Local case-marking in Kalasha

Maps and appendices

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Map 1: "Peristan" ("Hindu Kush") and Central Asia

(From Cacopardo and Cacopardo 2001, with Alberto Cacopardo's permission.)
Map 2: Chitral and Eastern Nuristan

(From Cacopardo and Cacopardo 2001, with Alberto Cacopardo’s permission. National borders accentuated with red, the Chitral/Kunar River with yellow.)
Map 3: The Hindu Kush area with language families and a selection of larger languages

(From Mørch and Heegaard 1997.)
Map 4: Southern Chitral and eastern-most Nuristan

(From Mørch and Heegaard 1997.)
Appendix 1. Classification of Nuristani and Dardic languages, following Strand (1997-2004)
(http://users.sedona.net/~strand/index.html)
Strands phoneme-near spelling ignored - traditional denominations used.

Nuristani languages
Southern Group
    Ashkunu
        Ashkunu-viri (3 variants)
        Sanu-viri
        Gramsana-viri
        KalaSa-ala (Waigali) (2 major dialect groups)
        Tregami
Northern Group
    Kamkata-viri
        Kata-vari (Kati)
        Mum-viri
        Kam-viri
    Vasi-vari (Prasun, Paruni, Wasi-veri, Veron)

Dardic group of Indo-Aryan
Pashai
    Western (4 variants)
    Eastern (5 variants)
Pech Group
    Grangali
    Shumashti
    Gawar-báti
Chitrál Group
    Kalasha (2 dialects, remaining)
    Khowar
Tirahi
Kohistani Group
    Western (2 languages)
    Eastern (5 languages)
        Indus Kohistani (”Maiya”) (2 dialects)
        Gowro
        Cilisso
        Bhate-sazib
        Torwali
Shina
    Chilasi (several dialects and variants, including Palula)
    Gilgití
Kashmirí (several dialects and variants)
Appendix 2. The Dardic languages - following Bashir (2003: 824-825)

I Pashai
   Eastern dialects
      Northeastern group (2 dialects)
      Southeastern group (5 or more dialects)
   Western dialects
      Southwestern group (5 dialects)
      Northwestern group (17 dialects)

II Kunar Group
   Gawarbáti type
      Gawarbáti
      Shumashti
      Grangali
   Dameli

III Chitral Group
   Khowar
   Kalasha
      Northern (2 varieties)
      Southern (Utsund)
      Eastern (at least 4 varieties)

IV Kohistan Group
   Tirah
   Dir-Swat
      Dir Kohistani (2 dialects)
      Kalam Kohistani
      Torwali
      Wotapuri-Katarqalai
   Indus Kohistan
      Indus Kohistani (“Maiyā~”)
         Inner varieties (4 varieties)
         Outer varieties (5 varieties)

V Shina
   Kohistan Group (4 dialects)
   Astor Group (4 dialects)
   Gilgit Group(4 dialects)
   Palula (2 varieties)
   Sawi

VI Kashmiri
Appendix 3. Additional notes on the pronominal paradigm

The 3rd person pronouns are identical to the demonstrative pronouns. They differ from the paradigm of 1st and 2nd person pronouns in two respects: (a) they have an accusative case, and (b) they come in three sets denoting location of the referent person as near, distal and absent (or remote).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Near</th>
<th>Distal</th>
<th>Absent (remote)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>ia</td>
<td>émi</td>
<td>ása</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>áma</td>
<td>émi</td>
<td>aLa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive-oblique</td>
<td>isa</td>
<td>ísi</td>
<td>ása</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Functions
The accusative of the 3rd person pronouns marks the direct object of transitive verbs. Nominative and genitive-oblique cases are used as described for nouns.

Structure of paradigms
The category ‘Near’ implies visibility, ‘Distal’ can refer to visible or non-visible location, and ‘Absent’ (‘Remote’) implies non-visibility, not present. An emphatic form sh- can be applied to the 3rd (and demonstrative) pronouns, as well as to a subset of the local adverbs, but not to the 1. and 2. person pronouns. sh- implies that the referent is already mentioned or present in the discourse (EB88: 43).

The three-way distinction is not unusual for the Hindu Kush language area (Edelman 1983, EB03). Morgenstierne sees an obvious “derivation from the Sanskrit types sa, ayam, asau” (GM73: 217). He gives as examples áma < asma, émi < ime, ása < asau, isa < ata (̄<eta-), and others. By comparing the OIA paradigms for demonstrative pronouns there are clearly obvious formal similarities, for example te < te (masc.nom.pl), but it is not clear how the OIA system has come to be reflected in the Kalasha system, i.e. whether it is the masculine or feminine, or singular or plural forms that have survived. For example, OIA ime is masc.nom.du/pl, ása is fem.nom.pl, and asma (= asmai?) is the dative singular of masculine and neutrum.

Segmental built-up of forms
There are certain paradigm-internal patterns to observe for 3. person personal (and demonstrative) pronouns. Such generalizations are not explicitly formulated by GM73, EB88, Tr96 and TC99.

(a) Nominative and accusative cases, except nom.sg.distal, are distinguished from the genitive-oblique case by the fact that the case forms of the latter all have intervocal -s-.

(b) Singular is distinguished from plural in the near and distal sets. All plural forms end in an -i and all singular forms end in an -a. In the remote set three of the non-genitive-oblique forms end in -e, the acc.sg. in -o. The possible association of a palatal
formative -i with plural and of an -a with singular may be of relevance to the analysis of the local case endings, as will be seen in chapter 12.

(c) The ‘Absent’ set is distinguished from the ‘Near’ and ‘Distal’ sets by the formative t- except for nom.pl se. The prefix t- is also used with the deictic adverbs aL- ‘there’ and aLeL- ‘there (across boundary)’ to give t-aL- ‘there, away from sight or presence’ and t-aLeL- ‘there (across boundary), away from sight of presence’.

(d) ‘Near’ and ‘Distal’ nominative and accusative forms are distinguished from each other as the former has a formative -m-, the latter a formative -L-.

(e) The plural forms do not distinguish between nominative and accusative in the plural.

(f) The nominative singular is in each of the three sets formally distinguished from the other members of the set by being irregular.

(g) Nominative and accusative forms in the ‘Absent’ set are monosyllabic, all other pronouns are bisyllabic.
Appendix 4. Additional notes on the possessed kinship terms/personal suffixes

This set of suffixes is attached to kinship terms when these occur as possessum in possessive constructions, for example, ‘my son/sons’, ‘our daughter/daughters’, ‘your mother/mothers’, etc. The endings differentiate between the number of the possessed kin and the person of the possessor. The possessor must be in the oblique case. Examples, based on the presentations in EB88, Tr96, TC99, and EB03, are:

1. Examples with kinship suffixes
   may/hóma dád-\textit{a} ‘my/our father’
   may/hóma dád-\textit{ai} ‘my/our fathers’
   tay/mími pút\textit{r}-\textit{au} ‘your/your son’
   tay/mími pút\textit{r}-\textit{aLi} ‘your/your sons’
   ása/ísa chúL-\textit{as} ‘his/their son’
   ása/ísa chúL-\textit{asi} ‘his/their daughters’

Kalasha possessive personal suffixes do not have grammatical functions corresponding to those seen in the western periphery of NIA and in Persian (Emeneau 1980: 136-157; Masica 1991: 253-254).

Morphological/segmental built-up
The set of personal endings can be analysed as in the table below which ascribes a semantic function to each phonological component.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person of possessor</th>
<th>Relation/Kinship possession</th>
<th>Number of possessor</th>
<th>Number of possessum</th>
<th>Morpheme, sg., pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1\textsuperscript{st}</td>
<td>-\textit{a}</td>
<td>-\textit{Ø}</td>
<td>-\textit{i}</td>
<td>-\textit{a}, -\textit{ai}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2\textsuperscript{nd}</td>
<td>-\textit{a}</td>
<td>-\textit{u}</td>
<td>-\textit{i}</td>
<td>-\textit{au}, -\textit{aLi}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3\textsuperscript{rd}</td>
<td>-\textit{a}</td>
<td>-\textit{s}</td>
<td>-\textit{i}</td>
<td>-\textit{as}, -\textit{asi}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first column indicates the person of the possessor. The second column shows that -\textit{a} marks that there is a relation of possession. The third column shows the formatives for the person of the possessor, -\textit{Ø} for 1\textsuperscript{st} person, -\textit{u} for 2\textsuperscript{nd} person, and -\textit{s} for 3\textsuperscript{rd} person. The fourth column shows the formatives that indicate the number of the possessor, -\textit{Ø} for singular possession, -\textit{i} for plural possession. The fifth column shows the resultant complex morphemes.

Conditions for occurrence
The occurrence of the personal suffixes depend on a number of syntactic variables (EB88: 44-45). The 1.sg suffix does not appear when the possessed phrase is the subject, the predicate nominal or the direct object, but it is obligatory when the possessed NP occurs in an oblique context. The 3.sg (and 2.sg?) is obligatory in all syntactic contexts. When
asked to give a plural form of kinship terms informants often use a suffixation with -ai, for example, áy-ai ‘(my/our) mothers’, nán-ai ‘(my/our) aunts’, etc.

Not only terms denoting kinship relations can take this set of affixes. Example 2 shows that also terms that denote persons with a very intimate relation to someone can be suffixed with these endings.

2. wéyrak-as/-asi ásta ne íta á-au/á-an
   beloved-ps.3s/3p also not come.pf aux.an-prs.3s/3p
   ‘also his beloved one/ones has/have not come’

Since wéyrak-as/-asi is the subject for a finite verb phrase -as/-asi cannot be oblique case. GM (73: 215) notices that a possessive suffix can also occur with Chetır ‘field’: tay Chétr-au. This may indicate that the possessive suffixes can be used with nouns denoting persons in intimate relations and with nouns denoting inalienable possession. If so, one could expect possible suffixation on words like dur ‘house’, goST ‘stable’, and pay ‘goat(s)’ also.
# Appendix 5. List of Informants

The following informants have in the period 1995-2006 provided data in the form of narratives, spontaneous speech, test responses, elicitation responses, or emails. The list gives information about informants’s gender, approximate age at recording time, village and valley, proficiency of other languages than Kalasha, family status, and educational status.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informant</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age Range</th>
<th>Village and Valley</th>
<th>Other Languages Known</th>
<th>Family Status</th>
<th>Educational Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AA</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>25-30</td>
<td>Krakal</td>
<td>Khowar, some Kati</td>
<td>highschool</td>
<td>Muslim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ba</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>25-30</td>
<td>Krakal, but from Anish, Mumoret</td>
<td>Khowar, a little Kati</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dur</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Krakal, Mumoret</td>
<td>some Khowar</td>
<td>primary school</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Er</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>25-30</td>
<td>Guru, Biriu</td>
<td>Khowar, Urdu, some English, married to Rab</td>
<td>highschool</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fil</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>ab. 20</td>
<td>Krakal/Anish, Mumuret</td>
<td>some Khowar</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GK</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>12-14 and 20-25</td>
<td>Krakal, Mumoret, Khowar, Urdu, English, Greek, some Kati, some Pashto, little brother to TK, cousin to Na</td>
<td>high school, later college and university</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GuK</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>25-30</td>
<td>Krak, Kumburet</td>
<td>Khowar, Kati and some Urdu</td>
<td>elder brother to GK</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IK</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>25-30</td>
<td>Batthet, Rukmu</td>
<td>Urdu, Khowar, English, some Pashto, some Kati, married to ZMG, schoolteacher</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ImK</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>25-20</td>
<td>Anish, Mumoret</td>
<td>Khowar, Panjabi, Urdu, English, Pashto, a little Farsi, college, schoolteacher</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KK</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>50-60</td>
<td>Batrik</td>
<td>some Khowar, a little Kati</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MB</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>45-50</td>
<td>Krakal/Brun, Mumoret</td>
<td>Khowar, a little Urdu</td>
<td>mother to Ta</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirza</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>50-60</td>
<td>Krak, Mumoret</td>
<td>Khowar, some Kati</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>25-39</td>
<td>Krak, Mumoret</td>
<td>Khowar, Urdu, English, some Kati, some Pashto, a little Farsi, cousin to GK and TK</td>
<td>high school, college and university</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rab</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>20-25</td>
<td>Guru, Biriu</td>
<td>some Khowar, married to Er</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>50-60</td>
<td>Krak, Mumoret</td>
<td>Khowar, some Urdu, some Kati</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shing</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>50-60</td>
<td>Krak, Mumoret</td>
<td>some Khowar, some Kati</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SJ</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>ab. 30</td>
<td>Krak, Mumoret</td>
<td>some Khowar, some Kati</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>35-40</td>
<td>Krak, Mumoret</td>
<td>some Khowar, a little Kati</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>25-30</td>
<td>Krak, Mumoret</td>
<td>English, Urdu, Khowar, Greek, a little Kati, some Pashto, some Hungarian, university student, son of MB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TalK</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>ab. 20</td>
<td>Brun, Mumoret</td>
<td>Khowar, a little Urdu and English</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TK</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>20-25</td>
<td>Krak, Mumoret</td>
<td>Khowar, Urdu, English</td>
<td>some Kati</td>
<td>high school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WaK</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>40-50</td>
<td>Bio, Biriu</td>
<td>some Khowar</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yak</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>ab. 20</td>
<td>Krak, Mumoret</td>
<td>some Khowar, a little Kati</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZK</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>ab. 25</td>
<td>Brun, Mumoret. Urdu, Pashto, Khowar, English</td>
<td>student</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZMG</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>20-25</td>
<td>Batthet, Rukmu, before Guru, Biriu</td>
<td>some Khowar, a little Urdu</td>
<td>married to IK</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Narrator: Sher John, Kraka.
Recorded January 1997 in Kraka, Mumoret.
Transcribed and translated by Nabaig and Jan, Islamabad, 13-07-04.

First line: pronunciation-near transcription.
Second line: morphemic transcription (notice that the diphtongs aw and ay in some places are dissolved to bimorphemic -a- + u and -a- + -i, at other places they are rendered as phonemic diphtongs).
Third line: morpheme-by-morpheme glossing.
Fourth: translation into idiomatic English.

Sumbér-an nè báya Sumbér-an ék akhabír shér áys
before-INSTR right bay before-INSTR an old.AN lion be.AN-PST.A.3S
‘in earlier times, brother,’ in earlier times, there was an old lion,’

akhabír shér laház áys sé
akhabír sher lahay ays se
old.AN lion ill be.PST.A-3S 3S.NOM.ABS
‘the old lion was ill, he’

akhabír shér laház áys khabár bikó ék Lawák tará paráw
akhabír sher lahay ays khabar bikoo ek Lawak there.SPEC.ABS go-PST.A.3S
‘the old lion was ill, suddenly one fox went there,’

tará pay amáw tása kay
tara pah a-mah au tasa kai
there.SPEC.ABS go-CP AU-say-PST.A.3S 3S.OBL.ABS to
‘having gone there, he said to him (the lion)’

shéras kay “éh shér sahib bachá sahib tú laház áas” aghó~2
shér-as kai “eh sher sahib bacha sahib tu lahay a-as” agho-
lion-OBL.SG to Oh lion sir king sir 2S.NOM ill be.AN-P/F.2S was said
‘to the lion, “Oh, lion, sir, king-sir, you are ill”, it was head’

1 The narrator is addressing me, the fieldworker.
2 The (augmented) past tense form of the verb gho–ik used here, agho–an, pronounced [a´ghó:(n)], was not accepted by Bashir’s informants; only gho–an in combination with infinitive, meaning ‘VB-inf, it is said’; EB suggests that gho–an should be regarded as a sort of passive, in the disguise of a present tense form, and she translates it ‘it is said’. Following this perspective, I shall translate agho–an as a past passive, ‘it was said’, in the story here referring to the fox’s lines.
APPENDIX 6. CLOSED AND TRANSLATED NARRATIVE:

“THE FOX AND THE LION”

“‘tú bó akhabír’ aghó~

“tu bo akhabír” aghó~
2S.NOM much old. AN was said
‘“you are very old”, it was said’

“‘táy hátya warégo kía dawái né’ aghó~

“tay hátya warék-o kía dawái ne” aghó~
2S.OBL for another-o what medicine not was said
‘“for you there is not medicine”, it was said’

“‘warégo kía dawái né shíu’ ghó~y amáaw

“warék-o kía dawái ne shí-u” ghó~i a-má-au
another-o what medicine not be.IN-P/F.3S QUOT AU-say-PST.A.3S
“no medicine at all”, he said

bikó “‘táy hátya warégo dawái né shíu’ aghó~

bikó tay hátya warék-o dawái ne shí-u” aghó~
because 2S.OBL for another-o medicine not be.IN-P/F.3S was said
‘“because there is not medicine for you”, it was said’

tú ék prúST juhán shára

tu ek prúST juhán shára
2S.NOM a good young deer
‘“you (have to eat) a young deer(’s brain),’

sharáas mhásta pe asi haw tú pák tazá his ghó~y amáaw
shará-as mhásta peás-i háu tu pák tazá his
deer-OBL.SG brain if eat.PST.A-2S COND 2S.NOM quickly healthy become-PRS.2S
ghó~i a-má-au
QUOT AU-say-P/F.3S
‘if you eat it, then you will become healthy right away”, he said,

Lawák tása kay shéras kay
Lawák tása kái shér-as kái
fox 3S.OBL.ABS to lion-OBL.SG to
‘the fox to him, to the lion’

tóa sé amáw ki shér tása kay amáw
toa se a-má-au ki sher tása kái a-má-au
then 3S.NOM.ABS AU-say-PST.3S CONJ 3S.OBL.ABS to AU-say-PST.3S
‘then he (the lion) said to the him (the fox),

kúra máy hátya hal-iu tó ghó~y amáaw
kúra may hátya hal-iu to ghó~ i a-má-au
who.NOM 1S.OBL for bring-P/F.3S 3S.ABS.ACC QUOT AU-say-PST.A.3S
‘“how will bring (it) for me”, he said’
“THE FOX AND THE LION”

a táy hártyá hal-im ghó~y amáw Lawák tása kái
a tay hártya hal-im ghó~i a-má-au Lawák tása kái
1S.NOM 2S.OBL for bring-P/F.1S QUOT AU-say-PST.A.3S fox 3S.OBL.ABS to
‘I will bring (it) for you”, the fox said to him’

a táy hártyá hal-im
a tay hártya hal-im
1S.NOM 2S.OBL for bring-P/F.1S
‘I will bring (it) for you,’

tú tó gri susték bháas sé aghó~
tu to gri-i sust-ék bhá-as se aghó~
2S.NOM 3S.ABS.ACC take.CP defeat-INF be able-P/F.2S 3S.NOM.ABS was said
‘when you have taken it, can you defeat (him)?”, it was said’

susték bháas sé aghó~ haw
sust-ák bhá-as se aghó~ haw
defeat-INF be able-P/F.2S 3S.NOM.ABS was said SUBJ
‘can you defeat (him)?”, it was said,’

shér amáw ki bílkül á tó sustém
shér a-má-au ki bílkül a to sust-ém
lion AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ of course 1S.NOM 3S.ABS.ACC defeat-P/F.1S
‘the lion said, “of course I can defeat (him)?”,’

ghó~y amáw
ghó~i a-má-au
QUOT AU-say-PST.A.3S
‘he said’

she~hé~ amáw-Láw tú nánga né pe abhái haw
she~hé~ a-má-au-Law tu nánga ne pe a-bhá-i haw
like this AU-say-PST.A.3S-REP 2S.NOM perhaps not if AU-be able-PST.A.2S SUBJ
‘he said like this, “but what if you cannot defeat (him), then?”

ghóy amáw Lawák tása kái
ghó~i a-má-au Lawák tása kái
QUOT AU-say-PST.A.3S fox 3S.OBL.ABS to
‘he said, the fox to him’

sé amáaw ki né a bháam tóa Lawák paráw pháto
se a-má-au ki ne a bhá-am tóa Lawák par-áu pháto
3S.NOM AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ not 1S.NOM be able-P/F.1S then fox go-PST.A.3S then
‘he (the lion) said, “no, I can”, then the fox left, eventually’

Lawák pay paráw paráw paráw
Lawák pá-i par-áu par-áu par-áu
fox go-CM go-PST.3S go-PST.3S go-PST.3S
‘the fox went, going, (and) going, (and) going,’

ĕk dhentasânduna réZuna paráw “há!”

‘he went to a certain difficult path on a mountain side, ‘right?’

réZuna paráw shára andáy niáw

‘(when he, the fox) arrived at the path, a deer appeared,’

andáy nii tó Lawák jagáy

‘having appeared there and seeing the fox, ..’

kibá-goni hawaw

he became worried (quite something happened),’

Tém ghó~y acítaw

‘(it’s) time, he thought’

tóa se Lawák bó shaytán

‘then the fox was very nasty’

se amáw ki

‘he said, ‘

shér sahib akhabír thi aaw

‘the honoured lion has become old,’

shér sahib akhabír thi aaw

‘the honoured lion has become old,’
APPENDIX 6. CLOSED AND TRANSLATED NARRATIVE:
“THE FOX AND THE LION”

“Now he gives advice (to animals in his kingdom), ..

‘.. he speaks very beautiful words’

‘everybody came, heard his words, and went (away),’

‘you did not come, come, he will advice you too’

‘you are the most beautiful thing (animal) of here in the forest (= among the animals of the forest), deer,

‘you will definitely get (understand) his words”, (he said)

‘lying about this, he took him (to the king)’

‘he went there, when went there,

‘go near to the king”, he said to the deer, the fox’

‘Near to the King’
APPENDIX 6. CLOSED AND TRANSLATED NARRATIVE:
“THE FOX AND THE LION”

3S.DIST.OBL ear deaf not hear-P/F.3S SPEC
‘he is deaf, he cannot hear’

ása shér akhabír karúTu thi aaw
ása sher akhabír karúTu thi á-au
3S.DIST.NOM lion old.AN deaf become.CP AUX.AN-PRS.3S
‘he has become deaf as old’

ghó–y amáw
ghó–i a-má-au
QUOT AU-say-PST.A.3S
‘he (the fox) said’

tóa lásh thi Sói paráw haw
tóa lash thi Soi par-áu hau
then slow be.CP near go-PST.A.3S when
‘then, when he slowly went near (to the king),’

shehé kay së shër drámuC praw tása táp agríaw haw paLáis
she–hë–kái se shër drámuC pr-áu tása tap a- gri- au hau
like this 3S.DIST.NOM lion claw put.PST.A-3S 3S.OBL.ABS quick AU-catch-PST.A.3S when
‘like this, when the lion scratched and tried to catch him’

paLáis
paLá-is
escape-PST.A.3S
‘he (the deer) escaped’

drámuC dyay kÓ– achinaw sharáas kÓ– achinaw
drámuC dyá-i ko~ a-chin-au shará-as ko~ a-chin-au
claw put-CP ear AU-cut-PST.A-3S deer-OBL.SG ear AU-cut-PST.A.3S
‘scratching (him) he cut his ears of the deer, the ears cut (off),’

shára paLáy paráw
shára paLá-i par-áu
deer escape-CP go-PST.A.3S
‘the deer ran away, escaping’

paLáy paráw haw Lawák tása kay amáaw ki
paLá-i par-áu haw Lawák tása kái a-má-au ki
escape-CP go-PST.A.3S when fox 3S.OBL.DIST to AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ
‘(the deer) having gone away, the fox said to him (the king),’

ônjo kó báta iu áya tú né abháy
ônj-o ko báta i-u ayá tu né a-bhá-i
now-o why CONTR come-P/F.3S here.SPEC 2S.NOM not AU-be able-PST.A.3S
‘why he will come again here, you didn’t manage’
APPENDIX 6. CLOSED AND TRANSLATED NARRATIVE:
“THE FOX AND THE LION”

tú nē abhāy bikó tása kay amāw kī
2S.NOM not AU-be able-PST.A.2S therefore 3S.OBL.ABS to AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ
‘ “you couldn’t”, therefore he said to him,’

ṓnjo ā khē~ kay haiim tó sé paLāīs
now-1 1S.NOM how do-CP bring-P/F.1S 3S.ACC.DIST 3S.NOM.DIST escape-PST.A.3S
‘ “now, how will I be able to bring him here, he ran away”’

tóa shēr amāw kī
then lion AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ
‘then the lion said,’

pári halī ónjo pe haLāw tó sustēm
now-1 go-IMP.2S bring-IMP.2S 3S.ACC.ABS 3S.ACC.DIST defeat-P/F.1S
‘ “go, bring (him), now I will be able to defeat him,”

tó shāra sustēm ghó~y
3S.ACC.ABS deer defeat-P/F.1S QUOT
‘defeat that deer’,’

to ghērī ahūTaw
then again AU-send away-PST.A.3S
‘then he (the lion) sent the fox back again,’

ghērī ahūTaw haw Lawāk parāw
again AU-send away-PST.A.3S when fox go-PST.A.3S
‘when he sent (the fox) away, the fox went away’

páy gudās thi tása piSTaw azhāLaw
pá-i gudas thi tása piSTaw a-zhāL-au
go-CP tired be.CP 3S.OBL.ABS behind AU-arrive-PST.A.3S
‘being tired (the fox), arrived behind the deer’ (= ’he reached the deer’)

zhāLī sē kahari háwaw
3S.NOM.ABS angry become-PST.A.3S
‘(when he, the fox, arrived), the deer became angry’

táy nashēm ā
2S.OBL kill-P/F.1S 1S.NOM
APPENDIX 6. CLOSER AND TRANSLATED NARRATIVE:
“THE FOX AND THE LION”

“I will kill you, I (will)’

“tu may atra sheras SaTaway Zuawayka niman ay hah!”

‘I was taken there so the lion could eat me”, ha!’

ghó~y amáaw-Láw né táy né zhúiman ays

‘he said, “no, he was not eating you, ‘

tú galát ári paLáy

‘you were wrong escaping” ’

sé táy kay kÓ~una kay món diman ays

‘he was saying words to you ear,’

se ne sangáaw tu tása Soy ne par-áy shehé kay

‘he cannot hear, you did not go near (to him), like this,’

táy dramúCak praw e kÓ~ achís ghó~y amáw è

‘as he (the fox) said, “as he scratched you, in this way, he cut your ear” ’

sé amáw ki né sé may zhú

‘he said, “no, he intended to eat me” ‘

né zhu pré ghéri phán day to shára haláw

‘no, not eat( you), let’s go, try it out”, lying again, he brought the deer (there)’

shára patíaw

‘the deer believed (the fox)’
APPENDIX 6. GLOSED AND TRANSLATED NARRATIVE:
“THE FOX AND THE LION”

áu tará áaw e ása Soy pár-i aghó~
da came there and as he said ‘as (he, the deer) came there, “go near (to the king)”, it was said’

se shér-o shehé thi apáw praw hú–k asta né kay
the lion sitting (quietly) like this, also not saying anything’ (or: ‘.. not even saying anything’)

tádaka pári aghó~ tádaka paráw
gone near (to the lion)”, it was said, he went quite near’

tádaka pay khabár bikó thedí tása kay amáw
‘having gone near (to the lion), immediately, then he said to him,’

kía máas day shér sahib
‘what are you saying, dear king,’

mon de tay táda íta áam aghó~
say something, I am near to you”, it was said,’

shára tása kay
‘the deer (said) to him’

hú–k ná áraw shér chimcilíit thi apáw praw
‘(he) said nothing, the lion, he (just) sat there, very quiet’

ghéri amáw ki kía máas day
‘again he (the deer) said, “what are you saying?” ’

a tay táda íta aam ónjo món dé ghó~y
APPENDIX 6. GLOSED AND TRANSLATED NARRATIVE:
“The Fox and the Lion”

a tāy tād-a īta á-am ónj-o mon d-e ghō-i
1S.NOM 2S.OBL near-LOC1 come-CP AUX.AN-PRS.1S now-o word give-IMP.2S QUOT
‘I have come close to you, now speak’, (he said)’

shehé thi páy kŌ-una aZáLlaw haw
shehé thi pá-i kŌ---una a-zhāL-au haw
like this go-CP ear-LOC2 AU-reach-PST.A.3S when
‘like this, when he went near to his ear’

tāp gri to tā.a sharāas gĀani gri
.tap gri-ī to tā-sā sharā-as gĀ-ani gri-ī
quickly 3S.ACC.ABS 3S.OBL.ABS deer-OBL.SG throat-ABL2 hold-CP
‘catching him quickly, catching the deer’s throat,’

kaTār kay tō SiS ahistaw
kaTār kā-i to SiS a-hist-au
knife do. CP 3S.ACC.ABS head AU-throw-PST.A.3S
‘(and) cutting his throat, threw away the head (of the deer)’

histi thedī Lūi pīkas práw
histī thedī Lūi p-īk-as pr-āu
throw-CP now blood drink-INF.OBL.SG give.PST.A-3S
‘having thrown (the head), then he (the lion) started drinking blood’

Lūi pī prū::ST tasīris
Lūi pī-i pruST tasīris
blood drink-CP well satisfied
‘drinking blood, he became very full/satisfied,’

Lawāko o khūran thāra dramūCak dā::y
Lawāk-o 3S.ACC.ABS leg-OBL.PL upon claw put-CP
‘the fox, then, scratching with the legs,’

to mhāsta chaLāy plik āshaw
 to mhāsta chaLā-i plik āsh-au
3S.ACC.ABS brain take out-CP all eat.PST.A-3S
‘took out the brain, (and) ate all of it’

zhūy-o dēsha pay nīsī apāw prāw
zhū-i-o dēsha pá-i nīs-ī apāw pr-āu
eat-CP-o (far) away go-CP sit-CP dwell-PST.A.3S
‘after having eaten, (he, the fox) going away and sitting down,’

samlāt shehé kay drī-ki-o
samlāt shehé kā-i drī-ki-o
moustache like this do-CP clean-CP-o
‘(and) cleaning his moustache like this’
APPENDIX 6. CLOSED AND TRANSLATED NARRATIVE:

“THE FOX AND THE LION”

désha pay nisí apáw praw haw
(désha pá-i nis-i apáw pr-áu haw)
‘(far) away go-CP sit-CP dwell-PST.A.3S when
‘when he (the fox) having gone away and sat down’

thedí prú::ST Lúi pi tasíris shér tasiri
(thedí prú S.T Lúi pi-i tasíris shér tasiri)
‘now well blood drink-CP be full-PST.A.3S lion full
‘now, after drinking the blood, (he) was full, the lion being full’

tóa gér áraw gér kay tása kay amáw ki
(tóa ger ár-aw ger kái tása kái a-má-au ki)
‘he became aware (about the brain), having become aware, (he, the lion) said to him (the fox)’

tará pay jiáw jay to SiS bat-bátay tyáy
(tará pá-i jiá-ú jiá-i to SiS bat-bát-ai tyá-i)
‘he went there and looked, having looked, beating the head on some stones,’

to Sés biSáy jiáw haw mhásta né shiu
(to Sés biSá-ú jiá-ú to SíS bat-bát-ai tyá-ú)
‘(and) cracking the head, when he saw, there was no brain’

to amáw ki éy Lawák to mhásta kó áshi
(to a-má-aw ki ey Lawák to mhásta ko ásh-i)
‘then he said, “Hey, fox, why did you eat the brain”,’

ghó~y amáw tása kay
(ghó~i a-má-aw tása kái)
‘he said to him’

sé amáw ki ása mhásta né shiaLa
(sé amáw ki ása mhásta né shia-úLa)
‘he said that, “he had no brain,”’

khali āsta āsa
(khali ásta āsa)
‘he was empty’;

shér tása kay amáw ki
APPENDIX 6. CLOSED AND TRANSLATED NARRATIVE:  
“THE FOX AND THE LION”

sher tása kái a-má-au ki  
lion 3S.OBL.ABS to AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ  
‘the lion said to him (the fox),’

mhásta né thi-o khè~ thi kásiu day ása  
braiın not be.CP-o how be.CP walk-P/F.3S SPEC 3S.NOM.DIST  
‘if there was no brain, how could he walk?’

áLa kó lawás day tú ghó~y amáw hawaw  
áLa ko lāw-as dái tu ghō~i a-má-au hāwaw  
3S.ACC.DIST why lie-P/F.2S SPEC 2S.NOM QUOT AU-say-PST.A.3S when  
‘why are you lying about this”, he said (the lion),’

Lawák tása kay jawáp áraw  
Lawák tása kái jawáp ár-au  
fox 3S.OBL.ABS to answer do-PST.A.3S  
‘then the fox answered’

Lawák tása kay amáw ki  
Lawák tása kái a-má-au ki  
fox 3S.OBL.ABS to AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ  
‘the fox said to him,’

ása mhásta né shiáLa khali ásta  
ása mhásta ne shi-áLa khali ásta  
3S.OBL.DIST brain not be.IN-PST.I.3S empty be.AN.PRS.I.3S  
‘he didn’t have a brain, he was empty,’

ása mhásta pe áshis  
ása mhásta pe ásh-is  
3S.OBL.DIST brain if be.PST.A-3S  
‘if he had a brain,’

tú ása kO–chín-i ai ása ghéri áu dyápa e  
tu ása kO–chín-i á-i ása ghéri áu dyápa e  
2S 3S.OBL.DIST ear cut-PF AUX.AN-2S 3S.NOM.DIST again come.PST-3S CTR as  
‘he wouldn’t have come here again, because his ear was cut by you for the first time’

ása mhásta né ashés táa áu ghó~y  
ása mhásta ne ásh-is tóa á-u ghō~i  
3S.OBL.DIST brain not be.IN.PST-3S then come.PST-3S QUOT  
‘he did not have a brain, so he came”,’

món khír háwaw  
mon khír háwaw  
word ??? become.PST.A-3S
‘the fox lied ((his) word became ???)’

*pháto shér pátiaw*

pháto shér páti-au
then lion trust-PST.A-3S
‘then the lion trusted him’

*aChOi~k ásta khúl háwaw*

aChOi~k ásta khul háw-au
story very finish become.PST.A-3S
‘the story has ended’

*pháto kía báta may aLéy tháraw háh!*

pháto kía báta may aL-yéi tháraw hah!
then what CTR 1S.obl there.NONSPEC.DIST-ABL1 up-ABL3 EXCL
‘so what will be of more from my side, then, ha!’
Appendix 7. List of stimulus material

1. **Mouse and Elephant films.** 18 short, animated cartoons with a very big mouse and a very small elephant that face problematic situations and solve them in an often unexpected manner. From MPI, Nijmegen. Used with two informants.

2. **The Pear film.** Short film about a man that plucks pears, which a boy steals, and then a series of dramatic and unexpected events happen to the boy. Developed by Wallace Chafe. Put at my disposal by MPI, Nijmegen. Used with two informants.


4. **Positional Verbs Picture Series.** 60 photographs depicting different spatial arrangement. Developed by scholars at MPI, Nijmegen, with the cross-linguistic purpose of eliciting spatial description, mainly as coded with posture verbs. Used with one informant.

5. **Man-bush-and-pigs photographs.** A ‘space game’ with 10 photographs showing toy figures (a man, two pigs, and two bushes in different arrangements. Developed by Steven Levinson and associates with the purpose of eliciting spatial descriptions. An instructor directs a matcher. Put at my disposal by Elisabeth Engberg-Pedersen, University of Copenhagen. Used with three informants.

6. **Containment Picture Series:** 55 drawings of different ‘containment’ situations (object in bowl, object in mass, object in hand, object pierced through another object, etc.). Developed by scholars at MPI, Nijmegen, for the cross-linguistic investigation of spatial markers. Used with two informants.

7. **Support Picture Series:** 55 drawings of different ‘support’ situations (object on horizontal surface, object on vertical surface, object on sloping surface, object on underside of surface, etc.). Developed by scholars at MPI, Nijmegen, for the cross-linguistic investigation of spatial markers. Used with two informants.

8. **‘The Frog Story’ ("Frog, Where Are You", Mayer 1969).** Children’s book about a boy who has captured a frog that escapes. The boy and his dog set out looking for the frog and face different ‘dramatic’ events before they finally find the frog. Used extensively by Dan Slobin and associates. Put at my disposal by Elisabeth Engberg-Pedersen, University of Copenhagen. Used with three informants.

