSG
bhíl-u hín-u ki...
 become.PFV-MSG be.PRS-MSG COMP
 ‘When he came near the settlement, he rested and started to think...’ (A:KAT056-7)
- (15) *uth-í ba yusulxaaná the ba-yáan-u óor yusúl ghin-áan-u*
 stand.up-CV PRT bathroom to go.PRS-MSG and bath take-PRS-MSG
 ‘When I have got up I go to the bathroom, and I take a bath.’ (B:MOR002-3)

Rather infrequently a conjunction is also used to link two different-subject clauses, such as the ones in (16).

- (16) *nhiáaɾee ba áaɳç-ii áak muɾ heensíl-u hín-u o áaɳç-a*
 near PRT raspberry-GN IDEF tree dwell.PFV-MSG be.PRS-MSG and raspberry-PL
ba pač-í šiiy-í báaiɾ-a bhíl-a hín-a
 PRT ripen-CV fall-CV go.AG-MPL become.PFV-MPL be.PRS-MPL
 ‘Nearby a raspberry bush grew and its berries had become ripe.’ (A:KAT128)

However, as far as temporal sequencing is concerned, the overwhelmingly most common ways of conjoining clauses are by using cosubordinate Converb clauses and subordinate *ta*-clauses in so-called “clause chains” (as described in §13.3).

There are also examples of predicate adjective phrases being thus conjoined. An example can be seen in (17).

- (17) *so bíiɖ-u [uxyaár o hileér] de maní*
 3SG.NOM very-MSG wise and brave be.PST HSAY
 ‘He was very wise and brave.’ (A:UXB004)

Conjunction with the “separating” particle *bi*. An added emphasis on the separateness of two or more units conjoined is given by means of a particle *bi* (approximately ‘too, also’), as in examples (18)–(20). It is primarily added immediately after the constituents in focus, which in most cases are noun phrases,

whereas the coordination itself is sentential rather than phrasal (which is not obvious with copular clauses lacking an overt copula, as in (18)). The particle used this way is added after each of the conjoined constituents, rendering it ‘X as well as Y’ or ‘both X and Y’.

- (18) *ma [tarkaán bi misrí bi]*
 1SG.NOM carpenter also mason also
 ‘I’m a carpenter as well as a mason.’ (A:HOW009)
- (19) *ma ba uth-í ba [toobaák bi heensíl-i de, khangaár*
 1SG.NOM PRT stand.up-CV PRT gun also be.present.PFV-F PST sword
bi heensíl-u de, thóngi bi heensíl-i de]
 also be.present.PFV-MSG PST axe also be.present.PFV-F PST
 ‘When I got up, there was a gun, a sword and an axe (with me).’ (A:HUA021-2)
- (20) *pha-íi baábu jhaamatree díi [xarčá bi dawiáan-u jandee*
 girl-GN father son.in.law.OB from expenses also ask.for.PRS-MSG goat.PL
bi khéli dawiáan-u]
 also numerous ask.for.PRS-MSG
 ‘The girl father demands expenses (to be paid) as well as numerous goats.’
 (A:MAR032-3)

The particle *bi* is sometimes also used in combination with the coordinating suffix *-ee* (21) or the conjunction *o* (22).

- (21) *aré [šišáki bi man-áan-ee ruikúri bi man-áan-a]*
 3FSG.DIST.NOM “shishaki” also say-PRS-MPL.CNJ “ruikuli” also say-PRS-MPL
 ‘We call her a “shishaki” and also a “ruikuli”.’ (A:PAS110)
- (22) *dhrúuk-a be daçh-íin ta [mangái çhoor-í hín-i o áak rumiaál*
 stream-OB go.CV look-3PL PRT water.pot put-CV be.PRS-F and IDEF handkerchief
bi çhoor-í hín-i]
 also put-CV be.PRS-F
 ‘Going to the stream they saw the water pot and a handkerchief lying there.’
 (A:SHY059)

In Kohistani Shina (Ruth Schmidt, pc.; Schmidt & Kohistani 2008: 252) a particle *-ga* has a function comparable to Palula *bi*, but its scope is apparently much

larger than that of the Palula particle, as it conjoins various types of phrases and clauses (much like Palula *-ee*), not necessarily with an additional “separating” semantics.

Conjunction with the “adversative” construction *ta...ba*. An adversative meaning with a semantic contrast implied, translatable with ‘but, whereas, while’ (but sometimes ‘and’ is better still), is indicated with the use of a particle *ta* added immediately after the first constituent, and another particle *ba* (with other discourse functions) after the second. As is apparent from examples (23)–(25), the coordination itself is, like the use of *bi*, sentential rather than phrasal.

- (23) *eetás [míš-a ta ʈhak-ín de kuṛína ba čoot-ín de]*
 3SG.REM.ACC man-PL PRT shake.down-3PL PST woman.PL PRT pluck-3PL PST

‘The men were shaking them [the walnuts] down, while the women were collecting them.’ (A:JAN017)

- (24) *aaghaá ta dhúura dharán ba ɖang*
 sky PRT distant ground PRT hard

‘The sky is far but/and the ground is hard.’ (B:PRB009)

- (25) *so ta bač bhíl-u trúu jáan-a ba hiimeel-í*
 3MSG.NOM PRT saved become.PFV-MSG three person-PL PRT glacier-OB
hír-a
 take.away.PFV-MPL

‘He was saved, but three persons were taken by the avalanche.’ (B:AVA214)

The construction *ta...ba* is sometimes, as in (26), used along with the coordinating suffix *-ee*.

- (26) *huṇɖ ta ɕhúitr-ee bhun ba ghaawaáz de*
 above PRT field-CNJ below PRT stream.bed be.PST

‘The field was above and the stream-bed below.’ (A:JAN082)

Conjunction with the “adversative” particle *xu*. Another type of adversative, with a denial of expectation implied, is formed with a particle *xu* (also functioning as a marker of evidentiality).

- (27) *ghaḍeerá mána thiil-u xu so aahóola tool-ii-eé*
 elder.OB prevention do.PFV-MSG but 3MSG.NOM repeatedly measure-3SG-CONT¹
de
 PST
 ‘The elder one told him to stop, but he [the younger one] kept measuring.’
 (A:DRA019)

13.2.2 Presection and postsection

The “adversative” particle *xu* (see above) is also used together with the negation *na* in typical sentential pre- and postsection (as defined in §13.2) constructions.

Presection with *na...xu*. In this construction, exemplified in (28), the particle *xu* occurs between the two conjoined parts, and the negation word *na* in its regular preverbal position in the first part.

- (28) *se bi čúur páanj bhe ma na ɬing th-áai bhóon*
 3PL.NOM even four five become.CV 1SG.NOM NEG challenge do-INF be.able.3PL
de xu míi se preṣ yhayí ba ɕhéeni ghin-í ǰ-ii
 PST but 1SG.GN DEF mother.in.law come.CV PRT stick take-CV hit-3SG
sée~ta bhí-um de
 CONDH be.afraid-1SG PST
 ‘Even those four five people could not face me, but my mother-in-law came and beat me with a stick and I became afraid.’ (A:HUA123-4)

Postsection with *xu...na*. In this construction, exemplified in (29), the particle *xu* occurs between the two conjoined clauses or propositions, and the negation word in its regular preverbal position in the second proposition.

- (29) *sóon-a ba so phoó koošís th-áan-u xu waxt milaáu*
 pasture-OB PRT DEF.MSG.NOM boy attempt do-PRS-MSG but time meeting
na bh-áan-u
 NEG become-PRS-MSG
 ‘In the pastures, the boy is trying, but he doesn’t find the time.’ (A:SHY042)

¹ In my material this is a rarely occurring and not yet fully classified morpheme. It appears, at least in this sentence, to have a continuative meaning. Whether it is to be identified with the (accent-bearing) *-eé* of inclusiveness remains unanswered.

Postsection with final *na*. Postsection can also be expressed with a sentence-final negative particle *na*, as in (30) and (31), without the aid of *xu*.

- (30) *ǰ-úum ma ɾas mhaar-úum, uɾ-úum ba na*
 hit-1SG 1SG.NOM 3SG.DIST.ACC kill-1SG let.out-1SG PRT NEG
 ‘I will kill it and not let it free.’ (A:HUA058)
- (31) *nam-í ta yhéel-i hée~ta ʃiʃ ɖhak-áan-u ráal ba yhéel-i*
 lower-CV PRT come.PFV-F CONDL head touch-PRS-MSG high PRT come.PFV-F
hée~ta phed-áan-a na
 CONDL reach-PRS-MSG NEG
 ‘If it is put too low people will hit their head, but if it is put too high nobody will reach up.’ (A:HOW069-70)

13.2.3 Disjunction

Juxtaposition. The least emphasised kind of disjunction is by mere juxtaposition, normally of two numerals (as in the juxtaposition of ‘four’ and ‘five’ in (28) above) or of two noun phrases with numeral attributes, as in (32), expressing an approximate figure rather than constituting an alternative in an absolute sense.

- (32) *díiʃ-e xálak ǰamá bhe kir kareé galé bíiɖ-u dí-t-u*
 village-GN people collection become.CV snow when ever much-MSG give.PFV-MSG
síinta [paŋ phuɬ-í ʃo phuɬ-í] kir dí-t-u síinta
 CONDH five foot-PL six foot-PL snow give.PFV-MSG CONDH
 ‘The village people used to gather when much snow had been falling, 5 or 6 feet snow.’ (B:AVA198)

Phrasal disjunction with *yáa*. A slightly more emphasised disjunction uses *yáa* between the phrases, as seen in (33).

- (33) *eesé phaíi [bhroó yáa maámu] koó eesé ɽeem-ii haazír na heensíl-u*
 REM girl.GN brother or uncle who REM time-gn present NEG stay.PFV-MSG
hée~ta, tasii mux-ii nikh-eeŋdeéu bh-áan-u
 CONDL 3SG.GN face-GN come.out-OBLG become-PRS-MSG
 ‘If the girl’s brother or her uncle wasn’t present at that time, he has to be greeted.’ (A:MAR047-9)

Sentential disjunction with *yáaba...yáaba*. Although there are few examples, it seems a construction with a repeated *yáa* combined with the particle *ba* (probably forming one phonological word), as in (34), is preferred for sentential disjunction, possibly with an added emphasis on the mutual exclusivity of the alternatives thus presented.

- (34) *típa šái phed-í asaám yáaba khóo yáaba na khóo*
 now thing arrive-CV 1PL.ACC or eat.3SG or NEG eat.3SG
 ‘Now this thing will come here and it will either eat us or it will not eat us.’
 (A:GHA063)

Sentential and phrasal disjunction *ki*. A semantically equivalent construction presenting mutual exclusivity is also found, as in (35)–(36), with a particle *ki*.

- (35) *hasó tohfá [phedíl-u ki na phedíl-u]*
 REM.MSG.NOM gift arrive.PFV-MSG or NEG arrive.PFV-MSG
 ‘Did this gift arrive or not?’ (B:FLW817)
- (36) *buǰ-áan-u ba na ki nu ga šái karáaru ki*
 understand.PRS-MSG PRT NEG COMP 3MSG.PROX.NOM some thing leopard or
iñç ki nu ga čííz thaní
 bear or 3MSG.PROX.NOM some thing QT
 ‘I didn’t understand what sort of thing this was, whether it was a leopard or a bear or what sort of creature.’ (A:HUA038-9)

Kohistani Shina uses a word borrowed from Punjabi, *paa~wee~* ‘or’, to express disjunction (Ruth Schmidt, pc.).

13.2.4 Rejection

Rejection with *na...na*. Rejection can be expressed simply with a phrase- or clause-initial negation *na*, as exemplified in (37) and (38).

- (37) *na zinaawur-á tas the asár thíil-i de na ghrast-á thíil-i de*
 NEG beast-OB 3SG.ACC to harm do.PFV-F PST NEG wolf-OB do.PFV-F PST

‘Neither beast nor wolf had harmed him.’ (A:GHA014)

- (38) *se na kasii xaadi daçh-éen-i na kasii marg daçhéeni*
 3FSG.NOM NEG whose happiness look-PRS-F NEG whose death look-PRS-F
 ‘She cares neither for anyone’s happiness, nor for anyone’s death.’ (A:KEE005-6)

Two other strategies available for expressing rejection are both combinations of negation and conjunctions already discussed above.

Rejection using “adversative” conjunction and negation, *na ta...na ba* . It should be noted that the word order (the particle vis-à-vis the contrasted constituent) is the reverse compared with the one found in the conjunctive construction with *ta...ba*. Examples are given in (39) and (40).

- (39) *na ta tanaám the dít-i na ba asaám the dít-i*
 NEG PRT 3PL.ACC to give.PFV-F NEG PRT 1PL.ACC to give.PFV-F
 ‘Neither did they give them to them, nor to us.’ (A:GHA089)
- (40) *dúi ba na ta duwaá thiil-u na ba ga háanĵ-a dít-a*
 other PRT NEG PRT prayer do.PFV-MS.G NEG PRT any curse-PL give.PFV-MPL

‘Then, neither did he pray, nor did he utter any curses.’ (A:PIR038-9)

As can be seen in (41), the strategy also occurs in combination with the conjunctive suffix *-ee*.

- (41) *méeĵi na ta şoo-ii tarapíi ga faaidá-ee na ba barawolxaan-ii*
 between NEG PRT king-GN direction.GN any benefit-CNJ NEG PRT Barawul.Khan-GN
tarapíi ga faaidá
 direction.GN any benefit
 ‘Between them, neither was there any benefit from the king’s side, nor from Barawul Khan.’ (A:JAN007-8)

Rejection using “separative” conjunction and negation, *bi na...bi na*, is illustrated in (42)–(43).

- (42) *daçh-iin ta kaţamúş bi náin-u inç bi náin-u*
 look-3PL PRT Katamosh also not.be.PRS-MSG bear also not.be.PRS-MSG
 ‘They saw that neither Katamosh nor the bear was there.’ (A:KAT144)

- (43) *büḍ-i ráal bi na th-eeṇḍéú naam-eeṇḍéú bi na*
 much-F high also not do-OBLG lower-OBLG also not
 ‘It should not be raised very high, neither should it be lowered [much].’
 (A:HOW068)

Kohistani Shina expresses rejection with *nee~...nee~* ‘no...no’, while the regular clause negation in this variety is *na* (Ruth Schmidt, pc.).

13.3 Clause chaining

One of the more salient features of Palula discourse (especially of a narrative kind) is its use of clause chaining, thus fitting into the category “chaining” languages, as described by Thompson & Longacre (1985: 175-6) and Longacre (1985: 238-239). Such clause chains express sequences of events or actions carried out and consist of one or several non-final clauses (note the distinction made between (non-)final and (non)finite), followed by one final clause. Each non-final clause is relating to the one immediately preceding it and the one following it, but not necessarily to the final clause. I have adopted the term *cosubordinate* (see explanation below) to describe this type of clause linking which is somewhat intermediate between coordination and subordination.

13.3.1 Same-subject chaining

In examples (44)–(46), the construction used in the non-final clauses is a nonfinite Converb (cv), a verb form without any participant agreement, and the subject left implicit. A literal translation of (44) would render something like ‘The father, having killed a goat, having removed its skin, put the skin on him’.

- (44) [*baába ba yakdám bhíiru mheer-í*] [*tasíi púustu gaḍ-í*]
 father.OB PRT immediately he.goat kill-CV 3SG.GN skin remove-CV
so púustu tas saawóol-u
 DEF.MSG.NOM skin 3SG.ACC put.ON.PFV-MSG
 ‘The father killed a he-goat, skinned it, and put the skin on his son.’ (A:DRA023)
- (45) *ti ba [bhun whay-í ba] [so mhaás muṭ-í bhun*
 3SG.OB PRT down come.down-CV PRT DEF.MSG.NOM meat tree-GN down
wheel-í ba] [teeníi ghooṣṭ-á the ghin-í] gáu
 take.down-CV PRT REFL house-OB to take-CV go.PFV.MSG
 ‘He came down, took down the meat from the tree, and brought it to his

house.’ (B:SHB762)

- (46) *ghaḍeerá* [*phed-í*] *laš-čax* [*kaṭéeri ghin-í*] *se taáj čhiníl-i*
 elder.OB arrive-CV swiftly knife take-CV DEF crown cut.PFV-F

‘The elder (brother) came, took a knife, and cut off the crown.’ (A:DRA016)

As pointed out by Givón (2001b: 327-8), although traditional grammar has made a binary distinction between dependent/subordinate adverbial clauses, on the one hand, and independent/coordinate main clauses, on the other, it is evident that dependency as well as subordination, is a matter of degree rather than being discrete properties of clauses. Haspelmath (1995: 20–27), following the same reasoning, suggests a *cosubordinate* category intermediate between coordination and subordination, which would thus capture the status of the non-final verbs in above-mentioned chains, in some traditions also described as *medial* verbs. Whereas the connection between a cosubordinate clause, and another cosubordinate clause, or between a cosubordinate clause and its corresponding main/final clause, often will have to find its translation equivalent in a coordinate clause (for instance, in English), the non-final clause is still to a large extent dependent on the independent clause for its TMA specification or participant reference.

However, an argument in favour of still viewing Converb clauses as subordinate would be that they sometimes seem to appear inside (i.e. embedded into) the final clause. Example (44) is ambiguous in this respect, since we can analyse the ergatively marked *baába* ‘father’, either as the explicit subject of the first non-final transitive clause (as is suggested by the square brackets) or as the explicit subject of the final transitive clause.

In example (46) on the other hand, the final clause is transitive and the first Converb is intransitive, and therefore the ergatively marked subject must be analysed as the subject of the final (and finite) verb, and therefore the first Converb clause in its entirety has to be analysed as embedded into the final clause (as is also the second Converb clause, which has an instrumental reading, see §13.4.1). It is at this point that clause chaining shades over into the realm of more asymmetrical adverbial functions.

In (45), however, sentence-initial *ti* ‘he’ can not be the subject (S) of the intransitive final verb ‘go’. Since it is marked for ergative alignment, it must be the subject (A) either of transitive *whaalé-* ‘take down’ or transitive *ghin-* ‘take’, both of these non-final Converbs in this sentence. Simple embedding is therefore not really the case here, and again cosubordination seems a suitable categorisation.

Some overlap between medial verbs – as used in chained or so-called cosubor-

dinate clauses – and Converbs coding more typical adverbial functions, is indeed to be expected (Haspelmath 1995: 26), and we find that the very same mechanism is put to work in many clauses corresponding to distinct adverbial-clause types (see §13.4.1–§13.4.5) in the familiar European languages, with a number of semantic relationships implied between the dependent clause and the main clause.

13.3.2 Different-subject chaining

While the chaining exemplified above expresses sequencing of events or actions with one and the same subject, another construction type is being used when there is a subject switch after a non-final clause: a non-final clause as the ones found in (47) and (48), in which a finite verb is followed by the particle *ta*, is in turn followed by another (non-final or final) clause.

- (47) *eesé míiš-a ba toopaančá gaḍ-í [se dhuumúiy-ii jít-i de*
 REM man-OB PRT pistol take.out-CV DEF smoke-GN shoot PFV-F PST
ta] se dhuumúí uḍheewíl-i de
 PRT DEF smoke flee.PFV-F PST
 ‘That man took out a pistol, shot at the smoke, and the smoke disappeared.’
 (A:GHA052)
- (48) *[áa deés táa gúum ta] máa-the qisá thúil-u*
 IDEF day there go.PFV-MSG PRT 1SG.NOM-to story do.PFV-MSG
 ‘One day I went there, and he told me a story.’ (A:HUA009)

Sequences of two or more non-final clauses can include same-subject (SS) clauses as well as different-subject (DS) clauses, as can be seen in (49) and (50).

- (49) *theé aaxeríi [áa baḥúuru mheer-í]_{ss} [púustu ṣaawóol-u ta]_{ds} baḥúur-ii*
 then finally IDEF calf kill-CV skin put.on.PFV-MSG PRT calf-GN
púust-a ba tas ghašíl-u, ɿng thúil-u
 skin-OB PRT 3SG.ACC catch.PFV-MSG HOST do.PFV-MSG
 ‘Then at last he killed a calf, dressed (his son) in the skin, and the skin of the calf helped him.’ (A:DRA031)
- (50) *[thúí ak dhíí paidaá bhíl-i ta]_{ds} [thúí kúri tes*
 2SG.GN IDEF daughter born become.PFV-F PRT 2SG.GN wife 3SG.ACC
ghin-í]_{ss} [adráx ṣač-í]_{ss} géi
 take-CV forest climb-CV go.PFV.FSG
 ‘A daughter of yours was born, your wife took her and went up into the forest.’ (B:FOR014)

Note that, while the Converbs in the SS constructions do not show agreement, the verbs in the DS constructions do. In example (49), the Perfective verb *šaawóolu* agrees in gender and number with the direct object *púustu*).

