Local case-marking in Kalasha

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Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

Grammatical abbreviations

1,2,3	= 1st, 2nd, 3rd person	Med	= Medium
A	= Actual (past and perfect)	near	= Near
abl	= Ablative	N	= Noun
Abl1/2/3	= Ablative ending 1,2,3	nec	= Necessitative (particle)
abs	= Absent	neg	= Negation
adj	= Adjective	nonspec	= Non-specific
adv	= Adverb	nv	= Non-visible
an	= Animate	obl	= Oblique (Genitive-oblique)
au	= Augment (Past)		
aux	= Auxiliary	p	= Plural
bene	= Benefactive	pass	= Passive
bou	= Bounded (location)	perf	= Perfect
coh	= Coherence particle	p/f	= Present/Future tense
cond	= Conditional	pl	= Plural
conj	= Conjunction	popo	= Postposition
cp/CP	= Conjunctive participle	prsmp	= Presumptive (particle *-tik*)
cs1	= First-order causative		
cs2	= Second-order causative	proh	= Prohibitive particle
ctr	= Contrast (particle)	pron	= Pronoun
dem	= Demonstrative	prs	= Present tense
dist	= Distant	ps	= Possessive kinship suffix
emph	= Emphatic	pst	= Past
endear	= Endearment particle	ptc	= Participle
exp	= Experiencer	quot	= Quotative particle
exc	= Exclamatory particle	recip	= Recipient
foc	= Focus	rep	= Repitition (of a syllable)
gen	= Genitive	red	= Reduplication
hort	= Hortative	rem	= Remote
I	= Inferential/Hearsay (past and perfect)	s	= Singular
		spec	= Specific
imp	= Imperative	subj	= Subjunctive
inan	= Inanimate	tr	= Transitive
instr	= Instrumental	unb	= Unbounded (location)
int	= Interrogative (particle)	V	= Verb
ipf	= Imperfect	vis	= Visible
Loc1/2/3	= Locative ending 1, 2, 3	Ø	= Zero-ending

Abbreviations for types of data
E = Elicited material (not spontaneous).
na = From narrative (spontaneous).
te = From test material.
T = From text (spontaneous).
sm = Elicited by use of stimulus (cartoon, film, drawing, ..; spontaneous).
ma = Elicited by way of map description (spontaneous).
Fn = From author's field notes.
S = Spontaneous speech.

Abbreviations for authors
EB = Elena Bashir.
EB88 = Elena Bashir (1988a, "Topics in Kalasha Syntax: An areal and typological perspective").
EB91/01/etc. = Elena Bashir (1991/2001/etc.).
GM = Georg Morgenstierne.
GM73 = Georg Morgenstierne (1973b, "The Kalasha Language").
Tr = Ron Trail.
Tr96 = Ron Trail (1996a, "Case marking in Kalasha").
TC = Ron Trail and Greg Cooper.
TC99 = Ron Trail and Greg Cooper (1999, "Kalasha dictionary - with Urdu and English").

Other abbreviations
alt. = Alternative.
CDIAL = Comparative dictionary of Indo-Aryan languages, Turner (1966).
IA = Indo-Aryan.
Inf. = Informant.
LSI = Linguistic Survey of India (Grierson 1919).
MIA = Middle Indo-Aryan.
MPI = The Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen, The Netherlands.
NIA = New Indo-Aryan.
OIA = Old Indo-Aryan.
TRM = Topological relation marker.

Transcription notes

ts, dz = dental affricates
c, j   = alveo-palatal affricates
C, J   = retroflex affricates
y   = palatal glide
L   = dento-laminal lateral, potentially velarized
l   = alveolar lateral, potentially palatalized
h   = aspiration
´   = stress
:   = length

Other capital letters = retroflex consonants and vowels.

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1. Introduction

This thesis is a detailed study of an essential grammatical phenomenon in the language Kalasha. Kalasha, or Kalashamon as the language is called by the speakers, is an unwritten language that belongs to the Dardic sub-group of the Indo-Aryan languages. It has about 5000-6000 speakers who live in Chitral District, in North West Frontier Province, Pakistan, close to the border to the district Nuristan in North East Afghanistan.

Kalasha is not a well-described language. What we have at our disposal is a collection of notes in Morgenstierne (1973b) (although a very insightful collection of notes), an unpublished Ph.D. thesis (Bashir 1988a) on the verbal morphology and certain syntactic phenomena, an MA thesis on the sound system (Mørch and Heegaard, 1997), and a dictionary (Trail and Cooper, 1999). There is no reference grammar for the language and only very few text samples have been published (in Morgenstierne 1973b). The case system is only superficially sketched in Trail (1996).

The relatively poor descriptive status of Kalasha has influenced the content as well as the structure of this thesis, which has as its primary focus on the semantic and morpho-syntactic aspects of local case-marking, broadly understood, in Kalasha. This will be broadly clear from examining the list of contents, but I shall in the following sections 1.1-1.4 briefly sketch in somewhat greater detail the reasons for the outlook of the present work. In 1.5 I shall introduce each of the chapters.

1.1 A data-driven thesis

Due to the poor descriptive status of Kalasha it has been a necessary enterprise to set aside a large portion of the last three years of my research to collection, registration, and analysis of primary data. A major part of this research has been preoccupied with the establishing of the inventory of case markers, another with distinguishing between types of case markers: whether they are bound morphemes or free morphemes, whether they are formally fixed or variant, whether they are used with all nominals or only with (semantically definable) subsets of nominals, to what extent the case markers have specific or overlapping functions, etc. Thus the overriding aim of this thesis is to present an empirical linguistic description of a grammatical phenomenon as solid as possible. It has not been the primary purpose to create, develop, modify, support, refute or in other ways evaluate particular theoretical frameworks. In other words, the present research is data-driven rather than theory-driven.

But before being registered and described data needs to be collected. This is not always an easy task, in particular not when the data is located in a part of the

world which is remote and culturally divergent from the researcher's natural surroundings. I have therefore devoted a portion of the thesis to sketching in what ways this may have influenced the nature of the material at my disposal for analysis and, consequently, the analyses themselves.

The fact that the language under study here is neither my mother-tongue, nor a language well-known to the linguistic world has implications for the presentation of the data and for the methodology used in eliciting certain types of data and in analyzing them. For example, since introspection is out of the question with respect to my knowledge of Kalasha, I have been forced time and again to check and recheck the grammaticality or acceptability of certain constructions. This has been carried out by a 'speaker-near discovery procedure', i.e. face-to-face interaction in elicitation sessions. Ch. 6 discusses what sort of biases the data may have received from this methodology.

But descriptive linguistics cannot and should not live in a theoretical vacuum. Where I have considered it particularly suitable and helpful, I have adopted specific theoretical models as descriptive tools in order for the presentation to be as explicitl as possible. As will be clear, I have in particular drawn on the terminology and approach to 'case-marking functions' known from Cognitive Linguistics, broadly understood, and from work on spatial language, in particular that carried out by researchers with affiliation to the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen.

I have not only made use of a certain terminology (and with it also its basic theoretical implications). I have also where suitable discussed how the Kalasha data analysed can put theoretical claims into perspective. This has lead to discussion chapters that are introduced by outlines of certain theoretical perspectives. Focus in these data-lead theoretical discussions has been on the coding of spatial state of affairs and on the historical development of a case-marking system. This will be introduced below, but first I shall make clear what I understand by 'case-marking' and 'case system'.

1.2 Case-marking and case markers

I shall in this thesis take a broad perspective on the notion 'case'. I shall consider it as <u>functional</u>, i.e. semantic, category, rather than a formal, i.e. inflectional, category. That is, I shall not only study inflectional elements, case suffixes, but also postpositions and relational nouns. The holistic approach is in accordance with the perspective taken by many South Asianists, and which Colin P. Masica also advocates in his bird's eye view on case-marking in New Indo-Aryan languages (NIA):

> "For the NIA languages, whose [case] paradigms achieve their contrasts through various combinations of inherited synthetic elements, new agglutinative elements, and analytic elements, an account confined to the first of

these, or even to the first and second would be fragmentary (...) the line between such analytic elements and agglutinative affixes is uncertain, particularly since the former are generally ancestral to the latter, through gradual phonetic reduction and adhesion to the stem" (Masica 1991: 212).

A polyfaceted way of expressing case is known from other languages, for example the prepositional case in Russian which requires a preposition <u>and</u> a case ending. It should be noticed for Kalasha as well as for many other NIA languages that this polyfaceted way of expressing case is not only reserved for local or 'semantic' cases, i.e. local cases, comitative, etc. (following Blake 1994: 29-34), but is also used for the expression of 'grammatical case', i.e. the expression of, for example, a direct object, an indirect object, or a dative object.

Besides this synchronic argument there is also a diachronic reason for the broad perspective on 'case', as Masica also indicates:

> "It becomes a question, therefore, of stages in a common historical process, wherein it is difficult to determine the precise point of transition from independent particle to suffix" (Masica 1991: 212).

We shall see that there are instances of such intermediate stages in Kalasha, and, consequently, that the description of the case-marking system will be incomplete or disturbed if a more narrow perspective on case is adopted.

Both grammatical and semantic functions of the case markers are described in this study, but giving each of these aspects of case marking equally thorough attention would exceed the limits of the thesis. Since the functions of the local case markers has been unknown territory, not investigated in any detail previously, this part of the grammar of Kalasha has drawn much of my attention and has become the major topic of the investigation that is to follow.

1.3 Local case-marking and spatial grammar

In my investigation of the local case markers I have benefitted from the recent work on 'spatial representation in language', or 'spatial semantics', in particular as it is carried out by researchers at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics. As I have used some of the experimental material developed by these scholars for the investigation of spatial language, I have also been able to place my findings within the perspectives of these scholars and the discussions they raise.

A central issue for the work of these linguists is whether - or to what extent - linguistic categorization in a given language influences conceptualization, i.e. with how much likelihood one can postulate a connection between semantic representations and underlying conceptual structure.

Part of the hypothesis developed by these scholars is that although languages do not agree on basic, 'primitive', spatial categories like 'in', 'on', 'under', 'near', etc., as they make different 'cuts' through this semantic space, they nevertheless agree on the underlying organization of space, such that certain notions will have fixed neighborhood relations. The latter assumption is still being explored by Melissa Bowerman and Eric Pederson, who have set up a preliminary hierarchy of situations that go from being 'typically 'on' situations' to being less typically 'on' ones. I shall discuss the semantics of the local case endings in Kalasha with respect to this hypothesis. I hope that I can contribute in this way to the cross-linguistic investigation of how space is coded in language.

1.4 The development of a case-marking system

With Masica's calling attention to the relevance of the historical dimension to layered case-marking systems the way is open for a diachronic perspective on case-marking in Kalasha. A historically conditioned layered case system as in Kalasha and in NIA is an obvious candidate for a case study within that branch of historical linguistics that has expanded most within the past 20 years, namely grammaticalization theory.

Within this framework different perspectives have been promoted. In the traditional perspective grammaticalization focuses on the development of original free lexical items to bound grammatical morphemes. Studies of such developments have led scholars to establish typical 'grammaticalization paths', and some scholars (for example, Bernd Heine and Joan Bybee) have claimed that the regularity of these grammaticalization paths are reflections of general mental processes that also lie behind semantic developments such as metaphors and metonymy. Other scholars, for example Heltoft et al. (2005), see grammaticalization primarily as a restructuring of grammatical systems.

Even though the history of Kalasha is undocumented we do have the Old Indo-Aryan (OIA) synthetic case system as the point of departure for comparison; and even though a few functional parallels can be observed, we will see that the case-marking system in Kalasha, more than 2000 years after the erosion of the case system in OIA, is fundamentally different. With a well-known point of departure contrasted with the heterogeneously layer-structured system in contemporary Kalasha, we have a good basis for a discussion of the validity of the claims made about grammaticalization processes from the different perspectives.

1.5 Outline of the thesis

Since this dissertation deals with a little-known and poorly-described language, and since it is data-driven and descriptive to the extent that it is, its composition is not what one typically would expect for a Ph.D. thesis. It does not take its point of

departure in a theoretical overview and a survey of relevant research within the topic investigated. I start out rather in Ch. 2 with a presentation of the Kalasha people and the macro-sociolinguistic setting of their speech community. In Ch. 3 I survey and give a brief evaluation of previous descriptions of the language, and in Ch. 4 Kalasha is placed in an areal and historical context.

Ch. 5 gives a sketch of the phonological and grammatical structure of the language, summarizing Mørch and Heegaard (1997, ch. 6-7) with respect to the sound system and Bashir (1988a, 2003) with respect to the grammar. Ch. 6 accounts for the sort of data used for the analyses and for the methodology used in obtaining the data. The chapter discusses the pros and cons of different aspects of fieldwork and elication work and how these may have affected the data and the analyses.

In Ch. 7 I introduce the tool used for graphically depicting the multifunctionality of the case markers: the semantic network model. I make it clear that I intend to use this descriptive device as a model for a synchronic semantic description without diachronic or conceptual overtones.

Ch. 8 gives an overview of the case endings in Kalasha. I relate my analyses to previous analyses and fill out holes in these. I show that there are different case ending paradigms for common nouns, place names, person names, quantifiers and adverbs respectively, and that within common nouns it is essential to distinguish between animate and inanimate nouns. I survey the primary functions of the non-local cases, and I present a diacronic explanation for the allomorphy in the oblique plural for common nouns. The survey of case endings is followed in Ch. 9 by an overview of the different types of case markers to be investigated in the remainder of the thesis. In Ch. 10 I give a summary of and reject previous analyses of the case endings.

Chapters 11-16 analyse the case endings. I start out in Ch. 11 with an analysis based on responses to stimulus material, 'tests' or 'experimental stimuli', as I shall call it. The analysis is discussed from the perspective of the work by Stephen Levinson, Melissa Bowerman and their research associates. Ch. 12 analyzes the distribution of locative case endings in the data from the 'spontaneous material' and from elicitation sessions. The chapter compares the results of the analysis of this material with the results from the 'tests', and I set up detailed accounts for the multifunctionality of each of the three locative endnings. The chapter closes with a theory-inspired cross-linguistic perspective on the proposed semantics of the locative case endings.

Ch. 13 analyses the distribution and multifunctionality of the ablative case endings in the 'tests', in the spontaneous material, and in the data from eliciation sessions. Also this chapter closes with a theory-inspired cross-linguistic perspective. Chapters 12-13 also discuss possible diachronic perspectives to the present content of the relevant morphemes.

In Chapters 14 and 15 I analyze the distribution of the local case endings with place names and adverbs. I conclude that the distribution with these two nominal classes deviates from that with common nouns, and that there is only partial

agreement on the semantics coded by the case endings in the nominal classes. Ch. 16 gives a summary of the distribution of the local case endings and the overall paradigms for the nominal classes investigated are presented.

Ch. 17 is a lengthy presentation of those postpositions that have space-marking and complement-marking functions. I distinguish between those postpositions (or those postpositions to be) that have developed from verbal participles and those postposition that have developed from other sources. The chapter outlines the complementary and overlapping functions of the case-marking and complement-marking postpositions and it places the postpositions within the overall case-marking system.

Ch. 18 investigates a selection of the third kind of case marker studied in this thesis, the relational nouns. I give a definition of the relational nouns based on shared semantics and describe the heterogeneous morphosyntactic features that this type of case marker displays.

In Ch. 19 I summarize the essential characteristics of the three types of case markers investigated and I propose an overall case-marking system for Kalasha. This is then discussed in relation to Masica's layer model for case-marking in NIA, also from a diachronic perspective. The latter perspective encompasses a discussion of how the case-marking system in Kalasha fits into assumptions about the development of grammatical morphemes as formulated by scholars working within the framework of grammaticalization.

Ch. 20 contains a summary in English. Ch. 21 contains a Danish summary.

In the second volume of this thesis I present a number of maps and appendices. The maps should give the reader an idea of the geographical setting of the Kalasha speech community and of the Hindu Kush as a polylingual area. The appendices are of two types. One type contains word lists and other extensive data and empirical evidence for some of the analyses formulated in the thesis, in particular the data elicited by the use of experimental stimuli. The other type contains preliminary analyses that are marginal to the topic of the thesis and that I have not had enough time and data to complete.

2. The Kalasha people and their language

2.1 The geographical setting

Chitral District is a part of the Hindu Kush massif that stretches from western-most Tibet, across Northern India and Pakistan into Northeastern Afghanistan. To the north the Hindu Kush borders the Pamir massif, to the South the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent (see Maps 1 and 3). Chitral District covers largely the area around the Chitral river and its two tributaries from the North and a number of tributaries East and West of it (see Map 2). About 400.000 people live in Chitral District. The largest town and administrative centre is Chitral town.

Chitral District can be entered by road from Gilgit through the Shandur Pass in the high North, through the Lowari Pass to the South, and through the border to Afghanistan in the South-West, where the Chitral river becomes the Kunar river. Because of political turmoil in Afghanistan entering Chitral District through Afghanistan is an uncertain enterprise, if the border is open at all. The entrances through the passes may be closed from about November till May because of snowfall in the high passes. If the border to Afghanistan is not open in that period, the only way to get to Chitral District is by plane from Peshawar and, although not regularly, by helicopter from Dir.

2.2 The macro-sociolinguistic setting

2.2.1 The Kalasha valleys

There are about 5000-6000 speakers of Kalasha.[1] They live in five V-shaped, west-east going side valleys to the larger Chitral valley: Rukmu, Mumoret, Biriu, Jinjiret, and Utsund.

The Kalasha speech community is divided between a population that adheres to an old, pre-Islamic religion and a Muslim population, converts. In Rukmu, the northern-most of the five valleys, the large majority of the population is traditional Kalasha, with a village inhabited by a Kati-speaking Nuristani people. In Mumoret, the largest of the five valleys, the traditional Kalasha population is still a majority, but there are also a large number of converts, Muslim newcomers of the Kho tribe, an old-time settled Muslim population in the village Kanderisar, and a Nuristani population, from neighbouring Nuristan in Afghanistan, in the village Brumutul. In Biriu the population is now made up by half traditional Kalasha and half converts. In Jinjiret and Urtsun all Kalasha have converted about three to four generations ago and a language shift is taking place to Khowar, the

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[1] Ethnologue estimates a population of 5029, 3/6 2006
(http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=kls).

lingua franca of the region. However, Kalasha is still known and to some extent also spoken by the adult population (Cacopardo and Cacopardo 1991; Mørch and Heegaard 1997: 10-13).

Based on numbers given by Cacopardo and Cacopardo (2001), Bashir (2003), and Mørch's and my own field work in the area, I estimate that there are about 4500 traditional Kalasha and about 1500 converts who speak Kalasha. When I in the following use the term 'the Kalasha people', I refer to the Kalasha that have not converted to Islam.

2.2.2 The Hindu Kush language area

The Hindu Kush is inhabited by a large number of peoples, each with their own language and cultural characteristics, with Morgenstierne's words, the region is "one of the most polyglot in Asia" (Morgenstierne 1961). With a population of about 5000 the Kalasha people, i.e. the traditional Kalasha, is one of the smallest of these, but at the same time the one that has attracted most interest from researchers (and from tourists from Pakistan and other parts of the world).[2]

The reason for this is that the Kalasha is the only non-Muslim people that upholds a traditional polytheistic and animistic religion, see Cacopardo (1989), Liévre (1990), Maggi (2001). Until the end of the 19th century they shared this religion or a variety hereof with neighbouring peoples in North East Afghanistan, and the whole non-Muslim area was known as Kafiristan, Land of Non-believers (Biddulph 1880; Robertson 1896; Schomberg 1938). By the islamization by force initiated and lead by the Emir of Kabul, the Afghan part of Kafiristan became Muslim and from that time on called Nuristan, Land of Light. By being part of the British-India empire the Kalasha people was protected from the violent conversion process and the people remained non-Muslim. To this day the Kalasha are still referred to as 'Kafirs' by Muslims. The term is strongly derogatory and will not be used here.

In the Pakistani part of the Hindu Kush, i.e. the districts Chitral, Gilgit, Hunza, Baltistan, Azad Kashmir, Swat, and Dir, a large number of the so-called Dardic languages of the New Indo-Aryan (NIA) languages are spoken (see chapter 4 below for the term 'Dardic'). The Kalasha language community is neighboured by a Kati (Nuristani) community to the West, and to a Khowar-speaking (Indo-Aryan, IA) community to the East. In Chitral District a large

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[2] See Mørch and Heegaard (1997: 26-31) and Maggi (2001: 18-30) for examples of consequences of this attention from foreigners. The Kalasha people is in fact a major tourist attraction, often promoted in Pakistan as an unspoiled and innocnent paradise (Alaudin 1992). Also Western-based non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have found their way to the (traditional) Kalasha valley and have provided financial support for constructions of bridges and irrigation channels, village temples, school buildings, etc., etc. This enterprise has led to changes in the traditional economy and in the traditional way to decide about finance and community problems and tasks. Another side effect of the foreign intervention in the traditional Kalasha way of life is the growing envy from the neighbouring (Muslim) peoples that do not get as much financial support as the Kalasha.

number of other languages are spoken. The main language and the lingua franca is Khowar, the language of the dominant Kho people. Other languages, spoken by indigenous peoples or by immigrants, are Palula (IA, Dardic), Gujuri (IA), Gawar-bati (IA, Dardic), Kirgizian (Turkish), Wakhi (Iranian, Ir.), Yidgha (Ir.), Munji (Ir.), Farsi (Ir.), Pashto (Ir.), Dameli (Nuristani/IA, Dardic), Gawar-bati (IA, Dardic), East Kati (Nuristani). Besides these languages also Urdu (IA) is spoken as the language of administration, in the bazars, and it is taught in the schools. English is also taught in schools and used by people interacting with tourists. Finally, through studies of the Koran many people learn to read Classic Arabic. None of the lesser-known languages mentioned here has a written culture, but Kho poets and intellectuals have for some years now used a modified Perso-Arabic script for Khowar.

Through the history there has been mutual cultural and religious contact between the peoples in Chitral, and in the Hindu Kush area in general, in spite of the narrow valleys that are difficult to access, and which have formed natural barriers for the specific language societies. It is to be expected that the historical contacts also have had their effect on the linguistic structure of the languages in Chitral and in the Hindu Kush in general.

Bilingualism and multilingualism are widespread. Most people in District Chitral, at least most men who do not belong to the Kho tribe, also know Khowar besides their mother tongue. Urdu and to some degree also English are known as a secondary language by those who have received education.

2.2 Kalasha mode of life and religion

The Kalasha live in densely built-up villages in the three valleys Mumuret, Rukmu, and Biriu.[3] Houses are typically built on top of each other up along the slope in order not to take up valuable ground for agriculture. In former times this architecture also had defence purposes.

The Kalasha are traditionally pastoralists, with goats as the dominant animal, and agriculturalists. Only within the last 20 years, since the construction of dirt tracks into the valleys, a cash economy has arisen. Money is earnt by trade, tourism and by the still-growing enterprise of being contractor for NGO projects. Traditional work is strictly divided between sexes. Men take care of goats, produce cheese, construct irrigation channels, plough and harvest the fields. Women are in charge of all types of housework and the weeding and watering of fields.

The strict division of labour reflects important aspects of the religion: the division of the world into 'pure', *ónjeSTa*, and 'impure', *prágaTa*, spheres. If these two spheres are mixed, if the spheres are not properly respected, a 'pollu-

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[3] I choose to use the Kalasha names for the valleys, otherwise known by their Khowar denominations 'Bumburet', 'Rumbur', and 'Birir'.

tion' will occur that will cause illness and bad times to occur.[4] To the *ónjeSTa* sphere belong the gods, the high mountains (and what is connected with this area, wild life, hunting, pasture life), the altars and holy places, many of the high situated irrigation channels, the goat stables and roofs of some of the highest situated houses in the villages. To the *prágata* sphere belongs much of what is connected with or located in the lowest part of the valleys, the graveyards, the *bashali*'s (buildings for menstruating and birth-giving women), and in general the Muslim world.

There are currently discussions among ethnographers and anthropologists about which specific characteristics of the Kalasha way of life are unique Kalasha, pan-Hindu Kush, or borrowed by the Kalasha from neighbouring societies. Of particular linguistic interest is the opinion expressed by the Austrian anthropologist Max Klimburg that the Nuristani people have had considerable influence on the Kalasha religion. This assumed close contact between Nuristani societies in the West and the Kalasha may be reflected in the development of the retroflex vowels, which do not seem to be shared by other Indo-Aryan languages in the area (see Mørch and Heegaard (1997: 106-116) and Heegård and Mørch (2004) for considerations about phonetic similarities between Kalasha and some of the Nuristani languages).[5]

2.3 The history of the Kalasha

The history of the Kalasha is disputed. According to the Kalasha traditions the Kalasha invaded present District of Chitral from a fabled home country, Tsiam. Siiger (1956: 32-35) and Loude and Lievre (1987: 21-22, 189-191) refer to this, Siiger, though, with scepticism. Parkes (1983) and Cacopardo and Cacorpardo (1991) follow Morgenstierne (1932: 51) in the opinon that Khowar and Kalasha "belong to the first wave of Indo-Aryan immigrants from the south". Cacopardo and Cacopardo outline the state of knowledge as such:

> "the Kalasha could have come just about from any directions … the area occupied by the Kalasha in a more distant past was simply somewhat larger than the area classically ascribed to them, i.e. at least all southern Chitral: perhaps extending further south in the Kunar to border with the Waigali tribe; perhaps extending west into parts or side valleys of Bashgal, before the Kam [a Nuristani people, JHP] arrived there … perhaps, in more remote days,

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[4] For detailed descriptions of the Kalasha mode of life and religion, see Parkes (1983, 1987, 1992), Loude and Lievre (1987), and Maggi (2001).

[5] The centuries old contact between the Kalasha and the Kho people is traceable in terms of a number of Khowar loanwords in Kalasha and also similar structural patterns in the verbal morphology, see Bashir (1988a).

extending into large parts of Northern Chitral" (Cacopardo and Cacopardo 1991: 370-371).

2.4 Kalasha dialects

The five valleys constitute two main dialect areas. Southern Kalasha is spoken in Utsund, Northern Kalasha in the other four valleys. There are two varieties of Northern Kalasha. One is constituted by Jinjiret and Biriu, the other by Rukmu and Mumuret. The two varieties are mutually intelligible, differing only by a few phonemic features and few lexical diversities. Northern and Southern Kalasha are not mutually intelligible.[6] It is the variety spoken in Rukmu and Mumoret that has been the subject of this study.

Until the time around the independence of Pakistan in 1947, the distribution area of the Kalasha language as well as the culture was considerably larger. This has been known since Gurdon (1904), who registered Kalasha speaking settlements along the Chitral river in the villages Suwir, Kalkatak, and Lawi. Inspite of this observation these former Kalasha-speaking parts of Chitral have not attracted much attention from linguists or anthropologists until Cacopardo and Cacopardo (1991) who have surveyed the former Kalasha settlements in Southern Chitral: Birga, Uzurbekande, Lawi, Broz, Kalkatak, Suwir, and Naghar (see Maps 2 and 4).[7]

The Kalasha speech community has been shrinking in distribution since a proposed but still not fully elucidated wave of conversion took place assumably around the years of the independence of Pakistan 1947 (Cacopardo and Cacopardo 1991). With conversion a language shift has taken place, as the converts adopt the lingua franca of Chitral, Khowar, as their first language and teach it as the mothertongue to their children. (Kalkatak is an exception in this respect since the population in this village has shifted to Palula, another Indo-Aryan, 'Dardic', language spoken in the nearby valley Biori and in the area around the village Ashret, south of Kalkatak.)

The process of language shift is gradual and in some places slower than in other places, as pointed to by Mørch (2000b), but it is steady and on-going. In Utsund and Jinjiret the children are no longer learning Kalasha, and also in Biriu, although still with a significant portion of the population adhering to the traditional Kalasha way of life, the converts start using Khowar.

Encouraged by the Cacopardos Ida Mørch and I, and in 1995 Prof. Jørgen Rischel, University of Copenhagen, succeeded in finding speakers (or rather,

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[6] See Decker (1992) for a lexical similarity comparison which distinguishes the Utsund dialect from the varieties spoken in Biriu and Mumoret.

[7] Parkes (1983: 280) has a few uncommented observations of possible use of Kalasha in some of these localities: "restricted forms of Kalasha, used as a private language, can still be heard in some parts of the town Drosh and Aiun".

'rememberers') of the Kalasha language of Birga, Lawi, Kalkatak, Gromel (part of Drosh), and Suwir. We found that these localities constitue a third, although not quite uniform dialect area (Eastern Kalasha).[8]

2.5 The future of Kalasha

Conversion to Islam does not only imply change of religious praxis and language but a completely change of life, in particular for the women, and often also segregation in daily life from the traditional Kalasha. In Rukmu and Mumoret converts move out of the villages, because a Muslim household will 'pollute' a Kalasha village, and because it is not suitable for a 'proper Muslim' to live among what most local Muslims consider infidels. In Biriu, however, where there is less habitational space, converts continue to live in the villages.

Although interesting from both a linguistic and an anthropological point of view, the language use and the new (or mixed) culture among the converts are studied neither by any linguists, nor by any anthropologists, except Cacopardo and Cacopardo (1991). Practically all research on the Kalasha people, culture and language focuses on the 'proper' Kalasha, the traditional community and the language spoken there.

The shrinking of the Kalasha population in Biriu leaves Rukmu and Mumuret as the present Kalasha strongholds. But even though the Kalasha population in these valleys is actually growing in number, the threat and the pressure from the Muslim population, including converted family members, for the Kalasha to surrender is ever-present. It is important to be aware that being a Kalasha does not only mean being a member of a tribe that adheres to a specific religion and specific cultural traditions. It also means not being Muslim, i.e. to be something very different and unique in contrast to the surrounding community which in spite of its cultural and linguistic heterogeneity is religiously homogeneous and very powerful in social and economic life.

I shall not here go into the social, economical, political and religious factors that are in play in these tense relations between Kalasha and their Muslim neighbours. But the religious and social pressure from the surrounding Muslim population may have dramatic linguistic consequences. If the Kalasha cannot keep on upholding their own way of life, and if they keep on abandoning their language

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[8] I refer to Mørch and Heegaard (1997: 62-65, 164-168) for a detailed phonetic dialect study of Kalasha, to my knowledge the only existing, but see GM (1973: 187-188) for a few remarks on the dialectal isoglosses. Mørch and Heegaard (1997: 10-16) and Mørch (2000b) further presents sociolinguistic data on language vitality and age, gender, approximate number of speakers of these moribund varieties of Kalasha.

when converting, the language must be characterized as 'endangered'.[9] For present, though, I would call the Kalasha language 'threatened', or 'potentially endangered', following the five-level model suggested by Wurm (1998: 192).

The other side of the coin is that the multifaceted endangerment on the Kalasha people and way of life, has actually lead to an increasing awareness of the threat among the Kalasha and on the need to preserve their unique culture. This is in particular so among the growing number of educated and strenous and enterprising young Kalasha, many of whom receive employment in the also still growing number of Kalasha primary schools. A number of Kalasha individuals are involved in different projects that are supposed to preserve the unique Kalasha way of living. The projects may be supported by the Pakistani government or by NGOs from outside Pakistan.

One of the projects is the development of a Latin-based alphabet for the Kalasha language. The alphabet is meant to be the mode of archive for traditional legends, narratives and religious myths. It is a widespread belief among the Kalasha that teaching children and others how to write the language will help in preserving it and also strengthen the ethnic self-awareness. To my knowledge, until now two primers to be used in the first school years have been developed and are in use.[10]

There is also a widespread tendency among the young, educated Kalasha to use the Kalasha language in electronic communication, e.g. in chat rooms and emails. The website http://kalashapeople.org/ contains a weblog with contributions from Kalasha speakers from different parts of Pakistan and from other parts of the world. The contributions are mostly in Kalasha, written with the Latin-based alphabet mentioned above (with idiosyncratic modifications). Unfortunately I have not had time to study this valuable linguistic material for the analyses in this dissertation.

Summing up on language vitality: On the one hand we have a number of Kalasha (supported by Western activists) who work hard for the preservation of the language and the culture. On the other hand, we have a social, religious and economical pressure on the Kalasha for them to convert to Islam, which again may lead to language shift and to a shrinking language community. Although I am perhaps not as pessimistic as I was 8-10 years ago, I am uncertain as to what the future will bring as regards the survival of the Kalasha language and culture.

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[9] Conversion to Islam is a no-way-back process. It is a deeply rooted conviction among the Kalasha (and the converts) that they will be killed by members of the Muslim community if they adapt the Kalasha religion after having converted to Islam.
[10] The primers do not contain information about author and editor. Fuller information on the literacy project can obtained on: http://kalasha.net/book.html, http://kalashcommunityschool.blogspot.com/, and http://www.explorers.hu/eng/KULTUR_ENG_TMP/ irasbeli_eng/irasbeli_main_eng.asp.

3. Previous lingustic research on Kalasha

3.1 The pioneers

The first report on the Kalasha language is Leitner (1880), which contains a vocabulary and a brief grammatical sketch. Leitner's work is summarized by Grierson (1919) in Linguistic Survey of India (hereafter LSI). Grierson includes Kalasha in a "Kafir Group" of a Dardic sub-family of the Aryan languages, including also Pashai, and what is now known as Nuristani languages (see Ch. 4). Grierson's sketch of Kalasha includes overviews of verbal, nominal, and pronominal paradigms (nominal paradigms including certain postpositions), of numerals, and two glossed text specimens; one is a translation of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, the other a traditional narrative.

3.2 Georg Morgenstierne

In 1932 the Norwegian linguist Georg Morgenstierne (hereafter GM) gives a sketch of the sound system and the basic grammar of Kalasha, based on observations during his field trip to North Western India in the 1920's (Morgenstierne 1932). GM also mentions that Kalasha in the past was more widely spoken, and he briefly sketches the dialect division between North and South Kalasha.

With GM's pioneer work in the Hindu Kush language area Grierson's hitherto accepted genetic classification is rejected. Morgenstierne sees Kalasha as "a purely Indian language" (Morgenstierne 1932: 51), and he points to a number of phonological, grammatical and lexical features that indicate a close historical relationship to neighbouring Indo-Aryan Khowar. He also notes a number of phonemic and lexical similarities to Nuristani Kati, which "are quite natural, considering the long period of close contact between the two tribes [Kalasha and Kati, JHP]" (p. 52). GM's genetic classification of Kalasha in 1932 has since been accepted, but his and others' view on what constitutes 'Dardic' has changed.

The brief description in Morgenstierne (1932) is elaborated extensively in Morgenstierne (1973b) (hereafter referred to by GM73) in the section "Notes on Kalasha". This section is supplemented with a section termed "Vocabulary", and a section termed "Texts", so far the only published collection of texts in Kalasha. Besides the basic vocabulary, "Vocabulary" also contains lists of place names and personal names, and names for times and events of the year. GM73 includes GM's own notes and also the information from LSI, notes from the Danish ethnographer and religious historian Halfdan Siiger, recorded in 1947 under the 3rd Danish Central Asia Expedition, and word lists from travellers and scholars such as Schomberg (1938), A. Maruzzi (a participant in an Italian expedition to

Chitral in the 1950's, and Mr. Wazir Ali Shah, a local ethnographically interested government official in Chitral.

'Notes on Kalasha' gives a sketch of the grammar and the sound system with a strong historical bias. GM had too little material to provide a clear grammatical overview, not least with respect to case-marking, but his notes and observations are insightful and invaluable. Throughout "Vocabulary" and "Notes on Kalasha" GM refers to grammatical, phonological, and lexical similaritis in neighbouring Nuristani, Indo-Aryan, and Persian languages. In particular "Vocabulary" is a rich source as regards etymologies for indigenous words, loanwords, and possible cognates in other languages.

Although GM's presentation of Kalasha is at times somewhat unordered, GM73 is an impressive collection of observations of grammatical and phonological phenomena in a hitherto poorly described and almost unknown language.[11] And GM73 has been an important work tool for all succeeding Kalasha scholars and it is constantly referred to by linguists as well as anthropologists, South Asianists as well as Indo-Europeanists. Turner (1966),[12] Fussman (1973), and Edelman (1983) all incorporate GM's work on Kalasha.

3.3 Linguistic research on Kalasha in the late 20th century

3.3.1 Ron Trail and Greg Cooper

After Morgenstierne's fieldwork in the 1920's almost 60 years pass before linguists turn their interest towards Kalasha.[13] In the beginning of 1980's two linguists from SIL International (at that time 'Summer Institute of Linguistics'), Ron Trail and Greg Cooper (hereafter referred to collectively by 'TC'), begin their work on Kalasha, and in 1986-87 the American linguist Elena Bashir (hereafter 'EB') carries out fieldwork among the Kalasha.

From the hands of the SIL linguists we have an analysis of a narrative (Trail and Hale 1995), a brief sketch of case-marking (Trail 1996a, hereafter 'Tr96') and a dictionary, "Kalasha Dictionary - with English and Urdu", (Trail 1999, hereafter

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[11] GM's important contribution (based on two field trips in the 1920s) to the knowledge of the languages in the Hindu Kush should be seen not only in view of a thorough knowledge about the histories of the Iranian and Indian languages but also of tremendous work pace, enthusiastically and humorously described in his diary: "11 June .. Yasin comes to discuss the day's menú with me. "What would I like from the bazar? A freshly arrived Wakhi for breakfast? Or perhaps a light Turki hors-d'oeuvre? A good portion of Munjani as a pièce de résistance? And some Kalasha for desert?" " (Endresen 1981).

[12] Turner (1966) refers to 'A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages', in this thesis occasionally referred to by 'CDIAL'.

[13] The poor linguistic interest in the Kalasha (and in the Hindu Kush languages) contrasts sharply with the enormous anthropological and ethnographical research in the area. For an overview I refer to the list of literature in the most recent works by Klimburg (1999), Maggi (2001), and Cacopardo and Cacopardo (2001).

'TC99' and TC'). Trail and Cooper are also the authors of two unpublished manuscripts, Trail and Cooper (1985, 1996). Besides this Greg Cooper and Elsa Cooper have carried out work on a writing system and on a literacy project for the Kalasha, which, to my knowledge, have resulted in an unpublished PhD thesis: "An optimal orthography for the Kalasha language" (Cooper, np.).

TC99 is a comprehensive dictionary of Kalasha, and it is an indispensable work tool for the Kalasha researcher. It has its strong side in the presentation of the lexicon with information about semantic fields, synonyms and near synonyms, and antonyms, and it contains many examples, presumably drawn from texts as well as from elicitation work (although the authors are not clear about their work methods and their data). The dictionary provides good information on etymology (using GM's suggestions as to Old Indo-Aryan (OIA) cognates), on certain aspects of morphophonology, and on the donor languages to loanwords. The dictionary also contains grammatical information about conjugation patterns, about meanings of derivationals, of nominal endings, and of case-marking for certain predicates. However, the latter aspect is not consistently carried out (and occasionally divergent from my data), and, as we shall see, their analysis of the case endings differs somewhat from mine.

3.3.2 Elena Bashir

Elena Bashir's work on Kalasha has brought about an unpublished PhD thesis, "Topics in Kalasha Syntax: An Areal and Typological Perspective" (Bashir 1988a) (hereafter 'EB88'), and a number of 'spin-off' articles from the thesis: Bashir (1988b, 1990, 1993, 1996). In Bashir (2000) she presents a sketch of Kalasha, summarizing what has been written on Kalasha uptil then.

EB88 contains detailed descriptions of the verbal system, relative clauses, compound verb constructions, causative constructions, conjunction strategies, as well as a discussion of how Kalasha relates genetically and typologically to Khowar and to the Indian language area. Indicators of a period of uniquely shared development with Khowar are:

(1) Nominative-accusative case-marking and retention of the OIA past augment.
(2) Common Kalasha-Khowar forms: *jhū '- N. Kal. *chū(l)*, S. Kal. *jhūr*, Kho. *zhuúr* 'daughter'.
(3) Past participle formation: *karitaka > *kardau > Kho. *kardu*, Kal. *káda*.
(4) Morphologization of inferentiality.
(5) Loss of inherited gender and grammaticization of animacy.
(6) Close morphological parallelisms.

EB's description is solidly based on a huge number of glossed and translated examples from her own fieldwork and previous work on Kalasha, and also on texts collected by the British anthropologist Peter Parkes. This present thesis

draws heavily on Bashir's work on the verbal morphology and semantics and on her syntactic analysis.

3.3.3 Ida E. Mørch and Jan Heegård Petersen

Ida E. Mørch's and my work on Kalasha began in our student period in 1995 and has for my part continued until today. It has resulted in a detailed description of the sound system (Mørch and Heegaard 1997), including a historical approach to the retroflex vowels and a dialectal sketch. Mørch (1995) is an acoustic study of plain, nasalized and retroflex vowels. Heegaard (1998) examines intriguing patterns of vowel length. Heegaard (1996) and Heegård (2000) evaluate the linguistic and language political aspects of an alphabet project launched by a local Kalasha school teacher. Mørch (2000a) is a report on language vitality in those parts of Southern Chitral where Kalasha by the outside world was believed to have been long forgotten but is still known, 'remembered', by few speakers, in particular women. Mørch (2000b) sketches the use of some of the 'absolute adverbs' ('upstream', 'downhill', etc.) in ordinary orientation among the Kalasha. Heegård and Mørch (2004) summarize some of the complex aspects of the sound system. Finally, Heegård (2005) surveys the case-marking system of contemporary Kalasha focusing on the inventory of spatial postpositions.

3.4 Other linguistic data on Kalasha

Besides linguists also anthropologists have brought lingustic data to light. Topper (1977), Loude and Lièvre (1987), and Maggi (2002) contain useful and informative glossaries, primarily with words for cultural and religious concepts. Siiger's field notes and collection of texts, songs and prayers will be published in the years to come (Castenfeldt, in prep.), but photocopies of the original field notes have kindly been put to my disposal by Svend Castenfeldt. Castenfeldt is also the instigator of "Historical Kalasha picture book" (Castenfeldt 2002), for which the Kalasha school teacher Ingineer Khan has provided captions in Kalasha. Parkes (1983, 1990) are rich on lexical items, but unfortunately the large collection of traditional stories referred to and collected by Parkes is not accessible for other researchers.

3.5 Summary

Although Kalasha on the whole is better described than many of the other Hindu Kush languages, the amount of detailed and published studies of the language is not overwhelming. Including unpublished work we have at our disposal a good

dictionary, and an insightful and detailed account of the verbal morphology and semantics and of aspects of parts of syntax. From Morgenstierne we have good information about the history of the language. From the hands of Ida Mørch and this author we have descriptions of the sound system and of the dialect division. And with this thesis we will be better informed about the morphology and semantics of the local case-marking system. What is lacking is, for example, more syntactic studies (for example, of the 'conjunctive participle constructions' and of syntactic case-marking strategies, including the active-passive distinction), studies on the rich inventory of spatial adverbs (see Ch. 15 for an overview), a reference grammar, and a text collection.

In describing the local case-marking system I shall occasionally look at similar or different phenomena in neighbouring languages, Indo-Aryan as well as non-Indo-Aryan. With this I follow both GM and EB who also relate observations in Kalasha to what is known from other languages. I have taken such a comparative perspective for two reasons: (1) to get ideas of what may be relevant for an analysis of local case-marking in Kalasha; (2) to contribute to the ideas of the Hindu Kush languages as constituting a Sprachbund. This idea has been prevalent since the first descriptions of the languages in this part of the world, and it is often referred to by the term 'Dardic'. I shall therefore in Ch. 4 sketch how this term has been used.

4. The term 'Dardic'

4.1 The initial assumptions

The terms 'Dard', 'Dardic', and 'Dardistan' have been used with a number of different denotations by a number scholars throughout history. I shall not go into these different uses and their possible backgrounds. The purpose of the following account is to give an idea of what languages are referred to by the term 'Dardic' and what classificatory denotations the term has had.[14]

Leitner's (1880, 1893) use of 'Dardistan' and 'Dardic' became the basis for classification for that linguistic area which includes present-day NE Afghanistan, northern Pakistan, and Kashmir. Thus, Grierson (1919: 1) found it convenient to use 'Dardic' for "all Aryan languages" in the "mountaineous tract between the Hindukush and the frontiers of India proper", i.e. largely the Hindu Kush mountain range. Grierson depicts the internal relationship between the ancestor language and Indo-Aryan, Dardic, and Eranian (Iranian) as such (Grierson 1919: 8):

Aryan ⟶ Iranian
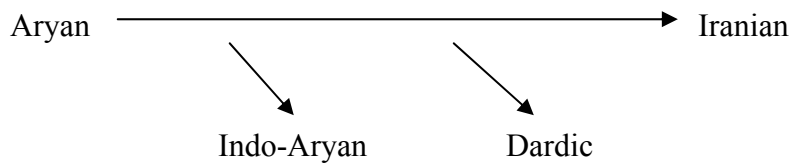
Indo-Aryan   Dardic

From a common Aryan, i.e. Indo-Iranian language group first Indo-Aryan splits, then a Dardic group, which leaves Iranian behind as a single language group.

This hypothesis states Dardic as a third branch of Indo-Iranian, and according to Grierson Dardic is constituted by three language groups:

A. Kafir group: 1) Bashgalī, 2) Wai-alā, 3) Wasī-veri or Veron, 4) Ashkund, 5) Kalāshā-Pashai Sub-group: a) Kalasha, b) Gawar-bati or Narsātī, c) Pashai, Laghmāni, Dēhgānī, Dīrī, e) Tīrāhī.
B. Khōwār, Chitrālī, or Arniyā.
C. Dard group, proper: 1) Shinā, 2) Kāshmīrī, 3) Kōhistānī.

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[14] In modern times the terms 'Dard' and 'Dardic' have assumably been used to refer to a specific people in the Astor or Chilas area (Mock 1997-2004), but there is disagreement among ancient historians and present-day scholars from different fields as to what area and what people are characterized by 'Dardistan', 'Dardic', and 'Dard'. The word is not found in any of the languages of the area. For a detailed account of the ethnographic, geographic, and linguistic uses of the term 'Dardic' throughout history, and for Sanskrit, epigraphic, and Kashmiri references to a fierce 'Dard' people, *Daradas*, I refer to Mock (to appear). For an annotated bibliography on the Dardic languages, see Schmidt and Koul (1983).

The first four 'Kafir' languages are all spoken in Kafiristan, now Nuristan, and are now referred to as 'Nuristani' languages. The members of the Kalasha-Pashai sub-group share formal similarities with each other and with the other Kafiri languages Grierson (1919: 2-3).

4.2 The Dardic account gets settled

Grierson's classification holds until Morgenstierne's reports from his fieldwork in Afghanistan and what is now Pakistan in the 1920's. In a first step of revising Grierson's classification, Morgenstierne (1926) regards Dardic as a language group. But he sees the Nuristani languages (i.e. Grierson's 1)-4) in the Kafir group) as constituting a separate group from what he considers Indian languages (p. 68-69). Kalasha, Gawar-bati, and Pashai are regarded as intermediate between these two groups. Morgenstierne (1932) classifies Kalasha as an Indian (i.e. Indo-Aryan) language, closely related to Khowar: "Probably the two languages belong to the first wave of Indo-Aryan immigrants from the south" (Morgenstierne 1932: 51).[15] The Dardic languages, including the Nuristani languages, were classified as Indo-Aryan too. This classification holds until 1961 where Morgenstierne states that:

> "We are … entitled to posit the existence of a third branch of [Indo-Iranian], agreeing generally with [Indo-Aryan], but being situated on the Ir.[anian] side of some of the isoglosses which … constitute the borderline between IA and Ir. … [Nuristani] has also retained archaisms of its own, and must have separated from the others at a very early date" (Morgenstierne 1961: 139).

And Dardic as a language group is called into question:

> "There is not a single common feature distinguishing Dardic, as a whole, from the rest of the IA languages … Dardic is simply a convenient term to denote a bundle of aberrant IA hill language, which in their relative isolation … have been in a varying degree sheltered against the expanding influences of IA Midland (Madhyadesa) innovations, being left free to develop on their own" (Morgenstierne 1961: 139).

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[15] I shall here not go into theories of early Indo-Aryan migrations. See Mayrhofer (1966), Burrow, (1973), Masica (1991: 34-49) and Parpola (2002), and references in these works.

Morgenstierne (1974) gives further evidence that the Nuristani languages constitute a branch of their own within Indo-Iranian, although he is in doubt whether (a) Nuristani has shared a common development with Indo-Aryan and branched off before the time of the Rigveda, or (b) Nuristani branched off from Indo-Iranian before this split into Iranian and Indo-Aryan. (See Nelson (1986) and Degener (2002) for summaries and views on the classification of the Nuristani languages.)

Both Fussman (1972: 12) and Strand (1973) accept Morgenstierne's classification of Nuristani from 1961, and so does Edelman (1983). Fussman and Strand also endorse the statement that there is no single Dardic group. Strand further refines the internal classification of the Nuristani languages and he also proposes a grouping of the Dardic languages, which was accepted by most researchers in the years to come. The classifications of the Nuristani and Dardic languages are revised in Strand (2001), reproduced in Appendix 1.

Morgenstierne's definition of 'Dardic' as a cover term for isolated Indo-Aryan languages situated in the Hindu Kush range is also the one used by Bashir (2003), who calls attention to the fact that Dardic languages throughout their history have and still do influence each other by mutual contact:

> "The designation 'Dardic' implies neither ethnic unity among the speakers of these languages nor that they can all be traced to a single stammbaum-model node" … "The similarities of the Dardic languages today are due to differentially shared retentions, innovations affecting various subsets of these languages, and contact (areal) developments" (Bashir 2003: 822).

Bashir points out that the Dardic languages on the whole underwent fewer of the major Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) phonological and morphological developments than the Indo-Aryan languages in the plain sub-continent of India and Pakistan. For example, most of the Dardic languages have retained the OIA three-sibilant system, which is reduced to one- or two-sibilant systems in other Indo-Aryan languages (p. 822).[16]

Bashir lists a number of features that are shared by most or some of the Dardic languages (none of them concerns local case-marking). She also points the attention to linguistic features that suggest areal influences from Turkic languages in the North or from a substratum, for example, left-branching structures, complementizers developed from a verb 'say', and prenominal relative clauses which

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[16] Indo-Aryan is traditionally divided in three periods: Old Indo-Aryan (about 1500-600 BC; including Vedic Sanskrit and Classic Sanskrit), Middle Indo-Aryan (about 600 BC - 1000 AD, including what is known as Prakrit, and also Pali, among others), and New Indo-Aryan (from 1000 AD), to which Kalasha thus belongs (Masica 1991: 51-54.) I shall refer to these periods by 'OIA', 'MIA', and 'NIA', respectively. I refer to Mørch and Heegaard (1997: 18-20) for a discussion of whether or to what extent spoken versions of late OIA and early MIA can have influenced the Dardic languages.

employ no relative or indefinite pronominal element (p. 823). Bashir's division of the Dardic languages is reproduced in Appendix 2.[17]

4.3 The Dardic case reopened

The latest perspective on the Dardic issue comes from Zoller (2005). Zoller subscribes to Morgenstierne's view that the Dardic languages are not the successors of MIA languages like Māgadhī, Śaurasenī, Mahārāṣṭrī (the 'second stage of MIA', see Masica (1991: 50-55)). Rather, according to Zoller, the Dardic languages are to be seen as the modern successors of Middle Indo-Aryan Gāndhārī and other unknown MIA languages more or less closely related with Gāndhārī, Zoller claims. Zoller calls attention to the fact that "the common feature distinguishing the Dardic languages from the other New Indo-Aryan (NIA) languages is the preservation of the three OIA sibilants *s, ś, ṣ*" (Zoller 2005: 10), which, he claims "all Dardic languages have preserved". (But he refers to Buddruss (1960: 17-18)'s doubts regarding the pronunciation of *ś* and *ṣ* in Woṭapurī.)

A proto-Dardic language is suggested by Zoller to have branched off at a post-OIA stage from the rest of Indic (p. 11). As for the branching within the proposed Dardic sub-family of Indo-Aryan, Zoller refrains from a classical stammbaum classification. Instead, he suggests that the history of the Dardic languages is to be understood with Dixon's punctuated equilibrium model (Dixon 1997: 67ff):

> "During a period of punctuation new languages will develop at a steady rate. As the period of punctuation comes to an end, it can be modelled by a family tree diagram. As a new period of equilibrium sets in, the original genetic relationships of the family tree diagram will become progressively blurred, due to the diffusion of linguistic features throughout the equilibrium period" (Dixon 1997: 73).

Zoller suggests that the initial punctuation that created the Proto-Dardic languages was followed "by long equilibrium periods", which "were .. punctuated time and again, leading, for instance, to the different Kohistani languages", and "resulted in a continuous diffusion of linguistic features" (Zoller 2005: 12). This again has resulted in (a) "frequently not identical" language boundaries, (b) the distinction between "a central (or progressive) from a peripheral (or conservative) area" (ibid.). The Dir and Kalam Kohistani language areas are seen as central, the

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[17] For distribution of typical Dardic features, see also Skalmowski (1985) and Fussman (1989: 446). For possible substrata features, see Tikkanen (1988, 1999).

peripheral area would be constituted by phonological more conservative languages like Kalasha, Khowar, and Shina (p. 12-13).

4.4 Dardic and the present study

I shall here not evaluate the validity of Zoller's hypothesis. I find it an interesting and challenging task to state the structure of a Proto-Central-Dardic, a Proto-Peripheral Dardic, as well as a Proto-Dardic. I believe that only more studies of the imperfectly studied Dardic languages can elucidate the still unresolved relationship between them.

Based on the preceding account I shall in this dissertation use the term 'Dardic' with the meaning 'those Indo-Aryan languages that are spoken in the Hindu Kush area and which have preserved the old OIA distinction *s, ś, ṣ*''. The widespread belief that the Dardic (and Nuristani) languages share a wide range of linguistic features, has the consequence that I shall make reference to these in my analyses and discussions. This is done primarily in order to shed light on grammatical phenomena in Kalasha and to put these into areal perspective. I admit that an areal perspective could have been weighted more in discussions, but this approach faces a sincere problem because of the relatively small amount of studies of the Dardic and Nuristani languages. I hope that my examination of local case-marking in Kalasha will help fill in parts of this linguistic lacuna.

5. A sketch of Kalasha

5.1 Phonological sketch

Below follows a brief sketch of the inventory of phonemes in Kalasha with notes on some of the intriguing and unresolved aspects. I refer to Mørch and Heegaard (1997: 40-61) and Heegård (2004) for detailed surveys.

5.1.1 Consonants

Kalasha has a large inventory of consonant phonemes, with four places of articulation for stop consonants, three for affricates and sibilants, with voice distinction for stops, affricates and sibilants, and with aspiration distinction for stop consonants and affricates.

TABLE 5.1: KALASHA CONSONANT INVENTORY.

	Labial	Dental	Alveo-palatal	Retro-flex[18]	Palatal	Velar	Pharyngal
Stops	p	t		ʈ		k	
	ph	th		ʈh		kh	
	b	d		ɖ		g	
	bh	dh		ɖh		gh	
Affricates		ts	tɕ	ʈʂ			
		tsh	tɕh	ʈʂ			
		dz	dʑ	ɖʐ			
			dʑh				
Fricatives		s	ɕ	ʂ			h
		z	ʑ	ʐ			
Nasals	m	n		ɳ			
Liquids			r	(ɽ)			
		ḷ	l				
Glides	w				j		

I have used IPA symbols in the table, but in the present work I use capital letters for retroflex sounds, 'L' for the dental /ḷ/, 'y' for the palatal glide /j/, 'c', 'ch', 'j', 'jh' for the alveo-palatal affricates, and 'sh' and 'zh' for the alveopalatal sibilants. The dental /ḷ/, 'L', is laminal and often velarized. The alveolar /l/ is often palatalized. Retroflex /ɳ/ 'N', occurs only in a few loanwords. Retroflex /ɽ/,

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[18] The stop sounds in this column are rather post-alveolar than retroflex. The sibilants are more genuine retroflex.

'R', occurs only in the Biriu/Jinjiret variant of Northern Kalasha (and also in some of the moribund dialects). Voiced aspiration in stops and in the affricate /ʣh/, 'jh', is labile and may be manifested as breathiness in the following vowel. /ʣ/, 'j', also has different manifestations: [ʣ, ʐ, j].

[ŋ] and [ɲ] occur before velar and alveo-palatal occlusives, and phonologically they are probably best seen as context-determined manifestations of nasality, rather than phonemes. This is a debatable issue in Kalasha phonology and I have not been consistent in my notation with respect to this 'nasal lability'. For example, sometimes I write 'Vng', other times 'V~g' for the phonemic structure /V~g/ (nasalization is indicated with a post-written ~). The issue of the status of nasality is further complicated by the fact that we can have nasal insertion in words with no historical evidence for it, for example ['iNDa] 'Ida (Danish girl's name)' and [karan'ci] 'Karachi'.

/y/ is of a very labile nature. After consonants it can be inaudible, resulting in merging of *dyek* 'put in' and *dek* 'give' (at least for a non-native ear). In other cases it may leave traces behind in terms of palatalized vowels: /hán**ya**k/ -> ['hanyak] ~ ['hán**e**k] 'traditional stool'. After non-back vowels we can have loss of /y/ with lengthening as a result: /-éyn/ 'place for activity/ -> [-'e:n]; or we can have palatalization and optional lengthening /páyran/ 'across-river' -> ['pe(:)ran].

The fricatives [f] and [x] are frequent manifestations of /ph/ and /kh/, respectively, in particular in loanwords.

Intervocalic consonants are often dropped in certain high-frequent words, giving either hiatus vowels, diphtongs, or long vowels, for example: *par-ík* 'go' -> ['pa.ik, 'payk], *kár-ik* 'do' -> ['ka.ik, 'kayk], *tása* '3s.abs.obl' -> ['ta.a, 'taa], *tará* 'there, abs.' -> ['ta.a, 'taa].

5.1.2 Vowels

The vowel inventory has five basic, plain vowels, and the phonemic features of nasalization, retroflexion, and nasalization <u>and</u> retroflexion (for four of the vowels), making the total number of vowel phonemes 19.

TABLE 5.2: KALASHA VOWEL INVENTORY.

i, ĩ, i˞	u, ũ, u˞, ũ˞
e, ẽ, e˞, ẽ˞	o, õ, o˞, õ˞
a, ã, a˞, ã˞	

Also retroflex vowels are represented with capital letters throughout the thesis: 'I', 'E', 'A', 'O', 'U', etc. It is noticeable that Kalasha has a distinction between <u>phonemic</u> and non-phonemic retroflex vowels, let alone between nasalized retroflex vowels and non-retroflex vowels. Phonemic retroflex vowels have, to my knowledge, only been reported by the Dravidian language Badaga

(Emeneau 1939). (See Mørch and Heegaard 1997: 66-119 and Heegård and Mørch 2004 for discussions of this unique feature from historical and areal perspectives.)

Vowel length is only found to be of phonemic relevance in open, non-final, stressed syllables (see Mørch and Heegaard (1997: 120-183) for an in-depth account of this). Stress is contrastive, *áya* 'mother' vs. *ayá* 'here-specific', and it is manifested as a relatively high pitch. Tone has not been found of phonemic relevance by Morgenstierne, Trail and Cooper, or Mørch and Heegård, but Bashir calls on more investigation of pitch contours (Bashir 2001: 851), a call that I endorse. Until that task has been executed, I shall refer to high pitch as 'stress'. In the examples in this thesis stress is sometimes noted by ´.

Vowels differ to a considerable extent in their manifestations, depending on stress and on segmental context. In particular palatal and retroflex segments have heavy effects on the manifestation of vowels throughout the whole structure of the word.

There are two diphtongs in Kalasha: /aw/ and /ay/. Vowel clusters like /ai/ and /au/ are typically pronounced as diphtongs and with colouring of the non-glide element, [ey] for /ai/ and [ow] for /au/, resulting in mergers with the manifestation of diphtongs.

5.2 Grammatical sketch

I shall here only give a brief introduction to the basic grammatical structures in Kalasha. For an overview I refer to Bashir (2003: 850-856), which I follow closely in the following. For a fuller description I refer to EB88.

5.2.1 Morphology

5.2.1.1 Nominal

Ch. 9 gives an introduction to the case-marking system of common nouns. Here I present the basic morphological characteristics of other nominal classes.

Kalasha has lost the old OIA gender system and only retained full-productive plural formation in the oblique case. Pronouns distinguish between nominative and oblique for 1st and 2nd persons.[19]

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[19] See Appendix 3 for additional notes on the pronominal paradigm.

TABLE 5.3: PRONOMINAL CASE-MARKING, 1ST AND 2ND PERSON.

	1st person		2nd person	
	Sg.	**Pl.**	**Sg.**	**Pl.**
Nominative	a	ábi[20]	tu	ábi
Genitive-Oblique	may	hóma	tay	mími

3rd person pronouns are identical to the demonstrative pronouns. They distinguish between 'Near', 'Distant', and 'Absent', and the cases nominative, accusative, and oblique, and the numbers singular and in plural.

TABLE 5.4: DEMONSTRATIVE AND 3RD PERSON PRONOUNS.

	Near		Distal		Remote	
	Sg.	**Pl.**	**Sg.**	**Pl.**	**Sg.**	**Pl.**
Nominative	ía	émi	ása	éLi	se	te
Accusative	áma	émi	áLa	éLi	to	te
Genitive-Oblique	ísa	ísi	ása	ási	tása[21]	tási

Kalasha has a set of personal suffixes that attach to kinship terms to indicate possession. These suffixes are 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.[22]

5.2.1.2 Verbal

5.2.1.2.1 Non-finite forms

The non-finite forms are used as base forms for a number of analytic verb phrases. I shall not go into the functions of the verb forms here (see Bashir 1988) but only list the different forms:

1. Perfective participle (pf.ptc): root + -i, for example, *zhú-i* 'having eaten'.
2. Imperfective participle (ipf.ptc): root + *íman*, for example, *kar-íman* 'doing'.
3. Past participle (pst.ptc.I): root + -ta/-da, -(í)La, -áLa, -úna, for example, *ká-da* 'done', *nis-úna* 'sat', etc.
4. Infinitive (inf.): root + -ik/-ek (intransitive/transitive), for example, *par-ík* 'go' and *uST-ék* 'rise (tr)'.[23]

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[20] In casual speech -b- in 1st and 2nd plural is often dropped, resulting in [á.i].

[21] In casual speech *tása* and *tási* are pronounced *ta.a* and *ta.i*.

[22] See Appendix 4 for the paradigm and the use of these suffixes.

[23] The transitive infinitive -ék can be analyzed as causative -á- and intransitive infinitive -ik. When suffixed the transitive infinitive dissolves: *uST-a-ík-as* 'rise-cs1-inf-obl'.

5. Passive/middle (pass): stem + *ún*, for example, *sapra-ún* 'found'

5.2.1.2.2   *Finite forms*

Finite verbal forms in Kalasha can be described with the parameters of aspect (durative vs. non-durative, perfective vs. non-perfective), tense (past vs. non-past), specificity (specific vs. non-specific), inferentiality (inferential vs. actual), and modality. The verb agrees with the subject in person and number, and by the use of auxiliaries, in animacy. Since tense-aspect forms consist of a participle + auxiliary, the parameter of animacy is central. Table 5.5 gives the paradigms of the auxiliaries of *ásik* 'be (animate)' and *shíik* 'be (inanimate)':

TABLE 5.5: PARADIGMS OF *ásik* 'BE (ANIMATE)' AND *shíik* 'BE (INANIMATE)'. (Animate auxiliaries have casual and formal style forms.)[24]

	Present		**Past-actual**	
	Singular	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**
1ˢᵗ Anim.	*á-am* (*ás-am*)	*á-ik* (*ás-ik*)	*áy-is* (*ás-is*)	*áy-imi* (*ás-imi*)
2ⁿᵈ Anim.	*á-as* (*ás-as*)	*á-a* (*ás-a*)	*áy-i* (*ás-i*)	*áy-iLi* (*ás-iLi*)
3ʳᵈ Anim.	*á-au* (*ás-au*)	*á-an* (*ás-an*)	*áy-is* (*ás-is*)	*áy-ini* (*ás-ini*)
3ʳᵈ Inan.	*shí-u*[25]	*shi-an*	*ásh-is*	*ásh-ini*

The following list shows the tense-aspect forms with the word for 'go', *par-*:
1. Present/future, non-specific (p/f): *par-ím* 'I go, I will go' (stem + present ending).
2. Present/future, specific: *par-ím dái* 'I am/will be going' (as specific + *dái*).[26]
3. Present perfect (prs.pf.): *pá-i á-am* 'I have gone' (pf.ptc + aux.prs).
4. Past-actual (pst.A): *par-á* 'I went' (stem + past ending).
5. Past-inferential (pst.I): *gáLa h-im* 'apparently I went' (pst.ptc + p/f of *h-* 'become').
6. Past imperfective-actual (pst.ipf.A): *par-íman áy-is* 'I was going' (ipf.ptc + pst.I of 'be')
7. Past imperfective-inferential (pst.ipf.I): *par-íman ásta h-im* 'apparently I was going' (imp.ptc + pst.I of 'be')
8. Past perfect-actual (pst.pf.A): *pá-i áy-is* 'I had gone' (pf.pc + pst.A of 'be').
9. Past perfect-inferential (pst.pf.I): *pá-i ásta h-im* 'apparently I had gone' (pf.ptc + pst.I of 'be').

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[24] The Biriu-Jinjiret variety of Northern Kalasha does not have this stylistic difference, only the forms with intervocalic consonants are used. In the examples I have glossed these words as 'aux' (= 'auxiliary') when they function as such, in composite tenses, and as 'be' when they occur as copulas.

[25] *shíu* has a variant form: *shí-au* ['shiow].

[26] In the present form and in all persons high frequent verbs such as *parík* 'go' and *kárik* 'do' often lose the intervocalic consonant and assimilates *-i* to *-a*, for example, *pá.ak* and *ká.ak*.

1.-4. below list non-indicative forms:

1. Imperative (imp): singular = (a) root, *zhu* 'eat!'; (b) root + formant vowel, *kár-i* 'do!'; (c) root + -*Vs*, *upáC-as* 'open (your eyes)!'; (d) irregular, *ha* 'become'.
2. Hortative/Optative: finite verb + -*óri*, *se par-iu-óri* 'let him go/he should go'.
3. Necessitative (nec): stem + -*éli*, for example, *kar-éli* 'must be done, must do'; or nominative or oblique infinitive + *baS*, for example, *may par-ík(-as) baS* 'I have to/should go'.
4. Subjunctive: finite verb + *háw-au* (-> *háu*) 'became'; 'uncertain situations':

  1. *a   ne jhón-im   se   kawá   apáw d-el   **háu***   EB88.E
     1s.nom not know-p/f.1s 3s.nom.abs where.spec stay-p/f.3s   subj
     'I don't know where he lives'

5.2.1.2.3   *Inferentiality and actuality*

The inferential-actual distinction may also be expressed in non-past clauses:

(1) Finite VB + *húLa* ('become'-pst.I): *se ne í-u <u>húLa</u>* '(<u>it seems that</u>) he won't come'.
(2) VB-inf + *ghó~an* ('they say'): *se miSTerí <u>kár-ik ghó~-an</u>* '(<u>I hear that</u>) he <u>is</u> a teacher' (lit. 'he teacher-y do').

5.2.1.2.4   *Transitivity-causativity (and volitionality)*

Kalasha has a well-developed set of morpho-syntactic means to increase valency, for example, deriving a transitive verb form from an intransitive. Included in this are the semantic parameters causativity and volitionality. This is described in detail by Bashir (1988: 155-218; 1990), I shall here only illustrate a few mechanisms.

    A very productive way to derive transitives/causatives morphologically is by suffixation of -*á*- ('causative 1', 'cs1') and -*aw*- ('causative 2', 'cs2'), for example:

Intransitive		Transitive/Causative		Double causative
nisík 'sit'	->	*nis-ék* (= *nis-á-ik*) 'seat'	->	*nis-aw-á-ik* 'get someone seated'

    An intermediating causant is coded by oblique case and with the Causative postposition *SaTawái* (= *SaT*- 'attach' + -*aw*- 'cs2' + -*á*- 'cs1' + -*i* 'pf.ptc'), or with *kai mai~* (< *ká-i* 'do-pf.' + *má-i~* 'say-pf') (from Bashir 2003: 853):

2. ***darzí-as*** ***SaTawái*** *ek* *pirán* *sawz-aw-á-am*   EB88.E
   tailor-obl.sg   by   one shirt[27] make-cs2-cs1-p/f.1s
   'I will get a shirt made **by the tailor**'

3. *kas*   *kai mai~*   *kar-aw-á-ik*   EB88.E
   who-obl   to speak.cp do-cs2-cs1-p/f.1p
   'who shall we get to do it?'

Few verbs only occur in two transitivity forms, most can take three forms, and a handful of verbs can occur in four or five different transitive-causative forms. The means used for this derivation are synthetic morphologically and analytical by use of intransitive *hik* 'become' and transitive *kárik* 'do' as the verbalizer in conjunct verbs, i.e. verbs consisting of a nominal or adjectival element + a vector verb, for example, *madát hik* 'be of help to someone' and *madát kárik* 'help someone'.

5.2.2 Basic syntax

5.2.2.1 Word order

The basic word order is SOV. Adjectives precede nouns, adpositions (postpositions) follow nouns.

5.2.2.2 Object-marking[28]

Object-marking in Kalasha is basically nominative-accusative. When occurring as direct objects nouns are zero-marked, they take nominative or direct case, and 3rd person pronouns are in the accusative form.

4. *te*   ***zhay-Ø / to***   *sawz-én*/ *pásh-in*   *dái*
   3p.nom.abs irrigation channel-Ø / 3s.acc.abs construct-p/f.3p / see-p/f.3s   spec
   'they construct /see **an irrigation channel(/irrigation channels)/it**'   GK.E

This pattern seems to be in accordance with the general pattern of case-marking of syntactic arguments in NIA. According to Masica (1991: 365) NIA objects are not distinguished by case-marking, position or word order being "the

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[27] In the glossings I have not specified non-suffixed nouns for case and number.

[28] Complement-marking in Kalasha has been investigated by Bashir in several works, in particular Bashir (1988, 1990, 1993), mainly within the frames of the semantic parameters 'causative' and 'involuntary experience'. Syntactic analyses of argument-marking patterns and, for example, how the active vs. passive morphology works in relation to coding of 'involuntary experience' are, however, still lacking.

only unequivoval indicator of the Object role in NIA" (p. 367). But with certain predicates in Kalasha we see case-marked objects, as the direct nominal or pronominal object appears in the oblique case. The marking pattern of these objects, often animate as in 5 (although inanimate objects are also seen), is identical to what is found for indirect objects, as in 6:[29]

5. *mruanmóc* ***shár-as / tása***   *nash-él*   *dái*   GK.E/Na.E
   hunter   deer-obl.sg / 3s.obl.abs   kill-p/f.3s   spec
   'the hunter kills **the deer/it**'

6. *istrízha*   ***móc-as / tása***   *kitáb*   *d-el*   *dái*   GK.E/Na.E
   woman   man-obl.sg / 3s.obl.abs   book   give-p/f.3s   spec
   'the woman gives **the man/him** the book'

Following the terminology in van Valin (2001: Ch. 2), an object, or argument, of a predicate carries the semantic role **patient** if it undergoes a change of state. If a complement does not undergo a change of state, but instead is located or undergo a change of location, it is called **theme**. Hence, *kitáb* in 6 carries the semantic role theme, the objects *shár-as/tása* in 5 carry the semantic role of patient, and in 6 *mócas/tása* carry the semantic role recipient. It is not clear from van Valin (op. cit.) which semantic role to ascribe to the effected object *zhay* 'irrigation channel' in 4. Also indeterminate from van Valin's description is which semantic role to ascribe to the objects for ingestive verbs or verbs of consuming, for example *cay* 'tea' in *se moc bo cay apís* 'that man drank a lot of tea'.

Givón (1984) is only of a little more help. The predicates in 4-5 are all examples of "prototypical transitive verbs" (p. 96), which denote a "physical, discernible change in the state of its patient object" and have an agent subject (p. 96-7). Inspite of having equal transitive status, from Givón's perspective, these verbs trigger different object-marking in Kalasha. A verb of creation, *sawzék* 'make, produce' goes in the same group as verbs of perception, *pashik* 'see' in 4, and verbs of ingestion, for example *pik* 'drink'.

I suggest that object-marking in Kalasha by nominative (or 'direct') vs. oblique case to some degree depends on a degree of affectedness, a parameter

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[29] To the group of oblique-marked objects we can include causees of transitive construction (see 5.2.1.2.4 above).

Because oblique marking of the object in these examples is obligatory (absence would be un-grammatical), I do not consider this sort of object-marking as expressing degrees of 'definiteness' or referentiality, known from other South Asian languages and treated by several authors. For NIA, see Masica (1982, 1986), Junghare (1983); for Dravidian languages, see Krishnamurti (2003) and references. Masica himself indicates (1991: 367) that definiteness-marking (by case endings) is absent in languages in the North-West NIA corner, for example in Kashmiri and Shina. Definiteness in Kalasha has not yet been the subject of any studies. In general, Kalasha uses word order, a second-place object is moved to the first place when definite, but also preposed *ek* 'one, a (certain)' and demonstrative pronouns are used in the marking of definiteness and referentiality.

relevant for syntactic processes in other NIA languages (see, for example, Zide 1985). For Kalasha this parameter will probably have to be a matter of semantic subclassification of verbs; the produced object in 4 is not marked by the oblique, nor are objects for ingestive verbs even though they may be said to be affected. A more precise determination of which inherent semantics of the predicate that triggers which object marker must await future studies.[30]

I return to the question of object- or complement-marking in Ch. 17 when I take a closer look at the syntactic roles of postpositions.

5.2.2.3 Complement structures

Kalasha has multiple ways of constructing (sentential) complements and relative clauses. Typical complement structures are leftbranching, i.e. sentential, infinitival or nominalized complements precede the finite verb (often with *ghó~i*, 'quot', lit. 'having said', as the conjunction). The borrowed conjunction *ki* from Urdu is used to introduce right-branching (sentential) complements. (See EB88: 266-324 for an in-depth description of complementation structures. For an overview of the relativization structures, see EB88: 325-384.)

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[30] See Appendix 26 for a list of predicates that I have observed with oblique objects.

6. Data, methods and linguistic fieldwork

6.1 Introduction

For a description of a language that calls itself empirical, one may expect at least a few notes on how the data has been obtained, and what sort of biases it may have. Although the empirical claim may be present in a grammar, the latter point of discussion is often not. Burenhult (2005), in his grammar of Jahai, is example of how a linguist reflects and takes consequences of bias and 'noise' in data elicited under specific circumstances:

> "elicitation has been an important tool in the field for the detection and identification of various linguistic phenomena. However, it became clear early on that elicited material was not entirely reliable, partly because informants tended to equate acceptability of linguistic forms with comprehensibility rather than grammaticality. Also, elicitation sometimes proved to result in misleading over-generalizations on the informants' part. So whereas elicitation has been invaluable as a primary means of detecting patterns and tendencies, it was decided that the final analysis would rather rest mainly on recordings of authentic language use" (Burenhult 2005: 16).

As regards the question whether an analysis of a language should rest mainly or partially on what sort of data, I subscribe to the view formulated by Chelliah that both elicitation and text analysis

> "are well motivated: text collections are reservoirs of cultural and linguistic information, and elicited forms provide crucial evidence necessary for the formulation of grammatical generalizations" (Chelliah 2001: 153).

I share the implicit perspective in the quotation from Burenhult that it is important and necessary to be as explicit as possible with respect to the quality of one's data and with respect to the methods used in obtaining this data. I believe, with Chelliah, that linguistic fieldwork and informant work can gain from accounts of and discussions about advantages and disadvantages of different methods.[31]

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[31] Whereas some 'field manuals' have mostly focused on practical elicitation techniques, for example, Samarin (1967), Vaux & Cooper (1999), Abbi (2001), empirical linguistics has also lately seen publications that address cultural, practical and ethical aspects of fieldwork as well as problems and biases of data arising from the informant-investigator interaction, for example Rischel (1989), Rischel (2002), Newman (2001), and in the latter in particular Chelliah (2001), Everett (2001), Rice (2001), and Dimmendaal (2001). Also Scollon (1979) is an important contribution in this respect.

This chapter describes the data used for the analyses, and the methods used for obtaining the data. The chapter discusses the advantages and disadvantages of the different types of data and methods and it gives examples of dilemmas and problems arising in fieldwork and elicitation sessions.

6.2 Methods for eliciting data

A large portion of my own material has been collected during field work in the Kalasha valleys. From 1995-97 Ida E. Mørch and I carried out fieldwok among the Kalasha in three periods, altogether six months, and we worked with several informants, primarily with word list elicitation but longer streches of texts such as narratives and spontaneous speech were also collected.[32]

Because of the tense religious and political atmosphere in Northwest Pakistan since September 11 2001 and the following intervention of the coalition forces in neighbouring Afghanistan, I have not found it safe to travel to NW Pakistan for necessary supplementing fieldwork. Instead I have carried out 14 days' informant work in Islamabad 2004, five days' work with two informants in Thessaloniki, Greece, 2004, eight days' work with one informant in Copenhagen 2005, followed a month after by another 12 days' work in Copenhagen with the informant from Islamabad, and finally four days' work with with one informant in Thessaloniki 2006. Informant work in Copenhagen was arranged so that the informants stayed in my house and worked 4-5 hours per day with linguistic matters. Informant work in Islamabad and Thessaloniki was arranged so that I stayed at a hotel (in Islamabad together with the informant), and met with the informant 5-6 hours per day for linguistic work.

It will be a major task to relate in a systematic way my fieldwork and informant work to practices and techniques in the works mentioned above. I shall refrain from this and instead describe what sort of data I have collected and the methods used for collecting them. By discussing how my data may have been influenced by this may, I shall (1) equip the reader for my data, and (2) address an aspect of linguistic fieldwork and empirical linguistics that is often overlooked in grammatical descriptions of little-studied languages.

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[32] In the initial phase of our work with Kalasha a lot of time was spent not on linguistic research as such, but on making ourselves acquainted with the Kalasha (and them with us) in the villages where we were staying. This involved taking part in daily life activities (fetching firewood, shovelling snow, making bread, etc.), and from a very strict (and in my view too narrow) view on linguistic fieldwork, this can be seen as wasted time, as it did not lead to any (systematic) observations on phonology or grammar. But the strategy paid back because we learnt to get along by using Kalasha in daily life and in work sessions, and a certain interest in helping these foreigners, *angrís báya zhe bába* 'western brother and sister', arose. By being able to communicate in Kalasha, although in the beginning a somewhat pidginized Kalasha, we became able to do monolingual fieldwork and did not have to rely on interpreters. The advantages of this are invaluable, cf. Everett (2001), Rischel (2002: 470-472).