9. **Motionland-clips:** Six short computer-animated film clips that show a ball’s motion through a landscape. Developed by scholars at MPI, Nijmegen. Put at my disposal by Henrik Hovmark, University of Copenhagen. Used with three informants.

10. **Staged Events.** About 65 short computer-animated film clips that show different sort of motions of different sort of geometrical figures. From MPI, Nijmegen. Put at my disposal by Henrik Hovmark, University of Copenhagen. Used with one informant.
11. Caused Positions. 46 short film clips that show sudden (by film cuts) placing and removal of different sort of objects onto/from different sort of Grounds. Put at my disposal by Henrik Hovmark, University of Copenhagen. Used with two informants.


14. The Put and Take Project. 63 film clips showing ‘put’ and ‘take’ events of different kinds of objects to/from different kinds of Grounds. Put at my disposal by Henrik Hovmark, University of Copenhagen. Used with three informants.

15. Reciprocals. Altogether 64 film clips showing ‘reciprocal’ situations, i.e situations where two or more people greet, play ‘capture’, slap each other, argue with each other, talk with each other, etc. (2 sets, one small, one “full”). Put at my disposal by Henrik Hovmark, University of Copenhagen. Used with one informant.


17. Contrast-series. 6 cartoons (of 5-6 drawings) depicting dramatic or unexpected events. From the project Children, Language and Cognition, developed by Peter Harder and Elisabeth Engberg-Pedersen, University of Copenhagen. Put at my disposal by Elisabeth Engberg-Pedersen, University of Copenhagen.

18. Figure arrangement 1. Building of a house from paper, i.e. with pieces of paper shaped as roof, chimney, door, windows, curtains, etc. Used with two informants. Experiment carried out in collaboration with Peter Juel Henrichsen, Copenhagen Business School.

19. Figure arrangement 1. Description of a route along an arrangement with triangles, squares, and circles in different colours. Used with two informants. Experiment carried out in collaboration with Peter Juel Henrichsen, Copenhagen Business School.

20. Translation from English of short story about a westerner living in a Kalasha village. Used with two informants.

21. Map descriptions. Description of four maps (five with one informant) of valleys in Chitral, a Kalasha village, and a Kalasha house (and with one informant, of a hotel room). Used with two informants. (See the following pages.)
Home-made map of Chitral valley, used for spatial description
Appendix 7. List of stimulus material

Home-made map of the valley Mumoret - used for spatial description

Home-made map of the village Kraka, Mumoret - used for spatial description
APPENDIX 7. LIST OF STIMULUS MATERIAL

Home-made sketch of the interior of a Kalasha house - used for spatial description

Home-made sketch of hotel room - used for spatial description
Appendix 8. Quantifiers and distributive adjectives

1. Inventory of case endings for quantifiers and distributive adjectives

A number of quantifiers, distributive adjectives and numerals, take specific case endings in the oblique case as shown in Table App. 8.1.

**TABLE APP. 8.1: CASE-MARKING FOR QUANTIFIERS AND DISTRIBUTIVE ADJECTIVES.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td>-is</td>
<td>-in</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Previous treatment

TC99 has -in and -is as variant forms of oblique plural -an and singular -as, respectively, with the additional remark that “-is .. occurs with words like saw ‘all’ and ogoék ‘each other’, and du ‘two people’ (p. 350). EB (88: 40) merely gives -in as an oblique plural affix without any distributional characteristics.

3. Uses

The endings in Table App. 8.1 occur with distributive or collective pronouns such as ogoég- ‘each other’, awdú ‘both’, saw ‘all’, warék ‘another one’; har ‘every’ does not, however, seem to admit -is/-in. Numerals observed with these endings are: eg- ‘one’, du ‘two’, and tre ‘three’.

Only ogoég- is seen with singular -is, as in 1, but -in is also seen, as in 2.

1. puruS.gúAk-as zhe istrizhagúAk-as ogoég-is som mohabát h-íu
   man.child-obl.sg and woman.child-obl.sg each other-obl.sg with fall in love-p/f.3s
   ‘the young man and the young woman fall in love with each other’ TC99

2. te ogoék-in hátya ashék h-in
   3p.nom.abs each-other-obl.pl toward fall in love-p/f.3p
   ‘they fall in love with each other’ TC99

I understand these two sentences as such: In 1 ogoeg-is expresses that the young man fell in love with the young woman and that the young woman fell in love with the young man, that is, -is (and singular verb marking) highlights two separate entities. In contrast, 2 merely states that ‘they’ fall in love with each other, that a reciprocal situation will occur that cannot be divided into two separate parts.
Appendix 9. Notes on morphophonology and case-marking

Contents
1. Introduction
2. Voicing of stem final consonant
   2.1 Sibilants
   2.2 Affricates and stop consonants:
3. Emergence of otherwise lost final consonant clusters
4. Stem final /-w/ or /-u/ become /-L-/
5. Lengthening of short vowel in closed final syllable by syllable opening.

1. Introduction
A number of morphophonological processes have been observed by suffixation of case endings: (1) Voicing of stem final consonant, (2) emergence of final consonant clusters (which Kalasha does not allow in word final position), (3) stem-final [w] or [u] are realized as [L], (4) lengthening of short vowel in closed final syllable (because the syllable opens: -(C)VC# → -(C)V:C-V-), (5) movement of stress to the right in the word, and (6) loss of unstressed stem final vowel.

The first three processes have been noticed by GM73, EB88, and TC99 and I shall only give examples of them below. The fourth process has been noted by GM73 and I shall give a few examples of it, as well as examples of words that do not show vowel lengthening by syllable opening. The fifth and sixth processes may have been noticed by my predecessors but is not commented upon in any detail. In section 6. below I shall propose rules that account for stress shift and vowel loss by suffixation.

I shall stress that what follows is only to be read as notes taken down in a somewhat unsystematic way during transcription, and that a more systematic examination of the vocabulary is needed for a full comprehension of the phenomena in question. Also a historical perspective must be taken in order to detect possible historical sources for the alternations. It should be noticed that for all the processes described here some degree of inter- and intraspeaker variation has been observed. This is particularly so in the direct elicitation sessions.

Etymologies are according to GM73 and TC99. Number in brackets refer to Turner (1966).

2. Voicing of stem final consonant
In word final position there are not voicing (or aspiration) contrast between sibilants, affricates and stop consonants. All final sibilants are unvoiced and all final affricates and stop consonants are unvoiced and unaspirated. But by suffixation some of these stem final segments become voiced (or aspirated, but I shall ignore this phenomenon here). But not all unvoiced stem final sibilants, affricates and stop consonants may be voiced. For each group I list examples of word that always show voice alternation, words that sometimes display voice alternation, and words that have not been observed with voiced alternation.
2.1 Sibilants

**Always voice alternation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Sibilant</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Source/Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anish</td>
<td>‘Anish’</td>
<td>&gt; aniz-</td>
<td>vāsá- ‘abode’ (11591)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bas</td>
<td>‘day’</td>
<td>&gt; bāż-</td>
<td>&lt; Urdu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isprás</td>
<td>‘ceiling’</td>
<td>&gt; ispráz-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jahás</td>
<td>‘aeroplane’</td>
<td>&gt; jaház-</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kartús</td>
<td>‘cartridge’</td>
<td>&gt; kartúz-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lush</td>
<td>‘early morning’</td>
<td>&gt; Lúzh-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pas</td>
<td>‘trunk’</td>
<td>&gt; páz-</td>
<td>&lt; Khowar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paS</td>
<td>‘wool’</td>
<td>&gt; pág-</td>
<td>&lt; pāksman- ‘eyelashes’ (7638) or &lt; Iranian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pilés</td>
<td>‘carpet’</td>
<td>&gt; piléz-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trómish</td>
<td>‘evening’</td>
<td>&gt; trómizh-</td>
<td>&lt; tāmisrā- ‘dark night’ (5692, 14556); andhatamisraıkā- ‘complete darkness of the soul’ (387)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Vacillating voice alternation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Sibilant</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Source/Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bákas</td>
<td>‘box’</td>
<td>&gt; bágas/z-</td>
<td>&lt; Eng. ‘box’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bas</td>
<td>‘bus’</td>
<td>&gt; bá:s/z-</td>
<td>&lt; Eng. ‘bus’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gilás</td>
<td>‘glass’</td>
<td>&gt; gilá(s)/z-</td>
<td>&lt; Eng. ‘glass’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**No voice alternation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Sibilant</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Source/Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>brúSuS</td>
<td>‘precipice’</td>
<td>&gt; brúSuS-</td>
<td>*bhraiśiśtha- ‘very steep’ (9645)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dash</td>
<td>‘10’</td>
<td>&gt; dáshe-</td>
<td>&lt; dáśā ‘ten’ (6227)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khuS</td>
<td>‘hole’</td>
<td>&gt; khúS-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2 Affricates and stop consonants:

**Always voice alternation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Affricate</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Source/Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adrák</td>
<td>‘forest’</td>
<td>&gt; adrág-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>azéc</td>
<td>‘large clay jar’</td>
<td>&gt; azé:j-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dimák</td>
<td>‘brain’</td>
<td>&gt; dimág-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duSá–ki</td>
<td>‘twofork’</td>
<td>&gt; duSá:g-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhuk</td>
<td>‘heap, hill’</td>
<td>&gt; Dhú:g-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ek</td>
<td>‘one’</td>
<td>&gt; ég-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goNDik</td>
<td>‘stick’</td>
<td>&gt; goNDig-</td>
<td>&lt; gaṇḍa- ‘joint of a plant’ (3998.1) + dim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaTálag</td>
<td>‘small board’</td>
<td>&gt; kaTálag-</td>
<td>&lt; kāśṭhā- ‘piece of wood’ (3120) + dim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kAAg</td>
<td>‘coil’</td>
<td>&gt; kAág-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuNDók</td>
<td>‘can, glass’</td>
<td>&gt; kuNDó:g-</td>
<td>&lt; kuṇḍā- ‘bowl, waterpot’ (3264) + ???</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kÚinc</td>
<td>‘ladle’</td>
<td>&gt; kÚinc/j-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khÚyak</td>
<td>‘small pot’</td>
<td>&gt; khÚyag-</td>
<td>&lt; kuṭa- ‘water-pot’ (3227) + dim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mek</td>
<td>‘nail’</td>
<td>&gt; mé:g-</td>
<td>&lt; Persian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mizók</td>
<td>‘mouse’</td>
<td>&gt; mizóg-</td>
<td>&lt; mūšu- ‘rat, mouse’ + ???</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moc-</td>
<td>‘middle’</td>
<td>&gt; mó:c/j-</td>
<td>&lt; mádhya- ‘centre’ (9804)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sarák</td>
<td>‘road’</td>
<td>&gt; sarág-</td>
<td>&lt; Urdu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sudáyak</td>
<td>‘small child’</td>
<td>&gt; sudáyag-</td>
<td>&lt; suða ‘child’ + dim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shurúk</td>
<td>‘beginning’</td>
<td>&gt; shurúg-</td>
<td>&lt; Arab./Pers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thaLók</td>
<td>‘tumbler’</td>
<td>&gt; thalóg-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Appendix 9. Notes on Morphophonology and Case-Marking

Vacillating voice alternation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bag/k</td>
<td>‘bag’</td>
<td>&gt; bá:g-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coT</td>
<td>‘pattern’</td>
<td>&gt; cöT/D-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tek</td>
<td>‘river bank’</td>
<td>&gt; Té(:)k/g-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kárik</td>
<td>‘do’</td>
<td>&gt; karík/g-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nik</td>
<td>‘take’</td>
<td>&gt; nik/g-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kop</td>
<td>‘cup’</td>
<td>&gt; kóp/b-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awát</td>
<td>‘place’</td>
<td>&gt; awá(:)t/d-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No voice alternation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>awátik</td>
<td>‘edge’</td>
<td>&gt; awátik-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chat</td>
<td>‘lake’</td>
<td>&gt; chá:t-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muC-</td>
<td>‘grasp’</td>
<td>&gt; mů(:)C-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pat</td>
<td>‘quickly’</td>
<td>&gt; pát-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peC-</td>
<td>‘saucer’</td>
<td>&gt; pěC-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piléT</td>
<td>‘plate’</td>
<td>&gt; piléT-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pÚik</td>
<td>‘lower part’</td>
<td>&gt; pÚik-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sat</td>
<td>‘seven’</td>
<td>&gt; sát(h)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>újak</td>
<td>‘opposite’</td>
<td>&gt; újak-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Emergence of otherwise lost final consonant clusters

Kalasha does not allow word final consonant clusters, but by suffixation underlying consonant clusters turn up. This is noted by GM73 as well as TC99 with a number of words. This process is observed with indigenous as well as loan words. Here I shall give only a few examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aS</td>
<td>‘shoulder’</td>
<td>&gt; áST-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chet</td>
<td>‘field’</td>
<td>&gt; Chétr-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goS</td>
<td>‘stable’</td>
<td>&gt; gòST-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>han</td>
<td>‘temple’</td>
<td>&gt; hând-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mon</td>
<td>‘word’</td>
<td>&gt; móndr-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pas</td>
<td>‘lower part’</td>
<td>&gt; pást-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>put</td>
<td>‘son’</td>
<td>&gt; púttr-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sut</td>
<td>‘string’</td>
<td>&gt; sútr-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With a number of words without a historical consonant group or with unknown history an excrecent stop consonant may turn up, typically before a suffix and after a syllable with a stressed vowel followed by a /n/ (see also EB88: 177). In these instances the sequence /V + n/ is not dissolved and realized as a nasal vowel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shen</td>
<td>‘bed’</td>
<td>&gt; sén(d)-una</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasén</td>
<td>‘around’</td>
<td>&gt; nasén(d)-aw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sen(d)</td>
<td>‘side’</td>
<td>&gt; sén(d)-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shamón</td>
<td>‘so much’</td>
<td>&gt; shamón(d)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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4. Stem final /-w/ becomes /-L-/
TC99, GM73, and EB88 all notice that stem final [w] or [u] become [L] by suffixation. Examples are:

- chu > chíL-as ‘daughter-OBL.SG’ (indicating underlying //chuu//)
- ku > kúL-as ‘pen for animals-OBL.SG’ (indicating underlying //kuu//)
- haw > háL-as ‘plough-OBL.SG’
- kaw > káL-a ‘year-L OC1’
- -au > -aLi ‘PS.2S’ > ‘PS.2P’
- háwaw > háw-aL-áw ‘became-REP’
- biw > bi:L-una ‘edge of container-L OC2’
- bhûmjaw > bhumjáL-ai ‘earthquake-L OC3’
- siw > siL-as ‘bridge-OBL.SG’

There is, however, some inter- and intraspeaker variation regarding this aspect. I have heard one and the same informant say siw-una and siL-una ‘bridge-L OC2-una’ in the same session.

There are also examples of final /-w/ or /-u/ that do not change, for example:

- caw > câw-una ‘four-L OC2’
- du > dû-una ‘two-L OC2’
- kaw > káw-ani ‘wild olive-ABL2’
- Law > Lâw-as ‘milk products-OBL.SG’

And also not with word with structure /-(C)ahu/, which can have vacillating stress, do we see the -w > -L- alternation, for example

- ahi, àu > aû-as ‘food-OBL.SG’
- bahú, báu > bahú-as ‘sister-in-law-OBL.SG’
- dAhú, dÁu > dAú-an ‘beans-OBL.PL’

5. Lengthening of short vowel in closed final syllable by syllable opening.
This process effects only stressed syllables. It is subject to a considerable inter- and inraspeaker variation. There is, however, a number of words, which always show vowel-lengthening, and which also show voice alternation.

- azéc ‘clay jar’ > azé:j-una ‘-LOC2’
- bas ‘day’ > bá:z-una ‘-LOC2’
- jahás ‘airplane’ > jahá:z-una ‘-LOC2’
- mek ‘nail’ > mé:g-una ‘-LOC2’
- pas ‘trunk’ > pá:z-una ‘-LOC2’

And then there are a number of words that show vacillation with respect to vowel-lengthening:
- ek ‘one’ > é(:)g-ani ‘-ABL2’
- anish ‘Anish’ > ani(:)zh-una ‘-LOC2’
- awát ‘place’ > awá(:)t-una ‘-LOC2’
- bas ‘bus’ > bá:z-una ‘-LOC2’
- biw ‘top part’ > bi:L-una ‘-LOC2’
- giláś ‘glass’ > kilá(:)z-una ‘-LOC2’
- kuNDók ‘can, glass’ > kuńDó:g-ani ‘-ABL2’
APPENDIX 9. NOTES ON MORPHOPHONOLOGY AND CASE-MARKING

moc- ‘middle, centre’ > mó(:)c/ų-una ‘-LOC2’
muc- ‘grasp’ > mú(:)C-una ‘-LOC2’
Tek ‘bank of river’ > Té(:)k-una ‘-LOC2’
Tem ‘time’ > Té(:)m-una ‘-LOC2’

And finally there are words and morphemes that never show vowel-lengthening:
chom ‘floor’ > chóm-una/as ‘-LOC2/-OBL.SG’ < kšám ‘earth’ (3656)
chat ‘lake’ > chát-una/as ‘-LOC2/-OBL.SG’
-ik ‘Infinitive’ > ik-a/as ‘-LOC1/-OBL.SG’ < Pers.
moc ‘person’ > móc-as ‘-OBL.SG’
mizók ‘mouse’ > mizóg-as ‘-OBL.SG’ < mūṣa ‘rat, mouse’ + ???
phil ‘elephant’ > phil-as ‘-OBL.SG’ < Urdu
sat ‘seven’ > sát-una ‘-LOC2’ < saptá ‘seven’

These two processes go to some extent hand in hand. I shall first illustrate the processes and then postulate a phonological rule that accounts for change.

We see change of stress and retainment of vowel segments in the stem in a number of words:
akhéri ‘end’ > akherí-una ‘-LOC2’
bhúmjaw ‘earthquake’ > bhumjál-ai ‘-LOC3’
dhénta ‘mountain’ > dhentá-as ‘-OBL.SG’
Dhipa ‘stool’ > Dhipá-una ‘-LOC2’
grínga ‘necklace’ > gringá-as ‘-OBL.SG’
ìstrizha ‘woman’ > ìstrízhá-as ‘-OBL.SG’
sohóLa ‘basket’ > sohoLá-una ‘-LOC2’
súda ‘child’ > sudá-as ‘-OBL.SG’
shÓ~a ‘dog’ > shO~á-as ‘-OBL.SG’
úrdú ‘Urdu’ > urdu-an/-una ‘-LOC2’

With verbs in the infinitive we see stress movement to the infinitive endings when suffixed with the oblique -as or Loc1-a:
brínkik ‘sell-inf’ > brinkík-as báti ‘-OBL.SG PURP’
jhónik ‘know-inf’ > jhoník-as báti ‘-OBL.SG PURP’
DúDik ‘sleep-inf’ > DuDík-as báti ‘-OBL.SG PURP’
kárik ‘do’ > kárik-as báti ‘-OBL.SG PURP’
LabÉ hik ‘play’ > LabE hík-as báti ‘-OBL.SG PURP’
úSTik ‘rise, ascend’ > uSTík-as báti ‘-OBL.SG PURP’

With stem final vowel we see either (a) loss or change to palatal glide (or palatalization of preceding consonant) or (b) ‘left palatal shift’:
(a)
áshi ‘mouth’ > ásh-una ‘-LOC2’
jamilih ‘relative’ > jamil-an ‘-OBL.PL’
duSánki ‘bifurcating branch’ > duSáng-una ‘-LOC2’
kaZÓi ‘sack’ > kaZÓ-ai ‘-LOC3’
kosháni ‘happiness’ > koshán-una ‘-LOC2’
zhóshi ‘the Spring festival’ > zhósh-una ‘-LOC2’
Appendix 9. Notes on Morphophonology and Case-Marking

Some of the words that move stress to the following syllable with suffixation retain stress on a non-final stem syllable and then lose the stem final vowel, either /-i/ or /-a/:

- akhéri ‘end’ > akhér-una ‘-LOC2’
- dhénta ‘mountain’ > dhént-una ‘-LOC2’
- Dhípa ‘stool’ > Dhí(:)p-una ‘-LOC2’
- grínga ‘necklace’ > gríng-una ‘-LOC2’

To this type of change also belong the many instances where -o causes loss of -a:

(a) Loss of stem-final -a
- súd-o ‘child’ > súd-a
- i-o ‘come, cp’ > it-o
- kaLâS-o ‘Kalasha’ > kaLâS-a
- háty-o ‘for, to, ..’ > háty-a
- khóND-o ‘half’ > khóND-a

.. and many more

(b) Loss of LOC1-a
- tâd-o ‘near-LOC1’ > tâd-a
- dûr-o ‘house-LOC1’ > dûr-a
- mûT-o ‘tree-LOC1’ > mûT-a

.. and more…

Loss of the stem final unstressed vowel by suffixation does not seem to affect words ending in /-u/, /-o/, and /-e/, of which the latter two types are infrequent, for example:

- prâgo ‘low part’ > prâgo-as ‘-OBL.SG’
- cutôn-u ‘thief’ > cutôn-u-as ‘-OBL.SG’
- priSû-as [prîSwas] ‘flea’ > priSû-as ‘-OBL.SG’

**Rule Formulation**

The preceding observations allow us to formulate a rule predicting stress movement and/or vowel loss by suffixation. The rule affects only words ending in unstressed /-a/ or /-i/.

---

3 The particle -o has a number of functions. With conjunctive participles it denotes an element of sequentiality. Another function is to denote “contrast with a previously mentioned entity or situation or with an implied situation” (Bashir 1988: 50-51).
unstressed /-i/. With these words Kalasha does not allow an unstressed syllable between a stressed syllable and a suffix: *-ˈV(C)V[i/a]-V((C)(V)).

When such a structure occurs, words with -i lose this or the -i consonantize to -y, leading to palatalization of the preceding consonant, or we see a ‘left palatal shift’: the -i moves to the preceding syllable to make a diphong in –y, fx bazúri ‘sleeve’ > bazýyr-una’.

Words with -a may either lose this and retain the stem stress or they may move the stress to the stem final -a (in order to retain it), for example dhénta > (a) dhént-una or (b) dhentá-una.

The rule can be formulated like this:

-ˈV(C)i  + {SUFFIX}  →  -ˈV(C)y-{SUFFIX}  (palatalization)
  -ˈV(C)- {SUFFIX}  (i-loss)
-ˈVCi  + {SUFFIX}  →  -ˈVyC- {SUFFIX}  (left palatal shift)
-ˈV((C)C)-ik[INF] + {SUFFIX}  →  V((C)C)-ˈik[INF]- {SUFFIX}  (infinitive stress change)
-ˈV(C)a  + {SUFFIX}  →  -ˈVC-{SUFFIX}  (a-loss)
  -ˈVC’a- {SUFFIX}  (change of stress)
Appendix 10. A critical assessment of Trail (1996)

Case endings in Kalasha and in OIA, Sanskrit

Tr96 gives examples for all the case distinctions, but the case distinctions are set up more in reference to syntactic functions (accusative for direct objects, dative for indirect objects, etc.), than in matter of formal differentiation with respect to actual suffixation. Trail (1996: 156) concludes that “Kalasha has the remnants .. of quite a full case-marking system, not unlike the classical languages. And much if this is intact, especially with inanimate nouns”. This is a somewhat mysterious conclusion, since both the inventory of Sanskrit case endings and the Sanskrit case system are of quite different types, as indicated with the paradigm in table 1.

TABLE APP. 10.1: INVENTORY OF SANSKRIT CASE ENDINGS, -a-STEMS, FOLLOWING WHITNEY (1889); DUAL AND NEUTER FORMS IGNORED.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>-aḥ</td>
<td>-aḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>-ān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>-ena</td>
<td>-aiḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>-āya</td>
<td>-ebhyaḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>-āt</td>
<td>-ebhyaḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>-asya</td>
<td>-ānāṃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-eṣu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocative</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-aḥ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The differences between Sanskrit and Kalasha are noticeable; Sanskrit has separate case endings for nearly all cases and a clear distinction between singular and plural in all of them (and several declension classes as well). Kalasha has only number distinction in the nominative and oblique cases and lacks formal differentiation between a nominative and an accusative, and, what is perhaps most noticeable, has developed new local and temporal case endings. From a theoretical point of view I am sceptical about Tr96s’ (and TC99’s) procedure of establishing a case (function) for which there are no formal indications, i.e. no separate case endings. This is for me to see a case of ‘squinting grammar’. Although it may be that Kalasha still has morphological relics of a case system that is totally lost in other NIA languages, there is certainly not a one-to-one correspondence between the case functions and the inventory of case endings in OIA and Kalasha.
Appendix 11. Notes on the Vocative case

The vocative has not been given much attention in previous descriptions. Tr96 and TC99 do not recognize a special case form, nor do Morgenstierne, Bashir, and Grierson. The reason may be that the vocative is vacillating in use and not particularly frequent in addressing. But by being a participant observer in every day speech events I have come across a suffix -ow a few times, for example as in 1a-c:

1. Examples with Vocative -ow
   a. lakshán-ow, andáy i! ‘hey, Lakshan!, come here’ Fm95
   b. báy-ow, tu páshi áas e? ‘baya!, you saw it, didn’t you?’ Fm95
   c. se ubuji kawá áis, ispáshur-ow ? ‘where was he born, uncle-in-law-voc?’ Na.S

Because Vocative -o is so seldom heard, stating its morphonological effects is an uncertain task. In 1c there is no change, the stem ispáshur remains as such. But in 1a-b two processes can be observed:

(1) lakshán-ow from Lákshan ‘girl’s name’ shows movement of stress to the paenultima syllable, but ispáshur -> ispháshur-ow goes against this.
(2) báya -> báy-ow ‘brother’ shows deletion of stem final -a, but no change in the stress assignment.

Kalasha also uses the preposed (and stressed) particles o ‘Oh’ and ey ‘hey’ as address markers. Because of the vacilliating and infrequent use of the Vocative ending the functional differences between this and the other vocative particles as well as the use of the bare stem form in addressing, remain to be established.
Appendix 12. Temporal case endings

1. Previous descriptions
Kalasha has developed two case endings that are exclusively used for temporal functions: -asa and -ano. These are noted by EB88, but no suggestions as to semantic function is given. Tr96 and TC99 only have -asa. Tr96 sees -asa as a ‘locative’ ending and gives the examples: a isprap-asa hic kia ne pashim ‘I do not see anything in my dreams’ and har mastruk-asa se may paysa del day ‘every month he gives me money’ (p. 155). TC99 give as equivalents to -asa English ‘in, during, with’. GM73 has not noted -ano or -asa.

2. Occurrence in my data
There are very few examples with these temporal endings in my own data as well as in the other sources. During field work I have had the opportunity to do some systematic investigation of the functions of these endings. What follows is to be read as a preliminary analysis.

According to my field notes -ano occurs only with temporal nouns, for example miléT ‘minute’, bas ‘day’, hawtá ‘week’, kaw ‘year’, etc. -asa, in contrast, occurs with nouns that denote the period that a certain state or situation lasts, and the question arises whether not -asa should be considered a derivative.4 For example:

1. Derivations with -asa, author’s field notes (Fn06)
   - ispráp ‘sleep, dream’
   - tramaSúng ‘darkness, dark’
   - ôsh ‘cold’
   - súri ‘sun’

   ispráp-asa ‘during sleep, while dreaming’
   tramaSúng-asa ‘during darkness, dark period’
   ôsh-asa ‘during this (very) cold (period)’
   súr-asa ‘during (very) hot period’

   None of these words are accepted by my informant with -ano, but with mastrúk ‘moon, month’ we have a word that can take -ano as well as -asa. This reflects this word’s polysemy; it can mean the fixed period of a month, zhóshi mastrúk-ano ‘in the month of the zhoshi celebrations’ and chaumós mastrúk-ano ‘in the month of winter solstice celebration’, or it can mean the period during which the moon appears, a moonal period, mastrúk-asa ‘during the moon-period’.

   What is -asa historically? One guess is that it reflects an earlier (temporal) word, yet to be identified. Another guess would be genitive-oblique -as + ‘specifying’ -a. A temporal use of the genitive is known from Sanskrit and Vedic (Whitney 1899: 297, Delbrück 1976: 163).

   The case form -ano may be constructed by instrumental -an and multifunctional -o. Being attachable to all word types -o has several functions in a discourse, among them temporal sequentiality (see below). Based on my informant’s reactions it seems that -o emphasizes the completion of a period when following instrumental -an, cf. the native speaker reactions to 2:

---

4 TC99’s te dlú za úk-asa óshan ‘they ate beans along with water’ (p. 351) was not accepted by my informant, “not correct, must be asta” (‘also’, instead of -asa), was his comment.)
2. Stimulus question: káy-o payá griš dái krómas báti? ‘when will you be paid for the work?’ (Lit.: ‘when-0 money will-take-you.’)
   Response a.: mastrúk-asa “sometime during/in the course of a month/moonal period”
   Response b.: mastrúk-an “generally speaking, general state of affairs”
   Response c.: mastrúk-an-o “correct”; ‘after one month’, “most correct”

   In interpreting these reactions mastrúk-an may be glossed as ‘monthly’ and mastrúk-ano as ‘when the month has passed. The same notion of completion, or perhaps, knowledge of completion, is indicated in 3-5:

3. Stimulus question: ‘How long time did it take you to build the house?’ Fn06
   Response a.: ek/du mastrúk-an ‘one/two month/-s’
   Response b.: *ek/du mastrúk-ano ‘one/two month/-s’

4. kimón bás-an /*-ano nokphéTI táyar ár-i? TC99/Fn06
   how many day-obl.pl / -temp new field ready do.pst.A-2s
   ek mastrúk-ano / *-an
   one month-temp / -obl/instr
   ‘how many days (did it take you) to make the fields ready? One month’

5. kimón bás-an / -ano nokphéTI tayár kár-is? Fn06
   how many day-obl.pl / -temp new field ready do-p/f.2s
   ek mastrúk-ano / *-an / *-una
   one month-temp / -obl/instr /-loc2
   ‘how many days will it take you to make the fields ready? One month’

   My suggestion is that the speaker who poses the question in 4 cannot use -ano because he does not know the exact period or number days that has passed. But the person who answers knows it, and he uses -ano, not -an. In 5 both -an and -ano are possible in the question and in the answer. This may be because the topic is the possible and unknown period that will elapse before a certain situation has come about. Following the analysis of 3a-b above, when using -an-o the speakers indicate a larger degree of certainty with respect to the end date of the coming work. But until further work has been done on this issue, this remains a hypothesis.

   EB88 (p. 50-51) describes -o as denoting contrast (‘ctr’, 6), previously mentioned or implied entity or situation (‘ctr-coh, 7), or, with the conjunctive participle, temporal sequentiality (‘temp’, 8):

6. mic ásh-is mazá-o ne ar-áu B88.S
   only eat.pst.A-1s enjoy-o(ctr) not do.pst.A-3s
   ‘I only ate, but didn’t enjoy it’ (Lit.: ‘.joy not gave’)

7. a pásh-i-o ne á-am B88.s
   1s.nom see-cp-o(ctr-coh) not be.an-prs.1a
   ‘I haven’t seen it (only heard about it)’

8. zhay káí-o bo uk i-u B88.S
   irrigation channel do-cp-o(temp) much water come-p/f.3s
‘when/if (we) make a water channel, a lot of water will come’

In 8 -o emphasizes the sequentiality of the two events, without -o the interpretation of kái would have been of a manner or reason adverbial (EB88: 51).
Appendix 13. Nominative plural marking with -an and -án

Words observed with unstressed plural -an

dehär  ‘spirited man; shaman’
gaDérak  ‘elder man, leader; Sir!’
moc  ‘person, man’

Words observed with stressed plural -án

arwa, arwah  ‘ancestral spirit’ (Arab.)
dasMaN  ‘Mullah, Muslim priest’ (Prs.)
dehär  ‘spirited man; shaman’ (???)
dewlatmaN  ‘rich man’ (Prs.)
dust  ‘friend’ (Prs.)
juán  ‘youth’ (Prs.)
ledér  ‘leader’ (Eng.)
maHiR  ‘expert’ (Prs.)
membár  ‘member of a ruling body’ (Eng.)
mistéR  ‘teacher’ (Eng.)
musulmán  ‘a Muslim’ (Prs.)
mutaBár  ‘honoured person’ (Prs.)
ostád, ostás  ‘master of a skill, teacher’ (Prs.)
yardust  ‘friend, companion’ (Prs.)

Words observed with repetitional plural -ánan

farangi  ‘European’
khonzá  ‘young noblemen’,
wázir  ‘minister’

-ánan also occurs in Khowar, where EB (2003) sees it as a case of a ‘double-marking pattern’, not untypical of “transitional stages of a language where a morphological marker is no longer able to function alone to express its particular grammatical function, and is reinforced by the addition of more regular or transparent morphology” (Bashir 2003: 19, citing Thomason (1987)). In Khowar this double-marking -ánan has until now been seen with Persian nouns taking -an in the nominative case, but it seems now to be spreading to original Khowar nouns also, hand in hand with -an as a plural marker in the nominative case (see above).

I am not able to ascribe a specific semantic function to this suffix repetition. I see it as a conditioned by either stylistic, narrative, or rhythmic factors. Care should be taken with respect to ascribing a functional value to this syllable-repetition in Kalasha. Syllable repetition is a frequently occurring phenomenon with certain syllables in Kalasha as in other languages of the area. Kalashas has ablative -aw -> -aw-aw, and conditional hawaw -> hawaw(L)-aw without any separate functional value, as far as I have been able to determine. Similarly, Khowar shows functionless reduplication of instrumental -en -> -en-en, and a similar repetition process is reported for Burushaski also (EB, pers. comm.).
Appendix 14. Words with oblique plural -ón

Words with final -a that take -ón in the oblique plural and lose -a

- **ajhóna** ‘guest’ - ajhon-ón
- **amÉa** ‘sheep, ewe’ - amÉ-on
- **bâLuSa** ‘old’ - baLuS-ón
- **baSára** ‘old’ - baSar-ón
- **bátya** ‘kid-goat’ - baty-ón
- **bira** ‘castrated goat’ - bir-ón
- **birA-a** ‘male’ - birA---ón
- **burukikina** ‘striped-faced goat’ - burukikin-ón
- **griLa** ‘wet’ - grI-ón
- **gûraka** ‘heavy’ - gurak-ón
- **húpaLa** ‘scorpion’ - hupal-ón
- **jawáLa** ‘married (men)’ - jawal-ón
- **kaLâSa** ‘Kalasha’ - kaLaS-ón
- **khúTa** ‘halt person’ - khuT-ón
- **nâSta** ‘dead person’ - naSt-ón
- **ñojeSTa** ‘pure’ - onjeST-ón
- **pátha** ‘Chitrali muslim’ - patu-ón
- **rukmíLa** ‘Rumbur-person’ - rukmuL-ón
- **súd-a** ‘child, kid’ - sud-ón
- **shÓ-a** ‘dog’ - shO---on
- **utsundía** ‘person from Urtsun’ - utsundi-ón, utsundi-an
- **prágata** ‘impure’ - pragat-ón, prágat-an moc-an

Words with stem final -a and oblique plural -ón with known or plausible etymology (Numbers in brackets refer to Turner 1966, CDIAL.) (Same as Table 9.2 in chapter 9)

**Kalasha**

- **ajhóna** ‘guest’ **="*adhya:naka not plausible”(GM73)**
- **amÉa** ‘sheep, ewe’ **meḍhra-, meṛha- ‘ram’ (10310)**
- **amóndra** ‘lawless’ **mántra- ‘9834/*a-mantrá (Wackernagel, MacDonell)**
- **áSiSa** ‘mourner’ **aśǐrśān- ‘headless’ (912)**
- **baSára** ‘old’ **? Skt varśa ‘year’ + -ara**
- **bátya** ‘kid-goat’ **??? [JH: < vatsá- ‘calf, child (11239) + -ra, ?]**
- **bira** ‘castrated goat’ **vīrā- ‘man, hero, son’ (12056)**
- **griLa** ‘wet’ ***grilla- ‘wet, damp’ (4386)**
- **khúTa** ‘halt person’ ***khuṭṭā- ‘lame’ (3941.4)**
- **húpaLa** ‘scorpion’ **upṭātaka- ‘kind of animal’(1821)**
- **púruS** ‘man’ **púrűṣa- ‘man, male’ (8289)**
- **súd-a** ‘boy, kid’ **? Skt svṛdhā ‘growing well’**
- **shÓ-a** ‘dog’ **śuṇa- ‘dog’ (12528)**
- **Sèa** ‘blind man’ **śreḍa- ‘slanting, squinting’ (12717)**
APPENDIX 14. WORDS WITH OBLIQUE PLURAL -ón

To be investigated for oblique plural ending:
- baCHÓa, ‘1-year old calf’
- báLuSa ‘old’
- birÁa ‘rat’
- héru ‘thief’
- hew (huLa) ‘lover’ - hewhuL-ón
- hiNDáw ‘sterile, barren’
- ja ‘wife’
- ja-wáLa ‘married (men)’
- JaC ‘male/female spirit’
- khônDa ‘half’
- muS ‘female markhor or domestic goat’
- shára ‘markhor, deer’

Exceptions?
- angrís ‘westerner’
- Catrumá ‘Nuristani person’
- dond ‘bull’
- shúra moc ‘hero (man)’

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Appendix 15. Additional notes on reduplication

1. Supplementary notes on the m-reduplication
Bashir expresses the idea that reduplication in Kalasha also conveys “an increased emphasis or vehemence” (EB88: 393). I agree with Bashir’s observation. In my material reduplication is frequent in very emphatic contexts. In 1, from a Mouse-film, the speaker refers to a grotesquely big artificial moustache (notice, only one moustache). And example 2, from EB88, is by my informant understood as “challenging”, said “as if someone has told you to go, but you won’t let him”:

1. *mizók* bo *kaharí* h-íu dái *tá.a* *samlat-mamlát* GK,em
   mouse very angry become-3s spec 3s.abs moustache-red
   *tá.a* kaSóng *ástä tá.a* pirán *ástä níj-iu* hist-iu dái
   3s.abs hat also 3s.abs cloth also take off-p/3s throw away-p/3s spec
   ‘the mouse becomes very angry, he takes off and throws away his (enormous) moustache, and his hat, and also his clothes’

2. *par-ík-o-marík-o* ná EB88.S
   go-inf-o-red-o neg
   ‘you are not going anywhere!’

