

A Grammatical Description of Dameli

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ماں تارَف تہ اِک

توحفہ، دامیاں

A gift from me,

Dameli people

Abstract

This dissertation aims to provide a grammatical description of Dameli (ISO-639-3: dml), an Indo-Aryan language spoken by approximately 5 000 people in the Domel Valley in Chitral in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province in the North-West of Pakistan. Dameli is a left-branching SOV language with considerable morphological complexity, particularly in the verb, and a complicated system of argument marking. The phonology is relatively rich, with 31 consonant and 16 vowel phonemes.

This is the first extensive study of this language. The analysis presented here is based on original data collected primarily between 2003-2008 in cooperation with speakers of the language in Peshawar and Chitral, including the Domel Valley. The core of the data consists of recorded texts and word lists, but questionnaires and paradigms of word forms have also been used. The main emphasis is on describing the features of the language as they appear in texts and other material, rather than on conforming them to any theory, but the analysis is informed by functional analysis and linguistic typology, hypotheses on diachronical developments and comparisons with neighbouring and related languages.

The description is divided into sections describing phonology, morphology and syntax, with chapters on a range of individual subjects such as particular word classes and phrase types, phonological and syntactical phenomena. This is not intended to be an exhaustive reference grammar; some topics are only touched upon briefly while others are treated in more detail and suggestions for further research are given at various points throughout the work.

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Abbreviations

The language examples in this work are formatted according to the Leipzig Glossing rules suggested by the Max Planck Institute (2008), with additions for categories and features in Dameli that are not covered in the rules. The list below contains all the abbreviations used in the language examples. Those that are not directly taken from the Leipzig glossing rules are written in italics.

Table 1: Interlinear glossing abbreviations

Abbreviation	Meaning	Read about it on page...
1	First person	73, 110
2	Second person	73, 110
3	Third person	73, 110
<i>ANIM</i>	<i>Animate</i>	50
<i>APPR</i>	<i>Appropriate place</i>	130
CAUS	Causative	100
<i>CAUS2</i>	<i>Second causative</i>	103
<i>COLL</i>	<i>Collective</i>	92
COP	Copula	121
<i>CP</i>	<i>Conjunctive participle</i>	120
DIST	Distal	73
<i>ECHO</i>	<i>Echo-word</i>	187
<i>EP</i>	<i>Epenthetic vowel</i>	109
ERG	Ergative	60, 74
F	Feminine	51, 83, 79, 111
<i>FILL</i>	<i>Filler</i>	187
FUT	Future	114
IMP	Imperative	115
IMPFV	Imperfective	113
<i>INANIM</i>	<i>Inanimate</i>	50
<i>INCHPTCP</i>	<i>Inchoative participle</i>	120
<i>INDIRPST</i>	<i>Indirect past</i>	114
INF	Infinitive	118

INS	Instrumental	61
KIN	<i>Kinship</i>	69
LOC	Locative	60, 76
M	Masculine	51, 83, 79, 111
NEG	Negation	181
NOM	Nominative	59, 74
OBL	Oblique	75
ORD	<i>Ordinal</i>	91
PFV	Perfective	113
PL	Plural	56, 73, 110
POSS	Possessive	79
POTPST	<i>Potential past</i>	115
PROH	Prohibitive	180
PROX	Proximal	73
PRSPTCP	<i>Present participle</i>	118
PST	Past	154
PSTPTCP	<i>Past participle</i>	119
Q	Question marker	179
REFL	Reflexive	80
SG	Singular	56, 73, 110
TOPSH	Shift topic particle	183
TOPSM	Same topic particle	183
VOC	Vocative	70

On transcription

The *phonemic* transcription used here is a variant of what is known as the “Standard Orientalist” Transcription (SOT) (Masica, 1991, p. xv), which in turn is based on the Americanist transcription system. The rationale for choosing this over the IPA, which would otherwise have been the natural choice, was twofold: it is the de facto standard in texts on the languages of the Indian Subcontinent and it is somewhat more suited to the language than the IPA, especially in having a clear, separate set of affricate symbols, most of which are well-known from Latin orthographies used in Eastern Europe. Most other orientalist symbols correspond to their IPA equivalents, with one important difference: a dot under a character always indicates a retroflex or retraced phoneme, in the same position as the base character. (There is one exception: ɭ, which, represents a velarised alveolar lateral, a sound not used in Dameli but in several neighbouring languages.) Somewhat non-standard, even within SOT, is the use of double vowels for long vowels, which allows some flexibility in the placement of accents.¹

This system is entirely convertible to an IPA-based system, using table 2. In *phonetic* transcription, when discussing the actual sounds, the IPA is used throughout. All characters not shown in the table are the same as in the IPA.

Table 2: Transcription conversion table

Orientalist	IPA	Description
ṭ	ɖ	Retroflex voiceless stop
ḍ	ɗ	Retroflex voiced stop
ṅ	ɳ	Dental voiceless affricate
ṇ̇	ɳ̣	Post-alveolar voiceless affricate
ṇ̣̇	ɳ̣̣	Voiceless retroflex affricate
ṣ	ʃ	Voiceless post-alveolar fricative

¹ This feature is not really needed for transcribing Dameli, at least not within the current analysis, but double vowels are also easier to combine with diacritics than for example a superscribed line, the other common symbol for long vowels.

ʒ	ʒ	Voiced post-alveolar fricative
ʃ	ʃ	Voiceless retroflex fricative
ʒ	ʒ	Voiced retroflex fricative
ŋ	ŋ	Retroflex nasal
ɭ	ɭ	Velarised alveolar lateral approximant
λ	ɭ, ɬ	Voiceless alveolar lateral approximant/voiceless alveolar lateral fricative
ɽ	ɽ	Retroflex tap
w	β	Voiced labial approximant
y	j	Voiced post-alveolar approximant
ɰ	ɰ	Voiced retroflex approximant

In contrast to the phonemic principle usually employed in transcription, some non-phonemic contrasts have been maintained to increase clarity. This applies to [ŋ] and [æ], both of which are interpreted as conditioned allophones (of /n/ occurring before velar stops, and coalescence of /a/ and /e/, respectively), but which are nonetheless used in transcriptions. Similarly, the distinction between u and o, and between uu and oo, is not analysed as a phonemic contrast, but has been maintained in transcriptions, to facilitate different analyses and comparison with other languages. When words contain epenthetic semivowels that may or may not have phonemic status, these are sometimes expressed in the transcription as though they did.

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I would not have started this work, nor been able to carry it out, had it not been for the enthusiasm, hard work and sharp minds of my main Dameli co-workers, Asmatullah Khan and Hayat Muhammad Khan. It was they who first insisted that someone needed to start working with their languages, and it is through their diligence and insights that I was able to continue studying it. I am grateful for the time they spent working with me, for hosting me in their homes and at their workplaces and for being great friends and co-workers.

In a wider sense, I owe a debt of gratitude to the speakers of Dameli in and outside the Domel Valley. Too many people to fit on these pages have helped me understand their language, by recording texts, explaining words, helping me analyse and sort out complicated matters, as well as hosting and helping me on my visits, serving me delicious food and caring for my safety and well-being in my visits to the Domel Valley.

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way even when it included me being away for many months in a strange and sometimes dangerous region. I am grateful for their patience and prayers, help and support, concern and encouragement throughout these many times difficult years. My sister and brother, Frida Grenholm and Hannes Perder, have also shared in the joys and difficulties of this project. I would surely have lost my mind if my sister had not made sure I kept in touch with reality occasionally by spending time with her and her husband Tobias Grenholm, and their three children, who were all born during the time of this work: Elvin, Nelson and Leo, being reminded that sometimes the first words of a child are more important than words on a piece of paper, and that life contains not just verbs and nouns, but also hugs, fairy tales, swings, dinosaurs, lullabies and fencing with sticks.

Working with Dameli has been a joy and a privilege, and I am grateful, to God and to my friends, both those mentioned here and those space did not permit me to name, for this time and all the adventures, insights and experiences it has given me.

Background

1 Introduction

In the southwest of the Chitral district in northern Pakistan, just near the border with Afghanistan, a river-carved valley stretches through the mountains of the Hindu Kush range. The rest of the world, to the extent that it knows about it at all, calls this valley Domel or Damel, but its own people knows it as Daman.

On the slopes of these mountains some 5 000 to 6 000 people have their homes and their villages, their fields and their pastures. There they praise and complain, laugh and lament, joke with their friends and insult their enemies, tell stupid lies and brilliant stories, ask questions and give answers, lead the prayers through the mosque loudspeakers and whisper secrets in the dark and do all the other things that words serve to do, in a language that has been different from any other for hundreds of years. This book is an attempt to describe that language.

When my friend and colleague, Henrik Liljegen, decided to call his twice-as-long and thrice-as-detailed thesis on neighbouring Palula “Towards a Grammatical Description of Palula”, he put me in a somewhat difficult position. I would have to go to almost ridiculous lengths to out-humble that,² so in the end I resolved not to try, and decided on the present title. It is true, as far as it goes: it is a description, and what it tries to describe is mostly grammar. I do not in any way mean to imply by this that it is an exhaustive description, or a complete grammar.

1.1 The name of the language

To be honest, the rest of the title is equally problematic. By right, it should really be “A Grammatical Description of Damiabaasha”, since the speakers, when they refer to the language while speaking it, call it “*daamiabaasha*” rather than “Dameli”. The word is a compound of the

² I considered calling it “A Brief and Rather Disorganised Attempt at Writing Something that Vaguely Resembles Some Sort of Description of the Grammar of Dameli.”, but my supervisors didn’t think this had enough pzazz.

adjective “*daamiaa*”, which is the name for the people, and the word for language, “*baaṣa*”. The Domel Valley is known as “*daaman*” in Dameli.

The term ‘Dameli’ is probably an exonym, most likely from the neighbouring language Khowar, but it has been used consistently in scientific literature. Although this is not the term used in the language itself, it seems to be relatively accepted as a term in Urdu, English and other languages, and when the Dameli speak these languages themselves, they use this term, although some have indicated that they would rather see some variant of the Dameli term used instead.

Language names seem to be exonyms almost by default, so rather than introducing a new term and confusing the situation further, I will use the established term ‘Dameli’, just as I use a foreign word when referring to my own mother tongue when I write about it in another language.

The ISO-639-3 code for Dameli is *dml*.

1.2 Genealogical classification

The linguistic heritage of Dameli is a combination of the well known and the mysterious. On the one hand, Dameli is clearly a part of the Indo-European family, the largest (in terms of languages, at least) and most exhaustively described of the world’s language families, and both the grammar and the lexicon give abundant evidence of this heritage. On the other hand, it is very difficult to pinpoint the exact position of Dameli within this family and to ascertain its closest relatives within it.

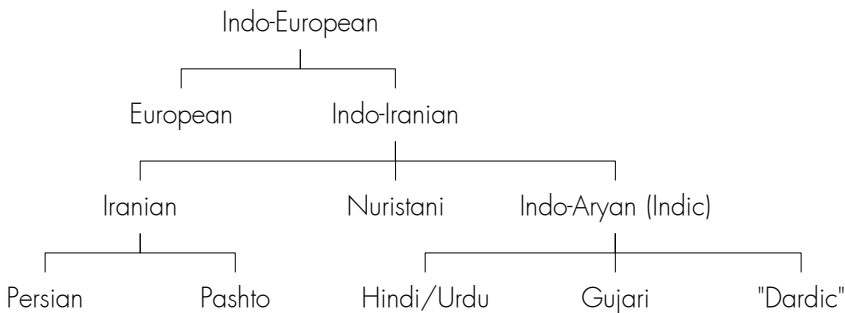


Figure 1: Selected parts of the Indo-European family tree

Within the Indo-European family, there are two nodes that may be relevant for Dameli: the Nuristani family and the “Dardic” group (see figure 1).

In the title of his 1942 article on Dameli, Morgenstierne left the question of its genealogical affiliation open, by calling it a “Kafir-Dardic” language, *i.e.*, stating that it belonged either to the “Kafir” or the “Dardic” language group or family.

In a later article (Morgenstierne, 1961), Morgenstierne suggests that the “Kafir” branch might form a separate branch of Indo-Iranian, neither Iranian nor Indo-Aryan (p. 139). Strand (1973) develops this position, but suggests renaming the branch “Nūristāni”³ to avoid the derogatory “Kafir” ‘unbeliever’ (p. 297). Figure 1 reflects this view.

The other part of Morgenstierne’s original classification, Dardic, is almost equally controversial. As a label, “Dardic” is applied to a number of Indo-Aryan languages spoken in the Hindu Kush mountains in north-eastern Afghanistan and north-western Pakistan, usually Dameli (dml⁴), Gawarbatī (gwt), Gawri (gwc), Grangali (nli), Indus Kohistani (mvy), Kalasha (kls), Kashmiri (kas), Khowar (khw), Palula (phl), Pashai (aee, glh, psi, psh), Sawi (sdg), Shina (scl), Shumashti (sts), Tirahi (tra), Torwali (trw) and Wotapuri-Katarqalai (wsv) (Morgenstierne, 1961; 1974; Strand, 1973; 2011). Kundal-Shahi (shd), recently described by Rehman (2011), should probably be added to these.

Opinions vary on whether to use the term Dardic at all, and with what meaning. Mock (2011) argues eloquently and comprehensively for abandoning the term altogether, and several authors, including Strand (2001, p. 251), apply the same solution. In contrast, Zoller (2005, p. 10 ff.) uses the term more or less as a family designation, although he argues that these languages are best understood using a punctuated equilibrium model rather than the traditional Stammbaum model. His arguments for the classification are based on “the preservation of the three OIA sibilants *s, ś, ṣ*” (p. 10), *i.e.*, shared *retentions*, an argument normally not accepted as evidence of a language family.

Bashir (2003) considers Dardic an “‘umbrella term’ [which] includes both ‘genetic’ and geographic components. The designation ‘Dardic’ implies neither ethnic unity among the speakers of these languages nor that they can all be traced to a single stammbaum-model node” (p. 822).

As Bashir (2003) and Liljegren (2008, p. 31) point out, there are similarities between these languages, but the explanation for this is more complex than the Stammbaum model allows for: “The similarities of the Dardic languages today are due to differentially shared retentions,

³ This use follows the name of the Afghan province Nuristan ‘land of light’.

⁴ Letters in parentheses are ISO-639-3 codes for the languages. See (Lewis, Simons, & Fennig, 2013).

innovations affecting various subsets of these languages and contact (areal) developments” (Bashir, 2003, p. 822).

Morgenstierne later appears to have become convinced that Dameli belonged in the Dardic group (Morgenstierne, 1961), and Strand (1973; 2001), also support this, based on aspiration, tones, and what he calls “basic laryngeal posture”.⁵ Although this last feature is unconventional, I agree with Strand that speakers do use an unusual and characteristic voice quality when speaking Dameli, and I have no reason to doubt his conclusion that this is a point of similarity that Dameli has with the Indo-Aryan languages and a point of difference with the Nuristani languages. What is not yet clear, however, is if this feature is stable enough to be considered a strong argument for family affiliation. Do languages tend to maintain their “laryngeal posture” over centuries, or is this a feature easily acquired through contact?

While the opinions of Morgenstierne and Strand certainly weigh heavily, a systematic comparison of regular sound changes and grammatical features would be highly desirable. This is, sadly, something I have not yet been able to investigate in any depth.

It seems reasonable that Dameli should have a closer relationship with some languages than with others, even within these languages. Strand (2001, p. 259; 2011) puts it, tentatively, in the Western Kohistani group, together with Gawri. While there are many compelling similarities between Dameli and several different languages, it is often hard to determine what is due to shared heritage and what is due to later language contact.

A detailed investigation into the relationship of Dameli to other languages, perhaps beginning with a systematic comparison of Dameli and Gawri, the Nuristani languages and probably also Gawarbatī⁶, is a key candidate for further research on the subject.

⁵ Strand describes this as “a characteristic laryngeal quality, the exact physiological nature of which remains to be determined. The sound quality appears to be ‘anterior voice’ (Catford 1977: 102 f) with a slight forward displacement of the epiglottis, brought about by constriction of the upper larynx.” (Strand, 2001, p. 254)

⁶ Apart from Palula, which, because of its relationship with Shina is unlikely to be closely related to Dameli, Gawarbatī showed the highest percentage of lexical similarity with Dameli in the comparison made by Decker (1992, p. 120).

1.3 Dameli and other languages

The Dameli language bears many signs of intensive contacts with several other languages throughout its history. Decker (1992) reports lexical similarities of between 29 and 44% with a few of the surrounding languages, after comparing a list of 210 words in the respective languages (p. 120). These similarities are probably due to both shared heritage and language contact, in varying degrees.

Currently, the strongest influence on Dameli is exercised by Pashto, the provincial language of the province where Dameli is spoken, the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, formerly known as the North-West Frontier Province. Pashto is also the main language of Peshawar and Jalalabad, the nearest major cities, but its principal influence stems from its position in the immediate locality of Dameli. The closest town, Drosh, is dominated by Pashtun shopkeepers, and Pashto is the language most commonly used in the bazaar, although not the only one. More importantly still, there is a considerable presence of Pashtuns within the Domel Valley itself. Pashtuns of the Mashmani, Katani and Wardak clans have been established in the valley for several generations, in relatively large numbers, and contacts with these groups are close and frequent, and includes intermarriage.

In all these cases, the dialect with which Dameli speakers are in contact is the eastern or Ningrahar dialect (Tegey & Robson, 1996, p. 6), although several tribal dialects or subdialects are represented.

Most – probably all – adult Dameli men speak Pashto, probably at near mother tongue level, and young boys are able to communicate freely in the language. Among women, there are probably some monolingual Dameli speakers, but knowledge of Pashto is widespread among the women as well.

The position of Dameli in relation to Pashto remains strong enough for many Pashtuns in the valley to learn Dameli at least passively. During my visits to the valley, it was a popular joke to berate Pashtun neighbours for having lived there for three generations without learning the language, when this *angreez* (foreigner) was speaking it already. The Pashtuns who were thus attacked defended themselves by claiming that they understood the language perfectly, although they didn't speak it, a claim that seemed well founded.

Influence from Pashto is obvious in a large amount of borrowed words and expressions. Words for features of modern society and technology, which typically have Urdu origins, probably often reach Dameli through Pashto.

Urdu, being the national language of Pakistan, also plays an important role for Dameli speakers. Like Dameli, Urdu is an Indo-Aryan language, and it is sometimes hard to determine if similarities between the two are due to contact or shared heritage, but it is clear that a large number of Dameli words have Urdu origins. Urdu is the official medium of instruction in schools, and the only language most Dameli-speakers learn to read and write. It is also the language used for wider communication beyond the Pashto-speaking area.

There are considerable differences between the Urdu spoken as a mother tongue by a minority, mainly in Karachi, and the Urdu used as a lingua franca throughout Pakistan. The latter is heavily influenced by Punjabi, and it is mainly this version that Dameli speakers come into contact with.

How well a person knows Urdu is closely related to their level of education.

Khowar enjoys high status within the district of Chitral, but its influence is relatively limited in the south of the district, where Dameli is spoken. Still, many Dameli speakers have learnt Khowar, and it remains an important language in the area.

At present, Dameli-speakers intermarry with speakers of Pashto, Khowar, Palula, Gawarbati, Kataviri and to some extent Gujarati. When a Dameli man marries a woman from these communities, the wife reportedly usually learns Dameli.

Palula is a language of the Shina group, spoken to the northeast of Dameli. Until the road to Domel was completed, the closest path to the outside world went over the Pashtan mountain pass to Ashret, a Palula-speaking village. Dameli-speakers differentiate between speakers of the two main dialects of Palula, and refer to them as *acareti* 'Ashreti Palula' and *biuɣyaa* 'Biori Palula' respectively. Many signs indicate that contact with Palula has been even closer at some point in history than it is today. Many words are more similar than what would be expected from the shared heritage, and in some cases words that are used in both languages are completely transparent in one, but not in the other.

Gawarbati is spoken in Arandu, southwest of the Domel Valley, which makes it an important neighbour, but with limited presence within the Domel Valley. Kataviri is a Nuristani language, spoken in Nuristan in Afghanistan. A dialect of Kataviri, known as Shekhani, is spoken in Shekhan Deh in the Bumburet valley; the Dameli interact with speakers of both dialects. Gujarati (or Gojri) is spoken by the Gujar people, spread over northwestern and central India, northern Pakistan and northeastern

Afghanistan (Rensch, Hallberg, & O'Leary, 1992, s. 91). Contact and intermarriage with this group is relatively limited.

The history of the Dameli people, as it is remembered by its elder members, is full of stories about interactions with “Kalasha”, although it is unclear whether these are the same as the current Kalasha people, or some other people, since the name has also been applied to other groups and languages, e.g., *kalaṣa-alā*, another name for Waigali, a Nuristani language (Strand, 1973, p. 299). The Dameli people reportedly do not intermarry with the Kalasha.

A few well-educated Dameli-speakers speak English, but the language also has some indirect influence on Dameli, as a source of loanwords reaching the language through Urdu or Pashto.

1.4 Previous research

For seventy years, the main source of information on Dameli has been the article “Notes on Dameli, a Kafir-Dardic language of Chitral” by the Norwegian linguist Georg Morgenstierne (Morgenstierne, 1942). Although it was published in 1942, the article was based on material collected more than ten years earlier. Morgenstierne did not visit the Domel Valley, but worked for a while with two Dameli-speaking informants. Despite an informant situation that was far from ideal,⁷ his investigation is very comprehensive and informative, thanks especially to Morgenstierne’s detailed knowledge about the languages in the area and their history. The article is oriented towards historical comparison, and contains a wordlist of 1020 entries and a translated narrative.

The only other primary sources of information on the Dameli do not have the language as such as their main focus. Kendall Decker (1992) devotes a chapter to Dameli in the fifth volume of the *Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan*, with a lot of valuable information about the sociolinguistic situation of the Dameli speakers. This work also contains a Dameli text and a small standardised wordlist of 210 words.

Augusto and Alberto Cacopardo likewise dedicate a chapter to the Dameli speakers in their fascinating work on the ethnohistory of southern Chitral, *Gates of Peristan* (Cacopardo & Cacopardo, 2001). Although priceless for the cultural and historical background it provides, the language itself lies mostly beyond the main scope of the book. It does, however, contain an appendix by Richard Strand (2001), called *The*

⁷ One of the informants was a prisoner in chains.

Tongues of Peristân, that gives an outline of the linguistic aspects of the area the book describes, including some very interesting observations about Dameli, particularly useful because they are at least partially based on primary information from Dameli speakers.

A few other sources contain some information on Dameli, but are based on second-hand information, primarily from Morgenstierne. This includes Turner (1962-85), Grijnberg (1999), and Bashir (2003).

1.5 Variation within the language

Despite the relatively small number of speakers, there are some clear dialect distinctions within Dameli. Most isoglosses appear to separate on the one hand the villages of Shinteri and Dondideri, and on the other Aspar, but this is at best a tentative conclusion, and will require further study. The geography of the Domel Valley makes such a division likely, however, since the valley branches into these two side-valleys, with high mountains separating them further in.

Even Morgenstierne, although he excluded the possibility of dialects in such a “tiny language community”, had to grudgingly accept that the language was “not altogether uniform” (Morgenstierne, 1942, pp. 119-120). Most of the variation he noted is still present, although it is unlikely that it always reflects dialect differences.

Notable dialectal distinctions include a preference for pronouncing [u] rather than [o] in Shinteri/Dondideri, as compared to Aspar, and some lexical differences. The Aspar dialect favours *baloodadi/balooyi* over *bap/yei* for ‘grandfather/grandmother’, and makes more use of kinship terms that distinguish relative age, e.g., *zeşadadi/sureedadi* ‘FoB/FyB’ rather than *pitri* ‘paternal uncle’.

There is also some variation on the basis of social factors such as education, status and level of exposure to other languages. As has been observed for South Asia in general (Masica, 1991, pp. 90-93), there is a lot of difference between speakers in how “foreign” sounds in borrowed words are treated. For those with more education, maintaining certain sounds and distinctions not otherwise present in the language becomes a matter of status. In Dameli, this probably accounts for differing pronunciation of for example [f]/[p^h], [dʒ]/[ʒ] or even [k]/[q], at least in some words borrowed from Arabic, Persian and Urdu.

1.6 Language vitality

In UNESCO's Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger, Dameli is listed as "Severely endangered" (Elnazarov, 2010). The entry on Dameli was contributed by Hakim Elnazarov, and was based on information in Decker (1992).

This classification is based on nine criteria described in a report by the UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages (2003). The first six criteria describe the situation of the language in itself, the following two assess attitudes to the language and the last concerns the amount of documentation done on the language.

Since the report is not very explicit on how different criteria have been weighted against each other, it is hard to evaluate the conclusion, but I see no reason to argue against it as such.

It is important to note, however, that the situation of Dameli is not altogether dark. On the first criterion, intergenerational language transmission, often taken to be the clearest indicator of language vitality, Dameli would rate as "Stable but threatened", since just as previous generations, children born of Dameli parents learn Dameli as their first language, although many Dameli speakers reach a very high fluency in one or several other languages, and are forced to use these in some domains, notably education at all levels and communications with outsiders. Similarly, Dameli speakers differ from speakers of many of the surrounding minority languages in showing no reluctance to speak their language even in the presence of non-speakers, and appear to lack most of the negative associations that minority speakers worldwide tend to attach to their language. Coupled with the enthusiasm and determination shown in anything that affects the common welfare of the Dameli people, the future of Dameli is not without hope.

The second criterion is absolute number of speakers. The Atlas cites the 1987 census, which states 5 500 speakers of Dameli (Elnazarov, 2010), a slightly higher number than the 5 000 estimated by Decker (1992, p. 118). Using the annual population growth for Pakistan provided by the World Bank gives us an estimate of almost 9 500, but the value of such calculations is doubtful, since the population growth of all of Pakistan is not a good estimate for the population growth of this very limited area, and since the numbers they are based on have in any case been cast into serious doubt. The results of the 2011 census, which includes data on mother tongue (Population Census Organization, Government of Pakistan, 2012), should provide some useful information, if and when they become accessible.

In any case, the Dameli population is relatively small,⁸ and therefore vulnerable to factors affecting populations in this volatile region.

1.7 Geographic location

Dameli is spoken in the Domel Valley, a side-valley of the Kunar Valley, which leads from Chitral over the border to Afghanistan. The only road leading into the valley, completed quite recently, takes off from the Mirkhani-Arandu road. This allows vehicle travel to the nearest town, Drosh, or across the Afghan border. Most vehicles are operated as private businesses, taking paying passengers in a semi-organised system of communal transport.

Footpaths across the Pashtan mountain pass lead to the village of Ashret, but the journey requires several hours of strenuous walking.

Mobile phone coverage does not extend to the Domel Valley, and there is no connection to the landline telephone grid. On my last visit, in 2008, there was a single telephone serving the entire valley, powered with solar panels and utilising a commercially available radio-based system with low call costs.

1.8 The Dameli people

The speakers of Dameli live mainly on agriculture and herding. Goats, sheep, cows and hens are kept, and dairy products are an important part of the diet. The main crops are wheat and maize, but a wide variety of fruits and nuts are also grown, particularly grapes and walnuts, but also pomegranates, mulberries, peaches, melons, apricots, pears, apples, figs and a number of fruits I have never encountered anywhere else, such as the blue *gokhilar*, a smaller relative of the persimmon, and berries like the *badar* and *ç^hunç^ho*.

Valuable deodar trees grow on the ridges of the mountains, but the Dameli claim they see little or nothing of the profits from logging, which is controlled by the government. The tough, stunted hollyoak trees that grow on the slopes are used for firewood and as fodder for goats, who eat the twigs and the sharp, spiky leaves.

⁸ For the purposes of survival, that is. In comparison with the rest of the world's languages, it is probably close to the median (Parkvall, 2006, p. 55).

Working outside the valley for longer or shorter periods has become a common way to earn more money. Dameli speakers have acquired a reputation as good cooks, and are employed in various functions from other areas of Chitral to Peshawar, Karachi, Afghanistan and as far as the Gulf. Some have also settled permanently outside the valley.

The Dameli speakers are Sunni Muslim, and the mosques play an important role in village life, particularly as the loudspeakers used for the prayer call also function as a medium of mass communication. Some boys or young men are sent to study in madrassas, religious schools, in Peshawar and elsewhere, often as a part of a religious career with the aim of becoming a mullah, a religious leader on the community level.

To some extent, the principal villages — Aspar, Dondideri, Swato (Punagram), and Shinteri Kuru — function as organisational units, but they are also divided into clans that sometimes reside in several villages. The clan names are based on the names of ancestors to which the clan members count their lineage, by adding the suffix *-dari* ‘clan’ to the name.

Kinship relationship on a level closer than the clan play an important role in Dameli society, not least because these relationships regulate inheritance, loyalty and taboos.

Following the customs of surrounding Pashtun tribes, the Dameli society is governed by a strict division between the sexes, *purdah*. This principle is considered an Islamic injunction, and roughly corresponds to similar divisions in other conservative Muslim societies. In its character and details, however, this is clearly a Pashtun custom, having been introduced by contact with the surrounding Pashtun tribes as part of conversion to Islam. Since *purdah* is only applied in relation to non-relatives, kinship relations become especially important.

2 Methods and data collection

I first came in contact with Dameli in 2003, as I was working with an organisation then called Frontier Language Institute (FLI), now Forum for Language Initiatives (still FLI), in Peshawar, Pakistan. Its purpose, then and now, was to equip speakers of minority languages in northern Pakistan to develop and support their own language communities. In this area, minority language speakers often have a low opinion of their own language, but the speakers of Dameli had been clamouring for someone to start working on their language.

2.1 Field research

One of my tasks at the institute was to mentor one Dameli speaker, Mr Asmat Ullah, through one of the institute's programs. Together with Asmat, who was and is one of the most active advocates of his language, I began collecting material on the language from him and others. When I returned to Sweden after a year in Pakistan, I used some of this material for a Master's thesis in general linguistics entitled "The Sound System of Dameli", at the Department of Linguistics of Stockholm University. When a position as doctoral student opened in the same department that same autumn, I applied, with the hope of continuing my studies of Dameli and the people who speak it. To my surprise and great pleasure, I was accepted and I started as a doctoral student in January 2005.

The data for this thesis has mostly been collected in Peshawar, where a number of Dameli speakers reside permanently, and where many others regularly visit. I made three trips to Chitral, and twice visited the Domel Valley itself. Although these visits were only of a few days each, they offered invaluable opportunities to collect material and check conclusions in a more natural context, to understand the physical and social backdrop to the stories and words I had been collecting, and to try my hand at speaking the language with people who were not used to speaking other languages with me.

My first year in Pakistan took place between August 2003 and August 2004, and included two trips to Chitral (November 2003 and June-July 2004), and one to the Domel Valley itself (July 2004). I was working as a teaching consultant at the FLI during this time, but within this work I had the opportunity to collect a great deal of useful material, and made my first and most important contacts with Dameli speakers, particularly with Asmat Ullah Khan and his nephew Hayat Khan, without whom this thesis would probably never have happened.

My next visit, October-December 2005, came as part of the doctoral program, with the explicit aim of collecting material for the thesis. Since this visit took place in winter, when the mountain pass to Chitral is closed, I did not visit Chitral during this visit, but worked with speakers in Peshawar.

My next and last visit (yet) to Pakistan took place from March to August 2008, and included spending July in Chitral, working with Hayat Khan in Drosh and spending a few more days in the Domel Valley. Apart from the time in Chitral, this visit involved working with Dameli speakers in Peshawar, including a Dameli writers workshop held at the FLI.

Although the bulk of the data collection took place in Pakistan, the opportunity to communicate with particularly Asmat over telephone, and later email and chat, even when back in Sweden, has been important for checking words and word forms, and ascertaining that I was not entirely incorrect in my tentative conclusions.

2.2 Text corpus

Recorded and transcribed texts form the core corpus used in this thesis. Most of these were first recorded from a single speaker in one session, then transcribed, translated and analysed together with the speaker or another Dameli speaker, primarily Hayat Muhammad Khan and Asmat Ullah. With some of the later texts, I performed most of the transcription and analysis myself, and checked unclear passages with a speaker when I had the opportunity. There is never enough time for this kind of work, and the texts are in various stages of completion.

Some of the texts were recorded as part of two writers workshops, where Dameli speakers tried writing in a tentative writing system constructed on the basis of the Urdu alphabet, which all of them already knew, with additions for sounds for which there are no letters available.

In the first workshop, which took place in Drosh from July 12-14 2004, the speakers wrote their texts and then read them aloud in the recording. This applies to the texts T₀, T₁, T₄ and T₅. In the second one, on the 17th of May 2008, the participants were recorded telling the stories that they planned to write, rather than reading the finished product.

While I have tried to vary the genres and types of texts as much as possible, the fact that I could not spend longer periods of time in the Domel Valley itself, and other limitations of time and access to speakers, has hindered me from exercising enough control over the material to create a balanced corpus of texts in terms of genre and type of material, and there's a disproportionate number of narrative texts, and not nearly enough dialogues and natural conversations, in the present corpus.

For the earlier texts, I used a regular cassette recorder and a lapel microphone. By the time of the last field trip, digital recorders had become more easily available, and I used an Edirol R-09, without an external microphone, recording 48Khz, 24-bit stereo sound in uncompressed Wave format.

Table 3 lists the texts used in this thesis. The last column contains an identifier, which forms the first part of the unique identifier used in all language examples throughout this work. Thus any example with an identifier beginning in T₄ comes from the text *Adil Jesta*, etc.

Table 3: Text corpus

Name	Length	Speaker	Date	Id.
Revenge	03:12	Hayat M. Khan	2004-07-14	T ₀
The Patient Woman	04:14	Asmat Ullah	2004-07-14	T ₁
Shinteri	03:11	Gul Ahmad Khan	2007-07-20	T ₂
Two Ancestors	07:02	Sayed Ahmad Jan	2007-07-20	T ₃
Adil Jesta	03:41	Ahmad Nur	2004-07-14	T ₄
Pashtan	02:51	Qadir Said	2004-07-14	T ₅
History	13:02	Patijan Hawaldar	2007-07-19	T ₆
Additions	01:59	Sayed Ahmad Jan	2007-07-20?	T ₇
Genealogy	04:28	Sayed Ahmad Jan	2007-07-20?	T ₈
Love Like Salt	04:29	Asmat Ullah	2008-08-13	T ₉
House	05:27	Muhammad Sayed	2004	TA ₀
Domel	03:57	Amin Ullah	2004	TA ₁
Three Weeks in Domel	03:45	Asmat Ullah	2008-08-13	TA ₂
Pear Story - Asmat	02:16	Asmat Ullah	2008	TP ₀
Pear Story - Hayat	00:51	Hayat M. Khan	2008	TP ₁

Workshop				
Introduction	17:39	Asmat Ullah	2008-05-17	TW0
Saudagar	15:46	Xaista Muhammad	2008-05-17	TW1
Kabul	07:58	Minhaj	2008-05-17	TW2
Moral story	04:15	Sifat Ullah	2008-05-17	TW3
Omar	04:31	Shafiq Ullah	2008-05-17	TW4
Gramgal	02:55	Siraj Ul-Abedin	2008-05-17	TW5
Difficult	04:32	Asiz Ur-Rahman	2008-05-17	TW6
Safarnaama	02:46	Sher Zaman	2008-05-17	TW7
Gramgal 2	04:34	Waqar	2008-05-17	TW8
Nat Introduction	00:53	Asmat Ullah	2008	TV0
First Nat	07:02	Asmat Ullah	2008	TV1
Second Nat	10:10	Asmat Ullah	2008	TV2
Ghazal 1	01:30	Asmat Ullah	2008	TV3
Ghazal 2	01:40	Asmat Ullah	2008	TV4
Ghazal Bewafa 1	01:01	Asmat Ullah	2008	TV5
Ghazal Bewafa 2	01:14	Asmat Ullah	2008	TV6
Joking Ghazal	03:03	Asmat Ullah	2008	TV7
Watan	01:33	Asmat Ullah	2008	TV8
Maize	00:59	Izat Wali	2007-07-27	TD0
Ripening Fruits	08:35	Muhammad Isa Khan	2008-07-29	TD1
Fairy Tale	02:26	Khaista Muhammad	2008-07	TD2
Living room talk	04:44	Hayat M. Khan, Siraj Ul-Abedin, +1	2008	Do
Phone Call 1	01:53	Asmat Ullah	2008	D1

2.3 Wordlists

A “master wordlist” was collected and added to continuously during the time I worked with this thesis. The first incarnation of this list was made by Mr Asmat Ullah, as part of his coursework while I mentored his participation in a course for mother-tongue language workers. To this was added nearly every word of Dameli I came across in texts, conversations or through elicitation. To each entry was added a recording of the text in a frame, usually “We say ... to this” - “*ay masa ki... ganuma.*” As with the analysis of texts, there were always more words than I had time to check with the speakers, and recordings for many

words are still lacking, particularly those I came across after my last visit in Pakistan.

Apart from an English translation, most entries were classified according to semantic domain and word class, and other information was added when available and relevant, such as references to other entries, to examples in the texts, to cognates in other languages or to possible etymologies. At the time of this writing, the wordlist contained 1900 words. For practical reasons, a separate wordlist, and another list of morphemes, were used for the semi-automatic process of interlinearisation and glossing.

2.4 Paradigms

Paradigms of grammatical forms were important both as a way of eliciting new data, a tool in interpreting other forms of data and of course as part of the presented results. I spent considerable time eliciting and analysing verb forms and derivation patterns, pronouns, and kinship terms, among others.

2.5 Questionnaires

Prepared questionnaires were used to investigate certain subjects, when such were available and looked promising. A questionnaire intended to investigate patterns of ergativity and accusativity was administered by Henrik Liljegren in Drosh in 2005, and it provided useful data on this and on pronouns and verb forms in general. Examples from this questionnaire have the identifier Q₀.

I also used a picture questionnaire prepared by Bernhard Wälchli to investigate spatial relationships. In this task, respondents are asked to describe a series of pictures pairs, in which objects are placed in particular spatial arrangements, with superimposed arrows indicating the relevant part of each picture. The pictures, which, for example, show first a book under a chair, then the same book on top of the chair, were very valuable in eliciting data for describing *e.g.*, postpositions, peripheral case and adverbials. Language examples from this questionnaire have the identifier Q₁.

Finally, I made an attempt at collecting data with the tense and aspect questionnaire presented in Dahl (1985). Unfortunately, I started elicitation using the English version of the questionnaire, which proved

to be too difficult for my informants, and I decided to abandon this task before completing the second part of the questionnaire. While the results I got have been useful, given the opportunity I would redo the whole questionnaire using the Urdu translation that is also available. Language examples from this questionnaire have the identifier Q2.

2.6 Other kinds of data

Apart from the data described above, I kept chat logs and records of email conversations, a list of elicited example sentences (language examples from this list appear with the E identifier), a list of idioms (identifier TI) and a collection of coordinates for place names within the Domel Valley.

Phonology

3 Phonemes

The phoneme inventory of Dameli consists of 47 phonemes (16 vowels and 31 consonants). There are four basic vowel qualities, but length and nasality multiply the number of phonemes. Consonants are articulated in five basic positions and as stops, affricates, fricatives, nasals, trills or taps, and approximants. There are also voiced and voiceless stops and fricatives, and a set of aspirated stops. Tonal contrasts are significant, with (at least) a rising and a falling tone, but this is an area that will require further study.

Figure 2 shows the phonemes of Dameli, excluding the nasal vowels. The nasal vowels are articulated in the same places as their oral counterparts.

