Local case-marking in Kalasha

Maps and appendices

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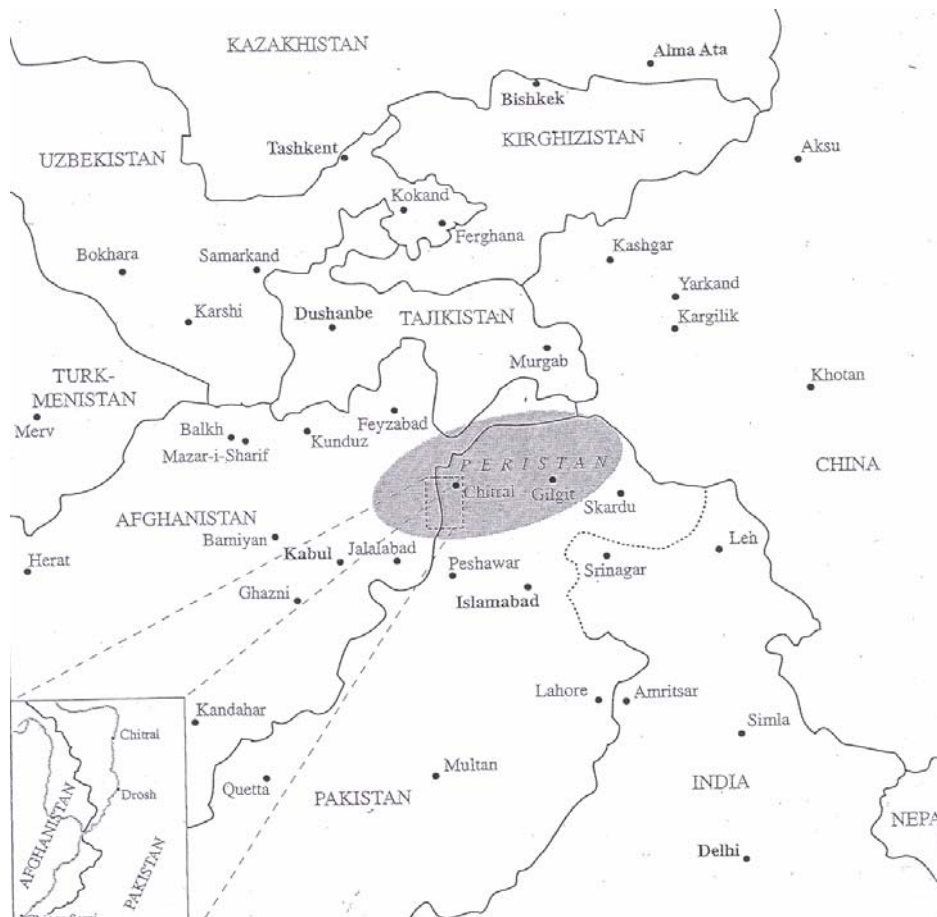University of Copenhagen

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(From Cacopardo and Cacopardo 2001, with Alberto Cacopardo's permission.)

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(From Cacopardo and Cacopardo 2001, with Alberto Cacopardo's permission. National borders accentuated with red, the Chitral/Kunar River with yellow.)
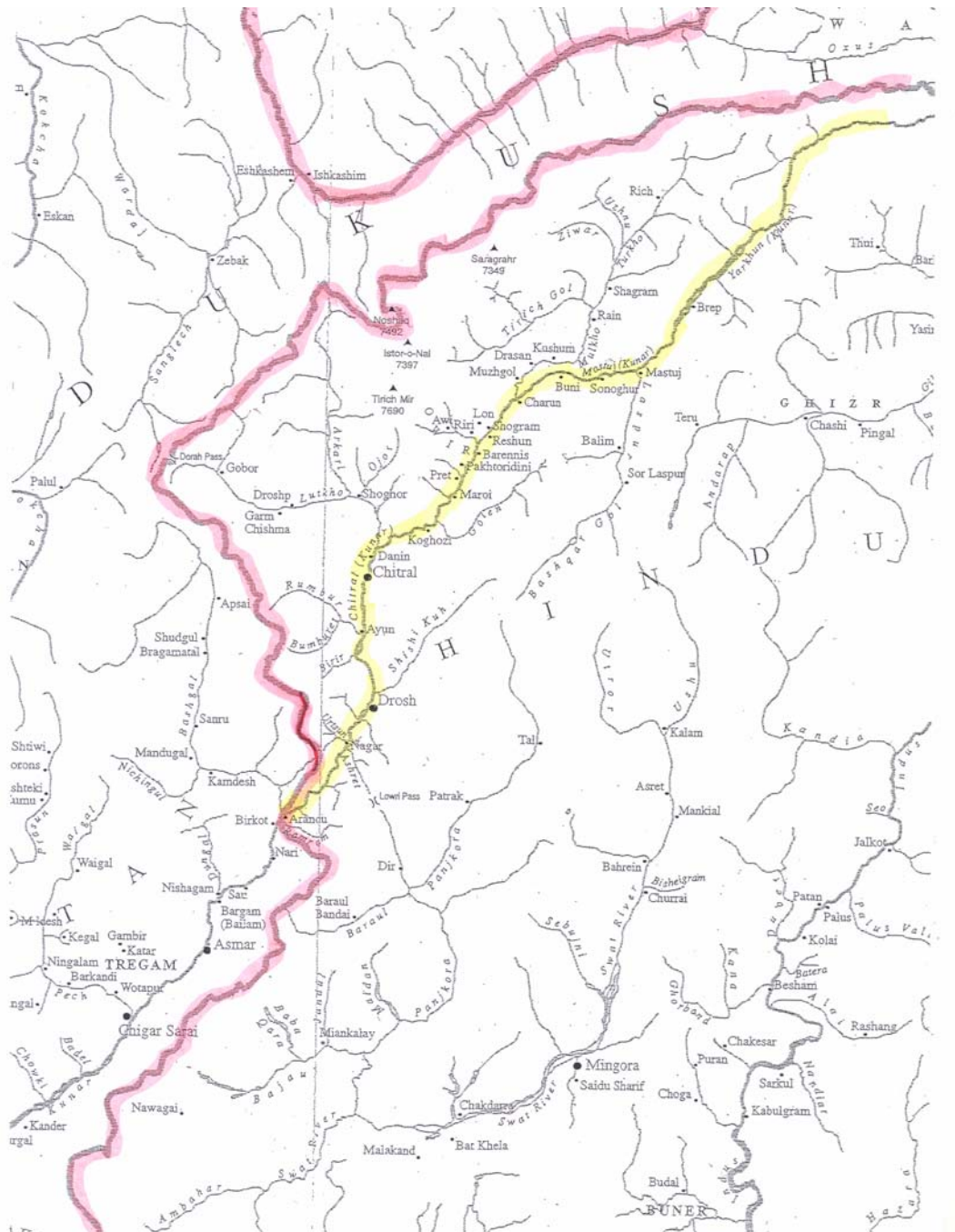
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(From Mørch and Heegaard 1997.)
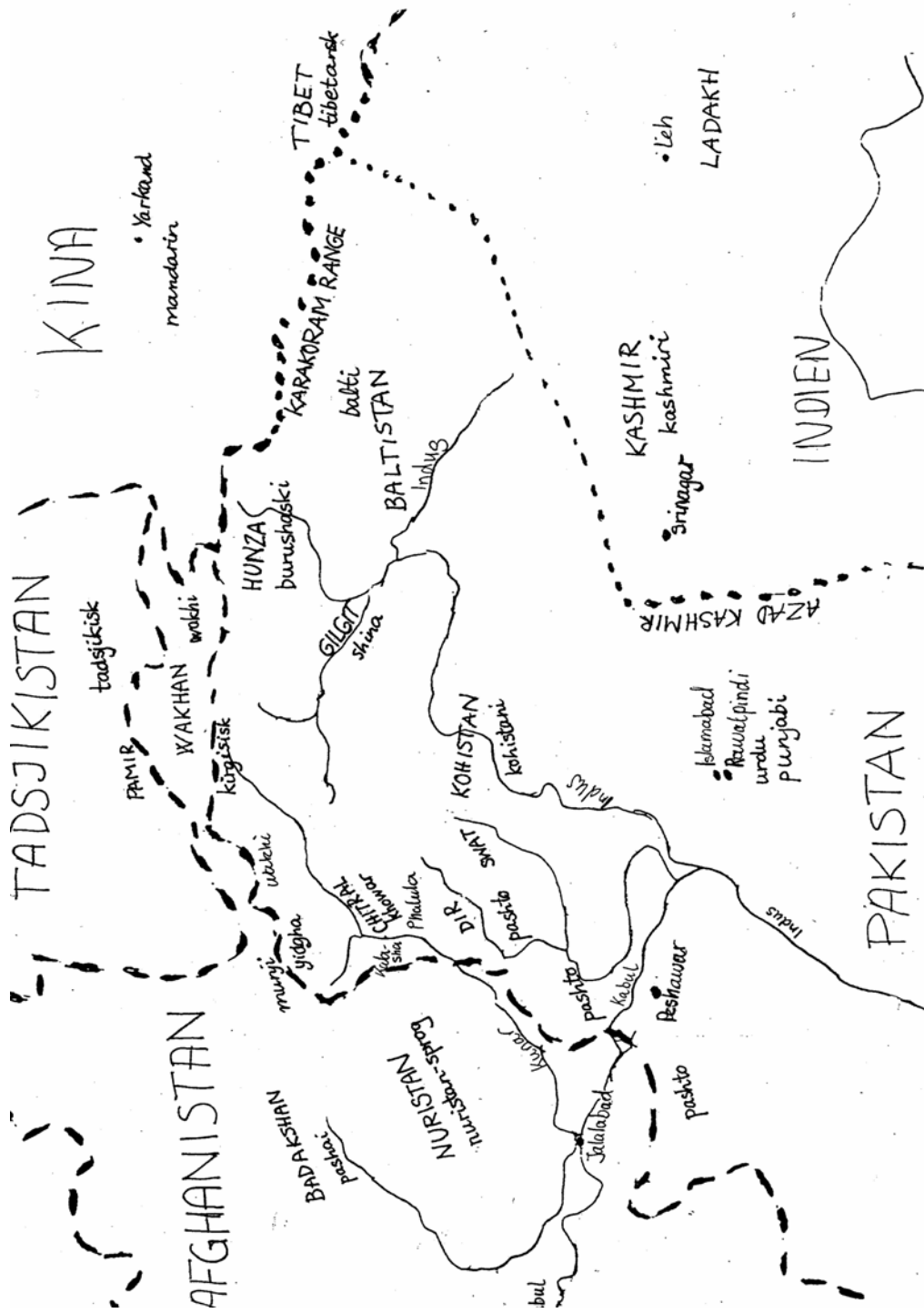
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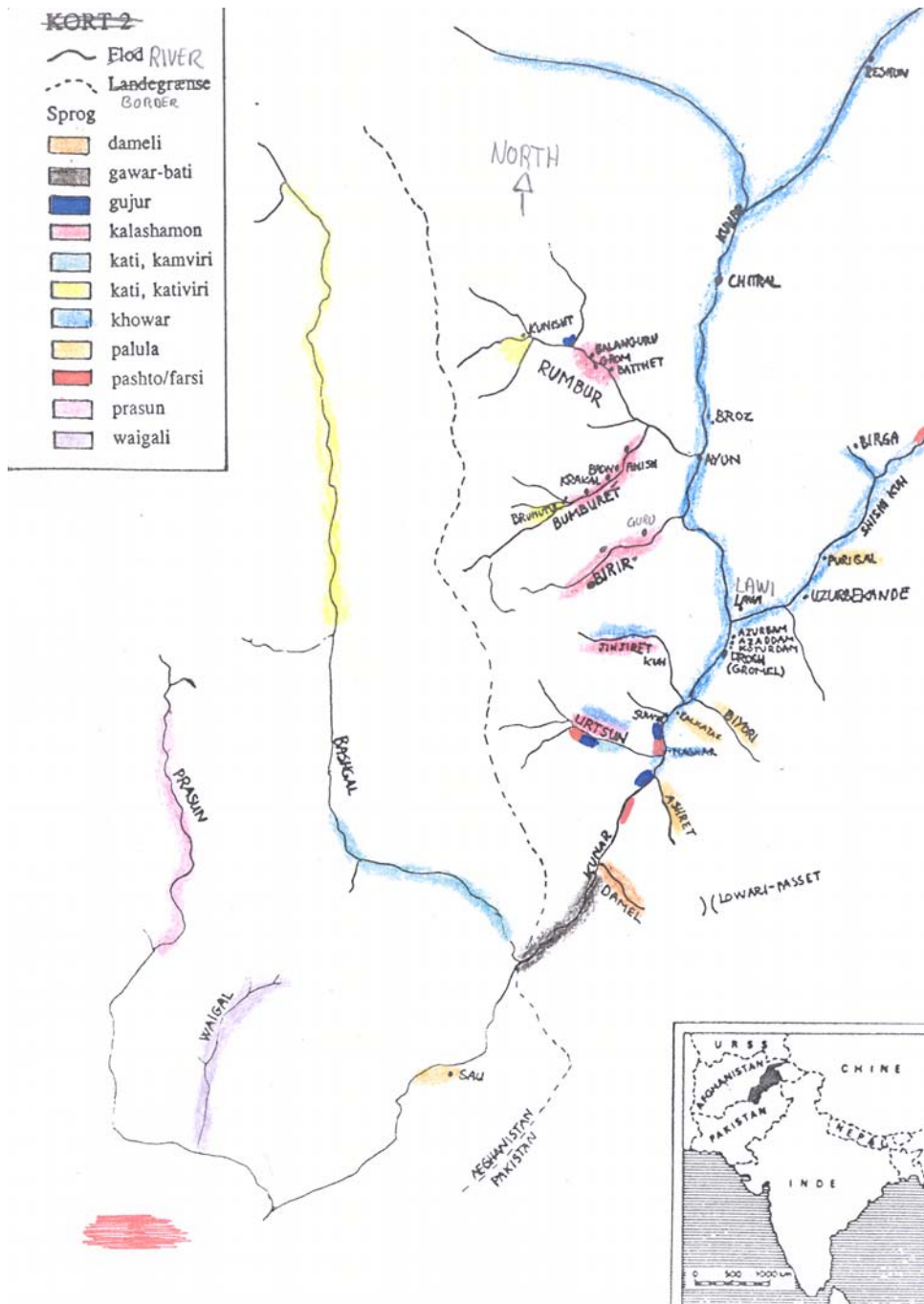
Appendix 1. Classification of Nuristani and Dardic languages, following Strand (1997-2004)

(http://users.sedona.net/~strand/index.html)
Strands phoneme-near spelling ignored - traditional denominations used.

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

Dardic group of Indo-Aryan
Pashai
    Western (4 variants)
    Eastern (5 variants)
Pech Group
    Grangali
    Shumashti
    Gawar-báti
Chitral Group
    Kalasha (2 dialects, remaining)
    Khowar
Tirahi
Kohistani Group
    Western (2 languages)
    Eastern (5 languages)
        Indus Kohistani ("Maiya") (2 dialects)
        Gowro
        Cilisso
        Bhate-sazib
        Torwali
Shina
    Chilasi (several dialects and variants, including Palula)
    Gilgiti
Kashmiri (several dialects and variants

Appendix 2. The Dardic languages - following Bashir (2003: 824-825)

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

II Kunar Group
    Gawarbáti type
        Gawarbáti
        Shumashti
        Grangali
    Dameli

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

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

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

VI Kashmiri

Appendix 3. Additional notes on the pronominal paradigm

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

TABLE APP. 3.1: PRONOMINAL SYSTEM, 3RD PERSON.

	Near		Distal		Absent (remote)	
	Singular	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**
Nominative	ía	émi	ása	éLi	se	te
Accusative	áma	émi	aLa	éLi	to	te
Genitive-oblique	ísa	ísi	ása	ási	tá.a/tása	tá.i/tási

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

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

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

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

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

(b) Singular is distinguished from plural in the near and distal sets. All plural forms end in an *-i* and all singular forms end in an *-a*. In the remote set three of the non-genitive-oblique forms end in *-e*, the acc.sg. in *-o*. The possible association of a palatal

formative -*i* with plural and of an -*a* with singular may be of relevance to the analysis of the local case endings, as will be seen in chapter 12.

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

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

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

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

(g) Nominative and accusative forms in the 'Absent' set are monosyllabic, all other pronouns are bisyllabic.

Appendix 4. Additional notes on the possessed kinship terms/personal suffixes

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

1. Examples with kinship suffixes

*may/hóma dád-**a***	'my/our father'
*may/hóma dád-**ai***	'my/our fathers'
*tay/mími pútr-**au***	'your/your son'
*tay/mími pútr-**aLi***	'your/your sons'
*ása/ísa chúL-**as***	'his/their son'
*ása/ísa chúL-**asi***	'his/their daughters'

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

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

TABLE APP. 4.1: MORPHOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF PERSONAL SUFFIXES.

Person of possessor	Relation/Kin-ship possession	Number of possessor	Number of possessum	Morpheme, sg., pl.
1st	*-a-*	*-Ø- (-a)*	*-Ø/-i*	*-a, -ai*
2nd	*-a-*	*-u-*	*-Ø/-i*	*-au, -aLi*
3rd	*-a-*	*-s-*	*-Ø/-i*	*-as, -asi*

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

Conditions for occurrence
The occurrence of the personal suffixes depend on a number of syntactic variables (EB88: 44-45). The 1.sg suffix does not appear when the possessed phrase is the subject, the predicate nominal or the direct object, but it is obligatory when the possessed NP occurs in an oblique context. The 3.sg (and 2.sg?) is obligatory in all syntactic contexts. When

asked to give a plural form of kinship terms informants often use a suffixation with *-ai*, for example, *áy-ai* '(my/our) mothers', *nán-ai* '(my/our) aunts', etc.

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

2.   **wéyrak-as/-asi**   *ásta ne íta*   *á-au/á-an*   Sa.T/Fn06
     beloved-ps.3s/3p   also   not   come.pf   aux.an-prs.3s/3p
     'also **his beloved one/ones** has/have not come'

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

Appendix 5. List of informants

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

AA   M; 25-30; Krakal. Khowar, some Kati; highschool; Muslim.
Ba   F; 25-30; Krakal, but from Anish, Mumoret; some Khowar, a little Kati; illiterate.
Dur   F; 15; Krakal, Mumoret; some Khowar; primary school.
Er   M; 25-30; Guru, Biriu; Khowar, Urdu, some English; married to Rab; highschool.
Fil   F; ab. 20; Kraka/Anish, Mumuret; some Khowar; illiterate.
GK   M; 12-14 and 20-25; Krakal, Mumoret; Khowar, Urdu, English, Greek, some Kati, some Pashto; little brother to TK, cousin to Na; high school, later college and university.
GuK   M; 25-30; Kraka, Bumburet; Khowar, Kati, and some Urdu; elder brother to GK, paternal cousin to Na; illiterate, shepherd.
IK   M; 25-30; Batthet, Rukmu; Urdu, Khowar, English, some Pashto, some Kati; married to ZMG; schoolteacher.
ImK   M; 25-20; Anish, Mumoret; Khowar, Panjabi, Urdu, English, Pashto, a little Farsi; college; schoolteacher.
KK   M; 50-60; Batrik, Mumoret; some Khowar, a little Kati; illiterate.
MB   F; 45-50; Krakal/Brun, Mumoret; Khowar, a little Urdu; mother to Ta; illiterate.
Mirza   M; 50-60; Kraka, Mumoret; Khowar, some Kati; illiterate.
Na   M; 25-39; Kraka, Mumoret; Khowar, Urdu, English, some Kati, some Pashto, a little Farsi; cousin to GK and TK; high school, college and university.
Rab   F; 20-25; Guru, Biriu; some Khowar; married to Er; illiterate.
Sa   M; 50-60; Kraka, Mumoret; Khowar, some Urdu, some Kati; illiterate.
Shing   F; 50-60; Kraka, Mumoret; some Khowar, some Kati; illiterate.
SJ   M; ab. 30; Kraka, Mumoret; some Khowar, some Kati; illiterate.
So   F; 35-40; Kraka, Mumoret; some Khowar, a little kati; illiterate.
Ta   M; 25-30; Kraka, Mumoret; English, Urdu, Khowar, Greek, a little Kati, some Pashto, some Hungarian; university student; son of MB.
TalK   M; ab. 20; Brun, Mumoret; Khowar, a little Urdu and English; illiterate.
TK   M; 20-25; Kraka, Mumoret; Khowar, Urdu, English; some Kati; high school.
WaK   M; 40-50; Bio, Biriu; some Khowar; illiterate.
Yak   F; ab. 20; Kraka, Mumoret; some Khowar, a little Kati; illiterate.
ZK   M; ab. 25; Brun, Mumoret. Urdu, Pashto, Khowar, English; student.
ZMG   F; 20-25; Batthet, Rukmu, before Guru, Biriu; some Khowar, a little Urdu; married to IK; illiterate.

Appendix 6. Glossed and translated narrative: "The fox and the lion".

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

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

Sumbéran né báya Sumbéran ék akhabír shér áys
Sumbér-an   ne   báya Sumbér-an   ek akhabír   sher áy-is
before-INSTR   right *baya* before-INSTR   an old.AN   lion be.AN-PST.A.3S
'in earlier times, brother,[1] in earlier times, there was an old lion, '

akhabír shér laház áys sé
akhabír sher   laház áy-is   se
old.AN   lion   ill   be.PST.A-3S   3S.NOM.ABS
'the old lion was ill, he'

akhabír shér laház áys khabár bikó ék Lawák tará paráw
akhabír sher laház áy-is   khabár bikó ek   Lawák tará   par-áu
old.AN   lion ill   be.PST.3S suddenly   a   fox   there.SPEC.ABS go-PST.A.3S
'the old lion was ill, suddenly one fox went there,'

tará pay amáw tása kay
tará   pá-i   a-má-au   tása   kái
there.SPEC.ABS   go-CP   AU-say-PST.A.3S   3S.OBL.ABS   to
'having gone there, he said to him (the lion)'

shéras kay "éh shér sahíb bachá sahíb tú laház áas" aghó~[2]
shér-as   kái "eh sher sahíb bachá sahíb tu   laház a-as"   aghó~
lion-OBL.SG to   Oh lion sir   king   sir   2S.NOM ill   be.AN-P/F.2S   was said
'to the lion, "Oh, lion, sir, king-sir, you are ill", it was head'

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[1] The narrator is addressing me, the fieldworker.

[2] The (augmented) past tense form of the verb *gho~ik* used here, *aghó~an*, pronounced [aˊghō:(n)], was not accepted by Bashir's informants; only *gho~an* in combination with infinitive, meaning 'VB-inf, it is said'; EB suggests that *gho~an* should be regarded as a sort of passive, in the disguise of a present tense form, and she translates it 'it is said'. Following this perspective, I shall translate *aghó~an* as a past passive, 'it was said', in the story here referring to the fox's lines.

"tú bó akhabír" aghó~
"tu   bo   akhabír"   aghó~
2S.NOM   much old.AN   was said
' "you are very old", it was said'

"táy hátya warégo kía dawái né" aghó~
"tay   hátya warék-o   kía   dawái   ne"   aghó~
2S.OBL   for   another-*o* what medicine   not   was said
'"for you there is not medicine", it was said'

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

bíkó "táy hátya warégo dawái né shíu" aghó~
bikó   tay   hátya warék-o   dawái   ne   shí-u"   aghó~
because 2S.OBL for   another-*o* medicine not   be.IN-P/F.3S   was said
' "because there is not medicine for you", it was said'

tú ék prúST juhán shára
tu   ek pruST juhán shára
2S.NOM   a   good young deer
' "you (have to eat) a young deer('s brain), '

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

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

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

kúra máy hátya halíu tó ghó~y amáw
kúra   may   hátya hal-íu   to   ghó~i a-má-au
who.NOM   1S.OBL for   bring-P/F.3S 3S.ABS.ACC QUOT AU-say-PST.A.3S
' "how will bring (it) for me", he said'

a táy hátya halím ghó~y amáw Lawák tása kay

a	tay	hátya	hal-ím	ghó~i	a-má-au	Lawák	tása	kái
1S.NOM	2S.OBL	for	bring-P/F.1S	QUOT	AU-say-PST.A.3S	fox	3S.OBL.ABS	to

' "I will bring (it) for you", the fox said to him'

a táy hátya halím

a	tay	hátya	hal-ím
1S.NOM	2S.OBL	for	bring-P/F.1S

' "I will bring (it) for you,'

tú tó grí susték bháas sé aghó~

tu	to	grí-i	sust-ék	bhá-as	se	aghó~
2S.NOM	3S.ABS.ACC	take.CP	defeat-INF	be able-P/F.2S	3S.NOM.ABS	was said

'when you have taken it, can you defeat (him)?", it was said'

susték bháas sé aghó~ haw

sust-ák	bhá-as	se	aghó~	haw
defeat-INF	be able-P/F.2S	3S.NOM.ABS	was said	SUBJ

' "can you defeat (him)", it was said,'

shér amáw ki bílkúl á tó sustém

sher	a-má-au	ki	bílkúl	a	to	sust-ém
lion	AU-say-PST.A.3S	CONJ	of course	1S.NOM	3S.ABS.ACC	defeat-P/F.1S

'the lion said, "of course I can defeat (him)",'

ghó~y amáw

ghó~i	a-má-au
QUOT	AU-say-PST.A.3S

'he said'

she~hé~ amáw-Láw tú nánga né pe abhái haw

she~hé~	a-má-au-Law	tu	nánga	ne	pe	a-bhá-i	haw
like this	AU-say-PST.A.3S-REP	2S.NOM	perhaps	not	if	AU-be able-PST.A.2S	SUBJ

'he said like this, "but what if you cannot defeat (him), then?'

ghóy amáw Lawák tása káy

ghó~i	a-má-au	Lawák	tása	kái
QUOT	AU-say-PST.A.3S	fox	3S.OBL.ABS	to

'he said, the fox to him'

sé amáaw ki né a bháam tóa Lawák paráw pháto

se	a-má-au	ki	ne	a	bhá-am	tóa	Lawák	par-áu	pháto
3S.NOM	AU-say-PST.A.3S	CONJ	not	1S.NOM	be able-P/F.1S	then	fox	go-PST.A.3S	then

'he (the lion) said, "no, I can", then the fox left, eventually'

Lawák pay paráw paráw paráw

Lawák	pá-i	par-áu	par-áu	par-áu
fox	go-CP	go-PST.3S	go-PST.3S	go-PST.3S

'the fox went, going, (and) going, (and) going,'

ék dhentasénduna réZuna paráw "há!"
ek   dhenta.sénd-una   réZ-una   par-áu   "ha!"
a   mountain.side-LOC2   difficult path-LOC2   go-PST.A.3S   right
'he went to a certain difficult path on a mountain side, 'right?' '

réZuna paráw shára andáy niáw
reZ-una   par-áu   shára   and-ái   ni-áu
difficult path-LOC2   go-PST.A-3s   deer   here.NONSPEC-LOC3   appear-PST.A.3S
'(when he, the fox) arrived at the path, a deer appeared,'

andáy níi tó Lawák jagáy
and-ái   ní-i   to   Lawák   jagá-i
here.nonspec-LOC3   appear-CP   3S.ABS.ACC   fox   look at-CP
'having appeared there and seeing the fox, ..'

