The Linguistic Landscape of the Indian Himalayas

Languages in Kinnaur

Anju Saxena

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By

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Cover illustration: Apple orchards in Kinnaur. Photo by the author.

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Notation, Terminology and Abbreviations

Phonological segments are written without any special delimiters and their status as phonemes or allophones is often left open, in order to present as undistorted a picture as possible of these linguistic systems, where the amount of empirical data to date is quite limited. As an exception to this, in a few cases in the phonology sections of the grammar sketches, phonetic variants are explicitly marked using surrounding square brackets. Further, in the transcriptions, optionality (free variation) is indicated with ordinary parentheses, e.g., Sangla Kinnauri (*s*)*kad* 'language' can be pronounced *kad* or *skad*, and Kinnauri Pahari *seb*(-*e*) [all(-EMP)] can occur with or without the -*e* [-EMP] in the example where it appears. A special case is the notation "(-)" used with some grammatical items to indicate that their status as bound affixes (e.g., case endings), clitics or independent words (e.g., postpositions) is not clear (e.g., the (-)*rəŋ* comitative marker in Kinnauri). The boundary symbol "+" is used in some cases instead of "-" to indicate a compound boundary, i.e. a boundary between two lexical units combined in one word.

The abbreviations and grammatical glosses used are those of the Leipzig Glossing Rules[1] as far as possible. My own additions and modifications to these used in the examples and in running text are preceded by "*" in the table below. In running text, glosses (corresponding to the middle line in the interlinear examples) are surrounded by square brackets and free translations (corresponding to the last line in the interlinear examples) are written in single quotes. Parentheses are used in the interlinear glosses for clarifications and added information, such as inferred words or phrases or explanations of literal glosses.

Small caps are used in the glosses of grammatical features and values, including the standard abbreviations listed in the table below, while labels for part-of-speech, phrases, syntactic functions, etc., are written either with all caps (NP) or initial capital (Adj). Small caps are also used in Chapter 5 for the labels of the items in the lexical concept lists used in the comparative study reported there.

The notation "*a* ~ *b*" expresses that there is (free) variation between *a* and *b*, i.e., they are alternative ways of expressing the same thing.[2] An expression on the form "*a* : *b*" (or sometimes "*a*/*b*", especially in the case of affix allomorphy) says that there is some kind of relevant linguistic contrast—formal or

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1 https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php.
2 Although in paradigm tables and the vocabulary appendices, alternatives are separated by commas and semicolons, and in the interlinear glossed examples, a forward slash is used.

semantic—between *a* and *b*, i.e., that they stand in some kind of paradigmatic opposition.

*	Abbreviation	Feature
	1	first person
	2	second person
	3	third person
	A	agent-like argument of canonical transitive verb
	ABL	ablative
	Adj	adjective
	Adv	adverb(ial)
	AGR	subject agreement
	ALL	allative
*	ANA	anaphoric
*	ANIM	animate
*	ASP	aspect
	AUX	auxiliary
*	C	consonant
*	CHRT	cohortative
*	CL	clause
	CLF	classifier
*	CMP	comparative
*	CNT	count(able)
*	CNTR	contrastive specifier
	COM	comitative
*	CONJ	conjunctive coordinator
*	CONT	contrast particle/marker ('than')
	COP	copula
*	CRL	correlative
	DAT	dative
	DEF	definite
	DEM	demonstrative
*	DIM	diminutive
*	DIR	direct knowledge
*	DISJ	disjunctive coordinator
	DIST	distal
*	DSM	discourse marker/particle
	DU	dual

*	DUI	dual inclusive
*	ECHO	echo word
*	EGO	egophoric actor
*	EMP	emphasis
*	ENA	egophoric non-agent
	ERG	ergative
	EXCL	exclusive
*	EXPL	expletive
	F	feminine
*	FACT	factual (non-direct) knowledge
	FOC	focus
	FUT	future
*	GIVEN	given information
*	H	honorific
*	HI	high intentionality
*	HUM	human
*	IDX	index(ing)
	IMP	imperative
*	i.name	proper name of individual (human, mythological, etc.)
*	INCH	inchoative
	INCL	inclusive
	INF	infinitive (= nominalizer used as citation form)
	INS	instrumental
	INTR	intransitive
	IPFV	imperfective
*	LNK	linking element
	LOC	locative
	M	masculine
*	MDL	middle
*	MNR	manner
*	N, N	noun
	N-	non- (e.g. NNOM non-nominative, NPST nonpast)
	NEG	negation, negative
*	NH	non-honorific
*	NLC	connecting morph in numerals
	NMLZ	nominalizer/nominalization
	NOM	nominative
*	NOW	(result of witnessed) change of state/situation
*	NP	noun phrase
*	Num	numeral

*	NVIS	direct non-visual knowledge
*	O, o	object
*	P	phrase
	PFV	perfective
	PL, PL	plural
*	PLE	plural exclusive
*	PLI	plural inclusive
*	p.name	place name, geographical name
	POSS	possessive
	PROG	progressive
	PROH	prohibitive
	PROX	proximal/proximate
	PRS	present
	PST	past
	PTCP	participle
	Q	question marker
	QUOT	quotative
	RECP	reciprocal
	REFL	reflexive
	REL	relativizer/relative pronoun
	RES	resultative
	S	single argument of canonical intransitive verb
*	SAP	speech act participant (1st or 2nd person)
	SG, SG	singular
*	SND	sound-imitating
*	SUBO	subordinator
*	SUP	superlative
*	TAE	tense/aspect/evidentiality
*	TERM	terminative
*	TNS	tense
*	TOO	'too, also'
	TR	transitive
*	V, v	verb
*	V	vowel
*	VIS	direct visual knowledge; visible
*	VOL	volitional

Introduction—Kinnaur: Geography, Demography and Languages

1   Introduction

This book is about Kinnaur, its languages and its people. At the same time, it is a contribution to the documentation of some aspects of the linguistic situation of a region—the Indian Himalayas—which so far has been very poorly described.

Historically, the linguistic scene of Kinnaur has been dominated by Sino-Tibetan languages. There are a number of Sino-Tibetan varieties spoken in the region, but exactly how these are interrelated has not been investigated in depth. The term "Kinnauri" is ambiguous; it may refer (at least) to a particular language, to a lower-level branch of Sino-Tibetan—spelled "Kinauri" in the *Ethnologue* (Eberhard et al. 2021)—or simply as an adjective referring to any language spoken in Kinnaur. For this reason, I will use the acronym "KST" (Sino-Tibetan of Kinnaur) as a cover term for the various Sino-Tibetan varieties spoken in Kinnaur, pending the more thorough investigation of their genealogical and areal relationships presented in Chapters 5 and 6 below, and the label "Kinnauri (language)" will be used only about the variety spoken in and around Sangla.[1]

One purpose of this book is to throw light on the relationship among the KST varieties, and another of my aims is to elucidate the extent and character of language contact in Kinnaur, primarily between the local KST and Indo-Aryan varieties, but also taking into consideration the greater Himalayan region. Two things are noteworthy:

(1)   What little has been written earlier about the KST varieties has focused almost exclusively on what is known as (Standard) Kinnauri, spoken in Lower Kinnaur, while the KST varieties of other parts of Kinnaur have received much less attention.[2]

(2)   There is next to no information available in the literature on Kinnauri

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1   However, in Section 5 below, "Kinnauri" refers specifically to the (self-reported) language label found in national census data.

2   The situation is improving; in addition to this volume, there is some recent work on Shumcho by Huber (2014a, 2014b, 2019) and a PhD dissertation on Chhitkuli by Martinez (2021).

Pahari, the Indo-Aryan varieties spoken alongside the KST varieties in some parts of Kinnaur.

It is easy to come up with plausible reasons why this should be so: Lower Kinnaur is the region in Kinnaur which is relatively more accessible to outsiders, being closest to Shimla, the capital of Himachal Pradesh and the natural point of entry into the state from most parts of India. Also, because of the weather conditions, this region has been more accessible than Upper Kinnaur, which at least earlier used to be cut off from the rest of the world for longer or shorter periods during the winter season.

1.1 *Linguistic Description, Language Documentation and Empirical Linguistics*

The only reasonable way in which linguistics can advance as an empirical science involves as central activities collecting, analyzing and publishing as much and as diverse data as possible about languages and language communities throughout the world. As linguists, one of our primary goals is to find out what defines language as a general phenomenon. Linguistic universals proposed on the basis of a small genealogically and geographically limited set of languages can be no more than tentative and subject to revision in the face of more and more varied empirical language data (see, e.g., Evans and Levinson 2009).

This is closely connected to the rapidly expanding field of *language documentation* (or *documentary linguistics*; Himmelmann 1998; Gippert et al. 2006; Rau and Florey 2007; Grenoble and Furbee 2010; Austin and Sallabank 2011). On the face of it, language documentation has explicitly somewhat different goals from descriptive linguistics and language typology, for instance the goal of providing resources and tools for aiding in the preservation and revitalization of threatened languages. However, any conflict is more apparent than real; better language documentation cannot but result in better linguistic descriptions, which in turn make a better basis for the generalizations of language typology. Better linguistic descriptions and typological generalizations will also feed back into language documentation, for instance by uncovering "new" kinds of linguistic action and interaction that should be looked for and documented if found in a language.

The central characteristics of language documentation/documentary linguistics (see, e.g. Himmelmann 2006) have in fact long been embraced by field linguists as essential to their goal of faithful language description. Language documentation tends to emphasize methodology enabled by recent technical developments, such as video recording and widely shared digital linguistic databases, which obviously does not in any way stand in opposition to more traditional linguistic research.

Science by its very nature is empirical and cumulative, and arguably some of the central ideas of documentary linguistics simply flow from the recognition that a linguistics aspiring to the status of a science must be empirical and cumulative. These two requirements, then, imply many of the features that have been attributed to documentary linguistics. Empiricalness implies a focus on collecting primary data with the active involvement of the speech community, and cumulativeness implies that the primary and secondary data resulting from linguistic investigations be made available to the linguistic research community. In the present work, such data is made available in the form of a wealth of glossed examples to be found in the three language sketches (Chapters 2– 4), in the vocabularies provided in appendices to the sketches, as well as in the detailed comparison tables presented in Appendix 5A in Chapter 5.

2   The Geography of Kinnaur

The topic of this book is the linguistic situation in one of the districts in the state of Himachal Pradesh in northern India. This district is referred to in Indian official documents as "Kinnaur" and its people as well as its main language as "Kinnauri". This section provides general background information on Kinnaur, its geography, administrative organization, demography and linguistic situation, including census data on bi- and multilingualism. This information is provided in order to place the linguistic situation in Kinnaur in its wider geographical and societal context.

Kinnaur is the third largest district of Himachal Pradesh. In older sources, the corresponding region goes under various names: "Kanaur" (Bailey 1909), "Kanawar" (Konow 1905), "Kunawar" (Fraser 1820; Cunningham 1844), "Koonawur" (Gerard 1841; Thornton 1862), "Kunawur" (Gerard 1842), and "Kinnaur" (Bajpai 1991).[3] In a description of this region written in Hindi, the region is

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3 Thomson (1852) describes some of the difficulties arising in transcribing foreign words, leading to situations where names are spelled variously by different persons: "The orthography of oriental proper names is a question of great difficulty, and grave objections may be urged against any system which has been proposed. If each European nation represents the sound of the vowels and variable consonants after the mode which prevails in its own language, then proper names must be translated, as it were, when rendered from one of these languages into another; whereas, if the mode of spelling the names remain fixed, then the value of the letters must be different in the majority of the languages from that which usually prevails. For purely popular purposes the former method would probably be the most judicious; and the English language has peculiar facilities for rendering oriental sounds, in consequence of its possessing the open sound of u, as in but, which is wanting in other European languages, though so common in Arabic, Persian, and Hindee, and all cognate tongues." (Thomson 1852: V).

FIGURE 1   Kinnaur and surrounding districts in Himachal Pradesh

referred to as "Kinnar" ("किन्नर"; B.R. Sharma 1976). Its major language, too, is called variously in different works: "Kanaawarii" (Konow 1905), "Kanawari" (Joshi 1909), "Kanauri" (Bailey 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1920, 1938), "Kanooring skad" (Bailey 1909), "Kanooreanu skad" (Bailey 1909), and "Kinnauri" (D.D. Sharma 1988; Saxena 1992, 1995a, 1995b).

Kinnaur is located in the easternmost part of Himachal Pradesh (latitudes 31° 05′ 50″ N to 32° 05′ 15″ N and longitudes 77° 45′ 00″ E to 79° 00′ 35″ E).[4] It borders on the autonomous region of Tibet in China in the east, on the Uttarkashi district of the Indian state of Uttarakhand in the south, the Shimla district in the southwest, the Lahaul and Spiti district in the north, and the Kullu district in the northwest.[5] See Figure 1.

Kinnaur is a region of mountains and valleys, with altitudes ranging between 2,350 and 6,791 meters above sea level. There are three mountain ranges in this region: Zanskar, the Great Himalaya and the Dhauladhar mountain range. Zanskar forms a natural border between Kinnaur and the autonomous region of

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4   Gerard (1841) provides somewhat different coordinates for Kinnaur. According to Gerard, the coordinates for Kinnaur were latitude 30° 15′ to 32° 4′, and longitude 77° 50′ to 78° 50′. It is, however, important to point out here that the organization of Kinnaur at that time was somewhat different from the present Kinnaur. For instance, during that time Kinnaur was part of Bashahr, and as a result of the administrative reorganization in 1960 fourteen villages which did not earlier belong to Kinnaur were made part of the Kinnaur district.

5   The districts of Shimla, Lahaul and Spiti, and Kullu belong to the state of Himachal Pradesh. The city of Shimla (Shimla district) is the capital of Himachal Pradesh.
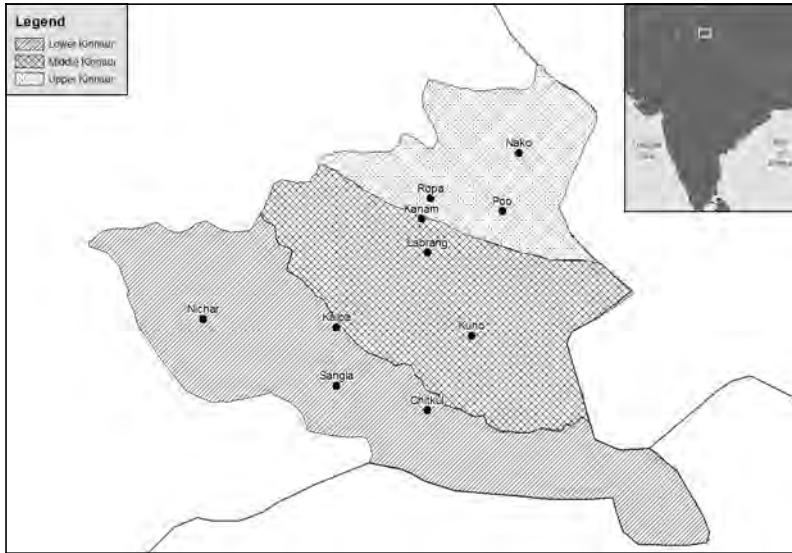
FIGURE 2   Lower, Middle and Upper Kinnaur

Tibet in China. The Great Himalaya runs through the district from the north-west to the southeast. Parts of the Dhauladhar range form the southern end of Kinnaur, merging finally with the Great Himalaya in the southeast. Beyond Kullu, Dhauladhar is known as the Pir Panjal mountain range. The mountain ranges in Kinnaur have peaks ranging in height between 5,190 and 6,791 meters above sea level. The highest peak in Kinnaur is Leo Pargail in the Zanskar. It is also the highest mountain in Himachal Pradesh. The Kinner Kailash mountain in the Greater Himalaya range which separates the Sangla valley (see the description below) from the Tidong valley, is the home of lord Shiva and Parvati according to a popular belief.

The district covers a total area of about 6,400 km². Only about 3 % of this area is populated; the remaining 97 % consist of uninhabited and inaccessible mountainous terrain. The populated regions are generally in the river valleys.

Kinnaur is sometimes divided into three geographical regions based on their altitude: Lower Kinnaur, Middle Kinnaur and Upper Kinnaur (see the map in Figure 2). Lower Kinnaur extends from the southern border of Kinnaur to Kalpa (see Figure 2). This region includes the Nichar and Sangla valleys. Middle Kinnaur extends from Kalpa to Kanam, about midway between Kalpa and Nako. Upper Kinnaur is used to refer to the rest of Kinnaur.

Three rivers along with their tributaries run through Kinnaur: Satluj, Spiti and Baspa. Satluj runs through the entire district from the east to the west. Spiti flows through the Hangrang valley in Upper Kinnaur. At the village Khab (in the

Hangrang valley) it merges with the river Satluj. The Baspa river flows through the Sangla valley. It merges with the Satluj river at village Karcham. The same river or a tributary is sometimes called by different names in different regions.[6]

There are several valleys in this region. The valley of the river Satluj is approximately 140 km long, and like other valleys of the region, it is quite narrow. There is very little flat land in this valley—relatively more on the left (south) than on the right (north) bank. Villages such as Sungra, Nichar, Kilba, Pawari, Ribba, Morang and Nymgya are situated on the left river bank in this valley. Rupi, Chagaon, Urni, Kalpa, Kothi, Pangi, Rarang, Jangi, Kanam, and Poo are some of the villages on the right river bank. Mountains found in this valley include Taranda, Wangtu and Rogi.

The valley of the river Baspa is known as the Sangla valley after a major village of the valley. It has the largest flat area in the district with rich soil and pastures. The remotest village of this valley is Chitkul, situated south of the Chungsakhago pass.

The Ropa valley (also known as Syso, Shiaso, Shyasu, Chhiasu, Sangam or Sunam) is the valley of the Ropa stream, a tributary of the Satluj. It has very little forest, only some pines and birches. There are apple and apricot orchards and vineyards. Notable villages in this valley are Ropa, Giabong, Sangnam and Skyaso.

The Hangrang or Spiti valley is approximately 32 km in length. Its upper region is in the Lahaul and Spiti district. Spiti (also called Lee) is the important river of this valley. At the village Khab this valley joins the Satluj valley. The valley has a barren landscape, with very little area suitable for cultivation. Important villages in this valley are Sumra, Shyalkhar, Hango, Chuling, Nako, Chango, Malling and Lee. The Nako village is the highest populated spot in Kinnaur, at an altitude of 3,662 meters, and the Nako lake is the highest lake in Kinnaur.

Other valleys in the Kinnaur district include the Wangpo or Bhabha valley, the Gyanthang or Nesang valley, the Tejur or Leppa valley, the Kashang valley, the Mulgoon valley and the Yula valley.

The climate in Kinnaur varies depending partly on the elevation, location and direction of a valley. Generally speaking, Kinnaur has four seasons: Spring is usually between mid-March to mid-May, summer from mid-May to mid-

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6 A clear illustration of this is provided by Gerard (1841: 28): "In Chinese Tartary it [the Satluj river] is called Langzhing-Khampa […], and near Numgea its usual name is Muksung, […] lower down, Sampoo, Sangpoo, and Sanpo, […] At a sandy place below Murung, […] it is commonly Zung-Tee; […] In the lower parts of Koonawur, its only appellation is Sumudrung, or the river. Near the capital of Busehur it is called Sutroodra, or Sutoodra."
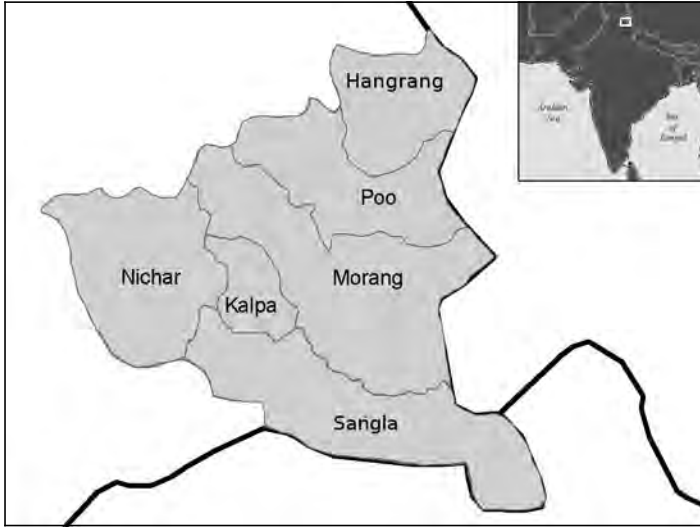
FIGURE 3   (Sub-)tahsils in Kinnaur

September, fall from mid-September to the end of November and winter from December to mid-March. In regions where there is rainfall, it rains in July–September, though not as heavily as in the lower hills of Himachal Pradesh, outside Kinnaur. The rainfall decreases sharply from the southwest to the northeast and beyond Wangtu. Similarly, snowfall, too, varies in different regions in Kinnaur—it is least in the extreme southwestern region. The depth of the snow cover varies from about 0.5 m at higher altitudes to 1–1.5 m at 2,500 m above sea level. Snow usually falls from November and remains until April. Winds are hard from October onwards, their direction varying depending on the valleys, but it is generally from the west or southwest at altitudes of 5,000 m, peaking in the late afternoon. Until recently, many parts of Kinnaur were physically cut off from the rest of the world for about half the year, as roads and paths became impassable in the winter season.

Kinnaur has two very different climatic zones, where the Sangla valley is characterized by wet weather, while on the northern side of the Great Himalayan range both the rainfall and vegetation decreases and one encounters a completely arid zone beyond Spello and Kanum.

Sangla and Nako form polar opposites in Kinnaur in more than one respect. Geographically Sangla is a verdant valley with lots of vegetation in the village and in the surrounding areas, whereas Nako is surrounded by an arid, barren, mountainous desert-like region. Both are very beautiful, although quite unlike each other. Similarly, the Sino-Tibetan languages of these two regions are also very different, as we will see in this volume.

3   Administrative Units in Kinnaur

Before the Indian independence in 1947 Kinnaur was administratively a part of the princely state of Bashahr (*Riyasat Bashahr*). It had the status of a *tahsil* (also written "tehsil" in English-language sources)—a traditional lower-level administrative unit. This term is still used about an administrative unit below the level of district in the present Indian administrative system. As the Chini village[7] was the district capital of this tahsil, the Kinnaur tahsil itself was also known as the Chini tahsil. The Himachal Pradesh state (of which Kinnaur is now a part) was established on 15 April 1948 and Chini was made a tahsil of the Mahasu district in this newly established state. The present-day Kinnaur district was established on 1 May 1960, including in addition to the Chini tahsil 14 villages which previously had belonged to the Rampur tahsil.

This section presents an overview of the present administrative organization of the Kinnaur district. Much of the information provided here is based on the successive editions of the *District census handbook* from the censuses of 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001, and 2011 (see Figure 4).[8]

The district census handbooks have been published since 1951. Apart from the information about the population, these handbooks also provide information about other aspects of a district (e.g., language, level of education, gender distribution, available health, education and banking facilities). However, differences in the organization (including the information provided) of the various census handbooks, make it impossible in some cases to do a comparative study of a given factor across censuses.

The district headquarter of Kinnaur is Reckong Peo. Administratively the Kinnaur district has a three-level hierarchical organization. The district consists of three subdivisions, which in turn are organized into (sub-)tahsils (six in total in Kinnaur; see Table 1 and Figure 3), and at the lowest level each (sub-)tahsil consists of a number of villages. The organization and names of the various administrative units in the Kinnaur district are the same in all five census handbooks, except for one thing: Starting with the 1991 census handbook, the former subdivision is called *community development block* (C.D. Block).

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7   This village is now called Kalpa.

8   Sources: (i) *Census 1971. Series-7 Himachal Pradesh. District census handbook. Parts x-A & B. Town & Village directory. Village & townwise primary census abstract. Kinnaur district*; (ii) *Census of India 1981. Series-7. Himachal Pradesh. District census handbook. Parts XIII-A&B village & town directory. Village & townwise primary census abstract. Kinnaur district*; (iii) *Census of India 1991. Series-9. Part XII-A & B. District census handbook. Kinnaur. Village & town directory. Village & townwise primary census abstract*; (iv) online 2001 and 2011 census data from http://www.censusindia.gov.in.
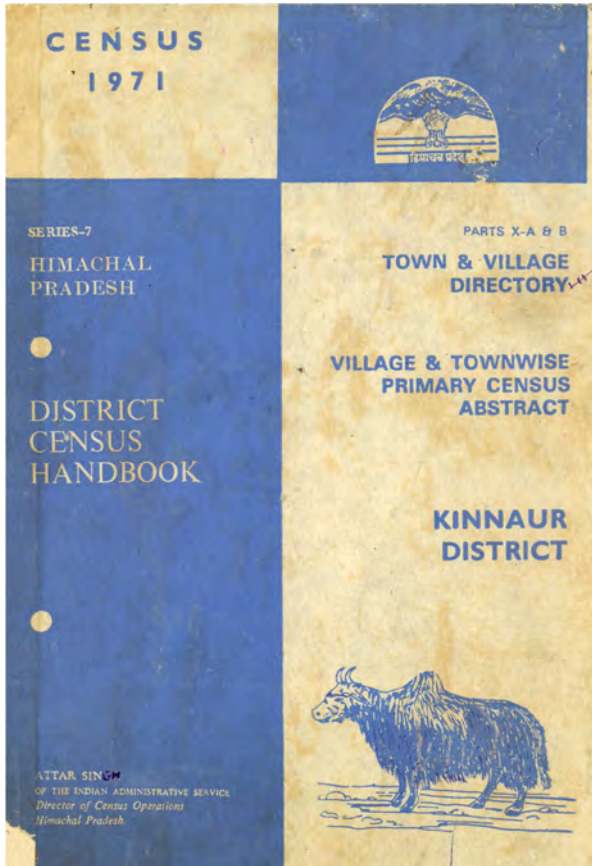
FIGURE 4   The Kinnaur 1971 *District Census Handbook*

The definition of a village in all these four censuses is that of a "revenue village", that is, a unit (consisting of one or more physical villages) which has its own separate village budget account in the district administration. According to the 1971 and 1981 censuses, Kinnaur had a total of 77 villages (see Table 4).

The number of villages increased dramatically in the 1991 census, where the total number of inhabited villages[9] increased to 228. The number of inhabited villages in the 2011 census is 241. This sharp increase in the number of villages

9   In the 1971 and 1981 census handbooks all villages which were included in the report were inhabited villages, while in the 1991, 2001 and 2011 census handbooks the total number of villages included both inhabited and uninhabited villages. According to the 1991 census, the total number of villages were 662, of which 228 villages were inhabited and 434 were uninhabited, and the proportions have remained approximately the same in the later censuses.

TABLE 1   Administrative divisions of the Kinnaur district and number of villages

Subdivisions (C.D. Block)	(Sub-)tahsils	No of villages			
		1971/81	1991	2001	2011
Nichar CDB			85		85
	Nichar tahsil	22		88	
Kalpa CDB			63		75
	Kalpa tahsil	12		38	
	Sangla tahsil	11		28	
Poo CDB			80		81
	Morang tahsil	12		38	
	Poo tahsil	12		27	
	Hangrang sub-tahsil	8		15	
Total in Kinnaur		77	228	234	241

between the 1981 and the 1991 censuses is due partly to the fact that in the previous censuses villages which were located in difficult-to-reach remote locations were not taken into consideration, partly to major resettlement operations conducted during the period 1985–1987, and partly to changes made in determining how villages are defined for the purpose of the census.

Table 1 provides information about the administrative divisions of Kinnaur district and about the number of villages in each (sub-)tahsil, according to the District census handbooks.

4   Demography of Kinnaur

Since 97 % of the total area of Kinnaur is uninhabitable, the average population density of the district is predictably low, around 13 persons/km^2 (see Table 2). The most densely inhabited regions in Kinnaur are located in the lower Satluj and Sangla valleys in Lower Kinnaur.

The two ethnolinguistic communities which have traditionally resided in this region are the KST and the Indo-Aryan community. The KST community is also known as Rajput, Kanet, and Khasia, and in this volume I will refer to

TABLE 2   Population statistics for Kinnaur in some recent census reports

Census	Total pop.	Pop./km²	Growth (%)	Kinnauri (%)	K. Pahari (%)	K+P (%)
1971	49,835	7.8	21.61	68.41	19.40	87.81
1981	59,547	9.3	19.49	74.87	10.63	85.50
1991	71,270	11.1	19.69	55.58	26.87	82.45
2001	78,334	12.2	9.91	72.00	10.00	82.00
2011	84,121	13.1	7.39	57.95	17.53	75.48

the Indo-Aryan community using the cover term *Kinnauri Pahari*. Traditionally the members of the KST community are agriculturalists and the Kinnauri Paharis farmworkers and artisans (e.g. ironsmiths, goldsmiths, carpenters, cobblers). According to the Indian Constitution (articles 341 and 342) the Kinnauri Pahari community is classified as a "scheduled caste" community and the KST community is classified as a "scheduled tribe". The whole district is classified as a tribal region.[10]

The population statistics for Kinnaur, as recorded in some recent census reports, are shown in Tables 2 and 3. Table 2 gives the proportions of the KST and Kinnauri Pahari populations as percentages of the total population of Kinnaur, and Table 3 provides a breakdown of the two population groups according to (sub-)tahsil. The percentages in the tables do not add up to 100%, because apart from these two communites, there were also other groups (e.g., migrating workers) living in Kinnaur at the time the census surveys were conducted. As the focus here is on the KST and the Kinnauri Pahari communities and their languages, information is provided only about these two populations.

There are further sub-groupings within the two communities. The major sub-groups within the Kinnauri Pahari community are *Chamang* (also known as *Koli*), *Domang* (including *Lohar* 'ironsmith' and *Ores* 'carpenter') and *Chanal*. Traditionally Domangs prepare jewellery for gods and play musical instruments. Chanals live mostly in the Nichar region. Traditionally they are weavers,

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10   *Scheduled caste* and *scheduled tribe* are official terms used in Indian legislation to refer to certain "disadvantaged and vulnerable" (Planning Commission 2008: 101) strata of the Indian population. Historically, the scheduled castes originate from the former "untouchables" in the traditional Hindu caste system, while scheduled tribes are constituted by (rural) ethnic minorities who were largely outside the Hindu religious system. The scheduled castes constitute 16% of the Indian population and the scheduled tribes make up 8% of the population (Planning Commission 2008, Chapter 6).

TABLE 3   (Sub-)tahsil population figures (T = total; P = Kinnauri Pahari; K = KST)

		(%) Population / census year					
		1971	1981	1991	2001	2011	
Nichar CDB	T	14,205	18,931	23,861	26,630	27,683	T
	P	(29%) 4,170	(13%) 2,485	(32%) 7,553	(13%) 3,513	(25%) 6,998	P
	K	(63%) 8,922	(69%) 13,093	(48%) 11,339	(64%) 17,153	(50%) 13,933	K
Nichar	T	14,205	18,931		26,630	27,683	T
	P	(29%) 4,170	(13%) 2,485		(13%) 3,513	(25%) 6,998	P
	K	(63%) 8,922	(69%) 13,093		(64%) 17,153	(50%) 13,933	K
Kalpa CDB	T	19,217	22,184	26,137	29,361	33,232	T
	P	(21%) 4,123	(12%) 2,607	(30%) 7,828	(8%) 2,206	(14%) 4,647	P
	K	(63%) 12,168	(72%) 15,914	(53%) 13,800	(76%) 22,361	(59%) 19,475	K
Kalpa	T	10,789	12,730		17,630	19,190	T
	H	(24%) 2,560	(8%) 1,037		(8%) 1,419	(12%) 2,299	H
	K	(53%) 5,734	(68%) 8,640		(72%) 12,651	(58%) 11,122	K
Sangla	T	8,428	9,454		11,731	14,042	T
	P	(19%) 1,563	(17%) 1,570		(7%) 787	(17%) 2,348	P
	K	(76%) 6,434	(77%) 7,274		(83%) 9,710	(59%) 8,353	K
Poo CDB	T	16,413	18,432	21,272	22,343	23,206	T
	P	(8%) 1,376	(7%) 1,239	(18%) 3,772	(9%) 1,906	(13%) 3,105	P
	K	(79%) 12,999	(84%) 15,576	(68%) 14,470	(75%) 16,754	(66%) 15,338	K
Morang	T	7,447	8,784		10,383	10,238	T
	P	(6%) 475	(7%) 576		(3%) 326	(10%) 989	P
	K	(87%) 6,510	(84%) 7,391		(80%) 8,345	(72%) 7,368	K
Poo	T	5,841	6,254		7,898	8,309	T
	P	(14%) 797	(10%) 644		(16%) 1,290	(23%) 1,925	P
	K	(67%) 3,913	(81%) 5,086		(63%) 4,942	(49%) 4,038	K
Hangrang	T	3,125	3,394		4,062	4,659	T
	P	(3%) 104	(1%) 19		(7%) 290	(4%) 191	P
	K	(82%) 2,576*	(91%) 3,099		(85%) 3,467	(84%) 3,932	K

making baskets etc from *nangal*, a creeper (because of this the community is also called *Nangalu*). The traditional occupation of Chanals is working with leather. They reside throughout Kinnaur.

Within the KST community too, there is some further sub-classification (referred to as *khel* or *khandana*). The sub-classification system is, however,

TABLE 4   Kinnauri Pahari population village-wise in each (sub-)tahsil according to the 1981 census handbook

	None	0–10 %	11–20 %	21–30 %	31+%
Nichar	Bara Khamba, Chauhra, Chhota Khamba, Garsun, Kandar, Natpa, Miru, Paunda, Punang, Ramni, Yula	Bari, Chagaon, Jani, Kangos, Sungra, Taranda, Urni		Nichar	Bhabha, Panwi
Kalpa	Mehbar	Arrang, Duni, Khawangi, Kothi, Pangi, Rogi, Telangi, Yuwarangi	Kalpa	Purbani	Pawari
Sangla	Batseri (Bosering), Chasu, Shaung	Kamru, Kanahi, Sangla	Chitkul, Rakchham		Barua, Sapni, Kilba
Morang	Asrang, Nesang, Rispa	Akpa, Charang, Jangi, Kuno, Lippa, Morang, Thangi	Rarang, Ribba		
Poo	Dabling, Khab, Ropa, Rushkalang, Sannam, Shyaso	Giahong, Namgia, Poo	Spilo	Labrang	Kanam
Hangrang	Chango, Hango, Loo, Shialkar, Sumra	Chuling, Malling, Nako			

neither equally widespread nor equally prominent throughout Kinnaur. It is more visible in Lower and Middle Kinnaur than in Upper Kinnaur.

Similarly, the social roles of the KST community and Kinnauri Paharis in village life are more well-defined and more fixed in Lower and Middle Kinnaur than in Upper Kinnaur. For example, in Lower and Middle Kinnaur only the Kinnauri Paharis function as drumbeaters during festivals in the procession of the village god and are responsible for certain chores in the temple, whereas in Upper Kinnaur (e.g. in the Nako village), if no Kinnauri Paharis are available, members of the KST community will take care of these duties.[11]

In line with this, as we will see in Chapter 4, the Kinnauri Pahari community speaks a local Indo-Aryan (Western Pahari) language in Lower and Middle Kinnaur, while the corresponding groups in Upper Kinnaur speak the local KST variety, even though the two groups (KST and Kinnauri Paharis) maintain their separate social group identities throughout Kinnaur, including Upper Kinnaur.

As Tables 2 and 3 show, in terms of the population size the KST community is much larger than the Kinnauri Pahari community. This difference in the size of the two communities can also be seen in Table 4, which presents the Kinnauri Pahari proportion of the population at the village level.

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11   Santosh Negi (p.c) and Padam Sagar (p.c.).

TABLE 5   Proportion of the Kinnauri Pahari (KP)[12] population to the total popula-
             tion in villages according to the 1981 and 1991 census handbooks

	1981		1991	
% KP	No. of villages	% of villages	No. of villages	% of villages
0	29	37.66	64	28.07
1–5	26	33.77	23	10.09
6–10	5	6.49	18	7.89
11–15	2	2.60	17	7.46
16–20	5	6.49	12	5.26
21–30	3	3.90	28	12.28
31–	7	9.09	66	28.95
District	77	100.00	228	100.00

Unlike the 1971 census handbook, the 1981 handbook also provides information
about the distribution of the Kinnauri Pahari and KST population village-wise.
The data in Table 4 from the 1981 census handbook show that while there are
some villages (e.g., Sumra, Shialkar, Chango, Loo and Hango in the Hangrang
sub-tahsil) which lack a Kinnauri Pahari population completely, there is no vil-
lage in the Kinnaur district which lacks a KST population completely. Further,
there is no village in this census report which has a predominantly Kinnauri
Pahari community. In 40% of the villages (31 out of 77 villages) the Kinnauri
Pahari community is relatively small (1–10%).

     Tables 5 and 6 show summary data from the 1981 and 1991 census handbooks
on the proportion of Kinnauri Paharis (Table 5) and the KST population (Table
6) in villages in Kinnaur. As mentioned earlier, villages are not defined in the
same way in the two censuses.

     To summarize, according to the most recent census reports the KST com-
munity is comparatively larger than the Kinnauri Pahari community. From
Tables 2, 3, 5 and 6 a downward trend in the size of the Kinnauri Pahari com-
munity is evident. At the same time, even though the Kinnauri community is
relatively much larger than the Kinnauri Pahari community and relatively sta-
ble in terms of its proportion of the population as a whole, the information

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12   For the sake of consistency I use the label "Kinnauri Pahari" in this table. The acronym SC
        (scheduled caste) is used in the population tables in the census reports.

TABLE 6   Proportion of the KST population to the total population in villages according to the 1981 and 1991 census handbooks

% KST	1981		1991	
	No. of villages	% of villages	No. of villages	% of villages
0	0	0	15	6.58
1–5	0	0	4	1.75
6–15	0	0	8	3.51
16–25	0	0	10	4.39
26–35	1	1.30	18	7.89
36–50	8	10.39	25	10.97
51 and above	68	88.31	148	64.91
District	77	100.00	228	100.00

available in the census reports about the prevailing language attitudes towards the Kinnauri language in Kinnaur raises some concern about the stability of the Kinnauri language. See Section 5.1 for details.

The focus in this section has been on the KST and the Kinnauri Pahari communities—the two indigenous communities of Kinnaur. The focus in the following section will be on the language(s) of Kinnaur, based on the census reports.

5   Number of KST Speakers

One special feature of the Indian census reports is that they also provide some information about languages. This section presents information about the number of the speakers of the Kinnauri language,[13] based on the four census reports examined here. Since Indian census information is ultimately based on self-reporting, and since the tabulation of census figures is complex and non-transparent, the information provided here should be taken as indicative only.

The Indian census reports mention explicitly only those languages which have 10,000 or more speakers. Languages with fewer than 10,000 speakers

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13   People who have indicated Kinnauri as their mother tongue. This number may not necessarily include all KST speakers.

TABLE 7   The number of Kinnauri speakers
            in five census reports

	No. of speakers	Increase (%)
1971	45,472	—
1981	52,864	16.26
1991	61,794	16.89
2001	65,097	5.35
2011	83,827	28.36

are lumped together into a general category, referred to as "other". Kinnauri is the only language of Kinnaur which is mentioned explicitly in the census reports. Kinnauri Pahari—the Indo-Aryan language of the Kinnauri Pahari community—is not mentioned in the census reports, apparently because it has fewer than 10,000 speakers. According to the *Ethnologue* (Eberhard et al. 2021), Kinnauri Pahari (referred to as "Kinnauri, Pahari") has 6,330 speakers (1998).

Table 7 presents the number of individuals who claimed Kinnauri as their mother tongue in the five censuses 1971–2011.[14] The table also shows the decadal percentage increase in the number of Kinnauri speakers. It is noteworthy that the number of Kinnauri speakers is greater than the Kinnauri (ST) population in Kinnaur. This is most likely both because the Kinnauri Pahari population also report themselves as Kinnauri speakers first (and Hindi speakers second) and because many Kinnauri speakers live outside Kinnaur (the figures in Table 7 are all-India counts).

5.1   *What the Census Figures Tell Us about the Status of KST*

The Indian census reports also provide some information about multilingualism, in particular, information about the number of speakers who consider themselves monolinguals, bilinguals and trilinguals (including in which languages). Table 8 reproduces multilingualism data from the document *ST-17: Mother tongue, bilingualism and trilingualism—for scheduled tribes* from the 1991 census, which show some interesting trends concerning language attitudes in Kinnaur.

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14   The source of information for this section is: The statement-8 *Growth of non-scheduled languages—1971, 1981, 1991, 2001 and 2011* (source: http://www.censusindia.gov.in).

TABLE 8   Bilingualism statistics for Kinnaur (1991 census)

Second language	Kinnauri speakers	Hindi speakers	Bhotia speakers
Kinnauri	—	8	
Hindi	24,103	—	20
Tibetan	63	4	
English	50	94	
Bhotia	47		—
Urdu	15		
Bodo/Boro	1		
Malto	1		
Nepali	1		
Punjabi	1	2	
Other languages	59		
Sum (bilinguals)	24,341	108	20
Monolinguals	14,545	256	8
Total	38,886	364	28

As the data in Table 8 illustrate, an overwhelming majority of Kinnauri speakers claimed that they were bilinguals (including trilinguals).[15] The document mentions ten languages explicitly by name (provided in decreasing order by number of speakers in the table), plus an "other languages" category, which the Kinnauri speakers have provided as their second language. As is clearly seen here, a very large number of Kinnauri speakers claimed Hindi as their second language.

Quite distinct from this, only a very small percentage of the Hindi speakers residing in Kinnaur at the time of census provided Kinnauri as their second language. According to the census data, the total number of Hindi speakers residing in Kinnaur was 364, out of which 108 claimed to be bilingual (including trilingual). As shown in Table 8, only 8 out of these 108 Hindi speakers provided Kinnauri as their second or third language. Interestingly, 6 out of these 8 were female.

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15   Of the total 14,928 speakers of Kinnauri who claimed to be monolinguals, 9,310 were women and 5,618 were men.

In the same vein, among the Bhotia[16] speakers residing in Kinnaur—28 individuals in total in the 1991 census—20 claimed to be bilingual (including trilingual), and all 20 claimed Hindi (and not Kinnauri) as their second language. Similar trends can be seen concerning the choice of third language. Of the Bhotia speakers, 7 individuals claimed that they were trilinguals—6 out of which reported English as their third language and 1 claimed a language under the category "other". In sum, not even one of them indicated Kinnauri—the largest local language of this region, as their second or third language.

These examples clearly show the unidirectionality in bilingualism—while most Kinnauris claim to speak Hindi, non-Kinnauri populations living in Kinnaur do not claim to speak Kinnauri, a case in point being Tibetan and Lahauli speakers—these languages are spoken in the neighboring regions or even in Kinnaur, but speakers of these languages did not provide Kinnauri as their second or third language, reporting instead Hindi and English.

Another interesting observation concerns the prevalence of bilingualism and gender. Bilingualism is more prevalent among the male population than the female population. This is the case both among those who have indicated Kinnauri as their first language as well as other those who indicated some other language as their first language. Clear exceptions were Hindi speakers who reported Kinnauri as their second language (2 men as against 6 women) and Kinnauri speakers who claimed Bhotia as their second language (15 men vs. 32 women). An approximately equal proportion of men and women was seen among Kinnauri speakers who claimed a language belonging to the "other" language category as their second language (27 men vs. 32 women), Punjabi speakers who claimed Hindi to be their second language (5 men vs. 8 women), or Kinnauri as their second language (1 man, 3 women), Kinnauri speakers who claimed Tibetan as their second language (33 men, 30 women), and Sherpa speakers who claimed Nepali as their second language (2 men, 2 women). In all other cases bilingualism was more prevalent among men as compared to women. The exceptional cases noted here could be a result of intermarriages, with women learning the language of the household.

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16   *Bhotia* is the language label provided in the census data. The Ethnologue lists "Bhotia/Bhotea" as one of the alternative names for 13 languages, mostly Tibetic, including a language indigenous to Kinnaur, Bhoti Kinnauri (nes), i.e. Navakat (see Chapter 3).

6   Some Questions to Be Addressed in This Work

To summarize, in terms of the population size of the Kinnauri Pahari and the KST communities, the latter community is larger. Similarly, in terms of the number of speakers, Kinnauri has a larger number of speakers than Kinnauri Pahari. However, it is important to note that even though the total number of Kinnauri speakers and the KST community are showing a positive trend—a growth in numbers over the four census reports—the degree of bilingualism among the Kinnauri speakers and the low interest among non-Kinnauri speakers in using Kinnauri as a second language are noteworthy.

Plausibly this is indicative of the diminishing dominance of the traditionally locally dominant language—Kinnauri—in favor of larger, more globally dominant language(s)—Hindi and English. Further, in the census reports Kinnauri is presented as one language. If however more than one KST variety is subsumed under this label, and if the KST varieties in fact are different enough, this may stimulate the use of a widely known lingua franca such as Hindi even among KST speakers.

A lack of comparative linguistic analyses of the KST varieties makes it difficult to discern if what is labelled as the Kinnauri language in the census reports is indeed to be considered one language linguistically. This is in no small part due to the fact that all the KST varieties are poorly described.[17] The present monograph endeavors to fill this gap in our knowledge, and it also aspires to provide a better overview of the whole language ecology of Kinnaur, which also includes the local Indo-Aryan varieties. For reasons of space, the focus will be on the traditional languages of Kinnaur, while the more recent incursions of Hindi and English regrettably must be left out of the present investigation.

To start addressing these questions, Chapters 2 and 3 provide linguistic sketches of two of the KST varieties, selected from the geographical extremes of Lower Kinnaur (the Sangla village in the southernmost part of Kinnaur)—Kinnauri (Chapter 2)—and Upper Kinnaur (the Nako village in the northernmost part of Kinnaur)—Navakat (Chapter 3). Chapter 4 contains a similar linguistic sketch of Kinnauri Pahari (Indo-Aryan). All three sketches are based on primary fieldwork data that I have collected over many years.

In Chapter 5, the genealogical relationships among the KST varieties are investigated using a computational methodology inspired by lexicostatistics, followed by a comparison between Kinnauri and Navakat based on the linguistic sketches presented in Chapters 2 and 3. Chapter 6 addresses the question of language contact between Kinnauri and Kinnauri Pahari.

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17   But see Huber's (2014a, 2014b, 2019) work on Shumcho and Martinez's (2021) PhD dissertation on Chhitkuli.

A Linguistic Sketch of Kinnauri

1   Introduction

Kinnauri is subsumed under what is usually referred to as (Standard) Kinnauri in the literature, the Sino-Tibetan (ST) language of Lower Kinnaur. In older literature it is referred to as "Milchan" (Gerard 1841), "Milch(an)ang" (Konow 1909), "Malhasti" (Konow 1909), "Kunawar" (Gerard 1842), "Kanaawarii" (Konow 1905), "(Lower) Kanauri" (Bailey 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1920, 1938), "Kanooringskad" "Kanooreanu skad" (Bailey 1909) and "Kanáwarí" (Joshi 1909). In more recent works the term "Kinnauri" is used to refer to this ST variety (D.D. Sharma 1988; Saxena 1995a, 1995b, 1997b, 2000a, 2000b, 2004, 2007, 2017). According to *Ethnologue* (Eberhard et al. 2021), its genealogical classification is as follows: Sino-Tibetan > Tibeto-Burman > Western Tibeto-Burman > Bodish > West Himalayish > Kinauri > Kinnauri. The classification according to *Glottolog* (Hammarström et al. 2020) is: Sino-Tibetan > Bodic > West Himalayish > Western West Himalayish > Kinnauric > Kinnauri.

Chapter 1 provided basic socio-cultural and geographical information on Kinnaur (including Lower Kinnaur). As this region is rather large, with some linguistic differences attributed to regional differences (Bailey 1909, 1920; D.D. Sharma 1988; see also Chapter 5 below), the focus here is on the Kinnauri variety spoken in the Sangla tahsil. The Sangla tahsil belongs administratively to the Kalpa CDB in the Kinnaur district (see Chapter 1). According to the 2011 Indian census, Sangla tahsil has 36 villages (e.g. Kilba Khas, Kanahi, Sapni Khas, Baturi, Barua Khas, Chasu Khas, Kamru Khas, Sangla, Batseri, Rakchham and Chitkul).[1] With the exception of Rakchham and Chitkul, the ST speech of these villages is very similar, with a high degree of mutual intelligibility (cf. the results presented in Chapter 5).