Consonants

	Bilabial	Dental	Postalveolar	Retroflex	Velar
Stop	p b p ^h	t d t ^h		ʈ ɖ	k g k ^h
Affricate		ʈʂ	ʈʃ	ʈʂ	
Fricative		s z	ʃ ʒ	ʂ ʐ	x ɣ
Nasal	m	n		ŋ	
Trill or tap		r		ɽ	
Approximant	v	l	j	ɻ	

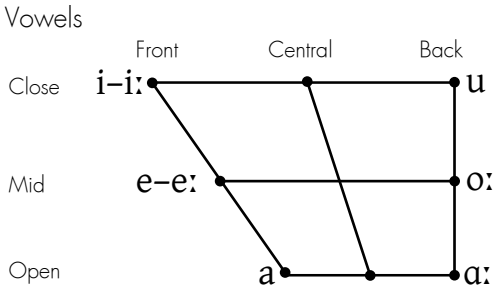


Figure 2: The phonemes of Dameli - IPA

To ease comparison, phonemes, but not transcribed words, are written in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) throughout this chapter. For historical reasons, a different system, one based on orientalist transcription, is used for phonemic transcription here and elsewhere in this work. For phonetic transcription and expressing allophones, the IPA is always used.

Instructions for converting between the two systems, where they differ, are found in the section on transcription at the beginning of this work. For clarity, figure 2 is also repeated here in orientalist transcription as figure 3.

Consonants

	Bilabial	Dental	Postalveolar	Retroflex	Velar
Stop	p b p ^h	t d t ^h		ʈ ɖ	k g k ^h
Affricate		č	č̣	ç	
Fricative		s z	š ž	ʂ ʐ	x ɣ
Nasal	m	n		ɳ	
Trill or tap		r		ɽ	
Approximant	w	l	y	w	

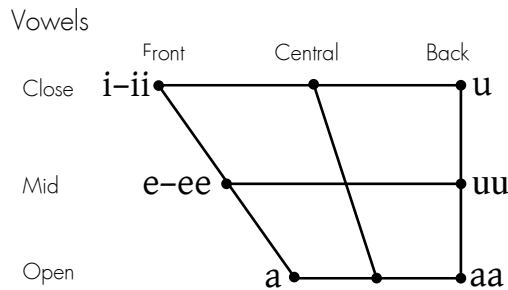


Figure 3: The phonemes of Dameli – Orientalist transcription

3.1 Vowels

The vowel system of Dameli is based around four basic vowel qualities and a length contrast. Nasal varieties of all vowels exist, both long and short, although short nasal vowels are uncommon except as diphthongs or vocalic sequences, which may hold relevance for their phonemic

status. Although rhotic vowels appear phonetically, they are interpreted as sequences of vowels and a retroflex approximant, and are treated elsewhere (see 3.2.2).

3.1.1 Vowel quality

Four basic vowel qualities make up the Dameli system: /i/, /e/, /a/ and /u/. Table 4 shows minimal pairs in support of the contrast in both long and short vowels.

Table 4: Vowel contrasts

Contrast	Words
a e i u	žân ⁹ ‘snake’ žen ‘eat’ (INF) žin ‘eat’ (IMPFV.3PL) žun ‘daughter’ (KIN.2)
ɑ: e: i:	kaar ‘ear’ keer ‘when’ kiir ‘snow’
ɑ: u: e:	taa ‘past tense marker’(PST) tuu ‘you’ (2SG.OBL) tee ‘that’ (conjunction)
i: o:	čiiir ‘late’ čuur ‘four’

In actual pronunciation, several more qualities come into play, both because quality is also important for the length distinction and because of secondary phonological processes.

3.1.2 Vowel length

The length contrast is expressed by the relative duration of the vowel, but also through vowel quality, and is applied to all the four basic vowel qualities. Table 5 shows minimal pairs in support of the length contrast.

⁹ The circumflex (^) represents falling tone. See 3.3.

Table 5: Length contrasts within the same quality

Contrast	Short vowel	long vowel
a a:	daš ‘hand; ten’	daaš ‘cubit’
i i:	ki ‘to, for’	kii ‘who’
u u:	tu ‘you’ (2SG.NOM)	tuu ‘2SG.OBL’
e e:	ç ^h aare ‘throw.IMP’	ç ^h aree ‘throw.PFV.3SG’

Differences in vowel quality are important for distinguishing length contrasts, particularly for the vowels /u/ and /a/. The short /a/ is a front vowel, [a], whereas the long vowel is a back vowel [a:].

The short /u/ is usually a closed sound [u:], whereas the longer variant is usually more closed-mid [o:]. Here, though, the situation is complicated by a greater variation. There are many examples of long [u:] and short [o] in actual pronunciation, but the contrast between the two sounds does not seem to be phonemic and no minimal pairs supporting the distinction have been found. Dialectal differences partially explain the differences in pronunciation, as speakers from Aspar tend to favour a closed-mid pronunciation [o] in some contexts, whereas speakers from Shinteri tend to use a more closed pronunciation [u] regardless of length. Figure 2 reflects the difference in vowel quality, but the symbol u is preferred in phonemic transcriptions.

This analysis, wherein the two vowel qualities [u] and [o] are treated as variants of the same phonemes (/u/ and /uu/), is tentative and may need to be reevaluated at a later stage. For this reason, transcriptions that distinguish between the two sounds, when they appear to be pronounced differently, have been kept throughout this work, to facilitate later reanalysis or comparison with other languages. Note that this is a deviation from the phonemic principle normally applied in the transcription. For /i/ and /e/, differences in quality between the long and the short vowel are less obvious.

Short vowels can be stressed, but stress usually falls on a long syllable if there is one. It is often difficult to tell different short, unstressed vowels apart, and it is possible that some contrasts are neutralised in these contexts and likely that the pronunciation of all unstressed vowels is more central than otherwise.

Although long and short vowels of similar qualities are often contrastive, they are in some ways related to each other, as shown by processes such as conditioned vowel lengthening (6.2), which causes a short vowel to be exchanged for a corresponding long vowel in some

contexts. In the phonemic transcription used in this work, long vowels are written with double vowels (*eg.*, *kaar* ‘ear’).

3.1.3 Nasality

Nasal vowels are usually either long or found in vocalic sequences, probably because they originated as nasals that were neutralised between vowels, as indicated by synchronic variation in pairs such as *k^hurdani* ‘ankle’ and *naasdāi* ‘nasal bridge’, where the element *dani/dāi* probably refers to a narrow, connecting part of the body.

Short nasal vowels are uncommon outside of diphthongs or vocalic sequences, but they do exist (*e.g.*, *āš* ‘token’), although possibly not for all vowel qualities. Table 6 shows all long nasal vowels, and some examples of nasalised vowel sequences.

Table 6: Examples of nasal vowels

Vowel	Example
ĩ:	ĩič ‘eye’
ẽ:	grẽẽṭen (t) ‘tie’
ã:	mãã ‘my’ (POSS.1SG-M)
ũ:	žũũ ‘louse’
ãũ	ṭãũ ‘full, pure (of colours)’
ãĩ	mããĩ ‘my’ (POSS.1SG-F)
ãĩ	muubãĩ ‘towards me’
ẽĩ	perẽĩ ‘fairy, djinn’

3.1.4 Diphthongs and vowel sequences

Sequences of vowels occur both within morphemes and as a result of combinations of morphemes (see 6.1, particularly 6.1.6). Although these can function as the syllable nucleus, they have not been analysed as a separate set of diphthong phonemes.

3.2 Consonants

As shown in figure 2, the Dameli consonantal system can be arranged into five places of articulation and six manners of articulation. This arrangement is somewhat idealised; each of these labels should be understood to cover more than a single place or manner of articulation. Thus both dental and alveolar pronunciations are subsumed under the

dental label, the palatal /j/ is listed under postalveolar and the lateral approximant /l/ is counted together with the other approximants.

The places of articulation used in the table are bilabial, dental, postalveolar, retroflex and velar, and the manners are stops, affricates, fricatives, nasals, trills or taps and approximants.

Voicing and aspiration expand the system by two extra sets: there are voiced and voiceless fricatives, and both voiced, voiceless and aspirated stops.

3.2.1 Place of articulation

The places of articulation used to describe Dameli consonants are bilabial, dental, postalveolar, retroflex and velar. The following is a brief description of the places and any variation that occurs within them. The individual phonemes are listed in the next section under their respective manners of articulation.

Bilabial sounds are pronounced with constriction between the upper and lower lips. There is some allophonic variation among the bilabial sounds: a labio-dental fricative [f] occurs as an allophone of /p^h/, although a bilabial fricative [ɸ] is probably more common.

Dental sounds include both prototypically dental sounds, particularly the stops, and sounds such as /n/ and /r/, which tend towards a more alveolar pronunciation.

The postalveolar sounds are relatively few: there are no stops. The approximant /j/ is more palatal than postalveolar, as mentioned earlier.

The most atypical place of articulation is the retroflex, which is definitely defined more by the shape of the tongue than by the position of the primary constriction. In these sounds, the tongue root is retracted and the tongue tip brought backwards, although not curled as far backwards as in, *e.g.*, the Dravidian languages. The retroflex approximant, which is often only realised on the surrounding vowels, may sometimes involve bilabial coarticulation.

The voiceless velar fricative /x/ has a glottal allophone [h] that is particularly common word-initially, *e.g.*, *hal* ‘plough’.

3.2.2 Manner of articulation

The manners of articulation used to describe Dameli consonants are stops, affricates, fricatives, nasals, trills and taps, and approximants, including the lateral approximant.

The stops are the only sounds with both voiceless, voiced and aspirated sets (see 3.2.3), which makes them the most numerous, although the fricatives utilise just as many places of articulation. There are no postalveolar stops, but bilabial (/p/, /b/ and /p^h/), dental (/t/, /d/ and /t^h/, retroflex (/ʈ/ and /ɖ/) and velar (/k/, /g/ and /k^h/).

The set of affricates is limited to three phonemes, the dental /t͡s/, the postalveolar /t͡ʃ/ and the retroflex /ʈ͡ʂ/. A voiced postalveolar affricate [d͡ʒ] exists as an allophonic variant of /ʒ/, particularly in borrowed words. Aspirated affricates can frequently be heard, although the distinction between aspirated and unaspirated affricates does not appear to be phonemic, but form part of the distinction between primarily the postalveolar affricate, which is usually pronounced without marked aspiration, and the retroflex affricate, which is usually pronounced with clear aspiration.

Having affricates in three positions, as Dameli does, is an areal feature where Dameli is spoken, and such phonemes are present in several of the neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages, the Nuristani languages, Burushaski, and several East Iranian languages (Zoller, 2005, p. 14). An even larger area has the two affricates t͡s and t͡ʃ, but lacks the retroflex ʈ͡ʂ. (Masica, 1991, p. 132).

There are eight fricative phonemes, the voiceless /s/, /ʃ/, /ʂ/ and /x/, and their voiced equivalents /z/, /ʒ/, /ʒ/ and /ɣ/. Of these, /s/, /ʃ/ and /ʂ/ correspond closely to the three affricates in terms of place of articulation. The fricative [f] and [ɸ] are common as allophones of /p^h/.

The voiced retroflex fricative, /ʒ/, is used in a very small number of words, five in my material to date: *mazi* ‘female markhor’, *reeza* ‘line, narrow path’, *zami* ‘brother-in-law (WB)’, *zanzar* ‘chain’, and *zekan* ‘leather string for tying woolen leggings, bowyang’. Several of these words have cognates in Palula (Liljegren & Haider, 2011) and Kalasha (Trail & Cooper, 1999), where the phoneme is equally uncommon.

Nasals are a very limited set, containing the bilabial /m/, the dental /n/ and the retroflex /ɳ/. A velar nasal is common as an allophone of /n/ before velar stops. In some cases, such as the word *mraŋ* ‘nail’, there is no trace of a stop, but this is probably not enough to warrant interpreting this as an independent phoneme.¹⁰

Just as with the velar [ŋ], the retroflex /ɳ/ usually appears together with other retroflex sounds, but it is common enough on its own to be

¹⁰ Investigating this was made considerably more difficult because my standard frame for single word recordings involved a /g/ immediately after the word. That’s what you get for not creating a proper frame with vowels on both sides of the word.

tentatively included as a separate phoneme. It never occurs word-initially.

The trill and tap manner consists of the alveolar /r/, usually pronounced as either a trill [r] or a tap [ɾ]. The retroflex tap /ɽ/ is infrequent, and used mostly in loanwords. It is quite distinct, and has been included as a separate phoneme, but may perhaps also be interpreted as a variant of /ɽ/.

The approximants are a rather heterogenous set, containing the semivowels /v/ and /j/, the lateral approximant /l/ and the retroflex approximant /ɻ/.

A couple of particular l-sounding sounds have developed nearby: “the velarized *l* found in Kalasha, Khowar and Palula and the voiceless lateral *λ*” found in Gawarbatī, Kalam Kohistani, Wotapuri-Kataraqalai, Shumashti and Grangali” (Bashir, 2003, p. 906). Neither of these sounds are found in Dameli, however, despite the fact that they are found in Khowar and among the immediate neighbouring languages Kalasha and Gawarbatī.

The retroflex approximant is mainly realised on adjacent vowels, which are pronounced with a rhotic or retroflex quality, primarily noticeable by a lowering of the third formant. Morgenstierne (1942, p. 122) interpreted this sound as a palatal fricative sound, but since the tongue tip does not approach the palate, there is very little constriction, and the sound does not resemble palatal sounds.

It might be possible to analyse each vowel affected by this sound as a separate phoneme, in effect a series of retroflex vowels, as has been done for neighbouring Kalasha (Trail & Cooper, 1999), but for Dameli, where the phenomenon is less widespread, such an interpretation would be less economical and would not account as well for the distribution of the sound, which is mostly limited to vocalic sequences. For several of these occurrences there are cognates in neighbouring languages that have *ɽ* between the vowels so that the postulated retroflex approximant corresponds directly to a retroflex tap in these languages, e.g., *agewi* ‘dupatta, lady’s shawl’, cf. Kamviri *agarik*; *aanguwi* ‘finger’, cf. Palula *angúri*.

¹¹ This character represents either a voiceless alveolar lateral approximant [ɻ] or a voiceless alveolar lateral fricative [ɸ].

3.2.3 Voicing and aspiration

Voicing and aspiration provide an extra dimension of Dameli consonants, beyond place and manner of articulation. All stops and fricatives make a distinction between voiced and voiceless phonemes, and for stops there is also an (over-)aspirated series.

Both voicing and aspiration depend on the property of voice onset time, the point at which the vocal cords start to vibrate: voiced consonants are pronounced with vibrating vocal cords throughout their duration, whereas voiceless consonants are produced without activating the vocal chords. Aspirated consonants are also voiceless but have an extra delay before the vocal cords are allowed to resume their function, which produces an extra puff of air at the end. Voiceless consonants are not completely unaspirated, but less so than the aspirated set, which have emphatic aspiration, meaning that the voice onset is delayed longer and the airflow stronger. I have not been able to distinguish an aspirated retroflex stop, but all other stops have aspirated versions.

A related phenomenon is voiced aspirated sounds, which are not present in Dameli. Unlike voiceless aspirated sounds, these depend on the *breathy voice* property, in addition to changes in voice onset time, in order to produce their particular character (Clark, Yallop, & Fletcher, 2007, p. 53). The absence of voiced aspirated consonants in Dameli contrasts with the norm in the Indo-Aryan languages in general (Masica, 1991, p. 101) but is a feature it shares with some of its neighbours, *e.g.*, Gawri (Baart, 1997, p. 20) and Shina (Radloff, 1999, p. 27). Zoller (2005) sees in the distribution of aspirated stops among the “Dardic” languages evidence that “language boundaries and boundaries of isoglosses are frequently not identical”; voiced aspirated stops are present in Indus Kohistani, Chail Kohistani and Kohistani Shina but missing in Gilgiti Shina and Gawri (Kalam Kohistani) (p. 12).

In the absence of voiced aspirates, voicing and aspiration form a three-way distinction so that “aspirated” contrasts with “voiceless” and “voiced”. Table 7 shows minimal and near-minimal pairs in support of the voicing and aspiration contrast for stops.

Table 7: Voicing and aspiration contrasts

Contrast	Words
p:p ^h :b	paŋ ‘bale’
	p ^h an ‘path’
	ban ‘stick’

t:t ^h :d	taa ‘past tense marker’ (PST) t ^h aa ‘is’ (be.IMPFV.3SG.M) daa ‘take this!/here you go!’
t:d	ɕaŋg ‘drumbeat’ ɕaŋg ‘back’ (body part)
k:k ^h :g	kur (t) ‘do’ (verb root) kurum ‘I am doing’ (do-PFV.1SG) kuree ‘he/she did’ (do-PFV.3SG) k ^h ur-ee ‘on foot’ (foot-INSTR) gurum ‘morning’

3.3 Tone

A “significant correlation of tone” was reported for Dameli by both Morgenstierne (1942, p. 125) and Strand (2001),¹² but this phenomenon will require further study before I can do much more than confirm their conclusions. There are minimal pairs distinguished only by tone, including monosyllabic words with short vowels. Strand limits tone contrasts to accented vowels (p. 255).

The tones, according to both Morgenstierne and Strand, are analysed as rising (*e.g.*, *žǎn* ‘watermill’, *sǎn* ‘pastures’) and falling (*e.g.*, *žân* ‘snake’, *sân* ‘hole’), and my cursory inspections of spectrograms and pitch curves appear to bear out this point.¹³

A further analysis of the subject would need to go into both how the tonal system works and what role it plays in the language as a whole, questions which must remain unanswered for now.

¹² It’s not entirely clear from the text if Strand’s conclusions in this matter are based on his own observations or on Morgenstierne’s article.

¹³ I am grateful to Niklas Öhrström for helping me with this task, and for some very useful off-the-cuff observations.

4 Syllable structure

The syllable structure of Dameli is rather restrictive. Consonant clusters are allowed both in the onset and the coda, but only with a very limited set of phonemes.

The permitted syllable types are shown and exemplified in table 8. Note that V may represent either a long or a short vowel.

Table 8: Syllable types

Syllable type	Example
V	i '3SG.ANIM.PROX'
VC	ek 'one'
VCC	iŋç 'bear'
CV	ni 'not'
CVC	nan 'aunt (MZ)'
CCVC	brun 'wall'
CCVCC	grang 'hole'

One pronunciation of the word *krnaa* 'black' may suggest a more complex syllable type (CCCV), but variant pronunciations argue against making too much of this single example. See 4.2.

4.1 Onset

The syllable onset is the least restrictive position in the Dameli phonology. Any consonant except /ŋ/ can appear at the beginning of syllables, and consonant clusters are allowed but follow strict rules. Table 9 shows some examples of initial consonant clusters.

Clusters are built around a “central” position with a segment of low sonority, typically a stop, although there are also examples with nasals and fricatives. Sibilants may precede this position, and /r/ or an approximant may succeed it.

The vast majority of initial clusters have /r/ in the second position, but /y/ and /w/ also occur. In my material, the bilabial approximant /w/ and

the lateral approximant /l/ only occur in this position in loanwords, e.g., *plag*, ‘electrical outlet’, *swaato* ‘Punagram (village name)’. Restricting the second position in clusters to r-sounds is common in languages across the world (Ladefoged & Maddieson, 1996, p. 216).

Additionally, initial clusters appear to be restricted to CC, i.e., central consonants may not have both preceding and succeeding consonants. There are no such clusters in the material, and historical clusters of this kind have had prothetic vowels inserted, e.g., *ištrii* ‘wife’ <Skt. *strii*, or been altered in some other way. Even CC clusters with an initial sibilant appear unstable, and often have variant pronunciations with a prothetic vowel, as in e.g., *skaa/iskaa* ‘fat’.¹⁴

Table 9: Some syllable-initial clusters

Word	Gloss	Structure
braa	brother	[stop]+[r]
truida	day after tomorrow	[stop]+[r]
mrang	deer	[nasal]+[r]
zrax	active, clever	[fricative]+[r]
gyu	oil	[stop]+[approximant]
pweyen	squeeze	[stop]+[approximant]
špaši	sister’s child	[sibilant]+[stop]

4.2 Nucleus

The syllable nucleus consists of a long or short vowel. Consonants do not usually function as syllable nuclei. One pronunciation of the word *krnaa* ‘black’ suggests either syllabic /r/ or /n/, or a more complex initial cluster, but this is an isolated occurrence and is often pronounced with an epenthetic vowel as [krɪ'nɑ:].

4.3 Coda

The syllable coda is more restrictive than the onset. The only clusters that are allowed are those consisting of a nasal followed by a stop or an affricate, and with the exception of the cluster *-ng* [ŋg], even these are rare.

¹⁴ The same tendency to avoid initial clusters can be observed when comparing related languages, e.g., Dameli: *špaši* – Kalasha: *išpoši* ‘sister’s child’.

The word-final position is very restrictive (see 6.3) and only allows very restricted clusters, and neither aspirated nor voiced consonants. It is very likely that some of these restrictions are actually restrictions on the coda, but that secondary processes obscure this. Because the syllable structure is usually open to reanalysis (resyllabification), allowing the coda to become onset in a subsequent syllable, the restriction has less of an effect on clusters within words than word-finally, and is more difficult to study there.

The word *mukdaç^hani* ‘looking glass’ shows that at least final deaspiration applies to the coda within words as well as word-finally. The word is a compound of *muk^{h15}* ‘face’ + *daç-an* ‘look-INF’, but the aspirated *k^h* in the first part is not pronounced. The presence of a stop in the onset of the second syllable blocks *k^h* from being moved to this syllable (**mu.kdaç^hani*). Since *k^h* remains in the coda, final deaspiration is applied. In the word *muk^haa^muk* ‘face to face’, in contrast, there is no consonant in the onset of the second syllable, and the word can be resyllabified as *mu.k^haa^muk*, with intact aspiration.

It is possible that the restriction on voiced obstruents that applies word-finally (6.3.3) is also a restriction on the coda but that this is neutralised in the surface form by regressive assimilation from a subsequent voiced sound. Likewise, the same restrictions on clusters that apply word-finally probably apply in the coda within words, when they cannot be avoided by resyllabification.

¹⁵ Note that this is the underlying form; the aspiration is lost when used without suffixes, since the /k^h/ is then word-final.

5 Prosody

Phonological features above the segment level are important but difficult to analyse, since they often deal less with absolute meaning differences and more with nuances and discourse functions. Stress and intonation interact but function on different levels. Stress is mostly a lexical feature in Dameli and serves to differentiate between word forms, whereas intonation is used to mark particular sentence types and perform discourse functions.

5.1 Stress

In Dameli, as in most languages, lexical stress is a composite feature, that combines duration, loudness and pitch to make syllables more or less “prominent” (Clark, Yallop, & Fletcher, 2007, p. 339). Stress is mainly lexically determined and can fall on any syllable. Some suffixes carry their own stress, altering the stress of the word they form part of. This is particularly true for verb endings, which often change the stress pattern considerably.

Stress and long vowels mostly coincide, although it is often impossible to determine whether the long vowel attracted the stress or the stress caused vowel lengthening.¹⁶ There are, however, enough examples of words with long, unstressed vowels, or several long vowels, to warrant positing length and stress as independent features. One clear example of this comes from the verbal system. For some verbs, stress is the only feature distinguishing perfective and imperfective forms, despite the presence of a long vowel: *'oot^hinum* ‘I am stopping’ (stop.IMPFV.1SG) vs. *oo^thinum* ‘I stopped’ (stop.PFV.1SG), *'kookinum* ‘I am sleeping’ (sleep.IMPFV.1SG) vs. *koo^kkinum* ‘I slept’ (sleep.PFV.1SG).

¹⁶ I've also been wondering about the chicken and the egg, lately. Any ideas, people?

5.2 Intonation

Intonation involves several features, such as phrasal stress, melody and tempo, which in turn are made up of lower-level phonetic correlates such as pitch and duration. While a few very general remarks can be made here, a thorough investigation of intonation patterns must be left for further research.

The general intonation pattern is raising-falling, where the pitch peak often emphasizes some part of the utterance. Particular intonation patterns mark several special clause types, such as polar questions (rising all the way to the end), conditions, enumeration and lists. Extreme lengthening of one syllable can be used for narrative effect.

6 Phonological processes

The surface form a phoneme takes is determined by the context in which it appears. Some contexts initiate phonological processes that change the phonemes involved. Most such processes are subtle changes that are not consciously perceived by speakers or listeners, but those described in this chapter have more far-reaching consequences, often altering the surface form quite drastically. Particularly common are processes that affect phonemes and clusters that appear at the end of words.

6.1 Vowel sequences

Two or more vowels appearing after each other often result in systematic changes. Sounds that are phonetically sequences of vowels can occur where the phoneme structure only contains one vocalic phoneme, as a result of a diphthongisation processes that affect the pronunciation of individual vowels (see 6.1.6).

In some contexts, vowels can be reanalysed as semivowels, which can be used as consonants, to create regular syllables with vowels and semivowels according to the normal phontactic rules of the language. This appears to be quite common with /u/ and /i/ in Dameli (turning them into /w/ and /y/).

Vowel sequences can also appear when a syllable without an onset is joined to the end of an open syllable, one without a coda, usually when suffixes are joined to words that end in a vowel. Such sequences can result in elision, lengthening, assimilation, the insertion of an epenthetic approximant, hiatus or diphthongs or vocalic sequences.

6.1.1 Elision

Some single-vowel suffixes, such as the locative *-a*, usually appear only on words that end in consonants (or vowels of the same quality, see 6.1.2), even when it is otherwise obligatory, such as before some

postpositions. This may be interpreted as elision of the vowel suffix that is done in order to avoid a cumbersome vowel sequence.

6.1.2 Lengthening

When two short vowels of the same quality meet, a long vowel of the same quality is produced, as in *madrasaa* ‘*madrasah*¹⁷-LOC’ (*madrasa-a*).

6.1.3 Coalescence

A similar process occurs whenever /a/ is directly followed by /e/ (regardless of length). Within words, these two vowels do not usually appear adjacent to each other, but when a suffix or clitic beginning in /e/ is joined to a root or stem ending in /a/, the two phonemes are assimilated into a single sound, [æ], which lies between /a/ and /e/ in the vowel space of the language. If either of the vowels combined (or both) is long, the resulting sound will also be: [æ:].

This happens regularly in the third person perfective forms of causative verbs, where the causative derivation suffix *-a* precedes the suffixes *-ee* ‘PFV.3SG’ or *-en* ‘PFV.3PL’, e.g., *nag-a-een* ‘(they) went down’ [na'gæ:n]. It is also common when the instrumental or ergative suffix *-ee* or the clitic *-es* ‘also’ are joined to words ending in *-a*, e.g., *baša-ee* ‘language-INSTR/in the language’ [ba:ʃæ:], *žaa-es* ‘now also’ [ʒæ:s].

Coalescence of vowels with the same quality is also common, resulting in long vowels.

6.1.4 Epenthetic semivowels

While it is by no means physically impossible to produce almost any series of vowels, some combinations are largely avoided in Dameli, mostly by the insertion of epenthetic semivowels. Since there is much variety in how this principle is applied in different words, the semivowels are usually expressed in the transcriptions, as though they were phonematic, although they may not always be. There appears to be some phonetically motivated systematicity, however:

- Epenthetic semivowels are more common with combinations that involve pairs of vowels that are pronounced relatively far away from each other in the oral cavity, particularly in terms of openness (see figure 2).

¹⁷ A *madrasah* (or *madrasa*) is an Islamic religious school.

- The semivowels that are involved, /y/ and /w/, correspond to /i/ and /u/, and usually appear when these two vowels are involved.
- /y/ appears more often when the sequence is opening up, going from a more closed vowel to a more open one: *iya*, but *ai*.
- /w/ appears more often when the sequence is closing, going from a more open vowel to a more closed one: *awu*, but *ua*.

A slightly different use of this can be illustrated with the derivation of causative verbs. The second causative suffix *-aai* is always used after the causative suffix *-a*. To preserve the two suffixes intact, an epenthetic *-w-* is inserted between the two: *nišawaayim* ‘sit-CAUS-CAUS2-PFV.1SG/I made someone sit someone down.’¹⁸

6.1.5 Hiatus

When no measure is taken to prevent two vowels to meet on a syllable border, the result is called hiatus. This occurs in Dameli and can be illustrated by comparing word pairs such as *çai* ‘body’ (two syllables, [tʃa.i]) and *çay* ‘tea’ (one syllable, [tʃaj]). The distinction can be quite difficult to perceive, particularly if, unlike in the example, stress falls on the first syllable.

6.1.6 Diphthongs or vocalic sequences

Some long vowels are occasionally pronounced, phonetically, as diphthongs. This is a superficial process that affects pronunciation, but does not change the phonemic composition of a word. To exemplify, long /e/ is pronounced with the diphthong [e̠i], as an allomorph of /ee/ used in addition to [e:], in words such as *bree* ‘girl’, *kuree* ‘who’. These are, of course, quite open to reanalysis as combinations of vowels and semivowels (e.g., as *brey*, *kurey*).

Two vowels can also meet within a syllable. These can be analysed as sequences of vowels and semivowels, or as diphthongs. To exemplify, the feminine version of the adjective *baloo* ‘large’ is not *ba.loo.i* but *ba.loy* or *ba.loi*. Similar cases occur not just as a result of combining morphemes but within morphemes as well, as in, e.g., *augus/awgus* ‘dragonfly’.

Whether these sounds should be considered true diphthongs or sequences of vowels and semivowels is largely a matter of interpretation. Since they cannot, at present at least, be shown to function as a set of phonemes in their own right, they have been interpreted as sequences of vowels and semivowels here.

¹⁸ This is a real word, cross my heart!

6.2 Conditioned vowel lengthening

In a sense, coalescence of vowels of the same quality may be considered an instance of vowel lengthening, since it results in a long vowel, but a more complex process, that affects closed syllables, also occurs: when a suffix is attached to certain roots, short vowels in the last syllable of the root are sometimes lengthened. This process is applied to most words with a short vowel in the last syllable, including loan-words.

Table 10 shows some examples of vowel lengthening, and table 11 some exceptions.

Table 10: Examples of vowel lengthening

Root	Suffix	Example
<i>bum</i> ‘ground’	-a ‘LOC’	<i>buuma</i> ‘on the ground’
<i>mam</i> ‘maternal uncle’	-a ‘LOC’	<i>māã maama şawaai</i> ‘through my uncle’
<i>zyat</i> ‘much’ <Pashto: <i>ziat</i>	-a ‘LOC’	<i>zyaata ki</i> ‘to [the word] “much”’
<i>rimel</i> ‘kerchief’ <Pashto: <i>rumaal</i>	-a ‘LOC’	<i>rimeela walisan</i> ‘hidden in the kerchief’
<i>lemp</i> ‘lamp’ <Eng: lamp	-a ‘LOC’	<i>leempa alamaaisan</i> ‘hanging from the lamp’
<i>maç</i> ‘man’	-es ‘also’	<i>tanii maaçes</i> ‘that man also’

Table 11: Examples without vowel lengthening

Root	Suffix	Example
<i>put</i> ‘boy’	-a ‘LOC’	<i>puta ki/putra ki</i> ‘to the son’
<i>muṭ</i> ‘tree’	-a ‘LOC’	<i>muṭa</i> ‘in the tree’
<i>kul</i> ‘house’	-a ‘LOC’	<i>kula</i> ‘in the house’
<i>sekal</i> ‘bicycle’	-a ‘LOC’	<i>sekala niši</i> ‘sitting on the bicycle’

The difference between the words that do not undergo vowel lengthening and those that do is still unclear. Tone differences, vowel quality or otherwise different underlying forms, are possible explanations.

6.3 Word-final processes

The variety of sounds that are allowed in the word-final position is very restricted. Clusters are severely limited, and both voiced and aspirated obstruents are avoided. In both cases, this is carried out with processes

that are at least partially still active; underlying forms may still have the avoided sounds and combinations.

6.3.1 Reduction of clusters

The syllable structure of Dameli is particularly restrictive in the coda (see 4.3): the only clusters allowed are those consisting of a nasal followed by a stop or an affricate. This restriction is easiest to observe at the end of words, since resyllabification allows much more maneuverability within words.

Evidence from a number of words show that this restriction is not just a distributional fact, but the result of an active process. Some morphemes have underlying forms that contain final clusters, which are not allowed in the word-final position, and which are reduced when the morphemes are used on their own. When they are used in compounds or with suffixes, the underlying form resurfaces. Table 12 shows some examples of this.

Table 12: Reduction of final clusters

Underlying form	Independent form	Example with suffix
dašt	daš ‘hand’	daštee ‘with the hand’
putr	put ‘son’	putres ‘his/her son’
prošt	proš ‘bed’	prošta ‘in bed’
p ^h ant	p ^h an ‘path’	p ^h antee ‘on the way’
ašt	aš ‘eight’	aštam ‘eighth’

A similar process can be observed in the adaptation of loanwords. See table 13 for some examples of this. In at least some of these cases, the cluster may resurface when the word is used with a suffix, *e.g.*, *waxt-a* ‘time-LOC’.

Table 13: Loan-words with reduced final clusters

Word	Source
bardaš ‘bear, endure’	Ur: bardašt
sax ‘hard’	Ur: saxt
wax ‘time’	Ur: waxt
doos ‘friend’	Ur: dost

6.3.2 Deaspiration

Another process affects aspirated stops at the end of a word. In such cases, the aspiration is removed, and the phoneme is pronounced as the corresponding voiceless unaspirated consonant. To exemplify, the word *muk* ‘face’ has the underlying form *muk^h*, but this appears only when a suffix is added, such as in *muk^h-a* ‘face-LOC/in the face’. Like reduction of word-final clusters (4.2), this process leads us to assume underlying forms of morphemes that are more complex than their isolated surface forms. Only when the morpheme is combined with another morpheme does the surface form reflect the underlying form fully.

6.3.3 Obstruent devoicing

In the word-final position, voiced sounds are devoiced. This process affects obstruents, *i.e.*, stops, affricates and fricatives, but not nasals or other phonemes.

Interestingly, when the voiced velar stop /g/ appears word-finally preceded by a nasal as [ŋg] it is not devoiced. This argues against the analysis made here, which does not recognise this as a single phoneme /ŋ/, since nasals are not devoiced under this rule, and stops are.

This process is most obvious as a distributional observation; the only words that have been recorded in my dictionary that end in voiced stops, affricates or fricatives are borrowed ones. In fluent speech, these also tend to be devoiced, even if they were pronounced with the voiced sounds in careful pronunciation.

Another instantiation of this process can be observed in subject marking on the verb: suffixes that express plurality usually consist of the corresponding singular form followed by *-a*, but this only holds if we assume that an underlying voiced form of the singular marker is suppressed in the word-final position but resurfaces when the plural *-a* is added: *-num* ‘IMPFV.1SG’; *-numa* ‘IMPFV.1PL’, *-nap* ‘IMPFV.2SG’; *-naba* ‘IMPFV.2PL’.

It is not immediately clear on which level obstruent devoicing operates, whether it is purely a surface operation that removes the voicing from certain sounds, or if the process depends on the phoneme structure, and exchanges one phoneme for another.

Baarth (1997), in describing Gawri, notes a process similar to the Dameli one affecting stops, nasals¹⁹ and affricates but insists that an audible phonetic difference is maintained between devoiced and voiceless sounds, *i.e.*, that voiced phonemes that have undergone word-final devoicing are pronounced differently than inherently voiceless phonemes. He supports this analysis with acoustic evidence (pp. 13-15).

Radloff (1999) describes a similar process in Gilgiti Shina affecting voiced plosives, affricates and fricatives but apparently not nasals (p. 32). Based on observations and speakers judgements, she also concludes that “there is a difference in the pronunciation of devoiced consonants and their voiceless counterparts” (p. 33).

With a clear acoustic difference between voiceless and devoiced sounds, as both these languages appears to have, the process is obviously just one of removing voicing. My suspicion, although I have not been able to carry out similar acoustic tests, is that the situation in Dameli is different and that the process there operates on a deeper level.

I have found no signs that speakers make a distinction between voiceless and devoiced sounds, and transcriptions and texts written by mother-tongue co-workers do not reflect such a distinction,²⁰ but this is something that needs to be studied more carefully.

Unlike Gawri, but like Gilgiti Shina, devoicing in Dameli affects fricatives, but not nasals. This means that final devoicing affects all phonemes that have voiceless equivalents, and no other phonemes, which might be an argument suggesting that the process is dependent on the phoneme structure involving a change of phonemes when there are voiceless corresponding alternatives available.

¹⁹ Baarth apparently includes nasals in his category of *plosives*, since the nasal stops have devoiced variants in his table of phonetic consonant sounds (p. 11), but not in his table of consonant phonemes (p. 19).

²⁰ The exception is in the domain of loanwords, where a conservative spelling is often preferred, regardless of pronunciation.

Morphology

7 Nouns

Nouns, which typically “refer to things, persons, places, and other more or less concrete objects” (Tamm, 2006, p. 720), probably form the largest class of words in Dameli. As an open class, nouns are frequently borrowed from other languages, but are also derived through productive word-formation processes.

Nouns consist of a noun stem, to which inflectional suffixes can be attached. The stem can consist of just the root, but there are also stems that have a more complex structure, such as compounds or derivations.

Nouns can be inflected according to number and case and refer to things that are inherently animate or inanimate. All nouns belong to either the masculine or the feminine gender, but these categories are not marked on the nouns themselves, although they can affect marking on other targets, such as adjectives or verbs that show agreement with nouns. Note, however, that the gender distinction appears to be in decline in the language and that speakers often have difficulty accessing the gender of individual words when asked directly (see 7.3.3).

Nouns form noun phrases which fill a variety of syntactic functions (see chapter 15).

7.1 Noun stems

Noun stems are the basic lexical form of the noun and can consist of a bare noun root morpheme or a more complex combination with an internal morphological structure, such as compounds or derivations.

Some forms of the noun consist of just the stem, but some are formed by adding one or more inflectional suffixes to the stem.

7.1.1 Noun roots

Noun roots are single morphemes used to form noun stems. They usually range from one to three syllables.

7.1.2 Compounds

Several lexical morphemes can be combined in a number of ways to form complex noun stems, ranging from the very transparent, in which the meaning of the compound is clear from the meaning of the components, to the very opaque, in which there is little obvious relationship between the meaning of the components and the meaning of the compound. Case and other suffixes are applied at the end, on the last root. No overt markings are used to indicate compounds. Stress tends to fall on the normally stressed syllable of the second element. Compound nouns can be formed with roots that are not nouns, particularly in the first position.

Table 14: Some compound nouns

Word	First element	Second element	Meaning
draakmuṭ	draak ‘grapes’	muṭ ‘tree’	grapevine
banip ^h açi	bani ‘hollyoak’	p ^h açi ‘bird’	a kind of bird
naasdāī	naas ‘nose’	dani ‘narrow part’	nasal bridge
uč ^h uṭadadi	uč ^h uṭa ‘small’	dadi ‘father’	younger uncle
aobáč ^h o	ao ‘water’	báč ^h o ‘calf’	otter

7.2 Animacy

Many constructions in Dameli depend on whether or not the participants are living entities or inanimate objects. Such a division is quite common in the world’s languages but the categories involved are not necessarily identical. Cross-linguistically, the animacy distinction is best described as a division between things considered more or less prototypically living. Rather than utilising a two-fold distinction, we may talk about a scale along which individual languages make different cuts. Some languages, such as Swahili, treat only humans as animate (Lyons, 1998, p. 210), whereas others, such as Manam, include some higher animals, especially domesticated animals, in the animate category (Croft, 2003, p. 130). Languages may even distinguish several levels of animacy. In Shona, three levels are distinguished: humans, non-human animates, and inanimates, and these distinctions govern word order. Other languages still refer to the animacy scale without reference to discrete categories. In Navajo, for example, elements higher on the animacy scale must precede lower elements in the word order for a sentence to be grammatical (Yamamoto, 1999, pp. 52-54).

In Dameli, two categories are distinguished: animate, which consists of humans and animals, and inanimate, which consists of plants, non-living objects and abstract concepts. The animate category is not limited to domesticated animals, as shown by example 1.

The animacy distinction is primarily a property of nouns and pronouns (see 8.1.4), or rather of the entities they describe. Nouns are never overtly marked as animate or inanimate, but the distinction is evident in its effects on other targets.

