

A Grammatical Description of the Katë Language (Nuristani)

Inaugural-Dissertation

zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität zu Köln

im Fach Linguistik

vorgelegt von

Jakob Martin Halfmann

geb. am 20.02.1995

in Oldenburg (Oldb)

وَمِنْ ءَايَاتِهِ خَلْقُ السَّمٰوٰتِ وَالْاَرْضِ وَاٰخِثٰلُفُ السِّنِّكُمْ وَالْوَنٰكُمۡ اِنَّ فِیْ ذٰلِكَ لَآٰیٰتٍ لِّلْعٰلَمِیۡنَ

*Wa-min ʿāyātihi ḥalqu s-samāwāti wa-l-ʿarḍi wa-ḥtilāfu ʿalsinatikum wa-ʿalwānikum –
ʿinna fī ḍālika la-ʿāyātīl li-l-ʿālimīn*

“And among His signs are the creation of the heavens and the earth
and the difference of your tongues and your colors –
in this there are certainly signs for those who know.”

– Holy Qurʾān, Sūrah “ar-Rūm”, verse 22

ورى وامنچا ورى وار بوله اى

Vërtvo mančõ vërtvor búlay.

“People that have a language, have influence.”

– Sulayman Sun-Aro, poem “Vërí” (‘Language’)

Contents

Contents	i
Acknowledgments	xiv
Abbreviations	xvii
Glossing Conventions	xx
Part 1: Introduction	1
1.1 <i>The Language and its Speakers</i>	1
1.1.1 Geographical Extent	1
1.1.2 Ethnic Differentiation of Speakers	2
1.1.3 Name of the Language	4
1.1.4 Number of Speakers	5
1.1.4.1 First-Language Speakers	5
1.1.4.2 Second-Language Speakers	7
1.1.5 Language Vitality	8
1.2 <i>Linguistic Context</i>	9
1.2.1 Genealogical Classification (Language Family)	9
1.2.2 Dialects	12
1.2.3 Areal Influences	14
1.2.4 Languages of Wider Communication	15
1.3 <i>Methodology</i>	16
1.3.1 Fieldwork	16
1.3.2 Data Processing	17
1.3.3 Corpus	18
1.3.3.1 Descriptive Sources	18
1.3.3.2 Lexical Sources	18
1.3.3.3 Written Text Sources	19
1.3.3.4 Audio Sources	22
1.3.3.5 Video Sources	22
2 Part 2: Grammar	23
2.1 <i>Phonology</i>	23
2.1.1 Vowels	24
2.1.1.1 Vowel Inventory	24
2.1.1.2 Distribution and Allophonic Variation of Vowels	26
2.1.1.3 Vowel Length	30
2.1.1.4 Vowel Nasalization	31

2.1.1.5	Vowel Sequences	34
2.1.1.6	Vowel Retroflexion/Rhoticization	35
2.1.1.7	Dialectal Variation of the Vowel System - Western Dialect.....	35
2.1.1.7.1	Loss of Nasalization	36
2.1.1.7.2	More limited phonemic vowel length	36
2.1.1.7.3	Allophones of /a/	37
2.1.1.7.4	Glides before Close Vowels.....	37
2.1.1.7.5	Devoiced /u/	38
2.1.1.8	Dialectal Variation of the Vowel System - Southeastern Dialect	38
2.1.1.8.1	Additional Vowel Quality /ü/	39
2.1.1.8.2	Phonemic Vowel Length	40
2.1.1.8.3	Glides before Close Vowels.....	41
2.1.1.8.4	Allophonic Variation of /e/ and /a/	43
2.1.1.9	Areal Aspects of the Vowel System	43
2.1.2	Consonants.....	46
2.1.2.1	Consonant inventory	46
2.1.2.2	Plosives.....	48
2.1.2.3	Nasal stops	51
2.1.2.4	Taps/Flaps.....	53
2.1.2.5	Affricates	54
2.1.2.6	Fricatives	56
2.1.2.7	Approximants.....	58
2.1.2.8	Palatalization	66
2.1.2.9	Dialectal Variation of the Consonant System - Western Dialect.....	67
2.1.2.9.1	Free Variation of [z ~ $\widehat{dz}$]	68
2.1.2.9.2	Final Devoicing.....	69
2.1.2.9.3	Absence of /ñ/	70
2.1.2.9.4	Loss/Metathesis of /ř/ before /i/	71
2.1.2.9.5	No Flapped Allophone of /ḍ/	71
2.1.2.9.6	Palatalization and Labialization	72
2.1.2.10	Dialectal Variation of the Consonant System - Southeastern Dialect	74
2.1.2.10.1	Preservation of Voiced Affricates	75
2.1.2.10.2	Voiceless Retroflex Lateral Affricate /ʎ/	76
2.1.2.10.3	Different Phonetic Realization of /v/	78
2.1.2.10.4	Intervocalic Lenitions	78
2.1.2.10.5	Post-Nasal Voicing Assimilation	86
2.1.2.11	Marginal Phonemes	88
2.1.3	Phonotactics.....	95
2.1.3.1	Syllable structure	96
2.1.3.1.1	Coda.....	97
2.1.3.1.2	Nucleus	98
2.1.3.1.3	Onset.....	98

2.1.4	Suprasegmentals	106
2.1.4.1	Stress	106
2.1.4.1.1	Word Stress.....	107
2.1.4.1.2	Phrasal Stress.....	108
2.1.4.2	Intonation.....	109
2.1.4.3	Expressive Gemination.....	109
2.1.5	Phonological Alternations.....	110
2.1.5.1	Stress retraction in trisyllabic stems	110
2.1.5.2	Vowel alternations	115
2.1.5.2.1	Vowel Alternations in Compounds.....	115
2.1.5.2.2	Central Vowel Palatalization	121
2.1.5.2.3	Central Vowel Rounding	121
2.1.5.2.4	Utterance Final Devoicing	121
2.1.5.3	Vowel Coalescence.....	122
2.1.5.3.1	First vowel /a/.....	122
2.1.5.3.2	First vowel /i/	123
2.1.5.3.3	First vowel /ë/.....	124
2.1.5.3.4	First vowel /u/	125
2.1.5.3.5	First vowel /o/	126
2.1.5.3.6	First vowel /e/.....	127
2.1.5.4	Vowel Deletion.....	128
2.1.5.4.1	Syncope Alternations.....	128
2.1.5.4.2	Deletion of /-ë/ or /-i/ before postpositions	129
2.1.5.4.3	Deletion of /-ë/ within a phrase.....	131
2.1.5.5	Palatal Absorption.....	132
2.1.5.6	Approximant Metathesis	132
2.1.5.7	Voicing Assimilation	133
2.1.5.8	Dental Assimilation	134
2.1.5.9	Southeastern Intervocalic Lenition and Postnasal Voicing	134
2.1.5.10	Western Nasal Relic Alternations	134
2.1.6	Orthography.....	137
2.2	<i>Word Classes</i>	143
2.2.1	Nominals.....	143
2.2.1.1	Nouns	143
2.2.1.1.1	Kinship Nouns.....	143
2.2.1.1.2	Personal Names	143
2.2.1.1.3	Animate Nouns	144
2.2.1.1.4	Inanimate Nouns	144
2.2.2	Adjectives.....	144
2.2.3	Adverbs	145
2.2.4	Verbs	145

2.3	<i>Nominals</i>	145
2.3.1	Number	145
2.3.2	Gender.....	146
2.3.3	Case.....	147
2.3.3.1	The Direct and Oblique cases.....	148
2.3.3.1.1	The Direct Case.....	154
2.3.3.1.2	The Oblique Case.....	155
2.3.3.2	The Genitive Case (SE)	157
2.3.3.3	The Instrumental Case	158
2.3.3.4	The Vocative Case	163
2.3.3.5	The Local Cases	166
2.3.3.5.1	The Locative Case	167
2.3.3.5.2	The Ablative Case	173
2.3.4	Noun Inflection	178
2.3.4.1	The Eastern Consonantal Declension (NE, SE)	179
2.3.4.1.1	Alternating - <i>ν</i> Stems	181
2.3.4.1.2	Palatal Stems	182
2.3.4.1.3	Rounding Stems (SE).....	185
2.3.4.1.4	Alternating -ST Stems (SE).....	185
2.3.4.2	The Eastern Vocalic Declension	186
2.3.4.2.1	Long Vowel Stems (SE)	189
2.3.4.2.2	Nasal Vowel Stems	189
2.3.4.2.3	Nasal Long Vowel Stems (Eastern Invariant Nouns).....	192
2.3.4.3	The Eastern Gender-Variant - <i>ě</i> Declension (- <i>ǫ̃</i> Plurals).....	193
2.3.4.3.1	Nasal - <i>ě</i> Nouns	195
2.3.4.3.2	Stem-Stressed - <i>ř</i> /- <i>ň</i> Stems.....	197
2.3.4.3.3	Palatalized - <i>ě</i> Noun.....	199
2.3.4.4	The Eastern Gender-Invariant - <i>ě</i> Declension (- <i>ě̃</i> plurals)	200
2.3.4.5	The Northeastern - <i>i</i> Declension (NE)	201
2.3.4.6	General Traits of Western Noun Inflection	202
2.3.4.7	The Western Consonantal Declension.....	203
2.3.4.7.1	- <i>i</i> Stems	205
2.3.4.7.2	Alternating Nasal Relic Stems	206
2.3.4.8	The Western - <i>ě</i> Declension	209
2.3.4.9	The Western - <i>e</i> Declension	211
2.3.4.10	Western Invariant Nouns	212
2.3.4.11	Kinship Nouns.....	212
2.3.4.11.1	Northeastern Dialect.....	216
2.3.4.11.2	Southeastern Dialect.....	220
2.3.4.11.3	Western Dialect	222
2.3.4.12	Stem Variation in Loanwords	224
2.3.5	Pronouns	225

2.3.5.1	Personal Pronouns.....	226
2.3.5.2	Demonstrative Pronouns.....	227
2.3.5.2.1	Phoric Forms.....	230
2.3.5.2.2	Manner and Extent Demonstrative.....	231
2.3.5.2.3	Usage	232
2.3.5.3	Indeterminate Pronouns.....	234
2.3.5.3.1	Usage	237
2.3.5.4	Reflexive Pronouns.....	245
2.3.5.4.1	Basic Reflexive Pronoun	245
2.3.5.4.2	Individuating Reflexive Pronoun.....	248
2.3.5.5	Pronominal Exclusive Intensifier Expressions.....	253
2.3.6	Nominal Derivation	255
2.3.6.1	Adjective Conversion	255
2.3.6.2	Numeral & Quantifier Conversion	255
2.3.6.3	Deverbal Nouns	255
2.3.6.4	Compounding.....	255
2.3.6.4.1	Endocentric Compounds (<i>Tatpuruṣa</i>).....	256
2.3.6.4.2	Copulative Compounds (<i>Dvandva</i>)	259
2.3.6.4.3	Exocentric Compounds (<i>Bahuvrīhi</i>)	261
2.3.6.5	Personal Names and Livestock Names	261
2.3.6.6	Echo Formations	263
2.3.6.7	Derivational Prefixes.....	264
2.3.6.7.1	Negation	264
2.3.6.7.2	Animal Gender Prefixes	264
2.3.6.8	Derivational Suffixes	265
2.3.6.8.1	Diminutive <i>-k</i> , <i>-uk</i>	265
2.3.6.8.2	<i>-vor</i>	266
2.3.6.8.3	<i>-vañi</i> ~ <i>-vṛayi</i> (M) / <i>-vay</i> ~ <i>-vā</i> (F)	268
2.3.6.8.4	<i>-vay</i> ~ <i>-vā</i> (M)	270
2.3.6.8.5	<i>-í</i>	270
2.3.6.8.6	<i>-yó</i> (M) / <i>-yáy</i> ~ <i>-yá</i> (F).....	271
2.3.6.8.7	<i>-kuř</i>	271
2.3.6.8.8	<i>-darě</i>	272
2.3.6.8.9	<i>-dari</i>	273
2.3.6.8.10	<i>-soṭ</i>	273
2.3.6.8.11	<i>-koř</i>	273
2.3.6.8.12	<i>-bor</i>	274
2.3.6.8.13	<i>-los</i>	275
2.3.6.8.14	<i>-ol</i>	275
2.3.6.8.15	<i>-veç</i>	276
2.4	Adjectives	276
2.4.1	Gender-Agreement Suffixes	277

2.4.2	Adjective Classes.....	277
2.4.2.1	Gender-Variant - <i>ě</i> / - <i>i</i> Adjectives	277
2.4.2.1.1	Umlauting - <i>ě</i> / - <i>i</i> Adjectives.....	277
2.4.2.1.2	Nasalized - <i>ě</i> / - <i>i</i> Adjective.....	278
2.4.2.1.3	- <i>ř</i> / - <i>ň</i> Stems	278
2.4.2.2	Gender-Variant - <i>o</i> / - <i>ay</i> Adjectives	280
2.4.2.3	Gender-Invariant Adjectives.....	281
2.4.3	Adjective Derivation	281
2.4.3.1	Proprietary Adjectives (- <i>vo</i> / - <i>vay</i> ~ - <i>vā</i>)	281
2.4.3.1.1	- <i>vok</i>	285
2.4.3.2	Privative Adjectives.....	285
2.4.3.3	NE/SE - <i>bomrik</i> ~ - <i>bomërik</i>	286
2.4.3.4	- <i>koř</i>	287
2.4.3.5	Deverbal Adjectives.....	287
2.4.3.6	Compounding	287
2.4.3.7	Reduplication	288
2.5	Adverbs	288
2.5.1	Local Adverbs.....	289
2.5.1.1	The suffix NE - <i>ōrě</i> , W - <i>or</i> , SE - <i>ār(ě)</i>	289
2.5.2	Temporal Adverbs.....	290
2.5.3	Manner Adverbs.....	291
2.5.4	Degree Adverbs.....	291
2.5.5	Discourse Adverbs.....	292
2.6	Numerals and Quantifiers	292
2.6.1	Cardinal Numerals	292
2.6.2	Ordinal Numerals.....	295
2.6.3	Distributive Numerals.....	296
2.6.4	Numeral Classifiers	297
2.6.5	Quantifiers	297
2.7	Adpositions and Relational Nouns	298
2.7.1	Prepositions.....	298
2.7.2	The Local Prefix	299
2.7.2.1	Voicing Assimilation	301
2.7.2.2	Prefix-Vowel Deletion (W, NE)	301
2.7.2.3	Prefix-Vowel Assimilation.....	303
2.7.2.4	Metathesis of <i>ř</i>	304
2.7.2.5	Stem-Vowel Deletion.....	305
2.7.2.6	Coalescence	306
2.7.3	Inflectable Postpositional Elements	308
2.7.3.1	The Referentializer - <i>stě</i>	308
2.7.3.1.1	- <i>stuk</i>	312

2.7.3.2	The Local Postposition <i>-tã</i> (NE), <i>-ta</i> (W), <i>-to</i> (SE).....	312
2.7.3.3	The Associative <i>-kěli</i> (NE, W), <i>-kilě</i> (SE)	313
2.7.4	Regular Postpositions.....	316
2.7.4.1	NE <i>-kě</i> , W <i>-kě</i> , SE <i>-ŋe</i> ‘for’	316
2.7.4.2	<i>-meš</i> , NE <i>-meň</i> ‘with’	317
2.7.4.3	NE <i>-staň</i> , W <i>-stě</i> , SE <i>-stě</i> ~ <i>-ste</i> ‘from (a place)’	318
2.7.4.4	NE <i>-taň</i> ‘from’	318
2.7.4.5	<i>-u</i> ~ <i>-vu</i> ‘at, near’	319
2.7.4.6	NE/SE <i>-vik</i> , W <i>-yik</i> ‘until’	319
2.7.4.7	NE/SE <i>-pur-stě</i> ‘like’ and <i>-pur-stuk</i> ‘as big as’	320
2.7.4.8	NE/SE <i>-bomrik</i> ~ <i>-bomërik</i> ‘like’	321
2.7.4.9	NE <i>-čõrě</i> , W <i>-čoro</i> , SE <i>-čõrě</i> ‘like’	321
2.7.4.10	<i>-bok</i> ‘enough for’	321
2.7.4.11	W <i>-stořo</i> ‘since’	322
2.7.4.12	NE <i>-řerě</i> ‘directed to’	323
2.7.4.13	Spatial Postpositions	323
2.7.5	Relational Nouns.....	323
2.7.6	Converbs as Postpositions.....	325
2.8	<i>The System of Spatial Orientation</i>	326
2.8.1	Introduction	326
2.8.2	Theoretical Background.....	326
2.8.3	Overview.....	327
2.8.4	Directional Axes.....	338
2.8.4.1	Earth-Relative.....	338
2.8.4.2	End-Relative	342
2.8.4.2.1	Flat or Moderately Inclined	343
2.8.4.2.2	Vertical or Steeply Inclined	359
2.8.4.2.3	All the Way Up (SE)	367
2.8.4.3	Boundary-Relative.....	370
2.8.4.3.1	Toward / Away.....	371
2.8.4.3.2	Right Across.....	375
2.8.4.3.3	All the Way Toward (SE).....	378
2.8.4.3.4	All the Way Inside (SE)	378
2.8.4.4	Speaker-Relative.....	379
2.8.4.4.1	Horizontal.....	381
2.8.4.4.2	Downward Inclined	382
2.8.4.4.3	Upward Inclined	384
2.8.4.4.4	Half-Circle.....	385
2.8.5	Conventionalized Spatial Framing.....	388
2.8.6	Spatial Morphology.....	392
2.8.6.1	Stems	393
2.8.6.2	Base Morphemes	394

2.8.6.2.1	As Verbal Prefixes.....	394
2.8.6.2.2	With <i>pčůřuk</i> / <i>pačůřuk</i>	397
2.8.6.2.3	As Postpositions.....	398
2.8.6.3	Spatial Noun.....	398
2.8.6.4	Spatial Adjectives.....	402
2.8.6.4.1	Compounded Spatial Adjective	403
2.8.6.4.2	Locative Spatial Adjective	403
2.8.6.4.3	Diminutive Spatial Adjective.....	407
2.8.6.4.4	Extensive Spatial Adjective (only SE)	408
2.8.6.4.5	Diminutive Extensive Spatial Adjective (only SE)	409
2.9	<i>The Verb</i>	409
2.9.1	Verbal Categories.....	411
2.9.1.1	Aspect.....	411
2.9.1.1.1	Progressive Aspect.....	411
2.9.1.1.2	Perfective Aspect	413
2.9.1.1.3	Imperfective Aspect	414
2.9.1.1.4	Resultative Aspect	415
2.9.1.1.5	Continuative Aspect.....	416
2.9.1.2	Tense	417
2.9.1.2.1	Present	417
2.9.1.2.2	Past	417
2.9.1.2.3	Past Anterior.....	417
2.9.1.2.4	Future	418
2.9.1.3	Mood	421
2.9.1.3.1	Conditional	421
2.9.1.3.2	Optative	422
2.9.1.3.3	Presumptive	424
2.9.1.4	Evidentiality.....	425
2.9.1.4.1	Mediative.....	425
2.9.2	Primary Verb Stems	429
2.9.2.1	Consonant-Final Roots	429
2.9.2.1.1	y-Final Roots.....	432
2.9.2.2	Vowel-Final Roots	433
2.9.2.2.1	i-Roots.....	433
2.9.2.2.2	ü-Roots.....	435
2.9.2.2.3	a-Roots.....	435
2.9.2.2.4	u-Roots.....	437
2.9.2.2.5	e-Roots	438
2.9.2.3	Causative-Derived Verbs	440
2.9.2.4	Verbs with Irregular Stem Formation	441
2.9.2.4.1	<i>ku-</i> ‘to do’, <i>bu-</i> ‘to become’ and <i>yu-</i> ‘to eat’.....	442
2.9.2.4.2	Derivates of <i>*g(ř)a-</i> ‘to take’	443

2.9.2.4.3	<i>e-</i> ~ <i>ye-</i> ‘to go’, <i>ač-</i> ‘to come’ and <i>p(ř)ec-</i> ‘to depart’	445
2.9.3	Verb Derivation.....	446
2.9.3.1	Causative Derivation	447
2.9.3.2	Light-Verb Derivation	448
2.9.4	Deverbal Derivation.....	452
2.9.4.1	Verbal Nouns.....	452
2.9.4.1.1	The Infinitive	452
2.9.4.1.2	The Referential Infinitive (Citation Form).....	454
2.9.4.1.3	The Supine	457
2.9.4.1.4	The Abstract Verbal Noun	457
2.9.4.1.5	Verbal Place Nouns.....	460
2.9.4.2	Deverbal Adjectives.....	461
2.9.4.2.1	Participles	461
2.9.4.2.2	<i>koř</i> ‘to be done’	462
2.9.5	Negation.....	462
2.9.6	Verbal Inflection	463
2.9.6.1	Forms from the Primary Stems	463
2.9.6.1.1	The Imperative	464
2.9.6.1.2	Primary Optative Forms	466
2.9.6.1.3	The Obligative (only SE)	467
2.9.6.1.4	The Quotational Form (only NE, SE)	468
2.9.6.1.5	Converbs (non-negated)	469
2.9.6.2	Participles and Participial Stems.....	472
2.9.6.2.1	The Progressive “Participle”	472
2.9.6.2.2	The Perfective Participle	474
2.9.6.2.3	The Imperfective Participle	483
2.9.6.3	Agreement markers	486
2.9.6.3.1	The Verbal Person Markers	486
2.9.6.3.2	The Verbal Gender Markers.....	488
2.9.6.3.3	The Adjective Gender Markers	490
2.9.6.4	The Copula	491
2.9.6.4.1	Copular Stems.....	491
2.9.6.4.2	Present form	493
2.9.6.4.3	Past form.....	495
2.9.6.4.4	Mediative form	498
2.9.6.4.5	Presumptive form	500
2.9.6.5	The Complex Verbal Paradigms – Introduction.....	503
2.9.6.6	The Complex Verbal Paradigms – Progressive System	504
2.9.6.6.1	The Progressive Present.....	504
2.9.6.6.2	The Progressive Past.....	505
2.9.6.6.3	The Progressive Mediative.....	507
2.9.6.6.4	The Progressive Presumptive.....	508

2.9.6.6.5	The Western Progressive Conditional.....	510
2.9.6.7	The Complex Verbal Paradigms – Imperfective System	510
2.9.6.7.1	The Synthetic Future	511
2.9.6.7.2	The Southeastern Non-Volitional Future.....	512
2.9.6.7.3	The Imperfective Present / Periphrastic Future	513
2.9.6.7.4	The Imperfective / Future Past.....	516
2.9.6.7.5	The Imperfective / Future Mediative	517
2.9.6.7.6	The Imperfective / Future Presumptive	519
2.9.6.7.7	The Imperfective / Future Past Presumptive.....	521
2.9.6.7.8	The Imperfective / Future Conditional & Non-Volitional Future.....	522
2.9.6.7.9	The Optative	524
2.9.6.7.10	The Optative Past	526
2.9.6.8	The Complex Verbal Paradigms – Perfective System.....	527
2.9.6.8.1	The Perfective Conditional	528
2.9.6.8.2	The Perfective Past	533
2.9.6.8.3	The Perfective Past Anterior.....	539
2.9.6.8.4	The Perfective Past Mediative	540
2.9.6.8.5	The Perfective Past Presumptive	541
2.9.6.8.6	The Resultative	543
2.9.6.8.7	The Resultative Past	547
2.9.6.8.8	The Resultative Mediative	548
2.9.6.8.9	The Resultative Presumptive	551
2.9.6.8.10	Resultative Past Presumptive	554
2.9.6.8.11	The Resultative Conditional	557
2.9.6.8.12	The Negated Converb	559
2.10	<i>Particles</i>	560
2.11	<i>Syntax</i>	561
2.11.1	Noun Phrases	561
2.11.1.1	Coordination of Noun Phrases.....	561
2.11.1.1.1	NP= <i>je</i> (=dye) NP – Coordination of 2 Members	562
2.11.1.1.2	NP= <i>je</i> (=dye) NP= <i>ey</i> ~ <i>-ē</i> ~ <i>=e</i> – Coordination of 2 – 3 Members	562
2.11.1.1.3	NP= <i>ey</i> ~ <i>-ē</i> ~ <i>=e</i> , NP= <i>ey</i> ~ <i>-ē</i> ~ <i>=e</i> – List Coordination	562
2.11.1.1.4	NP= <i>di</i> NP= <i>di</i> – ‘both X and Y’	563
2.11.1.1.5	<i>ka</i> ~ <i>kā</i> NP, <i>ka</i> ~ <i>kā</i> NP – ‘either X or Y’	563
2.11.1.1.6	<i>ne</i> ~ <i>na</i> NP, <i>ne</i> ~ <i>na</i> NP – ‘neither X nor Y’	564
2.11.2	Possession	564
2.11.3	Comparative Constructions	567
2.11.4	Grammatical Relations	569
2.11.5	Simple Clauses	574
2.11.5.1	Word Order	574
2.11.5.2	Non-Verbal Predicates	575

2.11.5.3	Complex Predicates.....	577
2.11.6	Combination of Clauses.....	581
2.11.6.1	Asyndetic	581
2.11.6.1.1	Conjunctive Coordination.....	581
2.11.6.1.2	Adversative Coordination.....	582
2.11.6.1.3	Disjunctive Coordination of Questions.....	583
2.11.6.1.4	Adverbial Result Clauses	584
2.11.6.1.5	Relative Clauses.....	584
2.11.6.2	Quoted Speech	585
2.11.6.2.1	Object Complement Clauses	587
2.11.6.2.2	Adverbial Purpose Clauses	589
2.11.6.2.3	Adverbial Reason Clauses.....	592
2.11.6.2.4	Indirect Questions.....	594
2.11.6.2.5	Reported Commands	596
2.11.6.3	Enclitic Conjunctions	596
2.11.6.3.1	<i>-bo</i> – Subordinate Conditional, Concessive and Correlative Clauses.....	596
2.11.6.3.2	<i>-tā ~ -to</i> – Subordinate Temporal-Conditional Clauses.....	608
2.11.6.3.3	<i>-tē</i> – Subordinate Temporal Background Clauses	610
2.11.6.4	Clause-Initial Conjunctions.....	612
2.11.6.4.1	<i>kay</i> – Descriptive Relative Clauses	612
2.11.6.4.2	<i>ney ~ nay</i> – Disjunctive Coordination.....	613
2.11.6.5	Converb Clauses.....	615
2.11.6.5.1	Verb-Modifying Converb Clauses	616
2.11.6.5.2	Converbs as Free Adjuncts.....	617
2.11.6.5.3	Clause Chaining	618
2.11.6.6	Participial Clauses.....	618
2.11.6.6.1	Participial Relative Clauses	619
2.11.6.6.2	Depictive Secondary Predicates.....	620
2.11.6.6.3	Event-Oriented Adverbial Clauses.....	625
2.11.6.7	Nominalization	626
2.11.6.7.1	Infinitive	626
2.11.6.7.2	Referential Infinitive	630
2.11.6.7.3	Supine.....	632
2.11.6.7.4	Verbal Place Noun	633
2.11.7	Syntax and Language Contact	634
2.11.7.1	Multifunctional <i>če</i> and <i>ke/ki</i>	635
2.11.7.1.1	Quoted Speech.....	635
2.11.7.1.2	Relative Clauses and Hybrid Correlative Structures	636
2.11.7.1.3	Adverbial Result Clauses	639
2.11.7.1.4	Temporal Clauses	640
2.11.7.2	Conditional clauses with <i>agá(r)</i>	640
2.11.7.3	Additive Coordination with <i>sěvéřě ~ sŭřě ~ sŏřě</i>	641

2.11.7.4	Adversative Coordination with <i>xo</i>	642
2.11.7.5	Disjunctive Coordination with <i>yo</i>	642
2.11.7.6	Temporal clauses with <i>to</i>	643
References		644
Grammatical Index.....		657

Acknowledgments

This book is a revised and expanded version of my Ph.D. dissertation, which was accepted by the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Cologne (Germany) and defended on 25 January, 2023. It owes much to many people and to some so much that it is difficult to convey in a few short paragraphs.

In first place, I wish to thank all Nuristani people who shared their knowledge about their language with me and helped me to learn and understand it. First and foremost among them has been Abdul Nasir Mansur of Mumret (Bumboret Shēkhāndeh), who freely offered support from the moment we got in contact, read entire books out for me, explaining words and grammatical forms, wrote down paradigms and sent hundreds of voice and text messages. He finally also welcomed me to his home (though I could only be there for one night) and spent many hours working with me at the Chitral Inn when the local authorities restricted my movements, showing me around the nicest parts of Chitral Town whenever we took a break. This book could not exist without him.

I also thank Abdul Hanan Nooristani of Mumoňm (Mumōgřom, Maṇḍagal Suflā) for many hours spent recording in Vienna, Imam Mohammad Warymoch (Věrímoč) of Ateraro (Rārā) for a number of Whatsapp and Skype conversations and Fazal Akbar of Kuništ (Rumbur Shēkhāndeh) for some voice messages and readings via WhatsApp. I would also like to thank those people who influenced this grammatical description with their recorded speech or writings, even though I never or only sporadically interacted with them personally and though some of them are no longer alive to receive my gratitude. These are, in particular, Sulayman Sunara (Sun-Aro) of Bēdiņčo (Badīnšāh), Abdul Bari Aidari (Ayderē) of Pčigřom (Pačigrām), Haroon Rashid Nooristani of Budmuk (Nikmuk/Sa‘īdābād) and others who have appeared on RTA’s Nuristani program, Nuri Said (†) of Kulem and his brother Nur-ul-Haqq (Nurak) (†), Qāži Ġulāmullāh (†) of Pitiğil (Pitigal)/Kombřom (Kāmdēš), Muhammad Kabir (†) and Anvar Amin (†) of Kombřom (Kāmdēš), *Wakīl* Abdullah (†) of Kštoňm (Kuštōz) and the narrators of the Katē folk tales collected by Yāsamīn Ġanā (Ĵano), named as Šāh Wayī, Bībī Maryam (1), Jalāluddīn, Bībī Rahīma and Bībī Maryam (2). Some other texts and recordings are quoted in this book without me knowing whose speech they contain. Finally, I also wish to thank the many people I spoke with and learned from in Pakistan, of whom I remember by name Nizamuddin, who helped me deal with a visit to the Deputy Commissioner’s office.

If this book could not exist without Nasir Mansur, then it could also not exist without Fakhruddin Akhunzada, head of the Pakistani Forum for Language Initiatives (FLI), who did not hesitate to put me in contact with Nasir after I wrote an email inquiring about their work on the Katë language and who readily included me in their orthography development work. I am similarly grateful to all the people working for the FLI in Chitral and Islamabad, whose efforts are central in keeping alive the fascinating languages of northern Pakistan.

In Germany, I gratefully acknowledge the support of the a.r.t.e.s. Graduate School for the Humanities Cologne, which funded my project from the pre-doctoral stage up to the defense of the dissertation. I am also very grateful to my advisors Eugen Hill, Nikolaus P. Himmelmann and Almuth Degener. Eugen Hill steered my ideas into the right direction at the very beginning of the project and always trusted me with the necessary freedom to pursue my project in my own way. Nikolaus Himmelmann helped me greatly with various descriptive issues and with questions of how to pursue fieldwork and Almuth Degener, who was the person who first introduced me to the world of the Nuristani languages, supported me with comments and encouragement. I cannot fail to mention another person without whom this book could not exist: Sviatoslav Kaverin, with whom I was in constant contact throughout the project and who helped me in too many ways to list, providing me – among many other things – with unpublished recordings and language notes, as well as his own recordings, pictures and field observations, putting me in contact with several Nuristani people and always discussing new projects and research questions. His tireless enthusiasm in the engagement with and for the peoples of the Hindu Kush has kept pushing me to raise my own standards.

I would also like to thank Henrik Liljegren for readily agreeing to give me advice on fieldwork in Pakistan and helping me throughout my stay there, but also for discussing Hindu Kush linguistics with me on various occasions, including in Cologne and in Rome. For similar discussions, in person or via email, I also thank Robert Tegethoff, Julian Kreidl and Yoshioka Noboru. My gratitude additionally goes out to Alberto Cacopardo, for generously introducing me into the community of “Peristan” researchers and for discussing various questions with me, mostly pertaining to the relationship between Nuristani historical linguistics and ethnohistory.

I am indebted to the work of many previous scholars, but most importantly to that of Aleksandr L. Grjunberg, Richard F. Strand and *Qāẓi Ġulāmullāh*. These three laid such a solid foundation in the grammatical analysis of the language described in this book

that I was able to delve into questions of dialectology and details of grammatical analysis which would otherwise have been far out of reach within the span of just a few years. Whenever I could not find an answer to my questions in their published (and unpublished) statements, a corpus search in their ample text collections often provided it.

I would also like to thank my family, my parents Mona and Christoph Halfmann and my brothers Lukas and Moritz, who continue to support (and endure) my preference for faraway languages over the practical things of life.

Finally, I want to thank another important person without whom this book (and I) could not exist – Natalie, who was there for every step of the way and who caught me whenever I stumbled, both in science and in life.

The last acknowledgement goes to Vasya, who returned to us from certain death while this book was being written and who was with me in spirit at the defense, as well as to Masha, who presented the first printed version to the world.

I have no doubt that plenty of errors and omissions remain in this book. Still, it is time to send it out into the world and to live with the consequences. To say it in the words of Georg Buddruss, one of the great researchers on the Nuristani languages:

“Alle unsere Arbeit ist ja nur Stückwerk [...], alle haben wir nur Fragmente, und das Leben ist so kurz.” (Edelberg & Jones 1979: 9)

Jakob Halfmann

Leipzig, October 2024

Abbreviations

Dialect Abbreviations:¹

W	Western dialect
-RM	of Řamgél [generally]
-ŠT	of Štur (Čtur)
-KN	of Kėnégěl (Bandol)
-KL	of Kulém
-KT	of Ktívi (Kantiwā)
NE	Northeastern dialect
-BG	of Břėgémaṭol (Barg-i Matāl)
-PC	of Pćígřom (Pačigrām)
-BN	of Bėdínço (Badinšāh)
-MR	of Mumrét (Bumboret Šėkhāndeh)
-KN	of Kunířṭ (Rumbur Šėkhāndeh)
-BD	of Bėdévon (Dėwāna Bābā)
SE	Southeastern dialect
-KM	of Kómbřom (Kāmdėř)
-PT	of Pítiğil (Pitigal)
-MM	of Mumónm (Maṇḍagal Suflā)
-KS	of Křstońm (Kuřtōz)

¹ Most places in and around Nuristan have at least two names, one used in the native language and one “Persian”/“Pashto” name that is given for the benefit of outsiders. The native names are sometimes again different from dialect to dialect (e.g. NE *Kómbřėgom* = SE *Kómbřom*, outside name: *Kāmdėř*). For some places there is also more than one outside name. In this description, I give the pronunciation that is used in the dialect of the respective places themselves, followed by the outside name inside brackets.

Glossing Abbreviations:

1	1 st person
2	2 nd person
3	3 rd person
ABL	ablative case
ADD	additive
ANT	anterior
ASSOC	associative
CAUS	causative
CERT	certain
CNJ	conjunction
COND	conditional mood
CONT	continuative aspect
CONTR	contrastive
COP	copula
CVB	(general) converb
CVB.SIM	simultaneous converb
DEM	demonstrative
DIR	direct case
DIST	distal (demonstrative)
DISTR	distributive
DNM	demonym
DUB	dubitative
EXT	extensive
EZ	ezafe (< Persian)
F	feminine
FOC	focus
FUT	future tense
GEN	genitive case
HSY	hearsay
IDPH	ideophone
IMP	imperative
IND	individuating (reflexive or quantifier)
INF	infinitive
INS	instrumental case

INTS	intensifier
IPFV	imperfective aspect
LDEM	local demonstrative
LOC	locative case
LP	local prefix
LPST	local postposition
M	masculine
MED	medial
MDV	mediative
NEG	negation
NMLZR	nominalizer
NONVOL	non-volitional
OBL	oblique case
OBLIG	obligative
OPT	optative mood
PERT	pertensive
PFV	perfective aspect
PL	plural
PN	proper name
PN.LOC	proper name/place name (in locative case)
PROG	progressive aspect
PROPR	propriative
PROX	proximal
PRSM	presumptive mood
PST	past tense
PTCP	participle
Q	polar question marker
QUOT	quotational form
REC	reciprocal
REF	referentializer
REFL	reflexive
RES	resultative aspect
SA	spatial adjective
SA.EXT	extensive spatial adjective
SG	singular

SN	spatial noun
SPRT	softening particle
SUP	supine
TOP	topic
VN	(abstract) verbal noun
VOC	vocative case

For an explanation of the arrows and little heads used as glosses, see section 2.7.6.

Glossing Conventions

All examples sentences in this dissertation which are longer than a few words are given an interlinear segmentation and glossing, together with a free translation.

In the first line, the sentence is presented in its actual form with all kinds of vowel coalescences, sandhi results and other phonological phenomena of this kind. Phrasal accent is generally indicated only on this line. Clitics are set off with a clitic boundary sign at this stage <=>, but only if they have not fused phonologically with their hosts. At the second level all elements are separated from each other and shown in the form that they would have in isolation. Here the symbol $\overset{\sim}{}$ is used between elements that have fused together phonologically.

Below the separated level, short glosses are given (following the standards of the Leipzig Glossing Rules), followed by a free translation below. For discontinuous phrases with a single meaning, e.g. phrasal verbs interrupted by negation, three dots are used after the gloss of the first element and before the gloss of the second element (for example, a phrasal verb meaning ‘change’ interrupted by negation might be glossed “change... NEG ... change”). The free translation is followed by a dialect abbreviation in square brackets and a source abbreviation (cf. section 1.3.3) and number in round brackets.

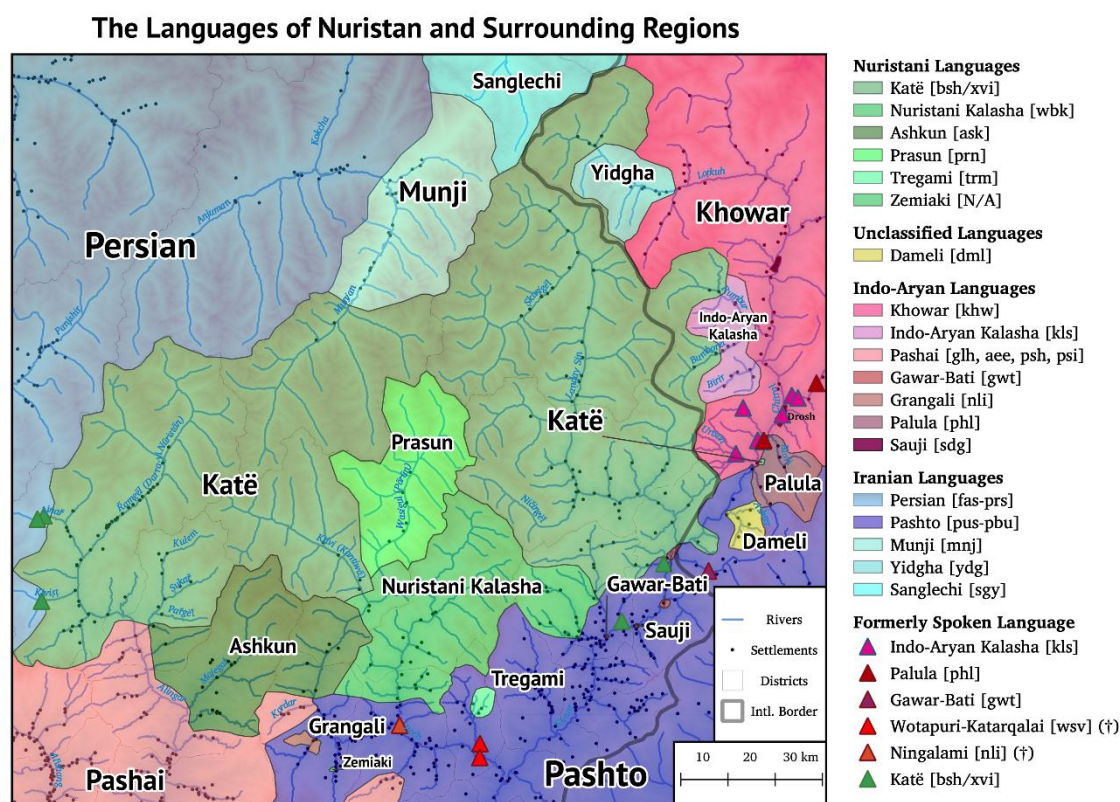
Part 1: Introduction

The subject of this book is the Katë language (Glottocode: *kati1270*; ISO 639-3: *bsh* & *xvi*), a Nuristani (Indo-Iranian) language spoken in the Hindu Kush mountains of eastern Afghanistan and in some enclaves across the border in northern Pakistan.

The grammatical structure of this language as it is today is described in this book from a descriptive-typological point of view with occasional historical-comparative notes, both on the relations between dialects and on connections to other languages. Part 1 gives basic information on the non-linguistic and linguistic contexts, in which the language is embedded, and on the context and methodology of this study. Part 2 deals with the grammar itself.

1.1 The Language and its Speakers

1.1.1 Geographical Extent



The Katë language is spoken in adjacent sections of five major valley systems of the Hindu Kush mountains. In the west, the language area begins in Ĥamgël, which is the name of the uppermost section of the Alingar valley, a tributary of the Kabul. The next

valley section, Kulem, also branches off the Alingar, but is separated from Ārangəl by a Pashai-speaking area. Neighboring across the mountains, but not along the river, is the third valley of Ktivi (Kantiwā), the ancestral home of the Katē people. This valley is a tributary of the Pech, which in turn flows into the Kunar. Separated from the mentioned three areas by the interfering Prasun-speaking Pārūn valley is the eastern section of the language's territory. This extends along the Laṇḍay Sin valley (also known as Bashgal) with all its tributaries, up to the confluence with the Kunar and spreading into some upper ends of other Kunar tributaries, in particular the Duṇul (Darin) valley. Neighboring toward the east across the mountains are the Chitrali enclaves of Gabur at the uppermost end of the Luṭkuh valley, Kuniṣṭ (Rumbur Šēkhāndeh) at the uppermost end of the Rumbur valley and Mumret (Bumboret Šēkhāndeh) at the uppermost end of the Bumboret valley. The enclaves of Laməroṭ (Langurbats/Lambarbaṭ) and Baḍrēḡəl (Baḍugal) are located along the main Chitral valley. The only area north of the main Hindu Kush range, in which the language is spoken is the uppermost end of the Munjan valley, with the villages of Pēnunēšo (Naw) and Ferazen.

1.1.2 Ethnic Differentiation of Speakers

The speakers of the language, though sharing besides their language a common identity as Nuristanis², are divided into a number of ethnic groups, not all of which acknowledge a common origin, though most ultimately trace their origin to regions in or near the Ktivi (Kantiwā) valley.

The following section summarizes information from Herrlich (1937), Snoy (1965), Strand (1997a), Strand, Ġulāmullāh & Muhammad Kabir (1997), Strand, Fazl Karim & Ġulāmullāh (1998) and Cacopardo & Cacopardo (2001) combined with my own observations.

The largest group are the *Katē*, settled in the Western valley systems of Ārangəl, Kulem and Ktivi (Kantiwā), where they speak the Western dialect, as well as in *Katēḡel* (the upper section of the Laṇḍay Sin valley) and the cross-border enclaves in the Luṭkuh, Bumboret and Rumbur valleys, where they speak the Northeastern dialect. The center

² The speakers in Chitral (Pakistan) have arguably never been “Nuristani”, since their ancestors crossed the border before the name “Nuristan” became established, but out of a sense of shared culture, language and identity they have also come to accept this label for themselves.

of the eastern Katë is at Břëgemaṭol (Barg-i Matāl). The enclave of Pënunišo (Naw) in upper Munjan is also inhabited by Katë people.

The Katë are said to have originated in the Ktivi (Kantiwā) valley, from where they expanded their territory both west- and eastward via conquest and migration. This expansion can probably be dated to around the 17th century CE (Cacopardo 2023: 24–26). The names Katë and Ktivi (Kantiwā) are almost certainly historically related.³ All non-Katë groups speak the Southeastern dialect.

The second largest group are the *Kom*, who hold suzerainty over most of the lower Laṇḍay Sin valley centered on their main village of Kombřom (Kāmdēš), as well as parts of Kunar province and the cross-border enclave in Lamëroṭ (Langurbats/Lambarbaṭ). The Kom are said to have been driven out of their original home of Kamgël off the Pech valley during a conflict with the Katë and Saṇu (Wāmāi) (cf. also Buddruss 2006: 179–180). Since then they have steadily expanded their territory.

Between the Katë and Kom, the *Mumó* are settled in the three villages of Mumoñm (Maṇḍagal Suflā), Maṇgöl (Maṇḍagal ‘Ulyā) and Saskũ (Časku/Šamarbāğ) in the lower Laṇḍay Sin valley. They are said to be immigrants from the village of Mum in the Pech valley. The word *Mumó* most likely derives from **Mum-yó* ‘Mum people, people of Mum’ with the demonym suffix -yó (2.3.6.8.6).

The *Kšto* originally resided in the village of Kštoñm (Kuštōz) in the lower Laṇḍay Sin valley, where they are said to have immigrated to from Kušt in the Pech valley. The word *Kšto* (w *Kuštó*) most likely derives from **Kušt-yó* ‘Kušt people, people of Kušt’ (cf. also Indo-Aryan Kalasha *Kuštýá* ‘Southeastern Nuristanis’ from the same source). After the destruction of Kštoñm (Kuštōz) by the Kom, the Kšto now form a diaspora group in the Duṇul (Darin) valley, a tributary of the Kunar, and other places in Kunar province.

The *Ĵaší/Ĵaží* are believed to be descendants of the original inhabitants of the Laṇḍay Sin valley, who probably used to have a separate language. Today they still live in Vuštroṭ (Gawardēš) near the confluence of Laṇḍay Sin and Kunar and in Baḍrëğël (Baḍugal) across the border in Chitral.

³ The Nuristani Kalasha form *Kāṭá* suggests that the -t- of *Katë* is the reflex of an earlier *-nt-, which also appears in the name *Kantiwā* and the “Pashto” term *Kantōz*. The original form must have had a long vowel in the first syllable. A reasonable hypothesis would be a *vřddhi* derivate (with lengthened root vowel) from the root of the place name with a nominal -ka- suffix **Kānta-ka-* ‘person from Kantiwā’.

The *Binyó* and *Ĵamĵó* are minor ethnic groups that are subordinate to the Kom within the same area of settlement in the lower Laṇḍay Sin. They are said to be immigrants respectively from the villages of Buni in the Pech valley and Ĵāmač in the Kalašūm (Waigal) valley. Their names most likely are again formations with the demonym suffix -yó indicating their places of origin.

To some degree separate from the ethnic divisions of the free people is the historically enslaved artisan class of the *Barí*, who still form a separate low-status group today.

1.1.3 Name of the Language

A precise, universally accepted name for the language that includes all of its dialects, while at the same time excluding other languages of the Nuristani family, does not exist. The complicated issues and contradictory naming conventions that have arisen from this situation are discussed in detail in Halfmann (2021). The section below is an abbreviated summary.

In colloquial speech, the most common way to refer to the language is NE *imú vëri*, W-KT *yimú vëri*, W *yimó vëri*, SE *yimó viri* – ‘our language’. Beyond this, ethnically-based names are in use among each of the various ethnic groups, e.g. *Katëvëri* (‘Katë-speech’), *Kamviri* (‘Kom-speech’), *Mumviri* (‘Mumo-speech’), *Kštëviri* (‘Kšto-speech’) etc.

In the eastern part of the language area, the “Pashto” terms *Kantōz*, *Kamōz* and *Kuštōz* for Katë, Kom and Kšto are known, from which adjectives referring to their language with the forms *Kantōzī*, *Kamōzī* and *Kuštōzī* can be derived. In the western part of the language area a Persian-based term *Katë-ī* is in use.⁴ Group terms referencing late conversion to Islam are sometimes also used for the language, in particular *Ĵaddī* (< Prs.-Arab. *ġadīdī* ‘newcomer’) in the western part of the language area and *Šexānī* (Shekhani) in Chitral. At least the latter term is not perceived as particularly derogatory by speakers in Chitral and even serves as a self-designation.

A common way to include all dialects without privileging a single ethnic group is to use the term Nuristani (e.g. as *Nuristoní-vëri* ‘Nuristani speech’), which, among speakers, is ordinarily taken to refer only to their own language. This is also how the term Nuristani is interpreted by the (previous as well as current) government of Afghanistan, which has used the term Nuristani in the context of minority language programs to refer particularly to this largest language of Nuristan. Unfortunately, this

⁴ I phrased this as a hypothesis in Halfmann (2021), but it has by now been confirmed by a speaker from Rāmgël. It is not a “nonce-word” as Strand (2016: 70) claims.

term would be too imprecise for scientific use since it theoretically includes all Nuristani languages.

The earliest foreign researchers (e.g. Davidson 1902) have used the Khowar term *Bašgali* (Bashgali, Bashgeli), which is derived from the Khowar name *Bašgal* of the Lanḍay Sin valley. This term is perceived as derogatory by speakers living in Chitral. Later linguists have followed the example of Morgenstierne (1926), who introduced the term *Kati*, based on a misheard *Katë-ī*. Strand (e.g. 2016: 70) has rejected this term in favor of the ethnically based self-designations, which he has combined – following a suggestion from his consultant *Qāzī Ġulāmullāh* – into the more inclusive compounds *Kamkētëvëri* and *Kamkētëmumkštëvëri*, though these are not used by speakers.

I have suggested to use the name of the largest ethnic group *Katë* as a term of convenience for linguistic publications, to refer to the common language of all ethnic groups and this is the convention that I will follow throughout this book. In doing so, I by no means wish to imply that this is the “correct” name of the language. It is merely a practical way of dealing with a problem that has no easy or ideal solution.

1.1.4 Number of Speakers

1.1.4.1 First-Language Speakers

Accurate figures on the speaker population are difficult to come by. A comprehensive and reliable population census has never been carried out in Nuristan, so that even official numbers can only be taken as estimates. Additionally, rapid population growth in recent decades together with the disruptions of civil war in Afghanistan almost certainly mean that previously reported numbers are outdated.

The German Hindu Kush Expedition of 1935 produced the earliest somewhat substantiated estimates of speaker populations for Nuristan by counting houses and multiplying the numbers with an assumed average of 6 inhabitants per house. Based on this method, Herrlich (1937: 175) conjectured that there were around 20.000 speakers of the *Katë* language at the time, out of a total population of around 34.000 Nuristanis (excluding Pashai). This number was still considered plausible 45 years later by Grjunberg (1980: 10) in the most recent grammatical description of the language. It is also closely matched by the rough population estimates published by the Afghan government's Central Statistics Office as part of its “Provisional Gazetteer of Afghanistan” (CSO 1975), ahead of the 1979 national census (in which Nuristan was mostly not enumerated (cf. Balland 1992)). Adding up the population figures

(from the civil registers) given there for all villages and districts known to be inhabited by Katë-speakers leads to a figure of around 22.000. Since then, the population of Nuristan has very likely at least doubled in size (cf. Strand et al. 2009: 27; Balland 1992). A number of widely varying population figures have been published more recently in government and NGO reports, the most relevant numbers are summarized in Table 1. Perhaps the most reliable government report is the 2002-2005 household survey. This survey was a preparatory endeavor for a country-wide census, which had been planned for 2008 but was never actually carried out.

District	NSIA (2020)	CSO & UNFPA (2003)	Larsson (2006: 15)	Strand et al. (2009)	Parsons (1995)
Kamdes	28.564	32.720	21.900	-	-
Barg-i Matal	17.537	18.398	13.400	-	-
Mandol	22.320	11.875	17.200	-	20.000- 30.000
Duab	8.902	6.973	6.800	12.087	-
- Kulem v.		-	-	- 4962	-
Parun (Center)	15.279	11.508	11.700	7.322	-
- Ktivi v.		-	-	- 3470	-
Total	92.602	81.474	71.000	-	-

Table 1. Population estimates

Assuming that the NSIA 2020/21 estimates are roughly representative and that the distribution of population within Duab and Parun districts has not changed significantly since the inquiries of Strand et al. (2009), who reported around 50% of Parun district's population and around 40% percent of Duab district's population in Katë-speaking valleys, we reach a total of around 79.600 speakers within Nuristan province.⁵ The same calculations based directly on the household listing of 2003 give around 71.500 speakers.⁶

⁵ 28.564 + 17.537 + 22.320 + 8902 x 0,4 + 15.279 x 0,5 = 79.621

⁶ 71.536,2

More reliable information is available about the groups of speakers settled outside of Nuristan province in southern Munjan (Badakhshan province) and in the western side valleys of Chitral (Pakistan), where sociolinguistic surveys and censuses have been conducted relatively recently.

For Munjan, Snoy (1965: 112) reported 5 Nuristani households in Naw in 1962/1963. Beyer & Beck (2011: 42) report 30 households in Naw and 5 in Ferazen (the two villages with Nuristani majority). With an average number of 13 people per household in the whole valley (cf. Beyer & Beck 2011: 42), this gives a total of perhaps around 230 speakers in Munjan.

In Chitral, Decker (1992: 11) estimated between 5.200 and 7.100 speakers (of all dialects and ethnic groups). A recent Pakistani government census (PBS 2018) supports this estimate, reporting a total number of 6803 inhabitants in the relevant villages (excluding the uncertain number of native speakers in Yüçün (Urtsun)).

This gives a total of around 86.600 speakers in the whole native-speaking area. To this should be added diasporas in surrounding regions (in particular including Kšto refugees in Kunar province) and in larger cities of Afghanistan and Pakistan (especially Kabul, Jalalabad, Chitral Town and Peshawar) beside refugees and emigrants in numerous other countries around the world.

Altogether we can thus assume that a relatively well-substantiated estimate for the present would be in the range of around **80.000-90.000 speakers**. This number is quite a bit higher than the estimate of 40.000-60.000 given by Strand (1997a), though his figure relates to the ethnic population rather than the speaker population.

In any case it is certain that the Katë language is the largest Nuristani language by number of speakers. Even without detailed population figures, this fact is obvious to all Nuristanis and was known to all foreign observers at least since the time of Robertson (1896). It is also probably the only Nuristani language that has a significant number of second-language speakers.

1.1.4.2 Second-Language Speakers

Though it is not possible to give numerical estimates, second-language speakers are reported from several locations.

Cacopardo & Cacopardo (2001: 262) found for Yüçün (Urtsun) in lower Chitral in 1989 that Indo-Aryan Kalasha was the first language spoken in homes, but that *Kamviri* (the Southeastern variety spoken by the Kom) was the second language “known to all” even before Khovar, which only the men spoke. Competent second-

language speakers of the same dialect are also said to exist among the Otadari lineage of the Dameli who trace their ancestry to Nuristan (Cacopardo & Cacopardo 2001: 166).

Heegård (2015: 14) relates that Indo-Aryan Kalasha speakers from the village of Kraka in Bumboret “are reported to speak Kati in interaction with Kati people from the neighbouring village upstream”. I was told in Chitral that people who come and settle with their family in the Katë village of Bumboret generally learn the local language, regardless of what they originally spoke.

A high percentage of second-language speakers no doubt also exists in Pārūn, probably with an increasing tendency since the foundation of the new capital of Nuristan in that valley. Historically at least, it is attested that many Katë loanwords have entered the Prasun language and that the language of the Prasun pre-Islamic hymns was strongly influenced by Katë (cf. Buddruss & Degener 2017: 5).

Katz (1982: 309), through surveys in Nišeygrām in the Kalaşüm (Waigal) valley, found that 14.5% of respondents in his random sample reported that they were able to understand the Katë language. Among people who have spent some time outside their village this percentage increases to 68.8%, though knowledge of the direct neighbor Ashkun was still more common.

Von Moos (1980: 14) mentions a Munjani salt trader (in his fifties in 1974/1976) who learnt “two Nuristani languages” in his youth, meaning most probably Katë and Prasun. Beyer & Beck (2011: 42) report about the Katë enclaves of upper Munjan that “there are some Munji wives in these villages, and a few of them speak Munji with their children. Some families speak Dari at home, but most of them speak Nuristani.”

1.1.5 Language Vitality

The categorization on the EGIDS scale that has been given to the Katë language by Ethnologue is 6a. “vigorous”, an assessment which the regional experts Liljegren & Akhunzada (2017: 76) do not dispute. In the context of this scale, “vigorous” means that “the language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language”.

I cannot give a reliable assessment of language vitality that would hold across the entire Katë-speaking region. Nevertheless, the impression that I have gotten during my research and interaction with native speakers is certainly that of a “vigorous” language. There does not seem to be any acute danger to the transmission of the language onto the next generation. All children in native-speaking communities learn

the language and speak it throughout their lives. I have been told that complete monolinguals are not unheard of in Nuristan, especially among people who have not left the region and among women.

The only subregion where the language has clearly become threatened is in the enclave of Baḍrëğël (Baḍugal) in the main Chitral valley, where intermarriage with other groups has reduced the enclave community, which was small from the outset, to the point that their language may not survive much longer in this location (Fakhruddin Akhunzada, p.c.). Language shift is also reported by Strand (1997a) for regions directly bordering Pashto- or Persian-speaking regions in Afghanistan.

Educated speakers both in Afghanistan and Pakistan are working toward the development of a functional orthography and written language that would further strengthen the position of the Katë language. Written materials are already being produced, e.g. in the form of the Afghan minority language magazine *Waṭandārān*, the publication of which seems to be continued under the Taliban government.

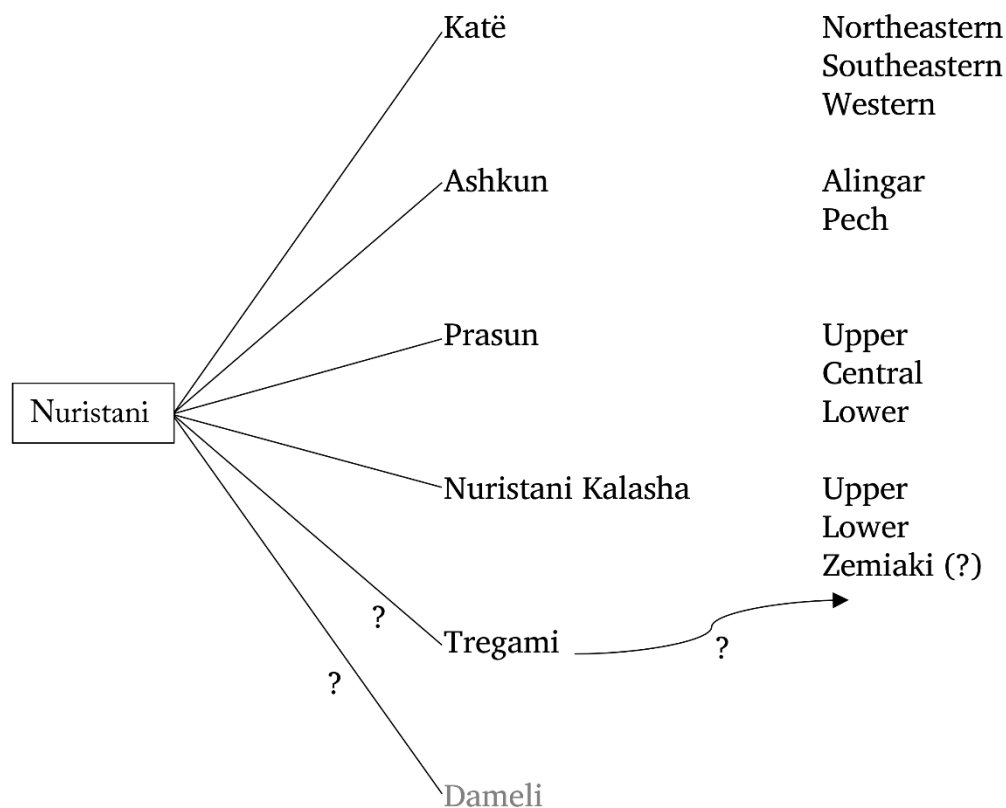
Future societal developments such as further integration into the majority societies of Afghanistan and Pakistan, a higher general level of education and better accessibility infrastructure in the native-speaking regions, which are in themselves of course highly desirable for the speaker community, may at the same time be the biggest risk factors for a negative turn towards language endangerment.

1.2 Linguistic Context

1.2.1 Genealogical Classification (Language Family)

Katë is a member of the small family of Nuristani languages, all spoken in relative geographical proximity to each other, which beside itself includes Nuristani Kalasha, Ashkun, Prasun, Tregami and possibly Dameli.⁷

⁷ Language names following Halfmann (2021).



This family is uncontroversially considered to belong to the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European languages, but that is where the agreement between researchers ends. The historical position of the Nuristani languages within the Indo-Iranian branch and its relation to the other two subbranches Indo-Aryan and Iranian is still an open question and different researchers have defended opposing views on this question (see Degener (2002) for a summary of the most important positions).

What is clear, is that the sound developments of the Nuristani languages point to a separate development from a very early date – certainly since before the earliest attestations of Iranian languages in the Avesta and the earliest attestations of Indo-Aryan languages in the Ṛgveda, which are both conventionally dated to the 2nd millennium BC. But beyond this, the history of the Nuristani languages is completely unknown because the languages have been reliably documented beginning only in the 20th century. The thousands of years of history in between can only be reconstructed piece by piece with the help of the methods of historical-comparative linguistics.

Proto-Indo-European	Proto-Indo-Iranian	Vedic Sanskrit	Avestan	Katë
*g ^(w) _ *i, *e	*ǵ	j jyā- ‘bowstring’	ǵ ǵiā- ‘bowstring’	ǵ ǵi ‘bowstring’
*g ^{(w)h} _ *i, *e	*ǵ ^h	h han- ‘to strike, kill’	ǵ ǵan- ‘to strike, kill’	ǵ NE/W ǵñé-, SE ǵañé- ‘to kill’
*ǵ	*ǵ	j jāmātar- ‘son-in-law’	z zāmātar- ‘son-in-law’	NE/W z, SE ǵ NE/W zēmó, SE ǵamó ‘son-in-law’
*ǵ ^h	*ǵ ^h	h hṛdaya- ‘heart’	z zəradaia- ‘heart’	NE/W z, SE ǵ NE/W zērē, SE ǵarē ‘heart’
*k	*ć	ś dāśa- ‘ten’	s dasa- ‘ten’	ć duc ‘ten’
*s *r, *u, *k, *i _	*š	ṣ múṣ- ‘mouse’ viṣá- ‘poison’	š (mūš-) ⁸ ‘mouse’ uuīša- ‘poison’	s NE musé ‘mouse’ (< *mūš-a-ka-) š viš ‘poison’

Table 2. Nuristani Sound Correspondences

When looking at these sound developments in detail (illustrated in with the help of Katë examples in Table 2), it becomes clear that the mergers of Indo-Iranian palatal consonants are structurally the same as in Iranian, but the results are in all cases phonetically affricates and therefore remain at a more archaic stage of sound development in modern times than the fricatives that had developed in the same positions already in the earliest attestations of Old Iranian languages. An Iranian phonological innovation which probably happened at the Common Iranian stage (after the disintegration of Proto-Iranian into separate dialects) is the change of *s > h,

⁸ Not securely attested in Avestan, but cf. Middle Persian *mūš* ‘mouse’.

which has also not taken place in Nuristani. Nuristani is distinct from both Indo-Iranian subbranches in having lost the original aspiration contrast without any trace, though it is unclear how old this development is. Another unclear point of Nuristani sound development is the application of the RUKI rule (*s > *š | _ *r, *u, *k, *i), of which in some contexts no traces can be detected.

The Nuristani mergers of Indo-Iranian palatals are opposite to what is attested in Old Indo-Aryan. Etymological distributions of reflexes of Proto-Indo-Iranian *j^(h) and *ʃ^(h), which have been lost through merger in all Indo-Aryan languages, are preserved in Nuristani. It is therefore impossible to derive Nuristani from Old Indo-Aryan. If Nuristani should be considered more closely related to Indo-Aryan, this would have to be at a level where all Indo-Aryan languages together as one group are opposed to Nuristani as the second branch, but it is unclear whether there is then any justification for assuming a common ancestor of Nuristani and Indo-Aryan that would be distinguishable from Proto-Indo-Iranian.

Previous researchers have nevertheless stressed the similarities between Nuristani and Indo-Aryan (e.g. Buddruss 1977a: 24–28). Many – though perhaps not all – of these similarities are likely due to contact. In particular, there was most probably a long phase of intense Indo-Aryan influence during the Middle Indo-Aryan period, which brought structural influences and a large number of Indo-Aryan loanwords. These rather ancient Indo-Aryan loanwords are often difficult to distinguish from the layer of the lexicon that is inherited from even more ancient times and can make Nuristani look “more Indo-Aryan” than it historically used to be.

Further research in Nuristani historical phonology and morphology will hopefully uncover more relevant evidence for a better assessment of the historical position of the Nuristani languages. As it stands, Kümmel (2022: 255) is right to point out that “for all practical purposes, Nuristanic has to be treated as an independent third branch”.

1.2.2 Dialects

In this grammatical description I follow the assumption of three major dialect groups, a Western, a Northeastern and a Southeastern dialect. The Western dialect is spoken in the valley systems of Āmḡel, Kulem and Ktīvi (Kantiwā), possibly also in Peṛuk (Paṛṛōk) and probably to some extent in the enclave in upper Munjan.

The Northeastern dialect is spoken in the upper Lanḡay Sin valley (*Katēgel*), down to somewhere near the opening of the Peṛuk (Paṛṛōk) side valley, and in the Chitrali

enclaves of Gabur, Kuništ (Rumbur Šekhāndeh) and Mumret (Bumboret Šekhāndeh). It is also probably spoken to some extent in the enclave in upper Munjan.

The Southeastern dialect is spoken in the lower Lanḍay Sin valley and its tributaries, in some parts of Kunar province and across the border in Baḍrēḡel (Baḍugal), Lamëroṭ (Langurbats/Lambarbaṭ) and to some extent in Yüçün (Urtsun).

The idea of three geographically defined dialect areas, which I have first proposed in Halfmann (2021: 33), does not differ fundamentally from previous approaches like that of Strand (1997a), but it puts a greater emphasis on the separation of linguistic boundaries from ethnic boundaries, which do not correlate in a straightforward way with dialects.

Some degree of variation is no doubt found from each village to the next, but the three major dialect areas can be consistently identified by a number of clear phonological and morphological isoglosses. There are many more features dividing the three dialects, which will be pointed out throughout the grammatical description, but the most obvious and decisive ones can be summarized as follows:

1. Western dialect:
 - loss of nasalization
 - progressive suffix *-n-*
 - past copula stem *st-*
2. Northeastern dialect:
 - vowel length < monophthongization of vowel + *v*
 - progressive suffix *-t-*
3. Southeastern dialect:
 - vowel length < monophthongization of vowel + *v*
 - progressive suffix *-n-*
 - intervocalic consonant lenition (sibilants, velars)
 - post-nasal voicing
 - merger of pre-tonic **a* + **ā* > *a*

The Western dialect area appears to be the most internally diverse of the three, but also the Northeastern dialect has some divisions between its Afghan and Chitrali varieties. Thus, e.g., in Chitral the general converb is formed with *-tye* instead of *-ti* and the conjunction *-dye* is used instead of *-je*.

The dialect of the Mumo people, which previously had a somewhat unclear status,⁹ clearly belongs to the Southeastern dialect group by the criteria given above. What divides it from other Southeastern varieties is mostly that the subdialects spoken further south have developed more phonological innovations, in which the dialect of the Mumo has not taken part, namely the development of additional instances of vowel length from the monophthongization of vowel + y sequences (SE-MM *kay* vs. SE-KM *kā* ‘what’) and intervocalic lenition of retroflex plosives (SE-MM *baṭṭé* vs. SE-KM *baṛé* ‘piece (of meat)’). Lexically the Mumo subdialect agrees in some respects with the Northeastern dialect (e.g. SE-MM *maṛé*, NE *mṛé* ‘boy’ vs. SE-KM *āri* ‘boy’), but in others with the Southeastern group (e.g. SE-MM *búti*, SE-KM *búri* ‘bread’ vs. NE *anjī* ‘bread’). Note, however, that in both cases the Mumo form is phonologically distinct, showing the Southeastern innovation of the pre-tonic *a* merger in *maṛé* and lacking the more southern innovation of retroflex plosive lenition in *búti*. A unique innovation of the Mumo dialect is the progressive 3rd person plural person marker *-ay*.

Despite numerous differences between the dialects, mutual intelligibility remains high. Though the degree of exposure to other varieties obviously plays a role, there generally seems to be no difficulty in communication even when both conversation partners speak their own separate dialects. On Grjunberg’s recordings speakers of the Western dialect freely converse with Southeasterners and in the same way Northeastern and Southeastern speakers communicate with each speaking in their own dialect on RTA’s Nuristani programs. I personally got the chance to observe a conversation between a Northeastern and a Southeastern speaker in Chitral with neither of the two adapting their speech to the other but both understanding each other perfectly. This, together with the fact that the dialects in many ways form a continuum from one geographic end to the other, means that there is no good reason to hold onto Grjunberg’s (1980: 17) opinion of two separate languages “Kati” and “Kamviri”, which is still reflected by the existence of two separate ISO codes.

1.2.3 Areal Influences

Liljegren (2021a: 244) describes the Hindu Kush-Karakorum mountain zone, in which Katē is spoken, not necessarily as a linguistic area, but at least as a “convergence zone” resulting from “many local contact situations that have existed for a prolonged time

⁹ Strand (1997a) claimed that “The mum’o speak an essentially Eastern kât’a-vari dialect that incorporates features of kâmv’iri.”.

period”. Within this region, he distinguishes several micro-areas that share a particularly high number of grammatical features. According to this areal model, Katë is part of the “South Asian: West Hindu Kush” contact zone, which also includes the other Nuristani languages – with the exception of Prasun (and Dameli) – and the many varieties of the Indo-Aryan language Pashai. With these neighbors Katë shares such characteristic features as the structure of kinship terminology (see section 2.3.4.11) and a morphosyntactic alignment system of aspect-based split ergativity, which affects both nominal case marking and verbal agreement morphology (see sections 2.3.3.1 and 2.9.6.2) (cf. Liljegren 2021a: 276–277). Other features of micro-areal significance are the system of spatial orientation (section 2.7.6), the presence of retroflex approximants (section 2.1.2.7) and a specific type of kinship possession morphology (section 2.3.4.11).

1.2.4 Languages of Wider Communication

The larger contact languages that are learned by Katë speakers differ to some degree by region. Persian holds high prestige in Afghanistan as the established language of government, education and literature, but it is the second language only for speakers in the western part of the language area, in particular in Ārangël, which is directly adjacent to the natively Persian-speaking Panjshir valley.

In the other parts of Nuristan, Pashto is the language that is learned first and used for communication with other ethnic groups. The status of Pashto is likely to increase with the coming of the Taliban government, which generally addresses its subjects in Pashto. Persian is learned second and is most likely to be known by educated speakers or those who have lived outside the region for some time.

In Chitral the situation is quite different, as there Khowar is the language of interethnic communication and usually the first language that is learned. Some knowledge of Khowar is probably also common in the eastern parts of Nuristan. The second language that speakers in Pakistan would learn is usually the national language Urdu, in some cases also Pashto, if they have spent some time in Pashto-speaking regions. Some understanding of Urdu is also common among speakers in Afghanistan, usually through exposure to Islamic preaching or Hindi-Urdu entertainment media.

Arabic, despite not being spoken as a native language in the region, is known by religious scholars and holds high prestige as the sacred language of Islam. The higher registers of all major contact languages of the region (Persian, Pashto, Urdu, Khowar)

share a distinct layer of Arabic-derived vocabulary, which is increasingly also entering into Katë.

1.3 Methodology

The present study is based on three and a half years of research, beginning at the pre-doctoral stage in 2019 and continuing until the end of 2022. In this time, I gathered linguistic data from all possible directions and in all imaginable formats: texts published by researchers in linguistic transcription, written sources in Arabic script, older recordings, snippets from social media, finally also recordings made by myself and conversations via text and voice messages with native speakers.

I analyzed this data partially with the help of linguistic applications, such as ELAN for transcription/time-aligned annotation, FieldWorks Language Explorer (FLEX) as a text database for concordance searches and as a lexical database, and to some extent Praat for phonetic analysis.

1.3.1 Fieldwork

In the original conception of the project, the plan was that I would spend extended periods of time working with native speakers resident in Europe.¹⁰ This plan did not work out exactly as intended. The first reason was that I only managed to establish contact with one speaker in Europe, Abdul Hanan Nooristani from Mumoňm (Maṇḍagal Suflā), to whom I was introduced by Sviatoslav Kaverin following the Cologne Nuristani Workshop in 2019. The second reason was that due to the global coronavirus pandemic, travelling was severely restricted and I was even confined to my apartment for extended stretches of time. Eventually it also turned out that I already had more linguistic data than I could possibly work through in the given time frame, even without making additional recordings.

Three short stays in Vienna were nonetheless possible, where I had the opportunity to work with Abdul Hanan Nooristani. Abdul Hanan had worked in Afghanistan as a translator and speaks English well, so that communication during these meetings happened in English. The recorded data consists mostly of lexical elicitations and some improvised narratives, but also of English summaries of the contents of TV programs.

¹⁰ Fieldwork in native-speaking regions had previously been excluded because of the security situation in Afghanistan, which only got worse as the project went on. The possibility of fieldwork in Pakistan was not taken into consideration at the initial planning stage.

Of this data only a small amount has found its way into the final dissertation, but the sessions greatly contributed to my personal understanding of the language.

Short conversations over Whatsapp and Skype (in English) were also possible with Imam Warymoch (Vërímoč) from Ateraro (Rarā) in Ğamgël, again via the introduction of Sviatoslav Kaverin. Our discussions centered on the system of spatial orientation.

After contacting the Pakistani Forum for Language Initiatives regarding their orthography development program for the Katë language, I was kindly put into contact with Abdul Nasir Mansur, who became my main consultant for the remaining duration of the project. Abdul Nasir is a school principal, Islamic scholar and language activist from Mumret (Bumboret Šëkhāndeh) in Pakistan. Since I do not speak Urdu, Khowar or a sufficient amount of Pashto, and he does not speak English, our unlikely common ground was initially Standard Arabic, which we used for communication via WhatsApp. Later our conversations were held increasingly in Katë. Near the end of the project in 2022, when travel restrictions had been mostly lifted, I spent two weeks in Pakistan. As a result of administrative hurdles, unfortunately only one night could be spent in the Katë village in Bumboret. I was, however, allowed to stay in Chitral Town, where I worked with Abdul Nasir in a hotel room, recording elicitations with regard to the system of spatial orientation as well as a book of over 600 proverbs, beside discussing remaining questions for my grammatical description and for his work on orthography development.

I was also included in a number of social media groups, in which native speakers exchange information about their language, and learned much from the conversations in these groups.

1.3.2 Data Processing

Audio and video data were transcribed/annotated with ELAN. Transcriptions of audio and video were entered together with the written data into the database program FieldWorks Language Explorer (FLEX). During this process, the various orthographies and transcription systems were transferred to the system used in this description. This involved quite a bit of reconstruction of the original phonology where underspecified orthographies and transcriptions had been used. The numbers given behind source attributions at the end of examples in this description refer to the sentence numbers generated by the database program.

1.3.3 Corpus

The following sections contain a list of all sources that influenced this description, sorted by media type and content. For all unpublished sources, from which data has been cited in this dissertation, I note the abbreviation that is used to identify the source in examples.

1.3.3.1 Descriptive Sources

- Ġulāmullāh (1966): *Grāmar-i Zabān-i Katyawiri*, an unpublished handwritten manuscript in Persian describing the grammar of the Southeastern dialect of the Kom in the format of Arabic traditional grammar, 650 pages, held at the University of Oslo Library
- Grjunberg (1980): *Jazyk Kati (Grammaticeskij Očerok)*, A grammatical sketch of the Western dialect of Kulem in Russian
- Mohammad (1991): *Causative Constructions in Kati, A Nuristani Language of Afghanistan*, a linguistics master's thesis written by a native speaker of the Western dialect of Kēnégēl (Bandol)
- Strand (1999a): *kāmv'iri Lexicon* (Grammar Section), published online, contains some paradigms and grammatical description of of the Southeastern dialect of the Kom from the perspective of Strand's theoretical framework "Depictive Grammar"
- Strand (2010): *Nurestāni Languages*, an article in the archives of *Encyclopædia Iranica Online*, contains a descriptive overview of the Southeastern dialect of the Kom
- Strand (2019) *Nominal Case Systems of the Nûristânî Languages*, a paper published online on occasion of the 2019 Cologne Nuristani Workshop, dealing with the case systems of Nuristani languages from the perspective of Strand's theoretical framework "Depictive Grammar"
- Unpublished verbal paradigms collected by M. S. Andreev from an Eastern Katë refugee in Tashkent at the beginning of the 20th century, made available to me by Sviatoslav Kaverin

1.3.3.2 Lexical Sources

- Morgenstierne (1978): *Kati-vokabular*, a word list found on Morgenstierne's desk at the time of his death (it ends with the letter *k*), digitized by the Norwegian National Library

- Ġulāmullāh (1968): *Qāmūs-i Zabān-i Katyawiri*, an unpublished handwritten Pashto – *Kamv'iri* (Southeastern dialect) dictionary, 267 pages, held at Bern University Library
- Strand (1999a): *kāmv'iri Lexicon*, extensive lexicon of the Southeastern dialect of the Kom
- Strand (1999b): *kāt'a vari (kt'i vřâ-i vari) Lexicon*, lexicon of the Western dialect of Ktivi (Kantiwā)
- Parts of unpublished glossaries created by A. L. Grjunberg, made available to me by Sviatoslav Kaverin
- Sun-Aro (2016): *Farhang-i Nūristānī*, a short illustrated dictionary (321 pages) with words in the Northeastern dialect recorded in an underspecified Arabic script orthography and short Persian, Pashto & English glosses, Audio recordings of readings of many of the words in the dictionary were sent to me by Abdul Nasir Mansur via WhatsApp

1.3.3.3 Written Text Sources

Arabic Script:

- Jano (1991): *Afsānahā-yi Nūristānī*, Nuristani Folk Tales collected from various narrators speaking the Northeastern dialect, written down in an underspecified Arabic script orthography and loosely translated into Persian; a highly unreliable Latin transcription was added by A.L. Grjunberg
 - *Kuyā Vel-tā e Merē-stē Pērējīk* ('Tale of a King in Former Times') – Abbreviation: Afsāna King
 - *Nēcōparik-je Ašpērīkī-stē Pērējīk* ('Tale of Nēcōparik and Ašpērīk') – Abbreviation: Afsāna Nēcōparik
 - *Vacyē-stē Pērējīk* ('Tale of a Pheasant') – Abbreviation: Afsāna Pheasant
 - *E Bitē-stē Pērējīk* ('Tale of a Demon') – Abbreviation: Afsāna Demon
- Children's stories by Idries Shah (originals in English), translated from Pashto into the Northeastern dialect of Katē by Sulayman Sun-Aro of Bēdiṇço (Badinšāh), written in an underspecified Arabic script orthography, published as Nuristani-Pashto bilingual paperbacks by Hoopoe Books and Samar/SIL. Audio recordings of readings of some of these texts were sent to me by Abdul Nasir Mansur via WhatsApp
 - The Lion Who Saw Himself in the Water – Abbreviation: Sun-Aro Lion
 - The Old Woman and the Eagle– Abbreviation: Sun-Aro Hawk

- The Farmer's Wife – Abbreviation: Sun-Aro Dehqan
- Fatima the Spinner and the Tent – Abbreviation: Sun-Aro Spinner
- The Man and the Fox – Abbreviation: Sun-Aro Fox
- The Silly Chicken – Abbreviation: Sun-Aro Chicken
- The Magic Horse – Abbreviation: Sun-Aro Chicken
- *Kšulō Vëri* ('Words of the Wise') – a book of Katë Proverbs with Urdu translation written by Abdul Nasir Mansur, scheduled to be published by the Forum for Language Initiatives (FLI), audio recordings of the book read out by its author were made in Chitral – Abbreviation: Mansur Proverbs
- A poem/song on the power of God composed by Muhammad Ismail Aidari from Bumboret Shekhāndeh – Abbreviation: Ismail Poem
- Lesson texts from a 1st grade elementary school book with the title *Yimo-stë Vëri* ('Our Language') in the Western dialect of Štur (Čutur) in Řamgël, sent to me as photographs by Sviatoslav Kaverin
 - *Ay* ('Kernel') – Abbreviation: School Nut
 - *Bi* ('Seeds') – Abbreviation: School Seeds
 - *Bo* ('Chair') – Abbreviation: School Chair
 - *Këvó* ('Carrying Basket') – Abbreviation: School Basket
 - *Nu* ('Mother') – Abbreviation: School Mother
 - *To* ('Father') – Abbreviation: School Father
- *Waṭandārān* Magazine (Nuristani edition), a magazine published in several minority languages of Afghanistan
- Contents of the Facebook group *Katëvëri Vëllámu Sturómu* ('Let's speak and write the Katë language') – Abbreviation: Facebook

Latin Script:

- Two songs transcribed by Wolfgang Lentz during the German Hindu Kush expedition 1935, published in Edelberg & Jones (1979) – Abbreviation: Lentz Kriegslied
- An unpublished folk tale in the Northeastern dialect of Břëgemaṭol (Barg-i Matāl) from Morgenstierne's notebooks, labelled "Kamd. II, 68" and "Br. transl. of Shadru's tale", digitized by the Norwegian National Library (Kati V.) – Abbreviation: Morgenstierne Tale
- Morgenstierne's collections of myths & hymns (1953), mythological texts (1968) and folk songs (1967a) from all dialect areas

- Grjunberg (1980): *Jazyk Kati (Teksty)*, a collection of 19 texts in the Western dialect of Kulem in Latin transcription with Russian translation, contains ethnographic texts, personal narratives, historical narratives and folk tales, conversational phrases translated from Pashto and song lyrics. Some of the texts have corresponding audio recordings in the Grjunberg audio archives, but the connection between recording and written text is often quite loose –
 Abbreviation for narratives: Grjunberg + text number from the book
 Abbreviation for folk tales: Grjunberg Skazka + number from the book
 Abbreviation for phrases: Grjunberg Phrase + number from the book
- Grjunberg (1994; 1995a; 1995b): Materials from the archives of M.S. Andreev published by A.L. Grjunberg
- Texts in the Southeastern dialect of the Kom recorded and/or edited by Richard Strand and published on his website:
 - A very extensive autobiographical narrative of Anvar Amin, a Kom commander of the anti-communist jihad in the 1980s, the longest text in the corpus (Amin & Strand 1997) – Abbreviation: Amin Jihad
 - A conversation between Ġulāmullāh and Muhammad Kabir about the history of the Kom (Strand, Ġulāmullāh & Muhammad Kabir 1997) – Abbreviation: Ġulāmullāh/Kabir History
 - A conversation between Fazl Karim and Ġulāmullāh about the history of Pitiġil (Strand, Fazl Karim & Ġulāmullāh 1998) – Abbreviation: Karim/Ġulāmullāh Pitiġil
 - A narrative on the anti-communist revolt in Kombřom (Kāmdēš) by Muhammad Kabir, the corresponding audio is available (Muhammad Kabir & Strand 2019) – Abbreviation: Kabir Revolt
 - Ethnographic texts on pre-Islamic customs written by Ġulāmullāh – Abbreviations: Ġulāmullāh Inheritance and Ġulāmullāh Mümoč
- Two texts, one in the Northeastern dialect of Břëgemařol (Barg-i Matāl), the other in the Southeastern dialect of Lamëroř (Langurbats/Lambarbat) published by Decker (1992) in an unreliable IPA transcription
- Notes from fieldwork sessions and isolated notes from conversations in Chitral – Abbreviation: Notes

1.3.3.4 Audio Sources

- The digitized audio tapes of A.L. Grjunberg, originally made available to me by Sviatoslav Kaverin in 2019, now publicly available in ELAR (de Graaf 2021) – Abbreviation: Grjunberg Recording + identifying code of tape
 - A recording of a conversation between Abdullah Kuštōzī, a *Barī* from Kštoŋm and collaborator of several Western researchers, with Nuri Said of Kulem about pre-Islamic customs – Abbreviation: Kuštozi Customs
- The audio of Muhammad Kabir & Strand (2019)
- Recording of a translation of the Russian folk tale Kuročka Rjaba recited in the Western dialect by Farid from Štur (Čtutur), recorded by Sviatoslav Kaverin – Abbreviation: Kuročka Rjaba
- Recorded list of basic vocabulary from each of the three dialects made available as part of the Stockholm Hindu Kush Areal Typology data set (Liljegren et al. 2021)
- Voice messages from Imam Warymoch (*Věřímoč*)
 - Answers to questions about the spatial system
- Voice messages from Abdul Nasir Mansur
 - Readings of Arabic script text materials
 - Answers to phonological and grammatical elicitations
 - General conversation
- Original Recordings made in Vienna and Chitral
 - Elicitations (lexical, spatial system)
 - Short improvised narratives recorded in Vienna
 - Audio to *Kšulō Věri*

1.3.3.5 Video Sources

- Extracts from the Nuristani programs of Radio Television Afghanistan (RTA, *Milli Tilwizyūn*)
 - An interview in the Northeastern dialect with Abdul Bari Aidari from Pčigrom (Pačigrām) on the topic of language endangerment and small languages in Afghanistan, interviewer: Harun Rashid Nooristani of Budmuk (Nīkmuk/Sa‘īdābād) – Abbreviation: RTA Language
 - An interview with Abdul Bari Aidari on the topic of traditional Nuristani clothing, interviewer: Harun Rashid Nooristani – Abbreviation: RTA Clothing

- An interview with Abdul Bari Aidari on the topic of peace negotiations of the former Afghan government with the Taliban, interviewer: Harun Rashid Nooristani – Abbreviation: RTA Negotiations
- A program on the occasion of Eid al-Adha, speakers mentioned by name: Altaf Husayn of Mumoñm (Maṇḍagal Suflā), speaking the Southeastern dialect, and Habibullah Abduhu and Abdul Aziz Nuristani speaking the Northeastern dialect – Abbreviation: Axtar Program
- A video produced by the Forum for Language Initiatives and uploaded to YouTube, in which Abdul Nasir Mansur gives advice on preventive measures against the coronavirus, part of a series with this content in many minority languages of Pakistan – Abbreviation: Mansur Coronavirus
- A joke conversation of a speaker identified as Noor Ahmad Shaeer of Bēdevon (Dewāna Bābā) with a goat, uploaded to YouTube – Abbreviation: Goat Advice

2 Part 2: Grammar

2.1 Phonology

This chapter deals with the sound system (*phonology*) of the Katë language. In particular it describes which kinds of speech sounds appear in the language, in what ways they are contrasted with each other to distinguish meaning and in what ways they may vary in different environments without affecting meaning.

The phonetic and phonemic levels of sound structure are distinguished in this chapter by different transcriptions. Phonetic transcription is given according to the standards of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) and presented in square brackets []. Phonemic transcription is given between two slash marks // in a system of transcription that mostly follows conventions within South Asian linguistics, the details of which will be explained along the way. This double transcription serves only to illustrate and justify the phonemic analysis. It is therefore not maintained throughout the later chapters, where only the phonemic transcription is shown.

The chapter begins with a description of the sound system of the Northeastern reference dialect and then moves on to a discussion of the distinct features of the other two main varieties (Western and Southeastern).

2.1.1 Vowels

2.1.1.1 Vowel Inventory

The inventory of vowel phonemes in the Northeastern reference dialect is presented in Table 3.

	Front	Central	Back
close	/i/ – /ī/		/u/ – /ū/
	[i] – [i:]		[u/ʊ] – [u:]
	/ĩ/ – /ĩ̃/		/ũ/ – /ũ̃/
	[ĩ] – [ĩ:]		[ũ] – [ũ:]
close-mid		/ë/	
		[ə~i]	
open-mid	/e/ – /ē/		/o/ – /ō/
	[ɛ~ɜ/e] – [ɛ:~ɜ:/e:]		[ɔ] – [ɔ:]
	/ẽ/ – /ẽ̃/		/õ/ – /õ̃/
	[ẽ~ɜ̃/ẽ] – [ẽ:~ɜ̃:/ẽ:]		[õ] – [õ:]
open		/a/ – /ā/	
		[ɐ~a /æ] – [a:]	
		/ã/ – /ã̃/	
		[ẽ~ã] – [ã:]	

Table 3. Inventory of vowel phonemes (Northeastern reference dialect)

There are six basic vowel qualities, which altogether form a rather symmetrical system with two front vowels, two back vowels, one close-mid central vowel and one open vowel. The symmetry is slightly set off by the centralizing tendency of the open-mid front vowel /e/. Vowel length and nasalization are phonemic in the Northeastern reference dialect (see sections 2.1.1.3 and 2.1.1.4 below). For the central vowel, length is not convincingly phonemic and it is never nasalized in this dialect.

Example (1) illustrates the contrast between the basic vowel qualities.¹¹ Figure 1 illustrates the range of their realizations in the Northeastern dialect by means of formant values.

¹¹ Reichert (1998: 127) analyzes the central vowel as a phonologically non-distinctive allophone of other vowels, but the minimal pairs show that it is fully contrastive also in unstressed syllables.

(1)	a.	/di/ [ḍi] 'sky'	⇔	/du/ [ḍu] 'door'	⇔	/do/ [ḍɔ] 'mountain'
	b.	/mam/ [mām] 'mother's brother'	⇔	/mem/ [mēm] 'foundation'	⇔	/Mum/ [mūm] 'Mum (a village)'
	c.	/lúkě/ [ˈl̥ukə] 'small (M)'	⇔	/lúki/ [ˈl̥uki] 'small (F)'		
	d.	/maré/ [māˈrɛ̃] 'hawk, bird of prey'	⇔	/méré/ [mɛ̃ˈrɛ̃] 'death'		
	e.	/vësé/ [vʷəˈsə] 'female goat'	⇔	/vësé/ [vʷəˈsɛ] 'having spent the night (CVB)' 'spend the night! (IMP)'		

2.1.1.2 Distribution and Allophonic Variation of Vowels

In the Northeastern reference dialect all word-initial vowels are preceded by a non-phonemic glottal stop. See sections 2.1.1.7 & 2.1.1.8 below for the situation in other dialects and 2.1.2.11 on the phonemic status of the glottal stop.

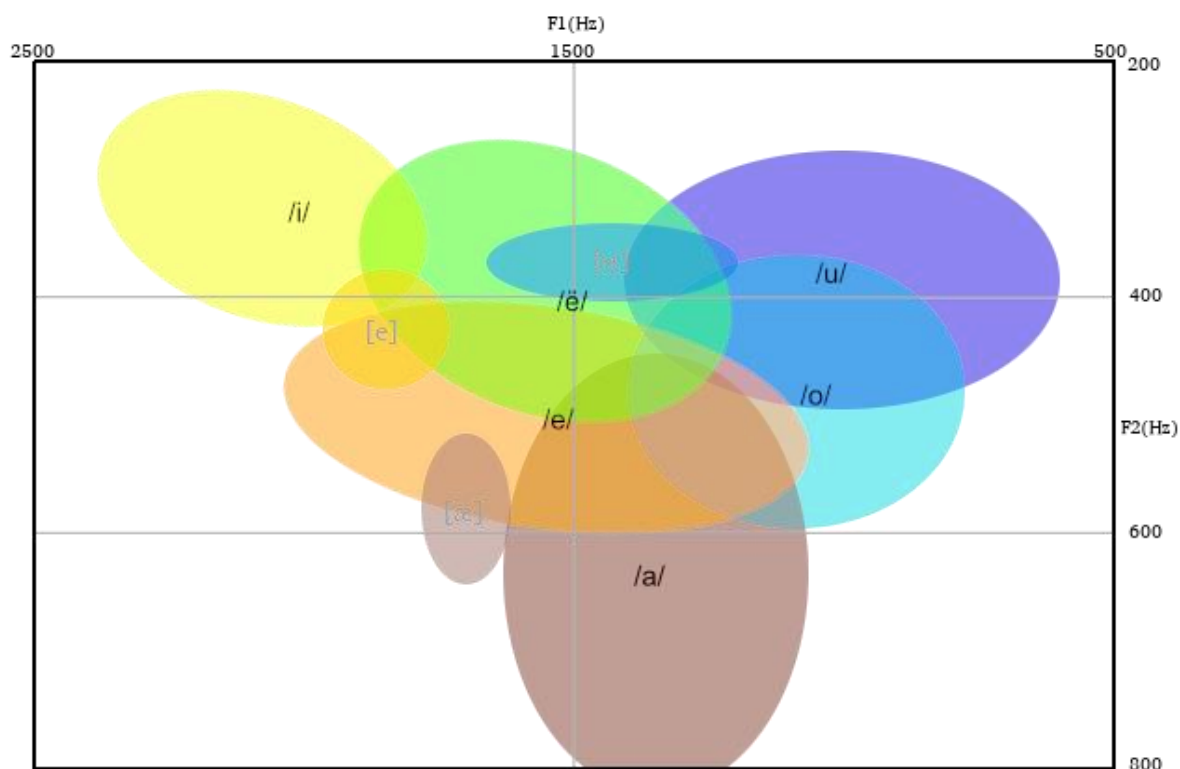


Figure 1. Ellipse overlap chart of Northeastern dialect vowel formants (F1 & F2). Measurements taken from the speech of Abdul Nasir Mansur reading his collection of proverbs. The speaker is male, middle-aged and multilingual in Khwar, Urdu, Pashto and Persian. Based on 50 tokens collected outside of palatal, retroflex or nasal skewing environments for each major vowel quality and 10 tokens each for the allophones [e], [æ] and [ʌ] (in grey). Vowel symbols are displayed in the position of the measurement average for each vowel, ellipses display the range of measured values.

The unrounded close front vowel /i/ exhibits little allophonic variation and is quite consistently realized as a close and fronted [i]. See section 2.1.5.2.1 on its alternation with /ë/ and 2.1.5.2.4 on utterance-final devoicing.

Examples:

Initial:	/iç/	[ʔit̪ʂ]	‘bear’
Medial:	/bim/	[bim]	‘earth, ground’
Final:	/mančí/	[manˈt̪çi]	‘person’

The unrounded central vowel /ë/¹² is a close-mid to close central vowel [ə ~ i]. Pronunciations closer to [i] occur especially in word-final position, whereas [ə] is

¹² The transcriptional symbol /ë/ is an older convention for transcribing central vowels, which is standard in Albanian and Luxembourgish orthography. It is chosen here in order to generalize over the

more commonly heard in pre-tonic position word-internally. Since the vowel does not occur in the latter position in the Southeastern dialect, it is more consistently a close vowel there. The central vowel does not occur in word-initial position.

See section 2.1.5.2.1 on its alternation with /i/, section 2.1.5.2.3 on alternations with /u/, section 2.1.5.2.1 on its role in vowel alternations in compounds and section 2.1.5.2.4 on utterance-final devoicing.

Examples:

Initial:	–		
Medial:	/dēmí/	[də ^h mi]	‘wind’
Final:	/kʂë/	[^h kʂə]	‘crippled (M)’

The rounded close back vowel /u/ is usually realized as [u], but a fronted variant [ʊ] appears before a /y/ in the same syllable (see section 2.1.1.5).

Examples:

Initial:	/uʂt/	[^h ʊʂt]	‘eight’
Medial:	/jʊʂ/	[^h dʒʊʂ]	‘thickened meat broth’

allophonic variation and to avoid using IPA symbols in an imprecise manner. In the previous literature the vowel has been transcribed in various ways:

Morgenstierne: <ə> (1926 onwards), <e> (1953 - not distinguished from /e/)

Grjunberg: <i> (1980), <ə> (1995b)

Strand: <ə> (1973), <ë> (1975), <i> (1985), <a> (1997b onwards)

Strand (2023: 788, fn. 11) has recently objected to the use of the transcriptional symbol <ë> for this vowel. He claims that <ë> is “phonetically incorrect”, since, in his view, it necessarily suggests a mid rather than a close central vowel. However, his own preferred symbol <a> is hardly more “correct” in this regard and since both are in any case transcriptional conventions and not IPA symbols, phonetic accuracy cannot be at issue. Strand’s current transcription <a> results from the idea of this sound being the “default vowel” of the language, a category which he believes should be expressed with the grapheme <a>. Strand (1997b) claims that the “default vowel” is the sound that arises when a vowel is produced with a language’s “basic articulatory posture”. The assumption of a language-specific default position of the vocal tract is not as widely accepted as this description suggests. Similar ideas have been discussed under the terms “articulatory setting” or “basis of articulation”, but until recently have proven difficult to substantiate by measurable facts (cf. Gick et al. 2004: 221–222). The findings of Gick et al. (2004) point in the direction that such “settings” do in fact exist, but they do not support the idea of language-specific “neutral” vowels arising directly from the articulatory setting (cf. Gick et al. 2004: 230–231). Strand (2007) also claims that the “default vowel” is “etymologically descendant from ancient Indo-Irānian *a”, a statement which was perhaps intended to additionally justify the concept, but which is at least an oversimplification.

Final: /du/ [ˈɖu] ‘door’

The unrounded open-mid front vowel /e/ is often quite centralized, frequently occurring as [ɜ] or even [ə] besides [ɛ]. Due to its centralizing tendency, /e/ is often phonetically quite close to /ë/. This observation was also made for the Western dialect of Kulem by Grjunberg (1980: 167), who states that this causes a weakening of the contrast between /ë/ and /e/. While it is true that it may be difficult for outsiders to hear the distinction, the contrast does seem to be stable and consistent.

In the Northeastern dialect the phoneme /e/ has a distinctly fronted close-mid allophone [e] after palatals and before a /y/ in the same syllable (on the latter, cf. section 2.1.1.5), as the examples in (2) show. This allophone, despite its predictability from the phonological environment, is perceived as a separate sound by native speakers and is represented with a separate grapheme in the proposed orthographies.

(2)	/ɟe/	[d̪e]	‘and’
	/ɟyẽ/	[ɟɟ+ẽ]	‘pine nut tree’
	/ušẽ/	[uˈɟẽ]	‘marmot’
	/mančẽ/	[manˈtɟe:]	‘person (OBL)’
	/ikẽ/	[ʔiˈk̪e:]	‘that, he, him (DEM.DIST.OBL.M)’
	/ɟey/	[ɟeɪ]	‘head’

Examples:

Initial:	/ev/	[ˈʔɛvʷ]	‘one’
Medial:	/mer/	[ˈmɛɾ]	‘king, ruler; government’
Final:	/ve/	[ˈvʷɛ]	‘ewe (adult female sheep)’

The rounded open-mid back vowel /o/ is usually realized as [ɔ]. It is relatively rare in word-initial position. See section 2.1.5.2.1 on its alternation with /a/, /ë/ and /e/ in compounds.

Examples:

Initial:	/oɟ/	[ˈʔɔɟ]	‘greed’
Medial:	/gřom/	[ˈgɹɔm]	‘village’
Final:	/go/	[ˈgɔ]	‘cow’

The unrounded open vowel /a/ is often realized as a centralized [ɐ] in connected speech, especially in unstressed syllables. At the beginning of words and in stressed syllables it is more often realized as an open central vowel [a]. It has a fronted allophone [æ] before /y/ in the same syllable, e.g. in /kay/ [ˈkæɪ] ‘what’. This allophone can also appear after palatals and even more fronted and raised variants appear in the position between two palatals, e.g. in /pšaš/ [ˈpʃæʃ] ‘cat’ or /Bědyášī/ [bɐˈdjæʃi] ‘name of a month’.¹³

Examples:

Initial:	/ač/	[ˈʔat͡ʃ̩]	‘come! (IMP)’
Medial:	/mam/	[ˈmãm]	‘mother's brother’
Final:	/ka/	[ˈka]	‘why’

2.1.1.3 Vowel Length

Vowel length is phonemic in all dialects,¹⁴ but the contrast is less robust in the Western dialect, which has fewer instances of length. The vowel length distinction is relatively subtle and does not significantly affect the quality of the vowel.¹⁵ Vowel length is represented in the phonemic transcription with a superscript macron, e.g. /ā/ for [aː]. In isolation (e.g. in interlinear segmentation), I represent it with a macron on top of a dotted circle (◌̄).

In the Northeastern dialect long vowels most often appear in inflectional endings and as a result of vowel coalescence, but they also occur in underived stems, usually in place of historical vowel + /v/ sequences.¹⁶ There are not many minimal pairs, but some examples are shown in (3).

¹³ These realizations phonetically approach [ɛ], which falls within the usual range of the phoneme /e/ but the two do not merge, since /e/ is always realized as [e] in palatal environments. There is thus a kind of vowel shift in such palatal environments in the Northeastern dialect, where [ɛ] > [e] and [a] > [æ ~ ɛ].

¹⁴ Morgenstierne’s (1953: 166) assertion that “vowel quantity is probably irrelevant” for the Northeastern dialect must be revised. Similarly, Grjunberg’s (1980) analysis of the Western dialect as having no long vowels cannot be upheld (cf. section 2.1.1.7.2).

¹⁵ A cursory investigation of formant values has shown that the long vowels fall fully within the ranges of their short counterparts.

¹⁶ These sequences are preserved as such in the Western dialect. Vowel length is more solidly contrastive in the Southeastern dialect, where e.g. also vowel + /y/ sequences have turned into long vowels.

(4)	/i/	/vi/ [^l v ^w i] ‘hit! (IMP.2SG)’	/vĩ/ [^l v ^w ĩ] ‘hitting (INF)’
	/u/	/durú/ [ḍu ^l ru] ‘(long, female) hair’	/durũ/ [ḍu ^l rũ] ‘bow’
	/e/	/dëré/ [ḍə ^l rɛ] ‘having washed (CVB)’; ‘wash! (IMP.2SG)’	/dërê/ [ḍə ^l rẽ] ‘washing (INF)’
	/o/	/bo/ [^l bɔ] ‘became (3SG.M)’	/bõ/ [^l bõ] ‘chair’
	/a/	/şya/ [^l şça] ‘fought (3PL)’	/şyã/ [^l şçã] ‘udder’

Long vowels may also be nasalized – or nasalized vowels lengthened – and though lexical minimal pairs are not common, examples of contrast are easily found in plural oblique case forms (characterized by vowel length and nasalization) of nouns ending in an oral vowel (examples in (5) a.) or in singular oblique case forms (characterized by vowel length) of nouns ending in a nasalized vowel (examples in (5) b.).

(5)	a.	/o/	/go/	⇔	/gō /	⇔	/gõ/
			[gɔ]		[gɔ:]		[gõ:]
			‘cow		‘cow		‘cow
			(DIR)’		(OBL.SG)’		(OBL.PL)’
	b.	/e/	/ačě/	⇔	/ačẽ/		
			[ʔa ^l tčẽ]		[ʔa ^l tčẽ:]		
			‘eye(s) (DIR)’		‘eye(s) (OBL)’		

/u/	/šũ/	⇔	/šũ̃/
	[^l ʕũ]		[^l ʕũ̃:]
	‘breath, soul, life (DIR)’		‘breath, soul, life (OBL)’
/a/	/tã/	⇔	/tã̃/
	[^l tã]		[^l tã̃:]
	‘place’ (DIR)		‘place (OBL)’

Before obstruents, vowel nasalization is often “solidified” into a nasal consonant at the same place of articulation, as in example (6).

- (6) /yẽ=tã/ [^ljẽṇṭã] ‘to me’
 /kërō ḡussimiš/ [kə^lrõ:ṅgus:imiç] ‘we were allowed to do’

The contrastive status of nasalization is less clear next to nasal consonants (/m/, /n/, /ṇ/, /ñ/, /ŋ/). There are strong indications that the nasalization contrast is probably neutralized in the position after nasal consonants, as well as after some clusters involving them (including at least /mř/ and /ñy/), where all vowels are nasalized to some degree. Native speakers’ orthographic representations in Arabic script show some vacillation in this context. The felt uncertainty on whether a nasalization letter (*nūn-i ḡunnah*) should be written after sequences of nasal consonant + vowel was expressed to me explicitly in conversations. It also seems that nasalization spreads from a nasal consonant through a following vowel onto retroflex approximants (/ř/), which then become nasalized retroflex approximants (/ñ/). The “solidification” of nasalization before obstruents also happens with the nasalization arising from preceding nasal consonants and can in turn cause affrication of a following sibilant (cf. section 2.1.2.6), as in the Southeastern dialect example in (7).

- (7) /Čaṇézarā/
 [^ltɕa^lṇṇṇṇṇṇzara:]
 ‘Čaḡasarāy / As‘adābād (capital of Kunar province)’

The neutralization of the nasalization contrast after nasal consonants is therefore accepted as a likely hypothesis in this description. In phonetic transcription I have indicated nasalization after nasal consonants, but in the phonemic transcription it is

not recorded, except in the form of nasalized retroflex approximants caused by the spread of nasalization. Nevertheless, this hypothesis should be revisited in future research, also in light of the fact that a distinction between a phonetically weak, predictable type of nasalization next to nasals and an unpredictable, phonetically stronger contrastive nasalization has been observed in many modern Indo-Aryan languages (cf. Masica 1991: 117). Instrumental phonetic methods could bring more clarity in this regard and it may turn out that also in Katë allophonic nasalization after nasals does not lead to a full neutralization of the contrast.

On the relationship between vowel nasalization and the nasalized retroflex approximant /ɲ/, see section 2.1.2.7.

2.1.1.5 Vowel Sequences

In some cases sequences of two vowel-like sounds occur within one syllable, which raises the question of whether these should be considered phonemic diphthongs. The occurring phonetic sequences are [æ̃], [ẽ]/[ɛ̃] and [ũ ~ ʊ̃].¹⁷ It seems possible to analyze them as sequences of a vowel and a palatal approximant /y/, which show some coarticulatory phonetic convergence. They are therefore transcribed here respectively as /ay/, /ey/ and /uy/, e.g. NE /ay/ [ʔæ̃] ‘they are (COP.3PL)’, /sey/ [ʃẽ] ‘head’, /luy/ [l̪ũ] ‘blood’. They may also involve nasalized vowels as, e.g., in NE /maréyk/ [maˈr̥ẽj̃k̪] ‘neck’.

Strand (2007; 1999a; 1999b) takes a different approach in classifying both [i] and [j/ɨ] as allophones of a single phoneme /i/. This allows him to capture the fact that [i] can turn into [j] during vowel coalescence at the level of phonemic analysis (cf. section 2.1.5.3). Grjunberg (1980) does not discuss vowel sequences in detail beyond noting that /ey/ possibly needs to be regarded as a “genuine diphthong” (Grjunberg 1980: 167), without elaborating on what this means.

Sequences of vowels across two syllables are also possible, as e.g. in the verb form NE/SE *guó* ‘went’, but such cases are not very common.

¹⁷ As a result of a sound change to long vowels, [ũ ~ ʊ̃] is the only tautosyllabic sequence that exists in most Southeastern varieties. The subdialect of the Mumo people also retains [æ̃].

2.1.1.6 Vowel Retroflexion/Rhoticization

The crosslinguistically rare ¹⁸ phenomenon of vowel retroflexion (also called rhoticization) is found in a number of languages of the Eastern Hindu Kush and has been proposed as a defining characteristic of a Hindu Kush linguistic microarea of increased contact (Di Carlo 2011; Di Carlo 2016). As a phonetic effect it is also present, and in fact quite frequent, in Katë. Phonologically, however, it makes more sense to interpret it as a co-articulatory effect of neighboring retroflex approximants. Issues related to vowel retroflexion and retroflex approximants are discussed in detail in the section on approximants (2.1.2.7).

2.1.1.7 Dialectal Variation of the Vowel System - Western Dialect

The vowel system of the Western dialect differs from that of the reference dialect in four basic points:

1. Absence of phonemic nasalization
2. More limited phonemic vowel length
3. No fronted allophones of /e/ and /a/
4. Onglides of disputed phonemic status instead of glottal stops before word-initial occurrences of the close vowels /i/ and /u/
5. Devoicing of unstressed /u/

The vowel inventory of the Western dialect is shown in Table 4.

	Front	Central	Back
close	/i/ – (/ī/) [i] – [i:]		/u/ – (/ū/) [u] – [u:]
close-mid		/ë/ [ə~i]	
open-mid	/e/ – (/ē/) [ɛ~ɜ] – [ɛ:~ɜ:]		/o/ – (/ō/) [ɔ] – [ɔ:]
open		/a/ – /ā/ [ə~a] – [a:]	

Table 4. Inventory of vowel phonemes (Western dialect)

¹⁸ Ladefoged & Maddieson (1996: 313): “These sounds are very unusual, and occur in less than one percent of the world’s languages [...]. They are, however, comparatively well known, in that they occur both in some forms of English, and in some forms of Chinese.”

2.1.1.7.1 Loss of Nasalization

Grjunberg's (1980: 167) observation that nasalization is not distinctive in the dialect of Kulem is consistent with what is observable on his recordings. Nasalization is similarly unsystematic in Strand's data from Ktivi (Kantiwā) and my data from Āmḡel. It can thus be assumed that all Western varieties lack contrastive nasalization.¹⁹ Traces of lost nasalization can be found in the vowel change /o/ > /u/ in the dialect of Ktivi (Kantiwā), which happened next to nasal consonants, but has also affected those words which could be expected to once have had nasalization based on comparative evidence, e.g. NE & SE /sō/ 'mountain pasture' ~ W-KL /so/, but W-KT /su/.

The loss of nasalization extends even to the nasalized retroflex approximant, though the nasalized retroflex flap remains nasal. In some instances Western dialect forms lack nasalization which has turned into nasal consonants in other dialects, e.g. W-KT /skéji/ vs. NE /skénji/, SE /saṇúnji ~ sāúnji/ 'vest from goatskin or sheepskin'.

2.1.1.7.2 More limited phonemic vowel length

Grjunberg (1980) did not find a systematic length contrast in the Western dialect of Kulem, though he noted a contrast between /gāti/ 'having gone (PFV.CVB)' and /gāti/ 'having taken away (PFV.CVB)' that may be based on vowel length (Grjunberg 1980: 166). The same verb stem also has a long vowel in the other dialects. On Grjunberg's audio recordings, vowel length is audible both in this verb stem and in causative stems in /-ō-/, e.g. /zařō-stē/ 'to teach', /dēmō-stē/ 'to blow, to winnow', as well as some lexical items such as the adjective *ādērē* 'yellow (M)'. This indicates that at least long /ā/ and /ō/ are part of the Western phonological system. Strand's (1999b) data from Ktivi (Kantiwā) seems to confirm this observation, though Strand (2011a; 2007) is not clear on whether he considers vowel length phonemic in that dialect. He does not record the verb /gā-/ and he transcribes causative verb stems with final /-ov-/ (which does appear in the imperative form), but his word list also contains lexicalized imperfective participles from causative verbs with long vowels in the stem (/čēvōlē/ 'large bat', /dēnōlē/ 'rapids in water', /alāvōlē/ 'whirlpool') and a single verb form

¹⁹ The dialect of Peṛuk (Paṛōk), which is spoken in eastern Nuristan by descendants of settlers from Āmḡel (Strand 1973: 298–299), is possibly part of the Western dialect area, but Strand (1973: 299) also cites a form from Peṛuk that contains nasalization (*amšē*). If this form is correct, it may be the case that nasalization was lost in the West only after the emigration to Peṛuk took place. The other possible explanation is that the settlers in Āmḡel adopted the Northeastern dialect after settling in Peṛuk. More data from this dialect is required for a reliable classification.

with length – /tpóněst/ – in a quoted example. He also records long /ē/, and /ū/ at compound junctures, such as /tasēti/ ‘shoulder bone’ (/tos/ ‘shoulder’ + /aí/ ‘bone’), /čuyúvë/ ‘urine’ (/čuyí/ ‘empty’ + /avě/ ‘water’), and long /ī/ in the noun /píci/ ‘pine (*Pinus excelsa*)’. At least /tasēti/ [tas'ɛ:ti] and comparable forms have a long vowel in the Kulem recordings. The word /pícy-o/ ‘pine needles (OBL.PL)’ is transcribed with a short vowel by Grjunberg (1980: 59), but there is no corresponding recording and his transcription system does not allow the placement of a length mark on /i/.²⁰ Notably, however, there seems to be no vowel lengthening in sandhi contractions or in the inflectional endings of nouns. Since sequences of vowel + /y/ or /v/ are also preserved (cf. e.g. W /čov/ [t͡ʃɔβ] ‘branch’ vs. NE, SE /čō/ [t͡ʃɔ:]), there are much fewer instances of vowel length in the Western dialect than in the east.

2.1.1.7.3 Allophones of /a/

The vowel /a/ remains [a] and is not fronted to [æ] before a /y/ in the same syllable, e.g. W-KL *súvay* [ˈsuβaj] ‘sun’, *ne-věri-vay* [nɛβəˈriβaj] ‘mute (F)’.

2.1.1.7.4 Glides before Close Vowels

The close vowels /i/ and /u/ never appear word-initially in the Western dialect. Words that begin with these vowels in the Northeastern dialect have an initial glide in the Western (and Southeastern) dialect, which is transcribed as a regular /y/ or /v/ (occasionally <w>) by Grjunberg (1980), e.g. <yimó> ‘1PL pronoun’, <vúšp> ‘horse’. Strand (2007) claims by contrast that these glides are non-phonemic and phonetically distinct from phonemic /y/ and /v/, except in cases where the labial onglide has been phonemicized by a subsequent vowel change /u/ > /ë/ in unstressed positions, e.g. W-KT /vēšě/ [βəˈʃə] ‘medicine’ vs. NE /ušě/ [ʔuˈʃə].²¹

However, there is no convincing contrast of /vu/ vs. [wu] or of /yi/ vs. [i]. Therefore, the phonetic difference between /v/ before /u/ and /v/ before other vowels, or between /y/ before /i/ and /y/ before other vowels could simply be interpreted as allophonic variation. Under these circumstances it seems preferable to me to give a

²⁰ His transcription symbol <ī> stands for short /i/ and contrasts with <i> for /ë/.

²¹ There seems to be some variation between in the phonetic realization of such /vë/ sequences, especially in the position directly before the stress, where [βə]/[wə] appears to vary with [wu]. Grjunberg (1980) varyingly transcribes <vu> and <vi> (= /vë/). Since there does not seem to be a contrast, I have generalized such cases to /vë/ in this book.

more informative transcription, which includes these glides as instances of the phonemes /v/ and /y/. See section 2.1.1.8 for further discussion.

2.1.1.7.5 Devoiced /u/

A devoiced /u/ [u̥], which is perceptible mostly as labialization of the preceding consonant, appears in unstressed (pre-stress) syllables of some words both in Grjunberg's recordings from Kulem and in Strand's (1999b) notations of the dialect of Ktivi (Kantiwā). The phenomenon can therefore be taken as characteristic of the Western dialect area as a whole. Examples include /kuṭṭé/ 'lame (M)' = ['k^wṭṭə], /kuṣí/ ['k^wʂi] 'soy beans', /turí/ 'yoghurt' = ['ṭ^wri], /Kuštó/ 'Kšto (*ethnic group*)' = ['k^wṭṭə]. In the same places the Northeastern dialect has either full [u] (/turí/ ['ṭu¹ri]), or no vowel (/kṭṭé/ ['kṭṭə], /Kštó/ ['kṣṭə]). In the Southeastern dialect, the /u/ is generally dropped and a rounding effect on the following vowel remains in some cases (/kṭṭə/ ['kṭṭə], /kṣü/ ['kṣy], /trü/ ['ṭry:], /Kštó/ ['kṣṭə]). Both Grjunberg (1980) and Strand (1999b) transcribe unstressed <u> in these cases and I agree with this analysis, since the assumption of labialized phonemes that only occur in initial clusters seems unlikely and would unnecessarily complicate the phonological system. Note, however, that the devoiced syllable is not taken into account for the stress shift rule in trisyllabic stems (see section 2.1.5.1).

2.1.1.8 Dialectal Variation of the Vowel System - Southeastern Dialect

The vowel system of the Southeastern dialect differs from that of the Northeastern reference dialect in five basic points:

1. The presence of a seventh phonemic vowel quality /ü/ [y]
2. More robustly phonemic vowel length, fewer "diphthongs"
3. Nasalization also on /ë/
4. No fronted allophones of /e/ and /a/
5. Onglides of disputed phonemic status instead of glottal stops before word-initial occurrences of the close vowels /i/, /u/ and /ü/

The vowel inventory of the Southeastern dialect is shown in Table 5.

	Front	Central	Back
close	/i/ – /ī/	/ü/ – /ū/	/u/ – /ū/
	[i] – [i:]	[y] – [y:]	[u] – [u:]
	/ĩ/ – /ĩ/	/ũ/ – /ũ/	/ũ/ – /ũ/
	[ĩ] – [ĩ:]	[ỹ] – [ỹ:]	[ũ] – [ũ:]
close-mid		/ë/	
		[ə~i]	
		/ẽ/	
		[ẽ~ĩ]	
open-mid		/e/ – /ē/	/o/ – /ō/
		[ɛ~ɜ] – [ɛ:~ɜ:]	[ɔ] – [ɔ:]
		/ẽ/ – /ẽ/	/õ/ – /õ/
		[ẽ~ɜ] – [ẽ:~ɜ:]	[õ] – [õ:]
open		/a/ – /ā/	
		[ɐ~a] – [a:]	
		/ã/ – /ã/	
		[ẽ~ã] – [ã:]	

Table 5. Southeastern Dialect Vowel Inventory

2.1.1.8.1 Additional Vowel Quality /ü/

The Southeastern dialect has a seventh basic vowel phoneme, the rounded close front vowel /ü/ [y]. It generally corresponds to the sequence /yu/ in the other dialects, in some contexts also to /u/ or /i/. This distribution of correspondences as well as the external comparison to other Nuristani languages point to /ü/ being an archaism rather than an innovation of the Southeastern dialect. That is, the other dialects have probably diphthongized an original monophthong (thus Strand 2007), but there are also cases in which the /ü/ is a secondary result of later umlaut and assimilation phenomena.

A palatalization effect [j] appears when /ü/ is preceded by labials (/p/, /b/, /m/) or velars (/k/, /g/, /ğ/). A realization without onglide or palatalization appears after dental plosives (/t/, /d/).

Minimal pairs demonstrating the distinctiveness of /ü/ are shown in Table 6.

/ü/	/u/	/i/
/dü/ [ˈd̪y] ‘two’	/du/ [ˈd̪u] ‘door’	/di/ [ˈd̪i] ‘sky’
/tü/ [ˈt̪y] ‘you (DIR)’	/tu/ [ˈt̪u] ‘you (GEN)’	–
/pü/ [ˈp̪y] ‘intestine’	/pu/ [ˈp̪u] ‘footstep’	–
/gü/ [ˈg̪y] ‘shit’	/gu/ [ˈg̪u] ‘worm’	–
/yü/ [ˈjy] ‘louse’	–	/yi/ [ˈji] ‘go! (IMP.2G)’

Table 6. Minimal pairs with Southeastern /ü/

The contrast with /u/ is neutralized after palatals, where [y] and [u] are in free variation (cf. Strand in Buddruss 1975: 47).

2.1.1.8.2 Phonemic Vowel Length

Vowel length is more robustly phonemic in the Southeastern dialect where all sequences of vowel + glide as well as most sequences of stressed vowel + /yi/ have been monophthongized into long vowels. This has some exceptions in the transitional dialect of the Mumo people, which has not undergone all of the innovations present in the varieties further South. Examples are shown in Table 7.

Southeastern Kombřom (Kāmdēš)	Southeastern Mumōgřom (Maṇḍagal Suflā)	Northeastern	Western
/çō/ ‘branch’			/çov/
/ótě/ ‘hunger’			/avté/
/súřě/ ‘the other’	/sóřě/	/sěvéřě/	
/kā/ ‘what’	/kay/		

Table 7. Dialectal degrees of monophthongization

Strand (1997b; 2007), probably inspired by processes of vowel coalescence (cf. section 2.1.5.3) and parallel uses of vowel length and /ë/ as markers for the same case in different nominal declensions (cf. sections 2.3.4.1 and 2.3.4.2), gives the idiosyncratic analysis of vowel length in this dialect as an allophone of the “default vowel” <a> (which is equivalent to /ë/ in the transcription used here). He cites as an argument that this vowel never appears after other vowels. I would argue that the facts from inflectional morphology need not be incorporated into the phonemic analysis of vowel length, especially since long vowels also appear outside of contexts where one would have any morphological grounds for assuming an “underlying” vowel sequence. The assumption of phonemic vowel length stays closer to the observable phonetic form and agrees with the native speaker perspective of Ġulāmullāh (1966: 5–8).

2.1.1.8.3 Glides before Close Vowels

In the Southeastern dialect, as in the Western dialect, close vowels do not appear in word-initial position and all words that begin with close vowels in the Northeastern dialect have an initial glide in the Southeastern dialect resulting in the phonetic sequences [wu], [ji] and [jy] (cf. Strand 2007). The appearance of a glottal stop before word-initial close vowels is therefore in fact a peculiarity of the Northeastern dialect. Strand (2007) claims that these glides before close vowels are non-phonemic and distinct from “more tensely articulated” /y/ and /v/ in the dialect of Kombřom (Kāmdēš). Consequently, he maintains a transcriptional distinction between word-initial [jy] (<ü>) and [ju] (<iu>) as well as between presumable [wu] (<u>) and [vu] (<vu>) in his vocabulary of this dialect (1999a). He notes the word-initial sequence <iu> [ju] only in forms from the root <iu-> ‘to eat’, such as <i’ula> ‘eater’ (= /yúlë/) and in <i’uṣ> ‘demon’ (= /yuṣ/). Ġulāmullāh, on the other hand, does not make such a distinction in his grammar of the same dialect (1966), transcribing both as ڤ <yu>. In his dictionary manuscript (1968) he adds a Latin transcription in which he incorporates a symbol <ü>. There, he writes <ü> after many consonants, e.g. in <tü> ‘you (DIR)’, <dü> ‘two’, <mün> ‘forehead’, <kür> ‘leg’, <pṣük>²² ‘sleep’, but in word-initial position he generally writes <yu>, e.g. <yus> ‘grass’ (Strand: <üs>) and <yu> ‘louse’ (Strand: <ü>). The latter two are represented in the same way as <yúlə> ‘eater’ (Strand: <i’ula>). Personally, I was also unable to confirm a contrast for the dialect of Mumoñm (Mandagal Suflā), in which I heard /yúlë/ [ʃylə] ‘eater’ with the same initial as /yúriṣ/ [ʃyriṣ] ‘upper lip’.

²² But Strand (1999a): <pṣ’uik>.

It seems to me that there is no phonological distinction between /yu/ and /yü/. This is in line with the general neutralization of the contrast between /u/ and /ü/ after palatals.

For the alleged contrast between word-initial /u/ with onglide and the sequence /vu/ Strand (2007) gives the examples <‘ušpa> [‘wuɕpə] ‘horse’ vs. <vu> [‘vu] ‘daughter-in-law’. The latter is the only word transcribed with initial <vu> in his lexical list (Strand 1999a), but interestingly the alternative form <u> (= [wu]) is also noted there. This variation makes the assumption of a phonological contrast untenable. Ġulāmullāh (1968) represents both cases the same way: <vúšpə> ‘horse’ and <vu> ‘daughter-in-law’.

For the onglide before word-initial /i/, Strand (2007) gives the example <i> [ji] ‘go! (IMP.2G)’. Ġulāmullāh transcribes this as <yi> ‘go! (IMP.2G)’ and similarly transcribes <yipóštə> ‘to build’ (vs. Strand: <i:p’oa->) and <yic> ‘bear’ (vs. Strand: <ić>) etc.

As stated in section 2.1.1.7 above for the Western dialect, in the absence of convincing evidence for a phonological contrast between onglides and “real” approximants, I prefer to consider both as instances of the same phoneme and to treat any phonetic variation (such as [w ~ v]) as allophonic ([w] conditioned by following [u]).

Strand (e.g. in Strand 1999a; 2019) extends the analysis of the sequences [wu], [ji] and [jy] as vowels with non-phonemic onglides to the word-internal position, where he transcribes them as vowels with a preceding raised dot as <·u>, <·i> and <·ü>.²³ A similar treatment is given to the sequence [ij], which is transcribed as <·i>. The raised dot is supposed to represent a so-called “open transition” (Strand 2007), a theoretical concept which Strand applies with different meanings in several different contexts in order to resolve issues or contradictions in his phonemic analysis (cf. section 2.1.2.10). In this case the “open transition” is essentially a kind of imaginary syllable juncture which triggers the application of the assumed word-initial

²³ One exception to this rule is found in words with a stem ending in [j] (e.g. [‘luj] ‘blood’). Here Strand (e.g. in Strand 2019: 23) represents the sequence [ji] that results from the addition of a case ending to the stem-final consonant as <ia> (e.g. <luia> for [‘luji] ‘blood (OBL.SG)’. This is an internal inconsistency in his phonemic analysis, since he otherwise uses <ia> as the “phonemic” representation of [i:]. It seems that he preferred this inconsistency over a transcriptional stem alternation between direct case <lui> and oblique case <lui>, which would be required by the phonological analysis, but would not have a correspondence in the phonetic reality ([‘luj], [‘luji]).

glide insertion rule before a close vowel in the following syllable or after [i] in the preceding syllable. Ġulāmullāh (1966; 1968) instead always transcribes a consonant <y> or <v> in such sequences and this is also the convention adopted in this book.

2.1.1.8.4 Allophonic Variation of /e/ and /a/

The vowel /e/ does not show the same breadth of variant realizations in the Southeastern dialect. There seems to be no fronted allophone [e] following palatals. Strand (2007) instead characterizes the phoneme as a whole as a close-mid front vowel [e], while I have noted it as an open-mid [ɛ]. He notes a difference to the more centralized variants in the Western dialect of Ktivi (Kantiwā), which also appear in the Northeastern reference dialect. These do not seem to be typical at least of the dialect of Kombřom (Kāmdēš).

A fronted allophone [æ] of /a/ in tautosyllabic /ay/ sequences does not occur, as such sequences are monophthongized to /ā/ [a:] in this dialect, though again the transitional dialect of the Mumo people is an exception since it retains the sequence /ay/ (see above in this section).

2.1.1.9 Areal Aspects of the Vowel System

Structurally, the Katë vowel system is similar to the “minimal NIA” [New Indo-Aryan] six-vowel system identified by Masica (1991: 109), specifically the “Nepali/Marathi type”. However, the Indo-Aryan languages closest to Katë in fact all have systems with only five basic qualities, some additionally having length contrasts, differing from Katë in lacking a central vowel.²⁴ Dameli (of unclear classification) has only four basic vowel qualities, additionally lacking a mid back vowel, but also distinguishes length (cf. Perder 2013: 25). The Iranian languages native to the area tend to have larger inventories with 6-8 qualities: Systems including a central vowel are found in Munji (Grjunberg 1972: 398–399), Yidgha (Morgenstierne 1938: 32) and Pashto (Miller & Boyle David 2014: 11), whereas there is no central vowel in Parachi (Kieffer 2009: 694), Ormuri (Kieffer 2003: 78) and Afghan Colloquial Persian (Farhâdi 1955: 8).

The closest relatives of Katë – Nuristani Kalasha, Ashkun, Prasun and Tregami – show various types of vowel systems, all with more qualities than the (Northeastern) Katë system. The Zhönchigal dialect of Nuristani Kalasha has an eight- or nine-vowel system (possibly with length contrasts) including two rounded front vowels /ö/ [ø]

²⁴ Khowar, cf. Liljegren & Khan (2017: 224); Indo-Aryan Kalasha, cf. Heegård (2015: 32); Gawar-Bati, cf. Bashir (2003: 915); Southeastern Pashai, cf. Lehr (2014: 88–89); Palula, cf. Liljegren (2016: 60–61).

and /ü/ [y] and a central vowel (cf. Tāza 2017: Intr. 77), which is apparently phonetically the same as Katë /ë/ [ə ~ i] (cf. Strand 2007). The Nisheygram dialect has nine basic qualities (cf. Degener 1998: 29; Strand 1999c: 239), with an additional open front vowel /ä/ [æ] but lacking a central vowel and a length contrast. The vowel system of Prasun is not yet well-understood, but it seems to have at least the same six basic qualities of Katë and a rounded front vowel /ü/ (cf. Buddruss & Degener 2017: 51). Ashkun is the least well-documented Nuristani language, but it appears to have an inventory of the same structure as that of (Northeastern) Katë, with an additional rounded close central vowel, and a length contrast.²⁵

Rounded front vowels, generally rare in the wider region (cf. Masica 1991: 114), are found outside of the Nuristani group in dialects of Parachi (cf. Kieffer 2009: 694) and apparently in some varieties of Pashai (cf. Morgenstierne 1967b: 19, 22). In Katë, a phonemic rounded front vowel (/ü/) only appears in the Southeastern dialect, but it was possibly historically present in all dialects. Since all of these languages and dialects form an adjacent region, it is not unlikely that such vowels arose in a limited contact area. The rounded high central vowel [ɯ] that is found in Ashkun, but also in Tregami (own data), could perhaps represent a historical antecedent, that turned into a rounded front vowel [y] in the other Nuristani languages and later diphthongized into [iy] (/ü/) and [ju] (/yu/) in Katë dialects.

Contrastive vowel nasalization is rare in modern Iranian languages,²⁶ but very common in modern Indo-Aryan languages (cf. Masica 1991: 117). It is found to varying degrees in all Nuristani languages.²⁷ The dialectal distribution of phonemic nasalization in Katë corresponds to the respective contact zones. Western Katë, the westernmost Nuristani variety, is more directly influenced by Persian, spoken as a first language in neighboring regions, and has lost nasalization, whereas the Eastern dialects, historically in closer contact with “nasalizing” Indo-Aryan languages such as

²⁵ The phonemic analysis of the rounded vowels is not clear, with Morgenstierne (1934: 59), Buddruss (2006: 191) and Strand (2011b) all giving conflicting accounts. The audio recordings at <https://hindukush.ling.su.se/> seem to attest at least the phonetic presence of [o], [o:], [u] and [ɯ], with [ɯ] corresponding to Katë /yu/_(W, NE), /ü/_(SE) in cognates (e.g. Ashk. [dɯ] ~ Kt. /dyu/_(W, NE), /dü/_(SE)). Buddruss (2006: 191) doubts the relevance of vowel length, but Strand (2011b) gives clear minimal pairs.

²⁶ Dialects of Balochi (an Iranian language spoken adjacent to Indo-Aryan) seem to be the clearest example (cf. Jahani & Korn 2009: 641).

²⁷ Nuristani Kalasha: Degener (1998: 34); Ashkun: Buddruss (2006: 191); Prasun: Buddruss & Degener (2017: 61).

Indo-Aryan Kalasha or Gawar-Bati, have retained it. In the opposite direction, the northwesternmost Indo-Aryan languages, which are spoken next to the Iranian zone (Khowar, Pashai), lack phonemic nasalization (cf. Morgenstierne 1967b: 208; Lehr 2014: 88–99; Liljegren & Khan 2017: 224).

2.1.2 Consonants

2.1.2.1 Consonant inventory

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental/Lamino-Alveolar	Retroflex/Apico-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Postvelar or Uvular	Glottal
Plosives	/p/ /b/ [p] [b]		/t/ /d/ [t̪] [d̪]	/ṭ/ /ḍ~ṛ/ [ṭ] [ḍ~ṛ]		/k/ /g/ [k] [g]	(/q/) [q]	(/ʔ/) [ʔ]
Flaps								
Nasal stops	/m/ [m]		/n/ [n̪]	/ṇ/ [ṇ~ṛ]		/ŋ/ [ŋ]		
Taps			/r/ [r]					
Affricates			/č/ [t̪ʃ̌]	/ṇ̪/ [ṇ̪ʃ̌]	/č̌/ /ǰ/ [t̪ʃ̌] [d̪ǯ]			
Fricatives		(/f/) [f]	/s/ /z/ [s] [z]	/ṣ/ /ž/ [ṣ] [ž]	/š/ [ʃ̌]		(/x/ /ɣ/) [χ] [ɣ]	(/h/) [h]
Approximants	/v/ [vʷ]			/ř/ [ɻ~V̌]	/y/ [j]			
Nasalized Approximant				/ñ/ [ɻ̃~V̌̃]				
Lateral Approximant			/l/ [l̪]					

Table 8. Consonant Inventory of the Northeastern reference dialect. / / = Phonemic transcription; [] = Phonetic (IPA) transcription; () = Marginal phonemes

Table 8 shows the inventory of consonant phonemes in the Northeastern reference dialect arranged by place of articulation (columns) and manner of articulation (rows). The symbols for phonemic transcription chosen here generally follow established conventions in South Asian linguistics and most closely align with the system used in Turner (1962). The “retroflex” series is marked with an underdot, palatals with a *háček* (ˇ), and dental affricates with an added superscript dot (producing two dots on *j* for the Southeastern dialect phoneme [d̪ǯ]). The superscript breve (̃) for retroflex approximants is a compromise solution, that remains similar to the now traditional transcription of [ɻ] as <ř>²⁸ (based on Morgenstierne’s mistaken classification of the sound as a palatal) and Strand’s analogical extension of this convention to [ɻ̃] <ñ> ,

²⁸ For Dameli, Perder (2013) has diverged from this tradition in representing this sound as /w/.

yet indicates that they are not in fact palatals and associates them with approximants, which are often marked with a breve. I also use the breve in this way to distinguish the Southeastern dialect phoneme /ǧ/ [ɣ̥], a velar approximant.

With 27 phonemes (minimal set), the consonant inventory of the Northeastern dialect is “moderately large” by the standards of Maddieson (2013). It is smaller than the Southeastern but larger than the Western inventory. Notable asymmetries can be observed in the fricatives and affricates: The voiceless dental and retroflex affricates do not have voiced counterparts, whereas the fricatives at the same places of articulation do. This relation is reversed at the palatal place of articulation. To some extent, this situation can be understood as the result of a historical shift from voiced affricates to voiced fricatives. The apico-alveolar nasal and voiced plosive each have two different manners of articulation as a result of their flapped allophones.

The contrast between the two groups of sounds traditionally labelled “dental” and “retroflex” in South Asian linguistics²⁹ is very salient in Katë, being present not only in the plosive series but also in affricates, nasals, and fricatives. The alveolar tap /r/ falls in between the two series, since, though apical in articulation, it has no historical or phonological relation with the “retroflex” sounds and is produced with a different tongue shape. It is notable that, with the inclusion of the two retroflex approximants, Katë has more “retroflex” than “dental” phonemes.

While the terms “dental” and “retroflex” are useful shorthands to refer to these two groups of sounds in order to emphasize their language-internal opposition as well as the typological and to some extent historical connection of these sets across South Asian languages and language families, it must be kept in mind that not all sounds in these series are necessarily strictly dental or retroflex in a phonetic sense and that the actual phonetic realization of these sets may also differ from that in other South Asian languages. For this reason, they are instead given the more phonetically accurate labels “Dental / Lamino-Alveolar” and “Retroflex / Apico-Alveolar” in Table 8. The exact articulation of a given sound can be grasped from the IPA transcription and is also discussed in detail below.

²⁹ The terms “cerebral” (corresponding to Sanskrit *mūrdhanya-*) or “cacuminal” are sometimes used instead of “retroflex”, especially in older works.

2.1.2.2 Plosives

There are eight plosive phonemes in the Katë language: /p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /t̚/, /d̚/, /k/ and /g/. They are divided into four voicing pairs (unvoiced – voiced), each of which has a different place of articulation. The voicing contrast is less strong in the position after vowels, where the voiceless plosives are noticeably more voiced (though still distinct), especially in rapid speech.³⁰ The allophonic realizations of /d̚/ cross the boundary between plosives and flaps. In the Northeastern reference dialect, as well as in the Southeastern dialect, voiced plosives never occur in word-final position, which is likely the result of a historical word-final devoicing process, which also affected affricates and fricatives. This devoicing process, however, has not resulted in any alternations still active in the current stage of the language.

The bilabial plosives /p/, /b/ are never aspirated.

Examples:

Initial:	/pu/	[^h pu]	‘sole of foot’
Intervocalic:	/upé/	[u ^h pə]	‘scorpion’
Final:	/top/	[^h tɔp]	‘heat’

Initial:	/bõ/	[^h bõ]	‘chair’
Intervocalic:	/abél/	[a ^h bɛ̃]	‘labor, effort’
Final:	–		

The dental plosives /t/ and /d/ are articulated with the tongue against the back of the upper teeth. Strand (2007) claims that the point of contact is the tip and not the blade of the tongue, the sounds thus being *apico-dental* in phonetic terms. The dental plosives are produced without aspiration.

Examples:

Initial:	/to/	[^h tɔ]	‘father’
Intervocalic:	/Katé/	[ka ^h tə]	‘Katë (ethnic group)’
Final:	/dut/	[^h dut̚]	‘tooth’

Initial:	/do/	[^h dɔ]	‘mountain’

³⁰ Cf. Morgenstierne (1953: 169): “Frequently unvoiced lenis for postvocalic tenuis in Bimboret Kati” [i.e. NE-MM].

Intervocalic: /bəḏí/ [bəḏí] ‘mind’
 Final: –

The apico-alveolar plosives /ṭ/ and /ḍ/ are usually not articulated with a fully curled-back tongue as would be typical of retroflex sounds in some other languages.³¹ Instead, the tip of the tongue, facing upwards, usually makes contact with the alveolar ridge. They can therefore be characterized as *apico-alveolar* in phonetic terms. Nevertheless, variants with a more retracted tongue tip also occur, where the underside of the tip of the tongue makes contact behind the alveolar ridge. It is the shape of the tongue (curled up though not necessarily backwards), more so than the place of articulation that most consistently distinguishes the articulation of these sounds from that of their dental counterparts.³²

Example (8) illustrates the contrast between the dental and the apico-alveolar plosive series.

- (8) /kut/ [ˈkʊṭ] ‘wall’ ~ /kʊṭ/ [ˈkʊṭ] ‘voice’
 /du/ [ˈḍu] ‘door’ ~ /ḍu/ [ˈḍu] ‘sudden appearance’

The retroflex plosives are most distinctly perceptible in postvocalic position, where the tongue shape affects the preceding vowel in a way comparable to that observed in retroflex/rhotic vowels (acoustically measurable as a lowering of the third formant). In non-initial position, the voiced retroflex plosive /ḍ/ is produced as a voiced retroflex flap /ɾ/ [ɾ]. That is, the tip of the tongue is curled back behind the alveolar ridge and then quickly moved downwards, hitting the back part of the alveolar ridge with its underside on the way down. Since the retroflex flap does not contrast with a retroflex lateral, it can optionally be lateralized to varying degrees (as is the case in Pashto).

The alternation of voiced plosive and flap, which follows a widespread South Asian pattern (cf. Masica 1991: 97), is relatively clearly allophonic in the Northeastern dialect. Loanwords and borrowed place names may create some degree of contrast

³¹ The less retracted, apico-alveolar articulation of the “retroflex” plosives is typical of the Northwestern and Northern parts of the South Asian area, including most Indo-Aryan languages as well as Eastern Iranian languages such as Pashto (cf. Arsenault 2017: 7–8).

³² Similar observations were made by Perder (2013: 28) for Dameli, a language of uncertain classification (Indo-Aryan or Nuristani), which is spoken in a neighboring area.

between voiced retroflex plosive and flap, but there are no convincing minimal pairs. Beside the distributional argument, the status of [ɽ] as an allophone of /ɖ/ is also suggested by the fact that [ɽ] appears as the regular outcome of voicing assimilations of /t/ in non-initial position. The two sounds are perceived as distinct by native speakers, but this may to some extent be explained with their phonemic status in the contact languages Pashto and Urdu, where they are also spelled with separate graphemes.

Nevertheless, in order to facilitate comparison between dialects, the phonetic distinction between flap and plosive is maintained in the transcription as <ɖ> vs. <ɽ>, since there are more convincing grounds for considering the two sounds to be phonemic in the Southeastern dialect (see section 2.1.2.10), so that the transcription symbol <ɽ> needs to be introduced in any case. The flap is absent from the Western dialect, where the plosive [ɖ] appears in all positions (cf. Grjunberg 1980: 169).

Examples:

Initial:	/ṭaṇṇé/	[ṭe'ṇṇ]	‘money’
Intervocalic:	/muṭṭé/	[mũ'tṭə]	‘short’
Final:	/voṭ/	[ʰvʷɔṭ]	‘stone, rock’
Initial:	/ḍer/	[ʰḍeɾ]	‘surprised’
Intervocalic:	/mëṛṇé/	[mẽ'ṛṇə]	‘boy, young man’
Final:	–		

The velar plosives /k/, /g/ generally show no aspiration. The voiceless velar plosive /k/ may occasionally be weakly aspirated, especially in word-final position, but this is optional and non-contrastive.³³

Examples:

Initial:	/kor/	[ʰkɔɾ]	‘ear’
Intervocalic:	/lúkë/	[ʰlũkə]	‘small (M)’
Final:	/purdúk/	[purʰḍuk]	‘old man’

³³ Occasional phonetic aspiration was already noted by Morgenstierne (1926: 53), who initially doubted whether a phonemic aspiration contrast may be present in some dialects after all. I have found nothing to suggest that this is the case.

Initial:	/gaʃ/	[^l gaʃ]	‘billy-goat’
Intervocalic:	/agól/	[ʔa ^l gɔ̃]	‘rain’
Final:	–		

2.1.2.3 Nasal stops

There are four nasal stop phonemes: /m/, /n/, /ɲ/ and /ŋ/. Of these, only /n/ and /m/ can occur in word-initial position. The allophonic variants of the phoneme /ɲ/ cross the boundary between nasal stops and taps/flaps.

The nasalized retroflex approximant /ɳ/ also falls into the wider category of nasals, but is discussed together with the other approximants in section 2.1.2.7. On the relationship between nasal consonants and nasalized vowels, see section 2.1.1.4.

The (near-)minimal pairs in (9) illustrate the phonemic contrast between all five nasal phonemes:

- (9) a. /kěno/ ⇔ /kaɲé/ ⇔ /kañé/
 [kə^lɲɔ̃] [ka^lʔɔ̃] [kɛ̃.^lɔ̃]
 ‘tree’ ‘earring’ ‘blind (M)’
- b. /ʔané/ ⇔ /ʔaɲé/
 [ʔa^lɲɔ̃] [ʔa^lɲɔ̃]
 ‘(walnut) shell;
 (corn) cob’ ‘money’
- c. /mut/ ⇔ /nut/
 [^lmũt] [^lɲũt]
 ‘(butter) churning’ ‘granddaughter’
 (*abstract noun*)

The bilabial nasal stop /m/ appears in all positions and does not exhibit significant allophonic variation.

Examples:

Initial:	/makér/	[mã ^l ke]	‘monkey’
Intervocalic:	/amú/	[a ^l mũ]	‘house’
Final:	/nom/	[^l ɲɔ̃m]	‘name’

The dental nasal stop /n/ is articulated in the same way as the voiced dental plosive /d/, i.e. with the front part of the tongue against the back of the upper teeth. It occurs in all positions. A more retracted, lamino-alveolar articulation ([ɳ]) is encountered before palatals.

Examples:

Initial:	/noɖ/	[^l ɳɔɖ]	‘dance’
Intervocalic:	/kěno/	[kə ^l ɳɔ]	‘tree’
Final:	/ton/	[^l ɖɔɳ]	‘wool cloth’

The apico-alveolar nasal stop / nasalized retroflex flap /ɳ/ falls into two phonological classes, that of nasal stops and that of taps/flaps. It does not occur in word-initial position. In intervocalic position it is articulated as a nasalized retroflex flap. This means that the tip of the tongue is curled back and then quickly moved downwards, hitting the back part of the alveolar ridge with its underside on the way down. Shortly before and during this movement, air also escapes through the nasal cavity, producing a strong nasalization that may also affect the preceding vowel. In preconsonantal and word-final position the phoneme /ɳ/ is articulated as an apico-alveolar nasal stop, i.e. the tip of the tongue is curled upward and closes off the oral cavity with its tip touching the alveolar ridge, while air escapes through the nasal cavity. In contrast to the situation with /d/, native speakers do not seem to perceive the allophones of /ɳ/ as distinct sounds. This perception may again be influenced by Pashto orthography, which does not distinguish the two sounds in writing. When referring to the sound in isolation, speakers may produce the flapped variant even in referring to the other allophone (e.g. “[kɔɳ] with [ʔʔ]”).

Examples:

Initial:	–		
Intervocalic:	/muɳúk/	[mũ ^l ʔũk]	‘frog’
Final:	/koɳ/	[^l kɔɳ]	‘arrow’

The velar nasal stop /ŋ/ is produced in the same place as the voiced velar plosive /g/, but with a held closure and airflow exiting through the nasal cavity.³⁴ It does not

³⁴ During conscious enunciation speakers at times produced this sound as a cluster [ŋg] or even [ŋg], but this never occurs in natural speech and seems to be a case of hypercorrection influenced by the dominant contact languages of the area, which represent this sound in writing as <ng>. The sequence /ng/ does indeed occur in loanwords, e.g. /farháŋ/ ‘culture’ (< Prs.), which is pronounced [far^hhaŋ],

occur in word-initial position, except in the Southeastern dialect (SE /ŋa=stë/ ‘to take’ vs. NE/W /uŋá=stë/).

Examples:

Initial:	–		
Intervocalic:	/aŋó/	[a ¹ ŋõ]	‘fire’
Final:	/mřoŋ/	[¹ mɤõŋ]	‘female game animal’

2.1.2.4 Taps/Flaps

This category contains only one phoneme – the alveolar tap /r/. Two further phonemes from other phonological classes (/ɖ/ and /ɳ/) possess flapped allophones which contrast with the tap /r/. The minimal pair in example (10) demonstrates the phonemic contrast between the three tap/flap sounds.

(10) /kurí/	⇔	/kuɾí/	⇔	/kuɳí/
[ku ¹ ri]		[ku ¹ ɾi]		[kũ ¹ ɽi]
‘flood’		‘hornless (of cattle, F)’		‘clay pot’

The alveolar tap /r/ is articulated with a quick upward motion of the tongue, which strikes the alveolar ridge with its upper side of its tip. That is, the movement of the tongue is executed in the opposite direction from that of the flaps /ɾ/ and /ɳ/.

It usually does not occur in word-initial position, a notable exception being recent loanwords from Persian or Pashto, though these sometimes receive a prothetic vowel when they are adapted to the phonological system of Katë. The Western dialect has more frequent occurrences of /r/ in initial position, including some that are not recent loanwords and which have an initial vowel in the Eastern dialects (e.g. w *rěsvó* ‘tasty’, vs. NE/SE *arúsvo*).

In the Southeastern and Western dialects the alveolar tap has a devoiced allophone that occurs in the word-final cluster /tr/, cf. e.g. SE/W /gotr/ [¹gɔɾɿ] ‘arm’, but this cluster is broken up by vowel epenthesis in the Northeast (NE /gótër/ [¹gɔɾɿɐ] ‘arm’).

Examples:

Initial:	–		
Intervocalic:	/aró/	[a ¹ rɔ]	‘rich [M]’

but becomes /farháŋ-ë/ [far¹haŋgə] with an Oblique Case suffix. This contrasts with inherited /mřoŋ/, Oblique Case /mřón-ë/ [¹mɤõŋə].

Final: /sur/ [ˈsur] ‘mountain lake’

2.1.2.5 Affricates

The Northeastern dialect has four affricate phonemes, belonging respectively to the dental (/č/), palatal (/č̥/, /j̥/) and retroflex (/ɕ/) series. In the dental and retroflex series there is only a voiceless affricate, whereas the palatal series also contains a voiced counterpart. Voiced affricates, like voiced plosives and fricatives, do not appear in word-final position in the reference dialect.

The minimal pairs in (11) a. demonstrate the contrast between the three series, whereas (11) b. shows the voicing contrast of the palatal affricates. The distinction from fricatives is demonstrated by minimal pairs in (12).

- (11) a. /čō/ [ˈt͡ʃō:] ‘branch’
 /ɕō/ [ˈt͡ɕō:] ‘call’
 /čō/ [ˈt͡ɕō:] ‘wall (OBL)’
- b. /čut/ [ˈt͡ɕut] ‘sound’
 /jut/ [ˈd͡ʒut] ‘(snow) leopard’
- (12) a. /vēččē/ [vʷəˈt͡ʃə] ‘twenty’
 /vēššē/ [vʷəˈsə] ‘female goat’
- b. /čũ/ [ˈt͡ɕũ] ‘goat kid’
 /šũ/ [ˈɕũ] ‘breath, life’
- c. /ɕiŋ/ [ˈt͡ɕiŋ] ‘tweet (sound of a bird)’
 /ʃiŋ/ [ˈʃiŋ] ‘horn’

The voiceless dental affricate /č/, like the plosives /d/ and /t/, is a dental sound. It is produced with the tongue against the back of the upper teeth. Its articulation thus differs somewhat from that of the corresponding fricative /s/, which is an alveolar sound (see section 2.1.2.6). It occurs in all positions.

Examples:

Initial: /čũ/ [ˈt͡ɕũ] ‘dung’
 Intervocalic: /vēččē/ [vʷəˈt͡ʃə] ‘twenty’

Final: /řič/ [ˈʁiʧ̥] ‘barley’

The voiceless retroflex affricate /ɕ/ is usually produced as a post-alveolar retroflex sound, with contact being made behind the alveolar ridge with the underside of the curled-back tip of the tongue. It occurs in all positions.

Examples:

Initial: /ɕik/ [ˈʧik̠] ‘ladder’
 Intervocalic: /maɕyě/ [maˈʧjẽ] ‘honey’
 Final: /ɕuɕ/ [ˈʧuʧ̠] ‘mother-in-law’

The voiceless alveolo-palatal affricate /č/ is articulated with the flat middle part of the tongue against the area between the alveolar ridge and the hard palate. It is thus *alveolo-palatal* in phonetic terms. The tip of the tongue rests against the back of the lower teeth during its articulation. It occurs in all positions. Before dental plosives it is realized as an unreleased stop at the same place of articulation ([tʰ̚]). This occurs both in cases of clitic attachment (e.g. NE /ʃuč/ [ˈʃut̪ʰ̚] ‘fight’, but /ʃúč=ta/ [ˈʃut̪ʰ̚t̪a] ‘in the fight’) and lexically (e.g. NE /póčtěr/ [ˈpɔt̪ʰ̚t̪ɐr] ‘fasting’, cf. SE /póčetř/).

Examples:

Initial: /čom/ [ˈt̪ɕɔm] ‘skin’
 Intervocalic: /ačě/ [aˈt̪ɕẽ] ‘eye’
 Final: /puč/ [ˈput̪ʰ̚] 1. ‘five’; 2. ‘cotton cloth; type of hat’

The voiced alveolo-palatal affricate /j/ is generally articulated in the same way as its voiceless counterpart, with voicing being the only distinguishing feature. It can occasionally tend toward a fricative pronunciation [ʒ] in the Northeastern reference dialect, as there is no such fricative phoneme with which it would contrast. It does not occur in word-final position.

Examples:

Initial: /juk/ [ˈd̪ʒuk] ‘girl’
 Intervocalic: /majór/ [maˈd̪ʒɔr] ‘lifetime’
 Final: –

2.1.2.6 Fricatives

The Northeastern reference dialect has five (non-marginal³⁵) fricative (sibilant) phonemes, of which three – /s/, /š/, /ʃ/ – are voiceless, and two – /z/, /ž/ – are voiced. The palatal fricative /š/ does not have a voiced counterpart in this dialect.

The (near-)minimal pairs in (13) demonstrate the contrasts between the three places of articulation (a.) and the voicing oppositions (b. and c.).

(13) a.	/su/	[¹ su]	‘sun’
	/šũ/	[¹ ʃũ]	‘breath, life’
	/ʃu/	[¹ ʃu]	‘six’
b.	/sut/	[¹ sut̚]	‘seven’
	/zut/	[¹ zut̚]	‘birth’
c.	/ʃoř/	[¹ ʃɔ̯]	‘herd, goats or sheep’
	/žoř/	[¹ ʒɔ̯]	‘conflict, commotion’

Like voiced plosives and affricates, voiced fricatives do not occur in word-final position in the Northeastern dialect.

After /n/ and /ŋ/ all sibilants have historically turned into affricates. In some cases synchronic alternations can still be observed in this context. Compare, e.g., NE *něšó* ‘confluence’ and *Bědí-ŋčo* ‘name of a village (*Badīnšāh*)’, *Štíví-ŋčo* ‘name of a mountain pasture in Bumboret (*Ustuy*)’ or the alternation of NE *niší-*, W *něšé-* ‘to sit down’ with *nči-*, *nče-*, e.g. when used in certain idioms or as a vector verb. In the Northeastern dialect, the affricate [d͡ʒ̚] occurs only in this context, so that it can be seen as an allophone of /z/ here, i.e. [v^wəŋ¹d͡ʒ̚i] = /věnzí/ ‘holm oak (*Quercus baloot*)’.

The voiceless alveolar sibilant /s/ occurs in all positions.

Examples:

Initial:	/su/	[¹ su]	‘sun’
Intervocalic:	/musé/	[mũ ¹ sə]	‘mouse’

³⁵ There are up to six marginal fricative phonemes, meaning that these only appear in recent loanwords and are not pronounced by all speakers: /h/, /ħ/, /ʕ/, /x/, /χ/ and /f/. These are discussed in section 2.1.2.12. Marginal Phonemes.

Final: /mos/ [ˈmõs] ‘moon’

The voiced alveolar sibilant /z/ is produced in the same way as its voiceless counterpart /s/, voicing being the only difference. It does not occur in word-final position in the Northeastern reference dialect.

Examples:

Initial: /zërě/ [zəˈrə] ‘heart, chest’
 Intervocalic: /azó/ [ʔaˈzɔ] 1. ‘pool, pond’; 2. ‘freeborn man’
 Final: –

The voiceless alveolo-palatal sibilant /š/ is produced in the same place as the alveolo-palatal affricates. It occurs in all positions.

Examples:

Initial: /šol/ [ˈʃɔ̌] ‘stable on pasture’
 Intervocalic: /aší/ [ʔaˈʃi] ‘mouth’
 Final: /piš/ [ˈpiʃ] ‘flower’

The voiceless retroflex sibilant /ʂ/, like the retroflex affricate, is a post-alveolar retroflex. It occurs in all positions.

Examples:

Initial: /ʂiŋ/ [ˈʂiŋ] ‘horn’
 Intervocalic: /uʂě/ [ʔuˈʂə] ‘medicine’
 Final: /joʂ/ [ˈd͡ʒɔʂ] ‘wooden torch’

The voiced retroflex sibilant /ʐ/ differs from its voiceless counterpart only in voicing. It is generally a rare phoneme in the Northeastern reference dialect and only very rarely occurs outside of the initial position. Like all voiced fricatives, plosives and affricates it never occurs in word-final position.

Examples:

Initial: /ʐu/ [ˈʐu] ‘short hair (e.g. of men or goats)’
 Intervocalic /ʐěžór/ [ʐəˈʐɔr] ‘chain’
 Final: –

2.1.2.7 Approximants

The Northeastern reference dialect has five approximant phonemes. Three of these can primarily be specified by their place of articulation – labial /v/, palatal /y/ and retroflex /ř/. Two have secondary articulations, lateral (dental) /l/ and nasalized (retroflex) /ñ/. The two retroflex approximants pose some analytical challenges and the interpretation presented here is not the only possible one.

The voiced labial approximant /v/ was transcribed as <w> by Morgenstierne (e.g. 1968), but as <v> by Grjunberg (1980) and Strand (2007).³⁶ I have followed the example of the more recent works in using /v/, but it should be noted that the sound has slightly different phonetic realizations in the three dialects and also varies based on position within the Western and Southeastern dialects.

With speakers of the Northeastern reference dialect, lip rounding/protrusion is clearly observable during the articulation of this sound. Nevertheless, it seems that some degree of approximation to the teeth is also involved. I transcribe the Northeastern sound tentatively as a rounded labiodental approximant [v^w]. In the pronunciation that is audible on Grjunberg's recordings in the Western dialect of Kulem there appears to be less dental involvement. Grjunberg (1980: 169) notes that the sound is pronounced “with a weak labial articulation” (*s vjaloj gubnoj artikuljaciej*) and has a “bilabial variant” (*gubno-gubnoj variant*). In phonetic transcription, I give the Western pronunciation as [β] (bilabial approximant), which agrees with Strand's (2007) observations for the Western dialect of Ktivi (Kantiwā). It is apparently more clearly a labiodental fricative [v] in the Southeastern dialect (Strand 2007). The Western and Southeastern dialects additionally have a variant [w] before /u/, which I consider allophonic (cf. the discussion in sections 2.1.1.7 and 2.1.1.8). The patterns of variation can therefore be summarized as follows: NE [v^w], W [β ~ w], SE [v ~ w].

The phoneme /v/ does not usually occur in syllable-final position in the two Eastern dialects, where it has historically been replaced by vowel length. It resurfaces in these dialects when vocalic suffixes or enclitics are added to words ending in original /v/. In such cases the vowel unsurprisingly appears in its original short quantity, e.g. NE/SE *ō* ‘water (DIR)’ -> *óv-ě* ‘water (OBL)’ and *óv-asě* ‘it is water’ or *óv-a* ‘water! (VOC)’. The

³⁶ Grjunberg (1980) phonetically transcribes <v> or <w> based on auditory impression, but <v> is the predominant transcription variant in his data. The transcription <w> appears especially in the position before /u/, where the usual pronunciation is [w].

orthographies in current use represent the final /v/ in writing even when it is not pronounced. Accordingly, spelling pronunciations with reintroduced /v/ in unsuffixed forms can sometimes occur in reading.

Examples:

Initial:	/vom/	[¹ v ^w ɔm]	‘free time’
Intervocalic:	/këvó/	[kə ¹ v ^w ɔ]	‘conical carrying basket’
Final:	w /dav/	[¹ ɖaβ]	‘wood’
	NE/SE /dā/	[¹ ɖa:]	

The voiced lateral approximant /l/ is the only specifically lateral sound in the Northeastern reference dialect. The tip of the tongue is placed at the back of the upper teeth, so that the lateral approximant could also be classified as a dental sound.

A light velarization is optional and found in free variation, though not before front vowels (/e/, /i/).

The lateral approximant is found in all positions.

Examples:

Initial:	/luy/	[¹ l ^h ui]	‘blood’
Intervocalic:	/álë/	[¹ ʔa ^h lə]	‘big (M)’
Final:	/vel/	[¹ v ^w ɛ ^h]	‘time’

The voiced palatal approximant /y/ occurs in all positions.

Examples:

Initial:	/yuç/	[¹ ju ^h ʃ̣]	‘cold (n.)’
Intervocalic:	/Ayú/	[a ¹ ju]	‘Ayu, name of a month in winter’
Final:	/şey/	[¹ ʃ̣ei]	‘head’

In clusters after /ş/, /y/ has a peculiar voiceless allophone with a fronted, sibilant-like quality. In phonetic transcription I tentatively transcribe this as a voiceless prepalatal fricative [ç̣+]. Such clusters with the phonetic form [ş̣ç̣+] are only found in the Northeastern dialect. In some cases they correspond to /şy/ (W/SE [sj]) in the other dialects, in others to different clusters, as shown in (14).

- (14) a. /şyol/ NE [¹ʃ̣ç̣+ɔ^h], W/SE [¹sjɔ^h] ‘wolf’

b.	NE /syílě/	[^l ʂç·i _l ə]	‘soft (M)’
	W-KL /ščílě/	[^l ʂtç·i _l ə]	
	SE /čilě/	[^l tç·i _l ə]	
c.	NE /ní-ʂyi-stě/	[^l n̩ʂç·i _{st} ə]	‘to head downvalley’
	W-KL /ní-ʂče-stě/	[^l n̩ʂtç·e _{st} ə]	
	SE /ní-š(š)ĩ-stě /	[^l n̩ç(:)ĩ _{st} ə]	

They are transcribed by native speakers as clusters of /ʂ/ + /y/ or, in the position before /i/, simply as /ʂ/. Despite the latter spelling, there is a contrast between [ʂç·i], as in /syílě/ [^lʂç·i_lə] ‘soft’, and [ʂi], as in /ʂiŋ/ [^lʂiŋ] ‘horn’

The voiced retroflex approximant /ř/ can be produced with two different articulations. The first is a properly retroflex articulation, in which the tip of the tongue is curled upwards and approaches the hard palate behind the alveolar ridge. This articulation is similar to that of the voiced retroflex fricative /ʐ/, but with less constriction between the tongue tip and the palate. The second type of articulation is a so-called “bunching gesture”, in which the tongue tip is retracted and the front of the tongue body is raised (Hussain & Mielke 2019), causing constriction near the center of the palate (Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996: 234–235).

These two articulatory configurations have first been described with regard to the articulation of American English /r/³⁷, but the presence of both of them also in Katë could be confirmed through instrumental phonetic research carried out by Hussain & Mielke (2021). Among the seven speakers of the two Eastern dialects that they worked with, six used a retroflex articulation (four speakers of the Northeastern dialect and two speakers of the Southeastern dialect) and one, a Kom speaker of the Southeastern dialect, used a bunched articulation (Hussain & Mielke 2021: 11).³⁸ Both articulations produce a similar acoustic signal, which is most notably characterized by a lowered third formant (Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996: 234–235, 313). It seems that the sound

³⁷ The similarity of Katë /ř/ to “American (not English!)” /r/ is already noted by Grjunberg (1980: 169). His observation is on the right track, since the /r/ of RP British English is not retroflex or bunched, but an alveolar approximant (Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996: 233), which has a different acoustic quality.

³⁸ This distribution is unlike the one they observed for the retroflex vowels of Indo-Aryan Kalasha, where all speakers in the sample used the bunched articulation.

is primarily defined by this acoustic effect and not by the particular articulatory gesture that is used to produce it. Speakers of American English also produce constrictions in the pharyngeal or epiglottal area as well as lip-rounding in combination with either the “bunched” or the retroflex articulation, both of which have been found to lower third-formant frequency (Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996: 235). Lip-rounding at least, is unlikely to be part of the Katë articulation, due to its role in distinguishing vowel qualities next to the approximants (cf. Hussain & Mielke 2021: 19).

Hussain & Mielke (2019), examining the word-final sequence /ař/ in Katë, determined that vowel and approximant are articulated with separate gestures, in accordance with the phonological status of approximants as separate from vowels. Impressionistically, however, it seems that neighboring vowels are affected in various ways by neighboring retroflex approximants, depending both on the vowel quality and on the position of the approximant, but also on whether words are carefully enunciated in isolation or produced in connected speech. Often the approximant is audible only as an effect on the neighboring vowels, e.g. in /kuř/ ‘hat’ produced as [kũ]. Such pronunciations as pure vowel retroflexion are found with all vowel qualities when an approximant follows in syllable-final position.

The central vowel /ë/ is not only retroflexed when an approximant follows in syllable-final position, but also when it precedes the vowel, e.g. in NE /řëvú/ ‘cedar oil’ [ɽəˈvũ ~ əˈvũ]. The contrast between the sequences /řë/ and /ëř/ is therefore not very robust, as they are both often being produced as [ə].³⁹ If a sequence of the type /VřV/ contains a central vowel on either side of the approximant, the approximant is usually produced as retroflexion on the central vowel, so that e.g. NE /šařé/ ‘turban’ is produced as [ʃaˈɽə ~ ʃa.ˈə] but NE /këřó/ ‘bitter (M)’ is produced as [kəˈɽɔ ~ kə.ˈɔ]. If both surrounding vowels are /ë/, either one or both may be retroflexed, as in NE /këřë-stë/ ‘done’ as [kəˈɽəstə ~ kə.əstə ~ kə.əstə].

For (dialects of) neighboring Indo-Aryan Kalasha, retroflex/rhotic vowels have been analyzed as separate phonemes (Heegård 2015: 32–33; Di Carlo 2016; Trail & Cooper

³⁹ There are nevertheless at least morphological reasons to distinguish the two and to opt against an analysis as a syllabic approximant. Thus, e.g., the noun /akřé/ ‘shoulder’, which may be pronounced [aˈkə], has an Oblique case form /akř-é/, thereby falling in line with the general masculine -ë declension (2.3.4.3), which otherwise generally has the ending /-ë/ in the Direct case. It also seems that the distinction can still be made in careful pronunciation.

1999).⁴⁰ Such an analysis is not attractive for Katë, since the retroflex approximant also appears as a clearly distinct syllable-initial consonant (e.g. in /řadór/ [ɟa^lɖɔɾ] ‘night’), so that the effect on the vowel is more easily explained as the effect of an instance of this phoneme. Vowel retroflexion is also reliably transcribed by native speakers with the same graphemes as syllable-initial retroflex approximants. The crucial difference in Indo-Aryan Kalasha appears to be the absence of syllable-initial retroflex approximants, so that the retroflex vowels cannot be attributed to the influence of such an otherwise identifiable segment in that language (cf. also the argumentation of Di Carlo 2016: 106–110).

The retroflex approximant appears in all positions in the reference dialect.

Examples:

Initial:	/řuč/	[^l ɟuɖɕ]	‘light’
Intervocalic:	/daří/	[ɖe ^l ɟi]	‘beard’
Final:	/kuř/	[^l kʊ]	‘hat’

The voiced nasalized retroflex approximant /ň/ is the nasalized counterpart to the retroflex approximant /ř/, standing in the same relationship to it as the flapped allophone of /ŋ/ does to <ɾ>, the flapped allophone of /ɖ/. It never occurs in word-initial position and – like /ř/ in word-internal position – it is often only detectable as an effect on the preceding vowel. The preceding vowel is both nasalized and rhoticized/retroflexed, the following vowel is also nasalized. When the approximant is audible as a separate segment, nasalization continues during its production. As with /ř/, the combined effect of retroflexion and nasalization can appear on all six vowel qualities, as example (15) shows.

(15)	/i/	/čĩň/	[tɕĩ [̃]]	‘upvalley (↗-SN)’
	/u/	/palúň/	[pa ^l ɟũ [̃]]	‘away up (↖ ↗ -SN)’
	/ě/	/sěńí/	[sɕ̥ĩ [̃] .i]	‘soldier’
	/e/	/pulsěň/	[pul ^l sɕ̥ĩ [̃]]	‘shiny (M)’

⁴⁰ The analysis is also considered and rejected for Dameli by Perder (2013: 30). It appears that it could also work for the upper dialects of Nuristani Kalasha, which, like Indo-Aryan Kalasha, have retroflex vowels but no syllable-initial retroflex approximants (see in Tāza 2017). It is already more doubtful for the lower dialects, which have syllable-initial retroflex approximants though only in the cluster [βɟ] (Degener 1998: 25–26), in which the element [β] may represent a phonemicization of secondary lip-rounding.

/o/	/gëjónë/	[gə ¹ d̪z̪̃.ɛ]	‘therefore’
/a/	/pañ/	[pã]	‘away (←  → -SN)’

The retroflexion of /ë/ next to /ñ/ seems to follow the same patterns as next to /ř/, just with the added effect of nasalization.

To my knowledge, a nasalized retroflex approximant is otherwise crosslinguistically unattested as a phoneme. Phonetic nasalized retroflex vowels seem to occur in Indo-Aryan Kalasha and Nuristani Kalasha, but at least in Indo-Aryan Kalasha they are interpreted as vowel phonemes. Since /ñ/ does not appear in word-initial position, the separation from the vowel and interpretation as a consonant phoneme is less well supported in this case than it is for its non-nasal counterpart /ř/ and rests primarily on the parallels between the two as well as possibly a separate articulation.

The opposition in intervocalic position of retroflex approximant and nasalized retroflex approximants is a relatively natural extension of the intervocalic pattern of retroflex flap vs. nasalized retroflex flap, which also exists in Katë, besides being widely attested throughout modern Indo-Aryan (cf. Masica 1991: 95, 100). In fact, many occurrences of the retroflex approximants almost certainly developed historically from corresponding retroflex flaps through further lenition.⁴¹

Nevertheless, the interpretation given here is not the only possible one. The first researcher who interpreted this sound combination as a unitary phoneme was Strand (cf. 1997b; 2007; not yet in 1973: 298), who unfortunately did not give detailed reasoning for this assumption. Earlier it had been transcribed by Morgenstierne (e.g. 1968) and Grjunberg (e.g. 1995b; and in Jano 1991), as a nasalized vowel followed by a retroflex approximant (Vř̃), though these transcriptions perhaps made no theoretical claims as to the correct phonemic representation, since at least Morgenstierne also sometimes opted for a more or less phonetic notation in the case

⁴¹ E.g. /daří/ ‘beard’; /šarë/ ‘turban’, both Indo-Aryan loanwords, corresponding to Old Indo-Aryan *dāḍhikā*- ‘beard’; *śāṭa-ka*- ‘strip of cloth’. Both *ṭ* and *ḍ* seem to have ended up as [ɾ] before being further lenited to [ɻ]. For the nasalized variant, cf. /nuñí/ ‘butter’, /kañé/ ‘blind’ corresponding to Old Indo-Aryan *nava-nīta*- ‘fresh butter’, *kāṇa-ka*- ‘one-eyed’. Both *-n-* and *-ṇ-* seem to have ended up as [ɻ̃] before being further lenited to [ɻ̃] in Katë. The intervocalic generalization of retroflex *-ṇ-* has parallels in (Northwestern) Middle-Indo-Aryan and its descendants (von Hinüber 2001: 169–170). The nasalized retroflex flaps today found in Katë on the other hand primarily derive from a simplification of previous clusters. This can be seen in comparing /muṇúk/ ‘frog’; /koṇ/ ‘arrow’ to Old Indo-Aryan *maṇḍūka*- ‘frog’; *kāṇḍa*- ‘arrow’.

of the nasalized retroflex flap ($\tilde{V}r$) and in fact refers to the “postalveolar $\acute{r}$ and its nasalized variety, which dominate the pronunciation of Kati” (Morgenstierne 1929: 193).

Native speakers (Ġulāmullāh 1966; 1968; Jano 1991; Sun-Aro 2016 and my native speaker consultants) reliably transcribe a retroflex approximant also in the case of the nasalized variant, but the treatment of the nasal component is less consistent. Ġulāmullāh (1966; 1968, SE dialect) sometimes marks nasalization on both surrounding vowels in his Arabic script transcription ($\tilde{V}\tilde{r}\tilde{V}$) (e.g. سہرپیں < $s\tilde{ə}\tilde{r}\tilde{ī}$ > for / $s\tilde{e}n\acute{ī}$ / ‘soldier’ in Ġulāmullāh (1966: 21)). In other instances he varies between the first or the second vowel. Sun-Aro (2016, NE dialect) does not mark nasalization near syllable-final retroflex approximants, but it is marked on the following vowel if there is one (e.g. سہیں < $s\tilde{y}$ > for / $s\tilde{e}n\acute{ī}$ / ‘soldier’), a convention which is accepted and followed by many speakers of the Northeastern dialect.⁴² The orthography recently proposed in Chitral (FLI, 2022) adds a nasalization mark before syllable final nasalized retroflex approximants (e.g. چینے < $\check{y}\tilde{c}$ > for $\check{c}\acute{ī}\tilde{n}$ ‘upvalley’), but retains the practice of marking nasalization only after the following vowel when the approximant is placed between vowels.

The nasalization on the approximant cannot be the effect of a following nasalized vowel, since it can also occur in syllable- and word-final position, where no vowel follows it and a non-nasalized / $\acute{r}$ / can precede a nasal vowel, as in / $b\check{r}\tilde{u}\check{c}$ / ‘meadow’, but nasalization on the following vowel is noticeable in the same way as with other nasal consonants. A possible analysis without a phonemic nasalized approximant is to posit nasalization on the preceding vowel, which coarticulatorily persists during the production of the approximant. There are no definitive arguments which would make such an interpretation impossible. A sound such as / $\tilde{n}$ / indeed does not seem to be readily separable and identifiable for native speakers, while, on the other hand, the nasalized retroflex flap / $\tilde{n}$ / is quite easily identified and produced in isolation, though the influence of orthographic conventions from Pashto, which also has such a phoneme, cannot be excluded here.

