

Ruth Laila Schmidt and Razwal Kohistani
in Collaboration with
Mohammad Manzar Zarin

A Grammar
of the Shina Language
of Indus Kohistan

2008

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

Contents

Preface.....	XV
Map	XVI
List of Abbreviations	XVII
1. The Geographic and Historical Setting.....	1
1.1 Location and dialect groups of Shina.....	1
1.2 The oral history of Kohistan	4
1.3 Introduction of Islam.....	7
1.3.1 The genealogical evidence	9
1.3.2 The linguistic evidence.....	11
1.4 The present status of Shina	12
2. The Sound System.....	15
2.1 Taxonomic phonemes of Kohistani Shina	15
2.2 Phonetic realization, distribution and allophonic variation	15
2.2.1 Vowels.....	15
2.2.2 Consonants	18
2.2.3 Diphthongs in word-final position	24
2.2.4 Pitch, length and accent.....	24
2.2.4.1 Stressed vowels.....	25
2.2.4.2 Unstressed vowels	27
2.3 Syllable types.....	28
2.4 Phonemic transcription	29
2.5 Status of the voiced aspirated consonants.....	30
2.6 Status of the phoneme /q/.....	32
2.7 Sample acoustic graphs.....	33
3. Nouns and Postpositions.....	40
3.1 Nouns	40
3.1.1 Masculine nouns.....	42
3.1.1.1 Masculine nouns ending in short unaccented vowels.....	42
3.1.1.2 Masculine nouns ending in long or accented vowels	43
3.1.1.3 Unmarked masculine nouns.....	44
3.1.1.4 Masculine nouns with alternate or suppletive stems	45
3.1.2 Feminine nouns	45
3.1.2.1 Feminine nouns ending in short unaccented vowels	46

3.1.2.2	Feminine nouns ending in long or accented vowels.....	46
3.1.2.3	Unmarked feminine nouns.....	47
3.1.2.4	Feminine nouns with alternate or suppletive stems.....	48
3.1.3	Illative function of the oblique case.....	49
3.1.4	Phonologically conditioned accent shift in nouns.....	49
3.1.5	Layer 2 case suffixes.....	50
3.1.5.1	Agent-imperfective.....	51
3.1.5.2	Agent-perfective.....	53
3.1.5.3	Possessive.....	58
3.1.5.4	Dative.....	60
3.1.5.5	Ablative-supressive.....	62
3.1.5.6	Adessive.....	65
3.1.5.7	Sociative.....	67
3.1.6	Infrequent or restricted case suffixes.....	68
3.1.6.1	The unaccented suffix <i>-tha</i> ‘toward’.....	68
3.1.6.2	The ablative suffix <i>-uu~-oo</i>	68
3.1.7	Expressing possession.....	69
3.2.	Postpositions.....	70
3.2.1	Postpositions added to the nominative or oblique.....	70
3.2.1.1	Locative postposition <i>-da</i>	70
3.2.1.2	<i>mají</i> ‘in the middle’.....	71
3.2.1.3	Instrumental postposition <i>-gi</i> ‘with’.....	71
3.2.1.4	<i>hátí</i> ‘by (means of)’.....	72
3.2.1.5	<i>khári</i> ‘under’, ‘down’.....	72
3.2.2	Postpositions added to Layer 2 case suffixes.....	72
3.2.2.1	<i>ají</i> ‘up’, ‘upon’.....	72
3.2.2.2	<i>muçhó</i> ‘in front of’, ‘before’.....	73
3.2.2.3	<i>pató</i> ‘behind’, ‘since’, ‘after’.....	73
3.2.2.4	<i>azó</i> ‘inside’.....	74
3.2.2.5	<i>gúçh</i> ‘into’, ‘inside’.....	74
3.2.2.6	<i>sáati</i> ‘with’.....	75
3.2.2.7	<i>širyáa</i> ‘like’ and <i>khin</i> ‘near’.....	75
3.3	The indefinite particle <i>-ek~-k</i>	75
3.3.1	Indefinite nouns.....	75
3.3.2	Relative function.....	76
3.3.3	Introducing an uncertain topic.....	77
3.3.4	With place adverbs.....	77
3.3.5	With adjectives of quantity.....	78
3.4	Doubled nouns.....	79

3.5 Sample paradigms.....	79
4. Pronouns and Deixis	82
4.1 Pronouns.....	82
4.1.1 Personal pronouns.....	82
4.1.1.1 The oblique case of personal pronouns.....	82
4.1.1.2 First person pronoun.....	83
4.1.1.3 Second person pronoun.....	84
4.1.1.4 Third person personal pronoun, proximate.....	84
4.1.1.5 Third person personal pronoun, remote.....	85
4.1.2 Demonstrative pronouns.....	87
4.1.2.1 Inflected forms of <i>aáe</i> (proximate).....	88
4.1.2.2 Inflected forms of <i>asá</i> (remote).....	88
4.1.2.3 <i>ajaáe</i>	89
4.1.3 Symmetrical <i>a--as-</i> adjective and adverb sets.....	90
4.1.4 Reflexive words.....	90
4.1.5 Interrogatives and indefinites.....	91
4.1.5.1 <i>koé</i>	91
4.1.5.2 <i>jóo</i>	92
4.1.5.3 <i>káa</i>	93
4.1.5.4 <i>kháãẽ</i>	94
4.2 Deixis.....	94
4.2.1 The deictics <i>paár</i> , <i>per~péra</i> and <i>óra</i>	94
4.2.2 Visibility and source of knowledge in deictics.....	95
4.2.3 <i>paár</i> and <i>per</i> with deictics and place adverbs.....	97
5. Adjectives	100
5.1 Regular marked adjectives.....	100
5.2 Marked adjectives ending in long vowels.....	101
5.2.1 Adjectives ending in <i>-óo</i>	101
5.2.2 Adjectives ending in <i>-úu</i>	102
5.2.3. Invariant adjectives.....	103
5.3 Symmetrical <i>a--as-</i> adjective sets.....	103
5.3.1 <i>adóo</i> – <i>asdóo</i> – <i>kadóo</i>	104
5.3.2 <i>atóto</i> – <i>astóto</i> – <i>katóto</i>	105
5.3.3 <i>acáa</i> – <i>ascáa</i> – <i>kacáa</i>	105
5.4 The adjectival particle <i>hóo</i>	106
5.5 Adjectives used as nouns.....	108
5.6 Reflexive adjective <i>toómo</i>	108

5.7 Comparison of adjectives.....	109
5.8 Numbers.....	109
5.8.1 Cardinal numbers.....	109
5.8.2 Ordinal numbers.....	110
6. Verbs.....	111
6.1 Parts of the verb.....	111
6.1.1 Nonfinite forms.....	111
6.1.1.1 Infinitive.....	111
6.1.1.2 Conjunctive participle.....	111
6.1.1.3 Adverbial participle of manner.....	112
6.1.1.4 Progressive participle.....	112
6.1.1.5 Perfective participle.....	112
6.1.1.6 Passive-contingent participle.....	113
6.1.2 Finite verbs: simple forms.....	114
6.1.2.1 Imperative.....	114
6.1.2.2 Injunctive.....	114
6.1.2.3 Subjunctive.....	114
6.2 The fusion process.....	115
6.2.1 The imperfective stem.....	116
6.2.2 The auxiliary verb <i>boón</i> ‘to be’.....	119
6.2.2.1 Paradigms of <i>boón</i>	120
6.2.2.2 Grammaticalization of <i>boón</i>	122
6.3 Finite verbs: compound tenses.....	124
6.3.1 Imperfective tenses.....	125
6.3.2 Future.....	128
6.3.3 Perfective tenses.....	129
6.3.3.1 Perfective stems.....	129
6.3.3.2 Intransitive perfective tenses.....	130
6.3.3.3 Transitive perfective tenses.....	131
6.3.3.4 Elaboration of perfective tenses with auxiliaries.....	134
6.4 Verb classes.....	134
6.4.1 Root-accented verbs.....	136
6.4.1.1 Intransitive <i>a</i> -stems with the perfective marker <i>-l</i>	136
6.4.1.2 Intransitive <i>a</i> -stems with markers <i>-t</i> , <i>-t̄</i> , <i>-th</i> or <i>-d</i>	139
6.4.1.3 Passive type <i>a</i> -stems.....	145
6.4.1.4 Transitive <i>a</i> -stems: root-accented transitive verbs.....	148
6.4.2 Stem-accented verbs.....	154
6.4.2.1 Transitive <i>á</i> -stems.....	154

6.4.2.2 Mixed <i>áa</i> -stems.....	157
6.4.2.3 Causative and transitive <i>ée</i> -stems.....	161
6.4.2.4 Transitive <i>íi</i> -stems	168
6.4.2.5 Intransitive <i>ó</i> -stems	172
6.4.3 Shortened verbs.....	176
6.4.4 Irregular verbs	185
6.5 Voice.....	193
6.5.1 Causatives.....	193
6.5.2 Passives	194
6.6 Imperatives.....	195
6.6.1 Imperative forms of intransitive and passive <i>a</i> -stems	196
6.6.2. Imperative forms of transitive <i>a</i> -stems.....	196
6.6.3 Imperative forms of transitive <i>á</i> -stems.....	196
6.6.4 Imperative forms of mixed <i>áa</i> -stems	197
6.6.5 Imperative forms of causative and transitive <i>ée</i> -stems	197
6.6.6 Imperative forms of transitive <i>íi</i> -stems	197
6.6.7 Imperative forms of intransitive <i>ó</i> -stems	197
6.6.8 Imperative forms of shortened and irregular verbs	198
6.7 Modality.....	198
6.7.1 ‘Be able’	198
6.7.2 ‘Need’, ‘must’, ‘want’	202
6.7.3 ‘Want’.....	203
6.7.4 Presumption.....	204
6.8 Conditional sentences	204
6.8.1 Fulfillable conditions.....	204
6.8.2 Contrafactual conditions.....	205
6.8.3 Complex aspectual distinctions in contrafactual conditions ...	206
6.9 Conjunct and Nominal Verbs.....	206
6.9.1 Conjunct verbs.....	206
6.9.2 Nominal verbs	207
7. Adverbs, Participles and Verbal Nouns.....	209
7.1 Simple Adverbs.....	209
7.1.1 Adverbs of Time.....	209
7.1.2 Adverbs of Place	210
7.1.2.1 <i>adí– asdí– kudí</i>	210
7.1.2.2 Directional and postpositional adverbs.....	212
7.1.2.2.1 Directional adverbs	212
7.1.2.2.2 Postpositional adverbs.....	213

7.1.3 Adverbs of Manner and Degree	215
7.1.3.1 <i>áath</i> – <i>asdáath</i> – <i>káath</i>	215
7.1.3.2. Miscellaneous adverbs of manner	215
7.2 Derived adverbs	216
7.2.1 Adverbs derived from nouns	216
7.2.2 Adverbs derived from adjectives	217
7.2.2.1 <i>khabóoto</i> ‘left’, <i>daçhíno</i> ‘right’	217
7.2.2.2 <i>adáa</i> – <i>ajdáa</i> – <i>asdáa</i> – <i>kadáa</i>	218
7.2.2.3. <i>lóo</i> ‘very’, ‘much’, ‘many’	219
7.3 Participles	219
7.3.1 Conjunctive participles	219
7.3.1.1 Forms and agreement of conjunctive participles	219
7.3.1.2 Function of conjunctive participles	223
7.3.1.2.1 Temporal relations	223
7.3.1.2.2. Specialized relations	224
7.3.1.3. Negation of conjunctive participles	225
7.3.2 Adverbial participle of manner	226
7.3.3 Repetition and lengthening of participles	229
7.3.3.1 Repetition	229
7.3.3.2 Duration expressed by vowel lengthening	230
7.3.4 Progressive participle	230
7.3.5 Perfective participle	230
7.3.6 Passive-contingent participle	232
7.4 Verbal nouns	235
8. Compound Verbs	239
8.1 What is a compound verb?	239
8.2 Structure and occurrence of compound verbs	239
8.2.1 <i>bojoón</i> ‘to go’ (Urdu <i>jānā</i>)	240
8.2.2 <i>byoón</i> ‘to sit’ (Urdu <i>baiṭhnā</i>)	242
8.2.3 <i>dijoón</i> ‘to fall’ (Urdu <i>girnā</i>)	244
8.2.4 <i>doón</i> ‘to give’ (Urdu <i>denā</i>)	245
8.2.5 <i>phátoon</i> ‘to leave’ (Urdu <i>chorṇā</i>)	247
8.2.6 <i>mojoón</i> ‘to release’ (Urdu <i>āzād karnā, chorṇā</i>)	249
8.3 Conclusion	250
9. Conjunctions	252
9.2. The particle <i>-ga</i>	252
9.3 <i>walé</i> and <i>khíni</i> ‘but’	253

9.4 <i>ce</i> ‘that’	253
9.5 <i>ke-ce</i> ‘because’	254
9.6 <i>záũ</i> ‘maybe’	254
9.7 <i>agar</i> ‘if’	254
9.8 The topicalizer <i>to</i> ‘as for’, ‘then’	255
Bibliography	257
Index	261

Preface

This grammar is corpus-based, that is to say the grammatical structures presented here have emerged from analysis of the following texts: (1) six short texts included in the *Shina Environmental Primer* (Kohistani and Schmidt 1996), (2) a collection of twenty-four proverbs made by Razwal Kohistani (see also Kohistani and Schmidt 1999), and (3) one long folktale, the *nesmánee qasá* (“Poor man’s tale”), told by Ropi Jan on 14th June 2000, in Rawalpindi, Pakistan. This tale is discussed in Schmidt 2006.

To supplement this data, the authors have collected nominal, pronominal and verbal paradigms, and elicited examples to fill in lacunae in the corpus data. This elicited data has been carefully double-checked.

The authors have chosen as the basic form of the language Razwal Kohistani’s speech, which belongs to the Palas Valley. The speech of Manzar Zarin, who has lived in lowland Pakistan most of his life, has many forms that vary from Razwal’s even though both of them have Palas Valley Shina as their mother tongue. The readers of this grammar will find many competing (variant) forms. This reflects the reality that an unstandardized language varies from village to village and generation to generation. By choosing Razwal’s speech as the basic dialect, the authors have—although this was not their intention—taken a step toward standardization of Kohistani Shina. Speakers of different dialects may object to our analysis. This is the fate of all grammarians who work with unwritten languages.

To the extent permitted by time and resources, we have also made preliminary efforts to trace the historical roots of Kohistani Shina and its development, drawing on work by other scholars. Shina may be spoken largely by illiterates, but it is a treasure-house of information about Indo-Aryan languages, something its speakers should surely be proud of.

The authors wish to thank the following for supporting our work over the years: the Himalayan Jungle Project, Islamabad; the British High Commission, Islamabad; the University of Oslo, The Benneches Legat, Oslo; the Nansen Fund, Oslo, and the European Association of Lexicography. Among our friends and colleagues, Carla Radloff, Claus Peter Zoller and Lars Martin Fosse deserve special thanks for their advice and practical help.

1. The Geographic and Historical Setting

1.1 Location and dialect groups of Shina

Indus Kohistan lies on the south-western margin of the Shina-speaking zone, which includes Gilgit, Hunza, the Astor Valley, the Tangir-Darel Valleys, Chilas, Indus Kohistan, and also the upper Neelam Valley and Dras, and parts of Ladakh. Morgenstierne classifies Shina as a member of the Dardic branch of Indo-Aryan languages,¹ and historians have long attempted to identify the speakers of Shina with an ancient ethnic group known as the Dārada. Classical Greek, Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese and epigraphic sources place the country of the Dards, or *Dāradadeśa*, in the Neelam/Kishanganga valley.²

The rock carvings and inscriptions discovered by Jettmar in the Indus valley show that Chilas was between the 5th to the 8th centuries A.D. probably a frontier district of a Dārada kingdom with its seat in the Neelam/Kishanganga.³ A Brahmi inscription mentioning a “*śri palola śāhi surendrādityanandī*”, read by Hinüber,⁴ links Chilas to the Paṭola or Palola dynasty of Gilgit, ca. 5th to the 8th centuries, known also as Bolor. Jettmar argues that sometime prior to the 10th century, the Dārada kingdom probably merged with this Paṭola dynasty, becoming powerful enough to exert pressure on Kashmir.⁵ In the 11th century, Alberuni found “Shiltas” (Shilathasa) part of a “Bhatta-Shāh” kingdom whose people plagued Kashmir with their inroads.⁶ The title *bhaṭṭa-*, *bhaṭṭāraka-* appears in several of the Brahmi inscriptions read by Hinüber, and means ‘lord’, ‘master’. This suggests the reading *Bhaṭṭa Śāh* for the kingdom mentioned by Alberuni. The interpretation of *śāha* as ‘king’ is based on the reading of *śāhī* as ‘ruler’, with the Persian palatal sibilant treated as a retroflex sibilant in Dardic.⁷

1 Morgenstierne 1961.

2 Vohra 1981: 53-66; Jettmar 1977: 411-433; 1989, 2: 114.

3 Jettmar 1989, 1: xix. These petroglyphs date from prehistoric times until the 10th or 11th century.

4 Hinüber 1989: 64-5.

5 Jettmar 1989: 104-5.

6 Sachau 1910, p. 207. See also Richard Strand’s (2001b) website on the *Bhaṭesa zip*, where he relates the ethnonym *Bhaṭ-* of the people of *Bhaṭera* (located in Indus Kohistan, across the Indus from Besham and well south of Palas) to CDIAL 9402, MIA *bhaṭṭa-*, ‘lord, noble’ < *bhārtī* or CDIAL 9366 ‘mixed caste of bards’. The *Bhaṭṭas* seem to have been powerful in Indus Kohistan in former times.

Fussman cites linguistic evidence linking the Shina language with the Gandhari Prakrit of the lower Kabul and Swat River valleys, which is attested in the Ashokan (3rd century B.C.) and later inscriptions, and postulates that when this area was conquered by Pashtun tribes, between the 11th and early 16th centuries, groups of Shina-speakers may have migrated or been pushed north into the valleys tributary to the Indus.⁸

Bailey divides modern Shina into three main dialect groups: Gilgiti, Kohistani (including Kohistani and Chilasi) and Astori (including Guresi and Drasi).⁹ Strand classifies the Shina dialects into two main groups:¹⁰

The dialect around Chilâs in the east-west portion of the Indus valley above Indus Kohistan is probably the source of the speech that spread upstream along the Indus basin to form the Eastern Shina dialects and downstream to form the

7 Hinüber (1989: 63-4) discusses the title *śāhī* twice, rendering it variously as the title of a family or the title of a dynasty: *ḷḷatrasāhī vajranandi* ... “might have been the son of the ruler” (p. 63); *śri palola śāhī surendrādityanandi* ... “This king should be identical with *surendrāditya* ... ruling approximately between 720 and 725 as the last ruler belonging to this dynasty” (p. 64). The title *śāha* also occurs, but Hinüber finds no interpretation for it.

Vajranandi means “he who delights in the *vajra* [the thunderbolt]”, apparently a ruler’s name, as it points to Indra, the king of the gods (L. M. Fosse, p.c., 1 November 2003). *ḷḷatrá* means ‘might’, ‘rule’ [√ *ḷḷ*] (CDIAL 3648), and is cognate with the Persian word *šāh* (Vullers 1855: 392, Platts 1911: 719 give the Zend form *khshaya* [from the root *khshi*]). *ḷḷatrasāhī* appears to be a translation-compound of two words meaning the same thing in different languages (a common phenomenon in multilingual regions): ‘ruler-ruling’. If so, *ḷḷatrasāhī* can be translated: ‘ruler, of ruling lineage’.

The retroflex sibilant seems puzzling at first glance, as retroflex sibilants did not occur in Middle Persian (Fridrik Thordarson, p.c., 1 November 2003). The inscription itself is the only evidence that it was pronounced that way, as Alberuni wrote in Arabic, which lacks a way to represent retroflex sibilants.

If *śāha* was indeed borrowed from Persian, there is no rule which states that a Persian palatal sibilant invariably corresponds with the the Sanskrit palatal sibilant *ṣ* (ṣ) (although in fact it does so in modern Shina, which also has a three-way sibilant contrast). Its treatment would have depended on the actual phonetic values of *ṣ* (ṣ) and *ṣ* (ṣ) in Chilâs at the time, and on the actual phonetic value of Persian *š* (š) in the eastern Iranian zone. In fact, there are other examples of the Persian palatal sibilant *š* (š) corresponding with Dardic or Nuristani *ṣ*: Pers. *bādšāh* ‘king’ > Khovar *bāḷa* ~ *bāṣa* ‘king’, Pers. *dānišmand* ‘learned’ > Khovar *daṣman* ‘maulvi’ (Elena Bashir, p.c., 3 November 2003); Pers. *šahr* ‘town’ > Kamviri *ṣor* ‘winter (lowland) grazing ground’ (Richard Strand, p.c., 2 November 2003). See also Richard Strand (2002), “Phonological processes on the Indo-Iranian Frontier”. It appears that the tongue is backed in Eastern Iranian as one gets closer to the Indo-Iranian frontier, and that the palatal sibilant tends toward laminal post-alveolar in this zone.

8 Fussman 1989: 55-6.

9 Bailey 1924: xii-xiv.

10 Strand 2001a.

kohistyō dialect of Indus Kohistan. Another dialect centers on Gilgit, with an outlying Tibetanized offshoot (Brokskat) in Ladakh. In addition there are dispersed dialect enclaves to the west of the Indus: *ušuj'u*, spoken beside Torwâli in the Chail Valley of upper Swat, the archaic dialects *palôlâ'* and Sâwi, spoken in enclaves off the Kunar-Chitral River, and perhaps KalkoTi, spoken in one part of KalkoT in Dir Kohistân.

Schmidt compared lexical and grammatical data from four dialects of Shina: the Kohistani, Gilgiti, Guresi and Drasi.¹¹ The Guresi and Gilgiti dialects retain archaic features, and appear to occupy a central position within the Shina speech zone. The Kohistani and Drasi dialects (spoken on the western and eastern fringes) present different and unique innovations. This fits nicely with the placement of the ancient country of the Dards in modern Gures, north of the Kashmir valley,¹² and suggests diffusion of Shina speakers east and west from a central zone stretching from Gures through Astor up to Gilgit. An oral tradition says that the Darṃá lineages¹³ of Chilas and Kohistan migrated from Gures.¹⁴ A population of the Darṃá lineage still exists in Astor.

Guresi perfective verbs show no trace of transitive verb perfective tense formation with the conjunctive participle (§6.3.3.3) which Gilgiti, and to some extent Kohistani, perfective verbs preserve. This permits a second hypothesis, that the original dialect split is between Gilgiti and the ancestor of the remaining three dialects, with the subsequent separation of Kohistani and Drasi. It does appear that Drasi, with its innovative grammaticalization of 'come', and Kohistani, with its innovative future tense, assumed their peripheral roles in fairly recent times.¹⁵

An archaic form of Shina, called Palula (*palôlâ'*, *paaluulaâ'*) is found in the Biyori and Ashret valleys of southern Chitral, and this language and its associated oral histories and genealogies provide evidence for a migration from Chilas to Chitral.¹⁶ The similarity between Palula and the name of the 5th to 8th century dynasty, Paṭola or Palola, seems unlikely to be coincidental.

11 Schmidt 2004: 33-55.

12 As postulated by Jettmar 1989: xix.

13 The Darṃá are a clan of the *Šiñ* ethnic group living mainly in Indus Kohistan.

14 Called *Gurāī* in Indus Kohistan. The oral tradition was recorded from Razwal Kohistani November 2006 in Rawalpindi. In 1989 Schmidt played a tape of Kohistani Shina to a Guresi speaker. He understood it perfectly, but found it "quaint".

15 Schmidt 2004: 52.

16 Palula has been studied by Morgenstierne (1940), Buddruss (1967), Strand (2001b) and Liljegren.

Unfortunately, no *Shina* records or inscriptions trace any of the migrations discussed here. The only Dardic language with a pre-modern literary tradition is Kashmiri. There are however many oral histories telling of migrations, and we shall hear three versions of the story of the migration of the Darṁá to Kohistan.¹⁷

1.2 The oral history of Kohistan

Among the Darṁá of Indus Kohistan, oral history plays several important roles. It is used to validate claims of property ownership, since there are no written records of the *wesh*, or land distributions, in which land was allocated to *záats*, or lineages, in equal amounts. It preserves the memory of feuds between different lineages, feuds which in some individual cases remain unresolved. Legends are cited to enhance the collective reputation of one's lineage; for example, Darṁá lineages point to their historic overthrow of the mighty adversary Dam Siṅg as testimony to their courage. Conversely, false histories are invented to discredit some lineages, claiming that their ancestors were originally artisans, such as carpenters or ironsmiths, or were merely found under a tree. Most Kohistani oral history has a secular character, even when the subject is the bringing of Islam to Kohistan, that is to say, the legends are considered history (*tazkirá*), and are not usually associated with any rituals.

In Palas, "The story of Bóṭi Siṅg and Dam Siṅg" is passed on from generation to generation, told by old men called *qasmáar*, on request from interested listeners. It describes the migration of the Darṁá lineage of the Shin of Indus Kohistan from the north, and the invasion of Kohistan or overlordship of it by two men, usually said to be Sikhs, also coming from the north. We have collected three versions of this story, which we summarize here.

In an interview in Lahore in 1980, the Shin tribal elder Haréq told Manzar Zarin that Daṛóomo, the ancestor of the Darṁá lineage, originally migrated from Chilas to Kohistan at a time when Sikhs ruled Kohistan, and the region still lay in darkness, i.e., the light of Islam had not reached it. According to Haréq, the Palas Valley was then ruled by a Sikh named Dam Siṅg, and the Jalkot Valley by a Sikh named Bóṭi. Daṛóomo's nephews, Tóolo and Dodoóko, are converted to Islam by another uncle, Soróomo, who has secretly converted

17 A more detailed account of the oral history of Kohistan is presented in Schmidt 2003/2004: 61-79.

to the new religion. Tóolo and Dodoóko kill Dam Síng in Dáro (upper Palas) while Bóṭi Síng is away in Chilas, and keep a watch on Bóṭi Síng's return route in order to kill him as well:

In those days, Dáro was ruled by a Sikh called Dam Síng and the population in lower Palas were farmers by profession. Jalkot was ruled by another Sikh whose name was Bóṭi. Tóolo and Dodoóko came down to Dáro and killed Dam Síng and escaped to their maternal uncles in lower Palas. Then they crossed the Indus River and went to their mother who lived in a place called Tiyáal in Jalkot. She treated them very well. Bóṭi was visiting Chilas at that time, and on his way back he heard the news. They kept watch on [Bóṭi's] route with the intention of getting rid of the Sikhs, in order to bring the light [of Islam] to the region. They were doing so because they had already accepted Islam.

In the meanwhile, the ancestor of the Sormá [lineage], called Soróomo, had gone secretly to the Sayyids of Karóṛa, in Swat, and had converted to Islam. This was not yet public knowledge. Tóolo and Dodoóko were the sons of his [Soróomo's] younger brother. Soróomo constantly worked to make converts among his relatives: Poéés and his sons, until they all converted to Islam.¹⁸

Razwal Kohistani has recorded another version of the same story from several sources. This version says that Bóṭi Síng lived in Jalkot and collected taxes from as far away as the Shina-speaking region above Seo on the Indus. Nothing is said about his being a Sikh, but he doesn't seem to have been a Muslim, as Tóolo and Dodoóko are said to be "the very first to bring the Faith to Kolai, Palas and Jalkot". In Kohistani's version, Tóolo and Dodoóko kill Dam Síng and Bóṭi Síng in revenge for their father Darákan, whom Dam Síng has murdered for failing to pay taxes:

At that time Bóṭi Síng was living in Jalkot. He used to collect taxes from as far as Şunaáki. One day Bóṭi Síng sent him [Dam Síng] a message that Darákan in Palas should be killed. Darákan was not paying tax to him. Darákan had a friend in Palas. His name was Hanyaál. He was living in Şarkóoṭ. Around the onset of spring Darákan came down to meet him. He stayed a while. One day he set off for Jalkot via the Kharát path. Dam Síng had him attacked and killed by four or five men ...

Darákan had two sons; they called one Tóolo and the other Dodoóko. In time they grew up. Taking leave of their mother, they came down to Şarkóoṭ. Hanyaál

18 Told by Ali Khan Haréq, 30 October 1980 in Lahore, Pakistan. Quoted from Zarin and Schmidt 1984: 6-7. Another version, recorded from Razwal Kohistani, November 2006 in Rawalpindi, says that after Tóolo and Dodoóko killed Dam Síng, they escaped across the Indus River to Karóṛa, where they entered a mosque wearing their traditional *Şiñ* leggings. The local people, realizing that they were not Muslims, converted them.

arranged for a weapon and told them the way ... They climbed a tree and looked, and there sat Dam Siᅅg on the rocky escarpment. He was smoking a water-pipe. Tóolo and Dodoóko were ready with the weapon. One drew the bow and fired an arrow. It struck Dam Siᅅg's navel. Dam Siᅅg died on the spot. Tóolo and Dodoóko took to their heels. After a while they killed Bóᅇi Siᅅg in Jalkot ... Tóolo and Dodoóko were the very first to bring the Faith [Islam] to Kolai, Palas and Jalkot.¹⁹

A third version of the myth was told by the elder Zar Jahan of Jalkot to Manzar Zarin. In Zar Jahan's version, Dam Siᅅg and Bóᅇi Siᅅg are Sikh commanders in Gilgit, who occupy Chilas, and from there, attack upper Palas (Dáro). Tóolo and Dodoóko join their uncle Daᅇóomo in the battle and kill Dam Siᅅg. Meanwhile Bóᅇi Siᅅg attacks Jalkot. Tóolo and Dodoóko enlist the support of the Khúka-Manká lineages of Kolai, and the tribal army confronts Bóᅇi Siᅅg's army at Tiyáál in Jalkot. Bóᅇi Siᅅg flees, but is caught and killed. The Darᅇmá of Palas ask Daᅇóomo and his nephews for support against the Sikh regime, and the resulting tribal coalition of Darᅇmá, Khúka and Manká²⁰ makes numerous raids on Chilas.

In Zar Jahan's version, Daᅇóomo's ancestors were Afghans who first migrated to Gilgit during Durrani rule in Kashmir, and later to Chilas. Daᅇóomo migrates to upper Palas (Dáro) with his men by a short route in the southeast, and later occupies lower Palas as well.

Bóᅇi Siᅅg and Dam Siᅅg were actually Sikh commanders in Gilgit. They invaded Chilas and occupied it. From there Dam Siᅅg attacked upper Palas. Tóolo and Dodoóko joined their uncle, Daᅇóomo, in the battle and killed Dam Siᅅg. In the meanwhile, Bóᅇi Siᅅg had also attacked Jalkot and reached a place, Tiyáál. His army was now located in another place called Kaᅇdróᅇ on a hill near the Indus. The remains of their wine-presses still exist there.

Tóolo and Dodoóko came to know about Bóᅇi Siᅅg's occupation in Palas. They asked the Khúka Manká in Kolai for help and quickly moved to defend their land. Both the armies met near Tiyáál. Bóᅇi Siᅅg and his wife fled. However, Bóᅇi Siᅅg was captured at Boᅇi's Olive Tree. They gave his wife an offer to spare him if she gave them gold equal to his weight. She refused and they killed him. His wife was killed afterwards. Bóᅇi Siᅅg had the strength of twelve men.

The Darᅇmá of Palas asked Daᅇóomo and his nephews for assistance against the Sikh regime. As a result, the Khúka Manká and their joint armies raided

19 Quoted from Schmidt and Kohistani 2001: 138-141, and recorded by Razwal Kohistani from his mother between 1962 to 1971, and also from Songalíf of Luuní Séer (1992), Peereé of Sharé (1993) and Gul Šéer of Páro (1996). According to Songalíf, Dam Siᅅg's sister was married to Bóᅇi Siᅅg.

20 All the Shin lineages of Indus Kohistan.

Chilas numerous times. At last they succeeded in conquering Chilas.²¹

Some six generations have elapsed between the end of Dogra rule in Kashmir and the earliest recording of our legend, and even the oldest narrator, Haréq, who was 85 in 1980, does not claim to have heard it from an eyewitness. Nevertheless the legend is considered history, and references are made to a tree that Bóti Síng liked to rest under, the rock cauldrons which his army used to make wine in, the flat boulder that Dam Síng used to sit on, and to Haṅyaál's land in Šarkóoṭ,²² all of which can allegedly be pointed out to the observer. Unlike the narration of a folktale, the audience may put questions to the teller or debate whether the events are true, although doubters are usually silenced by the audience.

1.3 Introduction of Islam

By tradition, the Afghan Akhund Salak introduced Islam in Kohistan. Salak flourished during the reign of Emperor Shah Jahan (1627-1658). He is said to have died in 1067 H. (1656 C.E.). His companion and disciple Khwaja Akhund Rafan is remembered in Kohistan as Axún Dáado [Grandfather Axún]. His tomb is at Palas.²³ The title *akhund* tells us that these men were probably charismatic spiritual leaders with a traditional role as mediators between political factions, as they were in Swat.²⁴ All the evidence indicates that during the 17th and 18th centuries, neither Swat nor Kohistan had centralized rule, but was characterized by political competition between lineages and chiefs, which in Swat was managed through the institution of *wesh*, or land redistribution, a custom that in a modified form was also adopted in Kohistan.²⁵ The economic benefits of the new system of land distribution, which opened the way to clear forested land for cultivation,²⁶ were thus identified with a new religion, Islam.²⁷

Cacopardo and Cacopardo discuss the data available for the Islamization of Indus Kohistan, finding that generation counts cannot place the introduction

21 Recorded by Manzar Zarin in Rawalpindi in April 2002.

22 *Haṅyaálee dóoli* 'Haṅyaál's field(s)': a share of land in village Šarkóoṭ.

23 Shaheen 1988: 97-99.

24 See Barth 1965: 56-63 for a description of the role of spiritual leaders in Pashtun society.

25 See Lindholm 1982: 33-34 for the role of the *wesh* in managing power relations in Swat; see Zarin and Schmidt 1984: 10-17 and 41-46 for its function in Kohistan.

26 Zarin and Schmidt 1984: 10-28.

of Islam to Eastern Kohistan earlier than the late 18th century,²⁸ a date which tallies with our own genealogical evidence. Despite the efforts of Akhund Salak and Akhund Rafan, conversion appears to have been a gradual process lasting a century and a half, with resistance from those unwilling to give up existing religious observances.²⁹ Eaton, analyzing the process of conversion in eastern Bengal, finds three stages in the process of conversion: *inclusion*, *identification* and *displacement*.³⁰ In inclusion, "Islamic superhuman agencies became accepted in local Bengali cosmologies alongside local divinities already embedded therein." Identification occurred when Islamic superhuman agencies merged with the local deities (something like this happens for example among a faction of Kalasha, who identify Kafir deities with prophets and saints of Islam³¹). Displacement happened when Islamic superhuman agencies replaced those of other divinities in local cosmologies, and was often a result of Islamic reform activities. In Bengal, which has an old literary tradition, all three phases can be documented. In Kohistan, all literature is oral, and oral literatures are notoriously homeostatic, tending to change when circumstances change, so documentation is more difficult; nevertheless old divinities can sometimes be found surviving in disguise as fairies, testifying to earlier stages of inclusion and identification.

As one example, a tale transcribed by Schmidt, Zarin and Kohistani³² has been compared by Schmidt with similar tales in Kashmir and the Western Himalayas, revealing that the ancient practice of serpent worship has been transformed to folk beliefs about snakes.³³ The Nāgarājā or serpent king is

27 See Eaton 1993: 228-267 for a similar process on the frontier of Eastern Bengal under the Mughals, where "Islam more than other culture systems became identified with a developing agrarian social order [and] state supported pioneers established Islamic institutions in formerly forested areas."

28 Cacopardo and Cacopardo 2001: 35.

29 See Cacopardo and Schmidt 2006: 85 for an account of the disapproval which a Kati Muslim convert faced from his family at the beginning of the 20th century.

30 Eaton 1993: 269-290.

31 Cacopardo and Schmidt 2006: fn, 181 to p. 57.

32 "The poor man's tale" (also called "The button prince"), narrated by Ropi Jan (age 52) in Rawalpindi, Pakistan, 14 June 2000, and tape-recorded by Manzar Zarin. The plot may be briefly summarized: a snake rescued by a poor man turns into a luminous button, which the poor man sells to the king. The king gives it to his daughter, and during the night it becomes a magic child. Despite universal condemnation, the princess brings up the child as a prince, whom she later marries. The royal couple leave home to seek their fortune, but the prince is bewitched and turned into a ram. In order to find him and lift the spell, the princess must disguise herself as a man and outwit a king and his scheming minister. Then the prince turns into a serpent again, and the princess once again finds her husband and rescues him from enchantment in the serpent kingdom.

now a fairy prince (the narrator gives an Islamic slant to this by describing him as a *jinn*, a spirit described in the Quran³⁴). The Nāgaloka (serpent kingdom) is now in the high mountains, and the serpent gem *nāgamani* has become a luminous button. Thanks to the efforts of the Deobandis and Tablighi Jama'at, identification is giving way to displacement (though not everywhere in equal measure).

1.3.1 The genealogical evidence

The oral histories give us a central event: the conversion of Tóolo and Dodoóko to Islam, at the initiative of Uncle Soróomo (the ancestor of the Surmá lineage), who has gone secretly to Swat to convert.

Razwal Kohistani is able to trace his own genealogy to Soróomo's father, Hanif Siŋg (Fig. 1). Razwal (b. 1956) is in the ninth generation from Soróomo; his father Ghiyas (b. 1926) is in the eighth generation. Calculating 20 years to a generation, we cannot place Soróomo's birth later than 1786 (although it may well have been earlier). Thus he was active at the end of the 18th century or in the first half of the 19th century.

Soróomo's father is the last generation to bear the surname *Siŋg*. Beginning with the generation after Soróomo, although the names are not yet Islamic (they are traditional and, by derivation, clan names), Swat Pashtun or Islamic titles are now found (*malik* 'chieftain', *šer* 'lion', *šaix* 'Muslim holy man', *mholáa* 'Muslim scholar', *hakím* 'doctor of Yunani medicine'). The event of conversion is marked by the abandonment of the old surname and the adoption of Pashtun or Islamic titles. But Islamic names do not become common until the eighth generation. Eaton's processes of inclusion, identification and displacement may also be helpful here: the second through seventh generations could be those of inclusion and identification; displacement is established in the eighth generation.

In comparison, both the Cacopardos and Richard Strand have collected genealogies for populations in Chitral which trace their origin to Chilas.³⁵ Strand has collected the ethnohistory and genealogy of the people of Ashret (the Açar`íta or Shíng). Calculating 20 years to a generation, he reckons that the Açar`íta must have left Chilas in ca. 1640. The name of "the first grandfather

33 Schmidt 2006.

34 Glassé 1989: 210-211. The jinns are inhabitants of the subtle world. The Quran says that they were created of "smokeless fire" (55:31).

35 Strand 2000, Cacopardo and Cacopardo 2001: 119-124.

is maCô'k, his son is Côt'k and his grandson is bôtâ. The Açar'îta themselves told Strand that they have been living in Ashret for "for these approximately eight or nine hundred years as the Shina tribe... We are still making our lives in this homeland, and our language is Shina. We are one people from Chilâs; originally, we are from Chilâs. From among them we, our tribe, are attached to the Shîng tribe, from within Gilgit.³⁶

The Cacopardos have also collected genealogies from Ashret, in which the first three ancestors, Machoke, Choke and Bota, are identical with those in Strand's. In one branch of the tribe, the name Shing appears: Shing Baro is a grandson of Bota, and Gilshing is his grandson; the latter name appears as girS'înge in Strand's genealogy.

Although the genealogies do not overlap with Razwal's, the resemblance between the surname *Sîng* and the tribal name *Shîng* is perhaps no coincidence. Biddulph mentions that many Muslim Shins had the surname "Sing".³⁷ It is also a Rajput name, and the earlier form *siṃha* is a frequent element in the colophons of the Gilgit Manuscripts (datable to probably not later than the 9th century C.E.). Bota/bôtâ appears to be cognate with Bôṭi.

The conversion to Islam among the Açar'îta appears to have taken place, according to Strand, between 1820-1840 C.E.

1.3.2 The linguistic evidence

All of the stories agree that the main contestants in the struggle are Dam Sîng and Bôṭi Sîng on one side, and Tóolo and Dodoóko on the other. Two of the stories trace the origin of the Darṃá Shin to Chilas, and one traces it as far as Gilgit. In two of the versions, Dam Sîng and Bôṭi Sîng are rulers or military commanders. In the third, Bôṭi Sîng collects taxes, implying that he was a *jāgīrdār*. That some kind of tribal revolt took place seems to be in little doubt, but whether it was a religious war or a tax revolt seems uncertain. None of the Kohistani names is Islamic, but we do not know their religion. Two of the stories assert that Dam Sîng and Bôṭi Sîng were Sikhs (this is a recurring motif in local legend), however history contains no mention of a connection between Kohistan and the Sikhs in Panjab.³⁸ The name *Sîng*

36 Strand 2000 (the Palula text is also given). Fussman 1989: 56-7 comments however that Palula does not seem to share the Burushaski influence that characterizes the Gilgiti dialect, nor does it appear to have a closer relation to Gilgiti than other Shina dialects.

37 Biddulph 1880: 99.

38 There are however echoes of Hinduism in Kohistan: there is a ruined settlement lying between Kolai and Palas (near Kuz Gaber) with the name *Hinduwānodaar*.

proves nothing. Even the mention of Sikhs must be taken with a grain of salt, as by the end of the 19th century, the word 'Sikh' had become a term of abuse.³⁹

Another tradition claims that Dam Siṅg belonged to the Chilīs tribe, with an origin in Chilas.⁴⁰ Tradition says that the Chilīs migrated north from a place called Qarnāa (30 miles below modern Thakot on the Indus River) 900 years ago. Yet another tradition connects them with the juniper species (*chilīi*), of which there was an enormous specimen in Qarnāa. Their migration, under a chief named Dumāa, took them first to Kolai in Kohistan, and later on to Jalkot and Palas. Reportedly, between 1400 and 1500 they grew so powerful that the Darṁá tribe, to whom the regional elders belonged, decided to give them land in dispersed areas in order to weaken their power.⁴¹

Interestingly enough, regular sound change rules will derive the name Bóṭi from Bháṭṭa, (Fig. 2, next page) raising the possibility that the oral histories hark back to a time much older than the late 18th century. (See also Strand's etymology in fn. 6.) Or perhaps Bháṭṭa (and its later form Bóṭi) was merely an imposing name to give a child in pre-Muslim times, much as Pakistani children are still named Jahangir, nearly four centuries after the Mughal emperor by that name died.

1.4 The present status of Shina

Kohistani and Schmidt 2006 give the number of Shina speakers in Kohistan District as 370,062,⁴² with a large number in other districts where Kohistani Shina speakers have migrated. In Kohistan, Shina is spoken along the left bank of the Indus River in Kolai, Palas, Jalkot, Shatīal and Sazin, not only by

39 Leitner 1893: Appendix IV: 10-11.

40 There is an apparent phonetic problem with this folk etymology. The initial affricate in modern 'Chilas' is not aspirated; *Cildas* (چلاس), whereas the initial affricate in the name of the tribe is aspirated: *Chilīs* (چیلیس). However Bailey 1924: xiv reports that the Chilasīs themselves do aspirate it: *Chīlās* (چیلās).

41 Interview conducted by Schmidt with Kohistani in November 2003 in Rawalpindi. The interested reader can follow a discussion of the Chilīs in Kohistani 1998, especially pp. 57-9 (where the origin of the Chilīs is discussed and the Dam Siṅgiyāā [Dam Siṅgite] lineage appears as a branch of the Chilīs), and on p. 81, which shows the major territorial groups to which lineages of Chilīs origin are everywhere attached; for example, in Kolai they are attached to the Manká tribe, but in Jalkot they are attached to the Darṁá tribe (*ibid.*, pp. 167-8).

42 Source: *District Census Report of Kohistan 1998* (Government of Pakistan 1998).

ethnic Shins, but also the pastoral Gujars and agricultural Sarkhali population. In Duber and Patan on the Indus right bank, Shina is spoken as a second language, for purposes of trade within Kohistan.⁴³

Fig. 2. Etymology of *Bōṭi*

1. *bh-* > *b-* RV *bhaktá-* 'meal, food' > Ko. Sh. *buát* 'cooked rice'; Skt. *bhávati* 'becomes, is' > Ko. Sh. *bó-* 'be'.
2. *-á-* > *-ó-* RV *pánthā-* 'path, road' > Ko. Sh. *pón* 'path, road'; Skt. *mástaka-* 'head' > Ko. Sh. *mótho* 'brain'; Skt. *bhávati* 'becomes, is' > Ko. Sh. *bó-* 'be'.⁴⁴
3. *-ṭ-* > *-ṭ-* OIA **kaṭṭa-*, 'young male animal' > Ko. Sh. *káṭo* 'buffalo calf'.
4. (hypothesis) Skt. *bhárṭ-* 'husband, lord' > *Bháṭṭa* > *Bōṭa* > *Bōṭi* (See CDIAL 9402).

The vastness and remoteness of the area, together with the absence (until recently) of modern education and communications, have hindered the spread of Pakistan's literary language, Urdu, and kept Shina as the dominant medium of communication. Educational standards remain low, with only 11% of the population literate,⁴⁵ and 6.89% of school-age children enrolled in school. This presents a problem in public administration (police stations, hospitals, schools and courts), where many posts are held by outsiders who do not speak Shina, whereas the rate of bilingualism in the Shina-speaking public is low. Educated Shina-speaking personnel are slowly beginning to be appointed to administrative posts. There were no schools (except religious schools) in Palas until 1984. In government schools, the medium of instruction is Urdu. Thus the linguistic situation is skewed: Shina is dominant in most spheres at the local level, but education and contacts with the outside world tend to lead

43 Kohistani and Schmidt 2006: 139-141.

44 Although there are numerous examples of *-á-* > *-ó-*, not every medial *á* is raised (as is clear from other examples in this etymology). The conditioning factors for this shift are not yet known.

45 Kohistani and Schmidt 2006: 151. The Census' definition of literacy is the ability to read a newspaper and write a simple letter. In Kohistan, one must know Urdu, Pashto or English to possess these skills. The authors have observed that many people who are not literate by the Census' definition are still able to read the Quran in Arabic, as well as Shina in Arabic characters.

to bilingualism, not to the standardization of Shina, or the adoption of a uniform writing system.

There have been efforts to develop Kohistani Shina as a written language, spearheaded by Islamic missionaries, especially the Tablighi Jamaat. The need to reach out to people in the local language has resulted in attempts at publishing religious works in Shina. Akbar (1992) published a biography of the prophet, *Somolo Rasul [The Holy Prophet]*, in 1992. Nasiruddin Chilasi [no date] published a 254-page collection of poems in Chilasi Shina, *Zad-e-Safar [Provisions for the Journey]*, and Abdul Rauf of Palas is preparing a Tablighi primer in Shina, with publication expected shortly. The target audience of all these works is local people, especially women, who are not literate in Urdu or Pashto. Other Tablighis are preparing a tract in Shina on the six principles of Tabligh. Despite their high motivation, all these authors are hindered by the lack of a standard orthography, especially for the Kohistani dialect.

2. The Sound System

2.1 Taxonomic phonemes of Kohistani Shina

The sound system of Kohistani Shina is fairly close to that described by Bailey.¹ It presents a picture of a fairly archaic Indo-Aryan dialect, with preservation of contrasts between dental and retracted, aspirated and unaspirated, consonants, plus a full complement of palato-alveolar and retracted fricatives, both voiced and voiceless. The three Old Indo-Aryan sibilants, /s ś ṣ/ have been retained, as has /ṇ/. The historical OIA voiced aspirates have been lost, but the category has been re-introduced, probably through borrowing from neighboring languages. A post-velar stop, /q/ has also been assimilated into the language, and here the source is apparently Arabic loanwords. An innovation of particular interest is the development of contrastive tones, which will be analyzed below.²

The taxonomic phonemes of Kohistani Shina are shown in Fig. 3 (next page). Following is a statement of their phonetic realization.

2.2 Phonetic realization, distribution and allophonic variation

2.2.1 Vowels

/i/, high front vowel

- = [i] in the environment (C)iC, except where the final consonant is /j ɳ/:
[iç^h] 'bear', [bil] 'mouth of a bag', [niɳ] 'weeding', [ʒip] 'tongue',
[č^hɛ'riʃ] 'root', [ni'rɪl] 'pasture': / iç, bil, niɳ, jip, cheriʃ, nirɪl /.
- = [i̠] ~ [i̠] in final unaccented syllables: [ʒiɳgɪ] 'long (f.)', [dɪdɪ] 'teeth',
[sù:rɪ] 'sun', [gò:çʒi] 'houses', [ʒAçɪ] 'old (f.)', [bAçɪ] '(in the evening',
[pʷʃi] 'cat': / ʒiɳgi, dódi, súuri, góozi, jári, báli, púši /.
- = [i] elsewhere: [ku'di] 'where', [ɖA'giʒAM] 'I may be beaten', [miɳ] 'bird',
[bi:l] 'fear', [bA'li:] 'edge of roof', [čei] 'woman', [gjei] 'went' (f.sg.): / kudí, ɖagíjam, miɳ, bíil, balí, céi, gyéi /.

1 Bailey 1924: 1-11, 209-211.

2 This analysis of the Kohistani Shina sound system was first published as Schmidt and Kohistani 1998.

Fig. 3. Phonemes of Kohistani Shina

VOWELS

	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
HIGH	/i		u
MID	e		o
LOW	(æ)	a/	

CONSONANTS

	LABIAL	DENTAL	ALVEOLAR & PALATO- ALVEOLAR	RETRACTED	VELAR & POST- VELAR	GLOTTAL
STOPS						
UNASP.	/p b	t d		ʈ ɖ	k g q	
ASP.	ph bh	th dh		ʈh ɖh	kh gh	
AFFRICATES						
UNASP.		ts	c	ç		
ASP.		tsh	ch (jh)	çh		
FRICATIVES		(f)			x y	h
SLIT			š [ž] = /j/	ʂ z		
GROOVE			s z			
NASALS	m (mh)	n		ŋ	ŋ	
LIQUIDS						
LATERAL		l (lh)				
TRILL.			r			
FLAP				ɾ		
GLIDES	w		y/			

SUPRASEGMENTALS

The suprasegmentals are shown above the vowel / a /.

/á/ Short, accented vowel

/aa/ Vowel length, occurs with all vowels (shown by writing a double vowel)

/ã/ Nasalization, occurs with all vowels

/áa/ Long accented vowel, high falling pitch

/aá/ Long accented vowel, low rising pitch

/e/, mid front vowel

- = [ɛ] in the environment (C)eC: [bes] 'we (agent)', [č^he'riš] 'root', [ɛ'k^hà:ɛtʲ] 'together', [dʌ'gen] 'they beat': / bes, cheriš, ekháati, ɖagén /.
- = [e] elsewhere: [tʃei] 'woman', [lɛ:] 'known', [lɛ:] 'blood', [ʌ'kà:e] 'eleven': / cɛi, lɛl, lécl, akáac /.

/æ/, low front vowel (in loanwords)

- = [æ]: [ru'pæ:] 'money', [qæs] 'guess', [qæ'mat] 'price': / ruupææ, qæs, qæmát /.

/a/, low central vowel

- = [ʌ] in the environment (C)aC: [bak] 'cave', [jʌb] 'small water channel', [ʌ] 'a jump', [kaʃ] 'fodder': / bak, yab, al, kaç /.
- = [ʌɛ] ~ [æ] in the environments $\check{a}C\check{i}$, $\check{a}C^j$: [bʌɛtʲ] '(in the) evening', [tʃʌp'taɛrʲ] 'flat', [hænɪ] '(she) is': / báli, captári, háni /.
- = [aɛ] ~ [æ] in the environments $\check{a}C\check{i}$, $\check{a}C^j$, $\check{a}i$, $\check{a}e$: [kʌ'čà:ɛtʲ] 'matches', [hi'nà:ɛrʲ] 'snowy', [u'jæ:i] 'seasonal migration', [mu'šæ:e] 'of man': / kacáati, hinári, ujaái, mušáac /.
- = [ə] in short unaccented non-final syllables: [magə'rátʰ] 'a wild fruit': / magaraát /.
- = [ɔ] in final short unaccented syllables after voiced consonants: [tʃigɔ] 'long (pl.)', [ʒʌrɔ] 'old (pl.)', [kɪɔ] 'black (pl.)': / zǐga, jára, kíŋa /.
- = [ɔ] in final short unaccented syllables after voiceless consonants: [buʃɔ] 'all', [kʰuʃɔ] 'short (pl.)': / búʃa, khúʃa /.
- = [ɑ] elsewhere: [ʒɑ:] 'brother', [bú:k] 'acceptance', [bà:k] 'a push', [ù:jos] 'I (m.) came': [ʃɑ] 'six': / záa, baák, báak, áalos, ʃa /.

/u/, high back vowel

- = [u] in the environment (C)uC: [tus] 'you (agent)', [sum] 'earth, mud', [č^huʃu] 'fish', [utʰ] 'spring (of water)': / sum, chúbu, utʃh /.
- = [ũ] ~ [u] in final unaccented syllables after voiced consonants: [ʌ'zù:ũ] 'a medicinal plant', [pʌ'ja:lũ] 'shepherd': / azáaŋu, payáalu /.
- = [u] in final unaccented syllables after voiceless consonants: [uʃu] 'tongs', [pʊʃu] 'tomcat': / úcu, púʃu /.
- = [u] (unrounded) in the environments uC \check{i} , uC \check{i}^j : [puiʃⁱ] 'female cat': / púšⁱ /.

(2.2.1 Vowels)

= [u] elsewhere: [tu] 'you', [dù:] 'two', [nù:m] 'name', [nú:ʃ] 'daughter-in-law': / tu, dúu, núum, nuúʃ /.

/o /, mid back vowel

= [[ǔ] ~ [ʊ] in final unaccented syllables following high vowels: ['ʒigǔ] 'long (m.)', ['mù:ʒǔ] 'mouse', ['kɪŋǔ] 'black (m.)', ['kʰuǔ] 'short (m.)': /ʒígo, múuzo, kíŋo, khúto /.

= [ɔ] ~ [ɔ̃] in final unaccented syllables following low vowels: ['ʒarɔ] 'old (m. sg.)', ['bù:lɔ] 'hair', ['tó:mɔ] 'own', ['ʌrɔ] 'few', ['noɪ̃hɔ] '(he) disappeared':³ / járo, báalo, toómo, ápo, nótho /.

= [ɾ] (unrounded) in the environments oC̣i, oC̣j: ['dɾɔ] 'teeth': /dódi /.

= [o] elsewhere: [koŋ] 'ear', [kò:ŋ] 'arrow', [ʒʌ'ro] 'seducer of a girl', [poʃ] 'five', ['gɪʌo] 'went' (m.sg.): / koŋ, kóoŋ, jaró, poʃ, gyáo /.

*2.2.2 Consonants**Voiceless bilabial stops*

/p / = [p] in all environments: [pʌʃ] 'wool', [ʒʌ'pó:n] 'to bite', [gʌp] 'womb', [ʒʌp'tʌɾɪ] 'flat': / paʃ, capoón, gap, captári /.

/ph / = [pʰ] before back vowels: [pʰɔk] 'flour', [pʰo'ɛ:] 'unmarried girl': / phuk, phocé /.

= [ɸ] medially: ['mʌɾɸ], [mʌ'ɸó:] 'mother's sister': / mácpʰi, maphoó /.

= [pʰ] elsewhere: [pʰʌʃ] 'falsehood', ['ʃò:pʰʌ] 'a species of small reptile', [hʌpʰ hʌpʰ] 'barking': / phaʃ, ʃóõpha, haph haph /.

Voiced bilabial stops

/b / = [b] (lenis) intervocalically: ['čʰuʃǔ] 'fish', [bu'ɸà:] 'father': / chúbu, bubáa /.

= [b] elsewhere: [bú:k] 'acceptance', [ʒʌb] 'brideprice': / baák, ʒab /.

/bh / = [bʰ] (only in initial position): [bʰɔ:k] 'bull', [bʰo'ɾù:] 'cash payment, fare': / bhaák, bhaaráa /.

3 The distinction between final [u], [o] is marginal, and is neutralized when final [u], [o] are devoiced. However final /-o/ is the most common masculine singular gender suffix, and on morphophonemic grounds, most final short [ɔ], [ʊ] are realized as /-o/.

(2.2.2 Consonants)

Voiceless dental stops

/t/ = [t^h] in final position: [bá:t^h] 'cooked rice', [roxsat^h] 'farewell', [magə'rá:t^h] 'a wild fruit': / baát, roxsat, magaraát.⁴

= [t] elsewhere: [tʌ] 'ceiling', [tar] 'cross', [č^hʌ'ti:lü] 'young male goat', [mutɥ] 'other', [mam'tó:] 'lamb': / tal, tar, chatíilo, múto, mamtoó /.

/th/ = [t^h] in all environments: [t^hʌ] 'floor', [but^hɥ] 'leaves of tree (as fodder)': / thal, bútho /.

Voiced dental stops

/d/ = [d] in all environments: [dõ:] 'cooked maize kernels', [dʁdī] 'teeth', [mod] 'churn': / dõõ, dódi, mod /.

/dh/ = [d^h] (only in initial position): [d^hõ:] 'of both' [d^hɑɾ] 'stature', [d^hɑ'ɾá:] 'robbery': / dhõõ, dhar, dhaaraá /.

Voiceless post-alveolar stops

/ʃ/ = [ʃ] after [ʃ]: [ʌʃ'tð:č] 'eighteen': / aʃtáãč /.

= [ʃ] elsewhere: [ʃar] 'noise in the stomach', [buʃɥ] 'all', [tsʌʃ] 'drop (of liquid)': / ʃar, búʃa, tsʌʃ /.

/ʃh/ = [ʃ^h] in all environments: [ʃ^hʌɾ] 'falling of tears', [muʃ^hɥ] '(broadleaf) tree', [koʃ^hhà:č] 'silver tray': / ʃhar, múʃho, koʃháae /.

Voiced post-alveolar stops

/ɖ/ = [ɖ] in final position: [ɖɑ:ɖ] 'confidence', [ɖ^hʌŋ] ~ [ɖ^hʌɖ] 'natural pond': / ɖaaɖ, dhaŋ ~ dhāɖ /.

= [ɖ] elsewhere: [ɖɑ:] 'back of shoulders', [mudɖ] 'blunt (not sharp)', [dɾ'dú:ɾũ] 'round': / ɖáa, múɖo, ɖiduúro /.

/dh/ = [d^h] (only in initial position): [d^hhà:] 'defensive fighting with hands or horns', [d^hʌŋ] ~ [d^hʌɖ] 'natural pond': / dháa, dhaŋ ~ dhāɖ /.

Voiceless velar stops

/k/ = [k] in all environments: [kà:] 'term of address for elder brother', [koŋ] 'ear', [čʌ'kò:i] 'scale', [ʃʌk] 'neck': / káa, koŋ, čakáai, ʃak /.

/kh/ = [k^h] (does not occur in final position): [k^hhà:] 'eat', [k^hoŋ] 'mountain', [bʌk^hɥ] 'limb of tree': / kháa, khoŋ, bákho /.

4 This aspiration, while clearly audible, is not so strong as in Urdu.

(2.2.2 Consonants)

Voiced velar stops

/g/ = [g] (lenis) intervocalically: [ʔʌgʌr] 'spinning wheel'.

= [g] elsewhere: [gʌ] ~ [gó:h] 'stream', [hʌ'gà:r] 'fire', [tʰag]⁵ 'swindler', [gortš] 'a wild fruit': / cágar, ga~gaáh, hagáar, tʰag, górtʌ /.

/gh/ = [g^h] (only in initial position): [g^hor'jò:] 'dried cowdung', [g^hè:r] 'footpath in snow', [g^ha'kú:] 'bank of a stream': / ghoryóo, ghéer, ghaakuú /.

Voiceless postvelar stop

/q/ = [q] in all environments: [qò:] 'crow', [t^hò:qʌr] 'kind of frog', [pʌ'ɾʌq] '(sudden) laughter', [mʌ'ɲò:q] 'frog': / qáa, thóóqar, paráq, maṇóoq /.

Voiceless dental affricates

/ts/ = [ts] in all environments: [tsʌr] 'tearing', [tʌtsʌ] 'raw', 'unfinished', 'weak', [ʌts] word said to a dog to tell it to attack: / tsar, tátso, ʌts /.

/tsh/ = [tsh] in all environments: [tshʌr] 'stream of milk', [bʌ'tsh'ó:] 'calf', [ʌts^h] 'spring (of water)': / tshar, batshoó, utsh /.

Voiceless palato-alveolar affricates

/c/ = [č] in all environments: [čʌr] 'grass, pasturage', [p'očq] 'cloth', [šʌ'čó:r] 'obstacle', [šà:č] 'friction': / car, póco, šacaár, šaac /.

/ch/ = [č^h] in all environments: [č^hʌr] 'noise of footsteps', [mʌ'č^hà:ɾj] 'housefly', [ič^h] 'sound of coughing': / char, macháari, ich /.

Voiced palato-alveolar affricates

/j/ = [ž] (does not occur in final position): [žʌk] 'people', [bo'žó:n] 'to go', [žó:zj] 'ringworm'; / jak, bojoón, jaáji /.⁶

/jh/ = [ž^h] (only in initial position): [žò:q] ~ [ž^hò:q] 'thicket', [žʌ'ɾj:] ~ [ž^hʌ'ɾj:] 'heavy rain'; / jáaq~jháaq, jaɾíí~jhaɾíí /.⁷

5 A loanword. /g/ does not occur finally in indigenous words.

6 This sound is phonetically a voiced palato-alveolar fricative, but we have classed with the affricates for historical and comparative reasons (the sound derives from an ancient *j* and corresponds to *j* in related dialects).

7 This is a marginal phoneme, but is included because its status is asserted by native speakers. The acoustic evidence is however unconvincing and there are no minimal pairs. See §2.3 for a discussion.

(2.2.2 Consonants)

Voiceless retracted affricates

/ç / = [ç] in all environments: [çAR] 'sound of a baby defecating', [i'çí:] 'several days ago', [u'çó:n] 'to run away', [Λç] 'moisture in earth': /çar, içí, uçoón, aç /.

/çh / = [çʰ] in all environments: [çʰAR] 'waterfall', [Λ'çʰi:] 'eye', [kΛçʰΛ] 'a species of pine', [içʰ] 'bear': /çhar, açhí, káčhal, içh /.

Fricatives

/f /, voiceless labiodental fricative (mainly in loanwords)

= [f]: [ʼAfð] 'few', [ʼfARəz] 'duty';⁸ /ápo, fáraz /.

/s /, voiceless alveolar fricative

= [s] in all environments: [sAR] 'lake', [Λ'sù:] 'us (agent)', [ses] 'he (agent)', [baskø] 'extra': /sar, asáa, ses, básko /.

/z /, voiced alveolar fricative

= [z] in all environments: [zAR] 'wealth', [rΛ'zó:n] 'to say', [pAn'zi] 'fifteen', [rð:z] 'musk deer': /zar, razoón, panzílee, rðöz /.

/š /, voiceless palato-alveolar fricative

= [š] in all environments: [šAR] 'riot, weeping', [mu'šù:] 'man', [ʼΛšpo] 'horse', [bú:š] 'talk', [Λš] 'today': /šar, mušáa, ášpoo, baáš, aš /.

/ʃ /, voiceless retracted fricative

= [ʃ] in all environments: [ʃAR] 'scattering from the hand', [ʃiʃ] 'head', [míʃtũ] 'good', [šΛʃ] 'mother-in-law (of a woman)': /šar, ʃiʃ, míšto, šaʃ /.

/ʒ /, voiced retracted fricative

= [ʒ] in all environments except final: [žAR] 'slipping', [ʼΛžũ] 'rain', [bi'žó:m] 'rainbow': /zar, ázo, bižoóm /.

/x /, voiceless velar fricative

= [x] in all environments: [xAR] 'donkey', [bΛ'xì:] 'a type of seam', [tsAX] 'sound of meat burning while frying': /xar, baxí, tsax /.

/ɣ /, voiced velar fricative

= [ɣ] in all environments: [ɣAR] 'barking', [ʼɣù:rð] 'throat, being exposed in committing a sin', [mARɣə'lí:P] 'a kind of pearl', [tù:ɣ] 'niche (in wall)': /ɣar, ɣáaro, mARɣaliíli, táay /.

8 Aside from loanwords, /f / occurs only as a regional variant of / p /: [ʼApð] ~ [ʼAfð], 'few'.

(2.2.2 Consonants)

/h/, voiceless glottal fricative

= [h] (in final position only in loanwords): [hʌr] 'take away', 'fear', [çʰʌ'hũ:] 'cold', [wʌh] 'watch out!': /har, çahũũ, wah/.

Nasals

/m/, voiced bilabial nasal

= [m] in all environments: [mʌ'kai] 'maize', [ʌ'mó:n] 'to bathe', [tom] '(conifer) tree', [mĩ:] 'fat': /makái, lamoón, tom, mĩ/.

/mh/, aspirated voiced bilabial nasal

= [mʰ] ~ [mɔ̃ʰ]: [mʰi:kʲ] ~ [mɔ̃ʰi:kʲ] 'urine': /mhiiki~mahiiiki/.⁹

/n/, voiced postdental nasal

= [ɲ] (alveolar) when followed by a retracted consonant: [ɲú:ʂ] 'daughter-in-law': /nuúʂ/.

= [n] (postdental) elsewhere: [m'ró:nö] 'hungry', [nù:m] 'name', [h'nà:çrʲ] 'snowy', [hin] 'snow': /niroóno, núum, hinári, hin/.

/ŋ/, voiced retracted nasal

= [ŋ] (in medial and final positions): [gú:ŋʲ] 'thread', [lú:ŋʲ] 'salt', [koŋ] 'car': /guúŋi, luúŋi, koŋ/.

/ŋ/, voiced velar nasal

= [ŋ] (only in syllable final position): [miŋ] 'pheasant': /miŋ/.

Liquids

/l/, voiced postdental to alveolar lateral

= [l] (postdental) in the environment of /i/ (both as vowel and as palatalization): [dílũ] 'bark of tree', [marçə'lí:lʲ] 'a kind of pearl': /dílo, marçaliíli/.

= [l] (alveolar) elsewhere: [lú:ŋʲ] 'salt', [l'á:çʂʲ] 'bruise', [ʂi'ló:n] 'to hurt' [çʌl] 'light': /luúŋi, laáʂi, ʂiloón, cal/.

/lh/, aspirated voiced postdental to alveolar lateral

= [lh] ~ [lʂh]: [lhʌm] 'deep (of color)', [l'há:çʂʲ] ~ [lʂ'há:çʂʲ] 'broom', [l'hí:lũ] ~ [lʂ'hí:lũ] 'red': /lham, lhaáʂi~lahaáʂi, lhiílo~lahiílo/.¹⁰

/r/, voiced alveolar tap

= [r] in all environments: [rò:ʂ] 'anger', [t'à:rö] 'star', [çʰʌr] 'waterfall': /róoʂ, táaro, çhar/.

9 [mʂh] ~ [mʰ] varies on an idiolectal basis. /mh/ is a marginal phoneme.

10 [lʂh] ~ [lʰ] varies on an idiolectal basis. /lh/ is a marginal phoneme.

(2.2.2 Consonants)

/ɾ /, voiced retracted flap

- = [ɾ] in all environments: [ɾʌq ɾʌq] 'fidgeting', [bʌ'ɾʌq] 'shining', [bʌɾð] 'big', [ʌɾ] 'a children's disease': /ɾaq ɾaq, baɾáq, baɾo, aɾ /.

Glides

/y /, high front vowel glide (not word-final)

- = [ç] following [a:]: [tʰà:çnoç] 'you (m.) have done': /tháaynoç /.
 = [j] elsewhere: [jù:ñ] 'moon', [pi'jé:] 'having caught', [hʌɾ'jem] 'may I have (s.th.) sent?', [č'jò:] 'by a woman', [ɖʌgi'jò:t] 'you (pl.) beat', [ʌ'jó:n] 'to come': / yúun, piyee, haryém, cyóo, ɖagiyaat, ayoon /.

/w /, mid to low back vowel glide (not word-final)

- = [β] ~ [w] in initial position before / i /: [βí:] 'lentils': / wí /.
 = [w] elsewhere before / i /: [hʌg'wì:] 'finger': / hagwí /.
 = [ɔ] before / e, a o /: [ʰɔ̀:ɫò] 'summer', [ʒa'ɔee] 'of brother', [ʰɔoi] 'water': / wáalo, zawéc, wói /.

Notes on pronunciation

The rules given above may be of little help to a reader who is unfamiliar with phonetic notation, therefore the following pronunciation notes are supplied.

The consonant /j/ is always pronounced [ʒ] like French *j* in *jour*. (We have represented it by /j/ for the purpose of comparative and historical analysis.)

Final unaccented short vowels are whispered, not voiced. Pronounce them with the vocal tract in the correct point of articulation, but without letting the vocal cords vibrate. Native speakers can hear these whispered vowels, even if foreigners can not!

The vowel / a / (both short and long) is assimilated to a following short whispered / i /, even when there is a consonant between them. Since this can be predicted, we do not represent it in transcription:¹¹

/háno / 'he is' = [ʰʌnð].

/háni / 'she is' = [ʰæni]; in subphonemic transcription *hæni*.

/bojáano / 'he goes' = [bo'ʒà:nð].

/bojáani / 'she goes' = [bo'ʒà:çni]; in subphonemic transcription *bojáæni*.

11 This is described by Bailey 1924: 210 as vowel epenthesis.

2.2.3 Diphthongs in word-final position

In rapid speech, final short, unaccented / i e u o / following long or short accented vowels (vowel glides in final position) are reduced to diphthongs: [á:i], [á:e] > /áay/, [čé:i] > /cey/ 'woman'. [lo:i] > /loy/ 'fox', [gǐ:ao] > /gyaw/ 'he went', [gǐ:ei] > /gyey/ 'she went'. Their representation as diphthongs is however problematic, because all of them function as grammatical suffixes. The feminine suffix (in nouns, adjectives and verbs) is /-i/; the commonest masculine singular suffix is /-o/; and /-e/ marks 2nd m. sg. verbs, the feminine plural of one class of unmarked feminine nouns and the agent-perfective case of regular masculine nouns. Particularly problematic is the distinction between the F1 noun Sg. gender suffix *-i* and the F1 Pl. noun plural suffix *-e*. If both of these are shown as *-y*, the distinction between some singular and plural feminine nouns collapses. The distinction between /thalóoi/ 'pot' and /thaloóc/ 'pots', for example, would be shown only by the accent: /thalóoy/ sg., /thaloóy/ pl.¹²

Because word-final vowels function as grammatical suffixes, we have decided against transcribing word-final glides as /y w/. The high functional load on these suffixes probably prevents their complete loss despite devoicing in some environments.