As members of these villages interact actively (e.g. marriages among the members of different villages is commonplace), it is not always possible to determine the exact characteristics of the speech of a particular village. For this reason, the linguistic variety described in this chapter reflects the speech

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1   The names provided here are the official names of these villages (www.census2011.co.in). See Chapter 1 for details concerning the size of the population, number of speakers and other such details.

of the ST community of the Sangla tahsil, with the exception of Rakchham and Chitkul. This variety is referred to as Kinnauri here.[2]

The analysis presented in this chapter represents primarily the speech of Brua and Sangla villages, although some observations are also made concerning Kinnauri of other regions (Lower and Middle Kinnaur). This includes the speech of both older and younger speakers, formally educated and those who did not receive formal education. Our most senior consultant Mrs Jwala Sukhi Negi never left Kinnaur except for some visits to Shimla, the capital city of Himachal Pradesh for health checkups etc. She could understand and speak some Hindi. Similarly, Mrs Krishan Bhagti did not receive formal education. She was born, grew up and still lives in the Sangla region. Among young adult speakers the analysis represents primarily the speech of Santosh Negi (Brua, married to a person from Sangla), Chetan Negi (Sangla) and Priya Negi (Sangla).

2   Phonology

2.1   *Consonants*

The consonant phonemes of Kinnauri are shown in Table 9 and examples of contrasting minimal pairs are given below. The aspirated consonants have comparatively lower degree of aspiration than in many IA languages. The voiced palatal nasal ɲ is rather infrequent in our material. There is, however, a minimal pair found: *-ɲ* [-2SG.H] : *-n* [-2SG.NH].

TABLE 9   Consonant phonemes in Kinnauri

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatoalveolar	Palatal	Retroflex	Velar	Glottal
Stop	p b	t d			ʈ ɖ	k g	
Aspirated stop	pʰ	tʰ			ʈʰ	kʰ	
Fricative		s	ʃ				h
Affricate		ts dz	tʃ dʒ				
Aspirated affricate		tsʰ	tʃʰ				
Nasal	m	n		ɲ		ŋ	
Lateral		l					
Trill		r					
Approximant	ʋ²			j			

Minimal (or near-minimal) pairs: Consonants

p : b	*paŋ*	'lineage'	*baŋ*	'foot, leg'
p : pʰ	*pja*	'bird'	*pʰjaː*	'forehead'
t : d	*tammu*	'to smell (TR)'	*dammu*	'to roast (TR)'
t : tʰ	*taŋmu*	'to observe'	*tʰannu*	'to drop (TR)'
t : ʈ	*tuŋmu*	'to drink'	*ʈuŋmu*	'to plant, to stand (TR)'
ʈ : ɖ	*ʈanaŋ*	'shelf'	*ɖaːnaŋ*	'punishment'
tʰ : ʈʰ	*tʰug*	'at, above'	*ʈʰog*	'white'
ʈ : ʈʰ	*boʈaŋ*	'soybean-like seeds'	*boːʈʰaŋ*	'tree'
k : kʰ	*ka*	[2SG.NH]	*kʰa*	'shit'
k : g	*kud*	[call.IMP]	*gud*	'hand, arm'
k : g	*rak*	'an alcoholic beverage'	*rag*	'stone, rock'
k : g	*kar*	'tax'	*gar*	'tooth'
d : ɖ	*dam*	'good'	*ɖam*	'a kind of cattle shed'
h : kʰ	*hoŋ*	'insect'	*kʰoŋ*	[bend.IMP]
s : ʃ	*sa*	[kill.PST]	*ʃa*	'meat, flesh'
s : h	*seː*	[CNTR.F]	*he*	'again'
t : ts	*to*	[COP], [AUX]	*tso*	'thorn'
ʧ : ʤ	*ʧabmu*	'to pull down (TR)'	*ʤabmu*	'to come down'
ʧ : ʃ	*ʧi*	'grass'	*ʃi*	'leaf compost'
ʧ : ʧʰ	*ʧu*	'word'	*ʧʰu*	'why'
tʰ : ʈʰ	*tʰis*	'soft, loose'	*ʈʰis*	'join'
ts : tsʰ	*tsam*	'wool'	*tsʰam*	'ladder'
s : ʣ	*saŋ*	'a kind of kindling wood'	*ʣaŋ*	'gold'
s : ʣ	*sod*	'brahmin priest'	*ʣod*	'wheat'
s : ʣ	*tsis*	'rotten'	*tsiːʣ*	'thing'
ts : ʧ	*tsuː*	'cough (N)'	*ʧu*	'soot; word'
d : ʤ	*du*	[COP], [AUX]	*ʤu*	'cloud'
m : n	*baːm*	'a kind of drum'	*baːn*	'bow'
b : m	*bal*	'head, top'	*maːl*	'wealth'
m : n	*gompa*	'leg'	*gonpa*	'Buddhist temple'
n : d	*no*	[3SG.DIST.VIS]	*do*	[3SG.DIST.NVIS]
n : ŋ	*rin*	'ell, cubit'	*rəŋ*	[tell.1/2O.IMP]
n : ŋ	*an*	[3SG.ANA]	*aŋ*	[1SG.NNOM]
n : ɲ	*-n*	[-2SG.NH]	*-ɲ*	[-2SG.H]

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2 This chapter elaborates, revises in part and extends a much shorter and considerably less detailed earlier description of Kinnauri which appeared as Saxena (2017), in the second edition of the survey volume *The Sino-Tibetan languages* (Thurgood and LaPolla 2017).

3 The articulation of *v* is labio-dental rather than bilabial.

r : l	*raŋ*	'horse'	*laŋ*	'cow'
l : n	*val*	'much, many'	*van*	'steam'
ʋ : j	*van*	'steam'	*jaŋ*	'flea'
b : ʋ	*bal*	'head, top'	*val*	'much, many'

2.1.1 Consonant Allophony and Variation

ɖ has two allophones: [ɖ] and [ɽ], where [ɽ] occurs intervocalically and [ɖ] occurs elsewhere. For example:

[dʒoɽi]	'pair'	[malɖogaŋ]	'life'
[gəɽi]	'clock'	[kunɖa]	'statue (of god)'
[reɽu]	'radio'	[ɖabmu]	'to pull'
[moɽəlo]	'limbless'	[bulɖja:mu]	'to roast, fry'
[goɽagaɽi]	'horse carriage'	[ɖig]	'pot'

The only apparent exceptions to this complementary distribution principle are [ɖʊɖʊ] 'owl' and [ʈʰã:ɖi] 'cold'. In both these examples there is a clear [ɖ] intervocalically. But the prosody of these words diverges from the default prosody of Kinnauri words. In these words either there is a pause between the first and the second syllable (['ɖʊ.ˌɖʊ]), or the vowel of the first syllable is long ([ʈʰã:ɖi]). It is plausible that [ɖʊɖʊ] might perhaps be an onomotopoeic reduplicated form.[4]

Variation is also found in the phonetic realization of *ʃ*. The allophones are [ʃ] and [ʂ]. According to Takahashi (2001: 104), [ʂ] occurs before back vowels and [ʃ] occurs elsewhere. In our material the younger consultants from Sangla use [ʃ] everywhere (e.g., [ʃonʃeres] 'Saturday'). Both [ʃ] and [ʂ] occur in the speech of the older female speaker from Brua, but without any systematic distribution. In her speech both [ʃ] and [ʂ] occur with both front and back vowels. For example, [ʂɔʂɔ] 'ripen', [prɔʃɔl] 'a type of bread', [kʰaʂe] 'rough', [ʃepa] 'a dog name', [boʂaŋ] 'year', [kiʃaŋ] [1PLI]. Furthermore, in her speech, the same lexical item can be rendered once with [ʃ] and on a different occasion with [ʂ] (e.g., [ʂum] ~ [ʃum] 'three', [ʃɛkʰi] ~ [ʂɛkʰi] 'pride').

In addition, *dʒ* is realized as [dʒ], [ʒ] and at times, also as [ʐ]. For example, *dʒəgmu* [dʒəgmu] ~ [ʒəgmu] 'to break (INTR)'.

We also find variation in the pronunciation of recognizably Indo-Aryan (IA) words. For examples, IA lexical items with a [h] are regularly pronounced without [h] in Kinnauri, e.g. [mɛl] 'palace', [bramən] 'priest', [pɛlɛ] 'earlier' and [hã] ~ [ã] 'yes'. Similarly, IA words with voiced aspirated consonants are regularly

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4　The same phenomenon occurs in Kinnauri Pahari; see Chapter 4.

pronounced without aspiration (e.g. [b] instead of [bʰ], e.g. [bɛm] ~ [bʰɛm] 'doubt'). But in the speech of literate Kinnauri speakers we find both the typical Kinnauri pronunciation of IA words without [h] and [bʰ] and also the Hindi pronunciation of the same items with [h] and [bʰ]. Similarly, in particular among literate Kinnauri speakers [ʣ] and [z] are in free variation (e.g. [baʣɛnnu] ~ [bazɛnnu]) 'to play (INTR)'. [pʰ] is also realized as [f] (e.g., *sapʰi* [safi] ~ [sapʰi] 'handkerchief, rag').

According to Takahashi (2001: 104), [ŋ] occurs between vowels and [n] elsewhere. This is not attested in our material, where [n] occurs also intervocalically (e.g., [ganam] 'bad odor', [gɔniŋ] 'tree stem'), but the retroflex nasal [ɳ] is always followed by a retroflex consonant (e.g., [raɳɖɔle] 'widow', [raɳɖɔlɛs] 'widower (negative connotation)', [maɳʈ(r)] 'female (animal)'). In each such instance in the speech of the older language consultant, we also get a variant without [ɳ]. Instead the adjacent vowel is nasalized: [rãɖole], [rãɖɔlɛs], [mãʈ(r)]. Distinct from this the younger consultants from Sangla village use [n] in these words.

Consonant variation is also found in the word-final position. While *b*, *d* and *g* are consistently realized as voiced stops word-initially, and even though the voicing is largely retained in word-final position, there are some instances where, in casual speech, the word-final voiced stops were realized as voiceless stops or as voiced fricatives. When asked to repeat, language consultants invariably produced a voiced consonant. The following examples represent the Brua variety.

tag	[tag] ~ [tak]	'pus'
ʃag	[ʃag̚] ~ [ʃak̚]	'birch'
ʃub	[ʂub] ~ [ʂuβ]	'foam'
tsʰag	[tsʰag] ~ [tsʰaɣ]	'light' (N)
mig	[mɪg] ~ [mɪɣ]	'eye'
baŋmod	[baŋmɔd] ~ [baŋmɔð][5]	'footprint'
raːg	[raːg] ~ [raːɣ]	'green, blue'
ʣabug	[zabug] ~ [zaβuɣ]	'claw'
ʈəgmu	[ʈ(r)əgmu] ~ [ʈ(r)əɣmu]	'to break'

In some cases the duration of the word-final stop is very short, although the language consultants can still identify the consonant. This is indicated in the phonetic transcription used here as unreleased stops (̚). For example, [jʊme]

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5 *d* is, however, normally neither realized as a fricative/spirantized nor as a prototypical stop in these positions. Its articulation is somewhere in-between stop and fricative.

~ [jʊmɛd¹] 'mother-in-law, mother's brother's wife', [ʧʰad¹] 'son-in-law', [bɪd¹]
'shoulder', [bɔd¹] 'dead skin (due to e.g., illness), bark, peel', [karkɛb¹] 'awl',
[bɔk¹] 'hot', [bɔnsak¹] 'wild entities (animal, plant)'. However, when a plural
marker is affixed to a noun, the stem final consonant occurs explicitly. For
example, [ʧɪmɛd¹] 'girl, daughter', [ʧɪmedɔː] [girl.PL].

2.1.2 Syllable Structure and Consonant Clusters

The attested syllable structures in my data are shown in Table 10. The syllable
nucleus is always a single (short or long) vowel. Hence, description of the sylla-
ble structure of Kinnauri boils down to describing possible syllable-initial and
final consonant clusters.

TABLE 10   Attested syllable structures in Kinnauri

CV	*do*	[3SG.DIST.NVIS]
	ʃa	'meat, flesh'
CVC	*rag*	'rock, stone'
	pom	'snow'
CCV	*pʰjaː*	'forehead'
	kraː	'hair'
CCCV	*(s)kjo-*	'male (animal)'
CCVC	*djaːr*	'day'
	(s)kar	'star'
CCVCC	*bjonts*	'grasshopper'
	krũːnts	'elbow'
CVCC	*holḍ*	'flood'
V	*uː*	'flower'
VC	*ag*	'cave'
	om	'path'
VCC	*uʃk*	'old (non-human)'
	oms	'before'

2.1.2.1 *Word-Initial Clusters*

There is a limited number of word-initial three-consonant clusters, all of the
form sibilant + stop + approximant (e.g. *(s)kjo-* 'male (animal)') in the speech
of some older speakers. Younger speakers consistently provide the forms with-
out the first consonant. Otherwise initial clusters are of the form stop + [r/l/j/ʊ]
(only [pʰ] and [kʰ] occur aspirated), sibilant + stop, sibilant + approximant, [ʤ]
+ [r/ʊ] and [ʊ] + [j]. See Table 10. and additional examples in Table 11.

TABLE 11   Word-initial consonant clusters

[pr]	*pramu*	'to spread'	[st]	*stal*	'plough'
[pj]	*pja(ts)*	'bird'	[tr]	*tremu*	'to knead'
[br]	*bragmu*	'to chew'	[sk]	*(s)kad*	'voice'
[bj]	*bjomu*	'to go'	[sʋ]	*svamu*	'to spoil, ruin'
[tʋ]	*tva:r*	'Sunday'	[dʑj]	*dʑiva*	'heart, soul, spirit'
[tj]	*tjoŋ*	'more'	[dʑʋ]	*dʑvalno*	'shining'
[dʋ]	*dvənnu*	'to come out'	[sj]	*sjano*	'old (human)'
[dj]	*dja:r*	'day'	[kʰj]	*kʰjar*	'goat's wool blanket'
[kr]	*kra:*	'hair'	[ʃʋ]	*ʃvi:g*	'red'
[kʋ]	*kvasmu*	'to boil'	[pʰr]	*pʰralmu*	'to fell'
[kj]	*kjar*	'plait, braid'	[kʰr]	*kʰramu*	'to be late'
[gr]	*gru:mu*	'to burn (INTR)'	[dʐr]	*dʐrakʰraŋ*	'bush with thorns'
[gʋ]	*gvamu*	'to jump'	[dʐʋ]	*dʐvarat*	'jewel'
[gj]	*gja:mu*	'to want'	[ʋj]	*vjapar*	'business'
[pʰj]	*pʰja:*	'forehead'	[kʰʋ]	*kʰvatʃimu*	'to boil'
			[mj]	*mja*	'day'

2.1.2.2   *Word-Final Clusters*

Word-final consonant clusters are of the form [nasal/liquid + stop/affricate], [fricative + stop], [stop + affricate] and also [t + k]. See Table 10. Additional examples are provided in Table 12.

TABLE 12   Word-final consonant clusters

[kts]	*botokts*	'spider'	[mp]	*lomp*	'small kerosene lamp'
[tk]	*tsʰatk*	'light'	[nts]	*bjonts*	'grasshopper'
[ms]	*oms*	'before'	[mts]	*gumts*	'knife'
			[ns]	*lesəns*	'license'
[nt]	*banbant*	'much'	[nʈ]	*ʈenʈ*	'tent'
[nd]	*homaŋ kund*	'altar'	[nʈʰ]	*banʈʰ*	'share, portion'
[ŋk]	*raŋk*	'high, tall'	[rt]	*ʃərt*	'bet'
[st]	*ʈʃust*	'clever'	[ʃk]	*kʰuʃk*	'dry (inan. objects)'
[mb]	*bomb*	'bomb'	[ntʃ]	*kuntʃ*	'wide (inan. objects)'
[ld]	*hold*	'flood'	[pts]	*pətrapts*	'kidney'
[lk]	*melk*	'low'	[rg]	*sorg*	'heaven'
[rk]	*surk*	'salty, sour'	[rts]	*tsʰarts*	'dry (e.g. grass)'
[rs]	*nors*	'nurse'	[rtʃ]	*bərtʃ*	'leave behind'

TABLE 13   Dialect variation: [ʈ(ʰ)(r)] and [ʧ(ʰ)(r)]

	Razgramang (Sangla)	**Tukpa (Brua)**	
liːʈ	[liʈ(r)], [liʧʰ(r)]	[liʈ(r)], [liʧʰ(r)]	'egg'
ʈʰanaŋ	[ʈʰanaŋ], [ʧʰ(r)anaŋ]	[ʈʰ(r)anaŋ], [ʧʰ(r)anaŋ]	'ice'
ʈʰab	[ʈʰab¹], [ʧʰ(r)ab¹]	[ʈʰ(r)ab¹], [ʧʰ(r)ab¹]	'lung'
ʈod	[ʈɔd¹], [ʧ(r)ɔd¹]	[ʈ(r)ɔd¹], [ʧ(r)ɔd¹]	'disease'
ʈəgmu	[ʈəgmu], [ʧ(r)əgmu]	[ʈ(r)əgmu], [ʧ(r)əgmu]	'to break'
manʈ-	[mãʈ], [mãnʈ]	[manʈ(r)]	'female (animal)'

2.1.3   Geographical Variation in the Consonant System

On the whole, the speech varieties of Kinnauri speakers of the Brua and the Sangla villages are very similar, including their judgements concerning various aspects of Kinnauri grammar. But there are some minor differences which can be attributed to dialect differences. According to the locals the Kinnauri speech of the Brua village represents the Tukpa Kinnauri variety, while the speech of the Sangla village represents a form of speech associated with the Razgramang variety.

In a restricted set of Kinnauri lexical items, variation is noted between [ʈ] and [ʧ] and between [ʈʰ] and [ʧʰ] in both varieties. In this set, as illustrated by the examples in Table 13, in the Tukpa (Brua) variety a short [r] is heard after both the [ʈ(ʰ)] and the [ʧ(ʰ)] variants.[6] Distinct from this, in the speech of the Razgramang (Sangla) speakers, a short [r] is heard mostly in the [ʧ(ʰ)] variants of this set.

In the Tukpa variety, a short [-r] is also heard after a retroflex consonant ([ʈ(ʰ)]) in lexical items which do not show the [ʈ] and [ʧ] variation, as shown in Table 14.

The corresponding lexical items in closely related Kanashi have [ʧ], and [ʃ] in one instance ('ice'). See Table 15.

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6 In the Tukpa variety a short [r] is also heard after a [ʤ] (*ʤogɪts* 'warm (weather)': [ʒ(r)ogɪts]). In addition, *ʤ* is realized as [ʐ] more frequently in the Tukpa variety than in the Razgramang variety.

TABLE 14   Dialect variation [ʈ(ʰ)(r)] without [ʈʃ(ʰ)(r)]

Phonemic representation	Razgramang (Sangla)	Tukpa (Brua)	
ʈʰo	[ʈʰo]	[ʈʰo], [ʈʰro]	'charcoal'
ʈʰog	[ʈʰog]	[ʈʰog], [ʈʰrog]	'white'
paːʈ	[paːʈ]	[paːʈ], [paːʈr]	'ankle'
ʈuʈu	[ʈuʈu]	[ʈuʈu], [ʈruʈru]⁷	[swell.PFV]
kjarʈʰaŋ ʈʰomu	[kjarʈʰaŋ ʈʰomu]	[kjarʈʰaŋ ʈʰomu], [kjarʈʰraŋ ʈʰomu]	'to carry under the arm'

TABLE 15   Kanashi counterparts of Kinnauri [ʈ(ʰ)(r)] and [ʈʃ(ʰ)(r)]

	Razgramang (Sangla)	Tukpa (Brua)	Kanashi	
liːʈ	[liʈ(r)], [liʈʃʰ(r)]	[liʈ(r)], [liʈʃʰ(r)]	[li(ː)ʈʃ]	'egg'
manʈ-	[mãʈ], [mãnʈ]	[manʈ(r)]	[mĩʈʃ], [miʈʃ]	'female'
ʈʰo	ʈʰo	ʈʰ(r)o	[ʈʃopʈu]	'charcoal'
ʈʰog	[ʈʰog]	[ʈʰ(r)og]	[ʈʃʰo(g)]	'white'
ʈuʈu	ʈuʈu	[ʈ(r)uʈ(r)u]	[ʈʃuːrʣ]	'swelling'
ʈʰanaŋ	[ʈʰanaŋ], [ʈʃʰ(r)anaŋ]	[ʈʰ(r)anaŋ], [ʈʃʰ(r)anaŋ]	[ʃanaŋ], [ʃanaŋ]	'ice'

It is important to note that this type of variation occurs in a restricted set of words. In the following instances the retroflex stop consonant [ʈ(ʰ)] occurs without an [r] in both the Razgramang and Tukpa varieties.

1.   In words where [ʈ(ʰ)] is immediately followed by the transitivizer *-jaː* (e.g. *meʈjaːmu* 'to gather (TR)').

2.   In words where [ʈ(ʰ)] is immediately followed by the detransitivizer *-ed* (e.g. *meʈed-o* [gather(INTR)-PROG])

3.   [r] does not occur in recognizably IA words with retroflex consonants (e.g. *beʈa* 'son').

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7   This example shows that [r] can also intrude in reduplicated perfective verb forms, where it is in word-medial position.

2.2   *Vowels*

Table 16 shows the oral vowel phonemes of Kinnauri and a list of minimal pairs is provided below. See Section 2.2.2 for a discussion of the phonemic status of nasal vowels.

TABLE 16   Vowel phonemes

i, iː		u, uː
e, eː	ə	o, oː
	a, aː	

Minimal (or near-minimal) pairs: Vowels

i : e	*ʧimu*	'to wash'	*ʧemu*	'to write, to draw'
e : a	*eŋe*	'fourth day after today'	*aŋ*	[1SG.NNOM]
ə : a	*əpa*	'father-in-law'	*api*	'grandmother'
a : i	*ka*	[2SG.NH]	*ki*	[2SG.H]
o : u	*pʰor*	'floor'	*pʰur*	'boil, blister'
i : u	*kim*	'house, home'	*kum*	'pillow'
i : iː	*ligmu*	'to put on'	*liːg*	'heavy'
e : eː	*le*	'day'	*le*	'tongue'
a : aː	*ka*	[2SG.NH]	*kaː*	'walnut'
a : aː	*rag*	'stone, rock'	*raːg*	'green, blue'
o : oː	*kʰolaŋ*	'threshing floor'	*kʰoːlo*	'box'
u : uː	*sumu*	'to bathe (TR)'	*ʃuːmu*	'to preach'
o : aː	*om*	'path, mountain pass'	*aːm*	'mango'

Vowel length is phonemic in Kinnauri, although I have found no instances of disyllabic words which have long vowels in both syllables. Minimal pairs for vowel length are also provided among the examples above. It is important to note that the difference between long and non-long vowels is fairly small. Thus, there is very little difference in length between *raŋ* 'horse' and *raːŋ* 'mountain' in (1). See also Figure 5.

(1)   *raŋ-rəŋ   raːŋ   den   bjo-k*
        horse-COM mountain over go-1SG
        '(I) went over the hill with (my) horse.'

When a vowel-initial suffix is added to a stem which ends in a vowel, there is an intervening [j] or [ʋ], the former occurs with front vowels and the latter with back vowels. E.g. *ʃi-e rəŋ* [die-MNR COM] [ʃije rəŋ] 'at the time of (his) death'.
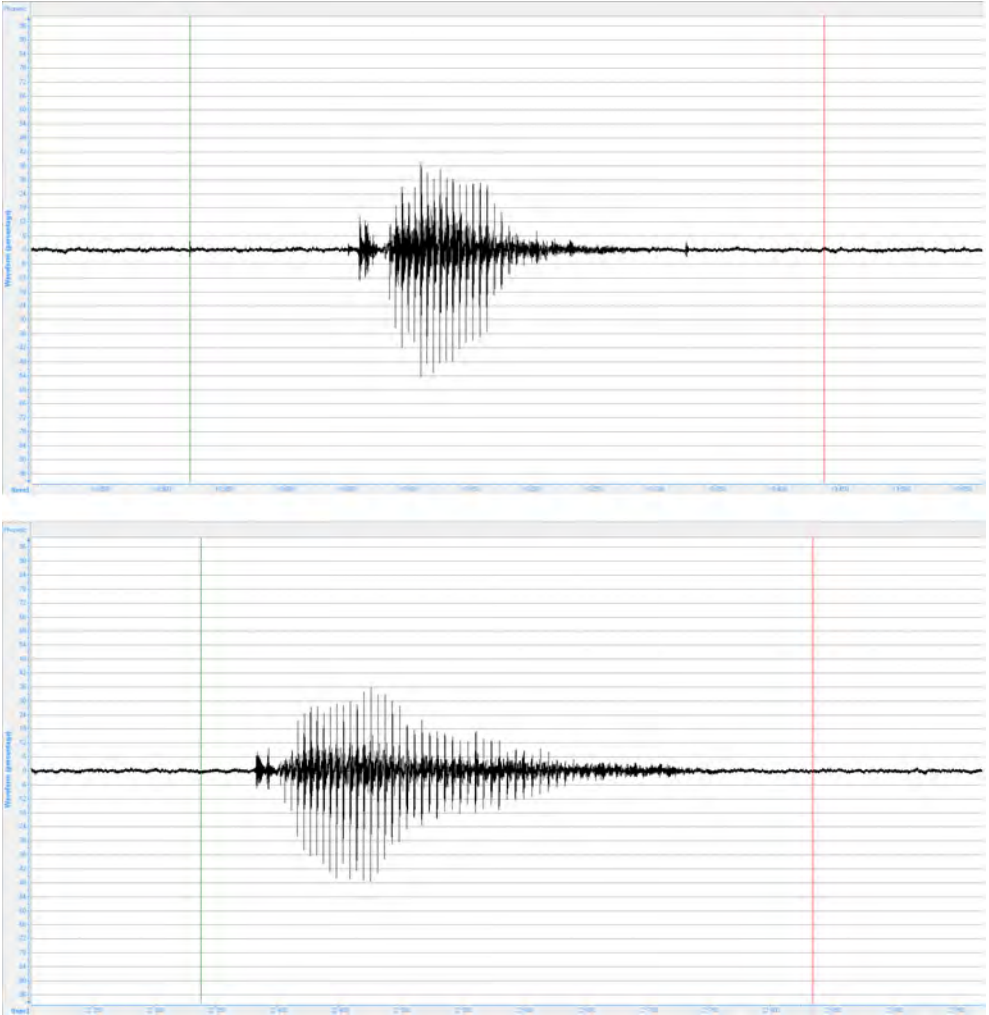
FIGURE 5   Spectrograms illustrating phonemic vowel length distinctions *ka* [2SG.NH] (top) and *ka:* 'wal-
nut' (bottom)

2.2.1   Vowel Allophony and Variation

Some variation is found in the phonetic realization of vowel phonemes in
Kinnauri. The phonetic realization of vowel phonemes varies both within the
speech of an individual and across speakers: *i* is realized along the entire spec-
trum of [i]–[ɪ]. Similarly, *u* : [u]–[ʊ], *e* : [e]–[ɛ], *o* : [o]–[ɔ] and *a* : [a]–[ɐ]–[ɑ].

2.2.1.1   o : [o] ~ [ɔ]

In several cases, the same word is pronounced with [o] in one sitting and [ɔ] in another by the same speaker (e.g. [kotʃaŋ] ~ [kotʃaŋ] 'direction, side') and across speakers (e.g. [rãɖɔle] ~ [rãɖole] 'widow'). At the same time, some systematic distributional tendencies are also observed:

First, *o* tends to be realized as [ɔ] before a consonant cluster. Example: [hɔld] 'flood (N)', [ɔms] 'before', [sɔrg] 'heaven'. Second, word-initially *o* tends to be realized as a [ɔ]. Third, in di-/polysyllabic words which contain *o* in consecutive syllables, there are a few lexical items with either [o] or [ɔ] in both syllables ([poʈo] 'seed', [bɔtɔkts] 'spider', [bɔtɔn] 'button', [dɔrɔm] 'religion'), but more frequently in such disyllabic lexical items [o] occurs in one syllable and [ɔ] in the other (e.g. [ɖɔrko] 'skeleton', [kɔkpol] 'a kind of cheese', [pʰɔgdori] 'felt', [tɔŋlo] 'acorn, cone', [sɔkʰo] 'scorpion', [sɔrglok] 'heaven' and [ɪbrobɔr] 'similar').

2.2.1.2   e : [e] ~ [ɛ]

As was the case with [o] and [ɔ], variation is found both within and across speakers. One example of variation within the speech of one speaker: [damɛs] ~ [dames] 'ox', [kɔnes] ~ [kɔnɛs] 'male friend of a man'.

There is also some systematicity where the distribution of [e] and [ɛ] holds across speakers.

First, there is some dialectal variation among my language consultants. In the speech of Brua village, in some compound words where the first member is *me:* 'fire', its vowel is realized as [ɛ] (e.g. [mɛʃɪŋ] 'match', [mɛhoŋ] 'firefly'), but the vowel quality does not change in [melɪŋ] 'fireplace, oven'. The language consultants from Sangla, however, consistently have an [e] in all the compounds involving *me:* 'fire'.

Secondly, in recognizably IA words, Kinnauri tends to retain the IA vowels [e] and [ɛ]. For example, [sɛnɖal] 'sandal', [ʃɛ(:)r] 'town', [tʰɛla:] 'bag', [deʃaŋ] 'village, country', [kaledʒi] 'liver', [mela] 'carnival'.

Third, the distribution of [e] and [ɛ] seems to be sensitive to stem structure. In many stems ending in -e(C) this *e* is pronounced [e] when stem-final, but [ɛ] when followed by a stem consonant, e.g. [jʊme] ~ [jʊmɛd[1]] 'mother-in-law', [rãɖɔle] 'widow' ~[rãɖɔlɛs] 'widower'.

In particular, intransitive verbs formed with the suffix *-ed* show [ɛ] in forms where the stem ends in a consonant, i.e., in the allomorphs *-ed* and *-en* (the latter occurring in the infinitive: *-ed-mu > -ennu;* see Section 4.1.3.4.2), while in the reduplicated perfective, where the stem ends in *-e*, this is pronounced [e]. This variation in vowel quality does not occur in verbs with a single stem ending in *-e*. In these cases [e] occurs in all forms, as expected:

Infinitive	Progressive	Perfective	
polʈen-nu [pɔlʈɛnnu]	*polʈed-o* [pɔlʈɛdo]	*polʈe~ʈe* [pɔlʈeʈe]	'to turn around'
tʰuren-nu [tʰʊrɛnnu]	*tʰured-o* [tʰʊrɛdo]	*tʰure~re* [tʰʊrere]	'to run'
ʃen-nu [ʃɛnnu]	*ʃed-o* [ʃɛdo]	*ʃe~ʃe* [ʃeʃe]	'to send'
ren-nu [rɛnnu]	*red-o* [rɛdo]	*re~re* [rere]	'to sell'
halaŋ he-mu [halaŋ hemu]	*halaŋ he-(j)o* [halaŋ he(j)o]	*halaŋ he~he* [halaŋ hehe]	'to plough'
tre-mu [tremu]	*tre-jo* [trejo]	*tre~tre* [tretre]	'to knead'

2.2.2   Nasal Vowels

Vowels preceding nasal consonants are regularly nasalized. However, in a restricted set of words nasalized vowels occur, even when there is no nasal consonant following it. For example *ɖãs* 'gnat', *tãziraŋ* 'a horse name', *suãraŋ* 'monday', *sujĩ* 'tailor (who makes traditional cap and coat)', *ũʈ* 'camel'.[8] There is at least one minimal pair: *bas* 'fragrant' : *bãs* 'bamboo', both IA. If nasal vowels have a phonemic status, it is marginal at best. In this chapter, nasalization will be marked only when there is no following nasal consonant following a nasalized vowel.

2.3   *Morphophonological Stem Alternations*

2.3.1   Nominal Morphophonology

Kinnauri has two kinds of systematic stem alternation which recur in several places in the nominal inflectional system, triggered by particular suffixes.

Polysyllabic stem truncation: As we will see, when certain inflectional suffixes are added to a disyllabic or polysyllabic noun stem ending in *-aŋ, -iŋ* or *-es*, this final part of the stem is replaced by the inflectional suffix.

Final vowel elision: When certain vowel-initial inflectional suffixes are added to a disyllabic or polysyllabic stem ending in *-a* or *-e*, the stem-final vowel is deleted (stems in *-a*) or replaced by a high glide (stems in *-e*). This is normally accompanied by a lowering of the suffix vowel (*-u* > *-o*).

2.3.2   Verbal Morphophonology

There are some verbs (e.g. *bənnu* 'to come', *lonnu* 'to tell', *sannu* 'to kill', *vannu* 'to laugh', as well as all intransitive verbs formed with the suffix *-ed*; see

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8   Notably, several of these items are IA loanwords in Kinnauri.

Section 4.1.3.4.2), which have three stem allomorphs whose distribution is mor-
phophonologically determined: *-V*, *-Vd*, and *-Vn*.

The *n*-final allomorph appears in the infinitive, which ends in *-nnu* in these
verbs (e.g. *sannu* 'to kill'), most likely due to a mutual assimilation process
between the stem-final *-d* and the affix-initial *-m*, where the *d* assimilates in
nasality and the *m* in place of articulation.

The *d*-final allomorph appears in the following contexts: In the progressive
aspect (e.g. *sad-o* [kill-PROG]); when the manner marker *-e* is suffixed to the
verb (e.g. *vad-e* [laugh-MNR]) and in the imperative (e.g. *sad* [kill.IMP]).

The vowel-final allomorph appears in the past tense (e.g. *sa-kjo* [kill-PST])
and in the reduplicated perfective (e.g. *sa~sa* [kill~PFV]). The default verbal
past tense markers are *-gjo* and *-ge*, but with this set of verbs the past tense
markers are realized as *-kjo* and *-ke/-ki*.[9]

V (INF)	V (PST)	V (PST-3SG.H)	V (PROG)	
lonnu	*lo-kjo*	*lo-ki-ʃ*	*lod-o*	'to tell'
bənnu	*bə-kjo*	*bə-ki-ʃ*	*bəd-o*	'to come'
tonnu	*to-kjo*	*to-ki-ʃ*	*tod-o*	'to take out'
vannu	*va-kjo*	*va-ki-ʃ*	*vad-o*	'to laugh'
tannu	*ta-kjo*	*ta-ki-ʃ*	*tad-o*	'to do'

2.4   *Suffix Suppletion*

Some inflectional categories in Kinnauri exhibit suffix suppletion, with (mor-
pho)phonologically determined distribution of the alternants. This holds for
the dative (*-u/(-)pəŋ*; Section 3.2.4.3), for the perfective (*-is/*[~RED]; Section
4.5.2.2), for the habitual (*-id/-ts*; Section 4.5.2.3), and marginally for the locative
(*-o/-r*; Section 3.2.4.5). In all these cases, we seem to be dealing with genuine
suppletion, and not, e.g., distinct items with overlapping functions.

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9 A reviewer suggests that these alternations together indicate that we are dealing with an orig-
   inal stem-final *-t*. Notably, Shumcho has a number of ST verbs which in some morphological
   contexts show a final *-t*, which Huber (2014a: 232 f./fn. 17) refers to as a "root augmentation
   marker". Shumcho also has an intransitive marker *-(ɐ)t* (Huber 2014a: 252 f./fn. 33) which may
   be related to Kinnauri *-e/-ed/-en* (described in Section 4.1.3.4.2). On the other hand, note that
   Navakat, too, shows the stem *sád-* for 'to kill' (and not **sát-*); see Chapter 3.

3   Noun Phrase

3.1   *Noun Phrase Structure*

The noun phrase in Kinnauri has the following basic structure:

(DEM / NP~POSS~) (Num) ((Adv) Adj) N(-DIM)(-PL/-DU)(-CASE)(-EMP)
(FOC/TOO)

For example:

(2) *do   tiʃ   val gaʈo-ts   tsʰetsa-ts-oː-s   le*
     DEM.DIST.NVIS seven very small-DIM girl-DIM-PL-ERG TOO
     'Those seven very small girls, too, …'

(3) *ka-s-i   ta   rəŋ-o-n*
     2SG.NH-ERG-EMP FOC tell.1/2O-PST-2SG.NH
     'You (yourself) told (me that).'

The N can consist of a title plus a name. In such cases both orderings, [name title] and [title name], are possible.

(4) *daʃratʰ raːdz-o   ʃum   raːni*
     i.name king-POSS three queen
     'The three queens of King Dashrath'

(5) *dok   raːdza daʃratʰ-is*
     then king   i.name-ERG
     'Then the king Dashrath …'

In some discourse contexts, the emphatic marker may precede the locative case marker (e.g., *obor-i-o* [dungeon-EMP-LOC]). The most frequent order is, however, where the emphatic marker occurs after the case marker.

(6) *do rapja neraŋ-o-i   bəd-o   du-gjo*
     3SG a.bird near-LOC-EMP come-PROG AUX-PST
     'She was coming near the bird.'

We now turn to a description of the components of the noun phrase.

3.2   *Nouns*

3.2.1   Noun Structure and Word Formation

3.2.1.1   *Noun Structure*

Most nouns in Kinnauri are monosyllabic or disyllabic.[10] Monosyllabic nouns can end in both vowels and consonants, e.g.:

ti	'water'	*pju*	'mouse'	*ʃub*	'foam'
kra:	'hair'	*(s)kad*	'language'	*tʃʰaŋ*	'boy'
u:	'flower'	*mig*	'eye'	*dzod*	'wheat'
ha:p	'jackal'	*tsam*	'wool'	*(s)kar*	'star'

Disyllabic nouns in Kinnauri often end in *-Vŋ*, *-Vs* or *-pa*. Disyllabic nouns may, however, also end in other syllables. The endings *-Vŋ* and *-Vs* appear on IA loanwords and words of unknown etymology (nouns and adjectives), never on ST items, and seem to function as *adaptive markers*, which simultaneously accomodate the non-ST items to the inflectional system of Kinnauri, and mark them as foreign. They show special behavior in derivation[11] and inflection (see below).

ɖejaŋ	'body'	*eraŋ*	'hunting'
ɖokʰaŋ	'mountain'	*kʰiraŋ*	'milk'
bruaŋ	'a village name'	*ra:paŋ*	'a village name (Sapni)'
koʈiŋ	'a kind of basket'	*baniŋ*	'pots and pans'
gatʃʰiŋ	'traditional belt'	*tʰepaŋ*	'traditional cap'
bitiŋ	'wall'	*gubiŋ*	'storey, level'
dames	'ox'	*sapes*	'snake'
tʃʰunpa	'maidservant'	*gompa*	'step'
bospa	'ash'	*ʃupa*	'evening'

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10   There is a large number of IA words in Kinnauri. As many of them are part of the core vocabulary, they are included in the present discussion. Only those words which are identifiably recent loanwords (e.g. *seʈelajʈ ʈivi* 'satellite television') are excluded. In the IA expressions with the IA honorific marker *-dʒi* in Kinnauri, case markers follow *-dʒi* (e.g., *brahmandʒi-ju* [priest.H-POSS], *hanumandʒi-ju* [a.hindu.god.H-POSS]). *-dʒi* is treated here as part of the lexical item, and not as a separate functional morpheme.

11   These words tend not to take derivational suffixes, although there are a few instances of nouns where the adaptive marker *-aŋ* is followed by the diminutive marker *-ts*. E.g. *"to-ta-li ma-ta-li jali panʈʰaŋ-ts-o" lod-o* [COP-FUT-EMP NEG-FUT-EMP downstairs living.room-DIM-LOC tell-PROG] '"If it is there or is not there, (those two) are downstairs in the living room" (the fox) is saying'.

sutʰon	'traditional trousers'	*june*	'sun'
sokʰo	'scorpion'	*ʧimed*	'daughter'
əkʰa	'pain'	*tsʰemar*	'lizard'

There are some nouns in Kinnauri which are longer. Most of them are, however, compounds (e.g. *kaːnaŋ-kʰə* [ear-shit] 'earwax') or seemingly compounds (e.g. *ʤanekaŋ* 'marriage', *purʧuʈiŋ* 'dust').

As the examples below illustrate, there are no structural differences between (i) count and mass nouns, (ii) concrete and abstract nouns, and (iii) inanimate, animate and human nouns. Such nouns can be mono- or disyllabic, ending in similar vowels and consonants.

(i)   Count nouns   Mass nouns

(s)toː	'face'	*(s)puː*	'body hair'
pja	'bird'	*tsʰa*	'salt'
rud	'horn'	*kʰod*	'dandruff'
mi	'man'	*meː*	'fire'

(ii)   Concrete nouns   Abstract nouns

bal	'head, top'	*laːn*	'air, wind'
ɖokʰaŋ	'mountain'	*miʧʰaŋ*	'envy, jealous'
rag	'stone, rock'	*tsʰag*	'light (N)'

(iii)   Inanimate nouns   Animate nouns

ʤaŋ	'gold'	*raŋ*	'horse'
tromaŋ	'copper'	*ʃokraŋ*	'orphan'
vaː	'nest'	*pja*	'bird'

3.2.1.2   *Word Formation of Nouns*

In Kinnauri there is a small set of derivational morphemes deriving nouns from nouns. These are *maɳʈ-, (s)kjo-, bi-, ran-, -(o)nig* and *-ts*. With the exception of *-ts* (which also attaches to other parts of speech), they are not productive in the modern language.

maɳʈ-	'female (animals)'	*maɳʈ-kukəri*	'hen'
(s)kjo-	'male (animals)'	*(s)kjo-kukəri*	'cock/rooster'
bi-	'step- (kinship)'	*bi-bon, bi-boba*	'stepfather'
bi-	'step- (kinship)'	*bi-ama, bi-mən*	'stepmother'
ran-	'defective'	*ran-tsʰesmi*	'widow'
-onig	[-FEMALE]	*rikʰ-onig*	'she-bear'
-onig	[-FEMALE]	*sod-onig*	'priest's wife'
-ts	[-DIM]	*pja-ts*	[bird-DIM]
-ts	[-DIM]	*tsʰetsa-ts*	[girl-DIM]

A more productive process of forming complex nouns is compounding. By "compound" in this work I mean a single word unit, which consists of at least two independent stems. Most frequently the compounds in Kinnauri consist of two stems. Structurally, they are made up by N-N or Adj-N.

N-N
meʃiŋ	*meː+ʃiŋ*	[fire+wood]	'match'
mehoŋ	*meː+hoŋ*	[fire+worm]	'firefly'
vasjaŋ	*vas+jaŋ*	[honey+fly(N)]	'bee'
misti	*mig-s+ti*	[eye-LNK+water]	'tear'

Adj-N
rokmig	*rok+mig*	[black+eye]	'pupil'
pədʑər	*pə+dʑər*	[four+corner]	'square'

The following phonological modifications have been observed to occur when the element stems become a part of a nominal compound. The vowel of the first stem is reduced (e.g., [i] > [ɪ], [iː] > [i]). For example, *ti+daːmes* [water+ox] > [tɪdamɛs] '(non-castrated) bull'. When the first component of a compound ends with an adaptive marker (*-Vŋ*), the adaptive marker is frequently deleted (e.g. *boniŋ+sak* [forest+wild.creature] > [bɔnsak] 'wild animal', *boniŋ+mi-ts* [forest+man-DIM] > [bɔnmits] 'fairy, elf', *haraŋ+koʈiŋ* [bone+kind.of.basket] > [harkɔʈɪŋ] 'skull').

    Further, if the first stem ends in a consonant, in some cases, the stem final consonant is deleted (e.g. *gud+sab* [hand+narrowness] > [gʊsab] 'glove',

pi:g+jaŋ [yellow+flea] > [pijaŋ] 'wasp', *juŋʣ+riŋʣ* [brother+sister] > [jʊŋrɪŋ][12])
or it gets assimilated for voicing (e.g. *sag+ti* [core+water] > [sagti] ~ [sakti]
'whirlpool'). There does not seem to be any specific phonological context which
determines when a final consonant will be deleted. In the following examples,
the phonological shape of the first component of a compound remains unaf-
fected.

migbod	*mig-bod*	[eye-skin]	'eyelid'
sakpju	*sak-pju*	[wild.creature-rat]	'outdoor rat'
bonprats	*bon-prats*	[father-finger]	'thumb'
vasjaŋ	*vas-jaŋ*	[honey-fly(N)]	'bee'
balrig	*bal-rig*	[head-louse]	'head louse'
baŋmod	*baŋ-mod*	[foot-impression]	'footprint'
mənbon	*mən-bon*	[mother-father][13]	'parents'

In a restricted sub-set an additional *-s*[14] occurs as a linking element between
the stems (e.g. *mig-s-ti* [eye-LNK-water] > [mɪsti] 'tear', *mig-s-pu* [eye-LNK-
body.hair] > *migspu* 'eyebrow, eyelash').[15]

3.2.2   Number

Generally, a two-way number distinction—singular vs. plural—is made in Kin-
nauri nouns (but see Section 3.3.2.1 below for some instances of dual marking).
The singular is zero-marked. Mass nouns such as *ti* 'water', *me:* 'fire', *ʣu* 'clouds'
do not take a plural marker. Similarly, nouns denoting unique natural objects
such as 'sky', 'moon' and 'sun' do not take the plural marker.

The following plural markers are found in our material: *-a:, -e:, -o:/-go:* and
lengthening of the stem-final vowel. The distribution of the plural markers on
nouns is not completely systematic, but some tendencies are observable.

Nouns which end in one of the adaptive markers (*-Vŋ/-Vs*) permit polysyl-
labic stem truncation (see Section 2.3.1) and the plural marker *-a:* is added to
the resulting truncated stem. Additionally, with noun stems ending in the front-
vowel adaptive suffixes *-iŋ/-es*, a *-j* normally appears between the truncated
stem and the plural ending.

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12   *-ʣ* occurs obligatorily when 'brother' and 'sister' occur independently, but is not permit-
      ted when they form part of a compound.
13   *ban* 'papa', *man* 'mama' (source: Joshi 1909).
14   *-s* occurs also in complex verbs. E.g. [tɪskarmu] 'to be thirsty' *ti-s-karmu* [water-LNK-
      bring.INF].
15   Kanashi has a similar compound construction where *-ʃ* occurs as the linking element:
      ja:-ʃ-ba: [mother-LNK-father] 'parents'.

Singular	Plural	
haraŋ	*har-a:*	'bone'
ãʣaŋ	*ãʣ-a:*	'intestine'
moraŋ	*mor-a:*	'mask for gods made of gold/silver'
ʈa:naŋ	*ʈa:n-a:*	'jewelry'
ɖokʰaŋ	*ɖokʰ-a:*	'mountain'
dames	*dam-a:*	'ox'
bitiŋ	*bitj-a:*	'wall'
takʃuliŋ	*takʃulj-a:*	'nostril'
ores	*orj-a:*	'carpenter, name of a social group'
banes	*banj-a:*	'pot'
kones	*konj-a:*	'male friend of a man'
gales	*galj-a:*	'abuse'

In nouns with the adaptive markers, the adaptive suffix can be retained—apparently with no difference in meaning. In such instances the regular plural marker *-o:/-go:* occurs.

Singular	Plural	
ga:raŋ	*ga:raŋ-o:, ga:r-a:*	'river'
ɖejaŋ	*ɖejaŋ-o:, ɖej-a:*	'body'
koʈiŋ	*koʈiŋ-o:, koʈj-a:*	'basket which is carried on the back'
junnaŋ	*junnaŋ-o:, junn-a:*	'mortar'
hasgoʈaŋ	*hasgoʈaŋ-o:, hasgoʈ-a:*	'hand.grinding.stone'
patʰraŋ	*patʰraŋ-o:, patʰr-a:*	'leaf'

In a few nouns, the stem-final vowel is lengthened to mark plurality by our Tukpa language consultant, but our Razgramang (Sangla) younger language consultants did not permit vowel lengthening as a plural marking device here, instead selecting *-go:* as the plural marker in all the following examples, except 'sheep/goat' (which is also irregular in losing the stem-final consonant).

Singular	Plural	
ate	*ateː, ate-goː*	'older brother'
rikʰa	*rikʰaː, rikʰa-goː*	'bear'
le	*leː, le-goː*	'tongue'
mi	*miː, mi-oː, mi-goː*	'man'
dʑed	*dʑeː*	'sheep/goat'

In a restricted set of nouns the plural marker is *-eː*.

Singular	Plural	
roʈ	*roʈ-eː*	'chapati'
tsʰatig	*tsʰatig-eː*	'mosquito'
elkar	*elkar-eː*	'minister'
riŋdʑ	*riŋdʑ-eː*	'sister'
sok	*sok-eː*	'co-wife'
haːp	*haːp-eː*	'jackal'
gambuːʈ	*gambuːʈ-eː*	'boot'

The plural marker *-eː* also occurs with the numeral *id* 'one', forming a generic pronoun (7–8).