In a great many cases of chaining with *ta*, the non-final clause is most naturally translatable as a ‘when’-clause in English, and a number of other semantic relationships can be implied as well, the latter something that will become obvious when discussing different constructions expressing adverbial functions (§13.4). As was the case with the SS-chaining using the Converb construction, DS-chaining by means of the *ta*-construction also shades over into even more asymmetrical and more typical adverbial functions.

13.4 Clauses with adverbial functions

The type of clauses using the Converb construction (SS) and the *ta*-construction (DS) would certainly qualify as “absolutive” adverbial clauses according to Thompson & Longacre’s (1985: 200-201) definition, due to their wide scope and their lack of explicit signals as to the exact semantic relationship between non-final and final clauses. Their function in the discourse is often inferred from the context. As was pointed out above, it is not always very obvious where to draw the line between such semi-independent chained clauses and clauses that to a larger extent are interpretable as adverbial and dependent vis-à-vis one particular main clause.

Like non-final chained clauses, clauses with adverbial functions generally precede their head. They usually precede the entire head clause although embedding into the head clause or head proposition also occurs quite frequently. Only rarely does the modifying clause occur subsequent to the verb of the head clause. All such clauses with adverbial functions are in essence dependent but, as was reflected earlier in the discussion on clause chaining above, not equally and unquestionably subordinate in nature.

A number of different construction types are available for clauses functioning adverbially, some of them with a more general application, and others more restricted to certain subfunctions:

- (i) A preposed or embedded nonfinite Converb clause, in IA languages often referred to as the Conjunctive Participle Construction (also used in SS-chains).
- (ii) A preposed clause with a finite verb followed by the grammatical particle

ta (also used in DS-chains); infrequently together with a clause-introducing subordinating conjunction with a more specific lexical content

- (iii) A preposed clause with a finite verb followed by a conditional mood marker
- (iv) A preposed Perfective Participle clause governed by a lexically specific postposition
- (v) A preposed or embedded clause with a Verbal Noun, either occurring on its own (sometimes with a suffix) or with a lexically specific postposition
- (vi) A pre- or postposed clause with an Agentive Verbal Noun and a finite form of *bhe-* ‘become’
- (vii) An embedded nonfinite clause with a Copredicative Participle

These constructions will be discussed as they occur in the different adverbial functions presented below.

13.4.1 Temporality and related functions

Subsequence. Many dependent clauses with an obvious temporal reading are in fact not much different from the sequential chaining discussed above (§13.3). Especially when it is a matter of subsequence, and the subject remains the same, the Converb construction (i) is used, as in (51)–(52). Sometimes, especially in narratives, an immediately preceding finite verb is repeated but as a Converb, thus not adding any new information but instead highlighting the temporal relationship between the two events. This latter use of the Converb is more typically adverbial – and the Converb clause to a greater extent dependent – than its use in sequential chaining as laid out above.

- (51) *(eesé zangal-i áa baṭ-á ḡhulí harí so kuṇaák*
 REM forest-OB IDEF stone-OB on take.away.CV DEF.MSG.NOM child
bheešóol-u.) [bheešáá] tasii paanṭí gaḍ-ii de
 seat.PFV-MSG seat.CV 3SG.GN clothes take.off-3SG PST
 ‘(In that forest he took the child to a stone and seated him.) When he had seated him, he took his (the child’s) clothes off.’ (A:BER005)

- (52) (*tíi taayúu hijrát thíil-i*.) [*hijrát the*] *dhruú~s-a yúul-u*
3SG.OB from.there migration do.PFV-F migration do-CV Drosh-OB come.PFV-MSG

‘(He migrated from there.) *When he had migrated*, he came to Drosh.’
(B:ATI003-4)

As was the case in clause chaining, the corresponding construction when the subject in the dependent clause is different from the subject in the main clause is a finite *ta*-clause (construction (ii)), as can be seen in example (53) and (8). Again, the verb in the preceding finite clause is often found repeated.

- (53) (*aḍaphará wháil-u*.) [*aḍaphara wháil-u ta*] *tasíi*
halfways take.down.PFV-MSG halfway take.down.PFV-MSG PRT 3SG.GN
uḵut-í mají xaaráx paidóo bhíl-i
body-OB in itching born become.PFV-F

‘(He brought him down halfway.) *When he had brought him down halfway*, his body started to itch.’ (A:DRA020)

- (54) [*raaḵaá mūr-u ta*] *putr-óom tasíi hukumát bulooṣṭeel-i*
king die.PFV-MSG PRT son-PL.OB 3SG.GN government snatch.PFV-F
‘When the king died, the sons seized the power.’ (A:MAB003)

It appears to be possible to leave out the particle *ta*, as in (55), and retain a different-subject reading, although that is not particularly common.

- (55) [*nagarḵúti yhéel-i*] *tas díi khoojóol-u kanaá bhíl-i*
Nagarjuti come.PFV-F 3SG.ACC from ask.PFV-MSG what become.PFV-F
‘When Nagarjuti came, he asked her what happened.’ (MAB029)

While the subsequential reading is contextually implicit rather than explicit in the examples given so far, a separate temporal conjunction *kareegalé* or *kareé galé ki* ‘when’ can also (possibly more readily so in B.), as seen in (56), be added to the *ta*-construction to make this reading obvious, and also distinguish it more clearly from simple clause chaining.

- (56) [*kareegalé se mūr-im ta*] *asím tenaám ḍhangéel-im*
when 3PL.NOM die.PFV-FPL PRT 1PL.ERG 3PL.ACC bury.PFV-FPL
‘When they died, we buried them.’ (B:FOR037)

Author 10:
Is the reference to example 8 correct? Or did you mean to refer to example 54 here?

This construction has characteristics of a relative clause (cf. §13.6.2), like a number of similar temporal adverbial constructions in the world's languages (Thompson & Longacre 1985: 180–181), which is even more obvious in (57).

- (57) [hasó kareé galé ki sastiíl-u ta] şúu itlaá phedíl-i
 3MSG.NOM when ever PRT heal.PFV-MSG PRT king message arrive.PFV-F
 'When he had become healthy, a message arrived from the king.' (B:ATI059)

A finite temporal clause with *kareé* and without *ta* (58) is also possible.

- (58) [kareé jéel-i] çhiir taap-áan-a
 when give.birth.PFV-F milk heat.up-PRS-MPL
 'When it [goat] has given birth, we heat up the milk.' (A:KEE025)

Perfective Participle clauses with a postposition, such as *pahúrta*, *baád*, *patú*, all glossed as 'after', are also used in temporal subsequence (construction (iv)). *pahúrta* (in (59)) and *baád* (in (60)) each governs the genitive case of the participle, whereas *patú* (in (61)) takes the nominative. The latter seems to occur only in B.

- (59) [izđúur-a je gúum-ii pahúrta] tas yhéel-i audás
 Ijdur-OB up.to go.PPTC.MSG-GN after 3SG.ACC come.PFV-F urge
 'When he had gone up to Ijdur, he felt a need to urinate.' (A:AYA)
- (60) [şaawóol-ii báad] dúi bhiiru mheeríl-u
 put.on.PPTC.MSG-GN after another he.goat kill.PFV-MSG
 'When he had put it on, he killed another he-goat.' (A:DRA024)
- (61) [ghíin-u patú] jumeet-í the bay-áan-u
 take.PPTC.MSG after mosque-OB to go-PRS-MSG
 'When I have taken it (a bath), I go to the mosque.' (B:MOR004)

Subsequence cum instrument. The temporal subsequence reading of the Converb construction shades off into what can be seen as expressing instrument or supplying the main verb with a manner specification and is especially relevant for Converbs formed from transitive verbs of motion, as in examples (62)–(65), such as *ghín*- 'take', *de*- 'put, give', *gađe*- 'take out', *ghaşé*- 'take hold of, grab', *galé*- 'throw'. With some of these Converbs we may very well witness a further grammaticalisation into postpositions, alternatively, the development of compound verbs (see §8.6.2).

- (62) *ghaḍeerá phed-í laṣ-čax [kaṭéeri ghin-í] se taáj čhiníl-i. čhin-í*
 elder.OB arrive-CV swiftly knife take-CV DEF crown cut.PFV-F cut-CV
[rumeel-í maǰí de] ĵeep-í-ee díť-i
 handkerchief-OB in put.CV pocket-OB-into put.PFV-F
 ‘The elder (brother) came, took a knife, and cut off the crown. Having cut it off, he wrapped it in a handkerchief and then put it into his pocket’
 (A:DRA016)
- (63) *[maačís gaḍ-í] tasíi laméeṭi angóor ṣaawóol-u ta so*
 matches take.out-CV 3SG.GN tail fire put.on.PFV-MSG PRT 3SG.NOM
uḍheewíl-u
 flee.PFV-MSG
 ‘He took matches, and when he had put fire to its tail, it fled.’ (A:HUB009)
- (64) *yhayí [tasíi háat-ii ghaš-í] dukur-á šíiṭi the [ghin-í] gúia*
 come.CV 3SG.GN hand-GN grab-CV hut-OB inside to take-CV go.PFV.PL
hín-a
 be.PRS-MPL
 ‘Having come, the took him by the hand and brought him into the hut.’
 (A:KAT062)
- (65) *[so darwóoza kaná wée gal-í] dharéndi nikháat-u*
 DEF.MSG.NOM door shoulder.OB on throw-CV outside appear.PFV-MSG

‘He came out, with the door on his shoulder.’ (A:GHU028)

Accompanying circumstance. The Converb construction can also express an accompanying circumstance, or a means specification with reference to the same subject and the same event. In (66)–(68) a subsequential interpretation is even less an issue.

- (66) *máa-the [míi nóo de] maníit-u ki asíi ráaj-am-ii*
 1SG.NOM-to 1SG.GN name give.CV say.PFV-MSG COMP 1PL.GN rope-PL.OB-GN
zimawaár tu
 responsible 2SG.NOM
 ‘Calling my name, they told me: You are responsible for the ropes.’ (A:ACR008)

- (67) *paturaá nuuṭíl-u ta khayí zhay-í wée asím jinaazá [khaṣeel-í]*
 back return.PFV-MSG PRT which place-OB in 1PL.ERG corpse drag-CV
wheelíl-u de...
 take.down.PFV-MSG PST
 ‘When I turned back to the place to where we had dragged the corpse....’
 (A:GHA043)
- (68) *[tas wheel-í] atshareet-á phedóol-u*
 3SG.ACC bring.down-CV Ashret-OB bring.PFV-MSG
 ‘We brought him down to Ashret’ (A:GHA081)

However, an accompanying circumstance, or further specification of the action carried out by the subject, is sometimes, as in (69) and (70), expressed with the more restricted Copredicative Participle (construction (vii)).

- (69) *se oóra ṣaá kaṭamúš paš-í ba [utrap-íim] yhóol-a*
 3PL.NOM over.here side Katamosh see-CV PRT run-CPRD come.PFV-MPL
hín-a
 be.PRS-MPL
 ‘When they saw Katamosh over here they came running.’ (A:KAT061)
- (70) *phoó [patugiraá daḥ-íim daḥ-íim] áa dand-á patú [haát čula-íim]*
 boy back look-CPRD look-CPRD IDEF ridge-OB behind hand wave-CPRD
aḥíi-am dīi fanaá bhíl-u hín-u
 eye-PL.OB from annihilation become.PFV-MSG be.PRS-MSG
 ‘The boy kept looking back and disappeared behind a ridge still waving his hand.’ (A:SHY035)

Simultaneity. Simultaneity involves two overlapping events and includes what Givón (2001b: 330) refers to as “point coincidence”. The backgrounded event (Thompson & Longacre 1985: 188–189) is usually expressed with a Verbal Noun (construction (v)) in Palula. If the subject is the same in the foregrounded as well as in the backgrounded event, the Verbal Noun occurs alone, as in (71), or with a postposition *maǰí* ‘in, among’ (72) or *sangí* ‘with’, whereas if there is a subject shift between the foregrounded and the backgrounded event, the Verbal Noun (or the postposition) occurs, as in (73) and (74), with a suffix -ÉÉ (probably accent-bearing and not necessarily identical with the accent-neutral coordinating suffix presented in §13.2.1), which functions as a switch-reference marker similar to the contrast between *ta*-constructions vis-à-vis Converb constructions described above.

- (71) *baçhúuru be ba, [patugiráa yh-ainii ba], páand na léed-i, se*
 calf go.CV PRT back come-VN PRT path NEG find.PFV-F DEF
baçhúur-a
 calf-OB
 ‘The calf went (in), but *as it was coming back*, it didn’t find its way, the calf.’
 (A:CAV015-6)
- (72) *so [kráam th-ainii mají] rhoó d-áan-u*
 3SG.NOM work do-VN in song do-PRS-MSG
 ‘He sings *while working*.’ (A:Q6.34.03)
- (73) *yhayí [se ték-a d-ainii-eé] huṇḍ-ii utrapíl-i hin-i se miiš*
 come.CV DEF peak-OB give-VN-CNJ above-GN run.PFV-F be.PRS-F DEF man
kh-ainii the
 eat-VN to
 ‘As he reached the peak, she came running from above to eat the man.’
 (A:PAS121-2)
- (74) *[ajdahaá katoolii-a wée ač-anii sangi-eé] lhooméea se miiš-a*
 dragon fodder.sack-OB in enter-VN with- CNJ fox.OB DEF man-OB
ḍāḍi išaará thiiil-u, thanáau dhvak-é
 toward hint do.PFV-MSG string pull-IMP.SG
 ‘Just as the dragon went into the sack, the fox signaled to the man to pull the string.’ (B:DRB)

A somewhat parallel strategy is the use of an Agentive Verbal Noun and *bhe*-‘become’, (75)–(76), lit. ‘became an onlooker, became goers’, etc. (construction (vi)). With these constructions, it is not always obvious which event is backgrounded and which one is foregrounded.

- (75) *deerá šiiṭi sigrét dhvak-i ba [tasii maxadúši wée tasii putr tas*
 room inside cigarette pull-CV PRT 3SG.GN front.of in 3SG.GN son 3SG.ACC
the daçh-áaṭ-u bhíl-u hín-u]
 to look-AG-MSG become.PFV-MSG be.PRS-MSG
 ‘As he sat smoking in the room, his son was looking at him.’ (A:SMO001-2)
- (76) *áak deés [se zangal-í pharé báaiṭ-a bhíl-a hín-a]*
 IDEF day 3PL.NOM forest-OB through go.AG-MPL become.PFV-MPL be.PRS-MPL
naaghaani áak amzarái nikháat-u hín-u
 suddenly IDEF lion appear.PFV-MSG be.PRS-MSG
 ‘One day, as they were walking through a forest, suddenly a lion appeared.’

(A:UNF005-6)

Less commonly, simultaneity or temporal overlap is expressed with a Perfective verb form with a suffixed *ee*-conjunction, as in (77). Whether the Perfective verb form is finite or nonfinite in this case, I do not have a conclusive answer to at the moment.

- (77) [so ta gúum-ee] ma ba patugiraá yhóol-u
 3SG.NOM PRT go.PFV-CNJ 1SG.NOM PRT back come.PFV-MSG
 ‘As he left, I went back (home).’ (A:HUA043)

Precedence. In the temporal clauses mentioned so far, there is either an implied simultaneity or a sequence of events where the subordinate (or cosubordinate) ‘when’-clause refers to an event taking place before the event named in the main clause. In so-called precedence clauses (Givón 2001b: 327), on the other hand, the event in the ‘before’-clause has not yet been realised in relation to the event mentioned in the main clause (Thompson & Longacre 1985: 182). For such clauses a Verbal Noun with the complex postposition *dii muṣṭú* ‘before’ (in B. *dii muxáak*) is used, as can be seen in (78)–(80).

- (78) *ṭhaaṭáak-a ba [bheš-ainií dii muṣṭú]tas dii nóo khoojóol-u*
 monster-OB PRT sit.down-VN from before 3SG.ACC from name ask.PFV-MSG
 maní
 HSAY
 ‘Before sitting down, we have been told that the monster asked for his name.’ (A:UXB012)
- (79) [*khinǰ-ainií dii muṣṭú*] *thii su-eeṇḍéew*
 become.tired-VN from before 2SG.GN fall.asleep-OBLG
 ‘You must go to bed before you get tired.’ (A:TAQ131)
- (80) [*har kram thenii dii muxáak*] *biiḍ-u čiteṇḍéú*
 every work do.VN from before much-MSG think.OBLG
 ‘It is necessary to think properly before a work is carried out.’ (B:FOX)

13.4.2 Purpose

Dependent clauses expressing the purpose for an event to be carried out usually have an implicit human subject coreferential with the (normally) explicit subject of the main clause (Givón 2001b: 337). The construction used, a Verbal Noun

followed by the postposition ‘to’, parallels such “dative” purpose clauses found in many other languages (Thompson & Longacre 1985: 186–187). The finite verb in sentences, such as (81)–(82), is almost invariably an intransitive motion verb ‘come’, ‘go’, etc.

- (81) *nu ba [asaám mhaar-ainií the] ukháat-u de*
 3MSG.PROX.NOM PRT 1PL.ACC kill-VN to come.down.PFV-MSG PST
thani

QT

‘He has come down to kill us.’ (A:HUA071)

- (82) *phoo-íi ghoosť-íi tarapíi tasíi axpul-aán kuřina muiš-a [teeníi*
 boy-GN house-GN direction 3SG.GN relative-PL woman.PL man-PL REFL
se bhoói paš-ainií the] biáan-a

DEF daughter-in-law see-VN to go.PRS-MPL

‘The relatives, men and women from the boy’s house, are going (there), to see their daughter-in law.’ (A:MAR104)

Not infrequently the verb itself is implicit in the purpose clause, and instead the direct object argument, ‘bowls’ in (83), receives the “dative” marking.

- (83) *theé ba se iñç kařamuš-á the óol thawaá [looríi-am*
 do.CV PRT 3PL.NOM bear Katamosh-OB to watch make.do.CV bowl-PL.OB
the] gíia hín-a

to go.PFV.MPL be.PRS-MPL

‘Then they made the bear watch Katamosh and went to get bowls [lit. for bowls].’ (A:KAT127)

Purpose is also quite often explicitly expressed by the postposition *dapáara* ‘for, for the sake of’ (a Pashto loan) following the Verbal Noun, as in (84) or (in B.), the postposition *pándee* ‘for, for the sake of’ following the Verbal Noun in the genitive, as in (85).

- (84) *[bhraawéeli th-ainií dapáara] tanaám mají áak qabúl th-áan-u*
 brotherhood do-VN for 3PL.ACC among one consent do-PRS-MSG
ki ma bhíiru ghin-í thíi ghoosť-á the yh-úum
 COMP 1SG.NOM he.goat take-CV 2SG.GN house-OB to come-1SG

‘In order to form a brotherhood, one of them agrees to bring a he-goat to the other one’s house.’ (A:MIT013)

- (85) *ghooş-á baás de ba patugiraák [tenaám daç-anii-e pándee]*
 house-OB shelter give-CV PRT back 3PL.ACC look-VN-GN for
ghireé gáu
 again go.PFV.MSG
 ‘After spending the night at home, he went back again to look at them.’
 (B:BEL335)

13.4.3 Causality

As noted by Thompson & Longacre (1985: 181), it is no surprise that we find causal relationships expressed in the same way as temporal relationships, or rather that the constructions themselves are neutral between a time and a cause interpretation. Often in Palula, dependent clauses, such as the different-subject *ta*-construction (see §13.4.1), can thus imply an immediately preceding event in time as well as a cause for the event or action in the main clause to happen or be carried out.

Example (50), quoted above, may, for instance, be given a sequential interpretation as well as a causal one: ‘When a daughter of yours was born, your wife took her and went up into the forest’ (sequential), or: ‘Because a daughter of yours was born, your wife took her and went up into the forest’ (causal).