⁴² This practice, rather than necessarily implying a particular phonemic interpretation, may be motivated by an attempt to avoid word-internal use of the Urdu letter *nūn-i ġunnah* < ن >, which indicates nasalization, but is only distinguishable from a regular *nūn* (< ن > = [n]) at the end of a word. This does not create any issues in Urdu, where word-internal nasalization is rare and therefore does not need to be clearly distinguished in writing. On the use of the Arabic letter ‘ayn < ع > (a voiced pharyngeal or epiglottal fricative [ʕ ~ ʕ̣] in Arabic) for the retroflex approximant, see section 2.1.2.11.

A circumstantial argument in favor of the independent status of /ň/ can be made at least for the Northeastern dialect, where phonetic nasalisation of /ě/ only occurs in the position after nasals and before nasalized approximants. The assumption of an independent phoneme /ň/ which nasalizes preceding vowels would therefore allow a treatment of all occurrences of nasalized /ě/ as conditioned by the environment. If, on the other hand, nasalization of approximants were considered as conditioned by a preceding nasal vowel, a separate phoneme /ẽ/ that only occurs in the position before retroflex approximants would have to be assumed. The same argument does not work for the Southeastern dialect, which has independent occurrences of nasalized /ẽ/.

If we recognize the phonemic status of a combination of retroflex flap and nasalization (which is a given in Indo-Aryan linguistics), then the combination of a retroflex approximant and nasalization is only one step further, and in fact not much more unusual. The parallel contrast in the flap series and the approximant series is a structural factor that makes the unitary analysis more attractive.

It is also worth considering that nasalization seems to spread from a preceding nasal consonant through a vowel onto a retroflex approximant (and further onto the next vowel). The sequence nasal consonant + vowel + retroflex approximant does not occur without nasalization of the approximant⁴³ and if a morphological element containing /ř/ is placed in such a sequence, the /ř/ becomes nasalized /ň/.

Examples (NE dialect):

/maňě/ [mã'ĩ̃ə̃] 'goatskin (churn)'

/měňó/ [mẽ'ĩ̃ɔ̃] 'died'

vs. /kěró/ 'did', /těró/ 'put', /běró/ 'took away' formed with the same suffixes

This phonological phenomenon can be explained either as proof of the automatic and non-contrastive nature of nasalization on the approximant, or as a synchronic phonological alternation between two approximant phonemes.

Though there is probably no single correct solution, in this grammar the interpretation as a unitary segment /ň/ is preferred. This transcription may easily be adapted by anyone so inclined into a sequence /Ṽř/ and causes no loss of information in the language data. The only substantive consequence of this assumption for the description of the phonological system is that I assume fewer phonological occurrences of nasalized vowels.

⁴³ Strand (1999a) paradoxically represents this by transcribing all retroflex approximants in this position as non-nasalized.

Future research especially in instrumental phonetics could reveal more of the properties of this challenging sound, which could most profitably be investigated in combination with the topic of coarticulatory and contrastive nasalization next to nasal consonants.

Examples:

Initial:	–		
Intervocalic:	/kañé/	[kẽ.¹ə]	‘blind’
Final:	/palún/	[pa¹lũ]	‘away up (↖ ↗ -SN)’

2.1.2.8 Palatalization

As a phonetic phenomenon, palatalization is not uncommon in the Northeastern reference dialect. On the phonological level, however, most cases of palatalization are better interpreted as a postconsonantal allophonic variant of /y/, since palatalized consonants do not contrast with /Cy/ sequences. Full palatalization may vary with separately articulated [j] in these cases. Some examples are given in (16).

(16)	/kyur/	[¹k¹ur]	‘foot’
	/syū/	[¹s¹u:]	‘bridge’
	/lyok/	[¹l¹ɔk]	‘caterpillar’

In other cases palatalization may appear as a coarticulatory effect of a following /i/, as in the examples in (17).

(17)	/kiş/	[k¹iʃ]	‘furrow’
	/zim/	[z¹im]	‘snow’

The palatalization of /k/ is a special case, since it also appears as an allophonic effect of a preceding /i/ or /y/, as is demonstrated in (18).

(18)	/çik/	[¹ʃik¹]	‘ladder’
	/kavík/	[ka¹v¹ik¹]	‘pigeon’
	/lilívoyk/	[¹li¹li¹v¹æ¹ik¹]	‘young woman’

A few words contain a final [k¹] that is not visibly conditioned by a preceding /i/ or /y/, though there is some reason to suspect that these words originally contained a suffix /-ik/ (cf. sections 2.3.6.8.1 and 2.9.4.1.4). It would probably be excessive to assume a phonemic /k¹/ only for these examples, especially because there is no phonological contrast to the sequence /ky/. Instead, they are transcribed here with a final cluster /ky/. Examples from the Northeastern and Western dialects are given in (19).

(19)	NE /vaky/	[^h vʷakʲ]	‘lamb’, cf. /ve/ ‘ewe’
	NE /čaky/	[^h tʃækʲ]	‘type of carrying basket’
	W /kavéky/	[ka ^h βekʲ]	‘pigeon’, cf. NE /kavík/
	W /vuŋáky/	[wu ^h ŋakʲ]	‘taking rights’, cf. /vuŋá-stě/ ‘to take’

Allophonically palatalized instances of /k/ phonologically behave like palatals in causing characteristic post-palatal vowel changes (see e.g. section 2.1.5.2.1). For the western dialect of Kulem, Grjunberg (1980) posits a full set of palatalized phonemes in addition to some labialized phonemes. This proposal is discussed and rejected in section 2.1.2.9 below.

2.1.2.9 Dialectal Variation of the Consonant System - Western Dialect

The consonantal system of the Western dialect is a bit smaller but otherwise not very different from that of the reference dialect. It differs in the following principal points:

1. Free variation of [z ~ ^hd͡z]
2. Different developments with regard to word-final voicing
3. Absence of nasalized retroflex approximant /ɳ/
4. Loss or metathesis of /ř/ before /i/
5. No flapped allophone of /d/
6. Possibly more prominent phonetic palatalization and labialization

The consonant inventory of the Western dialect is presented in Table 9. Differences from the reference dialect are bolded.

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental/Lamino-Alveolar	Retroflex/Apico-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Postvelar or Uvular	Glottal
Plosives	/p/ /b/ [p] [b]		/t/ /d/ [t̪] [d̪]	/ʈ/ /ɖ/ [ʈ̪] [ɖ̪]		/k/ /g/ [k] [g]	(/q/) [q]	(/ʔ/) [ʔ]
Flaps								
Nasal stops	/m/ [m]		/n/ [n̪]	/ɳ/ [ɳ̪ ~ ɽ]		/ŋ/ [ŋ]		
Taps			/r/ [r]					
Affricates			/ç/ [t̪ʃ]	/ç/ [t̪ʃ]	/č/ /j/ [t̪ɕ] [d̪ʒ]			
Fricatives		(/f/) [f]	/z/ [z ~ d̪ʒ]	/ʃ/ /z̪/ [ʃ] [z̪]	/š/ [ɕ]		(/x/ /ɣ/) [χ] [ʁ]	(/h/) [h]
Approximants	/v/ [β ~ w]			/ɹ/ [ɹ̪ ~ V̪]	/y/ [j]			
Nasalized Approximant				— —				
Lateral Approximant			/l/ [l̪]					

Table 9. Consonant Inventory of the Western Dialect. / / = Phonemic transcription; [] = Phonetic (IPA) transcription; () = Marginal phonemes

The overall number of consonant phonemes is 26 (minimal set), which is one phoneme less than the Northeastern reference dialect.

2.1.2.9.1 Free Variation of [z ~ d̪ʒ]

Grjunberg (1980: 169) suspects that the sibilant [z] and the affricate [d̪ʒ] are variants of the same phoneme in the dialect of Kulem. He does not cite examples of their free variation, but some cases which can be found in his data are shown in (20).

- (20) / [z]im ~ [d̪ʒ]im/ ‘snow’ (Grjunberg 1980: 190)
 /bë[z]ó ~ bë[d̪ʒ]ó/ ‘on the knee (LOC)’ (Grjunberg 1980: 254, 274)
 /[d̪ʒ]aíp/ < Persian *zā’if* ‘weak’ (Grjunberg 1980: 179)

As the examples show, the variation appears both initially and intervocalically. Thus a free variation [z ~ ɖ͡ʒ] within the phoneme /z/ can be posited for the dialect of Kulem at least in these positions (see the following section regarding variation patterns in word-final position). In my phonemic transcriptions I will normalize the variants from Grjunberg's data in such cases as /z/.

Strand (1999b; 2011a) records no comparable variation for the dialect of Ktivi (Kantiwā) and does not consider the voiced dental affricate [ɖ͡ʒ] a part of the phonological system of that dialect, though he does note its occurrence in the word /bṛu[ɖ͡ʒ] ~ bṛu[ʈ͡ʂ]/ 'meadow' (see the following section for discussion).

2.1.2.9.2 Final Devoicing

Examples both from Ktivi (Kantiwā) in Strand (1999b) and from Kulem in Grjunberg (1980) such as those given in (21) at first glance give the impression that final devoicing did not take place in these varieties.

(21) w /lod/	[lɔɖ]	'peace, settlement'	cf. NE & SE /lot/
w /bid/	[biɖ]	'giant'	cf. NE /bit/, SE /büt/
w /vud/	[wuɖ]	'necessity'	cf. NE /ut/, SE /vut/
w /këréj/	[kə'ɾɛɖ͡ʒ]	'scalplock'	cf. SE /karéč/
w /voj/	[vʷɔɖ͡ʒ]	'four-stringed harp'	cf. NE & SE /voč/
w /muj/	[muɖ͡ʒ]	'marrow'	cf. SE /muč/
w /diz/	[ɖ͡ʒɪz] ⁴⁴	'tongue'	cf. NE & SE /dič/
w /yuz/	[juz ~ juɖ͡ʒ]	'cold'	cf. NE /yuč/, SE /yüč/
w /břez/	[bɾɛz]	'hackberry tree' ⁴⁵	cf. NE & SE /břěč/

In Strand's (1999b) data it is even possible to find an apparent minimal pair of /dič/ 'twelve' vs. /diz/ 'tongue', both of which are merged as /dič/ in the Eastern dialects. On the other hand, Strand (1999b) also records variants /vut/ 'necessity' and /bit/ 'giant' with voiceless finals. It is notable that the variant with final voicing is etymologically unjustified in /bit/ 'giant'.⁴⁶ This makes it more likely that the voicing

⁴⁴ Variation of [z] with [ɖ͡ʒ] is only shown where it is attested in the available data.

⁴⁵ Strand's (1999a; 1999b) description 'tree with small black berries' is compatible with the Pashto translation *tāya* (engl. 'hackberry tree') given by Morgenstierne (1978).

⁴⁶ The word is best connected to Skt. *bhūta*- 'spirit, demon', Hindi *bhūt* 'demon', Burushaski *phut* 'hairy mountain spirit' (loanword < Indo-Aryan, cf. Berger 1983: 31–32) etc. Strand (1999b) doubts this etymology precisely because of the variant with voiced /-d/ and instead proposes a connection with

contrast was in fact neutralized, with voiced and voiceless variants standing in free variation regardless of historical voicing. Such a situation has been described by Buddruss (1975: 46) for neighboring Ashkun.

This also accounts for the variation of $[\text{t͡ʂ}] \sim [\text{d͡ʂ}] \sim [\text{z}]$ recorded for certain words in word-final position: Strand (1999b) records such variation patterns in the words $/\text{b}̥\text{r}̥\text{u}[\text{d͡ʂ}]/ \sim \text{b}̥\text{r}̥\text{u}[\text{t͡ʂ}]/$ ‘meadow’, which appears in Grjunberg’s (1980) materials only as $/\text{b}̥\text{r}̥\text{u}[\text{d͡ʂ}]/$, and $/\text{pe}́[\text{z}] \sim \text{pe}́[\text{t͡ʂ}]/$ ‘boy, young man’, which appears in Grjunberg’s (1980) transcriptions mostly as $/\text{p}̥\text{e}́\text{v}̥\text{é}[\text{d͡ʂ}]/$, but also as $/\text{p}̥\text{e}́\text{v}̥\text{é}[\text{z}]/$ (Grjunberg 1980: 169, 185), whereas his recordings attest $/\text{p}̥\text{e}́\text{v}̥\text{é}[\text{t͡ʂ}]/$ and written materials from Āamgël record $/\text{pe}[\text{t͡ʂ}]/$. We can consequently assume that the voicing contrast is also neutralized for affricates, so that the ostensible minimal pair of $/\text{di}́\text{ç}/$ ‘twelve’ vs. $/\text{di}́\text{z}/$ ‘tongue’ is illusory. Additional evidence for this view is provided by Morgenstierne (1978), who records $/\text{di}́\text{ç}/$ ‘tongue’ also for Western dialects and by Grjunberg’s recordings, where $/\text{di}[\text{t͡ʂ}]/$ occurs both for ‘tongue’ and for ‘twelve’.

2.1.2.9.3 Absence of $/\text{ñ}/$

The Western dialect has lost the nasalized retroflex approximant phoneme, probably in conjunction with the general loss of vowel nasalization (cf. section 2.1.1.7). Words that contain a nasalized approximant in the two Eastern dialects instead have only a regular retroflex approximant in the West, as in the examples in (22).

(22)	w $/\text{z}̥\text{e}́\text{r}̥\text{é}/$	$[\text{z}̥\text{ə}^{\text{h}}\text{.}^{\text{h}}\text{ə}]$	‘red (M)’	NE $/\text{z}̥\text{e}́\text{ñ}̃\text{é}/$, SE $/\text{j}̥\text{e}́\text{ñ}̃\text{é}/$
	w $/\text{k}̥\text{a}́\text{r}̥\text{é}/$	$[\text{k}̥\text{a}^{\text{h}}\text{.}^{\text{h}}\text{ə}]$	‘blind (M)’	NE & SE $/\text{k}̥\text{a}́\text{ñ}̃\text{é}/$
	w $/\text{č}̥\text{i}́\text{r}/$	$[\text{t͡ʂ}̥\text{i}^{\text{h}}]$	‘upstream’	NE & SE $/\text{č}̥\text{i}́\text{ñ}/$
	w $/\text{j}̥\text{i}́\text{r}̥\text{é}/$	$[\text{d͡ʒ}̥\text{i}^{\text{h}}\text{.}^{\text{h}}\text{ə}]$	‘to kill’	NE $/\text{j}̥\text{i}́\text{ñ}̃\text{é}/$ SE $/\text{j}̥\text{a}́\text{ñ}̃\text{é}/$

Note, however, that the nasalized retroflex flap $/\text{-}\text{ŋ-}/$ $[\text{ɳ}]$ remains nasal.

Skt. *buddha-* via the semantic path ‘buddha statue’ > ‘giant’. The *bit* appears in Nuristani folktales as a shapeshifting demon that eats human beings (see Jano 1991). Semantically, this is a perfect match for Hindi *bhūt*, whereas the ‘buddha statue’ derivation could only possibly work if large size was the primary characteristic of the *bit*. The preservation of the *-t-* would be unusual in an inherited word, but is possible if the word came into Nuristani via a Sanskrit learned borrowing – an assumption that is also needed to explain the preserved *-t-* in the Hindi and Burushaski forms.

2.1.2.9.4 Loss/Metathesis of /ř/ before /i/

In intervocalic position before /i/, the retroflex approximant /ř/ is replaced by /y/. Historically nasalized retroflex approximants are affected by this sound change in the same way as original /ř/. Example (23) gives some instances of the change.

(23) w /dayí/	[da'ji]	‘beard’	NE & SE /daří/
w /nayí/	[na'ji]	‘packing needle’	SE /naňú/
w /tayí/	[ta'ji]	‘thorn’	NE & SE /tańí/
w /sëyí/	[sə'ji]	‘soldier’	NE & SE /sěńí/

If a velar plosive or any labial consonant stands in the preceding syllable, the retroflex approximant is not lost, but transposed (metathesized) to form a cluster with this consonant, whereas a /y/ appears in its former location, as in the examples in (24).

(24) w /křuyí/	[kɻu'ji]	‘dog’	NE & SE /kuří/
w /gřuyík/	[gɻu'jikʲ]	‘ankle bone’	NE & SE /guřík/
w /mřëyí/	[mɻə'ji]	‘price, value’	NE /mřey/, SE /muńí/
w /-vřayi/	[βɻaji]	‘nominal suffix’	NE & SE /-vańi/

As the example of NE /mřey/ ‘price, value’ shows, some limited parallels to this development can be observed in the Northeastern dialect. In the Western dialect the developments of /ř/ before /i/ are the cause of synchronic alternations in the morphological system, particularly in adjectives with the gender markers -ě (M) / -i (F) (see section 2.4.2.1.3).

2.1.2.9.5 No Flapped Allophone of /ɖ/

The retroflex flap /ɾ/ [ɾ], which is the non-initial allophone of /ɖ/ in the reference dialect and an independent phoneme in the Southeastern dialect, does not exist in the Western dialect. Grjunberg’s consultants perceived words in which the sound appears as typical of the Eastern dialects (Grjunberg 1980: 169). In the Western dialect we find only the plosive realization of /ɖ/ ([ɖ]) in all positions, as example (25) illustrates.

(25) w /ɖánik/	[ʰɖaɳikʲ]	NE /ɖánik/	[ʰɖaɳikʲ]	SE /ɖánik/	[ʰɖaɳikʲ]
– ‘witch, evil female spirit’					
w /ašëbëðë/	[ʔa'ʂëbəðə]	NE /ašëbuřë/	[ʔa'ʂëbuɾə]	SE /ašëbuřë/	[ʔa'ʂëbuɾə]

- ‘plow’
W /aɖmál/ [ʔaɖˈmaɭ] NE /aɾmál/ [ʔaɾˈmaɭ] SE /aɾémol/ [ʔaɾˈɛmɔɭ]
- ‘puddle, pool’

The phoneme /ɖ/ is generally quite rare in the Western dialect.

2.1.2.9.6 Palatalization and Labialization

Grjunberg (1980: 167–168) posits a full set of 20 “iotated” phonemes in addition to 5 labialized phonemes for the dialect of Kulem. He uses the term “iotation” (*jotacija*) to capture three types of phonetic realizations – palatalization of a consonant, an approximant [j] following a palatalized consonant, and an approximant [j] following an unpalatalized consonant (Grjunberg 1980: 170). It seems, however, unnecessary to elevate “iotated” forms of all consonants to phonemic status. As discussed in section 2.1.2.8, the phonetic phenomena subsumed under “iotation” can quite simply all be viewed as phonetic realizations of a post-consonantal approximant /y/. There is no contrast between consonant + /y/ clusters and palatalized consonants. Instead, the different types of phonetic realizations are conditioned by the preceding consonant and vary freely with many consonants.

Grjunberg (1980: 170) himself gives the following specifications: Sonorants (/m/, /n/, /ŋ/, /l/, /r/) are usually palatalized by a following /y/, with no audible approximant following, whereas the plosives /p/, /b/, /k/, /g/ are also usually palatalized but a following approximant is sometimes audible. After /t/, /d/, /s/, /z/, /v/, /ç/ the approximant realization is more common, and after the retroflex series (/ɖ/, /ɖ/, /ʂ/, /ʂ/, /ç/) only the approximant is encountered. Such patterns of variation in my view do not support the analysis of a contrastive value of “iotation” as against a post-consonantal palatal approximant /y/. Strand (1999b; 2011a) does not discuss palatalization in the dialect of Ktivi (Kantiwā) but his analysis seems to agree with mine.⁴⁷

The palatalizing effect of /y/ is apparently stronger and more frequently encountered in the Western dialects, though it exists also in the East. In the Western dialect of Štur (Čutur) in Řamgěl there are palatalization assimilations in consonant clusters, e.g. in the word /kkyuř/ [kʲkʲuř] ‘chicken’ (W-KL: /kyuř/), but these are still clearly

⁴⁷ See also Reichert (1998: 129).

conditioned by the environment. Allophonic palatalization also appears before and after the vowel /i/.

Grjunberg (1980: 171) claims that the “iotation” contrast is neutralized before /i/ for all consonants except /ř/, which can appear with or without “iotation” in this environment. I understand the examples he gives somewhat differently: In accordance with the rule of intervocalic /ř/-dropping and metathesis before /i/, which was described in the section above, the contrast he finds between <řic> ‘barley’ and <vr̥yi> ‘seen’ should rather be described as /řič/ [ɹ̥iʧ̥] vs. /vr̥ëyí/ [β̥ɹ̥əˈji], the latter form being disyllabic. In citations from Grjunberg’s data I have adapted the transcription of “iotation” to postconsonantal /y/, except when palatalization is conditioned by a neighboring /i/, where I have removed it in the phonemic transcription.

The phonetic phenomenon of labialization in the Western dialect was already discussed in section 2.1.1.7 above and there explained as an effect of a devoiced unstressed /u/. This is also the transcription Grjunberg (1980) gives for most examples of labialization I encountered in his recordings. It is not clear why he nevertheless considers labialization to be a contrastive consonantal feature on affricates and fricatives. Among the examples he gives (Grjunberg 1980: 172), labialization (phonetic or otherwise) cannot be confirmed in /ačí/ [ʔaʧ̥i] ‘tear’ based on Grjunberg’s own recordings. Strand (1999b) gives /aɕyú/ for the dialect of Ktivi.

The examples [z̥ʷɛst̥ə] ‘to cry’ and [p̥ʂʷɛst̥ə] ‘to sleep’, based on their morphological structure, may in fact contain cases of unstressed pre-hiatus /u/ followed by the usual verbal stem vowel /e/, i.e. /z̥uɛ-st̥ə/ [z̥u.ɛst̥ə], /p̥ʂuɛ-st̥ə/ [p̥ʂu.ɛst̥ə]. After once being named as an example of contrastive labialization, the verb ‘to sleep’ is in fact exclusively found in the form /p̥ʂye-st̥ə/ in the rest of Grjunberg’s grammatical description (e.g. Grjunberg 1980: 205). Neither of the two verbs is attested in Strand’s (1999b) data from Ktivi (Kantiwā). The verb ‘to cry’ has the differing form /z̥yu-st̥ə/ in the Western dialect of Štur (Čutur) in Řamgěl, where it does not receive the stem-vowel /-e/, thus the third person plural present progressive ‘they are crying’ is respectively W-KL /z̥uénět/ (Grjunberg: <ž̥°enit>), W-ŠT /z̥yúnět/.

Due to unclear data, available alternative explanations and the lack of minimal pairs, I consider the labialization contrast to be spurious and will adapt its notation in my quotations of Grjunberg’s data accordingly.

2.1.2.10 Dialectal Variation of the Consonant System - Southeastern Dialect

The consonantal system of the Southeastern dialect is quite a bit more complex than that of the Northeastern dialect and poses a number of analytical challenges. The principal points of difference are:

1. Presence of a voiced dental affricate /j/ [d͡z] ≠ /z/ [z] and a voiced retroflex affricate /j/ [d͡ʒ] ≠ /z/ [z]
2. Presence of a phonemic voiceless retroflex lateral affricate /ɬ/ [t͡ɬ]
3. Realization of /v/ as a labiodental fricative [v] (varying allophonically with bilabial [w])
4. Intervocalic lenition of consonants, which causes a redistribution and realignment of phonemes and allophones, synchronic alternations, and – together with simplification of intervocalic clusters – leads to the phonemicization of /ǧ/ [ɣ], /ɾ/ [ɽ], /ʒ/ [ʒ] and /z/ [z].
5. Post-nasal voicing assimilation, which causes synchronic alternations and minor phonotactic restructuring

The consonant inventory of the Southeastern dialect is presented in Table 10. Differences from the reference dialect are bolded.

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Lamino-Dental/ Lamino-Alveolar	Retroflex/ Apico-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Postvelar or Uvular	Glottal
Plosives	/p/ /b/ [p] [b]		/t/ /d/ [t] [ɖ]	/ʈ/ /ɖ/ [ʈ] [ɖ]		/k/ /g/ [k] [g]	(/q/) [q]	(/ʔ/) [ʔ]
Flaps				/ɾ/ [ɾ]				
Nasal stops	/m/ [m]		/n/ [ɳ]	/ɳ/ [ɳ~ɾ]		/ŋ/ [ŋ]		
Taps			/r/ [ɾ]					
Affricates			/č/ /j/ [t͡ʃ] [d͡ʒ]	/ɟ/ /j/ [t͡ʂ] [d͡ʒ]	/č/ /j/ [t͡ɕ] [d͡ʒ]			
Lateral Affricate				/ɬ/ [t͡ɬ]				
Fricatives	/v/ (/f/) [v ~ w] [f]		/s/ /z/ [s] [z]	/ʃ/ /z/ [ʃ] [z]	/š/ /ž/ [ɕ] [ʒ]		(/x/ /ɣ/) [χ] [ʁ]	(/h/) [h]
Approximants				/ɹ/ [ɹ~V]	/y/ [j]	/ɣ/ [ɣ]		
Nasalized Approximant				/ɳ/ [ɳ~V]				
Lateral Approximant			/l/ [l]					

Table 10. Consonant Inventory of the Southeastern Dialect. / / = Phonemic transcription; [] = Phonetic (IPA) transcription; () = Marginal phonemes

The Southeastern consonant system is overall much more symmetric than that of the Northeastern dialect – full voicing pairs exist for affricates and fricatives at all three coronal places of articulation and even the labiodental fricatives form a pair with the inclusion of the marginal phoneme /f/. The approximants are reorganized but remain at the same number with /v/ joining the fricatives and /ɣ/ being added to the set. The number of consonant phonemes is 33 (minimal set) – 6 more than the reference dialect and 7 more than the Western dialect, which puts the Southeastern inventory at the upper edge of the “moderately large” category defined by Maddieson (2013).

2.1.2.10.1 Preservation of Voiced Affricates

Beyond the voiced palato-alveolar affricate that is present in all dialects, the Southeastern dialect contains two more voiced affricates, one dental and one retroflex. The voiced dental affricate /j/ [d͡ʒ] differs from /č/ only in voicing and generally

corresponds to the voiced alveolar sibilant /z/ of the other two dialects, as example (26) shows.

(26)	SE /jaré/	[d̪za¹rə]	‘heart’	~ NE & W /zërě/
	SE /jim/	[d̪zim]	‘snow’	~ NE & W /zim/
	SE /bajü/	[ba¹d̪zy]	‘women’s overcoat’	~ NE & W /bëzí/

However, the affricate /j/ still contrasts with a voiced alveolar sibilant /z/ [z] in the Southeastern dialect, which results from intervocalic lenition of original /s/ (see below in this section). The contrast of the voiced affricate and sibilant is illustrated by the minimal pair in (27).

(27)	/azě/	[ʔa¹zə]	‘ash’	⇔	/ajě/	[ʔa¹d̪zə]	‘wart’

The retroflex voiced affricate /j/ differs from /ç/ only in voicing and generally corresponds to the voiced retroflex sibilant /ʒ/ in the other dialects, as example (28) shows. There is nevertheless a contrast of /j/ vs. /ʒ/ in the Southeastern dialect, which could be taken to suggest that a merger has taken place in the West and Northeast.

(28)	SE /joř/	[d̪ʒɔ̃]	‘conflict, commotion’	~ NE /ʒoř/
	SE /jěnjěř/	[d̪ʒəŋ¹d̪ʒə]	‘chain’	~ NE /ʒěʒór/
	SE /jěžěň/	[d̪ʒəʒɛ̃]	‘slushy, mealy’	~ W /ʒěžěř/
	SE /ʒuk/	[ʒuk]	‘salt’	~ NE & W /ʒuk/
	SE /ʒüm/	[ʒym]	‘pea’	~ NE /ʒum/, W /zyum/

/j/ is a rare phoneme that almost never occurs outside of word-initial position. It contrasts with the voiced palato-alveolar affricate /j̥/, as the near-minimal pair in (29) demonstrates.

(29)	/j̥ol/	[d̪ʒõ]	‘net’	⇔	/joř/	[d̪ʒɔ̃]	‘conflict, commotion’

2.1.2.10.2 Voiceless Retroflex Lateral Affricate /ɬ/

This unusual sound is an innovation of the Southeastern dialect. It is articulated with a closure of the curled up tongue behind the alveolar ridge, which is released by letting air escape through a tight opening on one side of the tongue. Ġulāmullāh (1966: 4)

The phonemic status of the lateral affricate is debatable. Strand (2007) claims that it is “phonemically a cluster of the consonants ɬl ” and indeed this is almost certainly one of its historical sources. Example (30) demonstrates the historical (a.) and synchronic (b.) relationship between the lateral affricate and the combination $/\text{ɬ}/ + /l/$, which Strand (2007) probably had in mind, though he does not give explicit reasoning for his analysis.

- b. /péɣ.ë/ [pɛɣ̞ɪ̯] ‘breaker, breaking’ < /pétë-/ ‘to break’
 + /-lë/ ‘IPFTV.PTCP.M’
 /giɣ.é/ [giɣ̞ɪ̯] ‘tier, tying’ < /giťé-/ ‘to tie’
 + /-lë/ ‘IPFTV.PTCP.M’

(31) /palé/ [pa'ɭə] 'guard' ⇔ /paλ.é/ [pa'ɭ̥ə] 'hairy, leafy; fertile'
 /kalé/ [ka'ɭə] 'fight' ⇔ /kaλ.é/ [ka'ɭ̥ə] 'dent; mountain pass'
 /aló/ [ʔa'ɭɔ:] 'squash' ⇔ /aλ.ó/ [ʔa'ɭ̥ɔ:] 'throw away! (IMP)'

⁴⁸ Even diachronically there may be another source of the sound: SE /aʎ.õ-/ ‘to throw (away)’ corresponds to NE/W /atëlõ-/ with a dental /t/.

The use of the lateral affricate in ideophones like in the examples in (32) also points to its functioning as a separate sound.⁴⁹

(32) /ʎ.ëǧéʎ.ëǧë/	[tʰə'ʎəʎə]	‘rattling sound (e.g. of dishes)’
/ʎ.ëŋéʎ.ëŋë/	[tʰə'ŋəʎə]	‘jingling sound’
/ʎ.áŋʎ.áŋ/	[tʰaŋʎaŋ]	‘jingling sound’
/ʎ.ëpéʎ.ëpë/	[tʰə'pəʎə]	‘slosh, gurgle’

I therefore opt to consider /ʎ/ an independent phoneme and to classify its arising from /t/ + /l/ as a synchronic phonological rule.

2.1.2.10.3 Different Phonetic Realization of /v/

In the Southeastern dialect, the phoneme /v/ is a labiodental fricative [v] in most positions, with a bilabial allophone [w] before [u] (cf. section 2.1.1.8).

2.1.2.10.4 Intervocalic Lenitions

This phenomenon is the most characteristic feature of the Southeastern dialect and speakers are very conscious of this variable when discussing dialects and when adapting their pronunciation to be understood in other locales.

The intervocalic lenitions are a group of historical sound changes, in which originally voiceless consonants became voiced between vowels and in some cases came to be pronounced with a shorter or less complete closure at the place of articulation. The effects of this historical change are seen in inter-dialectal comparisons, but they also affect the synchronic sound system of the Southeastern dialect, by causing alternations between lenited and non-lenited sounds and re-distributing the phonological contrasts of the dialect. I will discuss the intervocalic lenitions in conjunction with another group of historical sound changes – the simplification of intervocalic consonant clusters – since the two types of changes together have caused a levelling and re-introduction of phonemic contrasts, that has had a significant impact on the phonemic inventory.

The lenition processes can be divided into four areas: velar plosive lenition, retroflex plosive lenition, sibilant lenition and labial plosive lenition.

⁴⁹ These are the only cases where the lateral affricate occurs in word-initial position, though it can otherwise appear in initial clusters.

1. Velar plosive lenition: – Between vowels /k/, /g/ > /ǵ/ [ɣ]
 – Next to nasal vowels > /ŋ/
 – After original /i/ > /y/

Examples:

NE /ǵúkuř/	[ˈd͡ʒukuɽ]	vs.	SE /ǵúǵuř/	[ˈd͡ʒuɣuɽ]	‘woman’
NE /makéř/	[maˈkɛ]	vs.	SE /maǵéř/	[maˈɣɐ]	‘monkey’
NE /šúkokuř/	[ˈʃukɔkuɽ]	vs.	SE /šuǵóǵuř/	[ɕuˈɣɔɣuɽ]	‘Pakol hat’
NE /Āgéni/	[ʔaːˈgɛni]	vs.	SE /Óǵuṇi/	[ˈʔɔɣuṇi]	‘Pashtun’
NE /ǵəǵəri/	[d͡ʒəǵəˈri]	vs.	SE /ǵiǵiri/	[d͡ʒiˈɣiri]	‘shirt’
NE /ǵəǵərə/	[d͡ʒəˈgɛɾə]	vs.	SE /ǵaǵéř/	[d͡ʒaˈɣɐɾə]	‘bad (M)’
NE /skā/	[ˈskā]	vs.	SE /saṇó/	[saˈɳɔ]	‘broom’
NE /-kē/	[kɛ]	vs.	SE /-ŋe/	[ɳɛ]	‘for’
NE /ikí/	[ʔiˈkʲi]	vs.	SE /yiyí/	[jiˈji]	‘he; that’

The usual resulting sound is a voiced velar approximant [ɣ], produced by approaching the back of the tongue to the soft palate as in /k/ and /g/, but without producing stricture or full closure. It differs phonetically from the marginal phoneme /ɣ/ which is a postvelar or uvular fricative [ɣ ~ ɣ̠].

New intervocalic occurrences of /k/ and /g/ result from older clusters, sometimes still observable in other dialects, or from later compounding. In some cases original clusters may have been simplified in all dialects after Southeastern lenition took effect.

Examples:

/akí/	[akʲi]	cf.	NE /atkí/	[aˈt͡kʲi]	‘there’
/řakús /	[ʁaˈkʲys]	cf.	NE /vřakús/	[vʷɹaˈkus]	‘musk deer, rabbit’
/mükúř/	[mʲyˈkʲyř]	cf.	NE /mikyúř/	[miˈkʲuř]	‘alfalfa’
SE & NE	/agól/			[aˈgɔɭ]	‘rain’
SE	/agéř/			[aˈgɐ]	‘Friday; week’
NE	/agéř/			[aˈgɛ]	

Such examples create an intervocalic contrast between [k], [g] and [ɣ]. Recent loanwords from Persian and Pashto (e.g. /vakíl/ ‘parliamentary representative’, /tařakúr/ ‘thanks’, /agár/ ‘if’) have strengthened this contrast. Full minimal pairs do not exist but the occurrence of the three sounds is not environmentally predictable. All three must accordingly be considered independent phonemes /k/, /g/ and /ǵ/. A near-minimal pair is shown in (33).

(33)	/akí/	⇔	/agěř/	⇔	/mağěř/
	[a'kʲi]		[a'gʲə]		[mã'ɣʲə]
	‘there’		‘Friday; week’		‘monkey’

Velar plosive lenition creates synchronic alternations in morphology between the lenition phoneme /ğ/ and its historical predecessors /k/ and /g/.

2. Retroflex plosive lenition: Between vowels /ɤ/, /ɔ/ > /ɾ/ [ɾ]

This does not take place in the transitional subdialect of the Mumo people (SE-MM).

Examples:

NE & W	/muṭë/	[mũ'tɕə]	vs.	SE	/muṛé/	[mũ'ɾə]	‘short (M)’
NE & W	/kɤo/	[kɤɔ]	vs.	SE	/kaɾó/	[ka'ɾɔ]	‘knife’
W	/ḍaḍé/	[ḍa'ḍə]	vs.	SE	/ḍaṛé/	[ḍa'ɾə]	‘very thin’
NE	/ḍaṛé/	[ḍa'ɾə]					
W	/aḍmál/	[ʔaḍ'māl]	vs.	SE	/aṛémol/	[ʔa'ɾəmɔl]	‘pool of water’
NE	/aṛmál/	[ʔaɾ'māl]					

In contrast to velar plosive lenition, retroflex plosive lenition apparently does not produce synchronic alternations in morphology. All relevant examples of prefixed locative expressions given by Strand (1999a) seem to have analogically restored initials. Examples are few since the retroflex plosives are generally relatively rare in word-initial position.

(34)	/ṭaré/	‘target’	⇒	/paṭéré/	‘on the target (LOC)’
	[ṭa'rɛ]			[pa'tɕrɛ]	
	/ṭuğúre/	‘hide-covered bowl’	⇒	/paṭúğure/	‘on the bowl (LOC)’
	[ṭu'ɣurə]			[pa'tuɣurɛ]	
	/ḍuk/	‘trap door’	⇒	/baḍúk/	‘on the trap door (LOC)’
	[ḍuk]			[ba'ḍuk]	
	/ḍiğíri/	‘shirt’	⇒	/baḍíğiri/	‘on the shirt (LOC)’
	[ḍi'ɣiri]			[ba'ḍiɣiri]	

Through cases like those in (34) and later compounds such as /bóḍun/ ‘fodder-carrying frame’ an intervocalic contrast can be established between /ɤ/, /ɔ/ and /ɾ/, though the plosives appear only at morpheme boundaries in inherited vocabulary. A (near-)minimal pair from Strand’s (1999a) word lists is shown in (35).

(35) /baḍúk/	⇔	/Baṛúk/	⇔	/baṭák/
[ba'ḍuk]		[ba'ɾuk]		[baṭak]
‘on the trap door’		‘place name in Mergřom valley’		‘container for liquids’

This contrast is strengthened by recent loanwords from Pashto, e.g. /muṭár/ [mu'tar] ‘car’, /laṭín/ [la'tin] ‘lantern’ (both originally from English), but also by borrowed place names such as /Aṭéti/ (in Katëgël/Upper Laṇḍay Sin), /Kaṭór/ (in Tregam) or /Kalkáṭak/ (in Chitral). This has the result that /-ṭ-/ [t], /ḍ/ [ḍ] and /-ṛ-/ [ɾ] must be considered separate phonemes in the Southeastern dialect.

3. Sibilant lenition: Between vowels /s/, /š/, /ṣ/ > /z/, /ž/, /ẓ/

Examples:

NE /musé/	[mũ'sə]	vs.	SE /muzé/	[mũ'zə]	‘mouse’
NE /nasúr/	[ṇā'su]	vs.	SE /nazúr/	[ṇā'zu]	‘nose’
NE /mišík/	[mĩ'çik ^j]	vs.	SE /mižík/	[mĩ'žik ^j]	‘game’
NE /kašírë/	[ka'çirə]	vs.	SE /kažírë/	[ka'žirə]	‘white (M)’
NE /mëšé/	[mǝ'ʂə]	vs.	SE /mazé/	[mǝ'zə]	‘anger’
NE /guṣúk/	[gu'ʂuk]	vs.	SE /gužúk/	[gu'žuk]	‘spouted pot’

In the case of intervocalic [z], the presence of a word-initial contrast /š/ vs. /ẓ/ makes it quite natural to consider it part of the voiced phoneme /ẓ/, i.e. the lenition leads to reassignment of intervocalic instances to the voiced phonemes.

In the case of [z], there is a new intervocalic contrast with [s] from simplified clusters and geminations, as in the examples in (36). The geminations are apparently not always simplified, but variation is possible because there is no contrast to single intervocalic [s].

(36) /baséno/	[ba'səṇɔ]	cf.	NE /bëzísno/	[bə'zisṇɔ]	‘clothes’
/bíšë/	[ˈbis(:)ə]	cf.	W /bí-st-asë/	[ˈbiʂtasə]	‘has become’
			NE /bíssë/	[ˈbis:ə]	
/lésë/	[ˈlɛs(:)ə]	cf.	W /lešt-asë/	[ˈlɛʂtasə]	‘(it) is good’
			NE /léssë/	[ˈlɛs:ə]	

Near-minimal pairs exemplifying the resulting contrast are shown in (37).

(37) /bazévo/	⇔	/baséno/
[ba'zəvɔ]		[ba'səɲɔ]
'having strong taste'		'clothes'
/vizé/	⇔	/bísě/
[vi'zə]		['bisə]
'type of skin disease'		'has become'

Also in the case of intervocalic [ʒ] a new contrast with unvoiced intervocalic [ç] has resulted from simplification of clusters and geminates as the examples in (38) show.

(38) /áši/	['ʔaçi]	'you are'	< morphologically expected */ás-ši/
/pašúť/	[pa'çyt̚]	'rib'	cf. w /paščút̚/

This contrast is reinforced by later compounds and Persian and Pashto loanwords such as /kušíš/ 'effort' or /driší/ 'suit', as well as borrowed place names. A near-minimal pair is shown in (39).

(39) /aží/	[ʔa'ʒi]	'mouth'	⇔	/áši/	['ʔaçi]	'you are'

The fricative [ʒ] also contrasts with the affricate /ʃ/, as the near-minimal pair in (40) shows. It must therefore be considered an independent phoneme /ʒ/, though it occurs only in intervocalic position.

(40) /aží/	[ʔa'ʒi]	'mouth'	⇔	/aǰí/	[ʔa'dʒi:]	'daughterless'

As with velar plosive lenition, the sibilant lenitions cause synchronic alternations wherever voiceless sibilants are placed in intervocalic position within a phonological word.

4. Labial plosive lenition: Between vowels /p/ > /b/ (dialect of Kombřom/Kāmdēš)

Examples:

NE/W /čpé-/	[t̪p̪e]	vs.	SE-KM /čabě-/	[t̪a'bə]	'to emit sound'
NE /pis/	['pis]	vs.	SE-KM /pabús/	[pa'bʲys]	'lung'
w /ppis ~ pis ~ pyus/					
	['ppis ~ 'pis ~ 'pjus]				

Strand (1997b) indicates that this sound change is less widespread than the other lenitions and seems to be general only in the village of Kombrom (Kāmdēš). In his transcription he differentiates between intervocalic instances of /b/ (among all speakers) and intervocalically lenited /p/ (pronounced as [b] only among speakers who have the change). Intervocalic /b/ nevertheless contrasts with intervocalic /p/ even for those speakers who have the merger, since there is a number of words, in which the lenition never happens. Examples are shown in (41). The /p/ in these words likely results from original consonant clusters in this position.

(41) /vupé/	[wu'pə]	‘scorpion’
/yipó-/	[ji'pɔ:]	‘to build, make’
/lipé-/	[li'pə]	‘to plaster’

This contrast is again strengthened by recent loanwords from Persian and Pashto such as /kapú/ ‘upset’ < Prs. *hafa* ‘strangled, upset’. A near-minimal pair is shown in (42).

(42) /vubějik/ ⁵⁰	[wu'bəd̪zik]	‘life’	⇔	/vupé/	[wu'pə]	‘scorpion’

For speakers who have labial plosive lenition this also produces synchronic alternations in morphology.

Intervocalic /t/ and /d/ are not generally lenited, but forms with /d/ corresponding to /t/ in the other dialects appear in one grammatical element, the suffix of the perfective converb W & NE-BG /-ti/, NE-MM, NE-KN /-tye/ vs. SE /-di/. Strand (1997b) treats this as another instance of the same process, but it is not clear whether this correspondence is due to the same sound change, as it does not recur elsewhere.

Table 11 gives a general summary of the Southeastern lenitions and their phonological consequences.

⁵⁰ Strand (1999a) transcribes this word as <up'ajik>, suggesting that speakers without the lenition pronounce it with /p/, but this would be unexpected based on the comparative evidence of other dialects which have respectively NE /ubjík/ and W /ubějík/. The word nevertheless serves to illustrate the maintained intervocalic contrast between /b/ and /p/.

Source	Phonological Result	Reintroduced Contrast (from clusters, morpheme boundaries & loanwords)
Velar plosives		
/-k-/ + /-g-/	merger as /-ğ-/ & split	/-ğ-/ vs. /-k-/ vs. /-g-/
Apico-alveolar plosives (not in SE-MM)		
/-t-/ + /-d-/	merger as /-ṛ-/ & split	/-ṛ-/ vs. /-t-/ vs. /-d-/
Sibilants		
/-s-/	split as /-z-/	/-z-/ vs. /-s-/
/-š-/	split as /-ž-/	/-ž-/ vs. /-š-/
/-ʂ-/ + /-ʐ-/	merger as /-ʐ-/	none
Bilabial plosives (SE-KM dialect)		
/-p-/ + /-b-/	merger as /b/	/-b-/ vs. /-p-/

Table 11. Overview of Southeastern Lenitions

In the description of morphological forms, I have noted all cases in which Southeastern lenition occurs as a synchronic alternation. There are also synchronic alternations on the level of phrase sandhi as in the example in (43).

- (43) a. /kú-nēm/ [ˈkunēm]
do-PROG.1SG
‘I am doing/saying’
- b. /axtār mubārakí ğū-nēm/ [ax̣tarmũba:raˈkiyũnēm]
Eid blessing do-PROG.1SG
‘I am wishing you blessed Eid al-Adha’ [SE-MM] (Axtar Program 47.1)

Though based on lexical and morphological data from Strand (1999a; 1999b; 2007), the account of Southeastern lenitions given above differs from the description of the phenomenon offered by Strand himself.⁵¹

⁵¹ Interestingly, an analysis similar to the one expressed here is hinted at by the phonemic inventory shown in Strand (1973: 298, fn. 6), though the system is there referred to as “taxonomic”.

For each of the lenition processes, Strand assumes, first, that the result is allophonic and, second, that it is an allophone of the phoneme it is *least* similar to. That is, [ɣ] is an allophone of /k/ rather than /g/, [ɾ] is an allophone of /t/ rather than /d/.⁵² Intervocalic [z] is taken to be an allophone of /s/ rather than an instance of /z/. [z] and [ʒ] are not given phonemic status, but attached as allophones to /s/ and /ʃ/. These decisions lead to cases such as <ɰuk> [ɰuk] ‘salt’ but <âşuku> [ʔaʔɰu] ‘unsalted’ and <gul> [guɫ] ‘valley’ but <bâkul> [baʔɰuɫ] ‘in the valley’, which mislead the untrained observer to expect an intervocalic fortition instead of the lenition that is actually there.

The assumption of allophonic status of the lenited sounds can only be maintained with the help of the auxiliary hypothesis of an “open transition” that was already mentioned in the context of vowel onglides in section 2.1.1.8. The “open transition” is invoked by Strand to explain unpredictable intervocalic occurrences of [k], [t], [s], [ç], [ʃ] and [p] which would otherwise suggest phonemic status or phonemic reassignment for the results of the lenitions. He transcribes these cases with a raised dot before the unlenited sound. To explain the synchronically unpredictable difference between older compounds which have undergone the lenition sound changes and younger ones which have not, he invokes the “close transition”, the opposite of the “open transition”, which “implies the overlapping (coarticulation) of certain articulations of adjacent sounds” (Strand 2007). Older compounds are accordingly transcribed with an underscore <_> between the elements, indicating the “close transition”, whereas younger compounds are transcribed as separate words with a space in between the components, which indicates “lexical transition”, “in which fewer types of articulatory overlap [sic]” (Strand 2007). I do not adopt the assumption of such “transitions” in this description, since these phenomena are not independently motivated or observable in the real world. As such, they really only serve to circumvent analytical decisions that would otherwise be required by established methodology in phonological analysis. For clarity and transparency, a comparison of Strand’s analysis and mine is given in Table 12 for the (near-)minimal pairs noted above.

⁵² This explains the confusion in Reichert (1998: 131), who writes with regard to [ɾ]: “I am not able to define it phonetically but according to Strand’s statements it is voiceless”. The sound is of course voiced and only on the phonological level it is considered to be an instance of the voiceless /t/ by Strand.

Meaning	Phonetic form	Strand's analysis (1999a; 2019)	My analysis
'Friday; week'	[ʔag ¹ ə]	/âg'ař/	/agěř/
'monkey'	[ma ¹ ʔə]	/mâk'ař/	/mağěř/
'there'	[ʔa ¹ ki]	/â·k'i/	/akí/
'on the trap door (LOC)'	[ba ¹ ɖuk]	/bâɖ'uk/	/baɖúk/
'place name'	[ba ¹ ɽuk]	/bâɽ'uk/	/Baɽúk/
'canteen'	[ba ¹ ɽak]	/bâ·ɽak/	/baɽák/
'having strong taste'	[ba ¹ zəvɔ]	/bâs'avo/	/bazévo/
'clothes'	[ba ¹ səɔ]	/bâ·s'ano/	/baséno/
'mouth'	[ʔa ¹ zi]	/âš'a/	/aží/
'you are'	[¹ ʔaɕi]	/â·ša/	/áši/
'news'	[¹ ʂu]	/ʂ'u/	/ʂu/
'salt'	[¹ zʊk]	/z'uk/	/zʊk/
'undersalted'	[ʔa ¹ zuɣu]	/âʂ'uku/	/azúgu/
'anger'	[ma ¹ zə]	/mâʂ'a/	/mazé/
'life'	[wu ¹ bəɖ̪zik ¹]	/up'ajik/	/vubějik/
'scorpion'	[wu ¹ pə]	/u·p'a/	/vupé/

Table 12. Two Analyses of Southeastern Intervocalic Lenition

2.1.2.10.5 Post-Nasal Voicing Assimilation

This is another group of historical sound changes, which has exclusively affected the Southeastern dialect. Post-nasal voicing assimilations could be seen as part of the wider tendency of this dialect toward intervocalic lenition (as is done by Reichert (1998: 131)), but the contexts of application as well as the results of the changes differ to such a degree that they are better understood as separate phenomena. Thus, e.g., the lenitions include changes to the degree of stricture (/k/ /g/ > /ğ/; /t/ /d/ > /ɽ/), but post-nasal assimilation affect only the voicing, and while affricates, fricatives and dental plosives are unaffected by intervocalic lenitions, they do take part in the post-nasal voicing assimilation.

The voicing assimilations can be described with the following rule: in intervocalic consonant clusters, voiceless plosives and affricates become voiced after nasals. I.e.:

/k/, /t/, /t/, /p/	>	/g/, /d/, /d/, /b/	VN_(C)V
/ç/, /č/, /č/	>	/j/, /j/, /j/	VN_(C)V
/š/, /š/, /s/	>	/z/, /ž/, /z/	VN_(C)V

Table 13 gives various examples of these sound changes.

Phonemic	Phonetic	Meaning	Comparisons
/sačúŋguŋě/	[saˈtʃuŋguŋẽ]	‘container for buttermilk curds’	< /sačúŋ/ ‘buttermilk curds’ + /kuŋě/ ‘hunk of wood’
/kangěni/	[kaŋˈgəni]	‘chuckle’	reduplicated < /kan-/ ‘laugh’
/amgí/	[ʔamˈgi]	‘those, they’	cf. w & ne /amkí/
/křamgrěmě/	[kɤamˈgɤəmẽ]	‘threshing floor’	cf. w /křamkřēmě/
/šamděŋě/	[ʃamˈdɛŋẽ]	‘taxes’	< /šom/ ‘tribute’ + /taŋě/ ‘money’
/aŋdó/	[ʔaŋˈdɔ]	‘fireplace’	< /aŋó/ ‘fire’ + /tō/ ‘place’
/šaŋdó/	[ʃaŋˈdɔ]	‘cemetery [archaic]’	< /šaní/ ‘wooden box; coffin’ + /tō/ ‘place’
/damdó/	[damˈdɔ]	‘handle’	< /dam-/ ‘to grasp’ + /tō/ ‘place’
/manjí/	[mānˈdʒi]	‘person, human’	cf. w & ne /mančí/
/amjí-/	[amˈdʒi-]	‘to wear, to put on’	cf. ne /amčí-/
/mřanjě/	[mɤāŋˈdʒɤ]	‘songbird’	cf. w /mřěŋěč/, ne /mřěŋěčě/
/vunjó/	[wunˈdʒɔ:]	‘water spring’	cf. w /vuncév/, ne /uncě/
/čamzěgür/	[tʃamˈzɛːy̯yɾ]	‘hide, head & hooves’	< /čom/ ‘skin’ + /šē/ ‘head’ + /küir/ ‘foot’
/řamzěř/	[ɤamˈzɤ]	‘goat that knows its way home’	< /řamě/ ‘familiar, domesticated’ + /šařě/ ‘goats or sheep’
/tramží/	[tɤramˈʒi]	‘twilight, darkness’	cf. w /trěmší/
/namzót/	[nāmzɔt]	‘namesake’	< /nom/ ‘name’ + soť ‘companion’
/čimzúvo/	[tʃimˈzuvo]	‘metal water pot’	< /čimě/ ‘metal’ + /suvó/ ‘water pot’

Table 13. Examples of Southeastern Post-Nasal Voicing Assimilation

Nasalized vowels, which phonetically turn into a sequence of vowel + nasal consonant before plosives, similarly cause voicing of a following unvoiced plosive.

Phonemic	Phonetic	Meaning	Notes
/ačégačěnik/	[ʔaˈtʃɛŋɡatʃ̥ɲ̥.ikʲ]	‘pupil’	< /ačě/ ‘eye’ + /kač-/ ‘to look’
/čěrígačěři/	[tʃ̥əˈrɪŋɡaɣ̥ɹ̥.i]	‘dried apricot’	< /čěří/ ‘apricot’ + /kačěř/ ‘hard’
/yĩ-do/	[ˈjɪ̃ɖɔ]	‘to me’	< /yĩ/ ‘me (1SG.OBL)’ + /-to/ ‘to’

While the post-nasal voicing assimilations do not affect the phonemic inventory, they do have an impact on phonotactics and cause a number of synchronic alternations between voiced and unvoiced sounds in the position after nasals. A notable example is the behavior of the local postposition /-to/ shown in (44).

- (44) /yiyé-tto/ [jiˈjɛtːɔ] ‘to him’
 /tu-tto/ [ˈtutːɔ] ‘to you’
 /yĩ-do/ [ˈjɪ̃ɖɔ] ‘to me’

Strand treats post-nasal voicing as an allophonic process, as also with the intervocalic lenitions. All voiced sounds in post-nasal position are transcribed by him as instances of voiceless phonemes. This approach runs into difficulties with newer compounds, where the voicing assimilation does not apply. In such cases, Strand again assumes an “open transition” or “lexical transition” between the components. I instead opt to consider voiced sounds in post-nasal position as instances of voiced phonemes, whereas voiceless sounds in the same position are instances of voiceless phonemes.

2.1.2.11 Marginal Phonemes

Beside the phonemes discussed in detail above, there is another group of sound segments, which are less securely part of the language system but nevertheless appear within it with some frequency. These *marginal phonemes* have been included within brackets in the overviews of consonantal systems (Table 8, Table 9 and Table 10).

They can be described as marginal to the language's phonological system, in so far as they only appear in words recently borrowed from the dominant supraregional languages Persian, Pashto and Urdu. The use of such loanwords is widespread but ultimately optional.

Crucially, the marginal sounds are not produced in the same way as in the donor languages by all speakers and even a single speaker might not be consistent as to which sounds they produce in original pronunciation, which ones they adapt in pronunciation to the sound system of Katë and which ones they do not pronounce at all. Accordingly, they appear equally in all dialects, but not with all kinds of speakers. It is of some significance that a large portion of the borrowed Persian, Pashto or Urdu words are ultimately of Arabic origin, since the higher registers of these languages are mostly composed of Arabic loanwords and since Katë in turn borrows mostly from their higher registers. As Arabic is the sacred language of Islam, its correct pronunciation holds high prestige among Muslims. This has the consequence that, though words are essentially never borrowed directly from Arabic into Katë, the pronunciation of Arabic sounds is approximated by some speakers, even when these sounds are not regularly produced in the Arabic way in the source languages Persian, Pashto or Urdu.⁵³ This is made easier by the fact that the languages of the region preserve the historical spelling of Arabic loanwords in their Arabic-script-based writing systems, so that literate speakers have direct access to their Arabic phonological form. Another furthering factor is the influence of religious education, which includes Arabic language instruction, particularly instruction in correct pronunciation for the recitation of holy texts. The closeness of approximation to Arabic pronunciation may differ based on semantics, with words for religious concepts such as *Qur'ān* receiving particular attention. The category of the marginal phoneme can most usefully be applied to consonants, whereas the vowels of the donor languages are generally simply mapped onto the existing vowel qualities.⁵⁴ We thus have two sources of marginal phonemes:

⁵³ The same phenomenon of directly referring to Arabic phonology without going through the Persian intermediary is, however, also found as a sociolinguistic variable in Pashto (cf. Miller & Boyle David 2014: 9–10) and Urdu.

⁵⁴ Strand (2007) distinguishes a marginally phonemic vowel /ã/ [ɒ] < Persian /ā/ [ɒ], but I could not distinguish this vowel from /o/ [ɔ]. The long /ē/ of Afghan Persian sometimes appears in unadapted pronunciation, e.g. in /bexí/ [be(:)'xi] 'completely, at all'.

1. Sounds found in Persian/Pashto/Urdu but not in inherited Katë words:
[x~χ], [ɣ~ʁ], [f], [q], [h]
2. Sounds orthographically distinguished in Arabic words borrowed into Persian/Pashto/Urdu, but not usually pronounced like in Arabic in those languages and not found in inherited Katë words:
 - a. [ħ], [ʕ], word-internal [ʔ]
 - b. [θ], [ð], [tʰ], [dʰ], [ðʰ], [sʰ]

The first group is doubtlessly more common, but sounds of both groups may be encountered in Katë. The sounds shown in 2b. are so rarely produced by speakers of Katë that they do not need to be considered even a marginal part of the language.

The pronunciation or substitution of a particular marginal phoneme varies along sociolinguistic lines, the most relevant factors being multilingualism, level of education and type of education (public or religious). According to my approximate observations – of course in reality a detailed sociolinguistic study would be required – the continuum of variant pronunciations roughly looks like what is shown in Table 14.

Marginal Phoneme	Uneducated Monolingual Speaker	Uneducated Bilingual Speaker	Educated Bilingual Speaker	Speaker with Religious Education
/-ʔ-/	-	-	- / [ʔ]	[ʔ]
/h/	-	-	[h]	[h]
/ħ/	-	-	[h~ħ~ḥ]	[ħ~ḥ]
/ʕ/	-	-	-/[ʔ]/[ɬ]	[ɬ]/[ʕ~ʕ̣]
/q/	[k]	[k~q]	[k~q]	[q]
/x/	[k]	[x~χ]	[x~χ]	[x~χ]
/ɣ/	[g] word-final: [k]	[ɣ~ʁ]	[ɣ~ʁ]	[ɣ~ʁ]
/f/	[p]	[f]	[f]	[f]

Table 14. Variant Pronunciations of Marginal Phonemes

The sociolinguistic distribution of pronunciation variants almost certainly has an additional gendered component, since women in the region on average have much less access to education than men and since out of all adult demographic groups they

are the least likely to travel outside the region and therefore the most likely to be monolingual.

Next to the recent loanwords with variable pronunciation, there are also older, more integrated Persian or Pashto loanwords, in which loan substitutions have become conventionalized and are used even by educated multilingual speakers. In some cases, these earlier loanwords do not follow the same patterns of substitution as those which are currently common. Some examples are: NE/SE *bešt* ‘paradise’ < Prs. *bihišt*; NE *nəšón*, SE *nizón* ‘sign’ < Prs. *nišān*; NE/SE *kapéré* ‘infidel’ < Prs.-Arab. *kāfir*; SE *muzérmon* ‘Muslim’ < Prs. *musalmān*.

Hypercorrections show that the marginal phonemes are not fully integrated into the phonological systems even among speakers who regularly use them. They appear in the form of hyperforeignisms in borrowed words, such as /qomyób/ for Persian *kāmyāb* ‘successful’, and hypercorrections according to Persian prescriptive norms even in inherited Nuristani words such as /haštíc/ for /aštíc/ ‘eighteen’ under the influence of Persian *haṣṣdah* and its colloquial counterpart *ažda*.

A more detailed discussion of each of the marginal consonant phonemes follows below. Examples are given with the pronunciation variant that is least adapted to the sound system of Katë.

The voiceless labiodental fricative /f/ is found in Persian and Pashto words, mostly of Arabic origin. It is produced by many speakers of Katë, but can also be substituted by /p/.

Examples:

Initial:	/fíkər/	[^l fikər]	‘thought’ < Persian < Arabic <i>fikr</i> ‘thought’
Intervocalic:	/safár/	[sa ^l far]	‘travel’ < Persian < Arabic <i>safar</i> ‘travel’
Final:	/taklíf/	[tak ^l lif]	‘trouble, inconvenience’ < Urdu < Persian < Arabic <i>taklīf</i> ‘trouble, inconvenience’

The voiceless postvelar/uvular fricative /x/ is found in Persian and Pashto words of all origins, with realizations between a (post)velar [x] and a fully uvular [χ]. In Urdu it may alternate with aspirated [k^h] for some speakers. It is produced by many speakers of Katë, but can also be substituted by /k/.

Examples:

Initial:	/xabár/	[χa'bar]	‘news; informed’	
				< Persian < Arabic <i>ḥabar</i> ‘news’
Intervocalic:	/buxór/	[bu'χɔr]	‘fever’	
				< Urdu <i>bukhār</i> ‘fever’ < Persian < Arabic <i>buhār</i> ‘steam’
Final:	/toríx/	[tɔ'riχ]	‘history’	
				< Persian < Arabic <i>tārīḥ</i> ‘history’

The voiced postvelar/uvular fricative /ɣ/ occurs in Persian and Pashto words of all origins, with realizations between a (post)velar [ɣ] and a fully uvular [ʁ]. In Urdu it may alternate with [g] for some speakers. It is produced by many speakers of Katë, but can also be substituted by /g/ or word-finally by /k/, following the word-final voicing restriction.

Examples:

Initial	/ɣalát/	[ʁa'laʔ]	‘wrong, mistake’	
				< Persian < Arabic <i>ḡalaṭ</i> ‘error’
Intervocalic	/koɣáz/	[kɔ'ʁaz]	‘paper’	
				< Persian <i>kāḡáz</i> ‘paper’
Final:	/boɣ/	[ʔbɔʁ]	‘garden’	
				< Persian <i>bāḡ</i> ‘garden’

The uvular plosive /q/ is found in Persian⁵⁵, Pashto and Urdu words of Arabic or Turkic origin. It is usually not produced by speakers of Katë, and instead substituted with /k/.

Examples:

Initial:	/Qurʔón/	[qur'ʔɔn]	‘Qur’an’	
				< Arabic <i>Qurʾān</i> ‘Qur’an’
Intervocalic:	/aloqadór/	[ʔaɭɔqa'dɔr]	‘administrative title’	
				< Persian ‘ <i>alāqa-dār</i> ’ ‘administrative title’ < Arabic ‘ <i>alāqah</i> ’ ‘relation’
Final:	/haq/	[ʔhaq]	‘right’	
				< Persian < Arabic <i>ḥaqq</i> ‘right, truth’

⁵⁵ In Iranian Persian, etymological /ɣ/ and /q/ have merged as [g~ʁ], but in Afghanistan they are usually kept apart as [ʁ] and [q].

The voiceless glottal fricative /h/ is found in Literary Persian and Pashto but dropped in colloquial varieties with compensatory vocalic lengthening. It exists also in Arabic and a voiced [ɦ] is frequently found in Urdu. It is often dropped (intervocally replaced with hiatus) by speakers of Katë in Afghanistan, in accordance with colloquial registers of the dominant languages, but may be found in the speech of educated speakers, whereas it is more commonly pronounced by speakers in Pakistan, who are familiar with the [ɦ] of Urdu.

Examples:

Initial:	/har/	[^h har]	‘every’	< Persian <i>har</i> ‘every’
Intervocalic:	/ahamiyát/	[ʔahami ^h ja ^h]	‘importance’	< Persian <i>ahammiyat</i> < Arabic <i>’ahammiyah</i> , -at- ‘importance’
Final:	/pohantún/	[poha ^h n ^h tún]	‘university’	< Pashto <i>pohantūn</i> ‘university’

The voiceless pharyngeal/epiglottal fricative /ħ/ occurs in words of Arabic origin, but speakers of Persian, Pashto or Urdu usually do not distinguish it from /h/. In colloquial Afghan Persian and Pashto it is accordingly dropped completely in the same way as /h/. It is only produced by speakers of Katë who know Arabic. Its usual substitution is /h/ or it is dropped altogether.

Examples:

Initial:	/ħarf/	[^ħ ħarf]	‘letter’	< Persian < Arabic <i>ħarf</i> ‘letter’
	/muħasíl/	[muħa ^h sil]	‘student’	< Persian <i>muħaṣṣil</i> ‘student’ < Arabic <i>muħaṣṣil</i> ‘acquirer’
	/tasbiħ/	[ta ^h z ^h biħ]	‘prayer beads’	< Persian <i>tasbiħ</i> ‘prayer beads’ < Arabic <i>tasbiħ</i> ‘praise of God’

The voiced pharyngeal/epiglottal fricative /ʕ/ is found in words of Arabic origin, but it is usually substituted with a glottal stop [ʔ] or dropped with or without compensatory vocalic lengthening in Persian, Pashto or Urdu. In Katë, similarly, only a few speakers produce it as in Arabic, but unlike in Persian or Pashto, its usual substitution is /ř/, a phoneme which does not exist in the dominant languages. There is a strong convention to write /ř/ with the Arabic letter ‘Ayn <ع>, which is adopted

or at least commented on by all authors concerned with developing a writing system for Nuristani languages. Sun-Aro (2016), Jano (1991), the orthography recently proposed in Chitral and virtually all speakers on social media platforms use it as the regular representation. Arabic ‘Ayn and Katë /ř/ are so strongly identified with each other that some speakers may not be aware that they are not in fact the same sound. Ġulāmullāh (1966; 1968) does not use the letter <ξ> but notes that /ř/ “is similar to the Arabic ‘Ayn”. The “official” Nuristani orthography developed at the Afghan Academy of Sciences by Grjunberg et al. (1987) explicitly discourages the use of ‘Ayn for /ř/:

Until now this sound has been expressed by the letter <ξ>, which does not appear correct in a few regards: The first is that the letter <ξ> is used as a letter for historical spelling (*ḥarf-i iḥtiyāṭī*) in the alphabet of the Nuristani language [...] The second is that the sound which is expressed by the <ξ> does not have any kind of shared feature in terms of manner and place of articulation with the /ř/ in the Nuristani language. Since /ř/ has similarity with /r/ in terms of its manner of articulation and articulator, it was decided based on this that a combination of <ﺭ> [r] with hamza <ء> in the form <ﺭء> will be used from now on to express the mentioned sound. (Grjunberg, Nūristānī & Jano 1987: 9, own translation)

This decision, like the proposed orthography in general, has had little influence on the actual practices of native speakers, but we can conclude from this statement that the identification with ‘Ayn must have already been common at that time. Though it was not apparent to Grjunberg et al., the identification of these two sounds does have a basis in phonetics, despite the undeniable differences: Pharyngealized and rhotic/retroflex vowels share the acoustic quality of a lowered third formant and the vocal tract configurations found in bunched articulations of retroflex approximants or rhotic/retroflex vowels, which also occur as realizations of Katë /ř/, have much in common with those found in the articulation of pharyngealized vowels (Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996: 307–308).

This acoustic similarity and to some extent also similar articulation must have been noticed by some of the Nuristanis who went to study Arabic after Nuristan’s conversion to Islam and the observation has been so widely accepted that it has directly influenced the language’s sound patterns. The identification of the two sounds is not unique to Katë, since substitution of [ɹ] for ‘Ayn also appears in Buddruss’s Nuristani Kalasha materials from Nisheygram (*mṛālīm* ‘teacher’ < *mu‘allim*, Degener (1998: 481)) and ‘Ayn has been adopted in the newly developed orthography of Dameli to represent [ɹ] (FLI 2016).

A less remarkable alternative treatment following the Persian model also exists, under which an etymological ‘Ayn is borrowed as [ʔ] or as vowel length. An *a* lengthened to *ā* (in Persian phonetically [ɒ]) is substituted by /o/, otherwise vowel length is lost in the borrowing process.

Examples:

Initial:	/ʃom/	[ʃɔm]	‘general, public’ < Arabic ‘ <i>āmm</i> ‘general, public’
Intervocalic:	/muʃallím/	[muʃaˈlːim]	‘teacher’ < Persian < Arabic <i>mu‘allim</i> ‘teacher’
Final:	/mauzúʃ/	[ma.uˈzuʃ]	‘topic’ < Persian <i>mawzūʿ</i> < Arabic <i>mawḏūʿ</i> ‘topic’

The glottal plosive /ʔ/ is phonemic in Arabic and marginally phonemic in literary Persian and Pashto, through the influence of loanwords of Arabic origin. In colloquial varieties of Persian and Pashto and in Urdu it is usually not pronounced word-internally. Its distribution in words of Arabic origin is much less restricted than in inherited Katë words, where it only appears before word-initial vowels (with some dialectal variation). One could argue that word-internal Arabic glottal stops cause the otherwise environmentally conditioned word-initial glottal stop of inherited Katë words to move towards phonemic status. However, since probably a large majority of speakers do not pronounce such word-internal glottal stops, I do not think that they are central enough to warrant such an analysis. The usual substitution of intervocalic glottal stops in Katë is vowel hiatus, whereas preconsonantal glottal stops are usually not pronounced at all, as in colloquial Persian and Pashto. They may be restored in the speech of educated speakers or of speakers familiar with Arabic.

Examples:

Intervocalic:	/raʔís/	[raˈʔis]	‘president’ < Persian < Arabic <i>raʾīs</i> ‘president’
Preconsonantal:	/muʔmín/	[muʔˈmin]	‘believer’ < Persian < Arabic <i>muʾmin</i> ‘believer’

2.1.3 Phonotactics

The phonotactic rules specified in this section refer primarily to the inherited lexicon, whereas recent borrowings from Persian, Pashto or Urdu may have a rather different sound structure. To what degree the phonotactic structure of recent borrowings is

adapted to the typical shape of inherited Katë words, depends on the individual speaker.

2.1.3.1 Syllable structure

A syllable in the Katë language always contains exactly one vowel and (optionally) a number of up to five consonants, the distribution of which is subject to a number of restrictions. Example (45) shows the syllable types attested for the Northeastern dialect in the examined corpus.

(45)	V	/e/	[¹ ʔɛ]	‘one, a’
	$\bar{V}$	/ō/	[¹ ʔɔ:]	‘water’
	$\tilde{V}$	/ũ/	[¹ ʔũ]	‘I (1SG.DIR)’
	VC	/iç/	[¹ ʔiṯṣ]	‘bear’
	$\tilde{V}C$	/ũš/	[¹ ʔũʃ]	‘look’
	VCC	/uʃt/	[¹ ʔuʃt]	‘eight’
	CV	/go/	[¹ gɔ]	‘cow’
	$C\bar{V}$	/dā/	[¹ ḍa:]	‘wood’
	$C\tilde{V}$	/zō/	[¹ zõ]	‘knee’
	$C\tilde{\tilde{V}}$	/čõ/	[¹ tʃõ:]	‘endurance, tolerance’
	CVC	/dut/	[¹ ḍut]	‘tooth’
	$C\tilde{V}C$	/ṯič/	[¹ ṯiṯʃ]	‘clear’
	CVCC	/beʃt/	[¹ bɛʃt]	‘paradise’
	[$C\tilde{V}CC$]	/řũtr/	[¹ ṯũtr]	‘waist’] (SE dialect)
	CCV	/kɔ/	[¹ kɔ]	‘knife’
	$CC\bar{V}$	/břō/	[¹ bɔ:]	‘brother (OBL.SG)’
	$CC\tilde{V}$	/skā/	[¹ skā]	‘broom’
	$CC\tilde{\tilde{V}}$	/pʃõ/	[¹ pʃõ:]	‘at dinner (LOC)’
	CCVC	/ʃpiʃ/	[¹ ʃpiʃ]	‘drop (of water)’
	$CC\tilde{V}C$	/břũč/	[¹ bṯũṯṣ]	‘meadow’

CCVCC	/mřušť/	[^l m̥uɕʈ̚]	‘fist’
CCCV	/Křto/	[^l křʈɔ]	‘member of Křto ethnic group’
CCCV̄	/křčē/	[^l křʈʂɛ:]	‘thigh (OBL.SG)’
CCCV̄	/pssē/	[^l ps:ē]	‘in the year (LOC)’
CCCV̄	/čkrō/	[^l ʈskɔ:]	‘scratching (n.)’
CCVC	/přtok/	[^l pɕʈɔk]	‘butterfly’
CCCCVC	/pssyuj/	[^l ps:juŋ]	‘in buttermilk curds (LOC)’

2.1.3.1.1 Coda

Most consonants can appear in syllable-final position. Voiced obstruents (= plosives, affricates, fricatives) do not occur in word-final codas in the two Eastern dialects. The glide /v/ is absent from most Eastern syllable codas in accordance with the historical change of vowel + /v/ sequences into long vowels, though in the numeral /ev/ ‘one’ it is commonly pronounced when counting. The same applies to the glide /y/ in most Southeastern varieties. The syllable coda is limited to a maximal number of two consonants and the only consonant clusters occurring in syllable-final position are /řť/, /řʈ/ and /yk/. The Western dialect additionally has /řp/ and the Western and Southeastern dialects have /tr/, which is broken up by vowel epenthesis in the Northeast. In the Southeastern dialect of Kombřom (Kāmděř) the final plosives in word-final clusters /řť/ and /řʈ/ tend to be dropped and they may or may not resurface in suffixed (e.g. case) forms (Strand 2019). Examples of coda clusters are given in (46).

- (46) /přušť/ [p̥uɕʈ̚] ‘bed’
 /mřušť/ [m̥uɕʈ̚] ‘fist’
 /uřť/ [ʔuɕʈ̚] ‘eight’
 /beřť/ [beɕʈ̚] ‘paradise’
 /lilířvayk/ [li^lli^uʋæjk^l] ‘young woman’
 W/SE /gotr/ [gɔʈɾ̥] ‘arm’ (cf. NE /gótěr/)
 W /vúřp/ [^lvuɕp̥] ‘horse’ (cf. NE /uřúp/, SE /vúřpě/)

2.1.3.1.2 Nucleus

The nucleus of a syllable is always exactly one vowel. The vocalic nuclei of two separate syllables may occur in adjacent position.

Nasalization of the nucleus vowel seems to co-occur with almost all types of syllable structures, with only $\tilde{V}CC$ and $CC\tilde{V}CC$ being unattested in my data. A syllable of the structure $C\tilde{V}CC$ appears only in the Southeastern dialect word *řũtr* ‘waist’.

2.1.3.1.3 Onset

Onset clusters are much less restricted than coda clusters: Up to 4 consonants may appear in a single syllable onset. The larger onset clusters are mostly the result of a historical syncope of pretonic vowels. While this process has affected all dialects to some degree, some instances of syncope are limited to certain dialects. In particular, the Southeastern dialect often preserves a pretonic /a/ where the other two have no vowel. As a result, the Southeastern dialect has fewer onset clusters than the other two. The effects of the syncope can be easily seen in a comparison of Katë dialects with Nuristani Kalasha cognates as in Table 15.

Katë			Nuristani Kalasha (Degener 1998)	Translation
Northeast	West	Southeast		
kčul	kčul	kčúlě	küčülá	‘scab’
ṭku	ṭukú [ṭ ^w ku]	ṭku	ṭuká	‘nail’
kṣě	kuṣé [k ^w ṣə]	kṣě	kuṣá	‘crippled (M)’
ṣýlě	ščílě	čilé	čičilá	‘soft’
kṭo	kṭo	kaṛó	kaṭá	‘knife’
kčo	kčo	kačó	kač	‘foxtail millet’
spay	spay	sapá	šapáy	‘porcupine’

Table 15. Katë Vowel Syncope

Two-consonant onsets may consist of:⁵⁶

- 1) Two voiceless plosives (in any combination except */kp/, */tt/⁵⁷, */tt/)

Examples:

/kʈol/	[^l kʈɔl]	‘stomach’	w /kʈyol/
/ktë/	[^l kʈə]	‘almond’	SE /kató/, but /ktë/ ‘kidskin bag’
/tkil/	[^l tk ^j il]	‘wheel’	
/tpë/	[^l tpə]	‘barrier’	
SE /tkúruk/	[tk ^j yruk]	‘thin cloth’	
w /tpëk/	[^l tpək]	‘rifle’ (w)	SE /tapké/, NE /tapék
NE/W /tpe-/	[^l tpɛ-]	‘to be warm’	SE /tapé-/
/pki/	[^l pki]	‘flea’	
/pti/	[^l pti]	‘back’	
/pti-/	[^l pti-]	‘to believe’	

Morgenstierne (1932: 64) reports that, at the time of his visit, the younger generation of Northeastern dialect speakers in Chitral produced the first plosive in plosive clusters as a fricative, e.g. [x̥t̪ɔl] for /k̪t̪ɔl/ ‘belly’ or [p̪t̪ɔ] for /pt̪ɔ/ ‘gave’. I have not been able to confirm this phenomenon during my visit to Chitral, though all speakers I met must have been part of the younger generation at the time of Morgenstierne’s visit, if they were even born.

In some Western varieties doubly released clusters of the same plosive can be found, e.g. /kkěř/ [kk̚ɐ̌] ‘hard’, /kkyuř/ [k̚k̚j̥u̯ɐ̌] ‘chicken’, /ppis/ [ppis] ‘lung’. The geographical distribution of this feature, as against simplification of such clusters to a single consonant, is not fully clear. Doubly released clusters do not appear in Grjunberg’s data and recordings from Kulem (which have /kyuř/, /pis/), but are attested (as variants) by Strand (1999b) for Ktivi (Kantiwā) and in recordings from Āmḡel. It may be the case that both realizations freely vary in all three locations.

- 2) A velar plosive or any labial sound (/p/, /b/, /m/, /v/) followed by an /ř/.

Examples:

/křum/	[^h kɹum]	‘roof’
/gřom/	[^h gɹɔm]	‘village’
/přok/	[^h pɹɔk]	‘earwax’

⁵⁶ In the following, examples unmarked for dialectal origin are from the Northeastern dialect.

⁵⁷ /kp/ and /tʰ/ can occur word-internally across morpheme boundaries, e.g. in NE *ʃkak-pul* ‘piece of dung’ and SE *pét-ti* ‘having broken (CVB)’.

/břũc/	[ˈbʁũt͡ʂ]	‘meadow’	w /břũc/
/mřoŋ/	[ˈmʁõŋ]	‘female game animal’	
/mře-/	[ˈmʁẽ-]	‘to die’	
/vřoc/	[ˈvʁʷɔt͡ʂ]	‘cluster of grapes’	SE /řoc/, but /vřīgi/ ‘fox’
/vřakús/	[vʁʷʲaˈkus]	‘musk deer, hare’	SE /řaküs/

Coronal sounds (/t/, /t̚/, /d/, /d̚/, /n/, /n̚/) do not occur before /ř/.

3) A dental plosive (/t/, /d/) or a retroflex plosive (/t̚/, /d̚/) followed by an /r/.

Examples:

SE/W /tre/	[t̚rɛ]	‘three’	NE /tëré/
SE /drũ/	[d̚rũ]	‘bow’	W /dru/, NE /durũ/
SE /t̚rək/	[t̚rək]	‘fart’	
SE /d̚rɛnd̚rɛ̃/	[d̚rɛn̚ˈd̚rɛ̃]	‘handmill’	

Dental plosives in word-initial position are never followed by /r/ in the Northeastern dialect, where all such clusters – including those with preceding /s/ or /š/ – are broken up by an epenthetic vowel, the quality of which depends on the following vowel, e.g. /tëré/ [t̚ɐˈrɛ] ‘three’, /štërí/ [ʂt̚ɐˈri], /dërëgëñ/ [d̚ɐrɐˈgɛ̃] ‘long’, /durũ/ [d̚uˈrũ] ‘bow’, /stur̥ó-/ [st̚uˈrɔ:-] ‘to write’, all of which have /tr/ or /dr/ clusters in the other dialects. In intervocalic position the epenthetic vowel seems to be optional, e.g. in /lët(ë)rí/ [l̚ɐˈt̚ri ~ l̚ɐt̚ɐˈri] ‘thing, property’.

Retroflex plosives followed by /r/ are securely attested only for the Southeastern dialect and there mostly in words with likely onomatopoeic origin. Velars (/k/, /g/), Affricates (/ç/, /č/, /j/, /ć/) and Sibilants (/ʂ/, /ʐ/, /š/, /s/, /z/) do not occur before /r/.

4) A consonant followed by a /y/.

Examples:

/kyur/	[ˈkʲur]	‘foot’	SE /kür/
/gyu/	[ˈgʲu]	‘shit’	SE /gü/
/atyě/	[ˈʔaˈt̚jɛ:]	‘bone (OBL.SG)’	<i>only internally,</i> but SE /t̚yam/ ‘bang’
/kuřyě/	[kuˈt̚jɛ:]	‘hornless one (F, OBL.SG)’	<i>only internally</i>
/mačyě/	[maˈt̚sjɛ̃]	‘honey’	<i>only internally</i>
/tyu/	[ˈt̚ju]	‘you (2SG.DIR)’	SE /tü/
/dyum/	[ˈd̚jum]	‘smoke’	SE /düm/
/čyo/	[ˈt̚sjɔ]	‘sharp (M)’	

/pyu/	[^l pju]	‘intestine’	SE /pü/
w /byer/	[b ^l ɛr]	‘stud’	
/syū/	[^l s ^h u:]	‘bridge’	SE /sü/, w /syuv/
/zyul/	[^l z ^h ul]	‘grove’	SE /jül/
/şyol/	[^l ʃçɔl]	‘wolf’	w/SE [^l ʃjɔl]
w /zyum/	[^l zjum]	‘bean’	NE /zum/, SE /züim/
/lyok/	[^l lɔk]	‘caterpillar’	
w /ryu/	[^l r ^h u]	‘silver’	NE /arí/, SE /arú/
/vyē/	[^l v ^w jē]	‘hit, time’	
/myuk/	[^l mjuk]	‘front, face’	SE mük
/nyuñ/	[^l ɲ ^h ũ]	‘steeply downvalley’	
/aɲyúñ/	[^l ?a ^h ɲ ^h ũ]	‘finger’	<i>only internally</i>

Palatals (/š/, /č/, /j/) do not occur before /y/. As the examples show, consonant + /y/ is a less common combination in the Southeastern dialect, which has /ü/ as the regular correspondence of /yu/ in the other dialects. Phonetically consonant + /y/ clusters are often realized as a palatalized consonant.

5) A /p/ or /k/ followed by a voiceless sibilant or affricate of any kind.

Examples:

/kseř/	[^l kse]	‘small bird; jumping game’	SE /ksěř/
/psi-/	[^l psi-]	‘to lie down, stretch out’	SE /přazí-/ , but /psō-/ ‘to lose, destroy’
/kši/	[^l kçi]	‘do! (IMP.2G)’	
/pšaš/	[^l pçæç]	‘cat’	
/kşō-/	[^l kşɔ:-]	‘to pull, drag’	
/kşë/	[^l kşə]	‘crippled’	w /kuşé/
/pşik/	[^l pşik ^h]	‘sleep’	SE /pşik/
/Pčigřom/	[^l ptʃigɾɔm]	‘Pčigřom (Pačigrām) (village name)’	
/kcé-/	[^l ktʃe-]	‘to look’	SE /kačé-/
/pčic/	[^l ptʃitʃ]	‘fifteen’	
/kčúl/	[^l ktʃul]	‘scab’	
w /pčën/	[^l ptʃən]	‘war’	SE /pačén/
NE /pčen/	[^l ptʃɛn]		

Morphological combinations of /t/ + /s/ or /š/ produce the geminated affricates /čč/ [^ltʃː] and /čč/ [^ltʃː]. The combination /kç/ is not attested in my data.

6) A voiceless affricate followed by a plosive.

Examples:

SE /čkérě/	[^h tʃkɐrə]	‘solid part of curdled whey’	
w /čkituk/	[^h tʃkituk]	‘naughty’	
SE /čpě-/	[^h tʃpə-]	‘to suck’	
w /čtýik/	[^h tʃtɛjik]	‘coward’	
SE /čkúrě/	[^h tʃkurə]	‘sloping (ground)’	
/čpe-/	[^h tʃpɛ-]	‘to emit sound’	SE /čabě-/
SE /čpěré/	[^h tʃpɐrə]	‘bent down’	
w /čkérě/	[^h tʃkɐrə]	‘chickenpox’	SE /čagérě/
SE /čkělě/	[^h tʃkɐlɐ]	‘sour (milk)’	

Morphological combinations of /č/ + /t/ or /d/ are reduced to /tt/, /td/. The combination /čp/ is not attested in the examined corpus.

7) a voiceless sibilant followed by a voiceless plosive, in any combination except */št/, */št/ or */st/.⁵⁸ The cluster /šk/ only appears word-internally.⁵⁹

Examples:

/skénji/	[^h skɛndʒi]	‘goatskin vest’	SE /sanúnji/, w /skéji/
/stě/	[^h stɐ]	‘vinegar’	
/spay/	[^h spæɪ]	‘porcupine’	SE /sapá/, but /spĩ/ ‘quilt’
w /ašké/	[a ^h ʃkɐ]	‘holm oak leaves’	
/šton/	[^h ʃtɔn]	‘desire’	
/špa-/	[^h ʃpa-]	‘to cut’	
/škúrě/	[^h ʃkurə]	‘crooked (M)’	
/štálě/	[^h ʃtalɐ]	‘true (M)’	
/špiš/	[^h ʃpiʃ]	‘raindrops’	

8) The combination /mɲ/ (only Northeastern and Western dialect)

Example:

/mɲe-/	[^h mɲɛ-]	‘to order, say, call’	SE /maɲě-/

⁵⁸ The combination /št/ occurs as part of the cluster /kšt/ (see below).

⁵⁹ Grjunberg (1980: 108) transcribes the place name /Škunář/ with initial /Šk-/, but his recording has [ʃk]. Herrlich et al. (1937: 309, No. 180) noted /Šk-/ once, but twice /ʃk-/. /Škunář/ is therefore likely the correct form, so that it cannot serve as an example of initial /šk-/.

9) Geminate /ss/ (only in Northeastern dialect)

Example:

/ssě/ [ˈsːə] ‘leather bag’ W-KT /sěćě/, SE /tićě/

10) The combinations /sč/, /šč/ and /šč/ (only Western dialect of Kulem)

Examples:

W-KL /sčěšoř/	[ˈst̪ʂəʂɔ̯]	‘small livestock’	W-KT /sěćúšoř/
W-KL /ščílě/	[ˈʂt̪ʂilə]	‘soft (M)’	W-KT /šičilě/, NE /šyílě/, SE /čilě/
W-KL /šče-/	[ˈʂt̪ʂɛ-]	‘to fight’	W-KT /šěćě-/, NE /šyi-/

11) The combination /kʎ/ (only in Southeastern dialect)

Examples:

/kʎuk/ [ˈkʎuk] ‘small clay pot’
/kʎížür/ [ˈkʎiz̪yɾ] ‘intestinal and stomach contents’

Three-consonant onsets are attested in the following combinations:

All dialects:

/pşy/: /pşya/ [ˈpşɕa]/ ‘educated them (PFV.PST.3PL)’
[ˈpşja]

Northeastern and Western dialect:

/kty/: NE /ktyū/	[ˈktju:]	‘bowl’	SE /karú/
W /ktyuv/	[ˈktjuβ]		
/kcy/: /kcyo/	[ˈkʲt̪sjɔ̯]	‘he looked (PFV.PST.3SG.M)’	SE /kaćyó/
/krč/: /krči-/	[ˈkʲt̪ʂi-]	‘to be cooked’	W /krče-/, SE /křačí-/
/krč/: /krčě/	[ˈkʲt̪ʂə] ⁶⁰	‘thigh’	SE /křaće/
/tky/: /tkyul/	[ˈtkjuɫ]	‘sadness’ ⁶¹	SE /tkül/
/pky/: /pkyur/	[ˈpkjur]	‘on the foot (LOC)’	SE /pağúr/
/pty/: NE /ptyóřě/	[ˈpt̪jɔ̯:rə]	‘after, behind’	SE /pt̪bār(ě)/
W /ptyór/	[ˈpt̪jɔ̯r]		

⁶⁰ The rhotics/liquids /r/ and /ř/ are devoiced to [ɾ] and [ɻ] in the position between obstruents, /ř/ is nevertheless still distinguishable from /s/ in this position.

⁶¹ Strand (1999b) records the meaning ‘pneumonia’ for the dialect of Ktivi (Kantiwā).

/pty/:	NE /ptyon/	[¹ pt̪ɔŋ]	‘belief’	
	W-KT /ptyuŋ/	[¹ pt̪juŋ]	‘doubt’	
/psy/:	/psyǒ-/	[¹ psjɔ:]	‘to make sth. settle’	SE /přazyǒ-/
/pšt/:	/pštok/	[¹ pɕtɔk]	‘butterfly’	
	/pštuk/	[¹ pɕtɔk]	‘cloth bag’	SE /paštúk/
/šty/:	/štyur/	[¹ ʂt̪jur]	‘camel’	
/mny/:	/mnyo/	[¹ mn̪ɔ]	‘said, ordered’	SE /maŋyó/

Southeastern and Western dialect:

/trk/:	/trki/	[¹ t̪ɕki]	‘crack’	
	W /trkə/	[¹ t̪ɕkə]	‘rag’	
/str/:	/strō-/	[¹ ʂtrɔ:-]	‘to carve, to trim’ ⁶²	NE /sturǒ-/
/štr/:	/štri/	[¹ ɕtri]	‘wife’	NE /štěrí/

Northeastern and Southeastern dialect:

/kšt/:	/Kšto/	[¹ kʂtɔ]	‘Kšto (<i>ethnic group</i>)’	W /Kuštó/

Northeastern dialect:

/pkř/:	/pkřum/	[¹ pk̪um]	‘on the roof (LOC)’	SE /přağúm/
/pss/:	/pssě/	[¹ ps:ɛ]		SE /pasě/
/čkň/:	/čkňō/	[¹ ʧk̪ɔ̃:]	‘scratching (INF)’	SE /çaŋěňō/
/spy/:	/spyu/	[¹ spju]	‘felt (rug)’	SE /spĩ/ ‘quilt’
/ssy/:	/ssyuŋ/	[¹ s:juŋ]	‘buttermilk curds’	W /s(ě)čyúŋ/, SE /sačúŋ/

Western dialect:

/ktr/:	/ktro/	[¹ k̪trɔ]	‘reed rope’	SE /katró/
/kšt/:	/kště/	[¹ kɕt̪ɐ]	‘pure’	SE /kʂt̪ě/, NE /ště/
/try/:	/tryař/	[¹ tr̪a]	‘pitchfork’	SE /trař/
/pšk/:	/pškok/	[¹ pʂkɔk]	‘goat/sheep dung’	NE /ʂkak/
/sčy/:	W-KL /sčyuř/	[¹ ʂʃ̺ju]	‘father-in-law’	SE /čyuř/, W-KT /sěčyúř/
		[səʃ̺ju]		NE /ssyuř/
/štk/:	W-KL /štkér/	[¹ ɕt̪kɐ]	‘quietly, secretly’	
	W-KT /štkéru/	[¹ ɕt̪kɐ.u]		

⁶² In Eastern dialects also ‘to write’ = Western /štrō-/.

/šty/:	w /štyu/	[¹ ɕtju]	‘pillar’	SE /štũ/
Southeastern dialect:				
/p̥tr/:	/p̥tri/	[¹ p̥tri]	‘after’	NE /p̥t̥e/
/sky/:	/skyo/	[¹ skʲɔ]	‘animal fat’	W, NE /sko/
Four-consonant onsets are attested in the following combinations:				
Northeastern dialect:				
/pssy/:	/pssyʉ/	[¹ ps:ʃyʉ]	‘in buttermilk curds (LOC)’	
/çkñn/:	/Çkñno/	[¹ ʧk̚ñɔ]	‘personal name’	
Southeastern dialect:				
/pštr/:	/pštr̥e/	[¹ p̥ɕtr̥ə]	‘broken to pieces’	NE/W-KL /pšter/, W-ŠT /pter/
Western dialect:				
/kršt/:	/kršto/ (KL)	[¹ kʲɕtɔ]	‘father’s younger brother’	W-KT /kr̥štó/, NE /kañštó/, SE /kañěštót/
/ksty/:	/kstyél̥e/	[¹ kst̥j̥ɛl̥ə]	‘cheese-pot’	SE /kast̥él̥e/
/kštr/:	/kštru/	[¹ k̥ɕtru]	‘stack of wood’	
/pkty/:	/pktyol/	[¹ pk̥t̥j̥ɔ]	‘in the belly’	NE /p-ɬol/ ⁶³ , SE /pa-k̥ɬol/
/pšty/:	/pštyu/	[¹ p̥ɕt̥ju]	‘on the pillar’	SE /p̥é-štũ/
/trky/:	/trkyé-/	[¹ tr̥k̥j̥ɛ-]	‘to crack, to tear’	NE /t̥ki-/, SE /tr̥k̥e-/
/štrk/:	/štrk̥éʒazok/	[¹ ɕtr̥k̥əʒazɔk]	‘kind of bird’	

⁶³ Where prefixation would produce a cluster /pk̥t̥/ in the Northeastern dialect, it is reduced to /p̥t̥/, cf. also /k̥tyũ/ ‘bowl’, /p̥-tyũ/ ‘in/at the bowl’.

2.1.4 Suprasegmentals

2.1.4.1 Stress

Like previous researchers, I could not detect any phonemic tone contrasts in Katë.⁶⁴ Yoshioka (2021) tentatively notes a “high pitch accent”, which would suggest an accent system which primarily makes use of pitch distinctions. According to my impressionistic observations, the marker of prosodic prominence seems to be a typical stress accent, which has the primary phonetic correlates of loudness and higher pitch, possibly also some effect on length. The exact details of how these factors interact remain to be worked out by future research.

The unit that bears stress is the syllable and stress usually falls on one syllable per phonological word, which consists of free and bound morphemes, plus any clitics. Grjunberg (1980: 174) mentions secondary stress on the last syllable of multisyllabic (sequences of) enclitic postpositions. I could not observe this phenomenon, but I did find that certain enclitics, in particular interrogative particles, can produce a second stress on the last syllable of their host words. This phenomenon is attested for the Western dialect of Kulem and for the Northeastern dialect. It is the only way how a single phonological word can receive more than one stressed syllable.

Examples:

NE /čáyoš./	‘You came up the valley.’
⇒ /čáýóš-a?/	‘Did you come up the valley?’ (<i>greeting</i>)
w /nilé čoye pyéneř./	‘You [pl.] are drinking black tea.’
⇒ /nilé čoye pyéněř-a?/	‘Are you [pl.] drinking black tea?’

While Grjunberg (1980: 173–174) discusses only word stress, Fussman (in Fussman & Ġulāmullāh 1983: 183), already noted the additional importance of phrasal stress. Strand (2007) does not comment on stress at the phrase level but in his transcriptions he often limits stress marking to one occurrence per phrase, which shows his awareness of the phenomenon. The two levels of stress are discussed separately below.

⁶⁴ Tone systems of varying complexity exist in many of the surrounding languages, especially to the east and southeast of Nuristan, see Baart (2003) for a typological overview. Most of these languages belong to the Indo-Aryan family, but similar systems are also found in unclassified Dameli and the isolate Burushaski. Iranian and Nuristani languages of the area have not been found to have phonemic tone contrasts.

2.1.4.1.1 Word Stress

The placement of word stress is not predictable and needs to be remembered for all stems with more than one syllable. For words in isolation it is indicated in the phonemic transcription with an acute above the nucleus vowel of the stressed syllable (´). The acute is omitted on monosyllabic stressed stems in isolation. Stress can be contrastive, but full minimal pairs are rare and usually not valid for more than one dialect. Some examples are shown in (47).

(47) NE /kuṭṛ́ḛ/	⇔	NE /kúṭṛḛ/
[kuṭṛ́ḛ]		[ˈkuṭṛḛ]
‘lame (M)’		‘voice (OBL)’
W-KT /ádrḛ/	⇔	W-KT /adrḛ́/
[ˈʔadrḛ]		[ʔaṭṛḛ́]
‘yellow, green’		‘dark’
SE /přamí/	⇔	SE /přámi/
[přaˈmi]		[ˈpřami]
‘ass (arse)’		‘female goat kid’
SE /áčḛ́-stḛ/	⇔	/áčḛ́-stḛ /
[ˈʔaṭṣḛ́stḛ]		[ʔaṭṣḛ́stḛ]
‘to come’		‘to carry on one’s back’

Although the position of word stress is not generally predictable, there is a tendency for it to fall on the final stem syllable of a word (before any suffixes, inflectional elements or clitics⁶⁵). Examples are shown in (48).

(48) /kavík-i/	[kaˈvʷíkʲi]	‘pigeon (OBL)’
(pigeon-OBL)		
/é-l-ḛ/	[ˈʔɛḛ]	‘going, goer’
(go-IPFTV.PTCP-M)		

⁶⁵ It is not impossible for lexical stress to fall on a suffix. Stress remains in the same position throughout inflectional paradigms, so that if lexical stress is on the suffix, the suffix will be stressed in all inflectional forms, e.g. *mus-ḛ́* (DIR), *mus-ḛ́* (OBL) ‘mouse’.

/aší-të/ (throw-PROG.PRS.3SG)	[ʔa'çiṯə]	‘is throwing’
/pələ́jë-tosi/ (move-PROG.PST.3SG.M)	[pə́lə̌ŋɛ̌ṯɔsi]	‘was moving about (M)’

Similar rules (stem- or word-final stress) apply in the other Nuristani languages, but in comparison to Katë they seem to have a more strictly fixed, phonemically non-distinctive stress accent.⁶⁶ A comparison between dialects and with other Nuristani languages suggests that non-stem-final stress in Katë is a more recent feature, which is mostly caused by a historical retraction of stress in trisyllabic stems (cf. section 2.1.5.1).

2.1.4.1.2 Phrasal Stress

Only syllables that are already stressed at the word level can receive phrasal stress. The stressed syllable of the word with phrasal stress is very clearly more prominent than the stressed syllables of other words within the phrase. It does not seem to be the case that all other word-stressed syllables within the phrase completely lose their prominence, but a word-stressed syllable directly following the phrasal stress does seem to become fully unstressed. In the phonemic transcription of full sentences I indicate phrasal stress with an acute (´) and lexically stressed syllables without phrasal stress with a vertical line diacritic (ˑ). I add the latter diacritic even in the position directly following phrasal stress, where I am relatively certain that the word stress is deleted.

There are standard rules for phrasal stress placement within certain types of phrases. These rules are not absolute and can be diverged from in certain cases, but they hold under otherwise neutral conditions. Often the first element of a phrase receives phrasal stress. Some examples are listed below.

Noun Phrase: the modifier (adjective, possessor etc.) receives phrasal stress.

Examples (NE dialect):

/í júk/ [ˑǐd͡ʒuk]	1SG.OBL girl	‘my daughter’

⁶⁶ This applies at least to Nuristani Kalasha (Degener 1998: 36) and to Ashkun, though the latter may also have some tonal features (Grjunberg 1999: 127; Buddruss 2006: 191–192). The stress system of Prasun is not yet well-understood (Buddruss & Degener 2017: 62).

/káy vèl-tǎ/ what time=LPST ‘at which time’

[ˈkæjʊʷɜl̩tǎ]

/lúk-ě vëri/ small-M language ‘a small language’

[ˈlukəʊʷə̌rɪ]

Verb Phrase: The element before the verb (adverb, nominal element of light-verb construction etc.) receives phrasal stress.

Examples (NE dialect):

/nuʃtǒ papřè-të/ quickly pass.on-PROG.3SG ‘quickly passes on’

[nuʃtǒpaṛpɛtə]

/nót kù-lay/ dance do-IPFV.3PL ‘they dance’

[ˈnɔtkulæj]

2.1.4.2 Intonation

A description of the pragmatic functions of sentence pitch curves is given by Strand (2007) for the Southeastern dialect of Kombřom (Kāmdēš). According to him, six different intonation patterns can be distinguished, which are summarized in Table 16.

2-0 ˩ mid-fall	declaration
3-0 ˩ high-fall	request for information or emphatic contrast
2-3 ˨ mid-rise	supplication
2-3 ˨ mid-rise	request for explanation
3-1 ˩ high-low	regret
3-3 ˨ high-flat	more to come

Table 16. Intonation curves according to Strand (2007) (some interpretation added)

2.1.4.3 Expressive Gemination

An expressive phenomenon that could be considered suprasegmental is the gemination of consonants before a stressed vowel, which is used most often to intensify the meaning of a word. It correlates to some extent with extreme changes in pitch. Similar phenomena are known from modern Indo-Aryan languages (Masica 1991: 122).

Examples (NE dialect):

/bëlyúk/ ‘much, very’

[bəˈljuk]

>

/bëllyúk/ ‘very much, very very’

[bəˈlːjuk]

/dëgërë/	‘bad’	>	/dëggërë/	‘very bad’
[də'gɛrə]			[də'g:ɛrə]	

2.1.5 Phonological Alternations

2.1.5.1 Stress retraction in trisyllabic stems

As noted in section 2.1.4.1.1, the stem-final stress pattern found in other Nuristani languages was probably originally generalized also in Katë. Most stems that have non-final stress today are trisyllabic. It seems that these have been affected by a stress shift that retracted the stress from the third to the second syllable.⁶⁷ This has produced alternations that can still be observed synchronically in trisyllabic stems produced by compounding or affixation.

In compounds, the application of this rule is only seen in older formations, which – in accordance with the stem-final stress pattern – have their primary stress on the second member of the compound. Newer compounds, on the other hand, follow a more productive pattern, in which the word stress is placed on the first member of the compound. Compare, e.g. the older compound in (49) a., which has a stressed and stress-shifted second member, with the newer one in (49) b., which is stressed on its first member (on the vowel alternation in /Kom ~ Kam/, see section 2.1.5.2.1).

⁶⁷ Trisyllabic stems with final stress are rare but not completely absent. In the Western dialect they occur in cases where the medial vowel is /u/, which is generally devoiced/realized as labialization, e.g. W-KT /aʃkuʃé/ [ʔaʃ'kʷʃə] ‘ugly (M)’ (~ NE /aʃʃé/, SE /ačé/) and /aduké/ [ʔa'dʷkə] ‘healthy (M)’ (in variation with /adgú/ [ʔad'gu] ~ NE /adgú/, SE /adúgu/). It seems that the devoiced /u/ is not taken into account for the shift, since it does not form a syllable phonetically. There are some trisyllabic stems with final stress and medial /u/, such as NE/W /ačuné-/ , SE / ačúně-/ ‘to run’ or NE/W /aʃpurú/ SE /aʃpúru/ ‘dream’, which can likely be explained in a similar way. Other cases are due to the NE vowel epenthesis in Cr clusters (cf. section 2.1.3.1.3), e.g. NE /dërëgëñ/ ‘long (M)’, /dëg(ë)rí/ ‘shirt’, /dëv(ë)rë/ ‘flat (M); plain’ and /tëv(ë)rë/ ‘near’ vs. SE /drëñëñ/, W /drëgër/; SE /dīgīri/, W / dëŋrī /; SE /dūrë/, W ; /tūrë/. It seems that the stress shift applied throughout an already differentiated dialect continuum, since dialectally varying syncope affects the application of the stress shift. In absolute terms, the stress shift must have happened after the expansion of Islam, since it affects loanwords like SE /muzérmon/ < Prs. *musalmān* ‘Muslim’; NE /Āgëni/, W /Avgëni/ ‘Pashtun’ < Prs. *Afġān-ī*; SE /alëčo/ < Prs. *alača* ‘type of Uzbek cloth’.

- (49) a. NE/W /Kamvéri/, SE /Kamvíri/ ‘language/dialect of the Kom’
 = /Kom/ ‘Kom (*ethnic group*)’ +
 NE/W /věrí/, SE /virí/ ‘speech, language’
- b. NE/W /Kómbřëgom/, SE /Kómbřom/ ‘Kāmděš (*village name*)’
 = /Kom/ ‘Kom (*ethnic group*)’ +
 NE/W /břëgóm/, SE /břagóm/ ‘in-village’ (LP.village)

Some further examples of compounds with the stress shift are given in (50). All of these are compounds of the older, more closely integrated type, in which a word-final vowel (and in some cases the entire final syllable) of the first member is deleted and certain kinds of vowel alternations show up in its stem (cf. section 2.1.5.2.1). As these examples show, regular vowel changes to /e/ in Northeastern and Western and to /ë/ in the Southeastern dialect take place whenever the stress is retracted onto a previously unstressed /a/. The resulting Southeastern /ë/ is palatalized to /i/ by preceding palatals in accordance with the central vowel palatalization rule (cf. section 2.1.5.2.2).

- (50) NE /gřom/ ‘village’ + /mëšë/ ‘anger’
 ⇒ /gřammëšë/ ‘anger at everyone’
- NE /kuš/ ‘willow’ + /kënó/ ‘tree’
 ⇒ /kuškëno/ ‘willow tree’
- NE /kor/ ‘ear’ + /mënë ‘rope’
 ⇒ /karmëne/ ‘earlobe’
- NE /malë/ ‘brink, edge’ + /dëvók/ ‘window’
 ⇒ /maldëvok/ ‘second-floor window’
- NE /Barí/ ‘Bari (*member of artisan caste*)’ + /šëŋrík/ ‘prettiness’
 ⇒ /barsëŋrik/ ‘Bari prettiness’ (i.e. “low-class chic”)
- SE /Ĵaží/ ‘Ĵaši/Ĵaži (*ethnic group*)’ /Barí/ ‘Bari (*member of artisan caste*)’
 ⇒ /Ĵažbëri/ ‘artisans of the Ĵaši/Ĵaži (*a subclass of the artisan caste*)’
- NE/SE /čimë/ ‘metal’ + /karë/ ‘skilled (M)’
 ⇒ NE /čimkëré/, SE /čimgëré/ ‘blacksmith’
- NE /kënë/ ‘feast’ + /amú/ ‘house’
 ⇒ /këŋëmu/ ‘wedding’

SE reduplication of /kaní/ ‘laughed (PFV.PTCP)’

⇒ /kangěni/ ‘chuckling’

If the stress is retracted onto an unstressed /a/ that was originally word-initial, the result is a lengthened NE/W /ě/, resp. SE /ě̃/ (examples in (51)).

(51) NE /šur/ ‘hero’ + /ašə/ ‘bull’

⇒ /šurěšə/ ‘brave bull’

W-KT /yuş/ ‘demon’ + /aŋó/ ‘fire’

⇒ /yuşěŋo/ ‘will o’ the wisp’

SE /yüş/ ‘demon’ + /aŋó/ ‘fire’

⇒ /yazěŋo/ ‘will o’ the wisp’

W-KT /jışt/ ‘elder’ + /aŋyúr/ ‘finger’

⇒ /jıştěŋyuř/ ‘thumb’

W /tos/ ‘shoulder’ + /atí/ ‘bone’

⇒ /tasěti/ ‘shoulder bone’

SE /tos/ ‘shoulder’ + /arí/ ‘bone’

⇒ /tasě̃ri/ ‘shoulder bone’

SE /gul/ ‘valley’ + /atól/ ‘cliff’

⇒ /galě̃rol/ ‘river bank’

A similar process may be behind NE /asě/ ‘ash’ + /uděř/ ‘storm’ > /asúdeř/ ‘stirred up dust’, but the corresponding SE form shows a different development (SE /azě/ + /uděř/ > /azěduř/. Another unusual form is W-KT /čuyí/ ‘empty’ + /avě/ ‘water’ > /čuyűvě/.

The lengthening does not seem to occur when the first member of the compound is originally disyllabic, as (52) shows.

(52) NE /kěňě/ ‘feast’ + /amú/ ‘house’

⇒ /kěňěmu/ ‘wedding’

SE /burě/ ‘chest, ribcage’ + /alúř/ ‘pollution’

⇒ /burěluř/ ‘vomit’

Apart from compounds, the stress shift and the vowel changes that go along with it are also frequently encountered in combinations with derivational affixes, as shown in (53).

- (53) a. **privative prefix *a-***
- | | | | |
|-----------|---------------|---|----------|
| NE /karě/ | ‘skilled (M)’ | ⇒ | /a-kéré/ |
| SE /bidí/ | ‘mind’ | ⇒ | /a-bídi/ |
- b. **appurtenance suffix *-í***
- | | | | |
|---------------------------|--------|---|-----------|
| SE /šartóř/ ⁶⁸ | ‘hunt’ | ⇒ | /šartěři/ |
| NE /šurtář/ | | ⇒ | /šurtěři/ |
| W /širtář/ | | ⇒ | /širtéyi/ |
- c. **local prefix NE/W *pě- ~ bě-*, SE *pa- ~ ba-***
- | | | | |
|------------|----------------------|---|------------------|
| NE /vastá/ | ‘place of rest’ | ⇒ | /pě-véstā/ |
| NE /mančí/ | ‘person; PL: people’ | ⇒ | /pě-ménč-ō/ (PL) |
| W /ďěmní/ | ‘lane’ | ⇒ | /bě-ďémni/ |
| W /ďablík/ | ‘granary’ | ⇒ | /bě-ďéblík-a/ |
| SE /čělě/ | ‘abomasum, rennet’ | ⇒ | /pa-čěl-e/ |
| SE /ťarě/ | ‘target’ | ⇒ | /pa-ťērē/ |
| SE /šaňí/ | ‘coffin, box’ | ⇒ | /pa-žíňi/ |

In formations with the local prefix, the stress shift is common, but not universal, and the cases where it does not apply are not entirely predictable. As may be expected, syncope of medial vowels in these formations preclude the application of the stress shift. Where these are dialectal, the stress shift applies in those dialects that do not have the syncope (cf. section 2.7.2.5).

Northeastern and Western syncope of the prefix vowel (cf. section 2.7.2.2) can also preclude the application of the stress shift. Example (54) illustrates this, and also shows that the stress shift does apply in the same words in the Southeastern dialect, which does not generally have this type of syncope.

⁶⁸ The vowel /o/ alternates with /a/ in unstressed positions (cf. section 2.1.5.2.1). The shift must therefore be imagined as */šartaři/ > /šartěři/ and consequently this is a case of the same development of secondarily stressed /a/ that is seen in the other examples.

(54)	NE /kě́nó/	‘tree’	⇒	/p-kě́nó/
	SE /kanó/		⇒	/pa-ǵě́no/
	NE /čirǫ́/	‘wicker stand’	⇒	/p-čirǫ́/
	W /čiróv/		⇒	/p-čiróv/
	SE /čirǫ́/		⇒	/pa-čirǫ́/

A major exception are disyllabic words with an unstressed /a/ in their first syllable, which always have the stress shift regardless of prefix vowel syncope (see (55) a), and there are also a few irregular words with /ě/ in their first syllable that have the stress shift regardless of prefix vowel syncope and with no apparent conditioning, except perhaps a following /r/ (see (55) b). These also show special vowel developments, such as /ě/ > /e/ (and subsequent monophthongization of */ev/ > /ē/) in the newly stressed syllable in the Northeastern dialect, or loss of the final /-ě/ of /zěré/ in the Western dialect of Kulem.⁶⁹

(55) a.	NE /tarǣ́/	‘mirror’	⇒	/p-tér-e/
	NE /kaǣ́/	‘wooden beam’	⇒	/p-két-e/
	NE/W /kařú/	‘base, bottom’	⇒	/p-kéřu/
	NE /čavě́/	‘shadow, shade’	⇒	/p-čévě́/
	W /paší/	‘mountain slope’	⇒	/péši/
	W /šaltá/	‘stable grounds’	⇒	/p-šélta/ ⁷⁰
b.	NE /kě́rǣ́/	‘thorny’	⇒	/p-kérǣ́-ō/ (PL)
	NE /ǵěv(ě)rǣ́/	‘flat (M); plain’	⇒	/bě-řér-e/
	NE /těv(ě)rǣ́/	‘nearby’	⇒	/p-térě́/
	NE /zěré́/	‘heart, chest’	⇒	/bě-zér-e/
	W /zěré́/		⇒	/bě-zěr/
	SE /jarǣ́/		⇒	/ba-jér-e/

⁶⁹ For the latter, cf. the parallel development in the compound W-KL /gělév/ ‘river’ < /gul/ ‘valley’ + /avě́/ ‘water’ and examples like W /měšél/ ‘ram’, /mřěǣ́/ ‘bird’ vs. NE /mušélě́/, /mřěǣ́/.

⁷⁰ Grjunberg (1980: 205–206) notes a vowel shift šol ‘stable’ > p-šél, which he claims exists besides p-šol. This form results from a wrong segmentation of the compound šaltá (p-šélta), the only locative for šol is p-šol.

For trisyllabic words with an added prefix or compound member, the data is more limited, but in the Southeastern dialect the stress shift seems to occur quite generally in such cases. Evidence from the Western suggests the same, but it does not seem to occur in these cases in the Northeastern dialect (see (56)).

(56)	SE /dros/ ‘grape’ + /kağěři/ ‘hard (F)’	⇒	/draskěğěři/ ‘raisin’
	SE /čimě/ ‘metal’ + /gaǰlě/ ‘vermin, pest’	⇒	/čimgějilě/ ‘rust’
	W /taǰitul/ ‘maize field’	⇒	/p-tějitul/
	SE /ḍağěřē/ ‘bad, evil’	⇒	/ba-ḍěğēr-e/
	NE /ḍěğērē/		/bē-řěğēr-e/

The stress shift seems to result in a reduction of de-stressed final /yi/ to /y/ (see (57)). In the case of the word for ‘head’ the Western dialect has a stress-shift alternation, but the Eastern dialects have only the stem *sey* (ṣē).

(57)	SE /vuyí/ ‘scabbard’	⇒	/pa-vúy/
	NE /ṣey/ ‘head’	⇒	/p-ṣey/
	W /ṣayí/		/p-ṣey/
	SE /ṣē/		/pa-ṣē/

2.1.5.2 Vowel alternations

2.1.5.2.1 Vowel Alternations in Compounds

In older compounds and other kinds of nominal derivatives, a few regular vowel alternations can be observed. These alternations are the result of historical vowel changes that operated based on the number of syllables and the placement of stress. They show some dialectal variation.

2.1.5.2.1.1 Apocope

If the first member of an older compound has a word-final vowel, this is apocopated in the process of compounding.

Examples:

W /malě/ ‘brink, edge’ + /du/ ‘door’	⇒	/mal-dú/ ‘window’
NE /šaṇí/ ‘(aboveground) coffin’ + /tǎ/ ‘place’	⇒	/šaṇ-tǎ/ ‘cemetery’
SE /šaṇí/ ‘(aboveground) coffin’ + /tō/ ‘place’	⇒	/šaṇ-dǒ/ ‘cemetery’
NE /gurě/ ‘dry’ + /dā/ ‘wood’	⇒	/gur-dǎ/ ‘dry wood’

NE/SE /Katě/ ‘Katě (<i>ethnic group</i>)’ + /kuř/ ‘child’	⇒ /Kat-kúř/ ‘Katě person’
NE/SE /čimě/ ‘metal’ + /dur/ ‘ladle’	⇒ /čim-dúr/ ‘frying pan’
NE /pařě/ ‘apple (tree)’ + /pul/ ‘seed, fruit’	⇒ /pař-púl/ ‘apple’
NE /šařě/ ‘turban’ + /cō/ ‘branch’	⇒ /šař-cō/ ‘turban tail’
se /musě/ ‘mouse’ + /taňí/ ‘thorn’	⇒ /mus-těňi/ ‘name of a plant’ (<i>thorns used against mice</i>)

With unstressed vowels the apocope also happens in newer compounds.

Examples:

NE /křírě/ ‘wizard’ + /-vor/ ‘-ness’	⇒ /křír-vor/ ‘magic’
NE /šyílě/ ‘soft’ + /-vor/ ‘-ness’	⇒ /šyíl-vor/ ‘softness’
NE /ḍaṇúrě/ ‘lazy, cowardly, weak’ + /-vor/ ‘-ness’	⇒ /ḍaṇúr-vor/ ‘cowardice’
SE /ḍağěřě/ ‘bad’ + /davó/ ‘prayer’	⇒ /ḍağěř-davo/ ‘curse’

In some cases one or more consonants of the first member’s final syllable are also lost or changed, both in older and in newer compounds.

Examples:

NE /kaṇště/ ‘younger’ + /to/ ‘father’	⇒ /kaṇštó/ ‘paternal uncle’ (<i>younger than father</i>)
NE /kělyář/ ‘cheese’ + /přoc/ ‘loaf’	⇒ /kělpřóc/ ‘loaf of cheese’
W /Kulém/ ‘valley name’ + /-vřayi/ ‘-person’	⇒ /Kulévřayi/ ‘Kulemian’
SE /kažírě/ ‘white’ + /mer/ ‘king’	⇒ /Kažímer/ “white-king” (<i>personal name</i>)
SE /jeřt/ ‘elder’ + /nū/ ‘mother’	⇒ /jěṇṇū/ ‘aunt’ (<i>older than parent</i>)
NE /nu ~ nóň ~ naň-/ ‘mother’ + /búli/ ‘being (F)’	⇒ /namúli/ ‘stepmother’
SE /gum/ ‘wheat’ + /búři/ ‘bread’	⇒ /gamúři/ ‘wheat bread’

2.1.5.2.1.2 Alternation of /u/

The alternation of /u/ in the older type of compounds follows the patterns shown in Table 17. As the table shows, there is some dialectal variation.

	Isolated	Compounded	
		unstressed	stressed
NE	/u/	/ë/	/e ~ ë/
W			/ë/
SE	/u ~ ü/	/a/	

Table 17. Alternation of /u/ in older compounds

The first variant /u/ appears in the isolated monosyllabic stem.

Examples:

/gul/	‘valley, country’
/sur/	‘mountain lake’
/dut/	‘tooth’
/gum/	‘wheat’
NE/W /zu/, SE /ju/	‘milk’
NE/W /dušt/, SE /düş(t)/	‘hand’

The second variant appears in the unstressed first member of older compounds. Since the isolated variant /u/ appears in the basic, uncompounded form of the noun, it may be used to re-form existing compounds and thus encroach upon the original domain of the unstressed compounded variant SE /a/, NE/W /ë/. This happens to a varying extent in the different dialects.

Examples:

/gul/ ‘valley’ + /ō/ ‘water’	⇒	SE /gal-ō/ ‘river’
	⇒	NE /gul-ō/ (<i>re-formed</i>)
/gul/ ‘valley’ + /avé/ ‘water’	⇒	W-KL /gël-év/ ‘river’
	⇒	W-KT /gul-évë/ (<i>re-formed</i>)
/dušt/ ‘hand’ + /pañ/ ‘palm’	⇒	NE /dušpāj/ ‘palm of the hand’
		(<i>re-formed</i>)
/düşt/ ‘hand’ + /pañ/ ‘palm’	⇒	SE /dašpāj/ ‘palm of the hand’

/gum/ ‘wheat’ + /bře/ ‘flour’	⇒	NE /gřémé/ ‘wheat flour’
/gum/ ‘wheat’ + /bře/ + /bře/ ‘flour’	⇒	W-KL /gřémé-bře/ ‘wheat flour’
/gum/ ‘wheat’ + /búři/ ‘bread’	⇒	SE /gamúři/ ‘wheat bread’

The third variant appears in the originally stressed final syllable, though in trisyllabic stems this original stress is retracted to the penultimate syllable (cf. section 2.1.5.1). In the Northeastern dialect the development differs based on whether or not the vowel is in absolute word-final position (absolute final: /ě/, otherwise: /e/).

/Kom/ ‘Kom people’ + /gul/ ‘valley’	⇒	SE /Kam-gěl/ ‘Kamgěl (<i>valley name</i>)’ ⁷¹
/gřom/ ‘village’ + /gul/	⇒	SE /Gřam-gěl/ ‘Gřamgěl (<i>valley name</i>)’
/Prasyě/ ‘Paruni people’ + /gul/	⇒	NE /Prasyě-gel/ ⁷² ‘Parun (<i>valley name</i>)’
/Prazű/ ‘Paruni people’ + /gul/	⇒	SE /Přazű-gěl/ ‘Parun (<i>valley name</i>)’
/Bělyó/ ‘Chitrali, Khow’ + /gul/	⇒	NE /Bělyě-gel/ ‘Chitral’
/Bilyó/ ‘Chitrali, Khow’ + /gul/	⇒	SE /Bilě-gěl/ ‘Chitral’
[unclear] + /zu/ ‘milk’	⇒	NE /přug-zě/ ‘boiled colostrum’
	⇒	W /přěj-zě/ ‘boiled colostrum’
[unclear] + /ju/ ‘milk’	⇒	SE /brag-jě/ ‘boiled colostrum’
Moko ‘Mecca’ + /sur/ ‘mountain lake’	⇒	NE /Mokó-ser/ ‘Mecca lake’ (<i>pre-Islamic place name</i>)

2.1.5.2.1.3 Alternation of /o/

The alternation of /o/ in the older type of compounds follows the patterns shown in Table 18, again with some dialectal variation.

	Isolated	Compounded		
		First member		Second member
		unstressed	stressed (2 nd syllable)	
NE	/o/	/a/	/e/	/o/
W				
SE			/ě ~ Ø_’/	

Table 18. Alternation of /o/ in older compounds

⁷¹ A side-valley of the Pech, said to be the ancestral home of the Kom people.

⁷² The formation of w /Psinjyúl/ ‘Parun’ is less transparent.

The first variant /o/ appears in the isolated monosyllabic stem.

Examples:

/gřom/	‘village’
/bos/	‘steam’
/moč/	‘husband, man’
NE/W /šol/, SE /pšol/	‘stable’

It also shows up in stressed position as the second member of an older compound.

Examples:

/šol/ ‘stable’ + /moč/ ‘husband, man’	⇒	NE/W/SE /šal-móč/ ‘shepherd’
/gul/ ‘valley’ + /bos/ ‘steam’	⇒	SE /gal-bós/ ‘wind from the valley’

The second variant /a/ appears in unstressed position as the first member of an older compound or suffix derivate:

Examples:

/šol/ ‘stable’ + /tā/ ‘place’	⇒	NE /šal-tā/ ‘stable grounds (on pasture)’
/šol/ ‘stable’ + /ta/ ‘place’	⇒	W /šal-tá/ ‘stable grounds (on pasture)’
/šol/ ‘stable’ + /tō/ ‘place’	⇒	NE /šal-tō/ ‘stable grounds (on pasture)’
/moč/ ‘husband, man’ + /kuř/ ‘child’	⇒	NE/W/SE /mač-kúř/ ‘male, man’
/gřom/ ‘village’ + suffix /-í/	⇒	NE/W/SE /gřam-í/ ‘villager’

The third variant NE/W /e/, SE /ë/ appears in the stressed second syllable of a disyllabic first member of older compounds. In some cases in the Southeastern dialect the vowel is completely deleted instead and its stress transferred to the following syllable.

This alternation may have arisen from the vowel change /a/ > NE/W /e/, SE /ë/ that goes along with stress retraction in trisyllabic stems. However, if this is the case, the conditioning of the variant NE/W /e/, SE /ë ~ Ø_ / must have been re-analyzed from [secondarily stressed mid-syllable in trisyllabic stems] to [stressed second syllable of first compound member], because it also appears in compounds with four syllables today. In re-formed compounds /o/ may appear in its place.

Examples:

/aťól/ ‘cliff’ + /pit/ ‘spur’	⇒	NE /aťél-pit/ ‘cliffs and spurs’
/aťól/ ‘cliff’ + /juk/ ‘girl, daughter’	⇒	NE /aťól-juk/ ‘echo’ (<i>re-formed</i>)
/aról/ ‘cliff’ + /juk/ ‘girl, daughter’	⇒	SE /arél-juk/ ‘echo’

/agól/ ‘rain’ + /kol/ ‘time, season’	⇒	SE /agél-kol/ ‘rainy season’
/amó/ ‘house’ + /šol/ ‘stable’	⇒	W-KL /amé-šol/ ‘stable dwelling’ (<i>on mountain pasture, used in summer</i>)
/utó/ ‘more; surpassing; superfluous’ + /mer/ ‘king’	⇒	NE /Uté-mer/ “great-king” (<i>personal name</i>)
	⇒	SE /Uté-mer/ “great-king” (<i>personal name</i>)
/aŋó/ ‘fire’ + /dič/ ‘tongue’	⇒	NE /aŋé-dič/ ‘tongue of fire’
	⇒	SE /aŋdíč/ ‘tongue of fire’
/aŋó/ ‘fire’ + /tã/ ‘place’	⇒	NE /aŋé-tã/ ‘fireplace’
/aŋó/ ‘fire’ + /tõ/ ‘place’	⇒	SE /aŋdõ/ ‘fireplace’
/aró/ ‘rich (m) + /-vor/ ‘-ness’	⇒	NE /aré-vor/ ‘wealth’
	⇒	SE /arvór/ ‘wealth’
/břégóm/ ‘in/to the village (LOC)’ + /aṭól/ ‘cliff’	⇒	NE /Břégém-aṭol/ or /Břégóm-aṭol/ (<i>re-formed</i>) ‘Barg-i Matāl’ (<i>main village of the eastern Katě</i>)
/břagóm/ ‘in/to the village (LOC)’ + /aṭól/ ‘cliff’	⇒	SE /Břagém-aṭol/ ‘Barg-i Matāl’ (<i>main village of the eastern Katě</i>)
NE /utó/ ‘more, surpassing, superfluous’ + /věrí/ ‘speech’	⇒	NE /utévěri/ ‘idle talk’
SE /vutó/ ‘more, surpassing, superfluous’ + /virí/ ‘speech’	⇒	SE /vutévirí/ ‘idle talk’

The word /kṭol/ ‘stomach’ is an exceptional monosyllabic word that undergoes the same alternation. It may have been disyllabic at the time of the vowel change.

Examples:

/kṭol/ ‘stomach’ + /-uk/ ‘diminutive’	⇒	NE /kṭéluk/ ‘small stomach’ in /gó-kṭeluk/ ‘morel’ (lit. “small cow stomach”)
	⇒	SE /kṭluk/ in /gó-kṭluk/ ‘id.’
/kṭol/ ‘stomach’ + /čom/ ‘skin’	⇒	NE /kṭélčom/ ‘stomach tissue’
	⇒	SE /kṭélčom/ ‘id.’

Examples:

/štōcc̥i/ [çt̥ɔ:t̥ɕi ~ çt̥ɔ:t̥ɕʲ] ‘she was plucking’

/kérëssë/ [ˈkəˌɾs:ə ~ ˈkəˌɾs:] ‘has/have done’

2.1.5.3 Vowel Coalescence

When two vowel sounds become adjacent, a number of coalescence rules apply. In some cases the result is a single vowel, in others a glide-vowel sequence. If one of the two vowels is nasalized, the nasalization usually remains as part of the contraction result. Stress and morphological status can affect the coalescence results.

These coalescence rules apply between stems and affixes, between elements of compounds and between stress-bearing words and enclitics, but also sporadically between adjacent words within a phrase or sentence.

The rules described below apply primarily to the Northeastern dialect, since the contraction rules of the other dialects could not be investigated systematically. Dialectal differences are only noted sporadically.

2.1.5.3.1 First vowel /a/

As the first vowel in a sequence, stressed /á/ absorbs a following unstressed /u/, /a/ or /ā/ and becomes long /ǎ/.

/á/ + /u/, /a/, /ā/ ⇒ /ǎ/

NE /pá-/ + /uté-stë/ ⇒ /pǎte-stë/

‘to leave behind’

(←  → -let.INF=REF)

NE /marhalá/ ‘stage’ + /-asë/ ⇒ /marhalǎsë/

‘is a/the stage’

NE /tā/ ‘place’ + /-asë/ ⇒ /tǎsë/

‘is a/the place’

NE /vá-/ + /āzé-stë/ ⇒ /vǎze-stë/

‘to come towards’

(→  ← -jump.INF=REF)

A suffixed stressed /-í/ produces different results in the three dialects.

/á/ + /í/ ⇒ NE /áy/, W /áyi/, SE-KM /ǎ/ (/ay-/)

NE /sëṇjá-/ + /-í/ ⇒ /sëṇjáy/

‘heard’ (hear-PFV.PTCP)

W /sëṇjá-/ + /-í/ ⇒ /sëṇjáyi/

‘heard’ (hear-PFV.PTCP)

SE-KM /saṇjá-/ + /-í/ ⇒ /saṇjá/ (/saṇjáy-/)

‘heard’ (hear-PFV.PTCP)

Unstressed /a/ rarely occurs as the first vowel in a sequence.

2.1.5.3.2 First vowel /i/

As the first vowel in a sequence, stressed /í/ absorbs any following vowel except stressed /á/ and becomes long /ĩ/

/í/ + V ⇒ /ĩ/

NE /ní-/ + /élě/ ⇒ /nĩě/ ‘going downvalley’ (←-go.IPFV.PTCP.M)

NE /ví/ + /éloš/ ⇒ /vĩloš/ ‘you (M) shall fall’
(↓.SN go.OPT.2SG.M)

NE /čí-/ + /utyô/ ⇒ /čĩtyô/ ‘stopping upvalley’
(→-remain.CAUS.INF)

NE /věrí/ + /-asě/ ⇒ /věřisě/ ‘it is a language’ (language=COP.3SG)

NE /zí/ + /-asě/ ⇒ /zĩsě/ ‘it is black’ (black=COP.3SG)

In the combination with unstressed /a/, the result in the Western dialect is a short /í/.

W /í/ + /a/ ⇒ /í/

W /zí/ + /-asě/ ⇒ /zĩsě/ ‘it is black’ (black=COP.3SG)

A sequence of stressed /í/ and stressed /á/ turns into /yá/.

/í/ + /á/ ⇒ /yá/

NE /ní-/ + /áyoš-a/ ⇒ /nyáyóš-a/ ‘did you (M) come downvalley?’
(greeting) (←-come.PFV.PST.2SG.M=Q)

NE /ví/ + /áčělě/ ⇒ /vyáčělě/ ‘bearing nuts’ (↓.SN come.IPFV.PTCP.M)

When followed by an unstressed suffixal vowel, /i/ becomes /y/ and, if stressed, transfers its stress to the following vowel.

/í/ + /-o/ ⇒ /yó/

NE /vańí/ + /-o/ ⇒ /vańyó/ ‘saw (him)’ (PFV.PST.3SG.M)

NE /péti/ + /-o/ ⇒ /pétyo/ ‘broke (it)’ (PFV.PST.3SG.M)

/í/ + /-e/ ⇒ /yé/

NE /vańí/ + /-e/ ⇒ /vańyé/ ‘saw (her)’ (PFV.PST.3SG.F)

NE /péti/ + /-e/ ⇒ /pétye/ ‘broke (it)’ (PFV.PST.3SG.M)

/í/ + /-a/ ⇒ /yá/

NE /vańí/ + /-a/ ⇒ /vańyá/ ‘saw (them)’ (PFV.PST.3PL)

NE /péti/ + /-a/ ⇒ /pétya/ ‘broke (them)’ (PFV.PST.3SG.M)

/í/ + /-ē/ ⇒ /y^é/

/atkí/ + /-ē/ ⇒ /atky^é/ ‘from there’ (LDEM.DIST-ABL)

/v^{er}í/ + /-ē/ ⇒ /v^{er}ý^é/ ‘words/languages’ (OBL.PL)

/í/ + /-u/ ⇒ /y^ú/ (SE /ü/)

/atkí/ + /-u/ ⇒ /atky^ú/ ‘right there, at that same place’

SE /akí/ + /-u/ ⇒ /ak^ú/

Unstressed /i/ coalesces with a following unstressed /a/ into /ya/.

/i/ + /a/ ⇒ /ya/

NE /kúli/ + /-asë/ ⇒ /kúlyasë/ ‘she will do / she does’ (FUT/IPFV.3SG.F)

NE /X-di/ + /-asë/ ⇒ /X-dyasë/ ‘is also X’ (X=ADD.FOC-COP.3SG)

Note that in all cases where /i/ becomes /y/ through vowel coalescence, this /y/ is then subject to absorption by a preceding palatal consonant (cf. section 2.1.5.5).

When preceding unstressed /ë/, which rarely occurs in second position except in the Southeastern dialect with its enclitic copula 3SG /-ëzë/ etc., stressed or unstressed /i/ absorbs the following /ë/ and becomes lengthened.

SE /í/, /i/ + /ë/ ⇒ /í^é/, /i^é/

SE /virí/ + /-ëzë/ ⇒ /virí^ézë/ ‘it is a language’ (language=COP.3SG)

SE /kúli/ + /-ëzë/ ⇒ /kúlí^ézë/ ‘she will do / she does’ (FUT/IPFV.3SG.F)

SE /X-di/ + /-asë/ ⇒ /X-dí^ézë/ ‘is also X’ (X=ADD.FOC-COP.3SG)

2.1.5.3.3 First vowel /ë/

As the first vowel in a sequence, stressed /é/ absorbs a following unstressed /a/ and becomes long /é^é/.

/é/ + /a/ ⇒ /é^é/

NE /mut^é/ + /-asë/ ⇒ /mut^éēsë/ ‘it is short (M)’ (short.M=COP.3SG)

NE /šil^é/ + /-asë/ ⇒ /šil^éēsë/ ‘it is cold’ (cold=COP.3SG)

In the Western dialect the result of this combination is a short /é/, with /e/ it is /é/.

w /é/ + /a/ ⇒ /é/

w /šil^é/ + /-asë/ ⇒ /šil^éēsë/ ‘it is cold’ (cold=COP.3SG)

w /é/ + /e/ ⇒ /é/

w /gëv^é/ + /-ey/ ⇒ /gëv^éy/ ‘I/we went then’ (go.PFV.PST.1=CONS)

When followed by an unstressed suffixal vowel, /ë/ is elided and, if stressed, transfers its stress to the following vowel.

/ë/ + /-V/ ⇒ /V/

NE /nišné/ + /-o/ ⇒ /nišnó/ ‘he sat down’ (PFV.PST.3SG.M)

NE /ptě/ + /-a/ ⇒ /ptá/ ‘gave (them)’ (PFV.PST.3PL)

Unstressed /ë/ is always elided before a following vowel.

/ë/ + /a/ ⇒ /a/

NE /kúlë/ + /-asë/ ⇒ /kúlasë/ ‘he will do / he does’ (FUT/IPFV.3SG.M)

NE /álë/ + /-asë/ ⇒ /álasë/ ‘it is big’ (big=COP.3SG)

When preceding unstressed /ë/, which rarely occurs in second position except in the Southeastern dialect with its enclitic copula 3SG /-ëzë/ etc., stressed or unstressed /ë/ coalesces with the following /ë/, producing long /ē/.

SE /í/, /i/ + /ë/ > /ī/, /ī/

SE /šalě/ + /-ëzë/ ⇒ /šalēzë/ ‘it is cold’ (cold=COP.3SG)

NE /kúlë/ + /-ëzë/ ⇒ /kúlēzë/ ‘he will do / he does’ (FUT/IPFV.3SG.M)

2.1.5.3.4 First vowel /u/

As the first vowel in a sequence, stressed /ú/ absorbs any following vowel except stressed /á/ and becomes long /ū/.

/ú/ + V ⇒ /ū/

NE /zú/ + /anó/ ⇒ /zūnō/ ‘ghee with milk’ (“milk-ghee”)

NE /ú/ + /aší-stë/ ⇒ /ūši-stë/ ‘to weave’ (↑-throw.INF=REF)

NE /pamú/ + /-atu/ ⇒ /pamūtu/ ‘inside the home’ (LOC.house=→)

NE /atú-/ + /āzyá/ ⇒ /atūzya/ ‘they came inside’ (→-jump.PFV.PST.3PL)

NE /pú-/ + /é-stë/ ⇒ /pū-stë/ ‘to go over’ (↗↘-go.INF=REF)

NE /vú-/ + /utě/ ⇒ /vūtě/ ‘conclusion, completion’ (↓-let.INF)

In the combination with unstressed /a/, the result in the Western dialect is short /ú/.

W /ú/ + /a/ ⇒ /u/

W /amú/ + /-asë/ ⇒ /amúsë/ ‘himself is’ (REFL=COP.3SG)

A stressed /-í/ suffixed to a stressed /ú/ produces the result /úy/ (w /úyi/).

/ú/ + /-í/ ⇒ /úy/

NE /pşú-/ + /-í/ ⇒ /pşúy/ ‘gone to sleep’ (sleep-PFV.PTCP)

When followed by a stressed /á/, stressed /u/ is absorbed and lengthens /á/ to /ǎ/.

/ú/ + /á/ ⇒ /ǎ/

NE /vú-/ + /áčë-stë/ ⇒ /vǎčë-stë/ ‘to come down’ (↓-come.INF=REF)

NE /valú-/ + /áčë-stë/ ⇒ /valǎčë-stë/ ‘to come up (towards)’ (↗ ↖ -come.INF=REF)

A different result appears in the following example:

NE /ú-/ + /áčë-stë/ ⇒ /uvǎčë-stë/ ‘to come up, to grow up’ (↑-come.INF=REF)

When preceding unstressed /ë/, which rarely occurs in second position except in the Southeastern dialect with its enclitic copula 3SG /-ëzë/ etc., stressed or unstressed /u/ absorbs the following /ë/ and becomes lengthened.

SE /ú/, /u/ + /ë/ ⇒ /ǔ/, /ũ/

SE /xapú/ + /-ëzë/ ⇒ /xapǔzë/ ‘he/she is upset’ (upset-COP.3SG)

SE /lálu/ + /-ëzë/ ⇒ /lálüzë/ ‘it is a song’ (song-COP.3SG)

2.1.5.3.5 First vowel /o/

As the first vowel in a sequence, stressed /ó/ absorbs a following unstressed /a/ or /ā/ and becomes long /ǒ/.

/ó/ + /a/, /ā/ ⇒ /ǒ/

NE /gó/ + /āťë-stë/ ⇒ /gǒťë-stë/ ‘to skin a cow’ (cow skin.INF=REF)

NE /vó/ + /-asë/ ⇒ /vǒsë/ ‘he has’ (PROPR.M=COP.3SG)

In the combination with unstressed /a/, the result in the Western dialect is short /ó/.

w /ó/ + /a/ ⇒ /ó/

w /vó/ + /-asë/ ⇒ /vósë/ ‘he has’ (PROPR.M=COP.3SG)

When preceding unstressed /ë/, which rarely occurs in second position except in the Southeastern dialect with its enclitic copula 3SG /-ëzë/ etc., stressed or unstressed /u/ absorbs the following /ë/ and becomes lengthened.

SE /ó/, /o/ + /ë/ ⇒ /ǒ/, /ō/

SE /vó/ + /-ëzë/ ⇒ /vǒzë/ ‘he/she is upset’ (upset-COP.3SG)

SE /X-to/ + /-ëzë/ ⇒ /X-tōzë/ ‘it is in X’ (X=LOC=COP.3SG)

2.1.5.3.6 First vowel /e/

As the first vowel in a sequence, stressed /é/ absorbs a following unstressed /a/ or stressed/unstressed /e/ and becomes long /ě/. If followed by stressed /á/, the result is instead long /ǎ/. The Western results are essentially the same, but short.

/é/ + /a/, /é/ ⇒ /ě/

NE /bé-/ + /avé-stě/ ⇒ /béve-stě/ ‘to bring out’ (←-bring.INF=REF)

NE /né/ + /atěryó/ ⇒ /nětěryó/ ‘did not reach’ (NEG reach.PFV.PST.3SG)

NE /né/ + /-asě/ ⇒ /něsě/ ‘is not’ (NEG=COP.3SG)

NE /bé-/ + /ělě/ ⇒ /bělě/ ‘going out’ (←-go.IPFV.PTCP.M)

W /é/ + /a/ ⇒ /é/

W /né/ + /asě/ ⇒ /něsě/ ‘is not’ (NEG COP.3SG)

/é/ + /á/ ⇒ /ǎ/

NE /né/ + /ǎttěmiš/ ⇒ /něttěmiš/ ‘we are not coming’ (NEG come.PROG.PRS.1PL)

W /é/ + /á/ ⇒ /ǎ/

W /né/ + /ǎšt/ ⇒ /něšt/ ‘is not’ (NEG COP.3PL)

A combination of stressed /é/ with a following unstressed /u/ does not lead to vowel coalescence. Instead the two vowel remain adjacent to each other with hiatus.

/é/ + /u/ ⇒ /éu/

NE /né/ + /utětě/ ⇒ /né utětě/ ‘he/she is not letting’ (NEG let-PROG.PRS.3SG)

Unstressed /e/ coalesces with a following /e/ into /ē/ (w /e/). A Western unstressed final /-e/ is deleted before a stressed /á/.

/e/ + /e/ ⇒ /ē/

NE /atějbe-/ + /ě/ ⇒ /atějbě/ ‘ins and outs, lifestyle’ (→.&.←-go.INF)

W /e/ + /e/ > /e/

W /pěceye/ + /-ey/ ⇒ /pěceyey/ ‘made her go on then’
(go.on.CAUS.PFV.PST.3SG.F=CONS)

W /e/ + /á/ ⇒ /ǎ/

W /payére/ + /áyoš/ ⇒ /payèr áyoš/ ‘you (M) came from down across the slope’

When preceding unstressed /ě/, which rarely occurs in second position except in the Southeastern dialect with its enclitic copula 3SG /-ězě/ etc., stressed or unstressed /e/ absorbs the following /ě/ and becomes lengthened.

SE /é/, /e/ + /ë/ > /ě/, /ē/

SE /vé/ + /-ëzë/ > /vězë/ ‘it is a sheep’ (sheep=COP.3SG)

SE /váre/ + /-ëzë/ > /várëzë/ ‘it is different’ (other=COP.3SG)

2.1.5.4 Vowel Deletion

2.1.5.4.1 Syncope Alternations

In certain verb forms, vowels are optionally dropped (*syncopated*) when clitics are attached.

Examples:

Western dialect Progressive 2nd person singular and 3rd person plural:

/yúniš-a/ ⇒ /yúnč-a/ ‘are you eating?’

/přenět=ey=č/ ⇒ /přént=ey=č/ ‘and so they are giving’

Northeastern dialect Copula 2nd person singular:

/asíš-a/ > /ášš-a/ ‘are you?’

This vowel deletion is mutually exclusive with the generation of an additional stress on the pre-enclitic syllable discussed in section 2.1.4.1, but since one can find double-stressed examples like w /sějáníš-a/ ‘are you hearing?’, it seems that the stress shift is a possible alternative in forms that could otherwise show the vowel deletion. A difference in pragmatic meaning between the two could not be detected.

The verb w /něšë-stë/, NE /niší-stë/ ‘to sit down’ shows similar alternations in phrasally unstressed final position:

w /anyú něšë/ ⇒ /anyú nčë/ ‘sit down here!’

w /aštó-ta něšnó/ ⇒ /aštó-ta nčinó/⁷⁴ ‘[it] sat down on the shelf’

w /láti něšnà/ ⇒ /láti nčenà/ ‘they spoke (with consequences)’
(lit. “having spoken, they sat down”)

NE /syě niši/ ⇒ /syě nči/ ‘sit well!’ (= ‘goodbye’)

⁷⁴ The Perfective stem of the contracted form appears in two variants in Grjunberg’s (1980) transcriptions, *nčen-* and *nčin-*. The variant *nčen-* appears only in masculine forms, *nčin-* appears mostly, but not exclusively, in feminine forms. It is not clear whether the few cases of *nčin-* in masculine forms are mistranscriptions.

NE /póstã nišilë / ⇒ /póstã nčilë/ ‘destitute (M)’
(lit. “sitting down in the place of ashes”)

The reduced variants of the above forms may be the origin of their Southeastern cognates. The regular Southeastern correspondences of w /yúnč-a/, /přént-ey/, NE /ásš-a/ with post-nasal voicing and intervocalic cluster simplification would be /yúnj-a/, /přénd-ey/, /á(š)š-a/. The attested forms SE /yúnji/, /přéndě/, /á(š)ši/ could have been analogically extracted from these forms with enclitics. A similar origin could be imagined for the Northeastern Progressive 2nd person singular /kúčči/ which may have originally had the more regular form *kútiš. Similarly, Southeastern /jě-stě/ ‘to sit down’ most likely originates in a form akin to w /nče-/ (> *nje-* > *je-*), cf. section 2.9.4.1.5.

2.1.5.4.2 Deletion of /-ě/ or /-i/ before postpositions

In the Northeastern dialect, an unstressed word-final /ě/ or /i/ is frequently deleted before an enclitic postposition. This affects nouns of the consonantal declension, i.e., nouns which have an oblique case form ending in /-ě/ or in /-i/ after a stem-final palatal consonant. The deletion of this /-ě/ or /-i/ causes a formal neutralization of the contrast between direct and oblique case, but this does not lead to ambiguity since it never happens in the final position of a noun phrase, the only position where the case contrast is essential for the encoding of grammatical relations.⁷⁵ The phenomenon is clearly phonological, since it is optional and since nouns of other declensions never appear in their direct case form before postpositions. Forms with deleted final vowel appear to be more frequent than those with preserved vowel, but both forms occur in free variation.⁷⁶ Some examples from the examined corpus with the frequent postpositions /-tã/ ‘in, at, to’ and /-kě/ ‘for’ are shown in (58). These examples also demonstrate that the same noun can appear in both forms and that the deletion is not clearly conditioned by any more specific phonological environment than the position between noun and postposition.

⁷⁵ In this context the direct case may appear in place of the oblique case as part of the system of differential object marking (DOM) (see section 2.3.3.1), but this affects nouns of all declensions and is governed by other factors than the phenomenon discussed in this section.

⁷⁶ One speaker gave the opinion that the form with preserved -ě is the “original”/“correct” (Prs./Arab. *ašli*) form.

(58) Deleted vowel:

/lělífok/ ‘young man’ ⇒ /lělífok-tã/

/mačĕrik/ ‘bee’ ⇒ /mačĕrik-tã/

/řamík/ ‘ant’ ⇒ /řamík-tã/, /řamík-kě/

/čák/ ‘all’ ⇒ /čák-tã/

/přacúk/ ‘small bread, biscuit’ ⇒ /přacúk-kě/

/béṣṭ/ ‘paradise’ ⇒ /béṣṭ-tã/

/bétot/ ‘effort’ ⇒ /bétot-tã/

/pócut/ ‘sound of footsteps’ ⇒ /pócut-tã/

/čáŋ/ ‘all’ ⇒ /čáŋ-tã/

/vatán/ ‘homeland’ ⇒ /vatán-tã/

/nom/ ‘name’ ⇒ /nóm-tã/

/bim/ ‘earth’ ⇒ /bím-tã/

/gřom/ ‘village’ ⇒ /gřóm-tã/

/vel/ ‘time’ ⇒ /vél-tã/

/gul/ ‘valley, country’ ⇒ /gul-tã/

/naskór/ ‘face’ ⇒ /naskór-tã/

/pšaš/ ‘cat’ ⇒ /pšaš-tã/

/dërós/ ‘grape’ ⇒ /dërós-tã/

/vos/ ‘day’ ⇒ /vós-tã/

Preserved vowel:

/mačĕrik/ ‘bee’ ⇒ /mačĕriki-tã/

/kuṭ/ ‘voice, throat; word’ ⇒ /kúṭě-kě/

/top/ ‘heat’ ⇒ /tópě-tã/

/břúc/ ‘meadow’ ⇒ /břúčě-tã/

/zũň/ ‘goathair rug/bedspread’ ⇒ /zũňě-tã/

/goř/ ‘cupped hands’ ⇒ /góřě-tã/

/kělyář/ ‘cheese’ ⇒ /kělyářě-tã/

/tul/ ‘field’ ⇒ /túlě-tã/

/kur/ ‘donkey’ ⇒ /kúrě-tã/, /kúrě-kě/

/přor/ ‘wound’ ⇒ /přórě-tã/

/pšaš/ ‘cat’ ⇒ /pšáši-tã/, /pšáši-kě/

While it is clear that the deletion of final /ě/ and /i/ in this context is an optional phonological phenomenon in the Northeastern dialect, the resulting frequency of endingless forms before prepositions could explain the genesis of the Southeastern dialect’s distinction between endingless genitive case forms and vowel-final oblique case forms. This would imply that the Southeastern dialect at one point went through the same stage of development as that seen today in the Northeastern dialect. In the Western dialect this kind of vowel deletion does not seem to be attested at all.

2.1.5.4.3 Deletion of /-ě/ within a phrase

Another context in which an unstressed word-final /ě/ is deleted is before a following element within the same phrase. This process is attested for all dialects and quite regular with adjectives ending in unstressed /-ě/ that modify a following head noun. Most often these are adjectives with the masculine ending /-ě/. The contrast to feminine forms is still maintained in such cases despite the loss of the masculine ending, since feminine adjectives never lose their ending /-i/ in this context.

Examples:

NE /ptělě/ ‘hairy, leafy, fertile (M)’ + /šey/ ‘head’

⇒ /ptěl šey/ ‘full head of hair’

NE /ḍaṇúrě/ ‘weak, lazy, cowardly (M)’ + /zótěr/ ‘relative(s)’

⇒ /ḍaṇúr zótěr/ ‘weak relative(s)’

NE /ḍaṇúrě/ ‘weak, lazy, cowardly (M)’ + /pčo/ ‘shepherd’

⇒ /ḍaṇúr pčo/ ‘weak shepherd’

W /sěvérě/ ‘the other’

⇒ /sěvér mērě/ ‘the other boy’

⇒ /sěvér ĵuk/ ‘the other girl’

SE /ólě/ ‘big (M)’ + /maṇjí/ ‘person, man’

⇒ /ól maṇji/ ‘big (important) man’

It also happens with the same kind of adjective in predicative use before a verb.

Examples:

NE /d̥égérë/ ‘bad, evil’ + /ku-stě/ ‘to do’

⇒ /d̥égér kù-stě/ ‘to do evil’

NE /d̥égérë/ ‘bad, evil (M)’ + /zańé-ste/ ‘to know, to recognize’

⇒ /d̥égér zañé-ste/ ‘to dislike’

NE /ál-alě/ ‘very big (M)’ (reduplication of /álě/ ‘big (M)’ + /bu-stě/ ‘to become’

⇒ /ál-al bù-stě/ ‘to boast, to present oneself as great’

SE /ól-olě/ ‘very big (M)’ (reduplication of /ólě/ ‘big (M)’ + /bũ-stě/ ‘to become’

⇒ /ól-ol bũ-stě/ ‘to boast, to present oneself as great’

2.1.5.5 Palatal Absorption

The palatal approximant /y/ never occurs in the position after palatal consonants (i.e. /š/, /č/, /j/, SE /ž/ as well as the sequences /ik/ and SE /iğ/). If a palatal approximant is placed in this position, it is absorbed by the palatal consonant and dropped. This happens most frequently in cases where an /i/ that follows the palatal consonant is turned into an approximant /y/ via vowel coalescence (cf. section 2.1.5.3).

Examples (NE dialect):

/káči/ + /-asě/ ⇒ /káčasě/ (* /káčyasě/) ‘who is it?’

/aší/ + /-o/ ⇒ /ašó/ (* /ašyó/) ‘threw (him)’ (PFV.PST.3SG.M)

2.1.5.6 Approximant Metathesis

Metathesis of the retroflex approximant /ř/ to the onset of the preceding syllable is attested in several morphological contexts. It happens most regularly in local prefixes on nouns (see section 2.7.2.4).

Irregularly, it appears in some verb forms with spatial prefixes where the root originally contained a /ř/. The original /ř/ of the root is often synchronically absent, making its transference to the prefix an intransparent irregularity.

Examples:

SE /pa-přě-stě/, PFV.PTCP.M. /přa-p-t-ě/ ‘to transfer’

SE /vřa(-)gá-stě/, but NE/W /va(-)gá-stě/ ‘to get, to ask for’

(stem synchronically not segmentable)

NE/W /vřa-sějé-stě/, but SE /va-zějěňě-stě/ ‘to assemble’

(stem synchronically not segmentable)

The same process can also be observed in a few compounds, e.g. NE /gřémé/ ‘wheat flour’ < /gum/ ‘wheat’ + /bře/ ‘flour’; w /gřómik/ ‘value of one cow’ < /go/ ‘cow’ + /mřeyí/ ‘price, value’ + /-k/ ‘diminutive’.

Another form of /ř/ metathesis or deletion happens before /i/ in the Western dialect (see section 2.1.2.9.4) as well as in some Northeastern forms (see section 2.3.4.1.2.2).

2.1.5.7 Voicing Assimilation

Anticipatory voicing assimilations happen regularly in consonant clusters and also between consonants across word boundaries. Assimilations within a single word are generally reflected in the phonemic transcription in this book, whereas assimilations across word boundaries are usually not represented in the transcription (but shown in phonetic transcription here below).

Examples (NE dialect):

/tot-/ ‘father’ + /břo/ ‘brother’ ⇒ /tódbřo/ ‘male paternal relative’

/pis/ ‘lost’ + /bú-stě / ‘to become’ ⇒ /pís bú-stě/ ‘to be lost’
[ˈpizbustə]

A particular voicing assimilation at a distance happens regularly between the initial *p-* of the local prefix and the onset of the following nominal root. Here, the *p-* assimilates to *b-* if the nominal root starts with any voiced consonant (see section 2.7.2.1 for examples).

A similar process, which is, however, limited to the Northeastern dialect, occurs between the *p-* of some spatial prefixes and the onset of the following verbal root. In this case, the *p-* assimilates to *b-* only if the verbal root also starts with *b-*.

Examples (NE dialect):

/pá-/ ‘←→’ + /bú-stě / ‘to become’ ⇒ /bá-bu-stě / ‘to begin’

/pú-/ ‘~’ + /bá-stě / ‘to be able’ ⇒ /bú-ba-stě/ ‘to be able to go over’

2.1.5.8 Dental Assimilation

Where a dental obstruent comes into contact with a following obstruent, it assimilates in various ways.

Examples (NE dialect):

/č/ + /d/ ⇒ /td/

/řič/ + /=di/ ⇒ /řit-di/ ‘barley also’

/č/ + /t/ ⇒ /tt/

/áč-/ + /-ti/ ⇒ /átti/ ‘having come’ (CVB)

/t/ + /n/ ⇒ /nn/

/zarurát/ + /nēsē/ ⇒ /zarurán nēsē/ ‘there is no necessity’

Examples (SE dialect):

/č/ + /n/ > /nn/

/áč-/ + /-nē/ > /ánnē/ ‘is coming’ (PROG.3SG)

/č/ + /l/ > /ll/

/áč-/ + /-lē/ > /állē/ ‘one who comes’ (IPFV.PTCP-M)

2.1.5.9 Southeastern Intervocalic Lenition and Postnasal Voicing

The specifically Southeastern intervocalic lenitions and postnasal voicing assimilations have produced consonant alternations in several grammatical forms as well as a kind of phrasal sandhi. The phenomena are described in detail in section 2.1.2.10.

2.1.5.10 Western Nasal Relic Alternations

In the Western dialect, which has lost nasalization on vowels, phonological alternations can be observed in some cases of former word-final nasalization. Nasalization in the Katë language reflects a historical word-final coronal nasal consonant (compare, e.g., Katë w *mërĕ*, NE *mërĕ*, SE *marĕ* ‘death’ with Old Indo-Aryan *marāṇa-* ‘death’). At one point in the language’s history there seems to have been a phonological alternation between word-final nasalization and a retained retroflex

nasal (corresponding to today's nasalized retroflex approximant /ɳ/),⁷⁷ both in suffixed forms and in forms followed by another word beginning with a vowel.

The alternation due to suffixation can still be observed in the group of nouns here called “alternating nasal relic stems” of the Western dialect (cf. section 2.3.4.7.2). Beside the nasalization of vowels, the Western dialect has also lost the contrast between the regular retroflex approximant /ɹ/ and the nasalized retroflex approximant /ɳ/, reflecting both as /ɹ/. The “alternating nasal relic stems” correspond to nouns with a stem-final nasalized vowel in the other dialects. In the Western dialect they end in an oral vowel but add an intrusive /-ɹ-/ to the stem when case suffixes are added. It is likely that this /-ɹ-/ arose from an original */ɳ/, i.e. the retained nasal consonant of suffixed forms, which has disappeared from the corresponding inflectional paradigm in the Eastern dialects. Table 19 demonstrates the dialectal correspondences in the inflection of this class of nouns and the resulting alternation reconstructable for the common ancestor of the Katë dialects.

	Western dialect	Eastern dialects	Reconstructed
Direct case	bo	bō	*bō
Oblique case sg.	boř-e	bō̃	*boñ-e

Table 19. Cross-dialectal comparison of the inflection of nasal-stem nouns & reconstruction of the likely state of the common ancestor

A trace of the older pattern is still visible in the Northeastern postposition /=tañ/ ‘from’ (2.7.4.4), originally a case form of /tā/ ‘place’. In the Western dialect the oblique case form of the noun /ta/ ‘place’ and the ablative of the local postposition /=ta/ derived from it are still /(-)tař-e/, whereas in the Northeastern dialect /=tañ/ ‘from’ is isolated from the inflection of the noun /tā/ ‘place’ and the local postposition /=tā/, both of which have the oblique/ablative form /(-)tā̃/. Similarly, the supine (2.9.4.1.3) with its ending /-ɳ/ in the Eastern dialects may originally be a case form of the infinitive (2.9.4.1.1), which is characterized by final vowel nasalization.

With this context, it is also possible to understand other alternations that appear in word-final, but phrase-internal, position in the Western dialect. The passive construction is formed in the Eastern dialects by combining the infinitive form of the

⁷⁷ There is no correlation between the retroflexion of this nasal and the distribution of nasal retroflexion in Old Indo-Aryan. Rather, all intervocalic instances of former *n had apparently first become retroflex before the nasalization developed in (secondary) word-final position.

verb with forms of the verb ‘to go’. The infinitive is marked in these dialects by word-final nasalization, as noted above. In the Western dialect, on the other hand, with its loss of nasalization, the infinitive simply corresponds to the verbal stem. However, within the Western passive construction phonological alternations show up which make it synchronically intransparent that the construction in fact also originally contains the infinitive, as in the Eastern dialects. Before vowel-initial forms of the verb ‘to go’, a form with final /-ř/ is used, whereas before forms beginning with /g-/ a final /-ŋ/ appears and before an interspersed negation /ne/ the normal infinitive is used. An example of this alternation is shown below:

/sprěř	ěloš./	‘you should be sated.’
/sprěŋ	gěvòš./	‘you were sated.’
/spré	né gěvòš-a?/	‘were you not sated?’

The phonetic phenomenon of “solidification” of nasalization into a segmental /ŋ/ before /g/ is also found in the Eastern dialects (see section 2.1.1.4), but has here been phonemicized, since suprasegmental nasalization has been lost. The appearance of /-ř/ (< */ñ/) on the other hand seems to point to a former preservation of a segmental nasal as a sandhi variant in phrase-internal position before a vowel.

The same alternation appears in light-verb constructions with spatial nouns as the nominal component. In this context, the Eastern dialects use a special form of the spatial noun which ends in nasalization rather than the usual /-ñ/. The Western dialect again alternates between /-ř/ before vowel, /-ŋ/ before /g-/ and oral vowel (= no ending) before other consonants, as in the following examples with the spatial stem /pi-/ ‘’:

/pír	ěli/	‘she will win (the race)’ [<i>said of a horse</i>]
/pínŋ	gayi-bo/	‘if she wins (the race)’ [<i>said of a horse</i>]
/pí	kùlě/	‘they let it flow over’ [<i>during irrigation</i>]

2.1.6 Orthography

The Nuristani oral tradition remembers that writing was once practiced by the ancestors of today's Nuristanis, though the practice was later lost in the course of history.⁷⁸ There is some linguistic evidence that suggests that this is likely correct, at least to the extent that people in the region were familiar with writing as a concept long before the expansion of Islam. The Nuristani languages share a cognate verb form that means 'to write', deriving from a denominal formation with the Indo-Iranian adjective **čitra-* 'decorated, conspicuous' (**čitr-āpaya-*). In the Katē language this survives as the Western dialect form *štrō-* 'to write', whereas this meaning has been transferred to a similar but distinct verb stem NE *sturō-*, SE *strō-* in the Eastern dialects (corresponding to Western *strō-* 'to trim, to carve'). An even more relevant set of Nuristani cognates are the words for 'book, letter, piece of writing', which in the Katē language have the forms W/NE *pṭi*, SE *parí*. These forms correspond to a Gāndhārī form <paṭi> /paṭṭi/ meaning 'writing tablet' attested from approximately the 2nd or 3rd century CE (Baums & Glass 2002). This would suggest that the ancestors of present-day Nuristani-speakers were likely at least somewhat familiar with the Indic traditions of writing, before the expansion of Islam severed their connection to this cultural sphere.

Nevertheless, in the last couple of centuries writing was not practiced in Nuristan and the Nuristani languages were purely oral languages until relatively recently. Efforts to introduce a standardized orthography for the Katē language in Arabic script have been ongoing for some decades, prominently including an official orthography proposed by researchers at the Afghan Academy of Sciences in the 1980s (Grjunberg, Nūristānī & Jano 1987). This official orthography, which was largely based on Persian and Pashto spelling conventions, has seen some use among intellectuals in the Kabul diaspora, but by now it has largely fallen into obscurity. The same applies to the personal system of orthography developed by the Kom native speaker Qāzī Ġulāmullāh, who is famous for advising several researchers on the language, including Georg Morgenstierne, Richard Strand and Gérard Fussman. Ġulāmullāh had developed a system of writing using the Arabic script, but with full notation of vowels as well as several invented diacritics. The latter might pose a problem for text input in the age of computers, but it seems in any case that this orthographical system never found use beyond its

⁷⁸ Cf. Davidson (1902: viii) "[They] have a legend that, at one period of their race, they practised reading and writing".

inventor. Still, it remains as part of his legacy in the written materials he has produced (Ġulāmullāh 1966; Ġulāmullāh 1968).

More recently, the most widespread orthographic practice has been an ad-hoc adaption of Pashto, Persian or Urdu writing conventions, producing highly underspecified and internally inconsistent systems that vary considerably from writer to writer. The practice of writing is now quite widespread, but a standardization process has not yet taken hold. For this reason, orthographic representation in Arabic script has not yet been added to examples in the present grammar.

Many writers seem to converge on the Persian/Pashto-inspired model practiced by the Kabul-based language activist and writer Sulayman Sun-Aro, though his orthographic practice is not strictly standardized. A project of orthography development has been initiated by the Forum for Language Initiatives (FLI) in Pakistan, working primarily with the native-speaking communities in Chitral. The norms proposed in the course of this orthography development project are more oriented towards Urdu conventions, but with some accomodation to the practices of speakers living in Afghanistan. A downloadable keyboard with special characters has already been developed in the course of this work.

Table 20 shows a summary of possible ways to represent consonants in Arabic script, largely based on conventions that are currently in common use. Sounds exclusively occuring in loanwords have been excluded.

IPA	Latin Transcription	Arabic Script			Alternative Conventions
		final	medial	initial	
[b]	b	ب	ب	ب	
[p]	p	پ	پ	پ	
[t]	t	ت	ت	ت	
[t̪]	ṭ	ٹ	ٹ	ٹ	Pakistan: ٹ ٹ ٹ ٹ
[d͡ʒ]	ǰ	ج	ج	ج	
[t͡ʃ]	č	چ	چ	چ	
[t͡ʂ]	ć	خ	خ	خ	
[d͡ʒ]	j̣ (SE dialect)	ع	ع	ع	
[t͡ʂ]	ç	چ	چ	چ	چ چ چ / چ چ چ
[d͡ʒ]	j̣ (SE dialect)	ج	چ	چ	
[d̪]	d	د	د	د	
[d̪]	ḍ	ڊ	ڊ	ڊ	Pakistan: ڈ ڈ ڈ ڈ
[r]	r	ر	ر		
[ɾ]	ɾ	ر	ر		Pakistan: ڑ ڑ ڑ
[z]	z	ز	ز	ز	
[ʒ]	ž (SE dialect)	ژ	ژ	ژ	ژ ژ ژ ژ

[z]	z	ث	ث	ث	ز ژ ث
[s]	s	س	س	س	
[ç]	s	ش	ش	ش	
[ʃ]	ʃ	ش	ش	ش	بند بندین
[ɬ ~ V ^h]	ř	ع	ع	ع	1987 orthography: ز ژ ر ژ
[ɟ ~ V ^h]	ñ	نع	نع		various combinations of ع and ن
[k]	k	ک	ک	ک	
[g]	g	گ	گ	گ	گ گ گ
[ɣ]	ğ (SE dialect)	گ	گ	گ	
[ŋ]	ŋ	نگ	نگ	نگ	نگ نگ / نگ نگ
[l]	l	ل	ل	ل	
[t̪]	ɭ (SE dialect)		ت	ت	
[m]	m	م	م	م	
[n]	n	ن	ن	ن	
[ɳ]	ɳ	ن	ن		Pakistan: ن
[v ^w /β/v/w]	v	و	و	و	
[j]	y	ی	ی	ی	

Table 20. Possible orthographic conventions in Arabic script (consonants)

As a natural consequence of the consonant-focused character of the Arabic script, the representation of vowels is much less consistent and has been standardized to an even lesser degree than that of consonants. Table 21 shows a suggestion of a system of vowel representation that could be a compromise between practices familiar from the major languages of the region and linguistic precision. Not all elements of this system are currently in common use. Vowel diacritics are almost never used in regular writing in the Arabic script systems of the region. They are nevertheless included in the system presented here (for short *a*, *e* and *ə*) as a suggestion for use in dictionaries and similar works where precise notation is required.

Many instances of long vowels result from contractions. In writing, contracted forms could be represented in uncontracted form, and/or vowels disappearing or assimilating in contraction processes could be marked with the *waṣl* diacritic (◌ِ) familiar from Arabic, in order to avoid cumbersome long-vowel spellings.

IPA	Latin Transcription	Arabic Script			Alternative Conventions
		final	medial	initial	
[a]	a	اَ	اِ	اِ	
[a:]	ā	اَء	اِ	اِ	
[ɔ]	o	و	و	و	
[ɔ:]	ō	و	و	و	
[ɛ ~ ɜ]	e	هَ	هِ	هِ	
[ɛ: ~ ɜ:]	ē	هَء			
[e]	e ¹	هَ	هِ		Pakistan: هِ
[e:]	ē	هَء			Pakistan: هَء
[i]	i	ي	ي	اي	
[i:]	ī	يَء	يِ		
[u]	u	و	و	او	
[u:]	ū	وَء	وِو		
[y]	ü (SE dialect)	يُ	يُ	يُ	
[y:]	ȳ (SE dialect)	يُء	يُؤ	يُؤ	
[ə ~ i]	ë	هَ	هِ	اَ	
[õ]	õ (nasalization)	س	نْ		

Table 21. Possible orthographic conventions in Arabic script (vowels)

2.2 Word Classes

The major word classes of the Katë language are nominals (consisting of nouns and pronouns), adjectives, adverbs, numerals & quantifiers and verbs. There are also some additional minor classes such as complementizers/conjunctions, particles and interjections. This section briefly outlines the characteristic features of the most important classes and subclasses.

2.2.1 Nominals

Nominals share the inflectional features of case and number. Another common feature of most nominals (nouns and demonstrative pronouns) is inherent, (mostly) covert gender, which becomes visible through gender agreement morphology of other word classes, as well as in some non-direct case endings.

2.2.1.1 Nouns

A number of subclasses of nouns can be distinguished, with regard to their behavior in case inflection, case functions, possession marking and ability to combine with particular postpositions.

2.2.1.1.1 Kinship Nouns

Nouns expressing kinship relations or similar interpersonal relationships (e.g. ‘lover’, ‘sworn brother’ etc.) form a separate inflectional class as well as a separate possession class. Pertensive markers expressing the person of the possessor only appear on this class of nouns and these markers interact with case marking in various ways (see section 2.3.4.11). Together with personal names, kinship nouns are also the only group of nouns that can receive the associative enclitic.

2.2.1.1.2 Personal Names

Personal names and kinship nouns together are the only nouns that can receive the associative marker.

Personal names are also a unique class in the sense that nowadays they are essentially all recent loanwords. In pre-Islamic times and continuing into the decades following Islamization, there was a separate onomastic tradition on the territory of present-day Nuristan. This tradition was not completely isolated from outside influences, but did not include specifically Muslim names. By now, the original Nuristani names have

been almost completely replaced by Perso-Arabic naming conventions, which serve to express a Muslim identity. Some traditional names may survive as informal nicknames, many are remembered as part of the names of descent groups (sometimes used like Western “family names”) or of memorized genealogies. A few appear in traditional proverbs.

2.2.1.1.3 Animate Nouns

Animate nouns, i.e. nouns referring to living beings such as humans or animals, have a specific set of case forms, since they cannot be used in the instrumental case, but at the same time are the only class that can be used in the vocative case.⁷⁹

2.2.1.1.4 Inanimate Nouns

Inanimate nouns are the opposite of animate nouns: They can be used with the instrumental case, but usually not with the vocative.

2.2.2 Adjectives

Adjectives are the class that is most frequently employed as pre-nominal modifiers. Among pre-nominal modifiers only adjectives show gender agreement, but on the other hand not all adjectives have gender agreement morphology.

Most adjectives can be freely converted into nominals and then receive case and number inflection, as well as an inherent gender, rather than purely showing gender agreement. This is not possible with perfective participles, which need the enclitic referentializer *-stě* to function as anything other than a prenominal modifier.

Based on this, the following subclasses of adjectives can be distinguished:

1. Gender-variant adjectives
2. Gender-invariant adjectives
3. Perfective participles
 - a. Gender-invariant
 - b. Gender-variant

⁷⁹ To be used in the Vocative case a noun has to be at least imagined as animate.

2.2.3 Adverbs

Adverbs are a heterogeneous group with few morphological commonalities. Many are originally instrumental or locative case forms of nominals, others are morphologically intransparent. Beyond their central function as adverbial modifiers, most adverbs can also be used as adnominal modifiers.

2.2.4 Verbs

Verbs can be inflected for aspect, mood tense and evidentiality. They show agreement in person, number and gender.

2.3 Nominals

The class of nominals, which includes nouns and pronouns, shares the inflectional categories of number, gender and case. Most adjectives can be freely converted into nominals and are then inflected according to the same principles (see section 2.3.6.1). Sections 2.3.1 through 2.3.3 give an overview of how these categories are expressed in nominal inflection. In sections 2.3.4 and 2.3.5 the inflectional classes of nouns and pronouns, as well as their inflectional forms are discussed in detail.

2.3.1 Number

The possible number values of nominals are singular (one referent) or plural (more than one referent). In nouns, number is only formally distinguished in non-direct cases, and even there not in all inflectional classes, but at least for direct case forms it is often expressed in verbal agreement morphology. A minor exception is found in possessed kinship terms (2.3.4.11), where number is in some cases marked also in direct case forms. Some borrowed nouns retain their Persian or Arabic-derived plural morphology and as a result also distinguish number in the direct case (see section 2.3.4.12). In pronouns, number is almost always formally distinguished, including in the direct case.

The associative (2.7.3.3) is considered a number category by Grjunberg (1980: 178), but it is here treated as a separate phenomenon.

2.3.2 Gender

Katë nominals can be either masculine or feminine. The gender of nouns is lexically defined, except with some animate nominals (including pronouns) where it varies based on the sex of the referent.

Usually the gender of a noun or pronoun becomes visible only in certain case forms (of certain inflectional classes) or in verbal and adjectival agreement. The only exception is found in a group of animate nouns that can be considered nominalized adjectives. With these nouns the same suffixes that function as gender agreement markers on adjectives are used to distinguish male and female referents, as in the Northeastern examples in Table 22 (cf. section 2.3.6.1 on adjective conversion and 2.3.6.8.1 on the diminutive suffixes *-uk*, *-ik*, *-k*).