6.3 The data

The data used for the analyses in this thesis comes partly from my own fieldwork on Kalasha, partly from other sources. I have thoroughly examined LSI, GM73, EB88, TC96, and TC99, as well as Parkes (1994) and Jan (1996) for uses of case endings, relational nouns, postpositions, other spatial markers, and for markers of clausal complements.[33] Parkes's (1994) article contains four traditional songs, and Jan's (1996) paper is a Kalasha version of a conference paper given in English. I shall refer to all of these works as 'my/the sources'.

The findings in the sources have been listed in searchable files grouped according to different analytical criteria. I have in general accepted the transcriptions, glossings and translations in other people's works. When TC99 and Tr96 translate a case ending with plural in one sentence and with singular in another, I take as my point of departure for the analyses that both translations are justified, and consequently that, e.g. Loc2-*una* can be translated as plural sometimes and other times as singular. This approach may have led me to false assumptions about the grammatical (and phonological) mechanisms in Kalasha. The opposite approach, that some translations and analyses in the sources were wrong and others right, would have been prejudiced because I would not from the beginning of the process of analysis have had a solid basis for a critical evaluation.

Other sorts of data come from my own recordings and transcriptions. I shall refer to this data as "my/the material". My material consists of different sorts of language samples: (a) traditional stories recorded in 1995-97 narrated by a number of Kalasha speakers, (b) narratives of personal experience, and (c) 'ethno-linguistic' interviews, interviews about religious rituals and daily life activities conducted by Mørch and myself (in Kalasha) with a number of native speakers in 1996-97. All of these have been transcribed and a large number of them have been translated into English in collaboration with three native speakers: Nabeg, Ghulam Khan, and Taj Khan. The shortest of these texts contains about 44 words, the longest about 4413 words.[34] Appendix 5 is a list of informants, and Appendix 6 is an example of a glossed and translated 'text', a traditional narrative.

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[33] In examples from these sources I adjusted the original transcription to my way of transcribing Kalasha. Adjustments primarily concern stress placement, notation of the 'l' phonemes, and notation of diphtongs and vowel clusters. For example, TC99 write 'kay' for the postposition that I have rendered as 'kái', and EB writes 'l' and 'ly' for what I have rendered as 'L' and 'l'. In a few cases the adjustments are more comprehensive, and in those cases I have given the original transcription in a note. In a few cases I have also changed the translation, and then also given the original translation in a note.

[34] The number of words in the transcriptions include also false starts, hesitation, laughter, grammatical self-correction by the speaker, repetitions due to hesitance or uncertainty in how to progress or structure a sentence, etc., as well as my clarifying questions and the informant's answer to these.

Besides being my primary informants in elicitation and transcription work from 2004 and onwards, Nabeg, Ghulam Khan, and Taj Khan have also been exposed to a number of 'experimental stimuli' developed by other linguists for a number of purposes, such as eliciting linguistic descriptions of spatial arrangement and linguistic coding of specific event types.[35] Appendix 7 gives a list of the different experimental stimuli.

The informants' responses to these stimuli were recorded on tape and later transcribed by me. I have only used native speaker consultance for a few of these. I shall distinguish between stimulus material that triggered one sentence responses and stimulus material that triggered longer stretches of relatively free speech.

The responses to the stimulus material have a size of 60.336 words. Table 6.1 below gives an overview of the number of words in the different types of material.

TABLE 6.1: TYPES OF MATERIAL AND NUMBER OF WORDS.

Text type	Number of words
Traditional stories	18.197
Self-experienced narratives	8.401
Ethnolinguistic interviews	8.285
Experimental stimuli	60.336
Total	**95.219**

Three more data types have contributed to my material: (1) Elicitation work with the use of questionnaires made by me in order to elucidate and come to the point about particular grammatical aspects, (2) notes taken down in note books while following and taking part in conversations in Kalasha, and (3) email correspondance with the three Kalasha speakers mentioned above. The email enquiries contain clarifying questions and answers to specific grammatical phenomena. They are formulated like questions, either in English or in Kalasha for example, "is this sentence good Kalasha/acceptable, or strange Kalasha/not acceptable Kalasha". Or I have constructed sentences with translations and asked my informants to correct or comment on them if wrong. As with all other sorts of responses to direct elicitation that involve native speaker considerations on grammaticality, I consider such responses as indicative of what is acceptable, rather than as conclusive evidence. I shall refer to this material as "elicitation material" or "material/data from elicitation".

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[35] I am grateful to a number of persons for providing me with or guiding me with respect to test material: Peter Juel Henrichsen, Copenhagen Business School, Nina Grønnum, Elisabeth Engberg-Pedersen, and, Henrik Hovmark, University of Copenhagen, and Bhuvana Narasimhan and Nick Enfield, the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics (MPI), Nijmegen. Other test material has been developed by myself inspired by field manuals from the Language and Cognition Group at MPI (see http://www.mpi.nl/research/publications/AnnualReports/).

I shall for each example used in my analyses indicate from what sort of data it has been taken. I shall use the following abbreviations:

Fn = field notes   te = test (from MPI)
T = text (traditional narrative)   E = elicited (during elicitation session)
S = spontaneous   na = narration (Inf's own free narrations)
sm = stimulus material (home made or from other sources)
ma = map description
TC99, Tr96, EB88, GM73, SJan, PP = examples from these sources.

With this variety of data, I have tried to exploit the advantages that each data type can provide and at the same time come about the disadvantages associated with each type. The following section provides the reader with examples of such advantages and disadvantages.

6.3 Elicitation work

Chelliah defines elicitation work as "the use of … native speaker intuitions or translations of decontextualized utterances from a contact language to the language being studied" (Chelliah 2001: 152). As mentioned above this method is well-motivated in field linguistics. But as Burenhult has pointed out elicitation is not to be considered without caution. As it is highly sensitive to the informants metalinguistic compentence, it is also highly sensitive to his ideas of how the structure of his language is or should be, i.e. a prescriptive attitude.

I have often come across such native speaker reactions in elicitation work that were contradictory to what I had observed in spontaneous speech, in particular concerning the locative and ablative endings Loc2-*una* and Abl2-*ani* vs. Loc3-*ai* and Abl3-*aw*. According to my informants' reactions (independent of each other) in elicitation sessions, locative and ablative phrases with Loc2-*una* and Abl2-*ani* were and should be rendered in English as singular, and locative and ablative phrases with Loc3-*ai* and Abl3-*aw* as plural. Interestingly, such a number distinction is not in accordance with the translations of parts of the spontaneous material.

I assume that my informants responded in the way they did because they did not know how to define and gloss the meaning of these morphemes in Kalasha or in English. After some time of consideration, I decided to explain to each of the informants that in other contexts Loc2-*una* and Abl2-*ani* were not translated as singular, and Loc3-*ai* and Abl3-*aw* not as plural. They acknowledged that and then independently of one another glossed or explained the presumed singular and plural morphemes with 'specific' and 'exactly' vs. 'not specified' and 'you don't know', respectively. But in following sessions they would again occasionally respond with 'singular' and 'plural'.

Another negative side effect of elicitation work, whether carried out in the real field or at the linguist's office or living room, is that it quickly can become a situation where the informant develops the idea that he should supply the linguist with perfect and incontrovertible information about his language. This may lead the informant to thoughts about his language that he has not formulated before or perhaps is not capable of formulating. One might say that the linguist in such a situation exposes the informant to a task that he is not dressed to handle. The constant row of questions challenges his knowledge of his own language, may question his authority, and may make him feel uneasy, which again may lead him to formulate in his mind explanations and grammatical rules that are distortions of what can be observed in other sources.

It is a challenge for the linguist in such a situation to make his language consultant feel comfortable, let alone to answer in a non-prescriptive way. I am still not certain as to how to handle such situations. I have often tried to mix such intensive sessions with jokes and 'interrupting' small talk, and also often let the informant elaborate on his perspective, even though it at first sight did not seem to be in accordance with other observations and analyses.

Such interruptions may also work as reducing a certain fatigue that may arise after only one or one and a half hours of work. Signs of fatigue may be what seems to be continuing acceptability of constructed phrases and sentences without further consideration, *ãã ásta sáhi híu* 'yes, also right', *ãã máik bháas* 'yes, you can say (that)', *mái áam* 'I have (already) said that', etc. If one as a linguist is not aware of signs of fatigue, one can easily be exposed to "misleading over-generalizations", as Burenhult puts it (see quotation above), for example expressed by the Kalasha phrases just quoted. If one is lucky, the language consultant will in a polite way ask for a break, as the linguist Jacques Guy's informant in the quote below:

> "I was quizzing Hilaire Chalet … when, suddenly, he said to me: "Listen, Jacques, I am going to tell you: you must not quiz me as you do because you confuse me. I no longer know. You must listen to what I say the first time. If you ask me again, I no longer know" (Chelliah 2001: 160, citing Li (1994)).

I have never experienced that an informant asked me to stop enquiring him or commented on my enquiry method, but once an informant simply walked away from Mørch and me without a word. Normally my informants will never ask for a break, perhaps because they will not admit that they are tired or exhausted (or bored), or perhaps because of the idea that I am in charge and they are to my service. The fact that I had paid for my informants' travel expenses to and stay in Islamabad and Copenhagen, respectively, may have led them to servility and to disregard their own fatigue.

6.4 Texts and spontaneous material

With 'texts' I mean longer stretches of natural or spontaneous speech, being, for unwritten languages, traditional narratives, stories, fables, spontaneous conversations, etc. It is a widespread and recognized view that texts provide the investigator with spontaneous data that is if not cleansed from, then at least assumably only to a very little extent influenced by native speakers' grammaticality judgements.

The handling of texts demands that the investigator knows or has a very good grasp of the language with respect to elements such as word segmentation, word meaning, knowledge about narrative structure, etc. If the investigator is not totally confident with these matters, good usage of texts can only be obtained by collaboration with native speakers. This is not always an unproblematic enterprise. For example, I have often experienced that my informants during transcription disregarded words, word endings or particles because they were "*galáť*" 'wrong' or "*ne sáhi kaLaSamón*" 'not right Kalasha', or because they were not judged important for the narration, "*khalí món*" 'just words'. Following such evaluations the informants would suggest or sometimes insist that I ignored these 'errors', often caused by "too fastly speaking", as they said. From the linguistic point of view, this is manipulating the data - a highly objectionable praxis. From an informant's point of view the rendering of the 'errors' would be a wrong transmission of a cultural inheritage. I have tried to get around this dilemma by noting the informants' comments in additional notes.

Whether my informants were right in their evaluations that the narrator to be translated actually makes a mistake, the evaluations just quoted show that also not text work with native speakers is free of prescriptivity. On another occasion one informant was so annoyed with how a narrator presented religious rituals that he characterized parts of the narration as *shum kaLaSamón* 'bad Kalasha'. He was even reluctant to carry on with the transcription, arguing that the presentation should be ignored.

Another informant would generally be very careful in explaining the motives for the progression of actions and for the activities of the persons in the stories. He would also spend considerable work time explaining to me how the story should be interpreted within the context of the Kalasha religion and cultural tradition. In general, he was not paying much attention to the actual combination or sequence of words, often adding or omitting a particle, a postposition or other function words, disregarding what was expressed acoustically. Attempts to train him to adopt a more linguistic and technical approach were only succesful for a short period. I chose to refrain from further attempts because I feared that it would lead him to confusion about his job as an expert consultant, that it would violate his integrity as a Kalasha and as a language consultant, and consequently make him uneasy with respect to future collaboration. My experience makes me comply fully with the Danish linguist Jørgen Rischel in his statement that

"[i]n the field we are forced to acknowledge that a language is not just an autonomous object but the backbone of the cultural make up of its speakers. Access to a language also means access to facets of spiritual culture which would otherwise remain inaccessible" (Rischel 2002: 473).

The evaluations cited and the extra-linguistic contributions reflect that informants not always or not consistently see transcription and translation tasks as a <u>technical</u> lingustic tool to get access to the phonology and grammar of the language. In other words, transcription and translation of texts may be exposed to prescriptive attitudes, and it may create tensions between the informant and the investigator if they have different perspectives on the task. Such tensions may result in the investigator being aggravated that the informant (still) does not understand the real task, and on the other side, the informant may get frustrated that the linguist does not take his contribution and work seriously. This may lead to resignation, "*tay mon, báya*" 'as you say, *báya*', and a stop of spontaneous contributions. I shall give two examples of such evaluations below.

Extracting the linguistic structure and content of a narrative from its religious or cultural setting, is a contra-intuitive approach for a native speaker, and it may be viewed by the informant as a disregard of his ethnicity and cultural self-understanding. Although extra-linguistic contributions may at first sight appear time-consuming and irrelevant, from my point of view they may provide the linguist with insight into cultural and religious matters that may not be documented elsewhere. Such contributions are often unique information about a language community, and it is not unlikely that they will be of good use in interpretation of the texts and clauses at a later stage of analysis. In other words, ignoring the informants' immediate contributions can be ignoring important material (and the informants' willingness to cooperate). The challenge is in my view for the linguist to learn to accommodate to an informant's non-linguistic approach and learn to draw advantage of it.

An example of how prescriptivity and a non-technical approach to transcription and translation influence the data comes from the morphological structure of certain locative phrases. When a deictic adverb is followed by a noun and both are suffixed with Loc3-*ai*, for example *taL-ái bákas-ai* 'there in the box', the -*i* of the suffix of the adverb may be omitted in casual speech, yielding *taLá bákas-ai*. This *i*-drop is in general ignored or not accepted as right Kalasha by my informants. They insist that the phrase in question should be rendered *taLái*, and they found it weird and a mis-transcription of their language when I insisted on not writing -*ai*. I tried to explain to them that it is important to linguists to transcribe as accurately as possible, and we compromised on adding the 'lacking' -*i* and the informant's opinion about this issue as a note in the transcription file. By this, peace was obtained, but I am not sure that the informant's scepticism about the linguistic approach to a traditional, culture-supporting text was overcome.

Another example deals with tense shift, which occurs frequently in spontaneous speech; i.e. the narrator may switch between present and past tense in a way that on the face of it seems random and unsystematic, i.e. ungrammatical. Often my informants would comment on this and say "this is wrong tense, it should be …". I am actually not certain that this tense shift is 'wrong'. Although it needs further examination, I have a suspicion that it is a stylistic device that a narrator may use.

Whatever the function of 'tense switch' may be, I observed that one of my informants in his own narration of events shifted tense, similarly to the narrator that he corrected. I was uncertain as to whether to confront him with this, for the sake of 'defiltering' him, i.e. training him to become more 'linguistic' in his approach, but he anticipated me as he soon after realized that he himself was switching tense in narration. This he discovered in a word-by-word repetition of a previously recorded narrative, in this case his own.[36] In a following translation of another narrative, he informed me that he might have been wrong in correcting other peoples speech. As regards his word-by-word repetition of his own narrative, he corrected tense switches, as well as replaced postpositions with other postpositions and lexical items with synonyms.[37]

6.5 Using experimental stimuli

To the category of experimental stimulus I include different types of stimulus (drawings, maps, films, etc.) exposed to the informants in order to trigger longer or shorter stretches of speech. The test material used is of a diverse nature. (See Appendix 7 for a full list.) It includes 'space games', drawings or photos showing spatial arrangements and self-made maps of geographical locations. Other experimental stimuli are film clips portraying people performing specific 'events' designed to yield spatial and 'event' descriptions. Other film stimulus include 'The Pear Film' and what I call 'The Mouse Films'. I have also used as stimuli series of drawings depicting a story, which the informant is supposed to narrate after having examined the drawings. Most known of these is the so-called 'Frog Story'

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[36] In this 'repetition task' the informant was instructed to repeat a previously recorded narration slowly and word by word. If succesful this is an eminent technique for the linguist to get a grasp of the clausal and phrasal structure of a text. But caution should be taken because not all speakers are able to dissolve phrases into words on the one hand, and not dissolving word stems and bound suffixes on the other hand. (My thanks go to Peter Juel Henrichsen, Copenhagen Business School, for cooperation and discussion on elicitation techniques with respect to these sessions.)

[37] This indicates that not even this data is free of prescriptivity. The linguist must check both the test and the word-by-word repetition carefully. Chelliah (2001: 153) also draws the attention to fallacies of this technique, mentioning that her informants would omit scatological and sexual references, replacing borrowed or archaic words with indigenous or prestigious variants, and rearrange sequentiality of events with personal preferences.

(actually, 'Frog, Where Are You?') from Dan Slobin and research associates' cross-linguistic investigation of child language acquisition, among other things).

Because the stimuli that informants are exposed to is identical and at the same time focused on yielding codings of a specific semantics, the informants' responses are immediately comparable. This gives a systematicity in data that is not obtainable by spontaneous speech (texts, etc.). In general, responses to the map stimuli, the cartoons and the films were often coded by the informants as narratives, i.e. with typical characteristics of narrative style, for example, by use of hearsay constructions, creaky voice, extreme vowel lengthening, expressing vehemence, distance, manner of activities, etc. From another perspective I have found this stimulus material extremely useful as a welcome alternative to the tedious elicitation sessions.

6.6 Summary

A number of factors may lead the informant to overgeneralize, make prescriptive judgements or in other ways come up with grammaticality judgements that are not reliable or maybe even in contrast with what can be observed in other data types. Factors yielding such 'erroneous' responses may have to do with the elicitation method or the interaction between the informant and the linguist. In efforts to overcome such sources of errors, the linguist can tune himself into the informant's well-being in elicitation sessions and accept the limitations that this method has, and he can set up alternating elicitation techniques.

I have drawn the attention to the fact that the actual carrying out of fieldwork and elicitation sessions will be influenced by the field setting. I shall propose that an acceptable way to get through the dilemmas and hindrances is to be as explicit as possible with regards to the type of data one has collected and from that consider what sort of bias the types of data may have. I am not able to judge whether I have succeeded in the former of these measures. I have tried to comply with the latter by using different data types, data from elicitation work, from texts, and from stimulus material, as accounted for in the preceding.

7. Polysemy and semantic networks

7.1 Approaching polysemy

The types of case markers to be investigated in this thesis, case endings and postpositions, are well-known to be multifunctional, i.e. to carry with them a range of different meanings, a considerable degree of polysemy. Instances are many, for case endings I can refer to Whitney's (1889/1960: 88-106) description of case endings in Sanskrit and to Wierzbicka's (1986) description of the dative in Polish. As regards adpositions, Quirk et al. (1972: 320) speak of "fields of prepositional meanings", and well-known studies of the functional range of prepositions in English are Brugman (1981) and Herskovits (1986) - to name just a few.

There are different types of approaches to such multifunctional grammatical (or lexical) elements. One is the monosemist approach. This seeks to formulate one abstract denotation for the functional range of a given morpheme or a lexeme, its specific meaning being dependent on contextual information and pragmatic inference. As regards studies of case systems Hjelmslev (1935, 1937) and Jakobson (1936/1971) are proponents of this approach. Being hard-core structuralists, Hjelmslev and Jakobson approached meanings of cases in this way in order to state clear contrasts among the case categories in the case system. Blake (1994) describes it like this:

> "The *Gesamtbedeutung* of a case is independent of the environment and cannot be determined from the individual meanings (*Sonderbedeutungen*) nor from the principal meaning (*Hauptbedeutung*). Cases are correlative and take their value from their relation to other cases in a system of oppositions" (Blake 1994: 39; italics original).

Proponents of the monosemist approach within studies of adpositions (mostly prepositions, as far as I can see in the literature), are Ruhl (1989), Jackendoff (1990), and, to some degree, Herskovits (1986).

The opposite approach to meaning variety is a heterosemist approach, i.e. a 'total split' approach that says nothing about the semantic (or historical) relationship between two linguistic elements expressed by identical forms. A textbook example is English *port* in the meanings 'harbour' and 'sweet wine from Portugal', which probably only historians or historical linguists can relate to each other. Typically homonyms are given separate entries. For prepositions, this approach, which Hjelmslev and Jakobson rejected, is manifested by mere listings of meanings, without any indication of relationship between them apart from

being headed by the same word form.[38] In Whitney (1899) the functions of Sanskrit cases are treated along such lines.

7.2 Semantic networks

7.2.1 The concept of a network

The perspective that I shall take on the functional range of the local case markers in Kalasha lies in between these positions. I shall look at the different functions or meanings of local space markers in relation to one another. I see it as essential to be explicit about what kinds of relations that hold among the meanings of a polysemous case marker. I shall graphically present the interrelatedness by networks that depict the degree and distance between the different meanings.

By doing so I lean theoretically and methodologically towards a cognitive linguistic approach to polysemy. In a cognitive linguistic approach to the polysemy of a given linguistic element, one seeks to show how one usage or meaning can be construed as an extension of another and how such extensions relate to a central member of the meaning range. The interrelatedness between extensions and their relatedness to a central member is typically presented as a network, a "schematic network", as used in Cognitive Grammar, see for example Langacker (1987: 369-386) who sees networks as useful descriptive devices "relevant to the description of all kinds of linguistic categories, including syntactic constructions and morphemes" (Newman 1996: 81).

Networks are 'semantic' or 'schematic', i.e., they are structures which graphically represent the relations among usages as a function of distance and interconnectedness. By depicting a centre and a periphery semantic networks are congruent with the cognitive linguistic assumption of radially structured categories organized around a prototype (Lakoff 1987). This perspective towards polysemy differs radically from the monosemist-biased approach, which seeks to identify and define the abstraction of a meaning range, and not the particular usages. By specifying the connections between abstractions and their instantiations, linguists working with a network model end up with a high degree of granularity in their semantic description of a given morpheme. Thus, we may speak of a unified approach to polysemic structure.

Semantic networks are not graphically or technically structured according to fixed rules. There is a considerable variation among linguists with respect to how to construct (and interpret, see below) such networks. I shall lean on Langacker (1987: 369-386) in this respect and include two kinds of relationships in my networks for the case endings and postpositions of Kalasha. One relationship holds between a central member and a less central member. Another relationship

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[38] See, for example, the prepositions *i* ('in') and *på* ('on') in The Danish Dictionary (Den Danske Ordbog).

holds between specific instantiations of a schematic meaning and that schematic meaning, or, as I shall term it, its 'generalized meaning'. I shall claim that the relationships, the extensions from one instantiation to another have come about through general semantic processes such as metaphor and metonymy.

7.2.1   The conceptual bias of semantic networks

Semantic networks are widely used in semantic analyses within Cognitive Linguistics and also within certain directions of the grammaticalization framework, for example Heine et al. (1991a,b). As semantic analyses within Cognitive Linguistics have always been related to cognitive studies of categorization, it follows naturally that also semantic networks have strong cognitive-psychological overtones, i.e. "that linguistic meaning is embedded and conceptually motivated", as formulated by Sandra and Rice (1995: 99). Sandra and Rice also note that the terminology itself within cognitive linguistics has psychological overtones. With the use of notions like "image schema" and "image schema transformation" cognitive linguists are:

> "no longer … referrring to the nodes and links in a linguistic network but to the actual mental structures that might be involved in a psychological network" (Sandra and Rice 1995: 102).

Sandra and Rice warn against an a priori isomorphic perspective on semantic networks, whether one sees a one-to-one relationship between prepositional networks and their mental counterparts, or whether one regards the networks as graphic representational devices for capturing aspects of language users' mental representations, i.e. implying that mental representations may be discrete, non-local representations (Sandra and Rice 1995: 102).

An alternative approach is non-isomorphic and "would be to regard networks as instruments for representing the products of linguistic analysis and not as "mirrors" … of what is stored in the language user's mind". In this approach, which I shall seek to adopt, the networks "chart the structure in the language rather than the structure in the mind of language users" (p. 103).

7.2.2   The diachronic pitfall of semantic networks

Also among language historians, in particular scholars working within the grammaticalization framework, we see instances of implied conceptual interpretation of semantic networks. For example, Heine et al. see all functions of a morpheme as being "part of one and the same network of conceptual expansion, leading from a more "concrete" function … to a number of more "abstract" functions" (Heine et al. 1991a: 155). To Sweetser (1990: 7) metaphorical extensions in synchrony should be viewed side by side with those occurring in diachrony, and Brugman

(1984) has argued that the synchronic processes that lead to polysemy may shed light on the historical processes.

The diachronic implication for these scholars lies in the assumption that polysemy has arisen over time through processes of metaphor and metonymy that have worked on more concrete meaning of a linguistic element to give rise to more abstract meanings. Thus, for Traugott (1986: 540-541): "polysemy accounts for important aspects of cognitive processes" in such a way that "a theory of synchronic semantic relatedness, i.e. polysemy, together with a theory of possible semantic change, can be used to do internal semantic reconstruction".

It is indeed tempting to regard the semantic networks in chapters 12-13 and 17 as suggestions as to what diachronic semantic changes have taken place. But they are not intended as such. In those cases where we do have a stateable diachronic source I shall comment on possible development paths.

7.2.3 Avoiding the pitfalls

My semantic networks will reflect my judgements as to the commonalities between a proposed core meaning and the submeanings. In some cases I shall postulate an abstract, generalized meaning from which other sub-meanings, instantiations, are extended. The relevance of the specific functions in the networks will be illustrated in the analyses that precede the networks. I shall make no claim that a particular native speaker must necessarily see the same higher-level schematic meanings which I have proposed. The relevance of the specific functions are postulated by contrastive semantic analysis of the linguistic data. I shall not propose that a specific function is conceptually necessarily relevant for a speaker. Thus I adopt the careful perspective formulated by Sandra and Rice (1995: 103) as 'any particular link or node may or may not be perceived and represented by the individual language user'. I shall leave for psycholingustics to test whether the fine-grained polysemy structures are conceptually relevant or not.

When approaching the first larger network, that of Loc2-*una*, I shall briefly sum up my use of the graphic device that a semantic network constitutes. In the explanations that attend the networks I shall argue explicitly for why a given function is presented as the core function and for how other functions are related to this or to each other.

8. Local case-marking in Kalasha in overview

As already stated in the introduction this thesis analyses in detailed three groups of local case markers in Kalasha, case endings, postpositions, and relational nouns. These can be differentiated partly by morphological, partly by distributional criteria.

TABLE 8.1: MORPHOSYNTACTIC AND DISTRIBUTIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF LOCAL CASE MARKERS IN KALASHA.

	Case ending	**Postposition**	**Relational noun**
Combinatorial potential	Not with pronouns and demonstratives. Restrictions with place adverbs	All nominal elements	Not place adverbs
Syntactic integrity	Fusion	Analytic	Fusion and analytic
Morphological integrity	Invariant	Invariant	Variant
Closed class	Yes	No	No

     Combinatorial potential. Case endings do not occur with pronouns or demonstratives, and not all case endings can occur with place adverbs. Postpositions can occur with all nominal elements, relational nouns cannot occur with place adverbs.
     Syntactic integrity. Case endings are fused to nouns stems, triggering morphophonological processes such as alternation of the voicing of stem final elements, of stress, and of vowel lengthening. Local case endings are never stressed. Postpositions do not trigger such morphophonological processes and may take stress. Relational nouns are always stressed, and they can occur independently (following an oblique form of the preceding nominal element) or as second components in adverbial compounds. In a compound nominal phrase local case endings are obligatory on all members of the NP, if required semantically. Postpositions and relational nouns may occur only, once, as heads.

1. *chóm-una/*-Ø zhe méz-una dahú rit-él dái*   Na.E/GK.E
   floor-loc2/-Ø   and table-loc2   beans   pour out-p/f.3s   spec
   'he pours out beans on the floor and on the table'

2. *may (pi) zhe sudá-as pi a-phúc-i*   Na.E/GK.E
   1s.obl   from   and   child-obl.sg   from   au-ask-pst.A.2s
   'she asked me and and the boy'

3. *méz-as   (nÓ-aw)   zhe kursí-as   nÓ-aw   phúshak   á-an*
   table-obl.sg below-abl3 and chair-obl.sg below-abl3 cat   be.an-prs.3p
   'there are cats below the table and (below) the chair'   Na.E/GK.E

Morphological integrity. Local case endings and postpositions are invariant in form. Relational nouns may take local case endings, and a handful of them are bound morphs and require such an ending.

Closed class. Local case endings make up a small, closed class (with only six members, seven if zero-ending is included). Postpositions are more numerous, and the class does not seem to be hermetically closed, as loanwords can be included and three relational nouns show postposition-like behaviour. Relational nouns are also more numerous than case endings, but it remains a question whether they constitute a closed word class, as in principle all nouns denoting a location of some sort can occur in the same morphosyntactic construction as relational nouns.

In chapters 10-16 I examine the local endings, in chapter 17 I examine the postpositions, and in chapter 18 I examine the relational nouns. Chapter 19 discusses to what extent the local case markers constitutes a case-marking paradigm.

9. Overview of case endings in Kalasha

Case-marking understood as stem formation includes in Kalasha suffixation of case endings, zero endings and alternating, suppletive roots. The former means is seen with common nouns, proper nouns, and place names, the latter with pronouns. This section presents the inventories of case markers for common nouns and personal names. I refer to chapter 5 for an overview of the pronominal paradigm and to Appendix 8 for the paradigm of quantifiers and distributive adjectives. For case-marking on place names I refer to chapter 14.

9.1 Common nouns

Case-marking for common nouns differentiates between animate and inanimate nouns. Both noun classes distinguish between nominative (or 'direct') and oblique case. Inanimate nouns have instrumental and local case endings, locative and ablative, as well as a set of special temporal case endings. Animate nouns may occur in the vocative case. Table 9.1 shows the endings of the two paradigms. Only nominative plural *-án* and oblique plural *-ón* are stressed. All other case endings are unstressed.

TABLE 9.1: CASE-MARKING OF COMMON NOUNS.[39]

	Animate		Inanimate	
	Singular	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**
Nominative (Direct)	-Ø	-Ø, -án, -an	-Ø	-Ø
Genitive-Oblique	-as	-an,[40] -ón	-as	-an
Instrumental	--	--	-an	
Locative	--	--	-a, -una, -ai	
Ablative	--	--	-yei, -ani, -aw	
Temporal	--	--	-ano, -asa	
Vocative	-ow, -Ø	-Ø (-an?)	--	

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[39] Case suffixation may have morphophonological consequences, for example, in terms of voicing of final unvoiced obstruents, deletion of stem final vowels, and stress placement. Appendix 9 gives a sketch of these processes.

[40] Oblique plural *-an* has a stylistic variant form: *-ánan*, see 9.1.3.1.

I shall in the remainder of the dissertation refer to the locative endings by 'Loc1-*a*', 'Loc2-*una*', and 'Loc3-*ai*', and to the ablative endings by 'Abl1-*yei*', 'Abl2-*ani*', and 'Abl3-*aw*'.

The inventory given here differs from the presentations in Tr96 and TC99 in the following respects:[41]

(1) Tr96 and TC99 see Loc3-*ai* and Abl3-*aw* as plural markers and locative Loc2-*una* and Loc1-*a* and ablative Abl2-*ani* and Abl1-*yei* as singular markers.

(2) For animate as well as inanimate nouns, Tr96 has separate nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, and oblique cases, but with the same two endings, -*as* and -*an*, shared by the genitive, dative and oblique cases. There are two exceptions: (a) In the nominative plural "certain frequently used nouns" (p. 153) take -*án*; (b) there is zero-ending in the dative plural for inanimates. The accusative and the nominative cases have zero endings.

(3) Tr96 and TC99 have a second instrumental -*en*. I hold the use of the ending to be a randomly occurring influence from Khowar (cf. Bashir 2003: 844).

The remainder of this section gives a presentation of the pronunciation, the etymologies, and the functions of the case suffixes for the direct, genitive-oblique, and the instrumental cases. For the vocative I refer to Appendix 11. The local case endings will be introduced in chapter. 9.3 and their functions will be studied in detail in chapters 10-16. For the temporal case endings I refer to Appendix 12.

9.1.1 The nominative singular

The nominative (or 'direct'), singular case is unmarked, i.e. has zero-ending. Nominative case is used for subjects of all verbs in all tenses and aspects and for the object of certain transitive verbs (see Ch. 5.2.2.2).

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[41] The inventory presented here differs only in a few respects from Bashirs presentation (EB88: 40). Bashir is in doubt whether there is a separate plural instrumental, and she gives -*aan* and -*áutr* as a possible nominative plural marker. I see -*aan* (i.e. [a:n]) as a free variant of -*an*. According to my field notes -*áutr* denotes a group of siblings within the same generation. Thus, we can have *dad-áutr, bay-áutr*, and *bab-áutr* 'uncles (as brothers of each other)', 'brothers', and 'sisters', but not, for example, **nan-áutr* or **ispashur-áutr*, etc. for 'a group of one person's aunts' and '.. father-in-laws', respectively. Thus, it appears that -*áutr* is a sort of collectivizer with the meaning 'sibling' or something similar, but I have not yet come across a plausible etymon.

I refer to Appendix 10. for a critical assessment of Trail's (1996: 156) conclusion 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".

9.1.2 The singular genitive-oblique *-as*

9.1.2.1 Etymology and pronunciation

Morgenstierne relates oblique singular *-as* to OIA genitive singular *-asya* (GM73: 207).

In casual speech *-s* may be dropped, so instead of *móc-as moTér/aú* 'the man's car/food' we get *móc-a …* , etc. When asked to repeat or clarify *móc-a …* my informants always corrected *-a* to *-as*. But when the possessor is a location of some sort, as in *grom-a thar-una* 'village-*a* + above-*una*', my informants were in doubt as to correct to *grom-as* or whether *grom-a* was "also correct". I suggest two possible interpretations of this. Either *grom-a* is a result of *-s*-drop, as clarified and explained by informants, or the *-a* is an oblique locative. In the first case the sentence would mean 'on the village's upper side', in the second case it would have a local meaning, as in 'on the upper side at the village', not unlike other of Loc1-*a*'s functions.

This analysis supports GM's observation that "general oblique in *-a* .. may replace several of the other specialized cases" (GM73: 206), among them functions taken care of by the oblique *-as*: 'possessive' and marking of indirect objects. It may be that my informants when asked to repeat, have preferred the more laboured *grom-as* in order to clarify the utterance, but the alternative structure with Loc1-*a* raises the question whether *-a* is to be considered as a local ending or a 'second oblique'. I discuss the status of Loc1-*a* in chapter 12.

9.1.2.2 Functions of genitive-oblique singular *-as*

I have identified five functions of the genitive oblique *-as*, the first four are also handled by the oblique plural endings.

1) Marking the possessor in possessive constructions: *istrizhagÚak-as nógor* 'the girl's palace' and *mastrúk-as phreLík* 'moon-*as*' + 'light' (= 'moonlight').
2) Marking the nominal complement in postposition phrases: *shawák-as thára* 'with pleasure' (lit.: pleasure-*as* + 'upon') and *páy-as hátya* 'for the goat'.
3) Marking indirect object, the Benefactor or Recipient, with ditransitive verbs.
4) Marking the object of 'affective' verbs,[42] for example, *tyék* 'hit, beat', *cúndik* 'sting someone', *pAgóyan tyek* 'kick someone', *wájik* 'watch someone, look for', and *iphazát kárik* 'take care of'.
5) Marking infinitival objects like, for example, *tása pi-a-ík-as kushúsh ar-áu* 'he tried to make him drink' (him + drink-cs1-inf-obl + tried)

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[42] See Ch. 17.1-17.2 for an introduction to object-marking in Kalasha.

9.1.3 Plural marking on common nouns

Only very few words take a plural suffix in the nominative case, whereas all plural nouns take an oblique case form. I shall go through the particular case forms one by one.[43]

9.1.3.1 Nominative plural *-an* and *-án*

I have observed nominative unstressed plural *-an* only infrequently with *dehár* 'spirited man, shaman', *moc* 'man, person', and *gaDérak* 'elder leader'. As shown in 1-2, nominative plural *-an* is not obligatory:

1. **bían-ai   móc-an**   *hóma   thára zúlum   kar-úna*
   outside-loc3 people-obl.pl 1p.obl upon   cruel   do-pst.ptc.I.3s
   ne   lasaí-man á-ini[44]   SJan96
   neg let-ipf   aux.an.pst.A-3p
   'if any **people from outside** tried to oppress us, they did not let them (do so)'

2. **bo   moc**   *ayá   íta   á-an*   GK.E
   many people   here.spec come.pf aux.an.prs-3p
   '**many people** have come here'

    moc 'man, person' and *gaDerak* 'elder leader' are both indigenous Indo-Aryan.[45] For *dehar* GM73 suggests Skt. *daiva* 'belonging to or coming from the gods, divine'.

    Stressed *-án* occurs with a limited number of nouns denoting humans of esteem, people with high status, or people with some sort of authority or power, i.e., not with "certain frequently used nouns", as stated by Trail (1996: 153). These nouns are mainly loanwords from Persian and English. (See Appendix 13 for a fuller list.) Also this plural marking is optional:

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[43] Neither TC99 nor Tr96 elucidate the plural allomorphy; *-án* and *-an* are treated under the same headword, unstressed *–an*; *-ón* is merely given as a variant to this ending. However, by their examples, they indicate that stressed *-án* is "nominative" and unstressed *-an* is 'oblique'. TC99 and Tr96 do also not discuss or mention the non-obligatoriness of the nominative plural endings.

  GM (73: 205) cites plural forms in *-ai/-ei*: LSI *chu:Lai* 'daughters', *putrai* 'sons', *da:dai* 'fathers', and from Siiger *bayei* 'brothers'. Also my informants have given *-ai* plurals when prompted to give plural forms of kinship terms. This may indicate a specific plural ending for these nouns, but notice that this *-ai* is formally identical to the possessed kinship suffix *-ai* (see Appendix 4), suggesting that my informants have answered with 'my sisters/aunts', etc.

[44] In Saifullah Jan's transcription: *bían-ä múc-an hóma thára zúylum kar-úna ne lasaí-man á-ini* (Jan 1996).

[45] *moc* derives from *mártya* 'a mortal, man' (CDIAL 9888); *gaDérak* is a derivative of Kalasha *gáDa* 'big (of animate beings)' from *gāḍha* 'thick, pressed together, ..' (CDIAL 4118).

3. *brÚ~a   ásta ek kaLaSa.gróm   tará   **musulmán**   ásta   á-an*
   Brun   also a   Kalasha.village there.spec.abs Muslim-Ø   also   be.an-prs.3p
   'Brun is also a Kalasha village, there are also **Muslims** there'   GK.ma

4. ***bo   ziád musulman-án** ásta á-an   **ziád   musulman-án**   GK.ma*
   many very Muslim-nom.pl   also be.an.prs-3p very   Muslim-nom.pl
   á-an   darazgurú
   be.an-prs.3p   Darazguru
   'there are **very many Muslims**, **many Muslims** are there, at Darazguru'

In TC99 and in my own material we see *gaDérak-an* and *gaDerak-án*, i.e. with unstressed and stressed plural marker. TC99 defines *gaDerak-án* as 'elders, council, or official ruling body of a Kalasha village', i.e. as a collective noun that denotes a particular group of elders who have a specific authority. *gaDérak*, which takes unstressed *-an*, is defined as 'elder man, leader', i.e. as a noun that denotes an individual. This suggests that stressed *-án* is a 'collectivizer', identical to a morpheme *-án* in other NIA languages (Bloch 1965: 153-4), and that unstressed *-an* is an optional plural morpheme. This may also explain why we can have both unstressed *-an* and stressed *-án* on *dehár*:

5. *awÉ-una   nis-ón   **dazhedúa dehár-an**   Mirz.T*
   place-loc2 sit-pst.A.3p 12   *dehar*-nom.pl
   'they sat down in a place, **the twelve *dehar*'s**'[46]

6. ***dehar-án**   tan   móc-una   jip zhu-ék   thi   á-an   Na.T*
   dehar-nom.pl own   middle-loc2 discuss-inf   be.cp aux.an-prs.3p
   '**the dehars** were discussing amongst themselves (who was real dehar)'

Occasionally a reduplicated variant of *-an*, *-ánan*, can be heard, i.e. stressed *-án* plus unstressed *-an*. I have only observed it with *musulmán* (-> *musulman-ánan*). GM also has *farangi-ánan* 'Europeans' (Prs.), *khonz-ánan* 'young noblemen', *wazir-ánan* 'ministers' (Prs.) (GM73: 209). I am not able to ascribe a specific semantic function to this suffix reduplication, and I see it as conditioned by either stylistic, narrative, or rhythmic factors.[47]

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[46] A *dehar* is shaman-like person, a 'spirited man', who at certain occasions can make predictions about the future.
[47] A similar peculiar repetitional pattern (concerning other grammatical endings) is reported for Khowar and Burushaski too (Bashir, pers. comm.).

9.1.3.2 Oblique plural *-an* and *-ón*

The oblique unstressed *-an* occurs with inanimate nouns also. It is subject to considerable phonetic variation in palatal contexts: [-æn], [-ɜn], [-en], [-ən].

Stressed oblique plural *-on* is noted by GM73, EB88, as well as by Tr96 and TC99 as an alternate plural oblique, but none of them accounts for the allomorphy between *-an* and *-ón*. According to the examples in these sources and in my material only animate nouns occur with *-ón*. During a field session I checked the distribution of *-an* and *-ón* for a large number of animate nouns. From this it became clear that with only few exceptions *-ón* suffixes to animate nouns and noun-functioning adjectives that end in unstressed *-a*, which is then lost. All other animate nouns, and all inanimate nouns, take *-an* in the oblique plural. Examples are:[48]

Humans	**Animals**	**Adjectives**
ajhóna 'guest'	*amÉa* 'sheep'	*gáDa* 'an older one'
súda 'boy'	*bíra* 'castrated male goat'	*góra* 'a white one'
istrízha 'woman'	*shÓ~a* 'dog'	*kríSna* 'a black one'
kaLáSa 'a Kalasha person'	*húpaLa* 'scorpion	*dhríga* 'a high one'
pátua 'a Chitrali person'	*baChÓa* '1-year old calf'	*náshTa* 'deceased '

There are a few exceptions to this regular plural formation:

(1) Three nouns that do not end in (unstressed) *-a* may take *-ón* (and lose stem stress). Two of them end in a sibilant: *angrís* 'westerner', *púruS* 'man', one has a final stressed *-á*, *Catrumá* 'Nuristani person'. All three may also take *-an*: *angriz-án*, *purúS-an* and *Catrumá-an* (notice stressed ending in *angriz-án*; one informant did not accept *angriz-ón*).

(2) Two nouns end in *-a* but take *-an*, not *-ón*: *jhónta* 'sacrificial animals' (i.e. a group noun) -> *jhontá-an* and the compound *gaDa.áya* -> *gaDa.áy-an* 'midwife' (lit.: 'old + mother'). Finally, one informant accepted *S-ón* as well as *Sá-an* as the plural of *Sa* 'king', another informant accepted only *Sá-an*.

9.1.3.2.1 Is the -an ~ -ón alternation a result of accent placement in Vedic?

Although an etymology for oblique plural *-an* is not mentioned by GM73, it seems plausible to suggest OIA gen.pl. *-ānām* (*a*-stems). This will be in accordance with Masica's information that the nasal element of this ending is seen "throughout NIA" (including Khowar *-an*, *-ān* and Kalasha *-an*). It is by "most authorities [traced] back to the OIA Genitive plural *-ānām*" (Masica 1991: 240-

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[48] Cf. Appendix 14 for a fuller list of nouns observed or checked for the oblique plural endings.

1).[49] From a system-internal perspective in Kalasha the retainment of the old genitive plural as the oblique plural in Kalasha gives a neat parallel to the development of the OIA genitive singular *-asya* to *-as*. But what about *-ón*? Neither GM73, TR96, nor TC99 give any suggestion as to an etymology to this suffix. I cannot exclude that it is a loan suffix, but I shall in the following argue for a parallel development of OIA *-ānām* to Kalasha *-ón*.

In Kalasha we see that *-ón* almost exclusively occur with words with final unstressed *-a* (exceptions are accounted for below). As is seen in Table 9.2 these words go back to an OIA word form with stem final *-a*.

TABLE 9.2: KALASHA *-ón* WORDS AND OIA COGNATES. (Word forms introduced with questionmarks are cited from GM73, question marks GM's. The accent ''' in OIA forms denotes tonal accent in Vedic. If no accent is indicated, the word is not attested with accent in Vedic Sanskrit. '*' indicates reconstructed word form. "M-W" = Monier-Williams (1899).)

Kalasha	Gloss	OIA
amÉa	'sheep, ewe'	*meḍhra-, meṇḍha-* 'ram' (10310)
amóndra	'lawless'	*amantra-* (M-W) 'without verse ..'
baSára	'old'	? Skt. *varṣa* 'year' + *-ara*
bátya	'kid-goat'	[JH: < *vatsá-* 'calf, child (11239) + *ya-* ?][50]
bíra	'castrated goat'	*vīrá-* 'man, hero, son' (12056)
húpaLa	'scorpion'	*utpātaka-* 'kind of animal'(1821)
khúTa	'halt person'	**khuṭṭa-* 'lame' (3941.4)
súda	'boy, kid'	? Skt. *suvṛdha* 'growing well'
shÓ~a	'dog'	*śuna-* 'dog' (12528)
Séa	'blind man	*śreḍa-* 'slanting, squinting' (12717)
góra	'white'	*gaurá-* 'white, ..' (4345)
gríLa	'wet'	**grilla-* 'wet, damp' (4386)
kríSna	'black'	*kṛṣṇá-* 'dark blue, black' (3421)
áSiSa	'mourner'	*aśīrṣān-* 'headless' (912)
púruS	'man'	*púruṣa-* 'man, male' (8289)

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[49] The historical scenario is that the final syllable of the old bisyllabic genitive plural is lost and the initial syllable retained, although with possible loss of length. (See Bloch (1965: 174-5) for the development and retainment of OIA genitive plural.). It is, though, somewhat peculiar that GM has not suggested this OIA cognate to Kalasha oblique plural *-an*.

[50] OIA *-ya*, and also *-ka* and *-ra*, are ubiquitous derivatives, applied as "meaningless enlargement" to nouns, and in some cases preserving otherwise lost vowels (Bloch, 1965: 111, 163; cf. also Wackernagel 1957: 102-108). GM73 (and TC99) gives no etymological cognate to *bátya*, but to the (possibly) related *batshá* 'male calf (two to four years old)': < *vatsá-* 'calf, child (11239). According to one informant, this word has oblique plural in *-an*, thus following the rule that words with stressed *-á* do not take *-ón*.

Three things has happened to the OIA ending *–ānām* as reflected in Kalasha:
(1) the last part *-ām* is lost, (2) *-ā-* changes to *-o-*, (3) it becomes stressed. From
GM73 we know that <u>stressed</u> syllables with *a/ā* in OIA have given *o, u* in
Kalasha, for example *mon* 'word' < *mantra-* (CDIAL 9890), *ónik* 'bring' < *an-*
(CDIAL 1174), etc. (p. 202).[51] This explains *ā > o*, but not why we have stressed
ending, and also not why we do not have stress and vowel change when *-ānām*
becomes *-an*. To give a full account of this we need to have better insight into the
development of stress in Kalasha. For now I shall assume that the syllable that
contained <u>the ending that results in *-ón* must have had more weight of some sort
than the syllables where *-ānām* becomes *-an*</u>. The hypothesis will be outlined in
the following principles.

(1) We have primarily *-ón* on words which end in (unstressed) *-a* and which
    denote animate beings (also adjectives when they function as nouns, for
    example *gor-ón* 'the white people-obl.pl').
(2) Final (unstressed) *-a* in Kalasha goes in some cases back to attested accented
    -á in Vedic (see Table 9.2 above). From Vedic words with accented *-á* we can
    derive an underlying genitive plural *//-á.ānām//*, which becomes **- ân*, which
    results in Kalasha *-ón*. This is attested with the historical cognates for *bíra,
    góra, amóndra*, and, if I am right about the proposed etymology, also for
    bátya.[52] We do not have evidence of the accent placement for the word forms
    leading to the Kalasha words for 'sheep', 'old', 'wet', 'black', 'scorpion', 'halt
    person', 'blind person', and 'boy'. Thus, the etymologies of these words do
    not go against the general principle just formulated.

There are a few words which look like contradictions to this and which need
further explanation:

(4) *áSiSa* 'mourner' < *aśīrṣán-* 'headless' ends in *-n*, not *-á*, but OIA *n*-stems end
    in *-ā* in the nominative.

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[51] See also Mørch and Heegaard 1997, chapters 6-7, for more examples and a dialectal perspective.
This sound development establishes an important isogloss between Northern and Southern
Kalasha as the latter dialect cluster has preserved *-a(:)n*. GM73 suggests that the development
-a(:)n > -on must have been recent.
[52] Although indirectly for *amóndra*: The ancestor *a-mantra* 'not a Vedic verse, text or any
formula', (Monier-Williams 1899), is a bahuvrihi compound with private *a-* 'without', i.e.,
"without verse, words to lead". Following Wackernagel and Debrunner, compounds of this type
are in the pre-classical period "fast immer auf der letzten Silbe des Hintergliedstammes betont"
(Wackernagel and Debrunner 1957: 80); see also Macdonell (1916: 455, fn.2). Bahuvrihi
compounds are also termed possessive compounds, cf. Whitney (1899: 1293ff); i.e. of the type
bahū-vrihi 'much-rice', "posssessing much rice".

(5) *dond* 'bull' goes back to *dāntá-* 'tamed, tamed ox' (6273), and should then have final *-a* (and oblique plural *-ón*) in Kalasha. But the accented *-á* may be a reflection of the accent shift used to change nouns into adjectives (cf. Macdonell 1916: 453). I.e., as a noun the accent would have been on the root, giving an unaccented final *-a*, lost in Kalasha.

(6) *púruS* 'man, male person' is peculiar. It goes back to a word form with unaccented *-a* and loses this in Kalasha, but it still takes *-ón*. This I am unable to explain otherwise than referring to analogy: *-án > -ón* is a process that is only seen with animate nouns. *púruS*, and also *angrís* 'westerner' and *Catrumá* 'Nuristani person', are all nouns that denote beings high on an animacy scale, therefore they are included in this paradigm.

The rules specified here explain how Kalasha *-a* has been retained from Vedic *-á* and how OIA *-ānām* has become *-an* with some words, basically those that do not end in *-a* in Kalasha, and why it has become *-ón* in other words, basically those that have preserved an accented stem final *–a* in Vedic. The hypothesis leans weight on a not yet clarified distibution of accent in a number of Vedic words. It also assumes that unaccented Vedic *-a* has not survived in Kalasha as stem final *-a*. I have found attestation for this in two nouns that denote animates: *moc* 'man' < *mártya-* 'mortal male' (CDIAL 9888) and *ha~sh* 'horse' < *áśva* 'horse' (920), and perhaps also in the phonologically more complex *súci* 'fairy, spirit' < *śúcikā-* 'a goddess', and *jeSTáli* 'mother-in-law' < *jyéSTha-* 'first, chief'.

I shall leave for future investigation whether there are counterexamples to the ruls proposed here, and also whether Vedic accent is reflected elsewhere in the sound system.

9.1.3.3 Reduplication, plurality and moreness

Aside suffixation with *-án* and *-ón* (and *-in* for numerals and distributive adjectives, see Appendix 8) Kalasha can indicate what at first sight appers to be plural by means of reduplication. However, reduplication should rather be seen as a means for coding generalization, extension, and multiplicity, including in its scope the notions of distributiveness, collectiveness, and plurality.

I have identified two reduplication processes with this function: (1) full reduplication, i.e. full repetition of a word; (2) reduplication with replacement of the reduplicated stem's initial consonant or consonant groups with *m-*. In both formations the reduplicated component carries stress. The latter reduplication process applies as listed in Table 9.3.[53]

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[53] The *m*-reduplication in Kalasha seems to be similar to what can seen in Persian (Mahootian 1996). Bashir (88: 393) calls it "the Pashto type" version of the widespread echo word formation process seen in the larger Indian language area.

TABLE 9.3: *m*-REDUPLICATION IN KALASHA (stress indicated by ').

Stem structure		Reduplicated stem	Example
'V-	->	V-.'mV-	*a'u* -> *au.ma'u* 'food and so'
C'V-	->	CV-.'mV-	*pi'ran* -> *piran.mi'ran* 'clothes and so'
C₁C₂'V-	->	C₁C₂V-.'mV-	*'bhrons* -> *bhrons.'mons* 'lawns and so'

The semantic difference between the two processes is subtle. The former process comes close to indicate 'pure' plurality (in 7), i.e. referring to more than one exemplar of a given item. The latter process (in 8-9) denotes extension and/or generalizing of the entity referred to, and the reduplication can be glossed something like 'NP and things like that' or 'NP and stuff':

7. *sarasér-una   istrízha   **dur.dúr-ai**   pá-i   hesh dy-en*   TC99
   Sarazari-loc2 woman   house.red-loc3   go-cp say amen-p/f.3p
   'in the Sarazari rite, the women go **from house to house** and say amen to prayers'

8. *patu-ón   dur   shí-an   tará   nÓ-una*
   Chitrali-obl.pl house be.in-pst.3p there.spec.abs below-loc2
   *sarák aLéL-a   dái-o   ghéri **dur-múr**   shí-an*   Na.ma
   road   there.across edge-loc1 from-o[54] again house-red   be.in-pst.3p
   'there are Chitrali houses there below, away from the road, again there are **houses and things like that**'

9. ***piran-mirán***   *mó~D-in   SuSútr   mó~Din   SiSau.át   píS-in*
   clothes-red   wash-p/f.3p head gear wash-p/f.3p holy bread.flour grind-p/f.3p
   '(you know, at Caumos) they wash **all clothes and stuff**, they wash the *SuSutr*'s, (and) they grind the holy bread flour'   Fil.S

What is implied in example 7 is that the women go to one house (and say "amen" to prayers), and then to another house, and then to another house, etc.[55] This notion of (accumulated) plurality is not what is coded in 8-9. The speakers here refer to a generalized mass of entities. Example 8 is from a map description of the valley Bumburet. The speaker points out exactly where some Chitrali houses are located (*tará nÓuna* 'there below'), and then informs us somewhat casually that the mass of buildings continues (*ghéri* 'again') *aLéLa dái* 'from there off', without specifying the exact location or the number of the referent objects. This reduplication strategy is frequent in map descriptions, yielding

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[54] The particle *-o* has several functions. It codes contrast, information previously mentioned in the discourse, and temporal sequentiality. I shall gloss it '-*o*'.
[55] In Urdu 'noun doubling' expresses variety or multiplicity (Schmidt 1999: 13).

reduplications such as *Chetr-métr* 'fields (and so on)' or *goST-móST* 'stables (and so on)' for locations which are not specified further or which are not relevant for the progression of the description.

In 9speaker talks about some of the important purification rituals that are performed during *Chaumós*, the winter solstice festival, including, among other things, thorough sweeping of houses, burning of old baskets, washing and ritual purification of humans, etc. In this context the reduplicated phrase *piran-mirán* refers neither to an exact number, nor to each individual piece of clothes of the many that are to be washed, but to <u>all</u> sorts of clothes in general.[56]

9.1.4   Instrumental *-an*

The instrumental case is not a highly productive case in Kalasha, being only infrequently encountered in my data. 'Pure' instrumental functions, i.e. denotion of the use of an instrument or of means in carrying out an activity, as well as Sociative and Comitative functions are productively expressed by the postpositions *gri* 'with, using', *ásta gri* 'along with', *som* 'together with', and *thára* 'upon, by use of'. An instrument coded with a postposition (and an oblique case ending) highlights the instrument to a larger degree than the instrumental case ending. Thus, the instrumental case has bleached semantically and has or is about to become a generalized but contextually specialized instrumental marker, "generally adverbial in function", as Bloch (1965: 171) states for those NIA languages that show relicts of the OIA instrumental.[57] Here I shall only present a few examples of what seems to be such specialized or semi-productive functions. I refer to Appendix 16 for more examples of instrumental *-an*.

When a language is used instrumentally, i.e. as a means for speaking, we can have instrumental *-an*, although in competion with Loc2-*una*, as in 10. But if a language is construed as a figurative container as in 11, instrumental *-an* is not possible.

10. ***kaLaSa.móndr-una/-an*** *tási   pi   mon phúchi-man á-is*   GK.na
Kalasha-loc2/-instr   3p.obl.abs from word ask-ipf   aux.an-prs.3s
'he was asking them **in/by use of Kalasha** about words'

11. ***kaLaSa.móndr-una*/*-an** *bo   girán   mon   shí-an*   Fn06
Kalasha-loc2/-instr   many difficult word be.in-prs.3p
'there are many difficult words **in Kalasha**'

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[56] See Appendix 15 for additional notes on reduplication in Kalasha.

[57] GM does not have any suggestions as to an etymology for instrumental *-an*. He refers to Khowar *–en* and Kashmiri *–an* ('Agent-marker') and adds "probably with analogical *a* from other cases". Masica (1991: 247) sees Kalasha instrumental *-an* as derived from OIA *-(ak)ēna*.

With verbs of 'hitting', 'kicking' or other violent Recipient-directed actions an instrumental *-an* can be identified on free nouns (in 12 with *goNDík* 'stick') or on morphologically unknown stems (*pAgohi-*, in 13 with the predicate *pAgohían tyek* 'kick something') (Also verbs of signalling by use of body parts take instrumental *-an* on the instrument used, for example, *hást-an kárik* 'wave the hand as a signal' (lit. 'hand'-instr + 'do'), and *éc-an kárik* 'blink as a signal' (lit. 'eye'-instr + 'do').):

12. *a   tay   **gonDík-an**   tyem*   M73.E
    1s.nom   2s.obl   stick-instr   beat-p/f.1s
    'I will beat you **with a stick**'[58]

13. *o   súirak, ménj-as   **pAgohí-an ty-e***   TC99
    Oh   sun   cloud-obl.sg   kick-ipv.2s
    'o Sun, **kick** the cloud away'[59]

In 14 we see a rare instance of a typical instrument coded by *-an*, a 'nose' used for carrying out an activity.

14. ***nást-an** banj-él   dái tása   tan náSu-as   thára banj-él   dái*
    nost-instr play-p/f.3s spec 3s.obl.abs own nose-obl.sg upon   play-p/f.3s   spec
    'he plays (ball) **with the nose**, he plays *by the use of his own nose*' GK.sm
    (Or, 'he 'nose-plays', ..')

In 14 the speaker uses the alternative instrumental phrase *tan náSu-as thára* 'with his own nose' when he repeats the action, as if to highlight or lay emphasis on the fact that the mouse is using his nose as an instrument for playing with a ball.[60]

9.2 Personal names

Personal names occur in three cases: Nominative, genitive-oblique, and vocative cases, as illustrated in Table 9.4.[61]

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[58] GM's translation: 'I'll stick beat you'.
[59] TC99 (p. 234) translate this example with plural: '.. kick the clouds away!'.
[60] See Appendix 16 for additional notes on the instrumental case.
[61] See Appendix 11 for additional notes on the vocative case.

TABLE 9.4: CASE-MARKING ON PERSONAL NAMES.

Nominative	-Ø
Genitive-oblique	-a
Vocative	-ów, -Ø (-an ?)

The genitive-oblique -a is not a 'fast speech' variety of the genitive oblique -as in this paradigm. None of my informants accept, for example, *táj-as áy-as for táj-a áy-as 'Taj's mother'. GM73 does not have any suggestions as to an etymology for this -a, but one may speculate whether the OIA dative -āya has survived in Kalasha as genitive-oblique -a for personal names.[62] I have not observed the possible (plural) vocative ending –an, as rendered by Tr96.

9.3 Local case endings

9.3.1 The inventory

The local cases, their distribution and semantic and syntactic functions are the subject of the in-depth study in chapters 11-13. I shall here only comment briefly on the inventory, the pronunciations and on what is known about the etymologies. The inventory of local case endings as presented in Table 9.5 below reveals a certain degree of similarity between locative and ablative endings.

TABLE 9.5: LOCAL CASE ENDINGS ON INANIMATE NOUNS IN KALASHA.[63]

Locative	-a, -una, -ai
Ablative	-yei, -ani, -aw

Each set of case endings has three members. One of these member in each set is bisyllabic with the structure -VnV. The phoneme /a/ occurs in five of six endings, in three of them followed by either a palatal vowel /i/ or labio-velar /w/ (but see below for realization of these phonemes). This may suggest that the local case endings are morphologically complex, i.e. not inherited as whole chunks, but built up by different components. This perspective, which is in line with Masica's overall layer model for the case system in New Indo-Aryan, will be taken up again in chapters 12, 16, and 19.

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[62] Masica (1991), citing Morgenstierne, sees Khowar -a, and also Pashai -ai, as relics of the OIA dative, but Kalasha is not mentioned in this respect.
[63] In elicitation sessions it is possible to elicit local case endings on animate nouns, but informants prefer and nearly always correct to postposition constructions. In my spontaneous material I have not come across local case endings on animate nouns.

9.3.2 Pronunciation

There is a considerable variation in the actual phonetic manifestation of the local case endings, as shown in Table 9.6 and described below. As unstressed the local case endings are exposed to the reduction processes that affect all unstressed non-front vowels, for example: /u/ [u] -> [ɨ], /o/ [o] -> [ɨ], /a/ [a] -> [ɐ]. The reduction process may also lead to [ə] and further to vowel loss. In fast and casual speech the bisyllabic Loc2-*una* and Abl2-*ani* may drop the final vowel (and thus lose a syllable), or the first vowel may assimilate to the following nasal consonant, yielding a syllabic [n] or a long [n:]. The leftmost column gives the phonemic structure, the rightmost column the phonetic manifestations:

TABLE 9.6: FREQUENT PHONETIC MANIFESTATIONS OF LOCAL CASE ENDINGS IN KALASHA.

/ /	[ ]
-una	-una, -un, -on, -əna, -n.na
-ai	-ay, -æy, -ɜy, -ey, -a, -æ
-yei	-yey, -^{y}ey, -^{y}e, -ey, -e
-ani	-ani, -an, -n.ni
-aw	-aw, -ɔw, -ʌw

The second vowel in Loc3-*ai* and Abl1-*yei* is always pronounced as a glide. I have never heard, for example, bisyllabic [a.i] for Loc3-*ai*. The palatal component in Loc3-*ai* may be dropped. This is particularly but not exclusively noticed in the adverb *taL-ái* 'there' when it occurs in a double Loc3-*ai*-marked construction, for example, *taLá(i) gÁng-ai* 'there, in the hole'. When asked to repeat such a phrase my informants always corrected [taLá-] to [taLáy]. Also the final palatal segment in Abl1-*yei* may be dropped or pronounced weakly, giving the variables [-e, -e^y, -ey].

9.3.2.1 The problem of Abl1-*yei*

Although rendered by EB and TC, in particular with place adverbs and place names, one may speculate whether there actually is a separate ablative ending Abl1-*yei*. The initial palatal *y*- is often only weakly pronounced and because the -*a*- component in Loc3-*ai* is subject to a considerable assimilation to the following -*i*, there is very often a phonetic merger between this ending and Loc3-*ai*. This is not surprising; given the widespread palatalization process that operates in the sound system of Kalasha, /-a-/ can hardly be pronounced as anything else than [e] when surrounded by palatal segments. When prompted to clarify such a manifestation (ambiguous to me) my informants rather tend to be careful about

pronouncing initial -y- in Abl1-*(y)ei* than to pronounce the -a- in Loc3-*ai* as a low vowel.

These phonetic observations and the fact that GM does not distinguish between Loc3-*ai* and Abl1-*(y)ei*, but instead has a "local -*äi*", to which he ascribes locative as well as ablative functions (GM73: 208),[64] lead me to investigate the problem systematically. During a session with one of my informants I checked all observations of Abl1-*(y)ei* in EB88, Tr96, TC99 and in my own transcriptions, as well as all observations of *äi* in GM73. The outcome is interesting, as my informant changed, or perhaps rather interpreted all transcriptions with [-ei] to (locative) -*ai*, <u>except</u> with place adverbs.[65] With these my informant had the pronunciations shown in Table 9.7.

TABLE 9.7: INFORMANT B.'S PRONUNCIATION OF LOC3-*ai* AND ABL1-*yei* WITH DEICTIC PLACE ADVERBS (stress indicated by ').

	'here'	**'there (distal)'**	**'where'**
Locative	[anˈd-ey/-ɛy]	[aˈḷ-ey/-ɛy]	[kaˈw-ey/-ɛy]
Ablative	[anˈdʸ-ey]	[aˈḷʸ-ey]	[kaˈv-ey]

The stem roots for the adverbs *and-* 'here', *aL-* 'there (distal)' and *kaw-* 'where' are all unstressed. With respect to suffixation with Loc3-*ai* and Abl1-*(y)ei*, respectively, two things should be noted: (1) When the locative versions are aimed at, there is variation between [-ey] and [-ɛy], and a (weak) velarization of -*L-* in *aL-* 'there'; (2) when the ablative versions are aimed at there is no variation with respect to the quality of the suffix vowel, and there is palatalization, <u>not</u> velarization, of the stem-final consonants.[66] In other words, the difference between a locative and an ablative reading of adverbs is manifested by the palatalizing effects, primarily on the stem-final segment, secondarily on the vowel quality in the suffix.

In the remainder of this dissertation I shall write '-*(y)ei*' or '-*yei*' for ablative versions af the deictic place adverbs and '-*ai*' for locative versions. With absolute adverbs, common nouns and place nouns in ablative contexts, I have not heard a palatal segment or an effect hereof. Consequently, I shall write Loc3-*ai*, allowing

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[64] Jan (1996) in his Kalasha text, writes 'ä', reflecting, I guess, a pronunciation [e].

[65] On a previous occasion, with another informant and before I became aware of the suffix initial palatal segment in Abl3-*yei*, the outcome of such an elicitation session was total confusion. I simply did not manage to make clear to the informant that I was investigating two different morphemes. It did not make sense to him to distinguish semantically between, for example, a locative *mumurét-ai* [-ay] 'in Mumoret' and an ablative *mumorét-ei* [-ey] 'from Mumoret' (intended), the latter without any trace at all of a palatalizing effect on the stem-final /-t/ in actual pronunciation.

[66] [v] is a frequent manifestation of /w/ before palatal vowels, e.g. /win/ 'lightning bolt' -> [vin]; elsewhere we have [w].

for a syntactically determined ablative interpretation of this morpheme. I shall stress that this is a subject that needs further investigation, with focus on place names that end in /l/, /l̪/ (= 'L'), and /w/. (I cannot exclude that my informant has responded to my enquiry according to his ideas of how the distinction is manifested.)

9.3.3 Etymologies

EB88, Tr96, and TC99 do not give any proposals with respect to etymologies to the case endings. GM has not suggestions as to possible etymologies for Loc1-*a*, Loc3-*ai*/Abl1-*(y)ei* ("*äi*"), and Abl2-*ani*, but for Abl3-*aw* GM suggests "possibly < *-*a:ð* < -*a:to*" (GM73: 209), where -*a:to* is an emphasized OIA ablative, -*āt* + emphasizing *to/ta*.[67]

For Loc2-*una* GM refers to Pashai "laur.Ill" (?) –*ana:*, which he suggests goes back to a postposition, **antaka-* 'border of a field', where *nt > n* (GM73); **antaka-* is a derivation of *ánta-* (CDIAL 347) 'end, border, proximity', which according to Turner is reflected in a number of NIA languages (although not any Dardic) with the meanings 'end', 'border', 'edge, limit', 'at the end of, after, on', 'near'. I shall return to the question of a possible etymology for Loc2-*una* in Ch. 12.

9.4 Summary

In the case-marking system Kalasha distinguishes between pronouns, animate nouns, inanimate nouns, place names and proper names. Syntactic functions are primarily taken care of by the direct and oblique cases and for pronouns also by the accusative, other, primarily adverbial functions by the instrumental, locative, ablative, and temporal cases. In comparison with OIA the number of morphologically distinguishable cases is drastically diminished, and the gender system in OIA is replaced by a system based on animacy and common nouns versus non-common nouns. The singular-plural distinction is now only observable in the nominative and oblique cases. There are few obvious similarities between the specific case endings in Kalasha and OIA, indicating that a number of Kalasha case endings are newer derivations, either from lexical material in Indo-Aryan or from borrowings. Some phonemic elements, in particular /a/ and /i/, are distributed throughout the inventory of case endings and may appear as 'building blocks', suggesting a layer system as described by Masica (1991: 230-248) for NIA. I shall return to this issue again in chapter 19.

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[67] GM refers to Khowar ablative -*ar*, indicating that Kalasha Abl3-*au* and Khowar ablative-*ar* are cognates and derive from the same 'proto-Kalasha-Khowar' *-*a:ð*.

10. Previous descriptions of locative case in Kalasha

This section discusses the previous accounts of the three locative suffixes. I shall show that the distributional parameters of number and declension class suggested by Tr96 and TC99 do not hold. I shall also illustrate that an often occurring distinction in case systems of direction toward vs. location at, i.e. allative vs. locative does not hold either.

10.1 Not a number distinction

Tr96 and TC99 analyze Loc2-*una* as a singular marker and Loc3-*ai* as a plural marker: Loc3-*ai* is "the plural of -*una*", "used with plural things or things that cover a relatively large area" (TC99: 351, 353). But this is actually not consistently supported by their own examples, as shown with 1-4 below; in 2 Loc2-*una* is translated as plural and in 4 Loc3-*ai* is translated as singular.

1. **Loc2-*una*, translated as singular**
   sh-atrá   ***Chétr-una***   *kAgÁ*   *baw*   *ukut-í*   *á-an*   TC99
   emph-there.spec.dist field-loc2   crow   crowd gather-pf   aux.an-prs.3p
   'a flock of crows have gathered **in that field**'

2. **Loc2-*una*, translated as plural**
   a   *peS dy-em*   *dái,* ***Chétr-una***   TC99
   1s.nom   manure put-p/f.3p   spec   field-loc2
   'I am putting manure **in the fields**'

3. **Loc3-*ai*, translated as plural**
   drÉ~a ***Chétr-ai***   *uk dy-ek*   *bo*   *girán;*   *batrálak-ani*   *uk*   *uS-ín*
   slope   field-loc3   water put-tr.inf   very difficult channel-abl2   water hang-p/f.3p
   'sloping fields are hard to irrigate; **the channels** leak water'   TC99

4. **Loc3-*ai*, translated as singular**
   pár-i   *uk*   *and-ái*   *gher-á-i,*   ***brónz-ai***   *Las-a-éli*
   go-imp.2s water   here.nonspec-loc3   turn-tr-imp.2s   meadow-loc3   let flow-tr-nec
   'go and change the flow of the water over here; we must irrigate **the meadow**'   TC99

TC99 also mention another semantic parameter although without naming it as a category: "-*aw* [JH: i.e., Loc3-*ai*] is used with plural things or things that cover a relatively large area. For example, *angáruna* would mean a fire covering a small area, while *angáraw* [JH: i.e. *angárai*] would mean a fire covering a rather large area or several fires" (TC99: 353-4).

The relevance of such a parameter that I will provisionally call 'dispersion' will be clear from the in-depth description of the case endings. But first I shall consider (and reject) other proposed parameters involved in the case-marking.

10.2 Not different declension classes

In her brief comments on the various local case suffixes, Bashir (88a: 40) states that the assignment of a particular suffix "depends both on the specific semantics of the temporal or spatial relation involved, and on the declension class of the noun involved". The most convincing argument against different declension classes as an overall decisive factor comes, of course, from those instances where one noun is observed with two or all three of the locative suffixes. In 1-3 we saw Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai* with the same noun, *Chetr* 'field', and in 5a-c below we see *muT* 'tree' with Loc1-*a*, Loc2-*una*, and Loc3-*ai*.

  5. *muT* 'tree', with three different case endings
   (a) **Loc1-*a***: *kaSóng dihák mo híst-i, **múT-a** sathí-iu* TC99
           hat upward proh throw-imp.2s tree-loc1 get caught-p/f.3s
           'don't throw up your hat or it will get caught up **in the tree**'

   (b) **Loc3-*ai***: *báshik **múT-ai** w´ã-iu dái* TC99
           rain tree-loc3 filter through-p/f.3s spec
           'the rain is filtering through **the tree**'

   (c) **Loc2-*una***: *rut thi nis-íu maThóLa thi **múT-una** nis-íu*
           swarm-cp sit-p/f.3s clump become.cp tree-loc2 sit-p/f.3s
           'having swarmed, it sits, having become a clump, a swarm, it
           sits **in the/a tree**, the bee' So.S

Although I must reject declension class is not an all-decisive parameter there is certainly an distributional pattern to be observed for the nominal word classes, as depicted in Table 10.1.

TABLE 10.1: LOCATIVE CASE SUFFIXES AND NOMINAL WORD CLASSES.

	Loc1-*a*	Loc2-*una*	Loc3-*ai*	-Ø
Common nouns	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Place nouns	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Relational nouns	Yes, but lexical restrictions	Yes, but lexical restrictions	Yes, but lexical restrictions	No
Absolute place adverbs	Yes	Yes, but infrequent	Yes	Yes
Bound deictic place adverbs	Yes	NO	Yes	No

Common nouns, relational nouns, and the bound deictic place adverbs must take a locative case ending (or, for common nouns, a genitive-oblique ending plus a postposition), and the bound deictic place adverbs cannot occur with Loc2-*una*.

Within the nominal classes there are also certain distributional patterns, as just examplified with the bound deictic place adverbs. Certain proper nouns do not occur with Loc1-*a*, for example, *krAkÁ* 'Krakal', *gúru* 'Guru', *grom* 'Grom', *pakistan* 'Pakistan', *Dénmark* 'Denmark', and *Chetráw/Catráw* 'Chitral (town)', whereas as others frequently do, for example, *batrík-a* 'Batrik' (cf. chapter 14).

Also a number of common nouns do not occur with Loc1-*a* in my data: *phond* 'way, road', *chom* 'ground', *mes* 'table', *di* 'sky', *goST* 'stable', *hand* 'temple', *Chetr* 'field', *son* 'pasture', *sarák* 'road', *dur* 'door', *durík* 'window', etc.[68] Reversely, Loc1-*a* seems to be the preferred locative case suffix by a small number of common nouns, for example, *muT* 'tree', *dramí* 'roof', and *dur* 'house'. With 'preferred' I mean that the nouns *muT, dramí* and *dur* can and also do occur with Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai*, but in the spontaneous data only infrequently so.

There are also restrictions with respect to case suffixes on the relational nouns as Loc1-*a* cannnot occur with *móc-* 'middle' and *nasénd-* 'around', and Loc2-*una* cannot occur with *bían* 'inside' and *udríman* 'outside' (see chapter 18).

The distributional facts may be due to coincidence given the nature of the material, but they may also be due to the physical (or mental) nature of the object or entity denoted by the noun and the semantic-functional domain of the specific case endings. For example, all of the nouns just mentioned that do not occur with Loc1-*a* have a plain horizontally extended flat or plain surface, 'table', 'roof', and 'sky' (the latter perceived 2-dimensionally, not as a deep space), or a vertically extended flat or plain surface, as for the walls of a 'tower'. I return to this point in 12.1.

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[68] When asked directly if suffixation with Loc1-*a* is possible or acceptable two informants responded with a postposition phrase: *N-as thár-a*; i.e. with the noun in the oblique-genitive and followed by the relational noun *thar-* 'upon, above, over' suffixed with Loc1-*a*.

10.3 Not direction vs. location

In languages with two or more locative case ending distinctions such as 'locative' ('at') vs. 'allative' ('to') or 'adessive' ('at') vs. 'superessive' ('on') vs. 'inessive' ('in'), etc., are from time to time reported. But such distinctions do not account for the local case system in Kalasha, as shown with 6a-b:

6. a. *cóp-o   a   may   du yardúst-an som   **may   són-una***
       tomorrow-o 1s.nom 1s.obl two friend-obl.pl with 1s.obl pasture-loc2
       par-ím   IK.E
       go-p/f.1s
       'tomorrow I shall **go to my pasture** with two friends'

    b. *ábi   **són-ai   par-ík**,   báson-o*   TC99
       1p.nom pasture-loc3 go-p/f.1p spring-*o*
       'we **go to the summer farms** in the spring'

In these examples the goal of the motion *son* 'pasture, summer farm', an extended two-dimensional entity, would be supposed to trigger an allative-marking, but both Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai* occur.

10.4 What then?

Since none of the semantic parameters examined above holds as guidelines for the distribution of locative case markers in Kalasha, others must be identified. In order to be able to point out the meaning of a (locative) case suffix I have examined descriptions of case systems in neighbouring languages, focusing on the case suffixes rather than on the postpositions and other spatial morphemes. In doing so I tread a dangerous path with respect to Indo-Aryan (and other) languages, where there are well-known difficulties in establishing the boundary between morphology and syntax.

The survey undertaken is not an overall typological characterization of the case system in a number of Hindu Kush languages. Although relevant for this thesis such an entertainment will be of a considerable size. The survey is meant to give an idea of what semantic distinctions the different case-marking morphemes, free or bound, express in the languages of the Hindu Kush area. I have limited myself to those languages for which there are detailed studies. (See Appendix 17 for those languages, the sources, and data about their case marking systems.)

The examination reveals a considerable variation with respect to terminology and categorization of the case markers in question with respect to word class.[69] This may make comparisons between the languages difficult, but there are indeed similarities to be observed.

All the languages confirm Masica's typological observation that morphemes with case functions can be analyzed as belonging to different layers. In many languages it seems that morphemes belonging to one of these layers may serve as a mediating (and semantically vague) element to further suffixation of morphemes from the same or another layer (with more specific semantics), for example in Khowar and Kalam Kohistani.

Whereas the semantics expressed by bound case markers varies to a considerable extent across the languages surveyed, it is noteworthy that most of those 'case markers' that are called "free" or "independent postpositions" (or "local adverbs") express projective notions such as 'under', 'besides', 'behind', etc. It is also common that in many of the languages this word group can be suffixed with case endings.

In four of the languages surveyed, Khowar, Wakhi, Indus Kohistani, and, to some extent, also Kalam Kohistani, the case system (or, for Indus Kohistani and Wakhi, the place adverb system) also involves other spatial parameters than those included or expressed by terms like "allative", "inessive", "in", "auf", and so on. For example, for these languages it is important for the speaker in his choice of a spatial morpheme to know whether a given entity or a goal is in a vertical (up/down) or horizontal position (in relation to the actants in the speech event). Among the language specific parameters we see the shape and (canonical) orientation of the actants (Figure and Ground)[70] in Khowar, the parameters of visibility and known and/or indefinite location in Indus Kohistani, and the distributive morpheme in Kalam Kohistani.

In the analysis in chapters 12-13 I shall relate the analysis of Loc1-*a*, Loc2-*una*, and Loc3-*ai* to these observations.

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[69] What on semantic and/or distributional grounds is called "postposition" in what language may be called "case marker", "case ending" or "Layer X-marker" in another. In some languages case morphemes are glossed with English (or German) cognates such as "in", "on", "auf", etc., in other languages descriptions of their semantics are provided by terms such as "allative", "superessive", etc.

[70] I use the terms 'Figure' and 'Ground' in line with Talmy (1983). The thing to be located is called 'Figure', and the thing with respect to which something is located is the 'Ground'. These terms are equivalent to the traditional terms 'Theme' and 'Relatum', and to the more recent 'Trajector' and 'Landmark', introduced by Langacker (1987).