(7) *id-eː-s   aŋ   ʧʰaŋ-ts lod-o   du*
     one-PL-ERG 1SG.NNOM boy-DIM tell-PROG AUX.PRS
     'Some are saying: "(You are) my son".'

(8) *id-eː-nu   naːne lod-o*
     one-PL-DAT.PL aunt   tell-PROG
     '(He is) calling some (women) "Aunt".'

In the remaining cases, the default plural marker is *-oː/-goː*, where *-goː* [goː] occurs after a stem-final vowel and *-oː* [ɔː] after a stem-final consonant. These plural markers also occur after an agentive nominalizer. The plural marker *-aː/-gaː*, too, occurs in our material, e.g. *baniŋ* : *baniŋ-aː ~ banj-aː* 'kitchen utensils'. According to our Sangla consultants *-aː/-gaː* reflects the speech of some other Kinnauri varieties, but not that of Sangla.

Singular	Plural	
tʰar	tʰar-o:	'leopard'
rag	rag-o:	'stone, rock'
krog	krog-o:	'ant'
raŋ	raŋ-o:	'horse'
mig	mig-o:	'eye'
gud	gud-o:	'hand, arm'
kʰjar	kʰjar-o:	'blanket made of goat's hair'
stal	stal-o:	'plough'
gar	gar-o:	'tooth'
tʃin	tʃin-o:	'fingernail'
ʃiŋ	ʃiŋ-o:	'wood'
kep-ts	kep-ts-o:	'small needle'
mul	mul-o:	'silver'
mig	mig-o:	'eye'
bed	bed-o:	'traditional doctor'
bod	bod-o:	'peel'
tʃimed	tʃimed-o:	'girl, daughter'
gone	gone-go:	'wife'
piʃi	piʃi-go:	'cat'
ama	ama-go:	'mother'
lantsja:	lantsja:-go:	'maker'
bore	bore-go:	'brother's wife'
gora	gora-go:	'stone.house'
pordʑa	pordʑa-go:	'citizen'
sjano	sjano-go:	'old man'
jaŋdʑe	jaŋdʑe-go:	'old woman'
dʑuʈi	dʑuʈi-go:	'hair ribbon'
pʰoʃa	pʰoʃa-go:	'deer meat'
ra:ni	ra:ni-go:	'queen'

The plural marker occurs also in noun phrases which include a numeral.

(9) *niʃ   tʃimed-o: to-ke*
      two girl-PL   COP-PST
      'There were two girls.'

3.2.3   Gender

Gender is not a grammatical category in Kinnauri nouns, other than in the restricted sense that the language has a "variable" class of adjectives, which distinguish a masculine and a feminine form reflecting natural sex in animate nouns (see Section 3.4). There are also some word-formation devices for creating nouns denoting female and male humans and animals.[16] With two exceptions to be described below, these processes are not productive.

A few nouns denoting female referents end in *-mo* or in *-ma* (e.g. *ama* 'mother'). In Tibetan loanwords, Tibetan rules for gender distinction are followed (for example *ʣo* 'mountain ox' : *ʣomo* 'mountain cow').

Further, with animal names the gender distinction can be encoded by means of the prefixes (*s*)*kjo-* and *manʈ-*. (*s*)*kjo-* denotes male and *manʈ-* denotes female animals. As the following examples illustrate, the ST gender prefixes (*s*)*kjo-* and *manʈ-* can also be affixed to loan nouns in Kinnauri. However, (*s*)*kjo-* and *manʈ-* do not occur frequently in natural texts.

(*s*)*kjo-raŋ*	'stallion'	*manʈ-raŋ*	'mare'
(*s*)*kjo-kui*	'dog'	*manʈ-kui*	'bitch'
(*s*)*kjo-kukəri*	'rooster'	*manʈ-kukəri*	'hen'
(*s*)*kjo-piʃi*	'cat (male)'	*manʈ-piʃi*	'cat (female)'
(*s*)*kjo-tʰar*	'leopard (male)'	*manʈ-tʰar*	'leopard (female)'
(*s*)*kjo-kangaru*	'kangaroo (male)'	*manʈ-kangaru*	'kangaroo (female)'

There is also a restricted set of feminine nouns characterized by the suffix *-onig*, e.g.:

rakses	'demon'	*raksonig*	'demoness'
rikʰa	'bear'	*rikʰonig*	'she-bear'
suːres	'pig (male)'	*suːronig, manʈ-suːres*	'sow'
sod	'priest'	*sodonig*	'priest's wife'
ores	'male belonging to a certain caste'	*oronig*	'female belonging to a certain caste'

A possible IA influence could be seen in some noun pairs, where the feminine noun forms end in *-i* or *-e*, and the corresponding masculine forms in most cases end in an *-o*.

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16   As just mentioned, Kinnauri does not have grammatical gender, and below we use "masculine" (M) and "feminine" (F) about nouns denoting male and female referents, respectively.

laro	'bridegroom'	*lari*	'bride'
ʤaro	'deaf (M)'	*ʤare*	'deaf (F)'
kano	'one-eyed (M)'	*kane*	'one-eyed (F)'
ʃaro	'beautiful (M)'	*ʃare*	'beautiful (F)'
ʧores	'thief (M)'	*ʧore*	'thief (F)'

The following two almost-grammatical processes are, however, productive. In the agentive nominalization the choice of the nominalizers: *-tsja:* and *-tse:*, signals gender, where *-tsja:* denotes male referents and *-tse:* denotes female referents.[17]

gas-o: ʧi-tsja:	'washer of clothes (M)'	*gas-o: ʧi-tse:*	'washer of clothes (F)'
gas-o: pon-tsja:	'tailor (M)'	*gas-o: pon-tse:*	'seamstress (F)'
ne-tsja:	'knower (M)'	*ne-tse:*	'knower (F)'

In the contrastive specifier markers too, a gender distinction is made: *-sja:* [-CNTR.M] and *-se:* [-CNTR.F]. For example, *ʧad-sja:* [son.in.law-CNTR.M] and *ʧimed-se:* [girl-CNTR.F].[18]

The gender distinction is also indicated in the terms used to describe inhabitants of villages in Kinnaur or of Kinnaur. This is done by affixing two distinct sets of bound morphemes to the village name (see Table 17). In some cases the stem is modified in the process. The *-pa* and *-mets* suffixes are ST in origin, while the other suffixes appear to be IA.

3.2.4 Case

The case markers in Kinnauri are shown in Table 18. The nominative is unmarked. Other case markers are suffixes.[19] They are generally agglutinated to the last element of the noun phrase, normally a noun or pronoun (in the singular, dual or plural), although it also appears in headless NPs, e.g., added to an adjective or numeral.

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17   In natural speech the masculine form occasionally occurs with female referents.

18   The contrastive specifier *-sja:/-se:* is distinct from the agentive nominalizer *-tsja:/-tse:*. The agentive nominalizer is affixed to a verb while the contrastive specifier is affixed either to a noun (animate male or female), a pronoun, or an adjective when not followed by a noun.

19   Since the head noun is the last constituent of the NP, establishing the status of the case markers as noun suffixes or NP clitics would require more data (non-nominative marked NPs with extraposed constituents after the head noun). In two cases—dative (-)*pəŋ* and comitative (-)*rəŋ*—the markers show word-like prosody in some individual instances.

3.2.4.1   *Nominative*

The nominative form is the stem of a noun or pronoun without any other case suffixes. This form can be used for subjects (intransitive and transitive)—i.e., the NP triggering subject indexing in the verb—and direct objects.

TABLE 17   Place names and nouns denoting inhabitants

Official name	Place name in Kinnauri	Men (or people) from this place	Women from this place
Kinnaur	*kənoriŋ*	*kənores*	*kənorije*
Baturi	*boʈriŋ*	*boʈres*	*boʈre(ts)*
Batseri	*boseriŋ*	*boseres*	*bosere(ts)*
Kanai	*kone*	*konpa*	*konmets*
Kamru	*mone*	*monpa*	*monmets*
Pangi	*paŋe*	*paŋpa*	*paŋmets*
Bhaba	*vaŋpo*	*vaŋpa*	*vaŋmets*
Sangla	*saŋla*	*saŋlagja, saŋlagpa, saŋlakpa*	*saŋlage*
Kothi	*koʃʈampi*	*koʃʈampa, koʃʈampipa*	*koʃʈammets, koʃʈampimets*
Poo	*pu:*	*pupa*	*pumets*
Kadogri	*ka:ɖogri*	*ka:ɖogripa*	*ka:ɖogrimets*
Nako	*nako*	*nakopa*	*nakomets*
Leo	*lijo*	*lijopa*	*lijomets*
Kanam	*kanam*	*kanampa*	*kanammets*
Sungra	*grosnam*	*grosnampa, grospa*	*grosmets, grose*
Purbani	*pənnam*	*pənnampa, pənnamja*	*pənnammets, pənname*
Punang	*punaŋ*	*punaŋpa*	*punaŋmets, pu:nets*
Brua	*bruaŋ*	*brumpa*	*brumets*
Shong	*ʃoŋ*	*ʃompa*	*ʃomets*
Chansu	*tʃa:saŋ*	*tʃa:saŋpa*	*tʃa:saŋmets, tʃa:se*
Labrang	*labraŋ*	*labraŋpa*	*labraŋmets, labre*
Rarang	*raraŋ*	*raraŋpa, rapa*	*raraŋmets, ramets*
Nichar	*naltse*	*naltsinpa*	*naltsinmets*
Telangi	*tele*	*teliŋpa*	*teliŋmets*
Kilba	*kilba*	*kiliŋpa*	*kiliŋmets*
Chitkul	*tʃʰitkul*	*tʃʰitkulja, tʃʰitkula*	*tʃʰitkulmets, tʃʰitkule*

TABLE 18   Case markers in Kinnauri

Case	Case marker(s)
Nominative	Ø
Ergative/instrumental	*-is/-s*
Dative	*-u, -n(u), (-)pəŋ*
Possessive	*-u, -n(u)*
Locative	*-o, -n(o), -r*
Ablative	*-tʃ*
Comitative	*(-)rəŋ*
Manner	*-e*

3.2.4.2   *Ergative/Instrumental*

The case marker *-is/-s* functions both as an ergative marker and as an instrumental marker. It has two allomorphs: *-s* and *-is* [ɪs] ~ [əs].[20] Their distribution is phonologically determined: *-s* occurs with stems ending in a vowel and *-is* occurs with stems ending in a consonant.

The ergative marker occurs only on the subject of transitive verbs,[21] but its occurrence is not obligatory. Examples (10–13) show that the occurrence of the ergative marker is not restricted to any specific tense, aspect or person. These examples further illustrate that the ergative marker occurs in descriptive narration (10, 12), as well as inside direct speech (11) and in clauses which introduce direct speech (12).

(10) *ruʣa*[22]*-ts-is   id   kuʈon   pʰjo-gjo*
      o.man-DIM-ERG   one   demon(F)   take.away-PST
      'The old man took away a female demon.'

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20   The ergative marker *-is* [ɪs] represents the speech of Mrs Jwala Sukhi Negi (from Brua), while [əs] represents the speech of Ribba and its surrounding region.

21   One exception is *maŋmu* 'to dream', which permits the ergative marking but not a direct object argument: *ra:m-is maŋ~maŋ* [i.name-ERG dream~PFV] 'Ram dreamt.'; *ra:m-u maŋ-əm de~de* [i.name-DAT dream-NMLZ feel.internally(INTR)~PFV] 'Ram had a dream'.

22   The literal interpretation of *ruʣa* is 'old'. It occurs with masculine, animate head nouns (e.g. *ruʣa mi* 'old man', *ruʣa dames* 'old ox'). In natural discourse *ruʣa* also occurs by itself, without its head noun. It then has the interpretation of 'an old, frail, pitiable man'. For this reason, it is glossed here as 'o.man'.

(11) *ki-s   ase   taː-ti-ɲ*
    2SG.H-ERG torture(N) keep-FUT-2H
    'You will torture (her).'

(12) *ʃepa   rəŋ   ʃampa-ts-is   lod-o*
    i.name COM i.name-DIM-ERG tell-PROG
    'Shepa and Shampa were telling.'

(13) *do   tʰar   tʃʰaŋ-ts-oː-s   ta   ne-o   du*
    DEM.DIST.NVIS leopard child-DIM-PL-ERG FOC know-PROG AUX.PRS
    'Those leopard cubs are knowing (know) (this).'

Kinnauri allows both an ergative and a dative marker in a simple finite clause. For example:

(14) *do-s   id   ʃu-pəŋ   pidʑ-a*
    3SG-ERG one god-DAT pray-PST
    'He prayed to one god.'

The only bound morpheme which may be suffixed to the ergative marker is the emphatic suffix *-i* (see example 15). Discourse markers which refer to an NP (e.g. *ta* in example 15) occur after the NP.

(15) *ka-s-i   ta   rəŋ-o-n*
    2SG.NH-ERG-EMP FOC tell.1/2O-PST-2SG.NH
    'You (yourself) told (me that).'

The ergative marker in Kinnauri narratives functions as a linguistic tool to describe a shift in perspective (Saxena 2007). An examination of the occurrence of the ergative marker in traditional narratives shows that the ergative marker occurs almost obligatorily on the subject in the *he said*-construction (the direct-speech introducing statement "*he said*: Direct speech"). The occurrence of the ergative marker here can be seen as a deictic marker which draws the listener's attention to the change in the mode of narration—from the descriptive to the expressive mode. Similarly, the ergative marker in other contexts in narratives occurs regularly in situations where the clause describes something which runs counter to expected behavior (including social norms). The ergative marker in such situations, too, functions as a discourse marker, the aim of which is to highlight the shift in the perspective—to draw the listeners' attention away from the default expectation mode.[23]

The case marker *-is/-s* also functions as the instrumental case marker. As an instrumental marker, it occurs with both concrete and abstract nouns.

(16) *isan   ta   rakses-is   bukraŋbuk bal-is   bo:ʈʰaŋ-u ran-gjo*
     briefly FOC demon-ERG with.a.thud head-INS tree-DAT give-PST
     'For a while, the demon banged the tree with (his) head.'

(17) *radʰa-s   gas-o: ti-s   ʧi-o*
     i.name-ERG garment-PL water-INS wash-PST
     'Radha washed clothes with water.'

(18) *du   ɲum-s[24] val   kʰuʃ-is   ɲal-is   du-gjo*
     3SG.POSS after-INS much happiness-INS enjoyment-INS COP-PST
     'After that, (they) lived with much happiness and enjoyment.'

(19) *peʈiŋ   əkʰa-s   ʃi-o   du-k*
     stomach/belly pain-INS die-PROG AUX-1SG
     '(I) am dying of stomach/belly ache.'

The instrumental marker also occurs with directional expressions, such as *beriŋ* 'outside', *tʰug* 'above'.

(20) *ʧʰad-sja: tʰug~tʰug-s[25]   bjo~bjo*
     son.in.law-CNTR.M above~ECHO-INS go~PFV
     'The son-in.law went up there.'

3.2.4.3 *Dative*[26]

The dative case markers are *-u* and *(-)pəŋ* in the singular and *-n(u)* in the plural. *-nu* and *-n* are interchangeable, without any apparent change in the meaning, although *-n* tends to occur more frequently in fast speech.[27] The dative suffixes never trigger polysyllabic stem truncation.

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23   The functional distribution of the ergative marker noted here is not unique to Kinnauri. There are a number of other ST languages, which are reported in Saxena (2007)—Pattani, Lhasa Tibetan, Qiang (LaPolla 2017b), Baima (Chirkova 2005; Katia Chirkova, p.c.)—as well as Tibetic varieties (Bettina Zeisler, p.c.), that show similar behavior (see also Chelliah and Hyslop 2011–2012).

24   See Saxena (2008) for the grammaticalized usages of *oms* [ɔms] and *ɲums*.

25   There is no vowel between the stem-final *-g* and the instrumental marker *-s*.

26   "Objective" would perhaps be a more apt name, but I follow a long tradition in the description of South Asian languages, where "dative" designates a case which can appear on both direct and indirect objects, and in the so-called "experiencer subject" construction.

With nouns in the singular, the dative marker *-u* occurs predominantly with stems ending in a consonant and (-)*pəŋ* occurs predominantly with stems ending in a vowel. There are, however, instances in narratives and in the direct-elicited material, of one and the same noun taking the dative marker *-u* at one place and (-)*pəŋ* at another.

Nom	Dat		Nom	Dat	
baits	*baits-u*	'y. sibling'	*ma:duri*	*ma:duri*(-)*pəŋ*	'i.name'
pjats	*pjats-u*	'(small) bird'	*tsʰesmi*	*tsʰesmi*(-)*pəŋ*	'woman'
ḍig	*ḍig-u*	'pot'	*mi*	*mi*(-)*pəŋ*	'man'
bakʰor	*bakʰor-u*	'goat'	*tʃʰanli*	*tʃʰanli*(-)*pəŋ*	'shawl'
tʃʰaŋ	*tʃʰaŋ-u*	'boy'	*ra:ni*	*ra:ni*(-)*pəŋ, ra:ni-u*	'queen'

(21) *ṭan-a:~tʰana:*   *tseik ra:ni-u*   *ran~ran*
      jewelry-PL~ECHO all   queen-DAT give~PFV
      '(The king) gave all, jewelry etc, to the queen.'

-n(u) occurs only with plural arguments. The language consultants exhibit free variation between *-nu* and *-n* in their speech.

(22) *gə*   *mi-o:-nu*[28]   *ʃa*   *ran-ta-k*
      1SG.NOM man-PL-DAT.PL meat give-FUT-1SG
      'I will give meat to the men.'

The following examples illustrate *-u* and (-)*pəŋ* with singular direct objects and *-n(u)* with plural nominal direct objects.

(23) *do-s*   *do*   *tsiṭʰi*(-)*pəŋ*   *tser-ts*
      3SG-ERG DEM.DIST.NVIS letter(-)DAT tear-HAB
      'He tears up that letter.'

(24) *tʃimed-u*   *ku~ku*
      daughter-DAT call~PFV
      '(He) called (his) daughter.'

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27   Exceptions are [2DU.NHON] and [2DU.HON], where the dative marker is always *-nu*.
28   *mi-nu* [man-DAT.PL] is also permissible here.

(25) *tseik tʃimed-oː-nu   dʑaː-u   du-gjo*
     all   daughter-PL-DAT.PL eat-PROG AUX-PST
     '(The demon) was eating all the daughters.'

The occurrence of the dative marker is, however, not obligatory. In natural discourse its occurrence correlates strongly with semantic factors such as animacy and definiteness, where direct objects which are higher on the animacy and agency hierarchies tend to receive an explicit case marker.

As is the case with many South Asian languages, Kinnauri, too, has the dative experiencer construction; see Section 5.1.

3.2.4.4   *Possessive*

The possessive markers in Kinnauri are *-u* in the singular and *-n(u)* in the plural. *-nu* and *-n* are interchangeable, without any apparent change in meaning.

(26) *id   jaŋdʑe-ts-u   kim-o   toʃ-gjo*
     one o.woman-DIM-POSS house-LOC sit-PST
     '(They) stayed at an old woman's house.'

(27) *ʃum   ate-goː-nu   bore-goː   val-i   mari*
     three o.brother-PL-POSS.PL brother's.wife-PL much-EMP bad
     tsʰets-aː   du-gjo
     woman-PL COP-PST
     'The wives of (her) three brothers were very bad women.'

The possessive singular suffix *-u* optionally triggers polysyllabic stem truncation (see Section 2.3.1), being realized as *-o* in this case (e.g., *boːʈʰaŋ* 'tree', *boːʈʰ-o* [tree-POSS]). It also optionally triggers final vowel elision (see Section 2.3.1).

Nom	Poss		Nom	Poss	
ri	*rj-u, ri-u*	'a kind of tree'	*jaŋdʑe*	*jaŋdʑj-o, jaŋdʑe-u*	'old woman'
dasi	*dasj-u, dasi-u*	'female servant'	*ʃibdʑi*	*ʃibdʑi-u*	'i.name'
sena	*sen-o, sena-u*	'army'	*laːtʃʰa*	*laːtʃʰ-o, laːtʃʰa-u*	'metal'
ate	*atj-o, ate-u*	'older brother'	*rikʰa*	*rikʰ-o, rikʰa-u*	'bear'

The following examples illustrate the attributive use of the possessive markers with singular and plural possessors.

-u		*-n(u)*[29]	
atjo kim	'o.brother's house'	*atego:n(u) kim*	'o.brothers' house'
atjo rim	'o.brother's field'	*atego:n(u) rim*	'o.brothers' field'
atjo pə bo:ʈʰa:	'o.brother's four trees'	*atego:n(u) pə bo:ʈʰa:*	'o.brothers' four trees'
miu tʃimedo:	'the man's daughters'	*minu tʃimedo:, mijo:nu tʃimedo:*	'the men's daughters'

3.2.4.5   *Locative*

The locative markers are *-o*, *-n(o)* and *-r*. Of these, *-o* and *-n(o)* are productive: *-o* occurs in the singular (with stems ending in both consonants and vowels[30]) and *-n(o)* in the plural. *-no* and *-n* are interchangeable, without any apparent change in the meaning.

Nom	Loc Sg	Loc Pl	
kim	*kim-o*	*kim-o:-n(o)*	'house'
deʃaŋ	*deʃaŋ-o, deʃ-o*	*deʃaŋ-o:-n(o), deʃ-a:-no*	'village'
ʈʰepiŋ	*ʈʰepiŋ-o*	*ʈʰepiŋ-o:-no, ʈʰepja:-n(o)*	'traditional cap'
le	*le-o*	*le-o:-n(o)*	'tongue'
pagaɻi	*pagaɻi-o*	*pagaɻi-o:-no*	'turban'

(28) *obor*[31]*-o*   *ʃe-ta-k*
      dungeon-LOC send-FUT-1SG
      '(I) will send (this person) into the dungeon.'

(29) *dok   om-o:-no   bospa raʃaŋ-o: kis-i   ni-ts   to*
      then path-PL-LOC.PL ash   pile-PL many-EMP stay-HAB AUX.PRS
      'Then, on the way there are lots of piles of ashes.'

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29   Though both *-nu* and *-n* are permissible here, language consultants prefer the form with *-nu*.

30   When the locative marker is affixed to a stem ending in *-i* or *-e*, it is realized as *-jo*.

31   *obor* ([obor] ~ [oβor]) is traditionally a cold, dark and dingy place, where, for example, those caught stealing used to be kept.

The locative marker *-r* occurs only with demonstrative pronouns.

(30) *do-r*   *pʰolaŋ* *lag-e-kjo*
      DEM.DIST.NVIS-LOC fruit   attach-INTR-PST
      'There fruits came.'

(31) *gə*   *hojo-r*   *to-k*
      1SG.NOM DEM.PROX-LOC COP-1SG
      'I'm here.'

The locative singular marker *-o* optionally triggers polysyllabic stem truncation (see Section 2.3.1):

Nom	Loc		Nom	Loc	
boːʈʰaŋ	*boːʈʰaŋ-o, boːʈʰ-o*	'tree'	*pabaŋ*	*pabaŋ-o, pab-o*	'pasture'
panʈʰaŋ	*panʈʰaŋ-o, panʈʰ-o*	'floor'	*maʤaŋ*	*maʤaŋ-o, maʤ-o*	'middle'
kʰakaŋ	*kʰakaŋ-o, kʰak-o*	'mouth'	*kʰuraŋ*	*kʰuraŋ-o, kʰur-o*	'stable'
baniŋ	*baniŋ-o, banj-o*	'pots/pans'	*ɖibaːliŋ*	*ɖibaːliŋ-o, ɖibaːl-o*	'swamp'

It also triggers final vowel elision (see Section 2.3.1). In the case of *diʃa* 'direction' both *diʃ-o* and *diʃa-o* are permissible.

Nom	Loc		Nom	Loc	
laŋka	*laŋk-o*	'p.name'	*ɖoŋa*	*ɖoŋ-o*	'tree stump'
ʣaga	*ʣag-o*	'place'	*bagitsa*	*bagits-o*	'garden'
ʣila	*ʣil-o*	'district'	*diʃa*	*diʃ-o, diʃa-o*	'direction'

With stems ending in other vowels, the locative marker *-o* is affixed to the final vowel of the noun stem. In fast speech, in noun stems ending in *-o*, one does not always hear both the stem final vowel and the locative marker, but when asked, the language consultants provide a long *-o* and separate the noun stem and the locative marker. When the stem ends with a front vowel, this stem final vowel can be realized as *-j* before the locative marker.

Nom	Loc		Nom	Loc	
raɳɖole	*raɳɖole-o*	'widow'	*prai*	*prai-o*	'in-law'
nane	*nane-o*	'aunt'	*dorko*	*dorko-o*	'skeleton'
kui	*kui-o*	'dog'	*to*	*to-o*	'face'
nukuri	*nukuri-o*	'employment'	*tsaku*	*tsaku-o*	'knife'
tsiʈʰi	*tsiʈʰi-o*	'letter'	*kʰou*	*kʰou-o*	'food'

Nouns in the locative are sometimes lexicalized into adverbs. For example, *dja:r-o* [day-LOC] 'daily'.

3.2.4.6 Relationship among the Dative, Possessive and Locative Case Markers

As seen above, the dative, possessive and locative case markers coincide in form to some extent. Nevertheless, there are distributional facts which support the division made here into three different case forms.

Firstly, even if there is some overlap in form, there are also unambiguous exponents of each of the three cases. Thus, (-)*pəŋ* is an exclusive signal of the dative (after a stem-final vowel).

The locative marker always has the vowel *-o*, never *-u*. Hence, *-u/-nu* can only ever signal dative or possessive.

The dative singular suffix never triggers polysyllabic stem truncation, while both the possessive and locative singular suffixes are optionally accompanied by this morphophonological alternation.

Possessive and to some extent locative singular both trigger final vowel elision, which the dative singular does not (since it has a completely different allomorph after vowel-final stems: (-)*pəŋ*). With stems ending in *-e*, the stem-final vowel may disappear in the locative (just as in the possessive), but normally it is reduced to a glide (*-j*) instead.

Table 19 shows some concrete examples of how these differences manifest themselves.

TABLE 19   Dative–possessive–locative with different stem types

Stem type	Nominative	Dative	Possessive	Locative
Adapted IA	*boːʈʰaŋ* 'tree'	*boːʈʰaŋ-u*	*boːʈʰaŋ-u, boːʈʰ-o*	*boːʈʰaŋ-o, boːʈʰ-o*
e-final	*ate* 'o.brother'	*ate(-) pəŋ*	*atʲ-o*	*atʲ-o*
C-final	*kim* 'house'	*kim-u*	*kim-u*	*kim-o*
V-final	*boba* 'father'	*boba(-) pəŋ*	*bob-o*	*bob-o*

3.2.4.7   *Ablative*

The case marker *-əʧ/-ʧ* functions as the ablative marker. *-əʧ* occurs with stems ending in a consonant and *-ʧ* occurs with stems ending in a vowel or in a nasal. The ablative marker occurs in the following structures: N-ABL, N-LOC-ABL and N-POSS *dok*-ABL.[32] N-ABL and N-LOC-ABL occur only with non-human head nouns, where N-LOC-ABL occurs with nouns whose referents are physically or conceptually viewed as finite, with clearly defined boundaries; N-ABL occurs elsewhere. N-POSS *dok*-ABL occurs only with human head nouns.

ham-ʧ	[where-ABL]	'from where'
dilli-ʧ	[p.name-ABL]	'from Delhi'
dəŋ-ʧ	[over.there(NVISIBLE)-ABL]	'from over there'

dusraŋ-o-ʧ	[chimney-LOC-ABL]	'from inside of the chimney'
ti-o-ʧ	[water-LOC-ABL]	'from inside of the water'
lag-o-ʧ	[sleeve-LOC-ABL]	'from inside of the sleeve'

(32) *kuʈon-u   ʧimed-u   dokʧ   ʈaːn-aː   gas-oː   kʰaŋ~kʰaŋ*
     witch-POSS daughter-POSS from jewelry-PL garment-PL grab~PFV
     '(He) grabbed jewelry and clothes from the witch's daughter.'

3.2.4.8   *Comitative*

The case marker (-)*rəŋ* functions as the comitative (or associative) marker,[33] with a 'together with, along with' interpretation. Unlike other case markers, in

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32   Treated as a postposition in the examples: *dokʧ* 'from'. The origin of *dok* in [*dok*-ABL] is not completely clear. It could be identical to the *dok* appearing in the personal pronominal dual form *dok-suŋ* 'the two (who are not in sight)' (see section 3.3.2.1).

33   As we will see in Chapter 3, Navakat, too, has an (instrumental/)comitative marker =*raŋ*. But unlike Kinnauri, =*rəŋ* in Navakat has three phonologically conditioned allomorphs:

most cases (-)*rəŋ* patterns prosodically like an independent word, a postposition rather than a suffix, although it does also sometimes behave like a bound suffix (e.g., *tʰar-rəŋ laŋ* [tʰarəŋ laŋ] 'the leopard along with the cow').

(33) do   rag-u   joṭʰaŋ id raksonig an-u
     DEM.DIST.NVIS stone-POSS under one demon(F) 3SG.ANA-POSS
     tiʃ   tʃʰaŋ-aː rəŋ ni-ts   du-gjo
     seven child-PL COM stay-HAB AUX-PST
     'Under that stone a demoness used to live along with her seven children.'

(34) gə   ki-n   rəŋ dəŋ   bjo-k
     1SG.NOM 2SG.H-POSS COM over.there(NVISIBLE) go-1SG
     'I went there with you.'

(35) santoʃ tʃʰoŋmi rəŋ bjo
     i.name husband COM go.PST
     'Santosh went with (her) husband.'

While the comitative marker occurs predominantly with human nouns, there are also instances of (-)*rəŋ* occurring with non-human, animate nouns and with inanimate nouns.

(36) miː=le   hatʰi   rəŋ bjo-gjo
     man.PL=TOO elephant COM go-PST
     'Men, too, went along with the elephant.'

(37) maːr rəŋ duː   gjaː-ti-ɲ-a
     butter COM salted.porridge want-FUT-2H-Q
     'Do (you) want butter with salted porridge?'

(38) raːdza gadʒa=badʒa rəŋ raːni pʰjo-mu   bə-ki-ʃ
     king   pomp=ECHO COM queen take.away-INF come-PST-3H
     'The king came with pomp etc. (and show) to take the queen.'

=*rəŋ*, =*taŋ* and =*daŋ*. In Kinnauri (-)*dəŋ*, as the comitative marker, occurs only with first and second person pronouns (*aŋ dəŋ*/*aŋ-u dəŋ [1SG.NNOM COM], *ki-n dəŋ*/*ki-nu dəŋ [2SG.H-POSS COM], *niŋo-n(u) dəŋ* [1PLI-POSS COM]), where even (-)*rəŋ* is permissible (e.g. *aŋ-rəŋ*/*aŋ-u rəŋ, *niŋo-rəŋ*/*niŋo-n(u) rəŋ*).

(-)*rəŋ* is also used to form a coordinate construction with the structure: N (-)*rəŋ* N((-)case marker[34]).

(39) *ama   rəŋ   boa   lo-ʃi-gjo*
     mother COM father tell-MDL-PST
     'Mother and father told themselves:'

(40) *jug   rəŋ   tʰug   haled-o   du-gjo*
     down COM over.above roam-PROG AUX-PST
     '(The mouse) was roaming up and down (on all the floors of the house).'

(41) *june-rəŋ golsaŋ-u   dəŋ krab-o   krab-o*
     sun-COM moon-POSS near cry-PROG cry-PROG
     'To Sun and Moon, (she) is crying (complaining), crying'

The comitative marker also follows the verb in non-final clauses. The verb in such constructions has either a nominalized verb form or is immediately followed by the manner marker -*e*. Such non-final clauses have a temporal adverbial interpretation.

(42) *nəŋ   pən-nu   rəŋ ʧʰaŋ-u boːʈʰ-o   tsʰu~tsʰu*
     over.there(VISIBLE) reach-INF COM boy-DAT tree-LOC tie~PFV
     du
     AUX.PRS
     'As soon as (he) reached over there, (he) tied (the) boy to the tree.'

(43) *dok ner-o   ner-o   bəd-e   rəŋ trəval-u kʰoŋ-o*
     then near-LOC near-LOC come-MNR COM sword-DAT turn-PROG
     du
     AUX.PRS
     'Then while coming near (closer), he is turning the sword.'

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34 Here the case marker could also be a comitative marker [N(-*rəŋ*) N(-*rəŋ*)]. For example, *dok do kim-o an-u borets rəŋ bore rəŋ ek-e bəsma-j-o du* [then DET house-LOC 3SG.NNOM-POSS brother.in.law COM sister.in.law COM together care.for-TRANS-PROG AUX.PRS] 'Then her/his brother-in-law along with her/his sister-in-law together are taking care of that house'.

3.2.4.9   *Manner*

The case marker *-e* forms constituents answering questions like: "How?", "In what manner?", "By which means?".[35]

bal-e tʰomu   [head-MNR to carry]   'to carry on head'
bid-e tʰomu   [shoulder-MNR to carry]   'to carry on shoulder'
ek-e bjomu   [one-MNR to go]   'to go together or to accompany'

raŋ-e[36]   [exterior.of.a.shoulderblade-MNR]
bag-e   [last.place.in.traditional.dance-MNR]
bal-e   [head-MNR] 'first in a queue'
kal[37]*-e*   [last.in.a.queue-MNR]

The manner marker *-e* can be affixed to demonstrative pronouns (e.g. (*ho*)*do* (DIST, non-visible), (*ho*) *jo*[38] (PROX), *no* (DIST, visible)) for expressing, e.g., 'in this manner', 'in that manner'. When *-e* is affixed to the demonstrative pronouns, the stem final vowel is lost and the resulting forms are *hod-e, hoj-e hoʤ-e* and *ne*, respectively.

(44) *gə   hojo-r   hoj-e   to-k*
      1SG.NOM DEM.PROX-LOC DEM.PROX-MNR COP-1SG
      'I am in this (the tree) like this (in this manner).'

(45) *niʃi   ta   hoj-e   pə~pə*
      1DU.INCL FOC DEM.PROX-MNR reach~PFV
      '(We) two reached (the palace) in this condition.'

(46) *ne   ʧʰə   lod-o   du -n*
      DEM.DIST.VIS.MNR what tell-PROG AUX-2NH
      'What are (you) telling like that?'

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35   This is an adverbial case form, similar in usage to the Finnish instructive or the Hungarian essive-modal (see Anhava 2010).

36   *raŋ* occurs in contexts such as 'I am carrying the bag on my shoulder.'

37   *kal* refers metaphorically to the bottom part of the body. It occurs in expressions such as 'from head to toe', 'from top to bottom'. *kal*, however, does not mean 'foot' or 'toe' in Kinnauri.

38   This is, at times, also realized as *hoʤo*.

Further, *-e* occurs with the third person anaphoric pronoun *an* (see Section 3.3.2). *an-e* has an intensifying function ('(all) by him/herself').

(47) *dok   an-e   bjo-ge-ʃ*
     then 3SG.ANA-MNR go-PST-3H
     'Then (he) himself went.'

The manner marker *-e* also occurs with the IA numeral *ek* 'one'. *ek-e* indicates togetherness.

(48) *do   niʃ   ek-e   bjo-gjo*
     3SG two one-MNR go-PST
     'Those two went together.'

Finally, *-e* is also suffixed to the verbs of non-final clauses. Such clauses have an adverbial interpretation. In many—though not in all constructions, the comitative marker (-)*rəŋ* follows the non-final verb with *-e*.

(49) *gas-oː   ʧi-e   rəŋ   id-is   ʧimed-u lod-o*
     garment-PL wash-MNR COM one-ERG girl-DAT tell-PROG
     'At the time of washing (their) clothes, one (woman) is telling the girl.'

3.3 *Pronouns*

3.3.1 Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns are (*ho*)*do* [DEM.DIST.NVIS], (*ho*)*no* [DEM.DIST.VIS] and (*ho*)*ʤo* ~ (*ho*)*jo* [DEM.PROX] in the singular, and the corresponding plural forms are (*ho*)*do-goː*, (*ho*)*no-goː* and (*ho*)*ʤo-goː*, (*ho*)*jo-goː*. The shorter forms are used as third-person personal pronouns (see Section 3.3.2).

Plural forms can be used with singular head nouns, as a marker of respect (e.g. *do-goː lamaː* [DEM.DIST.NVIS-PL lama.SG] 'that lama'). The opposite can happen in non-honorific situations, where the singular demonstrative form occurs with plural head nouns, for example, *do kim-oː* [DEM.DIST.NVIS.SG house-PL] 'those houses', *do tsʰesmi-goː* [DEM.DIST.NVIS.SG woman-PL] 'those women'.

3.3.2   Personal Pronouns

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	*gə* (NOM), *aŋ* (NNOM)	*kiʃaŋ*	*niŋo* (EXCL), *kiʃaː* (INCL)
2NH	*ka*	*kaniʃ*	*kano, kanegoː*[39]
2H	*ki*[40]	*kiʃi, kisi*	*kino, *kinogoː*
3	*do* (DIST, NVIS)	*doksuŋ*	*dogoː*[41]
	no (DIST, VIS)	*noksuŋ*	*nogoː*
	dʒo (PROX)	*dʒoksuŋ*	*dʒogoː*
	an (ANA)	*anegsuŋ*	*anegoː*

The 1SG person pronoun has two forms, referred to here as nominative and non-nominative. *gə* [1SG.NOM] is used as subject and also to form the ergative: *gə-s*. The non-nominative pronominal form *aŋ* [1SG.NNOM] is used as object, as possessive and as the stem to which other case suffixes are added (including those for dative and possessive). In the reflexive construction, the dative case marker is affixed to the non-nominative pronominal form.

The dative forms of the personal pronouns are as follows:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	*aŋ-u*	*niʃ-u*	*niŋo-n(u)* (EXCL), *kiʃaː-n(u)* (INCL)
2NH	*ka-nu*	*kaniʃ-u*[42]	*kano-n(u)*
2H	*ki-nu*	*kis-u*	*kino-n(u)*
3	*do-pəŋ, du*[43]		*do-goː-n(u)*
	no-pəŋ, nu		*no-goː-n(u)*
	dʒo-pəŋ, dʒu		*dʒo-goː-n(u)*

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39   Even though both *kano* and *kanegoː* are possible, in everyday speech *kano* is more frequent.

40   In the dictionary by Joshi (1909: 88) the pronoun *ki* is glossed as '2nd person plural (Tib: *khye*)'. In Kanashi *ki* is [2PL].

41   Joshi (1909: 51, 53) provides *da* 'he/DEF article' and *da-gó* 'she, PL', *dago-gá* 'they'.

42   In the direct-elicited material *kaniʃ-u* and *kis-u* are found as the [2DU.NH] and [2DU.H] dative forms, respectively, but these forms almost never occur in natural speech. The default pattern is to use the plural forms instead.

43   The third person pronouns with the dative case marker (-)*pəŋ*, are also, at times, realized as *du-pəŋ, nu-pəŋ* and *dʒu-pəŋ*, i.e., with "double" dative marking.

Both (-)*pəŋ* and *-u* are permissible with third person pronouns (e.g. *do-pəŋ* [dɔpəŋ] and *du* for the 3SG.DIST pronoun), without any apparent difference in meaning; *-nu* occurs with 2SG pronouns and *-u* with dual pronominal forms.

The possessive forms of the personal pronouns are as follows:

	Singular	**Dual**	**Plural**
1	*aŋ*	*kiʃaŋ-u*	*niŋo-n(u)* (EXCL)
			kiʃa:-n(u)[44] (INCL)
2H	*ki-n*[45]		*kino-n(u)*
2NH	*ka-n*[46]		*kanego:-n(u)*, *kano-n(u)*
3	*an* (ANA)	*anegsuŋ*[47]*-u* (ANA)	*anego:-n(u)* (ANA)
	du/do-u (NANA)	*doksuŋ-u* (NANA)	*noksuŋ-u* (NANA)
	dʒu (NANA)		*dogo:-n(u)* (NANA)
	nu (NANA)		*dʒogo:-n(u)* (NANA)
			nogo:-n(u)[48] (NANA)

As stated above, the third person pronouns are the short forms of the demonstrative pronouns (see Section 3.3.1). As with demonstrative pronouns the plural forms of the personal pronouns (e.g. *dogo:* and *nogo:*) can also occur with a singular referent, as a marker of respect.

(50) *do-go: ḍokṭar to-ke-ʃ*
     3-PL   doctor COP-PST-3H
     'S/He was a doctor.'

(51) *no-go: ḍokṭar to-ke-ʃ*
     3-PL   doctor COP-PST-3H
     'S/He was a doctor.'

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44   A variant of *kiʃa:-n(u)* is *kaʃa:-n(u)*, with no apparent change in meaning.
45   **ki-nu* is not possible here.
46   **ka-nu* is not possible here.
47   This, at times, is also heard as [aneksuŋ].
48   *dʒogo:-n(u)* and *nogo:-n(u)* are also realized as *dʒugo:-n(u)* and *nugo:-n(u)*, without any apparent change in meaning.

(52) *kino   ɖokʈar to-ke-tʃ*
     2PL.H doctor COP-PST-2PL.H
     'You (PL) were a doctor.'

The most common usage of third-person anaphoric pronouns is as reflexive pronouns (see Section 3.3.4). The third-person anaphoric pronoun also functions as an emphatic pronoun, where it can be preceded by its head noun or a regular (non-anaphoric) third-person pronoun.

(53) *do   an   tʰas~tʰas du-gjo*
     3SG 3SG.ANA hear~PFV AUX-PST
     'He himself heard (this).'

(54) *mohan-is   kuaŋ-o   la:ŋ   ʃe~ʃe   an-i   ʃi~ʃi*
     i.name-ERG well-LOC jump(N) send~PFV 3SG.ANA-EMP die~PFV
     'Mohan jumped into the well and died.'

In such cases, the case marker may appear both on the head noun and on the anaphoric pronoun.

(55) *do-s   an-is   tʃe~tʃe*
     3SG-ERG 3SG.ANA-ERG write~PFV
     'He himself wrote (a letter).'

3.3.2.1   *Dual Number in Pronouns*

Personal pronouns can be marked for dual number.
   kiʃaŋ functions as the first person dual pronoun.

(56) *kiʃaŋ ʤanekaŋ-o   bə-te*
     1DU   wedding-LOC come-FUT.1DU
     'We (two) will come for the wedding.'

-suŋ is suffixed to third person pronouns to indicate duality. It also emphasizes togetherness. This suffix is attached to a special stem of the third person pronouns, which ends in *-k* (*dok-suŋ, nok-suŋ, ʤok-suŋ, anek-suŋ*) or in *-g* (*aneg-suŋ*). These pronominal stems do not occur in any other context, except possibly in the ablative form *doktʃ* (see Section 3.2.4.7). Possibly, these represent apocopated plural forms (with assimilative devoicing of *g* before the *s* of *-suŋ*).

dok-suŋ [3SG-DU] 'those two (who are not in sight)'
nok-suŋ [3SG-DU] 'those two (who are in sight)'
ʣok-suŋ [3SG-DU] 'these two (who are in sight)'

In natural discourse *-suŋ* rarely occurs with common nouns. However, in direct-elicitation language consultants accepted *-suŋ* with a few [+human] common nouns.

tsʰetsats-suŋ	'girl-DU'	*tete-suŋ*	'grandfather-DU'
ɖekʰraːts-suŋ	'young man-DU'	*rudza-suŋ*	'o.man-DU'
*tsʰesmi-suŋ	'woman-DU'	**kim-suŋ*	'house-DU'
*mi-suŋ	'man-DU'	**boːʈʰaŋ-suŋ*	'tree-DU'

-suŋ also occurs as a verb indexing marker with third person dual subjects. Its occurrence is, however, not obligatory. More frequently the plural indexing marker occurs also with dual subjects.

(57) *sjano mi   rəŋ   an-u   tsʰesmi dzanekaŋ-o*
     old   man COM 3SG.ANA-POSS woman wedding-LOC
     bə-ti-suŋ
     come-FUT-3NH.DU
     'The old man and his woman (= his wife) will come for the wedding.'

(58) *sjano mi   rəŋ   tsʰesmi dzanekaŋ-o   bə-suŋ*
     old   man COM woman wedding-LOC come-3NH.DU
     'The old man and woman came for the wedding.'

(59) *sjano mi   rəŋ   tsʰesmi dzanekaŋ-o   bə~bə   to-ge-suŋ*[49]
     old   man COM woman wedding-LOC come~PFV AUX-PST-3NH.DU
     'The old man and woman came for the wedding.'

(60) *sjano mi   rəŋ   tsʰesmi dzanekaŋ-o   bə~bə   to-ke*
     old   man COM woman wedding-LOC come~PFV AUX-PST
     'The old man and woman came for the wedding.'

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[49] While the plural indexing marker *-oː* may be affixed to the third-person honorific index-ing marker *-ʃ* (e.g. *bə-ti-ʃ-oː* [come-FUT-3H-PL] 'They (H) will come.'), *-suŋ* [DU] does not occur with this marker *-ʃ* (e.g.**bə-ti-ʃ-suŋ* [come-FUT-2H-3NH.DU] 'the two of them (H) will come'; **bə~bə to-ke-ʃ-suŋ* 'the two of them (H) came').

The numeral *niʃ* 'two' occurs, at times, after the second and third person pronouns to indicate duality.

do-niʃ	[3SG-two]	'those two'
ka-niʃ	[2SG.NH-two]	'you two'
kiʃi,[50] *ki-niʃ*	[2SG.H.two], [2SG.H-two]	'you (H) two'

Without a preceding pronoun *niʃi*[51] has a first person dual inclusive interpretation.

(61) *niʃi   ʥanekaŋ-o   bə-ti-tʃ*
      1DUI wedding-LOC come-FUT-1PLE
      'We (two) will come for the wedding.'

3.3.3 Interrogative Pronouns and Adverbs

Some interrogative pronouns (and adverbs) in Kinnauri are:

hat	'who, which'	*tʰu, tʃʰu*[52]	'why'
ham	'where'	*teta, te, tetra*	'how much, many'
tʃʰəd, tʃʰa[53]	'what'	*teraŋ, tetraŋ*	'when'
hala	'how (action)'	*hales*	'how (quality)'

te 'how much' is frequently repeated (i.e., *te~te* [te~ECHO]). For example, a group of customers in a shop can use *te~te* to ask how much each one of them owes. *tetra* 'how much' is used when asking about one specific object. *teraŋ* 'when' is an open question. The speaker does not have any specific time-frame in mind. It could be today, tomorrow, in one month or one year or in distant future. When there is a more specific time-frame in mind (e.g. 'after lunch today', 'before 10pm'), *tetraŋ* is used instead. See also Section 5.2.

3.3.4 Reflexive Pronouns

As mentioned above, Kinnauri has distinct subject and non-subject pronominal forms for the first person singular (*gə* vs. *aŋ*; see Section 3.3.2), and it is the latter form which is used as the first-person singular reflexive pronoun. In the

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50 Upon investigation, language consultants accepted its detailed form as *ki-niʃ*.
51 While *niʃ* in *niʃi* is very likely the same as *niʃ* 'two', the analysis of the final *-i* is unclear. Note that *niʃi* allows the addition of the emphasis marker *-i* (i.e., *niʃi-i* [1DUI-EMP]).
52 Both *tʰu* and *tʃʰu* are possible here. *tʃʰu* is, however, more frequent in my material.
53 *tʃʰa* 'what' also functions as indefinite pronoun 'someone'.

third person, the anaphoric pronouns *an, anegsuŋ* and *anego:* are used as the reflexive pronouns. In all other cases the same pronominal forms occur in both subject and non-subject positions (including with the ergative marker). In the reflexive pronoun construction, the dative marker is affixed to the pronoun in the direct object position.

(62) *maŋ-o   gə-s   aŋ-u   sa-k*
     dream-LOC 1SG-ERG 1SG-DAT kill-1SG
     'In the dream I kill myself.'

(63) *maŋ-o   kiʃaŋ-is   kiʃaŋ-u   sa~sa*
     dream-LOC 1DU-ERG 1DU-DAT kill~PFV
     'In the dream we (two) killed ourselves.'

(64) *maŋ-o   niŋo-s   niŋo-nu   sa~sa*
     dream-LOC 1PLE-ERG 1PLE-DAT.PL kill~PFV
     'In the dream we killed ourselves.'