Masculine	Feminine
<i>lõṇ-ě</i> 'male slave'	<i>lõṇ-i</i> 'female slave'
<i>purd-úk</i> 'old man'	<i>purd-ík</i> 'old woman'
<i>Kasv-ó</i> 'Chitral-Kalasha man'	<i>Kasv-áy</i> 'Chitral-Kalasha woman'
<i>lělv-ok</i> 'young man'	<i>lělv-ayk</i> 'young woman'

Table 22. Gender distinction in nominalized adjectives (NE dialect)

Despite the existence of such pairs, gender is never predictable from the form of a noun, since other nouns with the same endings do not necessarily have the corresponding gender, e.g., NE *věšě* 'female goat' [F], *žuk* 'girl, daughter' [F]; *věří* 'speech' [M], *varík* 'friend' [M]; *řuštó* 'star' [F], *kakók* 'chicken' [F]; *barváy* 'porter' [M]. The Eastern *-ě* declension, as well as all Western declensions, have variant inflectional patterns for masculine and feminine nominals, which differ in the oblique singular case form. Animate nouns and demonstrative pronouns of these declensions, which are gender-neutral in the direct case, accordingly receive the oblique singular case

ending corresponding to the sex of the referent. Table 23 gives one example for each dialect (cf. Strand 2019: 6; Grjunberg 1980: 177).⁸⁰

Direct case	Oblique case	
NE <i>in-ě</i> 'this one; he/she/it' (DEM.PROX)	♂	<i>in-ě</i>
	♀	<i>in-ó</i>
SE <i>úšp-ě</i> 'horse'	♂	<i>vúšp-ě</i>
	♀	<i>vúšp-ō</i>
W-KL <i>kuří</i> 'dog'	♂	<i>kuřy-é</i>
	♀	<i>kuřy-á</i>

Table 23. Gender-variant case marking

Such interactions of gender and case marking are much more common in the Western dialect than in the other two dialects.

Throughout the grammatical system, gender is distinguished only in the singular, whereas in the plural only masculine forms are used.

2.3.3 Case

The notion of case is central to the inflectional system of Katë nominals. The maximal number of cases that can be distinguished in regular nominals is seven: direct, oblique, genitive, instrumental, locative, ablative and vocative. However, due to syncretisms of case endings and the limitation of certain case forms to particular semantic classes, no single nominal has distinct forms for all of these cases. The Southeastern dialect is the only dialect that has a separate genitive case, but, on the other hand, it lacks the ablative of the other two dialects. The local cases locative and ablative most often occur together with the local prefix (see section 2.7.2). In kinship nouns (2.3.4.11), the marking of case interacts with possession (pertensive) marking.

Case distinctions expressing the syntactic function of a noun phrase appear only on the final element of the phrase, all preceding elements in the same noun phrase are used in their direct case forms (or in case forms marking their function within the noun phrase). This pattern of case marking, which has been called *phrase marking*, *group inflection* or *suspended affixation* (Plank 2006: 1), is widespread throughout

⁸⁰ Note that the same nominal may belong to a different declension in another dialect, thus e.g. NE *ušúp* 'horse' is part of the gender-invariant consonantal declension. Its oblique case form *ušúpě* is accordingly used for both male and female horses.

Central Asia, e.g. in Turkic (Johanson 1998: 37) and Iranian languages (Korn 2017: 613). It is also reported from other Nuristani languages (Degener 1998: 198; Buddruss & Degener 2017: 304).

That it is really the final element and not the head of the noun phrase that receives case marking, is suggested e.g. by the fact that full phrases borrowed from Persian (with the Persian word order *noun* + *adjective*) are inflected on their final element, as in example (1).

- (1) *ahzób-e* *siyosy-ě-tã-stañ* *gá-ti*
 parties-EZ political-OBL.PL=LPST-ABL=from take-CVB
 ‘starting with political parties’ [NE-PC] (RTA Negotiations 2.9)

To reflect the phenomenon of phrase-final case marking, I have opted to omit the identifier DIR for direct case in interlinear glosses everywhere except on final elements of noun phrases, where the case distinction is actually meaningful. Example (2) demonstrates this convention.

- (2) full gloss:
ik-í *purd-ě* *kašír-daři*
 DEM.MED.SG-DIR old-M.DIR white-beard.DIR
 contrast-only gloss:
ikí *purd-ě* *kašír-daři*
 DEM.MED.SG old-M white-beard.DIR
 ‘that old whitebeard’ [NE-BN] (Sun-Aro Nameless 6.2)

2.3.3.1 The Direct and Oblique cases

The direct case (DIR) and the oblique case (OBL) are the two most important and most frequent case forms in the Katë language. They form a contrastive pair, the most central function of which is to distinguish the roles of multiple participants of verbal events.

The labels “direct case” and “oblique case” are conventional in Iranian linguistics for two case forms that switch their functions in accordance with a tense- or aspect-based split in morphosyntactic alignment. This terminology has also proved useful for Nuristani languages (cf. Degener 1998: 78; Buddruss 2006: 192–193), including for

Katë in particular (cf. Grjunberg 1980: 175).⁸¹ More well-known labels such as nominative, accusative, ergative or absolutive are difficult to apply to these cases, since the direct case can take on the functional range of either a prototypical nominative or a prototypical absolutive (and dative), whereas the oblique case can either have the function of a prototypical accusative (and dative) or that of a prototypical ergative, all depending on the participial stem of the predicate (cf. section 2.9.6.2). The direct case is equivalent to the stem in most nominal declensions, whereas the oblique case is always marked by case suffixes.

With intransitive predicates the direct case is used to mark the single participant (S), regardless of the aspectual form of the predicate. Examples (3) – (5) show this use in all three dialects, with different TAM forms of the verb.

(3) *Mančī atúguo.*

<i>manč-í</i>	<i>atú-guo</i>
person-DIR	→-go.PFV.PST.3SG.M

‘The man went inside.’ [NE-BG] (Morgenstierne Tale 10.9)

(4) *Špa čpénět.*

<i>špa</i>	<i>čpé-nět</i>
flute.DIR	make.sound-PROG.PRS.3PL

‘Flutes are sounding.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg IX 7.7)

(5) *Tű yĩ-meš čallěš-a?*

<i>tű</i>	<i>yĩ</i>	<i>=meš</i>	<i>čal-lě-ěši-a</i>
2SG.DIR	1SG.GEN	=with	move.away-IPFV/FUT.2SG.M=Q

‘Will you move into exile with me?’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 231.3)

With transitive and ditransitive predicates the direct case and the oblique case are contrasted with each other to distinguish the semantic roles of the participants. While this contrast is present in most transitive and ditransitive sentences, the semantic roles which each of the two cases stands for, differ depending on the aspectual stem of the

⁸¹ The English terms used here are equivalent to the German *Casus Rectus* – *Casus Obliquus* of Degener (1998) and Buddruss (2006) and the Russian *prjamoj padež* – *kosvennyj padež* of Grjunberg (1980). Morgenstierne (e.g. 1929: 203–204) and Strand (2019: 3) use the alternative convention of *nominative* vs. *oblique*, which I have avoided here, since the term *nominative* could lead to confusion when employed for a form with such a wide functional range as the Katë Direct case.

predicate. Another complication is introduced by the system of *differential object marking* based on the animacy, specificity or definiteness of the noun phrase.

With non-perfective-system predicates⁸² the direct case expresses the *agent* (A) of transitive and ditransitive verbs. Since it also marks the single participant of intransitive predicates, the direct case fulfills the nominative role of a nominative-accusative alignment system with such predicates. The oblique case is used with these predicates to mark *patients* (P), as well as *goals* (E) of ditransitive verbs. In this way it fulfills the accusative role within the nominative-accusative alignment system, but also that of a prototypical dative. Examples (6) – (9) illustrate the use of the two cases with non-perfective-system predicates in all three dialects, with different TAM forms of the verb.

- (6) *Ė gëřjór štëřís pkëνό úge pařpúlë štóćci.*

<i>e</i>	<i>gëřjór</i>	<i>štëří-s</i>	<i>p-këνό</i>	<i>ú-ge</i>	<i>pařpúl-ë</i>
one	day	wife-PERT.3	LP-tree	↑-go.CVB	apple.fruit-OBL.PL
					<i>štó-ćci</i>
					pluck-PROG.PST.3SG.F

‘One day the wife, having gone up a tree, was plucking the apples.’ [NE-BN/MR]
(Sun-Aro Dehqan 2.2)

- (7) *Asád štréyo lánë.*

<i>Asád</i>	<i>štréyo</i>	<i>lánë</i>
PN.DIR	writing-OBL.PL	speak-PROG.PRS.3SG

‘Asad is reading the books.’ [W-KN] (Mohammad 1991 1.15)

- (8) *Tú askë náčōloš.*

<i>tú</i>	<i>ask-ë</i>	<i>náčō-loš.</i>
2SG.DIR	DEM.DIST-OBL.M	leave-OPT.2SG.M

‘You should leave him alone.’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 357.18)

- (9) *Gúl-të yimó mančó anjá přénë, [...]*

<i>gul</i>	<i>-të</i>	<i>yimó</i>	<i>manč-ó</i>
land.DIR	=CONTR.TOP	1PL.DIR/OBL	person-OBL.PL
<i>anjí-a</i>	<i>přé-në,</i>	<i>[...]</i>	

⁸² I.e. predicates that are not part of the morphologically defined perfective system (see section 2.9.6.2).

bread-OBL.SG.F give-PROG.PRS.3SG

‘The land gives our people the bread, [...]’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg I 9.6)

With the same non-perfective-system predicates, *patients* (P) (and *goals* (E)?⁸³) may also stand in the direct case, as long as the noun phrases in question are inanimate, indefinite or unspecific. The difference between examples (10) a. and b. illustrates the phenomenon: Since the bowls in sentence a. are unspecific, the direct case form can be used. This is different in sentence b., where the demonstrative modifier shows that the bowls are known from previous discourse or specific and clearly identifiable by the addressee.

(10) a. *Ktyú vañétum.*

<i>ktyú</i>	<i>vañé-tum</i>
bowl.DIR	see-PROG.PRS.1SG

‘I am seeing bowls.’ [NE-MR] (Notes)

b. *Amni ktyúvë vañétum.*

<i>amní</i>	<i>ktyúv-ë</i>	<i>vañé-tum</i>
DEM.PROX.PL	bowl-OBL	see-PROG.PRS.1SG

‘I am seeing those bowls.’ [NE-MR] (Notes)

Examples (11) – (17) further illustrate the direct case marking of non-specific patients.

(11) *Páñ yó lëtri yúlay.*

<i>pa-ñ</i>	<i>yo</i>	<i>lëtri</i>	<i>yú-lë-ay.</i>
←  →-SN	REFL.IND	thing.DIR	eat-IPFV/FUT.3PL

‘Over there they eat their own things.’ [NE-BD] (Goat Advice 4.3)

⁸³ Since the goals of ditransitive predicates are almost always animate or specific, no example of a goal in Direct Case appears in the examined corpus. When the goal is unspecific it is also frequently left out entirely, e.g. in sentences like *Nélus čór zaňólasë* ‘hardship teaches [people/one] the way of doing things’ It is therefore questionable whether differential object marking also applies to goals.

- (12) *Bědúvela vězí ašélě.*
bě-dúvel-a *vězí* *ašé-lě.*
 LP-milking.time-LOC holly.oak.DIR throw-IPFV/FUT.3
 ‘At milking time they feed holly oak.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg VI 3.2)
- (13) *Gul vřaǵámmo.*
gul *vřaǵá-mmo.*
 land.DIR get-OPT.1PL
 ‘We should demand land [from them].’ [SE-PT]
 (Ġulāmullāh/Karim Pitiǵil 30.3)
- (14) *Koṇ yipōndě.*
koṇ *yip-ō-ndě*
 arrow.DIR arise-CAUS-PROG.3PL
 ‘They are making arrows’ [SE-KM] (Kabir/Ġulāmullāh History 39.1)
- (15) *Ůć tú lětrí přelum.*
Ůć *tu* *lětrí* *pře-lum*
 1SG.DIR 2SG.OBL thing.DIR give-FUT.1SG.M
 ‘I will give you things.’ [NE] (Afsāna King 8.1)
- (16) *Ůć šó é mřoṇ přetum.*
Ůć *šó* *e* *mřoṇ* *pře-tum*
 1SG.DIR 2PL.DIR/OBL one doe.DIR give-PROG.1SG
 ‘I am giving you a doe.’ [NE] (Afsāna King 19.3)
- (17) *Zěrvó manči káči así-bo, [...] stě mančě mančí kúř pšey těvólay.*
zěrv-ó *manč-í* *káči* *as-í* *=bo*
 brave-M person-DIR who.DIR COP-PST.3 =CNJ

stě *manč-ě* *manč-í*
 DEM.DIST person-OBL.SG.M person-DIR

kuř *p-šey* *těv-ō-lě-ay.*
 hat.DIR LP-head put-CAUS-IPFV/FUT.3PL
 ‘The people would let a man who was brave wear a hat.’ [NE-PC]
 (RTA Clothing 14.2)

If, on the other hand, the predicate is a form from the perfective system, then the direct case consistently expresses the *patient* (P) of a transitive verb, or the *patient and goal* (P + E) of a ditransitive verb, whereas the oblique case marks the *agent* (A). This means that, with transitive and ditransitive verbs, the two cases simply switch their functions. The result is an ergative-absolutive alignment pattern, in which the direct case fulfills the absolutive role and the oblique case fulfills the ergative role. This case marking pattern goes along with verbal agreement with the patient in transitive verbs and with the patient or goal in ditransitive verbs, depending on which of the two is higher in the following noun phrase hierarchy: 1st person > 2nd person > human 3rd person > animate 3rd person > inanimate 3rd person (cf. Mohammad 1991: 21). Differential object marking does not occur with perfective system predicates. Examples (18) – (23) illustrate this use in all three dialects, with different TAM forms of the verb. Examples (18) – (20) are transitive, examples (21) – (23) are ditransitive.

- (18) *Atkyú-stañ ikó anyór atkyörë kćétye mačĕrik vaňyé.*

<i>atkí-u-̄</i>	<i>=staň</i>	<i>ik-ó</i>	
LDEM.DIST-PHOR-ABL	=from	DEM.DIST-OBL.SG.F	
<i>aní-örë atkí-örë</i>		<i>kćé-tye</i>	
LDEM.PROX-direction	LDEM.DIST-direction	look-CVB	
<i>mačĕrik</i>	<i>vaň-yé</i>		
bee[F].DIR	see-PFV.PST.3SG.F		

‘At that point, looking this way and that way, she saw a bee.’ [NE-BN/MR]
(Sun-Aro Dehqan 5.1)

- (19) *Amir Těmúre Řamgěle mančó-kě sūt měló avěstasya.*

<i>Amir_ Těmúr-e</i>	<i>Řamgěl-e</i>	<i>manč-ó</i>	<i>=kě</i>	<i>sut</i>
PN-OBL.M	PN-ABL	person-OBL.PL	=for	seven
<i>měló</i>	<i>av-ě-stě-asya.</i>			
mullah.DIR	bring-RES.MDV.3PL			

‘Amir Timur (Tamerlane) is said to have brought seven mullahs for the people of Řamgěl.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg I, 4.3)

- (20) *Vádbři Kóni viní.*

<i>Vádbři-̄</i>	<i>Kóni</i>	<i>vi-ní</i>
PN-OBL.SG	PN.DIR	hit-PFV.PST.3SG.F

‘Vadbři hit Koni.’ [SE-PT] (Ġulāmullāh 1966: 648)

(21) *Ė našáy štėrís ptyė, ė našáy móčis ptó.*

<i>e</i>	<i>našáy</i>	<i>štėrís</i>	<i>p-tye</i>
one	half.DIR	wife-PERT.3.DIR	give-PFV.PST.3SG.F
<i>e</i>	<i>našáy</i>	<i>móč-is</i>	<i>p-to</i>
one	half.DIR	husband-PERT.3.DIR	give-PFV.PST.3SG.M

‘He gave one half to the husband and one half to the wife’ [NE]
(Afsāna King 2.5)

(22) *Yėme Asád gúl vėř-ė-yo.*

<i>yėme</i>	<i>Asád</i>	<i>gúl</i>	<i>vėř-ė-yo.</i>
1SG.OBL	PN.DIR	land.DIR	see-CAUS-PFV.PST.3SG.M

‘I showed Asad the land.’ [W-KN] (Mohammad 1991 1.31)

(23) *Ajórkon-ė Mólkon dű gó tavėo.*

<i>Ajórkon-ė</i>	<i>Mólkon</i>	<i>dű</i>	<i>gó</i>
PN-OBL.SG	PN.DIR	two	COW.DIR

tav-ė-yo.
put-CAUS-PFV.PST.3SG.M

‘Ajorkon made Molkon pay two cows [as compensation].’ [SE-KM]
(Strand 1999 49.1)

2.3.3.1.1 The Direct Case

Considered on its own, the direct case is the most basic form of nominals and it is also the usual citation form. Predicate nominals in copula clauses and similar constructions always stand in the direct case, as Example (24) shows.

(24) *Inė yė=stė móč=asė.*

<i>in-ė</i>	<i>yė</i>	<i>=stė</i>	<i>móč</i>	<i>=as-ė.</i>
DEM.PROX-DIR	1SG.OBL	=REF	husband.DIR	=COP-3SG

‘This is my husband’ [NE] (Afsāna King 22.3)

When used as temporal adverbials, nouns with the suffix *-(v)or* (*-(v)ar*) ‘time’ appear in the direct case in the Eastern dialects (but in the oblique case in the Western dialect, see the following section). Other temporal adverbials are expressed in the locative case.

(25) *Pěléke gěrjór stě méré mančō gėti cāṇ vapsyěyti avěřestay.*

<i>pěléke</i>	<i>gěrjór</i>	<i>stě</i>	<i>mér-ě</i>	<i>manč-ō</i>
again	daytime.DIR	DEM.DIST	king-OBL	person-OBL.PL
<i>gé-ti</i>	<i>cāṇ</i>	<i>vapsí-ey-ti</i>	<i>av-ěřě-stě-ay</i>	
go-CVB	all	assemble-CAUS-CVB	bring-RES.3PL	

‘The next day the king’s men left, gathered all together and brought them back’ [NE] (Afsāna King 17.4)

(26) *Karmór ti řadór křačědi gajár manjō přelay.*

<i>karmór k̄-ti</i>	<i>řadór</i>	<i>křačě-di</i>
slaughter make-CVB	nighttime.DIR	cook-CVB
<i>gajár</i>	<i>manj-ō</i>	<i>pře-lě-ay</i>
daytime	person-OBL.PL	give-IPFV/FUT.3PL

‘They would make a large slaughter, cook it at night and give it to the people during the day.’ [SE-KM] (Ġulāmullāh Inheritance 5.2)

2.3.3.1.2 The Oblique Case

Outside of its role in distinguishing participants of verbal events, the oblique case is also used in the Northeastern and Western dialects to mark the possessor in possessive constructions (with or without the referentializer *-stě*, see section 2.7.3.1) and for nouns before postpositions. Examples (27) – (29) illustrate both uses. The same two functions are fulfilled by the genitive case (2.3.3.2) in the Southeastern dialect.

(27) *tú ari-kyū*
2SG.OBL silver-bowl

‘Your silver bowl/cup’

(28) *ní pk-í-stě čerěř-o =stě áy*
DEM.PROX.SG ripen-PFV.PTCP=REF apricot-OBL.SG.F =REF kernel

‘The kernel of this ripened apricot’ [W-ŠT] (School Nut 4.1)

(29) *něvó-k-o =kě*
grandson-DIM-OBL.PL =for

‘for the grandchildren’ [W-ŠT] (School Grandfather 3.1)

In the Northeastern dialect, nouns of the consonantal declension often appear without the oblique case ending /-ë/ or /-i/ before postpositions (cf. section 2.1.5.4.2).

Another use of the oblique case is in a dative-like function, marking the target of something that is being bestowed, e.g. of obligations, blessings or homage, or marking the experiencer of impersonal constructions (cf. the use for the goal in ditransitive constructions). Examples are given in (30) – (33).

(30) *Mëšë Kasvô, kót Bëlyô.*

<i>mëš-ë</i>	<i>Kasvô-ô</i>	<i>kot</i>	<i>Bëlyô-ô</i>
anger-DIR	Kalasha-OBL.PL	strength.DIR	Chitrali-OBL

‘Anger for the Chitral Kalasha, power for the Khaw/Chitralis.’ [*This proverb expresses the idea that the powerless can only get angry but not control their own fate*] [NE-MR] (Mansur Proverbs 474)

(31) *Niñ Óğuni-meş kalé yimôzë, Satré-meş kalé yimôzë, Gujîrô kalé yimôzë, dunyókaşkoş yimôzë, búmkashkoş yimôzë, şarékashkoş yimôzë.*

<i>ni-ñ</i>	<i>Óğuni-ô</i>	<i>=meş</i>	<i>kal-é</i>	<i>yimó-ô=ëz-ë</i>
←-SN	Pashtun-GEN/OBL.PL	with	battle-DIR	1PL-OBL=COP-3SG

<i>Satr-é</i>	<i>=meş</i>	<i>kal-é</i>	<i>yimó-ô=ëz-ë</i>
Gawar-GEN.SG	with	battle.DIR	1PL-OBL=COP-3SG

<i>Gujîr-ô</i>	<i>kal-é</i>	<i>yimó-ô=ëz-ë</i>
Gujar-OBL.PL	battle.DIR	1PL-OBL=COP-3SG

<i>dunyó-kaşkoş</i>	<i>yimó-ô=ëz-ë</i>
world-struggle.DIR	1PL-OBL=COP-3SG

<i>búm-kaşkoş</i>	<i>yimó-ô=ëz-ë</i>
ground-struggle.DIR	1PL-OBL=COP-3SG

<i>şarék-kaşkoş</i>	<i>yimó-ô=ëz-ë</i>
livestock-struggle.DIR	1PL-OBL=COP-3SG

‘The fighting downvalley with the Pashtuns is for us [to deal with], the fighting with the Gawar is for us [to deal with], the fighting of the Gujars is for us [to deal with], the struggle over the world is for us [to deal with], the struggle over land is for us [to deal with], the struggle over livestock is for us [to deal with].’ [*The narrator is emphasizing the struggles of the Kom in comparison to the Katë who live in a less exposed location upvalley*] [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 448.14)

(32) *Tu nēmóč!*

tu *nēmóč*
2SG.OBL prayer/homage.DIR

‘Homage unto you!’ [NE-MR] (Morgenstierne 1953: 181)

(33) *Súrē tīč bisë, yĩ vínë kti.*

súr-ē *tīč* *b-i_-stë_-ëz-ë*
the.other-OBL.SG.M clear become-RES.3SG
yĩ *vĩ-në* *k-ti*
1SG.OBL hit-PROG.3SG do-CVB

‘The other_a realized that he_b was hitting him_a’ [SE-PT]

(Ġulāmullāh/Karim Pitiġil 26.5)

As a subfunction of this use it is also used to mark the possessor in one of the constructions used for the expression of predicative possession (see section 2.11.2). In the Western dialect, some nouns used as temporal adverbials, including those with the final element *-(v)or* ‘time’, appear in the oblique case (cf. 2.3.3.1.1 above for the other dialects).

(34) *É vóse vúze bënó-ta alménesyum.*

e *vós-e* *vúze* *bën-ó* *-ta* *almé-nesyum*
one day-OBL.SG.M 1SG.DIR forest-OBL.PL =LPST dangle-PROG.PST.1SG.F

‘One day I was wandering around in the forests.’ (W-ŠT) (School Father 4.1)

(35) *Stë řadóra yimó vútyeti gëvéy=č.*

stë *řadór-a* *yimó* *vú-tye-ti* *g-ëvë-ey*
DEM.DIST night-OBL.SG.F 1PL ↑-stand-CVB go-PFV.PST.1=CONS
=č
=ADD

‘And so, that night we got up and left.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg IX 19.15)

2.3.3.2 The Genitive Case (SE)

In the Southeastern dialect a separate genitive case (GEN) is used for the possessor in possessive constructions and before postpositions. In the other dialects, the functions of the Southeastern genitive are fulfilled by the oblique case. The genitive shows

syncretisms with the direct case, the oblique case and the locative, depending on declension and number.

The function of marking the possessor in possessive constructions (with or without the referentializer *-stě*) is shown in examples (36) – (38).

- (36) *ask-é* *ba-du*
 DEM.DIST-GEN.SG.M LP-door
 ‘at his door’ (Amin Jihad 89.4)
- (37) *yině* *gúl-stě* *manĵ-i*
 DEM.PROX country.DIR/GEN=REF person-DIR
 ‘the people of this country’ (Amin Jihad 187.2)
- (38) *yi-y-é-stě* *kúdiim*
 DEM.MED-GEN.SG.M=REF work.DIR/GEN
 ‘his work’ (Amin Jihad 514.2)

The use before postpositions can be seen in examples (39) and (40).

- (39) *tú-meş*
 2SG.GEN=with
 ‘with you’ (Amin Jihad 211.2)
- (40) *kal-é-tto*
 battle-GEN.SG.M=LPST
 ‘at the battle’ (Amin Jihad 394.1)

2.3.3.3 The Instrumental Case

The instrumental case (INS) can express either an instrument or means by which an action is carried out, or an added cause or circumstance. Generally speaking, the use of the instrumental is relatively restricted and in many cases the meaning of instrumentality can also be expressed with a postposition (*=meş* ~ *=meň*, 2.7.4.2). Animate nouns or pronouns never stand in the instrumental case and it cannot be used to express accompaniment.

The instrumental case shows many syncretisms in form with other cases, especially with the oblique plural. Separate singular and plural forms of the instrumental are only attested from the Western dialect of Kulem.

Grjunberg (1980) does not mention the instrumental case in his description of the dialect of Kulem, but instrumental forms do occur in his data. Examples (41)-(44) demonstrate that this is the case. In example (41) *kóttō* (= *kóto* + expressive gemination, cf. 2.1.4.3) could otherwise only be an oblique case plural form of *koṭ* ‘force’, but since semantically it cannot be the patient of the predicate, this interpretation is impossible. In example (43) *avté* is homonymous with the oblique singular form of *avté* ‘hunger’. A form of the verb *até-lase-stě* (lit. “to escape inward”) is idiomatically used in an impersonal construction to mean ‘to be out of strength’ (cf. Grjunberg IX 11.14: *Ye-di atélasyo* ‘My strength is gone!’, lit. “It escaped inward to me!”). If *avté* were an oblique case form, there would be a superfluous argument in the sentence. Both forms are easily explained as instrumentals of different inflectional classes, showing syncretism with the oblique plural for consonant stems (2.3.4.7) and with the oblique singular for *-ě* nouns. Grjunberg (1980: 259) analyzes *-řo* as a postposition. This is not an impossible analysis on the basis of the limited available data, but it would require an explanation why such a postposition is used in sentences (42) and (44) but not in (41) or (43), and also why it appears only on one of the two coordinated nouns in (44).⁸⁴ If the difference is taken to be one of number, with the same difference of inflectional class as in the singular, the examples make immediate sense and this view is also compatible with other occurrences of such forms.⁸⁵

(41) *Stě jūk kóttō pí kúnt=ey=č, “[...]”*

<i>stě</i>	<i>jūk</i>	<i>kóttō</i>	<i>pí kú-nět=ey</i>
DEM.DIST	girl.DIR	force\INTS-INS.SG	yell-PROG.3PL=CONS
=č			
=ADD			

‘And those girls are yelling forcefully: “[...]” [W-KL] (Grjunberg IX 33.8)

⁸⁴ The word *vŭvū* in (44) is a nominalized bidirectional spatial morpheme (2.8.6.2) which due to its phonological form (final *-u*) falls into the class of Western invariant nouns (2.3.4.9). This explains why there is no marker for the instrumental case.

⁸⁵ The Kulem forms do not agree with those reported for nearby Ktivi (Kantiwā), where according to Strand (2019: 29–35) the instrumental is always homophonous with the oblique plural and has no number distinction. Strand (2019: 29–35) gives only tables of forms and no use examples.

(42) *Dyú sě púšti vúze pavúgëvum-to, púta kyúrořo gëvë=č.*

<i>dyu s-ě</i>	<i>púšti</i>	<i>vúze</i>	<i>pavú-g-ëvum</i>	<i>=to</i>
two year-DIR	after	1SG.DIR	↙  ↘ -go-COND.1SG.M	=when
<i>pút-a</i>	<i>kyúr-ořo</i>	<i>g-ëvë</i>	<i>=č.</i>	
path-OBL.SG.F	foot-INS.PL	go-PFV.PST.1	=ADD	

‘And when I went down across the slope [from Kabul to Kulem] two years later, I walked the way by foot (lit. “by feet”).’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg XIV 6.5)

(43) *Yéme-di avté atélasi-stě asě=č, gó-di avté atélasi-stě asě=č.*

<i>yéme</i>	<i>=di</i>	<i>avt-é</i>	<i>até-las-i-stě asě</i>	<i>=č</i>
1SG.OBL	=ADD.FOC	hunger-INS.SG.M	→-escape-RES.3SG	=ADD
<i>go</i>	<i>=di</i>	<i>avt-é</i>	<i>até-las-i-stě asě</i>	<i>=č</i>
COW.DIR/OBL	=ADD.FOC	hunger-INS.SG.M	→-escape-RES.3SG	=ADD

‘I have lost my strength from hunger, and the cow has also lost her strength from hunger (lit. “it has escaped inward to me from hunger, and it has also escaped inward to the cow from hunger”).’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg VIII 24.4)

(44) *Stě pëvëc yimó-taře séřo-di, vújvu-di álë é sé=č.*

<i>Stě</i>	<i>pëvëc</i>	<i>yimó</i>	<i>=tař-e</i>	<i>s-ěřo</i>	<i>=di</i>
DEM.DIST	boy.DIR	1PL	=LPST-ABL	year-INS.M.PL	=ADD.FOC
<i>vújvu</i>	<i>=di</i>	<i>ál-ë</i>	<i>é as-ě</i>	<i>=č.</i>	
↑.DIR/OBL/INS	=ADD.FOC	big-M	SO COP-3SG	=ADD	

‘And so that boy is bigger than us, both in years and in body size.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg XIV 12.1)

In the other two dialects the instrumental is also well attested, though there is no number distinction. Examples (45) – (48) show use of the instrumental to express an instrument, or an added circumstance or cause.

- (45) *Amgyō tapkē vīdi, aǵi-stē taraktūr-meş=či, paǵūr aǵinaza.*

<i>amgī-ō</i>	<i>tapk-ē</i>	<i>vī-di</i>	<i>aǵi</i>	<i>=stē</i>
DEM.DIST.PL-OBL.PL	rifle-INS	hit-CVB	DEM.DIST.LOC	=from
<i>taraktūr</i>	<i>=meş</i>	<i>=či</i>	<i>paǵūr</i>	<i>aǵi-naza</i>
tractor.DIR/GEN	=with	=ADD	LP.base	throw-PROG.MED.3PL

‘[It was being said that] they were shooting them [lit. ‘hitting them with rifles’] and then burying them with a tractor.’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 61.2)

- (46) *Imú vëryē kitób búlasi.*

<i>imú vërf-ē</i>	<i>kitób</i>	<i>bú-lasi</i>
1PL speech -INS	book.DIR	be-OPT.PST.3PL

‘There should have been books in our language.’ [NE-PC]
(RTA Language 18.4)

- (47) *Yī Gulbudín maz-ē strēšē.*

<i>yī</i>	<i>Gulbudín</i>	<i>maz-ē</i>	<i>strē-ī =stē-azē</i>
1SG.OBL	PN.DIR	anger-INS	write-RES.3SG

‘I wrote to Gulbuddin angrily.’ [lit ‘with anger’] [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 539.1)

- (48) *Akí-de manjí ótē mřéndē, akí manjí šalē mřéndē.*

<i>akí</i>	<i>=de</i>	<i>manj-í</i>	<i>ót-ē</i>	<i>mřé-ndē,</i>
DEM.DIST.LOC	=CONTR.TOP	person-DIR	hunger-INS	die-PROG.3SG
<i>akí</i>	<i>manjí</i>	<i>šal-ē</i>	<i>mřé-ndē</i>	
DEM.DIST.LOC	person-DIR	cold-INS	die-PROG.3SG	

‘People are dying of hunger there, people are dying of cold there.’ [SE-KM]
(Amin Jihad 559.17)

A reduplicated instrumental can express repetition of the action expressed by the predicate, as in examples (49) – (51). All attested examples are with verbs of hitting.

- (49) *Stē pō-pō vīti škík kütasi.*

<i>st-ē</i>	<i>po-ō~pō</i>	<i>vī-ti</i>	<i>škík kú-tasi.</i>
DEM.DIST-OBL.SG.M	step-INS~FREQ	hit-CVB	mock-PROG.PST.3PL

‘They kept kicking him and mocking him’ [NE] (Afsāna King 17.5)

- (50) *Guṇú lěším kě čivéně, amšé vář-je pár něšéti, pó-pó přéti kěné-nět.*

<i>guṇú</i>	<i>lěším</i>	<i>kě</i>	<i>čivé-ně</i>	<i>amšé</i>
ball.DIR	pretty	do.CVB	move.around-PROG.3SG	REFL.PL
<i>vá-ř</i>	<i>=je</i>	<i>pa-ř</i>	<i>něšé-ti</i>	
→  ←-SN	=and	←  →-SN	sit.down-CVB	
<i>po~po</i>	<i>pře-ti</i>	<i>kěné-nět</i>		
step.DIR/OBL/INS~FREQ	give-CVB	laugh-PROG.3PL		

‘The ball is moving around nicely and they are sitting on either side, kicking it with their feet and laughing.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg Skazka III 5.6)

- (51) *Maré pať-ě-pať-ě vi gějí ku, “Ů-tě kavík něsum!”*

<i>maré</i>	<i>pať-ě~pať-ě</i>	<i>vi</i>	<i>gějí ku</i>	<i>ũ</i>
hawk.DIR	wing-INS~FREQ	hit.CVB	say.QUOT	1SG.DIR
<i>=tě</i>	<i>kavík</i>	<i>ně-as-um</i>		
=CONTR.TOP	pigeon.DIR	NEG-COP-1SG		

‘Beating his wings repeatedly, the hawk said: “But I am not a pigeon!”’

[NE-BN/MR] (Sun-Aro Hawk 2.12)

As a subcategory of the sense of an added circumstance, nominalized adjectives in the Instrumental can function as adverbials.

- (52) *Šyl-ě étosi-tě, é tá-u bít-ě-tā dú bissě.*

<i>šyl-ě</i>	<i>é-tosi</i>	<i>=tě,</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>tá</i>	<i>=u</i>	<i>bít-ě</i>
soft-INS	go-PROG.PST.3SG.M	CONTR.TOP	one	place	=at	demon-OBL
<i>=tā</i>	<i>du b-i-stě-asě</i>					
=LPST	appear-RES.3SG					

‘As he was walking slowly, in one place he happened upon a demon.’ [NE]

(Afsāna Pheasant 6.4)

- (53) *Yiné ná jaňědi, ná jaňědi, kukuroná, gyá čar-ě ná vubějšě.*

<i>yin-ě</i>	<i>ná</i>	<i>jaňě-di,</i>	<i>ná</i>	<i>jaňě-di</i>
DEM.PROX.SG-DIR	NEG	know-CVB	NEG	know-CVB
<i>kukuroná</i>	<i>gyá</i>	<i>čar-ě</i>	<i>ná</i>	<i>vubějš-i-stě-ěžě</i>
blindly	simply	stupid-INS	NEG	grow-RES.3SG

‘This hasn’t arisen stupidly just like that, blindly, from not knowing anything.’

[SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 593.4)

The process of reduplication can also be applied to these adverbials, but in this case the attested examples seem to point to intensification of the adjectival meaning rather than repeated action. The difference between example (54) and (55) shows that the adverbial instrumental form agrees in gender with the absolutive participant that is also indexed on the verb (male 1st person (S) in (54), female cow (P) in (55)).

(54) *Stó-meṣ ščīle-ščīle stó bēdēmřēyi damém bēruavzyey=č.*

<i>st-o</i>	<i>=meṣ</i>	<i>ščīl-e~ščīle</i>	<i>st-o</i>
DEM.DIST-OBL.SG.F	=with	soft-INS.SG.M~INTS	DEM.DIST-OBL.SG.F
<i>bē-dēmřēyi</i>	<i>damé-m</i>	<i>bēru-avz-ī-ey</i>	<i>=č</i>
LP-tail	grab-CVB.PROG	←-approach-PFV.PST.1=CONS	=ADD

‘And grasping her [a cow] by the tail I came out with her very slowly.’

[W-KL] (Grjunberg VIII 17.8)

(55) *Bēdēmřēyi daméti, vělúř vělúř kum ščīlo-ščīlo péceyey=č.*

<i>bē-dēmřēyi</i>	<i>daméti</i>	<i>vělú-ř</i>	<i>vělú-ř</i>	<i>ku-m</i>
LP-tail	grab-CVB	↑-SN	↑-SN	do-CVB.SIM
<i>ščīl-o~ščīlo</i>	<i>péc-e-ye-ey</i>			<i>=č</i>
soft-INS.SG.F~INTS	go.on-CAUS-PFV.PST.3SG.F=CONS			=ADD

‘And having grabbed her [the cow] by the tail, I drove her very slowly up and up.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg VIII 27.4)

(56) *Yinė manǰi nimélē~nimélē vallásē.*

<i>yinė</i>	<i>manǰ-í</i>	<i>nimélē~nimélē</i>	<i>vallá-ī-stē-ēzē</i>
DEM.PROX.SG	person-DIR	wrong-INS~INTS	speak-RES.3SG

‘This man spoke in a very wrong way.’ [SE-KM] (Kabir Revolt 13.3)

The option of adverbializing nominalized adjectives with the Instrumental is also available for nominalized participles, allowing more complex embedding constructions (cf. section 2.11.6.6.2).

2.3.3.4 The Vocative Case

The vocative case is used when addressing or calling animate beings. It exists in two variants, general and familiar. With both variants, the base for the singular is identical

to the direct case form. This is followed by the general vocative suffix *-a*⁸⁶, or the familiar vocative suffix *-o*.⁸⁷ The base for the plural is the oblique case plural form plus an additional element NE *-sa*, *-seña*; W *-sa*; SE *-zo*. The distinction between a general and a familiar form is not made in the plural.

The general vocative (VOC), illustrated by examples (57) – (64), is used regardless of the relationship between speaker and addressee.

(57) *Mačĕrika, mačĕrika! Přec̣ křúyi-tã atúsyi!*

<i>mačĕrik-a</i>	<i>mačĕrik-a</i>	<i>přec̣</i>	<i>křúyi-i</i>	<i>=tã</i>	<i>atú-syí</i>
bee-VOC	bee-VOC	go.on.IMP	dog-OBL	=LPST	→-stick.self.IMP

‘Bee! Bee! Go sting the dog!’ [NE-BN/MR] (Sun-Aro Dehqan 5.2)

(58) *Barmúk Gúmaro mámyē Kolyá!*

<i>Barmúk</i>	<i>Gúmaro</i>	<i>mám-yē</i>	<i>Kolí-a</i>
PN	PN	maternal.uncle-PERT.1.OBL	PN-VOC

‘Koli, son of my maternal uncle Gumaro, son of Barmuk!’ [NE-BG]

(Morgenstierne 1967 4b)

⁸⁶ In his description of the vocative, Grjunberg (1980: 178) only discusses the singular familiar form in *-o*, though the other forms also do occur in his data. He mixes up the general vocative marker *-a* with the homophonous oblique case marker *-a* of feminine kinship nouns possessed by a first person, and, as a result, comes to the conclusion that all occurrences of *-a* on kinship terms must be case-invariant first-person pertensive markers (“pronominal enclitics”) (Grjunberg 1980: 188–192). On the morphology of kinship nouns, see further section 2.3.4.11.

⁸⁷ Strand (2019: 3) claims that “So-called ‘vocative’ case forms are more properly analyzed as nominative or oblique-plural forms plus vocative particles, which also occur with verbs”, but the vocative elements can never be separated from the base and, as with other case markers, they appear only on the last element of a phrase. The homonymous particles used in utterance-final position (usually following verbs) actually have rather different functions: *-a* is the marker of the general vocative, whereas utterance-final *-a* is a polar question marker. *-o* is the marker of the familiar vocative (for both female and male addressees with a close relationship to the speaker), whereas utterance final *-o* or *ó* is an assertive particle directed only to male addressees (with a counterpart *-e* / *é* for female addressees), see section 2.10.

(59) *Dévaṇi léy palěvo gúlvaṇi ugřémōsa!*

<i>dé-vaṇi</i>	<i>ley</i>	<i>palě-v-o</i>	<i>gúl-vaṇi</i>
deity-associate.M	much	honor-PROPR-M	country-associate.M

ugřém-ōsa
citizen-VOC.PL

‘Esteemed and very honorable compatriot citizens!’ [NE]

(Axtar Program 1.1)

(60) *Ī-stë bṛasōseṇa!*

<i>ī</i>	<i>=stë</i>	<i>bṛasó-ōseṇa</i>
1SG.OBL	REF	siblings-VOC.PL

‘My siblings [in Islam]!’ [NE] (Facebook)

(61) *Kuřósa!*

kuř-ósa
child-VOC.PL

‘Children!’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg Skazka II 1.6)

(62) *Ḍağérōzo!*

ḍağér-ōzo
bad-VOC.PL

‘You evil ones!’ [SE-KM] (Lentz Kriegslied 4)

(63) *Útrějīzo*

útrë-ājī-ōzo
sonless-daughterless-VOC.PL

‘Son- and daughterless ones!’ (*this is a general expletive, not directed at anyone in particular*) [SE-KM] (Kabir Revolt 18.2)

(64) *Šámeṣ, Kamgúrōzo, jū pīlōzo!*

<i>šámeṣ</i>	<i>Kam-kúr-ōzo,</i>	<i>jū</i>	<i>pī-l-ōzo</i>
bravo	kom-child-VOC.PL	milk.DIR	drink-IPFV.PTCP-VOC.PL

‘Bravo, Kom men, milk drinkers!’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 425.2)

The familiar vocative, illustrated by examples (65) – (66), is used when the speaker wants to express affection or closeness to the addressee.

(65) *Skělíko!*

Skělík-o

PN-VOC.FAM

‘Dear Skělík!’ [NE-BG] (Morgenstierne 1967 3c)

(66) *Né žyuv, vóvo! Né žyuv, vayó!*

ne žyuv

NEG cry.IMP

vón-o

grandfather-VOC.FAM

ne žyuv

NEG cry.IMP

vayí-ō

grandmother-VOC.FAM

‘Don’t cry, dear grandpa! Don’t cry, dear grandma!’ [W-ŠT] (Kuročka Rjaba)

Vocative forms often occur preceded by an interjection *o*, *ō* or *e*, as in the examples (67) – (69).

(67) *É Xudáya*

e Xudáy-a

INTJ God-VOC

‘Oh God!’ [NE-BN/MR] (Sun-Aro Dehqan 4.7)

(68) *Ó pëvéca, tyú štri kši!*

o pëvéc-a

INTJ boy-VOC

tyu

2SG

štri

wife

kši

do.IMP.2SG

‘Hey son, get married!’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg IX 1.3)

(69) *Ó manjōzo*

o manj-ōzo

INTJ person-VOC.PL

‘Hey people!’ [SE-KM] (Kabir Revolt 13.1)

2.3.3.5 The Local Cases

There are two local cases in the Northeastern and Western dialects – locative and ablative, but only one (locative) in the Southeastern dialect. The locative is in most, but not all, forms identical to the Southeastern genitive. This produces a large degree

of syncretism in the Southeastern dialect, but not in the Western and Northeastern dialects, which do not have a separate genitive case.

The ablative of the Western and Northeastern dialects is formed from the locative in the same way that the oblique case is formed from the direct case. Since the locative and the direct case coincide in many of their forms, the ablative also shows a large degree of syncretism with the oblique case.

Despite the various syncretisms, the local cases are usually easily distinguishable due to the additional presence of the local prefix (basic form NE/W *pě-*, SE *pa-*, see section 2.7.2).⁸⁸ Only nominals that inherently refer to places (in space or time), such as e.g. many place names, spatial adjectives (2.8.6.4.2), local demonstratives (2.3.5.2) or pronominal forms such as *kor* ‘(some)where’, do not take this local prefix in the local cases. On the other hand, many nouns (especially recent loanwords) are never used with either the local prefix or the local cases. These instead take the local postposition NE *=tã*, W *=ta*, SE *=to* (see section 2.7.3.2), which is itself inflected in the local cases (without a prefix). Use of the local postposition is also available as an alternative strategy for many nouns that can otherwise appear with the local prefix.

2.3.3.5.1 The Locative Case

The function of the locative case (LOC⁸⁹) is to designate a place as either the location of an event or as a target of movement. Time and space are systematically conflated, so that places in time are treated in the same way as places in physical space. Examples (70) – (74) illustrate the use of the locative case for static location in adverbial use.

(70) *Bědó vúp silě mančísí.*

<i>bě-dó</i>	<i>vú-psi-l-ě</i>	<i>manč-í-as-i</i>
LP-mountain	↓-settle-IPFV.PTCP-M	person-DIR=COP-PST.3

‘They were people who lived in the mountains’ [NE-PC] (RTA Clothing 3.1)

⁸⁸ The local prefix often interacts phonologically with the stem in complex and sometimes unpredictable ways. It is therefore generally more important to know the rules of phonological interaction with the prefix when forming a local case form of a given noun than the rather indistinct suffixal case morphology.

⁸⁹ To save space, the gloss LOC is not added in interlinear translations when a word has no case exponent and is also already morphologically marked as a Locative by a local prefix (LP). It is also omitted with the local postposition (LPST), with local demonstratives (LDEM) and with spatial nouns (SN).

(71) *Atkí laṇṇé śéykyur vřěč kùlē mašhúr bó.*

<i>atkí</i>	<i>laṇ-ṇ</i>	<i>śéy-kyur</i>	<i>vřěč_kù-l-ṇ</i>
LDEM.DIST	bald-M	head-feet	sell-IPFV.PTCP-M.DIR

<i>mašhúr</i>	<i>b-o</i>
famous	become-PST.PFV.3SG.M

‘The bald seller of sheep’s head and feet became famous there.’ [NE]

(Afsāna King 15.12)

(72) *Iké borá=tā zaṇṇé=stē imú dyúkē iné vél=tā zarurísē.*

<i>ik-ṇ</i>	<i>borá-ō</i>	<i>=tā</i>	<i>zaṇṇé</i>	<i>=st-ṇ</i>
DEM.MED-OBL.SG.M	topic-OBL.SG	=LPST	know	=REF-DIR

<i>imú</i>	<i>dyúkē</i>	<i>iné</i>	<i>vél=tā</i>	<i>zarurí-as-ṇ</i>
1 PL.DIR/OBL	for	DEM.PROX	time=LPST	necessary=COP-3SG

‘Knowing about that is necessary for us at this time’ [NE-MR]

(Mansur Coronavirus 2.3)

(73) *Stó Ktívi móč é kěřó=č.*

<i>st-o</i>	<i>Ktívi</i>	<i>moč</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>k-ěřó</i>	<i>=č</i>
DEM.DIST-OBL.SG.F	PN.LOC	husband	so	do-PFV.PST.3SG.M	=ADD

‘And she got married in Ktívi (Kantiwā).’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg XIV 21.6)

(74) *Ōč Kómbřom jénazēm.*

<i>ōč</i>	<i>Kóm-ba-gřom</i>	<i>jě-nazēm</i>
1SG.DIR	Kom-LP-village	sit.down-PROG.PST.1SG.M

‘I was staying in Kombřom (Kāmdēš)’ [SE-KM] (Kabir Revolt 5.1)

Examples (75) – (78) demonstrate the use of the locative for the target of a movement or action in adverbial use.

(75) *Atkyě=stañ amki Simúryë stě mërě-tã ō şupşeyti stě valúkěro.*

<i>atkí-ě</i>	=stañ	<i>amkí</i>	<i>Simúry-ě</i>	<i>stě</i>
LDEM.DIST-ABL	=from	DEM.DIST.PL	Simurgh-OBL	DEM.DIST
<i>mër-ě</i>	=tã	<i>ō</i>	<i>şupş-éy-ti</i>	<i>st-ě</i>
boy-OBL.SG.M	=LPST	water	drip-CAUS-CVB	DEM.DIST-DIR
<i>valú-k-ěro</i>				
↗  ↖	-do-PFV.PST.3SG.M			

‘Then those Simurghs sprayed water on that boy and woke him up.’ [NE]
(Afsāna King 14.5)

(76) *Gějóně hár pssě yó pšólgrömě mančō samėti, [...], amkyō darbórě-tã avěň kútasi.*

<i>gějóně</i>	<i>har</i>	<i>p-ss-ě</i>	<i>yo</i>	<i>p-šól-gröm-ě</i>
therefore	every	LP-year-LOC	REFL.IND	LP-stable-village-LOC/ABL.PL
<i>manč-ō</i>	<i>samé-ti [...]</i>	<i>amkí-ō</i>	<i>darbór-ě</i>	=tã
person-OBL.PL	send-CVB	DEM.DIST.PL-OBL.PL	court-OBL	=LPST
<i>avě-ň</i>	<i>kú-tasi</i>			
bring.IMP-2PL	do-PROG.PST.3PL			

‘For that reason they were sending out people to each of the pastures and villages [...] and ordering them to bring those to the royal court.’ [NE-BN]
(Sun-Aro Spinner 19.3)

(77) *Nú-tě pşya zu paré kě, póši avé paré kě, pşinyo yúso gětyéti, yimó-kě gay ácelik-asě.*

<i>nu</i>	=tě	<i>p-şya</i>	<i>zu</i>	<i>paré</i>	<i>kě</i>
mother.DIR	=CONTR.TOP	LP-udder	milk	full	do.CVB
<i>pě-aší</i>	<i>av-é</i>	<i>paré</i>	<i>kě</i>	<i>p-şinjí-ō</i>	
LP-mouth	water-OBL.SG.M	full	do.CVB	LP-horn-LOC/ABL.PL	
<i>yús-o</i>	<i>gětyé-ti</i>	<i>yimó</i>	=kě	<i>gay</i>	
grass-OBL.PL	tie.CVB	1PL	=for	take.CVB	
<i>áče-lik-asě</i>					
come-FUT.CERT.3SG.F					

‘Our mother is going to fill her udder with milk, fill her mouth with water, tie grass to her horns and bring it to us [said the little goats]’ [W-KL]
(Grjunberg Skazka II 1.9)

(78) *É psě tóte Řamgěl é gëvó=č*

<i>e</i>	<i>p-sě</i>	<i>tót-e</i>	<i>Řamgěl</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>g-ëvó</i>	<i>=č</i>
one	LP-year	father-PERT.2	PN.LOC	so	go-PFV.PST.3SG.M	=ADD

‘And one year your father then went to Řamgěl.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg XIV 3.1)

Since the Southeastern locative is the only local case in that dialect, it also covers the functional range of the Ablative found in the other two dialects (2.3.3.5.2). In general adverbial use, where ambiguity between locative/allative and ablative meaning would arise, the postposition *-ste*~*-stě* ‘from’ has to be used to achieve ablative meaning, as in example (80), in distinction to (79). The corresponding postposition in the other two dialects (NE *-stañ* W *-stě*) would be optional, in view of the case distinction.

(79) *Ůc Uštrót atëgidi, gídi, Drayús, Yücüñ tarlēžëm.*

<i>Ůc</i>	<i>Uštrót</i>	<i>atë-gí-di</i>	<i>gí-di</i>	<i>Drayús</i>
1SG.DIR	PN.LOC	→go-CVB	go-CVB	PN.LOC
<i>Yücüñ</i>	<i>tar-lē-žëm</i>			
PN.LOC	CROSS-FUT.1SG.M			

‘Going up the side valley at Uštrót (Gawarděš), I will go and cross over to Drosh and Urtsun.’

(80) *Badiō pabiṭ-ste aní tarisě.*

<i>Ba-dīō</i>	<i>pa-piṭ</i>	<i>-ste</i>	<i>aní</i>	<i>tar-ī-stě-žě</i>
LP-PN	LP-ridge	=from	LDEM.PROX	CROSS-RES.3SG

‘It [the fighting] has crossed over from Badiō ridge to here.’

The Southeastern locative also covers the functions of the Southeastern genitive – marking the possessor in possessive constructions and general use with postpositions. This is complemented by the related, but primarily spatial functions of defining a point of origin as an adnominal modifier (both for spatial and non-spatial nouns) and use with spatial postpositions.

When Southeastern locatives are used as adnominal modifiers, whether marking a possessor or a point of origin, they usually appear with the referentializer *-stě*, as in examples (81) – (83), and more rarely without it, as in example (84). Example (85) shows the use as a modifier to a spatial noun, which only occurs without the referentializer.

(81) *Vićáduć moč Kómbřom=stě lilivok=je káči Méryoğur namyá, sáyp, yĩ.*

<i>vićáduć</i>	<i>moč</i>	<i>Kómbřom</i>	<i>=stě</i>	<i>lilivok</i>	<i>=je</i>	<i>káči</i>
20 + 10	CLF:man	PN.LOC	=REF	young.man	=and	who
<i>Méryo-kuř</i>		<i>nam-yá</i>	<i>sayp</i>	<i>yĩ</i>		
Meroňm.DNM-child.DIR		send-PFV.PST.3PL	sir	1SG.OBL		

‘Thirty young men of Kómbřom (Kāmděš) and some Meroňm (Mirděš) people I sent, sir.’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 303.1)

(82) *Amgí čĩñ=stě=de čĩñ paté bó, pũñ=stě pũñ paté bómiš-o!*

<i>amgí</i>	<i>čĩñ</i>	<i>=stě</i>	<i>=de</i>	<i>čĩñ</i>
DEM.DIST.PL	⇒-SN	=REF	=CONTR.TOP	⇒-SN
<i>paté_b-a=0</i>		<i>pũñ</i>	<i>=stě</i>	<i>pũñ</i>
remain-PFV.PST.3PL=ASS.M		↪~SN	=REF	↪~SN
<i>paté_b-omiš</i>		<i>=0</i>		
remain-PFV.PST.3PL		=ASS.M		

‘Those from upvalley remained upvalley and we from the other side of the mountains remained on the other side of the mountains!’ [SE-KM]
(Amin Jihad 610.2)

(83) *Vármumlakat=to=stě manjĩ.*

<i>vár-mumlakat</i>	<i>=to</i>	<i>=stě</i>	<i>manjĩ</i>
other-countries	=LPST	=REF	person-DIR

‘People from other countries.’ (lit. “of in other countries”) [SE-KM]
(Amin Jihad 622.86)

- (84) *Yině níň, aní níre, Kómbřom nímě dunyó=tto, šó číň=stě jahót=to níōzěň=bo, búri yimó níň manjī šó přémno.*

<i>yině</i> DEM.PROX	<i>ni-ň</i> ←-SN	<i>aní</i> LDEM.PROX	<i>ní-r-e</i> ←-SA-LOC	<i>Kómbřom</i> PN.LOC	
<i>ní-mě</i> ←-ADV.ABL		<i>dunyó=to</i> world=LPST	<i>šo</i> 2PL.DIR	<i>čí-ň</i> →-SN	<i>=stě</i> =from
<i>jahót</i> Jihad	<i>=to</i> =LPST	<i>ní-ōzěň</i> ←-come.COND.2PL	<i>=bo</i> =CNJ	<i>búri yimó</i> bread 1PL.DIR	<i>ni-ň</i> ←-SN
<i>manj-í</i> person-DIR		<i>šo-ō</i> 2PL-OBL	<i>pře-mmo</i> give-OPT.1PL		

‘If you come downvalley from upvalley for the Jihad to this world downvalley, downvalley here, downvalley from Kómbřom (Kāmděš), then we downvalley people shall give you food.’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 605.11)

- (85) *Káči manjī véň, askě gřóm=do véň, pšól, yó pšólě šarō=meš azá=bo amgí šūvo patě bistay=o.*

<i>káči</i> who	<i>manj-í</i> person-DIR	<i>ve-ň</i> →  ←-SN	<i>askě</i> DEM.DIST	<i>gřóm=to</i> village=LPST	
<i>ve-ň</i> →  ←-SN	<i>pšol</i> LP.stable	<i>yo</i> REFL.IND	<i>pšól-ě</i> LP.stable-LOC.PL	<i>šar-ō</i> livestock-GEN.PL	
<i>=meš</i> =with	<i>az-á</i> COP-MDV.3PL	<i>=bo</i> =CNJ	<i>amgí</i> DEM.DIST.PL.DIR	<i>šū-v-o</i> breath-PROPR-M	
<i>patě b-i</i> remain-RES.3PL	<i>=stě=ay</i> =ASS.M	<i>=o</i> =ASS.M			

‘The people who happened to be over this way, over this way from that village, on the pasture, on each of their pastures with the livestock, remained alive!’ [SE-PT] (Kabir/Gulāmullāh History 25.1)

Examples (86) and (87) respectively demonstrate the use with regular and spatial postpositions.

- (86) *Gabúr-ste pŕ pŕgidi-čĭ, misól, kažĕdi, kaštĭ, anĭ-ŋe avĕřĕstā, anĭ-ŋe.*
Gabúr =ste *p-ŕr* *pŕ-gi-di* =čĭ *misól*
 PN.LOC =from LP-direction ʘ~go-CVB =ADD example
kažĕ-di *kaš-tĭ* *anĭ* =ŋe *av-ĕřĕ-stĕ-ā*
 scrape-CVB scrape-CVB LDEM.PROX =for bring-RES.3PL
anĭ =ŋe
 LDEM.PROX =for

‘And they went over the mountains from Gabur, for example, and stole, and stole and brought things for here, for here.’ [SE-KM]

(Kabir/Gulāmullāh History 29.8)

- (87) *Volĭ nāzo, pamŕtĕ.*
volĭ *na-āz-ŕ* *p-amŕ-atĕ*
 governor.DIR NEG=COP-MDV.3SG.M LP-house=→

‘[It turned out that] the governor wasn’t there, in the house.’ [SE-KM]

(Amin Jihad 26.3)

2.3.3.5.2 The Ablative Case

Where the locative is used to refer to a place as either the location of an event or as a target of movement, the ablative is used to refer to a place as a point of origin. As with the locative, places in time are treated in the same way as physical places.

It can be used adverbially both with normal verbs, as in examples (88) and (89), and with verbs that have spatial prefixes, as in examples (90) and (91).

- (88) *Imú mančĭ kŭř kŭyā-di pšĕy tĕlay, kŭfr vĕl-tā būti, xŕ inĕ Islŕmĕ ptyŕĕ skŕl bĭssĕ.*
imú manč-ĭ *kuř* *kŭyā* =di *p-šĕy*
 1PL person-DIR hat earlier =ADD.FOC LP-head
tĕ-lĕ-ay *kufr* *vel* =tā-ŕ *bŭ-ti* *xŕ*
 put-IPFV.3PL unbelief time =LPST-ABL become-CVB but
in-ĕ *Islŕm-ĕ* *pŕĭ-ŕĕ* *skŕl b-i-stĕ-asĕ*
 DEM.PROX-DIR Islam-OBL back-direction much become-RES.3SG

‘Our people also wore hats in earlier times, since the time of unbelief, but this has become more after Islam.’ [NE-PC] (RTA Clothing 18.3)

(89) *Ni tól kóre avóy?*

ni tol kór-e av-ó=ey
 DEM.PROX pot[M].DIR where-ABL bring-PFV.PST.3SG=CONS

‘From where did you bring this pot?’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg Skazka I 3.5)

(90) *Yéme pëřúmčũře avé stó=ta pëmyúkdũro pášeyey=č.*

yéme pë-řúm-čũř-e av-ě st-o =ta
 1SG.OBL LP-lap-end-ABL water-DIR DEM.DIST-OBL.SG.F =LPST
pë-myúkdũro pá-áš-e-yē=ey =č
 LP-face ←  →-throw-CAUS-PFV.PST.3SG.F=CORR =ADD

‘And so I splashed the water from the lap of my shirt into her face.’ [W-KL]
 (Grjunberg IX 2.8)

(91) *Věcô amčéyiti, štrí gálě přayí=bo, stó pamúře bërúščölě.*

věcô amč-éyi-ti štri gál-l-ě
 shoe.DIR wear-CAUS-CVB wife take.away-IPFV.PTCP-M.DIR
přa-í =bo st-o p-amúř-e
 arrive-COND.3 =CNJ DEM.DIST-OBL.SG.F LP-house-ABL
bërú-ščí-ô-lě
 ←-head-CAUS-IPFV/FUT.3

‘Having put shoes on her, when the bride-fetchers have arrived, they bring her out of the house.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg II 4.6)

The ablative case also covers the non-structural functions of the general oblique case (2.3.3.1.2) – marking of the possessor in possessive constructions and use with postpositions (except *-u*). This is complemented by the related, but primarily spatial functions as an adnominal modifier that defines a point of origin for its head noun (both for spatial and non-spatial nouns) and use with spatial postpositions.

A local expression as a possessor is often semantically very close to an adnominal modifier expressing a point of origin, with examples like (92) and (93) being closer to pure possessive constructions, examples like (94) and (95) being more spatial, and usage as modifier to a spatial noun, as in (96) and (97), being purely spatial.

(92) *Pĩ Ěamgěle manči-di stáře-stě mēkēti átti Kulém áya.*

<i>pi-ř</i>	<i>Ěamgěl-e</i>	<i>manč-í</i>	<i>=di</i>	<i>stář-e</i>
↖  ↗-SN	PN-ABL	person-DIR	=ADD.FOC	LDEM.DIST-ABL
<i>=stě</i>	<i>mēké-ti</i>	<i>ác-ti</i>	<i>Kulém</i>	<i>á-ya</i>
=from	flee-CVB	come-CVB	PN.LOC	come-PFV.PST.3PL

‘The people of Ěamgěl on the other side of the mountains fled from there and came to Kulem’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg I 5.4)

(93) *Mančí mēřě-bo pēnúšte mančo čor kí syó: [...]*

<i>mančí</i>	<i>m-ěřě</i>	<i>=bo</i>	<i>pē-núšt-e</i>	<i>manč-ó</i>
person-DIR	die-COND.3.M	=CNJ	LP-first-ABL	person-OBL.PL
<i>čor</i>	<i>kí as-yó</i>			[...]
custom.DIR	DEM.MED.DIR	COP-MDV.3SG.M		

‘When a person died, [they say that] the custom of the people of former times was this: [...].’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg I 2.2)

(94) *é pštórě kón*

<i>e</i>	<i>p-štór-ě</i>	<i>kón</i>
one	LP-quiver-ABL	arrow

‘arrows from one quiver’ [an idiom meaning “people that are similar to each other”]
[NE-MR] (Mansur Proverbs 9)

(95) *Bězéré vėryě júkuřpěrmeňō-tā né kšiň.*

<i>bě-zér-ē</i>	<i>vėrī-ē</i>	<i>júkuř-pěrmeň-ō</i>
LP-heart-ABL	speech-OBL.SG	woman-child-OBL.PL
<i>=tā</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>kši-ň</i>
=LPST	NEG	do.IMP-2PL

‘Don’t speak from the heart to women and children.’ [NE-MR]
(Mansur Proverbs 110)

(96) *Kašmírě váň*

<i>Kašmír-ě</i>	<i>va-ň</i>
PN-ABL	→  ←-SN

‘this side of Kashmir’ [NE-PC] (RTA Clothing 2.13)

(97) *Púčsad ssē-tā vāñ*

<i>púč-sad</i>	<i>ss-ē</i>	<i>=tā-ō</i>	<i>va-ñ</i>
five-hundred	year-OBL.PL	=LPST-ABL	→  ←-SN

‘since five hundred years ago’ [NE-PC] (RTA Clothing 28.7)

The following examples demonstrate the use with regular ((98)-(104)) and spatial (105) postpositions.

(98) *Stě béri purdíki=tā=stañ=je vārē-di bérō=tā=stañ bēdyúr pēlējēmu.*

<i>stě</i>	<i>bér-i</i>	<i>purdíki-i</i>	<i>=tā-ō</i>	<i>=stañ</i>	<i>=je</i>
DEM.DIST	crazy-F	old.woman-OBL	=LPST-ABL	=from	=and
<i>vārē</i>	<i>=di</i>	<i>bér-ō</i>	<i>=tā-ō</i>	<i>=stañ</i>	<i>bē-dyúr</i>
other	=ADD.FOC	crazy-OBL.PL	=LPST-ABL	=from	LP-far

pēlējē-mu
move-OPT.1PL

‘Let us move far away from this crazy old woman and also from other crazy people’ [NE-BN] (Sun-Aro Hawk 11.8)

(99) *Děmyé bozóre=taře=stě turí vuñtó.*

<i>Děmí-e</i>	<i>bozór-e</i>	<i>=taře-e</i>	<i>=stě</i>
PN-OBL.SG.M	market-OBL.SG.M	=LPST-ABL	=from
<i>turí</i>	<i>vuñ-tó</i>		
yogurt[M].DIR	take-PFV.PST.3SG.M		

‘Děmi bought yogurt from the market’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg OR-33B 1.13)

(100) *Řúčameše Břěbúce=stě nígě Aspít é gēvé=č.*

<i>řúčameše</i>	<i>Bě-břuc-e</i>	<i>=stě</i>	<i>ní-gě</i>	<i>Aspít</i>
morning.DIR	LP-meadow-ABL	=from	≤ _o -go.CVB	PN.LOC
<i>e</i>	<i>g-ěvé</i>	<i>=č</i>		
so	go-PFV.PST.1.M	=ADD		

‘And so, in the morning, going downvalley from Břěbuč⁹⁰, we went to Aspít (Islāmpet)’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg VIII 4.4)

⁹⁰ A place name with the literal meaning “on the meadow”.

- (101) *Křúyi súlivor – atýě-tã=vik.*

křúy-i *súli-vor* *atí-ē* *=tã-ō*
 dog-OBL blood.brother-ness.DIR bone-OBL.SG =LPST-ABL
=vik
 =until

‘The friendship of the dog [lasts] up until the bone.’ [NE-MR]
 (Mansur Proverbs 375)

- (102) *Ye pëdváy Aslám, Péřuk bëřře=yik átti, stá=vu bépěľnyoy=č.*

ye *pëdváy* *Aslám* *Péřuk* *bëřř-e*
 1SG.OBL wayfellow PN.DIR LP.PN ←-SN-ABL
=yik *ác-ti* *stá* *=vu*
 =until come-CVB LDEM.DIST =PHOR
bé-pěľnyó=ey *=č*
 ←-move-PFV.PST.3SG.M=CONS =ADD

‘My traveling companion Aslam came along up to the lower part of the
 Peřuk side valley, and turned back there.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg V 7.10)

- (103) *Kuří skól amú-kě vřátě, é čók pamú-kě.*

kuří *skol* *amú* *=kě* *vřá-tě* *e* *čók*
 dog.DIR much REFL =for bark-PROG.3SG one bit
p-amú-ō *=kě*
 LP-house-ABL =for

‘The dog barks a lot for himself and little for the house.’ [NE-MR]
 (Mansur Proverbs 374)

- (104) *Súv gó vëcópčič azór bá kě, ladíro gó gáyiti ptóy=č, vëcópuč bëdíse-kě
 vúpsinay kě.*

suv *go* *vëcóp-čič* *azór* *b-a*
 all cow 20 + -15 1000 become-PFV.PST.3PL
kě *ladír-o* *go* *gáyiti*
 do.CVB mediator-OBL.PL cow take.away-CVB
p-to=ey *=č* *vëcóp-puč* *bë-dí-s-e* *=kě*
 give-PFV.PST.3SG.M=CONS =ADD 20 + -5 LP-next-year-ABL =for
vú-psi-ná=ey *kě*
 ↓-settle-PFV.PST.3PL=CONS do.CVB

‘Saying that all the cows came to [a value of] 35 thousand, the mediators took the cows and gave them to him, saying that 25 [thousand] remained [outstanding] for the next year.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg IX 41.6)

- (105) *Dréy kě řadóra yimó palúpetey=č, ki aní břegóme=palu káy věrísě kě.*
drey kě řadór-a yimó
 later do.CVB night-OBL.SG.F 1PL
palú-pé-tě-ey =č ki aní
 ↖  ↗ -depart-PFV.PST.1.M=CONS =ADD that LDEM.PROX
bě-ğróm-e =palu káy věrī-as-ě kě
 LP-village-ABL = ↖  ↗ what speech.DIR=COP-3SG do.CVB

‘Later, at night, we went up across the slope, to see what was going on there above the village.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg IX 21.9)

2.3.4 Noun Inflection

This section describes the formation of case forms for the various inflectional classes of nouns. The same inflectional classes are also relevant for the inflection of pronouns, but a number of irregularities make it necessary to treat pronouns separately (section 2.3.5). Similarities in inflection with nouns are remarked upon there and cross-referenced in the relevant cases.

In the two Eastern dialects the inflectional class of a noun is in most cases directly predictable from its phonological form (in the direct case). The major exceptions to this are the gender-variant *-ě* declension (2.3.4.3), where singular case suffixes vary based on gender and nouns ending in *-ř* or *-ň* in the direct case, which may belong to either of two classes, the consonantal declension (2.3.4.1) or the group of stem-stressed *-ř/-ň* stems within the *-ě* declension (2.3.4.3.2).

In the Western dialect, knowing the gender of a noun is essential to predicting its inflection. Though the inflectional classes are roughly similar to those of the two Eastern dialects, singular case suffixes always differ according to gender.

A single cognate noun may belong to different inflectional classes across dialects. An instructive example of this is the word for ‘horse’: Western *vušp* belongs to the masculine or feminine consonantal declension, depending on the sex of the animal; Northeastern *ušúp* belongs to the consonantal declension regardless of sex; Southeastern *vúšpě* belongs to the *-ě* Declension in its masculine or feminine variant, depending on the sex of the animal. Nevertheless, this variation across dialects is

predictable, since it almost always follows fixed criteria of phonological form and gender, with historical irregularities interfering only in a few special cases.

In the following, the Eastern inflectional systems are treated together, whereas the Western correspondences to each of the Eastern inflectional classes are considered separately. In order to demonstrate the full variety of possible case forms, every inflectional class has to be demonstrated with at least one inanimate noun (for the instrumental case) and one animate noun (for the vocative case). Where a given form is not attested in the corpus data, hypothetical forms are cited based on general patterns. These are marked as unattested by an asterisk (*). The most frequently unattested form is the vocative plural. The familiar vocative is so sparsely attested that only the general vocative forms can be given in the inflection tables. They can easily be transformed into familiar forms by replacing the final *-a* with *-o*. The forms of the local cases are not shown in the tables for animate nouns, though animate nouns do appear in the local cases, albeit rarely.

2.3.4.1 The Eastern Consonantal Declension (NE, SE)

All nouns ending in a consonant, including recent loanwords,⁹¹ belong to the consonantal declension. The only exception to this rule is formed by some words ending in a retroflex approximant (*-ř* or *-ň*) which have historically lost a final vowel *-ě* in the direct case, but still inflect like *-ě* nouns (2.3.4.3.1). Gender is irrelevant to inflection in the Eastern consonantal declension. According to Strand (2019: 13) in the Southeastern dialect around 39% of nouns belong to this declension, which would make it the second-largest inflectional class.

The basic inflectional pattern of the consonantal declension is shown for the Northeastern dialect in Table 24 (inanimate) & Table 26 (animate) and for the Southeastern dialect in Table 25 (inanimate) & Table 27 (animate).

The two dialects have developed opposite case syncretisms: In the Northeast, the oblique singular and plural are homonymous, but the instrumental is distinct; in the Southeast, the oblique plural and the instrumental are homonymous, but the oblique singular is distinct. The Southeastern genitive overlaps with the direct case form in the singular and with the oblique case form in the plural. In the locative, a plural form

⁹¹ But cf. the optional inflection pattern for recent loanwords with stem-final consonant clusters described in section 2.3.4.12.

is distinguished from the singular, which in the Northeastern dialect is homonymous with the ablative form (singular and plural).

For those members of the class with a stem ending in a nasal consonant, the nasalization contrast on the case endings is neutralized, since all vowels after a nasal consonant are automatically nasalized (cf. section 2.1.1.4). Consequently, there is no contrast between SE OBL.SG -*ě* and OBL.PL -*ě* in their inflection.

Southeastern consonant lenition (2.1.2.10) applies to the stem-final consonant in the consonantal declension, with the alternations -*k* ~ -*ǵ*-, -*s* ~ -*z*-, -*ʃ* ~ -*ʒ* and -*š* ~ -*ž*-. The central (non-Mumo) Southeastern dialect also has the alternation -*t* ~ -*r*- and the dialect of Kombřom (Kāmděš) has -*p* ~ -*b*-.

	Singular	Plural
Direct	voṭ	
Oblique	vóṭ-ě	
Instrumental	vóṭ-ě	
Locative	pě-vóṭ	
Ablative	pě-vóṭ-ě	

Table 24. Eastern consonantal declension - Northeastern inflection of voṭ ‘stone’ (inanimate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	voṭ	
Genitive		
Oblique	vóṭ-ě MM: vóṭ-ě	vóṭ-ě MM: vóṭ-ě
Instrumental		
Locative	pa-vóṭ	pa-vóṭ-ě MM: pa-vóṭ-ě

Table 25. Eastern consonantal declension - Southeastern inflection of voṭ ‘stone’ (inanimate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	mer	
Oblique	mér-ě	
Vocative	mér-a	*mér-ě-sa, *mér-ě-seña

Table 26. Eastern consonantal declension - Northeastern inflection of mer ‘king, ruler’ (animate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	mer	
Genitive		
Oblique	mer-ě	mer-ě
Vocative	*mér-a	*mér-ě-zo

Table 27. Eastern consonantal declension - Southeastern inflection of mer ‘king, ruler’ (animate)

2.3.4.1.1 Alternating -v Stems

This subtype of the consonantal declension contains nouns with a historical stem-final -v, which has disappeared in word-final position in the two Eastern dialects, leaving behind vowel length. The historical -v is retained, and vowel length is absent, before vowel-initial case suffixes or enclitics. It can also be restored in the direct case form, when the word is consciously enunciated in isolation. The orthographies that are currently in use tend to write the -v also in the direct case form. The case endings are the same as in the regular consonantal declension.

In the Northeastern dialect this group includes nouns in -ā ~ -av- (dā ‘wood’), -ō ~ -ov- (e.g. cō ‘branch’, alō ‘squash’), -ē ~ -ev- (e.g. uncē ‘water spring’, děcē ‘bifurcation’⁹²), -ū ~ -uv- (e.g. ktyū ‘bowl’) and possibly also -ō̃ ~ -ōv- (in tō̃ ‘clay pot’). The situation in the Southeastern dialect is roughly the same, but the alternation -ē ~ -ev- appears only in the nominalized numeral ē ‘one’ and the alternation -ū ~ -uv- is absent (Strand 2019: 17, 26).⁹³

Table 28 & Table 29 show the inflection of inanimate alternating -v Stems, respectively in the Northeastern and Southeastern dialects. There are no animate alternating -v Stems, but a vocative form óv-a of ō ‘water’ is attested in both Eastern dialects.

⁹² These are originally compounds containing the -ō ~ -ov- nouns ō ‘water’ and cō ‘branch’ as their final member, but the formation is no longer transparent.

⁹³ The -v is retained in all positions in the Western dialect (w dav, cov, alov, vëncëv, děcëv, ktyuv etc.). The Western sequence -uv (w ktyuv ‘bowl’) corresponds to NE -ū ~ -uv- (NE ktyū ~ ktyuv- ‘bowl’) but SE non-alternating -ū (SE karŭ ‘bowl’).

	Singular	Plural
Direct	ċō (ċov=)	
Oblique	ċóv-ě	
Instrumental	*ċóv-ě	
Locative	p-ċō (p-ċov=)	
Ablative	p-ċóv-ě	

Table 28. Eastern consonantal declension (-v alternation) - Northeastern inflection of ċō ‘branch’ (inanimate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	ċō (ċov=)	
Genitive		
Oblique	ċóv-ě	ċóv-ě̃
Instrumental		
Locative	pa-ċó (pa-ċóv=)	pa-ċóv-ě̃

Table 29. Eastern consonantal declension (-v alternation) - Southeastern inflection of ċō ‘branch’ (inanimate)

The word *ō* ‘water’, which otherwise falls into this class, has a dialectally distinct irregular local case inflection, which ends in *-e* in the Locative (Table 30).⁹⁴ In the Southeastern dialect the stem of this form is *oy-* instead of *ov-* (Table 31).

	Singular
Locative	p-óv-e
Ablative	p-óv-ē

Table 30. Eastern consonantal declension (-v alternation) – Northeastern local case inflection of *ō* ‘water’

	Singular
Locative	p-óy-e

Table 31. Eastern consonantal declension (-v alternation) - Southeastern local case inflection of *ō* ‘water’

2.3.4.1.2 Palatal Stems

This subclass of the consonantal declension contains nouns ending in a palatal consonant (i.e. *-č*, *-š*, *-y*⁹⁵ or the sequence *-ik*). These follow the rule of central vowel

⁹⁴ Note that the word for ‘water’ in the Western dialect is *avě*. At least the Northeastern form *póve* would be completely regular as a locative to a direct case form *avě*.

⁹⁵ In the central (non-Mumo) Southeastern dialect only words ending in *-uy* (e.g. *luy* ‘blood’) and *-ěy* (e.g. *aděy* ‘undried, unbaked’) as well as interdialectal borrowings, like the Northeastern place name

palatalization (2.1.5.2.1), which has the result that the central vowels of case suffixes (and enclitics) are turned into *i* in the inflectional forms. In the Southeastern dialect this includes the instrumental/oblique plural ending *-ẽ* (> *-ĩ*), whereas in the Northeastern dialect the Instrumental ending *-ẽ* remains unaffected, since it does not contain a central vowel. Otherwise the forms are equivalent to those of the regular consonantal declension, as can be seen in Table 32 – Table 35.

	Singular	Plural
Direct	duy	
Oblique	dúy-i	
Instrumental	dúy-ẽ	
Locative	bu-dúy	
Ablative	bu-dúy-i	

Table 32. Eastern consonantal declension (palatal) - Northeastern inflection of duy ‘hand’ (inanimate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	puṇḍrík	
Genitive		
Oblique	puṇḍríḡ-i	puṇḍríḡ-ĩ
Instrumental		
Locative	*pa-púṇḍrik KM: *pa-búṇḍrik	*pa-púṇḍriḡ-ĩ KM: *pa-búṇḍriḡ-ĩ

Table 33. Eastern consonantal declension (palatal) - Southeastern inflection of puṇḍrík ‘bullet’ (inanimate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	pšaš	
Oblique	pšáš-i	
Vocative	pšáš-a	*pšáš-i-sa, *pšáš-i-seña

Table 34. Eastern consonantal declension (palatal) - Northeastern inflection of pšaš ‘cat’ (animate)

Apčáy (Afsay), follow this pattern (Strand 2019: 23, 25), whereas nouns in (historical) *-ay* and *-ey* have a phonological alternation in the stem as explained in section 2.3.4.1.2.1.

	Singular	Plural
Direct	pšaš	
Genitive		
Oblique	pšáž-i	pšáž-ĩ
Vocative	*pšáž-a	*pšáž-ĩ-zo

Table 35. Eastern consonantal declension (palatal) - Southeastern inflection of pšaš ‘cat’ (animate)

2.3.4.1.2.1 Alternating -y Stems (SE, except SE-MM)

This central (non-Mumo) Southeastern subtype of the consonantal declension contains nouns with a historical stem-final -y after *a* or *e*, which has disappeared in word-final position in that dialect, leaving behind vowel length. The historical -y is retained, and vowel length absent, before vowel-initial case suffixes and enclitics. The case endings are the same as in the consonantal declension of other palatal stems, as Table 36 and Table 37 show.

	Singular	Plural
Direct	şē (sey=)	
Genitive		
Oblique	şéy-i	şéy-ĩ
Instrumental		
Locative	pa-żé (pa-żéy=)	pa-żéy-ĩ

Table 36. Eastern consonantal declension – non-Mumo Southeastern inflection of şē ‘head’ (inanimate)

	Singular
Direct	Xudá
Genitive	
Oblique	Xudáy-i
Vocative	Xudáy-a

Table 37. Eastern consonantal declension – non-Mumo Southeastern inflection of Xudá ‘God’ (animate)

2.3.4.1.2.2 NE kuří ‘dog’

The Northeastern noun *kuří* ‘dog’ has a stem alternation with *křúy-* as the stem for non-direct cases, which are accordingly formed by the pattern of palatal stems (see Table 38). I could not detect this alternation in any other nouns. Similar words such as *agúňi* ‘ungrateful’, *daří* ‘beard’ etc. are normal -i stems.

	Singular	Plural
Direct	kuří	
Oblique	křúy-i	
Vocative	křúy-a	*křúy-i-sa

Table 38. Irregular inflection of NE kuří / křúy- ‘dog’

2.3.4.1.3 Rounding Stems (SE)

In the Southeastern dialect, nouns ending in *-uk* follow the Southeastern rule of central vowel rounding (see section 2.1.5.2.3), which has the result that the central vowels of case suffixes are turned into *u* in the inflection of these nouns. Otherwise the case endings are those of the regular consonant declension, as Table 39 – Table 40 show. In the Northeastern dialect these nouns follow the regular consonantal declension.

	Singular	Plural
Direct	sundúk	
Genitive		sundúğ-ũ
Oblique	sundúğ-u	
Instrumental		
Locative	pa-zúnduk	*pa-zúnduğ-ũ

Table 39. Eastern consonantal declension - Southeastern rounding inflection of sundúk ‘box’ (inanimate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	purdúk	
Genitive		purdúğ-ũ
Oblique	purdúğ-u	
Vocative	*purdúğ-a	*purdúğ-ũ-zo

Table 40. Eastern consonantal declension - Southeastern rounding inflection of purdúk ‘old man’ (animate)

2.3.4.1.4 Alternating -ST Stems (SE)

In the Southeastern dialect, nouns originally ending in one of the sibilant-plosive sequences *št* or *řt* optionally lose the plosive in word-final position. The resulting sibilant-final form is also used as the stem for non-direct cases by some speakers (Strand 2019: 14). If the newly stem-final sibilant is *š*, central vowel palatalization

comes into effect, producing a palatal stem, as in Table 41. Otherwise only the form of the stem is affected by the variation, as in Table 42.

	Singular	Plural
Direct	düş ~ düšt	dúžĩ ~ dúště ⁹⁶
Genitive		
Oblique	dúži ~ dúště	
Instrumental		
Locative	ba-dúš ~ ba-dúšt	*ba-dúž-ĩ ~ *ba-dúšt-ě

Table 41. Eastern consonantal declension - Southeastern stem-alternating inflection of düş ~ düšt ‘hand’ (inanimate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	ješ ~ ješt	- ⁹⁷
Genitive		
Oblique	jęz-ě ~ ješt-ě	
Vocative	*jęz-a ~ ješt-a	

Table 42. Eastern consonantal declension - Southeastern stem-alternating inflection of ješ ~ ješt ‘leader’ (animate)

2.3.4.2 The Eastern Vocalic Declension

In the two Eastern dialects, all nouns ending in a vowel other than -ě or -i, including recent loanwords, belong to the vocalic declension. According to Strand (2019: 20), it comprises around 47% of nouns in the Southeastern dialect, making it the largest of all declensions, though the proportion in the Northeastern dialect is most likely not as high. Nouns in -ě form the separate -ě Declension (2.3.4.3) in both Eastern dialects. Nouns with a direct case form in -i are either -ě Nouns with a stem-final palatal (2.3.4.3.3), or -i stems. The latter are part of the vocalic declension in the Southeastern dialect, but in the Northeastern dialect they form a separate -i declension (2.3.4.5). In the vocalic declension the oblique case singular is formed by lengthening the stem-final vowel and the oblique case plural is formed by lengthening and nasalization. The instrumental is homophonous with the oblique plural, and the vocative singular is

⁹⁶ According to Strand (2019: 14), the instrumental form is “normally” *düště*, not *dúži*.

⁹⁷ The plural form of this word is usually supplied by the collective formation *jęzmiješ(t)*, with the plural oblique/Genitive form *jęzmiježě ~ jęzmiještě*.

homophonous with the oblique singular. The Southeastern genitive has the same syncretisms as in the consonantal declension (genitive singular = direct singular, genitive plural = oblique plural). For the Southeastern dialect, the vocalic declension could be considered a subtype of the same pattern found in the consonantal declension, since the long vowel in the oblique/genitive forms could be the result of coalescence of the stem vowel with the -*ě* vowel of the case suffixes, but this relation is not as evident in the Northeastern dialect, where the consonantal oblique plural is not nasalized, whereas the vocalic oblique plural is. Similarly, the Northeastern dialect has three local case forms in the vocalic declension, distinguishing the ablative singular from a general plural form, whereas in the consonantal declension there are only two. In the vocalic declension, as in the consonantal declension, gender is irrelevant to inflection.

Table 43 – Table 50 exemplify the inflectional pattern of the vocalic declension in the two Eastern dialects with various vowel qualities.

	Singular	Plural
Direct	du	
Oblique	dū	dũ
Instrumental		
Locative	bu-dú	*bu-dũ̇
Ablative	bu-dũ̇	

Table 43. Eastern vocalic declension - Northeastern inflection of du ‘door’ (inanimate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	du	
Genitive		
Oblique	dū	dũ
Instrumental		
Locative	ba-dú	*ba-dũ̇

Table 44. Eastern vocalic declension - Southeastern inflection of du ‘door’ (inanimate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	mantiqá	
Oblique	mantiqá̃	mantiqá̃̃
Instrumental		

Table 45. Eastern vocalic declension - Northeastern inflection of mantiqá ‘region’ (inanimate)⁹⁸

	Singular	Plural
Direct	latrí	
Genitive		latrí̃̃
Oblique	latrí̃	
Instrumental		

Table 46. Eastern vocalic declension - Southeastern inflection of latrí ‘thing’ (inanimate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	ve	
Oblique	vē	vē̃̃
Vocative		*vē̃̃-sa, *vē̃̃-seña

Table 47. Eastern vocalic declension - Northeastern inflection of ve ‘female sheep’ (animate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	ve	
Genitive		vē̃̃
Oblique	vē	
Vocative		

Table 48. Eastern vocalic declension - Southeastern inflection of ve ‘female sheep’ (animate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	go	
Oblique	gō	gō̃̃
Vocative		*gō̃̃-sa, *gō̃̃-seña

Table 49. Eastern vocalic declension - Northeastern inflection of go ‘cow’ (animate)

⁹⁸ Nouns ending in -a are usually recent loanwords, as is also the case here.

	Singular	Plural
Direct	go	
Genitive		
Oblique	gō	gō̃
Vocative		*gō̃-zo

Table 50. Eastern vocalic declension - Southeastern inflection of go ‘cow’ (animate)

2.3.4.2.1 Long Vowel Stems (SE)

This subtype of the vocalic declension contains all nouns with stems ending in a long oral vowel, except those with alternating stems (cf. sections 2.3.4.1.1 and 2.3.4.1.2.1). It has fewer case forms since the oblique singular cannot be distinguished from the direct case form via lengthening. Non-alternating stems ending in a long vowel are not attested in the Northeastern dialect.

	Singular	Plural
Direct	kaṛú	kaṛú
Genitive		
Oblique		
Instrumental		
Locative	pa-kṭú	pa-kṭú

Table 51. Eastern vocalic declension (long) - Southeastern inflection of kaṛú ‘bowl’ (inanimate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	vačí	
Genitive		
Oblique		vačí̃
Vocative		*vačí̃-zo

Table 52. Eastern vocalic declension (long) - Southeastern inflection of vačí ‘male monal pheasant’ (animate)

2.3.4.2.2 Nasal Vowel Stems

This subtype of the vocalic declension contains all nouns with stems ending in a short nasalized vowel or in a sequence of nasal consonant and short vowel. Nouns ending in -ě or -ẽ belong to the -ě declension and are therefore excepted. The Northeastern

dialect has no nouns in *-ě*. Stems ending in *-ĩ* are excepted in the Northeastern dialect, since they belong to the *-i* Declension.

Nasal vowel stems have fewer case forms since the oblique and ablative plural cannot be distinguished from the singular via nasalization. The same pattern appears when the stem-final vowel is nasalized by a preceding nasal consonant (see Table 57 & Table 58). In such cases the nasalization contrast is neutralized and the nasalization is not shown in the phonemic transcription, but phonetically the same thing applies as in cases with contrastive nasalization.

	Singular	Plural
Direct	sõ	
Oblique	sõ̃	
Instrumental		
Locative	p-só̋	
Ablative	p-sõ̋	

Table 53. Eastern vocalic declension (nasal) - Northeastern inflection of *sõ* ‘mountain pasture’ (inanimate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	sõ	
Genitive		
Oblique	sõ̃	
Instrumental		
Locative	pa-zó̋	pa-zõ̋

Table 54. Eastern vocalic declension (nasal) - Southeastern inflection of *sõ* ‘mountain pasture’ (inanimate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	šũ	
Oblique	šũ̃	
Instrumental		

Table 55. Eastern vocalic declension (nasal) - Northeastern inflection of *šũ* ‘breath, life, soul’ (inanimate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	šũ	
Genitive		
Oblique	šũ	
Instrumental		

Table 56. Eastern vocalic declension (nasal) - Southeastern inflection of šũ 'breath, life, soul' (inanimate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	aŋó [ʔa'ŋõ]	
Oblique	aŋó [ʔa'ŋõ:]	
Instrumental		
Locative	p-aŋó [pa'ŋõ]	
Ablative	p-aŋó [pa'ŋõ:]	

Table 57. Eastern vocalic declension (nasal) - Northeastern inflection of aŋó 'fire' (inanimate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	aŋó [ʔa'ŋõ]	
Genitive		
Oblique	aŋó [ʔa'ŋõ:]	
Instrumental		
Locative	póŋo [p'õŋõ]	póŋo [p'õŋõ:]

Table 58. Eastern vocalic declension (nasal) - Southeastern inflection of aŋó 'fire' (inanimate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	Přasyě	
Oblique	Přasyě	Přasyě
Vocative		*Přasyě-sa, *Přasyě-seňa

Table 59. Eastern vocalic declension (nasal) - Northeastern inflection of Přasyě 'Prasun/Pārūnī person' (animate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	Přazũ	
Genitive		
Oblique	Přazũ	
Vocative		*Přazũ-zo

Table 60. Eastern vocalic declension - Southeastern inflection of Přazũ 'Prasun/Pārūnī person' (animate)

The Northeastern local postposition =tã (2.7.3.2) is also part of this inflection class (see Table 61).

	Singular
Locative	=tã
Ablative	=tã̃

Table 61. Eastern vocalic declension - Northeastern inflection of the local postposition =tã

There is a special Northeastern instrumental form *ačěň*, used in contexts such as that in example (106), which has not been recorded for other words. The paradigm of *ačě* is therefore as shown in Table 62. The instrumental of *ačě* is regular in the Southeastern dialect (*ačě̃*)

- (106) *Ačěň né vaňyô musỗ=di štěň né mņeň.* *~~~~~*
ačě-ň *ne* *vaň-yô* *mus-ỗ* *=di*
 eye-INS NEG see-CVB.NEG mouse-OBL.PL =ADD.FOC
štěň *né* *mņe-ň*
 thief.DIR NEG call.IMP-2PL

‘Don’t call even mice thieves, without having seen it with the eyes.’

[NE-MR] (Mansur Proverbs 38)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	<i>ačě</i>	
Oblique	<i>ačě̃</i>	
Instrumental	<i>ačěň</i>	
Locative	<i>póčě</i>	
Ablative	<i>póčě̃</i>	

Table 62. Eastern vocalic declension (nasal) - Northeastern inflection of *ačě* ‘eye’ (inanimate)

2.3.4.2.3 Nasal Long Vowel Stems (Eastern Invariant Nouns)

This subtype of the vocalic declension contains all nouns with stems ending in a long nasalized vowel or a nasal consonant followed by a long vowel. They are completely invariant since the oblique case forms cannot be distinguished from the direct case via lengthening and the oblique plural cannot be distinguished from the singular via nasalization. The “inflectional paradigm” is shown in Table 63 and Table 64.

	Singular	Plural
Direct	miš [̇] ō	
Oblique		
Instrumental		

Table 63. Eastern Vocalic Declension (invariant) - Northeastern inflection of miš[̇]ō 'lie' (inanimate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	miž [̇] ō	
Genitive		
Oblique		
Instrumental		

Table 64. Eastern Vocalic Declension (invariant) - Southeastern inflection of miž[̇]ō 'lie' (inanimate)

2.3.4.3 The Eastern Gender-Variant -*ě* Declension (-*ō̃* Plurals)

In the two Eastern dialects the vast majority of nouns ending in -*ě* belongs to the gender-variant -*ě* Declension. The final -*ě* of these nouns is not part of the stem but a separate direct case suffix. The gender-variant -*ě* declension is the only Eastern declension in which the gender of a noun is relevant for its inflection.

According to Strand (2019: 6), it is the third largest declension, at least in the Southeastern dialect, comprising around 14% of all nouns. It also includes all nominalized masculine adjectives in -*ě*, the referentializer -*stě* and all demonstrative pronouns.

The masculine variant of the usual -*ě* declension paradigm is shown in Table 65 – Table 68. The Southeastern paradigm notably distinguishes separate direct and genitive singular forms and separate instrumental and oblique plural forms (unlike the consonantal and vocalic declensions). The singular non-direct case suffixes all have the vowel quality *e*, whereas the plural non-direct suffixes have the quality *o*. The locative singular ending is identical with that of the genitive in the Southeastern paradigm, but unique within the Northeastern paradigm.

	Singular	Plural
Direct	dëvër-é	
Oblique	dëvër-é	*dëvër-ô
Instrumental	*dëvër-ë	
Locative	bë-rër-e	*bë-rër-ô
Ablative	*bë-rër-ē	

Table 65. Eastern -ë declension (-ô plural, masculine) - Northeastern inflection of dëvërë ‘plain (n.), flat’ (inanimate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	baṛ-é	
Genitive	baṛ-é	baṛ-ô
Oblique	baṛ-é	
Instrumental	baṛ-ë	
Locative	ba-bṭ-é	*ba-bṭ-ô

Table 66. Eastern -ë declension (-ô plural, masculine) - Southeastern inflection of baṛé ‘piece, part, portion’ (inanimate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	mus-é	
Oblique	mus-é	mus-ô
Vocative	*mus-á	*mus-ô-sa

Table 67. Eastern -ë declension (-ô plural, masculine) - Northeastern inflection of musé ‘mouse’ (animate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	muz-é	
Genitive	muz-é	muz-ô
Oblique	muz-é	
Vocative	*muz-á	*muz-ô-zo

Table 68. Eastern -ë declension (-ô plural, masculine) - Southeastern inflection of muzé ‘mouse’ (animate)

The feminine variant of the -ë Declension is shown in Table 69 – Table 72. It differs from the masculine variant in the oblique (and genitive) singular, which have an ending -ō (-o) instead of the masculine -ē (-e). The instrumental, locative and ablative singular and oblique plural have the same form in both variants. This inflectional pattern is the only one in which the ending of the Southeastern locative singular is distinct from that of the genitive singular and the ending of the Northeastern ablative singular is distinct from that of the oblique singular.

	Singular	Plural
Direct	zër-ě	
Oblique	zër-ó	zër-ō
Instrumental	*zër-ě	
Locative	bë-zér-e	*bë-zér-ō
Ablative	bë-zér-ē	

Table 69. Eastern -ě declension (-ō plural, feminine) - Northeastern inflection of zěré 'heart' (inanimate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	jar-ě	
Oblique	jar-ó	jar-ō
Instrumental	*jar-ě	
Locative	ba-jér-e	*ba-jér-ō

Table 70. Eastern -ě declension (-ō plural, feminine) - Northeastern inflection of zěré 'heart' (inanimate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	mřějéc-ě	
Oblique	mřějéc-ō	mřějéc-ō
Vocative	*mřějéc-a	*mřějéc-ō-sa, *mřějéc-ō-seňa

Table 71. Eastern -ě declension (-ō plural, feminine) - Northeastern inflection of mřějécě 'songbird' (animate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	mřanj-ě	
Genitive	mřanj-ó	mřanj-ō
Oblique	mřanj-ō	
Vocative	*mřanj-á	*mřanj-ō-zo

Table 72. Eastern -ě Declension (-ō plural, feminine) - Southeastern inflection of mřanjě 'songbird' (animate)

2.3.4.3.1 Nasal -ě Nouns

For -ě declension nouns with a stem ending in a nasal consonant, the nasalization contrast on the case endings is neutralized, since all vowels after a nasal consonant are automatically nasalized (cf. section 2.1.1.4). Consequently, there is no contrast

between OBL.SG.M -*ē* and INS -*ẽ*.⁹⁹ The inflection of such nouns is shown in Table 73 and Table 74.

	Singular	Plural
Direct	mañ- <i>é</i>	
Oblique	mañ- <i>é</i>	mañ- <i>ó</i>
Instrumental		
Locative	*pě-měň-e	*pě-měň- <i>ō</i>
Ablative	*pě-měň- <i>ē</i>	

Table 73. Eastern -*ẽ* declension (-*ō* plural, masculine, nasal cons.) - Northeastern inflection of mañ*é* ‘goatskin churn’ (inanimate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	mañ-é	
Genitive	mañ-é	mañ-ó
Oblique	mañ-é	
Instrumental		
Locative	pa-měň-e	pa-měň-ō

Table 74. Eastern -*ẽ* declension (-*ō* plural, masculine, nasal cons.) - Southeastern inflection of mañ*é* ‘goatskin churn’ (inanimate)

The same applies to nouns ending in a nasalized central vowel -*ẽ*, which only exist in the Southeastern dialect. Here, the nasalization of the ending is kept throughout the paradigm, as shown in Table 75. This also leads to a syncretism between the instrumental and oblique singular, but here the nasalization is indicated in the phonemic transcription because the contrast is not neutralized, since, e.g., the SE OBL.PL. form *mar^ẽó* still contrasts with *Mar^ó*, OBL.SG. of the personal name *Mar^ó*.

⁹⁹ Theoretically the contrast between OBL.SG.F -*ō* and OBL.PL -*ō* would also be neutralized, but there seem to be no feminine nouns with a stem-final nasal consonant in this class.

	Singular	Plural
Direct	mar-ě	
Genitive	mar-ě	mar-ō
Oblique	mar-ě	
Instrumental		
Locative	pa-mér-ě	*pa-mér-ō

Table 75. Eastern -ě Declension (-ō plural, nasal vowel) - Southeastern inflection of marě 'death' (inanimate)

2.3.4.3.2 Stem-Stressed -ř/-ň Stems

This subgroup of the gender-variant -ě declension results from a historical loss of unstressed -ě after retroflex approximants (ř and ň).¹⁰⁰ As a consequence of this sound change, nouns originally ending in unstressed *-řě or *-ňě have lost the final vowel -ě in the direct case, while the other case endings remain unaffected. For these nouns it is not possible to predict from their direct case forms that they belong to the -ě declension.¹⁰¹ This group includes compounds in which stress has been drawn away from an original final *-řě or *-ňě (cf. section 2.1.5.1) and it intersects with the group of nasal -ě Nouns discussed in the section above.

There are notable dialectal differences in membership of this class. It appears to be more common in the Northeastern dialect, which has, e.g., *kuř* 'child' – OBL.PL *kůř-ō*; *šoř* 'domestic animals' – OBL.PL *šóř-ō*; *šteň* 'thief' – OBL.PL *štěň-ō*, as opposed to Southeastern *kuře* 'child', *čůře* 'tip, end', *šaře* 'domestic animals' and *štaře* 'thief' with final stress and inflection according to the regular -ě declension pattern.

Example paradigms are given in Table 76 – Table 81. There are no inanimate feminine nouns in this class.

¹⁰⁰ A related phenomenon can be observed in the inflection of adjectives (2.4.2.1.3). Many stem-stressed -ř/-ň stems are in fact nominalized adjectives.

¹⁰¹ Compare, e.g., NE *júkuř* 'woman' – OBL.SG. *júkuřō* to NE *kuř* 'hat' – OBL.SG. *kůře*.

	Singular	Plural
Direct	divěř	
Oblique	divěř-ě	divěř-õ
Instrumental	*divěř-ẽ	
Locative	*bě-divěř-e	*bě-divěř-õ
Ablative	*bě-divěř-ē	

Table 76. Eastern -ě declension (-õ plural, stem-stressed -ř/-ň stem, M) - Northeastern inflection of divěř ‘island’
(inanimate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	divěř	
Genitive	divěř-e	divěř-õ
Oblique	divěř-ē	
Instrumental	divěř-ẽ	
Locative	ba-dívěř-e	*ba-dívěř-õ

Table 77. Eastern -ě declension (-õ plural, stem-stressed -ř/-ň stem, M) - Southeastern inflection of divěř ‘island’
(inanimate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	pěrměň	
Oblique	pěrměň-ē	pěrměň-ō
Vocative	*pěrměň-a	*pěrměň-ō-sa, *pěrměň-ō-seňa

Table 78. Eastern -ě declension (-õ plural, stem-stressed -ř/-ň stem, M) - Northeastern inflection of pěrměň ‘child; small’
(animate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	parměň	
Genitive	parměň-e	parměň-ō
Oblique	parměň-ē	
Vocative	*parměň-a	*parměň-ō-zo

Table 79. Eastern -ě declension (-õ plural, stem-stressed -ř/-ň stem, M) - Southeastern inflection of parměň ‘child; small’
(animate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	jůkuř	
Oblique	jůkuř-ō	jůkuř-ō̃
Vocative	*jůkuř-a	*jůkuř-ō̃-sa, *jůkuř-ō̃-seňa

Table 80. Eastern -ě declension (-ō̃ plural, stem-stressed -ř/-ň stem, F) - Northeastern inflection of jůkuř ‘woman’ (animate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	jůguř	
Genitive	jůguř-o	jůguř-ō̃
Oblique	jůguř-ō	
Vocative	*jůguř-a	*jůguř-ō̃-zo

Table 81. Eastern -ě declension (-ō̃ plural, stem-stressed -ř/-ň stem, F) - Northeastern inflection of jůguř ‘woman’ (animate)

Strand (2019: 8) notes irregular forms for the Southeastern noun *nazůř* ‘nose’, which has the oblique plural form of a consonantal declension noun, but -ě declension forms everywhere else, as shown in Table 82.

	Singular	Plural
Direct	nazůř	
Genitive	nazůř-e	nazůř-ě
Oblique	nazůř-ē	
Instrumental	nazůř-ě	

Table 82. Eastern -ě declension (stem-stressed -ř/-ň stem) - irregular Southeastern inflection of nazůř ‘nose’ (inanimate)

2.3.4.3.3 Palatalized -ě Noun

The noun NE *mančí*, SE *manji* ‘person, PL: people’, along with several demonstrative pronouns (2.3.5.2), follows the pattern of the gender-variant -ě Declension in the non-direct cases, but has a direct case form in -i. This is explainable as a result of the phonological rule of central vowel palatalization (2.1.5.2.1). Other nouns ending in a sequence of palatal consonant + -i are part of the -i declension (NE) / vocalic declension (SE). The inflectional paradigm of NE *mančí*, SE *manji* is shown in Table 83 & Table 84.

	Singular	Plural
Direct	manč-í	
Oblique	manč-ě	manč- [̌] ō
Vocative	*manč-á	manč- [̌] ō-s-a

Table 83. Eastern -ě declension (-[̌]ō plural, palatal) - Northeastern inflection of mančí ‘person, PL: people’ (animate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	manĵ-í	
Genitive	manĵ-é	manĵ- [̌] ō
Oblique	manĵ-ě	
Vocative	*manĵ-á	manĵ- [̌] ō-zo

Table 84. Eastern -ě declension (-[̌]ō plural, palatal) - Southeastern inflection of manĵí ‘person, PL: people’ (animate)

2.3.4.4 The Eastern Gender-Invariant -ě Declension (-[̌]ē plurals)

The gender-invariant -ě declension is a relatively small group of nouns ending in -ě, which only contains a group of four nouns and one nominal suffix: NE *ssě*, SE *sě* ‘year’ (F); NE *věsé*, SE *vazé* ‘female goat’ (F); NE *asé*, SE *azé* ‘ash’ (M); NE *urě*, SE *vurě* ‘village magistrate’ (M), and the suffix NE/SE -*darě* ‘patrilineal descendants of [name] (in lineage names)’ (cf. section 2.3.6.8.8). Strand (2019: 12) notes that this group of nouns shares a “collective property”, but this semantic parallel is rather weak, especially since many other nouns with vaguely “collective” semantics are not inflected by this pattern.

In the Northeastern dialect the general inflectional pattern of this declension is more common, since it is also applied to -i Stems in more or less the same way. The inflectional paradigm is essentially the same as that of masculine nouns in the gender-variant -ě Declension, except that the oblique plural ending is -[̌]ē (homophonous with the instrumental). The noun NE *ssě*, SE *sě* ‘year’ additionally has irregular nasalization in the locative (and no intervocalic lenition of s in the Southeastern locative, as a result of the historical geminate still visible in the Northeastern dialect).

	Singular	Plural
Direct	ss-ě	
Oblique	ss-ě	ss-ě
Instrumental		
Locative	p-ss-ě	
Ablative	*p-ss-ě	

Table 85. Eastern -ě declension (-ě plural) - Northeastern inflection of ssě 'year' (inanimate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	s-ě	
Genitive	s-e	s-ě
Oblique	s-ě	
Instrumental		
Locative	pa-s-ě	*pa-s-ě

Table 86. Eastern -ě declension (-ě plural) - Southeastern inflection of sě 'year' (inanimate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	vës-ě	
Oblique	vës-ě	vës-ě
Vocative	*vës-á	*vës-ě-sa, *vës-ě-seňa

Table 87. Eastern -ě declension (-ě plural) - Northeastern inflection of vësě 'female goat' (animate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	vaz-ě	
Genitive	vaz-ě	vaz-ě
Oblique	vaz-ě	
Vocative	*vaz-á	*vaz-ě-zo

Table 88. Eastern -ě declension (-ě plural) - Southeastern inflection of vazě 'female goat' (animate)

2.3.4.5 The Northeastern -i Declension (NE)

In the Northeastern dialect all nouns ending in -i, other than the palatalized -ě noun *mančí* 'person, PL: people' (2.3.4.3.3) and the irregular consonant stem *kuří* 'dog' (2.3.4.1.2.2), belong to a separate class, which has the same endings as the gender-invariant -ě declension, except in the direct case. This group also includes all

loanwords ending in *-i*. The corresponding words are part of the vocalic declension in the Southeastern dialect.

Inflectional paradigms of the *-i* declension are shown in Table 89 – Table 91. Through coalescence with the vowels of case endings the stem-final *-i* becomes *-y-* in all non-direct case forms, transferring its stress onto the ending if it is stressed. If there is a preceding palatal consonant, the *-y-* is absorbed by it and disappears.

	Singular	Plural
Direct	vërí	
Oblique	vëry-ě	vëry-ě̇
Instrumental		

Table 89. Northeastern *-i* declension – inflection of vërí ‘speech, language, talk, matter’ (no local cases; inanimate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	aší	
Oblique	aš-ě	*aš-ě̇
Instrumental		
Locative	póše	*póšě̇
Ablative	póšē	

Table 90. Northeastern *-i* declension – inflection of aší ‘mouth’ (inanimate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	nëŋsí	
Oblique	nëŋsy-ě	nëŋsy-ě̇
Vocative	*nëŋsy-á	*nëŋsy-ě̇-sa, *nëŋsy-ě̇-seña

Table 91. Northeastern *-i* declension – inflection of nëŋsí ‘enemy’ (animate)

2.3.4.6 General Traits of Western Noun Inflection

Gender has a larger influence on inflection in the Western dialect than in the Eastern dialects and there is less variation in the case endings across different declensions. All declensions have a masculine and a feminine variant, which differ most prominently in the oblique singular endings. There is some degree of subdialectal variation in case endings, with each of the three Western valley systems Řamgěl, Kulem and Ktivi (Kantiwā) having its own peculiarities. A consistent difference of this kind is due to a sound change in the dialect of Ktivi (Kantiwā), where the vowel *o* has become *u* in

nasal environments, including historically nasalized instances of *o* like that of the oblique case plural ending (cf. the Eastern oblique plural ending *-ō̃*). This sets the dialect of Ktivi apart from the other Western varieties across all declensions. The Western dialect data in the examined corpus is unevenly distributed over the different subdialects, with by far the largest amount of data being available for the dialect of Kulem.

2.3.4.7 The Western Consonantal Declension

For all nouns ending in a consonant, case endings are added directly to the stem. The masculine paradigm has the oblique singular ending *-e* in all subdialects. In Kulem (Table 92), the instrumental is formed with the suffix *-o* in the singular (homophonous with the oblique plural), to which the instrumental plural suffix *-řo* is added in the plural. The subdialect of Ěamgěl likely follows the same pattern, but its instrumental forms are not attested in the examined corpus. The subdialect of Ktivi has its usual oblique plural ending *-u* which, according to Strand (2019: 31), is homophonous with a number-invariant instrumental form (see Table 93).

	Singular	Plural
Direct	kyur	
Oblique	kyúr-e	kyúr-o
Instrumental		kyúr-o-řo
Locative	*p-kyur	p-kyúr-o
Ablative	*p-kyúr-e	

Table 92. Western consonantal declension (M) – Kulem (and Ěamgěl) inflection of *kyur* ‘foot’ (inanimate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	dav	
Oblique	dáv-e	dáv-u
Instrumental		

Table 93. Western consonantal declension (M) – Ktivi (Kantiwā) inflection of *dav* ‘wood’ (inanimate)

(Strand 2019: 31)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	pëvéč	
Oblique	pëvéč-e	*pëvéč-o
Vocative	pëvéč-a	*pëvéč-o-sa

Table 94. Western consonantal declension (M) – Kulem inflection of pëvéč ‘boy’ (animate)

The feminine paradigm has the oblique singular ending *-a* in the subdialects of Kulem and Ktivi (Kantiwā) (Table 95 – Table 97), leading to a syncretism with the vocative singular of animate nouns, but the ending *-o* in Ārangël (Table 98), leading to a syncretism with the oblique plural. The instrumental forms differ between Kulem and Ktivi (Kantiwā) in the same way as with the masculine variant. Those from Ārangël are again unclear. The locative and ablative singular both have the ending *-a* in Kulem.

	Singular	Plural
Direct	čov	
Oblique	čóv-a	čóv-o
Instrumental		*čóv-o-řo
Locative	p-čóv-a	p-čóv-o
Ablative		

Table 95. Western consonantal declension (F) – Kulem inflection of čov ‘branch’ (inanimate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	dut	
Oblique	dút-a	dút-u
Instrumental		

Table 96. Western consonantal declension (F) – Ktivi (Kantiwā) inflection of dut ‘tooth’ (inanimate)
(Strand 2019: 31)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	juk	
Oblique	júk-a	júk-o
Vocative		*júk-o-sa

Table 97. Western consonantal declension (F) – Kulem inflection of juk ‘girl’ (animate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	juk	
Oblique	júk-o	

Table 98. Western consonantal declension (F) – Řamgěl Direct & Oblique forms of juk ‘girl’ (animate)

2.3.4.7.1 -i Stems

In the Western dialect, nouns ending in *-i* are a subgroup of the consonantal declension. The case endings are exactly the same, it is only the phonological interaction between stem and case suffix that distinguishes the *-i* stem paradigms from regular nouns of the consonantal declension. The final *-i* of the stem coalesces with the vowels of the case endings and becomes *-y-*, transferring its stress if it is stressed. The masculine pattern is demonstrated in Table 99 – Table 101, the feminine pattern is shown in Table 102 and Table 103.

	Singular	Plural
Direct	bėdí	
Oblique	bėdy-é	*bėdy-ó
Instrumental		bėdy-ó-řo
Locative	bė-bdí	*bė-bdy-ó
Ablative	*bė-bdy-é	

Table 99. Western consonantal declension (-i Stem, M) – Kulem inflection of bėdí ‘mind’ (animate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	şıńı́	
Oblique	şıńy-é	şıńy-ú
Instrumental		

Table 100. Western consonantal declension (-i Stem, M) – Ktivi (Kantiwā) inflection of şıńı́ ‘horn’ (inanimate)
(Strand 2019: 33)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	mančí	
Oblique	manč-é	manč-ó
Vocative	*manč-á	*manč-ó-sa

Table 101. Western consonantal declension (-i Stem, M) – Kulem inflection of mančí ‘person, PL: people’ (animate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	gëñí	
Oblique	*gëṇy-á	gëṇy-ó
Instrumental		*gëṇy-ó-řo
Locative	bë-gëṇy-á	*bë-gëṇy-ó
Ablative		

Table 102. Western consonantal declension (-i Stem, F) – Kulem inflection of gëñí ‘cross-furrow’ (inanimate)¹⁰²

	Singular	Plural
Direct	štri	
Oblique	štry-a	štry-o
Vocative		*štry-ó-sa

Table 103. Western consonantal declension (-i Stem, F) – Kulem inflection of štri ‘woman, wife’¹⁰³ (animate)

2.3.4.7.2 Alternating Nasal Relic Stems

The historical loss of vowel nasalization has left its traces in the inflection of one subgroup of the Western consonantal declension, which shows a stem alternation between a vowel-final stem in the direct case and a stem ending in -ř- before case endings.

Grjunberg (1980: 176) claims that this pattern is a feature of nouns ending in -u in the direct case and treats one other case (*apšl̥, apšl̥ř-a* ‘mill’) as an irregular exception. In fact, the pattern is much more widespread and not predictable from any synchronic trait of the noun. Nasal relic stems can end in any vowel quality in the direct case (W-_{KL} *apšl̥, apšl̥ř-a* ‘mill’; *guṣṭṭ̥, guṣṭṭ̥ř-e* ‘livestock pen’; *guṇú, guṇúř-e* ‘ball’; *salké, salkéř-e* ‘evening’; *bo, bóř-e* ‘chair’; *aṭá, aṭář-e* ‘hearth’) and nouns ending in -u in the direct case can be invariant vowel stems (e.g. *du* ‘door’, OBL *du*). The only thing that reliably predicts inflection as a nasal relic stem is nasalization of the final vowel in the other two dialects, which includes cases with neutralized nasalization contrast due to a

¹⁰² Grjunberg (1980: 46) records the word meaning ‘small cross-furrow for irrigation’ with a retroflex *ṇ*, but Strand (1999b; 1999a) has *gëñí* for Ktivi (Kantiwā) and *giní* for Kombrom (Kāmdēš), both with a dental *n*.

¹⁰³ In the Eastern dialects this word usually means only ‘wife’ and is inflected as a kinship noun, but in the Western dialect it also retains the more general meaning of ‘woman’ and in that meaning is inflected like a regular noun.

preceding nasal consonant (cf. NE *apšě* ‘mill’, *guṣṭyě* ‘livestock pen’, *guṇú* ‘ball’, *salkyě* ‘evening’, *bō* ‘chair’, *aṭā* ‘hearth’ vs. *du* ‘door’).

While the loss of nasalization is certainly a Western innovation, the stem alternation pattern may actually be an archaism in comparison to the lengthening pattern of the Eastern nasal vowel stems (2.3.4.2.2). For more on this point, see section 2.1.5.10.

Case endings are the same as in the regular consonantal declension. The masculine pattern is demonstrated in Table 104 – Table 106.

	Singular	Plural
Direct	bo	
Oblique	bóř-e	*bóř-o
Instrumental		*bóř-o-řo
Locative	bě-bó	*bě-bóř-o
Ablative	*bě-bóř-e	

Table 104. Western consonantal declension (nasal relic stem, *m*) – Kulem inflection of *bo* ‘chair’ (inanimate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	zu ¹⁰⁴	
Oblique	zůř-e	zůř-u
Instrumental		

Table 105. Western consonantal declension (nasal relic stem, *m*) – Ktivi (Kantiwā) inflection of *zu* ‘knee’ (inanimate)
(Strand 2019: 32)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	Přasyú	
Oblique	*Přasyúř-e	Přasyúř-o
Vocative	*Přasyúř-a	*Přasyúř-o-sa

Table 106. Western consonantal declension (nasal relic stem, *m*) – Kulem inflection of *Přasyú* ‘Prasun/Pārūni person’ (animate)

The Western local postposition *-ta* (2.7.3.2) also belongs to the masculine subgroup of this inflectional class, as Table 107 shows.

¹⁰⁴ In this paradigm the Ktivi (Kantiwā) sound change *o* > *u* in (formerly) nasal environments can be observed both in the stem (cf. W-KL *zo*, NE *zō* ‘knee’) and in the oblique case plural ending.

	Singular
Locative	=ta
Ablative	=tař-e

Table 107. Western consonantal declension (nasal relic Stem, m) – Kulem inflection of =ta (local postposition)

The feminine (inanimate) pattern is shown in Table 108. Animate feminine nouns of this class are not attested.

	Singular	Plural
Direct	apší	
Oblique	apšíř-a	*apšíř-o
Locative	pópšíř-a	*pópšíř-o
Ablative		

Table 108. Western consonantal declension (nasal relic stem, F) – Kulem inflection of apší ‘water mill’ (inanimate, no instrumental)

The feminine noun *amú* ‘house’ irregularly inflects by the masculine pattern in the local cases, as Table 109 shows. The inflection of the same noun in the dialect of Āamgël is shown in Table 110.

	Singular	Plural
Direct	amú	
Oblique	amúř-a	amúř-o
Locative	p-amú	*pamúř-o
Ablative	p-amúř-e	

Table 109. Western Consonantal Declension (Nasal Relic Stem, F) – Kulem irregular inflection of amú ‘house’ (inanimate, no Instrumental)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	amó	
Oblique	amóř-o	
Locative	p-amó	*pamóř-o
Ablative	*p-amóř-e	

Table 110. Western Consonantal Declension (Nasal Relic Stem, F) – Āamgël irregular inflection of amó ‘house’ (inanimate, no Instrumental)

2.3.4.8 The Western -ě Declension

The Western -ě declension includes all nouns ending in -ě in the direct case. It is quite similar to the consonantal declension, but differs in a few minor points. As with the other declensions, there is a masculine and a feminine variant. The peculiarities of the -ě declension are a separate case ending -ě for the direct and locative cases, which is not part of the stem, and gender-variant instrumental forms at least in Kulem. The masculine paradigm (Table 111 & Table 112) has the usual masculine case endings in the oblique and the same ending -e in the instrumental and ablative singular as in the oblique singular.

	Singular	Plural
Direct	s-ě	
Oblique	*s-e	*s-o
Instrumental		s-é-řo
Locative	p-s-ě	*p-s-o
Ablative	*p-s-e	

Table 111. Western -ě declension (M) – Kulem inflection of sě ‘year’ (inanimate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	kuř-ě	
Oblique	*kuř-é	kuř-ó
Vocative	*kuř-á	kuř-ó-s-a

Table 112. Western -ě declension (M) – Kulem (and Řamgěl) inflection of kuřě ‘child’ (animate)

In the dialect of Ktivi (Kantiwā) as described by Strand (2019: 30), the instrumental is instead homophonous with the oblique plural (Table 113).

	Singular	Plural
Direct	sěč-ě	
Oblique	sěč-é	sěč-ú
Instrumental		

Table 113. Western -ě declension (M) – Ktivi (Kantiwā) inflection of sěčě ‘goatskin sack’ (inanimate)

(Strand 2019: 30)

The feminine paradigm has the usual feminine endings in Kulem, but with an instrumental singular form in -o that is homonymous with the oblique plural (see Table 114).

	Singular	Plural
Direct	avgř-ě	
Oblique	avgř-á	avgř-ó
Instrumental		*avgř-ó-řo

Table 114. Western -ě declension (F) – Kulem inflection (DIR, OBL, INS) of avgřě ‘roof beam’ (inanimate)

For the dialect of Ktivi (Kantiwā), Strand (2019: 30–31) distinguishes between nouns ending in stressed and unstressed -ě. He gives no example for the unstressed case but groups it together with consonant stems and -i stems, which would suggest the ending -a in the Oblique singular. For nouns ending in stressed -ě Strand gives the example of vėsě ‘female goat’ inflected as in Table 115. Here the Oblique singular ending is -o, unlike in the other feminine declensions of this variety. This is still distinguished from the Oblique plural in -u, unlike in the variety of Řamgěl (Table 116).

	Singular	Plural
Direct	vės-ě	
Oblique	vės-ó	vės-ú

Table 115. Western -ě declension (F) – Ktivi (Kantiwā) inflection of vėsě ‘female goat’ (animate)
(Strand 2019: 30)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	vės-ě	
Oblique	vės-ó	

Table 116. Western -ě declension (F) – Řamgěl inflection of vėsě ‘female goat’ (animate)

For Kulem, the inflection of the corresponding word is not completely clear: Grjunberg (1980: 176), without giving any further comment, notes an oblique singular in -á (as expected from the paradigm in Table 114, but unlike the other varieties), but an oblique plural in -é. The Kulem texts attest vėsé in the function of an oblique plural, but also in that of an oblique singular. On the other hand, vėsá for oblique singular and vėsó for oblique plural can also be found (see Table 117).

	Singular	Plural
Direct	vës-ě	
Oblique	vës-á, vës-é	vës-ó, vës-é

Table 117. Western -ě declension (F) – Kulem inflection of vësě ‘female goat’ (animate)

The oblique plural form in -é is reminiscent of the small gender-invariant -ě declension in the Eastern dialects (2.3.4.4), which includes the word for ‘female goat’ (NE OBL.SG. vësě, PL. vësě). It is unlikely, however, that a comparable class exists in the Western dialect, since the cognate of NE, SE *urě* ‘village magistrate’ (SE OBL.SG. *vurě*, PL. *vurě*) is attested in the Kulem oblique plural form *věró* (rather than **věřé*). It is possible that the oblique forms in -e are interferences from the Eastern dialects.¹⁰⁵ Otherwise it would be necessary to assume the parallel existence of two patterns of inflection for the noun *vësě*.

2.3.4.9 The Western -e Declension

For the dialect of Ktivi (Kantiwā), Strand (2019: 34) records one stem-alternating noun, *ve* ‘female sheep, ewe’, that ends in -e in the direct case and all plural forms, but has the oblique singular form of an -i stem (see Table 118). It is unclear to what extent this pattern can be generalized to other nouns ending in -e and whether or not there is a matching masculine paradigm. The alternation has not been recorded for the other Western dialect areas, but may exist there also.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Grjunberg’s recordings were made in the Nuristani diaspora community of Kabul, where people from all dialect areas come into contact with each other. All texts were transcribed and edited with the help of the government employee Nuri Said, who had lived in Kabul for a while and was clearly familiar with Eastern dialects, since he can be heard conversing with two separate Southeastern dialect speakers on Grjunberg’s tape recordings.

¹⁰⁶ Grjunberg (1980: 177) gives a hypothetical form **břo* as the presumable oblique case (plural) of *bře* ‘flour’, an inherently plural noun, but in his texts (1980: 54) the compound *gřěmébře* ‘wheat flour’ has the invariant oblique form *gřěmébře*. As a plural form, this would be compatible with the pattern recorded by Strand (2019), as would the oblique plural form *ve* (1980: 54). Oblique singular forms of the small group of -e stems are unfortunately not attested in the examined corpus.

	Singular	Plural
Direct	ve	
Oblique	vy-a	

Table 118. Western -e declension (F) – Ktivi (Kantiwā) inflection of ve ‘female sheep’ (animate) (Strand 2019: 34)

2.3.4.10 Western Invariant Nouns

All nouns ending in -o or -u or -a that are not nasal relic stems (2.3.4.7.2) are invariant in the Western dialect, showing the same form in all cases (see Table 119 & Table 120). The local cases are distinguished only by the local prefix. There is no subdialectal variation.

	Singular	Plural
Direct	du	
Oblique		
Instrumental		
Locative	bë-dú	
Ablative		

Table 119. Western invariant nouns – inflection of du ‘door’ (inanimate)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	go	
Oblique		

Table 120. Western invariant nouns – inflection of go ‘cow’ (animate)

2.3.4.11 Kinship Nouns

Kinship nouns form a separate subclass of nouns in Katë. Both the semantic structure of the kinship system and the morphological traits of kinship nouns have parallels in neighboring languages, pointing to wider linguistic and sociocultural contact zones. Kinship systems in which brothers of the father are designated by terms such as ‘older/big father’, ‘younger/small father’ etc. according to their age relative to the father are widespread throughout the Hindu Kush-Karakorum mountain zone, spanning several language families (Tibetan, Burushaski, Indo-Aryan and Nuristani) (Liljegren 2021b: 227–228; 2021a: 269–270). The corresponding pattern for sisters of the mother covers a smaller subarea of this zone (Liljegren 2021a: 270). Both patterns are found in Katë, though there is some dialectal variation and also some unique

features: In the Eastern dialects, sisters of both the father and the mother are expressed by the compounds ‘elder-mother’ (NE *ǰıştnu*, SE *ǰēññū*), ‘middle-mother’ (NE *maǰmínu*, SE *maǰm(i)nū*) or ‘younger-mother’ (NE *kañştínu*, SE *kañěştinū*) while only brothers of the father are known as ‘elder-father’ (NE *ǰışto*, SE *ǰěştot*), ‘middle-father’ (NE *maǰmto*, SE *maǰmtot*) or ‘younger-father’ (NE *kañştó*, SE *kañěştot*), there being a special term NE/SE *mam* for brothers of the mother. In the Western dialect, the terms for siblings of the parents have the same structure, but for older siblings the element *ál-* (from *álě* ‘big’) is used instead of *ǰışt-* ‘elder’, thus the terms in Kulem are *álto* ‘big-father’, *maǰmto* ‘middle-father’, *křştó* ‘younger-father’, *mam* ‘mother’s brother’, *álnu* ‘big-mother’, *maǰmnu* ‘middle-mother’ and *křştínu* ‘younger-mother’.

In the Northeastern and Western dialect, the sisters of mother and father can alternatively all be called *naní* with no further distinction (i.e. with the same meaning as English *aunt*).¹⁰⁷

Further areally clustered “lexification patterns” of kinship terms noted by Liljegren (2021b) include a mother-father compound, which in the order ‘father-mother’ is “typical of the inner parts of the continent [Asia]” and in the order ‘mother-father’, which is found in Katë (NE/W *nútot*, SE *nútot*), is “dominant in many parts of South and Southeast Asia” (Liljegren 2021b: 225). In Katë this is only one of a number of copulative compounds and independent lexical items expressing kin groups. Further examples include NE *vó-vey* ‘grandfather-grandmother’, *štěrí-měřě* ‘wife-boy’ (= ‘wife and children’), *núněvo* ‘grandchildren’ (< *nut* ‘granddaughter’ + *něvó* ‘grandson’), *tódvō* ‘ancestors (*tot-* ‘father’ + *vō* ‘grandfather’), *darímoč* ‘wife & husband’ (*darí* ‘spouse’ + *moč* ‘husband’; w *maǰdéri*), *břasó* ‘siblings’, *břótěr* ‘father & son’, *mótěr* ‘mother & daughter’.

The feature of *direction*, i.e. distinction between e.g. mother’s parents and father’s parents, mother’s siblings and father’s siblings or daughter’s children and son’s children, is considered to be “fully present” in the Northeastern dialect (“Eastern Kataviri”) by Liljegren (2021b: 220), but the distinctions found in the base data

¹⁰⁷ Strand (1999b) and Liljegren et al. (2021) only record the word *naní* and none of the “mother”-based terms for the Western dialect, but Grjunberg’s Kulem recordings have the full set of “mother” terms in addition to *naní*. It seems that *naní* does not replace the other terms, but is just a less specific alternative usage. In the Northeastern dialect, the “mother” terms are the terms that I was given first during elicitation and therefore perhaps the more common alternative, though *naní* is also attested. For the Southeastern dialect Strand (1999a) notes that *naní* is “normally not used” and that it is associated with the other dialects.

(Liljegren et al. 2021) are errors or artifacts of elicitation.¹⁰⁸ In reality, direction – in any of the three dialects – is only distinguished in the terms for parents’ brothers noted above and the terms for sister’s children vs. brother’s children. This makes the profile of the Katë kinship system a bit less “South Asian” than Liljegren’s (2021b) results suggest. Relative age is also only distinguished in basic terms for parents’ siblings. Sex distinctions in kin terms, on the other hand, are prevalent in Katë, the only term not distinguished by sex being *şapşí* ‘sister’s child’. Differentiation based on the ego’s sex is only present in the term for male members of one’s own patrilineal descent group, which are called *tódbřo* (‘father-brother’) by men, but *tatkyúř* by women. This expresses the different relationships that women and men have to these groups based on the patrilineal organization of kinship obligations (cf. Strand 1974a: 53–54). Morphologically, kinship nouns form a separate group due to the way in which case inflection is intertwined with possession marking. If a possessor (i.e. a counterpart of the kinship relation in question) appears somewhere in the context, possession is always marked by a person-marking pertensive stem suffix¹⁰⁹ on the Kinship Noun, as in example (107).

¹⁰⁸ ‘Mother’s father’ and ‘father’s father’ are both NE/SE *vō*, W *vov*. For ‘father’s father’ Liljegren et al. (2021) have NE [alta:ti:je_tā:təs] (= *āltot-yē tót-ēs* ‘my grandfather’s father’), W [wa:w] (= *vov*, correct), SE [wo:] (= *vō*, correct) and [to:t_po:ru_wo:] (= *tot pōr-u vō* ‘grandfather on the father’s side’ – not a basic term). For ‘mother’s father’ there is NE [puruwa:nu:stā_tā:təs] (= *purvō* ‘great-grandfather’ + *nū-stē tót-ēs* - ‘father of the mother’ – not a basic term), W [nuṣa_tā:tus_wa:w] (= *nūř-a tót-ēs* ‘my mother’s father’ – not a basic term + *vov*, correct).

‘Daughter’s son’ and ‘son’s son’ are both NE *něvō*, W *něvók*, SE *navó*. For ‘daughter’s son’ Liljegren et al. have NE [džukə_məřə_nəwa:] (= *žúk-ě mēřě* ‘daughter’s son’ – not a basic term + *něvō*, correct), W [nuwa:ka_džuk] (= *něvók-e žuk* ‘grandson’s daughter’), SE [džuk_po:ru_nawo:] (= *žuk pōr-u navó* ‘grandson on the daughter’s side’ – not a basic term). For ‘son’s son’ there is NE [nəwa:] (= *něvō*, correct), W [nuwa:k] (= *něvók*, correct) and [nuwa:ka_pē:ts] (*něvók-e peéc* ‘grandson’s son’), SE [a:qi:po:ru_nawo:] (= *āři pōr-u navó* ‘grandson on the son’s side’ – not a basic term).

Daughter’s daughter and son’s daughter are both NE/SE *nut*, W *nút(uk)*. For ‘daughter’s daughter’ Liljegren et al. have NE [džukə_stə_džukə_nut] (= *žúk-ě-stě žúk-ě nut* ‘granddaughter of the daughter’s daughter’), W [nutuka_džuk] (= *nútuk-a žuk* ‘granddaughter’s daughter’), SE [džuk_stə_džuk] (= *žúk-stě žúk* ‘daughter of the daughter’ – not a basic term) and [nut] (correct). For son’s daughter there is NE [džukə_pa:rə_nəwa:] (= *žúk-ě pōřě něvō* ‘grandson on the daughter’s side’), W [nutuk] (correct) and [pē:ts] (= *peéc* ‘boy, son’), SE [pitřəs_stə_džuk] (= *pútrēs-stě žuk* ‘his/her/their son’s daughter’ – not a basic term) and [nut] (correct).

¹⁰⁹ Use of the term *pertensive* for a marker indicating possession on the possessum follows Dixon (2010: 268). Grjunberg (1980: 188–189) considers these elements “pronominal enclitics”. The phenomenon likely did have its origin in Indo-Iranian enclitic pronouns, but the markers today have no formal

- (107) *Tótēsē pakćēti amú pītērēs zañyó.*
tót-ēs-ě *pa-kćé-ti* *amú*
 father-PERT.3-OBL ←  →-look-CVB REFL
pītēr-ēs *zań-yó*
 son-PERT.3.DIR know-PFV.PST.3SG.M
 ‘The father looked at him and recognized his own son.’ [NE-BG]
 (Morgenstierne Tale 12.2)

These suffixes appear in addition to regular possession marking on the possessor, as example (108) shows.

- (108) *Dehkóně štěris*
dehkón-ě *štěrí-s*
 farmer-OBL wife-PERT.3
 ‘the farmer’s wife’ [NE-BN/MR] (Sun-Aro Dehqan title)

They are, however, not obligatory in all contexts. In general statements such as that in (109), where a specific kin relationship is not relevant, kinship terms may be inflected like regular nouns, their inflectional class in such cases is determined by their phonological form.

- (109) *Nú zěřě kúřō-tā, kúřō zěřě pěvót.*
nu-ō *zěř-ě* *kúř-ō* *-tā*
 mother-OBL heart-DIR child-OBL.PL =LPST
kúř-ō *zěř-ě* *pě-vót*
 child-OBL.PL heart-DIR LP-stone
 ‘A mother’s heart is on the children, the children’s heart is on a stone.’¹¹⁰
 [NE-MR] (Mansur Proverbs 504)

resemblance to the existing pronouns, are highly host-selective and inseparable from the stem. A synchronic analysis as enclitic pronouns is therefore difficult to justify.

¹¹⁰ A proverb which expresses the idea that a mother's heart aches for her children, while the children are unaware of this or do not care. It is also said more generally when someone cares very much about someone else, but the other person does not reciprocate.

The presence of this type of kinship possession morphology is an areal feature of a small contact zone in the eastern Hindu Kush, containing Indo-Aryan Kalasha, Dameli, Gawar-Bati, Nuristani Kalasha and Ashkun (Di Carlo 2011: 102–104).¹¹¹ Katë is likely to have played a central role in the formation of this contact area and could theoretically be thought to have initiated the spread of the feature, but the dialectal variation in formatives points at least to separate elaborations of a basic inherited system in the different dialects.

If a possessed kinship term is plural, a plural suffix unique to kinship nouns can in some cases be applied before the pertensive suffix, creating an exception to the otherwise prevalent number indistinction in direct case forms. What is marked by this suffix is the number of the noun, not the number of the possessor.¹¹² The possessor is only identified by person, number being inferred from context. The associative enclitic (2.7.3.3) can also be used to pluralize kinship terms. Its use covers paradigmatic slots where regular noun plurals and kinship plurals are unavailable, but it is apparently not limited to them. The associative forms of kinship terms are ambiguous between plural, i.e. ‘(each of) our fathers’, ‘(each of) your fathers’ etc., and the usual associative meaning, ‘my/our father and associates’, ‘your father and associates’ etc.

A special type of term of reference (as opposed to term of address) can be constructed for certain kin relations with a 1st person plural pronoun, speaking from a collective rather than ego-focused point of view. E.g. a speaker may refer to their own sister as NE *imú ĵúk*, W *yimó/yimú ĵúk* SE *yimó ĵúk* ‘our daughter/girl’, or to their own brother as NE *imú mërě*, SE-MM *yimó mařě*, SE-KM *yimó āři ~ yimāři* ‘our son/boy’. Similarly, but with a less noticeable shift in perspective, it is possible to refer to one’s in-laws as NE *imú çuç*, W *yimú/yimó çuç* SE *yimó çuç* ‘our mother-in-law’ and NE *imú ssyūr*, W *yimú/yimó s(ě)çyūr*, SE *yimó cūr* ‘our father-in-law’. A woman may refer to her husband in the Southeastern dialect as *yimó mmó-stě* ‘the one of our house’ or in the Western dialect as *yimó manči* ‘our person/man’.

2.3.4.11.1 Northeastern Dialect

The Northeastern dialect has three groups of kinship nouns with different morphological properties. They can be grouped semantically as *older male relatives*,

¹¹¹ Similar suffixes exist in Pashai, but only one particular type of these is limited to kinship terms (Lehr 2014: 173–176).

¹¹² Pace Grjunberg (1980: 191) who translates *šó tótěře ĵivě ášt-a?* as ‘Is your (pl.) father alive? [vaš otec živ?]’, ignoring the plural form of the copula. The correct translation is ‘Are your fathers alive?’.

older female relatives and a less coherent third group of *siblings, descendants, relatives by marriage etc.*

The group of older male relatives consists of the following nouns: *to* ‘father’, *vō* ‘grandfather’, *purvó* ‘great-grandfather’, *ǵǵsto* ‘father’s elder brother (“elder-father”)', *maǵǵmto* ‘father’s middle brother (“middle-father”)', *kañšto* ‘father’s younger brother (“younger-father”)', *mam* ‘mother’s brother’. It is characterized morphologically by a special oblique case suffix *-yē* when possessed by a 1st person, the pertensive marker *-ë* when possessed by a 2nd person, and the pertensive marker *-ës*, pl. *-eñ-ës* when possessed by a 3rd person. Inflection in the direct and oblique cases is only possible when possessed by a 1st or a 3rd person. In the case of the 3rd person a consonantal declension oblique case suffix (*-ë*) is attached after the pertensive marker, though this does not seem to happen in the plural form, which is used for both direct and oblique case. The oblique plural form is, however, usually provided by the oblique associative formation.

Table 121 and Table 122 illustrate the inflection of the two most frequent nouns of this group, *to* ‘father’ and *vō* ‘grandfather’. These two nouns additionally have a stem alternation between unsuffixed forms *to*, *vō* and suffixed forms *tot-*, *vov-*, which also appears in other nouns of the group that contain them (i.e. *ǵǵsto* ‘father’s elder brother (“elder-father”)', *purvó* ‘great-grandfather’ etc.).

	1st Person Possessor	2nd Person Possessor	3rd Person Possessor	
			Singular	Plural
Direct	to	tót-ě	tót-əs	tót-eň-əs
Oblique	tót-yē		tót-əs-ě	
Associative Direct	tót-yē-kēli	tót-ě-kēli	tót-əs-kēli	
Associative Oblique	tót-yē-kēly-ō	tót-ě-kēlyō	tót-əs-kēly-ō	

Table 121. Northeastern inflection of the kinship noun *to* ‘father’

	1st Person Possessor	2nd Person Possessor	3rd Person Possessor	
			Singular	Plural
Direct	vō	vóv-ě	vóv-ēs	vóv-eň-ēs
Oblique	vóv-yē		vóv-ēs-ě	
Associative Direct	vóv-yē-kēli	vóv-ě-kēli	vóv-ēs-kēli	
Associative Oblique	vóv-yē-kēly-ō	vóv-ě-kēlyō	vóv-ēs-kēly-ō	

Table 122. Northeastern inflection of the kinship noun *vō* ‘grandfather’

The group of older female relatives consists of the following nouns: *nu* ‘mother’, *vey* ‘grandmother’, *purvéy* ‘great-grandmother’, *jířtnu* ‘parent’s elder sister (“elder-mother”)', *maǰmínu* ‘parent’s middle sister (“middle-mother”)', *kaňstínu* ‘parent’s younger sister (“younger-mother”)'’. It is characterized morphologically by a special oblique case suffix *-ā* when possessed by a 1st person. As with the older male relatives, the pertensive marker is *-ě* (*-i* after palatals) when possessed by a 2nd person, and *-ěs* (*-is* after palatals), pl. *-eň-ěs* when possessed by a 3rd person. Inflection in the direct and oblique cases is again only possible when possessed by a 1st or a 3rd person and in the case of the 3rd person a consonantal declension oblique case suffix (*-ě*) is attached after the pertensive marker, though, again, this does not seem to happen in the plural form, the oblique plural form being usually provided by the associative formation.

Table 123 and Table 124 illustrate the inflection of the two most frequent nouns of this group, *nu* ‘mother’ and *vey* ‘grandmother’. The word for ‘mother’ additionally has a triple stem alternation between the unsuffixed form *nu*, the suffixed form possessed by a 1st person *naň-* (with suffix stress) and the suffixed form in all other positions *nóň-*. The same alternation also appears in other nouns of the group that contain this noun as a final element (i.e. *jířtnu* ‘parent’s elder sister (“elder-mother”)'’ etc.).

	1st Person Possessor	2nd Person Possessor	3rd Person Possessor	
			Singular	Plural
Direct	nu	nón-ě	nón-ës	nón-eñ-ës
Oblique	nañ-ǎ		nón-ës-ě	
Associative Direct	nañ-ǎ=këli	nón-ě-këli	nón-ës-këli	
Associative Oblique	nañ-ǎ=këly-õ	nón-ě-këlyõ	nón-ës-këly-õ	

Table 123. Northeastern inflection of the kinship noun nu ‘mother’

	1st Person Possessor	2nd Person Possessor	3rd Person Possessor	
			Singular	Plural
Direct	vey	véy-i	véy-is	véy-eñ-ës
Oblique	véy-ā		véy-is-ë	
Associative Direct	véy-ā-këli	véy-i-këli	véy-is-këli	
Associative Oblique	véy-ā-këly-õ	véy-i-këlyõ	véy-is-këly-õ	

Table 124. Northeastern inflection of the kinship noun vëy ‘grandmother’

The remaining group of siblings, descendants, relatives by marriage etc. is more similar in its inflection to regular nouns. Some nouns of this group are in fact completely normal nouns that are only optionally inflected in this way. The group includes at least the following nouns: *břo* ‘brother’, *sus* ‘sister’, *štěří* ‘wife’, *moč* ‘husband’, *pítër* ‘son’, *ji* ‘daughter’ (possessed form *ju-s*), *zëmó* ‘son-in-law’, *ssyur* ‘father-in-law’. Probably also a part of this group are *çuç* ‘mother-in-law’, *vũ* ‘daughter-in-law’, *zamí* ‘brother-in-law’, *şapşí* ‘sister’s child, spouse of sister’s child’, *naní* ‘aunt’, *yarí* ‘co-wife’, *nëvó* ‘grandson’, *nut* ‘granddaughter’, *purnëvo* ‘great-grandson’, *purnút* ‘great-granddaughter’, *nuťínëvo* ‘great-great-grandson’, *nuťínut* ‘great-great-granddaughter’ and *zótër* ‘relative’. Regular nouns that are attested both with this inflection pattern and with that of a regular noun are *mëřě* ‘boy’ (when used in the sense of ‘son’), *juk* ‘girl’ (when used in the sense of ‘daughter’) and *kuř* ‘child(ren)’ (when used in the sense of ‘someone’s child(ren)’). The nouns of this group are characterized morphologically by normal case inflection when possessed by a 1st or 2nd person, following the declension appropriate for their respective phonological form, and use of the pertensive marker -ës (-is after palatals, -s after vowels), pl. -eñ-ës (-ñ-ës

after vowels) when possessed by a 3rd person, which then inflects (in the singular) according to the consonantal declension with an oblique case suffix -ě attached after the pertensive marker. Table 125 – Table 127 illustrate this inflectional type with the nouns *břo* ‘brother’ (vocalic declension), *sus* ‘sister’ (consonantal declension) and *štěří* ‘wife’ (-i declension).

	1st or 2nd Person Possessor		3rd Person Possessor	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	břo		břo-s	břó-ň-ěs
Oblique	břō	břō̃	břó-s-ě	

Table 125. Northeastern inflection of the kinship noun *břo* ‘brother’

	1st or 2nd Person Possessor		3rd Person Possessor	
	Singular & Plural		Singular	Plural
Direct	sus		sús-ěs	sús-eň-ěs
Oblique	sús-ě		sús-ěs-ě	

Table 126. Northeastern inflection of the kinship noun *sus* ‘sister’

	1st or 2nd Person Possessor		3rd Person Possessor	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	štěří		štěří-s	štěří-ň-ěs
Oblique	štěry-ě	štěry-ě̃	štěří-s-ě	

Table 127. Northeastern inflection of the kinship noun *štěří* ‘wife’

2.3.4.11.2 Southeastern Dialect

In the system of kinship nouns of the Southeastern dialect there are no special oblique suffixes for older relatives possessed by a first person. All kinship nouns with a 1st person possessor are inflected like regular nouns following their respective declensions. With a 2nd person possessor, a pertensive marker -ši (-ži with consonant lenition)¹¹³ is

¹¹³ This marker is very different from those found in the other two dialects (NE -ě, W -e) and at the same time looks very similar to the oblique Case suffixes for male relatives with a 1st person possessor in the other dialects (NE -yě, W -še). This fact already puzzled Morgenstierne (1967a: 1385), but there is no doubt that the functional analysis is correct. The phonological interaction of the suffix with the stem is

added and the resulting form is inflected according to the Vocalic Declension. With a 3rd person possessor, a pertensive marker *-ës ~ -ëz-* (*-is ~ -iz-* after palatals, *-s ~ -z-* after vowels) is added and the form is inflected according to the Consonantal declension. If the noun is plural, this pertensive marker is preceded by a plural marker *-ëñ-* (*-iñ-* after palatals, *-ñ-* after vowels) and the resulting form is not inflected.

Table 128 – Table 131 illustrate the Southeastern inflection of *tot* ‘father’ (consonantal declension), *nū* ‘mother’ (nasal long vowel stem - invariant), *břo* ‘brother’ (vocalic declension) and *sus* ‘sister’ (consonantal declension). There is no stem alternation in the word for ‘father’ in this dialect, the stem *tot* being generalized throughout the paradigm, but alternation can be observed between unsuffixed *nū* and suffixed *nóñ-* in the paradigm for ‘mother’. The stem alternation *sus ~ suz-* in the word for ‘sister’ is the usual Southeastern consonant lenition.

	1st Person Possessor	2nd Person Possessor	3rd Person Possessor	
			Singular	Plural
Direct	tot	tóči	tót-ës	tót-ëñ-ës
Genitive		(tot + -ši)		
Oblique	*tót-ë	tóči	tót-ëz-ë	
Associative Direct	tót-kil-ë	tóči-kil-ë	tót-ës-kil-ë	
Associative Oblique	tót-kil-õ	tóči-kil-õ	tót-ës-kil-õ	

Table 128. Southeastern inflection of the kinship noun *tot* ‘father’

not completely predictable: Beside the examples given below Ġulāmullāh (1966: 504) records e.g. *pütr* ‘son’ > *püčči*.

	1st Person Possessor		2nd Person Possessor	3rd Person Possessor	
	Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
Direct	nū		nóži	nón-ës	nón-ëñ-ës
Genitive			(nón- + -ši)		
Oblique			nóžī	nón-ëz-ë	
Associative Direct	nū=kil-ë		nóži=kil-ë	nón-ës=kil-ë	
Associative Oblique	nū=kil-õ		nóži=kil-õ	nón-ës=kil-õ	

Table 129. Southeastern inflection of the kinship noun nū ‘mother’

	1st Person Possessor		2nd Person Possessor	3rd Person Possessor	
	Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
Direct	břo		břó-ži	břo-s	břó-ň-ës
Genitive					
Oblique	břō	břō	břó-ži	břó-z-ě	

Table 130. Southeastern inflection of the kinship noun břo ‘brother’

	1st Person Possessor		2nd Person Possessor	3rd Person Possessor	
	Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
Direct	sus		súži	súz-ës	súz-ěň-ës
Genitive			(sus + -ši)		
Oblique	súz-ě	súz-ě	súži	súz-ěz-ě	

Table 131. Southeastern inflection of the kinship noun sus ‘sister’

2.3.4.11.3 Western Dialect

The system of kinship nouns of the Western dialect has a special oblique singular suffix *-še* for all male relatives possessed by a 1st person, but the regular feminine oblique suffix (W-KL, W-KT *-a*, W-RM *-o*) is used for all female relatives possessed by a 1st person. Unlike in the Northeastern dialect, there is no distinction between terms for older or younger relatives. With a 2nd person possessor, a pertensive marker *-e* (*-ye* after vowels)

is added. With a 3rd person possessor, a pertensive marker -*ës* (-*is* after palatals, -*s* after vowels) is added. Unlike in the other two dialects, a plural marker -*ěř-* (-*ir-* after palatals, -*ř-* after vowels) can precede both the 3rd person and the 2nd person pertensive marker. Also unlike the other two dialects, Western kinship nouns possessed by a 3rd person do not have separate direct and oblique case forms.

Tables illustrate the Western dialect inflection of *to* ‘father’, *nu* ‘mother’, *břo* ‘brother’ and *sus* ‘sister’. Stem alternations can be observed in the words for ‘father’ (*to* ~ *tót-*) and ‘mother’ (*nu* ~ *núř-*). The word *břo* ‘brother’ combines the special male kinship oblique singular ending -*še* with the invariant inflection in the oblique plural that would otherwise be expected for a noun of this shape.

	1st Person Possessor	2nd Person Possessor		3rd Person Possessor	
		Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	to	tót-e	tót-ěř-e	tót-ës	tót-ěř-ës
Oblique	tóče (tot + -še)				
Associative Direct	tóče-këli	tót-e-këli		tót-ës-këli	
Associative Oblique	tóče-këly-o	tót-e-këly-o		tót-ës-këly-o	

Table 132. Western inflection of the Kinship Noun *to* ‘father’

	1st Person Possessor		2nd Person Possessor		3rd Person Possessor	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	<i>břo</i>		<i>břó-ye</i>	<i>břó-ř-e</i>	<i>břo-s</i>	<i>břó-ř-ës</i>
Oblique	<i>břó-še</i>					

Table 133. Western inflection of the Kinship Noun *břo* ‘brother’

	1st Person Possessor	2nd Person Possessor		3rd Person Possessor	
		Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	nu	núř-e	núř-ěř-e	núř-ës	núř-ěř-ës
Oblique	núř-a RM: núř-o				
Associative Direct	núř-a-këli RM: núř-o-këli	núř-e-këli		núř-ës-këli	
Associative Oblique	núř-a-këly-o RM: núř-o-këly-o	núř-e-këly-o		núř-ës-këly-o	

Table 134. Western inflection of the Kinship Noun nu ‘mother’

	1st Person Possessor		2nd Person Possessor		3rd Person Possessor	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	sus		sús-e	sús-ěř-e	sús-ēs	sús-ěř-ēs
Oblique	sús-a RM: *sús-o	*sús-o KT: *sús-u				

Table 135. Western inflection of the Kinship Noun sus ‘mother’

2.3.4.12 Stem Variation in Loanwords

Perso-Arabic loanwords with final consonant clusters are usually adopted to Katë phonotactics with the help of an anaptyctic vowel -ě- inserted between consonants (e.g. Prs.-Arab. *fīkr* ‘thought’ > *fīkěr*). Since the same phonotactic limitations do not exist in the onset of a syllable, the cluster is restored when the vowel of a case ending follows it. In the Eastern dialects nouns of this type can be inflected either following the Consonantal Declension or the -ě Declension, as the Northeastern examples in Table 136 & Table 137 show.

	Singular	Plural
Direct	fīkěr	
Oblique	fīkr-ě	
Instrumental	fīkr-ě	

Table 136. Northeastern inflection the Persian loanword fīkěr < fīkr ‘thought’ (consonantal declension)

	Singular	Plural
Direct	fíkër	
Oblique	fíkr-é	*fíkr- [̇] ô
Instrumental	fíkr- [̇] ë	

Table 137. Northeastern inflection the Persian loanword fíkër < fíkr ‘thought’ (-ë declension)

Another case of stem variation appears in loanwords ending in a voiced obstruent. Voiced obstruents in word-final position are incongruent with the phonotactic patterns of the two Eastern dialects, which historically went through a process of final devoicing. In loanwords containing them, the final consonant of the Direct case form is often devoiced, whereas voicing may reappear in suffixed forms, as in Table 138.

	Singular	Plural
Direct	kitóp	
Oblique	kitób-ë	
Instrumental	kitób-ë	

Table 138. Northeastern inflection the Persian loanword kitóp < kitāb ‘book’

Some Persian loanwords have borrowed plural marking patterns that are applied in the direct case as well as the oblique case, in distinction to the inherited lexicon. Table 139 shows an example with the Persian/Pashto animate plural -ān (> -on).

	Singular	Plural
Direct	kamuníst	kamunist-ón
Oblique	kamuníst-ë	kamunist-ón-ë

Table 139. Northeastern inflection of the Persian/Pashto loanword kamuníst ‘communist’

2.3.5 Pronouns

The inflection of pronouns has much in common with that of nouns – many pronouns simply follow one of the same declensions described above for nouns. The only consistent difference is the use of separate derived or suppletive stems for the plural and suppletive oblique case forms for the personal pronouns.

2.3.5.1 Personal Pronouns

Specific personal pronouns are in use only for the first and second person, while demonstrative pronouns are used for the third person. The forms of the personal pronouns of all dialects are shown in Table 140 – Table 142.

All three dialects have suppletive forms for singular direct and oblique case of either person,¹¹⁴ as well as suppletive plural stems. In the Southeastern dialect vowel length is used to distinguish genitive and oblique case forms. The plural stems are inflected following the vocalic declension pattern (2.3.4.2) in the Southeastern dialect, and they are invariant (2.3.4.10) in the Northeastern and Western dialect. The Northeastern and Southeastern 1st person singular direct case forms *ũ/õ* and *ũć/õć* are essentially used in free variation, though there seems to be a tendency for *ũ/õ* to be used before enclitics. I am unable to discern any functional difference between the Northeastern oblique case variants *ĩ* and *yẽ* or their Western counterparts *ye* and *yéme*. The distribution of the Northeastern variants may be subdialectal.

		Singular	Plural
1 st Person	Direct	ũ, ũć	imú
	Oblique	ĩ, yẽ	
2 nd Person	Direct	tyu	šo
	Oblique	tu	

Table 140. Personal Pronouns of the Northeastern Dialect

		Singular	Plural
1 st Person	Direct	vúze KT: vúzě	yimó KT: yimú
	Oblique	ye, yéme	
2 nd Person	Direct	tyu	šo
	Oblique	tu	

Table 141. Personal Pronouns of the Western Dialect

¹¹⁴ The second person singular forms share the first sound *t-*, but *-yu/ü* and *-u* do not recur as case endings anywhere in the language. In fact these forms probably originated as case forms from the same Proto-Indo-Iranian paradigm, the direct case from the nominative form of the 2nd person singular pronoun **tuHam* and the oblique from the genitive form **taqa*.

		Singular	Plural
1 st Person	Direct	õ, õč	yimó
	Genitive	yĩ	
	Oblique	yĩ	yimó
2 nd Person	Direct	tü	šo
	Genitive	tu	
	Oblique	tū	šō

Table 142. Personal Pronouns of the Southeastern Dialect

2.3.5.2 Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns (DEM) exist in three distance levels: proximal (= near the speaker, gloss: PROX), medial (= near the addressee or simply further away, gloss: MED) and distal (= distant, usually out of sight, gloss: DIST). The distance levels are also applied metaphorically for levels of discursive distance.

Table 143 – Table 145 summarize the demonstrative systems of the different dialects. The Eastern dialects have a three-level contrast only in the singular, whereas in the plural and in local cases one form is used for both medial and distal deixis (glossed as DIST). In the Western dialect the use of the distal demonstrative *stě* extends to the plural and there is also a separate local demonstrative for the distal level.

The formal relations between the various paradigmatic forms are not very transparent synchronically. The Western dialect system is the most transparent and possibly the most archaic, with two stems *ni* and *ki* for the proximal and medial level that are prefixed with an element *am-* in the plural. In the Eastern dialects the relationship between singular and plural forms is not as clear since the singular forms there have an additional initial (y)i- and Southeastern sound changes have affected the *-k-* of medial *ki* in various ways.

The local case forms are provided by separate local demonstratives. The proximal and medial local demonstratives in all dialects can best be understood if the Western stems are taken as historically primary. The cluster *-tk-* in the medial locative (reflected also by unlenited *-k-* in the Southeastern dialect) possibly hints at an older paradigm of proximal **ni* and medial/distal **tki*. The element *a-* seen in the local cases is probably historically a prefix that was functionally equivalent to the local prefix *pě-/pa-* of nouns.¹¹⁵ The Western distal local demonstrative apparently originally consist of the

¹¹⁵ The local demonstratives appear in the same contexts as local case forms of nouns with the local prefix *pě-/pa-*. The prefix **a-* can be identified with the Nuristani Kalasha prefix *a-*, which is used there

noun *ta* ‘place’ with a demonstrative prefixal element *s-*.¹¹⁶ The local demonstratives are glossed in interlinear examples as LDEM.

In terms of inflectional classes, the Eastern singular demonstratives pattern with the gender-variant *-ë* Declension (*ině́/yině́, stě́*), resp. its subgroup of palatalized *-ë* nouns (*ikí/yiyí*). The plural demonstratives NE *amní, amkí*, SE *amgí* are unusual, since their stem ends in *-i* but the oblique case ending is that of a plural *-ë* declension noun; the Southeastern form *amně́* is more regular in this regard. The locative and ablative forms of the local demonstratives look like the locative and ablative forms of Western *-i* stems, but not like the locative and ablative forms of the Northeastern *-i* Declension. In the Western dialect, the inflection of the demonstrative pronouns is regular for *-i* stems and the *-ë* declension, but only from the perspective of the dialect of Řamgěl, since the feminine oblique singular ending is *-o*. For the dialect of Ktivi (Kantiwā) this case ending is only regular for final-stress *-ë* Declension nouns; for the dialect of Kulem it is irregular.

in a very similar way to the Katě local prefix of nouns (Degener 1998: 139), and ultimately with the Proto-Indo-Iranian local adverb **ā*.

¹¹⁶ This prefix can be compared to the initial element found in *sěvérě* ‘the other’ as compared to NE *várě* ‘other’ and the Nuristani Kalasha demonstrative pronoun *sa* (Degener 1998: 157). Cf. also the difference between the NE postpositions *-tañ* ‘from (non-local)’ vs. *-stañ* ‘from (after local expressions)’.

			Singular	Plural
Proximal	Direct		in-é	am-ní
	Oblique	M	in-é	am-ny-ó
		F	in-ó	
	Locative		a-ní	
	Ablative		a-ny-é	
Medial	Direct		ik-í	am-kí
	Oblique	M	ik-é	am-ky-ó
		F	ik-ó	
	Locative		a-tkí	
	Ablative		a-tky-é	
Distal	Direct		st-ë	
	Oblique	M	st-ë	
		F	st-õ	

Table 143. Northeastern demonstrative pronouns

			Singular	Plural
Proximal	Direct		ni	am-ní
	Oblique	M	ny-e	am-ny-ó
		F	ny-o	KT: am-ny-ú
	Locative		a-ní	
	Ablative		a-ny-é	
Medial	Direct		ki	am-kí
	Oblique	M	ky-e	am-ky-ó
		F	ky-o	KT: am-ky-ú
	Locative		a-tkí	
	Ablative		a-tky-é	
Distal	Direct		st-ë	
	Oblique	M	st-e	
		F	st-o	
	Locative		sta	
	Ablative		stár-e	

Table 144. Western demonstrative pronouns

			Singular	Plural
Proximal	Direct		yin-é MM: yiní	amn-é
	Genitive	M	yin-é	amn-ó
		F	yin-ó	
	Oblique	M	yin-é	
		F	yin-ó	
	Locative		aní	
Medial	Direct		iyí-í	amgí
	Genitive	M	iyí-é	amgy-ó
		F	iyí-ó	
	Oblique	M	iyí-é	
		F	iyí-ó	
	Locative		akí	
Distal	Direct		ask-é	
	Genitive	M	ask-é	
		F	ask-ó	
	Oblique	M	ask-é	
		F	ask-ó	

Table 145. Southeastern demonstrative pronouns

2.3.5.2.1 Phoric Forms

In the Eastern dialects demonstrative pronouns can receive a phoric prefix *o-* (PHOR), which is used in order to stress that the demonstrative refers back or forward to something being mentioned in the discourse. The resulting phoric demonstratives can also be used in the sense of stressing identity, with meanings like ‘just that one’ or ‘that/the same (one)’.¹¹⁷

The phoric prefix attaches with hiatus before *i* (*oiné*, *oikí* etc.) but replaces initial *a* (*omní*, *omkí* etc.). Phoric forms seem to be most frequent in the Northeastern dialect. With the local demonstratives the prefix is not used, but a similar meaning can be achieved for these by adding a suffix *-u* to the locative form. Unlike the prefix, this suffix is also used in the Western dialect. It contracts with the final vowel of the

¹¹⁷ Functionally they are similar to Persian demonstratives with prefixed *ham-* (*ham-ín*, *ham-ān*, *ham-ín-jā* etc.).

Locative form, creating NE and W PROX *any-ú*, DIST *atky-ú*. In the Southeastern dialect the suffix is no longer segmentable in the forms PROX *anü* and DIST *akü*. In the Northeastern dialect the resulting forms can be inflected in the ablative, but the Western (and Southeastern) ones are invariant. It is likely that the phoric suffix *-u* is originally identical with the postposition *=(v)u*, since this postposition is also used with the western distal locative in the form *stá=vu* to achieve the same meaning.

		Singular	Plural
Proximal	Direct	o-iné	o-mní
	Locative	any-ú	
	Ablative	any-ű	
Medial	Direct	o-ikí	o-mkí
	Locative	atky-ú	
	Ablative	atky-ű	
Distal	Direct	o-sté	

Table 146. Phoric forms of the demonstrative pronouns (Northeastern dialect)

		Singular	Plural
Proximal	Direct	o-yiné	o-mné
	Locative	anű	
Medial	Direct	o-yiyí	o-mgí
	Locative	akű	
Distal	Direct	o-ské	

Table 147. Phoric forms of the demonstrative pronouns (Southeastern dialect)

Proximal Locative	any-ú
Medial Locative	atky-ú
Distal Locative	stá=vu

Table 148. Phoric forms of the demonstrative pronouns (Western dialect)

2.3.5.2.2 Manner and Extent Demonstrative

Beside the formally interconnected demonstratives discussed above, there is also a separate group of manner and amount/extent demonstratives, that is presented in Table 149. The Northeastern forms are almost always used with the phoric prefix *o-*.

The Western extent demonstrative quite clearly contains the distal demonstrative *stë*. The size/extent demonstrative is formed with the size/extent enclitic *-stuk* (2.7.3.1.1).

	NE	W	SE
Manner 'such', 'like that'	(o)jĩ (o)jĩ-stë	jĩ jë-stë	gitě gitě-stë
Extent 'so much/so many', 'to that extent', 'like that'	(o)jĩk	stějĩk	gek é gek
Size/Extent 'that big/much'	jĩ-stuk é jĩ-stuk	*jë-stuk	gé-stuk é gé-stuk

Table 149. Manner and Extent Demonstratives

Manner demonstratives without the referentializer *-stë* (NE (o)jĩ, W jĩ, SE gitě) are only used adverbially as part of a light-verb constructions with converb forms of the verb NE/W *ku-stë*, SE *kũ-stë* 'to do'. The forms with the referentializer (NE (o)jĩ-stë, W jë-stë, SE gitě-stë) can be used both in adverbial light-verb constructions and as adnominal modifiers. Northeastern (o)jĩk and Western stějĩk are also used in both functions, whereas Southeastern gek has the special adnominal form é gek with a phrasally stressed indefinite article *e*.¹¹⁸ The word gek also appears in the expression gék dũje 'therefore' together with the postposition dũje meaning 'for'.

2.3.5.2.3 Usage

The demonstrative pronouns appear in all four of the major demonstrative functions identified by Himmelmann (1996: 240): As independent noun phrases they can be used as a recognitional device, which identifies a previously mentioned 3rd person entity in a way essentially equivalent to that of a 3rd person personal pronoun, as in example (110). Independent demonstratives can also be used as discourse deictics to refer to previous discourse, as with ikě in example (111). They may also modify a head noun, as in examples (111) (ině) and (112). Here the placement of phrasal stress on

¹¹⁸ Strand (1999b) records é jĩk for the dialect of Ktivi (Kantiwā). This is not attested in the Kulem data and the indefinite article *e* is otherwise always unstressed in the Western dialect.

the demonstrative or on the head noun distinguishes between situational use, i.e. introducing a new item from the speech situation to the discourse by “pointing” to it with a demonstrative (*ině* in example (111)), and tracking use, i.e. referring to a previously mentioned entity (example (112)). The unstressed tracking use is often quite close to the determining function of an article. Apparently all of these functions can be fulfilled by demonstratives of any of the three deictic distance levels.

- (110) *Ikí bēbēn cáŋ yuškúš-ě-stě mēr-así.*

<i>ik-í</i>	<i>bē-bēn</i>	<i>cáŋ</i>	<i>yuškúš-ě</i>	<i>=stě</i>
DEM.MED-DIR	LP-forest	all	wild.animal-OBL	=REF
<i>mer</i>	<i>=as-í</i>			
king	=COP-PST.3			

‘In the forest he was the king of all the animals.’ [NE-BN/MR]
(Sun-Aro Lion 2.3)

- (111) *Iké borá-tā zaňé-stě imú-dyukě ině vél-tā zarurísě.*

<i>ik-é</i>		<i>borá-ō</i>	<i>=tā</i>	<i>zaňé</i>	<i>=st-ě</i>
DEM.MED-OBL.SG.M		topic-OBL.SG	=LPST	know	=REF-DIR
<i>imú</i>	<i>dyukě</i>	<i>ině</i>	<i>vél-tā</i>	<i>zarurí-as-ě</i>	
1PL	for	DEM.PROX	time=LPST	necessary=COP-3SG	

‘Knowing about that is necessary for us at this time’ [NE-MR]
(Mansur Coronavirus 2.3)

- (112) *Atkyú=staň stě mērě-tā stě mērě gějí kěřěssě, [...]*

<i>atki-ū-ō</i>	<i>=staň</i>	<i>stě</i>	<i>mēr-ě</i>	<i>=tā</i>	<i>stě</i>
LDEM.DIST-PHOR-ABL	=from	DEM.DIST	king-OBL	=LPST	DEM.DIST
<i>mēr-ě</i>	<i>gějí</i>	<i>k-ěřě</i>	<i>=stě</i>	<i>=asě</i>	
boy-DIR	say-RES.3SG.M				

‘Then the [previously mentioned] boy said to the [previously mentioned] king: [...].’ [NE] (Afsāna King 22.10)

The demonstrative pronouns are also used as resumptive pronouns for correlative relative clauses (see section 2.11.6.3.1).

2.3.5.3 Indeterminate Pronouns

There is one set of pronominal forms that serves in various contexts as interrogative, indefinite and relative pronouns or modifiers.¹¹⁹ Following a term originally coined by Kuroda (1965: 91) based on the name of a similar class in the Japanese grammatical tradition (cf. Shimoyama 2008: 375), I will call these *indeterminate pronouns*. Classes of this kind also exist in many other languages (cf. Haspelmath 1997: 170), including neighboring Nuristani and Indo-Aryan languages such as Nuristani Kalasha, Indo-Aryan Kalasha, Khowar and Palula (Degener 1998: 90, 210; Bashir 1988: 357–360; Liljegren 2016: 145, 390–391), though some of these formally distinguish some modifiers from independent pronouns. Together with particular kinds of relative clause constructions involving them, such multifunctional pronouns seem to be typical of this more restricted area, as opposed to the major Indo-Aryan languages further South, where interrogatives and indefinites are generally formally related but not identical and relative pronouns are distinguished as a completely separate set (Masica 1991: 253).

There are indeterminate pronouns of various semantic specifications in Katë. Table 150 summarizes the forms of all basic indeterminate pronouns in the three dialects. Only the indeterminate pronouns for things and people are inflected for case. *Káčĩ* ‘who’ is inherently plural; it has singular agreement only if it is clear that one particular person is meant. The last three items in Table 150 are more properly classified as indeterminate quantifiers than pronouns. They mostly follow the same grammatical patterns but some of them have alternative separate expressions for existential indefinite use, which are given in square brackets.

¹¹⁹ Most of these forms begin with *k-* or *č-*, as is the case with interrogatives in many Indo-Iranian languages, including those of earliest attestation, Vedic Sanskrit and Avestan. This indicates that the original function of these pronouns was probably interrogative.

		NE	W	SE
Thing ‘what’	Direct (+ <i>Genitive</i>)	kay		kā (kay=) MM: kay
	Oblique	káy-i, PL káy-ō	káy-e, PL káy-o (KT: PL *káy-u)	káy-i, PL káy-ō
	Locative	*p-kay		pa-ǵǵ
Person ‘who’	Direct	káči		
	Oblique	ku		GEN: ku, OBL: kū
Time ‘when’		kuy	kúyi	kuyí (kúyi-di)
Location ‘where’		kú=vu ¹²⁰		kúyū
Direction ‘where’		kor NE ABL: kór-ě W ABL: kór-e		
Reason ‘why’		ka		kē (ke-di)
Thing (selected) ‘which’		gějí [gějí ‘a certain’]	ǵestě, káttě	kéttě
Amount (countable) ‘how many’		či [é čí ‘a few’]	ču [čívók ~ čuvók ‘a bit, (a) few’]	či [é čí ‘a few’]
Extent, Amount (uncountable) ‘how much’		čuk [é čók ‘a bit’]	KL čújik KT čuvé [čívók ~ čuvók ‘a bit, (a) few’]	čuk [é čók ‘a bit’]

Table 150. The Basic Indeterminate Pronouns

¹²⁰ This form likely contains the postposition =vu ‘at, near’. Perhaps the dialectal forms derive from different contractions of the combination *kuy(i)* + =vu.

Manner indeterminates, but also innovative ones for time and place, are formed as complex expressions with the basic form *kay*, SE-KM/KS *kā* ‘what’, as shown in Table 151.

	NE	W	SE (KM)
Condition ‘how (in what condition)’	kay=stě	KL káště ¹²¹ KT, RM kástě also: KL <i>kašt-ě</i> , obl.sg. <i>kašt-é</i> , obl.pl <i>kašt-ó</i> ‘what kind of (thing)’	kā=stě
Method ‘how (doing what)’	káy kè or káy ké	káy kě or káy ké RM: kay ka	ká kti
Time ‘at what time, when’	káy vėl-tā	-	ká vėl-to
Place ‘at what place’	káy jōy=tā ¹²²	-	-
Size ‘how large’	*či=stuk	*ču=stuk	či=stuk

Table 151. Complex Indeterminate Pronouns

Partially reduplicated forms with distributive semantics are attested for some indeterminate pronouns, especially in the Southeastern dialect (Ġulāmullāh 1966: 572, 575; Strand 1999a). They are presented in Table 152. It is not clear to me to what extent corresponding forms exist in the other dialects. This type of reduplication can be seen as the same process as the distributive reduplication of numerals (2.6.3).

¹²¹ This phonological outcome of -y + -stě in the dialect of Kulem is paralleled by the word *lēště* ‘good’ from *ley* + -stě vs. *lé-stě* in the other dialects.

¹²² *jōy* is a loanword from Persian *ǧāy* ‘place’, used in this expression instead of the inherited word *tā* ‘place’, which would have been identical with the following enclitic.

	NE	W	SE (KM)
Thing 'what kinds of things', 'what all'	*káykay	?	kákā
Person 'what kinds of people', 'who all'	kačkáči	?	kağáči obl. kağú
Thing (selected) 'which each'	?	?	kağéttë
Amount (countable) 'how many each'	?	?	čačí
Amount (uncountable) 'how much each'	?	?	čačúk [čačók 'a bit each']

Table 152. Reduplicated Indeterminates

2.3.5.3.1 Usage

In independent use, i.e. outside of correlative structures,¹²³ the indeterminate pronouns occur in three main functions, which are determined by the context: Interrogative function in questions (with phrasal stress, no polar question particle *-a*) as in (113) a., existential function in declarative sentences as in (113) c., existential function in polar questions (without phrasal stress, with the particle *-a*) as in (113) b., existential function with negated predicates (without phrasal stress) as in (113) e., and negative indefinite function with negated predicates (with phrasal stress) as in (113) d. Example (113) a.-c., as well as d. & e. are distinguished only by stress and intonation.

- (113) a. *káči* *áy?* 'Who are they?'
b. *káči* *áy-a?* 'Is there somebody/anybody?'
c. *káči* *áy.* 'There is somebody.'
 who COP.3PL
d. *káči* *náy.* 'There is nobody.'

¹²³ On their role in correlative structures, see section 2.11.6.3.1.

- e. *káčī nāy.* ‘Somebody isn’t there/here.’
 who NEG.COP.3PL

The indeterminate pronouns can also be used as modifiers to a head noun in the three main functions described above (see examples (114) – (116)).

- (114) *Këvët káy lëtrísë?*
 këvët káy lëtrí-as-ë
 skull.tuft.DIR what thing.DIR=COP-3SG
 ‘What kind of thing is a *këvët*¹²⁴?’ [NE-DM] (RTA Clothing 4.1)

- (115) *Léy vëri inëšë, kú-vu aṛmálë pōrë gétye ópik špálum.*
 ley vërí in-ë-as-ë kú-vu
 good speech.DIR DEM.PROX-DIR=COP.3SG where
 aṛmál-ë pōrë gé-tye ó-pi-k
 puddle-OBL LP.direction go-CVB water-drink-VN
 špá-lum
 satisfy-FUT.1SG.M
 ‘It would be best if I go to a pool somewhere and quench my thirst.’
 [NE-BN/MR] (Sun-Aro Lion 6.3)

- (116) *Štërék káy vërišyō né vōšëmiš.*
 štërék káy vërí-syí-ō-ō ne v-o-as-ëmiš
 now what speech-stick-CAUS-INF NEG PROPR-M=COP-1PL
 ‘Now we don’t have any excuse.’ [NE] (Afsāna King 4.1)

In elliptical contexts without a predicate the indeterminate pronouns have to be used with the elliptical negator *ney* (= the polar answer ‘no’) to achieve a negative interpretation, as in example (117).