2. Initial syllable repetition
Another kind of reduplication is initial syllable repetition. The notion of ‘increased emphasis’ or ‘vehemence’ is clearly the function of this kind of reduplication where only the initial consonant(s) and the first vowel are reduplicated:

3. *caw* coT *dyái-o* caw *tsha-tshátak* coT *dyái-o* GK,em
   four dot put-cp-o four red-small dot put-cp-o
   ‘having put four dots, having put four very small dots, (then you ..)’

4. *te* piran-mirán and-ái hist-i shen and-ái hist-i
   3p.nom.abs cloth-red here.nonspec-loc3 throw-cp bed here.nonspec-loc3 throw-cp
   *nO-nÔ-ai* jag-él dái GK,em
   red-below-loc3 look-p/3s spec
   ‘throwing the pieces of clothes around here, throwing the bed around here, he looks (for the frog) all over underneath (the things)’

The phrase *caw tsha-tshátak* in 3 refers to four very tiny dots that the addressee is directed to place on a piece of paper. Example 4 describes a scene from “Frog, where are you?”, where the boy and the dog look all over for the frog, which has escaped from its capture during the night. With *piran-mirán* the speaker indicates the boy has thrown up a number of individual pieces of clothes, and with the reduplicated adverbial phrase *nO-nÔ-ai* that he is looking all over underneath clothes, furniture, etc. for the frog.
Appendix 16. Additional notes on the Instrumental case

Contents
1. Instrumental -an in TC99.
2. Proposed instrumental -en (TC99, 352a: ‘by, of, from’).
3. Lexicalized instrumental -an (based on TC99 and field notes).
4. Other functions.

1. Instrumental -an in TC99
1) ‘in, into, within’; te tre bás-an in ‘they will come in three days’; a du du mastrük-an tankhá gríim dái ‘I am getting my salary every two months’.
2) ‘at’; rat dash bajá-an pinDi azháLimi ‘at ten o’clock at night we arrived in Pindi’.
3) ‘for’; shulá-an parím ‘I’m going for wood’.
4) ‘with’; a tupék-an LohíSTas pA ‘I shot a pheasant with a gun’; ábi tazagí-an momorét azháLimi ‘we arrived in Bumburet in good health’.

2. Proposed instrumental -en (TC99, 352a: ‘by, of, from’).
TC99 has four examples of a second (stressed) instrumental ending -en:

1) anor-én náshim dái ‘I am dying of hunger’ (p. 352)
2) huLuk-én náshim dái ‘I am dying of the heat’ (p. 125)
3) imrán nóm-en moc ‘a man by the name of Imran’ (p. 352)
4) warék káas kré-en niu ‘.. he will hire (for price) someone to do it’ (p. 352)

None of my informants accepted an second instrumental -en in these examples, they all preferred -an. -én may be an influence from Khowar, which has an instrumental -éen (Bashir 2003: 844).

3. Lexicalized instrumental -an (based on TC99 and field notes)

A. Aggressive verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb form</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>biw-an tyek</td>
<td>‘fight by throwing large stones’ (lit. ‘mouth-instr hit’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pAgÓhi-an tyek</td>
<td>‘kick someone or something’ (lit. ‘???-instr hit’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peLing-an tyek</td>
<td>‘kick someone’ (lit. ‘???-instr hit’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peLing-an zhút dyek</td>
<td>‘kick someone’ (lit. ‘???-??? put’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thog-an tyek</td>
<td>‘spit on someone with intent’ (lit. ‘spit-instr hit’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. Signal verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb form</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>éc-an kárik</td>
<td>‘signal with one’s eyes as a sign, wink’ (lit. ‘eye-instr do’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hást-an kárik</td>
<td>‘signal with the hands’ (lit. ‘hand-instr do’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>úST-an kárik</td>
<td>‘signal with one’s lips’ (lit. ‘lip-instr do’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C. Other lexicalizations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb form</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aú-an tyek</td>
<td>‘eat rapidly’ (lit. ‘food-instr hit’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>istek-an kárik</td>
<td>‘do something alone or by oneself’ (lit. ‘alone-instr do’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>istê-k kái náTik</td>
<td>‘dance alone’ (lit. ‘alone-instr done dance’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX 16. ADDITIONAL NOTES ON THE INSTRUMENTAL CASE

lep nást-an  ‘flat-nosed’ (lit. ‘flat nose-instr’)
Lúi-an dyek  ‘1) draw blood to cure a problem; 2) sprinkle the blood of an animal on someone or something’ (lit. ‘blood-instr put’)
Sumbér-an  ‘earlier days’ (lit. ‘before-instr’)
ütikik-an bat  ‘stepping stones’ (lit. ‘jump-instr stone’)
zór-an  ‘forcefully’ (lit. ‘force-instr’)
zór-an gri zhÁwik  ‘rape a woman’ (lit. ‘force-instr using copulate’)

4. Other functions
On the fringe of an instrumental function we have notions such as ‘through’, ‘due to’ or ‘reason’. This is what we see in 1:

1. áy-as ne í-k-an súda tró-i phasát kā-i á-au TC99
   mother-ps.3s not come-inf-instr child cry-cp do loudly-pf aux.an-prs.3s
   ‘because his mother did not come, the child is crying very loudly’
   [JH: due to his mother not coming ...]

When suffixed to words denoting a mental or physical state, -an denotes that a person is in the state that the noun denotes:

2. shawák-an aú zh-an TC99
   pleasure-instr food eat-p/f.3p
   ‘they eat with pleasure’

Instrumental -an also has a temporal use. The general temporal meaning denoted by -an seems to be something like ‘in the course of’:

3. tre caw bás-an ne-mí ita á-an Sa.T
   3 4 day-instr not-even come.pf aux.an-prs.3p
   ‘even after three-four days he did not come’

4. ek miléT-an se upúL-i par-iu dáí e Mirza.T
   one minute-instr 3s.nom.abs fly-cp go-p/f.3s spec as
   ‘when he flies for one minute, then,’

Finally, instrumental -an can have an adjectivizing function, denoting an inherent, characteristic feature of the head NP:

5. se a-má-au ki tará cidín shí-u sat kÉ~an cidín 3s.nom.abs au-say-pstA.3s conj there.spec.abs pot be.in-prs.3s ear-instr pot
   ‘she said, “... there is a pot there, a seven-handled pot”’

5 Alternatively we can have shavák-as thára aú zhum (Lit. ‘pleasure’-instr + ‘upon’ ..).
6 See also appendix 12 for an analysis of the temporal case forms.
7 GM (73: 204) speculates whether these two-component NP’s with an instrumental-derived first component should be considered compounds (and he refers to a similar construction type in Kho- war, p. 207). When the first component is a plural noun, the construction can also be analysed as a possessive, i.e. with the genitive-oblique -an.
In a few cases my informants corrected -an to Abl2-ani, defining in these instances -an as a result of “fast speaking” (for 6). In other cases, for example in 7, there is interchangeability between the appurtenance function of the Abl2-ani and instrumental -an:

6. to tará kirkí-as bîlkúl môc-una kái to thá-i
then there.spec.abs window-obl.sg right middle-loc2 at 3s.acc.abs place-imp.2s
to gulabi.ráng-ani/-an gambúri GK.em
3s.acc.abs flower.colour-abl2/-instr flower
‘then, there right in the middle of the window, place it, place the yellow-coloured flower’

7. aZÁi-ani/-an khal màwra TC99
apricot-abl2/-instr taste sweet
‘the taste of/from the apricots is sweet’ / ‘the apricots’ taste is sweet’

I am not sure that the –ani – an variation needs to be a result of ‘fast speaking’, although drop of a suffix final -i is common in casual speech. In line with the general adverbial function of instrumental -an exemplified above, gulabi ráng-an gambúri and aZÁi-an khal could be translated ‘yellow-coloured flower’ and ‘apricot-taste’, in contrast to the more laboured gulabi ráng-ani gambúri and aZÁi-ani khal ‘flower of a yellow colour’ and ‘smell of/from apricots’. Following this line of thoughts, sat kÉ--ani cidin (see 5) would be ‘a pot with seven handles’.

In investigating this by elicitation, I came across complications as informants tend to associate -an with oblique plural -an, illustrated with my informant’s comments to 8-9:

8. bánt-una pá-i tan kiakí card shí-u bánt-ani ‘card’ GK.em
bank-loc2 go-cp own whatever card be.inan-prs.3s bank-abl2 card
‘having gone to the bank, he has his own card of some kind, a bank card’ (= ‘credit card’) (Inf.: “If you say -an it means ‘a lot of bank’”)

9. piSTaw-o sitár a-ch-is se tan damÉi tará
after-o guitar au-break-pst.A.3s 3s.nom.abs own tail there.spec.abs
SaTá-au damÉi-ani awás sahí ne h-iu GK.em
place-pst.A.3s tail-abl2 sound right neg become-prs.3s
‘then after the guitar broke, se placed his own tail there (on the guitar), (but) the sound of/from the tail does not come right’
(Inf.: “If you say -an it means ‘a lot of damÉi’”)
Appendix 17. Survey of locative marking in neighbouring languages

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2. Semantic parameters in Indus Kohistani case-marking.
5. Semantic parameters in Khowar case-marking.
7. Semantic parameters in Shina case-marking.
10. Summary (See Ch. 10).

1. Semantic parameters in the case-marking in Burushaski
   For Hunza and Nager Burushaski Berger (1998) gives a number of case endings: “allgemeine”, “spezifische”, “zusammengesetzte”, and “erstarrte”. As “allgemeine” case endings Berger lists nominative, genitive-ergative, genitive-oblique, dative-allative, and “allgemeiner” ablative. The ‘specific’ case endings include morphemes glossed as “an”, “in”, “auf”, and “bei”. These can only occur on their stems when suffixed with “allgemeine” case suffixes, rendering the “zusammengesetzte” case endings. Compounded case endings express the notions of “an, an .. hin”, “in, in .. hinein”, “aus, aus .. heraus”, “von .. weg”, “zu .. hin”, etc. Postpositions of different sort express other projective and directive notions, such as “unter”, “inmitten von”, “durch .. hindurch”, “über .. hinüber”, “hinter .. her”, etc.
   Berger’s (1974) categorization of case markers and postpositions in Yasin Burushaski (Werchikwar) is not as detailed and schematically presented as the later presentation of the Hunza and Nager varieties. There seems to be only slight formal and semantic differences with respect to the Burushaski variants.

2. Semantic parameters in the case-marking in Indus Kohistani
   Being a dictionary and not a descriptive grammatical description Zoller (2005) presents neither the case system nor the system of spatial markers as such. By examining the English-IK index and by using the many cross-references between lemmata in the dictionary, however, it is possible to get an idea of at least a part of the semantic parameters involved in the spatial semantics in IK. It is noteworthy that I have not encountered any morphemes glossed as “case suffix”. But I have encountered a number of “postpositions”, “local adverbs” and a few instances of an “adverbial suffix”.
   Many of the morphemes glossed “postpositions” seem to be projective in nature, expressing the notions of ‘under’, ‘behind’, ‘upon’, etc. They also seem to have a tendency to be free, unbound or independent, morphemes. Some of them seem to be able to take suffixes that modify the location. Other postpositions denote meanings such as ‘from, out of’, ‘near’, etc.
APPENDIX 17. SURVEY OF LOCATIVE-MARKING IN NEIGHBOURING LANGUAGES

Insofar as the space adverbial system can be deduced from my somewhat sporadic examination of the wordlist, there seems to be the distinction between near, distal and remote, known from so many other languages in the Hindu Kush. Besides this distinction other parameters seem to be involved: ‘horizontal vs. vertical (‘up’ vs. ‘down’) location or direction’, ‘known vs. unknown location’, ‘exactly known vs. not exactly known location’, ‘definite vs. indefinite reference object or location’, and ‘visible vs. invisible location’. How these parameters interact with each other remains to be unveiled.

Other ‘spatial’ morphemes are “emphatic suffixes” to be added to local adverbs, and the -ē:/-ih “an adverbial suffix expressing movement towards a place or indefiniteness of locality”.

3. Semantic and morphological features of case-marking in Kalam Kohistani

Baart (1999: 74-79) categorizes the case markers in Kalam Kohistani in relation to Masica’s Layer-model. In Kalam Kohistani Layer 1 is expressed by the oblique case form either “formed by stem modifications such as vowel change and/or tone change” or identical to the nominative (p. 75).

Among the Layer 2-markers that denote “more or less traditional case functions” (p. 75), are /-ä/ ‘general locative’, and /kä/ ‘dative case’ (marks indirect object and “in the most general way a direction”). To Layer 2 also belong more specific markers of location and direction that “in many frameworks .. would be called postpositions rather than case markers” (p. 76). Among them are:

- **kē**  ‘by, with, near’; one entity in close vicinity of other.
- **mäy**  ‘in, into’; static location as well as direction; ši resembles in meaning; mäy = location in container entered from above (cup, box, pan, pot, etc); also 2-dimensional containers as geographical areas: ‘Pakistan’, ‘Kalam’ etc.
- **ši**  ‘in, into’; static location as well as direction; location in object that can be said to have a roof or cover providing protection (house, room, car, forest).
- **-āy**  ‘LIMIT’; endpoint of action or event; ‘until’, ‘up to’; ‘as far as’; also ‘beginning point’ (‘he yells from outside’; ‘he arrived from lowlands’).
- **rā**  ‘on, up to’; location on top of something, or upward direction.
- **wā**  ‘down to’; downward direction.
- **tu:**  ‘under’; location under something.
- **phār**  ‘to’; direction; not specifying up- or downward.

Layer 3 contains a number of morphemes “that may attach to the noun phrase through the mediation of a level II-marker” (p. 78). Baart’s examples are written as free morphemes (then why “attached”?) and they denote meanings such as ‘above’, ‘under’, ‘apart’, ‘thereafter’, etc.

Another relevant observation in Baart’s grammatical sketch is the “distributive” morpheme /oy/ which attaches to the end of a noun phrase (p. 73-74). The concept to which the /oy/ modified noun phrase refers is “a plurality of events, situations, or relations” (p. 73).
4. Semantic parameters in Kashmiri case-marking

According to Koul (2003) Kashmiri has a number of cases, among them dative, locative and ablative. He also lists a number of postpositions which either take the dative or the ablative case on their governed noun. Examples are peṭh ‘on, upon’, andar ‘in/inside’, manz ‘in’, keth ‘in’, kúth ‘for’, niši ‘near’, peṭhi ‘from’, andri ‘from within, from among’, niši ‘from near’, uk ‘of’, etc. It appears that these postposition themselves can be case-inflected (p. 909). Very little is said about other functions and semantic parameters.

Kashi and Koul (1997) lists a number of postpositions that express notions such as ‘anterior’, ‘superior’, ‘posterior’, ‘inferior’, ‘interior’, ‘exterior’, ‘proximate’, ‘lateral’ (‘besides’), ‘citerior’ (‘this side’), ‘ulterior’ (that side’), ‘medial, and ‘circumferential location’. Each of these may require dative or ablative case on the preceding noun, and some of them may be inflected by case suffixes, e.g. peṭh ‘on (a horizontally orientated surface)’, peṭhi ‘from a horizontally orientated surface’. Upper location is expressed by the adverb tam ‘up to’.

5. Semantic parameters in Khowar case-marking

In Khowar Bashir (2000; also 2001: 844) has identified four locative suffixes which can be characterized by the use of a vertical-horizontal axis, and which are employed dependent on a number of additional semantic parameters: shape of actants, orientation of actants, and horizontal vs. vertical path of actants. This is depicted in Table App. 17.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Loc 1, -a</th>
<th>Loc 2, -i</th>
<th>Loc 3, -tu</th>
<th>Loc 4, -o</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vertical - horizontal</strong></td>
<td>Horizontal/Vertical point-like location; grammatical functions; “2nd oblique”</td>
<td>Horizontal (same level as speaker.): location, direction</td>
<td>Upward: location, direction; physical contact with vertical Ground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Shape of actants</strong></td>
<td>roundish, Figure smaller than Ground, point-like impact</td>
<td>long object, if horizontal motion</td>
<td>long object, requiring vertical or horizontal orientation or impact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Orientation of actants</strong></td>
<td>Ground in horizontal/flat position; Figure point-like, canonical position</td>
<td>Figure in horizontally orientated position</td>
<td>Ground in vertically orientated position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Horizontal vs. vertical path of actant</strong></td>
<td>horizontal motion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX 17. SURVEY OF LOCATIVE-MARKING IN NEIGHBOURING LANGUAGES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Temporal extent of action</th>
<th>Loc 1, -a</th>
<th>Loc 2, -i</th>
<th>Loc 3, -tu</th>
<th>Loc 4, -o</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Extent of locus of action</td>
<td>limited</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>indefinitely, permanently</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of actants</td>
<td>point-like</td>
<td>horizontal extent</td>
<td>plural actants, 2-dimensional extension of locus</td>
<td>plural actants, gives location a linear dimension</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides the parameters in the leftmost column and the general dichotomy of horizontality and verticality, Loc. 1, -a, “seems to function like a (second) generalized oblique in several grammaticized functions” (EB 2000: 17; also EB 2001: 844). Bashir says nothing about the etymologies of these suffixes, nor does she relate the morphological build-up of case expressions to Masica’s Layer model (Masica, 1991).

6. Semantic parameters in Pashai case-marking

According to Morgenstierne (1973b) Pashai has case markers for “Locative”, “Illative”, and “Allative” (movement towards but not reaching a goal) cases, and also “Oblique” case forms which can be used for marking temporal and local relations. Furthermore, there are “Dative” case forms that may express goal of direction. Table App. 17.2 presents the case forms in the four major Pashai dialects that express local, i.e. locative, relations (Nominative, Genitive, Instrumental, Ablative, and Vocative case forms are omitted, as are Morgenstiernes etymological and comparative notes.)

**Table App. 17.2: Pashai case form expressing locative relations.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SW</th>
<th>NW</th>
<th>NE</th>
<th>SE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td>-a(:)</td>
<td>-a(:)</td>
<td>-a, -e</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a/-e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-a(:)</td>
<td>-a(:)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>-a: (bef.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pron.sfx)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>-âi</td>
<td>-âi/-âya</td>
<td>-[?]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>-waːna(a)</td>
<td>-waːna/â</td>
<td>-al/âl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-a(:)l</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illative</td>
<td>(a)na:</td>
<td>[? na ?]</td>
<td></td>
<td>-na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each dialect also has a number of postpositions which may be local case forms of (locational) nouns or “uninflected” postpositions or adverbs. The former type of postposition typically expresses notions such as ‘under’, ‘over/above/top of’, ‘presence/nearness’, ‘after/from’. The latter type typically notions such as ‘with’, ‘like, of’, ‘from’, ‘by means of’, etc.

7. Semantic parameters in Shina case-marking
The nominal inflections and in particular the somewhat complicated allomorphy and the morphophonological processes in Shina is treated in Schmidt and Kohistani (2001). Among the affixes termed “Layer 2 case suffixes” (p. 115ff, cf. summary of Masica’s Layer model) we find dative suffixes, -yer and yor (with allomorphs), ablative-supersessive (superessive = ‘upon’) suffixes, -iji, -ji (with allomorphs), an adessive suffix (‘location near something’), -idi/-d/-di/-d, and a sociative (‘location with something’) suffix -se (an “independent”, i.e. free postposition after stems that end in a consonant) (Schmidt & Kohistani 2001: 115-130). If there is plural allomorphy, the suffixes have slightly phonetically alternating forms in the plural.

Aside from these Layer 2 suffixes Shina also has a sporadically occurring case suffix -tha ‘toward’ and a number of free postpositions with locative meaning such as da ‘in’, maji ‘inside’, muChó-musó ‘in front of, before’, pató ‘behind’ (all inflectable), and ají ‘up, above, upon’.

Bailey (1924: 57-62) is a little bit more specific about the semantics of the case suffixes. The dative suffix expresses the local meaning of ‘(going, coming, ..) to’, ‘mental direction’, and ‘as far as’. The locative case suffix -r encompass the meanings ‘in’, ‘in (mentally)’, and ‘on’, and a locative -zh expresses ‘in’, ‘in (mentally)’, and ‘at ~ in’. Bailey also mentions a few more local “prepositions” (p. 55), such as kăci ‘beside’, khër ‘under’, pär ‘beyond’ on the other side of, dāpär ‘near, along side of’, etc.

8. Semantic parameters in Waigali case-marking
For the Nuristani language Waigali Degener (1998) differentiates between case endings, bound postpositions and free postpositions (p. 145-54). There are five cases in Waigali (p. 135-145), Direct case, Oblique Case, Instrumental-Ablative, Vocative, and Locative. The locative, -iw, “wird für Ortsangaben verwendet”, e.g. “in Akup“, and it may also express the goal of a direction, as well as the notion of ON (with the preposition a-), e.g. a-mālayw ‘auf dem Dach’. Suffixed to the word for ‘head’, šay, locative -iw expresses the meaning of ‘on, above’.

A bound postposition -ra denotes non-physical direction and indirect objects. Another bound postposition, -kan, expresses “die räumliche, zeitliche oder inhaltliche Nähe” (e.g. “nahe an das Loch”), “die Lage innerhalb eines Behälters sowie das Enthaltensein in einer Gruppe“ (e.g., „die Milch die in dem Topf ist“, and a goal of a direction (e.g., “zum General bringen”). -kan is also used with verbs that denote a sort of contact with someone, e.g. ‘meet someone’, ‘tell to someone’, ‘sell to someone’, etc.

The free postpositions express notions such as ‘under’, ‘in/inside’, and ‘in’.
9. Semantic parameters in Wakhi case-marking
According to Bashir (Bashir, fc.) Wakhi has a dative and an ablative case, singular forms are based on stems in the singular oblique-1 case, plural forms are based on the plural oblique-1 case. A number of indigenous prepositions take the oblique-1 and express parameters of horizontality, for example sak/ska ‘location or direction above the reference object’ and (V)r(V) ‘location below the reference object’. The parameters of ‘horizontality’ and ‘verticality’ (down, up or horizontally positioned from speaker) are also relevant in the demonstrative systems, which also encompass a distinction between “near”, “mid” and “far”.

Lorimer (1958) lists a number of postposition (termed “adverbs with local meaning by Morgenstierne (1938)), mainly with projective meanings, for example ‘forward’, ‘behind’, ‘outside’, ‘up’, ‘near’, ‘next to’, and ‘at a distance’.

10. Summary
See Ch. 10.
Appendix 18. The BowPed-Book test

Contents
1. Introduction.
2. The test material and its practicability with respect to Kalasha.
3. Informants.
4. Procedure.
5. Types of responses.
7. Responses.

1. Introduction
The BowPed-book consists of 71 line-drawings, “each representing ‘topological spatial relation’, covering a large range of spatial relations that would be coded in English using such prepositions as on, in, under, over, near, and against, as well as complex prepositions like inside, on top of, in the middle of, and such like. Each picture has a designated Figure (or theme or trajector) colored yellow [JH: no yellow colour in my material!], and a Ground object (or relatum) or landmark” (Levinson et al., 2003: 487). In some drawings this Figure-Ground relation is set in a spatial context with other entities. It occasionally happened that my informants focused on these, i.e. located the Figure or the Ground in relation to entities that are not intended to be part of the spatial relationship under investigation.

2. The test material and its practicability with respect to Kalasha
It is stated very explicitly by Levinson et al. (2001: 486) that it is the number and semantics of adpositions that is the object study in their cross-linguistic investigation (using the BowPed-book), not, for example, local case systems or other TRMs. However, it so happens that ‘basic’ or ‘primitive’ notions such as ‘in’, ‘on’, and ‘at’ are not typically expressed by adpositions (postpositions) in Kalasha but by case suffixes. In my reading of Levinson et al. the focus on adpositions and not other TRMs is purely methodological. The authors “do not expect them [i.e. other TRMs or other spatial nominals] to pattern significantly differently from locative adpositional systems with respect to our elicitation procedures” (p. 486). Therefore I hold the test material to be relevant for Kalasha also, although Kalasha in this respect may differ typologically from the languages investigated by Levinson et al. since these have only few if any locative case markers (p. 493). With respect to the number of spatial adpositions and spatial nominals (relational nouns) Kalasha does not seem to differ significantly from Levinson et al.’s language sample.

3. Informants
Inf. 1 (a). Male, 25-30 years; university student in Thessaloniki (English and linguistics); home village Kraka, Bumburet Valley; speaks English, Khowar, Urdu, and Greek fluently or fairly well; besides that also some Kati (Nuristani), Pashto, Farsi, and Hungarian is spoken or at least understood. Best friend of Inf. 8.
Inf. 2 (b). Male, 20-25 years; university student in Thessaloniki (economics); home village Kraka, Bumburet Valley; speaks English, Khowar, and Urdu fluently or fairly well; besides that also some
Appendix 18. The BowPèd-Book Test

Greek, Kati (Nuristani), Pashto, and Farsi (?) is spoken or at least understood. Little brother to Inf. 8, paternal cousin to Inf. 3.

Inf. 3 (c). Male, about 30 years; university student in Peshawar (law studies, LLB by Summer 2006); home village Kraka, Bumburet Valley; speaks Khowar and Urdu fluently; besides that also some English, Kati (Nuristani), Pashto, and Farsi is spoken or at least understood. Paternal cousin to Inf.s 2 and 8.


Inf. 5 (e). Male: Talim Khan, Brun, Bumburet. 20 years. Speaks: Kalasha, Khowar, a little Urdu and English. Illiterate.

Inf. 6 (f). Male. Imran Khan, Anish, Bumburet. 26 years. Speaks: Kalasha, Khowar, Punjabi, Urdu, English, Pashto, a little Farsi.

Inf. 7 (g). Female. Multan Bibi, Krakal/Brun, Bumburet. Around 45 years. Muslim (shekh). Speaks: Kalasha, Khowar, a little Urdu. Mother to Inf. 1. Illiterate.


4. Procedure

For informants 1-3 the following procedures were used: the drawings were presented to the informant one by one, and the question “where is X?” (X = Figure(s), indicated by arrow(s)) was asked. The immediate/spontaneous response was noted as such, supplementary or alternative responses noted subsequently - if possible.

In spite of careful explanation of the procedure one informant was inclined to respond with alternative constructions continuously and with such a speed that it was difficult for me separating the responses from each other while taking notes. Furthermore, when asked to repeat he would often use yet another construction not identical to any of those first articulated. In this situation I tried to stick to what I believed was the first and immediate response and then note additional responses as alternatives.

After all pictures in each of the tests were described I asked for additional or alternative constructions to a number of the pictures. I did not ask systematically to all sorts of alternative codings, only for responses where I had a suspicion that an alternative coding was just as good or useful. In particular, I was interested in when Loc1-α and Loc3-αι could be used in stead of or as an alternative to Loc2-una. Also, I am of the conviction that a more systematic and consistent interrogation of alternative responses to all drawings would frustrate and distress my informants, and that they would start clinging to standard responses (with the additional remark “tay kái mai aam, Sumbér” ‘I have told you that before’) without considering each alternative codings carefully.

Inf.’s 4-8 were interviewed by Inf. 1 in Mumoret valley in Pakistan. Inf. 1 was given a copy of the book and a detailed instruction paper and asked to interview as many as he could find time to during his travel and stay in the Kalasha valleys. His experience was that in particular informants 6 and 7 (his mother) found it a troublesome and boring task to describe all the 71 drawings. This has resulted in a number of useless (for my purpose) one-word answers such as “coT” (‘pattern; decoration’) to drawing 28 (‘stamp on envelope’) or “panjabi kirméc” (‘punjabi shoe’) to drawing 21 (‘woman’s shoe on foot’).

The reluctance towards using fuller sentences with such drawings may be due to the fact the some of them depict objects that are not common in traditional Kalasha culture, or it may be due to lack of willingness to participate in describing a drawing for a person who might as well know the answer. This latter factor is indeed apparent as Inf. 1 had to give up the interviews with informants 6 and 7 after 27 and 41 drawings, respectively. It may be that informants 6 and 7 would have behaved differently if it was me, an angris,
and not their friend and son, respectively, who had asked them to do him a favour. But
the element of tedium could maybe not have been averted.

5. Types of responses
A number of syntactically different constructions were used as responses. They range
from straightforward or basic locative constructions over constructions supplemented
with one or more verbal participles describing in more detail the posture or the nature of
placement of the Figure elements to ‘resultative’ or ‘active’ constructions denoting that
something has happened to the Figure or the Ground. The list below presents the ten
categories that the different construction in all the tests have been placed in. In bold face
in the first line for each category the syntactic construction is described, and to the right
most its designation. Below the syntactic construction I have given an example with
glossing and translation.

Levinson et al. (2003) ascribe a certain adposition to a drawing when more than 50%
of the consultants have used it for that drawing (Levinson et al. 2003: 503). I have deviat-
ed from this principle because it may sweep too much potentially valuable information
about alternative codings under the carpet.

List of construction types and their denominations, the locative tests
(1) Fig Gr-CASE (PLAC-VB) (COPULA/AUX) Case (-a/-una/-ai)
piala méz-una (thá-i) shí-u ‘pen is (placed) on table’
cup table-loc2 place-cp be/aux.in-prs.3s
(2) Fig Gr-POSTPO (PLAC-VB) (COPULA/AUX) Postpo (thára/som/..)
piala mes.thára (thá-i) shí-u ‘pen is (placed) upon table’
cup table.upon place-cp be/aux.in-prs.3s
(3) Fig Gr-RELN (PLAC-VB) (COPULA/AUX) RelN (nO/-moc/-tad/-..)
paláw khúi-as udríman (thá-i) shí-u ‘the apple is (placed) in the bowl’s inside’
apple bowl-obl.sg inside plac-cp be/aux.in-prs.3s
(4) Gr-Ø PLAC-/AFFECT-VB AUX Gr-Ø-affect
mumbatí bhón-i shíu ‘the candle is/has been bound’
candle bind-cp aux.in-prs.3s
(5) Gr-CASE/POSTPO/RELN PLAC-/AFFECT-VB/ AUX Gr--una/..-affect
piala-una reS pá-i shí-u ‘the cup has cracked’
cop-loc2 crack go-cp be/aux.in-prs.3s (Lit. ‘in the cop a crack has occurred’)
(6) Fig PLAC-/AFFECT-VB Fig placvb
koT uS-i shí-u ‘the coat has been hung’
coat hang-cp be/aux.in-prs.3s
(7) (Person) Fig VP VP
(moc) sigréT p-iu dái ‘a man smokes a cigarette’
person cigarette smoke-p/f.3s spec
APPENDIX 18. THE BOWPED-BOOK TEST

(8) **Person** (Fig) **VP** Gr-CASE/POSTPO/.. **VP-CASE/..**

moc khU samb-i á-áu SiS-una ‘a man is wearing a hat, on the head’
person hat wear-cp aux.an-prs.3s head-loc2

(9) **Fig** **VP**

kishti par-íu dai ‘a ship is sailing’
ship go-prs.3s spec

(10) **Other** (wrong Figure or Ground, naming of Figure instead of describing its location, …).

Table App. 18.1 below shows which TRMs and verbs were used in the BowPed-book test.

**TABLE APP. 18.1: SPATIAL MARKERS USED IN THE BOWPED-BOOK TEST.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spatial marker / TRM</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Case ending, Locative</td>
<td>Loc1-a, Loc2-una, Loc3-ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case ending, Ablative</td>
<td>Abl3-aw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postposition</td>
<td>dái ‘following, along’, kái ‘to, towards’, som ‘attached with’, thára ‘on, upon, above’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spatial adverb</td>
<td>andén- ‘here, across barrier’, aLéL- ‘there, across barrier’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place verb</td>
<td>bhónik ‘tie to’, dek ‘put, give (onto/into)’, dyek ‘put (into)’, Lapék ‘hang something down in a line’, Lótik ‘smear out’, niwésík ‘write on(to)’, SaTék ‘attach to’, thek ‘place (on surface), tyek ‘beat onto’, ustrék ‘spread out onto’, uSík ‘hang something on a hook’, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. **Classification problems - verbs**

Posture verbs (+postvb) describe the position of the Figure element, whether standing, sitting, hanging, etc. These verbs are typically intransitive, for example nísík ‘sit’, cístik ‘stand’, Dhoc dyek ‘squat’, Lápik ‘hang down in a line’. The placement verbs (placvb) describe the nature of the process that has led to the state that a drawing depicts. Examples of such verbs are: SaTék ‘attach (tr)’, thek ‘to place on surface’, dyek ‘to put (into)’, Lapék ‘hang something down in a line’.

These verbs are typically transitive. But it may not always be easy to differentiate between these two verbal categories. For example, Lápik ‘hanging down in a line’, from intransitive Lápik, is an intransitive posture verb with its transitive contrast Lapék ‘hang something down in a line’. Both are easily categorizable due to transparent morphology.

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9 Motion verbs, such as parík ‘go (to)’ and atík ‘enter’ are included in the placement verb group.
But what about SáTi ‘is attached’ from intransitive SáTik ‘be (in an) attached (position)’ vs. SaTài ‘is (being?) attached’ from transitive SaTék? Does not intransitive SaTi tell us something about the nature of the previous activity, a placement.

Both types of verbs may be regarded as TRMs also, as they tell something about the nature of the Ground and/or the Figure element, or of the nature of the contiguity between Figure and Ground. For example, thek ‘place’ is used when the Ground object is a flat surface no matter what sort of Figure element is involved. The verb ustrék ‘spread out’, on the other hand, requires that the Figure element, for example a table cloth, can be spread out and probably also that the Ground object is or has a flat surface. As such, the choice of a placement verb is worth a more detailed study (which placement is used to which Figure, to which Ground, etc.).

7. Responses

The drawings are introduced by number and brief description, followed by a listing of the TRMs ascribed to the drawing. The number following the TRMs indicate how many times the TRM has been used (in immediate and prompted responses together). The bolded TRMs are those that have been ascribed to the drawing. Below each headline the informants’ responses are given – spontaneous responses first, alternatives separated by /.