As further pointed out by Givón (2001b: 335), cause (along with reason) can itself be divided into a number of subdistinctions, such as agentive external, non-agentive external, eventive external, non-eventive external, eventive internal and non-eventive internal.

For external causality, the preferred strategy is, as can be seen in (86), the already mentioned finite different-subject construction with *ta*.

- (86) *[jaangul-á ma bhanjóol-u ta] ru-áan-u*
 Jangul-OB 1SG.NOM beat.PFV-MSG PRT cry-PRS-MSG
 ‘Jangul beat me, therefore I’m weeping.’ (A:HUA104)

A construction involving a Verbal Noun,² also used to imply simultaneity (see above), can also be used to signal causality, as in (87)–(89).

- (87) *[panaahí dawainii-a] yeyratxaan-á ba tes teenii ghúuru téste*
 shelter ask.VN-OB Ghairat.Khan-OB PRT 3SG.ACC REFL horse 3SG.ACC.to

² To what degree any of the case suffixes in the examples from Biori correspond to the (possibly conjunctive) suffix *-ee* in the Ashret example remains at this point an unanswered question.

de ba tes har-í har-í raulée phará the
 give-CV PRT 3SG.ACC take.away-CV take.away-CV Lowari.OB through do.CV
ba nawaab-í dāḍi langúul-u
 PRT prince-GN side take.across.PFV-MSG

‘Asking him for shelter, Ghairat Khan gave him his own horse and took him across Lowari to the territory of the prince (of Dir).’ (B:ATI026-7)

- (88) *jeníi-e iñç zaxmát bhíl-u*
 hit.VN-GN bear wounded become.PFV-MSG

‘The bear was wounded from the firing.’ (B:BEL320)

- (89) *[so ma pharé ḍhak-ainíi-ee] piaalá ma díi lháast-u*
 3SG.NOM 1SG.NOM toward touch-VN-CNJ cup 1SG.NOM from drop.PFV-MSG

‘He bumped me, so I dropped the cup.’ (A:CHE071107)

For most cases of internal causality, where the same-subject condition holds, the Converb construction is used, as in (90) and (91).

- (90) *[ma boór bhe] táayii gúum*
 1SG.NOM bored become.CV from.there go.PFV.MSG

‘I was bored, so I left.’ (A:CHE071107)

- (91) *[se xálaka qaláng na d-áa bhaá ba] uḍheew-í giia*
 DEF people tax NEG give-INF be.able.to.CV PRT flee-CV go.PFV.MPL

‘The people were not able to pay the taxes, so they left, fleeing.’ (A:MAB030)

Causality (perhaps internal in particular) can also be expressed in a more explicit way, for instance, as in (92), through a relativisation of *wāja* ‘reason’, a noun borrowed from Pashto, or a dependent clause with a Verbal Noun and a postposition, the latter exemplified in (93).

- (92) *[so wāja ba eeró ki so lhookéer-u*
 DEF.MSG.NOM reason PRT 3SG.DIST.NOM COMP DEF.MSG.NOM younger-MSG
brhoó so kaná pharé gal-í whéel-u de ḍóo
 brother DEF³ shoulder.OB along throw-CV bring.down.PFV-MSG PST HOST
the] eetasií asaár tas the phedíl-i
 do.CV 3SG.GN effect 3SG.ACC to arrive.PFV-F

‘Because (lit. for the reason that) he had carried his younger brother on his shoulder, he was affected.’ (A:DRA028-9)

- (93) *čhéeli [na čit-aníi jhulí] ghrast-i iškáar bhíl-i*
 goat NEG think-VN on wolf-GN prey become.PFV-F
 ‘Since the goat didn’t really think, she fell prey to the wolf.’ (B:FOX)

13.4.4 Conditionality

As is the case in many languages (Thompson & Longacre 1985: 193), there is in Palula no absolute distinction made between temporality and conditionality. Although there are distinct morphological markings available to signal conditionality, there is, as we shall see, some overlap in coding between clauses with an implied temporality (and to some extent causality) vis-à-vis clauses with conditional semantics.

It is also, as noted by Thompson & Longacre (1985: 190–191), as well as by Givón (2001b: 333–334), possible for languages to make explicit finer gradations along a scale of verisimilitude, an observation relevant for the analysis of Palula conditionals. We can discern at least three degrees of verisimilitude: a) generally true, b) possibly or probably true, and c) not true. These will be discussed and exemplified under the following headings: assumed conditionality, hypothetical conditionality, and counterfactuality.

Assumed conditionality. Conditionals under this heading partly match what Thompson & Longacre (1985: 190–191) refers to as reality conditionals. Here we find the conditionally marked clauses that are closest related to temporality and causality as described above. Often the conditionally marked clause is equally translatable with ‘when...’ and ‘if...’ (and especially with past-time reference, ‘whenever’). The typical construction is a finite (often Perfective) ‘if’-clause with the conditionality marker *sée~ta* (B. *síinta*), followed by an imperfective ‘then’-clause. They describe a condition that usually holds, especially in a more generic sense, or used to do so in the past. Examples are given in (94)–(97).

- (94) *[misrí yhóol-u sée~ta] misrí díi tsaták hóons-a*
 mason come.PFV-MSG CONDH mason from hammer stay-3SG
 ‘When the mason comes, he (usually) has a hammer with him.’ (A:HOW010)
- (95) *[bíid-u táru bi díit-u sée~ta] xaráab bh-éen-i*
 much-MSG quickly also give.PFV-MSG CONDH bad become-PRS-F
 ‘But also if it [salt] is given too often, it will harm her [the goat].’ (A:KEE019)

³ I do not have any explanation for this form to appear. If it indeed is a determiner of the oblique case-marked *kaná*, the form *se* is expected.

- (96) [*paačhambeé uthiit-u sée~ta*] *so bi uth-íi de*
 Pashambi stand.up.PFV-MSG CONDH 3SG.NOM also stand.up-3SG PST
maní

HSAY

‘If/Whenever Pashambi stood up, he [the monster] would also stand up.’
 (A:UXB016)

- (97) [*ačhúuři-m thak-ainií waxt bhíl-u sée~ta*] *yh-íin*
 walnut.tree-PL shake.down-VN time become.PFV-MSG CONDH come-3PL
de

PST

‘Whenever it was the time of walnut shedding, they used to come.’ (A:JAN015)

Sometimes the clause-final conditional marker also co-occurs, as in (98), with a temporal conjunction *kareé* ‘when’.

- (98) [*míiš-ii putr kareé zuwaán bhíl-u sée~ta*] *tas the kúři*
 man-GN son when young.adult become.PFV-MSG CONDH 3SG.ACC to woman
dawainií bandubás th-áan-u
 ask.VN arrangement do.PRS-MSG

‘When/If someone’s son becomes of age, he then arranges for his marriage.’
 (A:MAR003-4)

Some clauses with a predictive semantics are coded in the same manner, either with the ‘if’-clause in the Perfective (99) or in the Future (100), although most predictions tend to be coded as hypothetical conditionals (see below). Again, the choice between the two is most likely to do with the degree of predictability, although in some predictive contexts the two codings are used more or less interchangeably.

- (99) [*típa čhéeli míi thaní maniit-u síinta ba*] *xálak les*
 now goat 1SG.GN QT say.PFV-MSG CONDH PRT people 3SG.DIST.ACC
mhaar-éen
 kill-3PL

‘If I now say “This is my sheep”, people will kill him.’ (B:THI)

- (100) [*ma róot-a gagalá teem-íi yhayí ma tu the taak-úum*
 1SG.NOM night-OB whenever time-GN come.CV 1SG.NOM 2SG.NOM to call-1SG
sée~ta] *tu nikh-á ta kráam-a the b-áaya*
 CONDH 2SG.NOM come.out-IMP.SG PRT work-OB to come-1PL

‘If/When I come, whatever time during the night, and knock, you should

come out, and we will go to work.’ (A:WOM628)

In some clauses, such as in (101), *síinta* clearly implies cause rather than condition, particularly in B. it seems.

- (101) [koó se muṭ-á túuri-e thii baṭ-áam ḵ-áan-a síinta ba]
 someone DEF tree-OB below-GN from stone-INS hit-PRS-MPL CONDH PRT
 kúuk-a na bheš-ái bhay-áan-a
 crow-PL NEG sit.down-INF be.able.to-PRS.MPL

‘Because someone is throwing stones from under the tree, the crows cannot sit down.’ (B:SHB741)

In some pieces of discourse, *sée~ta/síinta* is also used clause-initially, as a single element, either without any obvious reference to any preceding clause and with a rather vague semantics, glossed as ‘then’ or ‘well’, or with a very general causal reference to a larger chunk of discourse, functioning as a conjunction with the meaning ‘so’, ‘therefore’ or ‘it means’. An example of the latter is (102).

- (102) sée~ta asii iskuúl bi asaám the bíid-i dhúura hín-i
 so 1PL.GN school also 1PL.ACC to much-F distant be.PRS-F

‘So (as I said), we also have a long way to school.’ (A:OUR016)

Hypothetical conditionality. These conditionals belong mainly under the imaginary type, following Thompson & Longacre’s (1985: 195) classification. Examples (103)–(104) express conditions of a lower verisimilitude than the assumed conditionals above. The conditionally-marked clause of this kind, often translatable with ‘if...’, is a finite (often Perfective) clause with the conditionality marker *hée~ta*, followed by an imperfective ‘then’-clause. They describe a condition that is probable or possible, although to a certain extent imagined. Most conditionals referring to the future are also coded this way.

- (103) [inšaalaá heenšúka paás bhíl-a hée~ta] ghróom-a iskuul-í
 God.willing this.year pass become.PFV-MPL CONDL village-OB school-OB
 the wh-áaya
 to come.down-1PL

‘If we pass the test this year, we will go to the village school.’ (A:OUR013)

- (104) [dúu jáan-a akaadúi xox bhíl-a hée~ta] se
 two person-PL one.another liking become.PFV-MPL CONDL 3PL.NOM
 bhraawú bh-áan-a, bhraawéeli th-áan-a
 brother.PL become-PRS-MPL brotherhood do-PRS-MPL
 ‘If two persons like one another, they become brothers, they form a brotherhood.’ (A:MIT010-1)

The same structure is found in negative conditionals (105) as well.

- (105) [thíi ninaám na phedúul-a hée~ta] qeaamatée-e dees-á
 2SG.GN 3PL.PROX.ACC NEG take.PFV-MPL CONDL judgement-GN day-OB
 ma tu díi khooj-ám
 1SG.NOM 2SG.NOM from ask-1SG
 ‘If you don’t take these (to her), I will ask you on the day of judgement.’
 (B:FLW800)

As with assumed conditionality, the clause-final conditional marker also co-occurs with a temporal conjunction in some instances of hypothetical conditionality, as can be seen in (106).

- (106) [maṇḍáu kareé thiil-u hée~ta] maṇḍáu wée ghareé ḍhíngar ghooṣṭ-á
 veranda when do.PFV-MSG CONDL veranda in again wood house-OB
 díi tuúš muxtaliḥ bh-áan-u
 from a.little different become-PRS-MSG
 ‘Whenever/if you were to make a veranda, the wood of the veranda would be different from that of the house.’ (A:HOW073)

Besides the ‘then’-clauses in (103)–(106) with Future and Present verb forms, the Imperative as well as the Perfective are possible verb forms to use in future-referring ‘then’-clauses, both occurring in (107).

- (107) [ki anú múr-u hée~ta] ḍhang-á [anú
 COMP 3MSG.PROX.NOM die.PFV-MSG CONDL bury-IMP.SG 3MSG.PROX.NOM
 jáand-u ba dhariit-u hée~ta] asím tu the baxil-u
 alive-MSG PRT remain.PFV-MSG CONDL 1PL.ERG 1SG.NOM to donate.PFV-MSG

‘Were he to die, then bury him, were he, however, to stay alive, then we have given him to you.’ (B:ATI052)

Quite infrequently, the ‘if’-clause occurs in a TMA category other than the Perfective. The utterance in (108) is in effect a threat, while the utterance in (109) is a polite request.

- (108) [*aṛé phoó na d-áan-a hée~ta*] *ma pirsaaḥíb ḥaṛáyyu traṭáa*
DIST⁴ boy NEG give-PRS-MPL CONDL 1SG.NOM Pir.Sahib from.there expulsion
th-áan-u
do-PRS-MSG
‘Unless they hand over the boy, I will expel Pir Sahib from there.’ (B:ATI064-5)
- (109) [*tu mheerabeení the asíi móoṇuṣ asaám d-íiṛ hée~ta*] *śóo*
2SG.NOM thanks to 1PL.GN person 1PL.ACC give-2SG CONDL good.MSG
bh-íi
become-3SG
‘Would you be so kind as to give us our person [the bride].’ (A:MAR059)

Apart from the explicitly marked conditional clauses exemplified above, we also find conditionality implied in Converb clauses, as in (110), as well as in *ta*-clauses, as in (111). The Past Imperfective in the ‘then’-clause in (111) implies unfulfilment by itself.

- (110) [*ma tu na khaá ba*] *kaseé the uṛ-áan-u*
1SG.NOM 2SG.NOM NEG eat-CV PRT someone.ACC to let.out-PRS-MSG
‘If I don’t eat you, I will let you be eaten by someone else.’ (A:KAT021)
- (111) [*malgíri-m the man-úum de ta*] *ḵinaazá gal-í uḍḥíiw-an de*
companion-PL.OB to say-1SG PST PRT corpse throw-CV flee-3PL PST
‘If I were to tell my companions, they would leave the corpse and run away.’
(A:GHA047)

Also the coordinate adversative construction *ta...ba* (see §13.2.1), as in (112), can by itself imply conditionality.

⁴ This is not the expected form of a determiner, since the head is a masculine singular nominative.

- (112) [ma nis áaj kh-úum ta rhootašii-a ba kanáa bh-úum
1SG.NOM 3SG.PROX.ACC today eat-1SG PRT morning-OB PRT like.what become-1SG

‘If I eat this today, what will then become of me tomorrow?’ (A:HUB005)

Counterfactuality. In counterfactual expressions, as in (113)–(114), both the ‘if’-clause and the ‘then’-clause occur with the conditionality marker of low verisimilitude, *hee~ta*, i.e. the one also used in the hypothetical expressions above. The word *agar* in (114) is a subordinating expression also occurring in Urdu conditionality (Schmidt 1999: 101–103).

- (113) [yáara ma islaamabaad-á gáu de hee~ta] šúi bhíl-u
oh! 1SG.NOM Islamabad-OB go.PFV.MSG PST CONDL good become.PFV-MSG
de hee~ta, islaamabaad dhriišt-u de hee~ta
PST CONDL Islamabad see.PFV-MSG PST CONDL

‘Oh, if I had gone to Islamabad, it would have been good, I would have seen Islamabad.’ (B:ISH001-2)

- (114) [ágar thii dóodu jáand-u heensíl-u hee~ta] tasii úumur
if 2SG.GN grandfather alive-MSG stay.PFV-MSG CONDL 3SG.GN age
típa čuurbhišá kaal-á de hee~ta
now 80 year-PL be.PST CONDL

‘If your grandfather were still alive, he would by now be 80 years old.’ (A:HLE3086)

The proposition in the ‘if’-clause of (114) is contrary to fact, i.e. the person speaking knows for sure that the person referred to is dead, and therefore the ‘then’-clause here expresses what would have been the case if that had been otherwise, whereas if the verisimilitude value is pending (Givón 2001b: 332), as is the case with the hypothetical conditionality exemplified already, the proposition of the ‘then’-clause may still be true. A hypothetical conditionality contrasting with the counterfactuality in (114) can be seen in the almost parallel sentence in (115).

- (115) [ágar tasii dóodu jáand-u hín-u hee~ta] tasii úumur
if 3SG.GN grandfather alive-MSG be.PRS-MSG CONDL 3SG.GN age
čuurbhišá kaal-á hóons-a
80 year-PL stay-3SG

‘If his grandfather is still alive, he would be 80 years old.’ (A:HLE3086)

Concessive conditionality. Concessive conditionality is basically expressed by the same means as hypothetical conditionality, i.e. with a finite (often Perfective) ‘if’-clause with the conditionality-marker *hée~ta*. However, as seen in (116) and (117), the particle *bi* ‘also, even’ is added to emphasise the contrary-to-expectation reading.

- (116) [*tíi ágar šúi paaŋtí šeel-i de hée~ta bi*] *so bač*
 3SG.OB if good.F clothes put.on.PFV-F PST CONDL even 3MSG.NOM saved
na bh-eeŋdeéu de
 NEG become-OBLG PST
 ‘Even if he had been wearing good clothes, he would not have been saved.’
 (A:CHE071114)

- (117) [*tíi máa-the ďábal tanxaá bi díť-u hée~ta*] *ma eesé*
 3SG.OB 1SG.NOM-to double salary even give.PFV-MSG CONDL 1SG.NOM REM
nookarí na th-úum
 job NEG do-1SG
 ‘Even if he were offering me the double salary, I would not take the job.’
 (A:CHE071114)

13.4.5 Clauses with other adverbial functions

Concessive clauses. There is probably no unique strategy for forming concessive clauses. A conjunction with “adversative” reading (see §13.2.1–§13.2.2) can, for instance, be used for this purpose, with (118) or without (119) the contrary-to-expectation particle *bi* ‘also, even’.

- (118) [*so šúi paaŋtí bi šaá heensíl-u de*] *xu bač na*
 3SG.NOM good.F clothes even put.on.CV stay.PFV-MSG PST but saved NEG
bhíl-u
 become.PFV-MSG
 ‘Even though he was wearing good clothes, he did not survive.’ (A:CHE071114)
- (119) [*míi parčá ta díť-u xu ma paás ba na bh-eeŋdeéu*]
 1SG.GN paper PRT give.PFV-MSG but 1SG.NOM passed PRT NEG become-OBLG

‘Although I turned in my paper, I will not pass.’ (A:CHE071114)

Substitutive clauses. As with concessive clauses there is no single dedicated substitutive construction. Instead a few different constructions are used to express the semantics of a substitutive.

First, there are constructions involving the noun *zhaái* ‘place’. The one exemplified in (120), has a subordinate clause almost analogous to the English ‘instead of...’, with a Verbal Noun qualifying the oblique form of *zhaái*. The ‘place’-noun in (121) is on the other hand only qualified by a possessive clause and is therefore not a subordinate clause at all.

- (120) [*karaačí the bainíi zhay-í*] *ma ba laahur-á the gúum*
 Karachi to go.VN place-OB 1SG.NOM PRT Lahore-OB to go.PFV.MSG
 ‘Instead of going to Karachi, I went to Lahore.’ (A:CHE071114)
- (121) *ibrahíim aleehisalaam-íi putr ismaaíl-e zhay-í míi dúudu*
 Ibrahim peace-be-upon-him-GN son Ismail- GN place-OB 1SG.GN forefather
qurbaán bhe hín-u
 sacrifice become.CV be.PRS-MSG
 ‘My forefather was sacrificed instead [lit. in the place] of Ibrahim’s (PBUH) son Ismail.’ (B:SHI013)

It is also possible to use a comparative construction ‘X-ing a, is better than X-ing b’. In this case, as seen in (122), the subject head as well as the head of the predicate noun phrase are Verbal Nouns.

- (122) [*pulusá the man-ainíi díi*] *máa-the man-ainíi šóo de*
 police to say-VN from 1SG.NOM-to say-VN good.MSG be.PST
 ‘Rather than telling the police, you should have told me [Lit. The telling to me is better than the telling to the police].’ (A:CHE071114)

Although implicit to a larger extent, a substitutive reading of an utterance-complement with the direct-quote marker *thaní* (cf. §13.5.1), is also possible ((123)–(124)) and may very well be the preferred way of expressing substitution. In (124) this interpretation is supported by the word *ulṭá* ‘upside-down’.