kibá-goni hawaw
kibáw-goni   háw-au
something-quite   become-PST.A.3s
he became worried (quite something happened),'

Tém ghó~y acítaw
Tem   ghó~i   a-cít-au
time   QUOT   AU-think-PST.A.3S
'(it's) time, he thought'

tóa se Lawák bó shaytán
tóa   se   Lawák   bo   shaytán
then   3S.NOM.ABS   fox   very   nasty
'then the fox was very nasty'

se amáw ki
se   a-má-au   ki
3S.NOM.ABS   AU-say-P/F.3S   CONJ
'he said, '

shér sahíb akhabír thí aaw
sher   sahíb   akhabír   thi   á-au
lion   sir   old.IN   become.CP   AUX.AN-PRS.3S
' "the honoured lion has become old,'

sher sahíb akhabír thí aaw
sher   sahíb   akhabír   thi   á-au
lion   sir   old.IN   become.CP   AUX.AN-PRS.3S
'the honoured lion has become old,'

ónjo nasiát káriu dai
ónj-o   nasiát   kár-iu   dái
now-*o* advice   do-P/F.3S   SPEC
'he gives advice (to animals in his kingdom), ..'

bó shishóyak shishóyak món dél lay
bo   shishóyak   beautiful   mon   d-el   dái
very   beautiful   beautiful   word give-P/F.3S SPEC
'.. he speaks very beautiful words"

sáw thi íta tása món kÓ~ kay parón
saw   thi   íta   tása   mon   kO~   ká-i   par-ón
all   be.CP   come.CP   3S.OBL.ABS word ear   do-CP   go-PST.A.3P
' "everybody came, heard his words, and went (away),'

tú-o né á pré táy kay ásta dél
tú-o   ne   a   pre   tay   kái   ásta   d-el
2S.NOM-*o*   not   come.PST.A.2S   go.IMP.1P 2S.OBL   to   also   give-P/F.3S
'you did not come, come, he will advice you too" '

tú andéna mócaw adrákay bó shishóyak ishnehári shára
tu   andén-a   móc-aw   adrák-ai   bo   shishóyak ishnehári shára
2S.NOM   here.across-EDGE.LOC1 middle-ABL3   forest-LOC3 very beautiful   thing   deer
' "you are the most beautiful thing (animal) of here in the forest (= among the
animals of the forest), deer,'

tú tó món griik bháas ghó~y
tu   to   mon   grí-ik   bhá-as   ghó~i
2S. 3S.ACC.ABS   word catch-INF   be able-P/F.2S QUOT
'you will definitely get (understand) his words", (he said)'

tó phán day aníaw
to   phan   dá-i   a-ní-au
3S.ACC.ABS   lie   give-CP   AU-take-PST.A.3S
'lying about this, he took him (to the king)'

tará paráw tará paráw haw
tará   par-áu   tará   par-áu   há-u
there.SPEC.ABS   go-PST.A.3S there.SPEC.ABS   go-PST.A.3S when
'he went there, when went there,

ása gehén khézas ghó~i amáaw sharáas kay Lawák
ása   gehén   khéz-as   ghó~i   a-má-au   shará-as   kái Lawák
3S.DIST.OBL   direction   move-P/F.2S QUOT   AU-say-PST.A.3S   deer-OBL.SG   to   fox
' "go near to the king", he said to the deer, the fox'

ása kÓ~ karúTu né sangáaw day
ása   ko~   karúTu ne   sangá-au   dái

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

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

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

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

shehé kay sé shér drámuC praw tása táp agríaw haw paLáis
she~hé~ kái se   sher drámuC pr-áu   tása   tap a-grí-au   haw
like this   3S.DIST.NOM lion claw   put.PST.A-3S 3S.OBL.ABS quick AU-catch-PST.A.3S when
'like this, when the lion scratched and tried to catch him,'

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

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

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

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

ónjo kó báta iu áya tú né abháy
ónj-o ko báta í-u   ayá   tu   ne   a-bhá-i
now-*o* why CONTR come-P/F.3S here.SPEC 2S.NOM not AU-be able-PST.A.3S
' "why he will come again here, you didn't manage" '

tú né abháy bíkó tása kay amáw ki

tu	ne	a-bhá-i	bikó	tása	kái	a-má-au	ki
2S.NOM	not	AU-be able-PST.A.2S	therefore	3S.OBL.ABS	to	AU-say-PST.A.3S	CONJ

' "you couldn't", therefore he said to him, '

ónjo á khé~ kay haíim tó sé paLáis

ónj-o	a	khe~ ká-i	halim	to	se	paLá-is
now-*o*	1S.NOM	how do-CP	bring-P/F.1S	3S.ACC.DIST	3S.NOM.DIST	escape-PST.A.3S

' "now, how will I be able to bring him here, he ran away" '

tóa shér amáw ki

tóa	sher	a-má-au	ki
then	lion	AU-say-PST.A.3S	CONJ

'then the lion said,'

pári halí ónjo pe haLáw tó sustém

pár-i	hal-í	ónj-o	pe	háw-aw	to	sust-ém
go-IMP.2S	bring-IMP.2S	now-*o*	if	when-RED	3S.ACC.ABS	defeat-P/F.1S

' "go, bring (him), now I will be able to defeat him,'

tó shára sustém   ghó~y

to	shára	sust-ém	ghó~i
3S.ACC.ABS	deer	defeat-P/F.1S	QUOT

'defeat that deer",'

to ghéri ahúTaw

to	ghéri	a-húT-au
then	again	AU-send away-PST.A.3S

'then he (the lion) sent the fox back again,'

ghéri ahúTaw haw Lawák paráw

ghéri	a-húT-au	haw	Lawák	par-áu
again	AU-send away-PST.A.3S	when	fox	go-PST.A.3S

'when he sent (the fox) away, the fox went away'

páy gudás thi tása píSTaw azháLaw

pá-i	gudas	thi	tása	píSTaw	a-zháL-au
go-CP	tired	be.CP	3S.OBL.ABS	behind	AU-arrive-PST.A.3S

'being tired (the fox), arrived behind the deer' (= 'he reached the deer')

zháLi sé kaharí háwaw

zháL-i	se	kaharí	háw-au
arrive-CP	3S.NOM.ABS	angry	become-PST.A.3S

'(when he, the fox, arrived), the deer became angry''

táy nashém á

tay	nash-ém	a
2S.OBL	kill-P/F.1S	1S.NOM

'"I will kill you, I (will)'

tu may atra sheras SaTaway Zuawayka niman ay hah!"
tu   may   atrá   shér-as   SaTawái
2S.NOM   1S.OBL   there.SPEC.DIST   lion-OBL.SG   by
Zu-aw-á-ik-a   ní-man   á-i   hah
eat-CS2-CS1-INF-LOC1   take-IPF.I   AUX.AN.-PST.2S   EXCL
'I was taken there so the lion could eat me", ha!'

ghó~y amáaw-Láw né táy né zhúiman ays
ghó~i   a-má-au-Law   ne   tay   ne   zhú-iman   á-is
QUOT   AU-say-PST.A.3S-REP   not   2S.OBL not   eat-IPF.I   aux.AN-PRS.3S
'he said, "no, he was not eating you, '

tú galát ári paLáy
tu   galát   ár-i   paLá-i
2S.NOM   wrong   do.PST.A-2S   escape-CP
'you were wrong escaping" '

sé táy kay kÓ~una kay món diman ays
se   tay   kái kÓ~-una   kái mon   dí-man   áy-is
3S.NOM.ABS   2S.OBL   to   ear-LOC2   to word   give-IPF.I   AUX.AN-PST.3S
'"he was saying words to you ear,'

se ne sangáaw tu tása Soy ne paráy shehé kay
se   ne   sangá-au   tu   tása   Soy ne   par-ái   shehé kái
3S.NOM.ABS   not   hear-P/F.3S 2S.NOM   3S.OBL.ABS near not   go-PST.A.2S like this
'he cannot hear, you did not go near (to him), like this,'

táy dramúCak praw e kÓ~ achís ghó~y amáw é
tay   dramúCak pr-áu   e   kO~ a-chí-is   ghó~i   amá-au   e
2S.OBL   claw put.PST.A-3S as ear AU-cut-PST.A.2S   QUOT   AU-say-PST.A.3S as
'as he (the fox) said, "as he scratced you, in this way, he cut your ear" '

sé amáw ki né sé may zhú
se   a-má-au   ki   ne   se   may   zh-u
3S.NOM.ABS   AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ   not   3S.NOM.ABS   1S.OBL eat-P/F.3S
'he said, "no, he intended to eat me" '

né zhu pré ghéri phán day to shára haláw
ne   zh-u   pre   ghéri phan dá-i   to   shára hal-áu
not   eat-P/F.3S go.IMP.1P again lie give-CP   3S.ACC.ABS   deer bring-PST.A.3S
' "no, not eat(you), let's go, try it out", lying again, he brought the deer (there)'

shára patíaw
shára   patí-aw
deer   believe-PST.A.3S
'the deer believed (the fox)'

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áu tará áaw e ása Soy pári aghó~

á-u	tará	á-au	e	ása	Soy	pár-i	aghó~
come-PST.A.3S	there.SPEC.ABS	be.an-prs.3S	as	3S.OBL.DIST	near	go-IMP.2S	was said

'as (he, the deer) came there, "go near (to the king)", it was said'

se shér-o shehé thi apáw praw hú~k asta né kay

se	sher-o	shehé	thi	apáw	pr-áu	hu~k	ásta	ne	ká-i
3S.NOM.ABS	lion-*o*	like this	be.CP	dwell-PST.A.3S	voice	also	not	do-CP

'the lion sitting (quietly) like this, also not saying anything' (or: '.. not even saying anything')

tádaka pári aghó~ tádaka paráw

tádaka	pár-i	aghó~	tádaka	par-áu
near	go-IMP.2S	was said	near	go-PST.A.3S

' "go quite near (to the lion)", it was said, he went quite near'

tádaka pay khabár bikó thedí tása kay amáw

tádaka	pá-i	khabár	bikó	thedí	tása	kái	a-má-au
near	go-CP	suddenly		now	3S.OBL.ABS	to	AU-say-PST.A.3S

'having gone near (to the lion), immediately, then he said to him,'

kía máas day shér sahíb

kía	má-as	dái	sher	sahíb
what	say-P/F.2S	SPEC	lion	sir

' "what are you saying, dear king,'

mon de tay táda íta áam aghó~

mon	d-e	tay	tád-a	íta	á-am	aghó~
word	give-IMP.2S	2S.OBL	near-LOC1	come.PF	AUX.AN-PRS.1S	was said

'say something, I am near to you", it was said,'

shára tása kay

shára	tása	kái
deer	3S.OBL.ABS	to

'the deer (said) to him'

hú~k ná áraw shér chimcilíit thi apáw praw

hu~k	ne	ár-au	sher	chimcilít	thi	apáw	pr-áu
sound	not	do.PST.A-3S	lion	be quiet.CP		dwell-PST.A.3S

'(he) said nothing, the lion, he (just) sat there, very quiet'

ghéri amáw ki kía máas day

ghéri	amá-au	ki	kía	má-as	dái
again	AU-say-PST.A.3S	CONJ	what	say-P/F.3S	SPEC

'again he (the deer) said, "what are you saying?" '

a tay táda íta aam ónjo món dé ghó~y

a   tay   tád-a   íta   á-am   ónj-o   mon   d-e   ghó~i
1S.NOM 2S.OBL near-LOC1 come-CP AUX.AN-PRS.1S now-*o* word give-IMP.2S QUOT
' "I have come close to you, now speak", (he said)'

shehé thi páy kÓ~una aZáLaw haw
shehé thi   pá-i   kÓ~-una   a-zháL-au   haw
like this   go-CP   ear-LOC2   AU-reach-PST.A.3S   when
'like this, when he went near to his ear'

táp gri to tá.a sharáas gÁani grí
tap grí-i   to   tása   shará-as   gÁ-ani   grí-i
quickly   3S.ACC.ABS   3S.OBL.ABS   deer-OBL.SG throat-ABL2 hold-CP
'catching him quickly, catching the deer's throat,'

kaTár kay tó SíS ahístaw
kaTár ká-i   to   SiS   a-hist-au
knife   do.CP   3S.ACC.ABS   head   AU-throw-PST.A.3S
'(and) cutting his throat, threw away the head (of the deer)'

hísti thedí Lúi píkas práw
híst-i   thedí   Lúi   p-ík-as   pr-áu
throw-CP   now   blood drink-INF-OBL.SG give.PST.A-3S
'having thrown (the head), then he (the lion) started drinking blood'

Líi pi prú::ST tasíris
Lúi   pí-i   pruST tasíris
blood drink-CP   well   satisfied
'drinking blood, he became very full/satisfied,'

Lawáko o khúran thára dramúCak dá::y
Lawák-o   to   khúr-an   thára dramúCak dyá-i
fox-*o*   3S.ACC.ABS   leg-OBL.PL upon   claw put-CP
'the fox, then, scratching with the legs,'

to mhásta chaLáy plík áshaw
to   mhásta chaLá-i   plik ásh-au
3S.ACC.ABS brain   take out-CP all   eat.PST.A-3S
'took out the brain, (and) ate all of it'

zhúy-o désha pay nisí apáw praw
zhú-i-o   désha   pá-i   nis-í   apáw pr-áu
eat-CP-*o* (far) away go-CP sit-CP dwell-PST.A.3S
'after having eaten, (he, the fox) going away and sitting down,'

samlát shehé kay drí~kio
samlát   shehé   ká-i   drí~ki-o
moustache   like this do-CP   clean-CP-*o*
'(and) cleaning his moustache like this'

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

thedí prú::ST Lúi pi tasíris shér tasiri
thedí pruST Lúi pí-i tasír-is   sher tasíri
now well blood drink-CP be full-PST.A.3S lion full
'now, after drinking the blood, (he) was full, the lion being full'

tóa gér áraw gér kay tása kay amáw ki
tóa ger ár-au   ger ká-i tása   kái a-má-au   ki
then become aware-PST.A.3S become aware-CP 3S.OBL.ABS to AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ
'he became aware (about the brain), having become aware, (he, the lion) said to him (the fox)'

tará pay jiáw jáy to SíS bat-bátay tyáy
tará   pá-i jiá-u   jiá-i to SiS bat-bát-ai tyá-i
there.SPEC.ABS go-CP look-PST.A.3S look-CP 3S.ABS.ACC head stone-RED-LOC3 beat-CP
'he went there and looked, having looked, beating the head on some stones,'

to SéS biSáy jiáw haw mhásta né shiu
to   SiS biSá-i jiá-u   haw mhásta ne sh-íu
3S.ACC.ABS head crack-CP look-PST.A.3S when brain not be.IN-PRS.3S
'(and) cracking the head, when he saw, there was no brain'

to amáw ki éy Lawák to mhásta kó áshi
to a-má-au   ki ey Lawák to   mhásta ko ásh-i
then AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ hey fox 3S.ABS.ACC brain why eat.PST.A-2S
'then he said, "Hey, fox, why did you eat the brain",'

ghó~y amáw tása kay
ghó~i a-má-au   tása   kái
QUOT AU-say-PST.A.3S 3S.OBL.ABS to
'he said to him'

sé amáw ki ása mhásta né shiáLa
se   a-má-au   ki ása   mhásta ne shi-áLa
3S.NOM.ABS AU-say-PST.A.3S CONJ 3S.DIST.NOM brain not be.IN-PST.I.3S
'he said that, "he had no brain,'

khalí ásta ása
khalí ásta   ása
empty be.AN.PST.I.3S 3S.NOM.DIST
'he was empty" '

shér tása kay amáw ki

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

mhásta né thi-o khé~ thi kásiu day ása

mhásta ne   thí-o   khe~   thi   kás-iu   dái   ása
brain   not   be.CP-o   how   be.CP   walk-P/F.3S   SPEC   3S.NOM.DIST
' "if there was no brain, how could he walk?" '

áLa kó lawás day tú ghó~y amáw hawaw

áLa   ko   láw-as   dái   tu   ghó~i   a-má-au   háwaw
3S.ACC.DIST   why   lie-P/F.2S SPEC   2S.NOM QUOT   AU-say-PST.A.3S   when
' "why are you lying about this", he said (the lion),'

Lawák tása kay jawáp áraw
Lawák   tása   kái   jawáp   ár-au
fox   3S.OBL.ABS   to   answer   do-PSTA.3s
'then the fox answered'

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

ása mhásta né shiáLa khalí ásta

ása   mhásta   ne   shi-áLa   khalí   ásta
3S.OBL.DIST brain   not   be.IN-PST.I.3S empty   be.AN.PRS.I.3S
' "he didn't have a brain, he was empty,'

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

tú ása kÓ~chíni ai ása ghéri áu dyápa e
tu   ása   kO~   chín-i   á-i   ása   ghéri   á-u   dyápa   e
2S   3S.OBL.DIST ear   cut-PF   AUX.AN-2S   3S.NOM.DIST again   come.PST-3S   CTR   as
'he wouldn't have come here again, because his ear was cut by you for the first
time" ' (if he had a brain you wouldn't had been able to cut his ears)

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

món khír háwaw
mon   khir   háwaw
word ???   become.PST.A-3S

'the fox lied ((his) word became ???)'

pháto shér pátíaw
pháto   sher   páti-au
then   lion   trust-PST.A-3S
'then the lion trusted him'

aChÓi~k ásta khúl háwaw
aChÓi~k ásta   khul   háw-au
story   very   finish become.PST.A-3S
'the story has ended'

pháto kía báta may aLéy tháraw háh!
pháto kía   báta may   aL-yéi   tháraw   hah!
then what   CTR   1S.obl there.NONSPEC.DIST-ABL1   up-ABL3   EXCL
'so what will be of more from my side, then, ha!'

Appendix 7. List of stimulus material

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

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

3. The BowPed-book (Topological Relations Picture Series). 71 drawing that depict different kinds of spatial arrangement. Developed by Eric Pederson and Melissa Bowerman for cross-linguistic investigation of spatial marking. Used with eight informants.

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

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

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

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

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

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

10. Staged Events. About 65 short computer-animated film clips that show different sort of motions of different sort of geometrical figures. From MPI, Nijmegen. Put at my disposal by Henrik Hovmark, University of Copenhagen. Used with one informant.

11. Caused Positions. 46 short film clips that show sudden (by film cuts) placing and removal of different sort of objects onto/from different sort of Grounds. Put at my disposal by Henrik Hovmark, University of Copenhagen. Used with two informants.

12. Cut&Break films: 61 short film clips depicting different kinds of cutting and breaking events with different kinds of tools. Put at my disposal by Henrik Hovmark, University of Copenhagen. Used with one informant.

13. 'Moverb' film clips: Six short computer-animated films showing different kinds of events with the headlines. 'Come_Go', 'Enter_Exit', 'Figure_Ground', 'Manner', 'Paths', and 'Triads'. Put at my disposal by Henrik Hovmark, University of Copenhagen. Used with two informants.

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

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

16. Donald Duck pictures. Cover page drawings of Donal Duck (and nephews) in situations where Donald Duck experiences something unexpected. From the project Children, Language and Cognition. Put at my disposal by Elisabeth Engberg-Pedersen, University of Copenhagen.

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

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

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

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

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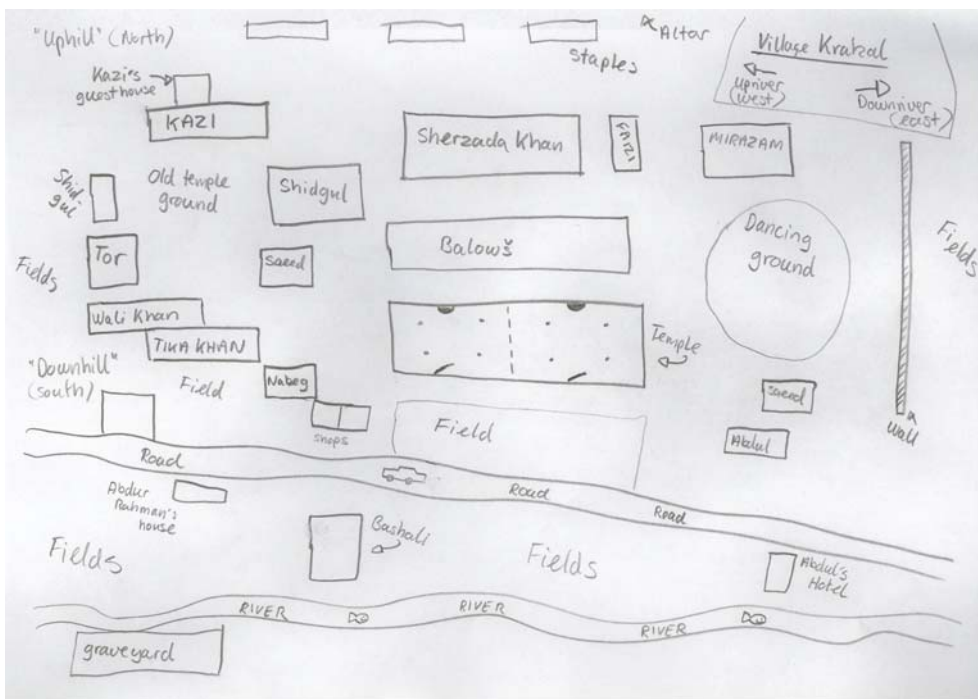
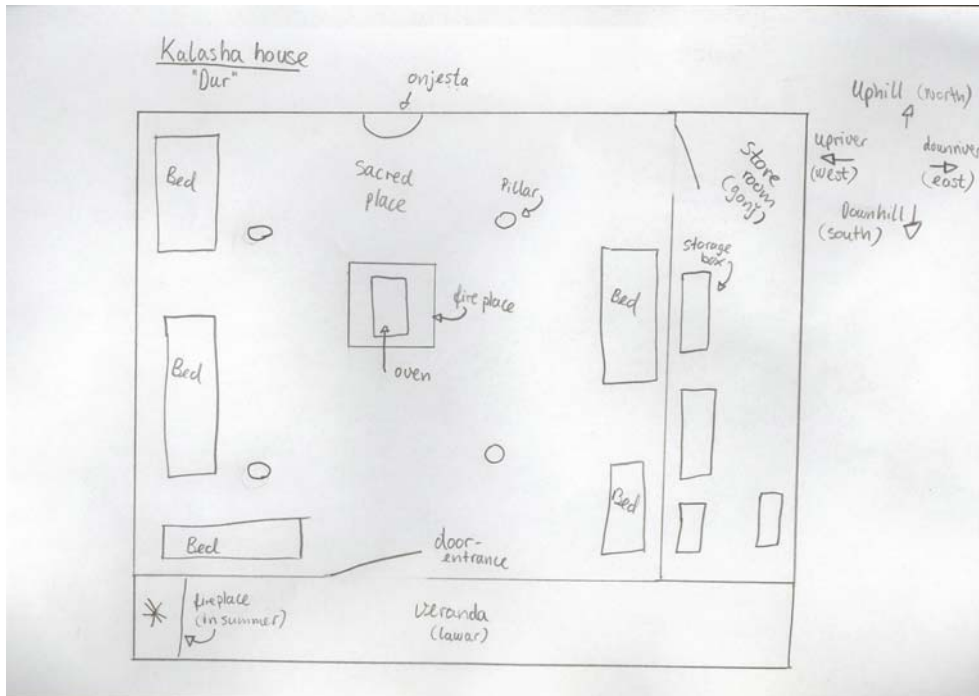**Home-made map of Chitral valley, used for spatial description**
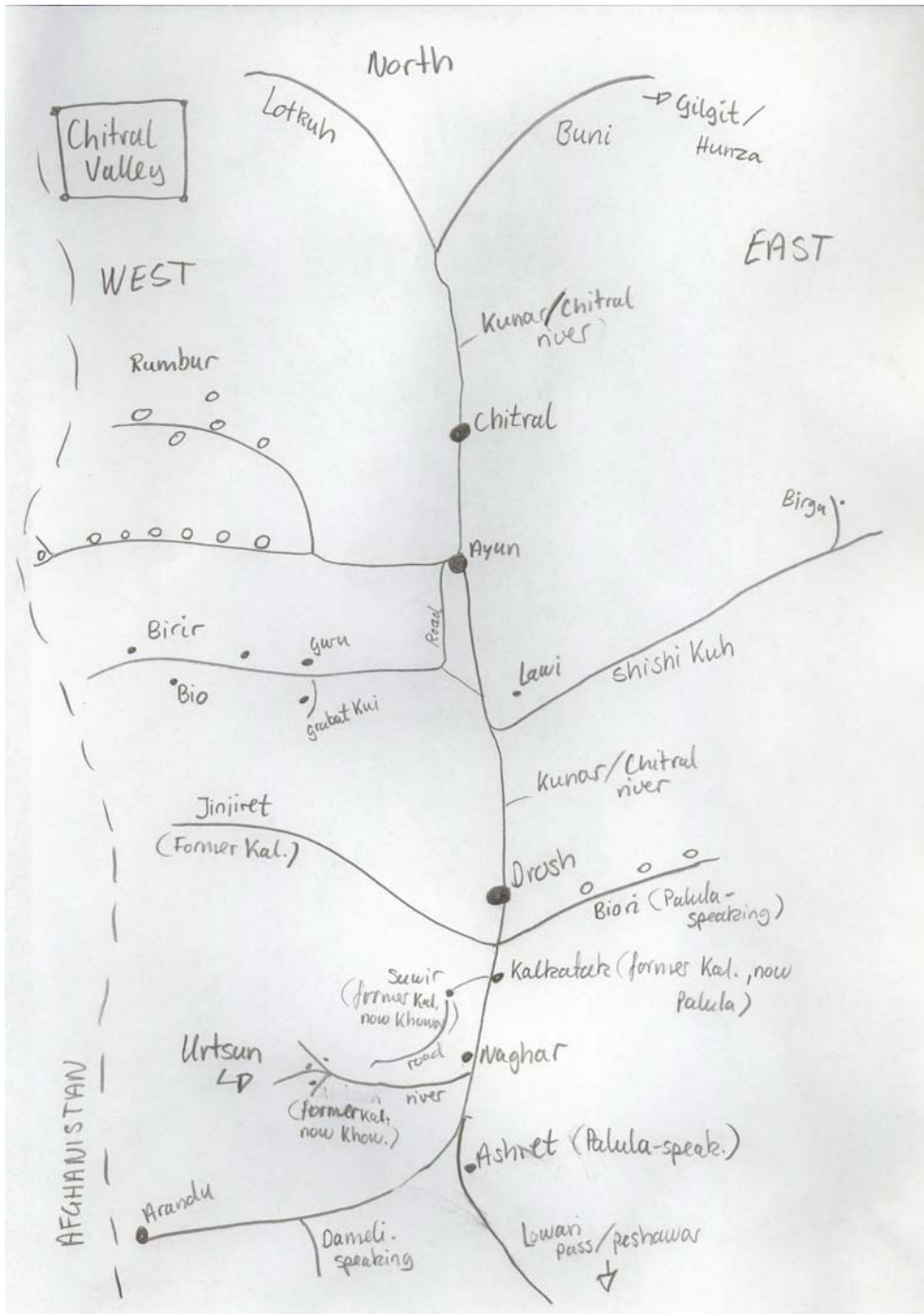
Home-made map of the valley Mumoret - used for spatial description
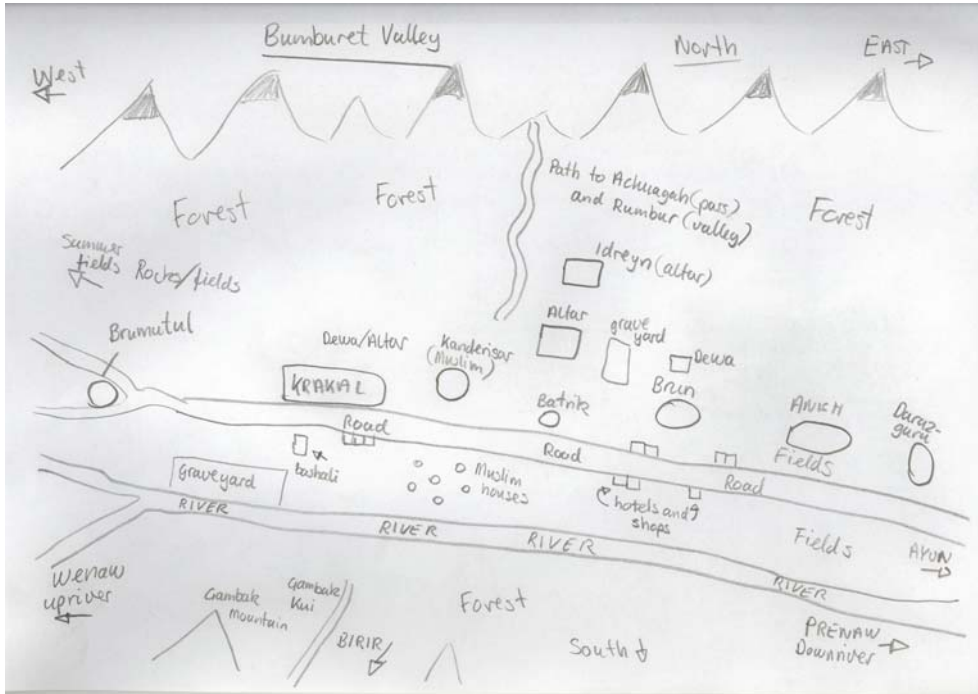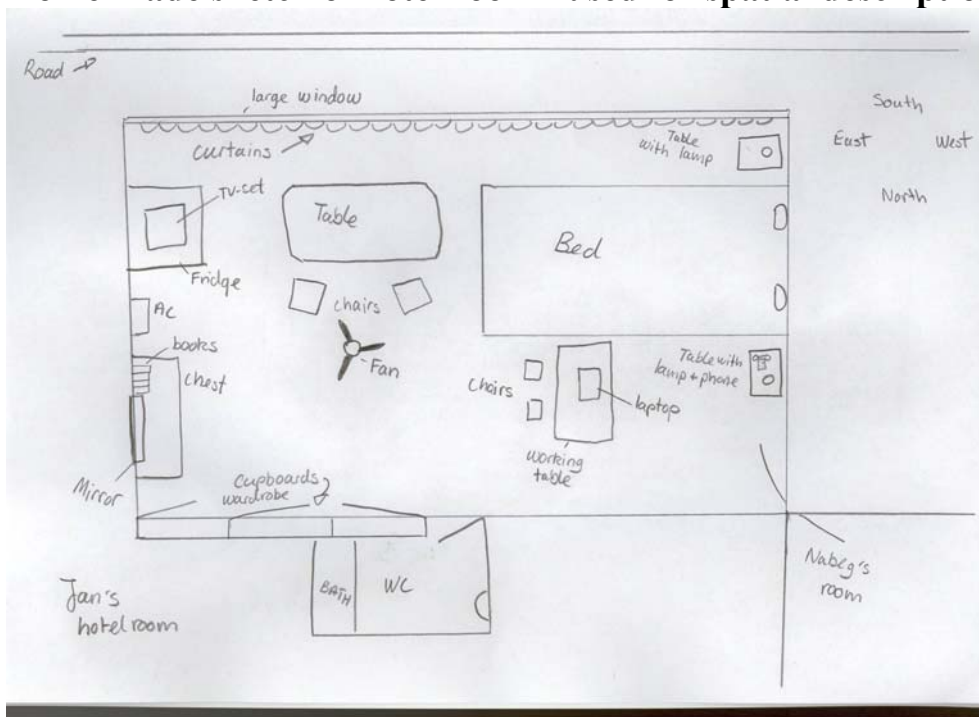