Describing animacy is somewhat tricky, because it often appears as a strong tendency rather than as an absolute rule. Inanimates *usually do not* trigger plural agreement in verbs, they *tend* to be avoided as subjects of transitive verbs, although examples to the contrary can be found, and possessive pronouns *rarely, if ever*, refer to inanimates as owners. Gender agreement is also more often triggered by animate heads than by inanimate ones.

There are, however, two cases where the difference is fairly unambiguous:

The possession marker *sãã* is only used with animate owners. Possession-like constructions where the “owner” is inanimate are constructed with the postposition *ta* ‘of’ (see 15.3).²¹

Most importantly, fully inflected copulas with the *t* root are used with animate subjects, such as “a bird” in example 1, and the *daru/beru* copula, with very limited inflection, is used with inanimate subjects, such as “name” in example 2.

- (1) piŋ gan-i ek p^haçi t^hui
 piŋ say-CP one bird COP.ANIM.IMPFV.3SG.F
 ‘One bird is called “Ping.”’ (T3078)

- (2) asili **nam** daaman **daru**
 original **name** Daman COP.INANIM.IMPFV.3
 ‘The real name is “Daman”.’ (T3040)

7.3 Gender

Although the matter is far from simple, Dameli clearly has a system of “classes of nouns reflected in the behaviour of associated words”

²¹ Even here, there are some counterexamples, such as the set expression *sãã waŋa*, ‘for this reason’.

(Hockett, 1958, p. 231), *i.e.*, a gender system. In theory, this system divides all nouns into two groups, masculine and feminine, which in turn triggers agreement on verbs, adjectives and possessive pronouns and markers. In actual behaviour, the gender system appears to be in decline, and gender agreement appears rather erratically. The distribution points to a relatively complete system, but one that is no longer used all the time.

7.3.1 Gender assignment

Gender systems always have a semantic component (Corbett, 1991, p. 63). In the case of Dameli, this means that the semantic notions of sex and animacy play an important role in gender assignment. Nouns that denote sex-differentiable entities, *e.g.*, terms for men and women and male or female individuals of any animal, are automatically assigned to the gender corresponding to their sex. When other factors do not interfere, non-sex differentiable entities, typically inanimates, tend to be assigned to the masculine gender. This is consistent with the development in several other Indo-Aryan languages, where the neuter gender of Old Indo-Aryan merged with the masculine to form a two-gender system (Masica, 1991, p. 220).

There may be additional semantic principles that affect gender assignment. Body parts, for example, tend to be feminine even when the form would suggest otherwise, as evidenced by *k^huṭa* in table 15.

Another important factor in gender assignment is phonological. The gender agreement morphemes on other targets are usually *-a* for masculine and *-i* for feminine. These suffixes correspond to the endings on many nouns belonging to the same gender, a feature known as overt gender marking (Corbett, 1991, p. 62). Conversely, nouns ending in either of these sounds may be ascribed to the corresponding gender.

As table 15 below shows, the semantic and phonological principles described above do not account for all nouns; there are nouns that end in neither *-i* or *-a* nor belong to any recognizable semantic categories. The inconsistencies in the use of gender described in 7.3.3 prevented me from completing an exhaustive investigation of this.

Table 15: Gender assignment for some nouns

Word	Translation	Gender	Assignment criterion
žu	daughter	F	semantic
put	son	M	semantic
k ^h uṭa	knee	F	semantic

pirāāī	shirt; qamis	F	phonological
nikaa	wedding	M	phonological
braa	brother	M	semantic+phonological
ištrii	wife	F	semantic+phonological
abal	joy	F	unknown
nam	name	M	unknown

7.3.2 Gender agreement

Evidence for the gender of a noun comes from agreement on other targets. In Dameli, verbs, adjectives and possessive pronouns and markers display gender agreement.

Verbs show gender agreement with the subject in the third person, as shown in example 3.

- (3) manee dači-**na** tee
 like.this see-IMPV.3SG.M that
 see tasāā-∅ žami t^hui
 3SG.ANIM.DIST.NOM 3SG.POSS-M wife COP.ANIM.IMPV.3SG.F
 ‘Thus he sees that it is his wife.’ (TW1033)

Gender only appears in some tense/aspect forms; it is limited to the perfective, the imperfective and the indirect past for intransitive verbs, and to only the imperfective for transitive verbs, both for simple verbs and for causatives. The future, the potential past and the imperative never show gender agreement. Some of the non-finite verb forms may also take adjective-like gender agreement forms when they function as attributes of nouns.

Subject-marking forms are portmanteau morphs that also contain other information, but forms expressing gender always build on the opposition *-a* / *-i*. All gender agreement verb forms can be seen in table 27 (page 95).

Only some adjectives, those that belong to the *variable* group (see 9.1), show gender agreement. Masculine forms are either unmarked or end in *-a*. Feminine forms always end in *-i*.

Possessive pronouns agree in gender with the possessed entity, but not with the possessor. The forms, which build on the *-a* / *-i* opposition, can be seen in table 20 (page 79). The possessive marker is reminiscent of the singular possessive pronouns in form, and shows the same kind of agreement with the possessed object (see 8.2.1).

7.3.3 Decline of gender

Despite clear evidence of its existence, there are several indications that the gender distinction is currently declining in Dameli. Most importantly, speakers of the language consulted in this study often expressed uncertainty about the gender of inanimate nouns.

Gender is usually immediately accessible to mother-tongue speakers of a language and can easily be determined by constructing test sentences with masculine and feminine agreement that are then submitted to grammaticality judgements. When presented with such material, however, my Dameli co-workers expressed doubt and contradicted each other and themselves. This only happened with inanimate nouns, and mostly with words that did not carry anything that could be interpreted as overt gender marking, *i.e.*, words that did not end in *-a* or *-i*.

Another indication of the decline of gender in Dameli is the lack of gender marking on pronouns. According to Corbett (1991), gender distinctions often arise in pronouns, and from there spread to other categories (p. 310 ff). Likewise, when a system is in the process of losing gender distinctions, they typically remain longest on the pronouns (p. 259).

Greenberg (1966) even went so far as to postulate this as a universal:

43. If a language has gender categories in the noun, it has gender categories in the pronoun. (Greenberg, 1966, p. 113)

Despite the fact that Dameli has gender in the noun, pronouns do not distinguish gender. Possessive pronouns do show gender marking, but this is a different matter, since it is not the gender of the referent of the pronoun, but the gender of the possessed object that is expressed. This is not a unique development, even among the Indo-Aryan languages. Masica (1991) states:

- Not all the languages that show gender agreement of adjectives and participles have gender-differentiated pronouns: notably Hindi, Punjabi, “Lahnda”,²² and Gujarati do not. (Masica, 1991, p. 224)

The inability of speakers to pass grammaticality judgements about gender could be due to several factors, including the fact that my main co-workers did not reside in the Domel Valley, although they speak Dameli at home, and perhaps also to the unnaturalness of the elicitation situation. Similar indications were obtained, however, from speakers

²² “Lahnda” refers to the language now more commonly known as Siraiiki.

residing in the Domel Valley as well, and even in less unnatural language situations, although no systematic testing has been carried out.

A more likely explanation of both this insecurity and the distribution of gender in Dameli, is that the system itself is in decline.

The gender system of Proto-Indo-European is believed to have originated in a system based only on the animacy distinction; sex-based distinctions were introduced at a later stage, perhaps after the separation of the Anatolian languages (Ledo-Lemos, 2000, p. 17).

The systems reconstructed for the ancestors of Dameli, for Proto-Indo-European and later for Old Indo-Aryan, both have three gender systems with masculine, feminine and neuter, where the neuter is characterised by a large number of inanimate nouns, and the other two by predominantly animate nouns (Masica, 1991, p. 220; Beekes, 1995).

Being grammatical gender systems, however, these systems showed considerable exceptions, as do their modern-day descendants. The languages that now have only two genders have reached this result through merging the neuter and the masculine (Masica, 1991, p. 221).

What is happening in Dameli is probably a continuation of this development, in which Dameli gradually loses the grammatical gender distinctions, but still maintains the semantic distinctions that underly it, primarily the animacy distinction that has remained central to the system from its origin.

This development seems already to have taken place in neighbouring Kalasha and Khowar, both of which have lost gender, but have a grammaticalised animacy distinction that mainly governs the use of the copula (Bashir, 1988, pp. 39-40, 125; 2007, pp. 212-213), a distinction that is already in place in Dameli.

7.4 Noun inflection

Noun inflection is comparatively limited in Dameli. Nouns are inflected for number and case. Kinship terms constitute a special category and have several special inflection forms, including a person or anchor category that is not used with other nouns. With the exception of these, and some borrowed words that have different plural suffixes, there are no declensional classes; all nouns are inflected with the same number and case suffixes, with some phonological restrictions and adaptations.

Number marking is optional, and number and case marking do not co-occur.

7.4.1 Number

Nouns can exist in singular or plural form. With the exception of kinship nouns (see section 7.5.4), the plural form is always formed in the same way; there are no declensions, although some borrowed words, described below, appear to retain their plural suffixes.

The standard plural suffix is *-nam*. It can be applied to any noun, with the exception of mass nouns that do not have a count noun interpretation. Example 4 shows a typical use of the plural suffix.

- (4) muu-bāi daç-i xu mẽẽ
 1SG.OBL-towards see-CP but 3PL.PROX.NOM
 baati-**nam** wail-an-baş t^h-aa taa
 word-PL hide-INF-able be-PFV.3SG.M PST
 ‘You looked at me, but I was able to hide these words.’ (TV5012)

The singular form of nouns is morphologically unmarked, and using the plural form is optional even when several entities are being referred to. Because of this, the singular form can be said to refer to objects of undetermined quantity rather than single objects.

With nouns, the plural can be described as the marked form; it is overtly marked with a suffix, and it can usually be omitted, if the plural meaning is irrelevant or can be inferred from the context, as can be seen by comparing example 5 and 6.²³

- (5) waapas aaç-i baara aaç-i ta paai mili
 back come-CP away come-CP PART boy with
 madad kur-i tee **taangu-nam** ral ku-nun
 help do-CP that pear-PL up do-IMPFV.3PL
 ‘Returning back, coming from afar, they help the boy pick up the pears.’ (TP0028)

²³ Both examples are retellings of the same visual input (The Pear Story), by two different speakers.

- (6) daara g-aa ba duu **traa zaatak** aač-i
 fall go-PFV.3SG.M TOPSH two **three child** come-CP
 tas-a mili **taangu** ral ku-nun
 3SG.ANIM.DIST-LOC with **pear** up do-IMPV.3PL
 ‘After [the boy] falls down, two or three children come and pick up the
 pears with him.’ (TP1011)

In keeping with this, nouns specified by numerals do not usually take the plural form, as illustrated by the word *zaatak* ‘child’ in example 6 above.

A likely origin of the *-nam* suffix is the OIA genitive plural *-ānām* (Masica, 1991, p. 241). Perhaps caused by such a historical origin as a combined case and number suffix, regular number marking never co-occurs with case marking. Since number marking is optional, this does not cause conflicts.

There is a special plural form used only with kinship nouns, *-suu*, and a small number of kinship terms have irregular plural forms (see section 7.5.4). The only other exception is that words borrowed from Pashto sometimes retain their Pashto plural suffixes, as shown in table 16 below.

Table 16: Borrowed Pashto roots with Pashto suffixes

Word	Source	Plural
maasum ‘child’	Psht: mašum ‘child’	masumaan
dušman ‘enemy’	Psht: dušman ‘enemy’	dušmanaan
musulman ‘muslim’	Psht: musulman ‘muslim’	musulmanaan
ka ^h ar ‘unbeliever’	Psht: kaafer ‘unbeliever’	kaap ^h araan
pulis ‘police(man)’	Psht: pulis ‘police’	pulisan
kom ‘people’	Psht: qom ‘nation, people’	koomuna
kal ‘year’	Psht: kaal ‘year’	kaluna

As several of these examples show, some of these words are not of Pashto origin (*e.g.*, *pulis*, *musulman*). It is likely that many loanwords enter Dameli via Pashto, as the suffixes indicate these may have done.

There is a curious instance in my material, where a speaker uses the Pashto plural suffix, *-una*, with a word that is not from Pashto, as shown in example 7.

- (7) manuu nam-**una** yat bin
 thus name-PL remembrance be-FUT.3PL
 ‘Thus the names are remembered.’

The Pashto word for ‘name’ is *num*; *nam* is the Dameli form. It seems likely that the Pashto plural is used in order to avoid the cumbersome **nam-nam* ‘name-PL’. Whatever the reason, this example shows that *-una* is at least occasionally available as an alternative plural form and that the borrowed plurals are perceived as morphologically complex, and not as merely inherently plural entities.

7.4.2 Case

As is common in relatively complex case systems, there are two sets of noun cases in Dameli, with different functions. Following Blake (1994, p. 34), we will use the terms *core* and *peripheral* case to denote the two sets. The core cases mark the main arguments of the clause and the peripheral cases mark various other relationships to elements of the outside world, functions often filled by adpositions in other languages. The core cases are a small group of very widely used forms.

Following Dixon (1994), we will use the terms S, A and O²⁴ to describe the primitive relations between the core arguments of the verb, defined in the following way:

- S – intransitive subject
- A – transitive subject
- O – transitive object (Dixon, 1994, p. 6)

The peripheral cases are much more heterogeneous. It is not uncommon for one morphological form to belong to both sets simultaneously, or for a core case to develop from a form that was initially used only in a peripheral function. In Dameli, the core case *ergative* and the peripheral case *instrumental* share the same suffix but are described separately, since their functions are so widely separated, and since they typically attach to words from different groups of nouns (animate and inanimate). In contrast, the *locative* functions both as an oblique and a traditional locative, but these two are harder to separate, and are treated together.

Delimiting case in relation to *e.g.*, postpositions is always difficult, and it would certainly be possible to argue for considering the possessive marker *sãã* a case marker. The possessive marker appears to be an independent word, however, and shares more similarities with the pronouns than with the case suffixes, in that it agrees in gender.

²⁴ Note that this is in contrast with the Leipzig Glossing Rules (2008), which use P for O.

7.4.2.1 Split ergativity

The most common pattern of argument marking among the languages more closely related to Dameli is known as split ergativity. Split ergative systems are those in which some part of the system adheres to the ergative principle (*i.e.*, treating subjects of intransitive verbs in the same way as objects of transitive verbs) and another part to the accusative principle (*i.e.*, treating subjects of intransitive verbs in the same way as subjects of transitive verbs). In the case of the Indo-Aryan languages, this split occurs along the lines of tense/aspect (Masica, 1991, pp. 341-346). With past or perfective verb forms (the *perfective*, *indirect past* and *potential past* in Dameli), the system is ergative. With non-past/imperfective verb forms (the *imperfective* and *future* in Dameli), the system is accusative. This is the basic principle behind the case system of Dameli. The noun case system is basically summed up by this description, but the pronoun case system introduces some further complications (see 8.1.5). The only deviation in the noun case system is that objects are always unmarked and are therefore not distinguished morphologically from subjects in the accusative parts of the system.

Note that case assignment is governed by the tense/aspect value of the verb form, not of the entire verb expression. A complex tense expression with the imperfective and the past tense marker *taa* (see 16.5), for instance, would get a past tense reading but would not trigger ergative case assignment.

Nouns have two different core case forms in Dameli; although there are several different core functions, they are carried out by only two different morphological forms: the unmarked/nominative form and the ergative form. Likewise, there are two peripheral case forms in the language, the locative and the instrumental. Kinship terms have a separate form that may be considered a case, the vocative. This is described in 7.5.3.

7.4.2.2 Nominative case

With non-past/imperfective verb forms, all core functions, *i.e.*, S, A and O, are expressed with the unmarked form of the noun, referred to here as the *nominative case*. This form is also used to express S and O with past/perfective verb forms. Since we are talking about a morphological case form, the term is used to refer to this form regardless of whether it is used in a “nominative”, “accusative” or an “absolute” function, or indeed any other. Example 8 illustrates the nominative case form in a typical nominative function, as subject in a clause in the imperfective.

- (8) i žami č^hiir brikin-ni
 3SG.ANIM.PROX woman milk sell-IMPV.3SG.F
 ‘This woman is selling milk.’

7.4.2.3 Ergative case

In the past/perfective TAM sets, the subjects of transitive verbs (A) are expressed by a form marked with the suffix *-ee*, referred to here as the *ergative case*. The subjects of intransitive verbs (S) and the objects of transitive verbs (O) are still expressed with the unmarked nominative case form.

- (9) mas-sãã putr-es-**ee** tasãã-∅
 3SG.ANIM.PROX-POSS son-KIN.3-ERG 3SG.POSS-M
 gram ta ek mač žan-ee
 village of one man kill-PFV.3SG
 ‘His son killed a man from his village.’ (T4016)

The ergative form of nouns is identical to the instrumental (see 7.4.2.5), but there is little risk of ambiguity, since the ergative is usually applied only to animates, and the instrumental only to inanimates.

7.4.2.4 Locative case

The locative is formed by adding the suffix *-a* to the noun stem, sometimes leading to a lengthening of the vowel in the preceding syllable (see 6.2).

The locative form functions both as a locative proper and as an oblique, that is, certain postpositions require their complements, the noun preceding the postposition, to be in the locative form (see 12.1). The typical function of the locative, however, is to mark the noun as a location, as something in or at which something else is, as in example 10. In contrast, goals are not expressed with the locative (unless also marked with a postposition).

- (10) tu **kul-a** t^hop-i
 2SG.NOM **house-LOC** be.IMPV.2SG-Q
 ‘Are you at home?’ (D1019)

Just as in the corresponding prepositions in English, the locative can be used to express a number of figurative “locations,” e.g., *at a time*, *in grief*, *in someone’s eye or heart*, or *in front*. Temporal uses of the locative are very common.

The locative can be used to encode the third argument of a ditransitive verb such as *give*, as illustrated in example 11, but this function is often carried out by postposition phrases as well.

- (11) graami sāã-Ø faisala ta mutaabik šorunḁa paay-a
 villager 3SG.ANIM.POSS-M decision of according orphaned boy-LOC
 žu-es prai-t^hee
 daughter-KIN.3 give-INDIRPST.3SG
 ‘Following the decision of the villagers, he gave his daughter to the orphaned boy.’ (T4021)

7.4.2.5 Instrumental case

The instrumental case is identical in form to the ergative; it is formed by adding the suffix *-ee* to the the end of the noun. Instrumental case is applied to nouns denoting objects being used as tools, *i.e.*, something that a task is carried out *with*. Naturally, these are almost exclusively inanimate. Example 12 shows a typical use of the instrumental.

- (12) ay **braadun-ee** wigi-num
 1SG.NOM **catapult-INS** fire-IMPV.1SG
 ‘I am shooting with a catapult.’²⁵ (E0020)

As noted in section 7.4.2.3, there is virtually no overlapping or ambiguous cases between the ergative and the instrumental, in spite of the identical form.

A number of semantically extended uses of the instrumental case exist with certain groups of nouns. When the instrumental case is applied to place names, it means ‘by way of’, indicating a place along the way to somewhere else, a function sometimes referred to as *prolative*. This is illustrated in example 13.

²⁵ A *slingshot*, for American readers. As far as I know, Dameli experiences of Roman war machines have thankfully been very limited.

- (13) **aakuri-ee** šin aač-i p^haarey muk^h-a
Akuri-INS above come-CP opposite_side front-LOC
ek goor-i duurui gan-numa
one white-F small.valley say-IMPFV.1PL
‘Going by way of Akuri, up on the opposite side, there is a
place we call Gori Durui.’ (T7006)

Instrumental case is also used with words denoting languages to express how something is said in that language, as in example 14.

- (14) ootaa **šekh^haan** **baaša-ee** gan-nun ziat-a ki
ota **Shekhani** language-INS say-IMPFV.3PL many-OBL to
‘In the Shekhani language,²⁶ they say “ota” for “many.”’ (T8061)

Even beyond such groups, the instrumental case is not limited to concrete readings, as can be seen in example 15.

- (15) gan-ee tee badšaa yee **baati-ee**
say-PFV.3SG that king this **word-INS**
sax k^hapa b-aa
hard angry be-PFV.3SG.M
‘Then the king became very angry *by these words*.’ (T9030)

7.5 Kinship nouns

Kinship nouns, nouns that signify kinship relations, constitute a separate group among the nouns. They show all the characteristics of nouns in general, but there are a number of morphological forms that only exist for kinship nouns. They are very frequent, often serving in contexts where, in a different cultural setting, personal names or other descriptive terms would be used.

7.5.1 Kinship system

The kinship term system in Dameli takes as many as four dimensions into account: relative generation, gender, relative age, and whether the relationship is by blood or by marriage.

²⁶ The language spoken of here is also known as (Eastern) Kativiri, a Nuristani language. *Shekhani* is a term applied to those who convert to Islam. (Decker, 1992, pp. 130-131)

The generation to which a relative belongs, in relation to the anchor, is always relevant for kinship terms. Altogether seven generations are distinguished: the generation of the anchor and three generations preceding or following him or her. The third generation preceding the anchor is only used in the term for ‘great-grandfather’, *parbap*, and the extent to which extent this term is used is uncertain. Generally, the term for ‘grandfather’, *bap*, is used in the sense of ‘ancestor’ as well as in the literal sense.

All kinship terms distinguish the gender of the relative. For some terms, there is a masculine and a feminine variant of the same root, such as *nawaasa/nawaasi* ‘grandson/granddaughter’; in others, the terms are completely separate. The terms for kin by marriage also take the gender of the *ego*, the person whose relative we are referring to, into account: the term for a woman’s mother-in-law is not the same as that used for a man’s mother-in-law. The gender of intermediate relatives can also play a role: there are different terms for maternal and paternal uncles and aunts, for example, but no distinction between maternal and paternal grandparents.

The terms for ‘brother’, ‘sister’, ‘uncle’, ‘aunt’ and ‘brother-in-law’ distinguish relative age, that is, the age of the relative in relation to a relevant person. In the case of sibling relations, this person is the *ego*: there is, for example, a specific word for older sister. For inlaws, it is the husband/wife, and for aunts and uncles, it is the parent. Dameli culture ascribes a particular position to the elder brother of a family. In terms of responsibilities and respect, an elder brother is treated similarly to a father. An elder brother often takes over the position of the father on his death and becomes head of the extended family. Two to three levels are distinguished: there is a term for ‘middle uncle’ and ‘middle aunt’, but none for ‘middle brother’ or ‘middle sister’. These distinctions are reportedly used more frequently in Aspar than in the other villages. All the terms that distinguish relative age also have a general term: *braa* ‘brother’ can be used for any brother, elder or younger; *pitri* ‘paternal uncle’ can be used for any of the father’s brothers, although more specific terms exist.

The terms for wives and husbands of one’s relatives are often identical to the term for a corresponding direct relative. Thus, the husband of one’s *nan* ‘mother’s sister’ is called *mam*, which also means ‘mother’s brother’. When specific terms for affinal kin exist, they are mostly unique and unrelated to the terms for relatives of blood: the term for ‘brother-in-law’ has nothing to do with the term for ‘brother.’

A small number of more general terms that are also used to denote kinship relations behave like kinship terms to some extent and may take some of the morphological forms that are exclusive to these. These include the terms for 'boy', 'girl', 'child', 'tribe', 'bride' and 'bridegroom'. Figure 4 and figure 5 show the kinship terms used in Dameli in graphical form;²⁷ table 17 is a somewhat more extensive list of the same data.

²⁷ The kinship charts were drawn in the standardised system used in social and cultural anthropology. Triangles denote male individuals and circles female individuals. An equals sign (=) denotes that the two individuals are married, vertical lines denote descent and horizontal lines sibling relationships (*i.e.*, common descent).

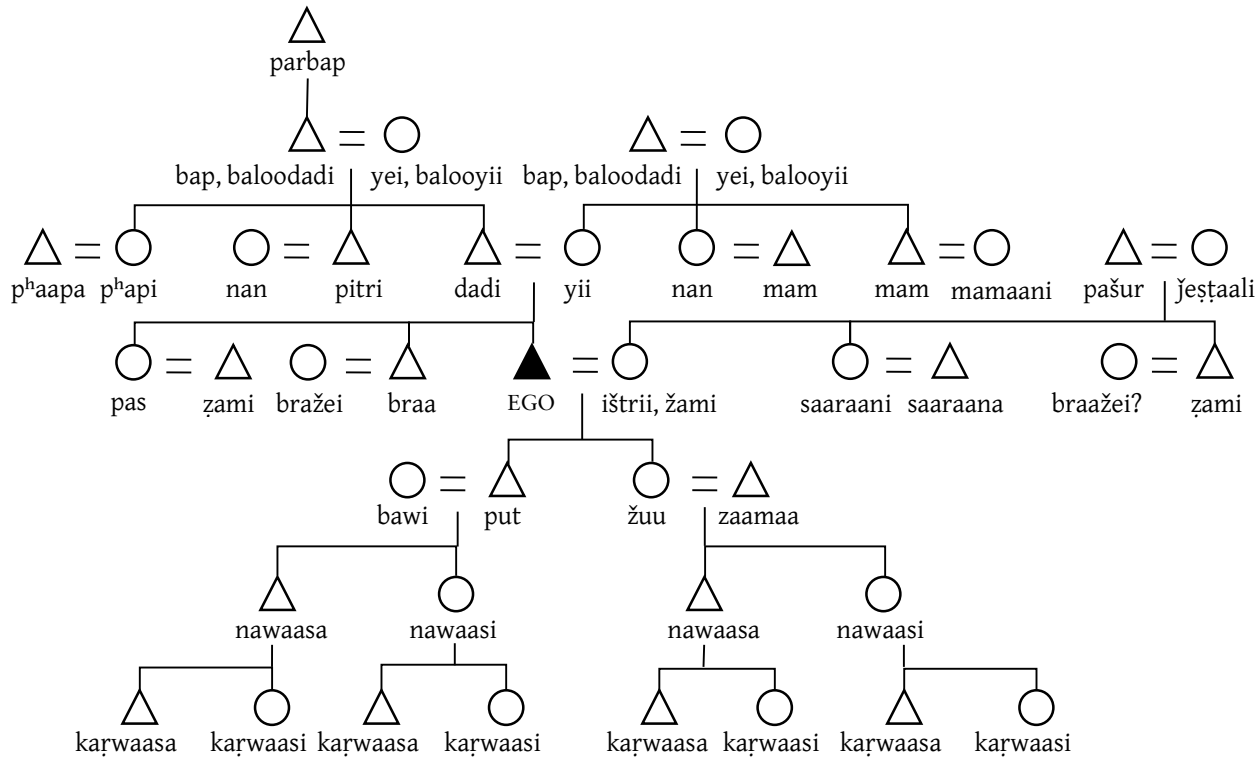


Figure 4: Kinship chart, male ego

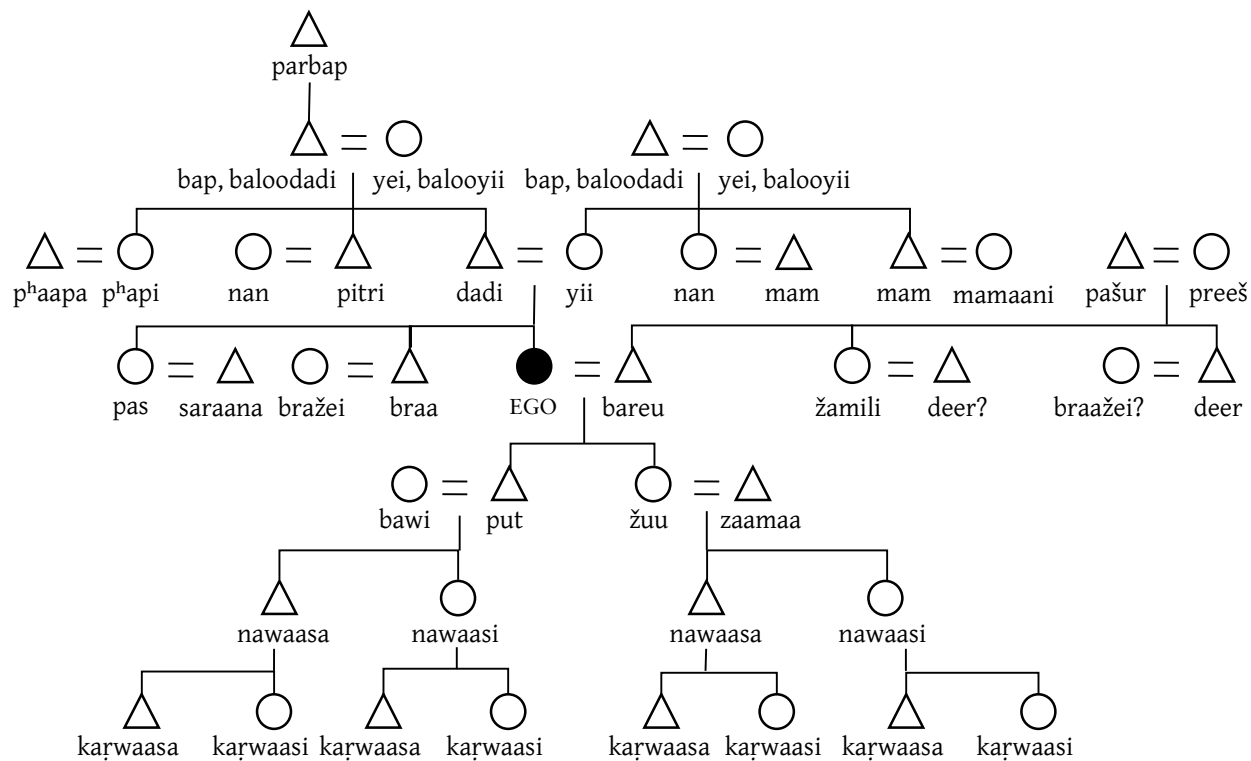


Figure 5: Kinship chart, female ego

Table 17: Kinship terms

Term	Corresponding English term	Description ²⁸
	Consanguineal kin	
parbap	great-grandfather	FFF +
bap	grandfather	FF, MF
baloodadi ²⁹	grandfather	FF, MF
yei	grandmother	MM, FM
balooyi	grandmother	MM, FM
dadi	father	F
yii	mother	M
pitri	uncle	FB
jeṣṭadadi	uncle (elder)	FoB
maḷuma dadi	uncle (middle)	FmB
suredadi ³⁰	uncle (younger)	FyB
uçuṭadadi ³¹	uncle (younger)	FyB
p ^h aapi	aunt	FZ
žeṣṭeri p ^h aapi	aunt (elder)	FoZ
maḷumi p ^h aapi	aunt (middle)	FmZ
surui p ^h aapi	aunt (younger)	FyZ
nan	aunt	MZ (FBW)
žeṣṭi	aunt (elder)	MoZ
mam	uncle	MB (MZH)
braa	brother	B
bay	brother (elder)	oB
suree	brother (younger)	yB
pas	sister	Z
bibi	sister (elder)	oZ
surei	sister (younger)	yZ
put	son	S, (BS)

²⁸ The abbreviations used in this column are those commonly used in anthropological descriptions, derived from the first letters of the equivalent term in English, with the exception of sister, which is represented by Z. A lower-case o means ‘elder’, m ‘middle’ and y ‘younger’. Codes enclosed in parentheses denote secondary, extended uses of terms, such as when using “daughter” to talk about a niece (brother’s daughter). (m) and (f) refer to the gender of the ego or anchor, e.g., ZH (f) refers to a woman’s sister’s husband.

²⁹ Both *bap* and *baloodadi* refer to the same person, as do *yei* and *balooyi*. The latter forms are used primarily in Aspar, in contrast with the other dialects.

³⁰ Used mainly in Aspar.

³¹ Used mainly in Aspar.

žu	daughter	D, (BD)
špaši	nephew/niece	ZS, ZD
nawaasa	grandson	SS, DS
nawaasi	granddaughter	DD, SD
kaṛwaasa	great-grandson	SSS, DSS, etc.
kaṛwaasi	great-granddaughter	DDD, SSD, etc.

Affinal kin

pašur	father-in-law	WF, HF, (WMB)
ještaali	mother-in-law	WM, (WMZ)
preeš	mother-in-law	HM
p ^h aapa	uncle (by marriage)	FZH
mamaani	aunt (by marriage)	MBW
žami	wife, woman	W
ištrii	wife	W
aštrakaa	wives, women	W
bareu	husband	H
mač	husband, man	H
žami	brother-in-law	WB, ZH (m)
saaraani	sister-in-law	WZ
deer	brother-in-law	HB
ješta deer	brother-in-law (elder)	HoB
mažuma deer	brother-in-law (middle)	HmB
suruu deer	brother-in-law (younger)	HyB
žamili	sister-in-law	HZ
bražei	sister-in-law	BW
saaraana	brother-in-law	ZH (f), WZH
bawi	son-in-law	SW, (BSW, ZSW)
zaamaa	son-in-law	DH, (BDH, ZDH)

Special kinship relations		
abeeni	co-wife	HW
dram	friend, brother ³²	blood-
paai	boy	S
brei	girl	D
kuwa	child	S, D
zaatak	child	S, D

Kinship terms can be further specified with certain adjectives, notably *abeeni* for relationships through a co-wife or a father's second wife, *čoṣṭi* for an only child, and *saka* for the prototypical or closest kind of relative when a term is also used in extended senses.

7.5.2 Kinship person suffixes

Each kinship term exists in three different forms: an unmarked form, a second person form marked by the suffix *-un/-in*,³³ and a third person form marked with the suffix *-es*, both placed directly after the root. The choice between these forms is determined by *whose* relative is being referred to, that is, who the *anchor* (Dahl & Koptjevskaja Tamm, 2001, p. 201) or (sometimes) the *ego* is, that makes the term relevant. The unmarked form, e.g., *žu* 'daughter', is used generally. The second person form, e.g., *žun*, is used when referring to relatives of the second person: 'your daughter'. The third person form, e.g., *žuwes* 'his/her daughter', is used when referring to relatives of a third person, i.e., to someone else's relatives.

Apart from some slight and unpredictable changes in the vowel, these forms are mostly regular. The one exception is the word for father, *dadi*, which has a suppletive root *de* in the second and third person forms: *deen* 'your father', *dees* 'his/her father'.

Kinship terms with different anchors of this kind are not unique to Dameli. Several of the neighbouring languages, but by no means all, have them. In Kalasha, the system is very similar, but the forms are completely different (Trail & Cooper, 1999, pp. 473-474; Bashir, 1988, pp. 43-45).

³² This refers to a special relationship that is ritually established by sharing the kidneys of a goat slaughtered for the purpose. It is doubtful if the practice is still in active use.

³³ I have found no system in the alternation between these two suffixes.

In Gawarbatı, even the forms appear to be similar³⁴ (Grierson, 1919, p. 82). A similar system with obligatory possessive prefixes on many kinship terms and body parts exists in Burushaski (Willson, 1999, p. 7).

The suffixes marking these forms must probably be considered derivational rather than inflectional, especially since the resulting forms can be freely combined with inflectional suffixes such as the plural.

7.5.3 Vocative

A special vocative suffix, *-oo*, is only applied to kinship terms. Like the vocative particle (21.2), this form is used when addressing someone directly.

This form is, by definition, only used about relatives of the speaker, but it should not be considered the first person form, in analogy with the kinship person suffixes, as this would imply a parallelism that isn't there, or one that is at least incomplete. These forms are only used while speaking *to* one's own relatives. A prototypical first person anchor form would be one used while speaking to another person and referring to one's own relatives, and no special form for this exists in the language.

Interestingly, there is one instance of *xudaayoo* 'my God' in my material, within the context of a *nat*, a religious song. It is unclear if this is representative of wider usage or poetic licence on the part of the author, but it could be an indication that these forms are not entirely restricted to kinship terms.

7.5.4 Special plural forms

Kinship terms utilise a special plural suffix, *-suu*. The regular plural suffix, *-nam*, can still be used with kinship terms and probably conveys slightly different semantics, but the special kinship plural is more common. Like the regular plural, the suffix is invariant and attaches to any word within the group. Example 16 illustrates the use of the special kinship plural.

³⁴ At least the third person form is attested in the LSI. Grierson calls these forms "enclitic pronouns" and does not connect them especially to kinship terms, but all his examples are kinship terms.

- (16) *tasãã-i* *traa žu-suu* *bai-t^hun*
3SG.POSS-F three **daughter**-KIN.PL be-INDIRPST.3PL
'He had three daughters.' (T9002)

For the kinship terms *braa* 'brother', *pas* 'sister', and *ištrii* 'wife', there are also irregular plural forms: *braadi* 'brothers', *pasari* 'sisters', and *aštrakaa* 'wives'.

8 Pronouns

Pronouns are a rather heterogenous group in Dameli. The first and second person personal pronouns are “true” personal pronouns whose only function is to refer to participants in a speech situation. The third person forms are used as both personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns. The same forms are used, with the same distinctions, for both functions, and also in a way that closely resembles definite articles.

Another group of pronouns are used both as indefinite and interrogative pronouns. These forms also show formal and functional similarities with interrogatives from other word classes (see 13.4).

There are no reflexive personal pronouns; intransitive verbs with reflexive meanings do not take an overt object. For reflexive possession, however, there is a specific marker.

8.1 Personal pronouns

The personal pronouns of Dameli form a system of five dimensions: person, number, distance, animacy and case. Of these, distance and animacy are only relevant for the third person forms, which are unusual in other aspects as well (see 8.1.6). Table 18 shows the personal pronoun paradigm.

Table 18: Personal pronouns

	Nominative	Oblique	Ergative
1 SG	ay		muu
2 SG	tu		too
3 SG.ANIM.PROX	i	mas	manii
3 SG.ANIM.DIST	see	tas	tanii
3 SG.INANIM.PROX		yee	
3 SG.INANIM.DIST		see	
1 PL	ay		amaa
2 PL	bi		mya
3 PL.ANIM.PROX	měě		masuu

3PL.ANIM.DIST	těě		tasuu
3PL.INANIM.PROX			měě
3PL.INANIM.DIST			těě

8.1.1 Person

The pronominal system distinguishes between the first, second and third person, *i.e.*, pronouns referring to, respectively, the speaker, the listener, and anyone or anything else.

8.1.2 Number

Singular and plural number are distinguished for all persons, but in the first person nominative, the singular and plural forms are identical. This conflation of forms is quite superficial, since the number distinction is maintained in subject marking on the verb.

8.1.3 Distance

In the third person pronouns, there is a distinction between proximal and distal forms, *i.e.*, forms referring to things nearby and things farther away. With the exception of the nominative singular, the forms used to express this distinction are all based on the opposition *m-/t-*; the forms are identical except that proximal forms begin in *m-* and distal forms begin in *t-*. This opposition is part of a larger system within the language, see 8.1.7.

The distinction between proximal and distal forms is not restricted to the spatial area alone but is used for distance in time as well. The opposition between previously established referents and new information, or between background and topic, may also play a role in the choice of form.

8.1.4 Animacy

In the third person, a distinction is also drawn between living beings and non-living things, between *animate* and *inanimate* forms (see 7.2).

The inanimate pronouns make no core case distinctions, and possessive pronouns are rarely if ever used to denote inanimate owners.

8.1.5 Case

Following Blake (1994, p. 34), we will make a distinction between *core* cases, those that encode subjects and direct objects, and *peripheral* cases, which encode any other relation. Both the noun and the pronoun case system contain both types of case forms.

There are three core cases, but the system governing their use is quite complex. Due to the setup of the argument marking system, labels like ‘nominative’ and ‘absolutive’ are not very useful, but for reasons of simplicity we will attempt to at least pick the terms for morphological case forms from among those in common use. The reader must bear in mind that these are used not as accurate descriptions of how the forms are used, but as names for the individual forms that may call to mind some of their functions and also that the rules governing when each form is used are considerably more complex than the names themselves would imply. To exemplify, the Dameli case form referred to here as nominative is used in most of the contexts where nominatives would normally be used, but also in some contexts where absolutes or accusatives would be expected.