Moreover, suffixes consisting of vowel glides / i e u o / behave like vowels in inflectional paradigms: /cé:i/ 'woman' → /cé:is/ 'by the woman' (the bound agent-imperfective suffix occurs, rather than the free suffix which follows words ending in consonants: */cé:i sa/).¹³

In word-internal, syllable-final, position we do however transcribe glides as diphthongs: [sáná:ɛnoe] /sanáaynoe/ 'you (m.sg.) have made' (where /sanáay-/ is a stem and /-noe/ is a bound auxiliary. In this position, the glide in [sáná:ɛ] is redundant as a marker; [-noe] marks person and number.

2.2.4 Pitch, length and accent

Schmidt and Zarin found a four-way tonal contrast: level (unmarked), falling [`], rising [´], and rising-falling [^],¹⁴ but soon recognized this to be overdifferentiated, and in later fieldwork they transcribed only level, falling

12 See Chapter 3, Nouns, §3.1.2.1.

13 In Gilgiti Shina, the final vowel in /cey/ is treated as a consonant: /cey sc/. Radloff 2003: 151.

14 Schmidt and Zarin 1981.

and rising tones.

Kohistani and Schmidt, working with an Arabic orthography, devised an adaptation of the above approach which treats vowels with level tones as medium-long (*ma'yārī*), while vowels with falling and rising tones are written as long (*tavīl*), further differentiated into long-falling and long-rising. This is (entirely coincidentally) an elaboration of the traditional analysis,¹⁵ and reflects the indigenous perception of Shina tones.¹⁶

Transcribing texts using orthographies based on either of these analyses proved difficult, however, as we could not easily distinguish between level tones (*ma'yārī*) and long-rising/long-falling tones (*tavīl*), or, on occasion, between long-rising and long-falling. Furthermore, sets of minimal pairs could never be found to demonstrate all the contrasts: short:level:falling:rising.

The authors then performed acoustic analysis of the data using the CECIL (Computerized Extraction of Components of Intonation in Language) technology developed by the Summer Institute of Linguistics.¹⁷ A variety of minimal and subminimal pairs, including open and closed syllables, and open and closed bi-and-polysyllables were recorded in the following frame:

[ʔà:ɛɛɾ bes _____ 'tʰò:ɳas] 'This we call _____.'

We then classified the resulting acoustic graphs according to the pitch frequency and contour pattern of the vowel(s) in the recorded items, and also those of the [ò:] in ['tʰò:ɳas], which also proved to be diagnostic. After excluding most inflected words (except a few such as [thé:] 'having done', which were members of often-cited minimal pairs), we analyzed 91 items.

The items were sorted according to the types of pitch contours and pitch frequencies. Three patterns, each with variations, but clearly distinguishable from the others, emerged.

2.2.4.1 Stressed vowels

Pattern 1

This pattern includes all the short stressed vowels. The pitch is high, and falls (although since the vowel is short, the fall may be realized on the

15 See Namus 1961: 138-9; Zia 1986: 3-6.

16 This orthography can be seen in Schmidt and Kohistani 1996; Schmidt and Kohistani 1995 investigates the role played by the choice of writing system in analyzing length and tone.

17 The authors wish to express their appreciation to Carla Radloff of SIL for helping us to record and classify the acoustic graphs; and also to SIL for providing a copy of CECIL for the Macintosh.

following syllable). The pitch is higher when the syllable is open or ends in a continuant; slightly lower with monosyllables ending in stops: [u'čò] 'pick'. [mòs] 'I (agent)', [bàk] 'cave'. We defined this high pitch as "accent".

Pattern 2

The vowels in this pattern are long and stressed. The pitch starts high, as in Pattern 1 and falls. There are three variations of the pattern depending on syllable structure, but in every variation, the pitch falls: [u'čò:] 'he will pick', [mò:s] 'month', [bà:k] 'a push'. We called this a "high falling tone". Pattern 2 differs from Pattern 1 mainly in duration and steepness of fall, and if only these two patterns had turned up in our analysis, we could have distinguished them as "short accented" and "long accented".

Pattern 3

In pattern 3, the vowels are again long and stressed, but the pitch starts low and rises, with variations in the steepness of the rise: [u'čó:] 'tweezers', [mò:s] 'flesh', [bà:k] 'acceptance'. Pattern 3 is the low rising tone first identified by Bailey for the Shina of Gilgit, and confirmed by other researchers. In our data it occurs only with long vowels; that is to say, our acoustic analysis found contrastive H, HL, LH pitches, but no contrastive L pitch. Nor did we find any minimal pairs contrasting short high pitch accents and short low pitch accents.

In three graphs, including [u'čó:] 'tweezers',¹⁸ [lé:l] 'known', and [me:r]¹⁹ 'hole', the pitch in the framed item itself is almost level, but the pitch is low. We considered whether such items should be transcribed as level or medium-long (*ma'yārī*). However, if the high onset of the vowel pitch in [tʰò:ŋas] is considered diagnostic, the overall contour is still 'low-rising', with the possible exception of the item [me:r] 'hole'. It is possible that the initial nasal depresses the pitch; in any case, a single item does not constitute a class, and all the items are members of minimal pairs.²⁰

Pitch lowness is the primary feature of this pitch, and is the easiest to identify by ear: the rising contour is associated with the low pitch.

Pattern 3 is the low rising tone first identified by Bailey for the Shina of Gilgit (but not the Shina of Kohistan), and confirmed repeatedly by other researchers. It occurs only with long vowels.

18 Diminutive form of [u'čə] 'tongs'.

19 Level tone is not represented graphically in this work.

20 With [u'čò:] 'he will pick'; [lè:l] 'blood', and [mè:r] 'plank of wood'.

Minimal pairs for short accented and short unaccented are:

- [u'čɔ] 'pick' (short accented [ɔ])
 [ʉčɥ] 'tongs' (short unaccented [ʉ])

Minimal pairs for high falling and low rising pitches are:

- [u'čð:] 'he will pick' (long, high-falling [ð:])
 [u'čó:] 'tweezers' (long, low-rising [ó:])
 [mò:s] 'month' (long, high-falling [ð:])
 [mó:s] 'flesh' (long, low-rising [ó:])

Minimal pairs for all three accent placements are:

- [ʉmos] 'I (agent)' (short accented [ɔ])
 [mò:s] 'month' (long, high-falling [ð:])
 [mó:s] 'flesh' (long, low-rising [ó:])

The occurrence of syllable stress in words consisting of short syllables is not phonologically redictable:

- [tʰʌmʌs] 'I do'
 [ɟʌ'giʒʌm] 'I may be beaten'
 [mʌhi'ʂʌ] 'buffaloes'

2.2.4.2 Unstressed vowels

So far we have examined only stressed syllables, both short and long. However, the acoustic data also show both unstressed short and unstressed long vowels.

Pairs can be found to demonstrate a contrast between stressed and unstressed short syllables. In non-final position, unstressed short vowels appear in acoustic graphs as low in pitch and brief in duration.

- [bʌ'li] 'boys' (short, high pitch on / -i /)
 ['bʌɛɸ] '(in the) evening' (/ -i / is shortened to palatalization)
 [ʒʌ'ro] 'seducer of a girl' (short, high pitch on / -o /)
 ['ʒʌrɔ] 'old' (/ -o / is devoiced)

There is never more than one stressed syllable in a word, and in the vast majority of cases, there is only one long vowel in a word, which also receives the stress. However unstressed long vowels occur in items which contain two long vowels, or in polysyllabic words with stressed short syllables. They also result when a long inflectional suffix is added to a long root. The items shown below are not compounds.

- [kɑ^hlɛ:] 'jewellery' ²¹
 [b^hɑ^hɾà:] 'cash payment, fare' ²²
 [ɾʌŋsɑ^hlu] 'a medicinal plant'
 [pʌn^hzɪɕ] 'fifteen'

Phonetically, these vowels are half-long. Acoustically, they show a transition to the pitch of the following syllable (falling to meet a low-rising tone, rising to meet a high-falling tone), except for the long vowel in [ɾʌŋsɑ^hlu], which is low level. No minimal pairs can be found for this category, and it appears to be a marginal one.

2.3 Syllable types

The patterning and distribution of stress and pitch contrasts in Kohistani Shina is asymmetrical. Not every combination of pitch features is realized (there are no short stressed syllables with low pitch). Nor are the high-falling and low-rising pitches mirror images of each other. The high-falling tones have pitch fall, not the height of the onset as the primary feature; the low-rising tones have pitch lowness, not pitch rise, as the primary feature. Stress is partially predicted by contrastive pitch (all syllables with high-falling or low-rising pitches are stressed), and is partially unpredictable.

The minimal pairs attest to only five *syllable* types:

1. short, stressed (or accented) syllables
2. short, unstressed syllables
3. long stressed syllables with high-falling pitches
4. long stressed syllables with low-rising pitches
5. long, unstressed syllables

The asymmetry in the patterning and distribution of stress and pitch contrasts argues for an analysis in terms of pitch accent rather than of independently varying pitch and stress. Both Buddruss and Radloff, working with Gilgiti Shina data, have defined Shina as a monotonic language, that is, all pitch contours are a result of stress or accent on a specific part of the syllable – the *vocalic mora*.²³ A long vowel contains two morae, a short vowel only one. The high falling pitch results from accent on the first mora of a vowel; low rising pitch results from accent on the second mora. There is only one accent, which is defined as a high pitch. Low pitch characterizes unaccented morae.

21 [kɑ^hlɛ:] is a plural form. No singular exists for this word.

22 A loanword.

As we have found no evidence of a contrastive low pitch which is both short and accented, an analysis in terms of accent on the mora will represent all the distinctions attested in our minimal pairs. We can rewrite our syllable types as follows:

1. single accented vocalic mora
2. single unaccented vocalic mora
3. two vocalic morae, accent falls on the first mora
4. two vocalic morae, accent falls on the second mora
5. two vocalic morae, neither accented

This analysis has more explanatory power than the earlier analysis by Schmidt and Zarin (1981) which posits stress, length *and* tone as contrastive features. It also offers greater economy of transcription.

2.4 Phonemic transcription

The accent is transcribed with an acute accent over a vowel (*ázo* 'rain'). Vowel length is represented by a double vowel. If the pitch is high falling, the accent is marked on the first of the two vowels (*táaro* 'star'); if it is low rising, it is marked on the second of the two vowels (*paloó* 'apple'). It is only necessary to mark accent on monosyllables when they are long (i.e., consist of two morae).

Long syllables are normally accented, but unaccented long syllables are found in loan words with two long syllables, or in unaccented suffixes consisting of a long vowel (*ázcc* 'of rain').

Single accented vocalic mora

[bAk] 'cave' = / bak /

[mos] 'I (agent)' = / mos /

- 23 Buddruss (1993, 1996) and Radloff (1999: pp. 57-9). Radloff transcribes in the same way as Buddruss does, but for Buddruss, the placement of the accent marks mora stress, and mora stress is understood as the source of tonal contours; whereas for Radloff the placement of the accent symbolizes the type of prominence peak; and the essential pitch of the accented syllable is posited as the source of tonal contours: "Every word in Gilgiti Shina carries one accent, and only one accent. That is, every word has a peak of prominence – one syllable which is more prominent than the other syllables ... different locations of the accent within the word produce different pitch patterns. Generally speaking, accent is associated with high pitch, and lack of accent with low pitch. When the accent occurs on a short vowel or the first *mora* (part) of a long vowel, a fall in pitch is perceived from the high pitch of the accent to the lower pitch of the following unaccented mora. When the accent occurs on the second mora (part) of a long vowel, a rise in pitch is perceived as the pitch ascends from the unaccented, lower pitch to the high pitch of the accent."

Two vocalic morae, accent falls on the first mora

[bà:k] 'a push' = / báak /

[mò:s] 'month' = / móos /

Two vocalic morae, accent falls on the second mora

[bá:k] 'acceptance' = / baák /

[mó:s] 'flesh' = / moós /

Transcribing unpredictable accent

[u'čo] 'pick' = / ucó /

[u'čy] 'tongs' = / úco /

[bʌ'li] 'boys' = / balí /

[ʔbʌçlʔ] '(in the) evening' = / báli /

[ʒʌ'ro] 'seducer of a girl' = / jaró /

[ʒʌŋŋ] 'old' = / járo /

[tʰʌmas] 'I do' = / thámas /

[ɟʌ'giʒam] 'I may be beaten' = / ɟagíjam /

[maɦi'ʃʌ] 'buffaloes' = / mahiśá /

Transcribing long unaccented vowels (two unaccented morae)

[ka'lé:] 'jewellery' = / kaaleé /

[bʰa'ɽà:] 'cash payment, fare' = / bhaarāa /

[raŋsa'lu] 'a medicinal plant' = / raŋsaalú /

[paŋ'zi'e] 'fifteen' = / panzílec /

2.5 Status of the voiced aspirated consonants

The voiced aspirated consonants appear to have come into Kohistani Shina through borrowing, as the Old Indo-Aryan voiced aspirates have been lost.²⁴ Voiced aspirates occur only in initial position, and there are minimal pairs for / b:bh d:dh d:dʰ /.²⁵ Acoustic evidence was also obtained for all these contrasts, plus / g:gh /.

24 Some examples of the development of the OIA voiced aspirates in Kohistani Shina (from Turner, *CDIAL*): *gí* 'clarified butter' (< *ghṛtá*); *ɟéer* 'belly' (< **dhēra-*); *duúm* 'smoke' (< *dhūmá*); *zāa* 'brother', pl. *zāaroo* (< *bhrātṛ*); *ázo* 'cloud, rain' (< *abhṛá-*); *bízi* 'clear sky' (< *vīdhṛá-*).

25 The authors searched for examples in medial or final positions, but were unable to find any.

The contrast *j:jh* is asserted by native speakers, and sometimes written ج but there are no minimal pairs, and the acoustic evidence is not convincing. As / *j* / is pronounced [ʒ], a voiced fricative, aspiration would in any case consist in a breathy quality of the following vowel, rather than an aspirated release. Although this contrast is marginal at best, it is included here as reflective of subjective linguistic reality for speakers of Kohistani Shina.

Minimal pairs for voiced aspirates

/ b:bh / *baák* 'acceptance'
 bhaák 'bull'

/ d:dh / *dáa* 'back of shoulders'
 dháa 'defensive fighting with hands or horns'

/ d:dh / *dóo* 'cooked maize kernels'
 dhóo 'of both'

For / *g:gh* / there is a subminimal pair:

/ g:gh / *góoryoo* (a term of abuse)
 ghoryóo 'dried cowdung'

We can only conjecture as to the source of the voiced aspirates.²⁶ Most of these words can be traced back to Old Indo-Aryan, and we were able to find some cognates in Gujari, Patani (the speech of Patan, on the right bank of the Indus) or other Indus Kohistani dialects. Entries in Zoller 2005 show that voiced aspirates have not been lost in Indus Kohistani. The items can not have been borrowed from Hindko of Hazara, as in the latter language, voiced aspiration has been lost, as is well documented for other Punjabi dialects.

The following items may be borrowed from Patani or other dialects of Indus Kohistani. Razwal Kohistani has provided the Patani data.

ghaná 'item held in trust, jewellery'. P. *gha'ṇa* < *gráhana-* (4364) with leftshift of aspiration.

ghanaár name of a plant. P. *gha'naar*.

jhaří 'heavy rain'. P. *jha'ri* < *jhadri-* (5329). Zoller 2005: 203 shows this item without aspiration in Jijālī: جھری , but with aspiration in Gabār:

žharéy 'continuous rain'.

jhaaraá 'afterbirth of a cow'. P. *jhaa'raa*.

26 As there are a number of place-names beginning with voiced aspirates, a study of toponymy might provide some clues.

dhaf 'stature' < *dhada-* (6712). Zoller 2005: 252 provides Jijālī *dhaf* 'body'.

dhan ~ *dhād* 'natural pond'. P. *dhā:d* < **dhāṇḍha-* (5578). Zoller 2005: 225 provides Gabār *dhanḍ* 'lake'

dham 'striking s.o. on the back'. P. *dham*.

dheryāā 'pile of manure'. P. *dhe'raā*. Zoller 2005: 227 provides Bhatīsē *dhērā* 'manure heap' < **dheruka*, cf. **dhera-*¹ and next (5599).²⁷

dhaarā 'robbery'. P. *dha:ra* < *dhāṭi-* (6772). Zoller 2005: 254 provides Bhatīsē *dhārah* 'cattle raid'.

bhaarāa 'cash payment'. P. *bha:ra:* < **bhārta-* (9468). Zoller 2005: 323 provides Indus Kohistani *bhārā* 'wage for laborers; bribe'.

bhorāa 'bumblebee'. P. *bho'raa* < *bhramarā-* (9651). Zoller 2005: 327 provides Jijālī *bhōrā* 'bumblebee'.

dheri 'heap, hillock' may be borrowed from Gujari *dheri*: or Indus Kohistani (Jijālī) *dhērī* 'heap; peak of mountain' (Zoller 2005: 227); < **dhera-*¹ (5599).

The following items could not be accounted for through borrowing.

ghaakuú 'bank of a stream' < *gāhá-* (4151), *gādhá* (4127). This is a compound, the first element exists unaspirated as *ga* ~ *gaáh* 'stream'.

The aspiration has been shifted left.

ghéer 'footpath in snow' < **ghēr-* (4474).

dháa 'defensive fighting' Cf. Hindko. *ṭá:* 'be caught in a grip'.

dhōo 'of both'.

bhaák 'bull' < **bhakkha-* (9330).

Reduction of vowels in inflected words and compounds produces some voiced aspirates:

jhōō, 'of some (pl.)' < *jo* 'what?' + *hōō*

bhyo ek, '21' < *bií* '20' + *ga* + *ek*

2.6 Status of the phoneme /q/

There are numerous items containing the postvelar stop /q/ (which Kohistani Shina shares with Indus Kohistani), and three minimal pairs:

/k:q/ *káa* 'brother' (term of address)

qáa 'crow'

27 The etymology is Zoller's.

(/ k:q /)

kar 'cut from a sharp instrument'*qar* 'rumbling of an empty stomach'*bak* 'cave'*baq* 'rapid boiling of water or spurting of blood'

While many words with / q / have entered Kohistani Shina from Arabic (directly, from the study of the Quran in Arabic, or indirectly, through borrowings from Arabic (directly or through Urdu), it is spreading to indigenous words, possibly for onomatopoeic reasons. The following items with / q / appear to be indigenous words.

qāa 'crow' < *kāka*- (2993). Cf. Zoller 2005: 137: *qā*, Jijālī *qā*.*maṇṇooq* 'frog' < *maṇḍūka*- (9746)*thōḍqar* 'a species of frog'²⁸*qurluú* 'a children's game'²⁹*qūūj* 'a stack of firewood'³⁰*raq raq* 'fidgeting'*baq* 'rapid boiling of water or spurting of blood'. Cf. Indus Kohistani*bāq-bāq^h ho-* 'to boil over' (Zoller 2005: 297).*paṛāq* 'sudden laughter'; Cf. Pashto *paṛak* 'agitation, palpitation'.³¹

2.7 Sample acoustic graphs

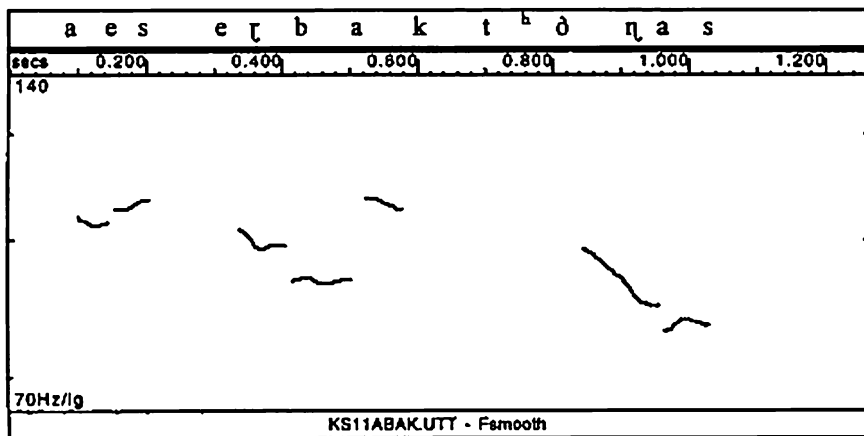
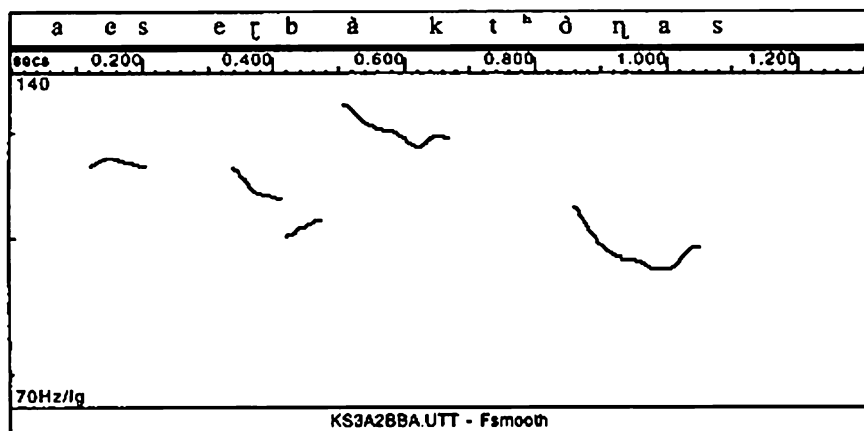
The following acoustic graphs show the frequency, or pitch, (measured in Hz) of the utterance. The amplitude, or loudness, is not shown. Most of the graphs show the frequency changes as a smooth line (which is calculated by the CECIL program). However two of the graphs, showing the contrast between voiced and voiceless aspirates, show the unsmoothed wave form, as this type reveals aspiration more clearly.

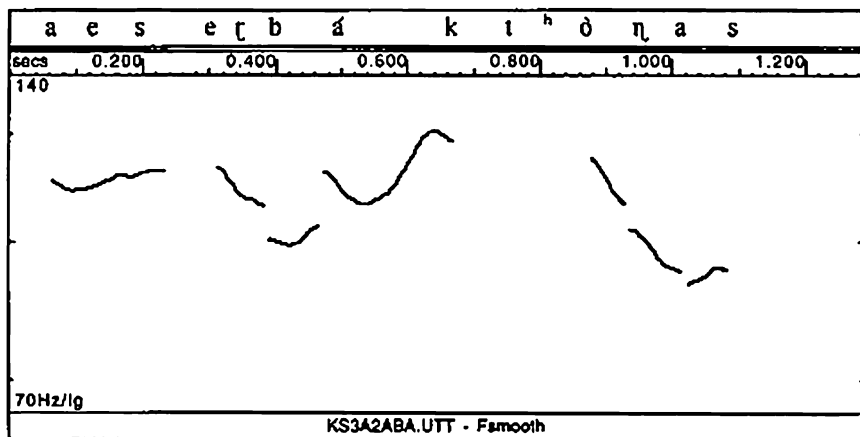
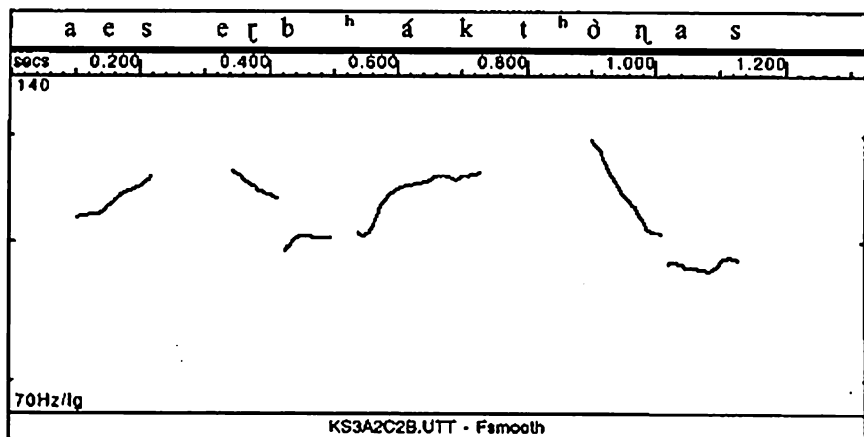
28 Possibly derived from the root for 'spit', presuming that some frogs spit < *thukk-* with *k* > *q*. (6097). Bashir 1998, personal communication.

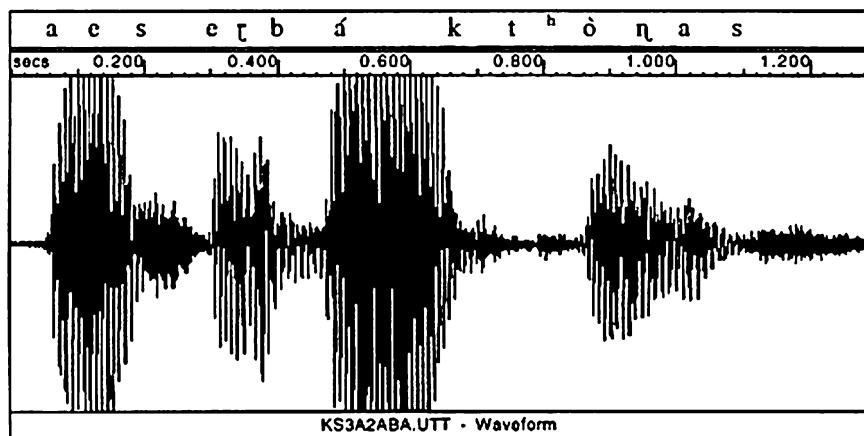
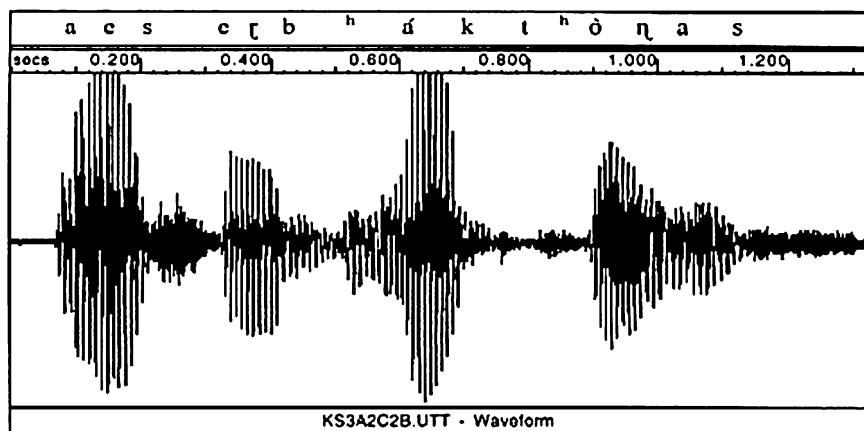
29 A game where girls cross hands and whirl each other around, while singing a song.

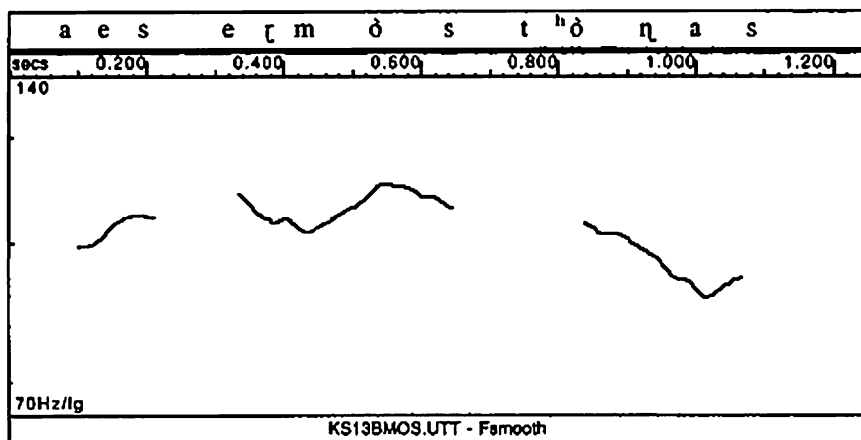
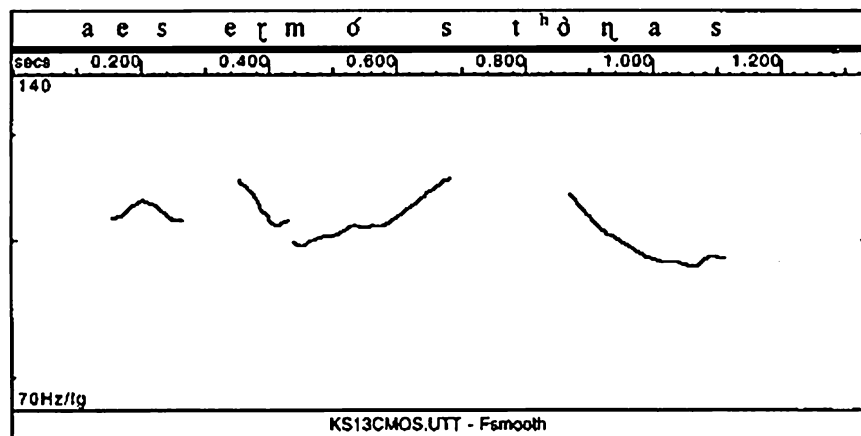
30 Cf. Khovar *goonj* 'a storeroom behind a house in which firewood is also stored'. This would imply a development from *gañja*-¹ 'treasury' (3961) or *gañja*-² 'heap' (3962), possibly with contamination between the two. Bashir 1998, personal communication.

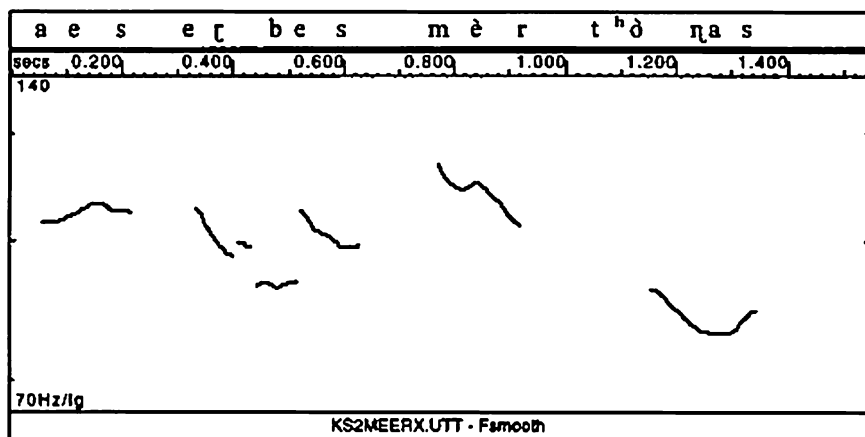
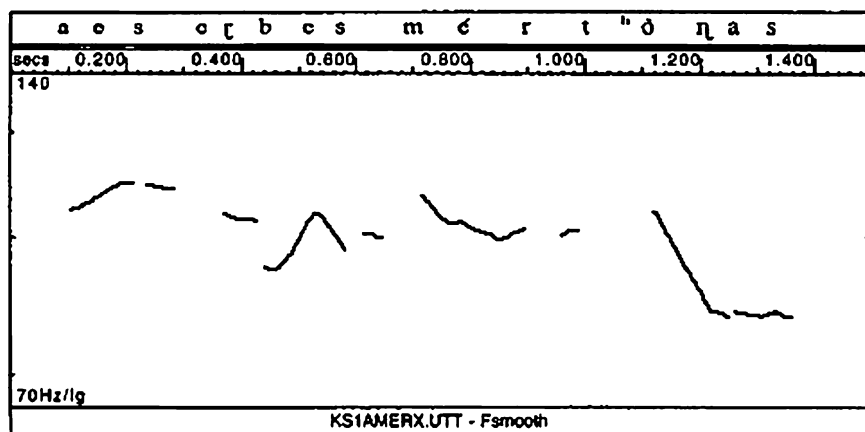
31 Possibly also be related to Urdu *bharaḱnā* 'to burst into flame, break out, be excited' < *bhaḱ-* (9365). In this case the initial *p* points to borrowing from Panjabi. Bashir 1998, personal communication.

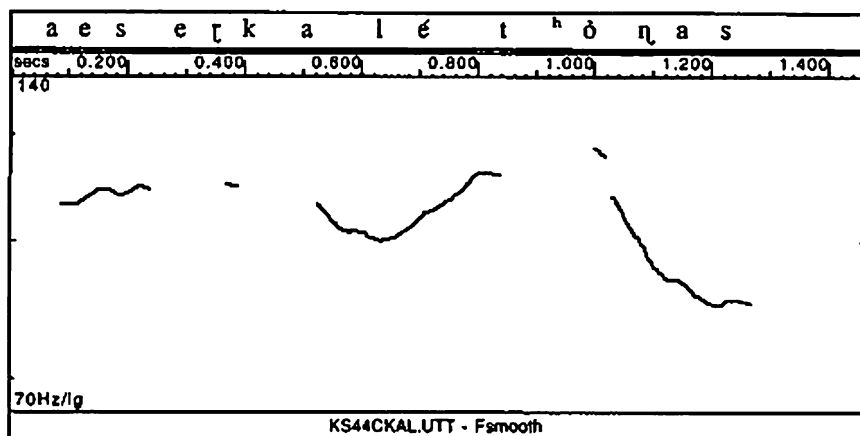
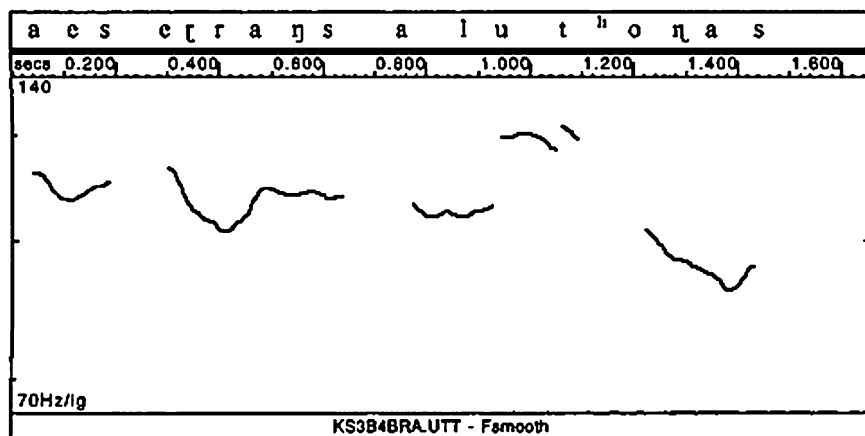
1. *bak* 'cave'2. *báak* 'push'

3. *baák* 'agreement'4. *bhuák* 'bull'

5. *baák* 'agreement'6. *bhaák* 'bull'

7. *míos* 'month'8. *moás* 'flesh'

9. *méer* 'plank of wood'10. *méer* 'hole'

11. *kale* 'necklace'12. *raṅsaali* 'a medicinal plant'

3. Nouns and Postpositions

3.1 Nouns

Bailey 1924 presents the only previous account of Kohistani Shina nouns, however he does not discuss Kohistani noun classes, nor the function of the oblique case. He identifies six case suffixes, of which five occur in our data.

Shina has two noun genders: masculine and feminine. Nouns of both genders may have gender suffixes, or they may be suffixless. When nouns end in vowels, these are normally gender suffixes; nouns ending in consonants are suffixless (although they are still either masculine or feminine). Nouns ending in long vowels and accented short vowels (except -*ô*) inflect differently than those ending in unaccented short vowels, and nouns ending in consonants inflect differently from nouns ending in vowels. Thus each gender has three classes: 1) nouns ending in unaccented short vowels (or in -*ô*) (M1 and F1), 2) nouns ending in accented short vowels or in long vowels (M2 and F2), and 3) nouns ending in consonants (M3 and F3).

There are two layers of inflectional suffixes.¹ The first layer consists of the singular:plural and nominative:oblique distinctions. The nominative case consists of the noun root with or without a gender suffix, and is used with the subjects of intransitive verbs, and to express the vocative.² The oblique case appears before some free postpositions (§3.2) and the following case suffixes: agent-perfective sg. (not always in singular forms), agent-perfective pl., possessive, dative, ablative-suppressive, adressive and sociative. A noun used as an illative may appear in the oblique case (§3.1.3).³

The non-nominative case suffixes belong to the second layer of inflectional suffixes (§3.1.5). Some of these appear to be inherited inflectional elements, others are fused postpositions. It can be shown that even inherited case suffixes mostly attach to the oblique base rather than to the noun root, thus they are functionally Layer II cases.

1 See Masica 1991: 230-48: "There are at least three layers of forms with case-like functions ... in most NIA languages, typically made up of inherited synthetic, new agglutinative, and quasi-analytic elements. Depending both on the language and on scholarly predilections, descriptions have recognized either two layers of affixes and one of postpositions, or one layer of affixes and two layers of postpositions."

2 Ex.: *o zâa* 'O brother'; *o dií* 'O daughter'.

3 In pronouns, the oblique case sometimes marks a direct object. The data contains no examples of direct object nouns in the oblique case.

Noun class predicts Layer I inflectional suffixes with reasonable success, despite certain irregularities, some of them explained by phonological conditioning. Layer II inflectional suffixes incorporate a range of phonological changes resulting from the fusion process (vowel assimilation at the boundary of oblique stems and case suffixes); here, noun class is a less reliable predictor of inflected forms. This vowel assimilation is one criterion for regarding second layer suffixes as cases, and not true postpositions.

Before analyzing the cases separately, we present (on the following page) the paradigms for regularly inflected masculine (M1) and feminine (F1) nouns, as examples.

Sample noun inflections

Regular M1 noun: *ázo* 'cloud, rain'

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	<i>ázo</i>	<i>áza</i>
Ag. I	<i>ázos</i>	<i>ázas</i>
Obl.	<i>áza</i>	<i>ázo</i>
Ag. P	<i>ázoe</i>	<i>ázoji</i>
Poss.	<i>ázee</i>	<i>ázoo</i>
Dat.	<i>ázar</i>	<i>ázor</i>
AbSup.	<i>áziji</i>	<i>ázoji</i>
Add.	<i>ázcdi</i>	<i>ázodi</i>
Soc.	<i>ázase</i>	<i>ázose</i>

Regular F1 noun: *ráati* 'night'

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	<i>ráati</i>	<i>ráati</i>
Ag. I	<i>ráatyis</i>	<i>ráatyas</i>
Obl.	<i>ráati</i>	<i>ráatyo</i>
Ag. P	<i>ráatyoo</i>	<i>ráatyoji</i>
Poss.	<i>ráatyee</i>	<i>ráatyoo</i>
Dat.	<i>ráatyer</i>	<i>ráatyor</i>
AbSup.	<i>ráatiji</i>	<i>ráatyoji</i>
Add.	<i>ráatidi</i>	<i>ráatyodi</i>
Soc.	<i>ráatise</i>	<i>ráatyose</i>

3.1.1 Masculine nouns

Masculine nouns in the corpus have the gender suffixes *-o*, *-ó*, *-oo*, *-oó*, *-u*, *-ú*, *-úu* or *-á*, *-áa*; or may have no gender suffix (unmarked masculine nouns). Nouns ending in an accented or long vowel generally inflect differently than nouns ending in an unaccented vowel.

3.1.1.1 M1: Masculine nouns ending mainly in short unaccented vowels

Most of the nouns in this class end in unaccented *-o*, or *-u*; but accented *-ó* also occurs. M1 nouns change *-o* to *-a* and *-ó* to *-á* in the Nom. Pl. and Obl. Sg. The Obl. Pl. suffix is *-o* (*-ó*).

The Obl. Sg. suffix is slightly unstable in M1 nouns. It has been lost in *táaro* 'star' and *dído* 'bullet' (but both words retains the regular Obl. Sg. before the dative suffix; see §3.1.5.4).

Regular M1 nouns

	Sg.	Pl.	M _G
Nom.	<i>ázo</i>	<i>áza</i>	rain, cloud
Obl.	<i>áza</i>	<i>ázo</i>	
Nom.	<i>chúbu</i>	<i>chúba</i>	fish
Obl.	<i>chúba</i>	<i>chúbo</i>	
Nom.	<i>móko</i>	<i>móka</i>	monkey
Obl.	<i>móka</i>	<i>móko</i>	
Nom.	<i>jamçó</i>	<i>jamçá</i>	son-in-law
Obl.	<i>jamçá</i>	<i>jamçó</i>	

Irregular M1 nouns

	Sg.	Pl.	M _G
Nom.	<i>táaro</i>	<i>táara</i>	star
Obl.	<i>táaro</i>	<i>táaro</i>	
Nom.	<i>dído</i>	<i>dída</i>	bullet
Obl.	<i>dído-díd</i>	<i>dído</i>	

3.1.1.2 M2: Masculine nouns ending in long or accented vowels

M2 nouns in the corpus end in long *-oó*, *-oo*, *-áa*, *-úu* or short accented *-á*, *-ú*. (If the suffix vowel is long, the accent may fall on the first or second

mora; this is a lexical feature.) M2 nouns add the Nom. Pl. suffix *-e* to the gender suffix (which is either shortened or assimilated). Long gender suffixes may be shortened in the Obl. Sg., but sometimes the long forms occur before Layer 2 case suffixes (i.e. the distinction between nominative and oblique forms is neutralized).

ášpoo 'horse' has an unusual syllable structure, ending in an unaccented long syllable in the singular and plural. The distinction between Sg. and Pl. has collapsed in the Obl., Dat., Ab-Sup., Add. and Soc. cases.⁴

M2 Obl. Pl. suffixes are *-ó*, *-oc*, *-óo*, *-oó*, *-ooe* and *-oóe*, and there is considerable variation.

A subclass of M2 nouns ending in *-ú*, *-úu* contains many irregularities. In *hyúu* the vowel height of the plural suffix is raised: *-úu + -e > -úui*. In *gugúu* the gender suffix is reduced to *-w-*, the vowel height of the plural suffix is raised and the suffix vowel lengthened: *-úu + -e > -wíi*. In *hagúu* the plural suffix *-e* is lost: *-úu + -e > -úu*. The final long vowel seems to be the only constant feature of this subclass.

Regular M2 nouns

	Sg.	Pl.	Mg.
Nom.	<i>batshó</i>	<i>batshóc</i>	calf
Obl.	<i>batshó ~ batshoó</i>	<i>batshoó</i>	
Nom.	<i>paloó</i>	<i>paloóe</i>	apple
Obl.	<i>paloó</i>	<i>paloó-paloóe</i>	
Nom.	<i>ášpoo</i>	<i>ášpooe</i>	horse
Obl.	<i>ášpoo</i>	<i>ášpoo</i>	
Nom.	<i>mušáa</i>	<i>mušée</i>	man
Obl.	<i>mušá~mušáa</i>	<i>mušóo</i>	
Nom.	<i>šazdá</i>	<i>šazdáe</i>	prince
Obl.	<i>šazdá ~ šazdáa</i>	<i>šazdó ~ šazdóo</i>	

4 RV *asvaká-* (T. 920) must be the source, otherwise there is no explanation for the long unaccented *-oo*.

Palula has *ghúur* < *ghoṭa-* (T. 4516) (Lilgren 2007, p.c.), showing that even though both Palula and Kohistani Shina may originate from Chilas, the vocabulary is not necessarily identical.

Irregular M2 nouns

	Sg.	Pl.	M ₆
Nom.	<i>hyúu</i>	<i>hyúui</i>	heart
Obl.	<i>hyúu-híi</i>	<i>hyúu</i>	
Nom.	<i>gugúu</i>	<i>gugwíi</i>	anklebone
Obl.	<i>gugúu</i>	<i>gugúu</i>	
Nom.	<i>hagú</i>	<i>hagúu</i>	thumb
Obl.	<i>hagú</i>	<i>hagúu</i>	
Nom.	<i>šúú</i>	<i>šúíí</i>	dog
Obl.	<i>šú</i>	<i>šó</i>	

3.1.1.3 M3: Unmarked masculine nouns

The nominative case of nouns in this class ends in a consonant (it is suffixless). If a root ends in a voiceless consonant, it may be voiced before a vocalic suffix (but this is a lexical feature rather than a regular morphophonemic rule). M3 nouns add the Nom. Pl. suffix *-i* and the Obl. Sg. suffix *-a*. The Obl. Pl. suffix is *-a*. If the root contains a long vowel, the accent may fall on the first or second mora; if the root vowel is short, the accent may fall on the root vowel (root-accented nouns) or shift to the suffix (post-accented nouns). These features are properties of the word. See also §314.

Regular M3 nouns

	Sg.	Pl.	M ₆
Nom.	<i>zab</i>	<i>zabí</i>	brideprice
Obl.	<i>zába</i>	<i>zabó</i>	
Nom.	<i>don</i>	<i>dódi</i>	tooth
Obl.	<i>dóda</i>	<i>dódo</i>	
Nom.	<i>don</i>	<i>doní</i>	flock
Obl.	<i>doná</i>	<i>donó</i>	
Nom.	<i>góoş</i>	<i>góozi</i>	house
Obl.	<i>góoza</i>	<i>góozo</i>	
Nom.	<i>miŋ</i>	<i>migí</i>	pheasant
Obl.	<i>migá</i>	<i>migó</i>	

3.1.1.4 Masculine nouns with alternate or suppletive stems

Some kinship terms have alternate or suppletive stems; M2 *z̄áa* 'brother' has the stem *z̄aw-* in the Obl. Sg. and the stem *z̄áar-* in the plural. The suppletive stem of M3 *puç* 'son' is an M2 noun in the plural.

M2/M3 nouns with alternate stems

	Sg.	Pl.	M ₃
Nom.	<i>puç</i>	<i>phyeé</i>	son
Obl.	<i>puçá</i>	<i>phyoó</i>	
Nom.	<i>z̄áa</i>	<i>z̄áaroe</i>	brother
Obl.	<i>z̄awá</i>	<i>z̄áaro</i>	

Irregular M2 noun *z̄áa* 'brother'

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	<i>z̄áa</i>	<i>z̄áaroc</i>
Ag.-I	<i>z̄áas</i>	<i>z̄áaroes</i>
Obl.	<i>z̄awá</i>	<i>z̄áaro</i>
Ag.-P	<i>z̄awí</i>	<i>z̄áaroji</i>
Poss.	<i>z̄awéc</i>	<i>z̄áaroo</i>
Dat.	<i>z̄awár</i>	<i>z̄áaror</i>
AbSup.	<i>z̄awíj</i>	<i>z̄áaroj</i>
Soc.	<i>z̄áwase</i>	<i>z̄áarosc</i>
Add.	<i>z̄awédi</i>	<i>z̄áarodi</i>

3.1.2 Feminine nouns

Feminine nouns may have the gender suffixes *-i*, *-í*, or *-ji*, or may have no gender suffix (unmarked feminine nouns). Nouns ending in a long vowel inflect differently than nouns ending in an unaccented vowel.

3.1.2.1 F1: Feminine nouns ending in short unaccented vowels

The nouns in this class end in unaccented *-i*. F1 nouns have the Nom. Pl. suffix *-e*, which is never accented. It is usually attached to the gender suffix, which is reduced to *-y-*, but in polysyllabic words, the plural suffix may replace the gender suffix. The Obl. Sg. suffix is identical with the Nom. Sg.

suffix. The Obl. Pl. suffix *-o* is added to the reduced gender suffix. Irregular *lóí* 'fox' behaves like an F2 noun in the Obl. Pl., with accent shift to the suffix.

Regular F1 nouns

	Sg.	Pl.	Mg.
Nom.	<i>ráati</i>	<i>ráatyē</i>	night
Obl.	<i>ráati</i>	<i>ráatyō</i>	
Nom.	<i>tíki</i>	<i>tíkyē</i>	bread
Obl.	<i>tíki</i>	<i>tíkyō</i>	
Nom.	<i>machári</i>	<i>macháre</i>	fly
Obl.	<i>machári</i>	<i>macháryō</i>	

Irregular F1 nouns

	Sg.	Pl.	Mg.
Nom.	<i>lóí</i>	<i>lóee</i>	fox
Obl.	<i>lóí</i>	<i>liyóo</i>	
Nom.	<i>thalóoi</i>	<i>thaloóc</i>	pot
Obl.	<i>thalóoi</i>	<i>thalyó</i>	

3.1.2.2 F2: Feminine nouns ending in long or accented vowels

The nouns in this class end in long *-íi* or *-ii* or (rarely) in accented *-í*.

The gender suffix of F2 nouns is usually reduced to *-y-* before the Nom. Pl. suffix *-e*, which is lengthened: *-ii + -e > -yee*; but in some cases the plural suffix is assimilated to the gender suffix: *-i, -ii + -e > -ii*. Irregularities do not always persist throughout the paradigm: *hagwíi* 'finger' (pl. *hagwíi*), takes the regular plural suffix *-éē* in the Ag.-I. case in some speech: *hagw-éē-s*, §3.1.5.1.

The Obl. Sg. suffix is usually identical with the Nom. Sg. suffix, but may be shortened. The Obl. Pl. suffix ends in *-ó* or *-óo*.

F2 nouns

	Sg.	Pl.	Mg.
Nom.	<i>bheríi</i>	<i>bheryée</i>	wasp
Obl.	<i>bherí</i>	<i>bheryó</i>	

(F2 nouns)

	Sg.	PL	Mc
Nom.	<i>açhíí</i>	<i>achyéé</i>	eye
Obl.	<i>açhíí</i>	<i>achyóó</i>	
Nom.	<i>luñíí</i>	<i>luñíí</i>	<i>cotoneaster</i>
Obl.	<i>luñíí</i>	<i>luñiyóó</i>	<i>bacillaris</i>
Nom.	<i>hagwíí</i>	<i>hagwíí</i>	finger
Obl.	<i>hagwíí</i>	<i>hagyúu-hagyóó</i>	
Nom.	<i>baníí</i>	<i>baníí</i>	oak tree
Obl.	<i>baníí</i>	<i>banyúu</i>	

3.1.2.3 F3: Unmarked feminine nouns

The nouns in this class end in consonants. F3 nouns add unaccented *-a* in the Nom. Pl. and Obl. Sg. and *-o* in the Obl. Pl. If a root ends in a voiceless consonant, it may be voiced before a vocalic suffix (this is a lexical feature).

Regular F3 nouns

	Sg.	Pl.	Mc
Nom.	<i>yóõş</i>	<i>yóõza</i>	mill
Obl.	<i>yóõşa</i>	<i>yóõzo</i>	
Nom.	<i>jíp</i>	<i>jíba</i>	tongue
Obl.	<i>jíba</i>	<i>jíbo</i>	
Nom.	<i>as</i>	<i>ása</i>	mare
Obl.	<i>ása</i>	<i>áso</i>	

yab 'irrigation channel' lacks an Obl. Sg. suffix, but is otherwise regular:

	Sg.	Pl.	Mc
Nom.	<i>yab</i>	<i>yába</i>	irrigation channel
Obl.	<i>yáb</i>	<i>yábo</i>	

3.1.2.4 Feminine nouns with alternate or suppletive stems

pon 'path' has irregular Nom. Pl. and Obl. Sg. suffixes.⁵ It behaves like an F2 noun in the Ag.-P. and Dat. Pl., but like an F3 noun elsewhere. *céi*

'woman', 'wife' has an alternate oblique and plural stem, *ciy-*, and inflects like an F2 noun.

The feminine kinship terms have alternate stems in the plural and oblique, which are inflected as F3 nouns.

F3 nouns with alternate stems

	Sg.	Pl.	Mg.
Nom.	<i>pon</i>	<i>pódi</i>	path
Obl.	<i>pódi</i>	<i>pódyo</i>	
Nom.	<i>céi</i>	<i>ciyé</i>	woman, wife
Obl.	<i>ciyé</i>	<i>ciyóo</i>	
Nom.	<i>sas</i>	<i>sazáara</i>	sister
Obl.	<i>sazá</i>	<i>sazáaro</i>	
Nom.	<i>dií</i>	<i>dijáara</i>	daughter
Obl.	<i>dijá~dijé</i>	<i>dijáaro</i>	

Irregular F3 noun *pon* 'path' f.

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	<i>pon</i>	<i>pódi</i>
Ag.-I	<i>pónsa</i>	<i>pódycs</i>
Obl.	<i>pódi</i>	<i>pódyo</i>
Ag.-P	<i>pódyoo</i>	<i>pódyooji</i>
Poss.	<i>pódyee</i>	<i>pódyoo</i>
Dat.	<i>pódyar</i>	<i>pódyoor</i>
AbSup.	<i>pódi</i>	<i>pódyoji</i>
Soc.	<i>pódise</i>	<i>pódyose</i>
Add.	<i>pódidi, podédi</i>	<i>podyódi</i>

3.1.3 Illative function of the oblique case

The oblique may be used as an illative (showing the end point of a movement). This occurs mainly with *góoş* 'house'.

5 Cf. *don* 'tooth', *dódi* 'teeth'. *don~dod-* derives from OIA *dánta-* (T. 6152) and *pon~pod-* derives from OIA *pánthā-* (T. 7785). The earlier forms were possibly **dond*, **pond*. Cf. Tirahi *dánda*, *pand*.

(1) *mō ses góoz-a uḥ-y-áa-s*

I him-OBsg. house-OBsg. arrive-CAUS-PERF.m.sg.-1

I took him home.

See §7.2.1 for an apparently oblique suffix forming time adverbs from nouns.

3.1.4 Phonologically conditioned accent shift in nouns

While the placement of the accent (on the root or on the gender suffix) is one criterion for determining noun class, and accent shift is often a lexical feature of the word, one type of accent shift is phonologically conditioned. If the root vowel of M3 or F3 (suffixless) nouns is accented on the second mora (LH) in the Nom. Sg., the accent shifts to the suffix in inflected forms, and the root vowel is shortened. This applies to both masculine and feminine nouns (however not all loan words are affected). However if the accent is on the first mora (HL), the accent remains on the root.⁶

Accent shift in nouns with accent on the second mora of the root

	Sg.	Pl.	DAT. SG.	Mg.
Nom.	<i>caár</i> f.	<i>caré</i>		direction
Obl.	<i>cará</i>	<i>caró</i>	<i>carár</i>	
Nom.	<i>kaál</i> m.	<i>kalí</i>		year
Obl.	<i>kalá</i>	<i>kaló</i>	<i>kalár</i>	
Nom.	<i>tasoór</i> f.	<i>tasré</i>		thought
Obl.	<i>tasrá</i>	<i>tasró</i>	<i>tasrár</i>	(lw. from Ar.)

No accent shift in nouns with accent on the first mora of the root

	Sg.	Pl.	DAT. SG.	Mg.
Nom.	<i>góoṣ</i> m.	<i>góozi</i>		house
Obl.	<i>góoza</i>	<i>góozo</i>	<i>góozaṛ</i>	

(Continued on following page)

6 See Radloff 1999: 92-3 for a similar rule in Gilgiti Shina. However Radloff's rule applies to short monosyllables as well as long ones: *díš* 'place' → *díšér* 'in place'. Radloff's rule states that accent on the last vocalic mora of a root shifts to the suffix. (This includes roots with only one mora.) That this rule does not apply to short monosyllables in Kohistani Shina is shown by the homophones *don* 'tooth' (→ *dódi* 'teeth') and *don* 'flock' (→ *doní* 'flocks').

	Sg.	Pl.	DAT. Sg.	Mg.
Nom.	<i>núum</i> m.	<i>núumi</i>		name
Obl.	<i>núuma</i>	<i>núumo</i>	<i>núumaŋ</i>	
Nom.	<i>yóōš</i> f.	<i>yóōza</i>		mill
Obl.	<i>yóōza</i>	<i>yóōzo</i>	<i>yóōzaŋ</i>	

3.1.5 Layer 2 case suffixes

Layer II case suffixes are attached to Layer I case suffixes, rather than directly to the root, and may themselves be the base of postpositions. The following occur: agent-imperfective, agent-perfective, possessive, dative, ablative-superessive, adessive and sociative.

Most Layer 2 case suffixes are attached to the oblique case, which normally ends in a vowel. If the case suffix also consists of, or begins with, a vowel, the oblique case vowel is assimilated to the suffix vowel or lost (sometimes leaving traces in the tonal contour of the suffix). Thus the oblique case is most easily distinguished when it occurs before postpositions beginning with consonants, or independent postpositions.

Some Layer 2 case suffixes are more completely fused than others. The oblique suffixes are completely assimilated to the possessive in all but F1 nouns (§3.1.5.3), however it can be shown from stem alternation in the oblique case that the possessive is suffixed to the oblique form.⁷

When a Layer 2 case suffix is attached to a sequence of nouns, only the last noun takes the suffix (suggesting that at least some cases are originally fused postpositions).⁸

- (2) *imán tóolo-ga dodóok-i aŋ-éeg-a-an*
 faith Tóolo-and Dodoóko-AGPsg. bring-PERF-3.m.pl.-AUXpres.
 Tóolo and Dodoóko have brought the Faith.

Particles, such as *-ga* 'also' and the emphatic particle *waá* cannot be inserted between the noun stem and the case suffix.

7 Masica 1991: 243 considers the Shina possessive a Layer I case. This is discussed under §3.1.5.3.

8 Masica 1991: 234 states: "Layer II elements function as true clitics, that is, as suffixes to a phrase rather than a word as such. For example, they occur only with the last of a series ... This is never true of Layer I elements."

- (3) *uḥ-oón se pat-nyũũ, yé-s-o-ga phat-éeg-i*
 flee-INF SOC after-ABL she-OBL-AGP-f.sg.-also leave-PERF-3.f.sg.
 As (he) fled, she also took off after (him).
- (4) *asés-iji ají pašy-éeg-i sés-a-ṛ waá*
 that-AbSp above show-PERF-3.f.sg. him-OBL-DAT EMPH
 (She) showed [taught] him even more than that.

Free postpositions (§3.2) may take (be attached to) certain Layer 2 case suffixes. For example, *sáati* 'with' takes the sociative case (Ex. 5), and *ají* 'above', 'upon' takes the ablative-superessive case (Ex. 4, 6).

- (5) *sa judraá-se sáati búṭa nóṭ-a-n*
 that snake-SOC with all dance-IMPF-3.pl.-AUXpres
 They all dance with that snake.⁹
- (6) *khán-e-ji ají*
 mountain-OBsg.-AbSp upon
 up on the mountain

3.1.5.1 Agent-imperfective (Ag.-I.)

Subjects of transitive verbs take the agent-imperfective case with imperfective tenses. (The verb still agrees with the subject.) The case suffix is attached to the nominative stem and has two phonologically determined variant forms: *-sa~s*. *-sa* is added to stems ending in consonants, and *-s* to stems ending in vowels, regardless of noun class.

This case has apparently not been inherited from OIA. An agent case with imperfective verbs is not found in Palula, the archaic form of Shina spoken in Chitral.¹⁰ Bailey, describing the closely related Guresi dialect, maintains that it has been borrowed from Tibetan.¹¹

The most interesting case is the instrumental or agent, which has two distinct forms, one ending in *ṣī* for use in the past tenses of transitive verbs, and the other

9 *judraá* 'snake' (pl. *judreé*) is an irregular f. noun which does not have an Obl. Sg. form. The Obl. Pl. is *judroó*: so *judroó wáari* 'toward those snakes'.

10 Liljegren 2004, p.c.

11 Bailey 1924: 211. Zeisler 2007: p.c. reports that in the lower Ladakhi varieties (Sham, western Nubra, Purik), the agent marker is *-is* (after a consonant) and *-s* (after a vowel): Balti *-isi/-si*. See also Zeisler 2004: 614, noting however that Zeisler 2007 corrects the Balti agent marker to *-isi* (from *-i*).

in *sũ* used with all other parts of transitive verbs. The former seems to be Aryan ... the latter reminds us of the Tibetan agent which ends in *-s*, and of Jăđ and Nyămkăt *-sũ*.

Forms of the agent-imperfective

	Nom. Sg.	Ag.-I. Sg.	Nom. Pl.	Ag.-I. Pl.	Me.
M1	<i>ázo</i> <i>chúbu</i>	<i>ázos</i> <i>chúbus</i>	<i>áza</i> <i>chúba</i>	<i>ázas</i> <i>chúbas</i>	rain, cloud fish
Irr. M1	<i>dhećr</i>	<i>dhećrsa</i>	<i>dhećra</i>	<i>dhećras</i>	open, flat space
M2	<i>batshóó</i> <i>mušáa</i> <i>šazdá</i>	<i>batshóós</i> <i>mušáas</i> <i>šazdás</i>	<i>batshóe</i> <i>mušée</i> <i>šazdác</i>	<i>batshóes</i> <i>mušées</i> <i>šazdáes</i>	calf man prince
Irr. M2	<i>hagú</i>	<i>hagús</i>	<i>hagúu</i>	<i>hagúus</i>	thumb
M3	<i>zab</i> <i>don</i> <i>don</i>	<i>zábسا</i> <i>dónسا</i> <i>dónسا</i>	<i>zabí</i> <i>dódi</i> <i>doní</i>	<i>zabís</i> <i>dódís</i> <i>donís</i>	brideprice tooth flock
F1	<i>ráati</i> <i>machári</i>	<i>ráatis</i> <i>macháris</i>	<i>ráatye</i> <i>macháryc</i>	<i>ráatyes</i> <i>machárycs</i>	night fly
F2	<i>açhíi</i>	<i>açhíis</i>	<i>achyéé</i>	<i>achyéés</i>	eye
Irr. F2	<i>céi</i> <i>hagwí</i>	<i>céis</i> <i>hagwís</i>	<i>ciyéé</i> <i>hagwíi</i>	<i>ciyéés</i> <i>hagwíís</i> ~ <i>hagwéés</i>	woman, wife finger
F3	<i>yóõş</i>	<i>yóõşsa</i>	<i>yóõşsa</i>	<i>yóõşzas</i>	mill
Irr. F2/3	<i>pon</i>	<i>pónسا</i>	<i>pódi</i>	<i>pódycs</i>	path

(7) *cayāāi-s çíi çíi th-íi-ri*

sparrow-AGI chirp chirp do-IMPF-AUXpres-3.f.sg.

The sparrow is chirping.

- (8) *axsár jak-sa upáar hujrá-ga ...*
 often people-AGI business guest.house-and ...
 Often people do business in men's guest houses and ...
- ... *jumt-éé byáak-o-r th-én-a-n*
 ... mosque-pl. sitting.room-OBpl-DAT do-IMPF-3.pl.-AUXpres
 ... mosques, [in] men's sitting rooms.
- (9) *judráa-s paár xod-ée núum-i wy-áa-n-i*
 snake-AGI over.there God-POS name-pl. drop-IMPF-AUXpres.-3.f.sg.
 The snake over there is reciting God's names.

3.1.5.2 Agent-perfective (Ag.-P.)

Subjects of transitive verbs take the agent-perfective case with perfective tenses. (The verb still agrees with the subject.) In singular forms, the Ag.-P. is attached to nominative or oblique stems (in some noun classes the stems are identical). In plural forms, the suffix is attached to the oblique stem.

Bailey¹² gives the Kohistani agent-perfective singular form as *-oī*, *-ei* or *-ī* in masculine nouns,¹³ *-o*, *-u* in feminine nouns, and the agent (perfective) plural form as *-je* or *-jā* "preceded by a short vowel". The modern Ag.-P. forms are *-e-i* (masculine sg.), *-o* (feminine sg.) and *-ji* (plural).

The agent-perfective is an old functional class (in OIA, the instrumental). Again we look to archaic dialects of Shina for evidence: Buddruss reports an agent suffix for Sawi transitive verbs: *-e*.¹⁴

Is the Ag.-P. singular inherited from the OIA instrumental (*-e* < *ena*, *-i* < *inā* > *-o* < *una*, with reanalysis of OIA noun classes)?¹⁵ This etymology fails to explain the plural forms. The inconsistency of formation of this case (which is sometimes attached to the nominative and sometimes to the oblique) suggests inherited material which has not been completely levelled.¹⁶

12 Bailey 1924: 212.

13 These forms can probably be further segmented, giving *-ī-i* as the Ag.-P. masculine singular suffix.

14 Buddruss 1967: 33. Example: *lī monuṣe kram thilo* 'this man worked'. Sawi is closely related to Palula (Buddruss 1967: 11).

15 Bloch 1965: 171 derives the Kashmiri agent masc. in *-i* via Old Kashmiri *-e*, *-i* to Prakrit *-(a)ena*, *-īe*.

16 According to Masica's model, if the Ag.-P. Sg. is inherited material, it should attach directly to the noun root, rather than to the oblique suffix. However Masica (1991: 232) makes the point that etymologically inherited suffixes can function in modern languages as Layer II suffixes.

3.1.5.2.1 Agent-perfective in M1 Nouns

M1 nouns add *-e* to the Nom. Sg. to form the Ag.-P. Sg., and *-ji* to the Obl. Pl. to form the Ag.-P. Pl. This is the most economical rule for this class, and speaker intuition treats *-ji* as the suffix.¹⁷

Forms of the agent-perfective in M1 nouns

NOM. SG.	AG.-P. SG.	OBL. PL.	AG.-P. PL.	MG.
<i>ázo</i>	<i>ázoe</i>	<i>ázo</i>	<i>ázoji</i>	rain
<i>móko</i>	<i>mókoe</i>	<i>móko</i>	<i>mókoji</i>	monkey
<i>jamčo</i>	<i>jamčoé</i>	<i>jamčo</i>	<i>jamčoji</i>	son-in-law

The irregular M1 noun *đíđo* 'bullet', adds *-c* like a regular M1 noun.

NOM. SG.	OBL. SG.	AG.-P. SG.	OBL. PL.	AG.-P. PL.	MG.
<i>đíđo</i>	<i>đíđo, đíđ</i>	<i>đíđoe</i>	<i>đíđo</i>	<i>đíđoji</i>	bullet

3.1.5.2.2 Agent-perfective in M2 Nouns

As mentioned under §3.1.1.2, the Obl. Sg. of M2 nouns may be identical with the nominative, or a shortened form of it. The Obl. Pl. forms are *-á*, *-óo*, and *-oó*. M2 nouns usually add *-e* to the Obl. Sg. to form the Ag.-P. Sg., and *-oji* to the Obl. Pl. to form the Ag.-P. Pl. Vowel sandhi does not occur (the long gender suffix of M2 nouns is not shortened).

The statement that the Ag.-P. is suffixed to the oblique in this class rests on those M2 nouns which shorten the nominative suffix to form the oblique, for example: *batshó* 'calf' and *mušáa* 'man'. Where the oblique suffix is not short, as in *paloó* 'apple', there is no evidence for this analysis.

Forms of the agent-perfective in M2 nouns

OBL. SG.	AG.-P. SG.	OBL. PL.	AG.-P. PL.	MG.
<i>batshó</i>	<i>batshóe</i>	<i>batshóo</i>	<i>batshóoji</i>	calf
<i>mušá</i>	<i>mušáe</i>	<i>mušáo</i>	<i>mušáoji</i>	man

17 An alternative analysis is possible, in which vowel reduction at the boundary of stem and suffix is posited, and *-oji* is treated as the base form of the Ag.-P. Pl. suffix, with a vowel reduction rule: *o + oji > -oji*, *ó + oji > -óji*.¹⁷ The lengthening of the Obl. Pl. vowel in M2 and F2 nouns can then be analyzed as non-operation of the vowel reduction rule, in a noun class marked by long suffix vowels. Similar lengthening where not predicted by noun class can also be handled by this analysis (F1 *thalyó* 'pot' [Obl. Pl.] + *-oji > thalyóoji*). Similar vowel sandhi rules become necessary in analyzing the ablative-suppressive (§3.1.5.5) and addressive (§3.1.5.6) cases. See also Bailey 1924: 212: "There is a tendency in actual speech to assimilate all short vowels."

(Forms of the agent-perfective in M2 nouns)

OBL. SG.	AG.-P. SG.	OBL. PL.	AG.-P. PL.	MG.
<i>paloó</i>	<i>paloóe</i>	<i>paloó</i>	<i>paloóji</i>	apple
<i>šazdá-šazdáa</i>	<i>šazdáe</i>	<i>šazdó-šazdóo</i>	<i>šazdóji</i>	prince

Following irregular M2 nouns ending in accented *-ú* or long *-úu*, the Ag.-P. singular suffix vowel *-e* is raised to *-i*, and may be lengthened: *-ú + -e > -uíi*; *-úu + -e > -úúí*. The short oblique plural suffix in the word for 'dog' is lengthened.

OBL. SG.	AG.-P. SG.	OBL. PL.	AG.-P. PL.	MG.
<i>hagú</i>	<i>hagúí</i>	<i>hagúu</i>	<i>hagúuji</i>	thumb
<i>gugúu</i>	<i>gugúuí</i>	<i>gugúu</i>	<i>gugúuji</i>	anklebone
<i>šú</i>	<i>šúí</i>	<i>šó</i>	<i>šóóji</i>	dog

3.1.5.2.3 Agent-perfective in M3 Nouns

Many M3 nouns have alternate stems in the oblique case. Based on this, we can state that most M3 nouns add *-i* to the Obl. Sg. to form the Ag.-P. Sg., with a vowel reduction rule: *-a + -i > í*, *-á + -i > í*. For example. *miŋ* 'pheasant'; oblique: *miǵá + i > miǵí*. However *don* 'tooth' attaches the Ag.-P. suffix to the nominative form in the singular and to the oblique form in the plural. In *záb* 'brideprice', the accent shifts to the stem throughout the inflected forms, *except* in the Obl. Sg., requiring us to segment an alternate stem, unaccented *zab-*.

M3 nouns add *-ji* to the Obl. Pl. to form the Ag.-P. Pl.

Forms of the agent-perfective in M3 nouns

NOM. SG.	OBL. SG.	AG.-P. SG.	OBL. PL.	AG.-P. PL.	MG.
<i>záb</i>	<i>zába-zabá</i>	<i>zabí</i>	<i>zabó</i>	<i>zabóji</i>	brideprice
<i>don</i>	<i>dóda</i>	<i>dódi~dóni</i>	<i>dódo</i>	<i>dúdoji</i>	tooth
<i>don</i>	<i>doná</i>	<i>doní</i>	<i>donó</i>	<i>donóji</i>	flock
<i>góoŋ</i>	<i>góoza</i>	<i>góozi</i>	<i>góozo</i>	<i>góozoji</i>	house
<i>miŋ</i>	<i>miǵá</i>	<i>miǵí</i>	<i>miǵó</i>	<i>miǵóji</i>	pheasant

3.1.5.2.4 Masculine nouns with alternate or suppletive stems

The Obl. Sg. alternate stem of *záa* 'brother' (M2), behaves like an M3 noun. *puç* 'son', is an M3 noun in the singular but an M2 noun in the plural.

Forms of the agent-perfective in M nouns with alternate stems

NOM. SG.	OBL. SG.	AG.-P. SG.	OBL. PL.	AG.-P. PL.	MG.
<i>záa</i>	<i>zawá</i>	<i>zawí</i>	<i>záaro</i>	<i>záaroji</i>	brother
<i>puç</i>	<i>puçá</i>	<i>puçí</i>	<i>phyóó</i>	<i>phyóóji</i>	son

3.1.5.2.5 Agent-perfective in F1 feminine nouns

The Nom. Sg. and Obl. Sg. stems are identical in this class. The Ag.-P. Sg. suffix *-o* is attached to the gender suffix *-i*, which is reduced to *-y*. Vowel metathesis occurs when *-o* is suffixed to singular nouns ending in *-o-i*, *-oo-i*, which can be summarized as follows.