Home-made map of the village Kraka, Mumoret - used for spatial description

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

Home-made sketch of hotel room - used for spatial description

Appendix 8. Quantifiers and distributive adjectives

1. Inventory of case endings for quantifiers and distributive adjectives

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

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

	Singular	**Plural**
Nominative	*-Ø*	*-Ø*
Oblique	*-is*	*-in*

2. Previous treatment

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

3. Uses

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

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

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

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

I understand these two sentences as such: In 1 *ogoeg-is* expresses that the young man fell in love with the young woman <u>and</u> that the young woman fell in love with the young man, that is, *-is* (and singular verb marking) highlights two separate entities. In contrast, 2 merely states that 'they' fall in love with each other, that a reciprocal situation will occur that cannot be divided into two separate parts.

Appendix 9. Notes on morphophonology and case-marking

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

1. Introduction

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

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

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

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

2. Voicing of stem final consonant

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

2.1 Sibilants
Always voice alternation

anísh	'Anish'	> *aní(:)zh-*	
bas	'day'	> *bá:z-*	< *vāsá-* 'abode' (11591)
isprás	'ceiling'	> *ispráz-*	
jahás	'aeroplane'	> *jahá:z-*	< Urdu
kartús	'cartridge'	> *kartúz-*	
Lush	'early morning'	> *Lúzh-*	
pas	'trunk'	> *pá:z-*	< Khowar
paS	'wool'	> *pá(:)Z-*	< *pákṣman-* 'eyelashes' (7638) or < Iranian
pilés	'carpet'	> *pilé(:)z-*	
trómish	'evening'	> *trómizh-*	< *támisrā-* 'dark night' (5692, 14556); *andhatamisraikā-* 'complete darkness of the soul' (387)

Vacillating voice alternation

bákas	'box'	> *bágas/z-*	< Eng. 'box'
bas	'bus	> *bá:s/z-*	< Eng. 'bus'
gilás	'glass'	> *gilá(:)s/z-*	< Eng. 'glass'

No voice alternation

brúSuS	'precipice'	> *brúSuS-*	< *bhraṁśiṣṭha-* 'very steep' (9645)
dash	'10'	> *dásh-*	< *dáśā* 'ten' (6227)
khuS	'hole'	> *khúS-*	

2.2 Affricates and stop consonants:
Always voice alternation

adrák	'forest'	> *adrág-*	
azéc	'large clay jar'	> *azé:j-*	
dimák	'brain'	> *dimág-*	
duSá~ki	'twofork'	> *duSá~g-*	
Dhuk	'heap, hill'	> *Dhú(:)g-*	
ek	'one'	> *ég-*	
goNDík	'stick'	> *goNDíg-*	< *gaṇḍa-* 'joint of a plant' (3998.1) + dim.
kaTálak	'small board'	> *kaTálag-*	< *kāṣṭhá-* 'piece of wood' (3120) + dim.
kÁAk	'coil'	> *kÁAg-*	
kuNDók	'can, glass'	> *kuNDó:g-*	< *kuṇḍá-* 'bowl, waterpot' (3264) + ???
kÚinc	'ladle'	> *kÚinc/j-*	
khÚyak	'small pot'	> *khÚyag-*	< *kuṭa-* 'water-pot' (3227) + dim.
mek	'nail'	> *mé:g-*	< Persian
mizók	'mouse'	> *mizóg-*	< *mūṣa-* 'rat, mouse' + ???
moc-	'middle'	> *mó(:)c/j-*	< *mádhya-* 'centre' (9804)
sarák	'road'	> *sarág-*	< Urdu
sudáyak	'small child'	> *sudáyag-*	< *súda* 'child' + dim.
shurúk	'beginning'	> *shurúg-*	< Arab./Pers.
thaLók	'tumbler'	> *thalóg-*	

Vacillating voice alternation

bag/k	'bag	> *bá:g-*	< Eng. 'bag'
coT	'pattern'	> *cóT/D-*	
Tek	'river bank'	> *Té(:)k/g-*	< Khowar
kárik	'do'	> *karík/g-*	< *karóti* 'does' (2814)
nik	'take'	> *ník/g-*	
kop	'cup'	> *kóp/b-*	< Eng. 'cup'
awát	'place'	> *awá(:)t/d-*	

No voice alternation

awátik	'edge'	> *awátik-*	
chat	'lake'	> *chát-*	
muC-	'grasp'	> *mú(:)C-*	< *muṣṭí-* 'clenched hand, fist' (10221)
pat	'quickly'	> *pát-*	
peC	'saucer'	> *péC-*	< Urdu
piléT	'plate'	> *piléT-*	< Engl. 'plate'
pÚik	'lower part'	> *pÚik-*	
sat	'seven'	> *sát(h)-*	< *saptá-* 'seven'
újak	'opposite'	> *újak-*	< *řjú-* 'straight, honest' (2448)
úSTak	'corner, edge'	> *úSTak-*	< ? *uST* 'lip' (< OIA *őṣṭha-* 'lip', 2563) + dim.)

3. Emergence of otherwise lost final consonant clusters

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

aS	'shoulder'	> *áST-*	< *aṣṭ ã̃* 'eight' (941)
Chet	'field'	> *Chétr-*	< *kṣ′ētra-* 'land' (3735)
goS	'stable'	> *góST-*	< *gōṣṭhá-* 'cow-house' (4336.1)
han	'temple'	> *hánd-*	< **handha-* 'place, house' (13970)
mon	'word'	> *móndr-*	< *mántra-* 'thought, prayer, spell, ..' (9834)
pas	'lower part'	> *pást-*	< Pers.
put	'son'	> *pútr-*	< *putrá-* 'son' (8265)
sut	'string'	> *sútr-*	< *s′ūtra-* 'thread, cord' (13651)

.. and many more..

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

shen	'bed'	> *sén(d)-una*	< *śáyana-* 'lying down, bed' (12323)
nasén	'around'	> *nasén(d)-aw*	
sen(d)	'side'	> *sén(d)-a*	
shamón	'so much'	> *shamón(d)*	

4. Stem final /-w/ becomes /-L-/

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

chu	> *chúL-as*	'daughter-OBL.SG'	(indicating underlying //chuu//)
ku	> *kúL-as*	'pen for animals-OBL.SG'	(indicating underlying //kuu//)
haw	> *háL-as*	'plough-OBL.SG'	
kaw	> *káL-a*	'year-LOC1'	
-au	> *-aLi*	'PS.2S' > 'PS.2P'	
háwaw	> *háw-aL-áw*	'became-REP'	
biw	> *bí:L-una*	'edge of container-LOC2'	
bhúmjaw	> *bhumjáL-ai*	'earthquake-LOC3'	
siw	> *siL-as*	'bridge-OBL.SG'	

There is, however, some inter- and intraspeaker variation regarding this aspect. I have heard one and the same informant say *siw-una* and *siL-una* 'bridge-LOC2-*una*' in the samme session.

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

caw	> *cáw-una*	'four-LOC2'
du	> *dú-una*	'two-LOC2'
kaw	> *káw-ani*	'wild olive-ABL2'
Law	> *Láw-as*	'milk products-OBL.SG'

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

ahú, áu	> *aú-as*	'food-OBL.SG'
bahú, báu	> *bahú-as*	'sister-in-law-OBL.SG'
dAhú, dÁu	> *dAú-an*	'beans-OBL.PL'

5. Lengthening of short vowel in closed final syllable by syllable opening.

This process effects only stressed syllabled. It is subject to a considerable inter- and intra-speaker variation. There is, however, a number of words, which always show vowel-lengthening, and which also show voice alternation.

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

And then there are a number of words that show vacillation with respect to vowel-lengthening:

ek	'one'	> *é(:)g-ani*	'-ABL2'
anísh	'Anish'	> *aní(:)zh-una*	'-LOC2'
awát	'place'	> *awá(:)t-una*	'-LOC2'
bas	'bus'	> *bá:z-una*	'-LOC2'
biw	'top part'	> *bí:L-una*	'-LOC2'
gilás	'glass'	> *kilá(:)z-una*	'-LOC2'
kuNDók	'can, glass'	> *kuNDó:g-ani*	'-ABL2'

moc-	'middle, centre'	> *mó(:)c/j-una*	'-LOC2'
muC-	'grasp'	> *mú(:)C-una*	'-LOC2'
Tek	'bank of river'	> *Té(:)k-una*	'-LOC2'
Tem	'time'	> *Té(:)m-una*	'-LOC2'

And finally there are words and morphemes that never show vowel-lengthening:

chom	'floor'	> *chóm-una/-as*	'-LOC2/-OBL.SG'	< *kṣám-* 'earth' (3656)
chat	'lake'	> *chát-una/-as*	'-LOC2/-OBL.SG'	
-ik	'Infinitive'	> *ík-a/-as*	'-LOC1/-OBL.SG'	< Pers.
moc	'person'	> *móc-as*	'-OBL.SG'	
mizók	'mouse'	> *mizóg-as*	'-OBL.SG'	< *mūṣa-* 'rat, mouse' + ???
phil	'elephant'	> *phíl-as*	'-OBL.SG'	< Urdu
sat	'seven'	> *sát-una*	'-LOC2'	< *saptá-* 'seven'

6. Stress movement and loss of unstressed stem final vowel.

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

We see change of stress and retainment of vowel segments in the stem in a number of words:

akhéri	'end'	> *akherí-una*	'-LOC2'
bhúmjaw	'earthquake'	> *bhumjáL-ai*	'-LOC3'
dhénta	'mountain'	> *dhentá-as*	'-OBL.SG'
Dhípa	'stool'	> *Dhipá-una*	'-LOC2'
grínga	'necklace'	> *gringá-as*	'-OBL.SG'
istrízha	'woman'	> *istrizhá-as*	'-OBL.SG'
sohóLa	'basket'	> *sohoLá-una*	'-LOC2'
súda	'child'	> *sudá-as*	'-OBL.SG'
shÓ~a	'dog'	> *shO~á-as*	'-OBL.SG'
úrdu	'Urdu'	> *urdú-an/-una*	'-LOC2'

With verbs in the infinitive we see stress movement to the infinitive endings when suffixed with the oblique *-as* or Loc1-*a*:

brínkik	'sell-inf'	> *brinkík-as báti*	'-OBL.SG PURP'
jhónik	'know-inf'	> *jhoník-as báti*	'-OBL.SG PURP'
DúDik	'sleep-inf'	> *DuDík-as báti*	'-OBL.SG PURP'
kárik	'do'	> *kárik-as báti*	'-OBL.SG PURP'
LabÉ hik	'play'	> *LabE hík-as báti*	'-OBL.SG PURP'
úSTik	'rise, ascend'	> *uSTík-as báti*	'-OBL.SG PURP'

With stem final vowel we see either (a) loss or change to palatal glide (or palatalization of preceding consonant) or (b) 'left palatal shift':

(a)

áshi	'mouth'	> *ásh-una*	'-LOC2'
jamíli	'relative'	> *jamíl-an*	'-OBL.PL'
duSánki	'bifurcating branch'	> *duSáng-una*	'-LOC2'
kaZÓi	'sack'	> *kaZÓ-ai*	'-LOC3'
kosháni	'happiness'	> *koshán-una*	'-LOC2'
zhóshi	'the Spring festival'	> *zhósh-una*	'-LOC2'

bíshi	'twenty'	>	*bísh-una*	'-LOC2'
cÚi	'plait'	>	*cU(y)-una*	'-LOC2'
káLi	'jaw'	>	*káL(y)-una*	'-LOC2'
khÚi	'pot'	>	*khÚ(y)-una/-ai*	'-LOC2/-LOC3'
malgíri	'friend'	>	*malgír-as*	'-OBL.SG'
wéti-	'back side'	>	*wéty-una*	'-LOC2'

(b)

bazúri	'sleeve'	>	*bazúyr-una*	'-LOC2'
súri	'sun'	>	*súyr-una*	'-LOC2'

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

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

To this type of change also belong the many instances where *-o* causes loss of *-a*:[3]

(a) Loss of stem-final *-a*

súda	'child'	>	*súd-o*
ía	DEM.NEAR.3S	>	*í-o*
íta	'come.cp'	>	*ít-o*
kaLáSa	'Kalasha'	>	*kaLáS-o*
hátya	'for, to, ..'	>	*háty-o*
khóNDa	'half'	>	*khóND-o*

.. and many more

(b) Loss of Loc1-*a*

tád-a	'near-LOC1'	>	*tád-o*
dúr-a	'house-LOC1'	>	*dúr-o*
múT-a	'tree-LOC1'	>	*múT-o*

.. and more…

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

prágo	'low part'	>	*prágo-as*	'-OBL.SG'
cutónu	'thief'	>	*cutónu-as*	'-OBL.SG'
príSu	'flea'	>	*príSu-as* [prís^w as]	'-OBL.SG'

RULE FORMULATION

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

---

[3] The particle *-o* has a number of functions. With conjunctive participles it denotes an element of sequentiality. Another function is to denote "contrast with a previously mentioned entity or situation or with an implied situation" (Bashir 1988: 50-51).

unstressed /-i/. With these words Kalasha does not allow an unstressed syllable between a stressed syllable and a suffix: *-'V(C)V[a/i]-V((C)(V)).

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

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

The rule can be formulated like this:

-'V(C)i   + {SUFFIX} → -'V(C)y-{SUFFIX}   (palatalization)
                       -'V(C)- {SUFFIX}   (*i*-loss)
-'VCi   + {SUFFIX} → -'VyC-{SUFFIX}   (left palatal shift')
-'V((C)C)-ik[INF] + {SUFFIX} → V((C)C)-'ik[INF]- {SUFFIX} (infinitive stress change)

-'V(C)a + {SUFFIX} → -'VC-{SUFFIX}   (*a*-loss)
                       -VC'a-{SUFFIX}   (change of stress)

Appendix 10. A critical assessment of Trail (1996)

Case endings in Kalasha and in OIA, Sanskrit

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

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

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	-aḥ	-āḥ
Accusative	-am	-ān
Instrumental	-ena	-aiḥ
Dative	-āya	-ebhyaḥ
Ablative	-āt	-ebhyaḥ
Genitive	-asya	-ānām
Locative	-e	-eṣu
Vocative	-a	-āḥ

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

Appendix 11. Notes on the Vocative case

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

1. Examples with Vocative -*ow*
   a. **lakshán-ow, andáy i**!   'hey, Lakshan!, come here'   Fn95
   b. **báy-ow, tu páshi áas e**?   '*baya!*, you saw it, didn't you?' Fn95
   c. *se ubují kawá áis,* **ishpáshur-ow** ? 'where was he born, **uncle-in-law-voc**?' Na.S

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

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

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

Appendix 12. Temporal case endings

1. Previous descriptions

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

2. Occurrence in my data

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

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

1. Derivations with *-asa*, author's field notes (Fn06)

ispráp 'sleep, dream'	*íspráp-asa*	'during sleep, while dreaming'
tramaSúng 'darkness, dark'	*tramaSúng-asa*	'during darkness, dark period'
ósh 'cold'	*ósh-asa*	'during this (very) cold (period)'
súri 'sun'	*súyr-asa*	'during (very) hot period'

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

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

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

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[4] TC99's *te dAú za **úk-asa** áshan* 'they ate beans **along with water**'(p. 351) was not accepted by my informant, "not correct, must be *asta*" ('also', instead of *-asa*), was his comment.)

2. Stimulus question:
   káy-o paysá gríis dái krómas báti? 'when will you be paid for the work?' (Lit.: 'when-*o* money will-take-you..')
   Response a.: *mastrúk-asa* "sometime during/in the course of a month/moonal period"
   Response b.: *mastrúk-an* "generally speaking, general state of affairs"
   Response c.: *mastrúk-an-o* "correct"; 'after one month", "most correct"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

8. *zhay   **kái-o**   bo   uk   i-u*   B88.S
   irrigation channel do-cp-*o*(temp) much water come-p/f.3s

'**when/if (we) make** a water channel, a lot of water will come'

In 8 -*o* emphasizes the sequentiality of the two events, without -*o* the interpretation of *kái* would have been of a manner or reason adverbial (EB88: 51).

Appendix 13. Nominative plural marking with *-an* and *-án*

Words observed with unstressed plural *-an*
dehár   'spirited man; shaman'
gaDérak   'elder man, leader; Sir!'
moc   'person, man'

Words observed with stressed plural *-án*
arwa, arwah 'ancestral spirit' (Arab.)
daSmán   'Mullah, Muslim priest' (Prs.)
dehár   'spirited man; shaman' (???)
dewlatman   'rich man' (Prs.)
dust   'friend' (Prs.)
juán   'youth' (Prs.)
ledér   'leader' (Eng.)
mahír   'expert' (Prs.)
membár   'member of a ruling body' (Eng.)
miSTér   'teacher' (Eng.)
musulmán   'a Muslim' (Prs.)
mutabár   'honoured person' (Prs.)
ostád, ostás 'master of a skill, teacher' (Prs.)
yardust   'friend, companion' (Prs.)

Words observed with repetitional plural *-ánan*
farangí   'European'
khonzá   'young noblemen',
wazír   'minister'

   -anan also occurs in Khowar, where EB (2003) sees it at as a case of a 'double-marking pattern', not untypical of "transitional stages of a language when a morphological marker is no longer able to function alone to express its particular grammatical function, and is reinforced by the addition of more regular or transparent morphology" (Bashir 2003: 19, citing Thomason (1987)). In Khowar this double-marking *-anan* has until now been seen with Persian nouns taking *-an* in the nominative case, but it seems now to be spreading to original Khowar nouns also, hand in hand with *-an* as a plural marker in the nominative case (see above).
   I am not able to ascribe a specific semantic function to this suffix repetition. I see it as a conditioned by either stylistic, narrative, or rhythmic factors. Care should be taken with respect to ascribing a functional value to this syllable-repetion in Kalasha. Syllable repetition is a frequently occurring phenomenon with certain syllables in Kalasha as in other languages of the area. Kalashas has ablative *-aw* -> *-aw-aw*, and conditional *hawaw* -> *hawaw(/L)-aw* without any separate functional value, as far as I have been able to determine. Similarly, Khowar shows functionless reduplication of instrumental *-en* -> *-en-en*, and a similar repetition process is reported for Burushaski also (EB, pers. comm.).

Appendix 14. Words with oblique plural *-ón*

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

ajhóna	'guest'	-	*ajhon-ón*
amÉa	'sheep, ewe'	-	*amÉ-on*
báLuSa	'old'	-	*baLuS-ón*
baSára	'old'	-	*baSar-ón*
bátya	'kid-goat'	-	*baty-ón*
bíra	'castrated goat'	-	*bir-ón*
birÁ~a	'male'	-	*birA~-ón*
burukikína	'striped-faced goat'	-	*burukikin-ón*
gríLa	'wet'	-	*griL-ón*
gúraka	'heavy'	-	*gurak-ón*
húpaLa	'scorpion'	-	*hupaL-ón*
jawáLa	'married (men)'	-	*jawaL-ón*
kaLáSa	'Kalasha'	-	*kaLaS-ón*
khúTa	'halt person'	-	*khuT-ón*
náSta	'dead person'	-	*naSt-ón*
ónjeSTa	'pure'	-	*onjeST-ón*
pátua	'Chitrali muslim'	-	*patu-ón*
rukmúLa	'Rumbur-person'	-	*rukmuL-ón*
súda	'child, kid'	-	*sud-ón*
shÓ~a	'dog'	-	*shO~-on*
utsundía	'person from Urtsun'	-	*utsundi-ón, utsundí-an*
prágata	' impure'	-	*pragat-ón, prágat-an moc-an*

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

Kalasha		**GM-TC-suggestion**
ajhóna	'guest'	"*adhya:naka* not plausible"(GM73)
amÉa	'sheep, ewe'	*meḍhra-, meṇḍha-* 'ram' (10310)
amóndra	'lawless'	*mántra-* '9834/*a-mantrá* (Wackernagel, MacDonell)
áSiSa	'mourner'	*aśīrṣān-* 'headless' (912)
baSára	'old'	? Skt *varṣa* 'year' + *-ara*
bátya	'kid-goat'	??? [JH: < *vatsá-* 'calf, child (11239) + *ya-*, ?]
bíra	'castrated goat'	*vīrá-* 'man, hero, son' (12056)
gríLa	'wet'	**grilla-* 'wet, damp' (4386)
khúTa	'halt person'	**khuṭṭa-* 'lame' (3941.4)
húpaLa	'scorpion'	*utpātaka-* 'kind of animal'(1821)
púruS	'man'	*púruṣa-* 'man, male' (8289)
súda	'boy, kid'	? Skt *suvrdha* 'growing well'
shÓ~a	'dog'	*śuna-* 'dog' (12528)
Séa	'blind man'	*śreḍa-* 'slanting, squinting' (12717)

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To be investigated for oblique plural ending:

baCHÓa,	'1-year old calf'	"prob. lw" (GM73)
báLuSa	'old'	
birÁ~a	'rat'	
héru	'thief'	< *hēraka-* 'spy' (14165.2)
hew (huLa)	'lover' - hewhuL-ón	
hiNDáw	'sterile, barren'	< **hiṇḍāla-* 'wandering' (14090)
ja	'wife'	< *jā yā´-* 'wife' (5205)
ja-wáLa	'married (men)'	< Urdu
JaC	'male/female spirit'	< *yakṣá-* 'supernatural being' (10395)
khónDa	'half'	< *khaṇḍá-* 'broken, crippled (3792)
muS	'female markhor or domestic goat'	< **margā-* 'wild goat' (9885.2)
shára	'markhor, deer'	< *śarabhá-* 'a kind of deer' (12331)

Exceptions ?

angrís	'westerner'	
Catrumá	'Nuristani person'	
dond	'bull'	< *dāntá-* 'tamed, tamed ox' (6273)
shúra moc	'hero (man)'	< *ś´ūra-* 'strong, valiant' (12569) (retainment of unaccented OIA *-a*?)