(65) *do-s   an-u-i   lo-kjo*
     3SG-ERG 3SG.ANA-DAT-EMP tell-PST
     'He told himself.'

(66) *do-go:-s   ane-go:-n(u)   taŋ~taŋ*
     3-PL-ERG 3PL.ANA-PL-DAT.PL observe~PFV
     'They looked at themselves.'

As will be discussed in Section 4.1.3.3, the middle voice marker *-ʃi* also occurs in the reflexive construction. As the examples (67–68) illustrate both the reflexive pronoun and the middle marker *-ʃi* can co-occur in the same clause.

(67) *niŋo   niŋo-nu   kʰja-ʃ-o   du-tʃ*
     1PLE.NOM 1PLE-DAT.PL see-MDL-PROG AUX-1PLE
     'We (EXCL) saw ourselves (in the mirror).'

(68) *kiʃa: kiʃa:-nu   kʰja-ʃ-o   to-me*
     1PLI.NOM 1PLI-DAT.PL see-MDL-PROG AUX-1PLI
     'We (INCL) saw ourselves (in the mirror).'

3.4   *Adjectives*

Adjectives in Kinnauri precede their head nouns.

(69) *ʃum   uʃk   kim-oː*
     three old   house-PL
     'Three old houses'

(70) *do-s   tʰog   rəŋ   rok   gas-oː   gadʐ-is   du*
     3SG-ERG white COM black garment-PL   wear-PFV   AUX.PRS
     'He has worn black and white clothes.'

(71) *tʃʰaŋ ka   boːlaː gaːraŋ-u   ner-o   tʰa-bjo*
     child 2NH rough   river-POSS near-LOC PROH-go
     'Child, don't go near the rough river!'

(72) *dam   gas-oː   ʈan-aː   taŋ~taŋ*
     good garment-PL jewelry-PL   observe~PFV
     '(She) looked at nice clothes and (pieces of) jewelry.'

(73) *imandaːr tʃʰaŋ dake   ma-taŋ-ts*
     honest   boy   problem NEG-observe-HAB
     'The honest boy does not have (any) problem(s).'

As is the case with nouns, most adjectives, too, are mono- or disyllabic in Kinnauri. As with nouns, some disyllabic adjectives, too, end in *-aŋ*.

dam	'good'	*tʰaːsaŋ*	'bottom'
kaːg	'bitter'	*ajã̄raŋ*	'dark'
bok	'hot (objects)'	*tsuʈkaŋ*	'quiet'

Quantifiers such as 'all', 'whole', etc., pattern like adjectives.

dam bataŋ	[good news]	'good news'
tseik kʰiraŋ	[all milk]	'all milk'
gui raːtiŋ	[whole.duration night]	'whole night'[54]
ʃar-e tsʰetsats	[beautiful-F girl]	'beautiful girl'
ɖekʰres mi	[male man/person]	'male (of any age)'

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54   *gui* here, as also in constructions such as *gui djaːr* 'whole day', emphasizes the long duration.

Modifying adverbs, such as *val* 'much', *bodi* 'more, much (CNT)', *goma* 'very', *san* 'some' and *kjalekʰa* 'enough, sufficient' precede adjectives.

(74) *ʃiml-o*[55]   *mosam val-i   dam*
p.name-POSS weather much-EMP good
'Shimla's weather is very good.'

(75) *do-mja*[56]   *san-ts   dam hatʃ-is*
DEM.DIST.NVIS-day some-DIM good become-PFV
'That day (she) got a bit better.'

3.4.1 Adjective Inflection

Used attributively, i.e. in combination with a head noun, adjectives in Kinnauri behave similarly to IA adjectives with respect to gender inflection, and optionally also with respect to number marking. As in IA languages, Kinnauri distinguishes between a category of "invariable" adjectives and one of "variable" adjectives (Masica 1991: 250–251).

3.4.1.1 *Invariable Adjectives*

The adjectives in this category do not inflect for gender and/or number of their head nouns. In the following examples, the same adjectival form occurs with singular and plural head nouns, as also with male and female head nouns.

Invariable adjectives: gender and number

sjano mi	'old man'	*sjano tsʰesmi*	'old woman'[57]
ɖalɖis mi	'poor man'	*ɖalɖis tsʰesmi*	'poor woman'
saukar mi	'rich man'	*saukar tsʰesmi*	'rich woman'
braːʈ mi	'stingy man'	*braːʈ tsʰesmi*	'stingy woman'
teg mi	'older man'	*teg tsʰesmi*	'older woman'
ʃuʃkes mi	'clean man'	*ʃuʃkes tsʰesmi*	'clean woman'
baːdur mi	'brave man'	*baːdur tsʰesmi*	'brave woman'
tsəlak mi	'clever man'	*tsəlak tsʰesmi*	'clever woman'
mari tʃʰaŋ	'weak boy'	*mari tsʰesmi*	'weak woman'

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55   Also occurs as: *ʃimla-u* [p.name-POSS].

56   *mja* 'day' occurs in some compounds, forming temporal adverbs, e.g., *domja* 'that day', *nabja* 'the next day' (*nab* 'tomorrow'), *tormja* 'these days' (*toro* 'today'), *imja* 'once, at one time' (*id* 'one'), *hunnja* 'now then' (*hun* 'now'). It also occurs at the end of a clause where it functions as a tag question marker (e.g. *kasi ta rəŋon mja* 'You yourself told (me that), isn't it?', *tʃoraːmoraː bjots mja* 'thief etc. goes (into the house), isn't it?').

57   *sjano* 'old' occurs only with human head nouns. *uʃk* 'old' occurs with inanimate objects (e.g. *uʃk kim* 'old house').

muʃţiŋ ʧʰaŋ	'strong boy'	*muʃţiŋ tsʰesmi*	'strong woman'
aːlsi ʧʰaŋ	'lazy boy'	*aːlsi tsʰesmi*	'lazy woman'
dam ʧʰaŋ	'good boy'	*dam tsʰesmi*	'good woman'
salgi ʧʰaŋ	'naked boy'	*salgi tsʰesmi*	'naked woman'
ãdoliŋ ʧʰaŋ	'blind boy'	*ãdoliŋ tsʰesmi*	'blind woman'
saukar ʧʰaŋ-oː	'rich boys'	*saukar tsʰesmi-oː*	'rich women'
baːdur ʧʰaŋ-oː	'brave boys'	*baːdur tsʰesmi-oː*	'brave women'
ɖalɖis ʧʰaŋ-oː	'poor boys'	*ɖalɖis tsʰesmi-oː*	'poor women'
mari ʧʰaŋ-oː	'weak boys'	*mari tsʰesmi-oː*	'weak women'
muʃţiŋ ʧʰaŋ-oː	'strong boys'	*muʃţiŋ tsʰesmi-oː*	'strong women'
aːlsi ʧʰaŋ-oː	'lazy boys'	*aːlsi tsʰesmi-oː*	'lazy women'
dam ʧʰaŋ-oː	'good boys'	*dam tsʰesmi-oː*	'good women'
salgi ʧʰaŋ-oː	'naked boys'	*salgi tsʰesmi-oː*	'naked women'
ãdoliŋ ʧʰaŋ-oː	'blind boys'	*ãdoliŋ tsʰesmi-oː*	'blind women'

3.4.1.2 *Variable Adjectives*

Some adjectives of the variable category have distinct adjectival forms with animate and inanimate head nouns. E.g., for 'black', *rok* is the form used with inanimate nouns, while with humans (e.g. 'black, dark-skinned (man woman)'), we get either *rokalo* (M) and *rokale* (F), or the adjective *paŋk* 'dark-skinned (man/woman)'.

Adjectives in this category display complex behavior. In the following examples adjectives can optionally inflect for number, but not for gender. The adjective in this sub-set takes the plural marker *-oː/-goː* or *-eː* (with both masculine and feminine head nouns). As with nouns, which adjectives take *-eː* or *-oː/-goː* is lexically determined. The plural marker is optional on adjectives in this set, however.

gaţo ʧʰaŋ	'small boy'	*gaţo tsʰetsats*	'small girl'
raŋk ʧʰaŋ	'tall boy'	*raŋk tsʰetsats*	'tall girl'
nakits ʧʰaŋ	'thin boy'	*nakits tsʰesmi*	'thin woman'
soukar mi	'rich man'	*soukar tsʰesmi*	'rich woman'
teg mi	'big man'	*teg tsʰesmi*	'big woman'
braːţ mi	'stingy man'	*braːţ tsʰesmi*	'stingy woman'
gaţo-goː ʧʰaŋ-oː	'small boys'	*gaţo-goː tsʰetsats-oː*	'small girls'
raŋk-eː ʧʰaŋ-oː	'tall boys'	*raŋk-eː tsʰetsats-oː*	'tall girls'
nakits-eː ʧʰaŋ-oː	'thin boys'	*nakits-eː tsʰesmi-oː*	'thin women'
soukar-eː mi-goː	'rich men'	*soukar-eː tsʰesmi-oː*	'rich women'
teg-eː mi-goː	'big men'	*teg-eː tsʰesmi-oː*	'big women'
braːţ-eː mi-goː	'stingy men'	*braːţ-eː tsʰesmi-oː*	'stingy women'
raŋk-eː ʧʰaŋ-o	'tall boys'	*raŋk-eː tsʰetsats-oː*	'tall girls'

Distinct from this, some adjectives which take the adaptive marker *-Vs* with masculine singular head nouns, also permit inflection for the natural gender of the animate head noun. The masculine marker in such instances is *-a* and the feminine marker is *-e*. As can be seen in the examples below, with masculine head nouns both the default adjectival form with the adaptive marker and truncated adjective with the masculine marker *-a* are permitted. The corresponding feminine forms take the suffix *-e*.

moᵗʰes ɖekʰraːts, *moᵗʰ-a*[58] *ɖekʰraːts*	'fat y.man'	*moᵗʰ-e tsʰetsats*	'fat y.woman'
laʈas mi, laʈ-a mi	'mute man'	*laʈ-e tsʰesmi*	'mute woman'
tʃʰoʈas tʃʰaŋ, *tʃʰoʈ-a tʃʰaŋ*	'short boy (in height)'	*tʃʰoʈ-e(-ts) tsʰesmi*	'short woman'
kan-es tʃʰaŋ, *kan-a tʃʰaŋ*	'blind boy'	*kan-e tsʰesmi*	'blind woman'
ʃares mi	'handsome man'	*ʃar-e tsʰesmi*	'handsome woman'

In this set of adjectives, the singular and plural forms are the same (cf. the examples above and below).

moᵗʰes ɖekʰraːts-oː, *moᵗʰ-a ɖekʰraːts-oː*	'fat y.men'	*moᵗʰ-e tsʰetsats-oː*	'fat y.women'
laʈ-a ɖekʰraːts-oː	'mute y.men'	*laʈ-e(-goː)*[59] *tsʰesmi-oː*	'mute women'
tʃʰoʈ-a tʃʰaŋ-oː, *tʃʰoʈas tʃʰaŋ-oː*	'short boys'	*tʃʰoʈ-e tsʰesmi-goː*	'short women'
kan-a mi-oː	'blind men'	*kan-e tsʰesmi-oː*	'blind women'

It is possible that gender as a grammatical category is finding its way into Kinnauri. If a particular adjective which inflects for gender can occur with inanimate head nouns, the inanimate head noun takes the feminine adjectival form. For example, *ʃar-eː ɖani(ts)* 'beautiful hill'; *ʃar-eː rag* 'beautiful stone'. Even though adjectives which inflect for number with animate head nouns in principle permit number agreement with inanimate head nouns, this is only marginally acceptable (*uʃk-e gas-oː* 'old garments'; *rok(-e) patraŋ-oː* 'black leaves').

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58   The masculine suffix *-a*, although reminiscent of the plural marker *-aː*, is more likely the result of IA influence.

59   With the adjective form with the plural marker *-goː*, the head noun is not necessary.

As seen in the examples above, the plural form of adjectives which permit number inflection may also occur with explicit head nouns. But if the identity of the head noun is clear in a given context, the head noun need not occur explicitly. The form of the adjective remains the same irrespective of if the head noun is there explicitly or not. When an adjective occurs without a head noun, the same nominal inflectional endings are affixed to the adjectives.

(76) *tseik-u-i   dʑaː-mu ran-gjo*
      all-DAT-EMP eat-INF give-PST
      '(They) gave (food) to everyone to eat.'

3.4.2   Predicative Adjectives

Apart from adjectives functioning as a modifier to a nominal argument, they also occur as the second argument in predicative constructions. As seen in example (74) above, the copula is not obligatory.

(77) *gə   dam to-k*
      1SG.NOM good COP-1SG
      'I (M,F) am good (well).'

(78) *gə   moᵗʰe to-k*
      1SG.NOM fat.F   COP-1SG
      'I (F) am fat.'

(79) *gə   moᵗʰes to-k*
      1SG.NOM fat.M   COP-1SG
      'I (M) am fat.'

(80) *niŋo moᵗʰaː   to-tʃ*
      1PLE fat.M.PL COP-1PL
      'We (M) are fat.'

(81) *niŋo moᵗʰe-goː to-tʃ*
      1PLE fat.F.PL   COP-1PL
      'We (F) are fat.'

3.4.3   Degrees of Comparison

Adjectives have no comparative forms. Comparison is expressed by affixing a combination of the locative marker (*-o*) and the ablative marker (*-tʃ*) to the standard of comparison.

(82) *sjo   dakʰaŋ-o-tʃ   sost-a: du*
　　 apple grape-LOC-ABL cheap-PL COP.PRS
　　 'Apples are cheaper than grapes.'

(83) *hojo   mi   tsʰesmi-o-tʃ   soukar du*
　　 DEM.PROX man woman-LOC-ABL rich   COP.PRS
　　 'This man is richer than the woman.'

(84) *bəgits-o   sjo   dʑaŋgal-o   seo-tʃ   em   du*
　　 orchard-POSS apple forest-POSS apple.LOC-ABL sweet COP.PRS
　　 'The orchard's apples are more tasty than wild apples.'

(85) *hojo   tʃʰaŋ hodo-tʃ   gaʈo-ts   du*
　　 DEM.PROX child DEM.DIST.NVIS-ABL small-DIM COP.PRS
　　 'This child is younger than that one.'

The superlative is expressed by putting either *tseik-o-tʃ* [all-LOC-ABL] or *dʑo* [SUP] before the adjective.

(86) *dʑo   tseik-o-tʃ   teg*[60] *ga:raŋ du*
　　 3SG.PROX all-LOC-ABL big   river   COP.PRS
　　 'This is the longest river.'

(87) *do tseik-o-tʃ   takra: du*
　　 3SG all-LOC-ABL strong COP.PRS
　　 'He is the strongest amongst all.'

(88) *id   ʃare-ts   pja-ts   dʑo gaʈo-ts   ate-o   ɲums*
　　 one beautiful.F-DIM bird-DIM SUP small-DIM brother-POSS after
　　 bəd-o   du-gjo
　　 come-PROG AUX-PST
　　 'One beautiful bird was coming after (following) the youngest brother.'

3.5   *Numerals*

Like adjectives, numerals in Kinnauri precede their head nouns. Modifying adjectives occur between a numeral and the head noun. In Kinnauri the plural marker may also appear in a noun phrase which contains a numeral (89), although its appearance is optional with numerals (90).

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60   *bodi* 'much' can occur here instead of *teg*, if the sentence refers to the amount of water.

(89) *ʃum   uʃk   kim-o:*
    three   old   house-PL
    'Three old houses'

(90) *hodo   niʃ   pʰolaŋ   lig-ʃ-is   bjo-o   du*
    DEM.DIST.NVIS   two   fruit   put-MDL-PFV   go-PROG   AUX.PRS
    'Having taken those two fruits, (he) is going.'

3.5.1   Nondecomposable Numerals

The numerals in Kinnauri which are not (synchronically) decomposable into simpler parts—"atoms" in the sense of Greenberg (1978)—are those for 1–11, and the numerals for 'twenty', 'hundred' and 'thousand'. These numerals are as follows.

id	'one'	*ʈug : rug*[61]	'six'	*sigid*	'eleven'
niʃ	'two'	*(s)tiʃ*	'seven'	*niʣa*	'twenty'
ʃum, sum	'three'	*re*	'eight'	*ra*	'hundred'
pə	'four'	*(s)gui*	'nine'	*həʣar*	'thousand'
ŋa	'five'	*se*	'ten'		

sigid 'eleven' and *niʣa* 'twenty' are in all likelihood historically derivable from the combinations *se* 'ten' plus *id* 'one' and *niʃ* 'two' plus *se* 'ten', respectively. Except for the IA loanword *həʣar* 'thousand', the nondecomposable numerals in Kinnauri are of ST origin. See also Chapter 5 for numerals in other ST varieties of Kinnaur. In modern times the use of Hindi numerals is gaining ground.

3.5.2   Complex Numerals

The remaining numerals are complex, formed from nondecomposable numerals (and recursively from other complex numerals) by formal devices corresponding to the arithmetic operations multiplication, addition and (rarely) subtraction.

The hundreds are formed by multiplication, formally expressed as juxtaposition of the terms for 2–9 and *ra* 'hundred', e.g., *ŋara* 'five hundred'.

There are two ways of forming numerals higher than 1,000, corresponding to the patterns *sigid ra* [eleven hundred] and *həʣar-is ira* [thousand-INS one.hundred] '1,100'.[62]

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61   *ʈug* is the standalone form and the allomorph *rug* is used when part of a complex numeral (see Section 3.5.2).

62   *ira* is a regularly formed compound from *id* 'one' and *ra* 'hundred', with loss of the final consonant of *id* (see Section 3.2.1.2).

The Kinnauri numeral system is basically vigesimal, i.e., the interval between 20 and 100 is subdivided into twenties, not into decades, e.g. *nidz-o sigid* [twenty-NLC eleven] 'thirty-one'. The words for the decades 30–90 are as follows.

nidzo se	'thirty'	*ʃumnidza*	'sixty'	*pənidza*	'eighty'
niʃnidza	'forty'	*ʃumnidzo se*	'seventy'	*pənidzo se*	'ninety'
niʃnidzo se	'fifty'				

The words for the units (1–19) are added after 'ten' and the terms for twenties, with an intervening connecting morph *-o/-a(:)* (-NLC). This could be an original possessive or locative suffix.[63] E.g., *s-a pa/s-o pa* [ten-NLC four] 'fourteen', *s-o ŋa* [ten-NLC five] 'fifteen', *nidz-o s-o rug* [twenty-NLC ten-NLC six] 'thirty-six', *niʃ-nidz-o gui* [two-twenty-NLC nine] 'forty-nine', *ʃum-nidz-o s-a pa* [three-twenty-NLC ten-NLC-four] 'seventy-four'.

Complex numerals in Kinnauri can also be formed by subtraction. The smaller subtracted value appears before the larger base value (a decade), with the expression *ma(:)ts* [NEG.COP] 'without' (see Section 4.6.1)—or alternatively the IA loanword *kam* 'less'—between the two expressions. E.g, *ŋa ma:ts ʃum-nidza* [five NEG.COP three-twenty] 'fifty-five', *ʃum ma:ts pa-nidz-o se* [three NEG.COP four-twenty-NLC ten] 'eighty-seven'.

4 The Verb Complex

The verb complex in Kinnauri exhibits one of the following structures.

Copula construction:	(NEG-)COP(-TNS)-IDX
Non-copula constructions:	(PROH/NEG-)V(-O.IDX/MDL)-TNS-IDX
	N VLIGHT-TNS-IDX
	V.PFV VLIGHT(-O.IDX/MDL)-TNS-IDX
	V(-O.IDX)-ASP (AUX(-TNS)-IDX)
	N VLIGHT-ASP (AUX(-TNS)-IDX)
	V.PFV VLIGHT(-O.IDX)-ASP (AUX(-TNS)-IDX)

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63   Since ultimately only two items are involved—*se* 'ten' and *nidza* 'twenty'—we could perhaps more economically simply posit the combining allomorphs *sa(:)-/so-* and *nidzo-* instead.

In non-copula constructions the following combinations are attested in our material:[64]

V-*ja:*-MDL(-TNS)-IDX   V-*ja:*-O.IDX(-TNS)-IDX
V(-MDL)-TNS-IDX   V-O.IDX-TNS-IDX
V-*ed*-TNS-IDX
V.INTR(-TNS)-IDX

In the following sections, we describe the structure of verb lexemes, including valency-changing morphology, subject and "object" indexing, and the two main types of construction listed above, copula and non-copula constructions with their accompanying tense and aspect markers. Negation and imperatives/prohibitives are treated in separate sections.

4.1   *Verb Lexemes and Their Structure*

4.1.1   Simplex Verbs

The simplex verbs, like nouns and adjectives, are mostly mono- or disyllabic. There are no formal characteristics which distinguish different semantic classes of verbs, as can be seen from the following examples.

onnu	'to be hungry'	*kriŋmu*	'to shiver'
pʰasmu	'to vomit'	*gismu*	'to sneeze'
bjomu	'to go'	*bənnu*	'to come'
bragmu	'to chew'	*ko:rmu*	'to dig'
tuŋmu	'to drink'	*məlmu*	'to cut'
tsʰunnu	'to tie'	*tʃimu*	'to wash'
gomu	'to understand'	*gja:mu*	'to want'
nemu	'to know'	*tsalmu*	'to feel, to think'
tammu	'to smell'	*tʰəŋmu*	'to touch'
kunnu	'to call'	*lonnu*	'to tell.N1/2O'

Unlike other ST languages of this region such as Bunan and Navakat, verbs in Kinnauri do not have different verb forms for honorific and nonhonorific subjects, beyond the use of the plural marker with singular subjects.

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64   There are no instances of V-*ed*-MDL-IDX, V-*ed*-O.IDX-IDX or V-MDL-*ed*-IDX.

4.1.2 Complex Verbs

Complex—multi-word—verbs are frequently encountered in Kinnauri. One of the two main types consists of a nominal argument followed by a light or support verb. A frequently occurring verb in such constructions is *lannu* 'to do, to make'. The nominal argument in this construction contains the primary semantic content, while the verb takes the verbal inflectional endings.

maʣbur lan-nu	[helpless(N) make-INF]	'to force'
bok lan-nu	[warm(N) make-INF]	'to warm'
puʣa lan-nu	[prayer(N) make-INF]	'to pray'
puʣa ma-lan-nu	[prayer(N) NEG-make-INF]	'to not pray'
sapʰ lan-nu	[clean(N) make-INF]	'to clean'
ipəŋ lan-nu	[save(N) make-INF]	'to save'
məna lan-nu	[refuse(N) make-INF]	'to refuse'

Unlike instances where *lannu* 'to make' functions as a lexical verb, in this complex verb construction the dative marker does not occur after the nominal component of the verb complex (e.g. after *maʣbur* 'helpless(N)' in *maʣbur lannu* 'to force'), suggesting that the noun (*maʣbur* 'helpless(N)' here) forms part of the complex verb. Further, in many cases an additional argument occurs in such constructions, which optionally can take the dative marker (91–92).

(91) *ama-s   kim-u   sapʰ   lan-a-ʃ*
      mother-ERG house-DAT clean(N) make-PST-3H
      'Mother cleaned the house.'

(92) *ama   niʃ-u   tseik-is-i   ase   taː-tʃ-o   du*
      mother two-DAT all-ERG-EMP torture(N) keep-1/2O-PROG AUX.PRS
      '"Mother, everyone is torturing us (two)."'

The negative marker (including the prohibitive marker) is, however, affixed to the verb (e.g., *puʣa ma-lan-nu* [prayer(N) NEG-make-INF] 'to not pray').

The compound verb construction is the other frequently used complex verb construction in Kinnauri. Here the main verb (in the perfective) is followed by a light or vector verb such as *nimu* 'to stay', *rannu/kemu* 'to give', *bjomu* 'to go', *taːmu* 'to keep' or *ʃennu* 'to send'. The vector verb may be followed by an auxiliary. Each vector verb adds a specific semantic dimension to the main verb. For example, the vector verb *nimu* 'to stay' indicates the continuation of the state indicated in the main verb.[65] The verbs *ʃennu* 'to send' and *rannu/kemu* 'to give'

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65   Cf. Navakat *dug* and *sdod* (see Chapter 3).

as vector verbs indicate the completeness or totality of the action expressed in
the main verb. All instances of these vector verbs involve active main verbs.[66]

(93) *kim-o*   [*toʃ-is*   *ni-ts*   *du-gjo*]
      house-LOC [sit-PFV STAY-HAB AUX-PST]
      '(He) used to sit at home.'

(94) *do-s*   *kʰou* [*dʑaː~dʑaː* *ʃe~ʃe*]
      3SG-ERG food [eat~PFV SEND~PFV]
      'He ate (up everything).'

4.1.3   Valency Changing Mechanisms

Transitivity is determined only by means of formal criteria—transitive verbs
can take objects. Objects do not need to be explicitly present in order for a
verb to be considered transitive. Intransitive verbs take nominative subjects.
Subjects of transitive verbs can be either in the ergative or in the nominative.
Objects can be in the dative or in the nominative. The case marking possibili-
ties in simple transitive clauses (except with ditransitive verbs and the verb 'to
say') with explicit A and O are (nominative left without indication):

A-ERG   O-DAT   V
A-ERG   O   V
A   O   V
A   O-DAT   V

(95) *raːni-s*   *do*   *niʃ-u*   *taŋ-gjo*
      queen-ERG DEM.DIST.NVIS two-DAT observe-PST
      'The queen saw those two.'

(96) *raːm-is*   *rak*   *tuŋ~tuŋ*
      i.name-ERG alcohol drink~PFV
      'Ram drank alcohol.'

(97) *ama*   *pol-eː*   *lan-ts*
      mother fried.bread-PL make-HAB
      'Mother makes (prepares) fried bread.'

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66   Cf. *taŋ* in Navakat.

(98) *hat-u   ra:ʣa*[67] *tsum-ta*
who-DAT king   catch-FUT
'Whom will (they) catch (as their) king.' (Who will become the king?)

(99) *aŋ-u   val-i   ʤãŋk   bə*
1SG-DAT much-EMP very warm (weather) come.PST
'I felt very hot.'

In ditransitive clauses where both a direct object and an indirect object occur, the indirect object gets the dative marker, and the direct object remains in the nominative.

(100) *gə-s   ka-nu   id   bakʰor ke-ta-k*
1SG-ERG 2SG.NH-DAT.PL one goat   give.1/2O-FUT-1SG
'I will give a goat to you.'

(101) *ra:ʣa-s   ra:ni-pəŋ   nukur*-u   ran-o*
king-ERG queen-DAT servant*-DAT give-PST
'The king gave the servant to the queen.'

(102) *do-s   u:-nu*[68]   *ti   ran-o-ʃ*
3SG-ERG flower-DAT.PL water give-PST-3H
'She gave water to the flowers (plants).'

(103) *do-s   u:-pəŋ*[69]   *ti   ran-o-ʃ*
3SG-ERG flower-DAT water give-PST-3H
'She gave water to the flower (SG).'

4.1.3.1   *(De)transitivizing Voicing Alternation*

Most Sino-Tibetanists posit an original de-transitivizing prefix **n-* whose reflex in modern forms is voicing of the root-initial consonant. In a small set of verbs, when the intransitive verb form begins with a voiced obstruent (a stop or an affricate), the corresponding transitive verb form begins with a voiceless consonant. This is also observed in Kinnauri, although not as a productive process.

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67   Both [ra:ʤa] and [ra:za] 'king', are found in Kinnauri. The former reflects a more direct influence of its Hindi pronunciation. The same is the case with other IA loanwords with [z] in Kinnauri.

68   The dative marker on 'flowers' is obligatory.

69   The dative marker on 'flower' is obligatory.

In such verbs the transitive marker *-ja:* is not permitted (see Section 4.1.3.4.1 for *-ja:*).

V(INTR)	V(TR)	
bəŋmu	*pəŋmu*	'to fill'
bogmu	*pogmu*	'to burn'
grumu	*krumu*	'to burn (food items)'
bannu	*pannu*	'to cook'
bjugmu	*pjugmu*	'to blow off fire'
gjulmu	*kʰjulmu*	'to scrape'
ʣogmu	*ʧogmu*	'to drip'
bralmu	*pʰralmu*	'to fall, to fell'

The middle marker *-ʃi* (see Section 4.1.3.3), too, can be affixed to some transitive verbs of this set to decrease their valency, e.g., *pog-ʃi-mu* 'to get burnt by inadvertently touching a hot pan' < *pogmu* 'to burn (TR)'.

4.1.3.2   *The Transitivizing Prefix* s-

There are some Kinnauri transitive verb forms in the speech of older consultants (or attested in the examples provided in older literature) which contain the prefix *s-*. For example, *(s)kvamu* 'to jump (TR)', *(s)tugmu* 'to push'. Bailey (1920) provides the following: *tuŋmū* 'to drink' : *stuŋmū* 'to cause to drink, give to drink'. In all such cases, the forms without the prefix also occur as independent transitive verbs. It is noteworthy that some language consultants (especially the younger ones) use and recognize only the variants without the prefix *s-*.

4.1.3.3   *The Middle Marker* -ʃi

Kinnauri has a multifunctional verbal suffix *-ʃi* with cognates in several other ST languages.[70] This suffix is realized as *-ʃ* when the suffix following it starts with a vowel. The *-ʃ* in *-ʃi* never assimilates to surrounding consonants or vow-

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70   Similar morphemes with related meanings have been reported for several other ST languages. E.g. *-ʃi* (Byangsi; Willis Oko 2019: 275), *-si/-xi* (Darma; Willis Oko 2019: 273 ff.), *-si* (Thulung Rai; Lahaussois 2003). LaPolla (1996) also reports similar morphemes in other ST languages: *x* (Rawang/Dulong), *-siŋ* (Limbu), *(na) ci* (Bantawa), *sit* (Thulung), *si* (Khaling), *-s* (Rongpo), *-su* (Padam-Mishing) and *-s* (Nishi).

els (e.g. with regard to voicing), which otherwise is a common phenomenon in Kinnauri. With a restricted set of verbs, however, it is realized as *-ʧi*, and not as *-ʃi* (e.g., *legmu* 'to burn', *legʧimu* [lɛkʧimu] 'to get burned', but not **legʃimu*). With all other verbs *-ʧ* as the middle marker is not permitted. The distribution of the middle marker *-ʃi* and *-ʧi* is not morphophonologically conditioned. It is unclear why some verbs take *-ʧi*, and not the default *-ʃi*. It is possible that forms with *-ʧi* are borrowed from some other language.

Kinnauri *-ʃi* expresses functions which are typically associated with the middle marker, as shown below, but it also occurs in some other, distinctly non-middle constructions. However, regardless of the varying semantics of the verbs containing *-ʃi*, it will be consistently referred to and glossed as "middle" (MDL) in this chapter, including the word list in Appendix 2A.

(104) *sapes-is   radʰa-pəŋ   ʈok~ʈok*
      snake-ERG i.name-DAT sting.PFV
      'The snake stung Radha.'

(105) *gə   ʈok-ʃi-s   to-k*
      1SG.NOM sting-MDL-PFV AUX-1SG
      'I am bitten (by a snake).'

(106) *sapes-is   aŋ-u   ʈok-ʧ-is*
      snake-ERG 1SG-DAT sting-1/2O-PFV
      'The snake stung me.'

The middle marker occurs with both ST and non-ST verbs. Among non-ST verbs, the focus here will be on IA loans. With IA verbs, as can be seen in the examples provided here, it occurs only on verb stems which contain the transitive marker *-ja:* (see Section 4.1.3.4.1).

ST/IA	V (TR)	V (MDL)	V (INTR)	
ST	*pramu*	*praʃimu*		'to spread'
ST	*ʧimu*	*ʧiʃimu*		'to wash'
ST	*tʰannu*	*tʰaʃimu*		'to drop'
ST	*sərmu*	*sərʃimu*		'to wake up'
IA	*polʈja:mu*	*polʈja:ʃimu*	*polʈennu*	'to turn (around)/roll'
IA	*rokja:mu*	*rokja:ʃimu*	*rukennu*	'to stop'

Kinnauri has a reflexive construction involving a transitive verb and a reflex-
ive (anaphoric) pronoun, with the verb form remaining the same in a regular
transitive clause. Most likely this reflexive construction in Kinnauri is due to its
contact with IA languages.

(107)   *do-s*   *an-u*   *kʰjo-o*   *du*
        3SG-ERG 3SG.ANA-DAT see-PROG AUX.PRS
        'S/He is seeing her/himself (in the mirror).'

As in many other ST languages, a reflexive reading in Kinnauri can also be
accomplished by suffixing the middle marker *-ʃi* to a transitive verb. The reflex-
ive pronoun is optional in constructions with the middle marker (67–68, re-
peated here slightly modified as 108–109).

(108)   *niŋo*   *(niŋo-nu)*   *kʰja-ʃ-o*   *du-ʧ*
        1PLE.NOM (1PLE-DAT.PL) see-MDL-PROG AUX-1PLE
        'We (EXCL) are seeing ourselves (in the mirror).'

(109)   *kiʃa:*   *(kiʃa:-nu)*   *kʰja-ʃ-o*   *to-me*
        1PLI.NOM (1PLI-DAT.PL) see-MDL-PROG AUX-1PLI
        'We (INCL) are seeing ourselves (in the mirror).'

The middle marker occurs also in reciprocal constructions.

(110)   *do-go: me*   *ama-bua*   *taŋ~taŋ*   *du*
        3-PL yesterday mother-father observe~PFV AUX.PRS
        'Yesterday they looked at (someone's) parents.'

(111)   *do-go: me*   *taŋ-ʃ-is*   *du*
        3-PL yesterday observe-MDL-PFV AUX.PRS
        'Yesterday they looked (at one another).'

The reciprocal construction with *-ʃi*, too, can optionally contain the anaphoric
pronoun.

(112)   *tsʰets-o:*   *(ane-go:)* *ba:t-ja:-ʃ-o*   *du*
        woman-PL ANA-PL talk-TR-MDL-PROG AUX.PRS
        'The women are talking among themselves.'

(113) *ʧʰaŋ-oː* (*ane-goː*) *kul-ʃ-o*   *du*
      child-PL ANA-PL beat-MDL-PROG AUX.PRS
      'The children are fighting among themselves.'

As in several other ST languages, in Kinnauri too, -*ʃi* as the middle marker is used to decrease verbal valency. Thus, the ergative and the dative marker are not permitted on the core arguments of a transitive verb when the middle marker -*ʃi* has been added to it, while with the same verb without the middle marker, the core arguments may take the ergative and the dative marker.

(114) *ʧʰaŋ-oː-s*   *ʈokʰ-jaː-o*[71]   *lod-o*   *du*
      boy-PL-ERG call.out-TR-PROG tell-PROG AUX.PRS
      'The boys are telling (others), by calling out to (them).'

(115) *ʧʰaŋ-oː*-s*   *ʈokʰ-jaː-ʃ-o*   *lo-ʃ-o*   *du*
      boy-PL*-ERG call.out-TR-MDL-PROG tell-MDL-PROG AUX.PRS
      'The boys are telling one another, by calling out to one another.'

Alternatively, the original subject can be suppressed (117, 119 compared to 116, 118).

(116) *gə*   *pitaŋ pid-o*   *du-k*
      1SG.NOM door close-PROG AUX.PRS-1SG
      'I am closing the door.'

(117) *pitaŋ pi-ʃ-o*   *du*
      door close-MDL-PROG AUX.PRS
      'The door is closing (on its own).'

(118) *mi-s*   *murti ti-o*   *bojaː~jaː*   *ʃe~ʃe*
      man-ERG statue water-LOC flow.TR~PFV SEND~PFV
      'The man floated ([+control]) the statue in the water.'

(119) *ŋa* *ʧʰaŋ-oː ti-o*   *bo-jaː-ʃ-is*   *du-ge*
      five boy-PL water-LOC flow-TR-MDL-PFV AUX-PST
      'Five boys were swept ([-control]) into the water.'

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71   In fast speech the form is realized as [ʈɔkʰjo].

-ʃi in Kinnauri occurs also in constructions which are not normally associated with the middle voice.

First, there is a kind of generalization of the reflexive usage of *-ʃi* in Kinnauri, reminiscent of possessor raising (Deal 2017), where the verb retains the object or other non-subject argument, and *-ʃi* indicates that its referent belongs to the subject, e.g., through a kinship relation, or by being part of their body (the subject doing something to/with their body part) or through possession/ownership.

(120) *do   ra:ʣkumar an-u   tʰepiŋ-o tsisaŋ lig-ʃ-is*
       DEM.DIST.NVIS prince   ANA-POSS cap-LOC flour put-MDL-PFV
       kim-o-tʃ   dvə~dvə   bjo-gjo
       house-LOC-ABL come.out~PFV go-PST
       'That prince, taking flour in (his) cap, came out of the home and went.'

(121) *bag-e   bal-e   pitaŋ lig-ʃ-is*
       rear.of.dance-MNR head-MNR door put-MDL-PFV
       '(The priest's wife said: "the smart prince) is dancing, carrying (our home's main) door on (his) head".'

(122) *ra:ʣa somsi   raŋ-u   den ʃog-ʃ-is   ane-nu*
       king early.morning horse-POSS on ride-MDL-PFV ANA.PL-POSS
       dərbar-o   bə-tʃ-is
       court-LOC come-MDL-PFV
       'the next day the king rode on (his) horse, and came to (his) court.'

Second, *-ʃi* occurs in constructions where it highlights that more than one person is involved in an activity and that the action is done collectively. The corresponding clauses with singular subject occurs with the same verb, but without *-ʃi*. This happens with both transitive (123–126) and intransitive (127–128) verbs.

(123) *nane tʃʰu krab-o   du-ʃ*
       aunt why cry-PROG AUX.PRS-3SG.HON
       'aunt, why is (she) crying?'

(124) *isan   ta krab-ʃ-o   du*
       briefly FOC cry-MDL-PROG AUX.PRS
       'For some time (those two) are crying.'

(125)   *ra:dʑa hal-ed-o   du*
        king   walk-INTR-PROG AUX.PRS
        'The king is taking a walk'

(126)   *kon-ja: ek-e   hale-ʃ-o   du*
        friend-PL one-LOC walk-MDL-PROG AUX.PRS
        'Friends are walking (together).'

(127)   *do-go: ʃum-is   tsʰetsats-u san-əm*
        DEM.DIST.NVIS-PL three-ERG girl-DAT   kill-NMLZ
        ruja:-ʃ-is   du-gjo
        prepare-MDL-PFV AUX-PST
        'Those three (sisters-in-law) prepared to kill the girl.'

(128)   *ʃum-ki⁷²   lo-ʃ-o   du*
        three-EMP tell-MDL-PROG AUX.PRS
        'All three are telling (at the same time to one another).'

-ʃi also occurs in constructions where the agency/volitionality of the subject is emphasized; that the subject acted on his/her own free will. The regular active clause case marking on core arguments is retained. This usage has been reported as the primary function of cognate items in the Macro-Tani languages by Modi and Post (2020) under the label "subject autonomy".

(129)   *somsi   sər-o   du*
        early.morning rise-PROG AUX-PST
        'In the early morning (the prince) is waking up.'

(130)   *jaŋdʑe-s   ra:tiŋ sər-ʃ-is   do   ɖig-u*
        o.woman-ERG night rise-MDL-PFV DEM.DIST.NVIS pot-DAT
        maŋ-gjo
        hide-PST
        'In the night the old woman woke up (and) hid the bowl [she woke up in the middle of the night as she wanted to hide the bowl before every-one else wakes up in the morning].'

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72   The emphatic marker *-i* is realized as *-ki/-gi* with a few numerals: *niʃ* 'two', *ʃum* 'three', *pə* 'four' and *ŋa* 'five'. In all these cases, the emphatic marker *-i*, too, is permissible (e.g. *ʃum-i* [three-EMP]). Similarly, the ergative marker is realized with an initial *-k-* after these numerals (e.g., *ŋak-is* [five-ERG]).

(131) ʧora: saŋ-ʃ-is   ʧʰəts-i   ma:-ts   ʦeik luʧja:~ʧja:
       thief.PL enter-MDL-PFV some-EMP NEG.AUX-HAB all   loot.TR~PFV
       '(The priest's wife said:) "thieves entered the house. Nothing is there (=
       left). (They) looted (us)."'

Finally, the verb forms with the middle marker can also occur in non-final
clauses. For example in relative clauses (e.g. *gja:-ʃ-id* [want-MDL-HAB] '(the
queen) who is desired)' and in non-final clauses in a complex construction.

(132) *niʃ-i*   *ʧʰaŋ-o:* *krab-ʃ-o*   *krab-ʃ-o*   *ma-han-am*
       two-EMP child-PL cry-MDL-PROG cry-MDL-PROG   NEG-can-NMLZ
       nipi sunts-ja:-ʃ-o   *du-gjo*
       after think-TR-MDL-PROG AUX-PST
       'Those two children, sobbing, after not agreeing (to stay behind), were
       (collectively) thinking'

4.1.3.4   *(De)transitivizing Morphology in IA Loanwords*

In a subset of IA loanwords, *-e/-ed/-en* is suffixed to form an intransitive verb
and *-j/-ja:* in the same slot is suffixed to form the corresponding transitive verb.

V (INTR)	V (TR)	
polʈennu	*polʈja:mu*	'to turn around, to roll'
ba:sennu	*ba:sja:mu*	'to smell'
pa:lennu	*pa:lja:mu*	'to grow'
bojennu	*boja:mu*	'to float, to blow'
somʣennu	*somʣja:mu*	'to understand'
ʤonlennu	*ʤonlja:mu*	'to swing'

Both suffixes are subject to morphophonologically conditioned variation (see
Sections 2.3.2 and 4.5.2.4).

4.1.3.4.1   The Transitive Marker *-j/-ja:*
All Kinnauri disyllabic verb stems with *-j/-ja:* in the final syllable are transitive verbs.[73] The allomorph *-j* appears before the progressive aspect marker *-o* (see Section 4.5.2.4), and *-ja:* occurs in all other contexts. *-j/-ja:* is suffixed to IA loans and to verbs of unknown etymologies, but never to ST verbs. All the following verbs are of IA origin.

monja:mu	'to make someone agree'
pʰulja:mu	'to blow (something)'
arja:mu	'to call (someone)'
somdʑja:mu	'to explain (something)'
pʰikja:mu	'to throw (something)'
poltja:mu	'to flip over (e.g. bread, quilt)'
tsʰutja:mu	'to release (something)'
tolja:mu	'to weigh (something)'

Once the transitivizer *-j/-ja:* is affixed to the verb stem, it becomes part of the lexical item, which then undergoes the same processes as a regular lexical verb. As we will see in Section 4.5.2.2, the monosyllabic verb stem is reduplicated in the perfective aspect, if the verb stem does not end in *-tʃ* or *-ʃ*. If the verb stem is disyllabic, there is partial reduplication, where only the second syllable is reduplicated. In the perfective form of the verb stems with *-j/-ja:*, it is the last consonant of the penultimate syllable together with the final syllable (*-ja:*) which is reduplicated.

V (TR, INF)	V (PFV)	
pʰikja:mu	*pʰikja:kja:*	'to throw (something)'
tsʰinja:mu	*tsʰinja:nja:*	'to cut (e.g. vegetables)'
poltja:mu	*poltja:tja:*	'to flip over (e.g. bread)'
bodja:mu	*bodja:dja:*	'to increase (something countable)'
rokja:mu	*rokja:kja:*	'to stop (someone)'
metja:mu	*metja:tja:*	'to gather (something)'
kuʃja:mu	*kuʃja:ʃja:*	'to wipe, to sweep (something)'
dʑonlja:mu	*dʑonlja:lja:*	'to swing (something)'

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73   These verbs often have an intransitive IA base. In some ways, the transitive verb forms with

(*cont.*)

V (TR, INF)	V (PFV)	
dʑekʰja:mu	*dʑekʰja:kʰja:*	'to rub (e.g. clothes)'
ʃoʈʰja:mu	*ʃoʈʰja:ʈʰja:*	'to leave (something)'

4.1.3.4.2   The Intransitive Marker *-e/-ed/-en*

Disyllabic verb stems with *-e/-ed/-en* as the final syllable are intransitive verbs in Kinnauri. As was the case with the transitive marker *-j/-ja:* above, *-e/-ed/-en* too occurs only with IA loans or verbs of unknown etymology, never with ST verbs. The suffix appears in three different shapes determined by morphophonological context; see Section 2.3.2.

As some of the previous as well as the following examples show, some verbs permit two de-transitivized verb forms, one with the middle marker and another with the intransitive marker *-e/-ed/-en*.

V (TR)	V (MDL *-ʃi*)	V (INTR *-ed*)	
polʈja:mu	*polʈja:ʃimu*	*polʈennu*	'to flip'
ba:sja:mu	*ba:sja:ʃimu*	*ba:sennu*	'to smell'
pa:lja:mu	*pa:lja:ʃimu*	*pa:lennu*	'to grow'
ɖubja:mu	*ɖubja:ʃimu*	*ɖubennu*	'to drown'
somdʑja:mu	*somdʑja:ʃimu*	*somdʑennu*	'to explain'
sikja:mu	*sikja:ʃimu*	*sikennu*	'to move'
bodja:mu	*bodja:ʃimu*	*bodennu*	'to increase'
rokja:mu	*rokja:ʃimu*	*rukennu*	'to stop'
dʑonlja:mu	*dʑonlja:ʃimu*	*dʑonlennu*	'to swing'

-j/-ja: in Kinnauri show parallels to a similar transitivizing device in Hindi, where the transitive form has a long *-a:* in the final syllable. For example, *palaʈna:* 'to turn over (INTR)' vs. *palʈa:na:* 'to turn over (TR)', *laʈakna:* 'to hang (INTR)' vs. *laʈaka:na:* 'to hang (TR)', *palana:* 'to be raised (INTR)' vs. *pa:lna:* 'to raise (TR)'. However, in Kinnauri, the *-j/-ja:* transitivizing strategy also occurs in verbs where Hindi instead changes the stem vowel. For example, in Hindi *ʈuʈna:* 'to break (INTR)' vs. *toɽna:* 'to break (TR)', *ʈʰuʈana:* 'to leave (INTR)' vs. *ʈʰoɽna:* 'to leave (TR)', *rukna:* 'to stop/stay (INTR)' vs. *rokna:* 'to stop (TR)'. Another potential etymological source of *-j/-ja:* could be an element cognate with Tibetan *byed* 'do'.

In such instances there seems to be some difference in their distribution: *-e/-ed/-en* occurs with singular subjects, while *-ʃi* (i.e., *-jaː-ʃi*), has the interpretation that more than one participant is involved and that they acted collectively:

V (INTR *-ed*)		V (MDL *-jaː-ʃi*)	
polʈennu	'to turn around, to roll' (SG)	*polʈjaːʃimu*	'to turn around, to roll' (PL, collectively)
baːsennu	'to smell' (SG)	*baːsjaːʃimu*	'to smell' (PL, collectively)
paːlennu	'to grow' (SG)	*paːljaːʃimu*	'to grow' (PL, collectively)
bojennu	'to float, to blow' (SG)	*bojaːʃimu*	'to float, to blow' (PL, collectively)
rukennu	'to stop' (SG)	*rokjaːʃimu*	'to stop' (PL, collectively)
somdʑennu	'to understand' (SG)	*somdʑjaːʃimu*	'to understand' (PL, collectively)
dʑonlennu	'to swing' (SG)	*dʑonljaːʃimu*	'to swing' (PL, collectively)

However, as the following examples show, some verbs which take the transitive marker *-j/-jaː*, do not permit the intransitive marker *-e/-ed/-en*.

V (TR *-jaː*)	V (MDL *-jaː-ʃi*)	V (INTR *-ed*)	
ʈ(r)uːtʰjaːmu	*ʈ(r)uːtʰjaːʃimu*	**ʈ(r)uːtʰennu*	'to squeeze'
ʃotʰjaːmu	*ʃotʰjaːʃimu*	**ʃotʰennu*	'to leave'
pʰurkjaːmu	*pʰurkjaːʃimu*	**pʰurkennu*	'to blow'
arjaːmu	*arjaːʃimu*	**arennu*	'to call'
pʰikjaːmu	*pʰikjaːʃimu*	**pʰikennu*	'to throw'
tsʰinjaːmu	*tsʰinjaːʃimu*	**tsʰinennu*	'to cut'
dʑekʰjaːmu	*dʑekʰjaːʃimu*	**dʑekʰennu*	'to rub'
toljaːmu	*toljaːʃimu*	**tolennu*	'to weigh'
meʈjaːmu	*meʈjaːʃimu*	**meʈennu*	'to gather'
kuʃjaːmu	*kuʃjaːʃimu*	**kuʃennu*	'to wipe/sweep'
meʈjaːmu	*meʈjaːʃimu*	**meʈennu*	'to gather'

In this set of verbs, as the following examples illustrate, the verb form with the middle marker occurs with singular as well as plural subjects. It is unclear why the *-ed* verb forms are not permitted with this set of verbs.