Ag.-P. Sg.: *-o-i + -o > -yo-o > -yoo ~ -yo*

In the example below, the Ag.-P. Pl. suffixes of *ráatyó* and *tíkyó* are predicted by the rule *-yo + -ji > -úuji*. These also have regular forms.

Forms of the agent-perfective in F1 nouns

NOM/OBL.SG.	AG.-P. SG.	OBL. PL.	AG.-P. PL.	MG.
<i>ráati</i>	<i>ráatyó</i>	<i>ráatyó</i>	<i>ráatyúuji-ráatyóji</i>	night
<i>tíki</i>	<i>tíkyó</i>	<i>tíkyó</i>	<i>tíkyúuji-tíkyóji</i>	bread
<i>machári</i>	<i>macháryo</i>	<i>macháryo</i>	<i>macháryóji</i>	fly
<i>lói</i>	<i>lyóó</i>	<i>liyóó</i>	<i>liyóóji</i>	fox
<i>thalóoi</i>	<i>thalyó</i>	<i>thalyó</i>	<i>thalyóóji</i>	pot

3.1.5.2.6 Agent-perfective in F2 feminine nouns

The Obl. Sg. stem ends in a high front vowel, and the accent falls on the suffix, which may be accented short, or long. The gender suffixes are generally reduced to *-y--iy-*. The Ag.-P. Sg. suffix is *-óó* and the Ag.-P. Pl. suffix is *-ji*. The oblique suffixes may be raised to *-úu*.

Forms of the agent-perfective in F2 nouns

OBL. SG.	AG.-P. SG.	OBL. PL.	AG.-P. PL.	MG.
<i>bhcrí</i>	<i>bheryóó</i>	<i>bheryó</i>	<i>bheryóóji</i>	wasp
<i>açhíi</i>	<i>açhyúu</i>	<i>achyóó</i>	<i>achyóóji</i>	eye
<i>hagwíi</i>	<i>hagwyúu</i>	<i>hagyúu</i> <i>~hagyóó</i>	<i>hagwyúuji</i> <i>~hagwéeji</i>	finger
<i>baní</i>	<i>banyóó</i>	<i>banyóó</i>	<i>banyóóji</i>	oak tree
<i>ciyé</i>	<i>ciyóó</i>	<i>ciyóó</i>	<i>ciyóóji</i>	woman, wife

3.1.5.2.7 Agent-perfective in F3 feminine nouns

F3 unmarked feminine nouns add *-o* to form the Ag.-P.-Sg. Although the vowel *-a* of the Obl. Sg. suffix is lost, stem alternation points to the oblique as the base. They add *-ji* to the Obl. Pl. to form the Ag.-P. Pl.

yab 'irrigation channel' has no oblique form but otherwise behaves like an F3 noun.

Forms of the agent-perfective in F3 nouns

NOM. SG.	OBL. SG.	AG.-P. SG.	OBL. PL.	AG.-P. PL.	MG.
<i>yóõş</i>	<i>yóõza</i>	<i>yóõzo</i>	<i>yóõzo</i>	<i>yóõzoji</i>	mill
<i>jip</i>	<i>jíba</i>	<i>jíbo</i>	<i>jíbo</i>	<i>jíboji</i>	tongue
<i>ás</i>	<i>ása</i>	<i>áso</i>	<i>áso</i>	<i>ásoji</i>	mare
<i>yab</i>	<i>yab</i>	<i>yábo</i>	<i>yábo</i>	<i>yáboji</i>	irrigation channel

3.1.5.2.8 Nouns with alternate or suppletive stems

The alternate stem of *pon* 'path' inflects like an F2 noun. The alternate stems of *sas* 'sister' and *díí* 'daughter' inflect like F3 nouns.

Forms of the agent-perfective in irregular F nouns

NOM. SG.	OBL. SG.	AG.-P. SG.	OBL. PL.	AG.-P. PL.	MG.
<i>pon</i>	<i>pódi</i>	<i>pódyoo</i>	<i>pódyo</i>	<i>pódyooji</i>	path
<i>sas</i>	<i>sazá</i>	<i>sazó</i>	<i>sazáaro</i>	<i>sazáaroji</i>	sister
<i>díí</i>	<i>dijá</i>	<i>dijó</i>	<i>dijáaro</i>	<i>dijáaroji</i>	daughter

- (10) *baachá-e elán th-áa-o...*
king-AGPsg. proclamation do-PERF-3.m.sg.
The king proclaimed ...
- (11) *mholí séb-i raj-áa-o...*
maulvi HON-AGPsg. say-PERF-3.m.sg.
The maulvi sahib said ...
- (12) *dij-ó salám d-éeg-i*
daughter-AGPsg. greeting give-PERF-3.f.sg.
(His) daughter greeted (him).

3.1.5.3 Possessive (Poss.)

Bailey gives the Kohistani possessive singular suffix as *-eī, oī* and the plural as *-o*.¹⁸ In some speech we recorded possessive sg. suffixes in diphthongs thirty years ago: *góoz-ey* 'of a house'. It is still a diphthong in Gilgiti: *goť-éy* 'of a house'.

The modern possessive singular suffix is *-ee~-ée* for all noun classes except M2 and F2. The possessive plural suffix is *-oo~-óo*. If the noun is root-accented, the possessive suffix is long unaccented. The oblique suffixes are completely assimilated to the possessive (although there are traces of the gender/oblique suffix in F1 nouns), but it can be shown from stem alternation that the possessive is suffixed to the oblique, not the nominative. For example: *don* 'tooth' → *dóda* (Obl. Sg.) → *dódec* (Poss. Sg.); *záa* 'brother' → *zawá* (Obl. Sg.) → *zawée* (Poss. Sg.). In F1 nouns ending in *-i*, the rules for forming the Poss. are: *-i + -ee > -yee* and *-yo + -oo > -yoo*.

Masica regards the possessive as inherited case material (and thus a Layer I case).¹⁹ This may well be true, however the suffixes are still mediated by the oblique case. Liljegren reports the Palula genitive singular suffixes *-e, -fie, í* (Biori dialect), and *íi, ii* (Ashreti dialect).²⁰ Buddruss provides two genitive singular suffixes: *-ě* and *-ā* for Sawi.²¹

Forms of the possessive

	OBL. SG.	POSS. SG.	OBL. PL.	POSS. PL.	MG.
M1	<i>áza</i> <i>táaro</i>	<i>ázee</i> <i>táarec</i>	<i>ázo</i> <i>táaro</i>	<i>ázoo</i> <i>táaroo</i>	rain star
M3	<i>dóda</i> <i>doná</i> <i>góoza</i>	<i>dódec</i> <i>donée</i> <i>góoze</i>	<i>dódo</i> <i>donó</i> <i>góozo</i>	<i>dódoo</i> <i>donóo</i> <i>góozoo</i>	tooth flock house
Irr. M2	<i>zawá</i>	<i>zawée</i>	<i>záaro</i>	<i>záaroo</i>	brother
Irr. M2/3	<i>pučá</i>	<i>pučéc</i>	<i>phyoó</i>	<i>phyóo</i>	son
F1	<i>machári</i>	<i>macháryee</i>	<i>macháryo</i>	<i>macháryoo</i>	fly

18 Bailey 1924: 211.

19 Masica 1991: 243.

20 Liljegren 2004: p.c.

21 Buddruss 1967: 31. The Sawi plural forms have little similarity to the Kohistani Shina plural forms.

(Forms of the possessive)

	OBL. SG.	POSS. SG.	OBL. PL.	POSS. PL.	MG.
F3	<i>yōōza</i> <i>pódi</i>	<i>yōōzee</i> <i>pódyee</i>	<i>yōōzo</i> <i>pódyo</i>	<i>yōōzoo</i> <i>pódyoo</i>	mill path
IRR. F3	<i>sazá</i> <i>dijá</i>	<i>sazée</i> <i>dijée</i>	<i>sazáaro</i> <i>dijáaro</i>	<i>sazáaroo</i> <i>dijáaroo</i>	sister daughter

The Poss. Pl. of *jamčó* 'son-in-law' is shortened: *jamčó*.

M2 and F2 nouns, which end in long or accented short vowels, may take alternate forms of the Poss. Sg. suffix. The Poss. Sg. of *ačhíi* 'eye' is distinguished from the nominative only by a steeper (but nonphonemic) tonal contour.

M2 nouns with Obl. Sg. forms in accented short vowels lengthen these vowels before the possessive suffixes.²² The Poss. Sg. suffix is shortened to -c. The Obl. Pl. suffix is completely assimilated to the Poss. Pl. suffix, which may be shortened to -o. The Obl. Sg. suffixes -ú, -úu of irregular M2 nouns are reduced to -w-, and the possessive suffix vowels are raised to -í and -uu.

Forms of the possessive in F2 and M2 nouns

	NOM. SG.	OBL. SG.	POSS. SG.	OBL. PL.	POSS. PL.	MG.
F2	<i>ačhíi</i>	<i>ačhíi</i>	<i>ačhíi</i>	<i>achyóo</i>	<i>achyóo</i>	eye
	<i>bheríi</i>	<i>bheríi</i>	<i>bheryéc</i>	<i>bheryó</i>	<i>bheryóo</i>	wasp
	<i>hagwí</i>	<i>hagwíi</i>	<i>hagwíi</i>	<i>hagyúu</i>	<i>hagyúu</i>	finger
	<i>~hagwíi</i>			<i>~hagyóo</i>	<i>~hagyóo</i>	
M2	<i>batshóo</i>	<i>batshó</i>	<i>batshóoe</i>	<i>batshóo</i>	<i>batshóo</i>	calf
	<i>mušáa</i>	<i>mušá</i>	<i>mušáac</i>	<i>mušóo</i>	<i>mušóo</i> ~ <i>mušó</i>	man
	<i>šazdá</i>	<i>šazdá</i> ~ <i>šazdáa</i>	<i>šazdáaee</i>	<i>šazdó</i> ~ <i>šazdóo</i>	<i>šazdóo</i>	prince
	<i>paloó</i>	<i>paloó</i>	<i>paloóe</i>	<i>paloó</i>	<i>paloó</i>	apple
	<i>hagú</i>	<i>hagú</i>	<i>hagwí</i>	<i>hagúu</i>	<i>hagúu</i>	thumb
	<i>gugúu</i>	<i>gugúu</i>	<i>gugwí</i>	<i>gugúu</i>	<i>gugúu</i>	anklebone

22 Alternatively, one can state that the Poss. Sg. suffix is attached to the nominative form. The disadvantage of the latter analysis is that it would require us to state that the Poss. Sg. suffix attaches to the oblique in some instances and to the nominative in others. Arguing for the lengthening rule is the fact that M2 nouns with nominative stems in short accented -á (*šazdá* 'prince') lengthen the suffix vowel before the dative (*šazdáar*) as well as the possessive (*šazdáaee*), and that one variant of the oblique suffix sometimes is long.

- (13) *mî dij-ée surát*
 my daughter-POsg. body
 my daughter's body
- (14) *mušó póc-a*
 men-POpl. cloth-pl.
 men's clothes
- (15) *sé-s-ee puç-ée pãã súm-a-ji na şac-y-ée*
 he-OBsg.-POsg. son-POsg. foot earth-OBsg.-AbSp not touch-CAUS-
 subj-3.sg.
 His son's foot should not be made to touch the soil.

3.1.5.4 Dative (Dat.)

Bailey gives the Kohistani dative singular suffix as *-rɔ* and the plural as *-reĩ*,²³ noting that "in ordinary conversation no change is made".

The modern dative singular and plural suffix is *-r*, attached to the oblique singular and plural suffixes to form the Dat. Sg. and Dat. Pl. In speech an unaccented short *-a* can follow the dative (see *dijára* in [16], below).

Buddruss reports a dative postposition *ɟe* in Sawi, which he links to the Gilgiti dative suffix in *-ɟ(e)*, and suggests a derivation from Skt. *artha*.²⁴ The dative suffix in Guresi Shina is *-ɟ*, as in Gilgiti. In Drasi Shina it is *-r*. This alternation *-ɟ--r--r* is pretty much what one would expect if the source is *artha*.

Whether the original postposition began with a consonant or vowel in Kohistani, the fusion process is relatively straightforward: *ROOT-a + ra > ROOT-ar(a)*, or: *ROOT-a + ara > ROOT-ar(a)* (with sandhi: *a + a > a*)

As mentioned under 3.1.1.1., the Dat. Sg. attaches regularly to an Obl. Sg. suffix *-a* in *táaro* 'star' and *dído* 'bullet', even though this suffix has disappeared in the rest of the paradigm.

Forms of the dative in M1 and M3 nouns

	OBL. SG.	DAT. SG.	OBL. PL.	DAT. PL.	MG.
M1	<i>áza</i>	<i>ázar</i>	<i>ázo</i>	<i>ázor</i>	rain, cloud
	<i>táaro</i>	<i>táarar</i>	<i>táaro</i>	<i>táaror</i>	star
	<i>dído-díd</i>	<i>dídar</i>	<i>dído</i>	<i>dídor</i>	bullet
M3	<i>dóda</i>	<i>dódar</i>	<i>dódo</i>	<i>dódoor</i>	tooth
	<i>doná</i>	<i>donár</i>	<i>donó</i>	<i>donór</i>	flock
	<i>góoza</i>	<i>góozar</i>	<i>góozo</i>	<i>góozor</i>	house

23 Bailey 1924: 211. Segmentations mine.

24 Buddruss 1967: 46, 134. Lilegren 2005: 9 reports a dative postposition *the 'to'* in Palula.

(Forms of the dative in M1 and M3 nouns)

	OBL. SG.	DAT. SG.	OBL. PL.	DAT. PL.	MG.
M3	<i>zawá</i>	<i>zawár</i>	<i>záaro</i>	<i>záaroř</i>	brother
	<i>pučá</i>	<i>pučár</i>	<i>phyóo</i>	<i>phyóoř</i>	son

In F1 nouns ending in *-i*, the gender suffix is reduced; the rules for forming the dative are *-i + -ř > -yř*, *-yo + -ř > -yoř*.

Forms of the dative in F1 and F3 nouns

	OBL. SG.	DAT. SG.	OBL. PL.	DAT. PL.	MG.
F1	<i>machári</i>	<i>macháryeř</i>	<i>macháryo</i>	<i>macháryoř</i>	fly
	<i>ráati</i>	<i>ráatyeř</i>	<i>ráatyo</i>	<i>ráatyoř</i>	night
F3	<i>yóōza</i>	<i>yóōzař</i>	<i>yóōzo</i>	<i>yóōzoř</i>	mill
	<i>sazá</i>	<i>sazár</i>	<i>sazáaro</i>	<i>sazáaroř</i>	sister
	<i>dijá</i>	<i>dijéř-dijár</i>	<i>dijáaro</i>	<i>dijáaroř</i>	daughter

Most M2 and F2 nouns with short accented Obl. Sg. suffixes (including the irregular M2 noun *hagú* 'thumb') lengthen these vowels before the dative, but *baní* 'oak tree' is an exception. When an accented short vowel is lengthened, the new long vowel may take the accent on the first or second mora; this is a lexical feature. The rules for forming the Dat. Pl. in F2 nouns are *-yoo + -ř > -yooř* and *-yo + -ř > -yoř*.

hagwí 'finger', *jamčó* 'son-in-law' and *gugúu* 'anklebone' form the dative irregularly. *pon* 'path' has an alternate oblique stem *pódyá*.

Forms of the dative in M2 & F2 nouns

	OBL. SG.	DAT. SG.	OBL. PL.	DAT. PL.	MG.
M2	<i>mušá</i>	<i>mušáař</i>	<i>mušóo</i>	<i>mušóoř</i>	man
	<i>šazdá</i>	<i>šazdáař</i>	<i>šazdó</i>	<i>šazdóoř</i>	prince
		<i>~šazdár</i>	<i>~šazdóo</i>		
	<i>batshó</i>	<i>batshoóř</i>	<i>batshoó</i>	<i>batshoóř</i>	calf
F2	<i>ačhíi</i>	<i>ačhíiř</i>	<i>achyóo</i>	<i>achyóoř</i>	eye
	<i>bherí</i>	<i>bheryíř</i>	<i>bheryó</i>	<i>bheryóř</i>	wasp
	<i>baní</i>	<i>baníř</i>	<i>banyóo</i>	<i>banyóoř</i>	oak tree

Irregular dative forms

	OBL. SG.	DAT. SG.	OBL. PL.	DAT. PL.	MG.
Irr. M1	<i>jamčá</i>	<i>jamčór</i> ~ <i>jamčár</i>	<i>jamčo</i>	<i>jamčór</i>	son-in-law
Irr. M2	<i>gugúu</i> <i>hagú</i>	<i>gugúr</i> <i>hagúur</i>	<i>gugúu</i> <i>hagúu</i>	<i>gugúur</i> <i>hagúur</i>	anklebone thumb
Irr. F2/3	<i>hagwíi</i> <i>pódi</i>	<i>hagwíir</i> <i>pódyar</i>	<i>hagyúu</i> ~ <i>hagyóo</i> <i>pódyo</i>	<i>hagyúur</i> ~ <i>hagyóor</i> <i>pódyoor</i>	finger path

(16) *domóg-i-ga tu-r aṭ-óo mī dij-á-ra*
second-f.-also you-DAT bring-fut.3.m.sg. my daughter-OBsg.-DAT
He will bring the second (one) also to you, to my daughter.

(17) *ék-a-r tóolo mút-o-r dodoóko th-én-a-s*
one-OBsg.-DAT Tóolo other-m.sg.-DAT Dodoóko do-IMPF-3.pl.-
AUXpast
They called one Tóolo and the other Dodoóko.

3.1.5.5 Ablative-superessive (Ab-Sup.)

Bailey gives *-jo~-jā* as the "preposition" meaning 'from', and *-ājā* as the "preposition" meaning 'upon'.²⁵ Modern Kohistani *ají* is a free postposition (§3.2.2.1.) meaning 'up, upon'. Evidently the two "prepositions" reported by Bailey have merged into a single suffix.

A phonetically similar suffix with various meanings is found in other Shina dialects: Guresi (Tilel) *-ji* (*góoziji* 'in the house'); Drasi *-je* (*góozeje* 'in the house'), Gilgiti *-c~j* (*goṭéó-goṭéj* 'on the house').²⁶ Neither Palula nor Sawi has a similar suffix or postposition.

The modern ablative-superessive suffix expresses both movement away from something (ablative, Urdu *se*) and location on or at something (superessive, Urdu *par*). (Location *in* something is expressed by the free postposition *da*, which is attached to the nominative form of nouns.)

The Ab-Sup. Sg. suffix is *-iji~ji*. In the Ab-Sup. Pl., *-ji~j* is suffixed to

25 Bailey 1924: 212.

26 Guresi and Drasi: Schmidt, unpublished notes; Gilgiti *-c*: (Radloff 1999: 94, 95, 96, Gilgiti *-j*: Zia 1986: 24, 25, 26, 27.

Obl. Pl. forms ending in *-o~u*. If the noun is post-accented, the accent will fall on the ablative-supersessive suffix.

As usual, it is stem alternation which shows that the Ab-Sup. Sg. suffix is attached to the oblique case. The choice of *-iji* as the base form in the singular is necessitated by the inflection of nouns which partially or completely assimilate the oblique suffix to the ablative-supersessive suffix. This fusion process is described by the rules: *-á + -iji > -éji* and *-a + -iji > -iji*. Some speakers also have the rule: *-a + -iji > -eji*.

Nouns partially assimilating the Obl. Sg. stem to the Ab-Sup.

	OBL SG.	AB-SUP. SG.	OBL PL.	AB-SUP. PL.	Me.
M1	<i>jamčá</i>	<i>jamčéji</i>	<i>jamčo</i>	<i>jamčoži</i>	son-in-law
M3	<i>doná</i>	<i>donéji</i>	<i>donó</i>	<i>donóži</i>	flock
Irr. F3	<i>sazá</i>	<i>sazéji</i>	<i>sazáaro</i>	<i>sazáaroži</i>	sister

Nouns assimilating the Obl. Sg. stem to the Ab-Sup.

	OBL SG.	AB-SUP. SG.	OBL PL.	AB-SUP. PL.	Me.
M1	<i>áza</i>	<i>áziji</i>	<i>ázo</i>	<i>ázoži</i>	rain
Irr. M1	<i>táaro</i>	<i>táariji</i>	<i>táaro</i>	<i>táaroži</i>	star
Irr. M2	<i>zawá</i>	<i>zawíji</i>	<i>záaro</i>	<i>záaroži</i>	brother
M3	<i>dóda</i>	<i>dódi</i> <i>-dódeji</i>	<i>dódo</i>	<i>dódoži</i>	tooth
	<i>góoza</i>	<i>góozi</i> <i>-góozeji</i>	<i>góozo</i>	<i>góozoži</i>	house
F3	<i>yóoza</i>	<i>yóozi</i>	<i>yóozo</i>	<i>yóozoži</i>	mill

Feminine nouns with Obl. Sg. suffixes in *-i-í*, *-ii-íi* apparently just add *-ji*. However we can analyze the suffix as *-iji* by postulating vowel reduction: *-i + -iji > -iji*, *-í + -iji > -íji*, *-íi + -iji > -íiji*, which predict the assimilation of most F1 and F2 stem and suffix vowels, with the exception of *bherí* 'wasp' and *díi* 'daughter'. Vowel assimilation is thus shown to be a fairly regular feature.

F1 and F2 nouns assimilating the Obl. Sg. stem to the Ab-Sup.

	OBL SG.	AB-SUP. SG.	OBL PL.	AB-SUP. PL.	MG.
F1	<i>ráati</i> <i>machári</i>	<i>ráatiiji</i> <i>macháriiji</i>	<i>ráatyó</i> <i>macháryó</i>	<i>ráatyóji</i> <i>macháryóji</i>	night fly
F2	<i>hagwíi</i>	<i>hagwiiji</i>	<i>hagyúu</i> ~ <i>hagyóó</i>	<i>hagyúuji</i> ~ <i>hagyóóji</i>	finger
	<i>açhíi</i> <i>bherí</i>	<i>açhíiji</i> <i>bheryíiji</i>	<i>achyóó</i> <i>bheryó</i>	<i>achyóóji</i> <i>bheryóji</i>	eye wasp
Irr. F3/2	<i>pódi</i>	<i>pódiiji</i>	<i>pódyó</i>	<i>pódyóji</i>	path

However, to explain the following nouns we must analyze an alternate form *-ji* of the Ab-Sup. Sg. suffix, attached directly to the Obl. Sg. stem.

Nouns not assimilating the Obl. Sg. stem to the Ab-Sup.

	OBL SG.	AB-SUP. SG.	OBL PL.	AB-SUP. PL.	MG.
M2	<i>batshó</i> <i>mušá</i> <i>šazdá</i> ~ <i>šazdáa</i>	<i>batshóji</i> <i>mušáaji</i> <i>šazdáaji</i>	<i>batshoó</i> <i>mušóó</i> <i>šazdó</i> ~ <i>šazdóó</i>	<i>batshoóji</i> <i>mušóóji</i> <i>šazdóóji</i>	calf man prince
Irr. M2	<i>hagú</i> <i>gugúu</i>	<i>hagúji</i> <i>gugúji</i>	<i>hagúu</i> <i>gugúu</i>	<i>hagúuji</i> <i>gugúuji</i>	thumb anklebone
M3/2	<i>pučá</i> <i>súma</i>	<i>pučáji</i> <i>súmaji</i>	<i>phyóó</i> <i>súmo</i>	<i>phyóóji</i> <i>súmoji</i>	son soil
F2/3	<i>dijá</i>	<i>dijáji</i>	<i>dijáaro</i>	<i>dijáaroji</i>	daughter

In the speech of some speakers, the final vowel of the suffix may be lost, especially in the plural.

	OBL SG.	AB-SUP. SG.	OBL PL.	AB-SUP. PL.	MG.
M1	<i>ázo</i>	<i>ázij</i>	<i>ázo</i>	<i>ázoj</i>	cloud, rain
Irr. M2	<i>zawá</i>	<i>zawíiji</i>	<i>záaro</i>	<i>záaroj</i>	brother
F2	<i>hagwí</i>	<i>hagwíiji</i>	<i>hagwú</i>	<i>hagyóój</i>	finger
F3	<i>yáb</i>	<i>yábcj</i>	<i>yábo</i>	<i>yáboj</i>	irrigation channel

- (18) *mō-ga bubáa-ec góoz-e-ji nikhá-t-is*
 I.NOM-and father-POsg. house-OBsg.-AbSp-come.out-PERF-1.f.sg.
 I also left my father's house.
- (19) *dúu ášpo-o-ji*
 two horse-OBpl.-AbSp
 [riding] on two horses
- (20) *dár-iji*
 door-AbSp
 at the door (cf. Ex. 21)

See also (15) under §3.1.5.3.

3.1.5.6 Addessive (Add.)

Bailey does not list this case among the nominal inflections, but mentions a "preposition" *dī* 'beside' which may be identical with a Sawi postposition *dī* 'towards' reported by Buddruss.²⁷

The addessive suffix *-idi--di* expresses location at or near something (addessive; Urdu *ke pās*), or direction toward something (allative, Urdu *tak*). The functional load in texts seems to be on the allative sense, rather than on the addessive, but mother-tongue speakers translate it as Urdu *ke pās*, never *tak*, and so for the sake of economy we call it the addessive.²⁸

The plural form is *-di*. If the accent falls on the oblique suffix, the addessive suffix will also be accented.

The addessive attaches to oblique stems similarly to the ablative-supressive suffix *-iji--ji, -ji--j* (§3.1.5.5).

Some speakers treat the variant form *-di* as a free postposition.

The rules for fusion of the oblique suffix to the addessive suffix are similar to those stated for fusion of the ablative-supressive suffix. The choice of *-idi* as the base form is necessitated by the inflection of nouns which partially or completely assimilate the oblique suffix to the addessive suffix. The fusion process is described by the rules: *-á + -idi > -édi, -a + -idi > -edi*. This process sometimes leads to reanalysis of the oblique case suffix as *-é* (*dijá ~dijé* 'daughter').

27 Bailey 1924: 237; Buddruss 1967: 45, 93. Buddruss suggests two possible etymologies: *upānté* (T. 2303), *antiká-* (T. 377). Palula *dīi* 'from, than' does not share the Sawi meaning (Lilegren 2005: 9).

28 The functions of addessive and allative are after all more closely related than those of ablative and supressive.

Nouns partially assimilating the Obl. Sg. stem to the Add.

	OBL. SG.	ADD. SG.	OBL. PL.	ADD. PL.	MG.
M1	<i>jamčá</i> <i>ázo</i>	<i>jamčédi</i> <i>ázedi</i>	<i>jamčo</i> <i>ázo</i>	<i>jamčođi</i> <i>ázodi</i>	son-in-law cloud, rain
M3	<i>khóna</i> <i>doná</i> <i>góoza</i>	<i>khonédi</i> <i>donédi</i> <i>góozidi</i> <i>~góozedi</i>	<i>khóno</i> <i>donó</i> <i>góozo</i>	<i>khonóđi</i> <i>donóđi</i> <i>góozodi</i>	mountain flock house
Irr. M2	<i>zawá</i>	<i>zawédi</i>	<i>záaro</i>	<i>záarodi</i>	brother
Irr. F3	<i>sazá</i>	<i>sazédi</i>	<i>sazáaro</i>	<i>sazáarodi</i>	sister
Irr. F3/2	<i>podá</i> ²⁹ <i>dijá ~dijé</i>	<i>podédi</i> <i>dijédi</i>	<i>pódyo</i> <i>dijó</i> <i>~dijáaro</i>	<i>pódyodi</i> <i>dijóđi</i> <i>~dijáarodi</i>	path daughter

Sandhi rules for attaching the Add. Sg. to F1 nouns ending in *-i* can be stated variously, as: *-i + -di > -idi*, or: *-i + -idi > -idi*.

The Obl. Sg. suffix in M3 nouns is usually assimilated to the Add. Sg.

Nouns assimilating the Obl. Sg. stem to the Add.

	OBL. SG.	ADD. SG.	OBL. PL.	ADD. PL.	MG.
F1	<i>tíki</i> <i>ráati</i> <i>macháari</i>	<i>tíkidi</i> <i>ráatidi</i> <i>macháaridi</i>	<i>tíkyo</i> <i>ráatyo</i> <i>macháaryo</i>	<i>tíkyodi</i> <i>ráatyodi</i> <i>macháaryode</i>	bread night fly
M3	<i>ičhá</i> <i>góoza</i> <i>dára</i>	<i>ičhídi</i> <i>góozidi</i> <i>~góozedi</i> <i>dáridi</i>	<i>ičhó</i> <i>góozo</i> <i>dáro</i>	<i>ičhóđi</i> <i>góozodi</i> <i>dárođi</i>	bear house door
F3	<i>yóōza</i> <i>yab</i>	<i>yóōzidi</i> <i>yábidi</i>	<i>yóōzo</i> <i>yábo</i>	<i>yóōzodi</i> <i>yábodi</i>	mill channel
Irr. F3/2	<i>póđi</i>	<i>póđidi</i>	<i>pódyo</i>	<i>pódyodi</i>	path

²⁹ *podá* is an alternate oblique stem of *pon* 'path'. The usual stem, *podí* is shown below.

M2/F2 nouns attach *-di* to the Obl. Sg. stem, which tends to be lengthened if short. *batshó* 'calf' is irregular in the Add. Pl.

M2/F2 nouns adding *-di* to the Obl. Sg. stem

	OBL. SG.	ADD. SG.	OBL. PL.	ADD. PL.	MG.
M2	<i>mušá</i>	<i>mušáadi</i>	<i>mušóo</i>	<i>mušóodi</i>	man
	<i>batshó</i>	<i>batshóodi</i> ~ <i>batshódi</i>	<i>batshóo</i>	<i>batshyoódi</i>	calf
	<i>gugúu</i>	<i>guguudi</i>	<i>gugúu</i>	<i>gugúuda</i>	anklebone
	<i>hagú</i>	<i>hagúudi</i>	<i>hagúu</i>	—	thumb
F2	<i>hagwíi</i>	<i>hagwíidi</i>	<i>hagwíu</i>	<i>hagyúudi</i>	finger
	<i>açhíi</i>	<i>açhíidi</i>	<i>achyóo</i>	<i>achyóodi</i>	eye

(21) *dár-idi*

door-ADsg.

at the door (cf. Ex. 20)

(22) *phirí a-íi yóōz-idi beé-ɬ-aas*

again come-CP mill-ADsg. sit-PERF-3.pl.

They came back and sat by the water mill.

(23) *bój-a-m ciyée aae dij-édi*

go-IMPF-1.sg. now this daughter-ADsg.

Let me go now to this daughter.

3.1.5.7 Sociative (Soc.)

The sociative suffix *se* (Urdu *ke sāth*) shows location with something. It is attached regularly to the oblique case of nouns or pronouns, and tends to occur as a bound form with nouns ending in vowels (as oblique case nouns do), but as an independent postposition with pronouns or infinitives ending in consonants. Although it is only partially fused, it functions as a Layer II case, as the free postposition *sāati* 'with' attaches to it.

Forms of the sociative

	OBL. SG.	SOC. SG.	OBL. PL.	SOC. PL.	MG.
M1	<i>áza</i>	<i>ázase</i>	<i>ázo</i>	<i>ázose</i>	cloud, rain

(Forms of the sociative)

	OBL. SG.	SOC. SG.	OBL. PL.	SOC. PL.	MG.
M2	<i>mušá</i>	<i>mušáase</i>	<i>mušóo</i>	<i>mušóose</i>	man
M3	<i>dóda</i> <i>doná</i>	<i>dódase</i> <i>donáse</i>	<i>dódo</i> <i>donó</i>	<i>dódose</i> <i>donóse</i>	tooth flock
F1	<i>ráati</i>	<i>ráatise</i>	<i>ráatyo</i>	<i>ráatyose</i>	night
F2	<i>baní</i>	<i>baníse</i>	<i>banyuú</i>	<i>banyuúse</i>	holly tree
F3	<i>yóōža</i>	<i>yóōžase</i>	<i>yóōžo</i>	<i>yóōžose</i>	mill
Irr. M2	<i>zawá</i>	<i>zawáse</i>	<i>záaro</i>	<i>záarose</i>	brother
Irr. F3/2	<i>pódi</i>	<i>pódise</i>	<i>pódyo</i>	<i>pódyose</i>	path

(24) *óra ay-oón se*
hither come-INF SOC
with (his) coming over here

(25) *mō aáe bal-á-se níkáa gar-á*
I.NOM this boy-OBsg.-SOC marriage join-imp
Marry me to this this boy.

3.1.6 Infrequent or restricted case suffixes

Three case suffixes occur sporadically in restricted environments. Unlike the other cases they do not occur with pronouns, and the data thus far collected does not support adding them to the nominal paradigm.

3.1.6.1 The unaccented suffix *-tha* 'toward'

The unaccented suffix *-tha* 'toward' is attached to the nominative forms of a few nouns and to *da* 'in': *góoŝtha* 'toward home (with consonant assimilation)' *sosmíni pón da-tha* 'by way of the middle path'.³⁰

3.1.6.2 The ablative suffix *-uu~-oo*

The ablative suffix *-uu~-oo* occurs with some adverbs and free postpositions. If attached to a post-accented word, it takes the accent on the first mora.

30 This suffix is to be distinguished from the injunctive suffix *-tha*, which is added to infinitives (6.1.2.2.).

- (26) *aáe kudy-úu aṭ-aa-u-n* (< *kudí* 'where')
 this where-ABL bring-PERF-3.m.sg.-AUXpres.
 Where has he brought this from?
- (27) *áath-oo mosfār áa-l-o*
 this.way-ABL traveller come-PERF-3.m.sg.
 A traveller came from this way.
- (28) *ye šazdá a-í' baṣ bí-l-o huç-óo*
 this prince come-CP appear become-PERF-3.m.sg. outside-ABL
 The prince came and appeared from outside.

It also forms adverbs from nouns.

- | | |
|--|--|
| (29) <i>ráaty-oo</i>
night-ABL
all night | (30) <i>súury-oo</i>
sun-ABL
all day |
|--|--|

The alternate forms *-nuu~-nyuu* also occur, without a change in meaning.

- (31) *mulái-k áa-l-i muçh-nyúu*
 girl-INDF come-PERF-3.f.sg. before-ABL
 A girl came from ahead [of him].

Similar is *-tyoo* 'via', which occurs once in the corpus, suffixed to the feminine form of *múto* 'other'.

- (32) *mút-i-tyoo nikh-ás*
 other-f.-ABL go-out-imp
 [You] go out via somewhere else.

3.1.7 Expressing possession

Possession may be expressed by the possessive case or the addressive case, depending on the nature of the possessive relationship.

3.1.7.1 Inalienable possession

When possession is something which one normally has, such as kin or body parts, the possessive case is used.

- (33) *baacháa-ee ek díí-n-i*
king-POS one daughter-is-f.sg.
The king has one daughter.

3.1.7.2 Alienable possession.

When possession concerns physical ownership or control of a tangible object, the addressive case is used. The addressive case is also used if the object is intangible, such as a thought.

- (34) *mó-dí káañēē-n-a*
me-ADD gemstone-are-3.pl.
I have the gemstones.

- (35) *mó-dí láps-i dúu-k-a-n*
I-ADD word-pl. two-INDF-3.pl.-are
I have only some few words (nothing much to say).

3.2 Postpositions

Free, or independent, postpositions are words with accents, not bound morphemes. These are normally invariant forms, and the same for both singular and plural. Except for *da* 'in', they are usually added to the oblique case of nouns or pronouns. Some of them inflect, taking the dative suffix *-ɾ* or the ablative suffix *-nyuu* (§3.1.6.2).

3.2.1 Postpositions added to the nominative or oblique

3.2.1.1 Locative postposition *-da*

The locative postposition *-da--de*, expressing 'in' and sometimes 'on', 'at' is added usually to the nominative case of nouns, rarely to the oblique

- (36) *sin-da*
river.NOM-in
in the river

- (37) *pón-da*
road.NOM-in
on the road

- (38) *sa wáx-da*
that time.NOM-in
at that time

- (39) *báayo-da*
garden-OBpl.-in
in the gardens

3.2.1.2 *mají* 'in the middle'

mají 'in the middle', 'among', 'between', 'within' is attached to the oblique form of the noun or pronoun. It can be inflected in the dative and ablative: *majáar* 'toward the inside' (with the dative); *majnyúu* 'from the inside' (with the ablative). *majnyáaštyo* means 'from in between'.

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| (40) <i>sés-a mají</i>
it-OBsg. between
in the meanwhile | (41) <i>karoó mají</i>
ram-OBpl. among
among the rams | (42) <i>ek ráati mají</i>
one night within
within one night |
|--|---|---|

The sequence *da mají* means 'into':

- (43) *šiš khóí-da mají dcé ...*
head cap-in within put-CP
putting the hair into the cap (to hide it) ...

3.2.1.3 Instrumental postposition *-gi* 'with'

The instrumental postposition *-gi* 'with' is a partially bound form added usually to the oblique (but occasionally to the nominative), and (a) shows an inanimate or partial function of a human (e.g., nails, eyes etc.) as the instrument, (b) means 'together with (an inanimate)'. The argument for adding this to the paradigm of nominal inflections is almost as good as for that of the sociative, but a shortened word juncture is transcribed in the texts; therefore *-gi* is treated here as a postposition.

- (44) *bcs jo th-óŋ-as kapár-y-o-gi*
we-AGI what do-1.pl.-AUXpres potsherd-pl.-OBpl.-with
What are we to do with potsherds?
- (45) *núur-o-gi uc wíí*
nail-OBpl.-with pick.up-fut.3.pl.
They will pick up with [their] nails.
- (46) *yé-sa góoz-a uçh-y-áa aáe xazáan-gi*
he-OBsg. house-OBsg. arrive-CAUS-imp this treasure.NOM-with
Take him home with this treasure.

The alternate forms *-gíta* and *-gíti* occur more seldom:

- (47) *borqá-gíta*
veil-OB?-with
with a veil
- (48) *toómi achy-éc-gíti paš-áa-s*
own eyes-NOM.pl.-with see PERF.m.sg.-I
I saw it with my own eyes.

3.2.1.4 *háti* 'by (means of)'

háti 'by (means of)' (< *hat* 'hand') is added to the oblique, and shows a human being as the instrument.

- (49) *cáar poš muš-ó háti ... mar-y-áa-o*
four five men-OBpl. by...kill-CAUS-PERF-3.m.sg.
(He) had (him) killed ... by four or five men.

3.2.1.5 *khári* 'under', 'down'

khári 'under', 'down' is attached to the oblique (occasionally to the nominative). It also functions as an independent adverb.

- (50) *alláa-ee laman-á khári*
God-POS hem-OBsg. under
under God's protection
- (51) *múth-o khári*
tree-NOM under
under a tree
- (52) *khári beé-t-o*
down sit-PERF-3.m.sg.
He sat down.

3.2.2 Postpositions added to Layer 2 case suffixes

3.2.2.1 *ají* 'up', 'upon'

ají 'up', 'upon' is normally added to the ablative-superessive and can be inflected with the dative and ablative cases. It can also mean 'up to' (Urdu *tak*), in which sense it is not attached to the ablative-superessive (but may be attached to ablative *-uu*).

- (53) *khán-e-ji ají*
mountain-OBsg.-AbSp upon
up on the mountain
- (54) *ek hád-ek ají*
a limit-INDF up
up to a limit
- (55) *ad-yúu ají*
here-ABL up
to such a degree
- (56) *šarn-éji aj-áar ukl-ás*
roof-AbSp up-DAT climb-imp
Climb up on the roof.

- (57) *sa aj-nyúu adí baş bí-l-o*
 he up-ABL here turning.up become-PERF-3.m.sg.
 He turned up unexpectedly.

3.2.2.2 *muçhó* 'in front of', 'before'

muçhó 'in front of', 'before' may be added to the oblique or ablative-superessive cases.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(58) <i>yó-s-cc mukhá muçhó</i>
 he-OBL-POS face-OBL before
 before his/her face</p> | <p>(59) <i>súuri dij-oón-iji muçhó</i>
 sun rise-INF-AbSp before
 before sunrise</p> |
|---|--|

muçhó also occurs as an independent adverb, and can be inflected with the dative case (*muçhór* 'toward the front', 'before'), and the ablative case (*muçhnyúu* 'from ahead', 'before' [§3.1.6.2]). *muçhnyáaštyo* means 'from ahead of'.

- (60) *muçhó gy-eé to muçhó koé-ga niš*
 ahead go-CP TOP ahead who-also not
 [They] went forward but nobody was ahead [of them].
- (61) *láa muçhó-ř káaþa na wal-áa-w-n-o*
 much before-DAT wood not bring-PERF-m.-AUXpres-3.m.sg.
 He has not brought much wood before.
- (62) *mulái-k áa-l-i muçh-nyúu*
 girl-INDF come-PERF-3.f.sg. before-ABL
 A girl came from ahead [of them].

3.2.2.3 *pató* 'behind', 'since', 'after'

pató 'behind', 'since', 'after' is added to oblique stems as well as to the ablative-superessive, and can be inflected: *patnyúu* 'from behind'; *patór* '(toward the) back', and like *muçhó*, is also used adverbially. *patnyáaštyo* means 'from behind'.

- (63) *wazír-i toóm-i dij-á pató manúzo th-áa-o*
 minister-AGP own-f. daughter-OBL after person do-PERF-3.m.sg.
 The minister sent a man after his daughter (to bring her back)

- (64) *asá déez-i-ji pató*
that day-OBsg.-AbSp after
since that day
- (65) *pató phal th-wíi-t šóo*
after throw do-fut-2.pl. ashes
Afterwards you will throw the ashes.
- (66) *qasá th-eé ay-úu-i pató-ŕ*
story tell-CP come-fut-3.f.sg, back-DAT
After telling the story you (f.) will come back.

3.2.2.4 *ažó* 'inside'

ažó 'inside' can be added to the locative postposition *da* and also occurs as an independent adverb. It can be inflected with the dative (*ažóŕ* '[to the] inside'), and with the ablative (*ažnyúú* 'from the inside'). *ažó* shows enclosure, while *mají* shows that something is in the middle of something, or between two things.

- (67) *jáma qaláa-da ažó*
entire fort-in inside
throughout the fort
- (68) *dar-da ažó*
door-in inside
behind closed doors
- (69) *až-nyúú až-óŕ noŕ-áa-n-o*
inside-ABL inside-DAT play-IMPF-AUXpres-3.m.sg.
He plays strictly inside (away from outsiders).
- (70) *ažó ačhíi th-cég-a*
inside eye do-PERF-3.m.pl.
They looked inside (the house).

3.2.2.5 *gúçh* 'into', 'inside'

gúçh 'into', 'inside' is added to the locative postposition *da*. It can be inflected: *gúçha* (Obl. Sg.), *gúçhaŕ* 'toward the inside'. It occurs in our corpus only three times.

- (71) *góoŝ-da guçh*
house-in inside
inside the house

3.2.2.6 *sáati* 'with'

sáati 'with' is attached to the sociative, and also occurs as an independent adverb.

- (72) *puç ajóo baacháa-se sáati bcé-ɬ-u-n*
 son here king-SOC with sit-PERF-3.m.sg.-AUXpres
 The son is sitting here with the king.

- (73) *puç-ga aɬ-óo-e sáati*
 son-also bring-fut-2.m.sg. with
 You will also bring [your] son with [you].

3.2.2.7 *širyáa* 'like' and *khin* 'near'

širyáa 'like' and *khin* 'near' are added to the possessive. *khin* takes the postposition *da* 'in'.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(74) <i>toóm-a phy-óó širyáa</i>
 own-m.pl. sons-POSpl. like
 like your own sons</p> | <p>(75) <i>mī khin-da na cóky-o</i>
 my near-in not stand-imp
 Don't stand near me.</p> |
|---|---|

3.3 The indefinite particle -*ek--k*

The indefinite particle has been identified by Bailey and Radloff.³¹ Its form in Kohistani Shina is *-ek--k*. The form *-ek* occurs after consonants and *-k* occurs after vowels. (In our corpus it is often added to the oblique singular suffix *-a*, which may be elided if a vowel, for example a case suffix or the auxiliary, follows *-k*.)

3.3.1 Indefinite nouns

The particle *-ek--k* marks indefinite nouns which are introduced for the first time in discourse. Such nouns are singular and often preceded by *ek* 'one' as well as followed by *-k*.

- (76) *ek zaái-k-da gyá-o*
 one place-INDF-in went-3.m.sg.
 He went to a certain place.

31 Bailey 1924: 82-84; Radloff and Shakil 1998: 22.

- (77) *ek nesmán-k-u-s*
 one poor-man-INDF-m.sg.-was
 There was a certain poor man.

It may mean 'just', 'only' (like Urdu *zarā*). In (78) it is attached to the Obl. Sg. of *moṣ* 'word'.

- (78) *mo tí-ṛa ek móṣ-a-k th-am bel*
 I you-DAT one word-OBL-INDF do-subj.1.sg. COND
 If I may just tell you something ...

Case inflections and the particle *-ga* 'also' (Ex. [87]) are attached to the indefinite particle:

- (79) *uḥ-yúu, uḥ-yúu, uḥ-yúu ye ek hád-k-iji nikhá-t-a*
 run-AP run-AP run-AP they one limit-INDF-AbSp emerge-PERF-3.pl.
 Running without cease, they came out at a certain point.

- (80) *ek had-k-aṛ hileé nikhá-t-a sa jéel-iji*
 one limit-INDF-DAT barely emerge-PERF-3.pl. it forest-AbSp
 They barely managed to reach an edge of that forest.

One would expect the semantic dimension of definiteness to be marked in contrast to indefiniteness, and in fact an uninflected demonstrative pronoun *so* functions like an definite article (§4.1.2):

- (81) *yé-s-i so ṭak har-yáa-o*
 he-OBL-AGP that button take.away-PERF-3.m.sg.
 He took away the button.

3.3.2 Relative function

Suffixed to a verb, the indefinite particle functions like a relative pronoun, showing that the subject of the subordinate verb is the same as that of the main verb (comparable to U. *vālā*):

- (82) *toómi achóo-gi paš-ée-k th-a*
 own eye-pl.-with see-PERF.2.m.sg.-INDF do-imp
 [You] tell whatever you saw with your own eyes.

- (83) *asá mi zaa-s-o a-íí gyá-o-k mō pató beé-ṭ-o-s-os*
 that my brother-was-3.m.sg. come-CP went-3.m.sg.-INDF I behind
 sit-PERF-m.-AUXpast-1.m.sg.
That was my brother who passed by, I had stayed behind.

Suffixed to the present auxiliary, it functions like a quasi-deictic (like Urdu *jo hai*):

- (84) *so nūūṣ hán-y-ek tak-éc sūū th-íí-n-i*
 that daughter-in-law is-f.-INDF button-POS needle do-IMPF-
 AUXpres-3.f.sg.
She makes that-there daughter-in-law a button-needle.

3.3.3 Introducing an uncertain topic

In combination with *jo-jóo* 'what', the indefinite particle introduces a topic which is unspecified or uncertain: 'some', 'any', 'whatever'; with the negative, 'nothing'.

- (85) *xoḍ-yó jo roozíí-k th-áa-u-n to asá b-úú*
 God-AGP what sustenance-INDF do-PERF-3.m.sg.-AUXpres TOP
 that be-fut.3.f.sg.
Whatever sustenance God provides, that is what there will be.
- (86) *aáe budy-úú jóo wál-a-k th-cég-i-n-i, mi šazdáa-ṭ*
 this old.woman-AGP what way-OBL-INDF do-PERF-f.-AUXpres-
 3.f.sg. my prince-DAT
This old woman has done some trick to my prince.
- (87) *jóo-k-ga únnii wíí na b-óo*
 what-INDF-also nineteen twenty not be-fut.3.m.sg.
Nothing is going to go amiss.

3.3.4 With place adverbs

When the place adverbs *adí* 'here', *asdí* 'there', *kudí* 'where?', 'somewhere', occur before the present tense of the bound form of *boón* (*háno*, *hání* etc.), the particle *-k* is suffixed to the place adverbs, forming a loose compound,

with the accent retained on both members. The first vowel of *háno*, etc. is lengthened: *-áno* > *-áano*, *-áno* > *-áni*.

adí + *háno* → *adí-k-áano* 'is here'

asdí + *háno* → *asdí-k-áano* 'is there'

kudí + *háno* → *kudí-k-áano* 'where is?'

The particle also occurs after the deictic *ajóo* (§4.1.2.3):

ajóo + *háno* → *ajóo-k-áano* 'is here'.

As **adíno*, **asdíno*, **kudíno* do not occur in the corpus, no contrastive meaning can be assigned to *-k* in these phrases. However none of the examples attest an indefinite meaning. Bailey's observation is relevant: "In a number of cases the suffix [*k*] is no doubt meaningless, being used merely because of the gradual growth of a habit."³²

(88) *záa kudí-k-áan-o*
brother where-INDF-is-m.sg.
Where is brother?

(89) *sūú kudí-k-áan-i*
needle where-INDF-is-f.
Where is the needle?

(90) *pensil ajóo-k-áan-i*
pencil right.here-INDF-is-f.
The pencil is right here

(91) *kudí jo lap ban jéc-ji lah-áa-n-oc*
where what morsel arrangement anyone-AbSup find-IMPF-AUX-pres-
2.m.sg.
If you find an arrangement for any food from anyone somewhere,

... *to mo-ɾ aɬ-á*

... TOP me-DAT bring-imp

... bring it to me.

(92) *ciyéé mo ye-s kudí çak-úu-s?*
now I he-OBL where look-fut-1.f.sg.
Now where should I look for him?

3.3.5 With adjectives of quantity

When the reduplicated particle *-k*, *-k-ak* is attached to adjectives of quantity, it expresses a precise amount. The segment *-k-ak* is translated by U. *sā*.

- (93) *tɨ-s kacáa phuk har-b-óo-e*
 you-AGI how.much flour take-can-fut-2.m.sg.
 How much flour can you take?

Compare:

- (94) *tɨ-s kacáa-k-ak phuk har-b-óo-e*
 you-AGI how.much-INDF-INDF flour take-can-fut-2.m.sg.
 Exactly how much flour can you take?

3.4 Doubled nouns

Echo-words are formed with a rhyming nonsense-word which begins with *m*: *tíki-míki* 'bread and such' = 'a meal'; *wói mói* 'water of various types'.

3.5 Sample paradigms³³

3.5.1 Masculine nouns

Regular M1 nouns: *chúbu* 'fish'

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	<i>chúbu</i>	<i>chúba</i>
Ag. I	<i>chúbus</i>	<i>chúbas</i>
Obl.	<i>chúba</i>	<i>chúbo</i>
Ag. P	<i>chúboe</i>	<i>chúboji</i>
Poss.	<i>chúbee</i>	<i>chúboo</i>
Dat.	<i>chúbar</i>	<i>chúboɾ</i>
AbSup	<i>chúbiji</i>	<i>chúboji</i>
Add.	<i>chúbedi</i>	<i>chúbodi</i>
Soc.	<i>chúbase</i>	<i>chúbose</i>

³³ These paradigms have been recorded from two different speakers and show the variation typical of an unstandardized language.

Regular M2 nouns: *mušáa* 'man'

	Sg.	Pt..
Nom.	<i>mušáa</i>	<i>mušéc</i>
Ag. I	<i>mušáas</i>	<i>mušéés</i>
Obl.	<i>mušá</i>	<i>mušó</i>
Ag. P	<i>mušáe</i>	<i>mušóoji</i>
Poss.	<i>mušáae</i>	<i>mušóo</i>
Dat.	<i>mušáar</i>	<i>mušóor</i>
AbSup.	<i>mušáaji</i>	<i>mušóoji</i>
Add.	<i>mušáadi</i>	<i>mušóodi</i>
Soc.	<i>mušáase</i>	<i>mušoose</i>

Regular M3 nouns: *góoʃ* 'house'

	Sg.	Pt..
Nom.	<i>góoʃ</i>	<i>góoʒi</i>
Ag. I	<i>góoʃsa</i>	<i>góoʒis~góoʒes</i>
Obl.	<i>góoʒa</i>	<i>góoʒo</i>
Ag. P	<i>góoʒi</i>	<i>góoʒoji</i>
Poss.	<i>góoʒee</i>	<i>góoʒoo</i>
Dat.	<i>góoʒar</i>	<i>góoʒor</i>
AbSup.	<i>góoʒiji~góoʒej</i>	<i>góoʒoji~góoʒoj</i>
Add.	<i>góoʒidi~góoʒedi</i>	<i>góoʒodi</i>
Soc.	<i>góoʒase</i>	<i>góoʒose</i>

3.5.2 Feminine Nouns

Regular F1 nouns: *machári* 'fly'

	Sg.	Pt..
Nom.	<i>machári</i>	<i>machárc</i>
Ag. I	<i>macháris</i>	<i>macháryes</i>
Obl.	<i>machári</i>	<i>macháryo</i>
Ag. P	<i>macháryo</i>	<i>macháryoji</i>
Poss.	<i>macháryec</i>	<i>macháryoo</i>
Dat.	<i>macháryer</i>	<i>macháryor</i>
AbSup.	<i>machárijj</i>	<i>macháryoji</i>
Add.	<i>macháridi</i>	<i>macháryodi</i>
Soc.	<i>machárise</i>	<i>macháryose</i>

Regular F2 nouns: *luṅii* 'cotoneaster bacillaris'

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	<i>luṅii</i>	<i>luṅii</i>
Ag.-I	<i>luṅiís</i>	<i>luṅiís</i>
Obl.	<i>luṅí</i>	<i>luṅiyoo</i>
Ag.-P	<i>luṅiyoo</i>	<i>luṅiyooji</i>
Poss.	<i>luṅii</i>	<i>luṅiyoo</i>
Dat.	<i>luṅiír</i>	<i>luṅiyooṛ</i>
AbSup.	<i>luṅiíji</i>	<i>luṅiyooji</i>
Add.	<i>luṅiídi</i>	<i>luṅiyooḍi</i>
Soc.	<i>luṅiíse</i>	<i>luṅiyooḥse</i>

Regular F3 nouns: *yóõş* 'mill'

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	<i>yóõş</i>	<i>yóõza</i>
Ag. I	<i>yóõşsa</i>	<i>yóõzas</i>
Obl.	<i>yóõza</i>	<i>yóõzo</i>
Ag. P	<i>yóõzoo</i>	<i>yóõzoji</i>
Poss.	<i>yóõzee</i>	<i>yóõzoo</i>
Dat.	<i>yóõzaṛ</i>	<i>yóõzoṛ</i>
AbSup.	<i>yóõziji-yóõzeji</i>	<i>yóõzoji</i>
Add.	<i>yóõzidi</i>	<i>yóõzodi</i>
Soc.	<i>yóõzase</i>	<i>yóõzose</i>

4. Pronouns and Deixis

4.1 Pronouns

The pronoun system includes both personal and demonstrative pronouns. The personal pronouns are used mostly to refer to human subjects. The demonstrative pronouns refer to inanimates and animals, and may also be used as modifiers.

4.1.1 Personal pronouns

The personal pronouns distinguish singular and plural, first, second and third persons, and proximate and remote. The masculine-feminine gender distinction is found only in the third person singular agent-perfective case.

4.1.1.1 The oblique case of personal pronouns

The first layer case distinction nominative:oblique may be observed in the first and third plural pronouns (§4.1.1.2. *asó*, §4.1.1.5. *seḥô*). The oblique may be used as a simple accusative (1). The nominative case is also used for direct objects (3).

- (1) *ich-í se-ḥó har-íí se-ḥ-éé góoḗ-a uḥ-y-áa-o*
bear-AGP them-OBpl. take-CP them-OBL-POsg. house-OBL arrive-
CAUS-PERF-3.m.sg.
The bear took them to their home.

In the 1st sg. and 2nd sg. pronouns, the oblique case has merged with the nominative, and in the 3rd sg. with the agent-imperfective (§4.1.1.4 *yes*, §4.1.1.5 *ses*). However the vowel *-a-* in the 3rd sg. dative (*sésar*, *yésar*) testifies to a former 3rd Obl. Sg.: *sésa*, *yésa*, and examples of this form occur in some texts: *yés-a pató*, 'after this'; *sésa mají*, 'in the meanwhile'.

- (2) *mō se-s góoḗ-a uḥ-y-áa-s*
I.NOM him-OBsg. house-OBL arrive-CAUS-PERF.m.sg.-1
I took him home.

(3) *mō sa góoḡ-a uḡh-y-áa-s*

I.NOM he.NOM house-OBL arrive-CAUS-PERF.m.sg.-1
I took him home.

(4) *sé-sa háa-a-n th-e-n, sél-a-ḡ*

him-OBsg take-IMPF-3.pl. do-IMPF-3.pl. promenade-OBL-DAT
They say [that] they take him for a walk.

All the second layer inflectional suffixes (agent-imperfective, agent-imperfective, possessive, dative, ablative-superessive, addressive and sociative) occur with the personal pronouns. In those pronouns which preserve an oblique case marker (1st. pl. and 3rd. pl.), the second layer suffixes are added to the oblique stem. In 1st singular and 2nd person pronouns they are added to the nominative-oblique stem, and in the 3rd singular to the agent-imperfective/oblique stem.

There is no gender or number inflection in the possessive pronouns. A few possessive forms have nasalized vowels varying with oral vowels: *mi-mĩ*,¹ *seṅé~seṅē*.

4.1.1.2 First person pronoun

	Sg.	Pl.	URDU TRANSLATION
Nom.	<i>mō~mō</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>maĩ, ham</i>
Ag.-I.	<i>mos</i>	<i>bes</i>	(agent with imperfective tenses)
Obl.	<i>mo</i>	<i>asó</i>	<i>mujh, ham</i> (with a postposition)
Ag.-P.	<i>mō~mōḡ</i>	<i>asáa</i>	<i>maĩ ne, ham ne</i>
Poss.	<i>mi, mĩ</i>	<i>asée</i>	<i>merā, hamārā</i>
Dat.	<i>moḡ</i>	<i>asóḡ</i>	<i>mujh ko</i>
Ab.-Sup.	<i>móji</i>	<i>asóji</i>	<i>mujh se, mujh par</i>
Add.	<i>módi</i>	<i>asódi</i>	<i>mere pās</i>
Soc.	<i>móse</i>	<i>asóse</i>	<i>mere sāth</i>

(5) *mo tú-se xáar-a-ḡ gaḡ b-o-m*

I you.NOM/OBL-SOC town-OBL-DAT join be-subj-1.sg.
Let me enter the town with you.

(6) *mó-di káaṅcē-n-a*

me.NOM/OBL-ADD gemstone-are-3.pl.
I have the gemstones.

¹ Cf. Bailey 1924: 224: *meĩ* (1.sg.gen.).

- (7) *aš aáe mó-ji jóo kom bí-l-u-n yaá*
 today this I.NOM/OBL-AbSp what work be-PERF-3.m.sg.-AUXpres
 RHET
 [Oh no], what have I done (involuntarily) today?

4.1.1.3 Second person pronoun

The second person plural is used for both natural plural and respectful plural. For example, a wife and husband may address each other with *tsho* to show respect. The singular pronoun *tu* has an alternate stem, *tho-*, in the Ag.-P. and Poss.

	Sg.	Pl.	URDU TRANSLATION
Nom.	<i>tu</i>	<i>tsho</i>	<i>tū, tum</i>
Ag.-I.	<i>tus</i>	<i>tshos</i>	(agent with imperfective tenses)
Obl.	<i>tu</i>	<i>tsho</i>	<i>tujh, tum</i> (with a postposition)
Ag.-P.	<i>thóo</i>	<i>tsháa</i>	<i>tū ne, tum ne</i>
Poss.	<i>thoé</i>	<i>tshée</i>	<i>terā, tumhārā</i>
Dat.	<i>tuj</i>	<i>tshóř</i>	<i>tujh ko, tum ko</i>
Ab.-Sup.	<i>túji</i>	<i>tshóji</i>	<i>tujh se/par, tum se/par</i>
Add.	<i>túdi</i>	<i>tshódi</i>	<i>tere pās</i>
Soc.	<i>túse</i>	<i>tshóse</i>	<i>tere sāth</i>

- (8) *tu-s mo-se wahdá th-a*
 you.sg.-AGI I.NOM/OBL-SOC promise do-imp
 You make me a promise.
- (9) *tsho be-lóoz-a-an-at, tsho ban-ée jansar-í-n-at*
 you.pl. NOM without-promise-pl.-are-2.pl. you.pl. forest-POS animal-
 pl.-are-2.pl.
 You do not keep promises, you are forest animals.
- (10) *loškí-ji thoé ban gar-úu-s*
 morning-AbSp your.sg. arrangement do-fut.f.sg.-1.
 In the morning I will make an arrangement for you.

4.1.1.4. Third person personal pronoun, proximate

Urdu demonstrative pronouns are used below to translate the Shina third person pronouns, because Urdu has no third person personal pronouns.

The third person personal pronoun *ye* (proximate) is used to refer to a

third person who is present or has been present until immediately before the time of speaking.

The inflected forms of both proximates and remotes can also mean 'it': *sésa maji*, 'in the meanwhile [inside it]'; and (when inflected) function as demonstratives: *yésee* 'of this', *yésar* 'to this'.

	Sg.	Pl.	URDU TRANSLATION
Nom.	<i>ye</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>yě</i>
Ag.-I.	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	(agent with imperfective tenses)
Obl.	<i>yes ~yesa</i>	<i>yeŋó²</i>	<i>is, in</i> (with a postposition)
Ag.-P. m.	<i>yési</i>	<i>yeŋáa</i>	<i>us ne, unhō ne</i>
Ag.-P. f.	<i>yésoo</i>	<i>yeŋáa</i>	<i>us ne, unhō ne</i>
Poss.	<i>yésee</i>	<i>yeŋée</i>	<i>is kā, in kā</i>
Dat.	<i>yésar</i>	<i>yeŋór</i>	<i>is ko, in ko</i>
Ab.-Sup	<i>yésiji</i>	<i>yeŋóji</i>	<i>is se/par, in se/par</i>
Add.	<i>yésidi</i>	<i>yeŋódi</i>	<i>is ke pās, in ke pās</i>
Soc.	<i>yés se</i>	<i>yeŋóse</i>	<i>is ke sāth, in ke sāth</i>

(11) *ye toóm-o bubáa-di boš-tha³*

he.PROX own-m.sg. father-ADD go-INJ

He should go to his own father.

(12) *ye-s raz-áa-n-o phát-a thoé karaá šoo-d-u-n*

he.PROX-AGI say-IMPf-AUXpres-3.m.sg. leave-imp your ram
tire-PERF-3.m.sg.-AUXpres

He says, 'Forget it, your ram is tired [lit. has tired].'

(13) *ciyéc mo ye-s kudí çak-úu-s*

now I.NOM he.PROX-OBL where look-fut.f.sg.-1.

Now where should I look for him?

4.1.1.5 Third person personal pronoun, remote

The third person personal pronoun *sa* (remote) is used to refer to a third person who is not present. In speech of some speakers, the nominative form is *se*.

2 Alternate forms *yeŋó*, *yeŋáa* etc. occur; the nasalization is an effect of the retroflex nasal.

3 *boštha* = *bojtha*. The injunctive suffix *-tha* is added directly to the root *boj-* [bož], the final consonant of which is assimilated to the unvoiced initial consonant of *-tha*.

The Obl. Pl. stem sometimes occurs as the base of the agent-imperfective case. This is an example of levelling, as the Ag.-I. normally attaches to the nominative (§3.1.5.1).

In texts, where the verb suffixes mark the person, gender and number of the subject, *sa* is usually omitted.

	Sg.	Pl.	URDU TRANSLATION
Nom.	<i>sa-se</i>	<i>sa-se</i>	<i>võ</i>
Ag.-I.	<i>ses</i>	<i>scs, seṇós</i>	(agent with imperfective tenses)
Obl.	<i>ses-sésa</i>	<i>seṇó</i>	<i>us, un</i> (with a postposition)
Ag.-P. m.	<i>sési</i>	<i>seṇáa</i>	<i>us ne, unhõ ne</i>
Ag.-P. f.	<i>sésoo</i>	<i>seṇáa</i>	<i>us ne, unhõ ne</i>
Poss.	<i>sésece</i>	<i>seṇéc⁴</i>	<i>us kã, un kã</i>
Dat.	<i>sésar</i>	<i>seṇór</i>	<i>us ko, un ko</i>
Ab.-Sup.	<i>sésiji</i>	<i>seṇóji</i>	<i>us se/par, un se/par</i>
Add.	<i>sésidi</i>	<i>seṇódi</i>	<i>us ke pãs, un ke pãs</i>
Soc.	<i>sés se</i>	<i>seṇóse</i>	<i>us ke sãth, un ke sãth</i>

(14) *sa koó-n-o?*

he who-is-m.sg.

Who is he (not present)?

(15) *só-s-ee dúu phy-áas*

she-OBsg-POsg. two sons-were

She had two sons.

(16) *içh-í sc-ṇó-r dád d-áa-o*

bear-AGP them-OBpl.-DAT reassurance give-PERF-3.m.sg.

The bear reassured them.

Kohistani Shina shares the 1st person sg. *mV-*, 2nd person sg. *tu-*, and 3rd person sg. *sV-* with Sawi and Palula, and 1st person pl. *be* with Sawi. Palula has the 1st person pl. oblique stem *as-* in the nominative as well as inflected cases.⁵

Some other Shina dialects have an additional 3rd person term: *ro* in Gilgiti, *zo* in Guresi and Drasi.⁶ Liljegren's data for Palula show a similar

4 Alternate form *seṇéc̃* occurs: the nasalization is an effect of the retroflex nasal.

5 Buddruss 1967: 39-43, Liljegren 2005, p.c.

form *har'ó*.⁷ In these dialects there is a distinction in personal pronouns between remote visible and invisible referents (although these are mapped on to the pronouns in various ways. This distinction is shared with Kashmiri, in which the 3rd person sg. *hu* (remote visible) contrasts with the 3rd person sg. *su* (remote invisible).⁸

4.1.2 Demonstrative pronouns

aác, 'this' and *asá*, 'that' (Urdu *yě* and *vđ*) are used as pronouns only when referring to inanimates or animals (meaning 'it'). As pronominal adjectives, *aác* and *asá* may modify nouns referring to a human. *aác* is reduced to *aáy* in rapid speech, and a variant form, *aá*, occurs in some idiolects.

aác and *asá* are marked not only for proximity/remoteness, but also for source of knowledge. *aác* normally marks visual knowledge (the source of speaker's knowledge is observation); while *asá* marks heard knowledge (the source of knowledge is discourse). See (19, 21), however in (25), *aác kom* 'this work' refers to a job which has previously been discussed, and is seen only figuratively.

asá shares its domain with an uninflected demonstrative pronoun of uncertain origin, *so*, strictly translated as 'that', but which functions like a definite article (17, 19).⁹

In the nominative case, there is no distinction between the singular and plural of *aác* and *asá*. When used as pronouns the demonstratives inflect like other pronouns, but the inflected forms occur fairly seldom. It would be more usual to find *yése* than *aásee* ('of this', 'of it'), *yésar* than *aáesar* ('to this', 'to it').

aác and *asá* may be elaborated into deictics with the direction markers *paár*, 'over there' and *per* 'there' to make compounds (see §4.2.2).

(17) *so tak*
that button
the button

(18) *tū-di ek tak-ak kóm-u-n*
you-ADD one button-INDF-work-m.sg.-is
You have a little bit [a button] of work

6 Radloř and Shakil 1998: 192; R.L. Schmidt, unpublished research notes.

7 Liljegren 2005, p.c.

8 Wali and Koul 1997: 196.

9 In the speech of some speakers, *so* is the masculine form of the third person nominative singular pronoun, and *sa* is the feminine form: *sa céi* 'that woman', *so mušáa* 'that man'. In Guresi and Palula, *so* is the 3rd person sg. remote pronoun.

4.1.2.1 Inflected forms of *aáe* (proximate)

	Sg.	Pl.	URDU TRANSLATION
Nom.	<i>aác</i>	<i>aác</i>	<i>yě</i>
Ag.-I.	<i>aáes</i>	<i>aáes</i>	(agent with imperfective tenses)
Obl.	<i>aáes</i>	<i>ayṇó</i>	<i>is/in</i> (with a postposition)
Ag.-P. m.	<i>aáysi</i>	<i>ayṇá</i>	<i>is ne, inhō ne</i>
Ag.-P. f.	<i>aáysoo</i>	<i>ayṇá</i>	<i>is ne, inhō ne</i>
Poss.	<i>aáysec</i>	<i>ayṇéc</i>	<i>is kā, in kā</i>
Dat.	<i>aáysar</i>	<i>ayṇór</i>	<i>is ko, in ko</i>
Ab.-Sup.	<i>aáysiji</i>	<i>ayṇóji</i>	<i>is se/par, in se/par</i>
Add.	<i>aáysidi</i>	<i>ayṇódi</i>	<i>is ke pās, in ke pās</i>
Soc.	<i>aáes se</i>	<i>ayṇóse</i>	<i>is ke sāth, in ke sāth</i>

In inflected forms, *aác* tends to be reduced to *aá*: *aásee* 'of this', *aásar* 'to this'. The form *aáe* appears to be unique to Kohistani; other dialects have *anú* (Gilgiti, Guresi; Drasi; also Palula).¹⁰

4.1.2.2 Inflected forms of *asá* (remote)

	Sg.	Pl.	URDU TRANSLATION
Nom.	<i>asá</i>	<i>asá</i>	<i>vō</i>
Ag.-I.	<i>asés</i>	<i>asṇós</i>	(agent with imperfective tenses)
Obl.	<i>asés</i>	<i>asṇó</i>	<i>us/un</i> (with a postposition)
Ag.-P. m.	<i>asési</i>	<i>asṇá</i>	<i>us ne, unhō ne</i>
Ag.-P. f.	<i>asésoo</i>	<i>asṇá</i>	<i>us ne, unhō ne</i>
Poss.	<i>asésee</i>	<i>asṇéc</i>	<i>us kā, un kā</i>
Dat.	<i>asésar</i>	<i>asṇór</i>	<i>us ko, un ko</i>
Ab.-Sup.	<i>asésiji</i>	<i>asṇóji</i>	<i>us se/par, un se/par</i>
Add.	<i>asésidi</i>	<i>asṇódi</i>	<i>us ke pās, un ke pās</i>
Soc.	<i>asés se</i>	<i>asṇóse</i>	<i>us ke sāth, un ke sāth</i>

(19) *aáe na har th-eég-i. teé yés-i so tak har-yáa-o*

this not take.away do-PERF-3.f.sg. then he-AGP that button take.away-PERF-3.m.sg.

'Don't take it away,' she said. Then he took the button away.