The three core case forms are the nominative, the ergative and the oblique. The only non-core case is the locative.

8.1.5.1 Nominative

The term *nominative* will be used for the case form that encodes the subjects of both transitive and intransitive verbs in the non-past/imperfective TAM sets, where they are not distinguished from each other. This closely corresponds to the prototypical use of the term.

The same form is also used to encode the subjects of intransitive verbs in the past/perfective TAM sets, where they are distinguished from the subjects of transitive verbs, a function usually called *absolutive*.

8.1.5.2 Ergative

The term *ergative* is used more or less in its prototypical sense, in order to refer to the case form that encodes the subjects of transitive verbs in past/perfective TAM sets, where these are distinguished from the subjects of intransitive verbs. Most ergative pronoun forms have merged with the oblique so that the two are no longer distinguished except in the third person animate singular. See 8.1.5.4.

8.1.5.3 Oblique

The term *oblique* will be used for the case form that is used to encode canonical objects anywhere in the system (usually encoded with forms termed *accusative* and *absolutive*).

The oblique form of pronouns is prototypically used when pronouns form phrases with adpositions. In Dameli, pronouns in this position are either in the oblique or the locative, depending on the postposition.

The oblique functions more or less as the unmarked form of the personal pronouns and is the form most commonly used when pronouns fill any other function than subject. The possessive pronouns of the third person are formed on the basis of the oblique, as are all locatives. The first and second person possessive pronouns bear close resemblance to the corresponding oblique forms, rather than to the nominative forms. Obliques are also used when pronouns are used as articles specifying possessors, or as indirect objects.

8.1.5.4 Conflation of the ergative and the oblique

A factor further complicating the system is that the distinction between the ergative and the oblique is not maintained in all parts of the system. It seems likely that a separate ergative and oblique form existed at some earlier point, but that phonological developments caused the two to merge. Regardless of the reason, synchronically the system maintains the distinction between ergative and oblique only in the animate singular of the third person. In the animate plural of the third person, and both the singular and the plural of the first and second person, the ergative and the oblique forms are identical. The inanimate third person makes no case distinctions at all.

The current subsystem, which conflates A and O but distinguishes S separately, is rather unexpected. The one key function of core case-marking is to clarify which argument is the subject and which is the object in a transitive clause. Confusion between S and A, or between S and O, is virtually impossible since they never occur in the same clause, but being unsure of which argument is A and which is O can lead the listener to completely misunderstand the clause.

Systems that conflate A and O are sometimes known as double-oblique systems, since it is often the oblique case form that is extended to both functions. Naturally, such systems are uncommon, but as the Dameli case proves, they do exist, although probably never as the only, or even the dominant, principle of any given language. Payne (1980) describes a similar system in the Pamir languages, and Haig (2008) notes

that “a change which leaves A and O morphologically indistinguishable is difficult to account for”, but that there is “extremely widespread attestation of precisely such a change throughout Iranian” (p. 227).

Dixon, remarking on his description, notes that “surely marking A and O in the same way (differently from S) must be an unstable and temporary situation, only encountered as a language moves from one more stable kind of marking to another” (Dixon, 1994, p. 39). There are no immediate signs of this structure being on the decline in Dameli, but this is not to say that this may not be the case, simply that I have found no signs of it being so.

We have precious little diachronic data for Dameli, so it is hard to make any assumptions about when this system first appeared. The system seems to have been firmly in place when Georg Morgenstierne collected his data for his 1942 article in 1929. Morgenstierne does not discuss it explicitly, but although he separates “agentive” (ergative) from “oblique” in his paradigm of pronoun case forms, all the “oblique” forms, except in the third person singular, are simply noted with a ditto mark (”) to indicate that they are identical to the “agentive” form. The examples he gives also confirm this interpretation (Morgenstierne, 1942, pp. 134-135).

At the very least, then, this system has been stable enough to last the 80 or so years that passed between Morgenstierne’s research and my own.

This is not altogether surprising, although the argument marking of the pronouns does not distinguish between A and O, and could therefore be argued to be both meaningless and inadequate. Through the means of a consistent SOV word order, and through subject marking on the verb, the subject is consistently marked, whether the verb is intransitive or transitive, just not by means of case-marking. While the case-marking system fails to carry out the function of argument marking in this case, that function is still carried out elsewhere.

8.1.5.5 Locative

The locative is a relatively marginal pronoun case form. It is created by the addition of a secondary suffix, *-a*, to the oblique form. The locative is used to express location, but literal, spatial meanings are probably in the minority on pronouns, the most common uses being quite figurative.

The locative is also, sometimes, used with the postpositions *ki* ‘to’, *šaži* ‘in order to’, *šawaai* ‘for’, and *mili*, ‘with (comitative)’, as illustrated in example 17.

- (17) ta tas-a ki telefon kur-e ...
 TOPSM 3SG.ANIM.DIST-LOC to telephone do-IMP.SG ...
 ‘Call him...’ (D1005)

For phonological reasons, some pronoun forms do not always get a specific locative; forms ending in vowels do not usually get the suffix, although there appear to be exceptions, such as example 18.

- (18) muu yee kram ku-t^him
 1SG.ERG this work do-POTPST.1SG
 xu muu-a kaaya ni aače-na
 but 1SG.OBL-LOC remembrance not come-IMPV.3SG.M
 ‘I may have done this work, but I don’t remember. [Lit.
 ...but remembrance comes not at me.]’ (E0001)

8.1.6 Third person pronouns as determiners

Apart from filling the prototypical functions of personal and demonstrative pronouns, *i.e.*, functioning as arguments of the verb in a clause, forming phrases with postpositions, and performing other functions that can also be filled by nouns, the third person pronouns are also used together with nouns, as determiners or articles (see 15.1). Using pronouns with a noun usually indicates that the modified noun has been mentioned before or is otherwise previously known, similar to definite articles, and the choice of form also provides some deictic information on the nature of the noun, by stating whether it is animate or inanimate, singular or plural, and proximal or distal. The case form of the demonstrative gives some information about the syntactic function of the noun. Examples 19 and 20 show third person pronouns used as determiners.

- (19) tu mas paai ku žan-op
 2SG.NOM 3SG.ANIM.PROX.OBL boy why kill-PFV.2SG
 ‘Why did you kill this boy?’ (T4032)

In example 19, the demonstrative is in the oblique case, since the noun it modifies, *paai* ‘boy’, functions as a direct object in the clause. In this position, case marking on pronouns is more detailed than it is on nouns.

- (20) **tēē** kul nagi prat-ee
 3PL.INANIM.DIST house fall give-PFV.3SG
 ‘Those houses fell down.’ (Eo1o1)

In example 20, the form of the demonstrative gives no indication of the function, since it modifies an inanimate noun, and inanimate third person pronouns do not distinguish case, although the fact that the houses are distant in some way is still indicated.

8.1.7 Relationship to other deictic words

The distinction between proximal and distal forms of the pronouns is part of a larger system that also involves question words, and that reappears in several other word classes.

Proximal forms begin in *m-* and distal forms in *t-*. Question words (13.4) always begin in *k-*. The typical cases are those in which all three forms exist, and where the first phoneme is the only difference between the words, but the *m-*, *t-* and *k-* also appear where differences between the forms are more extensive and not all groups have all three words. Table 19 shows some examples.

Table 19: Deictic distinctions in different word classes.

Proximal	Distal	Question-word etc.	Category
mas ‘3SG.OBL.PROX’	tas ‘3SG.OBL.DIST’	kii/kurey ‘who?’ keeraa ‘which?’ kya ‘what’	pronoun
masãã ‘3SG.PROX.POSS’	tasãã ‘3SG.DIST.POSS’	kasãã ‘whose?’	possessive pronoun
manuu ‘thus, in this way’, ‘this kind’.	tanuu ‘in that way’ / ‘that kind’	kanuu ‘how?’	manner adverb / adjective
manee ‘thus, in this way’	tanee ‘in that way’	kutaal ‘where to?’	causal adverb / manner adverb
ayaa ‘here’	tara ‘there’	kaa ‘where?’	spatial adverb
matiki ‘so many’	tatiki ‘that many’	kati ‘how many’ katiki ‘so many’	quantifying adjective

Perhaps also relevant is the fact that the first person singular pronouns begin in *m-*, while the second person singular pronouns begin in *t-*.

8.2 Possessive pronouns

The possessive pronouns are unique in that they carry double marking, expressing the person, number and distance of the owner, as well as the gender of that which is owned. There are no possessive pronouns for the inanimate third person. Possession-like relationships with inanimate “owners” can be expressed with the postposition *ta* ‘of’ (see 12.2.1). The gender of the possessed is marked by $-\emptyset$ or *-a* for masculine, *-i* for feminine. Table 20 shows the paradigm for possessive pronouns, and example 21 illustrates their use.

Table 20: Possessive pronouns

	Masculine owned	Feminine owned
1SG	māã	māãĩ
2SG	tãã	tããĩ
3SG.ANIM.PROX	masãã	masããĩ
3SG.ANIM.DIST	tasãã	tasããĩ
1PL	amuna	amuni
2PL	mina	mini
3PL.ANIM.PROX	masuna	masuni
3PL.ANIM.DIST	tasuna	tasuni

- (21) āã mulaa baait-aai-i
 and mullah summon-CAUS-CP
tasun-a nika grēēt-eeen
 3PL.ANIM.DIST.POSS.PL-M nika (M) tie-PFV.3PL
 ‘And having summoned the mullah, they tied their wedding
 vows [nika].’ (T1047)

Possessive pronouns are also used with the verb *pr* (t) ‘to give’ when it is used in the specialised sense ‘to hit’. The direct object, *i.e.*, the person being hit, is expressed with a possessive pronoun, as in example 22.

- (22) tani **tasãã-∅** kaṭeri-yee pra-t^hee
 3SG.ANIM.DIST.ERG 3SG.POSS-M knife-INS give-INDIRPST.3SG
 ‘He hit **him** with a knife.’³⁵ (E0016)

³⁵ Note that the intended meaning is not “He hit with his knife.”

8.2.1 The possessive marker *sãã*

The animate possessive marker *sãã* is something of a category of its own but shows paradigmatic agreement that is analogous to the possessive pronouns. It also appears to function as a separate word rather than a suffix, which is the motivation for placing it here rather than elsewhere.

These forms are used in attributes to express belonging and similar relationships when the owner is an animate entity. Due to its function, it is limited to referring to the third person animate, which limits agreement to number and gender. The number of the possessor is shown by the choice between *sãã/sããĩ* (singular) and *suna/suni* (plural). The presence of a final *-i* expresses feminine gender in that which is owned, just like with the possessive pronouns. Table 21 shows the paradigm of the animate possessive marker.

Table 21: The animate possessive marker

	Masculine possessed	Feminine possessed
SG	<i>sãã</i>	<i>sããĩ</i>
PL	<i>suna</i>	<i>suni</i>

8.2.2 The reflexive possessive pronoun *taanu*

A special pronoun, *taanu* ‘own’, is used to indicate that something is owned by a person already in focus, such as the subject of a clause. Unlike the personal and possessive pronouns, the reflexive possessive pronoun does not show person or number agreement but can be used with any person. In example 23, *taanu* refers to the first person ‘my own country’.

- (23) tee **taanu** **mulk-a** ki aag-em
 that POSS.REFL country-OBL to come.PFV-PFV.ISG
 ‘that I am going back to my own country. (TW2007)

The only inflection is gender agreement with the possessed, as shown in example 24, where the form *taanui* indicates agreement with the feminine *talwaar* ‘sword’ and the form *taanu* agrees with the masculine *kul* ‘house’.

- (24) gan-i taanu-i talwaar g-i taanu
 say-CP REFL.POSS-F sword (F) take.PFV-CP REFL.POSS
 kul ta rawan b-aa
 house from start become-PFV.3SG.M
 ‘Having said this, he took his sword and started out from his house. (TW₄₀₀₆)

In some set expressions with *taanu*, the possessive element is more optional, and the marker is used in the sense ‘self’ to express reflexivity. This applies to *taanu milaa* ‘with oneself’ (example 25), *tan taanu* ‘each’ (example 26), and *taanu ki* ‘for oneself’ (example 27). The latter two can be combined into *tan taanu ki* ‘by themselves’ (example 28).

- (25) žan-an ta bææt tas uč^huṭa paai **taanu milaa**
 kill-INF from after 3SG.ANIM.DIST small boy REFL.POSS with
 taanu kul gig-ee
 REFL.POSS house take.PFV-PFV.3SG
 ‘After the killing, she took that small boy with her to her own house.’

- (26) tra-a-i sāã-∅ žanii b-i
 three-COLL 3SG.ANIM.POSS-M marriage become-CP
tan taanu ware baadša *
each REFL.POSS other king *
 tasuu žanii kur-eeen
 3PL.ANIM.DIST.ERG marriage do-PFV.3PL
 ‘The wedding of the three took place and they each married a king.’ (T₉₀₀₆)

- (27) lee p^hikir-a āã lee soč-a
 very thought-LOC and very thought-LOC
 xux-aa-i-t^hum too **taanu ki**
 like-CAUS-INDIRPST.1SG 2SG.OBL REFL.POSS for
 ‘In much thought and consideration, I have liked you for myself.’ (TV₃₀₀₅)

- (28) tukuri-nam bum şaa tan taanu ki daro
basket-PL ground on each REFL.POSS for be.INANIM.IMPFV.3
'The baskets are by themselves on the ground.' (Q1044)

8.3 Indefinite and interrogative pronouns

A group of pronouns are used in questions and when referring to an unknown or undefined entity. The same words are also used as relative pronouns. These interrogative/indefinite pronouns are *kya* 'what', *kii/kuree* 'who', *keeraa*, 'which one', and the possessive *kasãã* 'whose'. Like the wh-words of English, all these pronouns begin with the same phoneme, /k/, and are part of a larger group of question words, which also includes adverbs and adjectives. See 8.1.7 and 13.4.

9 Adjectives

There are two groups of adjectives in Dameli: one that shows gender agreement with the noun it describes, and one that is completely invariable. This division is characteristic of adjectives in Indo-Aryan languages (Masica, 1991, p. 250).

Adjectives show no morphological comparison and no inflection for categories other than gender. One possible exception was noted by Cacopardo (2008), who calls the form *jest'ero*: “a comparative form of the [...] word [j'esta or z'esta ‘elder’]” (p. 404). The word he is referring to, *žeṣṭera* in my notation, can indeed function as a comparative semantically, but there are no indications of a wider pattern of comparison of adjectives.³⁶

9.1 Variable adjectives

The inflected, *variable* group expresses many of the properties that adjectives usually express, such as basic colour terms, quantities, large/small, etc. They agree in gender with the word they describe but show no agreement according to case or number.

Example 29 shows the variable adjective *šumaa* ‘beautiful’ agreeing in gender with the place-name *daaman* ‘Domel’ (or possibly with the head of the phrase, *gurum* ‘morning’).

- (29) muu ta kaaya aač-i daro
1SG.OBL from remembrance come-CP is
mãã-i **šumaa-i** **daaman** ta gurum
1SG.POSS-F **beautiful-F** **Domel(F)** of morning
'I remember the morning of my beautiful Domel.' (TV8003)

Table 22 shows some variable adjectives in their masculine and feminine forms.

³⁶ The corresponding noun, *žeṣṭa* ‘elder’ is mostly used in the sense of ‘village elder’.

Table 22: Some variable adjectives

Masculine	Feminine	Gloss
krnaa/krinaa	krinii	black
goora	goori	white
laiç ^h aa	laaç ^h i	red
aarida	aaridi	yellow
niila	niili	green
čitra	čitri	multicoloured
baloo	baloi	large
uč ^h uṭa	uč ^h uṭi	small
leṇḍa	leṇḍa	bald
k ^h ušala	k ^h ušali	intelligent
čukra	čukri	sour
šumaa	šumaai	beautiful
suree	surui	young
awaluka	awaluki	old

The most likely source of new variable adjectives is participles, particularly the past participle. Since these forms may show gender agreement and express similar meanings as adjectives, they may easily be reinterpreted as variable adjectives.

9.2 Invariable adjectives

The group of invariable adjectives is probably larger than the variable group, and is more likely to receive new members through borrowing. Many borrowed words appear indifferent to gender agreement.

Several South Asian languages derive adjectives by adding the suffix *-i* to words of other word classes, *e.g.*, Peshawari, Pakistani. Several such words have been borrowed into Dameli. Despite the fact that the ending is similar to the Dameli feminine suffix, these words are treated as invariable adjectives, as can be seen in example 30.

- (30) yee māã-Ø **axiri** faisala daru
 this 3SG.POSS-M final decision (M) COP.INANIM.IMPFV.3
 ‘This is my final decision.’

It is often difficult to draw a clear line between the invariable group and other word classes, since there are several cases where other word classes

are used in similar syntactic positions as adjectives. Numerals in all forms, nouns in the locative case, and participles can all be used to modify nouns; the latter may also display gender agreement.

Likewise, the general decline of the category of gender in Dameli (7.3.3) makes it difficult to distinguish invariable adjectives from variable ones. Still, there are some reasonably clear examples of invariable adjectives, some of which are shown in Table 23.

Table 23: Some invariable adjectives

Word	Gloss
gulabi	pink
axiri	final
zrax	clever
k ^h ošan	happy
čoṣṭi	without siblings

9.3 Adjective derivation suffixes

There are at least four suffixes that are used to derive adjectives from words of different word classes. These are not general conversion mechanisms that take any word from one word class and turn it into a corresponding one of another word class, but rather morphemes with quite specific meanings that apply a set pattern to the original root, creating a group of words with limited and predictable meanings.

9.3.1 *-bana/-bani* ‘-ish’

The suffix *-bana/-bani* is combined with several kinds of words, to create adjectives that denote being similar to what that word describes. The resulting adjectives are variable, with *-bana* as the masculine form and *-bani* as the feminine form. With colour adjectives, the suffix is used to describe being a peripheral, rather than prototypical example of that colour, much like the English ‘-ish’ in words such as ‘reddish’, ‘greyish’, e.g., *aaridabana* ‘yellowish’ <*aarida* ‘yellow’, *laiç^habana* ‘reddish’ <*laiç^haa* ‘red’, *niilabana* ‘greenish’ <*niila* ‘green’. Words of other classes, including pronouns, can also be combined with *-bana/-bani*, as shown in table 24.

Table 24: Adjective derivation with *-bana*

Word	Source	Source meaning
muubana ‘like me’	muu ‘me’ (1SG.OBL)	
toobana ‘like you’	too ‘you’ (2SG.OBL)	
masbana ‘like him/her/it’ (PROX)	mas ‘him/her/it’ (3SG.ANIM.PROX)	
tasbana ‘like him/her/it’ (DIST)	tas ‘him/her/it’ (3SG.ANIM.DIST)	
kaasbana ‘like whom’	kaa(s?) ‘who’	
akabana ‘alike’	ek ‘one’	
trakabana ‘like a footpath’	trak ‘footpath’ (probably <Eng. trek/track)	

9.3.2 *-baṣ* ‘able to x’

The present, past and conjunctive participles of verbs can all be used in a way that is very similar to adjectives, but there is also a particular derivation suffix, *-baṣ*, that is applied to the infinitive form of verbs to create words that mean ‘able to *verb*’, where *verb* represents the verb root that is being used. The resulting adjective can be understood either actively, as “able to do x”, or passively “possible to do x to”, compare *gewanbaṣ* ‘able to walk’ with *matrambaṣ* ‘legible’ (‘possible to read’). Table 25 shows some examples of such adjectives.

Table 25: Adjective derivation with *-baṣ*

Word	Meaning	Source	Source meaning
kuranbaṣa	able to do	kur	do
matrambaṣ	legible	matr	read
ničinanbaṣ	unbreakable	ni-čin	not-cut
žananbaṣ	able to kill (/be killed?)	žan	kill
gewanbaṣ	able to walk	gew	walk

In function, these words closely resemble the abilitative construction in Kalasha (Bashir, 1988, p. 59) and Khowar (p. 122). In form, however, they are curiously similar to another construction, the necessitative construction, which is marked by the suffix *-baṣ* in Kalasha (Bashir, 1988, p. 59) and by the independent word *baṣ* in Khowar (p. 122).³⁷

³⁷ Trail & Cooper (1999) interpret the Kalasha form as independent as well (p. 486).

9.3.3 -*weela* ‘having x’

The suffix *-weela* is applied to nouns and used in the sense ‘with x’ or ‘having x’. They can be used to express ownership when described as a characteristic of a person (e.g. *gɔwaweela* ‘having fields’, *gaɖiweela* ‘having a car’). A few words created in this way are used to describe weather (e.g., *hawaweela* ‘windy’, *kiirweela* ‘snowy’). There are some examples of idiomatic expressions with an extended noun phrase that are turned into adjectives. In these cases, *-weela* is added to the head, but the meaning is expressed by the entire phrase (e.g., *baloo dašweela* ‘generous’, lit. ‘having big hands’; *baloo zaadiweela* ‘brave’, lit. ‘having a big heart’.) There is also a feminine form, *-weeli*, but the use of this is inconsistent because of the decline of gender in the language (see 7.3.3).³⁸

9.3.4 -*pin* ‘full of x’

A small number of adjectives are formed by adding the suffix *-pin* to nouns and are used to describe the sense of being full of something (e.g., *skaapin* ‘fattened, of animals’) or being soaked with something (e.g., *loypin* ‘bloody’ or *xaɕaapin* ‘muddy’.) These adjectives are invariable; they do not show gender agreement.

³⁸ For ‘a woman who has a car’, both *gaɖiweela žami* and *gaɖiweeli žami* were considered acceptable, for example.

10 Numerals

Hammarström (2010) defines numerals as “*spoken, normed expressions that are used to denote the exact number of objects for an open class of objects in an open class of social situations with the whole speech community in question*” (p. 11). Numerals in Dameli are quite typical in this sense, and satisfy all the conditions of this definition.

Numerals appear in three different forms: cardinal numerals, ordinal numerals and collective numerals. The cardinal numerals use the bare root form, and the other two are formed by adding suffixes (-*m* for ordinals and -*i* for collectives).

10.1 Numeral system

The numeral system of Dameli would traditionally be described as vigesimal, since twenty is the most prominent base.

In the current stage of the language, the numbers between 1 and 20 are monomorphemic, but it is apparent that at least 13-19 originated as compositions with the base 10. All the latter end in long vowels + -š, probably from *daš* ‘ten’ and the first part is similar though not identical to the corresponding lower number, e.g., *pañčees*³⁹ ‘fifteen’ < *pañc* ‘five’ + *daš* ‘ten’. 11 and 12 appear entirely unrelated to 1 and 2.

Numbers higher than 20 are formed with 20 as the base, on the pattern *multiplier–base–AND–number*, where *multiplier* and *number* are numbers below 20 (e.g., *duu-biši-o-aštaaš* ‘58, 2-20-and-18’). The numeral 100 can be expressed as either *pañč-biši* ‘5-20’ or with a special morpheme (*sawa* ‘hundred’, a Pashto loan). For higher numbers, the latter strategy is more common. The borrowed *zara* (also from Pashto) is used to express “thousand”. Table 26 provides a list of numerals.

Table 26: Selected numerals

No.	Analysis	Numeral	No.	Analysis	Numeral
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³⁹ In this case, **pañč* is probably the older form.

1	1	ek	21	20+1	bišiyоек
2	2	duu	22	20+2	bišiyoduu
3	3	traa	23	20+3	bišiyotraa
4	4	čoor	30	20+10	bišiyodaš
5	5	pāāč	31	20+1+10	bišiyoyooš
6	6	šoo	32	20+2+10	bišiyobaaš
7	7	sat	33	20+3+10	bišiyotrooš
8	8	aš	40	2×20	duubiši
9	9	noo	41	2×20+1	duubišiyоек
10	10	daš	42	2×20+2	duubišiyoduu
11	1+10	yaaš	43	2×20+3	duubišiyotraa
12	2+10	baaš	50	2×20+10	duubišiyodaš
13	3+10	trooš	51	2×20+1+10	duubišiyoyooš
14	4+10	čandeeš	52	2×20+2+10	duubišiyobaaš
15	5+10	pančeeš	53	2×20+3+10	duubišiyotrooš
16	6+10	šoyeeš	60	3×20	traabiši
17	7+10	santaaš	80	4×20	čoorbiši
18	8+10	aštaaš	100	5×20, 100	pāāčbiši, sawa
19	9+10	uneeš	500	5×100	pāāč sawa
20	20	biši	1000	1000	zara

The notion of base is subject to several conflicting definitions, which may lead to some confusion.

Hammarström (2010) works with a definition that assigns the status of a base to several numbers in a numeral system:

The number n is a base iff

1. The next higher base (or the end of the normed expressions) is a multiple of n ; and
2. A proper majority of the expressions for numbers between n and the next higher base are formed by (a single) addition or subtraction of n or a multiple of n with expressions for numbers smaller than n . (Hammarström, 2010, p. 15)

By this definition 20, 100, and probably also 1000 function as bases in Dameli, and perhaps also 10.

Comrie (2005) works with the following definition of a base:

By the “base” of a numeral system we mean the value n such that numeral expressions are constructed according to the pattern ... $xn + y$, *i.e.* some

numeral x multiplied by the base plus some other numeral. (Comrie, 2005, p. 530)

Implicitly, his use of the term assumes a single base as the norm. By his reckoning, Dameli would be a hybrid vigesimal-decimal system, since “the system then shifts to being decimal for the expression of the hundreds” (Comrie, p. 530). One might argue that such a system is not really decimal except by extension, 100 is not 10, but an exponent of 10, 10^2 , and perhaps a more proper term would be vigesimal-cential.

When applied to Dameli, Comrie’s definition fails to acknowledge the role of 10 in the creation of the numerals from 11 to 20 but captures a higher generalisation in giving one base a more prominent position. If Dameli had been a pure vigesimal system, by Comrie’s definition, it should have assigned no special role to 100, but to 400, as 20^2 . Interestingly, Morgenstierne (1942) reports the word *a’zâr* (>Prs. *hazaar* ‘thousand’) as ‘four hundred’ (p. 137). None of my Dameli co-workers recognised this use, although the form is familiar from the Urdu word for ‘thousand’.

The fact that the current language is structured on 100 and 1000 in the higher numerals may be a sign that the system is being restructured under influence from base-10 languages such as Urdu and Pashto, particularly since the terms for 100 and 1000 seem to have been borrowed from Pashto.

A number of languages in the area have special rules for numbers immediately below a multiple of ten or twenty (depending on what bases are used in the language). These are expressed as base-1 (e.g., Pashto: *yo-kam-derš* ‘twenty-nine’ or ‘one-less-thirty’, Urdu: *ontis* ‘twenty-nine’, based on the ending for 30, *tis*). Urdu and Pashto do this consistently throughout the system. Other neighbouring languages, such as Palula (Liljegren, 2008), and Indus Kohistani (Zoller, 2005), do not utilise this strategy throughout the system, but still have a word for ‘nineteen’ which is clearly derived from 20 rather than from 10+9. Dameli, like Kalasha (Trail & Cooper, 1999), shows no traces of such a strategy at all.

10.2 Cardinal numerals

The cardinal numerals are expressed with the bare numeral stem, *i.e.*, the morphologically unmarked form of the numerals shown in table 26 above, and are used in counting and when modifying nouns in terms of countable quantity. Example 31 shows a cardinal numeral in use. Note

that nouns modified by numerals above one do not necessarily take plural forms.

- (31) swat yede tara **bišiy-o-pāāč** kaal kati
 Swat go.CP there **twenty-and-five** year how_much
 mudaa tara ba-i waapas aač-i
 some.time there be-CP back come-CP
 ‘Having gone to Swat, after staying there for some twenty-five
 years, they came back.’ (T3022)

Using a remarkably exhaustive collection of references to numeral systems in the world’s languages, Hammarström (2010, pp. 26-27) shows that cardinal numerals have primacy over other types of numerals, in that other kinds of numerals are morphosyntactically derived from the cardinal numerals, and that cardinal numerals run higher than other kinds. Both these points are borne out by Dameli; ordinal and collective numerals are formed by suffixation on the cardinal numerals, and although any cardinal numeral can potentially be thus transformed into an ordinal or a collective numeral, attested, non-elicited cases of these forms are always of numbers one to five.

Cardinal numerals are also used to express clock time. A form of the word *k^hana* ‘part, half’ is used for half hours, and the word *baaʒa* ‘hour, o’clock’ is used as a sort of clock time marker, as in example 32.

- (32) traa-o k^hani baaʒa daro
 three-and half o’clock is
 ‘It’s half past three.’ (E0048)

10.3 Ordinal numerals

The ordinal numerals, comparable to ‘third’ or ‘fourteenth’ in English, express the position of something in a sequence, and are formed by adding the suffix *-m* to the root, and sometimes adding an epenthetic vowel, as in example 33 below. This formation is productive, and can be used with any numeral root, although most attested cases in my material are with numbers below five.

- (33) čoor-**am** gram šinṭeri kuruu daro
 four-ORD village Shinteri Kuru is
 ‘The fourth village is Shinteri Kuru’ (TA1033)

The ordinal numeral for ‘one’, *i.e.*, *awal* ‘first’, is not formed in this way, but borrowed from a word derived from Arabic that is found in both Urdu and Pashto. Suppletive ‘first’-words appear to be the norm in the world’s languages: In the sample used for the World Atlas of Language Structure map on ordinal numerals (Stolz & Veselinova, 2005), 237 of the 321 languages use a word for ‘first’ that differs from the general strategy of creating ordinal numbers.

10.4 Collective numerals

The collective numerals express groups of a certain number of members, similar to the English word “both”. Unlike English, however, the collective numerals are a productive formation in Dameli. They are formed by adding the suffix *-i* to any numeral root (except, by definition, one), again most commonly with the lower numbers (only two and three are attested in my material, although speakers claim that higher numbers are possible). The collective numerals can be used to modify nouns, as in example 34.

- (34) tēē traa-**i** žuw-es-suu lee
 3PL.ANIM.DIST three-COLL daughter-KIN.3-KIN.PL very
 minaa ta saati-t^hee
 love TOPSM keep-INDIRPST.3SG
 ‘These three daughters he loved very much.’ (T9003)

Collective numerals can also be nominalised and used in phrases without another noun, such as example 35.

- (35) tēē traa-**i** xu lee yaribanan maṣ t^hun
 3PL.ANIM.DIST.NOM three-COLL but very poor people be.IMPV.3PL
 ‘But those three are very poor people.’ (TW8011)

11 Verbs

The verb class in Dameli functions much as verbs are expected to do. Members of this class describe actions and processes, they are used to form predicates, and they can be inflected according to a set paradigm.

The core part of a verb is the *verb root*, a single morpheme that contains the lexical meaning of the verb.

A complete verb is formed by combining a *verb stem* with an inflectional suffix. There are many verbs where the verb stem consists of just the root, but if the verb contains derivational suffixes, these are considered part of the stem. The only verbs that contain derivational suffixes are those that have undergone causativisation, a process that increases the valency of verbs (see 11.2.1).

The inflectional affixes are grammatical morphemes that define the verb. Figure 6 shows the structural template for verb forms.

Stem		Inflection
Root	((Second causative suffix) Causative suffix)	Inflectional suffix

Figure 6: Verb structural template

A verb form can contain a maximum of four morphemes;⁴⁰ there are four slots in the template. The root and the inflectional suffix slots must always be filled, as illustrated are in example 36-38.

In simple verbs such as that in example 36, only the compulsory slots are filled.

	Root	2 nd causative	Causative	Inflection
(36)	nees	-∅	-∅	-uma
	exit	-∅	-∅	-PFV.1PL
	'I went out.' (simple verb)			

⁴⁰ Not including the interrogative suffix, since this appears to be on the level of the clause rather than the verb itself, although it may attach to the verb when this is the last word of the clause. Some verb roots, such as *girank^hat* (i) 'turn around', may at least have originated as compounds, which would introduce yet another morpheme.

All causative verbs have a morpheme in the causative position, in addition to the two compulsory slots. See examples 37 and 38.

	root	2 nd causative	causative	inflection
(37)	niš	-∅	-aai	-aba
	sit	-∅	-CAUS	-PFV.1PL

‘You (pl.) are making someone sit down.’ (first causative verb)

The only verb forms to fill all slots are the second causative verbs (11.2.1.2), which have a morpheme in the second slot, in addition to the compulsory slots and the causative slot, as illustrated in example 38.

	root	2 nd causative	causative	inflection
(38)	nik ^h aa	-aw	-aai	-uma
	exit	-CAUS2	-CAUS	-PFV.1PL

‘We made someone take something out.’ (second causative verb)

The inflectional suffixes are polysemous and encode both subject marking (see 11.4.1) and TAM dimensions. TAM (Tense-Aspect-Mood) is shorthand for several different semantic dimensions: in Dameli they include tense, aspect, mood, evidentiality and epistemic modality (see chapter 16).

Some inflectional suffixes mark verb forms that do not take subject marking. These are referred to as non-finite (see 11.6), and include the *infinitive* (11.6.2), the *present participle* (11.6.3), the *past participle* (11.6.4), the *conjunctive participle* (11.6.5) and the *inchoative participle* (11.6.6).

The finite verb forms comprise six different sets, containing inflection forms for each person and number⁴¹, and sometimes for gender. These are used to form verb expressions, both alone and in more complex, periphrastic constructions. The finite sets are the *perfective* (11.5.1), the *imperfective* (11.5.2) the *future* (11.5.3), the *indirect past* (11.5.4), the *potential past* (11.5.5) and the *imperative* (11.5.6).

Table 27 shows Dameli verbs, together demonstrating all the forms a Dameli verb root can be used in⁴².

⁴¹ The imperative is by definition second person only and only inflects according to number.

⁴² There are 109 unique forms, but 130 positions in the table, as valency distinctions are not always marked in the suffixes.

Table 27: Verb overview

Form	Simple verbs		Causative verbs	
	Intransitive	Transitive	First causative	Second causative
Gloss	play	count	bring down	make someone read/study
Imperfective				
Root	muş (i) ‘play’	leek ^h (t) ‘count’	nag (i) ‘come down’	matr (t) ‘read’
1SG	muşinum	leek ^h inum	nagaayim	matrawaayim
2SG	muşinap	leek ^h inap	nagaayap	matrawaayap
3SG.M	muşina	leek ^h ina	nagaaya	matrawaaya
3SG.F	muşini	leek ^h ini	nagaayi	matrawaayi
1PL	muşinuma	leek ^h inuma	nagaayima	matrawaayima
2PL	muşinaba	leek ^h inaba	nagaayiba	matrawaayiba
3PL	muşinun	leek ^h inun	nagaayin	matrawaayin
Perfective				
1SG	muşúm	leek ^h úm	nagam	matrawam
2SG	muşóp	leek ^h óp	nagap	matrawap
3SG.M	muşaa	leek ^h ee	nagææ	matrawææ
3SG.F	muşúi			
1PL	muşúma	leek ^h úma	nagaama	matrawaama
2PL	muşóba	leek ^h óba	nagaaba	matrawaaba
3PL	muşún	leek ^h én	nagæn	matrawæn
Indirect past				
1SG	muşit ^h um	leek ^h it ^h um	nagaait ^h um	matrawaait ^h um
2SG	muşit ^h op	leek ^h it ^h op	nagaait ^h op	matrawaait ^h op
3SG.M	muşit ^h aa	leek ^h it ^h ee	nagaait ^h ee	matrawaait ^h ee
3SG.F	muşit ^h ui			
1PL	muşit ^h uma	leek ^h it ^h uma	nagaait ^h uma	matrawaait ^h uma
2PL	muşit ^h oba	leek ^h it ^h oba	nagaait ^h oba	matrawaait ^h oba
3PL	muşit ^h un	leek ^h it ^h en	nagaait ^h en	matrawaait ^h en
Potential past				
1SG	muşit ^h im	leek ^h it ^h im	nagaait ^h im	matrawaait ^h im
2SG	muşit ^h is	leek ^h it ^h is	nagaait ^h is	matrawaait ^h is
3SG	muşit ^h iyó	leek ^h it ^h iyó	nagaait ^h iyó	matrawaait ^h iyó
1PL	muşit ^h ima	leek ^h it ^h ima	nagaait ^h ima	matrawaait ^h ima
2PL	muşit ^h iba	leek ^h it ^h iba	nagaait ^h iba	matrawaait ^h iba
3PL	muşit ^h in	leek ^h it ^h in	nagaait ^h in	matrawaait ^h in

Person	Simple verbs		Causative verbs	
	Intransitive	Transitive	First causative	Second causative
	Future			
1SG	muşim	leek ^h im	nagayim	matrawayim
2SG	muşes	leek ^h es	nagæs	matrawæs
3SG	muşiyó	leek ^h o	nagao	matrawao
1PL	muşima	leek ^h ima	nagayima	matrawayima
2PL	muşiba	leek ^h iba	nagayiba	matrawayiba
3PL	muşin	leek ^h in	nagayin	matrawayin
	Imperative			
SG	muşe	leek ^h e	nagai	matrawai
PL	muşaa	leek ^h aa	nagaaya	matraawaya
	Non-finite verb forms			
Form	Intransitive	Transitive	First causative	Second causative
Infinitive	muşan	leek ^h an	nagan	matran
Present participle	muşaal	leek ^h aal	nagaal	matrawaal
Past participle	muşisan	leek ^h isan	nagaaisan	matrawaaisan
Inchoative participle	mušem	leek ^h em	nagæm	matrawæn
Conjunctive participle	muşi	leek ^h i	nagaai	matrawaai

11.1 The verb root

The lexical meaning of the verb is primarily contained in the verb root. The typical verb root has one or two syllables, but there are a few verb roots consisting of a single consonant, and one example in my data of a verb root with three syllables (*girank^hat* ‘turn around’⁴³)

Verb roots normally have a basic *valency* that determines the number of arguments they take; they can be intransitive, transitive or ditransitive. In Dameli, the main morphological distinction is between intransitive and transitive verbs, which have slightly different inflectional suffixes (see table 33). Verbs with different valency are sorted into these two groups with regards to inflection: zero valency verbs are treated as intransitives, ditransitive and causative verbs like transitives (see also section 14.1). This is not unexpected; inherent marking of verbs as

⁴³ GM transcribes this as *giran khat*.

intransitive or transitive is the norm in NIA languages (Masica, 1991, p. 315).

The verb root in itself is not a complete word, and is never used without inflectional suffixes. The basic valency of the verb cannot be determined from the form of the root. For this reason, verb roots will be marked with their basic valency when discussed in the text following this pattern: *girank^hat* (i) ‘turn around’, *bin* (t) ‘see’, where (i) and (t) stand for intransitive and transitive, respectively. Some verb roots are only used in causative verbs (see 11.2.1). Causative verbs are normally verbs that have undergone a valency-increasing operation, but some verbs follow this pattern, but no corresponding simple verb exists. Such roots, for which the basic valency cannot be determined, will be marked with (c): *bigir* (c) ‘spread’.

In my material, 152 verb roots have been identified (excluding the copula). See Appendix 1 for a complete list of these.

There are certainly verb roots I have not yet discovered, but even taking this into account, the number of verb roots is limited in comparison with, for instance, English. The usual strategy for expressing new verb meanings is not to create new roots, but to form conjunct verbs, combinations of a non-verbal element and a verb, that function as a single word semantically (see 11.8).

11.1.1 Irregularities in the verb root

A number of common verbs have slightly different alternative roots that are used when forming perfective forms; these are shown in table 28. Example 39 is a text example of the same phenomenon. There are some minor irregularities in other TAM sets as well, mostly changes in the vowels, that may be phonologically conditioned.