¹²⁴ Pre-Islamic hairstyle consisting of a long tuft of hair at the back of the shaved skull.

- (117) *Gó=stě aǵě řiŋí mětě vúkcelě=ǵe, větó káy náy=ey.*
go =stě aǵě řiŋí mět-ě vú-kce-l-ě
 COW.DIR/OBL =REF only horn.DIR short-M ↑-look-IPFV.PTCP-M
=ǵe větó káy náy =ey
 =and more what no =CONS
 ‘Only the cows’ horns poking out [of the snow] a little, nothing more.’
 [W-KL] (Grjunberg VIII 9.4)

Multiple independent pronouns can appear within the same sentence, either in the same function or in different functions, as examples (118) – (120) show.

- (118) *Yĩ=stě askárě-meř kũ kǎ virízě?*
yĩ =stě askár-ě =meř kũ kǎ
 1SG.GEN =REF soldier-OBL.PL =with who.OBL what
virí-ěz-ě
 speech.DIR=COP-3SG
 ‘Who has anything to say to my soldiers?’
 [lit. ‘To whom is there any talk with my soldiers?'] [SE-KM]
 (Kabir Revolt 14.7)

- (119) *Yó mērěře yó lěsov-tě bí, aní kǎči kú púkce-stuk asě=ta?*
yo mērěř-e yo lěs-óv
 REFL.DISTR death-OBL.SG.M REFL.DISTR escape-CAUS.IMP
=tě b-i aní kǎči ku
 =CONTR.TOP be-COND.3 LDEM.PROX who.DIR who.OBL
pú-kce =st-uk as-ě=a =tě=a
 ↶👤↷-look-INF =REF-MOD COP-3SG=Q =CONTR.TOP=Q
 ‘With it being every man for himself, who is supposed to look back at anyone [else] here?’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg VIII 21.1)

- (120) *Káči kú pú né kčyúko, čivók dalí tayí=bo avzém énmiš=ey=č.*
káči ku pu ne kč-yúko, čivók dalí
 who.DIR who.OBL ~NEG look-CVB.NEG a.bit trail.DIR
ta-yí =bo avzé-m é-nmiš =ey =č.
 find-COND.3 =CNJ jump-CVB.PROG go-PROG.1PL =CONS =ADD

‘And so with nobody looking back at anyone [else], as soon as we find a bit of a path we go rushing on.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg VIII 3.4)

Table 153 summarizes the functions of simple indeterminate pronouns in independent and modifier use, using the example of *kay* ‘what’.

	kay	kay N
Stressed in Question	<i>Interrogative Pronoun</i> ‘what?’	<i>Interrogative Modifier</i> ‘what (kind of) N’?
Unstressed	<i>Existential Indefinite Pronoun</i> ‘something’	<i>Existential Indefinite Modifier</i> ‘some (kind of) N’
Stressed with Negated Predicate	<i>Negative Indefinite Pronoun</i> ‘nothing’ ‘anything’	<i>Negative Indefinite Modifier</i> ‘no (kind of) N’ ‘any (kind of) N’

Table 153. Functions of the simple indeterminate pronouns in independent and modifier use

With the additive focus particle *-di*, the indeterminate pronouns acquire some additional functions. To the existential use the particle only contributes the usual additive focus meaning (see the first sentence in example (123)), but in interrogative (examples (121) & (122)) and negative indefinite use (second sentence in example (123)) it becomes a means of emphatic questioning or negation.

- (121) *Ině laṇé káči=di xúš kúla?*
inė laṇ-é káči=di xuš ku-la
 DEM.PROX bald-OBL.SG.M who.DIR=ADD.FOC well do-OPT.3PL

‘Who would possibly select this bald man?’ [NE] (Afsāna King 17.5)

(122) *Kā=di jañémmo?*

kā *=di* *jañé-mmo*
 what =ADD.FOC know-OPT.1PL

‘What should we possibly know?’ [SE-KM]

(Kabir/Gulāmullāh History 77.3)

(123) *Amki júkë amšë budúy así pařō=meř káči=të vazirónë mërë káči-di raisónë
 mërë víti xúš kërëstay. Čáňë-taň kaňstí júkë káči-di xúš né kërëstay.*

amkí *júk-ë* *amšë* *bu-dúy* *as-í*
 DEM.DIST.PL girl-OBL REFL.PL LP-hand COP-PFV.PTCP

pař-ō *=meř* *káči* *=të* *vazir-ón-ë*
 apple-OBL.PL =with who =CONTR.TOP minister-PL-OBL

mër-ě *káči* *=di* *rais-ón-ë* *mër-ě*
 boy-DIR who =ADD.FOC chief-PL-OBL boy-DIR

víti *xuš* *k-ěřë=stë=ay.* *čáň-ë* *=taň* *kaňst-í*
 hit-CVB well do-RES.3PL all-OBL =from younger-F

júk-ë *káči* *=di* *xuš* *ne* *k-ěřë=stë=ay.*
 girl-OBL who.DIR =ADD.FOC well NEG do-RES.3PL

‘By hitting them with the apples that were in their hands, the daughters chose some of them ministers’ sons, and some of them chiefs’ sons. [But] the youngest daughter of all did not choose anyone at all.’ [NE]

(Afsāna King 16.10-11)

The same use occurs also in elliptical contexts, as in example (124).

(124) *Kā=di náy.*

kā *=di* *nay*
 what =ADD.FOC no

‘Nothing at all.’

[Answer to the question ‘What might have been their intention?’]

[SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 392.1)

In modifier function the focus particle attaches at the end of the noun phrase, but the functional distribution is the same (see examples (125) & (126)).

- (125) *Káči tré što puč ani čĩñ yimó=stě muḡoidĩn=di maňá.*
káči tré što puč aní čĩ-ñ yimó =stě
 who three four five LDEM.PROX →-SN 1PL.GEN =REF
muḡoidĩn =di m-ařá.
 mujahidin.DIR =ADD.FOC die-PFV.PST.3PL
 ‘Some three, four or five of our mujahidin upvalley here also died.’
 [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 643.1)

- (126) *Ká latrí=di náza, amgí!*
kā latrí =di na-ěz-a amgí
 what thing.DIR =ADD.FOC NEG-COP-MDV.3PL DEM.DIST.PL
 ‘They are no thing at all, those people!’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 559.24)

Table 154 summarizes the functions of indeterminate pronouns with the additive focus particle *-di* in independent and modifier use, using the example of *kay* ‘what’.

kay=di	kay N=di
<i>Emphatic Interrogative</i> ‘what possibly?’ ‘whatever?’	<i>Emphatic Interrogative Modifier</i> ‘what N possibly?’ ‘whatever N?’
<i>Existential Indefinite Pronoun</i> + <i>Additive Focus</i> ‘something also’ ‘something more’	<i>Existential Indefinite Modifier</i> + <i>Additive Focus</i> ‘some (kind of) N also’
<i>Emphatic Negative Indefinite Pronoun</i> ‘anything at all’	<i>Emphatic Negative Indefinite Modifier</i> ‘any N at all’

Table 154. Functions of the indeterminate pronouns with the additive focus particle *-di* in independent and modifier use

The indeterminate pronouns can also be used with the enclitic element *-bo*, which mainly functions as a subordinating conjunction for conditional and relative clauses. It is likely that this combination originally had the meaning of a free-choice item (‘whatever it may be’, ‘whoever it may be’ etc.) and later acquired universal semantics

(‘everything’, ‘everyone’ etc.).¹²⁵ Use as a noun phrase with only *-bo* attached to the pronoun is apparently not common: only the combination NE *kay-bo* SE *kā-bo* is attested in the examined corpus, which appears as a lexicalized expression meaning ‘things’ (not ‘everything’), as in examples (127) and (128).

- (127) *Bozórë-tã=stañ é xaymá uḡáti, é čók várë-di káy-bo uḡáti áyssë.*
bozór-ë =tã-̄ =stañ e xaymá uḡá-ti e
 market-OBL =LPST-ABL =from one tent take-CVB one
čók várë =di káy-bo uḡá-ti
 bit other =ADD.FOC things take-CVB
á-i̇ =stë̇ =asë̇
 come-RES.3SG
 ‘From the market he bought a tent, bought some other things, too, and returned.’ [NE] (Afsāna King 15.2)

- (128) *Sūrë yimó=stë kã-bo sũ-di akí askë zindón=do patë bistay.*
sūrë yimó =stë kã-bo sũ =di
 the.other 1PL.GEN =REF things all =ADD.FOC
akí askë zindón=to patë b-i̇ =stë̇ =ay
 LDEM.PROX DEM.DIST prison.GEN=LPST remain-RES.3PL
 ‘Also our things were all left there at that prison.’ [SE-KM]
 (Amin Jihad 176.8)

When the Indeterminate Pronouns are used with both *-bo* and the additive focus particle *-di* they have the function of a free-choice item or universal (Table 155), as shown by examples (129) – (132).

¹²⁵ This diachronic path of semantic change is attested in a number of languages (Haspelmath 1997: 154–156). The element *-bo* may originally have been a form of the verb NE *bu-stë*, W *bë-stë*, SE *bũ-stë* ‘to be, to become’, which would explain both its use as a conditional subordinator (< “be it”) and its use with indeterminate pronouns (< “what(ever) (it) may be”) (cf. the parallels in Haspelmath 1997: 135–140). Synchronically it looks like the perfective past 3rd person singular masculine *bo*, but it is unclear whether they are identical historically.

kay=bo-di
Free-Choice Item ‘anything’, ‘whatever’ *Emphatic Universal > Universal *‘absolutely everything’ > ‘everything’

Table 155. Functions of the indeterminate pronouns with the enclitic chain =bo-di

- (129) *Atkyú=stañ stě méré ámr kěřó=če káčči=bo-di, laṇé áy=a, kañé áy=a, néy kṭé áy=bo, cáṇ vapsyéyti avéñ ké.*

<i>atkí-u-̄</i>		<i>=stañ</i>	<i>stě</i>		<i>mér-ě</i>
LDEM.DIST-PHOR-ABL		=from	DEM.DIST		king-OBL
<i>amr_k-ěřó</i>		<i>=če</i>	<i>káčči=bo-di</i>		<i>laṇ-ě</i>
order-PFV.PST.3SG.M		=that	who\INTS=ever		bald-M
<i>áy=a</i>	<i>kañ-ě</i>	<i>áy=a</i>	<i>ney kṭ-ě</i>		<i>áy=bo</i>
COP.3PL=Q	blind-M	COP.3PL=Q	no lame-M		COP.3PL=CNJ
<i>cáṇ</i>	<i>va-psí-ey-ti</i>		<i>avé-ñ</i>		<i>ké</i>
all.DIR	→  ←-settle-CAUS-CVB		bring.IMP-2PL		do.CVB

‘Then the king ordered that everyone, whether they be bald or blind or lame, should be gathered and brought [to him].’ [NE] (Afsāna King 17.3)

- (130) *Kór=bo-di ušúpě=tā ništi étosi.*

<i>kor=bo-di</i>	<i>ušúp-ě</i>	=tā	<i>ništi-ti</i>	<i>é-tosi</i>
where-ever	horse-OBL	=LPST	sit.down-CVB	go-PROG.PST.3SG.M

‘He went everywhere riding on a horse.’ [NE-BN] (Sun-Aro Half-Boy 7.1)

- (131) *Anév zyúv=je káy=bo=di valéy vó bi=bo, gřěmėbře=meş kařú=ta vúpsyelė.*
anév zyúv =je káy=bo=di valé=ey
 ghee.DIR hair.DIR =and what-ever other.DIR/OBL=CONS
v-o b-i =bo gřěmėbře =meş
 PROPR-M be-COND.3 =CNJ wheat.flour.DIR/OBL =with
kařú =ta vúpsyé-lė
 base.DIR/OBL =LPST ↓-settle-IPFV/FUT.3
 ‘If the ghee has hair or whatever else [in it], it [the hair etc.] will settle down at the bottom with the wheat flour.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg VI 11.7)¹²⁶

- (132) *Gó=je ašė kúyi=bo=di mės bělė.*
go =je aš-ė kúyi=bo=di mės
 cow.DIR/OBL =and bull-DIR when-ever together
bė-lė
 be-IPFV/FUT.3
 ‘The cows and bulls are always together.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg VI 1.4)

2.3.5.4 Reflexive Pronouns

2.3.5.4.1 Basic Reflexive Pronoun¹²⁷

The basic reflexive pronoun (REFL) has separate singular and plural forms and only occurs with 3rd person antecedents within the examined corpus. It seems to be case-invariant in the Western and Northeastern dialect, but inflectable in the Southeastern dialect. Its forms are given in Table 156—Table 158.

Singular	Plural
amú	amšė

Table 156. The Northeastern Reflexive Pronoun

Singular	Plural
amú	amšė

Table 157. The Western Reflexive Pronoun

¹²⁶ Grjunberg (1980: 57) interprets *anév* as part of the list and translates ‘dirt, hair and everything else’ (*grjaz’, volosy i vsjo drugoe*), but *anév* can only mean ‘ghee’, not ‘dirt’, and *=je* normally occurs after the first coordinated element.

¹²⁷ Grjunberg (1980: 192): “reflexive personal pronoun” (*vozvratno-ličnoe mestoimenie*).

	Singular	Plural
Direct	amú	amjě
Genitive		
Oblique	amú	amjě

Table 158. The Southeastern Reflexive Pronoun

The reflexive pronoun can be used independently, or as a possessor in possessive constructions, with or without the referentializer *-stě*. In general it is used in the same contexts in which the demonstrative pronouns also appear, but the reflexive pronoun is required whenever a pronoun is co-referential with a 3rd person which appears in the immediate context or which is the topic of preceding discourse. In this way the use of either a demonstrative or a reflexive pronoun can sometimes disambiguate which of several 3rd person participants involved in the context is being referred to. Examples (133) – (135) show the independent use and examples (136) – (137) show the use as possessors in noun phrases.

- (133) *Měřě súsēs-tā tyú anyú niší kútě, ũc pálum kútě. Júk nišnyé, amú págeti dániki-tā přéyo.*

<i>měř-ě</i> boy-DIR	<i>sús-ēs</i> sister-PERT.3	<i>=tā</i> =LPST	<i>tyú</i> 2SG.DIR	<i>aní-ū</i> LDEM.PROX-PHOR
<i>niší</i> sit.down.IMP	<i>kú-tě</i> do-PROG.3SG	<i>ũc</i> 1SG.DIR	<i>pá-ě-lum</i> ←  →-go-FUT.1SG.M	
<i>kú-tě</i> do-PROG.3SG	<i>juk</i> girl.DIR	<i>niš-nyé</i> sit.down-PFV.PST.3SG.F	<i>amú</i> REFL	
<i>pá-gé-ti</i> ←  →-go-CVB	<i>dánik-i</i> witch-OBL	<i>=tā</i> =LPST	<i>přé-yo.</i> arrive-PFV.PST.3SG.M	

‘The boy says to his sister, “You sit down right here, I will go over.” The girl sat down and he went over and arrived at the witch.’ [NE-BG] (Morgenstierne Tale 3.5-7)

- (134) *Pěnáň é ušúp cáňě-taň léylestě póčě gússi, amú=meň só těrő.*
pě-náň é ušúp cáň-ě =taň ley~ley-stě
 LP-gorge one horse all-OBL =from good~INTS=REF
pě-áčě gu_-stě_-asi amú =meň só_t-ěrő
 LP-eye go.RES.PST.3 REFL =with preserve-PFV.PST.3SG.M
 ‘One horse in the gorge had looked most beautiful of all to him, [so] he kept it with him.’ [NE] (Afsāna King 10.3)
- (135) *Psáta šalvřéyi amšé-kě aměšola yipőlě.*
p-sa-tá šol-vřayi amšé =kě
 LP-mountain.pasture-place stable-associate.DIR REFL.PL for
amó-šol-a yip-ólě.
 house-stable-OBL.SG.F arise-CAUS-IPFV/FUT.3
 ‘On the mountain pasture the shepherds build a house-stable for themselves.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg VI 12.4)
- (136) *Širtéye stě amšé pamú syamyá.*
širtéyi-ě st-ě amšé p-amú
 hunter-OBL.SG.M DEM.DIST-DIR REFL.PL LP-house
syam-yá.
 send-PFV.PST.3PL
 ‘The hunter sent them to their house.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg Skazka III 9.4)
- (137) *Aské nuksédi atti, amú=stě áři-meš atti, Agáci ózo!*
ask-ě nuksé-di ác-ti amú =stě
 DEM.DIST-DIR get.out-CVB come-CVB REFL =REF
ári =meš ác-ti Agáci
 boy.DIR/GEN =with come-CVB PN.LOC
ózo
 come.PFV.PST.3SG.M
 ‘He escaped this way and came with his son to Agáci (Agasi)!’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 670.3)

2.3.5.4.2 Individuating Reflexive Pronoun¹²⁸

The individuating reflexive pronoun *yo* (REFL.IND) is the only reflexive pronoun that appears with 1st and 2nd person antecedents in the examined corpus. With these, it can have the same neutral reflexive meaning that the basic reflexive pronoun has with 3rd person antecedents. It is case-invariant and can appear as a possessor within a noun phrase, either on its own or with the referentializer *-stě*, as in examples (138) and (139).

- (138) *Yó=stě farháng pámě ná štěň!*
yo *=stě* *farháng* *pámě* *na* *ště-ň*
 REFL.IND =REF culture forget... NEG ...forget.IMP-2PL

‘Don’t forget your (own) culture!’ [SE-MM] (Axtar Program 48.2)

- (139) *Káy vel-tā yó=stě gřómě-taň, yó=stě šahr-taň běréň vípsiněmiš-bo, [...]*
kay *vel* *=tā* *yo* *=stě* *gřóm-ě* *=taň*
 what time =LPST REFL.IND =REF village-OBL =from

yo *=stě* *šahr* *=taň* *běré-ň*
 REFL.IND =REF town =from ←-SN

vú-psi-němiš *=bo*
 ↓-settle-COND.1PL =CNJ

‘When we have stayed outside of our villages or our towns, [...]’ [NE-MR]
 (Mansur Coronavirus 5.12)

To form an independent reflexive noun phrase, *yo* is usually combined into a possessive phrase with the noun NE *šũ*, W *šu*, SE *šũ* ‘breath, life, soul’ again either with or without the referentializer.¹²⁹ This combination is only a reflexive expression, with no lexical meaning of ‘breath, life, soul’ remaining. The phrase as a whole is therefore glossed as REFL.IND. Examples (140) – (142) demonstrate its use.

¹²⁸ Grjunberg (1980: 193): “reflexive attributive pronoun” (*vozvratno-opredelitel’noe mestoimenie*).

¹²⁹ In the Southeastern dialect consonant lenition applies within the resulting phrase, producing *yó žũ*. With the referentializer, the noun appears in its unlenited form as *yó=stě šũ*.

- (140) *Omki ojī-stě ké imú ině břazě-taň, ině dukšúlě-taň yó šů só tě bátěmiš.*
o-mkí o-jí =stě ke imú
 PHOR-DEM.DIST.PL.DIR PHOR-such =REF do.CVB 1PL.DIR
inė břaz-ě =taň ině dukšúl-ě
 DEM.PROX disease-OBL.SG.M =from DEM.PROX illness-OBL
=taň yo_šů-ō só_tě-ō bá-těmiš
 =from REFL.IND-OBL preserve-INF be.able-PROG.1PL

‘By doing those things like that we can protect ourselves from this disease, from this illness.’ [NE-MR] (Mansur Coronavirus 4.5)

- (141) *Káči manči kasétě-bo, stě-taň yó-stě šů é čělěk vákšōmu.*
káči manč-í kasé-tě =bo st-ě
 who person-DIR cough-PROG.PRS.3SG =CNJ DEM.DIST-OBL.SG.M
=taň yo_ =stě_šů-ō e čělěk vá-kšō-mu
 =from REFL.IND-OBL one little.bit →  ←-pull-OPT.1PL

‘We should keep ourselves a little away from any person that is coughing.’ [NE-MR] (Mansur Coronavirus 5.7)

- (142) *Yó šůře lěsón!*
yo_šůř-e lěs-ón
 REFL.IND-OBL escape-CAUS.IMP

‘Save yourself!’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg VIII 16.3)

With 3rd person antecedents *yo* has a more contrastive or emphasized meaning in comparison to the basic reflexive pronoun. In possessor use it can be translated as ‘his/her/their own’ and in the phrasal combination with NE *šů*, W *šu*, SE *šů* as ‘his/her own self, their own selves’.

- (143) *Várě břazě ůš ké yó břazě puměštyá.*
várě-ō břaz-ě ůš_k-e
 other-OBL disease-OBL.SG.M look.at-CVB
yo břaz-ě puměšty-á
 REFL.IND disease-DIR forget-PFV.PST.3PL

‘Looking at the disease of others, [they] forgot their own diseases.’ [NE-MR] (Mansur Proverbs 563)

- (144) *Yó lëtrí yó jñělē.*

<i>yo</i>	<i>lëtrí</i>	<i>yo</i>	<i>jñě-l-ě</i>
REFL.IND	thing.DIR	REFL.IND	kill-IPFV.PTCP-M.DIR

‘One’s own wealth is one’s own killer.’ [NE-MR] (Mansur Proverbs 602)
- (145) *Mančt-tě súv yó véše=kě amšé gó gáyi gěvǎ=č.*

<i>manč-í</i>	<i>=tě</i>	<i>suv</i>	<i>yo</i>	<i>věš-e</i>	<i>=kě.</i>
person-DIR	=CONTR.TOP	all	REFL.IND	health-OBL.SG.M	=for
<i>amšé</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>gáyi</i>	<i>gěvǎ</i>	<i>=č</i>	
REFL.PL	cow.DIR/OBL	take.away.CVB	go.PFV.PST.3PL	=ADD	

‘The people, all [only caring] for their own health, took their cows and left.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg VIII 17.6)
- (146) *Amkyō yó šǔ kěné vičǐlē čěméya.*

<i>amkí-ō</i>	<i>yo_šǔ</i>	<i>kěné-ō</i>	<i>vičǐ-l-ě</i>
DEM.DIST.PL-OBL.PL	REFL.IND.DIR	laugh-INF	be.worth-IPFV.PTCP-M.DIR

čěmé-ya
consider-PFV.PST.3PL
‘They considered their own selves worth laughing at.’ [NE-BN]
(Sun-Aro Chicken 14.9)

When used as a possessor, *yo* can express the individuated/distributive or separate nature of the possessive relation, as, respectively, in examples (147) and (148).

- (147) *Ojǐ-stě ké marě yó bugǔlē pōrě unděráya yó pamǔ=kě guá.*

<i>o-jǐ</i>	<i>=stě</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>marě</i>	<i>yo</i>
PHOR-such	=REF	do.CVB	hawk.DIR	REFL.IND
<i>bu-gǔl-ě</i>	<i>pōrě</i>	<i>unděrá-ya</i>	<i>yo</i>	
LP-country-ABL	LP.direction	fly-PFV.PST.3PL	REFL.IND	
<i>p-amú-ō</i>	<i>=kě</i>	<i>guá</i>		
LP-house-ABL.PL	=for	go.PFV.PST.3PL		

‘In this way the hawks flew towards each of their countries and went to each of their homes.’ [NE-BN] (Sun-Aro Hawk 11.9)

- (148) *Vúze=tě ní púta=taře gě pétě, tyú yó bēdó gě Bérkēnař přov=ey.*

<i>vúze</i>	<i>=tě</i>	<i>ní</i>	<i>púta</i>	<i>=tař-e</i>
1SG.DIR	=CONTR.TOP	DEM.PROX	way-OBL.SG.F	=LPST-ABL
<i>gě</i>	<i>pé-tě</i>		<i>tyu</i>	<i>yo</i>
go.CVB	depart-PFV.PST.1SG		2SG.DIR	REFL.IND
<i>bě-dó</i>	<i>gě</i>	<i>Bérkēnař</i>	<i>přov</i>	<i>=ey</i>
LP-mountain	go.CVB	PN.LOC	arrive.IMP	=CONS

‘I am going by this way, and you go by your own separate mountain pass and arrive at Berkēnař.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg IX 29.1)

The distributive meaning can be further emphasized by reduplication, as in example (149).

- (149) *Varíkvor xatám bissě cáŋ yó=stě-yó=stě kúdyum=tã masrúf=ay.*

<i>varík-vor</i>	<i>xatám</i>	<i>b-í=stě=asě</i>	<i>cáŋ</i>	<i>yó=stě~yó=stě</i>
friend-ness	conclude-RES.3SG		all.DIR	REFL.IND=REF~DISTR
<i>kúdyum</i>	<i>=tã</i>	<i>masrúf</i>	<i>=ay</i>	
work	=LPST	busy	=COP.3PL	

‘Friendship has ended, all are busy with their own separate work.’ [NE] (Facebook)

Though the Persian loanword (*h*)*ar* seems to be more commonly employed for this, *yo* may also be used as an individuating quantifier in the sense of ‘each, every (single)’. When used in this sense, the head noun appears in its plural form. Examples (150) – (152) demonstrate this use. In example (152), *yo* is used once as an individuating quantifier and once as a reflexive possessive pronoun.

- (150) *Tú imú yó bēdócyō pēlēnyosēmiš, yó bēdēkařũ ačũnyosēmiš!*

<i>tú</i>	<i>imú</i>	<i>yo</i>	<i>bě-dó-cy-o-ō</i>
2SG.OBL	1PL	IND	LP-mountain-sharp-M-LOC.PL
<i>pēlē-é-yosēmiš</i>	<i>yo</i>	<i>bě-do-kařũ-ō</i>	
move-CAUS-PFV.PST.1PL	IND	LP-mountain-base-LOC.PL	
<i>ačũ-é-yosēmiš</i>			
run-CAUS-PFV.PST.1PL			

‘You made us move to every mountain peak and run to every mountain foot!’ [NE-BN] (Sun-Aro Chicken 12.7)

- (151) *Pamúřetu yó voso tóče-meš šcéney.*
p-amúř-e=atu yo vós-o tót-še =meš
 LP-house-ABL.SG=→ IND day-OBL.PL father-PERT1.OBL =with
ščé-ně=ey
 fight-PROG.PRS.3SG=CONS

‘Inside the home she is fighting with my father every day’ [W-KL]
 (Grjunberg XIV 21.1)

- (152) *Yó gřom yó čor.*
yo gřom yo čor
 IND vill. IND REFL.IND custom

‘Each village [has] its own custom.’ [NE-MR] (Mansur Proverbs 601)

It can also be used in the sense of ‘a [noun] each’ as in examples (153) and (154) or form an independent noun phrase meaning ‘each (person), everyone’ as in example (155), where it appears once in this sense and once as a reflexive possessive pronoun.

- (153) *É přacúk atúši=bo, stó yó kuṇúk kě yúnět.*
e přacúk atú-aš-í =bo st-o
 one small.bread[F].DIR →-throw-COND.3 =CNJ DEM.DIST-OBL.SG.F
yo kuṇúk kě yú-nět
 IND half.circle do.CVB eat-PROG.PRS.3PL

‘If they bake a small bread, they are eating it after breaking it into a half for each[, that is how poor they are].’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg Skazka I 1.5)

- (154) *Éřō yó ģilār, éřō yó ģuṇúk přélay.*
éř-ō yo kílār éř-ō yo kuṇúk
 some-OBL.PL IND cheese.DIR some-OBL.PL IND half.circle.DIR
přé-lě=ay
 give-IPFV/FUT.3PL

‘They give some a cheese each and some a half each.’ [SE-KM]
 (Ġulāmullāh Mūmoč 9.6)

- (155) *Yó kuř yó=kě sún búlay.*
yo kuř yo =kě sun bú-lě=ay
 REFL.IND child.DIR IND =for gold be-IPFV/FUT.3PL

‘For each (person) their own children are gold’ [NE-MR]
(Mansur Proverbs 621)

2.3.5.5 Pronominal Exclusive Intensifier Expressions¹³⁰

Exclusive adverbial intensifier expressions (‘by X-self’, ‘on X’s own’) can be constructed from pronouns in the form of a possessive phrase, with a personal pronoun as possessor for the 1st and 2nd persons and a reflexive pronoun (either *amú* or *yo*) for the 3rd person, and with the nominal element NE *zańí*, W *zayó*, SE *jańí* as possessum.¹³¹ As usual in possessive phrases, the possessor stands in the oblique case (or the Genitive Case in the Southeastern dialect), but the referentializer *-stě* is never used in these expressions. In the third person the usual contrast between *amú* and *yo* is the same as in their reflexive possessive use: The expression with *amú* is neutral, whereas use of *yo* emphasizes the fact that an action is either done separately from someone else or, in the plural, by each individual on their own. Example (156) shows use in the 1st person (with a personal pronoun) and examples (157)-(160) show use with 3rd persons (with reflexive pronouns).

- (156) *Ní gó pú né běřúko, yé zayó pú né élum.*

<i>ni</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>pu</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>běřúko</i>	<i>ye</i>
DEM.PROX	COW.DIR	↖  ↗ NEG		take.CVB.NEG	1SG.OBL

<i>zayó</i>	<i>pu</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>é-lum</i>
by.self	↖  ↗ NEG		go-FUT.1SG.M

‘I will not go over on my own, without bringing over this cow.’ [W-KL]
(Grjunberg VIII 12.4)

¹³⁰ Grjunberg (1980: 193) calls this type of expression “proper reflexive pronoun” (*sobstvenno-vozvratnoe mestoimenie*). It is, however, intensifying/exclusive and not reflexive in meaning, though reflexive pronouns do form part of its construction.

¹³¹ W *zayó* is most likely the instrumental form of a hypothetical **zayí*, which would be the regular correspondence of NE *zańí*, SE *jańí*.

- (157) *Akí-ste aské amú jañi yúḡidi, pšól dútékti, gó barém dádi, bařéstay.*
akí =ste ask-é amú jañí
 LDEM.DIST =from DEM.DIST-OBL.SG.M REFL by.self
yú-gi-di pšol du até-k-ti go
 ↓-go-CVB LP.stable door →-do-CVB COW.DIR
baré-m dá-di bařé-stě-ay
 ←-drive-CVB take.RES.3PL

‘Then he went down by himself, opened the door to the stable, drove out the cows and took them away’ [SE-PT] (Ġulāmullāh/Karim Pitiḡil 26.1)

- (158) *Ščīleř “kó vútye” káti, guṇúře bévete. Stě amú zayó nóť kúley.*
ščīleř ko vú-tye ká-ti guṇúř-e bé-vetě
 softly SPRT ↑-stand do-CVB ball-OBL.SG.M ←-let.IMP
st-ě amú zayó nóť kú-lě-ey
 DEM.DIST-DIR REFL by.self dance-IPFV/FUT.3=CONS

‘Softly say “please stand up” and let the ball go. It will dance on its own.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg Skazka III 3.7-8)

- (159) *Kúyā mančī yó zañi ipólay.*
kúyā manč-í yo zañí ip-ó-lě-ay
 earlier person-DIR REFL.IND by.self arise-CAUS-IPFV.3PL

‘In earlier times the people would produce them [clothes] each on their own.’ [NE-PC] (RTA Clothing 24.5)

- (160) *Stó yajařé-bo, řadór bi-bo, mačkúř yó zayó-je štrí yó zayóy pěřúča-yik*
dóř kúlě.

st-o yaš-y-ařé =bo řadór
 DEM.DIST-OBL.PL food-eat-COND.3 =CNJ nighttime
b-i =bo mač-kúř yo zayó
 become-COND.3 =CNJ man-child.DIR REFL.IND by.self
=je štri yo zayó-ey pě-řúč-a
 =and woman.DIR REFL.IND by.self=CONS LP-light-LOC/ABL
=yik doř kú-lě
 =until fun do-IPFV.3

‘When they have eaten and it has become night, the men and the women by themselves celebrate until dawn.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg II 8.6)

2.3.6 Nominal Derivation

2.3.6.1 Adjective Conversion

Most adjectives can be freely converted into nominals without any further derivation. They are inflected according to the noun declension that corresponds to their phonological form (and gender if applicable), e.g. masculine adjectives in *-ë* follow the masculine *-ë* declensions of all dialects (2.3.4.3, 2.3.4.8), feminine adjectives in *-i* respectively follow the Northeastern *-i* declension (2.3.4.5), the Western feminine consonantal declension of *-i* Stems (2.3.4.7.1) or the Southeastern vocalic declension (2.3.4.2), etc.

The only exception to free adjective conversion is the perfective participle (2.9.6.2.2), which requires the referentializer *-stë* for predicative use and for use as the head of a noun phrase.

2.3.6.2 Numeral & Quantifier Conversion

Like adjectives, numerals can be freely converted into nominals without additional derivation. Again they are inflected in accordance with their phonological forms, e.g. *ev* ‘1’ is a consonantal alternating *-v* Stem (*ē ~ ev-*, 2.3.4.1.1) in the Southeastern dialect and part of the regular consonantal declension in the Western dialect, NE/W *dyu*, SE *dü* ‘2’ is part of the vocalic declension in the Eastern dialects and invariant in the Western dialect.

The same is possible with quantifiers, e.g. with NE *érë*, W *évrë*, SE *érë* ‘some’, which follows the *-ë* Declension, NE *çan*, W *suv* which follow the consonantal declension or SE-KM/KS *sũ* ‘all’ which is a vocalic nasal vowel stem. In accordance with their meaning, most numerals and quantifiers are inflected as inherent plurals when nominalized.

2.3.6.3 Deverbal Nouns

On the various formations of deverbal nouns, i.e. nouns formed from verbal bases, see section 2.9.4.1.

2.3.6.4 Compounding

Nominal compounding is a rather productive mechanism for the derivation of new words in Katë. There are two types of compounds, of which one is more productive and has stress on the first compound element, and the other is less productive, has stress on the final compound element and shows a number of phonological

interactions between the compound elements, most notably stress and vowel alternations (on these, see sections 2.1.5.1 and 2.1.5.2.1). The group of compounds with final stress and phonological peculiarities likely resulted from an older compounding strategy and, due to its age, has accumulated more peculiar sound changes than the younger type. I therefore call these types respectively *older* and *younger* compounds.

Most compounds only have two members, but combinations of more than two are possible, especially in copulative (*dvandva*) compounds, e.g. NE *gúl-aṭel-piṭ* ‘valleys, cliffs and spurs’ (*gul* ‘valley, country’ + *aṭól* ‘cliff’ + *piṭ* ‘spur’) or SE *čam-žě-ğür* ‘skin, head and hooves/feet’ (*čom* ‘skin’ + *šē* ‘head’ + *kür* ‘foot’).

Outside of copulative (*dvandva*) compounds, the usual semantic structure of a Katë nominal compound is modifier-head, i.e. the first element modifies the meaning of the second element. E.g. in NE *ušúp-amu* ‘horse stable’ – composed of the elements *ušúp* ‘horse’ and *amú* ‘house’ – the first element modifies the meaning of the second element by specifying that the type of house in question is for horses.

The semantic relations between the compound elements and their referent can be of various kinds. These are illustrated with examples below for the types of compounds that produce a noun, i.e. for noun-noun compounds and adjective-noun compounds. Noun-adjective compounds are discussed in the section on adjective derivation (2.4.3.6). Discussion of noun-verb compounding is found in the section on verb derivation (2.9.3.2).

2.3.6.4.1 Endocentric Compounds (*Tatpuruṣa*)

Endocentric (determinative) compounds, or *Tatpuruṣas* in Sanskrit terminology, are compounds in which the whole compound refers to the same type of entity as its head (i.e. its final member), like in the example of NE *ušúp-amu* ‘horse stable’ that was discussed above.

Examples:

NE *Katě* ‘Katë people’ + *věří* ‘speech, word, language’

⇒ *Katě-věři* ‘Katë language’

NE/SE *gul* ‘valley, country’ + *ō* ‘water’

⇒ NE *gulŏ*, SE *galŏ* ‘river (in a valley)’

NE *ō* ‘water’ + *kuṭ* ‘tower’

⇒ *ōkuṭ* ‘ship’

NE/W/SE *go* ‘cow’ + *šol* ‘stable’

⇒ NE/W *góšol*, SE *góžol* ‘cow stable’

NE/W *němóč*, SE *namóč* ‘prayer’ + NE/W-KL *amú*, SE *amó* ‘house’

⇒ W-KL *něméchamu*, NE *němóčamu*, SE *namóčamo* ‘mosque’

NE *řu* ‘deodar cedar’ + NE *kěno*, SE *kanó* ‘tree’

⇒ NE *řúkěno*, SE *řúgano* ‘deodar tree’

NE *gřom* ‘village’ + *měšě* ‘anger’

⇒ *gřamměšě* ‘anger at the whole village’

NE/W *to*, SE *tot* ‘father’ + NE/W/SE *břo* ‘brother’

⇒ NE/W/SE *tódbřo* ‘male lineage member’

NE *yuš* ‘demon’ + *kóřě* ‘crow’

⇒ *yuškóřě* ‘carion crow, crow that eats corpses’

Adjectives can be used as a first (modifying) compound member. The resulting compounds usually differ semantically from phrasal combinations of an adjective and a noun, but the distinction between a compound with a single word stress and a phrasal combination with a single phrasal stress is not always easy to draw. In many cases, adjectives in adjective-noun compounds lose their gender marking suffixes, appearing without a final vowel also before feminine compound heads, but there are also some cases in which the feminine ending *-i* is retained. The masculine ending *-ě* is never retained, but this may also be dropped in phrasal combinations if it is unstressed (cf. section 2.1.5.4.3) and its absence is therefore not a criterion for the distinction between compounds and phrasal combinations. Spatial adjectives are never phrasally combined with nouns, but instead can be compounded with their head nouns (cf. section 2.8.6.4.1).

Examples:

NE *kaňště*, W *křěště*, SE *kaňěště* ‘younger (M)’ + NE/W *to*, SE *tot* ‘father’

⇒ NE *kaňštó*, W *kř(ě)štó*, SE *kaňěštó* ‘paternal uncle (younger than the father)’

NE *kaňští*, W *křěští*, SE *kaňěšti* ‘younger (F)’ + NE/W *nu*, SE *nū* ‘mother’

⇒ NE *kaňštínu*, W *kř(ě)štínu*, SE *kaňěštinū* ‘aunt (younger than parent)’

NE/W *léy*, SE-KM *lē* ‘good’ + NE/W/SE *moč*, W-KT *muč* ‘husband, man’

⇒ NE/W *léymoč*, W-KT *léymuč*, SE *lēmoč* ‘warrior’

SE *dağêrê* ‘bad, evil (M)’ + *davó* ‘personal prayer’
⇒ *dağêrdavo* ‘curse’ (cf. Prs. *bad-du‘ā* ‘id.’)

NE *urel-* ‘upper’ + *amú* ‘house’
⇒ *urélamu* ‘upper floor’

NE *utó* SE *vutó* ‘more; spare, superfluous; surpassing, great’ + NE *vêrí*, SE *virí* ‘speech’
⇒ NE *utévêri*, SE *vutéviri* ‘superfluous speech, nonsense’

One of the compound elements may be in the locative case (marked by the local prefix). If the first element is in the locative, there may be ambiguity in whether the locative meaning relates only to the first element or to the entire compound, e.g. with the village name NE *Břëgemaṭol* ‘Barg-i Matāl’, which may be either *břëgóm* ‘village (LOC)’ + *aṭól* ‘cliff’ = ‘cliff in the village’ or *pë-* ‘LP’ + *gřóm-aṭol* ‘village cliff’ = ‘at the village cliff’, but in most cases the structure of the formation can be deduced from its meaning.

Examples:

NE/W/SE *Kom* ‘Kom people’ + NE/W *břëgóm*, SE *břağóm* ‘village (LOC)’
⇒ NE/W *Kómbřëgom*, SE *Kómbřom* ‘Kāmdēš (village name)’

NE *vir-* ‘lower’ (↓-SA) + *břëgom* ‘village (LOC)’
⇒ *Vírbřëgom* ‘Lower Village, a former ward of Břëgemaṭol (Barg-i Matāl)’

NE *bu-jús*, SE *ba-jús* ‘thickened meat broth (LOC)’ + NE *anó*, SE *anú* ‘ghee’
⇒ NE *bujúšanō*, SE *bajúžanū* ‘ghee in thickened meat broth (a feast dish)’

In some cases one element of the compound is no longer used on its own, so that its independent meaning has become obscure.

Examples:

NE *zëm-ó*, SE *jam-ó* ‘saliva’ (NE/SE *ō* ‘water’)

NE/W *kër-vóṭ*, SE *kar-vóṭ* ‘stone pot’ (NE/W/SE *voṭ* ‘stone’)

NE *bědí-špur*, SE *bidí-špur* ‘memory, wisdom’ (NE *bědí*, SE *bidí* ‘mind’)

In other cases the relationship between head and referent is metaphorical.

Examples:

NE/W/SE *go* ‘cow’ + NE *kṭéluk*, SE *kḷuk* ‘little stomach (DIM)’; W *ktyol* ‘stomach’
⇒ NE *gókṭeluk*, W *góktyol*, SE *gókḷuk* ‘morel’

W *řamík* ‘ant’ + *pëřé* ‘egg’
⇒ *řamíkpëřé* ‘rice’

2.3.6.4.2 Copulative Compounds (*Dvandva*)

Copulative compounds, or *Dvandvas* in Sanskrit terminology, consist of two members of equal rank, which are joined together as a group. In some cases the meaning is simply coordinative, the compound referring to both elements together, in others the two members stand metonymically for a larger totality of associated things or ideas. Copulative compounds are grammatically treated as plurals (i.e. in case marking and agreement).

Examples:

NE *nu*, SE *nū* ‘mother’ + NE *to*, SE *tot* ‘father’

⇒ NE *nútot*, SE *nútot* ‘parents’

NE *to* ‘father’ + *vō* ‘grandfather’

⇒ NE *tódvō* ‘ancestors’

NE *štěří* ‘wife’ + *měřé* ‘boy, son’

⇒ NE *štěříměřé* ‘wife and children, nuclear family’

NE *júkuř*, SE *júguř* ‘woman’ + NE *pěrmeň*, SE *parměň* ‘child; small’

⇒ NE *júkuřpěrmeň*, SE *júguřparměň* ‘women and children’

NE *šol* ‘stable’ + *gřom* ‘village’

⇒ *šolgřom* ‘a village community, composed of the mountain pastures with their stables and the village in the valley’

NE *čũ*, W *ču*, SE *čũ* ‘goat kid (up to six months old)’

+ NE/W *přómě*, W-KT *přúmě*, SE *přámě* ‘goat kid (from six months to one year old)’

⇒ NE *čůpřomě*, W-KT *čupřúmě*, SE *čůpřamě* ‘goat kids (collectively)’

NE *mřoň* ‘markhor doe’ + *šurú* ‘markhor buck’

⇒ *mřangšurú* ‘markhors (collectively)’

NE *mřějěcě* ‘songbird’ + *marě* ‘hawk, eagle, bird of prey’

⇒ *mřějěcěmarě* ‘birds (collectively)’

NE *karé* ‘dove’ + *kavík* ‘pigeon’

⇒ *karékavík* ‘doves and pigeons’

NE *bězí*, SE *bajů* ‘women’s overcoat’ + NE *sěno*, SE *sanó* ‘men’s overcoat’

⇒ NE *bězísno*, SE *basěno* ‘clothes’

SE *kṭol* ‘stomach, belly; food’ + *basěno* ‘clothes’

⇒ *kṭělbasesno* ‘food and clothing’

NE/SE *yaš* ‘breakfast’ + *šō* ‘dinner’

⇒ NE *išō*, SE *yažō* ‘meals’

NE *sey* ‘head’ + *kyur* ‘leg, hoof’

⇒ *šékyur* ‘head and hooves (e.g. as a dish = Prs. *kalla-pāča*)’

Another type of formation that may perhaps be considered a copulative compound is formed with a locative case form as a second member. Such formations are frequently, but not always, reduplicative, with the same nominal stem being used twice. They then have collective, iterative or otherwise intensifying semantics.

Examples:

NE/SE *šu* ‘news, information’

⇒ *šú-p-šu* “news upon news” = ‘news and such’

SE *sě* ‘year’

⇒ *sě-pa-sě* “year upon year” = ‘every year’

SE *čit* ‘thought, wish’

⇒ *čit-pě-čit* “thought upon thought” = ‘doubt, hesitation’

SE *noš* ‘destruction’

⇒ *noš-pě-noš* “destruction upon destruction” = ‘ruin(ed)’

SE *noš* ‘destruction’ + unclear second element

⇒ *našpětor* (NE *naštór*) “destruction upon [unclear]” = ‘broken’

SE *čalě* ‘moving away, being exiled (INF)’ (**čol* ‘exile’) + *noš* ‘destruction’

⇒ *čal-pě-nos* “exile upon destruction” = ‘complete ruin’

With copulative compounds, too, individual elements may have fallen out of use or changed their meaning, so that the compositionality of the compound’s meaning becomes obscure.

Example:

nos ‘boulder’ (original meaning *‘nose’) + *kor* ‘ear’

⇒ NE/SE *naskór*, W *nóskor* ‘face’

SE *jō* ‘knee’ + *po* ‘step’ (original meaning *‘foot’)

⇒ *jāpó* ‘leg’

2.3.6.4.3 Exocentric Compounds (*Bahuvrīhi*)

Exocentric (possessive) compounds, or *Bahuvrīhis* in Sanskrit terminology, are compounds with a referent that is identical with neither of the two elements, but that is identified by the fact that it possesses the head element (i.e. the second element) as modified by the modifying element (i.e. the first element). An example in English is *sabertooth* as the name of an animal that has saber-like teeth.

Such compounds are relatively rare in Katë. An example of an exocentric adjective-noun compound is NE *kašīrdaři* ‘elderly man, elder’ < *kašīrë* ‘white’ + *daři* ‘beard’.

A possible noun-noun example could be the formations with the suffix *-bor* discussed in section 2.3.6.8.9, if the element *bor* in these can be taken to be identical with the independent noun *bor* ‘load, burden’. In that case, e.g., NE *kṭól-bor* ‘person with a large belly’ could be interpreted as “belly-load/burden” referring to a person that has their belly as a load or burden.

A possible noun-adjective example are the combinations with *-koř* discussed in section 2.3.6.8.11.

2.3.6.5 Personal Names and Livestock Names

Traditional (pre-Islamic) personal names, which are no longer in active use today, were often nominal compounds, combined in various ways from a pool of common elements. Among the attested names, there are noun-noun compounds (e.g. SE *Mólkon* < *mol* ‘crest, crown’ + *kon* ‘Khan’), adjective-noun compounds (e.g. NE *Utémer*, W *Vétémer*, SE *Vutémer* < NE *utó*, W *větó*, SE *vutó* ‘more; spare, superfluous; surpassing, great’ + *mer* ‘king’) and nominalized noun-adjective compounds (e.g. NE/SE *Gúmaro* < *gum* ‘wheat’ + *aró* ‘rich (M)’). Female names could in some cases be derived from male names with a suffix *-i* (e.g. M *Mérkon* ⇒ F *Mérkoni*).

Goats and cattle (less so horses and sheep) are given individual names in Nuristan,¹³² which are composed of meaningful elements that make reference to their physical features, such as coat colors and patterns, horns, ears, wattles etc. The animals are also addressed with these names. Some of the elements used in livestock names are specialized color, pattern or horn-feature adjectives. The color and pattern terms often contain a suffix NE M *-éñ*, F *-(ř)éý*; W M *-ér*, F *-(ř)éyi*; SE M *-éñ*, F *-éñi*.¹³³

¹³² The Prasun livestock names published in Buddruss & Degener (2015: 427–433) in fact all seem to be loanwords from Katë. The Chitral Kalasha also give individual names to their goats, but not to their cattle or sheep (Alberto Cacopardo, p.c.).

¹³³ This suffix is likely identical with the Iranian color suffix **-ajna-* + *-ka-* suffixes.

Examples:

NE M <i>taréň</i> , F <i>tarěý</i> ; SE M <i>taréň</i> , F <i>tarěňi</i>	‘having a blaze’
NE M <i>kěměň</i> , F <i>kěmřěý</i> ; SE M <i>kuměň</i> , F <i>kuměňi</i>	‘brown in front and white in the back’
SE M <i>malíň</i> , F <i>malíňi</i>	‘white-faced’
SE <i>loç</i>	‘reddish brown’
NE M <i>kuřé</i> , F <i>kuří</i> ; SE M <i>kuḇré</i> , F <i>kuḇrí</i>	‘hornless’
NE/W <i>aťélě</i> ; SE <i>aľě</i>	‘having crossing horns (<i>male goat</i>)’

Color or pattern adjectives can appear in a shortened form within a compound, both in initial and final position (e.g. SE *malíň* > -*mal-*, *taréň* > -*tar-*, *kuḇré* > -*kuḇ-*). Another source of livestock name elements are regular nouns used in metaphorical senses.

Examples:

W <i>gěř</i> , SE <i>geř</i>	‘having a wattle (<i>goat</i>)’ usually: ‘coiled neck ornament, torque’
NE <i>aršém</i> , W <i>aršém</i> , SE <i>aršúm</i>	‘bright reddish brown’ usually: ‘silk’
NE/W <i>ĵut</i> , SE <i>ĵüt</i>	‘spotted’ usually: ‘(snow) leopard’
NE/W/SE <i>piš</i>	‘having white ears’ usually: ‘flower’

The individual terms are compounded to express the combination of features. Like with female human names, female animal names can be derived with the suffix -*i* (or the diminutive -*ik*).

Examples (SE dialect):

<i>Piš-tar</i>	‘name for a male goat with white ears and a blaze’
<i>Ĵüt-kuḇ-ik</i>	‘name for a spotted hornless female goat’
<i>Lóç-tar-i</i>	‘name for a reddish cow with a blaze’
<i>Aršúm-i</i>	‘name for a bright reddish cow’

2.3.6.6 Echo Formations

Echo formations are a type of partial reduplication in which the second element (the “echo word”) shows a different initial consonant than the first and which has a kind of broadening semantics similar to English “and such things”. Following Emeneau (1956: 10), these formations are generally considered a characteristic areal feature of South Asia (Masica 1976: 189), but they seem to be less prominent in Nuristani languages than in more central languages of the area (Degener 1998: 10; Buddruss & Degener 2017: 82).

Katë echo formations have been studied by Yoshioka (2021), who classifies them within his typology of echo formations in the languages of northern Pakistan (Yoshioka 2017; based on Khan 2006) as belonging to the same type (A) as neighboring Indo-Aryan Kalasha and Khowar. In this type, the second, reduplicated element starts with *m*- and there is no avoidance of *m*-initial reduplication if the original first consonant was already *m*, so that words starting with *m*- are, in effect, simply fully reduplicated.¹³⁴ Stress is placed on the first member of the formation.

Examples:

NE *čĩńó* ‘sour (M)’ ⇒ *čĩńó-mĩńó* ‘sour things and such, pickles’

NE *věří* ‘word, speech, language’ ⇒ *věří-měři* ‘words and such’ (Yoshioka 2021: 436)

NE *mo* ‘cooked rice’ ⇒ *mó-mo* ‘cooked rice and such’ (Yoshioka 2021: 436–437)

SE *pul* ‘seed, fruit, round object’ ⇒ *púl-mul* ‘pieces, chunks’

SE *guṭ* ‘joint’ ⇒ *gúṭ-muṭ* ‘limbs’

A point in favor of the idea that this strategy of echo reduplication is not just a recent imitation of the Khowar pattern is the existence of the word NE/W *sěńémno* ‘clothes’ < **sěńó-měńo* < *sěńó* ‘robe’, which is primarily found in the Western dialect (i.e. outside of the Khowar sphere of influence) and has evidently undergone several sound

¹³⁴ Echo formations attested from other Nuristani languages also reduplicate with initial *m*-, e.g. Prasun *kür-mür* < *kür* ‘child’ (Buddruss & Degener 2017: 82). The examples noted by Degener (1998: 10) for Nuristani Kalasha are not of this type, but these are probably not the words that should be compared: The word *tol-gól* is not an echo formation of *tol* ‘field’, but a copulative compound with *gol* ‘valley, country, land’ and means in fact ‘fields and land = real estate, immovable property’ rather than ‘fields and such’ (Tāza 2017: 820). The word *jala-góla* (not **jāla-golá*) is actually an oblique form (cf. Degener 1998: 514) of *jala-gól*, a determinative compound with *gol* that means ‘tree land, land with many trees’ (cf. Tāza 2017: 870; Strand 1999d). On the other hand, an echo formation with *m*- can in fact be observed in *tana-maná* ‘children (coll.)’ < *taná* ‘child’ (Degener 1998: 536).

changes since its formation, to the point of becoming almost unrecognizable as an echo form, which indicates that it has been in use for some time.

In the case of SE *ǰǰmǰǰǰ(t)* ‘elders (coll.)’ < *ǰǰ(t)* ‘elder’, it is unclear whether a different echo formation strategy with a prefix *mi-* has been used (instead of expected ***ǰǰmǰǰ*) or whether the *-mi-* element is historically distinct from the echo morpheme. As example (161) shows, the echo word does not need to be directly adjacent to the base, but can be interrupted by clitics.¹³⁵

- (161) *Aní éřě, Gulbudín=ǰe Mulbudín=gilō, vuběǰǰsa?*
aní éřě Gulbudín ǰe M-ulbudín=kil-ō
 LDEM.PROX some PN =and ECHO-PN=ASSOC-OBL.PL
vuběǰǰ-e-ǰ-stě-ězě-a
 arise-CAUS-RES.3SG=Q
 ‘Did some Gulbuddin and such with their people start it here?’ [SE-KM]
 (AVA Jihad 571.4)

2.3.6.7 Derivational Prefixes

2.3.6.7.1 Negation

The negator NE/W *ne*, SE *na* (cf. section 2.9.4.2.2) can be prefixed to nouns to derive nouns referring to the opposite of the base

Examples:

NE/SE <i>lus</i>	‘means, advantage’	⇒	NE <i>nélus</i>	‘hardship’
			SE <i>nálus</i>	
<i>koṭ</i>	‘force, strength, power’	⇒	SE <i>náḡoṭ</i>	‘weakness, sickness’

2.3.6.7.2 Animal Gender Prefixes

The prefixes NE/W *né-*, SE *ní-* (M) and NE/W *ští-*, SE *štrí-* (F) are used to derive specific terms respectively for male and female animals from an unspecific base. The Southeastern female form is equivalent to the independent noun *štri* ‘wife, woman’.

Examples:

NE <i>kakok</i> ‘chicken’	⇒	<i>né-kakok</i> ‘rooster’
W <i>vušp</i> ‘horse’	⇒	<i>né-vušp</i> ‘stallion’, <i>ští-vušp</i> ‘mare’

¹³⁵ This also seems to be the usual case in Indo-Aryan languages (Masica 1991: 80).

SE *koṭ* ‘goat/sheep’ ⇒ *ní-ḡoṭ* ‘male goat/sheep’, *štrí-ḡoṭ* ‘female goat/sheep’

2.3.6.8 Derivational Suffixes

The distinction between derivational suffixes and compounded nouns is not always easy to draw. If an element is productively used to derive nouns with a semantic contribution that differs from its meaning in independent use, it is treated here as a derivational suffix. As with compounds, there are some suffix derivatives that show certain phonological alternations, in particular stress shifts (2.1.5.1) and vowel alternations (2.1.5.2.1), while others do not. This difference in phonological behavior is not tied to the kind of suffix used, since derivatives with the same suffix may differ in this regard. Instead, as noted in the section on compounds (2.3.6.4), it likely depends on the age of the particular formation.

2.3.6.8.1 Diminutive *-k*, *-uk*

The central function of the suffixes *-k* and *-uk* is that of a diminutive, i.e. they add the meaning of something being (unusually) small, which may go along with connotations of either endearment or derision. They are also quite commonly found in traditional personal names and in livestock names. The variant *-uk* is used after consonants and with bases ending in *-ě*. In the latter case it replaces the final *-ě* of the base. The variant *-k* is used after vowels and *y*.

Examples (NE dialect):

<i>přoc</i>	‘loaf’	⇒	<i>přacúk</i>	‘small bread, biscuit’
<i>sus</i>	‘sister’	⇒	<i>súsuk</i>	‘little/dear sister’
<i>břo</i>	‘brother’	⇒	<i>břok</i>	‘little/dear brother’

Beyond the basic function of a diminutive, these suffixes also appear with a number of grammatical functions.

Adjectives with diminutive suffixes can be used like normal adjectives with simply the addition of diminutive meaning. More commonly, however, the diminutive suffixes are actually used as nominalizers, producing gender variant nouns with meanings that are not necessarily diminutive, though diminutive connotations may be present.

Examples:

NE/SE <i>purd-ě</i> , <i>purd-í</i>	‘old’	⇒	<i>purd-úk</i> (M)	‘old man’
			<i>purd-ík</i> (F)	‘old woman’

W <i>përd-ě, përd-í</i>	‘old’	⇒	<i>përd-úk</i> (M)	‘old man’
			<i>përd-ík</i> (F)	‘old woman’
NE <i>laṇ-ě, laṇ-í</i>	‘bald’	⇒	<i>laṇ-úk</i> (M)	‘baldhead’
W <i>zěř-ě, zěř-í</i>	‘red’	⇒	<i>zěř-úk</i> (M)	‘redhead’
NE (<i>no base adjective</i>)			<i>lělí-vo-k</i> (M)	‘young man’
			<i>lělí-vay-k</i> (F)	‘young woman’
SE <i>punḍr-ě, punḍr-í</i>	‘round’	⇒	<i>punḍr-úk</i> (M)	‘(pine) cone’
			<i>punḍr-ík</i> (F)	‘bullet’
NE <i>puṛ-ě, puṛ-í</i>	‘round’	⇒	<i>puṛ-úk</i> (M)	‘egg’
			<i>puṛ-ík</i> (F)	‘bullet’
W <i>për-ě, për-í</i>	‘round’, M: ‘egg’	⇒	<i>për-ík</i> (F)	‘bullet’

In the Western dialect, the diminutive forms of imperfective participles (2.9.6.2.3) and of the referential infinitive (2.9.4.1.2) have special grammatical functions. The diminutive suffixes also derive separate grammatical markers from the referentializer (2.7.3.1.1), and the masculine propriative suffix (2.4.3.1.1).

2.3.6.8.2 -vor

The suffix *-vor* has two separate derivational functions. In both of its functions the initial *-v-* of the suffix disappears in some combinations. This happens most frequently in the Southeastern dialect.¹³⁶

In its more common use, *-vor* forms abstract nouns from an adjective or noun base, rarely also from adverbs.

Examples:

With adjective base:

NE/W <i>ley</i>	‘good’	⇒	<i>léyvor</i>	‘goodness, well-being’
SE-KM <i>lē</i>			<i>lévor</i>	
NE <i>dëgërë</i>	‘bad, evil’	⇒	<i>dëgërvor</i>	‘badness, evilness, adversity’
W <i>dëgërë</i>			<i>dëgërvor</i>	
SE <i>ḍağëřë</i>			<i>ḍağëřvor</i>	

¹³⁶ A similar phenomenon is encountered in the propriative suffix, cf. section 2.4.3.1.

NE <i>adgú</i>	‘healthy’	⇒	<i>adgúvor</i>	‘healthiness, health’
NE <i>syľě</i>	‘soft’	⇒	<i>syľvor</i>	‘softness’
NE <i>ḍaṇúrě</i>	‘weak, cowardly’	⇒	<i>ḍaṇúrvor</i>	‘weakness, cowardice’
NE <i>purdě</i>	‘old’	⇒	<i>purděvor</i>	‘oldness, old age’
NE <i>utěli</i>	‘arrogant’	⇒	<i>utělvor</i>	‘arrogance’
SE <i>vutěli</i>			<i>vutělvor</i>	

With noun base:

NE <i>mer</i>	‘king’	⇒	<i>měrvor</i>	‘kingship’
NE <i>břasó</i>	‘siblings, brothers’	⇒	<i>břasóvor</i>	‘brotherhood’
SE <i>brajǵ</i>			<i>brajǵvor</i>	
NE <i>súli</i>	‘sworn brother’	⇒	<i>súlvor</i>	‘sworn-brotherhood’
NE <i>věři</i>	‘speech, language’	⇒	<i>věřivor</i>	‘influence, authority’
SE <i>virǵ</i>			<i>virǵvor</i>	

With adverb base:

NE <i>syúkě</i>	‘at ease’	⇒	<i>syúkěvor</i>	‘relaxation’

With unclear base of derivation:

SE <i>suvór</i>	‘ease, happiness’

A less common function is the derivation of nouns referring to time periods associated with the base of derivation. Here there is an evident relation to the use of *vor* as an independent noun meaning ‘time, turn’, as in, e.g., NE *é vor* ‘one time’, *dyú vor* ‘two times’, *ěřě vor* ‘sometimes’, *cǵṇ vor* ‘always’.

Examples:

NE <i>*zě</i>	‘relating to winter’	⇒	<i>zěvór</i>	‘wintertime, winter’
SE <i>jě</i>			<i>jǵvór</i>	
NE/W/SE <i>šarú</i>	‘relating to fall, fall’	⇒	<i>šarvór</i>	‘falltime, fall’
NE/W <i>*věstě</i>	‘relating to spring’	⇒	<i>vězdór</i>	‘summertime, summer’ ¹³⁷
SE <i>vastě</i>			<i>vazdór</i>	

¹³⁷ There is a semantic incongruence here – the word for ‘spring’ is not derived with the suffix *-vor*, but supplied by the noun from which the adjective ‘relating to spring’ is derived (NE *vusút*, W *věsút*, SE *vazút*).

W/SE <i>řotr</i>	‘night’	⇒	<i>řadór</i>	‘nighttime, night’
NE <i>*řótěr</i>				
NE <i>gěrĩš</i>	‘midday, noon’	⇒	<i>gěrjór</i>	‘daytime, day’
W <i>gěrěš</i>				
SE <i>garěš</i>			<i>gajár</i>	(with irregular a)
NE/W <i>mančí</i>	‘person’	⇒	<i>majór</i>	‘lifetime, life span’
SE <i>manjí</i>			<i>manjór</i>	
SE <i>pačén</i>	‘war’	⇒	<i>pacénor</i>	‘wartime’

2.3.6.8.3 -vañi ~ -vřayi (M) / -vay ~ -vā (F)

The gender-variant suffix with the masculine (and plural) form NE/SE -vañi, W -vřayi and the feminine form NE/W -vay, SE-KM -vā derives nouns referring to people associated with a place, activity or property. It can form demonyms, job titles and ownership titles.¹³⁸ When expressing ownership it differs from proprietive adjectives (2.4.3.1) in emphasizing permanent ownership or possession as a defining characteristic. The feminine form is homonymous with, but distinct from, the feminine form of proprietive adjectives and the masculine derivational suffix described in the next section.

Examples (M forms):

NE <i>šũ</i>	‘breath, soul, life’	⇒	<i>šůvañi</i>	‘living being’
NE <i>věří</i>	‘speech, language’	⇒	<i>věřivañi</i>	‘talkative person’
NE <i>koť</i>	‘force, power’	⇒	<i>kótvañi</i>	‘powerful person’
NE <i>břazě</i>	‘disease’	⇒	<i>brazěvañi</i>	‘sick person’
NE <i>pčen</i>	‘war’	⇒	<i>pčénvañi</i>	‘enemy’
SE <i>pačén</i>			<i>pačénvañi</i>	
NE/SE <i>de</i>	‘good spirit, deity’	⇒	<i>dévañi</i>	‘esteemed (person)’

¹³⁸ It can most likely be compared (as an Indo-Aryan borrowing) to Gāndhārī <vaniya> < OIA vāñija- ‘merchant’, being a functional equivalent of the common New Indo-Aryan agent suffix represented by Hindi -vālā (< OIA -pāla-ka-, originally ‘guardian, guarding’). Verb-related functions of Hindi -vālā are fulfilled in Katē by the imperfective participle with the M ending -lē, which may in fact derive from a borrowed reflex of OIA -pāla-ka- that has lost the labial, cf. Hindko/Saraiki -ālā ~ -ālā (Bashir, Connors & Hefright 2019: 129–130), Pashai (-ak)-ālā (Lehr 2014: 247–248).

NE <i>vom</i>	‘free time’	⇒	<i>vómvañi</i>	‘person with free time’
<i>šol</i>	‘stable’	⇒	W <i>šalvřéyi</i> SE <i>šalvěñi</i>	‘stable owner’
W <i>lov</i>	‘delivery of dairy’	⇒	<i>lāvřéyi</i>	‘person entitled to dairy products from the pastures’
NE <i>nélus</i>	‘hardship’	⇒	<i>nélusvañi</i> ¹³⁹	‘unfortunate person’
NE <i>amú</i>	‘house’	⇒	<i>amúvañi</i> ¹⁴⁰	‘family, hosts’
NE <i>yo</i>	IND.REFL	⇒	<i>yóvañi</i>	‘relatives, one’s own people’

With unclear base of derivation:

NE <i>nanvřěy</i>	‘sovereign, presiding over sth.’ (often used to refer to God)
SE <i>naněvañi</i>	

The base of derivation may be modified by an adjective.

Example:

NE <i>keř</i> ‘hard (M)’ + <i>přik</i> ‘sleep (n.)’	⇒	<i>kěř přikvañi</i>	‘deep sleeper’

The use of either *-vañi* ~ *-vřayi* / *-vay* ~ *-vā* or *-yo* / *-yay* ~ *-yā* (see section 2.3.6.8.6 below) as a demonym for a given place is based on convention (as with English demonym suffixes such as *-ian*, *-er*, *-ese* etc.). Examples with *-vañi* ~ *-vřayi* are given below.

Examples (M forms):

NE <i>Děmúkvañi</i>	‘inhabitant of <i>Budmúk</i> (<i>Nikmuk</i> / <i>Sa‘idābād</i>)’
SE <i>Damúkvañi</i>	
NE <i>Gabúrvañi</i>	‘inhabitant of <i>Gabúr</i> (<i>Gobor</i>)’
NE <i>Břěgómvañi</i>	‘inhabitant of <i>Břěgémaṭol</i> (<i>Barg-i Matāl</i>)’
SE <i>Břağómvañi</i>	

¹³⁹ Theoretically this word could also be interpreted as a compound with the perfective participle *vañi* of *vañé-stě* ‘to see’. The compound would then be based on the phrase the *nélus vañé-stě* ‘to experience hardship’.

¹⁴⁰ It is likely that the derivate originally contains the noun *amú* ‘house’, but the component *amú* is ambiguous since it could also be the reflexive pronoun *amú*. It seems that the form *yóvañi* listed below, which contains the individuating reflexive pronoun *yo*, is an analogical formation based on a reanalysis of *amúvañi* as containing the reflexive pronoun. This reanalysis could come about because both segmentations are plausible with the meaning of ‘family’ (“people of the house” or “own people”).

SE <i>Ĉaňúvaňi</i>	‘inhabitant of <i>Ĉaňú</i> (<i>Wāmā</i>)’
SE <i>Sártaňi</i>	‘inhabitant of <i>Sáret</i> ’
W <i>Rarévřayi</i>	‘inhabitant of <i>Raró</i> (<i>Rarā</i>)’
W <i>Kulévřayi</i>	‘inhabitant of <i>Kulém</i> ’
W <i>Ktívřayi</i>	‘inhabitant of <i>Ktívi</i> (<i>Kantiwā</i>)’
W <i>Štúrřayi</i>	‘inhabitant of <i>Štur</i> (<i>Čutur</i>)’
W <i>gramvřéyi</i>	‘inhabitant of the village [<i>gřom</i> ‘village’]’
NE/SE <i>gúlvaňi</i>	‘inhabitant of the country [<i>gul</i> ‘valley, country’], compatriot’

2.3.6.8.4 -vay ~ -vā (M)

The masculine suffix NE/W *-vay*, SE *-vā*, which should not be confused with the feminine form of proprietive *-vo*, or the feminine form of *-vaňi* (both also *-vay*), forms a few derivatives referring to persons associated with the base noun.

Examples:

<i>bor</i>	‘load, burden’	⇒	NE/W <i>barváy</i> ‘porter’ SE <i>barvā</i>
<i>put</i>	‘path, way, road’	⇒	NE/W <i>pědváy</i> ‘wayfellow, travel companion’ SE <i>padvā</i>
NE/W <i>pčo</i>	‘shepherd’	⇒	NE/W <i>pčévay</i> ‘hired shepherd’

2.3.6.8.5 -í

The suffix *-í* forms derivatives referring to people associated with the base noun. These derivatives are also used as adjectives. It is not very productive in inherited vocabulary, but today coincides with a suffix *-í* of similar function that is often found in Perso-Arabic loan vocabulary (the *yā-yi nisbatī*).

Examples:

<i>gřom</i>	‘village’	⇒	<i>gřamí</i>	‘villager(s)’
NE <i>šurtář</i>	‘hunt’	⇒	<i>šurtěři</i>	‘hunter, related to hunting’
W <i>širtář</i>			<i>širtéyi</i>	
SE <i>šartóř</i>			<i>šartěři</i>	
Prs. <i>Afġān</i>	‘Afghan, Pashtun’	⇒	NE <i>Āgéni</i>	‘Pashtun’

W *Avgéni*

SE *Óğūni*

2.3.6.8.6 -yó (M) / -yáy ~ -yá (F)

The gender-variant suffix M -yó, F NE/W -yáy ~ SE -yá forms demonyms, i.e. nouns referring to the inhabitants of a place or members of an ethnic group. The resulting forms are also used as adjectives and formally fit into the class of gender-variant -o/-ay adjectives (2.4.2.2). The -y- of the suffix disappears in some combinations and in at least one case the suffix is nasalized in interaction with a stem.

Examples (M forms):

NE/SE <i>Kunístyo</i>	‘inhabitant of <i>Kuníst</i> (<i>Rumbur Shekhāndeh</i>)’
NE/SE <i>Méryo</i>	‘inhabitant of <i>Mérgřom</i> / <i>Mérořm</i> (<i>Mirděš</i>)’
SE <i>Bajjó</i>	‘inhabitant of <i>Bajgél</i> (<i>Bāzgal</i>)’
SE <i>Seyó</i>	‘inhabitant of <i>Sō</i> (<i>Saw</i>) in the Kunar valley’
SE <i>Binyó</i>	‘member of the Binyo ethnic group, said to originate from the village of <i>Bün</i> ’
SE <i>Ĵamjó</i>	‘member of the Ĵamjo ethnic group, said to originate from the village of <i>Ĵaměč</i> ’
NE/SE <i>Mumó</i>	‘member of the Mumo ethnic group, said to originate from the village of <i>Mum</i> ’
NE/SE <i>Kšto</i> , W <i>Kuštó</i>	‘member of the Kšto ethnic group, said to originate from the village of <i>Küšt</i> ’

With unclear base of derivation:

NE <i>Bělyó</i> , SE <i>Bilyó</i>	‘Khow man, Chitrali’
NE/W <i>Kasvó</i> , SE <i>Kazyó</i>	‘Chitral Kalasha man’

2.3.6.8.7 -kuř

The suffix -kuř forms term for ‘man’ and ‘woman’ as well as expressions derived from ethnonyms that refer to individual members of the ethnic group. It is related to the

word NE *kuř*, W/SE *kuřě* ‘child’, but the two elements are homonymous only in the Northeastern dialect.¹⁴¹

Examples:

NE/SE/W <i>moč</i> , W-KT <i>muč</i>	‘husband, man’	⇒	<i>mačkúř</i>	‘male, man’
NE <i>ji</i> , SE <i>ji</i>	‘daughter’	⇒	NE <i>júkuř</i>	‘female, woman’
or: NE/W <i>juk</i> , SE <i>jiuk</i>	‘girl’		SE <i>jiúguř</i>	
<i>Katě</i>	‘Katě people’	⇒	<i>Katkúř</i>	‘Katě man’
<i>Kom</i>	‘Kom people’	⇒	SE <i>Kamgúř</i>	‘Kom man’
<i>Méryo</i>	‘people of Mérgřom / Méroňm (Mirděš)’	⇒	SE <i>Méryoğuř</i>	‘man from Mérgřom / Méroňm (Mirděš)’

2.3.6.8.8 -*darě*

The suffix *-darě* is attached to the name of a prominent ancestor to form names of lineage groups. The resulting formations are plural nouns and inflect according to the Gender-Invariant *-ě* Declension (2.3.4.4) in the Eastern dialects (OBL.PL. *-darě*).

Examples:

NE <i>Janódarě</i>	‘patrilineal descendants of <i>Janó</i> ’
NE <i>Ayděre</i>	‘patrilineal descendants of <i>Ay</i> ’
NE <i>Súnarodarě</i>	‘patrilineal descendants of <i>Súnaro</i> ’
W <i>Karáldarě</i>	‘patrilineal descendants of <i>Karálě</i> ’
W <i>Trěmsěđdarě</i>	‘patrilineal descendants of <i>Trěmsěđ</i> ’
W <i>Goběrdarě</i>	‘patrilineal descendants of <i>Goběř</i> ’
SE <i>Dümúdarě</i>	‘patrilineal descendants of <i>Dümú</i> ’
SE <i>Vutódarě</i>	‘patrilineal descendants of <i>Vutó</i> ’
SE <i>Bilěžēdarě</i>	‘patrilineal descendants of <i>Bilěžē</i> ’

¹⁴¹ Note, however, that the word for ‘child’ always appears in the shape *-kuř* as a final member of compounds in all dialects, even when it has just its regular meaning of ‘child’, e.g. SE *mérkuř* ‘price’ (‘king-child’).

2.3.6.8.9 -*dari*

The suffix *-dari* is attached to the name of a man in order to form compounds meaning ‘X and his wife’. This corresponds to its independent use in the meaning ‘spouse’, e.g. in NE *ādyú dari* ‘both spouses [i.e. husband and wife]’, SE *yimó dari* ‘we spouses [i.e. we, the married couple]’ or in the compound NE/SE *darímoč*, w *maǰdéri* ‘husband and wife’.

Example:

SE *Mólkondari* ‘Molkon and his wife’ (Strand 1999a)

2.3.6.8.10 -*soṭ*

The suffix *-soṭ* is used to form expression referring to companions or fellows with regard to what is referred to by the base noun.

Examples:

NE <i>kúdyum</i>	‘work’	⇒	<i>kúdyumsot</i>	‘work fellow, colleague’
NE <i>ǰuk</i>	‘girl’	⇒	<i>ǰúksot</i>	‘effeminate man, man who obeys his wife’ (lit. ‘girl-fellow’)
SE <i>nom</i>	‘name’	⇒	<i>namzot</i>	‘person of the same name’
SE <i>put</i>	‘path, way, road’	⇒	<i>passot</i>	‘travel companion’

2.3.6.8.11 -*koř*

The suffix *-koř* is used to derive nouns and adjectives. It is probably originally a compounded form of the verbal adjective *koř* ‘(supposed) to be done/made/said’ (see section 2.9.4.2.2).

Nouns can be derived from other nouns with the suffix. They refer to the ingredients or materials used for the base noun. This meaning can easily be understood as a development from the combination with the verbal adjective *koř*. The original meaning is essentially ‘to be made a [base noun]’.

Examples:

NE <i>buǰúṣanō</i>	‘ghee in thickened meat broth’ (a feast dish)
⇒	<i>buǰúṣanō-koř</i> ‘ingredients for ghee in thickened meat broth’
SE <i>přiš</i>	‘bed’
⇒	<i>přiš-koř</i> ‘materials for building a bed’

NE/SE *kuř* ‘hat’
 ⇒ *kůř-koř* ‘materials for making a hat’

Adjectives can be derived either from nouns or from other adjectives with the suffix. They have a different semantic structure than the nouns discussed above, but can be understood as original exocentric (*bahuvrīhi*) compounds (cf. section 2.3.6.4.3) with the same element *koř*, now in the abstracted meaning ‘ingredients’. Their original meaning was likely ‘having the ingredients for [base noun]’ or ‘having [base adjective] ingredients’, which then developed into the adjective meanings ‘having the characteristics of [base noun]’ and ‘having [base adjective] characteristics’. The derived adjectives are sometimes stressed on the suffix and sometimes on the stem.

Examples:

NE <i>jšť</i>	‘elder’	⇒	<i>jšť-kóř</i>	‘elderly’ (“having the ingredients of an elder”)
NE <i>ley</i>	‘good’	⇒	<i>léy-koř</i>	‘beautiful’ (“having good ingredients”)

2.3.6.8.12 -*bor*

The suffix *-bor* is attached to nouns to form derivatives that refer to a person with too much of something or a particularly large instance of something. It is especially applied to bodyparts, e.g. NE *kťol* ‘stomach, belly’ > *kťólbōr* ‘big-bellied person’. There may be a relation to the independent noun *bor* ‘load, burden’ (cf. section 2.3.6.4.3).

Ġulāmullāh (1966: 190–191) gives the following extensive list of examples (SE dialect):

<i>kťol</i>	‘stomach, belly’	⇒	<i>kťéľbor</i>	‘big-bellied person’
<i>nazúř</i>	‘nose’	⇒	<i>nazúřbor</i>	‘big-nosed person’
<i>šē</i>	‘head’	⇒	<i>šéľbor</i>	‘big-headed person’
<i>mazé</i>	‘anger’	⇒	<i>mazébor</i>	‘person with too much anger’
<i>piš</i>	‘fart’	⇒	<i>pízbor</i>	‘person who farts too much’
<i>ačé</i>	‘eye’	⇒	<i>ačébor</i>	‘person with large eyes’
<i>kuřélě</i>	‘scrotum’	⇒	<i>kuřélěbor</i>	‘person with a large scrotum’
<i>laňí</i>	‘penis’	⇒	<i>laňíbor</i>	‘person with a large penis’
<i>daří</i>	‘beard’	⇒	<i>daříbor</i>	‘person with a large beard’

<i>áci</i>	‘calf (on leg)’	⇒	<i>áci̇bor</i>	‘person with large calves’
<i>přamí</i>	‘ass’	⇒	<i>přamí̇bor</i>	‘person with a large ass’
<i>při</i>	‘vagina’	⇒	<i>při̇bor</i>	‘person with a large vagina’
<i>muzúk</i>	‘vagina’	⇒	<i>muzúk̇bor</i>	‘person with a large vagina’

2.3.6.8.13 -los

The suffix -los is attached to nouns to form derivatives that refer to a person who is unable to control a given bodily function, e.g. NE *zēmō* ‘saliva’ > *zēmōlos* ‘drooler, person who cannot control their drooling’. It is probably related to the verb NE/W *lasé-stě*, SE *lazě̇-stě* ‘to escape; to let go’, especially since the same nouns are also used in phrasal combination with this verb, e.g. *zēmō lasé-stě* ‘to drool’.

Ġulāmullāh (1966: 201) gives the following examples (SE dialect):

<i>ō</i>	‘water’	⇒	<i>ōlos</i>	‘person who cannot control their urination’
<i>gi</i>	‘shit’	⇒	<i>gi̇los</i>	‘person who cannot control their defecation’
<i>piš</i>	‘(silent) fart’	⇒	<i>pi̇zlos</i>	‘person who cannot control their (silent) farting’
<i>viděrik</i>	‘fear’	⇒	<i>vidě̇rlos</i>	‘person who cannot control their fear’
<i>trě</i>	‘(loud) fart’	⇒	<i>trě̇llos</i>	‘person who cannot control their (loud) farting’
<i>šom</i>	‘snot’	⇒	<i>šoṁlos</i>	‘person who cannot control their emission of snot’

2.3.6.8.14 -ol

The suffix -ol forms derivatives of various meanings. In some cases the resulting formations refer to owners or agents, in others the suffix seems to be used in augmentative function (emphasizing large size or extent). It often has disparaging connotations.

Examples:

SE <i>pařú</i>	‘wing’	⇒	<i>pařól</i>	‘vulture’

SE *ḍun* ‘stick’ ⇒ *ḍanól* ‘stalk’
 SE *buḥé* ‘juice’ ⇒ *buḥól* ‘pus, scum’

With unclear base of derivation:

SE *čavól* ‘large bat’ (but cf. W-KT *čëvólë* ‘large bat’, lit. “borer”)
 NE/SE *damtól* ‘hard-working, diligent’ (related to *damé-stë* ‘to grasp, to hold’ ?)
 SE *piṇól* ‘balled up’ (related to *puṇḍré* ‘round’ ?)
 NE/SE *tapól* ‘rubbed on’ (related to *top* ‘heat’ ?)
 NE *skol* ‘a lot’ (related to *ska-stë* ‘to sweep’ ?)

From verbal bases it forms disparaging agent nouns, referring to a person who does too much of the action referred to by the verb.

Examples:

NE/SE *ḡu-* ‘to cry’ ⇒ *ḡuvól* ‘crybaby’
 SE *muḡú-* ‘to flee’ ⇒ *muḡól* ‘person who always runs away’
 SE *viděřë-* ‘to be afraid’ ⇒ *viděřol* ‘coward’

2.3.6.8.15 -veḥ

The suffix *-veḥ* seems to appear in two nouns of more or less collective meaning, but it is not productive and has no identifiable independent meaning.

Examples:

NE *kaḡvėḥ* ‘fruit’
 W-RM *kadvėḥ*
 SE *kaḥéveḥ*
 NE/W *běrvėḥ* ‘predators’

2.4 Adjectives

In comparison to that of nominals or verbs, adjective morphology is rather limited. An adjective form mostly just consists of a stem and gender-agreement suffixes, plus possibly a diminutive suffix.

This chapter begins with a discussion of gender agreement in adjectives and the various ways, in which it appears with different classes of adjectives. This is followed by a description of derivational processes that produce adjectives.

2.4.1 Gender-Agreement Suffixes

All gender-variant adjectives have one of two sets of gender-marking suffixes, with only minor variations in their application (see section 2.4.2). The two sets of suffixes are shown below:

Masculine	Feminine
-ě	-i
-o	-ay

2.4.2 Adjective Classes

Adjectives can be divided into a number of classes in accordance with the morphological patterns used to mark gender agreement.

2.4.2.1 Gender-Variant -ě / -i Adjectives

This is the largest class of adjectives and in its most basic form it simply marks gender agreement with the head noun with the suffixes -ě (M) and -i (F).

Examples:

	M	F	
NE/SE	<i>muṭ-ě</i>	<i>muṭ-í</i>	‘short’
W	<i>mět-ě</i>	<i>mět-í</i>	
NE/W	<i>ál-ě</i>	<i>ál-i</i>	‘big’
SE	<i>ól-ě</i>	<i>ól-i</i>	
NE/W	<i>kašír-ě</i>	<i>kašír-i</i>	‘white’
W-KT	<i>kašér-ě</i>	<i>kašér-i</i>	
SE	<i>kažír-ě</i>	<i>kažír-i</i>	

2.4.2.1.1 Umlauting -ě / -i Adjectives

A small number of -ě / -i Adjectives shows different stem variants in the two gender forms together with the gender-agreement suffixes.

Examples:

	M	F	
W-KT	<i>lěšém-ě</i>	<i>lěším-i</i>	‘nice, pretty’
(vs. W-KL)	<i>lěším-ě</i>	<i>lěším-i</i>	

W-KL	<i>rěsém-ě</i>	<i>rěsím-i</i>	‘sweet’
SE	<i>vútr-ě</i>	<i>yútr-i</i>	‘sonless’

2.4.2.1.2 Nasalized -ě / -i Adjective

One frequent Southeastern adjective has nasalized gender-agreement suffixes.

Example:

	M	F	
SE	<i>turč-ě̃</i>	<i>turč-í̃</i>	‘small’

2.4.2.1.3 -ř / -ň Stems

Adjectives with stems ending in one of the two retroflex approximants *ř* or *ň*, show various irregularities depending on the position of stress and on the dialect.

In all dialects, stem-stressed -*ř* / -*ň* stems lack a masculine gender marker -*ě*.¹⁴² Instead, the endingless stem supplies the masculine form and only the feminine form has an attached gender marker. This group of adjectives is in some ways equivalent to the group with the same name in the inflection of nouns (2.3.4.3.1) and probably came about in the course of the same sound change.

In the Western dialect, all adjectives with stems ending in -*ř* (~ NE/SE *ř* and *ň*), regardless of the position of stress, are affected by the process of *ř* deletion or metathesis discussed section 2.1.2.9.4. This means that the stem remains unchanged in the masculine form, but if the feminine ending -*i* is attached, the final -*ř* of the stem is either metathesized to the onset of the preceding syllable, if that onset is a velar plosive or a labial consonant, or deleted. A glide -*y*- is inserted in its original position, where otherwise hiatus would be left behind. This rule is not completely regular, as there are some attested forms that show unexpected deletion or unexpected changes in stem vowel quality.

In the corresponding adjectives of the other two dialects there is generally no metathesis or deletion of approximants, with the exception of stem-stressed -*ř* / -*ň* stems with the vowel *e* before the approximant in the Northeastern dialect. These have irregular feminine forms with the same kind of metathesis or deletion of the approximant, while the feminine ending -*i* is reduced to a glide -*y*. In the case of the

¹⁴² Suffix-stressed adjectives with stems ending in -*ř*-, -*ň*- do not show this irregularity, e.g. NE *kaň-ě* (M), *kaň-í* (F) ‘blind’.

nasalized approximant nasalization remains on the vowel, regardless of whether the approximant is metathesized or deleted.¹⁴³

Examples:

With suffix stress (approximant metathesis/deletion only in w):

	M	F	
NE/SE	<i>kañ-é</i>	<i>kañ-í</i>	‘blind’
W	<i>kař-é</i>	<i>křa-yí</i>	
NE/SE	<i>buř-é</i>	<i>buř-í</i>	‘unripe’
W	<i>běř-é</i>	<i>bře-yí</i>	
NE	<i>zěň-é</i>	<i>zěň-í</i>	‘red’
SE	<i>jěň-é</i>	<i>jěň-í</i>	
W-KL	<i>zěř-é</i>	<i>zě-yí</i>	
W-KT	<i>zěř-é</i>	<i>za-yí</i> (irregular)	

With stem stress (no M ending, approximant metathesis/deletion only in w):

	M	F	
NE	<i>kakúň</i>	<i>kakúň-i</i>	‘widowed’
SE	<i>kaǵúň</i>	<i>kaǵúň-i</i>	
W	<i>kakúř</i>	<i>kakřú-yi</i>	
SE	<i>arěň</i>	<i>arěň-i</i>	‘narrow’
W-KT	<i>arúř</i>	<i>arú-yi</i>	
NE/SE	<i>pčĩř</i>	<i>pčĩř-i</i>	‘damp’

With stem stress & stem vowel e (no M ending, approximant metathesis/deletion in W & NE):

	M	F	
SE	<i>drëǵěň</i>	<i>drëǵěň-i</i>	‘long’
NE	<i>dërëǵěň</i>	<i>dërëǵřé-y</i>	
W-KL	<i>drëǵér</i>	<i>drëǵřé-yi</i>	
W-KT	<i>drëǵér</i>	<i>drëǵé-yi</i> (irregular)	

¹⁴³ A similar pattern of metathesis can be seen lexically in the nouns NE *děmřěy* ‘tail’ and *mřey* ‘price, value; clay’ as opposed to W *děméyi*, *mřeyí* and SE *děměňi*, *muńí*. Cf. also the suffix derivate *nanvřěy* ‘sovereign, presiding’ vs. SE *naněvaňi* and the irregular feminine form NE *arěy* ‘rich’ vs. SE *aráňi*.

SE	<i>kaḡěř</i>	<i>kaḡěř-i</i>	‘hard’
NE	<i>keř</i>	<i>křé-y</i>	
W	<i>(k)kěř</i>	<i>křé-yi</i>	
SE	<i>laměň</i>	<i>laměň-i</i>	‘thin, narrow’
NE	<i>lěméň</i>	<i>lěmé-y</i>	
W-KT	<i>lěměř</i>	<i>lěmé-yi</i>	
SE	<i>sělkěň</i>	<i>sělkěň-i</i>	‘flowing, smooth, slippery’
NE	<i>sělkyěň</i>	<i>sělkyě-y</i>	
W-KT	<i>sělkyěř</i>	<i>sělké-yi (irregular)</i>	
SE	<i>pilsěň</i>	<i>pilsěň-i</i>	‘shiny’
NE	<i>pulsěň</i>	<i>pulsě-y</i>	
W-KT	<i>pělsěř</i>	<i>pelsé-yi (irregular)</i>	
SE	<i>parměň</i>	<i>parměň-i</i>	‘small; child’
NE	<i>pěrměň</i>	<i>pěrmě-y</i>	
W-KL	<i>přěměř-uk</i>	<i>přěmře-yik</i> ¹⁴⁴	
W-KT	<i>pěměř-uk</i>	<i>přemá-yik (irregular)</i>	

2.4.2.2 Gender-Variant -o / -ay Adjectives

This is a smaller group of adjectives, which uses the gender-marking suffixes -o (M) and -ay (F). The feminine suffix becomes -ā in the Southeastern dialect (except SE-MM) when not followed by a vowel-initial suffix or enclitic.

The demonyms in -yo/-yay ~ -yā (2.3.6.8.6) and the proprietive adjectives in -vo/-vay ~ -vā (2.4.3.1) are part of this group. It is possible that other members of this class also ultimately go back to proprietive derivations, but this is no longer transparent.

Examples:

	M	F	
NE/W	<i>kěř-ó</i>	<i>kěř-áy</i>	‘bitter’
SE	<i>kař-ó</i>	<i>kař-ā</i>	
NE/W	<i>čy-o</i>	<i>čy-ay</i>	‘sharp’
SE	<i>čy-o</i>	<i>čy-ā</i>	

¹⁴⁴ The western forms of this adjective are generally used with diminutive suffixes.

NE/W	<i>čĩńó</i>	<i>čĩńáy</i>	‘sour’
SE	<i>čańó</i>	<i>čańá</i>	
NE	<i>ut-ó</i>	<i>ut-áy</i>	‘more, superfluous, surpassing, great’
W	<i>vět-ó</i>	<i>vět-áy</i>	
SE	<i>vut-ó</i>	<i>vut-á</i>	

The adjective NE/SE *aró* ‘rich (M)’ has an irregular feminine form NE *arěý*, SE *aráñi* (W M *ro*, F *ray* is regular), which is reminiscent of the feminine forms of some ethnonyms (e.g. SE *Satrě* ‘Gawar’ – F *Satrěñi*).

2.4.2.3 Gender-Invariant Adjectives

This group of adjectives does not mark gender agreement and is therefore invariant. The largest group of gender-invariant adjectives ends in *-i* (not to be confused with the feminine agreement marker *-i* of the gender-variant adjectives). This group includes all regular perfective participles (2.9.6.2.2).

Borrowed adjectives from Persian and Pashto are generally gender-invariant.

Examples:

	M/F	
NE	<i>utělí</i>	‘arrogant’
SE	<i>vutěli</i>	
NE/SE	<i>argú</i>	‘excellent’
W-KT	<i>řěté</i>	‘brown (of lambs)’

The adjective NE *asěńá*, SE *azěńo* ‘deaf’ is gender-invariant in the Eastern dialects but a gender-variant *-ř* stem in the Western dialect (W-KL M *asěńár*, F *asěńá-yi*).

2.4.3 Adjective Derivation

2.4.3.1 Proprietary Adjectives (*-vo* / *-vay* ~ *-vā*)

Proprietary adjectives (PROPR) are adjectives which express the property of owning something or being endowed with something. Forms derived with the proprietary suffix can function as normal adjectives, but proprietives are also the core of the construction that is used to express predicative possession, in which case they usually appear as independent elements rather than as suffixes (see section 2.11.2).

Proprietary adjectives are common in Turkic and other Central and North Asian language families (Nikolaeva 2014: 503–509), but they have also been a part of Indo-

Iranian languages since their earliest attestations.¹⁴⁵ Proprietary Adjectives exist also in other Nuristani languages, but only the Ashkun suffixes appear to be cognate.¹⁴⁶

Proprietary adjectives are derived from the nominal stems referring to the possessum with the help of the gender-variant suffix *-v-o* (M) / *-v-ay* (F). The feminine form of the Southeastern dialect (except SE-MM) is *-v-ā* if not followed by a vowel-initial suffix or enclitic. The suffix agrees in gender with the possessor/head noun. Voiceless consonants at the end of nominal stems assimilate in voicing to the *-v-* of the suffix. For /t/ this assimilation produces the flap *ɾ* (structurally an allophone of /d/, cf. section 2.1.2.4).

Examples:

	M	F	
NE	<i>šú-vo</i>	<i>šú-vay</i>	‘having a soul/breath’ = ‘alive’
W	<i>šú-vo</i>	<i>šú-vay</i>	
SE	<i>šú-vo</i>	<i>šú-vā</i>	
NE	<i>ótě-vo</i>	<i>ótě-vay</i>	‘having hunger’ = ‘hungry’
W	<i>kaṇě-vo</i>		‘having an earring’
NE	<i>kěvéɾ-vo</i>		‘having a skull tuft (<i>kěvét</i>)’
SE	<i>tó-vo</i>		‘having a place’ = ‘land-owning’

In the Southeastern dialect proprietives lose the *-v-* of the suffix after certain consonants. Voiceless stem-final sibilants become voiced.

Examples:

M	F	
<i>kúdiim-o</i>	<i>kúdiim-ā</i>	‘having work (<i>kúdiim</i>)’
<i>gún-o</i>	<i>gún-ā</i>	‘having a smell (<i>gun</i>)’
<i>nól-o</i>	<i>nól-ā</i>	‘having hate (<i>nol</i>)’ = ‘hateful’
<i>bidíšpur-o</i>	<i>bidíšpur-ā</i>	‘having wisdom (<i>bidíšpur</i>)’ = ‘wise’
<i>dút-o</i>	<i>dút-ā</i>	‘having teeth (<i>dut</i>)’

¹⁴⁵ Old Indo-Aryan (Nominative) *-mān* ~ *-vān* (M), *-mat-ī* ~ *-vat-ī* (F); Avestan (Nominative) *-mā* ~ *-uuā* < **-mās* ~ **-uās* (M); *-maⁱtī* ~ *uuāⁱtī* < **-mat-ī* ~ **-uat-ī* (F) (Hoffmann & Forssman 2004: 147–148).

¹⁴⁶ Ashkun *-wā-stə* (Morgenstierne 1929: 284–285) vs. Nuristani Kalasha *-oda* ~ *-odə* (M), *-odi* (F) (Degener 1998: 493; Tāza 2017: 200). The Nuristani Kalasha formation is not involved in the expression of predicative possession (Degener 1998: 201).

<i>díc-o</i>	<i>díc-ā</i>	‘having a tongue (<i>díc</i>)’
<i>věz-o</i>	<i>věz-ā</i>	‘having health (<i>veš</i>)’ = ‘healthy’
<i>lúz-o</i>	<i>lúz-ā</i>	‘having means (<i>lus</i>)’

In some Western and Northeastern dialect forms, probably older formations, disyllabic nouns ending in stressed vowels contract with the suffix, losing their final vowel and shifting stress onto the suffix. For some of these forms the stem does not exist as an independent noun.

Examples:

	M	F	
NE/W	<i>zěr-vó</i>	<i>zěr-váy</i>	‘having a heart (<i>zěřé</i>)’ = ‘brave’
(SE	<i>jarě-vo</i>	<i>jarě-vā</i>	
NE	<i>kaṛ-vó</i>	<i>kaṛ-váy</i>	‘having strength (<i>koṭ</i>)’ = ‘strong’
W	<i>kaḍ-vó</i>	<i>kaḍ-váy</i>	
(SE	<i>kaṛě-vo</i>	<i>kaṛě-vā</i>	
NE	<i>gan-vó</i>	<i>gan-váy</i>	‘heavy, important’ (<i>no base noun</i>)
(SE	<i>ganě-vo</i>	<i>ganě-vā</i>	
NE	<i>Dař-vó</i>		‘having a beard (<i>dařl</i>)’ = ‘personal name’

Negated proprietive adjectives can be derived by prefixing the negator NE/W *ne*, SE *na* (cf. section 2.9.4.2.2) to the stem. These formations are semantically equivalent to privative adjectives (2.4.3.2). Such formations are attested both with stem stress and with prefix stress.

Examples:

	M	F	
W	<i>ne-věš-vo</i>	<i>ne-věš-vay</i>	‘not having health’ = ‘ill’
W	<i>ne-věří-vo</i>	<i>ne-věří-vay</i>	‘not having speech’ = ‘mute’
W	<i>né-šu-vo</i>	<i>né-šu-vay</i>	‘not having breath/life’ = ‘lifeless’
NE	<i>né-mřey-vo</i>	<i>né-mřey-vay</i>	‘not having value’ = ‘worthless’

Examples of the use of Proprietives as adjectives in modifier position are given in examples (1) – (3).

(1) *Ikó anyór-atkyörë vačpákce maččėrikvo mančí vaňyó.*

<i>ik-ó</i>	<i>aní-örë atkí-örë</i>	<i>vačpá-kce</i>
DEM.MED-OBL.SG.F	LDEM.PROX-direction LDEM.DIST-direction	↔  ↔-look.CVB
<i>maččėrik-v-o</i>	<i>manč-í</i>	<i>vaň-yó</i>
bee-PROPR-M	person-DIR	see-PFV.PST.3SG.M

‘Looking this way and that way, she saw a man who had bees (a beekeeper)’
[NE-BN/MR] (Sun-Aro Dehqan 6.1)

(2) *Yéme Kaňévo Baňyé-ta dyú gó-kě vúšp vayíč kiyé-č.*

<i>yéme</i>	<i>kaňé-v-o</i>	<i>Baňí-e</i>	<i>=ta</i>	<i>dyu</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>=kě</i>
1SG.OBL	earring-PROPR-M	PN-OBL.SG.M	=LPST	two	COW.DIR/OBL	=for
<i>vúšp</i>	<i>vayíč_k-iyé</i>	<i>=č</i>				
horse.DIR	trade-PFV.PST.3SG.F	=ADD				

‘I traded a horse for two cows with Earring-Wearing Baňi.’ [W-KL]
(Grjunberg VIII 1.1)

(3) *É Šamá nómvā jūğuzi.*

<i>e</i>	<i>Šamá</i>	<i>nom-v-ā</i>	<i>juk-ěz-i</i>
one	PN	name-PROPR-F	girl.DIR=COP-PST.3

‘It was a girl named Šama’ (lit. “a Šama name-having girl”) [SE-KM]
(Amin Jihad 17.6)

Adnominal proprietives are usually negated phrasally. In that case the noun, which carries phrasal stress, is followed by the negator and then the proprietive morpheme, which here appears as an independent element rather than an affix (cf. the discussion on predicative possession in section 2.11.2). Examples are given in (4) and (5).

(4) *děmřéy né váy gó*

<i>děmřéy</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>v-ay</i>	<i>go</i>
tail	NEG	PROPR-F	COW

‘a cow without a tail’ [NE-MR] (Mansur Proverbs 192)

(5) *tódbřo ná vó, qóm ná vó manji*

<i>tót-břo</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>v-o</i>	<i>qóm</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>v-o</i>	<i>manji</i>
father-brother	NEG	PROPR-M	nation	NEG	PROPR-M	person

‘people without agnates, without a nation’ [SE-KM] (AVA Jihad 267.7)

2.4.3.1.1 -vok

The suffix *-vok* is formally a diminutive of the masculine proprietive suffix *-vo*. It can be used in the normal diminutive/nominalizing function, e.g., in *lělí-vok* ‘young man’, but beyond this it can also be used with adjectives and pronouns/quantifiers, adding a meaning of small extent.

Examples:

SE <i>karťě</i>	‘fat, stout (M)’	⇒	<i>karťěvok</i>	‘a bit fat (M)’
SE <i>šatrěmë</i>	‘diligent (M)’	⇒	<i>šatrěmvok</i>	‘a bit diligent (M)’
NE/SE <i>čki</i>	‘after some time’	⇒	<i>čківok</i>	‘after a little time’
W <i>ču</i>	‘how many/much; some’	⇒	<i>čuvók</i> ¹⁴⁷	‘a few, few, a bit, little’

2.4.3.2 Privative Adjectives

Privative adjectives are adjectives which express the property of not having something or being deprived of something. They are formed from nominal stems with the prefix *a-*. The resulting formations exhibit the usual stress shifts and concurrent vowel changes (cf. section 2.1.5.1). If the base of derivation is a noun, a suffix *-i* is usually also added, creating a gender-invariant adjective.

Examples:

NE <i>veš</i>	‘health’	⇒	<i>a-věš-i</i>	‘healthless, ill’
NE <i>koť</i>	‘strength’	⇒	<i>a-kět-i</i>	‘strengthless, weak’
NE/SE <i>kťol</i>	‘stomach, belly; food’	⇒	<i>a-kťél-i</i>	‘foodless, hungry’
			SE <i>a-kǵ-í</i>	‘famine’
NE <i>sor</i>	‘meat portion (at a feast)’	⇒	<i>a-sér-i</i>	‘portionless, not entitled to a portion’ = ‘uninfluential’
NE/SE <i>břo</i>	‘brother’	⇒	<i>a-břá-y</i>	‘brotherless’
			SE <i>a-břá</i>	
SE <i>ǵü</i>	‘daughter’	⇒	SE <i>aǵí</i>	‘daughterless’

¹⁴⁷ The NE/SE form *čok* of the same meaning probably also originates in such a formation, but this is no longer transparent.

(no base noun)¹⁴⁸ ⇒ NE *a-gúň-i* ‘thankless, ungrateful’

In some cases they are formed as gender-variant adjectives. These may be considered privative adjectives derived from adjectives, but a base adjective is not always identifiable.

Example (NE dialect):

kar-ě́, kar-í ‘skilled, expert’ ⇒ *a-kér-ě, a-kér-i* ‘unskilled, inexperienced’

žírík ‘shame’ ⇒ *a-žír-ě, a-žír-i* ‘shameless’

per ‘kindness’ ⇒ *a-pér-ě, a-pér-i* ‘unkind’

In a few cases a prefix NE *u-*, SE *vu-* with a similar privative meaning seems to be identifiable.

Examples:

NE *u-kél-ě, u-kél-i* ‘deserted, uninhabited’

SE *vu-gúl-ě, vu-gúl-i*

NE *u-dér-ě, u-dér-i* ‘naughty’

SE *vu-dér-ě, vu-dér-i*

2.4.3.3 NE/SE *-bomrik* ~ *-bomërik*

The element NE/SE *-bomrik* ~ *-bomërik* can be used to derive adjectives with a comparing function similar to that of English *-like* in *lifelike*, *childlike* etc. from either nouns or adjectives. It is only attested in the two Eastern dialects.

Example:

NE *paťě-bomrik* ‘feather-like, like a feather’

NE *avěši-bomrik* “unhealthy-like” = ‘sickly’

SE *tandúr-bomërik* ‘oven-like, like an oven’

It can also appear as an enclitic postposition. In this usage it is attested both with a preceding direct case form, as in example (6), and with a preceding SE genitive case form, as in example (7). This variation can perhaps be explained by the simultaneous use in compounds and as a postposition, which would lead to many cases with ambiguous interpretation.

¹⁴⁸ A newly-created word *gúňi*, back-formed from the privative form, has been proposed by some speakers as a word for ‘thanks’, a meaning which at present cannot be easily expressed in Katě.

(6) *Dü hukumátë-stë-bomrik şúčizë.*

<i>dü</i>	<i>hukumát-ë</i>	<i>=st-ë</i>	<i>=bomrik</i>	<i>şúč-ëz-ë</i>
two	government-OBL.PL	=REF-DIR	=like	war=COP-3SG

‘It’s a war like that of two governments.’ [SE-KM] (AVA Jihad 622.78)

(7) *Yinë jüğüř tú=bomëriğ-izë.*¹⁴⁹

<i>yinë</i>	<i>jüğüř</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>=bomërik-ëz-ë</i>
two	woman.DIR	2SG.GEN	=like=COP-3SG

‘This woman is like you.’ [SE-PI] (Ġulāmullāh 1966: 215)

2.4.3.4 -koř

On the use of the suffix *-koř* for the derivation of adjectives, see section 2.3.6.8.11.

2.4.3.5 Deverbal Adjectives

Since the derivation of participles is central to the structure of the verbal system, it is discussed in that context in section 2.9.6.2. On other deverbal adjectives, see section 2.9.4.2.

2.4.3.6 Compounding

New adjectives, like nouns, can be derived by compounding. Compound adjectives are usually determinative (*Tatpuruṣa*) compounds, i.e. they have a noun as first member, which modifies the meaning of the adjectival head (the second member).

Examples:

NE *dëmřéy* ‘tail’ + *muṭ-ë/i* ‘short’

⇒ *dëmřéy-muṭ-ë/i* ‘tail-short, having a short or stunted tail’

SE *bře* ‘flour’ + *çarí* ‘smeared’ (PFV.PTCP of *çarë-stë* ‘to smear, to whitewash’)

⇒ SE *bře-çari* ‘flour-smeared’

SE *řotr* ‘night’ + *kaňě/í* ‘blind’

⇒ SE *řatrkéň/-i* ‘night-blind’

¹⁴⁹ Spelled <*bomërik zë*>.

2.4.3.7 Reduplication

Adjectives can be reduplicated to achieve an intensified meaning. Usually this is done in the form of full reduplication, i.e. a repetition of the whole word including the gender marker, with stress being placed on the first instance of the word. The gender marker may contract with or be absorbed by a following vowel.

Examples:

NE/W	<i>álë</i>	‘big (M)’	⇒	<i>ál-alë</i>	‘very big (M)’
SE	<i>ólë</i>			<i>ól-ölë</i>	
NE/W	<i>áli</i>	‘big (F)’	⇒	<i>áli-ali</i>	‘very big (F)’
SE	<i>óli</i>			<i>óli-oli</i>	
NE	<i>lúkë</i>	‘small, light (M)’	⇒	<i>lúkë-lukë</i>	‘very small, light (M)’
NE	<i>şylë</i>	‘soft, slow (M)’	⇒	<i>şylë-şylë</i>	‘very soft, slow (M)’
W	<i>mëtë</i>	‘short (M)’	⇒	<i>mëtë-mëtë</i>	‘very short (M)’
SE	<i>turcë</i>	‘small (M)’	⇒	<i>turcë-turcë</i>	‘very small (M)’

In a few cases the formation of the reduplication is less transparent or predictable, e.g. with the adjective NE *léstë*, W *léštë* ‘good’, which results from a contraction of *ley* ‘good, much’ with the referentializer *-stë*, the original form *ley* resurfaces in the reduplicated form NE *léy-lestë*, W *léy-leštë* ‘very good’. The adjective *ninîl-ë/-i* ‘lush, thriving, verdant, green’ is originally a reduplicated form of *nil-ë/-í* ‘dark, black’¹⁵⁰ (with stress shift < **nilnilë*), but has become an independent adjective that can now itself be reduplicated as *ninîlë-ninîlë* ‘very lush, thriving, verdant, green’

2.5 Adverbs

As mentioned in section 2.2.3, adverbs are a less coherent morphological grouping. Most adverbial forms are nominal case forms in origin.

Adverbs are grouped here into the broad semantic categories local, temporal, qualitative, degree and discourse-related. Adverbial forms that are integrated into the system of spatial orientation are discussed in chapter 2.7.6.

¹⁵⁰ The Indo-Aryan root of this word, OIA *nīla-* referred to a color spectrum ranging from dark blue/indigo to black.

2.5.1 Local Adverbs

Examples:

NE/W <i>bě-dyŕ</i>	‘far away’ (<i>locative form</i>)
SE <i>ba-dŭř</i>	
NE <i>bě-děřěǵ</i>	‘at a distance’ (<i>locative form</i>)
W <i>bě-drěǵá</i>	
SE <i>ba-drŭŋo</i>	
NE <i>těvěřě</i>	‘near, nearby, close’
W <i>těvré</i>	
SE <i>tŭřě</i>	
NE <i>pu-núy</i>	‘first, ahead; <i>temporal</i> : earlier’ (<i>locative form</i>)
W <i>pě-núšt</i>	
SE <i>pa-núš</i>	

2.5.1.1 The suffix NE *-ōrě*, W *-or*, SE *-ār(ě)*

Adverbs referring to directions can be derived from nominals with the suffix NE *-ōrě*, W *-or*, SE *-ār(ě)*. This suffix is likely in some way related to the noun NE *ōr*, W *or*, SE *ōr* ‘flank, side of body’, the indeterminate pronoun NE/W/SE *kor* ‘where’ and the locative forms NE *pōrě*, W *por*, SE *pōr(ě)* ‘in the direction’ and *por* (in *é p-ór* ‘together, in one place’), but the morphological or historical relationships of these forms are not fully clear.

Examples:

NE/W/SE <i>aní</i>	‘here (LDEM.PROX)’	⇒ NE <i>anyóřě</i> , W <i>anyór</i> , SE <i>anyárě</i>	‘this way’
NE/W <i>atkí</i> , SE <i>akí</i>	‘there (LDEM.MED)’	⇒ NE <i>atkyóřě</i> , W <i>atkyór</i> , SE <i>akyárě</i>	‘that way’
NE/W/SE <i>pti</i>	‘back (<i>body part</i>)’	⇒ NE <i>ptyóřě</i> , W <i>ptyor</i> , SE <i>ptībār(ě)</i> ~ <i>ptípār(ě)</i>	‘after, later (<i>local & temporal</i>)’ ¹⁵¹
SE <i>pa-čŭt</i>	‘right (LOC)’	⇒ <i>pačŭtār</i>	‘to the right’

¹⁵¹ The SE form seems to be a compound with the locative form *pōr(ě)*.

2.5.2 Temporal Adverbs

Examples:

NE <i>děréy</i>	‘late, later’
W <i>drey</i>	
SE <i>dre ~ drē</i>	
NE <i>kúyã</i>	‘earlier’
W <i>kúye</i>	
W-RM <i>kúyo</i>	
SE <i>şaŋé</i>	
NE <i>pěléke</i>	‘again, once more; next (day etc.)’ (<i>locative form</i>)
NE <i>nuštěrik</i>	‘first’
W <i>něštéray ~ něštérvay</i>	
SE <i>nüštrék ~ nüštrúk</i>	
NE <i>ptěvėrik</i>	‘afterwards, then, next’
SE <i>ptřük</i>	
NE <i>ptúře</i>	‘continuously’ (<i>locative form</i>)
NE <i>ptúře-ptuře</i>	‘consecutively, one after the other’
SE <i>núškē</i>	‘a while ago’
NE/W/SE <i>nučút</i>	‘the day before the day before yesterday’
NE/W/SE <i>nutrí</i>	‘the day before yesterday’
NE/W/SE <i>dus</i>	‘yesterday’
NE <i>āzéň</i>	‘last night’
W <i>avzěřě</i>	
SE <i>ájěň</i>	
NE <i>štěrék</i>	‘now’, <i>as modifier</i> : ‘current (day, year etc.)’
W <i>špěk</i>	
SE <i>strěk</i>	
NE <i>dalkyě</i>	‘tomorrow’
W-KL <i>dalkyěr</i>	
W-KT <i>dalkyé</i>	
SE <i>dalkě</i>	

NE/W/SE <i>atrí</i>	‘the day after tomorrow’
NE/W/SE <i>ačút</i>	‘the day after the day after tomorrow’
NE <i>umóněse</i>	‘four days ago’ or ‘in four days’
SE <i>vumóněs</i>	‘the next (day, year etc.)’
NE <i>bědyěněse</i>	‘five days ago’ or ‘in five days’
SE <i>nüštrúčẽ</i>	‘three years ago’
W <i>turíce</i>	‘two years ago’
SE <i>trúčẽ</i>	
W <i>puv</i>	‘last year’
SE <i>pū</i>	
W <i>bě-dísẽ</i>	‘next year’ (<i>Locative form</i>)
W <i>bě-díse</i>	
SE <i>ba-dísẽ</i>	

2.5.3 Manner Adverbs

Examples:

NE <i>erŋé</i>	‘together’
W <i>méšo</i>	
SE <i>laré</i>	
NE <i>gějó</i>	‘simply, just like that’
SE <i>gyã</i>	
NE <i>pěnáň</i>	‘only’
W <i>aǰé</i>	
NE <i>psyě-psyẽ</i>	‘slowly’ (<i>reduplicated</i> INF form of <i>psi-stě</i> ‘to settle’)

2.5.4 Degree Adverbs

Examples:

NE/W <i>bělyúk</i>	‘much, very’
SE <i>bilyúk</i>	

NE <i>skol</i>	‘a lot, much, many’
SE <i>šīrē</i>	
NE <i>utó</i> ¹⁵²	‘(any) more; additionally’
W <i>větó</i>	(instrumental form of NE <i>utó</i> , SE <i>vutó</i> , W <i>větó</i> ‘more; spare,
SE <i>vutó</i> ¹⁵²	superfluous; surpassing, great’)

2.5.5 Discourse Adverbs

NE <i>gějōñe</i>	‘therefore’
W <i>gějōře</i>	
SE <i>čō</i>	
NE <i>várē</i>	‘otherwise, other’ (also a quantifier)
W <i>valé</i>	
SE <i>váre</i>	
NE/W <i>sěvérē</i>	‘also (introducing new topic or used as a filler)’ ¹⁵²
SE <i>sūrē</i>	
SE-MM <i>sōrē</i>	

2.6 Numerals and Quantifiers

2.6.1 Cardinal Numerals

The Katē numeral system is vigesimal (based on 20), as is usual in the surrounding region. A decimal sub-base can still be discerned in the numbers between 11 and 19, which all end in *-iç* or *-eç*. Additive numerals are constructed with a special form of the vigesimal digit ending in NE/W *-ó*, SE *-á*, e.g. NE/W *věčó-dyu*, SE *vičá-dü* ‘20 + 2 = 22’. Multiplicative numerals are constructed by compounding, e.g. NE/W *dyú-věčē*, SE *dū-viči* ‘2 × 20 = 40’. Terms for higher numerals such as 100 and its multiples, 1000 etc. are often replaced with borrowings from Persian. A gap in the system exists for the numeral 400 (20 × 20), which in earlier times was referred to with the borrowed Persian word for 1000 – NE/W *azór*, SE *ajór* (< Prs. *hazār*). With increasing knowledge of Persian and other contact languages it has been realigned with the use in the national languages and now means 1000. Grjunberg’s consultant Nuri Said offers the

¹⁵² This word usually means ‘the other’. The use as a discourse adverb is probably a calque on the discourse use of colloquial Afghan Persian *digar* ~ *diga* ‘other’. See also section 2.11.7.3.

replacement *věčě-věčě* ‘20 × 20’ for this number.¹⁵³ At least in the Northeastern dialect this form is not commonly used.

The numeral ‘one’ has a double role as a numeral and an indefinite article. In pre-nominal position it has the form *e*. In the Southeastern dialect a pre-nominal ‘one’ *ē* may be distinguished from the indefinite article *e* (Strand 2019: 17). In the Northeastern dialect *e* is used in both functions. All numerals except ‘one’ receive phrasal stress in pre-nominal position. It is quite common to express approximate numbers by giving a list of numerals in pre-nominal position, e.g. *se é tré štó púč manji* ‘some three, four, five men’. In counting, the numeral ‘one’ is pronounced *ev*, even in the dialects that have lost syllable-final /v/ (Strand 2019: 17).

The following numerals have been recorded for the three dialects:

	Northeastern	Western	Southeastern
1	ev, e	ev, e	ev, ē, e
2	dyu		dü
3	tëré	tre	
4	štëvó		što
5	puč		
6	şu		
7	sut		
8	uşt	vuşt	
9	nu		
10	duč		
11	yaníc		
12	dič		
13	tëric	tric	
14	šturéc		štreč
		W-KT štruč	
15	pčíc		pačíc
16	şec		
17	stič		satíc

¹⁵³ This form is what is audible in Grjunberg’s recordings. Grjunberg (1980: 282) instead gives the mistaken form **věčó-věčě*, which – going by its structure – would theoretically refer to 20 + 20, not 20 × 20. In reality, 20 + 20 is expressed as *dyú-věčě* – 2 × 20.

18	ṣṭiċ		aṣṭiċ
19	neċ		
20	vēċċ		viċi
20 + 1	vēċó-ev		viċá-ev
20 + 2	vēċó-dyu		viċá-dü
20 + 3	vēċó-tëre	vēċó-tre	viċá-tre
20 + 4	vēċó-štëvo		viċá-što
20 + 5	vēċó-puč		viċá-puč
20 + 6	vēċó-ṣu		viċá-ṣu
20 + 7	vēċó-sut		viċá-zut
20 + 8	vēċó-uṣṭ		viċá-uṣṭ
20 + 9	vēċó-nu		viċá-nu
20 + 10 (30)	vēċó-duċ		viċá-duċ
20 + 11 (31)	vēċó-yaniċ		viċá-yaniċ
20 + 12 (32)	vēċó-diċ		viċá-diċ
20 + 13 (33)	vēċó-tëriċ	vēċó-triċ	viċá-triċ
20 + 14 (34)	vēċó-štüreċ	W-KT vēċó-štruċ	viċá-štreċ
20 + 15 (35)	vēċó-pċiċ		viċá-paċiċ
20 + 16 (36)	vēċó-ṣeċ		viċá-ṣeċ
20 + 17 (37)	vēċó-stiċ		viċá-zatiċ
20 + 18 (38)	vēċó-ṣṭiċ		viċá-aṣṭiċ
20 + 19 (39)	vēċó-neċ		viċá-neċ
2 x 20 (40)	dyú-vēċċ		dú-viċi

2x20 + 1 (41)	dyú-věčo ev		dú-viča ev
2x20 + 2 (42)	dyú-věčo dyu		dú-viča dü
etc.			
3 x 20 (60)	tré-věčë		tré-viči
4 x 20 (80)	štěvó-věčë		štó-viči
5 x 20 (100)	púj-věčë or sad (< Prs.)		púćci or sad (< Prs.)
8 x 20 (160)	úst-věčë or é sád-je tērěvēčë	W-KL vúz-věčë W-KT vúd-věčë	vúz-viči
10 x 20 (200)	dúc-věčë or dyú sád		dućci or dú sád
15 x 20 (300)	pčíc-věčë or NE tērě sád, w tré sád		pačíc̣ci or tré sád
20 x 20 (400)	štěvó sad (or w věčë-věčë ?) archaic: azór		štó sád archaic: ajór
1000	azór		ajór (őğunījor ‘Afghan 1000’)
100,000	lak (< Prs./Psht./Urd.)		

Table 159. Cardinal numerals

2.6.2 Ordinal Numerals

Ordinal numerals are formed as phrases consisting of the (phrasally stressed) numeral followed by the feminine form of the imperfective participle to the verb NE *bu-stë* ~ W *bë-stë* ~ SE *bũ-stë* ‘to be, to become’, i.e. NE/SE *bũli*, W *běli* ‘being one’.¹⁵⁴ The ordinal numerals are also used adverbially to structure discourse.

¹⁵⁴ Grjunberg’s (1980: 285) statement that “there are no ordinal numerals” in the language is incorrect, even for his own data.

Examples:

NE/SE <i>év búli</i> , W <i>év běli</i>	‘first, firstly’ ¹⁵⁵
NE <i>dyú búli</i> , W <i>dyú běli</i> , SE <i>dú búli</i>	‘second, secondly’
NE <i>těré búli</i> , W <i>tré běli</i> , SE <i>tré búli</i>	‘third, thirdly’
etc.	

2.6.3 Distributive Numerals

Distributive numerals formed by onset reduplication followed by the vowel *a* are well attested only for the Southeastern dialect, but similar forms probably also exist elsewhere, since a form for ‘one’ is attested in the other dialects. The reduplicated onset is occasionally simplified (*ta-tre*) or retains a more archaic form than the onset of the stem (*ča-što*, cf. Old-Indo-Aryan *catvāra-*). Southeastern intervocalic lenition applies in this form. The Southeastern distributive form for ‘one’ looks like a reduplication of the Individuating Possessive Reflexive Pronoun *yo* (2.3.5.4.2), whereas the form of the other dialects contains both *yo* and the numeral *e(v)* ‘one’

Examples:

SE <i>yayó</i> , NE <i>yóve</i> , W <i>yovév</i>	‘one each’
SE <i>da-dú</i>	‘two each’
SE <i>ta-tré</i> ~ <i>tra-tré</i>	‘three each’
SE <i>ča-što</i>	‘four each’
SE <i>pa-púč</i> ~ <i>pa-búč</i>	‘five each’
SE <i>ša-žú</i>	‘six each’
SE <i>sa-zút</i>	‘seven each’
SE <i>va-vúṣṭ</i>	‘eight each’
SE <i>na-nú</i>	‘nine each’
SE <i>da-dúc</i>	‘ten each’
SE <i>va-věnič</i>	‘eleven each’
SE <i>da-díc</i>	‘twelve each’

¹⁵⁵ But cf. sections 2.5.1 and 2.5.2 for other words for ‘first’.

2.6.4 Numeral Classifiers

Numeral classifiers are not obligatory when counting nouns, but some are quite commonly used. They can appear both after numerals and after quantifiers. Southeastern consonant lenition applies across the word boundary in the classifier phrase.

Examples:

<i>ċō</i>	‘branch’	⇒	NE <i>é ċó ðuy</i>	‘one hand/arm’
<i>pul</i>	‘grain’	⇒	NE <i>é púl pařé</i>	‘one apple’
<i>kuṭ</i>	‘voice, throat’	⇒	NE <i>é kúṭ vērí</i>	‘one word’
NE/W <i>ṣoř</i>	‘livestock, herd’	⇒	W <i>sút ṣoř čípřomě</i>	‘seven goat kids’
SE <i>ṣařé</i>			SE <i>đu ṣařé gó</i>	‘two cows’
<i>moč</i>	‘husband, man’	⇒	SE <i>é čí moč palťén</i>	‘a few soldiers’
<i>čur</i>	<i>no independent meaning</i>	⇒	NE <i>dyú čur kyur</i>	‘two legs’
<i>pur</i>	<i>no independent meaning</i>	⇒	SE <i>štó pur amó</i>	‘four rooms’

Some borrowed classifiers are also in use, e.g. *doná* < Prs. *dāna*, *nařár* < Prs.-Arab. *nařar*, *maņé* < Psht. *maņá* ‘apple’.

2.6.5 Quantifiers

There is some overlap between quantifiers and Indeterminate Pronouns (2.3.5.3). The following quantifiers are attested in the examined corpus:

NE <i>ċaŋ</i> ~ <i>ċak</i>	‘all’
SE-MM <i>suŋ</i> (<i>súŋgě?</i>)	
SE <i>sũ-di</i> , <i>sũ</i>	
W <i>suv</i>	
NE/SE <i>su</i>	‘all (<i>before numerals</i>)’
NE <i>éřě</i>	‘some’
W <i>évrě</i>	
SE <i>éřě</i>	

NE <i>ādyú</i>	‘both’	
W <i>avdyú</i>		
SE <i>ódü, védü</i>		
NE/SE <i>vár</i> - ¹⁵⁶	‘other’	
NE <i>várě</i> , W <i>valé</i> , SE <i>váre</i>	‘other’	(also an adverb ‘otherwise’)
NE/W <i>sěvérě</i>	‘the other’ ¹⁵⁷	
SE-MM <i>sóre</i>		
SE <i>súřě</i>		
<i>har</i> ~ <i>ar</i>	‘every’	(< Prs.)
NE/SE <i>é čí</i>	‘a few’	
W <i>ču</i>		
NE <i>é čók</i>	‘a bit, little’	
SE <i>é čók</i>		
W <i>čivók</i> ~ <i>čuvók</i>		
NE <i>é čók-di</i>	‘more, some more’	
SE <i>é čók-di</i>		
NE <i>é čělék</i>	‘a little bit’	
NE <i>é cúć</i>	‘a tiny bit’	

2.7 Adpositions and Relational Nouns

2.7.1 Prepositions

There is only one real preposition – W/NE *sa*, SE *se* – which has the meaning ‘with, including’. It receives phrasal stress within the noun phrase and requires the oblique case on the following noun.¹⁵⁸ Examples (1) – (3) demonstrate its use.

¹⁵⁶ This form is compounded with a following noun.

¹⁵⁷ See section 2.5.5 for the adverbial use of this form.

¹⁵⁸ According to Strand (1999a), singular inanimate -ě Nouns receive the instrumental Case after the preposition.

- (1) *Gëṭáke, góṣço čóme mërėti, sá dëméyo amčénasya.*

<i>gëṭák-e</i>		<i>góṣço</i>		<i>čóm-e</i>
goatskin.vest-OBL.SG.M		livestock.DIR/OBL		skin-OBL.SG.M
<i>mërėti</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>dëméyo</i>		<i>amčé-nasya</i>
knead-CVB	with	tail-OBL.PL		wear-PROG.MDV.3PL

‘After working the animal skin, [it is said that] they were wearing the *gëṭak* (goatskin vest) with the tails attached.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg I 3.2)

- (2) *Yúṣë mërě álí štúm sá lŭ ulé kšeyti, stó=meñ vítě.*

<i>yuš-ě</i>	<i>mër-ě</i>	<i>ál-i</i>	<i>štum</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>lu-ŭ</i>
demon-OBL	boy-OBL.SG.M	big-F	tree.DIR	with	root-OBL.PL
<i>ulé kšey-ti</i>	<i>st-ō</i>		<i>=meñ</i>	<i>ví-tě</i>	
pull.out-CVB	DEM.DIST-OBL.SG.F		=with	hit-PROG.PRS.3SG	

‘The demon’s son pulls out a large tree including its roots and hits them with it.’ [NE-BG] (Morgenstierne Tale 11.11)

- (3) *Pečvól-di, sáyp, sŭ=di sé jŭḡuřparměňō muktí, sáyp, gídi Kómbřom guá.*

<i>Pečvól</i>	<i>=di</i>	<i>sáyp</i>	<i>sŭ</i>	<i>=di</i>	<i>se</i>
PN.DIR	ADD.FOC	sir	all	ADD.FOC	with
<i>jŭḡuř-parměň-ō</i>		<i>muk-tí</i>	<i>sáyp</i>	<i>gí-di</i>	<i>Kómbřom</i>
woman-child-OBL.PL		flee-CVB	sir	go-CVB	PN.LOC
<i>guá</i>					
go.PFV.PST.3PL					

‘And the Pečwāls, sir, they all fled with their women and children, sir, left and went to Kómbřom (Kāmděš).’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihād 7.1)

Two additional former prepositions – *pě-* ~ *pa-* and *a-* – have become local prefixes (see resp. sections 2.7.2 and 2.3.5.2). The former is interpreted as a preposition by Grjunberg (1980: 205–206) and Strand (2010).

2.7.2 The Local Prefix

The local prefix, which usually appears in conjunction with the case endings of the local cases, has a highly variable form since it interacts phonologically with the following stem in numerous and partially unpredictable ways. The least conditioned variant of the prefix, and therefore probably its most original form, is NE/W *pě-*, SE *pa-*.

This form appears before sonorants (*m, n, l, ř*) and *v* in all dialects.

Examples:

<i>me</i>	‘fog’	NE/W <i>pě-mé</i> , SE <i>pa-mé</i>
NE <i>naň</i> , W <i>nař</i> , SE <i>noň</i>	‘stream, gorge’	NE <i>pě-náň</i> , W <i>pě-nářa</i> , SE <i>pa-nóň</i>
<i>řum</i>	‘lap of shirt’	NE/W <i>pě-řúm</i> , SE <i>pa-řúm</i>
<i>lu</i>	‘root’	NE/W <i>pě-lú</i> , SE <i>pa-lú</i>
<i>voť</i>	‘stone, rock’	NE/W <i>pě-vóť</i> , SE <i>pa-vóť</i>

The prefix has previously been analysed as a preposition (Grjunberg 1980: 205–206) and it is indeed likely that it originated as one,¹⁵⁹ but it has fused with the stem to such a degree that in its current form it is best considered a bound prefix.¹⁶⁰ Further points in favor of this view are the fact that no other elements such as adjectives or demonstratives can interfere between the prefix and the noun, the existence of words which never occur without the prefix,¹⁶¹ and its restriction from use with recent loanwords.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁹ Turner (1962: T.8540) connects it to the Old Indo-Aryan spatial adverb *práti* ‘toward, against’ (< Proto-Indo-Iranian **pāti* ~ **prāti*). A connection with a different spatial adverb, OIA *prá* ‘forward’ (< PIIr. **prá*), is considered by Strand (1999a). The Indo-Iranian spatial adverbs later grammaticalized into prepositions in many Iranian languages and the same might have happened in Nuristani languages. In Indo-Aryan languages they did not turn into prepositions, but rather became limited to use as verbal prefixes (Reinöhl 2016: 101).

¹⁶⁰ Dryer (2013) analyzes Prasun *tu-*, which is functionally very similar to the Katë local prefix, as a case marker in itself. Such an analysis might be possible in the Southeastern dialect, where nominal stems with the prefix only appear in one form, but not in the other two dialects, which have two separate local cases. In principle, it may be possible to consider the combination of prefix and case suffixes as case circumfixes, but that would disregard the analogous case functions in non-prefixed place names, spatial nouns and adjectives and the local postposition NE *-tã*, W *-ta* (cf. sections 2.2.1.1.3 & 2.7.3.2).

¹⁶¹ This group includes some place names, e.g. NE *Bu-dmúk* (Nikmuk/Sa‘idābād), *Bě-dévon* (Dewāna Bābā); some adverbial expressions (e.g. NE *bě-dyūr* ‘far away’, *bě-děřěgá* ‘at a distance’, *pu-núy* ‘ahead, at first, previous(ly)’) and some nouns in the Southeastern dialect (see 2.7.2.2). The bases of derivation for these words have apparently disappeared in independent use, but sometimes survive in compounds, e.g. NE *Děmúkvaňi* ‘person from Budmuk’.

¹⁶² The few Persian loanwords that can appear with the prefix probably belong to the earliest layer of Persian borrowings. These also show consonant lenition in the Southeastern dialect: *sundúk*, *pa-zúnduk* ‘box’ < Prs.-Arab. *šundūq*; *pa-zělom yě-stě* ‘to pay respects’ < Prs.-Arab. *salām* ‘peace; greeting’

Much remains unclear about the morphophonological alternations conditioned by the local prefix and the factors controlling their distribution. Strand (1999a) has collected prefixed forms for many Southeastern nouns,¹⁶³ but a comparable amount of data was not available to me for the other two dialects. The following is a sketch of the most important alternations. See also section 2.1.5.1 on stress shifts and associated vowel changes due to prefixation.

2.7.2.1 Voicing Assimilation

Before voiced obstruents (*g, d, ɖ, b, z, ʝ*; NE/W *z*; SE *j, j*) the *p* of the prefix assimilates in voicing to *b* (all dialects). In the Southeastern dialect consonant lenition *g > ġ* applies after the prefix, but there are also cases in which Strand (1999a) records the *g* as preserved (e.g. SE *gotr* ‘arm’, *ba-gótr*).

Examples:

<i>gul</i>	‘valley, country’	W <i>bě-gúla</i> , SE <i>ba-ğúl</i> (NE <i>bu- gúl</i> , see 2.7.2.3)
NE/SE <i>dā</i> , W <i>dav</i>	‘wood’	NE <i>bě-dā</i> , W <i>bě-dáv</i> , SE <i>ba-dā</i>
NE <i>ḍěvěřé</i> , SE <i>ḍúřé</i>	‘plain’	NE <i>bě-rére</i> , SE <i>ba-ḍúre</i>
NE <i>ḍěgére</i> , SE <i>ḍağěre</i>	‘bad, evil’	NE <i>bě-rěgere</i> , SE <i>ba-ḍěğere</i>
NE/SE <i>bō</i> , W <i>bo</i> , KT <i>bu</i>	‘chair’	NE <i>bě-bō</i> , W <i>bě-bó/-bú</i> , SE <i>ba-bō</i>
NE/W <i>žor</i> , SE <i>joř</i>	‘commotion’	NE/W <i>bě-žor</i> , SE <i>ba-jóř</i>
W <i>juš</i> , SE <i>ǰuš</i>	‘meat broth’	W <i>bě-ǰuš</i> , SE <i>ba-ǰuš</i> (NE <i>bu-ǰuš</i> , see 2.7.2.3)
NE <i>zō</i> , W <i>zo</i> (KT <i>zu</i>), SE <i>jō</i>	‘knee’	NE <i>bě-zō</i> , W <i>bě-zó/-zú</i> , SE <i>ba-jō</i>

2.7.2.2 Prefix-Vowel Deletion (W, NE)

In the Northeastern and Western dialects, a vowelless form *p-* appears before voiceless obstruents (*k, t, [p]*; *š, š, s*; *č, č, ċ*). This includes clusters beginning with voiceless obstruents, except *kř-*, *př-*. Where a cluster **pkṭ* would result, this is reduced to *pṭ* in the Northeastern dialect.

¹⁶³ Strand (1999a) does not give a generalized account of the formation of these forms and apparently they have not all been updated to reflect his most recent system of transcription. This makes it unclear at times how the notations should be interpreted.

Examples:

NE/W <i>kor</i>	‘ear’	NE/W <i>p-kor</i>
NE <i>ḳtol</i> , W <i>ḳtyol</i>	‘belly’	NE <i>p-̣tol</i> , W <i>p-ḳtyol</i>
NE <i>ḳtyū</i> , W <i>ḳtyuv</i>	‘bowl’	NE <i>p-̣tyū</i> , W <i>p-ḳtyúva</i>
NE/W <i>tul</i>	‘field’	NE/W <i>p-tul</i>
NE <i>tos</i>	‘shoulder’	NE <i>p-tos</i>
NE <i>şey</i> , W <i>şayí</i>	‘head’	NE/W <i>p-şey</i>
NE <i>šut</i>	‘floor’	NE <i>p-šut</i>
NE/W <i>štum</i>	‘tree’	NE <i>p-štum</i> , W <i>p-štuma</i>
NE <i>sō</i> , W <i>so</i> , KT <i>su</i>	‘mountain pasture’	NE <i>p-sō</i>
NE/W <i>çik</i>	‘ladder’	NE/W <i>p-çik</i>
NE <i>čiró</i> , W <i>čiróv</i>	‘wicker stand’	NE <i>p-čiró</i>
NE <i>čō</i> , W <i>čov</i>	‘branch’	NE <i>p-čō</i>

In multisyllabic nouns beginning with *p-*, the theoretically resulting cluster *pp* is simplified to *p*, leaving stress and vowel shifts as the only traces of the prefix.

Examples:

W <i>paşí</i>	‘mountain slope’	W <i>péşi</i> (NE usually <i>paşyê-tā</i>)
* <i>Pařúk</i>	‘place name’	NE/W <i>Péřuk</i>
		cf. SE-KM <i>Pabúřuk</i> ~ <i>Paběřuk</i> (Pashto <i>Paprok</i>)

In monosyllabic nouns beginning with *p-* the normal prefix *pě-* without vowel deletion is used instead.

Example:

W <i>put</i>	‘path, way’	W <i>pě-pút</i>

In the Southeastern dialect only *ptul* ‘field’, *pšol* ‘stable’ and *pšoř* ‘birth’ show the same prefix vowel deletion. However, these are not locative forms as such but are used as the stem of the noun in all cases. The corresponding forms without *p-* only survive in compounds (*talvíži* ‘field-neighbor’, *šaltó* ‘stable grounds’, *šalmóč* “stable-man” = ‘shepherd’; *šável* ‘birth-time’). The locative form for the compound *šaltó* is *pšiltō*, showing the same vowel deletion as the basic noun.

Otherwise, nouns beginning with voiceless obstruents receive the basic prefix *pa-* in the Southeastern dialect, with consonant lenition in sibilants and plosives. Since both initial *k-* and initial *g-* become *-ǵ-*, the voicing of the initial can only be recovered from the voicing of the prefix consonant.

Examples:

SE <i>kor</i>	‘ear’	SE <i>pa-ǵór</i>
SE <i>kʰol</i>	‘belly’	SE <i>pa-kʰól</i>
SE <i>kařú</i>	‘bowl’	SE <i>pa-kʰú</i>
SE <i>tos</i>	‘shoulder’	SE <i>pa-tós</i>
SE <i>put</i>	‘path, way’	SE <i>pa-bút</i>
SE <i>šē</i>	‘head’	SE <i>pa-žé</i>
SE <i>šūt</i>	‘floor’	SE <i>pa-žút</i>
SE <i>sō</i>	‘mountain pasture’	SE <i>pa-zó</i>
SE <i>čik</i>	‘ladder’	SE <i>pa-čík</i>
SE <i>čiró</i>	‘wicker stand’	SE <i>pa-čírō</i>
SE <i>čō</i>	‘branch’	SE <i>pa-čó</i>

A separate Southeastern development appears before the cluster *št* (but not *štr*) where the prefix becomes stressed *pé-*.

SE <i>štor</i>	‘quiver’	SE <i>pé-štor</i>	(cf. NE <i>p-štor</i>)
SE <i>štũ</i>	‘pillar’	SE <i>pé-štũ</i>	(cf. W <i>p-štyu</i>)
SE <i>štrik</i>	‘shoe tie’	SE <i>pa-štrík</i>	

2.7.2.3 Prefix-Vowel Assimilation

In the Northeastern dialect, if the first vowel of the nominal stem is *u*, the vowel of the prefix may assimilate and also become *u*. For the Southeastern dialect, Strand (1999a) records only one example with a similar outcome *čom*, *pú-čom* ‘skin’. However, since this word has prefix stress and since the same form is also attested in the Northeastern dialect, this seems to be a separate irregular form. Otherwise the Southeastern and Western dialects have their normal prefixes *pě-*, *bě-* and *pa-*, *ba-* in these contexts.

Examples:

NE *núy, W *nušt, SE *nüš(t)	*‘first’ ¹⁶⁴	NE pu-núy, W pë-núšt, SE pa-nüš ‘ahead, first, previous(ly)’
NE duy, W dušt, SE düš(t)	‘hand’	NE bu-dúy, W bë-dúšt, SE ba-dúš
put	‘path, way’	NE pu-pút, W pë-pút, SE pa-bút
gul	‘valley, country’	NE bu-gúl, W bë-gúla, SE ba-ğúl
du	‘door’	NE bu-dú, W bë-dú, SE ba-dú

In the Northeastern and Western dialects, the prefix vowel assimilates to *i* in some cases. All recorded instances have the corresponding root vowel *ü* in the Southeastern dialect.

Examples:

NE *mič, W *miř, SE *müč	*‘middle’	NE pi-míč, W pi-mř, SE pa-müč
NE/W myuk, SE mük	‘front (of body)’	NE pi-myúk, W pi-myúka, SE pa-mük
NE/W-KT bim, W-KL byum, SE büm	‘earth, ground’	NE/W-KT bi-bím, W-KL bë-byúm, SE ba-büm
NE/W gyu, SE gü	‘shit’	NE bi-gyú, SE ba-ğü (ba-ğü?)

In a somewhat different assimilation process the prefix vowel assimilates to *i* before an initial *y-* in the Southeastern and Western dialects.

Example:

yol	‘track, line’	NE pi-yól, W pi-yóla, SE pa-yól

2.7.2.4 Metathesis of ř

If the nominal stem contains a cluster of consonant + *ř*, the *ř* is metathesized into the prefix (cf. also section 2.1.5.6). This process applies after voicing assimilation, precludes Northeastern/Western vowel deletion, and is followed by Southeastern consonant lenition on *k* and *p*. Grjunberg (1980) does not describe the metathesis and transcribes metathesized forms only occasionally in his texts (e.g. 1980: 155), but it is audible in his recordings and must therefore most likely also be assumed for the Western dialect.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. the derivatives NE nuštérik, W něštér(v)ay ‘first’.

Examples:

<i>křum</i>	‘roof’	NE/W <i>pře-kúm</i> , SE <i>přa-ǵúm</i>
<i>gřom</i> , W-KT <i>gřum</i>	‘village’	NE/W <i>bře-góm</i> , SE <i>břa-ǵóm</i>
<i>břo</i>	‘brother’	NE <i>bře-bó</i>

For the following words Strand (1999a) notes divergent outcomes:

SE <i>břůc</i>	‘meadow’	SE <i>ba-břůc</i> (cf. NE <i>bře-bůc</i>)
SE <i>přor</i>	‘wound’	SE <i>pa-břór</i>
SE <i>přoc</i>	‘loaf’	SE <i>pa-přóc</i>
SE <i>přůš(t)</i>	‘bed’	SE <i>pa-přůš</i> , <i>přa-bůš</i>
SE <i>mřůš(t)</i>	‘fist’	SE <i>pa-mřůš(t)</i> ~ <i>přa-mřůš(t)</i> ~ <i>přa-můšt</i>
SE <i>mřaště</i>	‘brain’	SE <i>pa-mřěšte</i>

2.7.2.5 Stem-Vowel Deletion

In all dialects there are some cases in which an unstressed vowel in the syllable following the prefix is deleted and stress remains in the same position. The conditioning factors are unclear and subject to dialectal variation.

With the word NE/W *bědí*, SE *bidí* ‘mind’ it happens in all dialects and it also seems to occur quite regularly with unstressed *u* in the Northeastern dialect. Some identifiable environments for deletion of *a* in the Southeastern dialect are after a labial plosive (*p*, *b*), between *k* and a coronal consonant and between two sibilants. However, only the sibilant environment has no attested counterexamples (cf. SE *parík*, *pa-bérik* ‘shoulder blade’, *kaškě*, *pa-ǵěške* ‘hoof’). The vowel-deleted forms show no traces of Southeastern intervocalic lenition.

Examples:

NE/W <i>bědí</i> , SE <i>bidí</i>	‘mind’	NE/W <i>bě-bdí</i> , SE <i>ba-bdí</i>
* <i>Děmúk</i>	‘place name’	NE <i>Bu-dmúk</i> SE <i>Ba-démuk</i>
* <i>salóm</i> (< Prs.-Arab. <i>salām</i>)	‘respects, greeting’	W <i>pě-slóm</i> , SE <i>pa-zélom</i>
NE <i>guší</i> , SE <i>guží</i>	‘dough bowl’	NE <i>bu-kšyě</i> , SE <i>ba-ǵúzi</i>

NE <i>guló</i> , SE <i>galó</i>	‘river’	NE <i>bu-gló</i> , SE <i>ba-ǵélō</i>
NE <i>guṣtyě</i> , SE <i>guṣtĩ</i>	‘livestock pen’	NE <i>bu-kṣtyě</i> , SE <i>ba-ǵúṣtĩ</i>
SE <i>bṛajě</i>	‘disease’	SE <i>bṛa-bjě</i>
SE <i>paṛé</i>	‘porch’	SE <i>pa-pté</i>
SE <i>paṣú</i>	‘mountain slope’	SE <i>pa-pṣú</i> (cf. W <i>paṣí</i> , <i>péṣi</i>)
SE <i>kaṛú</i>	‘bowl’	SE <i>pa-kṭú</i> (cf. NE <i>ktyū</i> , <i>p-tyū</i>)
SE <i>kaǵé</i>	‘mountain pass’	SE <i>pa-kǵé</i>
SE <i>katévo</i>	‘cave’	SE <i>pa-ktévo</i>
SE <i>kažě</i>	‘volume measure’	SE <i>pa-kšě</i>
SE <i>šiží</i>	‘scree’	SE <i>pa-šší</i>
SE <i>sazí</i>	‘work group’	SE <i>pa-ssí</i>

Irregular reductions are attested for the following nouns:

SE <i>kaṛú</i>	‘base, bottom’	SE <i>pa-ǵúř</i> (< * <i>pa-ǵěřü</i> ?) vs. NE/W <i>kaṛú</i> , <i>p-kéřu</i>
SE <i>baně</i>	‘forest’	SE <i>ba-bún</i> vs. NE <i>ben</i> , <i>bě-bén</i>

2.7.2.6 Coalescence

If the nominal stem begins with a vowel, the prefix vowel and the stem-initial vowel may coalesce in various ways.

Before a stressed initial *í* the prefix assimilates to *pe-* in the Northeastern dialect.

Examples:

NE <i>íc</i>	‘bear’	NE <i>pe-íc</i> vs. SE <i>yíc</i> , <i>pa-yíc</i>

Nouns beginning with unstressed *yi* are rare, but one available example from the Southeastern dialect suggests coalescence with the prefix vowel to *e*.

* <i>Yimrtó</i>	‘name of a pre-Islamic altar to Imro’	SE <i>Pém(ě)rtō</i>

In nouns starting with unstressed NE *u*, SE/W *vu*, the prefix vowel coalesces with the stem to *u* at least in the two Eastern dialects, with some exceptions with retained *v* in the Southeastern and Western dialect. Metathesis of *ř* can happen together with the coalescence to *u*.

Examples:

NE <i>unděrá</i> , W <i>vudrá</i>	‘flight’	NE <i>punděrá</i> , W <i>pěvudrá</i>
NE <i>ulpá</i>	‘lofty heights’	NE <i>pulpá</i>
SE <i>vuzól</i> [F]	‘water conduit’	SE <i>púzol</i>
W <i>vušól</i> [M]	‘waterfall’	W <i>Pušól</i> (place name – Pušál ¹⁶⁵)
SE <i>vugřě</i>	‘roof beam’	SE <i>přúže</i>
SE <i>vuzó</i>	‘braid’	SE <i>pavúzo</i>

In the Northeastern dialect, unstressed initial *vě-* or *vi-* disappears together with the prefix vowel. The Southeastern dialect shows a corresponding development to *u*.

NE <i>věcó</i> , SE <i>vacó</i>	‘shoe’	NE <i>pco</i> , SE <i>púco</i>
NE <i>vištěř</i>	‘wide’	NE <i>pštěř</i>

In nouns beginning with unstressed *a-* coalescence results are unpredictable and lexically determined, with some dialectal variation. In many cases the accent is retracted as described in section 2.1.5.1 and the prefix vowel coalesces with the newly stressed initial vowel to *o*. In other cases the outcome of the coalescence is *a*, which sometimes receives the retracted stress and sometimes does not. The outcome for the same word may differ across dialects. There are no absolute rules, but some tendencies can be observed: The Southeastern dialect has *a* before palatals in several cases and *o* elsewhere, the other two dialects have *o* before palatals but *a* before retroflex plosives. Grjunberg (1980: 205) reports a correlation with number in the dialect of Kulem (sg. *paťól*, pl. *póťolo*), but it is not clear whether this is a general pattern.

Examples:

NE/W <i>aší</i> , SE <i>aží</i>	‘mouth’	NE <i>póše</i> , W <i>póši</i> , SE <i>páži</i>
NE/SE <i>ačě</i>	‘eye’	NE <i>póče</i> , SE <i>páče</i>

¹⁶⁵ Grjunberg (1980: 206) equates this name of a large village in upper Řamgěl with *pšol* the Locative form of *šol* ‘stable’, but this must be a mistake. His recordings, speakers from Řamgěl, as well as other sources (e.g. Herrlich et al. 1937: 303) give the name as *Pušól*.

SE <i>ajřě</i>	‘shameless’	SE <i>pójře</i>
NE/W <i>asě</i> , SE <i>azě</i>	‘ashes’	NE <i>póse</i> , SE <i>póze</i>
SE <i>aŋjũň</i> , W <i>aŋyúr</i>	‘finger’	SE <i>póŋjũň</i> , W <i>póŋyúr</i>
<i>aŋó</i>	‘fire’	NE <i>paŋó</i> , SE <i>póŋo</i>
W <i>aťá</i> , SE <i>ařó</i>	‘hearth’	W <i>paťá</i> SE <i>póřo</i>
NE/W <i>aťól</i> , SE <i>ařól</i>	‘cliff, cover’	NE/W <i>paťól</i> , SE <i>póřol</i>
NE/SE <i>ašpúru</i>	‘dream’	NE <i>póšpuru</i> , SE <i>pášpuru</i>
NE/SE <i>apšě</i> , W <i>apší</i>	‘mill’	NE <i>pópšě</i> , W <i>pópšira</i> , SE <i>pápšě</i>
NE/W-KT <i>amú</i> , SE/W <i>amó</i>	‘house’	NE/W-KT <i>pamú</i> , SE/W <i>pamó</i>
SE <i>avíc</i>	‘notch’	SE <i>pavíc</i>

An irregular contraction result is reported by Strand (1999a) for the following Southeastern word:

SE <i>agól</i>	‘rain’	SE <i>púğol</i>

2.7.3 Inflectable Postpositional Elements

There are a few enclitics/postpositions that are inflectable for case like normal nouns, in particular the referentializer *-stě*, the local postposition NE *-tã*, W *-ta*, SE *-to* and the associative enclitic NE/W *-kěli*, SE *-kilě*.

2.7.3.1 The Referentializer *-stě*

The referentializer is a very frequent grammatical element, with several distinct functions that are synchronically difficult to integrate under a single term, but explainable as outcomes of a common origin.¹⁶⁶

The term *referentializer* is used here in the sense of van Lier *apud* Haspelmath (2023: 18), i.e. “a special form that indicates referential function”. This is its main role, in which it can create referential expressions from possessors in the oblique case (SE:

¹⁶⁶ Grjunberg (1980) does not give a unified account of the function of *-stě*. Instead he sets up separate categories for forms with *-stě*, e.g. a “possessive form” of nouns (178), “possessive pronouns” (187), “reflexive possessive pronouns” (193), a “past participle I” with *-stě* (231) contrasted to a “past participle II” without *-stě* (234), and an “infinitive” with *-stě* (206-207) contrasted to a “truncated infinitive” (*usečonnyj infinitiv*) without *-stě* (214).

genitive), from local expressions in the locative or ablative, from perfective participles, and from infinitives. The resulting nominals are inflected on the enclitic, which usually follows the masculine *-ë* declension (NE/SE DIR. *=st-ë*, OBL.SG. *=st-ē*, OBL.PL. *=st-ō̃*, INS. *=st-ē̃*; W DIR. *=st-ē*, OBL./INS.SG. *=st-e*, OBL.SG.F *=st-o*¹⁶⁷, OBL.PL. *=st-o*, INS.PL. *=st-eřo*).

Examples with Possessors:

- Pronoun:

NE <i>ĩ/yē</i>	1SG.OBL	⇒	<i>ĩ-stë /yē-stë</i>	‘mine’
W <i>ye/yeme</i>	1SG.OBL	⇒	<i>ye-stë /yeme-stë</i>	
SE <i>yĩ</i>	1SG.GEN	⇒	<i>yĩ-stë</i>	

- Noun:

NE <i>mër-ě</i>	boy-OBL.SG.M	⇒	<i>mër-ě-stë</i>	‘the one of the boy’
W <i>pëvéz-e</i>	boy-OBL.SG.M	⇒	<i>pëvéze-stë</i>	
SE-KM <i>āri</i>	boy.DIR/GEN	⇒	<i>āri-stë</i>	

Examples with Local Expressions:

- Locative (NE/W):

NE <i>bi-bím</i>	LP-ground	⇒	<i>bibím-stë</i>	‘the one on the ground’ = ‘snake’

- Ablative-Oblique (NE/W):

NE <i>pí-ñ-ě</i>	↷  ↶-SN-ABL	⇒	<i>píñë-stë</i>	‘the one/those from over on the other side’ ¹⁶⁸

- Locative-Genitive (SE)

SE <i>Kómbřom</i>	(place name)	⇒	<i>Kómbřom-stë</i>	‘the one/those in/from Kombřom (Kāmdēš)’

Examples with Perfective Participles:

- Intransitive Verbs:

NE/SE <i>gu</i>	go.PFV.PTCP.M	⇒	<i>gú-stë</i>	‘the one who has gone (M)’
W <i>gëv-ě</i>	go.PFV.PTCP-M	⇒	<i>gëv-ě-stë</i>	

¹⁶⁷ This form occurs in referentialized feminine perfective participles. In such forms the referentializer inflects according to the gender of the participle.

¹⁶⁸ This is the usual term for the people of Nuristan (who live on the other side of a mountain range) among the Katë in Chitral (and probably vice versa).

- Transitive Verbs:

NE <i>jiň-í</i>	kill-PFV.PTCP	⇒	<i>jiňí-stě</i>	‘the killed one (M/F)’
W <i>jiy-í</i>	kill-PFV.PTCP	⇒	<i>jiyí-stě</i>	
SE <i>jaň-í</i>	kill-PFV.PTCP	⇒	<i>jaňí-stě</i>	

- Positional Verbs:

NE <i>niš-n-ě</i>	sit.down-PFV.PTCP-M	⇒	<i>nišně-stě</i>	‘the sitting one (M)’
W <i>něš-n-ě</i>	sit.down-PFV.PTCP-M	⇒	<i>něšně-stě</i>	
SE <i>je-n-ě</i>	sit.down-PFV.PTCP-M	⇒	<i>jeně-stě</i>	

Examples with Infinitives:

W <i>ku</i>	do.INF	⇒	<i>kú-stě</i>	‘(the act of) doing’
SE <i>kũ</i>	do.INF	⇒	<i>kũ-stě</i>	

Definite predicative possession¹⁶⁹ and predicative perfective participles can only ever be expressed with referentialized forms. If a nominal in the oblique case is used predicatively without a referentializer, this would instead produce a dative-like function (see section 2.3.3.1.2).¹⁷⁰

A rather different, but also very frequent use of the referentializer is its occurrence after adnominal possessors and perfective participles in modifier position. Here, however, unlike in the predicative context, they may occur both with and without the referentializer. For adnominal possessors, use without *-stě* is the less common strategy and most likely to occur in cases of close possession, archaizing contexts such as proverbs or solemn phrases (‘our people’ etc.), and with possessors consisting of only a single nominal. Conversely, use with *-stě* is generally the more common strategy but especially likely to be encountered in contexts with a more loose association between possessor and possessum or with whole phrases as possessors. For perfective participles in modifier position a very similar pattern can be observed, with the use without *-stě* being relatively common, but less likely to be encountered in cases where the modifier is not an essential or defining feature of the head nominal.

Judging from these functional distributions it is likely that the use with referentializer for both adnominal possessors and adnominal perfective participles is the more

¹⁶⁹ I.e. predicative possession of the type “this X is mine”, not of the type “I have an X”, which is expressed differently (see section 2.11.2). On the terminology, see Stassen (2009: 28).

¹⁷⁰ These two cases do not contrast directly in the Southeastern dialect, since the predicative possession construction uses the Genitive and not the oblique case there.

innovative strategy, and that it is currently on its way to displacing the older adnominal patterns.¹⁷¹

Another function of the referentializer, which is somewhat difficult to reconcile with the uses mentioned above, is the formation of qualitative expressions.

Examples:

NE, W, SE-MM <i>kay</i>	⇒	NE/SE-MM <i>kay=stë</i> , W <i>ka=stë</i> , W-KL <i>kášťë</i>
SE-KM/KS <i>kā</i>		SE-KM/KS <i>kā=stë</i>
‘what’		‘how’

NE/W <i>ley</i> , SE <i>lē</i>	⇒	NE/SE/W-RM/KT <i>léstë</i> , W-KL <i>léšťë</i>
‘good’		‘well (adverbial)’ ¹⁷²

NE/SE <i>-pur=stë</i>	‘like (postposition)’
SE <i>érëŋ=stë</i>	‘alike’

For an explanation of the functional spectrum of the referentializer it is helpful to look at its possible etymology. Elements that are both formally and functionally similar to the Katë referentializer can be found in several languages of the surrounding region: Nuristani Kalasha *-sta* (M) / *-šti* (F), Ashkun *-stə*, Dameli *-sãã* (M) / *sããĩ* (F) & *(-i)-san* (Degener 1998: 182–188; Buddruss 2006: 197; Perder 2013: 80, 119–120). For these elements Morgenstierne (1942: 145–146) has suggested a derivation from a form akin to Old Indo-Aryan *sant-(a-)*, the present participle of ‘to be’, with the additional nominal suffix *-ka-*. Turner (1962: T. 13127) adds further Indo-Aryan cognates with comparable functions. From an approximate meaning of ‘being (one)’, which this form would have had in Old Indo-Aryan, it is easy to understand the development of both the referentializing and the qualitative functions (cf. Degener 1998: 188). It is possible that the element is a borrowing or calque from Indo-Aryan in the Nuristani languages. A formally homonymous but functionally distinct postposition *=stë* ‘from’ exists in the Western dialect (see section 2.7.4.3).

¹⁷¹ It may have happened via the reanalysis of structures such as *‘‘the one of the boy, the house’’ > ‘‘the boy’s house’’ or *‘‘the sitting one, the boy’’ > ‘‘the sitting boy’’ in a process similar to that of identified by Heine (1997: 156–163) for possessive ‘‘specification’’ constructions.

¹⁷² The phonological fusing of base and referentializer in this form, as well as the Western combinations with *kay* above, happens only in these forms. The word *ley* ‘good’ is used adnominally, as a predicate noun in combination with some verbs or as a nominal predicate (without a copula) in conditional apodosis. If used adverbially or with the copula it normally means ‘much, many’. A functional contrast between *ley* and *léstë* can also be observed in combination with the verb *zañë=stë* ‘to know, to recognize’, where *léy zañë=stë* means ‘to recognize as good’ = ‘to like’, but *léstë zañë=stë* means ‘to know well’.

2.7.3.1.1 *-stuk*

The enclitic *-stuk* is formally a diminutive form of the referentializer *-stě*. It can be appended to various forms in order to emphasize extent or size.

Examples:

NE <i>yaňě-stě</i>	‘eaten (one)’	⇒	<i>yaňě-stuk</i>	‘as much as is eaten’
SE <i>čĩ</i>	‘how many’	⇒	<i>čĩ-stuk</i>	‘how big’
NE/SE <i>-pur-stě</i>	‘like (<i>postposition</i>)’	⇒	<i>-pur-stuk</i>	‘as big as (<i>postposition</i>)’
SE <i>érěŋ-stě</i>	‘alike’	⇒	<i>érěŋ-stuk</i>	‘alike in size’
NE/SE <i>su</i> , W <i>suv</i>	‘all’	⇒	<i>sú-stuk</i>	‘everything’
NE <i>muťě</i>	‘short’	⇒	<i>muťě-stuk</i>	‘of short extent’

In the Western dialect, *-stuk* is used instead of *-stě* with infinitive forms within the obligative construction (see section 2.9.4.1.2).

2.7.3.2 The Local Postposition *-tã* (NE), *-ta* (W), *-to* (SE)

The local postposition *-tã* (NE), *-ta* (W), *-to* (SE) is an enclitic which stands in for local case forms with nouns that cannot form these, in particular with many loanwords, and it can also be used as an alternative strategy with nouns that do have their own local case forms (cf. section 2.3.3.5). It is originally identical with the noun NE *tã*, W *ta*, SE *tõ* ‘place’, but has become a separate grammatical element.¹⁷³ Like postpositions and possessed nouns, it follows nominals standing in the oblique (SE: genitive) case. The inflection of the local postposition follows the pattern of vocalic nasal vowel stems (Table 61) in the Northeastern dialect (ABL *-tã*) and of consonantal nasal relic stems (Table 107) in the Western dialect (ABL *-taře*). Since the Southeastern dialect has only one local case, the local postposition also has only one form in that dialect, which brings it closer to the status of a simple postposition. The Southeastern local postposition instead has phonologically conditioned variants – *-tto* after vowels and *-do* after nasals and nasal vowels. When followed by the postposition *-u*, it retains its historical nasalization (*-tõ=u*).

Use examples of the local postposition in the locative case are given in (4) – (8). Examples in the ablative case are given in (9) and (10).

¹⁷³ One notable respect in which the two behave differently is that the local case forms of the noun NE *tã*, W *ta*, SE *tõ* ‘place’ are formed with the local prefix (LOC NE *ptã*, W *pta*, SE *patõ*), whereas the local postposition is never used with the prefix, though it only appears in the local cases.

- (4) *poš-to* (alternative LOC *pa-bóš*)
 trap=LPST
 ‘into a trap’ [SE-KM] (AVA Jihad 462.2)
- (5) *mantiqā-tā* (Prs. loanword, never **pě-mantiqā*)
 region.OBL.SG=LPST
 ‘in the region’ [NE-PC] (RTA Clothing 2.10)
- (6) *st-ě=stě* *jit-ě-tā*
 DEM.DIST.SG-OBL.SG.M=REF body-OBL=LPST
 ‘on his body’ [NE] (Afsāna King 8.4)
- (7) *pěrhěl-a* *vušól-a-ta*
 mill.wheel-OBL.SG.F conduit-OBL.SG.F=LPST
 ‘in the mill-wheel’s water conduit’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg IV 1.4)
- (8) *askě* *turč-ĩ* *amó-tto*
 DEM.DIST small-F room.DIR/GEN=LPST
 ‘in that small room’ [SE-KM] (AVA Jihad 176.2)
- (9) *ušúp-ě-tā-ō=staň*
 horse-OBL=LPST-ABL=from
 ‘from the horse’ [NE] (Afsāna King 10.12)
- (10) *přěštúk-e-tař-e-stě*
 bag-OBL.SG.M=LPST-ABL=from
 ‘from the bag’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg Skazka IV 1.6)

In the two Eastern dialects the local postposition is also used as a conjunction, but in the Western dialect this function has a separate (though probably related) form *-to* (see section 2.11.6.3.2).

2.7.3.3 The Associative *-kěli* (NE, W), *-kilě* (SE)

The associative enclitic NE/W *-kěli*, SE *-kilě* can be attached to personal names or kinship nouns in the oblique case (SE: genitive) singular. It creates associative forms which

refer to a group of people loosely associated with and centered around the person with the name or kinship affiliation it is cliticized to.

With kinship nouns the resulting forms can be used as actual plurals, as in examples (11) – (13), but they can also have the associative meaning, as in examples (16) and (17). The same seems to be the case with the terms for ‘friend’ in examples (14) and (15). With personal names only the associative interpretation is possible, as in example (18).

The associative enclitic is grammatically plural and has the oblique forms NE *-kělyō*, W *-kělyo*, SE *-kilō*. The Southeastern dialect has a phonologically conditioned variant *-gilē*, OBL. *-gilō* after nasals and nasal vowels.

- (11) *Núřo-kěli léy vumánět.*

<i>núř-o</i>	<i>-keli</i>	<i>ley</i>	<i>vumá-nět</i>
mother-PERT1.OBL.SG.F	=ASSOC.DIR	much	take.care-PROG.3PL

‘Our mothers take care of us very much’ [W-ŠT] (School Mother 3.1)

- (12) *Vóvše=kěli tóče-kělyo čarvó=ašt.*

<i>vóv-še</i>	<i>-kěli</i>	<i>tót-še</i>
grandfather-PERT1.OBL.SG.M	=ASSOC.DIR	father-PERT1.OBL.SG.M
<i>-kěli-ō</i>	<i>čor-v-o</i>	<i>=ašt</i>
=ASSOC-OBL.PL	custom-PROPR-M	=COP.3PL

‘Our grandfathers are like our fathers.’ [W-ŠT] (School Grandfather 3.2)

- (13) *Amgi parměň nóňēs-kilō=stě paži mařá.*

<i>amgí</i>	<i>parměň</i>	<i>nóň-ēs</i>	<i>-kil-ō</i>
DEM.DIST.PL	child.DIR	mother-PERT.3.DIR/GEN	=ASSOC-OBL.PL
<i>=stě</i>	<i>pa-ší</i>	<i>m-ařá.</i>	
=REF	LP-embrace	die-PFV.PST.3PL	

‘Those children died in their mothers’ embraces.’ [SE-KM]

(Amin Jihad 559.31)

- (14) *Varíki-kělyō cāṅē Surát-e Kahf vėláysseli.*

<i>varík-i</i>	<i>=kěli-ō</i>	<i>cāṅ-ē</i>	<i>Surát-e</i>	<i>Kahf</i>
friend-OBL	=ASSOC-OBL.PL	all-OBL	surah-EZ	Kahf

vėlá-ī-stě-aseli
recite-RES.PRSM.3SG.F

‘Our friends have all probably read the surah *al-Kahf*.’ [NE-MR] (Facebook)

- (15) *Pamú dëvyéro=kělyo-meṣ láti, tpéko vėlúnjati, bërúščosimiš-tě, tó imó vař-pář přélo věřeti, čivók aptín bistasyo=č.*

<i>p-amú</i>	<i>dëvyéro</i>	<i>=kěli-ō</i>	<i>=meṣ</i>	<i>lá-ti</i>
LP-house	friend.DIR/OBL	=ASSOC-OBL.PL	=with	speak-CVB

<i>tpék-o</i>	<i>vělú-ṅ gá-ti</i>	<i>bërú-šč-yosimiš</i>	<i>=tě</i>
rifle-OBL.PL	↑-SN take-CVB	←-head-PFV.PST.ANT.1PL	=CONTR.TOP

<i>to</i>	<i>yimó</i>	<i>va-ř</i>	<i>pa-ř</i>
father.PERT1.DIR	1PL.DIR/OBL	→  ←-SN	←  →-SN

<i>pře-l-o</i>	<i>věře-ti</i>	<i>čivók</i>	<i>aptín</i>
give-IPFV.PTCP-OBL.PL	see-CVB	bit	suspicion

<i>b-i-stě-asyo</i>	<i>=č</i>
RES.MDV.3SG.M	=ADD

‘After talking with the friends at home, we picked up our guns and had just headed out, when my father, seeing us going back and forth, became a bit suspicious.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg IX 12.14)

- (16) *Žúka tótēs=kěli jík věši-stě asyá=č, [...]*

<i>žúk-a</i>	<i>tót-ēs</i>	<i>=kěli</i>
girl-OBL.SG.F	father-PERT3.DIR/OBL	=ASSOC.DIR

<i>jík věš-í-stě asyá</i>	<i>=č</i>
think-RES.MDV.3PL	=ADD

‘And [it turned out that] the girl’s father and those with him had thought: [...]’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg IX 35.9)

- (17) *Qadír=stě totēs-kilō, Naip Salór-kilō šaṇé tót=meš kalé ġarēsë.*
Qadír =*stě* *tót-ēs* =*kil-ō*
 PN.DIR/GEN =REF father-PERT.3.DIR/GEN =ASSOC-OBL.PL
Naip_Salór =*kil-ō* *šaṇe* *tot*
 PN.DIR/GEN =ASSOC-OBL.PL earlier father.PERT1.DIR/GEN
 =*meš* *kalé_k-ařé-stě-ězë*
 =with fight-RES.3SG.M

‘Qadir’s father and his people, Naib Salar and his people, fought with my father a while back.’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 130.1)

- (18) *Stá=vu Gyubaḍá=kēli vřěyá.*
sta =*vu* *Gyubaḍá* =*kēli* *vřě-yá.*
 LDEM.DIST =PHOR PN.DIR/OBL =ASSOC.DIR see-PFV.PST.3PL
 ‘There we saw Gyubaḍa and his group.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg V 7.5)

2.7.4 Regular Postpositions

The postpositions described in this section are not inflected for case, though many of them are probably nouns in origin. Postpositions are used with head nominals in the oblique (SE: genitive) case or in local cases.¹⁷⁴

2.7.4.1 NE *-kě*, W *-kě*, SE *-ṇe* ‘for’

The postposition NE *-kě*, W *-kě*, SE *-ṇe* usually has a benefactive meaning (‘for sb./sth.’). When used with the referential infinitive (2.9.4.1.2), it can also express purpose. Its functional equivalent among the group of relational nouns is NE *dyúkě*, W *bě-dyúk*, SE *düṇe*, which due to its phonological similarity may be considered its “long form”.

¹⁷⁴ Some of the elements analyzed as postpositions by Grjunberg (1980: 198–203) on closer inspection turn out to be something different: His postposition *<-rī>* is a form of *arí*, a nominal element used in light-verb combinations with verbs of motion in the meaning of ‘to get, to fetch’ with a contracted initial vowel. *<-tu>* is a form of the spatial postposition *-atu* (→) with a contracted initial vowel. *<-kuye>* is the adverb *kúye* ‘earlier’. *<-pušti>* and *<-dyašti>* are vowel-contracted combinations with the converb *ašti* ‘having thrown, having let pass’, *púšti* (*pú-ašti* ∪ 𐌸 ∼-throw.CVB) ‘having let (time) pass’ and *čivók-dyašti* (*čivók-di-ašti* a.bit=ADD.FOC throw.CVB) ‘having let pass some more’. *<paře>* is the ablative form of the spatial noun *pař* (= “second row adverb” in Grjunberg’s terminology). *<-řo>* is interpreted here as part of the instrumental plural case forms rather than a postposition. *<por>* would properly belong in Grjunberg’s section on nominal postpositions (Grjunberg 1980: 203), and is here discussed under the heading of “relational nouns” (section 2.7.5).

Examples:

NE <i>tú-kě</i>	‘for you’
NE <i>řúč kú-stě-kě</i>	‘in order to enlighten’
W <i>zěvóra=kě</i>	‘for the winter’
SE <i>manjō^ě-ŋe</i>	‘for the people’
SE <i>aní=ŋe</i>	‘for here’

2.7.4.2 -meš, NE -meň ‘with’

The postposition *-meš* is found in all dialects, but a specifically Northeastern variant *-meň* also exists. The two forms do not seem to be functionally distinct in the Northeastern dialect. It is used to express accompaniment (‘with sb.’) but also instrumentality (e.g. ‘with a tool’ etc.). In the latter meaning it varies with the instrumental case (2.3.3.3). It can also express simultaneity or immediate succession in time, especially with verbal forms, and concessive relations (‘despite’ etc.).

The preceding nominal stands in the oblique (SE: genitive) case.

The same element *meš* also appears in adverbial use in the meaning ‘together’. In this use it can, but does not have to, have the instrumental case ending (W *měš-o*).

Examples:

NE <i>tú-meň</i>	‘with you’
NE <i>dyú anyuň-meň</i>	‘with two fingers’
NE <i>tópcuřě-meň</i>	‘during the peak of heat’
NE <i>é-stě-meň</i>	‘while walking’
NE <i>stě-di-meň</i>	‘despite that’ (‘with that being the case, still...’)
NE <i>šyíl vëryě^ě-meš</i>	‘with soft words’
W <i>kyé-meš</i>	‘with him’
W <i>amkyó gǎ-ste-meš</i>	‘after taking them’
SE <i>búriğavõ-meš</i>	‘with breadbaskets’
SE <i>hukumát-meš</i>	‘with the government’

2.7.4.3 NE *-stañ*, W *-stě*, SE *-stě* ~ *-ste* ‘from (a place)’

The postpositions NE *-stañ* and SE *-stě* ~ *-ste* only appear after local case forms. The same is true for their Western equivalent *-stě*, as long as it is considered separately from the referentializer enclitic *-stě* (2.7.3.1), with which it is homonymous in this dialect. The three postpositions express the meaning ‘from, away from’ with reference to a location in space or time. The Northeastern and Western variants require the ablative case in the preceding noun, the Southeastern variant requires the locative.

Examples:

NE <i>Nuristóně-stañ</i>	‘from Nuristan’
NE <i>pñě-stañ</i>	‘from across the mountain (↖  ↗)’
NE <i>pamú-stañ</i>	‘from home’
NE <i>štěrékě-stañ</i>	‘from now on’
NE <i>atkyě-stañ</i>	‘from there on, then’
NE <i>bozórě-tã-stañ</i>	‘from the market’
W <i>Kobúle-stě</i>	‘from Kabul’
W <i>štúma-taře-stě</i>	‘from the tree’
W <i>staře-stě</i>	‘from there on, then’
SE <i>Pokistón-ste/ě</i>	‘from Pakistan’
SE <i>amgyô-do-ste/ě</i>	‘away from them’
SE <i>akí-ste/ě</i>	‘from there on, then’

2.7.4.4 NE *-tañ* ‘from’

The Northeastern postposition *-tañ* is the equivalent of the postposition discussed in the previous section, but used only after nominals that are not local expressions. It is used for non-physical uses of ‘from’, e.g. in the context of learning, receiving etc. *from* a person. It is also used after the base of comparison in comparative constructions (i.e. in a way similar to English *than*; cf. section 2.11.3). The preceding noun stands in the oblique case.

The same range of meaning is covered by the ablative form of the local postposition, *-tař-e*, in the Western dialect. In the Southeastern dialect it is covered by the invariant local postposition *-to*.