11. Systematic elicitation of local case markers

11.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results from the linguistic tests that I have carried out by use of test material developed by scholars at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen (MPI). The test material consists of four tests: Topological Relations Picture Series (termed BowPed-book),[71] "Containment Picture Series" (CPS), "Support Picture Series" (SPS), and "Put and Take Project" (PutTake). (See Appendix 7 for a list and description of the stimulus material.)

The test material has been developed for the purpose of eliciting on systematic grounds comparable data for distinctions between topological relation markers (TRM) from a variety of languages. It has particularly been used by researchers at MPI in discussions about cross-linguistic and universal coding and conceptualization of space (see 11.7-11.8).

The purpose of using the test material on Kalasha is two-fold: (a) to elicit data on Kalasha TRM's in controlled and comparable contexts in contrast to the diverse or sometimes diffuse and unclear contexts in the sources and in my text material; (b) to compare and discuss the choice of TRM's in Kalasha and their semantic domains to those found for the languages surveyed by Levinson et al. (2003).

I first give an account of the syntactic diversity observed in the responses to the test material. After that, in 11.3, comes an analysis of the results from the BowPed-book test. This is followed by a brief summary in 11.4 of the locative responses from the Put and Take Project film clips, which again, in 11.5, is followed by a summary of all the locative tests.[72] In 11.6 I report on the native speaker reactions to the tests. In 11.7-11.8 I discuss the results in relation to first Levinson et al. (2003), then work by Melissa Bowerman and her research associates. Chapter 11.9 gives the conclusions.

11.2 Syntactic diversity and categorization of the responses

In Appendix 18 I have described in detail the syntactic diversity that the responses to these tests display. Such a diversity is also reported by Levinson et al. in their

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[71] So called after the people who have developed the concept, Melissa Bowerman and Eric Pederson.

[72] I refer to Appendices 18-21 for groupings of responses and summaries of the CPS, SPS, and Put and Take tests. In the appendices the reader will also find more illustrative introductions and characterizations of the stimulus material.

cross-linguistic experiment with the BowPed-book. They relate this to an observation by Wilkins (see Levinson and Wilkins, fc.) according to which

> "it is possible to scale spatial scenes in such a way that there is a core of scenes (small unattached, manipulable objects in canonical spatial relations) over which all languages will use their basic locative constructions, and a periphery to which they may or may not extend them … . Languages that avoid using a basic locative construction for these peripheral scenes typically switch into a resultative or other descriptive mode" (cited from (Levinson et al. 2003: 495).

When Inf. G in her response to drawing 26 ('crack in cup's outer surface') in the BowPed-book says *kóp utrukí shíu* 'the cup has splintered', she does exactly as observed by Wilkins and by Levinson et al.: switches into a resultative mode to what for the Kalasha may be called a peripheral locational scene.

Another factor that gives diversity is speaker-specific coding strategies. Inf. 2 (in the BowPed-book test) in particular but also occasionally Inf. 1 both have a tendency to code situations in a dynamic way. They use placement verbs or dynamic postpositions in addition to basic locative constructions, for example, 'attached onto', 'hung onto', or 'being tied onto', etc. In contrast, Inf. 3 has only few additional placement verbs.

Because of the diversity it is not always obvious what particular TRM should be ascribed to which drawing. In order not to drown the reader (and myself) in syntactic diversity, I have ascribed a TRM or other descriptive response to a drawing if its occurrence amounts to about 35% or more of all the responses to that drawing. For the other three tests I include all responses.

In the analysis of clusters of drawings in the BowPed-book I have added in hand-writing which TRM(s) or construction type(s) that is(are) typically preferred for that drawing. For example, to 46 ('headband on head'), I have written "-una", "-ai", "-a", "+plac", and "Altern". This indicates that the drawing has been described with all three locative case endings, with an additional placement verb, and with an alternative construction, for example, *súda osaíni bhóni ásau* 'the kid has tied a headband'.

11.3 The BowPed-book test

The BowPed-book consists of 71 line-drawings depicting different topological spatial relations.[73] Together they cover a large range of spatial relations that

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[73] I shall use the term 'topological' in the meaning 'the way in which constituent parts (i.e. Figure and Ground) are interrelated and arranged'. In my use of the term it also encompasses 'Euclidean' aspects, defined as 'the shape and relative arrangement of constituent parts'.

would be coded in English by prepositions such as *on, in, under, over, near,* and *against*, as well as complex prepositions like *inside, on top of, in the middle of,* etc. Each picture has a designated Figure and Ground. Responses from eight informants are included in the analysis.

11.3.1 Responses containing Loc1-*a*

To this group belong responses where the Ground is coded with Loc1-*a* or a relational noun suffixed with Loc1-*a*.

Only three drawings triggered to a considerable degree Loc1-*a* on the Ground in (8, 34, 45), and none of them did exclusively so. The words *dramí* 'roof' and *muT* 'tree' are typically words that trigger Loc1-*a* (cf. Ch. 12.1). All three situations can be coded with Loc2-*una* alternatively. Case-marking on the Ground in 8 ('book placed on shelf') seems to be dependent on the noun chosen to denote the shelf. Three different nouns were used, *paN* and *mÁ~yak* triggered Loc2-*una*, only *pényak* triggered Loc1-*a*.[74]

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[74] Kalasha has several words that translate 'shelf': *mandír* (with Loc2-*una*) is a long beam typically attached to a wall in the house, *paN* (with Loc2-*una*) is a broader and not so long ledge of a beam in the house construction, *mÁ~yak* (with Loc2-*una*) is a niche in a wall, and *penyak* (with Loc1-*a* and Loc2-*una*) is a small ledge of a beam in a house construction.

Loc1-*a* is also seen with the relational nouns *nO-* 'under, below', *send-* 'side', *tad-* 'near', and *thar-* 'on, upon'.

11.3.2 Loc3-*ai* as the dominant TRM

Three drawings triggered Loc3-*ai* as the dominant TRM:
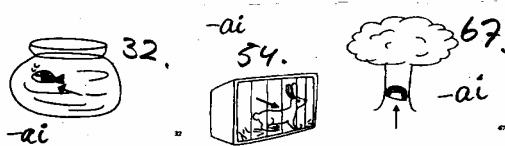
All three drawings show a situation of containment in an encompassing container of some sort. But, except for 67, this situation does not exclude coding with Loc2-*una*. Coding with Loc1-*a* was rejected by all informants to all four situations. For 32, fish in bowl of water, an alternative construction type with the relational noun *moc-* 'something's inside or middle' ('the fish is in the water in the (inside of the) bowl') was used with Loc2-*una* on the relational noun and Loc3-*ai* on *ug* 'water'.

Loc3-*ai* was also used for a number of other drawings but not to a dominant degree:
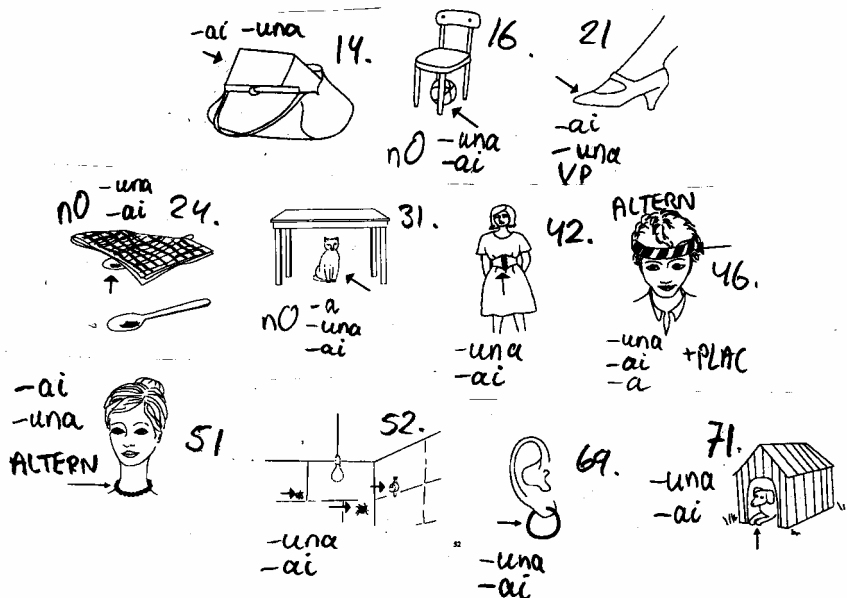
Drawings 14, 16, 24, 31, 71 all depict a situation where the Figure is surrounded or (partially) covered by the Ground. There is a clear similarity to the three Loc3-*ai* situations above, although the Figure in those examples seems more fully encompassed. Loc3-*ai* is also seen with body parts that function as Grounds for ornaments or pieces of cloth: 21, 42, 46, 51, 69, all situations that can be coded in various ways. In contrast to the other Loc3-*ai*-situations it is here the Figure that surrounds the Ground. Taken together, with Loc3-*ai*-marked Grounds we have situations characterized by elements of surroundedness, covering or encompassment. Thus we may say that the drawings that trigger Loc3-*ai* all depict 3-dimensional contact situations.

How 52 ('bugs on wall') fits into this, is a little hard to see, but the examination of the occurrence of Loc3-*ai* in my spontaneous material will give a clue. It is noteworthy that Loc2-*una* can also be used for these situations. I shall return to this point below.

11.3.3 Loc2-*una* as the dominant TRM

11 drawings favoured Loc2-*una* as the almost totally dominant TRM:[75]
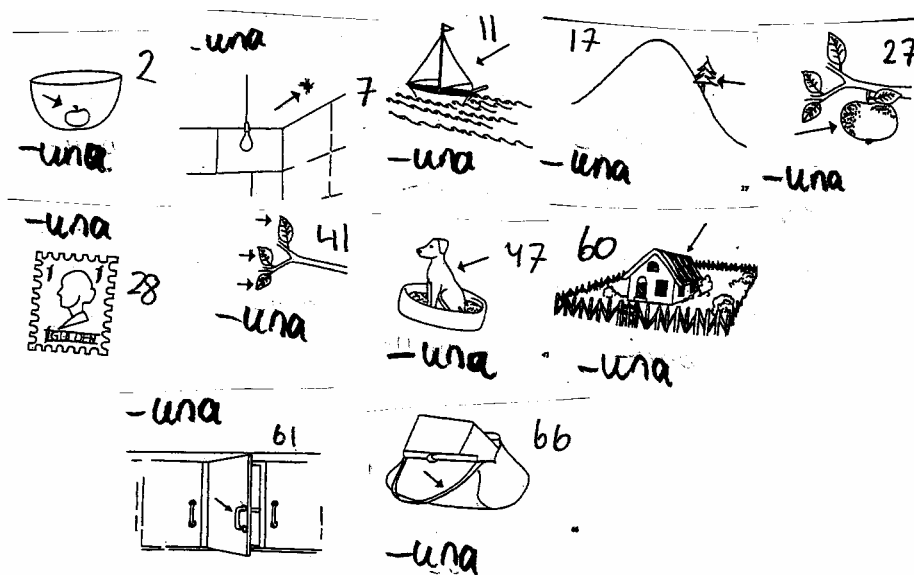
All drawings here show a Figure on a flat Ground, a surface, vertically orientated in 17 and 61, horizontally in the other drawings. Drawing 2 ('apple in bowl') seems at first sight to go against this and actually be a candidate for dominant Loc3-*ai*-marking due to the surroundedness in the situation. But the

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[75] Drawing 60 is described by my informants as 'house in garden', but it was actually intended to elicit 'house surrounded by fence' (M. Bowerman, pers.comm.).

apple rests on the bottom surface and therefore this situation can be perceived as a 'support' situation. Notice also that in the drawings in 11.3.1 and 11.3.2 (in the second grouping) we can have Loc2-*una* as an alternative TRM. This indicates that a Ground can be construed either as a surface (coded with Loc2-*una*) or as a supporting Ground for a three-dimensional situation (coded with Loc3-*ai*).

Quite a few drawings triggered a placement verbs, "+plac", as an additional TRM to Loc2-*una*:
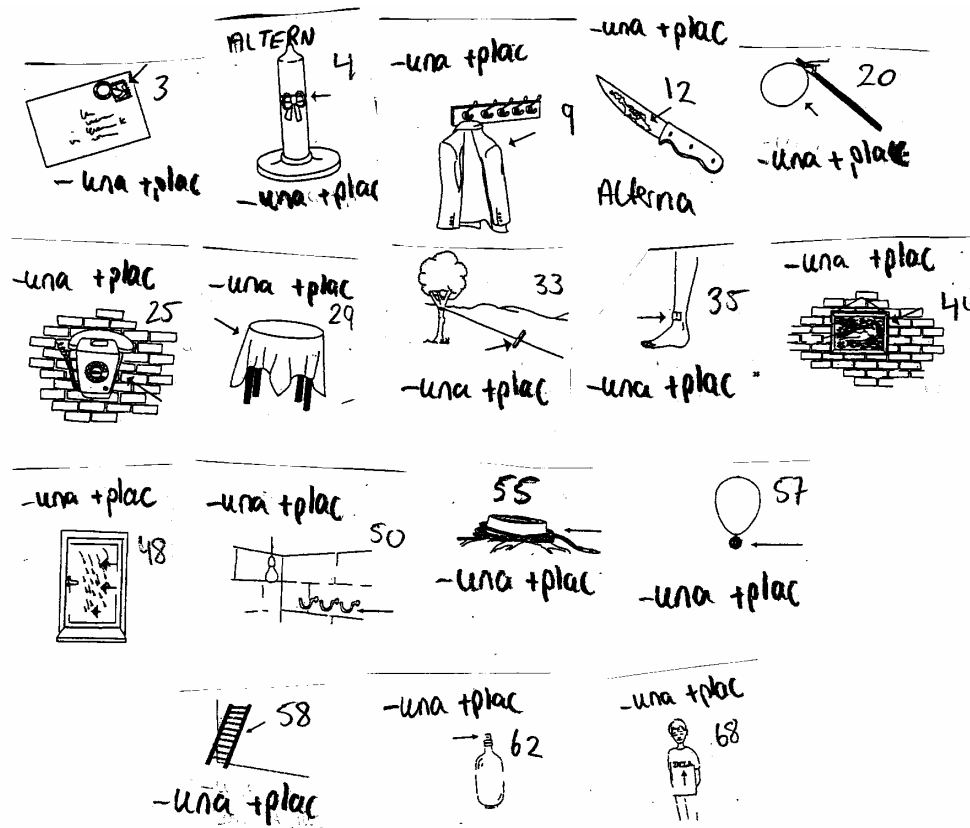
Except for 62 all these situations depict a plane or line-like surface that supports the Figure. Many of these are either vertically orientated or strings of some sort to which the Figure is and must be attached in order not to fall down. Other drawings depict situations where the Figure logically must have been placed at a time (3, 29, 55, 62, 68). In contrast to this 'prior placement' factor notice that for many of the drawings in 11.3.3 we either have a part-whole relationship (41, 60, 61, 66) or a situation where a self-moving actor is or has located itself or himself on a certain spot.

It is a strong tendency that situations that imply a prior action of placement by a third part, also have an additional placement verb or an additional directive postposition. In contrast, situations that show a part-whole relationship or a self-

movable Figure, such as those in the first grouping of drawings in 11.3.3, do typically not take additional placement verbs or directive postpositions.

11.3.4 The postposititon/relational noun *thára* as dominant TRM[76]

Also the postposition/relational noun *thára/thar-* occurs with surfaces, very often in competition with Loc2-*una*.
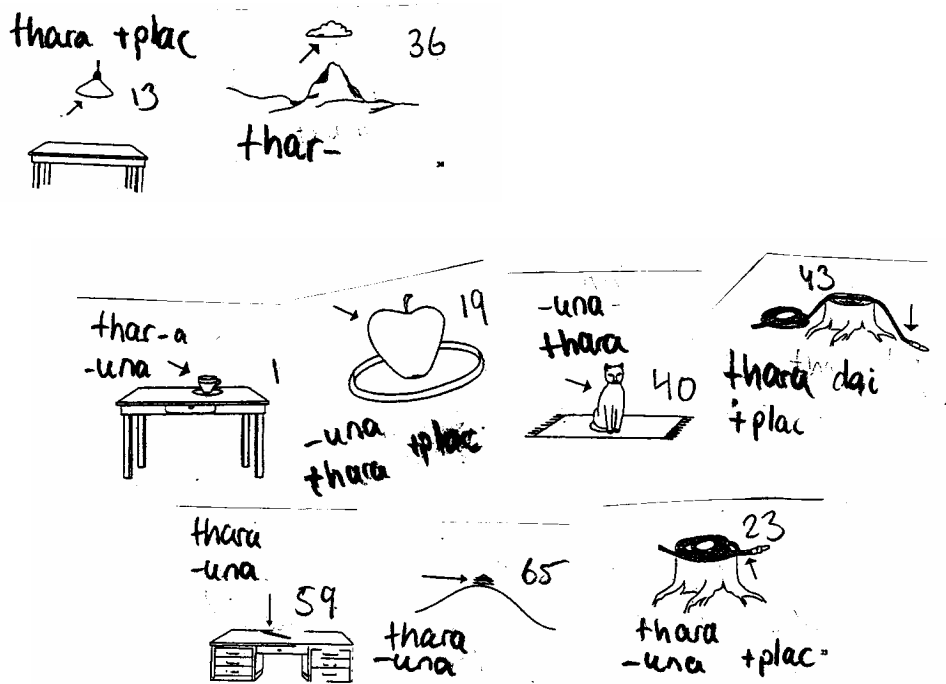
Drawings 13, 23, 36, and 65 show that *thára* is possible with locations above or on the topmost point of a Ground. In 1, 19 and 40 *thára* is a TRM candidate when the Figure is in a significant vertically orientated position in relation to the horizontally orientated Ground; see also 11 above, in 11.3.3, but the coding of 47, also in 11.3.3, differs for some reasons from 40.

11.3.5 Relational noun *nO-* 'below, under' as dominant TRM

At the other end of the vertical scale, the relational noun *nO-* is the dominant TRM for situations where the Figure is located under or beneath the Ground:

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[76] As described in Ch. 18, *thára* functions in some instances as a postposition, but it can be analyzed as a relational noun *thár-* suffixed by Loc1-*a*.
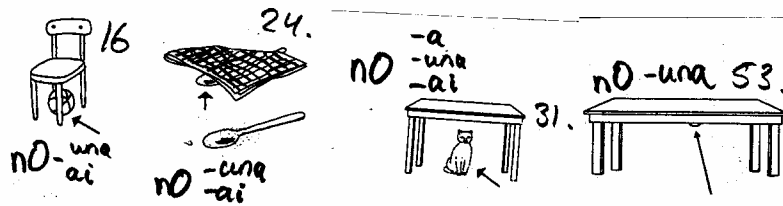
From these situations and their codings it seems that we cannot have Loc1-*a* and Loc3-*ai* when the location is on the underside of a surface. Otherwise, all three case endings can be used with 'under' situations, although Loc2-*una* is the preferred and dominant one.

11.3.6 Responses with the 'horizontal' relational nouns as the dominant TRM

When drawings depict situations where Ground and Figure are separated from each other horizontally, a situation type that I shall call 'horizontal vicinity', we get a variety of horizontally projective relational nouns and postpositions as TRM's:[77]

In a 'horizontal vicinity' situation a Figure can be posited beside (*tad-*, *send-*), in front of (*rúaw*), behind (*píSTaw, wéti(-)*) or around (*nasénd(-)*, *puNDúyr-*) the Ground. The concept of 'inside' is expressed by *udríman(-)*, the concept of 'outside' by *bían(-)*. *tad-* (very frequently with Loc1-*a*, *táda*) equals

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[77] I refer to Ch. 18 for an introduction to the inventory of relational nouns.

English 'near, besides', and the relational noun *send-* translates '(someone's or something's) side', i.e. can be taken as being more specific than *tád-a*. It is not clear to me how *nasénd-aw* 'around' differs from *puNDúyr-aw* 'around'.

11.3.7 Resultative constructions

For a number of drawings either the responses do not code a spatial relationship or it is not possible to clearly identify a preferred TRM. The situations that yield diverse and deviant responses can be divided in four groups.

Group 1: Affected or damaged Ground

Drawings showing an affected or damaged Ground are often described with constructions that express what has happened to the Ground. Inf. G's response to drawing 26 ('crack in cup'), *kop utrukí shíu* 'the cup has splintered', mentioned in 11.2, is an example of this. Other drawings triggered responses that express that the Ground has been affected, placed or has undergone a change of state:
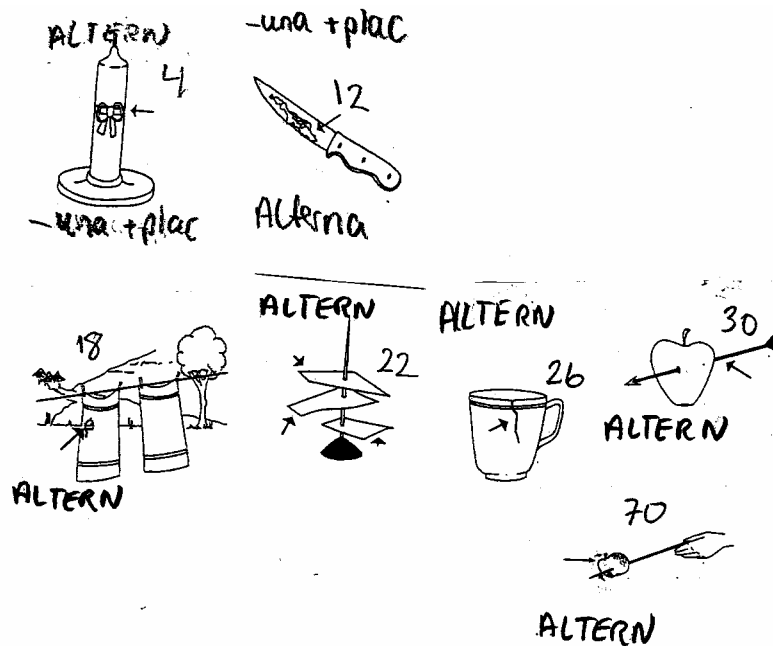
Group 2: Placed Figure, non-solid attachment

A second group of 'Alternative' responses includes drawings that show non-solid attachment. For example, drawing 9 ('coat on hook'): *kot uSí shíu* 'coat hung is' (Inf. D).
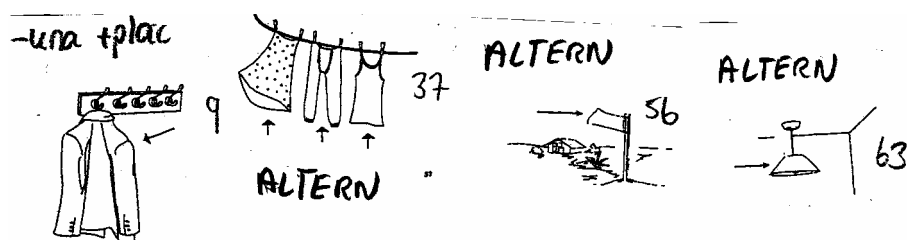
What is interesting in these four situations is that they all depict situations where the contact zone is minimal, either a hook or a point-like attachment to a string of some sort. This type of location does not by any means exclude case endings as TRM's, but apparently they attract constructions that express what has been done to the Figure.

Group 3: Ornaments and clothings

Also when the drawings depict properly located ornaments and clothings do we see constructions that tell us something about how one handles such objects. Indeed, some of my informants found it awkward to use a simple locative construction for such situations.
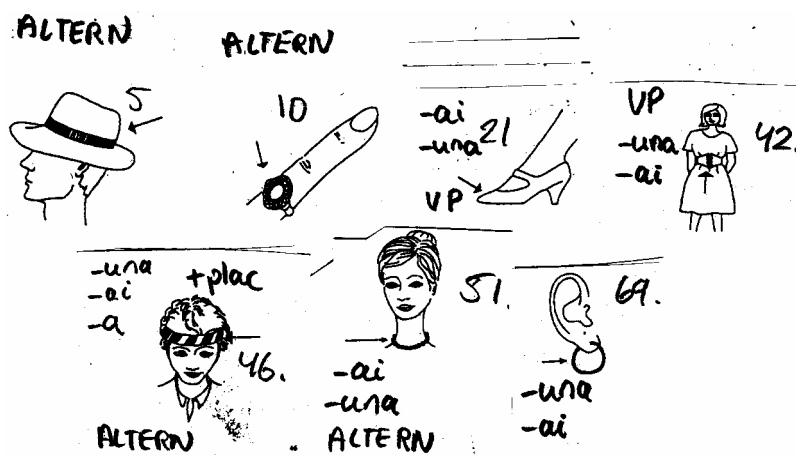
Group 3: Raining and smoking

Drawings 39 ('cigarette in mouth') and 48 ('rain on door') often trigger responses that describe the activity rather than location of the Figures. For example, informants A, B, E, G, H: *moc*[1] *sigréT*[2] *Zing-áu/p-íu*[3] *dái* 'man[1] cigarette[2] smokes[3]'. And Inf. A: *kirkías*[1] *bíanaw dái*[2] *múcik del dái*[3] 'window[1] outside[2] is raining[3]', 'it is raining outside the window'.
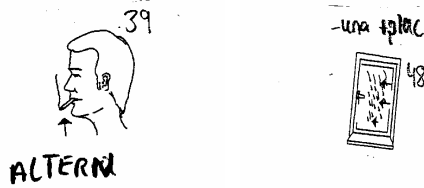
11.4 The Put and Take Project

I shall here only summarize the responses to the Put Project film clips. I refer to the responses in Appendix 19. The film clips that triggered ablative constructions will be described in Ch. 13.3.

11.4.1 Distribution of Loc1-*a*, Loc2-*una*, and Loc3-*ai*

Loc1-*a* is seen twice, with *SiS* 'head' as an alternative to Loc2-*una* in 17, and with the relational noun *udríman* 'inside' in 36. Loc3-*ai* is used exclusively in two situations: (1) when an object is placed into a deep object where it is hidden from sight (27, 30, 35, 36, 54, 56); (2) where an object is fastened in a deep holder (1) or a mass (59), both tight-fit situations. Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai* are both used for situations where an object is placed in a deep container, either hidden from view (12, 14, 55) or not visible (20, 21, 43). Also when the Ground is a plane surface both Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai* can be used (10, 26, 42). In the first type of situations Loc2-*una* has entered a typical Loc3-*ai* domain, in the latter situation type Loc3-*ai* has entered a typical Loc2-*una* situation: 10 ('man brings a pile of books in his arms, the top-most book falls to the floor'), 26 ('woman (standing) pours out water from a glass (to the floor)'), and 42 ('squatting woman lays a book on the ground'). The film clips that exclusively triggered Loc2-*una* confirm the tendency for plane surfaces to be a Loc2-*una* domain: a table (2, 3, 52), a chair (61), a plate (22), a wall (5), the floor (8, 13, 25, 34, 42), and a tree branch (51).

11.4.2 Distribution and semantics of relational nouns

Four film clips triggered the relational noun *thára*: 6 ('saucer onto top of a cup'), 28 ('woman takes glass from table and pours water out on table'), 50 ('woman places a glass onto table'), and 62 ('man takes apple from the top of a pile of books and puts it on shoe'). In (6) and (62) the Figure is placed on top of an elevated Ground, in (28) and (50) the Figures, water and a glass, is placed on the Ground from above, a vertically orientated placement. These situational components are also present when *thar-/thára* is used in the other tests, and in those as well as in the Put Project Loc2-*una* can also be used for these situations.

Two film clips triggered relational nouns that denote a horizontally projective location, *píSTaw* 'behind', *táda* 'near', and *sénd-una* 'side-*una*': 57 ('woman, standing at the door of a room, takes a suitcase and places it just outside the door'; *bían* 'outside') and 63 ('man pushes a suitcase from the back of a car to a place near a tree').

11.4.3 Other constructions

The verb *sambíik* 'to dress, wear' was triggered by film clips that showed situations where a person takes on a piece of cloth (17, 48, 53). In 17 ('man takes on a hat') we also have Loc2-*una* and Loc1-*a* on the goal for the dressing situation, 'a head', and in 48 ('man takes on a glove') we see both Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai* on the (encompassed) Ground.

11.5 Summary of test results of locative-marking

The most frequent topological notions used in the four tests are shown in Table 11.1. The topmost row indicates the type of locational notion denoted, the middle row what word class is used, and the bottom row which morphemic items are used. Below the table follows a more detailed account of the use of TRM's in the tests.

TABLE 11.1.: TYPES OF TRM'S FOR MOST FREQUENT TOPOLOGICAL NOTIONS IN THE LOCATIVE TESTS.

CONTIGUITY	ON	ABOVE/OVER	UNDER	HORIZONTAL VICINITY	INSIDE
Case	Case/RelN	RelN	RelN	RelN/Popo	Case/RelN
Loc1/2/3	Loc1/2/3, *thar-*	*thar-*	*nO-*	*tad-, send-, rúaw, ..*	Loc2/3, *udríman*

Case endings: Loc1-*a* is seen with a few, specific lexical items such as *muT* 'tree', *muC-* 'fist', *SiS* 'head', *angár* 'fire', and with relational nouns. Loc2-*una* seems to be the default locative case ending, typically but certainly not exclusively preferred with line-like Grounds or with Grounds with a plain surface, horizontally or vertically orientated. Loc3-*ai* is the preferred coding device for situations that depict encompassment or location in (deep) containers. Often the location is not immediately available for sight. Loc3-*ai* is also often used for situations where a piece of cloth or an ornament is being worn, or when a Figure object is stuck into a holder-like Ground. In general, Loc3-*ai* occurs in situations that appear

three-dimensional or where the Figure is contained in or encompassed by the Ground element.

Both Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai* are seen with those lexical items that otherwise have a preference for Loc1-*a* (except for the relational nouns *udríman* 'inside' and *bían* 'outside', which cannot take Loc2-*una*). Loc2-*una* also frequently occurs in typical Loc3-*ai* domains, and Loc3-*ai* occurs a few times on plane surfaces, typical Loc2-*una* domains. In some of these we have situations where the Figure(s) is(are) distributed or dispersed on a surface. In others this is not the case (for example, 'book falling down on floor', PutTake 10, Inf. b).

Relational nouns denote concepts such as 'under', 'above', 'upon', and what comes under 'horizontal vicinity'. 'Horizontal vicinity' is expressed by *bían* 'outside', *udríman* 'inside', *píSTaw* 'behind, back or', *wéti* 'behind', *rúaw* 'in front of', *tád-a/..* 'near, next to', *sénd-a/..* 'side of'. Also locations inside or in the middle of something are coded with relational nouns (*moc-* 'middle, centre', *udríman* 'inside'). Whereas 'under' can only be expressed by the relational noun *nO-*, there is an overlap between *thára* and Loc2-*una* with respect to 'on', in particular if the location is elevated or has come about through a downwards-directed placement or movement. Loc1-*a* seems to be the preferred case ending for these TRM's, but Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai* are seen.

Placement verbs: This sort of (additional) TRM is preferred with smaller movable Figure elements that are not naturally contingent with their Ground elements, or when the Ground object is orientated in such a way that it cannot support the Figure by itself, for example with vertically orientated Grounds. There are some indications that part-whole relationships are not expressed by the use of placement verbs, e.g., 17 ('apples on branch') and 65 ('tree on mountain (top)'), from the BowPed-book. But there is a large degree of inter- and intra-speaker variation for this sort of TRM, and we also get additional placement verbs with assumed part-whole relationships, e.g., from the Bow-Ped book test, 66 ('strap on bag'), and assumed non-part-whole relationships do not trigger (spontaneously) placement verbs, e.g. 19 ('apple on plate') and 33 ('clothes peg on string').

Additional postpositions: I have observed four additional dynamic postpositions. *dái* is used to express the notion of 'along' (43, BowPed-book), *kái* is used to express the notion of 'to, onto', *som* is used to express the idea of attachment with a vertically orientated surface: 58 ('ladder on wall'), in the BowPed-book test, and *thára* is used to express the ideas of 'on, upon' and 'over, above'. As with the placement verbs these additional postpositions do not seem to be used consistently. But there is a strong tendency for them to occur together with placement verbs. Of the four tests it was particularly the dynamic and active Put Project film clips that triggered directive postpositions, in particular *kái* 'to, onto'. This indicates that postpositions are used to construe situations as dynamic.

Other construction types: In particular two types of situations triggered constructions other than basic locative: (1) situations with clothes and ornaments worn by a person (5, 10, 21, 42, 46, 51, 69; BowPed-book); (2) situations with a (negatively) affected actant (12, 18, 22, 26, 30, 70; BowPed-book). Besides these

a verbal rather than a locative description was preferred for drawings showing situations with loose or non-solid contact (9, 37, 56, 63; BowPed-book), a cigarette in mouth (39; BowPed-book), and 4 ('bow around a candle'; Bow-Ped-book). Also complex locative situations triggered alternative locative descriptions, for example, 23 ('a rope lying across or tied around the stump of a tree'; BowPed-book).

11.6 Native speaker reactions

Throughout the tests I occassionally asked the informants for alternative constructions and about how these differed from the spontaneous responses. In general, situations with nouns coded with Loc1-*a* were described as "general" or "not significant".[78] Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai* triggered comments as depicted as in Table 11.2:

TABLE 11.2: NATIVE SPEAKER REACTIONS TO THE USE OF LOC2-*una* AND LOC3-*ai*.

Loc2-*una*	Loc3-*ai*
"taken singularly"	"plural situation", "maybe more", "many"
"specified"	"unspecified"
"clear", "more precise", "exactly", "directly"	"you don't know", "maybe somewhere in","somewhere", "indirectly"
"in front of you", "near position"	"remote position", "away", "not in front of you"
	"when fastly speaking"

It is noteworthy that the informants did not describe the situations with information about traditional topological characteristics, for example, "we have -*una* because it is on a surface" or "we have -*a* because he stands on a roof". From the informants's comments the case endings appear referential in nature: Loc2-*una* is associated with 'specificity', 'preciseness', 'exactness', and 'nearness', Loc3-*ai* is associated with the contrasts 'non-specificity, 'maybe-ness', and 'remoteness/non-nearness' (and Loc1-*a*-situations with "general" or "not significant"). What is also interesting and perhaps surprising is that the informants associate notions of 'singularity' and 'plurality' to such apparently different notions like 'specificity/nearness' and 'non-specificity/remoteness', etc., respectively.

The native speaker reactions indicate that construal of a spatial situation is influenced by a factor of specific identity of the Figure and Ground. I shall return to the relevance of non-topological parameters in more detail and the possible conceptual connection between these different parameters in Ch. 12.

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[78] But a situation coded with a relational noun such as *udríman-a* 'outside-Loc1-*a*' would be called "exactly inside", see Ch. 12 for this use of Loc1-*a*.

11.7 Cross-linguistic perspective I: Levinson et al. (2003)

In a cross-linguistic investigation of coding devices for spatial relation (by the use of the BowPed-book), Levinson et al. challenge what they call orthodox assumptions about spatial language. These assumptions are set up as three hypotheses to be verified or falsified by the cross-linguistic findings. In the following I shall relate these hypotheses one by one and Levinson et al.'s findings to the test result from Kalasha. Throughout the discussion I refer to drawings in the BowPed-book, ignoring relevant examples in the other tests.

HYPOTHESIS 1: *All languages agree on basic categories like* IN, ON, UNDER, NEAR, *etc., in such a way that these notions form uniform, shared core-meanings for adpositions across languages.* (P. 495.)

Levinson et al. find that "there is no crosslinguistic agreement on large on IN, ON, or other categories even among just four languages". They see "no evidence at all for prototype categories in these areas" (p. 497-8), and consequently hypothesis 1 is rejected. The only grouping of scenes that is shared by these four languages is an UNDER category, but the authors doubt that this grouping will survive when more languages are looked at.

Since I have only tested Kalasha and do not have access to the adposition maps for the languages in Levinson et al.'s study, I cannot say anything directly related to this hypothesis. But we may reformulate the hypothesis to a question: "Does Kalasha have basic categories like IN, ON, UNDER, NEAR, etc., in such a way that these are uniformly expressed by TRM's in the language?". The answer must be "yes and no".

The relational nouns in Kalasha have quite uniform meanings with respect to underlying notions such as *nO-* for UNDER, *thar-* for ABOVE, etc. But for the case endings the situation is not as straightforward. It is clear that many of the uses of Loc2-*una* correspond to a universally basic notion ON. It is also evident that Loc3-*ai* has a preference for IN situations ('container' situations such as 2, 14, 32, 54, and 67). But it is not as clear from the tests that Loc1-*a* should correspond to a basic notion AT. Further, Loc2-*una* may also occur in 'IN/container' situations, and Loc3-*ai* can occur on Ground nouns that are not at all 'containers' for their Figure objects, for example, as with the body parts in 5, 10, 21, 42, 46, 51, and 69, and Loc3-*ai* may also express the notion ON in 'plural' or dispersive situations (52, 'insects on ceiling'). Consequently, as shown, Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai* denotes something else than merely basic notions like ON and IN.

HYPOTHESIS 2: *Languages may disagree on the 'cuts' through this semantic space, but agree on the underlying organization of the space - that is, the conceptual space formed by topological notions is coherent, such that certain notions will have fixed neighborhood relations.*

Following this hypothesis, "it should be possible to find a single fixed arrangement of the pictures such that those that are grouped together in one language remain contiguous even if they are separated by a category boundary in another language" (p. 499). The authors conclude "it is not easy to find a fixed array of scenarios that will display contiguous categories in every language" (p. 499). However, they find support for hypothesis 2 in Bowerman and Pederson (1992, 2003), who are able to establish a cline between a prototype 'In' (full containment) and a prototype 'On' (superposition plus support). For example, any language that would use an 'On' TRM for 'encirclement with contact' (as 'ring on finger'), will also use the same term for 'hang with planar contact' (as 'picture on wall') or 'sticky attachment'. (See more below.)

It is probable that a similar cline can be postulated for the locative case endings in Kalasha. For example, for the case endings, given the immediate impression that Loc2-*una* is favoured for 'On' situations and Loc3-*ai* for 'In' situations, it is clear that Loc2-*una* is much more likely to enter Loc3-*ai*'s domain, but not the other way round. Furthermore, Loc2-*una* (and probably also Loc3-*ai* given the right situational context) can be seen to enter the domain of the postposition-like relational noun *thára*, coding concepts such as 'On' and 'Above' (e.g., drawings 23, 43, 59, 40, 11, and 1). But *thára* cannot occur in all the situations coded by Loc2-*una* (e.g., 7, 17, 27, 78, 33, 41, and 60), or in the situations coded by Loc3-*ai* (e.g., 2, 14, 32, 54, 62, and 67).

HYPOTHESIS 3: The domain of topological relations constitutes a coherent semantic space with a number of strong ATTRACTORS, that is, categories that languages will statistically tend to recognize even if some choose to ignore them.

Levinson et al. find that in a cross-linguistic perspective "pictures do tend to cluster", i.e., those pictures that cluster are described with the same TRM in the different languages included. In particular, the authors find clusters for what they call "'attachment' scenes" (not traditionally counted as a basic spatial notion), "superadjacency" (including and collapsing "orthodox" basic notions such as ON/OVER and ON-TOP), "full containment" (more or less in agreement with an orthodox notion such as IN), "subadjacency", and "proximity" (including the notions UNDER and NEAR) (p. 506-8). The cluster analysis also displays certain scenes as "isolate". These are, for example, drawings with negative figures and part-whole relations. Levinson et al. find that hypothesis 3 is "at least compatible with the data" (p. 508).

How does the Kalasha data relate to Levinson et al.'s findings? An 'attachment' cluster may be said to be identifiable in Kalasha due to the many instances of an additional placement verb, and also through the use of the postpositions *som* 'attached with' and *kái* '(put/placed) onto'. In Kalasha, however, apart from *som*,

the notion of attachment is not expressed primarily by closed class TRM's, but by verbal participles, i.e., lexical items from an open word class.[79]

The relevance of the notion of 'superadjacency' for TRM's in Kalasha is expressed by the relational noun *thár-(a)*, and the relevance for the notion of 'subadjacency' by the relational noun *nO-*. The notion 'full containment' seems also to be relevant for Kalasha, as these situations can be coded by Loc3-*ai*. It is also worth noticing that the assumed IN situations in drawings 60 (house surrounded by a fence, and 30 (arrow through an apple) (p. 507) are not included by the full containment notion in Levinson et al.'s calculation or by the choice of TRM in Kalasha. Besides this, Kalasha also exhibits "isolates", for example with respect to 'negative' situations (crack in cup, pierced objects, etc.) and clothes and ornaments to wear. As for the notion 'proximity', this seems to be covered by a variety of TRM's, for example *send-* 'side', *tad-* 'nest to, besides', *píSTaw* 'behind', *wéti* 'behind', etc.

11.8 Cross-linguistic perspective II: Melissa Bowerman and research associates

In a number of works Melissa Bowerman (together with research associates), has investigated the relationship between linguistic and non-linguistic categorization af spatial semantics and events, for example, Bowerman (1996a, 1996b) and Bowerman and Choi (2001). A central issue for this work is whether or to what extent linguistic categorization in a given language influences conceptualization. Also central in Bowerman's and associates' work it has been to investigate assumptions such as "although the *forms* of spatial morphemes differ across languages, their *meanings* are closely similar" (Bowerman and Choi 2001: 481; italics original).

Following this assumption similarity can be expected because of biological and environmental constraints, e.g. gravity, front-back asymmetry, and upright posture, that affect people in the same way everywhere, (Bowerman and Choi 2001: 479; see also H.H. Clark 1973). Bowerman and Choi's response to this is that "*both* non-linguistic spatial conceptualization *and* the semantic categories of the input language [influence] spatial semantic development" (Bowerman and Choi 2001: 477-478, italics original), and that interaction between non-linguistic conceptual development and semantic categories in the input language brings for-ward semantic development (p. 477). Although Bowerman's main focus has been on language acquisition, some considerations about cross-linguistic differences and similarities in marking of spatial state of affairs have also been stated:

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[79] *kái* is actually the conjunctive participle of *kárik* 'do, make, ..', which is on the verge of becoming a directive postposition, see 17.8.7 for a detailed analysis of this morpheme.

"In some cases languages focus on surprisingly different properties for calculating whether situations qualify as instances of the same or different semantic categories of space. In other cases languages agree on the overall topology of the semantic space to be partitioned, but differ dramatically in how they work out the boundaries between neighboring categories" (Bowerman and Choi 2001: 480).

As mentioned in 11.7, examples of this have been found by Bowerman and Pederson in a cross-linguistic study of static spatial relations based on the BowPed-book (Bowerman & Pederson (1992; in prep).[80] By comparing the elicited spatial markers in a wide number of languages Bowerman and Pederson set up a 'locational *on*-hierarchy', ranging from the notions 'Above' and 'Horizontal support' in the one end to the notions 'Partially contained' and 'Fully contained' in the other end. Between these poles there are a number of 'on' situations:

(Above, Higher than/no contact →) Support from below → Marks on a surface → Clingy attachment → Hanging over/against → Fixed attachment → Point-to-point attachment → Encircled with contact → Impaled/spitted on → Pierces through → Encircled by → Sticking-out containment → (Full containment)

Bowerman and Pederson observe that languages vary with respect to how many morphemes that are used to denote these types of location. But if language uses an 'on' morpheme for a certain type in the hierarchy, say, 'Fixed attachment', it will also use it for all types to the left of that, until or perhaps across the border of 'on' situations to 'Above, Higher than/no contact'.

The hierarchical structure is also found valid for 'in' situations: if a language uses an 'in' morpheme for, say, 'Encircled with contact', it will and can also use it for the location types to the right of that location type. Thus, languages differ with respect to what is an 'on' and an 'in' situation, but the semantic space that a given 'on' and 'in' morpheme covers, is not interrupted.

Bowerman and Choi (2001: 485) present an extract of this hierarchy, repeated here in Table 11.3; the top-most row indicates status in the hierachy, the middle row location type, and the bottom row an example of the situation type.

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[80] I have not had access to Bowerman and Pederson (1992). What follows here is what is summarized other places and what has been communicated to me by Melissa Bowerman personally.

TABLE 11.3.: IMPLICATIONAL HIERARCHY FOR STATIC SPATIAL RELATIONS (Bowerman and Choi 2001: 485).

a. ->	b. ->	c. ->	d. ->	e. ->	f.
HORIZONTAL SUPPORT	STICKY ATTACHMENT	HANG WITH PLANAR CONTACT	OTHER ATTACHMENT	TIED/HANG FROM A POINT	FULLY CONTAINED
'cup on table'	'bandaid on leg'	'picture on wall'	'handle on door'	'apple on twig'	'apple in bowl'

The hierarchy captures "how easily a configuration can be construed as similar to a situation of support from below", as in a. 'cup on table' (Bowerman and Choi 2001: 486). As one moves from left to right the support-situation gets less prototypical, in c. the wall offers support from the side, in e. the support is from above, and in f. we have just as much support as containment.[81]

None of the 38 languages investigated by Bowerman and Pederson provided a distinct term for all six (types of) situations. Spanish uses *en* for all six situations (with the possibility of adding 'extra' and explicit information such as *encima (de)* 'on top (of)' etc.), Berber uses *x* (roughly 'on') for a.-c. and *di* (roughly 'in') for b.-f., and Dutch uses *op* for a.-b., *aan* for c.-e., and *in* for f., etc. (p. 487). Bowerman and Pederson have not found any language that uses one term for, for instance, a. 'cup on table' and e. 'apple on twig', but not for c. 'picture on wall'. They found that the drawings b.-e. are congruent with their intermediate position on the hierarchy, i.e. languages can treat them as similer to *either* support from below *or* containment, or as like neither or like both.

Kalasha does not interrupt the small-scale (Table 11.3) or the large-scale hierarchy (above), thus supporting Bowerman and Pederson's claim about a semantic gradient scale. Kalasha can use Loc2-*una* (plus additional placement verbs) for all the situations depicted in the hierarchy (as Spanish). Moreover, Kalasha can have alternate codings for the poles in the hierarchy: *thara* for a. 'cup above/on table' ('Above, Higher than/no contact' and 'Support from below') and Loc3-*ai* or Loc2-*una* for f. 'apple in bowl' ('Fully containment').

Bowerman and Choi state explicitly that what a "language *counts* as (sufficiently like) support or (sufficiently like) containment is not given by the structure of reality or our perception of it, but is determined instead to a large extent by language-specific conventions for how to construe spatial scenes" (p. 487; italics original). I cannot exlude that the uses of Loc3-*ai* in apparently typical

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[81] Conversely, going from right to left we have less and less prototypical containment or "incorporation" situations: an apple is not contained in but attached (in an "organic" way) to a twig (e.), a handle is also (steadily) attached (or incorporated) to a door (d.) but by screws and not as "organic" as an apple to a twig, and a bandaid is more losely attached/incorporated to/in a leg (Bowerman and Choi 2001: 486).

Loc2-*una* domains, surfaces, such as 'insects on wall' (BowPed-book, 52) and 'paint on face' (SPS, 14), can be ascribed to convention.

This supports the statement that "a language can apparently choose to treat attachment to an exterior surface or point as a kind of "incorporation" more akin to containment … than to mere juxtaposition" (Bowerman and Choi 2001: 486). But on the face of it there does not seem to be much 'containment' in the typical Loc2-*una* situations that are coded with Loc3-*ai*,[82] which may question the cross-linguistic validity of the hierarchy with respect to postulating a coherent and unbroken 'in' concept. But what in Kalasha counts as support and containment, respectively, will be clearer after examination of the spontaneous material.

11.9 Conclusions

The tests have revealed that certain case endings and other TRM's in Kalasha are preferred for certain types of situations: Loc2-*una* for surface, Loc3-*ai* for containers, the relational nouns *nO-* and *thára* for 'under'- and 'above-/over-'situations, respectively, other relational nouns for horizontally projective locations, etc. The tests also show that the case endings are not restricted to the preferred situations, they can enter the domains of each other, Loc2-*una* much more so than the other ones. However, the tests have not revealed to any clear extent what role Loc1-*a* has in this semantic, topological domain; the ending is infrequent and seemingly restricted to a small number of nouns and to certain relational nouns.

In the perspective of the findings of Levinson et al. and Bowerman, Choi, and Pederson, we saw that the notions of 'in' and 'on' are not uniformly expressed in Kalasha, albeit a notion such as 'down' could be (Levinson et al.'s Hypothesis 1). However, Kalasha can confirm or at least not contradict a semantic gradient with respect to location on a surface as hypothesized by Levinson et al. (Hypothesis 2), and as found by Bowerman and Pederson. The findings in Kalasha also support the observation that in a given language there may be 'attractors', i.e. semantic domains that are ignored in other languages. In Kalasha we thus see 'attachment' as expressed by participles of placement verbs as important, as well as 'super-' and 'subadjaceny' and 'proximity', the latter expressed by a number of relational nouns.

Support and containment are often cited as two of the most fundamental and early-maturing spatial concepts (see Johnston (1984), among others), but other concepts may take precedence, also from a very early age in language acquisition; in Korean, for example, the notion of tight-fit relation (Bowerman and Choi 2001:

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[82] Actually, 'face-location' and its equivalents in other languages may have a conventionalized coding as a container and not as a surface; cf. Danish 'fregner/pletter i ansigtet' ('freckles/spots in the face'), but 'pletter på hånden' ('spots on the hand').

490-497; Choi 1997). Native speaker reactions to the test responses indicate that also for Kalasha there are other relevant concepts than topological, for example, referential parameters, 'exact vs. non-exact location', 'specified vs. unspecified'.[83]

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[83] The relevance of referential parameters for case-marking in Kalasha can be taken as a warning against using the BowPed-book without caution: (1) Most of the drawings are 'singular' in nature, i.e. by far most of them depict <u>one</u> Figure object and <u>one</u> Ground object; (2) the rather precise depiction of locations in the drawings may disfavour a spatial marker that expresses inexact location.

12. Locative case endings in Kalasha

This chapter discusses the uses and functions of the three locative suffixes Loc1-*a*, Loc2-*una*, and Loc3-*ai*. I start out with taking a look at the distribution of Loc1-*a*. After that I look at Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai* together. In 12.4 I describe the functional range of Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai* by means of semantic networks and I tune in on the basic semantics of Loc1-*a* and these two morphemes. In 12.5 I consider the functions of the locative endings in a diachronic perspective. In 12.6-12.9 I take a theoretical perspective on the locative case endings. Chapter 12.11 summarizes the analysis.

In the examinations to follow I shall focus mainly on the spatial senses, considering the temporal uses as metaphoric extensions from these. Throughout the examination I make references to the observations in the test results. A discussion about how the locative case system in Kalasha relates to Masica's layer model will follow in chapter 19.

12.1 The locative ending Loc1-*a*

12.1.1 Distributional patterns

As was indicated in the summary of the test results, with respect to common nouns, Loc1-*a* is the most restricted of the three locative endings. In the spontaneous material only 20 nouns are observed with Loc1-*a* (over 150 nouns are observed with Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai*). (See Appendix 22 for a table of distribution of Loc1-*a*.) Of the 20 nouns there is a relatively high number of locational words, e.g. *awát* 'place', *aTáLak* 'small plateau among the mountains', *biw* 'upper edge or limit of a container or other object', and *SiS* 'top part (of vertically orientated entity)'. Even more striking it is that of a total number of 96 occurrences with common and locational nouns, four of these, *awát* 'place', *dramí* 'roof', *muT* 'tree', and *SiS* 'head', all nouns that occurred with Loc1-*a* in the tests, account for more than two thirds (68,75 %) of all occurrences.

The restricted distribution of Loc1-*a* may, of course, be due to the random composition of my material, but not only so. There are simply less nouns that can occur with Loc1-*a* than nouns that can occur with Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai*. Table 12.1 below shows which types of nouns that do not allow suffixation with Loc1-*a*.[84]

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[84] Suffixation with Loc1-*a* is typically rejected by my informants with comments such as "not possible" or "sahi ne hiu" ('right not becomes'). The rejections may of course (also) concern the the given syntactic context for these nouns + Loc1-*a*. However, when prompted to construct a sentence <u>and</u> a context for, for example, *sarák-a* 'road + Loc1-*a*' and *góST-a* 'stable + Loc1-*a*', the informants responded negatively, shook their heads and said, "ne híu", 'not becomes'.

TABLE 12.1: TYPES OF NOUNS THAT CANNOT BE SUFFIXED WITH LOC1-*a*.

Surface (place for activity)	Manufactured container	Roofed container	Open space
Chetr 'field', *phond* 'path, way' *sarák* 'road' *chom* 'floor, earth' *aTÉ~* 'floor' etc.	*khÚi* 'pot' *almarí* 'shelf' *sawéw* 'flat basket' *bojéy* 'bag' *Tim* 'stove' etc.	*kamrá* 'room' *anguTí* 'guesthouse' *goST* 'stable' *basháli* 'Bashali' *hand* 'temple' etc.	*son* 'pasture' *mulk* 'country' *behabán* 'wilderness' *adrák* 'woods' *jangál* 'forest' etc.

The nouns that do not accept Loc1-*a* seem to be of semantically definable types, i.e. being categorizable in terms of partly inherent features (e.g., 'manu-factured' vs. 'roofed' vs. 'non-roofed'), partly typical functions (e.g., 'place for activity' vs. 'container'). In the following I shall examine the use of Loc1-*a* with the nominal classes common nouns, relational nouns, and absolute adverbs. I refer to chapters 14 and 15 for the use of Loc1-*a* with place names and deictic adverbs.

12.1.2 Loc1-*a* and point-like location

In the BowPed-book test, drawing 8, 'book placed upright on shelf', three different words for 'shelf' were used (cf. 11.3.1), but only the smallest in size of these allowed suffixation with Loc1-*a*. This gives the idea that Loc1-*a* is preferred for Grounds that are small or point-like in physical shape. Examples from the sources and my own material support this. In 1 below we see a point-like (and roundish) Ground element, *SiS* 'head', in 2 both Figure and Ground elements appear roundish and point-like, and in 3 a number of Grounds are construed as different points.

1. Ground point-like (roundish)
   ghÚ~i **SíS-a**   *maDóki dyá-i*   *DúD-i*   TC99
   coat   head-loc1   wrap and cover-imp.2s   sleep-imp.2s
   'wrap a coat around **your head** and go to sleep!'

2. Ground (and Figure) roundish and point-like
   ek Achoagár úts-a   *i-áLa*   **ék-o anísh úts-a**
   one Achoagar spring-loc1   appear-pst.ptc.I.3s   one-*o* Anish spring-loc1

There do not seem to be any phonological restrictions or generalizations to be made from non-occurrence of Loc1-*a* with these noun stems. Neither stress placement, the number of syllables in the word stems, nor the stem-final sounds seem to be blocking features; we have one-, two-, and three-syllable words and stress on the final and penultimate stem-syllables; and we have stem-final consonants (voiced and unvoiced), glides, and vowels, stressed and non-stressed.

ni-áLa   M73.T
appear-pst.ptc.I.3s
'**one (apple) at the Achholgak spring** sprang forth, and **one (apple) at the Anish spring** sprang forth'[85]

3. Ground point-like and plural
ponj awát-a   *Sing*   *SaTá-an*   TC99
five   place-loc1 horn   attach-pst.A.3p
'they put the healing horn on **in five places**'

When used with temporal nouns, we may speak of a metaphorically transmitted point-like location, as in 4-5:

4. **ghéri kál-a**   *tyup*   *sh-ónj-o,*   **sh-ayá**   **ádu-a**   *i-m*
next   year-loc1 exactly emph-today-*o* emph-here.spec day-loc1 come-p/f.1s
'I will come **next year** on exactly **this day** (in this month)'   TC99

5. *ábi*   **ek ádu-a**   *náT-ik*   *mómaLa* **du ádu-a**   *náT-in* WK.S
1p.nom one day-loc1 dance-p/f.1p Mumoret two day-loc1 dance-p/f.3p
'we dance **one day**, the people from Bumburet dance **two days**'

In temporal use Loc1-*a* is seen with the words *kaw* 'year' and *ádu* 'day', preceded by quantifiers or determiners such as *ek* 'one', *har* 'every' year', *ghéri* 'next', *tará* 'there (on that time)', *súja* 'whole', and *píSTaw* 'last'. I see Loc1-*a* in this use as singling out one limited period of time from a row of identical periods, e.g. 'one specific day/year/spring/.. in the (endless) series of days/years/spring'.

Interestingly, the parameter 'point-like location' is identified by Bashir (2000) for the local case ending -*a* in Khowar, formally identical to Kalasha Loc1-*a*.[86]

12.1.3 Loc1-*a* and distance

The parameter 'point-like' needs not strictly apply to actual physical or point-like size or shape of the referent objects. Put differently: when encoded with Loc1-*a*, a big and voluminous object can be construed as point-like, for example, as if looked at from a distance. The examples 6-7 show that Loc1-*a* can be used without taking actual size into perspective.

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[85] GM's transcription: *ek Achoagár uca iyála eko anízh uca niyála.*
[86] Bashir defines the location denoted by Khowar -*a* as "point(like)" and "unmarked for verticality or horizontality, indicating locations or directions not having a vertical or horizontal component in their conceptualizations" (2000: 17). From Bashir's examples it seems as if the feature 'point-like' can apply to both Ground and Figure.

6. *tása   dur   ek bo   shishóyak adrák-una   shí-u*
   3s.obl.abs house a   very beautiful   mountain side-loc2 be.in-prs.3s
   bílkúl   taná   awát-a   GK.na
   completely   separate place-loc1
   'his house lies on a very beautiful mountainside, **completely on its own**'

7. ***gílt-a***   *jahás páL-iLa   ghó~i húli thi   shí-au*   TC99
   Gilgit-loc1   airplane fall-pst.ptc.I.3s quot   spread around.cp aux.in-prs.3s
   '**in Gilgit** the news that the airplane crashed became known'

The town Gilgit in 7 is not a small village but a main town in Northeast Pakistan. The house mentioned in 6 is not a small house, actually a rather spacious residence, but it is situated all alone on a large hill side and from a distance it appears as a point on a surface. Both major locations are construed as insignifiant because of their distant location from the speaker.

12.1.4 Loc1-*a* and general location

Distant location may be perceived as a vague, non-specific location. If something or someone is situated far away, you cannot always be certain of its or his/her exact location. In this perspective Loc1-*a* also expresses what can be called 'general' or 'insignificant' location. This is also in line with the idea that a location that seems point-like is also insignificant with respect to extension in space. The use of Loc1-*a* for the construal of a location as insignificant is seen in 8, from "Frog, Where Are You?":

8. *te   pháto **múT-a kái** ji-én   dái a **múT-a***
   3p.nom.abs   then   tree-loc1 to   look at-p/f.3p spec as tree-loc1
   maCherik.mÓ   shí-u   te   tása   tád-a   par-ín   dái
   wasps' nest   be.in-prs.3s 3p.nom.abs 3s.obl.abs near-loc1 go-p/f.3p spec
   'as they then look **at a tree, in/on the tree** there is a wasps' nest, they go near to it,'

   *maCherik.mÓ~   **múT-una** uS-í   shí-u*   Ta.sm
   wasps' nest   tree-loc2   hang-pf aux.in-prs.3s
   'the wasps' nest is hanging **on/in the tree** (on a branch)'

Here we see different marking on *muT* 'tree', with Loc1-*a* in the first line and with Loc2-*una* in the second. When *múT-a* denotes the location of the wasps' nest, we may talk of a location perceived as point-like, but why not such a point-like location in the third line? My suggestion is that Loc1-*a* is used when the

scene is set: first the actants (the boy and his dog) look at a tree (from a distance) on which there is a wasps' nest. Then they approach <u>the tree</u>, now marked with Loc2-*una*. From a distance the location appears as point-like. At a closer distance, spatial extension of the location is more significant and coded with Loc2-*una*.

A longer example, which includes example 2, shows a similar use of Loc1-*a*. Here we may speak of Loc1-*a* as a contextually downgrading device, denoting locations that are not important for the continuation of the narrative, in contrast to the Loc2-*una* marked location, *nokthón uts* 'Nokthon spring' (underlined).

9. *ek   Nok-thon-ai   úts-ani   thi   ni-áLa   ek*
   one   Nok-thon-loc3 spring-abl2 be.cp appear-pst.ptc.I one
   '(Nanga Dehar threw three apples into the lake ..), one sprang forth from *the Nok-Thon Spring ..*'

   Achoagár úts-a   *ni-áLa*   *ék-o **anísh úts-a***   *ni-áLa*
   A.   spring-loc1 appear-pst.ptc.I.3s one   Anish spring-loc1 appear-pst.ptc.I.3s
   '.. one **at the Achholgak spring** sprang forth, another **at the Anish spring** sprang forth ..'

   nánga dehár   tan   ek   súda   asta-i gri   par-áu
   Nange Dehar   own   one   child   along with   go-pst.A.3s
   'Nanga Dehar went off taking his own son along'

   <u>*nog-thón   úts-una*</u>   *pái* ...   M73.T
   Nok-thon   spring-loc2   go.cp
   '.. (then) having gone to <u>the Nokthon spring</u>, (he …)'[87]

By use of a coding device otherwise used for insignificant (and distant) location, the speaker here indicates that the springs at *Achoagár* and *Anísh* are not as important for the course of the action in the narrative as the spring at *Nokthon*, the location from where the story continues. An insignificant location may also be called 'general', exactly as my informants occasionally have done (cf. native speaker reactions listed in Table 11.2 in 11.6), and on line with Bashir's description of Khowar -*a*, mentioned above.

12.1.5 Loc1-*a* and adverbs

The distributional restrictions with respect to common nouns do not seem to hold for adverbs, whether deictic or absolute adverbs, or relational nouns functioning as adverbs. Although Loc1-*a* cannot occur with a few relational nouns (*moc-*

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[87] GM's transcription: *ek ... Nok-thone úc-ane the niy-ála ek Achoagár úc-a niy-ála ék-o anízh uc-a niy-ála nanga dehár tan ek súda 'sta-i gri par-áu nog-thón úc-una pói.* GM glosses *asta-i gri* as 'also taking', but does not explain the form *asta-i* (GM73: 48).

'middle, centre', *puNDúyr-* 'around', *nasénd-* 'around') the suffix is high-frequent with others: *thar-* 'on, upon; above, over', *tad-* 'near', *send-* 'side'. With these relational nouns Loc1-*a* is in contrast with Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai*.

The two relational nouns *bían* 'outside of/from' and *udríman* 'inside of' cannot be suffixed with Loc2-*una*, they take *-Ø*, Loc1-*a* or Loc3-*ai*, and for these the function of Loc1-*a* seems to be different from what we have seen so far. According to my informants there is no difference in meaning between suffixation with Loc1-*a* and no suffixation, i.e. with *-Ø*. Example 10 below, from a narrative, illustrates the apparent non-distinctiveness of Loc1-*a* and *-Ø*:

10. *ayá   durík-una   íta   tu   **udríman**   **apáw d-e***
    here.spec. small house-loc2 come.cp 2s.nom   inside-Ø   stay-imp.2s
    *chimcilít thi **udríman-a** **apáw d-e** góST-ai*   Mir.T
    be quiet.cp   inside-loc1   stay-imp.2s   stable-loc3
    ' "having come here in/to the little house, you shall stay **inside,** quietly stay **inside**, in the stable" '

Also with motion verbs and with the adverbial derivative *-yák* 'a little distance, away' we see Loc1-*a* and *-Ø* in what seems to be free variation. The constructions cited below (from my field notes) with *udríman* and *bianýak*, respectively, and also *pishtyák* 'back, backwards' and *ruyák* 'front, forwards', were described by my informants as being "ek isap" 'one amount', i.e., 'the same':

11. a. *a **udríman / udríman-a** parím dái*   'I go inside (a little distance)'   Fn.
    b. *a **bianyák / bianyák-a** parím dái*   'I go outside (a little distance)'   Fn.
    c. *a **pishtyák / pishtyák-a** parím dái* 'I go a little back'   Fn.
    d. *a **ruyák / ruyák-a** parím dái*   'I go a little forwards'   Fn.

Examples from spontaneous language also point to "same meaning" with respect to Loc1-*a*, 12, and *-Ø*, 13:

12. *to   nih-áu   pháto **bían-a**   **nih-í**   bo   koshán thi*
    3s.acc.abs take out-pst.3s then   outside-loc1 appear-cp   very   happy   be.cp
    '(he, the mouse) took him out, then **having appeard outside**, they are very happy'   Na.sm

13. *saw   **bían**   **pá-i**   ásta   saw   **bían**   **nih-í**   ásta*
    all   outside-Ø go-cp   aux.pst.I.3s all   outside-Ø appear-cp aux.pst.I.3s
    'all went **outside**, all **appeared *outside***'   GK.na

Example 12 describes a scene from a Mouse film where the (big) mouse has led his friend, a (very small) elephant, out of a maze. Example 13 describes a real life event (set in a narrative hearsay format) where a crowd of people have left a sitting room on board a ship which is, they believe, about to sink and have gone outside on the deck to enter the lifeboats.

I am inclined to consider Loc1-*a* in 10 and 12 as a suffix that for pragmatic reasons stresses the actual and location just arrived at. Thus, in 10 Loc1-*a* works together with the repetition of the location, *udriman*, in stressing that the addressee will be staying there for a while. In 12 it is emphasized that the mouse and elephant are relieved and happy when they <u>finally</u> have come out, <u>outside</u> of the maze. According to this analysis Loc1-*a* has a sort of contrastive function. The fact that we do not have contrastive Loc1-*a* on *bían* in 13 denoting an outside location which in the context of sinking is a high value, in contrast to a location inside, shows that Loc1-*a* in this use is optional. (On a later occasion I asked the narrator whether *bían-a* would be acceptable in both instances, the answer was "asta sahi hiu" ('will also be right').)

12.1.6 Loc1-*a* and absolute adverbs

With the absolute local adverbs *puchúm* 'uphill' and *úndru/óndru* 'downhill' and the diminutive derivatives to all absolute local adverbs, Loc1-*a* seems to have a function similar to the one illustrated with *udríman* 'inside' and *bían* 'outside' above. The examples are infrequent but 14 below (from "Frog, Where Are You?"), with *undruhák/undruhák-a*, illustrates the point:

14. *se   to   SiS   kilkí-ani   bían   ni-ála*
    3s.nom.abs 3s.acc.abs head window-abl2   outside let out-pst.ptc.I.3s
    *taL-yéi   kirkí-ani   **undruhák   át-au   sÓ~a***
    there.nonspec.abs-abl1 window-abl2 **down-Ø   fall.pst.A-3s**   dog
    *taL-yéi   kilkí-ani   **undruhák-a   páL-i***
    there.nonspec.abs-abl1 window-abl2 **down-loc1   fall-cp**
    to   buThál   bish-áLa   Ta.sm
    3s.acc.abs bottle   break-pst.ptc.I.3s

    '(the dog stuck its head into the bottle, and) it put its head out of the window, and **fell down** there from the window, **<u>falling down</u>** there from the window, it broke the bottle (and the kid became very angry with it)'

The first time the direction or goal of the dog's falling, *undruhák* 'a little down(hill)' is expressed it has zero-ending (bolded). The second time the direction of the dog's falling is expressed we see Loc1-*a* (bolded and underlined). Hence, Loc1-*a* does not provide information about actual distance or the shape or nature of either Ground or Figure, there is nothing more 'point-like' in the

location as such the second time it is mentioned. Instead Loc1-*a* is used in a context-dependent way. It marks a location that is expressed by a nominal of a certain type, and which is already introduced, and on/at/in which another event or situation takes place or occurs. This is captured in the English translation, sanctioned by the speaker, by 'extra' deictic adverb 'there'.

The 'emphasizing' function of Loc1-*a* with adverbs appears as contrary to the generalizing function observed with common nouns. This functional range may be similar to what Bashir has observed for "Loc-1 -*a*" in Khowar (2001: 17; 2003: 844), where this morpheme "encodes point location and is subject to much semantic and grammatical generalization" (p. 844).

12.1.7 Summary and perspectives

The preceding examination has shown that not just one parameter can explain the distribution of Loc1-*a*. The relevant parameters and their manifestations are shown in Table 12.2

TABLE 12.2: LOC1-*a* AND SEMANTIC PARAMETERS.

Parameter	Manifestation
Shape of Figure and Ground; (perceived) voluminousity of situation	Roundish, small, point-like, (one-dimensional
Degree of proximity to Ground	Distance
Referentiality	General, non-specified location (common nouns) Emphasizing (adverbs)
Temporal	Delimited and point-like (in a continuing series)
Number of actants	Singular or plural (but mostly singular)
Lexical restriction	Yes

If we ignore for a moment the emphasizing function with adverbs, there is a remarkable similarity between the parameters relevant for the spatial marker Loc1-*a* in Kalasha and the spatial notions expressed by English 'at'. In dictionary listings the location often denoted by English 'at' is termed a "point", or "distant", for example:

"The most general determination of simple localization in space, expressing, strictly, the simple relation of a thing to a point of space which it touches; hence, usually determining a point or object with which a thing or attribute is practically in contact, and thus the *place* where it is, when this is either so small as to be treated as a mere point, or when the exact relation between the thing and the place is not more particularly expressed by the prepositions

close to, near, by, about, on, in, over, under, etc., all of which may at times be covered by *at*" (http://dictionary.oed.com).

A definition of 'at' along the same lines is found in Herskovits (1986: 50-51, 128-140): "for a point to coincide with another" (p. 128), where the first point, the Figure, "is typically mapped onto an object, and the second [the Ground] onto a fixed earth location" (p. 128). Further, "[r]eference and located objects need not actually be points, but their extension and internal properties of reference and located objects are ignored" (p. 50). From this, the "ideal meaning" of 'at' and "usage types" (or, "variations") are derived (p. 91, and elsewhere). For example, due to the pointlikeness and non-salient spatial extension of 'at', the preposition may be used by the actants when they take a "remote view" or have "indirect, inferred ... and imprecise" knowledge of a location (p. 133). Cf. the contrast between *at the supermarket* and *in the supermarket*, where 'at' is used when the speaker and addressee are close to each other and far from the supermarket, and 'in' when the speaker and addressee are <u>in</u> the supermarket.

Corresponding to the distributional restriction of Kalasha Loc1-*a*, also English 'at' cannot occur or sounds strange with certain nouns, for example, some of the Ground and container types listed in Table 12.1. Herskovits explains this by use of the term 'medium', defined as the region of space "which contains [an object] and is conceptualized as being of greater dimensionality than the object" (p. 136). For example, in *there are bubbles at the surface of the water* the body of the water is the medium, the surface of the water the landmark (p. 137).

Herskovits's claim is that 'at' emphasizes the medium but can only do so when "it is useful to highlight" (p. 137). When objects (i.e. Figures) are part of a "trivial" medium (ibid.), when the only thing one can say about their location is that it is a three-dimensional space or on the Ground or on a supporting surface, "then there is no medium worth emphasizing" (ibid.). Consequently, the use of 'at' is ruled out or awkward. On the other hand, when the medium denotes a whole consisting of parts and the Ground is one of those parts, 'at' is acceptable, as in *there is a star at the top of the tree*. The parts here are conceived of as points located and picked out on the surface of an object over which "our minds travel" (ibid.).

Herskovits's observation regarding location in a medium-region puts the restrictive distribution of Loc1-*a* into a crosslinguistic perspective. Her observations give a qualified idea of why we so often see Loc1-*a* with central relational nouns, such as *tad-* 'near', *send-* 'side', *thar-* 'surface', etc., and with more peripheral relational nouns, 'locational part nouns' such as *SiS* 'top of something', *biw* 'upper edge of something', *pragó* 'lower part of something'. Herskovits' observations may also well explain why we do not have Loc1-*a* (or 'at') with wide and unbounded Grounds such as *chom* 'floor, earth', *son* 'pasture' and *behabán* 'wilderness', etc., as well as on 'roofed containers'. The only way Loc1-*a* can be associated with these nouns is by mediation of a relational noun.

But I am not sure that it explains fully why we can have Loc1-*a* on *dramí* 'roof' but not on other limited and flat Grounds such as *aTÉ~* 'floor (of a house)', *Tim* 'stove' (surface <u>and</u> inside)', *mes* 'table', *kursí* 'chair', etc. I cannot explain *dramí*'s preferred occurrence with Loc1-*a* as anything else as an exception from the general rules for use and non-use of Loc1-*a*.

The exception may be due to idiosyncratic historical factors. But it may also be due to the fact that a roof has a culturally prominent status in the daily life of a Kalasha. The roof of a typical Kalasha house is a flat, rectangular surface that is used for drying fruits, for handicraft work, for leisure time activities (playing cards, etc.) for everyone, and for relaxation when one after a day's work stands on the roof and enjoys the spectacular view up and down the valley. Roofs of temples and of houses in the upper parts of the villages are typically *ónjeSTa*, 'pure', i.e. may only be stepped on by men. From an architectural point of view a Kalasha village is made up by houses that are in most case built on top of each other along the slope. Thus, looked at from afar, the roofs of a village cut up the village in steps or levels. In other words, a roof is highly conspicuous and important and a frequently utilized entity from a Kalasha perspective.

This particular cognitive or high-frequent status <u>may</u> be the reason why *dramí* can and so often does suffix with Loc1-*a*, otherwise excluded from occurring with plane surfaces.[88] (The particular cognitive status that one's home has, may also explain the lexicalization of *dur* 'house' + Loc1-*a* to *dúra* 'home'.)

12.1.8 Protypical and semantically extended functions of Loc1-*a*

From the discussion in the previous section I now proceed by suggesting how a semantic network of Loc1-*a* may look like. I suggest as the core function of Loc1-*a* the function that relates to topological aspects of the Ground.

FIGURE 12.1: THE SEMANTIC NETWORK OF LOC1-*a*.

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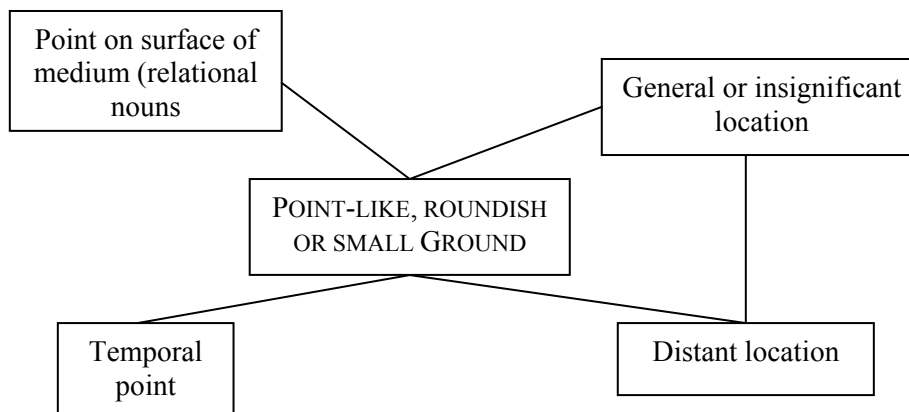
[88] As a matter of fact, suffixation of Loc1-*a* to *dramí* is so frequent in running speech that I only in the last part of my fieldwork in 1997 realized that the word for 'roof' was *dramí*, not *dramía*.

The core meaning 'Point-like, roundish or small Ground' is linked to a number of extensions: 'General or insignificant location' (through metaphor), 'Temporal point' (through metaphor), 'Point on surface of medium' (through metonymy and manifested through affixation on relational nouns). The function 'Distant location' may be deduced from 'General and insignificant location', or, through metaphor, from the core function.

'Number' as a semantic parameter is not found to be relevant, as otherwise suggested by Trail (1996: 154), cf. chapter 10. Many examples display only one Figure and one Ground, but in 3 we see *ponj awát-a* 'five places' and in 5 *du ádu-a* 'two days'.

In 12.3, after the examination of Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai*, I shall discuss in more detail to what extent the functions of Loc1-*a* as just illustrated and explained fit into the locative system as constitued by Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai*.

12.2 Distribution of Loc2-una and Loc3-ai

This section analyses the functions of Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai* by studying their occurrence with nouns that cover a range of semantically and functionally identifiable types: containers, plane surfaces, open spaces, buildings, etc. It will appear that there are a number of different semantic parameters involved in the distribution of these two case endings. In contrast to what was seen for Loc1-*a*, there do not seem to be any lexical restrictions as regards the distribution of Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai*, except that Loc2-*una* cannot occur with place adverbs and with the relational nouns *udríman* 'inside' and *bían* 'outside'.

Chapter 12.3 gives a summary of these semantic parameters, and in 12.4 I discuss to what extent a general and small set of basic semantic parameters are responsible for locative marking in Kalasha.

12.2.1 Manufactured and non-manufactured containers

With manufactured containers Loc3-*ai* is typically used for location inside and Loc2-*una* for location on the outside surface of the container:

15. *mizók* **slipingbág-una dái** *ady-áu* GK.E
mouse sleeping bag-loc2 along run-pst.A.3s
'the mouse ran **along on the sleeping bag**'

16. *angríz báya* **slipingbág-ai** *át-i shén-una DúDi-La* GK.E
angris baya sleeping bag-loc3 enter-cp bed-loc2 sleep-pst.ptc.I.3s
'the *angriz baya* **crept into the sleeping bag**, sleeping on the bed'

17. *TikéT* **buThál-una** *shí-u* Fn.
label   bottle-loc2   be.in-prs.3s
'the label is **on the bottle**'

18. *émi*   *ek maDrák gri-i*   **ek buThál-ai dyá-i   á-an**   GK.sm
3p.nom.near a   frog   take-cp   a   bottle-loc3   put-cp   aux.an-prs.3p
'having taken a (certain) frog, they have **put it in a (certain) bottle**'

But Loc2-*una* can also denote location in a container. This would typically be a relatively flat, non-deep and open container as in 19, in contrast to the more deep and narrow-opened container marked with Loc3-*ai* in 18, but it may also be a deeper container with a narrower opening, as in 20, from the BowPed-book test:

19. *saw rúyakan* **sawéL-una/-ai**   *th-en*   Fil.S/Fn.
all   kinds   basket-loc2/loc3   place-p/f.3p
'they put all kinds (of things) **in the baskets**'[89]

20. *paLáw* **khÚi-una/-ai**   *shí-u*   Ta.te
apple   pot-loc2/-loc3   be.in-prs.3s
'the apple is **in the pot**'

When Loc2-*una* is used with such a container it implies (a) that the Figure element is in contact with internal sides of the container, for example the bottom as in 20, or (b) that the container is full of or in the proces of being filled with a material of some sort, as in 21:

21. *uk*   **baltí-una**   *par-íu*   *dái*   *saphá*   *thi*   GK.na
water   bucket-loc2   go-p/f.3s   spec   clean   be.cp
'the water runs **into a bucket**, (being) very clean' (about a distillation process)

With Loc3-*ai*, either there is no clearly identifiable location of support, as in 16 and 18, or there is not support at all:

22. *súda tan SiS* **baltí-ai**   *baltí-as*   *udríman-a pr-áu*   Na.te
kid   own   head   bucket-loc3   bucket-obl.sg   inside-loc1   put.pst.A-3s
'the kid put his head **into the/a bucket**, into to the bucket's inside'

---

[89] A *sawéw* is a flat basket made (by women) from willow branches. It is typically used for serving bread, dried fruits, and walnuts.

The examples above support the observation from the Put Project that caused location <u>onto a surface</u> triggers Loc2-*una* and caused location <u>into a container</u> triggers Loc3-*ai*.