Table 28: Verbs with different perfective roots

Root	Perfective root	Meaning
aač (i)	aag (i)	arrive, reach
gi (t)	gig (t)	take, buy
giaač (t)	giaag (t)	bring (here)
kook (i)	kookín (i)	sleep
lai (t)	lad (t)	find
nat (i)	nait (i)	go in
neeṭ (c)	nieṭ (c)	cut hair, shave, shear
niš (i)	nišiin (i)	sit
oot ^h (i)	oot ^h in (i)	stop, remain
pr (t)	prat (t)	give
wali (i)	wail (i)	hide
wi (t)	win (t)	free, allow, leave
y (i)	g (i)	go
ži (t)	žin (t)	eat

- (39) ay ek waxt-a daaman ta ay
 1SG.NOM one time-LOC Domel from 1SG.NOM
 dir **aag**-em
 Dir come.PFV-PFV.1SG
 ‘One time I came from Domel to Dir.’
 dir **aači** ...
 Dir come.CP ...
 ‘Having come to Dir...’ (TW₇₀₀₁₋₂)

This relatively limited form of suppletion, where the roots are similar and clearly related to each other, is the most common form. The verb ‘to die’, in contrast, has a completely suppletive root. The root *naṣṭ* (i) is used in the perfective, and the root *br* (i) in all other TAM sets. This difference is highlighted in example 40 by the use of this verb in a tail-head construction (see 2.1.8), which is a device used to keep sentences together within a narrative, typically by repeating the finite verb of the last sentence in a non-finite form at the beginning of the subsequent sentence.

- (40) seep^hurrahman baadša hawa-ī žaas ta
 Sephur Rahman king air-APP aeroplane from
 see **naṣṭ**-aa
 3SG.ANIM.DIST.NOM **die**-PFV.3SG.M
br-en ta baat
die.INF from after
 paakistan široo b-aa
 Pakistan beginning become.PFV.3SG
 ‘King Sephur Rahman died in an aeroplane in the air. After
 [he] died, Pakistan came into being.’ (T6056-57)

As this example illustrates, *bren* is used as the infinitive form of *naṣṭaa* in the second sentence, within the same tail-head construction.

In other instances still, the root used in simple verbs is slightly different from the one used in causatives (see 11.2.1), though clearly of the same origin. In some cases, *e.g.*, *wali/wail* (i), verbs have the same variant roots in both causatives and the perfective of simple verbs.

Table 29: Verbs with different causative roots

Simple verb root	Meaning	Causative verb root	Meaning
oot ^h (i)	stop	ooit ^h	stop someone
wali/wail (i)	hide	wail	hide something, steal
ži/žin (i)	eat	žuw	feed

11.1.2 Vowel-strengthening

In Sanskrit, there was a process for deriving verbs with different valencies called *vowel-strengthening*, a derivational strategy involving lengthened or otherwise altered vowels (Masica, 1991, p. 319). Though this process is not productive in Dameli, there are some possible vestiges of such a process in the two verb pairs shown in table 30:

Table 30: Vowel-strengthening verb pairs

Root	Meaning	Root	Meaning
tap (i)	become warm	taap (t)	heat up
lúṣ (i)	burn, hurt	looṣ (t)	burn something

11.2 The verb stem

The verb stem can be defined as the part of a verb that remains if all inflection is removed. Many verb stems in Dameli are so called primary stems (Masica, 1991, p. 315), in which the stem is identical to the verb root. Verbs formed with primary stems are referred to as simple verbs. Roots can also undergo a process called causativisation (see 11.2.1), in which either one or two suffixes are added as part of the stem to increase the valency of the verb. These stems are referred to as secondary stems (Masica, 1991, p. 315).

11.2.1 Causativisation

The valency of a verb root can be increased through a process called causativisation. By adding a causative suffix to the stem, another argument is added to the verb's argument structure. Intransitive verbs become transitive, transitive verbs get a third argument. Verbs created in this way are called *first causatives*. A secondary process adds another suffix, in addition to the causative suffix, to create *second causatives*, with yet another added argument (Masica, 1991, p. 319).

The inflectional affixes that express TAM form and subject agreement are slightly different for causative verbs than for simple verbs. See table 33 and table 27.

Causativisation is not an inflectional process; causative verbs are separate lexical entities and can have quite different meanings than simple verbs with the same root. Some simple verbs have no causative equivalents, and there is a considerable number of verbs that are constructed as causatives, but where no simple verbs with the same root have been found. This is probably not a new development; in Sanskrit, many verbs that had causative stems did not have causative meanings (Whitney, 1889).

Causative stems can be used with any inflectional form except the present participle, and, with some exceptions, the infinitive.

11.2.1.1 First causatives

First causatives are created by adding the causative suffix to the stem. The causative suffix has two different allomorphs, tied to different TAM sets and non-finite verb forms. In the imperfective, the imperfective and the potential past, and in the conjunctive and past participles, the form is *-aai*.

Sanskrit had a similar causative suffix, *-āya*, which was also added to the root in order to create a causative stem (Whitney, 1889, p. 378; Masica, 1991, pp. 316-317). In Middle Indo-Aryan, the form became reduced to *-e*. If the similarity to the Sanskrit form was not incidentally caused by some later development, the Dameli form represents a very archaic feature.⁴⁴

In the perfective and the future, as well as in the inchoative participle, the suffix is just *-a*.

First causatives are usually constructed on the basis of an inherently intransitive root, and have two arguments, just like an inherently transitive verb. The meaning is usually related to the corresponding simple verb, although the addition of another argument may change the meaning quite radically. To exemplify, the simple verb based on the root *žup* (i), seen in example 41, means ‘make oneself’ or ‘become’. The first causative verb built on the same root, as seen in example 42, means ‘make’ or ‘create’.

(41) *tēē* *duu maana ek ta* *ḍaktor žup-aa*
 3PL.ANIM.DIST two of.them one TOPSM doctor **make-PFV.3SG**
 ‘Of the two, one made himself [became] a doctor.’ (TW3005)

(42) ... *ni ba kya nat žup-aa-i-t^hen*
 ... not TOPSH which nat **make-CAUS-INDIRPST.3PL**
 ‘...nor has anyone made any *nat* [devotional song].’ (TV0001)

In many cases, the first causative verb is semantically narrower than its simple counterpart. While the simple verb may have several related meanings, causative verbs often single out only one of these.

Inherently transitive roots are uncommon as bases for first causatives; in these cases there is often only a simple verb and a second causative. The exceptions usually have first causatives with a meaning that is more narrow than the simple counterpart and do not necessarily take another argument. Thus, the simple verb built on the root *gaṭ* (t) has a variety of polysemic meanings, including ‘win’, ‘want’ (example 43) ‘ask’ (example 44), ‘need’ and ‘arrange a marriage’. Its first causative counterpart (example 45), however, singles out only the latter meaning and means ‘to arrange someone’s marriage’, which is also a transitive verb with two arguments.

⁴⁴ This would not be the only exception to the MIA development, however. In Konkani, the suffix is *-aya* (Masica, 1991, p. 317).

- (43) agar taanu gram žup-an **gaŕi**-numa ba ...
 if POSS.REFL village make-*INF* **want**-*IMPFV.1PL* TOPSH ...
 ‘If we **want** to make our own village...’ (T₄₀₃₇)
- (44) tas ta aau **gaŕi**-na
 3SG.ANIM.DIST from water **ask**-*IMPFV.3SG.M*
 ‘He **asks** water from him.’ (T₅₀₂₂)
- (45) ay too ki ištarii **gaŕ**-**aai**-m
 1SG.NOM 2SG.OBL for wife **arrange**-*CAUS-IMPFV.1SG*
 ‘I am **arranging** a wife for you.’ (TW₁₀₀₆)

Table 31 shows some first causative verbs with their corresponding simple verbs to exemplify the meanings that causative verbs usually take.

Table 31: Simple and first causative verb meanings

Simple verb stem/root	Meaning	First causative verb stem ⁴⁵	Meaning
akaŕ (i)	come together	akaŕaai	mix, put together
alam (i)	hang	alamaai	hang something
laŕaŕg (i)	cross	laŕaŕgaai	take across
nag (i)	come down	nagaai	take down
prambal (i)	light up, look good, start to burn	prambalaai	light
ŕumbur (i)	roll	ŕumburaai	roll something, fell a tree
wal/wail (i)	hide	wailaai	hide something, steal
žup (i)	make oneself into something	župaai	make
ž (t)	eat	žuwaai	feed
gaŕ (t)	want, win, etc.	gaŕaai	arrange marriage for someone.

⁴⁵ This is the most common stem, although a shorter one, with the affix -a instead of -aai, is used in the direct past and the future, as described above.

11.2.1.2 Second causatives

Second causatives always involve three arguments. They are either created on the basis of an inherently transitive verb or an inherently intransitive verb that also has a corresponding first causative, so there is always a corresponding transitive verb.

They are constructed by adding a second causative suffix, *-aw*, in addition to the causative suffix *-a/-aai*, in the position before it (see example 38). The typical meaning of second causatives, compared to their transitive equivalents, is *indirect action*, doing something through someone else. Compare, for example, the three verbs based on the root *niš* (i) ‘sit, wait’.

(46) taga talii ay aram-a ni **niš**-im tee
 before? until 1SG.NOM rest-LOC not sit-FUT.1SG that
 ‘I will not sit down to rest, until...’ (Too28)

(47) āā muu keeraa paai madrasa-a **niš**-aai-t^hum ba
 and 1SG.ERG which boy madrasa-LOC sit-CAUS-INDIRPST.1SG TOPSH
 ‘And the boy that I sat in the madrassah...’ (TW3052)

(48) ay mää-∅ maam-a şawaai
 1SG.NOM 1SG.POSS-M maternal_uncle-OBL by
 mas **niš**-aw-aai-m
 3SG.ANIM.PROX sit-CAUS2-CAUS-PFV.1SG
 ‘I sat him down through my uncle.’ [I asked my uncle to calm him down.] (E0037)

The simple verb in example 46 is intransitive and only involves the subject. The first causative in example 47 refers to the act of making someone sit (figuratively) and involves the subject and a second person, the boy who is made to sit (study) in the madrassah. The second causative in example 48 involves three people: the subject, who instigates the action; the object, who is acted upon; and the mediating uncle, who carries out the action by making him sit down (again figuratively, the actual meaning is ‘calm down’ or ‘end a conflict’).

The added argument of a second causative does not need to be explicitly expressed, and the method for expressing it is periphrastic, as a postpositional phrase, often with the postposition *şawaai* ‘by, through, for’ (as in example 48).

Although quite different in principle, second causatives bear some pragmatic similarities to passives, since both allow a different role to be marked as the actor, when compared to a clause that hasn't undergone the operation. In passives, however, this is done by switching the referent of the subject and, indirectly, the actor role. In second causatives, it is done by introducing an actor as a new argument, which changes the thematic role of the subject into something like causer or instigator. There is no morphological passive in Dameli, although non-finite verb forms can be used to similar effects.

Table 32 shows some causative verb stems and their meanings, along with their corresponding simple verbs.

Table 32: Simple and second causative verb meanings

Root	Simple verb meaning	Second causative stem ⁴⁶	Meaning
gaṭ (t)	want, win, <i>etc.</i>	gaṭawaai	have s.o. arrange or arrange s.o. a marriage
kook (i)	sleep	kookiyawaai	make s.o. put s.o. to sleep ⁴⁷
kur (t)	do	kurawaai	do sth through s.o. else
matr (t)	read	matrawaai	make s.o. read/study
nag (i)	come down	nagawaai	make s.o. take sth down
nik ^h aal (t)	take out	nik ^h aalawaai	make s.o. take sth out
niš (i)	sit down	nišawaai	have s.o. calm s.o. down, have s.o. make s.o. sit down
wal/wail (i)	hide	wailawaai	make s.o. hide sth.
žan (t)	kill	žanawaai	have s.o. killed, make s.o. kill s.o.
žup (i)	make oneself into sth.	župawaai	have sth made, make sth through s.o. else

Second causatives are a common feature among the Indo-Aryan languages (Masica, 1991, pp. 318-319).

⁴⁶ In the direct past and the future, the shorter suffix *-a* is used instead of *-aai*.

⁴⁷ In the literal sense, as when putting a child to sleep, not in the idiomatic sense of 'kill (a pet)'.

11.3 Finiteness

The term ‘finite’ (along with its derivatives, such as ‘infinitive’, ‘non-finite’ or ‘finiteness’) has been the subject of some controversy. Although it is a central concept in both traditional grammar and several formal theories of grammar, many authors consider it deeply problematic. The distinction between finite and non-finite verb forms developed in the grammatical traditions of European languages, especially Latin, and it might be argued that it applies reasonably well to these languages. As Nikolaeva (2007) points out, however, there are no clear definitions of the term, and most, if not all, attempts to define the term and apply it uniformly to the world’s languages have turned out to be incompatible with the variation in these languages.

Dameli is an Indo-European language, and although there is much that differentiates it from “Standard Average European”, the shared Indo-European heritage assures that there is also much in common between them, and many terms that have been found wanting when applied universally, because they were too specifically attuned to European languages, are perfectly applicable to Dameli.

Such is the case with finiteness. Verb forms in Dameli form two groups: one contains verbs that show person, number and sometimes gender agreement with the subject, can appear with an overt subject, and function independently in sentences, and another contains verbs that do none of these things. From a strictly language-internal perspective, it makes sense to group forms that behave similarly together. Using the terms ‘finite’ for the first group, and ‘non-finite’ for the latter is simple and convenient, as long as it is understood that this does not imply that these terms are anything but useful and readily available designations for distinctions that exist in the language.

The finite verb forms in Dameli are the *perfective*, *imperfective*, *future*, *indirect past*, *potential past* and *imperative* forms. These are marked with a set of suffixes that also express subject marking.

11.4 Verb inflection

The final part of a Dameli verb is an inflectional suffix of one or two syllables. These suffixes are *portmanteaus*; they contain several meanings in a single morph.

In finite verbs, suffixes mark the *TAM set* to which the form belongs. The Dameli TAM set is a morphologically defined set of verb forms that

express a number of different semantic dimensions: tense, aspect, mood, evidentiality and epistemic modality.

The same suffixes also carry subject marking according to several categories: person, number and in some sets gender.

In non-finite verbs, the suffixes do not carry subject marking, and although some forms are clearly marked for particular TAM dimensions, such as being past or completed, their meanings are probably better defined with reference to the constructions in which they are used. The non-finite forms are often combined with finite forms of the copula verbs to form finite complex TAM expressions, described in section 16.6.

The inflectional suffixes are shown in table 33. See also table 27 for examples.

Table 33: Verb inflection suffixes

Form	Simple verbs		Causative verbs
	Intransitive	Transitive	
	Perfective		
1 SG	-úm	-úm	-m
2 SG	-óp	-óp	-p
3 SG.M	-aa	-ee	-ee
3 SG.F	-úi	-ee	-ee
1 PL	-úma	-úma	-ama
2 PL	-óba	-óba	-aba
3 PL	-ún	-én	-en
	Imperfective		
1 SG	-num	-num	-m
2 SG	-nap	-nap	-ap
3 SG.M	-na	-na	-a
3 SG.F	-ni	-ni	-i
1 PL	-numa	-numa	-ma
2 PL	-naba	-naba	-ba
3 PL	-nun	-nun	-n
	Indirect past		
1 SG	- ^h um	- ^h um	- ^h um
2 SG	- ^h op	- ^h op	- ^h op
3 SG.M	-^haa	-^hee	- ^h ee
3 SG.F	-^hui	-^hee	- ^h ee
1 PL	- ^h uma	- ^h uma	- ^h uma
2 PL	- ^h oba	- ^h oba	- ^h oba
3 PL	-^hun	-^hen	- ^h en
	Potential past		
1 SG	- ^h im	- ^h im	- ^h im
2 SG	- ^h is	- ^h is	- ^h is
3 SG	- ^h iyo	- ^h iyo	- ^h iyo
1 PL	- ^h ima	- ^h ima	- ^h ima
2 PL	- ^h iba	- ^h iba	- ^h iba
3 PL	- ^h in	- ^h in	- ^h in

Person	Simple verbs		Causative verbs
	Intransitive	Transitive	
	Future		
1 SG	-im	-im	-im
2 SG	-es	-es	-es
3 SG	-o	-o	-o
1 PL	-ima	-ima	-ima
2 PL	-iba	-iba	-iba
3 PL	-in	-in	-in
	Imperative		
SG	-ee	-ee	-i
PL	-aa	-aa	-ya
	Non-finite verb forms ⁴⁸		
Infinitive		-an	
Present participle		-aal	
Past participle		-isan	
Inchoative participle		-em	
Conjunctive participle		-i	

As the table shows, there is some systematicity in the form of the suffixes, and it would be possible to associate meaning to some parts of them, at a lower level than the entire suffix. For example, we might assume that *-a* stands for plural. This could, with some assumptions, be said to hold true for all first and second person forms throughout the system. It would, however, ignore the fact that in the present third person singular masculine, *-a* is not plural but masculine, and in the third person, plural is not marked with *-a* but with *-n*.

More fundamentally, it would be an uneconomical description, since we would have to assume that some suffixes were compositional, whereas others, such as the future third person singular, *-o*, cannot be.

The correspondences between some forms and meanings are obviously there, but they are not the whole story. In some places, *-a* does indicate plural but if we were to consider it a plural morpheme, we would have to postulate two separate morphemes with identical form in

⁴⁸ The non-finite suffixes are identical for intransitive, transitive and causative verbs.

the first/second and third person. In contrast with *-im*, *-ima* is indeed plural because it contains *-a*, but in contrast with *-ni*, *-na* is masculine.

There are some differences between transitive and intransitive verbs with regard to some of the third person forms. These have been marked in bold in the table. The differences concern how consistently gender distinctions are applied in the singular. Gender is always distinguished in the imperfective, and never in the future or the potential past, but intransitive verbs distinguish gender in the perfective and the indirect past, and transitive verbs do not. The third person plural form of these sets is also different in the two kinds of verbs. The causative inflectional paradigm shows the same gender distinctions as the transitive paradigm but differs from the paradigm of the simple verbs in some other ways, with some different forms in the imperfective, the perfective, and the imperative.

Between the stem and the inflectional suffix, an epenthetic vowel is inserted if the combination would otherwise result in a disallowed cluster (see 4.1.) Usually, the vowel is *i*, as in example 49, but vowel assimilation can lead to other alternatives, as in examples 50 and 51.

(49) *zač-i-na*
trickle-EP-IMPFV.3SG.M
'it trickles, drips' (elicited)

(50) *aač-u-num*
take-EP-IMPFV.1SG
'I take' (elicited)

(51) *aač-e-na*
take-EP-IMPFV.3SG
'he takes' (elicited)

Since the causative suffix ends in a vowel, causative verbs never contain these epenthetic vowels but are often affected by phonological processes affecting combinations of vowels. When the causative suffix ending in *-a* is followed by suffixes beginning with *-e*, the resulting sound is *[-æ]*, with length depending on the length of the suffix (see 6.1.3. Combinations of two short articulations of *-a* may result in a long *-aa* (see 6.1.2).

11.4.1 Subject marking categories

The inflectional suffixes of finite verb forms contain subject marking according to the categories of person, number, and gender. In many clauses, this is the only identification of the identity of the subject, in others the subject is overtly expressed with a noun or a pronoun. In these cases, the verb may be said to *agree* with the overt subject, rather than *express* or *mark* the subject.

11.4.1.1 Person

Finite verbs carry obligatory person marking, indicating whether the subject of the verb is the first, second or third person. The imperative shows no person distinctions but should be interpreted as inherently marked for the second person.

11.4.1.2 Number

The category of number indicates whether the subject is a single person, marked by the singular as in example 52, or several, marked by the plural as in example 53.

- (52) tas ta-es too ki abut zaan-**num**
 3SG.ANIM.DIST than-also 2SG.OBL for good know-IMPV.1SG
 ‘More than that also I love you.’ (T9018)

- (53) tee mēē muu ki kati
 that 3PL.PROX.NOM 1SG.OBL for how_much
 abut zaan-**num** gan-i
 good know-IMPV.3PL say-CP
 ‘...how much they love me, he thought.’ (T9009)

Nouns and pronouns can be overtly marked for number, but verb marking is not dependent on whether this happens or not, as can be seen in example 54, in which only the verb indicates that the subject, *nasal* ‘generation’, refers to several persons (or, in this case, generations). Plural is more consistently marked on verbs than on nouns, and only some pronouns have plural forms.

- (54) ainda **nasal-es** amaa kurei maaf ni kur-**in**
 future generation-also 1PL.OBL any pardon not do-FUT.3PL
 ‘And coming generations will not forgive us.’ (T2010)

There is a tendency to avoid expressing number when the subject is inanimate, using the singular even if several objects are referred to, as in example 55. The inanimate copula does not have plural forms at all.

- (55) **měě** kul(-**nam**) naŋi prat-**ee**
 3PL.INANIM.PROX house(-PL) fall give-PFV.3SG
 ‘These houses fell down.’ (E0099-100)

In conjunction with this, it may be worth noting that in several of the older Indo-European languages, neuter plural subjects required singular verbs, because they were originally collectives (Fortson, 2006, p. 231).

11.4.1.3 Gender

As explained in section 7.3.3, the gender category in Dameli is a complex matter. Theoretically, all nouns are divided into two categories, masculine and feminine, and this distinction is expressed as agreement on several targets, including verbs, as it is in examples 56 and 57.

- (56) **măătěě** daçi-**na** măă-i tukuri kii
 around see-IMPFV.3SG.M 1SG.POSS-F basket who
 gig-**een** gan-i
 take-PFV.3PL say-CP
 ‘He looks around, thinking “Who took my basket?”’ (TP0038)

- (57) lee zamaana aaşanta ek diyoo brei daçi-**ni** tee
 very times behind one day girl see-IMPFV.3SG.F that
 ‘Much later, one day the girl sees that...’ (T1039)

In reality, however, gender is only consistently distinguished with animate nouns. See 7.3.3)

In many cases, verb inflection is not subject agreement but subject marking. Many sentences are formed without an overt subject, leaving the verb form as the only indicator of the identity of the subject. In these cases, the semantic category sex is probably more relevant than the morphological category of gender.

Since animate subjects are the norm, the decline of gender has less of an effect on verbs than on words of other classes. The default gender seems to be the masculine, which is used with most inanimates. Gender marking is only present in some TAM sets: perfective, imperfective and

indirect past for intransitive verbs, and just imperfective for transitive verbs. For a more exhaustive discussion of gender, see 7.3.

11.4.2 TAM categories

The same suffixes that serve to point out the intended subject also express other categories that position the event described in relation to time, information source and speaker knowledge. These categories, tense and aspect, mood, evidentiality and epistemic modality, are discussed further in chapter 16.

11.4.3 Verbs with limited inflection

Some verbs are limited as to what kinds of subjects they allow. Verbs that allow only inanimate subjects have limited inflectional paradigms, since only the third person is possible. Since gender for inanimates is rarely distinguished, only the third person masculine form of each set is used. Most if not all of these verbs fall into two groups.

Members of the first group, shown in table 34, are always morphologically intransitive and describe movement of liquids. They can form zero-subject clauses (14.1.1) or be formed with the liquid as the subject.

Table 34: Intransitive verbs with limited inflection

Root	Meaning	Used about
ćarak (i)	drip	rain
tip (i)	drip	any liquid
zać (i)	trickle	any liquid

The second group, shown in table 35, consists of first causatives, and describes bodily sensations caused by some inanimate external agent, such as temperature, burning nettles, or chili. Although these verbs are morphologically first causatives, the way they are used is reminiscent of passives in other languages, since there is often no specified subject.

Table 35: First causative verbs with limited inflection

Root	Meaning	Used about
čičir (c)	smart, hurt	body parts
ooš (c)	freeze, stiffen from cold	body parts
prapať (c)	burn (fig.)	mouth

11.5 Finite verb forms

The finite verb forms are the perfective, the imperfective, the future, the indirect past, the potential past and the imperative. They are always marked with subject-marking suffixes and defined by the TAM categories described in chapter 16.

The finite verb forms are not entirely independent of each other, and it is possible to suggest some possible historical developments that cast some light on the present situation.

The perfective suffixes are the shortest and, with a few exceptions, represent the least common denominator of the other forms. The perfective, the imperfective and the future appear to be the oldest, since the indirect past and the potential past to have been formed by combining verb stems with different forms of the copula.

11.5.1 The perfective

As suggested above, the perfective is in some ways the most basic verb form. The suffixes that express the perfective are the least complex ones, and several other forms appear to have been formed by combining the perfective with forms of the copula, which have later merged into a single verb form.

The suffixes that express the perfective are similar for intransitive and transitive verbs, with the exception of the third person singular and plural. Intransitive verbs distinguish gender in the third person singular: *-aa* ‘PFV.3SG.M’, *-ui* ‘PFV.3SG.F’, but transitive verbs have a gender-neutral form: *-ee* ‘PFV.3SG’. The third person plural form is also different, in analogy with the above: *-un* for intransitive verbs, *-én* for transitive verbs. (See table 33.) Causative verbs, being by definition transitive, also neutralise the gender distinction. As in the imperfective, but unlike all other TAM sets, the inflectional suffixes for causatives are a slightly shortened form of those used with simple verbs. The function of the perfective is described in 16.6.5, but the form also plays a role in expressing the inchoative past (16.6.10).

Only this form and the imperfective are allowed in conditional clauses. See section 19.3.

11.5.2 The imperfective

The imperfective is formed with a set of suffixes beginning in *n*, for both intransitive and transitive simple verbs, but causatives use a shorter set

of suffixes, without *n*. Because the causatives and the *t^h* copula have suffixes that do not begin in *n*, considering the entire suffix, e.g., *-num* ‘IMPFV.1SG’, a single portmanteau morph is probably a more economical solution than assuming that *-n* is an imperfective suffix to which subject marking is added.

The imperfective form is used to express the simple present (16.6.1) and the continuous past (16.6.8), and also plays a role in expressing completed actions with currently significant results, the *present result* expressions (16.6.10 and 16.6.3).

11.5.3 The future

The future is formed with a set of short suffixes, most of which begin in */i/*, that remain the same for all kinds of verbs. There is no gender distinction. The future suffixes are quite different from those used in the imperfective, the perfective past and the indirect past, although similar to those of the potential past, in that the second person singular of both ends with */s/* rather than */p/*, possibly because the potential past was originally formed by a combination with future forms of the copula. Morgenstierne (1942) assumed these forms to be older and the forms beginning in */p/* to be a later development, possibly from a medial suffix (p. 141). The function of the future form is described in 16.6.4.

11.5.4 The indirect past

The indirect past is formed with suffixes that are identical in form to what is today the imperfective forms of the copula, although these appear to have originally been perfective;⁴⁹ they begin in */t^h/* and contain the same distinctive subject marking elements as the imperfective and the perfective. It seems likely, therefore, that the indirect past was originally a periphrastic construction, in which a non-finite form, such as the conjunctive participle, was combined with the perfective form of the animate copula, similar to the present result 1 construction (16.6.2). If this is indeed the case, the forms have now merged and have become reanalysed as a single verb form.

Section 16.6.6 describes how the indirect past is used.

⁴⁹ The forms are similar to the perfective forms of all other verbs rather than to the imperfective. In addition, these forms are used together with the past tense marker *taa* in the perfective as well, since actual perfective forms are missing.

11.5.5 The potential past

Like the indirect past, the potential past probably arose as a periphrastic construction of a non-finite verb form with a form of the copula, in this case the future, since the suffixes are identical to the future forms of the animate copula (*cf.* *thim* ‘COP.ANIM.FUT.1SG/I will be’ and *phuukithim* ‘blow.POTPST.1SG/I may have blown’, etc.).

As in the future, gender is not distinguished, so there is no distinction in the suffixes between transitive and intransitive verbs in this form. The agreement suffixes used with causatives are also identical to those used with simple verbs.

Semantically, there are clear parallels with both the indirect past and the future. Like the indirect past, the potential past describes unwitnessed events in the past. Like the future, it speaks of things that may not be true but have the potential of being so.

The potential past is defined primarily by tense and epistemic modality. See 16.6.7 for a discussion of the function of the potential past form.

11.5.6 The imperative

The imperative is inherently understood to address the second person, so there are no person-marking suffixes; number is the only category that is overtly marked by suffixes. The suffixes used with simple verbs, *-e* ‘IMP.SG’ and *-aa* ‘IMP.PL’, are different from those used with causative verbs, *-i* ‘IMP.SG’ and *-ya* ‘IMP.PL’. The causative forms are used together with the shorter causative suffix, *-a*.

The function of the imperative is described in 16.6.10.

11.6 Non-finite verb forms

The non-finite verb forms in Dameli can be defined as word forms constructed on verb stems, but that do not take subject agreement suffixes, that do not appear with overt subjects, and that do not function as the main predicates of sentences. They may be inherently specified as *e.g.*, ‘past tense’, but there is no inflection paradigm. Some non-finite verb forms show *nominal* agreement with the head of a noun phrase they are part of, such as gender agreement on the infinitive when it is used adnominally.

There are five different non-finite verb forms: the infinitive, the present participle, the past participle, the inchoative participle and the conjunctive participle, as shown in table 36.

Table 36: Non-finite verb forms

(Root)	Affix	Example
	kur (t) ‘do’	ç ^h aar (t) ‘throw’
Infinitive	-an	kuran ‘do’, ç ^h aaran ‘throw’.
Present participle	-aal	kuraal ‘doing’, ç ^h aaraal ‘throwing’
Past participle	-isan	kurisan ‘done’, ç ^h aa ^r isan ‘thrown’
Inchoative participle	-em	kurem ‘doing’, ç ^h aa ^r em ‘throwing’
Conjunctive participle	-i	kuri ‘having done’ ç ^h aa ^r i ‘having thrown’

11.6.1 Converbs or participles?

Haspelmath (1995, p. 4) suggests dividing non-finite verb forms into three different groups, based on their function:

- Verbal nouns or masdars: verb forms that function as arguments, like nouns.
- Participles: verb forms that function as adnominal modifiers, like adjectives.
- Converbs: verb forms that function as adverbial modifiers, like adverbs.

These terms allow for a clear functional division of labour between the three different terms. When applied to a language such as Dameli, the results are predictably messier.

The first problem concerns the term participle. In Haspelmath’s schema, participles are exclusively adnominal modifiers, but in various grammatical traditions, the term has not been quite so well delimited and often denotes forms that modify verbs or clauses, forms that would be converbs by Haspelmath’s definition. A highly relevant case in point here is the conjunctive participle in the South Asian tradition, but also such well-known examples as the English *-ing*-form, generally referred to as the present participle, but clearly regarded as a converb by Haspelmath (1995, p. 17).

But the problem is deeper than this alone: it is not uncommon for the same form to function both adverbially and adnominally. Compare three examples of the English *-ing* form: in “Sparkling Cyanide”, the form is

adnominal; in “Going Postal” it is adverbial; and in “Most Loving Mere Folly”, it functions as an argument. To resolve the issue, Haspelmath has to resort to frequency in order to determine whether the -ing form is a participle or a converb. (1995, p. 20)

The other problematic point with the term is pointed out by Bickel (1998), who proposes two different types of converbs, the Asian and the European type. A key function of converbs in Asian languages is ‘narrative chaining’ or ‘clause chaining’ (see 21.9), which expresses several subsequent events. In Haspelmath’s view, this function “is not a central, typical use of the converb because it is not really adverbial” (1995, p. 8). The problem is that in these languages, it *is* a central function of these verb forms. Adverbial modification and narrative chaining consistently reappear in the same forms throughout the area, as it does in Dameli. And in Dameli, as in many other languages, narrative chaining cannot be clearly separated from adverbial modification but is a logical extension of this function. As Coupe shows for Hindi, there are even cases where both an adverbial and a sequential reading is possible for the same sentence (2006, p. 147). Likewise, the difference between a sentence with a single, sequential converb clause and a sentence with two or more such clauses is pragmatic rather than structural.

Despite the difficulties, the term converb may well be both relevant and useful. After all, we are far from agreeing on the definition, relevance and application of such well-established terms as verb, noun, subject, phoneme or word.

Using new and hopefully more precise terms in the description has obvious advantages but so does maintaining well-known and widespread terms, sometimes despite their faults. In an attempt to both have my cake and eat it I too, will endeavour to use both types of terms. The terms suggested by Haspelmath and others, particularly ‘converb’, will be used in the discussion, but despite the apparent contradiction, I will retain terms that have been established in the local tradition, when such exist, as designations for individual forms in Dameli.

Applying Haspelmath’s schema would give the following non-finite forms for Dameli:

Table 37: Non-finite forms according to Haspelmath's schema

Masdar	Participle	Converb
Infinitive	Past participle	Conjunctive participle
	Present participle	
	Inchoative participle	

11.6.2 The infinitive

The infinitive is formed by adding the suffix *-an* to the verb root and functions as a verbal noun, a *masdar*. It is used when referring to an action as a thing, much like the English or Latin infinitive. As such, it is the form most commonly used when talking abstractly about a verb, as a kind of “quotation form”.

- (58) lekin see zamaan-a talim xasel kur-an
 but 3SG.DIST time-LOC education acquire do-INF
 kya aam riwaž ni beru
 which common custom not be.PST.INANIM.3SG
 ‘But at that time it was not common custom to acquire education.’
 (T4003)

The infinitive is at least partially nominalised, taking the locative noun case suffix *-a* when followed by certain postpositions.

- (59) abadi žup-an-a šaži mutalika kya muškul daru
 building make-INF-OBL for about which talk is
 ‘There are some things to say about making a building.’ (TA0002)

The infinitive is usually built on the root alone, not on the entire stem, which means that it does not distinguish between simple verbs and causatives. Thus, both the verb meaning ‘come together’ and the verb meaning ‘put together’ or ‘mix’ have the infinitive *akažan*, regardless of the fact that the former has the stem *akaž* and the latter ‘*akaž-ai/akaž-a*’. In some cases, however, the causative suffix may be included in the infinitive. Thus, the infinitive of the verb meaning ‘do through someone else’ is ‘*kurawan*’, with the causative suffix *-aw*, not just ‘*kuran*’ as might have been expected.

The infinitive is commonly used in *tail-head linkage* constructions. (See 21.8.) It is also combined with some word derivation affixes, such as *-baš*, which forms adjectives with the meaning ‘able to...’. (See 9.3.2.)

11.6.3 The present participle

The present participle is formed by adding *-aal* to the verb root or stem. Like the infinitive, there is some uncertainty regarding whether the full stem of second causatives can be used in creating this form, a matter which will need to be investigated further. There are no instances in my

material of first causative stems being used to form the present participle, and only a single instance of the second causative stem being used in this way.

Most uses of the present participle are consistent with Haspelmath's definition of a participle (1995, p. 4), a verb form that primarily modifies nouns. Like the past participle, the present participle is used to describe persons or objects by attributing them to a process by which they are in some way affected, as agents or patients or whatever the case may be, meaning something like "the x who is doing y", as in example 60.

Unlike the past participle, however, the present participle describes processes that are still ongoing at the time in focus, whereas the past participle describes completed processes.

- (60) i laak-**aal** mač k^hošan ni t^h-aa
 3SG.ANIM.PROX weep-PRSPTCP man happy not be-IMPV.3SG.M
 'This weeping man is not happy.'⁵⁰ (E0003)

The present participle can incorporate other parts of a verb phrase and takes the feminine agreement suffix *-i* when it is used as an attribute to feminine nouns, just like a variable adjective. Both these points are illustrated in example 61.

- (61) see malu-y-**aal-i** brei kaa g-ai
 3SG.DIST Malu-go-PRSPTCP-F girl where go -PFV.3SG.F
 'Where did this girl, who [usually] goes to Malu, go?' (E0012)

The present participle can also be used to form the habitual past. (See 16.6.9.)

11.6.4 The past participle

The past participle is formed by adding the suffix *-isan* to the verb stem (either a simple root or a causative stem). Like the present participle, it can be used attributively and adverbially but is most commonly used with the copula to form complex verbal expressions such as the present result 2 (16.6.3).

When used adverbially, the past participle can be treated rather similarly to nouns and occasionally receives noun inflection, such as the locative in example 62.

⁵⁰ Very perceptive, Sherlock.

- (62) kul ta maaş weeč-aal nees-i daçi-nun
 house of people search-PRSPTCP go.out-CP see-IMPFV.3PL
 tee ek muṭ-a akas-isan-a lam c^hi-i
 that one tree-LOC climb-PSTPTCP-LOC branch cut-CP
 nagi pra-i zen bait^haa
 fall give-CP dead be-INDIRPST.3SG.M
 ‘The people of the house went out searching and saw that,
 having climbed up a tree to cut a branch, he had fallen and was
 dead.’ (T1012)

11.6.5 The conjunctive participle

The conjunctive participle is a converb, “a non-finite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination” (Haspelmath, 1995, p. 3). I will use the term ‘conjunctive participle’, nonetheless, since it is the term applied to similar forms throughout the Indo-Aryan languages, where it is widespread and extremely important. The conjunctive participle is formed by adding the suffix *-i* to the verb stem, with the exception of two highly irregular verbs, *y* (i) ‘go’ and *g* (t) ‘bring’, which have conjunctive participles ending in *-de*. Since the suffix is added to the stem and not to the root, the conjunctive participle can be created from both simple verbs and causatives, with distinguishable forms as a result. The conjunctive participle takes no agreement suffixes.

As a non-finite verb form, the conjunctive participle forms subordinate clauses, sometimes including objects or adverbials, but cannot form complete sentences on its own.

The inherent meaning of conjunctive participles is a completed action or event, something that has happened or been done before the event described by the main clause. Typically, this means that it is used as adverbials that relate an event to previous events, a function that lends its use to several specialised constructions, such as clause chaining (21.9) and tail-head linkage (21.8). In combination with the copula, it can be used to express results of completed events that have current relevance (16.6.10).

11.6.6 The inchoative participle

The inchoative participle is formed by adding the suffix *-em* to the verb root. There does not appear to be a separate causative version. This form

will require further study, to establish more precisely its function and properties. The inchoative participle is used with the copula to express the inchoative past (see 16.6.10).

11.7 Copula verbs

The copula verbs are a special case among the verbs. They are very frequently used and display a number of irregularities. Two different verbs are used, depending on whether the subject is animate or not. (See section 7.2 for a description of the category of animacy in Dameli.) While the animate copula is a fully inflected, highly suppletive verb, the inanimate copula has only two forms, distinguishing past and present. Because of this, a grammatically encoded tense/aspect distinction may be considered the least common denominator defining the category of verbs.

There is no specific negative copula; copula verbs are negated the same way as other verbs.

The copula, in both its animate and its inanimate version, is very widely used, both with non-verbal predicates (14.1.5) and as an auxiliary used when forming complex verb expressions.

11.7.1 The animate copula

The copula verb used with animate subjects has the root *t^h* but is very irregular in its form and use. It is fully inflected as far as subject marking is concerned, but the paradigm is defective and does not contain all TAM sets, and the forms are used in unexpected ways. This is not entirely surprising, since the regular indirect past and potential past appear to have been formed by adding forms of the copula to the stem.

Only two finite sets are formed on the *t^h* root, resembling, respectively, the regular perfective and the future, but they are not used like the forms they resemble. One set is formed by adding the regular perfective suffixes (*-um*, *-op*, etc.), but when used on its own, the meaning is imperfective. The other is formed by adding the future suffixes (*-im*, *-is*, etc.), but is used in a wider set of contexts. It expresses wishes, assumptions and hope in a way that resembles the potential past but is used regardless of tense, instead defined primarily with reference to evidentiality or epistemic modality. This is illustrated in example 63, taken from a letter, where the writer does not actually have first-hand knowledge of the weather in his reader's country but assumes that it

must be cold. The adverb *žaa* ‘now’ clearly sets the sentence in the present time.

- (63) *žaa min-a watan lee soor t^h-iyo*
 now 2PL.POSS-M country very cold be-FUT.3SG
 ‘Your country will be very cold now.’ D₃O₃I.

In addition to these, several strategies are used to fulfil functions that the defective paradigm does not cover. The imperfective forms (which rather resemble the perfective), when combined with the past tense marker *taa*, are used as perfectives. Similarly, verbs formed on the root *b* (i) ‘become’ overlap semantically with the copula and are often used in its stead.