10 Radloff and Shakil 1998: 192; R.L. Schmidt, unpublished research notes; Morgenstierne 1941: 18.

- (20) *aáe jó-k-u-n*
this what-INDF-m.sg.-is
What is this (thing)?'
- (21) *asá déez-iji pató*
that day-AbSp after
since that day
- (22) *o alláah thó-o jóo th-áa-e to asá b-úu*
O God you-AGP what do-PERF-2.m.sg. TOP that be-fut.3.f.sg.
O God, whatever you do, that will be.
- (23) *akóoꝛ tu jóo wal th-íi-n-oe to asá wal th-a*
VOL you what way do-IMPf-AUXpres-2.m.sg. TOP that way do-imp
You do it the way you want to do it.
- (24) *loškí-ji bój-a-m asá šazadgíi-di*
morning-AbSp go-subj-1.sg. that princess-ADD
Let me go to that/the princess in the morning. (*so šazadgíi* would also be possible.)
- (25) *aáe kom thoón-u-n*
this work do-INF-m.sg.-is
This work is to be done.

Morgenstierne records forms similar to *asá* in "Phaluṛa": *eso, ase* 'that'.¹¹

The Obl. Pl. stem occurs as the base of the agent-imperfective case (an example of levelling).

4.1.2.3 *ajaáe*

With the prefix *aj-*, an emphatic form, *ajaáe*, is formed, meaning 'this very, this same'. This prefix does not attach to *asá*. The prefix *aj-* also occurs in the following:

aj + adí 'here' → *ajdí* 'right here' (U. *yuhĩ*)

aj + adóo 'such' → *ajdóo* 'just like this' (see §5.3.1) (U. *aisā hĩ*); oblique case: *ajdáa* 'just like this' (U. *aise hĩ*).

ajóo, which has three meanings: (a) 'this' (= *ye*, 3rd person personal pronoun, proximate); (b) 'here' (U. *yahā*); (c) 'right now' (U. *abhĩ*); see (27). The segment *-óo* does not seem to occur in isolation.

¹¹ Morgenstierne 1941: 20.

- (26) *lái aká-l-i-n-is mo ajaáe çoopódy-ce pon-da beé-ṭ-i-n-is*
 very lonely-f.-am-1.f.sg I this.very crossroad-POS road-in sit-PERF-f.-
 AUX-pres-1.f.sg.
 I am very lonely, I have been sitting at this same three-road crossing.

4.1.3 Symmetrical *a--as-* adjective and adverb sets

The segments *a-* and *as-* mark sets of adjectives and adverbs which are also marked for proximate and remote, and by derivation, for source of knowledge. These are described in detail in Chapters 5 and 7.

adóo 'such' (U. *aisā*) – *asdóo* 'that kind of' (U. *aisā*). See §5.3.1.

atóto 'this much', 'such' (U. *imā*) – *astóto* 'that much', 'such' (U. *umā*).
 See §5.3.2.

acáa 'this much/many' (U. *imā*) – *ascáa* 'that much/many' (U. *umā*). See §5.3.3.

adí 'here' (U. *yahā*) – *asdí* 'there' (U. *vahā*). See §7.1.2.1.

4.1.4 Reflexive words

There are two reflexive words in the corpus.

The reflexive adjective, *toómo*, replaces possessive pronouns when the subject of the sentence owns the object (like U. *apnā*). It is described under §5.6.

akeé 'self' (U. *xud*) refers back to the subject of the sentence as the agent. It may be inflected in the oblique, *akoó* (*xud ko*), referring to the subject of the sentence as the patient, and also before the Layer II cases: agent-imperfective, dative, ablative-superessive and adessive. It commonly occurs in the dative, *akoóŋ* 'to oneself', which functions as the marker of voluntary actions (i.e., 'want', described in more detail under §6.7.3.)

- (27) *ajóo ṭíki akoó-ŋ akeé kh-áa-n-o muçhó mo-s khay-ém-sa-s*
 now bread self-DAT self eat-IMPF-AUXpres-3.m.sg. before I-AGI
 feed-IMPF-1.sg.-AUXpast-1.

Now he eats all by himself, before I was feeding (him).

- (28) *wo baál ke akóo dah-áa-n-oe hugúar-idi?*
 VOC child why self.OBL burn-IMPF-AUXpres-2.m.sg. fire-ADD
 O child, why are you burning yourself at the fire?

- (29) *puç-ée wal-éji tu-ga akoó-se sáati bay-óo-s*
 son-POS way-AbSp you-also self.OBL-SOC with keep-fut.m.sg.-l
 I will keep you with myself like a son

4.1.5 Interrogatives and indefinites

4.1.5.1 *koé* 'who'

koé-kweé can function both as an interrogative 'who?' [U. *kaun*] and an indefinite, 'someone', 'anyone' [U. *koī*]. In forms inflected for case, it has the suppletive stem *jée*, 'whom' [U. *kis*]. When used as an indefinite, *jée* is followed by the indefinite particle *-k-*: *jée-k* '[to, from etc.] someone' [U. *kisī*].

- (30) *koé b-uú-i, nǎǎ, aád-per*
 who [you] bc-fut.f.-2.sg. EMPH around-here
 Who will you *be*, around here?
 (Who knows what kind of creatures might be around here?)
- (31) *aác kitáab jé-c-in-i*
 this book who-POS-is-f.sg.
 Whose book is this?
- (32) *mi kitáab jé-c hary-áa-w-n-o*
 my book who-AGP take-PERF-m.-AUXpres-3.m.sg.
 Who has taken my book?
- (33) *jée-ɾ d-óo-e*
 whom-DAT give-fut.m.-2.sg.
 Whom will you give [it] to?
- (34) *kudí jo lap ban jéc-ji lah-áa-n-oe*
 where what morsel arrangement anyone-AbSup find-IMPf-AUX-pres-2.m.sg.
 If you find an arrangement for any food from anyone somewhere,
 ... *to mo-ɾ aṭ-á*
 ... TOP me-DAT bring-imp
 ... bring it to me.

- (35) *aná jéo-k-a-r d-a*
 this¹² someone-INDF-OBL-DAT give-imp
 Give this old thing to someone.
- (36) *mo-s yé-s jée-r phát-am-as nēē mo-s múto koé hár-m-os*
 I-AGI him-OBL anybody-DAT leave-IMPF-1. not I-AGI other
 someone take-IMPF-1.sg.
 I will neither give him to anyone nor will I take anyone else.
 (*nēē* negates both clauses.)

Followed by *ga*, 'also' *koé* means 'anyone' [U. *koī bhī*]; *koé-ga* followed by the negative means 'no one' [U. *koī bhī nahī*].

- (37) *koé-ga musulmáan hán-o to mo moj-éé yaá*
 who also Muslim is-m.sg. TOP I.NOM rescue-imp.sg. RHET
 If any Muslim is present, rescue me!
- (38) *koé-ga niš*
 anyone not.present
 Nobody is there/here.

4.1.5.2 *jóo*

jóo-jo, 'what?' occurs in the corpus only rarely in inflected forms. It is used (a) as an interrogative, (b) a relative pronoun meaning 'what', (c) with the meaning 'how', (d) with the indefinite particle *-k*, as an indefinite, e) as a filler (like U. *jo hai*).

- (39) *aáe jo pišáaṛ-iin-i*
 this what hullabaloo-is-f.sg.?
 What is this hullabaloo?
- (40) *thó-o jóo th-áa-e to asá b-úu*
 you-AGP what do-PERF-2.m.sg. TOP that be-fut.3.f.sg.
 Whatever you did, that will be.
- (41) *wo mušáa aác jóo sudáčh-u-n wáa*
 VOC man this how beautiful-m.sg.-is EMPH
 O husband, how beautiful it is!

12 *aná* in modern Kohistani is considered an impolite variant of *aáe*. It is however an inherited Shina demonstrative meaning 'this', contrasting with *asá*, 'that (remote, not known visually)'. Compare Guresi *aná* 'this' (close, visible)'.

- (42) *baál-ga har-cég-i jo gy-ci*
 child-also take-PERF-3.f.sg. filler go.PERF-3.f.sg.
 She took the child along (filler) [and] left.

Indefinites occur with the indefinite particle *-k-* (§3.3), and/or in the fixed phrases *jóo na jóo* 'some or the other' [U. *koī na koī*].

- (43) *aée buđy-úu jóo wál-a-k th-eég-i-n-i, mi šazdáa-ř*
 this old.woman-AGP what way-OBL-INDF do-PERF-f.-AUXpres-
 3.f.sg. my prince-DAT
 This old woman has done some trick to my prince.

- (44) *jóo na jóo musiibat-a-k áa-l-ii-n-i sé-s-iji*
 what not what misfortune-OBL-INDF come-PERF-f.-AUXpres-3.f.sg.
 she-OBL-AbSp
 Some kind of misfortune has befallen her.

The inflected form *jhóō*, 'of some (pl.)' occurs three times in the corpus, in sentences of the same pattern. It may take case-suffixes: *jhwaā* (agent-perfective) *jhóōř* (dative).

- (45) *jhóō šíg-a bój-n-a-n. jhóō pháaši phuř-áa-n-i*
 some.of horn-pl. go-IMPF.3.pl.-AUXpres some.of leg break-IMPF-
 AUXpres-3.f.sg.
 Some lose their horns, some have leg(s) broken.

4.1.5.3 *káa*

káa 'what?'¹³ is used almost entirely as an interrogative (but see [49]). It can be inflected to *káath* 'how?' (U. *kis tarah*); see §7.1.3.1.

- | | |
|---|---|
| (46) <i>yóōš káa b-úu</i>
watermill what be-fut.3.f.sg.
What about the watermill? | (47) <i>káa bí-l-i yé-sa-ř</i>
what be-PERF-f.sg. she-OBL-DAT
What happened to her? |
| (48) <i>káa th-am</i>
what do-subj.1.sg.
What shall I do? | (49) <i>káa th-eég-a...</i>
whatever do-PERF-3.pl.
whatever they did... |

13 *káa* 'what' is homophonous with *káa* 'brother' and *káa* 'plank of wood'.

- (50) *káath th-eég-i-n-ee mi aae šazdá karaá?*
 how do-PERF-f.-AUXpres-2.f.sg. my this prince ram
 How have you made this my prince a ram?

4.1.5.4 *khāāē* 'which'

khāāē 'which' is used both interrogatively and relatively. It does not inflect.

- (52) *ras máā khāāē pón-da per çeη-eég-i-n-ee*
 say.imp mother which path-on away send-PERF-f.-AUXpres-2.f.sg.
 Tell [us], mother, on which path have you sent him away?
- (53) *khāāē décz-a thó-o awáz th-áa-c, to mō¹⁴ tax-éji al d-óo-s khári*
 which day-OBL you.sg.-AGP call do-PERF-2.m.sg. TOP I throne-AbSp
 jump give-fut.m.sg.-1. down
 On whichever day you call [me], I will step down from the throne.

4.2 Deixis

Deixis in Shina could in itself be the topic of a dissertation. The following information is not as comprehensive as we wish, and we invite other scholars to investigate this complex but fascinating topic.

4.2.1 *The deictics paár, per-péra and óra*

Both *paár* and *per-péra* mean 'across'; *paár* 'yonder' refers to things or people which are, or which would be, in the speaker's or addressee's line of sight (and hence visible); *per* 'away' indicates things or people which are, or would be, out of the speaker's or addressee's line of sight (and hence invisible).

The proximate deictic is *óra* '(in) this direction'. When compounded with *péra* it means '(all) around'.

- (54) *phúuŋ th-áa-o to paár dúu tobí-i-n-a*
 look do-PERF-3.m.sg. TOP yonder [visible] two tree-pl.-are-3.pl.
 [As] he looked [he thought] "over there are two trees" (in speaker's
 line of sight).

14 *mō* could be nominative or agent-perfective here, although the future of *al doón* 'to jump' calls for the agent-imperfective. This mistake occurs several times in the text narrated by Ropi Jan.

- (55) *per b-o waá*
away [invisible] go-imp EMPH
Go away!
- (56) *mušée óra áa-l-a*
men here come-PERF-3.pl.
The men came over here.
- (57) *yé-s-i phirí óra-péra phíphuṭ th-áa-o*
he-OBL-AGP again here-there stare do-PERF-3.m.sg.
He looked all around again.

4.2.2 Visibility and source of knowledge in deictics

The demonstrative pronouns *aáe* and *asá* may be elaborated into deictics by prefixing *paár* and *per* to make compounds. Deictics marked by *paár* encode visibility, while those marked by *per* encode invisibility. Recall that *aáe* refers to visual knowledge, while *asá* refers to heard knowledge. (*óra* does not form compounds with demonstrative pronouns.)

In compounds with *paár*, two degrees of distance are marked by the placement of the accent (on *aáe* or *asá* for closer objects, e.g. *paaraáe*; on *paár* for more distant ones, e.g. *paáraae*). Very remote distances can be shown by emphasizing the tonal contour and inserting a nonphonemic glottal stop in the compound, [paáʔraae]. Since *per* contains a short vowel (and in any case, compounds with *per* have a more ambiguous referent), accent shift does not occur in *peraáe*.

In sentences (58-65) deictics with *paár* refer to something which is potentially visible (either it is in one's line of sight, or one may turn around and look at it). Deictics with *per* refer to something which is invisible. It is possible to contrast referents that are known visually, and also visible, and those known visually, but not presently visible:

- (58) *paár-aae mušáa koé-n-o*
yonder-this [visible] man who-is-m.sg.
Who is that man over there?
- (59) *per-aáe mušáa koé-n-o*
away-this [invisible] man who-is-m.sg.
Who is that man out there (outside a closed door)?
(I have just come in and seen him.)

In deictic compounds with *asá* as the second member, the referent is known through present or previous discourse. These compounds occur most frequently in a construction with *vári*, 'side, direction', 'towards'. Again, placement of the accent on *paár* locates the referent further away. The semantic parameter: source of knowledge, appears to partially override the parameters proximate:remote, and the latter function is encoded by the accent placement in the compound. In the examples below, the referent of *paáraae váari* (61) is further away than that of *paarasá váari* (63).

The parameters of visibility and source can be presented as a grid:

	SOURCE: OBSERVATION	SOURCE: DISCOURSE	
VISIBLE	<i>paaraáe</i>	<i>paarasá</i>	closer
	<i>paáraac</i>	<i>paárasa</i>	more distant
INVISIBLE	<i>pcraác</i>	<i>perasá</i>	(distance irrelevant)

(60) *mō paar-aáe váari bój-m-as*

I yonder-this (close, seen) direction go-IMPF-1.sg.

I am going over there (a short distance in speaker's line of sight).

(61) *mō paár-aae váari bój-m-as*

I way-yonder-this (distant, seen) direction go-IMPF-1.sg.

I am going way over there (further but still in speaker's line of sight).

(62) *mō per-aác váari bój-m-as*

I away-this (not seen) direction go-IMPF-1.sg.

I am going away (to speaker's left or right, not in his line of sight).

(63) *mō paar-asá váari bój-m-as*

I yonder-that (close, known) direction go-IMPF-1.sg.

I am going down/up there (a known or mentioned place a short distance away).

(64) *mō paár-asa váari bój-m-as*

I way-yonder-that (distant, known) direction go-IMPF-1.sg.

I am going down/up there (a known or mentioned place further away).

(65) *mō per-asá váari bój-m-as*

I away-that (not seen, known) direction go-IMPF-1.sg.

I'm going there (both parties understand where speaker is going).

The parameter of visibility is known from other Dardic languages, including Khowar,¹⁵ Kalasha,¹⁶ and Kashmiri.¹⁷ The parameter: source of knowledge has a clear similarity to Bashir's semantic parameter of evidentiality. In Khowar and Kalasha, one set of verb forms encodes actions or events witnessed by the speaker or part of his established knowledge (actual verbs); another set encodes those which are not witnessed directly, or are newly acquired knowledge (inferential verbs).¹⁸ Further work on Dardic languages is needed to establish whether source of knowledge/evidentiality is also a pan-Dardic feature.

4.2.3 *paár* and *per* with deictics and place adverbs

Both *paár* and *per* are compounded with the following deictics and place adverbs: *ajóo* 'this', 'here', 'right now' (§4.1.2.3), *adí* 'here' and *asdí* 'there'; to make adverbs. The compound may be loose (with an accent on each of the elements) or close, in which case only one element is accented, and vowel assimilation occurs. (Even when both elements are accented, vowel assimilation may still occur.) All the combinations seem to involve the possibility of pinpointing a location through sight or discourse, but we do not know enough about the semantic parameters involved to present the contrasts as a grid. The following combinations are possible:

Visible

paár ajóo, paár jóo, 'over there where I point' (hills on the horizon)

paár adí-paárdi, 'right over there'

paár asdí 'right over there somewhere' (a visible, demarcated, area where the precise location cannot however be pinpointed)

15 Bashir 2003: 823, 845.

16 Heegård 2006: 117, 133-6, 165-7.

17 Wali and Koul 1997: 196.

18 Bashir 2003: 823, 846-7, 854-5.

Invisible

pérajoo, 'off to one side'

péra ajóo, 'off to one side' (somewhat further)

pér adí-pérdi 'over there (near, known but invisible: 'down the hall')

pér asdí 'over there' (out of sight but known to both speaker and listener)

- (66) *sa cíi bcó-ṭ-i-n-i paár jóo gíry-ee guṭ-da*
 that woman sit-PERF-f.-AUXpres-3.f.sg. yonder here rock-POS base-in
 The woman is sitting over there, at the foot of the rock.

- (67) *dúu déez-o-ji paár adí noṭoón-i-n-i*
 two days-OBpl.-AbSp yonder here play-INF-f.-is-f.sg.
 In two days [a game] is to be played right over there.

- (68) *ses-ee góoṣ paár-asdí k-áan-o*
 he-POS house yonder there-INDF-is-m.
 His house is right over there somewhere.

- (69) *aš adí k-áan-o-s dōōchi pér-di-k-áan-o-s.*
 today here-INDF-am-m.-1. tomorrow away-here-INDF-am-m.-1.
 I'm here today and gone tomorrow.

Deictic compounds can be inflected. Vowel sandhi occurs: *paár-di + uu > paár-dy-uu*.

- (51) *mo paár-di-ṭ bój-m-as*
 I yonder-here-DAT go-IMPF-1.sg.
 I am going just over there (visible).

- (69) *mo paár asdy-úu boj-óo-s*
 I yonder there-ABL go-fut.m.sg.-1.
 I will go via that very place.

- (52) *mo paár-dy-uu áa-l-u-s*
 I.NOM yonder-here-ABL come-PERF-m.sg.-1.
 I came from over there.

aád per 'somewhere around here' (U. *yahī kahī*) is derived from *aác-d per*.

The segment *-d* is said to make the compound indefinite, but occurs only in this compound and in the counterpart *asád per* 'somewhere around there'.

- (53) *aád per çak-yáa azó jóo háan-o to*
 around look-imp.pl. inside what is-m.sg. TOP (*háano* < *háno*,
 emphatic)
 You all take a look around inside [and see if] there is anything!
- (54) *koé b-uú-i, nãã, aád-per*
 who [you] be-fut.f.-2.sg. EMPH around-here
 Who will you *be*, around here?
 (Who knows what kind of creatures might be around here?)

5. Adjectives

Bailey describes adjectives briefly, reporting that they agree with the modified noun in gender and number, but not in case.¹

Adjectives, like nouns, may be marked or unmarked. Most indigenous Kohistani adjectives are marked, except numbers. Marked adjectives end in short vowels (A1 adjectives) or long vowels (A2 adjectives). Adjectives ending in consonants (A3) are unmarked and do not inflect. Some adjectives ending in long vowels are also invariant.

Descriptive adjectives inflect only for gender and number. They do not take the case endings of the nouns they modify (although some adjectives may take nominal inflections when used as nouns; see 5.3).

Certain adjectives of manner may inflect to the oblique case and function as adverbs: *adóo* 'such' → *adée* 'this way'.

5.1 A1: Marked adjectives ending in short vowels

A1 adjectives end in *-o* (m.sg.), which inflects to *-i* (f.), and *-a* (m.pl.). There is no feminine plural suffix. In examples (7, 8, 9, 10), below, the adjectives remain in the nominative case even though the nouns they modify are inflected. Masica's statement that Indo-Aryan adjectives are inflected for case (although only for Layer I cases)² is not supported by Kohistani Shina data, although it is supported by Palula data: Liljegren reports that Palula marked adjectives inflect in the non-direct [oblique] case in the masculine.³ Palula adjectives differ from Kohistani Shina adjectives in having a feminine plural form *-im*; otherwise the endings are identical.

Most A1 adjectives are descriptive adjectives.

- | | |
|--|--|
| (1) <i>cúŋ-o mulóo</i>
little-m.sg. boy
a/the little boy | (2) <i>cúŋ-a phyéé</i>
little-m.pl. sons
little sons |
|--|--|

1 Bailey 1924: 63-4, 212.

2 Masica 1991: 250

3 Liljegren 2005: p.c.

- | | |
|--|--|
| (3) <i>cúř-i mulái</i>
little-f. girl
a/the little girl | (4) <i>cúř-i phayaára</i>
little-f. daughters
little daughters |
| (5) <i>ek bář-o mušáa</i>
one big-m.sg. man
an important man | (6) <i>du bář-a mušée</i>
two big-m.pl. men
two important men |
| (7) <i>ek bář-o mušáa-ř</i>
one big-NOM.m.sg. man-DAT
to an important man | |
| (8) <i>ek bář-o muš-á-e</i>
one big-NOM.m.sg. man-OBL-AGPsg.
by an important man | |
| (9) <i>du bář-a muš-óo-ř</i>
two big-NOM.m.pl. men-OBL-DAT
to two important men | |
| (10) <i>du bář-a muš-óo-ji</i>
two big-NOM.m.pl. men-OBL-AGPpl.
by two important men | |

5.2 A2: Marked adjectives ending in long vowels

A2 adjectives end in *-oo*, *-õõ* or *-uu*, *-ũũ* (m.sg.). If this segment is a suffix, it inflects; but if the vowel is part of the stem, the adjective is invariant.

This group includes some adjectives which we call adjectives of manner, which may take oblique case suffixes and become adverbs of manner.

5.2.1 Adjectives ending in *-óo*

All examples of adjectives ending in long *-oo* in our corpus show an accent on the first mora of the suffix. Examples of inflections are *lóo* 'very', 'many' and *adóo* 'such'.

- | | |
|---|---|
| (11) <i>l-óo mį́stħ-o kom</i>
very-m.sg. good-m.sg. work
very good work | (12) <i>l-áa jak</i>
many-m.pl. people
many people |
| (13) <i>l-ái razáal-i xoráak</i>
very-f.sg. sweet-f. food
very delicious food | (14) <i>l-ée razáal-i zeé</i>
many-f.pl. sweet-f.place-pl.
many nice places |
| (15) <i>ađ-óo góoş</i>
such-m.sg. house
such a house | (16) <i>ađ-áa góoş-i</i>
such-m.pl. house-pl.
such houses |
| (17) <i>ađ-ái diş</i>
such-f.sg. place
such a place | (18) <i>ađ-ée diş-á</i>
such-f.pl. place-pl.
such places |

The suffix vowel may be nasalized, in which case all forms are nasalized:

- | | |
|--|--|
| (19) <i>n-óõ góoş</i>
new-m.sg. house
a/the new house | (20) <i>n-áã góoş-i</i>
new-m.pl. house-pl.
new houses |
| (21) <i>n-ái fíkar</i>
new-f.sg. worry
a/the new worry | (22) <i>n-éẽ kařr-á < kařaár</i>
new-f.pl. knife-pl.
new knives |

5.2.2 Adjectives ending in -úu

The corpus shows a few adjectives ending in *-uu* or *-ũũ*. This ending is masculine gender, but is invariant. The feminine ending *-i* is suffixed to it. It cannot be pluralized; the adjective *lúa* 'many' may be used to show plural, if it is not marked on the noun.

- | | |
|---|---|
| (23) <i>aklúu manúužo</i>
alone man
a solitary man | (24) <i>l-áa aklúu jak</i>
many-m.pl. alone people
many lonely people |
| (25) <i>aklúu-i cėi</i>
alone-f. woman
a solitary woman | (26) <i>aklúu-i ciyée</i>
alone-f. women
solitary women |

There is one example of an adjective ending in *-ũũ*. When the feminine ending *-ĩĩ* is added, *-ũũ* may be shortened to *-w-*:

(27) *çahũũ wói*
cold water
cold water

(28) *çahũũ-ĩĩ-çahw-ĩĩ zaai*
cold-f. place
a cold place

5.2.3. Invariant adjectives

Some adjectives ending in long vowels are invariant, and do not inflect.

(29) *bulúu wói* (m.)
muddy water

(30) *bulúu sin* (f.)
muddy river

Adjectives ending in consonants are invariant: *aboón* 'upside-down', 'wrong'; *xon* 'nice, amusing':

(31) *aboón moş*
upside-down word
a/the false statement

(32) *aboón moş-i*
upside-down word-pl.
false statements

(33) *o dií lá-i xon th-eég-yee*
VOC daughter very-f. nice do-PERF-2.f.sg.
O daughter, you look[ed] very nice.

(34) *wo puç l-óo xon th-áa-e*
VOC son very-m.sg. nice do-PERF-2.m.sg.
O son, you look[ed] very nice.

5.3 Symmetrical *a--as-* adjective sets

The segments *a-* and *as-* (also seen in demonstrative pronouns, §4.1.2, and adverbs, §7.1.21, §7.1.3.1) mark sets of adjectives which encode contrasts for proximate and remote. The segment *ka-* marks interrogatives. The segment *aj-* is emphatic: *ajdóo* 'just this kind of'.

5.3.1 *adóo* – *asdóo* – *kadóo*: ‘such’ – ‘that kind of’ – ‘what kind of?’

These inflect like *adóo* in Ex. (15–18). Unlike ordinary descriptive adjectives, they may be inflected to the oblique case, functioning then as adverbs: *adóo* ‘such’ → *adáa* ‘so’, ‘this way’, *kadóo* ‘what kind of?’ → *kadáa* ‘how/why?’. These adverbs may take the suffix *-th-**tha* (a shortened form of *theé*, the conjunctive participle of *thoón* ‘to do’): *adáath* ‘like this’, *asdáath* ‘like that’, *kadáath* ‘how’. The particle *-ga* ‘also’ may be attached to *kadáa*, giving the meaning ‘however’.

- | | |
|---|---|
| (35) <i>kadóo góoʃ</i>
what kind of house? | (36) <i>adóo góoʃ</i>
this kind of house |
| (37) <i>asdóo góoʃ</i>
that kind of house | (38) <i>kadái kaurí</i>
what kind of clay jug? |
| (39) <i>adái kaurí</i>
this kind of clay jug | (40) <i>asdái kaurí</i>
that kind of clay jug |
| (41) <i>ciyéé kaḍ-óo wáx-un-o</i>
Now what.kind.of-m.sg. time-is-3.m.sg.
Now what time is it? | |
| (42) <i>be akóoʃ sazáara dúu ad-ée xušyáal-a-an-is</i>
we VOL sisters two so-f.pl. happy-pl.-are-1.f.
Both we sisters are so happy. | |
| (43) <i>kaḍ-ái qasá bʰl-i-n-i thoé dij-ée</i>
what.kind.of-f.sg. story become-PERF-f.-AUXpres-3.f.sg. your
daughter-POS
What a story is your daughter’s! | |
| (44) <i>tu kadáa-th áa-l-oe</i>
you sg. how-doing come-PERF-2.m.sg.
How/why did you come? | |
| (45) <i>dií kadáa-ga th-eéʒ-i-n-ee to bas</i>
daughter how-also do-PERF-f.-AUXpres-2.f.sg. TOP enough
Daughter, however you did (it), that’s enough! | |

5.3.2 *atóto – astóto – katóto*: 'such' – 'that much' – 'so much?'

The corpus contains examples of a feminine form *atáti*, but no instances of plural forms or oblique cases. *astóto* has a rare variant form, *satóto*, with the same meaning.

- (46) *atót-o šíil-o qaláa d-óo-e mo-ɾ*
 this.much-m.sg. roomy-m.sg. fort give-fut.m.-2.m.sg. me-DAT
 You will give me such a roomy fort.
- (47) *mō astót-o baɾ-o kom th-áa-s*
 I-AGP that.much-m.sg. great-m.sg. work do-PERF.m.sg.-1.
 I did such a great job.
- (48) *baaštá-ɾ katát-o hayáa aɾ-áa-u-n aáe karaá-e*
 kingdom-DAT how.much-m.sg. honour bring-PERF-3.m.sg.-AUXpres
 this ram-AGP
 What great honour this ram has brought to the kingdom!
- (49) *wazír-i atát-i ach-ée th-áa-o*
 minister-AGP this-much-f. eye-pl. do-PERF-3.m.sg.
 The minister was astonished [did such big eyes].

5.3.3 *acáa – ascáa – kacáa* 'this much/many' – 'that much/many' – 'how much/many?'

These do not take gender, number or case suffixes. They may suffix the indefinite particle *-k* which (in this construction) marks a precise amount (§3.5.3): *acáa-k* 'exactly this much/many', *ascáa-k* 'exactly that much/many', *kacáa-k* 'exactly how much/many?' *acáa-k maji* means 'in the meanwhile'.

- (50) *tu-ɾ kacáa xazáanaa-e d-óo*
 you-DAT how.many treasure-pl. give-fut.3.sg.m.
 How much treasure will he give you?
- (51) *tu-s kacáa-k-ak phuk har-b-óo-e*
 you-AGI how.much-INDF-INDF flour take-can-fut-m.sg.-2.m.sg.
 Exactly how much flour can you take?

- (52) *acáa ca*
this much tea
- (53) *acáa-k mají ích-ak baş bí-l-o*
this.much-INDF between bear-INDF appear become-PERF-3.m.sg.
In the meanwhile, a bear turned up.

5.4 The adjectival particle *hóo*

The adjectival particle *hóo* 'like', '-ish', 'very' (Urdu *sā*) is added to nouns, adjectives, adverbs and nominals to express approximation or intensification. It inflects to agree with the nearest preceding noun: with the m.sg. noun *kuchá* 'whisk broom' in (54); with the m.pl. noun *phúra* 'flowers' in (55); with f.sg. *loókheen* 'first light' in (56). Inflection in the oblique case does not occur.

	MASCULINE	FEMININE
SG. NOM.	<i>hóo</i>	<i>hée</i>
PL. NOM.	<i>háa</i>	<i>hée</i>

- (54) *kuchá h-óo san-eé sè-gi ožúk khaş thé-n-a-n*
whisk.broom like-m.sg. make-CP it-with flour.dust sweep do-
IMPF.3.pl.-AUXpres
They make a sort of whisk broom and sweep up flour dust with it.
- (55) *beláa-ř se-s phúra-a h-áa d-í-i-n-o*
evening-DAT he-AGI flower-pl. like-m.pl. give-IMPF-AUXpres-
3.m.sg.
In the evening he gives her things like flowers (= popcorn).
- (56) *loókheen h-éc áa-l-i*
first.light like-f. come-PERF-3.f.sg.
Dawn was just breaking.

- (57) *khy-éé ek coṭa-k cuút h-éé⁴ kháaš b-cé nikhaz-áa-n-o*
 eat-CP one time-INDF sneaking like-f. sneak be-CP come.out-IMPF-
 AUXpres-3.m.sg.
 After eating, at a certain time he sneaks out.
- (58) *sa káco h-óo góoṛ-a by-áa-s-o*
 he rough like-m.sg. house-OBL live-IMPF-AUXpast-3.sg.m.
 He used to live in a shack.

The particle *hóo* can mean 'very'.

- (59) *hiláae h-áa phyéé* (60) *hiláae h-éé dijáara*
 dear very-m.pl. sons dear very-f. daughters
 very dear sons very dear daughter

A common collocation of *hóo* is with *hilaá* 'a little', 'somewhat' (U. *thorā*).⁵

	MASCULINE	FEMININE
SG. NOM.	<i>hilaá hóo</i>	<i>hilaá hée</i>
PL. NOM.	<i>hilaá háa</i>	<i>hilaá héc</i>

- (61) *mōō nestí th-éé akóoṛ hilaá h-óo aṭ-éc-s-an*
 I-AGP parsimony do-CP VOL little -ish-m.sg. bring-PERF.f.sg.-1.-
 AUXpres
 I have brought a little myself by scraping and saving.

The adjectival particle *hóo* may also be added to the adjective/adverb *adóo* 'such'.

- (62) *phal th-óonda, adáa h-áa mají ek sadáao-s*
 throw do-PROGPPL-in such like-m.pl. among one button-was
 [Upon] throwing (the potsherds) away, among such was a button.

Like *hóo* are *šináa* 'some', *šináa-k-ak* 'somewhat'.

4 *cuút* 'sneaking' is a nominal (§6.9.2). All nominals are feminine gender.

5 *hilaá* 'a little' must be distinguished from *hilaá* 'dear'.

- (63) *mo šināa teé ay-óo-s*
 I some then come-fut.m.sg.-1.
 I will come after a while.

5.5 Adjectives used as nouns

Our corpus does not contain many examples of adjectives used as nouns. An AI adjective, *múto* 'other', does occur nominalized, as do the numbers *ek* 'one' and *dúu* 'two'.⁶ When used thus they may take Layer II case suffixes.

- (64) *ek-se ek-ár phal th-íi-n-o, múto-s múta-ṛ phal th-íi-n-o*
 one-AGI one-DAT throw do-IMPF-AUXpres-3.m.sg. other-AGI other-DAT throw do-IMPF-AUXpres-3.m.sg.
 One throws (him) to another, the other throws (him) to another.
- (65) *céi-ga mušāa dúu-s bag-eé khy-eé byé-n-a-s*
 wife-and husband two-AGI divide-CP eat-CP stay-IMPF.3.pl.-AUXpast
 The wife and husband both used to keep dividing and eating (it).

5.6 Reflexive adjective *toómo*

The reflexive adjective *toómo* is an AI adjective. It replaces possessive pronouns when the subject of the sentence possesses the object. The subject may be deleted when the sentence verb is imperative, but *toómo* is still used. *toómo* agrees with the noun it qualifies.

- (66) *wazír-i óra toóm-i dijá-ṛa jwáab th-áa-o*
 minister-AGP here own-f.sg. daughter-DAT message do-PERF-3.m.sg.
 The minister over here sent a message to his daughter.
- (67) *baachāa toóm-o asá markáz-da hán-o*
 king own-m.sg. that court-in is-3.m.sg.
 The king is in that court of his.
- (68) *(tu) toóm-o girváan-eji bay-eé*
 (you) own-m.sg. shirt.neck-AbSp fasten-imp.sg.
 (You) fasten (it) on your shirt neck.

6 Buddruss (1967: 38) reports that Sawi adjectives may be inflected when used as nouns. The Sawi endings for marked adjectives are *-u/-o* (m.sg.), *-e* (m. pl.) and *-í* (f.).

5.7 Comparison of adjectives

Adjectives are not inflected for comparative and superlative degrees. The comparative of adjectives is expressed by a construction consisting of the thing compared, which is in the ablative-superessive case, and the thing which compares with it, which is in the nominative case, and a predicate (generally an adjective with a bound form of the verb *boón* 'to be'). The superlative is expressed with the Ab-Sup. of *búto* 'all', plus the adjective.

Absolute

maçíi razáal-i-in-i

honey sweet-f.-is-f.sg.

Honey is sweet.

sa cúŋ-u-n

he thin/small-m.sg.-is

He is thin.

Comparative

maçíi ciiníi-ji razáal-i-in-i

honey sugar-AbSp sweet-f.-is-f.sg.

Honey is sweeter than sugar.

sa mó-ji cúŋ-u-n

he I-AbSp thin/small-m.sg.-is

He is thinner than me.

Superlative

maçíi búto-ji razáal-i-in-i

honey all-AbSp sweet-f.-is-f.sg.

Honey is the sweetest of all.

sa búto-ji cúŋ-u-n

he all-AbSp thin/small-m.sg.-is

He is the thinnest of all.

(69) *beó-ŋ-o diēē-ji yáa-t-i lóí máŋŋíi-n-i*

sit-PERFPPL-m.sg.-leopard-AbSp walk-PERFPPL-f. fox good-is-f.

A walking fox (is) better than a sitting leopard. [Proverb]

5.8 Numbers

5.8.1 Cardinal numbers

Counting is by twenties.

<i>ek</i>	1	<i>şa</i>	6
<i>dúu</i>	2	<i>sat</i>	7
<i>çée</i>	3	<i>ãş</i>	8
<i>cáar</i>	4	<i>nāō</i>	9
<i>poş</i>	5	<i>dáai</i>	10

(Cardinal numbers)

<i>akáai</i>	11	<i>şóõî</i>	16
<i>báai</i>	12	<i>sattáãî</i>	17
<i>çóoi</i>	13	<i>aştããî</i>	18
<i>cahúdee</i>	14	<i>ukanîî</i>	19
<i>panzîlee</i>	15	<i>biî</i>	20
<i>bhyo ek</i>	21	<i>bhyo dáai</i>	30
<i>bhyo dúu</i>	22	<i>bhyo akáai</i>	31
<i>bhyo çée</i>	23	<i>bhyo báai</i>	32
etc.		etc.	
<i>díbu</i>	40	<i>díbu-ga dáai</i>	50
<i>díbu-ga ek</i>	41	<i>díbu-ga akáai</i>	51
<i>díbu-ga dúu</i>	42	<i>díbu-ga báai</i>	52
etc.		etc.	
<i>çobyó</i>	60	<i>cárbyo</i>	80
<i>çobyó-ga ek</i>	61	<i>cárbyo-ga ek</i>	81
<i>çobyó-ga dúu</i>	62	<i>cárbyo-ga dúu</i>	82
<i>şal</i>	100	<i>zir</i>	1000
<i>şabyo</i>	120		
<i>şabyo-ga ek</i>	121		

5.8.2 *Ordinal numbers*

Ordinal numbers are formed with *mógo*, which inflects like an ordinary adjective, taking case suffixes as well as gender and number suffixes. It always takes the accent.

<i>duumógo</i>	second, other
<i>poşmógo</i>	fifth
<i>şamógo</i>	sixth

(70) *duumóg-i pon*
second-f. road
the other/second road

(71) *duumóg-ee kom tu-s na th-a*
other-POS work you-AGI not do-imp
Don't (you) do someone else's work.

6. Verbs

6.1 Parts of the verb

We begin by listing the parts of a Shina verb, illustrated with the verbs *yaazoón* 'to walk' and *sanoón* 'to make', starting with the nonfinite parts, from which some finite forms have been elaborated.

6.1.1 Nonfinite forms

6.1.1.1 Infinitive

Root + *oón*: *yaazoón* 'to walk'; *sanoón* 'to make'. The infinitive commonly occurs as a verbal noun similar to the English gerund, and may take Layer II inflections: *yaazoón se* 'upon walking', *sanoón se* 'upon making'.

- (1) *húkam th-oón-aṛ buš súuri pakáar b-óo*
order do-INF-DAT who.knows day day needed be-fut.3.m.sg.
To give an order, maybe a day will be needed.

The infinitive can be inflected like an adjective: *sanoóno* (m.sg.) *sanoóni* (f.) *sanoóna* (m.pl.). In Example (2) the infinitive *thoóni* agrees with *fíkar* (f.).

- (2) *ek mo-ṛ fíkar th-oón-i ná-an-i...*
one I-DAT concern do-INF-f. not-is-f.sg.
'Not only I must look after him (*fíkr thoóni na hán*) ...

6.1.1.2 Conjunctive participle

Root + *-íí* or *eé*: *yaazíí* 'having walked', *sanée* 'having made'. There are plural forms ending in *-t*: *yaazíit*, *sanéet*, agreeing with plural subjects.

Conjunctive participles have a range of functions, of which the most common are the expression of sequential and concomitant actions. Membership in verb class determines the form of the conjunctive participle: root-accented verbs (including most intransitives) form conjunctive participles in *-íí*, while most stem-accented verbs (predominantly transitives) form conjunctive participles in *-eé*.

- (3) *salám d-eé borqá phal th-eég-i*
greeting do-CP veil throw do-PERF-3.f.sg.
[She] greeted [him] and cast aside [her] veil.

The conjunctive participle provides the perfective stem of transitive verbs (§6.3.3.3).

6.1.1.3 Adverbial participle of manner

Root + *yúu*: *yaazyúu* 'walking', *sanyúu* 'making'. Similar to English gerunds, these are formed with the invariant suffix *-yúu* and show an action simultaneous with the action of the main clause, which modifies the main clause verb.

- (4) *yaaz-yúu áa-l-o*
walk-AP come-PERF-3.m.sg.
[He] came walking (on foot).

6.1.1.4 Progressive participle

Root + *óonda*: *yaazóonda* 'walking', *sanóonda* 'making'. This form is used adverbially. Note the similarity to Punjabi *jā-nd-ā* 'going'.

- (5) *aš-áa góoš daj-óonda paš-éc-s*
we-AGP house burn-PROGPPL see-PERF-1.pl.
We saw the house burning (< *dajoón* 'to burn [int.]').

6.1.1.5 Perfective participle

The perfective participle occurs occasionally. It modifies (a) the actor of a completed intransitive action, (b) the patient of a transitive action. Intransitive verbs inflect the perfective participle (perfective stem plus perfective aspect marker *-l- ~ -t- ~ -t- -th- ~ -d-*) like an A1 adjective (§5.1): *yáato~yáati~yáata* 'walked'; *mešílo~mešíli~mešíla* 'grown'.

Transitive verbs suffix *-íil-* to the root, which then takes the adjectival suffixes *-o~i~a*: *thíilo~thíili~thíila* 'done'.

The participle inflects to agree with the modified noun in number and gender. If there is an agent of the action, it takes the ablative-supressive case suffix.

- (6) *díilo mujrá* 'a given gift' (*d-íil + o*)
díili kamís 'a given shirt' (*d-íil + i*)
díila póca 'given clothes' (*d-íil + a*)
- (7) *mešílo muló* 'a grown boy' (*mesí-l + o*)
mešíli mulái 'a grown girl' (*mesí-l + i*)

- (8) *wátho musfár* 'the passenger [who] got off' (*wá-th + o*)
wátha musfári 'the passengers [who] got off' (*wá-th + a*)
- (9) *góoş jée-ji dah-íil-o léel b-íi-n-o*
 house who.OBL-AbSp burn-PERFPPL-m.sg. visible be-IMPI-
 AUXpres-3.m.sg.
 The house appears (to be) burned by someone (< *dahoón* 'to burn [tr.]')

Further examples are given under §7.3.5. Intransitive perfective participles provide the base of intransitive verb inflections (§6.3.3.2). Prior to the grammaticalization of transitive verbs with the conjunctive participle of 'go' which replaced perfective aspect markers in -*íil*- in transitive verbs, transitive perfective participles apparently provided the base of transitive verb inflections, as they still do in Sawi and Palula.¹

6.1.1.6 Passive-contingent participle

This participle occurs most seldom of all the participles. To describe actions which are, or have been (passively) carried out, or which can possibly (or undesirably) occur, the invariant suffix -*íija* is added to the root of transitive verbs. Forms are shown under §7.3.6.

- (10) *as-áa ek san-íija góoş paš-ée-s*
 we-AGP one build-PASCON house see-PERF.pl.-1
 We saw a house under construction.

Compare:

- (11) *as-áa ek san-íil-o góoş paš-ée-s*
 we-AGP one build-PERFPPL-m.sg. house see-PERF.pl.-1
 We saw a completely constructed house
- (12) *só-si mī san-íija kom urán th-áa-o*
 he-AGP my make-PASCON work bad do-PERF-3.m.sg.
 He spoiled my project which was coming along nicely.
- (13) *aác góoş dah-íija th-ée na ras*
 this house burn-PASCON do-CP [=saying] not say.imp
 Don't even suggest that this house might catch fire!

1 Cf. Liljegren 2005: 14. Example: *angreezaanóom xabúl na thíilo* 'the British did not accept it' in which the agreement of the verb is with the object *xabúl*, and *angreezaanóom* 'British' has plural plus oblique plural suffixes.

6.1.2 Finite verbs: simple forms

6.1.2.1 Imperative

Singular and plural imperatives are the surviving free forms of the imperfective stem: *yáas* (sg.), *yáaza* (pl.) 'walk'; *sána* (sg.), *sanyáa* (pl.) 'make', and either have the same form as the stem (or sometimes, as the verb root), or show only minor differences. See §6.6. for examples.

6.1.2.2 Injunctive

Root + *-óontha* or simply *-tha*. The injunctive has only an invariant third person form: *yaazóontha* '(he/she) should walk', *sanóontha* '(he/she) should make'. In the example below, the suffix *-tha* is attached to the verb root. Forms in *-óontha* are cited by speakers, but do not occur in the corpus.

- (14) *ye toón-o bubáa-di boš-tha*²
 he own-m.sg. father-ADD go-INJ
 He should go to his own father.

6.1.2.3 Subjunctive

All verbs have a set of simple finite verb forms, consisting (apparently) of the root and person-number agreement-suffixes, which function as the subjunctive in Kohistani Shina, but as the simple present in Guresi and the future in Gilgiti. (This is Morgenstierne's "aorist".³)

The person-number suffixes of the subjunctive can be isolated by simple morph-cuts (but additional information is required to explain what happens to the accent). The suffixes are shown below; in brackets are shown the person-number suffixes identified by Radloff and Shakil for Gilgiti Shina.⁴ (A separate set of suffixes occurs with the auxiliary verb (§6.2.2.1), which shows gender in addition to person and number.)

Person-number suffixes of the subjunctive

	Sg.		Pt.	
1.	<i>-am</i>	[-am]	<i>-ooŋ</i>	[-on]
2.	<i>-ii ~ ee</i>	[-ee]	<i>-at</i>	[-at]
3.	<i>-ee</i>	[-ey]	<i>-an ~ -en</i>	[-an]

2 The final consonant of *boj-* [boʒ] is assimilated to the unvoiced initial consonant of *-tha*.

3 Morgenstierne 1941: 21.

4 Radloff and Shakil 1998: 186.

Subjunctive: 'I may walk'; 'I may make' etc.

yaazóon 'to walk'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	<i>mō yáaz-am</i>	<i>be yáaz-ooŋ</i>
2.	<i>tu yáaz-ee</i>	<i>tsho yáaz-at</i>
3.	<i>sa yáaz-ee</i>	<i>sa yáaz-an</i>

sanoón 'to make, build'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	<i>mos san-ám</i>	<i>bes san-óoŋ</i>
2.	<i>tus san-éə~san-íi</i>	<i>tshos sanyá-at</i>
3.	<i>ses san-ée</i>	<i>ses san-én</i>

6.2 The fusion process

As observed by Bailey, verb inflection in compound tenses is a result of fusion of the subjunctive (aorist) and the auxiliary:⁵

In Gūrēsī the pres. ind., imperf. and pres. perf. are as a rule a combination of two tenses more or less rapidly uttered, being respectively future [aorist or subjunctive] with pres. of verb subst., future with past of verb subst., and past with pres. of verb subst. In Kohīstānī these have been welded into single tenses, though their origin is obvious. Thus we have *āṭīmūs*, I am bringing, from *āṭīm hūs* or *hanūs*: *āṭāsū* from *āṭās hūs* or *hanūs* ...

This can be seen by comparing the present tense inflections of 'do' in Guresi and Kohistani.⁶ The Kohistani subjunctive and auxiliary forms are shown separated in parentheses.

Inflection of the present tense of 'do' (*th-*) in Guresi

	Sg.	Pl.
1.m.	<i>them hūs ~ hánus</i>	<i>thóon hāās ~ hánis</i>
1.f.	<i>them hīs ~ hānis</i>	<i>thóon hīs ~ hānis</i>
2.m.	<i>the hū ~ hanōō</i>	<i>thyáat hāāt ~ hánit</i>
2.f.	<i>the hī ~ hānye</i>	<i>thyáat hīt ~ hānit</i>
3.m.	<i>they hū ~ hūū</i>	<i>théen hāā ~ hána</i>
3.f.	<i>they hī ~ hēī</i>	<i>théen hīī ~ hānye</i>

5 Bailey 1924: 213-4.

6 Source: Schmidt, unpublished research notes. The G. transcription is semi-phonemic; G. *hānis* 'I (f.) am' is not pronounced very differently than K. *hánis* = ['hænɪs].

Inflection of the present tense of 'do' (*th-*) in Kohistani

	Sg.	Pt..
1.m./f.	<i>mos thámas</i> (<i>< tham hános/hánis</i>)	<i>bes thóoṇas</i> (<i>< thóoṇ hánas</i>)
2.m.	<i>tus thínoe</i> (<i>< thíi hánoe</i>)	<i>tshos thiyáatan, thiyáanat</i> (<i>< thiyáat hánat</i>)
2.f.	<i>tus thínee</i> (<i>< thíi hányee</i>)	—
3.m.	<i>ses thíno</i> (<i>< thíi háno</i>)	<i>ses thénan</i> (<i>< then hana</i>)
3.f.	<i>ses thíni</i> (<i>< thíi háni</i>)	—

The person-number suffixes of the 2nd and 3rd singular of the subjunctive have been levelled and reanalyzed in Kohistani Shina, and the segment *-íi-* now functions as a marker of imperfective aspect in transitive verbs—but only in the 2nd and 3rd singular forms. (The corresponding marker for intransitive verbs is *-áa-*.) This gives the linguist a choice. He may base the analysis on the newer part of the present paradigm (which presents forms in *-íi- ~ -iy- ~ -e-* as the base), and consider the first person forms *thá-* and *thóo-* as alternate stems, in which case he will get only two major verb classes, but many irregular inflections (not only in the first person but even in some 2nd and 3rd singulars); or he may choose the 1st person singular as the base, in which case he will get seven verb classes in which inflection is by and large regular, plus two smaller classes with a finite number of irregular verbs.

For us the deciding factor has been that classification based on the first person singular predicts not only inflection of the first person, but also which imperfective aspect marker (*-íi-* or *-áa-*) occurs. The most powerful indicator of verb inflection turns out to be the final vowel of the 1st person singular of the base of the imperfect tense (which is usually identical with the 1st person singular of the subjunctive, but sometimes less abraded than the subjunctive).

6.2.1 *The imperfective stem*

When the first person singular marker *-m* of the imperfect tense, along with the fused past auxiliary *-sas*, is removed, a form remains which consists of the verb root plus a vowel. This form is the imperfect stem.

tára-m-sas 'I used to swim. Stem: *tára-*
yáaza-m-sas 'I used to walk'. Stem: *yáaza-*
atá-m-sas 'I used to bring'. Stem: *atá-*

(The imperfective stem)

saná-m-sas 'I used to build'. Stem: *saná-*
buháa-m-sas 'I used to weave'. Stem: *buháa-*
doyée-m-sas 'I used to cut'. Stem: *doyée-*
calyó-m-sas 'I used to come early'. Stem: *calyó-*
wíi-m-sas 'I used to pour'. Stem: *wíi-*
thá-m-sas 'I used to do'. Stem: *thá-*⁷
saníja-m-sas 'I used to be built'. Stem: *saníja-*

It is now time to look at accent again. Some subjunctive forms are accented on the root; others are post-accented (accented on the suffix). Identification of an imperfective stem permits us to define the former as root-accented and the latter as stem-accented.

This elusive form is possibly Masica's "plain stem (found in the so-called Old Present as well as the Imperative ...)", a non-perfective stem which is frozen in the imperative forms.⁸ However we make no claim to antiquity for Shina verb stems, but rather find analysis of the stem to be a useful step in analysis of verb class. (See the present tense of *bahoón* 'to weave' below, or the paradigm of *dahoón* 'to burn' under §6.4.2.2, where the stem, not the root, is clearly the base of subjunctive forms.) There is nevertheless often a striking similarity between stems and imperative forms. Above the paradigms which follow, the imperative (imp.) forms are given after the stem forms.⁹

The stem is occasionally isolated when a negative particle or an adverb is inserted into a fused verb tense, to produce emphasis:

(15) *ye bój-a kudí-ṛ-aan-o*

he go-STEM where-DAT-is-m.sg.

Where the hell does he go? (*bója kudíṛ háno* instead of *kudíṛ bojáano*)

It is not always necessary to analyze the stem as the base of verbal inflections: as seen under §6.1.2.3, the subjunctive of *yaazoón* 'to go' can be segmented into the root and person-number agreement-suffixes. In some verb classes, however, the root is clearly not the base of the subjunctive:

7 The verb root is shortened in this class. See §6.4.3.

8 Masica 1991: 272.

9 Buddruss (1967: 47) posits a stem for some Sawi verbs identical with the imperative: "In case of the following verbs, I provisionally suggest, in spite of the present tense form, because of the imperative, a stem with *-ē*: *thē-* 'to do' (Imp. *thē*, Pres. *thānu*, in Phal. one finds, besides *thānu* the dialectically older form *thiānu* ... *dē-* 'to give' (Pres. *dānu*, Imp. *dē*); *yē-* 'to come' (Pres. *yānu*, Imp. *yē*).

bahoón 'to weave', root: *bah-*, impf. stem: *baháa-*, imp.: *bahá* sg., *baháa* pl.
Subjunctive: 'I may weave' etc.

Sg.	Pl.
1. <i>mos baháam</i> (<* <i>baháa-am</i>)	<i>bes bahóon</i> (<* <i>bahá-oon</i>)
2. <i>tus baháae</i> (<* <i>baháa-ee</i>)	<i>tshos baháat</i> (<* <i>baháa-at</i>)
3. <i>ses baháae</i> (<* <i>baháa-ee</i>)	<i>ses baháan</i> (<* <i>baháa-an</i>)

It is possible to argue for the stem as the base of other verbs as well, by positing vowel reduction rules similar to those set up to explicate noun inflections (§3.1.5.2.1, fn. 17). These vowel sandhi rules are part of the automatic phonetics of the language, reflecting Bailey's observation that "There is a tendency in actual speech to assimilate all short vowels".¹⁰ If the stem is the base of the subjunctive of *yaazoón* 'to walk' and *sanoón* 'to make', vowel sandhi would presumably have occurred as shown in the parentheses (below). This process must have preceded the levelling which obscured the old person-number suffixes, thus we choose the 2nd singular variant *sanée* of *sanoón* as the form which has been assimilated.

A comparison of the imperative plural form *sanyáa* of *sanoón* with the 2nd person plural subjunctive *sanyáat* points to an alternate of the stem identical with the imperative plural form as a plausible base of that form.

Subjunctive: 'I may walk'; 'I may make' etc.

yaazoón 'to walk': root: *yaaz-*, impf. stem: *yáaza-*; imp.: *yáas* sg., *yáaza* pl.

Sg.	Pl.
1. <i>mo yáaz-am</i> (<i>a + am > am</i>)	<i>be yáaz-oon</i> (<i>a + oon > oon</i>)
2. <i>tu yáaz-ee</i> (<i>a + ee > ee</i>)	<i>tsho yáaz-at</i> (<i>a + at > at</i>)
3. <i>sa yáaz-ee</i> (<i>a + ee > ee</i>)	<i>sa yáaz-an</i> (<i>a + an > an</i>)

sanoón 'to make', 'to build': root: *san-*; impf. stem: *saná~sanyáa-*; imp.: *sána* sg., *sanyáa* pl.

Sg.	Pl.
1. <i>mos san-ám</i> (<i>á + am > ám</i>)	<i>bes san-óon</i> (<i>á + oon > óon</i>)
2. <i>tus san-ée</i> (<i>á + ee > ée</i>)	<i>tshos sanyáa-at</i> (<i>áa + at > áat</i>)
3. <i>ses san-ée</i> (<i>á + ee > ée</i>)	<i>ses san-én</i> (<i>á + en > én</i>)

Many imperfective stems cannot be predicted from their roots:

dijoón 'to fall', root: *dij-*, impf. stem: *dija~diji-*

¹⁰ Bailey 1924: 212.

(Unpredictable imperfective stems)

lišoón 'to hide', root: *liš-*, imp. stem: *lišā-*

biljoón 'to get wet', root: *bilj-*, imp. stem: *biljō-*

ucoón 'to choose, pick up'; root: *uc-*, imp. stem: *ucī-*

nahoón 'to lose'; root: *nah-*, imp. stem: *nahā-*

6.2.2 The auxiliary verb *boón* 'to be'

In most dialects of Shina, the verb 'to be' occurs as an independent word: Gilgiti *jéek han* 'what is (it)?'; *be hánes* 'we are (here)'; *ro bódo ašaáto asúu* 'he was very thin';¹¹ Guresi *anú próoṇu makáan hūū* 'this is an old house'.¹² In Kohistani Shina however the present and past tenses of *boón* 'to be' are suffixed to the predicate in unemphatic speech, and phonologically assimilated.

(16a) *se musalmáan-u-n*

he/she.NOM Muslim-m.sg.-is

He is a Muslim.

(16b) *se musalmáan-u-s*

he/she.NOM Muslim-m.sg.-was

He was a Muslim.

(16c) *koé-ga musalmáan hán-o to mo moj-eé*

who-also Muslim be.EXpres-3.m.sg. TOP I.NOM¹³ rescue-imp.sg.

If any Muslim is present, rescue me!

(17a) *mo thoé sás-n-is*

I.NOM your sister-am-1.f.sg.

I am your sister.

(17b) *hán-is thoé sas*

be.EXpres-1.f.sg. your sister

(I) *am* (in fact) your sister.

The present and past tenses of *boón* 'to be' may also occur as independent words. In (16a/b), the bound morphemes *-un* 'is' and *-us* 'was', define the subject, while the free morpheme *hán-o* in (16c) focuses on the hoped-for

11 Radloff and Shakil 1998: 73, 81, 53.

12 Schmidt, unpublished research notes.

13 Here the pronoun direct object occurs in the nominative case, however pronoun direct objects may also occur in the oblique case.

presence of the subject. In (17a) *-nis* 'am', defines the subject, while in (17b) *hánis* (with inverted word order) expresses contradiction: the speaker tells her betrothed that whatever others may say, she is his sister, not his wife. In (18) the bound forms *-isí* and *-us* 'was' are unfocused; the focus is on the contrast between *ták* 'button' and *baál* 'child'. In (19) the predicate is concessive: *akóor asílyee* 'you were, of course, on your own', contrasting with the following sentence: "Now you are my wife". In (20) *asíli* is also concessive, while the bound form *-is* following *lái* 'very' merely marks the time reference (narrative in the past tense).

The free forms commonly occur in folk poetry.

- (18) *mo ráat zek b-eé-š ták-is-i ráat ajaáe baál-u-s*
 I night lying.down be-CP-until¹⁴ button-was-f. night this.very child-
 m.sg.-was
 Until I lay down at night, it was a button, during the night it became
 this child.
- (19) *muçhó to tu akóo-ŕ asíl-yeec*
 before TOP you self-DAT be.EXpast-2.f.sg.
 Before you were, of course, on your own.
- (20) *šazadqíi asíl-i yærtíi-qa lái-i-s*
 princess be.EXpast-3.f.sg. honour-also very-f.-was
 The princess was, of course, also very [sensitive] about honour.

The inflections of the verb *boón* 'to be' are shown below under §6.2.2.1. Both the free and bound forms are shown.

6.2.2.1 Paradigms of *boón*'

boón 'to be' has two paradigms, distinguished as the "existential" (EX: 'is', 'was') and the "commencing" (COM: 'is becoming', 'was becoming'). In the dialect of Gilgit these are the present tenses of two distinct infinitives, *hanoók* 'to be, exist'; and *boók* 'to be, become'.¹⁵ Existential 'be' has only three tenses: the present, past and pluperfect. Commencing 'be', 'become' has a full complement of tenses.

boón has four simple tenses, the present (pres), past (past), subjunctive

14 See §7.3.1.2.2 ('Conjunction') for the suffix *-š* 'until'.

15 Radloff, personal communication, 24 August 2000.

(subj) and commencing past (COMpast) which are shown first. Bound forms are shown in parentheses.

Note on pronunciation

The vowel /-a-/ (both short and long) is assimilated to a final short whispered /i/, even when there is a consonant between them. Since this can be predicted, we do not represent it in transcription:¹⁶

/háno / 'he is' = ['hʌnð];

/háni / 'she is' = ['hæni]; in subphonemic transcription *hæni*.

/bojáano / 'he goes' = [bo'ʒà:nð];

/bojáani / 'she goes' = [bo'ʒà:ɕni]; in subphonemic transcription *bojáæni*.

Forms of *boón*: simple tenses

boón 'to be'; root: *b-*, impf. stem: *bó--byáa-*, imp.: *bo* sg., *byáa* pl.

Sg.

Pl.

Existential present: 'I am, etc.'

1.m.	<i>mo hán-os</i> (-[a]nos)	<i>be hán-as</i> (-[a]nas)
1.f.	<i>mo hán-is</i> (-[a]nis--nyis)	<i>be hán-yes</i> (-[a]nyes--anis)
2.m.	<i>tu hán-oe</i> (-[a]noe)	<i>tsho hán-at</i> (-[a]nat)
2.f.	<i>tu hán-yee</i> (-nyee--[a]nee)	<i>tsho hán-yet</i> (-[a]nyet)
3.m.	<i>sa hán-o</i> (-[a]no--un)	<i>sa hán-a</i> (-[a]na--aan)
3.f.	<i>sa hán-i</i> (-[a-i]ni--in)	<i>sa hán-yi</i> (-[a]ni--aani)

Existential past: 'I was, etc.'

1.m.	<i>mo asíl-os</i> (-[a]sos)	<i>be asíl-as</i> (-[a]sas)
1.f.	<i>mo asíl-yis</i> (-syis--[a]sis)	<i>be asíl-yes</i> (-[a]syes)
2.m.	<i>tu asíl-oe</i> (-[a]soe)	<i>tsho asíl-at</i> (-[a]sat~tas)
2.f.	<i>tu asíl-yee</i> (-syee--[a]see)	<i>tsho asíl-yet</i> (-[a]syet--sat)
3.m.	<i>sa asíl-o</i> (-[a]sus--us--s)	<i>sa asíl-a</i> (-[a]sa--as)
3.f.	<i>sa asíl-i</i> (-[a-i]si--is--s)	<i>sa asíl-i</i> (-asílis--[i]si--is)

Subjunctive: 'I may be', 'may I be?'

1.	<i>mo bó-m</i>	<i>be b-óon</i>
2.	<i>tu b-íi</i>	<i>tsho byáa-t</i>
3.	<i>sa b-ée</i>	<i>sa b-en</i>

In the subjunctive, we see traces of stem-alternation, with *bo-* in the 1st persons and *byáa-* in the 2nd pl.

(*boón* 'to be')

Commencing past: 'I became, etc.'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.m.	<i>mo bíl-os</i>	<i>be bíl-as</i>
1.f.	<i>mo bíl-is</i>	<i>be bíl-yes</i>
2.m.	<i>tu bíl-oe</i>	<i>tsho bíl-at</i>
2.f.	<i>tu bíl-yee</i>	<i>tsho bíl-yet</i>
3.m.	<i>sa bíl-o</i>	<i>sa bíl-a</i>
3.f.	<i>sa bíl-i</i>	<i>sa bíl-ye</i>

6.2.2.2 Grammaticalization of *boón*

The compound tenses of *boón* have been grammaticalized with its own simple existential tenses: the base of the commencing present (COMpres) is the subjunctive; the suffixes are contracted (bound) forms of the existential present. The base of the imperfect is the subjunctive; the suffixes are derived from the existential past (*asíl-*). The base of perfective tenses is the perfective stem.

Forms in brackets do not occur in the speech of all speakers.

Commencing present 'I become, am becoming, etc.'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.m.	<i>mo bóm-os</i>	<i>be bóon-as</i>
1.f.	[<i>mo bám-is</i>]	—
2.m.	<i>tu bíi-noe</i>	<i>tsho byáat-an</i>
2.f.	<i>tu bíi-nee</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sa bíi-no</i>	<i>sa bén-an</i>
3.f.	<i>sa bíi-ni</i>	—

- (21) *achy-óo-ji kúm-a haqúr-a na-b-én-a-n*
 eye-OBpl.-AbSp eyelash-pl. heavy-pl. not-be-IMPf-3.pl.-AUXpres
 Eyelashes are not heavy on the eyes. (Proverb)
 (One's relatives are not a burden when they come to visit.)

Examples (22a-c) provide clues to the grammaticalization process. In (22a), the commencing present of *bóon* shows progression. By moving the negative

particle, *na-bí-ni* can be changed into *bí na-ani* (22b), with little change in meaning, leaving the subjunctive form as an independent word.

Compare the existential present in (22c), which does not show progression.

- (22a) *sés-ee cáar cáaper-se dhúur na-b-í-n-i yeé*
 it-POS four direction-SOC dust not-become.COMpres-IMPF-
 AUXpres-3.sg.f. RHET
 Hey, doesn't dust gather all around it?
- (22b) *sés-ee cáar cáaper-se dhúur b-íí ná-an-i, yeé*
 it-POS four direction-SOC dust become-subj-3.sg. not-is-3.sg.f. RHET
 Hey, all around it dust gathers, doesn't it become so? (= *bíí na háni*)
- (22c) *sés-ee cáar cáaper-se dhúur ná-an-i, yeé*
 it-POS four direction-SOC dust not-be.EXpres-3.sg.f. RHET
 Hey, isn't there dust all around it? (= *na háni*)

The stem of the future (fut) is of uncertain origin; under §6.3.2 we discuss whether the inflected infinitive is the source. The person-number-gender suffixes are reduced forms of those occurring in the simple tenses of *boón*.

	Sg.	Pl.
Future: 'I will be, etc.'		
1.m.	<i>mo bóo-s</i>	<i>be bwíí-s</i>
1.f.	<i>mo búu-s</i>	—
2.m.	<i>tu bóo-e</i>	<i>tsho bwíí-t</i>
2.f.	<i>tu búu-i</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sa bóo</i>	<i>sa bwíí</i>
3.f.	<i>sa búu</i>	—
Imperfect: 'I used to be, etc.'		
1.m.	<i>mo bóm-sas</i>	<i>be bóon-sas</i>
1.f.	<i>mo bóm-ses</i>	
2.m.	<i>tu bíí-soe</i>	<i>tsho byáa-sat, byáa-tas</i>
2.f.	<i>tu bíí-see</i>	
3.m.	<i>sa bíí-so</i>	<i>sa bén-as</i>
3.f.	<i>sa bíí-si</i>	

From the commencing perfective *bí-l-* are formed the perfect and the commencing pluperfect. The existential past *así-l-* compounds with itself to form the existential pluperfect. The bound forms of the present and past auxiliaries are added to the perfect and pluperfect in the usual way, with the usual vowel reduction, metathesis CV → VC, dissimilation and levelling.

Sg.		Pl.
Perfect: 'I have become, etc.'		
1.m.	<i>mo bíl-nos</i>	<i>be bíl-nas~bíla-anas</i>
1.f.	<i>mo bíl-nis~bíli-nis</i>	<i>be bílya-anes</i>
2.m.	<i>tu bíl-noe~bílo-noc</i>	<i>tsho bíla-angat</i>
2.f.	<i>tu bíl-nee</i>	<i>tsho bílya-angat</i>
3.m.	<i>sa bílu-no</i>	<i>sa bíla-an</i>
3.f.	<i>sa bíli-ni</i>	<i>sa bílya-ani</i>

Existential pluperfect: 'I had been, etc.'

1.m.	<i>mo asíl-sos</i>	<i>be asíl-sas</i>
1.f.	<i>mo asíl-sis</i>	<i>be asíli-syes</i>
2.m.	<i>tu asíl-soe</i>	<i>tsho asíl-sat</i>
2.f.	<i>tu asíl-syee</i>	<i>tsho asíli-syet</i>
3.m.	<i>sa asílo-s</i>	<i>sa asíla-as</i>
3.f.	<i>sa asíli-s</i>	<i>sa asílya-asi</i>

Commencing pluperfect: 'I had become, etc.'

1.m.	<i>mo bíl-sos</i>	<i>be bíl-sas</i>
1.f.	<i>mo bíl-sis</i>	<i>be bílya-ases</i>
2.m.	<i>tu bílo-soe</i>	<i>tsho bíla-asat</i>
2.f.	<i>tu bíl-see</i>	<i>tsho bílya-aset</i>
3.m.	<i>sa bílo-s</i>	<i>sa bíla-as</i>
3.f.	<i>sa bíli-s</i>	<i>sa bílya-asi</i>

6.3 Finite verbs: compound tenses

The verb tense system distinguishes two aspects: imperfective and perfective, elaborated from distinct stems. Aspect marking is the primary morphological distinction, and aspect markers occur next to the stem.¹⁷

17 See Masica 1991: 262.

Verbs are morphologically and syntactically either transitive or intransitive. Intransitive verb tenses are elaborated somewhat differently than transitive ones. In both paradigms, Bailey's fusion of the subjunctive (aorist) and the auxiliary can be observed,¹⁸ but the paradigm is split: the 2nd sg. and 3rd sg. persons have developed imperfective aspect markers, which are not observed in the other forms.

Intransitive verbs have an imperfective aspect marker *-aa-* in the 2nd and 3rd persons (which for the sake of convenience we call an A-form). Regular transitive verbs have an imperfective aspect marker *-íi-* (which we call an I-form). Following a look at the data, we shall discuss the possible origin of these markers.

The perfective tenses (past, perfect and pluperfect) of intransitives are elaborated from the perfective participle. Transitive perfective tenses are elaborated from the conjunctive participle plus grammaticalized forms of the past tense of *bojoón* 'to go' (suppletive stem *ga-*).

The future stem is possibly derived from the infinitive, although this cannot be demonstrated. Only here is there no difference between intransitive and transitive verb forms.

6.3.1 Imperfective tenses

If morph cuts are made in the 1st sg. of the subjunctive or the imperfect of regular verbs, seven types of imperfective stems can be identified (root + *-a*, root + *-á*, root + *-áa*, root + *-ée*, root + *-íi*, root + *-íja*, root + *-ô*). These stems predict most inflection in imperfective tenses, as well as the form of the conjunctive participle (and are often a good indicator of perfective stems). Verb class is discussed in detail under §6.4.

Evidence from other Shina dialects indicates that feminine forms for the 1st sg. and pl. forms formerly existed; but these have mostly disappeared (except when the verbal base forms occur as free forms). Feminine plurals are disappearing in the 2nd and 3rd persons as well. They are best preserved in the perfective tenses of some intransitive verbs (for example, *yaazoón* 'to walk', above and *dijoón* 'to fall' (under §6.4.1.2)

In imperfective tenses, intransitive verbs take the nominative case of the subject noun or pronoun; transitive verbs take the agent-imperfective case (§3.1.5.1) of the subject. The verb agrees with the subject whatever its case.

Before proceeding to a discussion of verb class and inflection, the imper-

18 Bailey 1924: 213-4.

fective tenses of *yaazoón* 'to walk' and *sanoón* 'to make, build' are given, and the fused forms postulated. The suffixes are bound forms of the auxiliary *boón* 'to be' (§6.2.3).

yaazoón 'to walk': root: *yaaz-*, impf. stem: *yáaza-*; imp.: *yáas* sg., *yáaza* pl.