Although the use of Loc2-*una* implies an element of contact or support, this is not excluded when Loc3-*ai* is used, in 16 ('sleepingbag'), for example, there must logically be contact between Figure and Ground. Rather, the parameter that distinguish the Loc3-*ai*-codings from the Loc2-*una*-codings seems to be 'surroundedness' or 'enclosure', with the implication that the location is not accessible by sight: when a person or a part of that person is in a sack, you cannot see him or the body part.[90]

12.2.2 Horizontally and vertically orientated surfaces

Examples 15, 17, 19 above showed that Loc2-*una* marked the outside surface of a container, and examples 20-21 indicated that Loc2-*una* is used when the Figure element is in contact with the inside surface of a container. There is indeed a preference for Loc2-*una* when we have a surface as the Ground, for example:

23. *a   kalám **méz-una** th-em*   TC99/GK.E/Na.E
    1s.nom pen   table-loc2   place-p/f.1s
    'I place a pen **on**/***upon*** the table'

24. *moc **dighÁ-una** kái   jag-él   dái*   GK.E/Na.E
    man   wall-loc2   onto   look at-p/f.3s spec
    'the man looks **to the wall**'
    (Informant's comment: "has focused his eye at a specific wall")

Suffixation with Loc3-*ai* on nouns of this type, surfaces, yields different kinds of meaning. In 25 below, in contrast with 26, Loc3-*ai* indicates that there are more Figure elements located on more Ground objects. In 26, in contrast with 24, Loc3-*ai* indicates that it is all of the surface of the Ground element that is being looked at (cf. my informant's comment, added in brackets).

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[90] Cf. also drawing 14 in the Containment Picture Series (CPS), 'baby in womb', that exclusively triggered Loc3-*ai*. Casad & Langacker (1985: 265) make a similar observation for Uto-Aztecan Cora regarding a semantic extension of a morpheme *u* with a core meaning of 'inside'(in contrast to *a* 'outside'): "an enclosure often serves as a barrier to perception, or to access more generally. From an external vantage point, an entity that bears an 'inside' relation to another is commonly inaccessible to view, while one that bears an 'outside' relation remains accessible. It is therefore natural that the *u/a* contrast should be extended to mean 'inaccessbile'/'accessible', primarily (though not exclusively) with respect to vision".

25. *du mez shí-an   **méz-ai** / **méz-an**   **thár-ai** laTén shí-an*   Na.ma
    two table be.in.prs.3p table-loc3/table-obl.pl upon-loc3 lamp   be.in.prs.3p
    'there are two tables, **on the tables**/*surfaces of the tables* there are lamps'

26. *moc **dighÁ-ai** kai jag-él   dái*   GK.E/Na.E
    man   wall-loc3   onto look at-p/f.3s   spec
    'the man looks **onto/at the wall**' **("here and there")**

These examples indicate that a surface Ground <u>may</u> be coded with Loc3-*ai*, but only if the Figure(s) is/are construable as extended, non-limited and potentially dispersed.

By being located in a 'dispersed way', the actants can be said to be located <u>somewhere</u> on or at the location denoted by the Loc3-*ai*-marked noun. I.e. the location of the Figure elements is not perceived as an exact or bounded spot.[91] The examples with Loc2-*una*, in contrast, point out a specific and delimited location. But this contrast may not be absolute, i.e. identifiable in such a way that a minimally extended location obligatorily triggers Loc2-*una* and a larger location always triggers Loc3-*ai*. See, for example, 27-28 (from field notes and elicitation by the use of Duplo-bricks) and 29-30 (from elication by the use of film clips and drawings):

27. ***Tanká-una*** *moc   nis-ín   dái*   Na.E
    Tanka-loc2   people   sit-p/f.3p spec
    'people are sitting **in the *Tanka***'

28. *saw   moc   **Tanká-ai**   nis-í   á-an*   Na.E
    all.nom   people   Tanka-loc3   sit-pf   aux.an-prs.3p
    i. 'all the people sit **all over the *Tanka***[92]'
    ii. 'all the people sit **on /all over the *Tanka*'s**'

29. *ghéri to   kár-iu   dái a **tása**   **rú-una** kái*
    again   3s.acc.abs do-p/f.3s spec as 3p.obl.abs face-loc2 onto
    báta   páL-iu   dái   GK.sm
    ctr   fall-p/f.3s spec
    'then, when he does it again, (the pancake) **falls onto his face**'

---

[91] This is the reason why I prefer the term 'dispersed' (and 'dispersion' and 'dispersive') to, for example 'distributed' (and 'distribution' and 'distributive'). Following Corbett (2000: 111) 'distributive' implies "the separation of members of a group, whether entities, events, qualities or locations. Each is considered distinct in space, sort or time". The location coded by Loc3-*ai* may be distributive, according to Corbett's definition, but it is often not obvious to talk of the Figure elements (if more) having distinct, i.e. separated location in space.
[92] A *Tanka* is a two-wheeled horse- or donkey-drawn flat-open card.

30. *se*   *báb-as-o*   **tása**   **rú-ai**   *kháS-iu*   *dái*   GK.sm
     3s.nom.abs   sister-ps.3s-*o*   3s.obl.abs   face-loc3   smear-p/f.3s   spec
     'the sister smears (paint) **all over his** (her brother's) **face**'

In 28, in the first reading of the sentence, the space on (in?) the *Tanka* covered by the sitting people is not identifiably bigger than the space in 27. And in 29 the pancake covers just as much of the mouse's face as the paint the brother's face in 30. Thus, with horizontally or vertically orientated planes and surfaces Loc3-*ai* can be used as a device for denoting two things: (1) an actual 'dispersive' location, i.e. a location extended over a large surface; (2) speaker's view of an extended location; i.e., if the speaker wants to express that he finds the nature of location, say, diffuse or unordered, he may use Loc3-*ai*, whereas Loc2-*una* is used if the location is more orderly, straightforward, or specific. (Cf. the translation 'all over' in the Loc3-*ai* examples, suggested by the informants). This latter way of viewing a situation <u>may</u> also imply plurality, as in 28.

Horizontally and vertically orientated surfaces are normally not marked with Loc1-*a*, as shown in Table 12.1. However, we do see *dramí* 'roof' with Loc1-*a* (31a), but also, occasionally, with Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai*, as in 31b-d, prompted by me during the elicitation of the BowPed-book test (drawing 34, 'man on sloping roof'; informants' comments in brackets).

31. a.   *moc*   **dramí-a**   *císt-i*   *á-au*   Na.te/GK.te
        man   roof-loc1   stand-pf   aux.an-prs.3s
        'a/the man is standing on a/the roof' ("ok, but which *dramí*?")

31. b.   *moc*   **dramí-una**   *císt-i*   *á-au*   Na.E/GK.E
        man   roof-loc2   stand-pf   aux.an-prs.3s
        'the man is standing on the roof' ("specified location")

31. c.   *moc   **dramí-ai**   *císt-i*   *á-au*   Na.E/GK.E
        man   roof-loc3   stand-pf   aux.an-prs.3s
        i. Intended: 'the man is standing on the roof somewhere'
        ii. Actual meaning: 'the man is standing on the roofs' ("not possible")

31. d.   *moc*   **dramí-ai**   *(císt-i)*   *á-an*   Na.Fn/GK.Fn
        man   roof-loc3   stand-pf   aux.an-prs.3s
        i. 'the men are (standing) on the roofs' ("all over the roofs")
        ii. 'the men are (standing) on the roof' ("somewhere, you don't know for sure")

Suffixation with Loc1-*a* (31a) is the preferred one to drawing 34 in the BowPed-book test, i.e. the immediate response, by all seven informants.

Suffixation with Loc2-*una* (31b) was prompted by me when working with two informants, and it was accepted by both (after some consideration), with the additional comment that it would then be a "specified" or "exact" location. Suffixation with Loc3-*ai*, however, was not accepted with the predicate *cistik* 'stand' in singular (21c.*i.*). But if we have plural actants (and plural marking on the verb), or if we change the posture verb to *ásik* 'be (anim)', in singular as well as plural form (21d), the construction with Loc3-*ai* is accepted.[93]

Also with the relational noun *nO-* 'under, below, underside' we can have suffixation with all three locative case endings, as in 32a-c, also prompted responses from a BowPed-book session (the b-sentence was the spontaneous response). All sentences can be translated 'the ball is under the chair'.

32. a. *caNDúl* **kursi.nÓ-a** *shí-u* Na05.E
   ball   chair.below-loc1   be.in-prs.3s
   ("just location")

32. b. *caNDúl* **kursi.nÓ-una** *shí-u* Na05.E
     chair.below-loc2
   ("specified; ball must be on ground or on upper surface")

32. c. *caNDúl* **kursi.nÓ-ai** *shí-u* Na05.E
     chair.below-loc3
   ("unspecified; somewhere under the chair")

Example 32c was found to be somewhat awkward, since "a ball is always somewhere", as my informant said. However, with a fly as the actor as in *mangazhík* <u>*kursi.nÓ-ai*</u> *upuLíu dái* 'a fly is flying (around) somewhere <u>under the chair</u>', the construction was more acceptable, albeit not without hesitation. My informant's comments to the drawing in question point to a semantic difference between the three case endings as laid out above in relation to 27-31.

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[93] A few times I have heard *se dramí áau* 'he is on roof' (lit. 'he roof is'), i.e. without case ending. When confronted with this, my informants always corrected to *dramí-a* or *dramí-una*. And in a traditional narrative the narrator talks about a man falling into a river, *uk dyai* 'water having-fallen', without case-marking on the Goal. When transcribing and translating this part of the narrative (with two different informants at two different occasions), the informants concurrently commented on this, after my asking, with "when fastly speaking, must be *uk-ai*", i.e. with Loc3-*ai*. In TC99 (p. 5) I have found *se .. hóma* <u>*dur*</u> *áau* 'he came to our <u>house</u>', with zero-marking on the Goal, and not expected Loc1-*a* or Loc2-*una*. I am not certain as to how to deal with this zero-marking. If it is not instances of careless speech, we might, for (a few?) goal verbs, have an instance where these verbs are capable of taking a (zero-marked) direct object. In such constructions they may suggest transitive readings such as, 'he be-fell the water' (= 'he fell into the water') and 'he be-came our house' (= 'he came to our house') (and for *dramí áau* the adverbial-like 'he roof is/stands'). But the occurrences are very few in the material, and they are not easy to elicit in informant sessions as the informants prefer case-suffixation.

A frequent use of Loc2-*una* is with vertically orientated Ground elements that appear as barriers or backgrounds for the location of the Figure element, i.e. situations without any implied contact between Figure and Ground, for example:

33. ***angár bhás-una*** *mo   nis-í   tay   pirán-una   oS grí-iu*   TC99
    fire   flame-loc2 proh sit-imp.2s 2s.obl shirt-loc2   hot take-p/f.3s
    'don't sit **by the fire**, your shirt will get hot'[94]

Loc3-*ai* is seldom used with vertically orientated barriers or backgrounds. When Loc3-*ai* occurs with such a Ground element we typically have a situation where the Figure element is either located or stuck, 'enclosed', between two vertically orientated Ground elements (see 34). Alternatively, the Figure is not perceptible for either the speaker or the other actant(s) in the situation, as in 35, from a description of a drawing where a hunter (visible for the speaker) hides behind a tree to shoot a cow (that cannot see the hunter).

34. *shára to   súda **Sing.bíts-ai**   dyá-i ní-u   dái*
    deer   3s.acc.abs   kid   antlers.gap-loc3 put-cp take-p/f.3s spec
    hist-ík-as   báti   Na.sm
    throw-inf-obl   purp
    'having placed the boy **in-between its antlers**, the deer takes him in order to throw him (down a slope)'

35. ***ek muT.wéti-ai***   *mrúan moc kas   hátya dik wáj-i   áis-tik*   Na.sm
    a   tree.behind-loc3 hunter   who-obl towards hit   wait-cp aux.an-prs.3s-prmp
    '**behind a tree** a hunter is waiting (watching) to shoot at someone'

12.2.3 Body parts and dimensionality

One of the effects of suffixing Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai* to body parts is to accentuate the exterior versus the interior of the body part, as illustrated with 36-37:

36. *dandÓyak   **ásh-una**   shí-an*   Na.te
    teeth   mouth-loc2   be.in-prs.3p
    'the teeth are **in the mouth**' (about a drawing showing visible teeth in a smiling mouth)

37. *kía galákse   pásh-iu   **áshi-ai**   dy-el*   B88.S
    whatever   see-p/f.3s mouth-loc3   put-p/f.3s
    'whatever she sees she **puts in her mouth**'

---

[94] TC99's translation: 'Don't sit close to the fire, ..'.

By examining the use of Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai* with body parts that do not have a clear interior, we see a different kind of semantics implied, as with *Ángu* 'finger' in 38-39:

38. *may **Áng-una** zháL-iu dai*   TC99
  1s.obl finger-loc2 reach-p/f.3s spec
  "it reaches my **finger**"

39. *angúSTer **Ángu-ai** shí-u*   Na.te/GK.te
  ring   finger-loc3 be.in-prs.3s
  'there is a ring **on the finger**'

In 38 the Figure reaches the (surface of) the finger, marked by Loc2-*una*. In 39 notice that it is not the Ground that surrounds the Figure, as would be expected from the previous 'enclosure' situations with Loc3-*ai*, but the Figure that surrounds or encircles the Ground. This was also seen in the responses to the locative tests. Thus, Loc3-*ai* can be used for situations that are characterized by depth or voluminousness, pointing to the relevance of a parameter of '(three-)dimensionality' or 'situational depth' for the distribution of Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai*. Loc2-*una* is preferred for situations that are two-dimensional in nature, i.e. with Grounds that have extension in length and breadth. Loc3-*ai* is preferred for situations that have extensions in length, breadth, and depth.

 The relevance of dimensionality and situational depth is not only seen with body parts. A tree can be construed as having different dimensions. Examples 40-42 below are identical to 5a-c in chapter 10, but here supplied with comments from one of my informants.

40. *kaSóng dihák mo híst-i, **múT-a** sathí-iu* TC99/GK.E
  hat   upward proh throw-imp.2s tree-loc1 get caught-p/f.3s
  'don't throw up your hat or it will get caught up **in the tree**' ("somewhere in branches")

41. *rut thi nis-íu maThóLa thi   rut thi **múT-una** nis-íu*
  swarm-cp sit-p/f.3s clump become.cp swarm-cp tree-loc2 sit-p/f.3s
  'having swarmed, it sits, having become a clump, a swarm, it sits **on the/a tree**' ("taken singularly; exact; clearly")   So.S

42. *báshik **múT-ai** wá~-iu   dai*   TC99/GK.Fn
  rain tree-loc3 filter through-p/f.3s spec
  'the rain is filtering through **the tree**' ("maybe somewhere else; maybe more trees")

These examples show that a tree or location in a tree is a potentially multifaceted phenomenon. The point-like location of a hat in a tree yields suffixation with general Loc1-*a* - the sentence almost stands out as a bon mot ('don't be as bold as to throw up your hat, it will get caught', i.e. 'you will regret it, if you do something impulsive, riskful, ..'). Location on the plane (upper) surface that a treetop constitutes, triggers suffixation with Loc2-*una*. And location (somewhere) in the whole of the three-dimensional space that the tree with the space below the treetop encompasses, triggers suffixation with Loc3-*ai*. This perspective ascribes Loc1-*a* to a non-significant, one-dimensional situation, Loc2-*una* to a two-dimensional situation, and Loc3-*ai* to a three-dimensional situation. Interestingly, my informant's comments point to other parameters as Loc1-*a* appears to yield a sort of 'general location', Loc2-*una* a sense of 'exact' location, and Loc3-*ai* a sense of 'unknown' or, perhaps, 'dispersed' location.

12.2.4 Buildings and other roofed containers

With buildings and other roofed containers we often see a contrast between location at or in vs. motion to or into the Ground element:

43. *kAmkÁm-as pó-una pá-i pá-i **kÉ~-una a-zháL-an**   TC99*
    trap-obl.sg   mark-loc2 go-cp go-cp cave-loc2 au-reach-pst.A.3p
    'following the marks of the trap (attached to his leg) they **reached the cave**'

44. *tóa pa-i **kÉ~-ai** at-úna   GM.T*
    then go-cp cave-loc3 enter-pst.ptc.I.3p
    'then going (there), they entered **a cave**'[95]

In 43 the actants reach the entrance of a cave, perceived as a hole in the (vertically orientated) mountain side. In 44, although not from the same text, the actants are entering the cave, penetrating it, so to speak, and reaching its interior. For 16, 18, and 22 above it was noted that there was a conceptual connection between location inside a (closed or narrow-mouthed) container and visibility. A similar connection holds for the types of Ground elements treated here. For example in 44, when the actants enter the cave, they not only enter the interior of the 'roofed container', they also disappear from the sight of the potential viewers.

Strongly associated conceptually to a parameter of 'visible vs. non-visible location' is 'known vs. unknown location'. But it will be wrong to associate Loc3-*ai* with 'unknown location'. For example, in 45 below, the speaker knows

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[95] GM73's transcription and glossing: *tó:a pa:-i **křẽ':-ãi** at-ú:na* 'then going **into a cave** they entered'.

that the requested piece of cloth is located in the house, she just does not know exactly where:

45. *daná   tay   píSTaw pash-él   **dúr-ai**   shí-u*   Fil.S
    Dana   2s.obl later   show-p/f.3s house-loc3 be.in-prs.3s
    'Dana will show you later, (it) [a certain piece of cloth] is **in the house** (somewhere)'

When a building or another roofed container is used for dwelling, we often see Loc3-*ai* denoting duration, as in 47 vs. 46:

46. ***góST-una***   *ek pay ríti háw-aw*   TC99
    goat shed-loc2   a   goat miscarry.pst.A-3s
    '**in the goat shed** a (certain) goat miscarried'

47. *bíshi bas chamaní kár-ik may   war   a   nis-ím   **góST-ai***   TC99
    20   day cheese   do-inf 1s.obl turn 1s.nom sit-p/f.1s stable-loc3
    'I'll take my turn and **sit in the stable** for twenty days and make cheese'

In 47, with Loc3-*ai*, the actant is going to stay in the goat stable for a long period. In 46, with Loc2-*una*, there is no indication of that kind whatsoever.

12.2.5 Grounds with a potential depth

In this category I include objects or locations such as lakes, rivers, liquids, holes, and absorbing pieces of grounds. Suffixation of Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai* to such nouns illustrates the relevance of the parameter 'dimensionality', touched upon above in 12.2.3 and also in the test results. Examples 48-49 serve as yet an illustration of the relevance of dimensionality to a locative situation:

48. *uk   **Chétr-una** kás-iu   dái*   TC99
    water   field-loc2   move-p/f.3s   spec
    'the water is flowing **in/on the field**'

49. *drÉ~-a **Chétr-ai**   uk dy-ek   bo   girán*   TC99
    sloping field-loc3   water put-inf very difficult
    'sloping fields are hard to irrigate (because the channels leak water)'
    (Lit.: 'to put water **on/into sloping fields** is ..')

In 48, with Loc2-*una*, the field is perceived as a surface on which water is flowing. In 49 the field is perceived as having a depth, the water is meant to go

into the ground; compare also the predicates: *kásik* 'move (around) on a surface' and *dyek* 'put into'. In 50 now, from "Frog, where are you?", with *gúnghur-una* in the first line and *gúnghur-ai* in the second, it is the whole three-dimensional interior of the Loc3-*ai*-coded Ground element that is relevant to the activity:

50. *súd-o* ***pái*** ***gúnghur-una*** *báta khoj-íman ásta*   Ta.sm
    kid-*o* go-cp hollow-loc2 ctr   search-ipf aux.pst.I.3s
    'having come **to the/an opening** (in a tree) the kid was looking, ..'

    tará   ***gúnghur-ai kái*** *má-i á-au*   *"oh maDrák .."*
    there.spec.abs hollow-loc3 into say-pf aux.an-prs.3s Oh frog
     '.. there, **he said into the opening**, "Hey Frog (where are you?)"'

But it is not always a matter of penetration or not, but rather a matter of how deep the penetration is. Compare the different codings of *tok* 'mud':

51. *istrízha* ***tók-una*** *(císti)* *á-au*   GK.E/Na.E
    woman mud-loc2 stand-pf be.an-prs.3s
    'the woman is (standing) **in the mud**'

52. *istrízha* ***tók-ai*** *bánd thi* *á-au*   GK.E/Na.E
    woman mud-loc3 stuck become.pf aux.an-prs.3s
    'the woman is stuck **in the mud**'

In 52 the actant has penetrated the body of the mud so deeply that she cannot move (*band thi áau* 'she has become stuck'). This is not the case in 51.

Example 53 below comes from a narration of a self-experienced situation where the narrator goes swimming in a swimmingpool, is about to drown, but gets rescued. It illustrates a similar contrast between a two-dimensional Loc2-*una* and a three-dimensional Loc3-*ai*:

53. *tará*   ***swimingphúl-una*** *súda waz-íman á-ini* …
    there.spec.abs swimming pool-loc2 child swim-ipf aux.an-prs.3p
    phuinan.thár-a   *thi*
    balloon.upon-loc1 be.cp
    'there **in the swimming pool** children were swimming on swim rings …'

    né-ta   *ógaLa zhaL-ém* *dái* ***né-o*** *puchúm* *n-ik*
    neg-contr down reach-p/f.1s spec neg-*o* uphill   come out-inf
    bhá-am   *dái* ***móc-ai***   *thi*   *á-am* …
    be able-p/f.1s spec middle-loc3 become.pf aux.an-prs.3s
    '**neither** can I reach down, **nor** am I able to come out upwards, I have become (stuck) **in the centre** (of the water) …'

a	*bo*	*bhí-im*	***swimingphúl-ai***	*bo*	*bhí-im*
1s.nom	very	be afraid-p/f.1s	swimming pool-loc3	very	be afraid-p/f.1s

kóki	*wáz-ik*	*ne*	*bhá-ik*	Na.na
because	swim-inf	neg	be able-p/f.1p	

'I am very afraid, **(down) in the swimming pool**, I am very afraid because (we, the Kalasha) cannot swim'

In the initial part of the example, the swimming pool is introduced as a surface (shallowly penetrated) where people are swimming, hence we have Loc2-*una*. In the following part of the narration the narrator has entered the swimming pool and suddenly finds himself in the middle of the water. Now the water is construed as an enclosure as the narrator is totally surrounded by it; his location is enclosed (and also effective or thorough, cf. the contrastive particles), hence we get Loc3-*ai*.

In the final part of the narration, my informant has been rescued, and he concludes his narration by pointing out that it is because he cannot swim that he was afraid and about to drown in(side) the swimmingpool, or, to be more precise, right in the centre of the three-dimensional body of the water, coded with Loc3-*ai*. Notice again that Loc3-*ai* cannot mean 'unknown location', since the narrator has recently been at the location and very well knows where it is.

12.2.6 Open and outside spaces

As 'open spaces' I consider villages, specific places, countries, and the like. As outside places I consider nouns that denote open or wide spaces or spaces conceived as endless or without clear borders, for example, 'pasture', 'mountain area', and 'forest'. Examples 54-55 below show such a noun, *jangál* 'forest', suffixed with Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai*. The Loc2-*una* example is from my own material, and it denotes a singular location. The Loc3-*ai* example is from TC99 and is translated by TC as a plural location.

54. | ***tará*** | ***jangál-un-o*** | *bo* | *maChérik* | *ásta* | *á-ini* | Ta.sm |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| there.spec.abs | forest-loc2-*o* | many | bee | | very | be.an-prs.3p |

   '**there in the forest** (where they are going), there are many bees'

55. | *pa-i* | ***jangál-ai*** | *ni-i* | *á-is* | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| go-cp | forest-loc3 | take.cp | aux.an-pst.A.1s | | | |

kaw-ái	*pariLói*	*par-ón*	*haw*	*te*	TC99
where.nonspec-loc3	fairy place	go-pst.A.3p	subj	3p.nom.abs	

'I took the goats **to the woods**, maybe they went **to the place where** the
fairies live'[96]

These examples associate Loc3-*ai* with the notion of plural. But as has
become evident in this examination, a number distinction between Loc2-*una* and
Loc3-*ai* is very doubtful. What the Loc3-*ai* does in this example is to mark <u>an
extended, non-limited and potentially distributive location. Loc3-*ai* does not
necessarily indicate that there are more instances of these locations</u>.
   The locations denoted by Loc2-*una* are visible and specifiable (54 is from
"Frog, Where Are You?", where the boy and the dog is about to approach some
trees). The location denoted by Loc3-*ai*, in contrast, is not an exact or a specific
spot. It is the parameter 'dispersion' that is in play in these examples, including in
its scope the location of a number or a plurality of entities. The conceptual link
between plural and dispersion is further illustrated with 56-57:

56. *phond* **góST-ai hátya thár-ai** *pre~ha~k.***góST-ai** *hátya* *par-íu*
    path   stable-loc3 toward above-loc3 downstream.stable-loc3 toward go-p/f.3s
    'the path goes **toward the stables**, it goes along **above** (the village) **toward
    the stables** (that lie) downstream a little ways'   Na.ma

57. *ísa*   **jíp-ai**   *ji-él*   *dái paysá ne shí-an*   GK.sm
    3s.obl.near pocket-loc3 look at-p/f.3s spec money not be.in-prs.3p
    'he looks **at his pockets** (turned inside out), there is no money'

Example 56 describes the location of the stables of a village - they are distributed
across a surface. Example 57 describes a drawing where a person has turned his
pockets inside out. He looks at both pockets, i.e. gazes in a dispersive way, to
realize that he has no money.
   If the outdoor place is line-like we very often see Loc2-*una* on the Ground, as
in 58-59. When Loc3-*ai* is suffixed, however, we get an idea of moreness, disper-
sion, or indeterminateness, as in 60 where the speaker describes himself being on
the road, i.e. on his way to somewhere on a journey that lasts for some days.

58. *koshán thi*   **tará**   **sarág-una** *par-áu*   *mágam*   Ta.sm
    happy become.cp there.spec.abs road-loc2   go-pst.A.3s but
    'then, he walked happily **there on the road**, but …'

59. **phónd-una** *par-ik-wéw ek tok* *tása*   *rúaw h-íu*   *dái*
    way-loc2   go-inf-time a puddle 3s.obl.abs before become-prs.3s spec
    'at the time of his walking **on the way** a puddle appears before him' GK.sm

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[96] TC99's translation: 'I took the goats into the woods; who knows if they went to where the fairies
live or what happened to them'.

60. *ek du bas **phónd-ai** a-bás-is*   Na.na
    one two day   road-loc3   au-stay overnight-pst.A.1s
    'I stayed overnight for one or two days, (being) **on the road**'

12.2.7 Location of belonging

With place names and *dur* 'house, home' (and also the bound stem *desh-* 'distant place'), Loc3-*ai* is used to denote a certain strong affiliation between the place denoted and the person(s) or object(s) referred to:

61. *ónja **brÚ~-ai** moc **anísh-ai** moc*
    today Brun-loc3   people   Anish-loc3 people
    ***darazgurú-ai** moc saw moc batrík-a i-n*   Fil.s
    Darazguru-loc3 people all   people Batrik-loc1 come-p/f.3p
    'nowadays, the people **of Brun**, the people **of Anish**, and the people **of Darazguru**, all people go to Batrik'

62. ***kaz**í**-as dúr-ai** moc to angrís ajhoná-as raw ká-i*
    Qazi-obl house-loc3 people   3s.acc.abs *angris* guest-obl.sg like   do-cp
    anguTí-una apáw di-án   Na.sm
    guesthouse-loc2   make stay-pst.A.3p
    '**the Qazi family** placed the *angris* in the guest house as a guest'

But the Loc3-*ai*-marked location need not be a location with which an actant has a specific relationship of dwelling. It may be a location that functions as the source of comparison (63), or as the source of motion (64):

63. *abdúr ahmán-a **dukán-ai tícak wén-aw** **pá-i** táj-a dur shí-u*
    Abdur Ahman-obl shop-loc3 a little upstream-abl3 go-cp Taj-obl house be.in-prs.3s
    'having gone a little upstream from Abdur Ahman's shop, we have Taj's house'   GK.ma

64. ***islamabát-ai** karancí **karancí-ai** kowáyt **kowáyt-ai** áthens* Na.na
    Islamabad-loc3 Karachi Karachi-loc3 Quwait   Quwait-loc   Athens
    '**from Islamabad** to Karachi, **from Karachi** to Quwait, **from Quwait** to Athens'

Example 64 is a description of a flight route from Islamabad in Pakistan to Athens in Greece. Loc3-*ai* marks the source Ground and has an ablative reading. In this use as marker of the source, Loc3-*ai* is occassionally rendered "*-ey*" by TC99.

Ascribing an ablative and a locative meaning to a locative morpheme seems at first sight contradictory, and Anderson (1971) also sees ablative and locative as

antonyms. But Danish *vinden er i øst* 'the wind is in the East', i.e. it comes from East and heads West-wards, shows that ablative semantics can be read into a locative morpheme. In MacKenzie (1978) a number of other examples from unrelated languages are given, which "constitute evidence that certain ablatives may be alternatively conceptualized as locatives" (p. 154), and that "the adoption of locative meaning by ablative forms may be caused by .. a reconceptualization of ablatives as locatives" (ibid.).[97] For Kalasha it appears that Loc3-*ai* can be used for locative and ablative situations (with common nouns and with place names), the exact interpretation of the case ending differs only in how a situation is conceptualized or otherwise described in the context. Following Givón (1984, I: 110), Loc3-*ai* seems in these contexts to be a general location marker which leaves the rest of the semantic information to be carried by the verb.

12.2.8 The parameter of horizontality vs. verticality

Throughout the examination of Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai* I have so far touched only briefly on the potentially relevant semantic parameter 'horizontality vs. verticality'. This section reconsiders some of the examples presented in the preceding sections from the perspective of the parameter 'horizontally and vertically orientated location or motion'. In order to introduce this perspective I shall in the following give a brief summary of what has been written about the relevance of such a parameter in other 'mountain languages'.

12.2.8.1 Horizontal and vertical orientation in mountain languages

The relevance of a parameter of horizontal and vertical orientation has been explicated for a number of 'mountain languages', i.e. languages spoken in mountanous surroundings with speakers living in deep valleys or on sloping hill sides. Examples from the Hindu Kush and the Himalayan geographical settings are Khowar (Bashir 2001, 2003), Wakhi (Bashir 2003), Bantawa (Rai 1988), and Belhare (Bickel 1997).[98]

For the Indo-Aryan language **Khowar** Bashir has identifed three locative suffixes that are distributed along the parameters 'horizontal direction or location' (Loc2-*i*), 'upward location or direction' (Loc3-*tu*), 'downward location or direction' (Loc4-*o*); the fourth locative suffix, Loc1-*a*, is neutral with respect to orientation (Bashir 2001: 25-22; 2003: 844-845). These parameters interact with other parameters, such as shape, voluminosity, dimension and number of actants. For example, neutral Loc1-*a* can also denote "pointlike location", "single actants",

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[97] The transfer may also go from ablative to locative, i.e. ablative morphology can be reinterpreted with a locative meaning (Mackenzie 1979: 154).
[98] I shall here only focus on 'horizontality' and 'verticality' coded with bound morphemes, ignoring adverbs and other lexemic expressions for these orientations.

and a roundish or smallish Figure (i.e., smaller than the Ground), Loc2-*i* also denotes 2-dimensional extension of locus, longish objects (viewed horizontally) and may imply plural actants. Loc3-*tu* gives the location a linear dimension, it denotes long objects (viewed vertically), and it may also denote plural actant (Bashir 2001: 15-22).

The Iranian language **Wakhi** is spoken just north of Kalasha, in Chitral and in Wakhan, the Afghan corridor to China. As described by Bashir (Bashir fc), a number of indigenous prepositions express parameters of horizontality, fx *sək/skə* 'location or direction above the reference object' and *(V)r(V)* 'location below the reference object'. The parameter of horizontality and verticality (down, up from or horizontally positioned vis-a-vis the speaker) is also relevant for the choice of demonstrative pronouns in a highly elaborated demonstrative system (Bashir fc).

Tibeto-Burman **Bantawa** (Rai 1988) has an inventory of four 'come' verbs, expressing motion from higher to lower position, from lower to higher position, from the same level, and motion in which there is no level distinction (Rai 1988: 130). A similar contrast is seen in the system made by four locative, four ablative, and four directional suffixes, the ablative and directional being based on the locative suffixes. In order to use these morphemes and the 'come' verbs correctly, a Bantawa speaker must be sure of where and in what direction the action or motion takes place (ibid.).

Also in **Belhare** (Bickel 1997), another Tibeto-Burman language, of the Kiranti group, spoken in the Himalayas in Eastern Nepal, there are lexical and grammatical means for distinguishing motion and location according to verticality and horizontality. Belhare has three "terms", *tu*, *mu*, and *yu*, that are associated with an 'upwards' angle (*tu*), a 'downwards' angle (*mu*), and a 'horizontal' or "across" angle (*yu*), respectively. The 'across'-morpheme *yu* locates objects, goals, etc., to the sides of the vertical axis but also "extends behind it to a virtually umlimited extent" (p. 55). These three "metasemantic" parameters establish a well-defined grammatical category, which is reflected in the demonstrative system, in the Aktionsart system, as well as in the inventory of motion verbs (p. 46-51).

But referring to a location or a goal in Belhare by the use of 'up', 'down' and 'across' terms are not always strictly determined by what may be actual location in relation to an anchor point. Whether a location or goal is 'up', 'down' or 'across' depends on five different "mapping operations", as Bickel calls them. In an **"ecomorphic mapping"**, or 'perspective', in my terms, the anchor point is a concept of verticality (p. 52-53, 76). The zero point from which (vertical) position is located according to this mapping operation is by default the speaker, but may also be the actor or an explicitly mentioned person or object. (p. 53).

In a **"geomorphic mapping"** operation the overall inclination of the mountain side has a determinative role, i.e. it is based on geographical knowledge. Geomorphic mapping can be small-scale or large-scale. A small-scale mapping operation takes into consideration the actual declination at the time and place of the speech event, and the anchor point is reachable. In a large-scale mapping

operation this is ignored and the use of the terms *tu*, *mu* and *yu* depends on the global inclination of the Himalayas, with the anchor point beyond reach (p. 57-58, 68-72). For example, in a large-scale, or 'global', mapping, a person may be going from point A to point B, which may be in a more northernly position than A. In order to reach B the person has to first go south and then north. But the direction is coded as 'north' from the beginning, thus ignoring the initial, local direction of the path. This would not be possible in a small-scale, or 'local' mapping.

"**Person-morphic mapping**" is based on a specific perceptual experience, viz. on the fact that to discern an object further away we must move our gaze upwards, and we must tip our heads downwards to look at closer objects. The anchor point is the speaker or another person that takes part in the communication. In this 'perspective' 'up' is defined as further away, and 'down' as closer to the referent person (p. 58, 68). (See also Ch. 18 for the relevance of this perspective for the relational nouns *thar*- 'over, upon' and *nO*- 'down, under'.)

In a **"physiomorphic mapping"** the anchor is "what is conceptually construed as the intrinsic [or 'canonical', JHP] up-down orientation of the ground object". This mapping operation presupposes knowledge of what one conceptualizes as the 'upper' and 'lower' part of the Ground object. An example from Belhare is naming the upper teeth as 'upper', the lower teeth as 'lower', and the molar teeth as 'across', in spite of the actual position in the head (p. 60, 67).

Despite being so well-defined as this it is not always clear which mapping operation to use in a given situation (for an outsider, of course). Or, as Bickel states it: "The means for disambiguating are not always present in speech .. This lack of language-internal disambiguation rules is complemented by pragmatic specification rules" (p. 66).

12.2.8.2 Horizontality and verticality in Kalasha locative case-marking

On a first and perhaps unjustified reading of the facts of Khowar, Wakhi, and Bantawa, as summarized above, it appears that a referent Ground or Goal is coded by an 'up', 'down', 'across' or neutral term, depending on its actual location in the speech situation. Such an identification of a referent Ground's or Goal's location is not direcly applicable to the locative case-marking system in Kalasha, even though one may postulate a relation between semantic parameters such as 'dispersed location' (on a surface) and 'horizontally orientated location'. Bearing in mind the input from the other mountain languages, I shall here apply a 'horizontal perspective' on the use of Kalasha Loc3-*ai*, and I shall also see to what extent Loc2-*una* (and Loc1-*a*) are exponents of a vertical parameter.

In Khowar, as mentioned above, a locative suffix -*i*, 'Loc-2', denotes horizontality, for example in contrast with the suffix Loc1-*a*, which is unmarked for horizontality and verticality (Bashir 2000: 15). Furthermore, the parameter of horizontality and the category of number interact, as seen in the two examples from Khowar:

65. Khowar: 'Loc-1–*a*' 'unmarked for horizontality and verticality'
    gol-ó   **Ték-a**   *ruph-í*   *asuúr*   (Bashir 2000: 21)
    stream-obl   top-loc1   stand-cp   is.an
    's/he is standing **on the bank** of the stream'

66. Khowar: 'Loc-2–*i*' '+horizontal'
    gol-ó   **Ték-i**   *ruph-í*   *asúni*   (Bashir 2000: 21)
    stream-obl   top-loc2   stand-cp   are.an
    'they are standing **on the bank** of the stream'

According to Bashir's analysis it is "the plurality of the people standing [that] gives the location of the event a linear [horizontal] dimension" in 66 (Bashir 2000: 21). In Kalasha we see the same type of interaction of number and horizontality with Loc2-*una* used in the event with only one actant, and Loc3-*ai* used in the 'plural' event, as shown above, and with my informants' translations to Kalasha of Bashir's Khowar examples in 65-66:

67. **gha.Ték-una**   *císt-i*   *á-au*   GK.E/Na.E
    stream.bank-loc2   stand-cp   be.an-prs.3s
    'he is standing **at/on the bank** of the stream'

68. **gha.Ték-ai**   *císt-i*   *á-an*   GK.E/Na.E
    stream.bank-loc3   stand-cp   be.an-prs.3p
    'they are standing **along/on/at the bank** of the stream'

But as in Khowar, this is not an example of unambiguous plural-marking, it is not the suffixed noun, the Ground, that comes out as plural in the English translation. What 67-68 (and 65-66) tell us is that if there are more actants involved in an event, these may be conceptualized as forming one entity with a horizontal (or linear) extension - this, then, is what is coded with Loc3-*ai*. Supplementing evidence for this comes from other examples with Loc3-*ai* where there is no plurality involved, but instead the meaning element 'dispersion', as already explained. See examples 69-70, and notice also here my informants' comments added in brackets.

69. *moc* **dighÁ-una**   *kái*   *jag-él*   *dái*   GK.E/Na.E
    man   wall-loc2   onto   look at-p/f.3s   spec
    'the man looks **onto the wall**' ("**has focused his eye at a specific wall**")

70. *moc* **dighÁ-ai**   *kái*   *jag-él*   *dái*   GK.E/Na.E
    man   wall-loc3   onto   look at-p/f.3s   spec
    'the man looks **onto the wall**' ("**here and there**")

Examples 67-68 also illustrate that if there are more actants (in 68 more Figure elements) involved in an event, these may be conceptualized as forming <u>one entity dispersed or distributed in a horizontal extention</u>. This interpretation is useful when we take a look at examples 71-72, used by Tr96 as examples of the proposed number distinction between Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai*.

71. Loc2-*una*: general statement; translated as singular in Tr96
    se   ***són-una***   *hátya*   *par-áu*
    3s.nom.abs   pasture-loc2   toward   go-pst.A.3s
    'he went to **the high pasture**'

72. Loc3-*ai*: indicating prolonged stay; translated as plural in Tr96
    se   *pay*   *ásta gri*   ***són-ai***   *par-áu*
    3s.nom.abs   goat   along with   pasture-loc3   go-pst.A.3s
    'he took his goats and went to **the high pastures**'

With a 'horizontal perspective' 72 implies that the actant, *se*, goes to the pasture area to stay with his goats (for a longer period) in the whole of the horizontally dispersed area that one or more pastures make up. Example 71, on the other hand, with the directional postposition *hátya*, highlights the Trajectory that the actant has followed in order to get to where the pasture or pastures are.

As an illustration of how the parameter of horizontality links with the parameter of 'enclosement' or 'stuckness, I refer once more to 34, here repeated as 73:

73. *shára*   *to*   *súda*   ***Sing.bíts-ai***   *dyá-i*   *ní-u*   *dái*
    deer   3s.acc.abs   kid   antlers.gap-loc3   put-cp   take-p/f.3s   spec
    hist-ík-as   *báti*   Na.sm
    throw-inf-obl   purp
    'having placed the boy **in-between its antlers**, the deer takes him in order to throw him (down a slope)'

The antlers referred to by the speaker do not surround the child, but by being stuck in-between them the child can be said to be fixed in horizontal position.

Summing up, a Khowar-inspired parameter of horizontality can be said to be an underlying parameter for some of the uses of Loc3-*ai*. The examples shown point to conceptual links between plurality and horizontality (in enclosed spaces) and three-dimensionality on the one hand (if an object or living being is located in a room, it or he/she is horizontally surrounded or enclosed by the walls of that room). And on the other hand we have the conceptual link illustrated in detail above, between horizontality and dispersive, non-specific or non-visible location. This semantic connection is also noted in Belhare where the horizontal *yu* 'across'

can be used for locations that go beyond a horizontal axis and involves a depth in the linguistic conceptualization of space, for example, when used about a non-visible location behind a mountain (Bickel 1997: 48-55).

12.2.8.3 Verticality and Kalasha Loc1-*a* and Loc2-*una*

Since Loc3-*ai* can be related to a parameter of horizontality, one may raise the question how Loc2-*una* (and Loc1-*a*) fits into this parameter. It is noteworthy that Loc2-*una* in many examples occurs on nouns that denote a horizontally orientated ground, as if the suffix was to be associated with a vertical axis. These are nouns such as *chom* 'ground', *mes* 'table', *phond* 'way, road', and other nouns listed in Table 12.1. Loc1-*a* is not accepted by my informants, and it also does not occur in my text material with these nouns that all denote low-situated or elevated Grounds (except for *drami* 'roof'). What these objects have in common is that they are taken into use by being reached or used as a location in a vertical perspective, so to speak, as one makes use of them by standing or in another way by being located on them. I.e., they function as surfaces supporting location from below.

This may explain why we have Loc2-*una* (and not horizontal Loc3-*ai* and 'up' Loc1-*a*) in examples where a Ground is entered from above, whether the Ground is a plane surface, an open container or a ground which is shallowly penetrated: 19 'put a thing in baskets', 21 'water running (down) into bucket', 23 'put pen on table', and 51 'stand in mud', etc.

Similarly, we may understand why we have Loc2-*una* for location on or motion (on)to an elevated Ground, such as: 27 'people on *Tánka*', 29 'falling (down) onto face', 31b 'standing on roof', etc. A vertical 'down' parameter may also be in use when we have Loc2-*una* for location at/by or motion to the foot of a vertical barrier, for example: 33 'sit by fire', 43 'reach cave (entrance)', etc.

But we are still not in a position to account for Loc2-*una* in examples with motion upwards, 71 'go to pastures', or location on or motion onto a vertically orientated Ground: 17 'label on bottle', 36 'teeth in mouth', and 24 'looking onto wall'. And also not for location in or motion into a roofed container: 46 'sitting in (this) goat shed'. For these situations and for those situations where we have Loc3-*ai* without there being an obvious horizontally orientated motion or location, we have to consider other parameters.

This indicates that the parameter 'verticality vs. horizontality' is not directly applicable, or at least not all-explanatory to locative case-marking in Kalasha. There must be other semantic parameters in play, such as those mentioned in the preceding analysis. Alternatively, it would be useful to define 'mapping operations', or 'framing perspectives', as Bickel has done for the distribution of spatial markers in Belhare. This may turn out to be relevant for Kalasha also. I have already indicated an 'ego-morphic mapping' operation by suggesting that Loc2-*una* is the preferred case ending on objects handled or used in some way or another from an above position. But the task of defining mapping operations, let alone

which mapping operations are applicable to which contexts, will have to await further analysis not only of case endings but also of local adverbs such as *tháraw/nÓaw* 'upwards/downwards', *puchúm/úndru* 'uphill/downhill', *pren-aw/wénaw* 'upstream/downstream', as well as the deictic adverbs, *and-* 'here', *aL-* 'there', etc.

12.2.9 Locative endings, intentionality and certainty

In 12.2.2 I introduced the notion 'dispersion' as a relevant parameter for explaining the use of Loc3-*ai* on surfaces, otherwise a preferred Loc2-*una* domain. But 74-76 below with a surface, *chom* 'floor, earth' as Ground, suffixed with both Loc3-*ai* and Loc2-*una*, call for another explanation.

74. *se*   *uhúk-o bían ni-i*   *to*   *súda* **chóm-ai**   **kái**
     3s.nom.abs   owl-*o*   out   appear-cp   3s.acc.abs   kid   ground-loc3   onto
     híst-iu dái   GK.sm
     throw-p/f.3s   spec
     'the owl, having come outside, **throws** the boy **(on)to the ground**'

75. *uhúk áLa*   *tyá-i*   **chóm-una** *dyá-i*   *á-au*   Na.sm
     owl   3s.acc.dist   hit-cp   ground-loc2   put-pf   aux.an-prs.3s
     'the owl hits him, brings him **to the ground**' (Lit.: '.. puts him ..')

76. Inf. 1: *kherá*   *dramí-ani páL-i* **chóm-ai**   *tyí-ta*   GK.sm
           shovel   roof-abl2   fall-cp   ground-loc3   hit-pf.I
     Inf. 2: *se*   *kherá dramí-ani páL-i ógaLa*   **chóm-ai/-una**   *tyí-ta*
           3s.nom.abs   shovel   roof-abl2   fall-cp   downhill   earth-loc3/-loc2   hit-pf.I
           'the shovel fell down from the roof onto the ground'   Na.sm

Examples 74-75 describe the same picture in "Frog, Where Are You?": the boy has climbed a tree, and an owl appears from a hole in it and scares him so that he falls to the floor. The speaker of 74 codes the goal of the boy's falling with Loc3-*ai* (and the goal-orientated postposition *kái*). The speaker of 75 codes the goal with Loc2-*una*. Another difference is the choice of verbs, *hístik* 'throw away' in 74 and *dyek* 'put onto/into' in 75.[99] Example 76 shows two Kalasha responses to the same source text in English. Except for the demonstrative *se* and the adverb *ógaLa* 'deep downhill' in Inf. 2's response, the only difference is that Inf. 2 allows two different codings of the goal Ground.

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[99] Although there is a tendency for the placement verbs *tyek* 'hit onto/into' and *hístik* 'throw away' to occur with Loc3-*ai* in my spontaneous material, the tendency is not absolute, and I am not in a position to relate the alternating occurrence of Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai* on surfaces to collocational patterns with the predicate. There are also not any systematic collocational patterns to observe with respect to the directive postposition *kái* and the locative endings on the one hand, and placement and motion verbs on the other hand.

It is not obvious that a parameter of 'dispersion' is in play in these examples. Although we may accept that one and the same situation can be construed as dispersed or bounded/demarcated, there are no dispersive elements in the drawing in the Frog-story.

Another perspective on this problem touches on the notion 'exactly identifiable'. In the Loc3-*ai*-examples above, the Goal coded by Loc3-*ai* is not a Goal that the speaker or the actant in the clause is aware of or intends to reach. The boy's falling in 74 is not intended <u>by the boy</u>, and in 76 Loc3-*ai* marks the Goal for an unintended fall of a shovel (which in the translated story slips out of an actant's grasp). In my spontaneous material I have counted 12 instances of Loc3-*ai* on *chom* 'floor, earth', and of these 11 denote an accidental or unintended fall or placement. One of these is shown in 77 below, from a Mouse film, which contains *chóm-una* and *chóm-ai* in one and the same utterance.

77. *tóa aú shé~ki híst-iu dái* **chóm-una ty-el** *dái*
    then bread like this throw-p/f.3s spec floor-loc2 hit-p/f.3s spec
    'then (the mouse) throws the bread like this, it **hits the floor**,..'

    "oh-oooo **chóm-ai** *át-au"*   *ghó~i ghéri upr-él dái*
    oh no floor-loc3 fall.pst.A-3s quot again pick-p/f.3s spec
    "oh no, it fell **to the floor**", (it) said (and) again picks (it) up'   Na05.16.109

In 77 the speaker describes a scene where the mouse is baking a pancake and tries to turn it in the air, but he fails and the pancake falls to the floor. The speaker uses Loc2-*una* when he himself describes what he has seen, what he is in a position to state for certain. But when he takes the role of the mouse in the indirect speech, he uses Loc3-*ai*, as to express the mouse's surprise that the pancake unintendedly fell to the floor. In other words, with plane surfaces Loc2-*una* codes certain location, Loc3-*ai* locations that are not intendedly certain. This may be why we see Loc3-*ai* with the noun *bashâli*[100] in 78:

78. *istrízha* **bashál-una** *par-ín púruS ne*   GK.Fn.
    women Bashali-loc2 go-p/f.3p men not
    'women go **to the bashali**, not men'

79. **bashál-ai** *par-ím ghó~i cak thi á-au*   TC99
    bashali-loc3 go-p/f.1s quot ready become.pf aux.an-prs.3s
    'she is almost ready to go **to the bashali**'

---

[100] The *báshali* is the place where women stay during the period of menstruation and child birth. The women stay there for several days, and staying there implies frequent washing and the carrying out of re-purifying rituals. The *báshali* is considered to be a very 'impure' place, and it is not a place where one goes for a short visit, and one only goes to one, not several *báshali*'s.

I see 78 as a generic statement about what women usually (and certainly) do and what men do not do. Example 79, in contrast, is a prediction about what a woman is about to do. But the speaker is not the same as the one who is about to go to the *bashali*. Therefore the speaker cannot vouch for the future event, and consequently he uses non-certain Loc3-*ai*.

12.2.10 Locative experiencer

Loc2-*una* appears to have a function that is not triggered by any of the parameters illustrated above. In this function Loc2-*una* denotes that objects or entities undergo a change of state or suffer (or gain) from a certain state without there being a clearly identifiable actor or agent. The experiencing Ground needs not always be affected on its surface (as in 80), also an effect in the interior can be coded with Loc2-*una* (81-82):

80. ***phónd-una***   *osh gr-i,*   *Lá~wta~w*   *thi*   *shí-au*   TC99
     road-loc2   cold take-cp   slippery   become.pf   aux.in-prs.3s
     '**the path** has frozen and become slippery''

81. ***may***   ***kúc-una***   *tsat*   *háw-au*   TC99
     1s.obl   stomach-loc2   full   become.pst.A-3s
     'my stomach has become full' (Lit.: 'in/on (?) my stomach fit has become')

82. *tará* ***beLú-una***   *bo*   *raS*   *gr-i*   *shi-áLa*   GK.sm
     there   chimney-loc2   much   soot   catch-pf   become-pst.ptc.I.3s
     'there in the chimney there was a lot of soot'

12.2.11 Temporal uses of Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai*

I have so far touched only superficially on the temporal uses of the case endings. Although these uses may simply be derived metaphorically from concrete, spatial uses, it may serve the holistic picture of the uses of the case endings to briefly illustrate how Loc2-*una*, in particular, is used temporally.

Loc2-*una* is by far the most frequent temporal case marker of the three examined, Loc3-*ai* being almost non-existent in this use. For Loc1-*a* we saw in 12.1 that the spatial point-like location was metaphorically transmitted to denote point-like periods (examples 4-5). Loc2-*una*, in contrast, denote either the exten- sion of a period or the extension of time leading to a specific period; and with the postposition *hátya* Loc2-*una* gives the meaning of 'until':

83. *ábi*   ***Lúzh-un-o***   *par-ík*   TC99
     1p.nom   early morning-loc2-*o*   go-p/f.1p
     'we will go early in the morning'

84. ***zhósh-una   hátya*** *dash   bas   thaw háw-au*   TC99
    zhoshi-loc2   till   10   day   left become-pst.A.3s
    'there are ten days left **until the Joshi Festival**'

Loc3-*ai*, being only infrequently encountered in temporal use, seems to carry a sense of 'during', as if the speaker is located in a temporal container:

85. ***taL-ái***   ***móc-ai***   *siríp ek du mi   cans*   TC99
    there.nonspec.abs-loc3   middle-loc3   only 1   2   emph   chance
    '**during that time** I had only one or two chances (to...)'

12.3 Summary

The preceding examination has looked at the kinds of semantic difference between the locative endings Loc1-*a*, Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai*. A number of semantic parameters are relevant for the (contrastive) distribution, encompassing lexical restrictions (cf. restricted Loc1-*a*), topological features of Figure and Ground, for Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai* only Ground, for Loc1-*a* both Ground and Figure, and other parameters that are not topological but relate to other, referential notions, e.g. 'visibility', 'accessibility' and 'specificity of location'.

The relevant parameters are summarized in Table 12.3 below. Under each case ending I have noted what sort of semantics is implied, manifested, by suffixation of the given case ending. (Loc1-*a* is included for the sake of completeness and comparison.) These manifestations constitute the functional range for each case ending. It will appear from the table that whereas Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai* contrast, i.e. constitute semantic poles, all the way through the manifestation of the parameters, Loc1-*a* appears not to take part in this opposition in a systematic way.

TABLE 12.3: LOCATIVE CASE SUFFIXES AND SEMANTIC PARAMETERS.

	Loc1-*a*	Loc2-*una*	Loc3-*ai*
Type of Ground	typically not plane surfaces	no restrictions	no restrictions
Ground's shape and voluminosity	no clear pattern	outstretched, line-like flat surfaces, container	hollow container surfaces
Type of Figure	often point-like or roundish	no restrictions	no restrictions
Orientation of Ground	neutral	vertical and horizontal	often horizontal
Dimensionality of situation	no significant dimensionality (1-dimensional), point-like	2- and 3-dimensional location	often 3-dimensional location
Visibility	?	visible	non-visible
Referentiality	general location	specific, certain	non-specific, uncertain
Boundedness of Figure	?	bounded, exactly identifiable	unbounded, dispersive, inexactly identifiable
Distance to Ground	often distant	often near	often distant
Number	often singular	often singular Ground	singular or plural Ground
Temporal use	point-like, limited	extended, durable	? duration

The following sections discuss the contrasts and idiosyncracies displayed in Table 12.3. I first present the semantic networks for Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai*, illustrating how the polysemy of these morphemes can be linked (see chapter 12.1 for a semantic network presentation for the polysemy of Loc1-*a*). This is followed by a diachronic perspective, based on the proposed etymologies of the case endings. After that I shall consider all three locative endings as a system. I shall link the manifestations for each case ending and by comparing this linkage I shall generalize an overall or core meaning for each case ending. This will give an idea of what overall semantic parameters are implied for each ending, and how these contrast semantically and paradigmatically. Hence, I will be able to put the case endings into paradigmatic contrast. I conclude this chapter on the locative case endings with comments on the content of the system of locative case endings from a cross-linguistic perspective.

12.4 Semantic functions of Loc2-una and Loc3-ai

I shall proceed by setting up semantic networks for the uses of the case endings, i.e. for the manifestations listed in Table 12.3 as well as for the typical semantics denoted by the case endings in the locative tests (Ch. 11). The networks will depict (a) what may be considered the core meaning of the given morpheme, and (b) how the different senses are related to the core meaning and to each other.

In both networks my choice of core elements and their relations to the non-core elements, as well as the relations between the non-core elements will be explained. Both networks are graphically presented with a core meaning element in capitals in the middle and to the left. Below this are listed a number of extensions that are topological in nature. These may have to do with the Ground's orientation, shape, or voluminosity. Above the core meanings we find non-topological, referential parameters, metaphorically derived from the core meaning through the notions 'visibility' and/or 'accessibility'. The referential uses reveal semantic distinctions such as 'specific' vs. 'non-specific', 'singular' vs. 'plural', etc.[101]

As will be seen, the linkages between the functions may go through links called 'Generalized meanings'. These are my suggestions as to an abstraction of a number of the manifestations, my proposal to what semantic element(s) that link certain manifestations.

I shall first present the network for Loc2-*una*; then follows the network for Loc3-*ai*, succeeded by an explanation that also considers its extensions in contrast to those to be seen for Loc3-*ai*. I should emphasize that the networks are intended to reflect or represent only the synchronic aspects of the polysemy. I shall comment on possible diachronic aspects in chapter 12.5 below.

12.4.1 The semantic network of Loc2-*una*

For Loc2-*una* I consider as the core function 'Location on supporting (2-dimensional) horizontal surface' in Figure 12.2 below. In the locative tests (Ch. 11) this was found to be the type of location that most unambiguously triggered Loc2-*una*. The network suggests how the other functions are related to this core function and to each other.

The network claims that 'Location on a supporting horizontal surface' has a number of additional characteristics, each of which functions as a starting point for one of the extensions. Being located on a surface means being supported from below. Through a 'Generalized meaning of support' this gives rise to (a) 'Location on bottom or internal sides of container' and (b) 'Location on a vertical surface'. Through a metonymic extension from 'Location on a horizontal surface' Loc2-*una* can come to denote shallow, surface-near penetration.

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[101] When in what follows I speak of 'location (in/on)', I mean static location as well as dynamic or directive location, i.e. motion into or onto.

FIGURE 12.2: THE SEMANTIC NETWORK OF LOC2-*una*.

```
                    ┌──────────────────┐
                    │ Visible location │
                    └──────────────────┘
                              \
                               \    ┌──────────────┐
                                \   │ Specifiable, │
  ┌──────────────────────┐       \ │ certain      │
  │ Generalized meaning of│────────│ location     │
  │ visibility/accessibility│      └──────────────┘
  └──────────────────────┘                \
           │                                \  ┌──────────────┐   ┌──────────────┐
           │                    ┌──────────┐ \ │ Generalized  │
           │                    │ Bounded, │───│ meaning of   │
  ┌───────────────────┐  ......│ demarcatable│  │ simplicity   │
  │ LOCATION ON SUP-  │........│ location │  └──────────────┘
  │ PORTING HORIZON-  │         └──────────┘       /        \
  │ TAL SURFACE       │                           /          \
  └───────────────────┘              ┌──────────────┐  ┌─────────────┐
        /        \                   │ Temporally   │  │ Singularity │
 ┌──────────┐     \                  │ limited      │  └─────────────┘
 │ Shallow  │      \                 └──────────────┘
 │penetration│      \
 └──────────┘  ┌──────────────┐
               │ Generalized  │
               │ meaning of support│
               └──────────────┘
                 /          \
    ┌─────────────────┐  ┌──────────────┐
    │ Location on      │  │ Location on  │
    │ bottom or        │  │ vertical     │
    │ internal sides of│  │ surface      │
    │ container        │  └──────────────┘
    └─────────────────┘
```
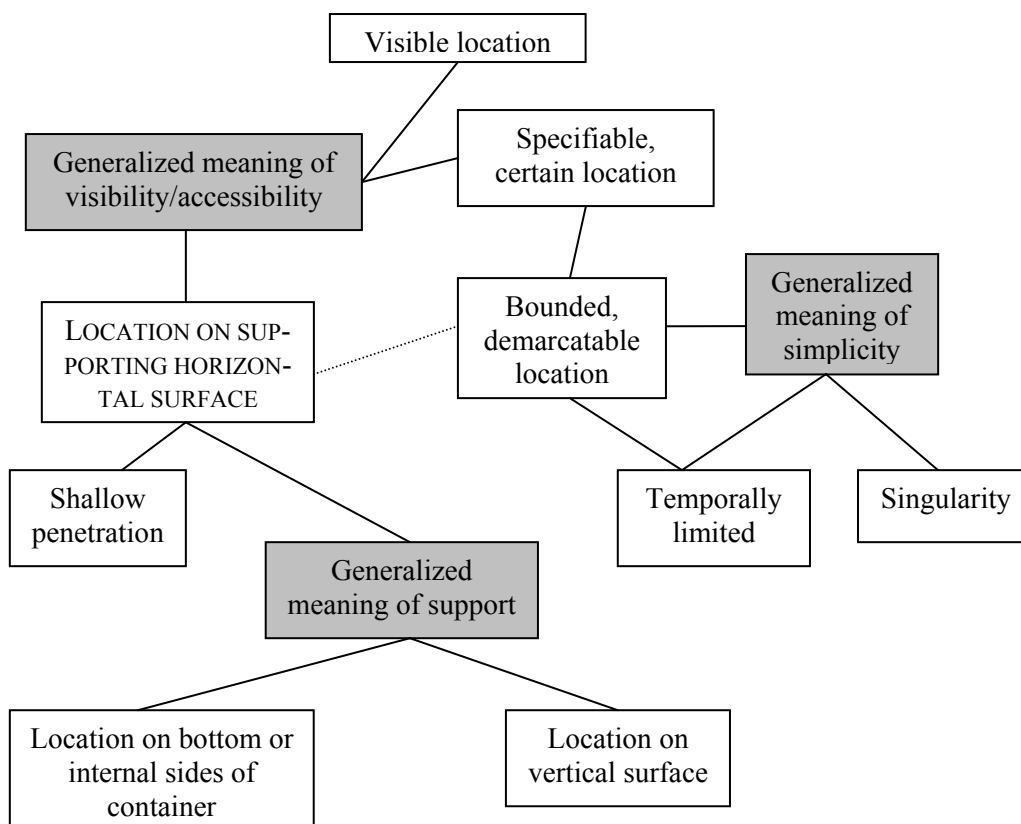
Being located on a surface means being visible, generating 'Generalized meaning of visibility'. From this derive the functions 'Visible location' and 'Specifiable, certain location'. From the latter function the function 'Bounded, demarcatable location' is derived, since a bounded location can be said to be certain and specifiable. I have suggested a dotted line between the core function and 'Bounded demarcatable location' to indicate a possible direct relation between these two.

From the function 'Bounded, demarcatable location' the function 'Temporal limitation' is derived through a space-to-time metaphor. Together these two functions constitute a 'Generalized meaning of simplicity' from which we can derive the function 'Singularity'.

12.4.2 Semantic network of Loc3-*ai*

The network in Figure 12.3 below suggests the function 'Location in container or enclosure' as the core function of Loc3-*ai*. This is the most basic, concrete use in my material, and in the tests it was found to be that sort of location that preferred Loc3-*ai* to other spatial markers. The network suggests how the other functions are related to this core function and to each other.

FIGURE 12.3: THE SEMANTIC NETWORK OF LOC3-*ai*.

```
┌─────────────────────┐        ┌──────────────┐
│ Generalized meaning │        │  Non-visible │
│ of non-visibility/  │────────│   location   │
│  non-accessibility  │        └──────────────┘
└─────────────────────┘
         │              ┌──────────────────┐          ┌─────────────────┐
         │              │ Non-specifiable, │          │  Horizontality  │
┌─────────────────┐     │ uncertain location│         └─────────────────┘
│  LOCATION IN    │     └──────────────────┘
│  CONTAINER OR   │          ┌──────────────────┐    ┌──────────────┐
│   ENCLOSURE     │          │ Unbounded, non-  │    │  Generalized │
└─────────────────┘          │  demarcatable,   │    │  meaning of  │
         │                   │ dispersive location│   │   moreness   │
┌─────────────────┐          └──────────────────┘    └──────────────┘
│ Generalized     │              ┌──────────────┐
│ meaning of      │              │  Temporal    │    ┌──────────────┐
│ surroundedness  │              │  duration    │    │  Plurality   │
└─────────────────┘              └──────────────┘    └──────────────┘
     │         │
┌─────────┐  ┌──────────────┐
│  Deep   │  │ Stuck, tight-│
│penetration│ │ fit location │
└─────────┘  └──────────────┘
```
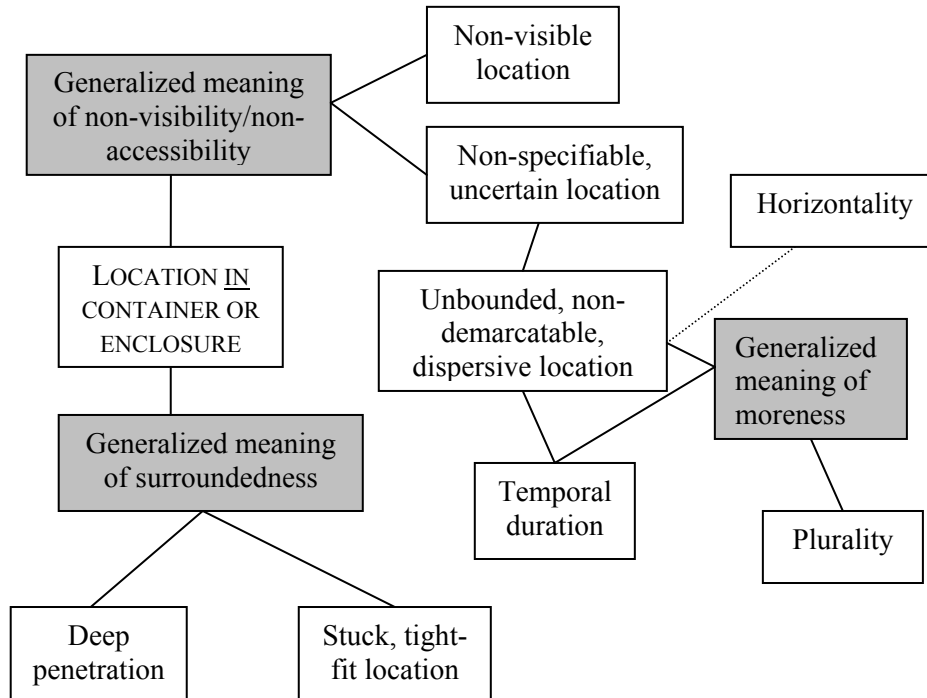
From the core function two generalized meanings are derived, 'Generalized meaning of surroundedness' and 'Generalized meaning of non-visibility/non-accessibility', the latter due to the fact that an enclosure can be a barrier to perception and to access generally. From this the non-topological functions 'Non-visible location' and 'Non-determinable, uncertain location' are derived. This is symmetrical to what we saw for Loc2-*una*.

From 'Generalized meaning of surroundedness' the functions 'Deep penetration' and 'Stuck or tight-fit location' (cf. findings in the BowPed-book test and the situations with a piece of ornament that surrounds a body part). Both of these functions involve an element of depth and capaciousness, as implied by the core function. These topological functions of Loc3-*ai* differ somewhat from what we saw with Loc2-*una*.

A 'Non-specifiable, uncertain location' is not easy to get a concrete or solid grasp of, and it may give rise to 'Unbounded, non-demarcatable and dispersive location', which again, through a space-to-time metaphor, gives rise to the function 'Temporal duration', although scantily attested. These latter two together generate a 'Generalized meaning of moreness', from which the function 'Plurality' is derived. Also this is parallel to the network for Loc2-*una*.

Differently from the network of Loc2-*una* I have included the element 'Horizontality', with a proposed link to 'Unbounded, non-demarcatable, dispersive location', because a dispersed location is a location that can be said to be hori-

zontally spread on a surface (cf. the discussion in 12.2.8). Whereas the Loc3-*ai* function 'Dispersive location' has a clear relation to the notion 'horizontality', 'Bounded, demarcatable location' does not for Loc2-*una* have an obvious and direct relation to 'verticality', the counterpart of 'horizontality'.

12.4.3 Narrowing in on the basic senses of Loc1-*a*, Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai*

When comparing the networks for all three case endings, we are able to define a number of overall semantic domains, which in a contrastive manner manifest for each case ending: (1) topological, i.e. physical characteristics of Ground or the location constituted by Figure <u>and</u> Ground; (2) referential, including visibility and specificity; and, although debatable, (3) verticality vs. horizontality. Figures 12.4a-c captures how these parameters typically manifest for each case ending. The leftmost node represents the semantics of the 'topological' parameter, the rightmost node represents the parameter 'verticality vs. horizontality', and the top-most node represents the parameter 'referentiality'.

I have supplemented the 'topological' node with manifestations of the parameter 'Dimensionality', manifested as depicted in table 12.3.

FIGURE 12.4: BASIC SEMANTIC PARAMETERS OF THE LOCATIVE CASE ENDINGS LOC1-*a*, Loc2-*una* AND LOC3-*ai*.

a. Loc1-*a*

General location

Point-location
(1-dimensional)

? Verticality

b. Loc2-una

Specific, bounded
location

Surface -
support (2-
dimensional)

Vertical

c. Loc3-*ai*

Non-specific,
dispersed location

Enclosure,
encompassment
(3-dimensional)

Horizontal
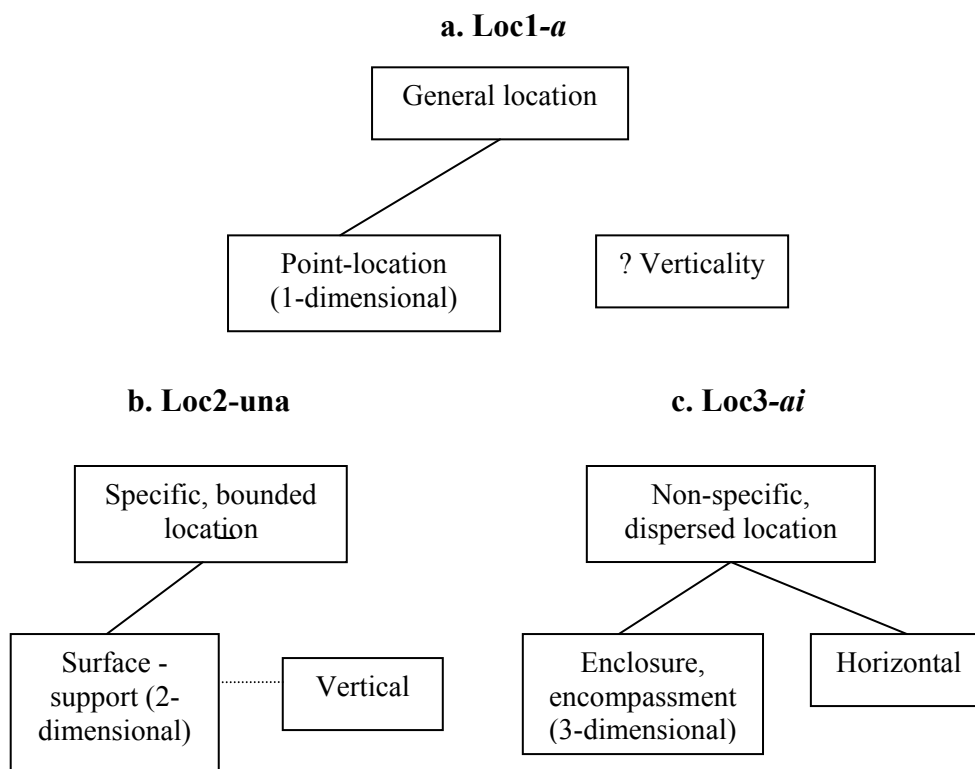
We can derive the manifestations within the domain 'specificity' from the concrete spatial and topological domain through the notion 'visibility', i.e. how the mind perceives through vision the concrete spatial location. This extension is explained and commented upon in the preceding sections, and it is here marked by a full line. But the domain 'horizontality vs. verticality' does not find its place in the networks in a correspondingly systematic way. As regards Loc3-*ai*, this parameter is related to the referential parameter, as regards Loc2-*una* it is (perhaps) related to the topological parameter, and its relevance and relation to those two general parameter is not obvious as regards Loc1-*a*.

This indicates that 'horizontality/verticality' is not (in a systematic manner) part of the central abstract meaning set that constitute the basic meanings of the locative case endings.

12.5 Etymology of the locative case endings in a comparative perspective

12.5.1 The omnipresent 'oblique': *-a*

Morgenstierne regards the historical derivation of Loc1-*a* to be "uncertain" (GM73: 206). He notices, however, that many Dardic languages have a "general oblique" with a similar ending. (Examples of Dardic and other Hindu Kush language that have a locative or "oblique" *-a* are: Gawar-bati, Wotapuri-Katarqali, Shumashti, Indus Kohistani, Palula, Tirahi, Bashkarik, Kanyawali, Shina, Dameli, and Waigali.[102] Masica (1991: 245) cites Morgenstierne for Khowar *-a* being a preservation of the OIA dative *-āya*, "elsewhere long since lost" (Morgenstierne 1947). Also Pashai has an "oblique" *-a*, for which Morgenstierne suggests "*-a* < *-aha* < *-asya*" [i.e., OIA genitive singular, JH], but he also adds that this derivation is "extremely doubtful" (GM73a: 66), but he does not explain why. (In his 'Notes on Kalasha' he suggests OIA genitive singular *-asya* as the etymon of Kalasha oblique *-as*, see chapter 9.)

Thus, Morgenstierne is fairly certain that OIA *-āya* survives in Khowar *-a*, but not in Pashai *-a*, and also not in Kalasha Loc1-*a*. But why not? Bashir's description of Khowar *-a* reveals a striking formal and functional similarity with Kalasha Loc1-*a*, as it indicates "locations or directions not having a vertical or horizontal component in their conceptualization" (Bashir 2000: 17). It is the most general of all the locative case endings in Khowar, and "seems to function like a (second) generalized oblique case in several grammaticized functions" (ibid.).

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[102] Cf., for example, Berger (1974), Edelman (1983), Degener (1998), Bashir (2003), and Schmidt (2004).

If Kalasha Loc1-*a* has the same OIA cognate as Khowar -*a*, we have an instance of an old and semantically rich (but widely used) case ending being worn down so as to merely express the simple relation of a thing to a point of space or to a predicate or proposition expressed elsewhere in the discourse.

12.5.2 Loc2-*una* - two choices

I shall posit two possible development paths for Loc2-*una*. One is based on Morgenstierne's (1973b) suggestion, the other on Zoller's suggestion for a formally similar adverb *ún* 'here' in Indus Kohistani. For Loc2-*una* GM73 refers to Pashai -*ana:*, which he suggests goes back to a postposition, **antaka*- 'border of a field', where *nt > n*; **antaka*- is a derivation of *ánta*- (CDIAL 347) 'end, border, proximity', which according to Turner is reflected in a number of NIA languages (although not any Dardic) with the meanings 'end', 'border', 'edge, limit', 'at the end of, after, on', 'near'.

OIA **antaka*- or *ánta*- as an etymology to Loc2-*una* will not be that far out of the way. OIA *anC* may result in Kalasha -*uC*, as in OIA *ántara*- 'interior, near' (CDIAL 357) > Kalasha *udríman* 'inner, interior', although we normally see *ónC* in (Northern) Kalasha (Southern Kalasha has preserved OIA *á(:)nC*). And the OIA meanings could be taken as support for the 'boundedness' or 'exactness' component of Loc2-*una*. The only problem is that we do not normally see such a reduction of a consonant cluster -VNCV -> VNV in Kalasha. We have, for example, *mon(dr)* 'word' from OIA *mántra*- 'thought, prayer, ..' (CDIAL 9834). If Kalasha Loc2-*una* is a cognate to Pashai -*ana:* we either have a case of sound development conditioned by other parameters, or, maybe, a case of borrowing (from Pashai, plus an additional vowel change, -*a(:)*- > -*u*-).[103]

Zoller leads the Indus Kohistani adverb *ún*[104] 'here' back to OIA *upāntá*- (CDIAL 2303) 'border, edge', with OIA derivations: -*tḗ* 'near the end'. Monier-Williams (1899) supplements with 'near to the end, last (but one)', 'proximity to the end or edge or margin; border, edge', 'immediate or close proximity, nearness', 'near to, towards'. According to Turner this OIA word is inherited in a few NIA languages, and this with senses that are relatable to what we have seen for Kalasha Loc2-*una*: in NiDoc.[105] we get *vamti* 'in the presence of, in', in Sinhalese *veta* 'near' and *vet* 'vicinity', and in K[ashmiri]. pog[uli]. *pā~t* 'upon'. Turner also gives a Pashto correspondence *bānde* 'upon' < **upāntai*, as well as a

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[103] Although uncommented by GM73 with respect to a possible etymology, also the absolute adverb *óndru/úndru* is a possible cognate to OIA *ántara*- 'interior, near'. The different formal developments of the proposed OIA ancestor may be due to an early functional split. As an adverb *ántara*- has retained much of its segmental material (and *ánt*- -> *ónd*- is a well-attested sound development), whereas as a local suffix, the other conditioning parameter, a segmental reduction has occurred.

[104] In Zoller's transcription of Indus Kohistani grave accent denotes low pitch, acute accent high pitch.

[105] 'NiDoc' = the language of the Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions.

Pashai correspondence *ōda, udē* 'near' (with abnormal loss of nasal). But this proposal is not in accordance with Morgenstierne (1973a). Morgenstierne suggests that OIA *upa:nte* is reflected in Pashai 'allative' *-wa:n*, and that *o:da: ‘near to, in the presence of’, goes back to **avaddhi*, Skt. *avadhi* 'until, up to'.

Now, which to choose? - OIA *upa:nte* with a formally similar place adverb ('near') in Indus Kohistani and an 'allative' *-wa:na* in Pashai as cognates. Or is OIA **antaka-* or *ánta-* with an 'illative' *-ana:* in Pashai more likely as cognate, with a sound development similar to what is attested for one other word? Whatever may be the right etymon, we may regard the meanings associated with these words in OIA as well as in other NIA languages as not that deviant from what is denoted by Kalasha Loc2-*una*; namely 'location on surface' ('upon') and 'specific/identifiable location' ('near'). Semantically it is unlikely that a word meaning something like 'border, edge, limit' can develop to mean 'exact or identifiable location (on a surface)'. Alternatively, Loc2-*una* may be a compound morpheme, built up by OIA *upāntá-/e-*, which has reduced similarly to Indus Kohistani *ún*, and then suffixed with the omnipresent 'oblique-local' *-a*.

12.5.3 Loc3-*ai* - a compound case ending?

Morgenstierne does not give any clues as to the etymology of Loc3-*ai*. But by comparing the functional similarity of Khowar 'horizontal' *-i* with Kalasha Loc3-*ai* we may speculate that we are dealing with a common historical source. Since neither Morgenstierne, Bashir, nor I are able to point to regular sound correspondences between Khowar /i/ and Kalasha /ai/, it cannot be stated that these locative case endings derive from the same form. An alternative scenario is that Kalasha Loc3-*ai* is a compound case ending, consisting of 'general' Loc1-*a*, suffixed with *-i*. This would be in accordance with Masica's layer model. According to this, NIA languages have morphologically built-up case systems, where the inner layers have general or vague semantics and the outermost layers more specific semantics (cf. chapter 19 for further on Masica's layer model). If this has something to it, the next question will be: where does *-i* come from?