Abbreviations and transcription notes: VP = use of verbal phrase, ‘placvb’ = use of placement verb, ‘Altern’ = another type of construction is used, ‘affect’ = use of ‘affected actant construction. Inf. a’spelling praxis for responses from (d)-(h) is retained. Stress is ignored in all responses. The TRM ascribed to a given drawing is in bold type face. No bold type face indicates that the response is irrelevant, i.e. does not contain a TRM of any sort.

1. Coffe cup (on saucer) on table; -una 5, thárä 6, placvb 2
   (a) mez-una piala shiu    /    thárä
   (b) kop pec.thárä thai mezuna thai shiu P .. kop pec-una thai mes.thárä thai shiu
   (c) piala/kop mez-una shiu / ... mes.thárä ..
   (d) piala mes.thárä shiu
   (e) piala mez-una shiu
   (f) piala mez-una shiu
   (g) mes.thárä piala-as som pech shiu
   (h) piala pech-as som mez-as thárä shiu

2. Apple in bowl (on bottom surface); -una 7, -ai 1, udrimän(RelN) 1, placvb1
   (a) paLaw piala-una shiu
   (b) paLaw khUi-una shiu
   (c) paLaw piala-una shiu / ... -ai
   (d) paLaw udrimän shiu shiu
   (e) piala khui-una shiu
   (f) piala-una palaw thai shiu
   (g) khui-una ek tana paLau shiu
   (h) paLaw khUi-una shiu

3. Stamp on an envelope; -una 5; thárä 2, other 1; placvb 4
   (a) TikeT khat-una shiu
   (b) TikeT liwapha-una SaTai hiu ..
   (c) TikeT kagaz-una shiu
   (d) mohor khat-una SaTi shiu
   (e) tikeT liwapha-una SaTi shiu
   (f) khat-as thárä TickeT SaTai shiu
APPENDIX 18. THE BOWPED-BOOK TEST

4. Bow around a candle; -una 3, thára 1, Gr-O-affected 2, Gr-una-affect 1; placvb 4
(a) gilas-una niweshi.Ła shiu
(b) mumbáti-una sut bhoni shiu
(c) sutr mumbáti-una bhoni shiu
(d) mumbáti bhoni shiu
(e) mumbáti bhoni shiu
(f) mombáti-una sort bhoni shiu
(g) kia asa haw ‘whatever it is’
(h) sut divyakasa thára bhoni shiu

5. Hat on head of a person; vb 5, -una 2, -a 1, -ai 1, Vb-una 1
(a) istrizha khU sambi aau;
(b) moc khU sambi aau
(c) khU SiS-ai shiu Also -a and -una
(d) khu~ SiSuna shiu
(e) moc kuu sambi aau
(f) moc khu sambi asau
(g) pharangi khu sambi aau eg moc
(h) moc SiSuna khu sambi aau

6. Dog sitting next to a dog house; bianaw(ReIN) 1, tad-a 4(ReIN), send-a 3, send-una 2, -una
2, Fig-vb 1
(a) shO~a shO~a.gUas bianaw di nisi aau / tada nisi aau / guas sen-a/-una nisi aau
(b) shO~a shO~a.gu. tada nisi aau / shO~as guas send-una nisi aau / shO~as guas send-a nisi aau
(c) shO~a dur. tada Dhoc dyai aau
(d) shO~a dur-una aau
(e) shO~a duras tada nisi aau
(f) shO~yak ku. send-a nisi asau
(g) shO~yak nisi aau ‘a dog is sitting’
(h) shO~a dur-una Dhoc dyai aau

7. Spider on ceiling; -una 5, other 3
(a) perish-una paChOik aau
(b) upaLak ispras-una aau
(c) upaLak ispras-una aau
(d) hupalak balup tada aau
(e) hupalak diga-una aau
(f) upalak ispraz-una aau
(g) kia asa haw ’what ever it is’
(h) hupalak balp pashi pariu dai ’seeing a bulp, a spider runs away’

8. Book placed upright on shelf; -una 3, -a 4, placvb 3, postpo 1
(a) pa:N-una kitab shiu
(b) kitab pa:N-una kái thai shiu
(c) kitab mA–yak-una shiu
(d) kitap penyak-a thi shiu
(e) kitap penyak-a shiu
(f) kitap paN-una thi shiu
(g) paN-una kitab thai shiu
(h) kitap penyak-a shiu
9. Coat on a hook on coatrack; -una 6, placvb 6, Fig-plac 3
   (a) koT me:g-una uSi shiu
   (b) koT me:g-una uSi shiu
   (c) koT uSi shiu/.. uSiun-una uSi shiu
   (d) kot uSi shiu
   (e) kot meg-una uSi shiu
   (f) koT kiw-una uSi shiu
   (g) koT uSi shiu
   (h) kot meg-una uSi shiu

10. Ring on finger; VP 2, VP--una 1, Fig-plac 1, placvb 1, -una 4, -ai 1
    (a) anguSTyar sambi aau
    (b) anguSTyar A--gu-una sambi aau
    (c) anguSTyar A--gu-ai shiu / A--gu-una anguSTyar ..
    (d) anguSTyar dyai aau ‘a ring has been put on’
    (e) anguSTyar a--guna dyai shiu
    (f) anguSTyar dyai shiu ‘a ring is put on’
    (g) anguSTyar sambi aau
    (h) anguSTyar A--g-una shiu

11. Ship on water; -una 5, Fig. vb 2, thára 1 other 1
    (a) samandaruna kishti shiu
    (b) kishti samandar-una shiu / samandar.thára
    (c) kishti samandar-una shiu
    (d) khishti pariu day ‘a ship is going’
    (e) khishti ug mocuna shiu
    (f) kishti pariu day ‘a ship is going’
    (g) ne ajonis ‘I don’t know’
    (h) khiSTi ug mocuna shiu

12. Stain on blade of a knife; -una 5, -ai 1, placvb 3, Gr-Ø-affect 1, Gr-una-affect 3
    (a) caku-una Lui shiu / cakuuna Lui Loti ‘is stained with blood’
    (b) caku-una Lui Loti thi shiu / caku-ai
    (c) Lui caku-una shiu
    (d) katar-una kash gri shiu
    (e) caku-una za~gar gri shiu
    (f) katar-una za~gar gri shiu
    (g) katar nasi thi shiu
    (h) katar-una Lui coti thi shiu, Lapay

13. Lamp hanging over table; thára 5, placvb 4, other 1, Gr-Ø-affect
    (a) mes.thára balip (shiu)
    (b) mesas thára bisli Lapai shiu
    (c) balip ispras-una shiu
    (d) balup mes.thára uSi shiu
    (e) balip Satauni uSi shiu ‘the bulb-holder has been hung’
    (f) balip mes.thára uSi shiu
    (g) kia asa hau ‘whatever it is’
    (h) mes.thára balip.dyikeyn uSi shiu

14. Book in bag; -ai 5, -una 3, other 1, placvb 1
    (a)
    (b) kitap bag-ai shiu / bag-una
    (c) kitap bag-ai shiu/ bag-una
    (d) kitap beg-ai shiu
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(e) kitap kaZoi-una shiu
(f) kitap beg-ai shiu
(g) khalta e? ‘a bag, right’
(h) bagas moc-ai kia dyi shiu

15. Fence around house on a square ground; N-as nasendaw (RelN) 2, puNDiiraw (Postpo) 1, bian (RelN) 2, nasen 3; placvb 4
(a) duras nasendaw muThiger shiu
(b) duras nasendaw jali SaTai shiu
(c) jali duras puNDiiraw shiu
(d) duras bian jhaw dyai shiu
(e) duras nasen jhaw shiu
(f) duras bian jhaw dyai shiu
(g) timSaTala duras nasen jhaw dyai shiu
(h) duras nasen jhaw

16. Ball under chair; nO-a 1 nO-una 8, nO-ai 2
(a) kursi.nO-una candul shiu
(b) caNDul kursias nO-ai/-una shiu
(c) caNDul kursi.nO-una shiu / nO-a / -ai
(d) candul kursias nO-una shiu
(e) hanyak.nO-una candul shiu
(f) chandul kursias nO-una shiu
(g) kursi.nO-una candul shiu
(h) candul kursi.nO-una shiu

17. Tree on mountain side; -una 7, nO-una 1
(a) dhe~ta-una muT shiu
(b) rha.muT dhe~ta-una shiu
(c) rha.muT dhe~ta-una
(d) rha.muT dhe~t-una shiu
(e) rha.muT dhe~ntakac-una shiu
(f) rha.muT dhe~t-una shiu
(g) doki-una muT shiu
(h) rha.muT de~ta.nO-una shiu

18. Hole in a piece of cloth (hanging on a string); Gr-una-affect 4, Gr-O-affected 3, other 1
(a) piran-una nazi shiu
(b) tsadar-una gAng shiu
(c) gAng.piran-una shiu
(d) pitek nazi thi shiu
(e) piran gAng thi shiu
(f) piTek nazi thi shiu
(g) gAng.piran uSi shiu
(h) gAng.taulia uSi shiu

19. Apple on plate; -una 5, thára 2, Fig. placvb 1 , placvb 4
(a) pileT-una paLaw shiu
(b) paLaw pileTuna shiu
(c) paLaw pileT-una shiu
(d) paLaw pec.thára thai shiu
(e) paLaw pec.thára thai shiu
(f) paLaw pecas thára thai shiu
(g) paLaw thai shiu
(h) paLaw pilet-una thai shiu

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#### 20. Loop attached to the end of a stick; -una 8, placvb 8, postpo 1
(a) cinbar puNDuri goND-una SaTay shiu
(b) uphuini goND-una shiu / uphuini goND-una kái bhoni shiu
(c) uphuini goNDik-una bhoni shiu
(d) uphuini goNDik-una bhoni shiu
(e) uphuini goND-una bhoni shiu
(f) uphuini goND-una bhoni shiu
(g) uphuini goND-una bhoni shiu
(h) uphuini goND-una uSi shiu

#### 21. Shoe on (lady’s) foot; -una 2, placvb 2, -ai 3, VP 3, other 1
(a) kirmec sambi aau
(b) kirmec sambi aau, khur-una
(c) kirmec khur-ai shiu / khur-una
(d) kirmec sambi aau dai
(e) kirmec khur-ai shiu
(f) kirmec sambi aau
(g) panjabi istrizhon kirmec ‘a Punjabi woman’s shoe’
(h) khur-ai kirmec dyai shiu

#### 22. Three pieces of paper pierced on an upright-placed spike; -ai 2; Gr-ai-affect 1, placvb 3, -una 1, other 2, Fig-plac 2
(a) cimber.goNDik-ai kagas dyai aau
(b) kagas ek sim-ai dyai aau
(c) kagas me:g-una cimbi shian
(d) ???
(e) kagas mek dai thai shian
(f) kagas Chimbí shian
(g) kia asa haw ‘what is this?’
(h) tre kagas mek-ai dyi thai shian

#### 23. Rope across the surface of a stump of a tree; -una 3, thára 3, placvb 3, postpo 1, other 1
(a)
(b) rajuk LaTori kái muND.thára thai aau
(c) sutr mund-una shiu
(d) gok mund-una nisi aau
(e) rajuk mund.thára dai pai shiu
(f) gok mund-una kAak dai aau
(g) chot ‘pattern’
(h) gok mund.thára kAAk dyi nisi aau

#### 24. Spoon under cloth; nO-una 6, nO-ai 2, -ai 1, placvb 1, other 1
(a) piran.nO-una camca (shiu)
(b) camat tsadaras nO-ai shiu / .. nOuna ..
(c) kiphini aSo.nO-una shiu / nO-ai
(d) ek kiphini o lok No-una dyi shiu
(e) chamac lok.nO-una shiu
(f) ek chamach lok.nO-una shiu
(g) chamach zhe dastarkhan ‘a spoon and a piece of cloth’
(h) kuinj tsadar.moc-ai shiu

#### 25. Telephone on wall; -una 6, placvb 3, other 2
(a) dighA-una gAng shiu
(b) phun dighA-una SaTai shiu
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(c) phun dighA-una shiu
(d) ???
(e) tiliphun digA-una SaTai shiu
(f) digA-una teLiphun shiu
(g) teLiphun ‘a telephone’
(h) Teliphun digA-una SaTai shiu

26. Crack in outer surface of cup; Gr-una-affect 4, Gr-Ø-affect 4, -una 1, other 1
(a) pialuna reS pai shiu
(b) piala una reS pai shiu
(c) piala-una reS shiu / piala-una reS pai shiu / piala utriki shiu
(d) piala-una res pai shiu
(e) piala utruki shiu
(f) pialauna rok pai shiu
(g) piala rok pay shiu / beajat piala
(h) kop utruki shiu

27. Apple on branch; -una 7, other 1
(a) shong-una paLaw shiu
(b) paLaw muTas shonguna shiu
(c) paLaw shong-una shiu
(d) paLaw shongeLik-una shiu
(e) paLaw pachi shian ‘apples are ripe’
(f) shong-una ek paLaw shiu
(g) shong-una ek paLaw shiu
(h) shong-una paLaw shiu

28. Head of person on stamp; -una 5, other 2
(a) TikeT-una phuTu shiu
(b) mocas rhu TikeT-una shiu
(c) mocas SiS TikeT-una shiu
(d) TikeT-una ek phuTu shiu
(e) phuTu shishá-una SaTai shiu
(f)
(g) chot ‘pattern’
(h) phuTu digA-una shiu

29. Table cloth on table; -una 7, placvb 5
(a) me:z-una mes.push shiu
(b) me:z-una tsadar ustrai shiu
(c) tsadar mez-una ustrai shiu
(d) mez-una lok ustrai shiu
(e) lok mez-una ustrai shiu
(f)
(g) mez-una gora dastar khan ustrai shiu
(h) mez-una dastar khan shiu

30. Arrow through apple; Gr-Ø-aFFECTED 2, Gr-una-aFFECTED 2, -una 4, placvb 3, -ai 1
(a) bO~ paLaw gAng kái shiu
(b) bO~ paLaw-una gAng kái (andenaw kái niai shiu)
(c) bO~ paLaw.moc-una/-ai shiu;
(d) bO~ paLaw-una tyai ek ghenaw kái nihi shiu
(e) shA paLaw.moc-una tyai SaTi shiu
(f)
(g) shA paLaw gAng kái shiu
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(h) paChala bO- paLaw-una chimbi shiu

31. Cat under table; nO-ai 4, nO-una 5, nO-a 2
(a) mez.nO-ai phushak aau / mez.nO-una
(b) pushak mez.nO-ai nisi aau / mez.nO-una
(c) phushak mez.nO-una Dhoc dyai aau; mez.nO-a / mez.nO-ai
(d) phusha mez.nO-una nisi aau
(e) phushak mez.nO-una nisi aau
(f) phushak mez.nO-a Dhoc dyai nisi asau
(h) phushak mez.nO-ai aau

32. Fish in water in bowl; -una 2, -ai 6
(a) matshi mis-una aau / -ai
(b) matshi mis-ai aau
(c) matshi mis-ai aau
(d) matshi buthal-ai asau
(e) matshi tunj-una aau
(f) ek matshi mis-ai asau
(h) matshi mis-ai aau

33. Clothes peg on string; -una 5, placvb 3, other 1
(a) klip rajuk-una SaTai shiu
(b) klip sutr-una shiu
(d) lok unSiuni rajug-una SaTai shiu
(e) piran uSiuni rajuk-una SaTi shiu
(f) ???
(h) rajug-una piran uSiuni shiu

34. Standing man on slanting roof; -a 6, -una 3, thára 1, placvb 1
(a) moc drami-a aau / -una
(b) moc dur.drami-a cisti aau / -una
(c) moc drami-a aau / -una
(d) moc drami-a uSTi asau
(e) moc drami-a asau
(f) moc tim.thára kasiu dai
(h) drami-a moc aau

35. Band aid on leg, just above ankle; -una 6, placvb 5, Gr-O-affected 1
(a) khur-una paTi kái shiu
(b) khur-una aSo SaTai shiu
(c) palaster Dhe-ik-una shiu
(d) greala khur-una paTi kái shiu
(e) khur-una patri kái shiu
(f) khur-una patri boni asau
(h) khur boni shiu

36. Cloud above top of mountain top; thar-a 4, thar-una 2, other 2
(a) dhe-та.thára menc shiu
(b) menc dhe-tha.thára shiu
(c) menc dhe~tá-as thára shiu / dhenta.thar-una
(d) di-una menj shiu
(e) dhe~ta thar-una menj shiu
(f) chot ‘pattern’
(h) dhe~ta.thára menj shian

37. Three pieces of washing clothes on string; Fig-placvb 5, una 2, placvb 2, popo 1
(a) piran wiliaika hátya uSi shian
(b) piran rajuk-una kái uSi shian
(c) piran surt-una uSi shian
(d) tre anjarum suira uSi shian
(c) piran uSi shiu
(f) badian zhe palun eg-o dastarkhan suira dai shian
(h) palun uSi shiu

38. Person sitting next to fire, to the left (observer’s perspective); tad-a 5, send-a 3, send-una
1, other 1
(a) moc angar.tad-a nisi aau / .. angaras send-a
(b) moc angar.send-a nisi aau / angaras tad-a
(c) moc angar.tad-a nisi aau / .. angaras send-una
(d) sudayak angar.tad-a nisi asaw
(e) suda angaras tad-a nisi au
(f) suda angar tapau dai ‘kid is fire-warming himself’
(h) moc angar.send-a nisi au

39. Cigarette in mouth; Vb 5, -ai 1, -una 2
(a) moc sigreT piu day
(b) sigreT ash-una shiu / moc sigret piu dai
(c) sigreT ash-una shiu
(d) sigret mocas ash-ai shiu
(e) moc sigret piu dai
(f) moc sigret Zingau dai
(h) moc sigret Zingau dai

40. Cat on mat; -una 4, thára 3
(a) pushak pilez-una nisi aau
(b) pushak biLas thára nisi aau
(c) phushak pilez-una Dhoc dyai nisi aau
(d) phushak pilez-una nisi asaw
(e) phushak zilimca-una nisi au
(f) geri eg phusak bata piles.thára nisi asau
(h) phushak tsadar.thára nisi au

41. Three leaves on end of branch; -una 6
(a) shong-una pO~ shian/shiu
(b) pO~ shong-una shian
(c) pO~ shong-una shian
(d) eg shongeLik-una te pO~ shian
(e) shong-una tre pO~ shian
(f), (g)
42. Belt around woman’s waist; VP 4, VP-una 2, -una 1, placvb 2, -ai 2
(a) istrizha pàTi sambì aau, dha–k-una
(b) istrizha pàTi bhoni aau / istrizha pàTi Dha–k-una bhoni aau
(c) pàTi Dha–k-una bhoni shiu; / Dha–k-ai
(d) Dhak badri istrizhaas dhak-ai bhoni shiu
(e) istrizha, guak pàTi sambì aau
(f), (g)
(h) istrizha pàTi bonì aau

43. A rope around a stump of a tree; thára 4, placvb 3, -una 1, postpo 4
(b) ek rajuk muND.thára dai bhoni andenaw dai bhoni
(c) rajuk puNDuri thi chom-una shiu khoND-o mund thára dai Lapi shiu, aLeLa dai
(d) gok mund-una aLay anday thi nisi asau
(e) rajuk mund.thára dai pai shiu
(f), (g)
(h) gok mund.thára dai pariu dai

44. Square painting hung on wall; -una 6, placvb 6
(a) digA-una choT dai shiu
(b) painTing dighA-una usi shiu
(c) paiNTing dighA-una uSi shiu
(d) maksha dighA-una SaTai shiu
(e) phuTu digA-una uSi shiu
(f), (g)
(h) digA-una phutu SaTai shiu

45. Round fruits in a tree; -una 4, -a 3
(a) muT-una pàLaw shian
(b) pàLaw muT-a shian
(c) pàLaw muT-a shian / muT-una
(d) muT-a tre lay pahai shian
(e) muT-una law shiu
(f), (g)
(h) muT-una law shian

46. Pandebånd rundt om hovedet på en person; -una 3, placvb 5, VP 1, -a 2, -ai 2; Gr-una-affect 1, Gr-Ø-affect 1
(a) SiS bhoni aau / usaini SiS-una bhoni aau
(b) SiS-una aSo bhoni aau / aSo SiS-ai bhoni aau
(c) aSo SiS-una bhoni shiu / SiS-a / SiS-ai
(d) CoT CoT SiS-a bhoni shiu
(e) suda ousaini bhoni asau
(f), (g)
(h) moc SiS-una asho bonì asau

47. Dog in dog basket; -una 5, -a 1
(a) shO–a nisiuni-una nisi aau
(b) shO–a shO–aas DuDikeyn-una nisi aau
(c) shO–a shO–a.gul.-a aau / ... shO–a.guL-una ...
(d) shO–A–yak birkU-una nisi aau
(e) shO–A–yak kuTu-una nisi aau
(f), (g)
(h) shO–A–yak khUi-una nisi aau
48. Rain(drops) on window; -una 6, placvb 5; Fig-VP 3
(a) kirkias bianaw dai mucik del dai
(b) baSik duras darwaza-una tyel dai; darwazauna kái baSik tyel dai
(c) basik durik-una shiu
(d) dur-una uk uzaki shiu
(e) mucik khilki-una tyai shiu
(f), (g)
(h) shishá-una phaw loti thi shiu

49. Tree (large) in front of (small) house; Postpo 2, tada 2, send-a 1, send-una 2; other 2
(a) duras ruaw dai muT shiu
(b) muT church.tada shiu / muT churches send-a / muT churches send-una shiu
(c) muT dur.tada shiu
(d) driga muT pashai shiu
(e) dur.send-una mut shiu
(f), (g)
(h) duras som muT shiu ‘there is a tree attached to the house’

50. Nail in wall; -una 3, placvb 2, other 3, -ai 1
(a) digA-una reS pai shiu
(b) mek dighA-una SaTai shiu
(c) uSiuni dighA-una shian
(d) dighA-ai goik pahwaTik asan
(e) piran.uSiuni diga-una SaTai shiu
(f), (g)
(h) digA-una niweshi shiu

51. Necklace around woman’s neck; -una 2, -ai 4; VP 2, placvb 1
(a) gA-una mAik shiu / -ai / mAik sambi aau
(b) mAik gA-una sambi aau / -ai
(c) mAik gA-ai shian
(d) mA-ik istrizhaas gA.ay shian
(e) istrizha.guak mAik dai au
(f), (g)
(h) istrizhas gA-ai mAik shiu

52. Three insects on a wall; -una 4, -ai 2; other 2
(a) digA-una nazi shian
(b) magazhik, upaLak, eg-o warek gohik dighA-una aan
(c) gohik dighA-una aan; .. dighA-ai aan
(d) dighA-ai gohik phawaTik asan
(e) gohik phawatik phrelikas tada an ‘insects are near the light’
(f), (g)
(h) digA-una hupaLak asau

53. Lump of something on underside of table; nO-una 6, placvb 4
(a) mez.nO-una caNDul SaTi shiu
(b) mez.nO-una at SaTai shiu
(c) at mezas nO-una SaTi shiu
(d) mezas nO-una kokia SaTi shiu
(e) mez.nO-una bumbur mO shiu
(f), (g)
(h) mezas nO-una aSTar shiu
54. Animal in a square cage; -ai 5, -una 1, Fig placvb 1
(a) shara khapas-ai aau
(b) gAwAhia~k kaphas-ai aau
(c) gAwAhia~k kaphas-ai aau / -una
(d) gAwA~iyak kaphas-ai asau
(e) gAwA~iak mO ban kái shiu ‘rabbit nest is closed’
(f), (g)
(h) gAwAhia~k kaphas-ai

55. Rope around lower part of tree stump; nasendaw (RelN) 1, Postpo 1, placvb 3; -una 4, -a
1
(b) rajuk muNDas nasendaw bhoni shiu
(c) rajuk muND-una bhoni shiu / .. muND-as puNDuir-aw bhoni shiu
(d) gok mund-una LapiL thi asau
(e) gok mund-a polini thi au
(f), (g)
(h) gok mund-una pili au

56. Flag on pole; -una 2, placvb 2, Postpo 1; other 1, Fig-placvb 2
(a) janta goNDik-una uSi shiu
(b) janta ThU~una kái uSi shiu
(c) janta ThU~una shiu
(d) piran uSi shiu
(e) dur.tada janta shiu ‘a flag is near a house’
(f), (g)
(h) dur.tada janta uSi shiu

57. Ornament on necklace; -una 5, placvb 4, kái 1, other 1
(a) mAik-una sutr bhoni shiu shiu
(b) lakeT sutr-una kái bhoni shian
(c) mA~ik cimber.sutr-una shiu
(d) came sutr-una we shiu
(e) chama suTr-una boni shiu
(f), (g)
(h) mAik gA~ai dyiuni

58. Ladder on wall; -una 2, placvb 2, Postpo 2, Fig placvb 1; other 1
(a) shitik digA-una SaTai shiu
(b) shitik dighA-as som SaTai shiu
(c) shitik durust-una shiu
(d) ia shidik ‘this is a ladder’
(e) shidik drami kái thi shiu
(f), (g)
(h) shidik thai shiu

59. Pen on writing desk; thára 4, -una 4, placvb 1
(a) kalam mes.thára / mez.una shiu
(b) pencil mes.thára shiu
(c) pencil mes.thára / mez.una shiu
(d) kalam mez-una shiu
(e) kalam mez-una thai shiu
(f), (g)
(h) mes.thára niweshuni shiu
60. **House on square ground, surrounded by fence; -una 4, other 2**
   (a) park-una dur shiu
   (b) dur bhronz-una shiu
   (c) dur bag-una shiu
   (d) shama dur jaw dyai bli shiu ‘that house is surrounded by a fence’
   (e) duras nasen jaw shiu ‘around the house there is a fence’
   (f), (g)
   (h) dur bag-una shiu

61. **Handle on cupboard door; -una 3, placvb 1; other 4**
   (a) durumrauni, grikeyn
   (b) dur grikeynani gri umrai / grikeyn duruna SaTai shiu
   (c) kabza dur-una shiu
   (d) dur umrai shiu
   (e) almariani dur umrai shiu
   (f), (g)
   (h) dur-una grikeyn shiu

62. **Cork in (mouth of) bottle; -una 6, -ai 1, placvb 3**
   (a) buThal-una shamduc dyai shiu
   (b) buThal-ai shamducik dyai shiu / -una
   (c) SOa buThal-una shiu
   (d) buThal-una kiu dai shiu
   (e) buThal-una uponyk shiu
   (f), (g)
   (h) buThal-una uphonyak shiu

63. **Lamp hanging down from roof; -una 3, placvb 3, kái (Postpo) 1; Fig placvb 3**
   (a) bisli pérish-una Lapi shiu
   (b) bisli aspras-una kái SaTai shiu
   (c) bisli ispras.una Lapi shiu
   (d) balip phreLik.kárikas báti uSi shiu
   (e) balip.SaTauni uSi shiu
   (f), (g)
   (h) balip.dyuni uSi shiu

64. **Boy hiding from girl behind chair, in front of drawing from viewer’s perspective**
   **piSTaw (Postpo) 3, weti-aw (RelN) 2, nO-ai 1**
   (a) kursi.piSTaw luhi aau
   (b) puruS.gUAk kursias piSTaw dai Luhi aau
   (c) puruZ.gUAk kursi.wet-aw Luhi aau
   (d) ek suda tasa egis pi LUihi haynak wetyaw nisi asau
   (e) sudayak hanyakas piSTaw dai Luhi aau
   (f), (g)
   (h) suda kursi.nO-ay Luhi aau

65. **Spruce on top of mountain; thára 4, -una 3**
   (a) dhe~ta.thára muT shiu
   (b) rhamuT dhe~ta.thára shiu
   (c) rha.muT dhe~tá-una shiu/.. dhe~ta.thára ...
   (d) dhok una muT shiu
   (e) ramuT de~tacuyak-una shiu
   (f), (g)
   (h) muT de~ta.thára shiu
66. Strap on a bag; -una 5, placvb 2, other 1
(a) grikeyn bag-una SaTi shiu
(b) bagas grikeyn bag-una shiu
(c) kaci ba:g-una SaTai shiu
(d) ia o kazhOiyan i batri ‘this a bag-strap’
(e) kazhOi-una kaci shiu
(f), (g)
(h) bag-una grikein shiu

67. Owl in hole of (bottom part of) tree; -ai 5, other 1
(a) muT-una gAng shiu
(b) uhuk muT.gu~ghur-ai aau
(c) uhuk muT-a ghu~ghur-ai aau
(d) muT gu~gur ai kokia aau
(e) gu~gur-ai uhuk aau
(f), (g)
(h) uhuk muT.gu~gur-ay aau

68. Writing on a t-shirt (on boy); -una 4, placvb 4, other 1
(a) piran-una niweshi shiu
(b) banyan-una coT niweshi shiu
(c) coT pa:z-una niweshi shian
(d) sudas pherwan-una niweshi shiu
(e) suda pa:z-una niweshi aau
(f), (g)
(h) sudayakas pas-una niweshi shiu

69. Big, round earing in ear; Vb 1, -una 4, -ai 2, placvb 1
(a) draChOyak sambi aau / kO~una
(b) draChOya~k kO--una SaTai shiu
(c) draChOya~k kO--una shiu
(d) kO--ai draChO~yak shiu
(e) kO--una draChO~yak shiu
(f), (g)
(h) kO--ai draChO~yak shiu

70. Apple pierced by a spike; Fig-placvb 2, -una 4, placvb 5, -ai 1
(a) cimbar gri paLaw-una gAng kay aau
(b) paLaw cimber-una wiun pai shiu; paLaw cimber-ai wiun pai shiu
(c) paLaw cimber-una cimbi shiu
(d) paLaw-una gon Chimbi shiu
(e) paLaw suzhik-una bi shiu
(f), (g)
(h) paLaw-una gond Chimbi aau

71. Dog lying in entrance of dog house; udriman-a (RelN) 1, udriman 1, udrimanaw dai 1, -ai 2, -una 4
(a) shO--a shO~a.guas udriman-a aau
(b) shO--a shO~a.guas udriman aau; shO--a shO~a.guas udriman-aw dai / shO--a shO~a.gu~ai nisi aau; shO--a shO~a.guas durik-una nisi aau
(c) shO--a dur-una aau
(d) shO--ayak tan mO~ai aau
(e) shO--ayak mO.dur-una nisi aau
(f), (g)
(h) shO--ayak darwaza-una nisi aau
Appendix 19. The Put and Take Project test - locative answers

Contents
1. Introductory notes.
2. Informants.
3. Responses.

1. Introductory notes
The Put Project (‘Put Project: The cross-linguistic encoding of placement events’) is created in order to explore systematically and cross-linguistically event categorization in “the domain of placement events (putting things in places and removing them from places)” Bowerman et al. (2004: 10). The investigators behind the Put Projects define a ‘putting’ event as “deliberately placing an object somewhere under manual control” (ibid.). The main goal of the Put Project is to “deepen our understanding of the semantic organization of placement events across languages” (p. 15). I shall in this dissertation refrain from viewing the responses in this cross-linguistic ‘put perspective’ and only focus on the coding on the different types of Grounds.

The Put Project-test was conducted by showing the video clips to the informants and recording their answers on a tape recorder. For each answer I asked to those words or constructions that I did not immediately understand, and for some responses I asked to alternative constructions. Afterwards I transcribed the recordings. Kalasha was the preferred means of communication throughout all the tests.

What is said here about the procedure for the Put Project test is also valid for responses to the film clips that showed situations of removal and that triggered ablative constructions.

2. Informants
c. = Inf. 3 in the BowPed-book test.

3. Responses
Alternative, non-immediate responses separated by “;”. Informants’ native speaker reactions added. Relevant locative-marking is in bold type face.

Trial-scene01: candlelight into a candlestick
a. mombáti uprai to mombáti.dikeyn-ai praw
b. SaTauni-ai dyel dai
c. mumbáti.dikeyn-ai to mumbáti dyel dai

Trial-scene02: woman takes a glass by the teeth and puts it on a table
a. ashi gri to thalok mez-una athaa
b. mez-una kái thel dai
c. mez-una thel dai lashek-miki

Trial-scene03: woman puts bunch of books on a table pile-like and leaves
APPENDIX 19. THE PUT AND TAKE PROJECT TEST - LOCATIVE ANSWERS

a. te lašh kái \textit{mez-una} athaa[l\textsubscript{u}]

b. \textit{mez-una} kái thel dai

c. \textit{mez-una} thái-o pariu dai

\textit{scene05}: woman attaches a photograph to a wall

a. \textit{dighA-una} ēk ha–shas zhe shO–aas phuTu SaTaa[u]

b. \textit{dighA-una} SaTel dai

c. \textit{dighA-una} SaTel dai

\textit{Scene06}: woman puts a saucer on toof a cup

a. peC \textit{kop.thára} athaa[l\textsubscript{u}] / \textit{kopas thára} peC athaa[u]

b. \textit{pialaas thára} kái thel dai

c. \textit{pialaun-o} uphonyak dyel dai

\textit{Scene08}: man throws a book onto the floor

a. ēk suda ēk \textit{kitab} \textit{chom-una} kái ahis[t\textsubscript{u}]

b. \textit{chom-una} kái histi dai

c. to kitab histi dai \textit{ruaw kái}

\textit{Scene10}: man brings a pile of books in his arms, the top-most book falls to the floor

a. thárani ēk kitab-o undruhak atau yaw \textit{chom-una} at[au]

b. ēk kitab-o thárani laSi \textit{chom-ai} kái paLaw dai

c. kitab-o paLaw thárani .. paLi \textit{chom-una} tyel dai

\textit{Scene12}: man takes a box from a table on put it on a shelf in a cupboard

a. ēk suda ēk Daba \textit{pa:n-una} athaa[l\textsubscript{u}]

b. \textit{almari-una} kái thel dai [not \textit{almari-ai}, JH]

c. shataL-ai thel dai .. \textit{almari-ai} thel dai

\textit{Scene13}: woman pours out shaving/small pieces of wood from a cup

a. istrizha \textit{chom-una} nisi thalokani shuLayak udzakau

b. \textit{chom-una} kái udzakiu dai

c. \textit{chom-una} kái udzakiu dai

\textit{Scene14}: man drops an apple into a string bag

a. ēk suda ēk Daba \textit{pa:n-una} athaa[l\textsubscript{u}]

b. se to paLaw ēk kriSn\textsubscript{a} \textit{khalta-ai} kái histi dai

c. taL-ai kaZOi-ai histi dai

\textit{Scene17}: man (with back to viewer) takes on a hat

a. ēk \textit{suda} khU sambis, khU SiS-\textit{una} athaa[l\textsubscript{u}]

b. ēk moc shisha-\textit{una} jagai khU \textit{sambiau dai}

c. Zar ēk \textit{khU sambiau dai} ..\textit{SiS-una} sambiau dai .. kaSong SiS\textsubscript{a} sambiau dai

\textit{Scene20}: woman puts an apple into a bowl

a. ēk istrizha ek mes.thára \textit{khUi-una} ēk paLaw athaa[l\textsubscript{u}] / \textit{khUi-ai}

b. \textit{khUi-una} kái thel dai

c. \textit{khUi-una} thel dai / \textit{khU-ai}

\textit{Scene21}: woman puts a stone into a bucket full of water

a. istrizha ugas moc-\textit{una} kái bat athaa[l\textsubscript{u}] / \textit{ug-una} kái / athaa[l\textsubscript{u}]

b. \textit{khUi-una} kái thel dai

c. taL-ai balti-ai \textit{ug-ai} histi dai .. \textit{ug.moc-ai} dyel dai
Scene22: woman pour grain out on a plate
   a. ek baza pileTas moc-una grinj ahistau
   b. pileT-una dyel dai
   c. peC-una dyel dai .. ritel dai

Scene25: person pours out beans slowly from glass onto the floor
   a. [No locative, JH]
   b. uk laSek kái lash lash chom-una kái udzakiu dai
   c. to uk chom-una kái udzakiu dai

Scene26: woman (standing) pours out water from a glass (to the floor)
   a. ek istrizha..ghiharum-una kái uk udzakau / ghiharum-ai kái / ("ghiharum-una kái specified")
   b. uk khUi-una dyel dai
   c. to uk balti-ai dyel dai

Scene27: woman puts lighter in her pocket
   a. ek istrizha tan jip-ai kia prau
   b. jip-ai dyel dai
   c. paL-unas jip-ai dyel dai

Scene28: woman takes a glass from a table and pours the water out on the table
   a. uk uzukaau mes.thára / mez-una kái uk udzakau
   b. mez-una kái uChuruiu dai
   c. mez-una kái udzikiu dai

Scene30: woman puts a pen/lighter into a hole in a tree
   a. gunghur-ai kái kalam athaau
   b. to kalam muT.gAng-ai dyel dai
   c. to layTer muThUik-una past tal-ai muT.gAng-ai dyel dai

Scene34: woman takes a book from a table and throws the book to the floor
   a. kursi-una nisina istrizha kitab chom-una kái ahistau
   b. to kitab chom-una kái histiu dai
   c. to kitab-o se chom-una kái histiu dai / chomay

Scene35: person (squatting) puts a rag into the exhaust pipe of a car
   a. moTeras thum.chaLaikeyn-ai lok athunkau
   b. moTeras bamber-ai aSo Thu~kiu dai
   c. thum.chaLaikeyn-ai SOa del dai

Scene36: man approaches a table and sticks his head into a bucket which is placed on the table
   a. aya suda tan SiS balti-ai prau / baltias udriman-a prau
   b. tan to SiS tal-ai balti.moc-ai tyel dai
   c. to SiS tal-ai balti-ai dyel dai ..