Appendix 15. Additional notes on reduplication

1. Supplementary notes on the *m*-reduplication

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

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

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

2. Initial syllable repetition

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

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

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

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

Appendix 16. Additional notes on the Instrumental case

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

1. Instrumental -*an* in TC99

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

2. Proposed instrumental -*en* (TC99, 352a: 'by, of, from').

TC99 has four examples of a second (stressed) instrumental ending -*en*:

*anor-**én** náshim dái*	'I am dying **of hunger**' (p. 352)
*huLuk-**én** nashim dái*	'I am dying **of the heat**' (p. 125)
*imrán nóm-**en** moc*	'a man **by the name** of Imran' (p. 352)
*warék káas kré-**en** níu*	'.. he will hire (**for price**) someone to do it' (p. 352)

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

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

A. Aggressive verbs

*bíw-**an** tyek*	'fight by throwing large stones' (lit. 'mouth-instr hit')
*pAgÓhi-**an** tyek*	'kick someone or something' (lit. '???-instr hit')
*peLing-**an** tyek*	'kick someone' (lit. '???-instr hit')
*peLing-**an**.zhút dyek*	'kick someone' (lit. '???.??? put')
*thog-**an** tyek*	'spit on someone with intent' (lit. 'spit-instr hit')

B. Signal verbs

*éc-**an** kárik*	'signal with one's eyes as a sign, wink' (lit. 'eye-instr do')
*hást-**an** kárik*	'signal with the hands' (lit. 'hand-instr do')
*úST-**an** kárik*	'signal with one's lips' (lit. 'lip-instr do')

C. Other lexicalizations

*aú-**an** tyek*	'eat rapidly' (lit. 'food-instr hit')
*istek-**an** kárik*	'do something alone or by oneself' (lit. 'alone-instr do')
*isték-**an** kái náTik*	'dance alone' (lit. 'alone-instr done dance')

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

4. Other functions

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

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

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

2. ***shawák-an**   aú   zh-un*   TC99
   pleasure-instr   food   eat-p/f.3p
   'they eat **with pleasure**'[5]

Instrumental *-an* also has a temporal use. The general temporal meaning denoted by *-an* seems to be something like 'in the course of':[6]

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

4. ***ek   miléT-an**   se   upúL-i   par-íu   dái   e*   Mirza.T
   one   miute-instr   3s.nom.abs   fly-cp   go-p/f.3s   spec   as
   'when he flies **for one minute**, then, ..'

Finally, instrumental *-an* can have an adjectivizing function, denoting an inherent, characteristic feature of the head NP: [7]

5. *se   a-má-au   ki   tará   cidín shí-u   **sat kÉ~-an** cidín*
   3s.nom.abs   au-say-pstA.3s   conj   there.spec.abs   pot   be.in-prs.3s   7   ear-instr   pot
   'she said, ".. there is a pot there, **a seven-handled pot**"'   Ba.T

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[5] Alternatively we can have *shawák-as thára aú zhum* (Lit. 'pleasure'-instr + 'upon' ..).

[6] See also appendix 12 for an analysis of the temporal case forms.

[7] GM (73: 204) speculates whether these two-component NP's with an instrumental-derived first component should be considered compounds (and he refers to a similar construction type in Khowar, p. 207). When the first component is a plural noun, the construction can also be analysed as a possessive, i.e. with the genitive-oblique *-an*.

In a few cases my informants corrected *-an* to Abl2-*ani*, defining in these instances *-an* as a result of "fast speaking" (for 6). In other cases, for example in 7, there is interchangeability between the appurtenance function of the Abl2-*ani* and instrumental *-an*:

6.

to	*tará*	*kirkí-as*	*bílkúl*	*móc-una*	*kái*	*to*	*thá-i*
then	there.spec.abs	window-obl.sg	right	middle-loc2	at	3s.acc.abs	place-imp.2s

to	***gulabi.ráng-ani/-an***	***gambúri***	GK.em
3s.acc.abs	flower.colour-abl2/-instr	flower	

'then, there right in the middle of the window, place it, place **the yellow-coloured flower**'

7.

aZAí-ani/-an	***khal***	*máwra*	TC99
apricot-abl2/-instr	taste	sweet	

'the **taste of/from the apricots** is sweet' / 'the ***apricots' taste*** is sweet'

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

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

8.

bánk-una	*pá-i*	*tan*	*kíakí*	*card*	*shí-u*	***bánk-ani***	***'card'***	GK.em
bank-loc2	go-cp	own	whatever	card	be.inan-prs.3s	bank-abl2	card	

'having gone to the bank, he has his own card of some kind, **a bank card**' (= 'credit card') (*Inf.*: "If you say *-an* it means 'a lot of *bank*' ")

9.

píSTaw-o	*sitár*	*a-ch-ís*	*se*	*tan*	*damÉi*	*tará*
after-o	guitar	au-break-pst.A.3s	3s.nom.abs	own	tail	there.spec.abs

SaTá-au	***damÉi-ani***	***awás***	*sahí*	*ne*	*h-íu*	GK.em
place-pst.A.3s	tail-abl2	sound	right	neg	become-prs.3s	

'then after the guitar broke, se placed his own tail there (on the guitar), (but) **the sound of/from the tail** does not come right'
(*Inf.*: "If you say *-an* it means 'a lot of *damÉi*'")

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Appendix 17. Survey of locative marking in neighbouring languages

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4. Semantic parameters in Kashmiri case-marking.
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7. Semantic parameters in Shina case-marking.
8. Semantic parameters in Waigali case-marking.
9. Semantic parameters in Wakhi case-marking.
10. Summary (See Ch. 10).

1. Semantic parameters in the case-marking in Burushaski

For Hunza and Nager Burushaski Berger (1998) gives a number of case endings: "allgemeine", "spezifische", "zusammengesetzte", and "erstarrte". As "allgemeine" case endings Berger lists nominative, genitive-ergative, genitive-oblique, dative-allative, and "allgemeiner" ablative. The 'specific' case endings include morphemes glossed as "an", "in", "auf", and "bei". These can only occur on their stems when suffixed with "allgemeine" case suffixes, rendering the "zusammengesetzte" case endings. Compounded case endings express the notions of "an, an .. hin", "in, in .. hinein", "aus, aus .. heraus", "von .. weg", "zu .. hin", etc. Postpositions of different sort express other projective and directive notions, such as "unter", "inmitten von", "durch .. hindurch", "über .. hinüber", "hinter .. her", etc.

Berger's (1974) categorization of case markers and postpositions in Yasin Burushaski (Werchikwar) is not as detailed and schematically presented as the later presentation of the Hunza and Nager varieties. There seems to be only slight formal and semantic differences with respect to the Burushaski variants.

2. Semantic parameters in the case-marking in Indus Kohistani

Being a dictionary and not a descriptive grammatical description Zoller (2005) presents neither the case system nor the system of spatial markers as such. By examining the English-IK index and by using the many cross-references between lemmata in the dictionary, however, it is possible to get an idea of at least a part of the semantic parameters involved in the spatial semantics in IK. It is noteworthy that I have not encountered any morphemes glossed as "case suffix". But I have encountered a number of "postpositions", "local adverbs" and a few instances of an "adverbial suffix".

Many of the morphemes glossed "postpositions" seem to be projective in nature, expressing the notions of 'under', 'behind', 'upon', etc. They also seem to have a tendency to be free, unbound or independent, morphemes. Some of them seem to be able to take suffixes that modify the location. Other postpositions denote meanings such as 'from, out of', 'near', etc.

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

Other 'spatial' morphemes are "emphatic suffixes" to be added to local adverbs, and the *-é:/-ìh* "an adverbial suffix expressing movement towards a place or indefiniteness of locality".

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

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

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

kē   'by, with, near'; one entity in close vicinity of other.

mäy   'in, into'; stative location as well as direction; *ši* resembles in meaning; *mäy* =
      location in container entered from above (cup, box, pan, pot, etc); also 2-
      dimensional containers as geographical areas: 'Pakistan', 'Kalam' etc.

ši   'in, into'; stative location as well as direction; location in object that can be said to
      have a roof or cover providing protection (house, room, car, forest).

-āy   'LIMIT'; endpoint of action or event; 'until', 'up to'; 'as far as'; also 'beginning
      point' ('he yells from outside'; 'he arrived from lowlands').

rä   'on, up to'; location on top of something, or upward direction.

wā   'down to'; downward direction.

tu: 'under'; location under something.

phär 'to'; direction; not specifying up- or downward.

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

Another relevant observation in Baart's grammatical sketch is the "distributive" morpheme /oy/ which attaches to the end of a noun phrase (p. 73-74). The concept to which the /oy/ modified noun phrase refers is "a plurality of events, situations, or relations" (p. 73).

4. Semantic parameters in Kashmiri case-marking

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

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

5. Semantic parameters in Khowar case-marking

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

TABLE APP. 17.1: KHOWAR LOCATIVE CASE ENDINGS AND SEMANTIC PARAMETERS.

	Loc 1, *-a*	Loc 2, *-i*	Loc 3, *-tu*	Loc 4, *-o*
Vertical - horizontal	Horizontal/Vertical point-like location; grammatical functions; "2nd oblique"	Horizontal (same level as speaker.): location, direction	Upward: location, direction; physical contact with vertical Ground	Downward: location, direction; 'down into', if Goal extended or deep
Shape of actants	roundish, Figure smaller than Ground, point-like impact	long object, if horizontal motion	long object, requring vertical or horizontal orientation or impact	long object if vertical motion
Orientation of actants	Ground in horizontal/flat position; Figure point-like, canonical position	Figure in horisontally orientated position	Ground in vertically orientated position	
Horizontal vs. vertical path of actant		horizontal motion		vertical motion

	Loc 1, *-a*	Loc 2, *-i*	Loc 3, *-tu*	Loc 4, *-o*
Temporal extent of action		limited		indefinitely, permanently
Extent of locus of action	point-like	horizontal extent		
Number of actants	single actant, point-like	plural actants, 2-dimensional extension of locus	plural actants, gives location a linear dimension	

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

6. Semantic parameters in Pashai case-marking

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

TABLE APP. 17.2: PASHAI CASE FORM EXPRESSING LOCATIVE RELATIONS.[8]

	SW	NW	NE	SE
Oblique	*-a(:)*	*-a(:)*	*-a,* *-a/-e* *-e*	*-e*
Locative		*-a:* (bef. pron.sfx)	*-a(:)* *-a*	*-a(:)* *-ya*
Dative	*-äi*	*-äi/-ãya*	--[?]	
Allative	*-wa:n(a)*	*-wa:na/ä*	*-al/əl* *-a(:)l*	
Illative	*-(a)na:*	[? *na* ?]		*-na*

---

[8] 'SW', 'NW', 'NE', and 'SE' = 'South-West', 'North-West', 'North-East', and 'South-East' dialects.

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

7. Semantic parameters in Shina case-marking

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

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

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

8. Semantic parameters in Waigali case-marking

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

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

The free postpositions express notions such as 'under', 'in/inside', and 'in'.

9.   Semantic parameters in Wakhi case-marking

According to Bashir (Bashir, fc.) Wakhi has a dative and an ablative case, singular forms are based on stems in the singular oblique-1 case, plural forms are based on the plural oblique-1 case. A number of indigenous prepositions take the oblique-1 and express parameters of horizontality, fx *sək/skə* 'location or direction above the reference object' and *(V)r(V)* 'location below the reference object'. The parameters of 'horizontality' and 'verticality' (down, up or horizontally positioned from speaker) are also relevent in the demonstrative systems, which also encompass a distinction between "near", "mid" and "far".

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

10.   Summary

See Ch. 10.

Appendix 18. The BowPed-Book test

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

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

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

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

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

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

Inf. 4 (d). Male. Zarin Khan. Student, 24 years. Brun, Bumburet. Speaks: Kalasha, Urdu, Pashto, Khowar, English.

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

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

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

Inf. 8 (h): Male. Gul Khan, Kraka, Bumburet. 25-30 years. Speaks: Kalasha, Khowar, Kati, and some Urdu. Elder brother to Inf. 2, paternal cousin to Inf. 3. Best friend of Inf. 1. Illiterate, shepherd.

4. Procedure

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

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

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

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

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

and not their friend and son, respectively, who had asked them to do him a favour. But the element of tedium could maybe not have been averted.

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

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

List of construction types and their denominations, the locative tests
(1) **Fig Gr-CASE   (PLAC-VB)   (COPULA/AUX)   Case (-a/-una/-ai)**
pialá méz-una   (thá-i)   shí-u   'pen is (placed) on table'
cup   table-loc2 place-cp   be/aux.in-prs.3s

(2) **Fig Gr-POSTPO (PLAC-VB)   (COPULA/AUX)   Postpo (thára/som/..)**
pialá mes.thára   (thá-i)   shí-u   'pen is (placed) upon table
cup table.upon   place-cp be/aux.in-prs.3s

(3) **Fig Gr-RELN (PLAC-VB) (COPULA/AUX)   RelN (nO-/moc-/tad-/..)**
paLáw khÚi-as   udríman (thá-i) shí-u
apple   bowl-obl.sg inside   plac-cp be/aux.in-prs.3s
'the apple is (placed) in the bowl's inside'

(4) **Gr-Ø   PLAC-/AFFECT-VB   AUX   Gr-Ø-affect**
mumbatí   bhón-i shíu   'the candle is/has been bound'
candle   bind-cp aux.in-prs.3s

(5) **Gr-CASE/POSTPO/RELN   PLAC-/AFFECT-VB/   AUX   Gr--una/..-affect**
pialá-una reS   pá-i   shí-u   'the cup has cracked'
cop-loc2   crack go-cp be/aux.in-prs.3s   (Lit. 'in the cop a crack has occurred')

(6) **Fig PLAC/-AFFECTVB   Fig placvb**
koT   uS-í   shí-u   'the coat has been hung'
coat   hang-cp be/aux.in-prs.3s

(7) **(Person)   Fig VP   VP**
(moc) sigréT   p-íu   dái   'a man smokes a cigarette'
person cigarette smoke-p/f.3s spec

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

moc khU samb-í á-au SíS-una 'a man is wearing a hat, on the head'
person hat wear-cp aux.an-prs.3s head-loc2

(9) Fig VP Fig-VP

kishtí par-íu dai 'a ship is sailing'
ship go-prs.3s spec

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

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

TABLE APP. 18.1: SPATIAL MARKERS USED IN THE BOWPED-book test.

Spatial marker / TRM	Example
Case ending, Locative	Loc1-*a*, Loc2-*una*, Loc3-*ai*
Case ending, Ablative	Abl3-*aw*
Postposition	*dái* 'following, along', *kái* 'to, towards', *som* 'attached with', *thára* 'on, upon, above'
Relational nouns	*bían* 'outside (of)', *gehén* 'side, direction of', *móc-* 'middle of', *nasénd-* 'around', *nÓ-* 'below', *piSTaw* 'behind', *puNDúyr-* 'around', *rúaw* 'in front of', *sénd-* 'side of, *tád-* 'near', *thár-* 'on, upon, above', *udríman* 'inside (of)'
Spatial adverb	*andén-* 'here, across barrier', *aLéL-* 'there, across barrier'
Posture verb	*cístik* 'stand', *Dhoc dyek* 'squat', *nisík* 'sit', etc.
Place verb	*bhónik* 'tie to', *dek* 'put, give (onto/into)', *dyek* 'put (into)', *Lapék* 'hang something down in a line', *Lótik* 'smear out', *niwéshik* 'write on(to)', *SaTék* 'attach to', *thek* 'place (on surface), *tyek* 'beat onto', *ustrék* 'spread out onto', *uSik* 'hang something on a hook', etc.
Activity-describing verb	*múcik dek* 'rain', *pik* 'smoke', *sambíik* 'wear', *tyek* 'hit', etc.

6. Classification problems - verbs

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

These verbs are typically transitive.[9] But it may not always be easy to differentiate between these two verbal categories. For example, *Lápi* 'hanging down in a line', from intransitive *Lápik*, is an intransitive posture verb with its transitive contrast *Lapék* 'hang something down in a line'. Both are easily categorizable due to transparent morphology.

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[9] Motion verbs, such as *parík* 'go (to)' and *atík* 'enter' are included in the placement verb group.

But what about *SáTi* 'is attached' from intransitive *SáTik* 'be (in an) attached (position)' vs. *SaTái* 'is (being?) attached' from transitive *SaTék*? Does not intransitive *SaTi* tell us something about the nature of the previous activity, a placement.

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

7.   Responses

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

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

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

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

3.   Stamp on an envelope; *-una* 5; *thára* 2, other 1; **placvb 4**
(a)   TikeT khat-**una** shiu
(b)   TikeT liphapha-**una SaTai** hiu ..
(c)   TikeT kagaz-**una** shiu
(d)   mohor khat-**una SaTi** shiu
(e)   tikeT liwapha-**una SaTi** shiu
(f)   khat-**as thára** TickeT **SaTai** shiu

(g) cot albat 'pattern, maybe'
(h) TikeT liwapha.**thára** shiu

4. Bow around a candle; *-una* **3**, *thára* 1, **Gr-Ø-affected 2, Gr-*una*-affect 1**; **placvb 4**
(a) gilas-**una niweshiLa** shiu
(b) mumbáti-**una** sut **bhoni** shiu
(c) sutr mumbáti-**una bhoni** shiu
(d) mumbáti **bhoni** shiu
(e) mumbáti **bhoni** shiu
(f) mombáti-**una** sort **bhoni** shiu
(g) kia asa haw 'whatever it is'
(h) sut divayakasa **thára bhoni** shiu

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

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

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

8. Book placed upright on shelf; *-una* **3** , *-a* **4**, **placvb 3**, postpo 1
(a) pa:N-**una** kitab shiu
(b) kitab pa:N-**una** kái thai shiu
(c) kitab mA~yak-**una** shiu
(d) kitab penyak-**a** thi shiu
(e) kitap penyak-**a** shiu
(f) kitap paN-**una** thi shiu
(g) paN-**una** kitab thai shiu
(h) kitap penyak-**a** shiu

9. Coat on a hook on coatrack; *-una* 6, placvb 6, Fig-plac 3
(a) koT me:g-**una uSi** shiu
(b) koT me:g-**una uSi** shiu
(c) koT **uSi** shiu/ .. uSiun-**una uSi** shiu
(d) kot **uSi** shiu
(e) kot meg-**una uSi** shiu
(f) koT kiw-**una uSi** shiu
(g) koT **uSi** shiu
(h) kot meg-**una uSi** shiu

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

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

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

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

14. Book in bag; *-ai* 5, *-una* 3, other 1, placvb 1
(a)
(b) kitap bag-**ai** shiu /   bag-**una**
(c) kitap bag-**ai** shiu/   bag-**una**
(d) kitap beg-**ai** shiu

(e) kitap kaZoi-**una** shiu
(f) kitap beg-**ai** shiu
(g) khalta e? 'a bag, right'
(h) bagas moc-**ai** kia dyi shiu

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

25. Telephone on wall; *-una* 6, *placvb* 3, other 2
(a) dighA-**una** gAng shiu
(b) phun dighA-**una SaTai** shiu

(c) phun dighA-**una** shiu
(d) ???
(e) tiliphun digA-**una SaTai** shiu
(f) digA-**una** teLiphun shiu
(g) teLiphun 'a telephone'
(h) Teliphun digA-**una SaTai** shiu

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

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

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

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

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

(h) paChala bO~ paLaw-**una chimbi** shiu

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

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

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

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

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

36. Cloud above top of mountain top; *thar-a* **4,** *thar-una* 2, other 2
(a) dhe~ta.**thára** menc shiu
(b) menc dhe~tha.**thára** shiu

(c) menc dhe~tá-as **thára** shiu / dhenta.**thar-una**

(d) di-**una** menj shiu

(e) dhe~ta thar-**una** menj shiu

(f)

(g) chot 'pattern'

(h) dhe~ta.**thára** menj shian

37. Three pieces of washing clothes on string; Fig-placvb 5, *una* 2**,** *plac***vb 2, popo 1**

(a) piran wiliaika hátya **uSi** shian

(b) piran rajuk-**una** kái **uSi** shian

(c) piran sutr-**una uSi** shian

(d) tre anjarum suira **uSi** shian

(e) piran **uSi** shiu

(f)

(g) badian zhe palun eg-o dastarkhan **suira dai** shian

(h) palun **uSi** shiu

38. Person sitting next to fire, to the left (observer's perspective); *tad-a* **5,** *send-a* **3,** *send-una*
1, other 1

(a) moc angar.**tad-a** nisi aau / .. angaras **send-a**

(b) moc angar.**send-a** nisi aau / angaras **tad-a**

(c) moc angar.**tad-a** nisi aau / ... angar-as **send-una**

(d) sudayak angar.**tad-a** nisi asaw

(e) suda angaras **tad-a** nisi au

(f)

(g) suda angar tapau dai 'kid is fire-warming himself'

(h) moc angar.**send-a** nisi au

39. Cigarette in mouth; Vb 5, *-ai* 1, *-una* 2

(a) moc sigreT **piu** day

(b) sigreT ash-**una** shiu / moc sigret **piu** dai

(c) sigreT ash-**una** shiu

(d) sigret mocas ash-**ai** shiu

(e) moc sigret **piu** dai

(f)

(g) moc sigret **Zingau** dai

(h) moc sigret **Zingau** dai

40. Cat on mat; *-una* **4,** *thára* **3**

(a) pushak pile:z-**una** nisi aau

(b) pushak biLas **thára** nisi aau

(c) phushak pilez-**una** Dhoc dyai nisi aau

(d) phushak pilez-**una** nisi asaw

(e) phushak zilimca-**una** nisi au

(f)

(g) geri eg phusak bata piles.**thára** nisi asau

(h) phushak tsadar.**thára** nisi au

41. Three leaves on end of branch; *-una* **6**

(a) shong-**una** pO~ shian/shiu

(b) pO~ shong-**una** shian

(c) pO~ shong-**una** shian

(d) eg shongeLik-**una** te pO~ shian

(e) shong-**una** tre pO~ shian

(f), (g)

(h) sho~ng-**una** tre pO~ shian

42. Belt around woman's waist; VP 4, VP-*una* 2 -una 1,*plac*vb 2, **-ai 2**
(a) istrizha paTi **sambi** aau, dha~k-**una**
(b) istrizha paTi **bhoni** aau   /   istrizha paTi Dha~k-**una bhoni** aau
(c) paTi Dha~k-**una bhoni** shiu; /   Dha~k-**ai**
(d) Dhak badri istrizhaas dhak-**ai bhoni** shiu
(e) istrizha.guak paTi **sambi** aau
(f), (g)
(h) istrizha paTi **boni** aau

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

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

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

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

47. Dog in dog basket; -*una* 5, -*a* 1
(a) shO~a nisiuni-**una** nisi aau
(b) shO~a shO~aas DuDikeyn-**una** nisi aau
(c) shO~a shO~a.guL-**a** aau   / .. shO~a.guL-**una** ...
(d) shO~A~yak birkU-**una** nisi asau
(e) shO~A~yak kuTu-**una** nisi aau
(f), (g)
(h) shO~A~yak khUi-**una** nisi aau

48. Rain(drops) on window; *-una* 6, placvb 5; Fig-VP 3
(a) kirkias bianaw dai **mucik del** dai
(b) baSik duras darwaza-**una tyel** dai; darwaza**una kái baSik tyel** dai
(c) basik durik-**una** shiu
(d) dur-**una** uk **uzaki** shiu
(e) mucik khilki-**una tyai** shiu
(f), (g)
(h) shishá-**una** phaw **loti thi** shiu

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

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

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

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

53. Lump of something on underside of table; *nO-una* 6, placvb 4
(a) mez.**nO-una** caNDul **SaTi** shiu
(b) mez.**nO-una** at **SaTai** shiu
(c) at mezas **nO-una SaTi** shiu
(d) mezas **nO-una** kokia **SaTi** shiu
(e) mez.**nO-una** bumbur mO shiu
(f), (g)
(h) mezas **nO-una** aSTar shiu

54. Animal in a square cage; *-ai* **5**, *-una* 1, Fig placvb 1
(a) shara khapas-**ai** aau
(b) gAwAhIa~k kaphas-**ai** aau
(c) gAwAhia~k kaphas-**ai** aau / -**una**
(d) gAwA~iyak kaphas-**ai** asau
(e) gAwA~iak mO ban kái shiu 'rabbit nest is closed'
(f), (g)
(h) gAwAhia~k kaphas-**ai**

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

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

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

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

59. Pen on writing desk; *thára* **4**, *-una* **4**, placvb 1
(a) kalam mes.**thára**   / mez.**una** shiu
(b) pencil mes.**thára** shiu
(c) pencil mes.**thára**   / mez-**una** shiu
(d) kalam mez-**una** shiu
(e) kalam mez-**una** thai shiu
(f), (g)
(h) mes.**thára** niweshuni shiu

60.　House on square ground, surrounded by fence; *-una* 4, other 2
(a)　park-**una** dur shiu
(b)　dur bhronz-**una** shiu
(c)　dur bag-**una** shiu
(d)　shama dur jaw dyai bIi shiu　,that house is surrounded by a fence'
(e)　duras nasen jaw shiu 'around the house there is a fence'
(f), (g)
(h)　dur bag-**una** shiu

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

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

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

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

65. Spruce on top of mountain; *thára* 4, *-una* 3
(a)　dhe~ta.**thára** muT shiu
(b)　rhamuT dhe~ta.**thára** shiu
(c)　rha.muT dhe~tá-**una** shiu/ .. dhe~ta.**thára** ...
(d)　dhok.**una** muT shiu
(e)　ramuT de~tacuyak-**una** shiu
(f), (g)
(h)　muT de~ta.**thára** shiu

66. Strap on a bag; *-una* **5,** placvb 2, other 1
(a) grikeyn bag.**una SaTi** shiu
(b) bagas grikeyn bag-**una** shiu
(c) kaci ba:g-**una SaTai** shiu
(d) ia o kazhOyani batri 'this a bag-strap'
(e) kazhOi-**una** kaci shiu
(f), (g)
(h) bag-**una** grikein shiu

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

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

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

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

71. Dog lying in entrance of dog house; *udriman-a* (RelN) 1, *udriman* 1, *udrimanaw dai* 1, *-ai* **2**, *-una* **4**
(a) shO~a shO~a.guas **udriman-a** aau
(b) shO~a shO~a.guas **udriman** aau; shO~a shO~a.guas **udriman-aw da**i /
    shO~a shO~a.gu-**ai** nisi aau; shO~a shO~a.guas durik-**una** nisi aau
(c) shO~a dur-**una** aau
(d) shO~ayak tan mO-**ai** asau
(e) shO~ayak mO.dur-**una** nisi aau
(f), (g)
(h) shO~ayak darwaza-**una** nisi au

Appendix 19. The Put and Take Project test - locative answers

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

1. Introductory notes

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

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

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

2. Informants

a. = Inf. 1 in the BowPed-book test.
b. = Inf. 2 in the BowPed-book test.
c. = Inf. 3 in the BowPed-book test.

3. Responses

Alternative, non-immediate responses separated by ";". Informants' native speaker reactions added. Relevant locative-marking is in bold type face.