The conjunctive participle always describes completed action, so the form *bai* ‘having become’ can function as the conjunctive participle of the copula without losing any part of its meaning. Future forms also assume a change, allowing future forms of the *b* (i) roots to replace the future copula, as in example 64.

- (64) ... *yee watan ta tasāā-∅ b-o*
 ... this country PART 3SG.POSS-M be-FUT.3SG
 ‘...this land will be/become his.’

In contrast, the indirect past of the *b* (i) root (*bait^hum*, *bait^hop* etc.) are used to replace the indirect past of the copula to mean ‘be’ only, without usually retaining any sense of ‘change into a state’, as illustrated in example 65, although in the indirect past, this is not an uncommon interpretation in any case.

- (65) *taga zumaana ek mač bai-t^haa...*
 before times one man be-INDIRPST.3SG.M
 ‘A long time ago there was a man...’ (T₀₀₀I)

Table 38 shows the different forms of the animate copula, and the forms and constructions used to fill out the paradigm. No clear imperative or inchoative forms have been found, perhaps because of semantic constraints, so these have been omitted in the table.

Table 38: *The animate copula*

	t ^h	b
Infinitive	t ^h en	ban
	Imperfective	
1SG	t ^h um	
2SG	t ^h op	
3SG.M	t ^h aa	
3SG.F	t ^h ui	
1PL	t ^h uma	
2PL	t ^h oba	
3PL	t ^h un	
	Perfective	
1SG	t ^h um taa	
2SG	t ^h op taa	
3SG.M	t ^h aa taa	
3SG.F	t ^h ui taa	
1PL	t ^h uma taa	
2PL	t ^h oba taa	
3PL	t ^h un taa	
	Indirect past	
1SG		bait ^h um
2SG		bait ^h op
3SG.M		bait ^h aa
3SG.F		bait ^h ui
1PL		bait ^h uma
2PL		bait ^h oba
3PL		bait ^h un
	Potential past (and other functions)	
1SG	t ^h im	
2SG	t ^h is	
3SG.M	t ^h iyo	
1PL	t ^h ima	
2PL	t ^h iba	
3PL	t ^h in	
	Future	
1SG		bim

2SG	boos
3SG.M	boo
1PL	bima
2PL	booba
3PL	bin

Participles

PRSPTCP	baal
PSTPTCP	baisan
CP	bai

11.7.2 The inanimate copula

With inanimate subjects, a different stem is used, and the inflectional paradigm is limited to only two forms, the present/imperfective *daru* (see example 66) and the past/perfective *beru* (example 67.) The two forms bear no clear relation to the animate copula verbs.

- (66) see t^haana brit **daru**
 3SG.DIST place border COP.INANIM.IMPV.3
 ‘That place is the border.’ (T7005)

- (67) yee t^haan-a gram **beru**
 3SG.INANIM place-LOC village COP.INANIM.PST.3
 tara bai-t^hun
 there COP.ANIM-INDIRPST.3PL
 ‘In this place was a village; there they were.’ (T8036)

The limited paradigm for the inanimate copula can mostly be explained by the semantic restraints that apply to inanimate subjects. Since only third persons can be inanimate, there is no inflection according to person, and since the plural is already uncommon or excluded for inanimate subjects (see 11.4.1.2), there is no inflection according to number. The gender system of Dameli is very limited (see 7.3) and seems to apply mainly in cases where it can be easily assigned on semantic grounds, which excludes inanimates.

What remains, then, are the TAM distinctions. Since inflection for these categories is expressed by the choice of a set of agreement forms, these distinctions cannot be expressed in the ordinary way either and have been reduced to the simple past/non-past distinction.

Diachronically, these forms may have evolved from the third person singular forms of a suppletive verb, much like the animate copula. The agreement suffixes of the future and the potential past, which probably reflect an older system, end in -o in the third person singular, which may explain the endings of these forms.

11.8 Conjunct verbs

The number of verb roots in Dameli is quite limited, and a large portion of verb meanings are not expressed by specific verb roots. As in most of the South Asian languages, a construct known as conjunct verb allows the creation of a large number of verbs for which there are no specific roots. Conjunct verbs are combinations of two phonological words, a verb complement and a light verb, that function as a single verb semantically. Verb complements can be nouns, adjectives or elements that are not used except in these conjuncts. Light verbs are a small group of verbs with general meanings. They function as ordinary verbs in their own right, but in conjunct verbs they retain very little of their lexical meaning and are reduced to the function of causing the combination to be interpreted as a verb. The most common light verbs in Dameli are *y* (i) 'go', *kur* (t) 'do', *pr* (t) 'give', *lag* (c) 'do?'⁵¹ and *b* 'become'. There are no formal differences between a general combination of object and verb and a conjunct verb, which makes it impossible to generalise across all occurrences. Table 39 shows some conjunct verbs.

Table 39: Some conjunct verbs

Verbal complement	light verb	Meaning
aaṅguwi 'finger'	kur (t) 'do'	give the finger
krāāka 'snores'	kur (t) 'do'	snores
miskol 'missed call'	kur (t) 'do'	make a missed call
ral 'up'	kur (t) 'do'	take up
soč 'thought'	kur (t) 'do'	think
ṣūūki 'whistle'	kur (t) 'do'	whistle
taṅ 'trouble'	kur (t) 'do'	trouble
ṭelefun 'telephone'	kur (t) 'do'	telephone
andaza 'guess'	lag (c) 'do?'	guess
kabza '?'	lag (c) 'do?'	take by force

⁵¹ This verb, which is probably borrowed from Pashto, is a special case, since it is probably only used as a light verb.

pata ‘knowledge’	lag (c) ‘do?’	know
aara ‘song’	pr (t) ‘give’	sing
baš ‘rain’	pr (t) ‘give’	rain
bawee ‘swim’	pr (t) ‘give’	swim
đak ‘lie’	pr (t) ‘give’	lie (down)
guđe ‘?’	pr (t) ‘give’	wash, bathe
nagi ‘fall’	pr (t) ‘give’	fall (animate subject)
kuta ‘search’	y (i) ‘go’	search
daara ‘fall’	y (i) ‘go’	fall (inanimate subject)
čalii	y (i) ‘go’	go into exile
abut ‘good’	zaan (t) ‘know’	love
pui	b (i) ‘become’	understand
rawan	b (i) become’	start < Psht: <i>rawandal</i>
široo	b (i) become’	begin
milau ‘meeting’	b (i) become’	meet

Conjunct verbs are the most common strategy for creating new verbs in Dameli, and many borrowed words have this structure (e.g., *miskol kur* (t) <Eng. ‘make a missed call’, *telefon kur* (t) <Eng. ‘telephone’ and *soč kur* (t) <Urd. *soč*, ‘thought, consideration’).

Unlike many of its neighbours, Dameli does not have compound verbs, combinations of two verbs that function as a single unit, usually a non-finite form and a finite form. There may, however, be single-word units that have arisen historically from old compound verbs, such as *giaac* (t) ‘bring’, which may have originally consisted of *gi* ‘having brought’ and *aac* (i) ‘come’.

There are no obvious conjunct verbs with the inanimate copula or the animate copula *t^h*, although this is by necessity a matter of interpretation.

The two complements *wee* and *teer* show evidence of having undergone grammaticalisation, as they show very little lexical meaning and a closer phonological attachment to the verb they are used with (particularly *wee*). Both are used to add a sense of completion to a verb; *teer* is probably borrowed from Pashto. For instance, *weeb* (from *wee* + the copula *b*) means ‘reach’ and *teer b* means ‘pass’, but both *wee* and *teer* can also be used with *kur* ‘do’ to mean ‘complete’.⁵²

⁵² The verb *weeč* (t) ‘seek’ is probably unrelated to this.

12 Postpositions

The function of a postposition is to form a unit with the noun or phrase that comes before it, relating it to something else. Spatial, social and temporal relationships are prominent.

Some postpositions require that the nouns they join with take the locative case; others do not.

Postposition phrases can be used within both noun phrases and verb phrases, and even as clause adverbials.

Postpositions vary in their degree of phonologic independence. Some postpositions, especially *ĩ* ‘appropriate place’ and *baĩ* ‘towards’, are usually cliticised to the preceding word; there is no pause between the two parts, and only one syllable is stressed.

The distinction between postpositions and case suffixes is difficult to make. In this analysis, which is by no means the only one possible, independent words, as well as clitics or suffixes that can be applied on top of a case suffix,⁵³ are considered postpositions, leaving the locative and the instrumental as the only peripheral cases. Another difficult distinction to make is that between postpositions and certain nouns. Nouns in certain case forms sometimes function exactly as postpositions, as a consequence of their usual function, but it is also possible that some of these become grammaticalised as proper postpositions, with changes in meaning and use as a result.

12.1 Postpositions that require the locative case

Five postpositions require the nouns that precede them to be in the locative case: *ki* ‘to’, *şaži* ‘in order to’, *şawaai* ‘for’, *mili* ‘with (comitative)’, and *ĩ* ‘appropriate place’.

⁵³ Another possible interpretation would be to include two or more layers of case suffixes, as done in Masica (1991, p. 231).

12.1.1 The postposition *ki* ‘to’, ‘for’

The postposition *ki* is one of the most common ones and is used to signify a target, both in the literal, spatial sense (as in example 68) and in a more figurative sense (as in examples 69 and 70).

- (68) mēē swaat mingauri **ki** g-ēen
 3PL.PROX.NOM Swat Mingora to go-PFV.3PL
 ‘They went **to** Mingora [in] Swat.’ (T6032)

A common use of *ki* is to indicate someone who receives or benefits in some way from an action, as in example 69. This is also used to indicate the recipient in clauses with the verb ‘to give’ and the addressee in clauses with the verb ‘to say’.

- (69) tu muu **ki** kati abut zaan-ap
 2SG.NOM 1SG.OBL for how.many good know-IMPFV.2SG
 ‘How much do you love me.’ (T9014)

- (70) see t^haana paš t^h-a-aw-aal
 3SG.DIST place trap be-CAUS-CAUS2-PRSPTCP
 bai-t^hun goora **ki** čowweela **ki**
 be-INDIRPST.3PL gora for hoepoe for
 ‘In that place, they were putting traps for goras and for hoepoes [birds]. (T3080)

12.1.2 The postposition *šaži* ‘for’, ‘in order to’

Partially overlapping semantically with *ki* is the postposition *šaži* ‘for’, which is used to indicate the purpose or beneficiary of an action, in the sense ‘for someone’s sake’ (example 72) or ‘in order to’. In the latter sense, it often appears with infinitives, as in example 71.

- (71) abadi žup-an-a **šaži** mutalika kya muškul daru
 building make-INF-LOC for about which talk is
 ‘In order to build a house, there are some things to talk about.’ (TA002)

Unlike the other postpositions of this group, nouns preceding *šaži* are not consistently rendered in the locative case; exceptions such as example 72 also occur.

- (72) tu keeraa gram **šaži** ek čošti put žan-op
 2SG.NOM which village for one only.child son kill-PFV.2SG
 ‘For which village did you kill an only son?’ (T4042)

12.1.3 The postposition *šawaai* ‘by’, ‘through’

The postposition *šawaai* ‘through’ is used primarily with second causative verbs (11.2.1.2) to describe the third argument of the verb indirectly. A second causative verb often has the person who requested, paid for, or otherwise initiated an action as the subject, but the person who actually performs the action is then described with *šawaai*. In all the examples of this in my material, the performer is an animate person, as in example 73:

- (73) ay mää-∅ maam-a šawaai
 1SG.NOM 1SG.POSS-M maternal_uncle-OBL by
 mas **niš-aw-ai**-m
 3SG.ANIM.PROX sit-CAUS2-CAUS-PFV.1SG
 ‘I sat him down through my uncle.’ [I asked my uncle to calm him down.] (E0037)

Judging by the form, *šawaai* could be a conjunctive participle of a second causative verb, possibly based on the root *ša* ‘send’, although this is very speculative, and no corresponding second causative verb has been found.

In Palula, the cognate *šaawaá* is used in a similar function, described as ‘manipulee’. There, however, the form is quite transparent as a converb of the verb *šaawóo* ‘turn on, light, take up, dress, etc.’, which is in very general use. (Liljegren & Haider, 2011, p. 138)

12.1.4 The postposition *mili* ‘with’

The postposition *mili* is used to express comitative meanings, as in doing something, or being, ‘with someone’. It is primarily used with animates, such as *aštraka* ‘women’, in example 74; when used with inanimate complements the meaning is usually spatial, as in ‘stand with/by/next to’.

- (74) ni man-ee ta sapun sootii aštrakaa
 not accept-PFV.3SG TOPSM all together women
mili nanawaat ge-n tas-a ki
with nanawati take-INF 3SG.ANIM.DIST-OBL to
 ‘When he didn’t accept, they all went, with their women, to
 seek *nanawati*⁵⁴ (mercy) from him.’ (TW5008)

12.1.5 The postposition *ĩ* ‘appropriate place’

The postposition *ĩ* is used to indicate that something is in its “appropriate” place, in the place where it belongs or is expected to be. In this, it is somewhat more abstract than most of the other postpositions. In example 75, “on a jug” is in some way the appropriate or expected place for a jug lid to be (see also example 40).

- (75) ĵag ta šaa ĵag-a-ĩ daro
 jug of head jug-LOC-APP is
 ‘The lid of the jug is on the jug.’ (Q1006)

Even clearer than most other postpositions, *ĩ* is always cliticised to the preceding word, perhaps since it consists of only a vowel.

12.2 Other postpositions

Several other words function as postpositions but do not require their complements to be in the locative case. Many of these may actually be nouns or phrases in various stages of grammaticalisation, and it can be difficult to determine their exact status. While some have clearly been reanalysed as postpositions, others may still act as nouns or other constituents in certain syntactic positions.

12.2.1 The postposition *ta* ‘from’, ‘of’, ‘than’

Although it does not require the locative, *ta* ‘from, of’ is clearly a postposition. There is no obvious grammaticalisation source or more concrete meaning. It can be used spatially to mean ‘from’ but is also used in a construction that is similar to possession, but which only allows

⁵⁴ *Nanawati* is a Pashtun concept of conflict resolution in which you seek mercy from your opponent by demonstrating your complete surrender.

inanimate “owners” (see 15.3). Like the English of-possessive, it is used very widely and with very general meaning, encompassing uses such as “the morning of Domel”, “intention to go”, “the scenes of the story”, “at the time of the insurrection”, *i.e.*, part-whole relationships, properties and results.

There is also a topic particle *ta* ‘previously mentioned topic’ (see 21.1), which may easily be confused with the postposition, although the function is quite different. The same applies to some extent to the past tense marker (16.5), which is also very similar in form but is usually pronounced with a long vowel.

12.2.2 The postposition *ṣaa* ‘on’

The postposition *ṣaa* ‘on, on top of’ is identical in form to the word meaning ‘head’ and has clearly been grammaticalised from this word, most likely perceived as a locative form, ‘on the head’ (the locative suffix *-a* cannot be distinguished in words ending in long *-aa*.) The fact that *ṣaa* is used with items that obviously have nothing that can be described as a head, such as *bum* ‘ground’ in example 76, provides evidence of the degree to which *ṣaa* has become reanalysed as a postposition.

- (76) *ṣey-nam bum ṣaa daro*
 thing-PL ground on COP.INANIM.IMPFV.3
 ‘The things are on the ground.’ (Q1033)

12.2.3 The postposition *new* ‘under’

The postposition *new* means ‘under’ or ‘below’ and is used as in example 77.

- (77) *kitab kursi new daro*
 book chair under COP.INANIM.IMPFV.3
 ‘The book is under the chair.’ (Q1001)

12.2.4 The postposition *taprei* ‘for’

The postposition *taprei* is used in the sense ‘for’, ‘on someone’s behalf’, ‘because of something’. It may have originated as a combination of the conjunctive participle of the verb *pr* (t) ‘give’ and the postposition *ta* ‘of’. Regardless of its origins, *taprei* is clearly used as a postposition, as illustrated in example 78.

- (78) mǎǎ-∅ w-en zuruuri t^haa
 1SG.POSS-M leave-INF necessary be.IMPFV.3SG.M
 ‘It is (was?) necessary for me to leave.’ [Lit. ‘My leaving is necessary.’]
 see **taprei** muu ...
 3SG.INANIM.DIST **for** 1SG.ERG ...
 ay-es nees-um see k^hoptan-a
 1SG.NOM-also go_out-PFV.1SG 3SG.INANIM.DIST afternoon-LOC
 ‘For this [reason/purpose], I also went out, that afternoon.’ (TW2102-2103)

12.2.5 The postposition *bǎĩ* ‘towards’

The postposition *bǎĩ* ‘towards’ is used to indicate direction towards someone or something. Like *ũ*, it is always cliticised to the preceding word.

- (79) serf ek nazar muu-**bǎĩ** daç-i ...
 only one sight 1SG.OBL-**towards** see-CP ...
 ‘Only one glance you threw my way...’ (TV4006)
- (80) dir ta ay širingal-**bǎĩ** rawan b-um
 Dir from 1SG.NOM Shiringal-**towards** start be-PFV.1SG
 ‘From Dir I started out towards Shiringal.’ (TW7002)

12.2.6 The postpositions *tagii* ‘from’ and *tali* ‘until’

The postpositions *tagii* ‘from’ and *tali* ‘until’ are often used in the same clause in order to describe the extent of something, either in time or space, by stating its starting and finishing point, as in example 81.

- (81) yee daaman takriban daman nisaar **tagii** laçigraam ǎǎ pişot^han **tali**
 this Domel about Domel Nisar **from** Lachigram and Pishothan **until**
 ‘This Domel [stretches] approximately **from** Domel Nisar **to** Lachigram and Pishothan.’ (TA1047)

When used alone, these postpositions tend to retain the same sense of describing a starting or stopping point, even when the other end is less clear, as in example 82, where an area is described as ranging from a given point and “in this direction”.

- (82) see p^har-ee paašt^han **tagii** yee-bāĩ
 3SG.INANIM.DIST over.there-INS Pashtan **from** 3SG.INANIM.PROX-towards
 ‘From that farther Pashtan and in this direction.’ (T3083)

Of the two, *tali* is more common than *tagii*, perhaps because the more general *ta* ‘from’ (see 12.2.1) covers much of the same same meaning as *tagii*, and is often used in its place.

12.2.7 Nouns that function as postpositions

To exemplify how difficult it is to determine whether a word is to be considered a postposition or belonging to some other word class, let us look at the word *manora* ‘in the middle’. In example 83, which exemplifies how the word is usually used, it functions exactly as a postposition, syntactically and semantically.

- (83) see **manora** tanii dos-ee
 3SG.INANIM.DIST **middle** 3SG.ANIM.DIST.ERG friend-ERG
 gan-ee tee ...
 say-PFV.3SG that ...
 ‘In the middle of this, that friend said that...’ (TW1024)

If we had only such examples, we might assume *manora* to be a postposition and thus to have an invariable form. A couple of other examples, however, such as 84, in which other forms of the word are used,⁵⁵ show that *manora* is really the locative form of *manor* ‘middle’, and therefore a full noun with the potential to be used in any case form.

- (84) see ek **manor-ee** paašt^han ek ba p^har-ee paašt^han
 3SG.DIST one **middle-INS** pass one TOPSH far-INS pass
 ‘There is one middle pass, and one farther pass.’ (T3077)

Naturally, this flexibility of use can also provide a source for new postpositions, as nouns are gradually grammaticalised. Also compare with 12.2.2. In both cases, the locative form is used for postposition-like functions.

⁵⁵ The use of the instrumental here indicates ‘a way through somewhere’, which is quite typical for a mountain pass. See 7.4.2.5.

1.3 Minor or questionable word classes

A number of words cannot readily be included in any of the major word classes, yet do not necessarily form classes of their own, either because they are too heterogeneous to form a coherent group or because they consist of too few words.

1.3.1 Adverbs

Adverbs are words used to modify verbs, clauses, adjectives and other adverbs. It is unclear whether Dameli possesses a separate word class to fill these functions, although there are some indications to that effect.

The Dameli case system regularly allows nouns to perform adverbial functions, and even beyond this, the language is relatively flexible in using nouns, non-finite verb forms and words of indeterminate status as adverbial modifiers. For this reason, most candidates for an adverb class turn out upon closer inspection to be nouns, particularly in the instrumental or locative case. This may be true even for a number of very common words that are only used in adverbial functions, such as *žaa* ‘now’, *ayaa* ‘here’ and *tara* ‘there’. All these end in *-a*, which may be the locative suffix *-a*.

Still, there are words that may with some justification be considered adverbs: words that are only used in adverbial functions and that show no indications of ever having been nouns. Of course, if an adverb class exists, some words that may have started out as nouns, such as the examples above, may well have developed into adverbs later.

Some of the most important functions for adverbs are to describe the manner of an action, time, space, and modality, and to intensify other meanings. Within these fields, expressions are often defined in contrast or opposition to others. Words and phrases of various types may often form part of such a system of oppositions, as in the temporal expressions described in 1.7.1.

Table 40 shows some possible members of an adverb class.

Table 40: Some possible adverbs

Adverb	Gloss	Semantic field	Notes
manuu	in this way	manner	
apat ^h aar	quickly	manner	
p ^h irki	again	manner	
žaa	now	time	
mudya	today	time	
itrii	day before yesterday	time	
čiiir	late	time	
baat	after	time	
ayaa	here	space	
tara	there	space	
puču	up	space	
bun	down	space	
oor	near	space	
p ^h ar	far	space	
šin	up	space	on a slope
baar	down	space	on a slope
lee	very	intensifier	general use
ṭāu	pure	intensifier	modifies colour
pak	pure	intensifier	modifies colour
šāū	pure	intensifier	modifies colour
kideši	maybe	modality	

13.2 Particles

Dameli has a number of short words with mostly grammatical functions that do not readily fit into other word classes. These have mostly been described elsewhere in this work, along with their functions. Some examples are the topic particles *ta* and *ba* (21.1), and the vocative particles *a* and *e* (21.4).

13.3 Conjunctions

While there are several different strategies to carry out coordination and subordination, not all of which utilise individual function words for this purpose, there appears to be a limited group of words specifically used

to join clauses to each other. This includes the coordinating conjunction *ãã* ‘and’ (18.2), the disjunctive conjunction *ku* ‘or’ (18.3), the adversative coordinations *xu* ‘but’ and *lekin* ‘but’ (see 18.4), the subordinating conjunctions, or subordinators, *tee* ‘that’ *kuitee* ‘because’ and *nitee* ‘that not/lest’ (see 19.1) and the conditional conjunctions *agar* ‘if’ and *agarka* ‘if’ (see 19.3).

13.4 Question-words

Question-words, or interrogatives, in Dameli are similar both in form and function: they all begin in *k-* and are used to form content questions (see 20.1.1). The problem with considering them a word class of their own, however, is that many members fit the definition of other word classes as well. This is, of course, caused by the particular function of these words and is not particular to Dameli; since each question-word is used to ask about a particular group of constituents, it tends to behave like these constituents syntactically and often morphologically as well.

Of course, Dameli question-words share these features with the *wh-words* of English and their equivalents in other Indo-European languages, to which they are most certainly related.

Apart from forming questions, some of these words can also be used as indefinite pronouns (8.3) when forming relative clauses (19.3). Some of the question-words form part of a system that also includes deictic distinctions (*e.g.*, *manuu* ‘in this way’ *tanuu* ‘in that way’ *kanuu* ‘how’). See 8.1.7.

Table 47 shows the question-words of Dameli and the word class with which each word most closely aligns.

Table 41: Question-words

Question-word	Meaning	Word class
kii	who	pronoun
kuree	who	pronoun
keeraa	which	pronoun
kašãã	whose	pronoun (possessive)
keer	when	adverb
kanuu	how	adverb
ku	why	adverb
kaa	where (general)	adverb
kutaal	where (direction)	adverb
kati	how many	adjective
kya	what	noun

Syntax

14 Basic declarative clauses

The clause type used for declarative main clauses is unmarked, both in the sense that it is the most common type and in the sense that all other types can be described as minor deviations from this type.

The typical pattern, for all clause types, is SOV, with the final verb as the most important, and the only obligatory part. Other clause types are morphologically marked, so that an added word or morpheme marks the type rather than changes in word order: the question marker *-i* is added to create polar questions, question-words to create content questions, verb morphology marks most subordinate clauses and imperative clauses, and the negator *ni* ‘not’ marks negative clauses. This does not mean that changes in word order do not occur, only that they are not the main means for creating other clause types. Operations such as fronting or afterthought constructions (21.7) do cause changes in word order, and some positions, especially the subject, can be moved around quite freely.

A basic, declarative main clause in Dameli can contain three main sections: a clause adverbial, a subject, and a predicate, which consists of the verb and any objects. Only the verb itself is obligatory and must be finite in order to form a main clause. All other parts can be omitted; a single finite verb can form a full sentence. Example 85 shows the order of a typical main clause.

	Clause adverbial		Subject	Object		Predicate	
						Verb	
(85)	bun	nag-i	see	ek	tukuri	por-na	
	down	come_down-CP	3SG.DIST	one	basket	fill-IMPV.3SG	
	‘Having come down, he fills a basket.’ (TPo11)						

The first section of the clause, the clause adverbial, is used to situate the clause in relation to the world and the narrative context. As in the example, this position is often filled by tail-head linkage (21.8), which relates the clause to previously described events. More than one clause

adverbial can be used in this position; the number appears to be limited only by pragmatic concerns, as evidenced by clause chains (21.9).

Clause adverbials are followed by a noun phrase functioning as subject, commonly a pronoun. The subject is also indicated by subject marking on the verb, and overt subjects are often omitted.

The subject is followed by the predicate, which always include a verb at the end. Any objects precede the verb. Indirect objects, or postposition phrases that function like indirect objects, are usually placed before direct objects.

The head of the predicate is the verb, which is placed in the final section. For clauses with non-verbal predicates, the copula verb fills this position, and the non-verbal predicate element is placed in the same position as objects. Modifications of the verb, such as adverbials, are placed in this section, before the verb itself. It is not uncommon, however, for elements of the clause to be placed after the verb, in an “afterthought” construction (see 14.1.5).

14.1 Valency clause types

Basic clauses come in a number of variants that are caused by differences in the type of the main verb. One major factor is the transitivity of the verb, which affects the number of arguments of the verb. Dameli verbs carry morphological marking of transitivity; verbs can be morphologically intransitive, inherently transitive, first causative or second causative. These four types of verbs are used to form clauses with different transitivity. There is a regular relationship between morphological transitivity and clause type, but it is not entirely straightforward. Finally, copula verbs are used in clauses that do not express verbal action, and require different types of arguments.

14.1.1 Zero transitivity clauses

Explicit subjects are not a requirement in complete sentences, but subject marking on the verb is compulsory. In some cases, especially when describing impersonal processes like the weather or the movement of fluids, there may not be anything involved that a subject could refer to. In these cases, subject marking reverts to a sort of “default option”: the third person singular masculine.

The zero transitivity, or impersonal, clauses formed with these verbs thus have no arguments of the verb and typically consist of a single word,

the verb itself, which usually comes from the group of verbs with limited inflection (11.4.3). Example 86 shows a zero-transitive clause.

- (86) *čarakina*
raining
'It is raining.'

14.1.2 Intransitive clauses

Intransitive clauses are formed with morphologically intransitive verbs (see 11.1) and take a subject as their only argument, as in example 87.

- (87) *těě* *lee k^hasar-un*
3PL.ANIM.DIST.NOM very tire-PFV.3PL
'They tired greatly.' ('They became very tired.') (TW8006)

14.1.3 Transitive clauses

Transitive clauses can be formed with inherently transitive verbs (11.1) or with first causatives (11.2.1.1). Both take a subject and a direct object. Example 88 shows a transitive clause with an inherently transitive verb, *ku* (t) 'do', and example 89 a transitive clause with a first causative formed on the root *ša* (c) 'send'.

- (88) *pay kaan ku-ni*
goat sound do-IMPFV.3SG.F
'The goat makes a sound.' (TP1003)

- (89) *gan-i tas-a* *ki jarga ša-a-een*
say-CP 3SG.ANIM.DIST-LOC to Jirga send-CAUS-PFV.3PL
'Having said this, they sent a *jirga* (delegation) to him.' (TW5006)

14.1.4 Ditransitive clauses

Ditransitive clauses can be formed with ditransitive verbs such as 'give', that take a subject, a direct object and an indirect object. Ditransitive verbs are only distinguished semantically; there is no morphological marking to set them apart from other transitive verbs. The indirect object can be formed with a postposition phrase, usually with the postposition *ki* 'to/for' or with a core argument in the locative or oblique case. The subject in these clauses is usually an agent, the object a theme and the

indirect object a recipient/benefactive. Example 90 shows a ditransitive clause with the verb *pr* (t) ‘give’ and the indirect object as a postposition phrase.

- (90) *ãã too ki pããč lak rupay muu pr-es*
 and 2SG.OBL to five lac rupees 1SG give-FUT.2SG
 ‘And I will give five lakh rupees to you.’ (TW1072)

Ditransitive clauses can also be formed with second causatives, which take a subject and a direct object as their core arguments, and a postposition phrase as a third argument, usually with the postposition *šawaai* ‘through by’. In these clauses, the subject is typically the person who causes or instigates the action, the object usually something inanimate that is being acted upon, and the third argument the one who actually carries out the action. The third argument appears before the direct object, in the same position as an indirect object (see example 48 for an illustration).

14.1.5 Clauses with copula verbs

Non-verbal clauses are typically avoided in Dameli;⁵⁶ words that are not verbs are usually accompanied by a copula verb in order to function as predicates and form clauses, and clauses that are usually non-verbal in many languages, such as examples 91 and 92, are mostly rendered with a copula verb.

- (91) *ay ta đaktor t^hum*
 1SG.NOM PART doctor be.IMPV.1SG
 ‘I’m a doctor.’ (TW3021)
- (92) *ãã bi ba mãã-ø put-suu t^hoba*
 and 2PL.NOM TOPSH 1SG.POSS-M son-KIN.PL be.IMPV.3SG
 ‘And you are my sons.’ (TW3030)

Adjectives that function as predicates are placed before the copula, as in example 93. Variable adjectives show gender agreement with the subject.

⁵⁶ As always, this is a matter of interpretation. Counterexamples can be found, particularly in enumerations, but I would argue that they are not complete clauses but cases of ellipsis.

- (93) see mač aluuna t^h-aa
 3SG.DIST man tasteless-M be-IMPV.3SG.M
 ‘That man is tasteless (not serious)’. (T10013)

Nouns that function as predicates are placed before the copula, just as adjectives are, as shown in example 94, and take the unmarked nominative case.

- (94) yee ek t^haana daro
 3SG.INANIM.PROX one place be.INANIM.IMPV.3
 ‘This is one place.’ (TW5034)

A common type of non-verbal predicates consist of locative predicates, which state where something or someone is by use of a noun in the locative case, as in example 95, or a postposition phrase, as in example 96.

- (95) baaṭ **buum-a** daro
 stone **ground-LOC** be.INANIM.IMPV.3
 ‘The stone is on the ground.’ (Q0017)

- (96) kitap **kursi şaa** daro
 book **chair on** be.INANIM.IMPV.3
 ‘The book is on the chair.’ (Q1002)

Existential predicates, predicates that state the existence of something, are often very similar in form to locative predicates. Although it is not required, many clauses with existential predicates also contain a locative. The difference is in the topic structure: a locative predicate states *where* something is; an existential predicate states *that* something exists there. This is reflected in the word order of the clause.

In Dameli sentences, the *theme* or *topic* of the sentence is usually placed first, with the *rheme* or *comment*, the information ascribed to it, coming after it. This is true for regular basic clauses, where the subject comes first, followed by the predicate, and for other, less typical clauses, such as those with non-verbal predicates.

In a sentence such as example 95, the subject *baaṭ* ‘stone’ appears first, since it is also the theme, and is followed by the locative predicate. In clauses with existential predicates such as example 97, in contrast, the

locative predicate is the theme rather than the subject and is therefore placed first in the clause.

- (97) **gilaas-a** san daro
 glass-LOC hole be.INANIM.IMPFV.3
 ‘There is a hole in the glass.’ (E0025)

Possessive predicates are also non-verbal in Dameli and are expressed with possessive attributes (see 15.3) and copulas, as seen in example 98.

- (98) *tasãã-i* tra*a* žu-suu bai-t^hun
 3SG.POSS-F three daughter-KIN.PL be-INDIRPST.3PL
 ‘He had three daughters.’ [Lit. ‘His three daughters were.’] (T9002)

Possessive predicates also differ from existential predicates in terms of information structure, although the word order is identical.

As the plural verb marking shows, the entire noun phrase *tasãã tra* *žusuu* ‘his two daughters’ functions as the subject of the clause. The information structure of the clause, however, does not match the clause structure. Just as in English have-clauses, the possessor is the theme of the clause, as can be seen in sentences containing one of the topic particles, *ta* ‘same-topic’ or *ba* ‘shift-topic’, as in example 99.

- | | | | | |
|---------------------|-----------|-------|-------|---------------------------|
| Theme | | Rheme | | Predicate |
| Subject | | | | |
| (99) <i>tasãã-Ø</i> | ba | ek | čoṣṭi | put bai-t ^h aa |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
- 3SG.DIST.POSS-M TOPSH one only.child son be-INDIRPST.3SG.M
 ‘He had an only son.’ (T4002)

In example 99, the shift-topic particle *ba* is used directly after *tasãã* ‘his’ and not after the entire NP, reflecting the fact that although *tasãã* isn’t the whole subject, it is the topic/theme of the clause. The rest of the sentence makes up the comment/rheme.

15 The noun phrase

Noun phrases are units that serve in the same functions as nouns or pronouns, but which may be expanded with modifications of different kinds. Nouns, infinitives (which are nominal derivations of verbs, see 11.6.2), and pronouns can head noun phrases, and serve in this function, although pronouns are usually used without modifications. Common modifiers are demonstrative pronouns, adjectives, possessives, postposition phrases and counting words.

Noun phrases typically function as arguments of the verb but can also serve as *e.g.*, attributes or adverbials, together with postpositions or independently. Noun phrases show a left-branching structure, like most aspects of the language, where the head is the last element of the phrase, and less central elements are placed to the left of the head. Example 100 shows a noun phrase divided into its main components.

	Determiner	Attribute (Adverbial)	Head
(100)	ek	lee	yarib mač
	one	very	poor man

‘A very poor man’ (T4001)

Two different kinds of modifiers can be added to expand the noun phrase, determiners and attributes. Determiners include demonstrative pronouns, which function somewhat like definite articles, and the numeral *ek* ‘one’, which is used like an indefinite article. Indefinite pronouns are also used in this position. Attributes are adjectives and other words or phrases used to further modify the head. In noun phrases that contain both determiners and attributes, the attributes are usually placed between the determiner and the head. Possessive pronouns and phrases may be placed there or in the beginning of the phrase, preceding any determiners. Some attributes and determiners display agreement with the head: demonstratives agree with the head in regard to animacy, number and case, and some adjectives and possessives agree with the gender of the head.

15.1 Determiners

Demonstrative pronouns are often used together with nouns, functioning quite similarly to definite articles. There are examples of nouns with definite functions used without determiners, but they are quite rare. Demonstratives agree with the animacy, number and case of the noun they are describing but are not marked for gender.

When a noun is being introduced into the discourse, the numeral *ek* ‘one’ is used as an indefinite article. Plural nouns can be introduced by a higher numeral or by indefinite expressions such as *ek kati* ‘a few’ or *keeraa* ‘some’, as in example 101. Example 102 shows a demonstrative pronoun used as a determiner.

(101)	Determiner	Attribute	Head
	keeraa	foren	maas
	some	foreign	people
	‘Some foreign people’ (T2013)		

(102)	Determiner	Head
	mas	paai
	this (3SG.ANIM.PROX.OBL)	boy
	‘this boy’ (T2013)	

15.2 Attributes

The head of a noun phrase can be further modified by attributes, which provide additional descriptions. Attributes are formed with either adjectives (9), participles (11.6), possessives (15.3), postpositions (12) or other nouns, particularly in the locative case (7.4.2.4). Possessive pronouns and phrases (see 15.3) may be placed in the beginning of the phrase, preceding any determiners, but other attributes are usually placed just before the head, as illustrated in example 103.

(103)	ek	lee	xofnak	baas	teer	kur-ee
		one	very dangerous	night	pass do-DIRPST.3SG	
	‘He spent a very dangerous night.’ (T5017)					

15.3 Possession

Possession, the notion that something in some way “belongs” to something or someone else, is usually expressed as an attribute, although possessive attributes show greater variety in their placement than other attributes do.

Prototypical possession, expressing ownership in the strictest sense of the word, naturally requires an animate owner, but a similar construction is used with inanimate “owners” to express relationships that bear some resemblance to ownership, such as part-whole relationships, properties, etc. Although similar, two different constructions are used for possessive constructions with animate and inanimate “owners”. With inanimate possessors, a postposition phrase formed with *ta* ‘from, of, than’ (12.2.1) is used.

The possessive marker used with animate possessors, *sãã* (see 8.2.1), is harder to classify. While postpositions are usually invariant, *sãã* agrees in number with the possessor; the plural form is *sun-*. It also agrees in gender with the possessed, in the same way as an adjective agreeing with the head of the noun phrase. Example 104 illustrates both these points. In both these regards, the marker is similar to the possessive pronouns.

- (104) paai **sãã-i** yii çaj pre-i
 boy 3SG.ANIM.POSS-F mother (F) cry give-CP
 gan-ni tee ...
 say-IMPFV.3SG.F that ...
 ‘The boy’s mother cried out, saying that...’ (T1020)

Possessive personal pronouns (section 8.1) are also used to express possession, but are usually limited to animate possessors. Like the marker of animate possession, they inflect for the gender of the possessed, as in example 105.

- (105) ãã gram ta maaş sãã-Ø zaadi-a
 and village POSS people POSS-M heart-LOC (M)
 tasãã-Ø kadar lee ziat b-aa
 3SG.POSS-M respect (M) very much become-PFV.3SG.M
 ‘And in the hearts of the people of the village came great respect
 for him.’ (T4050)

Possessive predicates are formed by using possessive phrases with the construction used for existential predicates, involving the copula (see 14.1.5).

These constructions can be used to express all kinds of possession, including relationships that are often described as inalienable, such as kinship and the “ownership” of body parts, but for kinship terms, there is also a system of person suffixes that takes on some of the functions of possession (see 7.5.2).

16 Tense, aspect and related categories

Describing events in Dameli involves situating them in several dimensions, such as time, the origin of the information, and how much of it is known by the speaker. The categories involved are tense and aspect, mood, evidentiality and epistemic modality. When the abbreviation TAM is used in this chapter, it refers to all these categories, not just to tense, aspect and mood.

On one level, these categories are expressed with the same sets of markers that also express subject marking on finite verbs and with the non-finite verb suffixes. Only some of these verb forms can be used alone, however, and some change their meaning when combined with the copula or the past tense marker *taa*. The resulting constructions, both simple and complex, are used to describe more fine-grained TMA distinctions.

16.1 Tense and aspect

In Dameli, tense, *i.e.*, the time of the event, and aspect, *i.e.*, the temporal structure of the event, are difficult to separate, but both are relevant for explaining both finite and non-finite verb forms. An important line divides, on the one hand, the imperfective and non-past forms and, on the other hand, the perfective and past forms. In the finite verbs, this is reflected in the case system, which applies ergative alignment to clauses with past/perfective forms, and accusative alignment to clauses with imperfective/non-past forms (see 7.4.2.1).

The next division relies primarily on tense, dividing the finite verb forms into a three-way distinction between the past, the present and the future, as in table 42.

Table 42: Three-way tense distinction

Past	Present	Future
Perfective	Imperfective	Future
Indirect past		
Potential past		

While this seems to be a clear example of tense, aspect meanings such as completedness probably affect the choice of form as well, in any given situation. The contrast between the perfective and the indirect past also involves evidentiality, but the forms are often used to signify a difference in tense as well, with the indirect past being used for things that happened longer ago. In these cases, the distinction is four-way rather than three-way. The constructions described in 16.6 provide even finer divisions involving tense and aspect and other categories.