A survey of other Hindu Kush languages does not give much of a clue, except, again, for Zoller's dictionary of Indus Kohistani (Zoller 2005). Here we find an adverbial *-i^h*, with variant forms *-ḗ* and *–ī*, with the meaning 'movement towards a place or <u>indefiniteness</u> of locality' (my underlining; acute and grave accents indicate tone). The meaning element 'indefiniteness' is illustrated by Zoller by suffixation to the adverb *bō´* 'up, above, on top (definite and visible)' to give *bú-ī* 'up, upward (object or goal is invisible, and the location rather indefinite'). Unfortunately, Zoller does not give a suggestion as to an etymon for *-i^h*. But one may speculate that there could be a (common Dardic ?) connection between Khowar 'horizontal' *-i*, Indus Kohistani 'indefinite' *-i^h*, and Kalasha 'unbounded/dispersive' and 'horizontal' *-a+i*. This indicates that the functional variety of Kalasha Loc3-*ai* is a result of a combination of a locative/topological meaning component expressed by Loc1-*a* and an indefinite (and perhaps hori-

zontal) meaning component, *-i*. This hypothesis questions that Loc3-*ai*'s topological 'core' function 'Location in container' is a historically basic function.

12.6 Discussion and perspectives

We are now in a position to posit the locative case system as a paradigm with contrastive content between its members. This is shown in Table 12.4.

TABLE 12.4: THE SEMANTICS OF THE LOCATIVE CASE ENDINGS.

	Topology	**Dimensionality**	**Referentiality**
Loc1-*a*	Point-like location	1-dimensional	General
Loc2-*una*	Surface location	2-dimensional	Specific, bounded, certain
Loc3-*ai*	Enclosure location	3-dimensional	Non-specific, unbounded, uncertain

As the examination has shown, these defining parameters are more to be considered as guidelines for the use of the locative case endings than as golden rules for their application. It is obvious that the referential parameters can be used dependent on contexts, but as we have seen, also the topological parameter can be used according to strategies of construal; i.e., a case ending *x*, when used in the typical domain of case ending *y*, adds an (inherited) element from its own domain to the new domain. For example, when 'surface' Loc2-*una* is used for location in an enclosure it implies either supported location by the interior surface of the enclosure or a visible or immediately accessible location. When 'enclosure' Loc3-*ai* is used for location on a surface, it carries with it an element of uncertain, non-demarcatable location, rendering dispersive meanings.

12.7 Kalasha and Cora 'inside' and 'outside'

The polysemy of Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai* and the opposition between them in a range of uses have a remarkable similarity with what Casad and Langacker (1985) and Casad (1988) have described for Cora. This language has a morpheme, *-a-* meaning 'outside' (i.e. 'non-containment'), and another, *-u-* 'inside' (i.e. 'containment'). These two morphemes are believed by Casad and Langacker to have extended their meanings on different lines of extension, so that, for example, *-a-* comes to denote also contact on the surface of a container (and *-u-* contact with the inner surface of a container) (Casad and Langacker 1985: 251). Another

extension leads 'outside' -*a*- to include in its scope also shallow penetration in a surface, and 'inside' -*u*-, as a contrast, comes to mean deep penetration in a surface or in an object. Following another line of extension, the -*a*- ~ -*u*- contrast comes to encode different vantage points: 'inside' -*u*- comes to denote location <u>in line of sight</u> (on a slope), whereas 'outside' -*a*- comes to denote location outside line of sight (on a slope) (p. 262). This contrast is also in use with different codings of vantage points. Another extension has to do with accessibility: as an enclosure is often barrier to perception, or to access generally, -*u*- comes to denote 'inaccessible' location (p. 265).

Although Kalasha Loc3-*ai* and Loc2-*una*, taken as rough counterparts to Cora 'inside' and 'outside', do not share all extensions with Cora -*u*- and -*a*- (for further extensions and 'conventionalized' contrastive uses see Casad and Langacker (1985: 269-278), it is interesting that these locational morphemes in Cora have developed their contrastive uses in a systematic way, along different spatial/topological lines. Futhermore, Casad and Langacker also finds 'outside' -*a*- to be the 'unmarked' morpheme of these two, 'inside' -*u*- being only used when there are additional or exceptional aspects of a locational situation. I.e., 'outside' -*a*- is the extensive of these two, 'inside' -*u*- the intensive. Also this has a parallel in Kalasha where Loc2-*una* is by far the most frequent in my spontaneous material and in the sources, as well as clearly being the extensive locative ending in the tests (and elicitation sessions), except with the lexical items *muT* 'tree', *dramí* 'roof', and *dur* 'house', where Loc1-*a* is the immediate and spontaneous ending (cf. chapters 11 and 12.1).

I see the situation in Cora as a parallel to the functional range of Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai* in Kalasha, which <u>points out the relative salience of different facets of a scene, the level of specificity, the Figure/Ground organization, and the vantage point from which it is viewed</u>, etc.

12.8 Ideal prepositional uses and Kalasha locatives: Herskovits (1986)

With the three locative case endings Kalasha possesses a set of case markers that closely resemble the 'ideal meanings' of the three basic topological prepositions in English, *at*, *on*, *in*, as defined and described by Herskovits (1986). According to Herskovits, an ideal meaning of a preposition is "a geometrical idea, from which all uses of that preposition derive by means of various adaptations and shifts. An ideal meaning is generally a relation between two or three ideal geometric objects (e.g. points, lines, surfaces, volumes, vectors)" (p. 39).

The functional range of a preposition, its polysemy, takes its starting point from the ideal meaning. For *at* the ideal meaning is "for a point to coincide with another" (p. 50-51, 128). Extension and internal properties of reference and located objects are ignored, they are viewed as points and mapped unto punctual

geometric descriptions, for example in *the train is at Victoria Station*, where the station is conceived as a point on a route. The ideal meaning of *on* is for a geometrical construct X to be contiguous with a line or surface Y; if Y is the surface of an object O_y, and X is the space occupied by another O_x, for O_y to support O_x (p. 140). The ideal meaning of *in* is "inclusion of a geometric construct in a one-, two-, or three-dimensional geometric construct" (p. 41, see also p. 48 and p. 148).

Herskovits' study is a detailed analysis of how ideal meanings through 'use types' can be transferred to relations other than mere topological ones, what *at*, *on*, and *in* can do, so to speak. For *in*, she explains how the ideal meaning "inclusion of a geometric construct in a one-, two-, or three-dimensional geometric construct" (p. 148) can come denote or bear resemblance to other contexts than 'spatial entity in container'. Some such contexts are concerned with spatial inclusion to different degrees, for example when a furniture is embedded 'in a corner'. Others relate to the function of the container, for example when a fruit is on top of a stable of fruits in a bowl that goes up over the bowl. (This is not an 'in' situation in Kalasha; Loc2-*una* will be used, supposedly because of the fruit being (visibly) supported from below; cf. Appendix 20, the CPS-test, drawing no. 10.)

Herskovits mentions other typical 'in' situations, all situations that can be seen as types or degrees of containment, typically where a physical object is located in the <u>outline</u> of another, or of a group of objects (p. 148-155). I shall mention only a few here, with possible Kalasha codings in square brackets: *bird in the tree* [Kal.: Loc1-*a*, Loc2-*una*, or Loc3-*ai*]; 'spatial entity in part of space or environment' (for example, *in the vicinity* and *the best restaurant in the world*) [Kal.: Loc3-*ai* or Loc2-*una*]; 'accident/object part of physical or geometric object' (for example, *the muscles in his legs*) [Kal.: Loc3-*ai* or Loc2-*una*]; 'person in clothing' (for example, *Santa Claus in a red coat*), 'person in institution' (for example, *man in jail*) [Kal.: Loc2-*una* or Loc3-*ai*]; and 'participant in institution' (for example, *my son is in college*) [Kal. Loc2-*una*; if Loc3-*ai* then actual location (somewhere) inside the institution will be implied]. Also if the referent object (the Ground) is one- or two-dimensional, can we see *in* (for example, *a sharp angle in the edge of the cliff*) [Kal. Loc2-*una* or Loc3-*ai*], and 'spatial entity in area' (for example, *a line in the margen*) [Kal.: Loc2-*una*].

Prepositions may be used interchangeably to give different perspectives on a situation.[106] For example, in *she is in the supermarket* vs. *she is at the supermarket*, *at* gives a "remote view, our knowledge is often indirect, inferred .., and imprecise" (Herskovits 1986: 133). The conceptual link between 'remote point of view' and the ideal meaning of 'at' is explained with "if the reference object is to be viewed as a point, and if it is rather large, ... one must view it as if from a great distance" (p. 133). In contrast, with *in* a larger degree of familiarity and direct knowledge is preferred if both the speaker and the adressee are also located in the supermarket (p. 15).

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[106] As cognitive linguists will put it: "the same objective scene can be viewed in several different ways, with various aspecs of that scene overlooked or included for particular communicative purposes" (Casad 1988: 346).

Herskovits' perspective on prepositional meaning is exploited by Cienki (1989) in a contrastive analysis of basic prepositions in English, Polish, and Russian. As a supplement to Herskovits's description of the contrast between *in* and *on* Cienki remarks that what counts as an 'in' situation rather than an 'on' situation (in English) is "not just a matter of whether a border determining an interior/exterior can be perceived, but sometimes whether *containment* is more relevant in the context involved than just *contact*" (p. 74, italics original). And also, "the interior [i.e., an 'in' situation, JHP] may be defined … by the localizer itself: the region around the center of the total area may be interpreted as the interior, with a peripheral region surrounding it" (p. 73). This may in English result in *in* "being used with larger surfaces where a 'periphery' is more easily generated than in a smaller area where the surface and the contact with it will be more salient" (p. 73).

We have indeed seen similarities in Kalasha to the analysis of the basic prepositions *at*, *on*, and *in* in English, in particular as regards the topological/spatial functions of Loc1-*a*, Loc2-*una*, and Loc3-*ai*. Loc1-*a*'s tendency to occur with point-like (or spatially insignificant) objects and its general, non-specific, textual function has a parallel to English *at*, as pointed out in the discussion in 12.1.8. But in the listing of Herskovits' typical 'in' situations above, we also saw that what counts as an 'in' situation in English, is not always coded as such in Kalasha, i.e. not always coded with Loc3-*ai*.

I find Cienki's notion of 'periphery' useful for this aspect. Cienki suggests that *in* will be used with larger surfaces (instead of expected *on* because of the surface-location) where a periphery is more easily generated. This seems to be reflected in Kalasha; Loc3-*ai* can denote dispersive function vs. Loc2-*una*'s property of denoting a bounded or boundable location, i.e. a location in a smaller area with salient surface and contact. I.e. with Kalasha Loc3-*ai*, and Cienki's perspective on English *in*, it is not so much a notion of containment that is implied, but rather that a Figure is in a location which in total possesses an accentuated periphery. This also elucidates why we see Loc3-*ai* with a body part as the Ground and a piece of clothing or an ornament as the Figure: Loc3-*ai* accentuates that the situation is 'peripheral', i.e. not centralized or compact.[107]

The preceding discussion has related the distribution of the locative endings to what by some scholars is seen as basic spatial categories, 'on' and 'in', at least for the languages investigated by these scholars, English for Herskovits, and English, Polish and Russian for Cienki. I shall now turn to a universal cross-linguistic perspective on spatial notions.

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[107] Interestingly, Finnish has a similar use of the 'in' case, Inessive -*ssa*, which for Danish and English speakers seem contraintuitive. For example, *kaulaketju*[1] *on*[2] *kaula-ssa*[3] 'the necklace[1] is[2] on the neck[3]' (lit. 'in the neck') and *sormu*[1] *on*[2] *sorme-ssa*[3] 'the ring[1] is[2] on the finger[3]' (lit. 'in the finger') (I am grateful to René Semberlund Jensen, University of Copenhagen, for the assistance with Finnish.). Karlson (1999: 108-11) calls this use of the Inessive "direct contact".

12.9 Melissa Bowerman and basic semantic notions

Melissa Bowerman and a number of research associates, for example, Eric Pederson and Soonja Choi, have in the last decade or so questioned the existence of universal or 'primitive' spatial categories like 'in', 'on', 'under', as claimed by, among others, Jackendoff (1983), Miller and Johnson-Laird (1976), and Wierzbicka (1996). Bowerman and associates have pointed out that some languages make no distinction at all between 'containment' and 'support' (as Spanish *en*), others may cut up either a 'containment' or 'support' situations in two or more categories, for example, Miztec (Brugman 1983). Others deconstruct totally familiar notions such as 'support' and 'containment' and encode locations depending on the shape of the Figure, whether it is lying, standing, put into place, and more, for example, Tzeltal (Brown 1994). (See Bowerman 1996b: 395-396 for a brief overview.)

Languages also differ with respect to what counts as a spatial configuration at all. For example, Polish prefers a possessive construction in certain part-whole relationships, for example, *the muscles of my calf*, to a locational one, *the muscles in my calf*. In Bowerman's own words:

> "different languages structure space in different ways. Most basically, they partition space into disparate and often cross-cutting semantic categories by using different criteria for establishing whether two spatial situations should be considered as "the same" or "different" in kind. In addition, they differ in which classes of situations can be characterized readily in spatial terms at all, in how the roles of figure and ground are assigned in certain contexts, in how objects are conventionally conceptualized for purposes of spatial description, and in how much and what kind of information spatial descriptions routinely convey" (Bowerman 1996b: 402).[108]

From the analysis and in the examination of the test results, in particular from the BowPed-book test and the Put and Take films, it became clear that there were certain contexts that Kalasha does not treat as spatial, i.e. for which Kalasha does not did use a topological relation marker, such as cloth-wearing and (un)dressing situations. And the more complex situations and scenes depicting pierced, damaged or affected actants, are also open for descriptions that deviates from the typical locational structures (see chapter 11 and references to appendices). Such situations appear as the limits for a spatial description in Kalasha as regards the use of TRM's, whereas other languages would use TRM's such as adpositions and case markers.

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[108] See also Bowerman and Choi (2001: 480, 488), with the conclusion that there are no linguistic evidence of a shared set of spatial concepts.

As regards situations and scenes that are treated as locational in Kalasha, we have seen that Kalasha does not interrupt Bowerman and Pederson's hierarchy for spatial semantics (chapters 11.7-11.8). But we have also seen that the conditions for what counts as 'in' and 'on' situations in Kalasha deviate from what is seen in English. From the preceding analyses it seems that almost any situation that involves some sort of contact between Figure and Ground can be coded with Loc2-*una* as long as it is boundable or exactly specifiable. And we have also seen that there does not need to be an element of containment involved for Loc3-*ai* to be used, location on a plane surface may trigger Loc3-*ai* if it is unboundable. The fact that a Figure surrounding the Ground can trigger Loc3-*ai*, discussed in the previous section, indicates a contrast between a location with a periphery (and depth, coded with Loc3-*ai*) and a location characterized by compactness or exactness (coded with Loc2-*una*), although still in some way with a supporting Ground.

The evidence that locations coded with Loc3-*ai* are not determinable in an exact way, questions whether it is reasonable to call Loc3-*ai* an 'in' marker. Or, following the evidence from Choi and Bowerman: what counts as an 'in' situation in Kalasha is fundamentally different from what counts as an 'in' situation in English and Danish, for example, but perhaps not as different from what counts as an 'in' situation in Finnish or in Cora. Following the findings of Bowerman and Choi, for example, Choi and Bowerman (1991) and Bowerman (1996a), this again would question 'in' (or 'inside', following Wierzbicka 1996: 95-96), as a universal semantic primitive.

12.10 Kalasha locatives and conceptual space

The findings of Bowerman and Choi, cited above, and other psycholinguists, have been taken by William Croft (for example, Croft 2001) as evidence for what he calls 'a semantic map of language' affects a speaker's behaviour, i.e. conceptualization of the world. In a number of publications Croft argues against that a child has to learn a universal set of primitives, "which usually look suspiciously similar to English" and "onto which they [i.e, the children, JHP] map their language specific categories" (Croft 2001: 131). For Croft language users have a universal conceptual space onto which they map language specific maps. (ibid.) The notion 'conceptual space' is defined as a "conceptual structure that represents universal aspects of human experience" that "must allow for alternative conceptualizations of experience", and whose structure "should capture the similarities and differences of neighbouring points in the [conceptual] space, which invite alternative conceptualizations" (p. 130).

We may exemplify this with the Bowerman and Pederson's 'hierarchy of spatial situations', cited in 11.8. The six named situations define a conceptual space that is structured in types that, in Croft's words "capture the similarities and differences of neighboring points" (Croft 2001: 130). They go from 'typical

support' to 'typical/full containment'. Following the terminology of Croft, languages cut up this conceptual space into language specific semantic categories, as exemplified by Bowerman and Choi with Spanish, Berber, and Dutch.

I have mentioned that Kalasha Loc2-*una* can be used for all situations depicted in Table 11.3 in 11.8, and also for all situations in the hierarchy mentioned in the same section, citing Bowerman and Pederson's work in progress. However, Loc3-*ai* may also be used not only for 'Full containment' but also for the points in the 'conceptual space of locational situations' left to this, provided that the referential parameters dispersion and/or inaccessibility are fulfilled.

It is probably not a problem for Croft, or Bowerman, Choi, and Pederson, that both Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai* can be used extensively with respect to the assumption that there are no universal semantic primitives but instead a universal conceptual space, structured in a random but coherent/continous way. But it may be a problem that what counts as 'in' or 'on' situations are also determined by referential parameters. That is, <u>the distribution of locative endings in Kalasha indicates that the way a Kalasha speaker cuts up conceptual space is not only structured by topological features of Figure and Ground, but also influenced by referential features.</u>

12.11 Locative endings in Kalasha: Summary

This chapter has in detail surveyed the distribution and semantics with common nouns of the locative case endings in Kalasha: Loc1-*a*, Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai*. I first showed in chapter 10 that previous analyses did not hold. This was followed by an analysis of the distribution of the case endings in the test responses. This showed that Loc1-*a* was used marginally, that Loc2-*una* was preferred for locations characterized by support on surface, and that Loc3-*ai* was typically used for locations characterized by an enclosure of some sort. Although the findings were by and large in concordance with the findings by Levinson et al. (2003) and Bowerman and Choi (2001), the fact that in particular Loc2-*una* could be used in typical Loc3-*ai* domains led to speculations about whether other parameters than 'Support' and 'Containment' were relevant.

By examining the spontaneous and elicited data it was seen that both topological and non-topological, 'referential', parameters were relevant for the distribution of the locative endings, pointing to parameters such as degree of distributiveness and accessibility and demarcatability of a given location. It was also documented that both Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai* displayed a large degree of polysemy, and it was found that these endings are in systematic contrast. Loc1-*a* participates only marginally in this systematic contrast, indicating a status as a general, or 'oblique', local marker. Table 12.4, repeated here depicts the locative paradigm.

TABLE 12.4: THE SEMANTICS OF THE LOCATIVE CASE ENDINGS.

	Topology	**Dimensionality**	**Referentiality**
Loc1-*a*	Point-like location	1-dimensional	General
Loc2-*una*	Surface location	2-dimensional	Specific, bounded, certain
Loc3-*ai*	Enclosure location	3-dimensional	Non-specific, unbounded, uncertain

The semantics of the locative paradigm was then discussed from both a comparative-diachronic perspective and a synchronic cross-linguistic perspective. Because of lack of firm etymological cognates, few if any historical implications could be established, although a few formal similarities and possible cognates were found in some of the neighbouring languages. It was noted that a parameter such as 'horizontality vs. verticality', which is highly relevant for the distribution of local markers in neighbouring Khowar and other mountain languages is not relevant for Kalasha.

As regards the cross-linguistic perspective, it was stated that Kalasha cannot support an idea of universal semantic primitive notions of, for example, 'in' and 'on'. In fact, what counts as 'in' and 'on' situations in Kalasha does not only deal with metonymic extensions of prototypical 'support' or 'containment' locations, but also with referential parameters. Finally, I raised the question whether this actually poses a problem for discussions about how languages from a typological perspective categorize the conceptual space of location.

In the examination of the local case-marking system in Kalasha I shall proceed with a study of the distribution and semantics of the ablative endings. I shall seek to investigate whether or to what extent these endings display the same sort of semantic contrasts as was found for the locative endings. After the chapter on the ablative endings follow two brief and non-theorizing overviews of the distribution of case endings with proper nouns and place adverbs. I conclude the section on the local case endings in chapter 16 with an overview presentation of the paradigmatic contrasts between the local endings.

13. Ablatives in Kalasha

This chapter surveys the distribution and functions of the three ablative case endings. First I evaluate the analyses by GM73, Tr96 and TC99. Then, in Ch. 13.2, I give a summary of the test results from those Put and Take film clips that involved 'take situations'. This is followed in Ch. 13.3 by an examination of the ablative case endings in my material. Throughout this examination, I shall make references to parallels to the locative endings Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai*. In 13.4, after a summary, I shall establish in a schematic form the relevant parameters for the distribution of Abl2-*ani* and Abl2-*aw*, and I shall relate the analysis to the function of ablative endings in neighbouring languages.

A few matters dealing with ablative case endings are ignored in this section, but will be taken up later in the thesis: (a) the distribution of the ablative suffixes with relator nouns; (b) the relation to the spatial uses of the participial postpositions *dái* and *thi*; and (c) the relation between the ablative suffixes and the ablative postposition *pi*.

13.1 Previous descriptions

GM73 (p. 209) identifies three case suffixes with ablative functions, 'from, of': *-ani*, *-ou*, and *-äi*. According to GM, *-ani* is mainly used with inanimate nouns and also used adjectivally, for example *póstani jac* 'furry hair, fur' (lit.: 'skin-Abl2-*ani*' + 'hair'). The ending *-ou* is mainly seen in adverbial expressions, for example *píST-ou däi* 'from behind'. *-äi* is described by GM as "local case", and it has locative as well as ablative functions. We see ablative senses with place names, *waighál-äi* 'from Waigal', and with nouns denoting a place (*shahár-äi angrízas putr* 'son of the English of the town').

TC99 define the three ablative suffixes in terms of English equivalents: thus, Abl2-*ani* is equivalent to 1) 'from, with', 2) 'on', 3) 'by', and 4), 'adjectivizer'; and Abl3-*aw* has the 'meanings': 1) 'from, with (plur.)', 2) 'in, on (plur.)', and 3) 'adjectivizer'. The third member of the ablative set, Abl-*yei*, has only one meaning according to TC99, 'from'. In Tr96 this suffix is totally ignored. In general, Trail and Cooper fail to account for the distributional pattern of the ablative endings, for example, that *-(y)ei* only occurs on deictic place adverbs, and that Abl2-*ani* cannot occur with these or with absolut place adverbs. The most interesting point in TC's treatment of the ablative endings is the proposed number distinction, explicitly mentioned in the Abl3-*aw*-article in TC99 (p. 351): "The singular of this relator [JH: Abl3-*aw*] is *-ani*", and "Note that place and time nominals are conceived of as being plural and so are used with the *-aw* suffix". The same conclusions are drawn in Tr96. Some of TC99's examples are:

1. ***uts-ani** uk*   'spring water'
2. ***uts-aw** uk*   'the water of many springs'

The proposed number distinction may hold for 1-2 but 3-4, both from TC99, and 5, from my own material, go against it:

3. *se   may   awlát   ne   **may bazá-ani**   sawásh háw-au*   TC99
   3s.nom.abs 1s.obl relative not 1s.obl hand-abl2   kiss in greeting-pst.A-3s
   'she was not my relative so she just kissed **(on) my hands**'

4. *se   to   **bazá-ani**   gr-i   uST-á-au*   TC99
   3s.nom.abs 3s.acc.abs hand-abl2   take-cp   rise-cs1-pst.A.3s
   'he took him **by the hand** and helped him get up'

5. *ása   **kaZÓi-aw**   kiSéT   **chaL-él**   **dái***   Na.E
   3s.nom.dist cover-abl3   cassette take out-p/f.3s spec
   'he takes the cassette **out of the cover**'

In 3 *baza-ani* is translated with plural by TC, in 4 with singular by TC, and in 5 Abl3-*aw* is translated with singular, by me. Furthermore, examples 3-4 also show that a parameter of declension class is not an all-decisive parameter for the distribution. As we saw for the locative case endings other parameters than those suggested in previous treatments must be in play.

13.2 Ablative responses to the Put and Take Project

I shall here only give a brief summary of the responses, focusing on which types of Grounds are coded with which ablative marker. I refer to Appendix 23 for a full list of responses. Abl1-*(y)ei* was only used with the deictic place adverb *taL-* 'there (remote)' and will not be considered further here.

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.

Only three film clips triggered Abl3-*aw* as the exclusive 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 stocking') we have removal of an encompassing Figure, triggering both Abl2-*ani* and Abl3-*aw*. Coding situations of motion or caused motion out of a room, we frequently see Abl2-*ani* (15abc, 58bc), but also Abl3-*aw* (57c).

The distribution pattern observed for the ablative endings has a number of features in common with what was found for the locative case endings in the Put Project test, as well as in the other tests. Like Loc3-*ai*, Abl3-*aw* is primarily used with nouns that denote containers, often totally encompassing the Figure. And like Loc2-*una*, Abl2-*ani* is the preferred ending with Grounds that are or have plane surfaces from which the separation or removal takes place. And like Loc2-*una*, also Abl2-*ani* can occur with Grounds that denote containers, viz. Grounds that otherwise typically belong to the domain of Abl3-*aw* and Loc3-*ai*, respectively. Hence, Abl2-*ani* seems to be the extensive ablative case ending.

This indicates, as for the locative endings, that it is not only strict topological parameters that are in play, or, at least, that a situation of a certain topological nature may be construed in different ways. The parallel to the different construals of locative situations with, in particular, Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai* is obvious, and it will be further explored in the following examination of the ablative endings in my material. This examination will show what other parameters are relevant for the distribution of the ablative case endings.

13.3 Ablative case endings in the spontaneous material

The distinction between Abl2-*ani* and Abl3-*aw* can be seen in a number of situations that involve self-motion or caused motion away from a Source Ground. These range from concrete separation from a Ground, concrete movement or outflow away from a Ground, over more abstract separation where the Ground constitutes the source for the existence of the Figure element, to possessive or part-whole relationships. In examining the contrast between Abl2-*ani* and Abl3-*aw* in such contexts, I shall take my starting point from the findings in the Put and Take summary that spatial features of the Ground element to a considerable extent are relevant for the distribution.

13.3.1 Separation from containers and enclosures

A situation of removal or separation from a deep or hollow container is often coded with Abl3-*aw*, whether the source location is tight fit, as shown in 5 above, or loose:

6. ***Dabá-aw*** *biskóT* *ni-ém*   *ghó~i* *cít-iu*   *dái*   GK.sm
    box-abl3   biscuit take away-p/f.1s quot   think-p/f.3s   spec
    '"I will take some biscuits **from the box**", he though to himself'

In these examples the Figure element is taken out from a location inside a deep and voluminous container. The Figure in the source location is potentially hidden or out of sight. When Abl2-*ani* is suffixed to nouns that denote such containers we typically have two different kinds of situations. Either the motion away from the Ground is line-like (and the Figure often a liquid or a mass of something), as in 7, or the Figure is removed or is moving away from the surface or a location just next to the Ground, as in 8:

7. *gúum*   ***batiós-ani***   *SiSir-íu*   *dái*   TC99
    wheat   skinbag-abl2   leak-p/f.3s   spec
    'wheat is leaking **from the skin bag**'

8. *mizók*   ***gúnghur-ani*** *pár-íu*   *dái*   Na.Fn
    mouse   hollow-abl2   go-p/f.3s   spec
    'the mouse runs **away from the hole**'

Example 9 below shows the contrast between motion away from the surface (8) and (out and) away from a hidden or non-visible location:

9. *ek* *tsé~tsaw* ***taLéL-a***   ***gÁng-aw*** *nih-í*
    a   squirrel   there.across-edge.abs-loc1 hole-abl3   come out-cp
    tása   *kái* *a-má-au*   *"hey* *súda, .."*   Ta.sm
    3s.obl.abs   to   au-say-pst.A.3s   excl   kid
    'having come **out from the hole there**, a squirrel says to him, "hey kid, .."'

So far, the examples suggest that Abl3-*aw* is an elative marker expressing motion out from (a hidden or unknown location in) a container, and that Abl2-*ani* is an ablative marker, expression motion away from a (known or visible) location. This is a clear parallel to the locative endings Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai*, where Loc2-*una* denotes (visible and accessible) location on a surface and Loc3-*ai* (non-visible or inaccessible) location inside a container. But as in the Put and Take test,

and as its locative cousin Loc2-*una*, Abl2-*ani* is also used for Source location inside a deep container or a container-like object:

10. *pháto sher má-iLa   may **kaphás-ani** bihanák draSná-i   TC99*
    then tiger said-pst.ptc.I 1s.obl cage-abl2   outside   take out-imp.2s
    'then the tiger said, "take me **out of the cage**" '

11. *mangazhík   may   **nást-ani**   chaLá-i   GK.E*
    fly   1s.obl nose-abl2   take from-imp.2s
    'take out the fly **from** (the inside of) **my nose**'

I shall give two suggestions as to why we do not see Abl3-*aw* on these voluminous containers that function as source-Grounds for a (caused) motion. The suggestions deal with topological and referential parameters, also found to be relevant for the distribution of the locative endings.

One suggestion is that when the speaker wishes to stress the motion <u>away</u> from the location, rather than the actual nature of the location, for example a deep or voluminous container, he chooses Abl2-*ani*. For expression of 'motion out from <u>and</u> away (a little ways)' a speaker may add the participial postposition *dái*. The fact that the goal of the removal is mentioned in 10, *bihanák* 'just outside, outside a little ways', may explain why we see Abl2-*ani* with the container *kaphás* 'cage'. The emphasis is on the removal rather on the exact nature of the location from which the removal is supposed to take place. The Source Ground is construed as a demarcated entity from the edge of which a motion of separation takes place. This is also shown in 12-13:

12. *tóa   se   **anguTí-ani**   bían draZn-úna,*
    then 3s.nom.abs guesthouse-abl2 out   come out-pst.ptc.I.3s
    *se   **taL-éi**   **bág-ani**   gáLa   GK.sm*
    3s.nom.abs there.non-spec.abs-abl1 garden-abl2 go.pst.I.3s
    'then he came outside **from the guesthouse**, he went **out of/from the garden**, (and came to the veranda)'

13. ***zháng-ani**   á-o   e   se   istrizhagÚAk par-áu Dur.na*
    war-abl2   come.pst.A-3s   as 3s.nom.abs girl   go-pst.A.3s
    'as he came **back from the war**, the girl went (to meet him)'

In 12 the subject leaves his dwelling in order to reach a goal, a veranda. Even though the actant is actually located inside the guesthouse and the garden, respectively, the speaker uses Abl2-*ani* in order to focus on the motion <u>away</u> from these locations. He construes the path of motion to the endgoal as separate sub-motions <u>away</u> and not <u>out</u> from single points.

In 13 the war is not construed as a figurative container or an event in which a certain activity takes place, or in which someone is located, but instead as an ended, i.e. 'edged' or determined, activity from which someone returns. Thus, with Abl2-*ani* the nature of the Source Ground is ignored, and the focus is on the motion away from the Source Ground. A parallel distribution is seen with Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai*, as Loc2-*una* expresses motion to or location in but not necessarily into or inside a container of any sort.

A second answer to the question as to why we see Abl2-*ani* and not exclusively Abl3-*aw* on hollow containers is based on the assumption also suggested as relevant for the locative endings, namely that a hidden location is a location which is not immediately specifiable, and, in contrast, that a non-hidden location of origin is immediately specifiable. Examples 12-13 support this idea, since both *guesthouse* in 12 and *war* in 13 are mentioned earlier in the discourse. Following this line of thought, the cage in 10 and the fly's location in 11, a nose, should be identifiable from the point of view of the speakers. In contrast, the Source in 14 below, from a spoken report, does not refer to specific or exactly identifiable location. The speaker does not refer a particular shop, nor does she imply that *gúlak*, 'raw brown sugar', should be bought in several shops. What she says it that *gúlak* can be bought from <u>any</u> shop, i.e. not a specific or an exactly identified or identifiable shop.

14. *gúlak* **dukán-aw gr-i** *ón-i* *pháto to* *SoS kár-in*
    brown sugar shop-abl3 take-cp bring-cp then 3s.acc.abs SoS make-p/f.3p
    'having bought *gulak* **from a/any shop** and brought it, then they make the *SoS*[109]'   So.S

A parameter of generality, or, of a non-delimited referent, may give rise to a plural interpretation of Abl3-*aw*, 'any shop' can be 'all shops' or 'several shops'. This may be why we so often see Abl3-*aw* in plural contexts, as in 14, and in 15 below, a description of a purification ritual during *cawmos*, the winter solstice festival, where the kitchen equipment used in the past year is burnt in large fires next to the villages:

15. *sohóLa* *júnk-in* *sawéw* *grióni* *shuLá Luc* Fil.S
    deep basket burn-p/f.3p flat basket kichen tool wood torch
    saw thi *ón-in* **dúr-aw** *ón-in*
    all together bring-p/f.3p house-abl3 bring-p/f.3p
    'they burn deep baskets, flat baskets, (kitchen) tools, firewood, torches, they all bring it, they bring it **from any house/all houses**'

---

[109] *SoS* is a mixture of wheat and millet flour and dried wheat sprouts with raw sugar, walnuts and clarified butter (TC99).

But as was shown in 13.1, Abl3-*aw* is not a plural marker. This is further supported by 16-17 below (from '"Frog, Where Are You?"), both of which describe the scene where the frog is crawling out of an upright standing jar, with one leg still in the jar and the other leg and the body already out of the opening. Example 16 construes the motion away from the scene as an ablative motion, 'away from', example 17 construes the motion as elative, 'out from':

16. *se   maDrák-o lash thi buThál-ani nih-í   gáLa*   Taj.sm
    3s.nom.abs frog-*o*   slowly bottle-abl2 come out-cp go.pst.I.3s
    'the frog ran away, after having come slowly **out from the bottle**'

17. *se maDrák-o taL-(y)éi   buThál-aw lash thi nih-í*
    3s frog-*o*   there.non-spec.abs-abl1 bottle-abl3 slowly come out-cp
    par-íu   dái   GK.sm
    go-p/f.3s spec
    'slowly, after coming **out of the bottle** there, the frog runs away'

Summing up on ablative case endings on different kinds of containers, there are two parameters in play for 'separation from' or 'motion away from a deep container': (1) location inside or at border of entrance to the container; (2) non-visible/non-specifiable vs. visible/specifiable location.

13.3.2 Locations with a potential depth

The distinction between separation from surface-location and in-deep-location is also illustrated with Grounds that have a potential depth:

18. *éLi   shúLa úg-ani   chaLá-n   dái*   TC99
    3p.nom.dist wood   water-abl2 take out-p/f.3p spec
    'they're pulling wood **out of the water**'

19. *pháto taL-(y)éi   chát-aw-aw úST-in   dái*   GK.sm
    then   there.non-spec.abs-abl1 lake-abl3-rep rise-p/f.3p spec
    'then they get up **from the water there**'

In 18, from TC99 and without context, one imagines pieces of wood floating in the surface of the water, marked with Abl2-*ani*. In 19, from "Frog, Where Are You?", the boy and the dog are located in a pool, with legs and lower parts of the body under water, from which they rise. The distinction between Abl2-*ani* and Abl3-*aw* in these two examples resembles the distinction between 'shallow' and 'deep penetration' coded by Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai* (cf. 12.2.5).

13.3.3 Separation from plain surface

Motion away from plain surfaces is not coded with Abl3-*aw* in the Put and Take test. Such instances are also not present in my spontaneous material, but there are two examples in TC99:

20. ***piléT-aw*** *zhe* ***Durbát-aw*** *get saphá kár-i*   TC99
     plate-abl3   and   pot-abl3   dust   clean   do-imp.2s
     'wipe the dust **off the plates and pots**!'

21. ***pirán-aw*** *SuTík Tuk-én*   TC99
     shirt-abl3   ashes   brush off-p/f.3p
     'they brush ashes **off a shirt**'

       Both examples, although without context, describe the removal of something that appears to be located in a distributive or dispersive way on a surface, or, in 20, as suggested by TC's translation, on a number of surfaces. Thus, Abl3-*aw* seems to share semantics with locative Loc3-*ai*, which gives a similar association.

     As a parallel to dispersive Loc3-*ai* we may say that the Figure object is dispersed on one or more surfaces and thus has a diffuse or a not clearly demarcatable location. In contrast, Abl2-*ani* implies removal from an exact or bounded and immediately identifiable location.

22. *to*   *kilá-o púltr-as* ***piléT-ani uprá-i***   *múc-a ká-i gr-i*   Na.sm
     3s.acc.abs banana-*o* son-ps.3s plate-abl2   pick up-cp fist-loc1 do-cp take-cp
     'having picked up the banana **from the plate** in his fist, (her son says, ..´)'

13.3.4 Motion away from body parts

Examples of caused motion from body parts reveal yet another parameter associated with the distinction between Abl2-*ani* and Abl3-*aw*. In 11 above we saw an example of removal from the surface of a body part coded with Abl2-*ani*. Examples 23-24 show that if the Figure surrounds the body part this is coded with Abl3-*aw*, whereas if we have Abl2-*ani*, we have caused motion away from a surface, as in 25:

23. *angúSTer* ***Ángu-aw*** *chaL-ém*   *dái*   GK.E
     ring   finger-abl3 take off-p/f.1s   spec
     'I take the ring **off the finger**'

24. *to*   *bhó~ikyak* ***Dhá~k-aw*** *chaLá-i*   Mir.na
     3s.acc.abs axe   loin-abl3   take off-cp
     'taking the axe and belt **off the loin**, (he ..)'

25. *may   kaSóng   **SíS-ani**   át-au*   TK.E
    1s.obl *kaSong*   head-abl2   fall.pst.A-3s
    'my *kashong*-hat fell **off the head**'

As with the similar use of Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai* it is not the case that the Source Ground surrounds the Figure in these examples with Abl3-*aw* with body parts; it is the Figure that surrounds the Ground. This shows that the use of the case endings does not necessarily have to describe topological features of the Ground or of the Figure, but of the situation in total: like Loc3-*ai*, Abl3-*aw* can be used in construing situations as three-dimensional, and in contrast, Loc2-*una* and Abl2-*ani* construe situations as two-dimensional.

13.3.5 Line connotation

Motion away from (the surface or edge of) an origin of location can be construed as following or constituting a line. This is seen in 10 and 12 above, where also the Goal is expressed. And, in fact, with line-like Grounds we typically get Abl2-*ani*, even though the motion is from inside a container and out:

26. *uk   **Táp-ani**   par-íu   dái*   Na.sm
    water tap-abl2   go-p/f.1s spec
    'water is running (out) **from the tap**'

The idea of a concrete line is also present in the fixed contruction NP-*ani gri* NP-*una zha* 'from down to bottom' (which also reflects the association of Loc2-*una* with the end Goal of a Trajectory), and it is also clear with the frequently occuring collocation with CP *gri* 'grasped', from *gríik* 'take, grasp, hold on to, use, buy, ..':

27. *tap gri   **tása**   **shár-as**   **gÁ-ani**   **gr-i**   kaTár ká-i*
    quickly   3s.obl.abs deer-obl.sg   throat-abl2 take-cp   knife do-cp
    SiS   a-híst-au   SJ.na
    head   au-throw-pst.A.3s
    'catching him quickly, **catching the deer's throat**, he cut his throat, and threw away the head'

With Abl3-*aw* + *gri(ik)*, we also get connotations of a line-like situation, but this involves several or distributed lines going out from more than one point of origin. This is illustrated with my informant's comments to a scene in the Put and Take Project. The scene depicts a situation where a woman lets go of a hammer

from her grasp down onto a plate. If Abl2-*ani* is replaced with Abl3-*aw* the informant gets association to two grasping points, as shown in the bottom line:

28. *piléT   bishá-i   th-el   dái   to   coTá*
    plate   break-cp   place-p/f.3s   spec   3s.acc.abs   hammer
    ***múC-ani**   las-él   dái*   GK.te
    grasp-abl2   let go-p/f.3s   spec
    'she breaks the plate, she slips the hammer **from her fist**'
    Inf.: "*múC-aw lasél dái* - when she is holding with <u>two hands</u>".

13.3.6 Distance

With static distances between two referent points, Abl2-*ani* is the preferred ending for the starting point of the Trajectory:

29. ***Chétr-ani   nÓ-aw   dái   sarák   shí-u***   Na.ma
    field-abl2   below-abl3   from   road   be.in-prs.3s
    saróg-ani   nÓ-aw   dái-o   basháli   shí-u
    road-abl2   below-abl3   from-*o*   bashali   be.in-prs.3s
    'downwards **from the field** there is a road, downwards **from the road** there is the *bashali*'

I have only found one example with Abl3-*aw* in this use (30 below), and I am not able to explain the difference. The example is from a map description. But 31, with Abl2-*ani*, a description of a scene from a Mouse film, shows Abl2-*ani* in a similar syntactic context.

30. *jamduláyk-a   hoTél-as   rúaw dái   **sarák-aw aLéL-aw***
    Jamdulayk-obl   hotel-obl.sg   frontwards   road-abl3   there.across-edge.dist-abl3
    gehén-aw   abdúl-a   hoTél   shí-u   GK.ma
    direction-abl3   Abdul-obl   hotel   be.in.prs-3s
    'in front of Jamdulayk's hotel, **in the direction across from the road**, there is Abdul's hotel'

31. *se   taL-(y)éi   **jalí-ani   anén-a***
    3s.nom.abs   there.non-spec.abs-abl1   fence-abl2   here.across-edge.near-loc1
    gehén-aw   dái   císt-i   GK.sm
    direction-abl3   along   stand-cp
    'standing **in the direction to here from the fence** there, he ..'

13.3.7 Ablative endings in temporal context

Temporal distance can be coded with both Abl2-*ani* and Abl3-*aw*. With indications of time denoting 'minutes past', however, Abl3-*aw* is not possible:

32. ***dash*** ***bajá-ani/*-aw*** *tre miléT par-áu*   TC99/GK.E
    10   hour-abl2/abl3   3   minute   go-pst.A.3s
    'three minutes **past ten o'clock**'

When a period has elapsed after a certain event or a point of time, this is coded with Abl2-*ani* and an ablative postposition, here *píSTaw*:

33. ***ucáL-ani*** ***píSTaw*** *a géri krom kar-ík-a par-ím*   IK.E
    Uchaw-abl2   after   1s.nom again work   do-inf-purp   go-p/f.1s
    '**after Uchaw** I go to work again' (*Uchaw* 'harvest festival')

In 32-33 the Abl2-*ani*-marked NP's denote an event or a situation that has ended. In 32 the time is no longer 10 o'clock, and in 33 the harvest festival *uchaw* has ended and working time starts again. In these examples Abl2-*ani* expresses what may be called limited temporal distance, that the time elapsed from one period or activity has ended until another can begin. By contrast, the temporal use of Abl3-*aw* indicates continuation or non-limitation, as shown in 34-35:

34. ***dash bás-aw*** *dawái d-em*   TC99
    10   day-abl3   medicine   give-p/f.1s
    'I'll give you medicine **for ten days**'

35. *a hé~cakan* ***dóS-aw*** *and-ái*
    1s.nom continuously   yesterday-abl3   here.non-spec.near-loc3
    krom kár-im dái   TC99
    work do-p/f.1s   spec
    'I have been working continuously **since yesterday**'

13.3.8 Possessive ablative

So far we have only seen instances of ablative endings denoting separation of line-like situations. However, both ablative endings are widely and productively used for denoting relationships without any indication of separation, illustrated above in the introduction with examples from TC99. Another example is 36, where Abl2-*ani* marks the noun that denotes the material from which something is made.

36. *ek **kírik-ani** moc sawzá-i te ..*   GK.sm
    a   snow-abl2   man   make-cp   3p.nom.abs
    'having made **a man from snow** they ..' (= 'a snowman')

    The relationship between the Figure and the Abl2-*ani*-marked Ground may be of different kinds. In 37-38 the relationship can be characterized as a part-whole relationship, 'organic' in 37 and 'non-organic' in 38.[110]

37. ***émi   bazá-ani   yúru***   So.S
    3p.near.nom   arm-abl2   vein
    'these are **arm veins**' (said while pointing)

38. ***Tím-ani***   *grikéyn bo   duodúau   thi   shi-u*   Mi.E
    stove-abl2   handle   very hot   become.cp aux.in-prs.3s
    '**the stove-handle** has become very hot'

    In some cases the Abl2-*ani*-marked NP denotes a type of entity or object without implying any particular kind of inherent relationship:

39. *tóa   se   **cirkés-ani liDér cirkés-ani gaDérak,** mizók*   Na.sm
    then   3s.nom.abs   circus-abl2 leader circus-abl2 elder   mouse
    'then the **leader of the circus**, the **boss of the circus**, the mouse, ..'

    When used for marking such relationships Abl3-*aw* denotes elements of moreness, plurality or non-delimination:

40. ***prés-aw***   ***bribó*** *tayár thi shí-an ..*   TC99
    lower branches-abl3   walnut   ripe   become-cp aux.in-prs.3p
    '**the walnuts of the lower branches** have become ripe …'[111]

41. *and-ái   aL-ái   jag-ém-e*
    here.non-spec.near-loc3 there.non-spec.dist-loc3   look-p/f.1s-as
    *désh-ai   básh-au   **páiran**   són-aw   **LohíST***[112]   PP.T
    afar-loc3   chirp-pst.A.3s   across.stream pasture-abl3 monal pheasant
    'as I look here and there, from afar it chirps, **the monal pheasant of the mountain peak**' (lit. 'the pastures across-stream')

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[110] When the 'part' noun is placed after the source noun the sentence is ambiguous, as in (from TC99): ***póst-ani   jac***   *uphuá-i* = (a) 'take the fur **off the skin**'; (b) 'take off **the fur-skin**'
        skin-abl2   hair   take off-imp.2s
[111] TC99's translation: 'the walnuts of the lower branches are ripe …'.
[112] In Parkes' transcription: *andä´ alái jagém-e, déshä básh-au páiran són-ao lohíS.*

These examples are similar to TC99's *úts-aw uk* 'water of many springs', which TC use as an example of Abl3-*aw* as a plural ablative marker. There is certainly an element of plurality in 40, but Abl3-*aw* may just as well be said to indicate a larger and non-specified or unbounded area. This is what it does in 41, where *páiran són-aw* refers to a non-bounded location far away (from clear identification).

With instances of 'temporal belonging' the distinction between Abl3-*aw* and Abl2-*ani* is cancelled as only Abl3-*aw* is allowed:

42. ***onjá-aw/*-ani   kaLáSa   juan-án***   *hakidá*   *ne   kár-in*   TC99
    today-abl3/-abl2 Kalasha   youth-nom.pl   traditional rule   not   do-p/f.3p
    '**the Kalasha youngsters of today** do not keep the rules of traditions'

13.3.9 Abl3-*aw* as adverbializer

Abl3-*aw* can be used as a general direction marker with adverbs, deictic as well as absolute, and relational nouns. This is seen in the lexicalized postpositions and adverbs *píSTaw* 'behind', *puNDúyraw* 'around', and *rúaw* 'in front of', from *piST* 'back', *puNDúri* 'round', and *ru* 'face', respectively. In the more productive use Abl3-*aw* has the sense of 'outwards from'.

43. ***gróm-as   thár-ani*** *zhay   par-íu   dái*   GK.E
    village-obl.sg   above-abl3   irrigation channel   go-p/f.3s   spec
    '**from above the village** an irrigation channel goes'

44. ***gróm-as   thár-aw*** *goST   shí-an*   GK.E
    village-obl.sg   above-abl3   stable   be.in-prs.3p
    '**upwards from the village** there are stables'

45. *ek   sawéw   tícak   **nÓ-aw**   kái   th-en*   Fil.S
    a   *sawew*   a little   down-abl3   at   place-p/f.3p
    the place a (certain) *sawew* a little **downwards**'

In 43 *thar-ani* denotes a demarcated point of departure (for an irrigation channel, a line-like Figure). In 44-45 Abl3-*aw* denotes a general direction, or, 'non-linear' direction. This function is relatable to the elative-ablative meaning of Abl3-*aw* through its association to a non-bounded, not precisely demarcatable location. In contrast to the demarcatable and thus specific semantics of Abl2-*ani*, Abl3-*aw* can be applied in a general sense and as such be used as a general spatial adverbializer.[113] This sense can be seen as a bleaching of the original OIA ablative

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[113] We can also have an adverbial compound *grom.thar-aw* 'village-upwards', where the spatial relation to the village is even more downgraded.

meaning. But the bleaching or desemanticization would have set in early, because according to Whitney (1899: 99) also the ablative in Sanskrit could mean 'forward from' and 'forward'.

Together with Abl3-*aw* in this use we often see the Path-marking postposition *dái* 'from, along-wards' with Abl3-*aw* (*dái* never occurs with Abl2-*ani*). I am not certain as to the precise semantic distinction between Abl3-*aw* and Abl3-*aw dái*. Being the conjunctive participle of *dek* 'give', *dái* seems to me to indicate that the motion of separation or the direction of the path continues a little way from the point of origin, as in 46.[114]

46. *durík   kár-i   **bíhan-aw   dái** ghond d-el   dai   TC99*
    window do-imp.2s   outside-abl3 from bad smell give-p/f3.p   spec
    'shut the window, something is smelling bad **(from) outside (off)**'

Example 47 below describes a mouse film where the mouse wants to hear music and tells the elephant to stick his trunk into the loudspeaker plug of a record player so that the music can come out through his ears:

47. *se   awás **nást-aw dái** íta   tása   kÓ~-una dái*
    3s.nom.abs voice nose-abl3 from come.cp 3s.obl.abs ear-loc2   along
    nih-íu   dái   GK.sm
    come out-p/f.3s   spec
    'the sound comes out through his ears, after having come **by way of his nose**'

Sound is not visible and thus not exactly identifiable, and because it comes out from an absolute enclosure, Abl3-*aw* is used to denote the separation from the Ground element. The postposition *dái* expresses the motion along a Trajectory (in both places).

13.3.10 Verticality and horizontality and the ablative endings

In 12.2.8 I discussed the potential relevance of a parameter of 'verticality vs. horizontality' for the use of Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai*. It was found only to be marginally relevant. Considering the similarities between Loc2-*una* and Abl2-*ani*, and between Loc3-*ai* and Abl3-*aw*, we may speculate whether a parameter of verticality vs. horizontality is (marginally) relevant for the ablative endings as well.

For a number of examples, the parameter can be applied positively. If we reconsider examples such as 22 (*piléT*) and 25 (*SiS*), we may speak of a vertical

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[114] I have here and other places glossed *dái* 'from' or 'along', although in ablative contexts 'out along', 'away' or 'off' would perhaps be better. See 17.7.5 for an analysis of *dái*.

motion away from the Source coded with Abl2-*ani*. And like Loc3-*ai*, Abl3-*aw* may be associated with motion away from dispersive location in 20 (*piléT/durbát*) and 21 (*pirán*).

But it is not obvious why the motion should be horizontal in, for example, 6 (*Dabá* 'box'), 9 (*gAng* 'hole'), 23 (*Ángu* 'finger'), and 24 (*Dha~k* 'loin'). Or why the motion should be vertically orientated in, for example, 8 (*gúnghur* 'hollow'), 10 (*kaphás* 'cage'), 11 (*nast* 'nose'), 12 (*anguTí* 'guesthouse'), 13 (*zhang* 'war'), 27 (*gA* 'throat'), and 29 (*Chetr* 'field'). Furthermore, one may ask why general, place-adverbializing or 'possessive' Abl3-*aw* and 'possessive' Abl2-*ani* should be associated with horizontality vs. verticality, respectively.

I am therefore sceptical as to regarding 'horizontality' and 'verticality' as relevant distributional parameters for the ablative endings.[115]

13.4 Summary and discussion

Table 13.1 below summarizes the relevant parameters for the distribution of the ablative case endings as illustrated with the results from the Put and Take test and my spontaneous material. In the leftmost column I list the semantic parameters. The other two columns show how the parameters are manifested when coded with Abl2-*ani* and Abl3-*aw*, respectively.

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[115] Curiously, ablative state of affairs are not frequently cited in those works considered here that deal with 'horizontality vs. verticality' as a relevant parameter for the distribution of spatial markers, for example, Rai (1988: 133-134), Bickel (1997: 64), Bashir (2001: 25; fc.). If an ablative situation is mentioned, the vertical-horizontal distinction is not expressed by different ablative morphemes but elsewhere in the morpho-syntax.

TABLE 13.1: SEMANTIC PARAMETERS AND THE ABLATIVE CASE ENDINGS.

	Abl2-*ani*	**Abl3-*aw***
Shape of source-Ground	plain surface, side of container	container
Type of contact between Figure and source-Ground	contiguity with plane surface or edge	encompassment, inclosure
Dimension of contact between Figure and source-Ground	2- and 3-dimensional	3-dimensional
Penetration of source-Ground	shallow	deep
Trajectory	mono-linear	non-linear
Figure and referentiality	demarcatable, bounded, specific, visible	non-demarcatable, unbounded (dispersive), non-specific, general, non-visible
Temporal	ended period	continuing period
Number	often singular	singular and plural
Possession	singular	plural

Parallel to what was found for the locative endings (Table 12.3), there are a number of different parameters (leftmost column) that are responsible for the overall distribution of the ablative case endings. Some have to do with topological features, shape, orientation or voluminosity of the Figure and the Source-Ground. Other parameters are not topological but trigger manifestations such as visibility, demarcation, specificity, and, marginally, singular vs. plural. Besides this, there are a number of specialized uses of the ablative endings, for example, coding of different kinds of possessive relationships.

By the use of semantic networks introduced in chapter 7 I shall in the following sections suggest explanations as to (a) how the different manifestations are linked together, and (b) what may be considered the core meanings of Abl2-*ani* and Abl3-*aw*. Both networks are graphically presented along the lines introduced in chapter 7 and employed for the locative endings (chapters 12.2 and 12.4.1-2). In the middle, to the left, the proposed core meaning is shown. Below this are listed extensions that are topological in nature. Above the core meanings we find non-topological, referential parameters metaphorically derived from the core meaning through the notions of visibility and accessibility. The referential uses reveal semantic distinctions such as determinable vs. non-determinable, singular vs. plural, etc. I shall first present the network for Abl2-*ani* (with explanation); thereafter follows the network for Abl3-*aw*.

13.4.1 Semantic network of Abl2-*ani*

For Abl2-*ani* I consider as the core function 'Source location in contiguity with or on a surface'. In the ablative events in the Put and Take Test (Ch. 13.2) this was found to be the type of location that most unambiguously triggered marking with Abl2-ani. The network suggests how the other functions are related to this core function and to each other.

FIGURE 13.1: THE SEMANTIC NETWORK OF ABL2-*ani*.
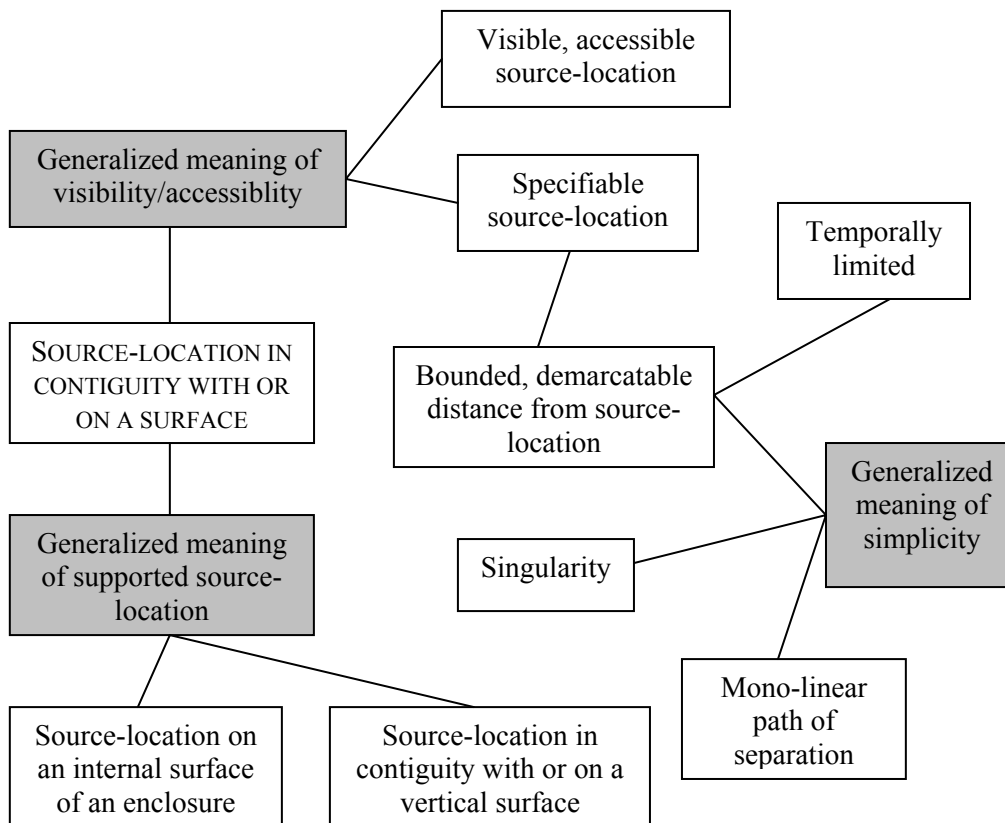
From the core, topological meaning of Abl2-*ani* 'Source location in contiguity with or on a surface' a 'Generalized meaning of supported Source-location' is extracted. From this generalized meaning the topological functions 'Source-location on an internal surface of an enclosure' and 'Source-location in contiguity with or on a vertical surface' extend.

From the core function also 'Generalized meaning of visibility/accessibility' extends, based on the idea that a source-location on a surface is a visible or accessible location. From this generalized meaning 'Visible source-location' and 'Specifiable source-location' extend. From the function 'Specifiable source-location', a function 'Bounded source-location' extends. This function of boundedness links to the function 'Temporally limited, and together these two

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functions are connected to the functions 'Singularity' and 'Mono-linear path of separation', all held together in a sub-network characterized by a 'Generalized meaning of simplicity'.

As depicted here there is a clear parallel to the network proposed for Loc2-*una* in 12.4. One may say that network of Abl2-*ani* is an ablative mirror-image of the network of Loc2-*una*.

Figure 13.1 does not depict Abl2-*ani*'s 'Possessive' and 'Source-product functions'. The sub-network in Figure 13.2 below illustrates the relation of these functions to the core function.

FIGURE 13.2: SUB-NETWORK OF ABL2-*ani*: 'SOURCE-PRODUCT' AND 'POSSESSIVE'.
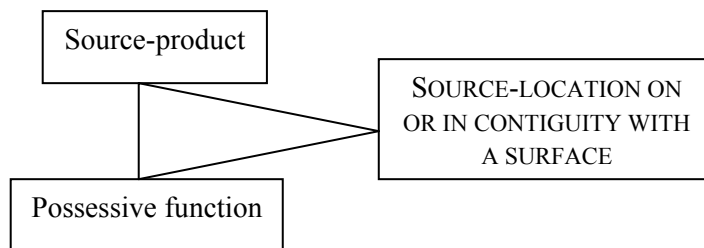
Through metaphoric extension based on separation from a source-Ground of origin, the function 'Source-product' is derived. In a further extension the relationship comes to be one of cause or reason for the existence of something, and further to denote an (abstract) instrument used in order to bring about a situation of some kind. If the source location is conceived as a location of origin, either concrete or abstract, a possessive interpretation of this relationship is possible, 'what originates from a location is also possessed by the location'.

13.4.2 Semantic network of Abl3-*aw*

For Abl3-*aw* I consider as the core function 'Source location in container or enclosure'. In the ablative events in the Put and Take Test (Ch. 13.2) this was found to be the type of location that most unambiguously triggered marking with Abl3-*aw*. The network suggests how the other functions are related to this core function and to each other.

FIGURE 13.3: THE SEMANTIC NETWORK OF ABL3-*aw*.

```
                                    ┌─────────────────┐
                                    │   Non-visible   │
                                    │ source-location │
                                    └─────────────────┘
   ┌──────────────────┐
   │ Generalized meaning │
   │ of non-visibility and │          ┌─────────────────┐
   │  non-accessibility  │            │ Non-specifiable │
   └──────────────────┘              │ source-location │
                                      └─────────────────┘
   ┌──────────────────┐
   │ SOURCE-LOCATION IN A │        ┌────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐
   │   CONTAINER OR AN    │        │ Dispersion │      │  Generalized │
   │      ENCLOSURE       │        └────────────┘      │  meaning of  │
   └──────────────────┘                                │ non-simplicity │
                                                        └──────────────┘
        ┌────────────┐    ┌────────────┐
        │    Deep    │    │ Temporal – │
        │ penetration │   │ continuous and │  ┌──────────┐  ┌──────────────┐
        └────────────┘    │  unbounded  │    │ Plurality │  │  Non-linear, │
                          │ temporal event │  └──────────┘  │ general direction │
                          └────────────┘                    └──────────────┘
```
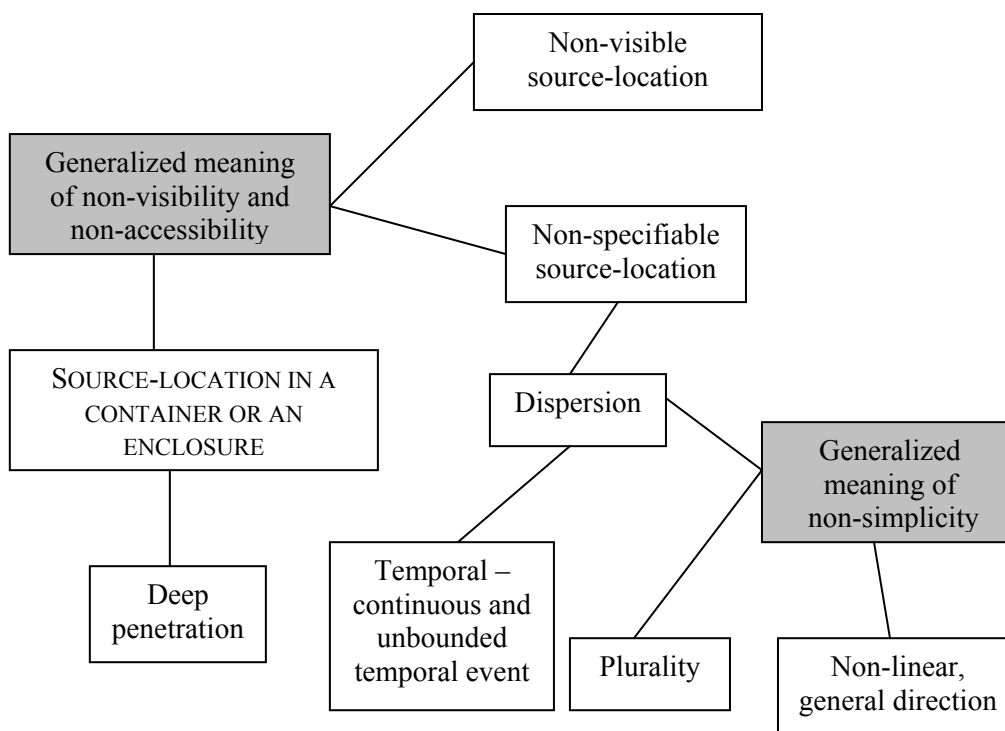
The network displays 'Source location in a container or an enclosure' as the core meaning of Abl3-*aw*. From this core function the function 'Deep penetration' extends, parallel to the Abl2-*ani* function 'Shallow penetration'. Since location inside a container may imply being out of sight the 'Generalized meaning of non-visibility and non-accessibility' extends metonymically from the core meaning. From this generalized meaning the functions 'Non-visible source-location' and 'Non-specifiable source-location' are derived. The latter function links to a sub-network comprehending functions that involve moreness: 'Non-linear, general direction', 'Dispersion', 'Plurality', and, through a space-to-time metaphor from the function 'Dispersion', 'Continuous and unbounded temporal event'. A parameter of 'horizontality' is not found to be relevant for the distribution of Abl3-*aw*.

13.4.3 Narrowing down on the basic senses of Abl2-*ani* and Abl3-*aw*

Comparing the networks for the two ablative case endings, we are able to define a number of overall, abstract semantic parameters, which manifest in different ways. This is captured in Figure 13.4a-b below, which shows three overall parameters: (1) topological, i.e. physical characteristics of Ground or the location constituted by the Figure <u>and</u> the Ground (leftmost bottom node); (2) type of trajectory (righmost bottom node); and (3) specificity or boundedness (top node).

FIGURE 13.4: BASIC, ABSTRACT SEMANTIC PARAMETERS OF THE NETWORKS OF
ABLATIVE CASE ENDINGS ABL2-*ani* AND ABL3-*aw*.

a. Abl2-*ani*   b. Abl3-*aw*

Surface support		Enclosement, encompassment

Bounded, specific	Mono-linear trajectory	Non-specific, general, dispersion	Non-linear trajectory
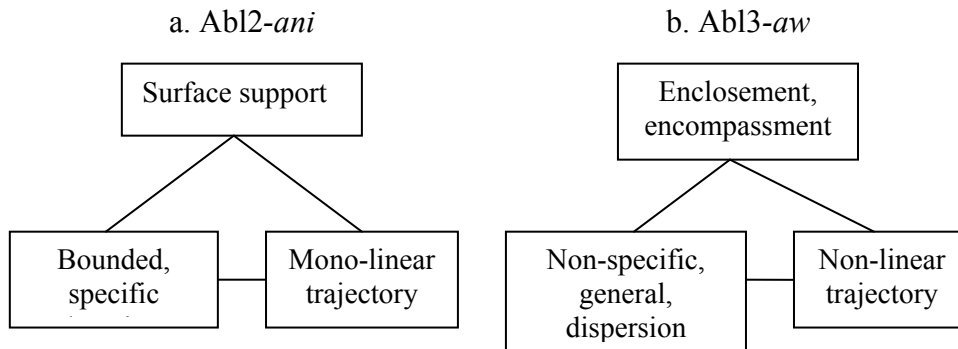
We are able to derive the manifestations of the parameter 'specificity' from
the concrete spatial and topological parameter through the notion of 'visibility',
i.e. how the mind perceives the concrete spatial location through vision. This
extension is explained and commented upon in the preceding sections, and it is
here marked by a full line. The domain 'horizontality vs. verticality' does not find
its place in the networks in a corresponding systematic way. Instead, I have
included aspects of the linearity of the trajectory away from the source-Ground,
mono-linear for Abl2-*ani*, non-linear for Abl3-*aw*. This is manifested in the uses
of Abl3-*aw* as a general, non-specifying path indicator in 13.3.9, and for Abl2-*ani*
in the examples in 13.3.5.

The basic, abstract semantic parameters for each case ending in Figure 13.4
constitute the tripartite basis for an abstract semantic analysis of the case endings.
When used in enclosure contexts, Abl2-*ani*, like Loc2-*una*, comes to encode
specifiable support in that enclosure. The type of trajectory associated with
Abl2-*ani* is monolinear. When Abl3-*aw* as the typical 'enclosure' ablative is used
with nouns denoting a surface of some sort, Abl3-*aw* is associated with dispersion
or non-specificity, based on the idea that enclosure prevents immediate access, per
vision or actual concrete. This is similar to what was seen for the locative
'enclosure ending' Loc3-*ai*. The type of trajectory associated with 'enclosure' and
'dispersive' Abl3-*aw* is non-linear, as manifested in the adverbial function, and it
is a reflection of the unbounded element associated with Abl3-*aw*.

13.4.4 Etymological notes

We only have a good candidate for the etymology of Abl3-*aw*. According to
GM73 (p. 209) Abl3-*aw* is "possibly" to derived from a common Khowar-
Kalasha *-*āð*, from OIA –*āto* < OIA ablative -*āt* + emphasizing *toḥ/taḥ*. If GM is
right, the general ablative Abl3-*aw* goes back to an OIA ending -*āt*, where -*t*- has
become -*L*-, which becomes a velar glide in word-final position. Given that old

historical meanings may be worn out, it is not surprising that Abl3-*aw* has become a general directional ablative marker as in *tháraw* 'upwards', *bíanaw* 'outside-wards', etc. But at the same time we see a specialization to a concrete function, since Abl3-*aw* denotes separation from enclosures and containers, and has entered a new paradigmatic contrast with a historically new ending.

Neither GM nor TC give suggestions as to etymologies for Abl2-*ani*. One may speculate whether we have a complex morpheme, for example built up from (general local?) *-a* + *-ni* (CP of *nihik* 'come out'?). Or from *-an* (instrumental?) + *-i* ('???'). Whatever the etymology of Abl2-*ani* may be, we have seen that the ending has taken over many of the specialized functions of OIA *-āt*, for example, following Whitney (1899: 96-98), 'expulsion, removal, release', 'source-product', 'cause-product' (bordering "on instrumental constructions"), 'comparison', 'partitive genitive', etc.[116] For Kalasha the following scenario suggests itself: The old OIA ablative has been worn down over time and has come to denote more general states of an ablative nature. For the expression of core 'from' situations, such as removal, expelling, etc., other lexical or morphemic material was taken into use, resulting in Kalasha Abl2-*ani* and *pi*.[117]

13.4.5 Areal notes on ablative marking

Surveying descriptions of other Hindu Kush languages we see rather different ablative-marking patterns,[118] but as far as I have been able to see, not patterns following a parameter of verticality vs. horizontality (in contrast to what can be found for locative-marking), or a referential parameter, as suggested for Kalasha.[119]

A few languages show number distinction in their ablative-marking: **Tirahi** has two different ablative markers for singular and plural (EB03: 858; Grierson 1927: 269, 273-274). Some languages, like Iranian **Wakhi**, suffix an ablative case marker to the singular and plural oblique case forms, giving an ablative number distinction (EB fc; GM 1938). And some languages, like **Khowar** and **Torwali**, use an additional ablative formative in the plural (EB03: 844). None of the languages surveyed seem to have two or more separate ablative case endings as Kalasha, except, maybe, **SE Pashai** *-a(:)i/-e* and *-i* (GM67: 259). But some languages have what is called 'bound ablative postpositions' with different

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[116] Some of these and other OIA functions are also expressed by the postposition *pi*, see 17.5.

[117] Whitney (1899) mentions a few prepositions with adverbial value, "as strengthening or defining the *from*-relation" (p. 98), for example, *ádhi*, *pári*, *purā́*, and *ā́*. None of them, however, appears as likely candidates for ancestors of Abl2-*ani*.

[118] Besides the literature already mentioned, I have used Bashir (2003), Edelman (1983), and the sources mentioned in those works.

[119] Indus Kohistani (Zoller 2005) has the spatial suffixes *-àh* 'toward definite and visible location' and *-ìh* 'toward indefinite and invisible location', but it is not clear whether they have ablative counterparts.

semantic functions.[120] For example, **Shina** (Schmidt and Kohistani 2001) has an 'ablative-superessive' *-iji ~ -ji* 'away from something' and 'location on something' (p. 125), and an "infrequent" or "restricted" ablative case suffix, *-nyuu ~ nuu ~ uu*, found with "some common adverbs of place and with some free postpositions" (p. 130).

Kalam Kohistani (Baart 1999) has a morpheme *-āy* that marks "a beginning point" for a motion or a directive action. (Kalam Kohistani also has two free postpositions, *thi* 'point of origin for concrete movement' and *mā* 'point of origin for abstract movement'.)

Turning to the Nuristani languages, we find that **Kati** has two bound postpositions with an ablative-like meaning: *-taře* 'initial point, source, ..', and *-stə* 'point of departure' (Edelman 1983). **Waigali**, according to Degener (1998), has a number of morphemes which can have ablative functions. Thus, the 'bound postposition' *-ba* marks, among a number of functions, 'the local source', 'a temporal point of departure', and 'the originator or cause'. Another bound postposition, *-kan ~ -kana*, marks, among other things, the entitiy that someone or something is separated from, and it can also be used in comparison. Finally, Waigali has a case suffix *-i*, termed 'Instrumental-Ablative' by Degener, which denotes the point of departure for a motion.

13.5 Conclusion

In what can be considered as their basic senses, the ablative case markers Abl2-*ani* and Abl3-*aw* distinguish between particular topological and referential aspects of the situation of removal or separation that they denote. They can both be used for describing identical scenes depending on how the speaker wishes to construe the scene, for example if he wishes to emphasize that a separation takes place out from <u>and</u> away (Abl3-*aw*) from a location of origin or just away from (Abl2-*ani*) a location of origin. Through semantic extension of the parameter 'bounded-unbounded location' Abl2-*ani* and Abl3-*aw* can come to be associated with the notion of number. The semantic (topological) contrast between the core meanings of Abl2-*ani* and Abl3-*aw* is kept throughout most of the semantic extensions, but both endings have specialized uses. Most significant is that Abl3-*aw* has become a spatial adverbializer marking a general direction away from a location, and that a new semantic contrast has arisen. As far as can be deduced from a brief survey of ablative-marking in neighbouring languages, Kalasha also has a unique marking pattern for the ablative case, i.e. <u>locative as well as ablative case-marking in Kalasha follow semantic parameters not observed in neighbouring languages</u>.

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[120] Quite a few languages have a number of different free postpositions that denote ablative states of affairs. Due to reasons of delimitation, I shall ignore them here.

In comparison with previous descriptions of the ablative endings Abl2-*ani* and Abl3-*aw* in LSI, GM, Tr96, and TC99, I have given a unified and coherent presentation of the polysemy of both endings and I have shown that this polysemy can be explained as metaphoric and metonymic extensions from a core meaning. I can support TC99's observation that Abl3-*aw* is used with things that cover a larger area, but I cannot support their proposed number distinction between Abl2-*ani* and Abl3-*aw*. As was concluded for the locative endings, the parameter of number is derived and secondary, and only marginally relevant for the distribution of Abl2-*ani* and Abl3-*aw*. I have also shown that Abl2-*ani* and Abl3-*aw* are in mutual contrast (almost) throughout their polysemous range. As such they constitute a (historically new) paradigmatic contrast in the domain of ablative endings that is parallel to what was observed for the locative endings. In chapter 15 I shall discuss how Abl1-*(y)ei* fits into this paradigm, and I shall take one more look at the similarities between the locative and ablative case-marking systems, including the proposed number distinction. But before that comes a brief inspection of the local case-markers used with place names.

14. Place names and local case endings

This chapter surveys the pattern of case-marking on place names. The following account is based on observations in the sources, in spontaneous speech, in use of place names in elicited map descriptions, and on notes taken down during one elicitation session focusing on this issue. In the following I shall go through first case-marking in ablative contexts, then in locative contexts, i.e. 'static location at/in a place' and 'motion to a place'. In 14.3 I give a summary and relate the pattern of case-marking of place names to what we have seen so far.

14.1 Place names in ablative contexts

The preferred means of coding ablative state of affairs with place names is by the use of Loc3-*ai*. Loc3-*ai* is used both for actual motion away from a place, 1, and for denotation of a distance from a place, 2:

1. *a*   ***islamabát-ai***   *íta*   *á-am*   GK.E
   1s.nom   Islamabad-loc3   come.cp   aux.an.prs-1a
   'I have come **from Islamabad**'

2. *utsúnd*   ***nághar-ai***   *tícak*   *prén-aw*   *dái*   GK.sm
   Utsund   Naghar-loc3   a little   downstream-abl3   from
   'Utsund is a little downstream **from Naghar**'

Abl3-*aw* is never observed as coding an ablative state of affairs with place names, and Abl2-*ani* only once, as an introduction to a map description: ***batrík-ani*** *shurúk káak* (Na.sm) 'we shall start **from Batrik**' (lit. 'Batrik-abl2 begin do'). In the rest of the map description the informant used Loc3-*ai* for ablative state of affairs, and Abl3-*aw* is not observed in other types of data.

There are a few other ways of coding ablative state of affairs. In 3-4 we see use of the postposition *pi* with Loc3-*ai* and oblique *-as*, respectively, and in 5 we see the base form of the place name and the 'perlative-ablative' postposition *dái*:

3. ***kalkaTák-ai pi***   *tícak*   *rúaw*   *pá-i-o*   *du*   *phond*   *par-ín*   *dái*
   Kalkatak-loc3   away from   a little   in front   go-cp-*o*   two   path   go-p/f.3p   spec
   'having gone a little ahead **(away?) from Kalkatak**, two roads going are going'   GK.E

4. ***gúru-as***   ***pi***   *tícak*   *wén-aw*   *nih-í-o*   *grabat kúi*   *shí-u*
   Guru-obl.sg   away from   little   upstream-abl3   appear-cp-*o*   Grabat Kui   be.in-prs.3s

'a little upstream **(away?) from Guru**, appearing then, we have Grabat Kui'
GK.sm

5. ***suwír*** ***dái*** *utsúnd hátya* *par-íu* *dái* *sarák*   Na.sm
   Suwir   from   Utsund towards go-p/f.3s spec   road
   'it goes **from Suwir** towards Utsund, the road'

As indicated in the translations with 'away' it is possible that *pi* adds an element of further distance. *dái* seems to be preferred when there is a Trajectory going out from the Source location.

Finally, bare forms have been observed in map descriptions in contexts that allow ablative interpretation, but I am not sure as to whether the place names in these examples express the source or just point out the location that the speaker has come to in his description.

6. ***krAkÁ*** *nÓ-aw* *dái* *Chétr* *shí-an*   Na.sm
   Kraka   below-abl3 along field   be.in-prs.3p
   'downwards **from Kraka** there are fields' (Or, 'Kraka-downwards, there …')

14.2 Place names in locative and allative contexts

There does not seem to be any systematic difference in coding a place name as a location or as a goal. In both cases -*Ø* seems to be the default marker. Example 7 shows the valley name *aChuagá* in an allative context with and without the postposition *hátya*, and 8 shows 'Chitral' in a static locative context:

7. ***aChuagá*** *par-ín* ***aChuagá*** ***hátya*** *par-ín*   Na.sm
   Achuaga   go-p/f.3p Achuaga   towards go-p/f.3p
   'they go **to Achuaga**, they go *towards Achuaga*'

8. *tása* *hátya krom kár-im* ***Chetráw*** *krom kár-im*   Na.na
   3p.obl.abs for   word do-p/f.1s Chitral   work do-p/f.1s
   'I shall work for him, I shall work for him **in Chitral**'

Lack of a locative case suffix seems to be the general rule for place names when they express static location or goal. By far the greatest number of place names observe this rule, including the ones in 7-8.

Suffixation with Loc3-*ai* in a locative context was not accepted by my informant, and I have not found any examples in the material. Suffixation with Loc1-*a* and Loc2-*una* with these place names does not occur in my material. In an

elicitation session my informant rejected suffixation with Loc1-*a*, but was not so sure with respect to Loc2-*una*, for example, ?*Denmárk-una* 'in Denmark' and ?*krAkÁ-una* 'in Krakal'. They sound "childish", was his comment. This needs further investigation, but it may be that suffixation with Loc2-*una* is disfavoured because of overlapping semantics: Loc2-*una*, as we have seen, indicates exactly identifiable location and this information can be said to be superfluous with place names that by nature identify specific and exact locations.

However, there are ten place names that either do not allow zero-marking or allow marking with Loc1-*a*. Three of these are valley names, Rukmu, Mumoret, and Biriu, the other eight are villages or town names. Table 14.1 illustrates the irregularities of these place names.

TABLE 14.1: ASSUMED IRREGULAR LOCAL CASE SUFFIXATION ON PLACE NAMES.