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

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

Trial-scene03: woman puts bunch of books on a table pile-like and leaves

a. te lash kái **me:z-una** athaau
b. **mez-una** kái thel dai
c. **me:z-una** thai-o pariu dai

scene05: woman attaches a photograph to a wall
a. **dighA-una** ek ha~shas zhe shO~aas phuTu SaTaau
b. **dighA-una** SaTel dai
c. **dighA-una** SaTel dai

Scene06: woman puts a saucer on toof a cup
a. peC **kop.thára** athaau / **kopas thára** peC athaau
b. **pialaas thára** kái thel dai
c. **pialaun-o** uphonyak dyel dai

Scene08: man throws a book onto the floor
a. ek suda kitab **chom-una** kái ahistau
b. **chom-una** kái histiu dai
c. to kitab histi dai **ruaw kái**

Scene10: man brings a pile of books in his arms, the top-most book falls to the floor
a. thárani ek kitab-o undruhak atau yaw **chom-una** atau
b. ek kitab-o thárani laSi **chom-ai** kái paLaw dai
c. kitab-o paLaw thárani .. paLi **chom-una** tyel dai

Scene12: man takes a box from a table on put it on a shelf in a cupboard
a. ek suda ek Daba **pa:n-una** athaau
b. **almari-una** kái thel dai [not *almari-ai*, JH]
c. shataL-ai thel dai .. **almari-ai** thel dai

Scene13: woman pours out shaving/small pieces of wood from a cup
a. istrizha **chom-una** nisi thalokani shuLayak udzakau
b. **chom-una** kái udzakiu dai
c. **chom-una** kái udzakiu dai

Scene14: man drops an apple into a string bag
a. ek suda ek Daba **pa:n-una** athaau
b. se to paLaw ek kriSna **khalta-ai** kái histiu dai
c. taL-ai **kaZOi-ai** histiu dai

Scene17: man (with back to viewer) takes on a hat
a. ek **suda khU sambiis**, khU **SiS-una** athaau
b. ek moc shisha-una jagai **khU sambiau dai**
c. Zar ek **khU sambiau dai** **..SiS-una** sambiau dai .. kaSong **SiSa** sambiau dai

Scene20: woman puts an apple into a bowl
a. ek istrizha ek mes.thára **khUi-una** ek paLaw athaau / **khUi-ai**
b. **khUi-una** kái thel dai
c. **khUi-una** thel dai / **khU-ai**

Scene21: woman puts a stone into a bucket full of water
a. istrizha ugas **moc-una** kái bat athaau / **ug-una** kái / athaau
b. khUi-una **uk.moc-ai** kái thel dai
c. taL-ai balti-ai **ug-ai** histiu dai .. **ug.moc-ai** dyel dai

Scene22: woman pour grain out on a plate
a. ek baza pileTas **moc-una** grinj ahistau
b. **pileT-una** dyel dai
c. **peC-una** dyel dai .. ritel dai

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Scene42: squatting woman lays a book on the ground
a. baDuLa istrizhb.gUAk kitab jagai-o lash kái **chom-una** athaau / **chom-ai** kái athaau
b. to kitab laSek kái **chom-una** kái thel dai
c. toa la:::sh kái **chom-una** thel dai

Scene43: person takes a stone from the surface of a book and lets the stone slip into a bowl
a. ek moc kitabani bat **khUi-una** kái ahistaw / **khU-ai** kái asta hiu
b. ek mes.thára **khUi-una** kái histiu
c. to bat mes.thára **khUi-ai** kái she~ kái histiu dai

Scene45: woman walks across a room and by accident knocks over a bucket full of stones so the stones falls out
a. [No locative, JH]
b. taL-ai hátya bat-mat saw nihi **chom-una** hátya
c. [No locative, JH]

Scene48: man takes on a glove
a. ek moc .. dra~Cui **baza-una muza sambiis** / **baza-ai** dyai shiu
b. [No locative, JH; (tan to **muza-o uprai sambiu** dai)]
c. [No locative, JH; (to **muza sambiau** dai)]

Scene50: woman places a glass on a table
a. ek istrizha piala **mez-una** kái athaau
b. **mes.thára** kái thel dai
c. **mez-una** kái thel dai

Scene51: woman hangs a rope on a tree branch
a. ek moc rajuk **shong-una** kái uSiau
b. muTas **shong-una** uSiu dai
c. **shong-una** uSiu dai thel dai

Scene52: man takes a plate from the toof a glass and puts the plate on a table
a. [No locative, JH; (ek moc kopani thar-ai .. peC upraau .. kopas thárani to peC upraau)
b. ek suda ... **me:z-una** kái thel dai
c. moc ... to peC uprai **me:z-una** thel dai ..

Scene53: man takes a coat from a table and puts in on
a. [No locative, JH; (ek moc kopas thárani to peC upraau)
b. ek moc ... tan to **koT uprai sambi aau** dai
c. **koT uprai sambiau dai**

Scene54: woman sticks her hand into a whole in a tree
a. tan baza **gunghur-ai** prau
b. tan to baza **muT.gAng-ai** dyel dai
c. tan baza **taL-ai ghunghur-ai** dyel dai

Scene55: woman sticks her hand (one!) into a pocket and takes out a key and looks at it
a. ek istrizha tan dra~Cui **jip-ai** baza dyai / dra~Cui **jip-una** baza dyai
b. tan **jip-ai** baza dyai
c. ....

Scene56: woman puts a vegetable into a sheath-like bag
a. ek istrizha **khalta-ai** prau
b. tara **taL-ai hanu-ai** dyel dai
c. **taL-ai kaZO-ai** dyel dai

Scene57: woman, standing at the door of a room, takes a suitcase and places it just outside the door
a. ek istrizha tan bakas **ToyleTas bian** athaau / **duras bian** niaau / **duras bian** kái athaau

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

Scene59: woman sticks a flower into another woman's hair
a. ek istrizha ta.a ek istrizháas piST-una dyai cUi kái gamburi sambiaau / **cUi-ai** kái
b. tasa ek wareg istrizhb.gUAkas **cUi.moc-ai** gamburi dyel dai
c. tasa piSTaw dai SiS-una **cawar-ai** ek gamburi dyel dai

Scene61: woman takes a box from a table and puts in on a chair
a. ek packet uprai **kursi-una** athaau
b. istrizha **kursi-una** kái thel dai
c. istrizha **hanyek-una** kái thel dai

Scene62: man takes an apple from the toof a pile of books and puts it on a shoe
a. kura paLaw kitab thárani uprai **kirmec.thára** athaau
b. **kirmecas thára** kái thel dai
c. **kirmecas thára** kái thai-o pariu dai

Scene63: man pushes a suitcase from the back of a car to a place near a tree (tree stands left to the car, viewer's perspective; man has right side to car, the tree in front of him
a. ek moc **muTas gehen** khezaau /**muTas tada** kái- tada khezaau
b. pahara **send-una** kái thel dai / aLeLaw tichak desha-ro **ThU~as tada** kái thel dai
c. se to bag uprai aLeLaw thaikas **jayga-una** / ha::::i **ThU~as tada** thel dai

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Appendix 20. The Containment Picture Series (CPS).

Contents
41 drawing depicting spatial arrangements.

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

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

1. Fruit in cup/bowl
b. paLaw kop-**una** shiu; *kop-ai* = pl.
c. paLaw kop-**una** shiu; *kop-ai* "don"t know", "maybe many cups"; *-una* "specified, directly"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

9. Gas/smoke in cheese cover / turned bowl
b. paLaw pialaas nOay shiu ("if you don"t see it"); .. piala.nO-**ai** shiu
c. piala.nO-**una** thum shiu; piala-**ai** thum shiu

10. Fruit in bowl full of fruits (i.e. fruit on top of other fruits in bowl)
b. mewa piala-**una** shian (10b)
b. paLaw piala-**una** saw mewaan thára shiu (10c)
c. khUi-**una** mewa shian, mewaan thára paLaw shiu

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

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

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

14. Baby in woman'a womb
b. sudayay kuc-**ai** aau
c. suda (istrizhaas) kuc-**ai** aau; *kuc-**una*** "not pregnant, child on stomach"

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

16. Bird in tree (leaves; inside the branches)
b. paChia~k muTa nisi aau; .. -**una** also ok
c. paChia~k muTa nO-**una** nisi aau ; *muT-a aau* "somewhere in branches"; ... *aan* "unprecise";
   *muT-**una** aau* "taken singularly; exactly, directly"; ... *aan* "exact"; *muT-**ai*** "maybe somewhere
   else, maybe more trees"

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

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

19. Nail in wood (on the side)
b. mek shuLaas awat-**una** dyai shiu   (*awat* = "side"); mek shuLa-**una** khoNDa kái dyai shiu
c. mek andenda dai daras Sung-**una** shiu; .. Sung-**ai** shiu "you don"t know, somewhere"

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

21. Fish in water
b. matshi samandar.**mocay** aau; .. *ukas mocay* ..
c. matshi **uk.mocay** aau; matshi samandar-**una** aau; *-ai* "you don"t know, cannot see the fish;
don"t know actually where fish is"

22. Flowers in vase
b. gamburi buThal-**ai** shian
c. gamburi buThal-**ai** shian "you don"t know which *buThal*"; ... -**una** .. "exactly in that precise bottle, known to you"

23. Water in vase
b. buThal-**ai** uk shiu; -*una* also ok, -*una* "near position, -*ai* "remote position"
c. uk buThal-**ai** shiu; -*una* as to 22.

24. Fruits in bowl (not overflowing)
b. piala-**una** puyrak paLaw shian
c. oNDrak saweL-**una** shian; -*ai* = "<u>in</u> the basket"; "many baskets, full of eggs"

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

26. Fly in glass
b. piala-**una** mangazhik aau; -*ai* "ok"; -*una* "clear"
c. mangazhik kop-**ai** aau "indirect"; ... -*una* ... "exactly, where finger is pointing"

27. Light bulp in socket
b. balip holDer-**una** SaTai shiu
c. balipas bUik / balip.bUik

28. Nail in pincers/pliers
b. mek mek.niawuni-**una** shiu
c. mek mek.chaLauni-**una** shiu; "clearly"

29. Axe in tree trunk
b. wadok shuLa-**una** SaTai shiu
c. wadok shuLa-**una** SaTi shiu

30. Antennas in circle (in field)
b. aNTena Chetr-**una** SaTai shian
c. bisli.ThU~ Chetr-**una** shian

31. Worm in fruit
b. paLaw-**una** gohik aau; also -*ai*, *mizok gokas kucay aau* "ok"
c. gohik paLaw-**ai** aan; paLaw-**una** gohik aau "on the top"; ... *udriman(-a) aau* "+/- -*a* "the same"

32. Fruit (hanging) in bowl
b. paLaw goND-**una** kái bhoni pialaas udriman Lapai shiu; ... *udriman-a* "ok"; ... *udriman-**una*** "not right"
c. paLaw piala-**una** kái goND-**una** kái Lapai shiu; .. piala-**ai** kái Lapi shiu; .. piala-**ai** kái uSi shiu; .. piala-**una** Lapi shiu; ... piala-**una** kái Lapi shian = "one cup"; ... piala-**ai** kái Lapi shian = "one/more cup/s; cup(s) not in front of you"

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

34. Stick inside bowl (bottom)
b. goNDik pialaas udriman shiu; .. pialaas pahan-**una** shiu; "-*ai* is not good here"
c. goNDik piala-**una** shiu

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

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

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

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

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

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

41. Island in lake
b. samandar.moc-**una** jayga shiu
c. niSa island samandar.moc-**una** shiu

Grouping af Containment drawings (CPS) - 2 informants.

Appendix 21. The Support Picture Series (SPS)

1. Content
47 drawings depicting different spatial arrangements.

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

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

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

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

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

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

5. Bowl on edge of table
b. piala mez-as dra~Cui gehen-aw bilkul awatik/awatik-**una** athai shiu
c. piala mez-**una** dra~Cui gehen-aw (dai) uSTak-**una** shiu ; mezas ruaw dai dra~Cui gehen-aw (dai) awatik-**una** shiu

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

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

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

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

c. kop mez-**una** (pec.thára) shiu,

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

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

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

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

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

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

16. Sot on man's face
b. raS ka:Li-**una** / ru-**una** khaSi shiu; "-**ai** = plural"
c. phaw ka:L(i)-**una**

17. Fies on man's face
b. mangazhik ru-**una** nisi aan
c. shemi coT kaL(i)-**una** shian

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

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

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

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

22. Fingernail on finger / hand
b. nagush Angu-**una** shiu
c. na~gush Angu-**una** shiu

23. Round swing attached to tree branch
b. ek puNDuri goND-**una** rajuk bhoni, toa gheri Song-**una** kái bhoni Lapai shiu
c. gringa rajuk-**una** kái Song-**una** uSi/Lapai shiu

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

36. Nail in pole
b. mek dighA-**una** SaTai shiu; *.. dyai shiu ... / ... -**ai** dyai shiu...* "also ok [after hesitation, JH]"

c. mek shuLa-**una** dyai shiu

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

47. Wedge jammed in hole (on tree stump)
b. shuLa mund-**ai** khampun pai shiu; shuLa mund-**una** ...
c. shuLa mund-**una** khiw dyai shiu; "-***ai*** also correct"

Grouping of Support drawings (SPS) - 2 informants.
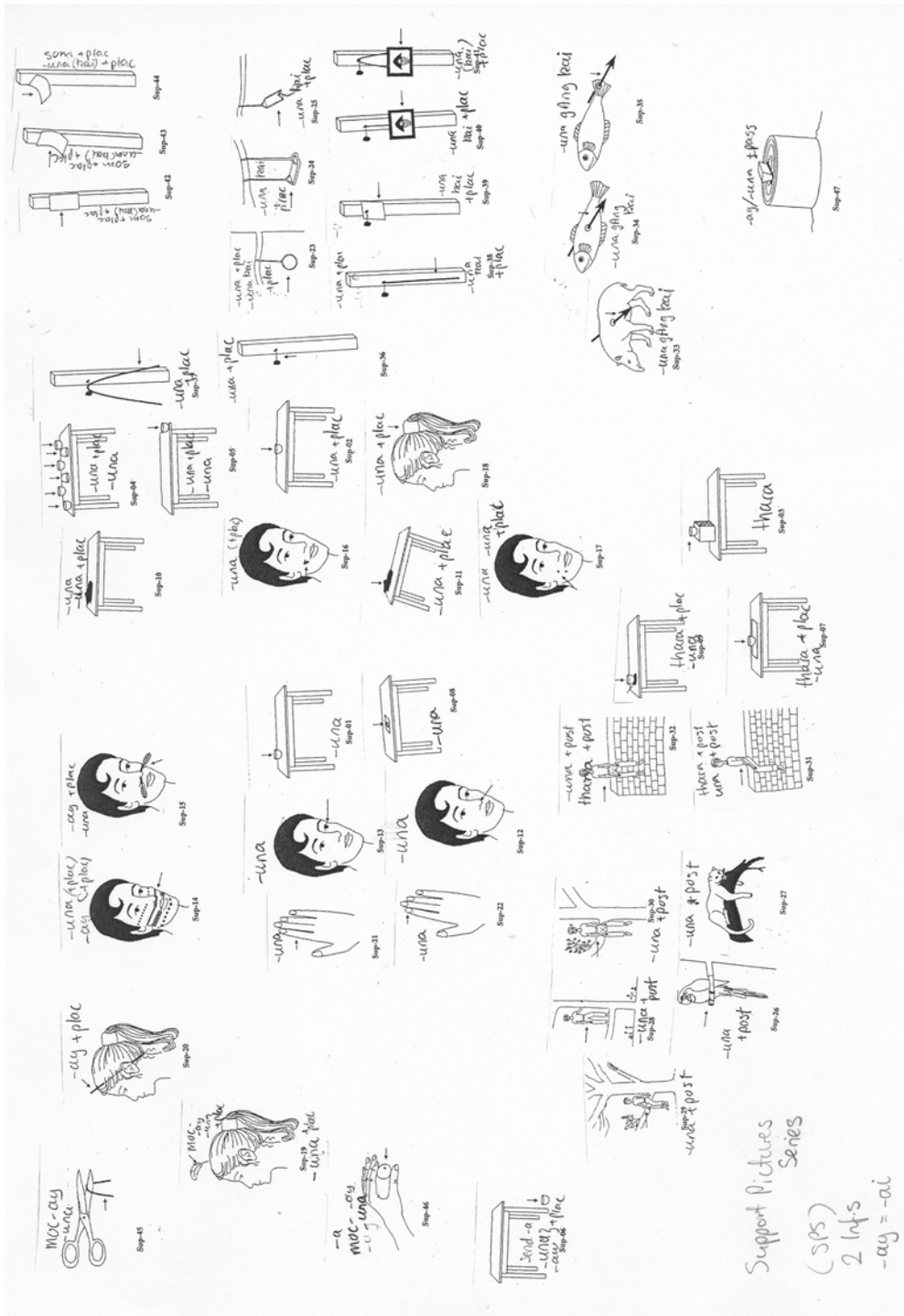
Appendix 22. Additional notes on the distribution of Loc1-*a*

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

Place names	Relational nouns	Absolute adverbs	Common nouns	Total
11 (25,58%)	6 (13,95%)	6 (13,95)	20 (46,51%)	43 (99,9%)

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

Noun	Frequency	Noun	Frequency	Noun	Frequency
ast 'shoulder'	1	*gulin* 'lap, knee'	2	**SiS 'head'**	**13 (13,4%)**
aTáLak	2	*keyn* 'place ..'	1	*SiS* 'top of something'	3
***awát* 'place'**	**16 (16,5%)**	*mund* 'highest point'	2	*tharpúr* 'upper floor'	1
biw 'upper edge'	1	***muT* 'tree'**	**21 (21,7%)**	*uSíS*	6
dewadúr 'altar' (lit. 'god house')	1	*paTingél* 'tomato'	1	*uts* 'spring (water)'	5
dramí 'roof'	**16 (16,5%)**	*pragó* 'lower part of something'	1	*wakth* 'throne'	1
kUínc 'ladle'	1	*súyrak* 'sunshine (dim.)'	1		
				Total	**96**

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

Contents

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

2. Summary of test
A large number of film clips triggered Abl2-*ani* as the only ablative marker. The Ground in these clips is typically a plan surface, mostly horizontally orientated: 3, 12, 24, 28, 29, 31, 34, 37, 49, 53, 58 (vertical) 60, 61. In 46 we see a head, and in 25 and 26 we see containers (glasses/cups) as Ground elements. Abl2-*ani* is also the only ablative marker in those responses that triggered *thar-* 'surface of someting': 9, 10, 43, 52, 62.[10]

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

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

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[10] As was also pointed out in the summaries of the locative tests *thar-* 'above, over, upon' is used when the Figure is either located on top of something that is in contiguity with the Ground (surface) or when it is clearly placed on the Ground due to a downwards directed motion.

Abl3-*aw* on the Ground, *baltí* 'bucket' (and on *udríman* 'something's inside'). All three film clips show what can be called 'double Ground', a mass of something, 'water' or 'hair', constitutes a Ground that is located in or on another object.

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

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

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

3.   Responses, listed according to used TRM

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.2   Abl2-*ani* with *thar-*

Scene09. Man takes a banana from a table with tongs
a.   ek suda P tshapi gri mes.**thar-ani** kila upraau
b.   se moc to griuni gri to kila uprel dai .. mes.**thar-ani**
c.   se moc to tshapi g(r)i kila uprel dai .. me:z-**ani**

Scene10. Man brings a pile of books in his arms, the top most book falls to the floor
a.   **thar-ani** ek kitab-o undruhak atau
b.   ek kitab-o **thar-ani** laSi chomay kái paLaw dai
c.   ek kitab-o paLaw **thar-ani** .. paLi chomuna tyel dai
Scene43. Person takes stone from the top surface of a book and lets the stone slip into a bowl
a.   ek moc kitab-**ani** bat khUi-una kái ahist-**aw**   /   kitac.**thar-ani**
b.   kitab-**ani** thi tara khUiuna kái histiu dai
c.   NO ABLATIVE MENTION
Scene52. Man takes a plate from the top of a glass and puts the plate on a table
a.   ek moc kop-**ani** tháray .. peC upraau .. kopas **thar-ani** to peC upraau
b.   ek suda piala.**thar-ani** to pileT uprai me:zuna kái thel dai
c.   moc piala.**thar-ani** to peC uprai me:zuna thel dai ..
Scene62. Man takes an apple from the top of a pile of books and puts it on a shoe
a.   kura paLaw kitab **thar-ani** uprai kirmea.thára athaau
b.   ek suda to paLaw **taL-ey** kitaban **thar-ani** uprai kirmecas thára kái thel dai
c.   kitaban **thar-ani** to paLaw uprai kirmecas thára kái thai-o pariu dai

3.3   Only with Abl3-*aw*
Scene11. Woman takes a long, root-like fruit out of a sheath-shaped bag
a.   ek istrizha khalta-**aw** kira chaLaau
b.   istrizha hanu-**aw** badrang niel dai .. se to badrang taLey hanu-**aw** niel dai
c.   se istrizha to badrang kaZOi-**aw** chaLel dai
Scene23. Man takes out a lighter from a hole in a tree
a.   ek moc gunghur-**aw** kalam sapraau chaLaau
b.   ek moc muT.gAng-**aw** baza dyai ek galam niel dai ..
c.   angar.uphuauni nicharel dai; muThas pUikani, ghunghur-**aw**
Scene45. Woman walks across a room and knocks over a bucket full of stones so the stones falls out
a.   ek istrizha balti-ani peLingan tyai bephakum baltias peLingan tyai, udzakau balti-**aw dai**
b.   NO ABLATIVE
c.   NO ABLATIVE

3.4   With Abl2-*aw* and Abl3-*ani*
scene04. Woman takes off one stocking, from her right leg
a.   istrizha dra~Cui khur-**ani** jarap anijau
b.   istrizha jarap nijiu dai
c.   jarap nijau dai .. khur-**ani**   /   khur-**aw**
Scene13. Woman pours out shaving/small pieces of wood from a cup
a.   istrizha chomuna nisi thalok-**ani** shuLayak udzakau   /   thalok-**aw**
b.   se te shuLb.paLum gilaz-**ani** chomuna kái udzakiu dai   /   gilas-**aw**
c.   chomuna kái udzakiu dai .. thalok-**aw**
Scene16. Woman takes out her hand from a hole in a tree
a.   gunghur-**aw** baza draSnaau, bianayak draSnaau
b.   baza gAng-**aw** ho~ci niel dai   /   gAng-**ani**
c.   baza taLeLa chaLel dai .. muThuika ghunghur-**aw**
Scene32. Woman takes out a candlelight from a candlestick
a.   ek baDuLa istrizhb.gUAk mombáti mombáti.thaikeyn-**aw** P chaLaau /   mombáti.thaikeyn-**ani** to mombáti draSnaau
b.   ek istrizha mumbáti taL-**ey** mumbáti thawuniay ho~ci niel dai / mumbáti diuni-**ani**
c.   istrizha to mumbáti mumbáti.dikeyn-**aw** chaLel dai / mumbáti.dikeyn-**ani**
Scene33. woman takes out a box from shelves and leaves
a.   ek istrizha paN-**ani** P Daba upraau   /   pan-**aw**
b.   istrizha almari-**ani** to bakas uprai hariu dai   /   almari-**aw**

c.   NO ABLATIVE

Scene41. Man takes out rag from exhaust pipe
a.   ek istrizhb.gUAk moTeras thum.nihaukeyn-**aw** lok draSnaau
b.   suda bamber-**aw** to aSo niel dai   / -**ani**
c.   ek istrizha moTeras taL-**ey** thum.chaLa:uni-**aw** to SOa chaLel dai

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

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

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

3.5 With *moc-* 'middle, centre of'

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

Scene18. Woman takes out a flower from another woman's hair
a.   ek istrizhaas **SiS-ani** kura moc gamburi chaLaau / **cawar-aw**   /   **cawar.moc-aw**
b.   ta.a **taL-ey cUi.moc-aw** to gamburi niel dai
c.   to gamburi **SiS-ani** chaLel dai   /   **cawar-aw**

Scene38. Woman takes out her head from a bucket which stands on a table
a.   ek istrizha **baltias moc-ani** tan SiS bianyak chaLaau / baltias **udriman-aw / balti-aw** nihaau
b.   se tb.a to SiS **taL-ey balti.moc-aw** niel dai
c.   istrizhaas SiS baltiay shiu **balti-aw** chaLel dai

3.6 Other, taking of clothings

scene04. Woman takes off one stocking, from her right leg
a.   istrizha dra~Cui khur-**ani** jarap anijau
b.   istrizha jarap nijiu dai
c.   jarap nijau dai .. khur-**ani**   /   khur-**aw**

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

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

3.7 Other, suddenly occuring situation

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

b.   NO ABLATIVE
c.   NO ABLATIVE

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

3.8 Other, complex situations

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

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

Scene63. Man pushes a suitcase from the back of a car to a place near a tree (tree stands left to the car, viewer's perspective; man has right side to car, the tree in front of him; car's front is away from viewer in the picture)
a.   NO ABLATIVE
b.   ek suda bag moTeras tad-**ani**.. piSTaw oni toa dzuk dyai hai
c.   se to bag uprai aLeL-**aw** thaikas jaygauna .. uprai harika(s?) jaygauna zuk dyai khezai

3.9 Other, 'take from'

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

4. Responses, listed by number

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

scene04. Woman takes off one stocking, from her right leg
a.   istrizha dra~Cui khur-**ani** jarap anijau
b.   istrizha jarap nijiu dai
c.   jarap nijau dai .. khur-**ani**   /   khur-**aw**

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

Scene09. Man takes a banana from a table with tongs

a. ek suda P tshapi gri mes.thar-**ani** kila upraau
b. se moc to griuni gri to kila uprel dai .. mes.thar-**ani**
c. se moc to tshapi g(r)i kila uprel dai .. me:z-**ani**

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

Scene11. Woman takes a long, root-like fruit out of a sheath-shaped bag
a. ek istrizha khalta-**aw** kira chaLaau
b. istrizha hanu-**aw** badrang niel dai .. se to badrang taLey hanu-**aw** niel dai
c. se istrizha to badrang kaZOi-**aw** chaLel dai

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

Scene13. Woman pours out shaving/small pieces of wood from a cup
a. istrizha chomuna nisi thalok-**ani** shuLayak udzakau   /   thalok-**aw**
b. se te shuLb.paLum gilaz-**ani** chomuna kái udzakiu dai   /   gilas-**aw**
c. chomuna kái udzakiu dai .. thalok-**aw**

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

Scene16. Woman takes out her hand from a hole in a tree
a. gunghur-**aw** baza draSnaau, bianayak draSnaau
b. baza gAng-**aw** ho~ci niel dai   /   gAng-**ani**
c. baza taLeLa chaLel dai .. muThuika ghunghur-**aw**

Scene18. Woman takes out a flower from another woman's hair
a. ek istrizhaas SiS-**ani** kura moc gamburi chaLaau / cawar-**aw**   /   cawar.moc-**aw**
b. tb.a taL-**ey** cUi.moc-**aw** to gamburi niel dai
c. to gamburi SiS-**ani** chaLel dai   /   cawar-**aw**

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

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

Scene23. Man takes out a lighter from a hole in a tree
a. ek moc gunghur-**aw** kalam sapraau chaLaau
b. ek moc muT.gAng-**aw** baza dyai ek galam niel dai ..
c. angar.uphuaun(i?) nicharel dai; muThas pUik-**ani,** ghunghur-**aw**

Scene24. Woman takes a pile of books up from a table into her arms
a.   istrizha kuSki dyai kitab agriau, .. me:z-**ani**
b.   istrizha me:z-**ani** te kitab uprai kuSki dyai hariu dai
c.   istrizha tara ita mez-**ani** kitab kuSki dyai hariu dai

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

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

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

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

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

Scene32. Woman takes out a candlelight from a candlestick
a.   ek baDuLa istrizhb.gUAk mombáti mombáti.thaikeyn-**aw** P chaLaau /   mombáti.thaikeyn-**ani** to mombáti draSnaau
b.   ek istrizha mumbáti taL-**ey** mumbáti thawuniay ho~ci niel dai / mumbáti diuni-**ani**
c.   istrizha to mumbáti mumbáti.dikeyn-**aw** chaLel dai / mumbáti.dikeyn-**ani**

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

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

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

Scene38. Woman takes out her head from a bucket which stands on a table
a.   ek istrizha baltias moc-**ani** tan SiS bianyak chaLaau / baltias udriman-**aw /** balti-**aw** nihaau
b.   se tb.a to SiS taL-**ey** balti.moc-**aw** niel dai
c.   istrizhaas SiS baltiay shiu balti-**aw** chaLel dai

Scene41. Man takes out rag from exhaust pipe
a.   ek istrizhb.gUAk moTeras thum.nihaukeyn-**aw** lok draSnaau
b.   suda bamber-**aw** to aSo niel dai   / -**ani**
c.   ek istrizha moTeras taL-**ey** thum.chaLa:uni-**aw** to SOa chaLel dai

Scene43. Person takes stone from the top surface of a book and lets the stone slip into a bowl
a.   ek moc kitab-**ani** bat khUi-una kái ahist-**aw**   /   kitac.thar-**ani**
b.   kitab-**ani** thi tara khUiuna kái histiu dai
c.   NO ABLATIVE MENTION

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

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

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

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

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

Scene52. Man takes a plate from the top of a glass and puts the plate on a table
a.   ek moc kop-**ani** tháray .. peC upraau .. kopas thar-**ani** to peC upraau
b.   ek suda pialb.thar-**ani** to pileT uprai me:zuna kái thel dai
c.   moc pialb.thar-**ani** to peC uprai me:zuna thel dai ..