Scene40: woman stands with a banana in tongs and puts the banana onto the table
   a. ek istrizha tshapi gri kila mez-una kái athaau
   b. to kila tara mez-una kái thel dai
   c. to kila mez-una kái thel dai

Scene42: squatting woman lays a book on the ground
   a. baDuLa istrizhbgUAk kitab jagai-o lash kái chom-una athaau / chom-ai kái athaau
   b. to kitab laSek kái chom-una kái thel dai
   c. toa la:::sh kái chom-una thel dai
Scene 43: Person takes a stone from the surface of a book and lets the stone slip into a bowl
a. ek moc kitabani bat khU-una kái ahistaw / khU-ai kái asta hiu
b. ek mes.thára khU-una kái histiu
c. to bat mes.thára khU-ai kái she- kái histiu dai

Scene 45: Woman walks across a room and by accident knocks over a bucket full of stones so the stones fall out
a. [No locative, JH]
b. taL-ai hátya bat-mat saw nihi chom-una hátya
c. [No locative, JH]

Scene 48: Man takes on a glove
a. ek moc .. dra~Cui baza-una muza sambiis / baza-ai dyai shiu
b. [No locative, JH; (tan to muza-o uprai sambiu dai)]
c. [No locative, JH; (to muza sambiau dai)]

Scene 50: Woman places a glass on a table
a. ek istrizha piala mez-una kái athaau
b. mes.thára kái thel dai
c. mez-una kái thel dai

Scene 51: Woman hangs a rope on a tree branch
a. ek moc rajuk shong-una kái uSiau
b. muTas shong-una uSiu dai
c. shong-una uSiu dai thel dai

Scene 52: Man takes a plate from the toof a glass and puts the plate on a table
a. [No locative, JH; (ek moc kopani thar-ai .. peC upraau .. kopas tharáni to peC upraau)]
b. ek suđa ... mez-una kái thel dai
c. moc ... to peC uprai mez-una thel dai ..

Scene 53: Man takes a coat from a table and puts in on
a. [No locative, JH; (ek moc kopas thárani to peC upraau)]
b. ek moc ... tan to koT uprai sambi aau dai
c. koT uprai sambiau dai

Scene 54: Woman sticks her hand into a whole in a tree
a. tan baza gunghur-ai prau
b. tan to baza muT.gAng-ai dyel dai
c. tan baza taL-ai gunghur-ai dyel dai

Scene 55: Woman sticks her hand (one!) into a pocket and takes out a key and looks at it
a. ek istrizha tan dra~Cui jip-ai baza dyai / dra~Cui jip-una baza dyai
b. tan jip-ai baza dyai
c. ....

Scene 56: Woman puts a vegetable into a sheath-like bag
a. ek istrizha khalta-ai prau
b. tara taL-ai hanu-ai dyel dai
c. taL-ai kaZO-ai dyel dai

Scene 57: Woman, standing at the door of a room, takes a suitcase and places it just outside the door
a. ek istrizha tan bakas ToyleTas bian athaau / duras bian niaau / duras bian kái athaau

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b. istrizha bag uprai duras **bianaw** kái thel dai / chomani bag uprai **bian** kái thel dai

c. ek istrizha .. **duras ta:da** / istrizha to bag uprai **dur-una bian** kái thel dai

**Scene59: woman sticks a flower into another woman’s hair**

a. ek istrizha ta.a ek istrizhaas piST-una dyai cUi kái gamburi sambiaau / cUi-ai kái
b. tasa ek wareg istrizhbgUAkas **cUi.moc-ai** gamburi dyel dai

c. tasa piSTaw dai SiS-una **cawar-ai** ek gamburi dyel dai

**Scene61: woman takes a box from a table and puts it on a chair**

a. ek packet uprai **kursi-una** athaau
b. istrizha **kursi-una** kái thel dai
c. istrizha **hanyek-una** kái thel dai

**Scene62: man takes an apple from the toof a pile of books and puts it on a shoe**

a. kura paLaw kitab thárani uprai **kirmec.thára** athaau
b. **kirmecas thára** kái thel dai
c. **kirmecas thára** kái thai-o pariu dai

**Scene63: man pushes a suitcase from the back of a car to a place near a tree (tree stands left to the car, viewer’s perspective; man has right side to car, the tree in front of him**

a. ek moc **muTas gehen** khezaau / **muTas tada** kái- tada khezaau
b. pahara **send-una** kái thel dai / aLeLaw tichak desha-ro **ThU~as tada** kái thel dai
c. se to bag uprai aLeLaw thaikas **jayga-una** / ha:::i **ThU~as tada** thel dai
Appendix 20. The Containment Picture Series (CPS).

Contents
41 drawing depicting spatial arrangements.

Informants
c. = Inf. 3 in the BowPed-book test.

Responses
Alternative, non-immediate responses separated by “;”. Informants’ native speaker reactions added. For different syntactic types, see appendix for responses to the BowPed-book test.

1. Fruit in cup/bowl
b. paLaw kop-una shiu; kop-ai = pl.
c. paLaw kop-una shiu; kop-ai “don’t know”, “maybe many cups”; -una “specified, directly”

2. Fruit in bowl half full of sand
b. kop-una shigaw shiu, shigaw.thára paLaw; kop-una khoNDa shigaw shiu
c. paLaw kop-una shiu, shigaw.thára; shigawaLa kop-una paLaw shiu; piala-una shigaw shiu, tara thára paLaw shiu

3. Fruit in bowl full of sand
b. kop-una puyrak shigaw shiu, shigaw thára paLaw shiu
c. kop-una puri shigaw shiu tara thar-o paLaw shiu

4. Fruit in turned bowl
b. kop shurui shiu, paLaw tasa mocay shiu; kop shurui shiu, paLaw khoND tasa pialaas mocy shiu, khoNDa-o bianyak nii shiu; undruhak SiSi shiu, paLaw udrimana shiu
c. paLaw kac-una (SaTi) shiu

5. Fruit on edge of turned bowl
b. kop shurui shiu paLaw khoNDa tasa pialaas mocay shiu, khoNDa-o bianyak nii shiu
c. paLaw (pialaas thára) Sung-una (SaTi) shiu

6. Fruit out of turned bowl
b. kop shurui shiu, paLaw kopani bian nii shiu; kopas ruaw/tada shiu
c. paLaw pialaas thára Sunguan ne SaTi shiu, paLaw kopas ruaw shiu

7. Fruit under turned bowl (visible)
b. paLaw pialb.nO-una shiu; piala wa~ gherai shiu, paLaw bian(yak) nii siu
c. paLaw khUi.nO-una shiu, jhonel dai

8. Fruit under turned bowl (not visible)
 b. paLaw pialaas nO-ay shiu (“if you don’t see it”); .. piala.nO-ai shiu
c. paLaw khUi.nO-una shiu

9. Gas/smoke in cheese cover / turned bowl
b. paLaw pialaas nOay shiu (“if you don’t see it”); .. piala.nO-ai shiu
c. piala.nO-una thum shiu; piala-ai thum shiu
10. Fruit in bowl full of fruits (i.e. fruit on top of other fruits in bowl)
   b. mewa piala-una shian (10b)
   b. paLaw piala-una saw mewaan thára shiu (10c)
   c. khUi-una mewa shian, mewaan thára paLaw shiu

11. Fish in grasp
   b. matshi muCa kái gri aau / muCa shiu
   c. matshi muCa aau

12. Pen in hand (fist)
   b. kalam muCa shiu
   c. kalam muCa shiu

13. Nail in wood (top)
   b. mek shuLa-una dyai aau
   c. shuLa-una mek dyai shiu

14. Baby in woman’a womb
   b. sudayay kuc-ai aau
   c. sua (istrizhaas) kuc-ai aau; kuc-una “not pregnant, child on stomach”

15. Fruits in bowl (overflowing)
   b. khUi-una puyrak bo mewa shian; khUi puyrak thi mewa thára niai shian
   c. oNDrak khU-una shian

16. Bird in tree (leaves; inside the branches)
   b. paChia-k muTa nisi aau; ...-una also ok
   c. paChia-k muTa no-una nisi aau; muT-a aau “somewhere in branches”; ... aan “unprecise”;
     muT-una aau “taken singularly; exactly, directly”; ... aan “exact”; muT-ai “maybe somewhere
     else, maybe more trees”

17. Axe in tree
   b. badok muT-una SaTai shiu
   c. badok pUik-una shiu; muTa pUik-una SaTi shiu = “in front of you”

18. Nail in wood (totally inside)
   b. mek shuLa-una dyai shiu; No accept of -ai
   c. mek shuLa.thára shiu; mek shuLaas udriman-a shiu; udriman-Ø “same meaning”, udriman-a
     “exactly inside”; -una “wrong”

19. Nail in wood (on the side)
   b. mek shuLaas awat-una dyai shiu (awat = “side”); mek shuLa-una khoNDa kái dyai shiu
   c. mek andenda dai daras Sung-una shiu; .. Sung-ai shiu “you don’t know, somewhere”

20. Ship in water
   b. kishti samandar-una shiu; ... samandar.moc-una shiu/cistiu/pariu dai
   c. kishti samandar-una shiu

21. Fish in water
   b. matshi samandar.mocay aau; .. ukas mocay ...
   c. matshi uk.mocay aau; matshi samandar-una aau; -ai “you don’t know, cannot see the fish;
     don’t know actually where fish is”
22. Flowers in vase
b. gamburi buThal-ai shian

c. gamburi buThal-ai shian “you don’t know which buThal”; ... -una .. “exactly in that precise bottle, known to you”

23. Water in vase
b. buThal-ai uk shiu; -una also ok, -una “near position, -ai “remote position”

c. uk buThal-ai shiu; -una as to 22.

24. Fruits in bowl (not overflowing)
b. piala-una puyrak paLaw shian

c. oNDrak saweL-una shian; -ai = “in the basket”; “many baskets, full of eggs”

25. Food (meat) on plate
b. pileT-una za shiu

c. au pileT-una shiu

26. Fly in glass
b. piala-una mangazhik aau; -ai “ok”; -una “clear”

c. mangazhik kop-ai aau ”indirect”; ... -una ... “exactly, where finger is pointing”

27. Light bulb in socket
b. balip holDer-una SaTai shiu

c. balipas bUik / balip.bUik

28. Nail in pincers/pliers
b. mek mek.niawuni-una shiu

c. mek mek.chaLauni-una shiu; “clearly”

29. Axe in tree trunk
b. wadok shuLa-una SaTai shian

c. wadok shuLa-una SaTi shiu

30. Antennas in circle (in field)
b. aNTena Chetr-una SaTai shian

c. bisli.ThU~ Chetr-una shian

31. Worm in fruit
b. paLaw-una gohik aau; also -ai, mizok gokas kucay aau “ok”

c. gohik paLaw-ai aan; paLaw-una gohik aau ”on the top”; ... udriman(-a) aau ”+/--a “the same”

32. Fruit (hanging) in bowl
b. paLaw goND-una kái bhoni pialaas udriman Lapai shiu; ... udriman-a “ok”; ... udriman-una “not right”

c. paLaw piala-una kái goND-una kái Lapai shiu; .. piala-ai kái Lapi shiu; .. piala-ai kái uSi shiu; .. piala-una Lapi shiu; ... piala-una kái Lapi shian = “one cup”; ... piala-ai kái Lapi shian = “one/more cup/s; cup(s) not in front of you”

33. Worm in grains (in cup)
b. piala-una phaLik.moc-ai gohik aau; also ... moc-una
c. gohik piala-una dAu.moc-ai aau; also ...-ai ...

34. Stick inside bowl (bottom)
b. goNDik pialaas udriman shiu; .. pialaas pahan-una shiu; “-ai is not good here”

c. goNDik piala-una shiu
35. Stick in bowl (on the side)  
b. goNDik pialaas moc-ai shiu; ... khoNDb.moc-una ...; ... dradkáilak kái cistai shiu  
c. goNDik piala-una (puchum ne nihi shiu) cistai shiu, ne jhonel;  

36. Stick in bowl (coming out)  
b. goNDik piala-as moc-una cistai shiu; goNDik piala-una kOAk kái cistai shiu  
c. goNDik piala-una puchum nihi shiu  

37. Pestle in mortar  
b. musaw bha~cuni-ai shiu; ... bhacun-una “not like, not right”  
c. musaw bha~cun-ai shiu; .. bhacun-una “no!”  

38. Piece of firewood in (bottom of) camp fire  
b. shuLa gri angar kái aau; goNDik angar-una shiu; .. -ai “plural”  
c. shuLa angar-a shian  

39. Piece of food/meat in (camp) fire  
b. mos angar-una/-a shiu  
c. mos angar-una shiu; “specification”; angar.thára shiu “above”; .. angara shiu “unspecified”; .. angar-ai shiu, “all correct!”  

40. Teeth in (smiling )mouth  
b. dandOyak ash-una/-ai shian  
c. dandOyak ash-una shian; “-ai means many mouths”  

41. Island in lake  
b. samandar.moc-una jayga shiu  
c. niSa island samandar.moc-una shiu
Grouping of Containment drawings (CPS) - 2 informants.
Appendix 21. The Support Picture Series (SPS)

1. Content
47 drawings depicting different spatial arrangements.

2. Informants
b. = Inf. 2 in the BowPed-book test
c. = Inf. 3 in the BowPed-book test

3. Responses
Alternative, non-immediate responses separated by “;”. Informants’ native speaker reactions added.

1. Bowl on table (to the left)
b. kop mez-una shiu;: kop mez-as khoNDb.moc-una thai shiu
c. piala mez-una (khoNDa moc-una) shiu

2. Bowl on table (center)
b. ek daba mez-as khoLi gehen-aw thai shiu
c. piala mez-una Dhipb.thára shiu

3. Bowl on box, box on table
b. ek daba mez-as khoLi gehen-aw thai shiu, tb.a daba-as thar-aw piala thai shiu
c. piala mez-una khAwi gehen awatik-una shiu; piala mez-una khAwI gehen-aw dai (awatik-una) shiu

4. Several bowls on table
b. bo kop mez-una sida zhe ek wa– cistaLi zhe ek wa– gherai (yaw undruhuak.SiSi kái) thai shian
c. piala mez-una shian

5. Bowl on edge of table
b. piala mez-as dra~Cui gehen-aw/–una chom–una kái thai shiu

c. piala mez-una dra~Cui gehen-aw (dai) uSTak-una shiu ; mezas ruaw dai dra~Cui gehen-aw (dai) awatik-una shiu

6. Bowl on ground, next to table
b. mes-as dra~Cui gehen-aw/-una chom-una kái thai shiu; gehen-una/-aw mez-as chom-una kái khur.tada kái thai shiu
c. piala mes-as dra~Cui gehen-aw/-una ruaw dai khuras send-a shiu prenaw dai; “-una not good”

7. Bowl on sheet of paper, sheet on table
b. mes.thára ek tsadar thai shiu, tsadar.thar-o piala thai shiu
c. piala mez-una pileT-una shiu

8. Band-aid attached to table (top)
b. mez-una ek tshatak kagas (shiu), thar-o .... [as in 7., JH]
c. khat mez-una shiu

9. Bowl glued to table (top)
b. mez-as khoLi gehen-aw atwat-una ek kop thára mez-una sirish dyai SaTai shiu
c. kop mez-una (pec.thára) shiu,

10. Mud on table (weakly adhering to)
   b. mez-as khoLi gehen-aw awa:t-una mu~dhi dyai shiu
   c. aSo mez-una shiu, khAwi gehen-aw dai awatik-a/-una; “-una more precise”

11. Mud on tilted table (weakly adhering to)
   b. ek kOAk (kái thalá) mez-una khoLi gehen-una/-aw dai dyai shiu; ... khoLi gehen awat-una
   c. aSo aya-o mez-una khAwi gehenaw dai aLeLa dai awatik-una/uSTak-una shiu

12. Nose on man’s face
   b. nast ru-una shiu
   c. nast ru-una shiu, ash-as thar-aw dai

13. Eye(s) on man’s face
   b. ec ru-una shiu/shian
   c. ec ash-as dra-Cui gehen-aw dai shiu, rhu-una

14. Paint on man’s face
   b. rang/coT ru-una/-ay shiu/khashas; ru-una rang kái shiu; tasa ru-ay rang kái shiu = “when fastly speaking”; “-una more precise, -ay fast”
   c. coT ru-una/-ay shiu/shian; “-ay means many coT”

15. Nose ornament on man’s face/nose
   b. nast-ay paC dyai aau; nast-una paC dyaa aau
   c. paC nast-ai/nast.gAng-ai dyai aau; shia paC nast.gAng-ai shiu

16. Sot on man’s face
   b. raS ka:Li-una / ru-una khasi shiu; “-ai = plural”
   c. phaw ka:L(i)-una

17. Fies on man’s face
   b. mangazhik ru-una nisi aan
   c. shemi coT ka:L(i)-una shian

18. Hair band on woman’s hair
   b. aSo/sutr gri cawar bhoni aau; Cui.bhonuni Cui bhoni aau
   c. aSo (piSTaw dai) Cui(i)-una bhoni shiu

19. Feather on woman’s head
   b. paC cawar.moc-ay dyai aau; “-una also ok”
   c. paC SiS-una shiu / SaTai shiu

20. Stick/pencil on woman’s ear
   b. goND kO~.moc-ai dyai aau; sigreT kO~-ai dyai aai
   c. goNDik kO~-ai cawar.moc-ai dyai shiu

21. Finger on hand
   b. Angu baza-una shiu
   c. jeST.Angu wenaw dai shiu

22. Fingernail on finger / hand
   b. nagush Angu-una shiu
   c. na~gush Angu-una shiu
23. Round swing attached to tree branch
b. ek puNDuri goND-una rajuk bhoni, toa gheri Song-una kái bhoni Lapai shiu
c. gringa rajuk-una kái Song-una uSi/Lapai shiu

24. Vertical swing (doubly) attached to tree branch
b. piupiT Song-una kái bhoni shiu
c. phiuphiTi.keyn Song-una kái (phiuphiTi.keyn) Lapai/uSi/sawzai shiu

25. Vertical swing (singly) attached to tree branch
b. piuphiT-as ek uSTak-ta Song-una kái bhoni shiu; ek piupiT-as ek uSTak Song-una kái bhoni shiu
c. phiuphiTi.keyn-ani ek sutr-o Song-ani chi shiu

26. Parrot on tree branch
b. tsirA~ Song-una nisi aau
c. tsirA~ Song-una nisi aau

27. Leopard/jaguar/tiger (lying) on branch of tree
b. kakboy muT-as Song-una aau / DuDi aau
c. sher Song-una prost thi nisi aau

28. Person standing on tree branch
b. moc muT-ani grii Song-una cisti aau
c. istrizha Song-una cisti aau muTuik gri

29. Person straddling on branch of tree
b. moc Song-una nisi aau; moc Song-ani gri nisi aau
c. istrizha Song-una cisti aau ek khur aL-; istrizha Song-una cu~ thi (khur Lapai) nisi aau

30. Person sitting on tree branch
b. moc Song-una nisi aan
c. istrizha Song-una khur Lapai nisi aau

31. Person straddling wall
b. moc dighA.thára (piS gheri) nisi aan; moc khur anday-aLay kái nisi aau
c. istrizha Song-una cu~ thi nisi aau

32. Person sitting on wall
b. moc dighA-una ujak thi nisi aau; ... dighA.thára ...
c. istrizha dighA-una khur Lapai nisi aau

33. Arrow (pierced) through tapir / pig
b. BO~ khukh-as kuc-una gAng kái andena kái níhi shiu
c. shew khukhas kuc-una dai niai shiu; ... aLeL-aw dai anden-aw dai kái draSni shiu

34. Arrow (pierced) through fish
b. [as in 33. just with matshi, JH]
c. shew matsbias aLeL-aw dai anden-aw dai kái draSni shiu

35. Arrow (pierced) through tail of fish
b. BO~ matshi-as damEi-una ...[as in 33, JH]
c. shew matsbias damEi-una aLeL-aw dai anden-aw dai kái draSni shiu

36. Nail in pole
b. mek dighA-una SaTai shiu; .. dyai shiu ... / ... -ai dyai shiu... “also ok [after hesitation, JH]”
c. mek shuLa\-una dyai shiu

37. **string hanging on nail (not pierced by nail)**
   b. sut me\-g\-una uSi shiu
   c. rajuk me\-g\-una uSi shiu

38. **String hanging on nail (pierced by nail)**
   b. sutr\-una kái med dyai shiu (ThU\~\-una)
   c. rajuk me\-g\-una (kái) uSi shiu, ThU\~\-una kái mek dyai uSi shiu

39. **Piece of paper attached (by nail) to pole**
   b. kag-as ThU\~\-una mek dyai SaTai shiu
   c. kag\-as ThU\~\-una kái mek dyai shiu; .. mek gri SaTai shiu

40. **Picture hanging from nail on pole (string pierced by nail)**
   b. phuTu ThU\~\-una mek dyai SaTai shiu; phuTu-uan sutr bhoni ThU\~\-una mek dyai SaTai shiu
   c. paiNTing ThU\~\-una kái mek gri (dyai) SaTai shiu

41. **Picture hanging from nail on pole (string not pierced by nail)**
   b. phuTu mek\-una uSi shiu
   c. paiNTing ThU\~\-una (kái) me\-g\-una uSi shiu

42. **Sheet of paper adhering totally to pole**
   b. kag\-as ThU\~\-as som SaTi shiu
   c. kag\-as ThU\~\-una (kái) SaTai shiu

43. **Sheet of paper adhering partially to pole**
   b. kag\-as ThU\~\-as som khoNDa thi SaTi shiu
   c. kag\-as ThU\~\-una (kái) SaTai/upuchi shiu, nO-aw uSTak

44. **Sheet of paper adhering weakly to pole (about to fly off)**
   b. kag\-as ThU\~\-as som tichak kái SaTi shiu
   c. kag\-as ThU\~\-una (kái) SaTai shiu

45. **String on scissors**
   b. sutr kachi-as moc\-ai shiu
   c. sutr kachi\-una shiu, kachi-as ash\-una

46. **Small ball in hand (between two fingers)**
   b. caNDul muC\-a shiu; caNDul Ang\-una\/-ai kái gri aau
   c. o\~Drak Angu.moc\-ai shiu; jeST.Angu\-ai zhe ruaw Angu\-as moc\-una\/-ai

47. **Wedge jammed in hole (on tree stump)**
   b. shuLa mund\-ai khampun pai shiu; shuLa mund\-una ...
   c. shuLa mund\-una khiw dyai shiu; “\~ai also correct”
Grouping of Support drawings (SPS) - 2 informants.
Appendix 22. Additional notes on the distribution of Loc1-a

**TABLE APP. 22.1: ABSOLUTE AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF LOC1-a ON DIFFERENT WORD CLASSES.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place names</th>
<th>Relational nouns</th>
<th>Absolute adverbs</th>
<th>Common nouns</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11 (25,58%)</td>
<td>6 (13,95%)</td>
<td>20 (46,51%)</td>
<td>43 (99,9%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE APP. 22.2: NUMBER OF OCCURRENCES OF LOC1-a WITH COMMON NOUNS.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ast ‘shoulder’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>gulín ‘lap, knee’</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>SīS ‘head’</td>
<td>13 (13,4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aTāLak</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>keyn ‘place’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>SiS ‘top of something’</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awát ‘place’</td>
<td>16 (16,5%)</td>
<td>mund ‘highest point’</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>tharpūr ‘upper floor’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biw ‘upper edge’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>muT ‘tree’</td>
<td>21 (21,7%)</td>
<td>uSiS</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dewadūr</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>paTingél ‘tomato’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>uts ‘spring (water)’</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dram ‘roof’</td>
<td>16 (16,5%)</td>
<td>pragō ‘lower part of something’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>wakth ‘throne’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kUinc ‘ladle’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>suýrak ‘sunshine (dim.)’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 96
Appendix 23. Ablative responses to the Put and Take Project.

Contents
1. Introductory notes.
2. Summary of test.
3. Responses, listed according to used TRM.
   3.1 Only Abl2-ani.
   3.2 Abl2-ani with thar-.
   3.3 Only with Abl3-aw.
   3.4 With Abl3-aw and Abl2-ani.
   3.5 With moc- ‘middle, centre of’.
   3.6 Other, taking of clothings.
   3.7 Other, suddenly occurring situation.
   3.8 Other, complex situations.
   3.9 Other, ‘take from’.
4. Responses, listed by number.

1. Introductory notes
(See app. 19. Locative responses to the Put and Take Project for content, procedure, and informants.)

2. Summary of test
A large number of film clips triggered Abl2-ani as the only ablative marker. The Ground in these clips is typically a plan surface, mostly horizontally orientated: 3, 12, 24, 28, 29, 31, 34, 37, 49, 53, 58 (vertical) 60, 61. In 46 we see a head, and in 25 and 26 we see containers (glasses/cups) as Ground elements. Abl2-ani is also the only ablative marker in those responses that triggered thar- ‘surface of something’: 9, 10, 43, 52, 62.10

Only three film clips triggered Abl3-aw as the only possible ablative marker (11, 23, 45). In all three instances the Figure is taken or comes out from an encompassing container where it has been hidden and out of sight. That type of Ground element is also seen in those instances where we can have both Abl2-ani and Abl3-aw. For example, 13, 16, 44, 55 all show an encompassing Ground in which the Figure element is hidden from sight. In 32, 33, 41, 51, also with Abl2-ani and Abl3-aw, we have Ground elements which do not hide the Figure elements from sight, but still contain or encompass them (or a part of them) or keep them in place. Finally, in scene 4 (‘woman takes off a stocking’) we have removal of an encompassing Figure, a stocking, from a leg, triggering both Abl2-ani and Abl3-aw.

The relational noun moc- ‘middle of, inside of’ is seen in 7, 18, 38, each of these also with alternative constructions with Abl2-ani or Abl3-aw on the Ground element. Thus, in scene 7, we see also Abl2-ani on moc- and on ug- ‘water. In scene 18 we have Abl2-ani when SiS ‘head’ is the ground, but Abl3-aw when cəwar ‘head hair’ or N-moc- ‘middle of N’ are Ground elements. And in 38 we have Abl2-ani on moc- also, and

10 As was also pointed out in the summaries of the locative tests thar- ‘above, over, upon’ is used when the Figure is either located on top of something that is in contiguity with the Ground (surface) or when it is clearly placed on the Ground due to a downwards directed motion.
Abl3-aw on the Ground, baltí ‘bucket’ (and on udriman ‘something’s inside’). All three film clips show what can be called ‘double Ground’, a mass of something, ‘water’ or ‘hair’, constitutes a Ground that is located in or on another object.

A few film clips were coded without an ablative case ending, or were coded with so much diversity that no generalizations can be made. Three film clips showed someone taking off a piece of clothing: 4, 46, 47, and only Inf. A’s response to scene 4 contained spontaneous ablative construction. All other ablative constructions were prompted by me (for example, by asking kawéy jaráp/... níjau dái ‘from where does she/he take off the stocking/..’). There is a clear parallel to the locative tests where locative constructions were disfavoured with the verb sambíik for situations where someone was wearing a piece of cloth or an ornament.

Also with scenes 22 (‘woman approaches a table and pours out a handful of grain from her hand onto the plate’), and 45 (‘woman walks across a room and knocks over a bucket full of stones so the stones falls out’), I had to give a prompt to get an ablative constructions. Both scenes show situations where suddenly a Figure element is located, spread out, on a Ground element. In such situations the relevance of local source for the situation seems to be downgraded.

Scenes 15, 57, 63 all show what I will call ‘complex situations’. Scene 15 triggered ablative endings but on different Ground elements, in the room (Inf.s A and C), or on the floor (Inf. B). Scene 57 triggered only ablative ending Abl2-ani on floor (Inf. B) and in the room (Inf. C) after my prompting for it. And scene 63 shows such a complicated and cumbersome situation of placement that a local source seems to become irrelevant. Finally, to scene 19, ‘man takes coke from woman’, only Inf. C found it relevant to use an inanimate source Ground (and thus an ablative ending).

3. Responses, listed according to used TRM
The responses are grouped according to the presentation in the dissertation, chapter 13. The answers are edited, i.e. cut down to the essential expressions. Alternative, non-immediate responses are separated by ‘;’. Informants’ native speaker reactions are added. Relevant ablative-marking is in bold type face, if no bold face no ablative case ending is used. Other notational praxis: .. = omitted passage (e.g. JHP-question, repetition, false start); ta.a = ‘tasa’ or ‘tara’. “NO ABLATIVE” = description of film clip without the use of a construction that denoted an ablative state of affairs.

3.1 Only Abl2-ani
003. Woman removes lid from jar
a. istrizhb.țAkk buThal umraau
b. jam.buthal-ani uphonyak umrel dai
C. khAwi baza gri to uphonyak upaCiu dai .. buThal-ani
Scene12. Man takes a box from a table on put it on a shelf (in the shelves?)
A. NO ABLATIVE
B. moc ek bakas mez-ani uprel dai
C. mocal muCa baya kitab-ani kibaw shiu
Scene24. Woman takes a pile of books up from a table into her arms
a. istrizha kuSki dyai kitab agriau, .. mez-ani
b. istrizha mez-ani te kitab uprai kuSki dyai hariu dai
C. istrizha tara ita mez-ani kitab kuSki dyai hariu dai
Scene25. Person pours out slowly ??? from glass
a. dra–Cui bazauna kái thalok-ani uk udzakau / thalok-aw
b. ek suda gilas-ani uk laSek kái lash lash chomuna kái udzakui dai
C. istrizha to uk chomuna kái udzakui dai .. kuNdo:g-ani
Scene26. Woman (standing) pours out water from a glass (to the ground)
   a. ek istrizha khAwí baza-ani thalok-ani ghArumuna kái uk udzakau
   b. istrizha gilas-ani uk khUiuna dyel dai
   c. to uk baltiyu dyel dai .. kuNdok-ani

Scene28. Woman takes a glass from a table and pours the water out on the table
   a. píala-ani uk uzukau .. me:zuna kái uk udzakau píalaani
   b. ek moc píala mez-ani uprel dai gho- .. to uk tichak kái uChari thel dai, píala-ani
   c. ek istrizha tara ita to píala uprel dai-a uk thar-ani .. mezuna kái udzikiu dai

Scene29. Woman takes away a glass from a table
   a. ek baza píala upraau, mez-ani
   b. ek istrizha .. mez-ani píala upraai hariu dai
   c. mes shiu .. tara píala shiu .. to píala istrizha mez-ani upraai hariu

Scene31. Person takes away a piece of rope hanging from a branch
   a. ek suda muT.shonge:lik-ani rajuk upraau
   b. ek suda to rajuk tel-ey muTa Song-ani uprel dai
   c. moc muTas Song-ani gri aau .. to rajuk Song-ani uprel dai

Scene34. Woman takes a book from a table and throws the book to the floor
   a. NO ABLATIVE
   b. se muC-ani to kitab chomuna kái histiu dai
   c. khAwí muC-ani to kitab-o se chomuna kái histiu dai

Scene37. Woman grasps a heap of beans from a table
   a. ek istrizha mez-ani kamuCak kái goley upray yaw dAhu kamuCak kái upraau
   b. istrizha mez-ani te dAu upraai muCa kái griu dai
   c. NO ABLATIVE

Scene46. Woman takes off a hat
   a. istrizha.gUAk SiS-ani khU anijau
   b. khU nijau dai matlap, SiS-ani
   c. to khU nijau dai, SiS-ani

Scene49. Woman takes a glass off a table with her mouth/teeth
   a. NO ABLATIVE
   b. ek istrizha ashas thára mez-ani gilas uprel dai
   c. istrizha .. dandOyak gi(r)i uprel dai .. to kuNdok mez-ani uprel dai ..

Scene53. Man takes a coat from a table and puts in on
   a. may khial mez-ani kot upraai sambiis
   b. ek moc mez-ani tan to koT upraai sambi aau dai
   c. mocas ruaw me:zuna koT shiu .. koT upraai sambiau dai .. mez-ani

Scene58. Woman takes away a photograph from a wall
   a. ek istrizha ha~shas zhe to shO~áas phuTu dighA-ani upaCau
   b. istrizha dighA-ani to phuTu chaLai hariu dai
   c. se istrizha tara ita to phuTu dighA-ani upa:Ci hariu dai

Scene60. Woman takes up a book from the ground and leaves
   a. ek istrizha chom-ani kitab upraau
   b. ek istrizha chom-ani kitab upraai hariu dai
   c. istrizha tara ita to kitab upraai-o pariu dai .. upraai hariu dai ..

Scene61. Woman takes a box from a table and puts in on a chair
   a. jana malgiras mez-ani P ek packet upraai kursıuna athaau
   b. istrizha mez-ani to bakas upraai kursıuna kái thel dai
   c. mez-ani upraai hanyekuna kái thel dai kursıuna kái thel dai

3.2 Abl2-ani with thar-
Scene09. Man takes a banana from a table with tongs
   a. ek suda P tshapi gri mes.thar-ani kilu upraau
   b. se moc to griuni gri to kilu uprel dai .. mes.thar-ani
   c. se moc to tshapi g(r)i kilu uprel dai .. mez-ani
Appendix 23. Ablative Responses to the Put and Take Project

Scene 10. Man brings a pile of books in his arms, the top most book falls to the floor
a. thar-ani ek kitab-o undruhak atau
b. ek kitab-o thar-ani laSi chomay kái paLaw dai
c. ek kitab-o paLaw thar-ani .. paLi chomuna tyel dai

Scene 43. Person takes stone from the top surface of a book and lets the stone slip into a bowl
a. ek moc kitab-thar-ani bat khUi-una kái ahist .. / kitac.thar-ani
b. kitab-ani thi tara khUiuna kái histiu dai
c. NO ABLATIVE MENTION

Scene 52. Man takes a plate from the top of a glass and puts the plate on a table
a. ek moc kop-thar-ani uprai .. peC upraau .. kopas thar-ani to peC upraau
b. ek suda piala.thar-ani to pileT uprai me:zuna kái thel dai
c. moc piala.thar-ani to peC uprai me:zuna thel dai ..