- (123) [*ma karaačí the béem thaní*] *laahur-á the gúum*
 1SG.NOM Karachi to go.1SG QT Lahore-OB to go.PFV.MSG
 ‘Instead of going to Karachi [as I said], I went to Lahore.’ (A:CHE071114)
- (124) [*díiś-a ba baalbač-á kuṛiina tamá th-éen de asée bhariíw-a*
 village-OB PRT child-PL woman.PL waiting do-3PL PST 1PL.GN husband-PL
be hín-a neečíir the whaal-éen mhaas-á whaal-éen thaní]
 go.CV be.PRS-MPL game to bring.down-3PL meat-PL bring.down.3PL QT

hasé dees-á ulṭá hasé trúu jinaazeé ghin-í wháat-a
 REM day-OB upside.down REM three corpse.PL take.CV come.down.PFV-MPL
xálak-a
 people-PL

‘In the village the children and women were waiting, but instead of the husbands coming back from the hunting with game and meat, those three corpses were brought down by people on that day.’ (B:AVA218-20)

Additive clauses. There is not much evidence of any entirely unique construction expressing additive semantics. Instead the conjunction with *bi...bi* (see §13.2.1) seems to cover some occurrences of “addition”. Possibly the construction found in (125), with a subordinate Verbal Noun followed by the postposition *sangí* ‘with’ along with *bi* in the main clause, represents a more explicit expression of “addition”.

- (125) [*ma bhanj-ainíi-a sangí*] *áak the tii mii paiseé bi palóol-a*
 1SG.NOM beat-VN-OB with one to 3SG.OB 1SG.GN money.PL also steal.PFV-MPL

‘Besides beating me up, he stole my money.’ (A:CHE071114)

It is uncertain what role the adverbial phrase *áak the* plays in signalling “addition”. It also occurs in (126), where a similar reading is possible, although the two clauses here are symmetric rather than one of them being subordinate the other.

- (126) *haró hateñ-ú deés de ki [ak the kir bíiḍ-u de]*
 3MSG.REM.NOM such-MSG day be.PST COMP one to snow much-MSG be.PST
[dhuúime xálak adrax-í heensíl-a]
 second people forest-ob stay.PFV-MPL

‘It was such a day, that besides there being a lot of snow, people were in the forest (or It was such a day, that on the one hand there was a lot of snow, and on the other there were people in the forest).’ (B:AVA216)

13.5 Complement clauses

Palula utilises a number of different strategies for sentential complementation, mainly determined by the complement-taking verb. However, due to the degree

of semantic bond between the complement-taking predicate and the verbal element of the complement (Givón 2001b: 39-40), most of them fall, quite clearly, into one of two main types: a) sentence-like complements, and b) nonfinite complements. While the complements of the first type usually (but not exclusively) are extraposed and syntactically are relatively independent from the main clause, the complements of the second type are almost invariably embedded into the main clause and have a time reference entirely determined by the main clause.

The specific strategies found in the S-like main type are:

- (i) A zero strategy, or juxtaposition, whereby the complement, always a direct-quote utterance, occurs after the main clause and its complement-taking predicate without any overt complementiser or other linking device
- (ii) A very broadly applied *ki*-strategy, whereby a particle or complementiser *ki* follows the complement-taking predicate and precedes the extraposed (heavy-shifted) finite complement clause (basically an instance of relativisation, see §13.6.7)
- (iii) A *thané*-strategy, whereby a reported discourse complement precedes a form of *thané*- ‘say’ (often in the Converb form *thanî*)
- (iv) A minor *ta*-strategy, whereby a particle *ta* follows the complement-taking predicate and precedes the extraposed finite complement clause (basically an instance of clause chaining, see §13.3)

An importance feature of the S-like complements with the strategies (i)–(iii) is that they always take a quoted-speaker’s/quoted-experiencer’s perspective as far as pronominal reference and deixis are concerned. This also means that there are hardly any constructions that are indirect; probably no reported speech ever occurs as indirect.

Strategy (ii) used with reported discourse is often combined with strategy (iii), in which case *thané*- mainly functions as a (end-of) quotation marker (see discussion in §9.2.4).

The specific strategies found in the nonfinite type are:

- (v) A complement in the form of a Verbal Noun embedded into the main clause, a broadly applied strategy
- (vi) A complement in the form of an Infinitive, showing a high degree of integration between the complement and the main clause

- (vii) A causative construction in which the complement-taking predicate is entirely co-lexicalised with the complement

Strategy (vii) represents the top of the complementation scale (Givón 2001b: 74) and is at best only underlyingly analysable as two clauses, but is included here as there is no other natural context for it to be discussed.

A few additional minor strategies are exemplified below, but due to their isolated occurrence in the data, they have not been listed above.

In the following we will exemplify and discuss these strategies as they occur within some broadly and functionally defined classes or categories of complement-taking predicates (following Givón 2001b: 40–59 and Noonan 1985: 110–33). However, as will be apparent in the discussion, the strategies outlined above are not randomly applied, but represent a language-internal differentiation along a continuum. This is a continuum that, on the one hand, stretches from complement-taking PCU (Perception-Cognition-Utterance) predicates with a weak bond between the two events to modality predicates with a strong bond between them. On the other hand, it is a continuum stretching between PCU predicates with a weak bond to manipulation predicates with a strong bond between the two events.

13.5.1 Complement-taking PCU predicates

Utterance predicates. Only with utterance predicates is the zero strategy ((i), above) alone used, and even then sparingly. According to my data, it is only the verb *mané-* ‘say, call, tell’, as in (127)–(128), that seems to allow it.

- (127) *uṭ-á maníit-u [índa násel izát pakaár na bh-éen-i]*
 camel-OB say.PFV-MSG here lineage honour need NEG become-PRS-F
 ‘The camel said: “There is no need here for lineage or honour.”’ (B:SHI015)

- (128) *ak kúri tes the maníit-u [thú ak dhií paidaá bhíl-i]*
 IDEF woman 3SG.ACC to say.PFV-MSG 2SG.GN IDEF daughter born become.PFV-F
ta, thú kúri tes ghin-í adrâx şaç-í géi]
 PRT 2SG.GN woman 3SG.ACC take-CV forest climb-CV go.PFV.FSG
 ‘A woman told him: “A daughter was born, and your wife took her with her and went up into the forest.”’ (B:FOR013-4)

More frequently, the *ki*-strategy ((ii) above) is used, with *mané-* as well as with a number of other utterance predicates (or predicates that in the context imply

an utterance): (129)–(131). Always when *ki* is used as a complementiser, the complement is heavy-shifted to the end.

- (129) *múi maníit-u ki [šóo tus b-óoi]*
1SG.GN say.PFV-MSG COMP good.MSG 2PL.NOM go.IMP.PL

‘I said: “Good, you may go!”’ (A:ACR010)

- (130) *karáar-a kařamuš-ii méemi díi khoojóol-u hín-u*
leopard-OB Katamosh- GN grandmother from ask.PFV-MSG be.PRS-MSG
ki [o méesh lhénđ-u ba]
COMP oh! aunt.VOC bald-MSG PRT

‘The leopard asked Katamosh’ grandmother: “Oh auntie, what about the bald one?”’ (A:KAT096-7)

- (131) *luumái čéyi díť-i hín-i ki [eé amzarái, eé karáaru, eé iñč*
fox cry give.PFV-F be.PRS-F COMP oh! lion oh! leopard oh! bear
táru wh-óoi, múi lhénđ-u láad-u]
quickly come.down-IMP.PL 1SG.GN bald-MSG find.PFV-MSG

‘The fox shouted: “Oh lion, oh leopard, oh bear, come quickly, I’ve found the bald one.”’ (A:KAT118-9)

Related utterances in Palula always occur as direct quotations, as can be seen in the examples (127)–(131), or more correctly, they are always presented from a quoted-speaker’s or experiencer’s (i.e. the subject of the matrix clause) perspective, as far as deixis, pronominal and time reference is concerned. Non-verbal “utterances”⁵ are treated in this way too, i.e. thoughts, as in (132), are presented from the thinking agent’s perspective, as if they were uttered verbally (a marginal exception to this is found with what I refer to below as “immediate perception predicates”).

- (132) *áa deés se phoó xiaál thíil-i híní ki [tuúš čhoót míi*
one day DEF boy opinion do.PFV-F be.PRS-F COMP some cheese 1SG.GN
se yaar-ii rumeel-í maǰí ghañđ-í wii-a keé-na gal-úum]
DEF friend-GN handkerchief-OB in tie-CV water-OB why-NEG throw-1SG

‘One day the boy thought: “Why don’t I put some cheese in my friend’s

⁵ It is probably equally possible to classify the predicate in a sentence like this as desiderative – i.e. expressing a desire that the proposition be realised – rather than as an utterance predicate.

handkerchief and throw it in the water.” (A:SHY043)

While the complement of the utterance predicates mentioned so far are all extraposed (vis-à-vis the basic SOV word order) and have to be so when used this way, that is never allowed with any form of the verb *thané-* ‘say, call’ (strategy (iii) above), as in (133)–(134). Note that, in example (134), the sentence with *thaní* is part of a longer clause chain (see §13.3).

- (133) *sum huṇḍ the ṣugal-í ba [čo ba] thaníit-u*
 dirt up to throw.away-CV PRT now go.IMP.SG say.PFV-MSG
 ‘He threw dirt up (in the air), and said: “Go on!”’ (A:PIR037)
- (134) *ḥatróol-ii xálak-a xušaán bhe, [aníi asíi nóo zindá*
 Chitral-GN people-PL happy become.CV 3SG.PROX.OB 1PL.GN name alive
thíil-u] than-í, taním bi baxšiš díit-i maṭaañ-m géel-i
 do.PFV-MSG say-CV 3PL.ERG also award give.PFV-F sweets-PL.OB throw.PFV-F
 do.PFV-MSG say-CV 3PL.ERG also award give.PFV-F sweets-PL.OB throw.PFV-F

‘The Chitrali people became very happy, saying “He has saved our reputation [lit. made our name live]”, and they also gave awards and distributed sweets’ (A:BEW007-9)

The verb *thané-* refers straightforwardly and literally back to what was actually uttered, and especially when combined with another utterance predicate and/or *ki* preceding the utterance, which is the case in (135) and (136), it becomes by effect an end-of-quotation marker, particularly in its Converb shape *thaní*.⁶

- (135) *deewúlii xálak-am daawát díit-i atshariit-am the ki [muqaabilá*
 Dir.GN people-PL.OB invitation give.PFV-F Ashreti-PL.OB to COMP contest
th-íia] thaníit-u ta atshareet-ii paalawaan-aan giia
 do-1PL say.PFV-MSG PRT Ashret-GN wrestler-PL go.PFV.PL
 ‘The people of Dir invited the Ashretis: “Let’s have a contest!” And (having said that) the wrestlers from Ashret left.’ (A:CHA001-2)

⁶ That *thaní* is becoming grammaticalised to a large extent is reflected in its being used rather often, contrary to expectation even when there is a subject switch, while a converb normally signals same-subject reference across clauses (as described elsewhere) without having any clear connection with the following discourse.

- (136) *míi ba ʔeekíl-u, [kaaka-oó-kaakaa ínç-a čhéeli khéel-i] thaní,*
 1SG.GN PRT call.PFV-MSG uncle-oh!-uncle bear-OB goat eat.PFV-F QT
ta bhraáš pašambeé so bháaru čhúuñ-u
 PRT slowly Pashambi DEF.MSG.NOM load put.PFV-MSG
 ‘I called out: “Oh uncle, uncle, the bear has eaten the goat”, whereby Pashambi slowly put down his load.’ (A:PAS056-7)

Propositional attitude predicates. Closely related to and sometimes difficult to distinguish from utterance predicates are those predicates that express an attitude regarding the complement proposition, especially concerning its verisimilitude value. The particle *xu* (in examples (137) and (138)) expresses certainty on the part of the subject of the matrix clause concerning the immediately preceding argument or phrase.

It seems also that the range of strategies available is much the same as for utterance predicates. The complement is, like the former, presented in direct (reported) discourse, often signalled by the end-of-quotation marker *thaní*.

- (137) *se míiš-a soóč thúil-i ki [anú xu típa ma*
 DEF man-OB thinking do.PFV-F COMP 3MSG.PROX.NOM PRT now 1SG.NOM
páta kh-óo] (thaní ba)
 then eat-3SG QT PRT
 ‘The man thought that he would surely eat him too [lit. The man thought: “He will now eat me also”]. (Having said that...)’ (A:THA009-10)
- (138) *[eé míi xudaayaá ni xu ux-íi rhayíi hín-i*
 oh! 1SG.GN God.VOC 3PL.PROX.NOM PRT camel-GN foot.prints be.PRS-F
xéer béem ni rhayíi ghaš-í gubáa ta] thaní
 well go.1SG PROX foot.prints catch-CV what PRT QT
 ‘I thought: “Oh my God! These must be the foot prints of a camel. Well, in any case I’ll go ahead and follow them.”’ (A:HUA061-2)

Propositional attitudes may also, as in (139), be expressed as noun complementation, the general structure remaining the same.

- (139) *asíi xiaál ki [góo mheeríl-u hée~ta khóol-u] thaní*
 1PL.GN opinion COMP perhaps kill.PFV-MSG CONDL eat.PFV-MSG QT
 ‘We thought that he had been killed and eaten [lit. Our opinion was that: “If he has been killed, he has been eaten”].’ (A:GHA011)

Commentative predicates. Commentative (or factive) predicates provide a comment on a complement proposition that is assumed to be real (Noonan 1985: 117). Again, the distinction between these and utterance predicates is not always very obvious, as the complement often occurs as reported discourse, and there is probably quite some overlap. Typically, the complement clause is formed as a question, with *keé* ‘why’ in (140) and *kateení* ‘what kind’ in (141).

- (140) *so hairán bhíl-u ki [aré čhéelí du-khur-áam*
 3MSG.NOM surprised become.PFV-MSG COMP DIST goat two-leg-PL.OB
jhulí keé uth-í hín-i] thaní
 on why stand.up-CV be.PRS-F QT
 ‘He was surprised that the goat was standing up on two feet.’ (B:SHB724)
- (141) *dun-áaṭ-u bhíl-u hín-u ki [aní ba kateen-í*
 think-AG-MSG become.PFV-MSG be.PRS-MSG COMP 3FSG.PROX.NOM PRT what.kind-F
juwánd]
 life
 ‘He started wondering what kind of life this was.’ (A:KAT057)

When the subject of the complement clause and the matrix clause are coreferent, as in (142), the complement can occur as a Verbal Noun (strategy (v)).

- (142) *lhoomée [teeníi taalím man-ainíi] šárum daḥ-íi de*
 fox.OB REFL education say-VN shame look-3SG PST
 ‘The fox was ashamed of talking about his own education.’ (B:FOY)

Predicates of knowledge acquisition. Many complement-taking predicates having to do with acquisition of knowledge, use the same strategies as for utterances, and again the complement is presented as an utterance (either by the agent of matrix clause, as in (143), or by some other, explicit or implicit, source participant, as in (144) and (145)), whether it is literally and verbally uttered or is merely cognitively processed, i.e. “uttered” mind-internally.

- (143) *búd-a hín-a ki [phaí wíi-a gúi] thaní*
 understand.PFV-MPL be.PRS-MPL COMP girl water-OB go.PFV.FSG QT
 ‘They understood that the girl must have thrown herself into the water.’
 (A:SHY060)

- (144) *ak yúun padúši so xabár bhíl-u ki [šišii-e*
 one month after 3MSG.NOM informed become.PFV-MSG COMP Shishi-GN
hakim-á thii so duşmán nawaab-á dádi phreyíl-u] thaní
 ruler-OB 2SG.GN DEF.MSG.NOM enemy prince-OB side send.PFV-MSG QT

‘A month later he [the king] was informed that the ruler of Shishi had helped his [the king’s] enemy to the territory of the prince [of Dir].’ (B:ATI030-1)

- (145) *tii şúunt-u de ki, zangal-ii zinaawur-óom díi [insaán*
 3SG.OB hear.PFV-MSG PST COMP forest-GN beast-PL.OB from human
thaní áa šái hín-u...] thaní
 QT IDEF thing be.PRS-MSG QT

‘He heard from the beasts of the forest, that a thing called “man”....’ (A:KIN002-4)

In examples (143)–(145) the complement is presented as an already uttered proposition, but even when the – assumedly verbal or cognitive – knowledge is still to be obtained, as perceived by the subject of the matrix clause, the same structure is being utilised, which can be seen in (146) but now without the final *thaní*.

- (146) *so insaán bulađ-îim bii de páand-a pharé ki [so*
 DEF.MSG.NOM human find.out-CPRD go-3SG PST road-OB along COMP DEF.MSG.NOM
insaán kateen-ú šái hín-u]
 human what.kind-MSG thing be.PRS-MSG

‘He went ahead to find out what kind of thing man is.’ (A:KIN004)

Immediate perception predicates. With at least two verbs coding directly perceived events, *daçh*- ‘look, see’ (in (147)–(148)) and *dhay*- ‘watch, note’ (the latter only in B., (149)), another construction is regularly used (strategy (iv)), in which the finite complement-taking predicate occurs with a particle *ta*, followed by a finite complement clause, i.e. the same construction used in the chaining of different-subject clauses (see §13.4).

- (147) *huṇḍgiraá daçh-ín ta [iṇç muṭ-ii phúṭi jhulí bheš-í áaṇç-a khiáan-u]*
 upward look-3PL PRT bear tree-GN top on sit-CV raspberry-PL eat.PRS-MSG

‘They were looking up and saw the bear sitting in the top of the tree eating raspberries.’ (A:KAT145)

- (148) *daçhíl-u ta [so ba rištaá xuščhá-ii so maámu]*
 look.PFV-MSG PRT 3MSG.NOM PRT really Khosh.Shah-GN DEF.MSG.NOM uncle

‘They saw that he was indeed Khosh Shah’s uncle.’ (A:JAN056)

- (149) *káaker dhay-ii ta [dúu peereṇii-a hasé ziaarat-í piçh-aanii the yéel-im]*
 Kakel note-3SG PRT two fairy-PL REM shrine-PL sweep-VN to come.PFV-FPL

‘Kakel noted that two fairies came to sweep those shrines.’ (B:FOR030)

It should be especially noted that while all the complements with PCU-predicates exemplified in the previous sections represented direct discourse, the perceived event presented with this particular construction is indirect. Had it been presented as from the view of the experiencer in the matrix clause, the pronoun used in (150) would have been *mii* ‘my’ and not *tasii* ‘her’.

- (150) *so šái gaḍ-í daçh-ii ta [tasii díit-i whaáu]*
 DEF.MSG.NOM thing take.off-CV look-3SG PRT 3SG.GN give.PPTC-F ADJ
rumiaál hín-i]
 handkerchief be.PRS-F

‘Taking up the thing, she saw that it was the handkerchief she had given.’ (A:SHY054)

13.5.2 Complement-taking modality predicates

Modal predicates. As modality is part of the TMA system as a whole and is expressed morphologically, there are few examples of complement-taking predicates with a purely modal meaning. However, one such predicate is *bha-* ‘be able to, can’, illustrated in (151). This verb regularly takes an infinitival complement, a strategy (vi), as far as my data is concerned, confined to this modal verb and the phasal verb *šáat-* (see **Phasal predicates** down below).

- (151) *se har deés akaadúi paš-áai bhóon de*
 3PL.NOM every day RECP see-INF be.able.to.3PL PST
 ‘They were able to meet every day.’ (A:SHY007)

That this verb is relatively morphologised as a potentialis marker is indicated by its loss of inherent transitivity (otherwise highly unusual in the language). It is instead the complement verb that makes the whole sentence transitive or intransitive and also governs case assignment, whereas morphological verb agreement is part of the modal segment. In the perfective transitive sentence (152), the agent of ‘eating’ is coded in the ergative, and *bhá-* agrees in gender and number with ‘meat’ (masculine singular) as if it were a transitive verb. In (153), which is also perfective transitive, the verb agrees in gender and number with the agreeing host element ‘endurance’ (feminine singular). In (154), however, the sentence as a whole is (perfective) intransitive, and the subject of ‘going’ is coded in the nominative and agrees intransitively with *bhá-* in gender and number.

- (152) *asím pileet-íi buṭheé mhaás kháai bhóol-u*
 1PL.ERG plate-GN all meat eat-INF be.able.PFV-MSG
 ‘We were able to eat all the meat on the plates.’ (A:CHE070920)
- (153) *súun-a be ba teeníi doost-íi juda-í bardaáš na th-ái*
 pasture-OB go.CV PRT REFL friend-GN separation-GN endurance NEG do-INF
bhéel-i
 be.able.PFV-F
 ‘When he had gone to the high pasture, he could not bear the separation from his friend.’ (B:FLW777)
- (154) *ma atshareet-á the na báai bhóol-u*
 1SG.NOM Ashret-OB to NEG go-INF be.able.PFV-MSG
 ‘I was not able to go to Ashret.’ (A:CHN070104)

That this exemplifies clause union rather than a full lexical union is supported by the fact that it is still possible to split the two predicates and insert other constituents between them, as in (155).