16.2 Mood

Mood is a category concerned with the kind of speech act an utterance is intended to perform. In Dameli, it is primarily relevant in defining the imperative (11.5.6). The imperative is a very limited verb form, used to express actions that the speaker wants the listener to perform, that is, instructions or orders. In this, it speaks not of what is currently true, but of what the speaker wants to become true. All other verb forms may be considered to be indicative, that is, they imply that what is said is intended as a statement, unless other elements of the clause indicate otherwise. See chapter 20 for a discussion of different clause types.

16.3 Evidentiality

Evidentiality is the grammatical category that expresses source of information. Common examples include distinctions between statements for which there is evidence and statements that lack such evidence; between information that was directly observed, inferred by the speaker, or rests on information from someone else (Aikhenvald, 2003, p. 1); and between information based on visual, auditory or other sensory information.

In Dameli, evidentiality is one of the contrasts that form the distinction between the perfective and the indirect past. The perfective is

used for events (in the past) that were witnessed by the speaker, the indirect past for events (likewise in the past) that are hearsay, surmise or second-hand reports. The two forms are also used about recent and remote past events, but in cases like example 106 and 107, the evidentiality contrast is quite clear.

(106) tanii yee kram doos kur-**ee**
 3SG.ANIM.DIST.ERG this work yesterday do-PFV.3SG
 'He did this work yesterday.' [The speaker saw this.] (E0054)

(107) tanii yee kram doos kur-**thee**
 3SG.ANIM.DIST.ERG this work yesterday do-INDIRPST.3SG
 'He did this work yesterday.' [The speaker did not see this.] (E0055)

The potential past is primarily defined in terms of epistemic modality but can also be said to contrast with the perfective in terms of evidentiality, since using the potential past precludes any direct knowledge of the event.

16.4 Epistemic modality

Epistemic modality, as a category, refers to the grammatical coding of the speaker's attitude to the event being described. As such, it is closely related to mood and evidentiality, but works on a different level. Whereas mood typically determines the kind of speech act the utterance is interpreted as, and evidentiality the source of the information, epistemic modality typically occurs in statements, and expresses whether the speaker is asserting these statements as truths.

In Dameli, epistemic modality is the contrast most important in defining the potential past. The potential past is used when describing situations that might have taken place in the past, when the speaker does not want to commit to the truth value of the proposition, *e.g.*, when describing an event that might have taken place without being sure that it in fact did. Compare example 108 below with examples 106 and 107 above for an illustration of this.

- (108) *tanii* *yee* *kram* *doos* *ku-t^hiyō*
 3SG.ANIM.DIST.ERG this work yesterday do-POTPST.3SG
 ‘He may have done this work yesterday.’ [The speaker does not
 know whether this is actually the case.] (E0056)

16.5 The past tense marker *taa*

The marker *taa* is used as a past tense marker when forming complex TMA constructions. It can be used with verb forms that are otherwise interpreted as non-past, such as the imperfective, to create past tense complex verb expressions such as the continuous past (16.6.8), where the aspectual meaning is maintained, but the tense is changed. Use of *taa* is not limited to situations where a past tense reading is an exception; the marker is very common with verbs in the indirect past tense, where a non-past reading would not be expected in any case (see example 109 for an illustration).

- (109) *doos* *see* *baazar* *ye-t^haa* *taa*
 yesterday 3SG.DIST bazaar go-INDIRPST.3SG.M PST
 ‘Yesterday he went to the bazaar.’ (Q0022)

16.6 TAM constructions

All the verb forms of Dameli have inherent TAM interpretations, but the more fine-grained TAM distinctions are expressed not by the verb forms in themselves, but by the constructions they form. These constructions can consist of the verb forms alone, in some cases, or of combinations of verb forms with forms of the copula verbs and/or with the past particle *taa*. Thus, the imperfective form (11.4.3) can be used on its own to form the simple present (16.6.1), but it can also be used with the past particle *taa* to form the continuous past (16.6.2). The inchoative participle (11.6.6), in contrast, appears only to be used in combinations with the copula.

The constructions described here are the simple present, the present result 1, the present result 2, the future, the perfective, the indirect past, the potential past, the continuous past, the habitual past, the inchoative past and the imperative, but there are probably a number of other constructions yet to be discovered.

16.6.1 Simple present

The simple present is expressed by the present form of a verb and is prototypically used to describe situations that take place at the moment of speaking to describe actions or states that are currently happening.

- (110) *mãã-i luṭi bawi laaki-num*
 1SG.POSS-F young;girl daughter_in_law cry-IMPFV.1SG
 ‘I’m crying for my young daughter-in-law.’ (T1022)

The present can also be extended to describe immediate intentions, or even things happening in the past, when the time-frame is anchored in some other way, as in the context of a story, as example 111 shows.

- (111) *waali tas paay-a aau pre-na*
 shepherd 3SG.ANIM.DIST boy-LOC water give-IMPFV.3SG.M
 ‘The shepherd gives the boy water.’ [The author retells an experience from his childhood.] (T5023)

16.6.2 Present result 1

The present result construction is formed with the conjunctive participle and a present form of the copula. This construction is used to describe a completed event, the results of which remain significant.

- (112) *tu kaa niši-i t^hop*
 2SG.NOM where sit-CP be.IMPFV.2SG
 ‘Where are you sitting.’ (Q0002)

The basic meaning of the verb *niš* (i) ‘to sit’ is punctual rather than continuous, as in ‘to sit down’ rather than ‘to be sitting’ but the present result lets the speaker describe this as a currently ongoing process. In example 112, thus, the person has already sat down, and is still sitting at the time of speaking. While it is conceivable that a similar construction could be formed with any finite form of the copula, only examples in the present have been found.

16.6.3 Present result 2

A very similar construction, both in form and meaning, is formed by combining the past participle with an imperfective form of the copula, as in example 113.

- (113) ay ayaa niš-**isan** **t^hum**
 1SG.NOM here sit-PSTPTCP be.IMPFV.1SG
 ‘I’m sitting here.’ (Q0001)

There may be a slight difference in meaning and extension between the two forms, in that the past participle can be used in situations where the action described by the participle is not immediately observable any longer, as in example 114.

- (114) ay baloo dāāš tali ye-**isan** **t^hum**
 1SG.NOM big rock until go-PSTPTCP be.IMPFV.1SG
 ‘I have gone all the way to Baloo Dash [the big rock]’ (T10002)

The past participle construction is more common than the conjunctive participle one.

The difference is consistent with the way that conjunctive participles are usually used to describe events immediately preceding other events, whereas past participles describe completed actions and their results. This is a very tentative observation, however, and one that needs further study before it can be confirmed and expanded upon.

The present result construction bears close resemblance to a passive. By describing an event as a result rather than an action, it allows the subject to be removed from the subject position, as in example 115, which requires a passive translation.

- (115) yede ... laka rooza waar-**isan** **t^hum** taa
 go.CP ... like fast catch-PSTPTCP be.IMPFV.1SG PST
 ‘Having gone, well, I was caught by/in the fast.’ (TW2019)

16.6.4 Future

The future is formed with the bare future form of the verb, and is used to describe situations that are predicted or expected to take place in the future, as in example 116.

- (116) aında nasal-es amaa kurei
 coming_times generation-also 1PL.OBL which
 maaf ni kur-**in**
 forgiveness not do-FUT.3PL
 ‘And coming generations will not forgive us.’ (T2010)

16.6.5 Perfective

The perfective verb form can be used on its own, mostly to describe situations that had already happened at the time of speaking and that the speaker participated in or witnessed. Prototypically, these situations are expected to have taken place more recently than situations described by the indirect past.

- (117) hila mǎǎ-∅ zaadi soor kur-**op**
 now 3SG.POSS-M heart cold do-PFV.2SG
 ‘Now you have made my heart cold.’ [‘stilled my desire’] (T0041)

16.6.6 Indirect past

The indirect past can be used on its own, or together with the past tense marker *taa* (16.5). The addition of *taa* does not appear to have much effect on the meaning. See 16.5 for a discussion of this.

In either case, the expression is used to convey both evidential and temporal meanings. According to the speakers’ intuitions about its use, it sometimes signals that the events described were not witnessed by the speaker but are hearsay or second-hand reports, as in example 118. In other cases, it is used with respect to witnessed events that took place longer ago, as in example 119.

- (118) tanii yee kram doos kur-**t^{hee}**
 3SG.ANIM.DIST.ERG this work yesterday do-INDIRPST.3SG
 ‘He did this work yesterday.’ [The speaker did not witness this.] (E0054)

- (119) ay aači-**t^{hum}**
 1SG.NOM come-INDIRPST.1SG
 ‘I came.’ [Presumably a long time ago.] (E0053)

This is an area that will require further research. There are cases such as the one illustrated in example 120 that seem to contradict both

alternatives, since the indirect past is used, in the first person, when describing events that took place yesterday.

- (120) doos muu ç^hiir brikin-t^hum taa
 yesterday 1SG.ERG milk sell-INDIRPST.1SG PST
 ‘Yesterday I sold the milk.’ (Q0053)

This may mean that the distance-in-time is relative so that yesterday in some cases may be sufficiently long ago to warrant the use of the form. More probable is that there are more factors complicating the use of the form, such as considerations about narrative foreground and background.

16.6.7 Potential past

The potential past can be used on its own, and then describes an event in the past that the speaker reports on, without wanting to commit to the truth value of the proposition, as in examples 121 and 122.

- (121) taanu mulk-a ki ? tuṭu pra-i giaaci-t^hin
 POSS.REFL country-OBL to ? request give-CP bring-POTPST.3PL
 ya aači-t^haa see bre-es aač-i
 or come-INDIRPST.3SG.M 3SG.DIST brother-KIN.3 come-CP
 ‘To their own land, perhaps they brought him by asking [him], or he came [on his own], this brother had come.’ (T3023)

- (122) see kookiy-aal ye-t^hiyō
 3SG.DIST.NOM sleep-PRSPTCP go-POTPST.3SG
 ‘He may have gone to sleep.’ (E0015)

16.6.8 Continuous past

The continuous past is formed by combining the imperfective form of the verb with the past tense particle *taa* and is used to describe events of a continuous nature that took place in the past.

16.6.11 Imperative

The imperative form is used, on its own, to form imperative clauses (20.2). The subject is always implicitly the second person, so there are usually no overt subjects, but objects are typically expressed if the verb is transitive. Example 126 shows two subsequent imperative clauses: the first with an inherently transitive verb; the second with a causative.

- (126) tayaar kur-**e** šumaa kur-i pač-a-i
 ready do-IMP.SG beautiful do-CP cook-CAUS-IMP.SG
 ‘Make it ready, make it pretty and cook it.’ (T9049)

In negative imperatives, such as when forbidding or warning someone, a particular negator or prohibitive marker, *ma* ‘don’t’, is used before the imperative verb form, as in example 127.

- (127) ware sãã-i dašt-ee žan **ma** žan-**e**
 other 3SG.ANIM.POSS-F hand-INS snake don’t kill-IMP.SG
 ‘Don’t kill a snake with someone else’s hand.’ (T10012)

17 Adverbials

Adverbials are modifiers, usually of verbs or entire clauses, and can be expressed with words from several different classes. A separate adverb class would be relatively small, and the case for distinguishing it rather weak, but some likely candidates are discussed in the chapter on minor or questionable word classes (13.1). Most adverbials are formed with either nouns, particularly in the locative (7.4.2.4) or instrumental case (7.4.2.5), with postposition phrases or with non-finite subordinate clauses (19.4). Adjectives can often modify verbs or clauses as well as nouns, and some non-finite verb forms can fulfil similar functions. Example 128 shows a locative noun functioning as an adverbial, and example 129 two postposition phrases performing the same function.

(128) ay bazaar-a ç^hiir brikin-numa
1PL.NOM bazaar-LOC milk sell-IMPV.1PL
'We are selling milk in the bazaar.' (Q0044)

(129) dir ta ay širingal-bāi rawan b-um
Dir from 1SG.NOM Shiringal-towards start become-PFV.1SG
'From Dir I started towards Shiringal.' (TW7002)

Adverbials describe a variety of different meanings. In Dameli, adverbials describing time, location, and movement in space are particularly relevant, but these are by no means the only kinds of adverbial. Of particular interest, because they form relatively coherent subsystems with restricted but extensive dimensions, are the time adverbials, spatial adverbials and intensifiers.

17.1 Time adverbials

Time adverbials are interesting from a semantic point of view, since they deal with a relatively delimited field, with clearer dimensions than most words. In particular, there is a set of adverbial expressions used to talk

about particular days that ranges over up to four days before and after the present day. The expressions used involve both nouns and noun phrases, postposition phrases and adverbs. Simple, single-word expressions are used for ‘today’ and ‘yesterday’, with increasingly complex constructions used as the division between the moment of speaking and the time referred to by the expression becomes greater.

Table 43: *Tomorrow, yesterday and beyond*

seek čooṭ diyoo	four days ago
čooṭ diyoo	three days ago
itrii	day before yesterday
doos	yesterday
mudya	today
beraa ki (also gurma ki ‘in the morning’)	tomorrow
truida ki	on the day after tomorrow
čooṭa ki	in three days
seek čooṭa ki	four days from now

Other important temporal adverbials are *žaa* ‘now’, *kya waxta* ‘at the time when’, and *yee ta baat/aašanta* ‘after this’.

17.2 Spatial adverbials

The interaction between language and geography make spatial adverbials a particularly fascinating field in Dameli and among the languages surrounding it.⁵⁷

Unfortunately, I have not been able to study this as closely as the complexity of the subject requires. Pending further research, several points must remain tentative, and I am convinced that a more thorough investigation would render a much more complex picture.

In Dameli, adverbials that express location and direction often form antonym pairs that express a variety of contrasts. The most general pair is the adverbs *ayaa* ‘here’ and *tara* ‘there’. The adverb *oor* ‘near’ is more specific, typically denoting a location closer to or on the same side as the speaker. The opposite is *phar* ‘far’, which is used for things nearer to someone else or for things on the opposite side, typically used with respect to a river or valley.

⁵⁷ See e.g., Heegård Petersen (2006) on Kalasha, particularly section 12.2.8.1, and Bashir (2000) for Khowar.

In the vertical direction, the general pair is *puču* ‘up’ and *bun* ‘down’, whereas the more specific *šin* ‘up’ and *baar* ‘down’ are used in relation to locations higher or lower on a slope. Not all contrasts can be neatly arranged in antonym pairs, however. For example, although *bun* ‘down’ is said to be the opposite of *puču* ‘up’, it often contrasts with *šin* ‘up on a slope’ or *ralee/rala* ‘up’ as well.

17.3 Intensifiers

The general intensifier in Dameli is *lee* ‘very/many’, a word that can be used both as an intensifier ‘very’ and a quantifier ‘many’, and can modify verbs, adjectives, and nouns (in which case it functions as an attribute rather than an adverbial).

A particular group of verbs, the colour adjectives, have specific “lexicalised intensifiers” (Liljegren, 2008, p. 160) that are used to signify a “pure” or “true” colour. These are shown in table 44.

Table 44: Colour intensifiers

Intensifier	Used with	Gloss
ṭāu ‘pure’	<i>krinaa</i> ‘black’	pure black
	<i>laiç^haa</i> ‘red’	pure red
pak ‘pure’	<i>goora</i> ‘white’	pure white
	<i>aarida</i> ‘yellow’	pure yellow
šāũ ‘true’	<i>niila</i> ‘blue’	real blue

18 Coordination

Coordination, according to Haspelmath (2007), “refers to syntactic constructions in which two or more units of the same type are combined into a larger unit and still have the same semantic relations with other surrounding elements” (p. 1).

In Dameli, such constructions are usually formed with conjunctions, or coordinators in Haspelmath’s terminology - words that are used to mark coordinating constructions. There are several types of coordinators and also constructions in which no coordinator is used. The units that are coordinated are called coordinands (Haspelmath, 2007, p. 2).

Some constructions connect units of more or less similar type without being coordination in the strictest sense. See for example the section on clause chaining (21.9), tail-head linkage (21.8), subordinate clauses (19), and the clitic *-es* ‘also’ (21.2).

18.1 Natural coordination

Natural coordination is a special kind of conjunctive coordination, which only applies to certain items, namely “coordination of items which are expected to co-occur, which are closely related in meaning, and which form conceptual units” (Wälchli, 2005, p. 5),

Natural coordination in Dameli can be expressed either as simple juxtaposition, without any coordinator, or with the clitic *-o* ‘and’. Both constructions are applied to words only, not to larger phrases. When juxtaposition, or asyndetic coordination (Haspelmath, 2007, p. 7), is used, the coordinands are simply enumerated after each other. This can be applied to two or more words. Table 45 shows some examples of natural coordination with juxtaposition. The examples include reversed perspective antonyms and taxonomic sisters, particularly among kinship terms.

Table 45: Natural coordination with juxtaposition

Example	Meaning
yei bap	grandmother and grandfather
yii dadi braa pas	mother, father, brother and sister
yen aačan	going and coming
gwa ʔooki	fields and plots

The coordinator *-o* ‘and’ is postpositive; it is attached at the end of the first coordinand, in this case the first word of the coordinated word pair. Table 46 shows some examples of word pairs coordinated with *-o*.

Table 46: Coordination with *-o*

Example	Meaning
aan-o baraan	inside and outside
baaʔ-o k ^h aʔ	stones and wooden beams
žuwaar-o goom	maize and wheat
aaru-o draak	peaches and grapes
abut-o k ^h ača	good and bad
punagraamo aspar-a	in Punagram and Aspar
mas-o tas-a	this and that
šunjaar-o zin-a ki	in summer and winter

Most pairs coordinated with *-o* clearly express natural coordination, but there may be exceptions, signs that the construction is used more widely, as some pairs do not appear to form a conceptual unit. In the context where it appears, the pair *aaru-o draak* ‘peaches and grapes’ only refers to two fruits that happen to ripen at the same time. Their connection between the two is arguably not very close, and the expression itself does not signify anything more general. Even less conceptual are pairs of personal names or titles, which also occur with *-o*.

Numerals are also coordinated with *-o*, when creating complex numbers (*bišiy-o-traa* ‘twentythree’), when saying ‘and a half’ (*duu-o-k^hana* ‘two and a half’), and when expressing approximate numbers (*pããc-o čoor* ‘four-five’, lit. ‘five and four’).

18.2 Conjunctive coordination with *ãã* 'and'

Conjunctive coordination is constructed with the coordinator *ãã* 'and'. Almost any constituents, from single words or phrases to full clauses, can be coordinated in this way (example 130 illustrates both).

- (130) tas mač sãã-Ø put baloo b-i
 that man 3SG.ANIM.POSS-M son big become-CP
 ek kaabil **ãã** baaşagui mač žup-aa
 one capable **and** well_spoken man make-PFV.3SG.M
ãã see gram ta maaş-e tasãã-Ø
and 3SG.DIST village of people-ERG 3SG.DIST.POSS-M
 žeştagari prai-t^hen
chieftainship give-INDIRPST.3PL
 'When the son of that man had grown up, he turned into a
 capable and well-spoken man and the people of the village made
 him chief.' (T4007)

18.3 Disjunctive coordination with *kuu* and *ya* 'or'

Examples of disjunctive coordination, *i.e.*, coordination with 'or', are few and far between in my material. There are two disjunctive coordinators, *kuu* 'or' and the (probably) borrowed *ya* 'or' (< Ur. *ya*). Examples 131 and 132 illustrate their use. In general, *ya* is more common than *kuu* in my material.

- (131) tu kur-isan suwal-una ta
 2SG.NOM do-PSTPTCP question-PL of
 say řawaab daro
 right answer be.INANIM.IMPFV.3
kuu ni ček kur-i muu ki k^huñd-e
or not check do-CP 1SG to tell-IMP.SG
 'Check if the answers to the questions you have made are
 good or not and tell me.' D3122

- (132) yee kya afsana **ya** kahani ni daro
 3SG.INANIM.PROX which legend or story not be.INANIM.IMPFV.3
 ‘This is not a legend or a story.’ (TW5001)

18.4 Adversative coordination with *xu* and *leekin* ‘but’

Dameli uses two adversative coordinators, or “but-coordinators”: *leekin* and *xu*. Interestingly, both these forms are clearly borrowed. They are used in different positions, but the meaning is roughly the same: they are ways to signal that a constituent somehow contradicts expectations that the listener might have. Both of them typically coordinate clauses or verb phrases.

The coordinator *leekin* ‘but’ (<Ur. *lekin*) is used prepositively, at the beginning of the second coordinand (see example 133).

- (133) mää-∅ iᅅgliš ta baaraa fikir ni kur-an ta lee
 1SG.POSS-M English of about thought not do-INF TOPSM very
 ‘Don’t worry about my English, thank you very much.’
 šukriya **leekin** ay lee koošiš kun-um
 thank but 1SG.NOM very attempt do-IMPV.1SG
 tee mää-∅ iᅅgliš war-es abut bo
 that 1SG.POSS-M English other-also good become-FUT.3SG
 ‘But I am trying a lot so that my English will become good.’ (D2067)

The other coordinator, *xu* ‘but’ (<Psht. *χu*), can be used both prepositively, like *leekin* (see example 134), or postpositively, by placing it after the first word of the second coordinand. (The second occurrence of *xu* in example 135 illustrates this.) This follows the use of *χu* in Pashto.

- (134) too ki pata daro tee ay lee sax
 2SG.OBL to knowledge be.INANIM.IMPFV.3 that 1SG.NOM very hard
 masruf t^hi-num **xu** koošiš kur-i ᅅtem nik^haal-num
 busy be-IMPV.1SG but attempt do-CP time take.out-IMPV.1SG
 ‘You know that I am very busy, but I am trying to make the time.’
 (D4009)

(135) awal **xu** mǎǎ-∅ imayl aḍres ni t^haa taa
 first **but** 1SG.POSS-M email address not be.IMPV.3SG.M PAST
 žaa **xu** mǎǎ-∅ imayl aḍres-es daro
 now **but** 1SG.POSS-M email address-also be.INANIM.IMPV.3
 ‘At first, though, I did not have an email address, but now I have an
 email address too.’ (D₃₀₁₁)

Example 135 also illustrates another point. Both *leekin* and *xu* can be used in situations that do not involve coordination in the proper sense, where there aren’t necessarily two items that can be joined together. In these cases, they tend to express the sense of contradicting the listener’s expectations, without assuming that those expectations are the result of the previous clause or phrase, similar to English “however” or “though”. The first occurrence of *xu* in example 135 illustrates this.

19 Subordination

The concept of subordination is a controversial subject, that I will not attempt to address in any depth here. For the purposes of this investigation, any clause that fills a syntactic function within another clause is considered a subordinate clause.⁵⁸

In terms of form, there are few elements distinguishing subordinate clauses from main clauses, unless a subordinator or a non-finite verb form is used. Notably, there is no difference in word order between main clauses and subordinate clauses. Questions and commands can be subordinated just as well as declarative clauses, and like these, they maintain the same word order and other characteristics.

From a language-internal perspective, the distinction between finite and non-finite clauses is arguably more important than that between main clauses and subordinate clauses. Finite clauses, clauses that are formed with a finite verb form, can function as both main clauses and subordinate clauses, without difference in form, although they can also contain a subordinator (subordinating conjunction). Non-finite clauses, clauses that are formed with a non-finite verb form, are always subordinated, but never contain subordinators.

This chapter begins with a discussion of finite and non-finite subordinate clauses, and continues with four sections describing different functional categories.

19.1 Finite subordinate clauses

Finite subordinate clauses are formed in the same way as main clauses, although they are sometimes initiated by a subordinator. There are no other differences in form.

The main subordinator, or subordinate conjunction, is *tee* ‘that’. Although *tee* belongs to the subordinate clause syntactically, it is often

⁵⁸ Of course, what it means to “fill a syntactic function within another clause” is almost as controversial.

grouped with the preceding superordinate clause prosodically. Example 136 shows a typical use of *tee*, at the beginning of a subordinate clause.

- (136) muu bin-um **tee** too nagi prat-ep
 1SG.ERG see-PFV.1SG **that** 2SG.ERG fall give-PFV.2SG
 ‘I saw that you fell down.’ E0093

There are a number of special subordinators, that indicate the semantic relationship of the subordinate clause to the superordinate clause it belongs to. Causes or reasons can be indicated with the subordinator *kuitee* ‘because’. This probably arose as a combination of *ku* ‘why’ and *tee* ‘that’. Example 137 shows the use of *kuitee*.

- (137) yee abut soč kur-een g-aa
 3SG.INANIM.PROX good thought do-PFV.3PL go-PFV.3SG.M
 ba ek muškil kram daro
 TOPSH one difficult work be.INANIM.IMPFV.3
kuitee yee ek liṭreyčer ta kram daro
because 3SG.INANIM.PROX one literature of work be.IMPFV.INANIM.3
 ‘This, if you think well about it, is a difficult work, because this is a work of literature.’ T2004-T2005

Risks and things to be avoided can be expressed with the subordinator *nitee* ‘lest’, which probably arose as a combination of *ni* ‘not’ and *tee* ‘that’. The idea conveyed by this is that the subordinate clause describes an undesirable outcome that might ensue if the instructions of the main clause are not heeded, as in example 138.

- (138) ware ki ma k^huṣ-e **nitee** tu nagi pr-es
 other for PROH dig-IMP.SG **lest** 2SG.NOM fall give-FUT.2SG
 ‘Don’t dig for another, so you yourself won’t fall.’ (T0042)

Another special subordinator is *agar* ‘if’, which is used to form conditional clauses (see 19.3).

Although subordinate clauses are identical to main clauses in terms of word order, the subordinate clauses themselves are treated differently in sentences than other elements that fulfil similar functions are. Objects, for example, are usually placed before the finite verb, but when a subordinate clause is used as an object, it is placed after the finite verb, as in example 136 above.

19.2 Non-finite subordinate clauses

Non-finite verbs never form main clauses; non-finite clauses are always subordinated and they are usually more reduced than finite clauses, with the most common type consisting of just the verb itself, although there are also non-finite clauses that include objects and adverbials. Overt subjects are not included in non-finite clauses.

Non-finite verb clauses straddle the border between syntax and morphology, since other elements of the clause, such as objects and adverbials, are sometimes incorporated into the verb itself. This is most common with present participles in attributive functions, as in example 139, in which the proper noun *malu* ‘a place in the Domel Valley’⁵⁹ forms a part of the verb form. In the corresponding non-finite clause, e.g., “She goes to Malu”, *malu* would fill the function of an adverbial.

- (139) see **malu-y-aal-i** brei kaa g-ai
 3SG.DIST **Malu-go-PRSPTCP-F** girl where go-PFV.3SG.F
 ‘Where did *that Malu-going* girl go?’ (E0012)

These verb forms, even when they incorporate large parts of a clause into the word, can also be accompanied by independent words from the underlying clause they represent, as in example 140 below, where the adverbial *muṭa* ‘in trees’ is an independent word. This argues in favour of interpreting these forms as complete clauses, even when they consist of a single word.

- (140) see **muṭ-a** **ral-b-aal-i** brei
 3SG.DIST **tree-LOC** **up-become-PRSPTCP-F** girl
 kaa g-ai
 where go-PFV.3SG.F
 ‘Where did *that tree-climbing* girl go?’ (E0013)

Clauses headed by a conjunctive participle (11.6.5) often serve to connect a sentence in a narrative to the preceding one (see 21.8), placing the main clause in time, in relation to other described events (as in “*after doing this*, they did that”). Clauses headed by a past participle (11.6.4) can be used in similar ways, as subordinate clauses embedded in the main clause, also with clearly temporal meanings, although the focus is less on

⁵⁹ Incidentally, Malu is where the photo on the cover of this work was taken.

the sequence of events, and more on the result of the event described, when compared to conjunctive participle clauses.

The infinitive (11.6.2), being a verbal noun, is most commonly used either in complementation or with postpositions.

No instances of the inchoative participle (11.6.6) functioning as anything else than part of a complex verb expression have been found in my material.

19.3 Complementation

Complementation, wherein an entire clause functions as the argument of the verb in the main clause, is carried out primarily by non-finite clauses formed with infinitives and by finite clauses formed with the subordinator *tee* ‘that’. Since arguments of a clause are normally roles filled by nominal word classes, it is not surprising that the infinitive, being a verbal noun, is used in this way. That this is not simply a matter of derivation, whereby the verb is turned into a noun, in a regular noun function, is shown by the fact that it is not just the verb that is used. Objects, adverbials and other parts of the clause can be included, as shown in example 141, where the object *imtihan* ‘test’ is included in the subordinate clause headed by the infinitive *gen* ‘take’.

(141) ... dees-ee **tasuu** **ta**
 ... father.KIN3-ERG 3PL.ANIM.DIST.OBL from
imtihan g-en gaṭ-ee
 test take-INF want-DIRPST.3SG
 “... the father wanted *to take a test from them.*” (TW3007)

Verbs such as “see” and “say” often require a clause rather than a noun phrase as an object. These are typically formed as finite verb clauses formed with the subordinator *tee* ‘that’, as in example 142.

(142) manee daçi-na **tee see** **tasãã-i** **žami tʰui**
 like.this look-PRS.3SG.M that 3SG.DIST 3SG.DIST.POSS-F wife be.PRS.3SG.F
 ‘Thus he sees *that it is his wife.*’ (TW1033)

19.3.1 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses are a particular kind of complementation and are formed by finite clauses that function as conditions for a second clause, much like the English “if...then” construction. These clauses are marked by a contrastive intonation pattern, rising on the first clause and falling on the second, and by the contrastive particle *ba* at the end of the conditional clause. Example 143 shows a typical conditional clause.

- (143) **tu muu ki telefon kur-an gaŋi-nap ba**
 2SG.NOM 1SG.OBL to telephone do-*INF* want-*IMPFV.2SG* TOPSH
 ‘[If] you want to call me,’
 beera reeŋ-a yaaš baŋa pakistani ŋeem-a kur-e
 tomorrow night-*LOC* eleven o’clock Pakistani time-*LOC* do-*IMP.SG*
 ‘do it tomorrow night at eleven o’clock, Pakistani time.’ (Eo104)

The main verb in conditional clauses is restricted to only two verb forms, which are determined by the aspectual meaning of the clause. Conditions that involve telic acts, such as doing or understanding something, are composed with the perfective, whereas conditions that involve atelic acts, such as wanting or being something, are composed with the imperfective.

In some examples, a conjunction, *agar* or *agarka* ‘if’, is used, as in example 144. It seems likely that this construction represents influence from other languages, particularly Urdu (*cf.* Ur: *agar* ‘if’⁶⁰).

⁶⁰ The form *agarka* ‘if’ is quite strange, but may be a combination of Ur. *agar* ‘if’ and either Psht *ka* ‘if’ or another Urdu word.

- (144) **agar** taanu gram žup-an gaṭi-numa ba
 if POSS.REFL village make-INF want-IMPFV.1PL TOPSH
 ‘If we want to make [save] our village,’
 mas mač zaruur giaač-ima
 3SG.ANIM.PROX man must bring-FUT.1PL
 ‘we must bring this man.’ (T4037)

19.4 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are subordinate clauses that function as adverbials, in that they modify the verb or the entire clause. These are often formed with the conjunctive participle (11.6.5), as in example 145.

- (145) **mulaa baaitaa-i** amun-a nikaā kur-aa
 mullah summon-CP our-M nika do-IMP.PL
 ‘After calling the mullah, perform our *nika* [wedding ceremony]!’
 (T1045)

Adverbial clauses with conjunctive participles are used to form clause chains (21.9), where they often function more like main clauses than typical adverbials pragmatically. Tail-head linkage (21.8) is also a kind of adverbial clause, and can be formed both with the conjunctive participle and with finite subordinate clauses and the topic shift particle *ba*.

Non-finite clauses with infinitives often form part of postposition phrases, which in turn function as adverbials. While these are not adverbial clauses in the strict sense of the term, and the way they are used does not differ from other postposition phrases, the end result is very similar to non-finite adverbial clauses both in terms of form and function. Example 146 illustrates this.

- (146) **tas** **šorunḁa** **paai** **sāā-∅** **muk^h-a**
 3SG.ANIM.DIST orphaned boy 3SG.ANIM.POSS-M face-LOC
nees-an **šaži** taanu žu-n
 go.out-INF for REFL.POSS daughter-KIN.2
 mas-a pr-es
 3SG.ANIM.PROX.OBL-LOC give-FUT.2SG
 ‘To come before this orphaned boy, you must give him your daughter.’
 (T4020)

19.5 Relative clauses

A relative clause, according to Andrews (2007), is “a subordinate clause which delimits the reference of an NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the [relative clause]” (p. 206).

Finite relative clauses in Dameli are constructed with question-words/indefinite pronouns (20.1.1). The clause is placed after the element it describes, and the pronoun takes the place of this element within the relative clause. It is not uncommon for the head to be repeated after the relative clause. This is probably a matter of pragmatics: if the distance between the head of the subject and the predicate becomes too great, the head is repeated to make understanding easier. Example 147 shows a relative clause describing the subject *see* ‘he’, which is then repeated after the relative clause.

- (147) **see** **keeraa** **ek** **čoṣṭi** **bai-t^haa**
 3SG.ANIM.DIST.NOM which one only.child be-INDIRPST.3SG.M
 see lee k^hušala āā zrax bai-t^haa
 3SG.ANIM.DIST.NOM very intelligent and clever be-INDIRPST.3SG.M
 ‘He *who was an only child*, he was very intelligent and clever.’ (Tooo5)

Non-finite verb forms that function attributively typically form relative clauses, but are much more similar syntactically to other attributes such as adjectives. Example 140 above is an example of this.

Just as with adverbials, non-finite subordinate clauses formed with infinitives often form postposition phrases, which in turn are used as attributes, in a way that does not differ from other postposition phrases, but closely resembles relative clauses. Example 148 illustrates this.

- (148) žaa ba makwui gaaṣṣṣee muk wail-an ta
 now TOPSH monkey like face hide-INF of
 zururat kya daro
 necessity which be.INANIM.PRS.3
 ‘But now, what need of *hiding the face like a monkey* is there?’ (TV7012)

19.6 Quotatives

A special case of subordinate clauses, rather difficult to classify, is that of quotatives, clauses that express reported speech or thoughts. These clauses usually function as complements, but can also fulfil adverbial functions. Quotatives are often marked with *gani*, a grammaticalised conjunctive participle form of the verb *gan* (t) ‘say’.

While *gani* can still be used as an ordinary conjunctive participle, it is also often used sentence-finally, a position normally reserved for the finite verb. This is made possible by reanalysing sentences like 149, where the quote is embedded as an adverbial within a main clause, as sentences like 150, where the quote is treated as an independent clause with *gani* added to mark it as a quote.

- (149) daç-i ta kurei ni t^h-un ãã tee yee
 see-CP TOPSM who not COP-PFV.3PL and that this
 tukuri por-isan daro **gan-i** oot^h-ina
 basket fill-PSTPTCP is **say-CP** stop-IMPFV.3SG.M
 Having seen, **having thought** ‘There is no-one here, and this
 basket is full.’, he stops. (TP0016)

- (150) mããtẽẽ daçi-na mãã-i tukuri
 around see-IMPFV.3SG.M 1SG.POSS-F basket
 kii gig-een **gani**
 who take-PFV.3PL QUOT
 ‘He looks around, **thinking** (or ‘and thinks’) “Who took my
 basket?”’ (TP0038)

In both these examples, *gani* is extended to mean ‘think’ rather than ‘say’. This semantic extension may also be a sign of a grammaticalisation process, since it occurs only with the conjunctive participle. The lack of temporal meaning in example 150 may also be an indication of this. Since *gani* comes at the end, it is not possible to interpret it as taking

place before the next clause in the sentence, as would be expected with the conjunctive participle.

Another related function is its use in marking something as a name for something or someone, much like the English ‘called’, as in ‘a man called Tom’, illustrated in example 151.

- (151) aač-i baloo daaš **gan-i** ek baaṭ daro
 come-CP big stone **say-CP** one stone COP.INANIM.IMPV.3
 ‘Having come there, there is a big stone called the great rock.’ (T3003)

Quotative particles that have developed from words for ‘say’ are common in Dravidian languages and languages adjacent to the Dravidian-speaking area, such as Bengali, Marathi and Dakkhini Urdu, but they are also common among the closer neighbours of Dameli, including Kalasha, Shina, Palula, Balti, Khowar and Burushaski (Bashir, 1996, pp. 193, 197).

According to Bashir (1996), opinions among researchers differ about whether this should be considered a result of influence from Dravidian languages, a development within Sanskrit, or simply a convergence of independent developments in the various languages (pp. 195-196). Quotatives developing from ‘say’ are attested in various languages the world over (Heine & Kuteva, 2002, pp. 267-268).

20 Other clause types

Basic declarative clauses can be altered to serve other purposes than just stating facts, to express other kinds of illocutionary force, using a variety of strategies. Questions are expressed with the use of intonation, morphological markers and question-words, imperative clauses by an imperative verb form, and negation with a special negator.

20.1 Questions

Questions in Dameli come in two main types: content questions (also known as *wh-questions* or *question-word questions*) and polar questions. In both cases, the word order remains unchanged in relation to declarative clauses; there is no *wh*-movement.

20.1.1 Content questions

Question-word questions or content questions are questions about specific information, formulated with a question-word (13.4). To form content questions, one of the constituents of a clause is replaced by a question-word, without changing the word order. The intonation pattern used in content questions places focus on the question-word, similar to other clauses in which focus is put on a particular element.

Question-words are a limited group of words with several characteristics in common. Most notably, they all begin with /k/. Since these words are used to ask questions about various parts of a clause, they belong to different word classes, although they share many features. In this way, they are similar to the *wh-words* of English and their equivalents in other Indo-European languages to which they are most certainly related. Table 47 is a list of the question-words in Dameli.

Table 47: Question-words

Question-word	Meaning	Word class
kii	who	pronoun
kuree	who	pronoun
keeraa	which	pronoun
kasãã	whose	pronoun (possessive)
kya	kya	kya
keer	when	adverb
kanuu	how	adverb
ku	why	adverb
kaa	where (general)	adverb
kutaal	where (direction)	adverb
kati	how many	adjective

Question-words are not limited to questions but are also used as indefinite pronouns when forming relative clauses (19.3).

20.1.2 Polar questions

Polar questions, questions that are expected to be answered with yes or no, are formed like ordinary statements but are marked with the question clitic *-i* (21.3), which is placed on the last regular element of the sentence, whether this is the verb itself or the past tense marker. Example 152 illustrates this.

(152) tu kul-a t^hop-i
 2SG.NOM house-LOC be.IMPV.2SG-Q
 ‘Are you at home?’ D1019

20.1.3 Rhetorical questions

Questions are often used as narrative devices in Dameli, as ways to present new information or to stress a certain point. Although these are syntactically complete questions, they have a very different pragmatic function. The speaker often immediately fills in the answer, separating it with the shift-topic particle *ba*. There is an uninterrupted prosodic pattern covering both question and answer, as the tone rises on the question, culminating on the answer, and falls toward the end. Example 153 shows a question–answer structure used to introduce a new subject.

- (153) daaman ta asli paidawaar **keeraa** daru
 Domel of original production **which** COP.INANIM.IMPFV.3
 ba zaŋgalat daru
 TOPSH forestry is
 ‘The real produce of Domel, what is it? It is forestry.’ (T1053)

20.2 Imperative clauses

Imperative clauses express instructions and commands, and are formed with imperative verb forms (11.5.6), which are restricted to referring to the second person, and only distinguish between singular and plural. Example 154 shows an imperative clause.

- (154) mulaa baaitaa-i amun-a nika kur-**aa**
 mullah summon-CP our-M nika do-IMP.PL
 ‘Summon the mullah and hold our wedding.’
 [Lit. ‘Having summoned the mullah, hold our wedding.’] (T1045)

Imperative clauses usually contain no overt subjects, although there are exceptions, as illustrated in example 155.