Examples:

NE <i>tódvõ-taň</i>	‘from the ancestors’
NE <i>é mančě-taň</i>	‘from one/a person’
NE <i>píši-taň šyľi</i>	‘softer than a flower’ (lit. ‘from a flower soft’)

2.7.4.5 =u ~ =vu ‘at, near’

The postposition NE/W/SE =u ~ =vu only appears after nominals in the locative case. It exists in all dialects and is used in the meaning of ‘at’ or ‘near’, both relating to physical space and to time. On its function in relation to demonstrative pronouns, see section 2.3.5.2.1.

Examples:

NE <i>budú=vu</i>	‘at the door’
NE <i>pimyúk=u</i>	‘at the front’
NE <i>pút=u</i>	‘by the road’ ¹⁷⁵
NE <i>é tã=u</i>	‘at a place’
NE <i>túl-tã=u</i>	‘next to you, near you’
NE <i>uncě-tã=u</i>	‘at a spring’
W <i>věncěve=ta=vu</i>	‘at a spring’
W <i>bědó=vu</i>	‘at the mountaintop’
W <i>pópšřa=vu</i>	‘at the mill’
SE <i>pamó=vu</i>	‘near the home’
SE <i>pažút=u</i>	‘at the floor’

2.7.4.6 NE/SE =vik, W =yik ‘until’

The postposition NE/SE =vik, W =yik is used in the meaning ‘until’ in temporal contexts, but also in a spatial sense of ‘up to, until’. It is used with nominals in the ablative (SE:

¹⁷⁵ This phrase regularly appears with the direct case form *put*, instead of the expected locative *pupút*. It is possible that the form *put* in this phrase is in fact the reflex of an older locative formation **pput* with prefix vowel deletion, which merged with the direct case form after simplification of the initial cluster **pp* (for NE **pp* > *p*, cf. NE *pis* ‘lung’ ~ W *(p)pis*, SE *papús*, *pabús*).

locative) case, but in the Western dialect the local postposition appears in its locative form before it. In the Western dialect it can be attached directly to infinitive forms (2.11.6.7.1.4),¹⁷⁶ whereas in the Southeastern dialect it can appear after the supine (2.11.6.7.3.1). The Western dialect also forms an innovative circumposition with *-yik* as the postpositional element and borrowed *to* < Persian *tā* ‘until’ as the preposed element (2.11.7.6). This combination does not differ in meaning from simple *-yik*.

Examples:

NE <i>kuyi=vik</i>	‘until when’
NE <i>štěrékě=vik</i>	‘until now’
NE <i>běgótě=vik</i>	‘up to the haystore’
NE <i>atyě-tā=vik</i>	‘up to the bone’
W <i>Pěruk běrtře=yik</i>	‘up to the lower part of the side valley in Peřuk (Papřōk)’
W <i>kaló-ta=yik</i>	‘up to the fort’
W <i>anér bú=yik</i>	‘until it became/becomes dark’
W <i>tó mře=yik</i>	‘until death’
W <i>Nungulóm=vik</i>	‘up to Nungalām’
W <i>dalěň=vik</i>	‘until it tore/tears’

2.7.4.7 NE/SE *-pur-stě* ‘like’ and *-pur-stuk* ‘as big as’

The postposition *-pur-stě*, which contains the referentializer *-stě* and never occurs without it, expresses similarity, in the same way as English *like*.

Examples:

SE <i>sún=pur-stě</i>	‘like gold’
SE <i>yimó=pur-stě</i>	‘like us’

The postposition *-pur-stuk* contains the size/extent enclitic *-stuk*, which is formally a diminutive of the referentializer *-stě* (cf. section 2.7.3.1.1). It has the meaning ‘as big as, as much as’ or ‘like (in size/extent)’.

¹⁷⁶ Grjunberg (1980: 214) calls this combination “absolutive II” (absolutiv II).

Examples:

NE *děvókě-pur=stuk* ‘as big as the window’

SE *azé=pur=stuk* ‘as big as a bull’

2.7.4.8 NE/SE *=bomrik* ~ *=bomërik* ‘like’

On this postposition, see section 2.4.3.3.

2.7.4.9 NE *=čōrě*, W *=čoro*, SE *=čōrě* ‘like’

The postposition NE *=čōrě*, W *=čoro*, SE *=čōrě* is probably originally an instrumental case form of the noun *čor* ‘custom, way of doing things’, with which it is identical in the Western dialect, but the vowel length in the Eastern dialects is unexpected and the loss of final nasalization in the Southeastern dialect – a tendency which can also be observed in the Southeastern postpositions *=to* < *tõ* and *=ste* ~ *=stě* – indicates that it may be further along on the way to becoming an independent enclitic postposition than those elements classified here as relational nouns. It has not been recorded in independent adverbial use.

In accordance with the meaning of the noun *čor*, this postposition tends to be used for similarity in behavior rather than shape or appearance. See also section 2.7.5 on the relational adjective w *čarvó*.

Examples:

NE *méré=čōrě* ‘like a king’

NE *křúyi=čōrě* ‘like a dog’

NE *taró=čōrě* ‘like a mirror’

W *břóše=čoro* ‘like my brother’

W *kúdyum kulo=čoro* ‘like workers’

SE *yimó=čōrě* ‘like us’

2.7.4.10 *=bok* ‘enough for’

The postposition *=bok* is used to express sufficientness for a given thing or person, e.g. a large enough share or amount. The preceding nominal stands in the oblique (SE: genitive) case.

Examples:

NE <i>tú-bok</i>	‘enough for you’
W <i>púta-bok</i>	‘enough for the road/way’
SE <i>yí-bok</i>	‘enough for me’

2.7.4.11 W *-stořo* ‘since’

The enclitic *-stořo* with the meaning ‘since (*temporal*)’ is only attested in the Western dialect of Kulem. It may be cognate to the Northeastern postposition *-staň* ‘from (*local or temporal*)’, but its use is different. The use of *-stořo* after nominals is semantically equivalent to the use of *-steřo* (INS.PL of the referentializer) after perfective participles (see section 2.11.6.6.3).¹⁷⁷ Examples (19) and (20) illustrate its use.

- (19) *Vúze=tě, avzěře=stořo dúť břazěti, kór běrúbaya=ta?*

<i>vúze</i>	<i>=tě</i>	<i>avzěř-e</i>	<i>=stořo</i>	<i>dut</i>
1SG.DIR	=CONTR.TOP	last.night-OBL.SG.M	=since	tooth.DIR
<i>břazě-ti</i>	<i>kor</i>	<i>běru-ba-yí=a</i>	<i>=tě=a</i>	
hurt-CVB	where	←-be.able-PFV.PST.1=Q	=CONTR.TOP=Q	

‘[Do you think that] I, with my tooth hurting since last night, could have gone out anywhere?!’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg IX 23.3)

- (20) *Núřa bėvētėvuke=stořo yé vētő stė né vřěyėy=č.*

<i>nůř-a</i>		<i>bě-vět-ěv-uk-e</i>			<i>=stořo</i>
mother-PERT.1.OBL		↵-let-PFV.PTCP-NMLZR.M-OBL.SG.M			=since
<i>ye</i>	<i>větó</i>	<i>st-ě</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>věř-ye=ey</i>	<i>=č.</i>
1SG.OBL	more	DEM.DIST-DIR	NEG	see-PFV.PST.3SG.F=CONS	=ADD

‘Since mother’s expulsion, I did not see her anymore.’ [W-KL]
(Grjunberg XIV 21.4)

¹⁷⁷ Grjunberg (1980: 259) analyzes *-stořo* as *-sto=řo*, i.e., as the oblique case plural or singular feminine form of the referentializer *-stě* followed by a postposition *-řo*, though he only cites an example of *-steřo* with a note that the “expected” form would be *-stořo*. Under the analysis given in this book, which considers *-řo* not as a postposition but as a part of case endings (cf. section 2.3.3.3), *-steřo* would be the expected instrumental plural form of the referentializer *-stě*. While *-stořo* could theoretically be a feminine instrumental plural form, such an interpretation would be difficult to reconcile with the way it is used. In any case, *-stořo* is only attested after nominals, whereas *-steřo* is only attested with perfective participles.

2.7.4.12 NE *-rerẽ* ‘directed to’

The postposition *-rerẽ* is only attested in the Northeastern dialect. It appears after reflexive pronouns producing noun phrases with the meaning ‘to him/herself/themselves’ or ‘by him/herself/themselves’. Examples (21) and (22) illustrate its use.

- (21) *Ikí pṭěvērik amú-rerẽ gějí kú, ũ kú parvó né vōsum.*
ik-í pṭěvērik amú -rerẽ gějí_kú ũ
 DEM.MED-DIR afterwards REFL =to say.QUOT 1SG.DIR
ku parvó ne v-o-as-um.
 who.OBL fear NEG PROPR-M=COP-1SG

‘Afterwards he said to himself: “I’m not afraid of anyone.”’ [NE-BN/MR]
 (Sun-Aro Lion 14.2)

- (22) *Amkí yó-rerẽ argú ubjík léy zañélay.*
amkí yó -rerẽ argú ubjík léy_zañé-lě-ay
 DEM.DIST.PL.DIR REFL.IND =to great life like-IPFV/FUT.3PL

‘They enjoy their wonderful life [which they have] to themselves.’¹⁷⁸
 [NE-BN] (Sun-Aro Fox 16.4)

2.7.4.13 Spatial Postpositions

The use of spatial morphemes as postpositions is discussed in the chapter on the system of spatial orientation (section 2.8.6.2.3).

2.7.5 Relational Nouns

Relational nouns are nouns that are conventionally used in an adpositional meaning, but still transparent as nouns in a possession construction. The same elements can usually also be used adverbially and as nominal components of light-verb constructions, in which case they take phrasal stress. This group particularly includes locative and instrumental case forms.

¹⁷⁸ In this example *yó-rerẽ* is a translation of Pashto *āzād* ‘free’.

Examples:

NE *pčyur*, W *pčir*, SE *pacér*

‘on top (of)’

(LOC form of a noun meaning ‘top’¹⁷⁹ that is no longer in independent use, but survives in compounds)

NE/W *pkéru*, SE *pağúr*

‘on the bottom’, ‘at the base’

(LOC form of NE/W *kařú*, SE *kařú* ‘bottom, base, root’)

NE *pimíč*, W *pimíf*, SE *pamúč*

‘in the middle’

(LOC form of a noun meaning ‘middle’ that is no longer in independent use, but survives in compounds)

NE *pimyúk*, W *pimyúka*, SE *pamúk*

‘in front’, ‘opposite’

(LOC form of NE/W *myuk*, SE *mük* ‘face, front of body’)

NE *pörë*, W *por*, SE *pör(ë)*

‘in the direction of’, ‘via’

(LOC form of a noun meaning ‘direction’ that is no longer in independent use, but survives in compounds)

NE *budúy*, W *bědúšt*, SE *badiš(t)*

‘by the hand of’

(LOC form of NE *duy*, W *dušt*, SE *düş(t)* ‘hand’) (*specifying agent of harmful or forced action, calque on Prs. ba dast-i ...*)

NE/W *pşey*, SE *pažé*

‘on the head of’

(LOC form of NE *şey*, W *şayí* SE *şē* ‘head’) (*specifying patient of harmful or forced action, calque on Prs. sar-i ...*)¹⁸⁰

NE *piyól*, W *piyóla*

‘in the track of’ = ‘like’

(LOC form of NE/W *yol* ‘track’)

¹⁷⁹ And probably originally ‘head’.

¹⁸⁰ W *pčir* can also appear in this function.

NE <i>bəgónə</i> , SE <i>bağóně</i>	‘instead of’, but also ‘about’ (LOC form of an otherwise unattested noun)
NE <i>bəṭṭě</i> , SE <i>baṛě</i>	‘instead of, rather than’ (INS form of NE <i>bəṭṭě</i> , SE <i>baṛě</i> ‘piece, part, portion’)
NE <i>borá-tā</i>	‘in the topic of’ = ‘about’ (<i>loan-calque</i> < <i>Prs.</i> dar bāra-yi)
NE <i>dyúkě</i> , W <i>bě-dyúk</i> , SE <i>dūṇe</i>	‘for’ (sometimes also ‘about’) (INS [W: LOC] form of NE/W <i>dyuk</i> , SE <i>dūk</i> ‘suffering’ ¹⁸¹)
NE <i>yor</i>	‘like, the same as’ (noun that also appears together with <i>e</i> ‘one’ in the phrase <i>é yór</i> ‘the same, alike’)
W <i>čarvó</i> (M), <i>čarváy</i> (F)	‘like’ (relational adjective composed of <i>čor</i> ‘custom’ and proprietive suffixes)

2.7.6 Converbs as Postpositions

A few converbs are conventionally employed as postpositions with fixed meanings which may diverge from their independent meaning in regular converb use.

Examples:

NE <i>kče</i>	‘according to, as’ (lit ‘looking at’, CVB of <i>kče-stě</i> ‘to look’)
NE <i>vaňě</i>	‘via’ or used as a postposition introducing additional participants of a verbal event (lit. ‘seeing’, CVB of <i>vaňě-stě</i> ‘to see’)

¹⁸¹ The meaning ‘anthrax (of livestock)’ given by Strand (1999a; 1999b) is too narrow. The noun is attested in the meaning ‘suffering’ on its own and in compounds and is most likely related to Old Indo-Aryan *duḥkha-* ‘suffering’.

2.8 The System of Spatial Orientation

2.8.1 Introduction

Within the Hindu Kush-Karakorum area, complex systems of spatial orientation are a characteristic feature of the languages of the Lower-Chitral/Nuristan subregion (Heegård & Liljegren 2018: 155). Among these, the most complex systems of the region have so far been found in the Nuristani family (Heegård & Liljegren 2018: 153–154) and in this regard the Katë language is no exception.

Katë spatial morphemes form a morphological subsystem that crosses the boundaries of word classes in such a way that it is best described separately from all the domains of grammar it intersects with (cf. Grjunberg 1980: 266). The system allows a variety of spatial framings that make reference to the course of valleys, steepness of inclination, object and valley boundaries, path shapes and the location of the speaker or deictic center.

2.8.2 Theoretical Background

Crosslinguistic studies of spatial orientation systems have generally used the term *Figure* or *referent* for the object to be located by a spatial expression, which is situated by the speaker in relation to another object, called the *Ground* or *relatum* (Talmy 2000: 184–185; O'Meara & Pérez Báez 2011: 839; Palmer 2015: 180). In the description of static location, the Figure is placed in a *search domain* extending outwards from the Ground (Palmer 2015: 181), as in the sentence *the goat is behind the wall*, which establishes a search domain for the goat (= Figure) that extends outward from the back side of the wall (= Ground). In the description of movement, a *path* which is followed by the Figure over a certain period of time is determined in relation to the Ground (Palmer 2015: 181). The Ground in this case might simply be the previous location of the Figure (Palmer 2015: 181), as in the sentence *the goat climbed up*, which describes a path extending from the previous location of the goat (= Ground) upward to its current location (= Figure).

Figure and Ground are usually related to each other with the help of linguistic coordinate systems that allow the listener to clearly identify the movement paths or locations referred to by the speaker. The axes of such coordinate systems follow *conceptual slopes* (Levinson 2003: 76; Palmer 2015: 183), e.g. between *front* and *back* or between *up* and *down*, which add an asymmetry to the described spatial relation.

This asymmetry is what makes the relevant path or search domain identifiable for the listener.

The factor that defines the orientation of an axis, conventionally named *Anchor* (O'Meara & Pérez Báez 2011: 839; Palmer 2015: 180), can either be the Ground itself, leading to an *intrinsic frame of reference*, or a third reference point that is in principle independent of both Figure and Ground, leading to an *extrinsic frame of reference*. Typologists further divide intrinsic frames of reference into *egocentric intrinsic*, where the Anchor and Ground is the body of an observer, and *allocentric intrinsic*, where it is not (Bohnenmeyer et al. 2022). Extrinsic frames of reference may be *absolute*, if the Anchor is a system of “invariant bearings”, such as cardinal directions or gravity, or *geomorphic*, if the Anchor is a feature of the physical environment, like a valley (O'Meara & Pérez Báez 2011: 843).

All of the above frame-of-reference types are represented in the Katë spatial system, but another theoretical possibility, a *relative* extrinsic frame of reference, in which orientation of the axis changes with a change of viewpoint (cf. Levinson 2003: 51–53), such as with English *left* and *right*, is notably absent.¹⁸² On the other hand, a separate frame of reference type, which I will name *egocentric extrinsic*, has to be introduced to cover cases in which the Anchor is equivalent to the body of an observer (usually the speaker), but different from the Ground, and where at the same time there is no change to the orientation of the axis based on viewpoint. This is the case in sentences like *the goat is toward me from the wall*. Such examples fall outside of the classifications of O'Meara & Pérez Báez (2011: 843) and Bohnemeyer et al. (2022). O'Meara & Pérez Báez (2011: 840–841) acknowledge them as problematic, but no separate term has been proposed.

2.8.3 Overview

The core of the Katë system is formed by four types of axes, each following a particular conceptual slope, which are named here the earth-relative axis, the end-relative axis,

¹⁸² There are terms for ‘right (hand)’ and ‘left (hand)’ (resp. NE *daćyě*, W *daćyú*, SE *(pa-)čüŋ* and W *kavě*, SE *ku*), but these are not part of the ordinary system of spatial orientation (cf. similar observations on Prasun by Buddruss & Degener (2017: 453)). Crosslinguistically, relative systems seem to be more common in urban environments, even among different varieties of the same language (Palmer 2015: 191).

the boundary-relative axis and the speaker-relative axis.¹⁸³ The latter three of these are further subdivided according to the shape the path takes along the conceptual slope. Several axes can be employed as part of more than one frame of reference, depending on which Anchor or Ground they are used with. Table 160 summarizes the system in theoretical terms.

¹⁸³ The terms “earth-relative” and “speaker-relative” are also used by Strand (1997c). For the others, I have diverged from Strand’s terminology.

Axis	Conceptual Slope	Frame of Reference	Shape of Path
Earth-Relative	sky ↔ earth (gravity)	absolute	vertical
End-Relative	upper end ↔ lower end of (long) objects or spaces ¹⁸⁴	geomorphic, extrinsic, intrinsic	horizontal or moderately inclined
			vertical or steeply inclined (absent in SE; probably absent in W-RM)
			SE: all the way to upper end
Boundary-Relative	outside ↔ boundary ↔ inside	geomorphic, intrinsic	towards / away from boundary
			right across boundary
			SE: all the way up to boundary
			SE: all the way inside
Speaker-Relative	speaker / deictic center ↔ rest of the world	egocentric extrinsic, egocentric intrinsic	horizontal
			downward- inclined
			upward-inclined
			half-circle

Table 160. Semantic structure of the spatial orientation system

For each axis there are two base morphemes which define a path in either direction along the conceptual slope. The base morphemes for path shape variants of some axes

¹⁸⁴ In some cases the assignment of “upper” and “lower” ends is based only on canonical or metaphorical considerations (see section 2.8.4.2).

are apparently constructed from other base morphemes with additional elements, but sound change and analogy have partially obscured this fact. The base morphemes can be combined into bidirectionals, usually with a linking element -č- ~ -j-, which define paths in both directions along the axis. Simple and bidirectional base morphemes are most commonly used as verbal prefixes specifying the path of a motion event (2.8.6.2.1), but some of them can also function as postpositions to local expressions (2.8.6.2.3) or appear as part of a compound with NE/W *pčúřuk*, SE *pačúřuk* ‘at the tip’ (2.8.6.2.2). When derived with one of a number of suffixes, spatial morphemes may also be used as adverbial local expressions in the form of spatial nouns (2.8.6.3) or spatial adjectives (2.8.6.4), or as compounded adjectives modifying a noun (2.8.6.4.1).¹⁸⁵ In these derived forms, some morphemes have a separate stem that is used as a base for suffixation (see section 2.8.6.1).

Table 161 – Table 163 summarize the inventory of spatial forms for each dialect. The dialectal systems are similar, but not completely equivalent – most dialectal variation is in the phonological form of the morphemes and the number of possible derivations, but there are also some divergences in the semantic structure. The tables include a simple pictographic representation of each morpheme, which will be used as a gloss in the interlinear translation of examples.

My analysis of the spatial morphology differs from that of Grjunberg (1980), who postulated three additional derivations that are not included in Table 162: The “second row adverbs” (adverby vtorogo rjada; Grjunberg 1980: 279) with the suffix -*ř-e* are ablative case forms (2.3.3.5.2) of the spatial noun in -*ř* (2.8.6.3) and the “fourth row adverbs” (adverby četvjortogo rjada; Grjunberg 1980: 280) are simply converb forms (2.9.6.1.5.1) of the verb *te-stě* ‘to put’ combined with spatial prefixes.¹⁸⁶ Neither of the two forms is an integral part of the spatial system. The adjectives in -*r-ě* (M), -*r-i* (F) listed by Grjunberg (1980: 276–277) do not actually occur in this form – all cited examples are in fact compounds containing a form in -*r-* (2.8.6.4.1) without the adjective gender markers -*ě* and -*i*.¹⁸⁷ Grjunberg (1980) did not mention bidirectionals

¹⁸⁵ Unlike in Ashkun (Buddruss 2006: 197–198) or Nuristani Kalasha (Degener 1998: 100–101) spatial morphemes do not combine morphologically with demonstratives, but local demonstratives can be further specified by spatial adverbial expressions.

¹⁸⁶ The form <bevteti> (= *bévěteti*) (Grjunberg 1980: 276), which contains a form of *věté-stě* ‘to let’, does not belong with the other forms.

¹⁸⁷ Examples in Grjunberg (1980: 280): <v’er voř> = *vyérvoř*; <čir voř> is a mistake: The original text on p.48 actually says <čir voř> (still not <čir voř>), but on following mentions the same word

in his description of the spatial system, but they do occur in his data and so are included in Table 162. Some bidirectional combinations and adverb forms are not attested in the examined corpus, although they probably do exist. Their most likely forms are included in the tables and marked as hypothetical by an asterisk. Further formal details are discussed in the sections dealing with the individual axes (2.8.4).

Axis		Gloss	Base Morpheme		Spatial Noun	Spatial Adjective Forms
			→	↔		
Earth-Relative		↑	ú-	u-ǰ-vú-	ulé-ñ	uré-l- uré-l-e uré-l-uk
		↓	vú-		vi-ñ	ví-r- ví-r-e ví-r-uk
End-Relative	Horizontal or Moderately Inclined	⇒	čí-	či-ní-	či-ñ	čí-r- čí-r-e čí-r-uk
		⇐	ní-		ni-ñ	ní-r- ní-r-e ní-r-uk
	Vertical or Steeply Inclined	↑↓	č-ú-	ču-nyú-	č-u-ñ	č-ú-r- č-ú-r-e č-ú-r-uk
		↓↑	ny-ú-		ny-u-ñ	ny-ú-r- ny-ú-r-e ny-ú-r-uk

is always spelled <ciř voř> = *ciřvoř* ‘top-millstone’, this word does not contain a spatial morpheme (the use of *či-* would not make sense semantically, the correct compositional form of *či-* would have been *čer-*, and that itself is not the opposite of *vyer-*); <vurél[i] voř> = *věrelvoř* (<i> = *ě* inserted by Grjunberg in brackets, actually absent); <n’er daník’a-ta> = *nyérđanika-ta* (note absence of feminine gender marker, which never disappears in regular compounded adjectives); <n’er vóre-ta> = *nyérvore-ta*; <čer vóre-taře> = *čérvore-taře*; <p’er vóre-ta> = *pyérvore-ta*; <at’ór vóre-ta> = *atyórvore-ta*; <par vóre-ta-ti> = *párvore-ta-tě*; <var vóre-ta> = *várvore-ta*.

Boundary-Relative	Towards / Away from Boundary	→	até-	até-ĵ-be-	até-ň	até-r- até-r-e até-r-uk
		←	bé-		běré-ň	běré-l- běré-l-e běré-l-uk
	Across Boundary	→	atú-	atú-ĵ-běru-	aty-ú-ň	aty-ú-r- aty-ú-r-e aty-ú-r-uk
		↔	běru-		běré-ň (<i>běry-ú-ň</i>)	běré-l- běré-l-e běré-l-uk (<i>běry-ú-r- běry-ú-r-e běry-ú-r-uk</i>)
Speaker-Relative	Horizontal	→  ←	vá-	va-č-pá-	va-ň	vá-r- vá-r-e vá-r-uk
		←  →	pá-		pa-ň	pá-r- pá-r-e pá-r-uk
	Downward Inclined	 ↘ ↙	valú-	valú-č-povu-	va-lú-ň	va-rú-l- va-rú-l-e va-rú-l-uk
		↙  ↘	povú-		pa-yí-ň	pa-yí-r- pa-yí-r-e pa-yí-r-uk
	Upward Inclined	↘  ↙	vovú-	*vovú-č-palu-	va-yí-ň	va-yí-r- va-yí-r-e va-yí-r-uk
		↙  ↘	palú-		pa-lú-ň	pa-rú-l pa-rú-l-e pa-rú-l-uk

	Over Barrier		úř-	u-č-pú-	u-ň	úř-r- úř-r-e úř-r-uk
			pú-		pi-ň	pí-r- pí-r-e pí-r-uk

Table 161. Spatial system of the Northeastern dialect

Axis		Gloss	Base Morpheme		Spatial Noun	Spatial Adjective Forms
			→	↔		
Earth- Relative		↑	vú-	vu-ǵ-vú	vělu-ř	věré-l- věré-l-e
		↓			vi-ř	vyé-r- vyé-r-e ¹⁸⁸
End- Relative	Horizontal or Moderately Inclined	→ —○	čí-	či-ní-	či-ř	čé-r- čé-r-e
		← —○	ní-		ni-ř	nyé-r- nyé-r-e
	Vertical or Steeply Inclined (not in RM?)	↑ 	č-ú-	*ču- nivú-	č-u-ř	*č-ú-r- č-ú-r-e
		↓ 	ni-vú-		n-u-ř (*ni-vú- ř?)	*ni-vú-r- *ni-vú-r-e

¹⁸⁸ Grjunberg (1980: 276) records variant adverbial forms such as *víre*, *níre*, *číre*, *píre* but these are likely based on confusions with forms of the location noun (*viř*, *viř-e*; *čič*, *čič-e* etc.). They are not attested from Řamgěl and the only occurrences in the Kulem data are <čič voř> ~ <čič vor> (Grjunberg 1980: 48, 280), which is in fact *čičvoř* ‘top-millstone’ without a spatial morpheme, as discussed in footnote 187, and the phrase *du nir ve*, *du-du čič ve* ‘hit the door to the front of the room, hit the door-door to the back of the room.’, in which *nir* and *čič* are likely transcription errors for location nouns *niř* and *čič*, since not only the stem but also the suffix diverges from the usual adverb formation.

Boundary-Relative	Towards / Away from Boundary	→	até-	*até-ř-	até-ř	até-r- até-r-e
		←	bé-	be-	běří-ř, <i>běře-ř?</i>	*běr-é-l- běr-é-l-e
	Across Boundary	→	atú-		atyú-ř	atyó-r- *atyó-r-e
		↔	běru-	*atú-ř- běru-	běří-ř, <i>běře-ř?</i>	*běr-é-l- běr-é-l-e (<i>běry-é-l- běry-é-l-e</i>)
Speaker-Relative	Horizontal	→  ←	vá-	va-č-pá-, va-č-pé-	va-ř	vá-r- vá-r-e
		←  →	pá-		pa-ř	pá-r- pá-r-e
	Downward Inclined	↘  ↘	valú-	*valú-č-	va-lú-ř	va-rú-l- va-rú-l-e
		↙  ↙	pavú-	pavu-	pa-yí-ř	pa-yé-r- pa-yér-e
	Upward Inclined	↖  ↖	vavú-	*vavú-č-	va-yí-ř	va-yé-r- va-yé-r-e
		↗  ↗	palú-	palu-	pa-lú-ř	*pa-rú-l- pa-rú-l-e
	Over Barrier	~  ~	vúř-	*vú-č-	vu-ř	vú-r- vú-r-e
		~  ~	pú-	pu-	pi-ř	pyé-r- pyé-r-e

Table 162. Spatial system of the Western dialect

Axis		Gloss	Base Morpheme		Spatial Noun	Spatial Adjective Forms
			→	↔		
Earth-Relative		↑	vú-	vú-ǵ-i	vu-ń	vú-r vú-r-e vú-r-uk vú-mě vú-mě-k
		↓	yú-		yü-ń	yú-r yú-r-e yú-r-uk yú-mě
End-Relative	Horizontal or Moderately Inclined	⇒ _°	čí-	ní-n-ǵi-	či-ń	čí-r čí-r-e čí-r-uk čí-mě čí-mě-k
		⇐ _°	ní-		ni-ń	ní-r ní-r-e ní-r-uk ní-mě ní-mě-k
	All the Way	⇒> _°	č-ú- č-ú-	-	č-ū-ń, č-u-ń	č-ú-r-e

Boundary-Relative	In / Out	→	até-	até-ĵ- barë-	até-ñ	até-r- at-r-é at-r-úk até-më *até-më-k
		→				at-r-ú
		←	baré-		baré-ñ	baré-l- ba-r-é baré-më *baré-më-k
		←	barú-		bar-ú-ñ	ba-r-ú
	All the Way Toward	→>	atŭ-, atú-	-	at-ú-ñ, at-u-ñ	at-ŭ-re
	All the Way Inside	→>	atém-	-	até	-
Speaker-Relative	Horizontal	→  ←	v-é-	vé-č-pe-	v-e-ñ	v-é-r- v-é-r-e v-é-r-uk v-é-më *v-é-më-k
		←  →	p-é-		p-e-ñ	p-é-r- p-é-r-e p-é-r-uk *p-é-më *p-é-më-k
	Downward Inclined		v-oňé-, v-aňú-, v-ăú-	?	v-oňé-ñ	v-oňé-r- v-oňé-r-e v-oňé-r-uk v-oňé-më v-oňé-më-k

			p-ǎ-		p-ā-ñ	p-ǎ-r- p-ǎ-r-e p-ǎ-r-uk p-ǎ-mě p-ǎ-mě-k
	Upward Inclined		v-ǎ-	vá-č- poňě-	v-ā-ñ	v-ǎ-r- v-ǎ-r-e v-ǎ-r-uk v-ǎ-mě v-ǎ-mě-k
			p-oňě-, p-aňú-, p-ãú-		p-oňě-ñ	p-oňě-r- p-oňě-r-e p-oňě-r-uk p-oňě-mě p-oňě-mě-k
	Over Barrier		vű-	vű-č-pü-	v-ü-ñ	v-ű-r- v-ű-r-e v-ű-r-uk v-ű-mě v-ű-mě-k
			pű-		p-ü-ñ	p-ű-r- p-ű-r-e p-ű-r-uk p-ű-mě p-ű-mě-k

Table 163. Spatial system of the Southeastern dialect

2.8.4 Directional Axes

2.8.4.1 Earth-Relative

	Gloss	Base Morpheme		Spatial Noun	Spatial Adjective Forms
		→	↔		
NE	↑	ú-	u-ǰ-vú-	ulé-ñ	uré-l-, uré-l-e, uré-l-uk
	↓	vú-		vye-ñ	ví-r-, ví-r-e, ví-r-uk
W	↑	vú- ¹⁸⁹	vu-ǰ-vú-	vělú-ř ¹⁹⁰	věré-l-, věré-l-e
	↓			vi-ř	vyé-r-, vyé-r-e
SE	↑	vú-	vú-ǰ-i-	vu-ñ	vú-r-, vú-r-e, vú-r-uk vú-mě, vú-mě-k
	↓	yú-		yü-ñ	yú-r-, yú-r-e, yú-r-uk yú-mě, yú-mě-k

This axis runs vertically between the ground and the sky and can very simply be defined as “straight up” vs. “straight down”. It is always used as part of an absolute frame of reference oriented by gravity. For less vertical relations, speaker-relative axes are used (see section 2.8.4.4) and movement or location along an object or a valley is described by reference to end-relative axes instead, even in vertical space (see section 2.8.4.2). The earth-relative axis often functions as a kind of default in relation to other more specific axes. It is applied to the most general vertical up-down relations. Use examples from all dialects are shown in (1) – (3).

(1) *E gërǰór uléñ bëdyé maré pëlëǰétosi.*

e gërǰór ulé-ñ bë-dyé maré pëlëǰé-tosi
 one day ↑-SN LP-sky hawk.DIR move-PROG.PST.3SG.M
 ‘One day, a hawk was flying up in the sky.’ [NE-BN/MR] (Sun-Aro Hawk 2.3)

¹⁸⁹ As Grjunberg (1980: 276) also notes, the base morphemes for ↑ and ↓ appear to be homophonous in the Western dialect, whereas the derived forms for the two meanings are clearly distinct.

¹⁹⁰ Grjunberg (1980: 276) transcribes <vulúř>, Strand (1999b) records <ulúř> for the dialect of Ktivi (Kantiwā). The form likely shows the Western free variation [wə ~ wu] in unstressed initial syllables, which is discussed in fn. 21. It is therefore transcribed as *vělúř* here.

- (2) *Póše sëmǵí bërř aši=bo, byúme=ta vútǵye=yik yúć záně=č.*

<i>pě-aší-e</i>		<i>sěmjǵí</i>		<i>běři-ř</i>		<i>aš-í</i>		<i>=bo</i>
LP-mouth-ABL		spit.DIR		←-SN		throw-COND.3		=CNJ
<i>byúm-e</i>	<i>=ta</i>	<i>vú-tkye</i>	<i>=yik</i>	<i>yuč</i>		<i>zá-ně</i>		<i>=č.</i>
earth-OBL	=LPST	↓-reach.INF	=until	ice		beget-PROG.3SG		=ADD

‘If you drop spit out of your mouth, it freezes before it reaches (down to) the ground.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg VIII 3.1)

- (3) *Yině ǵós yúñ ánně strěk višti, vúay! Aské gék kúm vúmě vúpilǵidi, géy.*

<i>yiné</i>	<i>ǵós</i>	<i>yü-ñ</i>	<i>ác-ně</i>	<i>strěk</i>
DEM.PROX	airship[F].DIR	↓-SN	come-PROG.3SG	now
<i>viš-tí</i>	<i>vú-ay</i>	<i>ask-ě</i>	<i>gék</i>	<i>kú-m</i>
think-CVB	↑-come.PFV.PST.3SG.F	DEM.DIST-DIR	such	do-CVB.SIM
<i>vú-mě</i>	<i>vú-pilǵi-di</i>	<i>géy.</i>		
↑-SA.EXT	↑-move-CVB	go.PFV.PST.3SG.F		

‘I thought that this helicopter was crashing down now, but it came up! Like that it went upwards and up and away.’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 283.6)

Within the house, the earth-relative axis is used to situate upper and lower stories in relation to each other or the roof in relation to the rest of the house, as in examples (4) and (5).

- (4) *Ćáñě kañští ǵuk přěkúm úgeti anyóratkyōřě úš kú-stě odát váy=asi.*

<i>ćáñ-ě</i>	<i>kañšt-í</i>	<i>ǵuk</i>	<i>pě-křum</i>	<i>ú-ge-ti</i>
all-OBL	younger-F	girl.DIR	LP-roof	↑-go-CVB
<i>aní-ōřě atkí-ōřě</i>			<i>úš kú</i>	<i>=st-ě</i>
LDEM.PROX-direction	LDEM.DIST-direction		look	=REF-DIR
<i>odát</i>	<i>v-ay</i>	<i>=as-i</i>		
custom	PROPR-F	=COP-PST.3		

‘The youngest daughter of all had a habit of going up on the roof and looking around’ [NE] (Afsāna King 15.14)

- (5) *Vyérpamuře përdík vúgaye.*

<i>výe-r-p-amuř-e</i>	<i>përdík</i>	<i>vú-gayé</i>
↓-SA-LP-house-ABL	old.woman.DIR	↑-go.PFV.PST.3SG.F

‘The old woman from the bottom floor went upstairs.’ [W-KL]
(Grjunberg Skazka III 6.12)

The earth-relative framing also appears in all examples of spatial relations along the trunk of a tree within the examined corpus (examples (6) and (7)). Since trees are long objects standing upright, one might otherwise have expected that the steep end-relative axis (2.8.4.2.2) would be used in this context, but since the flat end-relative axis is applied both to rooms and to branches growing out from a tree trunk (cf. section 2.8.4.2.1), going up or down along the trunk structurally occupies the same position as moving between the stories of a building, with branches being structurally equivalent to rooms.

(6) *E gërjór štëris pkëno úge pařpúlë štóćci.*

<i>e</i>	<i>gërjór</i>	<i>štërí-s</i>	<i>p-këno</i>	<i>ú-ge</i>	<i>pařpúl-ë</i>
one	day	wife-PERT.3	LP-tree	↑-go.CVB	apple.fruit-OBL

štó-ćci
pluck-PROG.PST.3SG.F

‘One day the wife, having gone up a tree, was plucking the apples.’ [NE-BN]
(Sun-Aro Dehqan 2.2)

(7) *E áli bibím-stë këno-tã útë*

<i>e</i>	<i>ál-i</i>	<i>bi-bím</i>	<i>=st-ë</i>	<i>këno-̄</i>	<i>=tã</i>
one	large-F	LP-earth	=REF-DIR	tree-OBL.SG	=LPST

ú-ë-të
↑-go-PROG.3SG

‘A large snake is going up the tree.’ [NE] (Afsāna King 13.1)

The earth-relative axis can be projected onto mountain slopes, if the incline is particularly steep. In such cases the axis runs straight up the slope, never sideways across it. For less vertical inclines speaker-relative inclined axes (2.8.4.4) are used, but these also seem to be particularly associated with spatial relations proceeding sideways across a slope (cf. Grjunberg 1980: 274).¹⁹¹ The distinction can be illustrated with the names applied to the constituent subvillages of Kombřom (Kāmdëš)¹⁹² (see

¹⁹¹ From a human perspective it is more natural to move sideways across slopes when going up and down, rather than climbing straight up the steepest part. This could be the reason why the speaker-centric frame of reference can only go together with inclined paths across slopes.

¹⁹² Information on naming conventions from Strand (1974b: 60).

Figure 2): The upper and the lower sections of the main settlement are located along a line proceeding straight up the mountain slope. These are referred to as *Vúrbřom* (“↑-SA-LP-village”) and *Yúrbřom* (“↓-SA-LP-village”) by speakers located in either of these two sections, i.e. they are placed along the earth-relative axis. When viewed from the village section with the proper name *Pabúšťõ* (“LP-backcountry-place”), which is located upvalley from the main settlement, at a similar elevation as the lower section, the upper section is referred to not as *Vúrbřom* (“↑-at-village”), but as *Poňěrbřom* (“↖ ↗ -at-village”). On the reverse, a speaker located in the upper section can refer to *Pabúšťõ* as *Párbřom*¹⁹³ (“↙ ↘ -at-village”) in distinction to *Yúrbřom* (“↓-at-village”) right below.

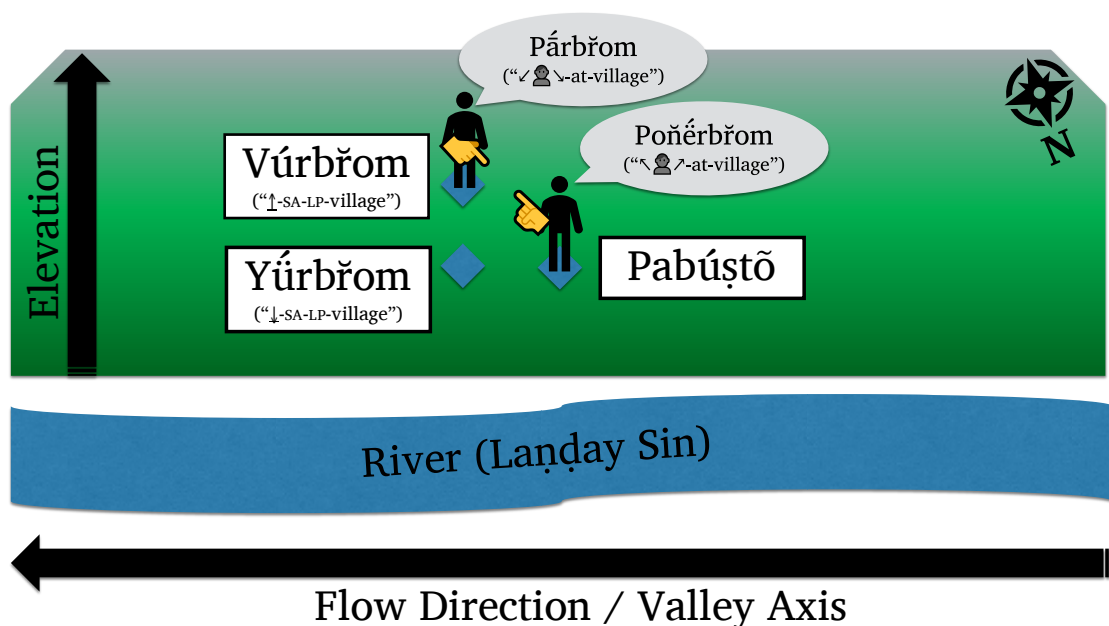


Figure 2. Schematic representation of spatial morpheme use with regard to constituent villages of Kombřom (Kāmděš) (SE dialect) – part 1.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹³ Strand (1974b: 60): “Pá:břom” – without -r-?

¹⁹⁴ The relative location of the subvillages along the valley is irrelevant for this illustration, but becomes relevant with regard to the two subvillages at the same elevation, cf. part 2 in Figure 4.

Examples (8) and (9) show the use of the earth-relative axis on slopes.

- (8) *Špěk atégě, atégě, atégě, vúgě, stě pašyé=ta něšný=č.*

<i>špěk</i>	<i>até-gě</i>	<i>até-gě</i>	<i>até-gě,</i>	<i>vú-gě,</i>	
now	→go.CVB	→go.CVB	→go.CVB	↑go.CVB	
<i>stě</i>	<i>paší-e</i>	<i>=ta</i>	<i>něš-ně</i>	<i>=ey</i>	<i>=č</i>
DEM.DIST	slope-OBL.M	=LPST	sit.down-PFV.PST.1SG.M	=CONS	=ADD

‘Now going up, up, up the side valley, I went straight up [a slope] and then sat down on that slope.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg IX 31.3)

- (9) *Vúššom, askě dó=tto, há há há vúgidi, sáyp, maxóm=do=ste vúre Astró pařyóm.*

<i>vú-šš-yom</i>	<i>askě</i>	<i>do=to,</i>		
↑head-PFV.PST.1SG.M	DEM.DIST	mountain.DIR/GEN=LPST		
<i>ha ha ha</i>	<i>vú-gi-di</i>	<i>sáyp maxóm=to</i>	<i>=ste</i>	
hah hah hah	↑go-CVB	sir sunset=LPST	=from	
<i>vú-r-e</i>	<i>Astró</i>	<i>pař-yóm.</i>		
↑SA-LOC	PN.LOC	arrive-PFV.PST.1.SG.M		

‘I headed straight up that mountain, went straight up like “hah! hah! hah!”, sir, and then after sunset I arrived up at Astro.’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 282.3)

2.8.4.2 End-Relative

This axis (in its two variations) is applied to several distinct contexts, which at first glance seem rather unrelated. One basic commonality between all of its applications, however, is that the axis runs through a delimited space or object with ends at either side, one of which is an intrinsically “upper” end (sometimes only in a canonical or even metaphorical sense). Use of either the flat or the steep variation of the axis depends on whether the relevant section of the path between “upper” and “lower” end is perceived as more moderately inclined (this includes completely flat relations) or more steeply inclined (this includes full 90° inclination). The Southeastern dialect makes a different distinction between one general variant (without reference to steepness of incline) and one unidirectional variant with a path going all the way to the “upper” end.

The end-relative axes are most commonly used as a geomorphic frame of reference, following the course of main mountain valleys, but they can also function as a more general extrinsic frame of reference, when applied to features of the immediate environment, such as rooms, that are not directly involved in the spatial configuration

being described, and they can even be used as an intrinsic frame of reference when applied to an object that serves as the Ground of the spatial configuration being described (cf. section 2.8.2).

2.8.4.2.1 Flat or Moderately Inclined

	Gloss	Base Morpheme		Spatial Noun	Spatial Adjective Forms
		→	↔		
NE	→ —°	čí-	čí-ní-	čí-ň	čí-r-, chí-r-e, chí-r-uk
	← —°	ní-		ni-ň	ní-r-, ní-r-e, ní-r-uk
W	→ —°	čí-	čí-ní-	čí-ř	čé-r-, čé-r-e
	← —°	ní-		ni-ř	nyé-r-, nyé-r-e
SE	→ —°	čí-	ní-n-ji-	čí-ň	čí-r-, chí-r-e, chí-r-uk čí-mě, chí-mě-k
	← —°	ní-		ni-ň	ní-r-, ní-r-e, ní-r-uk ní-mě, ní-mě-k

On first questioning, speakers from Mumret (Bumboret Shēkhāndeh) would generally translate the directions defined by the flat end-relative axis as “west” and “east”, since the Mumret (Bumboret) valley, a side valley of Chitral, runs from west to east. It is clear, however, that the axis cannot be defined in terms of compass points, since it runs roughly between north and south in Nuristan and the main Chitral-Kunar valley and presumably in the opposite direction in the Munjan valley on the northern side of the Hindu Kush, always in accordance with the course of the respective valleys. The end-relative axis is generally only applied to main valleys. Smaller side valleys are considered along the boundary-relative axis (2.8.4.3). The classification as a main valley or a side valley is, however, context-dependent. For example, Bumboret is a side valley of Chitral and can be linguistically treated as such when viewed from Chitral, but when Bumboret is considered on its own, it will be treated as a main valley, with orientation in its own smaller side valleys proceeding along the boundary-relative axis.

Since all mountain valleys have an upper and a lower end, there is always at least a slight incline over the length of a valley. The relative elevation of the two end points

determines the orientation of the end-relative axis. Nevertheless, large sections of most valleys are – for all practical purposes – flat or just moderately inclined and it is for those sections that the flat variation of the end-relative axis is used (see Figure 3). In essence, movement along this axis proceeds “to the upper end” or “to the lower end”, but over flat ground. Examples are shown in (10) – (12).



Figure 3. The flat end-relative axis in a valley [Ktivi (Kantiwā) valley, photograph by Sviatoslav Kaverin]

(10) *Karvó ō čpələje=di élay.*

<i>karv-ó</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>či-pələjé</i>	<i>=di</i>	<i>é-lě=ay</i>
strong-M	water	→-move.CVB	ADD.FOC	go-IPFV.3PL

‘Strong waters even go up the valley.’ [NE-MR] (Mansur Proverbs 327)

(11) *Kató=meş şúč kě, şúč kě, şúč kě čígati, Kulém přayá.*

<i>Kat-ó</i>	<i>=meş</i>	<i>şúč_kě</i>	<i>şúč_kě</i>	<i>şúč_kě</i>
Katë-OBL.PL	=with	fight.CVB	fight.CVB	fight.CVB

<i>čí-gáti</i>	<i>Kulém</i>	<i>přa-yá</i>
→-go.CVB	Kulem	arrive-PFV.PST.3PL

‘Fighting and fighting and fighting with the Katë, they [the forces of Amir Abdurrahman Khan] went up the valley and arrived at Kulem.’ [W-KL]

(Grjunberg I 5.3)

(12) *Palót jědi, manĵō lót karědi, akí Dětōnižo nímě, Pōto Pŕuĝóm čímě, e gúl-ězě, askě babór aži.*

<i>pa-lót</i> LP-arbitration	<i>jě-di</i> sit.down-CVB	<i>manĵ-ō</i> person-OBL.PL	<i>lot</i> arbitration
<i>kar-ě-di</i> do-CAUS-CVB	<i>akí</i> LDEM.DIST	<i>Dětōnižo</i> PN.LOC	<i>ní-mě</i> ←-SA.EXT
<i>čímě</i> →-SA.EXT	<i>e</i> one	<i>gul</i> land[F]	<i>-ěz-ě</i> =COP-3SG
<i>ba-bór</i> LP-burden	<i>až-í.</i> throw-PFV.PST.3SG.F	<i>ask-ě</i> DEM.DIST-DIR	

‘Sitting in arbitration, the people made a settlement with them and they put up a piece of land that extends downvalley from Dětōnižo and upvalley from Pōto Pŕuĝóm as compensation.’ [SE-PT] (Ġulāmullāh/Karim Pitiġil 33.5)

The flat end-relative axis can also be used if the spatial relation proceeds across a slope at the side of the valley, but only if there is no noticeable difference in elevation between Ground and Figure (otherwise an inclined speaker-relative axis would be used). This can again be illustrated with the naming conventions for subvillages of Kombřom (Kāmdēš) (Figure 4; cf. also Figure 2): Kombřom is located on a slope above the Laṇḍay Sin river. When viewed from the lower section of the main settlement, the village section with the proper name *Pabúštō*, which is located upvalley at a similar elevation, can be referred to as *Čírbřom* (“→-SA-LP-village”), and on the reverse, a speaker located in *Pabúštō* will refer to the lower section of the main settlement as *Nírbřom* (“←-SA-LP-village”) instead of *Yúrbřom* (“↓-SA-LP-village”).

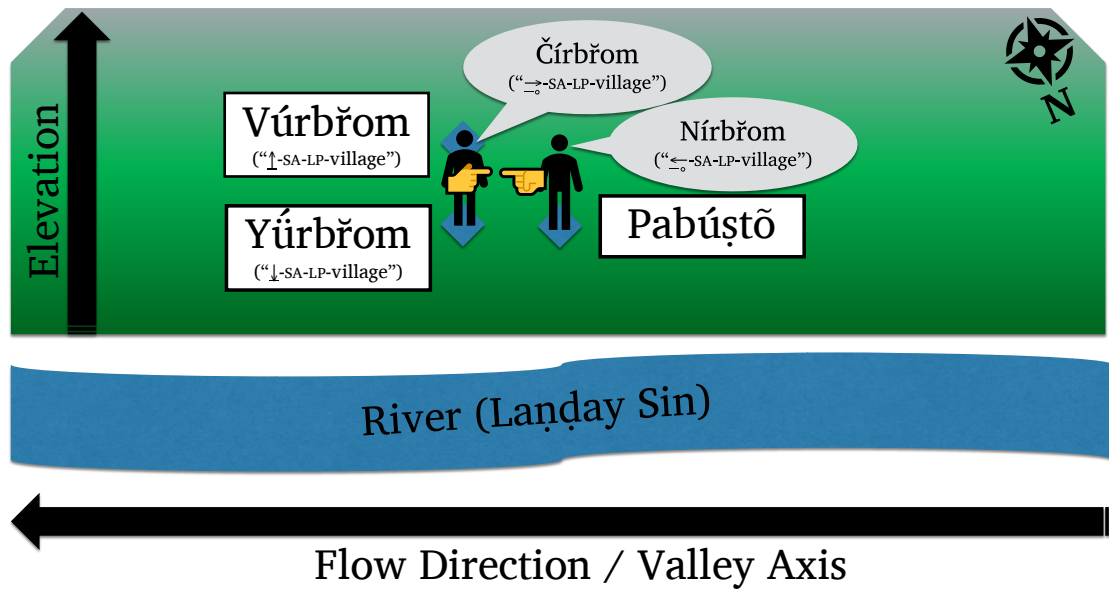


Figure 4. Schematic representation of spatial morpheme use with regard to constituent villages of Kombřom (Kāmdēš) (SE dialect) – part 2.

A less obvious, but also quite common application is within the house or within a room, where the “upper” end is the area behind the hearth or otherwise the space near the back wall furthest away from the door. The “lower” end is located at the door (see Figure 5a + b). This use of the axis is independent of the course of the valley, which does not affect its orientation inside the house.

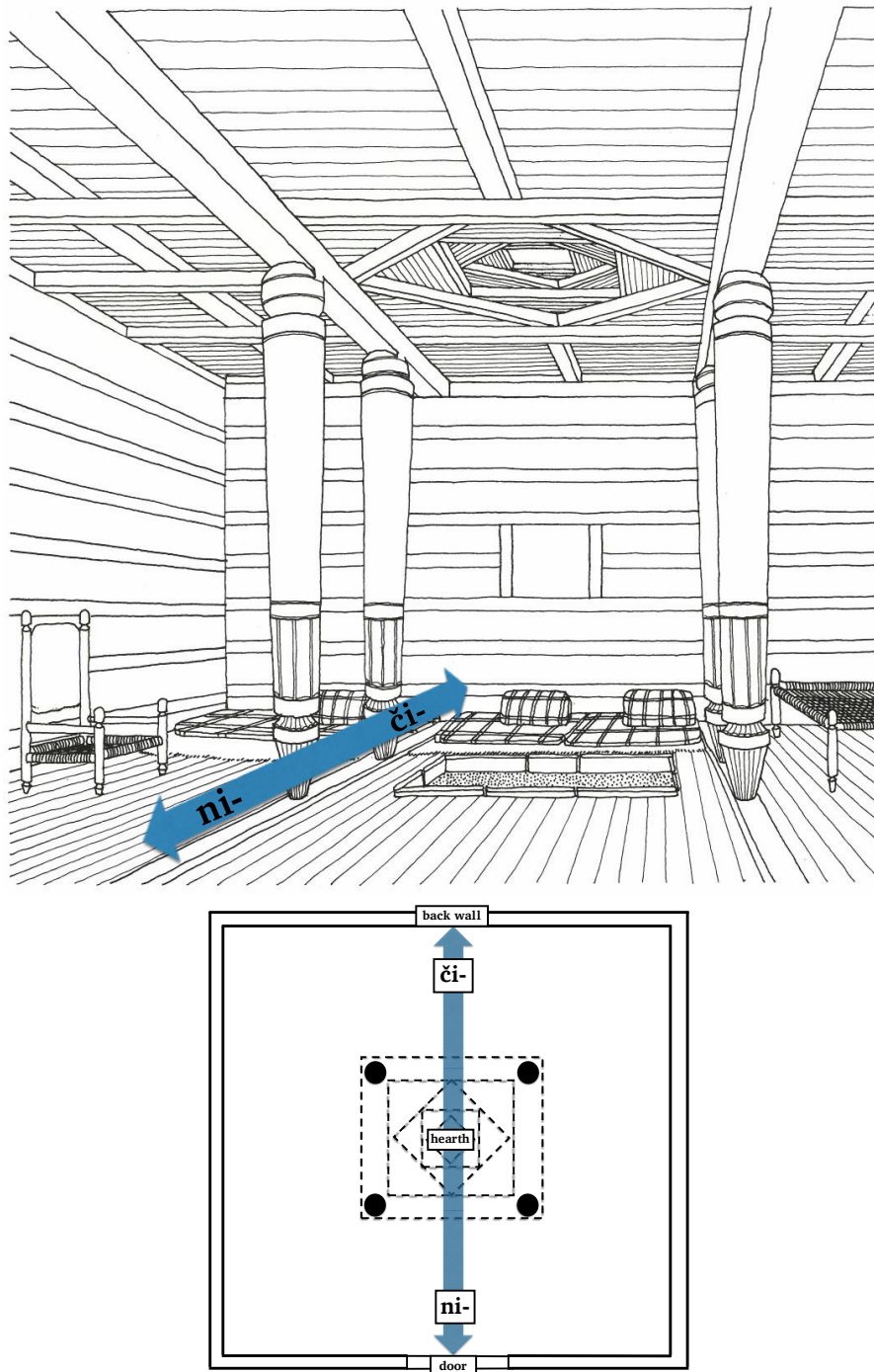


Figure 5a & b. The flat end-relative axis within the house
*a. three-dimensional view;*¹⁹⁵ *b. floor plan*

There is clearly no objective “upper” and “lower” end of a room, but elevational orientation inside the house is known from several languages of the Hindu Kush region. For Khovar, Bashir (2000: 24–25) suggests a relation to actual elevation, referring to the fact that houses in the region are usually built onto slopes, with the back wall

¹⁹⁵ Base drawing of a traditional house interior in Kombrom (Kāmdēš) from Hallet & Samizay (1980: 92–93), reproduced with permission of the authors.

towards the upper end of the slope. The relevant axis in Khowar, though basically very similar to the one used in Katë – “location or motion on a surface which has inherently a higher and a lower side” (Bashir 2000: 23) – is apparently applied to both valleys and slopes. In Katë, where the axis used inside the house is not a slope axis but one that is otherwise only employed for the course of the valley, the same explanation cannot hold. In Nuristani Kalasha, as well, it is the valley axis that is applied to rooms (Degener 1998: 95), though the relevant morphemes are not cognate to those used in Katë (NKal. *war-*, *ber-*). In Prasun, which does have morphemes cognate to those of Katë (Pr. *ži-*, *ni-*), the variation of the valley axis used within the house has a different course, running orthogonally to the back-wall-to-door axis (Buddruss & Degener 2017: 464–466).¹⁹⁶ The situation in Ashkun is unclear.¹⁹⁷

Actual location along the valley or even just a generalization from usual house orientation along the valley is not a sufficient explanation either, because houses are most often built “against the mountainside”, with living room doors oriented towards the river and not in downvalley direction (Hallet & Samizay 1980: 75–93).¹⁹⁸

A different possible explanation is a metaphorical extension of the valley axis in connection with pre-Islamic beliefs that are no longer explicitly present in the worldview of today’s Nuristanis. In the pre-Islamic cultures of the region, the typically square living rooms with a hearth at the center were divided into a “pure” area near the back wall behind the hearth, where a religious altar would have been located and which was off-limits for women, a men’s sitting area to the right of the hearth, a women’s sitting area to the left of the hearth, and an “impure” area in front of the

¹⁹⁶ The labels in the diagram by Buddruss & Degener (2017: 464) are apparently mixed up, since they are incompatible with the representation of Buddruss’s data by Edelberg (1984: 62–63) and with the description by Buddruss & Degener themselves (2017: 453) – if Paški is on the *saté* side, i.e. the side that is to the right when looking down the valley, or – roughly speaking – to the West, then the North label, the flow direction of the river and accordingly also the *ža-/na-* labels in the diagram cannot be correct (cf. the diagram in Edelberg (1984: 63)). Nevertheless, the general course of the axes is as reported and appears in the same way in Edelberg’s (1984) description.

¹⁹⁷ The Ashkun terms “*izien-ata*”, “*aru-ata*”, cited by Klimburg (1999: 287) as names of the relevant room sections, are not related in any obvious way to the morphemes of the valley axis; Buddruss (2006: 197): *amiē-*, *biē-*.

¹⁹⁸ For Prasun, reference to actual location along the valley may be the explanation for the divergent application of axes, as Edelberg (1984: 63) also appears to suggest. Note that placement of the door is not as important in the Prasun-speaking area, since houses in the upper part of the relevant valley are accessed through the roof instead of a door.

hearth near the door, where even members of the “impure” unfree classes were allowed to go. The “pure” area within the house was in this way comparable to the upper valleys, which were connected with men, men’s work (pastoralism) and purity, but restricted for women. The “impure” space near the door, on the other hand, was equated to the lower valleys, which were associated with women, women’s work (agriculture) and impurity.¹⁹⁹ What remains of this belief among Katë speakers today is that the formerly “pure” area near the back wall is still considered a place of honor, where guests and higher-ranking people are seated, whereas the host and younger or low-ranking people are seated closer to the door. An imagined “cline” within the room is therefore at least on some level still culturally relevant.

One might also think of general similarities between rooms and valleys: Both have an entrance at one side (door, lower end of valley) and a closed-off end on the other side (back wall, upper end of valley). However, in connection with other applications of the end-relative axis described below, it is worth considering that the use inside the house may just be a variant of a more widespread application of “to the upper end” for a general notion of “ahead”. After all, the back wall is “ahead” as one enters a room. Linguistic associations of “ahead” with elevation are apparently not uncommon – Bashir (2000: 24) compares the use of the Khowar slope/valley axis in this sense to similar uses of “uphill” in Mayan Tzotzil and even in English it is possible to go “up the street”. In the Nuristani languages, which distinguish slope and valley elevation, the notion of “ahead” was perhaps more readily associated with the less steeply inclined end-relative axis that is used for the course of valleys.

Examples (13) and (14) illustrate the use of the flat end-relative axis inside the house.

¹⁹⁹ This is reported as a historical fact for the Nuristani Kalasha and Ashkun-speaking areas by Klimburg (1999: 286–287), who describes the living room as “a microcosm of the Kafirs’ dualistic belief system” (1999: 194). According to Maggi (2001: 57–58), the same partition is still practiced as a part of explicit religious beliefs among the non-Muslim Chitral Kalasha (“The gendering of space in the whole valley is reproduced in miniature in every Kalasha household.”).

(13) *Yé bětě čīgayiti, čiróve-ta é vënó=č.*

<i>ye</i>	<i>bět-ě</i>	<i>čí-gayi-ti</i>	<i>čiróv-e</i>
1SG.OBL	piece-DIR	→-take-CVB	wicker.stand-OBL.SG.M
<i>=ta</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>v-ěno</i>	<i>=č</i>
=LPST	so	hit-PFV.PST.3SG.M	=ADD

‘And so I took the piece of meat up the room and smacked it on the wicker stand.’²⁰⁰ [W-KL] (Grjunberg IX 8.4)

(14) *Akí=stě atátti=či aǵí=stě=di čīgatti=či ōč aǵí=stě aské jaňyóm.*

<i>akí</i>	<i>=stě</i>	<i>atě-ác-ti</i>	<i>=či</i>	<i>aǵí</i>	<i>=stě</i>	<i>=di</i>
LDEM.DIST	=from	→-come-CVB	=ADD	LDEM.DIST	=from	=ADD.FOC
<i>čí-kač-tí</i>	<i>=či</i>	<i>ōč</i>	<i>aǵí</i>	<i>=stě</i>	<i>ask-ě</i>	
→-look-CVB	=ADD	1SG.DIR	LDEM.DIST	=from	DEM.DIST-OBL.SG.M	
<i>jaň-yóm</i>						
know-PFV.PST.1SG.M						

‘Then he came in and then he looked up the room and then he recognized me.’
[SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 191.3)

Similar to the use inside the house is the application of the flat end-relative axis on the playing field of a game or on a race track. Here the axis runs along the field and it is the goal area ahead of the players or racers that is considered the “upper” end, as in examples (15) and (16), illustrated respectively in Figure 6 a & b.

²⁰⁰ The original text in Grjunberg (1980: 70) says <čirove-ta> (= *čirove-ta*), missing a diacritic on č. This was then confused with *čēróm-e-ta* ‘at the parrot’, leading to the translation ‘I fed that piece to the parrot’ (*ja brosil étot kusok popugaju*). Since the narrator’s action in context is clearly meant as an expression of anger or agitation, feeding a parrot would be a very unusual choice.

- (15) *Stě guṇú léy bēdyūr gēvē-bo=tě, dáva atēléyiti nargóm gáti, čítkyelik amúra-ta élě. Káy kě guṇú bēdyūr né gēvē-bo, vyélik amúra-taře-stě čígě, vėtyélik amúra-ta vėtyéley.*

<i>stě</i> DEM.DIST	<i>guṇú</i> ball[M].DIR	<i>ley</i> well	<i>bē-dyūr</i> LP-far	<i>g-ěvē</i> go-COND.3SG.M	<i>=bo</i> =CNJ
<i>-tě</i> =CONTR.TOP	<i>dáv-a</i> wood-OBL.SG.F		<i>atēléyiti</i> throw.away-CVB	<i>narg-ó-m</i> run-CAUS-CVB.PROG	
<i>gá-ti</i> go-CVB	<i>čí-ťkyé-l-i-k</i> →-reach-IPFV.PTCP-F-DIM		<i>amúr-a</i> house-OBL.SG.F	<i>=ta</i> =LPST	
<i>é-lě.</i> go-IPFV.3SG.M	<i>kay</i> what	<i>kě</i> do.CVB	<i>guṇú</i> ball[M].DIR	<i>bē-dyūr</i> LP-far	<i>ne</i> NEG
<i>g-ěvē</i> go-COND.3SG.M	<i>=bo</i> =CNJ	<i>vyé-l-i-k</i> hit-IPFV.PTCP-F-DIM	<i>amúr-a</i> house-OBL.SG.F	<i>=tař-e</i> =LPST-ABL	
<i>=stě</i> from	<i>čí-gě</i> →-go.CVB	<i>vėtyé-l-i-k</i> stand-IPFV.PTCP-F-DIM	<i>amúr-a</i> house-OBL.SG.F	<i>=ta</i> =LPST	
<i>vėtyé-lě=ey</i> stand-IPFV.3SG.M=CONS					

‘If the ball goes very far, he drops the wood (bat) and takes off running and goes to the goal zone. If the ball does not go far, he goes goalwards from the hitting zone and stands in the standing zone.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg XI 6.2-3)

- (16) *É pėvéc dúc kadáme-ta dúc pul amřúřo vėčólě. Sėvérě nře-stě číteti bėdrėgá vėčėyi amřúřo vyéley.*

<i>e</i> one	<i>pėvéc</i> boy.DIR	<i>dúc</i> ten	<i>kadám-e</i> foot-OBL.SG.M	<i>=ta</i> =LPST	<i>dúc</i> ten	<i>pul</i> seed
<i>amřúř-o</i> walnut-OBL.PL	<i>vėčólě.</i> set.up-IPFV.3SG.M	<i>sėvér-ě</i> the.other-DIR	<i>nř-ě</i> →-SN-ABL	<i>=stě</i> =from		
<i>čí-te-ti</i> →-put-CVB	<i>bė-drėgá</i> LP-distance	<i>vėčė-i</i> set.up-PFV.PTCP	<i>amřúř-o</i> walnut-OBL.PL			
<i>vyé-lě</i> hit-IPFV.3SG.M	<i>=ey</i> =CONS					

‘One boy puts up ten walnuts at a distance of ten feet. The other hits the walnuts set up at a distance from the lower end of the field goalwards.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg XI 9.3)

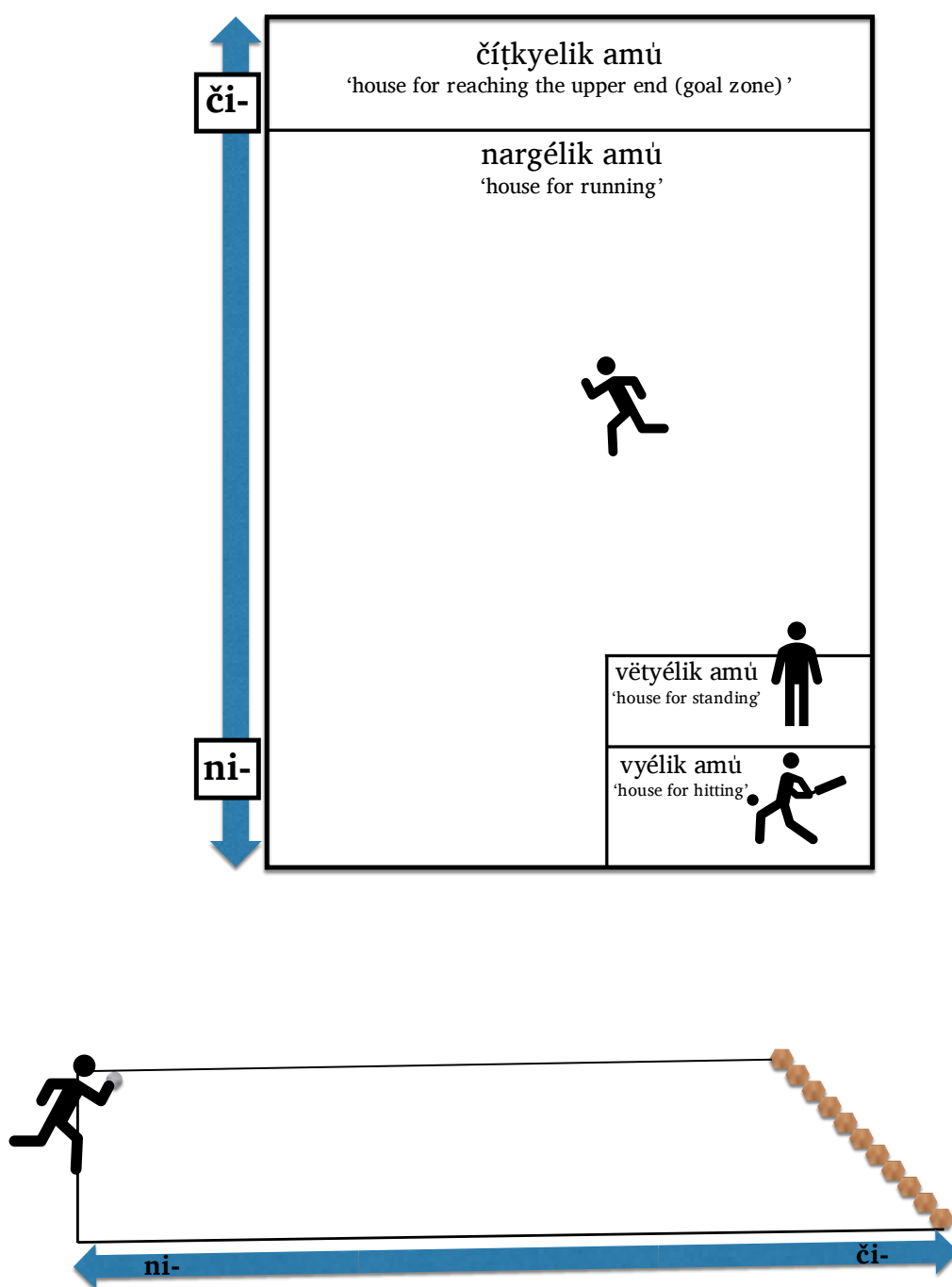


Figure 6a & b. The flat end-relative axis on playing fields²⁰¹

Another kind of “ahead”-relation that is probably related to the use of the axis inside the house is that inside of a vehicle. Here the front area where the driver is seated, is considered the “upper” end (see Figure 7 and example (17)).

²⁰¹ Figure 7a is based on the field plan in Grjunberg (1980: 101).

(17) *Číre niší!*

<i>čí-re</i>	<i>niší</i>
→-ADV	sit.down.IMP

‘Sit down in front [within the passenger space of the jeep]!’ [NE-MR] (Notes)

This is probably another kind of “ahead”-relation. Bashir (2000: 26) gives a similar example from Khowar, in which the back of a bus is framed as the “upper” end. Example (17) was said in relation to a jeep that passengers enter into through the back, which may explain the different orientation of the axis in comparison to a bus entered through the front. Unfortunately I cannot cite any Katë examples involving a bus that would prove this.

A rather different use is the application of the axis to the bodies of four-legged animals. In this use, the axis follows the relatively flat line from the head to the end of the rump, with the head being considered the “upper” end (see Figure 7). This can be seen in example (18), which describes the rescue of a cow that has gotten stuck off the side of a mountain path.

(18) *Stě gó-ta yé-stě şayé stó ktyóle-ta vyére púgayiti, níř-je čř kyúro daméti, vělúŋati, atúgayi, atyúr púta-ta vúkiyey=č.*

<i>stě</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>=ta</i>	<i>yé</i>	<i>=stě</i>	<i>şalı-e</i>	<i>st-o</i>
DEM.DIST	COW	=LPST	1SG.OBL	=REF	head-OBL.M	DEM.DIST-OBL.F
<i>ktyól-e</i>	<i>=ta</i>	<i>vyé-r-e</i>	<i>pú-gayi-ti</i>	<i>ní-ř</i>	<i>=je</i>	<i>či-ř</i>
belly-OBL.M	=LPST	↓-SA-LOC	↖ ⊗ ↗-take.away-CVB	↖-SN	=and	↗-SN
<i>kyúr-o</i>	<i>damé-ti</i>	<i>vělú-ŋ</i>	<i>gá-ti</i>	<i>atú-gayi</i>		
foot-OBL.PL	grab-CVB	↑-SN	take-CVB	↔-take.away.CVB		
<i>atyú-ř</i>	<i>pút-a</i>	<i>=ta</i>	<i>vú-k-iyé=ey</i>	<i>=č.</i>		
↔-SN	path-OBL.F	=LPST	↓-do-PFV.PST.3SG.F=CONS	=ADD		

‘On that cow, I put my head through under her belly, grabbed the feet in the back and in the front, lifted her up, took her inside, and inside on the road I put her down.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg XVIII 22.4)

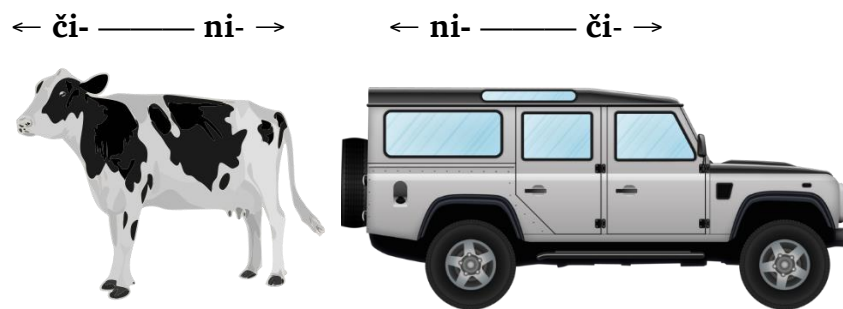


Figure 7. The flat end-relative axis applied to a cow and a vehicle²⁰²

The flat end-relative axis can also be applied to the bodies of humans, but this is only possible if they are lying down, otherwise the steep variant has to be used (2.8.4.2.2). The “upper” end is again represented by the head and the axis runs through the body to the “lower” end at the feet (see Figure 8), as example (19) demonstrates. This orientation holds even if the person lies completely flat and there is no height difference between head and feet.



Figure 8. The flat end-relative axis on a human body (lying down)

- (19) *Dú doná puǵíl avédi ptóm, aǵi-ste, é púćěň tavě.*
 ‘They brought me two sheets then, and a pillow.’

É amǵi drěňěňě čaukǐ-do sáyp akú évě-de paǵúř aštrědi, évě paćěř číkšědi, pšúyom.

<i>e</i>	<i>amǵi</i>	<i>drěňěň-ě</i>	<i>čaukǐ -ǔ=to</i>	<i>sáyp</i>	<i>akú</i>
so	DEM.DIST.PL	long-M	chair-OBL.PL-LPST	sir	LDEM.DIST.PHOR

<i>év-ě</i>	<i>=de</i>	<i>pa-kúř</i>	<i>aštrě-di,</i>	<i>év-ě</i>
one-OBL.SG	=CONTR.TOP	LP-bottom	spread-CVB	one-OBL.SG

<i>pa-ćěř</i>	<i>čí-kšě-di</i>	<i>pšú-yom</i>	<i>aǵi</i>
LP-top	→-pull-CVB	go.to.sleep-PFV.PST.1SG.M	LDEM.DIST

-ste

=from

‘So I spread one below over those sofas, sir, pulled one over me on top [to the head] and went to sleep then.’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 30.3)

²⁰² https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Illustration_of_on_off-road_automobile.png

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:201409_cow.svg

On the other hand, it is apparently also possible to use the earth-relative axis in this context, as in example (20), where it is used for a seemingly vertically arranged corpse.

- (20) *Sûrë kaně, dū vos bi-tto, gādi, pažīnītēmdedi, vījīpačūře basěno amjēdi saļāy.*
sûrë kan-ě dū vos bi-to,
 also corpse-OBL.SG.M two day become-COND.3SG=LPST
gā-di, pa-šānī atēm-te-di vījī-pa-čūř-e basěno
 take.away-CVB LP-wooden.box →>-put-CVB ↓-LP-tip-LOC clothes.DIR
amj-ě-di saļ-lē-ay.
 wear-CAUS-CVB bury-IPFV.3PL

‘And when two days had passed, they would take the corpse, put it in a wooden box, dress it from top to bottom and bury it.’ [SE-KM]

(Ġulāmullāh Inheritance 2.3)

The flat end-relative axis is also applied to long or stick-like objects in general. Spatial relations near or on such objects can easily be described with reference to an axis running through the object itself, rather than positioning them along an absolute vertical axis or a speaker-centered axis. On such objects the orientation of the axis follows from the question of which of the two ends is (canonically) “higher” than the other. Since all examples in the examined corpus refer to objects that are ordinarily placed in relatively flat angles to the ground, it is not possible to decide whether a different orientation could lead to the steep variation of the end-relative axis being used.

In example (21), the long object is a tree branch (see Figure 9)²⁰³, in example (22) it is a traction fork²⁰⁴ (w *kěřóv*, SE *koř*; see Figure 10) and in (23) it is a Nuristani hockey stick/golf club (w *pačěv*, *pačěv*, NE *pačěň*, SE *pačě*; see Figure 11).

²⁰³ Degener (1998: 195) describes a similar use of the functionally corresponding axis in Nuristani Kalasha, but frames the orientation in terms of the outer and inner (trunkward) part of a tree. To this she compares the application of the same axis on roofs. Since there are no examples in the examined corpus of the Katë end-relative axis being applied to roofs, the tree branch use seems to be most closely related to the application to long or stick-like objects. In this way the orientation of the axis on tree branches can also simply be derived from the general principle of upper and lower ends. Cf. also the discussion of movement along tree trunks in section 2.8.4.2.2. On the other hand one might also consider the movement along a tree branch as another kind of “ahead” relation.

²⁰⁴ The term “traction fork” (Klimburg 1999: 46; Edelberg & Jones 1979: 39) is a translation of German *Zuggabel* (Scheibe 1937: 104). Grjunberg (1980: 47–48) uses Russian *dvuzubec* ‘bi-dent’ and Strand

(21) *Úš kùlo=tě, é pařkénō=stě čově pcyuř ostě šjnráy vaci vaňíssě. Záb-zab šyílě
čígeti, “úttre! damélum” viší-tã, stě vací mēké géyssě.*

<i>úš kù-lo</i> look-OPT.3SG.M	<i>=tě,</i> =CONTR.TOP	<i>e</i> one	<i>pařkénō-ō</i> apple.tree-OBL.SG	<i>=stě</i> =REF
<i>čov-ě</i> branch-OBL.SG	<i>p-cyuř</i> LP-top	<i>o-stě</i> PHOR-DEM.DIST	<i>šjnr-áy</i> beautiful-F	
<i>vací</i> pheasant.DIR	<i>vaň-í-stě-asě</i> see-RES.3SG	<i>zab_zab</i> quickly	<i>šyíl-ě</i> soft-INS	<i>čí-gé-ti</i> →-go-CVB
<i>úttre-ě-e</i> sonless\INTS-M=EMPH	<i>damé-lum</i> grab-FUT.1SG	<i>viš-í</i> think-COND.3SG	<i>=tã</i> =LPST	
<i>stě</i> DEM.DIST	<i>vací</i> pheasant.DIR	<i>mēké</i> flee.CVB	<i>g-ey-stě-asě</i> go-RES.3SG.F	

‘As he was about to look around, he saw that beautiful pheasant on the branch of an apple tree. He went up [the branch] quickly and carefully and just when he decided “Damn it, I’ll grab it”, the pheasant escaped.’ [NE]
(Afsāna Pheasant 4.4)

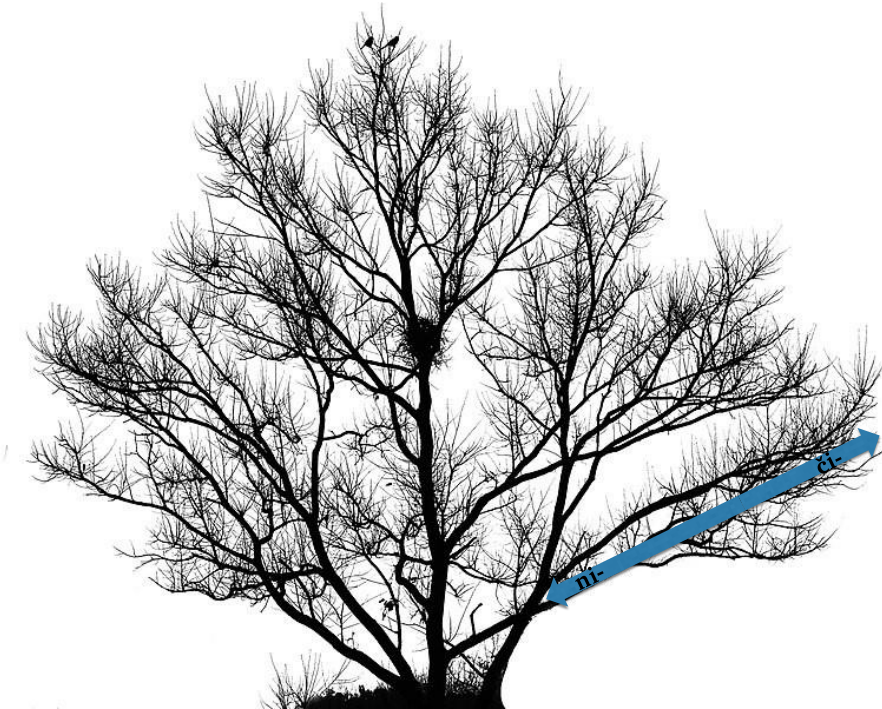


Figure 9. The flat end-relative axis on a tree branch²⁰⁵

(1999a) translates ‘hand-plow’. This is a simple hand-operated plowing implement which is especially suited to small terrace fields, where an ox-driven plow cannot be used. It is said to be uncommon in the wider valleys of the Katě-speaking area (Klimburg 1999: 46, 53; Edelberg & Jones 1979: 58).

²⁰⁵ [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Tree_Nest_Bird_\(192620503\).jpeg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Tree_Nest_Bird_(192620503).jpeg)

(22) *Kěřón čěrvore=ta daménavo=je nyérvore=ta dyú děčév bělē.*

<i>kěřón</i>	<i>čěr-vor-e</i>	<i>=ta</i>	<i>damé-na-v-o</i>	<i>=je</i>
traction.fork.DIR	$\Rightarrow$ -direction-OBL.SG.M	=LPST	grab-place-PROPR-M	=and

<i>nyér-vor-e</i>	<i>=ta</i>	<i>dyu</i>	<i>děčév</i>	<i>bě-lě.</i>
$\Leftarrow$ -direction-OBL	=LPST	two	bifurcation.DIR	be-IPFV.3PL/SG.M

‘The traction fork has a handle in the direction of the upper end and in the direction of the lower end there are two prongs.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg III 1.3)

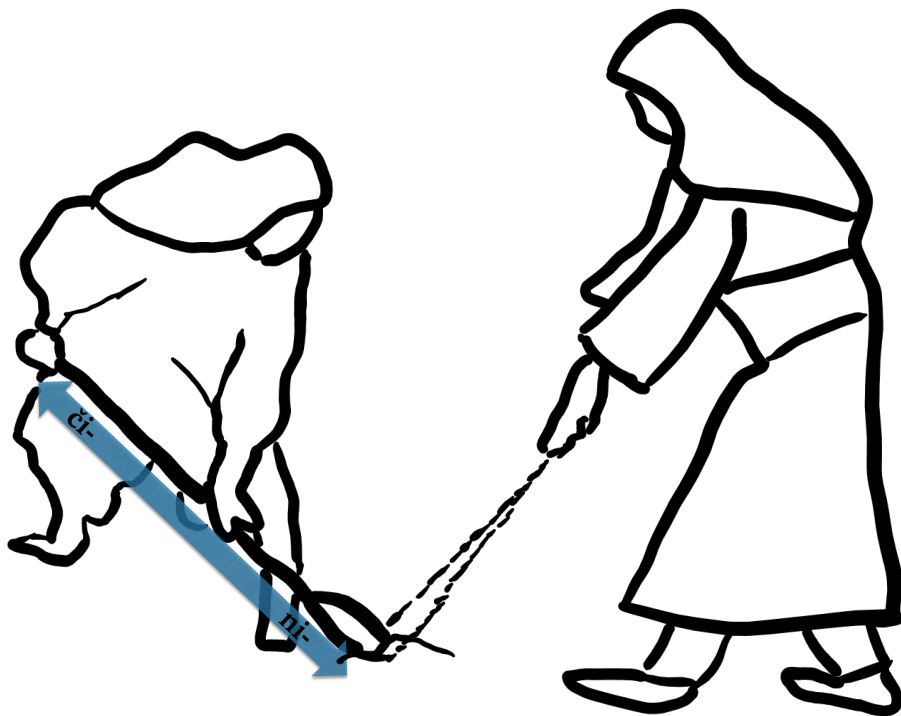


Figure 10. The flat end-relative axis on a traction fork

(23) *É drëgrëyi dav nípčuruk vavúbi-stë bí-bo, stó stréyiti, dúc mërë é vëról-je, dúc mërë sëvér vëról-ey mësélë.*

<i>e</i>	<i>drëgrë-yi</i>	<i>dav</i>	<i>ní-p-čur-uk</i>	<i>vavú-b-i</i>			
<i>a</i>	long-F	wood[F]	← _o -LP-tip-DIM	↘  /-become-PFV.PTCP			
<i>=stë</i>	<i>b-i</i>	<i>=bo</i>	<i>st-o</i>	<i>stréyi-ti</i>	<i>dúc</i>		
REF	be-COND.3SG	=CNJ	DEM.DIST-OBL.SG.F	carve-CVB	ten		
<i>mër-é</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>vëról</i>	<i>=je,</i>	<i>dúc</i>	<i>mër-é</i>	<i>sëvér</i>	<i>vëról</i>
boy-DIR	one	side.DIR	and	ten	boy-DIR	the.other	side
<i>=ey</i>	<i>mësélë</i>						
=CONS	play-IPFV.3PL/SG.M						

‘When a long piece of wood is bent down inwards at the lower end, they carve it and play with ten boys on one side and ten boys on the other side.’
[W-KL] (Grjunberg XI 2.7)

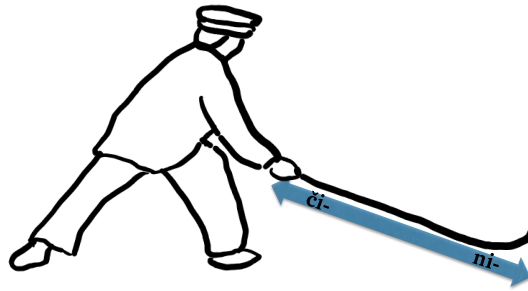


Figure 11. The flat end-relative axis on a Nuristani hockey stick/golf club

2.8.4.2.2 Vertical or Steeply Inclined

	Gloss	Base Morpheme		Spatial Noun	Spatial Adjective Forms
		→	↔		
NE	↑↑	č-ú-	ču-nyú-	č-u-ň	č-ú-r- č-ú-r-e č-ú-r-uk
	↓↓	ny-ú-		ny-u-ň	ny-ú-r- ny-ú-r-e ny-ú-r-uk
W	↑↑	č-ú-	*ču-nivú-	č-u-ř	*č-ú-r- č-ú-r-e
	↓↓	ni-vú-		n-u-ř ²⁰⁶ (*ni-vú-ř?)	*ni-vú-r- *ni-vú-r-e

When questioned on the distinction between the morphemes of the flat and steep end-relative axes (specifically the location nouns *či-ř*, *ni-ř* vs. *ču-ř*, *niú-ř/nyu-ř*), a speaker from Řamgěl could not make out a semantic difference and instead attributed the morphemes of the steep axis to dialectal pronunciation of the Central Western and especially the Northeastern dialect (“the dialects of Kulem, Ktivi and especially Břěgomaťol”). In Mumrét (Bumboret Shēkhāndeh), on the other hand, which is part of the Northeastern dialect area, a clear distinction was made between the two. The morphemes for both axes also appear in Grjunberg’s (1980) data from Kulem where their distribution is consistent with the same functional distinction. This indicates that the steep axis may be absent from the Řamgěl subdialect, where accordingly only the flat axis would be used. For the upward direction a phonologically similar morpheme is found in the Southeastern dialect, but it is used in a different way (see the following section).

In general, the steep variant of the end-relative axis is used according to the same principles as the flat variant, but only for paths with steep inclination, going up to a 90° vertical angle to the ground. In this way it covers some of the same contexts as

²⁰⁶ This form is given by Grjunberg (1980: 276), but unattested in texts. Based on the usual pattern a form **ni-vú-ř* would be expected.

the absolute earth-relative axis, but it is only applied in cases where a spatial relation can reasonably be framed as proceeding along a (long) object.

In a geomorphic application the choice of the two variants distinguishes between sections of a valley that are perceived as flat or moderately inclined and sections which are perceived as steeply inclined. The statements in (24) and (25) were given to me when I asked about examples for the distinction.

(24) *Děréyus níñ-asě. Nyúñ nésě.*

<i>Děréyus</i>	<i>ni-ñ</i>	<i>=as-ě</i>	<i>nyu-ñ</i>	<i>ne-as-ě</i>
Drosh	↙-SN	=COP-3SG	↓-SN	NEG-COP-3SG

‘Drosh is flatly downvalley. It is not steeply downvalley.’ (*said in Chitral Town*)

[NE-MR] (Notes)

(25) *Sō čuñ-asě, gřóm nyúñ-asě*

<i>sō</i>	<i>ču-ñ</i>	<i>=asě</i>	<i>gřóm</i>	<i>nyu-ñ</i>	<i>=as-ě</i>
pasture	↑-SN	=COP-3SG	village	↓-SN	=COP-3SG

‘The mountain pasture is steeply upvalley, the village [*Bumboret Shēkhāndeh*]

is steeply downvalley.’ [NE-MR] (Notes)

In example (24) the axis is applied to the Chitral river valley, whereas in (25) it is applied to the Bumboret valley. When comparing the fall of elevation over distance traveled in both cases, it is clear that there is indeed a significant difference between these two valley sections. Figure 12a shows the elevation profile of the road along the Chitral valley between Chitral Town and Drosh, which is indeed only moderately inclined: The elevation decreases only around 200 meters over a distance of around 40 kilometers. Figure 12b shows the elevation profile of the valley section between Pařpít pass at the Afghan border and Bumboret Shēkhāndeh. Here elevation drops by around 2100 meters over a distance of only around 13 kilometers.

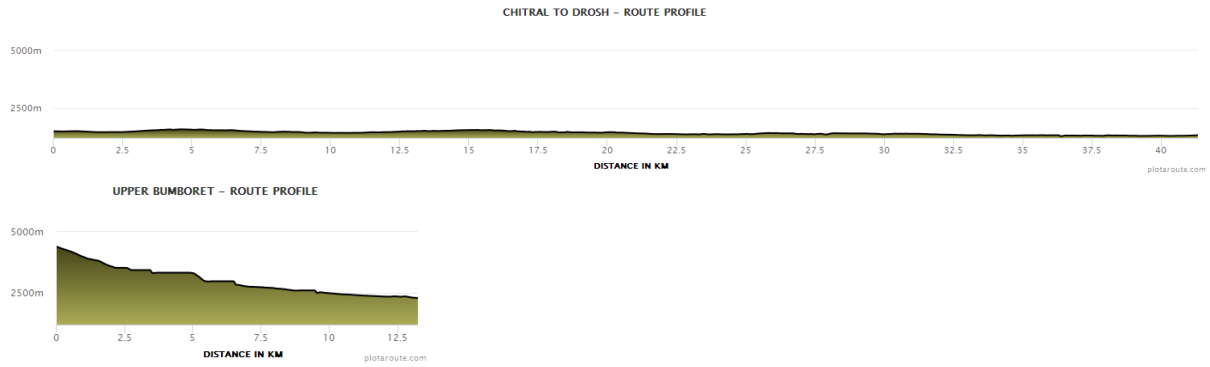


Figure 12a & b. Valley Elevation Profiles exemplifying flat and steep valley sections

a: Chitral valley between Chitral Town and Drosh b: Upper Bumboret valley between Pařpř and Bumboret Shēkhāndeh

Steeply inclined sections typically occur near the upper ends of valleys, where elevation rises sharply towards a mountain ridge or pass. The steep variant axis is always applied to these kinds of valley sections in the texts in the Western dialect of Kulem published by Grjunberg (1980), as examples (26) and (27) show. It is therefore not unlikely that those Western subdialects which have the *čú-/nivú-* axis, observe the same functional distinction between steep and flat axis variants as the Northeastern dialect.²⁰⁷

(26) Čúgě, čúgě, bėdó přayėč.

čú-gě	čú-gě	bě-dó	přa-yí-ey	=č
↑ -go.CVB	↑ -go.CVB	LP-mountain	arrive-PFV.PST.1=CONS	=ADD

‘And so going steeply up and up the valley, we arrived at the pass.’

(The narrator’s group is going from Kulem to Ktivi (Kantiwā); the major pass between the two valleys leads from the uppermost end of the Kulem valley over to the uppermost end of the Ktivi (Kantiwa) valley (Herrlich et al. 1937: 311, 308))
[W-KL] (Grjunberg VIII 3.2)

²⁰⁷ This is in contradiction to Grjunberg (1980) who does not associate the *ču-/nivú-* axis with the *či-/ni-* axis and instead defines *ču-/nivú-* as “inclined” (*naklonno*) “within broad limits” (*v širokix predelax*) (Grjunberg 1980: 269, 273), essentially assigning it the same role as the speaker-relative inclined axes (2.8.4.4.2, 2.8.4.4.3), but without reference to the “subject” (Grjunberg 1980: 276–277, 279). This definition in fact does not seem to fit the data very well.

(27) Čúgě, čúgě bēdó=u nyérvore=ta mančí léy bá táng bí=to, nivúkčeti vóy é kúnět=č,
 “[...]” kě

čú-gě	čú-gě	bě-dó	=u	nyer-vor-e
↑↑-go.CVB	↑↑-go.CVB	LP-mountain	=at	↵-direction-OBL.SG.M

=ta	manč-í	ley	ba_tang	b-i	=to
=LPST	person.DIR	well	anxious	become-COND.3	=when

nivú-kče-ti	voy	e	kú-nět	=č	[...] kě
↓↓-look-CVB	woe	so	do-PROG.3PL	=ADD	[...] do.CVB

‘Going steeply up and up the valley, on this side of the pass the people got very anxious and so they called out down [to us]: “[...]”’

(The narrator’s group is now near the uppermost end of the Ktivi (Kantiwa) valley, going in the opposite direction)

In the Northeastern and Western dialects, the steep end-relative axis seems to be used near the upper ends of both main valleys and side valleys. In upper side valleys it coexists and varies with boundary-relative framing, as in example (28). In the Southeastern dialect, on the other hand, the ends of main valleys and the ends of side valleys seem to be distinguished via the two different “all the way up” morphemes (see sections 2.8.4.2.3 and 2.8.4.3.3)

- (28) *Měttě-měttě kě čúkceti, vřěyey=č. Dávkěvo stá=vu pátetí čúsčey=č. Špěk stě júk věří lōnēt=č, “ó sús=a, kór pétyeš?” Stě bërúkceyiti jík é kúně=č, “aní čúř čivók dáv vúpsina, stó rí péti.” Stě čúatti, čúatti, čúatti, čúř čúvzi-to, bërř stě júk kóttó pí kúnt=ey=č, “Óo sús=a! Tyú yimó vëtëti, kór pétyeš?*

měttě~měttě *kě* *čú-kce-ti* *věř-ī-ey*
 short\INTS~short\INTS do.CVB ↑↑-look-CVB see-PFV.PST.1=CONS

=č *dáv-kěvo* *stá* *=vu* *pá-té-ti*
 =ADD wood-basket LDEM.DIST =at ←  →-put-CVB

čú-šč-yé-ey *=č* *špěk* *stě* *júk*
 ↑↑-head-PFV.PST.3SG.F=CONS =ADD now DEM.DIST girl.DIR

věří lō-nēt *=č* *o* *sus-a* *kor* *pé-tyeš*
 call-PROG.3PL =ADD hey sister-VOC where depart-PFV.PST.2SG.F

st-ě *bërú-kc-eyi-ti* *jík* *e* *kú-ně* *=č*
 DEM.DIST-DIR ↔-look-CAUS-CVB say... so ...say-PROG.3SG =ADD

aní *ču-ř* *čivók* *dav* *vú-psi-ná*
 LDEM.PROX ↑↑-SN a.bit wood.DIR ↓-settle-PFV.PST.3PL

st-o arí pé-ti *st-ě*
 DEM.DIST-OBL.PL fetch-PFV.PST.1SG.F DEM.DIST-DIR

čú-ác-ti *čú-ác-ti* *čú-ác-ti* *ču-ř*
 ↑↑-come-CVB ↑↑-come-CVB ↑↑-come-CVB ↑↑-SN

čú-avz-í *=to* *běrř-ř* *stě* *júk*
 ↑↑-approach-COND.3 =when ←-SN DEM.DIST girl.DIR

kótt-o *pí kú-nět=ey* *=č* *oo* *sus-a*
 force\INTS-INS yell-PROG.3PL=CONS =ADD heey sister-VOC

tyu *yimó* *vëtë-ti* *kor* *pé-tyeš*
 2SG.DIR 1PL.DIR/OBL let-CVB where depart-PFV.PST.2SG.F

‘Looking very stealthily steeply upvalley, she saw me. Then she put away her firewood basket and headed steeply upvalley. And now those girls are calling: “Hey sister, where are you going?” And so she says to them down the side valley: “Some firewood is left here steeply upvalley, I’m going to fetch that.” Going steeply up, up, up the valley, she was about to arrive on the upper side of the valley, when those girls down in the side valley call over forcefully: “Heey sister! Where are you going, leaving us behind?”’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg IX 33.8)

Some of the major non-geomorphic applications of the end-relative axis, such as rooms and playing fields, only exist in the horizontal dimension, but the steep variant can be used to describe spatial relations along a human body when standing up. It can, e.g., be used in descriptions of pulling out objects, as in examples (29) and (30), or for body-internal processes like swallowing (= *nyú-te-stě* ↓↑-put=REF).

(29) *Stě bít amú=stě čandó=tā=staň é púl pař-ó čúkšey, dyú čaláy ké, mér ptó.*

<i>stě</i>	<i>bit</i>	<i>amú</i>	<i>=stě</i>	<i>čandó-ō</i>	<i>=tā-ō</i>	<i>=staň</i>
DEM.DIST	demon.DIR	REFL	=REF	pocket-OBL.SG	=LPST-OBL.SG	from
<i>e</i>	<i>pul</i>	<i>pař-ó</i>	<i>čú-kšey</i>	<i>dyu</i>	<i>čaláy</i>	<i>ke</i>
one	seed	apple-OBL.SG.F	↑↑-pull.CVB	two	half	do.CVB
<i>mer</i>	<i>ptó.</i>					
king.DIR	give-PFV.PST.3SG.M					

‘That demon pulled an apple out of his pocket, divided it into two halves and gave it to the king.’ [NE] (Afsāna King 2.4)

(30) *Stě mēř-ě amú=stě tērvóč čúkšeyti bibúm=stě jñíssě.*

<i>stě</i>	<i>mēř-ě</i>	<i>amú</i>	<i>=stě</i>	<i>tērvóč</i>	<i>čú-kšey-ti</i>
DEM.DIST	boy-OBL.SG.M	REFL	=REF	sword.DIR	↑↑-pull-CVB
<i>bi-bím</i>	<i>=st-ě</i>	<i>jñí-í</i>	<i>=stě</i>	<i>=asě</i>	
LP-earth	REF-DIR	kill-RES.3SG			

‘That young man pulled out his sword and killed the snake’ [NE]
(Afsāna King 13.2)

In example (31), the growth direction of hair is described with reference to the length axis of the human body.

- (31) *Kúy pšéy-kt̥yū skol pá-teti píre nyútelay, kúy pimyúk=u utélay. Pimyúk=u utěřě lětryě-kě-tě kuṇúl kúlay, stě pšéy-kt̥yū skol utéti píre nyúteti stě-kě kěvét kúlay.*
- | | | | | |
|---|--|--|---|--|
| <i>kuy</i> | <i>p-šéy-kt̥yū</i> | <i>skol</i> | <i>pá-uté-ti</i> | <i>pí-r-e</i> |
| when | LP-head-bowl | a.lot | ←  →-let-CVB | ↖  ↗-SA-LOC |
| <i>nyú-uté-lě-ay</i> | <i>kuy</i> | <i>pi-myúk</i> | <i>=u</i> | <i>ute-lě-ay</i> |
| ↓  -let-IPFV.3PL | when | LP-front | =at | let-IPFV.3PL |
| <i>pi-myúk</i> | <i>=u</i> | <i>ut-ěř-ě</i> | <i>lětrí-ě</i> | <i>=kě</i> <i>=tě</i> |
| LP-front | =at | let-PFV.PTCP-M | thing-OBL.SG | =for =CONTR.TOP |
| <i>kuṇúl</i> | <i>kú-lě-ay</i> | <i>st-ě</i> | <i>p-šéy-kt̥yū</i> | <i>skol</i> |
| forelock.DIR | do-IPFV.3PL | DEM.DIST-DIR | LP-head-bowl | a.lot |
| <i>uté-ti</i> | <i>pí-r-e</i> | <i>nyú-uté-ti</i> | <i>st-ě</i> | <i>=kě</i> |
| let-CVB | ↖  ↗-SA-LOC | ↓  -let-CVB | DEM.DIST-OBL.SG.M | =for |
| <i>kěvét</i> | <i>kú-lě-ay</i> | | | |
| skull.tuft.DIR | do-IPFV.3PL | | | |

‘Sometimes they would let the hair grow far out of the skull, down on the back side, and sometimes they would let it grow in front. They would call the thing that is allowed to grow in front a forelock (*kuṇúl*) and that – letting it grow far, letting it grow down over the skull – that one they call a skull tuft (*kěvét*).’

[NE-PC] (RTA Clothing 5.2-7.1)

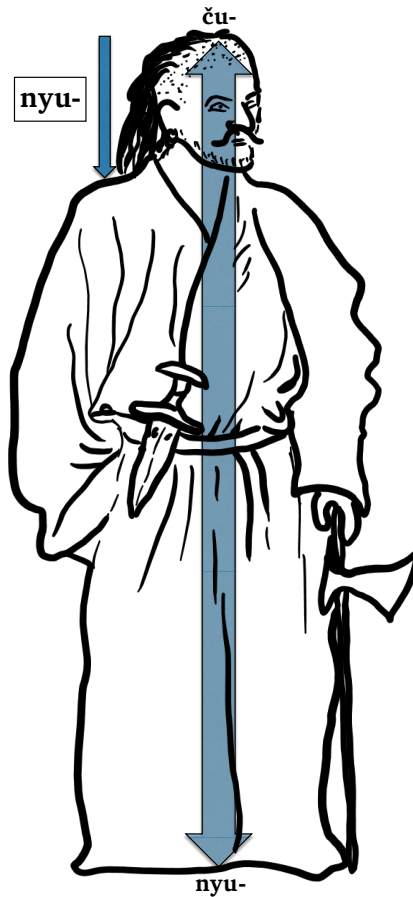


Figure 13. The steep end-relative axis on a human body standing up & the growth direction of a skull tuft (*kěvét*)²⁰⁸

Interestingly, the steep variant can also be applied to the bodies of four-legged animals. As with the course of valleys, it is only used for sections of the route from the head to the end of the body that are particularly steeply inclined. In a donkey, one such section is found along the tail which hangs straight down from the rump (see example (32) and Figure 14).

(32) *Kúrě dēmřéy nyúpělěhe-di čúpělěhe-di é vělýóň.*

<i>kúr-ě</i>	<i>dēmřéy</i>	<i>nyú-pělěhé</i>	<i>=di</i>	<i>ču-pělěhé</i>	<i>=di</i>
donkey-OBL	tail.DIR	↓ ⁹ -move.CVB	=ADD.FOC	↑ ⁹ -move.CVB	=ADD.FOC
<i>e</i>	<i>vělýóň</i>				
one	handspan.DIR				

‘A donkey’s tail is one handspan long both going down and going up.’

[NE-MR] (Mansur Proverbs 366)

²⁰⁸ Drawing referenced on a historical portrait of a Katě headman who wore this pre-Islamic hair style.

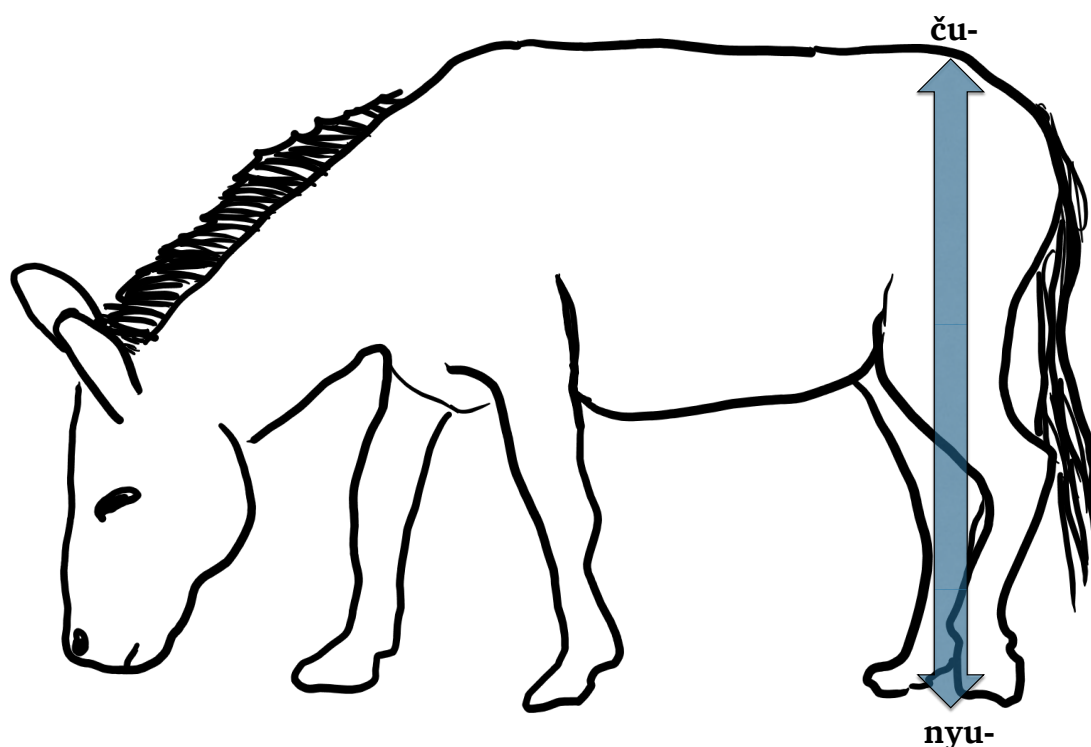


Figure 14. The steep end-relative axis on the body of a donkey

2.8.4.2.3 All the Way Up (SE)

	Gloss	Base Morpheme		Spatial Noun	Spatial Adjective Forms
		→	↔		
SE	↗> ↘>	č-ű-, č-ű-	-	č-u-ň, č-ū-ň	č-ű-r-e

This group of Southeastern spatial elements is formally similar to the Western and Northeastern morphemes of the steep end-relative axis, but in fact it differs from these in a number of ways. First, the inventory of forms seems to be rather restricted: A morpheme for the “downward” direction is not mentioned by Ġulāmullāh (1966) or Strand (1999a) and is also absent from the examined corpus. The same goes for the bidirectional base morpheme and all but the most basic adjective derivation. Secondly, the functional spectrum of the form seems to be somewhat different. Strand (1999a) translates *čũň* as “way up (a slope, etc.)” and also offers the phrases *čű-allě břazě* (↗>-come.IPFV.PTCP.M disease) ‘colic’ and *vúre čű-guño* (↑-SA-LOC ↗>-board) ‘shelf at the

back wall of a room'. Ġulāmullāh (1966: 534, 385 ff.) gives the undifferentiated translations “up, Persian has no equivalent (*bālā. Fārsī naẓīr nadārad*)” for *čūre*, “upper side, Persian has no equivalent (*ṭaraf-i bālā. Fārsī naẓīr nadārad*)” for *čuñ* and “up, to the upper side (*bālā / ba bālā / ba ġānib-i/ṭaraf-i bālā*)” for *čū-* in combination with various verb stems. The same translations are also given for several other spatial morphemes and therefore do not give much insight into the actual meaning. On one occasion he illustrates *čū-* with an arrow that is longer and slightly more inclined than that for *čī-* ($\Rightarrow$) (Ġulāmullāh 1966: 401) and at another with an arrow that has roughly the same inclination as that of *poñé-* ($\searrow \curvearrowright \nearrow$), but is longer (Ġulāmullāh 1966: 385). Within the examined corpus the morpheme is rare. There are no attestations of application to the course of a valley and it almost exclusively occurs in combination with the verb stem *ṭrazī-stē* ‘to stretch out (*itr.*), to be flat’. Strand (1999a) translates the combination *čū-bṛazī-* as “stretch oneself out; lie down”, Ġulāmullāh (1966: 411) makes no difference in translation between *či-ṭrazī-stē* and *čū-bṛazī-stē* ‘to stretch out (lying down) or to settle in a place that is upwards (*darāz kašīdan wa muqīm šudan dar ġāyē ke bālā bāšad*)’. The meaning of this verb root makes it very unlikely that steepness of inclination is the relevant factor conditioning the use of *čū-*, as also the example in (33) shows.

- (33) “*Tū aní čūbṛazīdi bú! Šé ná vūḡacō!*”, *kti ġijl ġarō. “Čūbṛazīdi bú!”*

<i>tū</i>	<i>aní</i>	<i>čū-ṭrazī-di bu</i>	<i>šē</i>
2SG.DIR	LDEM.PROX	$\Rightarrow$ >-settle-CONT.IMP.2SG	head.DIR

<i>na</i>	<i>vū-kac-ō</i>	<i>k-ti</i>	<i>ġijl k-ařó</i>
NEG	$\uparrow$ -look-CAUS.IMP.2SG	do-CVB	say-PFV.PST.3SG.M

čū-ṭrazī-di bu
 $\Rightarrow$ >-settle-CONT.IMP.2SG
““You lie down and stay here! Don’t poke up your head!”, I said to him. “Lie down and stay!” [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 425.17-19)

Instances of attestation with other verbs are shown in (34) and (35). In (34) we see the description of body-internal up-down motion (the breath/soul “coming up”) familiar from the use of the steep end-relative axis in the other dialects. The sentence in (35) describes a motion event proceeding from Pitiġil (Pitigal) to Kombřom (Kāmdēš). Kombřom lies high up on a mountain slope and is ordinarily approached by upward paths across this slope. Accordingly, the upward-inclined speaker-relative

axis (↖ ↗) is usually employed for this approach. In example (35), on the other hand, the unidirectional čũ- axis is used, which accordingly can be used not only as an alternative to the end-relative, but also to this particular speaker-relative axis, as is also implied by Ġulāmullāh’s arrows mentioned above. The semantic difference seems to be a matter of emphasis on reaching the endpoint all the way up the slope.

- (34) *Akí yimó-stě manĵi čalémmiš ti áttō-do pabút-u gyǎ, tré štó púcċi gyǎ parměň, ĵúġuř-ō-do, aní paží, šũ čúň ózo.*

<i>akí</i>	<i>yimó</i>	<i>=stě</i>	<i>manĵ-í</i>	<i>čalé-mmiš</i>		
LDEM.DIST	1PL.DIR/GEN	=REF	person-DIR	move.away-PROG.1PL		
<i>k-ti</i>	<i>ác-tō</i>	<i>=to</i>	<i>pa-pút</i>	<i>=u</i>	<i>gyǎ</i>	<i>tre</i>
do-CVB	come-place	=LPST	LP-path	=at	simply	3
<i>štó</i>	<i>púcċi</i>	<i>gyǎ</i>	<i>parměň</i>	<i>ĵúġuř-ō-to</i>		
4	5x20	simply	child.DIR	woman-OBL.PL=LPST		
<i>aní</i>	<i>pa-ší</i>		<i>šũ</i>	<i>čú-ň</i>		
LDEM.PROX	LP-embrace		breath/soul[M].DIR	⇒>-SN		
<i>ózo</i>						
come.PFV.PST.3SG.M						

‘There while our people were trying to flee, on the road just like that, three, four or five score children just like that, right in the women’s arms, their last breath came up [i.e. they passed away].’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 559.17)

- (35) *Akí-ste yúbidi karměři ĵádi aské aní čúōtti ósě.*

<i>akí</i>	<i>=ste</i>	<i>yúbí-di</i>	<i>karměři-ō</i>	<i>ĵá-di</i>
LDEM.DIST	=from	↓-become-CVB	ear-OBL.SG	take-CVB
<i>ask-é</i>	<i>aní</i>	<i>čú-ój-ti</i>	<i>óžě-stě-ěžě</i>	
DEM.DIST-DIR	LDEM.PROX	⇒>-approach-CVB	come.RES.3SG.M	

‘Then he reached down, took his [cut-off] ear and went back all the way up to here [i.e. Kombřom (Kāmděš)].’ [SE-PT] (Ġulāmullāh/Karim Pitiġil 26.7)

It seems then, that these forms are used in the same contexts as the upward directions of the basic end-relative axis (including application to bodies and rooms) and the upward-inclined speaker-relative axis (in its application to inclined paths across slopes), but with the added semantic component ‘all the way’ or ‘to the end’, rather than implying a steep incline. A contrast according to steepness of inclination does not exist for the end-relative axis in the Southeastern dialect.

2.8.4.3 Boundary-Relative

The Boundary-Relative axis runs through the boundary of a delimited space. In some variants and applications only the boundary itself is relevant, in others the inside and outside of the delimited space may also play a role.

The directions defined by the axis are “inward”, i.e., toward the boundary from the outside and away from the boundary on the inside, and “outward”, i.e., toward the boundary from the inside and away from the boundary on the outside. It can be used as a geomorphic frame of reference, when applied to the lateral boundary of a valley system, or as an intrinsic frame of reference, when applied to the boundary of any delimited space that serves as the Ground.

There are some rather significant dialectal differences in the way the morphemes of this axis are used. Additionally some dimensions of the axis are morphologically underspecified with distinctions between different variants being made only in certain forms.

2.8.4.3.1 Toward / Away

	Gloss	Base Morpheme		Spatial Noun	Spatial Adjective Forms
		→	↔		
NE	→	até-	até-ǰ-be-	até-ň	até-r-, até-r-e, até-r-uk
	←	bé-		béré-ň	béré-l-, béré-l-e, béré-l-uk
W	→	até-	*até-ǰ-be-	até-ř	até-r-, até-r-e
	←	bé-		běří-ř, (běře-ř) ²⁰⁹	bě-é-l-, bě-é-l-e ²¹⁰
SE	→	atě-	atě-ǰ-barě-	atě-ň	atě-r-, at-r-é, at-r-úk atě-mě, atě-mě-k
	←	barě-		barě-ň	barě-l-, ba-r-é, ba-r-úk barě-mě, barě-mě-k

When used as a geomorphic frame of reference, the inward-outward boundary-relative axis in some ways represents a cross axis to the end-relative axis. Where the end-relative axis is oriented by the relative location of the upper and lower end of a main valley, the boundary-relative axis is oriented by the location of the side boundary of a main valley, i.e. the highest line of the mountain zone that is located along the side of the valley. The boundary-relative axis is not used for orientation within the main valley itself but only in side valleys, gorges and within the lateral mountain zones as a whole. In these areas “inward” (→) means “toward the boundary” (away from the main valley) and “outward” (←) means “away from the boundary” (toward the main

²⁰⁹ Grjunberg (1980: 276–277) associates <briř> (= *běřěř*) with *bé-* and <briř> (= *běřř*) with <brú-> (= *běřú-*), but in his textual data both forms vary freely without a corresponding functional association. Since they are only distinguished by one diacritic in Grjunberg’s transcription system, mix-ups can unfortunately not be excluded. The form *běřř* is attested from Řamgěl with the meaning ←, which contradicts Grjunberg’s analysis. Thus either both forms are used in both functions or *běřěř* does not actually exist at all.

²¹⁰ These are the forms attested from Řamgěl. Grjunberg’s (1980: 276) supposed Kulem forms <brér-> and <bríre> (= *běřér*, *běřěre*) are unlikely to be correct. They contain an otherwise unattested stem alternation and lack the usual *l-r* dissimilation. They do not appear anywhere in his textual data and in fact Herrlich et al. (1937: 308) record the name of a subvillage of Kulem with a name containing the composition form *běřél-* (“Berelgrom”).

valley).²¹¹ This is illustrated on a section of the upper Laņday Sin valley (Katėgel) in Figure 15.

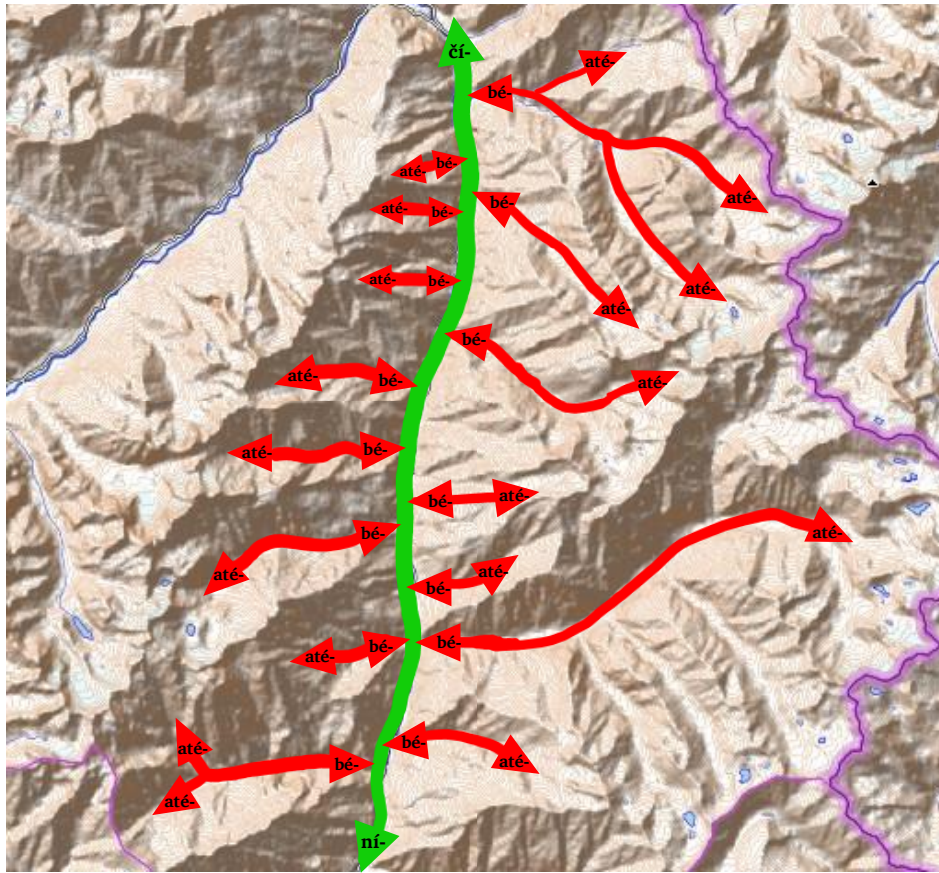


Figure 15. Possible applications of the boundary-relative axis (in red) in comparison with the end-relative axis (in green) illustrated on a section of the upper Laņday Sin valley (Katėgel) [base map © [OpenTopoMap](#) (CC-BY-SA)]

In this application there is no actual “inside” behind the boundary – instead, once the boundary is crossed, the orientation shifts to the next valley system and “inward” again means “toward the boundary” (away from the next main valley) and “outward”

²¹¹ This description is not compatible with the analysis of Grjunberg (1980: 268–269), according to which *atė-/bė-* designate a “gently sloping” upwards or downwards direction across a slope (“*napravljenija pologo vverx/vniz [obyčno] poperjok sklona*”). Movement towards a valley boundary does go along with a rise in elevation, but the degree of elevational incline is irrelevant to the choice of *atė-/bė-* over other axes. Under Grjunberg’s (1980) definition, the connection of *atė-/bė-* with the boundary-related notions of “in” and “out” has to be explained by lexicalization and “contamination” (Grjunberg 1980: 268–269, 272). Grjunberg’s (1980) association of *atė-/bė-* with movement across a slope contradicts the statement of his own informant that it is the inclined speaker-relative axes that are used to describe movement sideways across a slope, in explicit distinction to the *atė-/bė-* axis (Grjunberg 1980: 275).

means “away from the boundary” (toward the next main valley). Use examples in all three dialects are shown in (36) – (38).

- (36) *Géti amšě bugúl přéya. Atěň pašyě-tã přéya. [...] “Bědó píně-staň áyosěmiš” kútě.*

<i>gé-ti</i>	<i>amšě</i>	<i>bu-gúl</i>	<i>přé-ya</i>	
go-CVB	REFL.PL	LP-country	arrive-PFV.PST.3PL	
<i>atě-ň</i>	<i>paší-ě</i>	<i>-tã</i>	<i>přé-ya</i>	<i>bě-do</i>
→-SN	slope-OBL.SG	=LPST	arrive-PFV.PST.3PL	LP-mountain
<i>pí-ň-ě</i>		<i>-staň</i>	<i>á-yosěmiš</i>	<i>kú-tě</i>
↪↪-SN-ABL		=from	come-PFV.PST.1PL	do-PROG.3SG

‘They went and arrived in their valley. They arrived on a slope in the lateral mountain zone. [...] “We came from beyond the mountain”, he says.’ [NE-BG] (Morgenstierne Tale 10.2)

- (37) *Kṭělnař atégě, bědó púgě, pyérvore-ta řúč byéy=č.*

<i>Kṭělnař</i>	<i>atě-gě</i>	<i>bě-dó</i>	<i>pú-gě</i>	
PN	→-go.CVB	LP-mountain	↪↪-go.CVB	
<i>pyér-vor-e</i>		<i>-ta</i>	<i>řuč</i>	<i>b-ye=ěy</i>
↪↪-direction-OBL.SG.M		=LPST	light	become-PFV.PST.3SG.F=CONS
<i>=č</i>				
ADD				

‘After going into the lateral mountains in Kṭělnař gorge and going over the mountain, it dawned on the other side.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg IX 17.3)

- (38) *Pabúřuk pōr barátti, níatti Saskũ jěněstā.*

<i>Pabúřuk</i>	<i>p-ōr</i>	<i>barě-ác-ti</i>	<i>ní-ác-ti</i>	
PN	LP-direction	↔-come-CVB	↔-come-CVB	
<i>Saskũ</i>	<i>jě-ně-stě-ā</i>			
PN	sit.down-RES.3PL			

‘After coming out of the lateral mountains through Pabuřuk (Péřuk; Papřōk) they came down the main valley and settled in Saskũ (Časku/Šamarbāḡ).’ [SE-KM] (Kabir/Gulāmullāh History 27.1)

At least NE/W *bě-* can also be used as part of a non-geomorphic frame of reference in a more general meaning of ‘out’, that is not tied to a specific boundary or bounded

space, e.g. for going “out into the world” (example (39)) or letting animals or people out of confinement (physical or metaphorical).

(39) *Děréy, imú manči várě=meň é pór bŭti, nišiti, bégeti várě-stě kitób věláti, ojí ké*

šterék Arabyě-stě-je Forsyě-stě, Puxtú-stě cavě pkěru ašissě.

<i>děréy</i>	<i>imú</i>	<i>manč-í</i>	<i>várě-ō</i>	<i>=meň</i>	<i>é_pór</i>	
later	1PL.DIR/OBL	person-DIR	other-OBL	=with	in.contact	
<i>bŭ-ti</i>		<i>niš-í-ti</i>	<i>bé-gé-ti</i>	<i>várě-ō</i>	<i>=stě</i>	
become-CVB		sit.down-CVB	←-go-CVB	other-OBL	=REF	
<i>kitób</i>	<i>vělá-ti</i>	<i>o-jí</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>šterék</i>	<i>Arabí-ē</i>	<i>=stě</i>
book.DIR	recite-CVB	PHOR-such	do.CVB	now	Arabic-OBL	=REF
<i>=je</i>	<i>Forsí-ē</i>	<i>=stě</i>	<i>Puxtú-ō</i>	<i>=stě</i>	<i>cavě-ō</i>	<i>p-kařú</i>
=and	Persian-OBL	=REF	Pashto-OBL	=REF	shade-OBL	LP-bottom
<i>aš-í</i>	<i>=stě</i>	<i>=asě</i>				
throw-RES.3SG						

‘Later, after our people had come into contact with others, sat down with them, went out and read other people’s books, like that now it [our language] has come under the shadow of Arabic, Persian and Pashto.’ [NE-PC]

(RTA Language 7.3)

2.8.4.3.2 Right Across

	Gloss	Base Morpheme		Spatial Noun	Spatial Adjective Forms
		→	↔		
NE	→	atú-	atú-ǵ-	aty-ú-ñ	aty-ú-r-, aty-ú-r-e, aty-ú-r-uk
	↔	bëru-	bëru-	bëré-ñ (↔) (bëry-ú-ñ)	bëré-l-, bëré-l-e, bëré-l-uk (↔) (bëry-ú-r, bëry-ú-r-e, bëry-ú-r-uk)
W	→	atú-	*atú-ǵ-	atyú-ř	atyó-r-, *atyó-r-e
	↔	bëru-	bëru-	bërí-ř (↔) (bëřë-ř)	*bër-é-l-, bër-é-l-e (↔) (bëry-é-l-, bëry-é-l-e)
SE	→	até- (→)	até-ǵ- barë-	até-ñ (→)	at-r-ú
	↔	barú-	(→)	bar-ú-ñ	ba-r-ú

This set of spatial morphemes is used for in/out relations proceeding right across the boundary of a delimited space, usually at a small scale. The inventory of forms available for this function is limited in a number of ways. For the Northeastern dialect, derivations based on the stem *bëryú-* (parallel to *atyú-*) can be elicited after some insistence, but it seems that they are not used spontaneously. The elicited forms are also suspicious in that they do not show the usual *-r-/-l-* dissimilation that appears in similar forms. In reality, the derivations based on the stem *bëré-* are usually employed without distinction for both ↔ and →. That this is the case is also suggested by direct oppositions such as the ones in examples (40)-(42).

(40) *Atyúñ ştálvëri kşı, bëréñ ál-ál bú.*

<i>atyú-ñ</i>	<i>ştál-vëri</i>	<i>kşı</i>	<i>bëré-ñ</i>	<i>ál~al</i>
→-SN	true-speech.DIR	do.IMP	↔-SN	big~INTS

bú
become.IMP

‘When inside, tell the truth, when outside, present yourself as great’ [NE-MR]
(Mansur Proverbs 22)

(41) *Atýúre bërěň čo vëťělólě*

<i>atyú-r-e</i>	<i>bërě-ň</i>	<i>čo</i>	<i>vëťěl-ó-l-ě</i>
→-SA-LOC	←-SN	wall	collapse-CAUS-IPFV.PTCP-M

‘Someone who makes the wall collapse outward from the inside’ = ‘a traitor’
[NE-MR] (Mansur Proverbs 20)

(42) *Bërělmusē atýúrmusē čiléyo.*

<i>bërě-l-mus-ē</i>	<i>atyú-r-mus-ě</i>	<i>čil-é-yo</i>
←-SA-mouse-OBL.SG.M	→-SA-mouse-DIR	move.away-CAUS-PFV.PST.3SG.M

‘The outer mouse expelled the inner mouse.’ [NE-MR] (Mansur Proverbs 113)

For the Western dialect, Grjunberg (1980: 277) mentions the forms *bëry-é-l-* and *bëry-é-l-e* but they do not appear in his textual data. Considering the undifferentiated use of *bërř* (and *bërřě*?) as the Location Noun for both ← and →, it is possible that the situation is actually similar to that of the Northeastern dialect, where a consistent distinction exists only in the base morphemes *bě-* and *bërř-*, but not in the derivations. While the Northeastern and Western inventories are thus limited on the outward direction, the Southeastern inventory is limited on the inward direction: Only with the locative spatial adjective form is there a distinct form for a path right across the boundary and there are no further adjective derivations with the same meaning. On the outward direction, there is a separate base morpheme and spatial noun, but also only the locative spatial adjective form.

The most common application of the morphemes of this group is as an intrinsic frame of reference for contexts such as the inside and outside of buildings, as in examples (43) and (44).

(43) *Mančř atúguo.*

<i>manč-ř</i>	<i>atú-guó</i>
person-DIR	→-GO.PFV.PST.3SG.M

‘The man went inside.’ [NE-BG] (Morgenstierne Tale 10.9)

(44) *Askě zindón=do-baru ě dukón vőzi.*

<i>askě</i>	<i>zindón=to</i>	<i>=baru</i>	<i>ě</i>	<i>dukón</i>	<i>v-o=ěz-i</i>
DEM.DIST	prison =LPST	=←	one	shop.DIR	PROPR-M=COP-PST.3

‘He had a shop outside of that prison.’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 193.3)

Applications limited to the Northeastern and Western dialects are putting things inside containers (45), or the piercing of skin (46). The Southeastern dialect uses the set described in section 2.8.4.3.4 for these contexts.

(45) *Amú=stě pónyuraše=stě syó=ta atyúř ašé.*

<i>amú</i>	<i>=stě</i>	<i>pě-ányúř-aše</i>	<i>=stě</i>	<i>syó</i>	<i>=ta</i>
REFL	=REF	LP-finger-throw	=REF	water.pot.DIR/OBL	=LPST
<i>atyú-ř</i>	<i>aš-yé</i>				
→-SN	throw-PFV.PST.3SG.F				

‘He threw his ring into the water pot.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg Skazka IV 3.4)

(46) *Mačěrika, mačěrika! Přéc křúyi=tã atúšyi!*

<i>mačěrik-a</i>	<i>mačěrik-a</i>	<i>přec</i>	<i>křúy-i</i>	<i>=tã</i>	<i>atú-šyi</i>
bee-VOC	bee-VOC	go.on.IMP	dog-OBL	=LPST	→-stick.self.IMP

‘Bee! Bee! Go sting the dog!’ [NE-BN/MR] (Sun-Aro Dehqan 5.2)

The morphemes can also be used for the same geomorphic application as the basic “toward boundary” – “away from boundary” axis, if the spatial relation proceeds right across the boundary of the valley system, i.e. in either direction at the very top of the mountain chain, as in example (47)

(47) *Bědó přayósimiš=tě, pyére bėrúkcena, zím kěř - vót tině=stě, šišá čarvó - bístasyo=č.*

<i>bě-do</i>	<i>přa-yósimiš</i>	<i>=tě</i>	<i>pyé-r-e</i>
LP-mountain	arrive-PFV.PST.ANT.1PL	=CONTR.TOP	↖  ↗-SA-LOC
<i>bėrú-kcé-na</i>	<i>zim</i>	<i>kěř</i>	<i>voť ti-n-ě</i>
↔-look-place	snow.DIR	hard.M	stone stand-PFV.PTCP-M
			<i>=stě</i>
<i>šišá</i>	<i>čar-v-ó</i>	<i>b-í=stě=asyo</i>	<i>=č</i>
glass.DIR/OBL	custom-PROPR-M	become-RES.MDV.3SG.M	=ADD

‘When we arrived at the mountaintop, while looking over out on the other side, [we saw that] the snow had become hard, turned to stone, like glass.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg V 2.2)

2.8.4.3.3 All the Way Toward (SE)

	Gloss	Base Morpheme		Spatial Noun	Spatial Adjective Forms
		→	↔		
SE	→>	atú-, atú-	-	at-ú-ň, at-u-ň	at-ú-re

This group of exclusively Southeastern forms seems to be equivalent to those described in section 2.8.4.2.3, except that it is used for the lateral mountain zone instead of the upper parts of main valleys. In this context it is used for the direction “all the way toward” the boundary of the valley system. An example is given in (48).

(48) *Dú móč badó atúššistā.*

dü móč ba-do atú-šš-i-stě-ā
two CLF:person LP-mountain →>-head-RES.3PL

‘Two people have headed up to the mountaintop.’ [SE-PT]

(Ġulāmullāh 1966: 416)

2.8.4.3.4 All the Way Inside (SE)

	Gloss	Base Morpheme		Spatial Noun	Spatial Adjective Forms
		→	↔		
SE	→>	atém-	-	atě	-

These two specifically Southeastern forms seem to be used for the inward direction into a delimited space, often a container, and onward all the way to its bottom or back wall. An example for this use is given in (49).

Both forms have unusual forms for their respective categories. The base morpheme *atém-* looks like a derivate of *atě-* (→) (cf. section 2.8.6.4.4). The spatial noun form *atě* does not have the usual suffix *-ň*, but is identical to the alternative form of *atě-ň* used in light-verb constructions (cf. section 2.8.6.3). Nevertheless, these two forms functionally seem to form a paradigm of their own.

(49) *Pamó číre amně puṇḍrīk bilyúk sě aki sundúǵũ-do atěmyütařěstay.*

<i>p-amó</i>	<i>čí-r-e</i>	<i>amně</i>	<i>puṇḍrīk</i>	<i>bilyúk</i>	<i>s-ě</i>
LP-house	→-SA-LOC	DEM.PROX.PL	bullet.DIR	much	year-DIR
<i>akí</i>	<i>sundúk-ě=to</i>	<i>atěm-yü-t-ařě=stě=ay</i>			
LDEM.DIST	box-OBL.PL=LPST	→>-↓-put-RES.3PL			

‘At home upvalley, I had put these bullets down into boxes there for many years’
[SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 267.14)

Beyond of the context of containers they also seem to be used in a more general sense of being pushed all the way in, as with digging oneself in inside a bunker (example (50)), being driven up against the wall or into narrow upper valleys (example (51)) etc.

(50) *Ólě sangár yipědi, sáyp, akú atěmgom.*

<i>ól-ě</i>	<i>sangár</i>	<i>yip-ě-di</i>	<i>sáyp</i>	<i>akú</i>
big-M	bunker.DIR	arise-CAUS-CVB	sir	LDEM.DIST.PHOR
<i>atěm-gom</i>				
→>-go.PFV.PST.1SG.M				

‘I built a large bunker, sir, and went inside there.’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 324.6)

(51) *Díc sát sě yimó=stě manǵí atěmvutěstay=o, aní. Muḥosirá=ay. Atě aní=mi, bajǵí yipědi, váre basěno yipědi, [...]*

<i>díc</i>	<i>sát</i>	<i>s-ě</i>	<i>yimó</i>	<i>=stě</i>	<i>manǵí</i>
12	100	year-DIR	1 PL.DIR/GEN	=REF	person-DIR
<i>atěm-vutí-ě-ī=stě=ay</i>		<i>=o</i>	<i>aní</i>	<i>muḥosirá</i>	<i>=ay</i>
→>-remain-CAUS-RES.3PL		=ASS	LDEM.PROX	siege	=COP.3PL
<i>atě</i>	<i>aní</i>	<i>=mi</i>	<i>bajǵí</i>	<i>yip-ě-di</i>	<i>váre</i>
→>.SN	LDEM.PROX.PHOR	=FOC	robe	arise-CAUS-CVB	other
<i>basěno</i>	<i>yip-ě-di</i>	<i>[...]</i>			
clothes	arise-CAUS-CVB				

‘For twelve hundred years our people were forced to stay pushed inside [the uppermost valleys]. They were under siege. Pushed inside here, they made robes, made other clothes and [...].’ [SE-PT] (Kabir/Gulāmullāh History 95.3)

2.8.4.4 Speaker-Relative

The Speaker-Relative axes all share a basic dimension of ‘away’ vs. ‘towards’ which is combined in the different subvariants with different path shapes (horizontal,

downward-inclined, upward-inclined and half-circle). All ‘away’ morphemes share the onset *p*- and almost all ‘towards’ morphemes share the onset *v*-. Grjunberg (1980: 275) considered the point of orientation (Anchor) of these axes to be the subject. Strand (2016: 70) objected to this and argued that it is rather the speaker that serves as the point of orientation, who may, of course, be distinct from the subject. In fact, the Anchor of the speaker-relative axes is probably most precisely defined as the *deictic center*. Typically this will be the location of the speaker, but depending on context it may be shifted to other focal points of the situation under discussion, especially if the speaker’s current location is irrelevant, as, e.g., while telling a story. For an example of such a shift, cf. the use of the verb form *pá-kērōnē* in example (55) below.

The path shape variants designated here as downward-inclined and upward-inclined could also be grouped in a different way. The phonological forms match most closely between the upward morphemes and between the downward morphemes. Strand (1999a) has therefore grouped the upward morphemes together under the term “upward inclined” and the downward morphemes together under the term “downward inclined”. In actual use, however, it is unlikely that the forms would appear together in these configurations. From a speaker-centered point of view the direction opposite to “up towards me” is not “up away from me”, but “down away from me”. Speakers therefore naturally group together those morphemes used for coming from and going towards a lower position and those used for coming from or going towards a higher position. Bidirectionals are used only for these groupings. I therefore – perhaps confusingly – call the axis between the speaker and a lower position “downward inclined” and the axis between the speaker and a higher position “upward inclined”, in contradiction to Strand’s (1999a) use of these terms.

2.8.4.4.1 Horizontal

	Gloss	Base Morpheme		Spatial Noun	Spatial Adjective Forms
		→	↔		
NE	→  ←	vá-	va-č-pá-	va-ñ	vá-r-, vá-r-e, vá-r-uk
	←  →	pá-		pa-ñ	pá-r-, pá-r-e, pá-r-uk
W	→  ←	vá-	va-č-pá-,	va-ř	vá-r-, vá-r-e
	←  →	pá-	va-č-pé-	pa-ř	pá-r-, pá-r-e
SE	→  ←	v-é-	vé-č-pe-	v-e-ñ	v-é-r-, v-é-r-e, v-é-r-uk v-é-mě, *v-é-mě-k
	←  →	p-é-		p-e-ñ	p-é-r-, p-é-r-e, p-é-r-uk *p-é-mě, *p-é-mě-k

This path shape variant is used for the simplest and most unspecific ‘towards’ vs. ‘away’ relations as well as those that proceed at a horizontal plane. Examples are given in (52) and (53). Geomorphically it is also frequently used for relations across rivers or gorges.

(52) *Aní váac!*

aní *vá-ac*
LDEM.PROX →  ←-come.IMP

‘Come over here!’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg IX 4.7)

(53) *Akí-ste dí gidi namóčamo-tto pèriḡisim.*

akí *=ste* *di* *ḡí-di* *namóč-amo-to*
LDEM.DIST =from again go-CVB prayer-house.DIR/GEN=LPST
pé-ḡí-ḡí-stě-ězim
←  →-reach-RES.PST.1SG

‘Then, going again, I had reached the mosque [horizontally].’ [SE-KM]
(Amin Jihad 293.1)

2.8.4.4.2 Downward Inclined

	Gloss	Base Morpheme		Spatial Noun	Spatial Adjective Forms
		→	↔		
NE	  	valú-	valú-č-povu-	va-lú-ň	va-rú-l-, va-rú-l-e, va-rú-l-uk
	  	povú-		pa-yí-ň	pa-yí-r-, pa-yí-r-e, pa-yí-r-uk
W	  	valú-	*valú-č-pavu-	va-lú-ř	va-rú-l-, va-rú-l-e ²¹²
	  	pavú-		pa-yí-ř	pa-yé-r-, pa-yér-e ²¹³
SE	  	v-oňě-, v-aňú-, v-ãú-	?	v-oňě-ň	v-oňě-r-, v-oňě-r-e, v-oňě-r-uk v-oňě-mě, v-oňě-mě-k
	  	p-á-		p-ā-ň	p-á-r-, p-á-r-e, p-á-r-uk p-á-mě, p-á-mě-k

This path shape variant is used for ‘towards’ vs. ‘away’ relations proceeding between the speaker and a lower point that is located at an angle (not straight down). Examples are given in (54) and (55).

(54) *Atkyě-staň amki Simúryě stě mërě-tā ō şupşéyti stě valúkěřo.*

atkí-ē =*staň amkí* *Simúry-ē* *stě*
LDEM.DIST-ABL =from DEM.DIST.PL Simurgh-OBL DEM.DIST

mër-ē =*tā ō şupş-éy-ti* *st-ē*
boy-OBL.SG.M =LPST water drip-CAUS-CVB DEM.DIST-DIR

valú-k-ěřo

   -do-PFV.PST.3SG.M

‘Then those Simurghs sprayed water on that boy and woke him up.’ [NE]

(Afsāna King 14.5)

²¹² Grjunberg (1980: 276) records a form without *l-r* metathesis – *valúr(e)* – in this paradigm cell and for the coordinate upward inclined form (*palúr(e)* instead of *parúl(e)*), neither of which is attested in the textual data. The metathesis is, however, attested for Řangěl and the Northeastern dialect and therefore unlikely to be absent in the region in between.

²¹³ This is the form attested from Řangěl. Grjunberg’s (1980: 276) form <payíre> (= *paíre*) is suspect, since it disagrees with both the compounded adjective form *payér-* and the coordinate form *vayére* from the upward-inclined axis. Grjunberg’s form does not appear anywhere in his textual data.

(55) *É vóse vúze překúm větině=ste-ta, stě payíř drastáře-ta avé pákērōnē=č.*

<i>e</i>	<i>vós-e</i>	<i>vúze</i>	<i>pě-křúm</i>	<i>věti-n-ě</i>
one	day-OBL.SG.M	1SG.DIR	LP-roof	stand-PFV.PTCP-M
<i>=st-e</i>	<i>=ta</i>	<i>st-ě</i>	<i>payí-ř</i>	<i>dras-tář-e</i>
=REF-OBL.SG.M	=LPST	DEM.DIST.DIR	↙  ↘ -SN	grape-place-OBL.SG.M
<i>=ta</i>	<i>av-ě</i>	<i>pá-kěr-ō-ně</i>		<i>=č</i>
=LPST	water-DIR	←  → -do-CAUS-PROG.3SG		=ADD

‘One day while I was standing on the roof, she was down [at an angle] watering the grape garden.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg IX 3.9)

Like the earth-relative axis, it may be projected onto a mountain slope and is then used for downward relations proceeding sideways across the slope (cf. section 2.8.4.1). This is illustrated by example (56).

(56) *Badyō páḡidi, páruḡ-u Bařěsgiro nāza?*

<i>Badyō</i>	<i>pá-gí-di</i>	<i>pá-r-uk=ū</i>	<i>Bařěsgiro</i>
PN.LOC	↙  ↘ -go-CVB	↙  ↘ -SA-DIM=at	PN.LOC
<i>na-ěz-ě=a</i>			
NEG=COP-3SG=Q			

‘Going down across the slope from Badyō, [at a place] a bit further down across the slope there is Bařěsgiro, right?’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 671.5)

2.8.4.4.3 Upward Inclined

	Gloss	Base Morpheme		Spatial Noun	Spatial Adjective Forms
		→	↔		
NE		vovú-	*vovú-č-palu-	va-yí-ñ	va-yí-r-, va-yí-r-e, va-yí-r-uk
		palú		pa-lú-ñ	pa-rú-l, pa-rú-l-e, pa-rú-l-uk
W		vavú-	*vavú-č-palu-	va-yí-ř	va-yé-r-, va-yé-r-e
		palú-		pa-lú-ř	*pa-rú-l-, pa-rú-l-e
SE		v-á-	vá-č-poňě-	v-ā-ñ	v-á-r-, v-á-r-e, v-á-r-uk v-á-mě, v-á-mě-k
		p-oňě-, p-aňú-, p-āú-		p-oňě-ñ	p-oňě-r-, p-oňě-r-e, p-oňě-r-uk p-oňě-mě, p-oňě-mě-k

This path shape variant is used for ‘towards’ vs. ‘away’ relations proceeding between the speaker and a higher point that is located at an angle (not straight up). Examples are given in (57) and (58).

(57) *Palúkčenosyum-tě palúř překúm větiní-stě é syéy-č.*

<i>palú-kcé-nosyum</i>	= <i>tě</i>	<i>palú-ř</i>	<i>pě-křúm</i>
 -look-PROG.PST.1SG.M	=CONTR.TOP	 -SN	LP-roof
<i>věti-n-í</i>	= <i>stě</i>	<i>e ās-yé=ey</i>	= <i>č</i>
stand-PFV.PTCP-F	=REF	SO COP-MDV.3SG.F=CONS	=ADD

‘And so as I was looking up [at an angle], [I saw that] she was standing up [at an angle] on the roof.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg IX 14.3)

(58) *Paŋó palúte něčō če āšélo ké.*

<i>p-aŋó</i>	<i>palú-te</i>	<i>něčō</i>	<i>če</i>	<i>āšélo</i>
LP-fire	 -put.CVB	leave.IMP	CNJ	boil-OPT.3SG
<i>ke</i>				
do.CVB				

‘Put it on the fire and leave it so that it will boil.’ [NE] (Afsāna King 6.10)

When projected onto a slope, it is used for upward relations proceeding sideways across the slope (cf. section 2.8.4.1), as in example (59).

(59) *Gídi, Kamú vasti, Kamúvañi-di vazějěñědi, Sártañi-di váōsi.*

gí-di Kamú vas-tí Kamú-vañi -di
 go-CVB PN.LOC spend.night-CVB PN.LOC-associate.DIR =ADD.FOC
vazějěñědi Sáret-vañi -di vá-őzě-stě-ězi
 gather-CAUS-CVB PN.LOC-associate.DIR =ADD.FOC ↘  ↙ -come.RES.PST.3

‘We went, spent the night at Kamu, gathered the people of Kamu and the people of Saret also came down across the slope.’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 662.9)

2.8.4.4.4 Half-Circle

	Gloss	Base Morpheme		Spatial Noun	Spatial Adjective Forms
		→	↔		
NE		úř-	u-č-pú-	u-ň	úř-r-, úř-r-e, úř-r-uk
		pú-		pi-ň	pí-r-, pí-r-e, pí-r-uk
W		v-úř-	*vú-č-pu	v-u-ř	v-ú-r-, v-ú-r-e
		p-ú-		p-i-ř	p-yé-r-, p-yé-r-e
SE		vű-	vű-č-pü-	v-ü-ň	v-ű-r-, v-ű-r-e, v-ű-r-uk v-ű-mě, v-ű-mě-k
		pű-		p-ü-ň	p-ű-r-, p-ű-r-e, p-ű-r-uk p-ű-mě, p-ű-mě-k

This path shape variant is used for relations proceeding ‘towards’ or ‘away’ from the speaker in a half-circle path, usually over or around something. Without further specification, its default interpretation is as referring to relations across mountain ridges, as in examples (60) and (61), but reference to the mountains can also be made explicit, as in example (62), and it is also applied in other contexts, as example (63) shows.

(60) *Múme=stě púgati, Pṛasyúřo=ta gëvé=č.*

<i>Mum-e=stě</i>	<i>púgati</i>	<i>Pṛasyúř-o</i>	<i>=ta</i>	<i>g-ëvé</i>	<i>=č</i>
PN-ABL =from	↪  ~-go-CVB	Prasun-OBL.PL	=LPST	go-PFV.PST.1	=ADD

‘Going over the mountains from Mum, I went to the Prasun (Pārūnī) people.’

[W-KL] (Grjunberg V 3.6)

(61) *Stě vúřavi=to, stó=kě valé amú kiyéy=č.*

<i>st-ě</i>	<i>vúř-av-í</i>	<i>=to</i>	<i>st-o</i>	<i>=kě</i>
DEM.DIST-DIR	↪  ~-bring-COND.3SG.F	=when	DEM.DIST-OBL.SG.F	=for

<i>valé</i>	<i>amú</i>	<i>k-iyé=ey</i>	<i>=č</i>
other	house.DIR	do-PFV.PST.3SG.F=CONS	=ADD

‘When he had brought her over the mountains [to us], he made another house for her.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg XIV 4.5)

(62) *Bědó pñě=stañ áyosëmiš.*

<i>bě-do</i>	<i>pí-ñ-ě</i>	<i>=stañ</i>	<i>á-yosëmiš</i>
LP-mountain	↪  ~-SN-ABL	=from	come-PFV.PST.1PL

‘We came from beyond the mountains.’ [NE-BG] (Morgenstierne Tale 10.2)

(63) *Sěnóre vót tyéyiti, vúřkšeyiti, poypíče=meš léště kě gëtyóy=č.*

<i>sěnór-e</i>	<i>vot</i>	<i>ti-ěyi-ti</i>	<i>vúř-kšeyi-ti</i>
robe-OBL.SG.M	stone	stand-CAUS-CVB	↪  ~-pull-CVB
<i>poypíč-e</i>	<i>=meš</i>	<i>léště</i>	<i>kě</i>
puttees-OBL.SG.M	=with	good	do.CVB
		<i>gëť-yó=ey</i>	<i>=č</i>
		tie-PFV.PST.3SG.M	=ADD

‘I fixed my robe onto a stone, pulled it around, and tied it well with my puttees.’

[W-KL] (Grjunberg IX 31.1)

The use for relations across mountain ridges could be described as geomorphic in some sense, because it makes reference to features of the natural environment by default, in the same way as the end-relative axis without further specification would by default be understood as a geomorphic frame of reference oriented by the course of the valley. However, it is questionable whether it could be classified as a geomorphic frame of reference in theoretical terms, since that is defined as a frame of reference where the Anchor (the factor that determines the orientation of the axis) is a feature of the natural environment. The orientation of the axis is, after all, still dependent on the location of the speaker/deictic center. The mountains only function as the Ground

against which the Figure is located (along a half-circle path oriented by the position of the speaker/deictic center), making it an egocentric extrinsic frame of reference. Perhaps the application to mountains can be understood as the same phenomenon as the projection of the various up-down axes (earth-relative and speaker-relative) onto a slope.

Paths between the area in front of the speaker and the area behind the speaker are also expressed with the half-circle speaker-relative axis, as in examples (64) – (65). This can be understood in theoretical terms as an application as an egocentric *intrinsic* frame of reference, where the Ground and the Anchor are both identical to the speaker/deictic center. Figure 16 illustrates this difference with the example of the sentence *věšě pín-asě* ‘the goat is ’.

(64) *Niště muří bidi é čok pařůtr ná vüčpũriği.*

<i>niště</i>	<i>muř-í</i>	<i>bídi</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>čok</i>	<i>pa-řůtr</i>
belt[F].DIR	short-F	be-CVB	one	bit	LP-waist

<i>na</i>	<i>vüčpũ-riğ-í</i>
NEG	 -reach-PFV.PST.3SG.F

‘The belt, being too short, did not fit around the waist by a bit.’ [SE-PT]
(Ġulāmullāh 1966: 386)

(65) *Nivúgě, nivúgě é tá-vu nítkimiš-to, púkčena, stě yé gó né asyěy-č.*

<i>nivú-gě,</i>	<i>nivú-gě</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>=vu</i>	<i>ní-ťk-imiš</i>	<i>=to</i>
↓]-go.CVB	↓]-go.CVB	one	place	=at	 -reach-COND.1PL	=when

<i>pú-kcé-na</i>	<i>stě</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>gó</i>
 -look-place	DEM.DIST	1SG.OBL	COW.DIR/OBL

<i>ne</i>	<i>as-yé-ey</i>	<i>=č</i>
NEG	COP-MDV.3SG.F=CONS	=ADD

‘And so, when by going and going steeply downvalley we had arrived at a place in the downvalley direction, while looking back [I saw that] that cow of mine was not there.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg VIII 17.1)

Egocentric Extrinsic Frame of Reference Egocentric Intrinsic Frame of Reference

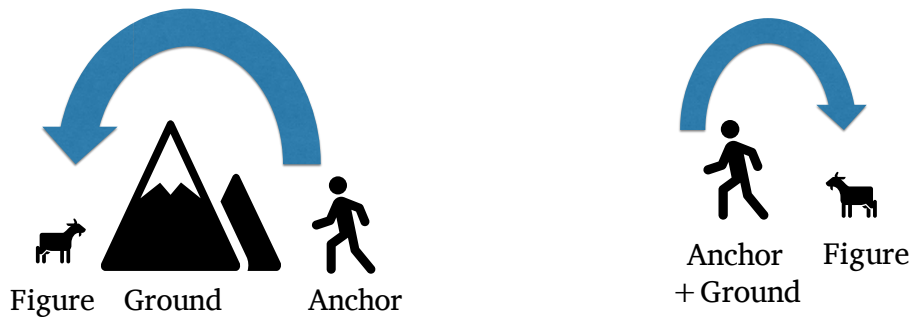


Figure 16. Interpretations of the sentence *NE vëšë pñ=asë* ‘the goat is $\curvearrowright$ $\curvearrowright$ ’ in two different frames of reference

The half-circle speaker-relative axis is probably also applied as an egocentric intrinsic frame of reference when it is used to describe the movement of time, as in example (66). Here, time appears to be conceptualized as something that moves over or around a person from the area before them to the area behind them, similarly to how in English time “goes by”.

(66) *Vëlë pñ=stë=meñ bënë mër zërvó šërë ópik utó bùm étosi.*

<i>vël-ë</i>	<i>pñ=ē</i>	<i>=st-ē</i>	<i>=meñ</i>	<i>bën-ë</i>	<i>mër</i>
time-OBL	$\curvearrowright$ $\curvearrowright$ -go	=REF-OBL.SG.M	=with	forest-OBL	king

<i>zërv-ó</i>	<i>šër-ë</i>	<i>ópik</i>	<i>utó</i>	<i>bu-m</i>	<i>é-tosi</i>
brave-M	lion-OBL	thirst	more	become-CVB.SIM	go-PROG.PST.3SG.M

‘With the passing of time, the king of the forest, the brave lion, kept getting thirstier.’ [NE-BN/MR] (Sun-Aro Lion 14.1)

2.8.5 Conventionalized Spatial Framing

When travelling between two places, the path often takes a variety of angles and shapes along the route, which could be described with reference to various axes. Nevertheless, when describing the trip as a whole, only one framing can be used. For routes between places that are well-known in the speaker community, the spatial framing is therefore generally fixed by convention to one particular axis, which describes the section of the route that is considered the “most characteristic”. E.g., going from Nuristan to Kabul, there is a characteristic section of the way that rises steeply upward, which has led to the convention that one goes “straight up” ($\uparrow$) to Kabul, despite it being situated at a lower elevation than Nuristan.²¹⁴

²¹⁴ This convention is also found in other Nuristani languages, cf. Degener (1998: 296, fn. 65) on Nuristani Kalasha.

Giving the conventional direction of a place can be enough to identify which place is meant, as in example (67) for Kabul and in example (68) for Kulem, which is always referred to as lying “down across the slope (↙ ☹ ↘)” by its inhabitants in Grjunberg’s texts, even in situations where the path in general obviously goes up, e.g. when coming from the plains.

(67) *Špěk Gujúr mēkí-sto-ta, yimó-stě gřamjěšt [...] vúgěvay=č.*

<i>špěk</i>	<i>Gujúr</i>	<i>mēk-í</i>	<i>=st-o</i>	<i>=ta</i>	<i>yimó</i>	<i>=stě</i>
now	Gujar.DIR	flee-PFV.PTCP	=REF-OBL.PL	=LPST	1PL.DIR/OBL	=REF
<i>gřam-jěšt</i>	<i>[...]</i>	<i>vú-gěváy=ey</i>				<i>=č</i>
village-elder.DIR		↑-go.PFV.PST.3PL=CONS				=ADD

‘Now that the Gujars had fled, our village elders [...] went straight up [i.e. to Kabul].’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg XII 4.2)

(68) *Dréy kě Abduramón Xón mēřě-to, pítrēs Abibulló Xón mēr bi-to, yimó mančo sté-ta yimó pavúpetě kě arizá kěřó.*

<i>drey</i>	<i>kě</i>	<i>Abduramón_Xón</i>	<i>m-ěřě</i>	<i>=to</i>
later	do.CVB	PN.DIR	die-COND.3SG.M	=when
<i>pitr-ēs</i>	<i>Abibulló_Xón</i>	<i>mēr</i>	<i>b-i</i>	<i>=to</i>
son-PERT.3	PN.DIR	king	become-COND.3SG	=when
<i>yimó</i>	<i>manč-ó</i>	<i>st-e</i>	<i>=ta</i>	<i>yimó</i>
1PL.DIR/OBL	person-OBL.PL	DEM.DIST-OBL.SG.M	=LPST	1PL.DIR/OBL
<i>pavú-pe-tě</i>	<i>kě</i>	<i>arizá</i>	<i>k-ěřó</i>	
↙ ☹ ↘-depart-PFV.PST.1.M	do.CVB	petition	do-PFV.PST.3SG.M	

‘Later, when Abdurrahman Khan died, when his son Habibullah Khan became king, our people made a petition to him that they would like to go down across the slope (↙ ☹ ↘) [i.e. back to Kulem from their exile in the plains].’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg I 9.1)

The conventionalized spatial framings of routes must be known in order to give appropriate traditional greetings. Traditional Nuristani greetings consist in asking an arriving person “Did you come/arrive in/from direction X?”. The exact phrasing is not completely fixed and differs by dialect, but they usually contain spatial morphemes, in accordance with the place the addressee lives in or is associated with. Some examples are listed below.

Examples of Greetings from the Western dialect (Řamgěl)

– formed with spatial adjectives indicating origin of movement²¹⁵

– perfective past verb form, engaging question particle

<i>atér áyoš-e?</i> (M) / <i>atér áyeš-e?</i> (F)	‘Did you come from up the side valley?’
<i>běrel áyoš-e?</i> (M) / <i>běrel áyeš-e?</i> (F)	‘Did you come from down the side valley?’
<i>čer áyoš-e?</i> (M) / <i>čer áyeš-e?</i> (F)	‘Did you come from up the main valley?’
<i>nyér áyoš-e?</i> (M) / <i>nyér áyeš-e?</i> (F)	‘Did you come from down the main valley?’
<i>parůl áyoš-e?</i> (M) / <i>parůl áyeš-e?</i> (F)	‘Did you come from up across the slope?’
<i>payér áyoš-e?</i> (M) / <i>payér áyeš-e?</i> (F)	‘Did you come from down across the slope?’

Examples of Greetings from the Northeastern dialect

– formed with spatial prefixes indicating direction of movement

– perfective past verb form (‘come’ or ‘reach’), regular question particle

<i>(lést)²¹⁶ áyóš-a?</i> (M) / <i>(lést) áyéš-a?</i> (F)	‘Did you come (well)?’
<i>váyóš-a?</i> (M) / <i>váyéš-a?</i> (F)	‘Did you come horizontally/across the river?’
<i>várgyóš-a?</i> (M) / <i>várgyéš-a?</i> (F)	‘Did you reach here horizontally?’
<i>čáyóš-a?</i> (M) / <i>čáyéš-a?</i> (F)	‘Did you come upvalley?’
<i>čřrgyóš-a?</i> (M) / <i>čřrgyéš-a?</i> (F)	‘Did you reach here upvalley?’
<i>nyáyóš-a?</i> (M) / <i>nyáyéš-a?</i> (F)	‘Did you come downvalley?’
<i>nřrgyóš-a?</i> (M) / <i>nřrgyéš-a?</i> (F)	‘Did you reach here downvalley?’
<i>nyůrgyóš-a?</i> (M) / <i>nyůrgyéš-a?</i> (F)	‘Did you reach here steeply downvalley?’
<i>ůřrgyóš-a?</i> (M) / <i>ůřrgyéš-a?</i> (F)	‘Did you reach this side of the mountains?’

Examples of greetings from the Southeastern dialect

– formed with spatial prefixes indicating direction of movement

– resultative verb form, regular question particle

<i>óša?</i> [óši + -a] (M) / <i>áša?</i> [ášī + -a] (F)	‘Have you come?’
<i>atóša?</i> (M) / <i>atáša?</i> (F)	‘Have you come up the side valley?’
<i>vaňúóša?</i> (M) / <i>vaňúáša?</i> (F)	‘Have you come up across the slope?’

²¹⁵ The unstressed final -e of the spatial adjectives is deleted by sandhi contraction.

²¹⁶ The unstressed final -ě of *léstě* ‘good, well’ is deleted by sandhi contraction.

The common use in greetings like these probably reinforces the memory of conventional spatial framings, though the traditional greetings are less commonly used today, as Islamic greeting continue to proliferate.

Figure 17 illustrates the conventional spatial framings of the respective paths from various settlements to Kombřom (Kāmdēš). Spatial prefixes are shown in the form that would be used by someone currently located in Kombřom speaking the sentence *Mólkonē* [place]-*ste kitób* [direction of Kombřom]-*pto* ‘Molkon sent a book [in direction of Kombřom] from [place]’ (based on Ġulāmullāh 1966: 333). The paths from each settlement are shown in separate colors, while the particular section of the actual path that agrees with the conventional spatial framing is displayed in a more saturated shade.

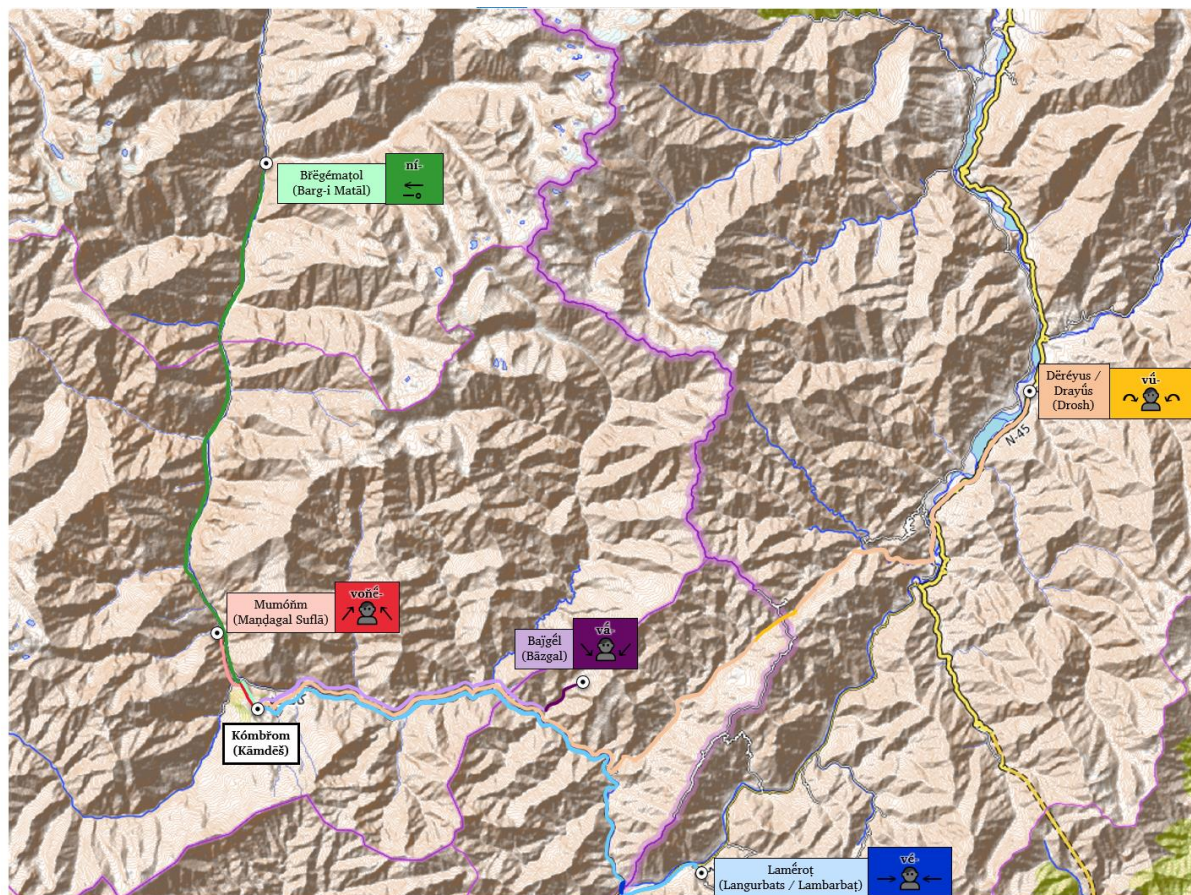


Figure 17. Conventional spatial framings of paths to Kombřom (Kāmdēš). Place names are given in the form of their respective local dialect. Khwar-speaking Drosh is labeled in NE/SE. [base map © [OpenTopoMap](#) (CC-BY-SA)]

On the path from Břęgemaṭol (Barg-i Matāl) the conventional framing and the actual path direction (downvalley) agree very well for most of the way, up until the very final section going up the slope. Mumoñm (Maṇḍagal Suflā) is located in the same valley, but much closer to Kombřom. In this case, the final ascent across the slope

takes up such a large proportion of the way, that it is considered more salient than the short downvalley section of the path before it. From Bajgël (Bāzgal), which is located high up on a slope, the initial descent across the slope is reckoned as the most characteristic section of the path, whereas the longer section going upvalley and the final ascent across the slope are disregarded. From Lamëroṭ (Langurbats/Lambarbat) the (horizontal) crossing of the Kunaṛ river is considered the most salient direction of motion along the route, even though it is only a small fraction of the whole journey. On the path from Drosh in Chitral the crossing of the mountains is the most striking section, though the path also goes down a main valley, up a side valley, down another sidevalley and up another main valley.

2.8.6 Spatial Morphology

The orientation of the various axes that can serve as frames of reference is only one aspect of the spatial system. For each direction along an axis, several morphological forms with specific grammatical functions can be constructed. A condensed overview of the functions of the various spatial forms is given in Table 164. More detailed descriptions of their functions can be found in the following subsections.

Form	Defines
Base Morpheme as Spatial Prefix	path of motion event
Base Morpheme prefixed to <i>pčůřuk</i> / <i>pačůřuk</i>	location at the furthest point in axis direction
Base Morpheme as Spatial Postposition	location in axis direction from Ground defined by local expression
Spatial Noun – Locative (W -ř, NE/SE -ň)	location or goal of motion event somewhere within the area in axis direction
Spatial Noun – Ablative (W -ř-e, NE/SE -ň-ě) [not in SE]	point of origin of motion event somewhere within the area in axis direction
Compounded Spatial Adjective (-r- / -l-)	identification of compounded noun vis-à-vis other instances based on its relative location along axis (e.g. “upper X” etc.)
Locative Spatial Adjective (-r-e / -l-e)	location, goal of motion event or point of origin of motion event in specific location in axis direction
Diminutive Spatial Adjective (-r-uk / -l-uk) [not in w]	location, goal of motion event or point of origin of motion event in specific location in axis direction at a short distance
Extensive Spatial Adjective (-m-ě) [only SE]	location or goal of motion event extending in axis direction away from Ground
Diminutive Extensive Spatial Adjective (-m-uk) [only SE]	location or goal of motion event extending in axis direction away from Ground at a short distance

Table 164. Functions of Spatial Forms

2.8.6.1 Stems

In the Northeastern and Western dialects, most spatial morphemes have two, some even three, separate stems. Usually there is one that is equivalent to the base

morpheme and another one that is used in derivatives. In the Southeastern dialect this stem alternation has mostly been levelled to only one variant in all forms.

2.8.6.2 Base Morphemes

2.8.6.2.1 As Verbal Prefixes

The most basic use of the base morphemes, in both their monodirectional and bidirectional variants, is as prefixes to verbs. In this combination the spatial prefixes generally attract word stress, but there are also some lexically specified combinations, in which the verb stem remains stressed when prefixed. The Southeastern dialect has alternative forms *va-/pa-* of the regular prefixes *vé-/pé-* ($\rightarrow \text{☹} \leftarrow / \leftarrow \text{☹} \rightarrow$) in stem-stressed verbs, which more closely resemble the regular forms *vá-/pá-* of the other dialects.

Some verbs change their basic meaning when used with spatial prefixes and others change their form, showing, e.g., phonological reduction in the prefixed variant.²¹⁷ Form changes or stem stress tend to occur only in combination with particular prefixes and may also go along with particular lexicalized meanings. Some examples of the various irregularities are given below.

Examples (NE dialect):

Regular prefixation, compositional meaning:

<i>té=stě</i>	‘to put’
<i>vú-te=stě, atú-te=stě</i> etc.	‘to put (in a direction)’

Regular prefixation, non-compositional meaning:

<i>bú=stě</i>	‘to become’
<i>até-bu=stě</i>	‘to hide’ (“ $\rightarrow$ -become”)
<i>aší=stě</i>	‘to throw, to pour’
<i>úši=stě</i>	‘to weave’ (“ $\uparrow$ -throw”)
<i>púši=stě</i>	‘to poke, to stab’ (“ $\curvearrowright \text{☹} \curvearrowleft$ -throw”)

²¹⁷ The Southeastern dialect has some cases where the prefix rather than the stem is reduced phonologically. In these forms the stressed vowel of the prefix is deleted and the stress is transferred onto the following syllable of the verb stem, e.g. *atě-* ‘ $\rightarrow$ ’ + *da-* ‘to drive (livestock)’ > *atdá-* ‘to stable (livestock)’, *barě-* ‘ $\leftarrow$ ’ + *lazě-* ‘to escape’ > *barléžě-* ‘to leak out’. This phenomenon is reminiscent of the stress shifts observable in some nominal compounds and derivatives (see section 2.1.5.1), also with regard to the vowel changes that go along with the stress shift.

<i>psí=stě</i>	‘to stretch out’
<i>vú=psi=stě</i>	‘to remain, to settle down’ (“↓-settle”)

Irregular prefixation, non-compositional meaning:

<i>pře=stě</i>	‘to give’ [ditransitive]
<i>ní-pře=stě, pú-pře=stě</i> etc.	‘to send (in a direction)’ [transitive]
	‘to reach, to hit (in a direction)’ [intransitive]
<i>pa-pře=stě, va-pře=stě</i> (<i>stem stress</i>)	‘to pass on, to transfer, to reach (towards/away)’
<i>sěné=stě</i>	‘to join up, to be connected’
<i>bé-sěne=stě, vú-sěne=stě</i> etc.	‘to join up, to close (in a direction)’
<i>pa-sně=stě</i> (<i>stem stress, stem reduction</i>)	‘to be fitting, to be appropriate (for sb.)’

General vowel coalescence rules, as well as Southeastern consonant lenition and post-nasal voicing, apply between prefix and verb stem. Additionally, approximant metathesis and voicing assimilation may affect the form of the prefixes (cf. sections 2.1.5.6 and 2.1.5.7).

Prefixes can optionally be put in *tnesis*, i.e. be separated from the verb stem, when a negation marker is placed before the verb, but the negation can also be placed before the prefix, as the examples below demonstrate.

Examples (NE dialect):

Tmesis:	<i>bé</i>	<i>né</i>	<i>é-mu.</i>	‘We should not go out.’
	↵	NEG	go-OPT.1PL	
No tmesis:	<i>káči</i>	<i>né</i>	<i>valú-acě-lay.</i>	‘Nobody will come up.’
	who	NEG	↗ 人 ↘ -come-IPFV/FUT.3PL	

Functionally, the spatial prefixes provide a directional path for the event referred to by the verb, as in examples (69) – (70).

- (69) *Óruk=tã vúguo.*
ó-duk=tã *vú-guó*
 water-ledge-LPST ↓-go.PFV.PST.3SG.M

‘He went down into the well.’ [NE-BG] (Morgenstierne Tale 8.14)

(70) *Yimó níǵidi, aní yinár, Dúṇul pōr barégidi, níǵidi, Palúsgür-ste nítarti, gídi, yiné šúči Asmór gāmmo.*

<i>yimó</i> 1 PL.DIR/GEN	<i>ní-ǵí-di</i> ←-go-CVB	<i>aní</i> LDEM.PROX	<i>yiné ār</i> DEM.PROX direction	<i>Dúṇul p-ōr</i> PN.LOC LP-direction
<i>baré-ǵí-di</i> ←-go-CVB	<i>ní-ǵí-di</i> ←-go-CVB	<i>Palúsgür</i> PN.LOC	<i>=ste</i> =from	<i>ní-tar-tí</i> ←-cross-CVB
<i>ǵí-di</i> go-CVB	<i>yiné</i> DEM.PROX	<i>šúč-i</i> fight-OBL.SG	<i>Asmór</i> PN.LOC	<i>ǵá-mmo</i> take.away-OPT.1PL

‘We should go downvalley, here on this side, go out the side valley on the Duṇul (Darin) side, go downvalley, cross downvalley from Palúsgür (Nišagām) and go and take this fight to Asmār.’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 313.5)

Spatial prefixes can be added to modal verbs such as NE *bá-stě* ‘to be able’, w *věšě-stě* ‘to think, to want, to decide’ etc., which forces an interpretation as a motion event, but leaves the verb of motion like ‘come’ or ‘go’ implicit, as in example (71).²¹⁸

(71) *Ṭake=ta pávēlyayi=bo, vá né věšēney=č*

<i>Ṭak-e</i> PN-OBL.SG.M	<i>=ta</i> =LPST	<i>pá-vělyá-yi</i> ←  →-recite-COND.3	<i>=bo</i> =CNJ	<i>va</i> →  ←	<i>ne</i> NEG
<i>věšě-ně-ey</i> think-PROG.PRS.3SG=CONS	<i>=č</i> =ADD				

‘When we sent word over to Ṭak, he didn’t want [to come] over to us.’