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

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

Scene57. Woman, standing at the door of a room, takes a suitcase and places it just outside the door
a.   ek istrizha tan bakas ToyleTas bian athaau .. duras bian kái athaau

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

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

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

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

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

**Scene63. Man pushes a suitcase from the back of a car to a place near a tree (tree stands left
to the car, viewer's perspective; man has right side to car, the tree in front of him; car's
front is away from viewer in the picture)**
a.   NO ABLATIVE
b.   ek suda bag moTeras tad-**ani**.. piSTaw oni toa dzuk dyai hai
c.   se to bag uprai aLeL-**aw** thaikas jaygauna .. uprai harika(s?) jaygauna zuk dyai khezai

Appendix 24. Additional notes on place names and local case endings

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

TABLE APP. 24.2: ASSUMED IRREGULAR LOCAL CASE SUFFIXATION ON PLACE NAMES.

Place name	Semantics	-Ø	-a	-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
BaTThet	Location	yes	yes	not accept
	Goal	yes	yes	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

There are restrictions with respect to which place names that can occur with which case endings, as shown in 25 and 26, both from a narrative.

1. ***anísh-una   zha*** *brÚ~a zha*   ***darazgurú   zha***
   Anish-loc2   until Brun   until Darazguru   until
   sh-aL-ái   *hóma   sh-ía*   *desh*   Mirza.na
   emph-there.nonspec.dist-loc3   1p.obl   emph-3s.nom.near   area

'**until Anish-*una***, *until Brun-Ø, **until Darazguru***, there is our place'

2. | *pá-i* | *á-an* | *krAkÁ-ai* | *pái* | ***kanderisár*** | *tyá-i* | *batrík-a* | *tyá-i* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| go-cp | aux.an-prs.3p | Kraka-loc3 | go-cp | Kanderisar | hit-cp | Batrik-loc1 | hit-cp |

<u>*brÚ~a-Ø*</u>	*tyá-i*	***anízh-una***	*tyá-i*		
Brun	hit-cp	Anish-loc2	hit-cp		Mirza.na

'they left, leaving Kraka, reaching **Kanderisar**, reaching *Batrik-a*, reaching <u>Brun</u>, reaching ***Anish-una*** (they went away)..'

All village names in 2 except *krAkÁ*, are goals for a motion, *tyai* 'hit, reach (onto)', but they are not marked alike: *anísh* takes Loc2-*una* in both examples, *brÚ~a* takes zero-ending in both examples, as does *darasgurú* in 1, and *batrík* takes Loc1-*a* in 2. Local case-marking on place names differs somewhat from what we will see for common names, and it is in need of more investigation.

Appendix 25. The Experiencer ('Dative subject') construction in NIA and Kalasha

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

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

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

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

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

Appendix 26. Verbs taking oblique objects

Underlined: _gecdari_ _kárik_ 'look at, guard temporarily'= N/Adj. element not accepted by informants as independent word.

aspandur thumék   'blow smoke at someone to counter evil influences'
bhíchik   'aiming or pointing at'
cúNDik   'sting, bite'
CiChék   'teach'
dek   'give'
Dhuk hik   'meet with'
gecdari kárik   'look at, guard temporarily'
greék   'hurt something or someone'
iphazát kárik   'take care of'
istóngas kárik   'ritually purify men ..'
khójik   'look for'
kushús kárik   'try to do something'
parík   'go (for)'
pAgÓhian tyek   'kick'
piék   'make someone drink'
pir dek   'teach a skil to someone'
phúcik   'ask someone'
sazá dek   'sentence, condemn, cause to suffer'
siphát kárik   'praise someone (or something)'
SaTék   'attach (tr), begin, ..'
Sungú parík   'mate with, impregnate a cow (of bulls)'
tupék kárik   'shoot a gun, fire shots (at someone?)'
tyek   'beat, hit, ..'
wájik   'watch, look after, guard'
wal hik   'be a guard or protector (for something or someone?)'
wasiát kárik   'give councel to'
zher dek   'give a share of something for payment'
zhuék   'feed'

Appendix 27. Other postpositions or adpositional expressions

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

ájtu, áCo 'after, from this time on'; also adverb; Cstr.: as postposition following Abl1-*yei* or Abl2-*ani* (also Abl3-*aw*?). Var.: *áJtuo, áyttyo*; < Khowar. See also *píSTaw* and *birício*.

Ex. **zhu-ík-ani áCo** *wazír tása kái máila ki* ..   EB88.T
'after eating the minister said to him that ..'

baráuna 'about, concerning'. Cstr.: with oblique case. Var. *baríuna*. < *bar-á-*? + Loc2-*una*.

Ex. *ábi mon dek **gónjas baráuna***   Na.S
'we shall talk **about the *gonj***' (*gonj* 'storeroom in a Kalasha house')

birício 'after'. Cstr.: only observed with place adverb with Abl1-*yei*. Low-frequent. See also *píSTaw* and *ájtu*.

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

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

Ex. **CáSa héri** *parón*   TC99
'they went **to get some cheese**'

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

Ex. **baChóa Chétras** *bílkúl **jústuna** tása dur ásta shíu*   GK.ma
'his house is exactly **connected with BaCho's field**'

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

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

mutabékuna 'according to'. Var.: -*é:-, e(:)g-*. < *mutabek/q* (Pers.) + Loc2-*una*.
Ex. **tan wasá-as mutabékuna** *mal del*   TC99
'he wil give gifts **according to his own means**'

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

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

pornikán 'because of'. Cstr.: with oblique. Low-frequent.
    Ex.   *tay **pornikán** may hátya cir háwaw*   TC99
        '**because of you** I was late'

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

sa- - -a 'with, along with'. Var.: *sa- - -asa*. Low-frequent.
    Ex.   *te **sa awizhá-a** íta áan*   TC99
        'they came **with their family**'

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

sáro 'instead, than'. Cstr.: with oblique infinitive. Low-frequent.
    Ex.   *tay **díkas sáro** uk histíko pruST*   TC99
        'it would be better to throw it in the water **than to give** it to you'

shamón 'until (so much, that much)'. Cstr.: with direct case. Low-frequent. See also *zha*.
    Ex.   *zhan **shíau shamón***   TC99
        '**until there is** life'

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

Sumbér 'before, prior to, ago'. Cstr.: with oblique pronoun, with oblique or direct common noun, with adverb in ablative. Also as an adverb. Var.: *Sombér*. With instr. *-an*: *somberan* 'in earlier times'.
    Ex.   ***shatal-éy Sumbér** íta áis*
        '**before then** he came'
    Ex.   ***sat kaw Sumbér** angris baya krAkA gromuna asta*   GK.em
        '**seven years ago** there was an angris baya in Kraka'

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

    Ex.   *digÁ **prikík-as tap***   EB88.E
          'the wall is **just about to fall**'

wajahen dai 'because of'. < *wája* 'reason' (Arab., Pers.) + *-én* 'instr' (Khowar) + *dai* CP of *dek* 'give'. Low-frequent.

    Ex.   *kishtí ne parík abháau **bo sirÁ~as wajahén dái***   GK.na
          'the ship could not go, **because of much wind**'

we-   'without'   Var. *wE-*, *we- - -u*. < Pers. See also *sargáyr*.

    Ex.   ***we-LÓ-u*** '**without** salt', ***we-berú-u*** '**without** husband'.

zha   'up to, until, till'. Cstr.: with noun in direct or locative case. Other: *-ani(-o) gri .. zha* 'from xx to xx': ***ek-ani**-o gri <u>dash ita zha</u> iSmarái* 'count **from 1** <u>to 10</u>' (TC99). See also *shamón*.

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

    Ex.   *húLuk-una zha adhék súri pária*   TC99
          '**until noon** some sun will come'

Appendix 28. Additional notes on *báti*

1. Pronunciation

The pronunciation of this postposition vacillitates: the initial consonant may be *b-* or *p-*, stress may be on *-á-* or on *-í*.[11] TC99 have found three meanings: (1) 'for, concerning, about'; (2) 'for the purpose of'; (3) 'because of'. GM gives the meaning 'for the sake of, on account of'. Neither GM nor TC99 give any suggestion as to an etymology.

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

3. *báti* as a complement marker

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

<u>*awizán*</u> *hik*	1) 'be startled or frightened'; +*báti*, -*hátya*; 2) 'be worried (about)'; +*báti*; -*hátya*.
<u>*cat*</u> *kárik*	'stick to a position, insist, argue'; +*báti*; -*hátya*; [argument].
dawá kárik	'make a claim about something'; (*báti/thára*)*, -hátya*; [influence, effect; Arab.].
dujís kárik	'double something'; +*báti*; -*hátya*, -*thára*; [double].
duník	'plan, think about something, meditate'; (*báti*); -*hátya*; [Kho.].
DonD dek	'pay double bride-price'; +*báti*; -*hátya*; [double bride-price].
gamgín	'worried'
gam zhuk	1) 'feel sorry for someone'; 2) 'miss someone'; (*báti*); -*hátya*; [concern, worry, ..; Arab.].
hardiphát hik	1) 'long for someone or something, be lonesome or miss'; +*báti*; -*hátya*; ['longing, worry'; Kho.]; 2) 'be distressed or worried'; ?*báti*.
hardipháti kárik	'grieve, mourn for a deceased loved one'; +*báti*; -*hátya*.
kaphá hik	'be or become sad, upset, angry, peeved with, offended'; +*báti*; -*hátya*;

---

[11] A few other words show variation between otherwise phonemic initial *b-* and *p-*, for example, *pesháur ~ bisháur* 'Peshawar', and *post ~ bost* 'skin' (Persian *post* 'skin, ..'). Stress may also vacillitate in other words with *-a-* and *-i(-)* in the following syllable, for example, *mÁ~ik ~ mA~ík* 'beads', *baca(h)í ~ bacá(h)i* 'kingdom'. In the notation of this postposition I note stress on the first syllable: *báti*.

	[sad, angry, peeved; Pers.].
nang griik	'be concerned or have desire or loyalty towards'; *(báti); -hátya*; [concern, desire, ..].
oSárik	'complain, protest, accuse, voice grievance on someone'; ?*báti*; +*kái*.
tayarí kárik	'prepare something for something or someone, prepare for something'; (*báti/hátya*); [readiness; Pers.].
troálak	'on the verge of tears'
tróik	'cry, weep'; +*báti*; -*hátya*.
than dek	'agree with someone or something'; (*báti/hátya/?som*); -*thára*.
<u>*zhunutsár*</u> *dek*	'give a feast for an old man' (Muslim/Chitrali tradition); +*báti*; -*hátya*.

Appendix 29. Additional notes on *hátya*

Contents

1.   Functions according to TC99

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

2. Fixed phrases

NP-obl *hátya aú* 'be easy for someone' (lit.: someone + for + food/bread): *waL parík tay hátya kía aú ne* 'is it easy for you to be a shepherd'.
tan hátya 'by him-/her-/itself': *tan hátya krom káriu* 'it works by itself'.
tan hátya 'for himself': *she~hé~ ki tan hátya tará apáw dái áau* 'like this, there he lived alone/for himself' (AA04.336).

3. *hátya* as complement marker

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

3.1 Semantic listing of predicates

a.   Predicates denoting that someone(+*hátya*) is being helped, or that someone is showing hospitality, respect or friendliness toward someone(+*hátya*)

adáp kárik   'be hospitable to, treat with respect'; ?(*hátya*); [Arab.].
asár kárik   2) 'help, improve'; (*hátya*); [effect; Arab.].

insáw kárik	'act kindly towith an offender'; (*hátya*); [justice, fairness; Arab.].
izát kárik	'show respect for someone, honor someone'; (*hátya*); [respect, honor; Arab.].
kádur kárik	'be hospitable someone, respect'; (*hátya*).
kísmat kárik	'treat someone in a certain way'; ?(*hátya*).
khathér kárik	2) 'respect someone': ?(*hátya*); [sake, consideration; Arab.].
khesmát kárik	'help someone'; ?(*hátya*); [help, favor, service; Arab.].
lihás kárik	'show kindness to, pity'; (*hátya*).
madát hik	'be of help to'; +*hátya/som*; [help; Arab.].
madát kárik	'help someone'; +*hátya/som*; [help; Arab.].
mehár kárik	'be kind, love'; +*hátya/som*; [kindness, love; Pers.].
moabát kárik	'love someone'; +*hátya/som*; [love; Arab.].
muk dek	'make someone prosperous'; (*hátya*).
pandár kárik	'give aid to someone paying a debt'; (*hátya*).
rákum kárik	'be kind to'; +*hátya/thára*; [familial love, kindness; Arab.].
saráng hik	'be kind someone, rescue'; +*hátya/thára*; [kind].
yawán hik	'be of help'; +*hátya/som*; [help].
zariá hik	'be the means of someone's rescue'; (*hátya*); [cause, means, agency, ..; Arab.].

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

bashínda kárik	'forgive someone for something'; +*hátya*.
khathér kárik	'pity someone' (*hátya*) [sake, consideration; Arab.].
muá kárik	'forgive someone for something'; +*hátya*; [forgiveness; Arab.].
hístik	'forgive someone for something'; +*hátya*.
Lasék	'forgive someone for something'; +*hátya*.

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

awalá kárik	'give inthe care or custody of someone'; (*hátya*); [Arab.].
bashínda kárik	'bequeath property someone'; ?(*hátya*).
baS kárik	'leave inheritance someone, will something'; (*hátya*); [share, portion].
dekaní kárik	'work for hire'; (*hátya*); [hired farming work; Pers.].
jhes kárik/dek	'give a gift a married female relation'; (*hátya*).
maráT kárik	'slaughter a goat and make a feast when the wife's parents visit the husband's house'; (*hátya*); [sacrifice; I-A].
sariék kárik	'give a feast for one's married daughter or sister'; (*hátya*); [celebration feast ; I-A].
zhéri kárik	'celebrate by giving a feast'; ?(*hátya*).
ja khójik	'arrange a marriage for a man'; ?(*hátya*); [wife; I-A].
sabáp hik	'be someone's means of rescue'; (*hátya*).
SiS aú sucék	'ritually purify women with sacred bread and juniper'; ?(*hátya*).
wézi kárik	'cure someone of sickness'; (*hátya*); [*wes* 'medicine'].
hútik	'send someone to get someone'; +*hátya*.
khójik	'engage a daughter to be married to someone'; (*hátya*).
khabár dek	'give news to someone, inform someone about something'; (*hátya/kái*); [news, word, information; Arab].

d. Predicates denoting greeting, blessing or praising someone(+*hátya*)

khayr kárik   'bless, protect, prosper'; [peace, well-being; Arab.].
salém kárik   'greet someone'; (*hátya/kay*).
suwál kárik   'pray to God'; +*hátya*; [prayer; Arab.].
nom nomék   'sing or talk to honour someone'; (*hátya*); [name; I-A].
pruST parík   'go greet someone'; (*hátya*); [good, well; I-A].

e.   Predicates denoting that someone is in love with, feel inclined toward, or court someone(*hátya*)

ashéki kárik   'court someone'; +*som*; [romantic attraction, love; Pers.].
ashék hik   'fall in love, be romantically inclined toward'; (*hátya*); [lover; Arab.].
ray hik   'have desire toward someone'; (*hátya*); [desire, wish; decision, opinion; Arab.].

f.   Predicates denoting that someone(*hátya*) acquires a new condition, a new mental state, feelings of some sort, or new knowledge or sight

aphiá kárik   'provide comfort or peace'; (*hátya*); [comfort, pease, rest; Arab.].
mazá kárik   'make interesting and enjoyable'; +*hátya*; [taste, pleasure; Pers.].
werék kárik   'bring in to plain view (for someone)'; (*hátya*); [in view, visible; known]
aphiát hik   'become better'; ?(*hátya*); [comfort, pease, rest; Arab.].
rizá hik   'be pleased'; (*hátya*); [will, desire; Arab.].
<u>*tap*</u> *ónik*   'endure, bear'; (*hátya*).
<u>*tonjí*</u> *ik*   'come into bad times'; (*hátya*).
jhonék   'be in sight, appear (for someone); 'seem to someone'; (*hátya*).
sarúik   'seem to someone'; (*hátya*).
síjhik   'be good for someone, work out well, fit'; (*hátya*).
toríik   'accrue, come to one'; (*hátya*).
zháLik   'be obtained'; (*hátya*).

g. Predicates denoting an action that has or is intended have negative consequences for someone else(+*hátya*)

bhalá kárik   'cause trouble to happen to someone'; +*hátya*; [evil spirit; trouble, problem].
<u>*bheT*</u> *dyek*   'glare at, look at in anger'; (*hátya*).
cal kárik   'trick someone'; (*hátya*); [skill, ability, ..; plan].
calakí kárik   'trick or fool someone'; (*hátya*); [cleverness, cunning].
CháLik   'scold, discipline someone'; +*hátya*.
Chek kárik   'give someone a hard time, cause trouble to someone'; (*hátya*); [trouble, bad time].
<u>*damkí*</u> *dek*   'threaten'; +*hátya*.
<u>*dro*</u> *bhínik*   'plan how to harm or do wrong to someone'; +*hátya*.
hókum dek   'give command to someone'; (*hátya*); [authority, order, will; Arab.].
kia cítse máik   'say bad things about someone'; (*hátya*).
khesmát kárik   'treat someone in a certain way'; ?(*hátya*); [help, favour, service; Arab.].
khO~ kárik   'pray against someone'; ?(*hátya*); [curse, bad prayer].
khundiék   'call on; yell at'; (*hátya*).

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mon dek	'talk with or someone'; (*hátya/som*); [word; I-A].
mrish hik	'scold'; +*hátya*/*som*.
muzirí kárik	'treat someone badly, mistreat'; +*hátya som*; [evil; Arab.].
mhal kárik	'curse someone'; +*hátya*; [curse].
nawá~ts kárik	'bother someone, make it difficult for someone'; (*hátya*); [difficult, dangerous, ..].
pachán kárik	'hide something (from someone)'; (*hátya*); [out of sight, hidden].
rundúik	'growl at someone; talk angrily someone'; +*hátya*.
saktí ónik	'persecute someone'; +*hátya/thára*.
shurék	'turn someone against someone'; (*hátya*).
uskusík	'attack someone'; +*hátya*.

h. Predicates denoting that anger or a similar feeling is directed toward someone (+*hátya*)

káhar kárik	'become angry'; +*hátya*; [anger; Pers.].
rhos kárik	'become angry'; +*hátya*; [anger; I-A.].
kaharí hik	'become angry'; +*hátya*; [angry; Pers.].
oS hik	'get angry'; ?(*hátya*); [cold; angry].

i. Predicates denoting an experiencer (+*hátya*)

aphiát hik	'feel better'; ?(*hátya*).
balá hik	'come into trouble'; ?(*hátya*).
baS hik	'become your share or characteristic of you'; +(*hátya*).
bóac hik	'become burdensome for someone'; ?(*hátya*).
cal hik	'obtain the skill of something'; ?(*hátya*).
cir hik	'be late'; ?(*hátya*).
draS hik	'be easy (for someone)'; ?(*hátya*).
kasára hik	'experience a loss'; (*hátya*).
nawkarí hik	'come to work for hire'; ?(*hátya*).
pruST hik	'become/turn out well (for someone)'; ?(*hátya*).
suklát hik	'be reliefed (from something)'; ?(*hátya*).
taklíw hik	'have trouble or become a problem'; ?(*hátya*).
thariká hik	'obtain the skill of something'; (*hátya*).
wakiá hik	'have problems'; ?(*hátya*).

Other

cak hik	'become ready (to go to)'; ?(*hátya*); [readyness].
drazawár hik	'hang on to someone in a bothersome way'; ?(*hátya*); [*drazek* 'load something ..].
gec dyek	'spy on someone or something and plan how to get it'; (*hátya*).
gilaí kárik	'complain'; ?(*hátya*).
kábul kárik	'accept in order do, obey'; ?(*hátya*); [Arab].
khaSáp kárik	'hurry and do something'; +*hátya*; [quickly, soon].
paygám dek	'send a message for'; ?(*hátya*).
phiT hik	'fit, as a piece of clothing'; (*hátya*).
rahí kárik	'set out on a trip to'; (*hátya*).
soc kárik	'think (about something or someone)'; ?(*hátya*); [thought; Urdu].

sápur kárik	'wait (for someone)'; (*hátya*); [patience; Arab.].
shauk kárik	'be eager (to/towards something)'; ?(*hátya*); [eagerness+do].
than dek	'agree with someone or something (about something)'; ?(*hátya*/Loc/*báti/som*)
zháLik	'reach, arrive to someone'; (*hátya*/Loc).

3.2 Alphabetical listing of predicates

adáp kárik	'be hospitable to, treat with respect'; ?(*hátya*); [Arab.].
aphiát hik	'become better'; ?(*hátya*); [comfort, pease, rest; Arab.].
aphiát kárik	'provide comfort or peace'; (*hátya*); [comfort, pease, rest; Arab.].
asár kárik	'2) help, improve'; (*hátya*); [effect; Arab.].
ashéki kárik	'court someone'; +*hátya*; +*som*; [romantic attraction, love; Pers.].
ashék hik	'fall in love, be romantically inclined toward'; (*hátya*); [lover; Arab.].
awalá kárik	'give in the care or custody of someone'; (*hátya*); [Arab.].
bashínda kárik	1) 'forgive someone for something'; +*hátya*; 2) 'bequeath property to someone'
baS kárik	'leave inheritance someone, will something'; (*hátya*); [share, portion].
balá hik	'come introuble'; ?(*hátya*).
bhalá kárik	'cause trouble to happen to someone'; +*hátya*, [evil spirit; trouble, problem].
baS hik	'become your share/characteristic of you'; ?(*hátya*).
bóac hik	'become burdensome for someone'; ?(*hátya*).
bheT dyek	'glare at, look at in anger'; (*hátya*).
cak hik	'become ready (to go NP)' (*hátya*); [readyness].
cal kárik	'trick someone'; (*hátya*); [skill, ability, ..; plan].
calakí kárik	'trick or fool someone'; (*hátya*); [cleverness, cunning].
cítik	'think' ?(*hátya*).
cir hik	'be late'; ?(*hátya*).
CháLik	'scold, discipline someone'; +*hátya*.
Chek kárik	'give someone a hard time, cause trouble to someone': (*hátya*); [trouble, bad time].
damkí dek	'threaten'; +*hátya*.
dekaní kárik	'work for hire'; (*hátya*); [hired farming work; Pers.].
draS hik	'be easy (for someone)'; ?(*hátya*).
drazawár hik	'hang on someone in a bothersome way'; ?(*hátya*); [*drazek* 'load'].
dro bhínik	'plan how to harm or do wrong to someone'; +*hátya*.
gec dyek	'spy on someone/something(+*hátya*) and plan how get it'; (*hátya*).
gilaí kárik	'complain'; ?(*hátya*).
hístik	'forgive someone for something'; +*hátya*.
hókum dek	'give command to someone'; +*hátya*; +*kái*; [authority, order, will; Arab.].
húTik	3) 'send someone to get someone'; +*hátya*.
insáw kárik	'act kindly toward an offender'; (*hátya*); [justice, fairness; Arab.].
izát kárik	'show respect for someone, honor someone'; (*hátya*); [respect, honor; Arab.].
ja khojik	'arrange a marriage for a man'; +*hátya*; [wife; I-A].
jhes kárik/dek	'give a gift to a married female relation'; (*hátya*).
jhonék	'2) be in sight, appear (for someone)'; (*hátya*); 3) 'seem (to someone)'; (*hátya*).