- (155) **tu** daç-e gale see kook-isan t^haa-i
 2SG.NOM see-IMP.SG ? 3SG.DIST sleep-PSTPTCP be.IMPFV.3SG.M-Q
 ‘You look, is he sleeping?’ (E0014)

Negative imperatives, or *prohibitives*, expressions telling someone *not* to do something, are formed in the same way as other imperatives but with the prohibitive marker *ma* ‘don’t’, as illustrated in example 156. The prohibitive marker is placed immediately before the finite verb, in the same way as the negator *ni* ‘not’.

- (156) ware sãã-i dašt-ee žan **ma** žan-e
 other 3SG.ANIM.POSS-F hand-INS snake PROH kill-IMP.SG
 ‘Don’t kill a snake with someone else’s hand!’ (T10012)

20.3 Negation

The negator *ni* ‘not’ can be used to negate any clause except an imperative. It is normally placed just before the verb. The clause undergoes no other changes. Example 157 shows a negated clause.

- (157) mãã-∅ putr-oo too ni laaki-num
 1SG.POSS-M son-VOC 2SG.OBL not weep-IMPV.1SG
 ‘My son, I am not crying for you.’ (T1021)

The position of the negator is relatively fixed and therefore not available as a device for expressing the scope of negation.

The negator can also be used with the topic shift marker *ba* and the topic marker *ta* to express two or more negated clauses, similar to the English “neither ... nor ...” construction. In these cases, the negator is placed before the discourse particle, at the beginning of each clause, as in example 158.

- (158) daamia baaša mudiya diyoo talii
 Dameli language today day until
ni ta kii nat prai-t^hen
not TOPSM who nat give-INDIRPST.3PL
ni ba kya nat žup-aai-t^hen
not TOPSH which nat make-CAUS-INDIRPST.3PL
 ‘Until today, no one has sung *nats* (religious songs) in the
 Dameli language, nor have they made any *nats*.’ (TV0001)

Additional clauses can be added at the end of this, each initiated by *ni ba*. Example 159 is a continuation of the utterance in example 158.

(159) **ni ba** kii yee daamia baasa nat
not TOPSH who this Dameli language nat
lik-an ta koošiš ku-t^hen
write-INF of attempt do-INDIRPST.3PL
'Nor has anyone tried to write down a *nat* in Dameli.' (TV0002)

Prohibitives, commands or instructions *not* to do something, are formed with a special marker, *ma* 'don't'. See 20.2.

21 Some discourse features

It would not be feasible to give a full description of everything that occurs in Dameli discourse in this dissertation, but some elements of the grammar that include pragmatic or discourse-level features have been included in this chapter. These are features of language that primarily concern the relation between the sentence they are found in and its context, either narrative or social. These features include single words or suffixes, and more complex constructions.

In the first category are the ubiquitous topic-marking particles *ta* and *ba*, the intriguing echo-word formation, fillers, the clitic *-es* ‘also’, and the vocative particle. The question marker clitic *-i* also falls into this category.

The second category comprises the “afterthought” construction, tail-head linkage and clause chaining.

Naturally, many other features that have been described elsewhere also perform discourse-related functions. This is particularly true for the different clause types (chapter 20), some elements of coordination (chapter 18), and some forms of the kinship terms (7.5).

21.1 The topic particles *ta* and *ba*

The particles *ta*⁶¹ ‘previously mentioned topic’ and *ba* ‘new topic’ or ‘topic shift’, are among the most common words of the language, each at least twice as common as, *e.g.*, *ãã* ‘and’, in my material. They both fill similar but contrastive, functions crucial to the information structure of Dameli clauses.

Common to both is the function of delimiting different sections of the clause, essentially splitting a clause into two parts with different functions. The most typical use is to split the sentence into the subject and the predicate.

⁶¹ Note that the particle *ta* is homonymous with several other words, such as the postposition *ta* ‘from, of, than’ (12.2.1).

The first position in the clause, preceding the particle, is thus marked as a topic position. Other arguments of the verb or adverbials can also be placed in the topic position, in order to mark them as the topic of the clause. Consequently, whatever comes after the particle is marked as comment, as additional information being ascribed to the topic.

Where the two particles differ is in the relationship to previous clauses. Whereas *ba* is usually used when there is a switch in topic, when the subject is different from the subject of the preceding clause (as in example 160) or when another topic is introduced, *ta* is usually used when the subject or topic is the same. Both *ba* and *ta* are commonly used in tail-head linkage (21.8).

- (160) gram ta zaatak-nam muu ki peegoor pre-nun
 village of child-PL 1SG.OBL to taunt give-IMPFV.3PL
 ãã tu **ba** wail-aaí-ap ni k^huᅇᅇi-nap
 and 2SG.NOM TOPSH hide-CAUS-IMPFV.2SG not tell-IMPFV.2SG
 ‘The children of the village are teasing me, and you are hiding
 [something] and don’t tell.’ (T0024)

Interestingly, two particles with identical form and similar functions are also found in neighbouring Palula, despite the fact that the two languages are not closely related (Liljegren, 2008, pp. 305-306, 377-383).

There are some instances of *ta* appearing first in a sentence. This is relatively common (30 times in my material), and probably fills the function of a conjunction, meaning more or less ‘then’. *ba* never occurs in this position, but compare also *taa ba*.

Both *ta* and *ba* can be used in a particular construction, which capitalises on their contrastive meaning to create a sense of opposed meanings, as illustrated in example 161.

- (161) *těě* *duu maana ek ta doktor*
 3PL.ANIM.DIST two of_them one part doctor
žup-aa *ãã tasuu maana*
 make-PFV.3SG.M and 3PL.ANIM.DIST.ACC of_them
ek ba pulis
 one part police
 ‘Of the two one made himself a doctor, and one of them a police.’
 (TW3005).

21.2 Also, -es

The clitic *-es* means ‘too’ or ‘also’ and can be attached to nouns, including proper nouns, postpositions, adverbs, adjectives, and probably other word classes as well. Phonologically, it functions as a part of the word it is attached to, as in example 162, where the marked word is pronounced [ta¹ræs] (see 6.1.3).

- (162) **tara-es** *čoor kom-una t^hun*
there-also four tribe-PL be.IMPFV.3PL
 ‘There are four tribes there as well.’ (TA1034)

In some cases, this functions as a kind of coordination, with *-es* attached to the second element that is coordinated. In others, it functions as an afterthought, adding something to a clause after it has been completed. Syntactically, it is often a larger unit, such as a phrase, that is modified by *-es*, although the clitic is attached to the head of the phrase (or to the end of the phrase, which is usually the same thing), as in example 163, where *-es* is attached to the phrase.

- (163) žaa ba yee γam lee baloo daro tee
 now TOPSH this grief very big is that
 muu-a tāã nasar-**es** ni daro
 1SG.OBL-LOC 2SG.POSS sight-also not COP.INANIM.IMPFV.3
 ‘Now this grief is very great, that your sight as well is not with me.’
 (TV3004)

21.3 The question clitic *-i*

The question clitic *-i* turns a statement into a polar question (20.1.2), a question for which the expected answer is either “yes” or “no”. It is more limited in its distribution than *-es* and is always placed as a clitic on the last word of the clause, usually either the verb itself or the past tense marker *taa*.

21.4 The vocative particle

A vocative particle, *a* or *e*, is used with names or other appellations when directly addressing someone. Unlike the vocative form of kinship terms (7.5.3), this particle can be used together with any word designating a person and is placed directly before that word, as in example 164.

- (164) **a** bree kaa yi-nap
 VOC girl where go-IMPFV.2SG
 ‘Girl! Where are you going?’ (E0105)

Morgenstierne (1942) reports form *ē* (p. 134) but not *a*. It is unclear what governs the use of the two forms, but *e* could be more common in less relaxed styles, such as songs and poetry, as in example 165 below, which is from a *ghazal*, a poem.

- (165) e toti tãã-∅ waš uštruun-i
 VOC parrot 2SG.POSS-M sound hear-CP
 watan y-en ta iraada kur-um
 country go-INF of intention do-PFV.1SG
 ‘Oh parrot, hearing your sound I want to go to my country.’ (TV8001)

21.5 Fillers

When a speaker is unsure about how to complete a sentence or needs some extra time to think, a filler is often inserted. The most common word in such situations is *ingā*. No etymology or semantic meaning of the word has been discovered.

Another common filler is *laka* ‘like’, which can be used to indicate inexactness but is often used primarily as a filler. Unlike *ingā*, *laka* is borrowed and widespread in the area, particularly in Pashto.

21.6 Echo-word formation

In Dameli, one often hears rhyming nonsense words in the middle of ordinary conversation. These form a particular construction that expresses semantically expanded concepts, in which a real word is repeated, but the second time the first element is replaced with /m/. The meaning of the complete expression is usually a broader concept that includes the meaning of the real word. To exemplify, *čay-may* ‘tea-ECHO’ might mean “tea and something to eat” or “teabreak”.

Stolz (2008) argues that this phenomenon, which he calls *echo-word formation* (p. 109), has spread widely as a result of contact, and that the source is Turkish, or, possibly Persian. In both these languages, the initial sound is *m-*, as it is in both Pashto and Dameli, but there is considerable variation in this regard on the Indian Subcontinent (e.g., *v-* in Hindi, *š-* in Punjabi and Urdu, at least in Pakistan).

In Dameli, the words that are most commonly echoed are nouns, but verbs and other word classes occasionally appear in this construction as well. Like other similar devices, such as diminutives in many languages, the use is spreading, and echo words might be used with little change in meaning from the original word, for pragmatic reasons or as a matter of course.

Example 166 shows a relatively typical use of echo-word formation.

(166)	manuu	daru-i	tee	boṅḍri~moṅḍri
	thus	is-Q	that	border~ECHO
	amun-a	ek	kisma	ṣaa
	POSS.IPL-M	one	kind	over
	kulau	daru	yin-numa	aacu-numa
	open	COP.INANIM.IMPFV.3	go-IMPV.IPL	come_back-IMPV.IPL
	‘Thus it was that the border and all that was kind of open for us and we went and came back.’ (T6069)			

Words that begin in vowels have the *m-* added without removing any part of the original word, *e.g.*, *aaṭ-maaṭ* ‘flour and such things’. Consonant clusters have only the first phoneme replaced, as long as the resulting cluster is a valid syllable-initial cluster, *e.g.*, *braa-mraa* ‘brothers and such’.

21.7 Afterthought constructions

The great exception to any rule of word order in Dameli is what we might call an “afterthought construction”. It is quite common for elements that should, according to normal word-order rules, appear somewhere in the middle of a sentence to be added at the end instead, as though the speaker had not thought of them before speaking or decided that additional clarification was needed. In many cases, that is probably precisely what happens. Since the construction is so common, it is likely that it is also used to emphasise certain elements of a clause, much like fronting or other kinds of topicalising are used in other languages.

Almost any element can be subject to this construction. Example 167 shows an attribute in the form of a possessive placed at the end, after the finite verb, instead of just before the noun to which it functions as an attribute.

(167)	i	ba	k ^h ur	duu-i	rux	daru	masāā-i
	3SG.ANIM.PROX	TOPSH	foot	two-COLL	well	is	3SG.POSS-F
	‘But the feet are both well, his.’ (T3013)						

Example 168 shows how this construction is used to satisfy grammatical constraints. The example consists of two sentences. Since the referent of the subject doesn’t change, no explicit subject would normally be used

in the second sentence. But because the subject of the first sentence, *see* ‘he’, is in the wrong case form to serve as a subject of the second sentence, the speaker probably feels obliged to add the subject *tanii* ‘he’, to avoid confusion. Although they refer to the same person, *see* is nominative, which is appropriate for the intransitive verb *baa* ‘became’, whereas *tanii* is ergative, which is required by the transitive past tense form *prat^{hee}* ‘gave’.

- (168) prambal-aai-i aan muu bin-i **see**
 burn-CAUS-CP inside 1SG.OBL see-CP 3SG.ANIM.DIST.NOM
 gabrau b-aa
 frightened become-PFV.3SG.M
 aan luspiker-a baang-es ni pre-i
 inside loudspeaker-LOC prayer_call-also not give-CP
 baraan nees-i baraan baang
 outside go.out-CP outside prayer_call
 pra-^{hee} **tanii**
 give-INDIRPST.3SG 3SG.ANIM.DIST.ERG
 ‘Having lit [it] he, having seen me inside, became frightened. He did not give the prayer call inside, through the loudspeakers, [but] went outside and gave the prayer call, he.’ (TW7020)

21.8 Tail-head linkage

Tail-head linkage is a device used to link together sentences in a narrative (Coupe, 2006, p. 151) by echoing the verb phrase of a preceding sentence at the beginning of the next sentence. The whole verb phrase does not need to be repeated, and the main verb usually changes verb form. Tail-head linkage is very common in Dameli, and throughout the region.

The constructions used to express tail-head linkage are different if the topic or subject is the same in the two linked sentences or if it is different.

Same-topic linkage is always expressed by non-finite verb forms. The most common construction utilises the conjunctive participle, as in example 169. This construction is used to join two sentences with the same topic in focus, which usually translates to having the same subject. A conjunctive participle is formed on the same root as the finite verb that concludes the first sentence and is placed at the beginning of the second sentence. Since the conjunctive participle, being non-finite, does not permit a subject, the subject is never repeated in the joining clause, but

other parts of the verb phrase, such as objects and adverbials, may be carried over along with the verb, as shown in example 169.

- (169) ačooṭ-aal b-aa ba neep^har ta
do_one_by_one-PRSPTCP be-IMPV.3SG.M TOPSH below from
ek uč^huṭa paai sekal-a **aače-na**
one young boy bicycle-LOC **come-IMPV.3SG.M**
‘While he is picking, a boy comes from below on a bicycle.’
aač-i see paai tara see **dači-na**
come-CP 3SG.DIST boy there 3SG.DIST **see-IMPV.3SG.M**
‘Having come, that boy there sees that.’
dač-i ta ...
see-CP TOPSM ...
‘Having seen, ...’ (TP₀₀₁₄₋₁₆)

Like clause chaining (21.9), this construction is consistent with the core use of the conjunctive participle, *i.e.*, expressing concluded events, but has a pragmatically specialised function. Repeating the main verb of the preceding sentence does not primarily modify the clause by adding new information but rather serves as a pragmatic device to keep the narrative together.

Almost as common in this function as the conjunctive participle is a construction combining the infinitive and one of two words meaning ‘after’, *bat* (example 170) and *aašanta* (example 171) in a postposition phrase with *ta* ‘from’.

- (170) ... alim **žup-aa**
 mullah **make-PFV.3SG.M**
 ‘...[he] became a mullah.’
alim **žup-an** ta bat ...
mullah **make-INF** of after ...
‘After becoming a mullah...’ (TW₃₀₀₆₋₇)

- (171) zangal-a traā diyoo traā reet safar kur-i
 forest-LOC three day three night journey do-CP
 tēē lee k^hasar-un
 3PL.ANIM.DIST.NOM very tire-PFV.3PL
 ‘After travelling three days in the forest, they got very tired.’
 k^hasar-an ba k^hasar-an ta aaşanta ...
 tire-INF TOPSH tire-INF of after ...
 ‘Tired,⁶² after getting tired...’ (TW8006-7)

Formally, this is a regular postposition phrase, functioning as a clause adverbial. A similar construction with *manora*, ‘middle’ or ‘while’, is used when the events described by the two sentences take place simultaneously.

- (172) sujai mulk-ee yee t^haana kabza kuree
 Sujai Mulk-ERG 3SG.INANIM.PROX place capture do-3SG.PFV
 ‘Sujai Mulk captured this place.’
 kuran manora amun-a bap-suu ...
 do-INF while POSS.1PL-M grandfather-KIN.PL ...
 ‘While [he was] doing [that], our ancestors...’ (T6043-44)

When sentences with different topics are joined, typically when the subject shifts, a slightly different construction is used. This construction uses a finite verb form in the second sentence, and the topic-shift particle *ba* (2I.1) always follows the verb. The repeated verb can have the same form as in the preceding sentence, as in example 173; a different finite form, as in example 174; or can even be expressed with a complex verb expression, as in example 175. The factors governing the choice of verb form will require further study.

⁶² The repetition “k^hasaran ba” is probably due to hesitation and is not part of the typical construction.

- (173) see ba baara yede **oot^hi-na**
 3SG.DIST TOPSH away go.CP stop-IMPV.3SG.M
 ‘Having gone away, he stops.’
oot^hi-na **ba** ek baara gaa
 stop-IMPV.3SG.M TOPSH one away go-PFV.3SG.M
 ba ek baat-a san ba-i see sekal
 TOPSH one stone-LOC touch become-CP 3SG.DIST bicycle
 daara yi-na
 fall go-IMPV.3SG.M
 ‘Having stopped, and gone away, that bicycle touches a stone and falls.’
 (TP0024-25)

- (174) daara yede tasāā-∅ see ṭaṅgu-es
 fall go.CP 3SG.POSS-M 3SG.DIST pear-also
 sapun **preeṣ** **biy-āā**
 all spill become-IMPV.3SG.M
 ‘Having fallen, those pears of his also all become spilled.’
preeṣ **baa** **ba** tēē zaatak-nam
 spill become-PFV.3SG.M TOPSH 3PL.ANIM.DIST child-PL
 waapas bin-nun
 back look-IMPV.3PL
 ‘[The pears] having become spilled, those children look back.’
 (TP0026-27)

- (175) **ačooṭ-aal** **b-aa** ba neep^har ta
 do_one_by_one-PRSPTCP be-PFV.3SG.M TOPSH below from
 ek uč^huṭa paai sekal-a aače-na
 one young boy bicycle-LOC come-IMPV.3SG.M
 ‘While he is picking, a boy comes from below on a bicycle.’ (TP0014)

Some speakers occasionally use *taaba* ‘then’ in place of tail-head linkage constructions. Although this word probably arose as a grammaticalisation of the past tense marker *taa* (16.5) and the subject shift particle *ba* (21.1), it is freely used in series of same-subject clauses. Example 176 shows a typical use of *taaba*.

- (176) **taaba** buṭo aag-aa
then bhutto come-3SG.M
 ‘Then Bhutto came.’ T6067

21.9 Clause chaining

A construction known as *clause chaining* or *narrative chaining* (Coupe, 2006, p. 146) is used to relate sequences of events happening one after another. This construction is an extension of the core function of the conjunctive participle (11.6.5), describing preceding events. Rather than using a sentence to describe each event, a series of conjunct participle clauses are stacked in the same sentence, each describing one event in the sequence. The sentence is concluded by a final clause headed by a finite verb.

This construction is common in the languages of South, Central and East Asia, and also in the Semitic languages of Ethiopia (Coupe, 2006, p. 147). It is different from the ordinary adverbial function of the conjunctive participle in that it allows clauses headed by a conjunctive participle to be foregrounded, rather than functioning as mere modifications of the main verb of the clause. The number of clauses that can be used after each other in this way is limited only by pragmatic concerns; as long as the listener can understand what events are being referred to, the speaker can continue piling event after event on top of each other. Other parts of the verb phrase referred to, such as objects or adverbials, may be included in this construction as well, but the subject, which is not necessarily overtly expressed, is understood to be constant throughout the entire chain. Example 177 shows a clause chain with two events expressed with conjunctive participles (drink, find/catch) and a final event expressed with a finite verb (reach).

- (177) aau pi-i žeṣṭaŋgal ta sarax ta p^han waar-i
 water drink-CP Jestangal of road of way catch-CP
 aaspar kul weebi-ãã
 Aspar house reach-IMPFV.3SG
 ‘He drinks water, finds the path of the Jestangal road, and reaches the house in Aspar.’ (T5033)

Final matters

22 Suggestions for further research

An investigation of this kind is a rather humbling experience, where every new discovery reveals a disheartening number of new areas crying out for a deeper investigation, and there is never enough time or material to fully exhaust any field. The areas mentioned here are some of those I hope to have the opportunity to investigate to a greater extent in the future, or that someone else would take up such an investigation. This is particularly true for the larger fields that I have had to leave out almost entirely.

22.1 The language of women

The Dameli society is divided along gender lines, but these lines are never clearer than when a male stranger is involved. As a rule, women do not interact with men who are not relatives, but in a society where people are usually surrounded by relatives, who are not subject to the rules of *purdah*, this does not need to be a very noticeable element of culture. For me, however, who was related to no one, the rules were in full force, and thus, I had no direct access to the language of women. That is not to say that women and the language of women have had no influence on this work, only that this influence was by necessity always mediated through men. Countless times my most difficult questions on grammar, words and usage was met with the reply “I’m not sure, I must ask the people in the house.”

It is likely that even a female researcher would meet with cultural restrictions that make studying the language of women difficult. To record a woman’s voice, for example, even if it was done by a relative, was considered too sensitive. Still, a female researcher or a researcher from within the group (ideally, both), would undoubtedly be able to add many important observations, insights and perspectives to this work, on

language use among women in particular and on the Dameli language in general.

22.2 Historical linguistics

Dameli belongs to a group of Indo-Aryan languages that have been isolated and neglected for a long time. Most of the material that is presented here has not been presented in any form before. What does the case of Dameli mean for the description and reconstruction of Proto-Indo-Aryan, and, by extension, Proto-Indo-European?

22.3 Related languages and language contact

A related question concerns the relationship of Dameli to its neighbouring languages and its later history. What languages are the closest relatives of Dameli? Are they to be found among the geographical neighbours of the Dameli people, such as Kalasha or Gawarbati, or among languages spoken farther away, such as Gawri, as suggested by Strand (2011)?

Equally interesting are the traces of contact with some of the other languages in the area, that are probably not evidence of direct genealogical relationships. Unsurprisingly, there is ample linguistic evidence of extensive contact with Palula, and similar observations can be made about Kalasha and the Nuristani languages as well. Studying the particulars of these relationships would likely generate a great deal of interesting information.

The relationship between Dameli and the Nuristani languages is of special interest. The extent of similarity between these languages is so great that it led Morgenstierne to consider placing Dameli in the Nuristani family (Morgenstierne, 1942, p. 147).

22.4 Variation within the language

As discussed in 1.5, Dameli is not entirely uniform across the valleys where it is spoken, to the extent that different dialects can be identified and described. The present research has not involved enough speakers

from different parts of the Domel Valley or studied them in a manner systematic enough to determine the extent and characteristics of these dialects in more than a cursory fashion.

In the same way, social variation is probably widespread, especially as it pertains to exposure to other languages, but investigating this would require more data on the language of people who reside within the Domel Valley and have little contact with the outside, the very people most difficult to contact and work with.

Some of the questions that remain are what the main dialects of Dameli are, and what characterises them. What are the main isoglosses, and how do they follow geographical and societal features?

22.5 Tone

Another issue that has only been touched upon briefly is tone. Dameli has a system of contrastive tones, but this system will need to be thoroughly investigated and described. How is the tonal system constructed, and what functions does it fill?

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Appendix 1: Verb roots

Simple verbs form an almost closed class in Dameli, with a limited number of verb roots. In my material, 152 verb roots have been identified (excluding the copula), which are shown here. Although these are certainly not all there are to find, the total number is likely to be relatively low in comparison with, for instance, English. The usual strategy for expressing new verb meanings is not to create new roots but to form conjunct verbs, combinations of a non-verbal element and a verb, that function as a single word semantically (see 11.8).

Since the basic valency of a verb cannot be determined from the root alone, each verb root is marked with either (i) for intransitive, (t) for transitive or (c) for roots that are only used in causative verbs.

Table 48: Verb roots

Root	Meaning	Root	Meaning
ačap (c)	pull out	č ^h aar (t)	throw
ačooṭ (t)	do one by one	č ^h un (t)	thresh (wheat)
akás (i)	climb	dáč (t)	look
akaṭ (i)	gather	dral (t)	scratch, rake
alam (i)	hang	draaṣ (t)	comb
ap ^h (c)	cover	dumuk	push
aṽp (c)	thin (maize)	duw (c)	wash
ās (i)	smile, laugh	ḍrōōk (i)	low
aaç (i)	arrive, reach	ḍuṅg (c)	fall asleep
aaštoor (t)	spread out (cloth)	gan (t)	say
aaṽ (i)	get stuck	gaṭ (t)	want, win, ask for
bait (c)	fold	geew (i)	walk
ban (t)	dress	gi/gig (t)	take, buy
bas (i)	stay overnight	giaaç (t)	bring (here)
baw (t)	plant	girank ^h ṭ (i)	turn around
bay (c)	happen, be able to	goor (t)	peel
baait (c)	call, summon	grēēṭ (t)	tie
bigir (c)	spread	iṣir (i)	break
bil (i)	melt	kaç (c)	show
bin (t)	see	kook (i)	sleep
birand (i)	moan	kreeš (t)	soften by mixing with a liquid
biṣam (i)	rest		
biž (t)	pour	kuč (c)	scratch
br (i)	die	kur (t)	do
brikin (t)	sell	k ^h asar (i)	tire
buṣ (t)	stab	k ^h iṣ (t)	grow, cultivate
buṭ (t)	braid	k ^h uṇḍ (t)	tell
čap (c)	chew	k ^h uṣ (c)	dig
čarak (i)	drip (of rain)	lag (c)	do/put?
čīṭ (c)	sharpen	lai/lad (t)	find
čap (t)	eat (hard things)	laṭaṅg (i)	cross
čičir (c)	smart, hurt	laak (i)	weep
čoop (t)	dip	laas (t)	drop
čul (i)	rock to and fro	leek ^h (t)	count
čūūṣ (t)	suck	lík (t)	write
č ^h in (t)	cut	looṣ (t)	burn
čam (c)	consider, opine	luṣ (i)	burn
čip (t)	wash (clothes)	mak ^h (t)	rub

Root	Meaning	Root	Meaning
man (t)	accept	suuw (t)	sew
matr (t)	read	šaam (t)	castrate
maar (t)	kill	šėėk (i)	breathe
muuṣ (i)	play	šook (t)	dry
nag (i)	go down	ša (c)	send, scoop (food)
nat (i)	go in	tap (i)	become warm
naṣṭ (i)	die	taap (t)	heat up
naaš (t)	destroy	trap (i)	run
nees (i)	go out	truk (t)	snap, kill (lice)
neeṭ/nieṭ (c)	cut (hair)	ṭamb (c)	thresh (maize)
nik ^h aal (t)	take out	ṭip (i)	drip
niš (i)	sit	ṭ ^h ook (t)	hammer, beat
oot ^h (i)	stop	ṭraṭ (c)	drive (cattle)
ooš (c)	freeze	ṭumbur (i)	roll
oowg (c)	boil	ṭup (c)	cover, hide
pač (i)	cook, ripen	undas (i)	cough
palaam (t)	pass	undre (i)	fly
paš (c)	clean	urušt (i)	stand up
pičil (i)	slip, slide	uštuun (t)	hear
pi (t)	drink	wali (i)	hide
poor (t)	pour	waar (t)	catch
prambal (i)	light	weeb (i)	reach
pramuṣṭ (t)	forget	weeč (t)	seek
prapaṭ (c)	burn	wig (t)	fire, hit
pražar (i)	become ill	wiṭik (c)	cut off
preeç (c)	throw out	wak (i)	bleat
pr/prat (t)	give	w (t)	free, allow, leave
puč (c)	ask	yaṇḍ (c)	beat
pūūç (c)	scratch (someone)	y/g (i)	go
pwei (t)	squeeze	zac (i)	trickle
p ^h açal (i)	waste away	zaan (t)	know
p ^h ak (t)	eat (small things)	žalak (c)	throw down (mulberries)
p ^h am (i)	swell	žalang (i)	be frightened
p ^h aal (t)	split	žan (t)	kill
p ^h irk (i)	go around	žaa (i)	be seen
p ^h us (c)	lose (something)	ži /žin (c)	eat
p ^h uuk (t)	blow	žišt (i)	sneeze
raṭ (t)	bury	žup (i)	make
saat (t)	keep		

Appendix 2: Text

Introduction

The text presented here, *The Patient Woman*, was chosen for several reasons, not the least of which is that the story itself is quite good.

This text has been an important part of my material since 2004, when it was written by Asmat Ullah, who has been one of my main Dameli co-workers throughout this entire project, as part of a writers workshop arranged by the Frontier Language Institute (now Forum for Language Initiatives) to test the experimental writing systems for Palula and Dameli with which we had been working.

Analysing interlinear texts is always a work in progress, and this text is nowhere near as ready as I would like it to be, but since it has been with me so long, it is among the most well-analysed texts I have and also one of those that have had the most impact on the work presented here, as can be seen from the disproportionate number of examples retrieved from it.

It is also an excellent illustration of the dynamic of the culture in which Dameli is spoken. In the story, we are treated to a moving and traditional illustration of patience, loyalty and steadfastness, but we are also given a keen description of how a young woman can use the strength of her character and her willingness to endure difficulties to shape her own situation. At the end of the story, the protagonist has not only escaped the stigma and hardships of widowhood, she also has a husband who is probably closer to her own age than is usual in this culture, and, perhaps most importantly, a good and caring mother-in-law. As anyone familiar with the virilocal societies that characterise much of South Asia knows, this may be the single most powerful person in the life of a young wife, and the one most likely to make her days a living misery if she decides to.

The Patient Woman

ek žami sãã-∅ duu put-suu bai-t^hun
 one woman 3SG.ANIM.POSS-M two son-KIN.PL be-INDIRPST.3PL
 ‘One woman had two sons.’

ek put liliwaak bai-t^haa ek ba uč^huṭa bai-t^haa
 one son young.man be-INDIRPST.3SG.M one TOPSH small be-INDIRPST.3SG.M
 ‘One son was a young man, and one was small.’

žami sãã-∅ lee harman t^haa tee
 woman 3SG.ANIM.POSS-M very desire be.IMPV.3SG.M that
 mãã-∅ žeṣṭera put-a ki žanii kur-im
 1SG.POSS-M elder son-LOC for marriage do-FUT.1SG
 ‘The woman had a great desire to arrange a marriage for her elder son.’

tas žeṣṭera put-a ki žami gaṭ-aw-a-ee
 that elder son-OBL for woman ask-CAUS2-CAUS-PFV.3SG
 ãã žanii šuruu kur-ee
 and marriage beginning do-PFV.3SG
 ‘She found a wife for the elder son and started the wedding.’

žaniibrei kul giaag-een
 bride house bring-PFV.3PL
 ‘They brought the bride to the house.’

duura ta p^hračaa g-een
 far from guest go-PFV.3PL
 ‘The guests who had come from far away left.’

taanu kul ta maaṣ oot^hin-un
 REFL.POSS house from people remain-PFV.3PL
 ‘The people of the house remained.’

see žanii digar-a žaniibra
 3SG.DIST marriage afternoon-LOC bridegroom

banii ki g-aa
 oakwood for go-PFV.3SG.M

‘On the afternoon of the wedding, the groom went to bring oakwood.’

lee čiiir ni aac-an sãã-∅ waĵa
 very late not come-INF 3SG.ANIM.POSS-M reason

kul ta maaş sax parešan bun
 house of people hard worried become.PFV.3PL

‘Since it became very late, but he still didn’t come, the people of the house became very worried [and wondered]’

tee mač ku ni aag-aa
 that man why not come-PFV.3SG.M

‘why the man didn’t come.’

kul ta maaş weeč-aal nees-i daç-i-nun
 house of people search-PRSPTCP go.out-CP look-EP-IMPFV.3PL

tee ek muṭ-a akas-i-san-a lam čhi-i
 that one tree-LOC climb-EP-PSTPTCP-LOC branch cut-CP

nagi pre-i zen bai-t^haa
 fall give-CP dead be-INDIRPST.3SG.M

‘The people of the house went out searching and saw, that climbing up to cut a branch, he had fallen down and died.’

naačap zanaaza giaac-i kul-a t^h-a-een
 suddenly corpse bring-CP house-LOC be-CAUS-PFV.3PL

tee sapun k^hušaali ŷam-a badal b-aa
 that all joy grief-LOC exchange become-PFV.3SG.M

‘As they suddenly brought the corpse and put it in the house, all the joy was turned into grief.’

paai sãã-∅ yii taanu žaniibra put
 boy 3SG.ANIM.POSS-M mother REFL.POSS bridegroom son
 sãã-∅ žanii diyoo zanaaza bin-i
 3SG.ANIM.POSS-M marriage day corpse see-CP

ap^haamee g-ai

unconscious go-PFV.3SG.F

‘The mother of the boy, having seen the corpse of her bridegroom son on his wedding day, fainted.’

lee čiiir-ee p^hikir-a aač-i çəŋ pr-ee
 very late-? thought-LOC come-CP cry give-PFV.3SG
 ‘When she came to herself, very late, she cried out.’

taanu şaa-lum ačap-ai-i laak-em b-ui
 REFL.POSS head-hair pull.out-CAUS-CP weep-INCHPTCP become-PFV.3SG.F
 ‘Pulling her hair, she started weeping.’

mudiya ta awal diyoo daru žanii ta
 today TOPSM first day be.INANIM.IMPFV.3 marriage of
 ‘‘Today is the first day of the marriage.’

žaniibrei kaasa ki wı-i g-eep
 bride for.whom for having_left-CP go-PFV.2SG
 ‘For whom have you left your bride?’

paai sãã-i yii çəŋ pre-i gan-ni tee
 boy 3SG.ANIM.POSS-F mother cry give-CP say-IMPFV.3SG.F that
 ‘Crying out, the mother of the boy said.’

mãã-∅ putr-oo too ni laak-i-num
 1SG.POSS-M son-VOC 2SG.OBL not weep-EP-IMPFV.1SG
 ‘‘My son, I am not crying for you.’

mãã-i luŋi bawi laak-i-num
 1SG.POSS-F young.girl daughter-in-law weep-EP-IMPFV.1SG
 ‘I am crying for my young daughter-in-law.’

yee baati baarbaar k^huṇḍ-i-ni
 3SG.INANIM.PROX word again.and.again tell-EP-IMPFV.3SG.F

tee žaniibrei hairan b-ui
 that bride wondering become-PFV.3SG.F

‘As she said these words over and over again, the bride started to wonder.’

yii ta taanu put sãã-∅ yam kur-an-baṣ-a
 mother TOPSM REFL.POSS son 3SG.ANIM.POSS-M grief do-INF-able-LOC
 mãã-∅ yam ku-ni
 1SG.POSS-M grief do-IMPFV.3SG.F

‘‘The mother could be grieving for her own son, but she grieves for me!’’

yee baati-a bawi sãã-∅
 3SG.INANIM.PROX word-LOC daughter-in-law 3SG.ANIM.POSS-M

zaadi-a ibrat naḡ-aa
 heart-LOC good_lesson come.down-PFV.3SG.M

‘Hearing these words the daughter-in-law learned the good lesson in her heart.’

tanii taanu zaadi-a yee faisala
 3SG.ANIM.DIST.ERG REFL.POSS heart-LOC 3SG.INANIM.PROX decision

kur-ee
 do-PFV.3SG

‘She made this decision in her heart.’

ay mãã-∅ mas uĉ^huṭa deer
 1SG.NOM 1SG.POSS-M 3SG.ANIM.PROX.ACC small brother-in-law

sãã-∅ naam-a niš-im
 3SG.ANIM.POSS-M name-LOC sit-FUT.1SG

‘I will wait for the name of this my young brother-in-law.’

kya waxt-a zuaani-a prat-ee ba
 which time-LOC young.man-M give-PFV.3SG TOPSH

mas-a mili nikaa grēēt-aw-a-im
 3SG.ANIM.PROX.ACC-LOC with nika tie-CAUS2-CAUS-FUT.1SG

‘When he becomes a young man, I will marry him.’

lee waxt aasanta preeš-es-ee gan-ee tee
 very time after mother-in-law-KIN.3-ERG say-PFV.3SG that
 ‘A long time later her mother-in-law said.’

tu taanu dadi sãã-∅ kul y-et
 2SG.NOM REFL.POSS father 3SG.ANIM.POSS-M house go-IMP.SG
 ‘‘Go to your father’s house.’

amun-a tarafta tu azaad t^hop
 our-M side 2SG.NOM free be.IMPFV.2SG
 ‘From our side, you are free.’

bawi-es-ee gan-ee tee
 daughter-in-law-KIN.3-ERG say-PFV.3SG that
 ‘Her daughter-in-law said.’

tu tãã-∅ put ni laak-i muu laak-i-nap ba
 2SG.NOM 2SG.POSS-M son not having.cried-CP 1SG weep-EP-IMPFV.2SG PART
 ‘‘You did not cry for your son, you cried for me.’

ay ba matiki begarati ni t^hum
 1SG.NOM TOPSH so dishonourable not be.IMPFV.1SG
 ‘I am not so dishonourable.’

tee tãã-∅ kul wı-i ware sãã-∅
 that 2SG.POSS-M house leave-CP other 3SG.ANIM.POSS-M
 kul-a ki y-im
 house-LOC to go-FUT.1SG
 ‘that I would leave your house to go to someone else’s house.’

žaa ba ay tãã-∅ uč^huṭa put-a ki niš-i-num
 now TOPSH 1SG.NOM 2SG.POSS-M small son-LOC for sit-EP-IMPFV.1SG
 ‘Now I am waiting for your younger son.’

yee mãã-∅ axiri faisala daru
 3SG.INANIM.PROX 1SG.POSS-M final decision be.IMPFV.INANIM.3
 ‘This is my final decision.’

lee zamaana aaşanta ek diyoo brei daç-i-ni
 very times after one day girl look-EP-IMPFV.3SG.F
 tee paai mrãč muţ-a akas-isan t^haa
 that boy mulberry tree-LOC climb-PSTPTCP be.IMPFV.3SG.M
 ‘A long time later, one day, the girl sees that the boy has climbed a mulberry tree.’

brei paai muţ-a bin-i lee k^hošan b-ui
 girl boy tree-LOC see-CP very happy become-PFV.3SG.F
 ‘The girl, having seen the boy in the tree, became very happy.’

paay-a ki kaaṇ kur-ee muu ki
 boy-LOC to sound do-PFV.3SG 1SG.OBL to
 mrãč žalak-ai
 mulberry throw.down.mulberries-CAUS.IMP.SG
 ‘She called to the boy: “Throw down some mullberries for me.”’

paay-a brei ki mrãč žalak-a-ee tee
 boy girl to mulberry throw.down.mulberries-CAUS-PFV.3SG that
 ‘The boy threw down mullberries, then’

p^hak-i ap^hataar ba-i preeš sãã-∅
 eat.small.things-CP quickly become-CP mother-in-law 3SG.ANIM.POSS-M
 aag-ai
 come-PFV.3SG.F
 ‘After eating, she quickly came to her mother-in-law.’

umbaarak beebu tãã-∅ put zuaan bai-t^haa
 congratulations to.you 2SG.POSS-M son young.man be-INDIRPST.3SG.M
 ‘“Congratulations to you, your son has become a young man.”’

mulaa baaitaa-i amun-a nikaa kur-aa
 mullah summon-CP our-M nika do-IMP.PL
 ‘Summon the mullah and perform our wedding.’”

preeš yee baati uštruun-i
 mother-in-law 3SG.INANIM.PROX word hear-CP

lee k^hošān b-ui
 very happy become-PFV.3SG.F

‘Upon hearing these words, the mother-in-law became very happy.’

ãã mulaa baaitaa-i tasun-a nikaā grēēt-ēen
 and mullah summon-CP 3SG.DIST.POSS-M nika tie-PFV.3PL

‘And, having called the mullah, they performed their marriage.’

brei sãã-∅ sabur azmãã waxt
 girl 3SG.ANIM.POSS-M patience trial time

aaxir xatam b-aa
 finally finished become-PFV.3SG.M

‘The days of trying the girl’s patience were finally at an end.’

natiža agar irāada mazbut t^haa ba muškilat
 result if intention strong be.IMPFV.3SG.M TOPSH difficulties

ta bawuʃut insan taanu manzala ki wee-b-in
 of having human REFL.POSS destination to reach-be-FUT.3PL

‘Sens Morale: If your will is strong, you will reach your destination, in spite of all difficulties.’

بِسْ

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