Scene 62. Man takes an apple from the top of a pile of books and puts it on a shoe
a. kura paLaw kitab thar-ani uprai kirmecas thára kái thel dai
b. ek suda to paLaw taL-ey kitaban thar-ani uprai kirmecas thára kái thel dai
c. kitaban thar-ani to paLaw uprai kirmecas thára kái thai-o pariu dai

3.3 Only with Abl3-aw

Scene 11. Woman takes a long, root-like fruit out of a sheath-shaped bag
a. ek istrizha khalta-aw kira chaLaau
b. istrizha hanu-aw badrang niel dai .. se to badrang taLey hanu-aw niel dai
c. se istrizha to badrang kaZOi-aw chaLael dai

Scene 23. Man takes out a lighter from a hole in a tree
a. ek moc gunghur-aw kalam sapraau chaLaau
b. ek moc muT.gAng-aw baza dyai ek galam niel dai ..
c. angar.uphuauni nicharel dai; muThas pUikani, ghunghur-aw

Scene 45. Woman walks across a room and knocks over a bucket full of stones so the stones falls out
a. ek istrizha balti-ani peLingan tyai bephakum baltias peLingan tyai, udzakau balti-aw dai
b. NO ABLATIVE

c. NO ABLATIVE

3.4 With Abl2-aw and Abl3-ani

Scene 04. Woman takes off one stocking, from her right leg
a. istrizha dra-Cui khur-ani jarap anijau
b. istrizha jarap nijau dai
c. jarap nijau dai .. khur-ani / khur-aw

Scene 13. Woman pours out shaving/small pieces of wood from a cup
a. istrizha chomuna nisi thalok-ani shul.Layak udzakau / thalok-aw
b. se te shul.B.pal.Lum gilaz-ani chomuna kái udzakui dai / gilas-aw
c. chomuna kái udzakui dai .. thalok-aw

Scene 16. Woman takes out her hand from a hole in a tree
a. gunghur-aw baza draSnaau, bianayak draSnaau
b. baza gAng-aw ho-ci niel dai / gAng-ani
c. baza taLeLa chaLeL dai .. muThuika ghunghur-aw

Scene 32. Woman takes out a candlelight from a candlestick
a. ek baDuLa istrizhb.gU Ak membaíi membaíi.thaikeyn-aw P chaLaau / membaíi.thaikeyn-ani to membaíi draSnaau
b. ek istrizha mumbáti taL-ey mumbáti thawuniay ho-ci niel dai / mumbáti diuni-ani
c. istrizha to mumbáti mumbáti.dikeyn-aw chaLeL dai / mumbáti.dikeyn-ani

Scene 33. Woman takes out a box from shelves and leaves
a. ek istrizha paN-ani P Daba upraau / pan-aw
b. istrizha almari-ani to bakas uprai hariu dai / almari-aw
Appendix 23. Ablative Responses to the Put and Take Project

3.5 With moc- ‘middle, centre of’

Scene07. Person takes a stone out of a bucket full of water
uk.moc-aw bat upraau
b. ta.Ley uk.moc-aw to nihai histiu dai
c. istrizha tara ita ug-ani to bat balti-aw ug-ani to bat chaLai-o

Scene18. Woman takes out a flower from another woman’s hair
a. ek istrizhaas SiS-ani kura moc gamburi chaLaa / cawar-aw / cawar.moc-aw
b. ta.a ta.L-ey ciU.moc-aw to gamburi niel dai
c. to gamburi SiS-ani chaLel dai / cawar-aw

Scene38. Woman takes out her head from a bucket which stands on a table
b. se tb.a to SiS ta.L-ey balti.moc-aw niel dai
c. istrizhhaas SiS baltia shiu balti-aw chaLel dai

3.6 Other, taking of clothings

Scene04. Woman takes off one stocking, from her right leg
a. istrizha dra~Cui khur-ani jarap anijau
b. istrizha jarap nijau dai
c. jarap nijau dai .. khur-ani / khur-aw

Scene46. Woman takes off a hat
a. istrizha, gUAk SiS-ani khU anijau
b. khU nijau dai matlap, SiS-ani
c. to khU nijau dai, SiS-ani

Scene47. Woman takes off her coat, folds it and leaves with it
a. istrizha tan koT anijau
b. istrizha tan to jakat niji muCa kái griu dai
c. istrizha cisti aau LaChia koT shiu .. to koT nijau dai niji kaphai hariu dai

3.7 Other, suddenly occurring situation

Scene22. Woman approaches a table with grain in her hands and pours it out on the plate
a. grinj SiSaraw .. muC-ani

Scene41. Man takes out rag from exhaust pipe
a. ek istrizhia gUAk moTeras thum.nhaueyk-aw lok draSnaau
b. suda bamber-aw to aSO niel dai /-ani
c. ek istrizhia moTeras taL-ey thum.chaLa.uni-aw to SOa chaLel dai

Scene44. Person takes an orange out from a box
a. ek suda Daba-ani malta chaLaa
b. ek suda Daba-aw malta niel dai
c. moc paLaw chaLel dai .. ba:kas-aw .. taL-ei kilet-aw paLaw chaLel dai

Scene55. Woman sticks her hand into a pocket and takes out a key and looks at it
a. ek istrizha .. dra~Cui baza jip-ani chaLaa / jip-aw
b. ek istrizha tan .. jip-aw niai muCa kái griu dai
c. istrizhia .. tasa jipay nasuar shiu se jip-aw nasuar chaLay pashel dai

Scene57. Woman, standing at the door of a room, takes a suitcase and places it just outside the door
a. ek istrizha tan bakas ToyleTab bian athaau .. duras bian kái athaau
b. istrizha bag uprai duras bian-aw kái thel dai .. chom-ani bag uprai bian kái thel dai
c. istrizhia to bag uprai duruna bihan kái thel dai .. bihanyak chaLel dai .. bag kamra-ani chaLel dai, kamra-aw chaLel dai
b. NO ABLATIVE
c. NO ABLATIVE

Scene45. Woman walks across a room and knocks over a bucket full of stones so the stones falls out
a. ek istrizha balti-ani peLingan tyai bephakum baltias peLingan tyai, udzakau balti-aw dai
b. NO ABLATIVE
c. NO ABLATIVE

3.8 Other, complex situations

Scene15. Woman in a room takes a bag from just outside the door and places it just inside the door and leaves
a. istrizha tan TayleT-ani tan bag uprai bian parau ..
b. bag chom-ani uprai muCa kái gri bihanyak nihai pariu dai
c. se to bag taL-ei dur.ru-aw .. uprai-o dur-ani nii pariu dai

Scene57. Woman, standing at the door of a room, takes a suitcase and places it just outside the door
a. ek istrizha tan bakas ToyleTas bian athaau .. duras bian kái athaau
b. istrizha bag uprai duras bianaw kái thel dai .. chom-ani bag uprai bian kái thel dai
c. istrizha to bag uprai duruna bihan kái thel dai .. bihanyak chaLel dai .. bag kamra-ani chaLel dai, kamra-aw chaLel dai

Scene63. Man pushes a suitcase from the back of a car to a place near a tree (tree stands left to the car, viewer’s perspective; man has right side to car, the tree in front of him; car’s front is away from viewer in the picture)

b. NO ABLATIVE

Scene19. Man takes a coke from a woman
a. kriSna moc istrizhb.gUAkas pi can .. aghaTau agriaw can
b. NO ABLATIVE
c. moc istrizhaas muC-ani piala awicau dai

4. Responses, listed by number

003. Woman removes lid from jar
a. istrizhb.gUAk buThal umraau
b. jam.buthal-ani uphonyak umrel dai
c. khAwi baza gri to uphonyak upaCiu dai .. buThal-ani

Scene04. Woman takes off one stocking, from her right leg
a. istrizha dra–Cui khur-ani jarap anijau
b. istrizha jarap nijiu dai
c. jarap nijau dai .. khur-ani / khur-aw

Scene07. Person takes a stone out of a bucket full of water
b. taLey uk.moc-aw to nihai histiu dai
c. istrizha tara ita ug-ani to bat balti-aw ug-ani to bat chaLai-o

Scene09. Man takes a banana from a table with tongs
APPENDIX 23. ABLATIVE RESPONSES TO THE PUT AND TAKE PROJECT

1. ek suda P tshapi gri mes.thar-ani kila upraau
2. se moc to griuni gri to kila uprel dai .. mes.thar-ani
3. se moc to tshapi (r)i kila uprel dai .. me:z-ani

Scene10. Man brings a pile of books in his arms, the top most book falls to the floor
1. thar-ani ek kitab-o undruhak atau
2. ek kitab-o thar-ani laSi chomay kái paLaw dai
3. ek kitab-o paLaw thar-ani .. paLi chomuna tyel dai

Scene11. Woman takes a long, root-like fruit out of a sheath-shaped bag
1. ek istrizha khalta-aw kira chaLaa
2. istrizha hanu-aw badrang niel dai .. se to badrang taLey hanu-aw niel dai
3. se istrizha to badrang kaZOi-aw chaLel dai

Scene12. Man takes a box from a table on put it on a shelf (in the shelves?)
1. NO ABLATIVE
2. moc ek bakas mez-ani uprel dai
3. mocas muCa baya kitab-ani kibaw shiu

Scene13. Woman pours out shaving/small pieces of wood from a cup
1. istrizha chomuna nisi thalok-ani shuLayak udzakau / thalok-aw
2. se te shuLb.paLum giLaZ-ani chomuna kái udzakiiu dai / gilas-aw
3. chomuna kái udzakiiu dai .. thalok-aw

Scene15. Woman in a room takes a bag from just outside the door and places it just inside the door (?????) and leaves
1. istrizha tan TayleT-ani tan bag uprai bian parau ..
2. bag chom-ani uprai muCa kái gri bihanyak nihi pariu dai
3. se to bag taL-ey dur.ru-aw .. uprai-o dur-ani nii pariu dai

Scene16. Woman takes out her hand from a hole in a tree
1. gunghur-aw baza draSnau, bianayak draSnau
2. baza gAng-aw ho–ci niel dai / gAng-ani
3. baza taLeLa chaLel dai .. muThuika ghunghur-aw

Scene18. Woman takes out a flower from another woman’s hair
1. ek istrizhaas Si-ani kura moc gamburi chaLaa / cawar-aw / cawar.moc-aw
2. tb.a taL-ey cUi.moc-aw to gamburi niel dai
3. to gamburi Si-ani chaLel dai / cawar-aw

Scene19. Man takes a coke from a woman
1. kriSna moc istrizhb.gUAkas pi can .. aghaTau agriaw can
2. NO ABLATIVE
3. moc istrizhaas muC-ani piala awicau dai

Scene22. Woman approaches a table with grain in her hands and pour it out on the plate
1. grinj SiSaraw .. muC-ani
2. NO ABLATIVE
3. NO ABLATIVE

Scene23. Man takes out a lighter from a hole in a tree
1. ek moc gunghur-aw kalam sapraau chaLaa
2. ek moc muT.gAng-aw baza dyai ek galam niel dai ..
3. angar.uphuauun(??) nicharel dai; muThas pUik-ani, ghunghur-aw
Scene24. Woman takes a pile of books up from a table into her arms
a. istrizha kuSki dyai kitab agriau, .. me:z-ani
b. istrizha me:z-ani te kitab uprai kuSki dyai hariu dai
c. istrizha tara ita mez-ani kitab kuSki dyai hariu dai

Scene25. Person pours out slowly ?? from glass
a. dra~Cui bazauna kái thalok-ani uk udzakau / thalok-aw
b. ek suda gilas-ani uk laSek kái lash lash chomuna kái udzakui dai
c. istrizha to uk chomuna kái udzakui dai .. kuNdok:g-ani

Scene26. Woman (standing) pours out water from a glass (to the ground)
[a. ek istrizha khAwi baza-ani thalok-ani giharumuna kái uk udzakau
b. istrizha gilas-ani uk khUiuna dyel dai
c. to uk baltiay dyel dai .. kuNdok-ani

Scene28. Woman takes a glass from a table and pours the water out on the table
a. piala-ani uk uzukaau .. me:zuna kái uk udzakau pialaani
b. ek moc piala me:z-ani uprem dai gho~i .. to uk tichak kái uChari thel dai, piala-ani
c. ek istrizha tara ita to piala uprel dai-a uk thar-ani .. mezuna kái udzikiu dai

Scene29. Woman takes away a glass from a table
a. ek baza piala upraau, me:z-ani
b. ek istrizha .. me:z-ani piala uprai hariu dai
c. mes shiu .. tara piala shiu .. to piala istrizhia mez-ani uprai hariu

Scene31. Person takes away a piece of rope hanging from a branch
a. ek suDa muT.shonge:lik-ani rajuk upraau
b. ek suDa to rajuk taL-ey muTa Song-ani uprel dai
c. moc muTas Song-ani gri aau .. to rajuk Song-ani uprel dai

Scene32. Woman takes out a candlelight from a candlestick
a. ek baDuLa istrizhba:lik moMbáti membáti.thaikeyn-aw P chaLaau / membáti.thaikeyn-ani
to membáti draSnau
b. ek istrizhia membáti taL-ey membáti thawuniay ho~ci niel dai / membáti diuni-ani
c. istrizhia to membáti membáti.dikeyn-aw chaLeL dai / membáti.dikeyn-ani

Scene33. woman takes out a box from shelves and leaves
a. ek istrizhia paN-ani P Daba upraau / pan-aw
b. istrizhia almari-ani to bakas uprai hariu dai / almari--aw
c. NO ABLATIVE

Scene34. Woman takes a book from a table and throws the book to the floor
a. NO ABLATIVE
b. se muC-ani to kitab chomuna kái histiu dai
c. khAwi muC-ani to kitab-o se chomuna kái histiu dai

Scene37. Woman grasps a heap of beans from a table
a. ek istrizhia me:z-ani kamuCak kái goley upray yaw dAhu kamuCak kái upraau
b. istrizhia me:z-ani te dAu uprai muCa kái griu dai
c. NO ABLATIVE

Scene38. Woman takes out her head from a bucket which stands on a table
a. ek istrizhia baltias moc-ani tan SiS bianyak chaLaau / baltias udriman-aw / balti-aw nihaau
b. se tb.a to SiS taL-ey balti.moc-aw niel dai
c. istrizhiaas SiS baltiay shiu balti-aw chaLeL dai
Scene 41. Man takes out rag from exhaust pipe
   a. ek istrizh.gUAk moTeras thum.nihaukeyn-aw lok draSnaau
   b. suda bamber-aw to aSo niel dai / -ani
   c. ek istrizha moTeras tal-ey thum.chaLa:uni-aw to SOa chaLe dai

Scene 43. Person takes stone from the top surface of a book and lets the stone slip into a bowl
   a. ek moc kitab-ani bat khUi-una kái ahist-aw / kita.c.thar-ani
   b. kitab-ani thi tara khUiuna kái histiu dai
   c. NO ABLATIVE MENTION

Scene 44. Person takes an orange out from a box
   a. ek suda Daba-ani malta chaLaau
   b. ek suda Daba-aw malta niel dai
   c. moc paLaw chaLe dai .. ba:kas-aw .. taL-ey kilet-aw paLaw chaLe dai

Scene 45. Woman walks across a room and knocks over a bucket full of stones so the stones fall out
   a. ek istrizha Balti-ani peLingan tyai bephakum Baltias peLingan tyai, udzakau Balti-aw dai
   b. NO ABLATIVE
   c. NO ABLATIVE

Scene 46. Woman takes off a hat
   a. istrizh.gUAk SiS-ani khU anijau
   b. khU nijau dai matlap SiS-ani nijau dai
   c. to khU nijau dai, SiS-ani

Scene 47. Woman takes off her coat, folds it and leaves with it
   a. istrizha tan koT anijau
   b. istrizha tan to jakat niji muCa kái griu dai
   c. istrizha cisti aau LaChia koT shiu .. to koT nijau dai niji kaphai hariu dai

Scene 49. Woman takes a glass off a table with her mouth/teeth
   a. NO ABLATIVE
   b. ek istrizha ashas thára mez-ani gilas uprel dai
   c. istrizha .. dandOyak gr(r)i uprel dai .. to kuNDoK me:z-ani uprel dai ..

Scene 52. Man takes a plate from the top of a glass and puts the plate on a table
   a. ek moc kop-ani tháray .. peC upraau .. kopas thar-ani to peC upraau
   b. ek suda pialb.thar-ani to pileT uprai me:zuna kái thel dai
   c. moc pialb.thar-ani to peC uprai me:zuna thel dai ..

Scene 53. Man takes a coat from a table and puts in on
   a. may khial mez-ani kot uprai sambiis
   b. ek moc mez-ani tan to koT uprai sambi aau dai
   c. mocs ruaw me:zuna koT shiu .. koT uprai sambiau dai .. me:z-ani

Scene 55. Woman sticks her hand (one!) into a pocket and takes out a key and looks at it
   a. ek istrizha .. dra–Cui baza jip-ani chaLaau / jip-aw
   b. ek istrizha tan .. jip-aw niai muCa kái griu dai
   c. istrizha .. tasa jipay nasuar shiu se jip-aw nasuar chaLaay pashel dai

Scene 57. Woman, standing at the door of a room, takes a suitcase and places it just outside the door
   a. ek istrizha tan bakas ToyleTas bian athaau .. duras bian kái athaau
APPENDIX 23. ABLATIVE RESPONSES TO THE PUT AND TAKE PROJECT

b. istrizha bag uprai duras bian-aw kái thel dai .. chom-ani bag uprai bian kái thel dai
c. istrizha to bag uprai duruna bihan kái thel dai .. bihanyak chaLel dai .. bag kamra-ani chaLel
dai, kamra-aw chaLel dai

Scene58. Woman takes away a photograph from a wall
a. ek istrizha ha–shas zhe to shO–áas phuTu dighA-ani upaCau
b. istrizha dighA-ani to phuTu chaLai hariu dai
c. se istrizha tara ita to phuTu dighA-ani upa:Ci hariu dai

Scene60. Woman takes up a book from the ground and leaves
a. ek istrizha chom-ani kitab upraau
b. ek istrizha chom-ani kitab uprai hariu dai
c. istrizha tara ita to kitab uprai-o pariu dai .. uprai hariu dai ..

Scene61. Woman takes a box from a table and puts it on a chair
a. jana malgiras mez-ani P ek packet uprai kursiuna athaau
b. istrizha mez-ani to bakas uprai kursiuna kái thel dai
c. mez-ani uprai hanyekuna kái thel dai kursiuna kái thel dai

Scene62. Man takes an apple from the top of a pile of books and puts it on a shoe
a. kura paLaw kitab thar-ani uprai kirmecas thára kái thel dai
b. ek suda to paLaw taL–ey kitaban thar-ani uprai kirmecas thára kái thel dai
c. kitaban thar-ani to paLaw uprai kirmecas thára kái thai-o pariu dai

Scene63. Man pushes a suitcase from the back of a car to a place near a tree (tree stands left
to the car, viewer’s perspective; man has right side to car, the tree in front of him; car’s
front is away from viewer in the picture)

a. NO ABLATIVE
b. ek suda bag moTeras tad-ani. piSTaw oni toa dzuk dyai hai
c. se to bag uprai aLeL-aw thaikas jaygauna .. uprai harika(s?) jaygauna zuk dyai khezai
Appendix 24. Additional notes on place names and local case endings

Examples of place names that accept zero-marking but not marking with Loc1-a and Loc2-una.
Kalasha village names: KrAkÁ, BrÚ~a, Darazgurú, Balangurú.
Towns and villages in Chitral valley: Catráw (‘Chitral’), KalkaTák, Asurét (‘Ashret’), Draws (‘Drosh’), Lawí, Suwír.
Other town and city names: Karanci (= Karachi), Pesháwar, Lahóre, Copenhagen, Thessaloníkí, Athens.
Valley names: Jinjírét, Utsun, Shishi Kuh, Bioli.
Country names: Pakistán, Yunán (‘Greece’), Denmárk, Qwáyt.

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<th>Place name</th>
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<th>-una</th>
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There are restrictions with respect to which place names that can occur with which case endings, as shown in 25 and 26, both from a narrative.

1. anish-una  zha  brÚ~a  zha  darazgurú  zha
   Anish-loc2 until Brun until Darazguru until
   sh-aL-áí  hóma  sh-ia  desh  Mirza.na
   emph-there.nonspec.dist-loc3  1p.obl  emph-3s.nom.near  area
‘until Anish-una, until Brun-Ø, until Darazguru, there is our place’

2. pá-i á-an krAkÁ-ai pái kanderisár tyá-i batrik-a tyá-i
   go-cp aux.an-prs.3p Kraka-loc3 go-cp Kanderisar hit-cp Batrik-loc1 hit-cp
   brÚ~a-Ø tyá-i anízh-una tyá-i
   Brun hit-cp Anish-loc2 hit-cp Mirza.na

‘they left, leaving Kraka, reaching Kanderisar, reaching Batrik-a, reaching Brun, reaching Anish-una (they went away).’

All village names in 2 except krAkÁ, are goals for a motion, tyai ‘hit, reach (onto)’, but they are not marked alike: anish takes Loc2-una in both examples, brÚ~a takes zero-ending in both examples, as does darasgurú in 1, and batrik takes Loc1-a in 2. Local case-marking on place names differs somewhat from what we will see for common names, and it is in need of more investigation.
Appendix 25. The Experiencer (‘Dative subject’) construction in NIA and Kalasha

The ‘dative subject construction’ is a widely used term for those constructions in many NIA and non-NIA languages which code a human participant as an experiencer of some sort of process or state expressed by the predicate. In many languages the experiencer is coded by a dative marker, e.g. in Polish and many NIA languages that have a separate dative case. In other languages it may be coded by other devices, all different from the coding device for a nominative actively-acting Agent. (Although ‘dative subject construction’ thus is a misnomer, I shall continue to use it.)

The experienced feelings or physical or mental states make up a diverse and heterogeneous category cross-linguistically. Several attempts have been made, within and without South Asian linguistics, to give a unified account of what these constructions have in common syntactically and semantically. Several studies of this widely studied phenomenon deal with specific languages, for example, Wallace (1985), Hook (1990) and the articles in Verma (1990).

In a South Asian/NIA context Klaiman’s semantic perspective (1976, 1986) has gained ground. According to Klaiman the general semantic parameter ‘volitionality’ can account for the use and non-use of the ‘dative subject construction’: a participant that involuntarily experiences some sort of mental state or other phenomenon is coded differently than a participant, for example an Agent, that is unmarked with respect to volitionality. (Cf. also Masica 1991: 346-56)

For Kalasha volitionality is explored in detail by Bashir (1988: 155-217; 1990) within a broader frame of transitivity and causativity relations. The Kalasha variety of the dative subject construction encodes involuntary sensations or afflictions by using oblique case endings on the experiencer. Verb agreement is third person singular, regardless of the number of the experiencer. The volitional pole is most often encoded by a basic transitive verb with an experiencer in the nominative and with verb agreement with the experiencer (EB88: 199-210). Bashir does not present to the reader a unified list of ‘sensations’ and ‘afflictions’, but instead a number of lists established by the morpho-syntactical characteristics of the predicates.

These lists show that involuntary experience in Kalasha includes notions such as ‘physical sensations and conditions’, ‘psycholgical or mental states’ (cognition), including ‘liking’ and ‘perceiving’, ‘wanting or needing, ‘obligation’ or ‘compulsion’, ‘external circumstances’ or events affecting the experiencer, much in line with the general situation in NIA (Masica 1991: 347-9). I do not here intend to refine the semantic categories that trigger ‘dative subject construction’ in Kalasha, nor do I have much to add to Bashir’s morphosyntactical analysis. But what is lacking in Bashir’s treatment is the role postpositions have in Experiencer-marking, i.e. which postpositions occur with which sensations and afflictions. This aspect is taken up in the examination of each of the postpositions.
Appendix 26. Verbs taking oblique objects

Underlined: *gecdari kārik* ‘look at, guard temporarily’ = N/Adj. element not accepted by informants as independent word.

- **aspandur thumék** ‘blow smoke at someone to counter evil influences’
- **bhíchik** ‘aiming or pointing at’
- **cúdoDiK** ‘sting, bite’
- **CiChēk** ‘teach’
- **dek** ‘give’
- **DhuK hīk** ‘meet with’
- **gecdari kārik** ‘look at, guard temporarily’
- **greēk** ‘hurt something or someone’
- **iphazāt kārik** ‘take care of’
- **istōngās kārik** ‘ritually purify men ..’
- **khōjik** ‘look for’
- **kushūs kārik** ‘try to do something’
- **parīk** ‘go (for)’
- **pAgēhian tyek** ‘kick’
- **piēk** ‘make someone drink’
- **pir dek** ‘teach a skill to someone’
- **phūcik** ‘ask someone’
- **sazā dek** ‘sentence, condemn, cause to suffer’
- **siphāt kārik** ‘praise someone (or something)’
- **SaTēk** ‘attach (tr), begin, ..’
- **Sungū parīk** ‘mate with, impregnate a cow (of bulls)’
- **tupēk kārik** ‘shoot a gun, fire shots (at someone?)’
- **tyek** ‘beat, hit, ..’
- **wājik** ‘watch, look after, guard’
- **wal hīk** ‘be a guard or protector (for something or someone?)’
- **wasiāt kārik** ‘give counsel to’
- **zher dek** ‘give a share of something for payment’
- **zhuēk** ‘feed’
Appendix 27. Other postpositions or adpositional expressions

Alphabetical list of postpositions without spatial or complement-marking functions. Definitions according to TC99, EB88, and author’s own notes. Cstr. = construction restrictions. Var. = variant form(s). Ex. = Example(s). < = Derivation / Donor language / Etymology. Frequencies roughly estimated according to occurrence in recorded spontaneous speech.

ájtutu, aCo  ‘after, from this time on’; also adverb; Cstr.: as postposition following Abl1-yei or Abl2-ani (also Abl3-aw?). Var.: áJtuo, áyttyo; < Khowar. See also piSTaw and birício.

Ex. zhu-ik-ani aCo wazir tása kái máila ki .. EB88.T
‘after eating the minister said to him that ..’


Ex. ábí mon dek gónjas baráuna Na.S
‘we shall talk about the gonj’ (gonj ‘storeroom in a Kalasha house’)

birício  ’after’. Cstr.: only observed with place adverb with Abl1-yei. Low-frequent. See also piSTaw and ájtutu.

Ex. andéy birício tu she~hé~ mo báta ha TC99
‘after this, don’t be like this’

héri  ‘in order to get or trying’. Cstr.: following noun in direct case. Low-frequent. Cf. also báti, hátya, oblique -as and Loc1-a.

Ex. Cásu héri parón TC99
‘they went to get some cheese’

júst-una  ‘together with, with’ (also spatial). Cstr.: with oblique case. < just ‘together, united’. Cf. also som.

Ex. baChóa Chétrás bilkál jústuna tása dur ásta shíu GK.ma
‘his house is exactly connected with BaCho’s field’

kái mai~  ‘by means of’. Cstr.: with oblique pronouns, direct common nouns. < kái ‘to’ (ka-i ‘being done, done’) + ma-i CP of má~ik ‘speak’, lit. ‘having spoken to’. See also SaTawái and pazár.

Ex. kas kái mái~ kar-aw-á-ik? EB88.S
‘who shall we get to do it?’

mutabékuna  ‘according to’. Var.: -é:, e($)g-. < mutabek/q (Pers.) + Loc2-una.

Ex. tan wasá-as mutabékuna mal del TC99
‘he will give gifts according to his own means’
APPENDIX 27. OTHER POSTPOSITIONS OR ADPOSITIONAL EXPRESSIONS

**pazár** ‘means’. Cstr.: with oblique. Low-frequent. See also *SaTawái* and *kái mai~*.
Ex. *a tása pazár tan krom karawáis* 
TC99
‘I did my work through him’ (lit. ‘. his means’)

**perûk** ‘alike, like’. Cstr.: with oblique. Also as adj., *émi perûk cew* ‘they are similar clothes’. See also *raw*.
Ex. *páy-as perûk hiú* 
ZMG.S
‘(it) is like a goat’

**porkán** ‘-like of’. Cstr.: with oblique. Low-frequent.
Ex. *tay porkán may hátáya cir háwaw* 
TC99
‘because of you I was late’

**raw** ‘-like, as’. Cstr.: with oblique. Var.: *rawléy*. See also *perûk*.
Ex. *se Ái insánan raw krom káu dái* 
Na.em
‘this duck behaves like humans’ (JH: about Donald Duck)

**sa--a** ‘with, along with’. Var.: *sa- -asa*. Low-frequent.
Ex. *te sa avízhá-a ita áan* 
TC99
‘they came with their family’

**sargáyr** ‘without’. Var.: *gáyr*. < Pers., Arab. Low-frequent. See also *we- -u*.
Ex. *a tay sargáyr apów dek ne bháam* 
TC99
‘I cannot live without you’

**táro** ‘-instead of’. Cstr.: with oblique infinitive. Low-frequent.
Ex. *tay dikas táro uk histiko pruST* 
TC99
‘it would be better to throw it in the water than to give it to you’

**shámon** ‘-until (so much, that much)’. Cstr.: with direct case. Low-frequent. See also *zha*.
Ex. *zhan shíáu shámon* 
TC99
‘until there is life’

**SaTawai** ‘by means of’ (of causee in second-order causative constructions). Cstr.: with oblique. < *SaT-aw-a-i* ‘attach/stick to-cs2-cs1-cp’ ‘lit. being caused to stick to’. See also *pazár* and *kái mai~*.
Ex. *darzías SaTawai ek pirán sawz-aw-á-am* 
EB88.E
‘I will get a shirt made by the tailor’

**Sumbér** ‘-before, prior to, ago’. Cstr.: with oblique pronoun, with oblique or direct common noun, with adverb in ablative. Also as an adverb. Var.: *Sombér*. With instr. -an: *somberan* ‘in earlier times’.
Ex. *shatal-éy Sumbér ita áis* 
‘before then he came’
Ex. *sat kaw Sumbér angris baya krAka gromuna asta* 
GK.em
‘seven years ago there was an angris baya in Kraká’
APPENDIX 27. OTHER POSTPOSITIONS OR ADPOSITIONAL EXPRESSIONS

Tap ‘on the verge of’ (immediacy or urgency). Cstr.: with oblique infinitive. Also as adverb with griik ‘catch, hold, ..’, Tap gri- ‘do right away/quickly/suddenly’

Ex. digÁ priik-as tap EB88.E ‘the wall is just about to fall’


Ex. kishtí ne parik abháau bo sirÁ-as wajahén dái GK.na ‘the ship could not go, because of much wind’

we- ‘without’ Var. wÉ-, we- - -u. < Pers. See also sargáyr.

Ex. we-LÔ-u ‘without salt’, we-beri-u ‘without husband’.

zha ‘up to, until, till’. Cstr.: with noun in direct or locative case. Other: -ani(-o) gri .. zha ‘from xx to xx’: ek-ani-o gri dash ita zha ismaráí ‘count from 1 to 10’ (TC99). See also shamón.

Ex. se may hátya du kaw zha dekaní áraw TC99 ‘he worked for me for two years’

Ex. húLuk-una zha adhék súri páriu TC99 ‘until noon some sun will come’
Appendix 28. Additional notes on báti

1. Pronunciation
The pronunciation of this postposition vacillates: the initial consonant may be b- or p-, stress may be on -á- or on -í-. TC99 have found three meanings: (1) ‘for, concerning, about’; (2) ‘for the purpose of’; (3) ‘because of’. GM gives the meaning ‘for the sake of, on account of’. Neither GM nor TC99 give any suggestion as to an etymology.

2. Fixed expressions: hamíshas báti (always-obl for) ‘for always’, kiláes pati ‘because’ (Mxxv (LSI) / LSI I/II), mon V-as báti (word VP-obl for; dàdas som mon dikas báti bo Tang húLa ‘.. (the girl) became nervous about talking with her father’ (TC7a/298a)), she~hé~-as báti (so-obl for) ‘for this reason’ (TC33a)

3. báti as a complement marker
Meaning: Based on TC99, translations in sources, and field notes.
Underlined: **awizhan hik** = N/Adj. element not accepted by informant as independent word
Square brackets: Meaning and donor language of nominal or adjectival element in conjunct verb.
‘?’ = Status as complement marker uncertain.
‘Obligatory’: ‘+báti’ = Postposition (and oblique case) obligatory with the predicate; ‘(báti)’ = Postposition not obligatory with the predicate (but oblique case is).
Alternative postposition: Whether an alternative postposition can occur with the predicate. ‘+’ = alternative postposition accepted; ‘-’ = alternative postposition not accepted.

- **awizán hik**
  1) ‘be startled or frightened’; +báti, -hátya; 2) ‘be worried (about)’; +báti; -hátya.

- **cat kárik**
  ‘stick to a position, insist, argue’; +báti; -hátya; [argument].

- **dawá kárik**
  ‘make a claim about something’; (báti/thára), -hátya; [influence, effect; Arab.].

- **dujis kárik**
  ‘double something’; +báti; -hátya, -thára; [double].

- **duník**
  ‘plan, think about something, meditate’; (báti); -hátya; [Kho.].

- **DonD dek kamgín**
  ‘pay double bride-price’; +báti; -hátya; [double bride-price].

- **gam zhuk**
  1) ‘feel sorry for someone’; 2) ‘miss someone’; (báti); -hátya; [concern, worry, ..; Arab.].

- **hardipháti hik**
  1) ‘long for someone or something, be lonesome or miss’; +báti; -hátya; [*longing, worry*; Kho.]; 2) ‘be distressed or worried’; ?báti.

- **hardiphát hik**
  ‘grieve, mourn for a deceased loved one’; +báti; -hátya.

- **kaphá hik**
  ‘be or become sad, upset, angry, peevd with, offended’; +báti; -hátya;

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1. A few other words show variation between otherwise phonemic initial b- and p-, for example, pesháur ~ bisháur ‘Peshawar’, and post ~ bost ‘skin’ (Persian post ‘skin, ..’). Stress may also vacillate in other words with -a- and -i(-) in the following syllable, for example, mÁ~ik ~ mA~ík ‘beads’, baca(h)i ~ bacá(h)i ‘kingdom’. In the notation of this postposition I note stress on the first syllable: báti.
APPENDIX 28. ADDITIONAL NOTES ON bāti

nang griik  ‘be concerned or have desire or loyalty towards’; (bātī); -hātya;

{oSārik  ‘complain, protest, accuse, voice grievance on someone’; ?bātī; +kāi.

tayari kārik  ‘prepare something for something or someone, prepare for something’;
(bātī/hātya); [readiness; Pers.].

{troálak  ‘on the verge of tears’

{tróik  ‘cry, weep’; +bātī; -hātya.

{than dek  ‘agree with someone or something’; (bātī/hātya/?som); -thāra.

{zhunutsär dek  ‘give a feast for an old man’ (Muslim/Chitrāli tradition); +bātī; -hātya.
Appendix 29. Additional notes on hátya

Contents
1. Functions according to TC99.
2. Fixed phrases.
3. hátya as complement marker.
   3.1 Semantic listing of predicates.
   3.2 Alphabetical listing of predicates.

1. Functions according to TC99
1) ‘to’; a Catráw hátya parím dái ‘I am going to Chitral’.
2) ‘for (the benefit of)’; ábi yaw peTról gri yaw kakawánkan hátya khúrak gri Zar i ‘either get some petrol, or feed the chickens and come quickly’.
3) ‘for the purpose of’; phato te au zukas hátya nisuna ‘then they sat down to eat’.
4) ‘about’; tu albát may hátya bacás chiŁas ghó-i citis dái ‘you are perhaps thinking about me that I am a king’s daughter’.
5) ‘with’; a tása hátya ashék húvis ‘I fell in love with her’.

2. Fixed phrases
NP-obl hátya aí ‘be easy for someone’ (lit.: someone + for + food/bread): waL parík tay hátya kia aí na ‘is it easy for you to be a shepherd’.
tan hátya ‘by him-/her-/itself’: tan hátya krom káriu ‘it works by itself’.
tan hátya ‘for himself’: she~hé~ ki tan hátya tará apáw dáí áau ‘like this, there he lived alone/for himself’ (AA04.336).

3. hátya as complement marker
Meaning: Based on TC99, translations in sources, and field notes.
Underlined: kádur kárik = N/Adj. element not accepted by informant as independent word
Square brackets: Meaning and donor language of nominal or adjectival element in conjunct verb.
‘?’ = Status as complement marker uncertain.
‘Obligatory’; ‘+háti’ = Postposition (and oblique case) obligatory with the predicate.
‘báti’ = Postposition not obligatory with the predicate (but oblique case is).
Alternative postposition: Whether an alternative postposition can occur with the predicate. ‘+’ = alternative postposition accepted; ‘-’ = alternative postposition not accepted.
Square brackets: Meaning and donor language of nominal or adjectival element in conjunct verb.