kábul kárik	'accept in order do, obey'; ?(*hátya*); [Arab.].
kádur kárik	'be hospitable someone, respect'; (*hátya*).
kahár kárik	'become angry'; +*hátya*; [anger; Pers.].
kaharí hik	'become angry; +*hátya* [angry; Pers.].
kasára hik	'experience a loss'; ?(*hátya*).
kia cítse maik	2) 'say bad things about someone'; (*hátya*).
kísmat kárik	'treat someone in a certain way'; ?(*hátya*).
kosháni hik	'be happy about something or someone'; ?(*hátya*).
khabár dek	'give news to someone, inform someone about something'; (*hátya*); (*kái*) [news, word, information; Arab].
khaSáp kárik	'hurry and do something'; +*hátya*; [quickly, soon].
khathér kárik	2) 'respect someone'; ?(*hátya*); [sake, consideration; Arab.].
khathér kárik	1) 'pity someone'; (*hátya*); [sake, consideration; Arab.].
khayr kárik	'bless, protect, prosper'; ?(*hátya*); [peace, well-being; Arab.].
khesmát kárik	'help someone'; ?(*hátya*); [help, favor, service; Arab.]. .
khójik	5) 'engage a daughter to be married to someone'; (*hátya*).
khO~ kárik	'pray against someone'; ?(*hátya*); [curse, bad prayer].
khundiék	'call on; yell at'; +(*hátya*); ?(*kái*).
Lasék	5) 'forgive someone for something'; +*hátya*.
lihás kárik	'show kindness to, pity'; (*hátya*).
madát hik	'be of help to'; +*hátya*; +*som*; [help; Arab.].
madát kárik	'help someone'; +*hátya*; +*som*; [help; Arab.].
maráT kari	'slaughter a goat and make a feast when the wife's parents visit the husband's house'; (*hátya*); [sacrifice; I-A].
mazá kárik	'make interesting and enjoyable'; +*hátya*; [taste, pleasure; Pers.].
mehár kárik	'be kind, love'; +*hátya*; +*som*; [kindness, love; Pers.].
moabát kárik	'love someone'; +*hátya*; +*som*; [love; Arab.].
mon dek	'talk with or someone'; (*hátya*); (*som*); [word; I-A].
mrish hik	'scold'; (*hátya*); (*som*).
muá kárik	'forgive someone for something'; +*hátya*; [forgiveness; Arab.].
muk dek	'make someone prosperous'; (*hátya*).
muzirí kárik	'treat someone badly, mistreat'; +*hátya*; +*som*; [evil; Arab.].
mhal kárik	'curse someone'; +*hátya*; [curse].
nawá~ts kárik	'bother someone, make it difficult for someone'; (*hátya*); [difficult, dangerous, ..].
nawkarí hik	'get a job'; ?(*hátya*).
nom nomék	2) 'sing or talk to honour someone'; (*hátya*); [name; I-A].
oS hik	'get angry'; ?(*hátya*); [cold; angry].
pachán kárik	'hide something (from someone)'; (*hátya*)[out of sight, hidden].
pandár kárik	'give aid to someone paying a debt'; (*hátya*).
paygám dek	'send a message'; ?(*hátya*)
pruST hik	'become/turn out well (for someone); ?(*hátya*).
pruST parik	'go to greet someone'; (*hátya*).
phiT hik	'fit, as a piece of clothing'; (*hátya*).
rahí kárik	'set out on a trip for'; (*hátya*).
rákum kárik	'be kind'; +*hátya*; +*thára*; [familial love, kindness; Arab.].
ray hik	'have desire toward someone'; (*hátya*); [desire, wish; decision, opinion; Arab.].
rizá hik	'be pleased'; (*hátya*); [will, desire; Arab.].
rundúik	1) 'growl at someone'; +*hátya*; 2) 'talk angrily someone' ?(*hátya*); +*kái*.

rhos kárik	1) 'become angry'; +*hátya*; [anger; I-A.].
sabáp hik	'be someone's(+*hátya*) means of rescue'; (*hátya*).
saktí onik	'persecute someone'; +*hátya/thára*.
salém kárik	'greet someone'; (*hátya/kay*).
sápur kárik	1) wait (for) (someone+*hátya*); (*hátya*); 2) 'control one's self'; [patience; Arab.].
saráng hik	'be kind to someone, rescue'; +*hátya/thára*;[kind].
sariék kárik	'give a feast for one's married daughter or sister'; +*hátya*; [celebration feast ; I-A.].
sarúik	'seem to someone'; (*hátya*).
síjhik	'be good for someone, work out well, fit'; *hátya*).
soc kárik	'think (about something/someone'; ?(*hátya*); [thought; Urdu].
suklát hik	'be reliefed (from something)'; ?(*hátya*).
suwál kárik	1) 'pray to God'; +*hátya*; [prayer; Arab.].
shauk kárik	'be eager (towards someone or something'; +*hátya*.
shurék	'turn someone against someone'; (*hátya*).
SiSau sucék	'ritually purify women with sacred bread and juniper'; ?(*hátya*).
taklíw hik	'have trouble or a problem'; ?(*hátya*).
tap onik	'endure, bear'; (*hátya*).
tonjí ik	'come into bad times'; (*hátya*).
toríik	'accrue, come to one'; (*hátya*).
than dek	'agree with someone or something (about something); ?(*hátya*); + *-una/báti/som*.
thariká hik	'obtain the skill of something'; (*hátya*).
uskusík	'attack someone'; +*hátya*.
wakiá hik	'have problems'; ?(*hátya*).
werék kárik	1) 'bring inplain view [for someone].'; (*hátya*); [in view, visible; known].
wézi kárik	1) 'cure someone of sickness'; (*hátya*); [*wes* 'medicine'].
yawán hik	'be of help'; +*hátya/som*; [help].
zariá hik	'be the means of someone's rescue'; (*hátya*); [cause, means, agency, ..; Arab.].
zháLik	1) 'reach, arrive to someone'; (*hátya*); *lokativ*; 2) 'be obtained'; (*hátya*).
zhéri kárik	'celebrate by giving a feast'; +*hátya*.

Appendix 30. Additional notes on *kái*

Contents
1. *kái* in TC99.
2. Other formations.
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4. *kái* as a complement marker.
   4.1   Predicates listed alphabetically.
   4.2   Predicates listed semantically.
5. Temporal function of *kái*.

1. *kái* in TC99

kay[1]
1) 'to, in, on, into', for example: *may kái ásta máas* 'tell (it) to me also!', *khodáyas hókumuna kái mon dek ne bháik* 'we can say nothing against the will of God'.
2) 'at', for example: *rat kaí mo kási, tay khyur Dukél* 'don't walk at night, you will stumble', *a to tará kái páshi hayrán háwis ..* 'I was surprised to see him there (at that place) ..',
3) 'about', for example: *dúra kái krom cíti trakumán mo ha* 'when thinking about the work of your house, don't worry about it'

kay[2] Adv. 'when', fx *kay íta áas?* 'when did you come?'; N. 'time, period', fx *a ujhúi áam tícak ásta káy-o tu báta ujhúas* 'I have put my grain in, after a little while you will too.

2. Other formations (to *kay*[2])

káyaw; Adv. 'from when', fx *kayáw andái tu lahás?* 'how long have you been sick?'.
kaymina, kaymina; Adv. 'once upon a time'.
kay ásta; Adv. 'whenever, sometime'.
kay dic; Adv. 'some time ago'.
kay khawéw; Adv. 'sometime', fx *kay khawélo may de* 'give it to me sometime'.
kay zha; Adv. 'until when'.
kay Zot; Adv. 'before, some time ago'.

3. Fixed phrases (to *kay*[1])

kÓuna kái mon dek   'whisper' (lit.: 'talk into the ear')
táda kái bo páshik   'be jealous' (lit. 'near at much see')

4. *kái* as a complement marker

Meaning: Based on TC99, translations in sources, and field notes.
Square brackets: Meaning and donor language of nominal or adjectival element in conjunct verb.
'?' = Status as complement marker uncertain.

'Obligatory': '+*kái*' = Postposition (and oblique case) obligatory with the predicate; '(*kái*)' = Postposition not obligatory with the predicate (but oblique case is).
Alternative postposition: Whether an alternative postposition can occur with the predicate. '+' = alternative postposition accepted; '-' = alternative postposition not accepted.

4.1 Predicates listed alphabetically

aChO~ik dyek	'tell a story'; ?(*kái/hátya*)
aDér kárik	'give an order'; ?(*kái/hátya*)
andáz kárik	'aim something at something'; ?(*kái*).
awácik	'scold someone'; +*kái*.
awás kárik	'make noice (to someone?)'; ?(*kái*).
baLék	1) 'convince, persuade, win a debate', 2) 'beat someone in a game'; ?(*kái*).
cítik	'think (about someone or something)'; ?(*kái*).
ChaLík	'scold, discipline'; +*hátya*/?*kái*.
darkhás kárik	'request that something be done'; ?(*kái/hátya*)
dirék	'insult someone'; ?(*kái*).
écan kárik	'signal with one's eyes as a sign, wink'; ?(*kái*).
gechék	'aim at (something or someone)'; ?(*kái*).
giLaí kárik	'complain'; ?(*hátya/kái*).
ghó~ik	'talk to; say about'; +*kái*.
hástan kárik	'signal with the hands'; ?(*kái*).
hókum dek	'give command to someone'; ?(*kái*).
huk kárik	'talk, tell, speak up'; ?(*kái*).
inkhár kárik	'refuse someone'; +*kái*.
ishára kárik	'signal or gesture to someone a message or without words'; ?(*kái*).
iSkalí kárik	'beg, persuade, request, implore, entreat, plead'; +*kái*.
ja kárik	'marry someone (of male person)'; ?(*kái*).
khabár kárik	'inform, let someone know'; +*kái*.
khodayár kárik	'say goodbye to'; (*hátya/som/kái*).
khondiék	'call on someone, summon, speak to'; ?(*kái*).
máik/mátrik	'speak, say, tell'; ?(*kái*).
mon dek	'speak, speak a language'; +*kái*.
nasiát kárik	'advice or instruct someone'; +*kái*.
niSán kárik	1) 'make a signal or mark'; 2) 'aim at'; ?(*kái*).
niwéshik	'write (to)'; ?(*kái*).
oSárik	'complain, protest, voice grievance, accuse, tell on someone'; ?(*kái*).
salém kárik	'greet someone'; +*kái*.
suwál kárik	1) 'pray to God'; +*hátya*; 2) 'ask someone a question'; +*kái*.
telephún kárik	'telephone someone'; ?(*kái*).
tupékan tyek	'shoot a gun, fire shots (at someone or something)'; ?(*kái*).
tyek	'hit, beat; shoot a gun at someone; throw an object at someone; ..' ?(*kái*).
thógan tyek	'spit on someone with intent'; (*kái*).
Tósu dyek	'peck on something or someone'; ?(*kái*).
úSTan kárik	'signal with one's lips'; ?(*kái*).
wezí kárik	1) 'cure someone of sickness'; (???); 2) 'stop someone from doing something'; +*kái*.

4.2 Predicates listed semantically
A. Verbs of utterance or speaking

aChO~ik dyek	'tell a story'; ?(*kái/hátya*)
aDér kárik	'give an order'; ?(*kái/hátya*)
awás kárik	'make noice (to someone?)'; ?(*kái*).
baLék	1) 'convince, persuade, win a debate', 2) 'beat someone in a game'; ?(*kái*).
ghó~ik	'talk to; say about'; +*kái*.
cítik	'think (about someone or something)'; ?(*kái*).
huk kárik	'talk, tell, speak up'; ?(*kái*).
khabár kárik	'inform, let someone know'; +*kái*.
khodayár kárik	'say goodbye to'; (*hátya/som/kái*).
khondiék	'call on someone, summon, speak to'; ?(*kái*).
máik/mátrik	'speak, say, tell'; ?(*kái*).
mon dek	'speak, speak a language'; +*kái*.
salém kárik	'greet someone'; ?(*kái*).
suwál kárik	1) 'pray to God'; +*hátya*; 2) 'ask someone a question'; +*kái*.
telephún kárik	'telephone someone'; ?(*kái*).

B. Verbs of giving information, scolding, complaining or requesting

awácik	'scold someone'; +*kái*.
ChaLík	'scold, discipline'; +*hátya*/?*kái*.
darkhás kárik	'request that something be done'; ?(*kái/hátya*)
dirék	'insult someone'; ?(*kái*).
giLaí kárik	'complain'; ?(*hátya*/*kái*).
hókum dek	'give command to someone'; ?(*kái*).
iSkalí kárik	'beg, persuade, request, implore, entreat, plead'; +*kái*.
nasiát kárik	'advice or instruct someone'; +*kái*.
oSárik	'complain, protest, voice grievance, accuse, tell on someone'; ?(*kái*).

C. Verbs of signalling

écan kárik	'signal with one's eyes as a sign, wink'; ?(*kái*).
hástan kárik	'signal with the hands'; ?(*kái*).
ishára kárik	'signal or gesture to someone a message or without words'; ?(*kái*).
niSán kárik	1) 'make a signal or mark'; 2) 'aim at'; ?(*kái*).
uSTan kárik	'signal with one's lips'; ?(*kái*).

D. Verbs with concrete goal (verbs of aiming, etc.)

andáz kárik	'aim something at something'; ?(*kái*).
gechék	'aim at (something or someone)'; ?(*kái*).
tupékan tyek	'shoot a gun, fire shots (at someone or something)'; ?(*kái*).
tyek	'hit, beat; shoot a gun at someone; throw an object at someone; ..' ?(*kái*).
thogan tyek	'spit on someone with intent'; (*kái*).
Tósu dyek	'peck on something or someone'; ?(*kái*).

E.   Other

inkhár kárik	'refuse someone'; +*kái*.
wezí kárik	1) 'cure someone of sickness'; (???); 2) 'stop someone from doing something'; +*kái*.
ja kárik	'marry someone (of male person)'; ?(*kái*).
niwéshik	'write (to)'; ?(*kái*).

5.   Temporal function of *kái*

A final use of *kái* with events and temporal nouns should be mentioned. In 1 *kái* points out a reference point of time where something is the case, going on, or can happen. This can also be done without *kái*, as in 2:

1. ***ucáw   kái*** *dazhepónj-an bás-an   may   chu   ubuj-íu*   So.S
   Uchao at   15-obl.pl   year-obl.pl 1s.obl   daughter   be born-p/f3s
   '**at Uchao**[12] it is 15 years ago since may daughter is born'

2. ***chawmós-una*** *ábi   bo   ghO~ dy-en*   GK.E
   Chawmos-loc2   1p.nom   much   song put-p/f.3s
   '**at Chawmos**[13] we sing many songs'

In 1, in contrast to 2, we are told that it is 'at Uchao' that a specific situation or circumstance is valid or in force, and not, for example, 'at Chaumos'. In contrast, without *kái*, 2 expresses general state of affairs. That is, the time pointed out by *kái* stresses or contrasts this to another time or period. This use of *kái* can be seen as a metaphoric extension from a contrasting spatial-locative use described in 17.8.7.4.[14]

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[12] A festival held in August before the harvesting of fruit.

[13] The festival held at winter solstice.

[14] As an alternative one may consider *kái* as instantiating specific uses of the interrogative adverb *kái* 'when?', as in: ***kái íta áas?*** '**when** did you come?'? TC99 do not indicate any direct relationship between the temporal postposition *kái* and the adverb *kái*, but GM (73: 211) does. 'Temporal' *kái* cannot occur with expressions of clock time, similarly to Urdu *kō* (Schmidt 1999: 72).

Appendix 31. Additional notes on *pi*

Contents
1. Meaning of *pi* according to TC99 (p. 244):
2. *pi* as a complement marker

1. Meaning of *pi* according to TC99 (p. 244):
1) 'From'; *se pe may pi akrúcaw haw ..* 'if she gets peeved at me (I'll ..)'.
2) 'By'; *pialá ása pi bishís* 'the cup was broken by him'.
3) 'Than'; *sáwin pi pruST* 'best of all' (lit. 'than all good').
4) 'Concerning'; *dõyõ tu zhóntras pi gawr mi ne káris dái húLa* 'then it seems that concerning the mill you do not really take good care of it'.

2. *pi* as a complement marker
Meaning: Based on TC99, translations in sources, and field notes.
Underlined: <u>*kathaí hik*</u> = N/Adj. element not accepted by informant as independent word
Square brackets: Meaning and donor language of nominal or adjectival element in conjunct verb.
 '+' = Obligatory with the given predicate; '(*pi*)' = not obligatory.
'?' = Status with respect to obligatory or optional complement marker uncertain.
'alt.:' = Alternative complement marker; '- *hátya/..*' = alternative postposition not accepted.

aktiát kárik	'do carefully'; ?(*pi*); [care; Arab.]
awícik	'take or receive from someone'; +*pi*.
bacát kárik	'save, rescue someone'; ?(*pi*).
badelá griik	'get revenge'; +*pi*, [revenge, repayment; Arab.]
bam hik	'sulk, pout'; ?(*pi*).
barósa kárik	'trust someone'; +*pi*; [trust, confidence, faith].
bawár kárik	'believe, trust'; +*pi*.
beSék	'defeat someone, win a match'; +*pi*; alt.: +*thára*.
bháik	'know how do, handle'; +*pi*; alt.: +Abl2-*ani*/Abl3-*aw* (inan.).
bhíik	'fear, be afraid'; (+*pi*).
chaLék	'pull, take out, extract or remove something (inanimate); stick out'; +*pi*; alt.: + Abl2-*ani*/Abl3-*aw*.
CiChík	'learn'; ?(*pi*); alt.: ?Abl2-*ani*/Abl3-*aw*.
Cíu hik	'be/become very happy'; (*pi*); [very happy].
darák kárik	'find out about something, investigate'; +*pi*; alt.: + Abl2-*ani*/Abl3-*aw*.
<u>*dec*</u> *griik*	'borrow (from someone)'; +*pi*; [loan, debth; kun i conj.vb]
galát hik/kárik	'make a mistake'; +*pi*.
galtí hik	'make a mistake'; (*pi*); [*galat* = wrong, inaccurate; Arab.]
gawr kárik	'take good care of, do carefully'; +*pi*; alt.: +*thára*; [care, attention; Arab.]
gríik	1) 'take (away from someone)'; +*pi*; 2) 'buy (from someone)'; +*pi*.
gumán hik	'suspect someone of doing something'; +*pi*; alt.: *thára*; [thought/suspicion; Pers.].
gumán kárik	'suspect someone of doing something'; +*pi*, [thought, suspicion, ..; Pers.].
gháTik	1) 'ask for something from someone'; +*pi*'; 2) 'beg (something from someone)'; ?(*pi*)
<u>*har*</u> *hik*	'lose'; ?(*pi*); [Urdu]
hístik	'throw away'; (*pi*).

hÓ~ik	'steal'; +*pi*.
<u>*jit*</u> *hik*	'become/be successful or victorious'; +*pi*; alt.: +*thára*.
<u>*judá*</u> *hik*	'become separated'; (+*pi*); [separate; Pers.].
karÓ~ chaLék	'(take) revenge (from)'; +*pi*; alt.: +*thára*
karÓ~ griik	'take revenge from someone'; +*pi*; [revenge].
kathaí hik	1) 'make a mistake'; +*pi*; [mistake] .
krúcik	'sulk, pout, be peeved, be offended'; +*pi* .
khabár (ashik)	'be in information of, have knowledge about'; ?(*pi*).
khabardár kárik	'inform someone about something; warn'; ?(*pi*); alt.: ?(-*ani*).
khalás kárik	'rescue'; +*pi*; alt.: + Abl2-*ani*/Abl3-*aw*.
khalás hik	'become rescued'; (+*pi*).
kaphá hik	'become peeved, offended'; +*pi*, alt.: +*báti*; [sad, angry, peeved, ..; Pers.].
<u>*khataí hik*</u>	'have a tragic mistake happen'; +*pi*; [Arab.].
khójik	'ask for'; (*pi*).
khurúSu hik	'become peeved at someone'; (*pi*).
Lásik	'slip away, drop or fall from one's grasp'; (*pi*); alt.: (Abl2-*ani*/Abl3-*aw*).
mahalúm kárik	'discover, find out' (from something or someone)'; +*pi*; alt.: +Abl2-*ani*/Abl3-*aw* (inan.).
mal griik	'take (or receive ?) brideprice (from someone)'; +*pi*.
memadár	'(be) grateful, appreciative'; +*pi*.
naumét hik	'mistrust, lose hope or faith in'; (+*pi*); [neg-hope; Pers.].
nihík	1) 'come out (from something') +*pi*; 2) 'rise of sun or moon' ?(*pi*).
nik	'take out or take away something (animate)'; (*pi*); alt. +Abl2-*ani*/Abl3-*aw*.
niSpijík	'be worthwhile or profitable'; (+*pi*).
ohónik	'snatch away, take away by force (from someone)' +*pi*; alt.: +Abl2-*ani*/Abl3-*aw*.
ónik	'bring something inanimate'; (*pi*); alt.: Abl2-*ani*/Abl3-*aw*.
pandár harik	'take help from someone fulfill an obligation'; (+*pi*).
parík	'go or move away (from)'; ?(*pi*); alt.: Abl2-*ani*/Abl3-*aw*.
patíik	'belive; accept someone' ?(*pi*).
paydá hik	'being born'; ?(*pi*).
<u>*pir*</u> *griik*	'learn a skill'; +*pi*.
póncik	'take away something from someone by force, grab'; ?(*pi*); alt.: ?(Abl2-*ani*/Abl3-*aw*)
phúcik	1) 'ask (someone)'m +*pi*; 2) 'inquire for or about someone'; +*pi*.
shak hik	'doubt someone'; +*pi*; [doubt; Arab.].
shak kárik	'suspect someone of doing something'; +*pi*; alt.: +*thára*.
tasalí hik	'faith, trust; satisfaction; encouragement, comfort, assurance'; (*pi*); [faith, trust; satisfaction; comfort, ..; Arab]
thóba kárik	'forswear, repent of'; (*pi*).
ubujík	'be born; sprout'; +*pi*.
umét hik	'have(/become) hope(-full) in s.th /because of something'; +*pi*; alt.: +Abl2-*ani*/Abl3-*aw*; [hope; Pers.]
umét kárik	'hope'; +*pi* .
yakin kárik	'trust someone, believe in someone'; +*pi*; alt.: + *thára*.

Appendix 32. Additional notes on *som*

Contents
1. Meaning according to TC99.
2. *som* in fixed constructions.
3. *som* as a complement marker.
    3.1   Alphabetical listing.
    3.2   Semantically listing.

1. Meaning according to TC99
1) 'with'; fx *se tása som paráu* 'he went with him';
2) Possession, fx *bácas som bo nawkár ásta* 'the king had many servants', *may som kía ne shían* 'I don't have any'.
3) 'to'; fx *tu áma tása som zhaLái* 'see that he reaches him'.
4) 'although, though'; fx *shamón diákas som se huk ne áraw* 'although so much was said, he didn't say anything'.

2. *som* in fixed constructions:

istrizháas som DúDik	'have intercourse with a woman' (Lit. 'woman-obl' + 'with' + 'sleep'
som jústuna	1) 'with'; 2) 'although, though'.
som miláw hik	'meet with someone; become awary of something'.
Cátas som	'immediately, quickly'(*Cat-as* 'moment, instance + obl.-*as*).
sómata	'along with, with'.

3. *som* as a complement marker
Meaning: Based on TC99, translations in sources, and field notes.
Underlined: <u>*Cang* hik</u> = N/Adj. element not accepted by informant as independent word
Square brackets: Meaning and donor language of nominal or adjectival element in conjunct verb.
'+' = Obligatory with the given predicate; '(*som*)' = not obligatory.
'?' = Status with respect to obligatory or optional complement marker uncertain.
'alt.:' = Alternative complement marker; '- *hátya/..*' = alternative postposition not accepted.

3.1 Alphabetical listing

adát hik	'become accustomed, used to; become habitual'; (*som*); alt.: Loc2-*una*; [habit, custom; Arab.].
adalát kárik	'file a case against someone in court'; +*som*; [court; Arab.].
awió thek	'marry within one's clan'; (*som*); alt.: ?Abl2-*ani*
bad-sulúk hik	'become estranged (with someone), (*som*); [estranged; *suluk* 'friendship, favor'; *bad-* Pers., *suluk* Arab.].
balá hik	'become (too) big, huge, too powerful'; (*som*).
balát hik	'get to know, become familiar with'; +*som*.
<u>*bargá dyek*</u>	1) 'bump into something (inadvertently)'; +*som*; 2) 'lean back against

	something'; +*som*.
bey-izáti kárik	'abuse someone verbally or physically, shame, despise, dishonour'; ?(*som*); [disrespect, abuse; Arab; *bey-* = 'privative'; Pers.]
biaréyn parik	'play hide and seek'; ?(*som*).
cukuSék	'tease, annoy someone'; (*som*)
<u>*CaCukré hik*</u>	'hold tight someone'; +*som*.
<u>*Cang hik*</u>	'embrace, hug'; +*som*
CháLik	'scold, discipline'; (*som*); alt.: *hátya*, ?*kái*
Cókik	'bargain with, persuade someone by a lot of talking'; (*som*)
dawá hik	'influence become (on someone)'; (*som*); [influence, effect; Arab.]
dukhá kárik	'trick or fool someone'; +*som*
Dhus tyek	'collide with (inadvertently)'; (*som*)
Dhar dyek	'lean on or against something with one's shoulder'; (+*som*).
guzarán kárik	'(1) 'get by'; ?(*som*); 2) 'endure, put up with'; ?(*som*); [good enough, not perfect but passable; Pers.].
huk kárik	'talk, tell, speak up'; (*som*).
jadugherí kárik	'do magic to someone'; ?(*som*).
ja hik	'become (someone's) wife'; ?(*som*).
janjál kárik	'argue and fight with someone'; +*som*; [conflict].
jaré hik	1) 'digest'; ?(*som*); 2) 'be absorbed'; ?(*som*).
jargá dyek	1) 'bump into something (inadvertently)'; +*som*; 2) 'lean back against something'; +*som*.
<u>*jhal dyek*</u>	'bump lightly against something'; +*som*; oblique case.
kaphá hik	'become sad, upset, angry'; ?(*som*).
kaúl kárik	'vow, promise, pledge'; +*som*; [promise; Arab.].
<u>*kawiá kárik*</u>	'2) tease or make fun verbally about sex or the like'; +*som*.
kunjaísh hik	'persuade someone'; ?(*som*)
khal kárik	'be loving, treat well'; (*som*); [taste; pleasure].
khaltabári kárik	'arrange a marriage (with someone)'; (*som*); [marriage arrangement].
khandór hik	'be troubled, inconvenienced, involved (with someone or something)'; (*som*).
khodayár kárik	'say goodbye to someone'; +*som*; alt.:*kái*; [God-friend = goodbye; Pers.].
LabÉ hik	'play with'; +*som*.
líshik	'be against or so close to something or someone as touch'; (*som*).
madát hik	'be of help of someone'; +*som*; alt.: *hátya*; [help; Arab.].
madát kárik	'help someone'; +*som*; alt.: *hátya*; [help; Arab].
maskará kárik	'scoff, make fun of'; +*som*; alt.:*thára*
mashbará kárik	'discuss, plan, counsel (with someone)'; (*som*); [council, advice; Arab.].
mashkúl hik	'become engaged in conversation, have a conversation, talk with; visit'; +*som*; [conversation, discussion; Arab.].
mazá kárik	'make interesting and joyable; make fun'; +*som*;
mehár kárik	'be kind, love'; +*som*; alt.: *hátya*; [kindness, love; Pers.].
moabát hik	'be in love with someone'; (*som*); [love; Arab.].
moabát kárik	'love someone'; +*som*; alt.: *hátya*; [love; Arab.].
miláw hik	'happen, occur'; ?(*som*)
mon dek	'speak, speak a language'; *som*; alt.:*kay*.
<u>*mrish hik*</u>	'scold'; +*som*.
mukarár kárik	'make agreement, decide on something with someone'; (*som*).
muzirí kárik	'treat someone badly, mistreat';+*som*; alt.: *hátya*; [evil; Arab.].

nisík	'live or stay (permanently) (with someone)'; +*som*.
paLawí hik	'join in a dairy partnership'; (*som*); [partner in a ..].
pruST hik	'become reconciled with someone'; +*som*.
pruSTí kárik	'do someone good'; +*som*.
pázhik	'divide something (with someone)'; (*som*).
phíTi kárik	'offer bread a guest'; (*som*).
sála kárik	'discuss something'; (*som*); [plan, advice, counsel; Arab.].
salóm SaTik	'wrestle (with someone)'; +*som*
suLúk kárik	'treat someone, behave toward someone'; (*som*); [friendship; Arab.].
shat chawik	'swear, take an oath, swear the validity of something'; +*som*; [oath, claim; I-A (*cháwik* 'swear')].
shúkhar kárik	'thank God'; (*som*); ["thanks"; Arab.].
SaTék	'fight (with someone)'; (*som*).
tyektyék hik	'fight (with someone)'; (*som*).
than dek	'agree with someone or something'; *som*; alt.: *báti*.
thaw hik	1) 'be left, remain [of physical shape, state of mind, ..?]'; (*som*).
Tham dyek	'bump against or trip over an obstacle'; +*som*; [?suddenly?].
uSTék	'rise, treat'; ?(*som*).
wagdá kárik	'promise'; +*som*; [promise, Arab.].
yawán hik	'be of help'; +*som*; alt.: *hátya*; [help].
zhang kárik	'fight (with someone) in battle'; (*som*); [fighting, war; Pers.].
ziná kárik	'commit adultery'; +*som*.
zit kárik	'oppose, be against (someone)'; +*som*; [complaint, difference, ..; Arab.].
zyádi kárik	'insist on something, force someone'; (*som*); [*zyat* 'much'; Pers.].
Zek hik	'become tired out'; +*som*; alt.: *pi*.