	Sg.	Pl.
Present: 'I walk, I am walking, etc.'		
1.m./f.	<i>mo yáazmas</i>	<i>be yáazooŋas</i>
2.m.	<i>tu yáazaanoē</i>	<i>tsho yáaznat</i>
2.f.	<i>tu yáazaanyēē</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sa yáazaano</i>	<i>sa yáaznan</i>
3.f.	<i>sa yáazaani</i>	—

Imperfect: 'I used to walk, I was walking, etc.'

1.m.	<i>mo yáazamsos</i>	<i>be yáazooŋsas</i>
1.f.	<i>mo yáazamsis</i>	—
2.m.	<i>tu yáazaasoe</i>	<i>tsho yáazsat</i>
2.f.	<i>tu yáazaasee</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sa yáazaaso</i>	<i>sa yáaznas</i>
3.f.	<i>sa yáazaasi</i>	—

sanoón 'to make, build': root: *san-*; impf. stem: *saná-* ~ *sanyáa-*, imp.: *sána* sg., *sanyáa* pl.

Present: 'I make, I am making, etc.'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.m./f.	<i>mos sanámas</i>	<i>bes sanóŋas</i>
2.m.	<i>tus sanínoē</i>	<i>tshos sanyáatan, sanyáanat</i>
2.f.	<i>tus sanínyēē</i>	—
3.m.	<i>ses saníno</i>	<i>ses sanénan</i>
3.f.	<i>ses saníni</i>	—

Imperfect: 'I used to make', 'I was making' etc.

1.m./f.	<i>mos sanámsas</i>	<i>bes sanóŋsas</i>
2.m.	<i>tus sanísoē</i>	<i>tshos sanyáasat~sanyáatas</i>
2.f.	<i>tus sanísyēē</i>	—
3.m.	<i>ses saníso</i>	<i>ses sanénas~sanénsas</i>
3.f.	<i>ses sanísi</i>	—

In emphatic negated statements, the negative particle *na* can be inserted into the construction, causing the auxiliary to attach to *na* instead of to the verbal base. The base forms of the inflections then appear as free forms.

Present negated: 'I don't walk' etc.

1.m.	<i>mo yáazam náanus</i>	<i>be yáazooŋ náanas</i>
1.f.	<i>mo yáazam náanyis</i>	<i>be yáazooŋ náanyis</i>
2.m.	<i>tu yáaza náano</i>	<i>tsho yáazat náanat</i>
2.f.	<i>tu yáaza náanyee</i>	<i>tsho yáazat náanyet</i>
3.m.	<i>sa yáaza náano</i>	<i>sa yáazan náana</i>
3.f.	<i>sa yáaza náani</i>	<i>sa yáazan náani</i>

Present negated: 'I don't make' etc.

1.m.	<i>mos sanám náanos</i>	<i>bes sanóoŋ náanas</i>
1.f.	<i>mos sanám náanyis</i>	<i>bes sanóoŋ náanyis</i>
2.m.	<i>tus saníi náano</i>	<i>tshos sanyáat náanat</i>
2.f.	<i>tus saníi náanyee</i>	<i>tshos sanyáat náanyet</i>
3.m.	<i>sas saníi náano</i>	<i>sas sanén náana</i>
3.f.	<i>sas saníi náani</i>	<i>sas sanén náani</i>

(23) *pary-oón laçh-a-m na hán-is*

read-INF know-subj-1.sg. not be.EXpres-1.f.sg.

What a pity I do not know how to read!

(From a song: a girl gets a love letter and regrets that she cannot read.)

The 1st sg. and the plural forms clearly originate in the subjunctive, as Bailey claims, but what are we to make of *yáaza* and *saníi*? In intransitive *yazoón*, the imperfective stem *yáaza-* appears to serve as the base for the 2nd and 3rd sg.; while the subjunctive 2nd and 3rd sg. forms of transitive *sanoón*: *sanée~saníi* (historically probably *sané~sanéy*) have been levelled.

However, if we look at archaic dialects of Shina, we find that the element *-aan-* in *yáazaano* 'he walks' occurs accented as the base of the present participle:

The present of Sawi is a participial form in *-ánuo* (always accented thus), which is regularly inflected like a noun according to gender and number.

Sg. *mu, tu, se thánu* f. *théni* "I do, you (sg.) do, he/she does".

Pl. *bě, tu, sē tháne* f. *thēne* "we do, you (pl.) do, they do". In the same way: *bánuo* f. *byéni*, pl. *báne* f. *bēne* "to go" ... (Buddruss 1967: 48).

The [Palula] present is a participial formation, without personal suffixes, but inflected with regard to gender and number. The suffix is *-ānu*, etc." ... The participial suffix *-ān-* goes back to *-ant-*, just as the corresponding forms in most Kohistan dialects (Morgenstierne 1941: 22).

Liljegren finds the same forms in modern Palula, and analyzes *-āan-* as the imperfective aspect marker.¹⁹ This indicates that *yáazaan* is older than *yáaza*, and the Kohistani intransitive present paradigm is most probably assembled from a grab-bag of diverse elements: in the 1st sg. and the plural forms, from the subjunctive (Morgenstierne's "aorist"), but in the 2nd and 3rd sg., from the old present,²⁰ with subsequent analogical reanalysis of the paradigm:

**yáazam* + *hános* → *yáazmas*, *yáazam* + *na hános* → *yáazam náanus*
 **yaazáano* → *yáazaano* > *yáaza háno*, *yáaza* + *na háno* → *yáaza náano*

If so, the intransitive imperfective marker *-aa-* is of historical origin, going back to OIA *-ant-*, while the corresponding marker for transitives *-ii-* appears to be a modern innovation, which extends the morphological function of the marker to transitive verbs.

**yaazáano* → *yáaz-aa-no* 'he walks'
 **sanéy háno* → *san-íi-no* 'he makes'

6.3.2 Future

Person-number suffixes are added to the future stem to form the future, which is quite regular. No other dialect of Shina shares this tense, which native speaker intuition derives from the inflected infinitive plus the person-number-gender suffixes of the auxiliary. Derivations are suggested below, but fail to explain the loss of *-n-* in the infinitival suffix, the origin of the segment *-íi-* of the plural future marker *-wíi-*, which appears in both transitives and intransitives; or the accent shift in the final syllable, from the second mora in the infinitive, to the first mora in the future. The inflection of the future tense of *yaazoón*, below, shows stem-accented forms rather than root-accented forms (as would normally be expected in an intransitive verb).

19 Liljegren 2004: p.c.

20 The segment *-aan-* in Kohistani Shina is not accented, but as we have seen, *-aa-* has become the modern imperfective marker for intransitives, and regular intransitive verbs are root-accented, therefore the accent falls on *yáaz-*.

A future tense is also based on the infinitive in Nepali: the infinitival future tense, which is a two-word compound of the infinitival participle and the present tense paradigm *cha: ma garne-chu* 'I will do', *tyo garne-cha* 'he/she will do'.²¹

The future is an imperfective tense, and the subject takes the nominative case with intransitive verbs, and the agent-imperfective case with transitive verbs. The verb always agrees with the subject.

yaazóon 'to walk': root: *yaaz-*, impf. stem: *yáaza-*

Sg.

Pl.

Future: 'I will walk, etc.'

1.m.	<i>mo yaazóos</i> (<* <i>yaazóono-os</i>)	<i>be yaazwíis</i> (<* <i>yaazóona-as</i>)
1.m.	<i>mo yaazuús</i> (<* <i>yaazóoni-is</i>)	—
2.m.	<i>tu yaazóoe</i> (<* <i>yaazóono-oe</i>)	<i>tsho yaazwíit</i> (<* <i>yaazóona-at</i>)
2.f.	<i>tu yaazuúí</i> (<* <i>yaazóoni-ee</i>)	—
3.m.	<i>sa yaazóo</i> (<* <i>yaazóono-o</i>)	<i>sa yaazwíi</i> (<* <i>yaazóona-a</i>)
3.f.	<i>sa yaazúu</i> (<* <i>yaazóoni-i</i>)	—

sanoón 'to make, build'; root: *san-*; impf. stem: *san-á-* ~*sanyáa-*

Future: 'I will make' etc.

1.m.	<i>mos sanóos</i> (<* <i>sanoóno-os</i>)	<i>bes sanwíis</i> (<* <i>sanoóna-as</i>)
1.m.	<i>mos sanúus</i> (<* <i>sanoóni-is</i>)	—
2.m.	<i>tus sanóoe</i> (<* <i>sanoóno-oe</i>)	<i>tshos sanwíit</i> (<* <i>sanoóna-at</i>)
2.f.	<i>tus sanúui</i> (<* <i>sanoóni-ee</i>)	—
3.m.	<i>ses sanóo</i> (<* <i>sanoóno-o</i>)	<i>ses sanwíi</i> (<* <i>sanoóna-a</i>)
3.f.	<i>ses sanúu</i> (<* <i>sanoóni-i</i>)	—

6.3.3 Perfective tenses

The perfective tenses (past, perfect and pluperfect) are derived completely differently in intransitive and transitive verbs.

6.3.3.1 Perfective stems

In regular transitive verbs, the base form of the perfective stem is identical with the root, to which the perfective aspect marker (*-eég-* and its allomorphs) is added. However most transitive *a*-stems have a perfective stem ending in

21 Schmidt 2001: 442-4, citing Clark 1977: 214.

-y-: *haraón* 'to take away', root *har-*, perfective stem: *hary-*.

The perfective stems of intransitive verbs may be reduced, extended or suppletive: *yaazoón* 'to walk', root *yáaz-*, perfective stem *yáa-*; *taroón* 'to swim', root *tar-*, perfective stem *tari-*; *šišoón* 'to dry', root: *šiš-*, perfective stem: *šúkh-*~*šiší-*.

6.3.3.2 Intransitive perfective tenses

Intransitive perfective tenses are elaborated from the perfective participle plus the person-number-gender suffixes of the auxiliary (past tense) or the perfective participle plus bound auxiliaries (perfect and pluperfect tenses). The perfective participle's aspect marker is therefore the perfective aspect marker for intransitives: *-l-* ~ *-t-* ~ *-!-* *-th-* ~ *-d-*. Of these variants, *-l-* is the most common, and I follow Liljegren in calling stems which take this marker "L-forms", and lumping the remainder under "T-forms".²² The class of L-forms is more productive than that of T-forms, seems newer, and is more regular. Perfective participles of T-forms are not predictable by verb subclass, thus it is necessary to learn individual T-forms.²³

Intransitive verbs take the nominative case of the subject noun or pronoun.

The past tense of intransitive verbs consists of the perfective participle, inflected like an A1 adjective (§5.1, §6.1.1.5), plus person-number-gender suffixes. The perfect is formed from the participle by adding the contracted present auxiliary; the pluperfect by adding the contracted past auxiliary. The participial suffixes are assimilated to the inflectional suffixes. In the following paradigms, the forms are analyzed and some vowel reduction rules provided.

yaazoón 'to walk': root: *yáaz-*, perfective stem: *yáa-*

	SG.	PL.
Past: 'I walked, etc.'		
1.m.	<i>mo yáatos</i> (<i>yáa-t-o + os</i>)	<i>be yáatas</i> (<i>yáa-t-a + as</i>)
1.f.	<i>mo yáatyis</i> (<i>yáa-t-i + is</i>)	<i>be yáatyis</i> (<i>yáa-t-i + is</i>)
2.m.	<i>tu yáatoe</i> (<i>yáa-t-o + oe</i>)	<i>tsho yáatat</i> (<i>yáa-t-a + at</i>)
2.f.	<i>tu yáatyee</i> (<i>yáa-t-i + ee</i>)	<i>[tsho yáatyat</i> (<i>yáa-t-ya + at</i>)
3.m.	<i>sa yáato</i> (<i>yáa-t-o + o</i>)	<i>sa yáata</i> (<i>yáa-t-a + a</i>)
3.f.	<i>sa yáati</i> (<i>yáa-t-i + i</i>)	<i>sa yáati</i> (<i>yáa-t-i + i</i>)

22 Liljegren 2004: p.c.

23 Cf. Bloch 1965: 266-7. The T-forms can generally be traced back to OIA past participles, while the L-forms are traceable to Prakrit *-illa-*.

Vowel reduction explains most of the past tense forms:

$o + o > o$, $a + a > a$, $i + i > i$

$i + ee > yee$, $i + iC > yiC$

Metathesis CV → VC, dissimilation and levelling must be invoked to explain the perfect and pluperfect forms.

The feminine plurals in the perfective tenses testify to an almost vanished f.pl. form of the perfective participle, *yáatya-*. Forms in brackets do not occur in the speech of all speakers.

(*yaazoón* 'to walk')

	SG.		PL.
	Perfect: 'I have walked, etc.'		
1.m.	<i>mo yáatunos (yáato nos)</i>		<i>be yáatanas (yáata nas)</i>
1.f.	<i>mo yáatinis (yáati nis)</i>		<i>be yáatinis (yáati nis)</i>
2.m.	<i>tu yáatanoe (yáato noe)</i>		<i>tsho yáataanat-yáatanat (yáata anat)</i>
2.f.	<i>tu yáatinee (yáati nee)</i>		<i>tsho yáatyaanit (yáatya anit)</i>
3.m.	<i>sa yáatun (yáato no)</i>		<i>sa yáataan (yáata ana)</i>
3.f.	<i>sa yáatini (yáati ni)</i>		<i>sa yáatyaani (yáatya ani)</i>

Pluperfect: 'I had walked, etc.'

1.m.	<i>mo yáatusus (yáato sos)</i>		<i>be yáatasas~yáataasas (yáata asas)</i>
1.f.	<i>mo yáatisis (yáati sis)</i>		<i>[be yáatyaasis (yáatya asis)]</i>
2.m.	<i>tu yáatasoe (yáata soe)</i>		<i>tsho yáatasat, yáataasat</i> <i>(yáata sat~asat)</i>
2.f.	<i>tu yáatisee (yáati see)</i>		<i>[tsho yáatyaasit (yáatya asit)]</i>
3.m.	<i>sa yáatus (yáato so)</i>		<i>sa yáataas (yáata as)</i>
3.f.	<i>sa yáatis (yáati si)</i>		<i>sa yáatyaasi (yáatya asi)</i>

It is possible to find unelicited examples where the perfective participle is separated from the auxiliary, with a change in meaning or register, as in (24), below, and (25), under §6.3.3.4.

(24) *baacháa puça-r róoz-éji dá-d-o hán-o*

king son-DAT anger-AbSp burn-PERFPPL-m.sg. be.EXpres-3.m.sg.

The king is still burning with anger at his son.

6.3.3.3 Transitive perfective tenses

Transitive perfective tenses are elaborated from the transitive conjunctive participle (root + -eé), plus grammaticalized forms of the past tense of *bojoón*

'to go' (**gyáas*, **gyáao* etc.).²⁴ The resulting perfective aspect marker for transitives: *-eég-* has been reduced in most Kohistani Shina forms, through loss of *-g-* and vowel reduction, leaving a jumble of alternate forms of the aspect marker *-eég-*: ~ *áa* ~ *éé* ~ *e*.

Even transitive verbs which happen to form the conjunctive participle in *-íí-* take the aspect marker in *-eég-*: *chinóon* 'to break' *chinií* 'having broken'. *chineégi* 'she broke'.

With only one aspect marker (and mostly predictable variants), the inflection of transitive stems is largely regular.

Transitive verbs take agent cases of the subject noun or pronoun (§3.1.5.1, §3.1.5.2) The verb nevertheless always agrees with the subject, not with the direct object as in Palula and Sawi.²⁵ In the following paradigms, the forms are analyzed, and the reduction rules provided.

sanoón 'to make, build'; root: *san-*; perfective stem: *san-*
Past: 'I made, etc.'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.m.	<i>mō sanáas (saneé gyáas)</i>	<i>asáa sanéés (saneé *gyéés)</i>
1.f.	<i>mō sanéés (saneé gyéés)</i>	—
2.m.	<i>thóo sanáae (saneé gyáae)</i>	<i>tsháa sanét (saneé *gyéet)</i>
2.f.	<i>thóo saneégyee (saneé gyéi)</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sési sanáao (saneé *gyáao)</i>	<i>scñáa saneéga (saneé *gye)</i>
3.f.	<i>séso saneégi (saneé *gyéi)</i>	—

In Gilgiti Shina, the conjunctive participle stem survives in all persons of the paradigm (whereas in Guresi Shina, there is no trace of it). Its partial loss in Kohistani can be explained phonologically: the past tense of *bojoón* in Kohistani has an initial cluster *gy-*, and *g-*, being lenis intervocally, was lost. The second member of the compound, if originally long, retained the accent. The Gilgiti examples are given as a comparison, using the verb *thoón* 'to do' as a model.²⁶ In Gilgiti, the accent always remained on the first element of the compound, but in Kohistani, the second element of the compound retained the accent in the 1st, 2nd sg. m., 2nd pl., and 3rd m.sg. forms. Gilgiti also apparently lacks the palatalization of the past tense of 'go' which contributed to the loss of *-g-* in the Kohistani forms.²⁷

24 This underlying verb structure was first shown by Lorimer 1924 for Gilgiti Shina.

25 Liljegren 2004: p.c., Buddruss 1967: 51-2.

26 Radloff 2000: p.c. citing Shakil Ahmad Shakil (p.c.); Radloff 2007, p.c.

1. sg.m.

Gilgiti: *theé + gáas* → **theégaas* > *theégas*

Kohistani: *theé + gyáas* → **theegyáas* > **theyáas* > *tháas*

1.sg.f.

Gilgiti: *theé + geis* → **theégeis* > *theégis*

Kohistani: *theé + gyées* → **theegyées* > **theyées* > *thées*

1.pl.m./f.

Gilgiti: *theé + gées* → **theégees* > *theéges*

Kohistani: *theé + *gyées* → **theegyées* > **theyées* > *thées*

2.sg.m.

Gilgiti: *theé + gáa* → *theégaa*

Kohistani: *theé + gyáae* → **theegyáae* > **theyáae* > *tháae*

2 pl.m./f.

Gilgiti: *theé + gáet* → *theégact* > *theéget*

Kohistani: *theé + *gyéet* → **theegyéet* > **theyéet* > **théet*

3.sg. m.

Gilgiti: *theé + gáu* > **theégau* → *theégu*

Kohistani: *theé + *gyáao* → **theegyáao* > *theyáao* > *tháao*

However, in the 2.sg.f., 3.sg.f. and 3.pl. forms, the first element of the compound retained the accent in both dialects. In the case of the 2.sg.f. and 3.sg.f. we can assume that this happened because the accented vowels in the past forms of *bojoón* were short in both dialects. The Kohistani 3.pl. is harder to explain, unless the original form was short (**gye*), and subsequently became lengthened to modern *gyée* with the addition of a plural suffix *-e*.

2.sg.f.

Gilgiti: *theé + gíee* → *theégíee* (the accent in *gíee* falls on a short vowel)

Kohistani: *theé + gyéi* → **theégyee*

3.sg.f.

Gilgiti: *theé + *géi* → **theégei* > *theégi*

Kohistani: *theé + *gyéi* → **theégeyi* > *theégi*

3.pl.m./f.

Gilgiti: *theé + gée* → **theégee* > *theége*

Kohistani: *theé + *gye* → **theége* > *theéga*

6.3.3.4 Elaboration of perfective tenses with auxiliaries

The perfect and pluperfect tenses are further elaborated by adding the bound forms of the present auxiliaries, sometimes with metathesis: CV → VC and *nat* → *tan*. Metathesis also occurs in the bound auxiliary: *se musulmáan-un* 'he is a Muslim' (< *se musulmáan háno*). The perfect paradigm, ending in *-n*, is thus disambiguated from the pluperfect which ends in *-s*. In the pluperfect, the initial *s-* of the contracted form of past auxiliary is assimilated to a final *-s* in stems, and metathesis occurs in the 3rd person.

sanoón 'to make, build'; root: *san-*; perfective stem: *san-*

Sg.

Pl.

Perfect: 'I have made' etc.

1.m.	<i>mo sanáasun (sanáas nus)</i>	<i>asáa sanéesan (sanées nas)</i>
1.f.	<i>mo sanéesin (sanées nis)</i>	—
2.m.	<i>thóo sanáaynoc (sanáae noe)</i>	<i>tsháa sanétan (sanét nat)</i>
2.f.	<i>thóo saneéginéc (saneégyee nee)</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sési sanáawno (sanáao no)</i>	<i>señáa saneégaan (saneéga na)</i>
3.f.	<i>séso saneégini (saneégi ni)</i>	—

Pluperfect: 'I had made' etc.

1.m.	<i>mo sanáasus (sanáas sos)</i>	<i>asáa sanéesas (sanées sas)</i>
1.f.	<i>mo sanéesis (sanées sis)</i>	—
2.m.	<i>thóo sanáaysoe (sanáae soe)</i>	<i>tsháa sanéysat (sanét sat)</i>
2.f.	<i>thóo saneégisee (saneégyee see)</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sési sanáawso (sanáao so)</i>	<i>señáa saneégaas (saneéga sa)</i>
3.f.	<i>séso saneégisi (saneégi si)</i>	—

(25) *mō qabúul th-áa-s así-l-os*

I-AGP accept do-PERF.m.sg.-1 be.EXpast-PERF-1.m.sg.

I accept[ed].

(Said by the man in the marriage ceremony [instead of *qabúul tháasus*])

6.4 Verb classes

Bailey observes that Kohistani Shina has two main verb classes: "those which accent the syllable following the root [in imperfective tenses]" and "...those

which accent the root".²⁸ (We can add a third class of common irregular verbs: shortened verbs.) Bailey can be followed a step further: transitive verbs tend to belong to the first class, while intransitive verbs tend to belong to the second.

Historically, the shift of the accent from the root to the stem marked valence increase from intransitive to transitive, and there are still some verbs in which this is productive; compare the related intransitive *caroón* 'to graze' and transitive *caroón* 'to take for grazing', in which we first imagine a sheep speaking (as in a folktale), and then the shepherd.

	<i>caroón</i> 'to graze (I)'	<i>caroón</i> 'to take for grazing (T)'
1. sg. subj.	<i>cáram</i> 'I might graze'	<i>carám</i> 'I might take for grazing'
1. sg. pres.	<i>cármās</i> 'I graze'	<i>carámas</i> 'I take for grazing'
1. sg. impf.	<i>cáramsas</i> 'I used to graze'	<i>carámsas</i> 'I used to take for grazing'
1. sg. past	<i>carílos</i> 'I grazed'	<i>caráas</i> 'I took for grazing'

Liljegren points to a similar process for Palula, in which disyllabic stems result from the suffixation of a valence-increasing *á* to a monosyllabic stem (*pilá-* 'to make someone drink' from *pil-* 'to drink').

The two main verb classes can be sorted into subclasses based on (and labelled after) the final vowel of the imperfective stem, which is determined from the 1st person sg. of the base of the imperfect tense (which as mentioned above seems to be the most powerful predictor of verb inflection). Once the subclass of the verb is known, inflection in imperfective tenses, as well as perfective tenses of transitive verbs, is predictable for the great majority of verbs. Classification of intransitive verbs in perfective tenses is subject to stem-variation, but the most productive class of intransitive verbs (*a*-stems taking the perfective aspect marker *-l-*) is inflected regularly.

Root-accented verbs

Intransitive *a*-stems: root + *a*. These have two subclasses:

Intransitives which take the perfective aspect marker: *-l-*

Intransitives which take the perfective aspect marker: *-t---t---th---d-*

Passive type *a*-stems: root + *-ij-a*

Transitive *a*-stems which inflect like intransitives in imperfective tenses

Stem-accented verbs

Transitive *á*-stems: regular transitive verbs: root + *á*

Mixed *áa*-stems: mostly transitive verbs: root + *áa*-

Causative and transitive *ée*-stems: root (+ *-y-*) + *ée*-

Transitive *íi*-stems

Intransitive *ó*-stems: intransitive verbs with two structures: root + *-y-* + *ó*
and root + *ó*

Shortened verbs

This is a small class of irregular verbs in which the root vowel is assimilated to an accented stem vowel, leaving the bare initial consonant as the base of inflected forms. This class includes both transitives and intransitives.

Irregular verbs

This class includes a residue of verbs which do not inflect according to any of the above models, including some common verbs like 'come' and 'go'.

6.4.1 Root-accented verbs

With the exception of *ó*-stems, intransitive verbs typically carry the accent on the root, but so do a number of transitive verbs. Verbs accented on the root form the imperfective stem in unaccented *-a*, which suffix is normally assimilated to the inflectional suffixes). They carry the accent on the root throughout throughout the imperfective tenses, except (usually) in the future.

Most root-accented verbs form the conjunctive participle in *íi*, and and take the A-form imperfective aspect marker, as the paradigm for *taroón* 'to swim' (below) shows.

6.4.1.1 Intransitive *a*-stems with the perfective aspect marker *-l-*

These are the typical intransitive verbs of Bailey's description.²⁹ They form the imperfective stem by adding unaccented *-a* to the root, and the perfective stem by adding accented *-í* (an accent shift occurs); and take the perfective aspect marker *-l-*: *taroón* 'to swim' (→ *tarílo* 'he swam').³⁰ This inflection is so productive that it is possible to derive some transitives from intransitives as shown above with the verb *caroón* 'to graze'.

29 Bailey 1924: 213.

30 This perfective stem is attested in Palula (Morgenstierne 1941: 22) and Sawi (Buddruss 1967: 50).

A few irregularities are found. *šišoón* 'to dry out' has both a regular perfective stem *šiší-* and an suppletive stem: *šúkh-*.

The imperative sg. is identical with the verb root (with loss of voicing in a voiced spirant or fricative); the imperative pl. is identical with the imperfective stem.

All the members of this subclass take the conjunctive participle in *-ii*.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Root</u>	<u>Imp. stem</u>	<u>1. sg. subj.</u>	<u>3. sg. pres.</u>	<u>Perf. stem + aspect</u>
<i>taroón</i> 'to swim'	<i>tár-</i>	<i>tár-a-</i>	<i>táram</i>	<i>táraano</i>	<i>tarí-l-</i>
<i>caroón</i> 'to graze'	<i>cár-</i>	<i>cár-a-</i>	<i>cáram</i>	<i>cáraano</i>	<i>carí-l-</i>
<i>bašoón</i> 'to bark'	<i>báaš-</i>	<i>báaš-a-</i>	<i>báašam</i>	<i>báašaano</i>	<i>baší-l-</i>
<i>hazoón</i> 'to laugh'	<i>ház-</i>	<i>ház-a-</i>	<i>házam</i>	<i>házaano</i>	<i>harí-l-</i>
<i>sičoón</i> 'to learn'	<i>sích-</i>	<i>sích-a-</i>	<i>sícham</i>	<i>síčaano</i>	<i>sičhí-l-</i>

taroón 'to swim'; root: *tár-*; impf. stem: *tára-*; imp.: *tár* sg., *tára* pl.

Sg.

Pl.

Subjunctive: 'I may swim, etc.'

1.	<i>mo táram</i>	<i>be tárooṅ</i>
2.	<i>tu táree</i>	<i>tsho tárat</i>
3.	<i>sa táree</i>	<i>sa táran</i>

Present: 'I swim, I am swimming, etc.'

1.m./f.	<i>mo tármas</i>	<i>be tárooṅas</i>
2.m.	<i>tu táraanoe</i>	<i>tsho tárat</i>
2.f.	<i>tu táraanyee</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sa táraano</i>	<i>sa táran</i>
3.f.	<i>sa táraani</i>	—

Imperfect: 'I used to swim, I was swimming, etc.'

1.m./f.	<i>mo táramsas</i>	<i>be tárooṅsas</i>
2.m.	<i>tu táraasoe</i>	<i>tsho társat</i>
2.f.	<i>tu táraasyee</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sa táraaso</i>	<i>sa tárnas</i>
3.f.	<i>sa táraasi</i>	—

(taróón 'to swim')

Sg.

Pl.

Future: 'I will swim, etc.'

1.m. *mo taróos**be tarwíis*1.f. *mo taríus*

—

2.m. *tu taróoe**tsho tarwíit*2.f. *tu taríui*

—

3.f. *sa taróo**sa tarwíi*3.m. *sa taríu*

—

Past: 'I swam, etc.'

1.m. *mo tarílos* (<tarí-l-o + os)*be tarílas* (<tarí-l-a + as)1.f. *mo tarílis* (<tarí-l-i + is)[*be tarílyes* (<tarí-l-ya + is)]2.m. *tu taríloe* (<tarí-l-o + oe)*tsho tarílat* (<tarí-l-a + at)2.f. *tu tarílyee* (<tarí-l-i + ee)[*tsho tarílyet* (<*tarí-l-ya + it)]3.m. *sa tarílo* (<tarí-l-o + o)*sa taríla* (<tarí-l-a + a)3.f. *sa taríli* (<tarí-l-i + i)*sa taríli* (<tarí-l-i + i)

Perfect: 'I have swum, etc.'

1.m. *mo tarílonos**be tarílaanas*1.f. *mo tarílinyēs**be tarílyaanis*2.m. *tu tarílonoe**tsho tarílaanat*2.f. *tu tarílnyee**tsho tarílyaanut*3.m. *sa tarílun**sa tarílaan*3.f. *sa tarílini**sa tarílyaani*

Pluperfect: 'I had swum, etc.'

1.m. *mo tarílosos**be tarílaasas*1.f. *mo tarílisyses**be tarílyaasis*2.m. *tu tarílisoe**tsho tarílaasat*2.f. *tu tarílisee**tsho tarílyaaset*3.m. *sa tarílos**sa tarílaas*3.f. *sa tarílis**sa tarílyaasi*(26) *šūū ke báaš-aa-n-o?*

dog.NOM why bark-IMPF-AUXpres-3.m.sg.

Why is the dog barking?

- (27) *šūū ke baší-l-o?*
dog.NOM why bark-PERF-3.m.sg.
Why did the dog bark?
- (28) *dōōchi be muš-ée lom-wí-s*
tomorrow we.NOM men-NOM wrestle-fut.pl.-1
Tomorrow we men will wrestle.
- (29) *aš be muš-ée lomí-l-as*
today we.NOM men-NOM wrestle-PERF-1.pl
Today we men wrestled.
- (30) *ba-l í pharpharōō nót-n-a-n*
child-pl. *pharpharōō* play-IMPF-3.pl.-AUXpres
The children are playing *pharpharōō*.³¹

6.4.1.2 Intransitive a-stems with perfective aspect markers -t-, -t-, -th- or -d-
This subclass includes all regular root-accented intransitive verbs which take the variant of perfective aspect marker -t-, -t-, -th- or -d- (T-forms). Most of the a-stems in this subclass have roots ending in spirants or fricatives: -z- š-, c or -j [ž], and lose these segments in the perfective stem: *yaazoón* 'to walk' (*yáazamsas* 'I was walking', *yáatos* 'I walked'); *amušoón* 'to forget' (*amúšamsas* 'I used to forget', *amúthos* 'I forgot'). The loss of the spirant or fricative is also a criterion for inclusion in the subclass, as not all roots ending in spirants or fricatives lose them, and those which do not, take the L-form: *hazoón* 'to laugh', *hazílo* 'he laughed', *bašoón* 'to call (animal)', *bašílo* 'it (m.) barked'.

In the table below, the imperfective stem of all the verbs can be found by removing the final -m of the 1st sg. subjunctive form, with the exception of *dijoón* 'to fall', which has two variants of the stem: *díj-a* and *díj-i*.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Root</u>	<u>1. sg. subj.</u>	<u>3. sg. pres.</u>	<u>Perf. stem + aspect</u>
<i>yaazoón</i> 'to walk'	<i>yáaz-</i>	<i>yáaza-m</i>	<i>yáazaano</i>	<i>yáa-t-</i>
<i>wazoón</i> 'to come down'	<i>wáz-</i>	<i>wáza-m</i>	<i>wázaano</i>	<i>wá-th-</i>
<i>nikhzoón</i> 'to come out'	<i>nikház-</i>	<i>nikháza-m</i>	<i>nikházaano</i>	<i>nikhá-t-</i>

(Continued on following page)

31 A swing-carousel, consisting of a pole attached horizontally to the top of a vertical pole, with swings suspended at each end. A child can sit in each swing, and the pole at the top revolves.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Root</u>	<u>1. sg. subj.</u>	<u>3. sg. pres.</u>	<u>Perf. stem + aspect</u>
<i>amušoón</i> 'to forget'	<i>amúš-</i>	<i>amúša-m</i>	<i>amúšaano</i>	<i>amú-ṭh-</i>
<i>nošoón</i> 'to disappear'	<i>noš-</i>	<i>noša-m</i>	<i>nošaano</i>	<i>nó-ṭh-</i>
<i>dijoón</i> 'to fall'	<i>díj-</i>	<i>díja-m</i>	<i>díjaano</i>	<i>dí-t-</i>
<i>ṣacoón</i> 'to be attached'	<i>ṣác-</i>	<i>ṣáca-m</i>	<i>ṣacáano</i>	<i>ṣa-t-</i>
<i>mucoón</i> 'to get away'	<i>múc-</i>	<i>múca-m</i>	<i>múcaano</i>	<i>mú-t-</i>
<i>lišoón</i> 'to hide'	<i>liš-</i>	<i>líša-m</i>	<i>líšaano</i>	<i>lí-ṭ-</i>
<i>parjoón</i> 'to understand'	<i>parij-</i>	<i>parija-m</i>	<i>parújaano</i>	<i>paró-d-</i>
<i>ṣooboón</i> 'to get tired'	<i>ṣóob-</i>	<i>ṣóobo-m</i>	<i>ṣóobaano</i>	<i>ṣóo-d-</i>

This diversity of perfective T-forms, as well as the dissimilarity between imperfective and perfective stems is according to Bloch very old:

The past participle, taken directly from the root, assumed in Sanskrit a great variety of forms unconnected with the present stems: *bhūta-* (*bhavati*), *patita-* (*patati*), *jāta-* (*jāyate*, *janayati*)... *bhakta-* (*bhajati*), *prṣta-* (*prcchati*), *iṣta-* (*icchati*)... *naddha-* (*nahyati*), *bhinna-* (*bhidyate*, *bhinatti*), etc. (Bloch 1965: 266-7).

The L-form perfective aspect marker in *-ī-* can be traced to Prakrit *-illa-* which was used to enlarge participles [and is thus newer than the T-forms].

Turner contrasts the regular development of the Dardic past participle and formations in *-ṭ-*, *-t-*, *-d-* etc. (T-forms):

The past participle is formed in various ways. Of these forms like *gōu* (*gatāḥ*), *mīu* (*mṛtāḥ*), *bīu* (*bhūtaḥ*) show the regular development of *-t-*. Others ending in *-tu*, *-tu*, *-du*, *-ku* go back to Middle Indian consonant groups derived from *ṣṭ*, *kt*, *tt*, *pt*, *gdh*, *ddh*, *bdh*, *kn*, *kv*, *ṣk* (either directly or by analogical extension), and are paralleled in the north-western languages of India proper—Sindhi, Lahnda, and Panjabi (Turner 1975: 302.).

Most of the spirants in our Shina corpus are original; the fricatives result from original *-y-*, *-Cy-*. Spirants and cerebrals have mostly been lost in the perfective stems. Sample etymologies:³²

waz- 'come down' < **avakasati* (14247); past: *wátho*: possibly: *avakasta* > *avakatth(ak)o* > *avāthao* > *avātho* > *watho* (with loss of initial *a-* and reduction of geminate).

32 We would like to thank Lars Martin Fosse for his suggested etymologies.

yáaz 'walk' < *yáti*, fut. *yāsyati* (10452) > *yāssa-* > *yāsa-* > *yāz-*.

amuš 'forget' < *āmṛṣyatē* (1265); past: *amuṭho* < possibly: *āmṛṣta-* > *āmutṭha* > *āmutṭh(ak)o* > *amutṭhao* > *āmutṭho* > *amuṭho*.

parúj- 'understand' < *paribudhyatē* (7848); possibly > *pariujjhai* > *paryujjhai* > *parujjhai* > *paruje*; past: *paródo* < *paribuddha* (7848), possibly *paribuddh(ak)o* > *pariuddh(a)o* > *paruddho* > *parodho* > *paródo*.

dijoón 'to fall' < *dīyatē* 'decays, perishes' (6365); past: *dító* hard to explain unless by analogy from pp. < **ditta-* < *dīyátē* 'is given' [$\sqrt{\text{DA}}$] (6140) plus reduction of geminate).

lišoón 'to hide' < *lišyatē* (11967; past: *liíto* < *lišta-* < *liṭṭha-* < *liṭa-* (loss of aspiration, reduction of geminate with compensatory lengthening).

The basic hypothesis is: in CVC(V) inherited from OIA, C(V) disappears, but in CVCC(V) (final cluster or geminate), the cluster or geminate is reduced and the resulting single consonant is kept. The extension *-akol-iki* results in a final *-o* or *-i*.

A residue (one verb in our corpus) ends in a disappearing stop: *šooboón* 'to get tired' (< *šomōnu* < *śrámyati* [12693]), *šóodo* 'he got tired'. Alternatively, *šooboón* could be treated as an unaccented *o*-stem (but here also would probably be a solitaire).

The imperative sg. is identical with the verb root (with loss of voicing in a voiced spirant or fricative); the imperative pl. is identical with the imperfective stem. *šooboón* behaves similarly, but there is no loss of voicing: *šóob* (imp. sg.), *šóoba* (imp. pl).

All the members of this subclass take A-form aspect markers and the conjunctive participle in *-íí*.

The verb *yaazoón*, which belongs to this subclass, has been shown above to illustrate the perfective tenses. Below are shown inflections for *amušoón* 'to forget' and *dijoón* 'to fall'.

amušoón 'to forget'; root: *amuš-*; impf. stem: *amuša-*; imp.: *amuš* sg., *amuša* pl.

	Sg.	Pl.
Subjunctive: 'I may forget' etc.		
1.	<i>mo amúšam</i>	<i>be amúšoṇ</i>
2.	<i>tu amúšee</i>	<i>tsho amúšat</i>
3.	<i>sa amúšee</i>	<i>sa amúšan</i>

(amušoón 'to forget')

Sg.	Pl.
Present: 'I forget', 'I am forgetting' etc.	
1.m./f. <i>mo amúšmas</i>	<i>be amúšoonas</i>
2.m. <i>tu amúšaano</i>	<i>tsho amúšnat</i>
2.f. <i>tu amúšaanyee</i>	—
3.m. <i>sa amúšaano</i>	<i>sa amúšnan</i>
3.f. <i>sa amúšaani</i>	—

Imperfect: 'I used to forget', 'I was forgetting' etc.

1.m./f. <i>mo amúšamsas</i>	<i>be amúšoonasas</i>
2.m. <i>tu amúšaasoe</i>	<i>tsho amúšsat</i>
2.f. <i>tu amúšaasyee</i>	—
3.m. <i>sa amúšaaso</i>	<i>sa amúšnas</i>
3.f. <i>sa amúšaasi</i>	—

amuš- is one of only a few disyllabic roots in Kohistani Shina. The accent shift from the root to the stem in the future tense results in the loss of the now unaccented root vowel *-ú-*. Likewise, in the perfect and pluperfect, the unaccented participial suffix disappears.

Sg.	Pl.
Future: 'I will forget' etc.	
1.m. <i>mo amšóos</i>	<i>be amšwíis-amšíis</i>
1.f. <i>mo amšúus</i>	—
2.m. <i>tu amšóoe</i>	<i>tsho amšwíit-amšíit</i>
2.f. <i>tu amšúui</i>	—
3.m. <i>sa amšóo</i>	<i>sa amšwíi-amšíi</i>
3.f. <i>sa amšúu</i>	—

Past: 'I forgot' etc.

1.m. <i>mo amúthos</i> (<amú- <i>th</i> -o + os)	<i>be amúthas</i> (<amú- <i>th</i> -a + as)
1.f. <i>mo amúthis</i> (<amú- <i>th</i> -i + is)	[<i>be amúthyes</i> (<amú- <i>th</i> -ya + is)]
2.m. <i>tu amúthoe</i> (<amú- <i>th</i> -o + oe)	<i>tsho amúthat</i> (<amú- <i>th</i> -a + at)
2.f. <i>tu amúthyee</i> (<amú- <i>th</i> -i + ee)	[<i>tsho amúthyet</i> (<*amú- <i>th</i> -ya + et)]
3.m. <i>sa amútho</i> (<amú- <i>th</i> -o + o)	<i>sa amútha</i> (<amú- <i>th</i> -a + a)
3.f. <i>sa amúthi</i> (<amú- <i>th</i> -i + i)	<i>sa amúthi</i> (<amú- <i>th</i> -i + i)

(*amušoón* 'to forget')

Sg.	Pl.
Perfect: 'I have forgotten' etc.	
1.m. <i>mō amúṭhnos</i>	<i>be amúṭhnas</i>
1.f. <i>mō amúṭhnis</i>	<i>be amúṭhnyes</i>
2.m. <i>tu amúṭhnoe</i>	<i>tsho amúṭhnat</i>
2.f. <i>tu amúṭhnyee</i>	<i>tsho amúṭhnyet</i>
3.m. <i>sa amúṭhuuno</i>	<i>sa amúṭhaan</i>
3.f. <i>sa amúṭhiini</i>	<i>sa amúṭhyaani</i>

Pluperfect: 'I had forgotten' etc.

1.m. <i>mō amúṭhsos</i>	<i>be amúṭhsas</i>
1.f. <i>mō amúṭhsyes</i>	<i>be amúṭhyaasis</i>
2.m. <i>tu amúṭhsoe</i>	<i>tsho amúṭhaasat</i>
2.f. <i>tu amúṭhsee</i>	<i>tsho amúṭhyaaset</i>
3.m. <i>sa amúṭhus</i>	<i>sa amúṭhaas</i>
3.f. <i>sa amúṭhis</i>	<i>sa amúṭhyaas</i>

dijoón provides a seldom example of a variant of the imperfective stem, *díja~díji-*. The imperative forms show no trace of it, but it is preserved in the imperfective tenses. *díji-* seems to be the more formal (and possibly older) variant. The perfective tenses retain the 2nd and 3rd f.pl. forms, which are often lost in other verbs.

dijoón 'to fall, befall'; root: *díj-*; impf. stem: *díja~díji-*; imp.: *diš*, sg., *díja*, pl.

Sg.	Pl.
Subjunctive: 'I may fall,' etc.	
1. <i>mō díjam</i>	<i>be díjooṅ</i>
2. <i>tu díjee</i>	<i>tsho díjat</i>
3. <i>sa díjee</i>	<i>sa díjan</i>

Present: 'I fall, I am falling' etc.

1.m./f. <i>mo díjamas</i>	<i>be dijóoṅas</i>
2.m. <i>tu díjaanoe</i>	<i>tsho díjinat~díjitan</i>
2.f. <i>tu díjaanyee</i>	—
3.m. <i>sa díjaano</i>	<i>sa díjinan</i>
3.f. <i>sa díjaani</i>	—

(dijoón 'to fall, befall')

Sg.

Pl.

Imperfect: 'I used to fall, I was falling' etc.

1.m./f. *mo díjamsas**be dijóõsas*2.m. *tu díjaasoe**tsho díjisat~díjitas*2.f. *tu díjaasyee*

—

3.m. *sa díjaaso**sa díjanas~díjnas*3.f. *sa díjaasi*

—

Future: 'I will fall' etc.

1.m. *mo dijóos**be dijwíis~dijíis*1.f. *mo dijúus*

—

2.m. *tu dijóoe**tsho dijwíit~dijíit*2.f. *tu dijúui*

—

3.m. *sa dijóo**sa dijwíi~dijíi*3.f. *sa dijúu*

—

Past: 'I fell' etc.

1.m. *mo dítus (dí-t-o + os)**be dítas (dí-t-a + as)*1.f. *mo dítyis (dí-t-i + is)**be dítyas (*dí-t-ya + as)*2.m. *tu dítooe (dí-t-o + oe)**tsho dítat (dí-t-a + at)*2.f. *tu dítyee (dí-t-i + ee)**tsho dítyat (*dí-t-ya + at)*3.m. *sa díto (dí-t-o + o)**sa díta (dí-t-a + a)*3.f. *sa díti (dí-t-i + i)**se dítye (*dí-t-ya + i)*

Perfect: 'I have fallen' etc.

1.m. *mo dítnos (< díto nos)**be dítaanas~dítinás (< díta anas
~díti nas)*1.f. *mo dítnyes (< díti nyes)**be dítyaanis~dítinyes (< dítya anis
~díti nyes)*2.m. *tu dítnoe (< díto noe)**tsho dítaanat~dítnat (< díta anat~nat)*2.f. *tu dítnyee (< díti nyee)**tsho dítyaanyet~dítnyet (< dítya anyet
~díti nyet)*3.m. *sa dítno (< díto no)**sa dítaan (< díta ana)*3.f. *sa dítni (< díti ni)**se dítyaani (< dítya ani)*

(*dijoón* 'to fall, befall')

Sg.

Pl.

Pluperfect: 'I had fallen' etc.

1.m. *mo dítus* (*dító sos*)

be dítaasas~ditsas (*díta asas*)

1.f. *mo dítis* (*díti *syis*)

be dityaasis~dítis (*ditya asis~díti sis*)

2.m. *tu dítsooe* (*dító soe*)

tsho dítaasat~dítat (*díta asat~sat*)

2.f. *tu dítseyee* (*díti syee*)

tsho dityasit (*ditya sit*)

3.m. *sa dítus* (*dító so*)

sa dítaas (*díta as*)

3.f. *sa dítisi* (*díti si*)

se dityaasi (*ditya asi*)

(31) *dí jar-íl-o to thóop na amuš-áa-n-o*

leopard age-PERF-3.m.sg. TOP jump(ing) not forget-IMPf-AUXpres
3.m.sg.

Although a leopard gets old, it doesn't forget how to pounce. (Proverb)

(32) *jaháaz asmán-da nó-th-o*

airplane sky-in disappear-PERF-3.sg.m.

The airplane disappeared in the sky.

(33) *kom th-á-th-a şóob-a*

work do-imp-do-imp tire-imp-pl.

Work until you (pl.) are exhausted.

(34) *sa kom th-óonda şóo-d-o*

he.NOM work do-PROGPPL tire-PERF-3.m.sg.

He worked until he was exhausted.

6.4.1.3 Passive type a-stems

Passive verbs are formed by suffixing *-íj-* to the root of the corresponding transitive verb. A few verbs which are passive in form are only intransitive in meaning, for example *kijoón* 'to rot', *paqijoón* 'to sparkle, gleam'. *biljoón* 'to get wet' is classed with the passives for historical and structural reasons (an earlier root in *biljó*, plus derivation from *biloón* 'to soak'). It is irregular, being accented on the stem and inflecting like an *ó*-stem (although it does not conform entirely to *ó*-stem patterns either).

Passives take L-form perfective aspect markers (suffixing *-í-* to the root, with accent shift), but T-forms may occur in verbs with intransitive meanings.

The imperative sg. is identical with the root (with loss of voicing in final *-j*); the imperative pl. is identical with the imperfective stem.

One encounters a theoretical difficulty in discussing the stem of a stem, for the root of the passive verb is in point of fact the passive stem of the transitive, and the formation is productive, although passives are infrequent in texts. However passives are lexical items with their own infinitives, thus one can identify the roots and stems of these infinitives.

In the table below, the imperfective stem of all the verbs can be found by removing the final *-m* of the 1st sg. subjunctive form.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Root</u>	<u>1. sg. subj.</u>	<u>3. sg. pres.</u>	<u>Perf. stem + aspect</u>
<i>thijoón</i> 'to be done'	<i>th-íj-</i>	<i>thíja-m</i>	<i>thíjaano</i>	<i>thij-íl-</i>
<i>sanijoón</i> 'to be made'	<i>san-íj-</i>	<i>sanija-m</i>	<i>sanijaano</i>	<i>sanij-íl-</i>
<i>paṛqijoón</i> 'to sparkle'	<i>paṛq-íj-</i>	<i>paṛqíja-m</i>	<i>paṛqíjaano</i>	<i>paṛqij-íl-</i>
<i>kijoón</i> 'to rot'	<i>k-íj-</i>	<i>kíja-m</i>	<i>kíjaano</i>	<i>kí-d-</i>
<i>chijoón</i> 'to break'	<i>ch-íj-</i>	<i>chíja-m</i>	<i>chíjaano</i>	<i>chí-d-</i>
<i>biljoón</i> 'to get wet'	<i>bil-j-</i>	<i>biljō-m</i>	<i>bilajáano</i>	<i>bilá-d-</i>

thijoón 'to be done': root: *thíj-*; impf. stem: *thíja-*; imp.: *thiš*, sg., *thíja*, pl.

The inflection of *thijoón* does not offer many surprises. Note alternate future plural forms without *-w-* (typical of passives), and the f. pl. participle in *thijílya-* in the perfect and pluperfect.

	<u>Sg.</u>	<u>Pt.</u>
	Subjunctive: 'I might be done' etc.	
1.	<i>mō thíjam-</i>	<i>be thíjoon</i>
2.	<i>tu thíjee</i>	<i>tsho thíjat</i>
3.	<i>sa thíjee</i>	<i>sa thíjan</i>

Present: 'I am done', 'I am being done' etc.

1.m./f.	<i>mō thíjmas</i>	<i>be thijóonas</i>
2.m.	<i>tu thíjaanoc</i>	<i>tsho thíjnat ~ thíjtan</i>
2.f.	<i>tu thíjaanyee</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sa thíjaano</i>	<i>sa thíjnan</i>
3.f.	<i>sa thíjaani</i>	—

(thijoón 'to be done')

	Sg.	Pl.
Imperfect: 'I was done', 'I was being done' etc.		
1.m./f.	<i>mō thijamsas</i>	<i>be thijóõsas</i>
2.m.	<i>tu thijaasoe</i>	<i>tsho thij̄sat ~thij̄tas</i>
2.f.	<i>tu thijaasyee</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sa thijaaso</i>	<i>sa thijnas</i>
3.f.	<i>sa thijaasi</i>	—

Future: 'I will be done' etc.

1.m.	<i>mo thijóos</i>	<i>be thijwíis ~thijíis</i>
1.f.	<i>mo thijúus</i>	—
2.m.	<i>tu thijóoe</i>	<i>tsho thijwít ~thijít</i>
2.f.	<i>tu thijúui</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sa thijóo</i>	<i>sa thijwíi ~thijíi</i>
3.f.	<i>sa thijúu</i>	—

Past: 'I was done' etc.

1.m.	<i>mo thijílus</i>	<i>be thijílas</i>
1.f.	<i>mo thijílyis</i>	<i>be thijílyas</i>
2.m.	<i>tu thijílooe</i>	<i>tsho thijílat</i>
2.f.	<i>tu thijílyee</i>	<i>tsho thijílyat</i>
3.m.	<i>sa thijílo</i>	<i>sa thijíla</i>
3.f.	<i>sa thijíli</i>	<i>sa thijílye</i>

Perfect 'I have been done' etc.

1.m.	<i>mo thijílnos</i>	<i>be thijílaanas ~thijílnas</i>
1.f.	<i>mo thijílnes</i>	<i>be thijílyaanis ~thijílnyes</i>
2.m.	<i>tu thijílnoe</i>	<i>tsho thijílaanat</i>
2.f.	<i>tu thijílinee</i>	<i>tsho thijílyaaynet</i>
3.m.	<i>sa thijílnun</i>	<i>sa thijílaan</i>
3.f.	<i>sa thijílin</i>	<i>sa thijílyaani</i>

(*thijoón* 'to be done')

Sg.

Pl.

Pluperfect 'I had been done' etc.

1.m. *mo thijílsus*

be thijílaasas ~ thijílsas

1.f. *mo thijílsis*

be thijílyaasis

2.m. *tu thijílosee*

tsho thijílsat ~ thijílaasat

2.f. *tu thijílisee*

tsho thijílsat

3.m. *sa thijílus*

sa thijílaas

3.f. *sa thijílis*

sa thijílyaasi

(35) *xušaltyáa-iji tíki kh-íj-aa-n-i yaá?*

happiness-AbSp bread eat-PASS-IMPF-AUXpres-3.f.sg. RHET?

Could anyone eat in such a joyful mood?

6.4.1.4 Transitive *a*-stems: root-accented transitive verbs

Some transitive verbs take the accent on the root. Excepting *phátoon* 'to leave', they behave like intransitives in imperfective tenses, taking A-form imperfective suffixes and (mostly) the conjunctive participle in *-íí*.

Perfective tenses are formed (as with all transitives) with grammaticalized forms of 'go'. Most transitive *a*-stems have an alternate perfective stem ending in *-y*: *haroón* 'to take away' → *hary-eégi* 'she took away', *hary-áao* 'he took away'.

The imperative sg. is identical with the verb root (with loss of voicing in a voiced spirant or fricative); the imperative pl. is identical with the imperfective stem. However *phátoon* 'to leave' takes imperatives on the model of transitive *á*-stems: *pháta* sg., *phátyaa* pl. (in both cases, however, the accent however remains on the root).

The verb *phátoon* 'to leave' is irregular in several other ways: 1) the accent remains on the root throughout the entire conjugation; 2) it is also one of only three verbs in this class to form the conjunctive participle in *-eé*, and 3) the only one to form imperfective tenses with the I-form imperfective aspect marker.

This class is represented by *haroón* 'to take, take away' (chosen because it mostly rhymes in the imperfect tenses with *taroón* 'to swim', allowing us to compare the structure of these verbs; and with *phátoon* 'to leave', which is the only root-accented transitive verb which is inflected like other transitives.

In the table below, the imperfective stem of all the verbs can be found by removing the final *-m* of the 1st sg. subjunctive form.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Root</u>	<u>1. sg. subj.</u>	<u>3. sg. pres.</u>	<u>Past 3.m.sg.</u>
<i>bonoón</i> 'to wear'	<i>bon-</i>	<i>bóna-m</i>	<i>bónaano</i>	<i>bonyáao</i>
<i>haroón</i> 'to take away'	<i>hár-</i>	<i>hára-m</i>	<i>háraano</i>	<i>haryáao</i>
<i>pežoón</i> 'to grind'	<i>pež-</i>	<i>péža-m</i>	<i>pežáano</i>	<i>pezyáao</i>
<i>razoón</i> 'to say'	<i>raz-</i>	<i>ráza-m</i>	<i>rázaano</i>	<i>rajáao</i> ³³
<i>phátoon</i> 'to leave'	<i>phát-</i>	<i>pháta-m</i>	<i>phátiino</i>	<i>phátaao</i>

haroón 'to take, take away'; root: *har-*, impf. stem: *hára-*, imp.: *har* sg. *hára* pl.; conjunctive participle: *haryí*

Sg.

Pl.

Subjunctive: 'I may take away, etc.'

1.	<i>mos háram</i>	<i>bes hárooŋ</i>
2.	<i>tus háree</i>	<i>tshos hárat</i>
3.	<i>ses háree</i>	<i>ses háran</i>

Present: 'I take away, am taking away, etc.'

1.m./f..	<i>mos hármās</i>	<i>bes hárooŋas</i>
2.f.	<i>tus háraanoe</i>	<i>tshos hártan</i>
2.f.	<i>tus háraanyee</i>	—
3.m.	<i>ses háraano</i>	<i>ses háрман</i>
3.f.	<i>ses háraani</i>	—

Imperfect: 'I used to take away, was taking away, etc.'

1.m./f.	<i>mos háramsas</i>	<i>bes hárooŋsas</i>
2.m.	<i>tus háraasoe</i>	<i>tshos hársat</i>
2.f.	<i>tus háraasyee</i>	—
3.m.	<i>ses háraaso</i>	<i>ses hárnas</i>
3.f.	<i>ses háraasi</i>	—

Derivation of the 2nd pl. from the subjunctive requires postulating reduction of consonant clusters and geminates, plus dissimilation, which would also result in the maintenance of the tense distinction:

**hárat* + *nat* → *háratnat* > *háratan* > *hártan*

**hárat* + *sat* → *háratsat* > *hárossat* > *hárasat* > *hársat*

33 *sési razyáao* would be causative: 'he made [s.o.] say'. Since **rajyáao* would be phonetically [raʒya:o], avoidance of near homophony is probably the reason for loss of -y- in *rajáao*.

	Sg.		Pl.
Future: 'I will take away' etc.			
1.m.	<i>mos haróos</i>		<i>bes harwíis</i>
1.f.	<i>mos harúus</i>		—
2.m.	<i>tus haróoe</i>		<i>tshos harwíit</i>
2.f.	<i>tus harúui</i>		—
3.m.	<i>ses haróo</i>		<i>ses harwíi</i>
3.f.	<i>ses harúu</i>		—

The perfective tenses are formed on the transitive model, and show levelling. Although the conjunctive participle of *haroón* is *haryíi* (like intransitives), the perfective aspect marker appears to be *eég-* (as in transitives). The accent shifts from the root to the perfective stem.

The rules for the formation of perfective forms of transitive *á*-stems can not be applied in the same way to *haroón*, as we know from Bailey that *haroón* has the perfective aspect marker *-iíg-* in the Gilgiti dialect, therefore the Kohistani transitive *á*-stems probably had the same marker prior to being levelled (and this may be the origin of the perfective stem in *-y-*: *hary-eéga* 'they took away'). All the forms can be explained straightforwardly on the basis of 1) loss of lenis *-g-* and 2) retention of the accent on the second member of the compound provided it is long (§6.3.3.3). Probably only forms ending up with the sequence *-iíg-* (2nd. f. sg., 3. f. sg., and 3rd. pl.) were subject to levelling, and *-eé-* did not replace original *-ií-* but was added to it, and *-ií-* then shortened to *-y-*.

In the paradigms which follow, the fused forms are postulated in parentheses.

(*haroón* 'to take, take away')

	Sg.		Pl.
Past: 'I took away, etc.'			
1.m.	<i>mō haryáas</i>		<i>asáa harées</i>
1.f.	<i>mō harées</i>		—
2.m.	<i>thóo haryáae</i>		<i>tsháa haryét</i>
2.f.	<i>thóo haryeégyec</i>		—
3.m.	<i>sési haryáao</i>		<i>seṇáa haryeéga</i>
3.f.	<i>séso haryeégi</i>		—

Derivation of past tense of *haroón*

1.m.sg. *mō haryáas* (**harií gyáas* > *hariyáas* > *haryáas*)

1.f.sg. *mō harées* (**harií gyées* > *hariyéés* > *haryées* > *harées*)

(Derivation of past tense of *haróón*)

- 2.m.sg. *thóo haryáae* (**harií gyáae* > *hariyáae* > *haryáae*)
 2.f.sg. *thóo haryégyee* (**harií gyéi* > *hariígyei* > *hariígyee* > *harieégyee* > *haryégyee*) (levelled)
 2.m.sg. *sési haryáao* (**harií *gyáao* > *hariyáao* > *haryáao*)
 2.f.sg. *séso haryégi* (**harií gyéi* > *hariígyei* > *hariígei* > *harieégi* > *haryégi*) (levelled)
 1.pl. *asáa harées* (**harií *gyées* > *hariyéés* > *haryées* > *harées*)
 2.pl. *tsháa haryét* (**harií *gyéet* > *hariyéet* > *haryéet* > *haryét*)
 2.pl. *seṇáa haryéga* (**harií *gye* > *hariígye* > *hariíge* > *harieéga* > *haryéga*)

Sg.

Pl.

Perfect: 'I have taken away, etc.'

- | | | |
|------|--|--|
| 1.m. | <i>mō haryáasun</i>
(< <i>haryáas nus</i>) | <i>asáa haréesan</i>
(< <i>harées nas</i>) |
| 1.f. | <i>mō haréesan</i>
(< <i>harées nis</i>) | — |
| 2.m. | <i>thóo haryéenoe</i>
(< <i>haryée noe</i>) | <i>tsháa haryétan</i>
(< <i>haryét nat</i>) |
| 2.f. | <i>thóo haryéeginee</i>
(< <i>haryégyee nee</i>) | — |
| 2.m. | <i>sési haryáawno</i>
(< <i>haryáao no</i>) | <i>seṇáa haryégaan</i>
(< <i>haryéga na</i>) |
| 2.f. | <i>séso haryéginini</i>
(< <i>haryégi ni</i>) | — |

Pluperfect: 'I had taken away, etc.'

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| 1.m. | <i>mō haryáasus</i>
(< <i>haryáas sos</i>) | <i>asáa haréesas</i>
(< <i>harées sas</i>) |
| 1.f. | <i>mō haréesas</i>
(< <i>harées sis</i>) | — |
| 2.m. | <i>thóo haryéesoe</i>
(< <i>haryée soe</i>) | <i>tsháa haryésat</i>
(< <i>haryét sat</i>) |

(Pluperfect of *haroón* 'to take, take away')

	Sg.	Pt.
2.f.	<i>thóo haryéegisee</i> (<i>< haryégyee see</i>)	—
3.m.	<i>sési haryáawso</i> (<i>< haryáao so</i>)	<i>seṅáa haryéégaas</i> (<i>< haryééga sa</i>)
3.f.	<i>séso haryéégisi</i> (<i>< haryéégi si</i>)	—

phátoon 'to leave'; root: *phát-*; impf. stem: *pháta~phátyaa-*; imp.: *pháta* sg. *phátyaa* pl., conjunctive participle: *phátee*

	Sg.	Pt.
Subjunctive: 'I may leave' etc.		
1.	<i>mos phátam</i>	<i>bes phátoon</i>
2.	<i>tus phátii</i>	<i>tshos phátat~phátyaat</i>
3.	<i>ses phátee~phátii</i>	<i>ses phátan</i>

Present: 'I leave, I am leaving' etc.

1.m./f.	<i>mos phátamas</i> (<i>< phátam *nos/nis</i>)	<i>bes phátoonṅas</i> (<i>< phátoon nas</i>)
2.m.	<i>tus phátiinoe</i> (<i>< phátii noe</i>)	<i>tshos phátyaatan</i> (<i>< phátyaat nat</i>)
2.f.	<i>tus phátiinyee</i> (<i>< phátii nyee</i>)	—
3.m.	<i>ses phátiino</i> (<i>< phátii no</i>)	<i>ses phátenan~phátanan</i> (<i>< phátan *na</i>)
3.f.	<i>ses phátiini</i> (<i>< phátii ni</i>)	—

Imperfect: 'I used to leave', 'I was leaving' etc.

1.m./f.	<i>mos phátamsas</i> (<i>< phátam sos/sis</i>)	<i>bes phátoonṅsas</i> (<i>< phátoon sas</i>)
2.m.	<i>tus phátiisoe</i> (<i>< phátii soe</i>)	<i>tshos phátyaasat</i> (<i>< phátyaat sat</i>)
2.f.	<i>tus phátiisyee</i> (<i>< phátii syee</i>)	—
3.m.	<i>ses phátiiso</i> (<i>< phátii so</i>)	<i>ses phátnas</i> (<i>< phátan *sa</i>)

(Imperfect of *phátoon* 'to leave')

	Sg.	Pl.
3.f.	<i>ses phátiisi</i> (<i>< phátii si</i>)	<i>ses phátñas~phátnyes</i> (<i>< phátan *syes</i>)

Future: 'I will leave' etc.

1.m.	<i>mos phátoos</i>	<i>bes phátwiis</i>
1.f.	<i>mos phátuus</i>	—
2.m.	<i>tus phátooe</i>	<i>tshos phátwiit</i>
2.f.	<i>tus phátuii</i>	—
3.m.	<i>ses phátoo</i>	<i>ses phátwii</i>
3.f.	<i>ses phátuu</i>	—

Since the accent in *phátoon* always remains on the root; the aspect marker *-eg-* should remain in all the forms. That it does not must be due to analogical levelling, thus no attempt is made to analyse the perfective forms.

	Sg.	Pl.
Past: 'I left' etc.		
1.m.	<i>mō phátaas</i>	<i>asáa phátees</i>
1.f.	<i>mō phátees</i>	—
2.m.	<i>thóo phátaae</i>	<i>tsháa pháteet</i>
2.f.	<i>thóo pháteegyee</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sési phátaao</i>	<i>seṇáa pháteega</i>
3.f.	<i>séso pháteegi</i>	—

The 2. pl. perfect forms *pháteytan* and *pháteytas* are not explained by the rules for grammaticalization of 'go'.

Perfect: 'I have left' etc.

1.m.	<i>mō phátaasun</i>	<i>asáa pháteesan</i>
1.f.	<i>mō pháteesan</i>	—
2.m.	<i>thóo phátaaynoe</i>	<i>tsháa pháteytan</i>
2.f.	<i>thóo pháteeginee</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sési phátaawno</i>	<i>seṇáa pháteegaan</i>
3.f.	<i>séso pháteegin</i>	—

Pluperfect: 'I had left' etc.

	Sg.	Pl.
1.m.	<i>mō phátaasus</i>	<i>asáa pháteesas</i>
1.f.	<i>mō pháteesas</i>	—
2.m.	<i>thóo phátaaysoc</i>	<i>tsháa pháteytas</i>
2.f.	<i>thóo pháteegisee</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sési phátaawso</i>	<i>seṇáa pháteegaas</i>
3.f.	<i>séso pháteegis</i>	—

(36) *mō-s tu na phát-am-as*
 I-AGI you.NOM not leave-IMPF.1.sg.-1.sg.
 I do [will] not let you go.

(37) *tu-s jóo ráz-aa-n-oc?*
 you-AGI what say-IMPF-AUXpres-2.m.sg.
 What are you saying?

(38) *thóo jóo ráj-aa-e?*
 you-AGP what say-PERF-2.m.sg.
 What did you say?

6.4.2 Stem-accented verbs

6.4.2.1 Transitive *á*-stems

The imperfective stem of the majority of transitive verbs ends in *-á*: *sanoón* 'to make' → *saná-m* 'I may make'. This can only be observed in the 1st sg. of the subjunctive and imperfect, but suffices to predict the rest of paradigm. Inflection of the great majority of *á*-stems is regular with only minor variations.

Nearly all *á*-stem verbs form the conjunctive participle in *eé*: *saneé*, and in our sample of 33, all take the I-form imperfective aspect marker *-í-*, as shown above in the paradigm for *sanoón* 'to make, build', and below in the paradigm for *caroón* 'to take for grazing'. The imperative sg. is identical with the imperfective stem; the imperative pl. suffixes *-yáa*.

The perfective stem of transitive *á*-stems is identical with the verb root; the perfective aspect marker *-céq-* (and its alternate forms) are suffixed to the perfective stem. Transitive verbs take agent cases of the subject noun or pronoun. The verb always agrees with the subject, rather than with the direct object.

In the table below, the imperfective stem of all the verbs can be found by removing the final *-m* of the 1st sg. subjunctive form.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Root</u>	<u>1. sg. subj.</u>	<u>3. sg. pres.</u>	<u>C.P.</u>
<i>sanoón</i> 'to make'	<i>san-</i>	<i>saná-m</i>	<i>saniino</i>	<i>sancé</i>
<i>aṭoón</i> 'to bring'	<i>aṭ-</i>	<i>aṭá-m</i>	<i>aṭiino</i>	<i>aṭéé</i>
<i>gaṛoón</i> 'to tie'	<i>gaṛ-</i>	<i>gaṛá-m</i>	<i>gaṛiino</i>	<i>gaṛéé</i>
<i>caroón</i> 'to graze s.th.'	<i>car-</i>	<i>cará-m</i>	<i>caríino</i>	<i>caréé</i>
<i>dadloón</i> 'to drag'	<i>dadl-</i>	<i>dadlá-m</i>	<i>dadliino</i>	<i>dadleé</i>
<i>caroón</i> 'to graze s.th.'	<i>car-</i>	<i>cará-m</i>	<i>caríino</i>	<i>caréé</i>
<i>waloón</i> 'to bring down'	<i>wal-</i>	<i>walá-m</i>	<i>waliino</i>	<i>waleé</i>
<i>phoón-phahoón</i> 'to tear'	<i>phah-</i>	<i>phayá-m</i>	<i>phayíino</i>	<i>phayíí</i>
<i>orṭoón</i> 'to search'	<i>orṭ-</i>	<i>orṭá-m</i>	<i>orṭiino</i>	<i>orṭíí</i>

caroón 'to take for grazing'; root: *car-*; impf. stem: *cará-*, imp. sg. *cará*, imp. pl. *caryáa*

	<u>Sg</u>	<u>Pt.</u>
Subjunctive: 'I may take for grazing' etc.		
1.	<i>mos carám</i>	<i>bes caróoṇ</i>
2.	<i>tus caríí</i>	<i>tshos caryáat</i>
3.	<i>ses caríí</i>	<i>ses carén</i>

Present: 'I take for grazing, I am taking for grazing' etc

1.m.f.	<i>mos carámas</i>	<i>bes caróoṇas</i>
2.m.	<i>tus caríinoe</i>	<i>tshos caryáatan~carénat</i>
2.f.	<i>tus caríinee</i>	—
3.m.	<i>ses caríino</i>	<i>ses carénan</i>
3.f.	<i>ses caríini</i>	—

The insertion of the negative particle *na* into the verb reveals the base forms:

Present negated: 'I do *not* take for grazing' etc.

1.m.	<i>mos carám náanos</i>	<i>bes caróoṇ náanas</i>
1.f.	<i>mos carám náanyis</i>	<i>bes caróoṇ náaanyes</i>
2.m.	<i>tus caríí náanoe</i>	<i>tshos caryáat náanat~carén náanat</i>
2.f.	<i>tus caríí náanee</i>	<i>tshos caryáat náanyet~carén náanyet</i>
3.m.	<i>ses caríí náano</i>	<i>ses carén náana</i>
3.f.	<i>ses caríí náani</i>	<i>ses carén náani</i>

(39) *yə-s lom-oón laçhíi na-an-o*

it-AGI fight-INF know not-EXpres-3.m.sg.

It doesn't (unfortunately) know how to fight.

Sg

Pl.

Imperfect: 'I used to take for grazing', 'I was taking for grazing' etc.

1.m./f.	<i>mos carámsas</i>	<i>bes caróõsas</i>
2.m.	<i>tus carísoe</i>	<i>tshos carénsat</i>
2.f.	<i>tus caríisyee</i>	—
3.m.	<i>ses caríiso</i>	<i>ses carénas</i>
3.f.	<i>ses caríisi</i>	—

Future: 'I will take for grazing' etc.

1.m.	<i>mos caróos</i>	<i>bes carwíis</i>
1.m.	<i>mos carúus</i>	—
2.m.	<i>tus caróoe</i>	<i>tshos carwíit</i>
2.f.	<i>tus carúui</i>	—
3.m.	<i>ses caróo</i>	<i>ses carwíi</i>
3.f.	<i>ses carúu</i>	—

Past: 'I took for grazing' etc.

1.m.	<i>mō caráas</i>	<i>asáa carés</i>
1.f.	<i>mō carées</i>	—
2.m.	<i>thóo caráae</i>	<i>tsháa carét</i>
2.f.	<i>thóo careégyee</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sési caráao</i>	<i>señáa careéga</i>
3.f.	<i>séso careégi</i>	—

Minor variations occur: The 1st pl. past tense has *carés* instead of *carées*; in the 1st f. sg. perfect, *caréesan* occurs instead of *caréesin*.

Perfect: 'I have taken for grazing' etc.