Bidirectional prefixes are used for a path back and forth in both directions along an axis, as in example (72), but also for reciprocal motion from two sides, as in example (73).

²¹⁸ This is comparable to (colloquial) German combinations like *hoch-können* ‘to be able [to go/come] up’, *rein-wollen* ‘to want in’, *weg-dürfen* ‘to be allowed [to go] away’ etc.

(72) *Pštúk=tã vót újupël̥tey, é vót bërúksey, iki uně=stě dóm péte=stě úkseyo.*

<i>pštúk=tã</i>	<i>vót</i>	<i>úju-pël̥t-éy</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>vót</i>	<i>bërú-kšéy</i>
bag=LPST	stone	↓-fall-CAUS.CVB	one	stone	←-pull.CVB
<i>ikí</i>	<i>un-ě</i>	<i>=stě</i>	<i>dom</i>	<i>péte</i>	<i>=st-ě</i>
DEM.MED	trap-OBL.SG.M	=REF	string	break	=REF-DIR
<i>ú-kše-yó</i>					
↑-pull-PFV.PST.3SG.M					

‘She shook the stones up and down in the bag, pulled out one stone and began to break the strings of the trap.’ [NE-BN] (Sun-Aro Fox 11.3)

(73) *Évro-meş júko vačpékē yimó bēgúla vípsinay=č.*

<i>évr-o</i>	<i>=meş</i>	<i>júko</i>	<i>vačpé-kē</i>	<i>yimó</i>
some-OBL.PL	=with	girl-OBL.PL	↔↔-do.CVB	1PL.DIR/OBL
<i>bē-gul-a</i>		<i>vípsina=ey</i>		<i>=č</i>
LP-country-LOC.SG.F		↓-settle-PFV.PST.3PL=CONS		=ADD

‘Having exchanged daughters (in marriage) [lit. ‘having made daughters towards and away’] with some people, they settled down in our country.’

[W-KL] (Grjunberg XII 1.6)

2.8.6.2.2 With *pčúruk* / *pačúruk*

Base morphemes, both uni- and bidirectional can be compounded with the locative form NE/W *pčúruk*, SE *pačúruk* ‘at the tip’. The resulting expression defines a location at the furthest possible end in the direction specified by the spatial morpheme. With bidirectionals the compound can be used to refer to a location at both directionally specified ends of something. Examples are given in (74) and (75).

(74) *Askě lístě óš kúnēm=bo, yúbačuřuk nóm yí=stězo!*

<i>askě</i>	<i>líst-ě</i>	<i>óš_kú-nēm</i>	<i>=bo</i>	<i>yú-pa-čuř-uk</i>
DEM.DIST	list-OBL.SG	look-PROG.1SG	=CNJ	↓-LP-tip-DIM.M
<i>nom</i>	<i>yí</i>	<i>=stě=ěz-o</i>		
name.DIR	1SG.GEN	=REF=COP-MDV.3SG.M		

‘When I looked at that list, [it turned out that] the name at the bottom was mine!’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 169.2)

(75) Číbačuřuk gřom Katěgěl Pšuvór=ězě

čí-pa-čuř-uk	gřom	Katěgěl	Pšuvór=ěz-ě	
→-LP-tip-DIM.M	village.DIR	PN.LOC	PN.LOC	=COP-3SG

‘The village furthest up the valley in Katěgel is Pšuvor (Pešāwarak).’ [SE-KM]
(Kabir/Gulāmullāh History 95.3)

2.8.6.2.3 As Postpositions

The spatial base morphemes can also be used as postpositions to local expressions, indicating a static location with respect to the location indicated by the local expression. Bidirectionals can be used in the same way, indicating location on two sides of the location indicated by the local expression. In the Western and Northeastern dialects the local expression takes the ablative case before spatial postpositions.

Examples:

W pamúřetu	(p-amúř-e=ātu)	‘inside (↔) the house’
NE pamútu	(p-amú-ō=ātu)	
SE pamótě	(p-amó=atě)	
W břégóme=palu	(bě-gřom-e=palu)	‘above (↖ ↗) the village’
SE zindón=do=baru	(zindon=to=baru)	‘outside (↔) the prison’
SE Bažĩ=vüčpü		‘all around (↻ ↻) Bažĩ’

2.8.6.3 Spatial Noun

The spatial noun consists of the (derivate) stem and a suffix W -ř, NE/SE -ň. It is a local expression occurring primarily in the locative and ablative cases and is accordingly mostly used adverbially, but it can also appear as a possessor or modifier in noun phrases and can itself be modified by local expressions in the ablative expressing the Ground of the spatial configuration.

The spatial noun in the locative case defines a vague wider area in the direction indicated by the spatial morpheme either as a static location or as the goal of a motion event (as usual with the locative case). It contrasts in this function with the locative spatial adjective, which indicates a more precise location than the wider area referred

to by the spatial noun. It differs semantically from the spatial prefix, which defines a path rather than a location.²¹⁹

Example (76) demonstrates both uses of the locative case, that for a static location and that for a goal of movement.

(76) *Nyúň káy kěřó, čúň atěryóš?*

<i>nyu-ň</i>	<i>kay</i>	<i>k-ěřó</i>	<i>čú-ň</i>	<i>atěr-yóš</i>
↓]-SN	what	do-PFV.PST.3SG.M	↑]-SN	reach-PFV.PST.2SG.M

‘What did you do downvalley, that you came up?’ [NE-MR]

(Mansur Proverbs 539)

The ablative case form (which does not exist in the Southeastern dialect) is used when the area defined by the spatial noun is referred to as the point of origin of a motion event (as usual with the ablative case). Example (77) illustrates this function.

(77) *Šey váňě kšěy=stě léy, ĵírí=stě né léy.*

<i>šey</i>	<i>va-ň-ě</i>	<i>kšě-í</i>	<i>=st-ě</i>	<i>ley</i>
head.DIR	→  ←-ABL	pull-PFV.PTCP	=REF-DIR	good
<i>ĵír-í</i>	<i>=st-ě</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>ley</i>	
be.ashamed-PFV.PTCP	=REF-DIR	NEG	good	

‘The head torn off [lit. pulled away from the area by the speaker] is better than [being] ashamed.’ [NE-MR] (Mansur Proverbs 294)

The paired use of two spatial nouns with opposite spatial morphemes defines a path from the area on one end of the axis to the area on the other end. Ablative marking is not required in this use. An example is given in (78).

²¹⁹ In English it is difficult to make the distinction between goal area and path, but for speakers of German the difference between *oben* ‘up (area, static location)’, *nach oben gehen* ‘to go to the upper area’ and *hochgehen* ‘to go up’ is intuitive.

(78) *Ajë ní vëryé-taře víř piř né pó té.*

<i>ajë</i>	<i>ní</i>	<i>vëří-e</i>	<i>=tař-e</i>	<i>vuř-ř</i>	<i>pi-ř</i>
just	DEM.PROX	speech-OBL.SG.M	=LPST-ABL.SG	↖  ↗-SN	↖  ↗-SN
<i>ne</i>	<i>pó_té</i>				
NEG	step.IMP				

‘Just don’t go back on this promise.’

[lit. Just don’t step from front (↖  ↗) to back (↖  ↗) from this speech].

[W-KL] (Grjunberg IX 6.7)

Spatial nouns can also function as the nominal component of light-verb constructions (cf. section 2.9.3.2). They then generally take an alternative form with final nasalization instead of final *-ň* in the Eastern dialects. The Southeastern dialect has special alternative forms *vã ~ vřã* instead of *veň* (→  ←), *pã ~ přã* instead of *peň* (←  →), *atě²²⁰* instead of *atěň* (→) and *barě* instead of *barěň* (↔) in this context, which more closely resemble the corresponding forms of the other dialects (NE *vaň/vã*, *paň/pã*, *atěň/atě*, *běřeň/běře*). In the Western dialect (with its loss of nasalization) the alternative form of the spatial noun instead shows the nasal relic alternation described in section 2.1.5.10, i.e., *-ř* before vowel, *-ŋ* before *g*, no ending elsewhere. This alternation also points to a former nasalized vowel. The endless Western forms still differ from the base morpheme wherever there is a separate stem for the spatial noun. The alternative forms often additionally fuse phonologically with the following verb stem. The resulting phrasal verbs all seem to be lexicalized, often with non-compositional or specialized meanings. The formation of transitivity pairs follows the same principles as with other light-verb constructions (e.g. intransitive *bu-* > transitive *ku-*; intransitive *e-* > transitive *aši-* etc., see further section 2.9.3.2).

Examples:

NE *ulě-stě* (PFV *ulě g°*) 1. ‘to fall out (teeth etc.)’; 2. ‘to rise (in stature)’

< *ulě-ň* / *ulě* ‘↑’ + *ě-stě* ‘to go’

NE *ulě křō-stě* ‘to pull out (from earth, flesh etc.)’

< *ulě-ň* / *ulě* ‘↑’ + *křō-stě* ‘to pull’

NE *ulě pťá-stě* ‘to hop, to skip’

< *ulě-ň* / *ulě* ‘↑’ + *ptjá-stě* ‘to hop’

²²⁰ Separately, *atě* is also used as the basic spatial noun form for a different axis variant, cf. section 2.8.4.3.4.

- W *věľúŋa=stě* ‘to pick up’
 < *věľú-ř* / *věľú(-ř/-ŋ)* ‘’ + **gá=stě* ‘to take’²²¹
- NE *vĩ=stě* ‘to fall’
 < *vi-ň* / *vĩ* ‘’ + *é=stě* ‘to go’
- SE *yúň yě=stě* (PFV *yũ* g°) ‘to fall’
 < *yü-ň* / *yũ* ‘’ + *yě=stě* ‘to go’
- W *vĩř aší=stě* ‘to drop’
 < *vi-ř* / *vi(-ř/-ŋ)* ‘’ + *aší=stě* ‘to throw’
- NE *vĩši=stě* ‘to drop’
 < *vi-ň* / *vĩ* ‘’ + *aší=stě* ‘to throw’
- NE *vyāčě=stě* ‘to produce nuts (tree)’
 < *vi-ň* / *vĩ* ‘’ + *ácě=stě* ‘to come’
- SE *vřāžĩ=stě* ‘to wrap around’
 < *ve-ň* / *v(ř)ā* ‘  ’ + *ažĩ=stě* ‘to throw’
- NE *ván aší=stě* ‘to wrap around’
 < *va-ň* / *vā* ‘  ’ + *aší=stě* ‘to throw’
- SE *vřāŋa=stě* ‘to grab (for oneself)’
 < *ve-ň* / *v(ř)ā* ‘  ’ + **gá=stě* ‘to take’
- NE *vāŋa=stě* ‘to grab (for oneself)’
 < *va-ň* / *vā* ‘  ’ + **gá=stě* ‘to take’
- NE *vā kú=stě* ‘to undo, take apart’
 < *va-ň* / *vā* ‘  ’ + *kú=stě* ‘to do’
- SE *pā bū=stě* ‘to revolt’
 < *pe-ň* / *p(ř)ā* ‘  ’ + *bū=stě* ‘to become’
- W *pĩř é=stě* (PFV *píŋ* g°) 1. ‘to set (sun)’; 2. ‘to win (a race)’; 3. ‘to pass (time)’
 < *pi-ř* / *pi(-ř/-ŋ)* ‘ ’ + *é=stě* ‘to go’
- NE *pĩ=stě* ‘to set (sun etc.)’

²²¹ For more detail on this postulated verb root, which has no surviving simplex form, see section 2.9.2.4.2

- < *pi-ň* / *pĩ* ‘’ + *é=stě* ‘to go’
- SE *pű yě=stě* ‘to set (sun etc.)’
 < *pü-ň* / *pű* ‘’ + *yě=stě* ‘to go’
- SE *pű bū=stě* ‘to win (a contest)’
 < *pü-ň* / *pű* ‘’ + *bű=stě* ‘to become’
- SE *pű kű=stě* ‘to make sb. win (a contest)’
 < *pü-ň* / *pű* ‘’ + *kű=stě* ‘to do’
- W *pí kú=stě*²²² ‘to let (irrigation water) flow over’
 < *pi-ř* / *pi(-ř/η)* ‘’ + *kú=stě* ‘to do’
- NE *atyűši=stě* ‘to cook, to bake’
 < *atyú-ň* / *atyű* ‘’ + *aší=stě* ‘to throw’
- W *atyú té=stě* ‘to put inside (a coffin)’
 < *atyú-ř* / *atyú(-ř/η)* ‘’ + *té=stě* ‘to put’
- W *atyú dá=stě* ‘to drive (livestock) in(to a pen, stable etc.)’
 < *atyú-ř* / *atyú* ‘’ + *dá=stě* ‘to drive (livestock)’
- W *berí dá-* ‘to drive (livestock) out (of a pen, stable etc.)’
 < *běří-ř* / *běří(-ř/η)* ‘’ + *da=stě* ‘to drive (livestock)’
- SE *barű kű=stě* ‘to grow out (ear of grain)’
 < *barú-ň* / *barű* ‘’ + *kű=stě* ‘to do’

2.8.6.4 Spatial Adjectives

All spatial adjective forms except the Southeastern ablative spatial adjectives could be considered derivatives from a single formation, an *-ě/-i* adjective formed with a suffix *-r-* from the derivative spatial stems. However, such adjectives do not in fact exist as independent formations. Instead, they only occur compounded to nouns (in a gender-invariant form formally equivalent to the masculine compound form of regular *-ě/-i* adjectives), in a locative form with the case suffix *-e* (expected for a masculine *-ě/-i* adjective) but without a local prefix, and in a formally masculine diminutive form with the suffix *-uk*.

²²² Not to be confused with the homonymous *pí kú=stě* ‘to yell’, which corresponds to NE *pípi kú=stě*, SE *pűbü ģű=stě* ‘to yell’.

The Southeastern ablative spatial adjective ends in *-ě* and is never inflected in the locative case or compounded to nouns.

2.8.6.4.1 Compounded Spatial Adjective

The compounded form consists of the (derivate) stem plus the suffix *-r-*. These two elements also form the basis of the locative spatial adjective and the diminutive spatial adjective.

If the stem contains a *r*, the suffix is dissimilated to *l*, but if the stem contains a *l*, a metathesis takes place, in which the *l* of the stem and the *r* of the suffix switch places.

Examples (NE dialect):

<i>até-</i>	+	<i>-r-</i>	⇒	<i>atér-</i>
<i>běré-</i>	+	<i>-r-</i>	⇒	<i>běréł-</i>
<i>palú</i>	+	<i>-r-</i>	⇒	<i>parúl-</i>
<i>ulé-</i>	+	<i>-r-</i>	⇒	<i>urél-</i>

The composition form is used to create compounds of spatial morphemes and nouns. The resulting formation is semantically comparable to a combination of adjective and noun, but the elements are morphologically inseparable and there is no gender agreement of any kind. The compounded spatial adjective modifies the noun and characterizes it as a particular instance of its kind that can be identified based on its relative position on the relevant spatial axis.

Examples (NE dialect):

<i>amú</i> ‘house, room’ (F)	⇒	<i>urél-amu</i> ‘upper (↑) floor’
<i>deš</i> ‘land, world’ (M)	⇒	<i>běréł-deš</i> ‘outer (↔) world’ = ‘afterlife’

2.8.6.4.2 Locative Spatial Adjective

The locative spatial adjective consists of the same elements as the compounded spatial adjective form, plus an additional suffix *-e*, which can be interpreted as the locative case suffix of the *-ě* declension (cf. sections 2.3.4.3 and 2.3.4.8), though a local prefix (2.7.2) is never added.

Being a locative form, the locative spatial adjective is only used adverbially. Ablative case forms of the spatial adjective do not exist, but when it is used in paired combination with other spatial elements, the locative form can take on an ablative meaning, as is the case with the spatial noun.

Whereas the spatial prefix is used to define a path in the direction indicated by the spatial morpheme, and the spatial noun refers to a vague wider area in this direction, the locative spatial adjective is used to refer to a more precise location in the direction indicated by the spatial morpheme, either as a static location or as the goal or point of origin of a motion event. The reference to a precise location sometimes makes it necessary to translate it into English with a demonstrative (e.g. as “up there” etc.), but it is not in fact a demonstrative form. Local demonstratives can, but do not have to, occur alongside the locative spatial adjective. Example (79) demonstrates the use for a static location and example (80) demonstrates the use for a goal of motion.

(79) *Páre durúm vaňéčča?*

<i>pá-r-e</i>	<i>durúm</i>	<i>vaňé-čči-a</i>
←  →-SA-LOC	shrub	see-PROG.PRS.2SG=Q

‘Do you see the shrubbery over there?’ [NE-BN] (Sun-Aro Fox 9.2)

(80) *Púre Drayús bařóm.*

<i>pú-r-e</i>	<i>Drayús</i>	<i>bař-óm</i>
↪  ↪-SA-LOC	PN.LOC	take.away.PFV.PST-1SG.M

‘They took me over the mountains to Drosh.’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 432.2)

When used for the point of origin of a motion event, the locative spatial adjective can be combined with any other spatial form of the same axis to characterize the trajectory or goal of the movement. When combined with spatial prefixes of a different axis, the spatial adjective modifies the main path, shifting it in its axis direction, or providing an inward path in its axis direction before the main path. The various options are illustrated with examples (in NE dialect) in Figure 18 – Figure 22.

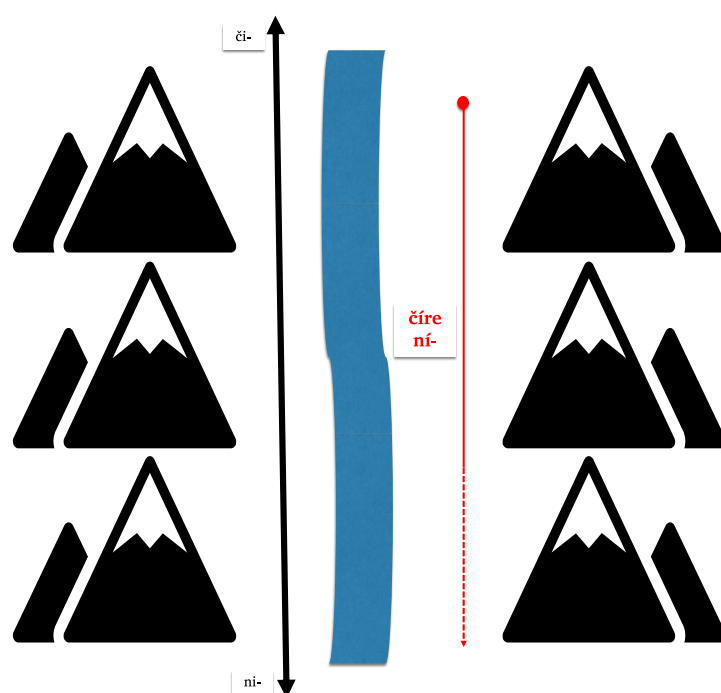


Figure 18. Locative spatial adjective + spatial prefix on the same axis: a path along the axis starting from a point near one end of the axis.

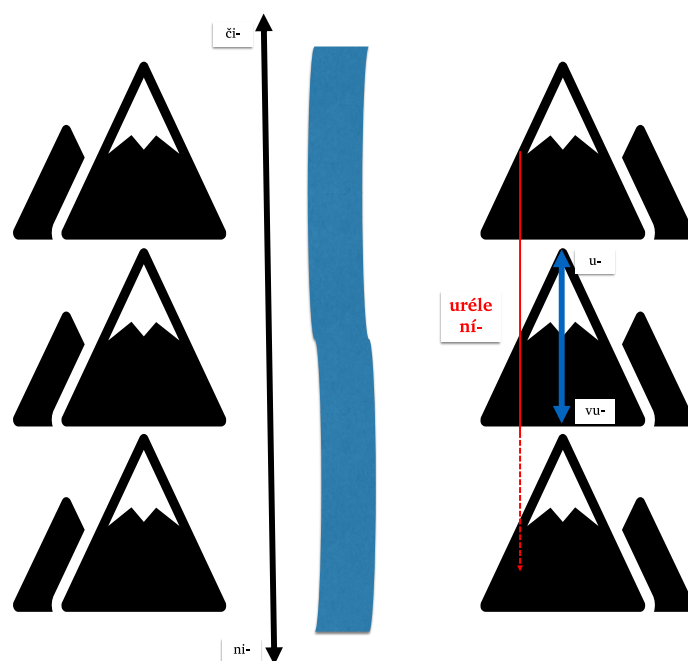


Figure 19. Locative spatial adjective + spatial prefix on different axes, case (a): a path along the axis shifted along a different axis.

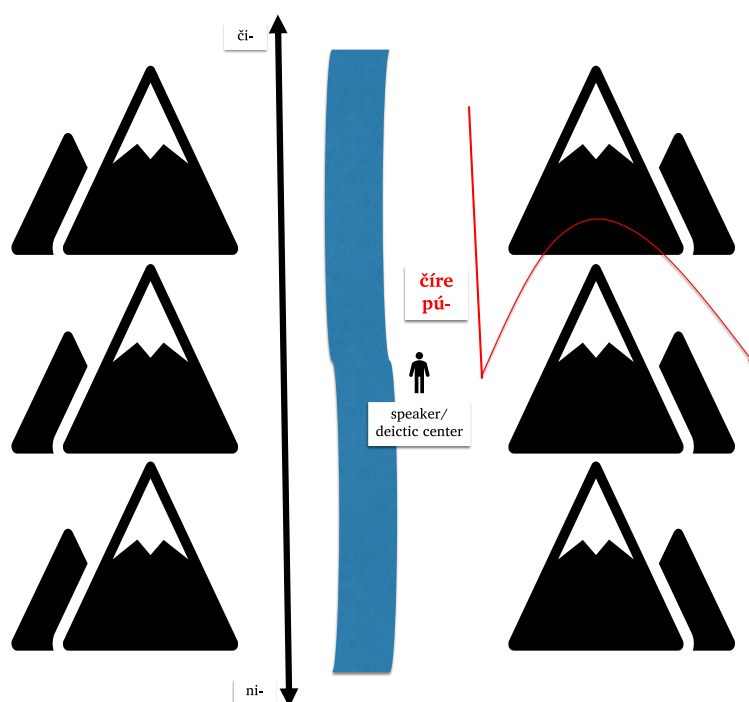


Figure 20. Locative spatial adjective + spatial prefix on different axes, case (b): a path along the axis with an inward path along a different axis.

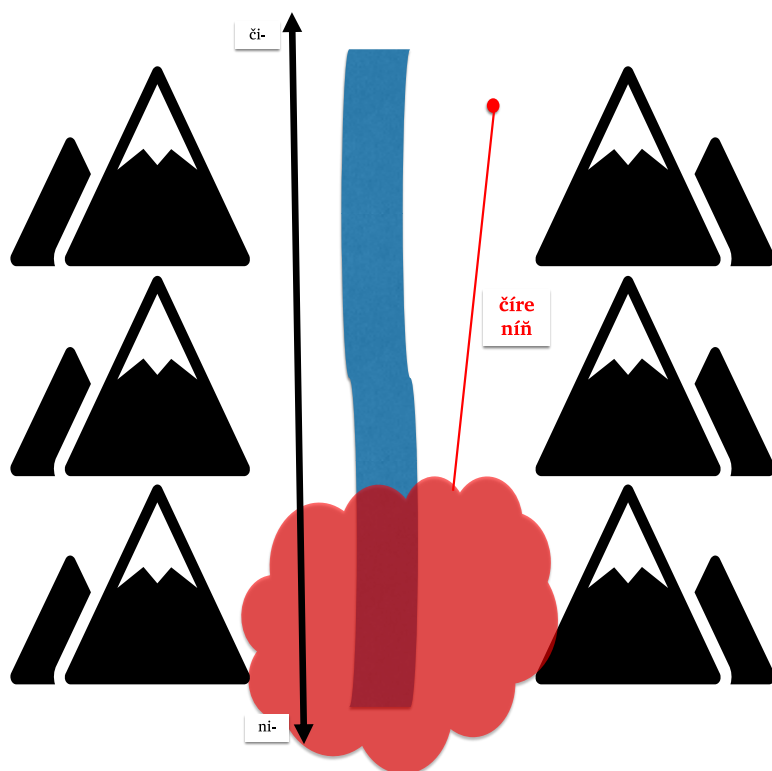


Figure 21. Locative spatial adjective + spatial noun (same axis): A route starting from a point near one end of the axis going to an area near the other end of the axis.

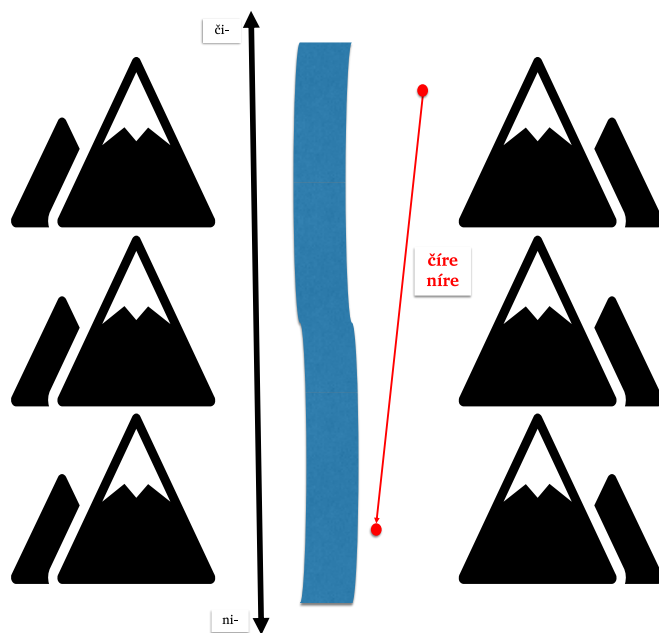


Figure 22. Locative spatial adjective + locative spatial adjective (same axis): A route starting from a point near one end of the axis going to a point near the other end of the axis.

2.8.6.4.3 Diminutive Spatial Adjective

The diminutive spatial adjective has the same formal structure as the locative spatial adjective, except that it has the suffix *-uk* instead of *-e*. It is not attested for the Western dialect.

It fulfills the same function as the regular spatial adverb, but it additionally specifies the location as not very far away along the axis (roughly: “a bit X-ward”). The diminutive spatial adjective is also rather frequently used with the postposition *-u* ‘at’ Example (81) shows the use for a static location, example (82) the use for a goal of movement and example (83) the paired use with other spatial forms.

(81) *Badyō páḡidi, páruḡ-u Bařěsgiro náza?*

<i>Badyō</i>	<i>pá-gí-di</i>	<i>pá-r-uk-u</i>	<i>Bařěsgiro</i>
PN.LOC	↙  ↘ -go-CVB	↙  ↘ -SA-DIM=at	PN.LOC
<i>na-ěz-ě-a</i>			
NEG=COP-3SG=Q			

‘Going down across the slope from Badyō, [at a place] a bit further down across the slope there is Bařěsgiro, right?’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 671.5)

(82) *Uréluk ému?*

uré-l-uk ému
 ↑-SA-DIM go-OPT.1PL

‘Should we go a bit further up?’ [NE-MR] (Notes)

(83) *Ō strék pére aki Bargúğul-ëzëm. Véruk péruğ-ëzë, náy-a?*

<i>ō</i>	<i>strék</i>	<i>pé-r-e</i>	<i>akí</i>	<i>Bargúğul</i>	<i>=ëz-ëm</i>
1SG.DIR	now	←  →-SA-LOC	LDEM.DIST	PN.LOC	=COP-1SG
<i>vé-r-uk</i>	<i>pé-r-uk</i>	<i>=ëz-ë</i>	<i>nay</i>	<i>=a</i>	
→  ←-SA-DIM	←  →-SA-DIM	=COP-1SG	no	=Q	

‘I’m over there in Bargúğul now. It’s a short way across from there, right?’
 [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 450.5)

2.8.6.4.4 Extensive Spatial Adjective (only SE)

The Southeastern extensive spatial adverb is formed from the (derivate) spatial stem with the suffix *-më*. It is used adverbially to define an area extending away from a given location (Ground) in the direction specified by the spatial morpheme, either as a static location or as the goal of movement. Examples are given in

(84) *Palót jēdi, manjō lót karēdi, akí Dētōnizo nímë, Pōto Pručōm čímë, e gúl-ëzë, aské babór ažl.*

<i>pa-lot</i>	<i>jē-di</i>	<i>manj-ō</i>	<i>lot</i>
LP-arbitration	sit.down-CVB	person-OBL.PL	arbitration
<i>kar-ē-di</i>	<i>akí</i>	<i>Dētōnizo</i>	<i>ní-më</i>
do-CAUS-CVB	LDEM.DIST	PN.LOC	≤ _o -SA.EXT
<i>čí-më</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>gul</i>	<i>ask-é</i>
⇒-SA.EXT	one	land[F]	DEM.DIST-DIR
<i>ba-bór</i>	<i>až-í.</i>		
LP-burden	throw-PFV.PST.3SG.F		

‘Sitting in arbitration, the people made a settlement with them and they put up a piece of land that extends downvalley from Dētōnizo and upvalley from Pōto Pručōm as compensation.’ [SE-PT] (Ġulāmullāh/Karim Pitiğil 33.5)

(85) *Akú nímě sū=di Ĵažíza-mmě.*

<i>akú</i>	<i>ní-mě</i>	<i>sū</i>	<i>=di</i>	<i>Ĵaží=ěz-a</i>	<i>=mmě</i>
LDEM.DIST.PHOR	← _o -SA.EXT	all	=ADD.FOC	PN.DIR=COP-MDV.3PL	=HSY

‘From there downwards [along the valley] they were all Ĵaši/Ĵaži [it is said].’

A spatial form with the suffix *-m* that is possibly related to the extensive spatial adjective, but otherwise isolated, appears in combination with the verb *dá=stě* ‘to drive (livestock)’ in the Southeastern dialect. Another trace of this form may be present in the Southeastern base morpheme *atém-* (< **atě-m?*), but otherwise it does not occur anywhere except with this verb. Semantically the contribution of the form to the verb *dá=stě* seems to be indistinguishable from that of the normal spatial prefixes.

2.8.6.4.5 Diminutive Extensive Spatial Adjective (only SE)

The Southeastern diminutive ablative spatial adjective is formed in the same way as the ablative spatial adjective, but with an additional diminutive suffix *-k*. It fulfills the same function as the ablative spatial adjective, but is more specific in indicating that the extension does not go very far. An example is given in (86).

(86) *Yimó Kómbřom níměk šuč=izi.*

<i>yimó</i>	<i>Kómbřom</i>	<i>ní-mě-k</i>	<i>šuč=ěz-i</i>
1PL.OBL	PN.LOC	← _o -SA.EXT-DIM	fight=COP-PST.3

‘We had fights [in an area] extending a bit downwards [along the valley] from Kómbřom (Kāmděš).’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 605.15)

2.9 The Verb

The verbal system of the Katë language consists of a relatively large set of inflectional paradigms which are composed in various ways to express the categories of aspect (perfective, imperfective, progressive, resultative, continuative), tense (present, past, past anterior, future), mood (imperative, optative, conditional, potential) and evidentiality (mediative).

Structurally, – excepting a few isolated primary forms – it can be described as an accumulation of several layers of grammaticalized suffixal elements and auxiliaries built up around a core of originally nominal forms (participles). Aspect is normally marked by these participles, whereas the auxiliaries (or former auxiliaries) generally express either tense or mood/evidentiality. This structure is closely comparable to that

found in modern Indo-Aryan languages. Masica's (1991) generalized description of the functional structure of New Indo-Aryan (NIA) verbal systems could apply equally well to Katë:

"The category of Aspect is at the heart of the NIA verbal system, morphologically (it is the 'innermost' inflectional element [...]) and historically. Approaching the subject from the basic standpoint of 'tenses', as is still often done after European models (with discussions of 'Imperfect', 'Preterite', or of different types of 'Present'), as if Tense and Aspect could not be separated, or as if the former were the axis of the system, clearly misses a major structural feature." (Masica 1991: 262)

"Tense and Mood together constitute a category in NIA, in terms of mutual substitutability in a particular slot in the paradigm." (Masica 1991: 279)

"The T[ense]/M[ood] functions normally reside in an auxiliary, or what was once an auxiliary [...]. The auxiliary may contain what in another context (e.g., in a main verb [...]) would be an Aspect marker. [...] Recognition of the different status of certain elements occurring in both main verbs and auxiliaries may in fact be a prerequisite to discerning the system."²²³ (Masica 1991: 282)

Sustained contact with Indo-Aryan languages is likely a major part of the explanation for this structural similarity.

Prefixal elements are found in the form of the system of spatial prefixes dealt with in section 2.7.6. Main verbs agree with one of their arguments in person (1st, 2nd, 3rd) and number (singular, plural), in most cases also in gender (masculine, feminine). Which argument the verb agrees with in transitive constructions varies in accordance with the alignment split that is also seen in nominal case marking. In ditransitive constructions with perfective-system predicates the argument that is higher on the following noun phrase hierarchy is reflected by agreement morphology: 1st person > 2nd person > human 3rd person > animate 3rd person > inanimate 3rd person (cf. Mohammad 1991: 21). For more detail on grammatical relations, see section 2.11.4. The verbal systems of the three dialects are generally equivalent in their structure. For the most part, verbal forms can easily be converted back and forth, even in cases where sound change has made correspondences between the inflectional elements less transparent or where different dialects use different suffixes. At times, divergent forms and paradigms in the different dialects make it necessary to take a more historical perspective, which can help explain the reasons behind the observable variation. In this chapter, the verbal system is described starting with the functional categories and continuing with the formal structure, first with the verb root and the elements

²²³ For more on this point, see section 2.9.6.4.1.

nearest to it, after which the discussion moves outward step by step. The discussion of the formal structure begins with the primary stems of lexical verbs, the derivation processes involving verbs, and the small number of inflectional forms that are based directly on the primary stems. This is followed by a description of the secondary participial stems constructed on the base of the primary stems, before moving on to the three kinds of agreement markers and the inflection of the copula. All of these elements taken together then make it possible to understand the build-up of the complex verbal paradigms.

On first mention of a particular verbal category, I give the respective abbreviation used in interlinear glossing in brackets. In order to reduce terminological confusion, I also note equivalent terms in the descriptive systems of Ġulāmullāh (1966), Grjunberg (1980) and Strand (1999a; 2010) in footnotes. The Perso-Arabic and Russian grammatical terms are given in the original along with an approximate English translation.

2.9.1 Verbal Categories

The functional ranges of the aspect, tense, mood and evidentiality categories are discussed in detail below. Their formal expression is discussed in more detail from section 2.9.2 onward.

2.9.1.1 Aspect

2.9.1.1.1 Progressive Aspect

The progressive aspect (PROG) is used for verbal events that are ongoing at the time of reference or which continue for some time without being habitual, as in examples (1) – (5). It is expressed with the progressive aspectual stem.

(1) *Kór yéněň?*

<i>kor</i>	<i>yé-něň</i>
where	go-PROG.2PL

‘Where are you going?’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 453.13)

- (2) *Yéme=stě go=tě anyú pavúpřeti mřéli=je, tyú ó břópa, ó břópa é kúniš.*

<i>yéme</i>	= <i>stě</i>	<i>go</i>	= <i>tě</i>	<i>aní-u</i>	
1SG.OBL	=REF	cow[F].DIR	=CONTR.TOP	LDEM.PROX-PHOR	
<i>pavú-přeti</i>		<i>mřé-li</i>	= <i>je</i>	<i>tyu</i>	<i>o břóp-a</i>
↙  ↘ -hit-CVB		die-FUT.3SG.F	=and	2SG.DIR	oh brother-VOC
<i>o břóp-a</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>kúniš.</i>			
oh brother-VOC	so	do-PROG.2SG			

‘My cow has fallen down here and is going to die, meanwhile you are saying “oh brother, oh brother”!’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg VIII 20.9)

- (3) *Amné virí ná jaňěnazëm.*

<i>amné</i>	<i>virí-ñ</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>jaňě-nazëm</i>
DEM.PROX.PL	speech-OBL.PL	NEG	know-PROG.PST.1SG

‘I did not know these things.’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 44.2)

- (4) *Ė gërjór šterís pkëno úge pařpúlë štócci.*

<i>e</i>	<i>gërjór</i>	<i>šterí-s</i>	<i>p-këno</i>	<i>úge</i>	<i>pařpúl-ë</i>
one	day	wife-PERT.3.DIR	LP-tree	↑-go.CVB	apple.fruit-OBL
					<i>štó-cci</i>
					pluck-PROG.PST.3SG.F

‘One day the wife, having gone up a tree, was plucking the apples.’ [NE-BN] (Sun-Aro Dehqan 2.2)

- (5) *Káy=ta, tyú=tě yé vušp pír éli kúnosyuš!*

<i>kay</i>	= <i>ta</i>	<i>tyú</i>	= <i>tě</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>vušp</i>
what	=Q.EMPH	2SG.DIR	=CONTR.TOP	1SG.OBL	horse.DIR
<i>pír-é-li</i>		<i>kú-nosyuš</i>			
win-FUT.3SG.F		do-PROG.PST.2SG.M			

‘What now, you were saying your horse was going to win!’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg VIII 6.1)

Special functions of the progressive present form are performative speech (example (6)) and expression of intentions (example (7)).

- (6) *Tašakúr kútum*
tašakúr_kù-tum
 thank-PROG.1SG

‘I thank you.’ [NE-PC] (RTA Clothing 1.1)

- (7) *É várľělivok paydó bissě, ũć étum ké gússě.*
e vár-ľělivok paydó_b-i_-stě_-asě ũć étum
 one other-young.man appear-RES.3SG 1SG.DIR go-PROG.1SG
ke gu_-stě_-asě
 do.CVB go.RES.3SG.M

‘Another young man appeared, said he would go and left’

(lit. ‘[...] saying: “I am going”, went.’) [NE] (Afsāna Pheasant 3.4)

2.9.1.1.2 Perfective Aspect

The perfective aspect (PFV) is used for verbal events that are completed or considered as a whole. It occurs frequently with new events in narratives, especially if they are punctual, isolated, or part of a sequence of events. Examples are given in (8) – (10). It is expressed in the perfective aspectual stem. It cannot combine with present tense. The tense-unmarked form with a perfective stem, which might be expected to express perfective present meaning based on structural parallels, is in fact the form of the conditional mood.

- (8) *Ŭć nēlusē gúlě pāteti, Pokistón guósum.*
ŭć né-lus-ě gúl-ě pá-utě-ti Pokistón
 1SG.DIR NEG-advantage-INS country-OBL ←→-let-CVB PN.LOC
guósum
 go.PFV.PST.1SG.M

‘Leaving my country behind due to hardship, I went to Pakistan.’ [NE-BG]
 (Decker 1992 C.7 1.8)

- (9) *Ĵañě ná ĵañyó – guó.*
ĵañě-ñ na ĵañ-yó guó
 kill-INF NEG kill-PFV.PST.3SG.M go.PFV.PST.3SG.M

‘Kill him they didn’t - he left.’ [SE-KS] (Kuštozi Customs 111.14)

(10) *Amir Tēmúre=stě sūt muló Šargín álě vóte pčĩř dēmě špayá.*

<i>Amir_Tēmúr-e</i>	<i>=stě</i>	<i>sut</i>	<i>muló</i>	<i>Šargín</i>	<i>ál-ě</i>
PN-OBL	=REF	seven	mullah.DIR/OBL	PN.LOC	large-M
<i>vót-e</i>	<i>p-čĩř</i>	<i>dēm-ě</i>	<i>špa-yá</i>		
stone-OBL	LP-top	throat-DIR	cut-PFV.PST.3PL		

‘In Šargin, on top of a large rock, they cut the throats of the seven mullahs of Amir Timur (Tamerlane)’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg I 4.5)

2.9.1.1.3 Imperfective Aspect

The imperfective aspect (IPFV) is used for verbal events that are recurring, habitual or generally true, as in examples (11) – (13).

It is expressed in periphrastic forms with the imperfective participle. This same participle is also used to form future tense and – with an extension – optative forms. This leads to some formal overlap and there may be cases where the interpretation is ambiguous.

(11) *Ůč nóť né zaňélasum*

<i>ũč</i>	<i>noť</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>zaňé-lě-asum</i>
1SG.DIR	dance	NEG	know-IPFV.1SG.M

‘I don’t know how to dance.’ [NE] (Afsāna King 5.6)

(12) *Sěčěšoř zayí=bo, zú léy bi=bo, mařě mětělě.*

<i>sěčě-šoř</i>	<i>za-yí</i>	<i>=bo</i>	<i>zu</i>	<i>ley</i>	<i>b-i</i>
small-livestock.DIR	give.birth-COND.3	=CNJ	milk.DIR	much	be-COND.3
<i>=bo</i>	<i>mařě</i>	<i>měté-lě</i>			
=CNJ	goatskin	churn-IPFV.3			

‘If the small livestock [goats] have given birth and there is a lot of milk, they churn butter in goatskins.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg VI 4.4)

- (13) *Pačér vutīlē nüštrúk gaĵar mañě manĵě ná saṛyóu, éřě bilyúk arvórvo, nóm gúmmiš ti, kaně vúpā gīláy.*

<i>pa-čěř</i> LP-top	<i>vutī-l-ě</i> remain-IPFV.PTCP-M.DIR	<i>nüštrúk</i> first	<i>gaĵar</i> day.DIR		
<i>m-ař-ě</i> die-PFV.PTCP-M	<i>manĵ-ě</i> person-OBL.SG.M	<i>na</i> NEG	<i>saṛ-yóu</i> bury-CVB.NEG	<i>éřě</i> some	
<i>bilyúk</i> much	<i>ar-vór-v-o</i> rich-ness-PROPR-M.DIR	<i>nóm</i> name	<i>ku-mmiš k-ti</i> do-PROG.1PL do-CVB		
<i>kan-ě</i> corpse-OBL.SG.M	<i>vúpā</i> up.in.the.air	<i>giṭ-lě-ay.</i> tie-IPFV.3PL			

‘As heirs, some very wealthy ones would not bury the man who has died on the first day, but would suspend the body [on a bier with ropes tied to a roof beam], in order to make a name for themselves.’ [SE-PT] (Ġulāmullāh Inheritance 2.1)

2.9.1.1.4 Resultative Aspect

The resultative aspect (RES) is used for verbal events that produce a resulting state or lasting effect in having been completed. It is used quite frequently in some narratives, covering functions that are very similar to those of the perfective aspect. It is expressed in periphrastic forms with the referentialized perfective participle. Examples are shown in (14) – (16).

- (14) *Šó=tě káy né vōsyuň, šterék káy ké ninīli-ninīli bissiš?*

<i>šo</i> 2PL.DIR	<i>=tě</i> =CONTR.TOP	<i>kay</i> what	<i>ne</i> NEG	<i>v-o-as-yuň</i> PROPR-M=COP-PST.2PL	<i>šterék</i> now
<i>kay</i> what	<i>ke</i> do.CVB	<i>ninīli~ninīli</i> INTS~lush-F	<i>b-í-stě-asiš</i> become-RES.2SG		

‘You [pl.] didn’t have anything, how come you [sg.] have become so radiant now?’ [NE] (Afsāna Nēcoparik 3.6)

- (15) *Akí-ste dí gidi namóčamo=tto pēriġisim.*

<i>akí</i> LDEM.DIST	<i>=ste</i> from	<i>di</i> again	<i>gí-di</i> go-CVB	<i>namóč-amo=to</i> prayer-house.DIR/GEN=LPST	
<i>pé-riġ-í-stě-ězim</i> ←  →-reach-RES.PST.1SG					

‘Then, going again, I had reached the mosque.’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 293.1)

(16) *Sté sěyó Pačó=vu é trapěř=ta yodgór štrėyistasě.*

<i>st-e</i>	<i>sěyí-o</i>	<i>Pačó</i>	<i>=vu</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>trapěř-e</i>
DEM.DIST-OBL.SG.M	soldier-OBL.PL	PN.LOC	=at	one	boulder-OBL.SG.M
<i>=ta</i>	<i>yodgór</i>	<i>štrė-yí</i>	<i>=stě</i>	<i>=asě</i>	
=LPST	commemoration	write-RES.3SG			

‘His soldiers have written an inscription on a boulder at Pačo’ [W-KL]

(Grjunberg I 4.2)

2.9.1.1.5 Continuative Aspect

The continuative aspect (CONT) is used for verbal events that began earlier and are still continuing at the moment of reference, as in examples (17) – (19). It is the only aspect that is not formed with an aspectual stem or participle, but with a grammaticalized vector verb construction (cf. section 2.11.5.3).

(17) *Kělē-di ostě piyól bělyúk karvó kėti asyó.*

<i>kěl-ě</i>	<i>=di</i>	<i>o-stě</i>	<i>pi-yol</i>	<i>bělyúk</i>
battle-DIR	=ADD.FOC	PHOR-DEM.DIST	LP-track	much
<i>karv-ó</i>	<i>kė-ti</i>	<i>asyó</i>		
strong-M	do-CONT.MDV.3SG.M			

‘And in the same way [the government] continued to fight very fiercely.’

[NE-BG] (Decker 1992 C.7 1.15)

(18) *Pařúčkol yėlom vištřim=de, řadór=mi manjř pařyó!*

<i>pa-řúč-kol</i>	<i>yé-lom</i>	<i>viš-tř</i>	<i>=ězim</i>	<i>=de</i>
LP-light-time	go-OPT.1SG.M	think-CONT.PST.1SG	=CONTR.TOP	
<i>řadór</i>	<i>=mi</i>	<i>manj-ř</i>	<i>pař-yó</i>	
nighttime	=FOC	person-DIR	arrive-PFV.PST.3SG.M	

‘I was still thinking that I should go in the morning, when at night a man arrived!’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 369.1)

(19) *Stá=vu něšėti asėmmiš, asėmmiš, asėmmiš.*

<i>sta</i>	<i>=vu</i>	<i>něšė-ti</i>	<i>asėmmiš~asėmmiš~asėmmiš</i>
LDEM.DIST	=at	sit.down-CONT/INTS.1PL~CONT/INTS~CONT/INTS	

‘There we kept sitting and sitting and sitting.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg IX 20.6)

2.9.1.2 Tense

2.9.1.2.1 Present

The present tense (PRS) is used to situate an event in the present. Present forms are generally not marked as present by any formal exponent and receive their present value only by contrast to other tenses. Though they are used most often for the present time, the same forms also freely occur in statements about the past, when it is clear from the context that past events are being described. It is therefore possible to consider the forms in question as tenseless rather than explicitly present tense. Where there is no explicit contrast to a past form, I do not give a specific interlinear gloss to the present form.

2.9.1.2.2 Past

Past tense (PST) forms are used to situate an event explicitly in the past. Past meaning is expressed with auxiliaries or fused extensions of aspectual stems.

2.9.1.2.3 Past Anterior

With the resultative aspect, which already tends to be used to describe past events, additional past tense markers create the meaning of past anterior (PST.ANT), i.e., a more distant past. This combination of resultative and past anterior, which is termed resultative past (RES.PST) here based on its formal composition, is found in both Eastern dialects. An example is given in (20).

(20) *Sëvérë stë bítë-di é álë púljl amú=stë naskórë-tã atól kěřëssi.*

<i>sëvérë stë</i>	<i>bít-ë</i>	<i>=di</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ál-ë</i>	<i>púljl</i>	<i>amú</i>
also DEM.DIST	demon-OBL	=ADD.FOC	one	big-M	blanket.DIR	REFL
<i>=stë</i>	<i>naskór-ë</i>	<i>=tã</i>	<i>atól k-ěřë</i>	<i>=stë</i>	<i>=asi</i>	
=REF	face-OBL	=LPST	cover-RES.PST.3SG.M			

‘Also that demon had covered his face with a large blanket.’ [NE]

(Afsāna Pheasant 7.4)

Adding an additional past marker to the perfective past form, which is itself already marked for past tense, produces a perfective past anterior form in the Western dialect, where examples such as the one in (21) may be encountered. In the Southeastern dialect, the equivalent form seems to have developed from a meaning of chronological distance to a disparaging or – when speaking of one’s own actions – humble

connotation (see examples (22) & (23)). In the Northeastern dialect no corresponding forms exist.

- (21) *Sëvér davo=meş álë aŋó kërósi.*

<i>sëvér</i>	<i>dáv-o</i>	<i>=meş</i>	<i>ál-ë</i>	<i>aŋó</i>	<i>k-ërósi</i>
the.other	wood-OBL.PL	=with	big-M	fire.DIR	do-PFV.PST.ANT.3SG.M

‘With the other wood they made a large fire [earlier].’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg V 1.3)

- (22) *Mólkonë Čanlú-ğilë tré gó ptázi.*

<i>Mólkon-ë</i>	<i>Čanlú-ğil-ë</i>	<i>tre</i>	<i>go</i>
PN-OBL	PN.DIR/GEN=ASSOC.DIR	three	COW.DIR

p-tázi
give-PFV.PST.ANT.3PL

‘Molkon unmemorably gave Čanlú and company three cows’ [*disparagingly*] [SE-KM] (Strand 1999a)

- (23) *Yĩ yině kitóp stréoyzi.*

<i>yĩ</i>	<i>yině</i>	<i>kitóp</i>	<i>stré-yozi.</i>
1SG.OBL	DEM.PROX	book.DIR	write-PFV.PST.ANT.3SG.M

‘I wrote this book.’ [*speaking with humility*] [SE-KM] (Strand 1999a)

The Southeastern dialect also has a few progressive past anterior forms, like the one in example (24).

- (24) *Aské mudir-i irodízi, ná ģunazim=a?*

<i>aské</i>	<i>mudir_-i_irodí</i>	<i>=ëz-i</i>
DEM.DIST	administrative.manager	=COP-PST.3

<i>na kú-nazim</i>	<i>=a</i>
NEG do-PROG.PST.ANT.1SG.M	=Q

‘There was that administrative manager, hadn’t I been saying that?’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 184.3)

2.9.1.2.4 Future

Future tense (FUT) forms are used to situate an event in the future. Future tense is marked with the same stem/participle as the imperfective aspect, producing some formal overlap between these categories, which may lead to ambiguity. Generally

speaking, synthetic forms with the imperfective/future aspectual stem are only used with future tense meaning, whereas periphrastic forms may have both meanings. Future tense is intertwined to some extent with modal distinctions. There is a contrast between a general future, which may express both intentional or unintentional action (examples (25) – (28)), a non-volitional future (FUT.NONVOL), which is used only for future actions that will not be taken by free choice (examples (29) – (31)) and – in the Western dialect – a certain future (FUT.CERT), used for events the speaker believes are sure to happen (examples (32) – (34)). The future past (FUT.PST) is another future form, which is used for events that are situated in the future from the perspective of a past time level. In the Western dialect it is especially relevant in conditional clause combinations (see section 2.11.6.3.1 for use examples).

(25) *Ině-meň ůć káy ké ubjǫk kúlyum?*

<i>in-ě</i>	<i>=meň</i>	<i>ũć</i>	<i>káy</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ubjǫk_kú-lyum</i>
DEM.PROX-OBL.SG.M	=with	1SG	what	do.CVB	live-FUT.1SG.F

‘How will I live with this one?’ [said about an ugly potential husband] [NE]
(Afsāna Pheasant 2.9)

(26) *Áyi=bo jǫřěłmiš.*

<i>á-yi</i>	<i>=bo</i>	<i>jǫřě-łmiš</i>
come-COND.3	=CNJ	kill-FUT.1PL

‘If he comes, we will kill him.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg IX 12.11)

(27) *Yinė hukumat=meš kalé ġulēzēm.*

<i>yinė</i>	<i>hukumat</i>	<i>=meš</i>	<i>kalé_kú-lē-ēzēm</i>
DEM.PROX	government.DIR/GEN	=with	fight-IPFV/FUT.1SG.M

‘I will fight with this government.’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 232.2)

(28) *Vúze taṇó pís lasélum.*

<i>vúze</i>	<i>taṇ-ó</i>	<i>pís</i>	<i>lasé-lum</i>
1SG.DIR	money-OBL	lost	let.go-FUT.1SG.M

‘I will lose the money’ [W-KN] (Mohammad 1991 2.31)

(29) *Ůč xomaxó nařgyé bërúķšō vėl-tā čō vili bim.*

<i>ũč</i>	<i>xomaxó</i>	<i>nařgĩ-ē</i>	<i>bërú-ķšō-ō</i>	<i>vel-tā</i>
1SG	willy.nilly	thorn-OBL.SG	←-pull-INF	time-LPST

čō vi-lĩ bim

yell-FUT.NONVOL.1SG.F

‘Whether I like it or not, I will have to scream when you pull out the thorn.’

[NE] (Afsāna King 11.1)

(30) *Káy kē kúdyum bi=bo=tě, čé átti čř břěgóm tú=stě tpěka gálě buš.*

<i>kay</i>	<i>kē</i>	<i>kúdyum</i>	<i>b-i</i>	<i>=bo</i>	<i>=tě</i>	<i>če</i>
what	do.CVB	work.DIR	be-COND.3	=CNJ	=CONTR.TOP	CNJ

<i>ác-tĩ</i>	<i>čř</i>	<i>bě-gřom</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>=stě</i>
come-CVB	⇒ -SN	LP-village	2SG.OBL	=REF

<i>tpěk-a</i>	<i>gálě-buš</i>
rifle- OBL.SG.F	take-FUT.NONVOL.2SG.M

‘In case you have a task [and you need it], you will need to come and get your rifle upvalley in the village.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg IX 27.3)

(31) *Šó=stě parĩ óstā=bo, ō dalké Yürmür pāgidi avélēm bi.*

<i>šo</i>	<i>=stě</i>	<i>parĩ</i>	<i>őzē-stē-ā</i>	<i>=bo</i>	<i>ō</i>
2PL.DIR/GEN	=REF	letter.DIR	come.RES.3PL	=CNJ	1SG.DIR

<i>dalké</i>	<i>Yürmür</i>	<i>pā-gi-di</i>	<i>avé-lēm bi.</i>
tomorrow	PN.LOC	↙ ☹ ↘ -go-CVB	bring-FUT.NONVOL.1SG.M

‘If your letters have arrived, I will need to go down to Yürmür tomorrow and get them.’ [SE-KM] (Strand 1999a)

(32) *Stě vėní=bo, tpék cuyó vúpsyelik=asě=č.*

<i>st-ě</i>	<i>v-ėní</i>	<i>=bo</i>	<i>tpék</i>	<i>cuyt-ō</i>
DEM.DIST-DIR	hit-COND.3	=CNJ	rifle.dir	empty-INS

<i>vú-psyé-lik-asě</i>	<i>=č</i>
↓-settle-FUT.CERT.3SG.F	=ADD

‘If I shoot them [the bears], the gun will [by necessity] be left empty.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg IX 29.11)

(33) *Stě vĕtó púta né bálik bi=to, stó stá=vu alól káti vĕtĕvyéy=č.*

<i>st-ě</i>	<i>vĕtó</i>	<i>púta</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>bá-lik_bí</i>
DEM.DIST-DIR	more	way-OBL.SG.F	NEG	be.able-FUT.CERT.COND.3SG.F

<i>=to</i>	<i>st-o</i>	<i>stá=vu</i>	<i>alól_káti</i>
=when	DEM.DIST-OBL.SG.F	LDEM.DIST=PHOR	slaughter.CVB

<i>vĕt-ĕvyé=ey</i>	<i>=č</i>
let-PFV.PST.3SG.F=CONS	=ADD

‘Now that she would certainly no longer be able to make the journey, I slaughtered her right there and left her.’ [context: said of a cow that has broken her legs in the mountains] [W-KL] (Grjunberg VIII 15.5)

(34) *Néy, špěk né áyo. Dalkyěř řadóra áceluk=asě.*

<i>ney</i>	<i>špěk</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>á-yo</i>	<i>dalkyěř</i>	<i>řadóra</i>
no	now	NEG	come-PFV.PST.3SG.M	tomorrow	nighttime-OBL.SG.F

<i>áce-luk_=asě</i>
come-FUT.CERT.3SG.M

‘No, he didn’t come today. He’ll [surely] come tomorrow at night.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg Phrase 150)

2.9.1.3 Mood

2.9.1.3.1 Conditional

The conditional mood (COND) almost always appears in subordinate clauses with the conjunctions *-bo* (general) or NE *=tã* SE/W *=to* (temporal). It marks an event as hypothetical. For more detail on its use in subordinate clauses, cf. section 2.11.6.3.1. Some examples are given in (35) – (38).

It is formed on the basis of the perfective aspectual stem/participle. In the Western dialect, the conditional mood also has an aspectual contrast, since another conditional paradigm has been created based on the verbal place noun, which is here called the progressive conditional.

- (35) *Pšaš mřějécē-tā luṣṭí-bo, ikí budurúš atúge yě-stě pař-ó bévelo.*

<i>pšaš</i>	<i>mřějécē</i>	<i>=tā</i>	<i>luṣṭ-í</i>	<i>=bo</i>	<i>ikí</i>
cat.DIR	songbird-OBL.SG.M	=LPST	chase-COND.3	=CNJ	DEM.MED.DIR
<i>bu-durúš</i>	<i>atú-ge</i>	<i>yě</i>	<i>=stě</i>	<i>pař-ó</i>	
LP-crack	→-go.CVB	1SG.OBL	=REF	apple-OBL.SG.F	
<i>bé-avé-lo</i>					
←-bring-OPT.3SG.M					

‘If the cat has chased the bird, it should go into the crack and get out my apple.’

[NE-BN/MR] (Sun-Aro Dehqan 5.4)

- (36) *É bétote né bánaš-bo, álë né lá!*

<i>e</i>	<i>bétot-e</i>	<i>né</i>	<i>bá-naš</i>	<i>=bo</i>	<i>ál-ë</i>
one	effort-OBL.SG.M	NEG	be.able-PROG.COND.2SG	=CNJ	big-M
<i>ne</i>	<i>la</i>				
NEG	speak.IMP				

‘If you can’t make an effort, don’t talk big!’ [W-ŠT] (School Basket 2.10)

- (37) *Néy é kúnaš-bo, vúze-tě špěk Kobúl pétë.*

<i>ney</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>kú-naš</i>	<i>=bo</i>	<i>vúze</i>	<i>=tě</i>	<i>špěk</i>	<i>Kobúl</i>
no	so	do-PROG.COND.2SG	=CNJ	1SG	CONTR.TOP	now	PN.LOC
<i>pé-tě</i>							
depart-PFV.PST.1SG.M							

‘If you say no, I am leaving for Kabul right away.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg IX 43.7)

- (38) *Šaǵé-de maǵǵí maǵě-tto, vúriǵi kuřěvo bí-tto, kuřě-mi pačér vutílay.*

<i>šaǵé</i>	<i>=de</i>	<i>maǵǵ-í</i>	<i>m-ařě</i>	<i>=tto</i>	<i>vú-riǵ-í</i>
earlier	=CONTR.TOP	person-DIR	die-COND.3.M	=LPST	↑-reach-PFV.PTCP
<i>kuřě-v-o</i>	<i>b-i</i>	<i>=tto</i>	<i>kuř-ě</i>	<i>=mi</i>	<i>pa-čér</i>
child-PROPR-M	be-COND.3	=LPST	child-DIR	=FOC	LP-top
<i>vutí-lě-ay</i>					
remain-IPFV.3PL					

‘In earlier times, when a man died and he had grown-up children, the children would inherit.’ [SE-PT] (Ġulāmullāh Inheritance 1.1)

2.9.1.3.2 Optative

The optative mood (OPT) is used to express wishes, blessings, or suggestions and opinions about what should happen, as in examples (39) – (42). The optative past is

used to express wishes about the past that can no longer be fulfilled, because reality developed differently, like in example (43).

The optative is formed with a primary stem in most first person forms and with an extension of the imperfective/future aspectual stem/participle in all others. Some additional meanings appear in subordinate clauses and conditional clause combinations. On these, see sections 2.11.6.3.1 and 2.11.6.3.3.

(39) *Padgú búloš.*

<i>p-adgú</i>	<i>bú-loš</i>
LP-healthy	be-OPT.2SG.M

‘May you be healthy.’ [NE-MR] (Notes)

(40) *Biŋlyé yasém=a?*

<i>biŋlī-ē</i>	<i>yasé-m</i>	<i>=a</i>
electricity-OBL.SG	extinguish-OPT.1SG	=Q

‘Should I turn off the light?’ [NE-MR] (Notes)

(41) *Tū aské náčōloš!*

<i>tū</i>	<i>ask-é</i>	<i>náčō-loš</i>
2SG.DIR	DEM.DIST-OBL.SG.M	leave-OPT.2SG.M

‘You should leave him alone!’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 357.18)

(42) *Guŋúr stē gūla=stē čúŋik rēpéy búluk bi=bo, Kató přela.*

<i>Guŋúr</i>	<i>stē</i>	<i>gúl-a</i>	<i>=stē</i>	<i>čúŋik</i>	<i>rēpéy</i>
Gujar.DIR	DEM.DIST	land-OBL.SG.F	=REF	how.much	rupee
<i>bú-luk_{bi}</i>	<i>=bo</i>	<i>Kat-ó</i>	<i>přé-la</i>		
be-FUT.CERT.COND.3	=CNJ	Katě-OBL.PL	give-OPT.3PL		

‘The Gujars should give the Katě as much money as is due for this land’ [W-KL]
(Grjunberg XII 6.1)

(43) *Čaŋ aqvóm atkí namoyandagívo búlasi.*

<i>čaŋ</i>	<i>aqvóm</i>	<i>atkí</i>	<i>namoyandagí-v-o</i>	<i>bú-lasi</i>
all	nations.DIR	LDEM.DIST	representation-PROPR-M	be-OPT.PST.3PL

‘All nations should have had representation there.’ [NE-PC]
(RTA Negotiations 2.8)

2.9.1.3.3 Presumptive

The presumptive mood (PRSM) is used to express presumption in statements (examples (44) – (46)) and curiosity or uncertainty in questions (examples (47) – (49)).²²⁴ It is expressed by a particular form of the copula, which may be attached as a fused auxiliary to some verb forms.

(44) *Masrúf asélěš.*

<i>masrúf</i>	<i>asé-lěš</i>
busy	COP-PRSM.2SG.M

‘You are probably busy.’ [NE-MR] (Notes)

(45) *Ṣṭálviri vilā, yině vúre babō jélě muzérmon nážělě.*

<i>ṣṭál-viri</i>	<i>vilā-y</i>	<i>yině</i>	<i>vú-r-e</i>	<i>ba-bō</i>
true-speech.DIR	recite-COND.3	DEM.PROX	↑-SA-LOC	LP-chair
<i>jé-l-ě</i>	<i>muzérmon</i>	<i>ná-ěžě-lě</i>		
sit-IPFV.PTCP-M.DIR	Muslim.DIR	NEG=COP-PRSM.3SG.M		

‘To tell the truth, this one sitting on the throne up there is probably not a Muslim.’ [SE-KM] (Kabir Revolt 16.3)

(46) *Kúyu virí ġudōñ ġánallě.*

<i>kúyu</i>	<i>virí kudō-ñ</i>	<i>ġá-nallě</i>
where	speech ask-SUP	take-PROG.PRSM.3.M

‘They are probably taking us somewhere for questioning.’ [SE-KM]
(Amin Jihad 81.8)

(47) *Ině káči asélě?*

<i>in-ě</i>	<i>káči</i>	<i>asé-lě</i>
DEM.PROX-DIR	who	COP-PRSM.3.M

‘Who might this be?’ [NE] (Afsāna King 22.2)

²²⁴ The term *presumptive* is commonly used in Indo-Aryan linguistics for forms with such functional ranges (cf. Masica 1991: 279; Schmidt 1999: 89; Lehr 2014: 264).

(48) *Amní káy çố vitaselë ké géti vót vúteti áystay.*

<i>amní</i>	<i>kay</i>	<i>çố vi-taselë</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>géti</i>
DEM.PROX.PL.DIR	what	yell-PROG.PRSM.3PL	do.CVB	go-CVB
<i>vót</i>	<i>vúteti</i>	<i>á-y_-stë=ay</i>		
stone	↓-put-CVB	come-RES.3PL		

‘They put down the stone and went to see what they might be shouting’ [NE]
(Afsāna King 14.1)

(49) *Volí=de, kór=dizëlä=bo, ó ká jaññëm?*

<i>volí</i>	<i>=de</i>	<i>kor</i>	<i>=di-ëzë-lë</i>	<i>=bo</i>
governor.DIR	=CONTR.TOP	where	=ADD.FOC=COP-PRSM.3.M	=CNJ
<i>õ</i>	<i>kā</i>	<i>jaññ-ñëm</i>		
1SG.DIR	what	know-PROG.1SG		

‘And the governor, what do I know where he might be?’ [SE-KM]
(Amin Jihad 32.2)

2.9.1.4 Evidentiality

2.9.1.4.1 Mediative

The Mediative (MDV) is an evidential category, which “neutralize[s] the distinction between inferences and hearsay in one [...] marker” (Squartini 2016: 60). The term *mediative* chosen here follows Lazard (1999), who uses it to describe functionally similar forms found “in a vast zone, from the Balkan Peninsula to Northern India and the Himalayas” (Lazard 1999: 106). Another term for this type of category is *indirective*. By using mediative forms, a speaker can distance themselves from their own statement, while at the same time not calling into question the truth of its content. Instead, it is rather implied that there is some kind of evidence for the statement.²²⁵ This combination especially lends itself to two particular communicative events:

1. The reporting of second-hand information
2. The expression of newly acquired, not fully assimilated information, which may come from inference or observation.

The Katë form – or, more precisely, the form of the Southeastern dialect spoken by the Kom people (*Kamvíri*) – has been described by Bashir (2010: 6–7) as a kind of

²²⁵ If a speaker wants to emphasize the fact that the truth of the statement is uncertain, a presumptive form is used instead.

mirative.²²⁶ The connotation of surprise implied by this term is probably not the primary function, but surprising information is of course contained within the spectrum of information that is not fully assimilated.

Mediative forms are not specified for tense, but for practical reasons more often refer to past states and events.

When reporting second-hand information, Mediative forms are frequently used with the hearsay enclitic NE/W *-mem* ~ SE *-mmě*, which makes the source of information more explicit, but this is not obligatory (see examples (50) and (51)) and the hearsay enclitic can in turn occur with non-Mediative forms.

(50) *Pěnúšte mančo čor kí syó.*

<i>pě-núšt-e</i>	<i>manč-ó</i>	<i>čor</i>	<i>kí as-yó</i>
LP-first-ABL	person-OBL.PL	custom.DIR	DEM.MED COP-MDV.3SG.M

‘The custom of the people of former times was this [they say].’ [W-KL]
(Grjunberg I 2.2)

²²⁶ Bashir’s (2010) description, which was based on second-hand information from Strand (2010 and p.c.), is misleading in a few points: She relates Strand’s emphatic rejection of the idea that the form might be considered a “general indirective/inferential marker”, with the argument that it supposedly never occurs in traditional tales or when relating unwitnessed information. I do not agree with this assessment – the form is well-attested both in traditional tales and in reports of second-hand information, where it may or may not be followed by the enclitic hearsay particle. Additionally, Bashir (2010: 6) follows Strand’s (2010) inaccurate classification of *-o-* as an emphatic marker (cf. section 2.9.6.3.2), which, together with the assumption that formally equivalent full-verb and auxiliary forms have to have a shared function (cautioned against by Masica (1991: 282), cf. section 2.9), leads to the conclusion that “it may be that the mirative marker *-o* either overlaps semantically with or is homophonous with a more general emphatic marker.” Aikhenvald’s (2012: 472) typological claim that “many languages have [...] emphatic markers and constructions which cover some, if not all, of the mirative range of meanings” seems to be at least partly the result of this misleading description, though she notes that the form “appears to be problematic”. Adding to the confusion, she characterizes *Kamviri* as “a Dardic language”.

(51) *Šaŋé nilēzo=mmě, akí ózo=mmě.*

<i>šaŋé</i>	<i>nil-ē=ēz-o</i>	<i>=mmě</i>	<i>akí</i>
earlier	lake-DIR=COP-MDV.3SG.M	=HSY	LDEM.DIST
<i>ō=ēz-o</i>	<i>=mmě</i>		
water.DIR=COP-MDV.3SG.M	=HSY		

‘[They say that] earlier there was a lake, [that] there was water there.’
[SE-PT] (Kabir/Gulāmullāh History 10.1)

One common subtype of this is the use in the beginning of folk tales, where again it is often, but not always, followed by NE/W *-mem* ~ SE *-mmě*. In such stories usually the first few sentences, which set the stage for the narrative, are in the Mediative form, whereas later in the narrative regular past forms are used. When the narrator fills in previously unmentioned background information in the middle of the narrative, a switch to Mediative forms may occur once again.

(52) *Ė mēr asyó=mem. Ině mēr mērě névōsyo=mem. Atkyě=staň ...*

<i>e</i>	<i>mer</i>	<i>as-yó</i>	<i>=mem</i>	<i>inė</i>	<i>mer</i>
one	king.DIR	COP-MDV.3SG.M	=HSY	DEM.PROX	king.DIR
<i>mēr-ě</i>	<i>né</i>	<i>v-o=ās-yo</i>	<i>=mem</i>	<i>atkí-ē</i>	
boy-DIR	NEG	PROPR-M=COP-MDV.3SG.M	=HSY	LDEM.DIST-ABL	
<i>=staň</i>					
=from					

‘(Once upon a time) there was a king. This king did not have a son. Then...’
[NE] (Afsāna King 2.2)

(53) *Ė mančí syó. Ė përdík nú vósyo.*

<i>e</i>	<i>manč-í=ās-yó</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>përdík</i>	<i>nu</i>
one	person-DIR=COP-MDV.3SG.M	one	old.woman	mother.DIR
<i>v-o=ās-yo</i>				
PROPR-M=COP-MDV.3SG.M				

‘(Once upon a time) there was a man. He had an old mother.’ [W-KL]
(Grjunberg Skazka I 1.1)

Examples of use for new, not fully assimilated information gained through inference or observation are given in (54) – (57). Example (55) includes the dubitative particle *-šum* (see section 2.10).

- (54) *Xudáya, ikí-di apéri mačērik asyé!*

Xudáy-a ikí =di apér-i mačērik
 God-VOC DEM.MED.DIR =ADD.FOC unfriendly-F bee[F].DIR
as-yé
 COP-MDV.3SG.F

‘God, that is an unfriendly bee [it turns out]!’ [NE-BN/MR] (Sun-Aro Dehqan 5.7)
 [Context: the bee has just refused a request]

- (55) *Átti stě mēřé vañéti gějí kú bábistay, “Úttrō! Iné imú kūrō yúti élē oinēsyo=šum” ke.*

ác-tī stě mēř-ě vañé-ti gějí_ku-ō
 come-CVB DEM.DIST boy-OBL.SG see-CVB say-INF
pá-b-i-stě-ay úttr-ě =o in-ě
 ← become-RES.3PL sonless/INTS-M =ASS.M DEM.PROX-DIR
imú kūr-ō yú-ti é-l-ě
 1PL.DIR/OBL child-OBL.PL eat-CVB go-IPFV.PTCP-M.DIR
o-in-ě-as-yo =šum ke
 PHOR-DEM.PROX-DIR=COP-MDV.3SG.M =DUB do.CVB

‘When they came and saw that boy, they said: “Damn! This is surely that same one who always eats our children!”’ [NE] (Afsāna King 13.5)

- (56) *É vóro ačřro vúkuna, bēřř pēnářa asyóm.*

e vór-o ačř-o vú-ku-na bēř-ř pē-nář-a
 one time-INS eye-OBL.PL ↑-do-place ←-SN LP-gorge-LOC.SG.F
as-yóm
 COP-MDV.1SG.M

‘Once I looked up, [it turned out that] I was out in the gorge.’
 [context: after falling down a hill and losing consciousness] [W-KL]
 (Grjunberg IX 30.9)

- (57) *Aské lístě ōš kúnēm=bo, yúbačuruk nóm yí=stězo!*

aské líst-ě ōš_kú-nēm =bo yú-pa-čur-uk
 DEM.DIST list-OBL.SG look-PROG.1SG =CNJ ↓-LP-tip-DIM.M
nom yí =stě-ěz-o
 name.DIR 1SG.GEN =REF=COP-MDV.3SG.M

‘When I looked at that list, [it turned out that] the name at the bottom was mine!’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 169.2)

In the Western dialect, mediative forms are used in conditional protasis for counterfactual conditions. For examples of this use, see section 2.11.6.3.1.

2.9.2 Primary Verb Stems

Most verbs have more than one primary stem. The different primary stems do not serve a directly identifiable function and there is no general difference in meaning between them, but particular verbal formations and secondary stems require particular primary stems.

According to their shape and structure, verbs may be divided into the following four classes, the second of which in turn has four subclasses:

1. Consonant-final roots
2. Vowel-final roots
 - i. *i*-roots
 - ii. *ii*-roots (only SE)
 - iii. *a*-roots
 - iv. *u*-roots
 - v. *e*-roots
3. Causative-derived verbs
4. Verbs with irregular stem formation

Each of these classes/subclasses behaves differently with regard to the formation of primary stems.

2.9.2.1 Consonant-Final Roots

As the name indicates, consonant-final roots are verbs with a root ending in a consonant. These verbs have only two stems: a long stem and a short stem. The long stem is used in primary stem formations as well as in the imperfective and progressive systems, whereas the short stem, which is equivalent to the root, is used in the perfective system (on the concept of the participial systems, see section 2.9.6.2), and as a base for causative derivation (see section 2.9.3.1).

All two-stem verbs follow a single regular pattern in the Western dialect, whereas the two Eastern dialects exhibit some predictable phonological alternations. Under the regular Western pattern the long stem is formed from the root (= short stem) by the addition of a stem vowel *-e-*, which is stressed if the verb does not have lexical stress on the root. For most verbs, the Northeastern dialect follows the same rule, whereas

the Southeastern dialect instead adds the stem vowel -ě-. Examples of this most basic pattern of stem formation are shown in Table 165.

	Short stem (= root)	Long stem	Meaning
W	<i>pč-</i>	<i>pče-</i>	'to chop'
NE			
SE		<i>pčě-</i>	
W	<i>ks-</i>	<i>kse-</i>	1. 'to be sprayed, to be sprinkled' 2. 'to hurry' 3. 'to turn (<i>into a different state</i>)'
NE			
SE		<i>ksě-</i>	
W	<i>kč-</i>	<i>kče-</i>	'to look'
NE			
SE	<i>kač-</i>	<i>kačě-</i>	
W	<i>kěň-</i>	<i>kěňé-</i>	'to laugh'
NE			
SE	<i>kan-</i>	<i>kaně-</i>	
W	<i>věř-</i>	<i>věřé-</i>	'to see'
	W-KT: <i>vař-</i>	W-KT: <i>vařé-</i>	
NE	<i>vaň-</i>	<i>vaňé-</i>	
SE		<i>vaňě-</i>	
W	<i>vědiř-</i>	<i>vědiřé-</i>	'to be afraid'
NE	<i>věděř-</i>	<i>věděřé-</i>	
SE	<i>viděř-</i>	<i>viděřě-</i>	

Table 165. Stem formation of consonant-final roots (regular)

Roots ending in a palatal consonant take the stem vowel -i- in the two eastern dialects, as in the examples in Table 166.

	Short stem (= root)	Long stem	Meaning
W	<i>věš-</i>	<i>věšé-</i>	‘to think, to imagine’
NE	<i>viš-</i>	<i>viší-</i>	
SE	<i>viž-/viš-</i>	<i>viží-</i>	
W	<i>něš-</i>	<i>něšé-</i>	‘to sit down’
NE ²²⁷	<i>niš-</i>	<i>niší-</i>	
W	<i>sěpč-</i>	<i>sěpčé-</i>	‘to kiss’
NE	<i>supč-</i>	<i>supčí-</i>	
SE			
W	<i>amč-</i>	<i>amčé-</i>	‘to wear, to put on (clothes)’
NE		<i>amčí-</i>	
SE	<i>amj-</i>	<i>amjí-</i>	

Table 166. Stem formation of consonant-final roots (palatal)

In the Southeastern dialect, roots ending in /i/ or /u/ + a velar consonant (/ǵ/, /ŋ/) or a cluster with final /ŋ/ assimilate the stem vowel to the root vowel. Examples are shown in Table 167.

²²⁷ The corresponding verb in the Southeastern dialect has irregular stem formations (see Table 174).

	Short stem (= root)	Long stem	Meaning
SE	<i>liǵ-</i>	<i>liǵt-</i>	‘to bulge out’
SE	<i>ziǵ-</i>	<i>ziǵt-</i>	‘to race, to move quickly’
SE	<i>miŋ-</i>	<i>miŋt-</i>	‘to rot’
W	<i>pěŋ-</i>	<i>pěŋé-</i>	‘to move’
NE	<i>pělēŋ-</i>	<i>pělēŋé-</i>	
SE	<i>piŋ-</i>	<i>piŋt-</i>	
W	<i>měk-</i>	<i>měké-</i>	‘to flee’
NE			
SE	<i>muǵ-</i>	<i>muǵú-</i>	
SE	<i>luŋ-</i>	<i>luŋú-</i>	‘to grow (of plants etc.)’

Table 167. Stem formation of consonant-final roots (assimilated)

2.9.2.1.1 y-Final Roots

A particular subclass of consonant-final roots are roots ending in *-y-*. Their stem formations are summarized in Table 168. They have three stems, distinguishing a causative stem in addition to the long and short stems. This causative stem, rather than the short stem, is equivalent to the root.

As with other palatal-final roots, the stem vowel of the long stem is *i* in the Eastern dialects, but the root-final *-y-* in fact disappears before the stem vowel in these dialects leaving only the coloring of the stem vowel behind. In the Western dialect the stem vowel *e* is simply added to the root. For the short stem, the final *-y-* of the root is dropped in all dialects.

There is some formal overlap between *y*-final roots and *i*-roots (2.9.2.2.1), but with *i*-roots the causative stem is equivalent to the short stem.

The Southeastern dialect only has two *-y*-final roots, both of the structure CVy-, whereas the other two dialect have more, mostly ending in consonant clusters with final *-y-*. The verb ‘to hit’ follows the pattern of *y*-final roots in the Southeastern dialect (root *viy-*), but the pattern of *i*-roots in the Northeastern dialect (root *vi-*) and an irregular pattern resembling that of *i*-roots in the Western dialect (root *vě-* ~ *vi-*).

	Short stem	Causative stem (= root)	Long stem	Meaning
W NE	<i>tur-</i>	<i>ture-</i>	<i>ture-</i> <i>turí-</i>	‘to clabber, to turn to yogurt (of milk)’ ²²⁸
W NE	<i>gël-</i>	<i>gëly-</i>	<i>gëlye-</i> <i>gëlí-</i>	‘to curse’ ²²⁹
W NE	<i>trk-</i> <i>ṭk-</i>	<i>trky-</i> <i>ṭky-</i>	<i>trkye-</i> <i>ṭkí-</i>	‘to crack, to tear (itr.)’ ²³⁰
W NE SE	KL <i>p-</i> , KT <i>pě-</i> <i>pi-</i>	KL <i>py-</i> , KT <i>pëy-</i> <i>piy-</i>	KL <i>pye-</i> , KT <i>pëye-</i> <i>pí-</i> (<i>pi-í-</i>)	‘to drink’
SE	<i>vi-</i>	<i>viy-</i>	<i>ví-</i> (<i>vi-í-</i>)	‘to hit’

Table 168. Stem formation of y-final roots

2.9.2.2 Vowel-Final Roots

As the name indicates, vowel-final roots are verbs with a root ending in a vowel. The actual morphological behavior of vowel-final roots depends on the identity of this vowel and they are therefore further divided into subclasses.

2.9.2.2.1 *i*-Roots

Verbs whose root ends in *i* are here referred to as *i*-roots. These verbs have two stems, a short stem and a long stem, just like consonant-final roots. Their stem formations are summarized in Table 169.

The long stem of *i*-roots is formed in the same way as the long stem of consonant-final roots in the Western and Southeastern dialects, i.e. by adding a stem vowel *w* -*e*-, *se* -*ë*-. This stem vowel contracts with the root vowel, producing -*ye*- in the Western dialect, but a long vowel -*ī*- in the Southeastern dialect. The Northeastern dialect behaves differently, using only the root for both the short and the long stem.

²²⁸ The corresponding SE verb is an *ü*-root (*trü-*, long stem *trü-*).

²²⁹ No known SE cognate.

²³⁰ The corresponding se verb is a regular consonant-final root (*trk-*, long stem *trké-*).

In the Eastern dialects, the short stem is unstressed with monosyllabic roots but stressed with disyllabic ones. Example forms are shown in Table 169. When used as the base of causative derivation, the final *i* of the short stem contracts with the vowel of the causative suffix, becoming *y*.

There is some formal overlap between *i*-roots and *y*-final roots (2.9.2.1.1), but with *y*-final roots, the causative stem differs from the short stem. The verb ‘to hit’ is a *y*-final root in the Southeastern dialect, but an *i*-root in the Northeastern dialect. In the Western dialect it is an *i*-root with an irregular short stem (*vě-* for the perfective system, but *vi-* (*vy-*) for causative derivation).

	Short stem (= root)	Long stem	Meaning
W	<i>tī-</i> (<i>ty-</i>)	<i>tyé-</i>	‘to come to a halt, to stand’
NE		<i>tí-</i>	
SE		<i>tǐ-</i>	
W	<i>vú-tī-</i> (<i>vú-ty-</i>)	<i>vú-tye-</i>	‘to stand up’ ²³¹
NE	<i>ú-tī-</i> (<i>ú-ty-</i>)		
SE	<i>vú-tī-</i> (<i>vú-ty-</i>)	<i>vú-tǐ-</i>	
W	<i>věti-</i> (<i>věty-</i>)	<i>větyé-</i>	‘to remain, to stay, to wait’
NE	<i>utí-</i> (<i>uty-</i>)		
SE	<i>vutǐ-</i>	<i>vutǐ</i>	
W	<i>vě-</i> (<i>vy-</i>)	<i>vyé-</i>	‘to hit’
NE	<i>vi-</i> (<i>vy-</i>)	<i>ví-</i>	
W	<i>psi-</i> (<i>psy-</i>)	<i>psyé-</i>	‘to settle’
NE		<i>psí-</i>	
SE	<i>přazǐ-</i> (<i>přazy-</i>)	<i>přazǐ</i>	
W	<i>vě-</i> (<i>vy-</i>)	<i>vyé-</i>	‘to hit’
NE	<i>vi-</i> (<i>vy-</i>)	<i>ví-</i>	

Table 169. Stem formation of *i*-roots

²³¹ Prefixed form of the previous, included here to clarify the contrast with the following verb.

2.9.2.2.2 *ü*-Roots

The Southeastern dialect has vowel-final roots ending in *-ü-*, which follow the same pattern of vowel contraction as the *i*-roots, but they have an additional stem ending in *-v-* that is used as the base of causative derivation (stress falls on the causative suffix). These correspond to consonant-final roots ending in *-v-* or *-y-* in the other two dialects, as Table 170 demonstrates.

	Short stem (= root)	Long stem	Causative stem	Meaning
W NE SE	<i>řěv-</i> <i>řü-</i>	<i>řěvé-</i> <i>řǘ-</i>	= short stem <i>řüv-</i>	'to harvest'
W NE SE	<i>šiv-</i> <i>ši-</i>	<i>šivé-</i> <i>ší-</i>	= short stem <i>šiv-</i>	
W NE SE	<i>živ-</i> <i>ji-</i>	<i>živé-</i> <i>jí-</i>	= short stem <i>živ-</i>	'to be alive'
W NE SE	<i>tur-</i> <i>tri-</i>	<i>turyé-</i> <i>turí-</i> <i>trí-</i>	<i>tury-</i> <i>triv-</i>	

Table 170. Stem formation of *ü*-roots

2.9.2.2.3 *a*-Roots

The *a*-roots are a relatively large group of verbs with a root ending in *a*. They have only one stem (equivalent to the root) that is used in the same contexts as both the long and short stems of the other classes, but they have a separate stem for causative derivation, which ends in *-v-*. In the Southeastern dialect, the *a* of the root becomes *ě* in the causative stem (with regular assimilation to *i* after palatals).

In the Southeastern dialect, the causative stem is stressed with disyllabic roots, but monosyllabic roots have stress on the causative suffix (e.g. *špěv-ě-*, but *aněv-ě-*). The other dialects have stress on the stem throughout (*špáv-ě-*, *anáv-ě-*). Irregular causative stems appear with SE *má-* 'to kill' (*mav-* instead of **měv-*) and NE *undrá-* 'to fly' (*undr-* instead of *undráv-*). A causative after the pattern of NE *undrá-*, *undr-ě-* can be formed

in all dialects from the verb w (*vërt*) lá-, NE *vëllá*-, SE *vallá*- ‘to speak’, producing w (*vërt*) *l-ô*-, NE *vëll-ô*-, SE *vall-ô*-, but the resulting forms mean ‘to call, to invite’ rather than ‘to cause to speak’. The latter meaning is achieved with the regular causative formation listed among other examples in Table 171.

	Single stem (= root)	Causative stem	Meaning
W NE SE	<i>bá</i> -	(no causative)	‘to be able to’
W NE SE	<i>vá</i> - - -	<i>váv</i> - - -	‘to play (a musical instrument)’
W NE SE	<i>má</i> -	<i>máv</i> - - <i>mav</i> - (irregular)	‘to kill, to slaughter’
W NE SE	<i>špá</i> -	<i>špáv</i> - - <i>špëv</i> -	‘to cut; to satisfy (oneself)’
W NE SE	<i>ská</i> - - <i>sağá</i> -	<i>skáv</i> - - <i>sağëv</i> -	‘to sweep’
W NE SE	<i>aná</i> -	<i>anáv</i> - - <i>anév</i> -	‘to put in one’s mouth’
W NE SE	<i>sëṇá</i> - - <i>saṇá</i> -	<i>sëṇáv</i> - - <i>saṇëv</i> -	‘to hear’
W NE SE	<i>vuzṇá</i> - <i>uzṇá</i> - -	<i>vuzṇáv</i> - <i>uzṇáv</i> - -	‘to bathe’
W NE SE	<i>vëlyá</i> - <i>vëlá</i> - <i>vílá</i> -	<i>vëlyáv</i> - <i>vëláv</i> - <i>vílev</i> -	‘to recite, to tell, to read’
W	(<i>vërt</i>) lá-	(<i>vërt</i>) lav-	‘to speak’

NE	<i>věllá-</i>	<i>vělláv-</i>	
SE	<i>vallá-</i>	<i>vallév-</i>	
W	<i>vudrá-</i>	<i>vudráv-</i>	‘to fly’
NE	<i>undrá-</i>	<i>undr- (irregular)</i>	
SE	<i>vundrá-</i>	<i>vundrév-</i>	
W	<i>viká-</i>	<i>vikáv-</i>	‘to rest’
NE			
SE	<i>viǵá-</i>	<i>viǵív-</i>	

Table 171. Stem formation of *a*-roots

2.9.2.2.4 *u*-Roots

The two Eastern dialects have two vowel-final roots ending in *-u-*, *pšú-* ‘to sleep’ and *žú-* ‘to cry’. These work essentially like *a*-roots, in that they have a single stem fulfilling the functions of long and short stem, but a separate causative stem ending in *-v*.

The stem formations of these verbs in the Western dialect seem to be subject to subdialectal variation, but relevant data points are missing in some cases. For the Western dialect of Kulem, Grjunberg (1980: 172) in one place records long stems *pšué-* and *žué-*²³² formed after the pattern of consonant-final roots, but the forms which appear in texts and recordings have the long stems *žye-* and *pšye-* (e.g. Grjunberg 1980: 208) and a distinct imperative stem *pšyuv-* (e.g. Grjunberg 1980: 252). For the Western dialect of Štur (Čutur) in Řamgěl, on the other hand, the long stem *žyu-* and the imperative stem *žyuv-* are attested. The various patterns are summarized in Table 172.

²³² Transcribed with labialized consonants as <ž^oe-> and <pš^oe->.

	Short stem (= root)	Long stem	Causative stem	Imperative stem	Meaning
W-KL W-RM NE SE	<i>pʂú-</i>	<i>pʂyé-</i> * <i>pʂyú-</i>	<i>pʂy-</i>	<i>pʂyúv-</i>	'to sleep'
			<i>pʂuv-</i>	= root	
W-KL W-RM NE SE	<i>ʒú-</i>	<i>ʒyé-</i> * <i>ʒyú-</i>	* <i>ʒy-</i>	<i>ʒyúv-</i>	'to cry'
			<i>ʒuv-</i>	= root	

Table 172. Stem formation of u-roots

2.9.2.2.5 e-Roots

The verbs of this group behave mostly like consonant-final roots in the Western and Northeastern dialects, except for the fact that they have separate causative stems ending in (unstressed) *-ěv-*. In the Southeastern dialect, however, they differ from consonant-final roots in having a long stem ending in *-e-*, instead of the usual stem vowel *-ě-* of that dialect. In the Southeastern causative stem the place of the *-e-* is taken by unstressed *-av-* (for monosyllabic roots) or stressed *-ěv-* (for disyllabic roots). The various stem formations are summarized in Table 173.

It seems that the *-e-* of the long stem is part of the root, which means that the root is equivalent to the long stem for this group of verbs. Another irregularity are the short stems of *pře-* and *mře-*, which lack the *ř* of the long stem.²³³

²³³ Note however that the *ř* of *pře-* reappears in forms with spatial prefixes, such as *přa-p-tó* or *vřa-p-tó*, where it is metathesized to the syllable onset of the prefix (see section 2.1.5.6).

	Short stem	Long stem (= root)	Causative stem	Meaning
W NE SE	<i>m-</i>	<i>mře-</i>	<i>(no causative)</i>	‘to die’
W NE SE	<i>p-</i>	<i>pře-</i>	<i>*přěv-</i> <i>přav-</i>	‘to give’
W NE SE	<i>t-</i>	<i>te-</i>	<i>těv-</i> <i>tav-</i>	‘to put’
W NE SE	<i>vět-</i> <i>ut-</i> <i>vut-</i>	<i>věté-</i> <i>uté-</i> <i>vuté-</i>	<i>větěv-</i> <i>*utěv-</i> <i>vutěv-</i>	‘to let’
W NE SE	<i>av-</i>	<i>avé-</i>	<i>*avěv-</i> <i>avěv-</i>	‘to bring’
SE	<i>paň-</i>	<i>paňé-</i>	<i>paňěv-</i>	‘to irrigate’
SE	<i>nar-</i>	<i>naré-</i>	<i>narěv-</i>	‘to weed’
SE	<i>gaň-</i>	<i>gaňé-</i>	<i>gaňěv-</i> (<i>gaň</i> - ²³⁴)	‘to count’

Table 173. Stem formation of e-roots

A slightly different distribution of stem formations is found in the Southeastern verb *je-* ‘to sit’, which corresponds to regular consonant-final roots in the other two dialects (W *něš-*, NE *niš-*). Here there is no distinction between a short and long stem, but the causative stem lacks the vowel *-e-* (see Table 174).

	Single stem (= root)	Causative stem	Meaning
SE	<i>je-</i>	<i>ĵ-</i>	‘to sit down’

Table 174. Stem formation of the irregular e-root SE *je-* ‘to sit’

²³⁴ Only in the passive construction *gaň-ó ye-* lit. “to be counted on” = ‘to vow’ (Strand 1999a).

2.9.2.3 Causative-Derived Verbs

The verbs of this group are – at least originally – derived from other roots with a suffix that primarily has causative/valency-increasing function.²³⁵ The suffix itself forms various stems in the same way as a verb root. It has four or five forms, depending on the dialect: long stem & short stem (both with the usual distributions), imperative stem (only w), causative stem and converb stem.

The long stem has the suffix variant *-ō-*, the short stem has the suffix variant *-e-*. The suffix is stressed unless the verb has lexical stress on the root. The imperative stem, which differs from the long stem only in the Western dialect, has the suffix variant *-ov-*. The causative stem (used as the base for a second causative derivation) has the suffix variant W/NE *-ev-*, SE *-ëv-*. In the Northeastern dialect, the causative stem has the form *-ëv-* only if the verb has lexical stress on the root (e.g. *péte-* ‘to break sth.’ > *pét-ō-* > *pét-ëv-ō-*). In the Southeastern dialect the second causatives are stressed on the second suffix if the first causative stem has only one syllable, otherwise on the first suffix (e.g. *kş-ëv-ó-*, but *kar-év-ō-*). In the other dialects the stress is always on the first suffix (*kş-év-ō-*, *kër-év-ō-*).

The converb stem has the suffix variant w *-eyi-* NE *-ey-*, SE *-ē-*, which, incidentally, makes it formally identical to the perfective participial stem (cf. section 2.9.6.2.2). Table 175 gives examples of the various stems of the suffix and their dialectal variation.

²³⁵ The base of derivation of some causative-derived stems is not synchronically identifiable. In other cases base and derivate have drifted apart semantically. For more on the process of causative derivation, see section 2.9.3.1.

	Long stem	Imperative stem	Short stem	Causative stem	Converb stem	Meaning
W	<i>yip-ô-</i>	<i>yip-óv-</i>	<i>yip-é-</i>	<i>yip-év-</i>	<i>yip-éyi-</i>	‘to produce, to build’
NE	<i>ip-ô-</i>		<i>ip-é-</i>	<i>ip-év-</i>	<i>ip-éy-</i>	
SE	<i>yip-ô-</i>		<i>yip-é-</i>	<i>yip-év-</i>	<i>yip-é-</i>	
W		<i>kş-ov-</i>	<i>kş-é-</i>	<i>kş-év-</i>	<i>kş-éyi-</i>	‘to pull’
NE	<i>kş-ô-</i>				<i>kş-éy-</i>	
SE				<i>kş-ëv-</i>	<i>kş-é-</i>	
W		<i>kër-óv-</i>	<i>kër-é-</i>	<i>kër-év-</i>	<i>kër-éyi-</i>	‘to cause to do’
NE	<i>kër-ô-</i>				<i>kër-éy-</i>	
SE	<i>kar-ô-</i>		<i>kar-é-</i>	<i>kar-év-</i>	<i>kar-é-</i>	

Table 175. Stem formation of causative-derived verbs

The verb *přô-* ‘to arrive’ (Table 176) is formally similar to the causative-derived verbs. In the Northeastern dialect it is in fact simply a fully regular causative-derived verb. It is, however, unusual in being the only intransitive verb of this class and in the other two dialects it does also show a few formal irregularities: The short stem is *přa-* (unstressed) in the Western dialect, but *pař-* (unstressed) in the Southeastern dialect. The causative stem has the form *přav-* (unstressed) in both.

	Long stem	Imperative stem	Short stem	Causative stem	Converb stem	Meaning
W		<i>přóv-</i>	<i>přa-</i>	<i>přav-</i>	<i>př-éyi-</i>	‘to arrive’
NE	<i>přô-</i>		<i>př-é-</i>	<i>př-év-</i>	<i>př-éy-</i>	
SE			<i>pař-</i>	<i>přav-</i>	<i>př-é-</i>	

Table 176. Stem formation of the irregular causative-derived verb *přô-* ‘to arrive’

2.9.2.4 Verbs with Irregular Stem Formation

The verbs with irregular stem formation do not form a homogenous group. What unites them is that they do not fit into any of the other classes. The common correlation between irregular forms and frequency of use can be clearly observed in this group, as it includes some of the most frequently used verbs of the language. Most verbs of this class have three or four different stems, distinguishing a separate causative stem and/or imperative stem in addition to the long and short stems. In some cases the stem formations are suppletive, i.e. the different stems come from

different etymological sources and consequently have no phonological resemblance to each other.

The verbs with irregular stem formation can be grouped into three smaller clusters of verbs with similar behavior or semantics:

1. Irregular *u*-roots: *ku-* ‘to do’, *bu-* ~ *bě-* ‘to become’ and *yu-* ‘to eat’
2. Irregular *a*-roots: derivatives of **g(ř)a-* ‘to take’
3. Irregular verbs of motion: *e-* ~ *ye-* ‘to go’, *ač-* ‘to come’, *p(ř)eč-* ‘to depart’

2.9.2.4.1 *ku-* ‘to do’, *bu-* ‘to become’ and *yu-* ‘to eat’

The cluster of irregular *u*-roots is formed by three very frequent verbs with long stems/roots in *-u-* and short stems consisting of one consonant. Their stem forms are summarized in Table 177.

The verb *ku-* ‘to do’ has five stems, distinguishing separate causative, imperative and converb stems in addition to the long and short stem. In the Southeastern dialect its converb stem and short stem are identical, reducing the number of stems to four. The stems are all formally related, sharing the initial consonant *k-*, but their internal structure is intransparent.

The verb *bu-* (w *bě-* ~ *bu-*) ‘to become, to be’ has three or four stems, depending on the dialect. The form of the causative stem is not as irregular as that of *ku-*, but rather resembles that of the two “regular” *u*-roots (2.9.2.2.4). A separate converb stem for this verb is only formed in the Southeastern dialect.

The verb *yu-* (SE *yü-*) ‘to eat’ has even more in common with the two “regular” *u*-roots, but – as with *ku-* and *bu-* – its short stem only consists of the initial consonant *y-*.²³⁶ The root vowel is *ü* in the Southeastern dialect, but the stem forms do not align with the pattern of the Southeastern *ü*-roots (2.9.2.2.2). The *ü* rather seems to be a phonological effect of the preceding palatal *y-*.²³⁷

²³⁶ This short stem is extracted from the irregular and isolated perfective participle formation NE/SE *y-añ-ě* (M), *y-añ-í* (F); W *y-ař-ě* (M), *y-ay-í* (F). The stem underlying this formation could possibly also be postulated as *yañ-* ~ *yař-*, or perhaps *ya-*, but since there are no parallel cases for this participle formation, it is not clear where these forms should be segmented into stem and suffix. Regardless of analysis, the short stem of this verb is irregular.

²³⁷ Strand (1999a) assumes that the root vowel is in fact *u*, but a contrast is probably not possible after palatals, cf. section 2.1.1.8.3.

	Short stem	Causative stem	Imperative stem	Long stem (= root)	Converb stem	Meaning
W NE SE	k-	kër- kar-	kšǎ-	kú-	ká- (~ kě) ké- k-	‘to do’
W NE SE	b-	bëv- buv-	bě- (bú- in monosyllabic forms) bú- bí-			‘to become, to be’
W NE SE	y-	yuv- yüv-	yú- yǔ-			‘to eat’

Table 177. Stem formation of the irregular u-roots ku- ‘to do’, bu- ‘to become’ & yu- ‘to eat’

2.9.2.4.2 Derivates of *g(ř)a- ‘to take’

A group of likely historically related verbs with meanings like ‘to take’ or ‘to get’ forms a coherent cluster with similar irregular stem formations. These verbs likely all historically derive from combinations involving an *a*-root *g(ř)a- ‘to take’, which no longer exists independently. Their stem forms are summarized in Table 178.

What was once the short converb form *ga(y) ‘having taken’ of the root *g(ř)a-, phrasally combined with the verbs of motion *ač*- ‘to come’ and *e*- ~ *ye*- ‘to go’ producing *gay ač*- (which still exists) and *ga(y) *e*-, respectively meaning ‘to bring’ and ‘to take away’.²³⁸ The latter combination eventually univerbated into a single stem *gā*-. Since this was no longer recognizable as a combination of two stems, it developed its own separate paradigm, while a new free combination *gay e* ~ *ye*- was formed on the analogy of the existing, and still transparent, *gay ač*-. The present-day verb *gā*- retains the irregular imperative stem *yǐ*- of *e* ~ *ye*- in its imperative stem *gáyǐ*- (SE *gay* ~ *gā*-). On the other hand it has an innovated converb stem W *gáyǐ*- ~ *gǎ*-, NE/SE *gǎ*- (instead of incorporating the suppletive converb stem of *e* ~ *ye*-) and a suppletive short stem *b*- (perfective participle NE/W *b-ěř*-, SE *b-ař*-). Its causative stem to all appearances is originally the causative stem of the uncombined root *g(ř)a- ‘to take’.

²³⁸ Equivalent combinations exist also in other Nuristani languages, e.g. Nuristani Kalasha *grā e*- ‘to bring’ and *grā di*- ‘to take away’, with a cognate root and the verbs of motion *e*- ‘to come’ and *di*- ‘to go’ (Degener 1998: 435).

The other verbs of this group are probably originally combinations of the same root **g(ř)a-* with spatial forms. The stem W *vuŋá-*, NE *uŋá-* ‘to take, to buy’ could derive from **vuŋ/ũ ga-*, W *vuŋ*/NE *ũ* being phrasal combination variants of the spatial noun W *vuř*/NE *uň* ‘’, though the stress on the verbal stem is unusual. Parallel structures are certainly behind NE *váŋa-*, SE *vřáŋa-* ‘to take for oneself’ (< *vã* ‘’ + **g(ř)a-*) and W *věluŋa-* ‘to pick up’ (< *vělu* ‘’ + **g(ř)a-*). For more on these structures, see section 2.8.6.3. The Southeastern equivalent *ŋa-* of W *vuŋá-*, NE *uŋá-* is probably extracted from such unverbated forms, which would also explain the unusual word-initial velar nasal.

The verb NE/W *vagá-*, SE *vřaǵá-* is a relatively transparent combination of the spatial prefix *va-* ‘’ with the root **g(ř)a-*, irregular only in its stem stress and the metathesis of the originally root-internal approximant *ř* in the Southeastern dialect (cf. section 2.8.6.2.1).

The spatial combinations, unlike *gā-* ‘to take away’, do not have a suppletive short stem, but retain reflexes of the original short stem of **g(ř)a-*. These have no root vowel in the Western and Northeastern dialects, but a root vowel *u* in the Southeastern dialects. In their causative stems these verbs align with *gā-* in the Southeastern dialect, but otherwise they behave like regular *a*-roots (2.9.2.2.3).

	Short stem	Causative stem	Imperative stem	Long stem	Converb stem	Meaning
W	<i>b-</i>	<i>*gav-</i>	<i>gáyí-</i>	<i>gǎ-</i>	<i>gáyí- ~ gǎ-</i>	‘to take away’
NE					<i>gáy ~ gǎ-</i>	
SE		<i>guv-</i>	<i>gáy ~ gǎ-</i>			
W	<i>vuŋ-</i>	<i>vuŋáv-</i>	<i>vuŋá-</i>			‘to take, to buy’
NE	<i>uŋ-</i>	<i>uŋáv</i>	<i>uŋá-</i>			
SE	<i>ŋú-</i>	<i>ŋuv-</i>	<i>ŋá-</i>			
W	<i>váŋ-</i>	<i>váŋav-</i>	<i>váŋa-</i>			‘to take for oneself’
NE						
SE	<i>vřáŋu-</i>	<i>vřáŋuv-</i>	<i>vřáŋa-</i>			
W	<i>věluŋ-</i>	<i>věluŋav-</i>	<i>věluŋa-</i>			‘to pick up’
W	<i>vag-</i>	<i>vagáv-</i>	<i>vagá-</i>			‘to get, to ask for’
NE						
SE	<i>vřaǵú-</i>	<i>vřaǵěv-</i>	<i>vřaǵá-</i>			

Table 178. Irregular stem formation in derivates of **g(ř)a-* ‘to take’

2.9.2.4.3 *e- ~ ye- ‘to go’, ac- ‘to come’ and p(ř)ec- ‘to depart’*

The most frequent verbs of motion, ‘to go’ and ‘to come’, have a highly irregular system of stem formations, which are in some cases suppletive. A root is not easily identifiable for these verbs. The system is summarized in Table 179.

The verb W/NE *e-*, SE *ye-* ‘to go’ has distinct forms starting with *g-* for the short stem, causative stem and converb stem. The imperative stem is yet again distinct, but formally isolated. In the Western dialect, perfective past forms from another root *pec-* are used instead of progressive forms of *e-* in cases of goal-oriented motion away from the speaker/deictic center. This mismatch in aspect/tense morphology is unique within the grammatical system but occurs very systematically. The root *pec-* is glossed in examples as ‘depart’ when it occurs in perfective forms. It is formally defective in having no non-perfective forms except the imperatives SG *pec*, PL *pec-eř* (meaning ‘go ahead!, go on!’) and the hortative optative 1st person plural form *pecemo* (meaning ‘let’s go!’). In the other dialects only the imperatives SG *preč*, PL *preč-eň* (SE *preč-ěň*) and the hortative form NE *prečemu* exist, but no perfective forms.

The verb *ac-* ‘to come’ has a long stem resembling that of a regular consonant-final root in the Western and Southeastern dialect (W *áče-*, SE *áčě-*), but the corresponding Northeastern form irregularly has the stem vowel *-ě-* instead of *-e-*. This long stem is additionally replaced by a vowelless form *áč-* in several contexts that are otherwise the domain of the long stem: the imperative and converb in all dialects, the progressive system in both Eastern dialects and the imperfective system in the Southeastern dialect. The actual short stem used for the perfective system is, in turn, not *áč-*, but *á-*. This pattern of presence and absence of *č* is parallel to that seen in *w pec-* (short stem *pé-*). In the Southeastern dialect a gender-based distinction has arisen in the formation of the short stem, with a suppletive stem *óž-* replacing *á-* in masculine forms.²³⁹ This stem probably originally derives from the paradigm of the verb W *avz-*, NE *āz-*, SE *ōj-*, a regular consonant-final root which means ‘to jump’, but in the Western and Northeastern dialects also ‘to approach, to come’ in perfective forms. In the perfective domain of these dialects, the stems *á-* and *avz-* ~ *āz-* are complementary, referring to different phases of a movement. The stem *á-* denotes an inceptive movement towards the speaker/deictic center or such a movement seen from its beginning, whereas *avz-*

²³⁹ A gender-based distinction beyond the suffixal gender markers also exists in the perfective participles for the verb ‘to go’, W *g-ěv-ě* (M), *g-ay-í* (F); NE *g-u* (M), *g-e-y* (F); SE *g-u* (M), *g-e-y-* ~ *g-ě* (F), but there it may be attributed to gender-variant participle suffixes added to the same stem *g-*. The situation with SE *óž-* and *á-* is different, since no shared stem can be identified.

~ *āz*- refers to the final phase of a movement towards the speaker/deictic center or to such a movement seen from its end (in examples *á*- is glossed as ‘come’ and perfective *avz*- ~ *āz*- as ‘approach’, but these are not exact translations). If the SE stem *ôz*- indeed derives from the same root, this would mean that the phase distinction has been transferred into one of gender. The mechanism how this happened is not clear and also some formal details are not fully certain: The Southeastern root *ôj*- ‘to jump’ has an affricate (regularly corresponding to the *z* of the other dialects), but both Strand (1999a) and Ġulāmullāh (1966) record the masculine short/perfective stem of ‘to come’ as *ôz*- with a voiced sibilant. This difference is possibly the result of a consonantal perfective participle suffix, which has merged with the preceding *j* of the stem into *z*. The original presence of a consonantal suffix is also suggested by the use of *ôz*- with the gender marker -*ë*, which disagrees with the regularly formed and gender-invariant perfective participles of the other dialects (W *avz*-*í*, NE *āz*-*í*).

	Short stem		Causative stem	Imperative stem	Converb stem	Long stem	Meaning
	M	F					
W NE SE	g-		<i>guv</i> -	<i>yí</i> -	<i>gá</i> - (~ <i>gë</i>) <i>gé</i> - <i>gí</i> -	<i>é</i> - <i>yé</i> -	‘to go’
W NE SE	<i>á</i> - <i>ôz</i> - <i>á</i> -		–	<i>ác</i> -		<i>áce</i> - <i>áčë</i> - ~ <i>ác</i> -	‘to come’
W NE SE	<i>pé</i> - –		<i>péc</i> -	<i>přéc</i> -	–	<i>péce</i> - <i>přéce</i> - –	‘to go, to depart’

Table 179. Irregular stem formation in verbs of motion

2.9.3 Verb Derivation

Verbs are essentially a closed class in Katë. New verbs can nevertheless be formed by two mechanisms: causative derivation and light-verb derivation. This is once again a feature of the Katë verbal system that is shared with many South Asian languages.

2.9.3.1 Causative Derivation

Causative derivation is achieved with the stem suffix *-ō-* which is added to the long stem or – if it exists – the causative stem of the verb (see section 2.9.2). The suffixed verbs form their primary stems by applying different variants of the suffix. These are discussed in section 2.9.2.3.

The basic function of the suffix is to increase the valency (the number of participants) of the verb by one. Valency is lexically determined for all basic verbs, which are all either intransitive (1 participant, e.g. NE *nišl-* ‘to sit down’), transitive (2 participants, e.g. NE *vi-* ‘to hit’) or ditransitive (3 participants, e.g. NE *pře-* ‘to give’). Only one verb that seemingly contains the causative suffix – *přō-* ‘to arrive’ – is intransitive, but this verb also has some formal irregularities (see Table 176). Otherwise the causative suffix can be applied to make an intransitive verb transitive, to make a transitive verb ditransitive or to make a ditransitive verb causative ditransitive (4 participants). Semantically it is thus not always “causative” in a stricter sense, but may be simply transitivity-increasing or applicative. The more strictly “causative” combinations can be interpreted as either forcible (‘to make sb. do sth.’) or permissive (‘to let sb. do sth.’).

Examples:

Intransitive > Transitive

NE *nišl-*, W *něšé-*, SE *žé-*
‘to sit down’

NE *nišō-*, W *něšō-*, SE *žō-*
‘to seat sb.; to make/let sb. sit down’

Transitive > Ditransitive (causative)

NE *vī-*, W *vyé-*, SE *vī-*
‘to hit sth./sb.’

NE/W *vyō-*, SE *viyō-*
‘to make/let sb. hit sth./sb.’

Transitive > Ditransitive (applicative)

NE *ašl-*, W *ašé-*, SE *ažl-*
‘to throw, pour sth.’

NE/W *ašō-*, SE *ažō-*
‘to throw, pour sth. at/on sb.’

NE *tkyō-*, W *trkyō-*, SE *trkō-*
‘to make something crack/tear’

NE *tkyéō-*, W *trkyéō-*, SE *trkéō-*
‘to make sth. crack/tear on sb.’ or
‘to make sth. crack/tear that belongs to sb.’

Ditransitive > Causative Ditransitive

NE/W/SE *pře-*
‘to give sth. to sb.’

NE/W **přévō-*, SE *přavō-*
‘to make/let sb. give sth. to sb.’

In some cases the form with the causative suffix may be more frequent than the base verb (as e.g. with NE *ipé-* ‘to come into being’ vs. *ipô-* ‘to produce, to build’) or have a somewhat different meaning (as with e.g. *miší-* ‘to play’ vs. *mišô-* ‘to lie’ < *‘to play sb.’). Sometimes there is no identifiable base verb (as with e.g. NE *gunô-* ‘to cover’ or *kudô-* ‘to ask’).

With a lexically intransitive verb causative derivation can be iterated up to two times:

NE <i>niší-</i>	‘to sit down’
NE <i>nišô-</i>	‘to make/let sb. sit down’
NE <i>nišévō-</i>	‘to make/let sb. ₁ make/let sb. ₂ sit down’
NE <i>nišéevō-</i>	‘to make/let sb. ₁ make/let sb. ₂ make/let sb. ₃ sit down’

Strand (1985: 56) notes that excessive iteration of causative derivation “is generally avoided”, but gives the sentence in (58) as an example that might occur in natural discourse. The converbial form *vañēdi* here serves to clarify the role of an intermediate participant.

(58) *Mólkonë tú vañēdi amó yipëvëvëom.*

<i>Mólkon-ë</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>vañ-ě-di</i>	<i>amó</i>
PN-OBL.SG	2SG.OBL	see-CAUS-CVB	house.DIR
<i>yip-ě-vě-ve-yom</i>			
arise-CAUS-CAUS-CAUS-PFV.PST.1SG.M			

‘Molkon made you make me fix/build the house’

In an earlier stage of the language it seems to have been possible to form denominal verbs with the causative suffix, but this is no longer a productive process. Some suggestive examples are:

NE/W <i>dēmô-</i> , SE <i>damô-</i>	‘to winnow’	cf. NE/W <i>dēmí</i> , SE <i>damú</i> ‘wind’
NE/W/SE <i>psō-</i>	‘to lose’	cf. NE/W <i>pis</i> , SE <i>pūs</i> ‘lost’
NE/W/SE <i>kudô-</i>	‘to ask’	cf. NE <i>kyut</i> , SE <i>kūt</i> ‘search, quest’
SE <i>šarmô-</i>	‘to disgrace’	cf. Persian <i>šarm</i> ‘shame’

2.9.3.2 Light-Verb Derivation

A light-verb construction is a type of complex predicate, which consists of a nominal component that carries most of the semantic content and determines the argument

structure, and a verbal component which usually has a rather unspecific (semantically “light”) meaning, such as ‘do’, and often serves only as a dummy element to carry verbal inflection. This type of construction is very common in Katë. There are many conventional, lexicalized combinations, but it can also be relatively freely applied to verbalize nouns. The most common light verbs are *ku-* ‘to do’ for transitive constructions and NE/SE *bu-*, W *bě-* ‘to be, to become’ for intransitive constructions. In light-verb constructions the choice of the light verbs *ku-* or *bu-* ~ *bě-* takes on the role of transitivizing and detransitivizing that would be achieved by presence or absence of the causative suffix with basic verbs. Valency can be increased further by (iteratively) applying the causative suffix to the verb *ku-* > NE/W *kěřō-*, *kěřévō-*; SE *karō-*, *karévō-*. Other verbs beside *ku-* and *bu-* ~ *bě-* that serve as light verbs with some frequency are NE *tī-*, W *tye-*, SE *tī-* ‘to stand’; NE/W/SE *te-* ‘to put’; NE *vi-*, W *vye-*, SE *vī-* ‘to hit’; NE *šyi-*, W *šči-*, SE *šši-* ‘to attach’; NE/W *lasé-*, SE *lazě-* ‘to let go’ (on NE/W *e-*, SE *ye-* ‘to go’ and NE *ašī-*, W *ašě-*, SE *aží-* ‘to throw, to pour’ see below). Different light verbs used with the same nominal component may contribute different shades of meaning, as e.g. with NE *pīs bū-* ‘to be lost, to disappear’, *pīs kū-* ‘to make disappear (intentionally)’, *pīs lasé-* ‘to lose (unintentionally)’. Many of the nominal elements used in light-verb constructions appear only rarely in independent use, so that in some cases it is impossible to determine their meaning outside of the construction. The nominal element under normal circumstances receives the phrasal stress within the verb phrase.

Examples (NE dialect):

<i>dér bū=stě</i>	‘to become surprised’	
<i>dér kū=stě</i>	‘to surprise sb.’	
<i>dér tī=stě</i>	‘to be surprised, to stand in surprise’	
<i>měšě kū=stě</i>	‘to get angry at sb.’	cf. <i>měšě</i> ‘anger’
<i>měšě bū=stě</i>	‘to become angry’	
<i>nót kū=stě</i>	‘to dance’	cf. <i>noṭ</i> ‘dance’
<i>lálu kū=stě</i>	‘to sing’	cf. <i>lálu</i> ‘song’
<i>úš kū=stě</i>	‘to look’	
<i>pát kū=stě</i>	‘to give as a gift’	
<i>kělé kū=stě</i>	‘to fight’	cf. <i>kělé</i> ‘battle’
<i>šuč kū=stě</i>	‘to fight’	cf. <i>šuč</i> ‘war’

<i>kṭól kú=stě</i>	‘to eat one’s fill’	cf. <i>kṭol</i> ‘belly’
<i>kṭól bú=stě</i>	‘to be full, satisfied’	
<i>břámbřam tí=stě</i>	‘to grumble’	
<i>šé tí=stě</i>	‘to freeze’	cf. <i>še</i> ‘ice’
<i>kór té=stě</i>	‘to listen’	cf. <i>kor</i> ‘ear’
<i>čó ví=stě</i>	‘to yell’	
<i>věří šyō=stě</i>	‘to make up excuses’	cf. <i>věří</i> ‘speech’

Light-verb constructions are also by far the most common way of integrating borrowed verbs into the verbal system and in this function their number is currently rapidly growing as the inherited lexicon is increasingly replaced by loanwords from major contact languages.²⁴⁰ These loanword light-verb constructions are often semi-calques, with the nominal element borrowed and the verbal element translated, of what were already light-verb constructions in the dominant contact languages Persian, Pashto and Urdu. These major languages of the region themselves have a high proportion of light verb constructions, many of which ultimately originate in Persian-Arabic language contact.²⁴¹

Examples (NE dialect):

<i>istimól kú=stě</i>	‘to use’
< Prs. <i>isti‘māl kardan</i> (< Arab.)	
<i>tavaǰú kú=stě</i>	‘to pay attention to sth.’
< Prs. <i>tawaǰǧuh kardan</i> (< Arab.)	
<i>tašakúr kú=stě</i>	‘to thank’
< Prs. <i>tašakkur kardan</i> (< Arab.)	
<i>ijró kú=stě</i>	‘to fulfill, to carry out’
< Prs. <i>iǧrā’ kardan</i> (< Arab.)	

²⁴⁰ Only a few basic verbs are clearly borrowings from Persian or Pashto and these belong to the phonologically more integrated layers of loanwords, e.g. *bakčǐ=stě* ‘to forgive’ < Prs. *baxšīdan*, *só té=stě* ‘to preserve, to keep’ < Psht. *sātāl* (reanalyzed as a light-verb construction with *te-* ‘to put’).

²⁴¹ It is not always possible to determine whether a certain combination came directly from Persian or via Pashto, Urdu or Khowar, but ultimately the vast majority of them goes back to Persian.

<i>alól kù-stë</i>	‘to slaughter’
< Prs. <i>ḥalāl kardan</i> (< Arab. <i>ḥalāl</i> ‘permissible in Islam’)	
<i>paydó bú-stë</i>	‘to appear’
<i>paydó kù-stë</i>	‘to find, to create, to generate’
< Prs. <i>paydā būdan/kardan</i>	
<i>kumák kù-stë</i>	‘to help sb.’
< Prs. <i>kumak kardan</i>	
<i>kušiš kù-stë</i>	‘to try, to make an effort’
< Prs. <i>kušiš kardan</i>	
<i>póm kù-stë</i>	‘to take care’
< Psht. <i>pām kawəl</i> (< Arab. <i>fahm</i> ‘understanding’)	
<i>čúrtë vi-stë</i>	‘to worry’
< Psht. <i>čürt wahəl</i>	
<i>patě bú-stë</i>	‘to remain’
<i>patě kù-stë</i>	‘to leave behind’
< Psht. <i>pāta kedəl/kawəl</i>	
<i>tilifón kù-stë</i>	‘to call (on the phone)’
< Prs. <i>tilifōn kardan</i> (< Engl./Fr.)	

A special type of light-verb construction is formed with the verbs NE/W *e-*, SE *ye-* ‘to go’ for an intransitive construction and NE *ašl-*, W *ašé-*, SE *ažl-* ‘to throw, to pour’ for a transitive construction, usually together with a nominal component in the locative case. Semantically this generally produces predicates that indicate an involuntary change of state.²⁴² Valency can be increased further by adding the causative suffix to the verb NE *ašl-*, W *ašé-*, SE *ažl-* > NE/W *ašó-*, *ašévō-*; SE *ažó-*, *aživō-*.

Examples:

NE <i>pšór é-stë</i> , SE <i>pšór yě-stë</i>	‘to go into labor, to give birth’
NE <i>gón é-stë</i> , SE <i>gón yě-stë</i>	‘to be injured’
NE <i>gón ašl-stë</i> , SE <i>gón aži-stë</i>	‘to cause an injury’
NE <i>gón ašó-stë</i> , SE <i>gón aživ-stë</i>	‘to injure sb.’

²⁴² They should be distinguished from combinations with ‘to go’ that refer to actual motion events, such as NE *pkyút é-stë* ‘to go in search of’, W *pěslóm é-stë* ‘to go to pay one’s respects’.

NE <i>běřěgere é=stě</i> , SE <i>bařěğere yě=stě</i>	‘to get into trouble’
NE <i>běřěgere aší=stě</i> , SE <i>bařěğere aží=stě</i>	‘to get sb. into trouble’
(cf. NE <i>děgere</i> , SE <i>dağěře</i> ‘bad’)	
<i>paćtre aží=stě</i>	‘to drive sb. crazy’
(cf. SE <i>čarě</i> ‘crazy’)	

On light-verb constructions involving spatial nouns, see section 2.8.6.3.

In a few cases the elements of light-verb constructions have become inseparable and phonologically fused in such a way that it is more appropriate to speak of noun incorporation. The line between the two is sometimes difficult to draw, since at least in the Southeastern dialect phonological interactions across word boundaries regularly take place in all kinds of phrases. The most convincing examples are the ones in which nothing can interfere between nominal and verbal component.

Examples:

NE/W <i>yáju=stě</i> ‘to eat a meal’	< <i>yaš</i> ‘food, breakfast’ + <i>yú=stě</i> ‘to eat’
NE <i>věllá=stě</i> , SE <i>vallá=stě</i> ²⁴³ ‘to speak’	< NE <i>věří</i> , SE <i>virí</i> ‘speech’ + * <i>la=stě</i> cf. W (<i>věří</i>) <i>lá=stě</i> ‘to speak’
SE <i>nómdě=stě</i> ‘to name’	< <i>nom</i> ‘name’ + <i>tě=stě</i> ‘to put’
SE <i>tóřěži=stě</i> ‘to chase away’	< <i>toř</i> ‘hunt’ + <i>aží=stě</i> ‘to throw’

2.9.4 Deverbal Derivation

Deverbal derivation is the process by which non-verbal (or at least less verbal) forms are derived from verbal stems. There are deverbal nouns, adjectives and adverbs.

2.9.4.1 Verbal Nouns

2.9.4.1.1 The Infinitive²⁴⁴

The Infinitive (INF) is formed with the long stem of the verb. To this, final nasalization is added in most cases in the two Eastern dialects. In the Northeastern dialect, verbs with long stems ending in *-i-* receive the ending *-ě*. For roots ending in a nasal, the infinitive is identical to the long stem, since the nasalization contrast is not maintained

²⁴³ These stems are not transparently analyzable for speakers of the Eastern dialects.

²⁴⁴ Ġulāmullāh (1966: 284): *ḥāṣil-i maṣdar* (‘abstract noun’); Grjunberg (1980: 214): *usečonnjy infinitiv* (‘truncated infinitive’); Strand (2010): *infinitive*.

after nasals. In the Western dialect, which has no nasalization contrast, the long stem with the nasal relic alternation (2.1.5.10) is used, i.e., there is an ending *-ř* before vowels, an ending *-ŋ* before *g-* and no ending before other consonants.

Examples:

NE/SE/W <i>yú-</i>	‘to eat’	⇒	NE/SE <i>yũ</i> W <i>yu ~ yu-ř ~ yu-ŋ</i>
NE <i>zaňé-</i> , SE <i>jaňé-</i> , W <i>zařé-</i>	‘to know’	⇒	NE <i>zaňé</i> , SE <i>jaňé</i> W <i>zařé ~ zařé-ř ~ zařé-ŋ</i>
NE <i>úti-</i> , SE <i>vúti-</i> , W <i>vútye-</i>	‘to stand up’	⇒	NE <i>útyě</i> , SE <i>vútĩ</i> W <i>vútye ~ vútye-ř ~ vútye-ŋ</i>
NE <i>niší-</i> , SE <i>ję-</i> , W <i>něšé-</i>	‘to sit down’	⇒	NE <i>nišě</i> , SE <i>ję</i> W <i>něšé ~ něšé-ř ~ něšé-ŋ</i>

On the different possibilities of clause combination involving the infinitive, see section 2.11.6.7.1. Beyond these, the infinitive together with the verb NE *e-stě*, SE *yě-stě* ‘to go’ (in all its tense-aspect-mood forms) also forms an periphrastic passive construction (PASS). The passive construction is the only mechanism that can make a lexically transitive verb intransitive, but it also occurs with derived transitives. It appears therefore that it is not only a valency-reducing operation, but also affects the meaning of the verb, as is also common in modern Indo-Aryan languages (cf. Masica 1991: 315–316). Examples of the passive construction are given in (59) – (61).

(59) *Káy vel-tã amkí póm imú kěřě-bo, Karonádukšul-tã-staň imú só tě élasěmiš.*

<i>kay</i>	<i>vel-tã</i>	<i>amkí</i>	<i>pom</i>	<i>imú</i>
what	time=LPST	DEM.DIST.PL.DIR	pay.attention...	1PL.DIR/OBL
<i>k-ěřě</i>		<i>-bo</i>	<i>Karoná-dukšul-tã-ō</i>	<i>-staň imú</i>
...pay.attention-COND.3PL		=CNJ	corona-disease=LPST-ABL	=from 1PL.DIR/OBL
<i>só_tě-ō_é-lě-asěmiš</i>				
preserve-PASS-FUT.1PL				

‘If we pay attention to these things, we will be protected from the coronavirus.’

[NE-MR] (Mansur Coronavirus 5.2)

(60) *Bilyúk manjō̃-do düš lužě guá, kūr lužě guá.*

<i>bilyúk</i>	<i>manj-ō̃-to</i>	<i>düş</i>	<i>lužě-ō̃_guá</i>
much	person-OBL.PL=LPST	hand.DIR	burn-PASS.PFV.PST.3PL
<i>kūr</i>	<i>lužě-ō̃_guá</i>		
foot.DIR	burn-PASS.PFV.PST.3PL		

‘Many people’s arms were burned, or legs were burned.’ [SE-KM]

(Amin Jihad 607.11)

(61) *Stá-vu mēšīk pērōř éley.*

<i>sta</i>	<i>=vu</i>	<i>mēšīk</i>	<i>pēr-ō-ř-é-lē-ey</i>
LDEM.DIST	=PHOR	game.DIR	finish-CAUS-PASS-IPFV.3=CONS

‘Then the game is finished.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg XI 14.4)

Another function of the infinitive is to focus a predicate. In this case the infinitive form of the predicate is added at the beginning of the sentence (with or without a following focus particle) but also remains in finite form at the end of the sentence, as in example (62).

(62) *Jaňě ná jaňyó – guó.*

<i>jaňě-ō̃</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>jaň-yó</i>	<i>guó</i>
kill-INF	NEG	kill-PFV.PST.3SG.M	go.PFV.PST.3SG.M

‘Kill him they didn’t - he left.’ [SE-KS] (Kuštozi Customs 111.14)

2.9.4.1.2 The Referential Infinitive (Citation Form)²⁴⁵

The referential infinitive is another type of verbal noun, which is formed with the referentializer *-stě* (2.7.3.1). Its base of derivation is the simple infinitive in the Southeastern dialect,²⁴⁶ but in the Northeastern dialect the referentializer is attached directly to the long stem of the verb. In the Western dialect, where the infinitive is not distinct from the long stem of the verb before *s*, it is impossible to tell which of the two forms underlies the formation.

²⁴⁵ Ġulāmullāh (1966: 284): *maṣdar* (‘infinitive’/‘verbal noun’); Grjunberg (1980: 214): *infinitiv* (‘infinitive’); Strand (2010): *gerund*.

²⁴⁶ It always has stem-final nasalization (like the simple Infinitive) with Ġulāmullāh (1966), but Strand (1999a) also notes a non-nasalized variant.

The inflection of the referential infinitive is realized on the referentializer, its gender (seen in agreement morphology) is masculine.

An important function of the referential infinitive is its use as the citation form for verbs. It is also used as a general-purpose verbal noun, referring to the event denoted by the verb, e.g. W/NE *ku-stě*, SE *kũ-stě* ‘to do; (the act of) doing’. In the Western dialect there are a few instances in which the referential infinitive is also used to refer to the agent, instrument or result of the event denoted by the verb, e.g. W-KT *věťělě-stě* (collapse.INF=REF) ‘landslide’ or the compound W-KL *póňyuř-aše-stě* (LP.finger-throw.INF=REF) ‘ring’.

On the different possibilities of clause combination involving the referential infinitive, see section 2.11.6.7.2.

Beyond these, the referential infinitive also forms an analytical construction expressing obligation together with the copula (in all of its tense-aspect-mood forms). In the Western dialect this construction contains a “diminutive” form of the Referential Infinitive, ending in *-st-uk*.²⁴⁷ The construction is impersonal with intransitive verbs, with the copular form always in the 3rd person singular and the obligated participant either expressed in the Oblique case or left implicit (see examples (63) – (65)). With transitive verbs the copular form instead agrees with the patient, which stands in the Direct case, while the agent again receives the Oblique case, if not left implicit (see examples (66)-(68)).²⁴⁸

(63) *Nuṣṭó ḍakṭár-tã éstasë.*

<i>nuṣṭó</i>	<i>ḍakṭár-tã</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>=st-ě-as-ě</i>
quickly	doctor=LPST	go	=REF-DIR=COP-PRS.3SG

“It is to go quickly to the doctor.” = ‘One has to go quickly to the doctor.’ [NE]
(Mansur Coronavirus 6.2)

²⁴⁷ Grjunberg (1980: 256–257): *gerundiv* (‘gerundive’).

²⁴⁸ Strictly speaking, the case-marking pattern with this construction is therefore nominative-accusative, but with the usual roles of the cases reversed – The oblique case has the nominative role and the direct case has the accusative role.

(64) *Šó yěstēzi.*

<i>šo-ō</i>	<i>ye-ō</i>	<i>=st-ě=ēz-i</i>
2PL-OBL	go-INF	=REF-DIR=COP-PST.3

“It was for you to go” = ‘You had to go’/‘You should have gone.’

[SE-PT] (Ġulāmullāh 1966)

(65) *Aní yimó súv túk bē=stuk-asē.*

<i>aní</i>	<i>yimó</i>	<i>súv</i>	<i>túk_bē</i>	<i>=st-uk</i>	<i>=as-ē</i>
LDEM.PROX	1PL.DIR/OBL	all	croak.INF	=REF-DIM.M	=COP-PRS.3SG

“It is for us all to die here.” = ‘We all have to die here.’ [W-KL]

(Grjunberg VIII 11.6)

(66) *Amnē sēñí nívutyō=stē bündē.*

<i>amnē</i>	<i>sēñí</i>	<i>ní-vutí-ō</i>	<i>=st-ē</i>	<i>bú-ndē</i>
DEM.DIST.PL	soldier.DIR	←-remain-CAUS	=REF-DIR	be-PROG.3PL

“These soldiers are being to keep downvalley.” = ‘We have to keep these soldiers downvalley.’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 368.9)

(67) *Kitób gā=stē bula.*

<i>kitóp</i>	<i>gā</i>	<i>=st-ē</i>	<i>bú-la</i>
book.DIR	take.away	=REF-DIR	be-OPT.3PL

“The books would be to take.” = ‘They should take the books.’ [NE-PC]

(RTA Language 23.5)

(68) *Yé stē věřé=stuk-asē.*

<i>ye</i>	<i>st-ē</i>	<i>věřé</i>	<i>=st-uk</i>	<i>=as-ē</i>
1SG.OBL	DEM.DIST-DIR	see.INF	=REF-DIM.M	=COP-PRS.3SG

“For me he is to see” = ‘I need to see him’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg 1980: 257)

Obligation can be doubly marked with the addition of the loanword *boyád* (< Prs. *bāyad* ‘must’), as in example (69).

(69) Čaŋ manč-^{stë} vëri boyád kór tè=stë búlosi.

čaŋ	manč- ^{stë}		vëri	boyád kór_të	=st- ^ë
all	person-OBL.PL	=REF	speech.DIR	must listen	=REF-DIR

bú-losi

be-OPT.PST.3SG.M

“All people’s opinions would have been to listen to.” = ‘They should have listened to all people’s opinions.’ [NE-PC] (RTA Negotiations 2.2)

2.9.4.1.3 The Supine²⁴⁹

In the Eastern dialects the Supine (SUP) is formed with the long stem of the verb followed by the suffix -ñ. In the Western dialect it is formed with the long stem and the suffix -ř for most verbs, but in causative-derived verbs the same stem as in the imperative (ending in -ov) is used, followed by the suffix -eř. The Western supine therefore happens to be completely homonymous with the Imperative plural.

It is possible that the supine is originally a case form (or even just a sandhi variant) of the infinitive (cf. section 2.1.5.10 on the entangled history of word-final nasalization and -ñ). A point in favor of this idea is that a particular construction with the postposition -yik ~ -vik ‘until’, which usually requires case inflection on the preceding noun, contains the infinitive in the Western dialect (2.11.6.7.1.4), but the supine in the Southeastern dialect (2.11.6.7.3.1). Outside of this construction, real nominal use of the supine is not attested. On the possibilities of clause combination involving the supine, see section 2.11.6.7.2.

2.9.4.1.4 The Abstract Verbal Noun²⁵⁰

The Abstract Verbal Noun (VN) is formed with a suffix -ik in all three dialects. The suffix attaches to the short stem and is stressed if the short stem ends in a consonant. If the short stem ends in a vowel, the form of the suffix becomes -k (w -ky). Some stems have irregular forms.

Abstract verbal nouns do not have a consistent meaning, only some tendencies can be noted. One notable point is that they often refer to feelings or urges, especially uncontrollable ones.

²⁴⁹ Grjunberg (1980: 214): *supin* (‘supine’); Strand (2010): *destination noun*.

²⁵⁰ Ġulāmullāh (1966: 284): *ism-i maşdar* (‘gerund’); Grjunberg (1980: 214): *absoljutiv II* (‘absolute II’); Strand (2010): *impulse noun*.

Examples (short stems & abstract verbal noun formations):

<i>ĵir-</i>	‘to be ashamed’	<i>ĵirík</i>	‘shame’
NE <i>věděř-</i> , SE <i>viděř-</i>	‘to be afraid’	NE <i>věděřík</i> , SE <i>viděřík</i>	‘fear’
NE <i>ó pí-</i>	‘to drink water’	NE <i>ó pik</i>	‘thirst’
NE/W <i>kěn-</i> , SE <i>kan-</i>	‘to laugh’	NE/W <i>kěník</i> , SE <i>kaník</i>	‘laughter, urge to laugh’
NE <i>léy zaň-</i>	‘to like’	NE <i>léy zaňík</i>	‘love, affection’
NE <i>šiš-</i> , SE <i>šíž-</i>	‘to have compassion’	NE <i>šišík</i> , SE <i>šížík</i>	‘compassion’
NE <i>viš-</i> , SE <i>viž-</i>	‘to think, to imagine’	NE <i>višík</i> , SE <i>vižík</i>	‘(spontaneous) thought, idea’

causative-derived verbs:

NE <i>atékše-</i>	‘to earn’ (lit. ‘to pull in’)	NE <i>atékšek</i>	‘drive to earn wealth’
SE <i>çaňěňe-</i>	‘to scratch’	SE <i>çaňěňek</i>	‘itch’

irregular formation:

NE/SE <i>pšu-</i>	‘to sleep’	NE <i>pšik</i> , SE <i>pšük</i>	‘sleep’
SE <i>ó k-</i>	‘to pee’	SE <i>ó ġařík</i>	‘urge to pee’

Forms with this semantic range are often used in impersonal constructions with NE *bu-stě*, W *bě-stě*, SE *bũ-stě* ‘to become’, as in example (70).

(70) *Tú káy přélum višík bú-tě.*

<i>tu</i>	<i>káy</i>	<i>pře-lum</i>	<i>viš-ík</i>	<i>bú-tě</i>
2SG.OBL	what	give-FUT.1SG.M	think-VN	become-PROG.PRS.3SG
‘I am having the idea to give you something.’ [NE-BN] (Sun-Aro Fox 4.1)				

Other cases are more difficult to fit into this semantic type and seem rather more compatible with a general abstract noun meaning.²⁵¹

²⁵¹ Many more nouns end in *-ik* without showing a resemblance to any verbal stem. Some, but probably not all of these are originally feminine diminutives.

Examples:

NE <i>ubj-</i> ,	‘to come into being,	NE <i>ubjík</i> ,	‘life’
SE <i>vuběj-</i>	to be brought up’	SE <i>vubějík</i>	
NE <i>miš-</i> ,	‘to play’	NE <i>mišík</i> ,	‘game’
W <i>měš-</i> ,		W <i>měšík</i> ,	
SE <i>miž-</i>		SE <i>mižík</i>	
W <i>vuňá-</i>	‘to take’	W <i>vuňáky</i>	‘taking rights’
W <i>*ye</i> ²⁵²	‘to graze (livestock)	W <i>yeky</i>	‘grazing, pasture’

Together with the verb NE *e-stě*, SE *yě-stě* ‘to go’, the abstract verbal noun forms a reciprocal construction. In this context it is often reduplicated. While abstract verbal nouns such as the ones listed above are only in general use for some verbs, any verb may appear in the reciprocal construction, which is semantically quite separate. In the Western dialect the reciprocal construction is less well attested. Examples are given in (71) – (74).

(71) *Ačě kčěk gě, kúdyum vúpsina.*

<i>ačě</i>	<i>kč-e-k</i>	<i>ge</i>	<i>kúdyum</i>	<i>vú-psi-na</i>
eye.DIR	look-CAUS-VN	go.CVB	work.DIR	↓-settle-PFV.PST.3PL

‘Eyes looking at each other, the work was left undone.’ [NE-MR]

(Mansur Proverbs 41)

(72) “*Kapěřě mēr jěno*”, *garék gómiš*.

<i>kapěr-ě</i>	<i>mer</i>	<i>jě-no</i>	<i>kar-é-k</i>	<i>gómiš</i>
infidel-M.DIR	king	sit.down-PFV.PST.3SG	do-CAUS-VN	go.pfv.pst.1pl

“‘An infidel is sitting on the throne’, we said to each other.’ [SE-KM]

(Kabir Revolt 18.4)

²⁵² Apparently an irregular causative derivation of *yú-* ‘to eat’ > *y-ô-*, *y-é-* instead of regular *yuv-ô-*, *yuv-é-* ‘to make sb. eat’.

(73) *Yimó sũ-di jaňík-jaňík yélë manji=mizëmiš!*

<i>yimó</i>	<i>sũ</i>	<i>=di</i>	<i>jaň-ík~jaňík</i>	<i>yé-l-ë</i>
1PL.DIR	all	=ADD.FOC	know-VN~REC	go-IPFV.PTCP-M
<i>manji</i>	<i>=mĩ-ëz-ëmiš</i>			
person.DIR	=only=COP-1PL			

‘We’re all just people who know each other!’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 73.2)

(74) *Kazík-kazík yélay.*

<i>kaz-ík~kazík</i>	<i>yé-lë-ay</i>
scrape-VN~REC	go-IPFV/FUT.3PL

‘They would rob each other.’ [SE-PT] (Kabir/Gulāmullāh History 99.1)

Lexicalized from this construction is the noun *víkvik* ‘battle’ < ‘hitting each other’ (vi- ‘to hit’).

2.9.4.1.5 Verbal Place Nouns

Nominal compounds referring to the time or place of a verbal event can be formed from verbal stems. In the Eastern dialects, verbal place nouns consist of the long stem of the verb followed by the compounded noun NE *tã*, SE *tõ* ‘place’. The same stem vowel deletions as with the general converb in *-ti* (2.9.6.1.5.1) also apply to this formation, e.g. SE *lužě* ‘to burn’ > *luštõ*. In the Western dialect the relation to the word *ta* ‘place’ is no longer fully transparent since the suffix has become *-na*, but the functional range and the Oblique case form in *-nař-e* make it quite likely that the origin is the same (cf. the oblique singular of *ta* – *tař-e*).

For positional verbs, an equivalent form can be constructed based on the perfective participle. These forms generally only appear in the locative case form with the local prefix, e.g. SE *pa-njě-n-ë-tõ*²⁵³ (LP-sit.down-PFV.PTCP-M-place) ‘at the sat place’ = ‘while sitting’ or SE *pa-pšú-y-tõ* (LP-go.to.sleep-PFV.PTCP-place) ‘at the gone-to-sleep place’ = ‘while sleeping’.

Regular verbal place nouns can be used in all dialects to refer to the place (or time) of a verbal event. In the Eastern dialects the verbal place noun can be used for clause combination together with the local postposition NE *-tã*, SE *-to* (see section 2.11.6.7.4 for examples).

²⁵³ The *n-* before the stem of SE *jě-stě* ‘to sit down’, which is etymologically expected in light of w *něšě-stě*, NE *niší-stě* ‘to sit down’, surfaces only in this prefixed form.

In the Western dialect the verbal place noun has developed in a different direction: Beside the use as a simple noun, a whole verbal paradigm – the progressive conditional – has been built on the base of the verbal place noun, which serves as its 3rd person singular form (see section 2.9.6.6.5).

In all dialects the verbal place noun can be used in an involuntary change-of-state light-verb construction, i.e., with the local prefix and the light verbs ‘to go’ (itr.) / ‘to throw’ (tr.) (see section 2.9.3.2), in order to express violent events (cf. Mohammad 1991: 40–42). An example is given in (75).

(75) *Ráy Asáde bějřéna ašéně.*

<i>Ráy</i>	<i>Asád-e</i>	<i>bě-jřé-na</i>	<i>ašé-ně</i>
PN.DIR	PN-OBL.SG.M	LP-kill-place	throw-PROG.3SG

‘Ray is getting Asad killed.’ [W-KN] (Mohammad 1991: 41)

2.9.4.2 Deverbal Adjectives

2.9.4.2.1 Participles

A kind of deverbal adjective derivation, the derivation of participles, plays a central role in the system of verbal inflection. It is dealt with in detail in section 2.9.6.2.

Beside the participial formations relevant for verbal inflection there is one type of adjective, which likely originates as a deverbal, participial formation, though it is no longer productive as such.²⁵⁴ These adjectives are formally equivalent to verbal stems with a suffix *-ň* (w *-ř*) and generally have a semantic relationship to the meaning of the verb.

Examples:

NE <i>pulsé-</i>	‘to shine, to glisten’	⇒	<i>pulsé-ň</i> (M)	‘shiny, glistening’
SE <i>pilsě-</i>			<i>pilsě-ň</i> (M)	
W <i>pělsé-</i>			<i>pělsé-ř</i> (M)	

²⁵⁴ It is likely that these forms directly correspond to the participle with the formant *-ň-* that is at the base of the Ashkun present formation. Ultimately this would go back to the thematic variant **-āna-* of the Indo-Iranian middle voice present participle (Morgenstierne 1929: 217). The productive Katë progressive stem/“participle” in *-n-* is instead derived from the (generalized) athematic variant **-mHna-* (contra Morgenstierne 1929: 217). Cf. also footnote 265.

NE * <i>sělkí-</i>	‘to slip’	⇒	<i>sělkyé-ň</i> (M)	‘flowing, smooth,
SE <i>sělkě-</i>			<i>sělkě-ň</i> (M)	slippery’
W <i>sělkyé-</i>			<i>sělkyé-ř</i> (M)	

Participles formed in the same way, but with an additional diminutive suffix *-uk*, appear sporadically in some constructions, such as those in examples (76) and (77). Strand’s (1999a: sec. “Objectified Energy Flow”) proposal to relate these forms to the supine seems semantically less plausible to me.

(76) *Ĵěňuk bú.*

<i>ĵé-ň-uk</i>	<i>bú</i>
sit.down-PTCP-DIM	be.IMP

‘Be seated.’ [SE-KM] (Strand 1999a: sec. “Objectified Energy Flow”)

(77) *Viľ.óňuǵũ aps.ó.*

<i>viľ.ó-ň-uk-ẽ</i>	<i>aps.ó</i>
collapse-CAUS-PTCP-DIM-INS	swell-CAUS.IMP

‘Inflate it until it explodes.’ [SE-KM]

(Strand 1999a: sec. “Objectified Energy Flow”)

2.9.4.2.2 *koř* ‘to be done’

The form *koř* is an isolated verbal adjective formed from the verb *ku-stě* ‘to do, to say’, which appears in the Eastern dialects. It means ‘to be done/said, supposed to be done/said’ and can appear in any context where the verb *ku-stě* is used, i.e. including in light-verb constructions etc. In predicative use it appears with the copula (as usual for adjectives). It is probably the source of the derivational suffix *-koř* (2.4.3.4).

2.9.5 Negation

Any verb form can be negated with the negator NE/W *ne*, SE *na* (NEG). The negator most commonly appears directly before the verb, as in e.g. NE *né kùtum* ‘I am not doing’. It attracts phrasal stress under usual intonational conditions. With light-verb constructions, periphrastic verb forms and verbs with spatial prefixes, the negator can appear either before the whole verb phrase or directly before the finite verb form, detaching spatial prefixes from their base (cf. section 2.8.6.2.1) and separating the nominal components of a phrasal verb or periphrastic form from the verbal component.

Paired use of the negator creates a “neither – nor” construction. For more detail on this construction, see section 2.11.1.1.6.

In elliptical contexts (e.g. where verbs are left out) the negational element NE/W *ney*, SE *nay* ~ *nā* is used, which is otherwise also used as the polar answer ‘no’. An example is given in (78). On the use of the elliptical negator with indeterminate pronouns, see section 2.3.5.3.1. On its use as a conjunction with the meaning ‘or’, see section 2.11.6.4.2.

(78) *Apérë asélum, nañá-kẽ néy.*

<i>apér-ë</i>	<i>asé-lum</i>	<i>nañá</i>	<i>-kẽ</i>	<i>ney</i>
unkind-M	COP-PRSM.1SG.M	mother.PERT1.OBL	-for	no

‘I may be unkind, but not to my mother.’ [NE-MR] (Mansur Proverbs 8)

The elliptical negator also has an adverbial instrumental form NE *néy-ẽ*, SE *náy-ĩ* which means ‘without’ when placed after a noun in the Direct case. A functionally equivalent construction is achieved by placing the regular negator before the instrumental form of the noun.

Together with the polar question particle *-a* the elliptical negator is used as a tag question or as a request for confirmation or addressee engagement: NE/W *néy-a?*, SE *náy-a?* ‘right?; isn’t that right?’.

2.9.6 Verbal Inflection

2.9.6.1 Forms from the Primary Stems

A small number of verb forms is formed directly from one of the primary verbs stems without further derivation. The core of this group is formed by isolated survivals of the inherited Indo-Iranian verbal inflection.

2.9.6.1.1 The Imperative²⁵⁵

	Stem	Suffix
2SG Imperative “(you) do!”	imperative or long	– (NE, W) -ú (SE, consonant- final roots)
2PL Imperative “(you all) do!”	imperative or long	<i>after vowel:</i> -ň (NE, SE) -ř (W) <i>after consonant:</i> -eň (NE) -eř (W) -ěň (SE) (= 2PL VPM)

The imperative (IMP) is a modal form which is used to order someone else to do something. Imperatives can only be formed for the second person singular and plural. Orders or wishes to a third person or first person are expressed with the Optative (see 2.9.6.7.9).

In the Western and Northeastern dialects, the 2nd person singular imperative is equivalent to the long stem for most verbs. For those verbs that have a separate Imperative Stem it is equivalent to this stem.

Examples:

<i>bu!</i>	‘be!’
NE <i>ašl!</i> , W <i>ašél!</i>	‘throw!’
NE/SE <i>kšō!</i>	‘pull!’

Examples with separate Imperative Stems:

<i>ač!</i>	‘come!’
NE/SE <i>přeč!</i> , W <i>peč!</i>	‘go on!’

²⁵⁵ Ġulāmullāh (1966: 266): *amr-i ḥāẓir* (‘order in presence’/‘direct imperative’), Grjunberg (1980: 213) *imperativ* (‘imperative’).

<i>gač!</i>	‘bring!’
<i>kši!</i>	‘do!’
<i>yi!</i>	‘go!’
<i>gay!</i>	‘take away!’
<i>w kšov!</i>	‘pull!’

The Southeastern dialect diverges from this model by replacing the long-stem vowel of two-stem verbs with *-u* to form the imperative, e.g. SE *ažú* ‘throw!’.

The second person plural imperative is formed with the same stems as the singular imperative, plus the second person plural verbal person marker with its form depending on whether the stem ends in a consonant (NE *-eň*, W *-eř*, SE *-ěň*) or a vowel (NE/SE *-ň*, W *-ř*).

Examples:

NE/SE <i>bu-ň!</i> , W <i>bu-ř!</i>	‘be! (PL)’
NE <i>aší-ň!</i> , W <i>ašé-ř!</i> , SE <i>aží-ň!</i>	‘throw! (PL)’
NE/SE <i>kšō-ň!</i> , W <i>kšov-eř!</i>	‘pull! (PL)’
NE <i>ác-eň!</i> , SE <i>ác-ěň!</i> , W <i>ác-eř!</i>	‘come! (PL)’
NE <i>přéc-eň!</i> , SE <i>přéc-ěň!</i> , W <i>péc-eř!</i>	‘go on! (PL)’
NE/SE <i>kši-ň!</i> , W <i>kši-ř!</i>	‘do! (PL)’

The Imperative can be used with or without the corresponding second person pronoun.

2.9.6.1.2 Primary Optative Forms

	Stem	Suffix
1SG Present Optative (<i>external to PRS.OPT paradigm in SE</i>) “I should do”	long	-m (= 1SG VPM)
1PL Present Optative “we should do”/ “let’s do”	long	-mu (NE) -mo (W) -mmo (SE)
1PL Past Optative (<i>only in SE</i>) “we should have done”	long	-mm-azi (1PL prs. opt. + past copula)

The paradigm of the Present Optative (PRS.OPT) is suppletive, i.e., its inflectional forms do not have a single homogenous origin. In particular there is a morphological split between forms of the first person and those of the second and third persons. Whereas 2nd and 3rd person Optative forms are part of the imperfective participial system (2.9.6.7), the first-person forms are primary formations. In the Western and Northeastern dialects, the first-person singular of the present optative consists of the long stem of the verb plus the person-marking suffix *-m*. The same form also occurs in the Southeastern dialect,²⁵⁶ but there it is not fully integrated into the optative paradigm since a first-person singular form built after the model of the second and third persons also exists.

In the first person plural all three dialects have a primary form that is integrated into the paradigm. This form consists of the long stem of the verb plus the suffix *-mu* (NE), *-mo* (W), *-mmo* (SE). The Southeastern dialect also uses this form as a base for the past optative first person plural which accordingly has the suffix *-mmazi* (i.e. *-mmo* + past copula *azi*).

For the full paradigm, see section 2.9.6.7.9.

²⁵⁶ Strand (2010): *immediate mode*.

2.9.6.1.3 The Obligative (only SE)

	Stem	Suffix
Obligative (<i>only in SE</i>) “must do”	long	-mu

The obligative²⁵⁷ is a Southeastern form, which is formed by adding the suffix *-mu* to the long stem of the verb. It should not be confused with the 1st person plural optative, which has the same formation (long stem + *-mu*) in the Northeastern dialect but actually a different suffix *-mmo* in the Southeastern dialect.

The function of the Southeastern obligative is also completely different from that of the 1PL Optative: It is an impersonal form that expresses obligation to perform the action denoted by the verb, or prohibition in the negated form. The obligated participant stands in the Oblique case.

The form may be archaic, since it is only mentioned by Ġulāmullāh (1966: 267) and is otherwise absent from the examined corpus. Examples are given in (79) and (80).

(79) *Tū akū būmu.*

<i>tū</i>	<i>akū</i>	<i>bū-mu</i>
2SG.OBL	LDEM.DIST.PHOR	be-OBLG

‘You have to be there’ [SE-PT] (Ġulāmullāh 1966: 267)

(80) *Amgyō ná yému.*

<i>amgyō</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>yé-mu</i>
DEM.DIST.PL-OBL.PL	NEG	go-OBLG

‘They must not go.’ [SE-PT] (Ġulāmullāh 1966: 267)

²⁵⁷ Ġulāmullāh (1966: 267): *fīl-i yak-ṣīgaʿi* (‘one-form verb’).

2.9.6.1.4 The Quotational Form (only NE, SE)

	Stem	Suffix
Quotational form (only in NE, SE) “says: ‘...’” / “goes: ‘...’”	long: <i>gějǐ kù</i> (NE) <i>gǐjǐ ġú</i> (SE)	-š (2SG) (= 2SG VPM) -ñ (2PL) (= 2PL VPM) – (3SG/PL)

The quotational form (QUOT) is an isolated 2nd and 3rd person form that only exists in the Eastern dialects. It can only be formed from the light-verb predicate NE *gějǐ kù=stě*, SE *gǐjǐ ġú=stě* ‘to say’, which is used to introduce quotations (*he/she says: “...”*). The 3rd person (singular and plural) form, which is by far the most frequent, consists simply of the long stem NE *gějǐ kù*, SE *gǐjǐ ġú*. Second person forms are formed by attaching verbal person markers -š (2SG) and -ñ (2pl) directly to the stem: NE *gějǐ kùš*, SE *gǐjǐ ġúš*, NE *gějǐ kùñ*, SE *gǐjǐ ġúñ*.

The quotational form primarily occurs in narratives, where it coexists with other third-person forms of the same verb. It does not contain tense-aspect information and it seems that it primarily serves particular discourse functions, such as structuring turn taking in a reported conversation, or giving a sense of narrative immediacy when reporting third-person speech. It is possible that the Katë quotational form is an isolated survival of an older, more general present tense form. Examples are given in (81) and (82).

(81) *Ćaŋ yuškúš év sěvérē=tā gějǐ kù, imú=tā skól měšě kěřěssě.*

ćaŋ yuškúš ev sěvér-ē =tā gějǐ kù
all wild.animal.DIR one the.other-OBL =LPST say.QUOT3

imú =tā skól měšě k-ěřě-stě-asě.
2PL.DIR/OBL =LPST a.lot get.angry-RES.3SG.M

‘All the animals said to each other: “He has gotten really angry at us.”’

[NE-BN/MR] (Sun-Aro Lion 4.2)

(82) “Yénja?” *kṭi giḷi ḡu* – “Óũ.”

<i>yé-ṇṭi-a</i>	<i>k-ti</i>	<i>giḷi ḡu</i>	<i>óũ</i>
go-PROG.2SG=Q	do-CVB	say.QUOT3	yes

“‘You’re going?’ he says – ‘Yes.’” [*re-telling of a conversation*] [SE-KM]
(Amin Jihad 575.19)

2.9.6.1.5 Converbs (non-negated)

Converbs are verb forms that are prototypically used as adverbial modifiers to a main predicate. Frequent use of converbs is typical of both South Asian and Central Asian languages. It is therefore not at all surprising that they are also found in Katë, which has three different types of converb, a general converb, a simultaneous converb and a negated converb. Negated converbs are not treated in this section, since they are formed with a different stem. They are part of the perfective system (see section 2.9.6.8.12).

2.9.6.1.5.1 The General Converb²⁵⁸

	Stem	Suffix
General Converb – Short Variant (not in SE) “doing, having done”	long/converb	–
General Converb – Long Variant “doing, having done”	long/converb (sometimes contracted)	-ti (W, NE) -tye (NE-MR/KU) -ti ~ -di (SE)

The general converb (CVB) is the most frequent converb form. In the Western and Southeastern dialects it has a short and a long variant with essentially no difference in function and meaning. In the Southeastern dialect only the long variant is used.

The short variant consists simply of the long stem of the verb or the converb stem, where one exists.

²⁵⁸ Ġulāmullāh (1966: 266, 284): *ṣifat-i fi’li* (‘verbal adjective’); Grjunberg (1980: 214): *absoljutiv I* (‘absolute I’); Strand (2010) *absolute*. Grjunberg (1980) does not describe the short variant, though it does occur in his data. In one place (1980: 295) he refers to it as a “contracted form of the absolute I” (*stjažonnaja forma absoljutiva I*) without any further elaboration.

Examples:

NE/W <i>ku-stë</i>	‘to do, to say’	>	NE <i>ke</i> , W-KL <i>kë</i> , W-ŠT <i>ka</i>
NE/W <i>e-stë</i>	‘to go’	>	NE <i>ge</i> , W-KL <i>gë</i>
NE <i>bu-stë</i>	‘to be, to become’	>	NE <i>bu</i>
NE <i>gā-stë</i>	‘to take’	>	NE <i>gā</i>
NE <i>pëlëjë-stë</i>	‘to move’	>	NE <i>pëlëjë</i>
NE <i>vi-stë</i>	‘to hit’	>	NE <i>vi</i>
NE <i>kçe-stë</i>	‘to look’	>	NE <i>kçe</i>

The long variant is usually formed by adding the suffix *-ti* to the long stem of the verb (or the converb stem, where one exists).²⁵⁹ In the Northeastern subvarieties spoken in Chitral the suffix is *-tye*,²⁶⁰ which is a notable isogloss dividing them from the subvarieties of Katëgel (upper Laṇḍay Sin).

In all dialects the verb ‘to come’ forms its converb with the vowelless stem *ač-*, producing W/NE/SE *átti* (< *áč-tī*), NE-MR *áttye* (< *áč-tye*).²⁶¹ In the Northeastern and Western dialects the stem vowel is optionally elided after *š*, causing stress to shift onto the suffix, e.g. NE *nišī-* ‘to sit down’ + *-ti* > *ništī* (NE-MR *ništyē*).

In the Southeastern dialect the stem vowel is elided in more contexts. Elision is obligatory after dental affricates (*j/č*), after sibilants (*z/s*, *ž/š*, *ž/š*) and after *r*, *r/ṭ*, *l*, *n* and *m* (in single intervocalic position). In the forms with elision, the root-final consonant appears in a non-lenited form (cf. section 2.1.2.10). In the cases where the stem vowel is not elided, as well as wherever elision places the suffix in direct contact

²⁵⁹ Following Morgenstierne (1929: 223), this suffix has generally been equated with that of a Vedic absolutive form ending in *-tvī* and subsequently this has been discussed as evidence in the debate about the classification of the Nuristani family (Buddruss 1977a: 24). However, given that the suffix is unstressed and the final vowel preserved and that short and long variants coexist with barely any functional distinction, it seems much more likely to me that it is not an ancient suffix, but a converb extension functionally comparable to Hindi/Urdu *kar* and *-ke* (see Slade (2021: 267) for a hypothesis on the historical genesis of such extensions). It seems probable to me that it is in fact originally the converb form of the verb *ti-* ‘to stand’ unverbated with the original converb form (= the short variant). Cf. also the extended converb form of Nuristani Kalasha (dialects of Waigal & Žönčigal) in *-i bi* (Morgenstierne 1954: 197) and Ashkun (dialect of Wāmā) in *-iakə* (Buddruss 2006: 196–197).

²⁶⁰ This is confirmed for the dialects of Mumret (Bumboret Shēkhāndeh) and Kuništ (Rumbur Shēkhāndeh), the situation in the dialect of Gabur is not known to me.

²⁶¹ Cf. section 2.1.5.8 on the phonological assimilation.

with a nasal (post-nasal voicing, cf. section 2.1.2.10), the suffix becomes *-di*. If the verb has lexical stress on the stem vowel, stress shifts to the suffix in elided forms.

Examples (SE dialect):

<i>liṣṭě=stě</i>	‘to chase’	⇒	<i>liṣṭě-di</i>
<i>kačě=stě</i>	‘to look’	⇒	<i>kat-tí (kač-tí)</i>
<i>lazě=stě</i>	‘to escape’	⇒	<i>las-tí</i>
<i>ažl=stě</i>	‘to throw’	⇒	<i>aš-tí</i>
<i>luṣě=stě</i>	‘to burn’	⇒	<i>luṣ-tí</i>
<i>pérě=stě</i>	‘to break’	⇒	<i>pét-ti</i>
<i>tarě=stě</i>	‘to cross’	⇒	<i>tar-tí</i>
<i>čalě=stě</i>	‘to move away, to go into exile’	⇒	<i>čal-tí</i>
<i>saně=stě</i>	‘to be connected’	⇒	<i>san-dí</i>
<i>namě=stě</i>	‘to send’	⇒	<i>nam-dí</i>

On use of the general converb in complex predicates, see section 2.11.5.3. On its uses in the combination of clauses, see section 2.11.6.5.

2.9.6.1.5.2 The Simultaneous Converb²⁶²

	Stem	Suffix
Simultaneous Converb “while doing”	long	-m

The Simultaneous Converb (CVB.SIM) is formed from the long stem (not the converb stem, except with Southeastern causative-derived verbs) of the verb, followed by the suffix *-m*. It is therefore mostly homonymous with the 1st person singular primary optative form (2.9.6.1.2). It occurs in all dialects.

²⁶² Ġulāmullāh (1966: 267, 284) *ṣifat-i ḥālī yā ṣifat-i qaydī/qayd-i waṣfī* (‘present adjective or adverbial adjective/descriptive adverb’); Grjunberg (1980: 214): *deepričastie* (‘adverbial participle’); Strand (2010) *adverb of motion*.

Examples (NE dialect):

<i>bú-</i>	‘to be, to become’	⇒	<i>bu-m</i>
<i>kěné-</i>	‘to laugh’	⇒	<i>kěné-m</i>
<i>pělté-</i>	‘to fall’	⇒	<i>pělté-m</i>

This converb form is used for an event proceeding at the same time as the one referred to by the main predicate. Most frequently it is used to describe manner of movement. On use of the simultaneous converb in complex predicates, see section 2.11.5.3. On its uses in the combination of clauses, see section 2.11.6.5.

2.9.6.2 Participles and Participial Stems

While the primary verbal stems described in section 2.9.2 are the foundation for all verb forms, most forms are actually constructed with one of three secondary stems derived from the primary verbal stems. These will be called *participial stems* since all three of them are participles in origin and two of them in fact still function as participles.

They are labelled here the *progressive “participle”*, the *perfective participle* and the *imperfective participle*. Each participial stem defines a morphological subsystem and these systems will accordingly be referred to as the *progressive system*, the *perfective system* and the *imperfective system*. It must be kept in mind that these are formal groupings and that the original function or meaning of the participial stem is not necessarily identifiable in all forms belonging to its morphological subsystem.

2.9.6.2.1 The Progressive “Participle”

The progressive “participle”²⁶³ (PROG) makes up the stem of all progressive forms. It is formed by combining the long verb stem with a dialectally varying suffix *-t-* (NE) or *-n-* (W, SE). The form of the progressive suffix is a major isogloss dividing the Northeastern dialect from the other two varieties.

Examples:

<i>ku-</i>	‘to do’	⇒	W/SE <i>kú-n-</i> NE <i>kú-t-</i>

²⁶³ Grjunberg (1980: 210): *osnova nastojaščego vremeni* (‘present stem’); Strand (2010): *progressive participle*.

SE *kané-*SE *kané-n*

The same elisions happen in the Southeastern imperfective participle (2.9.6.2.3). Similar, but not completely identical processes of elision occur in Southeastern converbs (2.9.6.1.5.1) and verbal place nouns (2.9.4.1.5).

	Citation form	Progressive Present/Unspecific 1 st person singular
SE	<i>tarĕ̌=stĕ̌</i> 'to cross'	<i>tar-n-ém</i>
SE	<i>maṇĕ̌=stĕ̌</i> 'to order, to say'	<i>maṇ-n-ém</i>
SE	<i>čalĕ̌=stĕ̌</i> 'to be exiled'	<i>čal-n-ém</i>
SE	<i>giṛĕ̌=stĕ̌</i> 'to tie'	<i>giṛ-n-ém</i>
SE	<i>pérĕ̌=stĕ̌</i> 'to break'	<i>pĕṛ-n-ëm</i>
SE	<i>ácĕ̌=stĕ̌</i> 'to come'	<i>án-n-ëm</i>

Table 180. ^{SE} irregular contracted Progressive Participial Stems

²⁶⁴ Cf. section 2.1.5.8 on the phonological assimilation.

The progressive participial stem is not in fact an actual participle in the current stage of the language, since it does not function as an adjectival form or even show gender agreement. That it was once a participle can only be grasped from comparison with other Indo-Iranian languages²⁶⁵ and from possible lexicalized remnants of adjectival use.²⁶⁶ Its integration into verbal paradigms presumably happened earlier than that of the other participial forms.

2.9.6.2.2 The Perfective Participle

The perfective participle²⁶⁷ (PFV.PTCP) is used as the stem for all perfective forms, as well as for the negated converb. As a predicative adjective form with the added referentializer clitic *-stë* (2.7.3.1) it also forms the nominal part of the periphrastic resultative forms.

An important characteristic of the perfective participle is that it conditions the split in morpho-syntactic alignment that is found in the Katë verbal system: All forms that are based on the perfective participle show ergative-absolutive alignment, whereas all other forms follow the nominative-accusative pattern. For the verbal system, the most important consequence of this is that forms based on the perfective participle agree in person, number and gender with arguments in the absolutive role, i.e. single arguments of intransitive clauses and *patients* of transitive clauses. Their behavior in the domain of transitive clauses therefore contrasts with that of all other verb forms, which agree in person, number and gender with *agents* rather than patients.

²⁶⁵ It is likely the reflex of the Indo-Iranian (thematic) active and (athematic) middle voice present participles which respectively had suffixes **-nt-* (> NE *-t-*) and **-mHna-* (> SE/W *-n-*). The latter derivation is also proposed by Buddruss (1977b) for the Prasun present stem in *-m-*. The dialectal variants would thus represent divergent generalizations of an original variation between active and middle voice formations. A less plausible derivation is proposed by Strand (1999a), who assumes that the forms in *-n-* also derive from active *-nt-* participles, but were borrowed from local Indo-Aryan varieties with the sound change *-nt-* > *-nd-*, going through the intermediary of Ashkun. However, the Ashkun participles in question have a retroflex *-ṇ-* (Buddruss 2006: 194) which can neither be derived from an earlier *-nd-*, nor have been borrowed into Katë dialects as a dental *-n-*, though earlier **-nd-* does indeed regularly lead to *-n-* in Katë. On the correspondence of the Ashkun participle stem, see footnote 254.

²⁶⁶ A possible example is the adjective SE *važíně*, *važíni* ‘fussy about food’, built on a borrowed Indo-Aryan root equivalent to OIA *√vaś* ‘to desire, wish’, which would imply a semantic change from the predicted middle voice participle meaning ‘wishing, picking (for oneself)’ > ‘fussy about food’.

²⁶⁷ Grjunberg (1980: 207, 234): *osnova preterita* (‘preterite stem’) and *pričastie II prošedšego vremeni* (‘past participle II’); Strand (2010): *past participle*.

The perfective participle has the most complex formation pattern of the three participial stems – in addition to a regular pattern that is found with most verbs, there are several smaller classes of verbs with their own derivational suffixes.

The regular formation consists of the short stem of the verb, followed by a suffix *-i*, which is stressed unless the verb has lexical stress on the root. For roots ending in a retroflex approximant the suffix *-i* conditions approximant metathesis in the Western dialect (cf. section 2.1.2.9.4). After vowel-final stems the suffix has the form *-yi* in the Western dialect and *-y* in the Northeastern and Southeastern dialects. In the Southeastern dialect *e-y* and *a-y* then respectively become *ē* and *ā* in word-final position, but remain as such in other positions. This development does not affect *u-y*. The resulting form is a gender-invariant adjective (2.4.2.3). Some examples of regularly formed perfective participles are given in Table 181, ordered by stem class. As the last example in Table 181 shows, an irregular formation of the short stem is not necessarily correlated with an irregular formation of the perfective participle.

	Citation form (short stem)	Perfective participle	Meaning
W	<i>nuksé=stë (nuks-)</i>	<i>nuks-í</i>	‘to leave, to get out’
NE			➔ ‘left, gotten out’
SE	<i>nuksě=stë (nuks-)</i>		
W	<i>věré=stë (věř-)</i>	<i>vřě-yí</i>	‘to see’
NE	<i>vaňé=stë (vaň-)</i>	<i>vaň-í</i>	➔ ‘seen’
SE	<i>vaňě=stë (vaň-)</i>		
W	<i>tařé=stë (tař-)</i>	<i>ta-yí</i>	‘to find’
NE		<i>tař-í</i>	➔ ‘found’
W	<i>pěltyé=stë (pělť-)</i>	<i>pělť-í</i>	‘to fall’
NE	<i>pělťé=stë (pělť-)</i>		➔ ‘fallen’
SE	<i>piltí=stë (pilt-)</i>	<i>pilt-í</i>	
W	<i>amčé=stë (amč-)</i>	<i>amč-í</i>	‘to wear, to put on’
NE	<i>amčí=stë (amč-)</i>		➔ ‘worn, put on’
SE	<i>amjí=stë (amj-)</i>	<i>amj-í</i>	
W	<i>bé=stë (b-)</i>	<i>b-i</i>	‘to be, to become’
NE	<i>bú=stë (b-)</i>		➔ ‘been, become’
SE	<i>bů=stë (b-)</i>		
W	<i>dró=stë (dré-)</i>	<i>dré-yi</i>	‘to dare’
NE	<i>děró=stë (děré-)</i>	<i>děré-y</i>	➔ ‘dared’
SE	<i>drǫ=stë (dré-)</i>	<i>dre-y (drě#)</i>	
W	<i>kşó=stë (kşé-)</i>	<i>kşé-yi</i>	‘to pull’
NE		<i>kşe-y</i>	➔ ‘pulled’
SE	<i>kşǫ=stë (kşé-)</i>	<i>kşe-y (kşě#)</i>	
W	<i>sěňá=stë</i>	<i>sěňá-yi</i>	‘to hear’
NE		<i>sěňá-y</i>	➔ ‘heard’
SE	<i>saňá=stë</i>	<i>saňá-y- (saňá#)</i>	
W	<i>pşyé=stë (pşú-)</i>	<i>pşú-yi</i>	‘to go to sleep’
NE	<i>pşú=stë (pşú-)</i>	<i>pşú-y</i>	➔ ‘gone to sleep’
SE	<i>pşǔ=stë (pşú-)</i>		
W	<i>áče=stë</i>	<i>á-yi</i>	‘to come’
NE ²⁶⁸	<i>ácě=stë</i>	<i>a-y</i>	➔ ‘come’

Table 181. Formation of perfective participles (pattern: short verb stem + -i)

Other verbs derive their perfective participles in irregular ways with various suffixes. What unites the irregular perfective participles is that they are gender-variant *-ě/-i* adjectives (see 2.4.2.1) with the gender agreement markers *-ě* for masculine and *-i* for feminine (2.9.6.3.3). They can be divided into three groups based on the suffix that follows the short stem.

The first group forms the perfective participle with the short stem (in some cases irregular or suppletive) and a suffix *-ěř-* (W, NE) or *-ař-* (SE), which is followed by the gender markers.

In the Southeastern dialect the stress is retracted from the final gender marker onto the participle suffix in trisyllabic forms, shifting the suffix vowel to *ě́*.

In the Northeastern dialect this stress variation does not occur. In masculine forms the participle suffix is always stressed, regardless of syllable count. The stress does, however, shift to the next syllable in case of further suffixation replacing the masculine gender marker. In Northeastern feminine forms, stress is always on the gender marker, apparently also in trisyllabic forms. In the Western dialect the gender markers are stressed throughout.

In the Western dialect the feminine gender marker *-i* conditions approximant metathesis/deletion (cf. section 2.1.2.9.4), but the results are not fully regular. The form *mřěyí* shows the expected metathesis, but the approximant is unexpectedly deleted in *kiyí* and *biyí*, where the inserted glide *-y-* additionally colors the suffix vowel to *i*. In the Eastern dialects the approximant *ř* is nasalized to *ř̃* following a nasal consonant in the onset of the preceding syllable (cf. section 2.1.2.7). Examples are shown in Table 182.

	Citation form (short stem)	Perfective participle		Meaning
		M	F	
W	<i>kú=stë (k-)</i>	<i>k-ěř-ě</i>	<i>k-i-yí</i>	'to do' → 'done'
NE		<i>k-ěř-ě</i>	<i>k-ěř-í</i>	
SE	<i>kú=stë (k-)</i>	<i>k-ař-ě</i>	<i>k-ař-í</i>	
W	<i>gá=stë (b-)</i>	<i>b-ěř-ě</i>	<i>b-i-yí</i>	'to take away' → 'taken away'
NE		<i>b-ěř-ě</i>	<i>b-ěř-í</i>	
SE	<i>gá=stë (b-)</i>	<i>b-ař-ě</i>	<i>b-ař-í</i>	
W	<i>mřé=stë (m-)</i>	<i>m-ěř-ě</i>	<i>m-řě-yí</i>	'to die' → 'died, dead'
NE		<i>m-ěř-ě</i>	<i>m-ěř-í</i>	
SE		<i>m-ař-ě</i>	<i>m-ař-í</i>	

Table 182. Formation of perfective participles (pattern: short verb stem + -ěř-/-ař- + gender markers)

The Western dialect has a separate group of verbs (all of which are *e*-roots) that forms perfective participles with a suffix -*ěv*-. The verb *avé=stë*, which has the short stem *av-* that already ends in -*v*-, does not receive this suffix. Instead, the gender makers are irregularly and uniquely added directly to the stem with this verb. The other two dialects have -*ěř*-/ -*ař*- participles in all corresponding verbs. Examples are shown in Table 183.