Place name	Semantics	-Ø	Loc1-*a*	Loc2-*una*
Batrik	Location	not accept	yes	yes
	Goal	not accept	yes	yes
Anish	Location	not accept	yes	yes
	Goal	not accept	yes	yes
Grom	Location	not accept	not accept	yes
	Goal	not accept	not accept	yes
Kalashagrom	Location	yes	not accept	not accept
	Goal	yes	not accept	yes
Rukmu	Location	yes	not accept	not accept
	Goal	yes	not accept	yes
Mumoret	Location	yes	not accept	yes
	Goal	yes	not accept	not accept
Biriu	Location	yes	not accept	yes
	Goal	yes	not accept	not accept
Islamabat	Location	yes	yes	not accept
	Goal	yes	yes	not accept
Kotdesh	Location	yes	yes	not accept
	Goal	yes	yes	not accept
Dir	Location	yes	yes	not accept
	Goal	yes	yes	not accept

Batrik and Anish make up a specific group since they can only occur with Loc1-*a* and Loc2-*una*. Kalashagrom and Rukmu accepts -Ø, but not Loc1-*a*, and only Loc2-*una* in static Location context. Biriu and Mumoret follow the same pattern except that they only accept Loc2-*una* in a Goal context. The place names Islamabad and Dir both refer to places outside of the Kalasha area, and they make up a group that accepts -Ø and Loc1-*a*, but not Loc2-*una*. The village Grom may

not be an exception at all, since *grom* is also a common name meaning 'village', and the pattern that Grom displays is not inconsistent with local case-marking of common names.

It should be noted that my informant's scepticism about Loc2-*una*-marking on place names does not hold with Batrik and Anish. With these two place names Loc2-*una* is common, and with Anish apparently the default locative case marker.

14.3 Summary

Local case-marking on place names difzfers from the case-marking of common names by three facts: (1) Loc2-*una*, Abl2-*ani*, Abl3-*aw* do no occur in the spontaneous material and are generally disfavoured in elicitation sessions; (2) Loc3-*ai* does not seem to be able to occur in locative contexts; (3) zero-ending seems to be the preferred means of case-marking in locative and allative contexts. It is noticeable that suffixation with Loc2-*una* is disfavoured by my informant, but not totally excluded. In particular two place names, 'Batrik' and 'Anish', seem to be irregular in that they prefer suffixation with Loc2-*una* and Loc1-*a*, and cannot occur in naked form. I am not able to explain this. I cannot find any phonological reasons for these and the other irregular place names. Batrik has a special status for the Kalasha as it is considered to be the most important religious site. But Batrik is a also a small village, indicating that size may be a factor. Islamabat, being the capital of Pakistan (but not a small town), can also be said to have a certain conspicuous status. But why the other place names show irregular behaviour is still unclear.

15. Adverbs and case-marking in Kalasha

Kalasha has a large range of spatial adverbs, deictic ('here', 'there', etc.') as well as absolute ('upstream', 'downhill', etc.). Both types can be suffixed with case endings and derivatives that trigger additional, specifying information about deixis, direction, and distance. Because of lack of space (and sufficient data for reliable analyses) this will not be the place for a detailed description of the meanings and uses of Kalasha adverbs, although it will be highly relevant for an account of parameters for spatial marking.[121] What follows here are brief sketches of the inventories of deictic and absolute place adverbs and of the basic semantics associated with them. The inventories are presented in tables with additional remarks following. TC99's suggestions as to translations are added in brackets.

15.1 Local-deictic adverbs in Kalasha

The inventory of deictic place adverbs in Kalasha is illustrated in Table 15.1. It consists of four invariant word forms, all with stress on a final *a*-vowel, and of a number of bound roots which can be suffixed with local and stressed case endings, Loc1-*a*, Loc3-*ai*, Abl1-*(y)ei*, and Abl3-*aw*. Suffixation with Loc2-*una* and Abl2-*ani* is neither observed in the data nor acceptable according to my informants.

Two overall semantic parameters are responsible for the use of the deictic adverbs. One parameter is 'distance', distinguishing between 'here' (near speaker or deictic centre), 'distant' (away from speaker or deictic centre), and 'absent' (away, remote, out of sight for speaker or deictic centre). I share this analysis with TC99, but I am not yet certain as to how visibility and distance interact, for example whether a non-visible, but close or relative to close location will be denoted with *atrá* or with *tará*.

Another parameter locates a referent Ground with respect to 'immediate accessibility', hitherto not defined by TC, EB, or GM. Either a location is 'across-edge' or it is not 'across-edge'. If it is 'not across-edge' it can be 'exactly identifiable'/'specific' (or 'bounded'), *ayá*, etc., or 'not exactly identifiable'/'non-specific' (or 'unbounded'), *and-ái*, etc. A location is denoted as 'across-edge' if it is located at the other side of a barrier, edge or corner of the deictic centre.

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[121] I hope to have opportunity to take up this perspective for further scrutiny of the spontaneous and elicited data that I have already collected, and for consideration of this in relation to the bulk of literature on the relation between space and cognition that has come up the recent years, for example, Bloom (1996), Brown (2001), Gumperz (1996), Haviland (1998), Levinson (2003), and Levinson and Wilkins (to appear). See Mørch (2000b) for a glimpse into the use of absolute adverbs in Kalasha.

Location or direction across a river and its banks will not normally be denoted by these adverbs, but by *páyran* 'across-river', which I have grouped with the absolute adverbs.

TABLE 15.1: DEICTIC ADVERBS IN KALASHA. (TC99's translations added in brackets in small type face.)[122]

		HERE	THERE		WHERE
		Near - near deictic centre, visible	Distal - away from deictic centre, (visible ?)	Absent - non-visible	
EXACTLY IDENTIFIABLE – SPECIFIC LOCATION (BOUNDED?)	Locative	*ayá* (here, nearby speaker)	*atrá* (there, away from speaker, in sight)	*tará* (there, remote out of sight)	*kawá* (where)
	Ablative	*ayá dái* (by this way)	*atrá dái* (by that way)	? *tará dái*	*kawá dái* (by which way)
NOT EXACTLY IDENTIFIABLE – NON-SPECIFIC LOCATION (UNBOUNDED?)	Locative	*and-ái* (here, in here)	*aL-ái* (there)	*t-aL-ái*	*kaw-ái* (to where)
	Ablative	*and-(y)éi* (from here)	*aL-(y)éi* (from there)	*t-aL-(y)éi*	*kaw-(y)éi* (from where)
ACROSS-EDGE	Locative	*an(d)én-a* (from here, local)	*aLéL-a* (over there, out of view)	*t-aLéL-a*	*kawéL-a* (from where)
	Ablative	*an(d)én-aw*	*aLéL-aw*	*t-aLéL-aw*	? *kawéL-aw*

Examples 1-2 are from descriptions of maps of Chitral valley. In 1 the speaker locates the town Birkot straight down the river in relation to Arandu (see Map 2). In 2 the speaker locates Chitral valley coming from south and crossing the barrier that the Lowari pass constitutes.

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[122] The non-specific, non-absent forms can be suffixed with stressed *–(h)ák*, for example *aL-ai-hák*. *-(h)ák* is actually a diminutive and it is also occasionally translated with 'a little ways' by TC99. Although more data has to be investigated, I shall suggest that *-hák* derivations with adverbs are to be read as 'away in an unspecified direction and distance'. This is also indicated in some places in TC99, for example, *aL-ai-hák* 'aside, away', and *kaw-ai-hák* 'far (out of sight of speaker)'. Another derivational suffix is *-alía* 'in the direction of', for example *and-ai-alía* 'in the direction of speaker'. Also this can only be suffixed to the non-specific, non-absent forms. Both *–(h)ák* and *-alía* can be suffixed to some of the absolute adverbs too, see 15.2.

1. *harandú* **aL-yéi**   *birkóT shí-u*   *hawghanistáni jaygá*
   Arand   there.nonspec.dist-abl1 Birkot   be.in-prs.3s Afghanistani   area
   '**away there** from Arandu, we have Birkot, Afghanistani area'   Na.ma

2. ***lowray.Tóp-ai aLéL-a***   *dái-o*   *pháto Catráw shurúk h-íu dái*
   Lowari-loc3   there.across-edge-loc1 from-*o*   then   Chitral begin-p/f.3s   spec
   'then **across-edge-wards from the Lowari pass**, Chitral begins'   GK.ma

The edge or the barrier needs not prevent visibility of location, as TC99 indicate for *aLéL-a*. I 3 the speaker describes a scene where a child sits at a table with his mother around the corner at the side of the table.

3. *méz-una ek putr*   **aLéL-a**   **dái**   *nis-í á-au*   Na.sm
   table-loc2 a   son.nom   across.edge-loc1   from   sit-pf   aux.an-prs.3s
   'at the table a son sits **across-edge-wards**'

The distinctions on the vertical axis in the table proposed here are not shared by TC99, who, in my view, are not very clear about how to categorize the different 'here', 'there', and 'where' forms.

Adverbs in the 'specific'/'exactly identifiable' and 'across-edge' categories distinguish morphologically between locative and ablative forms. The specific forms can have an ablative version when followed by the ablative-perlative postposition *dái*.

4. *ía*   *shitgúl-a dur ne shitgúl-a dur tícak* **ayá**   *shí-u*
   3s.nom.near   Shitgul-obl house not   Shitgul-obl house a little   here.spec be.in-prs.3s
   'this is Shitgul's house, right, Shitgul's house is **just about here**'   GK.ma
   [JH: Inf. pointing]

5. *táj-a dúr-as*   *pi prén-aw*   **sh-ayá**   **dái**
   Taj-obl house-obl.sg from downstream-abl3 emph-here.spec   from
   marTín-a   *hoTél shí-u*   GK.ma
   Martin-obl   hotel   be.in-prs.3s
   'downstream from Taj's house, **from here off,** we have Martin's hotel'
   [JH: Inf. pointing in a direction]'

dái also occurs with the 'across-edge' forms, adding the meaning of 'and onwards' for example, *andén-a dái* 'across an edge from here and onwards'. I am not sure as to what different semantics is implied by *dái* and the absence of *dái* with these forms. Examples 6-7 are from descriptions of the village Krakal, and

the actual distances between the two locations in 6 and the two locations in 7 are about the same.

6. *nabég-a   dur   dukán-as   píSTaw   dái   shí-u*
   Nabeg-obl   house   shop-obl.sg   behind   from   be.in-prs.3s
   taL-yéi   tícak   andén-aw   *rúaw   pá-i-o*   GK.ma
   there-abl1   a little   here.across.edge-abl3   in front   go-cp-*o*
   ek baránu   dur   shí-u
   an old   house   be.in-prs.3s

   'Nabeg's house is behind the shop, **from there, a little away from here-across-edge**, having gone forward, there is an old house'

7. *may   dúr-as   pi   **tícak andén-aw***   *dái   íta*
   1s.obl   house-obl.sg   from   a little   here.across-edge-abl3   from   come.cp
   tícak   thár-aw   dái-o   said ilór-a   dur   shí-u   GK.ma
   a little   above-abl3   from-*o*   Said Ilor-obl   house   be.in-prs.3s

   'having come **a little away from here-across-edge**, from my house, in an upwards direction we have Said Ilor's house'

The 'across-edge' forms seem to be formed by a sort of reduplication of the non-specific forms. The absent forms are formed by prefixed *t-*, identical to the formation of the absent demonstrative pronouns (see 5.2). All forms can be prefixed with emphatic *sh-* (*sha-* before consonants), for example, *sh-ayá* 'right here (and nowhere else)'. It seems probable, but is at the present stage of analysis still unclear, that stressed *-á* in the fixed specific forms is identical to Loc1-*a*. But the etymology of *atrá*, the only one given by GM73, is *átra-* 'there' (CDIAL 228).

15.1.1 Summary – case-marking and deictic adverbs

I shall be cautious with respect to drawing too many parallels between this case system and the system for nouns. We have here a limited inventory and productivity of local case endings used for a very specific and relatively small word group. For example, Loc2-*una* and Abl2-*ani* cannot be used with these adverbs, and Loc3-*ai* can only be used with some of them, etc. We may expect that the closed and relatively small paradigm will pave the way for specialized, conventionalized, meanings of the case endings. And in general, the case suffixation with deictic place adverbs seems not to support the semantics proposed in the previous chapters. Loc3-*ai* is in contrast with Abl1-*yei*, and Loc1-*a* is in contrast with Abl3-*aw*. If any similarities should be drawn between case-marking on these adverbs and for common nouns (and place nouns) it may be that both Loc1-*a* and

Abl3-*aw* have a 'general sense', and that Loc3-*ai* also with place adverbs denote 'non-specific' location (in contrast to 'specific' location). Notice also that Loc3-*ai* here does not imply lack of (exact) knowledge of location, as this is rendered by the prefix *t-*.

As mentioned in chapter 9 it is the case-marking of deictic adverbs that has led me to speculate whether we actually do have an Abl1-*yei*. As we have seen in 12.2.7, Loc3-*ai* can be used in ablative situations with common nouns, so why not also with adverbs where we furthermore have a palatal segment (realized as a patalal glide or as palatalization of the preceding consonant). In this perspective, Abl1-*yei* can be dissolved into *-y-ai*, with highly palatal surroundings which in Kalasha always have a narrowing or fronting effect on vowels.

This 'mono-morphemic' analysis goes against EB's and TC's analyses, but it is in accordance with how GM noted the proposed Loc3-*ai* and Abl1-*yei*, namely as *-äi*, with how Saifullah Jan writes his text (Jan 1996), and with native speaker reactions.

15.2 Local-absolute adverbs in Kalasha

Kalasha has a large number of absolute adverbs. As with the deictic adverbs I am not in a position to give a full and explanatory account of the uses and senses denoted by this group of adverbs. The absolute adverbs denote aspects of the geographical surroundings of the Kalasha speech community. There are two sets of adverbial roots that denote direction and location 'uphill/downhill', respectively, and one set of adverbs that denote 'upstream/downstream', respectively. Another set of adverbs denotes location and direction 'across-stream'. The morphological and semantic characteristics of these groups are sketched in the following.

15.2.1 Up and down the river in Kalasha

'Upstream' and 'downstream' are denoted by the bound roots *we~-* and *pre~-*, respectively.[123] The roots can be suffixed with Loc1-*a*, Abl2-*aw*, and derivative *-(h)ak*. The latter can further be derived with *-alía* 'in the direction of'. The root nasalization is flowing and manifested differently by suffixation of these affixes. The table below illustrates the manifestations and my estimations of the semantics.

As with the deictic adverbs only a restricted set of case endings can occur with this set of absolute adverbs, and again Loc1-*a* and Abl3-*aw*, the general location and ablative markers. With this set of adverbs that relate location and direction in relation to the flow of the stream in a valley, Loc1-*a* is used for distant and exact location or direction in either direction of flow of the stream, and

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[123] Neither GM73 nor TC99 give suggestions as to etymologies for these roots.

Abl3-*aw* is used as a general marker of direction and location. *dái* can be added to Abl3-*aw*-derivations and implies then anchoring in a deictic center. For example, if the speaker is the deictic centre of *se wénaw dái paríu* 'he goes upstream', the sentence can only mean <u>upstream</u> <u>from where</u> the speaker is, not <u>upstream</u> <u>towards</u> the speaker. This observation and distinction between *prén-/wén-aw* and *prén-/wén-aw dái* is not captured by the translations in TC99. I should point out that there is inter-speaker variation as to when to use which derivative form. Informant A can use *prehá~k* for locations and directions for which Inf. B uses *wén-aw (dái)*.

TABLE 15.2: ADVERBS FOR 'UPSTREAM' AND 'DOWNSTREAM' IN KALASHA. (TC99's translations shown in brackets and small type).

	we~- 'upstream'	pre~- 'downstream'
-aw	*wénaw* 'upstream (general direction/location)' (from upstream, from up the valley)	*prénaw* 'downstream (general direction/location)' (from downstream, from down the valley)
-aw dái	*wénaw dái* 'upstream (from deictic centre)'	*prénaw dái* 'downstream (from deictic centre)' (from down below, from a downstream direction)
-a	*wé~a* 'exactly high or far upstream' (upstream)	*pré~a* 'exactly deep or far downstream' (downstream)
-(h)ák	*we~hák* or *wehá~k* 'a little upstream; upstream (unspecified)'	*pre~hák* or *prehá~k* 'a little downstream; downstream (unspecified)' (downstream a little ways)
-(h)ak-alía	*we~hakalía* or *weha~kalía* 'in the direction a little up-stream; upstream' (unspecific)'	*pre~hakalía* or *preha~kalía* 'in the direction a little down stream; downstream (unspecific)'
-ariék	*wenariék* (residents of the upper part of a village) ['upper' = 'upstream', JH]	*prenariék* (residents of the lower part of a village) ['lower' = 'downstream', JH]

When used in 'their natural setting', so to speak, in a valley, the directions indicated by this set of absolute adverbs are obvious. They are also used in a narrow-scale context, for example in pointing out locations or directions in a house. Terms for 'right' and 'left' are generally only used for one's <u>own</u> body parts belonging together in a pairwise way, or, marginally, for location in or direction to the immediate vicinity of the speaker. When talking about another, facing person's body parts *we~-* and *pre~-* may be used (see Mørch 2000b).

I have not observed indigenous terms for 'east' and 'west' (downstream and upstream, respectively). Perso-Arabic terms for 'east' (*masrík*) and 'west' (*magríp*) (and 'north' (*shumál*) and 'south' (*junúp*)) are known by at least a number of speakers, but I have never heard them used for locations in a local Kalasha valley context, or in a broader geographical South Asian or Central Asian context.

In these contexts, to the extent that speakers actually are aware of global geography, either *wénaw/prénaw* or *taL-ái/-yéi* are used. The first opportunity to be understood as 'somewhere in the general direction of 'upstream/downstream''. The latter opportunity is a general term for locations far away, for example, from fieldnotes, *kimón pay áan hóma taLáy?* 'how many goats are there <u>your there-at</u> (i.e. in Denmark)?'. Occasionally, one can hear *suri-nihi-kéyn* 'east/downstream' (lit. sun + coming out + place, 'where the sun rises') and *suri-bihoTi-kéyn* 'west/upstream' (lit. sun + crossing over and away + place, 'where the sun sets'). In my informants' map descriptions only the words for 'upstream/downstream' are used.

Outside of geographic context other senses are ascribed to these absolute adverbs. In one map description the speaker used consistently *prenaw* 'downstream' for the direction of his progression as he described the locations in the valleys, no matter whether he progressed in a downstream or in an upstream direction.

In Islamabad another informant used in a consistent way 'upstream' for west and 'downstream' for east (and 'uphill' for north and 'downhill' for south), i.e. in accordance with how 'upstream' and 'downstream' interrelates with the cardinal points in his home valley. But he did not adopt this strategy in Denmark. Both he and another informant (in Copenhagen and in Thessaloniki) seemed to be inclined to use *wénaw* in spontaneous speech for 'unknown or unspecified direction ahead' while walking in Copenhagen or in the countryside, alternatively *aLái* and *taLái*. And *we~hák* 'upstream' may mean simply 'away', as in 8, which describes a photograph with a person who looks away

8. *muT ne jag-él   dái muT puchúm* **wehá~k** *jag-él   dái*
   tree not look at-p/f.3s spec tree uphill   upstream   look at-p/f.3s spec
   'he is not looking at the tree, the tree is uphill (behind him), he looks
   upstream (i.e. **away)** (from it)'   GK/Taj.sm

As for location inside a house, I observed a tendency for the use of *we~-* with derivations for location and direction to the <u>left of the entrance</u>. This will be consistent with the direction in my informants' home village, where left will be upstream when entering a house. However, when directly asked as to the use of *wénaw* and *prénaw* in Denmark and Thessaloniki none of the informants were able to state the exact direction 'upstream' and 'downstream', or they denied that these terms could be used. (One informant, however, explained the use of *wénaw*

for the direction along my road left/west because he felt a slight incline - and there actually is an insignificant cline from west to east.)

15.2.2 Up and down a mountain in Kalasha

Two sets of free root adverbs are used for 'uphill' and 'downhill': (1) *puchúm* vs. *úndru*/*óndru*, and *ála/hála* vs. *ógaLa*. These can be suffixed with case endings and derivatives as shown in table 15.3 below.

I do not have a qualified opinion about the deictic anchoring indicated by TC99's translations. Further examination is needed. I am also not in a position to state in any precise terms the meaning and use of the *-hakalía* derivations. There are too few instances of them in my data.

TABLE 15.3: ABSOLUTE ADVERBS; 'UPHILL' AND 'DOWNHILL'. (TC99's translations in brackets and small type.)

	puchúm	*óndru/úndru*	*ála/hála*	*ógala*
-Ø	'uphill, up along a slope' (uphill from speaker)	'downhill, down along a slope' (downhill from speaker)	'directly up-hill, high up' (up there, uphill)	'directly downhill; deep down' (down there, downhill)
-a	*puchúma* [as above]	*úndrua* [as above]		
-(h)ak	*puchumák* 'up or uphill (away or a short way)' (uphill a little way from speaker)	*undruhák* 'up or uphill (away or a short way)' (downward direction)		
-(h)ak-a	*puchumáka* [as above]	*undruháka* [as above]		
-(h)ak-alia	*puchumakalía* 'in direction uphill' (ascending, uphill)	*undruhakalía* 'in direction uphill' (descending, downhill)		

hála/ála and *ógaLa* are presumably invariant; I have heard *ógaL-ai* once in a narrative, but neither case suffixation nor adverbial derivation to these adverbs have been accepted by informants in elicitation sessions. In my data there is always an end point referred to or implied when *hála/ála* and *ógaLa* are used, that need not be so for *puchúm* and *úndru*. Notice the parallel with distant-exact *pré~a* and *wé~a*, also ending in *-a*. When used outside of actual geographic context *hála/ála* and *ógaLa* mean 'high up' and 'deep down', respectively.

puchúm and *úndru/óndru* can denote location or direction along a slope or, as synonyms to *hála/ála* and *ógaLa*, 'up/upwards', without implication of a slope.

Different from the latter pair, however, there is not always an endpoint implied by *puchúm* and *úndru/óndru*, i.e. they have a sense of 'general uphill/downhill':

9. *úg-as   nÓ-una   á-am   a   **puchúm** n-ik   Na.na*
   water-obl.sg below-loc2   be.an-prs.1s 1s.nom uphill   come out-inf
   ne bhá-am   dái
   not be able-p/f.1s spec
   'I am under the water, I am not able to come out upwards'

With *puchúm* the speaker indicates a general direction upward and since it is from the centre of a pool of water, there is no slope implied. If the speaker had used *hála* he would have implied that he was not able to reach a certain point in an upwards direction. Similarly, *puchúm jiái* means 'look uphill, upwards', *hála jiái* means 'look at the location (high) uphill'.

puchúm is also used without any implication of ascent. In 10 *puchúm* means backside, probably a metaphoric extension of its actual use, since there is no slope on the photograph and no slope in the elicitation session:

10. *muT ne jag-él   dái muT **puchúm** wehá~k   jag-él   dái*
    tree   neg look at-p/f.3s spec tree uphill   upstream   look at-p/f.3s spec
    'he is not looking at the tree, the tree is **uphill (i.e. behind him)**, he looks
    away (from it)'   GK/Taj.sm

And in 11, from the same elicitation session but in describing another photograph, *puchúm* seems to mean 'away', synonymously with *wehá~k* in the preceding example:

11. *súda **puchúm** jag-él   dái múT-as gehén-aw   tá-a piS ká-i*
    kid   uphill   look at-p/f.3s spec tree-obl.sg direction-abl3 3s.obl back do-cp
    'the kid looks **uphill (i.e. away)**, having turned his back in the direction of
    the tree'   GK/Ta.sm

Brown (1993) reports on an 'away' use of a term for 'uphill' in Tzeltal, and Bashir (2000) has observed similar use of Khowar 'up', and Bickel (1997) also for Belhare. *tháraw* 'upwards' can be used in this sense too, but neither *nÓaw* nor *úndru* have been observed in the sense 'near'.

Kalasha also has a few other terms denoting location or direction on a vertical scale: *dihák* 'upward, skyward; upward in a perpendicular direction', and *Cóktu* 'steeply ascending' (Khowar loan word).

15.2.3 Across the river in Kalasha

Kalasha has a bound root, *páyran-*, often pronounced [ˈpe(:)ran], glossed by TC99 as 'across or over a stream or chasm':

TABLE 15.4: ABSOLUTE ADVERBS, *páyran-* 'ACROSS-RIVER'.

	páyran-
-Ø	*páyran* 'across a river'
-(a)aw (dái)	*páyranaáw (dái)* 'across-stream and ahead'
-(h)ák	*páyranák* 'a little across-stream; across-stream (unspecific)'
-(h)ák-a	[as *páyranák*]

páyran can only be used with locations or directions across a river. For the crossing of or the location in relation to another (horizontal) boundary, either *aLéL-* 'there, across-edge, distal', *anén-* 'hear, across-edge', or a CP-construction with *bihóTi* 'having crossed a mountain ridge (and moved away out of sight)' is used. *payranák* occurs mainly with motion verbs, and it does not occur with a preposed possessive phrase, as *páyranáaw dái* in:

12. *gúr-as   páyraná-aw   dái   grabat kúi ..*   Na.ma
    Guru-obl   across.stream-abl3   from   Grabat Kui
    '**across-stream-wards** of Guru, (we have) Grabat Kui'

15.3 Summary

Kalasha has a number of deictic place adverbs and absolute place adverbs. Case suffixation with these groups is restricted: Loc2-*una* and Abl3-*ani* cannot occur with these adverbs, and Loc1-*a* and Loc3-*ai*, and Abl1-*yei* (?) and Abl3-*aw* cannot be used interchangeably but are restricted to specific adverbial roots.

As regards semantics, I have proposed parameters that differ slightly from those proposed by TC99. The deictic adverbs distinguish on one dimension between three degrees of distance and also degrees of accessibility/visibility. On another dimension they distinguish between 'across-edge' and 'not across-edge', and for the latter between 'specific'/exactly identifiable' and 'non-specific'/not exactly identifiable'. The absolute adverbs display a distinction between a vertical axis (with two sets of adverbs) and a horizontal axis (upstream vs. downstream). And as a parallel to the across-edge parameter for the deictic adverbs, there is also

an absolute adverb for location or direction across-stream. Both groups can be derived with *–(h)ák* and *-alía*.

The exact distributional and semantic parameters remain to be stated. For this, I can merely point to areal similarities. For Wakhi, Bashir (fc.) gives up to nine different 'there'-forms, distinguishing between 'near', 'mid', and 'far' in one dimension, and between 'above', 'horizontal', and 'below' in another dimension. According to Zoller (2005) the adverbs in Indus Kohistani are distributed according to parameters such as 'exactness', 'visibility', 'distance', and 'laterality' vs. 'not laterality'. (Interestingly, Indus Kohistani has an adverb *pā´r* 'across, on the other side', from OIA *pārá* (CDIAL 8100).)

Up to this point of my analysis of the place adverbs I have not been able to point to a reflection of the geographical landscape in terms of choice of affixes. I have not as Bickel (1997) for Belhare, Rai (1988) for Bantawa, and Bashir (2001) for Khowar found evidence for nominal affixes ascribing semantic distinctions such as 'up/uphill/upstream' vs. 'down/downhill/downstream' vs. 'across/horizontal'. Kalasha does indeed reflect such distinctions in the modulation of space and it reflects it in a systematic way, but only, as far I can see, in the lexicon.

16. Local case summary

The preceding chapters have examined the distribution and the varied semantics of the locative and ablative case endings. I have shown that there are different distribution rules for common names, for space adverbs, and for place names. This chapter summarizes the conclusions and relates the three different systems to each other.

16.1 Case-marking paradigm for common nouns

By use of systematic elicitation material (the tests and elicitation sessions) and material from different kinds of spontaneous speech (either texts/narratives or responses to stimulus material) a considerable amount of data for analysis of the locative endings with common nouns was collected. The analysis of the locative test material pointed to the relevance of topological characteristics of the Ground or the Ground-Figure relation as relevant for the distribution of Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai*. It was also noted that this topological parameter was not absolute, i.e. expected Loc3-*ai* situation could be coded with Loc2-*una*, and a few expected Loc2-*una* situations could be coded with Loc2-*ai*. Loc1-*a* was seen with a few lexical items.

The analysis of the other data types confirmed the relevance of a topological parameter for the distribution of the locative endings and it shed light on the proposed restriction with respect to Loc1-*a*. Furthermore, by analysing text stretches and situations where Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai*, respectively, were used in each other's domains, as defined from the results of the test results, I was able to state the relevance of referential parameters, i.e. parameters relating to notions such as 'exact/bounded location' vs. 'dispersive/unbounded location', and 'accessible/visible' vs. 'non-accessible/non-visible location'. In establishing this set of parameters I also referred to native speaker reactions. A parameter such as 'horizontality vs. verticality', to different degrees relevant for neighbouring languages and other mountain languages, was not found to be relevant for case-marking in Kalasha.

Loc1-*a* was found to be partly in, partly out of this system. On the one hand Loc1-*a* denotes general or insignificant location, on the other hand, Loc1-*a* is lexically restricted, and it has functions that indicate a role as a mere local relator, a local oblique.

For the ablative endings similar semantic parameters are relevant. The Put and Take test pointed to the relevance of topological characteristics of the Ground or the Ground-Figure relation. The analysis of other data types supported these findings and also pointed to the relevance of referential parameters, along the

same lines as was found for the locative endings. The proposed Abl1-*yei* has not been observed with common nouns.

The paradigm of local case markers for common nouns is presented in Table 16.1.

TABLE 16.1: SEMANTIC PARAMETERS OF LOCAL CASE-MARKING ON COMMON NOUNS.

	General, insignificant	Surface-location boundable	Container-location unboundable
Locative	*-a*	*-una*	*-ai*
Ablative		*-ani*	*-aw*

The table shows the symmetry between the locative and ablative endings, and also by use of Loc1-*a* that locative expressions can be coded in a dimension that ablative expressions cannot. However, the table does not depict the elasticity with which the local endings are used. For example, when Loc2-*una* is used with containers, the basic domain of Loc3-*ai*, the speaker implies that the location is either directly or immediately determinable, or that there is (with certainty) an element of support present. In reverse, when Loc3-*ai* is used with surfaces, the domain of Loc2-*una*, the speaker implies that the location is unbounded or not immediately determinable.

The basic system as depicted here is a finer-grained description than the one proposed by Tr96 and TC99. TC99s' parameter of 'widespreadness' (cf. Ch. 10) is relatable to the 'boundable/unboundable' parameter. However, the proposed parameter of 'singular vs. plural number of Grounds', as postulated by Tr95 and TC99, is not found to be central for the distribution, although for native speakers in elicitation sessions it seems to be the immediate reaction to stimuli data. I see this parameter as being contextually inferred.

16.2 Case-marking paradigm for deictic place adverbs

For deictic place adverbs we see another more fossilized system, with fewer local case endings, and without the interchangeability among the case endings. Loc2-*una* and Abl2-*ani* cannot occur with place adverbs, and the debatable Abl1-*yei* (if not *-y-* + *-ai*), assumed by TC99 to be able to also occur with other nominals cannot do so according to my material. Of the locatives, Loc1-*a* and Loc3-*ai* are in complementary use, Loc1-*a* occurs with the 'across-edge' set, Loc3-*ai* with the proposed 'unbounded' (or 'non-specific') set. (The members of the proposed 'specific' set are invariant in form, but perhaps with a lexicalized stressed final *-á*.) The system can be represented as in Table 16.2.

TABLE 16.2: LOCAL CASE-MARKING SYSTEM FOR DEICTIC PLACE ADVERBS.

	Root	**Locative**	**Ablative**
Across-edge	*anén-aLéL-*	*-a*	*-aw*
Not exactly identifiable, non-specific	*and-aL-*	*-ai*	*-yei (-y-ai?)*

Taken together Loc1-*a* and Loc3-*ai* are in paradigmatic contrast with Abl1-*yei* and Abl3-*aw* with respect to Locative/Allative vs. Ablative state of affairs. Internally Loc1-*a* and Loc3-*ai* on the one hand, and Abl3-*aw* and Abl1-*yei* on the other hand, are in paradigmatic contrast with each other with respect to what we may call the nature of a locative and ablative location, whether 'across-edge' or 'unbounded' (or 'non-specific').

There is a direct parallel to the common noun system in that Loc3-*ai* also with this nominal group denotes unbounded location. The use of Loc1-*a* and Abl3-*aw* cannot not immediately be seen as a reflection of their distribution with common nouns. It is noticeable that whereas Loc3-*ai* and Abl3-*aw* with common nouns were found to be parallel with respect topological and referential parameters, they are not in mutual contrast with the deictic place adverbs.

16.3 Case-marking paradigm for place names

Place names primarily make use of zero-ending and Loc1-*a* for the expression of static location and goal. For ablative state of affairs they primarily make use of Loc3-*ai*, which do not seem to have unambiguous locative meaning with this noun class. A few place names were found to be able to occur with Loc2-*una*, but otherwise this ending was found by native speakers to be odd with place names. Abl2-*ani* and Abl3-*aw* were neither observed in the material, nor favoured by my informant. A few place names display deviant patterns of suffixation. I am not able to explain this as other than idiosyncracies.

More investigation on case-marking on place names is needed before we can come to any decisive conclusions, but the data at hand allows us to set up a system as in Table 16.3:

TABLE 16.3: THE LOCAL CASE-MARKING SYSTEM FOR PLACE NAMES.

Locative	Allative	Ablative
-Ø, -a		*-ai*
(*-una* ?)		(*-ani* ?)
(*kai*)	(*hatya*)	(*dai, pi*)

There are a few parallels between this system and the one for common nouns. (1) With common names Loc2-*una* denotes exactly determinable location, and since a place name by nature refers to an exact location, the use of Loc2-*una* may seem semantically redundant, or "childish", as my informant put it, with place names; (2) Loc1-*a* seems to be optional and in free variation with -*Ø* for some place names, a pattern similar to what wee saw for absolute adverbs and certain relational nouns. This apparent 'free variation' is one of those aspects that need to be looked more into.

16.4 Case endings and postpositions

In total, the local case endings denote both locational information, a spatial relationship of contact between the Figure and the Ground, and also the nature of this contact situation, whether static, or dynamic, i.e. with the Ground as the Goal or the Source for a motion. Neither functions, however, and in particular not the latter function, are reserved for local case endings. Although neutral with respect to denoting topological and referential characteristics of the Ground and the Figure-Ground relation, also postpositions code Grounds as Goals and Sources. This has hitherto been indicated in an indirect way. The following chapter seeks to remedy this aspect of case-marking by surveying in what ways the postpositions in this respect differ from the local case endings, and from each other internally.

17. Postpositions in Kalasha

This section examines postpositions with space- and complement-marking functions in Kalasha. (For postpositions without these functions I refer to Appendix 27.) Postpositions with spatial functions are divided in two groups: (1) postpositions derived from verbal participles; (2) postpositions derived from other sources, including (assumed) borrowings from other languages. The former group is analysed in 17.8, the latter group in chapters 17.3-17.7.

I shall for each postposition make suggestions as to how the different functions are related semantically. I shall comment on the polysemy from a diachronic perspective by relating the analyses to work by Heine and his research associates (for example, Heine et al. 1991a, Heine 1990, 1994, Heine and Kuteva 2002). In the end of this chapter I summarize the spatial functions of the postpositions, and in chapter 19 the functions of the spatial postpositions will be placed in the space-marking system that the local case endings, the relational nouns, and the postpositions taken together make up.

As it will appear there are instances of semantic overlap between a number of the postpositions, for example, *hátya* and *báti* both express Purpose, *kái* and *hátya* both mark Addressee, etc. Such cases of semantic overlap will be explained and clarified as I proceed, and they will be briefly taken up in the summary. One of the shared functions, Complement-Marking, will be introduced as a separate function in the following. For a brief introduction to another shared function, marking Experiencer in the 'Dative-subject construction', I refer to Appendix 25.

17.1 Postpositions as complement markers

I suggested in 5.2.2.3 that object-marking in Kalasha to some extent depends on a degree of affectedness. I also suggested that for Kalasha this parameter will probably have to be a matter of semantic subclassification of verbs that require oblique marking on their objects.[124]

I shall here take a closer look at what role the postpositions play in object- or complement marking, and I shall suggest a number of semantically definable subcategorization patterns. This builds partly on observations in the material, partly on statements about complement-marking in TC99, and partly on fieldwork elicitation sessions where a number of predicates have been checked for complement-marking. With one informant I checked the use of the postpositions *pi* and *som*, with another informant the postpositions *thára* and *báti*. Clearly, this is an aspect of Kalasha grammar that needs more investigation and rechecking with

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[124] Appendix 26 contains a list of predicates that I have observed with oblique objects.

more native speakers. Until this has been done I refer to Appendices 28-33. for provisional results.

There are a number of general observations to consider with respect to the syntactic function of postpositions, as illustrated in 1-4 below: (a) the use of one or more postpositions may be obligatory (1); (b) the use of one or more postpositions may be optional (2); (c) some predicates can take only one obligatory postposition (3); (d) some predicates can take only one optional postposition (4); (e) the choice between postpositions, when allowed by the predicate, depends on the semantics the speaker wants to express (1-2); (f) there is not always clear and obvious correspondence between the semantics of the predicate and the semantics of the postposition. Points (e)-(f) will be illustrated in the following examination.

1. *se*   ***azhél-an***   ***hátya / thára***   *rákum ár-is*   Fn.06
   3s.nom.abs family-obl.pl   toward / upon   kind   do.pst.A-3s
   'he was kind **to his family (members)**'

2. *se*   *tása*   *som* *sh-áma*   *moTér*
   3s.nom.abs 3s.obl.abs with   emp-3s.acc.near   car
   grí-ik-as ***(báti/hátya/som)*** *than*   *ne* *pr-áu*   Fn.06
   buy-inf-obl purp/toward/with   agree   not give-pst.A.3s
   'he did not agree with him **about the buying** of the car'

3. ***tása***   ***báti/*hátya/*thára***   *bo*   *kaphá haw-áu*   TC99/Fn.06
   3s.obl.abs   purp/toward/upon   much   sad   become.pst.A-3s
   'he became very sad **for her**'

4. *a*   ***may***   ***azhél-an***   ***(báti) / *(hátya)*** *gam zhu-m*   Fn06
   1s.nom   1s.obl   family-obl.pl   purp   *toward   miss-p/f.1s
   'I miss **my loved ones**'

What syntactic status do these complements in the oblique case and optionally marked by an postposition have? In 1 *azhelan* 'family (members)' is the object for *gam zhuk* 'miss, long for', the sentence would be ungrammatical without a direct object. But the same cannot be said for 2 and 4. In these sentences we do not have arguments in the sense that they are obligatory to make the sentences grammatical; we can have, for example, *se kaphá háwau* 'he became sad', and *se rákum áris* 'he behaved in a kind way'. Following van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 159-62, 382-4) they are 'argument-adjuncts', i.e. 'arguments' to the predicate rather than modifiers, but 'adjuncts' because they are introduced by an adposition; van Valin and LaPolla's examples are *Bill <u>took</u> the book <u>from</u> Fred*, and *Bill <u>gave</u> the book <u>to</u> Fred* (p. 157).[125]

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[125] A 'modifier' (to the predicate) will be, for example, a locative or temporal adjunct, as in *Sam baked a cake <u>in the kitchen/after work</u>*; and an adposition introducing this complement will be an

Givón (1984) addresses the issue in a different manner. He talks of "less prototypical transitive verbs" (p. 98-105) and "verbs with an indirect object" (p. 109-13), and "verbs with two nominal objects" (p. 113-6). Less prototypical transitive verbs can have a locative direct object as in *he rode the horse* or a locative direct object with an implied patient: *they robbed her* (= 'took something (Patient) away from her (Locative object)', p. 98-99). Verbs with indirect objects, objects that are not affected patients, are often coded by adpositions, and they are typically semantically Locative (e.g., 'go to/from somewhere'), Directional, (e.g., concrete 'talk to someone', or abstract 'angry at someone'), Dative Associative (e.g., 'fight/meet with someone'), Dative-Benefactive (e.g., 'give something to/for someone'), etc.

Van Valin and LaPolla's criteria depend, as far as I can see, on language specific preferences and native speaker knowledge about what sentence complements are arguments, i.e. grammatically obligatory, and which are not.[126] Consequently, if we want to use this perspective with respect to postpositions in Kalasha, the question arises as to how to know whether a PP in Kalasha introduces an argument or an argument-adjunct. Introspection is, of course, out of the question for myself, and making grammaticality judgements from observation of a limited corpus is not reliable. A third method would be to go through all complement-taking predicates in TC99 with one or more informants to check for grammaticality. I have done this, but only with very few predicates, and only with one informant, which is far from sufficient to allow for general conclusions with respect to valency patterns for Kalasha.

17.2 The syntactic function of postpositions in Kalasha

I shall choose to talk about <u>semantic</u> valency, i.e. the number of arguments a predicate can take in its semantic or logical structure, and I shall describe the requirements or non-requiremens for predicates to occur with one or more <u>syntactic</u> argument or argument-adjunct postpositions as a lexical feature. When I in the following examination talk about complements I mean <u>semantic</u> arguments.[127] In the examination of the postpositions I shall distinguish terminologically between

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'adjunct-adposition'. A third type of adposition is an argument-marking preposition (Van Valin and Lapolla, 1997: 159-62). Van Valin and LaPolla's terminology, in particular the term 'argument-adjunct', runs counter to traditional syntactic terminology, which differentiates between syntactically obligatory <u>arguments</u> and syntactically optional <u>adjuncts</u>.

[126] Actually, Givón, when going through types of 'indirect objects', talks of "indirect objects whose presence is *obligatory* for expressing the meaning of the verb" (1984: 110; italics original). This I read as being <u>syntactically</u> obligatory in the surface structure.

[127] In other frameworks other terms are used, for example 'case roles' (Fillmore 1968), and 'notional roles' (Palmer 1994). In the generative framework 'thematic role' (or 'theta-role') are used.

'complement-marking postpositions' and 'postpositions marking free adverbials'. The latter include, for example, *thára* in *mizók mézas thára LabÉ híu dái* 'the mouse is playing <u>on the table</u>'. The former term includes those postpositions that mark semantic arguments to a predicate, whether syntactically arguments or adjuncts.

As regards the syntactic <u>function</u> of postpositions it may be helpful to take a glance at the use of postpositions in other NIA languages. In Urdu, for example, a postposition *kō* can be used to mark direct objects, either (a) animate direct objects, or (b) specified inanimate direct objects. With human direct objects *kō* can be omitted if the human object is unspecified (Schmidt 1999: 71). When confronted with optionality with respect to postpositions as complement markers my informants would often respond with "no difference", "the same", as shown in the parentheses in 5a-b below:

5. a. *a*   **dighÁ-una** **kái** *jag-ém*   GK.E/Na.E
    1s.nom wall-loc2   at   look at-p/f.1s
    'I look **at the wall**' ("a specific wall")

  b. *a*   *dighÁ-una* *jag-ém*   GK.E/Na.E
    1s.nom   wall-loc2   look at-p/f.1s
    'I look **at a wall**' ("just a wall")

The native speaker reactions to these constructed sentences point to a semantic function along the lines accounted for Urdu by Schmidt: when postpositions are used with direct objects or with semantic objects, they indicate specificity (if not the native speakers are influenced by Urdu, which they master).

However, I find 'specificity', i.e. marking here of, very hard to detect and state with certainty, and I shall leave open whether or to what extent postpositions have this function also in Kalasha. Such an examination will have to include patterns of word order and co-occurrence with specific present marker *dái* also. However, the fact that some postpositions are obligatory may go against such an analysis, and also the fact that 1st and 2nd person pronouns, which are born specific, can occur with and without postpositions raise doubts about this proposed function: *se may/tay (kái) jagél* 'he me/you to/at(?) looks'. If it should turn out that Kalasha can mark specificity in this way, it apparently differs from Urdu in that inanimate nouns can carry this marking.

Although employing syntactic notions such as 'argument' and 'complement' I shall not present an analysis of an unresolved problem in Kalasha syntax, namely the syntactic status of the nominal or adjectival component in the conjunct verb construction vis-à-vis the syntactic status of the complement of a conjunct verb. The problem may be illustrated with *gecdarí kárik* 'look after' in 6:

6. *tu*   ***sud-ón***   ***(thára)***   *gecdarí kár-i*   TC99
    2s.nom   child-obl.pl   upon   look after-imp.2s
    'look after **the children**!'

Here we have the conjunct verb *gecdarí karik* 'look after, guard' where *karik* is the verbal element, the vector verb, and *gecdarí* is a nominal element (a Khowar loan (?), *gec-* 'eye' + *dar-i* 'care+-*i*', "eye-careness"?), which cannot occur as an independent noun, for example **tay gecdarí bo pruST shíu* 'your caretaking is very good'. The syntactic problem is what status to ascribe to *sudón* 'children-obl.pl' in 6, and what status to ascribe to the *gecdarí*. If *gecdarí* is the object for 'do', then what is *sudón*? And if *sudón* is the direct object, what is *gecdarí*? Although relevant from the perspective of assigning syntactic status to the postposition-marked complements to conjunct verbs, I shall leave for future studies further considerations of the syntactic status of conjunct verbs. What is important for the following examination of the postpositions, is how they relate semantically to the predicate, regardless of this is a conjunct verb or a simple verb.

17.3 *báti / batí / páti / patí*[128]

The overall meaning of *báti* centers around glossings such as 'for someone's or something's sake', 'with the intention of', 'for the purpose of V-ing', 'because of', and 'for the reason of'. Below I briefly survey this functional range.

17.3.1 Purpose, intention, and cause

báti can mark a subordinated VP in the oblique infinive that expresses the purpose for the activity or situation expressed by the matrix verb, as in 7. With a matrix verb that does not express an activity carried out with a purpose in mind, as in 8, the *báti*-clause expresses what something or someone is meant for.

7. *Dénmark hátya   pe   ik   bhá-am   haw*
    Denmark   toward   if   come-inf   be able-p/f.1s   cond
    *tíchak   **krom   kar-ik-as   báti***   GK.na
    a little   work   do-inf-obl   purp
    'If I could come to Denmark **in order to work** a little bit'

8. *may   **apáw d-ík-as   báti**   may   escholarshíp   di-élik   a-sh-ís*   GK.na
    1s.obl   stay-inf-obl   purp   1s.obl   scholarship   give-nec   au-be.inan-pst.A.3s

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[128] Although stress is labile in this postposition, I render it *báti* in this dissertation.

'It was necessary to have a scholarship **for my living**' ('.. **in order to live**')

In the 'purpose' reading there is an overlap with Loc1-*a*:

9. *nabég-o tay   som **krom kar-ík-a**   á-o*   GK.na
    Nabeg-*o* 2s.obl with work do-inf-purp come.pst.A-3s
    '(and then) Nabeg came **to work** with you'

With 'Purpose *-as báti*' the speaker explicates the purpose of an activity, that an actant has a particular intention in mind. With 'Purpose *-a*' we merely have a temporal and less intentionally meant connection between two events.[129]

When the *báti* phrase refers to an event in the future in relation to the matrix verb, as in 7, we can talk of a purposive reading. When the *báti* phrase denotes an event or a situation that lies before the situation or event denoted by the matrix verb, we can have a Cause reading:

10. ***bribó ChO-ík-as   báti*** *saw móc-an   gosh ne h-íu*   TC99
    walnut harvest-inf-obl purp all.nom people-obl.pl time neg become-p/f.3s
    'because of the walnut harvest no one has any time'

17.3.2 Benefactive

When the action intended or strived at will be for the benefit of someone we have a Benefactive reading of *báti*:

11. ***tay   kÚAk-as   báti*** *bo   khoshaní kár-im   ghó~i*   So.S
    2s.obl child-obl.sg bene much joy   do-p/f.1s quot
    'I shall make joyful events **for your child**'

17.3.3 Complement for a verbal predicate

A number of predicates require *báti* as their only complement marker. With other predicates *hátya* or *kái* can occur as alternatives to *báti*, and with some predicates *báti* (and possibly other postpositions) may optionally occur. In Appendix 28 I list those predicates that take or may take *báti*, with information about obligatory use and possible alternatives. With some of the predicates where *báti* is obligatory the postposition denotes the purpose or the cause of an the action or event denoted by the predicate, reflecting its purposive reading illustrated above.

---

[129] 'Purpose *–a*' occurs 12 times in my material, 'Purpose *-as báti*' 79 times.

A large portion of those predicates that may take or require *báti* as a complement marker express an emotional state, for example, longing, concern or joy for someone or something, as in:

12. *ása   bo   tró-iu   **áy-as**   **bátí**   So.S*
    3s.nom.dist much   cry-p/f.3s mother-ps.3s purp
    'he cries a lot **for his mother**'

With predicates of this type the *báti*-marked phrase expresses the cause for the mental state or activity expressed by the matrix verb; the mother or the mother's being away is the reason or cause for the child's crying in 12 (and the family (being away from speaker) in 4 is the reason for him missing it). This is similar to what (Dirven 1995: 103) describes as 'target-cause', observed with events and entities that denote physical and psychological reactions: a human being directs his/her reaction towards the very situation causing the reaction. (See also *pi* for coding of the cause or the source of a mental state.)

The tendency for *báti* to occur with predicates denoting mental states or sincere or strong feelings gives a clue as to why *báti* is used side by side with *hátya* in Purpose and Benefactive functions.

13. *dáda albát janát   **may**   **hátya/báti** shi-u*   Dur.na/GK.E
    father maybe heaven 1s.obl   bene/purp   be.inan-prs.3s
    ghó~i   á-au   tása   kái
    speak-pf aux.an-prs.3s 3s.obl.abs   to
    ' "father, perhaps there is a heaven (meant) **for me**", she (the daughter) said, to him'

Here *báti* denotes that the speaker, the daughter, asks whether there is a heaven purposively meant for her. In other words, *báti* stresses elements of intention and purposiveness, and thus becomes an intentionally or emotionally stronger postposition in cases with alternatives. With *hátya* the meaning is that there will be a heaven for her as for anyone else.

17.3.4 Summary

We have seen that the postposition *báti* expresses the semantic notions Purpose, Cause, and Benefactive. The semantic chain that this polysemy makes up is not in any way peculiar, according to Heine and Kuteva (2002), and it can graphically be depicted as in Figure 17.1:

FIGURE 17.1: THE SEMANTIC NETWORK OF *báti*.

Cause -
reason ——— Purpose ——— Benefactive

Figure 17.1 shows that the functions Reason and Benefactive are related to Purpose, but not directly to each other. Heine and Kuteva (2002: 55-7) has Benefactive as a frequent source for Purpose, suggesting that the extension has come about "by context expansion, whereby the use of benefactive adpositions is extended from human complements to inanimate complements)". They further (p. 246-247) hypothesize that Purpose precedes Cause in time (but they also explicitly say that more data is needed). I shall, however, hesitate in postulating diachronic implications from Figure 17.1. Such a task will have to await a stated etymology of *báti*.

17.4 *hátya –'the dative postposition'*

Both GM and TC99 suggest OIA *ártha-* 'aim, cause', T-638, as the etymology to *hátya*. GM (p. 210) says: "Possibly a case form of *ártha*", and I will suggest the dative case, *árthāya*. This case form accounts for the palatal element in *hátya*,[130] and semantically it is consistent with the dative-like funtional range that *hátya* displays (cf. Macdonell 1916: 310-315, Delbrück 1976: 14-51, and Whitney 1899: 95-96 for dative functions in OIA).

The functions that are taken care of by *hátya*, and which I call 'typical dative' are: marking of Allative-Goal of motion, Addressee of utterance verbs, Indirect Object, Benefactive, and Recipient. This is illustrated in 14-18 and commented on below.

14. Allative-goal
    phond **pre~ha~k.góST-ai**   *hátya*   *par-ín*   Na.ma
    path   downstream.stable-loc3   towards   go-p/f.3p
    'the paths go **towards the downstream stables**'

---

[130] The initial, labile *h*, can be accounted for in line with other cases of initial, labile and possibly voiced aspiration that there does not seem to be an etymological basis for, for example *háshi/áshi* 'mouth', < *āsyá-* 'mouth' (CDIAL 1533), *onik/honik* 'bring (something inanimate somewhere)', < *ānayati* 'leads forward, fetches' (CDIAL 1174), and more.

15. Addressee

tása   *hátya*   *bo*   *kháca*   *mon*   *pr-áu*   Ba.na
3s.obl.abs   to   very   bad   word   give.pst.A-3s
'he spoke very angrily **to her**'

16. Indirect object

te   *aThí*   *wíS-i*   **gáDa**   *istrizhá-as*   **(hátya)** *há-i*   *á-au*
3p.nom.abs   bone   boil-cp   old   woman-obl.sg   recip   bring-pf   aux.an-prs.3s
'then the boilt bones, he took (them) **to the old women**'   AA.na

17. Benefactive

te   **kaLaS-ón**   *hátya*   *sukúl*   *sawzá-an*   GK.na
3p.nom.abs   Kalasha-pl.obl   for   school   construct-pst.A.3s
'they made a school **for the Kalasha**' (I.e., 'for the benefit of the Kalasha', or 'for the Kalasha to take into possession and use')

18. Recipient

aú   *kár-in*   **tási**   **hátya** *bo*   *rúyakan* *aú*   *kár-in*   Fil.S
food   do-p/f.3p   3p.obl.abs   bene   many   kinds   food   make-p/f.3p
'the make food **for them**, they make many sorts of food'

Allative: Also encompassed by the allative- or goal-marking function of *hátya* is Future or Temporal Allative:

19. *onjá-aw*   *krom*   **cópa**   **hátya** *mo*   *híst-i*   TC99
today-abl3   work   tomorrow   till   proh   put off-imp.2s
'don't put off today's work **till tomorrow**'

The function of denoting concrete motion towards a goal overlaps to some extent with *kái*'s Goal-orientated function (see Ch. 17.8.7).

Addressee: *hátya* also marks the addresse for greetings, as in:

20. **shábash**   **tay**   **hátya** *may*   *jhamów*   GM73.T
hail   2s.obl   to   1s.obl   son-in-law
'hail **to thee**, my son-in-law'

As already mentioned, *hátya* and *kái* compete as addressee markers; whereas *hátya* indicates that the greetings or utterances are intended for someone, *kái* indicates that the utterance, greeting, etc. has or will have reached its goal. Thus, with *kái* as the addressee marker there is more focus on the message reaching or placed at its goal.

Indirect object: As indicated in the example, *hátya* is not obligatory with indirect objects. I am not certain of the exact additional semantics provided by *hátya*, but I see it as an extra Trajectory-marker, i.e. construing a mental path.

Benefactive and recipient: Often these two functions are conflated, as in 21, which also has an element of Goal:[131]

21. ***naST-ón***   ***hátya*** *kuSúrik híst-ik*   M73.T
    dead-obl.pl   recip loave   throw-p/f.1p
    'let us throw loaves **for/to the dead**'

For Benefactive we can have both *hátya* and *báti*, as shown in 17.2.3 above, although *hátya* is by far the most frequent and common in my material. But in 'substitutive benefactive' situations, i.e. when the benefactor is released from carrying out an action himself, *báti* is the predominant postposition:

22. *se*   ***may*** ***hátya/<u>báti</u>*** *líne-una* *a-císt-is*   Na.E/GK.E
    3s.nom.abs 1s.obl bene/bene   line-loc2 au-stand-pst.A.3s
    'he stood in the line **for/<u>on behalf of</u> me**'

The function Recipient and the functions Addressee and Indirect Object are recognizable dative functions in OIA, and they amount to what in traditional Latin grammar has been called 'dativus proper', used for the person to whom a thing is given, said, sent, brought, etc. (van Hoecke 1996: 6).

17.4.1 Purpose

With inanimate nouns and infinitival phrases *hátya* denotes Purpose of an action.

23. *brúSiS-una* **hist-ik-as**   *hátya* *a-ní-La*   Ta.sm
    cliff-loc2   throw-inf-obl purp au-take-pst.ptc.I.3s
    '(the deer) took them to the cliff **in order to throw (them) away**'

As was mentioned 17.2.1, *hátya* and *báti* may overlap with respect to marking 'Purpose', like in:

24. ***angár*** ***kar-ík-as* / *baza-ík-as***   ***báti* / *hátya*** *shuLá* *bish-áLa*   Na.E
    fire   do-inf-obl / set on-inf-obl purp / purp   wood   cut-pst.ptc.I.3s
    'having gone there to the veranda he cut firewood **for making fire**'

---

[131] *hátya* can also be used as an additional marker of 'Malefactive': ***kakbóy-as (hátya)*** *kAmkÁm ujái áan* 'set the trap **for the leopard**' (lit. 'leopard' + (for +) 'trap' + 'set up') (TC99/GK.E).

Kalasha thus has three ways of marking Purpose: Loc1-*a*, *hátya*, and *báti*. The latter of these is preferred in situations with relatively strong emotions towards the purposive event. I see Loc1-*a* as a Purpose marker as a mere relational marker, neutral to any emotions. With the other functions of *hátya* in mind, we may propose that this postposition denotes a mental or intentional attitude towards the future event that lies between the other two 'Purpose' markers.

17.4.2 Experiencer

In this use *hátya* encodes Experiencer of different, involuntative mental or physical stages. This function has also been noted by Bashir (1990) in her description of involuntary experience in Kalasha. EB states that involuntary (-control) and voluntary (+control) can be expressed by four different types of opposition between predicates. It is in the "fourth and most recent type of opposition" (p. 307) that the involuntary experiencer is coded by the oblique case and a postposition (which in EB's example is *hátya*).[132]

The *hátya*-marked Experiencer, the Experiencer-subject, is subject to sensations of different sorts. The Experiencer of an ability (25) or knowledge or information, or lack hereof (26), can be marked with *hátya*:

25. *wáz-ik   ne   bhá-ik   hóma (hátya)   cal   ne   h-íu   Na.na*
    swim-inf   neg   be able-p/f.1p   1p.obl exp   skill   neg   become-prs.3s
    'we cannot swim, **we do not have** the skill'

26. *mágam   ísa   (hátya)   ne   páta   ki*
    but   3s.obl.near   exp   neg   knowledge   conj
    píSTaw   dái   ek   gáDa   shÓ~a   shi-áLa   Ta.sm
    behind   from   a   big   dog   be-pst.ptc.I.3s
    'but **he was not aware** that behind (him) there was a big dog'

17.4.3 *hátya* as complement marker

Many of the predicates that take *hátya* as an obligatory or optional complement marker are semantically similar to the functions just mentioned. I shall here only go through the main types of predicates. I refer to Appendix 29 for an alphabetical list and a semantic ordering of *hátya*-taking predicates.

hátya is used with predicates requiring or allowing for recipients, either of concrete objects or abstract phenomena (predicate underlined):

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[132] This type of construction, EB argues, resembles the so-called 'dative subject construction' which in terms of volitionality is in opposition to a nominative subject construction, which involves +control. In Kalasha this opposition is expressed almost exclusively by the verb pairs involving two conjunct verbs; intransitive *N+hik/shik* 'N+become/be' (non-volitional, -control, 'dative subject') vs. transitive *N+karik* 'N+do' (volitional, +control, nominative subject).

27. hE   mo   kár-i   **tay**   **hátya** <u>mhal kár-in</u>   TC99
    theft proh do-imp.2s   2s.obl   recip   curse do-p/f.3p
    'don't steal, they will curse **you**'

Receiving means taking or, perhaps, benefitting from a transmitted object. When the entity denoted by the object is abstract, the Recipient is likely to be a Benefactive. This is seen with predicates that denote that someone is being helped or being shown hospitality, respect or friendliness:

28. tóa   **tása**   **(hátya)** <u>izát   ne   karí-man   asta</u>   se   Dur.na
    then   3s.obl.abs   bene   respect neg   do-ipf.I   aux.pst.I.3s 3s.nom.abs
    'then (she) was not showing respect **to him**, she'

With predicates denoting that someone is in love with, feels inclined toward, or courts someone, *hátya* is the preferred postposition (29), as it is with feelings such as pity or anger (30):

29. hóma   wáwa   ek **istrizhá-as** **(hátya)** <u>ashék   ásta</u>   Sa.na/Na.E
    1p.obl grandfather a   woman-obl.sg   toward   in love be.pst.I.3s
    'our grandfather <u>was in love</u> **with a (certain) woman**'

30. pishtyák tára   íta   **gáDa mócas**   **hátya**
    back   there.spec.abs come.cp   old   man-obl.sg   toward
    <u>kahaŕí   háw-an</u>   KK.na
    angry   become.pst.A-3p
    'having come back there, they <u>were angry</u> **at the old man**'

17.4.4 Summary

The functional range of *hátya* centres around traditional dative functions: Indirect Object, Recipient, Benefactive, Goal-Directive, Temporal Directive, and Purpose (see Whitney 1899: 95-6). This functional range is remarkably similar to that which Heine has found for the 'indirect object markers' in the unrelated African languages Ik and Kanuri (Heine 1990). Since Ik and Kanuri are unrelated and not spoken in the vicinity of each other, Heine assumes that the similar functional ranges are a result of a shared, unidirectional grammaticalization process, where more abstract senses are derived from more concrete senses (p. 130-1). Thus, Heine posits a network which has as its base, the point of departure, a concrete

Locative-Allative function.[133] Built on that model the semantic network of *hátya* may look as depicted in Figure 17.2.

FIGURE 17.2: THE SEMANTIC NETWORK OF *hátya* - FOLLOWING HEINE (1990).
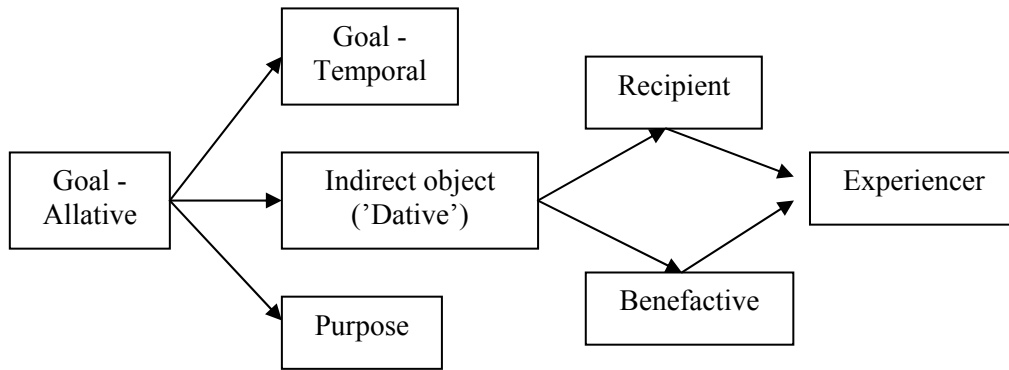
Depicted as in Figure 17.2 the concrete function 'Goal-Allative' is the basic function; from this, the less concrete, or more abstract functions may be derived (Heine 1990: 130-1; Heine et al. 1991a: 155). This is in line with the grammaticalization paths for Allative, Dative, etc., mentioned in Heine and Kuteva (2002). However, the Kalasha postposition *hátya* cannot be lead back historically to a concrete Goal function. In general, as mentioned in the beginning of this section, and also shown in Heegård (2005), *hátya* is the primary carrier of the functions covered by the dative case in OIA. This overall function reflects partly the general 'aim, purpose' meaning of *hátya*'s historical ancestor, *ārtha-*, partly its dative inflection, *-āya*.[134] Thus, the OIA adverb *ārthāya* is, in a Kalasha context, born 'dative', so to speak, and has carried that general function further into contemporary Kalasha. In a unified perspective, *hátya* indicates the pole towards which the action or the process referred to by the predicate is oriented. Taking this as a point of departure, we may posit a network for *hátya* as in Figure 17.3.

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[133] See also Heine et al. (1991a: 150-156).
[134] Other NIA languages also have a dative-like postposition derived from *ārtha-*, see Andersen (1979: 25).

FIGURE 17.3: ALTERNATIVE SEMANTIC NETWORK OF *hátya*.
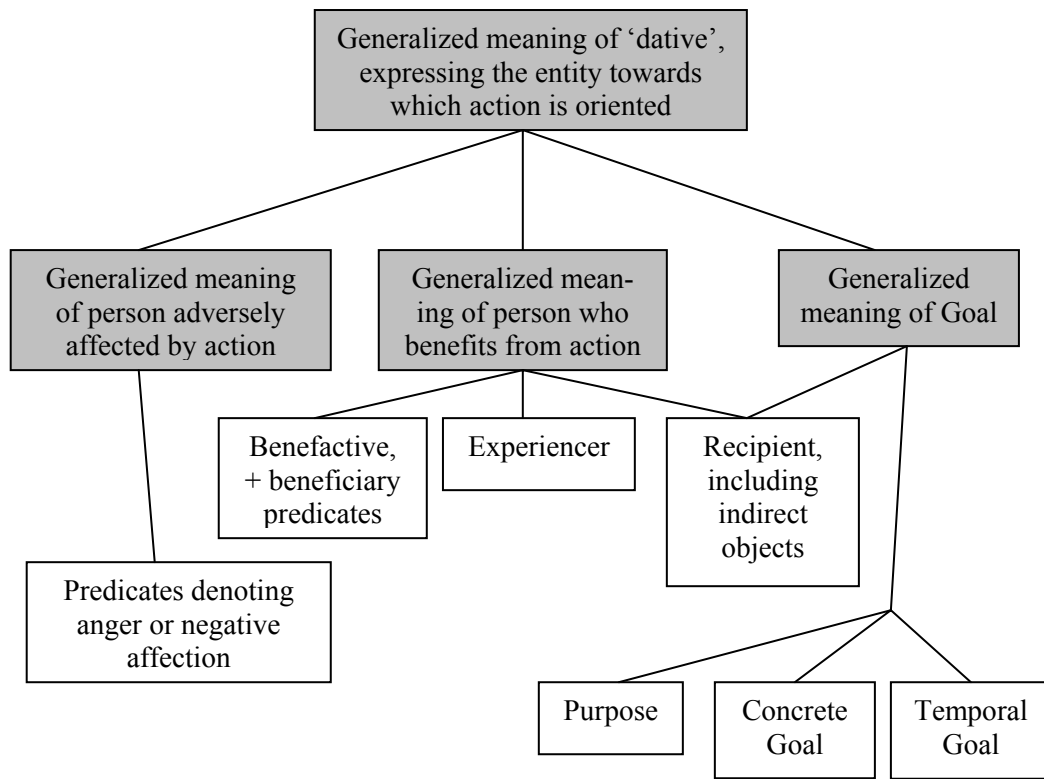
This network displays the concept 'schematic' or 'Generalized meaning', indicating the commonalities that are held between groups of more specific meanings. A line to the specific instantiation (Newman 1998: 8-9; 1996: 81, building on Langacker 1987: 369-86) represents the instantiation of a schematic or generalized meaning. The network does not imply that the functions of *hátya* in contemporary Kalasha have their root in a concrete Goal-Allative function, as the Heine-inspired network above. The network hypothesizes that the functions of *hátya* are related through generalized meanings that happen to be present in traditional Dative-marking functions.

17.5 *pi* - The ablative postposition

The ablative postposition *pi* has a number of typical ablative functions. These include marking of a concrete Source Ground for motion, a concrete Source Ground for static relationships, and an abstract Source Ground. These functions are illustrated in 31-33 below and commented on in the following.

31. *se   mizók   to   dahú~ **tá.a**   **pi**   **ohón-i** báta*
    3s.nom.abs mouse 3s.acc.abs drum 3s.obl.abs from take-cp ctr
    híst-iu   dái   GK.sm
    throw-p/f.3s spec
    '(very angrily) the mouse **tears** the drum **from him**, and throws it away'

32. ***Dabá-as   pi**   *wén-aw   dái   caw coT dy-e*   GK.sm
    box-obl.sg   from   upstream-abl3 from four dot put-imp.2s
    'upstreamwards (i.e. left) **from the box**, put four dots'

33. Abstract Source
  a. ***góg-as   pi**   *shishpÉ a-bhá-is*   GM73.T
     snake-obl.sg   from   whistle au-be able-pst.A.1s
     'I learnt hissing **from the snake**'[135]

  b. *umét   shí-u   **khodáy-as**   **pi***   So.S
     hope   be.in-prs.3s   God-obl.sg   from
     'there is hope **from God** (that ..)'

Concrete Source for motion: In this use *pi* denotes the entity, most frequently a person, from whom someone or something is taken, being removed, or is moving by himself or itself. With physical separation from an animate Source-Ground, my data shows a clear preponderance for *pi*, whereas, in contrast, Abl2-*ani* and Abl3-*aw* occur predominantly with inanimate Grounds.

Static Ablative - relative distance: This function is also taken care of by Abl2-*ani*. All examples with this use of oblique *-as + pi* are from a certain context, a detailed description of a geometrical figure consisting of squares, circles, triangles. It may be that this context allows the narrator to highlight the relative <u>distance</u> more clearly with a postposition rather than merely measuring or indicating a position on a line-like trajectory from the Source Ground, the job of the ablative endings.

17.5.1 Sources and other complements

A number of predicates require or allow for a complement that expresses Source or Reason of the activities that they denote. In this function the Ground is not conceived of as a concrete location but rather as a source from which an abstract phenomenon origins. One group of these predicates denote that the subject asks for or (insistently) demands an abstract entity from an animate source:

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[135] In Morgenstierne's transcription and glossing: *go:gas pi šišpř'ẽ abh 'a:is* 'the snake from hissing I learnt' (GM73: 33).

34. ***pútr-as   pi   <u>a-púch-au</u>   ki   te   raDíDish***
    son-ps.3s   from   au-ask-pstA.3s   conj   3p.acc.abs   pine cone
    ko   ne   chaL-ái   Na.na
    why   neg   take out-pst.A.2s
    "he asked **his son**, why didn't you take out the pinecobes?"

From the notion Source there is only a small step to the notion Cause or Reason, where the Source of a situation is conceived as the cause for a mental or physical state of affairs. Among predicates that use *pi* for the coding of this semantics we have predicates that express an arisal of an emotion, as in 35, or that a mistake or an inappropriate situation to have occurred, as in 36 (predicates underlined):[136]

35. *tóa   se   <u>bo   kaphá háw-au</u>   **miSTér-as**   **pi***   Ra.na
    then   3s.nom.abs   very   angry   become.pstA-3s   teacher-obl.sg   of
    'then the girl <u>became very angry</u> **because of the teacher**'

36. ***may   pi   <u>galát   háw-au</u>***   Fn06
    1s.obl   from?   mistake   become.pst.A-3s
    'a <u>mistake happened</u> **because of me**'[137]

pi also occurs obligatorily with other predicates which do not seem to be semantically consistent with the groups just mentioned, for example, with verbs of winning and losing a game:

37. *tóa   **tási**   **pi**   beSá-i   á-au   se*   Ba.T
    then   3p.obl.abs   from   win-pf   aux.an-prs.3s   3s.nom.abs
    'then he beat **them** in the match, he'

Example 37 illustrates a metaphoric extension of distant separation: because of the outcome of the competition or game, the subject is no longer equal to his opponents, but distanced.

17.5.2 Comparison

Semantically connected (by metaphor) to the function of highlighting distant points is Comparison. Examples 38-40 below show *pi* employed in the grammatical category comparison.

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[136] See Appendix 31 for more predicates that require or allow *pi* as a complement marker.
[137] If *pi* is omitted in this sentence the meaning will be 'a mistake happened to me'.

38. Basic form: NP AdjP

    se   istrízha bo   shishóyak
    3s.nom.abs woman   very beautiful
    'that woman is very beautiful'

39. Comparison: NP NP-obl *pi* AdjP

    *se   cít-i   á-au   ki   albát **may pí-o***
    3s.nom.abs think-pf aux.an-prs.3s conj maybe me than-*o*

    se   bo   shishóyak   Dur.na
    3s.nom.abs very beautiful
    'she thought, "maybe/might she is much more beautiful **than me**"

40. Superlative: NP saw-obl (NP-obl.pl) *pi* AdjP

    ***saw-in   pi   shishóyak** tu   chú-ai   may*   Ba.na
    all-obl.pl than beautiful   you.nom daughter-ps1s.2s 1s.obl
    ' "you are **the most beautiful of all** (my daughters)" ..'

17.5.3 Summary

The postposition *pi* fulfills the followings functions: Separation (concrete), (Abstract) Source, Cause, Static distance away from, and Comparison. The use as a complement marker can be derived from the basic senses. The polysemy of *pi* is depicted as a semantic network in Figure 17.4:

FIGURE 17.4: THE SEMANTIC NETWORK OF *pi*.
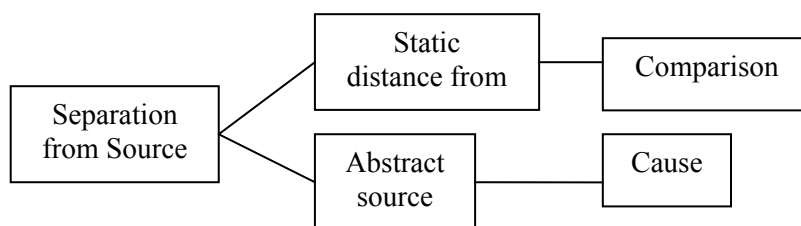
It is a well-documented observation that an ablative marker can be used as a means of encoding distance (Heine and Kuteva 2002: 31), and just as well-known it is that a concrete ablative marker can be used as an (abstract) Source marker (for example Dirven (1995: 108-12)). In fact, there does not seem to be any surprising elements in this network. The interesting points lie in the division of labour with the ablative endings.

pi differs in function and distribution from the ablative case endings (1) by occurring with animate Sources in the concrete locational senses; (2) with

inanimate Source locations, by expressing that an abstract Source location, transmission or Figure is involved in the situation; and (3) by focusing on the location <u>away</u> and separated from the Source location in cases of semantic overlap with ablative case endings, which do not imply disconnection from the Source Ground. Furthermore, we see *pi* with predicates of certain types, predicates denoting 'rescue from', 'fear from/of', and Reason/Cause. These are all functions that were taken care of by the OIA ablative case (cf. Whitney 1899: 96-98; and Macdonell 1916: 315-8).

What is not coded by *pi*, but by Abl2-*ani* and Abl3-*aw*, and by the OIA ablative case endings, are relationships of belonging and temporal state of affairs.[138] Hence, there has been a functional split of the OIA ablative; the means of ablative expression that ended up in Kalasha as bound affixes, Abl2-ani and Abl3-aw, has carried on (and specialized) in some of the original ablative functions. <u>Along with this new functions of denoting characteristic topological and referential properties of the Figure-Ground constellation have arisen</u>. The postposition *pi*, in contrast, has taken over many of the old ablative functions that dealt with separation leading to distance between parts (including comparison) and abstract Sources.

The etymology of *pi* will be of interest for historical semanticists. Heine and Kuteva (2002) have as frequent sources for ablative markers grammatical or lexemic items such as 'arrive', 'get', 'know', and 'suitable'. At present I am not able to put this into perspective, since neither GM, TC, nor myself have come up with a suggestion as to an etymology.[139]

17.6 som - Company, possession and attachment

I have identified five different functions of *som*: 1) Comitative ('together with, with'); 2) Alienable possession; 3) Possession of mental or physical state (Experiencer-like); 3) Physical contact ('to'); 5) Complement marker (some 'Comitative' complements, others not).

17.6.1 Comitative 'with, together with'

The most frequent use of Comitative *som* is for the marking of an animate companion to an animate actor:

41. *cóp-o   a   **may   du   yardúst-an   som** són-una   par-ím*
    tomorrow-*o* 1s.nom 1s.obl two friend-obl.pl with pasture-loc2 go-p/f.1s
    'tomorrow I shall go to my pasture **with my two friends**'   IK.E

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[138] 'Temporal ablative' can also be coded with the postpositions *píSTaw, birício*, and *aCó*.

[139] In Nuristani Waigali (Degener 1998) we see a postposition *pe* with meanings such as 'von NP', 'von NP aus', among others, but also here without an indication of etymology.

In very few examples *som* marks an inanimate companion to an animate or to an inanimate noun. This function is more often taken care of by *gri* and *ásta gri*.

In some contexts, for example without a motion verb, the reading of an inanimate noun(+obl) + *som* is instrumental, overlapping with *gri*, *thára*, and, marginally, instrumental *-an*.

42. *báta banj-ék shuruk-él   dái **nást-an   som***   GK.sm
    ctr   play-inf begin-p/f.3s spec nose-instr   with
    'then he begins to play, **with the nose**'

17.6.2 Alienable possession

Kalasha does not have a verb 'have', but codes possession in different manners. Inalienable possession can be expressed (a) by the oblique form of the NP and the verb 'be' (43), or (b) by the oblique form of the possessor NP followed by the possessed NP plus personal kinship suffix (see EB88: 397-8). Alienable possession is expressed with an oblique NP plus the postposition *som* 'with', as in 44:

43. ***ek móc-as   du putr***   *ásta*   EB88.T
    a   man-obl.sg two son   be.pst.I.3p
    '**a (certain) man had** two sons'

44. ***hóma som*** *Tayp*   *ne*   So.S
    1p.obl with   tape recorder   neg
    '**we** don't **have** a tape recorder'

17.6.3 Experiencing or possessing a mental or physical sensation

When possessum denotes a mental or physical state, *som* seems to share an Experiencer function with *hátya*. The nominals observed with *som* in this use are: *sáya* 'fear-producing presence', *takát* 'strength, power', *tas* 'the power of a person's presence, personality, bearing', and *burtuní* 'evil spirit'. For example:

45. ***tása   som*** *bo*   *takát*   *shí-au*   TC99
    3s.obl.abs poss much   strength be.inan-prs.3s
    '**he is** very strong' (lit. 'him with much strength is')

17.6.4 Getting in or having reached pysical contact

som also has a concrete, local meaning, described by 'to' by TC99. In this use *som* marks the object or entity that someone or something has been attached to or come into (often horizontal) contact with. The physical contact between two entities may have come about through attachment, as in 46, or be a mere physical contiguity, without implication of prior collision or attachment, as in 47:

46. *shará-as   SiS   dighÁ-as   som   SaTá-i   shí-u*   GK.sm
    deer-obl.sg head wall-obl.sg to   attach-pf aux.in-prs.3s
    'a deer's head is attached **to the wall**'

47. *shingiráy-a   Chétr-as   som   bílkul just thi   tása   dur   ásta sh-íu*
    Shingiray-obl field-obl.sg to   right   together 3s.obl.abs house also be.in-prs.3s
    'Shingiray's house is also exactly right next **to (is located right up to) her field**'   GK.ma

17.6.5   *som* as a complement marker

som occurs with a large number of predicates that denote some sort of interaction between the actor and the *som*-marked complement. In some cases a translation to English 'with' is reasonable, in other cases it is not. I refer to Appendix 32 for a list of those predicates that take *som* as a complement marker. Here I shall only give a few examples that will illustrate how the predicates group semantically.

   som is often seen with predicates that denote acts of joining, reconcilement or a formal or institutionalized interaction between two parts, as in 48, or with predicates that denote an interaction of some kind, reflecting its Comitative use, as in 49:

48. *mashkúl hik* 'talk with, have a conversation with'
    Sumbér   ja   mashkúl   ne   h-íu   Ra.na
    earlier   wife   conversation   neg   become-prs.3s
    píSTaw   já-as   mashkúl   h-íu   berú-as   som
    later   wife-ps.3s   conversation become-prs.3s husband-ps.3s   with
    'the first wife, no conversation, his second wife **conversed with her husband**'

49. *madát kárik* 'help or be of help to someone'
    kawá   ek   du   ádu-a   tay   som   madát kár-ik   TC99
    whereever   one   two   day-loc1 2s.obl   with   help   do-p/f.1p
    'sometime we will help **you** for one or two days'

With predicates that denote that someone has become familiar with (or 'close to') something or someone we can have *som*:

50. *adát hik* 'become accustomed or used to'
    Dá-as   **som** *adát*   *háw-is*   GK.E/Ta.E
    wine-obl.sg   with   habit   become.pst.A-1s
    'I have become used to wine'

som is also frequent with predicates of fighting or predicates that denote aggressive or bad behaviour toward someone or between interactants, as in 51, or with predicates that denote loving someone, being good to someone, as in 52. Again we may speak of instances of intimate relationships between two actants.