(133)   *id   kami:ʣ la:n-is   pʰik-ja:-ʃ-is   du*
        one   shirt   wind-INS throw-TR-MDL-PFV AUX.PRS
        'One shirt fell down in the wind.'

(134)   *ʦeik [ʦei] kami:ʣ-e: la:n-is   pʰik-ja:-ʃ-is   du*
        all   shirt-PL   wind-INS throw-TR-MDL-PFV AUX.PRF
        'All shirts fell down in the wind.'

4.2   *Subject Indexing*

Both nominative and ergative subject arguments control subject indexing. The subject indexing markers occur in both copula and non-copula constructions. Table 20 presents the subject indexing markers. *-o:* functions as the plural indexing marker with 2NH and 3H and *-suŋ* functions as the dual subject indexing marker with 3NH. In natural discourse the plural marker does not occur obligatorily with plural subjects. Similarly, with dual subjects, the plural marker *-o:* occurs more frequently than the dual indexing marker *-suŋ*.

TABLE 20   Subject indexing markers

Person	SG	PL/DU
1	*-k*	*-ʧ* (DU, PLE), *-me* (PLI)
2NH	*-n*	*-n(-o:)* (DU, PL)
2H	*-ɲ*	*-ʧ* (DU, PL)
3NH	Ø	Ø (DU, PL), *-suŋ* (DU)
3H	*-ʃ*	*-ʃ(-o:)* (DU, PL)

4.3   *"Affected Object" Indexing*

The object indexing marker is *-ʧ/-ʧi* (except with the verbs 'to give' and 'to tell' where there is a change in the verb form; see below) is suffixed to the verb. When the following suffix begins with a vowel, the *-ʧ* allomorph appears. The object index occurs with speech act participants in both singular and plural.

The characterization "most affected object" captures the distribution of the "1st/2nd object" index better than simply calling it an "object" marker. *-ʧ/-ʧi* occurs when a speech act participant is the most affected—zero or dative marked—participant in a clause (finite or non-final). This could be a patient, a recipient, or a beneficiary, including a speech act participant in the "subject" position in dative subject construction (see below). The speech act participant is [-control] in such constructions.

(135) *dok   me: leg-tʃ-a-k*
       then fire burn-1/2O-FUT-1SG
       'I will set you on fire.'

(136) *aŋ-u   ama-boba-s   birmatʃʰosten rakses-u   dor*
       1SG-POSS mother-father-ERG i.name   demon-POSS near
       ʃe-tʃ-is
       send-1/2O-PFV
       'My parents sent me with the demon Birma Chostin,'

(137) *gə   me   ki-n   doktʃ ral un-tʃi-mu*
       1SG.NOM yesterday 2SG.H-POSS   from rice take-1/2O-INF
       to-tʃ-e-k
       AUX-PST-1SG
       'Yesterday I was (thinking of) taking rice from you.'

The "object" index marker *-tʃ/-tʃi*, like middle *-ʃi*, does not assimilate. The exception is a set of verbs where the object index is realized as *-ʤ/-ʤi*, but never as *-tʃ/-tʃi*. In my material, this applies to the following verb stems: *ʣa:-* 'eat', *gja:-* 'want', *mja:-* 'not.want', *kʰo-* 'skin(v)', and *ruŋ-* 'watch'. A few verbs (e.g. *pʰjo-* 'take away', *ta:-* 'put') seem to permit both *-tʃ/-tʃi* and *-ʤ/-ʤi* as the object marker.

(138) *boba-s   ga:raŋ-u deŋ-staŋ   kər-tʃ-is   kiʃaŋ-u*
       father-ERG river-POSS there-until bring-1/2O-PFV 1DU-POSS
       id-u   nəŋ pʰjo-tʃ-is   id-u   ʤaŋ ta:-ʤ-is
       one-DAT   there take.away-1/2O-PFV one-DAT there put-1/2O-PFV
       dok kiʃaŋ-u dobi   baja:raŋ-is pal-ja:-tʃ-is
       then 1DU-DAT washerman couple-ERG   raise-TR-1/2O-PFV
       '"(Our) father took us to the river. He took away one of us. The other one was left there. Then the washerman couple raised us two."'

(139) *aŋ-u   pʰjo-ʤi-mu*
       1SG-DAT   take.away-1/2O-NMLZ
       'While coming to take me,'

The object indexing marker occurs when the speech act participant is the most affected argument in a clause. If the proper conditions are met, both subject indexing and object indexing can occur in the same clause. The object indexing marker occurs before the tense/aspect markers.

(140)   *do-s   aŋ   doktʃ rupja   un-tʃ-e-ʃ*
        3SG-ERG 1SG.NNOM from money ask-1/2O-PST-3H
        'S/He then asked me for money.'

(141)   *aŋ-u   birma=tʃʰosten rakses-u   dor   ʃe-tʃ-is*
        1SG-DAT i.name   demon-POSS near send-1/2O-PST
        'I was sent with the demon Birma Chosten.'

(142)   *do-s   aŋ-u   kamaŋ rju-tʃ-e*
        3SG-ERG 1SG-DAT work(N) make.do-1/2O-PST
        'S/He made me do the work.'

(143)   *do   ra:m-u   kamaŋ rju-o*
        3SG i.name-DAT work(N) make.do-PST
        'S/He made Ram do the work.'

(144)   *maŋ-o   aŋ-u   rakses-is   dza:-dʒ-e*
        dream-LOC 1SG-DAT demon-ERG eat-1/2O-PST
        'In the dream the demon ate me.'

(145)   *ra:m-is   aŋ-u   dʒali ba:t-en-nu   ʃe-tʃ-e*
        i.name-ERG 1SG-DAT lie(N) talk-INTR-INF SEND-1/2O-PST
        'Ram made me tell a lie.'

Clauses involving the object indexing marker can have all three persons as their subjects (see examples above and below). The subject indexing marker remains the same (including its placement), as described in Section 4.2.

(146)   *aɲa:res-o   ra:m-is   aŋ-u   taŋ-tʃ-e-ʃ*
        darkness-LOC i.name-ERG 1SG-DAT observe-1/2O-PST-3H
        'In the darkness Ram saw me.'

(147)   *do-s   lo-kjo   "gja:-dʒ-a-k   gja:-dʒ-a-k"*
        3SG-ERG tell-PST want-1/2O-PST-1SG want-1/2O-PST-1SG
        'He (= the priest) said: "I want, I want (you as my servant)."'

Although *-tʃi* is the default object indexing marker, in the case of the verbs 'give' and 'tell' there is verb stem suppletion instead. The stem variants *kemu* [to.give.1/2O][74] and *rəŋmu* [to.tell.1/2O][75] occur when the clause has a speech

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74   *kemu* [to.give.1/2O] occurs with all inflectional endings, except with the progressive aspect

act participant as affected object; the variants *rannu* 'to give' and *lonnu* 'to tell' occur with third person objects. The object indexing marker *-tʃ/-tʃi* does not occur with these verbs.[76]

(148) *ardʒun-is   mohan-u   kətab ran-o-ʃ*
i.name-ERG i.name-DAT book give-PST-3H
'Arjun gave a book to Mohan.'

(149) *ama-s   aŋ-u   kʰou ker-o-ʃ*
mother-ERG 1SG-DAT food give.1/2O-PST-3H
'Mother gave me food.'

(150) *ka-s-i   hudu*[77]   *lo~lo / *rəŋ~rəŋ*
2SG.NH-ERG-EMP DEM.DIST.NVIS.DAT tell~PFV
'You (yourself) told (this) to him.'

(151) *ra:m-is   ki-nu   rəŋ~rəŋ / *lo~lo*
i.name-ERG 2SG.H-DAT.PL tell.1/2O~PFV
'Ram told (this) to you.'

The object index marker is also suffixed to verb stems with the transitive marker *-j/-ja:*. For example,

(152) *ra:m   aŋ-u   id   ba:taŋ somdʒ-ja:-tʃ-e*[78]
i.name 1SG-DAT one talk(N) understand-TR-1/2O-PST
'Ram explained me one thing.'

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and with the past tense marker *-o*. In the last-mentioned cases, it is realized as *ker* (i.e., *ker-o du* and *ker-o*, respectively). The verb form *ker* is not permitted elsewhere, e.g. *ke~ke* [give.1/2O~PFV], but not **kerker*; *ke-ts* [give.1/2O-PST-3H], but not **ker-ts*; *ma-ke-ʃ*, but not **ma-ker-ʃ* '(Please) don't give'. The *ke ~ ker* variation does not seem to represent any dialectal variation. Both verb forms occur in a stable fashion in the speech of my language consultants from Brua.

75   *rəŋmu* (Sangla) : *riŋmu* (Brua).

76   Kanashi also exhibits this suppletive verb form to indicate 1/2O, and Bunan (Widmer 2014) seems to show a similar suppletive verb pattern. *riŋ-men* 'say (to SAP)', *lot-tc-um* 'to say (to non-SAP)'.

77   There are some instances of vowel harmony. E.g., *hodo* [DEM.DIST.NVIS] but *hudu* [DEM. DIST.NVIS.POSS].

78   *-e* occurs as the past tense marker with the object indexing marker.

(153) *do-s   aŋ-u   tol-jaː-tʃ-o   toʃ*
       3SG-ERG 1SG-DAT weigh-TR-1/2O-PROG AUX-3H
       'He is weighing me.'

(154) *ki   aŋ-u   somdʑ-jaː-tʃi-ɲ-a*
       2SG.H 1SG-DAT understand-TR-1/2O-2H-Q
       'Will you explain (X) to me?'

The object index marker (or the corresponding suppletive verb stem) also occurs in non-final clauses, nominalized clauses (e.g. *ke-ma* '(if it is) given to me …' from *kemu* 'to give-1/2O') as well as in finite verbs.

   The dative-marked argument in the dative experiencer construction does not control subject indexing (see Section 5.1). If the dative-marked argument is a speech act participant, it triggers object indexing instead, suggesting that it has not yet acquired the full subject status.

(155) *ki-nu   əkʰa ker-o   du-ge*
       2SG.H-DAT.PL pain give.1/2O-PROG AUX-PST
       'You were having pain.'

As described in Section 4.2, Kinnauri has *-tʃ* also as the subject index marker with 1DU, 1PLE, 2DU and 2PL subjects. The subject index marker *-tʃ* and the object index marker *-tʃ/-tʃi* occur in two different slots; further, the subject index marker is never realized as *-dʑ/-dʑi*, which, as shown above, is the case with the 1/2O marker. This is the case in both declarative and imperative clauses.

(156) *ki-s   aŋ   doktʃ rupja   un-tʃ-e-tʃ*
       2SG.H.ERG 1SG.NNOM from money take-1/2O-PST-2DU/PL.H
       'You asked me for money.'

(157) *kiʃaŋ-s   ki-n   doktʃ rupja   un-tʃ-e-tʃ*
       1DU-ERG 2SG.H-POSS from money take-1/2O-PST-2DU/PL.H
       'We (dual) asked you for money.'

(158) *kino-s   aŋ   doktʃ rupja   un-tʃ-e-tʃ*
       2PL.H-ERG 1SG.NNOM from money take-1/2O-PST-2DU/PL.H
       'You (HON, PL) asked me for money.'

(159) hod-e   rəŋ   aŋ-u   baːt-jaː-ʤi-ri-ʧ
       DEM.DIST.NVIS-LOC time 1SG-DAT talk-TR-1/2O-IMP-2DU/PL.H
       '(When you will get tired,) that time you call me.'

Similarly, the following examples illustrate the difference between the 1/2 affected participant marker -ʧ/-ʧi and the middle marker allomorph -ʧi.

(160) somsi   sər-o   du
       morning raise-PROG AUX.PRS
       'In the morning (the prince) is raising (the priest from his sleep).'

(161) nasom   niŋo-nu   le   sər-ʧi-ra
       tomorrow 1PLE-DAT.PL EMP raise-1/2O-IMP
       'Tomorrow you should wake me up!'

(162) tsʰetsats-oː sər-ʃ-e
       girl-PL   raise-MDL-PST
       'The girls woke up (on their own).'

This category is slightly reminiscent of egophoricity in Tibetic (e.g., in Navakat; see Chapter 3), in that it concerns SAP verb arguments. The similarity ends there, however, since the referent of the object index marker remains the same in declaratives and in interrogatives. The "Object" index (including verb suppletion of 'give' and 'tell') in Kinnauri occurs everytime we have a speech act participant as the most affected participant (including in the dative subject construction, see below).

And lastly, the deictic center in Kinnauri is broader than in some other ST languages such as Lhasa Tibetan and Ladakhi in that in Kinnauri it includes second person. In Lhasa Tibetan and Ladakhi a distinction is made between first vs. non-first person, while in Kinnauri it is third person vs. non-third person.

4.4   Copula Constructions

to, du and ni function both as equational and existential copulas (glossed here as [COP]).[79] The copulas to and du occur in non-future tenses, where clauses

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79   ni can also function as a lexical verb. It then takes tense, aspect and subject indexing markers, e.g., raːm kim-o ma-ni-ts to ho [i.name house-LOC NEG-stay-HAB AUX.PRS DSM.probably] 'Ram probably does not stay at home.' Joshi (1909) provides dush [be.3PL] (of the verb nimig 'to be').

involving the copula *to* may occur with all three persons as their subjects; the copula *du* occurs here only with third person subjects. The copula *ni*, on the other hand, occurs in all tenses. In the future tense it occurs with all persons, where it takes the tense and subject indexing markers, but in the past and present tenses it occurs only with third person subjects, where it does not take any inflectional ending.

(163)   *gə   maʃtor   to-k / *du-k*
        1SG.NOM   teacher   COP.PRS-1SG
        'I am a teacher.'

(164)   *ka   maʃtor   to-n / *du-n*
        2SG.NH   teacher   COP.PRS-2SG.NH
        'You are a teacher.'

(165)   *kətab dam   to / du / ni*
        book   good   COP.PRS
        'The book is good.'

(166)   *id   radʑa du-ɟo*
        one   king   COP-PST
        'There was a king.'

The distribution of *to*, *du* and *ni* with third person honorific and non-honorific subjects is semantically conditioned. The semantic interpretations of *to* and *du* with honorific subjects are different from their interpretations with non-honorific subjects.

We will first consider the semantic interpretations associated with the copulas in clauses involving non-honorific subjects.

to in such constructions indicates that the subject is somehow related to the speaker. This may either be because they are members of the same family or because they are in physical proximity to each other.

du occurs in contexts where the subject does not belong to the speaker and the speaker has no information or knowledge about the subject.

ni occurs where the hearer has some doubts either about the very existence of the subject, or in identifying the subject as either A or B, while the speaker definitely knows the answer (either because they saw it themselves or because they have some way of knowing the truth).

to is used in example (165), when the book either belongs to the speaker or is in their possession; *du* is used when the book neither belongs to the speaker

nor is in their possession; *ni* is used if the hearer has some doubts concerning the book being good, while the speaker knows that it is good.

The distribution and the semantic interpretations of the copulas (*to*, *du* and *ni*), as described here, remain the same in the past tense.

The choice of the copulas *to* and *du* with honorific subjects in the copula constructions is, on the other hand, determined by the animacy of the subject. In non-experiencer subject copula constructions, *to-ʃ* occurs with animate subjects and *du-ʃ* occurs with inanimate subjects. The semantic interpretation of *ni* with honorific subjects remains the same as with non-honorific subjects (see above).

(167) *sudeʃ   ʃare   to-ʃ / *du-ʃ*
       i.name(F) beautiful.F COP-3H
       'Sudesh is beautiful.'

(168) *sudeʃ   ʃare   to-ke-ʃ / *du-ge-ʃ*
       i.name(F) beautiful.F COP-PST-3H
       'Sudesh was beautiful.'

(169) *do-go:-nu   gas-o: dam du-ge(-ʃ) / *to-ke(-ʃ)*
       3-PL-PL.POSS garment-PL good COP-PST(-3H)
       'Their clothes were good.' (With inanimate subjects *du* is permitted.)

(170) *ki-n   gas-o: dam du-ge(-ʃ) / *to-ke(-ʃ)*
       2H-POSS garment-PL good COP-PST(-3H)
       'Your clothes were good.' (With inanimate subjects *du* is permitted.)

Tables 21–23 present the Kinnauri copula paradigms in the past, present and future tenses in the declaratives. Here we can see the distribution of the copulas as well as the distribution of the subject indexing markers. As we can see in these paradigms, while the copula *du* takes the past tense marker *-ge* and *-gjo* (*du-ge*, *du-gjo*), the other copula *to* takes the past tense markers *-ke* and *-kjo* (*to-ke*, *to-kjo*). As we saw in Section 2.3.2 above, the past tense marker *-kjo* occurs with a sub-set of verbs where the verb-stem historically had a final *-d*. Since the copula *to* also takes the past tense marker *-kjo*, it is possible that the copula *to* historically had a stem-final *-d*.

TABLE 21   Kinnauri copula paradigm (declaratives): Past tense

Person	SG	PL
1	*to-ke-k*	*to-ke-tʃ* (DU, PLE), *to-ke-me* (PLI)
2NH	*to-ke-n*	*to-ke-n(-oː)* (DU, PL)
2H	*to-ke-ɲ*	*to-ke-tʃ* (DU, PL)
3NH	*to-ke, du-ge, to-kjo, du-gjo*	*to-ke, du-ge, to-kjo, du-gjo* (DU, PL)
3H	*to-ke-ʃ, du-ge-ʃ*	*to-ke-ʃ (-oː), du-ge-ʃ (-oː)* (DU, PL)
3DU.H		*to-ke-suŋ, du-ge-suŋ* (DU), *ni*

TABLE 22   Kinnauri copula paradigm (declaratives): Present tense

Person	SG	PL
1	*to-k*	*to-tʃ* (DU, PLE), *tonne*[80] (PLI)
2NH	*to-n*	*to-n(-oː)* (DU, PL)
2H	*to-ɲ*	*to-tʃ* (DU, PL)
3NH	*to, du, ni*	*to, du, ni* (DU, PL)
3H	*du-ʃ, to-ʃ, ni*	*to-ʃ(-oː), du-ʃ(-oː), ni* (DU, PL)
3DU.H		*to-suŋ, du-suŋ, ni* (DU, PL)

TABLE 23   Kinnauri copula paradigm (declaratives): Future tense

Person	SG	PL
1	*ni-tə-k*	*ni-ti-tʃ* (DU, PLE), *ni-te* (DU, PLI)
2NH	*ni-tə-n*	*ni-ta*[81]*-n(oː)* (DU, PL)
2H	*ni-ti-ɲ*	*ni-ti-tʃ* (DU, PL)
3NH	*ni-to*	*ni-to(-goː)* (DU, PL)
3H	*ni-ti-ʃ*	*ni-ti-ʃ(-oː)* (DU, PL)
3DU.H		*ni-ti-suŋ* (DU), *ni* (DU, PL)

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80   *to-me* is not acceptable here.
81   This suffix is also frequently realized as *-tə*.

Although the occurrence of the copula is not obligatory in declaratives, it occurs rather frequently.

(171)   *tsʰetsats-u na:maŋ laṭeserzaŋ*
        girl-POSS name   i.name
        'The girl's name (was) Latiserzang.'

(172)   *toro   ta   ama   dam   to-ʃ*
        today FOC mother good COP-3H
        'Today mother is (feeling) good.'

While the copula *du* is not acceptable in declaratives with honorific human subjects, it is permitted in the corresponding interrogative sentences with (honorific) subjects:

(173)   *boa   kim-o   to-ʃ / *du-ʃ*
        father house-LOC COP-3H
        'Father is at home' (Both when the speaker has seen him at home and when the speaker draws inference.)

(174)   *boa   kim-o   du-a / to-a / to-ʃ-a / du-ʃ-a*
        father house-LOC COP-Q   COP-3H-Q
        'Is father at home?'

(175)   *ba:dur   kim-o   du-a / to-a*
        (Nepali.)farm.hand house-LOC COP-Q
        'Is the Nepali worker at home?'

(176)   *ki-n   baja-ts   kim-o   du-a / ?to-a / to-ʃ-a / du-ʃ-a*
        2SG.H-POSS brother-DIM house-LOC COP-Q   COP-3H-Q
        'Is your brother at home?'

In possessive constructions while the copula *to* is preferred with human subjects, the copula *du* is also acceptable among equals. This happens also with third person honorific subjects.

(177)   *aŋ   ʧʰaŋ dam   to / du / to-ʃ / du-ʃ*
        1SG.NNOM child good COP.PRS COP.PRS-3H
        'My son is good.'

(178) *ki-n*   *ama-boa*   *dam to-ke-ʃ / du-ge-ʃ / du-ge*
       2SG.H-POSS mother-father good COP-PST-3H   COP-PST
       'Your parents were good.'

(179) *ki-n*   *ʧaʰŋ-o: dam du-ge / to-ke*[82]
       2SG.H-POSS child-PL good COP-PST
       'Your children are good.'

(180) *do-go:-nu*   *ʧaʰŋ-o: dam to-ke-ʃ / du-ge-ʃ / to-ke / du-ge*
       3-PL-PL.POSS child-PL good COP-PST-3H   COP-PST
       'Their children are good.'

(181) *ki-n*   *kui ruʣa du / to /   *du-ʃ / *to-ʃ*
       2SG.H-POSS dog old   COP.PRS COP.PRS-3H
       'Your dog is old.'

Whether the object is honorific or nonhonorific (e.g. difference between a reli-
gious book and a fiction book) is not a significant factor in the choice of the
copula. As we can see below the copula choice remains the same with both a
religious and a non-religious book.

(182) *aŋ*   *kata:b dam to / du /   *to-ʃ * / du-ʃ*
       1SG.NNOM book   good COP.PRS COP.PRS-3H
       'My book (fiction) is good.'

(183) *aŋ*   *pothi   dam du / to /   *to-ʃ * / du-ʃ*
       1SG.NNOM religious.book good COP.PRS COP.PRS-3H
       'My religious book is good.'

Similarly, the copula choice is not sensitive to if the information which the lis-
tener receives is new to the listener or not.

(184) *aŋ*   *dəŋ (hodo)   kitab to / *du*
       1SG.NNOM COM (DEM.DIST.NVIS) book COP.PRS
       'I have that book.' (This occurs regardless of whether the listener knows
       which book is being referred to.)

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82   *du-ge* is preferred.

(185) aŋ   dən id kinori ʃol   to / *du / *to-ʃ / *du-ʃ
      1SG.NNOM COM one kinnauri shawl COP.PRS COP.PRS-3H
      'I have a kinnauri shawl.' (This occurs regardless of whether the listener
      knows which shawl is being referred to.)

4.5 *Non-Copula Constructions*

4.5.1   Non-Copula Constructions without Auxiliaries

The indexing markers are already described above. Here we will describe the
tense distinction. In this finite verb structure a future and past tense distinction
is made. This non-copula construction does not occur in the present tense.[83]

4.5.1.1   *Future Tense*

The future tense markers (*-a/-ta, -i/-ti, -o/-to*) and their distribution here are
the same as in the copula constructions (see Tables 23 and 26 above). The future
tense marker *-a/-ta* occurs with 1SG, 2SG.NH and 2PL.NH subjects. *-a* occurs with
verb stems ending in *tʃ* or *ʃ* and *-ta* elsewhere.

(186) pan-ts-i   potʃ-a-k
      grinding.stone-DIM-EMP search-FUT-1SG
      '(I) will search for a grinding.stone.'

(187) gə   ta tseik-u lo-ta-k
      1SG.NOM FOC all-DAT tell-FUT-1SG
      'I will tell everyone.'

(188) ka   tʃʰə gja:-ta-n
      2SG.NH what want-FUT-2SG.NH
      'What do you want?'

As is the case in the copula construction, the future tense marker *-i/-ti* occurs,
here, too, with 1PL.EXCL, 2SG.H, 3SG.H and 3PL.H. *-i* occurs with verb stems end-
ing in *-tʃ* or *ʃ*, and *-ti* elsewhere.

(189) niŋo ham   bjo-ti-tʃ
      1PLE where go-FUT-2DU/PL.H
      'Where will we go?'

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83   A similar situation is found in some IA languages such as Hindi.

(190) ʤo   ki   ʧʰə   ba:taŋ   ʃe-ti-ɲ
       DEM.PROX 2SG.H what   talk (N) SEND-FUT-2H
       'What are you saying to her!? (to express astonishment)'

(191) dogo:[84] ra:ʤgadi-u   den ma-toʃ-i-ʃ
       3PL   throne-POSS on   NEG-sit-FUT-3H
       'He will not sit on the throne.'

(192) jumed   tʰas-ti-ʃ
       mother.in.law hear-FUT-3H
       '(Your) mother-in-law will hear (the noise).'

The future tense marker *-o/-to* occurs with 3SG.NH and 3PL.NH subjects. *-o* occurs with verb stems ending in *-ʧ* or *-ʃ* and *-to* elsewhere.

(193) ŋa   ʧʰoŋ-o: rəŋ   ʃadi   haʧ-o
       five husband-PL COM   wedding become-FUT
       '(Dropadi) will marry with five husbands.'

(194) ʤo-s   kʰou ke-to
       3SG-ERG food give.1/2O-FUT
       'S/He will give (you) food.'

(195) baniŋ ʤəg-to
       pot   break-FUT
       'The pot will break.'

(196) baniŋ-o: ʤəg-to
       pot-PL   break-FUT
       'The pots will break.'

In addition, a future marker *-e/-te* occurs in narrative text with 1DU subjects. *-e* occurs after the middle voice marker *-ʃ*,[85] while *-te* occurs with transitive verb forms. It has a cohortative ('let's') interpretation.[86]

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84 The plural pronominal form is being used here to refer to a singular person (*Bharat* 'a mythical character in Ramayana') as a marker of respect.

85 The middle voice is realized here as *-ʃ*, and never as *-ʃi*.

86 *-e* in this position can also have the past tense interpretation. E.g. *sa-ʃ-e* can mean both [wake.up-MDL-CHRT] 'Let's wake up!' and [wake.up-MDL-PST] '(s/he) woke up (on her/his own)'.

(197) *dʒanekaŋ bjo-mu ʈu-jaː-ʃ-e*
       wedding go-INF get.ready-TR-MDL-CHRT
       'Let's get ready for the wedding.'

(198) *dʒanekaŋ bjo-mu ʧʰaŋ-u   ʈu-jaː-te*
       wedding go-INF child-DAT get.ready-TR-CHRT
       'Let's get the child ready for the wedding.'

(199) *ʃel-ʃ-e*
       smear-MDL-CHRT
       'Let's smear oil!'[87]

(200) *tete-pəŋ   telaŋ ʃel-te*
       grandfather-DAT oil   smear-CHRT
       'Let's smear some oil on grandfather!'

4.5.1.2 *Past Tense*

The past tense markers which occur in this finite verb structure are: *-ge/-gi/ -ke/-ki, -gjo/-kjo, -a/-ja, -gjə, -e, -o* and Ø. They are grouped here in three sets: Set 1: *-ge/-gi/-ke/-ki, -gjo/-kjo*, and Set 2: *-o, -a/-ja, -e, Ø* and Set *3: -gjə.*

Set 1 occurs in both copula and non-copula constructions, where *-gjo/-kjo* occurs with third person (SG, PL) non-honorific subjects.[88]

The *k*-initial allomorphs in Set 1 appear after voiceless consonants and also in some other contexts, notably in verbs whose infinitives end in *-nnu*. For example, *bə-kjo, bə-ki-ʃ* (*bəd-o* 'come-prog', *bənnu* 'to come'), *sa-kjo* (*sad-o* [kill-PROG], *sannu* 'to kill').

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87 This could mean that they smear oil onto one another. It can also occur in a context where the smearing of oil is presented as a group activity.

88 *-gjo* occurs in Kanashi, too. In the following IA languages we have found *-gjo* as a (remote) past tense/participle: In Hadoti, an IA language spoken in Rajasthan (Dwivedi 2012), *-gjo* functions as the remote past participle. *-gjo* in Hadoti inflects for gender and number (*-gjo* (M), *-gi* (F)). E.g. *khagjo* [ate.M.SG], *khagja* [ate.M.PL], *khagji* [ate.F.SG], *khagje* [ate.F.PL]. In Hadoti the past participle (i.e., non-remote past) markers are *-to* (M)/*-ti* (F). Marwari, too, has *-gjo* in past tense (e.g. *margjɔ* '(he) died', *dʒalgjɔ* 'got burnt'). It is very likely that the past tense interpretation in such languages is a grammaticalized function of the past form of the verb 'go' in Hindi: *gajaa* 'went'. Unlike Hindi, in these languages the forms end in *-o/-ɔ*. In terms of its form and function, *-gjo* shows similarities with *-gjo* in Kinnauri. But in Kinnauri and Kanashi it does not inflect for gender. Another possible IA alternative could be the IA/Hindi *kijaa* 'did' as the source of this past tense marker *-kjo/-gjo*. If this hypothesis holds, the influence is from IA to Kinnauri/Kanashi.

Further, the past tense marker in non-copula constructions is always followed by the honorific marker *-ʃ*. The forms without the honorific marker are unacceptable (e.g. *lo-ke [say-PST] but *lo-ki-ʃ* is acceptable, *kar-ge [bring.1/2O-PST], but *kar-gi-ʃ* is acceptable, *taŋ-ge [observe-PST] but *taŋ-gi-ʃ* is acceptable).

-gi (not *-ge*) is always used before the 3H indexing marker and *-ki* (not *-ke*) in some lexically conditioned cases, notably in verbs whose infinitives end in *-nnu* (e.g. *toʃi-gi-ʃ* [sit-PST-3H]; *stuk-ki-ʃ* [push-PST-3H], *stugmu* 'to push'; *ʣok-ki-ʃ* [buy-PST-3H], *ʣogmu* 'to buy').

When the verb stem ends with a nasal, the consonant of the past tense marker (*-g/-k*) is not always articulated explicitly in fast speech (e.g. *paːŋ-i-ʃ* [build-PST-3H]).

The Set 2 and Set 3 past tense markers occur only in the non-copula construction. The Set 2 past tense markers *-a/-ja, -o, Ø* occur with all persons and numbers. Their distribution is complementary. Some verbs (e.g. *ʧimu* 'to wash') only take the past tense marker *-o* whereas other verbs (e.g. *bjomu* 'to go', *ʣaːmu* 'to eat', *toʃimu* 'to sit') only permit Ø as their past tense marker (e.g. *bjo-k* [go-1SG]).

Table 24 illustrates Set 1 and Set 2 past tense markers (see in the text below for a description of Set 3). The Set 1 finite verb forms are illustrated here with 3SG.NH and 3SG.H (in this order, see column 2). It shows that all verbs permit both past tense makers of this set. The Set 2 finite verb forms are illustrated here with the 1SG, 3SG.NH and 3SG.H subject indexing markers (in this order). As we see here a verb permits either the past tense marker Ø (column 3), *-o* (column 4) or *-a/-ja* (column 5).

TABLE 24   Set 1 and Set 2 past tense markers

Infinitive form	Set 1:	Set 2: Ø	Set 2: -o	Set 2: -a/-ja
	-gjo/-kjo (3SG.NH), *-ge/-gi/-ke/-ki* (3SG.H)	(1SG, 3SG.NH, 3SG.H)		
bjomu 'to go'	*bjo-gjo, bjo-gi-ʃ*	*bjo-k, bjo, bjo-ʃ*		
vannu 'to laugh'	*va-kjo, va-ki-ʃ*	*va-k, va, va-ʃ*		
ʣaːmu 'to eat'	*ʣaː-gjo, ʣaː-ge-ʃ*	*ʣaː-k, ʣaː, ʣaː-ʃ*		
ʧimu 'to wash'	*ʧi-gjo, ʧi-ge-ʃ*		*ʧi-o-k, ʧi-o, ʧi-o-ʃ*	
ʧemu 'to write'	*ʧe-gjo, ʧe-ge-ʃ*		*ʧe-o-k, ʧe-o, ʧe-o-ʃ*	
taŋmu 'to observe'	*taŋ-gjo, taŋ-ge-ʃ*		*taŋ-o-k, taŋ-o, taŋ-o-ʃ*	
karmu 'to bring'	*kar-gjo, kar-ge-ʃ*			*kar-a-k, kar-a, kar-a-ʃ*

When the finite verb has the object indexing marker *-tʃ*, *-e* occurs as the Set 2 past tense marker.

(201) *tʃʰaŋ-is   tsʰetsats-u kul-o*
       boy-ERG girl-DAT   beat-PST
       'The boy beat the girl.'

(202) *tʃʰaŋ-is   aŋ-u   kul-tʃ-e*
       boy-ERG 1SG-DAT beat-1/2O-PST
       'The boy hit me.'

(203) *ra:m-is   tsʰetsats-u ar-ja:-ʃ*
       i.name-ERG girl-DAT   call-TR-3H
       'Ram called the girl.'

(204) *ra:m-is   aŋ-u   ar-ja:-tʃ-e-ʃ*
       i.name-ERG 1SG-DAT call-TR-1/2O-PST-3H
       'Ram called me.'

Similarly, when the verb stem has the middle voice marker *-ʃi* (see Section 4.1.3.3), *-e* functions as the past tense marker.

(205) *sjano-go: tʃʰuk-ʃ-e-ʃ*
       o.person-PL meet-MDL-PST-H
       '(Those) old people met (each other).'

As we saw earlier, both Set 1 and Set 2 past tense markers are permitted with third person subjects. Their distribution is evidentially determined. With non-honorific subjects the Set 1 past tense markers (*-ge/-gi/-ke/-ki* and *-gjo/-kjo*) occur when the speaker has not seen with their own eyes that which is being described. The Set 2 past tense markers (*-o, -a/-ja, -e, Ø*) occur, on the other hand, when the speaker saw with their own eyes that which is being described.

This distinction holds also with third person honorific subjects. The Set 2 marker occurs when the speaker has direct knowledge—having seen it themselves; but if the speaker does not have direct knowledge, the Set 1 past tense marker *-ge* occurs instead (compare 206 and 207).

(206) *lama:dʒi kim-o   bjo-ʃ*
       lama.H   house-LOC go-H
       'The honorable lama went home. (Direct knowledge)'

(207)   *lama:ʥi kim-o   bjo-gi-ʃ*
        lama.H   house-LOC   go-PST-H
        'The honorable lama went home. (Indirect knowledge)'

The Set 3 past tense marker *-gjə* occurs with subjects in all persons (e.g. *ʣa:-gjə-n* [eat-PST-2SG.NH], *bjo-gjə-n* [go-PST-2SG.NH], *va-gjə-ʃ* [laugh-PST-3H], *tʃi-gjə-k* [wash-PST-1SG], *tʃe-gjə-k* [write-PST-1SG], *taŋ-gjə-k* [observe-PST-1SG], *kər-gjə-k* [bring-PST-1SG], *kul-gjə* [beat-PST], *tʰuk-ʃi-gjə-ʃ* [meet-MDL-PST-3H], *ar-ja:-tʃi-gjə* [call-TR-1/2O-PST] for example). It is also realized as *-gji* with the 3H subject indexing marker. It expresses that something was contrary to expectations. For instance, if the speaker first believes that s/he has not brought X, or an interlocutor expresses doubts about this, and it then turns out that the speaker in fact has brought X, s/he can use *-gjə* to convey this: *kər-gjə-k* [bring-PST-1SG] 'I did bring (it)'.

4.5.2   Auxiliary Construction
4.5.2.1   *Auxiliaries*
In this finite structure *to* and *du* (originating in copulas) function as auxiliaries (glossed here as [AUX]). The auxiliary carries the tense and the subject indexing markers, while the aspect marker and object indexing marker is affixed to the main verb. Kinnauri makes a three-way aspectual distinction: perfective, habitual and progressive.

The auxiliaries *to* and *du* occur with all persons, numbers and aspects in the finite verb structure V(-O.IDX)-ASP (AUX(-TNS)-IDX). Their occurrence is, however, not obligatory. Unlike copula constructions, in non-copula constructions *du* (along with *to*) occurs as an auxiliary also with first and second person subjects (210–214), apparently without any change in meaning (including if the duration of an event is or is not in focus).

(208)   *gə   kamaŋ lan-o   du-k*
        1SG.NOM work(N) make-PROG   AUX.PRS-1SG
        'I am working.'

(209)   *sonam-is   id   tʰar   sa~sa   du-ge*
        i.name-ERG one   leopard kill~PFV AUX-PST
        'Sonam killed a leopard.'

(210)   *gə   jal~jal   jag-o   du-k / to-k*
        1SG.NOM tire~PFV sleep-PROG   AUX-1SG
        'Having gotten tired, I am sleeping'

(211) *niŋo baʣa:r-o   bjo-u   du-ʧ / to-ʧ*
       1PLE market-LOC go-PROG AUX-1DU/PL.EXCL
       'We are going to the market.'

(212) *ki   baʣa:r-o   bjo-u   du-ɲ / to-ɲ*
       2SG.H market-LOC go-PROG AUX-2SG.H
       'You are going to the market.'

(213) *gə   jal~jal jag-o   du-ge-k / to-ke-k*
       1SG.NOM tire~PFV sleep-PROG AUX-PST-1SG
       'Having gotten tired, I was sleeping.'

(214) *ka   kənoriŋ toʃ-o   du-ge-n / to-ke-n*
       2SG.NH p.name sit-PROG AUX-PST-2SG.NH
       'You were living in Kinnaur.'

(215) *hodo   kui maʈiŋ-u   den din~din du / to*
       DEM.DIST.NVIS dog floor-POSS on lie~PFV AUX.PRS
       'That dog has lain down on the floor.'

However, in the following two instances some traces of evidentiality associated with the copulas *to* and *du* can be inferred from remarks made by a language consultant. In (216), according to the language consultant *to-ke* occurs in this example when the speaker has the direct knowledge that Tanzin used to live in Kinnaur. This could, for example, be because the speaker, too, used to live in Kinnaur then. In example (217) *du* is preferred when the subject is not known to the speaker. But in the previously given examples the same language consultant refused to entertain any such interpretation in the choice of the auxiliaries.

(216) *tanʣin kənoriŋ toʃ-o   du-ge / to-ke*
       i.name p.name sit-PROG AUX-PST
       'Tanzin was living in Kinnaur.'

(217) *sonam jal~jal jag-o   du-ʃ / to-ʃ*
       i.name tire~PFV sleep-PROG AUX.PRS-3H
       'Having gotten tired, Sonam is sleeping.'

The object indexing marker has already been described. Its distribution in this construction remains the same as described above. In the following sections we will describe the distribution of the various aspect markers.

4.5.2.2   *Perfective Aspect*

The perfective aspect is marked by *-is* or reduplication of the final syllable of the verb (e.g. *taŋ~taŋ* [observe~PFV], cf. *taŋmu* 'to observe'). Their distribution is phonologically conditioned. *-is* occurs when the verb ends in *-tʃ* or *-ʃ*. Reduplication occurs in all other cases.

(218) *sonam-is   me   id   kətab huʃ-is   du*
         i.name-ERG yesterday one book read-PFV AUX.PRS
         'Sonam has read a book yesterday.'

(219) *sonam-is   ra:m   ʃi-mu   ba:taŋ tʰas~tʰas du*
         i.name-ERG i.name die-INF talk(N) hear~PFV AUX.PRS
         'Sonam has heard the news of Ram's death.'

Most Kinnauri verbs are monosyllabic. Thus, the perfective is the reduplicated form of the whole verb stem. However, when the verb stem is longer, the perfective is formed by reduplicating the final syllable of the verb stem (compare 219 and 220) (see Section 4.1.3.4.1 for a possible exception).

    Two verbs, *lannu* 'to do, make' and *rannu* 'give', permit two variants each in PFV: *lan~lan ~ la~la*; *ran~ran ~ ra~ra*. According to language consultants there is no difference in meaning and this is not a dialectal difference either.

(220) *gə   dilli   bjo-mu suntse~tse to-k*
         1SG.NOM p.name go-INF think~PFV AUX-1SG
         'I have thought of going to Delhi.'

The perfective aspect occurs in finite clauses with all tenses and numbers. It also occurs in four non-final constructions. First, it occurs in non-final clauses in the clause chain construction (see example 221). Second, it occurs as the main verb in a complex verb construction (e.g., 222).

(221) *do kətab huʃ-is   kʰou dʑa:~dʑa: jag-o*
         3SG book read-PFV food eat~PFV sleep-PST
         'S/He read a book, ate food and (then) slept.'

(222) *hudu   dak-tʃ   baniŋ dʑəg~dʑəg   bjo*
         DEM.DIST.NVIS.POSS near-ABL pot   break(INTR)~PFV GO.PST
         'The pot got broken through him.'

Third, it also occurs as a non-final clause where it has a temporal adverbial interpretation:

(223) gə-s   mi-pəŋ   gitʰaŋ lan~lan   nipi   taŋ-o-k
       1SG-ERG man-DAT song   make~PFV SUBO observe-PST-1SG
       'I looked at the man after the man sang a song.'
       'I looked at the man after I sang a song.'

Fourth, it also functions as the past participle verb form (compare 224 and 225).

(224) raːm   bə~bə
       i.name come~PFV
       'Ram came.'

(225) dilli-tʃ   bə~bə   mi
       p.name-ABL come~PFV man
       'The man who came from Delhi'

4.5.2.3 *Habitual Aspect*

Habitual aspect in Kinnauri is marked by *-id/-ts*. *-id* occurs after *-tʃ* or *-ʃ* (verb-stem final or the object indexing marker); *-ts* occurs elsewhere.

(226) gə   djaːro   tʃʰaŋ-oː-nu   taŋ-ts   du-k
       1SG.NOM every.day boy-PL-DAT.PL observe-HAB AUX-1SG
       'I look at the boys every day.'

(227) niŋo hojo   kim-o   toʃ-id
       1PLE DEM.PROX house-LOC sit-HAB
       'We live in this house.'

The habitual marker describes non-referential situations (229, 231), while the progressive aspect marker describes specific, referential situation (228, 230).

(228) sonam jal~jal   jag-o
       i.name tire~PFV sleep-PROG
       'Having gotten tired, Sonam is sleeping (right now).'

(229) sonam jal~jal   jag-ts
       i.name tire~PFV sleep-HAB
       'Having gotten tired, Sonam sleeps (= has the habit of falling asleep).'

(230) tsʰetsʰats gas-oː   tɕi-o   to-ʃ
       girl   garment-PL wash-PROG AUX-3H
       'The girl is washing clothes (just now).'

(231) tsʰetsʰats gas-oː   tɕi-ts   to-ʃ
       girl   garment-PL wash-HAB AUX-3H
       'The girl washes clothes (e.g. every day).'

As was the case with the perfective aspect marker, the habitual aspect marker, too, has certain additional functions. It functions as the present participle marker[89] (e.g. 232–233) and as the agentive nominalizer (e.g. 234–235).

(232) gə-s   gitʰaŋ lan-ts   mi-pəŋ   taŋ-o-k
       1SG-ERG song   make-HAB man-DAT observe-PST-1SG
       'I looked at the man while he (= the man) was singing.'
       'I looked at the man while I was singing.'

(233) gə-s   sita   utɕ-id   taŋ-o-k
       1SG-ERG i.name sulk-HAB observe-PST-1SG
       'I saw Sita sulking.'

(234) jag-ts [jakts] tɕʰaŋ-oː
       sleep-HAB   child-PL
       'Children who are sleeping'

(235) maʈiŋ-u   den toʃ-id   tɕʰaŋ
       floor-POSS on sit-HAB child
       'The child who is sitting on the floor'

4.5.2.4   *Progressive Aspect*
The progressive aspect marker is -*o*. The verb stem with the progressive aspect can optionally be followed by an auxiliary (*to*(-IDX) or *du*(-IDX)). Examples are illustrated here with the auxiliary *du*.

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89   *ʃi-ts-oː* [die-HAB-PL] occurs as a frozen expression to refer to those who have died, but whose souls have not rested completely (their presence is felt by their living relatives in the form of illness/difficult times).

V (INF)	V-PROG AUX.PRS	
tʃʰomu	*tʃʰo-o du*	[tan-PROG AUX.PRS]
sumu	*su-o du*	[bathe(TR)-PROG AUX.PRS]
gvaʃimu	*gvaʃi-o du*	[jump-MDL-PROG AUX.PRS]
grumu	*gru-o du*	[burn(INTR)-PROG AUX.PRS]
hunnu	*hun-o du*	[teach-PROG AUX.PRS]
kʰerja:mu	*kʰer-j-o du*	[chase-TR-PROG AUX.PRS]
nimu	*ni-o du* [nijo du]	[stay-PROG AUX.PRS]
ʈuja:mu	*ʈu-j-o du*	[make-TR-PROG AUX.PRS]
pidʑja:mu	*pidʑ-j-o du*	[pray-TR-PROG AUX.PRS]
tolja:mu	*tol-j-o du*	[weigh-TR-PROG AUX.PRS]
ʃoja:mu	*ʃo-j-o du*	[sweep-TR-PROG AUX.PRS]
tʃimu	*tʃi-o du*	[wash-PROG AUX.PRS]
tremu	*tre-o du*	[knead-PROG AUX.PRS]
arja:mu	*ar-j-o du*	[invite-TR-PROG AUX.PRS]
najpja:mu	*nap-j-o du*	[measure-TR-PROG AUX.PRS]
rokʰja:mu	*rokʰ-j-o du*	[prevent-TR-PROG AUX.PRS]
tʃemu	*tʃe-o du*	[write-PROG AUX.PRS]
kʰimu, kʰjamu	*kʰi-o du*	[see-PROG AUX.PRS]
imu	*i-o du*	[ask-PROG AUX.PRS]
buʈrja:mu	*buʈr-j-o du*	[rub-TR-PROG AUX.PRS]
kulugmu	*kulug-o du*	[fold-PROG AUX.PRS]
buʈrja:ʃimu	*buʈr-ja:-ʃ-o du*	[rub-TR-PROG AUX.PRS]
ɖabʃimu	*ɖab-ʃ-o du*	[pull-MDL-PROG AUX.PRS]
sikja:ʃimu	*sik-ja:-ʃ-o du*	[move-TR-PROG AUX.PRS]
tʃʰukʃimu	*tʃʰuk-ʃ-o du*	[meet-MDL-PROG AUX.PRS]
legtʃimu	*leg-tʃ-o du*	[burn-MDL-PROG AUX.PRS]

(236) *tsʰetsʰats gas-o: tʃi-o to-ʃ*
  girl garment-PL wash-PROG AUX-3H
  'The girl is washing clothes.'

(237) *aŋ-u əkʰa ker-o du-ge*
  1SG-DAT pain give.1/2O-PROG AUX-PST
  'I was having pain.'

With a restricted set of verbs the progressive aspect marker is realized as *-u*. In some of these instances the regular progressive aspect marker is also attested in our material. Examples, *dzo-u* [eat-PROG]; *to-u* [keep-PROG] ~ *phjo(-o)*, *pʰjo-u* [take.away-PROG]; *bjo-u ~ bo-o* [go-PROG].

The progressive aspect marker, like other aspect markers, also occurs in some non-final clauses. First, it functions in some cases in a participial usage as a noun modifier indicating an ongoing action.

(238) *ʃi-o*   *mi*
       die-PROG man
       'The dying man (= he is not dead yet; he is in the process of dying)'

But in other instances the progressive aspect is not possible, and the habitual aspect marker occurs instead. For example,

(239) *krab-ts / *krab-o*   *tʃʰaŋ*
       cry-HAB / cry-PROG boy
       'the crying boy'

(240) *jag-ts / *jag-o*   *tʃʰaŋ*
       sleep-HAB / sleep-PROG boy
       'the boy who is sleeping', 'the boy who sleeps'

(241) *maʈiŋ-u*   *den toʃ-id / *toʃ-o tʃʰaŋ*
       floor-POSS on sit-HAB   child
       'The child who is sitting on the floor'

(242) *gə-s*   *gitʰaŋ lan-ts / *lan-o*   *mi-pəŋ   taŋ-o-k*
       1SG-ERG song make-HAB / make-PROG man-DAT observe-PST-1SG
       'I looked at the man while he (= the man) was singing.'
       'I looked at the man while I was singing.'

Second, it also occurs as a non-final clause verb in the clause chain construction, where it describes temporal overlap.