3.2 Semantically listing

A. Predicates of joining, of (not) being reconciled with someone, predicates of doing something with someone, making an arrangement or being in an institutionalized interaction with someone.

adalát kárik	'file a case against someone in court'; +*som*; [court; Arab.].
awió thek	'marry within one's clan'; (*som*); alt.: ?Abl2-*ani*
guzarán kárik	'(1) 'get by'; ?(*som*); 2) 'endure, put up with'; ?(*som*); [good enough, not perfect but passable; Pers.].
ja hik	'become (someone's) wife'; ?(*som*).
krom kárik	'work with'; +*som*.
khaltabári kárik	'arrange a marriage (with someone)'; (*som*); [marriage arrangement].
mukarár kárik	'make agreement, decide on something with someone'; (*som*).
paLawí hik	'join in a dairy partnership'; (*som*); [partner in a ..].
nisík	'live or stay (permanently) (with someone)'; +*som*.
pruST hik	'become reconciled with someone'; +*som*.
pázhik	'divide something (with someone)'; (*som*).
than dek	'agree with someone or something'; *som*; alt.: *báti*.
ziná kárik	'commit adultery'; +*som*.

B. Predicates of getting to know someone or something, predicates of becoming familiar or estranged with someone or something.

adát hik	'become accustomed, used to; become habitual'; (*som*); alt.: Loc2-*una*; [habit, custom; Arab.].
bad-sulúk hik	'become estranged (with someone), (*som*); [estranged; *suluk* 'friendship, favor'; *bad*- Pers., *suluk* Arab.].
balát hik	'get to know, become familiar with'; +*som*.

C. Predicates denoting violent or negative interaction with someone or something; predicates of fighting, scolding, teasing, fooling, etc.

bey-izáti kárik	'abuse someone verbally or physically, shame, despise, dishonour'; ?(*som*); [disrespect, abuse; Arab; bey- = 'privative'; Pers.]
cukuSék	'tease, annoy someone'; (*som*)
CháLik	'scold, discipline'; (*som*); alt.: *hátya*, ?*kái*
dukhá kárik	'trick or fool someone'; +*som*
jadugherí kárik	'do magic to someone'; ?(*som*).
janjál kárik	'argue and fight with someone'; +*som*; [conflict].
kaphá hik	'become sad, upset, angry'; ?(*som*).
<u>*kawiá kárik*</u>	'2) tease or make fun verbally about sex or the like'; +*som*.
khandór hik	'be troubled, inconvenienced, involved (with someone or something)'; (*som*).
maskará kárik	'scoff, make fun of'; +*som*; alt.:*thára*
mazá kárik	'make interesting and joyable; make fun'; +*som*;
<u>*mrish* hik</u>	'scold'; +*som*.
muzirí kárik	'treat someone badly, mistreat'; +*som*; alt.: *hátya*; [evil; Arab.].
salóm SaTik	'wrestle (with someone)'; +*som*
SaTék	'fight (with someone)'; (*som*).
tyektyék hik	'fight (with someone)'; (*som*).
zhang kárik	'fight (with someone) in battle'; (*som*); [fighting, war; Pers.].
zit kárik	'oppose, be against (someone)'; +*som*; [complaint, difference, ..; Arab.].
zyádi kárik	'insist on something, force someone'; (*som*); [*zyat* 'much'; Pers.].
Zek hik	'become tired out'; +*som*; alt.: *pi*.

D. Predicates of conversating, discussing, arguing or with someone; predicates denoting verbal interaction; predicates denoting playing with

<u>*biaréyn parik*</u>	'play hide and seek'; ?(*som*).
Cokík	'bargain with, persuade someone by a lot of talking'; (*som*)
dawá hik	'influence become (on someone)'; (*som*); [influence, effect;
huk kárik	'talk, tell, speak up'; (*som*).
kaúl kárik	'vow, promise, pledge'; +*som*; [promise; Arab.].
kunjaísh hik	'persuade someone'; ?(*som*)
khodayár kárik	'say goodbye to someone'; +*som*; alt.: *kái*; [God-friend = goodbye; Pers.].
LabÉ hik	'play with'; +*som*.
mashbará kárik	'discuss, plan, counsel (with someone)'; (*som*); [council, advice; Arab].
mashkúl hik	'become engaged in conversation, have a conversation, talk with; visit'; +*som*; [conversation, discussion; Arab.].
mon dek	'speak, speak a language'; *som*; alt.: *kay* .
mukarár kárik	'make agreement, decide on something with someone'; (*som*).
sála kárik	'discuss something'; (*som*); [plan, advice, counsel; Arab.].

shat chawik	'swear, take an oath, swear the validity of something'; +*som*; [oath, claim; I-A (*cháwik* 'swear')].
shúkhar kárik	'thank God'; (*som*); ["thanks"; Arab.].
wagdá kárik	'promise'; +*som*; [promise, Arab.].

E. Predicates of loving someone (+*som*) or being good to someone (+*som*) or treat someone in a non-negative way

<u>*Cang*</u> *hik*	'embrace, hug'; +*som*
khal kárik	'be loving, treat well'; (*som*); [taste; pleasure].
mehár kárik	'be kind, love'; +*som*; alt.: *hátya*; [kindness, love; Pers.].
moabát hik	'be in love with someone'; (*som*); [love; Arab.].
moabát kárik	'love someone'; +*som*; alt.: *hátya*; [love; Arab.].

F. Predicates of being to help of someone (+*som*), of helping someone (+*som*)

madát hik	'be of help of someone'; +*som*; alt.: *hátya*; [help; Arab.].
madát kárik	'help someone'; +*som*; alt.: *hátya*; [help; Arab].
pruSTí kárik	'do someone good'; +*som*.
phíTi kárik	'offer bread a guest'; (*som*).
suLúk kárik	'treat someone, behave toward someone'; (*som*); [friendship; Arab.].
uSTék	'rise, treat'; ?(*som*).
yawán hik	'be of help'; +*som*; alt.: *hátya*; [help].

G. Predicates denoting that someone (or something?) has reached, has come or is in contact with something (*som*) or someone (+*som*)

<u>*bargá*</u> *dyek*	1) 'bump into something (inadvertently)'; +*som*; 2) 'lean back against something'; +*som*.
<u>*CaCukré*</u> *hik*	'hold tight someone'; +*som*.
Dhus tyek	'collide with (inadvertently)'; (*som*)
Dhar dyek	'lean on or against something with one's shoulder'; (+*som*).
jaré hik	1) 'digest'; ?(*som*); 2) 'be absorbed'; ?(*som*).
jargá dyek	1) 'bump into something (inadvertently)'; +*som*; 2) 'lean back against something'; +*som*.
<u>*jhal*</u> *dyek*	'bump lightly against something'; +*som*; oblique case.
líshik	'be against or so close to something or someone as touch'; (*som*).
<u>*Tham*</u> *dyek*	'bump against or trip over an obstacle'; +*som*; [?suddenly?].

H. Predicates denoting a mental or physical state (experiencer-*som*)

balá hik	'become (too) big, huge, too powerful'; (*som*).
miláw hik	'happen, occur'; ?(*som*)
thaw hik	1) 'be left, remain [of physical shape, state of mind, ..?]'; (*som*).

Appendix 33. Additional notes on *thára*

Contents
1. Meaning of *thára* according to TC99.
2. *thára* as an argument marker.
   2.1   Alphabetically listed.
   2.2   Semantically listed.

1. Meaning of *thára* according to TC99 (p. 302-3):

1) 'above, on'; *ek thi gáLa pái dhénta thára úSTi* 'they went together; as they climbed a mountain (..)' (TC90).
2) 'by, by means of, with, because of, in'; *aktiátas thára kári* 'do it with care/carefully'; *kháyras thára ayá áa* 'she came (here) in good health'.
3) 'against'; *te tása thára kía ayp thek ne abáan* 'they were not able to place any'.
4) adj., 'next'; *thára mastrúk* 'next month'.

2. *thára* as an argument marker

Meaning: Based on TC99, translations in sources, and field notes.
Underlined: <u>*gawr kárik*</u> = N/Adj. element not accepted by informant as independent word.
Square brackets: Meaning and donor language of nominal or adjectival element in conjunct verb.
'?' = Status as complement marker uncertain.
'+' = Postposition (and oblique case) obligatory with the predicate.
'(*thára*)' = Postposition not obligatory with the predicate (but oblique case is).
alt.: = Alternative complement marker;

2.1 Alphabetically listed

arzí dek	'file a case against someone'; (*thára* - concerning, anim); (*baráuna* - concerning, anim) +Loc2-*una*, inan; (*kái* - addressee); [case, complaint].
asár kárik	1) 'affect or influence someone'; (*thára*; anim); 2) help, improve +*hátya*; inan); [effect; Arab.].
ayp chaLék	'criticize someone'; ?(*thára*); [fault, blame, mistake; Arab.].
ayp thek	'condemn, find guilty; put or lay guilt or some other burden (metaphorically) on someone'; ?(*thára*); [fault, blame, mistake; Arab.].
barUék	'defeat an opponent'; +*thára*; +*pi*.
beSék	1) 'win in a contest or game'; +*thára*; 2) 'excel, outdo'; ?(*thára*).
darajá hik	'be held in place, fastened'; +*thára*; [good position or rank; Arab.].
dawá kárik	'make a claim about something'; (*thára* - anim); (*báti* - inanim); [influence, effect; Arab.].
gawr kárik	'take good care of, do carefully'; +*thára*; +*pi*/+*hátya*; [care, attention; Arab.].
<u>*gecdarí*</u> *kárik*	'look after, guard temporarily'; (*thára* - human); +*obl* - animals.
gumán hik	'suspect someone of doing something'; +*thára*; +*pi*; [thought, suspicion, idea, guess; Pers.].

<u>halát</u> *onik*	'make someone work hard, disturb, make work and be cruel'; (*thára*); [difficult condition; Arab.].
hamlá kárik	'attack someone'; (*thára*); ?*kái* (*báti* = benefakt); [Arab.].
jit hik	'defeat someone (in game)'; +*thára*; +*pi* [successful, victorious; Urdu].
<u>karÓ</u> *chaLék*	'revenge'; +*thára*.
koT kárik	'give someone a coat (said when someone is winning a game)'; +*thára*.
krátik	'laugh'; +*thára*.
<u>LÓam</u> *hik*	'spy on or investigate someone'; ?(*thára*); + Obl.sg-*as*.
mazák kárik	'tease someone, make fun of'; +*thára*; [Arab.].
rákum kárik	'be kind to'; (*thára*); (*hátya*); [familial love, kindness; Arab.].
saktí onik	'persecute someone'; +*thára*; +*hátya*/+*báti*; [Pers.].
saráng hik	'be kind someone, rescue'; +*thára*/*hátya*; [kind].
shak kárik	'suspect someone of doing something'; +*thára*; +*pi*; [doubt; Arab.].
Tang kárik	'make it tough for someone'; (*thára*).
tokmák kárik	'urge someone repeatedly, continously'; +*thára*; +*kái*.
thek	2) 'put, place, lay abstractly (a burden of some sort)'; (*thára*).
Tóka kárik	'mock, make fun of'; (*thára*); [Pash.].
zúlum kárik	'be cruel'; (*thára*); [cruelty; Arab.].
yakín kárik	'trust someone, believe in someone'; +*thára*; [trust, belief; Arab.].

2.2 Semantically listed
A. 'trust, guilt, suspicion'

ayp thek	'condemn, find guilty; put or lay guilt or some other burden (metaphorically) on someone'; ?(*thára*); [fault, blame, mistake; Arab.].
gumán hik	'suspect someone of doing something'; +*thára*; +*pi*; [thought, suspicion, idea, guess; Pers.].
shak kárik	'suspect someone of doing something'; +*thára*; +*pi*; [doubt; Arab.].
rákum kárik	'be kind to'; (*thára*); (*hátya*); [familial love, kindness; Arab.].
yakín kárik	'trust someone, believe in someone'; +*thára*; [trust, belief; Arab.].

B. 'defeat in game, taking revenge'

barUék	'defeat an opponent'; +*thára*; +*pi*.
beSék	1) 'win in a contest or game'; +*thára*; 2) 'excel, outdo'; ?(*thára*).
jit hik	'defeat someone (in game)'; +*thára*; +*pi* [successful, victorious; Urdu].
koT kárik	'give someone a coat (said when someone is winning a game)'; +*thára*.
<u>karÓ</u> *chaLék*	'revenge'; +*thára*.

C. 'hostile action, action with negative effect on recipient, teasing or laughing at'

arzí dek	'file a case against someone'; (*thára* - concerning, anim); (*baráuna* - concerning, anim) +Loc2-*una*, inan; (*kái* - addressee); [case, complaint].
ayp chaLék	'criticize someone'; ?(*thára*); [fault, blame, mistake; Arab.].
<u>halát</u> *onik*	'make someone work hard, disturb, make work and be cruel'; (*thára*); [difficult condition; Arab.].
hamlá kárik	'attack someone'; (*thára*); ?*kái* (*báti* = benefakt); [Arab.].
krátik	'laugh'; +*thára*.
mazák kárik	'tease someone, make fun of'; +*thára*; [Arab.].

saktí onik 'persecute someone'; +*thára*; +*hátya*/+*báti*; [Pers.].
Tang kárik 'make it tough for someone'; (*thára*).
thek 2) put, place, lay abstractly (a burden of some sort)'; (*thára*).
Tóka kárik 'mock, make fun of'; (*thára*); [Pash.].
zúlum kárik 'be cruel'; (*thára*); [cruelty; Arab.].

D. 'influencing patient'
asár kárik 1) 'affect or influence someone'; (*thára*; anim); 2) help, improve
+*hátya*; inan); [effect; Arab.].
tokmák kárik 'urge someone repeatedly, continuously'; +*thára*; +*kái*.

E. 'nice behaviour'
gawr kárik 'take good care of, do carefully'; +*thára*; +*pi*/+*hátya*; [care, attention;
Arab.].
saráng hik 'be kind someone, rescue'; +*thára/hátya*; [kind].

F. Other
darajá hik 'be held in place, fastened'; +*thára*; [good position or rank; Arab.].
dawá kárik 'make a claim about something'; (*thára* - anim); (*báti* - inanim);
[influence, effect; Arab.].
gecdarí kárik 'look after, guard temporarily'; (*thára* - human); +Obl. - animals.
LÓam hik 'spy on or investigate someone'; ?(*thára*); + Obl.sg-*as*

Appendix 34. The postposition *ásta gri/hásta gri* 'along with'

1. Form

This composite postposition is not described in TC99, although it is found a few places in that work. Morphologically *(h)ásta gri*[15] is made up by the noun *hast-*, the locative ending Loc1-*a*, and the participle of *griik* 'take, seize, catch, ..'. *hast* is an obsolete word for 'hand' (in comtemporary Kalasha 'hand' is *bazá*), but it still has two meanings: 1) 'a measure from elbow to fingertips'; 2) 'forearm, wrist'. GM73 suggests (p. 206) that *(h)ásta gri* should be paraphrased 'taking/having taken into the hand'.[16]

2. Functions

ásta gri denotes comitative state of affairs. It always occurs with motion verbs: 'go'; 'come'; 'bring'; etc., yielding the meaning: 'bringing or taking someone or something'. The actor is always animate, very often human.[17] Often, as a reflection of the literal sense, *ásta gri* gives assocation to a human being taking something or someone in the hand on his way, but this need not be so. Examples are:

1. *a   adhék cakér kár-im ghó~i tan **ha~sh ásta gri**   par-áu*   Ba.na
   1s.nom a little walk do-p/f.1s quot own horse   along with go-pst.A.3s
   'I will go for a walk, he said, and went **with the horse**'

2. ***mashúshtyak   birbó ásta gri***   *géri   pistyák i-n*   Fil.S
   dried mulberries walnut along with again   back   come-p/f.3p
   'they come back to here **with dried mulberries and walnuts**'

A crucial counter argument for regarding *ásta gri* as a complex postposition, however, is that *gri* can occur conjugated for person and tense:

3. *mizók zhe se   phil   ek bal **ásta grí-in   dái***
   mouse and 3s.nom.abs elephant a   ball *asta* take-p/f.3p spec
   tará   íta   te   balibáli kárin   dái   GK.em
   there.spec.abs come.cp 3p.nom.abs   volleyball do-p/f.3p spec
   'the mouse and that elephant play volleyball, having come there, **with a ball**' (or, 'taking a ball with them')

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[15] The initial (voiced) *h-* is labile. Often no aspiration at all can be heard. (*h*)*ast* also occurs in three fixed expressions (TC99: 119): *hástan kárik* (with instrumental -*an*) 'signal with the hands', *hás kháLek* 'make a circular motion in greeting with the hands down and away from the body (of women)', and *hast hik* 'come into one's possession or power, to be found'.

[16] Alternatively, E. Bashir (p.c.) has suggested that *asta gri* consists of *asta* 'also, more' + *gri* 'taken, etc.'.

[17] I have observed only one instance of an inanimate companion to an inanimate (but personalized) actor, in a riddle (TC99169b/288b): *shutútur **phar ásta gri** nangór-una hátya paríu* 'a thing which **takes a load** and goes into the palace' (thing load by-hand taken palace-Loc2 towards goes). The answer is: 'a spoon'.

Appendix 35. Historical notes on participles as adpositions (and complementizers) in Indo-Aryan

The fact that adpositions and complementizers may develop from (conjunctive) participles is recognized in historical studies of Indo-Aryan. Masica remarks that "in Indian languages .. certain conjunctive participle forms become so lexicalized as to be equivalent to mere postpositions or adverbs" (1976: 134). Although the phenomenon is noted in grammars and other language descriptions of Indo-Aryan languages, there are, to my knowledge, no studies specifically devoted to the development of departicipial adpositions, i.e. postpositions in an Indo-Aryan context.[18]

Also Bloch (1965: 157-161) mentions verbal participles as one of the sources of NIA postpositions, for example, OIA *krta-* 'made' and *sahita* 'accompanied, provided with' (lit. 'placed together'). *krta-* 'made' came to mean 'for, for the sake of'; another verb from of OIA *kr-*, *kārya* 'to be done, made' came in MIA to be a genitive marker, reflected in Hindi/Urdu as *ke*. OIA *sahita*, which shares source with Kalasha *som* 'with, …' < OIA *sama*, is reflected in MIA by instrumental *samau* (/*samā´u*) or *sahu)* (/*sahu, sau, sai), sai*, and is in Hindu/Urdu reflected as ablative *se* (Bubenik 1998:83-8). Other sources for postpositions are (case-inflected) nominals and 'absolutives (gérondifs)', for example, *ādāya* 'taking' which in MIA comes to mean 'with' and *grhitva* 'having taken' > 'with' (Andersen 1979: 25; Goswami 1971: 145).

None of these, however, are locative or spatial in nature. For such a development Bubenik (1998) mentions *honta(u)* (present participle of *ho* 'to be') and *Thiu* (from *sthita*, past participle of *Tha* 'remain, stay', < OIA *sthā*), used for ablative state of affairs (p. 68-73) in MIA (Apabhraṁśa). In fact, in a number of NIA languages we see reflections of OIA *sthita*/*sthā* 'stand, etc.' or *bhū-*, *as-* (and participial formations hereof) 'be, become' being associated with ablative, for example, Kalam Kohistani (Baart 1999), Pashai (SE-group; GM73), Assamese (Goswami 1971). For MIA (Apabhraṁśa), see Bubenik (1998).

gri < *grbhāyati* 'takes, seizes' (4236.1, 4235); *grhitva* 'having taken'
kái < *karóti* 'does' (2814)
dai < *dádati* 'gives' (6141, 6140)
thi < *sthita*/*sthā* 'stand, etc.' (13768)

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[18] The development of complementizers, and in particular the development of 'quotative SAY', has been attended with much more interest than the development of departicipial postpositions, see, for example, Kachru (1979), Hock (1982), Meenakshi (1983), and Bashir (1996, + references). The poor situation regarding descriptions of the development of participial postpositions in Indo-Aryan (and Dravidian) languages is in sharp contrast to the interest in the source of the participial postpositions, namely the conjunctive participle; see, for example, Lindholm (1975), Masica (1976), Klaiman (1983), Abbi (1984), Davison (1981, 1986), Tikkanen (1987, 1995), Steever (1988), and Schmidt (2003).

Appendix 36. Relational nouns in Kalasha

Alphabetical list of relational nouns and locational nouns functioning as relational nouns, i.e. denoting a static location in relation to a reference location or point. Definitions according to TC99 and author's notes. Etymologies according to GM73 and TC99. Number in brackets refer to entries in Turner (1966). Cnstr. = construction restriction.

aTálak   'high place in landscape; small plateau, among the moutains; ridge, spur of a hill'. < *aṭṭāla-* 'watch-tower' (185)

awát   'place'.
  Ex.   *ek awát-a sarí áini*   TC99
         'they gathered together in one place'.

awatík   'edge of something'.
  Ex.   *awatík-ai mo parí. shurúis*   TC99
         'don't go near the edge, you will fall!'

awathéri   'place near the edge of something'.
  Ex.   *se shuLá awathéri thi sáthi shíau*   TC99
         'that piece of wood is stuck near the edge of the stream'

bian   'outside' < *bahís* 'outside, except' (9186). Cnstr.: cannot occur with Loc2-*una* and Abl2-*ani*. Derivations: *bianyák* 'out, outside (non-specific)'. *Var.*: *bihan*. (see Ch. 18).

biw   'lip, upper edge or limit of a container or object'.
  Ex.   *mo Dhok kári .. bíLas som kári*   TC99
         'don't make a heaping, fill it just to the brim'

cÚik   'point of an object (not container); top of a tree or mountain'. < *cU* 'upper main trunk of a tree, the large branches of a tree above the main trunk'.

Duk   'top; heaping'. *Var.*: *Dhuk, Dhok.*
  Ex.   *dhénta Dúkuna mo parí, shurúis*   TC99
         'don't' go on to of the mountain, you will fall!'

gehén   'side, direction'. Cnstr.: may take case endings. (?) < *geha-* (4251) + Kho. *-en* 'instr./loc.'; (see Ch. 18.).

lAngÉ   'edge or side of something; projection'.

moc-   'middle, centre' *mádhya-* 'middle' (9804). Cnstr.: bound form, must take case endings. (see Ch. 18).

mun   'highest point of a mountain, hill, sky'. *Var.*: *mund*. < *mūrdhán-* 'cranium, head, top, chief, beginning' (10247).

nasén 'around, bordering'. Var.: *nasend*. Cnstr.: Cannot occur with case endings, except Abl3-*aw*, *nasénd-aw* 'around' . Other construction: *nasén nihík* 'pass someone while going or moving (of animate or inanimate). ? < Kho. *nas-* + Kho. *-en* 'instr./loc.'.

nO- 'down, under, below'. Cnstr.: bound morph, must take case endings. < ? *ninyá-* 'inner, hidden, secret' (7817). (See Ch. 18.)

pahára '(far) direction, (far)side'. Invariant

pas, past 'down part of vertical object; at the foot of vertical object'. Cnstr.: invariant as an adv, must take case ending as a RelN. < Pers.

píSTaw 'back of, behind, after'. Other construction:' *pishtyák*, adv., 'behind, after'; (see Ch. 18). < *piST* 'back', < *pṛṣṭhá-* 'back, hinder part' (8371).

prágo 'lower portion of an entity'. Cnstr.: must take case ending as a RelN.

puNDúyraw 'around' (TC99: *punDúiro* 'all around'). Cnstr.: invariant. < *puNDúri* 'round (like a disk)' + Abl3-*aw*; < *piṇḍara* 'round like a lump' (8171).

rúaw 'in front, forwards'; possible with Loc3-*ai*, *rúaw-ai* 'from here in front'. < *ru* 'face' + Abl3-*aw*, < Pers. *ruh*. Other construction: *ruyák*, adv., 'forwards ´. (See Ch. 18.)

sen-- 'side'; often with Loc1-*a*. Cnstr.: can occur as second component in compounds. Var.: *send-*. (see Ch. 18.)

SiS 'top part of something' (also 'head'). Also 'end part of line'; *undruhak-SíS* 'furthest down(hill)'. < *śīrṣá-* 'head, skull' (12497)

SíSa 'line across mountain side (that the bank of a water channel makes); bank of water channel'. < *SiS* 'head, top' + Loc1-*a*.

Soy '(very?) near'. < Khowar *Soy* 'near'.

tad- 'near'. Cnstr.: bound morph, must take case ending, often with Loc1-*a*; can occur as second component in compounds.

thar- 'upon; over, above'. Constr.: bound morph, must take case ending; can occour as second component in compounds. < ?*dh´ārā* 'edge of mountain' (6793). (see Ch. 18.)

Tek 'edge of something, bank of a water channel, stream or lake; ridge, mountain range'; < Khowar.

udriman 'inside'. Cnstr.: cannot occur with Loc2-*una* and Abl2-*ani*. < *ántara-* 'interior, near' (357), *antra-* 'inner' (380). (See Ch. 18.)

újak   '(straight) opposite side'; (TC99: 'true, morally; straight'). < *ṛjū́-* 'straight, honest' (2448).

úSiS   'top or upper portion of an entity'. < **ut-śīrṣa-* 'one who has raised his head' (1853).

úSTak   'corner or (end)point of something'; for example, 'end of rope', 'end of water channel', and 'corner of a field'. [? < *uST* 'lip' < *ṓṣṭha-* 'lip' (2563) ?, JH].

wéti   'behind; back side'. Cnstr.: can occur as second component in compounds.