- (155) *ga manáa ba koó na bhóon de*
 anything say-INF PRT who NEG be.able.3PL PST
 ‘Noone could tell them.’ (A:JAN021)

Necessity or ability can also be expressed with complement clauses of complement-taking nouns. In those cases, the Verbal Noun strategy (v) is used. This is exemplified in (156)–(159).

- (156) *bīḍ-i čitīl-i, xu [kuhée wée yúu nikh-anīi] ga čal na*
 much-F think.PFV-F but well.OB in from come.out-VN any trick NEG
léed-i
 find.PFV-F
 ‘She thought a lot, but there was no way of getting out of the well.’ (B:FOX)
- (157) *[putrīi jhanī thainīi] zarurī bhāanu*
 son-GN marriage do.VN necessity become.PRS-MSG
 ‘It is necessary to get one’s son married [lit. It becomes a necessity to make a son’s marriage].’ (A:MAR009)
- (158) *[muloó haans-ainīi] bīḍ-u zarurī*
 mullah stay-VN much-MSG necessity
 ‘A mullah must be present.’ (A:MAR042)
- (159) *tīpa [las haár dainīi] asīi mooqá hīn-u*
 now 3SG.DIST.ACC defeat give.VN 1PL.GN opportunity be.PRS-MSG
 ‘Now we can defeat him [lit. Now is our opportunity to defeat him].’ (A:BEZ070)

Achievement predicates. Although it is sometimes difficult to draw a definite line between modal predicates of the ability type presented above and achievement predicates, the main difference in the typical cases lies in implicativity. While the modals above are non-implicative, achievement predicates are implicative, i.e. signalling successful vs. failed performance/realisation. In any case, the Verbal Noun strategy seems to be, if not the only possible, at least the preferred one. Examples are given in (160)–(161). Some achievement predicates require a postposition with the Verbal Noun.

- (160) *tīi [dhoór yhainīi] koošīš thīl-i*
 3SG.OB yesterday come.VN attempt do.PFV-F
 ‘He tried to come yesterday.’ (A:Q9.1102)
- (161) *pirsaahib-á ba inkaár thīl-i [so phoó denīi dīi]*
 Pir.Sahib-OB PRT refusal do.PFV-F DEF.MSG.NOM boy give.VN from
 ‘Pir Sahib refused to hand over the boy.’ (B:ATI062)

- (162) *eesé mehfil-í wée [rhoó dainii] ma aamúuş-um de*
 REM gathering-OB in song give.VN 1SG.NOM forget-1SG PST
 ‘In that crowd I forgot to sing a song.’ (A:PHN5101.20)

Normally the Verbal Noun complement is embedded into the matrix clause. The complement in (161), however, occurs after the matrix clause and is thus added explanatorily rather than being extraposed in a strict sense.

As is clear from examples (163)–(165), achievement (or non-achievement) can also be expressed with complement clauses of complement-taking adjectives.

- (163) *[nis phus-ainii] askóon*
 3SG.PROX.ACC rid-VN easy
 ‘It will be easy to get rid of him.’ (A:UXB019)
- (164) *ghrast-a the [kuhéé dúi nikh-anii] askáan de*
 wolf-OB to well.OB from come.out-VN easy be.PST
 ‘It was easy for the wolf to get out of the well.’ (B:FOX)
- (165) *heewand-á tanaám the [akaadúi paš-ainii] naawás na de*
 winter-OB 3PL.ACC to RECP see-VN difficult NEG be.PST
 ‘They managed to meet each other throughout the winter.’ (A:SHY006)

Phasal predicates. As was also pointed out above concerning modals, many phasal notions, having to do with termination and continuation, are indicated by means other than complementation, and probably mainly so. Inception, however, can be expressed with at least two different complementation strategies.

One of those strategies is infinitival (vi), whereby the Perfective form *şaat-* of the polysemous verb *şaç-* ‘climb, etc.’ is utilised (166).

- (166) *káaker teeñi kúri-e pándee kaantar-í ba [biabeen-îim gir-áa]*
 Kakel REFL woman-GN cause go.mad-CV PRT wilderness-PL.OB turn-INF
şaat-u
 begin.PFV-MSG
 ‘Kakel went mad due to this with his wife and began wandering about in the wilderness.’ (B:FOR020)

Unlike the Infinitive-taking modal *bha-* (see **Modal predicates** above), *şaat-* is confined to the Perfective and remains intransitive, regardless of the transitivity of the complement predicate. In (167), with an intransitive complement, as well as in (168), with a transitive complement, the phasal verb agrees in gender and number with the subject of the matrix clause.

- (167) *yalí bhe [padúši padúši bay-áa] šéet-i*
 silent become.CV behind behind go-INF begin.PFV-F
 ‘Silently she started to lag far behind.’ (B:FOY)
- (168) *whaid-í ba [haṛé ziaarat-íim díi muaaf-í daway-áa] šáat-u*
 fall.down-CV PRT DIST shrine-PL.OB from forgiveness-PL ask-INF begin.PFV-MSG

‘Having fallen down, he started to beg forgiveness from those shrines.’
 (B:FOR039)

Although the construction is a possible example of clause union, *šáat-* seems not to have morphologised to the same extent as *bha-*, evidenced also in the parallel use of a Verbal Noun (169) with it instead of an Infinitive.

- (169) *ak čóor tesée ghooš-á ačíit-u. [ghoóšt laṭ-ainíi] šáat-u*
 IDEF thief 3SG.GN house-OB enter.PFV-MSG house search-VN begin.PFV-MSG

‘A thief entered his house. He started to search through the house.’ (B:THI)

With another nearly synonymous phasal predicate *široó the-*, exemplified in (170), the Verbal Noun strategy is the only possible one.

- (170) *se thaataak-a bi [tas sangí khainíi] široó thíil-u*
 DEF monster-OB also 3SG.ACC with eat.VN start do.PFV-MSG
 ‘The monster also started to eat together with him.’ (A:THA007)

There is evidence, although scanty, that the phasal notion of continuation can be expressed through two (for the purpose) less usual strategies with the complement-taking predicate *dhar-* ‘remain’, one being a Converb (171) and the other a Copredicative Participle (172).

- (171) *míq-ee gúu [daḥ-i] dharíit-a*
 ram-CNJ bull look-CV remain.PFV-MPL
 ‘The ram and the bull remained (=stood for a long time) looking.’ (B:SHI018)
- (172) *[mée~ mée~ the-íim] dharíit-i*
 baa baa do-CPRD remain.PFV-F
 ‘She kept bleating.’ (B:FOX)

Desiderative predicates. The Verbal Noun strategy is also put to use in subject-controlled complements of desiderative predicates, as in (173)–(177). The Verbal Noun may also be inflected (7) or followed by a postposition (177).

- (173) *se [har deés akaadúi paš-ainii] dawóon de*
 3PL.NOM every day RECP see-VN ask.3PL PST
 ‘They wanted to meet each other every day.’ (A:SHY004)
- (174) *eeré wája jhulí alataalaá [tas dubaará dunyay-í the phray-ainii]*
 DIST reason on Allah.Almighty 3SG.ACC again world-OB to send-VN
iraadá thíil-u
 decision do.PFV-MSG
 ‘Therefore, Allah Almighty decided to send him another time to the world.’
 (A:ABO030)
- (175) *[neečíir theníi-a] díiš-a xalk-íim xwaaíš thíil-i*
 hunt do.VN-PL village-OB people-PL.OB desire do.PFV-F
 ‘People in the village wanted to go hunting.’ (B:AVA200)
- (176) *[tas the kúri dawainii] bandubás tháan-u*
 3SG.ACC to woman ask.VN arrangement do.PRS-MSG
 ‘He arranges to have his son married.’ (A:MAR004)
- (177) *be [teeníi se neečíir bhaag-aníi jhulí] raazí bhíl-a*
 1PL.NOM REFL DEF hunt divide-VN on agreeable become.PFV-MPL
 ‘We have agreed on the division of our game.’ (B:FOY)

Author 11:
 Just to be
 on the safe
 side: Is the
 reference
 to example
 (7) correct?
 Or did you
 mean to re-
 fer to one
 of the exam-
 ples below
 this para-
 graph?

Finally, as pointed out already, some utterance predicates, using the *ki*-strategy, especially those concerning “thinking”, can equally well be considered desiderative.

13.5.3 Complement-taking manipulation predicates

Permissive predicates. When the verb *urí*- ‘pour, let out’ is used as the complement-taking verb ‘let’, it occurs in two different constructions, both with permissive semantics. One is the Verbal Noun strategy ((v)), also occurring in various other complement clauses (see §13.5.1), followed by the postposition *the* ‘to’, as shown in (178) and (179). This is used in the indicative.

- (178) *uǰhí ba se čúti-m-e zaráia báandi so baṭ huṇṭegiraák*
 lift.up.CV PRT DEF paw-PL-GN means on DEF.MSG.NOM stone upward
uǰhí gal-áan-u [se kúuk-a se muṭ-á bheš-aníi the] na
 lift.up.CV throw-PRS-MSG DEF crow-PL DEF tree-OB sit.down-VN to NEG
uṛ-áan-u [mhaás khainíi the] na uṛ-áan-u
 let-PRS-MSG meat eat.VN to NEG let-PRS-MSG

‘After picking up he is throwing up the stone with the help of his paws, not letting the crows sit down in the tree, or eat the meat.’ (B:SHB752-6)

- (179) *ghadeeró miṭíng xátum bhíl-ii pahúrta [asaám bainíi the]*
 elder meeting finished become.PPTC-GN after 1PL.ACC go.VN to
uṛ-íi-ee
 let-3SG-Q

‘Will the elder let us leave after the meeting is over?’ (A:Q6.29.07)

Note that the manipulee of the main verb is coreferent with the agent of the complement verb but is assigned case by the main verb, thus coded accusatively in (179).

The other strategy, involving the particle *ta* (iv), is used in the Imperative, with the literal rendering ‘let x (out), and x will do y’. Whereas in the strategy above the complement clause is embedded, the complement clause in this construction, seen in (180), is S-like and extraposed. The main verb does not assign case to the manipulee/complement clause agent in this construction.

- (180) *ro urí ta [rhoó d-íi]*
 3SG.DIST.NOM let.IMP.SG PRT song give-3SG
 ‘Let him sing!’ (A:Q6.15.02)

Causative predicates. While the most important means of expressing causativity is morphological – a matter we will return to shortly – manipulation that involves a lower degree of agentive control (Givón 2001b: 45) is often expressed through what is basically utterance predicates, also using the same strategies. Examples are given in (181)–(183). Hereby the manner of causation or persuasion is also made explicit (Noonan 1985: 126). The complement clause is either imperative or hortative.

- (181) *tas the ʔeekil-u ki [nikhá ʧíitr-a kráam-a the*
 3SG.ACC to call.out.PFV-MSG COMP come.out.IMP.SG field-OB work-OB to
báaya] thaní
 go.1PL QT
 ‘He called out to her to come out and go with him to work in the field.’
 (A:WOM638)
- (182) *yheyí se kuṇaak-á the išaará thíil-u ki [ma khúna yha]*
 come.CV DEF child-OB to signal do.PFV-MSG COMP 1SG.NOM near come.IMP.SG
thaní
 QT
 ‘Coming there, he signalled to the child to come to him.’ (A:BER003)
- (183) *deewúl-ii xálak-am daawát díit-i atshariit-am the ki [muqaabilá*
 Dir-GN people-PL.OB invitation give.PFV-F Ashreti-PL.OB to COMP contest
th-íia] (thaníit-u ta)
 do-1PL say.PFV-MSG PRT
 ‘The people of Dir invited the Ashretis to compete with them.’ (A:CHA001)

When, however, agent control is strong, the preferred strategy is to utilise the morphological causative construction *per se*. This can either be in the form of direct causation, in essence deriving a transitive verb from an intransitive (such as ‘make sit down, seat’ from ‘sit down’ in (184) and ‘hang (something)’ from ‘hang (by itself)’ in (185)), or in the form of indirect causation (such as ‘have (someone) drink’ from ‘drink’ in (185), ‘have someone tell’ from ‘tell something’ in (186) and ‘have someone educated’ from ‘educate (oneself)’ in (187)). With indirect causation, an animate manipulee is marked by *ṣaawaá*, a grammaticalisation of the Converb of *ṣaawá*- ‘put on, dress, turn on’.

- (184) *eesé zangal-í áa baṭ-á jhulí har-í so kuṇaák*
 3SG.REM.OB forest-OB IDEF stone-OB on take.away-CV DEF.MSG.NOM child
bhešóol-u
 sit.down.CAUS.PFV-MSG
 ‘He took him to a stone in the forest and put him down (i.e. had him sit).’
 (A:BRE005)
- (185) *heewand-á tas the róot-a ʧhóon lam-ay-áan-a dees-á*
 winter-OB 3SG.ACC to night-OB oak.branches hang-CAUS-PRS-MPL day-OB
har-í wii pil-ay-áan-a tas šišáwi the šúwi zhay-ím
 take.away-CV water drink-CAUS-PRS-MPL 3SG.ACC beautiful to good.fplace-PL.OB

ghin-í gir-áan-a

take-CV turn-PRS-MPL

‘In the winter we hang oak branches for her [the goat] during the night, and in the day we take her to drink plenty of water in beautiful places.’ (A:KEE091)

- (186) *xalk-ím şaawaá teér bhíl-a qiseé tha-wóol-a*
 people-PL.OB MANIP passed become.PPTC-MPL story.PL do-CAUS.PFV-MPL

‘He had the people tell him all that had happened.’ (A:UXW057)

- (187) *áa putr-á şaawaá ma taalím tha-wáain-u*
 IDEF SON-OB MANIP 1SG.NOM education do-CAUS.PRS-MSG

‘I’m having one of my sons educated’ (A:KEE082)

In this construction, clause union is complete, and we can also define it as a total lexical union (Noonan 1985: 75) or co-lexicalisation of the “cause” and the “caused event”. This is therefore not in a strict sense an instance of complementation.

13.6 Relative clauses

Relativisation in Palula offers an unusual analytical challenge, partly due to the many different strategies that seem to be available, partly due to their relative scarcity in natural discourse, whether spoken or written.

Generally speaking, the unmarked relative clause (or its functional equivalent) is proposed to the modified NP as well as the main clause in its entirety. Although there is a preference for co-relative (also referred to as relative-correlative) constructions, as described by Downing (1974), most of them are not of the kind typical of major IA languages (Masica 1991: 410–415), which is why I have chosen not to use the term other than in comparison with the more “typical” IA pattern. Neither does Palula share the general Shina preference for participial relative clauses (Carla Radloff, pc.), possibly a result of the synchronic non-distinctiveness in Palula between many participles and the finite verb forms historically derived from the former.

There is no attempt on my side to reflect the relative frequency of occurrence by the order with which the various strategies and types of relativisation are outlined below. The number of examples of relative clauses is basically too low to

present any reliable statistics. Extraposition with *ki* (§13.6.7) is not strictly a separate type of relative clause but rather an additional, but nevertheless frequently used, strategy, primarily related to presentational structure and other pragmatic functions.

Restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses overlap to a large extent, although it seems that extraposed clauses are favoured with non-restrictive clauses.

13.6.1 Relative clauses with a full NP

Most similar to the typical Urdu-Hindi relative-correlative construction are those sentences that have a full NP in a preposed modifying clause corresponding to a full NP in the main clause. In (188)–(189), the otherwise interrogatively used *khayí* ‘which’ is used as an adnominal relative pronoun, correlating with a demonstrative from the remote set. Although the noun can be repeated in full in the main clause along with a demonstrative, it can equally well be coreferenced by a demonstrative alone.

Whereas the modifying clause is dependent on the main clause for its interpretation, the main (indicative and finite) clause can in most cases stand alone as a complete sentence. The modifying (relative) clause occurring on its own (which is not always possible due to a non-basic word order), however, would be interpretable as a content question rather than as a statement. Following Givón (2001b: 182), a construction like this is essentially paratactic, the linking device between the two clauses being deictic rather than a matter of subordination or embedding.

- (188) [baába khayí xarčá dawóol-u hín-u] eesó
 father.OB which expenditure ask.for.PFV-MSG be.PRS-MSG REM.MSG.NOM
 xarčá ghin-í...
 expenditure take-CV
 ‘Taking the reimbursement, which the father has demanded...’ (A:MAR037-8)
- (189) [se baaqimaandá mehmaan-aán khayí hín-a práač-a khayí hín-a]
 DEF additional guest-PL which be.PRS-MPL guest-PL which be.PRS-MPL
 eetanaám the gúuli d-áan-a
 3PL.ACC to bread give-PRS-MPL
 ‘We feed those other guests who are present.’ (A:MIT024)

Some modifying clauses with adnominal *khayí* are possibly embedded rather than preposed, as in (190), where we may further suggest that a noun *xálak* ‘peo-

ple’ is the implicit head. However, the analysis is still pending in anticipation of more natural data of a similar kind. It should also be noted that a pronoun *ni* ‘they (here)’ from the proximate set is being used and not one from the usual remote set.

- (190) *tipúka ni ba khayí hín-a dhii-á díi khoójainí*
 nowadays 3PL.PROX.NOM PRT which be.PRS-MPL daughter-OB from ask.VN
zarurí bh-áan-u
 necessity become-PRS-MSG
 ‘Nowadays there are those, for whom it is necessary to ask their daughter [who she wants to be married to]’ (A:MAR019)

In (191), the relative clause is probably internal. Note that the construction as a whole is extraposed to the temporal clause.

- (191) *paturaá nuuṭíl-u ta [khayí zhay-í wée] asím jinaazá khaṣeel-í*
 back return.PFV-MSG PRT which place-OB in 1PL.ERG corpse drag-CV
wheelíl-u de
 bring.down.PFV-MSG PST
 ‘When I returned to the place to where we had dragged him down...’ (A:GHA044)

13.6.2 Indefinite-conditional relative clauses

Quite similar to, and possibly not altogether distinct from, the relative clauses above are those that contain an interrogative pronoun in combination with (or even fused with) an indefinite word *galá* (B. *galé*) meaning ‘ever’. The resulting meaning is something like ‘whoever, whatever’, referring to one in a group of potential referents having a non-specific reference. The relative clause is often a conditional clause, and is therefore more clearly subordinate than the above described construction, and the correlative in the main clause is referred to with a demonstrative or personal pronoun from the remote set (if at all explicit). Examples are given in (192)–(194).

- (192) *[kasée galé maáṭu dhrajaá ba šúul-a the phedíl-u hée~ta]*
 who.GN ever neck stretch.CV PRT sheaf-OB to reach.PFV-MSG CONDL
hasó kh-úu
 3MSG.REM.NOM eat-3SG
 ‘The one (of us) whose neck can reach the sheaf shall eat.’ (B:SHI016)

- (193) [anú íñç-a sangí mháala kií galá ghašíl-i hée~ta]
 PROX.MSG.NOM⁷ bear-OB with wrestling who.OB ever grab.PFV-F CONDL
 ma tas the páanĵ sóo rupee baxšíš d-áan-u
 1SG.NOM 3SG.ACC to five hundred rupee.PL reward give-PRS-MSG
 'I will give 500 rupees to whoever wrestles with this bear' (A:BEW003)
- (194) [šíúul-a gubáa galé maníit-u ta] lhooméi kañ th-íi de
 jackal-OB what ever say.PFV-MSG PRT fox ear do-3SG PST
 'Whatever the jackal told him, the fox gave heed to.' (B:FOY)

The relativised NP can thus be a possessor, an ergative subject or a direct object. It does not even need to be a noun phrase thus being relativised; the same basic construction is used in some temporal clauses with *kareé galá* 'whenever' (see §13.4.1), then always without an explicit correlative.

When the noun phrase being relativised is a nominative subject, as in (195), *galá* does not seem to be necessary to include.