(243) *suradʒ-is*   *krab-o=gi*   *tseik rəŋ-o*
       i.name-ERG cry-PROG=EMP all   tell.1/2O-PST
       'Crying, Suraj told (me) everything.'

The progressive marker is also used for the immediate future:

(244)   *gə*   *hun bjo-u / *bjo-ts   to-k*
        1SG.NOM now go-PROG / go-HAB AUX-1SG
        'I am going now'

(245)   *gə*   *nasom   hju taim-o   bus-o   toʃ-o*
        1SG.NOM tomorrow now time-LOC bus-LOC sit-PROG
        ni-ta-k
        AUX-FUT-1SG
        'Tomorrow by this time I'll be in the bus'

In some instances the time-span of an event is longer than the speech-time.
In the following example the progressive marker occurs in a situation which
could be taken as a habitual description.

(246)   *gun-o   june no   baʣe ʣər-o   du / to-ʃ*
        winter-LOC sun nine time rise-PROG AUX.PRS / AUX.PRS-3H
        '(This year) during winter sun rises at nine o'clock'

While if we want to say 'during winters' (not a particular year's winter, but dur-
ing winter generally speaking), the habitual marker occurs instead.

(247)   *gun-o   june no   baʣe ʣər-ts   du / to-ʃ*
        winter-LOC sun nine time rise-IPFV AUX.PRS / AUX.PRS-3H
        'During winters the sun (normally) rises at nine o'clock'

4.6   *Negation*
4.6.1   Copula Negation
As Table 25 shows, the two negative copula forms in the present tense, are: (i)
ma-ni and (ii) NEG-IDX. The latter has a neutral negative interpretation, while
ma-ni has a contrastive interpretation. Like the copula *ni* in the declarative
clauses, *ma-ni* negates what the other person is claiming. Further, as in the
declarative clauses, in the negative construction too, it does not take any inflec-
tional ending.

   In the past tense, *matsʰ*, *ma-ke*-IDX, *ma-du-ge* and *ma-du-gjo* function as the
negative copula (equational, existential) forms. *ma-du-ge* occurs with third per-
son non-honorific subjects and *ma-ke*-IDX occurs with third person honorific
subjects as well as with first/second person subjects. Note that in *ma-ke*-IDX
[NEG-PST-IDX] there is no copula. One possible scenario could be that the cop-

ula *to* gets deleted in the negative copula constructions with non-3 subjects, but retains the past allomorph *-ke*, resulting in *ma-ke-*IDX (NEG-PST-IDX).

TABLE 25   Negation: Equational and existential copula (Present tense)

	SG	DU/PL
1	*ma-ni*	*ma-ni*
	ma-k	*ma-ʧ* (DU, EXCL)
		ma-me (INCL)
		**ma-suŋ*
2H	*ma-ni*	*ma-ni*
	ma-ɲ	*ma-ʧ*
		**ma-suŋ*
2NH	*ma-ni*	*ma-ni*
	ma-n	*ma-n(-oː)*
		**ma-suŋ*
3NH (animate, inanimate)	*ma-ni*	*ma-ni*
	ma-du	*ma-du*
	**ma-to*	**ma-to, *ma-suŋ*
3H (animate, inanimate)	*ma-ni*	*ma-ni*
	ma-ʃ	*ma-ʃ(-oː)*
	**ma-du-ʃ,*[90] **ma-to-ʃ*	*ma-suŋ* (H, DU)
		**ma-du-ʃ, *ma-to-ʃ*

(248)   *gə   kim-o   matsʰ /   ma-ke-k*
        1SG.NOM house-LOC NEG.COP.PST NEG-PST-1SG
        'I was not at home.'

(249)   *ka   kim-o   matsʰ /   ma-ke-n*
        2SG.NH house-LOC NEG.COP.PST NEG-PST-2SG.NH
        'You were not at home.'

(250)   *do kim-o   matsʰ /   ma-du-ge /   ma-du-gjo*
        3SG house-LOC NEG.COP.PST NEG-COP-PST NEG-COP-PST
        'S/He was not at home.'

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90   *ma-du-ʃ* occurs in the experiencer subject construction. For example, *do-goː-n(u) dukʰaŋ ma-du-ʃ* [3-PL-DAT.PL sad NEG-COP-3SG.H] 'They are not sad'.

(251) *do-go: kim-o   matsʰ /   ma-du-ge*
       3-PL   house-LOC NEG.COP.PST NEG-COP-PST
       'They were not at home.'

(252) *gə   raŋk matsʰ /   ma-ke-k*
       1SG.NOM tall NEG.COP.PST / NEG-PST-1SG
       'I was not tall.'

(253) *ka   raŋk matsʰ /   ma-ke-n*
       2SG.NH tall NEG.COP.PST / NEG-PST-2SG.NH
       'You were not tall.'

(254) *do   raŋk matsʰ /   ma-du-ge / ma-du-ɡjo*
       3SG tall NEG.COP.PST / NEG-COP-PST
       'S/He was not tall.'

(255) *do-go: raŋk matsʰ /   ma-du-ge / ma-du-ɡjo*
       3-PL   tall NEG.COP.PST / NEG-COP-PST
       'S/He was not tall.'

matsʰ also has a 'without' interpretation. It occurs in all tenses.

(256) *tsiːni matsʰ   tʃa(ː) to /   to-ke /   ni-to*
       sugar NEG.COP.PST tea   COP.PRS / COP-PST / COP-FUT
       'The tea is / was / will be without sugar.'

(257) *kʰou matsʰ   kim-o-tʃ   hala bjo   du-ɲ*
       food NEG.COP.PST house-LOC-ABL how go.PROG AUX-2SG.H
       'How are you leaving home without food.'

The negative copulas also occur in the following 'or not'-constructions.

(258) *kisi babu to-tʃ-a   ma-tʃ*
       2DU clerk COP-2PL.H-Q NEG-2PL.H
       'Are the two of you clerks or not?'

(259) *do kim-o   du-a   ma-du*
       3SG house-LOC COP.PRS-Q NEG-COP.PRS
       'Is he in the house or not?'

(260) *do babu du-ge-a   ma-du-ge*
       3SG clerk COP-PST-Q NEG-COP-PST
       'Was he a clerk or not?'

Table 26 summarizes the distribution of the negative copulas in the future tense.

TABLE 26   Equational and existential copula negation:
              Future tense

	SG	PL
1	*ma-ni-k*	*ma-ni-tʃ* (DU, EXCL)
		ma-ni-me (INCL)
2H	*ma-ni-ɲ*	*ma-ni-tʃ*
2NH	*ma-ni-n*	*ma-ni-n(-oː)*
3NH	*ma-ni-to*	*ma-ni-to*
3H	*ma-ni-ʃ*	*ma-ni-suŋ* (DU, H), *ma-ni-ʃ(-oː)*

4.6.2   Negation in Non-Copula Constructions
In the non-prohibitive non-copula constructions in Kinnauri, the negative marker is *ma-*. It occurs in all tenses and aspects. In the negative finite verb structure NEG-V(-O.IDX)(-TNS)-IDX, in most cases, there is no explicit tense marker when there is an indexing marker. Temporal interpretation is gathered from the context. There are some verbs which permit an explicit past tense marker. E.g. *ma-tuŋ-o-k* [NEG-drink-PST-1SG], but even with verbs such as these which allow the past tense marker, the alternative verb form with no past tense marker is also possible here. For example, *ma-tuŋ-k* [NEG-drink-1SG] can have a past as well as a future interpretation in appropriate context.

    In the finite verb structure V(-O.IDX)-ASP AUX(-TNS)(-IDX), *ma-* may be prefixed either to the main verb or to the auxiliary.

(261) *hun-nja tʃʰə-ts-i   ma-taː~taː   ker-o-n*
       now-day what-DIM-EMP NEG-keep~PFV GIVE-PST-2NH
       'Now there was nothing left.'

(262) *gə-s   sara   badzaːr dzog~dzog ma-ʃe-k*
       1SG-ERG whole market   buy~PFV   NEG-send-1SG
       'I did not buy the entire market.'

The negative marker *ma-* also occurs in non-final clauses.

(263)   *hasəl ma-jun-mig   dam ni-ts*
        fast   NEG-walk-NMLZ good stay-HAB
        'It is good not to walk fast.'

(264)   *ki   ma-kʰja~kʰja ba:te~te*
        2SG.H NEG-see~PFV speak~PFV
        'You spoke without having seen.'

Lastly, the negative marker occurs also in a frozen expression *ma-ni-ma*, roughly meaning 'otherwise'.

(265)   *ma-ni-ma   ta   ʃi-tə-k*
        NEG-STAY-NMLZ FOC die-FUT-1SG
        '(Give me food), Otherwise, (I) will die.'

The IA negative morpheme *na* occurs, at times, in natural discourse as a tag question.

(266)   *ki   ta   nasom   bjo-ti-ɲ   be   na*
        2SG.H FOC tomorrow go-FUT-2SG.H DSM NEG
        'You will go tomorrow, right?'

4.7   *Imperative and Prohibitive*
4.7.1   Imperative
The verb 'come' is the only verb that has two separate verb forms for non-imperative and imperative, namely, *bə* (NIMP) and *ʤi*[91] (IMP).

(267)   *bapu   pəŋ kʰja~kʰja ʤi-ri-ɲ*
        father DAT see~PFV come.IMP-IMP-2H
        '(After) having seen (our) father, (please) come (back)!'

Other verbs take one of the following inflectional endings (Saxena 2002):

(PROH-)V-IMP(-1/2O)   -IMP: *-riɲ* : *-iɲ/-ɲ* : *-iʧ/-ʧ* : *-ra* : *-o* : *-u* : Ø

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91   *ʤi* is realized as *ʤə* in the narratives when it is followed by the imperative marker *-ra* (i.e., *ʤə-ra*).

While most verbs permit the zero imperative marker (e.g. *bjo* [go.IMP],[92] *rəŋ* [tell.1/2O.IMP], *haled* [stroll/take.a.walk.IMP], *vad* [laugh.IMP], *sad* [kill.IMP], *ran* [give.IMP], *pa* [depart.IMP], *tuŋ* [drink.IMP], *pʰjo* [take.away.IMP], *pʰol* [tear.IMP], *gol* [tear.IMP]), a restricted set of verbs take *-o* or *-u* instead (e.g. *ni-ju* [stay-IMP], *kʰj-o* [see-IMP]). Note that verbs permit either the zero alternative or the *-o/-u* alternative (except for the verb *dʑi* [come.IMP] which does not allow either of the two alternatives). The occurrence of *-i* in the suffixes *-iɲ/-ɲ* and *-itʃ/-tʃ* is phonologically conditioned. It occurs when the verb stem ends with a consonant. The various inflectional endings are exemplified here:

	-riɲ	*-iɲ/-ɲ*	*-itʃ/-tʃ*	*-ra*	*Ø*
rannu 'to give'	*ran-riɲ*	*ran-iɲ*	*ran-itʃ*	*ran-ra*	*ran*
kemu [give.1/2O.INF]	*ke-riɲ*	*ke-ɲ*	*ke-tʃ*	*ke-ra*	*kjo* *ke
tʃemu 'to write'	*tʃe-riɲ*	*tʃe-ɲ*	*tʃe-tʃ*	*tʃe-ra*	*tʃjo* *tʃe
dʑaːmu 'to eat'	*dʑaː-riɲ*	*dʑaː-ɲ*	*dʑaː-tʃ*	*dʑaː-ra*	*dʑo*
lannu 'to make'	*lan-riɲ*	*lan-iɲ*	*lan-itʃ*	*lan-ra*	*lan*
pannu 'to depart'	*pa-riɲ*	*pa-iɲ*	*pa-itʃ*	*pa-ra*	*pa*
ʈʰismu 'to hit the ground'	*ʈʰis-riɲ*	*ʈʰis-iɲ*	*ʈʰis-itʃ*	*ʈʰis-ra*	*ʈʰis*
dʑi [COME.IMP]	*dʑi-riɲ*	*dʑi-ɲ*	*dʑi-tʃ*	*dʑi-ra*	*dʑi, *dʑo, *dʑu

The following examples illustrate the imperative verb inflectional suffixes.

(268) *hales ni-ma=le   taː~taː   taː-riɲ*
        how   stay-NMLZ=TOO keep~PFV KEEP-IMP
        '(The king wrote): "Whatever he is like, please keep (our son)."'

(269) *hode-rəŋ   aŋ-u   baːt-ja-dʑi-ri-tʃ*
        DEM.DIST.NVIS.LOC-COM 1SG-DAT talk-TR-1/2O-IMP-2PL
        '(When you get tired,) then call me.'

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92   In a small set of verbs, the zero-marked imperative is the same as one of the past verb
      forms with third person non-honorific subjects (*do bjo* [3SG go.PST] 'he went', *bjo* [go.IMP]
      'Go!'; *rakses-is pʰjo* [demon-ERG take.away.PST] 'The demon took away (the daughter)', *pʰjo*
      [take.away.IMP] 'take off!'). The distinction in function is indicated here by means of into-
      nation/prosody and the discourse context of the utterance. Further, while the verb form
      is often repeated while giving orders, this seldom occurs with declaratives in natural dis-
      course.

(270) *bjo-ɲ / bi-ɲ*[93]
       go-IMP
       '(Please) go!'

(271) *kʰou ta:~ta: to   dza:-ra*[94]
       food keep~PFV COP.PRS eat-IMP
       'The food is kept there. Eat (it)!'

(272) *kui-u   hara: ran*
       dog-DAT bone.PL give.IMP
       'Give the bones to the dog!'

-ɲ is the 2SG.H subject indexing marker and *-tʃ* is the 2PL.H subject indexing marker (see Section 4.2). In the imperative constructions *-tʃ* also occurs, at times, with singular subjects and in situations where the referent is a member of a group (e.g. while the direct referent is one sister, who, in this scene, is together with her other sisters).

(273) *pə   mi   ʃiŋ-o: kar-mu   bjo- tʃ id   aŋ   rig-o:*
       four man wood-PL bring-INF go-2PL one 1SG.NNOM louse-PL
       tsʰəgo:[95] *kʰja-mu / kʰi-mu*[96] *kim-o   toʃ-i-tʃ*
       whatnot see-INF   house-LOC sit-IMP-2PL
       '"Four (of you) go to take (bring) wood! One (of you) stay at home to see my lice, etc.!"'

The distribution of the imperative verb inflectional morphology reflects a complex interplay of a range of semantic and pragmatic factors. Variables such as honorificity, social hierarchy, cultural norms about displaying respect, relative age of interlocutors, and whether the utterance should be viewed as a concise instruction, a suggestion, an advice or a command are some determinant factors concerning the choice of the imperative markers (see Saxena 2007 for details).

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93 Dialectal difference.
94 When the verb stem ends with an *-r* before the imperative suffix *-ra*, the former is deleted. E.g. *ʃupa ibaraŋ pʰoʃa rəŋ ʃiŋo kara* 'in the evening bring a sackfull of deer meat and a sackfull of wood.' (*karmu* 'to bring').
95 *tsʰə-go:* [what-PL].
96 Dialectal difference.

The various imperative suffixes encode different points on the continuum. *-riɲ* is the most polite form of requesting (weak command) and Ø (zero) / *-o* / *-u* is the most "direct" form of command. There are examples which could be viewed both as an advice urging and as an instruction in the narrative data corpus. The choice of the imperative marker by the speaker seems to reflect the perspective which s/he takes in such cases.

An example illustrating the use of the imperative markers in Kinnauri narratives is presented below.[97] It illustrates the determinant role socio-cultural factors play in the choice of the imperative markers. In (274) we have two instances of the imperative markers (*bi-ɲ* and *lo-riɲ*).

The choice of two different types of imperatives within the same context by the same speaker (narrator of the story as well as the speaker in the story) illustrate how the socio-cultural and pragmatic values are discretely encoded in the choice of the grammatical markers in Kinnauri. In the Kinnauri speech community one may give instructions to one's sisters (even in respectful situations), whereas giving concise instructions command to (about) one's father normally is to be avoided.

(274) *jal~jal   lo-kjo   tseik-u   gaṭo-ts-(s)e: pəŋ bi-ɲ   bapu*
      tire~PFV tell-PST all-POSS small-DIM-CNTR.F DAT go-IMP father
      pəŋ lo-riɲ
      DAT say-IMP
      'Having gotten tired, they told the youngest (sister): "Please go, and tell (call) our father!"'

The imperative verb form is, at times, followed by (-)*le:* [lɛː].[98] It functions as a request marker.

(275) *pitaŋ toŋ-i-ɲ   le: baits-e*[99]
      door   open-IMP-SG.H REQUEST sister-VOCATIVE
      'Please open the door, sister!'

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97   This example represents the speech of the Brua village.

98   This *-le:* is distinct from the emphasis marker *-le*.

99   *-e* is an affectionate vocative marker which occurs with some kinship terms, e.g., *ʈʰaŋ-ts-e* [child/son-DIM-VOCATIVE], *douts-e* [o.sister-VOCATIVE], *ama-ts-e* [mother-DIM-VOCATIVE], *paːts-e* [grandchild-VOCATIVE], *beits-e* [younger.sibling-VOCATIVE]. It does not occur with other common nouns than kinship terms, nor with proper nouns.

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(276) *dim-le:*   *bo:ʈʰaŋ*
       close-REQUEST tree
       'Please, close (yourself), tree!'

4.7.2   Prohibitive

As the following examples illustrate, prohibitives in Kinnauri have the same structure as the imperatives, except for the additional prohibitive morpheme *tʰa-* which is prefixed to the verb.

       tʰa-V-riŋ
(277) *gə*   *tʃʰə* *da~da* *ʃi-ma*   *aŋ-u*   *tʰa-pog-tʃi-riŋ*
       1SG.NOM what fall~PFV die-NMLZ 1SG-DAT PROH-burn-1/2O-IMP
       'Irrespective of what happens to me, please don't burn me.'

       tʰa-V-tʃ / tʰa-V-itʃ
(278) *tʰa-ni-tʃ*
       PROH-stay-2PL.H
       'Don't stay (here)!'

       tʰa-V-iɲ / tʰa-V-ɲ
(279) *aŋ*   *ner-o*   *tʰa-dʑi-ɲ*
       1SG.NNOM near-LOC PROH-come.IMP-IMP
       'Don't come near me!'

(280) *ki-nu*   *rəŋ-o-k*   *tʰa-bjo-ɲ / tʰa-bi-ɲ*
       2SG.H-DAT.PL tell.1/2O-PST-1SG PROH-go-IMP
       '(I told) you "Don't go".'

       tʰa-V-ra
(281) *aŋ*   *tʃʰaŋ-o:* *tʰa-dʑa:-ra*
       1SG.NNOM son-PL   PROH-eat-IMP
       'Don't eat my sons!'

(282) *tʰa-dʑa:*
       PROH-eat
       'Don't eat!'

5   Clauses and Sentences

The most frequent word order in Kinnauri is SOV.

(283)   *gə   ta   tseik-u lo-ta-k*
        1SG.NOM FOC all-DAT tell-FUT-1SG
        'I will tell everyone.'

(284)   *do   rakses-is   ama-boa-nu   tʰəgai-a*
        DEM.DIST.NVIS demon-ERG father-mother-DAT.PL cheat.PST
        'That demon duped the parents.'

(285)   *ama   tʃʰaŋ-u   gas-o: ran-o-ʃ*
        mother child-DAT cloth-PL give-PST-3H
        'Mother gave the child clothes.'

(286)   *do-s   a:rti-pəŋ   seo   re-ʃ*
        3SG-ERG i.name-DAT apple sell-3H
        'He sold Aarti an apple.'

There are, however, also many instances where a varying word order is found.

(287)   *id   du-gjo   rudʑa-ts*[100]
        one COP-PST o.man-DIM
        '(There) was an old (pitiful) man.'

(288)   *kiʃ-u   baits-o:-nu   ta   rakses-is   dʑa:~dʑa:*
        2SG.H=two-POSS y.sibling-PL-DAT.PL FOC demon-ERG eat~PFV
        'The demon has eaten your sisters.'

5.1   *Experiencer Subjects*

As is the case with many South Asian languages, Kinnauri, too, has the so-called
experiencer subject (or *dative subject*) construction, where a dative marked
argument occurs with non-volitional verbs such as *porennu* 'to find', *gja:mu* 'to
like, to want', *tsalmu* 'to feel' and *tʰasmu* 'to hear'.

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100   *rudʑats* indicates a pitiful old man.

(289) *do-pəŋ   kətab por-e-kjo*
       3SG-DAT book find-INTR-PST
       'He found a book (accidentally).'

(290) *aŋ-u   tʰas-im   bəd-o   du / to /   *to-ʃ/*du-ʃ*
       1SG-DAT hear-NMLZ come-PROG AUX.PRS AUX.PRS-3H
       'I can hear.' (I am able to hear; it is possible for me to hear.)

The dative marked argument occurs in a variety of constructions. It occurs,
for example, in constructions which describe bodily conditions and emotional
states.

(291) *aŋ-u   əkʰa to / ?du /   *to-ʃ / *du-ʃ*
       1SG-DAT pain COP.PRS COP.PRS-3H
       'I have pain.'

(292) *ama   (-)pəŋ dukʰaŋ du-ʃ / *to-ʃ*
       mother (-)DAT sad   COP.PRS-3H
       'Mother is sad.'

It also occurs in the obligative construction.

(293) *do-pəŋ   ʤəŋ ma-bə-n   gja:-mig   du-ge / to-ke /*
       3SG-DAT here NEG-come-NMLZ want-NMLZ COP-PST
       *du-ge-ʃ / *to-ke-ʃ
       COP-PST-3H
       'He should not have come here.'

(294) *aŋ-u   ʤəŋ ma-bə-n   gja:-mig   to-ke / du-ge /*
       1SG-DAT here NEG-come-NMLZ want-NMLZ COP-PST
       *to-ke-ʃ *du-ge-ʃ
       COP-PST-3H
       'I shouldn't have come here.'

The experiencer subject occurs in copula constructions (e.g. [N-DAT pain(N)
COP]) as well as in non-copula constructions. The copula constructions take the
copulas *to* and *du*. The copulas here occur with all persons in past and present
tenses (see examples 291–294). This indicates that the experiencer subject con-
struction has a structural third person subject, since *du* normally occurs only
with third person subjects (see Section 4.4).

(295) *niŋo-nu*   *ǝkʰa to / *du / *to-ʃ/ *du-ʃ*
       1PL.EXCL-DAT.PL pain COP.PRS COP.PRS-3H
       'We have pain.'

(296) *ka-nu*   *ǝkʰa du-ge / to-ke / *du-ge-n*
       2SG.NH-DAT.PL pain COP-PST   COP-PST-2SG.NH
       'You had pain.'

(297) *ki-nu*   *ǝkʰa du-ge / to-ke / *du-ge-ʃ/ *to-ke-ʃ*
       2SG.H-DAT.PL pain COP-PST   COP-PST-3H
       'You had pain.'

(298) *do-pǝŋ   ǝkʰa du*[101] */ to / du-ʃ/ *to-ʃ*
       3SG-DAT pain COP.PRS   COP.PRS-3H
       'He has pain.'

The following examples illustrate the experiencer subject construction in non-copula constructions—in the finite verb structures V(-O.IDX)-ASP AUX(-IDX) and V(-O.IDX)-TNS(-IDX).

(299) *aŋ-u   ta-o   lan-ʧ-o   du / to / *du-ʃ/ *to-ʃ*
       1SG-DAT fever-LOC make-1/2O-PROG AUX.PRS AUX.PRS-3H
       'I am having fever.'

(300) *ki-nu   ǝkʰa kar-o   du-ge*[102] */ *to-ke / du-ge-ʃ/ to-ke-ʃ*
       2SG.H-DAT.PL pain bring-PROG AUX-PST   AUX-PST-3H
       'You were having pain.'

(301) *ravi   pǝŋ ja:d   de-o   hat bǝ~bǝ*
       i.name DAT memory feel.internally-PST who come~PFV
       to-ʃ
       AUX.PRS-3H
       'Ravi is remembering who has come.'

These examples also show that the dative marked argument does not control the subject indexing on the verb. Further, as these examples illustrate, if the

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101   *du* is preferred here.
102   *du* is preferred here.

dative marked argument is either first or second person, in a clause with a transitive verb the object indexing marker (-ʧ or a change in the verb form in the case of the verb 'to give') occurs on the verb, also suggesting that the dative marked argument does not behave like a subject. Concerning the word order, however, the dative marked argument occurs in the same position as non-experiencer subjects which is the default, the most frequently occurring position of a subject.

Dative experiencers are subject-like in their word order, but non-subject-like when it comes to indexing patterns. Even though the word order is relatively free in Kinnauri, the most frequent order of constituents in natural discourse is SOV. In the dative experiencer construction, the default order of constituents is one where the dative marked argument comes first, before any other verb arguments.

5.2   *Questions*

In content questions the word order and the verb inflectional endings remain the same as in the corresponding declarative statements. See Section 3.3.3 for a description of the interrogative pronouns and adverbs.

(302) *ravi   boʃ-is   hat-eː   bə~bə   to-ʃ(-oː)*
       i.name forget-PFV who-PL come~PFV AUX-3H(-PL)
       'Ravi forgets who (all) came.'

(303) *ki   hat-sjaː   deʃ-o-ʧ   to-ɲ*
       2SG.H which-CNTR.M village-LOC-ABL COP-2SG.H
       'Which village are you from?'

(304) *bei   niŋo-nu   baits   ham   to-ʃ*
       EXPL 1PLE-POSS.PL y.sibling where COP-3H
       'Oh! Where is our younger sister?'

(305) *do-s   tetra   roʈ-eː   ʣaː-gjo*
       3SG-ERG how.many bread-PL eat-PST
       'How many (pieces of) bread did he eat?'

(306) *pja-ts   aŋ   ɲums tʰu bəd-o   du*
       bird-DIM 1SG.NNOM after why come-PROG AUX.PRS
       'Why is the bird coming after (following) me?'

(307) *ki   bruʃ   hala lan-ti-ɲ*
       2SG.H brush how   make-FUT-2SG.H
       'How will you brush (your teeth)?'

(308) *ki   bruʃ   hales   un-ti-ɲ*
       2SG.H brush which.kind take-FUT-2SG.H
       'Which type of brush (soft, hard, small, large) will you buy?'

Polar questions are formed by affixing *-a* to the finite verb. The question suffix *-a* does not occur in content questions.

(309) *gə   ʃaŋgi to-k-a*
       1SG.NOM alive COP-1SG-Q
       'Am I alive (or, am I dreaming)?'

(310) *dʑaŋ-u   ɖejaŋ gja:-ti-ɲ-a*
       gold-POSS body   want-FUT-2H-Q
       'Do (you) want a body of gold?'

(311) *ʧʰə   ʧũʧũ pju-ts   niʃ-u   baits-o: taŋ-o-n-a*
       what SND   mouse-DIM two-POSS y.sibling-PL observe-PST-2NH-Q
       '(The girls said:) "chuchu, mouse, have you seen (our) two sisters?"'

(312) *hodo   niʃ tsʰetsats-o: bə-a*
       DEM.DIST.NVIS two girl-PL   come-Q
       'Did those two girls come (here)?'

Appendix 2A: Kinnauri Basic Vocabulary
(*by Anju Saxena and Santosh Negi*)

This is the Kinnauri IDS/LWT list. It has been compiled on the basis of the 1,310 items of the original Intercontinental Dictionary Series concept list (Borin et al. 2013) plus the 150 items added to it in the Loanword Typology project, for a total of 1,460 concepts (Haspelmath and Tadmor 2009). Further, some new entries have also been added in the present project. In the new entries the minor part of their concept ID (the part after the point) begins with "999", e.g. "S24.99910 someone". There are 78 such additions in the Kinnauri list. Some IDS/LWT items have been left out from this list, as there were no equivalents in Kinnauri or in my material. The resulting list as given below contains 1,348 items (concepts), where occasionally more than one Kinnauri equivalent is provided. The list also includes loanwords.

2A.1 *Notational Conventions*
For ease of comparison we have kept the original IDS/LWT glosses unchanged in all cases, and Kinnauri senses which do not fit the IDS/LWT meaning completely are given more exact glosses in the Kinnauri column. Sometimes there will be multiple (separately glossed) items in the Kinnauri column when Kinnauri exhibits lexical or dialectal differentiation of meaning or form within an IDS/LWT item. Pronunciation or form variants are separated by commas, and formally distinct items are separated by semicolons. Glosses and notes belong with their enclosing "semicolon grouping".

As in the main text, Kinnauri items are set in italics without morphological decomposition, i.e. affixes and clitics are written solid with their stem or host. Glosses are set in roman, either in single quotes (translation, corresponding to the last line in an interlinear glossed text unit) or in square brackets (morphological analysis, corresponding to the middle line in interlinear glossed text, and adhering to the Leipzig Glossing Rules, in some cases preceded by a morphologically segmented representation of the Kinnauri item in italics, corresponding to the first line in interlinear glossed text).

The Kinnauri data has been collected in three villages where slightly different local varieties of Kinnauri are spoken, and some items in the Kinnauri column are marked with their geographical origin: "(S)": Sangla; "(R)": Ropa; "(B)": Brua.

2A.2   *The Kinnauri IDS/LWT List*

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S01.100	the world	*dunija:; sansa:r, sensa:r*
S01.210	the land	*milkus; ma:lɖogaŋ*
S01.212	the soil	*maʈiŋ*
S01.213	the dust	*purʈʂuʈiŋ*
S01.214	the mud	*tsikar; la:s*
S01.215	the sand	*ba:laŋ; ba:liŋ*
S01.220	the mountain or hill	*ra:ŋ; ɖokʰaŋ* 'tall, big mountain'; *ʈʰoll* 'small mountain'
S01.222	the cliff or precipice	*da:r, da:raŋ; kʰoro ɖokʰaŋ*
S01.230	the plain	*so:maŋ*
S01.240	the valley	*ga:ʈi; kʰago; kʰunaŋ*
S01.250	the island	*ʈa:pu*
S01.270	the shore	*gara:ʈiŋ*
S01.280	the cave	*ag*
S01.310	the water	*ti*
S01.320	the sea	*somodraŋ* 'sea; ocean; river'
S01.322	calm	*sululuʧis*
S01.323	rough(2)	*bo:la:*
S01.324	the foam	*ʃub*
S01.329	the ocean	*somodraŋ* 'sea; ocean; river'
S01.330	the lake	*soraŋ* 'natural pond'
S01.350	the wave	*tsʰaʈeraŋ*
S01.360	the river or stream	*ga:raŋ* 'river'; *na:laŋ* 'stream'; *somodraŋ* 'sea; ocean, river'
S01.362	the whirlpool	*sagti*
S01.370	the spring or well	*kuaŋ, koaŋ* 'well'
S01.380	the swamp	*ɖiba:liŋ*
S01.390	the waterfall	*ʧʰodaŋ*
S01.410	the woods or forest	*boniŋ, baunaŋ; ʣaŋgal*
S01.430	the wood	*ʃiŋ*
S01.440	the stone or rock	*rag; pan* 'stone; slate'; *kʰaʈlaŋ* 'round red stones found in rivers'; *ʃaŋ* 'pebble'
S01.450	the earthquake	*bunʧilaŋ*
S01.510	the sky	*sorgaŋ*
S01.520	the sun	*june; suraʣ*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S01.530	the moon	*golsaŋ; ʧand*
S01.550	the lightning	*biʣul* 'lightning (bolt)'
S01.540	the star	*(s)kar*
S01.560	the thunder	*gurgur*
S01.570	the bolt of lightning	*biʣul* 'lightning (bolt)'
S01.580	the storm	*ɖaro* 'rainstorm'
S01.590	the rainbow	*tila:nmets*
S01.610	the light	*tsʰatk*
S01.620	the darkness	*ãjares* (S), *aɲa:res* (B)
S01.630	the shade or shadow	*la:; ʃilaŋ; ʧʰa:jaŋ*
S01.640	the dew	*oʃaŋ*
S01.710	the air	*la:n* 'air; wind'
S01.720	the wind	*la:n* 'air; wind'
S01.730	the cloud	*ʣu; ʣuʃa* (R)
S01.740	the fog	*dumaŋ* 'fog; smoke'; *duma:saŋ, duma:so*
S01.750	the rain	*goeniŋ; ʧʰarva* (R)
S01.760	the snow	*pom; titʰokolts* 'watery snow'
S01.770	the ice	*ʈʰanaŋ*
S01.7750	to freeze	*ʃa:nennu*
S01.780	the weather	*mosam*
S01.810	the fire	*me:*
S01.820	the flame	*melab; ləpəŋ*
S01.830	the smoke	*dumaŋ* 'fog; smoke'
S01.8310	the steam	*van*
S01.840	the ash	*bospa*
S01.841	the embers	*ʈʰo; ʃuʈʰol*
S01.851	to burn(1)	*pogmu* (TR); *legmu* (TR)
S01.852	to burn(2)	*barmu* (INTR); *bogmu* 'to get burned'; *legʧimu* 'to get burned';
S01.860	to light	*ʧonnu* (TR); *parmu* (TR) 'to set on fire'
S01.861	to extinguish	*pjugmu*
S01.870	the match	*meʃiŋ, me:ʃiŋ*
S01.880	the firewood	*parʃiŋ; saŋ* 'a wood-type with natural oil, used as kindling'
S01.890	the charcoal	*(ʃiŋ)ʈʰo*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S01.99903	the coal	*relu ʈʰo*
S02.100	the person	*manuʃ; mi*
S02.210	the man	*mortʃʰaŋ; mi*
S02.220	the woman	*tsʰetses* 'adult woman (usually married)'; *tsʰesmi* 'woman, married; wife'
S02.240	female(1)	*manʈ-* 'female (animals)'
S02.250	the boy	*tʃʰaŋ* 'boy (newborn to appr. 16–18 years of age); son (one's own or family's child)'; *kuʈu; tuna:; ɖekʰra:ts; tʃʰak* 'boy, son'
S02.251	the young man	*ɖekʰra:ts* 'boy; young man appr. 18–30 years of age, usually unmarried'
S02.260	the girl	*tʃimed* 'girl; daughter'; *tsʰetsats* 'girl; young woman (from birth to marrying age); daughter'; *ɖekʰorits* 'young girl (before she reaches marrying age)'
S02.261	the young woman	*ɖekʰor*
S02.280	the baby	*ãjanaŋts; dʒormets*
S02.310	the husband	*tʃʰoŋ(mi); da:ts*
S02.320	the wife	*gone; tsʰesmi* 'wife; married woman'; *lari* 'bride; wife; daughter-in-law'; *sok* 'co-wife; sister-in-law'; *gunjale* 'bride'
S02.330	to marry	*ranekaŋ lannu; ʃadi lannu; bajaŋ lannu*
S02.340	the wedding	*bajaŋ; ranekaŋ; ʃadi*
S02.350	the father	*bon; boa, boba* 'father; paternal uncle'; *bapu* 'father; father's younger brother'
S02.360	the mother	*ama; mən; mata*
S02.370	the parents	*mənbon; amaboa*
S02.380	the married man	*ranekaŋ lants mi*
S02.390	the married woman	*tsʰesmi* 'married woman, wife'; *tsʰetses* 'woman, adult (usually married)'; *ranekaŋ lants tsʰesmi*
S02.410	the son	*tʃʰak; kuʈu; tʃʰaŋ(ts)* 'boy; son of the speaker or someone belonging to the speakers family'; *beʈa*
S02.420	the daughter	*tʃimed* 'girl; daughter'; *beʈi*
S02.440	the brother	*bai; juŋdʑ*
S02.444	the older brother	*ate*
S02.445	the younger brother	*beits* 'woman's younger brother'; *baja(ts)* 'man's younger brother'

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S02.450	the sister	*riŋdz; ben* (B); *baits* (S)
S02.454	the older sister	(*teg*) *dau*(*ts*); *tege; teg riŋdz; aputs* (Ribba)
S02.455	the younger sister	(*tsʰetsats*) *beits* (B); *baja*(*ts*) (S)
S02.456	the sibling	*juŋriŋ*
S02.4562	the younger sibling	*bai*(*ts*) (S); *beits* (B)
S02.458	the twins	*dzo:la*
S02.460	the grandfather	*tete*
S02.461	the old man	*rudza*(*ts*) 'old and weak man'
S02.470	the grandmother	*api; mapo api* 'maternal grandmother'
S02.471	the old woman	*jaŋdze*(*ts*) 'old (human female, animate female)'
S02.4711	the grandparents	*teteapi*
S02.480	the grandson	*dekʰra:ts pa:ts* 'grandson'; *dekʰra:ts rimpa:ts* 'daughter's son'; *dekʰra:ts kimpa:ts* 'son's son'; (*s*)*pa:ts* 'grandchild'
S02.5000	the grandchild	(*s*)*pa:ts; rimpa:ts* 'daughter's child'; *kimpa:ts* 'son's child'
S02.511	the mother's brother	*əpa* 'mother's brother; father-in-law'; *muma:, ma:ma:* 'mother's brother; father-in-law'
S02.512	the father's brother	*bapu* 'father, father's brother'; *boa* 'father; father's brother'; *boba* 'father; father's brother'; *teg bua* 'father's older brother'
S02.520	the aunt	*na:ne* 'aunt (mother's brother's wife; father's sister)'
S02.521	the mother's sister	*amats; amri*
S02.522	the father's sister	*na:ne* 'aunt (mother's brother's wife; father's sister)'
S02.530	the nephew	*bandzo* 'man's sister's son'; *tʃʰaŋ*(*ts*) 'woman's sister's son'; (*dekʰra:ts*) *banuts* 'woman's brother's son'
S02.540	the niece	(*tsʰetsats*) *banuts* 'woman's brother's daughter'; *tʃimets* 'woman's sister's daughter'
S02.5410	the sibling's child	*juŋriŋu tʃʰaŋ* 'sibling's son'
S02.560	the ancestors	*əgla:* (PL), *əgles* (SG)
S02.570	the descendants	*pa:tsokotso*
S02.610	the father-in-law (of a man)	*ʃores; əpa; muma:, ma:ma:* 'mother's brother; father-in-law'
S02.611	the father-in-law (of a woman)	*ʃores; əpa; muma:, ma:ma:* 'mother's brother; father-in-law'

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S02.620	the mother-in-law (of a man)	*jumed* 'mother-in-law; mother's brother's wife'
S02.621	the mother-in-law (of a woman)	*jumed* 'mother-in-law; mother's brother's wife'
S02.6220	the parents-in-law	*jumedəpa*
S02.630	the son-in-law (of a man)	*tʃʰad*
S02.631	the son-in-law (of a woman)	*tʃʰad*
S02.640	the daughter-in-law (of a man)	*tem*
S02.641	the daughter-in-law (of a woman)	*tem*
S02.710	the stepfather	*bibon; biboba*
S02.720	the stepmother	*biama; bimən*
S02.730	the stepson	*soku tʃʰaŋ*
S02.740	the stepdaughter	*soku tʃimed*
S02.750	the orphan	*ʃokraŋ*
S02.760	the widow	*rãɖole; rantsʰesmi*
S02.770	the widower	*rãɖoles* 'widower (negative connotation)'
S02.810	the relatives	*na:tarista; iʃpənek; peradʒora* 'closely related relatives'
S02.820	the family	*ʈobor* 'family (members)'; *pera(ŋ)* 'kinsman, clansman'
S02.910	I	*gə*
S02.920	you (singular)	*ki* (H); *ka* (NH)
S02.930	he/she/it	*do* [3SG.DIST.NVIS]; *no* [3SG.DIST.VIS]; *dʒo* [3SG.PROX]; *an* [3SG.ANA]
S02.940	we	*niŋo* [1PLE]; *kiʃa* [1PLI]; *kiʃaŋ* [1DU]
S02.941	we (inclusive)	*kiʃa* [1PLI]; *kiʃaŋ* [1DU]
S02.942	we (exclusive)	*niŋo* [1PLE]; *kiʃaŋ* [1DU]
S02.950	you (plural)	*kino* (H); *kano* (NH); *kanego:* (NH); *kiʃi, kisi* (2DU.H); *kaniʃ* (2DU.NH)
S02.960	they	*dogo:* [3PL.DIST.NVIS]; *nogo:* [3PL.DIST.VIS]; *dʒogo:* [3PL.PROX]; *anego:* [3PL.ANA]
S03.110	the animal	*dʒa:nvar, dʒanvar; semtʃen*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S03.120	male(2)	*(s)kjo-; ɖekʰres*
S03.130	female(2)	*manʈ-*
S03.150	the livestock	*noro*
S03.160	the pasture	*pabaŋ* 'pasture in the upper hills'; *panaŋ* 'pasture close to the village'
S03.180	the herdsman	*pa:les*
S03.190	the stable or stall	*kʰuraŋ; ʈʰaʈaŋ*
S03.200	the cattle	*norʧag; ʣed/ʣe:* 'sheep; goat (SG/PL)'
S03.210	the bull	*tida:mes* (noncastrated); *da:mes* (castrated); *ʣo* 'mountain ox'
S03.230	the cow	*gau; laŋ; ʣomo* 'mountain cow'
S03.240	the calf	*rats; manʈrats* (F); *ʃakuri:* (F); *ʃakur* (M); *ʃakras*
S03.250	the sheep	*ʣed*
S03.260	the ram	*kar* (castrated); *hules* (non-castrated)
S03.280	the ewe	*kʰas*
S03.290	the lamb	*kʰa:ts; ʃakras* (M)
S03.320	the boar	*su:res*
S03.340	the sow	*su:ronig; manʈsu:res*
S03.350	the pig	*su:res* (M); *su:ronig* (F); *mansu:res* (F)
S03.360	the goat	*bəkʰaraŋ*
S03.370	the he-goat	*bakʰor; ã:ʣ*
S03.380	the kid	*ma:ts*
S03.410	the horse	*raŋ*
S03.420	the stallion	*(s)kjoraŋ; sva:rjarja raŋ* 'gelding'; *puʈkjakja raŋ* 'gelding'
S03.440	the mare	*manʈraŋ*
S03.450	the foal or colt	*tʰuru*
S03.460	the donkey	*pʰots*
S03.470	the mule	*kʰotsor*
S03.520	the cock/rooster	*(s)kjokukəri; kukkras*
S03.540	the hen	*manʈkukəri*
S03.550	the chicken	*kukəri; ʧikan*
S03.560	the goose	*kʰjuŋpja*
S03.570	the duck	*tiares* (domesticated)
S03.580	the nest	*va:(ts)*
S03.581	the bird	*pja(ts)*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S03.584	the eagle	*la:npja*
S03.585	the hawk	*daɲfu:res* 'hawk; falcon'
S03.586	the vulture	*golɖes*
S03.591	the bat	*turpjats*
S03.592	the parrot	*tota:*
S03.593	the crow	*ka:g; kaur*
S03.594	the dove	*gugti:ts*
S03.596	the owl	*ɖuɖu*
S03.610	the dog	*kui* (M, F)
S03.614	the rabbit	*kʰargoʃ* 'rabbit; hare'
S03.620	the cat	*bila:ri; piʃi*
S03.630	the mouse or rat	*pju(ts)* 'house rat'; *sakpju* 'outdoor rat'
S03.650	the fish	*matʃʰes, matʃʰli*
S03.652	the fin	*matʃʰesu pakʰaŋ*
S03.720	the lion	*siŋ*
S03.730	the bear	*hom; rikʰa:* (M); *bonjots; rikʰonig* (F)
S03.740	the fox	*ʃalits*
S03.750	the deer	*pʰo; pʰoma:ts* 'young deer'; *bena* '(musk) deer'
S03.760	the monkey	*bandres*
S03.770	the elephant	*hatʰi*
S03.780	the camel	*ũʈ*
S03.810	the insect	*tsʰatig; hoŋ*
S03.811	the head louse	*ʃəmants* 'young louse (hair, body)'
S03.8112	the body louse	*(gas)rig*
S03.812	the nit	*rukts*
S03.815	the scorpion	*sokʰo*
S03.817	the ant	*krog*
S03.818	the spider	*botokts*
S03.819	the spider web	*botoktsu dʒaliŋ; botoktsu va:*
S03.820	the bee	*vasjaŋ*
S03.821	the beeswax	*sitʰaŋ*
S03.822	the beehive	*jaɳɖoraŋ; jaŋkoʈ*
S03.823	the wasp	*pijaŋ*
S03.830	the fly	*(kʰə)jaŋ*
S03.831	the sandfly or midge or gnat	*ɖãs* 'gnat'

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S03.832	the mosquito	*tsʰatig*
S03.8340	the termites	*koʈkehoŋ*[103] (SG)
S03.8350	the tick	*nəkants*
S03.840	the worm	*hoŋ; lashoŋ* 'mud worm'
S03.850	the snake	*sapes; naːges* 'mythical snake'
S03.8630	the hare	*kʰargoʃ* 'rabbit; hare'
S03.8650	the quail	*holaʃaŋpjats*
S03.8690	the squirrel	*raŋronʈ*
S03.8710	the reindeer/caribou	*barasiŋa*
S03.910	the firefly	*mehoŋ*
S03.9170	the buffalo	*bẽːs*
S03.920	the butterfly	*ʃupjats*
S03.930	the grasshopper	*bjonts*
S03.940	the snail	*goʈaŋhoŋ* 'snail with shell'; *tiʃam* 'snail without a shell'
S03.950	the frog	*tiʃpolokts*
S03.960	the lizard	*tsʰemar*
S03.970	the crocodile or alligator	*magarmaʈʃʰ*
S03.980	the turtle	*keʈʃʰua*
S04.110	the body	*ɖejaŋ*
S04.120	the skin or hide	*ponaŋ* 'skin, hide, leather (of cows, oxen, buffaloes etc.)'; *kʰul* 'skin, hide (of sheep, goats, birds)'
S04.130	the flesh	*ʃa*
S04.140	the hair	*kraː* 'head hair; pubic hair'
S04.142	the beard	*mutsʰẽ; dəri*
S04.144	the body hair	*(s)puː*
S04.145	the pubic hair	*kraː* 'head hair; pubic hair'
S04.146	the dandruff	*kʰod*
S04.150	the blood	*polaːts; ʃui*
S04.151	the vein or artery	*siːraŋ*
S04.160	the bone	*haraŋ*

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103 A compound: Hindi *koʈ-ka* [wood-POSS] and Kinnauri *hoŋ* 'insect'.