1.m./f.	<i>mō caráasun</i> (< <i>caráas nus</i>)	<i>asáa carésan</i> (< <i>carés *nas</i>)
1.f.	<i>mō caréesan</i> (< <i>carées nis</i>)	—
2.m.	<i>thóo caráaynoe</i> (< <i>caráae noe</i>)	<i>tsháa carétan</i> (< <i>carét *nat</i>)
2.f.	<i>thóo careégynee</i> (< <i>careégi nce</i>)	—
3.m.	<i>sési caráawno</i> (< <i>caráao no</i>)	<i>señáa careégaan</i> (< <i>careéga *na</i>)
3.f.	<i>séso careégini</i> (< <i>careégi ni</i>)	—

	SG		PL.
	Pluperfect: 'I had taken for grazing' etc.		
1.m.	<i>mō caráasus</i> (< <i>caráas sos</i>)		<i>asáa carésas</i> (< <i>carés sas</i>)
1.f.	<i>mō caréesis</i> (< <i>carées sis</i>)		—
2.m.	<i>thóo caráaysoe</i> (< <i>caráae soe</i>)		<i>tsháa carétas</i> (< <i>carét *sat</i>)
2.f.	<i>thóo careégisee</i> (< <i>careégye see</i>)		—
3.m.	<i>sési caráawso</i> (< <i>caráao so</i>)		<i>señáa careégaas</i> (< <i>careéga *sa</i>)
3.f.	<i>sésó careégisi</i> (< <i>careégi si</i>)		—

(40) *káath-a wal-óo-s*

wood-pl. bring.down-fut.m.sg.-I

I'll bring down wood (from the mountain).

(41) *láa muçhó-ṛ káath-a na wal-áa-u-n*

much before-DAT wood-pl. not bring.down-PERF-3.sg.m.-AUXpres

He has not brought down much wood before.

(42) *xáar-da xóor beé karaá-e aṭ-yáa*

city-in scattered be-CP ram-pl. bring-imp-pl.

Bring the rams which are scattered around the city.

(43) *karaá-c búṭ-a aṭ-ée-t yaá xáar-iji ṭol theé-t yaá*

ram-pl. all-pl. bring-CP-pl. RHET town-AbSp collect do-CP-pl. RHET

Have you collected and brought all the rams from the town?

(44) *eš sa baš-íí don-ár aṭ-íí-n-i,*

sheep AGI call-CP flock-DAT bring-IMPF-AUXpres-3.sg.f.

[If] a sheep bleats it brings to the flock,

... *céi-s baš-íí room-ár aṭ-íí-n-i*

... woman-AGI bleat-CP valley-DAT bring-IMPF-AUXpres-3.sg.f.

... [if] a woman bleats she brings to the valley.

(If just one sheep bleats, a wild animal may find and kill the whole herd. If one woman makes a mistake, a whole valley may be plunged into rivalry. [Proverb])

6.4.2.2 Mixed *áa*-stems

A tiny class (seven verbs in our corpus) carries the accent on a stem ending in *-áa* ~ *-áã*: *lahóón* 'to find' → *laháam* 'I may find'. Four are transitive, and

three are intransitive. All form the conjunctive participle in *-íí* and take the A-form imperfective aspect marker in (so patterning like regular intransitive verbs, except for the accent placement). The list below shows typical inflectional features of all seven *áa*-stem verbs. This class is illustrated by the paradigm of *dahoón* 'to burn (s.th.)'.

Most *áa*-stems have roots ending in *-h*. The sample is too small to confirm whether the feature is predictive. The imperative sg. usually suffixes *-á* to the verb root; the imperative pl. is identical with the imperfective stem: *dahá* 'burn!' (sg.), *daháa* 'burn!' (pl.). This formation suggests that the verb roots may actually end in a vowel *-a* (*daha-*, *nāha-* etc.), which is assimilated to the stem vowel. A root vowel *-a* must be postulated for *phoón* 'to burst' (cf. 6.4.3. "Shortened verbs").

Note the nasalization occurring through out the conjugation of *nāhoón* 'to lose'.

The perfective stem of transitive *áa*-stems is identical with the (short) verb root; the perfective aspect marker *-eég-* (and its alternate forms) are suffixed to the perfective stem, as shown below under *dahoón*. A comparison of the 2nd sg. perfect tense forms of *sanoón* and *dahoón* shows minor differences in inflection. As usual, metathesis CV → VC and *nat* → *tan*, plus vowel and consonant assimilation, figure in elaboration of the paradigm.

The intransitive *áa*-stems have different perfective stems and take different perfective aspect markers: *uḫa-t-* 'arrived' < *uḫoón* 'to arrive'; *phayi-l-* 'burst' < *phoón* 'to burst'.

Transitive verbs take agent cases of the subject noun or pronoun; intransitives take nominative cases. The verb always agrees with the subject.

In the table below, the imperfective stem of all the verbs can be found by removing the final *-m* of the 1st sg. subjunctive form.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Root</u>	<u>1. sg. subj.</u>	<u>3. sg. pres.</u>	<u>C.P.</u>
<i>dahoón</i> 'to burn' <i>tr.</i>	<i>dah-</i>	<i>daháa-m</i>	<i>daháano</i>	<i>dahíí</i>
<i>nāhoón</i> 'to lose' <i>tr.</i>	<i>nāh-</i>	<i>nāháã-m</i>	<i>nāháãno</i>	<i>nāhíí</i>
<i>buhóón</i> 'to weave' <i>tr.</i>	<i>buh-</i>	<i>buháa-m</i>	<i>buháano</i>	<i>buhíí</i>
<i>bahoón</i> 'to plough' <i>tr.</i>	<i>bah-</i>	<i>baháa-m</i>	<i>baháano</i>	<i>bahíí</i>
<i>lahoón</i> 'to find' <i>int.</i>	<i>lah-</i>	<i>laháa-m</i>	<i>laháano</i>	<i>lahíí</i>
<i>phoón</i> 'to burst' <i>int.</i>	<i>pha-</i>	<i>pháa-m</i>	<i>pháano</i>	<i>phíí</i>
<i>uḫoón</i> 'to arrive' <i>int.</i>	<i>uḫ-</i>	<i>uḫáa-m</i>	<i>uḫáano</i>	<i>uḫíí</i>

The subjunctive forms of *dahoón* 'to burn (s.th.)' clearly reveal the imperfective

stem, not the root, as the base of subjunctive forms; the stem suffix *-áa-* is suppressed only in the 1st pl. The stem suffix *-áa-* can be treated as an alternate imperfective aspect marker.

dahoón 'to burn', root: *dah-*, impf. stem: *daháa-*, imp: *dahá* sg., *daháa* pl.

Sg.	Pl.
Subjunctive: 'I may burn (s.th.)' etc.	
1. <i>mos daháam</i> (< <i>daháa-am</i>)	<i>bes dahóoŋ</i> (< <i>dahá-ooŋ</i>)
2. <i>tus daháae</i> (< <i>daháa-ee</i>)	<i>tshos daháat</i> (< * <i>daháa-at</i>)
3. <i>ses daháae</i> (< <i>daháa-ee</i>)	<i>ses daháan</i> (< * <i>daháa-an</i>)

Present: 'I burn (s.th.), I am burning' etc.

1.m./f. <i>mos daháamas</i>	<i>bes dahóoŋas</i>
2.m. <i>tus daháano</i>	<i>tshos dahaanat~daháatan</i>
2.f. <i>tus daháanyee</i>	—
3.m. <i>ses daháano</i>	<i>ses daháan~daháanan</i>
3.f. <i>ses daháani</i>	—

The base forms of the imperfective tenses of *dahoón* appear as free forms if one inserts a negative particle *na* into the construction. Note that the subjunctive forms *daháae* of the 2nd and 3rd sg. do not occur in this environment. The form that occurs is the stem/imperfective aspect marker *-áa-*.

Sg.	Pl.
Present negated: 'I <i>don't</i> burn', 'you <i>don't</i> burn' etc.	
1.m. <i>mos daháam náanos</i>	<i>bes dahóoŋ náanas</i>
1.f. <i>mos daháam náanyis</i>	<i>bes dahóoŋ náanyes</i>
2.m. <i>tus daháa náano</i>	<i>tshos daháat náanat~daháan náanat</i>
2.f. <i>tus daháa náanyee</i>	<i>tshos daháat náanyet~daháan náanyet</i>
3.m. <i>ses daháa náano</i>	<i>ses daháan náana</i>
3.f. <i>ses daháa náani</i>	<i>ses daháan náani</i>

Imperfect: 'I use to burn (s.th.), I was burning' etc.

1.m./f. <i>mos daháamsas</i>	<i>bes dahoŋsas</i>
2.m. <i>tus daháaso</i>	<i>tshos dahaasat</i>
2.f. <i>tus daháasyee</i>	—
3.m. <i>ses daháaso</i>	<i>ses daháanas</i>
3.f. <i>ses daháasi</i>	—

(dahoón 'to burn')

Sg.

Pl.

Future: 'I will burn (s.th.)' etc.

1.m.	<i>mos dahóos</i>	<i>bes dahwís</i>
1.f.	<i>mos dahúus</i>	—
2.m.	<i>tus dahóoe</i>	<i>tshos dahwít</i>
2.f.	<i>tus dahúui</i>	—
3.m.	<i>ses dahóo</i>	<i>ses dahwí</i>
3.f.	<i>ses dahúu</i>	—

Past: 'I burned' etc.

1.m.	<i>mō daháas</i>	<i>asáa dahées</i>
1.f.	<i>mō dahées</i>	—
2.m.	<i>thóo daháae</i>	<i>tsháa dahéet</i>
2.f.	<i>thóo daheégyec</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sési daháao</i>	<i>seṇáa daheéga</i>
3.f.	<i>séso daheégi</i>	—

Perfect: 'I have burned' etc.

1.m.	<i>mō daháusun</i>	<i>asáa dahéesan</i>
1.f.	<i>mō dahéesan</i>	—
2.m.	<i>thóo daháanoe</i>	<i>tsháa dahéetan</i>
2.f.	<i>thóo daheéginec</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sési daháawno</i>	<i>seṇáa daheégaan</i>
3.f.	<i>séso daheégini</i>	—

Pluperfect: 'I had burned' etc.

1.m.	<i>mō daháasus</i>	<i>asáa dahéesas</i>
1.f.	<i>mō dahéesas</i>	—
2.m.	<i>thóo daháasoc</i>	<i>tsháa dahéesat</i>
2.f.	<i>thóo daheégisce</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sési daháawso</i>	<i>seṇáa daheégaas</i>
3.f.	<i>séso daheégisi</i>	—

(45a) *mo-s dóoli-da hal bah-áa-m-a-s*

I-AGI field-in plough plough-IMPf-1.sg.-AUXpres-1.

I plough/am ploughing the field.

- (45b) *mō dōoli-da hal bah-áa-s*
I-AGP field-in plough plough-PERF.m.sg.-1.
I ploughed the field.
- (46a) *mo háaz-iji ph-áa-m-sa-s*
I.NOM laughter-AbSp burst-IMPF-1.sg.-AUXpast-1.
I was cracking up with laughter.
- (46b) *mo háaz-iji phayí-l-os*
I.NOM laugh-AbSp burst-PERF-1.m.sg.
I cracked up with laughter.

6.4.2.3 Causative and transitive *ée*-stems

Causative verbs form the imperfective stem by suffixing *-ée--é-* to a causative stem ending in the increment *-ay--y-* (valence increase): *dayoón* 'to fell, make fall' (< *dijoón* 'to fall') → *dayée-*; also *khayoón* 'to feed' (< *khoón* 'to eat') → *khayé-*. Again we are (inconveniently) dealing with the stem of a stem; but causatives, like passives, are lexemes in their own right.

Many ordinary transitive verbs also carry the accent on the final vowel of a stem ending in *-ée*: *khojoón* 'to ask' → *khojéem* 'I might ask' (< *khojée-*). A number of these ordinary transitive *-ée* stems also appear to show the increment *-ay--y-*. Some of these are double transitives (they take two objects): *sichyoón* 'to teach' (cf. Urdu *sikhānā*). Some are ordinary transitives: *khoyoón* 'to dig'.

The stem vowel is shortened in *razyoón* 'to make s.o. tell' → *razyé*, *thayoón* 'to make s.o. do' → *thayé* and *khayoón* 'to feed' (< *khoón* 'to eat') → *khayé*. The second mora accent typical of *byoón* 'to sit' appears also in the stem vowel of the causative *bayoón* 'to seat' (*bayée-*).

The members of this class without exception form the conjunctive participle in *eé-*, and take the I-form imperfective aspect marker. The segment *-w-* found in the future plural forms of other verbs (*sanwíís* 'we will make') is often lost in this class.

The perfective stem of transitive *ée*-stems is identical with the verb root; the perfective aspect marker *-eég-* (and its alternate forms) are suffixed to the perfective stem, as shown below under *khoyoón* and *khojoón*. Causatives are syntactically transitive and take agent cases of the subject noun or pronoun. The verb agrees with the subject.

The imperative sg. suffixes *eé-* to the verb root (homophonous with the conjunctive participle); the imperative pl. suffixes *-áa* to the verb root.

The inflection of causatives is illustrated below by *khayoón* 'to feed'; inflection of transitive verbs ending in *-ée-* by *khoyoón* 'to dig' and *khojoón* 'to ask'. The reader may compare the inflection of *khayoón* 'to feed' and *khoyoón* 'to dig'. The increment *-ay-~y-* is more robust in causatives, whereas in transitives, if the root vowel ends in *-o* or a spirant, *-y-* is lost in the 2nd and 3rd person imperfective forms. In causatives, this seems to occur only in *razyoón* 'to make tell'.

In the table below, the imperfective stem of all the verbs can be found by removing the final *-m* of the 1st sg. subjunctive form.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Root</u>	<u>1. sg. subj.</u>	<u>3. sg. pres.</u>	<u>Imp. sg.</u>
<i>doyoón</i> 'to make fall'	<i>do-y-</i>	<i>doyée-m</i>	<i>doyíino</i>	<i>doyée</i>
<i>loyoón</i> 'to snatch' ³⁴	<i>lo-y-</i>	<i>loyée-m</i>	<i>loiino</i>	<i>loyée</i>
<i>khoyoón</i> 'to dig'	<i>kho~kho-y-</i>	<i>khoyée-m</i>	<i>khoíino</i>	<i>khoyée</i>
<i>bayoón</i> 'to put'	<i>ba-y-</i>	<i>bayée-m</i>	<i>bayíino</i>	<i>bayée</i>
<i>khojoón</i> 'to ask'	<i>khoj-</i>	<i>khojée-m</i>	<i>khojíino</i>	<i>khojée</i>
<i>aušyoón</i> 'to tell a lie'	<i>aušy-</i>	<i>aušyée-m</i>	<i>aušíino</i>	<i>aušyée</i>
<i>razyoón</i> 'to make tell'	<i>raz-y-</i>	<i>razyé-m</i>	<i>raziino</i>	<i>razyée</i>
<i>thayoón</i> 'to make do'	<i>tha-y-</i>	<i>thayé-m</i>	<i>thayíino</i>	<i>thayée</i>
<i>khayoón</i> 'to feed'	<i>kha-y-</i>	<i>khayé-m</i>	<i>khayíino</i>	<i>khayée</i>

khayoón 'to feed'; root: *khay-*; impf. stem: *khayé-*; imp.: *khayée* sg., *khayáa* pl.

Sg.

Pl.

Subjunctive: 'I may feed' etc.

1.	<i>mos khayém</i>	<i>bes khayóoŋ</i>
2.	<i>tus khayée ~khayíi</i>	<i>tshos khayáat</i>
3.	<i>ses khayée~khayíi</i>	<i>ses khayéen</i>

Present: 'I feed, I am feeding' etc.

1.m./f.	<i>mos khayémas</i>	<i>bes khayóoŋas</i>
2.m.	<i>tus khayíinoe</i>	<i>tshos khayáanat~khayéenat</i>
2.f.	<i>tus khayíinee</i>	—
3.m.	<i>ses khayíino</i>	<i>ses khayéenan</i>
3.f.	<i>ses khayíini</i>	—

³⁴ *loyoón* appears at first glance to be derived from *loón* 'to reap', but the two have not only unrelated meanings but separate origins. *loón* < **lavati* (10986), *loyoón* < *lōpayati* (11083).

(khayoón 'to feed')

	Sg.	Pt..
Present: 'I feed, I am feeding' etc.		
1.m./f.	<i>mos khayémas</i>	<i>bes khayóonas</i>
2.m.	<i>tus khayíinoe</i>	<i>tshos khayáanat~khayéenat</i>
2.f.	<i>tus khayíinee</i>	—
3.m.	<i>ses khayíino</i>	<i>ses khayéenan</i>
3.f.	<i>ses khayíini</i>	—

Imperfect: 'I used to feed, I was feeding' etc.

1.m./f.	<i>mos khayémsas</i>	<i>bes khayóonsas</i>
2.m.	<i>tus khayíisoe</i>	<i>tshos khayáasat~khayáatas</i>
2.f.	<i>tus khayíisee</i>	—
3.m.	<i>ses khayíiso</i>	<i>ses khayéenas</i>
3.f.	<i>ses khayíisi</i>	—

Future: 'I will feed' etc.

1.m.	<i>mos khayóos</i>	<i>bes khayíis</i>
1.f.	<i>mos khayúus</i>	—
2.m.	<i>tus khayóoe</i>	<i>tshos khayíit</i>
2.f.	<i>tus khayúui</i>	—
3.m.	<i>ses khayóo</i>	<i>ses khayíi</i>
3.f.	<i>ses khayúu</i>	—

Past: 'I fed' etc.

1.m.	<i>mō khayáas</i>	<i>asáa khayées</i>
1.f.	<i>mō khayées</i>	—
2.m.	<i>thóo khayáae</i>	<i>tsháa khayéet</i>
2.f.	<i>thóo khayégyee</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sési khayáao</i>	<i>seṇáa khayéega</i>
3.f.	<i>séso khayéegi</i>	—

Sg.

Pl.

Perfect: 'I have fed' etc.

1.m. *mō khayáasun**asáa khayéesan*1.f. *mō khayéesan*

—

2.m. *thóo khayáaynoe**tsháa khayéetan*2.f. *thóo khayééginee*

—

3.m. *sési khayáawno**seṇáa khayéegaan*3.f. *séso khayéégini*

—

Pluperfect: 'I had fed' etc.

1.m. *mō khayáasus**asáa khayéesas*1.f. *mō khayéesas*

—

2.m. *thóo khayáaysoe**tsháa khayéesat*2.f. *thóo khayéégisee*

—

3.m. *sési khayáawso**seṇáa khayéegaas*3.f. *séso khayéégisi*

—

khoyoón 'to dig'; root: *kho~khoy-*; impf. stem: *khoyée-*; imp.: *khoyéé*, sg.
khoyáa pl.

Sg.

Pl.

Subjunctive: 'I may dig' etc.

1. *mos khoyéem**bes khoyóon*2. *tus khoyíi**tshos khoyáat*3. *ses khoyíi**ses khoyén*

Present: 'I dig, I am digging' etc.

1.m./f. *mos khoyéemas**bes khoyóonas*2.m. *tus khoíinoe**tshos khoyáaanat*2.f. *tus khoíinee*

—

3.m. *ses khoíino**ses khoyénan*3.f. *ses khoíini*

—

Imperfect: 'I used to dig, I was digging' etc.

1.m./f. *mos khoyéemas**bes khoyóonas*2.m. *tus khoíisoe**tshos khoyáaasat*2.f. *tus khoíisee*

—

3.m. *ses khoíiso**ses khoyénas*3.f. *ses khoíisi*

—

(khoyoón 'to dig')

	Sg.	Pl.
Future: 'I will dig' etc.		
1.m.	<i>mos khoyóos</i>	<i>bes khoyíis</i>
1.f.	<i>mos khoyúus</i>	—
2.m.	<i>tus khoyóoe</i>	<i>tshos khoyíit</i>
2.f.	<i>tus khoyúui</i>	—
3.	<i>ses khoyóo</i>	<i>ses khoyíi</i>
3.f.	<i>ses khoyúu</i>	—
Past: 'I dug' etc.		
1.m.	<i>mō khoyáas</i>	<i>asáa khoyées</i>
1.f.	<i>mō khoyées</i>	—
2.m.	<i>thóo khoyáae</i>	<i>tsháa khoyéet</i>
2.f.	<i>thóo khoyeéggye</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sési khoyáao</i>	<i>seṇáa khoyeéga</i>
3.f.	<i>séso khoyeégi</i>	—
Perfect: 'I have dug' etc.		
1.m.	<i>mō khoyáasun</i>	<i>asáa khoyéesan</i>
1.f.	<i>mō khoyéesan</i>	—
2.m.	<i>thóo khoyáaynoe</i>	<i>tsháa khoyéetan</i>
2.f.	<i>thóo khoyeéginee</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sési khoyáawno</i>	<i>seṇáa khoyeégaan</i>
3.f.	<i>séso khoyeégini</i>	—
Pluperfect: 'I had dug' etc.		
1.m.	<i>mō khoyáasus</i>	<i>asáa khoyéesas</i>
1.f.	<i>mō khoyéesas</i>	—
2.m.	<i>thóo khoyáaysoe</i>	<i>tsháa khoyéesat</i>
2.f.	<i>thóo khoyeégisee</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sési khoyáawso</i>	<i>seṇáa khoyeégaas</i>
3.f.	<i>séso khoyeégisi</i>	—

khojóon 'to ask'; root: *khoj-*; impf. stem: *khojée-*; imp.: *khojéé* sg., *khojáa* pl.

Sg.

Pl.

Subjunctive: 'I may ask' etc.

1.	<i>mos khojéem</i>	<i>bes khojóon</i>
2.	<i>tus khojíi</i>	<i>tshos khojáat</i>
3.	<i>ses khojíi</i>	<i>ses khojén</i>

Present: 'I ask, I am asking' etc.

1.m./f.	<i>mos khojéemas</i>	<i>bes khojóonas</i>
2.m.	<i>tus khojíinoe</i>	<i>tshos khojéenat~khojáatan</i>
2.f.	<i>tus khojíinec</i>	—
3.m.	<i>ses khojíino</i>	<i>ses khojéenan</i>
3.f.	<i>ses khojíini</i>	—

Imperfect: 'I used to ask, I was asking' etc.

1.m./f.	<i>mos khojéemas</i>	<i>bes khojóonsas</i>
2.m.	<i>tus khojíisoe</i>	<i>tshos khojáasat</i>
2.f.	<i>tus khojíisec</i>	—
3.m.	<i>ses khojíiso</i>	<i>ses khojéenas</i>
3.f.	<i>ses khojíisi</i>	—

Future: 'I will ask' etc.

1.m.	<i>mos khojóos</i>	<i>bes khojíis</i>
1.f.	<i>mos khojúus</i>	—
2.m.	<i>tus khojóoe</i>	<i>tshos khojíit</i>
2.f.	<i>tus khojúui</i>	—
3.m.	<i>ses khojóo</i>	<i>ses khojíi</i>
3.f.	<i>ses khojúu</i>	—

Past: 'I asked' etc.

1.m.	<i>mō khojáas</i>	<i>asáa khojées</i>
1.f.	<i>mō khojées</i>	—
2.m.	<i>thóo khojáae</i>	<i>tsháa khojéet</i>
2.f.	<i>thóo khojéégye</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sési khojáao</i>	<i>seṇáa khojéga</i>
3.f.	<i>séso khojégi</i>	—

(*khojoón* 'to ask')

The rules for forming the past tense need minor rewriting in *khojoón* 'to ask' (below), and testify to levelling in the paradigm:

1.m.sg. *khojeé + gyáas* → **khojeegyáas* > **khojeyáas* > **khojyáas* > *khojáas*

3.sg.m.: *khojeé + *gyáao* → **khojeegyáao* > *khojeyáao* > *khojyáao* > *khojáao*

But:

3.sg.f.: *khojeé + *gyéi* → **khojeégyei* > *khojégi*

	SG.	PL.
Perfect: 'I have asked' etc.		
1.m.	<i>mō khojáasun</i>	<i>asáa khojéesan</i>
1.f.	<i>mō khojéesan</i>	—
2.m.	<i>thóo khojáaynoe</i>	<i>tsháa khojéetan</i>
2.f.	<i>thóo khojéeginee</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sési khojáawno</i>	<i>senáa khojéegaan</i>
3.f.	<i>séso khojéegini</i>	—

Pluperfect: 'I had asked' etc.

1.m.	<i>mō khojáasus</i>	<i>asáa khojéesas</i>
1.f.	<i>mō khojéesas</i>	—
2.m.	<i>thóo khojáaysoe</i>	<i>tsháa khojéesat</i>
2.f.	<i>thóo khojéegisee</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sési khojáawso</i>	<i>senáa khojéegaas</i>
3.f.	<i>séso khojéegisi</i>	—

(47) *mō zaw-ár tikki kha-y-áa-s*

I-AGP brother-DAT bread eat-CAUS-PERF.m.sg.-I.

I gave brother food to eat.

(48a) *bał-í-s láa mōz-i khoj-ée-n-an*

child-pl.-AGI many matter-pl. ask-IMPf-AUXpres-3.pl.

Children ask a lot of questions.

(48b) *bał-ó-ji láa mōz-i khoj-eég-a*

child-OBpl.-AGP-pl. many matter-pl. ask-PERF-3.pl.

The children asked a lot of questions.

- (49a) *mušáa-s tób-i do-y-íi-n-o*
 man-AGI tree-pl. fall-CAUS-IMPF-AUXpres-3.m.sg.
 The man is cutting down trees.
- (49b) *mušá-e tób-i do-y-áa-o*
 man-AGP tree-pl. fall-CAUS-PERF-3.m.sg.
 The man cut down trees.
- (50) *čhóko-e khoy-áa-o, dáaṭo-e loy-áa-o*
 woodpecker-AGP dig-PERF-3.m.sg. *dáaṭo*-bird-AGP snatch-PERF-
 3.m.sg.
 The woodpecker dug (and) the *dáaṭo*-bird snatched.
 (One person makes the effort and another reaps the reward. [Proverb])

6.4.2.4 Transitive *íi*-stems

This class includes just five verbs, all transitives, four with roots in the pattern *Cí* ~ *Cíy*. Three lengthen *-í-* in the subjunctive, but *pyoón* 'to drink' forms only the imperfect with a lengthened vowel (*píim-*); the subjunctive (*pim*) has a short vowel, which is probably inherited, with analogical lengthening in the imperfect. The root vowel *-í-* is shortened to *-y-* before a low or mid vowel. This class is stem-accented, but unexpectedly, *íi*-stems behave like intransitives, taking A-form imperfective aspect markers and the conjunctive participle in *-íi*.

Homophony between *siyoón*₁ 'to sew' and *siyoón*₂ 'to know' is avoided by nasalization of almost the entire paradigm of the latter (although there is some contamination between the two): *mō syáas* 'I sewed'; *mō syáās* 'I knew'. *pyoón* 'to drink' has a near-homophone: *piyoón* 'to catch', which is included here although the stem does not entirely fit the pattern;³⁵ the differences have the function of avoiding homophony, and it is convenient to keep these verbs together.

The perfective stem of transitive *íi*-stems has the pattern *Cy-* (shortening of the root vowel) and *-y-* may itself be lost before a suffix beginning with a high vowel. The imperative sg. has the pattern *Cí*; the imperative pl. has the pattern *Cyáa*~*Cíi*. The imperatives are shown in the last column below.

The high front vowel is inherited in at least two cases: *siyoón*₁ < *sívyati* (13444), *pyoón* < *píbatí* (8209).

35 The stem of *piyoón* looks like a causative stem, but the inflectional pattern leads us to class this verb with transitive *íi*-stems.

In the table below, the imperfective stem of all the verbs can be found by removing the final *-m* of the 1st sg. subjunctive form.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Root</u>	<u>1. sg. subj.</u>	<u>3. sg. pres.</u>	<u>Imp.</u>
<i>wyoón</i> 'to pour, put'	<i>wí-</i>	<i>wíi-m</i>	<i>wyáano</i>	<i>wi, wyáa</i>
<i>siyoón₁</i> 'to sew'	<i>sí-</i>	<i>síi-m</i>	<i>syáano</i>	<i>si, syáa</i>
<i>siyoón₂</i> 'to know'	<i>sí-</i>	<i>síi-m</i>	<i>syáano</i>	<i>si, syáa</i>
<i>pyoón</i> 'to drink'	<i>pí-</i>	<i>píi-m</i>	<i>pyáano</i>	<i>pi, pyáa~pii</i>
<i>piyoón</i> 'to catch'	<i>píy-~pye-</i>	<i>piyé-m</i>	<i>piyáano</i>	<i>pyé, pyáa</i>

The subjunctive forms of *pyoón* 'to drink' and *siyoón* 'to know' show forms in *Ci-* alternating with forms in *Cyáa-* (with competing variants in the 2nd pl.) The negative particle *na* may be inserted into the present paradigm to force a split and reveal the base forms. When the present is analysed, the reader can easily deconstruct the other forms.

pyoón 'to drink'; root: *pí-*; impf. stem: *pí-~pii-*; imp.: *pi*, sg., *pyáa~pii* pl.

Sg.

Pl.

Subjunctive: 'I may drink' etc.

1.	<i>mos pim</i>	<i>bes pyóon</i>
2.	<i>tus pyáae</i>	<i>tshos pyáat, tshos piiit</i>
3.	<i>ses pyáae</i>	<i>ses pin</i>

Present: 'I drink, I am drinking' etc.

1.m./f.	<i>mos píimas</i>	<i>bes pyóonas</i>
2.m.	<i>tus pyáano</i>	<i>tshos pyáatan~pyáanat~piiitan~piiinat</i>
2.f.	<i>tus pyáanyee</i>	—
3.m.	<i>ses pyáano</i>	<i>ses pínan</i>
3.f.	<i>ses pyáani</i>	—

Present negated: 'I don't drink' etc.

Sg.

Pl.

1.m.	<i>mos pim náanos</i>	<i>bes pyóon náanas</i>
1.f.	<i>mos pim náanyis</i>	<i>bes pyóon náanyes</i>
2.m.	<i>tus pyáa náano</i>	<i>tshos piyáat náanat~pit náanat~pin náanat</i>
2.f.	<i>tus pyáa náanyee</i>	<i>tshos piyáat náanyet~pit náanyet~pin náanyet</i>
3.m.	<i>ses pyáa náano</i>	<i>sas pin náana</i>
3.f.	<i>ses pyáa náani</i>	<i>ses pin náani</i>

(pyóón 'to drink)

SG.

PL.

Imperfect 'I used to drink, I was drinking' etc.

1.m./f.	<i>mos píimsas</i>	<i>bes pyóõsas</i>
2.m.	<i>tus pyáasoẽ-píisoe</i> [rare]	<i>tshos píitas~píísat</i>
2.f.	<i>tus pyáasyee</i>	—
3.m.	<i>ses pyáaso</i>	<i>ses píinas~píínsas</i>
3.f.	<i>ses pyáasi</i>	—

Future: 'I will drink' etc.

1.m.	<i>mos pyóos</i>	<i>bes píis~pyuwíis</i> (<i>pyuwíis</i> is formal)
1.f.	<i>mos pyúus</i>	—
2.m.	<i>tus pyóoe</i>	<i>tshos píit~pyuwíit</i> (<i>pyuwíit</i> is formal)
2.f.	<i>tus pyúui</i>	—
3.m.	<i>ses pyóo</i>	<i>ses píi</i>
3.f.	<i>ses pyúu</i>	—

Past: 'I drank' etc.

1.m.	<i>mõ pyáas</i>	<i>asáa pyées</i>
1.f.	<i>mõ pyées</i>	—
2.m.	<i>thóo pyáae</i>	<i>tsháa pyéet</i>
2.f.	<i>thóo pyeégyee</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sési pyáao</i>	<i>seṇáa pyeéga</i>
3.f.	<i>séso pyeégi</i>	—

Perfect: 'I have drunk' etc.

1.m.	<i>mõ pyáasun</i>	<i>asáa pyéesan</i>
1.f.	<i>mõ pyéesan</i>	—
2.m.	<i>thóo pyáaynoe</i>	<i>tsháa pyéetan</i>
2.f.	<i>thóo pyeéginec</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sési pyáawno</i>	<i>seṇáa pyeégaan</i>
3.f.	<i>séso pyeégini</i>	—

(pyoón 'to drink)

Sg.	Pl.
Pluperfect: 'I had drunk' etc.	
1.m. <i>mō pyáasus</i>	<i>asáa pyéesas</i>
1.f. <i>mō pyéesas</i>	—
2.m. <i>thóo pyáaysoe</i>	<i>tsháa pyéetas</i>
2.f. <i>thóo pyeégisee</i>	—
3.m. <i>sési pyáawso</i>	<i>seṇáa pyeégaas</i>
3.f. <i>séso pyeégisi</i>	—

siyoón 'to know (s.o.)'; root: *si-*, impf. stem: *sīi*, impf.: *sí*, sg., *syāā* pl.

Sg.	Pl.
Subjunctive: 'I may know' etc.	
1. <i>mos sīim</i>	<i>bes syōōṇ</i>
2. <i>tus syāāe</i>	<i>tshos syāāt</i>
3. <i>ses sīi</i>	<i>ses sīin</i>

Present: 'I know' etc.

1.m./f. <i>mos sīimas</i>	<i>bes syōōṇas</i>
2.m. <i>tus syāāynoe</i>	<i>tshos syāatan-syāānat</i>
2.f. <i>tus syāāynee</i>	—
3.m. <i>ses syāāno</i>	<i>ses sínan</i>
3.f. <i>ses syāāni</i>	—

Imperfect: 'I used to know' etc.

1.m./f. <i>mos sīimsas</i>	<i>bes syōōṇsas</i>
2.m. <i>tus syāāysoe</i>	<i>tshos syāatas-syāāsat</i>
2.f. <i>tus syāāysee</i>	—
3.m. <i>ses syāāso</i>	<i>ses sínas</i>
3.f. <i>ses syāāsi</i>	—

Future 'I will know' etc.

1.m./f. <i>mos syōōs</i>	<i>bes sīis-swīis</i>
1.f. <i>mos syūūs</i>	—
2.m. <i>tus syōōe</i>	<i>tshos sīit</i>
2.f. <i>tus syūūi</i>	—
3.m. <i>ses syōō</i>	<i>ses sīi-swīi</i>
3.f. <i>ses syūū</i>	—

(*siyoón* 'to know [someone]')

SG.	PL.
Past 'I knew' etc.	
1.m. <i>mō syáās</i>	<i>asáa syéēs</i>
1.f. <i>mō syéēs</i>	—
2.m. <i>thóo syáāē</i>	<i>tsháa syēēt</i>
2.f. <i>thóo syēēgye</i>	—
3.m. <i>sési syáāō</i>	<i>seṇáa syēēga</i>
3.f. <i>sésó syēēgi</i>	—
Perfect 'I have known' etc.	
1.m. <i>mō syáāsun</i>	<i>asáa syéēsan</i>
1.f. <i>mō syéēsan</i>	—
2.m. <i>thóo syáāynoc</i>	<i>tsháa syēētan</i>
2.f. <i>thóo syēēgye</i>	—
3.m. <i>sési syáāwno</i>	<i>seṇáa syēēgaan</i>
3.f. <i>sésó syēēgini</i>	—
Pluperfect 'I had known' etc.	
1.m. <i>mō syáāsus</i>	<i>asáa syéēsas</i>
1.f. <i>mō syéēsas</i>	—
2.m. <i>thóo syáāysoe</i>	<i>tsháa syéēsat</i>
2.f. <i>thóo syēēgisec</i>	—
3.m. <i>sési syáāwso</i>	<i>seṇáa syēēgaas</i>
3.f. <i>sésó syēēgisi</i>	—

6.4.2.5 Intransitive *ó*-stems

The *ó*-stem class (ten verbs in our corpus) is the only one in which intransitive verbs carry the accent on the stem: *bijoón* 'to fear' → *bijó-m* 'I might fear'; this stem can be observed in the 1st sg. subjunctive and imperfective, in the imperative and (occasionally) lengthened in the conjunctive participle. *ó*-stems support the rule that stem-accented forms usually predict an I-form imperfective aspect marker: most *ó*-stems take I-forms (atypically for intransitive verbs), as shown in the paradigm for *mešoón* 'to grow up; to be mixed', below. The exception is *šiloón* 'to hurt' (*šiláano* 'it hurts'). The stem vowel *-ó-* may be treated as an alternate imperfective aspect marker.

Eight of the *ó*-stem verbs in our corpus form the conjunctive participle in *ii* (typically for intransitive verbs). Exceptions are *bijoón* 'to fear', conjunctive

participle: *bijeé~bijoóe* 'having feared'; *šiloón* 'to hurt', conjunctive participle: *šilooe*. Once the the stem-accent and I-forms are reckoned with, most *ó*-stems inflect fairly regularly. (Stem-accented *ó*-stems must however be distinguished from those shortened verbs (§6.4.3) which have stems in *-ó* for example *kh-oón* 'to eat, stem *kh-ó*; these latter are not regular.)

The *ó*-stems include some verbs used impersonally (*šiloón* 'to hurt', *hašoón* 'to meet, be available').

Five roots in this class end in *-í*, which is usually reduced to *-y-* before the suffix *-ó-*, but lost before high vowels. (Four end in spirants and fricatives: *š*, *j* [ž] and *ç*.) Following the latter, *-y-* may occur in inflection before low vowels: *meš-ó* 'grow up', *mešyáanat* 'you (pl.) grow up', but *mešíino* 'he grows up'. This suggests original root forms ending in *-í*, which is assimilated: **meší-*. These forms are merely hypothetical and so are not shown.

The perfective stem is normally: root + *-í* and the aspect marker is usually *-l-*. The exception is *uçoón* 'to escape' (→ *učíto* 'he escaped'). *šiloón* 'to hurt' has an irregular perfective stem: *šiláa-l-o* 'it hurt').

The imperative sg. is identical to the imperfective stem; the imperative pl. suffixes *-áa* to verb roots ending in *-y* and *-yáa* to verb roots ending in *š*, *j* and *ç*: *bijó* 'fear! (sg.)', *bijyáa* 'fear! (pl.)'.

In the table below, the imperfective stem of all the verbs can be found by removing the final *-m* of the 1st sg. subjunctive form.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Root</u>	<u>1. sg. subj.</u>	<u>3. sg. pres.</u>	<u>C.P.</u>
<i>uthyoón</i> 'to get up'	<i>uthí</i>	<i>uthyó-m</i>	<i>uthíino</i>	<i>uthíí</i>
<i>ekhtiyóón</i> 'to unite'	<i>ekhtí</i>	<i>ekhtiyó-m</i>	<i>ekhtíino</i>	<i>ekhtíí</i>
<i>elyoón</i> 'to come near'	<i>elí</i>	<i>elyó-m</i>	<i>elíino</i>	<i>elíí</i>
<i>calyoón</i> 'come early'	<i>calí</i>	<i>calyó-m</i>	<i>calíino</i>	<i>calíí</i>
<i>cokyoón</i> 'to stand, stop'	<i>cokí</i>	<i>cokyó-m</i>	<i>cokíino</i>	<i>cokíí</i>
<i>mešoón</i> 'to grow up'	<i>meš-</i>	<i>mešó-m</i> ³⁶	<i>mešíino</i>	<i>mešíí</i>
<i>uçoón</i> 'to escape'	<i>uç-</i>	<i>uçó-m</i>	<i>učíino</i>	<i>učíí</i>
<i>bijoón</i> 'to fear'	<i>bij-</i>	<i>bijó-m</i>	<i>bijíino</i>	<i>bijoóe</i>
<i>šiloón</i> 'to hurt'	<i>šil-</i>	<i>šiló-m</i>	<i>šiláano</i>	<i>šiloóe</i>
<i>hašoón</i> 'to be available'	<i>haš-</i>	<i>hašó-m</i>	<i>hašíino</i>	<i>hašíí</i>

36 Two *ó*-stems have alternate stems in *-á*, *áa*: *mešo-m~mešá-m*, *uçó-m~uçáa-m*. This gives rise to alternate forms in the verbal paradigm, as can be observed in the paradigm for *mešoón*, below.

mešoón 'to grow up; be mixed together'; root: *meš-*; impf. stem: *mešó-*;
imp. *mešó* sg., *mešyáa* pl.

SG.

Pl..

Subjunctive: 'I may grow up' etc.

1.	<i>mō mešóm-mešám</i>	<i>be mešóon</i>
2.	<i>tu mešíí</i>	<i>tsho mešáat</i>
3.	<i>sa mešíí</i>	<i>sa mešén</i>

Present: 'I grow up, I am growing up' etc.

1.m./f.	<i>mo mešómas-mešámas</i>	<i>be mešóonas</i>
2.m.	<i>tu mešíínoe</i>	<i>tsho mešyáanat</i>
2.f.	<i>tu mešíínyee</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sa mešííno</i>	<i>sa mešénan</i>
3.f.	<i>sa mešííni</i>	—

Imperfect: 'I used to grow up, I was growing up' etc.

1.m./f.	<i>mo mesómsas-mešámsas</i>	<i>be mešóonasas</i>
2.m.	<i>tu mešíísoe</i>	<i>tsho mešyáasat</i>
2.f.	<i>tu mešíísyee</i>	—
3.f.	<i>sa mešííso</i>	<i>sa mešéñas</i>
3.m.	<i>sa mešíísi</i>	—

Future: 'I will grow up' etc.

1.m.	<i>mō mešóos</i>	<i>be mešíís- mešwíis</i>
1.f.	<i>mō mešúús</i>	—
2.m.	<i>tu mešóoe</i>	<i>tsho mešíít</i>
2.f.	<i>tu mešúúi</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sa mešóo</i>	<i>sa mešíí- mešwíí</i>
3.f.	<i>sa mešúú</i>	—

Past: 'I grew up' etc.

1.m.	<i>mō mešíílos</i>	<i>be mešíílas</i>
1.f.	<i>mō mešíílis</i>	<i>be mešíílis</i>
2.m.	<i>tu mešííloe</i>	<i>tsho mešíílat</i>
2.f.	<i>tu mešíílyee</i>	<i>tsho mešíílyet</i>
3.m.	<i>sa mešíílo</i>	<i>sa mešííla</i>
3.f.	<i>sa mešííli</i>	<i>sa mešííli</i>

(*mešoón* 'to grow up; be mixed together')

Sg.

Pt..

Perfect: 'I have grown up' etc.

1.m.	<i>mō mešínos</i>	<i>be mešínas</i>
1.f.	<i>mō mešínis</i>	<i>be mešínis</i>
2.m.	<i>tu mešílonoe</i>	<i>tsho mešínat</i>
2.f.	<i>tu mešílinee</i>	<i>tsho mešínnyet</i>
3.m.	<i>sa mešilúuno</i>	<i>sa mešílaan</i>
3.f.	<i>sa mešilíini</i>	<i>sa mešílyaani</i>

Pluperfect: 'I had grown up' etc.

1.m.	<i>mō mešílsos</i>	<i>be mešílsas-mešílaasas</i>
1.f.	<i>mō mešílsis</i>	<i>be mešílsis-mešílyaasis</i>
2.m.	<i>tu mešílosoe</i>	<i>tsho mešílaasat-mešílsat</i>
2.f.	<i>tu mešílsee</i>	<i>tsho mešílyaaset</i>
3.m.	<i>sa mešilúuso</i>	<i>sa mešílaas</i>
3.f.	<i>sa mešilíisi</i>	<i>sa mešílyaasi</i>

(51a) *kitáb haš-íi-n-i*
 book be.available-IMPF-AUXpres-3.f.sg.
 The book is available.

(51b) *kitáb hašf-l-i*
 book be.available-PERF-3.f.sg.
 The book was available.

(52a) *mo iç-éji bij-ó-m-a-s*
 I.NOM bear-AbSp fear-IMPF-1.sg.-AUXpres-1.
 I am afraid of the bear.

(52b) *sa iç-éji bij-oóe uç-íi-n-o*
 he.NOM bear-AbSp fear-CP flee-IMPF-AUXpres-3.m.sg.
 He runs away due to fear of the bear.

(52c) *sa iç-éji bij-oóe uçí-t-o*
 he.NOM bear-AbSp fear-CP flee-PERF-3.m.sg.
 He ran away due to fear of the bear.

6.4.3 Shortened verbs

This is a small class of irregular verbs in which the root vowel is assimilated to an accented stem vowel, leaving the bare initial consonant as the base of inflected forms. The assimilated vowel can be observed in the imperative singular. The vowel reduction rules are. $\acute{a} + \acute{a} > \acute{a}$, $\acute{a} + \acute{e} > \acute{e}$, $\acute{a} + \acute{o} > \acute{o}$, $\acute{o} + \acute{o} > \acute{o}$ and $\acute{e} + \acute{e} > \acute{e}$. (Compare vowel reduction rules discussed under §3.1.5.2.1, §3.1.5.5 and §3.1.5.6.)

The reason for grouping these verbs in one class is pragmatic: although some verbs could have been handled as irregular members of other classes, the vowel reduction common to them all is more easily explained when they are classed together.

The class includes both transitives and intransitives. There are no rules for predicting either the imperfective or perfective stems of the members of this class. The transitives take the regular perfective aspect marker *-eég* and its allomorphs; the aspect marker for imperfectives is unpredictable.

There are two inflectional patterns which cut across transitivity and stem-vowel-class. *thoón* 'to do', *doón* 'to give', *loón* 'to reap' and *roón* 'to cry' have nearly identical imperfective paradigms apart from the 1st sg., taking the I-form imperfective aspect marker.

The alternation in the 2nd and 3rd sg. seen in *doón* also occurs in *loón*.

Transitive *khoón* 'to eat', on the other hand, takes an A-form imperfective aspect marker (apart from the stem, it rhymes in the imperfective tenses with *byoón* 'to sit, and throughout the paradigm with *pyoón* 'to drink, even in the conjunctive participle (*pycé* 'having drunk', *khyeé* 'having eaten') and the perfective stem (*pyáao* 'he drank', *khyáao* 'he ate'). The root variant *khya-* of *khoón* does not seem to have a historical origin and is probably formed by analogy with *pyoón*.³⁷

byoón 'to sit' is unique in its second mora accent throughout the perfective inflections. Whereas *joón* 'to sprout' and *roón* 'to cry' take L-form perfective participles: *jáa-l-o* 'it sprouted', *róo-l-o* 'he cried; *byoón* takes a T-form: *beé-ʃ-o* 'he sat'.³⁸

The list below shows typical inflectional features of seven shortened verbs,

- 37 *pyoón*, stem *pí* < *píbatí* (8209); cf. Gil. *piðikj*, 1st sg. fut. *píʒm* (Bailey 1924: 158); *khoón*, stem *khó* < *khádati* (3865). Cf. Gil. *khoikj*, 1st sg. fut. *khám*, past 1.m.sg. *khē'gás* (Bailey 1924: 148).
- 38 The T-form is (like other T-forms) inherited. Turner 1966 (2245) derives Kohistani and Guresi Shina *byoón(u)* from *úpavisati*, the perfective forms in *beé-ʃ-* from Pp. *upaviṣṭa-*. Here is a clue to one source of the low rising pitch: the retracted spirant *-ʃ-* in the consonant cluster is lost, but results in a low rising pitch.

including four very common verbs: *thoón* 'to do', *doón* 'to give', *khoón* 'to eat' and *byoón* 'to sit'.³⁹ Full paradigms have been given for these last four verbs (although *thoón* and *doón* have few surprises to offer).

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Root</u>	Impf. <u>stem</u>	1 sg. <u>subj.</u>	3 sg. <u>pres.</u>	<u>Imp. sg./pl.</u>
<i>Transitives</i>					
<i>thoón</i> 'to do'	<i>thá~thyá-</i>	<i>th-á</i>	<i>thám</i>	<i>thíino</i>	<i>thá, thyáa</i>
<i>doón</i> 'to give'	<i>dá~dyá-</i>	<i>d-á</i>	<i>dám</i>	<i>díino</i>	<i>dá, dyáa</i>
<i>loón</i> 'to reap'	<i>lá~lyá-</i>	<i>l-é</i>	<i>lém</i>	<i>líino</i>	<i>lá, lyáa</i>
<i>khoón</i> 'to eat'	<i>khá~khyá-</i>	<i>kh-ó</i>	<i>khóm</i>	<i>kháano</i>	<i>kha, kháa</i>
<i>Intransitives</i>					
<i>joón</i> 'to sprout'	<i>já-</i>	<i>j-á</i>	<i>jám</i>	<i>jáano</i>	<i>já, jáa</i>
<i>roón</i> 'to cry'	<i>ró~ryá-</i>	<i>r-ó</i>	<i>róm</i>	<i>ríino</i>	<i>ró, ryáa</i>
<i>byoón</i> 'to sit'	<i>byeé~byá-</i>	<i>by-é</i>	<i>byém</i>	<i>byáano</i>	<i>byeé, byáa</i>

thoón 'to do'; root: *thá-*;⁴⁰ imperfective stem: *thá*, imp.: *tha* sg., *thyáa*, pl.

Sg.

Pl.

Subjunctive: 'I may do' etc.

1.	<i>mos tham</i>	<i>bes thóon</i>
2.	<i>tus thíi</i>	<i>tshos thiyáat</i>
3.	<i>ses thíi</i>	<i>ses then</i>

Present: 'I do', 'I am doing' etc.

1.m./f.	<i>mos thámas</i>	<i>bes thóonas</i>
2.m.	<i>tus thíinoe</i>	<i>tshos thiyáatan~thiyáanat</i>
2.f.	<i>tus thíinee</i>	—
3.m.	<i>ses thíino</i>	<i>ses thénan~then</i>
3.f.	<i>ses thíini</i>	—

39 The conjunctive participles are formed regularly in the transitive members of the class (*theé* 'having done', *deé* 'having given', *khycé* 'having eaten'). The intransitive members show some irregular conjunctive participles: *jií~joé* 'having sprouted', *reé~roé* 'having cried'.

40 As all monosyllables are accented, it is not actually necessary to write the accent on the root of *thoón*. It has been written here and below to better illustrate the vowel assimilation process.

(thoón 'to do')

Sg.

Pl.

Imperfect: 'I used to do', 'I was doing' etc.

1.m./f.	<i>mos thámsas</i>	<i>bes thóõsas</i>
2.m.	<i>tus thúsoe</i>	<i>tshos thiyáasat</i>
2.f.	<i>tus thúsee</i>	<i>tshos thénsit</i>
3.m.	<i>ses thúso</i>	—
3.f.	<i>ses thúsi</i>	<i>ses thénas</i>

Future: 'I will do' etc.

1.m.	<i>mos thóos</i>	<i>bes thwíis</i>
1.f.	<i>mos thúus</i>	—
2.m.	<i>tus thóoe</i>	<i>tshos thwít</i>
2.f.	<i>tus thúui</i>	—
3.m.	<i>ses thóo</i>	<i>ses thwíi</i>
3.f.	<i>ses thúu</i>	—

Past: 'I did' etc.

1.m.	<i>mō tháas</i>	<i>asáa thées</i>
1.f.	<i>mō thées</i>	—
2.m.	<i>thóo tháac</i>	<i>tsháa théet</i>
2.f.	<i>thóo theégyec</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sési tháao</i>	<i>seṇáa theéga</i>
3.f.	<i>séso theégi</i>	—

Perfect: 'I have done' etc.

1.m.	<i>mō tháasun</i>	<i>asáa théesan</i>
1.f.	<i>mō théesan</i>	—
2.m.	<i>thóo tháaynoe</i>	<i>tsháa théytan</i>
2.f.	<i>thóo theéginée</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sési tháawno</i>	<i>seṇáa theégaan</i>
3.f.	<i>séso theégini</i>	—

(thoón 'to do')

	Sg.	Pl.
	Pluperfect: 'I had done' etc.	
1.m.	<i>mō tháasus</i>	<i>asáa théesas</i>
1.f.	<i>mō théesas</i>	—
2.m.	<i>thóo tháaysoe</i>	<i>tsháa théyitas, théyitas</i>
2.f.	<i>thóo theégisee</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sési tháawso</i>	<i>seṇáa theégaas</i>
3.f.	<i>séso theégisi</i>	—

(53a) *mō-s xáar-da kom th-á-m-sa-s*
 I-AGI city-in work do-IMPF-1.sg.-AUXpast-1.
 I used to work in the city.

(53b) *mō xáar-da kom th-áa-s-u-n*
 I-AGP city-in work do-PERF-1.-m.sg.-AUXpres
 I have worked in the city.

The alternation in the subjunctive 2nd and 3rd sg. of *doón* 'to give' is also seen in the subjunctive of *loón* 'to reap'. In the 2nd pl. present and imperfect, *dá-* and *diyáa* appear to compete.

doón 'to give'; root: *dá-*; imperfective stem: *dá*, imp.: *da* sg., *dyáa*, pl.

	Sg.	Pl.
	Subjunctive: 'I might give' etc.	
1.	<i>mos dam</i>	<i>bes dóoṇ</i>
2.	<i>tus díí-dée</i>	<i>tshos diyáat</i>
3.	<i>ses díí-dée</i>	<i>ses den</i>

Present: 'I give, I am giving' etc.

1.m./f.	<i>mos dámas</i>	<i>bes dóoṇas</i>
2.m.	<i>tus díinoe</i>	<i>tshos dénat-diyáatan</i>
2.f.	<i>tus díínee</i>	—
3.m.	<i>ses díino</i>	<i>ses dénan</i>
3.f.	<i>ses dííni</i>	—

(doón 'to give')

Sg.

Pl.

Imperfect: 'I used to give, I was giving' etc.

1.m./f. *mos dámsas**bes dóõsas*2.m. *tus díisoe**tshos dénsat-diyáasat*2.f. *tus díisee*

—

3.m. *ses díiso**ses dénas, seṇós dénas*3.f. *ses díisi*

—

Future: 'I will give' etc.

1.m. *mos dóos**bes dwíis*1.f. *mos dúus*

—

2.m. *tus dóoe**tshos dwíit*2.f. *tus dúui*

—

3.m. *ses dóo**ses dwíi*3.f. *ses dúu*

—

Past: 'I gave' etc.

1.m. *mō dáas**asáa des*1.f. *mō dées*

—

2.m. *thóo dáae**tsháa det*2.f. *thóo deégyee*

—

3.m. *sési dáao**seṇáa deéga*3.f. *séso deégi*

—

Perfect: 'I have given' etc.

1.m. *mō dáasun**asáa désan*1.f. *mō déesan*

—

2.m. *thóo dáaynoe**tsháa déetan*2.f. *thóo deéginee*

—

3.m. *sési dáawno**seṇáa deégaan*3.f. *séso deégini*

—

(doón 'to give')

	Sg.	Pl.
	Pluperfect: 'I had given' etc.	
1.m.	<i>mō dáasus</i>	<i>asáa désas</i>
1.f.	<i>mō déesas</i>	—
2.m.	<i>thóo dáaysoe</i>	<i>tsháa déesat, deetas</i>
2.f.	<i>thóo deégisee</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sési dáawso</i>	<i>seṇáa deégaas</i>
3.f.	<i>séso deégisi</i>	—

(54a) *māā-s asó-ṛ tiki d-íi-n-i*
 mother-AGI us-DAT bread give-IMPF-AUXpres-3.f.sg.
 Mother gives us food.

(54b) *ses-o asó-ṛ tiki d-eég-i*
 she-AGP-f. us-DAT bread give-PERF-3.f.sg.
 She gave us food.

(55) *baál ke r-íi-n-o?*
 child.NOM why cry-IMPF-AUXpres-3.m.sg.
 Why is the child crying?

(56) *tsho-s makáy t-é-n-at*
 you.pl.-AGI maize reap-IMPF-AUXpres-2.pl.
 You are reaping the maize.

Unlike the other three transitive consonantal stems listed above, *khoón* 'to eat' takes an A-form imperfective aspect marker. Its stem vowel also differs from the vowel in the imperative sg. The perfective stem is *khy(a)-*. The same type of stem alternation seen in *pyoón* 'to drink' (§6.4.2.4) is also seen here, although that is probably due to analogical change.

khoón 'to eat'; root: *kha--khya-*; impf. stem: *khó-*; imp.: *kha* sg., *kháa-khyáa* pl., conjunctive part.: *khyeé*

	Sg.	Pl.
	Subjunctive: 'I may eat' etc.	
1.	<i>mos khom</i>	<i>bes khóṇ</i>
2.	<i>tus kháae</i>	<i>tshos kháat</i>
3.	<i>ses kháae</i>	<i>ses khon</i>

(khoón 'to eat')

Sg.

Pl..

Present: 'I eat, I am eating' etc.

1.m./f.	<i>mos khómas</i>	<i>bes khóonas</i>
2.m.	<i>tus kháano</i>	<i>tshos kháatan</i>
2.f.	<i>tus kháanyee</i>	—
3.m.	<i>ses kháano</i>	<i>ses khónan</i>
3.f.	<i>ses kháani</i>	—

Imperfect: 'I used to eat, I was eating' etc.

1.m./f.	<i>mos khómsas</i>	<i>bes khóonsas</i>
2.m.	<i>tus kháasoe</i>	<i>tshos kháasat</i>
2.f.	<i>tus kháasyee</i>	—
3.m.	<i>ses kháaso</i>	<i>ses khónas-khónsas</i>
3.f.	<i>ses kháasi</i>	—

Future: 'I will eat' etc.

1.m.	<i>mos khóos</i>	<i>bes khwíís</i>
1.f.	<i>mos khúús</i>	—
2.m.	<i>tus khóoe</i>	<i>tshos khwíít</i>
2.f.	<i>tus khúui</i>	—
3.m.	<i>ses khóo</i>	<i>ses khwíí</i>
3.f.	<i>ses khúu</i>	—

Past: 'I ate' etc.

1.m.	<i>mō khyáas</i>	<i>asáa khyées</i>
1.f.	<i>mō khyées</i>	—
2.m.	<i>thóo khyáae</i>	<i>tsháa khyéet</i>
2.f.	<i>thóo khyeéggyee</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sési khyáao</i>	<i>senáa khyeéga</i>
3.f.	<i>séso khyeégi</i>	—

Perfect: 'I have eaten' etc.

1.m.	<i>mō khyáasun</i>	<i>asáa khyéesan</i>
1.f.	<i>mō khyéesan</i>	—

(Continued on following page)

(*khoón* 'to eat')

Sg.

Pl.

Perfect: 'I have eaten' etc.

2.m. *thóo khyáaynoe*

tsháa khyéetan

2.f. *thóo khyeéginee*

—

3.m. *sési khyáawno*

seṇáa khyeégaan

3.f. *séso khyeégini*

—

Pluperfect: 'I had eaten' etc.

1.m. *mō khyáasus*

asáa khyéesas

1.f. *mō khyéesas*

—

2.m. *thóo khyáaysoe*

tsháa khyéetas~khyéesat

2.f. *thóo khyeégisee*

—

3.m. *sési khyáawso*

seṇáa khyeégaas

3.f. *séso khyeégisi*

—

(57) *mō-s mak-ée ṭiki khó-m-sa-s*

I-AGI maize-POS bread eat-IMPF.1.sg.-AUXpast-1.

I used to eat maize rotis.

(58) *bes mak-ée ṭiki kh-óoṇ-sa-s*

we-AGI maize-POS bread eat-IMPF.1.pl.-AUXpast-1.

We used to eat maize rotis.

(59) *ajóo ṭíki akoó-ṛ akeé kh-áa-n-o muçhó mō-s khay-é-m-sa-s*

now bread VOL self eat-IMPF-AUXpres-3.m.sg. before I-AGI feed-IMPF-1.sg.-AUXpast-1.

Now he eats all by himself, before I was feeding (him).

(60) *mō-ga mi ṭak-ée sūú dúu-n-as akóo-ṛ kh-áa-ta-n to khá-a*

I-also my button-POS needle two-are-1.pl. VOL eat-IMPF-2.pl.-AUXpres TOP eat-imp-pl.

I and my button-needle⁴¹ are both here, if you want to eat [us] then eat.

(There is no one here except me and my button-needle ...)

41 Button-needle: a Kohistani woman usually keep a threaded needle hanging from her hat or shirt, in order to stitch up any clothes that might be torn by thorns, and thus to preserve modesty. In the story, the fairy queen transforms the princess into such a needle to hide her from the jealous fairy princes.

The same type of stem alternation seen in *pyóón* 'to drink' (§6.4.2.4) is seen also in *byóón* 'to sit'.

byóón 'to sit', 'to stay'. root: *byeé~byá-*; impf. stem: *byé-*; imp: *byeé* sg. *byáa* pl.

Sg.	Pl.
Subjunctive: 'I may sit' etc.	
1. <i>mō byém</i>	<i>be byóoŋ</i>
2. <i>tu byáae</i>	<i>tsho byáat</i>
3. <i>sa byáae</i>	<i>sa byén</i>
Present: 'I sit, I am sitting' etc.	
1.m./f. <i>mo byémas</i>	<i>be byóoŋas</i>
2.m. <i>tu byáaneo</i>	<i>tsho byáatan, byáanat</i>
2.f. <i>tu byaance</i>	—
3.m. <i>sa byáano</i>	<i>sa byénan</i>
3.f. <i>sa byáni</i>	—
Imperfect: 'I used to sit', 'I was sitting' etc.	
1.m./f. <i>mo byémsas</i>	<i>be byóoŋsas</i>
2.m. <i>tu byáasoe</i>	<i>tsho byáasat, byáatas</i>
2.f. <i>tu byáasee</i>	—
3.m. <i>sa byáaso</i>	<i>sa byénas</i>
3.f. <i>sa byási</i>	—
Future: 'I will sit' etc.	
1.m. <i>mo byóos</i>	<i>be bíis~bwíis</i>
1.f. <i>mo byúus</i>	—
2.m. <i>tu byóoe</i>	<i>tsho bíit~bwíit</i>
2.f. <i>tu byúui</i>	—
3.m. <i>sa byóo</i>	<i>sa bíi~bwíi</i>
3.f. <i>sa byúu</i>	—

The f. pl. forms, including the f. pl. participle *beétya*, are well- represented.

(byoón 'to sit')

	Sg.	Pl.
Past: 'I sat' etc.		
1.m.	<i>mo beé̄tos</i>	<i>be beé̄tas</i>
1.f.	<i>mo beé̄tis</i>	<i>be byeé̄tyes</i>
2.m.	<i>tu beé̄toe</i>	<i>tsho beé̄tat</i>
2.f.	<i>tu beé̄tyee</i>	<i>tsho byeé̄tyet</i>
3.m.	<i>sa beé̄to</i>	<i>sa beé̄ta</i>
3.f.	<i>sa beé̄ti</i>	<i>sa byeé̄tye</i>

Perfect: 'I have sat' etc.

1.m.	<i>mo beé̄tonos</i>	<i>be beé̄taanas</i>
1.f.	<i>mo beé̄tines</i>	<i>be beé̄tyaanis</i>
2.m.	<i>tu beé̄tanoe</i>	<i>tsho beé̄taanat</i>
2.f.	<i>tu beé̄tinyee</i>	<i>tsho beé̄tyaanet</i>
3.m.	<i>sa beé̄tun</i>	<i>sa beé̄taan</i>
3.f.	<i>sa beé̄tini</i>	<i>sa beé̄tyaani</i>

Pluperfect: 'I had sat, etc.'

1.m.	<i>mo beé̄tosos</i>	<i>be beé̄taasas, beé̄tsas</i>
1.f.	<i>mo beé̄tisis</i>	<i>be beé̄tyaasis, beé̄tsis</i>
2.m.	<i>tu beé̄tosoe</i>	<i>tsho beé̄taatas, beé̄taasat</i>
2.f.	<i>tu beé̄tisee</i>	<i>tsho beé̄tyaatis, beé̄tisisit</i>
3.m.	<i>sa beé̄tus</i>	<i>sa beé̄taas</i>
3.f.	<i>sa beé̄tis</i>	<i>sa beé̄tyaasi</i>

- (61) *be aáe báay-da by-oón-sa-s*
 we.NOM this garden-in sit-IMPf.1.pl.-AUXpast-1.
 We used to sit in this garden.

- (62) *ye dúu šarn-áji beé̄-t-ya-an-i*
 they two roof-AbSp sit-PERF-f.pl.-AUXpres-f.
 The two of them are sitting on the roof.

6.4.4 Irregular verbs

Some verbs resist inclusion in any of the above classes. They include a few in which the past participle has developed regularly, without undergoing

extension or grammaticalization—cf. forms mentioned by Turner: *gōu* (*gatáh*), *mūu* (*mṛtáh*), *būu* (*bhūtah* which show the regular development of OIA *-t*;⁴² *bojoón* 'to go' and *miryoón* 'to die' fit this criterion.

bojoón has contributed to the formation of transitive perfective inflections, while remaining (like other intransitive verbs) unaffected by this process. It has two conjunctive participles: an imperfective one, *bojií* and a perfective one, *gyeé*.

miryoón inflects like a passive in imperfective tenses, but its past tense has developed regularly from OIA *mṛtáh* (*mṛtá-*, 10278).

ayoón 'to come' is quite irregular, but forms the past participle with an L-form: *áa-l-o* 'he came'.

boón 'to be' is also irregular, but has been dealt with in its own section (§6.2.2).

Transitive *ucoón* 'to choose', with the root *uc-*, is included here because it fits none of the verb class patterns described above, behaving like an *íi*-stem in the 1st sg. imperfect and subjunctive, but like a regular transitive *á*-stem in the imperfective 2nd and 3rd persons and in perfective tenses.

In the table below, the imperfective stem of all the verbs can be found by removing the final *-m* of the 1st sg. subjunctive form.

Infinitive	Root	1.sg. subj.	3.sg. pres.	C.P:	Imp. sg./pl.
<i>ayoón</i> 'to come'	<i>ay~é-</i>	<i>ayé-m</i> ~ <i>é-m</i>	<i>íino</i>	<i>aií</i>	<i>é, eyáa</i>
<i>bojoón</i> 'to go'	<i>bój-</i>	<i>bója-m</i>	<i>bójaano</i>	<i>bojií,</i> <i>gyeé</i>	<i>bo, bója</i>
<i>miryoón</i> 'to die'	<i>mírij-</i> ~ <i>míry-</i>	<i>mírija-m</i>	<i>mirijáano</i>	<i>miríí</i>	<i>miríś, miríja</i>
<i>ucoón</i> 'to choose'	<i>uc-</i>	<i>ucíi-m</i>	<i>ucíino</i>	<i>ucíí</i>	<i>uci, ucyáa-</i> <i>ucíí</i>

ayoón 'to come': root: *ay~é-*, impf. stem: *ayé~é-*; imp.: e sg., *eyáa* pl.

Sg.

Pl.

Subjunctive: 'I may come' etc.

1.	<i>mo ayém~ém</i>	<i>be eyóoñ</i>
2.	<i>tu ée~íí</i>	<i>tsho eyáat</i>
3.	<i>sa ée~íí</i>	<i>sa eyén</i>

Sg.

Pl.

Present: 'I come, I am coming' etc.

1.m./f.	<i>mo émas</i>	<i>be eyóonas</i>
2.m.	<i>tu íinoe</i>	<i>tsho eyáatan</i>
2.f.	<i>tu íinee</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sa íino</i>	<i>sa énan</i>
3.f.	<i>sa íini</i>	—

Imperfect: 'I used to come', 'I was coming' etc.

1.m./f.	<i>mo émsas</i>	<i>be eyóonas</i>
2.m.	<i>tu íisoe</i>	<i>tsho eyáatas-eyáasat</i>
2.f.	<i>tu íisyee</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sa íiso</i>	<i>sa énas</i>
3.f.	<i>sa íisi</i>	—

Future: 'I will come' etc.

1.m.	<i>mo ayóos</i>	<i>be ayíis</i>
1.f.	<i>mo ayúus</i>	—
2.m.	<i>tu ayóoe</i>	<i>tsho ayít</i>
2.f.	<i>tu ayúui</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sa ayóo</i>	<i>sa ayíi</i>
3.f.	<i>sa ayúu</i>	—

Past: 'I came' etc.

1.m.	<i>mo áalos</i>	<i>be áalas</i>
1.f.	<i>mo áalyés</i>	<i>be áalyes</i>
2.m.	<i>tu áaloe</i>	<i>tsho áalat</i>
2.f.	<i>tu áalyee</i>	<i>tsho áalyet</i>
3.m.	<i>sa áalo</i>	<i>sa áala</i>
3.f.	<i>sa áali</i>	<i>sa áalye</i>

Perfect: 'I have come' etc.

1.m.	<i>mo áalnos</i>	<i>be áalnes-áalaanas</i>
1.f.	<i>mo áalines</i>	<i>be áalines</i>
2.m.	<i>tu áalnoe</i>	<i>tsho áalaanat-áalnat</i>
2.f.	<i>tu áalinee</i>	<i>tsho áalyaanit</i>
3.m.	<i>sa áalun</i>	<i>sa áalaan</i>
3.f.	<i>sa áalin</i>	<i>sa áalyaani</i>

(ayoón 'to come')

Sg.	Pt.
Pluperfect: 'I had come' etc.	
1.m. <i>mo áalsos</i>	<i>be áalses-áalaasas</i>
1.f. <i>mo áalises</i>	<i>be áalisis</i>
2.m. <i>tu áaloso</i>	<i>tsho áalaasat-áalsat</i>
2.f. <i>tu áalisee</i>	<i>tsho áalyaasit</i>
3.m. <i>sa áalus</i>	<i>sa áalaas</i>
3.f. <i>sa áalis</i>	<i>sa áalyaasi</i>

(63) *wo puç tu by-eé tu kudí-ɾ íi-n-oe?*

VOC son you.NOM stay-imp.sg. you where-DAT come.IMPF-AUXpres-2.m.sg.

Hey son, you stay [here], where are you coming?

(64) *wo bubáa mo-ga é-m-a-s waá mo*

VOC father I.NOM-also come.IMPF-1.sg.-AUXpres-1. EMPH I.NOM

Hey father, I'm coming too, me too!

bojoón 'to go' root: *bój-*, impf. stem: *bója~bóji-*, imp. *bo* sg., *bója* pl.

Note the alternate stem *bóji-* in the present 1.f.sg. and 2.pl.

Sg.	Pt.
Subjunctive: 'I might go' etc.	
1. <i>mo bójam</i>	<i>be bójoon</i>
2. <i>tu bójee</i>	<i>tsho bójat</i>
3. <i>sa bojée</i>	<i>sa bójan</i>

Present 'I go', 'I am going' etc.⁴³

1.m. <i>mo bójmas</i>	<i>be bójooņas</i>
1.f. <i>mo bójmas-bójimas</i>	—
2.m. <i>tu bójaano</i>	<i>tsho bójimat-bójitan</i>
2.f. <i>tu bójaanee~bójaanyee</i>	—
3.m. <i>sa bójaano</i>	<i>sa bójnan</i>
3.f. <i>sa bójaani</i>	—

43 Compare the corresponding Guresi (Tilel Valley) forms: 1.sg. *bójim hánus / hænis*, 2.sg. *bojée háno / hænye*, 3.sg. *bóji hūū / hēi*, 1.pl. *bojóon hánis / hænis*, 2.pl. *bojáat hánit / hænit*, 3.pl. *bójin hána / hænye* (R.L. Schmidt, unpublished research notes).