- (195) [koó eesé ðeem-íi haazír na heensíl-u hée~ta] tasíi mux-íi
 who.NOM DIST time-GN presence NEG stay.PFV-MSG CONDL 3SG.GN face-GN
 nikh-aanðeéu bh-áan-u
 come.out-OBLG become-PRS-MSG
 'The one (of them) who was not present at that time, will have to come (later) and greet./If one of them was not present at that time, he will have to come (later) and greet.' (A:MAR048-9)

13.6.3 Gapped relative clauses

What seems to be a major strategy for relativisation is a preposed gapped modifying clause, i.e. one in which the relativised NP is not explicitly present at all. Even here the correlative NP in the main clause often occurs with a demonstrative from the remote set, thus in essence being of the same kind as the relative-correlative construction we have seen examples of already.

The modifying clause may be indicative finite, as in examples (196)–(199), with the positions direct object, oblique object coding source and transitive subject, as well as the oblique object coding recipient being relativised.

- (196) [míi ghíin-i] eesé paanĵí tii qabúl thíil-i
 1SG.GN take.PFV-F REM clothes 3SG.OB acceptance do.PFV-F
 'He accepted the clothes that I had bought.' (A:Q9.0016)

⁷ The form of the determiner is not the expected one, since the head is non-nominative.

13 Complex constructions

- (197) [*míi kitaáb ghíin-i de*] *eesó phoó míi pitríi*
 1SG.GN book take.PFV-F PST REM.MSG.NOM boy 1SG.GN father's.brother.GN
putr
 son
 'The boy I got this book from is my cousin.' (A:HLE3054)
- (198) [*na jéel-i*] *eetás the ba waaryaléti man-áan-a*
 NEG give.birth.PFV-F 3SG.REM.ACC to PRT "warghaleti" say-PRS-MPL
 'One, which hasn't given birth, we call "warghaleti"' (A:KEE104)
- (199) [*míi teeníi kili-á díit-i de*] *eesó phoó phus bhíl-u*
 1SG.GN REFL key-PL give.PFV-F PST REM.MSG.NOM boy disappeared become.PFV-MSG
hín-u
 be.PRS-MSG
 'The boy whom I gave my keys has disappeared.' (A:HLE3053)

It may also occur as a preposed conditional clause, in (200) relativising the possessor NP.

- (200) [*áaru heensíl-u hée~ta*] *eesó dhíngar aayindá dapáara nakaám*
 knot stay.PFV-MSG CONDL REM.MSG.NOM timber future for failed
bh-áan-u
 become-PRS-MSG
 'Timber, which has knots will be worthless in the future/If it is knotty, the timber will fail in the future.' (A:HOW032)

Another possibility, seen in (201) and (202), is to use preposed dependent Con-verb clauses for relativisation.

- (201) [*preeṣaá ba*] *eetás the ta man-áan-a kaašmēēṇi*
 squeeze.CV PRT 3SG.ACC to PRT say-PRS-MPL "kashmeeni"
 'That, which is squeezed out, is called "kashmeeni"' (A:KEE055)
- (202) [*tas mheer-í gal-í*] *zaalim-aan-óom dhút-a pharé gúuli bi*
 3SG.ACC kill-CV throw-CV brute-PL-OB mouth-OB toward bread also
de gíia de
 put.CV go.PFV.PL PST
 'The brutes, who had killed him, had also put bread in his mouth and left.'
 (A:GHA076-7)

A reflexive pronoun, as in (203), can also occur in the modifying clause.

- (203) [teŋ teeŋii násel pašaá ba] muxaák hasó tshaak-ii
 REFL REFL descent show.CV PRT before 3MSG.REM.NOM taste-3SG
 ‘The one who is able to prove his noble heritage may taste first.’ (B:SHI006)

Some constructions that technically are relativisations with a preposed Converb clause are lexicalised to a large extent, and function as standard presentational constructions when new participants or places are being introduced into a discourse. Note in (204) that the coreferential noun phrases in the main clause are indefinite.

- (204) muxaák zamanée [čakaađhám than-í] ak díiš-a [kaaker than-í]
 before time.GN Chakadham call-CV IDEF village-OB Kakel call-CV
 ak méesh heensíl-u de
 IDEF man stay.PFV-MSG PST
 ‘Once there lived in the village Chakadham a man called Kakel.’ (B:FOR001)

13.6.4 Gapped relative clauses with a complementiser

Sometimes in gapped relative clauses, a particle *ga* is used as a complementiser or relativiser, otherwise occurring as an indefinite (‘some’, ‘any’) or an adnominal interrogative (‘what’, ‘what kind of’) pronoun. This particle or word is invariable and thus is not coreferential with the modified NP. Instead it seems to merely mark the modifying clause vis-à-vis the main clause. Examples are given in (205)–(208).

There does not seem to be any significant covariation between the presence of this marker and any particular position being relativised, although it possibly is used more readily (and maybe even non-optionally) when an oblique constituent is relativised, such as the location in (207) and (208).

- (205) [aré inç-a jhulí ga hín-u] eeró miiš-ee
 DIST bear-OB on REL be.PRS-MSG DIST.MSG.NOM man-Q
 ‘Is it the man who is sitting on the bear?’ (A:BEZ012)
- (206) [mii dhií ga saat-éen-í] eení kúri aní buṭheé šaak-á
 1SG.GN daughter REL take.care.of-PRS-F PROX woman PROX all wood-PL
 aṭil-a
 bring.PFV-MPL
 ‘This woman, who is taking care of my daughter, brought all this firewood’
 (A:REQ17)

13 Complex constructions

- (207) [*máa-ee tu ga bheš-í hín-a*] *aní ghooṣṭ-á šíiṭi*
 1SG.NOM-CNJ 2SG.NOM REL sit.down-CV be.PRS-MPL PROX house-OB inside

‘In the house where you and I are sitting...’ (A:HUA014)

- (208) [*henrík de ga gíia*] *eeráa rhalá ba qilaá de*
 Henrik put.CV REL go.PFV.PL there above PRT fort be.PST

‘Above [the place] where you took Henrik, there was a fort.’ (A:CAV004)

The position of *ga* is probably preverbal, but further investigation is needed to say with more certainty. In (209), the modifying clause is postposed, and here *ga* occurs clause-initially.

- (209) *eé kučúru [ga so wii jhuṭá thíil-u]*
 oh! dog REL DEF.MSG.NOM water dirty do.PFV-MSG

‘It must be the dog that has contaminated the water’ (A:PAS038)

In (210), the modifying string ‘who used to walk with the millstone’ seems to function simultaneously as a postposed non-restrictive relative clause to ‘the Dameli strong man’ and as a preposed restrictive relative-correlative clause to ‘that (one) didn’t take up the challenge’.

- (210) *so giḍúuçu paalawaán [so yambaát ga ghin-í b-ii*
 DEF.MSG.NOM Dameli.man strong.man DEF mill.stone REL take-CV go-3SG
de] eesó na šandíl-u maní
 PST 3MSG.REM.NOM NEG take.up.challenge.PFV-MSG HSAY

‘The strong man of Damel, who used to walk with the millstone, apparently didn’t take up the challenge’ (A:MAH054)

The modifying clause in (211), beginning with *ga*, takes as a whole the place of the transitive subject. Tentatively it is analysed as a (headless) internal relative clause.

- (211) *bhunaṛii wée [ga šáli ṭopa díit-i] šáli khéel-i*
 down.below.ob in REL Shali downside give.PFV-F Shali eat.PFV-F

‘Down there, the one that caught Shali ate her.’ (A:PAS059)

13.6.5 Pronominal relative clauses

Some data (from B., and mostly elicited: (212)–(214)) suggests the possibility of regular anaphoric (personal or demonstrative) pronouns being used in the modifying clause, whether preposed or postposed. The evidence, however, is too scanty to draw any definite conclusions. Suffice to say that the positions being thus relativised are low on the accessibility hierarchy (postpositional object and possessor, respectively), which is fully in line with typological predictions (Keenan 1985: 147–148). On the other hand, we have examples of relativisation of recipient (199) as well as possessor (200) by gapping (although from A.).

- (212) *anú* [*dhoór mii putr-á hanís the kitaáb dít-i*]
 3MSG.PROX.NOM yesterday 1SG.GN son-OB 3SG.PROX.ACC to book give.PFV-F
hasó phoó
 REM.MSG.NOM boy

‘This is the boy who my son gave a book to yesterday.’ (B:DHE5367)

- (213) *anú mii doóst [anisée ghoosť-á the dhoór anú*
 3MSG.PROX.NOM 1SG.GN friend 3SG.PROX.GN house-OB to yesterday PROX.MSG.NOM
mées gáu]
 man go.PFV.MSG

‘This is my friend, whose house this man went to yesterday.’ (B:DHE5373)

- (214) *asím [so méesh ghašijíl-u baazúur-a phará] so*
 1PL.ERG DEF.MSG.NOM man be.caught.PFV-MSG bazaar-OB along DEF.MSG.NOM
kuṇaák ba atesée ghoosť-á the phreyíl-u
 child PRT 3SG.REM.GN house-OB to send.PFV-MSG

‘We sent the child to the house of the man who had been caught in the bazaar.’ (B:ANG018)

Pronominals used in the modifying clause are otherwise, as we shall see, the normal case with so-called extraposed *ki*-constructions (see §13.6.7).

13.6.6 Nominalisation and the use of participials

A less-accessible noun phrase may be expressed through nominalisation, whereby a Verbal Noun becomes the possessor of the relativised entity. This seems to be especially common with time, location and means, as seen in (215)–(218). The genitive case of the Verbal Noun is only explicitly present in the B. variety (-e), whereas the genitive has been levelled in A.

- (215) *rhootašii-a [jhambréeri har-ainii] waxt yhóol-u ta*
 morning-OB bride take.away-VN time come.PFV-MSG PRT

‘In the morning, at the time of taking the bride...’ (A:GHU010)

- (216) *[máa-the bašéš denii-e] zhay-í so ma mhaar-áan-u*
 1SG.NOM-to reward give-INF-GN place-OB 3MSG.NOM 1SG.NOM kill-PRS-MSG

‘He is going to kill me instead of rewarding me.’ (B:DRB)

- (217) *[bhíiru ur-ainii] tartíb ba eeré*
 he.goat let.out-INF method PRT DIST

‘The method of letting out the he-goat [to the she-goats] is the following...’
 (A:KEE073)

- (218) *ma tu the yeer-í šíiti be [neečiir aṭanii-e] baát*
 1SG.NOM 2SG.NOM to cave-OB inside go.CV game bring-INF-GN talk
d-áam
 give-1SG

‘Once we have got into the cave, I will tell you about the catching of game.’
 (B:FOY)

Less commonly, Perfective Participials may be used attributively, as in (219)–(221), and in those cases relativise the direct object. As an additional means to distinguish the participial from the formally identical finite Perfective verb, an explicit (but optional) participial marker (also referred to as an adjectiviser in this work), such as *bhaáu* in (221), can be used.

- (219) *phai [teenii háat-am čoonťeel-i] rumiaál díit-i hín-i*
 girl REFL hand-INS embroider.PPTC-F handkerchief give.PFV-F be.PRS-F

‘The girl gave [him] the handkerchief which she herself had embroidered.’
 (A:SHY031)

- (220) *xalk-ím šaawaá [teér bhíl-a] qiseé thawóol-a*
 people-PL.OB MANIP passed become.PPTC-MPL story.PL make.do.PFV-MPL

‘He had the people tell him all that had happened.’ (A:UXW057)

- (221) *amzarái [mur-u-bhaáu] insaán na kháain-u*
 lion die.PPTC-MSG-ADJ human.being NEG eat.PRS-MSG
 ‘A lion doesn’t eat a human being which has died.’ (A:UNF012)

A corresponding (headless) construction for relativising an agent subject, is by using the Agentive Verbal Noun, as seen in (222), but neither does that seem to be a very common strategy.

- (222) *[teewiz-í th-áat-u] [re pairaán gaḍ-í ṣeekáaiṭ-u]*
 amulet-PL do-AG-MSG DIST djinn.PL take.out-CV lead.out.AG-MSG
 ‘He was an expert in making amulets and a saviour from djinns.’ (A:HUA129)

Alternatively, the Present tense verb is itself used without an overt head, as in (223). This has an implicit habituality read into it, whereas the corresponding non-habitual meaning would have to be expressed with an explicit correlative head (224).

- (223) *[šaak-á aṭ-áan-u] čiriit-u*
 wood-PL bring-PRS-MSG be.delayed.PFV-MSG
 ‘The person who [usually] brings the wood has been delayed’ (A:HLE3051)
- (224) *[šaak-á aṭ-áan-u] eesó phoó čiriit-u*
 wood-PL bring-PRS-MSG REM.MSG.NOM boy be.delayed.PFV-MSG
 ‘The boy who is bringing the wood has been delayed.’ (A:HL3051)

13.6.7 Extraposed *ki*-constructions

The possibility of extraposing a modifying clause is facilitated by the particle or complementiser *ki* (see §13.5.1). The sentences in (225)–(227) are all elicited, and are thus not necessarily the most natural way of expressing these ideas. However, regarding them as a general indication of grammaticality, we can conclude that the construction works for a number of different positions. Note also that the emphatic or demonstrative pronoun is used in the main clause, whereas a non-emphatic anaphoric pronoun is used in the modifying *ki*-clause, although the latter is optional for the subject position.

- (225) *anú eesó míiš ki [núi se kúři mheeríl-i]*
 3MSG.PROX.NOM REM.MSG.NOM man COMP 3SG.PROX.OB DEF woman kill.PFV-F

‘This is the man who killed the woman.’ (A:HLE2617)

- (226) *anú eesó míš ki [nisí ghooṣṭ-á ma*
 3MSG.PROX.NOM REM.MSG.NOM man COMP 3SG.PROX.GN house-OB 1SG.NOM
hín-u]
 be.PRS-MSG

‘This is the man whose house I am [living] in.’ (A:HLE2618)

- (227) *anú eesó míš ki [(nu) dhoór yhóol-u*
 3MSG.PROX.NOM REM.MSG.NOM man PRT 3MSG.PROX.NOM yesterday come.PFV-MSG
de]
 PST

‘This is the man who came yesterday.’ (A:HLE2618)

It seems that the construction is particularly favoured in presentational discourse, and a number of correlative expressions, belonging to various parts of speech, can be linked to an extraposed *ki*-clause, expressing a variety of pragmatic or discourse-related functions (some of them touched upon when discussing clauses with adverbial functions (§13.4) and complementation (§13.5)). In most cases, however, the *ki*-clause as a whole corresponds to the correlative in the main clause, rather than to a particular relative word in it.

Nominal. Primarily heavy-shifting:

- (228) *şıır-u khútu ba eetás the man-áan-a ki [trók-i čhéeli*
 blind-MSG knee PRT 3SG.REM.ACC to say-PRS-MPL COMP weak-F goat
trók-u čhaál]
 weak-MSG kid

‘‘A blind knee’’ is what we call a goat or a goat kid which is weak.’ (A:PAS068)

- (229) *tíi eeré baát dít-i ki*
 3SG.OB DIST talk give.PFV-F COMP

‘He said that... [lit. His gave this talk]’ (A:BEW003)

- (230) *ınçı-e xiaál haré bhıl-i ki [karáaru máa-the ıtık-ı*
 bear-GN opinion DIST become.PFV-F COMP leopard 1SG.NOM-to jump-CV
de hın-u thanı]
 give-CV be.PRS-MSG QT

‘The bear thought that leopard had attacked him.’ (B:BEL320)

Adjectival. Comparison, exemplification or specification:

- (231) *anú mıış eetı maldaár ki [nisıi ghoosı-á čailúııi*
 PROX.MSG.NOM man so.much wealthy COMP 3SG.PROX.GN house-OB sparrow.GN
čhiır bi lhayıř-áan-u]
 milk also be.found-PRS-MSG

‘This man is so rich that you even find sparrow’s milk in his house.’ (A:DHN6691)

- (232) *dhrıg-u ba eetı ki [loomuı-ıı ađaphaártıı phed-ı hın-u]*
 tall-MSG PRT so.much COMP deodar-GN halfway up.to reach-CV be.PRS-MSG

‘It was so tall, that it reached halfway up the length of a deodar tree.’
 (A:HUA076)

- (233) *baazı xalak-a hateıı-á hın-a ki [se bakareelı*
 a.few people-PL like.that-MPL be.PRS-MPL COMP 3PL.NOM shepherding
th-áan-a]
 do-PRS-MPL

‘A few people are engaged in goat and shepherding.’ (B:DHN5263)

- (234) *áak eeteen-ú waxt yhóol-u ki [atshareet-á wée xálak*
 IDEF like.that-MSG time come.PFV-MSG COMP Ashret-OB in people
bijóol-a bh-il-a]
 several-MPL become-PFV-MPL
 ‘This was the time when the population in Ashret had started to increase.’
 (A:GHU001)

Although not examples of relativisation in a strict sense, it should be noted that the same construction is used with clause adverbials (as has already been illustrated many times before). In (235) the *ki*-clause corresponds to a reason, and in (236), it serves as an explanation.

- (235) *súun-a hatáwuú pándee haans-áan-a ki [béeriş-a súun-a*
 pasture-OB from.there for stay-PRS-MPL COMP summer-OB pasture-OB
bakáara xuşán haans-éen-i] şidaloó haans-áan-u
 flock happy stay-PRS-F coldness stay-PRS-MSG
 ‘They stay in the pasture, since their flock is happy there, where it’s cold.’
 (B:DHN5266)
- (236) *kareé eeré prugraám bhíl-i pahúrta eendáa th-áan-a ki*
 when DIST programme become.PFV-F after like.that do-PRS-MPL COMP
[theéba jhaníi deés muqarár bh-áan-u]
 then wedding.GN day fixing become-PRS-MSG
 ‘After that programme has taken place, then we do the following: we fix a day [for the wedding]’ (A:MAR072-3)

14 Sentence modification

14.1 Introduction and overview

Some of the more salient sentence modifications are presented in this chapter, especially those that are related to particular markers or constructional types. They include interrogative sentences, negation and switch-topicality.

14.2 Interrogative sentences

The two main types of interrogative sentences, polar and constituent interrogatives (König & Siemund 2007: 290–303), are discussed and exemplified in the sections below.

14.2.1 Polar interrogatives

Polar interrogatives, or ‘yes/no’ questions, are formed by adding a sentence final particle *-ee* (B. *-aa*) to a declarative sentence without any subsequent change in the word order. This sentence-final particle is accompanied by a slight rising intonation. Examples are shown in (1)–(3).

- (1) *baastaár gal-úum-ee*
bedding throw-1SG-Q
‘Should I spread out the bedding?’ (A:HLE2880)
- (2) *búd-u-ee*
understand.PFV-MSG-Q
‘Did you understand?’ (A:HLN2852)
- (3) *tu çetrúul-a the ba-yáan-u-aa*
2SG.NOM Chitral-OB to go-PRS-MSG-Q
‘Are you going to Chitral?’ (B:QAA001)

The clitical nature of the particle is evident in that it attaches to the sentence-final word, regardless of its part of speech, and in a phonological sense becomes

part of that word; for instance a final vowel /a/ coalesces entirely with the particle. As an SOV language, the sentence normally ends in a verb, and therefore the particles attach to the verb, but that is not the case in most nominal sentences lacking an overt copula, as can be seen in (4)–(6).

- (4) *ux-á díi khoójóol-u ki tu insaán-ee*
 camel-OB from ask.PFV-MSG PRT 2SG.NOM human.being-Q
 ‘He asked the camel: “Are you a man?”’ (A:KIN007)
- (5) *ghoošt-á sóor-ee (sóor-a-ee)*
 house-OB whole.MPL-Q
 ‘Is your family fine?’ (A:DHN3125)
- (6) *oó méesh séer-i-ee*
 oh! aunt.voc whole-F-Q
 ‘Are you fine, autie?’ (A:HLE2013)

Apart from ordinary polar questions, there are at least two different ways of forming tag questions, one (7) with a sentence-final *ga* ‘what’ (cf. §14.2.2), and another (8) with *nheé* (possibly derived from the negation *na* and the question particle *-ee*).

- (7) *so gúum, ga*
 3SG.NOM go.PFV.MSG what
 ‘He left, didn’t he?’ (A:HLE2776)
- (8) *míi tu the maníit-u, dheé*
 1SG.GN 2SG.NOM to say.PFV-MSG TAGQ
 ‘I told you, didn’t I?’ (A:QAM058)

Alternative questions are expressed with *ki na* ‘or not’, as in (9), optionally with a repetition of the verb, as in (10). This, too, can be used as a tag question, as in (11).