	Citation form (short stem)	Perfective participle		Meaning
		M	F	
W	<i>té=stë (t-)</i>	<i>t-ěv-ě</i>	<i>t-ěv-í</i>	'to put' → 'put'
NE		<i>t-ěř-ě</i>	<i>t-ěř-í</i>	
SE	<i>té=stë (t-)</i>	<i>t-ař-ě</i>	<i>t-ař-í</i>	
W	<i>vět=stë (b-)</i>	<i>vět-ěv-ě</i>	<i>vět-ěv-í</i>	'to let' → 'let'
NE	<i>uté=stë (ut-)</i>	<i>ut-ěř-ě</i>	<i>ut-ěř-í</i>	
SE	<i>vuté=stë (vut-)</i>	<i>vut-ěř-ě</i>	<i>vut-ěř-í</i>	
W	<i>avé=stë (av-)</i>	<i>av-ě</i>	<i>av-í</i>	'to bring' → 'brought'
NE		<i>av-ěř-ě</i>	<i>av-ěř-í</i>	
SE	<i>avé=stë (av-)</i>		<i>av-ěř-í</i>	

Table 183. Formation of perfective participles (pattern: short verb stem + -ěv- + gender markers; only w)

The second larger group consists of verbs that form their perfective participles with the short stem followed by a suffix *-n-* and the gender markers. Examples are shown in Table 184. This pattern of formation seems to be correlated to some degree with positional semantics.

	Citation form (short stem)	Perfective participle		Meaning
		M	F	
W	<i>tyé=stě (ti-)</i>	<i>ti-n-ě</i>	<i>ti-n-í</i>	'to stand' → 'stood'
NE	<i>tí=stě (ti-)</i>			
SE	<i>tí̇=stě (ti-)</i>			
W	<i>něšé=stě (něš-)</i>	<i>něš-n-ě</i>	<i>něš-n-í</i>	'to sit down' → 'sat down'
NE	<i>niší=stě (niš-)</i>	<i>niš-n-ě</i>	<i>niš-n-í</i>	
SE	<i>ję=stě (ję-)</i>	<i>ję-n-ě</i>	<i>ję-n-i</i>	
W	<i>vyé=stě (vě-)</i>	<i>vě-n-ě</i>	<i>vě-n-í</i>	'to hit' → 'hit'
NE	<i>ví=stě (vi-)</i>	<i>vi-n-ě</i>	<i>vi-n-í</i>	
SE	<i>ví̇=stě (vi-)</i>			
W	<i>psyé=stě (psi-)</i>	<i>psi-n-ě</i>	<i>psi-n-í</i>	'to settle' → 'settled'
NE	<i>psí=stě (psi-)</i>			
SE	<i>přazí=stě (přazí-)</i>	<i>přazí-n-ě</i>	<i>přazí-n-i</i>	

Table 184. Formation of Perfective Participles (pattern: short verb stem + *-n-* + gender markers)

Another small group forms the Perfective Participle with a suffix *-t-*, followed by gender markers, as illustrated in Table 185. Verbs with this pattern also tend to have irregular short stems before the *-t-*. There seems again to be a weak semantic correlation of the formation pattern, in this case with verbs related to giving and taking.

	Citation form (short stem)	Perfective participle		Meaning
		M	F	
W NE SE	<i>pře=stě</i> (p-) <i>pře=stě</i> (p-)	<i>p-t-ě</i>	<i>p-t-i</i>	‘to give’ → ‘given’
W NE SE	<i>vuŋá=stě</i> (vuŋ-) <i>uŋá=stě</i> (uŋ-) <i>ŋá=stě</i> (ŋu-)	<i>vuŋ-t-ě</i> <i>uŋ-t-ě</i> <i>ŋu-t-ě</i>	<i>vuŋ-t-í</i> <i>uŋ-t-í</i> <i>ŋu-t-í</i>	‘to take, to buy’ → ‘taken, bought’
W NE SE	<i>váŋa=stě</i> (váŋ-) <i>vřáŋa=stě</i> (vřáŋu-)	<i>vaŋ-t-ě</i> <i>vřáŋu-t-ě</i>	<i>vaŋ-t-í</i> <i>vřáŋu-t-í</i>	‘to take for oneself’ → ‘taken for oneself’
W NE SE	<i>vagá=stě</i> (vag-) <i>vřaǵá=stě</i> (vřaǵú-)	<i>vak-t-ě</i> ²⁶⁹ <i>vřaǵú-t-ě</i>	<i>vak-t-í</i> <i>vřaǵú-t-í</i>	‘to get, to ask for’ → ‘gotten, asked for’

Table 185. Formation of perfective participles (pattern: short verb stem + -t- + gender markers)

Isolated formation patterns are used for the verbs meaning ‘to eat’ and ‘to go’. The former uses a suffix *-aň/-ař-* followed by gender markers (see Table 186). Note that this suffix is not the same as the *-ěř/-ař-* suffix described above. Though both suffixes do have one dialectal reflex with the form *-ař-*, these do not appear in the same dialect. The gender marker *-i* conditions approximant deletion in the Western feminine form (cf. section 2.1.2.9.4).

	Citation form (short stem)	Perfective participle		Meaning
		M	F	
W NE SE	<i>yú=stě</i> (y-) <i>yú=stě</i> (y-)	<i>y-ař-ě</i> <i>y-aň-ě</i>	<i>y-a-yí</i> <i>y-aň-í</i>	‘to eat’ → ‘eaten’

Table 186. Formation of perfective participles (isolated pattern of *yu-* ‘to eat’)

²⁶⁹ The final *-k-* of the stem in this form can be seen as the result of voicing assimilation of *-g-* to the *-t-* suffix, though there are no contexts where the stem would ever appear in an unassimilated form.

The perfective participles of the verb meaning ‘to go’ are irregular in multiple ways. The suppletive short stem *g-* is followed by gender-variant participle suffixes, which mark gender redundantly in addition to the gender markers.

In the Western dialect the marking is fully redundant, with participle suffixes M *-ëv-* and F *-a-* followed by gender markers M *-é* and F *-yí* (the latter with inserted glide after a vowel). In the Eastern dialects the masculine form has only a participle suffix *-u-*, but no additional gender marker. The feminine form has the participle suffix *-e-*, which is followed by the gender marker *-i* that coalesces with the preceding vowel becoming *-y* in the Eastern dialects. In the Southeast, *e-y* as usual becomes *ē* in word-final position, but remains elsewhere. Table 187 illustrates the various forms.

	Citation form	Perfective participle		Meaning
		M	F	
W	<i>é=stë</i>	<i>g-ëv-é</i>	<i>g-a-yí</i>	‘to go’
NE		<i>g-u</i>	<i>g-e-y</i>	→ ‘gone’
SE	<i>yé=stë</i>		<i>g-e-y- (g-ē#)</i>	

Table 187. Formation of perfective participles (isolated pattern of *e-/ye-* ‘to go’)

In the Southeastern dialect similar irregularities are found in the Perfective Participles of *ácë=stë* ‘to come’, as is shown in Table 188. The stem *óz-* is only used for the masculine form, but it is also followed by the masculine gender marker *-ë*. The stem *a-* is only used for the feminine form, but also followed by the feminine gender marker *-i*, which coalesces with the preceding vowel becoming *-y*. As usual for this dialect, *ay* develops further into *ā* in word-final position, but remains elsewhere. In the other two dialects the stem *á-* is used without restriction to either gender and has a gender-invariant suffix *-i* (see Table 181 above).

	Citation form	Perfective participle		Meaning
		M	F	
SE	<i>ácë=stë</i>	<i>óz-ë</i>	<i>a-y- (ā#)</i>	‘to come’ → ‘come’

Table 188. Formation of perfective participles (isolated SE pattern of *ác-* ‘to come’)

The various ways of forming the perfective participle are summarized in Table 189.

	Derivational suffix	Gender markers
short stem +	<i>Regular:</i> -í	—
	<i>Irregular:</i> -ěř- (NE, W) / -ař- (SE) -ěv- (only W) -n-* -t-** -ař- (W) / -aň- (NE, SE)***	-ě (M) -i (F)
<i>Idiosyncratic:</i> e-/ye- ‘to go’ W: <i>g-ěv-ě</i> (M), <i>g-a-yí</i> (F) NE: <i>g-u</i> (M), <i>g-e-y</i> (F) SE: <i>g-u</i> (M), <i>g-ē</i> (F) ač- ‘to come’ (irregular only in SE) <i>óž-ě</i> (M), <i>ā</i> (F) * especially positional verbs ** especially verbs of giving and taking *** only <i>yu-</i> ‘to eat’		

Table 189. Ways of forming the perfective participle (summary)

The perfective participle can function like a regular adjective in pre-nominal modifier use. Unlike regular adjectives, perfective participles are restricted with regard to predicative use, where they never occur without the referentializer *-stě*.²⁷⁰ Even in pre-nominal modifier use, the perfective participle commonly appears with the referentializer, but there it is not obligatory (see section 2.7.3.1 for more on this point).

²⁷⁰ Previous authors have considered the resulting combination of participle and Referentializer to be a separate form. Ġulāmullāh (1966: 248, 284) mentions only the form with the referentializer clitic and labels it *ism-i maf’ūl* (‘passive participle’). Grjunberg (1980: 231) describes it as a separate form with the label *pričastie I prošedšego vremeni* (‘past participle I’), as opposed to *pričastie II prošedšego vremeni* (‘past participle II’) for the form without the Referentializer. Strand (2010) calls the form with Referentializer *evidential past participle*. His explanation that it “represents the subject in its post-action state, providing the evidence for a previous change”, indicates that the word *evidential* is not intended to be understood in its usual linguistic meaning here.

On the use of perfective participle in the formation and combination of clauses, see section 2.11.6.6.

Reduplicated perfective participles appear with some frequency as nominal components of light-verb constructions. In these cases sometimes the first syllable is reduplicated and sometimes the whole participle. In case of partial reduplication stress remains on the full stem. Where partial reduplication produces a trisyllabic form, the usual stress and vowel shifts apply (cf. section 2.1.5.1). In case of full reduplication the first instance receives phrasal stress.

Examples:

full reduplication:

w <i>dal-í</i>	‘cut’	⇒	<i>dalí-dali kù-</i>	‘to slice up’
w <i>v-ën-ě</i>	‘hit, beaten’ (m)	⇒	<i>věně-věně kù-</i>	‘to give a beating’

partial reduplication:

w <i>pět-i</i>	‘broken’	⇒	<i>peť-pěti bú-</i>	‘to break to pieces’
SE <i>kan-í</i>	‘laughed’	⇒	<i>kan-gěni tĩ-</i>	‘to chuckle’
SE <i>dal-í</i>	‘cut’	⇒	<i>dal-děli kù-</i>	‘to slice up’

2.9.6.2.3 The Imperfective Participle

The imperfective participle²⁷¹ (IPFV.PTCP) is used as the stem for the synthetic future, southeastern non-volitional future and all non-primary optative forms. It also serves as the nominal component of the periphrastic imperfective/future forms.

It is regularly formed by combining the long verb stem with a suffix *-l-* followed by the typical adjective gender agreement markers *-ě* (M) and *-i* (F) (2.9.6.3.3). Some examples are given in Table 190.

²⁷¹ Ġulāmullāh (1966: 284): *ism-i fā‘il* (‘active participle’/‘agent noun’); Grjunberg (1980: 210, 236): *osnova budućego vremena* (‘future stem’) and *pričastie I budućego vremena* (‘future participle I’); Strand (2010): *conceptual participle*.

	Citation form	Imperfective participle		Meaning
		M	F	
W	<i>zařé=stě</i>	<i>zařé-l-ě</i>	<i>zařé-l-i</i>	‘to know’ ➔ ‘knower’ / ‘knowing’
NE	<i>zaňé=stě</i>	<i>zaňé-l-ě</i>	<i>zaňé-l-i</i>	
SE	<i>jaňé=stě</i>	<i>jaňé-l-ě</i>	<i>jaňé-l-i</i>	
W	<i>amčé=stě</i>	<i>amčé-l-ě</i>	<i>amčé-l-ě</i>	‘to wear, to put on (clothes)’ ➔ ‘wearer’ / ‘wearing’
NE	<i>amčí=stě</i>	<i>amčí-l-ě</i>	<i>amčí-l-i</i>	
SE	<i>amjí=stě</i>	<i>amjí-l-ě</i>	<i>amjí-l-i</i>	
W	<i>pře=stě</i>	<i>pře-l-ě</i>	<i>pře-l-i</i>	‘to give’ ➔ ‘giver’ / ‘giving’
NE				
SE	<i>pře=stě</i>			
W	<i>kú=stě</i>	<i>kú-l-ě</i>	<i>kú-l-i</i>	‘to do’ ➔ ‘doer’ / ‘doing’
NE				
SE	<i>kú=stě</i>			
W	<i>bě=stě</i>	<i>bě-l-ě</i>	<i>bě-l-i</i>	‘to be, to become’ ➔ ‘be-er, becomer’ / ‘being, becoming’
NE	<i>bú=stě</i>	<i>bú-l-ě</i>	<i>bú-l-i</i>	
SE	<i>bú=stě</i>			
W	<i>přó=stě</i>	<i>přó-l-ě</i>	<i>přó-l-i</i>	‘to arrive’ ➔ ‘arriver’ / ‘arriving’
NE				
SE	<i>přó=stě</i>			
W	<i>sěňá=stě</i>	<i>sěňá-l-ě</i>	<i>sěňá-l-i</i>	‘to hear’ ➔ ‘hearer’ / ‘hearing’
NE				
SE	<i>saňá=stě</i>	<i>saňá-l-ě</i>	<i>saňá-l-i</i>	

Table 190. Formation of imperfective participles (regular pattern)

The verb ‘to come’ forms its imperfective participle in the Southeastern dialect with the vowelless stem *ác-*, producing *áll-ě/i* (< *ác-l-ě/i*).²⁷² Unlike with the progressive “participle”, the Northeastern dialect uses the vowel-final stem *ácě-* in its corresponding form (*ácě-l-ě/i*). The stem vowel is also present in the Western dialect form *áce-l-ě/i*.

²⁷² Cf. section 2.1.5.8 on the phonological assimilation.

In the Southeastern dialect, the stem vowel of consonant-final roots ending in /r/, /r̥/, /ŋ/, or /l/ is elided in the imperfective participle. In cases where the stem vowel would have been stressed, the stress is transferred to the gender marker. Verbs with lexical stress on the root retain the position of stress. For roots ending in -r-/*-t-, phonological interaction with the following -l- of the suffix produces a retroflex lateral affricate ʎ. The same elisions happen in the Southeastern progressive “participle” (2.9.6.2.1). Similar, but not completely identical processes of elision occur in Southeastern converbs (2.9.6.1.5.1) and verbal place nouns (2.9.4.1.5).

	Citation form	Imperfective participle		Meaning
		M	F	
SE	<i>tar^é-stë</i>	<i>tar-l-é</i>	<i>tar-l-í</i>	‘to cross’ → ‘crosser’ / ‘crossing’
SE	<i>maṇ^é-stë</i>	<i>maṇ-l-é</i>	<i>maṇ-l-í</i>	‘to order, to say’ → ‘orderer, sayer’ / ‘ordering, saying’
SE	<i>čal^é-stë</i>	<i>čal-l-é</i>	<i>čal-l-í</i>	‘to be exiled’ → ‘being exiled’
SE	<i>gī^é-stë</i>	<i>gīʎ-l-é</i>	<i>gīʎ-l-í</i>	‘to tie’ → ‘tier’ / ‘tying’
SE	<i>pē^é-stë</i>	<i>pēʎ-l-é</i>	<i>pēʎ-l-í</i>	‘to break’ → ‘breaker’ / ‘breaking’

Table 191. Formation of Imperfective Participles (SE irregular contracted forms)

In attributive use, the imperfective participle serves to specify the head noun as being characterized by the action or state denoted by the verb from which the participle is formed. The head noun is represented as habitually, frequently or characteristically performing this action or being in this state. Imperfective Participles can be freely nominalized and then function as agent nouns. On the possibilities of clause formation and combination involving the imperfective participle, see section 2.11.6.6.1.

An extended form of the imperfective participle²⁷³ with the nominalizing/diminutive suffixes *-uk* (M) and *-ik* (F) in place of the gender markers appears in the Western dialect, which forms part of the Western certain future tense formation (cf. sections 2.9.1.2.4 and 2.9.6.7.3). The Eastern dialects have similar formations but the resulting forms seem to be essentially lexicalized nominalizations there. The Southeastern dialect idiom *X-luḡũ vižĩ-stě* ‘to pretend to X’ contains the masculine extended imperfective participle in the instrumental case.

2.9.6.3 Agreement markers

Agreement markers of person, number and gender may appear in various places in Katë verb forms. In transitive and ditransitive verbs, the point of reference of these agreement markers differs in accordance with the general alignment split between the perfective system and all other forms.

The agreement markers form three identifiable sets that recur with slight variations in different paradigms. The marking of person, number and gender is fused in various ways in all three, but out of convenience I will refer to them according to their most characteristic functions as verbal person markers (person fused with number), verbal gender markers (gender fused with person and number) and adjective gender markers (gender fused with number).

2.9.6.3.1 The Verbal Person Markers

The set of verbal person markers²⁷⁴ (abbreviated VPM) appears in a similar form in most paradigms. It appears only once in any given verb form, generally at the very end. Each of the verbal person markers has at least two variants, one of which is used after consonants and the other after vowels. Further variants are limited to specific paradigms. The forms differ slightly by dialect and the Verbal Person Markers also fuse slightly differently with preceding gender markers depending on the dialect. The Northeastern paradigm is shown in Table 192.

²⁷³ Grjunberg (1980: 237): *pričastie II buduščego vremeni* (‘future participle II’).

²⁷⁴ Strand (2010): *subject suffixes*.

	Singular		Plural	
	<i>after consonant</i>	<i>after vowel</i>	<i>after consonant</i>	<i>after vowel</i>
1st person	-um	-m	-ëmiš	-miš
2nd person	-iš / -ši	-š	-eň	-uň
3rd person	-ë	–	-at	–

Table 192. Verbal person markers (NE dialect)

The Western paradigm (in Table 193) differs in the 2nd person singular and plural as well as in the 3rd person plural. The 2nd person plural shows the usual correspondence W /ř/ ~ NE/SE /ň/.

	Singular		Plural	
	<i>after consonant</i>	<i>after vowel</i>	<i>after consonant</i>	<i>after vowel</i>
1st person	-um	-um / -m	-ëmiš / -miš	-miš
2nd person	-yuš / -uš -iš	-uš / -š	-eř	-uř
3rd person	-ë	–	-ët KT: -ëst	–

Table 193. Verbal person markers (w dialect)

The forms of the Southeastern dialect are shown in Table 194.

	Singular		Plural	
	<i>after consonant</i>	<i>after vowel</i>	<i>after consonant</i>	<i>after vowel</i>
1st person	-ëm	-m	-ëmiš / -miš	-miš
2nd person	-ëš / -ši ~ -ji	-š	-ëň	-ň
3rd person	-ë	–	-dë SE-MM: -ay	–

Table 194. Verbal person markers (SE dialect)

In the most archaic texts available today, the pre-Islamic religious hymns recorded by Georg Morgenstierne, there is one attestation of a verbal person marker being used as an independent word in the function of a copula (example (83)).

(83) *Délũ móči mřor=uš!*

<i>délũ-̄</i>	<i>móč-i</i>	<i>mřor</i>	<i>=uš</i>
deity-OBL	man ²⁷⁵ -OBL.PL	lord	=COP.2SG

‘You are lord of deities and men!’ (Morgenstierne 1953: 179)

This usage accords well with the fact that the copular forms of closely related Nuristani Kalasha most regularly correspond to the verbal person markers of Katë.²⁷⁶ It is not certain whether another such example (here with the 2nd person plural form) can be seen in the form NE *šámeš-eñ*, a form of *šámeš* ‘bravo! well done!’ that is addressed to multiple people. The ending of this form could also be interpreted as the imperative plural ending *-eñ*, added analogically based on the interpretation of the interjection *šámeš* as a singular imperative.

In addition to the verbal person markers, all dialects have some paradigmatic forms in some paradigms that look like they have been randomly extended with a fused Copula (2.9.6.4). Usually such forms are found in paradigms containing the verbal gender markers (2.9.6.3.2). They appear in different person-number slots, depending on the dialect:

NE	1 st person singular (<i>-s-um</i>), 1 st person plural (<i>-s-ëmiš</i>), 2 nd person plural (<i>-s-eñ</i>)
W	2 nd person plural (<i>-s-eř</i>)
SE	1 st person singular feminine (<i>-z-ëm</i>)

2.9.6.3.2 The Verbal Gender Markers

This set of suffixes recurs in several verbal paradigms, but it is impossible to assign it any constant meaning.²⁷⁷ It functions as the distinguishing characteristic of some paradigms, but it can only be interpreted in combination with particular stems and suffixes.

In the singular, the verbal gender markers mark agreement according to gender, whereas in the plural, gender is not distinguished and the same marker as in the

²⁷⁵ The present-day meaning of this word is usually ‘husband’, though it retains the earlier meaning ‘man’ in compounds and as a numeral classifier. At the time of recording, speakers apparently explained to Morgenstierne that it meant *mančĩ* ‘person, human being’ in this context (Morgenstierne 1953: 179, fn. 5), which shows that the meaning in general usage had already shifted.

²⁷⁶ Degener (1998: 46): *om*, *oš*, *oy*, *omiš*, *ow*, *ot*.

²⁷⁷ Strand (2010) attempts to explain these suffixes as emphatic markers, which results in several stilted translations with ‘indeed’ of forms that in fact do not contain any element of emphasis.

masculine singular serves for first and second person whereas a separate marker is used for the third person. In this way, the markers do not only express gender as a category, but also number and person. The syncretism of masculine singular and 1st and 2nd person plural can be seen as an instance of the generic use of masculine forms in the plural, regardless of the gender of the referents, which can be observed in many parts of the grammar.

There are some differences in the form of the markers between the dialects. The full pattern has the form given in Table 195. This pattern is found in all contexts in the Western dialect and in some paradigms of the Northeastern dialect.

M.SG & 1/2 PL	-o-
F.SG	-e-
3 PL	-a-

Table 195. Verbal gender markers (full pattern, W & NE dialects)

The Southeastern dialect has a slightly divergent full pattern, in which the marker of the feminine singular is *-i-* instead of *-e-*, as shown in Table 196.²⁷⁸

M.SG & 1/2 PL	-o-
F.SG	-i-
3 PL	-a-

Table 196. Verbal gender markers (full pattern, SE dialect)

Some Northeastern and Southeastern paradigms have a reduced pattern with no marker for the feminine singular. In these paradigms the absence of a marker characterizes the feminine forms, giving the system in Table 197.

²⁷⁸ This has the result that the feminine adjective gender marker and the feminine verbal gender marker have the same form in this dialect, a fact which could lead to a different grammatical analysis if the other dialects were taken out of consideration. Such an analysis is given by Strand (2010). To maintain descriptive consistency across dialects, I prefer to maintain a more historical perspective by distinguishing the two markers even in the dialect where they have merged.

M.SG & 1/2 PL	-o-
F.SG	(no marker)
3 PL	-a-

Table 197. Verbal gender markers (reduced pattern, NE & SE dialects)

In the Southeastern dialect, a third pattern can be found in some positions, in which the markers *-o-* and *-a-* of the full pattern are merged as *-a-*, whereas the feminine forms have either *-i-* or no marker, giving the system in Table 198.

M.SG & 1/2/3 PL	-a-
F.SG	-i- / (no marker)

Table 198. Verbal gender markers (minimal pattern, SE dialect)

2.9.6.3.3 The Adjective Gender Markers

The adjective gender markers are the gender-agreement suffixes of *-ë/-i* adjectives. They are shown in Table 199.

M	-ë
F	-i

Table 199. Adjective gender markers

Beyond their usual domain of gender agreement in adjectives, they occur inside the verbal system wherever originally adjectival (participial) forms of the gender-variant *-ë/-i* class have been integrated into verbal paradigms. This includes all forms of the imperfective system, with its participle ending in *-l-ë* (M) or *-l-i* (F), as well as the perfective-system forms of those verbs which have a gender-variant perfective participle (see section 2.9.6.2.2). Unusually they also occur in suffixed perfective forms of the verb *bu-stë~bë-stë~bũ-stë*, which has a regular, gender-invariant Perfective Participle ending in *-i* (*b-i*), but a gender-variant perfective participle stem for complex forms, which never occurs unsuffixed, but would theoretically have the form **b-ë* (M) / **b-i* (F), if it did.

2.9.6.4 The Copula

Within the verbal system of Katë, the inflectional paradigms of the copula stand out in several ways. First, they are defective, since beside the proper copula stem *as-~az-*, there are many paradigms which are taken over by forms of the full verb *bu-stë~bë-stë~bũ-stë*, which otherwise means ‘to become’. These forms accordingly have a double use with either lexical interpretation (‘to be’ or ‘to become’) being possible. Secondly, the functions of copular forms do not coincide with those of structurally equivalent forms of the full verbs. Thus, e.g., paradigms which express tense distinctions in the copula have aspectual meanings in the full verbs.

The functional incongruity of copula and full verbs is such that, in isolation, most verbal categories are only expressed by one of the two. It is only the combination of normal verbal forms with copular forms that allows the expression of the full set of categorial distinctions in the complex inflectional paradigms.

2.9.6.4.1 Copular Stems

In its stem formation, the copula is formally equivalent to a regular consonant-final verb root, as Table 200 shows (cf. Table 165 for the same pattern in full verbs). The dialectal differences are as expected for a verb of this class: the stem vowel is *-e-* in the Western and Northeastern dialects, but *-ë-* in the Southeast. The Southeastern forms also have the expected intervocalic lenition of *-s- > -z-* (cf. section 2.1.2.10).

	short stem (= root)	long stem
W	<i>as-</i>	<i>asé-</i>
NE		
SE	<i>az-</i>	<i>azé-</i>

Table 200. Primary Stem Formation of the Copula

Secondary participial stems are formed in the same way as with the full verbs, with the exception that an equivalent of the progressive participial stem does not exist. Crucially, however, the functions of the copular participles/participial stems are not the same as those of the equivalent full-verb participles/participial stems. The equivalent of the perfective stem of full verbs (cf. section 2.9.6.2.2), expresses past tense in the copula system. The equivalent of the imperfective stem of full verbs (cf. section 2.9.6.2.3) expresses the presumptive mood in the copula. I will therefore refer to these stems as the *past stem* and the *presumptive stem* of the copula, while noting

that they are formally the same as the perfective and imperfective Stems of full verbs. Table 201 and Table 202 show the formation of the copular participial Stems.

	Primary Stem	Participial Stem
W	<i>as-</i>	<i>as-í</i>
NE		
SE	<i>az-</i>	<i>az-í</i>

Table 201. Formation of the past stem of the copula

	Primary Stem	Participial Stem	
		M	F
W	<i>asé-</i>	<i>asé-l-ě</i>	<i>asé-l-i</i>
NE			
SE	<i>azě-</i>	<i>azě-l-ě</i>	<i>azě-l-i</i>

Table 202. Formation of the presumptive stem of the copula

In the Western dialect the copular past stem has been displaced by the stem *st-* as the stem of the independent past copula paradigm, but it remains in use for the fused forms and as the base for the mediative copula.

Both copular participial stems also function as participles, at least in the two Eastern dialects. The past stem of the copula, exactly like regular perfective participles of full verbs, is a gender-invariant *-i* adjective, which is subject to the same rules with regard to use with or without the referentializer clitic *-stě* (cf. section 2.9.6.2.2). It does not have a specifically past-tense reference, instead it is used with the more general meaning of ‘existing’ or ‘which there is/was/are/were’. An adverbial instrumental form with the meaning ‘while being’ can also be formed, which has the expected form *azí* in the Southeastern dialect, but an irregular form *asě* in the Northeastern dialect. The presumptive stem of the copula, as expected from the imperfective participle of full verbs, is a gender-variant *-ě/-i* adjective.

2.9.6.4.2 Present form

	Primary stem	Participial stem	Verbal Gender Markers	Verbal Person Markers
Present Copula “is”	short	–	–	✓

The present form²⁷⁹ of the copula (COP) is constructed with the short stem *as-/az-* followed by the Verbal Person Markers (post-consonantal variant). This formation pattern is most similar to some primary forms in the full verbs, but has no exact equivalent there. The form of the third person plural is irregular and different in each dialect. The Northeastern forms are shown in Table 203.

	Singular	Plural
1st person	as-úm	as-émiš
2nd person	as-íš	as-éň
3rd person	as-ě	ay

Table 203. Present copula (NE dialect)

The Western dialect (Table 204) generally follows the same model, but differs slightly in the endings of the second person singular, where two forms are in free variation, and the second person plural, where *ř* appears as the regular Western correspondence of Eastern *ň*. The most significant difference is found in a different irregular form for the third person plural.

	Singular	Plural
1st person	as-úm	as-émiš
2nd person	as-úš, as-yúš	as-ěř RM: as-úř
3rd person	as-ě	ašt

Table 204. Present copula (w dialect)

²⁷⁹ Ġulāmullāh (1966: 245): *fīʿ-i nāqīš-i muʿayyan – fīʿ-i ḥāl* (‘defective/copular auxiliary verb – present’); Grjunberg (1980: 212): *forma nastojaščego vremeni svjazki* (‘present form of the copula’); Strand (2010): *auxiliary verb – present form*.

Beside the consonant lenition $s > z$ in the stem, the Southeastern dialect (Table 205) shows a different Person Marker in the second person singular. There are two variant forms for the third person plural, each of which is comparable to a form of one of the other two dialects.

	Singular	Plural
1st person	az-ém	az-émiš
2nd person	á(š)ši < *as-ši	az-ěň
3rd person	az-ě	ášťě, ay ~ ā

Table 205. Present copula (SE dialect)

When a form of the present copula forms a phrase by itself, it receives phrasal stress, but when it follows another word in the same intonational phrase it loses its lexical stress and becomes enclitic. In the Southeastern dialect, cliticization of the copula is accompanied by a reduction of the initial vowel a to $ě$, which in turn becomes i after palatals, in accordance with the central vowel palatalization rule (2.1.5.2.1). Table 206 shows the Southeastern enclitic forms of the Present Copula. The 3rd person plural form *ášťě* does not appear in enclitic use.

	Singular	Plural
1st person	=ěz-ëm	=ěz-ëmiš
2nd person	=ěz-ěš or =ě(š)ši	=ěz-ěň
3rd person	=ěz-ě	=ay ~ =ā

Table 206. Enclitic present copula (SE dialect)

In independent use, the present form of the copula typically functions as the predicate of simple equational sentences of the type “A is B”. The second major use of the present copula is in existential sentences of the form “There is X” or “X exists”. In this use it generally forms a phrase on its own and receives phrasal stress. For more on predications with the copula, see section 2.11.5.2. While it basically is a present form, the present copula may also be used for general statements about things in the past. In combination with the general converb, the present copula forms the continuative present form. It also serves as the verbal component of the periphrastic imperfective/future and the basic resultative form.

2.9.6.4.3 Past form

		Primary stem	Participial stem	Verbal Gender Markers	Verbal Person Markers
Past Copula “was”	NE	short	past (= FV perfective)	–	✓
	SE				
	W	st-	–	–	✓

The past form²⁸⁰ of the copula (COP.PST) is constructed in the two Eastern dialects with the past participial stem (formally = the perfective participial stem of full verbs), which is followed by the Verbal Person Markers. It is therefore structurally equivalent to the perfective conditional paradigm of full verbs (2.9.6.8.1), in particular of those with a regular perfective participle in *-i*. The Northeastern paradigm of the past copula is shown in Table 207. The second person singular form coincides with the second person singular form of the present copula, though they would arguably have to be segmented differently. The third person forms coincide with the bare participle.

	Singular	Plural
1 st person	as-y-úm	as-í-miš
2 nd person	as-í-š	as-y-úň
3 rd person	as-í	

Table 207. Past copula (NE dialect)

The Southeastern forms are shown in Table 208, together with their enclitic variants.

²⁸⁰ Ġulāmullāh (1966: 246): *fiʿl-i nāqış-i mu‘ayyan – māzī-yi muṭlaq* (‘defective/copular auxiliary verb – general past’); Grjunberg (1980: 212): *forma prošedšego vremeni svjazki* (‘past form of the copula’); Strand (2010): *auxiliary verb – past form*.

	Singular	Plural
1st person	az-í-m =ëz-i-m	az-í-miš =ëz-i-miš
2nd person	az-í-š =ëz-i-š	az-í-ň =ëz-i-ň
3rd person	az-í =ëz-i	

Table 208. Past copula (SE dialect)

A different stem *st-* is used in the Western dialect, which is directly followed by the Verbal Person Markers. These forms look like a paradigm built on the demonstrative pronoun *stě*, but it is unclear whether there really is a historical relation. The dialect of Štur (Čutur) in Řamgěl has distinct 3rd person plural form with the postconsonantal verbal person marker *-ět*, whereas the dialect of Kulem has only one 3rd person form. The exact geographical distribution of these two patterns beyond these two subdialects is not known to me.

	Singular	Plural
1st person	st-um	st-émiš
2nd person	st-uš	st-uř
3rd person (KL)	st-ě	
3rd person (ŠT)	st-ě	st-ět

Table 209. Past copula (w dialect, independent form)

Fused past copula forms following the model of the independent copulas of the other two dialects can be found also in the West.²⁸¹ Table 210 – Table 212 show the fused past copula forms of all three dialects. The Southeastern fused 1st and 2nd person forms have alternants that look more like the present copula. In some paradigms both variants are functionally distinguished as past and past anterior.

²⁸¹ Grjunberg (1980: 216): *lišnye okončaniya imperfekta* ('personal endings of the imperfect').

	Singular	Plural
1st person	-s-y-um	-s-i-miš
2nd person	-s-i-š	-s-y-uň
3rd person	-s-i	

Table 210. Past copula (NE dialect fused forms)

	Singular	Plural
1st person	-s-y-um	-s-i-miš
2nd person	-s-y-uš	-s-y-uř
3rd person	-s-i	

Table 211. Past copula (w dialect fused forms)

	Singular	Plural
1st person	-z-i-m / -z-ě-m	-z-i-miš / -z-ě-miš
2nd person	-z-i-š / -z-ě-š	-z-i-ň / -z-ě-ň
3rd person	-z-i	

Table 212. Past copula (SE dialect fused forms)

In independent use, the past copula has the same functions as the present copula but at a specifically past time level. In combination with the general converb, it forms the continuative past form. It also serves as the verbal component of the periphrastic imperfective/future past and resultative past forms. The fused form of the past copula contributes past meaning to the progressive past, past optative and perfective past anterior paradigms.

2.9.6.4.4 Mediative form

		Basic stem	Participial stem	Verbal Gender Markers	Verbal Person Markers
Mediative Copula “evidently is/was”	NE W	short	past (= FV perfective)	✓	✓
	SE	short	–	✓	✓

The mediative form²⁸² of the copula is constructed with the past participial stem plus the verbal gender markers, followed by the verbal person markers. It is therefore structurally equivalent to the perfective past paradigm of full verbs. In the Southeastern dialect the suffix of the past participial stem is no longer recognizable, so that the form does not completely coincide with the perfective past.

The Northeastern forms are shown in Table 213. The paradigm shows the exact same copular extensions as the Perfective Past paradigm (in all 1st person forms and the 2nd person plural).

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1 st person	as-y-ó-s-um	as-y-é-s-um	as-y-ó-s-ëmiš
2 nd person	as-y-ó-š	as-y-é-š	as-y-ó-s-eň
3 rd person	as-y-ó	as-y-é	as-y-á

Table 213. Mediative copula (NE dialect)

The Western dialect (Table 214) has more regular first person forms and has a copular extension only in the 2nd person plural, just as in the perfective past.

²⁸² Gulāmullah (1966: 247): *fīʿl-i nāqīš-i muʿayyan – māžī-yi muḥtamal wa maškūk* (‘defective/copular auxiliary verb – likely and doubted past’); Grjunberg (1980: 213, 217): *pereskazatel’noe naklonenie svjazki* (‘reportative mood of the copula’); Strand (2010): *auxiliary verb – realizational (“mirative”) mode*.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	as-y-ó-m	as-y-é-m	as-y-ó-miš
2nd person	as-y-ó-š	as-y-é-š	as-y-ó-seř
3rd person	as-y-ó	as-y-é	as-y-á

Table 214. Mediative copula (w dialect)

The Southeastern forms (Table 215) are more divergent, since they do not contain the suffix of the Past Participial Stem, which severs the structural connection of the mediative copula with the perfective past of full verbs for this dialect. The person markers are regular and, unlike in the perfective past, there are no copular extensions in the paradigm. Since the feminine verbal gender marker in the Southeastern full pattern is *-i-* (i.e. the same as the suffix of the past participial stem) the feminine singular forms are indistinguishable from forms of the general Past Copula (2.9.6.4.3). These feminine singular forms are only clearly identifiable as part of the mediative paradigm when they are additionally followed by the postverbal enclitic *-namo*.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	az-ó-m =ëz-o-m	az-í-m =ëz-i-m	az-ó-miš =ëz-o-miš
2nd person	az-ó-š =ëz-o-š	az-í-š =ëz-i-š	az-ó-ň =ëz-o-ň
3rd person	az-ó =ëz-o	az-í =ëz-i	az-á =ëz-a

Table 215. Mediative copula (SE dialect)

Table 216 – Table 218 show the fused mediative copula forms of all three dialects.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	-s-y-o-s-um	-s-y-e-s-um	-s-y-o-s-ëmiš
2nd person	-s-y-o-š	-s-y-e-š	-s-y-o-seň
3rd person	-s-y-o	-s-y-e	-s-y-o

Table 216. Mediative copula (NE dialect fused forms)

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	-s-y-o-m	-s-y-e-m	-s-y-o-miš
2nd person	-s-y-o-š	-s-y-e-š	-s-y-o-seř
3rd person	-s-y-o	-s-y-e	-s-y-a

Table 217. Mediative copula (w dialect fused forms)

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	-z-o-m	-z-i-m	-z-o-miš
2nd person	-z-o-š	-z-i-š	-z-o-ň
3rd person	-z-o	-z-i	-z-a

Table 218. Mediative copula (SE dialect fused forms)

In independent use, the mediative copula has the same functions as the present copula but it additionally contributes mediative meaning (cf. section 2.9.1.4.1). In combination with the general converbs, it forms the continuative mediative form. It also serves as the verbal component of the periphrastic imperfective/future mediative and resultative mediative forms. The fused form of the mediative copula contributes mediative meaning to the progressive mediative and perfective past mediative paradigms.

2.9.6.4.5 Presumptive form

	Basic stem	Participial stem	Verbal Gender Markers	Verbal Person Markers
Presumptive Copula “probably is”/ “must be”/“might be”	long	presumptive (= FV imperfective) <i>incl. adj. gender</i>	–	✓

The presumptive form²⁸³ of the copula (COP.PRSM) is constructed with the presumptive participial stem, which includes the adjective gender markers, followed by the verbal

²⁸³ Ġulāmullāh (1966: 246): *fi'l-i nāqış-i mu‘ayyan – ħāl yā muzāri‘-i iħtimālī* (‘defective/copular auxiliary verb – probable/potential present or imperfect/non-past’); Strand (2010): *auxiliary verb – conceptual*

person markers. It is therefore structurally equivalent to the Western synthetic future paradigm of full verbs. In the Northeastern dialect, however, the paradigm is built with the post-vocalic person markers, producing a different pattern than the synthetic future forms existing in that dialect (*asé-l-ë-m*, *asé-l-i-m* vs. *přé-l-um*, *přé-l-y-um*)

The Northeastern forms are shown in Table 219.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	asé-l-ë-m	asé-l-i-m	asé-l-ëmiš
2nd person	asé-l-ë-š	asé-l-i-š	asé-l-uň
3rd person	asé-l-ë	asé-l-i	asé-l-ë

Table 219. Presumptive copula (NE dialect)

Grjunberg does not report the existence of a corresponding independent paradigm for the Western dialect, but at least one independent form does occur in his data. The paradigm in Table 220 is mostly hypothetical, based on the attested third person singular masculine.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	*asé-l-um	*asé-l-y-um	*asé-l-miš
2nd person	*asé-l-uš	*asé-l-y-uš	*asé-l-uř
3rd person	asé-l-ë	*asé-l-i	*asé-l-ë

Table 220. Presumptive copula (w dialect)

form. Grjunberg (1980: 237–243) uses the term *potencial'noe naklonenie* ('potential mood') for paradigms containing the corresponding fused forms.

The Southeastern dialect forms are shown in Table 221.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	azé-l-ë-m -ëzë-l-ë-m	azé-l-i-m -ëzë-l-i-m	azé-l-ë-miš -ëzë-l-ë-miš
2nd person	azé-l-ë-š -ëzë-l-ë-š	azé-l-i-š -ëzë-l-i-š	azé-l-ë-ň -ëzë-l-ë-ň
3rd person	azé-l-ë -ëzë-l-ë	azé-l-i -ëzë-l-i	azé-l-ë -ëzë-l-ë

Table 221. Presumptive copula (SE dialect)

Fused forms are well attested for all dialects, including the Western. In Southeastern fused forms the stem vowel is elided, leading to an assimilation of the root consonant *z* (*s) with the following *l*, which creates the geminate *ll* (cf. the contractions in participial stems, sections 2.9.6.2.1 and 2.9.6.2.3). The fused forms of the three dialects are presented in Table 222 – Table 224.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	-se-l-ë-m	-se-l-i-m	-se-l-ëmiš
2nd person	-se-l-ë-š	-se-l-i-š	-se-l-uň
3rd person	-se-l-ë	-se-l-i	-se-l-ë

Table 222. Presumptive copula (NE dialect fused forms)

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	-se-l-um	-se-l-y-um	-se-l-miš
2nd person	-se-l-uš	-se-l-y-uš	-se-l-uř
3rd person	-se-l-ë	-se-l-i	-se-l-ë

Table 223. Presumptive copula (W dialect fused forms)

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	-ll-ë-m	-ll-i-m	-ll-ë-miš
2nd person	-ll-ë-š	-ll-i-š	-ll-ë-ň
3rd person	-ll-ë	-ll-i	-ll-ë

Table 224. Presumptive copula (SE dialect fused forms)

2.9.6.5 The Complex Verbal Paradigms – Introduction

The complex verbal paradigms are the functional core of the Katë verbal system. They are made up of combinations of the participial stems, optionally extended with the verbal gender markers, and the various types of fused or enclitic auxiliaries. The interaction between the participial stems and auxiliaries allows the expression of the full range of tense-aspect-mood-evidentiality combinations.

Given the fact that aspect is most often marked on the verbal stem, whereas tense, mood and evidentiality are all generally marked on the auxiliary, it follows that a single form usually cannot express both tense and mood/evidentiality – modal/evidential forms are unspecified for tense and vice versa. Aspect, on the other hand, freely combines with either tense, mood or evidentiality since it occupies a separate slot. There are only a few exceptions to this general rule: Firstly, the periphrastic forms of the imperfective/future and resultative can mark tense and mood in one form in the combination past presumptive. Secondly, the future and its extension, the optative, formally occupy the slot of an aspectual category (they are marked on the verbal stem) and can therefore combine with mood (e.g. as future conditional) and tense (e.g. as optative past or future past). The conditional mood is also marked on the verbal stem, but it cannot combine with auxiliaries and therefore does not co-occur with tense or evidentiality categories (or other moods). Aspectual distinctions for the conditional are only found in the Western dialect, where they are marked by separate stems.

In the following, paradigm labels are constructed in the following order, which generally reflects the order of marking on the verb: 1. aspect label, 2. tense label, 3. mood/evidentiality label. Paradigms in the progressive and imperfective systems are illustrated with the verbal root *ku-* ‘to do’.

2.9.6.6 The Complex Verbal Paradigms – Progressive System

2.9.6.6.1 The Progressive Present²⁸⁴

	Basic Stem	Participial Stem	Verbal Gender Markers	Verbal Person Markers
Progressive Present “is doing”	long	progressive	–	✓

The progressive present is the most basic form of the progressive system. It consists only of the progressive participial stem followed by the verbal person markers. The progressive present paradigm is unique in that it contains somewhat divergent forms of the verbal person markers.

	Singular	Plural
1st person	kú -t-um	kú -t-ëmiš
2nd person	kú -čči (< *-t-ši)	kú -t-eñ
3rd person	kú -t-ë	kú -t-at

Table 225. The Northeastern progressive present

	Singular	Plural
1st person	kú -n-um	kú -n-miš
2nd person	KL: kú -n-iš RM: kú -n-uš	kú -n-eř
3rd person	kú -n-ë	kú -n-ët KT: kú -n-ëst

Table 226. The Western progressive present

²⁸⁴ Ġulāmullāh (1966: 257, 279, 286): *mužāriʿ* (‘imperfect’/‘non-past’/‘present’) or (*zamān-i*) *ḥāl* (‘present (tense)’); Grjunberg (1980: 214): *nastojaščee vremja* (‘present tense’); Strand (2010): *prospective present progressive mode*.

	Singular	Plural
1st person	kú -n-ëm	kú -mмиš (< *-n-miš)
2nd person	kú -n-ji (< *-n-ši)	kú -n-ěň
3rd person	kú -n-ě	kú -n-dě (< *-n-tě) MM: kú -n-ay

Table 227. The Southeastern Progressive Present

		NE	W	SE
Singular	1st person	-tum	-num	-nëm
	2nd person	-čči	-niš (KL) -nuš (RM)	-nji
	3rd person	-të	-në	-në
Plural	1st person	-tëmiš	-nmiš	-mмиš
	2nd person	-teň	-neř	-nëň
	3rd person	-tat	-nët -nëst (KT)	-ndë -nay (MM)

Table 228. Dialectal comparison of Progressive Present endings

2.9.6.6.2 The Progressive Past

	Basic stem	Participial stem	Verbal gender markers	Verbal person markers
Progressive Past “was doing” (F forms contracted in NE & SE)	1. Progressive stem + verbal gender markers			
	long	progressive	✓	–
	2. Fused past copula (SE: some PRS.COP forms)			
	short	past (= perfective)	–	✓

The progressive past consists of the progressive participial stem followed by the verbal gender markers and the fused past copula with verbal person markers. The verbal gender markers in the Eastern dialects have the unmarked feminine form, which leads to phonological interaction between the *-s/-z-* of the fused copula forms and the *-t/-n-* of the progressive stem.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	kú -t-o-sy-um	kú -ččy-um (< *-t-sy-um)	kú -t-o-si-miš
2nd person	kú -t-o-sy-uš	kú -ččy-uš (< *-t-sy-uš)	kú -t-o-sy-uň
3rd person	kú -t-o-si	kú -čči (< *-t-si)	kú -t-a-si

Table 229. The Northeastern Progressive Past

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	kú -n-o-sy-um	kú -n-e-sy-um	kú -n-o-si-miš
2nd person	kú -n-o-sy-uš	kú -n-e-sy-uš	kú -n-o-sy-uň
3rd person	kú -n-o-si	kú -n-e-si	kú -n-a-si

Table 230. The Western Progressive Past

In some, but not all, paradigmatic forms, the Southeastern dialect shows a double correspondence to the past progressive forms of the other two dialects, with one appearing to contain a fused present copula and the other a past copula. Where two forms exist, the functional difference between them seems to be one of past vs. past anterior.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	kú -n-a-z-ëm kú -n-a-zi-m (ANT)	kú -n-jī-m	kú -n-a-z-ëmiš kú -n-a-zi-miš (ANT)
2nd person	kú -n-a-z-ěš kú -n-a-zi-š (ANT)	kú -n-j-ěš kú -n-jī-š (ANT)	kú -n-a-z-ěň kú -n-a-zi-ň (ANT)
3rd person	kú -n-a-zi	kú -n-jī	kú -n-a-zi

Table 231. The Southeastern Progressive Past & Distant Past

2.9.6.6.3 The Progressive Mediative

	Basic stem	Participial stem	Verbal gender markers	Verbal person markers
Progressive Mediative “was/is evidently doing” (F forms contracted in NE & SE)	1. Progressive stem + verbal gender markers			
	long	progressive	✓	–
	2. Fused mediative copula			
	short	past (= perfective)	✓	✓

The progressive mediative consists of the progressive participial stem followed by the verbal gender markers and the fused mediative copula with verbal person markers. The verbal gender markers in the Eastern dialects have the unmarked feminine form, which leads to phonological interaction between the *-s/-z-* of the fused copula forms and the *-t/-n-* of the progressive stem, though apparently at least some forms with the feminine verbal gender marker *-e-* are also acceptable in the Northeastern dialect.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	kú -t-o-sy-o-s-um	kú -ččy-e-s-um (< *-t-sy-e + -s-um) or kú -t-e-sy-e-sum (?)	kú -t-o-sy-o-miš (kú -t-o-sy-o-sěmiš?)
2nd person	kú -t-o-sy-o-š	kú -ččy-e-š (< *-t-sy-e-š) or kú -t-e-sy-e (?)	kú -t-o-sy-o-s-eň
3rd person	kú -t-o-sy-o	kú -ččy-e (< *-t-sy-e) or kú -t-e-sy-e	kú -t-a-sy-a

Table 232. The Northeastern progressive mediative²⁸⁵

²⁸⁵ Of the alternative feminine forms only the 3rd person form is confirmed.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	kú -n-o-sy-o-m	kú -n-e-sy-e-m	kú -n-o-sy-o-miš
2nd person	kú -n-o-sy-o-š	kú -n-e-sy-e-š	kú -n-o-sy-o-s-eř
3rd person	kú -n-o-sy-o	kú -n-e-sy-e	kú -n-a-sy-a

Table 233. The Western progressive mediative

As usual in the Southeastern dialect, feminine mediative forms are not distinguished from feminine past forms.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	kú -n-a-z-o-m	kú -n-ĵ-i-m (= PROG.PST)	kú -n-a-z-o-miš
2nd person	kú -n-a-z-o-š	kú -n-ĵ-i-š (= PROG.PST)	kú -n-a-z-o-ň
3rd person	kú -n-a-z-o	kú -n-ĵ-i (= PROG.PST)	kú -n-a-z-a

Table 234. The Southeastern progressive mediative

2.9.6.6.4 The Progressive Presumptive

	Basic stem	Participial stem	Verbal gender markers	Verbal person markers
Progressive Presumptive “is probably doing” (F forms contracted in NE & SE)	1. Progressive stem + verbal gender markers			
	long	progressive	✓	–
	2. Fused presumptive copula			
	long	presumptive (= imperfective) <i>incl. adj. gender</i>	–	✓

The progressive presumptive consists of the progressive participial stem followed by the verbal gender markers and the fused presumptive copula with its adjectival gender markers and verbal person markers. The verbal gender markers in the Eastern dialects have the unmarked feminine form, which leads to phonological interaction between the -s-/-z- of the fused copula forms and the -t-/-n- of the progressive stem

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	kú -t-o-sel-ě-m	kú -ččel-i-m (< *-t-sel-i-m)	kú -t-o-sel-ěmiš
2nd person	kú -t-o-sel-ě-š	kú -ččel-i-š (< *-t-sel-i-š)	kú -t-o-sel-uň
3rd person	kú -t-o-sel-ě	kú -ččel-i (< *-t-sel-i)	kú -t-a-sel-ě

Table 235. The Northeastern progressive presumptive

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	kú -n-o-sel-um	kú -n-e-sel-y-um	kú -n-o-sel-miš
2nd person	kú -n-o-sel-uš	kú -n-e-sel-y-uš	kú -n-o-sel-uř
3rd person	kú -n-o-sel-ě	kú -n-e-sel-i	kú -n-a-sel-ě

Table 236. The Western progressive presumptive²⁸⁶

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	kú -n-a-ll-ěm	kú -n-jěl-i-m or kú -n-jil-i-m	kú -n-all-ěmiš
2nd person	kú -n-a-ll-ěš	kú -n-jěl-i-š or kú -n-jil-i-š	kú -n-all-ěň
3rd person	kú -n-a-ll-ě	kú -n-jěl-i ²⁸⁷ or kú -n-jil-i	kú -n-all-ě

Table 237. The Southeastern progressive presumptive

²⁸⁶ The forms **přenaselum*, **přenaseluš* cited by Grjunberg (1980: 240) do not exist. They are probably the result of an incorrect generalization on the base of the 3rd person plural form.

²⁸⁷ An unexpected form *přénalli* (instead of *přénjěli*) is attested once.

2.9.6.6.5 The Western Progressive Conditional²⁸⁸

	Basic Stem	Suffix	Verbal Gender Markers	Verbal Person Markers
Progressive Conditional “(if/when) is/was doing” (only in w)	long	- <i>na</i> = progressive stem + - <i>a</i>	–	✓

The progressive conditional only exists in the Western dialect. It seems to be a paradigm built on the verbal place noun in *-na* (2.9.4.1.5), which serves as its 3rd person singular form. The other forms are simply this form plus verbal person markers. It could also be seen as a form containing the progressive stem and a suffix *-a*.

	Singular	Plural
1st person	kú -na-m	-na-miš
2nd person	kú -na-š	-na-ř
3rd person	kú -na	-na-t

Table 238. The Western progressive conditional

2.9.6.7 The Complex Verbal Paradigms – Imperfective System

The imperfective system is characterized by the frequent co-expression of future tense and imperfective aspect with the same forms or with forms related to each other. This is the result of an original reanalysis of an imperfective construction as future tense, which is analyzed in detail by Fries et al. (2023).

The imperfective system seems to be a relatively young part of the verbal system which has additionally been reshaped by dynamic change processes, leading to rather different outcomes in the different dialects.

²⁸⁸ Grjunberg (1980: 214): *nastojasčee vremja uslovnogo naklonenija* (‘present conditional’).

2.9.6.7.1 The Synthetic Future²⁸⁹

	Basic Stem	Participial Stem	Verbal Gender Markers	Verbal Person Markers
Basic Future “will do” (2 nd & 3 rd person only in w)	long	imperfective <i>incl. adj. gender</i>	–	✓

Formally the most basic paradigm of the imperfective system, the synthetic future (FUT) is fully productive only in the Western dialect, where it is the most common way to express future tense. In the Northeastern dialect only the 1st person singular of this paradigm is used, whereas in the Southeastern dialect it is completely absent. The Northeastern 1st person forms are integrated into the paradigm of the periphrastic future and are therefore presented there (2.9.6.7.3). The full paradigm found in the Western dialect is shown in Table 239. The third person forms are homonymous with the imperfective participle and accordingly also with the 3rd person forms of the imperfective present (2.9.6.7.3). The other forms have attached verbal person markers according to the usual Western pattern.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	kú -l-um	kú -l-y-um	kú -l-miš
2nd person	kú -l-uš	kú -l-y-uš	kú -l-uř
3rd person	kú -l-ě	kú -l-i	kú -l-ě

Table 239. The Western synthetic future

²⁸⁹ Grjunberg (1980: 234): *budušće vremja* (‘future tense’).

2.9.6.7.2 The Southeastern Non-Volitional Future²⁹⁰

	Basic stem	Participial stem	Verbal gender markers	Verbal person markers
Non-Volitional Future (SE) “will do (but not by choice)”; “will need to do”; <i>Irregular Forms:</i> 1 st SG F: Ipfv. stem extended with -ċ- 1 st PL: Referentializer -stë + <i>bi</i>	1. Imperfective stem + verbal person markers			
	long	imperfective <i>incl. adj. gender</i>	–	✓
	2. <i>bi</i> (perfective participle of <i>bũ-stë</i>)			
	short	perfective	–	–

The Southeastern non-volitional future (FUT.NONVOL) contains essentially the same paradigm as the Western synthetic future (2.9.6.7.1), with only the usual sound correspondences of the Southeastern dialect, but each form is followed followed by *bi*, which is usually the perfective participle or 3rd person perfective conditional (2.9.6.8.1) of *bũ-stë* ‘to be, to become’. Differences to the synthetic future as attested in the other dialects appear in the first person singular feminine, which seems to contain a copular extension (< *-s-um), following a recurring pattern of the Southeastern dialect, and in the very unusual 1st person plural form, which consists of the referentializer -stë followed by *bi*. The agreement of Strand (1999a) and Ġulāmullāh (1966: 292) on this form seems to confirm it as genuine. The 1st person plural form is unique and divergent also in the Southeastern optative forms (2.9.6.7.9, 2.9.6.7.10).

The 3rd person forms are homophonous with those of the imperfective/future conditional and also correspond exactly to the 3rd person forms of the Western/Northeastern Non-Volitional Future (2.9.6.7.8). What distinguishes the Southeastern paradigm from its functional equivalent in the other two dialects is the fact that the person markers attach to the participial stem and are followed by an

²⁹⁰ Ġulāmullāh (1966: 257, 276, 283): *mustaqbal* (‘future’), but conjugation and usage examples are in most places confused with the imperfective/future conditional. The correct paradigm only appears in an example conjugation of a combined form (Ġulāmullāh 1966: 292). Strand (1999a): *conceptual mode*.

unconjugated *bi*, whereas in the other dialects it is the stem *bi* that is conjugated with person markers. This dialectal difference is probably due to differing generalizations proceeding from the zero-marked third person form.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	kú -l-ëm bi	kú -l-čëm bi or kú -ččëm bi	kú -stë bi
2nd person	kú -l-ěš bi	kú -l-iš bi	kú -l-ěň bi
3rd person	kú -l-ë bi	kú -l-i bi	kú -l-ë bi

Table 240. The Southeastern non-volitional future

2.9.6.7.3 The Imperfective Present / Periphrastic Future²⁹¹

	Basic stem	Participial stem	Verbal gender markers	Verbal person markers
Imperfective Present & Periphrastic Future “does”, “used to do” & “will do”	1. Imperfective participle			
	long	imperfective <i>incl. adj. gender</i>	–	–
	2. Enclitic present copula			
	short	–	–	✓

The imperfective present is a periphrastic form consisting of the imperfective participle and enclitic forms of the present copula.²⁹² It is the most basic of many possible combinations of the imperfective participle with copular forms, which can produce imperfective forms of all moods and tenses (except future). Like all of these

²⁹¹ Grjunberg (1980: 241): *nastoljaščee mnogokratnoe* (‘present iterative’); Ġulāmullāh (1966): no separate term (*ism-i fā’il + ’af’āl-i mu’ayyan*).

²⁹² Participle and copula fuse together phonologically due to normal sandhi effects when adjacent, but elements such as negation or enclitic discourse particles can interfere between them, making it clear that they are separate elements.

combinations, it is deeply intertwined with future tense paradigms. The interrelation between the imperfective present and the future tense is different in each of the three dialects.

In the Western dialect the 3rd person forms of the imperfective present do not have to contain a copular form. When used without it, they are identical to the imperfective participle and the third person forms of the synthetic future. Beyond this homonymy the imperfective present is only an imperfective aspect form in the Western dialect, since the future function is taken by the synthetic future. However, if the nominalizing/diminutive suffixes *-uk* (M) and *-ik* (F) are added to the participle instead of the adjective gender markers, this produces the periphrastic paradigm of the Western certain future (Table 242), which is exclusively a future tense form.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	kú -lasum (kú -l-ě-as-um)	kú -lyasum (kú -l-i-as-um)	kú -lasěmiš (kú -l-ě-as-ěmiš)
2nd person	kú -lasyuš (kú -l-ě-as-yuš)	kú -lyasyuš (kú -l-i-as-yuš)	kú -laseř (kú -l-ě-as-eř)
3rd person	kú -lě or kú -lasě (kú -l-ě-as-ě)	kú -li or kú -lyasě (kú -l-i-as-ě)	kú -lě or kú -lašt (kú -l-ě-ašt)

Table 241. The Western imperfective present

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	kú -l-uk-as-um	kú -l-ik-as-um	kú -l-uk-as-ěmiš
2nd person	kú -l-uk-as-yuš	kú -l-ik-as-yuš	kú -l-uk-as-eř
3rd person	kú -l-uk or kú -l-uk-as-ě	kú -l-ik or kú -l-ik-as-ě	kú -l-uk or kú -l-uk-ašt

Table 242. The Western certain future

In the Northeastern dialect, the imperfective present and the future tense are distinguished only in the 1st person singular, where synthetic future forms are used for the future, but periphrastic ones with a copular form for the imperfective present. For

all other person-number combinations only the periphrastic forms exist, which do double duty as both future tense and imperfective present forms.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	kú -l-um – FUT kú -lasum – IPFV (kú -lě-as-um)	kú -l-y-um – FUT kú -lyasum – IPFV (kú -li-as-um)	kú -lasěmiš (kú -lě-as-ěmiš)
2nd person	kú -lasiš (kú -lě-as-iš)	kú -lyasiš (kú -li-as-iš)	kú -laseň (kú -lě-as-eň)
3rd person	kú -lasě (kú -lě-as-ě)	kú -lyasě (kú -li-as-ě)	kú -lay (kú -lě-ay)

Table 243. The Northeastern imperfective present & future tense

In the Southeastern dialect the situation is again different. Here, no synthetic future forms are in use and all periphrastic forms are used for both the future tense and the imperfective present.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	kú -lězēm (kú -lě-ěz-ēm)	kú -līzēm (kú -li-ěz-ēm)	kú - lězěmiš (kú -lě-ěz-ěmiš)
2nd person	kú -lěši (kú -lě-ěši)	kú -līši (kú -li-ěši)	kú -lězěň (kú -lě-ěz-eň)
3rd person	kú -lězě (kú -lě-ěz-ě)	kú -līzě (kú -li-ěz-ě)	kú -lay (kú -lě-ay)

Table 244. The Southeastern imperfective present & future tense

2.9.6.7.4 The Imperfective / Future Past²⁹³

	Basic stem	Participial stem	Verbal gender markers	Verbal person markers
Imperfective/Future Past “used to do”, “would do” & “was going to do”	1. Imperfective participle			
	long	imperfective <i>incl. adj. gender</i>	–	–
	2. Enclitic past copula (w: Western <i>st-</i> past copula, not enclitic)			
	short	past (= perfective)	–	✓

The imperfective/future past is a periphrastic form consisting of the imperfective participle and forms of the past copula. The copular forms are enclitic in the Eastern dialects but the Western past copula has no enclitic form. Imperfective and future forms are completely identical in this paradigm in all dialects.

The Northeastern 3rd person plural (and singular masculine) form is homophonous with the optative past 3rd plural form in *-l-a-si*, but the Optative form is synthetic and inseparable (no cliticization) and the optative past paradigm has a separate form for the 3rd person singular in *-l-o-si*. In the other dialects there is no homophony with the optative past (because of a different copula (w) or different sandhi rules (SE)).

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	kú -lasyum (kú -lě-as-y-um)	kú -lyasyum (kú -lí-as-y-um)	kú -lasimiš (kú -lě-as-i-miš)
2nd person	kú -lasiš (kú -lě-as-iš)	kú -lyasiš (kú -lí-as-iš)	kú -lasyuň (kú -lě-as-y-uň)
3rd person	kú -lasi (kú -lě-as-i)	kú -lyasi (kú -lí-as-i)	kú -lasi (kú -lě-as-i)

Table 245. The Northeastern imperfective/future past

²⁹³ Grjunberg (1980: 243): *budušče-prošedše* (‘future-past’).

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	kú -l-ě st-um	kú -l-i st-um	kú -l-ě st-ěmiš
2nd person	kú -l-ě st-uš	kú -l-i st-uš	kú -l-ě st-uř
3rd person	kú -l-ě st-ě	kú -l-i st-ě	kú -l-ě st-ě ŠT: kú -l-ě st-ět

Table 246. The Western imperfective/future past

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	kú -lězim (kú -lě-ěz-i-m)	kú -līzim (kú -lī-ěz-i-m)	kú -lězimiš (kú -lě-ěz-i-miš)
2nd person	kú -lěziš (kú -lě-ěz-i-š)	kú -līziš (kú -lī-ěz-i-š)	kú -lěziň (kú -lě-ěz-i-ň)
3rd person	kú -lězi (kú -lě-ěz-i)	kú -līzi (kú -lī-ěz-i)	kú -lězi (kú -lě-ěz-i)

Table 247. The Southeastern imperfective/future past

2.9.6.7.5 The Imperfective / Future Mediative²⁹⁴

	Basic stem	Participial stem	Verbal gender markers	Verbal person markers
Imperfective/Future Mediative “evidently used to do”, “evidently does” & “is/was evidently going to do”	1. Imperfective participle			
	long	imperfective <i>incl. adj. gender</i>	–	–
	2. Enclitic mediative copula			
	short	past (= perfective)	✓	✓

²⁹⁴ Grjunberg (1980: 242): *prošedšee povestvovatel'noe pereskazatel'nogo naklonenija* ('past narrative reportative').

The imperfective/future mediative is a periphrastic form consisting of the imperfective participle and enclitic forms of the mediative copula. The Eastern paradigms are both imperfective and future forms, though imperfective use is more common. For the Western dialect only imperfective use is attested.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	kú -lasyosum (kú -l-ě-as-y-o-s-um)	kú -lyasyesum (kú -l-i-as-y-e-s-um)	kú -lasyosěmiš (kú -l-ě-as-y-o-s-ěmiš)
2nd person	kú -lasyoš (kú -l-ě-as-y-o-š)	kú -lyasyeš (kú -l-i-as-y-e-š)	kú -lasyoseň (kú -l-ě-as-y-o-s-eň)
3rd person	kú -lasyo (kú -l-ě-as-y-o)	kú -lyasye (kú -l-i-as-y-e)	kú -lasya (kú -l-ě-as-y-a)

Table 248. The Northeastern Imperfective/Future Mediative

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	kú -lasyom (kú -l-ě-as-y-o-m)	kú -lyasyem (kú -l-i-as-y-e-m)	kú -lasyomiš (kú -l-ě-as-y-o-miš)
2nd person	kú -lasyoš (kú -l-ě-as-y-o-š)	kú -lyasyeš (kú -l-i-as-y-e-š)	kú -lasyoseř (kú -l-ě-as-y-o-s-eř)
3rd person	kú -lasyo (kú -l-ě-as-y-o)	kú -lyasye (kú -l-i-as-y-e)	kú -lasya (kú -l-ě-as-y-a)

Table 249. The Western imperfective/future mediative

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	kú -lězom (kú -lě-ěz-o-m)	kú -līzim (kú -lī-ěz-i-m) (= IPFV/FUT.PST)	kú -lězomiš (kú -lě-ěz-o-miš)
2nd person	kú -lězoš (kú -lě-ěz-o-š)	kú -līziš (kú -lī-ěz-i-š) (= IPFV/FUT.PST)	kú -lězoň (kú -lě-ěz-o-ň)
3rd person	kú -lězo (kú -lě-ěz-o)	kú -līzi (kú -lī-ěz-i) (= IPFV/FUT.PST)	kú -lěza (kú -lě-ěz-a)

Table 250. The Southeastern imperfective/future mediative

2.9.6.7.6 The Imperfective / Future Presumptive

	Basic stem	Participial stem	Verbal gender markers	Verbal person markers
Imperfective/Future Presumptive “probably used to do”, “probably does”, & “is probably going to do”	1. Imperfective participle			
	long	imperfective <i>incl. adj. gender</i>	–	–
	2. Enclitic presumptive copula			
	long	presumptive (= imperfective) <i>incl. adj. gender</i>	–	✓

The imperfective/future presumptive is a periphrastic form consisting of the imperfective participle and enclitic forms of the presumptive copula.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	kú -laselēm (kú -l-ě=ase-l-ě-m)	kú -lyaselim (kú -l-ĩ=ase-l-i-m)	kú -laselēmiš (kú -l-ě=ase-l-ě-miš)
2nd person	kú -laselěš (kú -l-ě=ase-l-ě-š)	kú -lyaseliš (kú -l-ĩ=ase-l-i-š)	kú -laseluň (kú -l-ě=ase-l-ě-uň)
3rd person	kú -laselě (kú -l-ě=ase-l-ě)	kú -lyaseli (kú -l-ĩ=ase-l-i)	kú -laselě (kú -l-ě=ase-l-ě)

Table 251. The Northeastern imperfective/future presumptive

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	kú -laselum (kú -l-ě-ase-l-um)	kú -lyaselyum (kú -l-i-ase-l-y-um)	kú -laselmiš (kú -l-ě-ase-l-miš)
2nd person	kú -laseluš (kú -l-ě-ase-l-uš)	kú -lyaselyuš (kú -l-i-ase-l-y-uš)	kú -laseluř (kú -l-ě-ase-l-uř)
3rd person	kú -laselě (kú -l-ě-ase-l-ě)	kú -lyaseli (kú -l-i-ase-l-i)	kú -laselě (kú -l-ě-ase-l-ě)

Table 252. The Western imperfective/future presumptive

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	kú -lēzēlēm (kú -lē-ēzē-l-ě-m)	kú -līzēlim (kú -lī-ēzē-l-i-m)	kú -lēzēlēmīš (kú -lē-ēzē-l-ě-miš)
2nd person	kú -lēzēlēš (kú -lē-ēzē-l-ě-š)	kú -līzēliš (kú -lī-ēzē-l-i-š)	kú -lēzēlēň (kú -lē-ēzē-l-ě-ň)
3rd person	kú -lēzēlē (kú -lē-ēzē-l-ě)	kú -līzēli (kú -lī-ēzē-l-i)	kú -lēzēlē (kú -lē-ēzē-l-ě)

Table 253. The Southeastern imperfective/future presumptive

2.9.6.7.7 The Imperfective / Future Past Presumptive²⁹⁵

	Basic stem	Participial stem	Verbal gender markers	Verbal person markers
Imperfective/Future Past Presumptive “probably used to do” & “was probably going to do”	1. Imperfective participle			
	long	imperfective <i>incl. adj. gender</i>	–	–
	2. Perfective past presumptive form of NE <i>bu-stě</i> ~ W <i>bě-stě</i> ~ SE <i>bũ-stě</i>			
	I. Perfective past form of NE <i>bu-stě</i> ~ W <i>bě-stě</i> ~ SE <i>bũ-stě</i>			
	short	perfective <i>incl. adj. gender</i>	✓	–
	II. Presumptive copula (<i>contracted in SE</i>)			
	long	presumptive (= imperfective) <i>incl. adj. gender</i>	–	✓

The imperfective/future past presumptive is a periphrastic form consisting of the imperfective participle and the past presumptive form of NE *bu-stě* ~ W *bě-stě* ~ SE *bũ-stě* ‘to be, to become’.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	kú -l-ě b-ó-se-l-ě-m	kú -l-i b-y-é-se-l-i-m	kú -l-ě b-ó-se-l-ě-miš
2nd person	kú -l-ě b-ó-se-l-ě-š	kú -l-i b-y-é-se-l-i-š	kú -l-ě b-ó-se-l-uň
3rd person	kú -l-ě b-ó-se-l-ě	kú -l-i b-y-é-se-l-i	kú -l-ě b-á-se-l-ě

Table 254. The Northeastern imperfective/future past presumptive

²⁹⁵ Grjunberg (1980: 243): *složnaja forma potencial'nogo naklonenija* (‘complex form of the potential’).

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	kú -l-ë b-ó-se-l-um	kú -l-i b-y-é-se-l-y-um	kú -l-ë b-ó-se-l-miš
2nd person	kú -l-ë b-ó-se-l-uš	kú -l-i b-y-é-se-l-y-uš	kú -l-ë b-ó-se-l-uř
3rd person	kú -l-ë b-ó-se-l-ë	kú -l-i b-y-é-se-l-i	kú -l-ë b-á-se-l-ë

Table 255. The Western imperfective/future past presumptive

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	kú -l-ë b-á-ll-ëm	kú -l-i b-í-ll-i-m	kú -l-ë b-á-ll-ëmiš
2nd person	kú -l-ë b-á-ll-ěš	kú -l-i b-í-ll-i-š	kú -l-ë b-á-ll-ěň
3rd person	kú -l-ë b-á-ll-ë	kú -l-i b-í-ll-i	kú -l-ë b-á-ll-ë

Table 256. The Southeastern imperfective/future past presumptive

2.9.6.7.8 The Imperfective / Future Conditional & Non-Volitional Future

	Basic stem	Participial stem	Verbal gender markers	Verbal person markers
Imperfective/Future Conditional “(if/when) does”, “(if/when) is going to do” & Non-Volitional Future (NE/W) “will do (but not by choice)”; “will need to do”	1. Imperfective participle			
	long	imperfective <i>incl. adj. gender</i>	–	–
	2. Perfective conditional form of NE <i>bu-stě</i> ~ W <i>bě-stě</i> ~ SE <i>bũ-stě</i>			
	short	perfective <i>in w incl. adj. gender</i> <i>in 1st/2nd person</i>	–	✓

The imperfective/future conditional and Northeastern/Western non-volitional future is a periphrastic form consisting of the imperfective participle and the perfective conditional form of NE *bu-stě* ~ W *bě-stě* ~ SE *bũ-stě* ‘to be, to become’.

In conditional use, the forms of the Eastern paradigms can be either imperfective or future forms. The forms of the Western paradigm are only attested as imperfectives in

conditional use and contrast in this context with forms of the certain future containing the nominalizing/diminutive suffixes *-uk* (M) and *-ik* (F) instead of the adjective gender markers of the participle (Table 259). Outside of the conditional context, the forms of the Western and Northeastern paradigms both express the non-volitional future.

In the Southeastern dialect the imperfective/future conditional is distinguished from the non-volitional future (2.9.6.7.2) via the placement of the verbal person markers. In the non-volitional future form these are attached to the imperfective participle, but in the conditional form they are attached to the auxiliary. The zero-marked third person forms are identical in both paradigms.

Regarding the dialectal differences in gender marking, see section 2.9.6.8.1.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	kú -l-ě b-i-m	kú -l-i b-i-m	kú -l-ě b-i-miš
2nd person	kú -l-ě b-i-š	kú -l-i b-i-š	kú -l-ě b-y-uň
3rd person	kú -l-ě b-i	kú -l-i b-i	kú -l-ě b-i

Table 257. The Northeastern imperfective/future conditional & non-volitional future

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	kú -l-ě b-um	kú -l-i b-y-um	kú -l-ě b-i-miš
2nd person	kú -l-ě b-uš	kú -l-i b-y-uš	kú -l-ě b-uř
3rd person	kú -l-ě b-i	kú -l-i b-i	kú -l-ě b-i

Table 258. The Western imperfective conditional & non-volitional future

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	kú -l-uk b-um	kú -l-ik b-y-um	kú -l-uk b-i-miš
2nd person	kú -l-uk b-uš	kú -l-ik b-y-uš	kú -l-uk b-uř
3rd person	kú -l-uk b-i	kú -l-ik b-i	kú -l-uk b-i

Table 259. The Western certain future conditional

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	kú -l-ě b-i-m	kú -l-i b-i-m	kú -l-ě b-i-miš
2nd person	kú -l-ě b-i-š	kú -l-i b-i-š	kú -l-ě b-i-ň
3rd person	kú -l-ě b-i	kú -l-i b-i	kú -l-ě b-i

Table 260. The Southeastern imperfective/future conditional

2.9.6.7.9 The Optative²⁹⁶

	Basic Stem	Participial Stem	Verbal Gender Markers	Verbal Person Markers
Optative “should do” <i>suppletive 1st person forms</i>	long	imperfective <i>incl. adj. gender</i>	✓	✓

The optative is a synthetic paradigm built on the imperfective participle extended with the verbal gender markers. The masculine verbal gender marker *-o* absorbs the adjective gender marker *-ě*, whereas the feminine verbal gender marker *-e* coalesces with the adjective gender marker *-i* into *-ye*. 1st person forms are supplied by the primary optative forms described in section 2.9.6.1.2. In the Southeastern dialect non-suppletive 1st person forms are available next to suppletive ones. Of these, the feminine 1st person form contains the copular extension (< **-s-um*), which appears in several Southeastern feminine 1st person singular forms, but no gender marker.

²⁹⁶ Grjunberg (1980: 237): *nastojasčee vremja optativa* (‘optative present’); Ġulāmullāh (1966: 277): *amr-i ġā’ib yā muḏārī’-i iltizāmī* (‘order in absence/indirect imperative or obligative imperfect/non-past/present’); Strand (2010): *vivid conceptual*.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	kú -m		kú -mu
2nd person	kú -l-o-š	kú -l-y-e-š	kú -l-o-s-eñ
3rd person	kú -l-o	kú -l-y-e	kú -l-a

Table 261. The Northeastern optative

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	kú -m		kú -mo
2nd person	kú -l-o-š	kú -l-y-e-š	kú -l-o-s-eř
3rd person	kú -l-o	kú -l-y-e	kú -l-a

Table 262. The Western optative

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	kú -m		kú -mmo
	kú -l-o-m	kú -l-čëm or kú -ččëm	kú -l-o-miš ²⁹⁷
2nd person	kú -l-o-š	kú -l-i-š	kú -l-o-ñ
3rd person	kú -l-o	kú -l-i	kú -l-a

Table 263. The Southeastern optative

²⁹⁷ Regarding this alternative form Ġulāmullāh (1966: 258) explains: “The first person plural used to have the “spelling [Prs. *imlā*]” *búlomiš*. Now its use has been abandoned and in its place the form *búmmo* is used. In some places it has not been abandoned.” It is not clear which places these are. Considering the testimony of the other dialects, it seems possible that the first person forms in *-lom* and *-lomiš* are in fact analogical innovations rather than retentions of a regular paradigm. In the examined corpus forms in *-lom* are relatively frequent but forms in *-lomiš* do not occur.

2.9.6.7.10 The Optative Past²⁹⁸

	Basic stem	Participial stem	Verbal gender markers	Verbal person markers
Optative Past “should have done” (SE: F forms contracted, suppletive 1 st person pl. form)	1. Imperfective stem + verbal gender markers			
	long	imperfective incl. adj. gender	✓	–
	2. Past copula (SE: some PRS.COP forms)			
	short	past (= perfective)	–	✓

The optative past is a synthetic paradigm consisting of the imperfective participle extended with the verbal gender markers and a fused past copula.

The verbal gender markers follow the minimal pattern (with only *-a-* vs. no marker for feminine forms) in the Southeastern paradigm. In some paradigmatic slots the Southeastern dialect has forms that look more like a fused present copula (cf. the similar situation in the progressive past (2.9.6.6.2), though there are no double forms in the past optative paradigm).

The 1st person forms are regular in the Western and Northeastern dialects, but the 1st person plural is usually suppletive in the Southeastern dialect, consisting of the suppletive Optative 1st person plural form in *-mmo*, followed by the verbal gender marker *-a-*, which supplants the *o* of *-mmo*, and a fused 3rd person past copula *-zi*.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	kú -l-o-sy-um	kú -l-y-e-sy-um	kú -l-o-si-miš
2nd person	kú -l-o-si-š	kú -l-y-e-si-š	kú -l-o-sy-uň
3rd person	kú -l-o-si	kú -l-y-e-si	kú -l-a-si

Table 264. The Northeastern optative past

²⁹⁸ Grjunberg (1980: 235) *prošedšee vremja optativa* (‘optative past’); Ġulāmullāh (1966: 291, 304): *māži-yi ta’kidi-yi istimrārī-yi šarṭiya* (‘emphatic continuous conditional past’); Strand (1999a): *past conceptual mode* (“resultative”); Strand (2010) *prospective present projected into internal cognitive image*.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	kú -l-o-sy-um	kú -l-y-e-sy-um	kú -l-o-si-miš
2nd person	kú -l-o-sy-uš	kú -l-y-e-sy-uš	kú -l-o-sy-uř
3rd person	kú -l-o-si	kú -l-y-e-si	kú -l-a-si

Table 265. The Western optative past

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	kú -l-a-z-ëm	kú -l-či-m	kú -mm-a-zi kú -l-a-z-ëmiš ²⁹⁹
2nd person	kú -l-a-z-ěš	kú -l-č-ěš	kú -l-a-z-ěň
3rd person	kú -l-a-zi	kú -l-či	kú -l-a-zi

Table 266. The Southeastern optative past

2.9.6.8 The Complex Verbal Paradigms – Perfective System

For the perfective system, it is necessary to give more than one example paradigm for each form, since the irregular perfective participles, some of which distinguish gender and some of which do not, affect the complex paradigms in different ways.

Example paradigms in all three dialects are given with the regular verb NE *zaňé-stě* ~ W *zařé-stě* ~ SE *jaňé-stě* ‘to know, understand, recognize’ (pfv. ptcp. NE *zaňí*, W *zayí*, SE *jaňí*), and the irregular ones NE *bú-stě* ~ W *bě-stě* ~ SE *bű-stě* ‘to be, become’ (pfv. ptcp. *bi*; pfv. stem *bě-/bi-*), NE/W *kú-stě* ~ SE *kű-stě* ‘to do’ (pfv.ptcp. NE *kěře/kěří*, W *kěře/kiyí*, SE *kaře/kaří*), NE/W *pře-stě* ~ SE *pře-stě* ‘to give’ (pfv.ptcp *ptě/ptí*), NE/W *é-stě* ~ SE *yě-stě* ‘to go’ (pfv.ptcp. NE *gu/gey*, W *gěvé/gayí*, SE *gu/gē*); NE *áče-stě* ~ W *áče-stě* ~ SE *ácě-stě* ‘to come’ (pfv.ptcp. NE *ay*, W *áyi*, SE *őzē/ā*)

Agreement marking follows an ergative-absolutive pattern in the perfective system. The person-number-gender values in the conjugation tables, especially with transitive verbs, therefore often reflect other participants than the ones in the conjugation tables of the progressive and imperfective systems.

²⁹⁹ Regarding the two alternative forms Ġulāmullāh (1966: 304) writes: “*yémmazi* and *yélazëmiš* are both correct but the use of *yémmazi* is more common.”

2.9.6.8.1 The Perfective Conditional³⁰⁰

	Basic Stem	Participial Stem	Verbal Gender Markers	Verbal Person Markers
Perfective Conditional “(if/when) did”	short	perfective <i>incl. adj. gender</i> <i>in irregulars</i>	–	✓

The perfective conditional is a synthetic paradigm built directly on the perfective participle, which serves as its 3rd person form. The 1st and 2nd person forms contain verbal person markers. As the formally most basic paradigm of the perfective system, it might structurally be expected to express the meaning of perfective present/unspecific, but it is actually a modal form that occurs exclusively in conditional protasis. In actual use, perfective conditional forms are almost always followed by the conjunctions *-bo* or NE *-tã*, W/SE *-to*. An aspectual contrast to a non-perfective conditional exists only in the Western dialect.

In the absence of a gender distinction, Northeastern and Western verbs with regular perfective participles have only five inflectional forms. The regular participle suffix *-i* coalesces with vowel-initial endings, becoming *-y-*. In Western forms with a glide before the *-i*, only the glide remains before vowel-initial endings.

	Singular	Plural
1st person	zañ -í-m	zañ -í-miš
2nd person	zañ -í-š	zañ -y-úñ
3rd person	zañ -í	

Table 267. The Northeastern perfective conditional of *zañé-stë* ‘to know, understand, recognize’

³⁰⁰ Grjunberg (1980: 225): *prošedšee vremja uslovnogo naklonenija* (‘past conditional’); Ġulāmullāh (1966: 294, 307): *māžī-yi šarṭiya* (‘past conditional’); Strand (1999a): *prototypical retrospective mode*.

	Singular	Plural
1st person	za -y-úm	za -yí-miš ³⁰¹
2nd person	za -y-úš	za -y-úr
3rd person	za -yí	

Table 268. The Western perfective conditional of *zařé-stě* ‘to know, understand, recognize’

	Singular	Plural
1st person	jaň -í-m	jaň -í-miš
2nd person	jaň -í-š	jaň -í-ň
3rd person	jaň -í	

Table 269. The Southeastern perfective conditional of *jaňé-stě* ‘to know, understand, recognize’

The verb NE *bu-stě* ~ W *bě-stě* ~ SE *bũ-stě* ‘to be, become’ has the regular gender-invariant perfective participle *b-i*, but constructs complex forms with gendered stems, which behave in a way that would suggest the forms **b-ě* (M) and **b-i* (F), though such forms never occur as independent words. The perfective conditional paradigm of the Eastern dialects is consistently built on the gender-invariant participle, but in the Western dialect only the 3rd person form, which is simply the participle, is actually gender-invariant, whereas the 1st and 2nd person singular forms are based on the gender-variant stems. The person markers used here are the *-um/-uš* set, rather than the *-m/-š* set used after regular perfective participles. This has the result that the ending *-ě* of the hypothetical masculine stem **b-ě* is absorbed by the vowel-initial endings, as also happens with participles that actually have the adjective gender markers (see below). The 2nd person plural also appears to be based on the masculine stem, but the 1st person plural is again based on gender-invariant *bi*.

	Singular	Plural
1st person	b -i-m	b -í-miš
2nd person	b -i-š	NE: b -y-uň SE: b -i-ň
3rd person	b -i	

Table 270. The Eastern perfective conditional of *bu-stě* ‘to be, beome’

³⁰¹ Grjunberg (1980: 225) gives the ending of this form as *-yumiš*, but his texts contain only forms in *-imiš*.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	b -um	b -y-um	b -i-miš
2nd person	b -uš	b -y-uš	b -uř
3rd person	b -i		

Table 271. The Western perfective conditional of bu-stě ‘to be, beome’

Other verbs with gender-variant perfective participles have full gender distinction in all dialects. In the Northeastern dialect the 1st and 2nd person forms are formed from the participles with post-vocalic person markers. Plural forms are formed from the masculine participle. Only the 2nd person plural has a post-vocalic person marker that starts with a vowel in this dialect, so that only this form absorbs the masculine gender marker -ě. With -ěř- participles, there is stress variation between suffixed and unsuffixed masculine forms, as shown in Table 272.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	k -ěř-ě-m	k -ěř-í-m	k -ěř-ě-miš
2nd person	k -ěř-ě-š	k -ěř-í-š	k -ěř-ún
3rd person	k -ěř-ě	k -ěř-í	k -ěř-ě

Table 272. The Northeastern perfective conditional of ku-stě ‘to do’

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	p -t-ě-m	p -t-i-m	p -t-ě-miš
2nd person	p -t-ě-š	p -t-i-š	p -t-uň
3rd person	p -t-ě	p -t-i	p -t-ě

Table 273. The Northeastern perfective conditional of pře-stě ‘to give’

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	g -u-m	g -e-y-m	g -ú-miš
2nd person	g -u-š	g -e-y-š	g -u-ň
3rd person	g -u	g -e-y	g -u

Table 274. The Northeastern perfective conditional of e-stě ‘to go’

The Western dialect uses the *-um/-uš* set of person markers in the 1st and 2nd person forms. These absorb the gender marker *-ě* of the masculine participle, but feminine *-i* coalesces with their vowels, becoming *-y-*. Forms with a glide before feminine *-i* retain only the glide before the person markers.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	k -ěř-úm	k -i-y-úm	k -ěř-ě-miš ³⁰²
2nd person	k -ěř-úš	k -i-y-úš	k -ěř-ůř
3rd person	k -ěř-ě	k -i-yí	k -ěř-ě

Table 275. The Western perfective conditional of *ku-stě* ‘to do’

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	p -t-um	p -t-y-um	p -t-ě-miš
2nd person	p -t-uš	p -t-y-uš	p -t-uř
3rd person	p -t-ě	p -t-i	p -t-ě

Table 276. The Western perfective conditional of *pře-stě* ‘to give’

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	g -ěv-úm	g -a-y-úm	g -ěv-ě-miš
2nd person	g -ěv-úš	g -a-y-úš	g -ěv-ůř
3rd person	g -ěv-ě	g -a-yí	g -ěv-ě

Table 277. The Western perfective conditional of *e-stě* ‘to go’

The gender-variant forms of the Southeastern dialect essentially follow the same pattern as the Northeastern dialect, except that there is less phonological interaction between the participial stem and suffixes. The variation between word-internal *ey*, *ay* and word-final *ē*, *ā* can be observed in the feminine forms of the verbs ‘to go’ and ‘to come’ (Table 280 and Table 283)

³⁰² Grjunberg (1980: 226) gives the ending of this form as *-umiš*, but his texts contain only forms in *-ěmiš*.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	k -ař-ě-m	k -ař-í-m	k -ař-ě-miš
2nd person	k -ař-ě-š	k -ař-í-š	k -ař-ě-ň
3rd person	k -ař-ě	k -ař-í	k -ař-ě

Table 278. The Southeastern perfective conditional of kũ-stě ‘to do’

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	p -t-ě-m	p -t-i-m	p -t-ě-miš
2nd person	p -t-ě-š	p -t-i-š	p -t-ě-ň
3rd person	p -t-ě	p -t-i	p -t-ě

Table 279. The Southeastern perfective conditional of přě-stě ‘to give’

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	g -u-m	g -e-y-m	g -ú-miš
2nd person	g -u-š	g -e-y-š	g -u-ň
3rd person	g -u	g -ē	g -u

Table 280. The Southeastern perfective conditional of yě-stě ‘to go’

The verb NE *ácě=stě*, W *áce=stě*, SE *áčě=stě* ‘to come’ behaves quite regularly in the Western and Northeastern dialects, but it has separate masculine and feminine perfective participle stems in the Southeastern dialect.

	Singular	Plural
1st person	a -y-m	á -y-miš
2nd person	a -y-š	á -y-uň
3rd person	a -y	

Table 281. The Northeastern perfective conditional of áčě-stě ‘to come’

	Singular	Plural
1st person	á -y-um	á -yi-miš
2nd person	á -y-uš	á -y-uř
3rd person	á -yi	

Table 282. The Western perfective conditional of áće-stě ‘to come’

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	óž -ě-m	a -y-m	óž -ě-miš
2nd person	óž -ě-š	a -y-š	óž -ě-ň
3rd person	óž -ě	ā	óž -ě

Table 283. The Southeastern perfective conditional of áčě-stě ‘to come’

2.9.6.8.2 The Perfective Past³⁰³

	Basic Stem	Participial Stem	Verbal Gender Markers	Verbal Person Markers
Perfective Past “did” <i>1st person = participle in w;</i> <i>copular extensions:</i> NE: <i>all 1st person & 2nd person pl.</i> W: <i>2nd person pl.</i> SE: <i>1st person sg. fem.</i>	short	perfective <i>incl. adj. gender</i> <i>in irregulars</i>	✓	✓

The Perfective Past is a synthetic paradigm consisting of the perfective participle, the verbal gender markers and the verbal person markers. The verbal gender markers introduce a gender distinction even in forms with a gender-invariant regular perfective participle. The forms with gender-variant participles have doubly marked gender. The

³⁰³ Grjunberg (1980: 220): *preterit I* (‘preterite I’); Ġulāmullāh (1966: 270, 281, 286): *māži-yi muṭlaq* (‘general past’); Strand (1999a): *vivid retrospective mode*.

masculine adjectival gender marker is usually absorbed by the verbal gender marker but the feminine one remains visible. The Southeastern feminine verbal gender marker *-i-* absorbs a preceding *-i-*, whether it is the regular gender-invariant participle ending or the feminine ending of gender-variant participles, but a preceding *-y-* remains.

The paradigms of the three dialects differ the most in the 1st person. In the Northeastern dialect all 1st person forms have copular extensions, but in the Southeastern dialect only the feminine singular form has one. The Western dialect uses the bare participle for all 1st persons, which are consequently gender-invariant with regular participles but gender-variant with gender-variant participles. The masculine form also covers the 1st person plural. The Northeastern and Western dialect agree in showing a copular extension in the 2nd person plural, which is absent in the Southeastern dialect.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	zań -y-ó-s-um	zań -y-é-s-um	zań -y-ó-s-ëmiš
2nd person	zań -y-ó-š	zań -y-é-š	zań -y-ó-s-eñ
3rd person	zań -y-ó	zań -y-é	zań -y-á

Table 284. The Northeastern perfective past of *zańé-stë* ‘to know, understand, recognize’

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1 st person	za -yí		
2 nd person	za -y-ó-š	za -y-é-š	za -y-ó-s-eř
3 rd person	za -y-ó	za -y-é	za -y-á

Table 285. The Western perfective past of *zařé-stë* ‘to know, understand, recognize’

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	jañ -y-ó-m	jañ -í-z-ëm	jañ -y-ó-miš
2nd person	jañ -y-ó-š	jañ -í-š	jañ -y-ó-ñ
3rd person	jañ -y-ó	jañ -í	jañ -y-á

Table 286. The Southeastern perfective past of *jañé-stë* ‘to know, understand, recognize’

For the verb NE *bu-stě* ~ W *bě-stě* ~ SE *bŭ-stě* ‘to be, become’ the whole paradigm is based on the virtual stems **b-ě* (M) and **b-i* (F), except in the Western 1st person which is equivalent to the normal gender-invariant participle.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	b -ó-s-um	b -y-e-s-um	b -ó-s-ěmiš
2nd person	b -o-š	b -y-e-š	b -ó-s-eň
3rd person	b -o	b -y-e	b -a

Table 287. The Northeastern perfective past of *bu-stě* ‘to be, become’

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	b -i		
2nd person	b -o-š	b -y-e-š	b -ó-s-eř
3rd person	b -o	b -y-e	b -a

Table 288. The Western perfective past of *bu-stě* ‘to be, become’

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	b -o-m	b -i-z-ěm	b -ó-miš
2nd person	b -o-š	b -i-š	b -o-ň
3rd person	b -o	b -i	b -a

Table 289. The Southeastern perfective past of *bŭ-stě* ‘to be, become’

The paradigms of verbs with gender-variant perfective participles are shown below. They follow essentially the same patterns.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	k -ěř-ó-s-um	k -ěř-y-é-s-um	k -ěř-ó-s-ěmiš
2nd person	k -ěř-ó-š	k -ěř-y-é-š	k -ěř-ó-s-eň
3rd person	k -ěř-ó	k -ěř-y-é	k -ěř-á

Table 290. The Northeastern perfective past of *ku-stě* ‘to do’

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	p -t-ó-s-um	p -t-y-é-s-um	p -t-ó-s-ěmiš
2nd person	p -t-o-š	p -t-y-e-š	p -t-ó-s-eň
3rd person	p -t-o	p -t-y-e	p -t-a

Table 291. The Northeastern perfective past of pře-stě 'to give'

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	g -u-ó-s-um	g -é-y-e-s-um	g -u-ó-s-ěmiš
2nd person	g -u-ó-š	g -é-y-e-š	g -u-ó-s-eň
3rd person	g -u-ó	g -é-y-e	g -u-á

Table 292. The Northeastern perfective past of e-stě 'to go'

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	k -ěř-ě	k -i-yí	k -ěř-ě
2nd person	k -ěř-ó-š	k -i-y-é-š	k -ěř-ó-s-eř
3rd person	k -ěř-ó	k -i-y-é	k -ěř-á

Table 293. The Western perfective past of ku-stě 'to do'

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	p -t-ě	p -t-i	p -t-ě
2nd person	p -t-o-š	p -t-y-e-š	p -t-ó-s-eř
3rd person	p -t-o	p -t-y-e	p -t-a

Table 294. The Western perfective past of pře-stě 'to give'

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	g -ěv-ě	g -a-yí	g -ěv-ě
2nd person	g -ěv-ó-š	g -a-y-é-š	g -ěv-ó-s-eř
3rd person	g -ěv-ó	g -a-y-é	g -ěv-á

Table 295. The Western perfective past of e-stě 'to go'

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	k -ař-ó-m	k -ař-í-z-ěm	k -ař-ó-miš
2nd person	k -ař-ó-š	k -ař-í-š	k -ař-ó-ň
3rd person	k -ař-ó	k -ař-í	k -ař-á

Table 296. The Southeastern perfective past of *kū-stě* ‘to do’

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	p -t-o-m	p -t-i-z-ěm	p -t-ó-miš
2nd person	p -t-o-š	p -t-i-š	p -t-o-ň
3rd person	p -t-o	p -t-i	p -t-a

Table 297. The Southeastern perfective past of *pře-stě* ‘to give’

The Southeastern paradigm of the verb ‘to go’ has a few irregularities. The sequence *guo* is simplified to *go* and the feminine 3rd person singular form is *gey* instead of a form **géyi*, that one might have perhaps expected.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	g -o-m	g -é-y-i-z-ěm	g -ó-miš
2nd person	g -o-š	g -é-y-i-š	g -o-ň
3rd person	g -o	g -é-y	g -u-á

Table 298. The Southeastern perfective past of *yě-stě* ‘to go’

The verb NE *ácě-stě*, W *áče-stě*, SE *ácě~stě* ‘to come’ receives a gender distinction via the verbal gender markers in the Western and Northeastern dialects, but it has triple-marked gender in the Southeastern dialect (gendered stems, adjectival gender markers, verbal gender markers). The third singular feminine is *ay* (not **áyí*), paralleling *gey* in the paradigm of the verb ‘to go’.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	á -y-o-s-um	á -y-e-s-um	á -y-o-s-ěmiš
2nd person	á -y-o-š	á -y-e-š	á -y-o-s-eň
3rd person	á -y-o	á -y-e	á -y-a

Table 299. The Northeastern perfective past of áčě-stě 'to come'

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1 st person	á -yi		
2 nd person	á -y-o-š	á -y-e-š	á -y-o-s-eř
3 rd person	á -y-o	á -y-e	á -y-a

Table 300. The Western perfective past of áče-stě 'to come'

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	óž -o-m	á -y-i-m	óž -o-miš
2nd person	óž -o-š	á -y-i-š	óž -o-ň
3rd person	óž -o	a -y	óž -a

Table 301. The Southeastern perfective past of áčě-stě 'to come'

2.9.6.8.3 The Perfective Past Anterior³⁰⁴

	Basic stem	Participial stem	Verbal gender markers	Verbal person markers
Perfective Past Anterior “did”, “had done”	1. Perfective stem + verbal gender markers			
	short	perfective	✓	–
	2. Fused past copula			
	short	past (= perfective)	–	✓

This paradigm is fully developed only in the Western dialect. It is completely absent from the Northeastern dialect and quite marginal in the Southeastern dialect. It consists of the perfective past form and the fused Past Copula. One example paradigm suffices to illustrate the pattern of formation. A divergence from the perfective past paradigm is visible in the first person, which is formed regularly in this paradigm.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	za -y-ó-sy-um	za -y-é-sy-um	za -y-ó-si-miš
2nd person	za -y-ó-sy-uš	za -y-é-sy-uš	za -y-ó-sy-uř
3rd person	za -y-ó-si	za -y-é-si	za -y-á-si

Table 302. The Western perfective past anterior of *zařé-stě* ‘to know, understand, recognize’

Strand (1999a) notes that in the Southeastern dialect the form is “used colloquially only in third-person forms, although speakers can quote hypothetical 1st- and 2nd-person forms” and gives the following paradigm (uncommon forms in brackets):

³⁰⁴ Grjunberg (1980: 228): *preterit II* (‘preterite II’); Strand (1999a): *vivid remote retrospective mode*.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	(vi -n-ó-z-ëm)	(vi -n-í-z-ëm)	(vi -n-ó-z-ëmiš)
2nd person	(vi -n-ó-z-ěš)	(vi -n-í-z-ěš)	(vi -n-ó-z-ěň)
3rd person	vi -n-ó-zi	vi -n-í-z-i	vi -n-á-zi

Table 303. The Southeastern perfective past anterior of *vĩ-stě* ‘to hit’

2.9.6.8.4 The Perfective Past Mediative³⁰⁵

	Basic stem	Participial stem	Verbal gender markers	Verbal person markers
Perfective Past Mediative “evidently did” (attested only in w)	1. Perfective stem + verbal gender markers			
	short	perfective	✓	–
	2. Fused mediative copula			
	short	past (= perfective)	✓	✓

This form is only attested in the Western dialect. It consists of the Perfective Past form and the fused mediative copula. One example paradigm suffices to illustrate the pattern of formation.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	za -y-ó-sy-o-m	za -y-é-sy-e-m	za -y-ó-sy-o-miš
2nd person	za -y-ó-sy-o-š	za -y-é-sy-e-š	za -y-ó-sy-o-s-eř
3rd person	za -y-ó-sy-o	za -y-é-sy-e	za -y-á-sy-a

Table 304. The Western perfective past mediative of *zařé-stě* ‘to know, understand, recognize’

³⁰⁵ Grjunberg (1980: 231): *preterit pereskazatel’nogo naklonenija* (‘preterite reportative’).

2.9.6.8.5 The Perfective Past Presumptive³⁰⁶

	Basic stem	Participial stem	Verbal gender markers	Verbal person markers
Perfective Past Presumptive “probably did”	1. Perfective stem + verbal gender markers			
	short	perfective	✓	–
	2. Fused presumptive copula			
	long	presumptive (= imperfective)	–	✓

The perfective past presumptive consists of the perfective past form followed by the fused presumptive copula. It is found in all dialects. One example paradigm suffices to illustrate the pattern of formation.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1 st person	zań -y-ó-sel-ë-m	zań -y-é-sel-i-m	zań -y-ó-sel-ë-miš
2 nd person	zań -y-ó-sel-ë-š	zań -y-é-sel-i-š	zań -y-ó-sel-uň
3 rd person	zań -y-ó-sel-ë	zań -y-é-sel-i	zań -y-á-sel-ë

Table 305. The Northeastern perfective past presumptive of *zańé-stë* ‘to know, understand, recognize’

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1 st person	za -y-ó-sel-um	za -y-é-sel-y-u m	za -y-ó-sel-miš
2 nd person	za -y-ó-sel-uš	za -y-é-sel-y-uš	za -y-ó-sel-uř
3 rd person	za -y-ó-sel-ë	za -y-é-sel-i	za -y-á-sel-ë

Table 306. The Western perfective past presumptive of *zańé-stë* ‘to know, understand, recognize’

³⁰⁶ Grjunberg (1980: 239): *prostaja forma potencial’nogo naklonenija* (‘simple form of the potential’); Ġulāmullāh (1966: 251, 297): *māži-yi muṭlaq-i muḥtamal-i maškūk* (‘likely and doubted general past’); Strand (1999a): *vivid retrospective conceptual mode*.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	jañ -y-á-ll-ë-m	jañ -í-ll-i-m	jañ -y-á-ll-ë-miš
2nd person	jañ -y-á-ll-ë-š	jañ -í-ll-i-š	jañ -y-á-ll-ë-ñ
3rd person	jañ -y-á-ll-ë	jañ -í-ll-i	jañ -y-á-ll-ë

Table 307. The Southeastern perfective past presumptive of jañë-stë ‘to know, understand, recognize’

The perfective past presumptive form of NE *bu-stë* ~ W *bë-stë* ~ SE *bũ-stë* ‘to be, become’ (shown below) is used as an auxiliary to add past presumptive meaning in periphrastic forms (2.9.6.7.7, 2.9.6.8.10).

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	b -ó-sel-ë-m	b -y-é-sel-i-m	b -ó-sel-ë-miš
2nd person	b -ó-sel-ë-š	b -y-é-sel-i-š	b -ó-sel-uñ
3rd person	b -ó-sel-ë	b -y-é-sel-i	b -á-sel-ë

Table 308. The Northeastern perfective past presumptive of bu-stë ‘to be, become’

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	b -ó-sel-um	b -y-é-sel-y-um	b -ó-s-el-miš
2nd person	b -ó-sel-uš	b -y-é-sel-y-uš	b -ó-s-el-uř
3rd person	b -ó-sel-ë	b -y-é-sel-i	b -á-s-el-ë

Table 309. The Western perfective past presumptive of bu-stë ‘to be, become’

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	b -á-ll-ë-m	b -í-ll-i-m	b -á-ll-ë-miš
2nd person	b -á-ll-ë-š	b -í-ll-i-š	b -á-ll-ë-ñ
3rd person	b -á-ll-ë	b -í-ll-i	b -á-ll-ë

Table 310. The Southeastern perfective past presumptive of bũ-stë ‘to be, become’

2.9.6.8.6 The Resultative³⁰⁷

	Basic stem	Participial stem	Verbal gender markers	Verbal person markers
Resultative “has done” <i>(special contractions in NE, SE)</i>	1. Perfective participle + referentializer <i>-stë</i>			
	short	perfective <i>incl. adj. gender in irregulars</i>	–	–
	2. Enclitic present copula			
	short	–	–	✓

The resultative is a periphrastic form consisting of a predicative perfective participle, which in this role is always followed by the referentializer *-stë*, and the enclitic form of the present copula as an auxiliary. If participle and auxiliary are adjacent, special phonological contractions apply in the Eastern dialects, which make the elements of the construction somewhat difficult to recognize. Nevertheless, negation or enclitic discourse particles may interfere between the elements, blocking the phonological contractions and making it very clear that the form consists of separate parts. In the Western dialect only normal sandhi rules apply between the elements of the construction. The Northeastern dialect contracts the sequence *-stë=as-* to *-ss-*. This contraction rule is not limited to this context, but can also be found in combinations like *lé=stë* ‘good’ + *-asë* (copula) > *léssë* ‘it is good’. In the Southeastern dialect the corresponding sequence *-stë=ëz-* is also contracted to the geminate *-ss-*, which can be further simplified to *-s-*. Geminate realizations are attested, but free variation is apparently possible. This may have something to do with the lack of contrast to single intervocalic *-s-*, which has historically been lenited to *-z-* in this dialect.

With gender-invariant regular participles there is no gender distinction anywhere in the paradigm. With gender-variant participles gender distinctions appear.

³⁰⁷ Grjunberg (1980: 241): *perfekt* (‘perfect’); Ġulāmullāh (1966: 271, 282, 288): *māzī-yi qarīb* (‘near past’); Strand (1999a) *evidential retrospective mode* (‘perfect’). Note that Strand’s (1999a) use of “evidential” has nothing to do with evidentiality here, but is meant in the sense of “evident results”.

	Singular	Plural
1st person	zañ -íssum (zañ -í=stě-as-um)	zañ -íssěmiš (zañ -í=stě-as-ěmiš)
2nd person	zañ -íssiš (zañ -í=stě-as-iš)	zañ -ísseň (zañ -í=stě-as-eň)
3rd person	zañ -íssě (zañ -í=stě-as-ě)	zañ -ístay (zañ -í=stě-ay)

Table 311. The Northeastern resultative of zañé=stě 'to know, understand, recognize'

	Singular	Plural
1st person	za -yístasum (za -yí=stě-as-um)	za -yístasěmiš (za -yí=stě-as-ěmiš)
2nd person	za -yístasyuš (za -yí=stě-as-yuš)	za -yístaseř (za -yí=stě-as-eř)
3rd person	za -yístasě (za -yí=stě-as-ě)	za -yístašt (za -yí=stě-ašt)

Table 312. The Western resultative of zařé=stě 'to know, understand, recognize'

	Singular	Plural
1st person	jañ -ísēm (jañ -í=stě-ěz-ēm)	jañ -ísěmiš (jañ -í=stě-ěz-ěmiš)
2nd person	jañ -ísěš (jañ -í=stě-ěz-ěš)	jañ -ísěň (jañ -í=stě-ěz-eň)
3rd person	jañ -ísě (jañ -í=stě-ěz-ě)	jañ -ístā ~ jañ -ístay (jañ -í=stě-ā~ay)

Table 313. The Southeastern resultative of jañé=stě 'to know, understand, recognize'

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	k -ěřěssum (k -ěř-ě=stě-as-um)	k -ěříssum (k -ěř-í=stě-as-um)	k -ěřěssěmiš (k -ěř-ě=stě-as-ěmiš)
2nd person	k -ěřěssiš (k -ěř-ě=stě-as-iš)	k -ěříssiš (k -ěř-í=stě-as-iš)	k -ěřěssenň (k -ěř-ě=stě-as-eň)
3rd person	k -ěřěssě (k -ěř-ě=stě-as-ě)	k -ěříssě (k -ěř-í=stě-as-ě)	k -ěřěstay (k -ěř-ě=stě-ay)

Table 314. The Northeastern resultative of ku=stě 'to do'

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	k -ěřé̃stasum (k -ěř-é̃=stě̃-as-um)	k -iyí̃stasum (k -i-yí̃=stě̃-as-um)	k -ěřé̃stasě̃miš (k -ěř-é̃=stě̃-as-ě̃miš)
2nd person	k -ěřé̃stasyuš (k -ěř-é̃=stě̃-as-yuš)	k -iyí̃stasyuš (k -i-yí̃=stě̃-as-iš)	k -ěřé̃staseř (k -ěř-é̃=stě̃-as-eř)
3rd person	k -ěřé̃stasě̃ (k -ěř-é̃=stě̃-as-ě̃)	k -iyí̃stasě̃ (k -i-yí̃=stě̃-as-ě̃)	k -ěřé̃stašt (k -ěř-é̃=stě̃-as-št)

Table 315. The Western resultative of ku-stě̃ ‘to do’

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	k -ařésēm (k -ař-é̃=stě̃-ěz-ēm)	k -ařísēm (k -ař-í̃=stě̃-ěz-ēm)	k -ařésě̃miš (k -ař-é̃=stě̃-ěz-ě̃miš)
2nd person	k -ařésěš (k -ař-é̃=stě̃-ěz-ěš)	k -ařísěš (k -ař-í̃=stě̃-ěz-ěš)	k -ařésěň (k -ař-é̃=stě̃-ěz-ěň)
3rd person	k -ařésě̃ (k -ař-é̃=stě̃-ěz-ě̃)	k -ařísě̃ (k -ař-í̃=stě̃-ěz-ě̃)	k -ařéstā ~ k -ařéstay (k -ař-é̃=stě̃-ā~ay)

Table 316. The Southeastern resultative of kũ-stě̃ ‘to do’

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	g -ússum (g -u=stě̃-as-um)	g -éyssum (g -e-y=stě̃-as-um)	g -ússě̃miš (g -u=stě̃-as-ě̃miš)
2nd person	g -ússiš (g -u=stě̃-as-iš)	g -éyssiš (g -e-y=stě̃-as-iš)	g -ússeň (g -u=stě̃-as-eň)
3rd person	g -ússě̃ (g -u=stě̃-as-ě̃)	g -éyssě̃ (g -e-y=stě̃-as-ě̃)	g -ústay (g -u=stě̃-ay)

Table 317. The Northeastern resultative of e-stě̃ ‘to go’

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	g -ëvëstasum (g -ëv-ë=stë-as-um)	g -ayístasum (g -a-yí=stë-as-um)	g -ëvëstasëmiš (g -ëv-ë=stë-as-ëmiš)
2nd person	g -ëvëstasyuš (g -ëv-ë=stë-as-yuš)	g -ayístasyuš (g -a-yí=stë-as-iš)	g -ëvëstaseř (g -ëv-ë=stë-as-eř)
3rd person	g -ëvëstasë (g -ëv-ë=stë-as-ë)	g -ayístasë (g -a-yí=stë-as-ë)	g -ëvëstašt (g -ëv-ë=stë-ašt)

Table 318. The Western resultative of e-stë 'to go'

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	g -úsëm (g -u=stë-ëz-ëm)	g -ésëm (g -ë=stë-ëz-ëm)	g -úsëmiš (g -u=stë-ëz-ëmiš)
2nd person	g -úsëš (g -u=stë-ëz-ëš)	g -ésëš (g -ë=stë-ëz-ëš)	g -úsëň (g -u=stë-ëz-ëň)
3rd person	g -úsë (g -u=stë-ëz-ë)	g -ésë (g -ë=stë-ëz-ë)	g -ústā ~ g ústay (g -u=stë-ā~ay)

Table 319. The Southeastern resultative of yë-stë 'to go'

The Southeastern resultative paradigm of the verb *ácë-stë* 'to come' shows some additional irregularities, in particular a more radical phonological contraction involving also the stem of the masculine participle, which produces the sequence *ós* out of *óz-ë=stë-ëz-* or *óši* out of *óz-ë=stë-ëši*.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	ósëm (óz-ë=stë-ëz-ëm)	ásëm (ā=stë-ëz-ëm)	ósëmiš (óz-ë=stë-ëz-ëmiš)
2nd person	ósëš (óz-ë=stë-ëz-ëš) or óši (óz-ë=stë-ëši)	ásëš (ā=stë-ëz-ëš) or áši (ā=stë-ëši)	ósëň (óz-ë=stë-ëz-ëň)
3rd person	ósë (óz-ë=stë-ëz-ë)	ásë (ā=stë-ëz-ë)	óstā ~ óstay (óz-ë=stë-ā~ay)

Table 320. The Southeastern resultative of ácë-stë 'to come'

2.9.6.8.7 The Resultative Past³⁰⁸

	Basic stem	Participial stem	Verbal gender markers	Verbal person markers
Resultative Past “had done” <i>(special contractions in NE, SE)</i>	1. Perfective participle + referentializer -stë			
	short	perfective <i>incl. adj. gender in irregulars</i>	–	–
	2. Enclitic past copula			
	short	past (= perfective)	–	✓

The resultative past is formed in the same way as the basic resultative, but with the past copula as an auxiliary. The contractions are also the same. Only the gender-invariant paradigm is given here to illustrate the formation, but outside of the gender distinction the pattern is the same with gender-variant participles. It is not attested in the Western dialect.

	Singular	Plural
1st person	zañ -íssyum (zañ -í=stë-as-y-um)	zañ -íssimiš (zañ -í=stë-as-imiš)
2nd person	zañ -íssiš (zañ -í=stë-as-iš)	zañ -íssyuñ (zañ -í=stë-as-y-uñ)
3rd person	zañ -íssi (zañ -í=stë-as-i)	

Table 321. The Northeastern resultative past of zañé-stë ‘to know, understand, recognize’

³⁰⁸ Ġulāmullāh (1966: 272, 283, 289) *māzi-yi ba‘id* (‘distant past’); Strand (1999a): *prior evidential retrospective mode* (‘past perfect’).

	Singular	Plural
1st person	jañ -ísim (jañ -í=stě=ěz-i-m)	jañ -ísimiš (jañ -í=stě=ěz-i-miš)
2nd person	jañ -ísiš (jañ -í=stě=ěz-i-š)	jañ -ísiň (jañ -í=stě=ěz-i-ň)
3rd person	jañ -ísi (jañ -í=ste=ěz-i)	

Table 322. The Southeastern resultative past of jañě=stě ‘to know, understand, recognize’

2.9.6.8.8 The Resultative Mediative³⁰⁹

	Basic stem	Participial stem	Verbal gender markers	Verbal person markers
Resultative Mediative “has evidently done” (special contractions in NE, SE)	1. Perfective participle + referentializer -stě			
	short	perfective incl. adj. gender in irregulars	–	–
	2. Enclitic mediative copula			
	short	past (= perfective)	✓	✓

The resultative mediative is formed in the same way as the basic resultative, but with the mediative copula as an auxiliary. The contractions are also the same. Gender distinctions appear regardless of the participle, due to the verbal gender markers of the mediative copula. In forms with gender-variant participles, gender is consequently marked twice.

³⁰⁹ Grjunberg (1980: 241): *perfekt pereskazatel'nogo naklonenija* (‘perfect reportative’); Strand (1999a): *vivid evidential retrospective mode*.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	zañ -íssyosum (zañ -í=stě̄ =as-y-o-s-um)	zañ -íssyesum (zañ -í=stě̄ =as-y-e-s-um)	zañ -íssyosëmiš (zañ -í=stě̄ =as-y-o-s-ëmiš)
2nd person	zañ -íssyoš (zañ -í=stě̄=as-y-o-š)	zañ -íssyeš (zañ -í=stě̄=as-y-e-š)	zañ -íssyoseň (zañ -í=stě̄=as-y-o-s-eň)
3rd person	zañ -íssyo (zañ -í=stě̄=as-y-o)	zañ -íssye (zañ -í=stě̄=as-y-e)	zañ -íssya (zañ -í=stě̄=as-y-a)

Table 323. The Northeastern resultative mediative of zañé=stě̄ ‘to know, understand, recognize’

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	za -yístasyom (za -yí=stě̄=as-y-om)	za -yístasyem (za -yí=stě̄=as-y-em)	za -yístasyomiš (za -yí=stě̄=as-y-o-miš)
2nd person	za yístasyoš (za -yí=stě̄=as-y-oš)	za -yístasyeš (za -yí=stě̄=as-y-eš)	za -yístasyoseř (za -í=stě̄=as-y-o-s-eř)
3rd person	za yístasyo (za -yí=stě̄=as-y-o)	za -yístasye (za -yí=stě̄=as-y-e)	za -yístasya (za -yí=stě̄=as-y-a)

Table 324. The Western resultative mediative of zařé=stě̄ ‘to know, understand, recognize’

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	jañ -ísom (jañ -í=stě̄=ěz-o-m)	jañ -ísim (jañ -í=stě̄=ěz-i-m) (= RES.PST)	jañ -ísomiš (jañ -í=stě̄=ěz-o-miš)
2nd person	jañ -ísoš (jañ -í=stě̄=ěz-o-š)	jañ -ísiš (jañ -í=stě̄=ěz-i-š) (= RES.PST)	jañ -ísonň (jañ -í=stě̄=ěz-o-ň)
3rd person	jañ -íso (jañ -í=stě̄=ěz-o)	jañ -ísi (jañ -í=stě̄=ěz-i) (= RES.PST)	jañ -ísa (jañ -í=stě̄=ěz-a)

Table 325. The Southeastern resultative mediative of jañě=stě̄ ‘to know, understand, recognize’

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	k -ěřessyosum (k -ěř-ě=stě̄ =as-y-o-s-um)	k -ěřissyesum (k -ěř-í=stě̄ =as-y-e-s-um)	k -ěřessyosěmiš (k -ěř-ě=stě̄ =as-y-o-s-ěmiš)
2nd person	k -ěřessyoš (k -ěř-ě=stě̄=as-y-o-š)	k -ěřissyeš (k -ěř-í=stě̄=as-y-e-š)	k -ěřessyoseň (k -ěř-ě=stě̄=as-y-o-s-eň)
3rd person	k -ěřessyo (k -ěř-ě=stě̄=as-y-o)	k -ěřissye (k -ěř-í=stě̄=as-y-e)	k -ěřessya (k -ěř-ě=stě̄=as-y-a)

Table 326. The Northeastern resultative mediative of ku-stě 'to do'

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	k -ěřéstasyom (k -ěř-ě=stě̄=as-y-o-m)	k -iyístasyem (k -i-yí=stě̄=as-y-e-m)	k -ěřéstasyomiš (k -ěř-ě=stě̄=as-y-o-miš)
2nd person	k -ěřéstasyoš (k -ěř-ě=stě̄=as-y-o-š)	k -iyístasyeš (k -i-yí=stě̄=as-y-e-š)	k -ěřéstasyoseř (k -ěř-ě=stě̄=as-y-o-s-eř)
3rd person	k -ěřéstasyo (k -ěř-ě=stě̄=as-y-o)	k -iyístasye (k -i-yí=stě̄=as-y-e)	k -ěřéstasya (k -ěř-ě=stě̄=as-y-a)

Table 327. The Western resultative mediative of ku-stě 'to do'

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	k -ařěsom (k -ař-ě=stě̄=ěz-o-m)	k -ařísim (k -ař-í=stě̄=ěz-i-m) (= RES.PST.F)	k -ařěsomiš (k -ař-ě=stě̄=ěz-o-miš)
2nd person	k -ařěsoš (k -ař-ě=stě̄=ěz-o-š)	k -ařísiš (k -ař-í=stě̄=ěz-i-š) (= RES.PST.F)	k -ařěsoň (k -ař-ě=stě̄=ěz-o-ň)
3rd person	k -ařěso (k -ař-ě=stě̄=ěz-o)	k -ařísi (k -ař-í=stě̄=ěz-i) (= RES.PST.F)	k -ařěsa (k -ař-ě=stě̄=ěz-a)

Table 328. The Southeastern resultative mediative of kũ-stě 'to do'

2.9.6.8.9 The Resultative Presumptive³¹⁰

	Basic stem	Participial stem	Verbal gender markers	Verbal person markers
Resultative Presumptive “has probably done” (<i>special contractions in NE, SE</i>)	1. Perfective participle + referentializer - <i>stë</i>			
	short	perfective <i>incl. adj. gender</i> <i>in irregulars</i>	–	–
	2. Enclitic presumptive copula			
	long	presumptive (= imperfective) <i>incl. adj. gender</i>	–	✓

The resultative presumptive is formed in the same way as the resultative, but with the presumptive copula as an auxiliary. The contractions are also the same. Gender distinctions appear regardless of the participle, due to the adjectival gender markers of the presumptive copula. In forms with gender-variant participles, gender is consequently marked twice.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	zañ -ísselēm (zañ -í=stë=ase-l-ë-m)	zañ -ísselim (zañ -í=stë=ase-l-i-m)	zañ -ísselëmiş (zañ -í=stë=ase-l-ëmiş)
2nd person	zañ -ísselëš (zañ -í=stë=ase-l-ëš)	zañ -ísseliš (zañ -í=stë=ase-l-i-š)	zañ -ísseluñ (zañ -í=stë=ase-l-uñ)
3rd person	zañ -ísselë (zañ -í=stë=ase-l-ë)	zañ -ísseli (zañ -í=stë=ase-l-i)	zañ -ísselë (zañ -í=stë=ase-l-ë)

Table 329. The Northeastern resultative presumptive of *zañé-stë* ‘to know, understand, recognize’

³¹⁰ Ġulāmullāh (1966: 298): *māzī-yi qarīb-i maškūk-i muḥtamal* (‘likely doubted near past’); Strand (1999a): *evidential retrospective conceptual mode*.

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	za -yístaselum (za -yí-stě=ase-l-um)	za -yístaselyum (za -yí-stě=ase-l-y-um)	za -yístaselmiš (za -yí-stě=ase-l-miš)
2nd person	za -yístaseluš (za -yí-stě=ase-l-uš)	za -yístaselyuš (za -yí-stě=ase-l-y-uš)	za -yístaselur (za -yí-stě=ase-l-uř)
3rd person	za -yístaselë (za -yí-stě=ase-l-ë)	za -yístaseli (za -yí-stě=ase-l-i)	za -yístaselë (za -yí-stě=ase-l-ë)

Table 330. The Western resultative presumptive of zařé-stě 'to know, understand, recognize'

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	jaň -ísělëm (jaň -í-stě=ězë-l-ë-m)	jaň -ísëlim or jaň -ísilim (jaň -í-stě=ězë-l-i-m)	jaň -ísëləmiš (jaň -í-stě=ězë-l-ë-miš)
2nd person	jaň -ísělëš (jaň -í-stě=ězë-l-ë-š)	jaň -ísëliš or jaň -ísiliš (jaň -í-stě=ězë-l-i-š)	jaň -ísëləň (jaň -í-stě=ězë-l-ë-ň)
3rd person	jaň -ísëlë (jaň -í-stě=ězë-l-ë)	jaň -ísëli or jaň -ísili (jaň -í-stě=ězë-l-i)	jaň -ísëlë (jaň -í-stě=ězë-l-ë)

Table 331. The Southeastern resultative presumptive of jaňě-stě 'to know, understand, recognize'

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	k -ěřesselëm (k -ěř-ě-stě=ase-l-ë-m)	k -ěřisselim (k -ěř-í-stě=ase-l-i-m)	k -ěřesselëmiš (k -ěř-ě-stě=ase-l-ë-miš)
2nd person	k -ěřesselëš (k -ěř-ě-stě=ase-l-ë-š)	k -ěřisseliš (k -ěř-í-stě=ase-l-i-š)	k -ěřesseluň (k -ěř-ě-stě=ase-l-ë-uň)
3rd person	k -ěřesselë (k -ěř-ě-stě=ase-l-ë)	k -ěřisseli (k -ěř-í-stě=ase-l-i)	k -ěřesselë (k -ěř-ě-stě=ase-l-ë)

Table 332. The Northeastern resultative presumptive of ku-stě 'to do'

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	k -ěřéstaselum (k -ěř-ě=stě=ase-l-um)	k -iyístaselyum (k -i-yí=stě=ase-l-y-um)	k -ěřéstaselmiš (k -ěř-ě=stě=ase-l-miš)
2nd person	k -ěřéstaseluš (k -ěř-ě=stě=ase-l-uš)	k -iyístaselyuš (k -i-yí=stě=ase-l-y-uš)	k -ěřéstaseluř (k -ěř-ě=stě=ase-l-uř)
3rd person	k -ěřéstaselě (k -ěř-ě=stě=ase-l-ě)	k -iyístaseli (k -i-yí=stě=ase-l-i)	k -ěřéstaselě (k -ěř-ě=stě=ase-l-ě)

Table 333. The Western resultative presumptive of ku=stě ‘to do’

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	k -ařésělēm (k -ař-ě=stě=ězě-l-ě-m)	k -aříselim or k -ařísilim (k -ař-í=stě=ězě-l-i-m)	k -ařésělēmiš (k -ař-ě=stě=ězě-l-ě-miš)
2nd person	k -ařésělěš (k -ař-ě=stě=ězě-l-ě-š)	k -ařísěliš or k -ařísiliš (k -ař-í=stě=ězě-l-i-š)	k -ařésělēň (k -ař-ě=stě=ězě-l-ě-ň)
3rd person	k -ařésělě (k -ař-ě=stě=ězě-l-ě)	k -aříseli or k -ařísili (k -ař-í=stě=ězě-l-i)	k -ařésělě (k -ař-ě=stě=ězě-l-ě)

Table 334. The Southeastern resultative presumptive of kū=stě ‘to do’

2.9.6.8.10 Resultative Past Presumptive³¹¹

	Basic stem	Participial stem	Verbal gender markers	Verbal person markers
Resultative Past Presumptive “had probably done”	1. Perfective participle + referentializer <i>-stë</i>			
	short	perfective <i>incl. adj. gender</i> <i>in irregulars</i>	–	–
	2. Perfective past presumptive form of NE <i>bu-stë</i> ~ W <i>bë-stë</i> ~ SE <i>bũ-stë</i>			
	I. Perfective past form of NE <i>bu-stë</i> ~ W <i>bë-stë</i> ~ SE <i>bũ-stë</i>			
	short	perfective <i>incl. adj. gender</i>	✓	–
	II. Fused presumptive copula			
	long	presumptive (= imperfective) <i>incl. adj. gender</i>	–	✓

The resultative past presumptive is a periphrastic form consisting of the perfective participle followed by the referentializer *-stë* and the past presumptive form of NE *bu-stë* ~ W *bë-stë* ~ SE *bũ-stë* ‘to be, to become’. Unlike most resultative forms it does not contain the sequence NE *-stë-as-*, SE *-stë-ëz-*, so that there is no special phonological contraction in this form. Gender is distinguished in three places with gender-invariant participles and in four places with gender-variant participles.

³¹¹ Ġulāmullāh (1966: 299): *māzī-yi ba‘īd-i muḥtamāl-i maškūk* (‘likely doubted distant past’).

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	zañ -í-stë b-ó-se-l-ë-m	zañ -í-stë b-y-é-se-l-i-m	zañ -í-stë b-ó-se-l-ëmiš
2nd person	zañ -í-stë b-ó-se-l-ë-š	zañ -í-stë b-y-é-se-l-i-š	zañ -í-stë b-ó-se-l-uñ
3rd person	zañ -í-stë b-ó-se-l-ë	zañ -í-stë b-y-é-se-l-i	zañ -í-stë b-á-se-l-ë

Table 335. The Northeastern resultative past presumptive of zañé-stë ‘to know, understand, recognize’

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	za -yí-stë b-ó-se-l-um	za -yí-stë b-y-é-se-l-y-um	za -yí-stë b-ó-se-l-miš
2nd person	za -yí-stë b-ó-se-l-uš	za -yí-stë b-y-é-se-l-y-uš	za -yí-stë b-ó-se-l-uř
3rd person	za -yí-stë b-ó-se-l-ë	za -yí-stë b-y-é-se-l-i	za -yí-stë b-á-se-l-ë

Table 336. The Western resultative past presumptive of zařé-stë ‘to know, understand, recognize’

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	jañ -í-stë b-á-ll-ë-m	jañ -í-stë b-í-ll-i-m	jañ -í-stë b-á-ll-ë-miš
2nd person	jañ -í-stë b-á-ll-ë-š	jañ -í-stë b-í-ll-i-š	jañ -í-stë b-á-ll-ë-ñ
3rd person	jañ -í-stë b-á-ll-ë	jañ -í-stë b-í-ll-i	jañ -í-stë b-á-ll-ë

Table 337. The Southeastern resultative past presumptive of jañé-stë ‘to know, understand, recognize’

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	k -ěř-ë-stë b-ó-se-l-ë-m	k -ěř-í-stë b-y-é-se-l-i-m	k -ěř-ë-stë b-ó-se-l-ëmiš
2nd person	k -ěř-ë-stë b-ó-se-l-ë-š	k -ěř-í-stë b-y-é-se-l-i-š	k -ěř-ë-stë b-ó-se-l-uñ
3rd person	k -ěř-ë-stë b-ó-se-l-ë	k -ěř-í-stë b-y-é-se-l-i	k -ěř-ë-stë b-á-se-l-ë

Table 338. The Northeastern resultative past presumptive of ku-stë ‘to do’

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	k -ěř-ě=stě b-ó-se-l-um	k -i-yí=stě b-y-é-se-l-y-um	k -ěř-ě=stě b-ó-se-l-miš
2nd person	k -ěř-ě=stě b-ó-se-l-uš	k -i-yí=stě b-y-é-se-l-y-uš	k -ěř-ě=stě b-ó-se-l-uř
3rd person	k -ěř-ě=stě b-ó-se-l-ě	k -i-yí=stě b-y-é-se-l-i	k -ěř-ě=stě b-á-se-l-ě

Table 339. The Western resultative past presumptive of ku=stě ‘to do’

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	k -ař-ě=stě b-á-ll-ě-m	k -ař-í=stě b-í-ll-i-m	k -ař-ě=stě bá-ll-ě-miš
2nd person	k -ař-ě=stě b-á-ll-ě-š	k -ař-í=stě b-í-ll-i-š	k -ař-ě=stě bá-ll-ě-ň
3rd person	k -ař-ě=stě b-á-ll-ě	k -ař-í=stě b-í-ll-i	k -ař-ě=stě bá-ll-ě

Table 340. The Southeastern Resultative Past Presumptive of kũ=stě ‘to do’

2.9.6.8.11 The Resultative Conditional³¹²

	Basic stem	Participial stem	Verbal gender markers	Verbal person markers
Resultative Conditional “(if/when) has done”	1. Perfective participle + referentializer <i>-stë</i>			
	short	perfective <i>incl. adj. gender</i> <i>in irregulars</i>	–	–
	2. Perfective conditional form of NE <i>bu-stë</i> ~ W <i>bë-stë</i> ~ SE <i>bũ-stë</i>			
	short	perfective <i>in w incl.</i> <i>adj. gender</i> <i>in 1st/2nd person</i>	–	✓

The resultative conditional is a periphrastic form consisting of the perfective participle followed by the referentializer *-stë* and the perfective conditional form of NE *bu-stë* ~ W *bë-stë* ~ SE *bũ-stë* ‘to be, to become’. It does not contain the sequence NE *-stë-as-*, SE *-stë-ëz-*, so that there is no special phonological contraction in this form. Regarding the dialectal differences in gender marking on the auxiliary, see section 2.9.6.8.1.

	Singular	Plural
1st person	zañ -í-stë b-i-m	zañ -í-stë b-í-miš
2nd person	zañ -í-stë b-i-š	zañ -í-stë b-y-uñ
3rd person	zañ -í-stë b-i	

Table 341. The Northeastern resultative conditional of *zañé-stë* ‘to know, understand, recognize’

³¹² Ġulāmullāh (1966: 308) *māžī-yi ba‘īd-i šarṭiya* (‘conditional distant past’).

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	za -yí-stě b-um	za -yí-stě b-y-um	za -yí-stě b-í-miš
2nd person	za -yí-stě b-uš	za -yí-stě b-y-uš	za -yí-stě b-uř
3rd person	za -yí-stě b-i		

Table 342. The Western resultative conditional of zaře-stě ‘to know, understand, recognize’

	Singular	Plural
1st person	jaň -í-stě b-i-m	jaň -í-stě b-í-miš
2nd person	jaň -í-stě b-i-š	jaň -í-stě b-i-ň
3rd person	jaň -í-stě b-i	

Table 343. The Southeastern resultative conditional of jaňě-stě ‘to know, understand, recognize’

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	k -ěř-ě-stě b-i-m	k -ěř-í-stě b-i-m	k -ěř-ě-stě b-í-miš
2nd person	k -ěř-ě-stě b-i-š	k -ěř-í-stě b-i-š	k -ěř-ě-stě b-y-uň
3rd person	k -ěř-ě-stě b-i	k -ěř-í-stě b-i	k -ěř-ě-stě b-i

Table 344. The Northeastern resultative conditional of ku-stě ‘to do’

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	k -ěř-ě-stě b-um	k -i-yí-stě b-y-um	k -ěř-ě-stě b-í-miš
2nd person	k -ěř-ě-stě b-uš	k -i-yí-stě b-y-uš	k -ěř-ě-stě b-uř
3rd person	k -ěř-ě-stě b-i	k -i-yí-stě b-i	k -ěř-ě-stě b-i

Table 345. The Western resultative conditional of ku-stě ‘to do’

	Singular		Plural
	M	F	
1st person	k -ař-ě-stě b-i-m	k -ař-í-stě b-i-m	k -ař-ě-stě b-í-miš
2nd person	k -ař-ě-stě b-i-š	k -ař-í-stě b-i-š	k -ař-ě-stě b-i-ň
3rd person	k -ař-ě-stě b-i	k -ař-í-stě b-i	k -ař-ě-stě b-i

Table 346. The Southeastern resultative conditional of kũ-stě ‘to do’

2.9.6.8.12 The Negated Converb

	Basic Stem	Participial Stem	Suffix
Negated Converb “without having done” <i>always with negation prefix</i> NE/W <i>né-</i> , SE <i>ná-</i>	short	perfective (no <i>adj. gender</i>)	<i>-õ/-õku</i> (NE) <i>-uko</i> (W) <i>-õ/-õu</i> (SE)

The negated converb is not a finite verb form, but as a result of its formation it belongs to the perfective system. The base of the negated converb is the perfective participial stem, but there is no gender distinction even for participles that otherwise have gender markers. The participial stem is followed by a suffix *-õ* (short variant) or *-õku* (long variant) in the Northeastern dialect, by a suffix *-uko* in the Western dialect and by a suffix *õ* (short variant) or *-õu* (long variant) in the Southeastern dialect. Negated converbs never occur without the negator NE/W *ne*, SE *na*.

Examples:

NE *vëllá=stë*, W *la=stë*, SE *vallá=stë* ‘to speak’

NE *né vëllá-y-õ*, *né vëllá-y-õku*

W *né lá-y-uko*

SE *ná vallá-y-õ*, *ná vallá-y-õu*

NE *bu=stë*, W *bë=stë*, SE *bũ=stë* ‘to be, to become’ (irregular: stem *b-*)

NE *né b-õ*, *né b-õku*

W *né b-úko*

SE *ná b-õ*, *ná b-õu*

NE/W *ku=stë*, SE *kũ=stë* ‘to do’

NE *né k-ěř-õ*, *né k-ěř-õku*

W *né k-ěř-úko*

SE *ná ģ-ař-õ*, *ná ģ-ař-õu*

2.10 Particles

The following particles have been noted:

NE/W/SE <i>=di</i>	additive focus
NE/W <i>=tě</i> , SE <i>=de</i>	contrastive topic (change of topic or contrast to next topic)
NE/W/SE <i>=mi</i>	general focus, ‘only’
NE <i>kúva</i> , SE/W <i>ko</i>	indicates curiosity or with the imperative a suggestion/softened command
NE <i>=čči</i> , W <i>=č</i> , SE <i>=či</i>	additive (‘and’, ‘also’), narrative (‘and then’) (in SE usually after converbs, in NE/W at the end of sentences)
NE <i>=ē</i> , W <i>=ey</i> , SE <i>=e</i>	consequential (closing coordinating structures)
NE <i>ē</i> , W <i>e</i> , SE <i>ē (kti)</i>	consequential (‘and so’)
<i>=o / ó</i> (M), <i>=e / é</i> (F)	assertive (agrees in gender with addressee)
<i>ó</i> (M), <i>é</i> (F)	precative (agrees in gender with addressee)
NE/W/SE <i>=a</i>	polar question (to be answered with ‘yes’ or ‘no’; does not co-occur with question words)
NE <i>=a=tě</i> , W-KL <i>=ata</i> (= <i>=a=tě</i> + <i>=a?</i>)	combination of polar question particle and contrastive topic marker; used when calling a presupposition into question
NE/W/SE <i>=e</i>	polar question with request for explanation or engagement
NE/W <i>=mem</i> , SE <i>=mmě</i>	hearsay
W <i>=se</i>	explanatory additive (‘because after all’)
NE <i>=šum</i>	dubitative – Morgenstierne (1967a: 1382): “an abbreviated form of <i>wišissum</i> [...] ‘I think’, ‘I imagine’, when used as a dubitative particle.”
NE <i>=ōště</i>	used after perfective past forms in the meaning ‘he/she acts like an X doing Y’; possibly originally an abbreviated version of <i>višítě</i> ‘he/she thinks’ in parallel to the above
SE <i>=namo</i>	mediative (disambiguating function)

2.11 Syntax

This section of the grammar describes the ways in which words and phrases may be combined to form larger units – words into phrases, phrases into clauses and clauses into complex sentences.

Examples containing complex sentences are subdivided into constituent units with the help of square brackets ([]) in this section. These subdivisions should be seen as approximate attempts at grouping together elements that semantically relate to each other at the same level and not as an analysis in terms of any kind of syntactic theory.

2.11.1 Noun Phrases

Beside a noun, a noun phrase may contain various kinds of adjectives, quantifiers, determiners or other modifiers. The head noun is always placed at the very end of the noun phrase. If there is a determiner it occupies the first position of the phrase, followed by quantifiers and adjectives or other modifiers.

Examples:

NE <i>ostě kúyã mřějécě</i>	‘that same bird from earlier’
NE <i>ěřě ɖaŋú čóm</i>	‘some tough skins’
W <i>é pěrdík nú</i>	‘an old mother’ (lit. “one old-woman mother”)
W <i>tré yùš</i>	‘three demons’
SE <i>yí ĵuk</i>	‘my daughter’

2.11.1.1 Coordination of Noun Phrases

There are a few different constructions for the coordination of noun phrases that are used in different functional contexts. All of them have in common that each phrase receives a separate phrasal stress.

One group of constructions is formed with enclitic coordinators which have to be attached to at least one of the coordinated phrases, more often to both/all. A second group is formed with preposed coordinators, which can be phrasally stressed or unstressed depending on their meaning in discourse.

Beside this formal distinction, the constructions also differ with regard to whether they are restricted to use with noun phrases or whether they can also be employed to coordinate entire clauses. Each of the possible constructions is discussed with examples below.

2.11.1.1.1 NP=*ǵe* (=dye) NP – Coordination of 2 Members

For the simple coordination of two noun phrases, the enclitic *-ǵe* (NE-MR =dye) may be attached to the first of the two phrases. It only appears between noun phrases.³¹³

Examples:

W *zú=ǵe turí* ‘milk and clabber/yogurt’

NE *anó=ǵe këlyǻř* ‘ghee and cheese’

SE *búřǵe sanó* ‘bread/food and clothes’

2.11.1.1.2 NP=*ǵe* (=dye) NP=*ey* ~ *=ē* ~ *=e* – Coordination of 2 – 3 Members

An extension of the pattern with simple *-ǵe* (NE-MR =dye), which most often also appears with two members, but can also be used with three, has the enclitic W =*ey*, NE =*ē*, SE =*e*. This same enclitic is also used at the larger sentence level to close other coordinating structures, but in combination with *-ǵe* (NE-MR =dye) it only appears between noun phrases.

Examples:

W *vúze=ǵe sú=ey* ‘me and my sister’

NE-MR *ó=dye anó (anó=ē)* ‘water and fire’

SE *Nařǵe Bérkuř=e Són=e* ‘Nařay and Barikoř and Sau’

2.11.1.1.3 NP=*ey* ~ *=ē* ~ *=e*, NP=*ey* ~ *=ē* ~ *=e* – List Coordination

For the coordination of three or more members or longer (open-ended) lists, the enclitic W =*ey*, NE =*ē*, SE =*e* is used on every member. As mentioned above, this enclitic is also to close larger coordinating structures and may appear at the end of sentences in coherent narratives. The latter usage, which is attested especially for the Western dialect, may be considered the sentence-level equivalent of the noun phrase list coordination usage.

Examples:

W *vúzey (vúze=ey), řamí=ey, řamíře pëvéč=ey, Kayúm=ey* ‘me, my brother-in-law, my brother-in-law’s son, and Qayyum.’

³¹³ This includes, however, clauses based on nominal forms, such as participial clauses.

NE *Mumrét=ē, Kunişt=ē, Gabúr=ē*

‘Mumret (Bumboret), Kunişt (Rumbur), Gabur (Gobor) (etc.).’

SE *Kurón=e, zakót=e, háj=e, namóč=e*

‘the Qur’an, almsgiving, pilgrimage, prayer (etc.).’

2.11.1.1.4 NP=*di* NP=*di* – ‘both X and Y’

Doubled use of the additive focus particle *=di* produces the meaning of ‘both ... and ...’. This construction can be used to connect two noun phrases, but also for two separate clauses.

Examples:

W *amkyó=taře=di yimó=taře=di*

‘both from them and from us’

NE *amú=di bóg=di*

‘both house and garden’

SE *tapké=di puṇḍrīk=di*

‘both rifle and bullets’

A clause-level example is given in (1).

- (1) *Strék yině saná vañědi, ō bilúk xušól-di bóm, bilyúk xapú=dizēm.*
strék yině saná-ō vañě-di ō bilúk
 now DEM.PROX scene-OBL.SG see-CVB 1SG.DIR very
xušól =di b-om bilyúk xapú
 happy =ADD.FOC become-PFV.PST.1SG.M very upset
=di=ēz-ēm
 =ADD.FOC=COP-1SG

‘Seeing this scene now, I both became very happy and am very upset.’

[SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 559.10)

2.11.1.1.5 *ka ~ k̄a* NP, *ka ~ k̄a* NP – ‘either X or Y’

The meaning ‘either ... or ...’ can be achieved by doubled use of the coordinator W/NE *ka*, SE *k̄a*. This coordinator is homophonous with the question word *ka* ‘why’ in the Western and Northeastern dialects, but in the Southeastern dialect of the Kom it instead falls together with the question word *k̄a* ‘what’. It can be used both between two noun phrases and between clauses.

Examples:

w *ká pěvéc, ká pěvéce tótēs* ‘either the boy or the boy’s father’

NE *ká děn, ká túba* ‘either punishment or repentance’

SE *ká kuř, ká pšáš* ‘either a dog or a cat’

A clause-level example is given in (2).

(2) *Ká ví, ká mēké.*

<i>ka</i>	<i>vi</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>mēké</i>
either	hit.IMP	or	flee.IMP

‘Either hit, or flee.’ [NE-MR] (Mansur Proverbs 381)

2.11.1.1.6 *ne ~ na* NP, *ne ~ na* NP – ‘neither X nor Y’

Doubled use of the negator w/NE *ne*, SE *na* produces the meaning ‘neither ... nor ...’.

This construction can be used both between two noun phrases and between clauses.

w *né lēy tóp, né lēy šilē* ‘neither too hot, nor too cold’

NE *né ůšē, né spēlē* ‘neither warp thread, nor weft thread’

SE *ná gunó, ná káy* ‘neither sin, nor anything’

A clause-level example is given in (3).

(3) *Né přacúk pétē ēlye, né pērmēñ žúla.*

<i>ne</i>	<i>přacúk</i>	<i>péte-ē-lye</i>	<i>né</i>
NEG	small.bread[F].DIR	break-PASS-OPT.3SG.F	NEG
<i>pērmēñ žú-la</i>			
child.DIR cry-OPT.3PL			

‘Neither is the bread supposed to be broken, nor are the children supposed to cry.’ [NE-MR] (Mansur Proverbs 501)

2.11.2 Possession

Within a noun phrase, possession is expressed by a possessor in the Oblique case, either with or without the referentializer *-stē*, placed before the possessum (cf. sections 2.3.3.1.2 and 2.7.3.1). With nouns that do not have an Oblique case form distinct from the Direct, phrasal stress and syntactic position may be the only cues by which they are identified as possessors.

Possessed kinship terms additionally have pertensive marking, indicating the person value (1st, 2nd, 3rd) of the possessor (cf. section 2.3.4.11).

The most common predicative possession construction seems to have originally consisted of propriative adjectives (2.4.3.1) and forms of the Copula (in all tense, aspect, mood etc. forms). This is still visible when the possessum and the predicate are directly adjacent within the clause, as in examples (4) and (5).

- (4) *Ćaŋ yuškúš né zaňétasi, če šér oǰí-stě kúrvo búlay ké.*
caŋ yuškúš ne zaňé-tasi če šer
 all.wild.animal.DIR NEG know-PROG.PST.3PL CNJ lion.DIR
o-ǰí =stě kúr-v-o bú-lě-ay ke
 PHOR-such =REF voice-PROPR-M be-IPFV.3PL do.CVB
 ‘All the animals did not know that lions have such voices.’ [NE-BJ/MR]
 (Sun-Aro Lion 3.1)

- (5) *Bělyúk – ō – gřamměšě(-)vay=asě!*
bělyúk ō gřamměšě(-)v-ay =as-ě
 much yes village.anger(-)PROPR-F =COP-3SG
 ‘She is very – yes! – angry at everyone!’ [NE-BD] (Goat Advice 2.2)

It appears, however, that a reanalysis has taken place, as a result of which the propriative suffix has become separated from the stem and functions as an independent element. This is clear from the fact that it can receive independent stress and that the negation generally appears directly before it and not before the stem or before the copula. The combination of the detached propriative morpheme and the copula functions essentially like a full “have”-verb. Some examples are shown in (6) – (8).

- (6) *Něcoparíki ĵuk kót né váy=asi.*
Něcoparík-i ĵuk kót ne v-ay =as-i
 PN-OBL girl.DIR strength.DIR NEG PROPR-F =COP-PST.3
 ‘Něcoparik’s daughter did not have any strength.’ [NE]
 (Afsāna Nēcōparik 1.4)

- (7) *Kā amál-de ná vōžēm.*
kā amál =de na v-o=ēz-ēm
 what hope =CONTR.TOP NEG PROPR-M=COP-1SG

‘I don’t have any hope’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 28.2)

- (8) *Lëtrí vósiš-bo, vërvor=di vósiš.*
lëtrí v-ó=as-iš =bo vërv-vor =di
 thing.DIR PROPR-M=COP-2SG =CNJ speech-ness.DIR ADD.FOC
v-ó=as-iš
 PROPR-M=COP-2SG

‘If you have possessions, you also have influence.’ [NE-MR]
 (Mansur Proverbs 430)

A different kind of predicative possession construction is formed with the possessum in an existential clause with a copula and the possessor in the Oblique case, as in examples (9) and (10).

- (9) *Vómvañyē kót=asë.*
vom-vañi-ē kót =as-ë
 free.time-associate-OBL.PL force.DIR =COP-3SG

‘People with free time have power.’ [NE-MR] (Mansur Proverbs 552)

- (10) *Vërvvañyē vóm=asë.*
vërv-vañi-ē vom =as-ë
 speech-associate-OBL.PL free.time.DIR =COP-3SG

‘Talkative people have time.’ [NE-MR] (Mansur Proverb 573)

The possessor can be left out in this construction, producing ambiguity with simple existential clauses, as in example (11).

- (11) *Břé nēsě=bo, kašě=t asě.*
bře ne =as-ě =bo kašě
 flour NEG =COP-3SG =CNJ measuring.cup
=tě as-ě
 =CONTR.TOP COP-3SG
 ‘If/though you have no flour, you do have a measuring container.’
 (or: ‘If/though there is no flour, there is a measuring container.’)
 [NE-MR] (Mansur Proverbs 111)

If the intended meaning of a predicative possession construction is *this X is mine* instead of *I have an X*³¹⁴, again an existential construction is used, but with the possessor in the Oblique [SE: Genitive] case followed by the referentializer *-stě*, as in examples (12) and (13).

- (12) *Ní gul Kató=stasě.*
nī gul Kat-ó =st-ě-as-ě
 DEM.PROX land.DIR Katë-OBL.PL =REF-DIR=COP-3SG
 ‘This land is the Katë people’s.’
 (or: ‘This land belongs to the Katë people.’) (Grjunberg XII 4.3)
- (13) *Yúbačuruk nóm yí=stězo!*
yü-pa-čur-uk nom yí =st-ě-ěz-o
 ↓-LP-tip-DIM name.DIR 1SG.GEN =REF-DIR=COP-3SG.M.MDV
 ‘[It turned out that] the name on the bottom was mine!’ [SE-KM]
 (AVA Jihad 170.2)

2.11.3 Comparative Constructions

There is no gradation of adjectives (like English *good*, *better*, *best* etc.) in the Katë language.³¹⁵ Comparative constructions are instead formed with the general form of the adjective together with the postposition NE *-tañ*, W *-taře*, SE *-to* after the base of comparison. Meanings such as *A is larger than B* are thus expressed as *from B, A is large*. Such comparative constructions can also modify nouns. For superlatives, the base of comparison is NE *čañ* ~ *čak*, W *suv*, SE *sũ* ‘all’. Some examples are given in (14) – (20).

³¹⁴ Stassen (2009: 28) refers to this function as *definite predicative possession*.

³¹⁵ Though the Persian loanwords *bihtar* ‘better’ and *bihtarin* ‘best’ are used by some speakers.

- (14) *Nóněsě-taň jús álí.*
nón-ēs-ě -taň ju-s ál-i
 mother-PERT.3-OBL =from daughter-PERT.3 big-F
 ‘The daughter [is] bigger than her mother.’ [NE-MR]
 (Mansur Proverbs 509)
- (15) *Mančō zěřě vóťě-taň křěy, píši-taň šylyasě.*
manč-ō zěr-ě voť-ě -taň křey
 person-OBL.PL heart-DIR stone-OBL =from hard.F
piš-i -taň šyl-i-as-ě.
 flower-OBL =from soft-F=COP-3SG
 ‘The human heart is harder than a stone and softer than a flower.’ [NE-MR]
 (Mansur Proverbs 488)
- (16) *Čaňě-taň kaňští júk*
čaň-ě -taň kaňšt-í júk
 all-OBL =from younger-F girl
 ‘The youngest daughter’ [NE] (Afsāna King 16.11)
- (17) *Asád yimó-taře kúyo békcelě.*
Asád yimó -tař-e kúyo bé-kcé-lě.
 PN.DIR 1PL =LPST-ABL earlier ←-look-IPFV/FUT.3SG.M
 ‘Asad will wake up earlier than us.’ [W-KN] (Mohammad 1991: 44)
- (18) *Drěgěr Azóre=kě, súvo-taře álě mančé-ta, ladír syamí-to, sté júk ptósyum.*
drěgěr-ě Azór-e -kě súv-o -tař-e ál-ě
 long-M PN-OBL.SG.M =for all-OBL.PL =LPST-ABL big-M
manč-ě -ta ladír syam-í -to
 person-OBL.SG.M =LPST mediator.DIR send-COND.3 =when
st-e júk p-tósyum
 DEM.DIST-OBL.SG.M girl.DIR give-PFV.PST.ANT.1SG.M
 ‘Back when I sent mediators to Tall Azor, the greatest man of all, he gave me his daughter [in marriage].’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg IX 40.1)

- (19) *sū=do inqilobí manǰi*
sū=to *inqilobí* *manǰi*
 all.DIR/GEN=LPST revolutionary person
 ‘The most revolutionary man of all.’ [SE-KM] (AVA Jihad 256.3)

- (20) *tú=tto=di karévo-karëvo ulamó*
tú=to =*di* *karév-o~karëvo* *ulamó*
 2SG.GEN=LPST =ADD.FOC strong-M~INTS scholars
 ‘Scholars who are much stronger even than you.’ [SE-KM]
 (AVA Jihad 550.1)

2.11.4 Grammatical Relations

The term *grammatical relations* is used to refer to the way a language organizes and distinguishes the participants of verbal events grammatically. The Katë language has two main devices that are used to express grammatical relations: nominal case and verbal agreement.

Both of these devices function in different ways depending on the aspectual stem of the predicate. The functional interpretation of the same case and agreement morphemes is in fact exactly opposite between verbal forms belonging to the perfective system (i.e. based on the perfective participle) and all others. More specifically, the grammatical relations of the Katë language are characterized by a system of aspect-based split ergativity. The morphosyntactic alignment is *nominative-accusative* with differential object marking in clauses with a predicate that does not belong to the perfective system and *ergative-absolutive* (without differential object marking) in clauses with a perfective-system predicate. In ditransitive clauses patients and goals receive the same type of case marking. The use of nominal case forms of the Direct and Oblique case with both types of predicates is described in detail in section 2.3.3.1.

Verbs can only agree with one of the participants and this is generally the one in the Direct case, i.e. the single participant with all intransitive predicates (examples (21) & (22)), the agent with non-perfective-system transitive and ditransitive predicates (examples (23) & (24)), the patient with perfective-system transitive predicates (example (25)) and the patient or goal with perfective-system ditransitive predicates (example (26)). As Mohammad (1991: 20–22) has shown, perfective-system ditransitive predicates agree with either patient or goal depending on which of the

two is higher on the following noun phrase hierarchy: 1st person > 2nd person > human 3rd person > animate 3rd person > inanimate 3rd person. Since the agreement is not triggered by the role of the participant, but by their inherent characteristics, and since the case marking is also the same, the grammatical roles of patient and goal are ambiguous in such sentences (see (26) a. & b.). If patient and goal are both on the same level of the hierarchy, the verb may agree with either, producing ambiguity in either case (see (26) e.).

(21) **Intransitive non-perfective-system predicate**

Ďěgéri pařě léy záláy.

<i>ďěgér-i</i>	<i>pař-ě</i>	<i>ley</i>	<i>zá-lě-ay</i>
bad-F	apple[F]-DIR	much	bear-IPFV/FUT.3PL

‘Bad apple trees bear much fruit.’ [NE-MR] (Mansur Proverbs 232)

(22) **Intransitive perfective-system predicate**

Řěvéki budú-vu nišnyé.

<i>řěvéki</i>	<i>bu-du</i>	<i>=vu</i>	<i>niš-nyé</i>
fox[F].DIR	LP-door	=at	sit.down-PFV.PST.3SG.F

‘The fox sat down by the door.’ [NE-BN] (Sun-Aro Fox 7.1)

(23) **Transitive non-perfective-system predicate**

Nuštěrik ikě nóm télum.

<i>nuštěrik</i>	<i>ikě</i>	<i>nóm té-lum</i>
first	DEM.MED-OBL.SG.M	name-FUT.1SG.M

‘First I will name him.’ [NE-BN] (Sun-Aro Nameless 2.5)

(24) **Ditransitive non-perfective-system predicate**

Ůc yě ĵúkě tú štrí kěrōtum.

<i>ůc</i>	<i>yě</i>	<i>ĵuk-ě</i>	<i>tu</i>
1SG.DIR	1SG.OBL	girl-OBL	2SG.OBL

štri kěr-ō-tum
marry-CAUS-PROG.PRS.1SG

‘I am letting you marry my daughter.’ [NE] (Afsāna Pheasant 5.1)

(25) **Transitive perfective-system predicate**

Yě méré ĵuk vaňyé.

<i>yě</i>	<i>mer-ě</i>	<i>ĵuk</i>	<i>vaň-yé</i>
1SG.OBL	king-OBL	girl.DIR	SEE-PFV.PST.3SG.F

‘I saw the king’s daughter.’ [NE] (Afsāna Pheasant 7.3)

(26) **Ditransitive perfective-system predicates**

a. *Tóče vúze tyú ptě.*

<i>tót-še</i>	<i>vúze</i>	<i>tyu</i>	<i>p-tě</i>
father-PERT.1SG.OBL	1SG.DIR	2SG.DIR	give-PFV.PST.1

‘My father gave (handed) me to you.’

Or: ‘My father gave (handed) you to me.’ [W-KN] (Mohammad 1991: 22)

b. *Yéme tyú Asád ptóš.*

<i>Yéme</i>	<i>tyu</i>	<i>Asád</i>	<i>p-toš</i>
1SG.OBL	2SG.DIR	PN.DIR	give-PFV.PST.2SG.M

‘I gave (handed) you to Asad.’

Or: ‘I gave (handed) Asad to you.’ [W-KN] (Mohammad 1991: 21)

c. *Šú azór vaktóš-a?*

<i>šu</i>	<i>azór</i>	<i>vak-tóš</i>	<i>=a</i>
6	1000	take-PFV.PST.2SG.M	=Q

‘They took six thousand [rupees] from you?’ [NE-MR] (Notes)

d. *Yéme Asád gúl věřéyo.*

<i>yéme</i>	<i>Asád</i>	<i>gul</i>	<i>věř-é-yo.</i>
1SG.OBL	PN[M].DIR	land[F]	see-CAUS-PFV.PST.3SG.M

‘I showed the land to Asad.’ [W-KN] (Mohammad 1991: 24)

e. *Tóče júk pëvéc ptó.*

<i>tót-še</i>	<i>júk</i>	<i>pëvéc</i>	<i>p-to</i>
father-PERT.1SG.OBL	girl.DIR	boy.DIR	give-PFV.PST.3SG.M

Tóče pëvéc júk ptyé.

<i>tót-še</i>	<i>pëvéc</i>	<i>júk</i>	<i>p-tye</i>
father-PERT.1SG.OBL	boy.DIR	girl.DIR	give-PFV.PST.3SG.F

Both either ‘My father gave (handed) the boy to the girl.’

or ‘My father gave (handed) the girl to the boy.’ [W-KN]

(Mohammad 1991: 22)

Some verbs require one of their arguments to be marked with the local postposition instead of either the Direct or the Oblique case. Outside of actual local relations, this is done, e.g., for experiencers with some intransitive (including impersonal) constructions (see examples (27) and (28)), but also in some transitive constructions, especially for experiencers (example (29)) and for addressees of verbs of speech such as NE *gějĩ kú-stě* ‘to say’ and *kudǒ-stě* ‘to ask’ (examples (30) – (32)). This postpositional marking is maintained regardless of the aspectual stem of the verb (compare examples (30) and (31)). In terms of agreement, verbs of speech are nevertheless still treated as transitive, so that a perfective-system form will agree with the addressee, even though the addressee is marked with the local postposition instead of the Direct case (see examples (31) and (32)). In transitive constructions with an experiencer a perfective-system predicate can show agreement with either participant as Strand’s (1999a) examples in (33) and (34) show. Strand (1999a) reports a semantic difference between the two options, which he translates temporally (present perfect + “right now” for experiencer agreement vs. simple past + “past” otherwise). The difference is perhaps better captured in terms of the *affectedness* of the experiencer, which only correlates indirectly with time (diarrhea in the present moment affects one more than any past instance of diarrhea).

(27) *E azé dǒzim, askězé yĩ-do vúr bó.*

<i>e</i>	<i>azé</i>	<i>dǒ</i>	<i>-ěz-i-m</i>	<i>askě azé</i>
one	bull.DIR	debt	=COP-PST-1SG	DEM.DIST bull.DIR
<i>yĩ-to</i>	<i>vúr</i>	<i>b-o</i>		
1SG.GEN=LPST	interest	become-PFV.PST.3SG.M		

‘I owed a bull, and that bull cost me interest.’ [SE-KM] (Strand 1999a)

- (28) *Şəñíro cáŋ=tã léstë póčë élay.*
 şəñír-o cáŋē=tã léy=stë pë-áčë é-lë=ay
 beautiful-M.DIR all-OBL=LPST good=REF LP-eye go-IPFV/FUT.3PL
 ‘Beauty looks good to everyone.’ [NE-MR] (Mansur Proverbs 296)
- (29) *Yí=do yinë kilár vútyōnë.*
 yĩ=to yinë kilár vú-ti-ō-në
 1SG.GEN=LPST DEM.PROX cheese.DIR ↑-stand-CAUS-PROG.PRS.3SG
 ‘This cheese is giving me diarrhea.’ [lit. “is causing to stand up on me”]
 [SE-KM] (Strand 1999a)
- (30) *Stë purdík stë júkë=tã gějĩ kútë: “...”*
 stë purdík stë juk-ë =tã
 DEM.DIST old.woman.DIR DEM.DIST girl-OBL =LPST
 gějĩ kú-të
 say-PROG.PRS.3SG
 ‘That old woman says to that girl: “...” [NE] (Afsāna Demon 1.9)
- (31) *Amkyō malikā=tã gějĩ kěryé: “...”*
 amkĩ-ō malikā-ō =tã gějĩ k-ěryé
 DEM.DIST.PL-OBL.PL queen[F]-OBL=LPST say-PFV.PST.3SG.F
 ‘They said to the queen: “...” [NE-BN] (Sun-Aro Half-Boy 5.1)
- (32) *Mančō bangyé=tã kudéyo: “...”*
 manč-ō bangĩ-ē =tã kudé-yo
 person-OBL.PL rooster[M]-OBL.SG =LPST ask-PFV.PST.3SG.M
 ‘The people asked the rooster: “...” [NE-BN] (Sun-Aro Chicken 11.3)
- (33) *Yí=do yinë kilár(-ë) vútēom.*
 yĩ=to yinë kilár(-ë) vú-ti-ē-yom
 1SG.GEN=LPST DEM.PROX cheese(-OBL) ↑-stand-CAUS-PFV.PST.1SG.M
 ‘“This cheese gave me diarrhea. [strongly affected]’ [SE-KM] (Strand 1999a)

- (34) *Yĩ-do yině kilár(-ě) vútēo.*
yĩ-to yině kilár(-ě) vú-ti-e-yo
 1SG.GEN=LPST DEM.PROX cheese(-OBL) ↑-stand-CAUS-PFV.PST.3SG.M
 ‘This cheese gave me diarrhea. [less strongly affected]’ [SE-KM]
 (Strand 1999a)

2.11.5 Simple Clauses

2.11.5.1 Word Order

A simple clause almost always ends with a verb. The arguments of the verb are usually placed before it and most commonly arranged in the order 1. agent, 2. patient, 3. goal, but there is some flexibility in this regard, since the roles of the arguments are usually clearly identified by means of case marking and verbal agreement. Typical simple transitive clauses in all three dialects are shown in examples (35) – (40). The contrast between x and y demonstrates the flexibility of ordering. A different ordering of words within the clause goes along with slightly different nuances of pragmatic meaning. Thus, e.g., in sentences X and Y the fronting of the patient may be interpreted as a kind of topic marking.

- (35) *Ál aná ašě tkyólay.*
ál-ě aná-ō ašī-ē tkī-ō-lē-ay
 big-M put.in.mouth-INF.DIR mouth-OBL.SG tear-CAUS-IPFV/FUT.3PL
 ‘Big bites tear the mouth.’ [NE-MR] (Mansur Proverbs 2)

- (36) *Gumón imóně gātē.*
gumón imóně gā-tē.
 presumption.DIR faith-OBL take.away-PROG.PRS.3SG
 ‘Presumption takes faith away.’ [NE-MR] (Mansur Proverbs 416)

- (37) *Léyvorē ō-di né gātē.*
léy-vor-ē ō =di ne
 good-ness-OBL water.DIR =ADD.FOC NEG
gā-tē
 take.away-PROG.PRS.3SG
 ‘Even water does not take away goodness.’ [NE-MR]
 (Mansur Proverbs 447)

- (38) *Břazě břazěvaňi zaňětě.*
břaz-ě *břazě-vaňi* *zaňě-tě.*
 illness-OBL.SG.M illness-associate.DIR know-PROG.PRS.3SG
 ‘The sick person knows the illness (best).’ [NE-MR] (Mansur Proverbs 126)

- (39) *Vúze tú-stě avdyú koro věřenum.*
vúze *tu* *=stě* *avdyú* *kor-o*
 1SG.DIR 2SG.OBL =REF both ear-OBL.PL
věře-num
 see-PROG.PRS.1SG
 ‘I am seeing both of your ears.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg Phrase 14)

- (40) *Čkíl bitělē tacěně.*
Čkíl *bitěl-ē* *tačě-ně*
 PN.DIR wooden.board-OBL.SG.M hew-PROG.PRS.3SG
 ‘Čkil is shaping/hewing the wooden board.’ [SE-PT] Ghulamullah 632

Afterthought constructions, in which one of the verbal arguments is added after the verb, are relatively common. An example is given in (41).

- (41) *Gañō gidi gúsě, askě.*
gañ-ō-ō-gi-di *gu-stě-ězě* *ask-ě*
 count-CAUS-PASS-CONV go.RES.3SG.M DEM.DIST-DIR
 ‘Swore to it [lit. “was counted on”] and left, he did.’
 Or: ‘[He] swore to it and left, that one.’ [SE-PT]
 (Ġulāmullāh/Karim Pitiġil 20.1)

2.11.5.2 Non-Verbal Predicates

Non-verbal predicates in most cases require a form of the copula. This is the case for all kinds of nominals, adjectives, adverbs and local expressions (examples (42) – (49)). Non-verbal elements predicated with a copula appear in the Direct case. The copula is used both for equational predications (“X is Y”) and for existential ones (“X exists / there is (an) X”). On predicative possession, see section 2.11.2.

(42) *Ǧaǰí áště.*

Ǧaǰí áště
Jashi COP.3PL

‘They’re Jashi people.’ [SE-PT] (Ǧulāmullāh/Karim Pitiǧil 15.1)

(43) *Ině pštúk=tā kakók=asě*

Ině pštúk=tā kakók =asě
DEM.PROX bag=LPST chicken.DIR =COP-3SG

‘There is a chicken in this bag.’ [SE-BN] (Sun-Aro Fox 8.2)

(44) *Gó zísě, zú kaštrasě.*

go zǐ=asě zu kaštr-ě=asě
cow.DIR black=COP-3SG milk[M].DIR white-M=COP-3SG

‘The cow is black, the milk is white.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg Phrase 2)

(45) *Ni turí rězvósě.*

Ni turí rězv-ó=asě
DEM.PROX clabber[M] tasty-M=COP-3SG

‘This clabber/yogurt is tasty.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg Phrase 3)

(46) *Yimó=stě marě strěǧ=ězě*

yimó =stě marě strěk=ězě
1PL.DIR/GEN =REF death.DIR now=COP-3SG

‘Our death is now.’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 183.11)

(47) *Děréyus níñ=asě.*

Děréyus níñ =as-ě
Drosh ←-SN =COP-3SG

‘Drosh is downvalley.’ [NE-MR] (Notes)

(48) *Bědí asmón=tāsě*

bědí asmón=tā=asě
mind.DIR sky=LPST=COP-3SG

‘[His] mind is in the sky.’ [NE-MR] (Mansur Proverbs 123)

(49) *Ĵirĭk ačĕ=meň=asĕ.*

<i>ĵirĭk</i>	<i>ačĕ-̄</i>	<i>=meň</i>	<i>=as-ĕ</i>
shame.DIR	eye-OBL	=with	=COP-3SG

‘Shame/modesty is with the eyes.’ [NE-MR] (Mansur Proverbs 177)

The copular form is sometimes left out in elliptical constructions, where it is understood from the preceding context, as in example (50).

(50) *Abĕl nĕ gól-asĕ, nĕ pŕor.*

<i>abĕl</i>	<i>nĕ</i>	<i>gól</i>	<i>=asĕ</i>	<i>nĕ</i>	<i>pŕor</i>
effort.DIR	NEG	shame.DIR	=COP-3SG	NEG	wound.DIR

‘Effort is neither a shame, nor a wound.’ [NE-MR] (Mansur Proverbs 7)

Otherwise, non-verbal predication without a copula is limited to particular contexts. It can be encountered in poetry/songs and is especially common in proverbs, where forms can even be dropped from periphrastic verbal forms that ordinarily contain them.³¹⁶ An example is given in (51).

(51) *Lĕy umáy kúř đanjúrĕ.*

<i>lĕy</i>	<i>umá-î</i>	<i>kuř</i>	<i>đanjúr-ĕ</i>
much	take.care.of-PFV.PTCP	child.DIR	weak-M

‘Children that have been taken care of too much are weak.’ [NE-MR]

(Mansur Proverbs 437)

2.11.5.3 Complex Predicates

So-called “complex predicates” appear in various forms in the Katĕ language. Noun-verb complexes (noun-verb light-verb constructions) are very common (see section 2.9.3.2 for details). So-called vector verb constructions³¹⁷, which are commonly found

³¹⁶ Bashir (2023: 251) also notes proverbs as a context for frequent and/or exceptional absence of the copula in neighboring Indo-Aryan Kalasha and Khowar.

³¹⁷ Vector verb constructions are sometimes also called “light-verb constructions” or “compound verbs”, but both of these terms tend to lead to confusion with the noun-verb complexes discussed in section 2.9.3.2, which are also known as light-verb constructions or, equally confusingly, as “conjunct verbs” to be distinguished from “compound verbs” (cf. Masica 1991: 326).

in South Asian languages, are also used, but probably less frequently and with less variety than in the major Indo-Aryan languages like Hindi-Urdu.³¹⁸

Vector verb constructions consist of a converb form and a main predicate (the “vector verb”), but they differ from normal converb combinations in that the meaning of the whole complex predicate is expressed in the converb, whereas the main predicate only contributes nuances of *aktionsart*, speaker evaluation and similar shades of meaning and in this sense acts as a “vector” for the preceding converb (Masica 1991: 326–330). A construction consisting of the general converb and the verb ‘to give’ as a vector is used for benefactive action, as in example (52).

- (52) *ǰúka súv láti ptó.*
ǰuk-a súv lá-ti p-to
 girl-OBL.SG.F all.DIR speak-CVB give-PFV.PST.3SG.M
 ‘The girl told him everything.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg Skazka IV 3.3)

A construction consisting of the general converb with the verb ‘to sit down’ as a vector is used for actions with consequences, often implying undesirable action, as in examples (53) and (54). The implication of undesirability is not necessary, however, as examples (55) and (56) show: In (55), the consequences are the revelation of the fact that the witch had been stealing the young man’s magic objects, which is a positive development in the context of the story. In (56) the consequential decision leads to a peace settlement.

Note that verbal agreement follows the intransitive pattern required by the main verb, not the transitive pattern of the converb containing the lexical information. In this construction the verb ‘to sit down’ frequently appears in a contracted form with different stem formations (cf. section 2.1.5.4.1).

- (53) *Kuřó kěvó=taře-stě běrukšeti, yúti nčinyé.*
Kuřó kěvó =tař-e =stě běru-kšéyi-ti
 child-OBL.PL basket.DIR/OBL =LPST-ABL =from ←-pull-CVB
yú-ti nčinyé
 eat-CVB sit.down.PFV.PST.3SG.F
 ‘She pulled the [goat] children out of the carrying basket and ate them.’
 [W-KL] (Grjunberg Skazka II 3.4)

³¹⁸ This seems to be true for all Nuristani languages (cf. Buddruss 2006: 198).

- (54) *Abduramón Xón Álgřome damé né bána, amú-stě túpo Měnúyinař palúgayiti stáře-stě pavúteti gřóme yó křčov kě nčenó.*

<i>Abduramón_Xón</i>	<i>Ál-gřom-e</i>	<i>damé</i>	<i>ne</i>
PN.DIR	big-village-OBL.SG.M	seize.INF	NEG
<i>bá-na</i>	<i>amú -stě</i>	<i>tup-o</i>	<i>Měnúyinař</i>
be.able-PROG.COND	REFL =REF	cannon-OBL.PL	PN.LOC
<i>palú-gáy-ti</i>	<i>stář-e</i>	<i>=stě</i>	<i>pavú-té-ti</i>
↖  ↗ -take.away-CVB	LDEM.DIST-ABL	=from	↗  ↖ -put-CVB
<i>gřom-e</i>	<i>yó křčov kě</i>	<i>nčenó</i>	
village-OBL.SG.M	tear.to.pieces.CVB	sit.down.PFV.PST.3SG.M	

‘When Abdurrahman Khan could not take the main village (of Kulem), he took his cannons up across the slope to Měnuyinař and then shot them downwards and blew the village to pieces.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg I 6.4)

- (55) *Měnúyi đánik-pěrdika lěšm kě vyéně. Pěrdík vėně-vėně kě péceyi-to, pėvéce valúkě nčinyé.*

<i>měnúyi</i>	<i>đánik-pěrdik-a</i>	<i>lěšm</i>	<i>kě</i>
staff.DIR	witch-old.woman-OBL.SG.F	pretty	do.CVB
<i>vyéně</i>	<i>pěrdík</i>	<i>vėně-vėně</i>	
hit-PROG.PRS.3SG	old.woman.DIR	hit.PFV.PTCP.M-hit.PFV.PTCP.M	
<i>kě</i>	<i>péceyi</i>	<i>=to</i>	<i>pėvéč-e</i>
do.CVB	go.on-CAUS-COND.3	=when	boy-OBL.SG.M
<i>valú-kě</i>	<i>nčinyé</i>		
↗  ↖ -do.CVB	sit.down.PFV.PST.3SG.F		

‘The [self-hitting] staff is hitting the old witch handsomely. As it drove the old woman on by hitting and hitting, it woke up the young man.’