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S04.162	the rib	*ribharaŋ* 'ribs; ribcage'; *ribo:* 'ribs; ribcage'
S04.170	the horn	*ʃi:ŋ; rud*
S04.180	the tail	*pətʃhiŋ*
S04.190	the back	*piʃʈiŋ*
S04.191	the spine	*piʃʈiŋharaŋ*
S04.200	the head	*bal; ʃiraŋ*
S04.202	the skull	*harko:ʈiŋ; balkʰopʈi; kra:naŋ*
S04.203	the brain	*dima:g*
S04.204	the face	*mukʰaŋ* 'mouth; face'; *(s)to*
S04.205	the forehead	*pʰja:konʈaŋ; pʰja:*
S04.207	the jaw	*tso:nniŋ*
S04.208	the cheek	*piŋ*
S04.209	the chin	*tʃhotkaŋ, tʃhopkaŋ*
S04.210	the eye	*mig*
S04.212	the eyebrow	*migspu:, mikspu:*
S04.213	the eyelid	*migbod*
S04.214	the eyelash	*mig(s)pu: mikspu:*
S04.215	to blink	*tsiptsipja:mu*
S04.220	the ear	*ka:naŋ*
S04.221	the earlobe	*(ka:naŋ)pots*
S04.222	the earwax	*ka:naŋkʰə*
S04.230	the nose	*takuts* 'nose; beak'
S04.231	the nostril	*takʃuliŋ*
S04.232	the nasal mucus	*ʃəʈaŋ*
S04.240	the mouth	*kʰakaŋ; kʰak; mukʰaŋ* 'mouth; face'
S04.241	the beak	*ʃonaŋ*
S04.250	the lip	*tunaŋ*
S04.260	the tongue	*le*
S04.270	the tooth	*gar*
S04.271	the gums	*(s)til*
S04.272	the molar tooth	*kongar*
S04.280	the neck	*golaŋ; kakts*
S04.281	the nape of the neck	*(ka:kts) mugro*
S04.290	the throat	*golaŋ* 'throat; neck'; *ʃaŋ* 'throat; narrow passage inside throat'; *ʈiŋ* 'windpipe, trachea'

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S04.300	the shoulder	*bid; raŋ* 'external part of shoulder'
S04.301	the shoulderblade	*pʰəʃoʈ*
S04.302	the collarbone	*tiŋharaŋ*
S04.310	the arm	*gud* 'arm; hand'; *həst* 'arm; hand'; *kʰjuts* 'part of the arm between wrist and elbow'; *pʰarts* 'part of the arm from elbow to shoulder'
S04.312	the armpit	*kjasaŋ, kjas*
S04.320	the elbow	*krũːts*
S04.330	the hand	*gud* 'arm; hand'; *həst* 'arm; hand'
S04.331	the palm of the hand	(*həs*)*talaŋ; potilaŋ; ʃe*(*ts*) 'palm, hollowed palm to receive water/alchohol'
S04.340	the finger	*prats* 'finger; toe'
S04.342	the thumb	*bonprats*
S04.344	the fingernail	(*pratsu*) *tʃin* 'fingernail; toenail'
S04.345	the claw	*dzabug*
S04.350	the leg	*peraŋ; latʰaŋ; gompa; baŋ* 'leg; foot'
S04.351	the thigh	*lum* 'thigh; hip'
S04.352	the calf of the leg	*piliŋ*(*ts*)
S04.360	the knee	*pəʃbaŋ*
S04.370	the foot	*baŋ* 'leg; foot'
S04.371	the ankle	*paːʈ*
S04.372	the heel	*ʈʰoŋgol*
S04.374	the footprint	*baŋmod*
S04.380	the toe	*baŋprats*
S04.392	the wing	*pakʰaŋ* 'wing; feather'
S04.393	the feather	*pul; pakʰaŋ* 'wing; feather'
S04.400	the chest	(*s*)*ʈug* 'breast; chest'; *nunuː* 'breast; chest'
S04.410	the breast	(*s*)*ʈug* 'breast; chest'; *nunuː* 'breast; chest'
S04.412	the nipple or teat	*nuni*(*bal*)
S04.420	the udder	*ainaŋ, eniŋ*
S04.430	the navel	*naiŋts*
S04.4310	the belly	*peʈaŋ* 'stomach; belly'; *peʈiŋ* 'stomach; belly'
S04.440	the heart	*ʃin* 'heart; liver'; *dil* 'heart; desire'; *monaŋ* 'heart; desire'; *dziva* 'heart; soul; spirit'
S04.441	the lung	*ʈʰab*
S04.450	the liver	*kaledʑi; ʃin* 'heart; liver'

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S04.451	the kidney	*pətrapts*
S04.460	the stomach	*peʈaŋ, peʈiŋ* 'stomach; belly'
S04.461	the intestines or guts	*ãʣaŋ*
S04.462	the waist	*kʰo:; gatʃko*
S04.463	the hip	*lum* 'thigh; hip'
S04.464	the buttocks	*guliŋ*
S04.470	the womb	*kukʰiŋ*
S04.490	the testicles	*halgaŋtso:* (PL), *halgaŋts* (SG)
S04.492	the penis	*pjats* (when talking to children)
S04.4930	the vagina	*teptepts* (when talking to children)
S04.510	to breathe	*sa:saŋ unnu*
S04.520	to yawn	*haʃ kamʃimu; tsonʃimu* 'to stretch; to yawn by stretching (one's arms)'
S04.521	to hiccough	*gəltʃimu*
S04.530	to cough	*tsu:mu; tsu: lannu*
S04.540	to sneeze	*gismu*
S04.550	to perspire	*dusti: donnu*
S04.560	to spit	*tʰukaŋ pʰikja:mu*
S04.570	to vomit	*pʰasmu*
S04.580	to bite	*tʃigmu*
S04.590	to lick	*lemmu*
S04.591	to dribble	*la:laŋ pʰakʃimu*
S04.610	to sleep	*jagmu*
S04.612	to snore	*kʰrõgennu; kʰorennu* 'to limp; to snore'
S04.620	to dream	*maŋmu*
S04.630	to wake up	*sərmu* (TR) 'to raise up; to wake up'; *sərʃimu* (human subject); *jantʃimu* 'to experience first moment of waking up'
S04.640	to fart	*kʰə sunnu*
S04.650	to piss	*kəli ʃennu*
S04.660	to shit	*kʰə ʃennu*
S04.670	to have sex	*meʈja:ʃimu*
S04.680	to shiver	*kriŋmu*
S04.690	to bathe	*suʃimu* (MDL); *sumu* (TR)
S04.710	to beget	*tʃʰaŋ ta:mu*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S04.720	to be born	*dzormennu*
S04.730	pregnant	*garbvati* (human); *ɲumtsu* (human); *magore* (human); *ga:bin* (animal)
S04.732	to conceive	*tʰobmu*
S04.740	to be alive	*ʃaɲi nimu*
S04.7410	the life	*dzan; maldʠogaŋ*
S04.750	to die	*ʃimu*
S04.7501	dead	*ʃiʃi*
S04.751	to drown	*ʠubennu* 'to drown; to sink'
S04.760	to kill	*sannu*
S04.770	the corpse	*moro; ʃimi; ʃiʃi*
S04.7710	the carcass	*ʃilo:ʈaŋ; ʃinor*
S04.780	to bury	*kʰaro ʃennu*
S04.810	strong	*dzob; dzobonsja:; takra:*
S04.820	weak	*bila:jets; ʈorts* 'weak (healthwise)'; *ko:rko:r* 'weak; very thin'; *ka:ʈʰes* 'weak, malnourished or dehydrated'; *dʒunʈʰa* 'weak (healthwise, humans or animals)'
S04.830	healthy	*mutag; muʃʈiŋ* 'healthy; strong'
S04.840	sick/ill	*dukʰis* 'sick (person); sad (person)'
S04.841	the fever	*tao; bukʰa:r*
S04.842	the goitre/goiter	*ga:nuŋ*
S04.843	the cold	*tʰãɖi*
S04.8440	the disease	*ʈod; dukʰaŋ* 'disease; grief'
S04.850	the wound or sore	*akʰa* 'wound; sore; pain'
S04.852	the bruise	*ʃukʰreb*
S04.853	the swelling	*ʈuʈu*
S04.854	the itch	*hərtʃo*
S04.8541	to scratch	*hərmu; bal tʃiktʃimu* 'to scratch head (hair)'
S04.855	the blister	*ʈipol*
S04.856	the boil	*pʰur*
S04.857	the pus	*tag*
S04.858	the scar	*pa:raŋ*
S04.860	to cure	*ʃelman lannu*
S04.870	the physician	*ɖakʈar* 'physician (modern medicine)'; *bed* 'traditional healer'

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S04.880	the medicine	*ʃel*
S04.890	the poison	*biʃaŋ*
S04.910	tired	*jaljal* 'physically tired'; *kaniŋ* 'mentally tired'
S04.912	to rest	*ara:m lannu; rana ʃennu; naʃimu* 'to sit; to stay; to rest'
S04.920	lazy	*a:lsi; lises*
S04.930	bald	*(pi)toŋlo; pitogtog* '(completely) bald'
S04.940	lame	*kʰorja:; laŋrja:*
S04.950	deaf	*ʈonja:* (M, impolite), *ʈone* (F); *ʥaro*
S04.960	mute	*laʈa:* (M), *laʈe:* (F) 'dumb; mute'
S04.970	blind	*ka:nes* (M), *ka:ne* (F); *ka:naŋ; ãdoliŋ*
S04.980	drunk	*pʰasurija:*
S04.990	naked	*salgi*
S05.110	to eat	*ʣa:mu; pasmu* 'to eat (something dry, flour-like)'
S05.120	the food	*kʰou* 'food; meal'
S05.121	cooked	*papa; baba*
S05.122	raw	*katʃas, katʃes; maʃoʃo* 'uncooked'; *mababa* 'uncooked'; *mapapa* 'uncooked (raw, e.g; carrots which can be eaten raw)'
S05.123	ripe	*pakits; ʃoʃo*
S05.124	unripe	*tsispru*
S05.125	rotten	*tsis; namnam (kʰou)* 'stale (food, rotten as well as non-rotten)'
S05.130	to drink	*tuŋmu* 'to drink; to smoke'
S05.140	to be hungry	*onnu*
S05.141	the famine	*(an)ka:laŋ*
S05.150	to be thirsty	*tiskarmu*
S05.160	to suck	*ʈubmu; ʈəbmu* 'to suck (mother's milk)'
S05.180	to chew	*bragmu*
S05.181	to swallow	*mjuŋmu*
S05.190	to choke	*sakubʃimu; sa:lubʃimu*
S05.210	to cook	*pannu; kʰou lannu; bannu* (INTR) 'to get cooked'
S05.220	to boil	*kvasmu; kʰvatʃimu* (INTR)
S05.230	to roast or fry	*pogmu* 'to roast'; *dammu* 'to roast (wheat, oats)'; *buldja:mu* 'to deep-fry'; *polʈennu* 'to turn over egg (in the frying pan)'

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S05.240	to bake	*siʈja:mu* 'to bake, flip over and roast pancake'
S05.250	the oven	*meliŋ; pʰa:liŋ* 'oven; fireplace'
S05.260	the pot	*pətila; banes; ɖig* 'pot with narrow neck'; *baniŋ* 'kitchen utensils (e.g., pots, cups)'
S05.270	the kettle	*ketəli*
S05.280	the pan	*bogunts*
S05.320	the plate	*tʰa:l; pəleʈ; prat; kʰon; naŋ* 'a kind of bronze plate'; *tenle tʰa:l* 'flat plate'; *ɖuga tʰa:l* 'deep plate'
S05.330	the bowl	*ɖuna:ts; baʈits* 'brass bowl'
S05.340	the jug/pitcher	*suraji(ts)*
S05.350	the cup	*baʈits* 'brass cup with a foot'
S05.370	the spoon	*kʰeɳʈ*
S05.380	the knife(1)	*tsəku* 'knife (instrument to cut e.g., vegetables)'; *gumts* 'knife (occurs only in folktales)'
S05.390	the fork	*tsuka* 'the fork (a fork-like cooking utensil to take out fried bread from hot oil)'
S05.391	the tongs	*ʃoneʃaŋ; tsimʈo* 'tongs (cooking utensil)'
S05.420	the breakfast	*ʧajudo*
S05.430	the lunch	*ʃil*
S05.440	the dinner	*ra:tiŋ kʰou*
S05.460	to peel	*tsʰinja:mu*
S05.470	to sieve or to strain	*ʧalja:mu* 'to strain; to sieve (e.g. flour)'; *ʧʰarmu* 'to strain; to sieve (milk, tea, puri from oil, churn butter)'
S05.480	to scrape	*kʰjulmu* (TR); *gjulmu* (INTR), *gjulʃimu* (MDL)
S05.490	to stir or to mix	*kəsmu*
S05.510	the bread	*hod* 'barley bread'; *tsapʈi* 'chapati'; *roʈ* 'chapati'; *pol* 'puri'; *tʰispol* 'fried bread made of watery dough'
S05.530	the dough	*tsisaŋ pinʈu*
S05.540	to knead	*tremu*
S05.550	the flour	*tsisaŋ; meda; piʈʰas; ga:ʃa:ŋ* 'buckwheat flour'; *konika:ŋ* 'wheat flour'; *tsʰəlija piʈʰas* 'corn flour'; *jud* 'roasted barley flour'
S05.560	to crush or to grind	*rabmu* 'to crush edibles in mortar'; *junnu* 'to grind cereal to flour'; *pʰramu* 'to crush (potatoes)'
S05.570	the mill	*karkʰana:*
S05.580	the mortar(1)	*kaniŋ; hasgoʈaŋ*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S05.590	the pestle	*muslaŋ*
S05.610	the meat	*ʃa* 'meat; flesh'
S05.630	the sausage	*gʰima:*
S05.640	the soup	*ʧʰob* 'meat soup'
S05.650	the vegetables	*kan; ba:dzi* 'cooked vegetable'
S05.660	the bean	*ʃimin*
S05.700	the potato	*halgaŋ*
S05.710	the fruit	*pʰolaŋ; pʰruʈ*
S05.712	the bunch	*ʧʰonʈaŋ*
S05.760	the grape	*aŋgu:r* (cultivated); *da:kʰaŋ* (wild indigenous)
S05.790	the oil	*telaŋ*
S05.791	the grease or fat	*tsʰos*
S05.810	the salt	*tsʰa*
S05.821	the chili pepper	*pipli*
S05.840	the honey	*vas*
S05.850	the sugar	*tsi:ni; kʰanɖ*
S05.860	the milk	*kʰiraŋ*
S05.870	to milk	(*kʰiraŋ*) *tsurmu*
S05.880	the cheese	*kokpol* (a traditional food item which has a similar preparation method as cheese); *panir*
S05.890	the butter	*makʰan; gi* 'ghee (clarified butter)'; *mar* 'butter; ghee'
S05.910	the mead	*vas pʰa:sur* 'fermented honey drink'
S05.940	the fermented drink	*rak* 'a local alcoholic beverage'; *pʰa:sur, ti pʰa:sur* 'a local alcoholic beverage'; *ɖaŋle* 'a local alcoholic beverage'; *bijər* 'beer (modern)'
S05.970	the egg	*anɖa; li:ʈ; ʃaraŋ*
S05.971	the yolk	*golɖuŋ*
S05.99906	the biscuit	*biskuʈ*
S05.99908	the cabbage	(*band*)*gobi*
S05.99910	the cream	*pon*
S05.99922	the vinegar	*sirka*
S06.110	to put on	*ligmu* (TR) 'to put on (clothes, jewelry)'; *likʃimu* (MDL) 'to put on (clothes, jewelry)'; *lanʧimu* (MDL) 'to put on (clothes, jewelry)'; *ga:dʒimu, ga:ʧimu* (MDL) 'to put on clothes, also in group'

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S06.120	the clothing or clothes	*gasa:* (PL)
S06.130	the tailor	*suʄĩ* 'tailor making traditional coat and cap (also a subcategory of the IA Chamang group)'
S06.210	the cloth	*gas; kapʰra:* 'cloth, fabric'; *ʧuʣ* 'kitchen cloth'
S06.220	the wool	*tsam*
S06.240	the cotton	*su:t*
S06.250	the silk	*silk*
S06.270	the felt	*pʰogdori* 'wool felt'
S06.280	the fur	*pu:* 'body hair; fur'
S06.290	the leather	*tsəmra; ponaŋ* 'skin; hide; leather (of cows, oxen, buffaloes etc.)'
S06.310	to spin	*pannu* 'to spin wool'
S06.320	the spindle	*paŋʈ*
S06.330	to weave	*tagmu* 'to weave; to knit'
S06.340	the loom	*ʥag*
S06.350	to sew	*ponnu* 'to sew (with a sewing machine)'
S06.360	the needle(1)	*kepts; keb* 'needle; awl'; *sua* 'large needle; injection needle'
S06.370	the awl	*karkeb; keb* 'needle; awl'
S06.380	the thread	*rid*
S06.390	to dye	*raŋgja:mu*
S06.410	the cloak	*ʧʰ(r)uba*
S06.420	the (woman's) dress	*gasa:; tsʰesmju gas*
S06.430	the coat	*ko:ʈ; tsamuko:ʈ* 'men's traditional long (woolen) coat'; *ʧʰuba* 'long woollen cloak/coat worn by bridegroom'; *ʧo:li* 'traditional (green) women's jacket'
S06.440	the shirt	*kurta* (traditional); *kamiʣ* (modern)
S06.450	the collar	*bran*
S06.480	the trousers	*sutʰon* 'traditional men's woolen trousers'; *penʈ* (modern)
S06.490	the sock or stocking	*gusab; baŋsab* 'woolen socks or shoes which cover feet, but not ankles, worn indoors'
S06.510	the shoe	*pon*
S06.520	the boot	*gambu:ʈ*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S06.540	the shoemaker	*mutsi:* 'cobbler'; *ʧama:res; ʧamaŋ* 'male member of a particular community'
S06.550	the hat or cap	*ʈop* 'hat, cap, helmet'; *ʈʰepaŋ* 'traditional cap'; *peʈʈʰepaŋ* 'black cap worn by bride'; *pa:guri* 'turban'; *pa:g* 'turban worn by bridegroom'
S06.570	the belt	*gaʧʰiŋ, gaʧʰaŋ* 'traditional woven belt worn by women'; *ɖori* 'belt; rope'
S06.580	the glove	*gud baŋgusab; gusab*
S06.610	the pocket	*kʰisog*
S06.620	the button	*boʈon*
S06.630	the pin	*kobʣa* (traditional pin worn by women)
S06.710	the ornament or adornment	*ʈa:naŋ*
S06.720	the jewel	*ʤvarat*
S06.730	the ring	*mundi*
S06.740	the bracelet	*paʈaŋ* 'traditional broad gold bracelet'; *ʈo:ru* 'traditional broad silver bracelet'
S06.750	the necklace	*trəmol* 'traditional necklace'; *tsandraha:r* 'traditional necklace'; *ma:laŋ, ma:liŋ* 'necklace, garland of dried fruit'; *u:ma:laŋ* 'necklace, garland of flowers'
S06.760	the bead	*proʃoll* 'a kind of bead (red and large)'
S06.770	the earring	*ka:nʈʰe* 'traditional earring'
S06.810	the handkerchief or rag	*safi*
S06.820	the towel	*tolija*
S06.910	the comb	*kotʰaŋ; kuʃ; ʃor* 'wool carding tool'
S06.920	the brush	*bruʃ*
S06.921	the plait/ braid	*kjar:ʃid kra:* 'plaited/braided hair'
S06.930	the razor	*kʰurts* 'large knife; large razor'
S06.940	the ointment	*ʃelʃimag kri:m*
S06.950	the soap	*samon*
S06.960	the mirror	*arʃuk; siso:, ʃiʃa:* 'mirror; glass'
S06.99901	the bag	*tʰela:; ʤola:; beg; kʰul* 'leather bag for storing food items'; *boʈua* 'purse'
S06.99907	the sandal	*senɖal*
S06.99911	to wear	*ga:ʤimu* 'to put on (clothes)'

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S07.110	to live	*nimu*; *naʃimu* 'to sit; to stay; to rest'
S07.120	the house	*kim* 'house, home'; *arsisi kim* 'modern house, built with bricks and cement'; *gora* 'stone house'
S07.130	the hut	*ɖog* 'small house'; *ʃennaŋ* 'small house in mountain or fields'
S07.131	the garden-house	*urtʃʰ* 'separate storehouse traditionally used to store grains, alchohol, butter etc'
S07.140	the tent	*ʈenʈ* 'tent for ceremonies'; *tombua* 'tarpaulin'
S07.150	the yard or court	*kʰataŋ*
S07.160	the men's house	*mjuŋ kim*; *mikim*
S07.170	the cookhouse	*panʈʰaŋ* 'room with stove in traditional house'; *kuʈiŋ* 'outside kitchen for preparing large amount of food for celebrations etc'
S07.180	the meeting house	*dumsa kim*; *tso:riŋ* 'raised platform in the center of the temple complex for placing devta on, where people gather'
S07.210	the room	*panʈʰaŋ* 'room with stove in traditional house; floor (in a traditional house); the main residential room in a house'
S07.220	the door or gate	*dvaraŋ*; *pitaŋ* 'gate, door'; *kajaŋ* 'door with door-frame'
S07.230	the lock	*ʃa:naŋ*, *ʃa:niŋ* 'traditional large iron lock on the main door'
S07.231	the latch or door-bolt	*vanʈʰaŋ*
S07.240	the key	*talaŋ(ts)*, *ta:lits*
S07.250	the window	*bodiŋ*
S07.260	the floor	*pʰor* 'floor; ground'; *panʈʰaŋ* 'floor (inside a traditional house); room'
S07.270	the wall	*bitiŋ*
S07.310	the fireplace	*meliŋ*; *pʰa:liŋ* 'oven, fireplace'
S07.320	the stove	*ge:s* 'modern (gas) stove'
S07.330	the chimney	*dusraŋ*
S07.370	the ladder	*tʰem(ts)*; *tsʰam* 'ladder; bridge'
S07.420	the bed	*palaŋ* 'modern bed'; *tsa:rpa:j* 'cot with wooden frame; matress part of a bed made of woven ropes';

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
		poʃ 'bedding (traditionally people sleep on bedding on the floor)'
S07.421	the pillow	*kum*
S07.422	the blanket	*kambal; ruʤai; kʰjar* 'blanket made of goat's hair'
S07.430	the chair	*k(ʰ)ursi*
S07.440	the table	*meʣ*
S07.450	the lamp or torch	*beʈri* 'flashlight'; *lalʈen* 'kerosene lamp'; *lomp* 'small kerosene lamp'; *divaŋ* 'earthen lamp'
S07.460	the candle	*mumbati*
S07.480	the trough	*kʰo:lo; tsoriŋ*
S07.510	the roof	*tsʰapraŋ* 'A-shaped roof of a traditional house or a temple'; *ʃoll* 'flat stone roof'; *lenʈer* 'modern brick-tile roof'; *məltʰaŋ* 'thatched roof'
S07.550	the beam	*ba:ʃaŋ; ʤalda:raŋ* 'roof beam'
S07.560	the post or pole	*tʰamgaŋ* 'pole (in traditional Kinnauri homes there used to be a pole adorned with decorative intricate carving in the middle of a house)'
S07.570	the board	*rots*
S07.610	the mason	*mistri*
S07.620	the brick	*ĩːʈ*
S07.630	the mortar(2)	*simenʈ*
S07.6500	the camp	*tsatʰaŋ*
S07.6700	to tan	*ʧʰomu*
S07.99905	the mosquito net	*maʧʰarda:ni*
S08.110	the farmer	*ʤimda:r*
S08.120	the field	*rim; ropaŋ* 'large farming field'; *se:riŋ* 'large farming field'; *ɲol* 'farm below village'; *kanɖa* 'farm just below mountain top'; *ɖabəraŋ* 'farm with many rocks/stones'; *paʈaŋ* 'terraced farm'
S08.1210	the paddy	*da:n*
S08.130	the garden	*bagitsa* 'garden; orchard'
S08.150	to cultivate	*pəʃmu* 'to sow; to cultivate'
S08.160	the fence	*ba:ʈaŋ*
S08.170	the ditch	*kʰa:ruŋ*
S08.210	to plough/plow	*halaŋ hemu; stal hemu*
S08.212	the furrow	*si:tʰaŋ*
S08.220	to dig	*ko:rmu*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S08.230	the spade	*pʰorua* 'spade; hoe'
S08.240	the shovel	*biltsa* 'shovel with a wooden handle and aluminium base, used in farming'; *korpanaŋ* 'wooden shovel for snow shuffling'
S08.250	the hoe	*ʃor; kudali; pʰorua* 'spade; hoe'
S08.270	the rake	*ʃorts*
S08.2800	the digging stick (=yamstick)	*dʑabəl*
S08.310	to sow	*pəʃmu* 'to sow; to cultivate'
S08.311	the seed	*poʈo; bijaŋ; boʈaŋ* 'soybean-like seed'; *re:mo:* 'apricot seeds'; *mog* 'bird seed'; *pug* 'roasted seeds'
S08.320	to mow	*labmu*
S08.330	the sickle or scythe	*dʑitʰraŋ*
S08.340	to thresh	*pʰammu* 'to thresh manually using a stick'; *tsʰaʈja:mu* 'to thresh manually while holding the sheaf in hand and beating it against a hard surface'
S08.350	the threshing-floor	*kʰolaŋ*
S08.410	the harvest	*pʰosol*
S08.420	the grain	*tʃʰoa*
S08.430	the wheat	*dʑod*
S08.440	the barley	*ʈag*
S08.470	the maize/corn	*tsʰəli, tsʰəlija*
S08.480	the rice	*ral* 'modern rice (cooked or uncooked)'; *koni* 'a local rice variety (cooked or uncooked)'
S08.510	the grass	*tʃi*
S08.520	the hay	*kʰolaŋ; ʃor; bratʃi*
S08.530	the plant	*ɖa:laŋ; ba:laŋ* 'seedling'
S08.531	to plant	*pəʃmu; ʈuŋmu* 'to plant; to make stand'
S08.540	the root	*dʑi:laŋ*
S08.550	the branch	*ɖalaŋ, ɖaliŋ; bar*
S08.560	the leaf	*patʰraŋ*
S08.570	the flower	*pʰul; u:*
S08.600	the tree	*bo:ʈʰaŋ*
S08.630	the birch	*ʃag*
S08.640	the pine	*li:m; kjalmaŋ* 'Deodar cedar'
S08.650	the fir	*pan*
S08.680	the tobacco	*toma:ku*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S08.690	to smoke	*tuŋmu* 'to drink; to smoke'; *sigriʈ tuŋmu* 'to smoke a cigarette'
S08.691	the pipe	*nodi; ʃoʈʰes; hukka*
S08.720	the tree stump	*goniŋ* 'tree stump; tree trunk'; *ɖoŋa* 'tree stump; tree trunk'
S08.730	the tree trunk	*goniŋ* 'tree stump; tree trunk'; *ɖoŋa* 'tree stump; tree trunk'; *bo:ʈʰaŋu ɖuza*
S08.740	the forked branch	*bragʣa* 'forked tree branch; crossroads'
S08.750	the bark	*bod* '(human) skin; bark; peel'; *pəd* 'bark of the Himalayan birch'
S08.760	the sap	*ʧʰiti*
S08.820	the coconut	*gori*
S08.840	the banana	*kela*
S08.931	the pumpkin or squash	*reʈʰo* 'pumpkin with hard peel, inedible'; *kondu* 'pumpkin with soft peel, edible'; *kaddu* 'pumpkin'
S08.940	the bamboo	*bãs*
S08.941	the sugar cane	*gənna*
S08.960	the fish poison	*maʧʰesu biʃaŋ*
S08.980	the mushroom	*ʤaŋmuts*
S08.9930	the needle(2)	*ʈon*
S08.9960	the cone	*toŋlo; pʰrus; ʈʰa:ŋga:le*
S08.99901	the almond	*bədam*
S08.99905	the apple	*sjo, seo* (modern); *pal* (indigenous, traditional)
S08.99910	the carrot	*ga:ʤar*
S08.99911	the cashew	*kaʤu*
S08.99918	the dung	*molaŋ*
S08.99930	the mango	*a:m*
S08.99935	the onion	*pja:ʣ*
S08.99936	the orange	*sontra*
S08.99937	the pea	*maʈar*
S08.99938	the pear	*naspoti*
S08.99941	the plum	*lutsa* 'wild plum'
S08.99952	the turnip	*ʃakar*
S08.99961	to pick	*tʰomu*
S08.99962	to raise or grow	*jogmu* (TR) (animals, humans); *pa:lja:mu* (TR) (animate); *poʤja:mu* (TR) (inanimate)

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S09.110	to do	*lannu* 'to do; to make'
S09.1110	to make	*lannu* 'to do; to make'; *ʈuja:mu* 'to prepare; to make ready (with 3 person object)'; *ʈuja:ʃimu* (MDL) 'to get oneself prepared'
S09.120	the work	*kamaŋ; nukuri* 'service; job'
S09.140	to bend	*kʰoŋmu* (TR); *kʰoŋʃimu* (MDL) 'to bend; to bow slightly (e.g., for greeting)'
S09.150	to fold	*kulugmu*
S09.160	to tie	*tsʰunnu*
S09.161	to untie	*ʈʰormu*
S09.180	the chain	*ʃaŋliŋ*
S09.190	the rope	*bəʃ; ɖori; ʃakʰro; ʧʰo:nliŋ* 'clothesline'
S09.192	the knot	*ganʈʰaŋ*
S09.210	to strike or hit or beat	*kulmu; pʰoʈno: rannu; tugmu*
S09.220	to cut	*katja:mu; məlmu; pʰralmu* 'to cut down'; *pʰolmu* 'to cut/chop wood'
S09.222	to chop	*kuʈkuʈaŋ ʃennu; pʰolmu* 'to cut/chop wood'
S09.223	to stab	*ʧʰuris rannu*
S09.230	the knife(2)	*tsaku*
S09.240	the scissors or shears	*kətu* 'modern scissors'; *ʧʰəmpa* 'traditional scissors'
S09.250	the axe/ax	*lasta; ostorsostor* 'battle axe'
S09.251	the adze	*basiŋ*
S09.260	to break	*ʈəgmu* (TR); *ʤəgmu* (INTR); *ʈəgʃimu* (MDL); *baʃmu* (INTR)
S09.261	broken	*ʤəgʤəg*
S09.270	to split	*pʰərmu* 'to split; to tear'
S09.280	to tear	*pʰərmu* 'to split; to tear'; *tsermu* 'to tear; to cut with knife/scissors'
S09.290	to skin	*kʰo:mu* 'to remove skin, bark, etc.'
S09.310	to rub	*baʈrja:mu* (S), *buʈrja:mu* (B) (TR); *baʈrja:ʃimu* (S), *buʈrja:ʃimu* (B) (MDL)
S09.3110	to wipe	*kuʃja:mu* (TR); *kuʃja:ʃimu* (MDL)
S09.320	to stretch	*tsonnu* (TR); *tsonʃimu* (MDL) 'to stretch (oneself); to yawn by stretching (one's arms)'

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S09.330	to pull	*ɖabmu* (TR); *ɖabʃimu* (MDL)
S09.340	to spread out	*pramu* (TR) (cereals etc); *bramu* (INTR); *praʃimu* (MDL); *sunnu* (TR) (batter)
S09.341	to hang up	*ʣonʈaŋ ʃennu*
S09.342	to press	*dobja:mu; letʰja:mu* 'to press edibles or cow dung'; *setʰja:mu* 'to press to straighten something'
S09.343	to squeeze	*ʈrumu* (TR); *ʈrutʰja:mu* (TR)
S09.350	to pour	*osmu*
S09.360	to wash	*ʧimu* (TR) (non-living objects); *ʧiʃimu* (MDL); *ʣiʃimu* (MDL) 'to wash one's hands'
S09.370	to sweep	*kutʃaŋ lannu* 'to sweep with a broom'; *ʃoja:mu* 'to sweep/clean (in general)'
S09.380	the broom	*kutʃaŋ; kutʃots* 'small broom for clearing ash around traditional stove in the middle of living room'
S09.422	the tool	*joʤaŋ*
S09.430	the carpenter	*ores* 'male member of the *ores* community (a social sub-group which traditionally were carpenters)'; *oronig* 'female member of the *ores* community'
S09.440	to build	*paŋmu*
S09.460	to bore	*dvənnu; ɖogiŋ lannu; ɖogiŋ tonnu* 'to bore, to take out something'
S09.461	to hollow out	*ɖogiŋ kotja:mu* 'to cut a hole'; *ɖogiŋ tonnu* 'to bore; to take out something'
S09.480	the saw	*a:ra*
S09.490	the hammer	*hatʰoɽa*
S09.500	the nail	*kilaŋ*
S09.560	the glue	*ʧʰiti*
S09.600	the blacksmith	*ɖomaŋ* 'traditional blacksmith community'; *ɖomes* 'male member of this community'
S09.610	to forge	*ga:ŋ ʃennu*
S09.640	the gold	*ʣaŋ*
S09.650	the silver	*mul*
S09.660	the copper	*ʈromaŋ*
S09.670	the iron	*ron*
S09.680	the lead	*si:kʰ*
S09.690	the tin or tinplate	*tsadər*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S09.710	the potter	*kʰəmar*
S09.720	to mould/mold	*kʰoŋmu* (TR); *kʰoɲʃimu* (MDL)
S09.730	the clay	*ma(:)ʈiŋ* 'land; soil; clay'
S09.740	the glass	*ʃiʃa; siso* 'glass; drinking glass; mirror'
S09.750	to weave or plait/braid	*tagmu* 'to weave'; *kjarmu* 'to braid (someone's hair)'; *kjarʃimu* (MDL) 'to braid (one's own hair)'
S09.760	the basket	*ʈokri; koʈiŋ* 'basket carried on the back'; *tʃaŋger* 'woven basket without handle or lid'; *tsʰaʈots* 'basket with handle'; *ɖanli* 'large bamboo basket used for storing large quantities of cooked food at gatherings (not used these days)'
S09.770	the mat	*kʰjar* 'blanket made of goat's hair; mat (rough, to sit on)'
S09.790	the fan	*paŋkʰa*
S09.810	to carve	*mərap tonnu*
S09.820	the sculptor	*kunɖa dʒaŋtsja:* 'sculptor of clay statues'
S09.830	the statue	*kunɖa* '(full-body) statue (of a god)'; *murti*
S09.840	the chisel	*tsʰeniŋ*
S09.880	the paint	*raŋg* 'paint, color'
S09.890	to paint	*raŋgja:mu; raŋgʃennu; si: tonnu* 'to paint (a special kind of Buddhist painting on silk or cotton, created by lamas)'; *tʃemu* 'to write; to draw; to paint'
S09.9000	to draw water	*ti ʈimu*
S09.9100	the peg	*kʰunʈi*
S09.99915	the pencil	*pensil*
S09.99916	the rust	*kʰoiŋ*
S09.99917	the sack	*boraŋ, bori*
S09.99931	to dwell or stay	*nimu*
S09.99934	to prepare	*ʈuja:mu* (TR); *ʈuja:ʃimu* (MDL)
S09.99936	to smear	*ʃelmu* (TR); *ʃelʃimu* (MDL)
S09.99938	to support	*gudrannu* (TR); *gudranʃimu* (MDL)
S10.110	to move	*sikja:mu* (TR); *sikja:ʃimu* (MDL) 'to get moved, shaken'
S10.120	to turn	*ʃurja:mu; kʰoŋmu* 'to turn; to bend; to mold'; *polʈja:ʃimu* (MDL) 'to turn around; to roll (PL) (collectively)'; *polʈja:mu* 'to flip over (e.g., chapati, quilt)'

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S10.130	to turn around	*polʈennu* (INTR) 'to turn around, to return, to come back'; *ʃurjaːʃimu* (MDL) 'to circle back'; *kʰoŋʃimu* (MDL) 'to get turned, bent, molded'
S10.140	to wrap	*meʃɲaːmu* (TR); *brinljaːmu* (TR); *brinljaːʃimu* (MDL)
S10.160	to drop	*tʰannu; tʃogmu; pʰralmu* 'to fell; to drop; to topple'; *gərmu* (TR) '(unintentionally) to drop; to topple'
S10.170	to twist	*mekjamu* (sth inanimate) (TR); *mekjaʃimu* (MDL)
S10.210	to rise	*tʰoʃimu* (MDL); *donnu, dvənnu* 'to come out (INTR), to rise (sun)'; *dʑərmu* (sun, moon); *sarʃimu* (MDL) (human); *jantʃimu* 'to wake up (MDL)'
S10.220	to raise or lift	*tʰomu; sərmu* 'to raise, to wake up (TR)'
S10.230	to fall	*bralmu; dannu* 'to get dropped, by natural force'; *tʰaʃimu* (MDL) 'to get dropped (on its own or unintentionally)'
S10.240	to drip	*tʃogmu* (TR); *dʑogmu* (INTR)
S10.250	to throw	*pajaːmu; pʰikjaːmu* 'to throw out; to discard'; *bərʃaːmu* 'to throw; to leave behind (a devta) and return to the village'; *ʃoʈʰjaːmu* 'to throw; to leave (forever)'
S10.252	to catch	*tsummu* 'to grasp, to catch'
S10.260	to shake	*dʑuŋljaːmu* (TR) (animate); *tʃʰokljaːmu* (TR) (liquid); *tʰoŋʃimu* (MDL) 'to shake dust off clothes'
S10.320	to flow	*bojennu* (INTR) 'to blow; to flow'; *bojaːʃimu* (MDL) 'to blow; to float (PL) (collectively)'
S10.330	to sink	*ɖubjaːmu* (TR); *ɖubennu* (INTR)
S10.340	to float	*bojennu* (INTR)
S10.350	to swim	*trabʃimu* (MDL) 'to swim or to cross the river on a rope'
S10.352	to splash	*tsʰatjaːmu*
S10.360	to sail	*tsaljaːmu* 'to drive a vehicle, boat, etc.'
S10.370	to fly	*jabmu* (TR)
S10.380	to blow	*pʰuljaːmu* (TR)
S10.410	to crawl	*ɖabʃimu* (MDL)
S10.412	to kneel	*ɖoliŋmu* 'to kneel (in front of a god); to touch elders' feet as a sign of respect'
S10.413	to crouch	*gvaʃimu* (MDL); *laːŋ tsʰerjaːmu* (TR)

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S10.420	to slide or slip	*bretʃimu*
S10.430	to jump	*gvaʃimu* (MDL); *gvamu* (TR); *laːŋ tsʰerjaːmu* (TR); *(s)kvamu* 'to make jump' (causative)
S10.431	to kick	*latʰos rannu*
S10.440	to dance	*tʃaːmu*
S10.450	to walk	*junnu* (INTR); *halennu* (INTR) 'to take a walk, to roam'; *junnu ʃennu* (TR); *haljaːmu* (TR) 'to walk, to roam'
S10.451	to limp	*kʰorennu* 'to limp; to snore'
S10.460	to run	*tʰurennu* (INTR); *tʰurjaːmu* (TR)
S10.470	to go	*bjomu* (S), *bimu* (B)
S10.471	to go up	*tʰug bjomu*
S10.472	to climb	*(tʰug) bjomu*
S10.473	to go down	*(jug) dʒabmu*
S10.474	to go out	*baːriŋ donnu*
S10.480	to come	*bənnu*
S10.481	to come back	*polʈennu* (INTR); *polʈjaːmu* (TR)
S10.490	to leave	*ʃoʈʰjaːmu* 'to throw; to leave (for ever)'; *bərʃjaːmu* 'to throw; to leave behind (a devta) and return to the village'
S10.491	to disappear	*ʃo bjomu*
S10.510	to flee	*bjomu* 'to leave; to go away; to run away'; *ʃoʈʰjaːmu* 'to throw; to leave (for ever)'
S10.520	to follow	*ɲumtʃ junnu*
S10.530	to pursue	*pitʃʰa lannu; kʰerjaːmu* 'to chase (TR)'; *kʰabmu* 'to chase'
S10.550	to arrive	*pənnu* 'to arrive; to approach'
S10.560	to approach	*pənnu* 'to arrive; to approach'
S10.570	to enter	*komo bjomu; saɲʃimu* (MDL) (forcefully, e.g., thief)
S10.5800	to go or return home	*polʈeʈe bjomu*
S10.610	to carry	*tʰomu; kjubmu* 'to carry on one's back'
S10.612	to carry in hand	*gudo tʰomu*
S10.613	to carry on shoulder	*raŋe tʰomu; bide tʰomu*
S10.614	to carry on head	*bale tʰomu*
S10.615	to carry under the arm	*kjarʈʰaŋ tʰomu*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S10.620	to bring	*karmu*
S10.630	to send	*ʃennu*
S10.640	to lead	*dʑaŋmu*
S10.650	to drive	*tsalja:mu*
S10.660	to ride	*ʃokʃimu* (MDL)
S10.670	to push	(s)*tugmu* 'to push; to strike; to hit'; *pʰutugmu* 'push (to hurt the other person)'
S10.710	the road	*solok*
S10.720	the path	*om* 'mountain path'
S10.740	the bridge	*tsʰam*
S10.750	the cart or wagon	*goɽagaɽi*
S10.760	the wheel	*paija*
S10.780	the yoke	*golɖuŋ*
S10.810	the ship	*panidʑadʑ*
S10.830	the boat	*kiʃti*
S10.850	the oar	*ʧappu*
S10.890	the anchor	*ləŋgər*
S10.910	the port	*bandarga*
S10.920	to land	*rebʧimu*
S10.99901	to accompany	*eke bjomu*
S10.99903	to carry on the back	*piʃʈe tʰomu*
S10.99904	to dip	*ʈ(r)agmu*
S11.110	to have	*haʧimu* 'to have; to become'
S11.130	to take	*unnu* 'to take; to seize'
S11.140	to grasp	*tsummu*
S11.160	to get	*tʰobmu* (TR); *porennu* (INTR) 'to get; to find'
S11.170	to keep	*ta:mu* 'to keep; to put'
S11.180	the thing	*bastuŋ; tsi:dʑ*
S11.210	to give	*rannu* (NON-1/2O), *kemu* (1/2O)
S11.220	to give back	*polʈja:ʈja: rannu*
S11.240	to preserve	*mapipi ta:mu*
S11.250	to rescue	*botsja:mu*
S11.270	to destroy	*tsʰaka lannu*
S11.280	to injure	*akʰa bjomu*
S11.2900	to damage	*nuksa:n lannu*
S11.310	to look for	*poʧimu*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S11.320	to find	*porennu* (INTR); *paja:mu* (TR)
S11.330	to lose	*pi:ʃimu* (MDL)
S11.340	to let go	*tsʰerja:mu*
S11.430	the money	*ʃugu*
S11.440	the coin	*pesats*
S11.510	rich	*soukar*
S11.520	poor	*ɖa:lɖis; bitʃa:res, bitʃa:rikas* 'helpless, poor'; *ala:tsar* 'poor (man)'
S11.530	the beggar	*untsja:*
S11.540	stingy	*bra:ʈ*
S11.620	to borrow	*rin rannu*
S11.630	to owe	*rin hatʃimu*
S11.640	the debt	*rin*
S11.650	to pay	*ʃugu rannu*
S11.690	the tax	*ʈeks; kar, kər*
S11.780	the wages	*pəgar*
S11.790	to earn	*kəmaj lannu; kəmaja:mu*
S11.810	to buy	*ʣogmu*
S11.820	to sell	*rennu*
S11.830	to trade or barter	*bjepar lannu*
S11.840	the merchant	*dukanda:r; bepari*
S11.850	the market	*baʣa:r*
S11.860	the shop/store	*ha:ʈi; duka:n*
S11.870	the price	*molaŋ; kimot*
S11.880	expensive	*me(h)eŋga, mẽga; tjoŋ molaŋ*
S11.890	cheap	*sostas, sosta*
S11.910	to share	*kagmu* 'to distribute'; *kagtʃimu* (MDL) 'to distribute'
S11.920	to weigh	*tolja:mu*
S11.99904	the property	*ma:ja; gorbon; ma:l*
S11.99907	to receive	*porennu* (INTR) 'to receive; to find'
S12.0100	after	*ɲum; nipi*
S12.0110	behind	*ɲumsko; ɲums; piʃʈiŋ*
S12.0120	in	*dor* 'in; near'; *komo* 'inside'
S12.0130	at	*tʰug* 'at; up; above'; *den* 'on; above; over'
S12.0200	beside	*dəŋ* 'near; beside; next'

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S12.0300	down	*jotʃriŋ* 'below', *jeʈʰaŋ* 'under; inside; down'; *jug* 'down; below'
S12.0400	before	*oms*
S12.0410	in front of	*omsko*
S12.0500	inside	*komo*
S12.0600	outside	*ba:raŋ; ba:riŋ* (B); *be:riŋ* (S)
S12.0700	under	*jeʈʰaŋ* 'under; inside; down'
S12.0800	up	*tʰug* 'at; up; above'; *den* 'on; above; over'
S12.0810	above	*den* 'on; above; over'
S12.110	the place	*dʑa:ga*
S12.120	to put	*ta:mu* 'to keep; to put'
S12.130	to sit	*toʃimu* (MDL) 'sit'; *naʃimu* 'to sit; to stay; to rest'
S12.140	to lie down	*dinnu*
S12.150	to stand	*ɖen nimu*
S12.160	to remain	*daktʃimu*
S12.170	the remains	*daktʃiʃid*
S12.210	to gather	*metja:mu* (TR); *metja:ʃimu* (MDL); *dʑabmu* (TR) (small-size objects)
S12.212	to pick up	*tʰomu*
S12.213	to pile up	*ɖeri ʃennu*
S12.220	to join	*ʈigmu*
S12.230	to separate	*kʰetsi lannu* (TR); *ʈomu* 'to take apart a man-made object'
S12.232	to divide	*kʰa:mu* (TR) 'to distribute'; *kagmu* (TR) 'to distribute'
S12.240	to open	*toŋmu* (TR)
S12.250	to shut	*pinnu* (TR); *piʃimu* (MDL); *binnu* (INTR)
S12.260	to cover	*pʰogmu* (TR) (animate objects); *lubmu* (TR) (inanimate objects, e.g., large pots, but not grass); *gorja:mu* (TR) (inanimate objects such as grass)'
S12.270	to hide	*məŋmu*
S12.310	high	*raŋk* 'high, tall (human, animate, inanimate)'
S12.320	low	*melk*
S12.330	the top	*bəll* 'head; top'
S12.340	the bottom	*tol; tʰa:saŋ*
S12.350	the end(1)	*dʑo ɲumsko* 'last; end (spatial)'

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S12.353	the edge	*da:r*
S12.360	the side	*paʃ*
S12.370	the middle	*madʑaŋ*
S12.410	right(1)	*dʑakʰaŋ* 'right; south'
S12.420	left	*kʰodʑaŋ* 'left; north'
S12.430	near	*dor; dəŋ* 'nearby (visible); beside'; *neraŋ* 'near, close'
S12.440	far	*varko*
S12.450	the east	*dʑərko*
S12.460	the west	*redko*
S12.470	the north	*kʰodʑaŋ* 'left; north'
S12.480	the south	*dʑakʰaŋ* 'right; south'
S12.530	to grow	*pa:lennu* (INTR)
S12.540	to measure	*pəgmu* (edible objects); *rinnu* (non-edibles); *napja:mu* (non-edibles)
S12.550	big	*teg*
S12.560	small	*gaʈo(ts)* (S); *dʑigits* (B) 'small; young'
S12.580	tall	*la:mes* 'long; tall'; *raŋk* 'high; tall (human, animate, inanimate)'
S12.590	short	*tʃʰoʈats* (human)
S12.610	wide	*kʰulas* 'wide; open (e.g., landscape or a large house with more open space)'; *kuntʃ* 'wide (inanimate objects, e.g., clothes, facial features, road)'
S12.620	narrow	*gaʈes*
S12.630	thick	*moʈʰes* 'thick; fat (e.g., dog, tree, man)'; *bakʰles* (non-human)
S12.650	thin	*bagits*; *nakits* (e.g., tree, man, child but not domestic animals)
S12.670	deep	*ɖuges* (e.g., river, well); *ɖuga* (e.g., plate)
S12.710	flat	*somaŋ; podres; maʃʈi:ts* 'smooth; flat (cloth)'; *pentenle* (e.g., plate)
S12.730	straight	*solɖes* 'straight; simple-natured (person)'; *solɖi* 'straight; humble; non-crooked (person)'
S12.740	crooked	*koŋʈa* (M), *koŋʈi* (F) 'crooked; humpbacked'
S12.760	the corner	*dʑər*
S12.780	the square	*pədʑər(ja:)*
S12.810	round	*ba:ʈles* (inanimate objects); *gola* 'round; circle'

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S12.820	the circle	*gola* 'round; circle'; *goliŋ* 'hoe balls'
S12.830	the ball	*gĩdu; pinṭu*
S12.840	the line	*len; rekʰ* (only in Hindu mythological narratives)
S12.850	the hole	*ḍogiŋ; dzabra:*
S12.920	similar	*ibrobar* (in personality); *iruaŋ* (in appearance)
S12.930	to change	*kvalmu*
S13.0100	one	*id; ek*
S13.0200	two	*niʃ*
S13.0300	three	*ʃum, sum*
S13.0400	four	*pə*
S13.0500	five	*ŋa*
S13.0600	six	*ṭug*
S13.0700	seven	*(s)ṭiʃ*
S13.0800	eight	*re*
S13.0900	nine	*(s)gui; id mats se*
S13.100	ten	*se:*
S13.101	eleven	*sigid*
S13.102	twelve	*soniʃ*
S13.103	fifteen	*soŋa*
S13.104	twenty	*nidza*
S13.105	a hundred	*ra:*
S13.106	a thousand	*hadza:r*
S13.107	to count	*narmu*
S13.140	all	*tseik* 'all; whole'; *saləm* 'all; whole (objects)'; *pura* 'whole (e.g., city, village, country)'; *gui* 'all; whole (duration)'; *sares* 'all; whole'
S13.150	many	*banbant; kus* 'much, many (countable objects)'; *val* 'much, many (non-countable objects)'; *botabot* (this is used only in connection with beating or fighting with solid round objects)
S13.160	more	*ṭjoŋ* (non-countable objects); *bodi* (countable objects)
S13.170	few	*san; sants*
S13.180	enough	*kjalekʰa*
S13.181	some	*ʧʰəd* 'what; some'; *domri; san; sants*
S13.190	the crowd	*dzomgoṭ*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S13.210	full	*bəŋgi*
S13.220	empty	*ʃagi*
S13.230	the part	*hisa*
S13.2310	the piece	*kʰanaŋts*
S13.240	the half	*kʰa:naŋ* (non-liquids); *a:daŋ* (liquids)
S13.330	only	*eko*
S13.3310	alone	*ertsʰi*
S13.340	first	*dzo oms; pele*
S13.350	last	*dzo ɲums*
S13.360	second	*dzo omskotʃ ɲums*
S13.370	the pair	*dzoɽi*
S13.380	twice/two times	*niʃ beraŋ* 'two times'; *dugna* 'twice'
S13.420	third	*ʃumu densja:; ʃum ba:g; ʃum hisa:* 'one third'
S13.440	three times	*ʃum beraŋ*
S13.99901	a little	*tʰoɽa; sa:nts*
S13.99903	each or every	*rere*
S13.99905	the yard	*gədz*
S13.99906	thirty	*nidzo se*
S13.99907	to fill	*bəŋmu* (INTR); *pəŋmu* (TR)
S13.99908	to substitute	*bodlja:mu*
S14.110	the time	*ʈʰonaŋ; la:mdes* 'duration, time period'; *rəŋ* 'times' (e.g., *pə rəŋ* 'four times')
S14.120	the age	*umor* (human); *adʒokʰa; tsʰe* (in buddhism)
S14.130	new	*ɲu:g* 'young; new'
S14.140	young	*ɲu:g* 'young; new'; *gaʈots* 'young; small'; *dzigits* 'young; small'; *dekʰor* (human); *dzuan* (M) (human); *konsaŋ* 'young(er) in kinship relation'
S14.150	old	*uʃk* (non-human); *sjano* (human); *jaŋdze(ts)* (animate F)
S14.170	late	*kʰrakʰra*
S14.180	now	*hun*
S14.190	immediately	*hunei*
S14.210	fast	*hasəl* 'soon; fast (speed)'; *dele* 'quickly'; *pʰaʈak* 'quickly'
S14.220	slow	*mesaŋ; sulus*
S14.230	to hurry	*ʃumu* (INTR)

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S14.240	to be late	*kʰramu*
S14.250	to begin	*duʃimu* (MDL)
S14.2510	the beginning	*ʃuru; ʤode beraŋ*
S14.270	to finish	(*ʃuŋmu*) *tsʰekja:mu* (TR); *purja:mu* (TR) 'to finish; to complete'; *ʃuŋmu* (INTR)
S14.280	to cease	*rokja:mu* (TR) 'to stop; to cease'; *rukennu* (INTR) 'to stop; to cease'; *rokja:ʃimu* (MDL) 'to stop; to cease'
S14.310	always	*dja:ro* 'always; every day, daily'
S14.320	often	*ipaipa*
S14.330	sometimes	*ipa; isən*
S14.331	soon	*hasəl* 'soon; fast (speed)'
S14.332	for a long time	*kusistaŋ*
S14.340	never	*teraɲi*
S14.350	again	*he; dema* (S), *tema* (B) 'then; again'
S14.410	the day(1)	*mja; laje, le*
S14.4110	the day(2)	*dja:r; djusaŋ; tʰa:ro*
S14.420	the night	*ra:tiŋ*
S14.430	the dawn	*somsi*
S14.440	the morning	*som*
S14.450	the midday	*maʤaŋ laje, maʤaŋ le*
S14.451	the afternoon	*ɲum laje, ɲum le*
S14.460	the evening	*ʃupa; ʃupelaŋ*
S14.470	today	*toro*
S14.480	tomorrow	*na:b*
S14.481	the day after tomorrow	*romi*
S14.490	yesterday	*me:*
S14.491	the day before yesterday	*ri:*
S14.510	the hour	*ganʈa*
S14.530	the clock	*gəʈi, gaʈi:*
S14.610	the week	*həpta*
S14.620	Sunday	*tva:r, tva:raŋ*
S14.630	Monday	*suãraŋ*
S14.640	Tuesday	*maŋgla:raŋ*
S14.650	Wednesday	*buda:raŋ*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S14.660	Thursday	*brespot*
S14.670	Friday	*ʃukaraŋ*
S14.680	Saturday	*ʃonʃeres*
S14.710	the month	*gol*
S14.730	the year	*boʃaŋ*
S14.740	the winter	*gun*
S14.750	the spring(2)	*renam*
S14.760	the summer	*ʃol*
S14.770	the autumn/fall	*tsʰarmi*
S14.780	the season	*mosəm; kalaŋ*
S14.99902	long ago	*omi*
S14.99903	New Year	*sadzo*[104]
S15.210	to smell(1)	*baːsennu* (INTR) (one entity); *baːsjaːʃimu* (MDL) (collectively); *tamʃimu* (MDL); *basennu* (INTR)
S15.212	to sniff	*baːsjaːmu* (TR); (*baːs*) *tammu* (TR)
S15.250	fragrant	*bas*
S15.260	stinking	*ganam*
S15.350	sweet	*tʰiːg; em*
S15.360	salty	*tsʰakore; surk* 'salty; sour'
S15.370	bitter	*kaːg*
S15.380	sour	*surk* 'salty; sour'
S15.390	brackish	*tsʰati*
S15.410	to hear	*tʰəsmu*
S15.420	to listen	*rontʃimu*
S15.440	the sound or noise	(*s*)*kad*
S15.450	loud	*dzores*
S15.460	quiet	*tsuʈkaŋ*
S15.510	to see	*kʰjamu* (S), *kʰima* (B)
S15.520	to look	*taŋmu* 'to observe'
S15.550	to show	*dzaŋmu*
S15.560	to shine	*dzəlmələnnu* (INTR); *dzəkməkennu* (INTR)
S15.570	bright	*dzələmələ*
S15.610	the colour/color	*raŋg* 'paint; color'

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104 The name of a festival which marks the beginning of a new year.