- (9) *tu the phedíl-u ki na*
 2SG.NOM to arrive.PFV-MSG OR NEG
 ‘Did you receive it or not?’ (B:DHN5736)
- (10) *hasó tohfá phedíl-u ki na phedíl-u*
 REM.NOM gift arrive.PFV-MSG OR NEG arrive.PFV-MSG
 ‘Did this gift arrive or not?’ (B:FLW817)

- (11) *búd-u* *ki na*
 understand.PFV-MSG OR NEG
 ‘You understood, didn’t you? [lit. Did you understand or not?]

14.2.2 Constituent interrogatives

Constituent interrogatives, or parametric questions, are formed by replacing a questioned constituent with an indefinite-interrogative pronoun. Its position is usually immediately preverbal or (in the case of adnominal constituents) occurs in the phrase immediately preceding the verb.

Palula has a rather large inventory of interrogative words that may replace various constituents.

Questioning core constituents of the clause. Examples (12)–(14) illustrate the questioning of the nominative subject (*koó* ‘who’), the oblique (i.e. ergative) subject (*kii* ‘who’) and the accusative direct object (*kaseé* ‘whom’), respectively, when referring to human beings.

- (12) *ma* *koó* *saat-iin*
 1SG.NOM who.NOM look.after-3PL
 ‘Who will look after me?’ (A:MAA018)
- (13) *nis* *kii* *mheeríl-u*
 3SG.ACC who.OB kill.PFV-MSG
 ‘Who killed him?’ (A:HLE2612)
- (14) *thii* *kaseé* *mheeríl-u*
 2SG.GN who.ACC kill.PFV-MSG
 ‘Who did you kill?’ (A:HLE2612)

When questioning non-human (and in particular) inanimate core constituents, *gubáa* ‘what’ is used instead. As can be seen in (15)–(17), the form stays the same regardless of its syntactic role (although questioned inanimates only seem to appear either as intransitive subjects in copular clauses or as direct objects in verbal clauses).

- (15) *amzarée thii* *káañ-a wée gubáa maniit-u*
 lion.OB 2SG.GN ear-OB in what say.PFV-MSG
 ‘What did the lion whisper in your ear?’ (A:UNF015)

- (16) *índa múi bakáara gubáa kh-óon*
 here 1SG.GN flock what eat-3PL
 ‘What shall my flock eat here?’ (A:SHY019)
- (17) *thíi şiş-á ĵhulí ba gubáa hín-u*
 2SG.GN head-OB on PRT what be.PRS-MSG
 ‘What have you got on your head?’ (A:KAT099)

Questioning postpositional constituents of the clause. For questioning postpositional human constituents, as in (18)–(20), the accusative form *kaseé* (the same as the direct object form) is used.

- (18) *tu aní kitaáb kaseé the dít-i*
 2SG.NOM PROX.NOM.F book who.ACC to give.PFV-F
 ‘Who did you give this book to?’ (A:HLE2613)
- (19) *thíi kaseé díi anzayíl-u de*
 2SG.GN who.ACC from send.PFV-MSG PST
 ‘Through whom did you send [it]?’ (B:FLW817)
- (20) *tu kaseé sangí yhóol-u*
 2SG.NOM who.ACC with come.PFV-MSG
 ‘Who did you come together with?’ (A:QAM055)

Postpositional or non-core inanimate constituents can also be questioned, as in (21)–(22), again using *gubáa* ‘what’, supplied with any case inflection required by the postposition in question.

- (21) *anú bel gubáa-(w)ii saás bhe hín-u*
 PROX.NOM.MSG spade what-GN whole become-CV be.PRS-MSG
 ‘From what [material] was this spade made?’ (B:DHE5527)
- (22) *anú gubáa-(w)ii pándee saás bhe hín-u*
 PROX.MSG.NOM what-GN for whole become-CV be.PRS-MSG
 ‘For what [purpose] was this made?’ (B:DHE5532)

Questioning constituents of the noun phrase. Various modifiers of a noun can be questioned, such as a possessor: *kasíi* (B. *kasée*) ‘whose’ (11); a cardinal numeral or quantifier: *katí* ‘how many, how much’ (24); an ordinal numeral:

katíma ‘in which’ (25); an adjective *kateṇú* ‘what kind of (person)’ (26) (adjectivally inflected) or *ga* ‘what kind of (thing)’ (27); and a determiner *khayú* ‘which, what’ (28) or *khayú áak* ‘which one’ (demonstratively inflected).

- (23) *aní kasée ziaarat-í thaní*
 PROX.NOM.PL whose shrine-PL QT
 ‘Whose shrines are these?’ (B:FOR026)
- (24) *thíi katí kuṇaak-á hín-a*
 2SG.GN how.much child-PL be.PRS-MPL
 ‘How many children do you have?’ (A:DHN2012)
- (25) *tu katíma (hín-u)*
 2SG.NOM in.which be.PRS-MSG
 ‘In which class are you?’ (A:HLE2789)
- (26) *rooṭaá kateṇ-ú míiš ga rang-íi míiš*
 Rota what.kind-MSG man what.kind colour-GN man
 ‘What kind of man is Rota, and of what complexion?’ (A:BEZ052)
- (27) *ga háal hín-i*
 what.kind condition be.PRS-F
 ‘How are you doing [lit. what position is there?]' (A:CHN070110)
- (28) *baačáá so míiš bulad-í khoojóol-u ki tu míi*
 king DEF.NOM.MSG man call.for-CV ask.PFV-MSG COMP 2SG.NOM 1SG.GN
baačayí khay-í zhaái ghin-áan-u
 kingdom which-F place take-PRS-MSG
 ‘The king called for the man and asked him: “Which place in my kingdom do you want?”’ (A:UXW052)

While the interrogative words exemplified above function attributively and occur before the noun they modify, predicatively functioning modifiers being questioned occur immediately preverbally, as can be seen in (29)–(31). Note that predicatively used *kateṇí* corresponds to attributively used *ga* and *kateṇí* alike. In (30), an additional adjectival interrogative *katíiti* is exemplified, questioning the size of an inanimate noun.

- (29) *míi áa ilaqaa-í búuḍ-i kúri díi khoojóol-u ki aní kakaríi*
 1SG.GN IDEF area-OB old-F woman from ask.PFV-MSG COMP PROX skull

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kasíi thaní

whose QT

‘I asked an old woman from the area: “Whose is this skull?”’ (A:WOM459)

- (30) *thíi kitaáb katíit-i hín-i*

2SG.GN book how.big be.PRS-MPL

‘How big is your book?’ (B:DHE5521)

- (31) *ráa moosím kateen-i*

there weather what.kind-F

‘What is the weather like over there?’ (A:CHN070104)

A rather non-specific *kanáa* ‘what, like what’ is used to question a predicate phrase (see also below), nominal or adjectival, in (32)–(35). It may also be interpreted as questioning the host position of conjunct verbs (especially those with *the-* ‘do’).

- (32) *típa ba ma kanáa bh-úum*

now PRT 1SG.NOM like.what become-1SG

‘What will now happen to me? [lit. What will I become now?]' (A:MAA017)

- (33) *nagarjúti yhéel-i tas díi khoójóol-u kanáa bhíl-i*

Nagarjuti come.PFV-F 3SG.ACC from ask.PFV- MSG like.what become.PFV-F

‘When Nagarjuti came, he asked her: “What happened [to you]?”’ (A:MAB029)

- (34) *tíi maníit-u ki típa kanáa th-íia*

3SG.OB say.PFV- MSG COMP now like.what do-1PL

‘He said: “What shall we do now?”’ (A:BEZ118)

- (35) *anú phoó kanáa bh-áanu*

PROX.MSG.NOM boy like.what become-PRS-MSG

‘How is this boy [feeling]?’ (B:DHE4743)

Questioning adverbials. Various types of adverbials can be questioned using indefinite-interrogative words.

For questioning temporal and local adverbials, *kareé* ‘when’ and *góo* (B. *gúu*) ‘where’ respectively are being used, as in (36) and (37).

- (36) *kareé ukháat-u*
 when come.up.PFV-MSG
 ‘When did you come [from down-country]?’ (A:HLN2850)
- (37) *thúí ghoóşţ góo hín-u*
 2SG.GN house where be.PRS-MSG
 ‘Where do you live [lit. where is your house]?’ (A:DHE3144)

As *góo* only codes location *per se*, goal and source need to be specified by post-positions and case, *góo-the* (B. *gúu-the*) ‘to where’ (38) and *góoii* or *góoii thúi* (B. *gúue thúi*) ‘from where’ (39)–(40). For questioning the goal an alternative distinct indefinite-interrogative adverb, *kíi* (in B. *kési*) ‘whither’ is often used, as in (41).

- (38) *góo the báain-u*
 where to go.PRS-MSG
 ‘Where are you going?’ (A:HLE2452)
- (39) *tu góo-ii*
 2SG.NOM where-GN
 ‘Where are you from?’ (A:DHE3143)
- (40) *uth-í maníit-u hín-u ki éé lhénđu góo-ii thúi*
 stand.up-CV say.PFV-MSG be.PRS-MSG COMP oh bald.one where-GN from
yhóol-u
 come.PFV-MSG
 ‘Having stood up, he said: “Oh bald one, where did you come from?”’
 (A:KAT030)
- (41) *ínç-a maníit-u hín-u ki éé lhénđu kíi biáan-u*
 bear-OB say.PFV-MSG be.PRS-MSG COMP oh bald.one whither go.PRS-MSG
 ‘The bear said: “Oh bald one, where are you going?”’ (A:KAT020)

Adverbials corresponding to clauses, rather than to single adverbs or adverbial phrases, can be questioned by e.g. *keé* ‘why’, as in (42), and *kanáa-bhe/-the* ‘how, by what means’ (see §7.1.4), (43)–(44). Note that *kanáa-bhe*, which consists of *kanáa* ‘like what’ and the Converb of the verbaliser *bhe-* ‘become’, is used in intransitive clauses, and *kanáa-the*, which is *kanáa* and the verbaliser *the-* ‘do’, is used in transitive clauses.

- (42) *kúri ma díi khoşjool-u ki keé ru-áan-u thaníit-u ta*
 wife 1SG.NOM from ask.PFV-MSG COMP why cry-PRS-MSG say.PFV-MSG PRT
 ‘My wife asked me: “Why are you crying?”’ (A:HUA101)

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- (43) *tu ateñ-ú takrá iñç-a díi ma kanáa-bhe*
 2SG.NOM such-MSG strong bear-OB from 1SG.NOM like.what-become.CV
uđhíiw-um?
 flee-1SG

‘How can I flee from a strong bear like you?’ (A:KAT136)

- (44) *thíi baábu tu kanáa-the saat-íi de*
 2SG.GN father 2SG.NOM like.what-do.CV take.care.of-3SG PST

‘How did your father care for you?’ (A:MAA019)

14.2.3 Subordinate interrogative clauses

As described in Chapter §13, indirect discourse is extremely limited in the language. There is subsequently no category of subordinate or indirect questions clearly distinct from direct questions. When questions occur in reported speech or reported perception, they always appear as if uttered by the quoted speaker or experiencer, as in (45).

- (45) *so insaán bulađ-íim b-íi de páand-a pharé ki*
 DEF.MSG.NOM human.being search-CPRD go-3SG PST path-OB along COMP
[so insaán kateñ-ú šái hín-u]
 DEF.MSG.NOM human.being what.kind-MSG thing be.PRS-MSG

‘He left in search of that man along the road to find out what sort of thing he was [lit. He left to search the man along the the road: What kind of thing is the man?]’ (A:KIN004)

14.2.4 Interrogatives in exclamative use

Some sentences that essentially are interrogative sentences in form may also be used in an exclamative function, with or without special interjections utterance-initially. Some examples are provided in (46)–(49).

- (46) *dun-áať-u bhíl-u hín-u ki aní ba kateñ-í*
 think-AG-MSG become.PFV-MSG be.PRS-MSG COMP PROX.NOM.F PRT what.kind-F
juwánd
 life

‘He started to think: “What kind of life this is!” (A:KAT057)

- (47) *nu ba katí utháal-u táapar*
 3SG.PROX.NOM PRT how.much high-MSG hill
 ‘What a high hill!’ (A:HLE3117)
- (48) *ohoó nis keé phooťóol-u*
 oh 3SG.PROX.ACC why break.PFV-MSG
 ‘Oh, why did you break it?!’ (A:HLE3118)
- (49) *aré áañç-a kateen-á páak-a hín-ee*
 DIST raspberry-PL that.kind-MPL ripe-MPL be.PRES-MPL.Q
 ‘Haven’t these raspberries ripened nicely!’ (A:KAT131)

14.3 Negation

The main strategy for negation is by means of a separate and invariable negative particle, *na*.

14.3.1 Basic sentence negation

The pragmatically unmarked position of the negative particle is preverbal, as is evident from (50)–(52), regardless of the TMA categories reflected in the predicate.

- (50) *amzarái mūr-u-bhaáu insaán na kháain-u*
 lion die.PPTC-MSG-ADJ human.being NEG eat.PRS-MSG
 ‘A lion doesn’t eat a human being which has died.’ (A:UNF012)
- (51) *phoó na wháat-u*
 boy NEG come.down.PFV-MSG
 ‘The boy didn’t come down.’ (A:SHY040)
- (52) *be musibat-íi waxt-íi akaadúi na urígal-íia thaní*
 1PL.NOM trouble-GN time-GN RECP NEG abandon-1PL QT
 ‘[They said:] We will not abandon one another in times of trouble’ (A:UNF004)

Also when there is an auxiliary verb present, as in the periphrastically expressed TMA categories, the negative particle precedes the main verb. This can be seen in examples (53) and (54).

- (53) *muṣṭúk-a xálak-a dhii-á díi na khooj-óon de*
 of.past-MPL people-PL daughter-OB from NEG ask-3PL PST
 ‘People in the old days were not asking their daughter [who she wanted to marry].’ (A:MAR018)
- (54) *asím tu na buladíl-u hín-u*
 1PL.ERG 2SG.NOM NEG call.PFV-MSG be.PRS-MSG
 ‘We have not called you.’ (A:GHU030)

This is also true of passives (55) and nonfinite verb forms (56).

- (55) *thupíik-am ženii-e karáaru na khañjíl-u*
 gun-INS fire.VN-GN leopard NEG be.hit.PFV-MSG
 ‘The leopard was not hit by firing with the gun.’ (B:CLE355)
- (56) *ma tu na khaá kaseé the ur-éen-i*
 1SG.NOM 2SG.NOM NEG eat.CV some.ACC to let.out.PRS-F
 ‘If I don’t eat you, I will give you [lit. let you out] to someone else.’ (A:KAT014)

Predicate noun phrases without an overt copula are negated by the negative particle alone, thus occurring clause-finally, as seen in (57) and (58).

- (57) *anú mii bharíiu na*
 PROX.MSG.NOM 1SG.GN husband NEG
 ‘This one is not my husband.’ (A:WOM646)
- (58) *šúi na*
 good NEG
 ‘That’s not good.’ (B:ANG015)

As for the position being strictly preverbal or being before the entire verbal group, the data shows some variability.

With the modality verb *bhá-* ‘be able to’, the negative particle almost always precedes the modal as well as the main verb, as in (59)–(60).

- (59) *dúi ta gaṭíl-u áak ḍaaku-aan-óom-ii qilaá tíi na gaṭáa*
 other PRT win.PFV-MSG IDEF robber-PL-OB-GN fort 3SG.OB NEG win.INF
bhóol-u
 be.able.to.PFV-MSG
 ‘When he had won everything else, there was a fort of thieves that he could not capture.’ (A:PIR008)

- (60) *tanii baába tu na kháai bhóon*
 3PL.GN father.PL 2SG.NOM NEG eat.INF be.able.to.3PL
 '[Even] their fathers won't be able to eat you.' (A:KAT074)

However, there are occasional exceptions, as example (61) shows, where the negative particle occurs between the modal and the main verb.

- (61) *patráak níkáí na bháam*
 back get.out.INF NEG be.able.to.1SG
 'I won't be able to get back out [of the well].' (B:FOX)

With conjunct verbs there is even more variability. Although in most cases the negative particle occurs right before the main verb and after the host element, there are some conjuncts where the negative particle occurs sometimes before the whole conjunct, (62)/(64), sometimes between the host element and the inflected verb, (63)/(65). Further research may reveal certain conditions, pragmatic or of some other kind, that must be met for each to occur.

- (62) *ma na ʈing bhíl-u*
 1SG.NOM NEG challenged become.PFV-MSG
 'I could not face [him].' (A:HUA108)
- (63) *nis the koó ʈing na bh-áan-a*
 3SG.PROX.ACC to anybody challenged NEG become-PRS-MPL
 'Nobody could face him.' (A:JAN062)
- (64) *karáaṛu asée baát na kaṇ th-ii asaám ghaś-í ba kh-úu*
 leopard 1PL.GN word NEG ear do-3SG 1PL.ACC catch-CV PRT eat-3SG
 'The leopard will not listen to us, but will catch us and eat us.' (B:FOY)
- (65) *xu eesé waqt-ii peeyambár hazrât ilyaas-aleehi-salaam-ii beet-í*
 but DIST time-GN prophet lord Elijah.peace.be.upon.him-GN word-PL
káaṇ na th-ii de
 ear NEG do-3SG PST
 'But he didn't listen to lord Elijah (PBUH), the prophet of that time.' (A:ABO011)

Although it was stated at the beginning of this section that the negative particle is invariable, it may nevertheless fuse phonologically with an adjacent morpheme, such as with the Present tense of the copula (*na hínu* > *náinu* etc., in B. *náhinu*), as in example (66).

- (66) *yéi uthí angaá bhe daçh-íi ta kuṇaák náin-u*
 mother stand.up.CV conscious become.CV look-3SG PRT child NEG.be.PRS-MSG
darák náin-i índa díi-i eeráa díi-i
 appearance NEG.be.PRS-F here give.PFV-F there give.PFV-F
 ‘The mother woke up and could not see the child or any sign of him wherever
 she turned.’ (A:BER007)

Variations resulting from referential and pragmatic factors are discussed in the following sections.

14.3.2 Negative pronouns/particles

Negation is generally not ‘permeable’ (Ramat 2006: 563), i.e. a negative morpheme occurs only once in a negated clause, as in (67)–(69).

- (67) *taním ga na laádu*
 3PL.ERG what NEG find.PFV-MSG
 ‘They didn’t find anything.’ (A:DRA003)
- (68) *dúu oostaaz-aán hín-a dúi ga na bh-áan-u*
 two teacher-PL be.PRS-MPL other what NEG become-PRS-MSG
 ‘There are [only] two teachers, nobody/nothing else.’ (A:OUR017)
- (69) *míi yaar-íi ga xabaár náin-i-ee*
 1SG.GN friend-GN what.kind news NEG.be.PRS-F-Q
 ‘Isn’t there any news of my friend?’ (A:SHY047)

The pronoun *ga* belongs to a set of indefinite-interrogative pronouns and is in itself neutral (rather than negative). It could, however, be argued that the combination *ga na* phonologically is one word, as occurring in (67) and (68), and as such constitutes a negative pronoun. In any case we have only one morpheme with a clearly negative semantics in sentences like these.

The possible emergence of a set of negative pronouns is even more obvious with combinations indefinite-interrogative pronoun + *bi* ‘also’ + *na*, as in examples (70)–(72). Neither do these “negative compounds” occur with an additionally negated verb; instead the entire predication lies in the scope of this negative pronoun, itself in preverbal position in the clause. Probably the morpheme *bi* contributes an added emphasis to the negation, approximately corresponding to ‘at all, else’.

- (70) *kaṭamuš-á gá-bi-na khóol-u hín-u*
 Katamosh-OB what-also-NEG eat.PFV-MSG be.PRS-MSG
 ‘Katamosh didn’t eat anything at all.’ (A:KAT065)
- (71) *aaxerí waxt-íi tas sangí koó-bi-na heensíl-a de*
 last time-GN 3SG.ACC with who-also-NEG stay.PFV-MPL PST
 ‘In the end there was nobody else with him.’ (A:ABO022)
- (72) *tu díi ma góo-bi-na lhéest-i*
 2SG.NOM from 1SG.NOM where-also-NEG escape.PFV-F
 ‘Nowhere am I safe from you.’ (A:PAS126)

A marginal case where double negation may be argued to occur is when a particle *hiĵ* ‘at all’ (derived from Persian or Pashto where it has a clearly negative value) is added to the indefinite-interrogative *ga* in a negated clause, such as in (73) and (74). We may on the other hand say that it is used in a way very similar to *bi*, thus primarily adding emphasis to the already negative expression.