51. *janjál karik* 'argue and fight (with someone)'
    sukúl-una   *pá-i*   **miSTér-as**   **som** *janjál*   *ár-au*   Ra.na
    school-loc2   go-cp   teacher-obl.sg   with   fight   do.pst.A-3s
    'having gone to the school, he argued **with the teacher**'

52. *Cang hik* 'embrace, hug'
    tóa   *sha-sé*   *istrizha.kÚAk*   *tará*   *pá-i*
    then   emph-3s.nom.abs   girl   there.spec.abs   go-cp
    tá.a   **som** **Cang h-aw**   Dur.na
    3s.obl.abs   with   embrace-pst.A.3s
    'then the girl went there and **embraced him**'

17.6.6 Summary

The preceding examination has shown the functional range of *som*, covering the functions Comitative, Alienable Possession, Experiencer (possession of a mental or physical state, Attached to, and, marginally, Instrumental-Tool. This is depicted in Figure 17.5.

FIGURE 17.5: THE SEMANTIC NETWORK OF *som*.
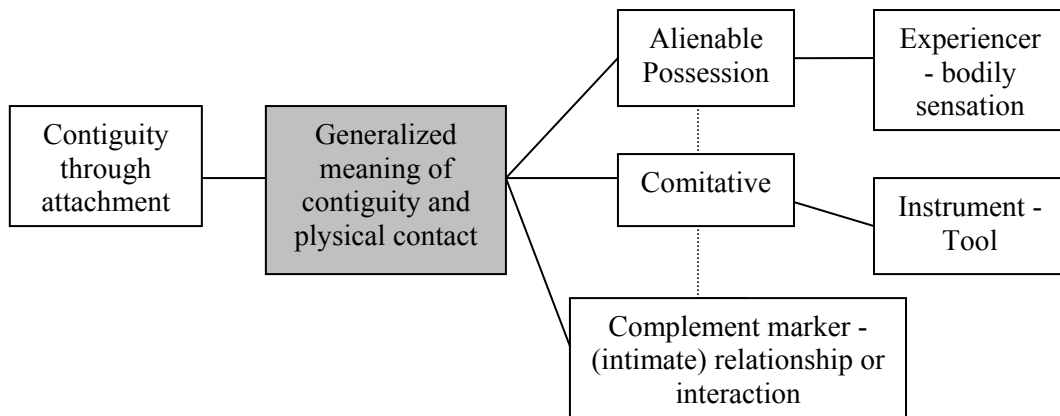
The network shows that the local function 'Contiguity through attachment' is linked to the other non-local functions through the 'Generalized meaning of contiguity and physical contact'. This generalized meaning is instantiated in the functions 'Alienable Possession, 'Comitative', and 'Complement marker for an intimate relationship'. From 'Alienable Possession' and 'Comitative', respectively, the functions 'Experiencer of bodily sensations and the marginal 'Instrument-Tool' are derived. The link between 'Generalized meaning of contiguity ..' and 'Alienable Possession' is an instantiation of Heine's 'Location Schema' (Heine 1997a: 114; 1997b: 92-93), defined as a conceptual template for a metaphorical process whereby an object located at a place is conceived of as being possessed by that place, 'what is at my place belongs to me'. Kalasha follows in this respect the general observation from African languages (Claudi 1989) that markers of location develop to become markers of Alienable Possession.

Heine and Kuteva (2002: 88-9) suggest that a Comitative function is derived from 'Alienable Possession', referring to a general "process whereby possession is conceptualized and expressed in terms of accompaniment" (see also Heine 1997b: 93-4). In Heine (1997b: 93) it is argued that a 'Companion Schema' is a conceptual template for seeing a 'have' construction as a 'with' construction. That may very well be, as indicated by me with the dotted line between the *som*'s functions Alienable Possession and Comitative. But I cannot see what prevents from stating a 'Second Location Schema' denoting a metaphorical process whereby an object located at a place that is conceived as being together with that place, 'what is at a place, follows with that place'. I see the uses of *som* grouped under the umbrella function 'Complement marker of (intimate) relationship or interaction' as closely related to Possession, Comitative and Contact.

The polysemy of *som* as depicted in Figure 17.5 can be interpreted as a grammaticalization path going from a concrete 'locative' function', to more abstract functions (by means of different schemes, following Heine). But according to

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GM73 *som*'s OIA ancestor is *samá-* 'equal, alike, level' (CDIAL 13173), which does not obviously denote a concrete locative state of affairs. But *samá-* shares a root with OIA *sahita* 'standing near, joined', formed from **sam-hita* 'placed together' (Bubenik 1998: ch. 5),[140] and it seems as if the (dynamic) locative meaning has survived in Kalasha *som* '(attached) to/with', as illustrated in 17.6.4.

17.7 *thára* 'upon', 'over'

I this section I regard *thára* as a lexicalized postposition, built up by the relational noun *thar-* 'upon, above, over' and 'Loc1'-*a*. I have identified five different functions for *thára*, the most frequent reflecting its derivation from or rather, it status as a relational noun meaning '(something's) upon, above, over', (i.e. 'something's top'). Besides the meanings to be examined in the following, *thára* has also developed an adjectival meaning, 'next', as in *thára mastrúk* 'next month'. The functions to be presented below are to a large degree identical with TC99's description of *thára* (see Appendix 33).

17.7.1 Locative: location 'over' or 'on'

As has already been illustrated in the analyses of the test results, *thára* denotes static projective location over/above or upon/on something or someone, as in 53-54:

53. *tu   pár-i-o   paChíak salám kar-i   **Chom-thára** dunyá*
    2s.nom go-imp.2s-*o* bird   greeting do-imp.2s earth.above   world
    'you go little bird, make a greeting **to the world-above-earth**!'   PP.T

54. *gal **kírik-as**   **thára** múzh-in   dái*   So.S
    gal   snow-obl.sg   upon   play-p/f.3p spec
    'they play *gal*-hockey **on the snow**'

17.7.2 Experiencer

In another function *thára* is to be interpreted as a metaphoric extention of the notion 'upon'. In this use the Ground, almost always an animate being, appears as an Experiencer. The phenomenon experienced is always a force or a situation of

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[140] *sahita* and **sam-hita* have in MIA and further in other NIA languages given rise to words meaning 'accompanied with', 'associated with', 'with', and it is reflected in Hindi/Urdu as the postposition *se* 'from, etc.' (Andersen 1979: 25).

some kind imposed on the Experiencer, and with *thára* this is construed as bad or negative, as if the (abstract) Figure was a burden for the Ground.

55. *héman* **garib-as** **thára** *shum* *halát*   TC99
    winter   poor-obl.sg   upon   bad   times
    'winter means hard times **for the poor**' (lit.: '**on the poor** bad times')

17.7.3 Complement marker

thára is used with predicates that denote (a) an agressive or a threatening action directed toward the Patient or Experiencer, or (b) an action that is meant to influence the Patient or make him behave or act in a certain way that is disadvantageous to himself. By using *thára* in this function the speaker construes an abstract situation where a Figure of some sort applies its weight on the Ground, i.e., he uses a metaphor based on the situation where a Figure is located <u>on</u> or <u>upon</u> a supporting Ground. Here I shall only briefly illustrate the typical semantics of these predicates. I refer to Appendix 33 for a list of the predicates that take *thára* as their complement marker.

Example 56 illustrates a predicate (underlined) that denotes a behaviour that is conceived as aggressive, suspicious or otherwise bad:

56. *se*   *Sa*   *sak*   <u>*zúlum kar-iman*</u>   *ásta*   **móc-an**   **thára**
    3s.nom.abs   king   much   cruel   do-ipf   aux.pst.I.3s   people-obl.pl   upon
    'that king <u>was</u> really <u>cruel</u> **to people** ..'   TC99

Other actions conceived or meant as negative for the Recipient or the Patient are teasing or laughing at people, as in 57, or 'beating an opponent in a game', as in 58:

57. *ása*   **góT-as**   **thára**   *kía*   <u>*mazák kár-a*</u>   *dái*   TC99
    3s.obl.dist   crazy-obl.sg   upon   what   fun   do-p/f.2p   spec
    'what are you doing **teasing** that crazy man'

58. *istrizha.gÚAk-an*   *takajúk*   *múzh-i*   **puruZ.gÚAk-an**   **thára**   <u>*barU-án*</u>
    girl-nom.pl   ring   game   play-cp   boy-obl.pl.   upon   win-p/f.3p
    'the girls **defeat** the boys when playing the ring game'   So.S

However, the actions need not be negative; predicates denoting 'trust', 'taking care of' or 'looking after someone or something' also take *thára* as a complement marker. With these predicates *thára* denotes some sort of solidity or effi-

cacy rather than a burden. This use can be seen as a metaphor build on the picture of a solid or supporting Ground.

59. *se*   *tása*   *thára* ***yakín ár-au***   TC99
     3s.nom.abs   3s.obl.abs   upon   trust   do.pst.A-3s
     'he **trusted** him'

17.7.4 Instrument – Manner – Reason

In these examples *thára* occurs in adverbial phrases. The postpositional phrase is adverbial, not an argument or argument-adjunct to the predicate. In many examples the postpositional phrase refers to the instrument used in carrying out the action denoted by the predicate. The use of *thára* in this function can be seen as an instance of circumstance coded as location (Dirven 1995: 102-3).

60. *uchund-íu*   ***parachút-as***   ***thára*** *uchund-íu*   *dái*   GK.sm
     descend-p/f.3s   parachute-obl.sg   upon   descend-p/f.3s   spec
     'he comes down, **by the use of the parachute** he comes down'

     Also Ingredient-Instrument (61) and Manner (62) can be coded by *thára*, as well as what seems to be the reason or cause of the action (63):

61. *tása*   *píSTaw-aw* ***kírik-as***   ***thára*** *sawzá-La*
     3s.obl.abs   behind-rep   snow-obl.sg   upon   construct-pst.ptc.I.3s
     ek moc cistá-i   Ta.sm
     a   man   stand-cp
     'behind him a person is placed, made **of snow**' (= 'a snowman')

62. ***zór-as***   ***thára*** *to*   *jalí*   *chín-iu*   *dái*   GK.sm
     force-obl.sg   upon   3s.acc   fence   break-p/f.3s   spec
     '**with force** he breaks the fence'

63. *moc sáras dy-el*   *haw* ***hakidá-as***   ***thára*** *dy-el*   TC99
     man   juniper   put-p/f.3s   cond   religious belief-obl.sg   upon   put-p/f.3s
     'a man who offers juniper on an altar does it **because of religious belief**'

     The use of a locative suffix or postposition meaning 'on' and 'upon' with an instrumental function is observed by Lorimer (1937: 77f) for Burushaski, Dumaki and Khowar. Tikkanen (1988: 311-2) regards this semantic extension as (a candidate for) an areal feature of the Hindu Kush languages, observed also in

Tibetan Balti to the east, Prasun, Pashai, and Iranian languages to the west and north. To this we may now include Kalasha.[141]

17.7.5 Summary

The functions of *thára* range from projective locative 'upon' and 'over' over a figurative sense of 'upon' where something is experienced as a burden or a strain, to use as a marker of Instrument and of Manner and Cause. Besides this *thára* may also have a temporal or a continuous sense as in *thára mastruk* 'next month'. The polysemy of *thára* can be depicted as in Figure 17.6.

FIGURE 17.6: THE SEMANTIC NETWORK OF *thára*.
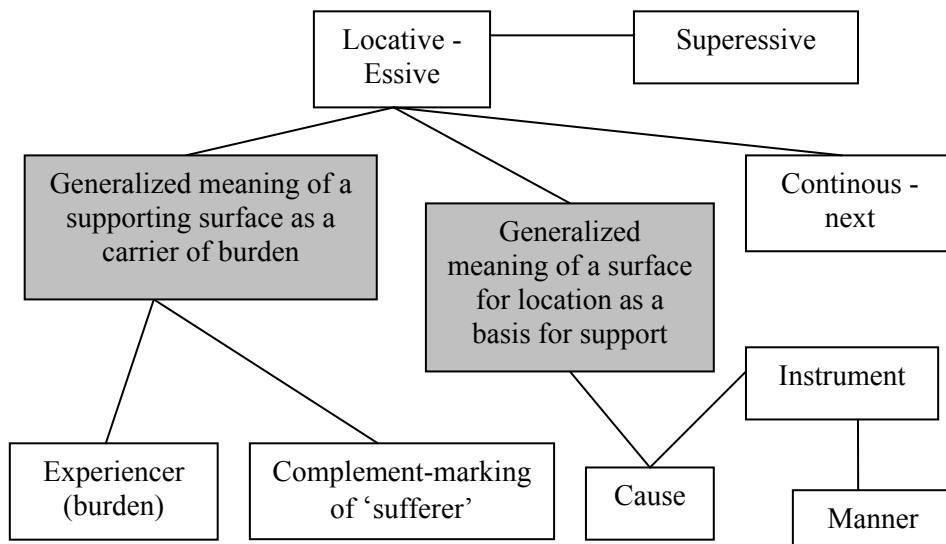
From the physical concrete function Locative-Essive a schematic representation of a supporting surface as a basis is extracted. This schematic representation is instantiated in a figurative use of *thára* in the functions Experiencer, Instrument, and 'Complement-marking of 'sufferer''. From Instrument the functions Manner and Cause are derived. The adverb *thára* meaning 'again, next', derives from the placing of entities on top of each other.

The instrumental function of *thára* is derived from the idea that the Ground, on which the Figure is located, is used actively in the carrying out of an activity. The instrument may be concrete, as in 60, or abstract, as in 62. In 61 we have a concrete Ingredient-Instrument. When used with abstract instruments as 62-63, and not restricted to actual 'on' location, there is only a short step to the functions

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[141] Heine and Kuteva (2002) do not mention Location -> Instrument as a typical grammaticalization path.

Manner and Cause.[142] An abstract instrument like *zor* 'force' comes to describe the circumstance of the action, hence a possible Manner-reading (Heine and Kuteva 2002: 181). Finally, Cause extends from the schematic representation of location as a basis. This is a reformulation of Heine and Kuteva's Location -> Cause, "an extremely widespread process" (2002: 201), presumably because the locational circumstance of an action in itself is seen as the cause or reason for that action.

Due to the etymology of *thar*, *dhā́rā-* 'edge of mountain' (CDIAL 6793), we can see the network of *thára* as a grammaticalization proces, in the Heinean sense. I.e., over time a landmark term has (1) lost (some of) its concrete, locational semantics and now (also) denotes a more diffuse and abstract sense of Manner, and (2) developed from being a free noun to now also possessing a grammatical denotation as a complement marker for predicates of certain types. The starting point of this grammaticalization path can be detected in a (very old) conceptual structure of an entity that is permanently above speakers (of mountain languages), a notion of 'Superessive'.

17.8 Participial postpostions in Kalasha

This section considers to what extention Kalasha has developed (spatial) postpositions from the participles *gri*, *thi*, *kái*, and *dái*.[143] For an analysis of these four participles as postpositions speaks the fact that *gri* (and the complex *asta gri* 'along with') overlaps in usage with other instrumental postpositions and the instrumental case ending -*an*, and that *thi*, *kái*, and *dái* often occur in spatial contexts and thus <u>may</u> be seen as being employed in an overall spatial case system. Often *thi* occurs with Source markers like the ablative endings, *kái* with other Goal or Location markers, and *dái* as a trajectory marker.

Figure 17.7 below, with the participles in the bottom row, tries to capture those spatial contexts in which these three participles occur.

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[142] This is also attested by Heine and Kuteva (2002: 180-1). In fact, Schlesinger (1995: 69) and Nilsen (1973: 72-76) regards 'Manner' and 'Instrument' to be undifferentiable with abstract nouns.

[143] *gri* is the perfect participle of *gríik* 'take, grasp, hold, ..', *thi* is the suppletive perfect participle to *hik* 'become', *shíik* 'be (inanimate)', and *ásik* 'be (animate)'; *kái* is the perfect participle of *kárik* 'do, make, ..'; *dái* is the perfect participle of *dek* 'give, ..'. Of these four, *kái*, *gri* and *dái* are called 'postpositions' by GM73, TC99, and EB88. GM73 also regards *thi* as a postposition.

The postpositions investigated in this section are all morphologically perfective participles, which are formed regularly by the (stressed) verbal stem plus formant -*i*, for example, *zhú-i* 'having eaten' from *zhu-* 'eat'.

FIGURE 17.7: AN OUTLINE OF THE SEMANTIC SYSTEM OF THE LOCAL CASE AFFIXES AND PARTICIPLES CANDIDATING AS LOCAL POSTPOSITIONS.

SOURCE	> -----------------------PATH------------------------>			GOAL
Abl1-*(y)ei* Abl2-*ani* Abl3-*aw*	--------------------> *dái* -------------------> (vialis)			Loc1-*a* Loc2-*una* Loc3-*ai*
thi (Source)	---------> *dái* (ablative)		-------------> *kái* (directive)	*kái* (locative)

Against an analysis as postpositions speaks the fact that the participles in question do not require oblique case on the governed nouns (with one important use of *kái* as an exception), and that they, to a varying degree, maintain aspects of the verbal semantics. This is shown with 64-65 below, where *thi*, *kái*, and *dái* appear as CPs expressing temporal anteriority in relation to the matrix verbs.[144] In 66-68, in contrast, this function does not seem to be present.

64. *se   taL-ái   **LabÉ thi** ger   ne   ká-i*
    3s.nom.abs there.nonspec.abs-loc3 play.cp   aware neg do-cp
    ek awát-a   umrá-au   Ba.na
    a   place-loc1 open-pst.A.3s
    '**while playing** there, and <u>having forgot </u>(about a ban), he opened up a (certain) room' (lit.: '.. at a (certain) place he opened')

65. <u>*au-máu ká-i* *tása*</u>   *dá-i* *á-au*   ***dá-i*-o**   *má-i* *á-au*
    food-red do-cp 3s.obl.abs give-pf aux.an-prs.3s give-cp-o say-pf aux.an-prs.3s
    '<u>having made food and stuff</u>, he gave it to her, **giving** (it), she said, ("stay here on the bed") '   Dur.na

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[144] I assume, with Bashir (1988: 396), that the participial postpositions have developed from the perfective participles in their function as conjunctive participles (CP), in the sense used in studies of South Asian languages (Masica 1976: 108-140; Lindholm 1975). The CP, translatable as a present as well as a perfect particle depending on context, may have a variety of functions in individual NIA languages. Common to these is the function of conjoining events in sequence or simultaneous with the event denoted by the main predicate of the clause. Typical meanings denoted by the CP constructions are: anteriority, manner, circumstance, and cause or reason. See Bashir (1988: 55-57) for the different functions of the perfective participle in Kalasha. In Haspelmath and König (1995) the term 'converb' is used for verb forms with functions similar to the NIA CP.

Other CP's that have grammaticalized and become specialized functionally are *ghéri* 'again' from *ghérik* 'turn around', the quotative particle *ghó~i* from *ghóik* 'speak', and the derivative *-Lóti* 'smeared with (liquid)' from *Lótik* 'smear out'. An interesting instance of a possible conjunction in spe is the use of *páshi* 'having seen' with verbs denoting 'like/dislike something', and without a necessary prior event of actual seeing or perception: *tu shÓ~a páshi diTShís dai* 'you don't like dogs' (lit. 'you dog <u>having-seen</u> dislike', from TC99).

66. *tu   krom-as-mí   báti désh-ai   thi*   *á-ai*   *e*
    2s.nom work-obl-emph purp far away-loc3 from/being? come.pst.A-2s   int
    'is it only for the sake of the work that you have come **from far away**?' IK.E

67. *se   dramí-a   kái   uTík-is*   GK.E
    3s.nom.abs roof-loc1 onto jump-pst.A.3s
    'he jumped **onto the roof**'

68. *síl-una   dái   mo   par-á*   TC99
    bridge-loc2 along proh go-imp.2p
    'don't go **by the bridge**'

In 64 *LabÉ thi* 'play being' denotes an activity that is simultaneous with *ger ne kái* 'was not aware' (itself a CP construction) and anterior to *umráau* 'opened'. In 65 *au-máu kái* 'having made bread' (italized) is a preceding action to *tása dái áau* 'gave it to her', and *dái-o* 'having given-o (it)' describes the action of bread-giving as simultaneous with (or antecedent to?) *mái áau* 'said'. In 66-68, in contrast, readings of *thi*, *kái*, and *dái* as 'being/having become', 'having done', and 'having given', respectively, are not likely.[145]

In the following I examine the use of these participles closer, and I discuss what conditions that should be fulfilled in order to call them postpositions. I present evidence that *dái* and probably also *kái*, but not *thi*, can be regarded as spatial postpositions. In 17.8.1-17.8.4 I first present theoretical and cross-linguistic perspectives on participial adpositions. After this, in 17.8.5.1 comes an analysis of the instrumental *gri*, followed by analyses of *dái*, *kái*, and *thi*. In 17.8.9-17.8.10 I give a summary and discuss theoretical implications of the (possible) status of these participles.

17.8.1 Verbal participles as sources for adpositions

The grammaticalization of free verbal lexemes to bound grammatical markers is a widely studied field.[146] Also the use and the development of verbal participles as

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[145] Interestingly, Kalasha *thi*, *kái*, and *dái* reveal a striking similarity with their etymological cognates in another Indo-Aryan (and Dardic) langauge, Kalam Kohistani. According to Baart (1999) Kalam Kohistani has a postposition /thi/ marking "the point of origin of a movement" (p. 77); another postposition, /dä/ (from /dää/, CP of 'give'), combines with "/pan/ 'path' to express the notion of 'along a path' " (p. 75; Baart, p.c.); and a third postposition, /kä/ (related to /kää/, the CP of 'do'), is defined as "dative case: marks an indirect object, and also denotes in the most general way a direction" (p. 75).

[146] A number of works deal with the development of auxiliaries from verbal lexemes (see, for example, Bybee et al. (1994) and Kuteva (2000) for such studies with a typological perspective). Other often-cited works deal with the emergence of grammatical markers from verbs in serial verb constructions, for example, Kahr (1975), and Heine and Reh (1984), to name just a few.

adpositions is well-known from the literature. Often cited examples from English are the use of 'during' and 'concerning' as prepositions. As a theoretical introduction to the analyses, a brief summary of the basic principles behind and mechanisms involved in the process verb > adposition will be given. I take Kortmann and König (1992) as a point of departure and supplement with Heine et al. (1991a), and Kortmann (1992). Chapter 17.8.2 summarizes the formal, i.e. morpho-syntactic characteristics of this proces; chapter 17.8.3 presents some of the semantic characteristics of the same process.

17.8.2 Morpho-syntactic characteristics of participial adpositions

When a lexeme changes from belonging to the category verb to the category adposition, a number of characteristic morpho-syntactic changes typically occur. According to Kortmann and König (1992: 675-82) the verbal participles in question lose their ability to conjugate for person, tense, aspect, and mood. Their underlying verb stems may go out of use (for example, English 'during' < *'dure'), and grammatical functions of the verb's syntactic arguments change. Furthermore, a loss of restriction with respect to the selection of complements may occur, and the participles may undergo phonological and morphological erosion (and eventually grammaticalize further to affixes). It is not a necessary condition that all these processes should have occurred, as adposition candidates in a language may reveal different degrees of 'erosion'. Hence, it is often possible to establish a scale of 'postposition-hood' (p. 384).

Kortmann and König point out that verbs occurring in a specific form and in a specific syntactic context (for example, as adverbial participles, or 'converbs', or in serial-verb constructions) are naturally subject to recategorization. Focusing on English and French, Kortmann and König specifically mention that it is those syntactic constructions where a verbal participle functions as a head of an adverbial phrase without being 'controlled', i.e., having the same subject as the matrix verb, that "provide an important source for the development of deverbal prepositions" (p. 679). According to this criterion, *given* in 70 below is a more plausible candidate for a categorization as a preposition than *given* in 69 (p. 679-680):

69. Given the chance, I'll do it again.
70. Given the present conditions, I think she's done rather well.

Kortmann & König further observe that PPs (in European languages) can most appropriately be analyzed as adjuncts, whereas deverbal prepositions in serial-verb languages function as complement markers (p. 692).

17.8.3 Semantic characteristics of participial adpositions

It is an essential characteristic of the semantics of deverbal prepositions that semantic bleaching has taken place, "[p]ractically always seen as a loss of concrete conceptual substance" (Kortmann 1992:436). Contrasting the development of deverbal prepositions in Romance and Germanic languages with the development of prepositions from serial verbs in serial verb languages, Kortmann finds that in European languages departicipial prepositions have four primary 'source domains', most of them being subdivisible into more specialized domains, for example:

i. Space: Physical contact ('touch-ing'), Connection/Extention ('pertain-ing to'), Position ('be-ing', 'pend-ing'), Motion/Direction ('follow-ing', *'ago');
ii. Time: Duration ('last-ing');
iii. Vision: Visual Perception ('see-ing'), Visual Activities ('foresee-ing');
iv. Mental States and Processes: Assumption ('assume-ing'), Agreement ('accord-ing with') (Kortmann 1992: 443).

Serial languages, in partial contrast, primarily use verbs that denote bodily position ('be at/in', 'be/exist') or general basic activities (for example, 'come', 'go', 'give', 'take', 'hold', 'do', 'get') (Kortmann 1992: 443; see also Givon 1975: 93, and Heine et al. 1991a: ch. 7).

According to Kortmann the proportion of reanalyzed participles (and also denominal preposition such as 'with respect to') is "considerably higher" in domains such as Exception and Topic/Respect than in other semantic domains. This is in contrast to what is seen in serial verb languages where the most common target domains are Space (Location and Direction), Means/Instrument, Manner, or Accompaniment (Kortmann 1992: 443-4; see also Lord 1973).

An explanation for this difference is that "in languages with serial verb constructions more fundamental prepositional domains seem to be in demand of import from open-class categories" whereas deverbal prepositions in European languages "are of more complex nature, serving primarily ... communicative, textual, or discourse-structuring functions" (Kortmann 1992: 444). A supplementary perspective to this is given by Kortmann and König (1992: 692): "[prepositions] follow much more clearly the path from "propositional" to "textual" to "expressive" meanings" (cf. Traugott 1982 1989, and elsewhere). In contrast, deverbal prepositions in serial languages "primarily encode a relatively limited set of thematic functions, typically expressed by oblique case-marking of central prepositions in European languages, and thus serve a much more basic and "local" function" (Kortmann and König 1992: 692).

Heine et al. (1991a) distinguish between 'N-adpositions' and 'V-adpositions'. They note, among other things, that: *i*. V-adpositions tend to define a direction or a point, "directional local relations" denoting concepts such as Place, Source, Goal, Path, and Benefactive/Dative, whereas N-adpositions typically describe a

spatial relation, "static local relations", denoting reference points like 'under', 'on', 'front', and 'back'; *ii*. N-adpositions are likely to be derived from body part terms or nouns denoting landmarks, V-adpositions "appear to be of verbal, rather than nominal, origin" (p. 145);

17.8.4 Reanalysis, the basics

It is fundamental for a recategorization of a verbal participle as an adposition that is fulfills the conditions for being reanalyzed. Reanalysis is a basic and fundamental concept in language development, and includes a lexemes's or a morphemes's change of word class or grammatical funtion.[147] It refers to the process by which a form comes to be treated in a different way grammatically from the way in which it was treated hitherto. To Langacker (1977: 58) reanalysis is "change in the structure of an expression or class of expressions that does not involve any immediate or intrinsic modification of its surface manifestation". I.e., reanalysis deals with change in constituency order, category labels, grammatical relations, and cohesion, in short, 'rebracketing' (see also Harris and Campbell 1995: 61 and Hopper and Traugott 2002: 49-52).

In order for a reanalysis to take place, a structure must be ambiguous, as reanalysis assigns the listener's interpretation of speaker's output to a different structure. (In Andersen's (1973) terms, the listener, or 'language learner', makes an abduction on the base of the speaker's output.) An often-quoted example is the reanalysis of the phrase 'back of the barn' as consisting of a head noun and a dependent noun as a complex preposition and head noun:

71. [[back] of the barn]   >   [back of [the barn]]

Transferred to the possible reanalysis of CPs as postpositions in Kalasha, we will expect a restructuring along the lines sketched in 72, where a subordinating CP is reanalyzed as a postposition:

72. Subj [[Obj V-CP]   V-Finite] >   Subj [Obj [CP-Postpo V-finite]]

The source structure in 72 depicts the structure of an intransitve, finite matrix verb, preceded by a concomitant, subordinated transitive CP-phrase. In the target structure the CP and the finite matrix verb make up a VP, where the CP now functions as a postposition with the role of marking a complement to the verb, and where the VP takes the former object of the subordinated CP-construction as its

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[147] Reanalysis is, however, not given equal attention in textbooks on historical linguistics. Harris and Campbell (1995), Campbell (2001), and Hopper and Traugott (1991), owe much or considerable attention to it, Hock (1991), Bynon (1977), and Anttila (1989) less so.

object. In 17.8.5-17.8.8 I will for each of the four CPs consider what syntactic and semantic contexts make such a reanalysis possible, i.e. when they can be interpreted as introducing subordinated and sequential clauses, and when they introduce (optional) complements.

Reanalysis does not mean that speaker's original output, its interpretation and grammatical structure, cannot exist or is no longer in use. Different analyses may continue to exist, but with different meanings. It is essential that the language must possess a structure that the new structure can fit into (see Langacker 1977, Hopper & Traugott 2002, Harris & Campbell 1995). For Heltoft et al (2005), however, it is a further requirement that reanalysed structures also "are part of closed paradigms with few, obligatory sign choices and sign oppositions" (p. 11).[148] In Ch. 19 I shall return to the question of new postpositions and case markers in general being part of a closed paradigm. With respect to participles in Kalasha (and other languages) the requirement of syntactic ambiguity means that in order for them to be interpreted as postpositions, they must occur in semantic as well as syntactic contexts otherwise taken care of by other adpositions.

17.8.5 Kalasha conjunctive participles as postpositions

I shall start out with the comitative-instrumental *gri* and *ásta gri*, followed by *dái*, *kái*, and *thi*, respectively. In 17.8.9 I give a summary and in 17.8.10 I let the general state of affairs describe in an overall perspective.

17.8.5.1 Is *gri/ghri* an instrumental postposition?

This participle is the CP of the verb *griik/ghriik*,[149] developed from OIA *ghritva* 'having taken' (Andersen 1979: 25; Goswami 1971: 145).

The verb *gríik* is polysemuous, meaning 'grasp', 'catch', 'hold', 'take', and 'buy'. As a CP it has a a number of different functions:[150]

73. Instrument-tool

ek	***don***	***gri***	***kiS***	***kár-in***	So.S
one	bull	with/using	plough	do-p/f.3p	

'they (i.e., 'one') plough **with one bull**'

74. Instrument-ingredient

ázis	***gri***	***bO~***	***kár-in***	TC99
lead	with/using	bullet	make-p/f.3p	

'they make bullets **with lead**'

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[148] In Danish, "indgår i lukkede paradigmer med få, obligatoriske tegnvalg og tegnmodsætninger".
[149] The aspiration is labile, and so is vowel length, yielding [g(h)ri] or [g(h)ri:]. Also r-syncope is frequent in this participle, yielding [gi] or [gi:], i.e. without aspiration.
[150] See 17.9 for further comments on *gri*'s overlapping functions with other postpositions. I also refer to Appendix 34 for a presentation of *gri*'s associative/comitative cousin, *asta gri*.

75. Comitative function

goSmoc-án	*hóma*	*hátya*	***TSáSa***	***gri***	*i-n*	IK.E
shephers-nom.pl	1p.obl	bene	cheese	with/taking	come-p/f.3p	

'the shepherds come **with cheese** to us'

GM73 (p. 210), TC99 (p. 112), and EB88 (p. 395) all see *gri* as a general instrument marker, glossed 'with', 'by way of'. This is indeed also how *gri* in 73-75 can be interpreted, and it would be in accordance with how OIA *ghritva* have developed in other Indo-Aryan languages.[151] But if we take a more literal look at *gri* in the above examples there is nothing that prevents us from analyzing it as a CP, giving the verbal readings as suggested. If the status of *gri* as a postposition is to be made more clear, other, semantically and syntactically complex constructions should be looked at. Examples 76-77 may illustrate such a construction:

76. *tará*   *ek* ***cimbér gri*** *sawz-áLa*   *bukhari.Tím*
there.spec.abs a iron   with construct-pst.ptc.I. metal.oven
th-en   *dái*
place-p/f.3p spec
'there they place a metal oven, **made from iron**'   Na.ma

77. *sh-ása*   ***kírik gri*** *sawz-áLa*   *Ái*   *junú-e*   *ne*
emph-3s.nom.dist snow   with construct-pst.ptc.I.3s duck alive-int neg
'is this duck made **of snow** alive or not?' [= 'made using snow'] Ta.sm

In both examples we see the *gri*-phrase positioned before *sawzáLa* 'made', and in both examples NP-*gri* denotes the material from which a thing is made. Clearly, *gri* can be glossed as 'using' or 'by the use of' in both examples, but there is no correlation of subjects. In 76 'they', inferred from the 3p-ending, refers to the people who place the oven, the Kalasha, who are not the same people who have produced the oven. In 77, about a snowman shaped like Donald Duck, obviously some other people than the snowman itself have constructed the snowman. In these 'impersonal' constructions we do not have same subjects. According to Kortman and König's criteria this opens the way for a postpositional reading.

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[151] Cross-linguistically it is widespread phenomenon that a verb meaning 'take, hold, ..' can develop into an instrument marker, see Heine and Kuteva (2002: 286-91).

17.8.6 *dái*

dái is the CP of the verb *dek*, meaning 'give', 'send a letter' (with *kagás* 'letter'), and 'permit, allow, let', according to TC99.[152] *dái* occurs in four different spatial contexts: (1) spatial vialis, (2) spatial ablative, (3) spatial adverbializing (with Abl3-*aw*), and (4) temporal-ablative.

17.8.6.1 *dái* as a Vialis marker

In this function *dái* follows either a place noun in the direct case, a common noun in a locative case, a non-declined place adverb, or a demonstrative pronoun in the oblique case. In constructions with nouns that denote an object with a side, a surface or the like that someone or something moves on, *dái* provides a vialis reading, glossed with 'via, by way of, along', as in 78. With objects that one has to cross or go through, *dái* provides a perlative or translative reading, glossed 'through' or 'across', as in:

78. **_síL-una_   _dái_**   _mo_   _par-á_   _nawá~ts_   TC99
    bridge-loc2   via   proh   go-imp.2p   dangerous
    'don't go **by the bridge**, it is dangerous'

79. _pháto_   _se_   **_dhenta.móc-una_**   **_dái_**   _pá-i_   _á-au_   Na.T
    then   3s.nom.abs   mountain.middle-loc2   along   go-pf   aux.an-prs.3s
    'then he went **through the middle of the mountain** (to the other side)'

The use of *dái* is obligatory to render the notion of 'along a path', whether on a surface or through an entity. Without *dái* we would get an allative interpretation, for example, *síL-una mo pará* 'don't go to the bridge' (or 'walk upon the bridge') and *dhenta.móc-una pái áau* 'he went to the middle of the mountain's surface'. This fact, and the fact that *dái* hardly can be read as a verb in these contexts, ?'having given the bridge+Loc2-*una*' and ?'having given the middle of the mountain', suggests that *dái* is a departicipial postposition with its own function in the space-marking system of Kalasha, namely to <u>designate the path, surface, place or a geographical landmark that is being traversed or followed, by way of</u>

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[152] The infinitive *dek* can be segmented as root the *da-* + infinitive *-ik*, where *-a-* + infinitive *-i-* assimilates to *-e-*, a phonetic process also seen in the transitivizing formation, for example *SáT-ik* 'attach to (intr)' + *-a-* 'causative 1' > *SaT-a-ik* > *SaTék* 'attach (tr)'. GM translates *dái* as 'from' and 'by way of', TC99 gives the meanings 'from, by way of, by', and EB glosses it 'from'. TC99 does not indicate a relationship to *dek* 'give'. EB (88: 396) describes *dái* as a "possible" participle-derived postposition (but she has informed me that she is ready to delete the word 'possible'). GM73 suggests derivation from the absolutive of *de-* give', but he also makes reference to Phalula *de:i* and Pashai *däi* 'from, since, than, with' (Morgenstierne 1973b, III: 51), for which he does not give an etymology; the Pashai root for 'give' is *day-/däy-*.

which a person or an object moves or transports himself or itself toward a point or a goal.

17.8.6.2 *dái* in ablative contexts

With place adverbs and place names *dái* provides the sentence with an ablative reading:

80. **suwír dái**   *utsúnd*   *hátya*   *par-íu*   *dái sarák*   Na.ma
    Suwir from Urtsun   towards   go-p/f-3s   spec road
    'it goes **from Suwir** towards Urtsun, the road'

       In such examples *dái* denotes the place from which something emanates, and it may be understood by relation to the literal meaning of the participle, 'given'. Taken literally, these *dái*-phrases can be glossed 'given Suwir', thus stating a point of departure for either a motion or an event to happen or a situation coming into being. Following Newman (1998: 225) what is instantiated in 78-80 is the element of 'giving' that deals with the delivery of something, understood as something is passed away and thus separated from GIVER.

       English *given* can function along similar lines, as in 80: *Given the present conditions, I think she's done rather well*. In this sentence *the present conditions* functions as the point of comparison or the starting point of comparison for the following statement *I think ...* . Following this line of thought, the ablative reading is triggered by context. Consequently, *dái*'s status as a postposition in 78-80 can be questioned, but without *dái* an ablative reading is not possible. (Notice that this 'given'-interpretation does not exclude a locational and non-vialis reading of *dái* in 68 and in 78-79 above.) But, like *given* in the English example, *dái* does not share the subjects with the main verbs in 78-80. This speaks in favour of a postposition-reading, as it does with *given* in the English example.

17.8.6.3 *dái* with adverbializing Abl3-*aw*

Related to the ablative context in 80, are the uses in constructions with Abl3-*aw* in its elative and spatial-adverbializing function (see Ch. 13.3.9). Examples 81-82 illustrate the use of *dái* with Abl3-*aw*:

81. *sha-tará*   *móc-un-o*   *ek tsé~tsaw*
    emph-there.spec.dist   middle-loc2-*o* a   squirrel
    taLéL-a   **gÁng-aw**   *nih-í*   Ta.sm
    there.across-edge.abs-loc1   hole-abl3   come out-cp
    'right there in the middle (of the picture) a (certain) squirrel coming **out from the hole across-there** (said to him, "…")'

82. *to* **ek gú~ghur-aw dái-**o *uhúk bían nih-í*   Ta.sm
    then one hollow-abl3 from-o owl   outside appear-cp
    'then, an owl having appeared **out from the hollow** (of a tree), ...'

Both examples describe situations where an animal comes out from a non-visible location, denoted by Abl3-*aw*, but only 82 has *dái*, indicating optionality. This is also seen with Abl3-*aw* in the adverbializing function:

83. **gúru-as   rúaw** *gúr-as   peraná-aw   dái   grabat kúi*
    Guru-obl.sg in front Guru-obl.sg across.stream-abl3 from   Grabat Kui
    'in front of Guru, across the stream-wards, we have Grabat Kui'   Na.ma

84. **darazgurú gróm-as   rúaw dái** *peraná-aw   dái*
    Darazguru   village-obl.sg in front from across-stream-abl3 from
    shamajáw shí-u   Na.ma
    Shamajaw   be.in-prs.3s
    'in front of the Darazguru village, across-stream-wards, we have Shamajaw'

The examples show that *dái* is not obligatory with adverbializing Abl3-*aw*, like with elative-ablative Abl3-*aw*. *dái* states that the localization from which something goes out or and from which something else is located is 'given', i.e. explicitly stated in the discourse. The meaning present in 84, but not in 83, without *dái*, may be a reminiscence of the 'given' meaning, along the same lines as in 17.8.6.2 above.

The use of *dái* in 82 and 84 differs from what was seen in 17.8.6.2, as it is not *dái* that gives an ablative-directional meaning, this is provided by Abl3-*aw*. *dái* does not imply any difference with respect to actual or real-world distance, because there is not much difference between the village Guru and Grabat Kui, the small and narrow side valley to the larger Biriu Valley in which Guru is situated, in 83, on the one hand, and the village Darazguru and the forest Shamajaw, in 84, on the other. Thus, *dái* seems semantically superfluous. But there are two distributional points to note:

i. Outside of geographical contexts, e.g., in small-scale descriptions of the setting of objects in a photograph, Abl3-aw *dái* is preferred; as if Abl3-aw *dái* includes in its scope the area right next to the reference point.
ii. Abl3-*aw dái* is not seen in descriptions of motion <u>towards</u> a deictic center, whether speaker, an object or a point in the landscape. In other words, with Abl3-*aw dái* we have a clear(er) implication of a direction or trajectory away from the speaker/deictic centre; Abl3-*aw dái* anchors deictically the speaker or a participant in the situation described.

A function of highlightning the line of direction or motion is in accordance with overall Path- or Trajectory-marking functions of postpositions in Kalasha, and it is directly relatable to the path-like vialis function. It can be seen as an example of Newman's (1998: 225-7) observation of 'GIVE as movement away', and it is also implied in the next use of *dái* to be examined.

17.8.6.4   Temporal use of *dái* 'after'

dái may also occur with a temporal adverb or an adverb used temporally. The constructions have the meanings: 'from' or 'since some point of time':

85. *ék-o   píSTaw dái   to   kíS-iu*   So.S
       one other   after   from   3s.acc.abs   plough-p/f.3s
       '.. another person plough it (the field) **afterwards**'

Here *dái* provides the examples with sense of sequentiality, the subject arrives at a point before someone else. This use can be seen as a temporal analogue to the spatial uses mentioned above.

17.8.6.5   *dái* and the 'specific present'

Kalasha has a verbal particle, *dái*, which functions as a 'specific marker', (EB88: 62-63).[153] According to Bashir (EB88: 63) 'specific present' *dái* has the following functions:

i. Ongoing present action (present progressive): *kawái páris dái* 'where are you going?'.
ii. Iterative (specific) present: *ónja se har ádua íu dái* 'now he comes every day'.
iii. Specific immediate future: *tay putr **ubu-íu dái** rat* 'your son will be born tonight'.
iv. Specific non-immediate future: *cópo purá So bajáan íu dái* 'tomorrow morning he is coming at exactly 6 o'clock'
v. Present-perfect progressive sense: *cópaw andéi **tró-iu dái*** 'she has been crying since morning'.
vi. Questioning or challenging the ability or reason for doing a specific action': *khe~ **kár-is dái** .. tu kawalíák* 'how (can) you do (it)? You are alone'.

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[153] TC99 (p. 76, 481) calls *dái* a marker of 'continuous aspect'. GM73 (p. 226) calls it 'definite present'. EB88 does not notice any connection between the verbal particle and the postposition *dái*. To GM73, however, it "seems possible that *dái* [goes] back to an enclitic form of the verb 'give'" (p. 226). I will rely on GM's intuitions and see 'specific present' *dái* as a grammaticalization of *dái* 'given'.

With a 'specific' expression EB means that the speaker has a particular referent in mind. For example, in *a kitáb khójim dái* 'I book look for +SPEC' the speaker has a specific book in mind, whereas with *a kitáb khójim* 'I book look for' the speaker does not have a specific book in mind. With 'specific' *dái* the speaker implies an element of certainty (EB88: 62, 104, fn.); cf. the contrast between *kawái páris* 'where do you go?' vs. *kawái páris dái* 'where are you going', where the latter example implies that the addressee has a specific goal in mind, and the former example is to be interpreted habitually. The distinction between 'specific' and 'non-specific' present "is relevant only to the speaker's state of mind".[154] As a verbal particle *dái* is very much associated with subjectification, by Traugott and others held to be typical for certain grammaticalization processes, for example, Traugott (1982, 1989, 1995).

17.8.6.6 Discussion

I have shown that *dái* as a postposition and verbal particle is associated with the following semantic functions: (1) Vialis, (2) Ablative, (2) Directional ('onwards'), (4) Temporal ('after'), and (5) Specific future/present. The interrelatedness of these functions is depicted by the semantic network in Figure 17.8 which also connects these functions to the lexical source. A basic, prototypical meaning of this source could be something like:

> 'a GIVER intentionally passes on, delivers, or bestows something, THING, from his own domain of control to someone (RECEIVER), who benefits from, or is influenced by the thing transferred, or by the transference itself, which he may come to be in control of'.[155]

Taking this definition of 'give' as a point of departure, we may establish a semantic network of *dái* as in Figure 17.8 below.

From the lexical source two generalized meanings are abstracted. The first draws on the transferral or transmission inherent in an act of giving and is instantiated in the 'Vialis' function of *dái*. The second schematic representation draws on the fact that a GIVE situation has a starting point, the GIVER, and it instantiates in the 'Ablative' and 'Directional' functions. These two spatial functions further extend to the temporal domain, giving rise to the use of *dái* in temporal contexts. The third generalized meaning takes its departure in the intentionality of the GIVER. This representation is instantiated in the use of *dái* as a marker of 'specific present/future'.

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[154] This particular referent may be definite or indefinite, "depending on whether the particular referent has been previously identified or introduced into the discourse" (EB88: 104, fn.).
[155] Newman (1996: 1) defines an act of giving as "an act whereby a person (the GIVER) passes with the hands control over an object (THING) to another person (the RECIPIENT)".

FIGURE 17.8: THE SEMANTIC NETWORK OF *dái*.
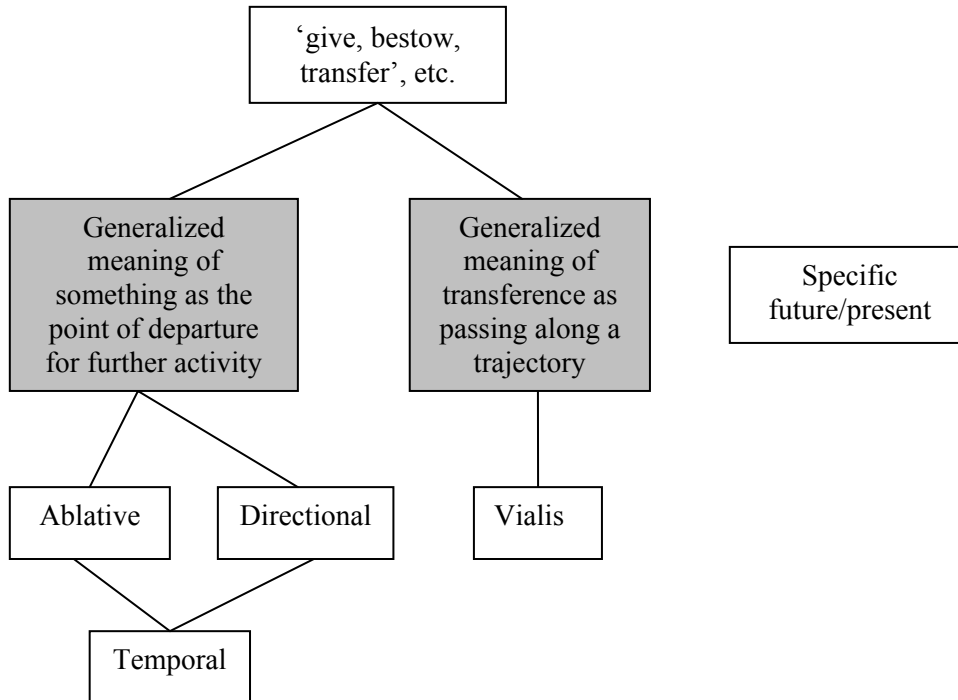
The function 'Specific future and present' is not connected to the functions in the network. This reflects that I see this function as deviant from the other functions. In a <u>diachronic perspective</u> this function of *dái* can be seen as related to the verbal meaning by a generalized meaning intentionality and control.

If we look at typical grammaticalization paths for 'give' in Heine and Kuteva (2003: 149-55), we see functions such as Benefactive, Concern, Dative (i.e., Indirect Object), Purpose, and Causative. These functions focus on the end station or the goal of the process of giving, in relation to the definition above. In contrast, in Kalasha it seems to be the Actor part, the Giver, or the transmission itself that is highlighted (grammaticalized) by *dái*. For example, in the Vialis function it is the Path that someone or something traverses via or goes by way of that is highlighted. The Vialis function, although not explicitly mentioned by Newman (1996), can be seen as a linguistic instantiation of the "natural path", established by the "flow of energy" associated with the act of giving in itself (Newman 1996: 49-50), or, perhaps, by the locomotion of the THING given.

In the Directional function we also have a path element, and this function also includes the point of departure, as surely the function 'Ablative-elative' also does, i.e. there is a relation to the 'giver', the actor in a process of giving. A similar association of 'give' as "movement away" is observed by Newman (1996a). Newman refers to English *give on to* (and similar expressions in Brazilian Portuguese, Finnish and Spanish (p. 225-7)), meaning 'facing in a

certain direction', as in *the window gives on to/faces/opens to the garden*.[156] There is no actual motion in such examples, only "an abstract motion involving a path along which the view from some point "leads out" " (p. 227). The metaphor takes it base from the viewer as the Source, "construed as though one's vision [the viewer's, JH] proceeds out in some direction" (ibid.).

The intentional element instantiated in the function 'Specific present/future' may also be relevant with respect to the optional use of *dái* in the 'Ablative' and 'Directional' functions. When using *dái* instead of not using *dái* the speaker intentionally highlights the path along which something moves. This may be seen as an intensification of the subjective viewpoint of the speaker, characteristic of many grammaticalization processes (Traugott 1988, 1995).

17.8.7 *kái*

kái is the CP of the verb *karik* 'do',[157] the cognate of OIA *karṓti* 'he does' (CDIAL 2814).[158] Besides being a frequent simplex verb *karik* also occurs frequently as a general transitive adverbializer (EB88: 396), and it is the transitive vector verb in conjunct verbs in opposition to intransitive *hik*, for example, *pruST kárik* 'do someone good' vs. *pruST hik* 'become better'. Example 65 above showed *kái* as a CP meaning 'done, made'. Another general transitive meaning, 'employ, use', is illustrated in 86-87:

86. ***kuwát   / múc-a   ká-i   grí-i***   TC99
    strength-Ø / grasp-loc1   use-cp   take-imp.2s
    'take (it) **with strength/your grasp**'
    (Lit.: 'take it **using/doing** strength/grasp')

87. *Dáran-as   tád-a   mo   pár-i   ghó~i **hó~zha ká-i*** khu~Di-és
    flood-obl.sg near-loc1 proh go-imp.2 quot   loud   do-cp call-pst.A.1s

---

[156] Newman, citing Hook (1991: 66), mentions Marathi *dilaa* 'gave' used in a compound verb construction meaning, where "there is an outward movement which the object referent undergoes. The Marathi construction is *Taak-un dilaa* 'throw-CP + gave', and the English gloss of the example 'he threw out the trash can'. In Kalasha *dek* 'give' can be used in compound verbs too, but mainly or only (?) in imperatives (EB88: 221). Newman (1996: 228-231) also observes that the act of 'give' results in a final state, distinct from the initial state, and that this gives associations to 'completedness'. Newman sees the use of 'give' as vector verbs in Hindi-Urdu and Bengali as an instantiation of this.

[157] The form *kái* is the r-truncated root of *karik*, *kar-* + *-i*, the formant of the perfective participle. TC99 render three meanings for the postposition *kái* (written *kay*): (1) directional locative ('to, in, on, into'), (2) spatial and temporal, static, location ('at'), (3) 'about' (in *dura kái krom citi trạkuman mo ha* 'when thinking about the work of your house, don't worry about it').

[158] The form *karṓti* is a derivation of the root *kri*, which, following Monier-Williams, has denotations such as: 'do, make, perform, accomplish, cause, effect, undertake', 'do anything for the advantage or injury of another', 'execute, carry out', 'place, put lay, bring', 'take by the hand, marry', 'direct the thoughts, mind, towards any object, turn the attention upon', and 'give an order, commission'. All, in my terms, goal-orientated activities.

'I shouted **loudly** not to go near the flood' EB88.E

When used with adjetives like in 87, CP-*kái* denotes intensity or vehemence, brought about by someone. The intensifying function of *kái* is also seen with adverbs such as *bo* 'much':

88. *émi   bíshi gak grí-in   **bo   ká-i** gak grí-in* Shing.S
    3p.nom.dist 20   cow take-p/f.3p many do-cp cow take-p/f.3p
    'they take 20 cows, they take **a lot of** cows'

So far we have seen no indications of *kái* as a postposition. But the picture changes when *kái* occurs in local contexts.

17.8.7.1 *kái* as a conjunctive participle or a postposition in local contexts?

kái is very often seen in a local context with nouns that denote objects that function as containers (89), or with nouns denoting the goal of a motion verb (90):

89. *a   **kóp-una kái** cay   pi-m*   GK.E/Na.E
    1s.nom cup-loc2 into   tea-Ø drink-p/f.1s
    'I drink tea **from the cup**' (or: 'by use of the cup')[159]

90. *pháto angríz   báya **dramí-a kái** uTíki-La*   GK.E
    then westerner *baya* roof-loc1 onto jump-pst.ptc.I.3s
    'then the westerner jumped **onto the roof**'

In these examples *kái* is obligatory in order to render the meanings given. Without *kái* 89 will mean: 'I drink (while being) in the cup', and 90 '.. jumped (up and down) <u>on</u> the roof'. Hence, *kái* provides the sentences with an element of direction, also present in OIA for *kri-* 'put, place, lay' (see above), and an element of sequentiality or simultaneity, typical functions of the CP. Read literally, the examples translate 'I drink tea (after) having put/directed(/employed?) it in the cup' and 'the westerner jumped, as he brings (himself) on the roof'. But *kárik* can only be glossed 'put' when occurring as CP-like *kái*, not as a main verb:

91. *a   cay   kóp-una **kár-im***   GK.E/Na.E/Ta.E
    1s.nom tea   cup-loc2 do/place-p/f.1s

---

[159] In what follows I shall gloss and translate *kái* as a postposition meaning 'to', 'into', etc. rather than as a conjunctive participle: 'done' or 'doing'.

Intended meaning: 'I <u>put</u> the tea <u>into</u> the cup'
Actual meaning: 'I **make (= produce)** the tea in the cup'

In 89-90 *kái* illustrates a case of a word meaning that is inherited from an earlier stage of the language, but is restricted in distribution in relation to that stage. But it does not necessarily make *kái* a local postposition; there is still a large portion of the original semantics present, and the matrix verb *pik* 'drink' and *kái* 'having put' share the same subject. The same is the case when *kái* occurs with the Ground for an activity or a situation (brackets indicate optionality):

92. ***kháw-una   (kái)   gúum moND-én***   TC99
    threshing floor-loc2   on   wheat thresh-p/f.3
    'they thresh wheat (having put it) **on the threshing floor**'

93. ***tará   mukhén-una (kái)   se   shuLá   bish-áLa***
    there.spec.abs veranda-loc2   at   3s.nom.dist firewood cut-pst.ptc.I.3s
    '(having gone) **there on the veranda,** he cut firewood'   GK.E

In these examples *kái* and the preceding locative noun introduce a locative adjunct that denotes the place where an activity is going on. This activity is not Goal-directed, or, at least, not directed toward the *kái*-marked nominal phrase. But since the wheat in 92 and the actor in 93 must have been placed on or have arrived at the Grounds before the activities denoted by the predicates are carried out, <u>a direction or motion prior to the situation described is implied</u>. This is what *kái* expresses when present in such contexts.

When direction is inherent in the predicate, as with placement verbs. *kái* is also optional:

94. *áy-as   piléT níg-i   **sáyd-una (kái) th-el**   dái   GK.sm
    mother-3s.ps late   wash-cp side-loc2   to   place-p/f.3s spec
    'washing the plates, her mother put them **aside**'

Because the predicates themselves are Goal-directed, a further Goal-orientated *kái* is not strictly semantically necessary, therefore the optionality with such predicates. In Kortmann and König's (1992) words, the CP is a "dangling" or "unrelated participle", and this syntactic status can "provide an important source for the development of deverbal prepositions" (p. 679).

Examples 95 and 96, with intransitive and transitive verbs respectively, contain other facets of CP *kái*:

95. *moc*   ***dighÁ-una*** *(kái)*   *jag-él*   *dái*   Na.E
    man   wall-loc2   onto   look-p/f.3s   spec
    'the man is looking **at the wall**'

96. *a*   ***tása***   *(kái)*   *ty-em*   *dái*   Na.E
    1s.nom   3s.obl.abs   at   hit-p/f.1s   spec
    'I hit **him**'

In these examples, *kái* comes close to being a mere directive postposition. But *kái* still carries an element of transferral of something, as the subject directs his gaze towards the wall in 95, and in 96 the subject directs his blow against the Goal. Thus, 95 may be read literally as 'he looks at the wall, having directed his gaze at it'. In another interpretation of 95-96 *kái* is a directive postposition. The use and non-use of *kái* may then come out in English as 'he sees the wall' vs. 'he looks at the wall' (95), and 'he hits him' vs. 'he hits at/onto him' (96).

In other words, without *kái* we have a construction with a direct object that expresses that the object is totally affected by the activity denoted by the predicate. With *kái* we have a construction that highlights that there is motion going out from somewhere, the subject, to something or someone else. According to this interpretation, <u>*kái* is a directive postposition that indicates that the goal of an activity has been reached</u>. Native speaker reactions to 95 with and without *kái* are that with *kái* "the person looks straight onto the wall", whereas without *kái* "the person is just looking". Although it is not certain what the native speakers actually mean by this, it <u>may</u> be interpreted as supplementing the directive 'the goal has been reached' function, reflecting partly *kái*'s perfective form, partly its inherent transitivity.

17.8.7.2   *kái* in the Put and Take Project

In the responses to the Put and Take Project (see Ch. 11 and Appendix 19) *kái* was used frequently in the informants' descriptions of 'put' events, although there was not always agreement among the three informants about when to use and when not to use *kái*. For 12 film clips *kái* was not used by any of the informants, and for 7 film clips all informants used *kái* as a Goal marker (along with Loc2-*una*. Table 17.1 below shows which events my informants agreed about with respect to using and not using *kái*.

TABLE 17.1: SITUATIONS WITH AND WITHOUT *kái* IN THE PUT AND TAKE PROJECT.

Situations without *kái* (all informants)		Situations with *kái* (all informants)	
Film and event	**Goal marker**	**Film and event**	**Goal marker**
1. sticks candle into holder	Loc3-*ai*	8. takes book and throws it to floor	Loc2-*una, ruaw*
14. drops apple into bag	Loc3-*ai*	28. takes glass, pours water out	Loc2-*una*
27. puts lighter in pocket	Loc3-*ai*	34. takes book and throw it to floor	Loc2-*una*
35. removes rag from exhaust pipe	Loc3-*ai*	40. takes banana with tongs and puts it on table	Loc2-*una*
36. puts head into bucket	Loc3-*ai*	43. takes stone from surface and slips it into bowl	Loc2-*una*
54. sticks hand into hole in tree	Loc3-*ai*	50. takes glass and places it on table	Loc2-*una, thára*
55. sticks hand into pocket	Loc3-*ai*	57. takes suitcase and places it outside door	*bian, bianaw*
56. puts vegetable into bag	Loc3-*ai*		
59. puts flower into hair	Loc3-*ai*		
5. puts picture onto wall	Loc2-*una*		
39. gives cup to woman	oblique		
45. knocks bucket over so pieces of wood spills out on floor	Adverb		

The table shows that in most events coded without *kái*, except 5, 39, and 45, we have an end-goal location of the 'put' event that is not visible or exactly identifiable, and consequently coded with Loc3-*ai*. In contrast, in all the situations were all three informants have used *kái* as an end-goal marker of the 'put' event, the Figure's end location is visible, certain and identifiable. Furthermore, the + *kái* scenes can be said to display 'put' events that are somehow prolonged or have extra, circumstantial elements, like in 57 where a woman stands inside a room, takes up a bag and places it just outside the door of the room. Or like in 40 where a person takes a banana by the use of tongs and places it on a table. This indicates two factors responsible for the use of *kái*: (1) Goal location is non-visible and not exactly identifiable vs. visible and exactly identifiable; and (2) *kái* is used when a long or perhaps circumstantial Trajectory is involved. This pattern is not in conflict with the assumption that the use of a postposition implies specificity, here 'specifiable location', as suggested in 17.2 above, inspired by the use and non-use of *kō* in Urdu with human direct objects. However, one shall notice that *kái* is a

resource, as it is not obligatorily triggered for the latter kind of events, nor is obligatorily absent in events with a non-visible and not exactly identifiable end goal.

Film clips 39 and 45 differ from the other 'put' events withoug *kái* by being non-prototypical put events. Film clip 5 'woman puts picture on (nail in) wall' seems to be an exception to the general observation that I cannot explain. The sentence *istrízha phuTú <u>dighÁ-una kái</u> SaTél dái* 'woman picture <u>wall+Loc2-una</u> onto puts', would be perfectly acceptable for that situation.

17.8.7.3 *kái* as an Addressee-marker

Another indication of CP-*kái* being interpreted as a postposition is seen with utterance verbs or with verbs denoting a verbal activity requiring or allowing for a Recipient or Addressee, functioning as an Indirect Object. In 97-98 this is illustrated with the verbs *mon dek* 'speak', *máik* 'speak, say, tell', and *salám kárik* 'greet' (see Appendix 30 for a fuller list).

97. *a   tay   kái mon d-em   ghó~i   amá-au*
    1s.nom 2s.obl to   word give-p/f.1s quot   au-say.pst.A-3s
    sudá-as   kái má-i-o   Dur.na
    child-obl.sg to   said-cp-*o*
    ' "I will **speak to you**", she said (to him), **said to the child**'

98. ***áy-as   kái** salém ishpáshur-as isprés-as **drúst-in kái** salém*
    mother-3s.ps to   greeting *ishpasur*-3s.ps *ispres*-3s.ps all-obl.pl to   greetings
    'greetings to your mother, *ishpashur, ispres*, greetings to all'[160]   So.S

Taking a CP perspective on 97-98 *kái* may be read as 'directing' or 'directed', i.e., for *mon dek* in 97, 'I give words (= 'speak'), directing (them) to you', and for *salém* in 98, 'greetings directed to your mother/all'. And when someone addresses a piece of information or one's utterance to someone, an addressee, one may talk about placing the information or the utterance at or with the addressee. In this perspective the predicate category just outlined shares the semantics with the predicates that take *kái* as a Goal-marker for acts of 'putting' or 'placing' or another action directed at someone or something.

As an obligatory marker of Addressee or Indirect Object, the recipient of an utterance, *kái* enters into a paradigm consisting of postpositions which are obligatory for the marking of semantic roles with different sorts of predicates.

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[160] *ishpashur* = 'father-in-law; uncle-in-law (spouse's uncle or husband of spouse's uncle); brother-in-law (husband's older brother); *isprés* = 'mother-in-law; aunt-in-law (husband's aunt or wife of husband's uncle)', both according to TC99.

17.8.7.4   *kái* as emphasizing location

There are uses of locative *kái* which do not clearly imply a physical act of placement, for example in 99-100:

99. ***tícak   aLéL-aw***   ***(kái)** baLáwsh-a   dur   **shí-u*** GK.ma/Fn06
    a little there.across-edge.dist-abl3 at   Balaush-obl   house be.in-prs.3s
    'across, **(placed/located) a little over there**, we have Balaush's house'

100. ***ógaLa   (kái)**   samandár   jagá-i ..*   Ba.na/Fn06
    down   at   ocean   look at-cp
    'looking at the ocean deep **(placed/located) down below** ...'

In these sentences the actual locations of the house and the sea are indicated by adverbs, *aLéLaw* and *ógaLa*. *kái* does not in these examples indicate that someone has placed the house and the sea, although logically, a house must have been placed at a certain location. What *kái* does is to highlight the location of the house and the sea, respectively, without *kái* the locations would be the same. Without implying a prior act of placement, but still preserving an element of dynamicity (cf. my glosses 'placed/located'), *kái* underlines, perhaps contrastively, the loction of a particular object or location in relation to other objects or locations, i.e., *kái* can be ascribed a more textual or discursive function. By using *kái* the speaker emphasizes a particular and exact location in relation to another location or another reference point, for example a preceding situation.

Considering Kortmann and König's syntactic perspective concerning same subject as a criterion for distinguishing between verbal and adpositional status, there is a good reason for interpreting *kái* as a postposition in 99-100. It is simply not obvious that there is an underlying subject for a CP interpretation of *kái* in these examples.

The meaning of this postposition then, is to express that a Goal or a location at the end of a Trajectory has been reached. This is clear from those examples where *kái* implies a prior, concrete situation of placement or motion. But with 99-100 no actual, physical reaching or placing is implied. The 'reaching' of the Goal is on the part of the speaker, so to speak, as by using *kái* he explicitly points out a static location.

17.8.7.5   Perspectives

A word with a general meaning as 'do' is often used in a variety of functions and in a variety of senses across the world's languages. This is evident when one looks up such lexemes in detailed and extensive dictionaries, and it is also what is reflected in Monier-Williams's Sanskrit-English dictionary. The inherent semantic openness or non-restrictiveness of a lexeme meaning 'do', as if it was merely a (transitive) filler verb, is a resource for a variety of uses or functions; in the words

of Monier-Williams: "[t]he .. senses of *kri* may be variously modified or almost infinitively extended according to the noun with which this [root] is connected" (p. 301). According to Bloch (1965: 159), *krta-* 'made' is almost void of lexical content, "expressing simple dependence". This is reflected in those contemporary NIA languages where a cognate to *kri-, krta-*, etc. is used for genitival relationships (see Appendix 35 for examples and additional historical notes).

With regard to Kalasha, *kri*'s polysemy finds expression in the use of *kái* in a number of contexts, all with a Goal-oriented denotation. *kái* denotes ('telic' or 'dynamic') situations or events where an actor carries out an activity or performs something that ends or results in a certain state. In other words, *karik* 'do' is inherently Goal-orientated, you do something in order <u>to get it done</u>, to have something fulfilled, to put it in a more orderly way. Consequently, the CP of *karik*, *kái*, is used, or has grammaticalized or is on the way to be grammaticalized for situations that naturally involve a large degree of transitivity and that involve Goals. This is the case of its obligatory use in the function of expressing Addressee/Goal-Indirect Object.

It is not a unique occurrence that the notion of transitivity should be involved in a grammaticalization process of a lexeme meaning 'do'. Heine and Kuteva (2002) give examples showing the grammatical function 'Causative' as a frequent development for lexemes meaning 'do, make'. From some of the other grammatical functions developed from 'do, make' lexemes mentioned by Heine and Kuteva, 'Continuous', 'Emphasis' (for example, 'he <u>did</u> come'), it is clear that also a notion of dynamicity is involved, a notion that may also said to be present in the functions of Kalasha *kái*. But the dynamic and transitivity-derived function of marking a Goal or (derived) a Ground is not mentioned for 'do, make' by Heine and Kuteva.

17.8.8 The intransitive adverbializer *thi*

The CP *thi* is the intransitive counterpart to *kái*, the transitive adverbializer. *thi* also functions as the intransitive vector verb in conjunct verbs, for example, *pruST hik* 'become better', vs. transitive *pruST karik* 'do someone good'.[161] As a CP *thi* introduces subordinated clauses that express activities or situations that are perceived as being simultaneous with, causal or temporal prior to, or denoting manner of the activities or situations expressed by the matrix verbs. Example 64 above was an example of this. Not infrequently *thi* is seen with locative phrases as in:

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[161] *thi* is the suppletive perfective participle of the verbs 'be', *asik* (animate) and *shiik* (inanimate), and 'become', *hik*. GM73 suggests as an etymology *sthitá-* 'standing, settled' (CDIAL 13768), i.e. a participial form of a verb derived from the root STHĀ. This word is reflected in many of the languages cited in Turner (1966) with the meanings 'standing (upright)', 'being in an upright position'. Monier-Williams (1899) associates a number of meanings to the lemmata *sthitá* and *sthíti*, for example, 'standing upright or firmly', 'standing, remaining, abiding, stay, sojourn at', 'firm or fixed position', 'continuance in being .. and existence', and 'being or remaining or keeping in any state or condition'.

101. *tu   káas   móndr-una thi   tan zindagí berbátr mo   kár-i*
    2s.nom who-obl.sg word-loc2 be.cp own life   ruin   proh do-imp.2s
    'don't ruin your life by listening to other people's advice' (: **by being in other people's words**)   TC99

In 101 the locative adjunct denotes a location, albeit abstract. The locative adjunct may be analysed as a static locative postposition phrase, but it still contains a shadow of a second, temporally, and perhaps causally prior event: 'don't ruin your life because of ("having come to be in") someone's words'.

With adjectives, as in 102 *thi* renders an adverbial reading, providing information about someone's or something's (inherent or characteristic) state or condition, in contrast to the transitivizing *kái* in 87:

102. *par-ón   bo   koshán thi   tan   dúr-a   hátya*   Ta.sm
    go-pst.A.3p very happy be.cp own   house-loc1 towards
    '(and) they went, **happily** towards their own house'

And with pronominal elements or quantifiers, 103-104, *thi* emphasizes the unity of the people involved in the carrying out of an action.

103. *saw   (thi)   bhúT-an*   So.S
    all.nom   being? braid-p/f.3p (plaits)
    '**all of them** braid (plaits)'

104. *a   zhe tu   ek thi   par-ík   phónd-una*   Er.na
    1s.nom and 2s.nom together go-p/f.1p road-loc2
    'I and you will go **together** on the way'

17.8.8.1 Is *thi* an ablative postposition?

In constructions with nouns or adverbs in an ablative case *thi* seems at a first glance void of a verbal element indicating prior placement or location:

105. *áLa   batyák aL-éi thi atrá   kái uTik-é-s*
    3s.acc.dist baby goat there-abl1 from there.spec.abs to jump-cs1-pst.A.1s
    'I helped that baby goat jump **from there** to there'   EB88.E

Here the ablative-marked adverb and *thi* emphasize the place of being, standing, or departure, in contrast to the end goal of the action denoted by the predicate. What is expressed here is not just a plain motion away from somewhere, but a

motion (all the way) to a point from one point where someone or something is positioned, indicated by the Goal-marker *kái* in 105. By using *thi* the speaker explicitly states that the Figure (*batyák* 'baby goat') is located at a point, whereas the ablative ending tells us that there is motion away from that place. Compare the two ablative phrases in 106:

106. ***dramí-ani   thi***   *may   yardúst   a-pásh-is*
      roof-abl2   be.cp   1s.obl   friend   au-see-pst.A-1s
      a   <u>dramí-ani   át-is</u>   IK.E
      1s.nom   roof-abl2   fall.pst.A-1s
      '(after) I saw my friend **from the roof,** I fell <u>down from the roof</u>'

Here ablative Abl2-*ani* is followed (and reinforced) by *thi* where it denotes the source of the gaze in contrast to its Goal, 'the friend'. (And similarly, in 105, *atrá* tells us that there is a Goal of the motion, and *kái* points out that the baby goat will reach that Goal.)

When there is no Goal indicated, *dramí-ani átis*, in 106, *thi* is not used. However, an explicitly mentioned Goal need not be a condition for the occurrence of *thi*. One may say that *thi* invokes a contrast to the Goal of either the activity (of seeing) or of motion away from the Source space, that *thi* contrasts the <u>point of origin</u> with the <u>end goal</u> for the action or motion. This may be why we so often see *thi* with adverbs or nouns in Loc3-*ai*:

107. *berú-as   dur   húT-ik   dád-as   **dúr-ai   thí-o***
      husband-gen.sg home send away-p/f.1p father-obl.sg house-loc3 be.cp-*o*
      'we send (the woman) away to her husband's house, from her father's house'   Shing.S

In 107 there is no logical indication of a prior event, coming to be in a house, since the object of the sentence, the daughter, naturally lives in her father's house. What CP-*thi* denotes in this example then, is a steady and continuous relationship between a location and a participant, here the Figure. Without *thi* the sentence would be read 'we send (the woman) away, (she being) in her father's house'. With *thi* the speakers stresses the relationship between the Figure (the non-mentioned woman) and the Source Ground as a contrast to the Goal, the husband's house.

<u>As such *thi* helps in establishing a (mental) path from a point of origin to a point where the Goal is found</u>. But this does not make *thi* an ablatival postposition, since the function of *thi* is surely that of an intransitive adverbializer, expressing continuing or enduring events or locations.

17.8.9 Summary and perspectives

For each of the CPs *gri*, *dái*, *kái*, and *thi* I have illustrated the variety of functions that they express, and I have discussed syntactic and semantic conditions for interpreting them as CPs or postpositions. The participle *thi* occurs with locative and ablative markers and in static and dynamic situations. It was found to be predominantly a CP, forming intransitive, static adverbials, emphasizing the location of someone or something or the Source of a motion or the location. By contrast, *kái*, whether interpreted as a CP or as a postposition, marks the opposite pole, the end point or Goal of a motion, concrete or abstract. Collocation with semantically definable predicates draws *kái* into the group consisting of postpositions grammaticized as object markers. The capability of focusing on an end point of a motion is derivable from the Goal-oriented semantics of *kái*'s transitivizing source, *karik* 'do, make, etc.'. However, CP interpretations of *kái* implying prior placement or other acts of direction, are still valid, making *kái* a borderline case of a development from participle to adposition.

Between the poles of a motion we have the Trajectory, marked by *dái* in the Vialis function. *dái*, hardly being subject to a CP interpretation at all, is also associated with Source, when occurring with elative-directional Abl3-*aw*. This is seen as that element of the meaning of the source lexeme *dek* 'give' which is concerned with a GIVER instantiating a transferral (giving a THING).

Thus, *thi*, *kái*, and *dái* have as a group not gone as far on a grammaticalization path as their etymological cognates in Kalam Kohistani (mentioned in Ch. 17.8 above). Compared to general development patterns for OIA participles and gerunds, for example as presented by Bubenik (1998: 5-87), and Andersen (1979: 25), Kalasha *gri* and *thi* are not as grammaticalized as their cognates in other NIA languages, where they are glossed 'with' and 'Source'/'Ablative', respectively. Other examples than Kalam Kohistani are Assamese (Goswami 1971), Pashai (SE group) (Morgenstierne 1973), and for MIA Apabhraṁśa, see Bubenik (1998).

17.8.10 Kalasha de-participial local postpositions in a typological perspective

As source domains for departicipial prepositions in European languages Kortmann (1992: 443) mentions notions such as Space, Time, Vision, and Mental states and processes. By contrast, serial verb languages have as source domains verbs that denote general basic activities (for example, 'do', 'take', etc.). The sources of the Kalasha departicipial postpositions clearly belong to the latter kind, frequently found in serial verb languages.

With respect to target domains Kortmann finds that European departicipial prepositions belong to domains such as 'Exception' and 'Topic/Respect' (= 'concerning'). In serial verb languages we find target domains such as 'Space' (location and direction), 'Means/Instrument', 'Manner', and others. Again, Kalasha displays more similarities with serial verb languages than with European

languages despite the fact that both the latter and Kalasha use morphologically participial verb forms as sources for (deverbal) adpositions.

As regards Heine et al.'s (1991a) division of adpositions into V- and N-adpositions we find that Kalasha's departicipial postpositions belong to the former type, mainly because they "introduce optional participants .. within the clause" which N-adpositions do not do (Heine et al. 1991a: 141). This class membership is not surprising since N-adpositions tend to be derived from nouns (typically landmark and body part terms) and V-adpositions from other lexical sources, in particular verbal sources (Heine et al. 1991a: 145). The different origin of these two types of adpositions is also reflected in their typical semantics: V-adpositions tend to define a direction or a point and to denote concepts such as 'Place', 'Source', 'Goal', 'Path', among others (according to Svorou 1994: 114: "dynamic directional notions"); N-adpositions typically describe a spatial relation, "static local relations", and denote reference points like 'under', 'on', 'front', and 'back'. Clearly, the semantics of V-adpositions is in concordance with the semantics of the departicipial postpositions in Kalasha.

17.9 Overlapping and general functions of postpositions in Kalasha

Some postpositions in Kalasha are syntactically obligatory with some predicates, others can occur optionally. Some predicates require a postposition, others merely allow a postposition. At the current state of analysis I am not in a position to state the exact parameters for optional occurrence of postpositions. It is clear that postpositions establish the semantic relation between the predicates and a complement, an argument or an adjunct, but it is still not clear to what extent they make complements definite or specific, in lines with the role of the postposition *kō* in Urdu.

In the overall case-marking system in Kalasha the spatial postpositions are Trajectory markers. They do not give information about the nature of the Ground, whether Source or Goal, but about the nature of the traversed trajectory, whether to or away from a location, whether in direction of or into/onto/up to a point, etc. The non-spatial functions can be seen as metaphorically derived from the spatial functions. In a diachronic perspective they can be seen as developed to take care of functions no longer handled by the case endings in OIA. In Ch.19 I return to the case-marking role of the postpositions and to a diachronic perspective on this.

In the preceding examination of the postpositions and their polysemy I have briefly mentioned and commented on their overlapping functions. I shall here give a brief summary of the functional overlap among the postpositions, and comment a bit more explicitly on the overlapping functions 'Experiencer' and 'Complement marker'. Table 17.2 shows which functions are expressed by which postpositions.

TABLE 17.2: POSTPOSITIONS AND OVERLAPPING SEMANTIC FUNCTIONS.

Function	Postpositions
Purpose	*báti, hátya*
Benefactive	*báti, hátya*
Goal (concrete)	*hátya, kái*
Goal (abstract)	*hátya, kái*
Reason - Source	*báti, pi, thára*
Instrument-Comitative	*som, gri, asta gri*
Instrument-Tool	*gri, thára*
Experiencer	*hátya, som, thára*
Complement-marking	*báti, hátya, kái, pi, som, thára*

As regards Purpose and Benefactive I ascribed the difference between *báti* and *hátya* as being one of intentionality; *báti* occurs primarily in contexts where an actant has strong feelings towards or for someone; *hátya* has a larger range, being able to occur in more semantic-pragmatic contexts, hence seems to be emotionally or intentionally more neutral.