3.1 Semantic listing of predicates
a. Predicates denoting that someone(+hátya) is being helped, or that someone is showing hospitality, respect or friendliness toward someone(+hátya)
   adáp kárik ‘be hospitable to, treat with respect’; ?(hátya); [Arab.].
   asár kárik 2) ‘help, improve’; (hátya); [effect; Arab.].
APPENDIX 29. ADDITIONAL NOTES ON *hátya*

**insáw kárik** ‘act kindly towi an offender’; *(hátya)*; [justice, fairness; Arab.].

**izát kárik** ‘show respect for someone, honor someone’; *(hátya)*; [respect, honor; Arab.].

**kádur kárik** ‘be hospitable someone, respect’; *(hátya)*.

**kísmat kárik** ‘treat someone in a certain way’; *(hátya)*.

**khathér kárik** 2) ‘respect someone’; *(hátya)*; [sake, consideration; Arab.].

**khesmát kárik** ‘treat someone in a certain way’; *(hátya)*.

**lihás kárik** ‘show kindness to, pity’; *(hátya)*.

**madát hik** ‘be of help to’; *(hátya/som); [help; Arab.].

**madát kárik** ‘help someone’; *(hátya/som); [help; Arab.].

**mehár kárik** ‘be kind, love’; *(hátya/som); [kindness, love; Pers.].

**moabát kárik** ‘love someone’; *(hátya/som); [love; Arab.].

**muk dék** ‘make someone prosperous’; *(hátya)*.

**pandár kárik** ‘give aid to someone paying a debt’; *(hátya)*.

**rákum kárik** ‘be kind to’; *(hátya/thára); [familial love, kindness; Arab.].

**saráng hik** ‘be kind someone, rescue’; *(hátya/thára); [kind].

**yawán hik** ‘be of help’; *(hátya/som); [help].

**zariá hik** ‘be the means of someone’s rescue’; *(hátya)*; [cause, means, agency, ..; Arab.].

**b. Predicates denoting that someone forgives someone(+hátya) or shows pity toward someone(+hátya)**

**bashinda kárik** ‘forgive someone for something’; *(hátya)*.

**khathér kárik** ‘pity someone’ *(hátya)* [sake, consideration; Arab.].

**muá kárik** ‘forgive someone for something’; *(hátya)*; [forgiveness; Arab.].

**hístik** ‘forgive someone for something’; *(hátya)*.

**Lasék** ‘forgive someone for something’; *(hátya)*.

**c. Predicates denoting that someone(+hátya) is benefitting from something, that someone(+hátya) is receiving a gift or something else, or that someone(+hátya) acquires something**

**awalá kárik** ‘give in the care or custody of someone’; *(hátya)*; [Arab.].

**bashinda kárik** ‘bequeath property someone’; *(hátya)*.

**baS kárik** ‘leave inheritance someone, will something’; *(hátya)*; [share, portion].

**dekaní kárik** ‘work for hire’; *(hátya)*; [hired farming work; Pers.].

**ihez kárik/dek** ‘give a gift a married female relation’; *(hátya)*.

**maráT kárik** ‘slaughter a goat and make a feast when the wife’s parents visit the husband’s house’; *(hátya)*; [sacrifice; I-A].

**sariék kárik** ‘give a feast for one’s married daughter or sister’; *(hátya)*; [celebration feast; I-A].

**zhéri kárik** ‘celebrate by giving a feast’; *(hátya)*.

**ja khójik** ‘arrange a marriage for a man’; *(hátya)*; [wife; I-A].

**sabáp hik** ‘be someone’s means of rescue’; *(hátya)*.

**SiS au sucék** ‘ritually purify women with sacred bread and juniper’; *(hátya)*.

**wézi kárik** ‘cure someone of sickness’; *(hátya)*; [wes ‘medicine’].

**hútik** ‘send someone to get someone’; *(hátya)*.

**khójik** ‘engage a daughter to be married to someone’; *(hátya)*.

**khabár dék** ‘give news to someone, inform someone about something’; *(hátya/kái); [news, word, information; Arab].

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APPENDIX 29. ADDITIONAL NOTES ON \textit{hátya}

d. Predicates denoting greeting, blessing or praising someone(+\textit{hátya})

\textit{khâyir kárik} ‘bless, protect, prosper’; [peace, well-being; Arab.]

\textit{salêm kárik} ‘greet someone’; (\textit{hátya}/\textit{kay}).

\textit{suwál kárik} ‘pray to God’; +\textit{hátya}; [prayer; Arab.]

\textit{nom nomék} ‘sing or talk to honour someone’; (\textit{hátya}); [name; I-A].

\textit{pruST parik} ‘go greet someone’; (\textit{hátya}); [good, well; I-A].

e. Predicates denoting that someone is in love with, feel inclined toward, or court someone(\textit{hátya})

\textit{ashék kárik} ‘court someone’; +\textit{som}; [romantic attraction, love; Pers.]

\textit{ashék hik} ‘fall in love, be romantically inclined toward’; (\textit{hátya}); [lover; Arab.]

\textit{ray hik} ‘have desire toward someone’; (\textit{hátya}); [desire, wish; decision, opinion; Arab.]

f. Predicates denoting that someone(\textit{hátya}) acquires a new condition, a new mental state, feelings of some sort, or new knowledge or sight

\textit{aphiá kárik} ‘provide comfort or peace’; (\textit{hátya}); [comfort, peace, rest; Arab.]

\textit{mazá kárik} ‘make interesting and enjoyable’; +\textit{hátya}; [taste, pleasure; Pers.]

\textit{werék kárik} ‘bring in to plain view (for someone)’; (\textit{hátya}); [in view, visible; known]

\textit{aphiát hik} ‘become better’; ?(\textit{hátya}); [comfort, peace, rest; Arab.]

\textit{rízá hik} ‘be pleased’; (\textit{hátya}); [will, desire; Arab.]

\textit{top ónik} ‘endure, bear’; (\textit{hátya}).

\textit{tonjí ik} ‘come into bad times’; (\textit{hátya}).

\textit{jhońék} ‘be in sight, appear (for someone); ‘seem to someone’; (\textit{hátya}).

\textit{sariük} ‘seem to someone’; (\textit{hátya}).

\textit{sijhik} ‘be good for someone, work out well, fit’; (\textit{hátya}).

\textit{torük} ‘accrue, come to one’; (\textit{hátya}).

\textit{zháLik} ‘be obtained’; (\textit{hátya}).

g. Predicates denoting an action that has or is intended have negative consequences for someone else(+\textit{hátya})

\textit{bhalá kárik} ‘cause trouble to happen to someone’; +\textit{hátya}; [evil spirit; trouble, problem].

\textit{bheT dyek} ‘glare at, look at in anger’; (\textit{hátya}).

\textit{cal kárik} ‘trick someone’; (\textit{hátya}); [skill, ability, ..; plan].

\textit{calaki kárik} ‘trick or fool someone’; (\textit{hátya}); [cleverness, cunning].

\textit{CháLik} ‘scold, discipline someone’; +\textit{hátya}.

\textit{Chek kárik} ‘give someone a hard time, cause trouble to someone’; (\textit{hátya}); [trouble, bad time].

\textit{damki dek} ‘threaten’; +\textit{hátya}.

\textit{dho bhínik} ‘plan how to harm or do wrong to someone’; +\textit{hátya}.

\textit{hökum dek} ‘give command to someone’; (\textit{hátya}); [authority, order, will; Arab.]

\textit{kia citse máik} ‘say bad things about someone’; (\textit{hátya}).

\textit{khesmát kárik} ‘treat someone in a certain way’; ?(\textit{hátya}); [help, favour, service; Arab.]

\textit{khO– kárik} ‘pray against someone’; ?(\textit{hátya}); [curse, bad prayer].

\textit{khundiék} ‘call on; yell at’; (\textit{hátya}).
APPENDIX 29. ADDITIONAL NOTES ON \textit{hátya}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{mon dek} ‘talk with or someone’; (\textit{hátya/som}); [word; I-A].
\item \textbf{mrish hik} ‘scold’; +\textit{hátya/som}.
\item \textbf{muziri kárik} ‘treat someone badly, mistreat’; +\textit{hátya som}; [evil; Arab.]
\item \textbf{mhal kárik} ‘curse someone’; +\textit{hátya}; [curse].
\item \textbf{nawá–ts kárik} ‘bother someone, make it difficult for someone’; (\textit{hátya}); [difficult, dangerous,...].
\item \textbf{pachán kárik} ‘hide something (from someone)’; (\textit{hátya}); [out of sight, hidden].
\item \textbf{rundúik} ‘growl at someone; talk angrily someone’; +\textit{hátya}.
\item \textbf{saktí ónik} ‘persecute someone’; +\textit{hátya/thára}.
\item \textbf{shurék} ‘turn someone against someone’; (\textit{hátya}).
\item \textbf{uskusík} ‘attack someone’; +\textit{hátya}.
\end{itemize}

\textbf{h. Predicates denoting that anger or a similar feeling is directed toward someone (+\textit{hátya})}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{káhar kárik} ‘become angry’; +\textit{hátya}; [anger; Pers.].
\item \textbf{rhos kárik} ‘become angry’; +\textit{hátya}; [anger; I-A.].
\item \textbf{kaharí hik} ‘become angry’; +\textit{hátya}; [angry; Pers.].
\item \textbf{oS hik} ‘get angry’; ?(\textit{hátya}); [cold; angry].
\end{itemize}

\textbf{i. Predicates denoting an experiencer (+\textit{hátya})}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{aphiát hik} ‘feel better’; ?(\textit{hátya}).
\item \textbf{balá hik} ‘come into trouble’; ?(\textit{hátya}).
\item \textbf{baS hik} ‘become your share or characteristic of you’; +(\textit{hátya}).
\item \textbf{bóac hik} ‘become burdensome for someone’; ?(\textit{hátya}).
\item \textbf{cal hik} ‘obtain the skill of something’; ?(\textit{hátya}).
\item \textbf{cir hik} ‘be late’; ?(\textit{hátya}).
\item \textbf{draS hik} ‘be easy (for someone)’; ?(\textit{hátya}).
\item \textbf{kasára hik} ‘experience a loss’; (\textit{hátya}).
\item \textbf{nawkarí hik} ‘come to work for hire’; ?(\textit{hátya}).
\item \textbf{pruST hik} ‘become/turn out well (for someone)’; ?(\textit{hátya}).
\item \textbf{suklát hik} ‘be relieved (from something)’; ?(\textit{hátya}).
\item \textbf{takliw hik} ‘have trouble or become a problem’; ?(\textit{hátya}).
\item \textbf{thariká hik} ‘obtain the skill of something’; (\textit{hátya}).
\item \textbf{wakiá hik} ‘have problems’; ?(\textit{hátya}).
\end{itemize}

\textbf{Other}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{cak hik} ‘become ready (to go to)’; ?(\textit{hátya}); [readyness].
\item \textbf{drazawár hik} ‘hang on to someone in a bothersome way’; ?(\textit{hátya}); [drazek ‘load something ...].
\item \textbf{gec dyek} ‘spy on someone or something and plan how to get it’; (\textit{hátya}).
\item \textbf{gilaj kárik} ‘complain’; ?(\textit{hátya}).
\item \textbf{kábal kárik} ‘accept in order do, obey’; ?(\textit{hátya}); [Arab].
\item \textbf{khaSáp kárik} ‘hurry and do something’; +\textit{hátya}; [quickly, soon].
\item \textbf{paygám dek} ‘send a message for’; ?(\textit{hátya}).
\item \textbf{phiT hik} ‘fit, as a piece of clothing’; (\textit{hátya}).
\item \textbf{rahí kárik} ‘set out on a trip to’; (\textit{hátya}).
\item \textbf{soc kárik} ‘think (about something or someone)’; ?(\textit{hátya}); [thought; Urdu].
\end{itemize}
APPENDIX 29. ADDITIONAL notes on hátya

3.2 Alphabetical listing of predicates

appable kárik  ‘be hospitable to, treat with respect’; (hátya); [Arab.].
aphiát hik  ‘become better’; (hátya); [comfort, peace, rest; Arab.].
aphiát kárik  ‘provide comfort or peace’; (hátya); [comfort, peace, rest; Arab.].
ashék kárik  ‘court someone’; +hátya; +som; [romantic attraction, love; Pers.].
ashék hik  ‘fall in love, be romantically inclined toward’; (hátya); [lover; Arab.].
awalá kárik  ‘give in the care or custody of someone’; (hátya); [Arab.].
bashínda kárik 1) ‘forgive someone for something’; +hátya; 2) ‘bequeath property to someone’
baS kárik  ‘leave inheritance someone, will something’; (hátya); [share, portion].
balá hik  ‘come introuble’; (?hátya).
bhalá kárik  ‘cause trouble to happen to someone’; +hátya, [evil spirit; trouble, problem].
baS hik  ‘become your share/characteristic of you’; (?hátya).
bóac hik  ‘become burdensome for someone’; (?hátya).
bheT dyek  ‘glare at, look at in anger’; (hátya).
cák hik  ‘become ready (to go NP)’ (hátya); [readyness].
cal kárik  ‘trick or fool someone’; (hátya); [cleverness, cunning].
cétek  ‘think’ (?hátya).
cir hik  ‘be late’; (?hátya).
Chek kárik  ‘give someone a hard time, cause trouble to someone’; (hátya); [trouble, bad time].
damkí dek  ‘threaten’; +hátya.
dekani kárik  ‘work for hire’; (hátya); [hired farming work; Pers.].
draS hik  ‘be easy (for someone)’; (?hátya).
drazavár hik  ‘hang on someone in a bothersome way’; (?hátya); [drazek ‘load’].
dro bhínik  ‘plan how to harm or do wrong to someone’; +hátya.
gec dyek  ‘spy on someone/something(?hátya) and plan how get it’; (hátya).
gilai kárik  ‘complain’; (?hátya).
hístik  ‘forgive someone for something’; +hátya.
hókum dek  ‘give command to someone’; +hátya; +kái; [authority, order, will; Arab.].
húTik 3) ‘send someone to get someone’; +hátya.
insáw kárik  ‘act kindly toward an offender’; (hátya); [justice, fairness; Arab.].
iZát kárik  ‘show respect for someone, honor someone’; (hátya); [respect, honor; Arab.].
ja khojik  ‘arrange a marriage for a man’; +hátya; [wife; I-A].
jhes kárik/dek  ‘give a gift to a married female relation’; (hátya).
jhonék  ‘2) be in sight, appear (for someone)’; (hátya); 3) ‘seem (to someone)’; (hátya).
APPENDIX 29. ADDITIONAL NOTES ON hātya

kábul kárik ‘accept in order do, obey’; *(hātya)*; [Arab].
kádur kárik ‘be hospitable someone, respect’; *(hātya)*.
kahár kárik ‘become angry’; +hātya; [anger; Pers.].
kahari hik ‘become angry’; +hātya [angry; Pers.].
kasára hik ‘experience a loss’; *(hātya)*.
kia cítse maik 2) ‘say bad things about someone’; *(hātya)*.
kismat kárik ‘treat someone in a certain way’; *(hātya)*.
khabdí hikk ‘become angry’; *(hātya)*; [anger; Pers.].
kaHár kárik ‘become angry’; *(hātya)*; [anger; Pers.].
khadí hik ‘be hospitable someone, respect’; *(hātya)*.
khayr kárik ‘bless, protect, prosper’; *(hātya)*; [peace, well-being; Arab.].
khamá hik ‘experience a loss’; *(hātya)*.
kia cítse maik 2) ‘say bad things about someone’; *(hātya)*.
kísmat kárik ‘treat someone in a certain way’; *(hātya)*.
khabár dek ‘give news to someone, inform someone about something’; *(hātya)*; *(kái)*; [news, word, information; Arab].
kháSáp kárik ‘hurry and do something’; +hātya; [quickly, soon].
khathér kárik 2) ‘respect someone’; *(hātya)*; [sake, consideration; Arab].
khathér kárik 1) ‘pity someone’; *(hātya)*; [sake, consideration; Arab].
kosháni hik ‘be happy about something or someone’; *(hātya)*.
khaSáp kárik ‘hurry and do something’; +hātya; [quickly, soon].
khójik 5) ‘engage a daughter to be married to someone’; *(hātya)*.
kísmat kárik ‘treat someone in a certain way’; *(hātya)*.
muhár kárik ‘be kind, love’; +hātya; [kindness, love; Pers.].
moabát kárik ‘love someone’; +hātya; [love; Arab.].
máráT kari ‘slaughter a goat and make a feast when the wife’s parents visit the husband’s house’; *(hātya)*; [sacrifice; I-A].
mazá kárik ‘make interesting and enjoyable’; +hātya; [taste, pleasure; Pers.].
masák kárik ‘be of help to’; +hātya; +som; [help; Arab.].
mur dík ‘help someone’; +hātya; +som; [help; Arab.].
mrish hik ‘scold’; *(hātya)*; (som).
mud kárik ‘forgive someone for something’; +hātya; [forgiveness; Arab.].
muk dík ‘make someone prosperous’; *(hātya)*.
múzírí kárik ‘treat someone badly, mistreat’; +hātya; +som; [evil; Arab.].
mhá kárik ‘curse someone’; +hātya; [curse].
nawáts kárik ‘bother someone, make it difficult for someone’; *(hātya)*; [difficult, dangerous, ..].
nawkarí hik ‘get a job’; *(hātya)*.
nom nomék 2) ‘sing or talk to honour someone’; *(hātya)*; [name; I-A].
oS hik ‘get angry’; *(hātya)*; [cold; angry].
pruST hik ‘become / turn out well (for someone); *(hātya)*.
pruST Parik ‘go to greet someone’; *(hātya)*.
phút hik ‘fit, as a piece of clothing’; *(hātya)*.
rákh kárik ‘set out on a trip for’; *(hātya)*.
rákum kárik ‘be kind’; +hātya; +thāra; [familial love, kindness; Arab.].
ray hik ‘have desire toward someone’; *(hātya)*; [desire, wish; decision, opinion; Arab.].
rizá hik ‘be pleased’; *(hātya)*; [will, desire; Arab.].
rundúik 1) ‘growl at someone’; +hātya; 2) ‘talk angrily someone’ *(hātya)*; +kái.
APPENDIX 29. ADDITIONAL NOTES ON hátya

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Keyword</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rhos kárik</td>
<td>1) ‘become angry’; +hátya [anger; I-A.]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sabáp hik</td>
<td>‘be someone’s (+hátya) means of rescue’; (hátya).</td>
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<tr>
<td>saktí onik</td>
<td>‘persecute someone’; +hátya/thára.</td>
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<tr>
<td>salém kárik</td>
<td>‘greet someone’; (hátya/kay).</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>sāpur kárik</td>
<td>1) wait (for) (someone + hátya); (hátya); 2) ‘control one’s self’; [patience; Arab.]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saráng hik</td>
<td>‘be kind to someone, rescue’; +hátya/thára; [kind].</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>sariék kárik</td>
<td>‘give a feast for one’s married daughter or sister’; +hátya; [celebration feast; I-A].</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>sariük</td>
<td>‘seem to someone’; (hátya).</td>
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<tr>
<td>sijhik</td>
<td>‘be good for someone, work out well, fit’; (hátya).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soc kárik</td>
<td>‘think (about something/someone’; ?(hátya); [thought; Urdu].</td>
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<tr>
<td>suklát hik</td>
<td>‘be relieved (from something’)’; ?(hátya).</td>
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<tr>
<td>suvál kárik</td>
<td>1) ‘pray to God’; +hátya; [prayer; Arab.].</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>shauk kárik</td>
<td>‘be eager (towards someone or something); +hátya.</td>
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<tr>
<td>shurék</td>
<td>‘turn someone against someone’; (hátya).</td>
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<tr>
<td>SiSau sucék</td>
<td>‘ritually purify women with sacred bread and juniper’; ?(hátya).</td>
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<tr>
<td>taklíw hik</td>
<td>‘have trouble or a problem’; ?(hátya).</td>
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<tr>
<td>tap onik</td>
<td>‘endure, bear’; (hátya).</td>
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<tr>
<td>tonjí ik</td>
<td>‘come into bad times’; (hátya).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toríik</td>
<td>‘accrue, come to one’; (hátya).</td>
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<tr>
<td>than dék</td>
<td>‘agree with someone or something (about something); ?(hátya); + -una/báti/som.</td>
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<tr>
<td>thariká hik</td>
<td>‘obtain the skill of something’; (hátya).</td>
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<tr>
<td>uskusík</td>
<td>‘attack someone’; +hátya.</td>
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<tr>
<td>wákíá hik</td>
<td>‘have problems’; ?(hátya).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>werék kárik</td>
<td>1) ‘bring in plain view [for someone]’; (hátya); [in view, visible; known].</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wézi kárik</td>
<td>1) ‘cure someone of sickness’; (hátya); [wés ‘medicine’].</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>yavván hik</td>
<td>‘be of help’; +hátya/som; [help].</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zariá hik</td>
<td>‘be the means of someone’s rescue’; (hátya); [cause, means, agency, ..; Arab.].</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zháLik</td>
<td>1) ‘reach, arrive to someone’; (hátya); lokativ; 2) ‘be obtained’; (hátya).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhéri kárik</td>
<td>‘celebrate by giving a feast’; +hátya.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Appendix 30. Additional notes on kái

Contents
1. kái in TC99.
2. Other formations.
3. Fixed phrases.
4. kái as a complement marker.
   4.1 Predicates listed alphabetically.
   4.2 Predicates listed semantically.
5. Temporal function of kái.

1. kái in TC99

1) ‘to, in, on, into’, for example: may kái ásta máas ‘tell (it) to me also!’, khodáyas hókumuna kái mon dek ne bháik ‘we can say nothing against the will of God’.
2) ‘at’, for example: rat kái mo kási, tay khyur Dukél ‘don’t walk at night, you will stumble’, a to tará kái páshi hayrán háwis .. ‘I was surprised to see him there (at that place) ..’
3) ‘about’, for example: dúra kái krom cíti trakumán mo ha ‘when thinking about the work of your house, don’t worry about it’

kay¹ Adv. ‘when’, fx kay itá áas? ‘when did you come?’; N. ‘time, period’, fx a ujhúi áam ticak ásta káy-o tu báta ujhúas ‘I have put my grain in, after a little while you will too.

2. Other formations (to kay²)

káyaw; Adv. ‘from when’, fx kayáw andái tu lahás? ‘how long have you been sick?’. 
kaymina, kaymina; Adv. ‘once upon a time’.
kay ásta; Adv. ‘whenever, sometime’.
kay dic; Adv. ‘some time ago’.
kay khawéw; Adv. ‘sometime’, fx kay khawélo may de ’give it to me sometime’.
kay zha; Adv. ‘until when’.
kay Zot; Adv. ‘before, some time ago’.

3. Fixed phrases (to kay⁴)

kÓuna kái mon dek ‘whisper’ (lit.: ‘talk into the ear’)
táda kái bo páshik ‘be jealous’ (lit. ‘near at much see’)

4. kái as a complement marker

Meaning: Based on TC99, translations in sources, and field notes.
Square brackets: Meaning and donor language of nominal or adjectival element in conjunct verb.
‘?’ = Status as complement marker uncertain.
‘Obligatory’: ‘+kái’ = Postposition (and oblique case) obligatory with the predicate; ‘(kái)’ = Postposition not obligatory with the predicate (but oblique case is). Alternative postposition: Whether an alternative postposition can occur with the predicate. ‘+’ = alternative postposition accepted; ‘-’ = alternative postposition not accepted.

4.1 Predicates listed alphabetically

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predicate</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aChÔ–ik dyek</td>
<td>‘tell a story’; (kái/hátya)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aDér kárik</td>
<td>‘give an order’; (kái/hátya)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>andáz kárik</td>
<td>‘aim something at something’; (kái).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awácik</td>
<td>‘cold someone’; +kái.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awás kárik</td>
<td>‘make noise (to someone?)’; (kái).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>citik</td>
<td>‘think (about someone or something)’; (kái).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ChaLík</td>
<td>‘scold, discipline’; +hátya/kái.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>darkhás kárik</td>
<td>‘request that something be done’; (kái/hátya)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dirék</td>
<td>‘insult someone’; (kái).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>écan kárik</td>
<td>‘signal with one’s eyes as a sign, wink’; (kái).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gechék</td>
<td>‘aim at (something or someone)’; (kái).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giLai kárik</td>
<td>‘complain’; (hátya/kái).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghô–ik</td>
<td>‘talk to; say about’; +kái.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hástan kárik</td>
<td>‘signal with the hands’; (kái).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hókum dek</td>
<td>‘give command to someone’; (kái).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huk kárik</td>
<td>‘talk, tell, speak up’; (kái).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inkhár kárik</td>
<td>‘refuse someone’; +kái.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ishára kárik</td>
<td>‘signal or gesture to someone a message or without words’; (kái).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iSākī kárik</td>
<td>‘beg, persuade, request, implore, entreat, plead’; +kái.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja kárik</td>
<td>‘marry someone (of male person)’; (kái).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khábar kárik</td>
<td>‘inform, let someone know’; +kái.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khondióik</td>
<td>‘call on someone, summon, speak to’; (kái).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máik/mátrik</td>
<td>‘speak, say, tell’; (kái).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mon dek</td>
<td>‘speak, speak a language’; +kái.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasiát kárik</td>
<td>‘advice or instruct someone’; +kái.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niSán kárik</td>
<td>1) ‘make a signal or mark’; 2) ‘aim at’; (kái).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niwéshik</td>
<td>‘write (to)’; (kái).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oSárik</td>
<td>‘complain, protest, voice grievance, accuse, tell on someone’; (kái).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salém kárik</td>
<td>‘greet someone’; +kái.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suvál kárik</td>
<td>1) ‘pray to God’; +hátya; 2) ‘ask someone a question’; +kái.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telephún kárik</td>
<td>‘telephone someone’; (kái).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tupékan tyek</td>
<td>‘shoot a gun, fire shots (at someone or something)’; (kái).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tyek</td>
<td>‘hit, beat; shoot a gun at someone; throw an object at someone; ..’ (kái).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thògan tyek</td>
<td>‘spit on someone with intent’; (kái).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tôsu dyek</td>
<td>‘peck on something or someone’; (kái).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uSTan kárik</td>
<td>‘signal with one’s lips’; (kái).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wezí kárik</td>
<td>1) ‘cure someone of sickness’; (??); 2) ‘stop someone from doing something’; +kái.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2 Predicates listed semantically

A. Verbs of utterance or speaking

- *aChO~ik dyek* ‘tell a story’; *(kái/hátya)*
- *aDér kárik* ‘give an order’; *(kái/hátya)*
- *avás kárik* ‘make noise (to someone?)’; *(kái).*
- *baLék* 1) ‘convince, persuade, win a debate’, 2) ‘beat someone in a game’; *(kái).*
- *ghó–ik* ‘talk to; say about’; +kái.
- *cítik* ‘think (about someone or something)’; *(kái).*
- *huk kárik* ‘talk, tell, speak up’; *(kái).*
- *khodayár kárik* ‘say goodbye to’; *(hátya/som/kái).*
- *khondiék* ‘call on someone, summon, speak to’; *(kái).*
- *máik/mátrik* ‘speak, say, tell’; *(kái).*
- *mon dek* ‘speak, speak a language’; +kái.
- *salém kárik* ‘greet someone’; *(kái).*
- *suwál kárik* 1) ‘pray to God’; +hátya; 2) ‘ask someone a question’; +kái.
- *telephún kárik* ‘telephone someone’; *(kái).*

B. Verbs of giving information, scolding, complaining or requesting

- *avácik* ‘scold someone’; +kái.
- *ChaLík* ‘scold, discipline’; +hátya/kái.
- *darkhás kárik* ‘request that something be done’; *(kái/hátya)*
- *dírek* ‘insult someone’; *(kái).*
- *giLaí kárik* ‘complain’; *(hátya/kái).*
- *hókum dek* ‘give command to someone’; *(kái).*
- *iSkalí kárik* ‘beg, persuade, request, implore, entreat, plead’; +kái.
- *nasiát kárik* ‘advice or instruct someone’; +kái.
- *oSárik* ‘complain, protest, voice grievance, accuse, tell on someone’; *(kái).*

C. Verbs of signalling

- *écán kárik* ‘signal with one’s eyes as a sign, wink’; *(kái).*
- *hástan kárik* ‘signal with the hands’; *(kái).*
- *ishára kárik* ‘signal or gesture to someone a message or without words’; *(kái).*
- *niSán kárik* 1) ‘make a signal or mark’; 2) ‘aim at’; *(kái).*
- *uSTan kárik* ‘signal with one’s lips’; *(kái).*

D. Verbs with concrete goal (verbs of aiming, etc.)

- *andáz kárik* ‘aim something at something’; *(kái).*
- *gechék* ‘aim at (something or someone)’; *(kái).*
- *tupékan tyek* ‘shoot a gun, fire shots (at someone or something)’; *(kái).*
- *tyek* ‘hit, beat; shoot a gun at someone; throw an object at someone; ..’ *(kái).*
- *thogan tyek* ‘spit on someone with intent’; *(kái).*
- *Tósu dyek* ‘peck on something or someone’; *(kái).*
APPENDIX 30. ADDITIONAL NOTES ON kái

E. Other

inkhár kárik ‘refuse someone’; +kái.
wezí kárik 1) ‘cure someone of sickness’; (?)?; 2) ‘stop someone from doing something’; +kái.
ja kárik ‘marry someone (of male person)’; ?(kái).
niwéshik ‘write (to)’; ?(kái).

5. Temporal function of kái

A final use of kái with events and temporal nouns should be mentioned. In 1 kái points out a reference point of time where something is the case, going on, or can happen. This can also be done without kái, as in 2:

1. ucáw kái dazhepónj-an bás-an may chu ubuj-iu So.S
   Uchao at 15-obl.pl year-obl.pl 1s.obl daughter be born-p/f.3s
   ‘at Uchao it is 15 years ago since may daughter is born’

2. chawmós-una ábi bo ghO~ dy-en GK.E
   Chawmos-loc2 1p.nom much song put-p/f.3s
   ‘at Chawmos we sing many songs’

In 1, in contrast to 2, we are told that it is ‘at Uchao’ that a specific situation or circumstance is valid or in force, and not, for example, ‘at Chaumos’. In contrast, without kái, 2 expresses general state of affairs. That is, the time pointed out by kái stresses or contrasts this to another time or period. This use of kái can be seen as a metaphoric extension from a contrasting spatial-locative use described in 17.8.7.4.14

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12 A festival held in August before the harvesting of fruit.
13 The festival held at winter solstice.
14 As an alternative one may consider kái as instantiating specific uses of the interrogative adverb kái ‘when?’, as in: kái íta áas? ‘when did you come?’? TC99 do not indicate any direct relationship between the temporal postposition kái and the adverb kái, but GM (73: 211) does. ‘Temporal’ kái cannot occur with expressions of clock time, similarly to Urdu kō (Schmidt 1999: 72).
Appendix 31. Additional notes on \( \pi \)

Contents
1. Meaning of \( \pi \) according to TC99 (p. 244):
2. \( \pi \) as a complement marker

1. Meaning of \( \pi \) according to TC99 (p. 244):
1) 'From'; \( \text{se pe may } \pi \text{ akrúcaw haw} \) 'if she gets peeved at me (I'll ..')
2) 'By'; \( \text{pialá } \pi \text{ bishís} \) 'the cup was broken by him'.
3) 'Than'; \( \text{sáwin } \pi \text{ pruST} \) 'best of all' (lit. 'than all good').
4) 'Concerning'; \( \text{dóyō tu zhóntras } \pi \text{ gawr mi ne káris dái húLa} \) 'then it seems that concerning the mill you do not really take good care of it'.

2. \( \pi \) as a complement marker

Meaning: Based on TC99, translations in sources, and field notes.
Underlined: \( kathai \ hik = N/Adj. \) element not accepted by informant as independent word
Square brackets: Meaning and donor language of nominal or adjectival element in conjunct verb.
'+' = Obligatory with the given predicate; ('(\( \pi \))' = not obligatory.
'?' = Status with respect to obligatory or optional complement marker uncertain.
'alt.:' = Alternative complement marker; '-hátya/..' = alternative postposition not accepted.

\text{aktát kárik} \quad \text{‘do carefully’; (\( \pi \)); [care; Arab.].}
\text{avícik} \quad \text{‘take or receive from someone’; +\( \pi \).}
\text{bacát kárik} \quad \text{‘save, rescue someone’; (\( \pi \)).}
\text{badelá griik} \quad \text{‘get revenge’; +\( \pi \), [revenge, repayment; Arab.].}
\text{bam hik} \quad \text{‘sulk, pout’; (\( \pi \)).}
\text{barósa kárik} \quad \text{‘trust someone’; +\( \pi \); [trust, confidence, faith].}
\text{bawár kárik} \quad \text{‘trust’; +\( \pi \).}
\text{beSék} \quad \text{‘defeat someone, win a match’; +\( \pi \); alt.: +\( \text{thára} \).}
\text{bháiik} \quad \text{‘know how do, handle’; +\( \pi \); alt.: +Abl2-ani/Abl3-aw (inan.).}
\text{bhíik} \quad \text{‘fear, be afraid’; (+\( \pi \)).}
\text{chaLék} \quad \text{‘pull, take out, extract or remove something (inanimate); stick out’; +\( \pi \); alt.: + Abl2-ani/Abl3-aw.}
\text{CíChík} \quad \text{‘learn’; (\( \pi \)); alt.: ?Abl2-ani/Abl3-aw.}
\text{Cíu hik} \quad \text{‘be/become very happy’; (\( \pi \)); [very happy].}
\text{darák kárik} \quad \text{‘find out about something, investigate’; +\( \pi \); alt.: + Abl2-ani/Abl3-aw.}
\text{dec griik} \quad \text{‘borrow (from someone)’; +\( \pi \); [loan, debth; kun i conj.vb]}
\text{galát hik/kárik} \quad \text{‘make a mistake’; +\( \pi \).}
\text{galtí hik} \quad \text{‘make a mistake’; (\( \pi \)); [galat = wrong, inaccurate; Arab.]}
\text{gawr kárik} \quad \text{‘take good care of, do carefully’; +\( \pi \); alt.: +\( \text{thára} \); [care, attention; Arab.].}
\text{griik} \quad \text{1) ‘take (away from someone)’; +\( \pi \); 2) ‘buy (from someone)’; +\( \pi \).}
\text{gumán hik} \quad \text{‘suspect someone of doing something’; +\( \pi \); alt.: \( \text{thára} \); [thought/suspicion; Pers.].}
\text{gumán kárik} \quad \text{‘suspect someone of doing something’; +\( \pi \), [thought, suspicion, ..; Pers.].}
\text{gháTik} \quad \text{1) ‘ask for something from someone’; +\( \pi \); 2) ‘beg (something from someone)’; (\( \pi \))}
\text{har hik} \quad \text{‘lose’; (\( \pi \)); [Urdu]}
\text{hístik} \quad \text{‘throw away’; (\( \pi \)).}
hÔ~ik ‘steal’; +pi.
jít hik ‘become/be successful or victorious’; +pi; alt.: +thâra.
jadá hik ‘become separated’; (+pi); [separate; Pers.].
karÔ~ chaLék ‘(take) revenge (from)’; +pi; alt.: +thâra
karÔ~ grik ‘take revenge from someone’; +pi; [revenge].
kathal hik 1) ‘make a mistake’; +pi; [mistake].
krúcik ‘sulk, pout, be peeved, be offended’; +pi.
khabár (ashik) ‘be in information of, have knowledge about’; (?)(pi).
khalás kárik ‘rescue’; +pi; alt.: + +Ab12-ani/Ab13-aw.
khalás hik ‘become rescued’; (+pi).
kaphá hik ‘become peeved, offended’; +pi; alt.: +bâti; [sad, angry, peeved, ..; Pers.].
khatá hik ‘have a tragic mistake happen’; +pi; [Arab.].
khôjik ‘ask for’; (pi).
khurûSu hik ‘become peeved at someone’; (?).
Lásik ‘slip away, drop or fall from one’s grasp’; (pi); alt.: (Ab12-ani/Ab13-aw).
mahalúm kárik ‘discover, find out’ (from something or someone)’; +pi; alt.: +Ab12-ani/Ab13-aw (inan.).
mal griik ‘take (or receive ?) brideprice (from someone)’; +pi.
memadár ‘(be) grateful, appreciative’; +pi.
naumét hik ‘mistrust, lose hope or faith in’; (+pi); [neg-hope; Pers.].
nihik 1) ‘come out (from something’) +pi; 2) ‘rise of sun or moon’ ?(pi).
nik ‘take out or take away something (animate)’; (pi); alt.: +Ab12-ani/Ab13-aw.
mspijik ‘be worthwhile or profitable’; (+pi).
ohónik ‘snatch away, take away by force (from someone)’ +pi; alt.: +Ab12-ani/Ab13-aw.
ònik ‘bring something inanimate’; (pi); alt.: Ab12-ani/Ab13-aw.
pandár harik ‘take help from someone fulfill an obligation’; (+pi).
parak ‘go or move away (from)’; (?pi); alt.: Ab12-ani/Ab13-aw.
pättik ‘believe; accept someone’ ?(pi).
paydá hik ‘being born’; ?(pi).
pir griik ‘learn a skill’; +pi.
pôncik ‘take away something from someone by force, grab’; ?(pi); alt.: (?Ab12-ani/Ab13-aw)
phúcik 1) ‘ask (someone)’m +pi; 2) ‘inquire for or about someone’; +pi.
shak hik ‘doubt someone’; +pi; [doubt; Arab.].
shak kárik ‘suspect someone of doing something’; +pi; alt.: +thâra.
tasalí hik ‘faith, trust; satisfaction; encouragement, comfort, assurance’; (pi); [faith, trust; satisfaction; comfort, ..; Arab]
thôba kárik ‘forswear, repent of’; (pi).
tubûjik ‘be born; sprout’; +pi.
umét hik ‘have/become) hope(-full) in s.th /because of something’; +pi; alt.: +Ab12-ani/Ab13-aw; [hope; Pers.]
umét kárik ‘hope’; +pi.
yakin kárik ‘trust someone, believe in someone’; +pi; alt.: + thâra.
Appendix 32. Additional notes on som

Contents
1. Meaning according to TC99.
2. som in fixed constructions.
3. som as a complement marker.
   3.1 Alphabetical listing.
   3.2 Semantically listing.