- (73) *hiĵ ga xabaár náin-i*
 at.all what news NEG.be.PRS-F
 ‘There is no news at all.’ (A:SHY049)
- (74) *hiĵ ga maalumaát na bhíl-i*
 at.all what information NEG become.PFV-F
 ‘She didn’t get any information at all.’ (A:BER008)

14.3.3 The scope of negation

Negation of subunits. In the examples, so far, the entire predicate lies in the scope of the negation. But it is also possible to negate only a phrase or a subunit of a clause, as in (75)–(77). Here, however, the negated unit is especially marked or extraposed, and the negation does not occur in the “regular” immediately preverbal position, and therefore the scope of the negation has to be interpreted as narrowed down.

- (75) *gúum táa the róot-a, [dees-á na], róota gúum*
 go.PFV.MSG there to night-OB day-OB NEG night go.PFV.MSG
 ‘He went there, during the night, not during the day.’ (A:PIR015-7)

- (76) *ḍaaku-aan-óom-ii qilaá jhulí tandár dí-t-u, xu éé iskandár thíi*
 robber-PL-OB-GN fort on thunder give.PFV-MSG but oh Alexander 2SG.GN
dúšii [ba na]
 direction.GN PRT NEG
 ‘A thunder fell on the fort of thieves, but not from you oh Alexander.’
 (A:PIR045-6)
- (77) *eetás matíl-u sée~ta tasíi bi ghiir bh-áan-u [xu*
 3SG.REM.ACC churn.PFV-MSG CONDH 3SG.GN also ghee become-PRS-MSG but
na] aksár dhruus-áan-a
 NEG often sip-PRS-MPL
 ‘When that has been churned it becomes ghee, but [people] don’t often
 drink it.’ (A:KEE041-2)

The exact nature of and the mechanisms available for negating subunits is an area needing further research.

Negation in complex constructions. With one complex construction involving the modal *bha-* ‘be able to’, already touched upon briefly above (see examples (59)–(61)), we observed that the negative particle tends to precede both the complement-taking verb and the infinitival complement. This underlines the high degree of clause integration pointed out in §13.5.2. Although it is in fact the ability that is negated, the negation occurs closest to what is formally the subordinate verb, and it is not even possible to negate the subordinate verb only.

In other complex constructions, with a Verbal Noun in the complement and where the bond is not quite so tight between the complement-taking predicate and the verbal element of the complement, it is obvious that either of the two clauses can be negated, either that coded by the matrix verb, as in (78) and (79), or the one coded by the Verbal Noun, as in (80) and (81).

- (78) *heewand-á [tanaám the akaadúí paš-ainíi] naawás na de*
 winter-OB 3PL.ACC to RECP see-VN difficult NEG be.PST
 ‘They managed to meet each other throughout the winter [lit. It was not difficult for them to see each other in the winter].’ (A:SHY006)
- (79) *uḥí ba se čúti-m-e zariia báandi so baṭ hunṭegiráak*
 lift.up.CV PRT DEF paw-PL-GN means on DEF.MSG.NOM stone upward
uḥí gal-áan-u [se kúuk-a se muṭ-á bheš-aníi the] na
 lift.up.CV throw-PRS-MSG DEF crow-PL DEF tree-OB sit.down-VN to NEG

ur-áan-u [mhaás khainii the] na ur-áan-u
 let-PRS-MSG meat eat.VN to NEG let-PRS-MSG

‘After picking it up he throws up the stone with the help of his paws, not letting the crows sit down in the tree, or eat the meat.’ (B:SHB752-6)

- (80) *qáburee farišteém [dunya-í wée xudá-ii húkum na man-ainii wája*
 in.grave angel.PL.OB world-OB in God-GN order NEG say-VN cause
jhulí] tas bíiḍ-u ziaát goor-ii azaáb díṭ-i
 on 3SG.ACC very-MSG much grave-GN punishment give.PFV-F

‘In the grave the angels punished him severely for not obeying God’s commands.’ (A:ABO026)

- (81) *čhéeli [na čit-anii jhulí] ghrast-ii iškáar bhíl-i*
 goat NEG think-VN on wolf-GN prey become.PFV-F

‘Because of not thinking [clearly], the goat fell prey to the wolf.’ (B:FOX)

As far as conditional constructions are concerned, I only have clear examples of the ‘if’-clause being negated, as in (82), in which case the negative particle occurs immediately preverbally.

- (82) *[thíi ninaám na phedúul-a hée~ta] qeaamatée-e dees-á*
 2SG.GN 3PL.PROX.ACC NEG take.PFV-MPL CONDL judgement-GN day-OB
ma tu díi khooj-áam
 1SG.NOM 2SG.NOM from ask-1SG

‘If you don’t take these (to her), I will ask you on the day of judgement.’ (B:FLW800)

In a number of coordinate constructions where one or more elements are negated, the negative particle does not occur in preverbal position, but instead appears in more or less fixed positions according to the particular construction in question, including sentence-finally in postsection constructions (see §13.2.2) and clause (or phrase) initially or as parts of the strings *bi na...bi na* and *na ta...na ba* in rejection constructions (see §13.2.4).

14.3.4 The pragmatics of negation

A couple of observations on the pragmatics of negation should be pointed out in particular.

The first concerns possessive negation. Just as one main strategy of expressing possession is by means of an existential construction, the negated counterpart is

in the form of a denial of existence, whether alienable as in (83) or inalienable as in (84).

- (83) *ma díi paiseé náhin-a*
 1SG.NOM from money.PL NEG.be.PRS-MPL
 ‘I don’t have any money [lit. Money is not from me].’ (B:ANG008)
- (84) *lesée putr-á na heensíl-a de*
 3SG.DIST.GN SON-PL NEG stay.PFV-MPL PST
 ‘He had no sons [lit. His sons were not].’ (B:FOR003)

Such a possessive clause can also, as in (85), include an indefinite-interrogative pronoun.

- (85) *tasíi ba ga wasá na heensíl-u*
 3SG.GN PRT what.kind capacity NEG stay.PFV-MSG
 ‘He had no strength [lit. His any capacity was not].’ (A:GHA017)

The other comment concerns so-called obligative constructions. The positive (non-negated) Obligative codes necessity or obligation (see §9.2.3), especially with transitive verbs. The Obligative verb form negated, however, has a primarily prohibitive reading, corresponding to ‘it is not advisable, one should not, one should avoid’. This is particularly the case with transitive verbs, as in (86) and (87), whereas a negated intransitive Obligative (88) can imply non-ability.

- (86) *kháač-u kráam kuṇaak-íi maxadúši wée na th-eeṇḍéú*
 bad-MSG work child-GN front.of in NEG do-OBLG
 ‘One should not display bad manners in front of children.’ (A:SMO024)
- (87) *anú phoó axsaá,nis ghooṣṭ-á the na har-eeṇḍéú*
 PROX.MSG.NOM boy dirty 3SG.PROX.ACC house-OB to NEG take.away-OBLG

‘This boy is dirty; he should not be brought into the house.’ (A:Q6.09.16)

- (88) *so na yheendéú*
 3MSG.NOM NEG come.OBLG
 ‘He was not able to come.’ (A:Q6.12.02)

A simple denial of an obligation, on the other hand, is expressed by other constructions, such as those in (89) and (90).

- (89) *muniir-ii gáaḍ-u ghooṣṭ samainii ga zarurát náin-i*
 Munir-GN big-MSG house build.VN some necessity NEG.be-F
 ‘Munir does not have to build a big house [contrary to the obligation he first assumed he was under].’ (A:CHE080304)
- (90) *tasii bhroó peexawur-á the bii de ta so ba na*
 3MSG.GN brother Peshawar-OB to go.3SG PST PRT 3MSG.NOM PRT NEG
gúum
 go.PFV.MSG
 ‘Since his brother was going to Peshawar, he didn’t go [i.e. it wasn’t necessary any more].’ (A:CHE080304)

14.3.5 Prohibitive negation

As was mentioned in Section §9.2.1, there is no prohibitive category morphologically distinct from the Imperative. Instead prohibitive negation is formed by the same means as indicative negation, i.e. by the Imperative verb form being immediately preceded by the negative particle *na*, as shown in (91) and (92).

- (91) *teenii kuṇaák anú qísum na bhanjé*
 REFL child PROX.MSG.NOM kind NEG beat.IMP.SG
 ‘Don’t beat your own child like this!’ (B:ANG015)
- (92) *eé iṇṇ ma típa na kha*
 oh! bear 1SG.NOM now NEG eat.IMP.SG
 ‘Oh bear, don’t eat me now!’ (A:KAT023)

14.4 Switch-topicality

Although pragmatic- and discourse-related functions are only marginally part of this work, at least one very frequently occurring particle, *ba*, which has a rather wide scope, will need some brief and tentative comments.

We have already come across *ba* as it occurs together with another particle, *ta*, in coordinate contrasting or adversative expressions (see §13.2.1), but it also occurs alone as an expression of topicality or emphasis. While a clearly identifiable or recently referred to subject (with its expected topicality) normally is not particularly marked for topicality, it seems most other entities need to be identified as such by the specific postposed switch-topic (Andrews 2007: 149) marker *ba*.

In example (93), the subject of the first sentence is a particular witch; then in the next sentence the man Pashambi, who, as the main character of this historical account, has been previously introduced but not recently referred to, is reintroduced as the topic noun phrase and is thus marked with the switch-topic marker *ba*.

- (93) *úuč-a se be heensíl-i hín-i. [pašambeé ba] bakáara ghin-í*
 Uch-OB 3FSG.NOM go.CV stay.PFV-F be.PRS-F Pashambi PRT flock take-CV
úuč-a the gúum hín-u
 Uch-OB to go.PFV.MSG be.PRS-MSG
 ‘She had gone to live in Uch. [Now it so happened that] Pashambi was going with his flock to Uch.’ (A:PAS113-4)

Many times when using the marker *ba* an explicit contrast with an immediately preceding subject is obtained, as in (94) and (95), which is not very different from the use of ‘while’ or ‘however’ in English.

- (94) *míi ghoóşţ lookúri hí-u [iskuúl ba] asíi kaṇeeḡhaá hín-i*
 1SG.GN house Lokuri be.PRS-MSG school PRT 1PL.GN Kanegha be.PRS-F
 ‘My house is in Lokuri, *while* our school is in Kanegha.’ (A:OUR004)
- (95) *tus aakáak looríi-a aţ-óoi. [iṇç ba] kaṭamuş-á the óol*
 2PL.NOM one.each bowl-PL bring-IMP.PL bear PRT Katamosh-OB to watch
bh-íi
 become-3SG
 ‘Go and get a bowl each [all of you]! The bear, *however*, will stay here and watch Katamosh.’ (A:KAT125-6)

Sometimes, although still being a contrast of sorts, *ba* serves primarily as a signal that similar-looking or otherwise somehow related topics are non-identical, for instance in lists, as the ones in (96) and (97), or genealogical accounts, as in (98).

- (96) *[koó ba] paiseé d-áan-a, [koó ba] toobaák d-áan-a, [koó ba]*
 who PRT money.PL give-PRS-MPL who PRT gun give-PRS-MPL who PRT
ṭeép d-áan-a
 tape.recorder give-PRS-MPL
 ‘Some give money, others give guns, others tape-recorders.’ (A:MAR091-3)

- (97) *tus hakim-í buṭheéputr-á mhaar-úuy-a tes bi mheer-í [kuṛína*
 2PL.NOM ruler-GN all son-PL kill-IMP.PL-Q 3SG.ACC also kill-CV woman.PL
ba] ghaš-í ukaal-úuy-a [ghooṣṭ-ám ba] angáar šaa-wúuy-a
 PRT take-CV bring.up-IMP.PL-Q house-PL.OB PRT fire put.on-IMP.PL-Q
 ‘Kill all of the ruler’s sons, kill him, take all the women up here, and set
 the houses on fire!’ (B:ATI033-6)
- (98) *míi nóo aaxuunseéd, [míi baábii nóo ba] gulseéd, [míi*
 1SG.GN name Akhund.Said 1SG.GN father.GN name PRT Gul.Said 1SG.GN
dóodii nóo ba] yulaamseedmalák, [yulaamseedmalak-íi baábii
 grandfather.GN name PRT Ghulam.Said.Malak Ghulam.Said.Malak-GN father.GN
nóo ba] sahibjii...
 name PRT Sahib.Jee
 ‘My name is Akhund Said, my father’s name Gul Said, my grandfather’s
 name Ghulam Said Malak, Ghulam Said Malak’s father’s name Sahib Jee...’
 (A:ASH019-20)

This particle, along with its topic-switching function, may also be seen as a device for signalling natural continuity, ‘and then... and then’, itself having a conjunctive function, connecting one piece of discourse with the next, which is obvious when looking at example (99).

- (99) *tarkaán teeníi the bheénš gal-íi [rhalá bheenš-á jhulí*
 carpenter REFL do.CV main.beam put.in-3SG on.top main.beam-OB on
ba] čauráts gal-íi [čauráts-í jhulí ba] bhít-a gal-íi
 PRT cross.beam put.in-3SG cross.beam-OB on PRT plank-PL put.in-3SG
 ‘The carpenter himself puts up the main beam, and then on top of the main
 beam he puts in the cross-beams, and then on the cross-beams he puts in
 planks.’ (A:HOW016-7)

If not explicitly contrasted with any particular or easily definable entity in the preceding utterances, the reading is rather one of special emphasis put on the phrase thus marked by *ba* in (100)–(103), sometimes corresponding to English ‘as for’, other times corresponding to what would be intonationally signalled as somehow outstanding. Example (104) may be described as a cleft construction, where *ba* marks focus that precedes the background.

- (100) *[ma ba] gáaḍ-u zuwaán míiš de*
 1SG.NOM PRT grown-MSG young man be.PST
 ‘As for me, I was a strong young man.’ (A:PAS004)

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- (101) [tu ba] kanáa-the las sangí mháala ghaš-áan-u
2SG.NOM PRT like.what-do.CV 3SG.DIST.ACC with wrestling take-PRS-MSG

‘How can *you* wrestle with him?’ (A:MAH060)

- (102) [neečíir ba] eesé waxt-íi bíiḍ-i
hunting PRT REM time-GN much-F

‘As for *hunting*, there was a lot of it in those days.’ (A:HUA046)

- (103) [aní ba] kateen-í juwánd
3FSG.PROX.NOM PRT what.kind-F life

‘What kind of life *this* is!’ (A:KAT057)

- (104) [kháač-a kráam-a díi ba] teeníi zaán bač th-eeṇḍéú
bad-OB work-OB from PRT REFL self safe do-OBLG

‘Bad manners is what you must avoid.’ (A:SMO023)

This can be used also in questioning about the general whereabouts of a particular person, as in (105).

- (105) o méesh, [kaṭamúš ba]
oh! aunt Katamosh PRT

‘Oh auntie, what about Katamosh?’ (A:KAT112)

Sometimes it is difficult to see exactly what *ba* does other than signal a switch in referentiality. That can be seen in how the entity pronominally referred to by the first *tasíi* ‘his’ is not the same as that referred to by the second *tasíi* ‘his’ in example (106).

- (106) tasíi áak putr de. [yaazisamadxaán ba] tasíi nóo de
3SG.GN IDEF son be.PST Ghazi.Samad.Khan PRT 3SG.GN name be.PST
‘He had a son. His [i.e. the son’s] name was Ghazi Samad Khan.’ (A:GHA004)

A topic-marked entity, as in (107) and (108), can also be further expanded in an extraposed *ki*-construction.

- (107) [míi šjǰrá ba] eteen-ú ki [míi putr-íi nóo umarseéd...]
1SG.GN line PRT like.this-MSG COMP 1SG.GN son-GN name Umar.Said

‘My line looks like this: My son’s name is Umar Said...’ (A:ASH019)

- (108) [paš-ainií dasturá ba] eeró ki [phoo-ii ghoošt-ii tarapii tasii
 see-VN custom PRT DIST.NOM PRT boy-GN house-GN direction 3SG.GN
 axpul-aán kuríina míiš-a teenii se bhoói paš-ainií the
 relative-PL woman.PL man-PL REFL DEF daughter-in-law see-VN to
 biáan-a]
 go.PRS-MPL

‘The custom of bride-inspection is the following: The relatives, men and women from the boy’s house, are going (there), to see their daughter-in law.’ (A:MAR104)

Apart from the cross-referencing between a topic marked with *ba* and the content of a *ki*-clause, it seems that the marking of a non-subject entity with *ba*, allows for one of the other arguments to be extraposed to a postverbal position, as is the case in (109) and (110). Although (109) corresponds to a passive construction in English, it is not passive in Palula, which is seen in the otherwise regular ergative case marking of the extraposed agent subject. The exact information status of the extraposed argument is a matter for further research.

- (109) [islaám ba] atíl-i hín-i [gabarúut-ii putr-óom]
 Islam PRT bring.PFV-F be.PRS-F Gabaroot-GN son-PL.OB
 ‘Islam was brought by the sons of Gabaroot.’ (A:ASH054)
- (110) deewúli yhayí [áak bhroó ba] tii phrayil-u [saaw-á the]
 Dir come.CV one brother PRT 3SG.OB send.PFV-MSG Sau-OB to
 ‘When he had come to Dir, there was one brother that he sent to Sau.’
 (A:ASH036-7)

Switch-topic marked entities are by no means confined to participants in the clause or even noun phrases. Almost any word or phrase can be “highlighted” and brought to the foreground by *ba*: a noun modifier, as in (111) and (114), an adverbial (112) or a locative expression (113).

- (111) áa kúri jabá wée teenii bijéel-i dhi-á tasii heensil-im
 IDEF woman grass in REFL several-F daughter-PL 3SG.GN stay.PFV-FPL
 de [áa phalúur-u] ba putr de
 PST IDEF single-MSG PRT son be.PST
 ‘A woman had with her on the lawn all her daughters and a single son.’
 (A:BER001)

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- (112) [típa ba] ma kanáa bh-úum
 now PRT 1SG.NOM like.what become-1SG
 ‘Now then, what will become of me.’ (A:MAA017)
- (113) [díiš-a ba] baalbač-á kuṛiina tamá th-éen de
 village-OB PRT child-PL woman.PL waiting do-3PL PST
 ‘Back in the village, the women and children were waiting.’ (B:AVA218)
- (114) dúu oostaaz-aán hín-a o [čuurbhišá ba] kuṇaak-á hín-a
 two teacher-PL be.PRS-MPL and forty PRT child-PL be.PRS-MPL
 asii iskuúl
 1PL.GN school
 ‘There are two teachers, and forty children in our school.’ (A:OUR011)

This includes clauses in complex constructions. Same-subject clauses, as in (115)–(116), as well as different-subject clauses with adverbial functions, as in (117)–(118), can be marked with *ba* (see §13.4).

- (115) [teewiz-í the ba] se bhalaa-gaán ma díi seekóol-u
 amulet-PL do.CV PRT DEF evil.spirit-PL 1SG.NOM from lead.out.PFV-MSG¹
 ‘When/Once he had made amulets, he drove the evil spirits out of me.’
 (A:HUA131)
- (116) [aḍaphará whayí ba] damá thíil-u
 halfway come.down.CV PRT rest do.PFV-MSG
 ‘When we had come halfway down, we rested.’ (A:GHA057)
- (117) [phooṭóol-u ta ba] ghuweenüi-am manüit-u ki ni
 break.PFV-MSG PRT PRT Pashtun-PL.OB say.PFV-MSG COMP 3PL.PROX.NOM
 bíiḍ-a zinaawúr xálaka hín-a
 much-MPL wild people be.PRS-MPL
 ‘After [the Ashretis had been] breaking [the beam], the Pashtuns said:
 “These are wild people.”’ (A:CHA008)
- (118) [phedóol-ii pahúrta ba] hukumát xabaár bhíl-u
 arrive.with.PPTC-GN after PRT government informed become.PFV-MSG

‘As soon as they had got it there, the government learned about it.’ (A:GHA08)

¹ It is not entirely clear why the verb shows singular agreement here even though the direct object is in the plural.

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