(bojoón 'to go')

	SG.	PL.
	Present negated: 'I don't go' etc.	
1.m.	<i>mo bójam náanus</i>	<i>be bójoon náanas</i>
1.f.	<i>mo bójam náanyis</i>	<i>[be bójoon náanis]</i>
2.m.	<i>tu bója náanoe</i>	<i>tsho bójat náanat</i>
2.f.	<i>tu bója nanyec</i>	<i>tsho bójat náanyet</i>
3.m.	<i>sa bója náano</i>	<i>sa bójan náana</i>
3.f.	<i>sa bója náani</i>	<i>sa bójan náani</i>

Imperfect: 'I used to go', 'I was going' etc.

1.m./f.	<i>mo bójamsas</i>	<i>be bójoonsas</i>
2.m.	<i>tu bójaasoe</i>	<i>tsho bójisat~bójitas</i>
2.f.	<i>tu bójaasyee</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sa bójaaso</i>	<i>sa bójinas</i>
3.f.	<i>sa bójaasi</i>	—

Future: 'I will go' etc.

1.m.	<i>mo bojóos</i>	<i>be bojíis~bojwíis</i>
1.f.	<i>mo bojúus</i>	—
2.m.	<i>tu bojóoe</i>	<i>tsho bojíit~bojwíit</i>
2.f.	<i>tu bojúui</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sa bojóo</i>	<i>sa bojíi~bojwíi</i>
3.f.	<i>sa bojúu</i>	—

Past 'I went' etc.

1.m.	<i>mo gyáas</i>	<i>be gyés</i>
1.f.	<i>mo gyées</i>	—
2.m.	<i>tu gyáae</i>	<i>tsho gyét</i>
2.f.	<i>tu gyéei</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sa gyáo</i>	<i>sa gyée</i>
3.f.	<i>sa gyéi</i>	—

(bojoón 'to go')

Sg.

Pl.

Perfect 'I have gone' etc.1.m. *mo gyáasun**be gyéesan*1.f. *mo gyéesan*

—

2.m. *tu gyáynoe**tsho gyéetan*2.f. *tu gyéynee*

—

3.m. *sa gyáwno**sa gyáan*3.f. *sa gyéyni**sa gyáayni*Pluperfect 'I had gone' etc.1.m. *mo gyáasus**be gyéesas*1.f. *mo gyéesas**be gyéysis*2.m. *tu gyáysoe**tsho gyéesat-gyéetas*2.f. *tu gyéysee*

—

3.m. *sa gyáwso**sa gyáas*3.f. *sa gyéysi**sa gyéeyisi, gyáaysi*

(65) *by-e-m phiri páawěé kudi-ṛ bój-a-m phiri...*
 stay-subj-1.sg. so whether where-DAT go-subj-1.sg. so
 Whether I stay or whether I go somewhere ...

(66) *mo bój-m-as kudi-k-aṛ kóm-u-n*
 I go-IMPF-1.sg. where-INDF-DAT work-m.sg.-is
 I'm going somewhere. [I] have work.

(67) *kudi-ṛ bój-aa-n-oc*
 where-DAT go-IMPF-AUXpres-2.m.sg.
 Where are you (m.) going?

(68) *baál-ga har-eég-i jo gy-e-i*
 child-also take-PERF-3.f.sg. filler go-PERF-3.f.sg.
 She took the child along (filler) [and] left.

(69) *mo boj-ii kom th-óo-s*
 I.NOM go.IMPF-CP work do-fut.m.sg.-1.
 I will go and work.

(70) *mō gy-eé kom th-áa-s*

I.NOM go.PERF-CP work do-PERF.m.sg.-1.

I went and worked.

miryóon 'to die', root: *mírj-~míry-*, impf. stem: *mírja-*; imp. *mírís* sg., *mírja* pl.

Sg.

Pl.

Subjunctive: 'I might die' etc.

1.	<i>mo mírjam-</i>	<i>be mirijóon</i>
2.	<i>tu mírjee</i>	<i>tsho mírjat</i>
3.	<i>sa mirijée</i>	<i>sa mírjan</i>

Present: 'I die', 'I am dying' etc.

1.m./f.	<i>mo mirj́mas</i>	<i>be mirijóonas</i>
2.m.	<i>tu mirj́anoe</i>	<i>tsho mirj́nat</i>
2.f.	<i>tu mirj́anee</i>	<i>tsho mirj́nat</i>
3.m.	<i>sa mirj́ano</i>	<i>sa mirj́nan</i>
3.f.	<i>sa mirj́ani</i>	<i>sa mirj́nan</i>

Imperfect: 'I was dying' etc.

1.m./f.	<i>mo mirj́amsas</i>	<i>be mirijóonsas</i>
2.m.	<i>tu mirj́asoe</i>	<i>tsho mirj́sat</i>
2.f.	<i>tu mirj́asee</i>	<i>tsho mirj́syet</i>
3.m.	<i>sa mirj́aso</i>	<i>sa mirj́nas</i>
3.f.	<i>sa mirj́asi</i>	<i>sa mirj́nas</i>

Future: 'I will die' etc.

1.m.	<i>mo mirjóos, miryóos</i>	<i>be miríís</i>
1.f.	<i>mo miryúus</i>	<i>be miríís</i>
2.m.	<i>tu miryóe</i>	<i>tsho miríít</i>
2.f.	<i>tu miryúui</i>	<i>tsho miríít</i>
3.m.	<i>sa miryóo</i>	<i>sa miríí</i>
3.f.	<i>sa miryúu</i>	<i>sa miríí</i>

(*miryoón* 'to die')

Sg.

Pl.

Past: 'I died' etc.

1.m.	<i>mo mūūs</i>	<i>be mūūs</i>
1.f.	<i>mo mwīīs</i>	<i>be mwīīs</i>
2.m.	<i>tu mwēē</i>	<i>tsho mūūt</i>
2.f.	<i>tu mwīī</i>	<i>tsho mūūit</i>
3.m.	<i>sa mūū</i>	<i>sa mūū</i>
3.f.	<i>sa mwīī</i>	<i>se mwīī</i>

Perfect: 'I have died' etc.

1.m.	<i>mo mūūnus</i>	<i>be mūūnas</i>
1.f.	<i>mo mwīīnis</i>	<i>be mwīīnis</i>
2.m.	<i>tu mwēēnoe</i>	<i>tsho mūūnat</i>
2.f.	<i>tu mwīīnei</i>	<i>tsho mwīīnat</i>
3.m.	<i>sa mūūno</i>	<i>sa mūūna</i>
3.f.	<i>sa mwīīni</i>	<i>se mwīīni</i>

Pluperfect: 'I had died' etc.

1.m.	<i>mo mūūsus</i>	<i>be mūūsas</i>
1.f.	<i>mo mwīīsis</i>	<i>be mwīīsis</i>
2.m.	<i>tu mwēēsoe</i>	<i>tsho mūūsas</i>
2.f.	<i>tu mwīīsci</i>	<i>tsho mwīīsat</i>
3.m.	<i>sa mūūso</i>	<i>sa mūūsa</i>
3.f.	<i>sa mwīīsi</i>	<i>se mwīīsi</i>

(71) *asés-ee akóor tiki th-óor, aáe ozúk-ije m-ūū-s*
 that-POS VOL bread make-subj. 1.pl. this flour.dust-AbSp die-PERF-
 Let us make bread of that [flour] for ourselves, we have died from
 [eating] this flour-dust.

(72) *karaá-e m-ū-ū*
 ram-pl.NOM die-PERF-3.m.
 The rams died.

(73) *dam sij zaái-da m-ū-ū*
 Dam Sing place-in die-PERF-3.m.
 Dam Sing died on the spot.

6.5 Voice

Most verbs belong to a hierarchy of voice, and the verb root may be incremented to form causatives (§6.5.1) and passives (§6.5.2). However (as already has been seen) neither all verbs with causative forms have causative meanings, nor all verbs with passive forms have passive meanings. Each hierarchical set must be examined independently.

6.5.1 Causatives

In theory, both direct causatives (in which the instrument is usually not expressed) and indirect causatives (in which the instrument is more often expressed), occur. The direct causative increment is *-y-* and the indirect causative increment is *-ry-* (which occurs fairly seldom in our texts). Direct causative verbs are all *ée-*stems), but indirect causatives may form imperfectives in *ée-*stems, *á-*stems or *áa-*stems.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>1st sg. subj.</u>	<u>3rd m. sg. past</u>
<i>gaʁoón</i> 'to tie'	<i>gaʁám</i>	<i>gaʁáao</i>
<i>garyoón</i> 'to have tied'	<i>garyéem</i>	<i>garyáao</i>
<i>garryoón</i> 'to make s.o. tie s.th.'	<i>garryéem</i>	<i>garryáao</i>

Double transitives are formed like direct causatives. The causative of a double transitive is formed with *-ry-*:

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>1st sg. subj.</u>	<u>3rd m. sg. past</u>
<i>parjoón</i> 'to understand'	<i>parújam</i>	<i>parúdo</i>
<i>parjyoón</i> 'to explain'	<i>parjyéem</i>	<i>parjyáao</i>
<i>parjiryoón</i> 'to get explained by s.o.'	<i>parjiryéem</i>	<i>parjiryáao</i>

Transitive verbs which are already *ée-*stems may lack the direct causative:

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>1st sg. subj.</u>	<u>3rd m. sg. past</u>
<i>khoyoón</i> 'to dig'	<i>khoyéem</i>	<i>khoyáao</i>
<i>khoyryoón</i> 'to have dug by s.o.'	<i>khoyryéem</i>	<i>khoyiráao</i>

But:

<i>khojoón</i> 'to ask'	<i>khojéem</i>	<i>khojáao</i>
<i>khojyoón</i> 'to have an inquiry made'	<i>khojyéem</i>	<i>khojyáao</i>
<i>khojryoón</i> 'to have s.o. ask'	<i>khojryéem</i>	<i>khojryáao</i>

Some intransitive verbs may be transitivized by suffixing the indirect causative increment *-ry-*. However a more common increment is *-a-*:

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>1st sg. subj.</u>	<u>3rd m. sg. past</u>
<i>ekhtiyóón</i> 'to unite'	<i>ekhtiyóm</i>	<i>ekhtílo</i>
<i>ekhtiryóón</i> 'to unite s.o.'	<i>ekhtiryám</i>	<i>ekhtryáao</i>
<i>byoón</i> 'to sit, stay'	<i>byém</i>	<i>beéto</i>
<i>bayoón</i> 'to put, set'	<i>bayeém</i>	<i>bayáao</i>

Verbs typically form sets of three. Sets of four appear to be the maximum number in the voice hierarchy. A passive cannot be formed from *jaloón* in the set below.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>1st sg. subj.</u>	<u>3rd m. sg. past</u>
<i>joón</i> 'to sprout'	<i>jám</i>	<i>jáalo</i>
<i>jaloón</i> 'to grow s.th.'	<i>jalám</i>	<i>jaláao</i>
<i>jalyóón</i> 'to get s.th. grown'	<i>jalyéem</i>	<i>jalyáao</i>
<i>jalryóón</i> 'to make s.o. grow s.th.'	<i>jalryéem</i>	<i>jalryáao</i>
<i>mucoón</i> 'to escape'	<i>múcam</i>	<i>múto</i>
<i>mojoón</i> 'to rescue'	<i>mojéem</i>	<i>mojáao</i>
<i>mojyoón</i> 'to accomplish, rescue'	<i>mojyéem</i>	<i>mojyáao</i>
<i>mojryóón</i> 'to make s.o. rescue'	<i>mojryéem</i>	<i>mojryáao</i>

- (74) *ciyéé ady-úu muçhó maasúm yaaz-y-é-m-ga nēé*
 now here-ABL ahead child walk-CAUS-subj-1.sg.-also not
 Now I should not make the child walk any further.
 (*yaazyóón* is a *-y-* causative of *yaazoón* 'to walk'.)

- (75) *sés-ar lom-ry-oón siçhy-eég-i*
 him-DAT wrestle-CAUS-INF teach-PERF-3.f.sg.
 She taught him how to make [men] wrestle.
 (*lomryóón* is a *-ry-* causative of *lomoón* 'to wrestle'.)

6.5.2 Passives

As described under §6.4.1.3, most transitive verbs may be passivized with the passive increment *-ij-*, unless an intransitive verb with a passive structure

already exists (for example, *chijoón* 'to break', *dajoón* 'to burn', which are not passives, but intransitives taking T-form perfective aspect markers.). See paradigm for *thijoón* 'to be done' under §6.4.1.3.

The "disappearing" fricative *-j-* appears to characterize the member of a set which stands lowest on the voice hierarchy.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>1st sg. subj.</u>	<u>3rd m. sg. past</u>
<i>thijoón</i> 'to be done'	<i>thíjam</i>	<i>thijílo</i>
<i>thoón</i> 'to do'	<i>thám</i>	<i>tháao</i>
<i>thayoón</i> 'to have done'	<i>theyém</i>	<i>thayáao</i>
<i>thayryoón</i> 'to make s.o. do'	<i>thayryém</i>	<i>thayryáao</i>
<i>chijoón</i> 'to break'	<i>chíjam</i>	<i>chído</i>
<i>chinoón</i> 'to break s.th.'	<i>chínám</i>	<i>chinyáão</i>
<i>chinyoón</i> 'to have s.th. broken'	<i>chinyém</i>	<i>chinryáao</i>
<i>chinryoón</i> 'to make s.o. break s.th.'	<i>chinryáaram</i>	<i>chinryáao</i>
<i>dajoón</i> 'to burn'	<i>dájam</i>	<i>dádo</i>
<i>dahoón</i> 'to burn s.th.'	<i>daháam</i>	<i>daháao</i>
<i>dahyoón</i> 'to have s.th. burned'	<i>dahyém</i>	<i>dahyáao</i>

- (76) *cún-i judraá san-ij-íí gy-eé*
 small-f. snake make-PASS-CP go-CP
 Having been turned into a thin snake,

... *kuṛ-da péra gy-eé marák bí-l-i.*
 ... wall-in yonder go-CP disappear become-PERF-3.f.sg.
 ... going yonder inside the wall, it disappeared.

- (77) *tsaabún kóor san-ij-óo, pichliyó,*
 soap cliff make-PASS-fut.3.m.sg. slippery
 The soap will be turned into a slippery cliff,

... *pató phal th-wí-t šóo*
 ... afterward throw do-fut-2.pl. ashes
 ... then you will throw the ashes.

6.6 Imperatives

The imperative is the only form in which the imperfective stem remains a productive free form. The forms of the imperative have already been discussed; examples are given below.

6.6.1 Imperative forms of intransitive *a*-stems and passive-type *a*-stems

The imperative sg. is identical with the verb root (with loss of voicing in a voiced final spirant or fricative); the imperative pl. is identical with the imperfective stem. It makes no difference which perfective aspect marker is taken.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Imp. sg.</u>	<u>Imp. pl.</u>
<i>taroón</i> 'to swim'	<i>tar</i>	<i>tára</i>
<i>hazoón</i> 'to laugh'	<i>has</i>	<i>háza</i>
<i>yaazoón</i> 'to walk'	<i>yáas</i>	<i>yáaza</i>
<i>wazoón</i> 'to come down'	<i>was</i>	<i>wáza</i>
<i>ukhzoón</i> 'to go up'	<i>ukhás</i>	<i>ukháza</i>
<i>amušoón</i> 'to forget'	<i>amúš</i>	<i>amúša</i>
<i>dijoón</i> 'to fall'	<i>diš</i>	<i>díja</i>
<i>kijoón</i> 'to rot'	<i>kiš</i>	<i>kíja</i>
<i>paṛqijoón</i> 'to sparkle'	<i>paṛqiš</i>	<i>paṛqíja</i>

6.6.2. Imperative forms of transitive *a*-stems

The imperative sg. is usually identical with the verb root (with loss of voicing in a voiced final spirant or fricative); the imperative pl. is identical with the imperfective stem. However *phátoon* 'to leave' forms imperatives like transitive *á*-stems (even though it is accented on the root).

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Imp. sg.</u>	<u>Imp. pl.</u>
<i>razoón</i> 'to say'	<i>ras</i>	<i>ráza</i>
<i>haroón</i> 'to take away'	<i>har</i>	<i>hára</i>
<i>pežoón</i> 'to grind's'	<i>péçš</i>	<i>péçza</i>
<i>phátoon</i> 'to leave'	<i>pháta</i>	<i>phátyaa</i>

6.6.3 Imperative forms of transitive á-stems

The imperative sg. is identical with the imperfective stem; the imperative pl. suffixes -yáa to the root.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Imp. sg.</u>	<u>Imp. pl.</u>
sanoón 'to make'	saná	sanyáa
waloón 'to bring down'	walá	walyáa

6.6.4 Imperative forms of mixed áa-stems

The imperative sg. usually suffixes -á to the verb root; the imperative pl. is identical with the imperfective stem.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Imp. sg.</u>	<u>Imp. pl.</u>
dahoón 'to burn (s.th.)	dahá	daháa
nāhoón 'to lose'	nāhā	nāhāa

6.6.5 Imperative forms of causative and transitive ée-stems

The imperative sg. suffixes eé- to the verb root; the imperative pl. suffixes -áa to roots ending in -y and -yáa to roots ending in š, j and ç.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Imp. sg.</u>	<u>Imp. pl.</u>
khoyoón 'to dig'	khoyeé	khoyáa
khojoón 'to ask'	khojeé	khojyáa
thayoón 'to dig'	thayeé	thayáa

6.6.6 Imperative forms of transitive íi-stems

The imperative sg. has the pattern Cí; the imperative pl. has the pattern Cyáa-Cíi.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Imp. sg.</u>	<u>Imp. pl.</u>
wyoón 'to pour'	wí	wyáa
siyoón ₂ 'to know'	sī	syāā
pyoón 'to drink'	pí	pyáa-píi
piyoón 'to catch'	pye	pyáa

6.6.7 Imperative forms of intransitive *ó*-stems

The imperative sg. is identical to the imperfective stem; the imperative pl. suffixes *-áa* to roots ending in *-y* and *-yáa* to roots ending in *š, j* and *ç*.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Imp. sg.</u>	<u>Imp. pl.</u>
<i>bijoón</i> 'to fear'	<i>bijó</i>	<i>bijyáa</i>
<i>mešoón</i> 'to grow up'	<i>mešó</i>	<i>mešyáa</i>
<i>uçoón</i> 'to grow up'	<i>uço</i>	<i>uçyáa</i>

6.6.8 Imperative forms of shortened and irregular verbs

The imperative sg. is usually (but not always) identical to the verb root; the imperative pl. usually suffixes *-yáa* to the verb root.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Imp. sg.</u>	<u>Imp. pl.</u>
<i>thoón</i> 'to do'	<i>tha</i>	<i>thyáa</i>
<i>joón</i> 'to sprout'	<i>ja</i>	<i>jyáa</i>
<i>loón</i> 'to reap'	<i>la</i>	<i>lyáa</i>
<i>khoón</i> 'to eat'	<i>kha</i>	<i>kháa</i>
<i>byoón</i> 'to sit'	<i>byeé</i>	<i>byáa</i>
<i>ayoón</i> 'to come'	<i>e</i>	<i>eyáa</i>
<i>bojoón</i> 'to go'	<i>bo</i>	<i>bója</i>

6.7 Modality

Modality is a grab-bag of constructions in Kohistani Shina. There is only one truly modal verb in Kohistani Shina, 'be able' which has no infinitive of its own. The idea of 'must' is handled with an impersonal construction, and 'to want' is handled with the same construction as 'must' or a marker of voluntary action.

6.7.1 'Be able'

The modal verb 'be able' has the imperfective and perfective stem *-báa*, and takes an A-form imperfective aspect marker and an L-form perfective aspect marker. The stem is suffixed to any verb root, or if the verb is shortened, the root consonant plus the first vowel of its infinitive, which may be short or

lengthened. (There are also irregular formations where the stem of the modal verb is attached neither to the root nor the shortened infinitive.) The main verb determines the case of the subject (nominative for intransitives, agent cases for transitives).

The corpus contains a few examples of perfective participles occurring as the base of modal verbs in perfective tenses: *beéto-báalos* 'I could sit' (80, below); *dito-báalo* beside *dij-báalo* 'was able to fall'. However if the forms are elicited in a paradigm, perfective participles are not cited; *bii-báalos*, *dij-báalo* are elicited. This topic needs more research.

If an infinitive must be given, the infinitive of the main verb plus the modal verb is cited: *bojboón* 'to be able to go', *thoboón* 'to be able to do', *biiboón* 'to be able to sit'.

Conjunctive participles can be formed from the above infinitives, but have not been collected in texts: *bojbeé* 'having been able to go', *thobeé* 'having been able to do', *biibeé* 'having been able to sit'. Examples (79-80) shows the modal verb negated.

Constructions with the modal verb are infrequent in texts.

bojboón 'to be able to go'

	Sg.	Pl.
	Subjunctive: 'I might be able to go', 'can go', etc.	
1.	<i>mo bójbaam</i>	<i>be bójboon</i>
2.	<i>tu bójbaae</i>	<i>tsho bójbaat</i>
3.	<i>sa bójbaae</i>	<i>se bójban</i>

Present: 'I am able to go', etc.

1.m./f.	<i>mo bójbaamos</i>	<i>be bójboonas</i>
2.m.	<i>tu bójbaano</i>	<i>tsho bójbaatan</i>
2.f.	<i>tu bójbaanyee</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sa bójbaano</i>	<i>se bójbáanan</i>
3.f.	<i>sa bójbaani</i>	—

Future: 'I will be able to go', etc.

1.m.	<i>mo bojboós</i>	<i>be bojbwíis</i>
1.f.	<i>mo bojbúus</i>	—
2.m.	<i>tu bojbooe</i>	<i>tsho bojbwíit</i>
2.f.	<i>tu bojbúui</i>	—
3.m.	<i>sa bojboó</i>	<i>se bojbwíi</i>
3.f.	<i>sa bojbúu</i>	

(bojboón 'to be able to go')

SG.	PL.
Imperfect: 'I used to be able to go', etc.	
1.m./f. <i>mo bójbaamsas~bójbaamsos</i>	<i>be bójboonsas</i>
2.m. <i>tu bójbaasoe</i>	<i>tsho bójbaatas</i>
2.f. <i>tu bójbaasyee</i>	—
3.m. <i>sa bójbaaso</i>	<i>se bójbáanas</i>
3.f. <i>sa bójbaasi</i>	—
Past: 'I was able to go', etc.	
1.m. <i>mo bojbáalos</i>	<i>be bojbáalas</i>
1.f. <i>mo bojbáalyis</i>	<i>be bojbáalyes</i>
2.m. <i>tu bojbáaloe</i>	<i>tsho bojbáalat</i>
2.f. <i>tu bojbáalyee</i>	<i>tsho bojbáalyet</i>
3.m. <i>sa bojbáalo</i>	<i>se bojbáala</i>
3.f. <i>sa bojbáli</i>	<i>se bojbáalye</i>
Perfect: 'I have been able to go', etc.	
1.m. <i>mo bojbáalnos</i>	<i>be bojbáalnas</i>
1.f. <i>mo bojbáalnyis</i>	<i>be bojbáalnyes</i>
2.m. <i>tu bojbáalnoe</i>	<i>tsho bojbáalnat</i>
2.f. <i>tu bojbáalnyee</i>	<i>tsho bojbáalnyet</i>
3.m. <i>sa bojbáaluuno</i>	<i>se bojbáalaan</i>
3.f. <i>sa bojbáliini</i>	<i>se bojbáalyaani</i>
Pluperfect: 'I had been able to go', etc.	
1.m. <i>mo bojbáalsos</i>	<i>be bojbáalsas</i>
1.f. <i>mo bojbáalsyis</i>	<i>be bojbáalises</i>
2.m. <i>tu bojbáalsoe</i>	<i>tsho bojbáalsat</i>
2.f. <i>tu bojbáalsyee</i>	<i>tsho bojbáaliset</i>
3.m. <i>sa bojbáalus</i>	<i>se bojbáalaas</i>
3.f. <i>sa bojbáalis</i>	<i>se bojbáalyaasi</i>

thoboón 'to be able to do'

Subjunctive: 'I might be able to do', etc.

1. <i>mos thobáam</i>	<i>bes thobóon</i>
2. <i>tus thobáae</i>	<i>tshos thobáat</i>
3. <i>ses thobáae</i>	<i>ses thoban</i>

(*thoboón* 'to be able to do')

	Sc.	Pl.
	Present: 'I am able to do', 'can do', etc.	
1.m.	<i>mos thobáamas~thobáamos</i>	<i>bes thobóonas</i>
1.f.	—	<i>bes thobóonas~thobóonis</i>
2.m.	<i>tus thobáanoē</i>	<i>tshos thobáatan</i>
2.f.	<i>tus thobáanyee</i>	—
3.m.	<i>ses thobáano</i>	<i>ses thobáanan</i>
3.f.	<i>ses thobáni</i>	—

Imperfect: 'I used to be able to do', etc.

1.m./f.	<i>mos thobáamsas</i>	<i>bes thobóonsas</i>
2.m.	<i>tus thobáasoe</i>	<i>tshos thobáatas</i>
2.f.	<i>tus thobáasyee</i>	<i>tshos thobáatyee</i>
3.m.	<i>ses thobáaso</i>	<i>ses thobáanas</i>
3.f.	<i>ses thobási</i>	—

Future: 'I will be able to do', etc.

1.m.	<i>mos thobóos</i>	<i>bes thobwíis</i>
1.f.	<i>mo thobúus</i>	—
2.m.	<i>tus thobóoe</i>	<i>tshos thobwíit</i>
2.f.	<i>tus thobúui</i>	—
3.m.	<i>ses thobóo</i>	<i>ses thobwíi</i>
3.f.	<i>ses thobúu</i>	—

Past: 'I was able to do', 'could do', etc.

1.m.	<i>mō thobáalos</i>	<i>asáa thobáalas</i>
1.f.	<i>mō thobáalyis</i>	<i>asáa thobáalyes</i>
2.m.	<i>thóo thobáaloe</i>	<i>tsháa thobáalat</i>
2.f.	<i>thóo thobáalyee</i>	<i>tsháa thobáalyet</i>
3.m.	<i>sési thobáalo</i>	<i>seṇáa thobáala</i>
3.f.	<i>séso thobáli</i>	<i>seṇáa thobáalye</i>

(*thoboón* 'to be able to do')

	SG.	PL.
	Imperfect: 'I have been able to do', etc.	
1.m.	<i>mō thobáalnōs</i>	<i>asáa thobáalnās</i>
1.f.	<i>mō thobáalnyīs</i>	<i>asáa thobáalnyēs</i>
2.m.	<i>thóo thobáalnōe</i>	<i>tsháa thobáalnāt-thobáalaanat</i>
2.f.	<i>thóo thobáalnyēe</i>	<i>tsháa thobáalnyēt</i>
3.m.	<i>sési thobáaluuno</i>	<i>seṇáa thobáalaan</i>
3.f.	<i>séso thobáaliini</i>	<i>seṇáa thobáalyaani</i>

Pluperfect: 'I had been able to do', etc.

1.m.	<i>mō thobáalsos</i>	<i>asáa thobáalsās</i>
1.f.	<i>mō thobáalsyīs</i>	<i>asáa thobáalsiyēs</i>
2.m.	<i>thóo thobáalsoe</i>	<i>tsháa thobáalsāt</i>
2.f.	<i>thóo thobáalsyēe</i>	<i>tsháa thobáalsiyēt</i>
3.m.	<i>sési thobáalus</i>	<i>seṇáa thobáalaas</i>
3.f.	<i>séso thobáalyīs</i>	<i>seṇáa thobáalyaasi</i>

(78) *tu to ciyēe mo bay-eég-yeē somáar bay-báa-n-yeē*
 you TOP now I.NOM keep-PERF-2.f.sg. as.long.as keep-can-
 AUXpres-2.f.sg.
 Now you have kept me and you can keep me as long as (you want).

(79) *haméeš tú-ga azó ban b-eé na bii-báa-n-oe*
 always you-also inside confined be-CP not stay-can-AUXpres-2.m.sg.
 You can't stay shut up inside forever.

(80) *mo ráatyoo uth-íí na beé-ṭ-o báa-l-o-s⁴⁴*
 I all.night rise-CP not sit-PERF-m.sg.-can-PERF-m.sg.-I
 I could not stay up all night.

6.7.2 'Need', 'must', 'want'

The concept of necessity or wish, corresponding to English 'has to', 'like to' or Urdu *cāhie* is expressed by an impersonal construction *pakáar boón* 'to be needed', 'be necessary', 'to want'. The subject is in the dative case, and the

44 *byoón* in this example is a vector verb (8.2.2).

verb agrees with an obligatory object, which may however not be expressed in the sentence. For example, in (83) it agrees not with the infinitive *bojóón*, but with the verbal noun *bojníí* 'going'.

- (81) *mo-ɾ kitáp pakáar-i-n*
I-DAT book needed-f.-is
I need/want the book.
- (82) *tu-ɾ jóo pakáar-u-n*
you-DAT what needed-m.sg.-is
What do you need/want?
- (83) *sés-aɾ boj-oón pakáar-i-n*
he-DAT go-INF needed-f.-is
He must go.
- (84) *ghanɿ-áɾ mo-ɾ tax pakáar b-óo yaá*
hour-DAT I-DAT throne needed be-fut.3.m.sg. RHET
Maybe I need/want the throne for an hour?

6.7.3 'Want'

The idea of 'to want' is also expressed by the dative of *akóó* 'self': *akóór* (§4.1.4) which marks voluntary actions. Examples (85-87) show *akóór* occurring frequently with imperatives.

- (85) *akóo-ɾ tu jóo wal th-íí-n-oe to asá wal th-a*
self-DAT you what way do-IMPF-AUXpres-2.m.sg. TOP that way
do-imp.sg.
You do it the way you want to do it.
- (86) *by-áa-ta-n to akóo-ɾ by-áa*
stay-IMPF-2.pl.-AUXpres TOP self-DAT stay-imp.pl.
You all can stay if you want.
- (87) *mo-ga mi tak-ée sūú dúu-n-as akóo-ɾ kh-áa-ta-n to khá-a*
I-also my button-POS needle two-are-1.pl. self-DAT eat-IMPF-2.pl.-
AUXpres TOP eat-imp-pl.
I and my button-needle are both here, if you want to eat [us] then eat.
(There is no one here except me and my button-needle ...)

6.7.4 Presumption

The particle *bo* m. (*be* f., *be* pl.) shows presumption when suffixed to a verb.

- (88) *mi qææs jo kudí mútho khári níiz-ij-aan-o bo*
 my guess some where tree under sleep-AbSp-is-3.m.sg. PRESUM
 I guess he must be asleep (< *níiz* 'sleep') under a tree somewhere.

6.8 Conditional sentences

Conditional sentences consist of two clauses. The first, or condition clause, usually has no special marker, but may optionally begin with *agar* 'if' (a loanword). The second, or result clause, begins with the topicalizer *to*.

Conditions are of two types: fulfillable or unfulfilled/unfulfillable (contrafactual).

6.8.1 Fulfillable conditions

If the verb in the condition clause is in the present or subjunctive, the speaker does not know whether it will be fulfilled (89, 90).

- (89) *mo ozgáar-n-os to tú-di ay-óo-s*
 I free-am-1.m.sg. TOP you-ADD come-fut.m.sg.-1
 If I am free, I will come to you.
 (Speaker doesn't know when he will be free)
- (90) *aáe bal-á-se mī nikáa b-íi-n-o to mo xušáal-aan-is*
 this boy-OBL-SOC my marriage be-IMPf-AUXpres-3.m.sg. TOP I
 happy-am-1.f.sg.
 If I can be married to this boy, I will be happy.

If the verb in the condition clause is in the past tense, the speaker has reason to think it will be fulfilled (91, 92).

- (91) *mo ozgáar bí-l-os to tú-di ay-óo-s*
 I free become-PERF-1.m.sg. TOP you-ADD come-fut.m.sg.-1.
 If I am free, I will come to you.
 (Speaker is making an effort to arrange to be free.)

- (92) *agár dōōchi mausum sam bí-l-o to jháaz boj-óo*
 if tomorrow weather good become-PERF-3.m.sg. TOP airplane
 go-fut.3.m.sg.
 If the weather is good tomorrow, the plane will fly.

6.8.2 *Contrafactual conditions*

Contrafactual conditions can be made with both clauses marked by the invariant conditional particle *bel* (93), or with the condition clause in the subjunctive and the result clause also in the subjunctive plus *bel* (94).

- (93) *mo ozgáar bí-l-o-s bel to tú-di e-m bel*
 I free become-PERF-m.sg.-1 COND TOP you-ADD come.subj-1.sg.
 COND
 If I were free, I would come to you.
- (94) *mo ozgáar b-o-m to tú-di e-m bel*
 I free be-subj-1.sg. TOP you-ADD come.subj-1.sg. COND
 If I should be free, I might come to you.
 (Speaker he knows he won't be free.)

When the condition has failed in the past, the condition clause is in the past followed by *bílo* 'became', and the result clause is in the pluperfect (95).

- (95) *agár aáe kom th-áa-s bí-l-o to mo mút-s-os / ozgáar bí-lo-s-os*
 if this work do-PERF.m.sg.-1. become-PERF-3.m.sg. TOP I release-
 AUXpast-1.m.sg./free become-PERF-AUXpast-1.m.sg.
 If I had done this work, I would have been free.

The conditional particle *bel* by itself in the result clause does not necessarily express an unfulfilled condition. In (96) it makes the sentence more polite.

- (96) *wo baacháa saláamat şış amán-da b-é-e to ek móz-a-k th-am bel*
 VOC king safe head peace-in be-subj-3.sg. TOP one word-OBL-INDF
 do-subj.1.sg. COND
 O your highness, if my head be safe, please let me say something.

6.8.3 Complex aspectual distinctions in contrafactual conditions

It is possible to render complex aspectual distinctions in conditional sentences. In (97) *íi bel* '(if) he were coming [subjunctive plus *bel*]' expresses a durative condition which has failed. In (98) the adverbial participle *ayúu* 'coming' plus the past tense *gyáo* 'gone' followed by *bel* expresses habit in the past: '(if) he had been coming'.

- (97) *agár sa har chak í-i bel to aáe búf-o kom th-áa-w-s-o*
 if he every day come.subj-3.sg. COND TOP this all-m.sg. work
 do-PERF-m.-AUXpast-3.m.sg.

If he were coming every day, he would have done all this work

- (98) *agár sa har chak ay-úu gyá-o bel to aáe kom moj-áa-w-s-o*
 if he every day come-AP went-3.m.sg. COND TOP this work
 complete-PERF-m.-AUXpast-3.m.sg.

If he had been coming every day, this work would have been finished.

6.9 Conjunct and Nominal Verbs

6.9.1 Conjunct verbs

Many verbs are formed in Kohistani Shina by combining nouns or adjectives and the operator verbs *thoón* 'to do' and *boón* 'to be'. This is a common way of incorporating loan words; but Shina nouns are used as well.

kom thoón 'to work' (a Shina noun – see [53a, 53b] under §6.4.3)

ban boón 'to be confined' (a borrowed adjective; cf. Urdu *band* 'closed')

šurúu thoón 'to begin' (a borrowed noun; cf. Urdu *šurū* 'beginning')

- (99) *haméeš tú-ga azó ban b-cé na bii-báa-n-oe*
 always you-also inside confined be-CP not stay-can-AUXpres-2.m.sg.

You can't stay shut up inside forever.

- (100) *yé-soo loškí-ji uth-íí tiki-ji šurúu th-cég-i*
 she-AGP-f. morning-AbSp rise-CP bread-AbSp begin do-PERF-3.f.sg.
 In the morning she began (cooking) food.

6.9.2 *Nominal verbs*

Shina is full of words which are quasi-nouns or quasi-adjectives which combine with the operator verbs *boón* 'to be', *thoón* 'to do' and *doón* 'to give'. We call these *nominals*. Most nominals occur only in constructions with the above operator verbs, and usually do not take nominal inflections. They often have an abstract meaning and are typically translated with infinitives or gerunds. The most common operator verb is *boón*.

The quasi-adjectives can sometimes be used attributively.

ceél boón 'to wake up'. Can be used attributively.

zeék boón 'to lie down'. Can be used attributively.

cóko boón 'to stand', 'stand up'

marák boón 'to turn around', 'come back', 'disappear'

marák thoón 'to do something immediately'

táam thoón 'to finish'

- (101) *mušáa ceél bí-l-o*
man awake become-PERF-3.m.sg.
The man woke up.

- (102) *ceél mušáa*
awake man
a man who is awake

- (103) *mi kiryáa adí cóko b-o*
my sake here standing be-imp.sg.
Wait for me here.

- (104) *kom táam th-a*
work complete do-imp.sg.
Finish the work.

The quasi-nouns all have feminine gender, and are usually uncount, therefore they have no plural. Some can however take case inflections

baş boón 'to turn up'

chóoṭa doón 'to gallop'

phal thoón 'to throw'

cang thoón 'to give a hint'. *cang* takes case inflections, but has no plural.

(Quasi-nouns)

çádap thoón 'to grasp firmly'

ziík thoón 'to pull'. *ziík* forms an infinitive: *zikloón* 'to drag', which inflects.

(105) *ajóo áfa déez-i gy-áa-n mó-di a-ii baş bí-l-u-n-o*
 here few day-pl. went-PERF-3.pl. I-ADD come-CP turning.up
 be-PERF-m.-AUXpast-3.sg.m.

He has turned up here at my place a few days ago.

(106) *yé-soo bextyáar-oo tsaabún phal th-eég-i*
 she-AGP-f. automatic-ABL soap throwing do-PERF-3.f.sg.
 Straightaway she threw the soap.

(107) *çang-ée wax áa-l-o to mo-s raz-óo-s*
 hint-POS time come-PERF-3.m.sg. TOP I-AGI say-fut.m.sg.-I.
 When the time comes to give a hint, I will tell you.

(108) *çádap th-eé kóor-a-s raṭ-é-n*
 gripping do-CP thorn-pl.-AGI stop-IMPF-3.pl.
 The thorns catch and stop [them].

7. Adverbs, Participles and Verbal Nouns

This chapter discusses simple and derived adverbs, then goes on to explore in greater depth nonfinite forms of verbs: adverbial and adjectival participles, and verbal nouns.

7.1 Simple adverbs

7.1.1 Adverbs of time

Simple adverbs are not derived from other words, nor are they inflected adjectives, for example: *aš* 'today', *ḍōḍḍchi* 'tomorrow', *belá* 'yesterday'; *hamšá-haméeš* 'always'; *mút-chak* 'the day after tomorrow'¹; *aš belá* 'nowadays'; *aš ḍōḍḍchi* 'nowadays'. (See §7.2.1 for derived adverbs showing the time of day.)

- (1) *aš adí-k-áan-os ḍōḍḍchi pér-di-k-áan-os.*
today here-INDF-am-m.sg., tomorrow over.there-INDF-am-m.sg.
I'm here today and gone tomorrow.

- (2) *belá to áa-l-ya-as-i.*
yesterday TOP come-PERF-f.pl.-AUXpast-f.
They did come yesterday.

aš na áa-l-ye to ḍōḍḍchi ay-íi
today not come-PERF-f.pl. TOP tomorrow come-fut.3.pl.
If they don't come today they will come tomorrow.

Most of the above can take the ablative-superessive suffix:

- (3) *sa belá-ji pató-ṛ ná-as-o*
he yesterday-AbSp after-DAT not-was-m.sg.
He wasn't there after yesterday.

¹ This is apparently derived from the phrase *múti chak* 'second day'. *chak* is treated by Kohistani 1999: 94 as a suffix, but Schmidt has collected a plural form *chaké*, which implies a feminine noun. See also *asé chak* 'that (same) day' in Ex. (50).

ciyéé 'now', *teé* 'then', 'so'; *kará* 'when?' are uninflected.

(4) *teé raj-áa-o loški-ji mo boj-óo-s*
 then say-PERF-3.m.sg. morning-AbSp I go-fut.m.sg.-I
 Then he said, "I will go in the morning."

(5) *teé ciyéé jóo b'í-l-as to b-wíi-s*
 so now what become-PERF-1.pl. TOP be-fut.pl.-I
 So now whatever we have become, that we will be.

(6) *se-s aáe moš kará ríz-aa-n-i*
 she-AGI this matter when say-IMPF-AUXpres-3.f.sg.
 When will she say this thing? (She refuses to say it.)

kará can also mean 'sometimes'. Followed by *-ga na*, *kará* means 'never'.

(7) *pháa-l-a kará toóm-i má-l-a-se nó-t-n-a-s*
 fawn-pl. sometimes own-f. mother-OBL SOC play-IMPF-3.pl.-AUXpast
 The fawns sometimes played with their mother,

... *kará óra-péra al dé-n-a-s*
 ... sometimes here-there jump-IMPF-3.pl.-AUXpast
 ... sometimes jumped around.

(8) *mi nazr-í kará-ga yalát na th-áa-w-n-o*
 my vision-AGP when-also wrong not do-PERF-m.-AUXpres-3.m.sg.
 My vision has never failed me.

7.1.2 Adverbs of place

7.1.2.1 *adí-ásdí-kudí* 'here'-'there'-'where', 'somewhere'

See §5.3, "Symmetrical *a--as-* adjective sets". The segments *a-* and *as-* mark sets which encode contrasts for proximate and remote. The segment *ka-* (*ku-*) marks interrogatives.

adí, *ásdí* and *kudí* can take ablative and dative case suffixes. *adí* also contrasts with *pérđi* 'there' which is itself a contraction of *per adí* 'over there' (See §4.2.2). *sadí* is a variant of *ásdí* which expresses an unspecific location.

- (9) *aš na bój-ooŋ, aš by-óoŋ adí*
today not go-subj.1.pl. today stay-subj.1.pl. here
Let's not go today, let's stay here today.
- (10) *ye beó-ŋ-i asdí. sa gy-eé guŋ-da beé-ŋ-i*
she sit-PERF-3.f.sg. there she go-CP base-in sit-PERF-3.f.sg.
She sat down there. She went and sat at the base [of the boulder].
- (11) *sadí múth-a káaŋh-a sé-ga móz-i th-én-a-s*
there tree-pl. wood-pl. they²-also word-pl. do-IMP-3.pl.-AUXpast
There (= then) trees and wood also used to speak.
- (12) *záa as-ée pašy-eé kudí-ŋ ɕeŋ-eég-i-n-ee*
brother us-POS show-imp. where-DAT send-PERF-f.-AUXpres-2.f.sg.
Show [us] our brother; where have you sent (him)?
- (13) *aáe kudy-úu aŋ-aa-w-n-o ...*
this where-ABL bring-PERF-m.-AUXpres-3.sg.m.
From where has he brought this ...
- Alone or preceded by the pronoun *jóo-jo* (4.1.5.2), *kudí* also means 'somewhere'. Followed by *-ga na*, *kudí* means 'nowhere', 'not anywhere'.
- (14) *ye gy-á-w-n-o to kudí asdaáth gy-á-w-n-o bo*
he go-PERF-m.-AUXpres-3.m.sg. TOP somewhere like-that go-PERF-m.-AUX-pres-3.m.sg. PRE
(If) he has gone, then he must have gone somewhere like that.
- (15) *mō kudí-ŋ-ga na ɕeŋy-ées-an*
I-AGP where-DAT-also not send-PERF.f.-AUXpres
I haven't sent him anywhere.
- (16) *mi qáæš jo kudí mútho khári níŋz-ij-aan-o bo*
my guess some where tree under sleep-AbSp-is-m.sg. PRESUM
I guess he must be asleep (< *níŋš* 'sleep') under a tree somewhere.

The particle *-k* is suffixed to *adí* 'here', *asdí* 'there' and *kudí* 'where?'.²

2 *se* is nominative, although the imperfect of *thoon* 'to do' calls for the agent-imperfective. This mistake occurs several times in the text narrated by Ropi Jan.

'somewhere', when they occur before the present tense of the bound form of *boón* (*háno*, *háni* etc.). See §3.3.4.

adí + *háno* → *adí-k-áano* 'is here'

asdí + *háno* → *asdí-k-áano* 'is there'

kudí + *háno* → *kudí-k-áano* 'where is?'

If these place adverbs take inflections other than the ablative and dative, the suffixes are attached to the particle *-k*: *kudí-k-iji* 'from where? (ablative-superessive)'

Compare *kará-ani* 'when is it?' in which the bound form of *boón* is attached directly to the adverb.

7.1.2.2 Directional and postpositional adverbs

7.1.2.2.1 Directional adverbs

Contrasting with the deictic *péra* 'away, over there' (§4.2.1) are *óra* '(in) this direction', 'over here' and *kóor* 'in which direction?'. *óra* can take the dative case suffix, but the meaning is the same as the nominative case. The ablative case of *óra* is *oróo* (likewise *peróo* < *péra*), however these forms do not appear in the corpus. *kóor* 'in which direction?' appears to be a frozen dative form. *kóor-ak* (with the indefinite particle *-k*) means 'somewhere'.

See §4.2 for deixis.

- | | |
|---|---|
| (17) <i>óra-ɾ čak-a</i>
hither-DAT look-imp.sg.
Look here. | (18) <i>ye óra áa-l-o</i>
he hither come-PERF-3.m.sg.
He came here. |
| (19) <i>péra gy-é péra so baacháa-ee póō mají wá-th-i</i>
away go-CP away the king-POS feet between come.down-PERF-3.f.sg.
Going over there, there she fell at the king's feet. | |
| (20) <i>mulóo kóo-ɾ boj-áa-n-o</i>
boy whither-DAT go-IMPF-AUXpres-3.m.sg.
Where is the boy going? | |
| (21) <i>mulóo kóo-ɾ-ak boj-áa-n-o</i>
boy whither-DAT-INDF go-IMPF-AUXpres-3.m.sg.
The boy is going somewhere. | |

húuŋ 'up', *khári* 'down': there are no examples of inflected *húuŋ* in the corpus, however *khári* may be inflected in the ablative, dative and adressive.

(22) *b-o, húuŋ gy-éé káath-oo báti wál-a*
Go-imp. up go-CP wood-POpl. bundle bring.down-imp.
Go, go up and bring down a bundle of wood.

(23) *çhab b-éé khári wá-th-i*
cover be-CP down descend-PERF-3.f.sg.
She veiled herself and got down.

(24) *khary-óo*
down-ABL
from below

(25) *khara-ŋ*
down-DAT
downward

(26) *khári-id péra*
down-ADD away
somewhat below

7.1.2.2.2 Postpositional adverbs

Many postpositions which are added to Layer II (§3.2.2) suffixes are also adverbs, for example: *ažó* 'inside', *pató* 'afterward', *muçhó* 'before', *khin* 'near'; and can take the ablative and dative case suffixes: *ažór* 'to the inside', *ažnyúu* 'from the inside'.

(27) *aád-per çak-yáa ažó jóo háan-o to*
around look-imp.pl. inside what is-m.sg. (*háano* = emph. of *háno*) TOP
You all take a look around inside [and see if] there is anything!

(28) *pató phal th-wíi-t šóo*
after throw do-fut.pl.-2 ashes
Afterwards you will throw the ashes.

(29) *to pat-nyúu moş xóor b-óo*
TOP behind-ABL word spread be-fut.3.m.sg.
Word will get around in my absence.

(30) *wadá xod-éé-se bí-l-i pató tu-s se bí-l-i*
promise God-OBL-SOC become-PERF-3.f.sg. afterward you-OBL
SOC become-PERF-3.f.sg.
First I swore to God, afterwards I promised you.

- (31) *muçó gy-eé to muçó koé-ga niš*
 ahead go-CP TOP ahead who-also not
 [They] went forward but nobody was ahead [of them].
- (32) *láa muçó-ṛ káath-a na wal-áa-u-n-o*
 much before-DAT wood-pl. not bring.down-PERF-m.-AUXpres-3.m.sg.
 He has not brought down much wood before.
- (33) *mulái-k áa-l-i muç-nyúu*
 girl-INDF come-PERF-3.f.sg. before-ABL
 A girl came from ahead [of them].

khín 'near' contrasts with *dúur* 'far'.

- (34) *mi khin-da na cóky-o*
 my near-in not stand-imp.sg.
 Don't stand near me.
- (35) *búta dhery-éé b-wíi.*
 all dung.pile-pl. become-fut.3.pl.
 It will all turn into piles of dung.
- ... *sa dhery-óó-ji dúur uç-á-n*
 ... they dung.pile-OBpl.-AbSp far escape-IMPF-3.pl.
 ... They [will] flee far from the dung piles.

gúçh 'inside', *húç* 'outside' and *óma* 'above' can be inflected in the oblique, dative and ablative.

- (36) *sa húç-a-gúçh-a bo-báa-s-o*
 he outside-OBL-inside-OBL be-can-AUXpast-3.m.sg.
 He could possibly be outside or inside (but not very far).
- (37) *ye šazdá a-íi baš bí-l-o huç-óo*
 this prince come-CP appear become-PERF-3.m.sg. outside-ABL
 The prince came and appeared from outside.

- (38) *sa om-óo-óm-ar gy-á-o*
 he above-ABL-above-DAT went-PERF-3.m.sg.
 He failed to come.

7.1.3 Adverbs of manner and degree

7.1.3.1 *áath*–*asdáath*–*káath* ‘this way’–‘that way’–‘how?’

See §5.3. “Symmetrical *a*–*as*- adjective sets”. The segments *a*- and *as*- mark sets which encode contrasts for proximate and remote. The segment *ka*- marks interrogatives. *áath(a)*, *asdáath(a)* and *káath(a)* are formed by adding the suffix *-th~tha* (a shortened form of *theé*, the conjunctive participle of *thoón* ‘to do’) to the segments *áa* ‘this’ (§4.1.2), *asdáa* ‘that’ (§5.3.1) and *káa* ‘which’, ‘what’ (§4.1.5.3). They can take ablative suffixes.

- (39) *baacháa áa-tha heryáan-u-n so zeé-ṛ*
 king this-doing surprised-3.m.sg.-is that place-DAT
 The king is so surprised at that place.
- (40) *mo-s ciyée tu asdáa-th na phát-m-as*
 I-AGI now you that-doing not leave-IMPF-1.sg.
 I am not leaving you like that now.
- (41) *káa-th th-eég-i-n-ee mi aáe šazdá karaá*
 what-doing do-PERF-f.-AUXpres-2.f.sg. my this prince ram
 How have you made this my prince a ram?

Inflected in the ablative case, *áath* can be used as a directional adverb. Similar examples of *asdáath* or *káath* have not occurred in our corpus.

- (42) *áath-oo mosfár áa-l-o*
 this.way-ABL traveller come-PERF-3.m.sg.
 A traveller came from this way.

See also §7.2.2.2: *adáa* – *ajdáa* – *asdáa* – *kadáa* ‘so’–‘this way’–‘that way’–‘how?’.

7.1.3.2. Miscellaneous adverbs of manner

ke means ‘why?’ *ke-ce* (lit. ‘why-that’) means ‘because (§9.5)’. (See also “Cause” under §7.3.1.2.2.)

- (43) *mo ke bój-a-m*
I why go-subj-1.sg.
Why should I go?
- (44) *mulái ke r-íi-n-i*
girl why cry-IMPF-AUXpres-3.f.sg.
Why is the girl crying?
- (45) *kə-ce cíy-ee pāā daçhín-o cal-íi-n-o darbát-iji*
why-that woman-POS foot right-m.sg. move-IMPF-AUXpres-3.m.sg.
threshold-AbSp
Because a woman's right foot advances on the threshold.
(Context: the minister is persuading the king that a disguised princess is a woman.)

laká means 'as', 'like', 'rather'.

- (46) *laká chúut bíi-i-n-i*
rather late become-PERF-f.-AUXpres-3.f.sg.
It has gotten rather late.
- (47) *káath-oo báti gar-eé laká húuṇ th-am th-am th-áa-o*
wood-POpl. bundle tie-CP as up do-subj.1.sg. do-subj.1.sg. do [= say]
-PERF-3.m.sg.
He tied the wood in a bundle, and just as he was thinking, "Let me pick it up ..."

gúchi means 'empty', 'casually', 'for no good reason'; *gúchi-ga* means 'anyway'.

- (48) *mulái gúchi r-íi-n-i*
girl empty cry-IMPF-AUXpres-3.f.sg.
The girl is just crying for the hell of it.
- (49) *mo gúchi-ga báazra-ṛ boj-óo-s*
I anyway market-DAT go-fut-m.sg.-1
I will go to the market anyway.

7.2 Derived adverbs

7.2.1 Adverbs derived from nouns

Adverbs expressing the time of day are inflected nouns: *sáar-a* 'early in the morning' (< *sáar* + oblique); *loşkí-ji* 'in the morning' (< *loşkí* + ablative-

superessive); *beláa-ŕ* 'in the evening (< *beláa* + dative³); *ráat-a* 'at night' (< *ráati* + oblique). The oblique suffix with the marked feminine noun *ráati* is hard to explain, as the oblique case of marked feminine nouns is identical with the nominative (§3.1.2.1.). This may represent an extension of the oblique to a locative meaning, as in *góoŕ-a* 'toward home'.⁴

- (50) *beláa-ŕ hary-áa-o asá chak*
 evening-DAT take-PERF-3.m.sg. that day
 He took her on the evening of the same day,
 ... *péra gy-eé asá gíri pašy-áa-o*
 ... away go-CP that rock show-PERF-3.m.sg.
 ... going there he showed her the rock.

The ablative suffix *-uu* ~ *-oo* forms adverbs from a few nouns:

- | | |
|--|--|
| (51) <i>ráaty-oo</i>
night-ABL
all night | (52) <i>súury-oo</i>
day-ABL
all day |
|--|--|
- (53) *sé-si ráaty-oo kom th-áa-o*
 he-AGP night-ABL work do-PERF-3.m.sg.
 He worked all night.

7.2.2 Adverbs derived from adjectives

7.2.2.1 *khabóoto* 'left', *dačhíno* 'right'

These are adjectives, as can be seen from the gender suffixes, but can be inflected to adverbs. The case suffixes are apparently added to the f.sg. suffix (agreeing with a deleted feminine noun *váari* 'direction'?).

- (54) *cíy-ee pãã dačhín-o cal-íi-n-o darbáti-ji*
 woman-POS foot right-m. move-IMPf-AUXpres-3.m.sg. threshold-
 AbSp
 A woman's right foot advances on the threshold.

3 *beláa* does not occur in isolation in the corpus. An alternative analysis of *beláaŕ* is: *belá* 'yesterday' + *ŕ* = *beláaŕ* 'in the evening', but this is unsatisfactory for semantic reasons.

4 In Kalasha, the suffix *-a*, Morgenstierne's "general oblique" functions as a locative case. Heegaard 2006: 99-108, 138-9.

- (55) *mušáa-e páã khabóot-o cal-íi-n-o*
 man-POS foot left-m. move-IMPF-AUXpres-3.m.sg.
 A man's left foot advances.
- (56) *daçhín-y-eṛ b-o* (57) *khabóot-y-eṛ b-o*
 right-f.-DAT go-imp left-f.-DAT go-imp
 Go right. Go left.
- (58) *daçhn-y-óo* (59) *khabt-y-óo*
 right-f.-ABL left-f.-ABL
 from the right from the left

7.2.2.2 *adáa-ajdáa-asdáa-kadáa* 'so'-'this way'-'that way'-'how?'

The oblique cases of *adóo* 'such', *asdóo* 'that kind of', *ajdóo* 'just like' and *kadóo* 'what kind of?' (§5.3.1) function as adverbs:

adóo 'such' → *adáa* 'so', 'this way'
ajdóo 'just like' → *ajdáa* 'this way'
asdóo 'like that' → *asdáa* 'that way'
kadóo 'what kind of?' → *kadáa* 'how?'

As adverbs, they take the suffix *-th~tha* (a shortened form of *theé*, the conjunctive participle of *thoón* 'to do'): *adáath, ajdáath, asdáath, kadáath*.

- (60) *ajdáath karaá-e raçh-án*
 this way ram-pl. bring.up-subj.-3.pl.
 This is the way to raise rams!
- (61) *mo-s ciyée tu asdáa-th na phát-m-as*
 I-AGI now you that-doing not leave-IMPF-1.sg.
 I am not leaving you like that now.
- (62) *dií kadáa-ga th-eég-i-n-ee to bas*
 daughter how-also do-PERF-f.-AUXpres-2.f.sg. TOP enough
 Daughter, however you did (it), that's enough!
- (63) *mušáa kadáa-th áa-l-o*
 man how-doing come-PERF-3.m.sg.
 How (by what means or from which direction) did the man come?

7.2.2.3. *láo* 'very', 'much', 'many'

láo is inflected as an adjective (5.2.1), even when modifying another adjective.

(64) *láo* *o* *šatíl-o* *kom*

very-m.sg. powerful-m.sg. work
a great job

(65) *yə-s* *qása* *lá-i* *maṛnée* *th-óo*

he-AGI story very-f. good do-fut.3.m.sg.
He will tell a very good story.

7.3 Participles

The following participles stand in relation to sentence verbs: (a) conjunctive participle, (b) adverbial participle of manner, (c) progressive participle.

The following participles stand in relation to or modify nouns: (a) progressive participle, (b) perfective participle, (c) passive-contingent participle.

In addition to deriving infinitives, many verbs derive verbal nouns

7.3.1 *Conjunctive participles*

The commonest way of forming adverbial phrases is with conjunctive participles. Conjunctive participles of conjunct verbs (§6.9.1) and nominal verbs (§6.9.2), or simple adjectives + *boón* 'to be' often correspond to simple adverbs in English.

<i>marák</i> <i>th-eé</i>	<i>marák</i> <i>b-eé</i>	<i>cup</i> <i>b-eé</i>	<i>tol</i> <i>b-eé</i>	<i>búṭa</i> <i>b-eé</i>
turn do-CP	turn be-CP	silent be-CP	together be-CP	all be-CP
immediately	immediately	silently	together	together

7.3.1.1 *Forms and agreement of conjunctive participles*

As mentioned under §6.1.1.2, root-accented verbs suffix *-ii* to the verb root to form conjunctive participles, while most stem-accented verbs suffix *-eé* to the root. A few verbs which add *-y* to the root to form the perfective stem add the conjunctive participle suffix to the perfective stem: *khoón* 'to eat', perfective stem: *khy-*, conjunctive participle: *khyeé*. In some verbs, especially *íi*-stems, the root vowel is assimilated: *wyoón* 'to pour' root: *wí-*, conjunctive participle: *wíi*; *pyoón* 'to drink', root: *pí-*, conjunctive participle: *píi*.

boón 'to be', *bijoón* 'to fear' *šiloón* 'to hurt' and *joón* 'to sprout' form conjunctive participles (or alternate conjunctive participles) in *-oóe*: *boóe*, *bijoóe*, *šiloóe*, *joóe*. *bijoón* and *šiloón* are *ó*-stems, and *boón* has the imperfective stem *bó-*, but *joóe* is an anomaly, and *joón* also has a regular form in *jií*. *boón* also forms a conjunctive participle in *-eé*: *beé*.

In root-accented verbs, the accent shifts to the suffix of the conjunctive participle, with the (in our corpus) sole exception of the verb *phátoon*, 'to leave'.

The plural forms of conjunctive participles are usually formed by adding *-t-*, as shown in the table below. In a few cases there is no separate plural form. Plural conjunctive participles may refer to a plural subject, to a singular subject to show politeness, or show a different shade of meaning. In (64) *aiít* means 'having come' (and is polite) whereas the sg. *aií* would mean 'having arrived'.

(66) *pér-ajo wazír-ee dií a-iít hár-a*

yonder minister-POS daughter come-CPpl. take-imp.pl.

[You (polite plural)] come and take the minister's daughter away.

The following table provides examples of conjunctive participle formation in each verb class.

Intransitive a-stems taking L-forms

Infinitive

taroón 'to swim'

hazoón 'to laugh'

C.P. sg.

tarií

hazií

C.P. pl.

tariít

haziít

Intransitive a-stems taking T-forms

Infinitive

yaazoón 'to walk'

ukhzoón 'to go up'

amušoón 'to forget'

dijoón 'to fall'

C.P. sg.

yaazií

ukhzií

amušií

dijií

C.P. pl.

yaaziít

ukhziít

amušiít

dijiít

Passive type íja-stems

Infinitive

kijoón 'to rot'

pařqijoón 'to sparkle'

sanijoón 'to be made'

C.P. sg.

kijií

pařqijií

sanijií

C.P. pl.

kijiít

pařqijiít

sanijiít

Transitive a-stems

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>C.P. sg.</u>	<u>C.P. pl.</u>
<i>haroón</i> 'to take'	<i>harií</i>	<i>hariít</i>
<i>pežoón</i> 'to grind'	<i>pežií</i>	<i>pežiít</i>
<i>chinoón</i> 'to break'	<i>chinií</i>	<i>chiniít</i>
<i>phátoon</i> 'to leave'	<i>phátee</i>	<i>pháteet</i>

Transitive á-stems

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>C.P. sg.</u>	<u>C.P. pl.</u>
<i>sanoón</i> 'to make, build'	<i>saneé</i>	<i>saneét</i>
<i>waloón</i> 'to make, build'	<i>waleé</i>	<i>waleét</i>
<i>aṭoón</i> 'to make, build'	<i>aṭeé</i>	<i>aṭeét</i>

Mixed áa-stems

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>C.P. sg.</u>	<u>C.P. pl.</u>
<i>nāhoón</i> 'to lose' (tr.)	<i>nāhīí</i>	<i>nāhīít</i>
<i>dahoón</i> 'to burn' (tr.)	<i>dahīí</i>	<i>dahīít</i>
<i>uḥoón</i> 'to arrive'	<i>uḥīí</i>	<i>uḥīít</i>

Causative and transitive ée-stems

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>C.P. sg.</u>	<u>C.P. pl.</u>
<i>khoyoón</i> 'to dig'	<i>khoyeé</i>	<i>khoyeét</i>
<i>khojoón</i> 'to ask'	<i>khojeé</i>	<i>khojeét</i>
<i>thayoón</i> 'to make s.o. do'	<i>thayeé</i>	<i>thayeét</i>

Transitive íi-stems

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>C.P. sg.</u>	<u>C.P. pl.</u>
<i>wyoón</i> 'to put, pour'	<i>wií</i>	<i>wiít</i>
<i>siyoón₂</i> 'to know (a person)'	<i>sīí</i>	<i>sīít</i>
<i>pyoón</i> 'to drink'	<i>pií</i>	<i>piít</i>

Intransitive ó-stems

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>C.P. sg.</u>	<u>C.P. pl.</u>
<i>bijoón</i> 'to fear'	<i>bijoóe</i>	<i>bijoóet</i>
<i>mešoón</i> 'to grow up'	<i>mešií</i>	<i>mešiít</i>
<i>uçoón</i> 'to escape'	<i>uçií</i>	<i>uçiít</i>

Shortened verbs

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>C.P. sg.</u>	<u>C.P. pl.</u>
<i>thoón</i> 'to do'	<i>theé</i>	<i>theét</i>
<i>khoón</i> 'to eat'	<i>khyeé</i>	<i>khyeét</i>
<i>joón</i> 'to sprout'	<i>jií, joóe</i>	<i>joéet</i>
<i>byoón</i> 'to sit'	<i>byeé</i>	<i>byeét</i>
<i>roón</i> 'to cry'	<i>roeé, reé</i>	<i>roeét, reét</i>

Irregular verbs

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>C.P. sg.</u>	<u>C.P. pl.</u>
<i>ayoón</i> 'to come'	<i>aií</i>	<i>aiít</i>
<i>bojoón</i> 'to go'	<i>bojií</i> (imperfective) <i>gyeé</i> (perfective)	<i>bojiít</i> (imperfective) <i>gyeét</i> (perfective)
<i>boón</i> 'to be'	<i>boóe~beé</i>	<i>boóet, beét</i>

The conjunctive participle is co-referent with the subject of the main verb, and the main verb normally determines the case of the subject (agent-imperfective in (67a), required by the transitive verb *thóos* and nominative in (67b), required by the intransitive verb *bojóos*.

- (67a) *mo-s góoz-a gy-eé kom th-óo-s*
I-AGI house-OBL go-CP work do-fut.m.sg.-I
I will go home and work.

- (67b) *mo kom th-eé góoz-tha boj-óo-s*
I.NOM work do-CP house-toward go-fut.m.sg.-I
I will (finish) work and go home.

If the conjunctive participle immediately follows the subject, however, it may determine the case of the subject. In (68a) intransitive *byeé* 'sitting' requires a nominative subject; but in (68b), *byeé* occurs in the normal position in the sentence, and transitive *thóos* 'I will work' takes an agent-imperfective subject.

- (68a) *mo by-eé kampúutr-aj kom th-óo-s*
I.NOM sit-CP computer-AbSp work do-fut.m.sg.-I
Sitting, I will work at the computer.

- (68b) *mo-s kampúutr-aj by-eé kom th-óo-s*
 I-AGI computer-AbSp sit-CP work do-fut.m.sg.-I
 Sitting at the computer, I will work

7.3.1.2 Function of conjunctive participles

Shina conjunctive participles ending in *-eé* and *-ii* express sequential and concomitant actions, thus they have a temporal relation to the main verb. This is their primary or explicit function. In some constructions they may also have a modal relation to the main verb; this is a secondary, or implicit function.

7.3.1.2.1 Temporal relations

Temporal relations include sequential actions or events, and simultaneous actions or events.

In Kohistani Shina, sequential actions are nearly always expressed with conjunctive participles (69). A chain of actions is also expressed this way (70). The conjunction 'and' exists but is little used.

- (69) *salám d-eé borqá phal th-eég-i*
 greeting give-CP veil throw do-PERF-3.f.sg.
 (She) greeted (him) and cast aside (her) veil.
- (70) *to batháari th-am th-eé akóor ʔoploó th-eé ...*
 TOP bedroll do-subj.1.sg. do-CP VOL bundle do-CP
 I think I'll spread (it) out, make a bundle ...
- ... *péra har-ii, ciyé-ʔ phal th-óo-s*
 ... away take-CP wife-DAT throw do-fut.m.sg.-I
 ... carry it yonder, and throw it at (my) wife.

Conjunctive participles may also describe two simultaneous actions, or the state of the subject during an action. The relationship to the main verb may be primarily temporal (71), or shade into a modal relation.

Functioning as modifiers, conjunctive participles may modify the main verb, as manner adverbials (71, 72), or the subject, predicatively (73).

- (71) *so šazadgíi bal-ée hágwíi py-eé huç-ar nikház-aa-s-i*
 the princess child-POS finger(s) hold-CP outside-DAT emerge-IMPF-
 AUXpast-3.f.sg.
 The princess was coming outside holding the child by the finger(s).

- (72) *ye cup b-eé beé-t-i*
 she.NOM silent be-CP sit-PERF-3.f.sg.
 She sat there silently.
- (73) *sa ruleé b-eé boj-áa-n-i*
 she.NOM disguise be-CP go-IMPF-AUXpres-3.f.sg
 She goes (there) disguised.

7.3.1.2.2. Specialized relations

Modal relations may be elaborated into highly specialized ones, in which conjunctive participles occur in frozen phrases, take a special suffix, or occur with only one lexical item. These include:

- (a) the means of an action (74);
- (b) conjunction (75, 76);
- (c) cause (77);
- (d) the quotative (78, 79).

Instrumental adverbial

A conjunctive participle functioning as an instrumental adverbial must be distinguished from a noun used as an instrument, as for example in *achóo-gi* 'with the eyes' (*achóo* 'eyes [obl. pl.] plus the instrumental postposition *-gi*).

In (74) the conjunctive participial clause *phúra háa khyeé* 'by eating popcorn' shows a means of subsistence.

- (74) [*sa*] *phúr-a h-áa khy-eé by-áa-n-i*
 [she.NOM] flower-pl. like-pl. eat-CP live-IMPF-AUXpres-3.f.sg.
 She lives *by eating* popcorn [*phúra háa* 'like flowers'].

Conjunction

Expressing conjunction, conjunctive participles occur in a construction with an adverb, an uninflected nominal (§6.9.2), or the suffix *-š* 'until, up to, by the time (that)'.

- (75) *sady-úu gy-eé sés-aṛ lom-ry-oón siçhy-eég-i*
 there-ABL go-CP him-DAT wrestle-CAUS-INF teach-PERF-3.f.sg.
Moreover (sadyúu gyeé, 'going from there') she taught him how to make [men] wrestle.

- (76) *óra chúp-ee khoṇ-da a-e-é-š ghaṇ úmar gy-á-o*
 hither edge-POS mountain-in come-CP-until much period go-PERF-
 3.m.sg.
By the time they crossed the mountain(s), a long time (had) passed.

Cause

Cause is expressed with the conjunctive participle of *dijoón* 'to fall', 'to befall'.

- (77) *aée balé-ji dij-íí thoé puç-ée nikáa-ji chí-d-y-ee-s*
 this child-AbSp befall-CP your son-POS marriage-AbSp break-CAUS-
 PERF.f.sg.-1
*Because of (dijíí, having befallen) this child, I broke off marriage to
 your son.*

Quotative

The conjunctive participle of *thoón* 'to do, to say', functions as the quotative, marking reported speech and reported thought. It occurs in (78) and (79):

- (78) *batháari th-am th-eé ...*
 bedroll do-subj.1.sg. do-CP ...
I think I'll spread (it) out ...
- (79) «*sas th-áa-s-u-n*» *th-ée*
 sister say-PERF-1.-m.-AUXpres say-CP
I have called you "sister".
(You will be like a sister to me.)

7.3.1.3. Negation of conjunctive participles

Negated conjunctive participles can be elicited (80-83), but only in sequential actions.

Sequential actions

- (80) *sa dár-i pakhr-eé gy-é-i*
 she.NOM door-pl. secure-CP go-PERF-3.f.sg.
Having secured the doors, she left.
- *se dár-i na pakhr-eé gy-é-i*
 she.NOM door-pl. not secure-CP go-PERF-3.f.sg.
Without securing the doors, she left.

- (81) *salám d-eé borqá phal th-eég-i*
greeting give-CP veil throw do-PERF-3.f.sg.
(She) greeted (him) and cast aside (her) veil.

→ *salám na d-eé borqá phal th-eég-i*
greeting not give-CP veil throw do-PERF-3.m.sg.
Without greeting (him), she cast aside (her) veil.

Simultaneous actions

Here the negative particle must stand right before the main verb; *cup beé* 'silently' and *rulcé beé* 'disguised' function as modifiers and cannot be separated.

- (82) *ye cup b-eé beé-t-i*
she.NOM silent be-CP sit-PERF-3.f.sg.
She sat silently.

→ *ye cup b-eé na beé-t-i*
she.NOM silent not be-CP sit-PERF-3.m.sg.
She did not sit silently.

- (83) *se rulcé b-eé boj-áan-i*
she.NOM disguise be-CP go-IMPF-AUXpres-3.f.sg
She goes [there] disguised.

→ *sa rulcé b-eé na boj-áan-i*
she disguise not be-CP go-IMPF-AUXpres-3.f.sg
She does not go [there] disguised.