1. Meaning according to TC99
1) ‘with’; fx se tása som parâu ‘he went with him’;
2) Possession, fx bácas som bo nawkár ásta ‘the king had many servants’, may som kía ne shían ‘I don’t have any’.
3) ‘to’; fx tu áma tása som zhaLái ‘see that he reaches him’.
4) ‘although, though’; fx shamón diákas som se huk ne áraw ‘although so much was said, he didn’t say anything’.

2. som in fixed constructions:
istrizháas som DúDik ‘have intercourse with a woman’ (Lit. ‘woman-obl’ + ‘with’ + ‘sleep’
som jústuna 1) ‘with’; 2) ‘although, though’.
som miláw hik ‘meet with someone; become awary of something’.
Cátas som ‘i m m e d i a t e l y ,  q u i c k l y ’ (Cát-as ‘moment, instance + obl.
sómata ‘along with, with’.

3. som as a complement marker
Meaning: Based on TC99, translations in sources, and field notes.
Underlined: Cang hik = N/Adj. element not accepted by informant as independent word
Square brackets: Meaning and donor language of nominal or adjectival element in
conjunct verb.
‘+’ = Obligatory with the given predicate; ‘(som)’ = not obligatory.
‘?’ = Status with respect to obligatory or optional complement marker uncertain.
‘alt.:’ = Alternative complement marker; ‘- hâtya/..’ = alternative postposition not accepted.

3.1 Alphabetical listing
adát hik ‘become accustomed, used to; become habitual’; (som); alt.: Loc2-una;
[habit, custom; Arab.]
adalát kârik ‘file a case against someone in court’; +som; [court; Arab.]
awió thek ‘marry within one’s clan’; (som); alt.: ?Abl2-aní
bad-sulik hik ‘become estranged (with someone), (som); [estranged; sulik ‘friendship, favor’; bad- Pers., sulik Arab.]
balâ hik ‘become (too) big, huge, too powerful’; (som).
balát hik ‘get to know, become familiar with’; +som.
bargá dyek 1) ‘bump into something (inadvertently)’; +som; 2) ‘lean back against
something’; +som.

**bey-izáti kárik** ‘abuse someone verbally or physically, shame, despise, dishonour’; *(som)*; [disrespect, abuse; Arab; bey- = ‘privative’; Pers.]

**biaréyn parik** ‘play hide and seek’; *(som)*.

**cukuSék** ‘tease, annoy someone’; *(som)*

**CaCukré hik** ‘hold tight someone’; +som.

**Cang hik** ‘embrace, hug’; +som

**CháLik** ‘scold, discipline’; *(som)*; alt.: hátya, ?kái

**Cókik** ‘bargain with, persuade someone by a lot of talking’; *(som)*

**dawá hik** ‘influence become (on someone)’; *(som)*; [influence, effect; Arab.]

**dukhá kárik** ‘trick or fool someone’; +som

**Dhus tyek** ‘collide with (inadvertently)’; *(som)*

**Dhar dyek** ‘lean on or against something with one’s shoulder’; (+som).

**dawá hik** ‘influence become (on someone)’; *(som)*; [influence, effect; Arab.]

**dukhá kárik** ‘trick or fool someone’; +som

**Dhus tyek** ‘collide with (inadvertently)’; *(som)*

**Dhar dyek** ‘lean on or against something with one’s shoulder’; (+som).

**guzarán kárik** (1) ‘get by’; *(som)*; 2) ‘endure, put up with’; *(som)*; [good enough, not perfect but passable; Pers.]

**huk kárik** ‘talk, tell, speak up’; *(som)*.

**jadugherí kárik** ‘do magic to someone’; *(som)*.

**ja hik** ‘become (someone’s) wife’; *(som)*.

**ján jal kárik** ‘argue and fight with someone’; +som; [conflict].

**jaré hik** 1) ‘digest’; *(som)*; 2) ‘be absorbed’; *(som)*.

**jargá dyek** 1) ‘bump into something (inadvertently)’; +som; 2) ‘lean back against something’; +som.

**jhal** ‘bump lightly against something’; +som; oblique case.

**kaphá hik** ‘become sad, upset, angry’; *(som)*.

**kaúl kárik** ‘vow, promise, pledge’; *(som)*; [promise; Arab.]

**kawiá kárik** 2) ‘tease or make fun verbally about sex or the like’; *(som)*.

**kunjaísh hik** ‘persuade someone’; *(som)*.

**khal kárik** ‘be loving, treat well’; *(som)*; [taste; pleasure].

**khaltabári kárik** ‘arrange a marriage (with someone)’; *(som)*; [marriage arrangement].

**khandór hik** ‘be troubled, inconvenienced, involved (with someone or something)’; *(som)*.

**khodayár kárik** ‘say goodbye to someone’; +som; alt.: kái; [God-friend = goodbye; Pers.].

**LabÉ hik** ‘play with’; +som.

**lishik** ‘be against or so close to something or someone as touch’; *(som)*.

**madát hik** ‘be of help of someone’; +som; alt.: hátya; [help; Arab.].

**madát kárik** ‘help someone’; +som; alt.: hátya; [help; Arab].

**maskará kárik** ‘scoff, make fun of’; +som; alt.: thára

**mashbará kárik** ‘discuss, plan, counsel (with someone)’; *(som)*; [council, advice; Arab].

**mashkúl hik** ‘become engaged in conversation, have a conversation, talk with; visit’; *(som)*; [conversation, discussion; Arab.].

**mazá kárik** ‘make interesting and joyful; make fun’; +som;

**mehár kárik** ‘be kind, love’; +som; alt.: hátya; [kindness, love; Pers.].

**moabát hik** ‘be in love with someone’; *(som)*; [love; Arab.].

**moabát kárik** ‘love someone’; +som; alt.: hátya; [love; Arab.].

**miláw hik** ‘happen, occur’; *(som)*

**mon dek** ‘speak, speak a language’; *(som)*; alt.: kay.

**mrish hik** ‘scold’; +som.

**mukarár kárik** ‘make agreement, decide on something with someone’; *(som)*.

**muziri kárik** ‘treat someone badly, mistreat’; +som; alt.: hátya; [evil; Arab.].
APPENDIX 32. ADDITIONAL NOTES ON som

nisík ‘live or stay (permanently) (with someone)’; +som.
palawi hik ‘join in a dairy partnership’; (som); [partner in a ..].
pruST hik ‘become reconciled with someone’; +som.
pruSTí kárik ‘do someone good’; +som.
pázhik ‘divide something (with someone)’; (som).
phíTi kárik ‘offer bread to a guest’; (som).
sálá kárik ‘discuss something’; (som); [plan, advice, counsel; Arab.].
salóm SaTik ‘wrestle (with someone)’; +som.
suLúk kárik ‘treat someone, behave toward someone’; (som); [friendship; Arab.].
shúkhar kárik ‘thank God’; (som); [’thanks’; Arab.].
SaTék ‘fight (with someone)’; (som).
tyektyék hik ‘fight (with someone)’; (som).
thaw hik 1) ‘be left, remain [of physical shape, state of mind, ..?]’; (som).
Tham dyek ‘bump against or trip over an obstacle’; +som; [suddenly].
uSTék ‘rise, treat’; (?som).
wagdá kárik ‘promise’; +som; [promise, Arab.].
yaván hik ‘be of help’; +som; alt.: hátya; [help].
zhang kárik ‘fight (with someone) in battle’; (som); [fighting, war; Pers.].
ziná kárik ‘commit adultery’; +som.
zit kárik ‘oppose, be against (someone)’; +som; [complaint, difference, ..; Arab.].
zyádi kárik ‘insist on something, force someone’; (som); [zyat ’much’; Pers.].
Zek hik ‘become tired out’; +som; alt.: pi.

3.2 Semantically listing

A. Predicates of joining, of (not) being reconciled with someone, predicates of doing something with someone, making an arrangement or being in an institutionalized interaction with someone.

dalát kárik ‘file a case against someone in court’; +som; [court; Arab.].
avió thek ‘marry within one’s clan’; (som); alt.: Abl2-ani

guzarán kárik ‘(1) ‘get by’; (?som). 2) ‘endure, put up with’; (?som); [good enough, not perfect but passable; Pers.].
ja hik ‘become (someone’s) wife’; (?som).
krom kárik ‘work with’; +som.
khaltabári kárik ‘arrange a marriage (with someone)’; (som); [marriage arrangement].
mukárár kárik ‘make agreement, decide on something with someone’; (som).
palawi hik ‘join in a dairy partnership’; (som); [partner in a ..].
nísík ‘live or stay (permanently) (with someone)’; +som.
pruST hik ‘become reconciled with someone’; +som.
pázhik ‘divide something (with someone)’; (som).
thaw hik 1) ‘be left, remain [of physical shape, state of mind, ..?]’; (som).
Tham dyek ‘bump against or trip over an obstacle’; +som; [suddenly].

B. Predicates of getting to know someone or something, predicates of becoming familiar or estranged with someone or something.

APPENDIX 32. ADDITIONAL NOTES ON som

adát hik  ‘become accustomed, used to; become habitual’; (som); alt.: Loc2-una; [habit, custom; Arab.].
bad-sulúk hik  ‘become estranged (with someone), (som); [estranged; suluk ‘friendship, favor’; bad- Pers., suluk Arab].
balát hik  ‘get to know, become familiar with’; +som.

C. Predicates denoting violent or negative interaction with someone or something; predicates of fighting, scolding, teasing, fooling, etc.
bey-izáti kárik  ‘abuse someone verbally or physically, shame, despise, dishonour’; ?(som); [disrespect, abuse; Arab; bey- = ‘privative’; Pers.]
cukuSék  ‘tease, annoy someone’; (som)
CháLík  ‘scold, discipline’; (som); alt.: hátya, ?kái
dúkhá kárik  ‘trick or fool someone’; +som
jadugherí kárik  ‘do magic to someone’; ?(som).
janjál kárik  ‘argue and fight with someone’; +som; [conflict].
káphá hik  ‘become sad, upset, angry’; ?(som).
káviá kárik  ‘(2) tease or make fun verbally about sex or the like’; +som.
kándör hik  ‘be troubled, inconvenienced, involved (with someone or something)’; (som).
másarı kárik  ‘scoff, make fun of’; +som; alt.: thára
mázá kárik  ‘make interesting and joyable; make fun’; +som;
miráh hik  ‘scold’; +som.
muzirí kárik  ‘treat someone badly, mistreat’; +som; alt.: hátya; [evil; Arab.].
sálóm SaTík  ‘wrestle (with someone)’; +som
Sayék  ‘fight (with someone)’; (som).
tyektyék hik  ‘fight (with someone)’; (som).
Zang kárik  ‘fight (with someone) in battle’; (som); [fighting, war; Pers.].
zit kárik  ‘oppose, be against (someone)’; +som; [complaint, difference, ..; Arab.].
zyádi kárik  ‘insist on something, force someone’; (som); [zyat ‘much’; Pers.]
Zék hik  ‘become tired out’; +som; alt.: pi.

D. Predicates of conversating, discussing, arguing or with someone; predicates denoting verbal interaction; predicates denoting playing with
biáréyn parik  ‘play hide and seek’; ?(som).
Cíkq  ‘bargain with, persuade someone by a lot of talking’; (som)
dawá hik  ‘influence become (on someone)’; (som); [influence, effect;
huk kárik  ‘talk, tell, speak up’; (som).
kaúl kárik  ‘vow, promise, pledge’; +som; [promise; Arab.].
kunjshák hik  ‘persuade someone’; ?(som)
khódayár kárik  ‘say goodbye to someone’; +som; alt.: kái; [God-friend = goodbye; Pers.].
LabÉ hik  ‘play with’; +som.
mashbará kárik  ‘discuss, plan, counsel (with someone)’; (som); [council, advice; Arab].
mashkúl hik  ‘become engaged in conversation, have a conversation, talk with; visit’; +som; [conversation, discussion; Arab.].
món dék  ‘speak, speak a language’; som; alt.: káy .
mukarár kárik  ‘make agreement, decide on something with someone’; (som).
sála kárik  ‘discuss something’; (som); [plan, advice, counsel; Arab.].

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APPENDIX 32. ADDITIONAL NOTES ON som

shat chawik ‘swear, take an oath, swear the validity of something’; +som; [oath, claim; I-A (cháwik ‘swear’)].
shúkhar kárik ‘thank God’; (som); [”thanks”; Arab.].
wagdá kárik ‘promise’; +som; [promise, Arab.].

E. Predicates of loving someone (+som) or being good to someone (+som) or treat someone in a non-negative way
Cang hik ‘embrace, hug’; +som
khal kárik ‘be loving, treat well’; (som); [taste; pleasure].
mehár kárik ‘be kind, love’; +som; alt.: hátya; [kindness, love; Pers.].
moabát hik ‘be in love with someone’; (som); [love; Arab.].
moabát kárik ‘love someone’; +som; alt.: hátya; [love; Arab.].

F. Predicates of being to help of someone (+som), of helping someone (+som)
madát hik ‘be of help of someone’; +som; alt.: hátya; [help; Arab.].
madát kárik ‘help someone’; +som; alt.: hátya; [help; Arab.].
pruSTí kárik ‘do someone good’; +som.
phiTi kárik ‘offer bread a guest’; (som).
suLük kárik ‘treat someone, behave toward someone’; (som); [friendship; Arab.].
uSTék ‘rise, treat’; ?(som).
yawán hik ‘be of help’; +som; alt.: hátya; [help].

G. Predicates denoting that someone (or something?) has reached, has come or is in contact with something (som) or someone (+som)
bargá dyek 1) ‘bump into something (inadvertently)’; +som; 2) ‘lean back against something’; +som.
CaCukré hik ‘hold tight someone’; +som.
Dhus tyek ‘collide with (inadvertently)’; (som)
Dhar dyek ‘lean on or against something with one’s shoulder’; (+som).
jaré hik 1) ‘digest’; ?(som); 2) ‘be absorbed’; ?(som).
jargá dyek 1) ‘bump into something (inadvertently)’; +som; 2) ‘lean back against something’; +som.
 Jal dyek ‘bump lightly against something’; +som; oblique case.
lishik ‘be against or so close to something or someone as touch’; (som).
Tham dyek ‘bump against or trip over an obstacle’; +som; [?suddenly?].

H. Predicates denoting a mental or physical state (experiencer-som)
balá hik ‘become (too) big, huge, too powerful’; (som).
miláw hik ‘happen, occur’; ?(som)
thaw hik 1) ‘be left, remain [of physical shape, state of mind, ..?]’; (som).
Appendix 33. Additional notes on thára

Contents
1. Meaning of thára according to TC99.
2. thára as an argument marker.
   2.1 Alphabetically listed.
   2.2 Semantically listed.

1. Meaning of thára according to TC99 (p. 302-3):
1) ‘above, on’; ek thi gàLa pái dhénta thára úSTi ‘they went together; as they climbed a mountain (..)’ (TC90).
2) ‘by, by means of, with, because of, in’; aktiátas thára kári ‘do it with care/carefully’; kháyras thára ayá áa ‘she came (here) in good health’.
3) ‘against’; te tása thára kía ayp thek ne abáan ‘they were not able to place any’.
4) adj., ‘next’; thára mastrúk ‘next month’.

2. thára as an argument marker
Meaning: Based on TC99, translations in sources, and field notes.
Underlined: gawr kárik = N/Adj. element not accepted by informant as independent word.
Square brackets: Meaning and donor language of nominal or adjectival element in conjunct verb.
‘?’ = Status as complement marker uncertain.
‘+’ = Postposition (and oblique case) obligatory with the predicate.
‘(thára)’ = Postposition not obligatory with the predicate (but oblique case is).
alt.: = Alternative complement marker;

2.1 Alphabetically listed

arzí dek ‘file a case against someone’; (thára - concerning, anim); (baráuna - concerning, anim) +Loc2-una, inan; (káí - addressee); [case, complaint].
asár kárik 1) ‘affect or influence someone’; (thára; anim); 2) help, improve +hátya; inan); [effect; Arab.].
ayp chaLék ‘criticize someone’; ?(thára); [fault, blame, mistake; Arab.].
ayp thek ‘condemn, find guilty; put or lay guilt or some other burden (metaphorically) on someone’; ?(thára); [fault, blame, mistake; Arab.].
barUék ‘defeat an opponent’; +thára; +pi.
beSék 1) ‘win in a contest or game’; +thára; 2) ‘excel, outdo’; ?(thára).
darajá hik ‘be held in place, fastened’; +thára; [good position or rank; Arab.].
dawá kárik ‘make a claim about something’; (thára - anim); (báti - inanim); [influence, effect; Arab.].
gawr kárik ‘take good care of, do carefully’; +thára; +pi+hátya; [care, attention; Arab.].
gecdrí kárik ‘look after, guard temporarily’; (thára - human); +obl - animals.
gumán hik ‘suspect someone of doing something’; +thára; +pi; [thought, suspicion, idea, guess; Pers.].
APPENDIX 33. ADDITIONAL NOTES ON \( \text{thára} \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>halát onik</td>
<td>( \text{halát} ) onik</td>
<td>'make someone work hard, disturb, make work and be cruel'; (thára);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[difficult condition; Arab.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hamlá kárik</td>
<td>( \text{hamlá} ) kárik</td>
<td>'attack someone'; (thára); (?kái (báti = benefakt)); [Arab.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jit hik</td>
<td>( \text{jit} ) hik</td>
<td>'defeat someone (in game)'; +thára; +pi [successful, victorious; Urdu].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karÖ chaLék</td>
<td>( \text{karÖ} ) chaLék</td>
<td>'revenge'; +thára.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koT kárik</td>
<td>( \text{koT} ) kárik</td>
<td>'give someone a coat (said when someone is winning a game)'; +thára.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krátkik</td>
<td>( \text{krátkik} )</td>
<td>'laugh'; +thára.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LÓam hik</td>
<td>( \text{LÓam} ) hik</td>
<td>'spy on or investigate someone’; (?(\text{thára})); + Obl.sg-as.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mazák kárik</td>
<td>( \text{mazák} ) kárik</td>
<td>'tease someone, make fun of'; +thára; [Arab.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rákum kárik</td>
<td>( \text{rákum} ) kárik</td>
<td>'be kind to'; (thára); (\text{hátya} ); [familial love, kindness; Arab.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sakti onik</td>
<td>( \text{sakti} ) onik</td>
<td>'persecute someone'; +thára; +hátya/+báti; [Pers.].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saráng hik</td>
<td>( \text{saráng} ) hik</td>
<td>'be kind someone, rescue'; +thára/hátya; [kind].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shak kárik</td>
<td>( \text{shak} ) kárik</td>
<td>'suspect someone of doing something'; +thára; +pi; [doubt; Arab.].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tang kárik</td>
<td>( \text{Tang} ) kárik</td>
<td>'make it tough for someone'; (thára).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tokmák kárik</td>
<td>( \text{tokmák} ) kárik</td>
<td>'urge someone repeatedly, continuously'; +thára; +kái.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thek</td>
<td>( \text{thék})</td>
<td>2) 'put, place, lay abstractly (a burden of some sort)'; (thára).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tóka kárik</td>
<td>( \text{Tóka} ) kárik</td>
<td>'mock, make fun of'; (thára); [Pash.].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zúlum kárik</td>
<td>( \text{zúlum} ) kárik</td>
<td>'be cruel'; (thára); [cruelty; Arab.].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yakin kárik</td>
<td>( \text{yakin} ) kárik</td>
<td>'trust someone, believe in someone'; +thára; [trust, belief; Arab.].</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.2 Semantically listed

#### A. 'trust, guilt, suspicion'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ayp thek</td>
<td>( \text{aypress} ) thek</td>
<td>'condemn, find guilty; put or lay guilt or some other burden (metaphori-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cally) on someone’; ?(thára); [fault, blame, mistake; Arab.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gumán hik</td>
<td>( \text{gumán} ) hik</td>
<td>'suspect someone of doing something'; +thára; +pi; [thought, suspicion,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>idea, guess; Pers.].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shak kárik</td>
<td>( \text{shak} ) kárik</td>
<td>'suspect someone of doing something'; +thára; +pi; [doubt; Arab.].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rákum kárik</td>
<td>( \text{rákum} ) kárik</td>
<td>'be kind to'; (thára); (\text{hátya} ); [familial love, kindness; Arab.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yakin kárik</td>
<td>( \text{yakin} ) kárik</td>
<td>'trust someone, believe in someone'; +thára; [trust, belief; Arab.].</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### B. 'defeat in game, taking revenge'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>barUék</td>
<td>( \text{barUék} )</td>
<td>'defeat an opponent'; +thára; +pi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beSék</td>
<td>( \text{beSék} )</td>
<td>1) 'win in a contest or game'; +thára; 2) 'excel, outdo’ ;(thára).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jit hik</td>
<td>( \text{jit} ) hik</td>
<td>'defeat someone (in game)'; +thára; +pi [successful, victorious; Urdu].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koT kárik</td>
<td>( \text{koT} ) kárik</td>
<td>'give someone a coat (said when someone is winning a game)'; +thára.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karÖ chaLék</td>
<td>( \text{karÖ} ) chaLék</td>
<td>'revenge'; +thára.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### C. 'hostile action, action with negative effect on recipient, teasing or laughing at'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>arzi dek</td>
<td>( \text{arzi} ) dek</td>
<td>'file a case against someone’; (thára - concerning, anim); (baráuna -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>concerning, anim) +Loc2-una, inan; (kái - addressee); [case, complaint].</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| ayp chaLék                                 | \( \text{aypress} \) chaLék                 | 'criticize someone’; \(?(\text{thára})\); [fault, blame, mistake; Arab.]
| halát onik                                 | \( \text{halát} \) onik                      | 'make someone work hard, disturb, make work and be cruel'; (thára);     |
|                                            |                                              | [difficult condition; Arab.]                                             |
| hamlá kárik                                | \( \text{hamlá} \) kárik                     | 'attack someone'; (thára); \(?kái (báti = benefakt)); [Arab.]          |
| krátkik                                    | \( \text{krátkik} \)                       | 'laugh'; +thára.                                                         |
| mazák kárik                               | \( \text{mazák} \) kárik                    | 'tease someone, make fun of'; +thára; [Arab.].                          |
APPENDIX 33. ADDITIONAL NOTES ON thára

sakti onik  ‘persecute someone’; +thára; +hátya/+báti; [Pers.].
Tang kárik  ‘make it tough for someone’; (thára).
thek  2) put, place, lay abstractly (a burden of some sort); (thára).
Tóka kárik  ‘mock, make fun of’; (thára); [Pash.].
zúlum kárik  ‘be cruel’; (thára); [cruelty; Arab.].

D.  ‘influencing patient’
asár kárik  1) ‘affect or influence someone’; (thára; anim); 2) help, improve +hátya; inan); [effect; Arab.].
tokmák kárik  ‘urge someone repeatedly, continously’; +thára; +kái.

E.  ‘nice behaviour’
gawr kárik  ‘take good care of, do carefully’; +thára; +pi/+hátya; [care, attention; Arab.].
saráng hik  ‘be kind someone, rescue’; +thára/hátya; [kind].

F.  Other
darajá hik  ‘be held in place, fastened’; +thára; [good position or rank; Arab.].
dawá kárik  ‘make a claim about something’; (thára - anim); (báti - inanim); [influence, effect; Arab.].
gecdari kárik  ‘look after, guard temporarily’; (thára - human); +Obl. - animals.
LÓam hik  ‘spy on or investigate someone’; ?(thára); + Obl.sg-as
Appendix 34. The postposition ásta gri/hásta gri ‘along with’

1. Form
This composite postposition is not described in TC99, although it is found a few places in that work. Morphologically (h)ásta gri\(^{15}\) is made up by the noun hast-, the locative ending Loc1-a, and the participle of griik ‘take, seize, catch, ..’. hast is an obsolete word for ‘hand’ (in contemporary Kalasha ‘hand’ is bazá), but it still has two meanings: 1) ‘a measure from elbow to fingertips’; 2) ‘forearm, wrist’. GM73 suggests (p. 206) that (h)ásta gri should be paraphrased ‘taking/having taken into the hand’\(^{16}\).

2. Functions
ásta gri denotes comitative state of affairs. It always occurs with motion verbs: ‘go’; ‘come’; ‘bring’; etc., yielding the meaning: ‘bringing or taking someone or something’. The actor is always animate, very often human.\(^17\) Often, as a reflection of the literal sense, ásta gri gives association to a human being taking something or someone in the hand on his way, but this need not be so. Examples are:

1. a adhék cakèr kár-im ghó~i tan ha-sh ásta gri par-áu Ba.na
   1s.nom a little walk do-p/f.1s quot own horse along with go-pst.A.3s
   ‘I will go for a walk, he said, and went with the horse’

2. mashúshtyak birbó ásta gri géri pistyák i-n Fil.S
   dried mulberries walnut along with again back come-p/f.3p
   ‘they come back to here with dried mulberries and walnuts’

A crucial counter argument for regarding ásta gri as a complex postposition, however, is that gri can occur conjugated for person and tense:

3. mizók zhe se phil ek bal ásta gri-in dái
   mouse and 3s.nom.abs elephant a ball asta take-p/f.3p spec
   tará ita te balibáli kárír dái GK.em
   there.spec.abs come.cp 3p.nom.abs volleyball do-p/f.3p spec
   ‘the mouse and that elephant play volleyball, having come there, with a ball’ (or, ‘taking a ball with them’)

\(^{15}\) The initial (voiced) h- is labile. Often no aspiration at all can be heard. (h)ast also occurs in three fixed expressions (TC99: 119): hástan kárik (with instrumental -an) ‘signal with the hands’, háś kháLek ‘make a circular motion in greeting with the hands down and away from the body (of women), and hast hik ‘come into one’s possession or power, to be found’.

\(^{16}\) Alternatively, E. Bashir (p.c.) has suggested that asta gri consists of asta ‘also, more’ + gri ‘taken, etc.’.

\(^{17}\) I have observed only one instance of an inanimate companion to an inanimate (but personalized) actor, in a riddle (TC99169b/288b): shutūtur phar ásta gri nangór-una hátya paríu ‘a thing which takes a load and goes into the palace’ (thing load by-hand taken palace-Loc2 towards goes). The answer is: ‘a spoon’.
Appendix 35. Historical notes on participles as adpositions (and complementizers) in Indo-Aryan

The fact that adpositions and complementizers may develop from (conjunctive) participles is recognized in historical studies of Indo-Aryan. Masica remarks that “in Indian languages ... certain conjunctive participle forms become so lexicalized as to be equivalent to mere postpositions or adverbs” (1976: 134). Although the phenomenon is noted in grammars and other language descriptions of Indo-Aryan languages, there are, to my knowledge, no studies specifically devoted to the development of departicipial adpositions, i.e. postpositions in an Indo-Aryan context.\(^{18}\)

Also Bloch (1965: 157-161) mentions verbal participles as one of the sources of NIA postpositions, for example, OIA kṛta- ‘made’ and sahīta ‘accompanied, provided with’ (lit. ‘placed together’). kṛta- ‘made’ came to mean ‘for, for the sake of’; another verb from of OIA kṛ-, kārya ‘to be done, made’ came in MIA to be a genitive marker, reflected in Hindi/Urdu as ke. OIA sahīta, which shares source with Kalasha som ‘with, ...’ < OIA sama, is reflected in MIA by instrumental suma ([ˈsamaː] or sahu) ([ˈsahu, sau, sai], sai, and is in Hindi/Urdu reflected as ablative se (Bubenik 1998:83-8). Other sources for postpositions are (case-inflected) nominals and ‘absolutives (gérondifs)’, for example, ādāya ‘taking’ which in MIA comes to mean ‘with’ and grhitva ‘having taken’ > ‘with’ (Andersen 1979: 25; Goswami 1971: 145).

None of these, however, are locative or spatial in nature. For such a development Bubenik (1998) mentions honta(u) (present participle of ho ‘to be’) and Thīu (from sthīta, past participle of Tha ‘remain, stay’, < OIA sthā), used for ablative state of affairs (p. 68-73) in MIA (Apabhṛṣṭa). In fact, in a number of NIA languages we see reflections of OIA sthīta/sthā ‘stand, etc.’ or bhū-, as- (and participial formations hereof) ‘be, become’ being associated with ablative, for example, Kalam Kohistani (Baart 1999), Pashai (SE-group; GM73), Assamese (Goswami 1971). For MIA (Apabhṛṣṭa), see Bubenik (1998).

\(^{18}\) The development of complementizers, and in particular the development of ‘quotative SAY’, has been attended with much more interest than the development of departicipial postpositions, see, for example, Kachru (1979), Hock (1982), Meenakshi (1983), and Bashir (1996, + references). The poor situation regarding descriptions of the development of participial postpositions in Indo-Aryan (and Dravidian) languages is in sharp contrast to the interest in the source of the participial postpositions, namely the conjunctive participle; see, for example, Lindholm (1975), Masica (1976), Kliman (1983), Abbi (1984), Davison (1981, 1986), Tikkanen (1987, 1995), Steever (1988), and Schmidt (2003).
Appendix 36. Relational nouns in Kalasha

Alphabetical list of relational nouns and locational nouns functioning as relational nouns, i.e. denoting a static location in relation to a reference location or point. Definitions according to TC99 and author’s notes. Etymologies according to GM73 and TC99. Number in brackets refer to entries in Turner (1966). Cnstr. = construction restriction.

aTālak ‘high place in landscape; small plateau, among the mountains; ridge, spur of a hill’. < attāk- ‘watch-tower’ (185)

awāt ‘place’.
Ex. ek awāt-a sari āini TC99
‘they gathered together in one place’.

awatik ‘edge of something’.
Ex. awatik-ai mo pari. shurūís TC99
‘don’t go near the edge, you will fall!’

awathéri ‘place near the edge of something’.
Ex. se shuLā awathēri thi sāthi shīaw TC99
‘that piece of wood is stuck near the edge of the stream’

bian ‘outside’ < bahīs ’outside, except’ (9186). Cnstr.: cannot occur with Loc2-una and Abl2-ani. Derivations: bianyāk ‘out, outside (non-specific)’. Var.: bihan. (see Ch. 18).

biw ‘lip, upper edge or limit of a container or object’.
Ex. mo Dhok kāri .. bíLas som kāri TC99
‘don’t make a heaping, fill it just to the brim’

cÚik ‘point of an object (not container); top of a tree or mountain’. < cū ‘upper main trunk of a tree, the large branches of a tree above the main trunk’.

Duk ‘top; heaping’. Var.: Dhuk, Dhok.
Ex. dhēnta Dūkuna mo pari. shurūís TC99
‘don’t’ go on to of the mountain, you will fall!’

gehēn ‘side, direction’. Cnstr.: may take case endings. (?) < geha- (4251) + Kho. -en ‘instr./loc.’; (see Ch. 18.).

lAngĒ ‘edge or side of something; projection’.

moc- ‘middle, centre’ mādhyā- ‘middle’ (9804). Cnstr.: bound form, must take case endings. (see Ch. 18).

mun ‘highest point of a mountain, hill, sky’. Var.: mund. < ārdhān- ‘cranium, head, top, chief, beginning’ (10247).
APPENDIX 36. RELATIONAL NOUNS IN KALASHA

nasén ‘around, bordering’. Var.: nasend. Cnstr.: Cannot occur with case endings, except Abl3-aw, nasénd-aw ‘around’. Other construction: nasén nhík ‘pass someone while going or moving (of animate or inanimate).’ < Kho. nas- + Kho. -en ‘instr./loc.’.

nO- ‘down, under, below’. Cnstr.: bound morph, must take case endings. < ? nínýá- ‘inner, hidden, secret’ (7817). (See Ch. 18.)

pahára ‘(far) direction, (far)side’. Invariant

pas, pas ‘down part of vertical object; at the foot of vertical object’. Cnstr.: invariant as an adv, must take case ending as a RelN. < Pers.

piSTaw ‘back of, behind, after’. Other construction:’ pishtyák, adv., ‘behind, after’; (see Ch. 18). < piST ‘back’, < prṣhā- ‘back, hinder part’ (8371).

prágo ‘lower portion of an entity’. Cnstr.: must take case ending as a RelN.

puNDúyraw ‘around’ (TC99: punDúiro ‘all around’). Cnstr.: invariant. < puNDúri ‘round (like a disk)’ + Abl3-aw; < *piṇḍara ‘round like a lump’ (8171).

rúaw ‘in front, forwards’; possible with Loc3-ai, rúaw-ai ‘from here in front’. < ru ‘face’ + Abl3-aw, < Pers. ruh. Other construction: ruyák, adv., ‘forwards’. (See Ch. 18.)

sen-- ‘side’; often with Loc1-a. Cnstr.: can occur as second component in compounds. Var.: send-. (see Ch. 18.)

SiS ‘top part of something’ (also ‘head’). Also ‘end part of line’; undruhak-SiS ‘furthest down(hill)’ < sirsá- ‘head, skull’ (12497)

SiSa ‘line across mountain side (that the bank of a water channel makes); bank of water channel’. < SiS ‘head, top’ + Loc1-a.

Soy ‘(very?) near’. < Khowar Soy ‘near’.

tad- ‘near’. Cnstr.: bound morph, must take case ending, often with Loc1-a; can occur as second component in compounds.

thar- ‘upon; over, above’. Cnstr.: bound morph, must take case ending; can occur as second component in compounds. < ?dh’ără ‘edge of mountain’ (6793). (see Ch. 18.)

Tek ‘edge of something, bank of a water channel, stream or lake; ridge, mountain range’; < Khowar.

udriman ‘inside’. Cnstr.: cannot occur with Loc2-una and Abl2-ani. < ántara- ‘interior, near’ (357), *antra- ‘inner’ (380). (See Ch. 18.)
újak  ‘(straight) opposite side’; (TC99: ‘true, morally; straight’). < rjí- ‘straight, honest’ (2448).

úSiS  ‘top or upper portion of an entity’. < *ut-śīṛ-ṣa- ’one who has raised his head’ (1853).

úSTak  ‘corner or (end)point of something’; for example, ‘end of rope’, ‘end of water channel’, and ‘corner of a field’. [? < uST ‘lip’ < ṭōṣṭha- ‘lip’ (2563) ?, JH].

wéti  ‘behind; back side’. Cnstr.: can occur as second component in compounds.