Both *hátya* and *kái* mark Goals, concrete of a motion or placement as well as abstract or of non-physical motion. I have shown that *kái* focuses on the reaching of the goal, whereas *hátya* may or may not imply reaching but in any case indicates direction towards the Goal.

As for Reason and Source, *báti* is used when an activity has been brought about by or has been the source of a certain emotional state of the subject. In contrast, *pi*, being a more typical ablative postposition, denotes any sort of Source of a transferral, whether concrete or abstract.

As regards Instrument-Comitative, *gri* and *asta gri* are preferred in situations where an actant takes a companion, mostly animate with *asta gri*, inanimate or animate with *gri*, along; and, as regards *gri*, uses this companion as an ingredient in the production of an object or entity. In contrast to *thára* used with ingredients, *gri* implies a more active situation, for example 'taking NP$_i$ and making NP$_j$ out of it', *thára* is associated with general state of affairs or with basic ingredients like 'cow-stomach soup is made on (*thára*) cow-stomach'. When *som* is used comitatively, the speaker implies a more intimate contact or relationship between the Agent and the *som*-marked NP.

Both *gri* and *thára* are used for expressing the tool used in carrying out an activity. In addition, with ingredients *gri* presupposes an actual (prior) act of grasping, holding or using any object that may be used as an instrument, whereas *thára* in this sense implies contact with or location in relation to a surface.

For marking of Experiencer the postpositions *hátya, thára, som,* and *thára* are used. By using *som* the speaker implies a sort of close or intimate possessional relationship, as if the Experiencer possesses a particular physical or mental characteristic or sensation. With *thára* the experienced sensation, feeling or afflic-

tion is seen as a burden, or, when *hátya* is an alternative, as still more of a burden. This leaves *hátya*, with its more comprehensive scope, as a more neutral Experiencer postposition, quite in accordance with *hátya*'s general Dative-like functions.

17.9.1 Overlaps in complement-marking

Some predicates allow for more than one postposition. With predicates expressing 'help', 'respect towards', or 'love', both *hátya* and *som* may be used; some predicates expressing 'pity' or 'forgiveness' allow *hátya* and *báti* to be used; some predicates of praising or other verbal activities allow *hátya, som*, and *kái*; other predicates expressing activities or situations with negative implications for someone allow *hátya, thára*, or *kái* to be used, and yet other predicates expressing 'trust' allow *báti* and *hátya* to be used.

In general, the choice between postpositions can be related to the non-argumental functions of the postpositions, as was shown as regards the Experiencer-marking function. Thus, for example, when *som* is preferred to *hátya* with verbs of activity, the speaker wishes to focus on a reciprocal situation, rather than on the person the utterance is directed towards, which will trigger *hátya*. If the speaker wishes to indicate that an activity has reached its goal, *kái* is used. When *thára* is used instead of *hátya* with predicates that express actions that have negative implications for a second party, the speaker emphasizes that the implications are burdensome. It is, however, an interesting fact concerning the marking of semantic complements in Kalasha, that not all predicates within a specific, semantically defined group of verbs display optionality with respect to the choice of postpositions, or require a postposition to be present. That is, this part of the grammar is characterized by what seems to be lexical idiosyncracies.

It still remains to be determined whether the use of any of the postpositions is syntactically obligatory, and also, for example, if the genitive-oblique is the central nominal expression for Experiencer. If so, when postpositions are used, we may assume that they express the speaker's wish to add further semantic dimensions, his/her wish to emphasize or highlight aspects of the experience not explicitly expressed by the oblique case and the predicate.

18. Relational nouns in Kalasha

This chapter introduces the set of spatial markers that I call 'relational nouns' (RelN), by other scholars also termed 'relator nouns' (for example, Blake 1994: 164, 204). Semantically the members of the group of relational nouns all express static projective location, meaning here spatial regions that are projective or stand in a static relation to an object or another location. In English these concepts are denoted by words like 'under', 'above', 'behind', 'next to', 'inside of', etc. Morphosyntactically the group is heterogeneous.

I first give a bird's eye view of the morphosyntactic and semantic characteristics of the relational nouns in Kalasha. Then I go on to describe the specific semantics of a few of the most frequent. I end the chapter with a discussion whether relational nouns make up a subparadigm within the larger paradigm of case-marking.

18.1 Overview of inventory of relational nouns

Table 18.1 below depicts a selection of relational nouns in Kalasha, as well as some of their characteristic morphosyntax and their etymologies.

TABLE 18.1: SELECTION OF THE MOST FREQUENT RELATIONAL NOUNS IN KALASHA.[162]

Relational noun[163]	English gloss	Etymology[164]
nÓ-	'below, under'	? *ninyá-* 'inner, hidden, secret' (7817)
thár-	'above, over'	? *dh῾ārā* 'edge of mountain' (6793)
rú-aw	'in front of' ('face'-*aw*)	*ru* 'face' < Pers. *ruh*
piST-aw	'behind' ('back-*aw*')	*piST* 'back', < *pṛṣṭhá-* 'back, hinder part' (8371)
móc-	'middle of, centre of'	*mádhya-* 'middle' (9804)
tád-	'near'	???
sén(d)-	'side'	???
gehén	'side, direction'	(?) *geha-* (T-??) + Kho. -*en* 'instr./loc.'
bían	'outside'	*bahís* 'outside, except' (9186)
udríman	'inside'	*ántara-* 'interior, near' (357), **antra-* 'inner' (380)

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[162] For a fuller list, see Appendix 36.
[163] Truncation indicates bound lexemes, see separate sections for more information. Free lexemes can occur unsuffixed or can take case suffixes.
[164] The etymologies follow GM73 and TC99. Alternatives (mine) are indicated with "(?)". "???" indicates no known etymology. Numbers in brackets refer to entries in Turner (1966).

A large number of these relational nouns or their roots are recognizable as locational nouns, for example, *gehén* 'side, direction', or as nouns or roots denoting objects or body parts, for example, *piST* 'back'. Others are historically old landmarks, for example, *thar-* 'above', possibly from an OIA word meaning 'edge of mountain', and others do not have a known origin, for example, *sen(d)-* 'side'.

Morphologically, most of the relational nouns can or must be suffixed by a local case ending. However, a few, for example, *píSTaw* 'behind' and *rúaw* 'in front of', are frozen morphosyntactically with one case ending, suggesting that they should be regarded as postpositions.[165] Others, like *thar-* 'over, above' and *moc-* 'middle, centre', are bound morphemes and must be suffixed with a case ending.[166] Others of the bound relational nouns occur so often with Loc1-*a* that they almost appear as frozen forms, for example, *tad-a* 'at (someone's) near' and *send-a* 'at (someone's) side'. The case form *thára* (*thar-* + Loc1-*a*) has gained its own life as a postposition, side by side *thar-* as a relational noun with the possibility of taking other case endings.

Syntactically relational nouns can occur as heads in a possessive NP, as in 1, or as second elements in adverbial N + RelN compounds, as in 2:

1. **kazí-a   dúr-as   rúaw   Lawár   h-íu**   Na.sm
   Kazi-obl   house-obl.sg   in front of   veranda   become-prs.3s
   '**in the front of Qazi'as house** there is a veranda'

2. *kazí-a   **dur.rúaw**   tshátak   phond shí-u*   Na.ma
   Kazi-obl   house.front-abl3   small   path   be.in-prs.3s
   '**in front of Qazi's house** there is a small path'

The difference between 1 and 2 is described by native speakers as 1 being more specific than 2. In 1, with the preposition phrase, the respective positions of the objects are located with respect to each other. In 2, with the adverbial phrase, in contrast, the speaker more vaguely points out the location of the figure.

As already mentioned, semantically relational nouns in Kalasha have in common that they denote 'projective' locations, in contrast to the topological function of the case endings and the Trajectory-marking postpositions. It is the

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[165] The South Asianist may notice that what I here call 'relational nouns' are called 'postpositions' in other NIA languages (but see Starosta (1985: 112) for a rejection of this term). The use of the term 'relational noun' (or, 'relator noun') for the words of this type is in accordance with several cross-linguistic studies that deal with the development of spatial case markers, for example, Kahr (1975), Starosta (1985a). Heine et al. (1991), Blake (1994), Svorou (1994), Lehmann (1995), and Heine (1997: 37-38).

[166] But they may occur as first elements in lexicalized compounds, for example, *thar.púr* 'upper floor of house' and *moc.Ángu* 'the middle finger'.

nature of denoting spatial regions in a static relation to an object or another location that holds the relational nouns together as a special noun class.

Within this noun class we have a small group of bound roots, such as *thar-* 'above', *nO-* 'under, below', *moc-* 'middle', *send-* 'side', and *tad-* 'near', that denote what may be called general, non-specialized projective location. Another group consists of free lexemes and denotes more specialized concepts, for example, *gehén* 'side, direction', *újak* 'opposite of', *LAngÉ* 'projective or far side of', *biw* 'upper limit or edge of container', *past* 'lower part of', etc. Whereas the former group is limited to a few lexical items (namely those mentioned), the latter group of specialized localizers is in principle open for renewal by words denoting any sort of location.

In the following examination I have grouped the relational nouns according to 'axes of orientation'. I have set up three axes: a vertical axis, a horizontal axis, and an axis with the polar ranges internal location vs. external or peripheral location.[167]

18.1.1 The vertical axis, *nO-* 'under, below, down' and *thar-* 'over, above, upon'

Quite a number of nouns denote location on a vertical axis or on a point on or a portion of a vertically orientated entity. I shall here only concentrate on those two listed in Table 18.1, *nO-* and *thar-*.

Outside adverbial and nominal compounds *nO-* can only occur with a case suffix: Loc1-*a*, Loc2-*una*, Loc3-*ai*, Abl2-*ani*, or Abl3-*aw*. It can be used in a range of situations that are typical 'under' situations, for example, denoting location on the underside of a surface (3), or below the surface of an object (4). *thar-*, in particular in the form *thára*, denotes location on or above a (horizontally orientated) surface (5-6):

3. *at*   **méz-as**   **nÓ-una**   *SáT-i*   *shí-u*   Inf. C, test
   dough table-obl.sg under-loc2   attach-pf aux.in-prs.3s
   'dough is attached **under the table**' (= on the underside of the table')

4. **kursi.nÓ-una**   *candúl* *shí-u*   Inf. A, test
   chair.below-loc2   ball   be.in-prs.3s
   'the ball is **under the chair**' (I.e., on the floor)

5. **ingrók-as**   **bílkul** **thár-aw**   *kumbÁ*   *shí-u*   GK.ma
   fireplace-obl.sg right   above-abl3   smokehole be.in-prs.3s
   'right **abovewards from the fireplace**, there is the smokehole'

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[167] Concerning vertical and horizontal axes there are parallels between the noun group explored here and the absolute adverbs as regards polar or diametrical lexical oppositions. Although relevant for the 'space grammar' of Kalasha, I shall leave further explorations of this to future studies. I refer to 15.2 for the inventory of the absolute adverbs.

6. *ayá-o*   *shÓ~a* **sudá-as**   **aS.thár-una**   *á-au*   Na.sm
here.spec.near   dog   boy-obl.sg   shoulder.upon-loc2   be.an-prs.3s
'here, the dog is **on the boy's shoulder**'

18.1.2 On lower and upper portions of an object's surface

In this use *nO-* denotes the lower portion of a (sloping) surface, or what is conceived as a lower part of a (sloping) surface (7). In contrast, *thar-*, in 8, denotes the upper part of a vertically orientated location.

7. *ra.múT* **de~ta.nÓ~-una**   *shí-au*   Inf. H, test
pinetree   mountain.below-loc2   be.in-prs.3s
'a pine tree is **on the lower part of the mountain side**'

8. **onjeSTa.wá~-as**   **thára** *digÁ-una shí-u*   *tará-o*
pure.place-obl.sg   above   wall-loc2   be.in-prs.3s   there.spec.abs-*o*
jéSTak   *th-en*   Na.ma
jeSTak   place-p/f.3p
'**on the upper part of the *onjeSTa* place**, there is a wall, there they place the *jeSTak*'

In contrast to *nO-*, *pas/past*, specifies a location at the absolute bottom of a sloping or vertically orientated surface. *pÚik* 'lower part of thing' tend to be used with trees or other non-sloping surfaces.

18.1.3 Location on a sloping surface

For a location on a sloping surface *nO-* may be used to indicate that something is located further down and *thar-* further up the slope. In this use Abl3-*aw* and the construction with *dái* is high frequent, and there is a semantic overlap with the absolute adverb *úndru* 'downhill'.

9. **merkhán-a dúr-as**   **nÓ-un-o**   *miagúl-a dur shí-u*   GK.sm
Merkhan-obl house-obl.sg   below-loc2-*o*   Miagul-obl house be.in-prs.3s
'**down from Merkhan's house**, there is Mia Gul's house

10. **may anguTí**   **thár-aw**   **dái** *said ilór-a*   *dur*   *shí-u*   GK.sm
1s.obl guesthouse above-abl3   from Said Ilor-obl house be.in-prs.3s
'**upwards from my guesthouse**, there is Said Ilor's house'

18.1.4 At the foot of a vertically orientated object

As a metonymic extension *nO-* may also denote location at the foot of a vertically orientated barrier, again in competion with the more specific *pas/past*. In 11 below, from "Frog, Where Are You?", *nO-* denotes the location just next to, but not <u>on</u> a big rock, which here functions as a protection wall:

11. *shÓ~a   maChérik-an   pi   paLá-i   íta   **bat.nÓ-ai***
    dog   bee-obl.pl   from escape-cp come.cp stone.below-loc3
    Lúh-i   á-au   GK.s
    hide-pf aux.an.prs.-3s
    'having escaped from the bees and come (to there), the dog is hiding **at the foot of the stone** (out of sight for the bees)'

     I have not found any occurrences of *thar-* in this use, location right next to but not <u>on</u> a vertically orientated surface, although such a situation is logically possible, for example, a fly hovering a little away from the top part of such an object. According to my informants such a location would be coded with something like 'a fly is (in a) flying (state) a little upstream/downstream/right of/left of/.. the stone'.

18.1.5 'up' and 'down' a horizontal surface

Finally, *nO-* can be used in situations where there is no sloping surface, i.e. outside of a vertical setting. In this use *nO-* describes a location that is near to the speaker, *thar-* a location that is further away:

12. *áy-as   pútr-as   **nÓ-aw**   dái   nis-í   á-au*
    mother-obl.sg son-ps.3s down-abl3   along sit-pf aux.an-prs.3s
    aLéL-a   dái   áy-as   wén-aw   dái
    there.across-edge.dist-loc1 from mother-ps.3s upstream-abl3 from
    *nis-í   á-au   **thár-aw***   Na.sm
    sit-pf aux.an-prs.3s   up-abl3

    'the mother's son is sitting **downwards** (i.e., at the table end, nearest to speaker), across the corner (from mother's perspective), the mother is sitting upstream (i.e., to the left), **above-wards** (i.e., at the other table end) (there are three bananas)'

13. *du hányak **méz-as**   **nÓ-aw**   dái   shí-an   prén-aw   dái*
    two chair   table-obl.sg below-abl3 from be.in-prs.3p downstream-abl3 from
    'two chairs are **at the table's down**, downstreamwards' (i.e., at that side of the table from where one sits and works)   Na.ma

14. Inf.A: *ghéri ek caNDúl shí-u   ne ég-o chútyak-la shí-u*
      again a ball   be.in-prs.3s right one-*o* small-endear be.in-prs.3s
      jus   thi   shí-an
      together be.pf aux.in-prs.3p
      'again a ball, right, one is small, they are together
    Inf.B: ***ég-o   thára***
      one-*o* above
      '**one above ?**' (i.e., behind the other, further away from speaker)
    Inf. A: *a~*
      'yes'

Example 12 describes a drawing where a child is sitting at the table end nearest to the speaker. The mother is sitting on the long side of the table, to the left of the speaker (associated with 'upstreamwards', *wénaw dái*). (Actually, the table's opposite end is not in the drawing.). Away from the boy, and the speaker, i.e. *tháraw*, three bananas are located. Example 13 describes a hotel room from a drawing and locates two chairs in relation to the writing desk. The chairs are used for sitting while working at the desk. Thus, they are located at the near end of the table, which is also the functionally most relevant side of the table.[168]

Also the location of entities inside or in relation to a house can be coded with *nO-* and *thar-*, reflecting the fact that a typical Kalasha house is built on a slope with the entrance facing away from the mountain side, and with the back side and the interior parts closer to the mountain side and progressively (slightly) higher up:

15. ***nÓ-aw   Súng-una thár-aw   Súng-una*** *shen th-en*   Na.ma
    down-abl3 corner-loc2 above-abl3 corner-loc2 bed   place-p/f.3p
    'they place beds **in the down corner** and **in the upper corner**'

This use of *nO-* and *thar-* is parallel to what Bashir (2000: 23-26) has observed for Khowar equivalents of *nO-* and *thar-*, *af* 'down' and *aih* 'up', respectively. These words can used for location in relation to and in the interior of a typical Khowar house, similarly constructed as a Kalasha house, and also for a 'near' and 'far/distant' end, in relation to speaker's position. Bashir also mentions (p. 23-25) Khowar 'upward' *tór-* and 'downward' *múuL-* used for 'farther away' and 'nearer', and she cites Levinson (1994: 844) for a similar development of Tzeltal terms for 'uphill' and 'downhill' (see also Brown (1993), and Bickel (1997: 58-60) for a similar association in Belhare). In Kalasha, I have not (yet?)

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[168] *prenaw* 'downstream' may refer to a 'nearer' location in relation to the location of the speaker, or it may mean 'East', the actual direction of the flowing of the rivers in the Kalasha valleys, thus being an absolute location as the chairs were located 'East' of the table.

heard *úndru*, or a derivation here of, used for 'near', but its antonym *puchúm* can be used for 'location further away', i.e. synonymously to *thar-*, as in 16 from the Biriu dialect:

16. *se*   *Lawák nawáts wá-ani úST-i kakbóy-as*   *kái*
    3s.nom.dist fox   dangerous place-abl2 rise-cp snowleopard-obl.sg   to
    mátr-au: *"puchúm khé~s-as"*   Er.T
    say-p/f.3s   uphill   move-p/f.2s
    'the fox stood up from the dangerous place .. he (the fox) said to the fox, "move (yourself) **a little away** " '

18.2 The horizontal axis

To the horizontal axis I assign the relational nouns *rúaw* 'in front of', *píSTaw* 'behind', *tad-* 'near', *sen(d)-* 'side', *gehén* 'side, direction', *wéti* 'behind', and others (see Appendix 36).

18.2.1 'front' and 'back'

The relational nouns *rúaw* 'in front of' and *píSTaw* 'behind, back of' differ from the other relational nouns by being lexicalized with Abl3-*aw*. If we have, for example, *rú-una* and *píST-una*, the meanings would be 'in front of the face' or 'on the face', and 'on the back', i.e. the stems will have their original body part meaning. Being frozen morphologically makes them resemble postpositions, which are also invariant in form. Thus *rúaw* and *píSTaw* are examples of relational nouns constituting the next step for the relational nouns on a grammaticalization path leading from a free (locational) lexeme to a bound (and invariant) space marker, and eventually case suffix. Interestingly, *rúaw* may be suffixed by Loc3-*ai* as in 17:

17. *a*   *rúaw-ai*   *shuruk-ém-e*
    1s.nom   in front-loc3   begin-p/f.1s-int
    'shall I start **from the front**?'

In spite of their fossilized morphology I include *rúaw* and *píSTaw* in the group of relational nouns and not among the postpositions. But they show that relational nouns can go a step further on the grammaticalization path. *rúaw*'s and *píSTaw*'s projective semantics is illustrated below. In 18 the speaker describes a photograph with a man standing in a line with two pigs, one in front and one to the back of him; *rúaw* denotes a location in relation to an inherent front of the

Ground, the man, and *píSTaw* a location in the relation to the inherent of back the Ground:[169]

18. *súda   goNDík   ká-i   císt-i   á-au*
    boy   stick   do-cp   stand-pf   aux.an-prs.3s
    rúaw   zhe píSTaw khinzír á-an   Na.sm
    in front   and behind pigs   be.an-prs.3p
    'a boy is standing with a stick, **in front and behind** there are pigs'

In 1-2 we saw the conceptualization of a house with an inherent front side (away from the mountain side). Example 19 below shows *píSTaw* denoting the back side (to the mountain side) of a house:

19. ***kazí-as   dúr-as   píSTaw** tása   anguTí   shí-u*   Na.ma
    Kazi-obl.sg   house-obl.sg   behind   3s.obl.dist guesthouse be.in-prs.3s
    '**behind the Qazi's house**, there is his guesthouse'

The idea that a house (and parts of its inventory) is facing away from the mountain side is further illustrated with 20, which locates the places in the house to the mountain side and to the door side of the central hearth, placed with its opening in the direction of the door. And 21 illustrates that also a village (here Drosh) can be conceptualized with a front and a back, the latter to the direction away from the river at which the village is located (cf. Map 2):

20. *ia   **ingrók-as   rúaw**   onjeSTa.wá~*
    3s.nom.near fireplace-obl.sg in front *onjeSTa*.place
    ***ingrók-as   píSTaw dái**   shí-u*   Na.ma
    fireplace-obl.sg behind   along be.in-prs.3s
    'this [Inf. points] is **in front of the fireplace**, the *onjeSTa* place is **behind the fireplace**'

21. *shishigú   **dráws-as   píSTaw** shí-u*   Na.ma
    Shishi Kuh   Drosh-obl.sg   behind   be.in-prs.3s
    'Shishi Kuh lies **to the back of Drosh**'

In 22 below the speaker also assigns backs and fronts to entities without inherent fronts and backs, namely the four roof-supporting pillars of a Kalasha house:

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[169] Also *wéti* 'behind' denotes location behind something, but it is exclusively used in situations where someone or something is hiding or hidden from view of another actant in the description or narration, for example in the BowPed-book test, drawing 64, 'boy hiding from girl behind chair'.

22. *ghéri te*   *thU~* ***tási***   ***píSTaw-aw*** *shen thá-i*   *shí-an* GK.ma
    again 3p.nom.abs pillar 3p.obl.abs behind-rep   bed   place-pf aux.in-prs.3p
    'again the pillars, **to the back of them**, beds are placed'

This example indicates that the fireplace is central to the description, and that the sides of house's inventory that are turned away from the fireplace are back sides.

    rúaw and *píSTaw* may also be used relatively, i.e. from the point of view of the speaker. Example 23 below shows *rúaw* in the meaning 'ahead' from speaker's perspective, as he progresses in his description of a map from one point to the next, in this case upstream in Chitral Valley (see Map 2) as Mastuj is further to the north than Buni. And 24 shows that the speaker assigns the back side of a stone to that side that turns away from him.

23. ***búni-ai***   ***rúaw***   *pá-i*   *pháto mastúj*   GK.ma
    Buni-loc3   in front go-cp then   Mastuj
    'having gone ahead **from Buni**, then (we have) Mastuj'

24. ***taL-ái***   *báta* ***píSTaw-aw*** *shára drak dyá-i ásta*   Ta.sm
    there.non-spec.abs-loc3 ctr   behind-rep   deer   hide-pf   aux.in.pst.I.3s
    'there, <u>**behind**</u> the stone, the deer was hiding'

18.2.2 Vicinity: *tad-*, *sen(d)-*, and *Soy*

Kalasha has a number of relational nouns denoting 'vicinity' or 'nearness': the morphologically free Khowar loan *Soy* 'near', and the morphologically bound *tad-* 'near, beside', and *sen(d)-* 'side'. They can be used synonymously in the meaning 'location near to Ground'. I first consider the difference between *sen(d)-* and *tad-*, and in the end of this section I take up *Soy*. Drawing 38 from the BowPed-book test illustrates the use of *sen(d)-* and *tad-*:

25. 'man sitting **next to a fire**'
    Inf. A: *moc* ***angar.tád-a***   *nis-í*   *á-au*
           man   fire.near-loc1   sit-pf   aux.an-3s
    Inf. B: *moc* ***angar.sénd-a*** *nis-í*   *á-au*
               fire.side-loc1

    Like its English gloss 'side', *sen(d)-* may not only denote location right next to an object, as in 25, but also location on an object's (side) surface, as in 26. This is not possible for *tad-*.

26. *Lawák pá-i   ek **dhenta.sénd-una**/.***-tád-una** réZ-una   par-áu*
    fox   go-cp a   mountain.side-loc2/ near-loc2   path-loc2 go-pst.A.3s
    'the fox went … he went to a difficult path **on a (certain) mountain side**'
                                                                    SJ.T/GK.E/Na.E

In situations where two Figure objects are located next to each other and one of them is closer to a Ground location, only the one nearest to the Ground can be located with *sen(d)-*, whereas *tad-* can be used for both of them

I am uncertain as to how the Khowar loanword *Soy* is distinguished semantically from *sen(d)-* and *tad-*. It only occurs with motion verbs, but *sen(d)-* and *tad-* also occur with motion verbs. From the contexts and the translations suggested to me by my informants, *Soy* indicates a larger degree of closeness to someone or something than *tad-* does. Example 27 is a very vivid description of a series of drawings where a mugger waits behind a wall for the moment where his victim comes so close to him that he can hit him with a club and steal his money:

27. *wáj-i   á-au   wáj-i   she~hé~ki,   ayá   i̱:::ta,*
    wait-pf aux.an-prs.3s wait-cp like this   here.spec.near come.cp
    ***Sói   zháL-i   á-au   e SíS-una   kái tyá-i á-au*   Na.sm**
    near   arrive-pf aux.an-prs.3s as head-loc2 onto hit-pf aux.an-prs.3s

    'he (the mugger) is waiting, waiting like this (informant pretending that he is ready for hitting with a club), (the victim) having come very slowly and right to here, as (the victim) **arrives just near** (to the mugger), he (the mugger) hits him on the head'[170]

18.3 The center - periphery axis

On this axis we have relational nouns like *bían* 'outside', *udríman* 'inside', and the bound morph *moc-* 'middle, centre'. The use of *bían* and *udríman* is straightforward and has been illustrated elsewhere (see for example Ch. 12.1.5).

18.3.1 *moc-* 'in the centre or middle of something'
moc- has developed from OIA *mádhya-* 'middle', and cognates are found in MIA and in many NIA languages (Bubenik 1998: 80). Originally employed to reinforce

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[170] The emphasis and contrast is expressed by the vowel lengthening and concomitant creaky voice (indicated with a sublinear tilde), both very common means for expression intensity and building up suspense in Kalasha story telling.

the old, inherited and vanishing OIA locative ending (Andersen 1979), *moc-* has come to denote in Kalasha location inside a container or inside a mass or liquid:

28. *shÓ~a* **baltí-as** **móc-una** *dyá-i úg-as* **móc-una** *dyá-i*
    dog   bucket-obl.sg middle-loc2 put-cp water-obl.sg middle-loc2 put-cp
    'having put the dog **inside the bucket**, having put it **into the water**, ..'

                                                                                  Ta.sm

If the location is between two entities, the reading is 'in-between', as in (29):

29. *ek khinzír-o* **du** **múT-an** **móc-ai** *á-au*   Na.sm
    a   pig-*o*   two tree-obl.pl between-loc3 be.an-prs.3s
    'one pig is **between the two trees**'

18.3.2 Side and direction: *gehén*

One of a number of words denoting locations on the horizontal axis is *gehén* 'side, direction'.[171] When translated with 'side', *gehén* does not denote a static location as *sen(d)-*. With *gehén* the speaker expresses a direction, whether concrete or abstract, which may originate in the Ground denoted by the oblique NP, as in 30, or the activity denoted by the predicate can be directed to the oblique-marked NP, as in 31:

30. **may** **gehén-aw dái** *tása*   *bo*   *ishpáta kár-i*   TC99
    1s.obl side-abl3   from 3s.obl.dist much   greeting do-imp.2s
    'greet him warmly for me'   [JH: "**from my side**, greet him warmly"]

31. *mes* **kirkí-as**   **gehén-aw** **dái** *shí-u*   Na.ma
    table window-obl.sg direction-abl3 from   be.in-prs.3s
    'the table is standing **in the direction of the window**'

18.4 Summary and perspectives

The preceding sections have illustrated some of the typical uses of a number of a third group of case markers in Kalasha, the relational nouns. As a group they share morphosyntactical, etymological, and semantic characteristics with relational nouns in other languages. Semantically, many of them have lost some of

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[171] Neither GM73 nor TC99 give suggestions as to an etymology for *gehén*, but OIA *gehá* 'house, dwelling, habitation' + Khowar *-en* 'instr/loc' may be a possibility.

their concrete semantic content, so that they no longer specify a specific location but are instead used with more general locational or directional meaning. Following Heine et al. (1991: 135), Svorou (1994) and Heine (1997: 37-38), they are words originally denoting a concrete location that have been extended metaphorically to denote an abstract or more general spatial orientation.

Etymologically, as far as is safe to state, relational nouns in Kalasha originates in all of Svorou's (1994: 70-89) four possible sources: 1) body part terms, *rúaw* and *piSTaw*, 2) landmark terms, *thar-*, 3) relational object parts, *moc-*, and 4) abstract spatial notions, *nO-* (cf. Table 18.1 for etymologies).[172] (See also Heine 1997: 39-40 for three major domain sources for the development of markers of the spatial concepts 'on', 'under', 'front', 'back' and 'in': landmark terms, body part terms, and "relational concepts".)

This semantic extension, or 'semantic bleaching', goes to some extent hand in hand with the morphosyntactic restrictions that can be observed (sketched above): *piSTaw* and *rúaw* have fossilized with the general ablative-directional ending Abl3-*aw*, *moc-*, *thar-*, *sen(d)-*, *nO-* and *tad-* can no longer occur as independent nouns, and some relational nouns cannot occur as second elements in adverbial compounds, for example, **mes.újak-una/-aw* is not accepted as an alternative to *mézas újak(-una)* 'straight opposite the table'. There is a tendency for the morphologically free relational nouns not to be able to occur as second elements in adverbial compounds.

18.5 Relational nouns as a new word class

OIA did not have a set of relational nouns in the same sense as Kalasha. Concepts such as 'under', 'above', 'middle', 'next to', etc. were expressed by 'prepositions' or 'adverbs', or "echte Praepositionen" (Delbrück 1976: 441-470). Following Macdonell (1916: 208-210), they were either adverbial prepositions or adnominal prepositions. The former group of words were primarily used to modify the meaning of verbs. (*ni-* in Kalasha *nisík* 'sit', from OIA **niṣīdati* 'sits down', CDIAL 7467.2, is such an example, consisting of *ni-* 'down' and a root *sīdati-* 'sit', CDIAL 13432.) These prepositions denoted concepts such as 'towards', 'beyond', 'across', 'around', 'to', 'on/in/at', 'before', etc. The adnominal prepositions were not compounded with verbs, they were originally adverbs and governed either the genitive or the instrumental. They denoted concepts such as 'with', 'below', 'down from', 'above, 'around', 'in front of', 'from out', etc. Both types of prepositions are indeclinable, and only one (from Delbrück's list) is

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[172] "Relational object parts" refer to parts of objects that cannot be individuated or separated from the object itself. They are fronts, tops, centers, sides, and so on, which "make reference to our experience of the inherent properties of objects" (Svorou 1994: 83). Svorou's last group 'abstract spatial notion' expresses notions such as 'length', 'proximity', 'direction', 'presence', etc.

immediately recognizable as a (possible) etymon to a Kalasha relational noun, *antár -> udríman* 'inside'.

18.6 Relational nouns as a subparadigm of case markers?

In Ch. 16 I argued that the local case ending make up a paradigm within the system of local case-marking in Kalasha. And in Ch. 17.9. I suggested that the develoment of postpositions in Kalasha could be seen as a process of paradigmaticization whereby historically new postpositions develop to take care of some of those functions that were handled by case endings in OIA.

Blake's defines a paradigm as "a set of grammatically conditioned forms based on a particular root such as the set of case forms of a particular noun" (Blake 1994: 203). If we add to this definition "or the set of tense, aspect, and mood forms of a verb" and that such a set should be established on a synchronic bases, we have, I believe, a fairly good definition of what most linguists understand by 'paradigm'. This is also the working definitions of the contributors to Plank (1991), and it should be uncontroversial to regard the local case endings in Kalasha as a constituting a paradigm: they are obligatory in expressions of local relations, they constite a small and closed class.

However, with respect to function there is clearly an overlap between the spatial and grammatical functions of both case endings and adpositions. Plank says about the function of 'Case' that:

> "I … assume without argument that Case indeed is a unitary and elementary category … . The category of Case may, thus, subsume terms marking semantically relatively transparent ('local' and other adverbial) as well as semantically more opaque ('grammatical') relations, and even relations outside syntactic clause structures proper (as do Vocatives)" (Plank 1986: 35)

Examples of overlapping functions are multiple in the world's languages, for example, in marking of a Goal by the use of a dative case or a directive or allative postposition, or in marking of a direct object by the use of accusative case or, by a preposition, as in Spanish *á* for animate direct objects. In general, the job of adpositions is in many instances similar to the job of case endings, they are case markers, functionally understood. This functional similarity or overlap is addressed by several scholars, for example, Comrie (1991) and Luraghi (1991), and it is even acknowledged by Brøndal (1940: 10, 16) who otherwise makes a strict division between case and preposition.[173]

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[173] "Blandt [kasus] kan nogle opfattes som Relatorformer og derfor som nærtbeslægtede med Præpositionens almindelige Begreb" (Brøndal 1940: 16).

Furthermore, in many descriptions of case systems also postpositions are considered as case markers. In particular in analytical, agglutinative languages with rich case systems and postpositions it is discussed how many cases a particular language actually has (see Plank 1986: 41 with respect to Hungarian).

In Kalasha we have seen that postpositions have substituted some of the functions of the old case endings, besides marking local relations, for example 'Allative' (*hátya*) and 'Ablative' (*pi*), they are also obligatory as complement markers for certain predicates. From a perspective of synthetic vs. analytic manifestation the group of location and complement-marking postpositions does not form a paradigm, although the group is relatively small and relatively close. But because the postpositions in certain functions can substitute for the case endings, we may choose to see the postpositions as semantically more specific members of the paradigm of case markers.

This perspective is in line with Masica's (1991: 230-248) view of case-marking in NIA languages in general, which is characterized by layers where one layer may be affixional and one analytical (see 19.2.2-19.2.3 for summary of Masica's layer model and how case-marking in Kalasha relates to it). From a historical point of view it is a well-documented fact that adpositions may develop to become case endings, for example, as shown by Blake (1994: 161-167). Blake also points to another source of case renewal with examples from Hindi, a NIA language, namely those constituting the category "seconday postpositions" (Blake 1994: 10). "Primary postpositions" in Hindi are *se* 'with, from', *me~* 'locative', *ke* 'genitive', and *ko* 'dative/accusative" (ibid.). (Notice that Blake glosses these postpositions with case terms, following many traditional Hindi grammarians.) Of notions denoted by "secondary postpositions" Blake mentions 'between', 'in front of', and 'behind', which "make more distinctions than the primary postpositions" (ibid.), i.e. case markers similar to Kalasha relational nouns with projective local meaning.

The characteristic of relational nouns as renewing (and semantically elaborating) case systems is also pointed to by Kahr (1975), Starosta (1985), and Lehmann (1986), and others. In Kalasha this is examplified by the invariant and thus postposition-like *rúaw* and *píSTaw*, and by the role of fossilized *thára* as an obligatory complement marker for certain predicates.

From a semantic-functional point of view the role of the relational nouns in Kalasha is also clear, they express specific local-semantic notions not taken care of by other local case markers. As such they constitute a particular noun class, but shared and specific semantics is not a sufficient criteria for a group of morphemes to constitute a subparadigm within a larger case-marking paradigm. By virtue of its shared semantics and its characteristic but not homogeneous morphosyntax it does look like a (sub)paradigm to be. But in Kalasha the category 'relational nouns' constitute a category under development. It is constantly open to absorbing new locational nouns, and it allows certain members to become fossilized as post-positions, or further, as with *thára*, to grammatical markers. Thus, I share Plank's

scepticism of regarding just any case marker as being a member of a grammatical paradigm, since:

> "With such analytical devices [adpositions, adverbs, etc., JHP] paradigms may grow relatively extensive before the sheer number of forms to be memorized becomes uneconomically large" (Plank 1986: 42).

With this reservation I shall continue to speak of the Kalasha relational nouns as a subparadigm. In the final discussion in the following chapter I shall consider how theories or ideas about grammatical renewal, grammaticalization, deal with the sort of renewal of local case-marking that I have described for Kalasha.

19. Discussion

19.1 Kalasha local case-marking system in overview

The preceding examinations have shown that local case-marking in Kalasha is expressed by three classes of morphemes. Each is characterized by particular morpho-syntactic and semantic features, and each class can be said to constitute a sub-system with the larger system of local case-marking. Table 19.1 below summarizes how the different subsystems differ semantically, as has been shown in detail in the preceding chapters.

TABLE 19.1: DIVISION OF LABOUR BETWEEN LOCAL CASE MARKERS IN KALASHA.

	Topological shape of actants and situation			Types of local situation			Complement-marking
	Figure shape	Ground shape	Geometry of situa-tion	Static	Goal	Source	
Case ending	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Postposition	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Relational noun	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No/Yes[174]

Local case endings make up a subsystem that expresses aspects of the Figure-Ground relations and referential aspects of a given situation. They may be triggered obligatorily in certain syntactic constructions or by certain predicates. Postpositions denote different sorts of Trajectories and are used for marking complements. Relational nouns denote static, projective locations.

But there are no clear-cut boundaries between these subparadigms; *rúaw*, *píSTaw*, and *thára* are relational nouns that morphologically behave like postpositions, and *dái* is in a transitional stage between a postposition denoting the meaning 'from here and some distance along a trajectory' and being a part of a complex case ending denoting a vialis situation. In particular, the occurrence of the postpositions *thi*, *dái* and *kái* with locative suffixes (and the fact that *kái* is a complement marker for utterance verbs) indicates that the case inventory is enlarging, and that this enlargement also comes about through employment of verbal participles.

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[174] 'Yes' because *thár-a* has developed to become a postposition with a complement-marking function.

As is typical for subparadigms, within each of them the members have their own particular semantic denotation. As regards the case endings, we can make a general division between locative and ablative. Although there are idiosyncracies with each ending, the paradigm that these six suffixes make up can be presented as in Table 19.2.

TABLE 19.2: PARADIGM OF LOCAL CASE ENDINGS IN KALASHA (COMMON NOUNS).

Topological	Referential	Location	Souce
Point-like, 1-dimensional	General	Loc1-*a*	
Surface, 2-dimensional	Bounded, exactly definable, visible	Loc2-*una*	Abl2-*ani*
Inclusion, 3-dimensional	Unbounded, not exactly definable, non-visible	Loc3-*ai*	Abl3-*aw*

Also in this subsystem there are no clear-cut distributional and functional patterns, as discussed in the preceding chapters: Loc2-*una* and Abl2-*ani* are not part of the paradigms of adverbs, Loc1-*a* has another function when suffixed to relational nouns than with common nouns, Abl1-*(y)ei* only occurs on spatial adverbs, and Loc3-*ai* has an ablatival reading, given the right context. (Similarly, there are not always clear-cut boundaries between postpositions and relational nouns, respectively: *hátya* and *bati* can occur as synonyms in marking Purpose and Benefactive, and the relational nouns *moc-* and *udríman* can be used interchangeably to denote the interior of an object, etc.)

Throughout the analyses I have commented and discussed the relations between the etymologies of particular case markers and their 'original' meaning (and grammatical function) and their new meaning in Kalasha. I have not discussed the system of local case-marking in a historical perspective. This will be done in the remaining section of this chapter.

19.2 Kalasha case-marking from a historical perspective

The developments of historically new grammatical paradigms in MIA and NIA are the subjects of a number of studies, for example, Bubenik (1998, 2000), and Hook (1991) to name just a few of the most recent ones. To my knowledge however, no one has studied in detail the relationship between the case-marking system in OIA and the 'layer-structured' case-marking system in a NIA language. I shall relate this situation to the general picture of case-marking systems in NIA as presented by Masica (1991: 230-248), and to theories on how grammitical items and grammatical paradigms develop. The discussion starts out with a brief presentation of the local case-marking system in OIA and its breakdown. This will

be followed by a presentation of Masica's layer model for case-marking in NIA. After this I give a bird's eye view of local case-marking in Kalasha, and I shall try to categorize Kalasha case markers in relation to Masica's layer model. After this I shall discuss case renewal from the perspective of the grammaticalization framework, as presented by the somewhat divergent positions made up by Lehmann (1996), Heine et al. (1991a,b), and Heltoft et al. (2005).

19.2.1 Case erosion: From Old Indo-Aryan to Kalasha

The case system in OIA was of the type typical for fusional languages, highly complex owing to a high number of case desinences, different declension classes, and gender and number distinctions yielding a blurred collection of endings and a disturbing degree of functional overlapping (Masica 1991: 230).[175] Due to this 'internal pressure' and to general phonological erosion of (in particular) final segments, the OIA case system broke down. Masica's (p. 231) quote from Bloch (1965) is illustrative:

> "Thus the person to whom something is given can be expressed by the genitive, dative, or locative; the person spoken to, by the accusative, dative, locative, or genitive; the place, by the instrumental or locative, and similarly circumstance and time, by the same cases and also by the accusative. The instrumental and the ablative express at once cause, separation, and comparison and the genitive and instrumental are equivalent to one another when used with gerundives, words expressing resemblance, verbs meaning 'to fill', etc. These .. confusions are both the indication and the cause of the disorganisation of the system" (Bloch 1965: 155-156).

Already in late OIA the functions of the decaying case-marking system were substituted by other lexical and grammatical means, further developed and refined in MIA and NIA. Bloch (1965: 156-160), Andersen (1979) and Bubenik (1998, 2002, 2003: 233-237) present analyses of the mechanisms that led to the arisal of postpositions from participles, 'absolutives' ('gérondifs'), and adverbial forms.

The notions taken care of by postpositions and relational nouns in Kalasha were handled by prepositions or adverbs in OIA. These behaved morpho-syntactically in a heterogeneous way, some were in close collocation with verbs, others were more free syntactically. Some followed (or triggered) specific nominal case endings, others several case endings (Delbrück 1976: 440-471). In fact, one may question whether they actually constituted a paradigm.

Only few of these adverbs or prepositions appear to be formally identifiable in Kalasha, for example *sám* 'together' as a cognate of *som* 'with, together with,

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[175] See Macdonell (1916) and Delbrück (1976) with respect to the inventory of case endings and their functions in Vedic Sanskrit. For Classical Sanskrit, see Whitney (1899).

etc'. Others appear to have been fused with verbs, for example *ni* 'down' as the first syllable in **niṣīdati-* 'sits down' (CDIAL 7467.2), the etymological ancestor of Kalasha *nisík* 'sit'. Others appear to have been lost. Instead, Kalasha has extensively reorganized the system for local case-marking and developed a grammatical paradigm, with subsystems, for marking spatial relations. The material that Kalasha has employed for this new kind of spatial paradigm is grammatical material that has been reorganized. It is drawn from different lexical sources.

Compared to the only known historical ancestral language stage in the history of Kalasha, Vedic Sanskrit (OIA), here just briefly sketched, the case system as depicted in Tables 19.1-19.2 above can be characterized as a new development; the case endings have topological and referential functions, there is no longer an explicit number distinction, postpositions have developed from different lexical sources to make up a path- and complement-marking system, and the relational nouns did not exist as a syntactic, case-marking category in OIA.

This raises two questions: (1) to what extent can we explain or justify the membership of each of the members in the subparadigms by relating them to their lexical sources?; and (2) since Kalasha spatial marking is structured in a completely different way than that in OIA, how and why has this renewed paradigmaticization come about?

19.2.2 Masica's layer model for case-marking in New Indo-Aryan

In his survey of New Indo-Aryan languages (NIA) Masica (1991: 230-248) presents an overview of the case-marking patterns in those languages. In NIA the broken down case system of OIA is replaced by a system consisting of and structured in "layers". Each of these layers is typically made up by "inherited, new agglutinative, and quasi-analytic elements" (p. 231). Although Masica states that the make up and definition of layers in a given language is language specific, he sets out to attempt to make a general characteristic of the layers.

To **Layer I** belongs "mainly .. inflectional material inherited from MIA/OIA" (p. 232). These affixes attach directly to the base, and, if more than one in a language, they may display a singular-plural distinction or belong to different declension classes.

Layer II elements are defined as (a) elements that attach indirectly to the base, i.e. they are mediated by a Layer I element, or (b) material that is formally constant with all nouns and in both numbers. In some languages Layer II elements fulfill only one of these conditions, in other languages they fulfill both (p. 232-3). A Layer II element may be either an analytic particle or an agglutinative suffix, and it is typically not restricted distributionally. The semantic functions of Layer II elements include, for example, "dative", "instrumental", "instrument-ablative", and "locative" (p. 232-3). Etymologically a Layer II element is usually a reduced or "unrecognizable" form of a former independent word.

Layer III elements can be defined as (potentially) mediated by a Layer II element. They do not show morphophonemic alternation, and they still have an obvious similarity to an independent word. Semantically a Layer III element is more specific in comparison with the semantically more diffuse Layer I and II elements. They typically express concepcs such as 'above', 'under', 'beside', 'inside', 'near', etc. (p. 234-5). It is often difficult to decide whether an element belongs to Layer II or Layer III, Masica says, but this is not surprising because historically Layer III elements are recruited for Layer II, and there will often be states of transition.

Masica also discusses whether it is helpful to establish a **Layer IV**. The need for a fourth level arises in languages that have constructions with a Layer II marker followed by a lexical noun where the noun denotes relational rather than a concrete state of affairs, constructions with either two compounded Layer II elements, or constructions with a Layer II element following a Layer III element. The concepts denoted by a potential Layer IV are, for example, 'in connection with', 'concerning', or 'from under', 'from inside', 'from among', etc. (p. 235-6).

19.2.3 Masica's layer model and case markers in Kalasha

At first view Masica's layer model seems applicable to Kalasha with respect to a general classification of its case markers. The case endings belong to either Layer I or Layer II. Case endings such as oblique singular and plural *-as, -an* and *-ón* attach directly to the stem and are (assumedly) historically derivable from OIA case endings.[176] Other case endings are agglutinative-like and are constant with all nouns (and distributionally unrestricted, as well as not identifiable historically), for example Loc2-*una*, Abl2-*ani*, and Loc3-*ai* (or *-i* if Loc3-*ai* = *-a-* + *-i*). Postpositions such as *pi, hátya, bati, kái,* etc. may be candidates for Layer III elements as they are semantically more specific than the Layer II local markers, and the relational nouns would be candidates for a Layer IV, *tad-a/-una/-ani/..*, *nO-una/-ai/-ani..*, etc. Intermediate instances such as *rúaw, píSTaw, thára* are not real problems, since Masica allows for transitional stages.

But care should be taken as regards using Masica's model as a descriptive device, as Masica himself points out. A major problem in my view is that the layers are characterized in terms of both historical, distributional and semantic-functional criteria. Historical criteria meet problems when we do not know the etymology of a given morpheme. (And Masica does not mention how borrowed case markers such as Kalasha plural *-án* should be treated in this respect.)

A criterion based on distribution and requirements of mediating (Layer I or II) elements faces problems if we have near-synonymous morphemes with different distribution patterns, for example *méz-una* vs. *mésas thára* 'on, upon the

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[176] Masica does not mention the fact that words with zero-ending *-Ø* may also have a function in a case-marking system. If the layer model is supposed to be (partly) based on functional criteria, zero-ending must be included in the model. Also oblique stem-internal alternations like vowel and tonal changes (as in Indus Kohistani, see Baart 1999) must be regarded as a layer phenomenon.

table', and when we have postpositions that take oblique and zero endings on their complements: *moTéras hátya* 'towards the car' vs. *moTér-Ø gri* 'with the car'. Ablative Abl3-*aw* also poses a categorical problem. Since this suffix is "inflectional material inherited from MIA/OIA" (Masica 1991: 232), it should be regarded as a Layer I affix. But functionally Abl3-*aw* is partly the ablative ending that contrasts with locative Loc3-*ai*, and is partly in paradigmatic contrast to the other Layer II ablative suffixes Abl2-*ani* and Abl1-*(y)ei*. Also a semantic-functional criterion meets problems since it is not clear in what way case endings with a grammatical function could be viewed on a par with case markers with purely local functions, and, as we have seen in Kalasha, there is a functional similarity between postpositions (Layer 3?) and oblique case endings (Layer 1) since both share the function of marking complements.

Although Masica's layer model of case-marking patterns in NIA faces problems of categorization, the general picture (and Masica's intended point) is clear: Case-marking in Kalasha is structured by different historical layers, as in other NIA languages. What has happened is that case-marking in Kalasha is expressed by a system that has been built up (probably in several successive stages over time) by the recruitment of lexical material from different word classes to form paradigmatic relations with one another and with existing grammatical markers (e.g. Abl3-*aw*). These elements, the former lexical ones and the existing grammatical ones, have acquired new content as determined by the oppositions that have become established.

19.2.4 Grammaticalization and system renewal

I shall not here attempt to present an overview or history of the framework grammaticalization as an approach to, or subdiscipline within historical linguistics.[177] My narrow selection of works within grammaticalization reflects the sketchy and suggestive nature of this chapter. The proposed standpoints and perspectives are to be examined and elaborated in a future work.

19.2.4.1 Syntagmatic and paradigmatic parameters of grammaticalization: Lehmann (1985)

For Lehmann (1985: 303) grammaticalization is "a process which turns lexemes into grammatical formatives and makes grammatical formatives still more grammatical". In order to establish criteria for when a grammatical formative is (more or less) grammatical, Lehmann posits six sub-processes, three of which work on

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[177] For an overview of grammaticalization as a framework I refer to Hopper and Traugott (2003). For a historical perspective on the term 'grammaticalization' see Heine (1991: 1-26), Lehmann (1995: 9-24), and Hopper and Traugott (2003: 19-38). For recent developments within and elaboration of the grammaticalization framework I refer to Ramat (1998), Wischer (2002), and Fischer (2004).

the paradigmatic axis, three on the syntagmatic axis (Lehmann 1995: 121-178). On the paradigmatic axis we have a process called 'attrition' which is expressed by the fact that morphemes or lexemes lose semantic content, are bleached, when they become grammaticalized. Another paradigmatic process is called 'paradigmaticization', accounting for the recruitement of a free, lexical item into a small and tightly integrated paradigm. The third paradigmatic process is called 'obligatorification', and it accounts for the fact that at some late stage of a grammaticalization process a speaker of a language must make a choice between two or more expressions of a category. For example, in many languages with a number distinction the speaker must choose an expression for number in all contexts.

On the syntagmatic level we find a process called 'condensation', the phenomenon whereby an item goes from being able to modify or relate to constituents of arbitrary complexity to modifying words or stems. An example is agglutinative case sufixes which suffix to whole phrases, whereas fusional case endings suffix to individual words. Another syntagmatic process is 'coalescence', which make an item more morphologically bonded to a specific stem. An example is case endings in Latin vs. in Turkish. In the latter language stems can occur without case endings, in the the former they cannot. Latin case endings can therefore be said to have undergone a greater degree of coalescence. Finally, 'fixation' is the process where an item goes from being able to be shifted around freely to occupying a fixed slot. An example is German converbs, which are clause final, but when reanalyzed as adpositions become able to occur prenominally.

For Lehmann, the six parameters are correlated in "a normal grammaticalization process" (p. 164), but he also acknowledges that "one or the other of [the parameters, JHP] may hasten ahead or lag behind" (p. 169); "grammaticalization is a process of gradual change, and its products may have different degrees of grammaticality" (p. 12).

19.2.4.2 Grammaticalization as a cognitive process

The basic principles behind grammaticalization as laid out by Lehmann, building on predecessors such as Meillet, Kurylowicz, Givon and others, are in the main followed by Hopper and Traugott (2003) (and other researchers who take grammaticalization as a theoretical framework). In addition, Hopper and Traugott stress two further characteristics of a grammaticalization process, namely 'pragmatic strengthening' and 'unidirectionality'.

Pragmatic strengthening is in particular explored by Traugott (1982, 1995), Traugott and König (1991), and Hopper and Traugott (2001). The concept deals with the phenomenon that speakers seek to enhance expressivity by using new and innovative ways of saying things. As an item may come to be used in a new, (slightly) 'grammaticalized' way, it may lose some of its semantic content, become 'bleached', but at the same time, because it is employed in a new context, be an expression of 'pragmatic strengthening' (see, for example, Hopper and

Traugott 2003: 71-98; see also Haspelmath (1999) for use of the term 'extravagance').

The term 'unidirectionality' refers to the processes whereby an item over time goes from being an independent lexeme to a morphologically bound morpheme, and not the other way round, cf. Lehmann's parameters above. Concomitant with this change in morpheme class, which is often the result, a semantic change is hypothesized to occur, from a concrete to a more abstract denotation.[178] A typical instance is an adposition developed from a locational noun, as, for example, Danish *hos* 'by' from *hus* 'house'. As a noun *hus* denotes a concrete place, as a preposition *hos* denotes an abstract (although locational) relation between two entities.

Unidirectionality is a disputed hypothesis, and many counterexamples, examples of 'degrammaticalization', have been presented since the framework of grammaticalization was revitalized in the 1980's and in the beginning of the 1990's. The counterexamples have indeed been used as arguments against grammaticalization as a framework for historical linguistics (Campbell 2001).[179] It is, however, an important and fundamental notion in the works by Heine and his research associates (hereafter 'Heine'), and also of Bybee and her research associates, for example Bybee (1994).

In this framework it is a basic observation that lexical items develop along a 'path', beginning, typically, from a stage of denoting concrete objects or locations to a stage denoting abstract relations, as with *hus-hos* above. Besides locational nouns, also body part terms and landmark terms are frequent sources of local adpositions and case affixes. And verbs denoting 'concrete' activities like 'give', 'receive', 'grasp', 'go', 'see', etc. typically become grammatical markers of objects or other case functions. This development comes about through metaphorical or metonymic extensions, and such extensions may also effect already extended notions, giving rise to a series of extensions that increase in semantic abstractness.

In other words, functions that are derived from other functions, a process that constitutes a grammaticalization path, or, if some notions bifurcate, a conceptual network, as employed repeatedly elsewhere in the present study. Heine and Reh (1984) and Heine and Kuteva's World Lexicon of Grammaticalization (Heine and Kuteva 2002) are samples that may be used as checklists of such processes.

For Heine and his associates, the idea that concept formation is based on a semantic extension of some given material makes the study of grammaticalization

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[178] From this it does not follow that the original or earlier source meaning is lost. A grammaticalized item may display behaviour that reflects its original or earlier stage of development, an instance of polysemy called 'Layering' by Hopper (1991), see also Bybee et al. (1994: 15-17, 21-22); Kalasha *kái* is a good of example of this. Lichtenberk (1991) uses the term 'heterosemy' for the phenomenon that an item develops in two directions, into two different word classes. Kalasha *dái* is an example of this.

[179] But see Traugott (2001) for a rejection of some of the most cited counterexamples to unidirectionality.

a way to approach cognitive processes as expressed in language (Heine et al. 1991a: 27, 45-64; see also Bybee 2003: 151-153, and Heine et al. 1991b). The grammaticalization paths advanced by Heine and Bybee are thus claims about historical semantic processes.[180]

19.2.4.3 Grammaticalization in Copenhagen in the beginning of the 21st century

Although a central issue for many studies of grammaticalization processes, unidirectionality is rejected by Heltoft, Nørgård-Sørensen, and Schøsler (2005) as being essential for grammaticalization. Actually, "grammaticalization need not concern lexemes at all", as Heltoft puts it (Heltoft 1996: 472). For these linguists grammaticalization is a change where elements and patterns without grammatical status acquire such a status or where an existing grammatical system is changed to another, i.e. receives new content (Heltoft et al. 2005: 11). In particular, grammaticalization deals with changes from one synchronic stage in a language system to another (Helftoft et al. 2005: 10; Heltoft 1996: 491), or with the assignment of grammatical status to elements and patterns that do not possess such a status (Heltoft el al. 2005: 11).

The studies presented within this view of grammaticalization (for example, Heltoft's studies of word order changes in Danish (Heltoft 1996, 2005), Nørgård-Sørensen's (2005) studies of changes in the Russian conjugation system, and Schøsler's (2003) studies of the development of valency patterns in French) do not deal with changes that manifest themselves as steps on a path, or that are semantically and morpho-syntactically unidirectional. Rather, what the changes have in common, is that certain content elements get grammatical expression, i.e. become part of the grammatical system (Heltoft et al. 2005: 26-27).

The means of expressing these 'new' grammatical contents form paradigms; in order to express or not to express the intended content, a paradigmatic choice is taken: "All grammaticalization is about changes of the relations between content and expression" (Heltoft et al. 2005: 28).[181] Thus, the notion of a paradigm is crucial to this understanding of grammaticalization: "grammatical structure involves organization of limited numbers of elements in closed paradigms" (Heltoft 1996: 469). And because the notion of paradigm is understood to cover all choices in closed systems, the arising of grammatical choices among different word orders or prosodic patterns also represent instances of grammaticalization.

This latter point made by the Copenhageners is both original and essential, as I see it. By allowing grammatical systematization of prosody to become a relevant

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[180] Hence, throughout Heine and his associates's work, we find references to cornerstone works of cognitive linguistics such as Lakoff (1987) and Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Heine sees grammaticalization paths going from concrete objects to abstract notions as being so regular that they even becomes predictive, at least when dealing with the lexical sources of spatial notions like 'on', 'under', 'front', 'back', and 'in', see Heine (1995). See also Bybee (2003: 145) for such a view.

[181] ".. al grammatikalisering drejer sig om ændringer af relationer mellem indhold og udtryk".

instance of grammaticalization, Heltoft et al. stand out from traditional perspectives on grammaticalization.[182] By attaching importance to paradigmatization, i.e. choice between members of a closed system, as a <u>decisive factor</u> for grammaticalization, they clearly distinguish themselves from traditionalists, for example Lehmann (1985, 1994) and Hopper and Traugott (2003). For Lehmann, paradigmatization is only one of several characteristics of a grammaticalization process. For Hopper and Traugott there is no requirement that an item in a grammaticalization process should leave one paradigm behind to enter another:

> "grammaticalization is not reducible to a uniform process of paradigmatization. Rather, it involves the disintegration and dispersal of forms as well as their assembly into regular paradigms. Grammaticalization … tends to undermine the picture of stability, of clear categorial boundaries, and of structured groups of forms, showing these to be at the most temporary way-stations between different kinds of of dispersal, emergence, and fragmentation" (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 164-165).

Although original, the standpoint and the weighting of paradigmatization of the Danish linguists places the essential burden of grammaticalization on the notion of the paradigm, and, consequently on a definition of this term. This they do for two reasons: (1) They want to be free from the unidirectional hypothesis that says that linguistic elements go from being lexical to being grammatical, or, the more controversial statement, from being grammatical to being more grammatical; (2) they see grammaticalization and (grammatical) diachronic development in general to be a matter of form-function relations, i.e. not just a semantic process, as advocated for by, for example, Bybee and Heine.

Stressing the notion of a paradigm may be a welcome perspective, but for Heltoft et al. a 'paradigm' appears to be understood as <u>any</u> grammatical category that is definable in terms of semantic or morphosyntactical criteria. I.e., all items that participate in paradigmatic contrasts are regarded as members of a paradigm. But this perspective waters out both the notion of paradigm and the notion of grammaticalization. One may ask, for example, if there are historical changes that are not instances of grammaticalization.[183] Or, if an assumed item changes status but does not become a part of a paradigm, has it then grammaticalized?

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[182] But see Herring (1991: 273) for a consideration of intonation and prosody as markers of grammaticalization, and Hopper and Traugott (2003) actually acknowledge that word order change can be a result of a grammaticalization.

[183] Sound change may be an example of a diachronic change that is not an instance of grammaticalization, but also newly developed sounds enter into paradigmatic contrast (with other sounds).

19.2.4.4 Grammaticalization and case renewal in Kalasha

The renewal of case-marking in Kalasha fulfills several of the criteria listed by Lehmann. Taken item by item (of those case markers whose etymology is known) we have seen examples of 'attrition' (*thar-a* 'upon, over' -> *thára* 'complement marker), 'paradigmaticization' (*kái* 'CP of *kárik* 'do, .. etc' -> postposition 'to, onto'), 'obligatorification' (for a projective location, a speaker must choose a relational noun), and 'condensation' (*kái* as CP relating subordinated events to the main verb -> relating addressees as arguments of utterance verbs). I am not able to cite any instance of 'fixation', the process by which an item goes from being able to be shifted around freely to occupying a fixed slot.[184] 'Coalescence', however, may be exemplified by Loc1-*a*, suffixed to *thar-* to give the postposition *thára*.

In my analyses I have shown how certain case markers have developed along grammaticalization paths, going from lexical status to grammatical status. Although I have been able to point to development paths that appear not to be as frequent as others, the development of the individual case markers in Kalasha is in general in accordance with typical patterns (Blake 1994: 161-175).

Verbal elements typically develop to local adpositions (in particular in serial languages), which eventually may develop further to case affixes. Nominal elements such as 'top', 'front', etc., typically become locational adpositions through stages as relational nouns, and from adpositions they may develop further to (local) case affixes (Kahr 1976). Verbal elements often come to denote concepts such as 'location', 'source', 'destination', 'perlative', 'instrument', 'purpose', 'beneficiary', and 'accompaniment'. Nominal elements often come to denote concepts such as 'inside/into', 'front of', 'top of/above/on', 'near', 'behind/back of', and 'below'. Kalasha seems to follow this pattern, as static notions are primarily denoted by relational nouns, developed from body part terms, landmark terms or locational nouns. And dynamic notions are denoted by participal postpositions or postpositions 'proper', the latter of which are adverbial or perhaps verbal in origin.

The renewal of case-marking in Kalasha is by and large in concordance with the principles laid out by traditional grammaticalizationalists such as Lehmann, Bybee, Heine, and Hopper. The question is whether it fulfills the requirements for grammaticalization laid out by Heltoft et al.

The first thing to consider is whether we can speak of a closed system, a paradigm, of case markers in Kalasha. The immediate answer is 'yes' with respect to the case endings, and 'no, not quite' with respect to the postpositions and the relational nouns. Neither word classes are strictly closed, *kái* (and *gri*) is entering or is partly already in the class of postpositions, and nouns that denote some sort of location are recruitable for the class of relational nouns, denoting more specific locations on a horizontal or vertical axis (for example, *biw* 'edge on upper part of

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[184] A case of point, however, may be the syntactic 'fixation' of the participles when they assume (semi-)postpositional function and must follow immediately after a place adverb or a case-suffixed noun: *ayá dái* 'from here' and *phónd-una dái* 'along, on the road'.

vertically orientated container').[185] Thus, even though we have a paradigmatic choice between member of a certain grammatical class, we do not necessarily have a choice within a paradigm.

Another question is whether Heltoft et al. allow a paradigm, from their perspective, to be layered, as I have shown is the case for Kalasha. My proposal is that they do, and that they must do so in order for the concept not to be watered down entirely. If not, prepositions in English with different historical layers, for example 'on', 'at', etc. vs. 'in front/back of' would not constitute a paradigm, nor would spatial marking in those Slavic languages that make use of case endings and prepositions, etc., etc.

Yet another aspect to consider is the material from which the case-marking material in Kalasha is recruited. This is not taken from another systematic patterning, i.e. we do not have an instance of a restructuring of existing grammatical material to <u>another</u> grammatical system. What we have is recruitment of material of different sorts to a new grammatical system, i.e. we see a grammaticalization of elements that did not have grammaticalized status before.[186]

In my analysis of the members of the different layers in the case-marking system of Kalasha, I have shown that Kalasha has made use of both traditional, well-known grammaticalization paths and of not so well-known ones. The documentation and hypotheses about the latter types of paths, in particular the development of postpositions from participles, have pointed to intricacies in the syntax of Kalasha that question assumptions about typical grammaticalization paths.

I have also shown that case-marking in Kalasha is layered, from a synchronic as well as from diachronic perspective, although there are not always clear boundaries between the layers. Synchronically, we have different groups of case markers, identifiable semantically and morphosyntactically so that each has a particular semantic function. Diachronically, each group consists to a large extent of members of similar types with respect to their lexemic sources. The system of local case-marking in Kalasha is not a remodelling of an earlier system. It is a total new system, constituted by material recruited from different lexical and grammatical sources, of which some are unknown.

The layering of the local case-marking system suggests that we must allow a paradigm to be at least somewhat open, to possess an element of structural dynamicity. This point of view is probably not in disagreement with the perspective on grammaticalization presented by Heltoft et al. (as I understand

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[185] Also body part terms are recruited as relational nouns, although less productively so. *ru* 'face' and *piST* 'back' leading to the fossilized postpositions *ru-aw* 'front, forwards' and *piST-aw* 'back, behind, backwards', are lexicalized examples. But also *SiS* 'head' can function as a relational noun, for example, *dúr-as SiS* 'top part of the door' (lit. 'door-obl' + 'head'), and a couple of times I have noted *kuc* 'stomach' with the meaning 'inside', for example, *dúr-as kúc-ai* 'inside the house' (lit. 'house-obl' + 'stomach-Loc3-*ai*').

[186] Nørgård-Sørensen (pers. comm.) regards this as a 'not very frequent' grammaticalization change ("denne overgang (fra ikke-grammatisk til grammatisk status) er i virkeligheden ikke særlig frekvent"). Most system changes, according to Nørgård-Sørensen (pers. comm.), are characterized by a restructuring of grammatical material so that it enters new distinctions.

their standpoint), but it raises the question of how closed a paradigm must be. For Heltoft et al. the traditional notion of paradigm defined as a closed group of verbal or nominal endings is clearly too restricted.

As a final remark on the case renewal found in Kalasha, I see the result of the recruitment processes as fulfilling the general requirements set up by different grammaticalization schools. This suggests that the formation of paradigms may be central to grammaticalization (as Heltoft et al. stress), but that the source of such paradigms need not be other, earlier paradigmatic material. But the on-going case renewal in Kalasha also illustrates that we need to operate with open and cross-cutting grammatical categories. I shall let Stolz have the final word:

> Es is mithin Zeit, Ernst mit dem Konzept der offenen Systeme in der Sprachwandeltheorie zu machen; Skala und Kontinuum sind als Begriffe seit langem bekannt. Sie bieten den Vorteil, dass man bei der Erklärung sprachlichen Wandels nich mehr von plötzlichen Sprüngen zwischen zwei Klassen auszugehen hat; vielmehr können sprachliche Elemente gleichzeitig mehr oder weniger nominale, verbale, adpositionelle, morphologische u.a. Eigenschaften nebeneinander aufweisen" (Stolz 1986: 351).

20. Summary

This thesis contains a thorough investigation of an undescribed aspect of the little known Indo-Aryan language Kalasha: its local case-marking. The study emphasizes that both topological/Euclidean and referential parameters are important for the use of local case endings. These observations, which appear to be unique in comparison with the neighbouring and the most closely related languages, are discussed in relation to theories about spatial representation in language. The dissertation also describes a layered case-marking system that is under current development. The processes involved in this development are surveyed and discussed in relation to theories about grammaticalization processes.

I started out in Ch. 2 by introducing the Kalasha people, the speech community within its previous and present dialect area. I also placed Kalasha within a larger Hindu Kush language area and informed the reader about the socio-politically uncertain status of the language. Ch. 3 summarized the previous work on Kalasha. I pointed out some of the lacunas, including the lack of syntactic studies and of a reference grammar.

In Ch. 4 Kalasha was placed in relation to the 'Dardic' languages, and a presentation of the varied linguistic usages of this term was given. I mentioned also the latest proposal by Zoller (2005), who speaks about Proto-Dardic and central and peripheral Dardic languages. Ch. 5 outlined the basic phonology and grammar of Kalasha. It was shown that in the verbal system the notions 'causativity/transitivity' and 'evidentiality' play an important role.

In Ch. 6 I described the amount and different types of data upon which I base my analyses and I described the methods that I have used for collecting my own data: elicitation sessions, texts transcription and translation, and the use of experimental stimulus material. I explained the pros and cons of the different types of data and elicitation methods and informant work. I have in particular found the experimental stimulus material useful since it allows in a systematic manner for the elicitation of (semi)spontaneous data on a particular grammatical phenomenon.

Ch. 7 introduced the reader to the semantic network model, used later in order to depict graphically the multifunctionality of the case endings and postpositions. I stressed that the networks were intended as synchronic illustrations of semantic analyses, and were not to be interpreted as displaying conceptual links in the minds of the speakers, or as diachronic statements about semantic developments.

Ch. 8 introduced the case markers to be scrutinized: the case endings (termed 'Loc1-*a*', 'Loc2-*una*', 'Loc3-*ai*', 'Abl1-*yei*', 'Abl2-*ani*', and 'Abl3-*aw*'), the postpositions, and the relational nouns. I showed that there were distributional criteria for distinguishing these three morpheme groups and I intimated their specific semantic characteristics

Ch. 9 presented the paradigms made up by the case endings. I commented in detail on the functions of the case endings, and, as far as was possible, I accounted for their etymologies. I showed that there were different paradigms for the nominal classes common nouns, place names, personal names, and quantifiers. Furthermore, for common nouns there are different paradigms for animate and inanimate nouns.

It was pointed out that the singular-plural distinction in the nominative/direct case is restricted to a subset of nouns that denote persons of esteem. For the two plural oblique endings *-an* and *-ón* I stated that the latter is used exclusively for animate nouns that end in unstressed *-a* (with few exceptions) and that the allomorphy can be accounted for historically in terms of a split in the way that the OIA genitive plural *-ānām* has developed.

I also showed that the instrumental case is restricted to a few specialized domains, and that Kalasha has a number of reduplication patterns that may but do not necessarily imply plurality.

Ch. 10 presented the reader with previous descriptions of the local case endings. These claimed that the distribution of the local case endings was due to a singular-plural distinction and to different declension classes. These explanations were rejected as adequate. Ch. 10 also summarized a survey of locative-marking in neighbouring Hindu Kush languages, showing a relatively wide range of relevant semantic parameters.

Chapters 11-16 analyzed minutely the use and distribution of the local case markers. In Ch. 11 I analyzed the responses to the locative tests that I carried out. It was found that Loc2-*una* was predominantly used for location on a surface, and that Loc3-*ai* was preferred for location in an enclosure or for location that included an element of three-dimensionality, for example, 'necklace around neck'. But it was also observed that each of these two case suffixes could enter the domains of the other, Loc2-*una* much more so than Loc3-*ai*.

Loc1-*a* was used with a few lexical items only. The relational nouns were used for notions such as 'under', 'above', and 'horizontal vicinity'. The postpositions were few, only *kái* was frequently observed in descriptions that implied elements of placing or directiveness.

The results were discussed in relation to work by Stephen Levinson, Melissa Bowerman, and their research associates on spatial representation in language. It was found that the notions of 'in' and 'on' are not uniformly expressed in Kalasha, and that Kalasha confirmed a semantic gradient with respect to location on surfaces as hypothesized by Levinson et al. (2003), and also as confirmed by Bowerman and Pederson (to appear).

In Ch. 12 I presented the analysis of the spontaneous material and of the data from elicitation sessions. The observation from the tests that topological parameters are partly decisive for the distribution of (in particular) Loc2-*una* and Loc3-*ai* was supported. The analysis also sheds light on the importance of the non-topological, referential parameters, hinted at by informants' comments to the tests. I concluded that the distribution of Loc2-*una* as conditioned by the nature of

the Ground (a supporting surface) and of identifiability, certainty or boundedness, of the location. In contrast, Loc3-*ai* denotes location in an enclosure or a location that appears three-dimensional, and/or also non-exactly identifiable, non-certain and dispersed. Loc1-*a* was found to be outside of this system as it denotes 'general' or insignificant location and is preferred with a small number of lexical items. A parameter of number was found to be only marginally relevant (in contrast to the analysis by Trail and Cooper). The relevance of a parameter of horizontality vs. verticality, found to be relevant for other mountain languages including neighbouring Khowar, was not unambiguously attested.

In a cross-linguistic discussion, it was stated that Kalasha did not support the idea of such universal semantic primitive notions as, for example, 'in' and 'on'. What counts as an 'in' and an 'on' situation in Kalasha does not only involve metonymic extensions of prototypical 'support' or 'containment' locations, but also referential parameters. This sort of system does not seem to be present in any of the other Hindu Kush languages surveyed, except, maybe, for Indus Kohistani (Zoller 2005).

The ablative endings were analyzed in Ch. 13. Also for these local case markers it was observed that both topological and referential parameters are important for the distribution. Thus, a certain symmetry between the two sets of case suffixes was established. In addition, the ablative system appears to be unique in an areal perspective.

Ch. 14 surveyed the use of local case endings with place names. In general, it is not possible to link the semantics associated with the case suffixes used with common nouns to this use with place names. It was concluded that place names as a group establish a sub-system, which among other things includes a zero-ending and non-explicable idiosyncrasies among certain of its members.

Ch. 15 surveyed the inventory of spatial adverbs and the distribution of the case suffixes with these, a matter hitherto not described in a systematic way. As regards the deictic place adverbs a system was set up that distinguishes location (goal, static or source) according to distance along one axis (as also noted by Trail & Cooper and by Bashir in previous works). Another axis locates a reference point in relation to immediate accessibility: whether a reference point is located across an edge or not, and if not, whether the location is exactly identifiable or not.

The system of case suffixation for this nominal group was found to be different from the system of common nouns. Loc2-*una* and Abl2-*ani* are not allowed on the deictic adverbs, but Abl1-*yei*, otherwise not found on other nominals, is. The remainder of the case endings, Loc1-*a*, Loc3-*ai* and Abl3-*aw*, contrast in a way that is not seen with the common nouns.

In the second part of Ch. 15 I set up the inventory of absolute spatial adverbs, and I refined the meanings associated with these in relation to TC99. The absolute adverbs distinguish between location uphill or downhill, upstream or downstream, and across-river. It was noted that case suffixation was restricted with these nominals (Loc2-*una* and Abl2-*ani* are not allowed) and that the use of the other

case suffixes only had little in common with what was observed for common nouns.

The postpositions with local case-marking or complement-marking functions were surveyed in Ch. 17. I sketched the functional range for each of them, and found that in general postpositions are dynamic in nature, denoting of aspects the Trajectory rather than aspects of the Ground (or the Figure). In a detailed analysis of the participles *thi, kái,* and *dái* it was found that they had grammaticalized as postpositions to different degrees; intransitive *thi* is probably not to be considered as a postposition at all, transitive and directive *kái* can be seen as a postposition in certain contexts, and *dái* is a postposition denoting an ablative-perlative state of affairs.

In Ch. 18 the inventory and the specific semantics and morpho-syntactic characteristics of the relational nouns were described. It was shown that the relational nouns denote static projective location. It was also discussed whether the relational nouns can be said to make up a sub-paradigm within the larger case-marking system.

Ch. 19 discussed first the case-marking system in Kalasha in relation to Colin P. Masica's layer model for New Indo-Aryan languages. It was stated that Kalasha case-marking can be said to be layered, but it was also pointed out that there are difficulties in applying Masica's criteria. This was followed by a discussion of how the development of the case system from Old Indo-Aryan to contemporary Kalasha fits into grammaticalization models for language development. It was pointed out that the case-marking system in Kalasha is currently developing, being renewed by the adoption and grammaticalization of new lexical items that follow well-known as well as not so well-known grammaticalization paths. It was pointed out that the sources for the inventory of case markers are varied. I further discussed to what extent a grammaticalization model based on paradigm-renewal (Heltoft et al. 1005) can cope with the renewal process taking place in the local case-marking system of Kalasha.

21. Dansk resume

Afhandlingen indeholder en udførlig semantisk og morfosyntaktisk analyse af inventaret af rumlige kasusmarkører i det indoariske sprog kalasha. I afhandlingen forstås 'kasusmarkør' bredt og omfatter både kasusendelser, postpositioner og relationssubstantiver. Analysen af kasusmarkører i kalasha forholdes dels til teorier om hvordan sprog koder rumlige kategorier, dels til teoretiske betragtninger over hvordan grammatiske markører og systemer udvikler sig over tid.

Afsnit 2-5 introducerer læseren til kalasha-folket og dets sprog, den hidtidige forskning i kalasha opsummeres, og kalasha placeres sproghistorisk og arealmæssigt. Afsnit 6 præsenterer det datamateriale som afhandlingens analyser er baseret på, og fordelene og ulemperne ved de forskellige indsamlingsmetoder diskuteres.

Afsnit 7 introducerer netværksmodellen som en grafisk præsentationsmodel af polysemiske strukturer, og i afsnit 8 defineres de tre typer kasusmarkører ud fra distributionelle egenskaber. I Afsnit 9 giver jeg som den første lingvist et overblik over de bundne kasusmarkører, kasusendelserne, i alle de nominale ordklasser i kalasha, og i afsnit 10 opsummerer jeg hvad andre forskere har sagt om de lokale kasusendelsers semantik og distribution. Jeg påpeger at kategorien numerus, som ellers hævdet, ikke er et afgørende parameter for kasusendelsernes distribution.

I den detaljerede analyse af de lokativiske og de ablativiske kasusendelser i afsnit 11-13 vises det at både topologiske egenskaber ved Figur-Grund-konstellationen og referentielle forhold er afgørende for brugen af kasusendelserne. Dette er ikke påvist for andre sprog i Hindu Kush. Referentielle forhold omfatter begreber som 'afgrænsethed' og 'bestemmelighed' i et givent rumligt forhold. Et parameter som 'horisontalitet vs. vertikalitet', der ellers er afgørende for stedsangivelse i andre 'bjergsprog', kan ikke påvises som vigtigt for kalasha. Afsnit 14-15 præsenterer dels brugen af kasusendelser på stednavne og de deiktiske og absolutte stedsadverbier. Jeg viser at der må være andre semantiske parameter gældende for kasussystemet ved disse nominaler. I gennemgangen præsenteres læseren også for det system til rumlig placering der udgøres af stedsadverbierne. Afsnit 16 giver et samlet overblik over de tre typer kasusmarkører.

Afsnit 17 analyserer postpositioner med rum- og komplementmarkerende funktioner. Det vises at postpositionerne har et semantisk dynamisk indhold. For enkelte af dem diskuteres det om de er at betragte som postpositioner eller snarere som verbale participier. Afsnit 18 beskriver de morfosyntaktiske og semantiske særtræk ved relationssubstantiverne, der udpeger statisk, projektiv placering.

Afsnit 19 diskuterer først kasussystemet i kalasha ud fra Colin P. Masicas lagmodel for kasus i nyindoarisk. Det vises at kasussystemet i kalasha er lagdelt og under udvikling, men at der også er problemer med Masicas kriterier for en sådan lagdeling. Dernæst diskuteres udviklingen fra kasussystemet i oldindoarisk til kalasha ud fra et grammatikaliseringsperspektiv. Det påpeges bl.a. at kasusmarkørerne i kalasha har fulgt både kendte og knap så kendte 'grammatikaliseringsstier'.

CHAPTER 20

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