7.3.2 Adverbial participle of manner

In texts this participle is found mainly with action verbs. They show an action simultaneous with the action of the main clause, which modifies the main clause verb. The subject agrees with the main verb. This action is often shown as progressive, so that the adverbial participle is repeated (84). The invariant suffix *-yúu* is added to the verb root and may easily be elicited. If the root is accented, the accent shifts to the suffix *-yúu*. Examples can be seen in the following table.

- (84) *be khojyúu khojyúu áa-l-as*
 we.NOM ask-AP ask-AP come-PERF-1.m.pl.
 We kept on asking [the way] until we came [to the right place].

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Class</u>	<u>Adverbial participle</u>
<i>taroón</i> 'to swim'	<i>a</i> -stem, L-form	<i>taryúu</i>
<i>yaazóón</i> 'to walk'	<i>a</i> -stem, T-form	<i>yaazyúu</i>
<i>dijoón</i> 'to fall, befall'	<i>a</i> -stem, T-form	<i>dijyúu</i>
<i>sanijoón</i> 'to be made'	Passive	<i>sanijyúu</i>
<i>haroón</i> 'to take'	Transitive <i>a</i> -stem	<i>haryúu</i>
<i>phátoon</i> 'to leave'	Transitive <i>a</i> -stem	<i>phátyuu</i>
<i>sanoón</i> 'to make, build'	<i>á</i> -stem	<i>sanyúu</i>
<i>dahoón</i> 'to burn'	<i>áa</i> -stem	<i>dahyúu</i>
<i>khoyoón</i> 'to dig'	<i>ée</i> -stem	<i>khoyúu</i>
<i>khojoón</i> 'to ask'	<i>ée</i> -stem	<i>khojyúu</i>
<i>mešoón</i> 'to grow up'	<i>ó</i> -stem	<i>mešyúu</i>
<i>pyoón</i> 'to drink'	<i>íi</i> -stem	<i>pyúu</i>
<i>siyoón</i> 'to know'	<i>íi</i> -stem	<i>syúú</i>
<i>thoón</i> 'to do'	Shortened verb	<i>thyúu</i>
<i>khoón</i> 'to eat'	Shortened verb	<i>khyúu</i>
<i>byoón</i> 'to sit'	Shortened verb	<i>byúu</i>
<i>boón</i> 'to be'	Irregular	<i>byúu</i>
<i>ayoón</i> 'to come'	Irregular	<i>ayúu</i>
<i>bojoón</i> 'to go'	Irregular	<i>bojyúu</i>

Adverbial participles ending in *-yúu* express both manner and concomitant actions. In (85), *yaazyúu* 'walking' is not merely concomitant with the motion of coming, it is one possible manner of coming. In (86), *háti thyúu* 'hurrying' is a possible manner of going.

- (85) *yaaz-yúu áa-l-o*
 walk-AP come-PERF-3.m.sg.
 (He) came walking [on foot].
- (86) *háti th-yúu, háti th-yúu, baacháa-di gy-á-o*
 hurry do-AP, hurry do-AP, king-ADD go-PERF-3.m.sg.
 In a great hurry, he went to the king.

However in (87), *capyúu* 'biting', is not a manner of jumping. The snake army is jumping and concomitantly biting trees to fell them. The repetition of the verb expresses the durative.

- (87) *yeṇáá cap-yúu al d-yúu ...*
 they-AGP bite-AP jump give-AP
Biting, jumping ...

... ek múṭh-eji múto-muṭhá-ṛ al d-e-n, cap-é-ṛ
 ... one tree-AbSp other tree-DAT jump give-IMPF-3.pl. bite-IMPF-3.pl.
 ... they jump from one tree to another (and) bite [them].

Relations of manner may shade into relations of means. In (88), *zikliyúu* 'pulling', is one way of bringing the ram, but it is also the *means* of bringing it. In (89), *dadlyúu* 'dragging' is both the manner and the means of bringing the old woman.

- (88) *karaá piy-eé zikl-yúu aṭ-eég-aan*
 ram catch-CP pull-AP bring-PERF-3.pl.
 They caught the ram and brought it (by) pulling it.

- (89) *buḍí-ga aṭ-eég-a pat-nyúu dadl-yúu ...*
 old.woman-also bring-PERF-3.pl. behind-ABL drag-AP
 They brought the old woman too, dragging her behind ...

... minát th-yúu íi-n-i
 ... entreaty do-AP come-IMPF-AUXpres-3.f.sg.
 ... (she) comes begging (for mercy).

The old woman's begging for mercy (*minát thyúu*), however, is only a concomitant event. Note that *capyúu al dyúu*, 'biting jumping' in (87) expresses a temporal relation: a sequence of actions, since it is hardly possible to bite and jump at the same time.

Note also that in (88) a conjunctive participle and an adverbial participle are combined to show both a sequence of actions and the manner of the second action.

- 5 Here the pronoun is in the agent-perfective; one would have expected *yes* (agent imperfective) since the verb is in the present tense. A speaker error.
- 6 The forms *den* and *capén* are shortened forms of *dénan* and *capénan*, rather than subjunctives.

The suffix *-yúu* is formally identical with the ablative suffix *-yúu* which is added to adverbs (*sadí* 'there' + *-yúu* = *sadyúu* 'from there'); but as the adverbial participle does not have an ablative meaning, these must be analysed as separate suffixes.

7.3.3 Repetition and lengthening of conjunctive and adverbial participles

7.3.3.1 Repetition

Repeated conjunctive participles show repeated or continued actions (90). If the verb is a stative verb, they show long duration (91).

- (90) *šazdá gy-eé gy-eé, gy-eé gy-eé*
 prince go-CP go-CP go-CP go-CP
 The prince would repeatedly go away.

... *noš-íí noš-íí, noš-íí noš-íí, khāāē wax-da í-ŋ-o*
 ... disappear-CP disappear-CP disappear-CP disappear-CP which
 time-in come-IMPF-AUXpres-3.m.sg.
 ... disappear for ages, and turn up without warning [at any time].

- (91) *by-eé by-eé kacáa ráati gy-é-y-ŋ-i*
 sit-CP sit-CP how-much night go-IMPF-f.-AUXpres-3.f.sg.
 Most of the night passed while she stayed there.

Repeated adverbial participles show a series of repeated or continued actions that culminate in the main verb (92, 93). They are used as a stylistic device in narrating fast-paced action.

- (92) *uç-yúu, uç-yúu, uç-yúu kaáth ye nikhá-t-a?*
 run-AP run-AP run-AP how they.NOM come-out-PERF-3.pl.
 Running without cease, they barely managed to come out.

- (93) *mút-o khóná-ŋ al d-yúu, al d-yúu, al d-yúu,*
 other-m. mountain-DAT jump give-AP jump give-AP jump give-AP
 jumping without cease (from one) mountain to another,

... *óra chúp-ee khon-da a-eé-š ghaŋ úmar gy-á-o*
 ... hither edge-POS mountain-in come-CP-until much period go-
 PERF-3.m.sg.
 ... *By the time* they crossed the mountain(s), a long time (had) passed.

7.3.3.2 Duration expressed by vowel lengthening

When the vowel of a conjunctive participle is lengthened, it shows long duration.

- (94) *atát-o bař-o qaláa ce ářpoo gy-eeeeeé ...*
 such-m. big-m. fort that horse go-PERF-CP
 such a large fort that a horse has to go a loooong way
- ... *phir-íí asá zaái-da cok-íí-n-i*
 ... turn-CP that place-in stand-IMPF-AUXpres-3.f.sg.
 ... before it comes around to where it started.

7.3.4 Progressive participle

The progressive participle has the form root + *óonda*: *san-óonda* 'while making'. The accent shifts to the suffix. This participle may be used adverbially (95) or stand in relation to a subject or object noun (predicatively, 96).

- (95) *sa kom th-óonda řoo-d-o*
 he.NOM work do-PROGPPL tire-PERF-3.m.sg.
 He worked until he was exhausted.
- (96) *as-áa góoř daj-óonda pař-ée-s*
 we-AGP house burn-PROGPPL see-PERF.pl.-I
 We saw the house burning (< *dajoón* 'to burn [int.]).

7.3.5 Perfective participle

The perfective participle also occurs infrequently, but provides the stem of intransitive verb inflections (§6.3.3.2). It modifies (a) the actor of a completed intransitive action, (b) the patient of a transitive action, of which the actor is not mentioned. Intransitive verbs add adjectival suffixes (-*o--i--a*) to the perfective aspect marker -*l-* ~ -*t-* ~ -*ř-* ~ -*th-* ~ -*d-*): *meřílo~meříli~meříla* 'grown'; *yáato~yáati~yáata* '[who] walked'.

Transitive verbs suffix -*íil-* to the root, which then takes adjectival suffixes (*thíilo~thíili~thíila* 'done'). Passive forms suffix a shortened suffix, -*íl-* to the root.

The participle inflects to agree with the modified noun in number and gender, and can take an alternate form of the ablative-superessive case suffix *-ja* or (see 103) *-ji*.

- (97) *ṭíkye kh-íil-o karaá-n-o*
bread-pl. eat-PERFPPL-m.sg. ram-is-m.sg.
It is a bread-eating ram (a ram which has been raised on bread).
- (98) *sa buđíi-ee raçh-íil-i mulái-n-i*
She old.woman-POS keep-PERFPPL-f. girl-is-f.sg.
She is the girl kept by the old woman.
- (99) *góoş jée-ji dah-íil-o léel b-íi-n-o*
house who.OBL-AbSp burn-PERFPPL-m.sg. visible is-IMPF-AUXpres-3.m.sg.
The house appears (to be) burned by someone (< *dahoón* 'to burn [tr.]')
- (100) *as-áa góoş dá-d-o paş-ée-s*
we-AGP house burn-PERFPPL-m.sg. see-PERF.pl.-1
We saw the house burned down (< *dajoón* 'to burn [intr.]').
- (101) *d'í-t-o-ja coṭ na d-yáa*
fall-PERFPPL-m.sg.-AbSp injury not give-imp.pl.
Don't hit someone when he's down. (Proverb)
- (102) *sa kh-íil-o-ja ají a-íi baş bí-l-o*
he eat-PERFPPL-m.sg.-AbSp upon come-CP appear become-PERF-3.m.sg.
He came upon someone while he (the someone) was eating.
- (103) *kh-ij-íl-o-ji na kh-ij-íl-o míşt-u-un-o.*
eat-PASS-PERFPPL-m.sg.-AbSp not eat-PASS-PERFPPL-m.sg.
good-m.sg.-is-3.m.sg.
Not having been eaten [food] is better than having been eaten.
(Refers to a situation in which the host does not want to offer food and the guest is too polite to eat it.)

7.3.6 *Passive-contingent participle*

This participle occurs most seldom of all the participles. To describe actions which are, or have been (passively) carried out, or which can possibly (or undesirably) occur, the invariant suffix *-íija* is added to the root of transitive verbs. Although no examples of passivized intransitives have been collected, a few passive-contingent participles of intransitives can be cited.

- (104) *as-áa ek san-íija góoş paš-ée-s*
 we-AGP one build-PASCON house see-PERF.pl.-1
 We saw a house under construction.

Compare:

- (105) *as-áa ek san-íil-o góoş paš-ée-s*
 we-AGP one build-PERFPPL-m.sg. house see-PERF.pl.-1
 We saw a completely constructed house
- (106) *sé-si mī san-íija kom urán th-áa-o*
 he-AGP my make-PASCON work bad do-PERF-3.m.sg.
 He spoiled my project which was coming along nicely.
- (107) *aáe góoş dah-íija th-eé na ras*
 this house burn-PASCON do-CP [=saying] not say
 Don't even suggest that this house might catch fire!
- (108) *aáe th-íija mózi-in-i*
 these do-PASCON matter-pl.-are-f.
 These are done deeds.
- (109) *aáe khoj-íija mózi-in-i*
 these ask-PASCON matter-pl.-are-f.
 These are questions which are coming up for discussion.
- (110) *aáe kom phá-t-íija ná-an-o*
 this work leave-PASCON not-is-m.sg.
 This is not a job which can be abandoned.
- (111) *har-íija somáar bóki har*
 take-PASCON as.much.as load take.imp
 Carry as heavy a load as can be carried.

- (112) *kh-íija somáar țiki kh-a*
eat-PASCON as.much.as bread eat-imp
Eat as much bread [food] as can be eaten.

Compare:

- (113) *as-áa dah-íija góoș paș-ée-s*
we-AGP burn-PASCON house see-PERF.pl.-1
We saw the house on fire.
- (114) *as-áa dah-íil-o góoș paș-ée-s*
we-AGP burn-PERFPPL-m.sg. house see-PERF.pl.-1
We saw the house burned down.
- (115) *be góoș dah-íil-o-ja a-íi baș bí-l-as*
we house burn-PERFPPL-m.sg.-AbSp come-CP appear become-
PERF-1.pl.
We turned up after the house was set on fire.

The following table provides examples of perfective and passive-contingent participles by verb class.

Intransitive a-stems taking L-forms

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Perf. participle</u>	<u>Pass.-Cont. Participle</u>
<i>taroón</i> 'to swim'	<i>tarílo</i>	<i>taríija</i>
<i>hazoón</i> 'to laugh'	<i>hazílo</i>	<i>hazíija</i>
<i>bašoón</i> 'to bark'	<i>bašílo</i>	<i>bašíija</i>

Intransitive a-stems taking T-forms

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Perf. participle</u>	<u>Pass.-Cont. Participle</u>
<i>yaazoón</i> 'to walk'	<i>yáato</i>	—
<i>wazoón</i> 'to come down'	<i>wátho</i>	—
<i>ukhzoón</i> 'to go up'	<i>ukháto</i>	—
<i>amušoón</i> 'to forget'	<i>amútho</i>	—
<i>dijoón</i> 'to fall'	<i>dító</i>	—
<i>nikhzoón</i> 'to come out'	<i>nikháto</i>	—

Passive type -íja-stems

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Perf. participle</u>	<u>Pass.-Cont. Participle</u>
<i>kijoón</i> 'to rot'	<i>kijílo</i>	—
<i>paṛqijoón</i> 'to sparkle'	<i>paṛqijílo</i>	—
<i>thijoón</i> 'to be done'	<i>thijílo</i>	—
<i>khijoón</i> 'to be eaten'	<i>khijílo</i>	—

Transitive a-stems

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Perf. participle</u>	<u>Pass.-Cont. Participle</u>
<i>phátoon</i> 'to leave'	<i>phátiilo</i>	<i>phátíija</i>
<i>haroón</i> 'to take'	<i>haríilo</i>	<i>haríija</i>
<i>pezoón</i> 'to grind'	<i>peziilo</i>	<i>peziija</i>
<i>chinoón</i> 'to break'	<i>chiniilo</i>	<i>chiniija</i>

Transitive á-stems

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Perf. participle</u>	<u>Pass.-Cont. Participle</u>
<i>sanoón</i> 'to make, build'	<i>saniilo</i>	<i>saniija</i>
<i>baṛoón</i> 'to finish'	<i>baṛíilo</i>	<i>baṛíija</i>
<i>tharoón</i> 'to keep an eye on'	<i>tharíilo</i>	<i>tharíija</i>

Mixed áa-stems

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Perf. participle</u>	<u>Pass.-Cont. Participle</u>
<i>nāhoón</i> 'to lose'	<i>nāhíilo</i>	<i>nāhíija</i>
<i>dahoón</i> 'to burn'	<i>dahíilo</i>	<i>dahíija</i>

Causative and transitive ée-stems

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Perf. participle</u>	<u>Pass.-Cont. Participle</u>
<i>khoyoón</i> 'to dig'	<i>khoiilo</i>	<i>khoíija</i>
<i>khojoón</i> 'to ask'	<i>khojiilo</i>	<i>khóiija</i>
<i>thayoón</i> 'to cause to do'	<i>thayíilo</i>	<i>thayíija</i>
<i>khayoón</i> 'to feed'	<i>khayíilo</i>	<i>khayíija</i>

Transitive íi-stems

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Perf. participle</u>	<u>Pass.-Cont. Participle</u>
<i>wyoón</i> 'to put, pour'	<i>wíilo</i>	—
<i>siyoón</i> , 'to know (s.o.)	<i>síilo</i>	—
<i>pyoón</i> 'to drink'	<i>píilo</i>	—

Intransitive ó-stems

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Perf. participle</u>	<u>Pass.-Cont. Participle</u>
<i>bijoón</i> 'to fear'	<i>bijílo</i>	—
<i>mešoón</i> 'to grow up'	<i>mešílo</i>	—

Shortened verbs

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Perf. participle</u>	<u>Pass.-Cont. Participle</u>
<i>thoón</i> 'to do'	<i>thíilo</i>	<i>thíija</i>
<i>khoón</i> 'to eat'	<i>khíilo</i>	<i>khíija</i>
<i>byoón</i> 'to sit'	<i>beéto</i>	—
<i>joón</i> 'to sprout'	<i>jáalo</i>	—
<i>roón</i> 'to cry'	<i>róolo</i>	—

Irregular verbs

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Perf. participle</u>	<u>Pass.-Cont. Participle</u>
<i>ayoón</i> 'to come'	<i>áalo</i>	—
<i>bojoón</i> 'to go'	<i>gyáo</i>	—
<i>boón</i> 'to be'	<i>bílo</i>	—

7.4 Verbal nouns

Although the infinitive is widely used as a verbal noun, some verbs also form specialized verbal nouns which are lexical items in their own right. The following list shows some of the typical formation patterns. All the verbal nouns which have been collected are feminine.

In most cases the verbal noun suffix is added to the infinitive stem, which is usually identical with the the verb root. Both the infinitives and the roots are shown so that the reader may make his own comparison.

The suffix *-níi* is added to the stem of the infinitive.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Root</u>	<u>Verbal noun</u>
<i>capoón</i> 'to bite'	<i>cap-</i>	<i>capníi</i> 'a bite'
<i>laçhoón</i> 'to understand'	<i>laçh-</i>	<i>laçhníi</i> 'understanding'
<i>likoón</i> 'to write'	<i>lik-</i>	<i>likníi</i> 'writing'
<i>siçoón</i> 'to send a message'	<i>siç-</i>	<i>siçníi</i> 'message', 'reply'

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Root</u>	<u>Verbal noun</u>
<i>buhóón</i> 'to weave'	<i>buh-</i>	<i>buhiníí</i> 'weaving'
<i>bahoóón</i> 'to plow'	<i>bah-</i>	<i>bahiníí</i> 'plowing'
<i>siçhyoóón</i> 'to teach'	<i>siçhy-</i>	<i>siçhníí</i> 'teaching', 'understanding'
<i>uçoóón</i> 'to run away'	<i>uç-</i>	<i>uçníí</i> 'flight'
<i>razoóón</i> 'to say'	<i>ráz-</i>	<i>razníí</i> 'saying', 'instruction'
<i>nošoóón</i> 'to disappear'	<i>nóš-</i>	<i>nošníí, nišáar</i> , 'disappearance'
<i>muçoóón</i> 'to get away'	<i>múc-</i>	<i>mucníí</i> 'release'
<i>noṭoóón</i> 'to play'	<i>nóṭ-</i>	<i>noṭníí</i> 'game'
<i>bojoóón</i> 'to go'	<i>boj-</i>	<i>bojníí</i> 'going'

The suffix *-yáar~ -áar* or *-ooṭ* is added to the stem of the infinitive. The variant *-áar* appears to occur following stems ending in *-j-* and in one case, *-š-*, although this is not a hard and fast rule. The infinitive stem of *paṛqijoóón* comes from the word *paṛáq* and the vowel *-á-*, which is lost in the formation of the infinitive, is restored in the verbal noun.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Root</u>	<u>Verbal noun</u>
<i>rabṛoóón</i> 'to harass'	<i>rabṛ-</i>	<i>rabryáar</i> 'harassing'
<i>oroóón</i> 'to search'	<i>oṛ-</i>	<i>oroṭ</i> 'search'
<i>šiloóón</i> 'to hurt'	<i>šil-</i>	<i>šilyáar</i> 'pain'
<i>ekhtiyóón</i> 'to unite'	<i>ekhtí-</i>	<i>ekhtyáar</i> 'uniting'
<i>biljoóón</i> 'to get wet'	<i>bilj-</i>	<i>biljáar</i> 'moisture'
<i>amušoóón</i> 'to forget'	<i>amúš-</i>	<i>amšyáar</i> 'forgetting'
<i>dajoóón</i> 'to burn (int.)'	<i>daj-</i>	<i>dajáar</i> 'burning'
<i>šoboóón</i> 'to get tired'	<i>šóob-</i>	<i>šobyáar</i> 'fatigue', 'enmity'
<i>šišoóón</i> 'to dry'	<i>šiš-</i>	<i>šišáar</i> 'dryness'
<i>kijoóón</i> 'to rot'	<i>kij-</i>	<i>kijáar</i> 'rot'
<i>paṛqijoóón</i> 'to sparkle'	<i>paṛqij-</i>	<i>paṛaqháar</i> 'brilliance'
<i>šacoóón</i> 'to stick'	<i>šac-</i>	<i>šacáar</i> 'obstacle'

The suffix *-áak* is added to the stem of the infinitive.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Root</u>	<u>Verbal noun</u>
<i>byoóón</i> 'to sit'	<i>byeé~ bya-</i>	<i>byáak</i> 'accommodation'
<i>uthyoóón</i> 'to rise, get up'	<i>uthí-</i>	<i>uthyáak</i> 'rising'

The suffix *-an* is added to the stem of the infinitive. The vowel of the infinitive stem may be lengthened.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Root</u>	<u>Verbal noun</u>
<i>khojoón</i> 'to ask'	<i>khoj-</i>	<i>khójan</i> 'enquiry'
<i>phofoón</i> 'to break'	<i>phoʔ-</i>	<i>phóʔan</i> 'breaking', 'excavation'

The suffix *-áao* is added to the stem of the infinitive.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Root</u>	<u>Verbal noun</u>
<i>karyoón</i> 'to work hard'	<i>kary-</i>	<i>kaṛáao</i> 'hard work'
<i>gaṛoón</i> 'to tie'	<i>gaṛ-</i>	<i>gaṛáao</i> 'tying, joint'
<i>pharoón</i> 'to increase'	<i>phár-</i>	<i>pharáao</i> 'produce'

The infinitive stem itself, with a lengthened vowel, is used as the verbal noun. In *háazi* 'laughter', *-i* is suffixed. This is the only occurrence of this pattern in our data.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Root</u>	<u>Verbal noun</u>
<i>tharoón</i> 'to keep an eye on'	<i>thar-</i>	<i>tháar</i> 'oversight'
<i>ṣacoón</i> 'to stick'	<i>ṣac-</i>	<i>ṣáac⁷</i> 'obstacle'
<i>hazoón</i> 'to laugh'	<i>ház-</i>	<i>háazi</i> 'laughter'

The suffix *-áal* is added to the stem of the infinitive.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Root</u>	<u>Verbal noun</u>
<i>raçhoón</i> 'to bring up'	<i>raçh-</i>	<i>raçháal</i> 'nurture'

The following forms are irregular. *yáat* 'walking, gait' appears to be formed from the perfective aspect marker. *nikháas* 'emergence' may be a lengthened infinitive stem with the final consonant devoiced. We have no forms similar to *khaíini* 'foodstuffs', 'something served'.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Root</u>	<u>Verbal noun</u>
<i>yaazoón</i> 'to walk'	<i>yáaz-</i>	<i>yáat</i> 'gait'
<i>nikhzoón</i> 'to come out'	<i>nikház-</i>	<i>nikháas</i> 'emergence'
<i>khoón</i> 'to eat'	<i>kha~khya-</i>	<i>khaíini</i> 'something served'

7 An alternate form of *ṣacáar* with the same meaning.

Examples of verbal nouns

- (116) *ses-ée boj-níi míş̣t-i-s*
 he-POS going good-f.-was
 It was good that he went.
- (117) *sa mî raz-níi-ji na phir-áa-n-o*
 he my saying-AbSup not desist-IMPF-AUXpres-3.m.sg.
 He won't desist on my sayso.
- (118) *acáa lá-i rabryáar na th-a*
 so.much too.much-f. harrassing not do-imp
 Don't harrass [us] to such an extent.
- (119) *adí thóe by-áak míş̣t-i ná-an-i*
 here your staying good-f. not-is-f.sg.
 It's not a good idea for you to stay here.
- (120) *sé-si bář-i kař-áao th-áa-o*
 he-AGP big-f. exertion do-PERF-3.m.sg.
 He worked extremely hard.
- (121) *thóe yáa-t yamij-áa-n-i*
 your going dislike-IMPF-AUXpres-3.f.sg.
 [We] don't like your going.

8. Compound Verbs

8.1 What is a compound verb?

Verb sequences consisting of conjunctive participle + inflected verb, usually called "compound verbs" are one of the true innovations of New Indo-Aryan.¹ These verb sequences behave as a unit, in which the first member of the sequence contributes the basic lexical meaning, and the second, which loses its own primary meaning (either partially or completely), specifies the manner of an action or event. The sequence may have a new meaning of its own which cannot be inferred from the primary meanings of the verbs in the sequence.²

The second verb has been given many designations, including *intensifier*, *operator*, *explicator*; we call it a *vector verb* or simply *vector*. The class of vectors is limited, and according to Masica usually includes *go*, *come*, *give*, *take*, *fall*, *rise*, *throw*, *put* and *sit*.

The role of compound verbs has received extensive treatment in South Asian linguistics, with some scholars (including Nespital) arguing that compound verbs express aspect, specifically perfectivity.³ Others (including Masica) argue that vectors mark *aktionsart* (manner-specification, including directionality, completeness, suddenness, violence, deliberateness, stubbornness, benefaction, affectivity etc.), or may even represent, in the case of the commonest vectors, incipient grammaticalization in the direction of aspect.⁴ It is not our purpose to contribute to this debate, but rather to invoke it as a context for asking the questions: (1) what compound verbs occur in Shina, and (2) to what extent do they share features with those of other NIA languages, particularly Hindi-Urdu?

8.2 Structure and occurrence of compound verbs

The first or main verb in a Shina compound verb occurs in the form of the conjunctive participle (§6.1.1.2, §7.3.1), which has the structure: root + suffix

1 Masica 1991: 326.

2 Numerous examples of this phenomenon may be found in Nespital's *Dictionary of Hindi Verbs*.

3 Nespital 1989, 1996.

4 Masica 1991: 328.

-if or root + suffix *-eé*. The second or vector verb is inflected for aspect, tense/mood and concord. Six verbs are candidates for vectors: *go*, *sit*, *fall*, *give*, *leave* and *release*. All show partial or complete loss of lexical autonomy, i.e., their lexical meanings are suppressed.

The main verb is unmarked, and one must rely on collocational and semantic arguments to distinguish it from an ordinary conjunctive participle.

Tests with negated sentences give mixed results, which we describe under the appropriate vector. In many cases, compound verbs may occur negated without a change in meaning. They may also occur with the modal construction 'be able'.

A typical test for compounds on Indo-Aryan languages is occurrence with progressive tenses. If a compound verb shows an action that may reach its final point, then this action cannot be depicted as being in progress. Hindi-Urdu compound verbs therefore do not occur in progressive tenses. Shina does not have progressive tenses; the present tense shows both habitual and progressive actions. Compound verbs may occur in the present tense.

For the following examples, we give the Urdu translation verbatim. The translations may not conform to norms of Standard Urdu, which is not the purpose. The intention is to express the meaning of the Shina verb sequence.

8.2.1 *bojoón* 'to go' (Urdu *jānā*)

bojoón means 'to go', 'to leave'. In (1) it is used as a simple verb, following the conjunctive participle of *pakhryóón* 'to secure'.

- (1) *se dár-i pakhr-cé gye-i*
 she door-pl. secure-CP went-3.f.sg.
 Having secured the doors, she left.
vǝ darvāze pakke band kar cale gae.

As a vector, *bojoón* seems to occur only with intransitive main verbs. In examples (2a) and (3a) it loses the meaning 'go'.

- (2a) *zúuŋ mayāāro súuri-ji yāa-t-o to bilj-íí bój-aa-s-o*
 Zúuŋ Markhor sun-AbSp walk-PERF-3.m.sg. TOP melt-CP go-IMPF-AUXpast-3.m.sg.
 (If) Zúuŋ Markhor walked in the sun he would melt away.
Zúuŋ Markhor dhūp mē caltā to pighal kar xatm ho jātā.

As a simple verb, *bójaaso* means 'used to go', 'would go'. But Zuún Markhor does not go anywhere, rather he collapses and dies on the spot after melting. *bojoón* is compounded with *biljoón* 'to melt', and the compound *biljií bojoón* has a new meaning: 'to melt away; be sacrificed; become weak'. This compound appears to express both *aktionsart* (change of state) and aspect (perfectivity). Zuún Markhor suffers a permanent change of state.

The sequence *biljií bojoón* can be used in the present as well (2b), and in (2c) with *-báa-* 'be able' (§6.7.1). In (2b) *biljií bójaano* is translated in Urdu *pighaltā jā rahā hai*, implying progression of a state leading to a change.

- (2b) *zúuṅ mayāāro bilj-íí bój-aa-n-o, waá*
 Zuún Markhor melt-CP go-IMPF-AUXpres-3.m.sg. EMPH
 Hey, Zuún Markhor is melting!
oho, Zúuṅ Markhor pighaltā jā rahā hai!
- (2c) *súuri-ji na yáa-s, bilj-íí bój-baa-n-oe*
 sun-AbSp not walk-imp melt-CP go-can-AUXpres-2m.sg.
 Don't walk in the sun, you can melt away!
dhūp mē na calo, pighal kar xatm ho sakte ho!

In (3a), the clothes have been burned to ashes, undergoing a permanent change of state.

- (3a) *póca daj-íí gy-e*
 clothes burn-CP went-3.pl.
 The clothes burned up.
kapre pūrī tarah jal gae / kapre jal kar rākh ho gae.

The compound in (3a) can be negated without loss of meaning:

- (3b) *póca daj-íí na gy-e*
 clothes not burn-CP not went-3pl.
 The clothes did not burn completely
kapre pūrī tarah na jale.
- (3c) *haáe waá, daj-íí na gy-e*
 alas EMPH burn-CP not went-3pl.
 Alas, they did not burn up!
hāe, mukammal nahī jale!
 (Said by a person who wanted to take full revenge, but could not)

bojoón as a vector expresses a permanent change of state or a completed action. *biljii bojoón* 'to melt away', 'to become weak' appears to have a new unitary meaning of its own.

8.2.2 *byoón* 'to sit' (Urdu *baiṭhnā*)

As a simple verb *byoón* means 'to sit' and 'to stay', 'to live'.

- (4) *pon-da khar beé-ṭ-i-n-i*
 road-in inside sit-PERF-f.-AUXpres-3.f.sg.
 (She) is sitting/living in the middle of the path.
rāste ke bīc mē baiṭhī hai.

byoón occurs fairly commonly as a vector with both intransitive and transitive main verbs, behaving similarly to the Urdu vector *baiṭhnā*, describing completed actions, reprehensible or regrettable actions or events, usually with permanent consequences, and in some cases sudden actions. We seem to find both aspect (perfectivity) and *aktionsart*. The primary meaning 'to sit' is lost, as sitting is not involved in any of the examples in the corpus; one can however argue that the secondary meaning 'to stay' is latent (implying the permanency of the consequences).

In (5a), *šišīi byoón* can be defined as 'to dry up and be ruined'. The consequences cannot be reversed.

- (5a) *makāi šiš-īi beé-ṭ-i*
 maize dry-CP sit-PERF-3.f.sg.
 The maize dried up completely (due to drought).
makkī bilkul sūkh gaī.

If the sentence is rendered in the present tense, the inevitability remains:

- (5b) *makāi šiš-īi by-āa-n-i*
 maize dry-CP sit-IMPf-AUXpres-3.f.sg.
 The maize is drying up completely and being ruined.
makkī mukammal sūkh kar rah jāī hai.

The compound can be negated without loss of meaning (5c), however it cannot be used with the modal construction 'be able' (the simple verb *sišoón* 'to dry' is used instead in 5d).

- (5c) *makái šiš-íí na beé-ṭ-i*
maize dry-CP not sit-PERF-3.f.sg.
The maize did not dry up completely
makkī bilkul sūkh nahī gāī.
- (5d) *makái na šiši-bāa-l-i-s*
maize dry-can-PERF-3.f.sg.-AUXpast
The maize could not dry up completely
makkī nahī sūkh sakī thī.

In (6a), an evil witch turns a prince into a ram and ties it up inside her house, so that the princess cannot find it. The condition is fortunately not permanent, because the princess later succeeds in coercing the witch into turning it back into a prince. The event is a crucial twist in the story's plot.

- (6a) *har-íí akóo-ṭ gaṭ-eé beé-ṭ-i*
take-CP self-DAT tie-CP sit-PERF-3.f.sg.
She tied it up and kept it for herself.
us ne apne lie bādh rakhā.

The primary lexical meaning of *byoón* is not recovered if (6a) is negated. Rather, the action of tying up is performed improperly (and so the ram can escape).

- (6b) *har-íí akóo-ṭ gaṭ-eé na beé-ṭ-i*
take-CP self-DAT tie-CP not sit-PERF-3.f.sg.
She should have tied it up for herself but did not.
võ apne lie bādh kar nahī rakhā.

In (7) *uthíí byoón* means 'to get up suddenly'.

- (7) *teé heryáan hoó uth-íí beé-ṭ-o*
then surprised somewhat rise-CP sit-PERF-3.m.sg.
Then somewhat surprised, (he) suddenly got up.
phir võ hairān sā rah kar uth baiṭhā.

In (8) *uthíí byoón* may also mean either 'to sit up' or 'to remain awake'. In this sense the sequence does not appear to be a compound. It can be used negated and with 'to be able'.

- (8a) *mo ḍer-ée dar-gi ráatyoo uth-íí beé-ṭ-o-s*
 I stomach-POS pain-with all.night rise-CP sit-PERF-m.sg.-I
 I've been sitting up all night because of stomach ache.
maī peṭ ke dard kī wajah se sārī rāt uṭh kar baiṭhā hū.
- (8b) *mo ráatyoo uth-íí na beé-ṭ-o-s*
 I all.night rise-CP sit-PERF-m.sg.-I
 I did not sit up all night.
- (8c) *mo ráatyoo uth-íí na beé-ṭ-o-báa-l-o-s⁵*
 I all.night rise-CP sit-PERF-m.sg.-can-PERF-m.sg.-I
 I could not sit up all night.

8.2.3 *dijoón* 'to fall' (Urdu *girnā*)

The status of *dijoón* as a vector is marginal. As a simple verb, it means 'to fall', 'to befall, be due to'. All the examples of *dijoón* as a vector verb occur with the main verb *wazoón* 'to come down'. *wazíí dijoón* means 'to fall down', 'to collapse', and can both be negated and used in the modal construction 'be able'.

- (9a) *mušáa pon-da waz-íí dí-t-o*
 man road-in come.down-CP fall-PERF-3.m.sg.
 The man collapsed on the road.
ādmī rāste mē (śiddat se) gir gayā.
- (9b) *góoṣ waz-íí dí-t-o*
 house come.down-CP fall-PERF-3.m.sg.
 The house collapsed.
makān baiṭh gayā.
- (9c) *góoṣ waz-íí na dí-t-o*
 house come.down-CP not fall-PERF-3.m.sg.
 The house did not collapse.
- (9d) *góoṣ waz-íí na di-t-o-báa-l-o*
 house come.down-CP not fall-PERF-m.sg.-can-PERF-3.m.sg.
 The house could not collapse completely.

5 For the occurrence of the perfective participle as the base of the modal construction, see 6.7.1.

If one elicits 'the man descended, and then he fell down', the result is a circumlocution (9e). The use of *wazií* in the compound sequence seems to make it unavailable as an ordinary conjunctive participle before *dijoón*. Ordinary falling (as opposed to a collapse or hard fall) is expressed by *dijoón* without *wazií* (9f).

- (9e) *mušáa tóbiji waz-óonda waz-íí dí-t-o*
 man tree-AbSp come.down-PROGPPL come.down-CP fall-PERF-
 3.m.sg.

Coming down from the tree, the man fell.

ādmī daraxt se utarte waqt nīce ā girā.

- (9f) *mušáa pon-da dí-t-o*
 man road-in fall-PERF-3.m.sg.
 The man fell on the road (as a result of slipping).

ādmī rāste mē gir gayā.

We are unable to elicit other compounds with this vector. *wazií dijoón* is apparently an isolated lexeme, and no generalizations can be drawn about the *aktionsart* of *dijoón*. It is worth noting however that exactly the same sequence occurs in Kashmiri (*pe vāsith*) with the meaning 'fall down'.⁶

8.2.4 *doón* 'to give' (Urdu *denā*)

The corpus contains examples where *doón* occurs as a vector, and others where it is used as a simple verb. As already mentioned, there is no morphological marker to distinguish ordinary conjunctive participles from main verbs in compound sequences. Whether sequences of conjunctive participle + *doón* should be treated as compounds or not seems most often to depend on collocation with individual verbs, as well as the semantics of the object of the sentence.

In (10) and (11), *doón* is used as a simple verb.

- (10) *sé-s-i góoş san-eé d-áa-o*
 he-AGP house build-CP give-PERF-3.m.sg.
 He built the house and gave it (to someone).
us ne ghar banā kar diyā (kisī ko).

- (11) *sé-s-i makái uḥ-eé d-áa-o*
 he-AGP maize bring-CP give-PERF-3.m.sg.
 He brought the maize and gave it (to someone).
us ne makkī pahūcā kar dī (kisī ko).

As a vector, *doón* behaves much like the Urdu vector *denā*, showing completion of a task performed for another or for the common good. The sequence can be negated and used with the modal construction 'be able'. In (12a) *doón* loses its lexical autonomy, but in (13), it has partial lexical autonomy: it shows that the work is complete, that it has been done for someone else, but also that the shawl is given to someone.

- (12a) *sé-s-i dóoli bah-íí d-áa-o*
 he-AGP field plow-CP give-PERF-3.m.sg.
 He plowed the field (and the job is done).
us ne khet (mē) hal calā diyā.

(Simple verb: *sési dóoli baháao* 'he plowed the field')

- (12b) *sé-s-i dóoli bah-íí na d-áa-o*
 he-AGP field plow-CP not give-PERF-3.m.sg.
 He did not plow the field.

- (12c) *sé-s-i dóoli bah-íí do-báa-l-o*
 he-AGP field plow-CP give-can-PERF-3.m.sg.
 He was able to plow the field.

- (13) *sé-s-o ágo çiq-eé d-eég-i-n-i yaá*
 she-AGP headshawl cmbroider-CP give-PERF-f.-AUXpres-3.f.sg.
 RHET
 Did she finish embroidering the headshawl and hand it over?
kyā us ne ágo par karhāī kar ke dī hai?

(Simple verb: *séso ágo çiqeégini* 'she has embroidered the head-shawl')

If the focus is only on completion, the nominal verb (§6.9.2) *táam thoón* 'to finish' is used (14).

- (14) *se-s dōōchi ágo çiç-eé táam th-úu*
 she-AGI tomorrow headshawl embroider-CP complete do-fut.3.f.sg.
 She will finish embroidering the headshawl tomorrow.
võ kal ágo par karhāi mukammal kare gī.

When no morphological marking is available to disambiguate syntactic sequences from compound verbs, ambiguities are unavoidable; we must take the semantics of the object of the sentence into consideration. Maize or a shawl, even a house, are physical objects which can be transferred to another. Fields on the other hand are not given away, although plowing can be performed for another person. Thus *saneé doón* tends to be interpreted as 'to make and give' (*banā kar denā*) rather than 'to make as a performance' (*banā denā*); and *uçheé doón* as 'to bring and hand over' (*pahūcā kar denā*) instead of 'to deliver' (*pahūcā denā*). Sometimes a degree of ambiguity remains, as in (13).

doón seems to partially qualify as a vector, expressing completion of a task performed for another.

8.2.5 *phátoon* 'to leave' (Urdu *chorṇā*)

phátoon means 'to leave', 'to let', 'to release'. In (15) and (16) it is used as a simple verb.

- (15) *mulóo tu-se phát-wi-i-s*
 boy you-SOC leave-fut.pl.-1
 We will leave the boy with you.
larḳā tumhāre sāth chorē ge.
- (16) *seṇāā-ga karaá-e phát-eeg-a*
 they-also ram-pl. release-PERF-3.pl.
 They also released the (other) rams.
unhō ne (dūsre) mēḍhe chor die.

phátoon as a vector can (more categorically than *byoón*) express a reprehensible or regrettable action that is completed and cannot be undone (similar to the Urdu vector *baiṭhnā*). In both cases we find both aspect (perfectivity) and *aktionsart*. The offending words cannot be unsaid. The sequence can be negated and used with the modal construction 'be able'.

- (17a) *sé-s-i mi hyúu dah-íí phát-aa-o*
 he-AGP my heart burn-CP leave-PERF-3.m.sg.
 He hurt me to the quick / totally offended me.
us ne merū dil jalā ke rakh diyā.
- (17b) *sé-s-i mi hyúu dah-íí na phát-aa-o*
 he-AGP my heart burn-CP not leave-PERF-3.m.sg.
 He did not manage to offend me completely.
- (17a) *sé-s-i mi hyúu dah-íí phát-baa-l-o*
 he-AGP my heart burn-CP leave-can-PERF-3.m.sg.
 He managed to offend me completely.

The simple verb can not be used in this context, as the heart is not a flammable object.

(Simple verb: **sési mi hyúu daháao* 'he burned my heart')

In (18) the maize is beyond rescue as a result of culpable neglect. The simple verb means 'he burned the maize'. (18) can not be negated.

- (18) *sé-s-i makái dah-íí phát-aa-o*
 he-AGP maize burn-CP leave-PERF-3.m.sg.
 He completely ruined the maize (by neglecting to care for it).
us ne makkī jalā ke rakh dī.

(Simple verb: *sési makái daháao* 'he burned the maize' [but not completely])

The beard in (19) will grow back, but its owner will be embarrassed for a while. The simple verb does not imply such a drastic trimming.

- (19) *muš-cé dáí curt-cé phát-aa-o*
 man-AGP beard trim-CP leave-PERF-3.m.sg.
 The man trimmed his beard too short.
(us) ādmī ne (apnī) dārhī bahut choṭā kar dī.

(Simple verb: *mušcé dáí curṭáao* 'the man trimmed his beard')

The compound verb in (20a) expresses completeness, but the simple one in (20b) does not.

- (20a) *sé-s-i búto-ṛ razií phát-aa-o*
 he-AGP all-DAT say-CP leave-PERF-3.m.sg.
 He told (it) to (absolutely) everyone.
us ne sab ko batā diyā.
- (20b) *sé-s-i búto-ṛ raj-aa-o*
 he-AGP all-DAT-say-PERF-3.m.sg.
 He told (it) to everyone (but he may need to repeat it).
us ne sab ko kahā.

The compound may be used in the present tense (20c).

- (20c) *sé-s búto-ṛ razií phát-ii-n-o*
 he-AGI all-DAT say-CP leave-IMPF-AUXpres-3.m.sg.
 He is blabbing (it) to everyone / he is a blabbermouth.
vo sab ko batā kar kah choṛtū hai.

The semantic argument for vector status of *phátoon* is perhaps the strongest of the six verbs examined here.

8.2.6 *mojóón* 'to release' (Urdu *āzād karnā, choṛnā*)

mojóón as a simple verb means 'to release', 'to rescue'. A secondary meaning is 'to complete'. (21) shows the primary meaning 'rescue'.

- (21) *koé-ga musalmáan hán-o to mo moj-eé*
 who-also Muslim is-EXpr-3.m.sg. TOP I.NOM rescue-imp.sg.
 If any Muslim is present, rescue me!
agar koī musalmān yahā hai to mujhe bacāo!

As a vector, it means 'to finish; to do completely', and loses its primary meanings (22, 23a). All the main verbs in the corpus are action verbs, otherwise there seems to be no restriction on the occurrence of *mojóón* with main verbs. The sequence can be negated and used with the modal construction 'be able'.

- (22a) *sé-s-i dóoli bah-íí moj-áa-w-n-o*
 he-AGP field plow-CP release-PERF-m.-AUXpres-3.m.sg.
 He has finished plowing the field.
us ne khet (mē) hal calā kar xatm kiyā hai.
- (22a) *sé-s-i dóoli bah-íí na moj-áa-w-n-o*
 he-AGP field plow-CP not release-PERF-m.-AUXpres-3.m.sg.
 He has not finished plowing the field.
- (22a) *sé-s-i dóoli bah-íí moj-báa-l-uu-n-o*
 he-AGP field plow-CP release-can-PERF-m.-AUXpres-3.m.sg.
 He has been able to finish plowing the field.
- (23a) *sé-s-i góoş san-eé moj-áa-o*
 he-AGP house build-CP release-PERF-3.m.sg.
 He finished building the house.
us ne ghar banā kar xatm kiyā.
- (23b) *sé-s-i góoş san-eé na moj-áa-o*
 he-AGP house build-CP not release-PERF-3.m.sg.
 He did not finish building the house.
us ne ghar banā kar xatm na kiyā.

bařoon 'to finish' could replace *mojoón* in (23a/b) without a change in meaning, but the primary meaning of *bařoon* is 'to finish', thus it does not meet the basic criterion for vector status. The argument for vector status of *mojoón* is rather weak, but it is included here because, as a vector, it loses its primary meanings.

Some sequences with *mojoón* appear to have new unitary lexical meanings:

- deé mojoón* 'to pay in full (debt)' (U. *cukānā*) < *doón* 'to give'
modíí mojoón 'to churn into buttermilk/butter' < *modoón* 'to churn'
razií mojoón 'to speak one's mind' < *razoón* 'to speak'

8.3 Conclusion

Aspect (completion) appears to be a property of the vectors *bojoón* 'to go', *byoón* 'to sit', *doón* 'to give', *phátoon* 'to leave', and certainly of *mojoón*. But completion seems to be closely linked to *aktionsart*. *bojoón* expresses

change of state, *byoón* sudden actions, or lasting ones (and apparently also reprehensible or regrettable ones); *doón* both completion and performance of a task for another; *phátoon* completed actions or reprehensible/regrettable actions, and *mojoón* completion of an action. There seems to be no rule for separating aspect and *aktionsart* in analysing Shina compound verbs.

The examples however often lack the sharp semantic distinction between compound and simple verbs which we find in Urdu and Hindi. The usual tests for negation and occurrence with modals fail to distinguish vectors from simple verbs.

Some compounds, such as *wazií dijoón* 'to collapse'. *biljií bojoón* 'to melt away, to become weak' or *razií mojoón* 'to speak one's mind' are lexemes in their own right.

To conclude, we seem to be dealing with an emerging phenomenon, in which the distinction between compound sequences and syntactic sequences is rather weak. Nevertheless, there are examples of verb + verb sequences which do meet the usual semantic criteria for compound verbs.

9. Conjunctions

9.1 *ãã* ‘and’

ãã ‘and’ is seldom used, since conjunctive participles (§7.3.1) express both simultaneous and sequential actions. It introduces a new topic (1, 2).

- (1) *ãã adí mi málgarø-k gy-á-w-s-o mi zúa*
and here my companion-INDF went-m.-AUXpast-3.m.sg. my brother
And my companion, my brother, had passed here.
- (2) *ãã heryáan bí-l-u-n-o baacháa ce aáe jóo wal-u-n*
and surprised become-PERF-m.-AUXpres-3.m.sg. king that this what
way-m.sg.-is
And the king has become surprised—“What’s going on?”

9.2. The particle *-ga*

The particle *-ga* adds the meaning ‘also’, ‘too’ and sometimes ‘and’ to the word it is suffixed to. Followed by the negative particle *na*, it means ‘not either’.

- (3) *theé sa nesmán cêi-ga mušáa dúu-s*
do-CP that poor.man wife-and husband two-were
It is said of that poor man that there were only the two, wife and husband.
- (4) *mī aáe púc-ee oláat-ga na bí-l-a*
my this son-POS offspring-also not become-PERF-3.pl.
This son of mine did not get offspring, either.

It may emphasize a following adjective:

- (5) *beó-t-o diēē-ji yáa-t-i lói-ga bár-i-n*
sit-PERFPPL-m.sg. leopard-AbSp walk-PERFPPL-f. fox-also good-f.-is
A walking fox (is) much better than a sitting leopard.

9.3 *walé* and *khíni* ‘but’

walé ‘but’ introduces a clause which contradicts the previous clause. *khíni* ‘but’ may also be used as a filler, which does not change the meaning of the sentence.

- (6) *walé káath-o-ji phuk na áa-l-a to kaá b-úu*
 but wood-OBpl.-AbSp flour not come-PERF-3.pl. TOP what be-
 fut.3.f.sg.
 But if the wood does not bring in flour, then what will happen?
- (7) *yé-s-i phirí óra-péra phíphuṭ th-áa-o walé phirí jo páta na áa-l-i*
 he-OBL-AGP again around look do-PERF-3.m.sg. but again what
 information not come-PERF-3.f.sg.
 He looked all around again, but again there was nothing to be seen.
- (8) *mō raj-áa-s khíni sé-s-i nēé th-áa-o*
 I-AGP say-PERF.m.sg.-1 but he-OBL-AGP no do-PERF-3.m.sg.
 I told him, but he said no.

9.4 *ce* ‘that’

ce ‘that’ introduces a subordinate clause which is often a quoted thought (9). It can also introduce a clause with a different subject than that of the first clause (a construction where a conjunctive participle would not be used)

- (9) *ãã heryáan bí-l-u-n-o baacháa ce aáe jóo wa-l-u-n*
 and surprised become-PERF-m.-AUXpres-3.m.sg. king that this what
 way-m.sg.-is
 And the king has become surprised—“What’s going on?”
- (10) *çak-áa-o ce šazdá-k nikhá-t-o*
 look-PERF-3.sg.m. that prince-INDF come.out-PERF-3.m.sg.
 (As) he looked, a prince came out.

9.5 *ke-ce* 'because'

The compound of *ke* and *ce* ('why-that') means 'because'.

- (11) *ke-ce cíy-ee pāā daçhíñ-o cal-íi-n-o darbát-iji*
 why-that woman-POS foot right-m.sg. move-IMPf-AUXpres-3.m.sg.
 threshold-AbSp
 Because a woman's right foot advances on the threshold.
 (Context: the minister is persuading the king that a disguised princess
 is a woman.)

9.6 *záū* 'maybe'

záū 'maybe' introduces a subordinate clause.

- (12) *záū mōz-ee d-óo-s, kal-ée d-óo-s ...*
 maybe month-POS give-fut.m.sg.-1 year-POS give-fut.m.sg.-1
 Maybe I might give a month's worth, or a year's worth ...
- ... *walé mo-s tú-ji chal ke th-am*
 ... but I-AGI you-AbSp trick why do-subj.1.sg.
 ... but why should I trick you?

It also means 'as though', 'like':

- (13) *se-s çák-a záū bój-i ná-an-o yaá*
 he-AGI look-imp like go-IMPf not-is-m.sg. RHET
 He makes a show of getting ready, but does he really go?

9.7 *agar* 'if'

agar 'if' (a loanword) optionally introduces the first clause of a conditional sentence (§6.8).

- (14) *agár ðōōchi mausum sam bí-l-o to jháaz boj-óo*
 if tomorrow weather good become-PERF-3.m.sg. TOP airplane
 go-fut.3.m.sg.
 If the weather is good tomorrow, the plane will fly.

9.8 The topicalizer *to* ‘as for’, ‘then’

The topicalizer *to* ‘as for’, ‘then’ emphasizes the immediately preceding topic, possibly contrasting it with a new topic, and may mark a sequence of events.

- (15) *thóo to mo yáraq th-eég-i-n-ee*
 you-AGP TOP me drown do-PERF-f. AUXpres-2.f.sg.
 As for you, you have drowned me.
- (16) *walé káath-o-ji phuk na áa-l-a to kaá b-úu*
 but wood-OBpl.-AbSp flour not come-PERF-3.pl. TOP what be-
 fut.3.f.sg.
 But if the wood does not bring in flour, then what will happen?
- (17) *baacháa-di gyá-o, gyá-o to baacháa toóm-o asá markáz-da hán-o*
 king-ADD went-3.m.sg., went-3.m.sg. TOP king own-3.m.sg. that
 court-in is-m.sg.
 He went to the king, when he went, the king *is* in that court of his.
- (18) *bextyáar-oo kaşáp th-eég-i to ʔak kudi-k-áan-i*
 automatic-ABL grab do-PERF-3.f.sg. TOP button where-INDF-is-
 3.f.sg.
 She automatically clutched (her neck), then the button was not there.
- to* also introduces the result clause of a conditional sentence (§6.8)
- (19) *agár đōōchi mausum sam bǐ-l-o to jháaz boj-óo*
 if tomorrow weather good become-PERF-3.m.sg. TOP airplane
 go-fut.3.m.sg.
 If the weather is good tomorrow, the plane will fly.

Bibliography

- Akbar, Hussain Akbar: *Somolo Rasul [The Holy Prophet]*. Islamabad: Modern Book Depot Islamabad, 1992.
- Bailey, T. Grahame: *Grammar of the Shina Language*. London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1924.
- Barth, Fredrik: *Political Leadership among Swat Pathans*. London School of Economics Monographs on Social Anthropology. London: the Athlone Press, 1965.
- *Indus and Swat Kohistan: An Ethnographic Survey. Studies Honoring the Centennial of the Universitets Etnografiske Museum, Oslo*, 1956.
- Bashir, Elena: "Dardic" In G. Cardona and D. Jain (eds.): *The Indo-Aryan Languages*. pp. 818-894. London: Routledge, 2003.
- Biddulph, John: *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*. Calcutta, 1880. Reprinted Karachi: Indus Publications, 1977.
- Bloch, Jules: *Indo-Aryan from the Vedas to Modern Times*. English edition translated by Alfred Master. Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1965.
- Buddruss, Georg: *Shina-Rätsel. Nānāvīdhaikatā. Festschrift für Hermann Berger*. pp. 29-54. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996.
- On artificial glaciers in the Gilgit Karakorum. *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* Vol. 18 (1993): 77-90.
- *Die Sprache von Sau in Ostafghanistan. Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Dardischen Phalūra*. Munich: *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*, Beiheft M, 1967.
- Cacopardo, Alberto M. and Augusto S. Cacopardo: *Gates of Peristan. History, Religion and Society in the Hindu Kush*. Rome: Istituto Italiano per L'Africa e L'Oriente, 2001.
- Cacopardo, Alberto M. and Ruth Laila Schmidt (eds.): *My Heartrendingly Tragic Story* by Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah Khan 'Azar'. Oslo: Novus Forlag, 2006.
- Chilasi, Nasiruddin: *Zad-e-safar: Kalam Baba Chilasi [Provisions for the Journey: Collected Poems of Baba Chilasi]*, [no date].
- Clark, T.W. *Introduction to Nepali*. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons Ltd., 1963.
- Eaton, Richard M.: *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier 1204–1760*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
- Fussman, Gérard: 'Languages as a source for history', in Dani, Ahmad Hasan, *History of Northern Areas of Pakistan*. Islamabad: National Institute of Cultural and Historical Research, 1989.
- *Atlas Linguistique des Parlers Dardes et Kafirs*. Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Vol. 86, 1972.
- Glassé, Cyril: *The Concise Encyclopedia of Islam*. London: Stacey International, 1989.
- Government of Pakistan: *District Census Report of Kohistan 1998*.

- Heegård, Jan: *Local Case-Marking in Kalasha*. Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Nordic Studies and Linguistics, University of Copenhagen, 2006.
- Hinüber, Oskar von: "Brāhmnī inscriptions on the history and culture of the upper Indus valley" in Jettmar, Karl, Ditte König and Volker Thewalt (eds.): *Antiquities of Northern Pakistan. Reports and Studies*. Vol. 1: *Rock Inscriptions in the Indus Valley*. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1989.
- Jettmar, Karl with Ditte König and Volker Thewalt: *Antiquities of Northern Pakistan. Reports and Studies*. Vol. 1: *Rock Inscriptions in the Indus Valley*. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1989.
- "Bolor. A contribution to the political and ethnic geography of North Pakistan". *Zentralasiatische Studien* 11, 411-448, 1977.
- *Die Religionen des Hindukusch*. Stuttgart: Verlag V. Kolhammer, 1975.
- Kohistani, Razwal: *Indas Kohistān. Šiṅ, Yeškun ō Kamīn qabā'el aur un kā nizām-ē-muāšarat* [Indus Kohistan: Shin, Yeshkun and Kamin tribes and their social system]. Shina Research Forum Karakoram, Rawalpindi, 1998.
- Kohistani, Razwal and Ruth Laila Schmidt: "Shina in contemporary Pakistan" in Anju Saxena and Lars Borin (eds.): *Trends in Linguistics: Lesser Known Languages of South Asia*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter 2006.
- *Shina Proverbs*. Shina Research Forum Karakoram, Rawalpindi, 1999.
- *Shina Environmental Primer* [in Shina]. Islamabad, Pakistan: Himalayan Jungle Project, 1996.
- Leitner, G.W.: *Dardistan in 1866, 1886 and 1893*, Oriental University Institute, Woking, 1893. Reprinted Manjusri Publishing House, New Delhi, 1978.
- Liljegren, Henrik: "Palula Sample Text: Tug-of-War". Downloaded from the website: <http://fli-online.org>. Posted September 2005.
- Lindholm, Charles: *Generosity and Jealousy. The Swat Pukhtun of Northern Pakistan*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1982.
- Lorimer, D.L.R.: "The forms and nature of the transitive verb in Shina (Gilgiti dialect)". *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 2 (1924), Part 3: 467-493.
- Masica, Colin P.: *The Indo-Aryan Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Morgenstierne, Georg: "Dardic and Kāfir Languages". *The Encyclopedia of Islam, New Edition*, Vol. 2, Fasc. 25, 138-9. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1961.
- "Notes on Phalura, an unknown Dardic language of Chitral". Oslo: *Skrifter utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo*. II, Hist.-Fil. Klasse. No. 5, 1941.
- Namus, Dr. M. Shuja: *Gilgit aur Šinā Zabān [Gilgit and the Shina Language]*. Bahawalpur: Urdu Academy, 1961.
- Nespital, Helmut: "Verbal aspect and lexical semantics in Indo-Aryan languages: the typology of verbal expressions ('compound verbs') and their relation to simple verbs". *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik*, Vol. 15 (1989): 159-95.

- “Verbal aspect in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages. The relation of simple verbs to verbal expressions (‘compound verbs’)”. *Berliner Indologische Studien*, Vol. 9/10 (1996): 247-258.
- *Dictionary of Hindi Verbs*. Allahabad: Lokbharti Prakashan, 1997.
- Radloff, Carla F.: “The solution to a linguistic mystery: the absence of diphthongs in the Shina language of Gilgit” in Joan L.G. Baart and Ghulam Hyder Sindhi (eds.): *Pakistani Languages and Society: Problems and Prospects*, pp. 145-153. Islamabad: Summer Institute of Linguistics and National Institute of Pakistan Studies, 2003.
- *Aspects of the Sound System of Gilgiti Shina*. Islamabad: National Institute of Pakistan Studies and Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1999.
- Radloff, Carla F. with Shakil Ahmad Shakil: *Folktales in the Shina of Gilgit* (text, grammatical analysis and commentary). Islamabad: National Institute of Pakistan Studies and Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1998.
- Sachau, Edward C.: *Alberuni’s India*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1910.
- Schmidt, Ruth Laila: “A Naga-prince tale in Kohistan”. *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. 76 (2006): 159-188.
- “A grammatical comparison of Shina dialects”, in Anju Saxena (ed.): *Himalayan Languages Past and Present. Trends in Linguistics Studies and Monographs 149*, pp. 33-55. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2004.
- ‘Compound tenses in the Shina of Kohistan’. Dirk W. Lönne (ed.): *Tohfa-e-Dil • Festschrift Helmut Nespital*, pp. 433-452. Reinbek: Wezler, 2001.
- “The Shina speakers of Pakistan and India” in Weekes, R.V. (ed.): *Muslim Peoples: A World Ethnographic Survey*, 678-684. Westport (Connecticut): Greenwood Press, 1984.
- Schmidt, Ruth Laila and Razwal Kohistani: “Nominal inflections in the Shina of Indus Kohistan”. *Acta Orientalia* Vol. 62 (2001): 107-143.
- “Páalus /kostyó/ Shina revisited”. *Acta Orientalia* Vol. 59 (1998): 106-149.
- “The mirror of writing: the role played by orthography in the arbitrariness of phonemic solutions”. Paper read at the 3rd International Hindu Kush Conference, Chitral, Pakistan, August 1995.
- Ruth Laila Schmidt and M.M. Zarin: The phonology and tonal system of Palas /kohis’tyō:/ Shina. *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*, Vol. 40 (1981): 155-185.
- Schmidt, Ruth Laila, M.M. Zarin and Razwal Kohistani: *The Poor Man’s Tale*. Unpublished manuscript of a folktale narrated by Ropi Jan, 2003.
- Shaheen, Parvez: *Abā Sīn Kohistān* [Indus Kohistan]. Mingora: Shoab Sons Booksellers, 1988.
- Strand, Richard 2002, <http://users.sedona.net/~strand/IndoAryan/Indus/Atsaret/AtsaretLanguage/Lexicon/case.html>. Last modified 23 May 2002.
- 2001a, <http://users.sedona.net/~strand/IndoAryan/IndoAryas.html>. Last updated 12 June 2001.

- 2001b, <http://users.sedona.net/~strand/IngFrameL.html>. Last modified 18 June 2001.
- 2000, <http://users.sedona.net/~strand/IndoAryan/Indus/Atsaret/AtsaretTexts/AtsaretHistory.html>. Last modified 14 Apr. 2000.
- Turner, R. L.: *Collected Papers 1912-1973*. London: Oxford University Press, 1975. Article reprinted from *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 4 (1927), Part 3, pp. 533-41.
- *Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*. Oxford University Press, 1966.
- Vohra, Rohit 1981: "History of the Dards and the concept of Minaro Traditions among the Buddhist Dards in Ladakh" in Detlef Kantowsky and Reinhard Sander (eds.): *Recent Research on Ladakh: History, Culture, Sociology, Ecology. Proceedings of a conference held at the Universität Konstanz, 23-26 November 1981*, pp. 51-80. Munich, Weltforum Verlag, 1966.
- Wali, Kashi and Omkar N. Koul: *Kashmiri: A Cognitive-Descriptive Grammar*. London: Routledge, 1997.
- Zarin, M.M. and Ruth Schmidt: *Discussions with Hariq: Land Tenure and Transhumance in Indus Kohistan*. University of California (Berkeley), Center for South Asia Studies, *Working Papers*, June 1984. Republished as *Lok Virsa Research Reprints RPR-856-501* (Islamabad, Pakistan: Lok Virsa Publishing House, 1985).
- Zia, Mohammad Amin: *Šinā Qāēda aur Grāēmar* [Shina Primer and Grammar]. Gilgit: Zia Publications, 1986.
- Zeisler, Bettina: *Relative Tense and Aspectual Values in Tibetan languages*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2004.
- Zoller, Claus Peter: *A Grammar and Dictionary of Indus Kohistani*. Vol. 1: Dictionary. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2005.

Index

A

- a--as- adjective and adverb sets 90, 103-106, 218
- áa-stems 157-161
- áa 'and' 252
- aác (proximate demonstrative) 88-89
- áath 215
- ablative suffix -uu--oo 68-69
- ablative-suppressive 62-65
- acáa 105-106
- accent 24-29
- accent shift 49-50, 135
- acoustic graphs 25, 33-39
- adáa 218
- addressive 65-67
- adí 210-212
- adjectival particle hoo 106-107
- adjectives 100-110
 - comparative of 109
 - descriptive 100-103
 - ending in short vowels 100-101
 - ending in long vowels 101-103
 - invariant 103
 - of manner 100-101
 - used as nouns 108
- adóo 104
- adverbial participle of manner 212, 226-229
- adverbs 209-219
 - simple 209-216
 - derived from adjectives 217-219
 - derived from nouns 216-217
 - directional and postpositional 212-215
 - of manner and degree 215-216
 - of place 210-212
 - of time 209-210
- agar 'if' 254
- agent-imperfective 51-53
- agent-perfective 53-57 *ajdáa* 218
- aj- (emphatic segment) 103
- ajaác 89-90
- ají 'up', 'upon' 72-73
- approximation 106-107
- asá (remote demonstrative) 87-89

- ascáa 105-106
- asdáa 218
- asdáath 215, 218
- asdí 210-212
- asdoó 104
- astóto 105
- Astor 1, 3
- Astori 2
- atóto 105
- auxiliary verb boón 'to be' 119-124
- azó 'inside' 74

B

- 'be able' 198-202
- boón, paradigms of 120-124

C

- cardinal numbers 109-110
- case suffixes 50-69
- cause 225
- causative and transitive ée-stems 161-168
- causatives 193-194
- CECIL 25
- Chilas 1, 3-6, 9, 11
- Chitral 3, 9
- comparative of adjectives 109
- compound tenses 124-134
- compound verbs 239-251
- conditional sentences 204-206
- conjunct verbs 206
- conjunction 224-225
- conjunctions 252-255
- conjunctive participle 111-112, 219-226
- consonants 18-23
- contrafactual conditions 205-206
 - aspectual distinctions in 205

D

- da (locative postposition) 70
- Dardic 1, 97
- Dards 3
- Dāradadeša 1
- dative 60-62

Darmá lineages 3-4, 6, 11-12
 deixis 94-99
 deictics *paár*, *per-péra* and *óra* 94-99
 demonstrative pronouns 87-90
 dialects of Shina 2-3
 diphthongs 24
 distance, degrees of 95-98
 Drasi 2, 60, 62, 86, 88

E

elaboration of perfective tenses with
 auxiliaries 134
-ek--k (indefinite particle) 75-79, 93
 emphatic segment *aj-* 103
 evidentiality 97

F

fairies 8-9
 fulfillable conditions 204
 future 128-129

G

-ga 252
 Gandhari Prakrit 2
 genealogies 9-11
-gi 71-72
 Gilgit 1, 3, 6, 11
 Gilgiti 2, 60, 62, 86, 88
 grammaticalization of *boón* 122-124
gúçh 74
gúçhi 216
 Gures 3
 Guresi 2, 60, 62, 86, 88

H

háti 72
 high falling tone 26-27
 high pitch 25-26
hóo, adjectival particle 106-107
 human subjects 82

I

illative 48-49
 imperative forms 114, 195-198
 imperfective stem 116-119
 imperfective tenses 125-129
 inanimates 82, 87

indefinite nouns 75-76
 indefinite particle *-ek--k* 75-79, 93
 indefinites 91-93
 infinitive 111
 inflectional suffixes, Layer I 40-48
 injunctive 114
 instrumental adverbial 224
 intensification 106-107
 interrogatives 91-94, 103
 intransitive *a*-stems with perfective aspect
 markers *-t*, *-t̥*, *-th* or *-d* 139-145
 intransitive *a*-stems with the perfective
 aspect marker *-l-* 136-139
 intransitive *ó*-stems 172-175
 intransitive perfective tenses 130-131
 invisibility, parameter of 95-99
 irregular verbs 185-186
 Islam, introduction of 7-11

J

jóo-jo 92-93

K

káa 93-94
káath 215
kacáa 105
kadáa 218
kadóo 104
 Kalasha 97
 Kashmiri 97
katóto 105
kəce 254
khāāē 94
khāri 72
khin 75
 Khowar 97
 kinship terms 45, 48
koé 91-92
 Kohistan 3-4, 7-8, 11-13
 Kohistani 2-3, 60, 88
kudí 210-212

L

laká 216
 locative postposition *-da* 70
lío 101-102, 219
 low rising tone 26-27

M

mají 'in the middle' 71
 mixed *áa*-stems 157-161
mógo 110
 modality 198-204
 mora 28-30
muçhó 73

N

'need', 'must', 'want' 202-203
 nominal verbs 206-207
 nouns 40-70
 feminine 45-48
 masculine 42-45
 numbers, cardinal 109-110
 numbers, ordinal 110

O

oblique case of nouns 40, 42-49
 oblique case of personal pronouns 82-86
 oral history of Kohistan 4-7
 ordinal numbers 110

P

Palas 4-7, 12
 Palula/Phalura 3, 51, 62, 86, 88-89, 100
 participles 209, 219
 particle *-ek~-k* 75-79, 93
 particle *-ga* 252
 parts of the verb 111-115
 passive type *a*-stems 145-148
 passive-contingent participle 113,
 232-235
 passives 194-195
pató 73-74
 perfective participle 112-113, 230-231
 perfective stems 129-130
 perfective tenses 129-134
 personal pronouns 82-87
 Phalura (Palula) 3, 51, 62, 86, 88-89, 100
 phoneme /q/ 32-33
 phonemes of Kohistani Shina 16
 phonemic transcription 29-30
 phonetic realization, distribution and
 allophonic variation 15-23
 pitch 24-29
 pitch accent 28-29

possession 69-70
 possessive 58-60
 postpositional adverbs 213-215
 postpositions 51, 70-75
 presumption 203-204
 progressive participle 112, 230
 pronouns 82-94
 personal 82-87
 demonstrative 87-90
 pronunciation, notes on 23, 121
 proximate dimension 84, 87, 90, 94, 96,
 103
paár and *per* with deictics and place
 adverbs 97-99

Q

quasi-adjectives 207
 quasi-nouns 207
 quotative 225

R

reflexive adjective *toómo* 108
 reflexive words 90-91
 relative function of particle *-ek~-k* 76-77
 remote dimension 87, 90, 96, 103
 repetition and lengthening of conjunctive
 and adverbial participles 229-230
 root-accented verbs 135, 136-154

S

širyáa 75
sáati 75
 Sawi 58, 60, 62, 65, 86
 second person pronoun 84
 sequential actions 225-226
 serpent worship 8-9
 short stressed vowels 25, 27
 shortened verbs 176-185
 simultaneous actions 226
 sociative 67-68
 sound system 15-39
 source of knowledge, parameter of 87,
 90, 96-97
 stem-accented verbs 154-175
 subjunctive 114-116
 Summer Institute of Linguistics 25
 superlative 109

Swat 5, 7

syllable stress 25-28

syllable types 28-29

T

temporal relations expressed by

conjunctive participles 223-224

-tha 68

third person personal pronoun, proximate

84-85

third person personal pronoun, remote

85-86

topicalizer to 'as for', 'then' 255

transitive *a*-stems: root-accented

transitive verbs 148-154

transitive *á*-stems 154-157

transitive *íi*-stems 168-172

transitive perfective tenses 131-134

U

unaccented long syllables 29

uncertain topic, introducing 77

unstressed vowels 27-28

V

vector verbs 239-251

verb classes 134-136

verbal nouns 235-238

verbs 111-208

visibility, parameter of 95-99

visibility in deictics 95-97

vocalic mora 28-29

voice 193-195

voiced aspirated consonants 30-32

voluntary action marker 90

vowel length 24, 26, 29

vowels 15-28

W

'want' 90, 202-203

whispered vowels 23

writing system 14

Z

záú 254