[W-KL] (Grjunberg Skazka I 8.9-10)

- (56) *Abduramón Xóne sěyi Kató damé né bána=to, řadóra amšé pimič é láti nčená, dalkyěř Kató-meš lót kúmo kě.*

<i>Abduramón_Xón-e</i>	<i>sěyi</i>	<i>Kat-ó</i>	<i>damé</i>	<i>ne</i>
PN-OBL	soldier.DIR	Katě-OBL.PL	seize.INF	NEG
<i>bá-na</i>	<i>=to</i>	<i>řadóra</i>	<i>amšé</i>	<i>pi-míč</i>
be.able-PROG.COND	=when	night-OBL.SG.F	REFL.PL	LP-middle
<i>é</i>	<i>lá-ti</i>	<i>nčená</i>	<i>dalkyěř</i>	<i>Kató</i>
so	speak-CVB	sit.down.PFV.PST.3PL	tomorrow	Katě-OBL.PL
<i>=meš</i>	<i>lot</i>	<i>kú-mo</i>	<i>kě</i>	
=with	settlement	do-OPT.1PL	do.CVB	

‘When Abdurrahman Khan’s soldiers could not defeat the Katě, they decided among themselves at night that they would sue for peace with the Katě the next day.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg I 7.3)

Another vector verb construction consists of the simultaneous converb in *-m* followed by the verbs ‘to go’ or ‘to come’ as vectors. As a simple converb construction this combination has the literal interpretation of ‘to go while doing X’ or ‘to come while doing X’, but as a vector verb construction it expresses gradual change, like in examples (57) and (58).

- (57) *Yině áři đarě bùm gó.*

<i>yině</i>	<i>áři</i>	<i>đar-ě</i>	<i>bu-m</i>
DEM.PROX	boy.DIR	thin-M	become-CVB.SIM
<i>gó</i>			
go.PFV.PST.3SG.M			

‘This boy kept getting thinner’ [SE-PT] (Ġulāmullāh 1966)

- (58) *Zěrvó šerě ópik utó bùm étosi.*

<i>zěrv-ó</i>	<i>šer-ě</i>	<i>ópik</i>	<i>utó</i>	<i>bu-m</i>
brave-M	lion-OBL	thirst	more	become-CVB.SIM
<i>é-tosi</i>				
go-PROG.PST.3SG.M				

‘The brave lion’s thirst kept increasing.’ [NE-BN] (Sun-Aro Lion 14.1)

The combination of the general converb with the copula as a vector verb has become further grammaticalized to a fixed construction for the expression of Continuative

aspect (see section 2.9.1.1.5). It is possible that this construction contains a trace of the origin of the Copula from a verb for ‘to sit’ (corresponding to OIA *ās-*; cf. further section 2.9.6.4), which would make the composition of the Continuative construction semantically more transparent.

2.11.6 Combination of Clauses

There are a few different syntactic strategies that are used in the combination of clauses. Often the same strategy appears with various functions. The most important strategies are asyndetic juxtaposition, framing as quoted speech, combination with the enclitic conjunctions *-bo* or NE *-tā* ~ W/SE *-to*, clause chaining or embedding with converbs, participial clauses and nominalized clauses. These strategies, as well as some recent borrowed constructions, are discussed in detail below.

2.11.6.1 Asyndetic

The asyndetic strategy consists simply in juxtaposition of two clauses without any formal marking, other than by prosody. The semantic relation between the clauses seems to be inferred from context and prosodic cues. The ambiguity that can go along with the absence of formal marking is increasingly being compensated by borrowing unambiguous conjunctions from Pashto, Persian or Urdu. The asyndetic strategy thus seems to be on the retreat, especially in the speech of multilingual speakers.

Asyndetic juxtaposition is used for conjunctive and adversative coordination, for adverbial subordinate clauses giving reasons and for relative clauses with indefinite antecedents. It also appears in subordinate consequence clauses, but with these there is always a pronominal antecedent in the main clause.

2.11.6.1.1 Conjunctive Coordination

Asyndetic conjunctive coordination is used when a speaker would like to frame two consecutive events as occurring separately. Otherwise converb constructions would be used. An example is given in (59).

- (59) [É vármare áyo,] [iké=tañ tëvëré pčō nišnó,] [gějī ku:] “á á [...]”
 e vármare áyo ik-é
 one other-hawk.DIR come-PFV.PST.3SG.M DEM.MED-OBL.M.SG
 =tañ tëvëré p-čō niš-nó gějī ku
 from close LP-branch sit.down-PFV.PST.3SG.M say.QUOT.3
 ā ā
 caw caw

‘Another hawk came, sat down on a branch close to him and said: “caw caw [...]”’ [NE-BN/MR] (Sun-Aro Hawk 8.1)

2.11.6.1.2 Adversative Coordination

Adversative coordination – i.e., the function of English clause combinations with “but” – seems to be exclusively expressed by asyndetic juxtaposition, if no borrowed term for “but” is used (cf. section 2.11.7). Two examples can be seen in (60) and (61).

- (60) [Mančí [imú skól kšúlasëmiš] višílaj,] [řěvéki amkyō=tañ kšúli búlay.]
 manč-í imú skol kšúl-ě-as-ëmiš viší-lě-ay
 person-DIR 1PL a.lot smart-M=COP-1PL think-IPFV/FUT.3PL
 řěvéki amkí-ō =tañ kšúl-i bú-lě-ay
 fox[F].DIR DEM.DIST.PL-OBL.PL =from smart-F be-IPFV/FUT.3PL

‘People think they’re very smart, but foxes are smarter.’ [NE-BN]
 (Sun-Aro Fox 15.2)

- (61) [Mére-ta mančí syamyá,] [[júka přélo] kě,] [mér [“tú asévunči-ste káště přém-ey?”] kě] [júka přé] né vëšënë].
 mér-e =ta manč-í syam-yá júk-a
 king-OBL.SG.M =LPST person-DIR send-PFV.PST.3PL girl-OBL.SG.F
 přé-lo kě mer tu
 give-OPT.3SG.M do.CVB king.DIR 2SG.OBL
 asé-vu-nč-i =st-e káště pře-m
 ash-↓-sit.down-PFV.PTCP =REF-OBL.SG.M how give-OPT.1SG
 =ey kě júk-a pře ne vëšë-ně
 =CONS do.CVB girl-OBL.SG.F give-INF NEG think-PROG.PRS.3SG

‘He sent men to the king, so that he would give him his daughter (in marriage), but the king did not agree to give her, saying: “And how could I give her to you ash-sitting pauper?”.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg Skazka I 12.4)

2.11.6.1.3 Disjunctive Coordination of Questions

Another domain where clauses can be combined asyndetically is the disjunctive coordination of polar questions, forming an “or” question with two or more options. Two or more questions, each ending with the polar question marker *-a*, are simply juxtaposed for this purpose, as in example (62). The same structure is used for indirect questions (which do not formally differ from direct questions, cf. section 2.11.6.2.4), producing a structure equivalent to English “whether ... or (whether)...”, as in example (64).

The contrastive topic marker may optionally be added after the first polar question marker to emphasize the contrast between the options, as in example (63), and the clause-initial conjunction W/NE *ney*, SE *nay* may optionally be added before the last coordinated clause (see section 2.11.6.4.2).

- (62) [Dúst=ěza,] [dušmán=ěza?]
dust =ěz-ě=*a* *dušmán* =ěz-ě=*a*
 friend =COP-3SG=Q enemy =COP-3SG=Q
 ‘Is he a friend or is he an enemy?’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 569.28)

- (63) [Tyú é kóre věřénč=a-tě,] [dyú kóró?]
tyu *e* *kor-e* *věře-niš=*a** =*tě*
 2SG one ear-OBL.SG.M see-PROG.PRS.2SG=Q =CONTR.TOP
dyú *kor-o=*a**
 two ear-OBL.PL=Q
 ‘Do you see one ear, or two ears?’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg Phrase 14)

- (64) [Kéttě vanjǵano búna,] [pabút=u búna,] [babún búna,] [akú sařú.]
kéttě *vanjǵ-kanó* *bú-ně=*a** *pa-put* =*u*
 which holy.oak-tree.DIR be-PROG.PRS.3SG=Q LP-road =at
*bú-ně=*a** *ba-bún* *bú-ně=*a**
 be-PROG.PRS.3SG=Q LP-forest.LOC be-PROG.PRS.3SG=Q
akú *sař-ú*
 LDEM.DIST.PHOR bury-IMP
 ‘Whether it is some hollyoak tree, or whether it is by the road, or whether it is in the forest, [just] bury us right there [where we die].’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 408.10)

2.11.6.1.4 Adverbial Result Clauses

Adverbial result clauses are also formed asyndetically, as examples (65) and (66) show. Such clauses also frequently appear with the borrowed conjunction *če* (see section 2.11.7.1.3).

- (65) [É jī-stuk káy né ptěssě,] [[vařěřvo šylě] kěřó.]
 é jī-stuk kay ne p-tě-stě-asě vařěřvo
 such.extent what NEG give-RES.3SG.M lichen
 šyl-l-ě k-ěřó
 nibble-PFV.PTCP-M.DIR do-PFV.PST.3SG.M

‘He did not give him anything for so long that he was made to nibble lichen.’
 [NE] (Grjunberg 1995b: 1.8)

- (66) [Nyúň káy kěřó,] [čúň atěryóš?]
 nyu-ň kay k-ěřó čú-ň atěr-yóš
 ↓⁹-SN what do-PFV.PST.3SG.M ↑⁹-SN reach-PFV.PST.2SG.M

‘What did you do downvalley, that you came up?’ [NE-MR]
 (Mansur Proverbs 539)

2.11.6.1.5 Relative Clauses

A completely asyndetic strategy is employed for relative clauses in cases where the antecedent is indefinite, i.e., in those cases where the correlative construction (2.11.6.3.1) cannot be used. Examples are given in (67) and (68).

- (67) [Atkí ptěřē-mi várgřom=asi,] [stě kúyã né vaňissi.]
 atkí p-těvrě =mi vár-gřom =as-i
 LDEM.DIST LP-near =FOC other-village =COP-PST.3
 st-ě kúyã ne vaň-í-stě=asi
 DEM.DIST-OBL.SG.M earlier NEG see-RES.PST.3

‘There close by, there was another village, which he had never seen.’
 [NE-BN/KN] (Sun-Aro Smart Boy 1.2)

- (68) [Tyú káy nóm né vósiš-a,] [yé přéloš?]

<i>tyu</i>	<i>kay</i>	<i>nom</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>v-o-as-iš</i>	<i>=a</i>
2SG.DIR	what	name	NEG	PROPR-M=COP-2SG	=Q

<i>yě</i>	<i>přé-loš</i>
1SG.OBL	give-OPT.2SG.M

‘Don’t you have any name that you might give me?’ [NE-BN]
(Sun-Aro Nameless 4.5)

There is also a relatively rare kind of asyndetic relative clause construction, which appears with definite antecedents, as in example (69). This construction has only been recorded in the Western dialect.

- (69) [Vúze něšénosyum] stě jóye-ta

<i>vúze</i>	<i>něšé-nosyum</i>	<i>stě</i>	<i>joy-e</i>	<i>=ta</i>
1SG.DIR	sit-PROG.PST.1SG.M	DEM.DIST	place-OBL.SG.M	=LPST

‘at the place that I was sitting at’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg XIV 17.8)

2.11.6.2 Quoted Speech

A very common strategy of clause combination is to frame a semantically subordinate clause as quoted speech, which is then usually integrated into the sentence with a converb form of the verb *ku-* ‘to do, to make, to say’ such as *w kě ~ ka, káti*; NE *ke, kéti ~ kétye*; SE *kti*.³¹⁹

It is notable in this context that the Katë language does not formally distinguish between direct and reported speech, in that deixis is never adjusted to the current speech situation when quoting or reporting speech. I.e., while an English speaker would report the statement “I will come” as “He said that he would come”, a Katë

³¹⁹ Within the region, the same polysemy of ‘to do’ + ‘to say’ is also found in Shina varieties (at least in Gilgit Shina and Palula), as well as other languages influenced by Shina like Domaaki and Nager Burushaski, and all of these languages also use their respective ‘do’ verbs for quoted speech embedding (Bashir 1996: 244, 252, 257, 268).

A less ambiguous Katë light-verb construction meaning only ‘to say’ can also be formed as *w jíl(k) kù-stě*, NE *gějíl kù-stě*, SE *gijíl ġù-stě*. This is used most often when the quoted speech is an actual literal quote (though the normal ‘do’ verb could still also be used in such cases). The same construction, only with *w věšé-stě*, NE *višl-stě*, SE *vižl-stě* ‘to think’ as a light verb, is used for literally quoted thoughts. Use of the quotational forms (cf. section 2.9.6.1.4) of either the ambiguous ‘do’ verb or the unambiguous ‘say’ light-verb construction is another way of marking an actual literal quote.

speaker would phrase it as “He said (that) ‘I will come’”.³²⁰ This way of reporting speech is also applied as part of the quoted-speech subordination strategy, even in cases where the quoted-speech framing is purely fictive, e.g., when the entity in question cannot actually speak or the clause framed as a quote was never actually spoken out loud or phrased in the way it is reported.

The quoted-speech strategy is most commonly used for object complements, for adverbial clauses of purpose/intention or reason, as well as for indirect questions and reported commands.

Marking off complement clauses with forms of the verb meaning ‘to say’ is common in many parts of South and Central Asia (see Bashir 1996). Though this strategy has been displaced by use of the Persian-derived complementizer *ki* in some of the largest languages of the region like Hindi-Urdu and Panjabi, it is still commonly found in Dravidian languages and in the Indo-Aryan languages of the east and south, as well as those of the far northwest, closest to the Nuristani-speaking area (Bashir 1996: 193–194). It can also be found in the Nuristani language Prasun (Buddruss & Degener 2017: 317), in Tibetan Balti and the isolate Burushaski within the same region, and further north in Turkic languages (Bashir 1996: 270, 262, 203). In Katë, this strategy is currently being encroached upon by borrowed constructions with the complementizers *če* (< Pashto) and *ki* (< Persian), which often leads to hybrid structures (cf. section 2.11.7.1.1), as Bashir (1988: 302) also reports for neighboring Indo-Aryan Kalasha.

In terms of syntax, the quote clause and the quoting converb can either be integrated into the main clause, or appear extraposed after it. The latter option is very common, even though it represents a divergence from the usual syntactic position of converbs before the main predicate.³²¹ The quoting converb is usually present, but can also be left out, which happens more frequently in some functional contexts than in others. When it is left out in contexts where no shift of deixis occurs between the (potentially fictive) speech situation and the quoting situation – e.g. when only third-person

³²⁰ “True” indirect speech with adjusted deixis is also reported to be dispreferred in the colloquial registers of (Afghan) Persian and Pashto (Farhâdi 1955: 140; Brugman & Boyle David 2014: 432), though it can be found in more formal and written registers. A few cases with adjusted deixis can also be found in translated written Katë texts. It is possible that the absence of deixis-adjusted indirect speech is correlated with orality in general, but it may also be the case that the written registers are to some extent influenced by the conventions of European languages.

³²¹ Bashir (1988: 274) notes the same option for neighboring Indo-Aryan Kalasha.

participants are involved – the distinction from the asyndetic strategy becomes less clear, because there is no longer anything that would clearly identify the quote as a quote.³²² Such clauses will nevertheless be treated as quoted speech here, so long as they occur in the same functional domains as clauses that are clearly identifiable as quoted speech. This is because in these domains the shift in deixis essentially always occurs where it would be noticeable. The other cases can then simply be understood as less noticeable quotes.

Quotes are sometimes also closed with forms of the ‘say’ verb other than the converb, especially when the quoted clause is extraposed to the position after the main clause. The quoting form then tends to agree in inflection with the verb the introduces the quote. E.g., with a literal quote one may find an imperative *gějĩ kšĩ* ‘say: “...”!’ before the quote and then – instead of a converb *ke* ‘doing, saying’ – another imperative form *kšĩ* ‘do!, say!’ closing the quote. This phenomenon can be observed with a progressive present form followed by the conditional conjunction *-bo* in example (92) below.

2.11.6.2.1 Object Complement Clauses

Object complement clauses of various kinds can be formed with the quoted-speech strategy, among them ones to verbs of thinking (70), wishing (71), deciding (72), informing (73), realizing (74), fearing (75), forgetting (76), believing (77), etc. With the verb *W věšě-stě*, *NE višĩ-stě*, *SE vižĩ-stě* ‘to think’ they most often appear integrated into the main clause and without a quoting converb, whereas in other cases they are often extraposed, usually with a quoting converb.

- (70) [Mančĩ [imú skól kšúlasěmiš] višĩlay.]
manč-ĩ imú skol kšúl-ě-as-ěmiš višĩ-lě-ay
 person-DIR 1PL a.lot smart-M-COP-1PL think-IPFV/FUT.3PL
 ‘People think they’re very smart.’
 [lit. ‘People think “We are very smart”’] [NE-BN] (Sun-Aro Fox 15.2)

³²² Such cases appear, e.g., in example sentences (76), (77), and (85) – (88) below.

- (71) [É gërjór, [mër-é bi-tā,] nútót [nóm tému] višá.]
e gërjór mër-é b-i =tā
 one daytime boy-DIR become-COND.3 =when
nú-tot nóm té-mu viš-yá
 mother-father.DIR name put-OPT.1PL think-PFV.PST.3PL
 ‘One day, when they had had a son, the parents wanted to give him a name.’
 [lit. ‘[...] the parents thought “We shall give a name.”] [NE-BN]
 (Sun-Aro Nameless 2.1)

- (72) [Atkí amkyō nélusvay Fotimá vañyé,] [[ikō uñálum] višó.]
atkí amkí-ō né-lus-v-ay Fotimá
 LDEM.DIST DEM.DIST.PL-OBL.PL NEG-advantage-PROPR-F PN.DIR
vañ-yé ik-ō uñá-lum
 see-PFV.PST.3SG.F DEM.MED-OBL.SG.F take-FUT.1SG.M
viš-yó
 think-PFV.PST.3SG.M

‘There they saw the unfortunate Fatima, and he decided to buy her.’
 [lit. ‘[...] he thought “I will buy.”] [NE-BN] (Sun-Aro Spinner 12.1)

- (73) [Xabár bósum,] [[kitóp sturéystay] ke.]
xabár_b-ósum kitóp sturé-ī =stě-ay ke
 be.informed-PFV.PST.1SG.M book.DIR write-RES.3PL do.CVB
 ‘I was informed that books have been written.’
 [lit.: ‘I was informed, saying: “Books have been written.”] [NE-PC]
 (RTA Language 19.1)

- (74) [Štërék yě tīč bó,] [[matík jītë yór né búlay] ké.]
štërék yě tīč_b-o matík
 now 1SG.OBL become.clear-PFV.PST.3SG.M image.DIR
jīt-ë yor ne bu-lě-ay ke
 body-OBL likeness NEG be-IPFV/FUT.3PL do.CVB
 ‘Now I realized that mirror images are not the same as bodies.’
 [lit. ‘Now it became clear to me, saying: “Images are not the same as bodies.”] [NE-BN] (Sun-Aro Lion 15.1)

- (75) [Nuštérík Suñí vèdërýé,] [póš-tã ştě élyum ké.]
nuštérík Suñí vèdër-yé poš-tã
 first PN.DIR be.afraid-PFV.PST.3SG.F trap-LPST
şte-ě-lyum ke
 squash-PASS-FUT.1SG.F do.CVB
 ‘At first Suñi was afraid that she would be squashed in the trap.’
 [lit. ‘At first Suñi was afraid, saying: “I will be squashed in the trap”’]
 [NE-BN] (Sun-Aro Fox 11.1)

- (76) [Pěléke puměštyá,] [paře pťó=stě-di ganvó vėřisi.]
pěléke puměštyá paře pťó =stě =di
 again forget-PFV.PST.3PL apple gnaw =REF =ADD.FOC
ganv-ó vėří=asi
 heavy-M speech-COP-PST.3
 ‘She forgot again that eating the apple was also an important matter.’
 [lit. ‘She forgot again “Eating the apple was also an important matter.”’]
 [NE-BN] (Sun-Aro Half-Boy 5.5)

- (77) [Ptyónvo búř,] [ikí damtól měrěšě.]
ptyón-vo bu-ř ikí damtól
 belief-PROPR-M be-IMP.2SG DEM.MED.DIR industrious
měr-ě-as-ě
 boy-DIR=COP-3SG
 ‘Believe me that this is an industrious boy.’
 [lit. ‘Have belief “This is an industrious boy.”’] [NE-BN]
 (Sun-Aro Nameless 2.10)

2.11.6.2.2 Adverbial Purpose Clauses

Another very common application of the quoted speech strategy is for clauses expressing purposes or intentions of an action, like in examples (78) – (82). Such clauses can appear integrated into the main clause or extraposed after it, with or without a quoting converb.

(78) [[*Gabúr étēmiš*] *amčístay*.]

<i>Gabúr</i>	<i>é-tēmiš</i>	<i>amč-í-stē-ay</i>
PN.LOC	go-PROG.PRS.1PL	wear-RES.3PL

‘They’ve put them on [warm socks] with the intention of going to Gabur.’
[lit. ‘They’ve put them on “we are going to Gabur”’] [NE-MR] (Facebook)

(79) [*Ukumáte átti amkyó-taře-di imó-taře-di mančí damyá-č*], [[*lót kërõnum*] *kě*.]

<i>ukumát-e</i>	<i>ác-ti</i>	<i>amkí-o</i>
government-OBL.SG.M	come-CVB	DEM.DIST.PL-OBL.PL

<i>-taře-e</i>	<i>-di</i>	<i>imó</i>	<i>-taře-e</i>	<i>-di</i>
=LPST-ABL	=ADD.FOC	1PL.DIR/OBL	=LPST-ABL	=ADD.FOC

<i>manč-í</i>	<i>dam-yá</i>	<i>-č</i>	<i>lot kër-õ-num</i>
person-DIR	grasp-PFV.PST.3PL	=ADD	seek.arbitration-CAUS-PROG.1SG

kě
do.CVB

‘The government came and took people from them and from us, in order to create peace.’

[lit.: ‘The government came [...], saying: “I am causing them to make peace”’] [W-KL] (Grjunberg XII 3.2)

(80) [*Iki uné šurtéryě tērēssyo*], [[*řěvéki damému*] *ké*.]

<i>ikí</i>	<i>un-ě</i>	<i>šurtěři-ě</i>	<i>t-ěřě-stē-asyo</i>
DEM.MED	trap-DIR	hunter-OBL.PL	put-RES.MDV.3SG.M

<i>řěvéki</i>	<i>damé-mu</i>	<i>ke</i>
fox	grasp-OPT.1PL	do.CVB

‘[It turned out that] this trap had been set up by hunters, in order to catch foxes.’

[lit. ‘This trap had been set up by hunters, saying: “we shall catch foxes”’]
[NE-BN] (Sun-Aro Fox 10.5)

- (81) [Stě Gulbėdīne Pyār tpék vayíč kuř péčeyist ésě-č,] [[pėrīko=di niř stá=vu súše=taře vagáti,] vayíč kúm] kě.]
- | | | | | | |
|------------|-------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------|--|
| <i>stě</i> | <i>Gulbėdīn-e</i> | <i>Pyār</i> | <i>tpék</i> | <i>vayíč_ku-ř</i> | |
| DEM.DIST | PN-OBL.SG.M | PN.LOC | rifle.DIR | sell-SUP | |
-
<i>pēc-e-yi_</i>	<i>=stě_e=asě</i>		<i>=č</i>	<i>pėrīko</i>	<i>=di</i>	<i>ni-ř</i>
go.on-CAUS-RES...	so=...RES.3SG		=ADD	bullet-OBL.PL	=ADD.FOC	≤ _o -SN
-
<i>sta</i>	<i>=vu</i>	<i>su-še</i>		<i>=taře</i>	<i>vagá-ti</i>
LDEM.DIST	=PHOR	sworn.brother-PERT.1.OBL		=LPST-ABL	get-CVB
-
<i>vayíč_ku-m</i>	<i>kě</i>
sell-OPT.1SG	do.CVB

‘That Gulbuddin had brought a rifle in order to sell it in Pyar, intending to also get bullets downvalley there from his sworn brother and to sell them.’
[lit. ‘[...], saying: “also getting bullets downvalley there from my sworn brother, I shall sell [them].”] [W-KL] (Grjunberg IX 26.5)

- (82) [Iki mančí [[pštúk=tā vót atúteti,] [[kakók čēmólye] ké,]] áyo.]
- | | | | | |
|------------|---------------|-----------------|------------|------------------|
| <i>iki</i> | <i>manč-í</i> | <i>pštúk=tā</i> | <i>vót</i> | <i>atú-té-ti</i> |
| DEM.MED | person-DIR | bag=LPST | stone | →-put-CVB |
-
<i>kakók</i>	<i>čēmó-lye</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>á-yo</i>
chicken	consider-OPT.3SG	do.CVB	come-PFV.PST.3SG.M

‘The man put a stone into the bag, so that she would think it was a chicken, and came back.’
[lit. ‘The man, putting a stone inside the bag, saying: “she should consider it a chicken”, came.] [NE-BN] (Sun-Aro Fox 8)

In example (83), the purpose clause is embedded as a quoted question and the actual verb (to find out, to see or similar) is left to the inference of the listener.

- (83) [[*Šó=stě káy útyěnišěsě*,] [*axtárgěrjor káy yúlaseñ*,] [*káy purugróm*,] [*káy iṣō yúlaseñ*]] *ké*,] *amkí-di áyssya*.]

šo =*stě* *kay* *úti-ě-nišī-ě-as-ě*
 2PL.DIR/OBL =REF what stand.up-INF-sit.down-INF=COP-3SG
axtár-gěrjór *kay* *yú-lě-aseñ* *kay* *purugróm* *kay* *iṣō*
 Eid-daytime what eat-IPFV/FUT.2PL what program what meal
yú-lě-aseñ *ke* *amkí* =*di*
 eat-IPFV/FUT.2PLdo.CVB DEM.DIST.PL.DIR =ADD.FOC
á-ī-stě-asya
 come-RES.MDV.3PL

‘Even they have come, in order to see/to find out/to learn about what our way of life is, what we eat on Eid day, what program [there is] and which meals we eat.’

[lit.: ‘Even they have come, saying: “What is your way of life? What do you eat on Eid day? [...] [NE] (Axtar Program 75.1)

2.11.6.2.3 Adverbial Reason Clauses

Adverbial clauses giving reasons, i.e. the equivalent of English *because* clauses, are another sphere where the quoted speech strategy may be applied, as in examples (84) – (88). In example (87), an anticipatory demonstrative *gějóně* ‘therefore, for that reason’ is additionally used to disambiguate the semantic relation between the clauses.

- (84) “*Imú=stě sús ká jñnyé?*” *kútat*.

– “[[*ī kót=asě*] *kéti*] *jñnyé*.” *kútě*.

imú =*stě* *sus* *ká* *jñn-yé* *kú-tat*
 1PL =REF sister.DIR why kill-PFV.PST.3SG.F do-PROG.PRS.3PL
ī *kot* =*as-ě* *kéti* *jñn-yé*
 1SG.OBL strength.dir =COP-3SG do.CVB kill-PFV.PST.3SG.F
kú-tě
 do-PROG.PRS.3SG

“‘Why did you kill our sister?’”, they say.

– “‘I killed her, because I am stronger’, he says.’

[lit. ‘Saying “I have strength”, I killed her.’] [NE] (Morgenstierne Tale 5.11)

(85) “Ině kúdyumě ká kúčči?” [...]

– “[*Ů tú anyě-staň tář kútum,*] [*aní tú-meş ěř uşě-ay.*]

<i>ině</i>	<i>kúdyum-ě</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>kú-čči</i>
DEM.PROX	work-OBL	why	do-PROG.PRS.2SG

<i>ũ</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>aní-ě</i>	<i>=staň</i>
1SG.DIR	2SG.OBL	LDEM.PROX-ABL	=from

<i>tář kú-tum</i>	<i>aní</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>=meş</i>
chase.away-PROG.PRS.1SG	LDEM.PROX	2SG.OBL	=with

<i>ěřě uş-ě</i>	<i>=ay</i>
some medicine-DIR	=COP.3PL

“‘Why are you doing this?’” [...]

– “I am chasing you away from here, because there are some medicines here with you.”

[lit. ‘I am chasing you away from here “There are some medicines here with you”’] [NE-BN] (Sun-Aro Half-Boy 11.4)

(86) [*Ikí ştáltā-mi pís bissi*] [*atkí nēsi.*]

<i>ikí</i>	<i>ştál-tā</i>	<i>=mi</i>	<i>pis_b-i_-stě=asi</i>
DEM.MED.DIR	true-place	=only	disappear-RES.PST.3

<i>atkí</i>	<i>ne=as-i</i>
LDEM.DIST	NEG=COP-PST.3

‘In reality he [the lion in the mirror image] had only disappeared because he was not there.’

[lit. ‘He had only disappeared “He was not there.”] [NE-BN]

(Sun-Aro Lion 14.9)

- (87) [Tú anyě-staň gějóně tár ašitum,] [tyú manč-ō-tā aŋédic pátečči,] [amkí ině kúdyumě léy né zaňétat.]

<i>tu</i> 2SG.OBL	<i>aní-ē</i> LDEM.PROX-ABL	<i>=staň</i> =from	<i>gějóně</i> therefore	
<i>tár_aši-tum</i> chase.away-PROG.PRS.1SG		<i>tyu</i> 2SG.DIR	<i>manč-ō</i> person-OBL.PL	<i>=tā</i> =LPST
<i>aŋó-dic</i> fire-tongue	<i>pá-té-čči</i> ←  →-put-PROG.PRS.2SG		<i>amkí</i> DEM.DIST.PL.DIR	<i>inė</i> DEM.PROX
<i>kúdyum-ě</i> work-OBL	<i>ley</i> good	<i>ne</i> NEG	<i>zaňé-tat</i> recognize-PROG.PRS.3PL	

‘I am chasing you away from here for the reason that you are putting your fire tongue against the people and they do not like this behavior.’

[lit. I am therefore chasing you away from here, “you are putting your fire tongue against the people [...]’] [NE-BN] (Sun-Aro Half-Boy 10.5)

- (88) [Řěvéki kakók léy zaňélay,] [[“Yě-kě kakók avé”] ku.]

<i>řěvéki</i> fox.DIR	<i>kakók</i> chicken	<i>léy_zaňé-lě-ay</i> like-IPFV/FUT.3PL	<i>yě</i> 1SG.OBL	<i>=kě</i> =for
<i>kakók</i> chicken	<i>avé</i> bring.IMP	<i>ku</i> do.QUOT		

‘Since foxes like chickens, she told him to bring a chicken for her.’

[“Foxes like chickens”, “bring a chicken for me”, she said.] [NE-BN]
(Sun-Aro Fox 4.2)

2.11.6.2.4 Indirect Questions

Indirect questions are also generally formed with the quoted-speech strategy. They often appear extraposed, as in examples (89) – (92) below. As there is no formal distinction between direct and reported speech, direct and indirect questions are also phrased in the same ways. Thus, e.g., polar questions retain the clause-final polar question marker particle *=a* also when they appear as quoted indirect questions (corresponding to English “whether” clauses), as can be seen in example (92).

- (89) [Šó kudóloseň,] [[stě anémi ká así] ké.]
 šo kudó-loseň st-ě anémi ka as-í
 2PL ask-OPT.2PL DEM.DIST-DIR nameless why COP-PST.3
 ke
 do.CVB

‘You may ask why he was nameless.’

[lit. ‘You may ask, saying: “Why was he nameless?”’] [NE-BN]

(Sun-Aro Nameless 1.4)

- (90) [Káči né zañétasi,] [[ikí káy mñétě] ké.]
 káči ne zañé-tasi ikí káy mñé-tě
 who NEG know-PROG.PST.3PL DEM.MED.DIR what say-PROG.PRS.3SG
 ke
 do.CVB

‘Nobody understood, what he was saying.’

[lit. ‘Nobody understood, saying “What is he saying?”’] [NE-BN]

(Sun-Aro Chicken 1.4)

- (91) [[Naqšá ũš ké] zañéñ,] [ině kór-asě.]
 naqšá- ũš ke zañé-ñ in-ě
 map-OBL.SG look.CVB know-IMP.2PL DEM.PROX-DIR
 kor -as-ě
 where -COP-3SG

‘Find out by looking at the map, where this is.’

[lit. ‘Looking at the map, understand “Where is this?”’] [NE-BN]

(Sun-Aro Spinner 37.2)

- (92) [Dí kudóněm=bo,] [[hukumát ŋútěsa, náy=a,] ġúněm=bo,] [[náy ktí] ġĩĩ ġú.]
 di kudó-něm -bo hukumát ŋútě -stě -ězě-a
 again ask-PROG.PRS.1SG -CNJ government.DIR take.RES.3SG.M=Q
 nay -a kú-něm -bo nay k-ti ġĩĩ kú
 no -Q do-PROG.PRS.1SG -CNJ no do-CVB say.QUOT.3

‘And when I ask again whether they have taken the government post or not, they say no.’

[lit. ‘When I ask again, when I say: “Have you taken the government [post] or not?”, [...]’] [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 286.1)

2.11.6.2.5 Reported Commands

Reported commands are generally framed as quoted speech, though usually as an imperative form followed by a form of the verb ‘to do, to say’, without an additional quoting converb, as in examples (93) and (94).

- (93) [Atkyé=stañ tú=tã [nót kši] kúlasë.]
 atkí-ē =stañ tu =tã nóť kši kú-lē=asë
 LDEM.DIST.ABL =from 2SG.OBL =LPST dance.IMP do-IPFV/FUT.3SG.M
 ‘Then he will tell you to dance.’
 [lit. Then he will say “Dance!” to you] [NE] (Afsāna King 5.3)

- (94) [[Amkyō darbórë=tã avéñ] kú-tasi.]
 amkí-ō darbór-ë =tã avé-ñ kú-tasi
 DEM.DIST.PL-OBL.PL court-OBL =LPST bring-IMP.2PL do-PROG.PST.3PL
 ‘They were ordering them to be brought to the royal court.’
 [lit. ‘They were saying “Bring them to the court!”] [NE-BN]
 (Sun-Aro Spinner 20.2)

2.11.6.3 Enclitic Conjunctions

2.11.6.3.1 -bo – Subordinate Conditional, Concessive and Correlative Clauses

Clauses ending with the enclitic conjunction *-bo* are conditional clauses, concessive clauses or subordinate clauses within a correlative structure. The latter may be relative clauses or adverbial clauses of time, location or manner. All of these types of subordinate clauses function similarly.³²³ A representative example of each type is shown in examples (95) – (99).

³²³ In languages with correlative structures, close structural relations between correlatives and conditionals are quite common (Lipták 2009: 26–27). As the discussion below will show, it is not uncommon in the Katë language that a single construction is even ambiguous between a correlative and a conditional reading, a phenomenon which has also been observed in other languages that have correlatives (Lipták 2009: 28).

- (95) [Zarurí né bi=bo,] [skól vapséy jóyi=tã imú né ému.]
 zarurí ne b-i =bo skol
 necessary NEG be-COND.3 =CNJ a.lot
 va-ps-é-i jóy-i =tã imú
 →  ←-settle-CAUS-IPFV.PTCP place-OBL =LPST 1PL
 ne é-mu
 NEG go-OPT.1PL
 ‘If it isn’t necessary, we shouldn’t go to very crowded places.’ [NE-MR]
 (Mansur Coronavirus 5.9)

- (96) [Ştyúr ál-y=asë-bo-di,] [zú né váy.]
 ştyur ál-i-as-ë =bo =di
 camel[F].DIR big-F=COP-3SG =CNJ =ADD.FOC
 zu ne v-ay
 milk.DIR NEG PROPR-F

‘Even though a camel is big, it has no milk’ [NE-MR]
 (Mansur Proverbs 290)

- (97) [Pamútu káy lëtri váy=asiş-bo,] [amkyô cáŋ bégāti póve aší!]
 p-amu=atu kay lëtrí v-ay =as-iş =bo,
 LP-house=→ what thing.DIR PROPR-F =COP-2SG =CNJ
 amkí-ô cáŋ bé-gā-ti p-óv-e aší
 DEM.DIST.PL-OBL.PL all ←-take.away-CVB LP-water-LOC throw.IMP

‘Take the things that you have in your house all out and throw them in the water!’ [NE] (Afsāna Nēcōparik 4.2)

- (98) [Kór zër-é géy-bo,] [atkí kyúr élay.]
 kor zër-é gey =bo atkí kyur
 where heart[F]-DIR go.COND.3SG.F =CNJ LDEM.DIST foot.DIR
 é-lë-ay
 go-IPFV/FUT.3PL

‘The feet go wherever the heart goes.’ [NE-MR] (Mansur Proverbs 313)

- (99) [Kúyi álë bëti bëdí áyi=bo,] [stá štrí kulum.]
kúyi ál-ë bë-ti bëdí áy-i =bo
 when big-M become-CVB mind.DIR come.COND.3 =CNJ
sta štrí kú-lum
 LDEM.DIST marry-FUT.1SG.M
 ‘I will marry when I grow up and become wiser.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg IX 1.6)

Subordinate clauses with *-bo* are generally placed before the main clause, the only exceptions being afterthought constructions like the one in example (100)

- (100) [Pçénvañi šóm kúlay] – [pimíč várë né bi=bo.]
pçen-vañi šom ku-lë-ay pi-míč
 war-associate.DIR peace do-IPFV/FUT.3PL LP-middle
várë ne b-i =bo
 other NEG be-COND.3 =CNJ
 ‘Enemies make peace – if there is no one else in between.’ [NE-MR]
 (Mansur Proverbs 168)

As the contrast between examples (95) and (96) on the one hand and (97) – (99) on the other shows, subordinate clauses in correlative structures differ from conditional and concessive clauses in having an indeterminate expression (cf. section 2.3.5.3) in the subordinate clause³²⁴ and (usually) a resumptive demonstrative expression in the main clause, that refers back to the preceding indeterminate expression. The demonstrative may be of any deictic distance level, as semantically required. For adverbial clauses of time, place and manner the corresponding local and manner demonstratives are used (cf. examples (98) & (99)). As usual, local demonstratives are used both for place and time.

Since there is no class of relative pronouns separate from the indeterminate pronouns, a *-bo* clause containing an indeterminate pronoun is often ambiguous between a reading as a conditional clause with an existential or free-choice item (‘if something/someone...’, ‘if anything anyone...’ etc.) and a reading as a relative clause (‘the thing which...’; ‘the one who...’ etc.; ‘anything which...’; ‘anyone who...’ etc.),

³²⁴ This difference is less pronounced in the Western dialect, where the indeterminate expression *kay* *kë/kay ka* ‘how’ (lit. “doing what”) is sometimes used in conditional clauses (without making a significant semantic contribution) (cf. Grjunberg 1980: 287).

as, e.g., in (101).³²⁵ This rarely causes confusion, since the semantic difference between the two readings is usually minimal, and in many cases only one of the two readings is really plausible.

- (101) [Dí kũ Kóm=je Katě ġařě-bo,] [aské yĩ-do-di yĩ-stě mujoít-di năzě,] [yĩ-stě qóum-di năzě.]
- | | | | | | |
|---------------|------------|----------------|------------|--------------------|-------------|
| <i>di</i> | <i>kũ</i> | <i>Kóm</i> | <i>=je</i> | <i>Kat-ě kařě</i> | <i>=bo</i> |
| again | who.OBL | Kom | =and | Katě-DIR do-COND.3 | =CNJ |
| <i>ask-ě</i> | | <i>yĩ-to</i> | <i>=di</i> | <i>yĩ</i> | <i>=stě</i> |
| DEM.DIST-DIR | | 1SG.GEN=LPST | =ADD.FOC | 1SG.GEN | =REF |
| <i>mujoít</i> | <i>=di</i> | <i>na-ěz-ě</i> | <i>yĩ</i> | <i>=stě</i> | |
| mujahid | =ADD.FOC | NEG=COP-3SG | 1SG.GEN | =REF | |
| <i>qoum</i> | <i>=di</i> | <i>na-ěz-ě</i> | | | |
| nation | =ADD.FOC | NEG=COP-3SG | | | |

‘Anyone who says Kom and Katě again [i.e. who discriminates between Kom and Katě], for me is neither my *mujahid*, nor [one of] my nation.’

Or: ‘If anyone says Kom and Katě again, for me he/that one is ...’

[SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 379.8)

Correlative structures are areally very common in South Asia, especially in Indo-Aryan languages (cf. Lipták 2009: 10–11). The use with a subordinating conditional enclitic is not common in Indo-Aryan, but has parallels in closely related Nuristani Kalasha (see fn. 325) and in Tibetan (Lipták 2009: 26–27). Correlatives are characterized by “maximalizing” semantics, i.e. “they pick out a maximal individual or maximal degree or the maximal set of individuals/degrees as their denotation” (Lipták 2009: 8). It is understandable that such “maximalizing” relative clauses, which are phrased in a way such as “whichever X ..., that one ...”, can only be used to specify definite or universal noun phrases (cf. Lipták 2009: 9). For indefinite ones (e.g. “some X, which ...”), asyndetic structures or the clause-initial conjunction *kay* must be used (cf. section 2.11.6.4.1).

³²⁵ The same situation is described by Degener (1998: 210–211) for Nuristani Kalasha, which also uses a conditional particle in (cor)relative clauses. The Nuristani Kalasha conditional particle *ta* is not cognate with Katě *-bo*, but a relation to temporal-conditional *-tā* ~ *-to* (discussed below) may be considered. The construction is in any case at least functionally parallel.

In terms of word order there is quite a bit of variation in correlative structures: Both the indeterminate and the demonstrative expression can be placed at the beginning of their respective clauses (as in example (102)), but they may also appear in a different position within the clause, most commonly in second position after a focused constituent, as in the subordinate clauses of example (103) and in the main clause of example (104). If the demonstrative expression is a single pronoun placed at the beginning of the main clause, it often forms an intonational phrase together with the relative clause.

- (102) [Káy zarurát-lětri pamú bútat-bo,] [amkyō̃ - pátvō̃ - júkuř úšti ipólay.]
 kay zarurát-lětrí p-amú bú-tat
 what necessity-thing.DIR LP-house become-PROG.PRS.3PL
 =bo amkí-ō̃ pátvō̃ júkuř ú-aš-tí
 =CNJ DEM.DIST.PL-OBL.PL puttee-OBL.PL woman.DIR ↑-throw-CVB
 ipó-lě-ay
 arise-CAUS-IPFV/FUT.3PL

‘The necessary things which come up at home – [like] puttees – the women would produce by weaving.’ [NE-PC] (RTA clothing 22.2)

- (103) Lělvok – [yó-stě kay farháng asě-bo,] [yó yó-stě kay čór asě-bo,] [stě čórě
 kú-stě-tā amkí jírík zaňétat.]
 lělvok yo =stě kay farháng as-ě
 young.man.DIR REFL.IND =REF what culture.DIR COP-3SG
 =bo yo yo =stě kay čór as-ě
 =CNJ or REFL.IND =REF what custom.DIR COP-3SG
 =bo stě čórě kú =st-ě =tā
 =CNJ DEM.DIST custom-OBL do =REF-OBL.SG.M =LPST
 amkí jírík zaňé-tat
 DEM.DIST.PL.DIR shame know-PROG.PRS.3PL

‘The young people – they feel ashamed of practicing that which is their own culture, or which is their own custom.’ [NE] (Axtar Program 45.1)

- (104) [Káči tašríh kú báy=bo,] [cáŋ varík stě-tā šámeš kúmu.]
 káči tašríh_kú--ō bá-î =bo cáŋ varík
 who.DIR explain-INF can-COND.3 =CNJ all friend.DIR
 st-ē =tā šámeš kú-mu.
 DEM.DIST-OBL.SG.M =LPST bravo do-OPT.1PL

‘All of us friends should praise whoever can explain it.’ [NE] (Facebook)

Example (103) above and example (105) below show that the resumptive demonstrative expression in the main clause can take the form of a full noun phrase, whereas examples (106) and (107) show that it can also be left out completely (cf. also (117) below). In the available Western dialect data, the demonstrative expression is more often omitted, though it is not clear how representative this is. In the Eastern dialects the demonstrative expression is almost always present.

Example (108) demonstrates that even the *-bo* can be optionally dropped, though in that case the demonstrative is likely obligatory. It is also notable that the indeterminate pronoun in the same example shows case attraction to the Direct case demonstrative *ikí*, appearing as Direct case *káči* instead of expected Oblique case *ku*.

- (105) [Kéttě amó=tto amně taqiqót kulě manji jěněstay=bo,] [aské amó=tto bařóm.]
 kéttě amó=to amně taqiqót_kú-l-ě
 which room.DIR/GEN=LPST DEM.PROX.PL investigate-IPFV.PTCP-M
 manj-í jě-ně=stě=ay =bo aské amó=to
 person-DIR sit.down-RES.3PL =CNJ DEM.DIST room.DIR/GEN=LPST
 bař-óm
 take.away.PFV.PST-1SG.M

‘They took me to the room in which these investigators were sitting.’

[SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 111.3)

- (106) [Kór pōřě élě bi=bo,] [yáryar kúm élasi.]
 kor pōřě é-lě_bí =bo yáryar
 where LP.direction go-IPFV/FUT.COND.3 =CNJ grr
 ku-m é-lě=asi
 do-CVB.SIM go-IPFV.PST.3SG.M

‘Wherever he went, he would go growling.’ [NE-BN/MR]

(Sun-Aro Lion 2.6)

- (107) [Káy mṇénaš=bo,] [aní vákceti lá!]
 kay mṇé-naš =bo aní vá-kcé-ti
 what say-PROG.COND =CNJ LDEM.PROX →  ←-look-CVB
 la
 speak.IMP
 ‘Speak whatever you are about to say across to me here [on this side of the stream].’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg IX 5.6)

- (108) [Káči gřom=tā né utétat,] [ikí gějī kútě:] [“Ušúpě malékě pšól gáyīñ.”]
 káči gřom =tā ne uté-tat ikí
 who.DIR village =LPST NEG let-PROG.PRS.3PL DEM.MED.DIR
 gějī kú-tě ušúp-ě malék-ě p-šol
 say-PROG.PRS.3SG horse-OBL headman-OBL LP-stable
 gáyī-ñ
 take.away.IMP-2PL
 ‘The one whom they aren’t letting into the village says: “Take my horse to the headman’s stable.”’ [NE-MR] (Mansur Proverbs 325)

If a correlative relative clause picks out some of a group of speech act participants, the resumptive expression may be a personal pronoun, as in example (109), or left out, as in example (110).

- (109) [Káči šó lóť kúlěžěñ=bo,] [šó lóť šīñ.]
 káči šó lóť kú-lě-žěñ =bo
 who 2PL.DIR seek.arbitration-IPFV/FUT.2PL =CNJ
 šó lóť kšīñ
 2PL.DIR seek.arbitration.IMP.2PL
 ‘Those of you who want to make peace, make peace.’ [SE-KM]
 (Amin Jihad 670.3)

- (110) [Muzérmon káči azéñ=bo,] [azéñ.]
 muzérmon káči az-éñ =bo az-éñ
 Muslim who COP-2PL =CNJ COP-2PL
 ‘Those of you who are Muslims, are.’ [SE-KM] (Kabir Revolt 16.1)

All types of *-bo* clauses have varying interpretations based on the verb form that is used. With indicative verb forms, conditional and concessive clauses express factual (certainly fulfilled) conditions (111) or concessions (112) and subordinate clauses in correlative structures define necessarily existing or identifiable entities, times or places (113).

- (111) [Né vřáčči-*bo*,] [dĕmřéy=*tě řěnz-ó*.]
ne *vřá-čči* *-bo* *dĕmřéy* *-tě*
 NEG bark-PROG.PRS.2SG =CNJ tail =CONTR.TOP
řěnz-ó
 shake-CAUS.IMP
 ‘If you’re not barking [and you’re not], at least wag your tail.’ [NE-MR]
 (Mansur Proverbs 537)

- (112) [Ů štĕrĕk káy né mĕtūm=*bo*,] [ptyónvo búñ, ikí damtól mĕřĕšĕ].
ũ *štĕrĕk* *káy* *ne* *mĕtūm* *-bo*
 1SG.DIR now what NEG say-PROG.PRS.1SG =CNJ
ptyón-vo *bu-ñ* *ikí* *damtól*
 belief-PROPR-M be-IMP.2SG DEM.MED.DIR industrious
mĕř-ĕ-as-ĕ
 boy-DIR=COP-3SG
 ‘Though I am not saying anything now, believe me that this is an industrious boy.’ [NE-BN] (Sun-Aro Nameless 2.10)

- (113) [Tú=*stĕ kă nazár-ĕzĕ-bo*] [*askĕ vilá*.]
tu *=stĕ* *kă* *nazár* *=ĕz-ĕ* *-bo* *ask-ĕ*
 2SG.GEN =REF what view =COP-3SG =CNJ DEM.DIST-OBL.SG.M
vilá
 recite.IMP
 ‘Tell me that which is your opinion.’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 137.2)

Example (114) illustrates the contrast between the use of the indicative and the conditional moods in conditional *-bo* clauses: With conditional mood verb forms, conditional *-bo* clauses establish conditions that are not necessarily factual (but not counterfactual either), whereas the use of the indicative implies acceptance of the factualness of the condition on the part of the speaker. The conditional mood is also

used for conditions on general truths (“if X then always/usually Y”), as in example (115).

The choice of mood also has similar consequences for the meaning of the other types of *-bo* clauses: With the conditional mood, concessive clauses become concessive conditionals (compare examples (96) and (112) to (116)) and subordinate clauses in correlative structures define definite, but still hypothetical or not yet determined entities, times or places (compare example (113) to (117)).

- (114) [Štrék yí=do virí kudónji=bo,] virí – [káyĩ=di vilá-lom, ó?]
 Tú virí – [Viláyš=bo=de,] [řadór=di gajár=di kalós búlě náy.]
 štrék yí=to virí kudó-nji =bo virí
 now 1SG.GEN=LPST word ask-PROG.PRS.2SG =CNJ word
 káy-ĩ =di vilá-lom ō
 what-OBL.PL =ADD.FOC recite-OPT.1SG 1SG.DIR
 tū virí vilá-iš =bo =de
 2SG.OBL word.DIR recite-2SG.COND =CNJ =CONTR.TOP
 řadór =di gajár =di
 nighttime =ADD.FOC daytime =ADD.FOC
 kalós_bù-lě ná=ay
 be.finished-IPFV/FUT NEG=IPFV/FUT.3PL

‘If you are asking me about the story now [and you are/you just did], the story... what should I tell then? To you, the story... If I tell it to you [which I have not yet done/might not do], it won’t be finished in night and day.’ [SE-KM] (Kabir Revolt 2.1)

- (115) [Júk vók kěreyi=bo,] [pěvéce tótēs júka tótēs=ta ladír syamélě.]
 júk vók kěr-é-yi =bo pěvéč-e
 girl.DIR authorize-CAUS-COND.3 =CNJ boy-OBL.SG.M
 tót-ēs júk-a tót-ēs =ta
 father-PERT.3 girl-OBL.SG.F father-PERT.3 =LPST
 ladír syamé-lě
 mediator send-IPFV/FUT.3

‘If she [the sister or mother] has convinced the girl, the boy’s father sends mediators to the girl’s father.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg II 2.1)

- (116) [Apšě yó=stě bi=bo=di,] [vór bulay.]
 apšě yo =stě b-i =bo =di
 mill.DIR REFL.IND =REF be-COND.3 =CNJ =ADD.FOC
 vor bú-lě=ay
 turn.DIR be-IPFV/FUT.3PL

‘Even if the mill is your own, there are turns [i.e. it is used in turns].’
 [NE-MR] (Mansur Proverbs 31)

- (117) [Taré kú cěncěyi=bo,] [kú tpěk taré=ta paptí=bo,] [gáše gǎlē.]
 tar-ě ku cěnc-ě-yi =bo
 target-DIR who.OBL stick-CAUS-COND.3 =CNJ
 kú tpěk taré =ta
 who.OBL rifle[F].DIR target-OBL.SG.M =LPST
 pa-p-tí =bo gaš-e
 ←  →-hit-COND.3SG.F =CNJ billy.goat-OBL.SG.M
 gǎ-lě
 take.away-IPFV.FUT.3

‘Whoever strikes the target, whoever’s rifle hits the target, takes the billy-goat.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg II 8.3)

In the Western dialect, counterfactual conditional clauses require mediative verb forms, as in example (118). For the main clause/apodosis the (imperfective/future past or optative past (or the past copula for non-verbal predicates) is then used.³²⁶ The Eastern dialects use a different construction for counterfactual conditional clauses (conditional mood + conjunction *-tā/-to*, see the next section) and if the mediative appears in a *-bo* clause in these dialects, the function is similar to that of the mediative in main clauses – affirmation of new or unassimilated information or relaying of second-hand information. It is notable, however, that the mediative meaning can extend to the sentence as a whole, including the predicate of the main clause, even if a mediative form only appears in the *-bo* clause, as in example (119). In example (120), on the other hand, the mediative meaning relates only to the conditional clauses.

³²⁶ See Grjunberg (1980: 157–158) for more examples.

- (118) [Tú bēdyuk yé=ta ladír né bósyo=bo,] [vēlúře sēnpa yé=taře né vēřelē stuš.]

<i>tu</i>	<i>bē-dyuk</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>=ta</i>	<i>ladír</i>	<i>ne</i>
2SG.OBL	LP-suffering	1SG.OBL	=LPST	mediator	NEG
<i>b-ósyo</i>		<i>=bo</i>	<i>vēlú-ř-e</i>	<i>sēnp-a</i>	
become-PFV.PST.MDV.3SG.M		=CNJ	↑-SN-ABL	grade-OBL.SG.F	
<i>ye</i>	<i>=tař-e</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>vēřé-lē stuš</i>		
1SG.OBL	=LPST-ABL	NEG	see-IPFV/FUT.PST.2SG.M		

‘If he had not interfered with me on your behalf, I would have made you repeat the school year’

[lit. ‘You would not have seen the grade of up from me’] [W-KL]
(Grjunberg XIV 13.3)

- (119) [Ulě gu mančí psey te nčeyssya=bo,] [vaqórě=stě=je izétě alomāsi.]

<i>ulě-ō</i>	<i>gu</i>	<i>manč-í</i>	<i>p-sey</i>	<i>te</i>	
↑-SN	go.PFV.PTCP.M	person-DIR	LP-head	put.CVB	
<i>nč-e-ī=stě=asya</i>	<i>=bo</i>	<i>vaqór-ě</i>	<i>=stě</i>	<i>=je</i>	<i>izét-ě</i>
appear-CAUS-RES.MDV.3PL	=CNJ	dignity-OBL	=REF	=and	honor-OBL
<i>alomā=as-i</i>					
sign=COP-PST.3					

‘If they let higher-up people appear wearing a hat, [it is said that] it was a sign of dignity and honor.’ [NE-PC] (RTA Clothing 28.9)

- (120) [Amkí sturēyssya=bo,] [zahmát kēřessya=bo,] [tañě masráp bissya=bo,]

[[amkyō gāti] [...] sohá=tā přévōstasi.]

<i>amkí</i>	<i>sturē-ī=stě=asya</i>	<i>=bo</i>	<i>zahmát</i>	
DEM.DIST.PL.DIR	write-RES.MDV.3PL	=CNJ	effort.DIR	
<i>k-ěřě=stě=asya</i>	<i>=bo</i>	<i>tañ-ě</i>	<i>masráp_b-ī=stě=asya</i>	<i>=bo</i>
do-RES.MDV.3PL	=CNJ	money-DIR	be.spent-RES.MDV.3PL	=CNJ
<i>amkí-ō</i>	<i>gā-ti</i>	<i>[...]</i>	<i>sohá-ō</i>	<i>=tā</i>
DEM.DIST.PL-OBL.PL	take-CVB		region-OBL	=LPST
<i>přé-vō=stě=as-i</i>				
reach-CAUS=REF=COP-PST.3				

‘If they [school books] have been written [as I have been told], efforts have been made [as I have been told] and money has been spent [as I have been told], they should have taken them, [...] and sent them to the region.’ [NE-PC] (RTA Language 23.2)

The presumptive mood retains its usual function of presumption or uncertainty in *-bo* clauses. From this meaning, another use emerges, in which a presumptive *-bo* clause stands on its own as an “in subordinate”³²⁷ utterance, which communicates that the speaker does not know about a particular circumstance or does not consider it important, as in example (121).

- (121) [Amgí-de [Binyó Bún-ste óstā] ġúndě] – [Bún kór-dizēlē-bo.]
amgí =de Binyó Bun =ste
 DEM.DIST.PL.DIR =CONTR.TOP Binyo PN.LOC =from
óžě-stě-ā kú-ndě Bun kór =dī-ěz-ělē
 come.RES.3PL do-PROG.PRS.3PL PN.LOC where =ADD.FOC=COP-PRSM.3SG.M
-bo
 =CNJ
 ‘They are saying that the Binyo have come from Bun – wherever Bun might be.’ [SE-PT] (Kabir/Gulāmullāh History 51.6)

The optative mood can be used in conditional *-bo* clauses when referring to actions of other people as conditions in a polite way that does not take their intentions for granted, as in example (122). This also gives rise to an “in subordinate” use, where the optative *-bo* stands on its own to form a polite request, the implied main clause being left out, as in example (123).

- (122) [Imú é mřón přeloš-bo,] [tú sún-ťanjě přému.]
imú e mřón přé-loš =bo
 1PL one doe give-OPT.2SG.M =CNJ
tu sún-ťanjě přému.
 2SG.OBL gold-coin give-OPT.1PL
 ‘If you (would/were to) give us a doe, we shall give you gold coins.’
 [NE] (Afsāna King 19.2)

³²⁷ In linguistics, in subordination refers to the independent use of formally subordinate clauses. See Evans & Watanabe (2016) for a detailed introduction to the phenomenon.

- (123) [[*Stě mēr amú=stě yúvō yúti*] *xalós kútā*] [[[*é čók=di avélyeš=bo*] *ké*]
 [*é čók=di avěřěssě.*]]
- | | | | | | |
|--------------------|------------|------------|-------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| <i>stě</i> | <i>mer</i> | <i>amú</i> | <i>=stě</i> | <i>yúv-ō-ō</i> | <i>yú-ti</i> |
| DEM.DIST | king.DIR | REFL | =REF | eat-CAUS-INF | eat-CVB |
| <i>xalós_kú-tā</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>čók</i> | <i>=di</i> | <i>avé-lyeš</i> | <i>=bo</i> |
| finish-place | one | bit | =ADD.FOC | bring-OPT.2SG.F | =CNJ |
| <i>ke</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>čók</i> | <i>=di</i> | <i>av-ěřě=stě=asě</i> | |
| do.CVB | one | bit | =ADD.FOC | bring-RES.3SG.M | |

‘The king ate his food and when he finished he said [to his daughter] “if you would bring me some more” and she brought him some more.’ [NE]
 (Afsāna King 20.10)

In non-conditional *=bo* clauses the optative can appear in a construction where it goes along with another optative in the main clause and which mainly serves to indicate indifference, as in example (124). This is essentially a correlative structure, but without demonstrative take-up in the main clause.

- (124) [*Ůč* – [[*kā búlo=bo,*] [*búlo*]] – *yéněm.*]
- | | | | | |
|-----------------|-----------|------------------|------------|------------------|
| <i>Ůč</i> | <i>kā</i> | <i>bú-lo</i> | <i>=bo</i> | <i>bú-lo</i> |
| 1SG.DIR | what | become-OPT.3SG.M | =CNJ | become-OPT.3SG.M |
| <i>yé-něm</i> | | | | |
| go-PROG.PRS.1SG | | | | |

‘I – may happen, whatever may – am going.’ [SE-PT]
 (Karim/ Ġulāmullāh Pitiġil 19.1)

2.11.6.3.2 *=tā ~ =to* – Subordinate Temporal-Conditional Clauses

The enclitic conjunction NE *=tā*, W/SE *=to* is used to form temporal adverbial clauses or conditional clauses with a temporal component. In the Eastern dialects it is also used as the conjunction for counterfactual conditional clauses. It is likely historically related to the noun W *ta*, NE *tā*, SE *tō* ‘place’ and the local postposition W *=ta*, NE *=tā*, SE *=to* that developed out of this noun, but only in the Northeastern dialect it still has the same form as both of these.

Examples (125) – (127) show the general temporal-conditional use in all three dialects, which generally goes along with a verb form in the conditional mood.

- (125) [Řěvéki dërós=tã né uṛgí=tã,] [[kěřáy=asě] ku.]
 řěvéki dërós=tã ne u-ṛg-í =tã
 fox.DIR grape=LPST NEG ↑-reach-COND.3 =when
 këř-áy =as-ě ku
 bitter-F =COP-3SG do.QUOT.3
 ‘When the fox couldn’t reach the grape, it said that it’s bitter.’ [NE-MR]
 (Mansur Proverbs 303)

- (126) [[[Šavlí asě] kě,] šúṇ bi=to,] [vúze palúgëvey=č.]
 šavl-í as-ě kě šúṇ_b-i
 pregnant-F COP-3SG do.CVB become.news-COND.3
 =to vúze palú-gëvé=ey =č
 =when 1SG.DIR ↘ ↗ -go.PFV.PST.1SG.M=CONS =ADD
 ‘When word arrived that she was pregnant, I went up [there].’ [W-KL]
 (Grjunberg IX 12.13)

- (127) [Kaně saṛí=tto,] [[é yūsḡirē čódarě vřážědi] kané patō yūtelay.]
 kan-ě saṛ-í-to e yūs-ḡir-ē
 corpse-DIR bury-COND.3=when one grass-bundle-OBL.SG.M
 čódar-ě veñ až-ě-di kan-é
 blanket-OBL.SG → ↗ ←-SN throw-CAUS-CVB corpse-GEN.SG.M
 pa-tō yū-té-lě=ay
 LP-place ↓-put-IPFV/FUT.3PL
 ‘When the body had been buried, they would wrap a blanket around a bundle of straw and put it down in place of the body.’ [SE-PT]
 (Ġulāmullāh Inheritance 3.1)

Occasionally NE *=tã* also appears in place of *=bo* in correlative structures with temporal indeterminates such as *kuy* ‘when’ or *káy vél=tã* ‘at what time’, as in example (128).

- (128) [Káy vèl=tã pamú přéy=tã,] [tĩč bó,] [amkyō=stě cáŋ ɬaŋě kuštyě=tã pís bistay.]

<i>kay</i>	<i>vel=tã</i>	<i>p-amú</i>	<i>přé-i</i>	<i>=tã</i>	
what	time=LPST	LP-house	arrive-COND.3	=when	
<i>tĩč_b-o</i>			<i>amkí-ō</i>	<i>=stě</i>	<i>cáŋ</i>
become.clear-PFV.PST.3SG.M			DEM.DIST.PL-OBL.PL	=REF	all
<i>ɬaŋ-ě</i>	<i>kuští-ē</i>	<i>=tã</i>	<i>pís_b-i_ =stě_ay</i>		
money-DIR	ship-OBL.SG	=LPST	be.lost-RES.3PL		

‘When they arrived at home, they realized that all their money had been lost with the ship.’ [NE-BN] (Sun-Aro Spinner 13.2)

The counterfactual conditional construction of the Eastern dialects consists of a verb form in the conditional mood followed by NE *=tã*, SE *=to* for the conditional clause and a form of the optative past for the main clause/apodosis, as demonstrated in examples (129) and (130).

- (129) [Dút bi=tã,] [šó=stě mřěště yúlosyum.]

<i>dut</i>	<i>b-i</i>	<i>=tã</i>	<i>šo</i>	<i>=stě</i>	<i>mřěšt-ě</i>
tooth.DIR	be-COND.3	=when	2PL	=REF	brain-OBL.SG.M
<i>yú-losyum</i>					
eat-OPT.PST.1SG.M					

‘If I had teeth, I would’ve eaten your brain.’ [NE]
(Grjunberg 1995b: 145–146)

- (130) [Tú aské vańi=tto,] [dér búlazěš.]

<i>tū</i>	<i>ask-ě</i>	<i>vańi-to</i>	<i>dér_bú-lazěš</i>
2SG.OBL	DEM.DIST-DIR	see-COND.3	become.surprised-OPT.PST.3SG.M

‘If you had seen him/her/it, you would have been amazed.’ [SE-KM]
(Strand 1999a)

2.11.6.3.3 *=tě* – Subordinate Temporal Background Clauses

The Northeastern and Western discourse particle *=tě*, which usually functions as a contrastive topic marker, in some uses approaches the status of an enclitic subordinating conjunction. Such clause combinations with *=tě* could still be considered a subtype of contrastive topic marking, since they are semantically quite close to it: The subordinate clause marked with *=tě* sets the background against which a new and

contrasting event is narrated. If we do not consider *-të* a conjunction in these cases, these kinds of constructions would simply be asyndetic clause combinations with added discourse marking.

Subordinate clauses ending in *-të* (with no other conjunction preceding) are attested for the Northeastern dialect with progressive past and optative verb forms (examples (131) and (133)) and for the Western dialect with progressive past and perfective past anterior verb forms (examples (132), (134) and (135)). There seems to be no equivalent in the Southeastern dialect.

- (131) [Šyl̥ē étosi-të,] [é tã-u bítë-tã dú bissë.]
 šyl̥-ē é-tosi =të e tã =u
 soft-INS go-PROG.PST.3SG.M =CONTR.TOP one place =at
 bit-ë =tã dú b-i_-stë-asë
 demon-OBL =LPST appear-RES.3SG
 ‘As he was walking slowly, at one place he happened upon a demon.’
 [NE] (Afsāna Pheasant 6.4)

- (132) [Palúgë,] [pamú atúkčenosyum-të,] [pamúřetu mančí tyáp paré bi-stë asyá=č.]
 palú-gë p-amú atú-kčé-nosyum =të
 ↘ 人 ↗ -go.CVB LP-house →-look-PROG.PST.1SG.M =CONTR.TOP
 p-amúř-e-atu manč-í tyáp paré
 LP-house=→ person-dir IDPH filled.in
 b-i_-stë_asyá =č
 become-RES.MDV.3PL =ADD
 ‘I went up and when I was looking into the house, [it turned out that] inside the house it was chock-full of people.’ [W-KL]
 (Grjunberg IX 38.11)

- (133) [Búti,] [gėti,] [sěvér amú=tã ũš kùlo=tě,] [stě amú=tã súnṭaṇě parík=ay.]
bú-ti *gėti* *sěvérě amú-ō* *=tã* *ũš_kù-lo*
 become-CVB go.CVB the.other room-OBL =LPST look-OPT.3SG.M
=tě *stě* *amú-ō* *=tã* *sún-ṭaṇ-ě*
 =CONTR.TOP DEM.DIST room-OBL =LPST gold-coin-DIR
parík *=ay*
 filled.in =COP.3PL

‘Then, when he went to look into the other room, that room was full of gold coins.’ [NE] (Afsāna King 10.4)

- (134) [Stě větó ne tayósi=tě,] [yimó gáti Abdělezíz ṣamíše pamú páncyey=č.]
st-ě *větó* *ne* *ta-yósi* *=tě*
 DEM.DIST-DIR more NEG find-PFV.PST.ANT.3SG.M =CONTR.TOP
yimó *gáti* *Abdělezíz* *ṣamí-še* *p-amú*
 1PL go.CVB PN brother.in.law-PERT.1.OBL LP-house
pá-nč-i-ey *=č*
 ←  →-appear-PFV.PST.1=CONS =ADD

‘When we couldn’t find him anymore, we went and showed up at my brother-in-law Abdulaziz’s house.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg IX 22.5)

- (135) [Šóme muló Allóu akbár kěřósi=tě,] [átti přayéy=č.]
šóm-e *muló* *Allóu_akbár*
 evening.prayer-OBL mullah.DIR Allahu.Akbar
kěřósi *=tě* *ác-ti*
 do-PFV.PST.DIST.3SG.M =CONTR.TOP come-CVB
přa-yé-ey *=č*
 arrive-PFV.PST.3SG.F=CONS =ADD

‘Just when the mullah had called “God is great” at evening prayer time, she came and arrived.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg IX 24.1)

2.11.6.4 Clause-Initial Conjunctions

2.11.6.4.1 *kay* – Descriptive Relative Clauses

The indeterminate pronoun *kay* (SE-KM *kā*) ‘what’ can be used to introduce descriptive relative clauses. In this construction, which is relatively rare, the pronoun is pronounced with relatively high pitch and followed by a short pause. An example is given in (136).

- (136) [Mřějécě gějī kú:] [“çīŋ çīŋ”], [káy mřějécō vëryě-tā “néy” mařnó vōsě.]
 mřějéc-ě gějī_ku çīŋ çīŋ kay mřějéc-ō
 songbird-DIR say.QUOT.3 tweet tweet what songbird-OBL.PL
 vëřī-ě -tā ney mařnó v-o-as-ě
 speech-OBL.SG.M =LPST no meaning.DIR PROPR-M=COP-3SG

‘The bird said “tweet, tweet”, which means “no” in the language of the birds.’ [NE-BN/MR] (Sun-Aro Dehqan 3.4)

2.11.6.4.2 *ney* ~ *nay* – Disjunctive Coordination

The clause-initial conjunction NE/W *ney*, SE *nay* is homophonous with the polar answer and elliptic negator NE/W *ney*, SE *nay* ‘no’ and the two are evidently originally the same word. As a conjunction, it functions as a disjunctive coordinator like English “or” in contexts where another option is added after a main clause. It is most frequently encountered in the coordination of (direct and indirect) questions, as in examples (137) – (139), but can also appear in other contexts, as in examples (140) and (141). Questions can alternatively be coordinated asyndetically (cf. section 2.11.6.2.4), but coordination with *ney/nay* may be used to make the structure of the sentence more explicit. In a sequence of several coordinated questions, *ney/nay* always stands before the last one.

- (137) [Šó muzérmon-ězěň-a,] [náy ká latrízěň?]
 šó muzérmon -ěz-ěň -a náy ká latrī-ěz-ěň
 2PL Muslim =COP-2PL =Q or what thing=COP-2PL

‘Are you Muslims or what are you?’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 97.3)

- (138) [Špěk ní pēvēce pēvot vyēti mám=a,] [viš přēti mám=a,] [néy=tē pēvēce mēs gām=a?]

špěk	ni	pěvěc-e	pě-voť	vyé-ti	
now	DEM.PROX	boy-OBL.SG.M	LP-stone	hit-CVB	
má-m	=a	viš	pře-ti	má-m	=a
kill-OPT.1SG	=Q	poison	give-CVB	kill-OPT.1SG	=Q
ney	=tě	pěvěc-e	meš	gā-m	=a
or	=CONTR.TOP	boy-OBL.SG.M	with	take.away-OPT.1SG	=Q

‘Should I kill this boy now by hitting him over the rock, or should I kill him by giving him poison or should I take the boy along?’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg IX 15.2)

- (139) [Atkyū=stañ stē mērē ámr kēřó=če] [[[káčči=bo-di, [[lañé áy=a,] [kañé áy=a,] [néy kṭé áy=bo,]] cáṇ vapsyēyti] avéñ] ké.]

<i>atkí-ū-</i>		<i>=stañ</i>	<i>stě</i>	<i>mér-ě</i>
LDEM.DIST-PHOR-ABL		=from	DEM.DIST	king-OBL
<i>amr_k-ěřó</i>		<i>=če</i>	<i>káčči=bo-di</i>	<i>lañ-ě</i>
order-PFV.PST.3SG.M		=that	who\INTS=ever	bald-M
<i>áy=a</i>	<i>kañ-ě</i>	<i>áy=a</i>	<i>ney kṭ-ě</i>	<i>áy=bo</i>
COP.3PL=Q	blind-M	COP.3PL=Q	no lame-M	COP.3PL=CNJ
<i>cánj</i>	<i>va-psí-ey-ti</i>		<i>avé-ñ</i>	<i>ké</i>
all.DIR	→  ←-settle-CAUS-CVB		bring.IMP-2PL	do.CVB

‘Then the king ordered that everyone, whether they be bald or blind or lame, should be gathered and brought [to him].’ [NE] (Afsāna King 17.3)

- (140) [Špěk yēme=stē ačí yúć zayáselē=tē,] [néy=tē káy báselē=bo,] [né věřēnēt=ey=č.]

špěk	yēme	=stē	ačí	yúć	za-yáselē
now	1SG.OBL	=REF	eye.DIR	ice	produce-PFV.PST.PRSM.3PL
=tē	ney	=tē	kay		b-áselē
=CONTR.TOP	or	=CONTR.TOP	what		become-PFV.PST.PRSM.3PL
=bo	ne	věřē-nēt	=ey	=č	
=CNJ	NEG	see-PROG.PRS.3PL	=CONS	=ADD	

‘Now my eyes had perhaps frozen, or whatever might have happened to them, [in any case] they weren’t seeing.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg IX 31.6)

- (141) [Zindón=do=stě yimó=stě průži bistará avé,] [náy, [amgyō návé
 bánji=bo,] [...] yimó=diŋe vāre tū=stě čorá kši.]
 zindón=to =stě yimó =stě průži-ī
 prison.DIR/GEN=LPST =from 1PL.DIR/GEN =REF bed-GEN/OBL.PL
 bistará-ō avé nay amgi-ō
 bedding-OBL bring.IMP or DEM.DIST.PL-OBL.PL
 na avé-ō bá-nji =bo yimó
 NEG bring-INF be.able-PROG.PRS.2SG =CNJ 1PL.DIR/GEN
 =diŋe vāre tū =stě čorá kši
 =for other 2SG.GEN =REF remedy do.IMP
- ‘Bring the bedding of our beds from the prison, or, if you can’t bring those, [...] do what else you can for us.’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 182.7)

2.11.6.5 Converb Clauses

Converbs are a very common and characteristic way of joining clauses together in the Katë language. In complex sentences with converbs there is only one main predicate with full inflection for person, number, gender, tense, aspect, evidentiality etc., but this main predicate is preceded by one or more converb forms, each of which forms its own separate clause. Converbs do not have the same range of inflectional categories as full predicates and they in some way depend on and “lead up to” the main predicate.³²⁸ They can often be appropriately translated with English *-ing* forms. A converb (clause) can be negated separately from the main predicate by using the negated converb form, as in example (144) below. It is usually either preposed to the main clause, as in examples (142) – (144) below, or inserted inside of it, as in example (145). Converb clauses extraposed to the position after the main clause are characteristic of quoting converbs, which are discussed as part of the separate phenomenon of quoted-speech clauses in section 2.11.6.2. On their grammaticalized use as postpositions, see section 2.7.6.

For reasons of discourse coherence, converb and main predicate often have the same subject, i.e., the same participant in the nominative role (A with transitive verbs and S with intransitive verbs), regardless of the alignment patterns expressed in case marking or verbal agreement of a particular clause. However, apart from the

³²⁸ On the vector-verb construction, in which a converb and an inflected form together form a single complex predicate, see section 2.11.5.3. In this case the converb provides the content and the inflected form adds additional nuances.

simultaneous converb, this does not have to be the case and the subject may change without any special marking being required.

While converbs are widespread over large parts of Eurasia, they have a particular profile in Central and South Asian languages, where there is generally a “systematic conflation” in the same converb form of an adverbial or verb-modifying function and an adsentential or clause-chaining function (Bickel 1998: 384–385). These two functions can also be found with Katë converbs.

2.11.6.5.1 Verb-Modifying Converb Clauses

Verb-modifying converb clauses can, e.g., function as adverbial clauses of manner, direction or means, or express temporal anteriority (with the general or negated converb, cf. sections 2.9.6.1.5.1 & 2.9.6.8.12) or simultaneity (with the simultaneous converb, cf. section 2.9.6.1.5.2). Example (142) demonstrates the use as an adverbial clause of means and examples (143) – (145) contain converb clauses expressing anteriority and simultaneity.

- (142) *[[Naqšá ũš ké] zañéñ,] [ině kór-asě.]*
naqšá-ō ũš_ke zañé-ñ in-ě
 map-OBL.SG look.CVB know-IMP.2PL DEM.PROX-DIR
kor =as-ě
 where =COP-3SG

‘Find out by looking at the map, where this is.’

[lit. ‘Looking at the map, understand, [...]’] [NE-BN]

(Sun-Aro Spinner 37.2)

- (143) *[Amkyō-tā-stañ pís búi,] [štěrék věćódúc vėri patě bístay.]*
amkī-ō =tā-ō =stañ pís_bú-ti štěrék
 DEM.DIST.PL-OBL.PL =LPST-ABL =from be.lost.CVB now
věćó-duc vėrí patě_b-i =stě-ay
 20+ -10 language.DIR remain-RES.3PL

‘After [some] from among those have been lost, now thirty languages remain.’

[lit. ‘From among those having been lost, [...]’] [NE-PC]

(RTA Language 9.4)

- (144) [Kat^ě ná ōzōu,] [Kat^ěġēl kú-tto billi?]
 Kat-^ě na ōzōu Kat^ěġēl kú=to
 Katë-OBL.PL NEG come.CVB.NEG PN.LOC[F] who.GEN=LPST
 b-illi
 be-PFV.PST.PRSM.3SG.F

‘Who might Katġel have belonged to when the Katë had not yet come?’
 [lit. ‘The Katë not having come, [...]’] [SE-KM]
 (Ġulāmullāh/Kabir History 90.1)

- (145) [Yimó [vúšpo nargōm] lálu kúnmiš.]
 yimó vúšp-o narg-ō-m lálu_kú-nmiš
 1PL horse-OBL.PL run-CAUS-CVB.SIM sing-PROG.1PL

‘We are singing while riding the horses.’ [W-KN] (Mohammad 1991: 31)

2.11.6.5.2 Converbs as Free Adjuncts

A related, but somewhat different use is that as free adjunct clauses giving circumstantial information, with frequent extension to providing reasons for the event expressed by the main predicate, as in examples (147) and (148).

- (146) [Vúze-tě, [avzéře-stořo dút bŕazėti,] kór bĕrúbaya-ta?]
 vúze =tě avzéř-e =stořo dut
 1SG.DIR =CONTR.TOP last.night-OBL.SG.M =since tooth.DIR
 bŕazė-ti kór bĕrú-ba-yí-a =tě-a
 hurt-CVB where <-be.able-PFV.PST.1=Q =CONTR.TOP=Q

‘[Do you think that] I, with my tooth hurting since last night, could have gone out anywhere?!’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg IX 23.3)

- (147) [Amgí az báyn gidi,] [...] [yĩ-stě vél pařyó.]
 amgí az_báyn_gidi yĩ =stě vél
 DEM.DIST.PL.DIR be.eliminated.CVB 1SG.GEN =REF time.DIR
 pař-yó
 arrive-PFV.PST.3SG.M

‘With them having been eliminated, my time had arrived.’ [SE-KM]
 (Amin Jihad 126.4)

- (148) [Ůč, [imú gul-tã jhód ubjti,] péléke bugúl áyosum.]
 ůč imú gul-tã jhód ubjti-ti péléke
 1SG.DIR 1PL country=LPST jihad arise-CVB again
 pē-gúl á-yosum
 LP-country come-PFV.PST.1SG.M
 ‘I, a jihad having started in our country, came back into the country.’
 [NE-BG] (Decker 1991 C.7 1.16)

2.11.6.5.3 Clause Chaining

The clause-chaining construction, the second major use of converb clauses, expresses a sequence of events with narrative coherence. Functionally, this use is often quite close to coordination and the best English translation is frequently as a list of separate main clauses coordinated with a final ‘and’. Example (149) demonstrates a same-subject clause chain.

- (149) [Stá=vu é bëzyé=di vagáti,] [čúgě,] [stě yúse=di vělúnati,] [řadóra dëvér pétéy=č.]
 sta =vu e bëzĩ-e =di vagá-ti
 LDEM.DIST =at one robe-OBL.SG.M =ADD.FOC get-CVB
 čú-gě stě yus-e =di
 ↑-go.CVB DEM.DIST grass-OBL.SG.M =ADD.FOC
 vělú-ŋ gá-ti řadór-a dëvér pētē-ey =č
 ↑-SN take-CVB nighttime-OBL.SG.F again go.on-PFV.PST.1=CONS =ADD
 ‘Also getting a robe there, I went steeply up the valley, picked up that grass as well, and left again at night.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg VIII 25.2)

2.11.6.6 Participial Clauses

Participles can be used in various ways to form subordinate clauses. Participial clauses are generally integrated into larger sentences in the same way as other nominals, i.e.:

1. To form relative clauses, the participle takes the position of an adjective in attributive use.
2. To form depictive secondary predicate clauses, the participle appears in the Direct or Oblique case in the same way as the nominal participant it characterizes.
3. To form event-oriented adverbial clauses, the participle appears in the instrumental case, just as other nominals would when used adverbially.

Examples for these three options are given in the following sections.

2.11.6.6.1 Participial Relative Clauses

The examples below demonstrate how the attributive use of participles can produce relative clauses, respectively with perfective ((150) – (151)) and imperfective ((152) – (154)) participles.

- (150) [Šášā řamú kěřě] kuř
 šášā řamú_k-ěř-ě kuř
 squeamishness accustom-PFV.PTCP-M child.DIR
 ‘Children who are accustomed to squeamishness’ [NE-MR]
 (Mansur Proverbs 276)

- (151) [Út bi] vél-tā
 út_b-i vél-tā
 be.needed-PFV.PTCP time-LPST
 ‘At the time that it is needed’ [NE-MR] (Mansur Proverbs 278)

- (152) [Bixí ká ná jañělē] manjī
 bixí ká na jañě-l-ě manj-í
 absolutely what NEG know-IPFV.PTCP-M person-DIR
 ‘People who don’t know anything at all’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 134.6)

- (153) [Né zāli] štum
 ne zā-l-i štum
 NEG produce-IPFV.PTCP-F tree.DIR
 ‘A tree that doesn’t bear fruit’ [NE-MR] (Mansur Proverbs 530)

- (154) [Léy arséli] gó
 ley arsé-l-i go
 much low-IPFV.PTCP-F cow.DIR
 ‘A cow that moos a lot’ [NE-MR] (Mansur Proverbs 430)

It is also possible to form free relative clauses with participles, either by introducing a dummy head noun, like *kúdyum* ‘work’ in example (155), or by using the participle as the head of a noun phrase as in (156).

- (155) [Stó-di [nóněsě kěřě] kúdyum-je [řěvékyē kěřě] kúdyum stě věláyssě.]
 st-ō =di nón-ēs-ě k-ěř-ě
 DEM.DIST-OBL.SG.F =ADD.FOC mother-PERT.3-OBL do-PFV.PTCP-M
 kúdyum =je řěvéki-ē k-ěř-ě kúdyum
 work.DIR =and fox-OBL.SG do-PFV.PTCP-M work.DIR
 st-ě vělá-l-stě-asě
 DEM.DIST-DIR recite-RES.3SG

‘She told her what her mother had done and what the fox had done.’

[lit. ‘She told her the work done by her mother and the work done by the fox.’] [NE] (Afsāna Nēcōparik 3.7)

- (156) [[Ině [[purdúk višō gē] tú-meñ búlě]] bít-asě.]
 ině purdúk viš-ō-ge tu =meñ
 DEM.PROX old.man think-CAUS-PASS.CVB 2SG.OBL =with
 bú-l-ě bit =as-ě
 be-IPFV.PTCP-M demon =COP-3SG

‘The one that is with you, who is disguised as an old man, is a demon.’

[lit. ‘This, being disguised as an old man, with you being one [...]]’]

[NE] (Afsāna King 4.8)

2.11.6.6.2 Depictive Secondary Predicates

Depictive secondary predicate clauses, i.e., clauses that characterize the state of a core or oblique participant of a main predicate, can be formed with the help of participles. The choice of perfective or imperfective participle expresses the difference between resultant state and ongoing state of the participant. As usual in predicative use, the perfective participle has to be encliticized with the referentializer *-stě* (cf. sections 2.7.3.1 and 2.9.6.2.2). The participle agrees in gender and number with the participant it characterizes, but forms a separate noun phrase.

If the participial clause in such constructions is intransitive, both the participant of the main clause being characterized by the secondary predicate and the participial secondary predicate itself appear with case inflection appropriate to their role within the main clause, as in example (157), where *mřěñécě* ‘bird’ and *nišně-stě* ‘sat down’ are both in the Direct case, as appropriate for the patient of the Perfective-System predicate *vaňyó* ‘saw’, in example (158), where both *tu* ‘you’ and *ayí-ste* ‘come’ are in the Oblique case, as appropriate for the patient of the non-Perfective-System predicate

větélum ‘I will let’ and in example (159), where both *nútot* and *abél kěře-stě* ‘made efforts’ are in the Direct case, as appropriate for the single argument of the intransitive predicate *póčē élay* ‘[they] go into the eyes’.

- (157) [Stó ostě kúyã mřějécě [pkěno nišně-stě] vaňyó.]
st-ō *o-stě* *kúyã* *mřějéc-ě*
 DEM.DIST-OBL.SG.F PHOR-DEM.DIST earlier songbird-DIR
p-kěno *niš-n-ě* *=st-ě* *vaň-yó*
 LP-tree sit.down-PFV.PTCP-M =REF-DIR see-PFV.PST.3SG.M

‘She saw that same bird from earlier sat in a tree.’ [NE-BN]

(Sun-Aro Dehqan 12.1)

- (158) [Vúze tú [aní áyi-ste] cuyó né větélum.]
vúze *tu* *aní* *á-yi*
 1SG.DIR 2SG.OBL LDEM.PROX come-PFV.PTCP
=st-e *cuyí-ō* *ne* *věté-lum*
 =REF-OBL.SG.M empty-INS.SG NEG let-FUT.1SG.M

‘I won’t let you, [as someone who has] come here, go empty-handed.’

[W-KL] (Grjunberg VIII 7.5)

- (159) [Nútot [abél kěře-stě] kúřō-tã né póčē élay.]
nú-tot *abél* *k-ěř-ě* *=st-ě* *kuř-ō*
 mother-father.DIR effort do-PFV.PTCP-M =REF-DIR child-OBL.PL
=tã *ne* *pě-áčě* *é-lě-ay*
 =LPST NEG LP-eye go-IPFV/FUT.3PL

‘The children don’t notice the parents having made efforts.’

[lit. ‘The parents [as] having made efforts do not go into the eyes on the children’] [NE-MR] (Mansur Proverbs 517)

With oblique participants, postpositions are only used on the participle, but not on the participant itself, which is instead case-marked in accordance with its role within the participial clause, as in example (160).

- (160) [Imkón vósě,] [ikí piyól [vós tír búlē]=meñ amní lúkě-lukě vėrī pīs búla.]
 imkón v-o-as-ě ikí pē-yol vos
 possibility PROPR-M=COP-3SG DEM.MED LP-track day.DIR
 tír_bú-l-ē =meñ amní lúk-ě~lukě
 pass-IPFV.PTCP-OBL.SG.M =with DEM.PROX.PL small-M~INTS
 vėrī pīs_bú-la
 language.DIR be.lost-OPT.3PL

‘It is possible that, with days continuing to pass in the same way, these very small languages may be lost.’ [NE-PC] (RTA Language 27.5)

If the participial clause is transitive or ditransitive, the participant appearing within it is always case-marked in accordance with its role within the participial clause, which may differ from its role within the main clause. Its role within the main clause can only be deduced from the way the participle is marked. Thus, e.g., in example (161) *mēmér-stě* ‘bridewealth’ stands in the Direct case required for its role as the patient of the Perfective-System secondary predicate *těvéyi-sto*, but this secondary predicate itself stands in the Oblique case, being the patient of *né pakčyúko* ‘without looking at’. In examples (162) and (163) *amkyó* ‘them’ and *e pėvéce* ‘a boy’ respectively stand in the Oblique case required for their role as the agent of the respective Perfective-System secondary predicates *štíč kěřě-sto* ‘stolen’ and *dárs né zayí-ste* ‘not understood the lesson’, which themselves stand in the Oblique case due to their roles as the head nouns respectively of the relational noun *bědyúk* ‘for’ (lit. ‘in suffering (of)’) and the local postposition *-ta*.

- (161) [[[Stě mēmér-stě léy těvéyi]=sto=di né pakčyúko] tóte núře kiyéy=č.]
 stě mēmér-stě ley tě-vé-yi =st-o
 DEM.DIST bridewealth[PL] much put-CAUS-PFV.PTCP =REF-OBL.PL
 =di ne pa-kč-yúko tót-e
 =ADD.FOC NEG ← look-CVB.NEG father-PERT.2.DIR/OBL
 núř-e k-iyé-ey =č
 mother-PERT.2.DIR/OBL do-PFV.PST.3SG.F=CONS =ADD

‘And without minding [lit. ‘without looking at’] that bridewealth [having been] set high, your father married your mother.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg XIV 2.6)

- (162) [[*Púve dëvér-di amkyó štíč kěřě*]=sto bėdyúk yimó mančó amkyó=stě pújvēcě šor̥ kšėti bėřáy=č.]

<i>puv-e</i>	<i>dëvér</i>	<i>=di</i>	<i>amkí-o</i>	
last.year-OBL.SG.M	again	=ADD.FOC	DEM.DIST.PL-OBL.PL	
<i>štíč_k-ěř-ě</i>	<i>=st-o</i>	<i>bě-dyuk</i>	<i>yimó</i>	
steal-PFV.PTCP-M	=REF-OBL.PL	LP-suffering	1pl.DIR/OBL	
<i>manč-ó</i>	<i>amkí-o</i>	<i>=stě</i>	<i>púč-vēcě</i>	<i>šor̥</i>
person-OBL.PL	DEM.DIST.PL-OBL.PL	=REF	5X-20	CLF
<i>kšé-ti</i>	<i>běř-á=ey</i>	<i>=č</i>		
scrape-CVB	take.away.PFV.PST-3PL=CONS	=ADD		

‘For them having stolen again last year, our people rustled 100 heads [of livestock] of theirs.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg XII 2.6)

- (163) [*Malím [e pėvéce dárs né zayı]=ste-ta [pensíla vėlúnati,] sté=stě šayé=ta púšōney=č.*]

<i>malím</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>pėvéč-e</i>	<i>dárs</i>	<i>ne</i>
teacher.DIR	one	boy-OBL.SG.M	lesson.DIR	NEG
<i>za-yí</i>	<i>=ste</i>	<i>=ta</i>	<i>pensíl-a</i>	
know-PFV.PTCP	=REF-OBL.SG.M	=LPST	pencil-OBL.SG.F	
<i>vėlú-ř-uná-ti</i>	<i>st-e</i>	<i>=stě</i>	<i>šayí-e</i>	<i>=ta</i>
↑-SN-take-CVB	DEM.DIST-OBL.SG.M	=REF	head-OBL.SG.M	=LPST
<i>pú-aš-ó-ně=ey</i>		<i>=č</i>		
↪☹↪-throw-CAUS-PROG.PRS.3SG=CONS		=ADD		

‘The teacher, at one boy not [having] understood the lesson, picks up a pencil and shoves it at that one’s head.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg XIV 11.7)

The participant characterized by the secondary predicate may be left out when it is clear from previous discourse, as in examples (164) and (165). It may also appear within the main clause instead of the participial clause, as in examples (166) and (167).

- (164) [[*Vapřě*] *šé tyôlē*] *úš šň,*] [[*vusút pís búlē*] *úš šň,*] [[*tópě-tã vilílē*] *úš šň.*]
va-přé *šé-ti-ô-l-ē* *úš-kšl-ň*
 →  ←-touch.CVB freeze-CAUS-IPFV.PTCP-OBL.SG.M look.IMP-2PL

vusút *pís bú-l-ē* *úš-kšl-ň*
 spring.LOC disappear-IPFV.PTCP-OBL.SG.M look.IMP-2PL
top-ě *=tã* *vilí-l-ē* *úš-kšl-ň*
 heat-OBL =LPST melt-IPFV.PTCP-OBL.SG.M look.IMP-2PL

‘Look at it freezing you when it touches you, look at it disappearing in spring, look at it melting in the heat.’ [*referring to snow*] [NE-MR]
 (Ismail Poem 7.2)

- (165) [[*Zúlyē*]-*tã řěvéki púncissě.*]
zú-l-i-ē *=tã* *řěvéki* *pú-nc-í-stě-asě*
 cry-IPFV.PTCP-F-OBL.SG =LPST fox.DIR  ~-appear-RES.3SG

‘A fox appeared to her [as she was] crying.’ [NE] (Afsāna Nēcoparik 2.8)

- (166) [*Tú* [*níre čállō*]-*je* [*čtíre nyállō*] *manjō viloš.*]
tü *ní-r-e* *čtí-ác-l-ō* *=je*
 2SG.DIR  -SA-LOC  -come-IPFV.PTCP-OBL.PL =and
čtí-r-e *ní-ác-l-ō* *manj-ō*
 -SA-LOC  -come-IPFV.PTCP-OBL.PL person-OBL.PL
ví-loš
 hit-OPT.2SG.M

‘[As they are] coming up from downvalley and coming down from upvalley you should shoot the people.’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 330.4)

- (167) [*É psě* [*rusxatí pavúgěvë-ste-ta*] *vúze marénu bí-č.*]
e *p-sě* *rusxatí* *pavú-gěvé*
 one LP-year vacation  -go.PFV.PTCP.M
=st-e *=ta* *vúze* *marénu* *b-i* *=č*
 =REF-OBL.SG.M =LPST 1SG.DIR ill become-PFV.PST.1 =ADD

‘One year, at having gone down on vacation, I became ill.’ [W-KL]
 (Grjunberg XIV 10.6)

2.11.6.6.3 Event-Oriented Adverbial Clauses

In addition to the depictive secondary predicates described in the section above, which are participant-oriented, in that they characterize the state of a participant of the event denoted by the main predicate, there is also a way to use participles to form event-oriented adverbial manner clauses, i.e., clauses which characterize the event denoted by the main predicate rather than its participants.³²⁹

Such clauses are integrated into the main clause by inflecting the participle in the instrumental case, in the same way as regular adjectives can be turned into adverbs by putting them into the instrumental case (cf. section 2.3.3.3). An example is shown in (168).

- (168) [Amgí vún-aště,] [[nínjīyelē] vīndě-či.]
amgí *vú-ñ* =*aště* *nínjī-yé-l-ē*
 DEM.DIST.PL.DIR ↑-SN =COP.3PL ⇐-go-IPFV.PTCP-INS
vī-ndě =*či*
 hit-PROG.3PL =ADD

‘They are up on a slope, and they are shooting [at us] up and down the valley’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 346.4)

In the Western dialect of Kulem, instrumental masculine plural participles can also be used to express the temporal notion of ‘since’, as in examples (169) and (170). Note that the participle appears in its masculine plural form here, regardless of the features of the participants of either the main clause or the subordinate clause.

³²⁹ For a detailed discussion of this distinction, cf. Himmelmann & Schultze-Berndt (2005).

- (169) “[Čú sě běně,] [tú nuře měřě-steřo]?”
 – “[E sě běně,] [nuřa měřě-steřo].”
- | | | | |
|-----------------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| ču | s-ě | bě-ně | tu |
| how.many | year-DIR | be-PROG.PRS.3SG | 2SG.OBL |
| nuř-e | m-ěř-ě | =st-eřo | |
| mother-PERT.2.DIR/OBL | die-PFV.PTCP-M | =REF-INS.M.PL | |
| e | s-ě | bě-ně | nuř-a |
| one | year-DIR | be-PROG.PRS.3SG | mother-PERT.1.OBL |
| m-ěř-ě | =st-eřo | | |
| die-PFV.PTCP-M | =REF-INS.M.PL | | |
- “How many years has it been since your mother died?”
 – “It has been one year since my mother died.” [W-KL]
 (Grjunberg Phrase 241)

- (170) [Núřa gěvě-steřo] [yimó břasó né-tě yařvél léště běně-č,] [né psyénay.]
- | | | | |
|------------------|---------------|------------------|-------------|
| nuř-a | g-ěvě | =st-eřo | yimó |
| mother-PERT1.OBL | go-PFV.PTCP.M | =REF-INS.M.PL | 1PL.DIR/OBL |
| břasó | ne | =tě | yařvél |
| siblings.DIR/OBL | NEG | =CONTR.TOP | meal |
| | | | léště |
| | | | good |
| | | | bě-ně |
| | | | be-PROG.3SG |
| =č | ne | psyé-na-ey | |
| =ADD | NEG | sleep-place-CONS | |
- ‘Since our mother left, neither the meals are good for us siblings, nor the sleeping place.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg XIV 4.5)

2.11.6.7 Nominalization

This section discusses the use of nominalizations of verbal forms other than participles in the formation of complex sentences. Four different forms are relevant in this regard: the infinitive, the referential infinitive, the supine and the the verbal place noun. Each of these is discussed in a separate section.

2.11.6.7.1 Infinitive

2.11.6.7.1.1 Infinitival Complements

The infinitive (2.9.4.1.1) is used to form nominalized complement clauses especially to modal verbs, but also to some others. Some verbs change their meaning to some extent when used with an infinitive complement. The following list contains some of the most commonly used verbs that take infinitive complements:

<i>ba-stě</i>	‘to be able (to)’
NE/SE <i>bá-bu-stě</i> , W <i>pá-bě-stě</i>	‘to begin (to)’ (lit. ‘←  →-become’)
W/SE <i>drō-stě</i> , NE <i>děřō-stě</i>	‘to dare (to)’
NE <i>vaňé-stě</i> , SE <i>vaňé-stě</i> W <i>věře-stě</i>	‘to see’ (with INF: ‘to try (to)’)
NE <i>viší-stě</i> , SE <i>viží-stě</i> , W <i>věše-stě</i>	‘to think’ (with INF: ‘to want (to)’)
NE <i>zaňé-stě</i> , SE <i>jaňé-stě</i> W <i>zaře-stě</i>	‘to know, to recognize, to understand’ (with INF: ‘to know how (to), to be able (to)’)

Use examples of infinitival complements are given in (171) – (174).

- (171) [Kú tpěk-di [čěncō] né báně.]
ku tpěk =di čěnc-ō ne
 who.OBL rifle.DIR =ADD.FOC stick-CAUS-INF NEG
bá-ně
 be.able-PROG.PRS.3SG

‘No one’s rifle is able to hit the target.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg XV 4.3)

- (172) [Ašpěrik-di [běbén gėti] [žú] bábissě.]
Ašpěrik =di bě-bén gé-ti žu-ō
 PN.DIR ADD.FOC LP-forest go-CVB cry-INF
bá-b-í-stě-asě
 ←→-become-RES.3SG

‘And Ašpěrik went into the forest and began to cry.’ [NE]
 (Afsāna Nēcoparik 2.7)

- (173) [[Ná [úzěr kú drěa,] [ná [kú viděřō] drěa,] [ná káy.]]
na úzěr_ku-ō drě-ya na kū
 NEG apologize-INF dare-PFV.PST.3PL NEG who.OBL
viděř-ō-ō drě-ya na kay
 be.afraid-CAUS-INF dare-PFV.PST.3PL NEG what

‘They did not dare to apologize, nor dare to scare anyone, nor [to do] anything.’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 610.7)

- (174) [Anjĩ yañě-tã,] [[[“šó móč búlě kór gússě,] [[vèllǒ̃] vañěmu?”] kě] [škík-škík kũ] bábstay.]

<i>anjĩ</i> bread[M].DIR	<i>yañě</i> eat-COND.3SG.M	<i>=tã</i> =LPST	<i>šo</i> 2PL.DIR/OBL	<i>moč</i> husband
<i>bú-l-ě</i> be-IPFV.PTCP-M.DIR	<i>kor</i> where	<i>gú_-stě_-asě</i> go.RES.3SG.M	<i>vèllǒ̃-ō</i> call-INF	<i>vañě-mu</i> see-OPT.1PL
<i>ke</i> do.CVB	<i>škík~škík_ku-ō</i> FREQ~mock-INF	<i>bá-b-i_-stě_-ay</i> ← become-RES.3PL		

‘When they had eaten, they began to taunt her, saying “Where did that husband of yours go, should we try to call him?”’ [NE] (Afsāna King 21.7)

2.11.6.7.1.2 Adnominal Infinitival Clauses

The infinitive can also be used to form clauses modifying nouns. Such clauses restrict the meaning of the head noun by specifying that it is “for doing X” or “to do X”, as in examples (175) – (181).

- (175) [dér bú] lětri
dér_bú-ō *lětrí*
 become.surprised-INF thing

‘things to be amazed about’ = ‘wonderful things’ [NE-BN]
 (Sun-Aro Horse 4.2)

- (176) [gól kũ] vėl-tã
gol *ku-ō* *vėl-tã*
 shame do-INF time-LPST

‘at the time for earning honor’ [NE-MR] (Mansur Proverbs 34)

- (177) [kakók přě] zěřě
kakók *pře-ō* *zěřě*
 chicken give-INF heart

‘the intention [lit. ‘heart’] to give a chicken’ [NE-BN] (Sun-Aro Fox 8.1)

- (178) [kúdyum kũ] vězév
kúdyum *ku* *vězév*
 work do-INF axe

‘an axe for working’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg 1980: 254)

- (179) [tapk^ẽ v^ĩ] manjĩ
 tapk-^ẽ v^ĩ-^ĩ manjĩ
 rifle-INS hit-INF person
 ‘people to shoot with guns’ = ‘people worth shooting with guns’ [SE-KM]
 (Amin Jihad 400.11)

- (180) [nar^ẽ] voš
 nar^ẽ-^ĩ voš
 weed-INF hoe
 ‘a hoe for weeding’ = ‘weeding hoe’ [SE-KM] (Strand 1999a)

- (181) [vič^á] yamřú
 vič^á-^ĩ yamřú
 crack-INF walnut
 ‘a walnut for cracking’ = ‘walnut with easily removed kernel’ [SE-KM]
 (Strand 1999a)

2.11.6.7.1.3 Locative Infinitives

Locative forms of the infinitive, which are formed with the local prefix, are used as adverbials referring to the state of the participant in the absolutive role, as in examples (182) and (183).

- (182) [Kúy šér^ẽ-st^ẽ yáryar s^ẽŋáy-bo,] [[póču^{ne}] atky^ẽ-stañ m^ẽkélasⁱ.]
 kuy šér-^ẽ =st^ẽ yáryar s^ẽŋá-ⁱ =bo p^ẽ-aču^{ne}-^ĩ
 when lion-OBL =REF roar.DIR hear-COND.3 =CNJ LP-run-INF
 atkⁱ-^ẽ =stañ m^ẽké-l^ẽ-^{asi}
 LDEM.DIST-ABL =from flee-IPFV.PST.3
 ‘Whenever they heard the lion’s roar, they would flee at a run’ [NE-BN/MR]
 (Sun-Aro Lion 3.3)

- (183) [Kay kě kělěk [pěvudrá] damí-bo,] [vyélo=stě vor suv lušěř élě.]
 kay kě kělěk pě-vudrá dam-í =bo
 what do.CVB tip.cat.DIR LP-fly.INF grasp-COND.3 =CNJ
 vyé-l-o =stě vor suv lušě-ř_é-lě.
 hit-IPFV.PTCP-OBL.PL =REF time.DIR all burn-PASS-IPFV/FUT.3

‘If they [the other team] catch the tip-cat in flight, the batters’ turns are all “burned” (= voided).’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg XI 13.6)

2.11.6.7.1.4 With Postpositions

The bare infinitive, i.e., the infinitive without the referentializer *-stě*, does not usually appear with postpositions. The only exception is a construction with *-yik* ‘until’ that is only attested in the Western dialect. An example is given in (184). An equivalent construction in the Southeastern dialect uses the supine form of the verb (cf. section 2.11.6.7.3.1). Under the influence of Persian this construction may be extended with a redundant preposition *to* (< Prs. *tā* ‘until’) (cf. section 2.11.7.6).

- (184) [[Pěřúčkola=stě anér bú=yik] mér=je sté=stě palťén=ey yáš ptá.]
 pě-řuč-kol-a =stě anér bú =yik
 LP-light-time-LOC/ABL =from dark become.INF =until
 mer =je st-e =stě palťén =ey
 king.DIR =and DEM.DIST-OBL.SG.M REF soldier.DIR =CONS
 yaš p-ta
 food.DIR give-PFV.PST.3PL

‘From morning until it became dark he gave the king and his soldiers food.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg Skazka I 11.6)

2.11.6.7.2 Referential Infinitive

The referential infinitive – i.e., the infinitive followed by the referentializer *-stě* and lacking stem-final nasalization in the Northeastern dialect – is normally simply used as a citation form and as a nominalization of verbs for the purpose of referring to them. There are, however, some cases in which it is also used to form subordinate clauses, most prominently in combination with postpositions. These cases are discussed in the following sections.

2.11.6.7.2.1 Complement Clauses

Complement clauses are not usually formed with the referential infinitive, with the notable exception of complements to the verb NE *úkṣō-stë* ‘to pull up, to begin’, which takes both regular nouns and the referential infinitive as its complements. The use with a regular noun is demonstrated in (185) for comparison. Examples (186) and (187) show the use with the referential infinitive.

- (185) *Amkyō̃-di amšě-stë lěšīm ubjīk úkṣeyssë.*
amkī-ō̃ *=di* *amšě* *=stë*
 DEM.DIST-OBL.PL =ADD.FOC REFL.PL =REF
lěšīm-ě ubjīk *ú-kṣé-i-stë-asë*
 pretty-M life[M].DIR ↑-pull-RES.3SG
 ‘And they started their happy life.’ [NE] (Afsāna Pheasant 7.16)

- (186) [*Šérë* [...] [*ō̃ pī-stë*] *úkṣeyo.*]
šer-ě *ō̃* *pī* *=stë* *ú-kṣé-yo*
 lion-OBL water drink =REF-DIR ↑-pull-PFV.PST.3SG.M
 ‘The lion began to drink water.’ [NE-BN] (Sun-Aro Lion 14.7)

- (187) [*Ikō̃* [[*čō̃ vi*] *žú-stë*] *úkṣeyo.*]
ik-ō̃ *čō̃-vi* *žu* *=st-ě*
 DEM.MED-OBL.SG.F yell.CVB cry =REF-DIR
ú-kṣé-yo
 ↑-pull-PFV.PST.3SG.M
 ‘She started crying loudly’ [NE-BN] (Sun-Aro Spinner 16.3)

2.11.6.7.2.2 With Postpositions

The referential infinitive (0) can be combined with essentially any postposition like a regular noun and in most cases the semantic relation between the clauses combined in this way is quite transparent. Especially frequently used are combinations with w *-kë*, NE *-kë*, SE *-je* ‘for’ to form purpose clauses as in (188) and with w/SE *-meṣ*, NE *-meñ* ‘with’ to form temporal clauses for events occurring simultaneously or in immediate succession as in (189). Also common are combinations with the local postposition w *-ta*, NE *-tã* SE *-to* for predicates that require their complements to be marked in this way, as with *atútere-stë* in example (190).

- (188) [Iki bibím=stē [imú yú=stē=kē] úzissi.]
ikí *bē-bim* =st-ē *imú* *yu*
 DEM.MED LP-ground =REF-DIR 1 PL.DIR/OBL eat
 =st-ē =kē *ú-āz-í-stē=asi*
 =REF-OBL.SG.M =for ↑-approach-RES.PST.3SG
 ‘That snake had come up [the tree] in order to eat us.’ [NE]
 (Afsāna King 14.3)

- (189) [Tu [[nót kú=stē] úkṣō=stē]=meñ [nuṣṭó uṇáti] anótolē=tā atyúšīlasē.]
tu *nót kú* =st-ē *ú-kṣō*
 2SG.OBL dance =REF-OBL.SG.M ↑-pull
 =st-ē =meñ *nuṣṭó* *uṇá-ti*
 =REF-OBL.SG.M =with quickly take-CVB
anó-tol-ē =tā *atyú-ñ-āšī-lē=asē*
 ghee-pot-OBL =LPST →-SN-throw-IPFV/FUT.3SG.M
 ‘Right after you have begun to dance, he is going to take you quickly and
 throw you into the ghee pot.’ [NE] (Afsāna King 5.4)

- (190) [Bēzó piyóla=yik kučēti,] [[čó kú=ste=ta] atútērelē.]
bē-zo *pē-yol-a* =yik *kučē-ti* *čo*
 LP-knee LP-track-LOC/ABL =until dig-CVB wall
kú =st-e =ta *atú-tēré-lē*
 do =REF-OBL.SG.M =LPST →-CROSS-IPFV/FUT.3
 ‘Having dug up to knee-height, they set to work on making the wall.’
 [W-KL] (Grjunberg VII 1.1)

2.11.6.7.3 Supine

The supine (2.9.4.1.3) is used to form purpose clauses together with verbs of motion, as in examples (191) – (193).

- (191) [Šurtéri kuři [út bí] vél-tã [gyú kuň] élay.]
 šurtár-ī kuři út_b-i vél-tã gyu
 hunt-ADJ dog.DIR be.needed-PFV.PTCP time-LPST shit
 ku-ň é-lě-ay
 do-SUP go-IPFV/FUT.3pl
 ‘At the time when they would be needed, hunting dogs go to take a shit.’
 [NE-MR] (Mansur Proverbs 278)

- (192) [Yimó [jaňěň] gándě.]
 yimó-ō jaňě-ň gá-ndě
 1PL-OBL kill-SUP take.away-PROG.3PL
 ‘They’re taking us away to kill us.’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 43.2)

- (193) [Avdyú baryé=ta [šijí këróveř] gëvá.]
 avdyú barī-e =ta šijí kër-óv-eř gëvá
 both Bari-OBL.SG.M=LPST horn.DIR do-CAUS-SUP go.PFV.PST.3PL
 ‘Both went to the *Bari* (artisan slave) to have him make horns’ [W-KL]
 (Grjunberg Skazka II 5.8)

2.11.6.7.3.1 With Postpositions

Use of the supine with postpositions is only attested for the Southeastern dialect and there only with the postposition *-vik* ‘until’ in a construction that parallels a Western use of the simple infinitive (see section 2.11.6.7.1.4). An example is given in (194).

- (194) [Yĩ [dúvici vos búň-vik] baséno badél ná ġará.]
 yĩ dú-vici vos bu-ň =vik baséno
 1SG.OBL 2-20 day.DIR become-SUP until clothes.DIR
 badél na k-ará
 change... NEG...change-PFV.PST.3PL
 ‘I didn’t change my clothes until forty days had passed.’ [SE-KM]
 (Amin Jihad 357.1)

2.11.6.7.4 Verbal Place Noun

In the Eastern dialects, verbal place nouns (2.9.4.1.5) may be used together with the local postposition NE *=tã*, SE *=to* (2.7.3.2) to form a subordinate clause that gives a temporal background for the main predicate, as in examples (195) and (196). This

usage is not attested for the Western dialect, which has integrated the verbal place noun into the inflectional paradigm of the conditional mood instead.

- (195) [[*Nijĩtā*=*tā*] *paṭkéré búlasë*.]
nijĩ-tā-ō =*tā* *paṭkér-ë* *bú-lë*=*asë*
wash-place-OBL =LPST warped-M become-IPFV/FUT.3SG.M
‘It [homespun wool cloth] becomes warped during washing.’ [NE-PC]
(RTA Clothing 28.3)

- (196) [*Ṣaṇé* [*Daūt Kónë kudató ġútō-do*]=*di gitë-stë lālūzi*.]
ṣaṇé *Daūt Kón-ë* *kudató kú-tō-to* =*di*
earlier PN-OBL coup.d’état do-place=LPST =ADD.FOC
gitë =*stë* *lālu-ëz-i*
such =REF song.DIR=COP-PST.3
‘Earlier, while Daoud Khan was making a coup d’état, there were also
such songs [on the radio]’ [SE-KM] (Amin Jihad 12.2)

2.11.7 Syntax and Language Contact

Next to the lexicon, syntax is one area in which the influence of the major contact languages of the region is especially noticeable. Of course, the extent of this influence in the speech of an individual speaker differs based on the degree of their exposure to the language in question and on their individual attitudes, such as linguistic purism vs. eclecticism or the felt prestige of the native language in comparison with the languages of wider communication.

Thus, e.g., the speech of a young man with formal education living among the Nuristani diaspora in Kabul will likely be much more strongly influenced by Persian or Pashto than the speech of an elderly monolingual woman who has not left Nuristan throughout her life. Most speakers fall somewhere in between these two extremes, but the overall tendency seems to be that inherited syntactic structures are increasingly influenced or displaced by the structures of the contact languages.

The following sections attempt to throw some light on the various ways in which the structures of the contact languages are currently interacting with and transforming the inherited ones, but are by no means exhaustive in this regard.

One general pattern that can be noted is that the incongruence between Pashto/Persian subordinate clauses marked off by introductory conjunctions and Katë

subordinate clauses marked off by closing elements repeatedly leads to the emergence of double-marked hybrid structures with both an introducing and a closing element.³³⁰

2.11.7.1 Multifunctional *če* and *ke/ki*

Both Pashto and Persian have one highly versatile conjunction, which can be used to form a variety of subordinate clauses. In (eastern) Pashto this is *če*, in Persian *ke* ([ke]). Both of these may appear in Katë sentences (the latter phonologically adapted as *ke* [kɛ] or *ki*) and the Pashto or Persian clause structures that go along with them may be replicated to a varying extent. Influence from Pashto, and thus the complementizer *če*, is more common in the Eastern dialect areas, as well as probably in geographically central Ktivi (Kantiwā), whereas Persian influences, and with them the complementizer *ki*, are dominant in western Nuristan.

2.11.7.1.1 Quoted Speech

In Pashto and Persian, complement clauses, quoted/indirect speech or indirect questions and adverbial purpose clauses are all introduced with the multifunctional complementizers *če* / *ke* (cf. Brugman & Boyle David 2014: 429–433, 439–440; Farhâdi 1955: 139–142). These structures therefore exert influence on the Katë quoted-speech strategy of clause combination (2.11.6.2), which is used in the same contexts.

As a result, it is not uncommon for Katë quoted-speech clauses to be introduced by a borrowed complementizer, while still being closed by a quoting converb, as in examples (197) and (198). This can only occur with the extraposed syntactic variant, which, by its extraposition, ends up in the same position relative to the main clause as a Pashto or Persian complement clause. The structure of the contact languages is approached more closely when also the quoting converb is left out, as in examples (199) and (200).

³³⁰ This phenomenon is reminiscent of the emergence of circumpositions “as an areal response” in the contact zone between postpositional Indo-Aryan and Turkic languages and prepositional Persian, as described by Stilo (2009).

- (197) [Čáŋ yuškúš né zaňetasi,] [[čé šér oǵı-stě kúrvo búlay] ké.]
 čaŋ yuškúš ne zaňé-tasi čé šer
 all wild.animal.DIR NEG know-PROG.PST.3PL CNJ lion.DIR
 o-ǵı =stě kúr-v-o bú-lě=ay ke
 PHOR-such =REF voice-PROPR-M be-IPFV.3PL do.CVB
 ‘All the animals did not know that lions have such voices.’ [NE-BJ/MR]
 (Sun-Aro Lion 3.1)

- (198) [[Paŋó palúte] néčō] [[čé āšélo] ké.]
 p-aŋó palú-te néčō čé āšé-lo
 LP-fire ↖  ↗ -put.CVB leave.IMP CNJ boil-OPT.3SG
 ke
 do.CVB
 ‘Put it on the fire and leave it so that it will boil.’ [NE]
 (Afsāna King 6.10)

- (199) [Iné púlǵılě-tě šterék páruk kši] [čé tı-stě naskóre vaňému.]
 iné púlǵıl-ě =tě šterék pá-r-uk
 DEM.PROX sheet-OBL =CONTR.TOP now ←  → -SA-DIM
 kši čé tu =stě naskór-ě vaňé-mu
 do.IMP CNJ 2SG.OBL =REF face-OBL see-OPT.1PL
 ‘Now take that sheet away, so that we may see your face.’ [NE]
 (Afsāna Pheasant 7.9)

- (200) [Kyé-ta ǵık né kši,] [káy né mñé,] [ki kı né zařélo.]
 kı-ě =ta ǵık ne kši kay ne
 DEM.MED-OBL.SG.M =LPST say... NEG ...say.IMP what NEG
 mñe ki ki ne zařé-lo
 say.IMP CNJ DEM.MED.DIR NEG know-OPT.3SG
 ‘Don’t tell him, don’t say anything, so that he won’t know.’ [W-KL]
 (Grjunberg Phrase 137)

2.11.7.1.2 Relative Clauses and Hybrid Correlative Structures

Persian and Pashto restrictive relative clauses are formed with a demonstrative in the main clause followed by the multifunctional complementizer introducing the relative

clause. There is no gapping in the relative clause, i.e., the relativized noun phrase is referred to by a pronominal element within the relative clause. This structure is demonstrated in the Pashto example in (201). This structure is quite different from Katë relative clauses, which are most commonly formed as correlatives (cf. section 2.11.6.3.1).

(201) **Pashto**

háya zmaráy [če xpála tserá ye pə obó ke wálida]

<i>háya</i>	<i>zmaráy</i>	<i>če</i>	<i>xpála</i>	<i>tserá</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>pə</i>
that.DIR	lion.DIR	CNJ	own.F.DIR	face[F].DIR	3.OBL	in...

<i>obó</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>wálida</i>
water[PL]-OBL.PL	in	see.PFV.PST.3SG.F

‘The lion who saw his own face in the water.’ (Sun-Aro Lion – Title)

One way in which the two structures can interact consists in correlative relative clauses being reinforced with a borrowed complementizer following the indeterminate expression, as in examples (202) and (203). This is an alternative to the full replication of the structure of the contact languages, since it still retains the structural frame of the indeterminate expression in the subordinate clause and the resumptive demonstrative expression in the main clause, as well as the subordinating enclitic *-bo* or *-tã*, though arguably another level of subordination is added to the subordinate clause. The placement of the complementizer after the indeterminate expression implies an equation of the Katë indeterminate expression with the main-clause demonstrative expression of the Pashto structure, even though it is part of the subordinate clause in the Katë correlative structure.

- (202) [Ēzór=je nú sāt=ē tērévēcōṣṭīc řisaví ssē=tā, [káy vél=tā [čē komunistónē Daúdē pcyūr kudetó kēti, mérvor budúy avēřē=tā,]] ūc stē vél=tā Kobúl Afyonistónē-stē vizorēt-e doxilā=tā momúr=asyum.]
- | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|----------------|--------------------|---------------|------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| <i>e āzór</i> | <i>=je</i> | <i>nu</i> | <i>sat</i> | <i>=ē</i> | <i>tēré-vēco-ṣṭīc</i> | <i>řisaví</i> |
| one 1000 | =and | 9 | 100 | =CONS | 3x-20 + -18 | Christian |
| <i>ss-ē</i> | | <i>=tā</i> | <i>kay</i> | <i>vel=tā</i> | <i>če</i> | <i>komunistón-ē</i> |
| year-OBL.SG.M | | =LPST | what | time=LPST | CNJ | communists-OBL |
| <i>Daúd-ē</i> | <i>p-čyūr</i> | | <i>kudetó</i> | <i>ké-ti</i> | <i>mer-vor</i> | |
| PN-OBL | LP-top | | coup.d'état | do-CVB | king-ship.DIR | |
| <i>budúy</i> | <i>av-ēřē</i> | | <i>=tā</i> | <i>ūc</i> | <i>stē</i> | |
| LP-hand | bring-COND.3.M | | =LPST | 1 SG.M | DEM.DIST | |
| <i>vél=tā</i> | <i>Kobúl</i> | <i>Afyonistónē</i> | <i>=stē</i> | <i>vizorēt-e</i> | | |
| time=LPST | PN.LOC | Afghanistan-OBL | REF | ministry-EZ | | |
| <i>doxilā-ō</i> | <i>=tā</i> | <i>momúr</i> | <i>=asyum</i> | | | |
| interior-OBL.SG | =LPST | employee.DIR | =COP-PST.1 SG | | | |

‘In the Christian year 1978, at the time that the communists made a coup d’état against Daoud and took power, I was an employee in the Ministry of the Interior of Afghanistan in Kabul.’ [NE-BG]

(Decker 1991 C.7 1.2)

- (203) [Amkí pari [kúvu tā=tā [čē kšúlē Oríf kēñē kṣōtosyo=bo,]] atkí guá.]
- | | | | | | | |
|-------------|------------------------|------------------|-------------|----------------|------------|---------------|
| <i>amkí</i> | <i>parí</i> | <i>kúvu</i> | <i>tā=ō</i> | <i>=tā</i> | <i>če</i> | <i>kšúl-ē</i> |
| DEM.DIST.PL | fairly.DIR | where | place-OBL | =LPST | CNJ | smart-M |
| <i>Oríf</i> | <i>kēñē</i> | <i>kṣō-tosyo</i> | <i>=bo</i> | <i>atkí</i> | <i>guá</i> | |
| PN.DIR | stay-PROG.PST.MDV.3G.M | =CNJ | LDEM.DIST | go.PFV.PST.3PL | | |

‘Those fairies went to the place that the wise Arif was said to be staying at.’ [NE-BN] (Sun-Aro Half-Boy 3.3)

A full replication of the Pashto structure is also possible, as examples (204) and (205) demonstrate. Here the phoric distal demonstrative *ostē* takes the role of the Pashto demonstrative *háya* and the borrowed complementizer *če* introduces the relative clause. Example (204) is a translation of the Pashto example (201) above and example (205) is a proverb calqued on a Pashto (and ultimately Persian) prototype. Despite the exact replication of the Pashto structure, such examples seem to be grammatically acceptable to Katē speakers.

- (204) *Ostě šer [čě amú myúk [póve vúkče] vaňyó.]*
o-stě *šer* *če* *amú* *myuk*
 PHOR-DEM.DIST lion.DIR CNJ REFL.DIR/OBL face[M].DIR
p-óv-e *vú-kče* *vaň-yó*
 LP-water-LOC ↓-look.CVB see-PFV.PST.3SG.M
 ‘The lion who saw his own face in the water.’ [NE-BN]
 (Sun-Aro Lion – Title)

- (205) *[[Ostě vaňé] věděřé] [čě stě Děžélē né věděřétě.]*
o-st-ě *vaňé* *věděřé* *če*
 PHOR-DEM.DIST-OBL.SG.M see-CVB be.afraid.IMP CNJ
st-ě *Děžé-l-ě* *ne* *věděřé-tě*
 DEM.DIST-DIR create-IPFV.PTCP-OBL.SG.M NEG fear-PROG.PRS.3SG
 ‘Fear the one who doesn’t fear God (the Creator).’ [NE-MR]
 (Mansur Proverbs 77)

2.11.7.1.3 Adverbial Result Clauses

Adverbial result clauses are also formed with the multifunctional conjunctions *če* and *ke* in Pashto and Persian (Brugman & Boyle David 2014: 439; Farhâdi 1955: 142). Since the corresponding Katë construction is formed asyndetically (cf. section 2.11.6.1.4), the borrowed conjunctions are readily inserted in this context, as in example (206).

- (206) *[Ikó ojī-stě argú bétot kěřá] [čě uňálē ikí lónivor-tā ozód kěřyé.]*
ikó *ojī* *=stě* *argú* *bétot*
 DEM.MED-OBL.SG.F PHOR-such =REF excellent effort.DIR
k-ěřá *če* *uňá-l-ě* *ikí*
 do-PFV.PST.3PL CNJ take-IPFV.PTCP-OBL.SG.M DEM.MED.DIR
lón-i-vor-tā *ozód k-ěřyé*
 slave-F-ness=LPST-ABL free-PFV.PST.3SG.F
 ‘She did such excellent work that the buyer freed her from slavery.’
 [NE-BN] (Sun-Aro Spinner 14.2)

2.11.7.1.4 Temporal Clauses

A Persian construction for temporal subordinate clauses involving the conjunction *ke*, which is demonstrated in example (207), can be found replicated in the Western dialect of Kulem.

(207) **(Iranian) Persian**

[*Nazdik-e zohr bud*] [*ke mā vāred-e Qučān šodim.*]

<i>nazdik-e</i>	<i>zohr</i>	<i>bud</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>vāred-e</i>	<i>Qučān</i>	<i>šodim</i>
near-EZ	noon	was	CNJ	1PL	inside-EZ	PN	went.1PL

‘It was close to noon when we arrived at Qučān.’ (Lazard 1992: 239)

This structure is functionally similar to the clause combinations with *-të* described in section 2.11.6.3.3, in that it is used to narrate a new and contrasting event against the background provided by the initial clause, but the structural relation of main and subordinate clause is the other way around. A Katë example replicating the Persian structure is shown in (208).

(208) [*Vúze pšól nēš-ně-stě stúm,*] [*ki Baṇṭě áyo.*]

<i>vúze</i>	<i>p-šol</i>	<i>něš-ně-stě stúm</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>Baṇṭě</i>
1SG.DIR	LP-stable	sit.down-RES.PST.3SG.M	CNJ	PN-DIR

á-yo
come-PFV.PST.3SG.M

‘I was staying at the (mountain pasture) stable, when Baṇṭě came.’

[W-KL] (Grjunberg Recording OR-33B)

2.11.7.2 Conditional clauses with *agá(r)*

For the introduction of conditional clauses Persian, and thence also Urdu, uses *agar* (Afghan Colloquial Persian: *aga*) (Farhâdi 1955: 143–144). This conjunction is frequently borrowed and placed at the beginning of a conditional clause, which otherwise would only be identified as such by an enclitic *-bo* at its end (cf. section 2.11.6.3.1). This produces a double-marked conditional clause (*agá(r)* ... *-bo*), as in (209) and (210).

- (209) [Agár tavaǰúh né kěřě-bo,] [věří psyě-psyě pís búlay.]
 agár tavaǰúh ne k-ěřě -bo věří
 if attention NEG do-COND.3.M =CNJ language.DIR
 psyě-psyě pís bú-lě-ay
 slowly be.lost-IPFV/FUT.3PL
 ‘If one does not pay attention, the languages will slowly disappear.’
 [NE-PC] (RTA Language 11.1)

- (210) [Agá tyú dús áyosyoš-bo,] [yé-stě vúšpa tú přělě stúm.]
 agá tyu dus á-yosyoš -bo
 if 2SG.DIR yesterday come-PFV.PST.MDV.2SG.M =CNJ
 ye -stě vúšp-a tu
 1SG.OBL =REF horse-OBL.SG.F 2SG.OBL
 přelě-lě stúm
 give-IPFV/FUT.PST.1SG.M
 ‘If you had come yesterday, I would’ve given you my horse.’ [W-KL]
 (Grjunberg Phrase 183)

While the inherited Katë structures for conditional clauses and correlatives are very similar, the major contact languages distinguish the two rather strictly and use different conjunctions in their formation. The borrowing of Persian or Pashto conjunctions for both of these clause types introduces a stronger distinction between the two and in this way achieves some convergence to the grammatical systems of the contact languages, even if the inherited *-bo* remains in both cases.

2.11.7.3 Additive Coordination with *sěvérě* ~ *súrě* ~ *sórě*

In replication of the colloquial use of Persian *diga(r)* ‘other’, W/NE *sěvérě*, SE *súrě*, SE-MM *sórě* ‘the other’ is commonly used as a general coordinator with a meaning similar to ‘and’ or ‘also’, both within noun phrases and between clauses. An example of clausal coordination is given in (211). It also appears as a general filler word, again replicating the Persian use.

- (211) [Kú dúy né přemu,] [sëvérë kú-tã=u kasé né kasému.]
 ku duy ne přé-mu sëvérë ku =tã
 who.OBL hand NEG give-OPT.1PL the.other who.OBL =LPST
 =u kasé-ō ne kasé-mu
 =at cough-INF NEG cough-OPT.1PL

‘We shouldn’t shake hands with anyone, and we shouldn’t cough near anyone.’ [NE-MR] (Mansur Coronavirus 4.4)

2.11.7.4 Adversative Coordination with xo

Adversativity is explicitly marked with conjunctions in all of the major contact languages of the region. Since the corresponding Katë structure is formed asyndetically, adversative conjunctions are frequently borrowed and used in the same way as in the contact languages. Most commonly this happens with the Pashto and Afghan Colloquial Persian conjunction *xo* ([xo]) ‘but’, often phonologically adapted as *xu* or *xo* ([xɔ]). In Pakistan one may also hear Urdu *lēkin* (< Arabic) being used. An example is given in (212).

- (212) [[Imú manči kúř kúyã-di pšéy télay,] kúfr vél-tã búti,] [xó iné Islómě ptyôřě skól bissë.]
 imú manč-í kuř kúyã =di p-šéy
 1PL person-DIR hat earlier =ADD.FOC LP-head
 té-lě-ay kufr vél =tã-ō bú-ti xo
 put-IPFV.3PL unbelief time =LPST-ABL become-CVB but
 in-ě Islóm-ě pti-ôřě skol b-i-stě-asě
 DEM.PROX-DIR Islam-OBL back-direction much become-RES.3SG

‘Our people also wore hats in earlier times, since the time of unbelief, but this has become more after Islam.’ [NE-PC] (RTA Clothing 18.3)

2.11.7.5 Disjunctive Coordination with yo

As with adversative coordination, the inherited strategies for disjunctive coordination are quite different to those of the contact languages, involving, e.g., the use of the conjunction W/NE *ney*, SE *nay*, which is also used in the meaning of ‘no’. This may be one reason why the Persian conjunction *yā* ‘or’, adapted as *yo*, is also frequently borrowed, both for noun phrase coordination and for clause coordination. An example is given in (213).

- (213) *Lělvok* – [yó=stě káy farháng asě=bo,] [yó yó=stě káy čór asě=bo,]
[stě čórě kú=stě=tā amkí jírík zaňétat.]

<i>lělvok</i>	<i>yo</i>	<i>=stě</i>	<i>kay</i>	<i>farháng</i>	<i>as-ě</i>
young.man.DIR	REFL.IND	=REF	what	culture.DIR	COP-3SG
<i>=bo</i>	<i>yo</i>	<i>yo</i>	<i>=stě</i>	<i>kay</i>	<i>čor</i>
=CNJ	or	REFL.IND	=REF	what	custom.DIR
<i>=bo</i>	<i>stě</i>	<i>čórě</i>	<i>kú</i>	<i>=st-ě</i>	<i>=tã</i>
=CNJ	DEM.DIST	custom-OBL	do	=REF-OBL.SG.M	=LPST
<i>amkí</i>	<i>jírík</i>	<i>zaňé-tat</i>			
DEM.DIST.PL.DIR	shame	know-PROG.PRS.3PL			

‘The young people – they feel ashamed of practicing that which is their own culture, or which is their own custom.’ [NE] (Axtar Program 45.1)

2.11.7.6 Temporal clauses with *to*

The Western dialect construction, in which temporal ‘until’ clauses are formed with the infinitive followed by the postposition *=yik* ‘until’ (cf. section 2.11.6.7.1.4), is attested several times in a double-marked circumpositional construction, with the Persian preposition *tā* ‘until’, adapted as *to*, as a preposition in addition to the original postposition. An example is given in (214).

- (214) [[*Stó=taře né mēkyúko*,] [*tó mře=yik*] *amšé=stě drukóno=meš šúč kúnasi*.]

<i>st-o</i>	<i>=tař-e</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>měk-yúko</i>	
DEM.DIST-OBL.PL	=lpst-abl	NEG	flee-CVB.NEG	
<i>to</i>	<i>mře</i>	<i>=yik</i>	<i>amšé</i>	<i>=stě</i>
until	die.INF	=until	REFL.PL	=REF
<i>dru-kón-o</i>	<i>=meš</i>	<i>šúč_ku-nasi</i>		
bow-arrow-OBL.PL	=with	fight-PROG.PST.3PL		

‘Without fleeing before them, they fought until they died with their bows and arrows.’ [W-KL] (Grjunberg I 7.2)

References

- Aikhenvald, Alexandra. 2012. The essence of mirativity. *Linguistic Typology* 16. 435–485.
- Amin, Muhammad Anvar & Richard Strand. 1997. The True Story of Our Jihâd. In Richard Strand (ed.), *Essays on Kom Ethnography [Last modified 2014]*. <http://nuristan.info/Nuristani/Kamkata/Kom/KomTexts/AnvarJihad.html>.
- Arsenault, Paul. 2017. Retroflexion in South Asia: Typological, genetic, and areal patterns. *Journal of South Asian Languages and Linguistics* 4(1). 1–53. <https://doi.org/10.1515/jsall-2017-0001>.
- Baart, Joan. 2003. Tonal features in languages of northern Pakistan. In Joan Baart & Ghulam Hyder Sindhi (eds.), *Pakistani Languages and Society: Problems and Prospects*, 132–144. Islamabad: National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University; Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL).
- Balland, Daniel. 1992. Census ii. in Afghanistan. *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online version.
- Bashir, Elena. 1988. *Topics in Kalasha Syntax: An Areal and Typological Perspective*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan dissertation.
- Bashir, Elena. 1996. Mosaic of tongues: quotatives and complementizers in Northwest Indo-Aryan, Burushaski, and Balti. In William Hanaway & Wilma Heston (eds.), *Studies in Pakistani Popular Culture*, 187–286. Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lok Virsa Publishing House.
- Bashir, Elena. 2000. Spatial Representation in Khowar. In Arika Okrent & John Boyle (eds.), *The 36th Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society: The Main Session*, 15–29. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Bashir, Elena. 2003. Dardic. In George Cardona & Dhanesh Jain (eds.), *The Indo-Aryan Languages*, 905–989. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Bashir, Elena. 2010. Traces of mirativity in Shina. *Himalayan Linguistics* 9(2). 1–55. <https://doi.org/10.5070/h99223478>.
- Bashir, Elena. 2023. Copular use in Khowar, Kalasha and neighboring languages. In Alberto Cacopardo & Augusto Cacopardo (eds.), *Roots of Peristan: The Pre-Islamic Cultures of the Hindukush/Karakorum. Proceedings of the International Interdisciplinary Conference, ISMEO, Rome, Palazzo Baleani, 5-7 October, 2022. Part I*, 237–276. Rome: ISMEO / Scienze e Lettere.

- Bashir, Elena, Thomas Connors & Brook Hefright. 2019. *A Descriptive Grammar of Hindko, Panjabi, and Saraiki* (Mouton-CASL Grammar Series 4). Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Baums, Stefan & Andrew Glass. 2002. A Dictionary of Gāndhārī. https://gandhari.org/n_dictionary.php.
- Berger, Hermann. 1983. Etymologische Bemerkungen zu einigen auf Geister und Geisterglaube bezüglichen Wörtern im Burushaski. In Peter Snoy (ed.), *Ethnologie und Geschichte. Festschrift für Karl Jettmar*, 29–33. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Beyer, Daniela & Simone Beck. 2011. A linguistic assessment of the Munji language in Afghanistan. *Language Documentation & Conservation* 6. 38–103.
- Bickel, Balthasar. 1998. Review of Haspelmath & König (eds.) (1995): *Converbs in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. *Linguistic Typology* 2. 381–397.
- Bohnemeyer, Jürgen, Eve Danziger, Jonathon Lum, Ali Alshehri, Elena Benedicto, Joe Blythe, Letizia Cerqueglini, et al. 2022. Reference frames in language and cognition: cross-population mismatches. *Linguistics Vanguard* 8(S1). 175–189. <https://doi.org/10.1515/lingvan-2021-0091>.
- Brugman, Claudia & Anne Boyle David. 2014. Syntax. In Anne Boyle David & Claudia Brugman (eds.), *Descriptive Grammar of Pashto and Its Dialects*, 399–453. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Buddruss, Georg. 1975. Gāndhārī-Prakrit *chada* “Ton”. *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 1. 37–48.
- Buddruss, Georg. 1977a. Nochmals zur Stellung der Nūristān-Sprachen des afghanischen Hindukusch. *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 36. 19–38.
- Buddruss, Georg. 1977b. Lage und Richtung in der Prasun-Sprache des afghanischen Hindukusch. Unpublished handout.
- Buddruss, Georg. 2006. Drei Texte in der Wama-Sprache des afghanischen Hindukusch. In Mixail Nikolaevič Bogoljubov (ed.), *Indoiranskoe jazykoznanie i tipologija jazykovyx situacij: sbornik statej k 75-letiju professora A.L. Grjunberga (1930-1995)*, 177–200. St. Petersburg: Nauka.
- Buddruss, Georg & Almuth Degener. 2015. *Materialien zur Prasun-Sprache des afghanischen Hindukusch. Teil I: Texte und Glossar* (Harvard Oriental Series 80). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Buddruss, Georg & Almuth Degener. 2017. *Materialien zur Prasun-Sprache des afghanischen Hindukusch, Teil II: Grammatik* (Harvard Oriental Series 84). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

- Cacopardo, Alberto. 2023. Who claimed the golden throne? The political history of the eastern Kati and their settlement in Gobor. In Alberto Cacopardo & Augusto Cacopardo (eds.), *Roots of Peristan: The Pre-Islamic Cultures of the Hindukush/Karakorum. Proceedings of the International Interdisciplinary Conference, ISMEO, Rome, Palazzo Baleani, 5-7 October, 2022. Part I*, 3–52. Rome: ISMEO / Scienze e Lettere.
- Cacopardo, Alberto & Augusto Cacopardo. 2001. *Gates of Peristan: History, Religion and Society in the Hindu Kush*. Rome: Istituto Italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente.
- CSO (= Central Statistics Office). 1975. *A Provisional Gazetteer of Afghanistan / Atlas Qaryahā-yi Afġānistān*. Vol. 2. Kabul: Central Statistics Office of Afghanistan.
- CSO/UNFPA (= Central Statistics Office / United Nations Population Fund). 2003. *Nooristan. A Socio-Economic and Demographic Profile - Household Listing 2003*.
- Davidson, John. 1902. *Notes on the Bashġalī (Kāfir) Language*. Calcutta: Asiatic Society.
- Decker, Kendall. 1992. *Languages of Chitral* (Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan 5). Islamabad: National Institute of Pakistani Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University; Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL).
- Degener, Almuth. 1998. *Die Sprache von Nisheygram im afghanischen Hindukusch* (Neuindische Studien 14). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Degener, Almuth. 2002. The Nuristani languages. In Nicholas Sims-Williams (ed.), *Indo-Iranian Languages and Peoples* (Proceedings of the British Academy 116), 103–117. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- de Graaf, Tjeerd. 2021. *Grünberg collection. Endangered Languages Archive*. <http://hdl.handle.net/2196/664559d3-203b-40df-931e-3d32158fb515>.
- Di Carlo, Pierpaolo. 2011. Two clues of a former Hindu Kush linguistic area. In Carol Everhard & Elizabeth Mela-Athanasopoulou (eds.), *Selected Papers from the International Conference on Language Documentation and Tradition with a Special Interest in the Kalasha of the Hindu-Kush Valleys, Himalayas, 7-9 November 2008*, 101–114. Thessaloniki: Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, University Studio Press.
- Di Carlo, Pierpaolo. 2016. Retroflex vowels? Phonetics, phonology, and history of unusual sounds in Kalasha and other languages of the Hindu Kush region. *Archivio per l’Antropologia e la Etnologia* CXLVI. 103–120.
- Dixon, Robert. 2010. *Basic Linguistic Theory. Vol.2: Grammatical Topics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Dryer, Matthew. 2013. Position of case affixes. In Matthew Dryer & Martin Haspelmath (eds.), *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online* (<http://wals.info/chapter/51>). Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology.
- Edelberg, Lennart. 1984. *Nuristani Buildings*. Aarhus: Jutland Archaeological Society.
- Edelberg, Lennart & Schuyler Jones. 1979. *Nuristan*. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt.
- Emeneau, Murray. 1956. India as a Linguistic Area. *Language* 32(1). 3–16. <https://doi.org/10.2307/410649>.
- Evans, Nicholas & Honoré Watanabe. 2016. The dynamics of insubordination: An overview. In Nicholas Evans & Honoré Watanabe (eds.), *Insubordination*, 1–38. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.115.01eva>.
- Farhâdi, Abd-ul-Ghafûr. 1955. *Le persan parlé en Afghanistan. Grammaire du Kâboli*. Paris: CNRS / C. Klincksieck.
- FLI (= Forum for Language Initiatives). 2016. *Dameli: Mağmū‘a-yi Alfāz*. Islamabad: Forum for Language Initiatives.
- Fries, Simon, Jakob Halfmann, Eugen Hill & Denise Hübner. 2023. From noun to future tense: The functional diachrony of the *l*-future in the Nuristani languages and its typological background. *STUF - Language Typology and Universals* 76(1). 53–85. <https://doi.org/10.1515/stuf-2023-2002>.
- Fussman, Gérard & Qazi Gholam Ullah Abhari (= Ġulāmullāh). 1983. Un récit Kamviri sur les coutumes pré-islamiques de Kamdesh. In Peter Snoy (ed.), *Ethnologie und Geschichte: Festschrift für Karl Jettmar* (Beiträge Zur Südasienforschung 86), 180–204. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Gick, Bryan, Ian Wilson, Karsten Koch & Clare Cook. 2004. Language-specific articulatory settings: Evidence from inter-utterance rest position. *Phonetica* 61(4). 220–233. <https://doi.org/10.1159/000084159>.
- Grjunberg, Aleksandr Leonovič. 1972. *Mundžanskij Jazyk. Teksty, Slovar’, Grammatičeskij Očerk* (Jazyki Vostočnogo Gindukuša). Leningrad: Izdatel’svo “Nauka”.
- Grjunberg, Aleksandr Leonovič. 1980. *Jazyk Kati. Teksty, Grammatičeskij Očerk* (Jazyki Vostočnogo Gindukuša). Moscow: Izdatel’svo “Nauka”.
- Grjunberg, Aleksandr Leonovič. 1994. Materialy po étnografii i mifologii Nuristana iz arxiva M.S. Andreeva. In *Festschrift. Georg Buddruss zur Vollendung des 65.*

- Lebensjahres und zu seiner Emeritierung* (Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik 19), 83–107. Reinbek: Dr. Inge Wezler Verlag.
- Grjunberg, Aleksandr Leonovič. 1995a. Kafirskij gimn bogu Monu (iz arxiva M.S. Andreeva). *Peterburgskoe Vostokovedenie* 7. 605–620.
- Grjunberg, Aleksandr Leonovič. 1995b. Nuristanskije teksty iz arxiva M.S. Andreeva. In Jaroslav Vladimirovič Vasil'kov & Nikita Vladimirovič Gurov (eds.), *Sthāpakaśrāddham. Sbornik statej pamjati G.A. Zografa*, 144–161. St. Petersburg: Peterburgskoe Vostokovedenie.
- Grjunberg, Aleksandr Leonovič. 1999. Aškun Jazyk. In Džoj Josifovna Ėdel'man (ed.), *Dardskie i Nuristanskije Jazyki* (Jazyki Mira 7), 126–131. Moscow: Indrik.
- Grjunberg, Aleksandr Leonovič, Ğān Muḥammad Nūristānī & Yāsamīn Akmal Ğanā (= Jano). 1987. *Alifbā-yi Nūristānī*. Kabul: Akādimī-yi 'Ulūm Ğumhūrī-yi Afgānistān - Markaz-i Zabān wa Adabiyāt, Institūt-i Zabānhā wa Adabiyāt-i Millathā-yi Barādar, Dīpārtmint-i Zabān wa Adabiyāt-i Nūristānī.
- Ġulāmullāh. 1966. *Grāmar-i Zabān-i Katya-wirī*. Unpublished Manuscript held at Oslo University Library.
https://bibsyst-almaprmo.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/1bm357c/BIBSYS_ILS71492528890002201.
- Ġulāmullāh. 1968. *Qāmūs-i Zabān-i Katya-wirī*. Unpublished Manuscript held at Berne University Library.
- Halfmann, Jakob. 2021. Terminological Proposals for the Nuristani languages. *Himalayan Linguistics* 20(1). <https://doi.org/10.5070/H920150079>.
- Hallet, Stanley & Rafi Samizay. 1980. *Traditional Architecture of Afghanistan*. New York: Garland STPM Press.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 1997. *Indefinite Pronouns*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198235606.001.0001>.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 2023. Word-class universals and language-particular analysis. In Eva van Lier (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Word Classes*, 15–40. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198852889.013.2>.
- Heegård, Jan. 2015. Kalasha texts – with introductory grammar. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 47(S1). 1–275. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03740463.2015.1069049>.
- Heegård, Jan & Henrik Liljegren. 2018. Geomorphic coding in Palula and Kalasha. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia*. Routledge 50(2). 129–160.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/03740463.2018.1432210>.

- Heine, Bernd. 1997. *Possession. Cognitive Sources, Forces, and Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511581908>.
- Herrlich, Albert. 1937. Beitrag zur Rassen- und Stammeskunde der Hindukusch-Kafiren. In Arnold Scheibe (ed.), *Deutsche im Hindukusch. Bericht der Deutschen Hindukusch-Expedition 1935 der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft* (Deutsche Forschung: Schriften der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft, Neue Folge 1), 158–246. Berlin: Karl Siegismund Verlag.
- Herrlich, Albert, Wolfgang Lentz, Werner Roemer & Klaus von Rosenstiel. 1937. Geographische Bemerkungen. In Arnold Scheibe (ed.), *Deutsche im Hindukusch. Bericht der Deutschen Hindukusch-Expedition 1935 der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft* (Deutsche Forschung: Schriften der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft, Neue Folge 1), 295–351. Berlin: Karl Siegismund Verlag.
- Himmelman, Nikolaus. 1996. Demonstratives in narrative discourse. A taxonomy of universal uses. In Barbara Fox (ed.), *Studies in Anaphora*, 205–254. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.33.08him>.
- Himmelman, Nikolaus & Eva Schultze-Berndt. 2005. Issues in the syntax and semantics of participant-oriented adjuncts: an introduction. In Nikolaus Himmelman & Eva Schultze-Berndt (eds.), *Secondary Predication and Adverbial Modification: The Typology of Depictives*, 1–67. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hinüber, Oskar von. 2001. *Das ältere Mittelindisch im Überblick* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 467; Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Sprachen und Kulturen Südasiens 20). 2nd edn. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Hoffmann, Karl & Bernhard Forssman. 2004. *Avestische Laut- und Flexionslehre*. 2nd edn. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachen und Literaturen der Universität Innsbruck.
- Hussain, Qandeel & Jeff Mielke. 2019. The emergence of retroflex vowels in endangered Dardic and Nuristani languages. *Presentation at the 5th Workshop on Sound Change, UC Davis*.
- Hussain, Qandeel & Jeff Mielke. 2021. An acoustic and articulatory study of rhotic and rhotic-nasal vowels of Kalasha. *Journal of Phonetics* 87. 101028. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wocn.2020.101028>.
- Jahani, Carina & Agnes Korn. 2009. Balochi. In Gernot Windfuhr (ed.), *The Iranian Languages*, 634–692. London: Routledge.

- Jano (Ĝanā), Yāsamīn Akmal. 1991. *Afsānahā-yi Nūristānī*. Kabul: Center for Languages and Literature, Afghan Academy of Sciences.
- Johanson, Lars. 1998. The structure of Turkic. In Lars Johanson & Éva Ágnes Csató (eds.), *The Turkic Languages*, 30–66. London: Routledge.
- Katz, David. 1982. *Kafir to Afghan: Religious Conversion, Political Incorporation, and Ethnicity in the Väygal Valley, Nuristan*. Los Angeles, CA: University of California, Los Angeles dissertation.
- Khan, Sameer ud Dowla. 2006. *Similarity Avoidance in Bengali Fixed-Segment Reduplication*. Los Angeles, CA M.A. thesis.
- Kieffer, Charles. 2003. *Grammaire de l'Ōrmurī de Baraki-Barak (Lōgar, Afghanistan)* (Beiträge zur Iranistik 22). Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Kieffer, Charles. 2009. Parachi. In Gernot Windfuhr (ed.), *The Iranian Languages*, 693–720. London: Routledge.
- Klimburg, Maximilian. 1999. *The Kafirs of the Hindu Kush. Art and Society of the Waigal and Ashkun Kafirs*. Vol. 1. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Korn, Agnes. 2017. The evolution of Iranian. In Jared Klein, Brian Joseph & Matthias Fritz (eds.), *Handbook of Comparative and Historical Indo-European Linguistics*. Vol. 1, 608–624. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110261288-038>.
- Kümmel, Martin. 2022. Indo-Iranian. In Thomas Olander (ed.), *The Indo-European Language Family. A Phylogenetic Perspective*, 246–268. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108758666.014>.
- Kuroda, Sige-Yuki. 1965. *Generative Grammatical Studies in the Japanese Language*. Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology dissertation.
- Ladefoged, Peter & Ian Maddieson. 1996. *The Sounds of the World's Languages*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Larsson, Katarina. 2006. *Provincial Survey of Nuristan*.
https://doi.org/10.2458/azu_acku_pamphlet_hc418_n87_l37_2006.
- Lazard, Gilbert. 1992. *A Grammar of Contemporary Persian* (transl. Shirley Lyon). Costa Mesa/New York: Mazda Publishers / Bibliotheca Persica.
- Lazard, Gilbert. 1999. Mirativity, evidentiality, mediativity, or other? *Linguistic Typology* 3(1). 91–109.
- Lehr, Rachel. 2014. *A Descriptive Grammar of Pashai: The Language and Speech Community of Darrai Nur*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago dissertation.

- Levinson, Stephen. 2003. *Space in Language and Cognition. Explorations in Cognitive Diversity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511613609>.
- Liljegren, Henrik. 2016. *A Grammar of Palula* (Studies in Diversity Linguistics 8). Berlin: Language Science Press. https://doi.org/10.26530/oopen_611690.
- Liljegren, Henrik. 2021a. The Hindu Kush–Karakorum and linguistic areality. *Journal of South Asian Languages and Linguistics* 7(2). 239–285.
<https://doi.org/10.1515/jsall-2021-2027>.
- Liljegren, Henrik. 2021b. Kinship terminologies reveal ancient contact zone in the Hindu Kush. *Linguistic Typology* 26(2). 211–245.
<https://doi.org/10.1515/lingty-2021-2080>.
- Liljegren, Henrik & Fakhruddin Akhunzada. 2017. Linguistic diversity, vitality and maintenance: A case study on the language situation in northern Pakistan. *Multiethnica* 37. 61–79.
- Liljegren, Henrik, Robert Forkel, Nina Knobloch & Noa Lange. 2021. Hindu Kush Areal Typology (Version v1.0) [Data set]. Zenodo.
<http://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.4534221>.
- Liljegren, Henrik & Afsar Ali Khan. 2017. Illustrations of the IPA: Khowar. *Journal of the International Phonetic Association* 47(2). 219–229.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0025100316000220>.
- Lipták, Anikó. 2009. The landscape of correlatives: An empirical and analytical survey. In Anikó Lipták (ed.), *Correlatives Cross-Linguistically*, 1–46. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/lfab.1.02lip>.
- Maddieson, Ian. 2013. Consonant inventories. In Matthew Dryer & Martin Haspelmath (eds.), *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology.
- Maggi, Wynne. 2001. *Our Women Are Free. Gender and Ethnicity in the Hindukush*. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press.
- Masica, Colin. 1976. *Defining a Linguistic Area: South Asia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Masica, Colin. 1991. *The Indo-Aryan Languages* (Cambridge Language Surveys). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Miller, Corey & Anne Boyle David. 2014. Phonology and Orthography. In Anne Boyle David & Claudia Brugman (eds.), *Descriptive Grammar of Pashto and Its Dialects* (Mouton-CASL Grammar Series 1), 9–30. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

- Mohammad, Jan. 1991. *Causative Constructions in Kati, A Nuristani Language of Afghanistan*. Athens, OH: Ohio State University master's thesis MA Thesis.
- Morgenstierne, Georg. 1926. *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan* (Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning, Publikasjoner, Serie C 1.2). Oslo: Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning.
- Morgenstierne, Georg. 1929. The language of the Ashkun Kafirs. *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* 2. 192–289.
- Morgenstierne, Georg. 1932. *Report on a Linguistic Mission to North-Western India* (Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning, Publikasjoner, Serie C 3.1). Oslo: Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning.
- Morgenstierne, Georg. 1934. Additional notes on Ashkun. *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* 7. 56–115.
- Morgenstierne, Georg. 1938. *Iranian Pamir Languages (Yidgha-Munji, Sanglechi-Ishkashimi, and Wakhi)* (Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages 2). Oslo: Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning / H. Aschehoug & Co.
- Morgenstierne, Georg. 1942. Notes on Dameli, a Kafir-Dardic language of Chitral. *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* 12. 113–198.
- Morgenstierne, Georg. 1953. Some Kati Myths and Hymns. *Acta Orientalia* 22. 161–189.
- Morgenstierne, Georg. 1954. The Waigali language. *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* 17. 146–324.
- Morgenstierne, Georg. 1967a. Some folk-songs from Nuristan. In *To Honor Roman Jakobson: Essays on the occasion of his 70. birthday, 11. October 1966* (Janua Linguarum, Series Maior 32), vol. 2, 1378–1392. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Morgenstierne, Georg. 1967b. *The Pashai Language 1: Grammar* (Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages 3). Oslo: Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning / Universitetsforlaget.
- Morgenstierne, Georg. 1968. Mythological texts from the Kates of Nuristan. In *Mélanges d'Indianisme à la mémoire de Louis Renou* (Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne, Série in-8° 28). Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard.
- Morgenstierne, Georg. 1978. *Kati-vokabular*. Unpublished Manuscript digitized by the Norwegian National Library, Oslo – Ms.fol.4201, D:23, Kati XIII. https://www.nb.no/items/URN:NBN:no-nb_digimanus_298571.
- Muhammad Kabir & Richard Strand. 2019. *The Anti-Communist Revolt in Kombrom* [Last edited 2019].

- <http://nuristan.info/Nuristani/Kamkata/Kom/KomTexts/KhalqiWar.html>.
- Nikolaeva, Irina. 2014. Altaic. In Rochelle Lieber & Pavol Štekauer (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Derivational Morphology*, 493–508. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199641642.013.0027>.
- NSIA (= National Statistics and Information Authority). 2020. *Estimated Population of Afghanistan 2020-21*.
- O'Meara, Carolyn & Gabriela Pérez Báez. 2011. Spatial frames of reference in Mesoamerican languages. *Language Sciences* 33(6). 837–852.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langsci.2011.06.013>.
- Palmer, Bill. 2015. Topography in language. Absolute frame of reference and the topographic correspondence hypothesis. In Rik de Busser & Randy LaPolla (eds.), *Language Structure and Environment. Social, Cultural, and Natural Factors*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Parsons, Martin. 1995. *Ramgal valley, Western Nuristan: Regional Development Report*.
https://doi.org/10.2458/azu_acku_pamphlet_hn670_6_z9_p37_1995.
- PBS (= Pakistan Bureau of Statistics. 2018. *Block Wise Provisional Summary Results of 6th Population & Housing Census 2017*.
- Perder, Emil. 2013. *A Grammatical Description of Dameli*. Stockholm: Stockholm University dissertation.
- Plank, Frans. 2006. *Affix Suspension - The Issues*. Unpublished manuscript available online.
https://ling.sprachwiss.uni-konstanz.de/pages/home/plank/for_download/unpublished/14_FP_AffixSuspension_2006.pdf.
- Reichert, Pierre. 1998. Anmerkungen zur Dialektologie des Kati (Lautlehre). In Ivan Mixailovič Steblin-Kamenskij, Vladimir Vasil'evič Kušev, Nina Leonidovna Lužeckaja & Lutz Rzehak (eds.), *Central'naja Aziya, Vostočnyj Gindukuš* (Strany i Narody Vostoka XXX), 123–136. St. Petersburg: Peterburgskoe Vostokovedenie.
- Reinöhl, Uta. 2016. A single origin of Indo-European primary adpositions? Unveiling the Indo-Aryan branch-off. *Diachronica* 33(1). 95–130.
<https://doi.org/10.1075/dia.33.1.04rei>.
- Robertson, George Scott. 1896. *The Káfirs of the Hindu-Kush*. London: Lawrence & Bullet.
- Scheibe, Arnold. 1937. Die Landbauverhältnisse in Nuristan. In Arnold Scheibe (ed.), *Deutsche im Hindukusch. Bericht der Deutschen Hindukusch-Expedition 1935 der*

- Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft* (Deutsche Forschung: Schriften der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft, Neue Folge 1), 98–140. Berlin: Karl Siegismund Verlag.
- Schmidt, Ruth Laila. 1999. *Urdu: An Essential Grammar* (Routledge Essential Grammars). London: Routledge.
- Shimoyama, Junko. 2008. Indeterminate pronouns. In Shigeru Miyagawa (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Japanese Linguistics*, 372–393. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195307344.013.0014>.
- Slade, Benjamin. 2021. Development of verb-verb complexes in Indo-Aryan. In Taro Kageyama, Peter Hook & Prashant Pardeshi (eds.), *Verb-Verb Complexes in Asian Languages*, 249–274. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198759508.003.0010>.
- Snoy, Peter. 1965. Nuristan und Munğan. *Tribus - Veröffentlichungen des Linden-Museums* 14. 101–148.
- Squartini, Mario. 2016. Interactions between modality and other semantic categories. In Jan Nuyts & Johan van der Auwera (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Modality and Mood*, 50–67. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Stassen, Leon. 2009. *Predicative Possession*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Stilo, Donald. 2009. Circumpositions as an areal response: The case study of the Iranian zone. *Turkic Languages* 13. 3–33.
- Strand, Richard. 1973. Notes on the Nūristānī and Dardic Languages. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 93(3). 297–305.
- Strand, Richard. 1974a. Principles of kinship organization among the Kom Nuristani. In Karl Jettmar & Lennart Edelberg (eds.), *Cultures of the Hindukush. Selected Papers from the Hindu-Kush Cultural Conference Held at Moesgård 1970*, 51–56. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Strand, Richard. 1974b. A note on rank, political leadership, and government among the pre-Islamic Kom. In Karl Jettmar & Lennart Edelberg (eds.), *Cultures of the Hindukush. Selected Papers from the Hindu-Kush Cultural Conference Held at Moesgård 1970*, 57–63. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Strand, Richard. 1975. The changing herding economy of the Kom Nuristani. *Afghanistan Journal* 2(4). 123–134.
- Strand, Richard. 1985. Locality and nominal relationships in Kamviri. In Arlene Zide, David Magier & Eric Schiller (eds.), *Proceedings of the Conference on Participant Roles: South Asia and Adjacent Areas*, 48–57. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Linguistics Club.

- Strand, Richard. 1997a. *The kât'a, k'om, mum'o, kšt'o, bini'o, jâmč'o, and jâš'a* (Last edited 2011). <http://nuristan.info/Nuristani/Kamkata/kamkata.html>.
- Strand, Richard. 1997b. *The Sound System of kâmv'iri* (Last edited 2011). <http://nuristan.info/Nuristani/Kamkata/Kom/KomLanguage/Lexicon/phon.html>.
- Strand, Richard. 1997c. *Direction and Location in the Nuristâni Languages*. Direction and Location in the Nuristâni Languages. (25 September, 2024).
- Strand, Richard. 1999a. *kâmv'iri Lexicon* (Last edited 2019). <http://nuristan.info/lngFrameL.html> (no direct link).
- Strand, Richard. 1999b. *kât'a vari (kt'i vřâi vari) Lexicon* (Last edited 2011). <http://nuristan.info/lngFrameL.html> (no direct link).
- Strand, Richard. 1999c. Review of Degener (1998): Die Sprache von Nisheygram im afghanischen Hindukusch. *Acta Orientalia* 60. 236–243.
- Strand, Richard. 1999d. *kalaša alâ (nišei alâ) Lexicon* (Last edited 2011). <http://nuristan.info/lngFrameL.html> (no direct link).
- Strand, Richard. 2007. *Transcription and Pronunciation of the Nuristâni Languages* (Last edited 2011). <http://nuristan.info/Nuristani/phon.html>.
- Strand, Richard. 2010. Nurestâni Languages. *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online version. [Note: only an archived version is currently accessible] <https://iranicaonline.org/articles/nurestani-languages-archive>.
- Strand, Richard. 2011a. *The Sound System of kt'ivřâ-i vari*. <http://nuristan.info/Nuristani/Kamkata/Kata/KataLanguage/Lexicon/phon.html>.
- Strand, Richard. 2011b. *The Sound System of sañu-vi:ri*. <http://nuristan.info/Nuristani/AshkunEtc/SaNu/SaNuLanguage/Lexicon/phon.html>.
- Strand, Richard. 2016. Nûristânî. In Hans Henrich Hock & Elena Bashir (eds.), *The Languages and Linguistics of South Asia: A Comprehensive Guide* (The World of Linguistics 7), 66–73. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Strand, Richard. 2019. *Nominal Case Systems of the Nûristânî Languages*. [http://nuristan.info/CologneWorkshop/Nuristani Nominal Case.pdf](http://nuristan.info/CologneWorkshop/Nuristani%20Nominal%20Case.pdf).
- Strand, Richard. 2023. Kâambojâs and Sakas in the Holly-Oak Mountains: On the origins of the Nuristânîs. In Alberto Cacopardo & Augusto Cacopardo (eds.), *Roots of Peristan: The Pre-Islamic Cultures of the Hindukush/Karakorum. Proceedings of the*

- International Interdisciplinary Conference, ISMEO, Rome, Palazzo Baleani, 5-7 October, 2022. Part II*, 781–808. Rome: ISMEO / Scienze e Lettere.
- Strand, Richard, Jim Du Bruille, Irfanullah Sahibzada & Ziarat Gul. 2009. *Nuristân Natural Resource Assessment*. The International Foundation of Hope.
https://nuristan.info/Nuristan_Natural_Resource_Assessment_2009.pdf.
- Strand, Richard, Fazl Karim & Ġulāmullāh. 1998. *History of Piti Valley related by Fazl Karim and Qâzi Ghulāmullâh (Last edited 2014)*.
<http://nuristan.info/Nuristani/Kamkata/Kom/KomTexts/PitigalHist.html>.
- Strand, Richard, Ġulāmullāh & Muhammad Kabir. 1997. *The Koms' History related by Qâzi Ghulāmullâh and Wakil Muhammad Kabir (Last edited 2019)*.
<http://nuristan.info/Nuristani/Kamkata/Kom/KomTexts/KomHist.html>.
- Sun-Aro (Sūn-Arā), Sulaymān. 2016. *Farhang-i Nūristānī*. Kabul: Samar (SIL).
- Talmy, Leonard. 2000. *Toward a Cognitive Semantics. Vol. I: Concept Structuring Systems*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Tāza, Samī'ullāh. 2017. *Farhang-i Zabān-i Nuristānī (Kalaṣṣ-alā): Ma'nā wa Tašrīḥ-i Luġāt, bā Zabānhā-yi Paxtō wa Darī*. Kabul: Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL).
- Trail, Ronald & Gregory Cooper. 1999. *Kalasha Dictionary - with English and Urdu* (Studies in Languages of Northern Pakistan). Islamabad: National Institute of Pakistani Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University.
- Turner, Ralph. 1962. *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*. London: Oxford University Press.
- von Moos, Iren. 1980. *Die wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse im Munjan-Tal und der Opiumgebrauch der Bevölkerung* (Schriftenreihe der Bibliotheca Afghanica 1). Liestal: Bibliotheca Afghanica.
- Yoshioka, Noboru. 2017. Nominal echo-formations in northern Pakistan. *Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka* 41(2). 109–125.
- Yoshioka, Noboru. 2021. Nominal echo formations in Kati In the context of languages of northern Pakistan. *Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka* 45(3). 429–440. <https://doi.org/http://doi.org/10.15021/00009640>.

Grammatical Index

The following grammatical index is automatically generated based on a number of possibly relevant keywords. As a result of the automatic generation, even consecutive pages with occurrences of the term in question are referenced individually.

- absolute (case) 148, 152, 162, 319, 456, 468, 469, 473, 526, 568, 628
- absolute (verb form) *See* converb
- accent *See* stress
- accusative 148, 149, 454, 473, 568
- additive 19, 239, 241, 242, 559, 562
- adverbial 144, 162, 166, 167, 169, 231, 252, 287, 297, 299, 310, 320, 329, 332, 462, 468, 470, 491, 580, 585, 595, 597, 607, 615, 617, 624, 634
- affricate 11, 45, 46, 47, 53, 54, 55, 56, 67, 68, 69, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 81, 85, 96, 100, 101, 445, 469, 484
- agreement 10, 15, 142, 143, 144, 145, 152, 233, 258, 275, 276, 277, 280, 402, 409, 410, 454, 473, 476, 482, 485, 487, 489, 511, 568, 569, 571, 573, 577, 614
- alignment 15, 147, 149, 152, 409, 473, 485, 568, 614
- animacy 143, 145, 150, 152, 162, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 224, 297, 409, 569
- animacy hierarchy 152, 409, 569
- applicative 446
- approximant 15, 33, 34, 35, 36, 42, 45, 46, 50, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 69, 70, 71, 74, 76, 78, 93, 131, 134, 178, 196, 277, 278, 394, 443, 474, 476, 479
- aspiration 47, 49, 90
- auxiliary *See* copula
- causative 19, 36, 428, 431, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 450, 456, 457, 458, 470
- clause 233, 418, 422, 452, 454, 456, 459, 484, 562, 563, 564, 565, 573, 580, 581, 582, 584, 585, 586, 588, 590, 593, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 604, 606, 607, 609, 612, 614, 615, 617, 619, 620, 621, 622, 624, 632, 634, 635, 636, 637, 639, 640, 641
- complement 585, 586, 625, 630, 634
- concessive 595, 597, 602, 603
- conditional 595, 597, 604, 607, 639, 640
- participial 617
- relative 232, 241, 580, 583, 595, 598, 611, 617, 618, 635, 636

- subordinate 420, 422, 580, 595,
597, 599, 602, 603, 606, 617,
629, 633, 634, 639
- clause chaining 580, 615, 617
- complex predicates 470, 471, 576
- compound verb *See* vector verb
- constructions
- consonant clusters 33, 38, 58, 59, 62,
71, 73, 77, 78, 80, 81, 82, 83, 85,
96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 109, 132, 178,
223, 300, 431, 441
- contrastive 19, 25, 30, 33, 34, 36, 49,
64, 65, 71, 72, 106, 147, 248, 559,
582, 609
- converb 19, 13, 82, 231, 315, 324,
329, 439, 441, 442, 444, 459, 468,
469, 470, 471, 473, 493, 496, 558,
577, 579, 580, 584, 585, 586, 588,
595, 614, 615, 617, 634
- copula 19, 13, 120, 123, 124, 125,
126, 153, 215, 310, 410, 423, 454,
461, 465, 486, 490, 491, 492, 493,
494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500,
504, 505, 506, 507, 512, 515, 516,
517, 518, 520, 525, 538, 539, 540,
542, 546, 547, 550, 553, 564, 565,
574, 576, 579, 604
- correlative 232, 236, 583, 595, 597,
599, 601, 602, 603, 607, 608, 636
- dative 148, 149, 155, 309
- devoicing
 - final 27, 28, 47, 68, 224
- differential object marking 128, 149,
150, 568
- Direct case 19, 60, 134, 142, 144,
147, 201, 205, 285, 318, 454, 462,
568, 571, 619, 621
- directionals *See* spatial morphemes
- ditransitive 148, 149, 150, 152, 155,
394, 409, 446, 485, 568, 621
- ergative 148, 152, 473, 526, 568
- focus 19, 239, 240, 241, 242, 453,
559, 562
- frame of reference 326, 327, 337,
339, 341, 369, 370, 372, 375, 385,
386, 387
- gender 70, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146,
162, 177, 178, 186, 192, 208, 254,
256, 264, 267, 270, 275, 276, 277,
279, 280, 281, 284, 285, 287, 308,
329, 330, 401, 402, 409, 444, 454,
473, 474, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480,
482, 484, 485, 487, 488, 489, 491,
497, 498, 499, 502, 504, 506, 507,
510, 511, 512, 513, 515, 516, 518,
520, 521, 522, 523, 525, 526, 527,
528, 529, 530, 532, 533, 534, 536,
538, 539, 540, 542, 546, 547, 550,
553, 556, 558, 559, 614, 619
- genitive 19, 156, 169, 225, 308
- hearsay 19, 424, 425, 559
- imperative 19, 36, 436, 439, 440,
441, 442, 444, 456, 463, 464, 487,
523, 559, 586, 595
- indefinite 150, 231, 233, 236, 239,
292, 580, 583, 598
- indirective *See* mediative

instrumental 19, 59, 65, 143, 144,
 157, 162, 207, 322, 462, 485, 491,
 617, 624
 intransitive 148, 149, 394, 399, 440,
 446, 447, 448, 450, 452, 454, 473,
 568, 571, 577, 614, 619
 light-verb constructions (noun + verb)
 135, 231, 322, 377, 399, 448, 449,
 451, 461, 482, 576
 loan phonemes *See* marginal
 phonemes
 marginal phonemes 87, 88, 90
 mediative 20, 424, 428, 491, 497,
 498, 499, 506, 507, 516, 517, 539,
 547, 548, 549, 559, 604
 nasalization 13, 24, 31, 32, 33, 34,
 35, 36, 44, 50, 51, 57, 61, 62, 63,
 64, 65, 66, 69, 70, 121, 134, 135,
 141, 179, 186, 188, 189, 191, 194,
 195, 199, 202, 205, 270, 277, 278,
 311, 320, 399, 451, 453, 456, 476,
 629
 nominative 148, 149, 163, 225, 454,
 473, 568, 614
 numeral 96, 180, 291, 292, 294, 295,
 487
 Oblique case 20, 60, 128, 130, 134,
 147, 166, 216, 224, 225, 307, 315,
 317, 454, 459, 563, 565, 568, 571,
 617, 619, 621
 palatal 11, 30, 34, 45, 46, 53, 54, 55,
 56, 57, 58, 66, 71, 120, 123, 128,
 131, 181, 182, 183, 185, 198, 199,
 201, 429, 430, 431, 441
 pitch 105, 108, 611
 plosive 14, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 70, 77,
 78, 79, 81, 82, 87, 91, 94, 98, 99,
 101, 184, 277, 304
 precative 559
 reduplication 86, 111, 131, 160, 162,
 235, 250, 262, 287, 290, 295, 458,
 482
 retroflex 14, 15, 27, 33, 34, 35, 36,
 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 56,
 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 69,
 70, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 79, 93,
 99, 131, 133, 134, 178, 196, 205,
 277, 306, 473, 474, 484
 spatial morphemes 322, 325, 329,
 367, 374, 388, 392, 398, 402
 stress 37, 38, 105, 106, 107, 108,
 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 117,
 118, 121, 122, 124, 127, 196, 201,
 204, 217, 227, 229, 231, 236, 254,
 256, 264, 277, 278, 282, 283, 284,
 287, 292, 297, 300, 301, 302, 304,
 306, 322, 393, 394, 428, 434, 439,
 443, 448, 461, 469, 470, 472, 474,
 476, 482, 484, 493, 529, 560, 563,
 564
 topic 21, 22, 23, 65, 94, 167, 232,
 245, 291, 324, 559, 573, 582, 609
 transitive 148, 149, 152, 394, 399,
 409, 446, 448, 450, 452, 454, 473,
 485, 526, 568, 571, 573, 577, 614,
 621
 valency 439, 446, 452
 vector verb constructions 576
 voicing 13, 47, 49, 53, 54, 55, 56, 66,
 68, 69, 73, 74, 75, 85, 87, 91, 128,

132, 133, 224, 281, 300, 302, 303,
394, 470, 479

word
phonological 81, 105