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S15.620	light(2)	*tsʰag; tsʰatk*
S15.630	dark	*ajã:raŋ; tur*
S15.640	white	*ʈʰog*
S15.650	black	*rok*
S15.660	red	*ʃvi:g*
S15.670	blue	*əsmani; ra:g* 'blue; green'
S15.680	green	*ra:g* 'blue; green'
S15.690	yellow	*pi:g* 'yellow'; *pigulgulo* 'orange'
S15.710	to touch	*ʈʰəŋmu*
S15.712	to pinch	*ʧũɖus rannu*
S15.720	to feel	*demu* 'touch; feel'; *tsalmu*
S15.740	hard	*ʈal* 'hard (objects)'; *ʈalkaʈal* 'very hard (objects)'
S15.750	soft	*koles; sapsapo; tʰis* 'soft; loose (e.g., knot)'
S15.760	rough(1)	*kʰaʃe*
S15.770	smooth	*maʃʈits*
S15.780	sharp	*dzərədzərə, tsərətsərəi*
S15.790	blunt	*bəʧag; ʈʰuntsu*
S15.810	heavy	*garkas; li:g*
S15.820	light(1)	*lamgits*
S15.830	wet	*ʧits; pinʧ*
S15.840	dry	*tsʰarts* (e.g., plant leaves, stems); *kʰuʃk* (inanimate objects)
S15.850	hot	*bok*
S15.851	warm	*dzogits; dz(r)ãŋk* 'very warm (weather)'
S15.860	cold	*lis(k)*
S15.870	clean	*sapʰ; tsokʰes; ʃuʃes, ʃuʃkes* 'clean (human)'; *nira:nes* 'clean; pure (liquids)'
S15.880	dirty	*kri:* 'dirty (internally generated dirt in humans)'; *vaʃ* 'dirty, impure'; *ma:ri* 'filthy (human)'
S15.890	wrinkled	*dzutʰrupʃis* 'wrinkled (men, women)'
S15.99901	brown	*buro*
S15.99902	grey	*ʈʰ(r)ora:g*
S15.99903	orange	*pigulgulo*
S15.99904	pink	*gula:bi* 'pink; violet'
S15.99906	violet	*gula:bi* 'pink; violet'
S16.110	the soul or spirit	*dziva*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S16.150	surprised or astonished	*biʃaraŋ*
S16.180	the good luck	*dam kismot*
S16.190	the bad luck	*mari kismot*
S16.230	happy	*kʰusi, kʰuʃi*
S16.250	to laugh	*vannu*
S16.260	to play	*jotʃimu; baʣja:mu* (TR); *baʣennu* (INTR)
S16.270	to love	*bennaŋ lannu; bennja:mu*
S16.290	to kiss	*pʰapu rannu*
S16.300	to embrace	*kakts tsummu*
S16.310	the pain	*əkʰa* (physical); *piraŋ* (mental)
S16.320	the grief	*dukʰaŋ* 'disease; grief'
S16.340	to regret or be sorry	*golti monja:mu*
S16.350	the pity	*pa:pu; pa:paŋ*
S16.370	to cry	*krabmu*
S16.380	the tear	*misti*
S16.390	to groan	*ʣĩgennu*
S16.410	to hate	*migo boŋ tsalmu*
S16.420	the anger	*roʃaŋ*
S16.440	the envy or jealousy	*mitʃʰaŋ*
S16.450	the shame	*sorom; pətsit*
S16.480	proud	*ʃa:n*
S16.510	to dare	*himmot lannu*
S16.520	brave	*roʈʰas; ba:dur*
S16.530	the fear	*bjaŋ, bjaŋməg*
S16.540	the danger	*kʰətərnak*
S16.620	to want	*gja:mu*
S16.622	to choose	*kʰjalmu*
S16.630	to hope	*tsalmu*
S16.660	true	*sotskolaŋ*
S16.670	to lie(2)	*alkoləŋ ba:tennu*
S16.690	to forgive	*ma:pʰ lannu*
S16.710	good	*dam*
S16.720	bad	*ma:ri* 'bad, filthy (human)'; *narək* 'bad; sorrow; hell; evil'; *pa:paŋ* 'evil (N)'
S16.730	right(2)	*dimaŋ*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S16.740	wrong	*vamaŋ*
S16.760	the fault	*golti*
S16.770	the mistake	*golti*
S16.780	the blame	*bodi*
S16.790	the praise	*ʃəŋarəŋ*
S16.810	beautiful	*ʃaro* (M), *ʃare* (F)
S16.820	ugly	*maʃare* (F)
S16.830	greedy	*laltsi*
S16.840	clever	*tsəlak; tʃust*
S16.99903	thank you!	*ho:lase*
S16.99914	wild	*bonsak* 'wild entities (animal, plant) (N)'
S17.110	the mind	*dima:k*
S17.130	to think(1)	*suntsennu* (INTR); *tsalmu* 'to think; to feel'
S17.140	to think(2)	*suntsja:mu* (TR)
S17.150	to believe	*didʑennu*
S17.160	to understand	*somdzennu* (INTR); *gomu* (INTR); *somdzja:mu* (TR) 'to understand; to explain'
S17.170	to know	*nemu*
S17.171	to guess	*tʰog lannu*
S17.172	to imitate	*nokol lannu*
S17.180	to seem	*tsalmu* 'to think; to feel'
S17.190	the idea	*suntso*
S17.210	wise	*okolsja:* 'wise (N)'
S17.220	stupid	*muruk* 'foolish'; *pagal* 'mad; idiot'
S17.230	mad	*bo:la:* 'mad (person)'; *pagal* 'mad; idiot'
S17.240	to learn	*huʃimu* (MDL) 'to learn; to read'
S17.242	to study	*bəntsja:mu*
S17.250	to teach	*hunnu*
S17.260	the pupil	*huʃid tʃʰaŋ*
S17.270	the teacher	*maʃtor*
S17.280	the school	*səkul*
S17.310	to remember	*ja:d lannu* (VOL); *kolaŋ lannu* (VOL); *kolaŋ bənnu* (NVOL); *ja:d bənnu* (NVOL)
S17.320	to forget	*boʃimu* (MDL)
S17.360	secret	*gupti*
S17.380	to explain	*hagom ʃennu*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S17.420	the cause	*ʧʰəbas*
S17.430	the doubt	*ʃok; bem*
S17.440	to suspect	*ʃok lannu*
S17.441	to betray	*dokʰa rannu; gjab rannu; kjab rannu*
S17.450	the need or necessity	*gjaməg*
S17.470	difficult	*kotsaŋ; muʃkil*
S17.480	to try	*koʃiʃ lannu*
S17.490	the manner	*ʈʰims*
S17.510	and	*raŋ; aj*
S17.520	because	*ʧʰu lonna*
S17.540	or	*kve, kue*
S17.550	yes	*ã*
S17.560	no	*mani; nei; maːts*
S17.610	how?	*hales; hala*
S17.630	how much?	*te; tetra; teta* 'how many, how much';
S17.640	what?	*ʧʰəd* 'what; some'
S17.650	when?	*teraŋ*
S17.660	where?	*ham*
S17.670	which?	*hat; hatsjaː*
S17.680	who?	*hat*
S17.690	why?	*ʧʰu, ʈʰu*
S17.99903	the same	*iruaŋ* 'same; similar; identical'
S18.110	the voice	*(s)kad; avadz*
S18.120	to sing	*gitʰaː lannu*
S18.130	to shout	*ʈokʰennu* (INTR) 'to shout; to shriek; to call out loud'; *ʈokʰjaːmu* (TR) 'to shout; to shriek; to call out loud'
S18.150	to whisper	*kʰuʃ puʃjaːmu* (TR); *ʃutputjaːmu* (TR)
S18.160	to mumble	*gudz budzennu*
S18.170	to whistle	*ʃvĩgjaːmu*
S18.180	to shriek	*ʈokʰennu* (INTR) 'to shout; to shriek; to call out loud'; *ʈokʰjaːmu* (TR) 'to shout; to shriek; to call out loud'
S18.190	to howl	*haːpe dzĩgjaʃimu* (MDL)

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S18.210	to speak or talk	*lonnu* (NON-1/2O) 'to tell; to speak; to talk', *riŋmu* (B), *rəŋmu* (S) (1/2O) 'to tell; to speak; to talk'
S18.211	to stutter or stammer	*pʰappʰapennu*
S18.220	to say	*ba:tja:mu* (TR); *ba:tennu* (INTR)
S18.221	to tell	*ba:tja:mu* (TR); *ba:tennu* (INTR); *lonnu* (NON-1/2O) 'to tell; to speak, to talk', *riŋmu* (B), *rəŋmu* (S) (1/2O) 'to tell; to speak; to talk'
S18.222	the speech	*bafən; ba:t, ba:taŋ, ba:tiŋ; galaŋ*
S18.230	to be silent	*tsurkaŋ nimu* (S), *tsuʈkaŋ nimu* (B)
S18.240	the language	*boli; b(ʰ)a:ʃa; (s)kad*
S18.260	the word	*ʧu*
S18.280	the name	*na:maŋ*
S18.310	to ask(1)	*imu; unnu* 'to take; to ask for'
S18.320	to answer	*dʑəbab rannu*
S18.330	to admit	*hã kʰurmu*
S18.340	to deny	*hurʃimu* (MDL)
S18.350	to ask(2)	*unnu* 'to take; to ask for'
S18.360	to promise	*dorom rannu; ren rannu*
S18.370	to refuse	*məna lannu*
S18.380	to forbid	*malannu*
S18.390	to scold	*dopkja:mu; galja: rannu* 'to abuse'
S18.410	to call(1)	*ʈokʰja:mu; arja:mu* 'to call; to invite'
S18.440	to threaten	*pjaŋmu*
S18.450	to boast	*ʃəŋa rennu*
S18.510	to write	*ʧemu* 'to write; to draw'
S18.520	to read	*huʃimu* (MDL)
S18.560	the paper	*kagli*
S18.570	the pen	*pen; kolom*
S18.610	the book	*kətab; kotʰi* 'Buddhist scriptures'
S18.670	the poet	*kavita ʧetsja:* (M), *kavita ʧetse:* (F)
S18.710	the flute	*banʃuri; murli; ba:ʃaŋ*
S18.720	the drum	*ɖol* 'drum with a leather membrane on both ends'
S18.730	the horn or trumpet	*raŋsiŋ* 'trumpet'
S18.740	the rattle	*ʧʰunʧʰun*
S19.110	the country	*deʃaŋ; muluk* 'country; village'

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S19.120	the native country	*dzonom tʰanaŋ*
S19.150	the town	*ʃer*
S19.160	the village	*gra:maŋ; nogriŋ; muluk* 'country; village'
S19.170	the boundary	*simaŋ; bəna*
S19.210	the people	*lokas; pakres*
S19.230	the clan	*gor*
S19.240	the chieftain	*gobats; karda:r*
S19.250	the walking stick	*tʃʰumma:*
S19.310	to rule or govern	*ra:dz lannu*
S19.320	the king	*ra:dza*
S19.330	the queen	*ra:ni*
S19.360	the noble	*damgoru* (*dam-gor-u* [good-clan-POSS])
S19.370	the citizen	*muluku mi; pordza*
S19.410	the master	*ma:lik*
S19.420	the slave	*lantsja:* (M) 'slave; worker'; *dasi* (F); *tsʰokri* (F) 'slave at king's service'
S19.430	the servant	*tʃʰunpa*(F); *lantsja:* (M) 'slave; worker'; *nukur* (M, F)
S19.440	the freeman	*a:dzat mi*
S19.4450	to liberate	*a:dzat lannu*
S19.450	to command or order	*hukum lannu*
S19.460	to obey	*hukum monja:mu*
S19.470	to permit	*lannu; ʃennu*
S19.510	the friend	*dost; saŋgis; gurba:i; kones* 'male friend of a man'; *konets* 'female friend of a woman'
S19.520	the enemy	*dusmon*
S19.540	the neighbour	*paʃpaŋ*
S19.550	the stranger	*na:maŋ mi*
S19.560	the guest	*ponukes*
S19.5650	to invite	*arja:mu* (TR) (formal); *kunnu* (TR) (informal); *arja:ʃimu* (MDL)
S19.570	the host	*memani lantsja*
S19.580	to help	*seta rannu*
S19.590	to prevent	*rokʰja:mu*
S19.610	the custom	*riʋa:dz* 'tradition; custom'
S19.620	the quarrel	*da:ʃo*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S19.630	the plot	*sa:dʒiʃ*
S19.650	to meet	*ʧʰukmu* (TR); *ʧʰukʃimu* (MDL)
S19.720	the prostitute	*ɖekʰra meʈjatse*
S19.99902	Australia	*aʂʈrelia*
S19.99903	China	*ʧi:n*
S19.99904	Egypt	*misar*
S19.99906	Greece	*junan*
S19.99907	India	*ba:rat*
S19.99910	sir	*dʒənab*
S19.99911	Spain	*səpen*
S19.99913	Brazil	*bradʒilu*
S19.99914	the certificate	*serʈifikaʈ*
S19.99915	the Chinese person	*ʧi:nu*
S19.99917	the European	*juropu*
S19.99922	the French person	*pʰrãsu*
S19.99925	the hockey	*hoki*
S19.99930	the policeman	*pulsija; pulis*
S19.99935	the sport	*kʰel*
S19.99936	the student	*huʃidja*
S20.110	to fight	*kulʃimu* (MDL); *da:ʃimu* (MDL) 'to fight verbally; to quarrel'
S20.130	the war or battle	*lorai*
S20.140	the peace	*ʃa:nti* 'peace; happiness'
S20.150	the army	*pʰoʤ*
S20.170	the soldier	*pʰoʤi*
S20.210	the weapon	*oʣar*
S20.222	the battle-axe	*ostorsostor*
S20.240	the bow	*danuʃ*
S20.250	the arrow	*ba:n; ti:r*
S20.260	the spear	*bala*
S20.270	the sword	*trəval*
S20.280	the gun	*tupuk*
S20.330	the helmet	*ʈop*
S20.340	the shield	*ɖa:l*
S20.360	the tower	*kʰãba*
S20.440	to defend	*botsja:mu*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S20.470	the captive or prisoner	*kedi*
S20.471	the guard	*ga:ɖ*
S20.510	the fisherman	*matʃʰa:res*
S20.540	the fishnet	*ʤa:l*
S20.610	to hunt	*eraŋ lannu*
S20.620	to shoot	*tupuk baʤja:mu*
S20.630	to miss	*ʤilmu*
S20.640	the trap	*pinʤor; koŋ*
S21.110	the law	*ka:nun*
S21.150	the court	*koʈ*
S21.160	to adjudicate	*pʰesla rannu*
S21.170	the judgment	*pʰesla*
S21.180	the judge	*ʤəʤ*
S21.210	the plaintiff	*mukədma lantsja:*
S21.220	the defendant	*mukədəma loretsja:*
S21.230	the witness	*gʋa*
S21.240	to swear	*ren ʤa:mu*
S21.250	the oath	*kosom*
S21.310	to accuse	*bodi rannu*
S21.340	to acquit	*bori lannu; doʃi lannu*
S21.350	guilty	*mulʤim*
S21.360	innocent	*sa:daŋ* 'innocent; simple (character-wise)'; *beksur*
S21.370	the penalty or punishment	*ɖa:naŋ*
S21.380	the fine	*səʤa, saʤa*
S21.390	the prison	*ked; obor* 'dungeon'
S21.460	the arson	*mekrub*
S21.510	to steal	*kʰutʃimu; tʃorjaŋ lannu*
S21.520	the thief	*tʃoras, tʃores*
S22.110	the religion	*dorom, daram*
S22.120	the god	*bogan* 'Hindu god'; *devi* 'Hindu godess'; *devta:* 'Hindu god'; *pormeʃeres* (M); *ʃu* 'village god,'; *ʤʒʰoŋra:ʤas* (M) 'death god'
S22.130	the temple	*deoraŋ; deoriŋ; koʈʰi; koʈʰiʃelaŋ; gonpa* 'Buddhist temple'; *santʰaŋ* 'temple compound'

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S22.1310	the church	*tʃərtʃ*
S22.1320	the mosque	*məsʤid*
S22.150	the sacrifice	*pəʣa* 'ritual sacrifice'
S22.160	to worship	*piʣja:mu*
S22.170	to pray	*donʈrennu* 'to pray (in one's heart)'; *orʣ lannu* 'to pray (orally)'
S22.180	the priest	*piʣares*; *ʤomo* (F) 'lama'; *sod* (M), *sodonig, sodnig* (F); *bramən* 'priest; brahmin'
S22.190	holy	*ʃu:ranu ʣaga; alaŋes*
S22.220	to preach	*ʃu:mu*
S22.240	to curse	*ʃa:p rannu*
S22.260	to fast	*kadaʃ lannu*
S22.310	the heaven	*sorg; soroglok*
S22.320	the hell	*norok, narək*
S22.350	the demon	*rakʃas* (M)
S22.370	the idol	*kunɖats*
S22.420	the magic	*ʣa:du*
S22.430	the sorcerer or witch	*ɖagin* 'sorcerer; witch'; *tʃuɽel* (F)
S22.440	the fairy or elf	*bonmets*
S22.450	the ghost	*rakʃas; ʃuna*
S22.470	the omen	*apʃagun*
S22.99905	the funeral	*dag*
S22.99909	the muslim	*musəlman*
S22.99910	the rosary	*konʈʰi*
S23.1000	the radio	*reɽu*
S23.1100	the television	*ʈibi*
S23.1200	the telephone	*mobajl; (ʈeli)pʰon*
S23.1300	the bicycle	*sajkal*
S23.1350	the motorcycle	*moʈarsajkal*
S23.1400	the car	*ga:ɽi; ka:r*
S23.1500	the bus	*bos, bas*
S23.1550	the train	*rel; ʈren*
S23.1600	the airplane	*(havai)ʤaʤ*
S23.1700	the electricity	*biʣəli*
S23.1750	the battery	*sel(l)*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S23.1850	the motor	*moṭor*
S23.1900	the machine	*maʃin*
S23.2000	the hospital	*aspətal*
S23.2100	the nurse	*nors*
S23.2200	the pill or tablet	*golits*
S23.2300	the injection	*sua*
S23.2400	the spectacles/ glasses	*enək; ʧaʃma*
S23.3000	the government	*gormenṭ*
S23.3100	the president	*raʃṭrəpati*
S23.3200	the minister	*mantri; elkar; ʤeʃʰas, gobats; ʤeʃʰaŋ* 'elder (N)'
S23.3300	the police	*pulis*
S23.3400	the driver's license	*ga:ɽi ʧalja:mu lesəns*
S23.3500	the license plate	*lesəns pəleṭ*
S23.3600	the birth certificate	*ʣormaŋ sarṭipʰikeṭ*
S23.3700	the crime	*pa:p*
S23.3800	the election	*elekʃən, ilekʃən*
S23.3850	the address	*pota*
S23.3900	the number	*nar*
S23.3950	the street	*go:liŋ*
S23.4000	the post/mail	*ḍa:k*
S23.4100	the postage stamp	*ḍa:k ṭikoṭ*
S23.4200	the letter	*tsiṭʰi, ʧiṭʰi*
S23.4300	the postcard	*posṭkaɽ*
S23.4400	the bank (financial institution)	*beŋk*
S23.5000	the tap/faucet	*nəlka; ṭunṭi*
S23.5100	the sink	*arbo* 'bronze vessel for washing hands'
S23.5200	the toilet	*kʰəsuriŋ*
S23.5300	the mattress	*poʃ*
S23.5400	the tin/can	*ṭi:n* 'tin'; *ken* 'can'
S23.5500	the screw	*peʧ*
S23.5550	the screwdriver	*peʧkəs*
S23.5600	the bottle	*botol*
S23.5650	the candy/sweets	*emets; mitʰai*
S23.5700	the plastic	*pəlasṭik*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri
S23.5750	the bomb	*bomb*
S23.5900	the cigarette	*sigriṭ*
S23.6000	the newspaper	*əkʰbar*
S23.6100	the calendar	*kəlenḍər*
S23.6200	the film/movie	*pʰilam*
S23.6300	the music	*baʣgi*
S23.6400	the song	*gana; gitaŋ, gitʰaŋ*
S23.9000	the tea	*ʧaː*
S23.9100	the coffee	*kopʰi*
S23.99901	the license	*lesəns*
S24.0100	to be	*to; du*; *nimu* 'to exist; to stay'
S24.0200	to become	*haʧimu* 'to have; to become'
S24.0300	without	*maːts*
S24.0400	with	(-)*rəŋ* [(-)COM]
S24.0500	through	*maʣaŋ-s*
S24.0600	not	*ma-*
S24.0700	this	*hojo, ʤo* [DEM.PROX]
S24.0800	that	*hodo*; *no, hono* [DEM.DIST.VIS]
S24.0900	here	*həʤəŋ*
S24.1000	there	*dəŋ* [there.VIS]; *nəŋ* [there.NVIS]
S24.1100	other	*aid*
S24.1200	next	*daŋ* 'near; next; beside'
S24.1300	same	*idi*
S24.1400	nothing	*ʧʰətsi, mani*
S24.99910	someone	*hatta* (*hat-ta* [who-DSM])
S24.99912	then	*dok* 'then; after'; *dema* (S), *tema* (B) 'then; again'
S24.99913	they (dual)	*doniʃ*
S24.99914	we (dual inclusive)	*kiʃaŋ*
S24.99917	which	*hat*
S24.99919	you (dual)	*kiʃi*

A Linguistic Sketch of Navakat

1 Introduction

Nako is a small, high-altitude village (3,600 m above sea level) in Upper Kinnaur.[1] Like a green oasis amidst its immense, dry and barren mountainous surroundings,[2] it is situated in the north-east corner of the district of Kinnaur. It is about 100 km north-east of Reckong Peo, the district headquarter of Kinnaur (see Chapter 1, Section 3). On its east is the autonomous region of Tibet in China and on its north-west is the Spiti valley.

Nako belongs administratively to the Hangrang sub-tahsil of the Poo tahsil (see Chapter 1). As Nako is located within the restricted zone region in India, foreign nationals are required to seek an inner line permit to visit this village.[3] According to the 2011 Indian census report,[4] Nako had 128 households, with a total population of 572 (274 males and 298 females). The population traditionally belongs to two social communities. Administratively the two communities are officially referred to as the "scheduled caste" community and the "scheduled tribe" community (see Chapter 1, Section 4). The latter is the largest group in the village, with a total population of 532 (255 male and 277 female). Distinct from the Sangla region, the scheduled caste community in Nako speaks the same language as the scheduled tribe community, even though socially the two communities maintain separate identities.[5]

The Nako village is known as *nau* among its residents. In more official contexts, the village is referred to as "Nako", and this is the name which will be used in this work to refer to this village, in accordance with the wishes of my lan-

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1 Nako is traditionally an important place for Buddhists in Western Himalaya. There are at least seven temples from different periods in and around Nako, including a monastic complex. Some temples of this monastic complex are claimed to be from the first half of the 12th century (Luczanits 2003). Buddhists come from far off places to visit Nako. The Nako lake (3,662 metres above sea-level), too, is regarded as a sacred lake by Buddhists.

2 The highest peak near Nako is Leo Pargil (6,791 m). It is situated to the east of the Nako village.

3 For access to areas close to the Indian border with China an inner line permit is required. In Kinnaur this applies to parts of Upper Kinnaur (e.g., Nako), while areas in the Lower Kinnaur region (e.g., Sangla, Reckong Peo, Kalpa) do not require this permit.

4 Source: Census of India online (retrieved in July 2016).

5 This is also the case in some other Tibetan communities, for instance, the *gara* ('blacksmith') community in Ladakh.

guage consultants. The speech of this village is referred to as *nàva-kat* [p.name-speech] [nàʋakaĩ] in the local language. The form Navakat will be used here to refer to this language,[6] which is known in the literature as Bhoti Kinnauri (nes) or as a "Bhoti dialect".

All Sino-Tibetan (ST) varieties of Upper Kinnaur are in a sorry state with respect to their documentation. There is a sketch grammar by D.D. Sharma (1992: 97–196) where the language is referred to as Nyamkad, based on the speech of the Poo and Namgya villages. The language of the Nako village is mentioned only in the following works, where some data can also be found: Saxena (2011, 2012), Saxena and Borin (2011, 2013) and the *Comparative dictionary of Tibetan dialects* (CDTD; Bielmeier et al. MS 2008), where the language (called "Nako") is classified as belonging to the IBA (North West Indian border area dialects) sub-group of Western Innovative Tibetan.

The analysis of Navakat presented in this chapter is based on direct-elicited data and free narratives, which I collected. The direct-elicited material was primarily collected from Mr. Padam Sagar, a native of the Nako village, who was in his mid-thirties when I began working on Navakat in 2009. The free narratives were collected from older Nako speakers. As this is the first linguistic description of the speech of the Nako village, most examples provided here represent the direct-elicited speech to get the basic paradigm-like information of this language. As this description will show, the linguistic structure of Navakat is very similar to other Tibetan varieties.

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6   When interacting with people from outside Kinnaur, the local Nako villagers refer to themselves as [kínɔːra] (if the speaker is a man) or as [kínɔːri] (if the speaker is a woman). When they communicate with people who are from Middle and Lower Kinnaur (see Chapter 1), they communicate in Hindi and describe themselves as coming from the Nako village. But when they communicate with people from Upper Kinnaur, they refer to themselves as *nàova* (see Section 3.2.3) and their village as *nàu*.

2 Phonology

2.1 *Consonants*

The consonant phonemes in Navakat are shown in Table 27, and a list of minimal pairs is provided below. The status of prenasalized consonants is discussed separately in Section 2.1.1.

TABLE 27 Consonant phonemes in Navakat

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b	t d	ʈ ɖ		k g	
Aspirated plosive	pʰ	tʰ	ʈʰ		kʰ	
Nasal	m	n		ɲ	ŋ	
Fricative		s z		ʃ ʒ[7]		h
Affricate		ts ʣ		ʧ ʤ		
Aspirated affricate		tsʰ		ʧʰ		
Lateral		l				
Trill		r				
Approximant	ʋ	ň[8]		j		

Minimal (or near-minimal) pairs: Consonants

p : b	*pénba*	'Saturday'	*bámba*	'lamp'
p : pʰ	*páŋ*	'tree'	*pʰáŋ*	'spindle'
t : d	*tà*	'now'	*ⁿdàʧa*	'to chew'
t : ʈ	*tá*	'stallion'	*ʈá*	'hair (head)'
ʈ : ɖ	*ʈàŋmo*	'cold'	*ɖùmpo*	'thick (round objects)'
tʰ : ʈʰ	*tʰúkpa*	'soup (traditional)'	*ʈʰúkpa*	'quarrel'
ʈ : ʈʰ	*ʈá*	'hair'	*ʈʰá*	'hawk'
k : kʰ	*káŋba*	'leg'	*kʰáŋba*	'house'
s : ʃ	*sákʧa*	'to collect, to hoard'	*ʃákʧa*	'to split'
ʧ : ʤ	*ʧéŋa*	'fifteen'	*(ⁿ)ʤèŋu*	'green'
ʧ : ʧʰ	*ʧú*	'ten'	*ʧʰú*	'water'
k : g	*kúnma*	'thief'	*gùnga*	'winter'
ts : ʣ	*tsákʧa*	'to sieve, to strain'	*ⁿʣàkʧa*	'to climb'

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7 The articulation of ʃ actually varies between [ʃ] and [ʂ]. The same is the case concerning the articulation of ʒ.

8 See the separate discussion of prenasalization in Section 2.1.1 below.

ts : tsʰ	*tsá:*	'bottom'		*tsʰám*	'meditation'
s : tsʰ	*sá*	'vein'		*tsʰá*	'salt'
s : ʒ	*sèrtʃa*	'to say'		*ʒèttʃa*	'to forget'
ts : tʃ	*tsán*	'nest'		*tʃàŋ*	'north'
m : n	*má*	'wound'		*ná*	'nose'
n : ŋ	*ná*	'nose'		*ŋá*	'five'
m : ŋ	*mán*	'medicine'		*ŋán*	'early'
n : ɲ	*nám*	'sky'		*ɲámbo*	'together'
m : ŋ	*nàm*	'when'		*nàŋ*	'inside'
r : l	*ràma*	'goat'		*làm*	'path'

The word-final stops seem to be slowly disappearing in Navakat.[9] They are frequently realized as voiceless stops or they remain unreleased (e.g. [gjèp̚] 'behind'; [gjèt̚] 'eight'; [tʃálak̚] 'thing'; [jòp̚] 'many (CNT)'). At the present stage of its development though, it is still possible to identify these word-final consonants in slow speech and, when asked to clarify, the language consultants were able to identify the consonant. However, when the same stop occurs in initial or medial position, it is articulated more clearly. In a very few cases, the loss of a final stop correlates with a compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, e.g., [tʃá:] 'iron' vs. [tʃáktʰap] 'fireplace made of iron'. The final consonant in recent loanwords is, however, articulated more clearly. For example, [ì:nʈ] 'brick' (Indo-Aryan loanword), [bèlʈ] ~ [bèlʈ] '(modern) belt'.

Navakat retroflex consonants are not distinctly retroflex. Their place of articulation is more towards post-alveolar. In some instances, there is variation in their phonetic realization, where at times, their realization is more like an alveolar stop followed by an *r*. The latter is indicated as "(*r*)" in examples. For example, [ʈ(r)ò] 'wheat', [ⁿɖ(r)ùl] 'snake'.

Similarly, the intensity of the aspiration is very low, if any, in loanwords which contain voiced aspirated consonants, e.g., [bʰàgʋa:n] 'god', [b(ʰ)à:la:] 'spear'. *pʰ* is sometimes realized as [f] (see Appendix 3B for examples).

An alternation between *p, pʰ* and *b*; *t, tʰ* and *d*; and *ʈ, ʈʰ* and *ɖ* is found when the consonant occurs word-initially and the first syllable has a low tone. For example, [bàl] ~ [pʰàl] ~ [pàl] 'wool', [bètlu] ~ [pʰètlu] ~ [pètlu] 'manner', [bèma] ~ [pʰèma] ~ [pèma] 'sand', [bètʃa] ~ [pʰètʃa] ~ [pètʃa] 'to do (NPST)', [dùtpa] ~ [tʰùtpa] ~ [tùtpa] ~ [tʰỳtpa] 'to smoke'.

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9   "Word-final" is perhaps not the best characterization, since this phenomenon seems to occur also at some word-internal morpheme boundaries (e.g. [tùt̚pa], *tʰỳṭpa* 'smoke', [ʒèt̚tʃa] 'to forget', *kʰoʃak̚-re* [3PL.NH-REFL]).

2.1.1 Prenasalization

There are some instances of prenasalization in Navakat, and the existence of minimal pairs requires us to recognize prenasalization as phonemic, even if only marginally so. It occurs only word-initially in my data, and almost exclusively with bilabial, dental and retroflex voiced stops and affricates, although there are also occasional instances of other prenasalized consonants (e.g. ⁿzùːn 'finger'). Rather than positing a full series of prenasalized consonants, I have chosen to treat prenasalization as a reduced (extra-short) variant of *n*: [n̆] (written ⁿ in the phonemic orthography adopted here).

Minimal pairs: Prenasalization

dàmdʐa	'to tie'	*ⁿdàmdʐa*	'selection'
dàtʃa	'to chase'	*ⁿdàtʃa*	'to chew'
dỳn, dùn	'seven'	*ⁿdỳn ~ ⁽ⁿ⁾dùn*	'front'

2.2 *Vowels*

The vowel phonemes of Navakat are shown in Table 28, and a list of minimal pairs is provided below. For a discussion of the status of nasal vowels, see Section 2.2.1.

TABLE 28   Vowels in Navakat

i (y) / iː (yː)	(ʉ) / (ʉː)	u / uː
e (ø) / eː (øː)		o / oː
	a / aː	

Minimal (or near-minimal) pairs: Vowels

i : e	*kírkir*	'round (of small objects), circle'	*kérker*	'standing position'
e : a	*tʃʰétpo*	'big'		*tʃátpa*	'penalty'
a : o	*kʰá*	'mouth'		*kʰó*	[3SG.NH]
o : u	*só*	'tooth'		*sú*	'who'
i : u	*tʃík*	'word'		*tùk*	'poison'

The status of *y, ʉ* and *ø* in Navakat is unclear. In some cases these non-back rounded vowels and the back rounded vowels occur as variants of the same vowel. Further, as the following examples illustrate, the front and central rounded vowels mostly occur, when they are followed by *t, d, r, n* and *l*.

[ty̌t͡pa] ~ [tǔt͡pa]	'smoke'	[ⁿd̶ỳl] ~ [ⁿd̶ùl]	'snake'
[d̶ùlma] ~ [d̶ɔ̀lma]	'a name'	[súr] ~ [súr]	'piece'
[ⁿd̶ỳl] ~ [ⁿd̶ùl]	'snake'	[lùt͡pa] ~ [lùt͡pa] ~ [lòtpa]	'cough'
[bòenʉ̌t͡]	'womb'	[súrtup̰̌] ~ [súrtu:p̰̌]	'ring'
[nǿnpo] ~ [nónpɔ]	'sharp, pointed'	[nòt͡ʃʉn] ~ [nòt͡ʃun]	'y.brother'
[sáŋʉn] ~ [sáŋɔn]	'seed'	[sɛ̀vʉn] ~ [sɛ̀vʊn]	'itch'

There are, however, also some cases where the front and central rounded vowels occur, even though the vowels are not followed by one of the aforementioned consonants.

[gø̀emo] ~ [gòemo]	'night'	[kø̀elak̄] ~ [kòelak̄]	'cloth'
[t͡ʃʰǿe]	'religion'	[lèdʉi] ~ [lèdui]	'initiation ceremony'
[gjǿd͡ʑa] ~ [gjùd͡ʑa]	'to have sex'	[matsʰǿva] ~	'unripe'
		[mat͡ʃɔ́ɛva] ~	
		[mat͡ʃóeva]	

There is free variation between close-mid and open-mid vowels; *e* is also realized as [ɛ] and *o* is, at times, also realized as [ɔ], without affecting the meaning. This includes also some IA loans (e.g. [rɔ̀ʈi] ~ [ròʈi] 'chapati'). [a] and [o] variation is also observed in IA loans (e.g. [d͡ʑàŋgal] ~ [d͡ʑàŋgol] 'forest').

[lép] ~ [lɛ́p]	'arrive (ʜ)'	[t͡ʃʰétpo] ~ [t͡ʃʰɛ́tpɔ]	'big'
[só] ~ [sɔ́]	'tooth'	[zòd͡ʑa] ~ [zɔ̀d͡ʑa]	'to make'

A short "h" is heard word-initially when the word begins with a vowel (e.g. [(ʰ)òŋd͡ʑa] 'to come', [(ʰ)àtse] 'fox'). Similarly, a short "h"-like sound is heard when a word ends in a vowel (e.g. [(ⁿ)bù(ʰ)] 'insect, worm').

Length is phonemic in Navakat. Some minimal pairs for vowel length are provided here.

kʰá	'mouth'	*kʰá:*	'snow'
gà	'saddle'	*gà:*	'better'
ná	'nose'	*ná:*	'day after tomorrow'
lù	'music'	*lù:*	'tradition, custom'
là	'mountain'	*là:*	'work(ɴ)'

Apart from this, there are also instances where a sequence of two vowels appears (e.g. *líu* 'flute'; *bòa* 'foam'). Here, too, some variation is found, without any change in meaning. For example,

[gjàtʃo] ~ [gìatʃo]	'sea'	[rìa] ~ [rìja]	'woods or forest'
[tʃéːra] ~ [tʃáera]	'garden'	[gǔã] ~ [gǒã]	'egg'
[ⁿɖàe] ~ [ⁿɖèː]	'rice'	[rèan], [rìen]	'beggar'
[ʃóa] ~ [ʃúa]	'boil (N)'	[ʈíu] ~ [ʈéu]	'monkey'

Finally, as mentioned earlier, word-final consonants are, at time, realized as their corresponding voiceless consonants or as unreleased consonant. When the word-final consonant is a nasal, the vowel preceding it is nasalized and in some cases lengthened, and the consonant is dropped (e.g., [ⁿzùːn] ~ [ⁿzǔː] 'finger'; [lúŋ] ~ [lű́ː] 'air'; [pʰúːn] ~ [pʰű́ː] 'cave'). In the word list in Appendix 3B we have provided the more detailed forms (e.g. *lúŋ* instead of *lű́ː* for 'air'). There are also instances of nasal vowels occurring without a following nasal consonant (e.g. [gǔã] ~ [gǒã] 'egg'), possibly making nasal vowels marginally phonemic. Nasalization is marked here only in the last-mentioned cases.

2.2.1 Tone

Tone is phonemic in Navakat in that there are minimal pairs where the only distinguishing linguistic feature is the tonal distinction. Such pairs display a difference in intonation as well as in pitch, with the vowels with a low tone displaying a falling-rising tonal contour and the vowels with a high or neutral tone exhibiting a level tonal contour.

Minimal pairs: Tone

làm	'path'	*lám*	'shoe'
nàm	'when'	*nám*	'sky'
mà	[1SG]	*má*	'wound'
ŋà	[1SG] (H towards listener)	*ŋá*	'five'
lá	'tantra performer (M)'	*là*	'mountain'

In the following instances difference in transitivity is indicated by tonal contrast only.

kòndʒa	'to put on (INTR)'	*kóndʒa*[10]	'to put on (TR)'
kùktʃa	'to bend (INTR)'	*kúktʃa*	'to bend (TR)'
ʃàːʃa	'to blow (INTR)'	*ʃáːʃa*	'to blow (TR)'
lùktʃa	'to untie (INTR)'	*lúktʃa*	'to untie (TR)'

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10   [kő́ʒa].

| *ʃiktʃa* | 'to self-destruct (INTR)' | *ʃíktʃa* | 'to destroy (TR)' |
| *tʃàtʃa* | 'to break (INTR)' | *tʃátʃa* | 'to break (TR)' |

Grammatical morphemes, such as the case markers and conjunctions, do not take tone. Exceptions are some grammatical morphemes in the verb complex: (-)*sőŋ* [PST.VIS], *ʈò* [PROBABILITY], *túk* [INFERENCE].

The tonal distinction is predictable to a large extent. This is consistent with the correlates of the tonal distinctions found in Tibetan in general, i.e., that the main tonal distinction is found only in the first syllable, where plain nasals and liquids tend to co-occur with low tone, but nasals and liquids with preradicals correlate with high tone (Huang 1995; Zeisler 2004: 250–257).[11] Vowels following word-initial voiced consonants tend to have low tone. A slight aspiration on the first syllable correlates with the presence of the low tone.[12] The tone of the first vowel determines the tone of the following syllable.

3   Noun Phrase

3.1   *Noun Phrase Structure*

The noun phrase in Navakat has the following basic structure:

(DEM / NP$_{POSS}$ / CL-NMLZ) N(-PL) ((Adv) Adj) (Num) (=CASE)

Demonstrative pronouns precede nouns (see Section 3.3.1). NP$_{POSS}$ is a possessive-marked NP, with the same structural possibilities as the NP of which it is a part, including the possibility of containing another embedded NP$_{POSS}$. Nominalized clauses (CL-NMLZ) also go into the determiner slot before the head noun (see Section 5.3), rather than the modifier position after it.

(1) *í: kʰáŋba   tʃʰétpo=raŋ   márvo   ɲí:vo   mà=ji   ázo*
     this house   big=COM   red   both   1SG=POSS o.brother
     ɲò-vã:(k)
     buy-PST.FACT
     'My older brother bought these two big red houses.' (Indirect knowledge)

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11   I.e., plain segments vs. segments with preradicals in written Tibetan.

12   Some phonological correlates to tone split noted in Sino-Tibetan languages are: breathy voice, prenasalization, fortis and lenis articulation of consonants, vowel length, and tenseness (Hombert 1978).

Adverbs (or intensifiers) such as *ⁿʤìːʃa* 'much, very' precede the adjective.

(2) *píti=na   òːkʋɛŋ   ʧándertal-tsʰó ⁿʤìːʃa ʧʰétpo ò-kãːk*
     p.name=LOC SPECIFIER p.name-lake   much big   COP-NPST.FACT
     'The Chandertal lake which is in Spiti, is very big.' (Indirect knowledge)

The following two constructions are used to express NP disjunction.

Construction 1

(3) *jàŋ=na   ɖòlma jàŋ=na   ságar nàu=na   òŋ-ãː(k)*
     either=LOC i.name either=LOC i.name p.name=LOC come-NPST.FACT
     'Either Dolma or Sagar will come to Nako.' (Indirect knowledge)

(4) *nàŋbar   mà jàŋ=na   sáŋgla=la   jàŋ=na   píti=la*
     next.year 1SG either=LOC p.name=ALL either=LOC p.name=ALL
     ⁿɖò-an
     go.NPST-FUT.EGO
     'Next year, I will either go to Sangla or to Spiti.'

Construction 2

(5) *nàŋbar   mà sáŋgla=raŋ   píti=nasu   sá   ʧík=tu¹³*
     next.year 1SG p.name=COM p.name=ABL place one=TERM
     ⁿɖò-an
     go.NPST-FUT.EGO
     'Next year, among Sangla and Spiti, I will go to one place.'

(6) *ságar=taŋ   ɖòlma=nasu ʧík~ʧík¹⁴   dìlli=la   òŋ-vãː(k)*
     i.name=COM i.name=ABL one~ECHO p.name=ALL come-PST.FACT
     'Among Sagar and Dolma, one of them came to Delhi.' (Indirect knowledge)

3.2 *Nouns*
3.2.1 Noun Structure
Most simplex nouns in Navakat are mono- or disyllabic.

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13   A variant of the locative marker *ⁿdu*.
14   *ʧík~ʧík* is preferred here, though a single *ʧík* is also possible.

3.2.1.1   *Monosyllabic Nouns*

Monosyllabic nouns may end in vowels (long or short) or consonants. As mentioned above, in the word-final position stops tend to be realized either as voiceless stops (*p, t* or *k*) or they remain unreleased (*p̆, t̆, k̆*). Monosyllabic nouns may also end in sonorant consonants (nasals, *r* or *l*).

kʰɪ́	'dog'	*rè:*	'cotton'
ⁿɖè	'ghost'	*nùp*	'west'
gà	'saddle'	*mɪ́k*	'eye'
ʧʰú	'water'	*ʧʄák*	'boundary'
ná	'nose'	*kùr*	'tent'
lò	'year'	*múl*	'silver'
ⁿɖ̰ǔ:	'bracelet'	*dén*	'mat (to sit on)'
líu	'flute'	*mìn*[15]	'name'

3.2.1.2   *Disyllabic Nouns*

The final syllable in the disyllabic nouns is frequently one of the following: *-mo*, *-po*, *-ma* or *-pa*.

-mo: Many, though not all, disyllabic nouns which end in *-mo*, have female referents.

pòmo	'girl, daughter'	*támo*	'mare'
ʈɪ́ŋmo	'sister'	*g(j)èlmo*	'queen'
nòmo	'younger sister'	*tsóŋmo*	'prostitute'
gènmo	'old woman'	*tsʰámo*	'granddaughter, niece, daughter-in-law'
ɲìnmo	'day, midday'	*sénmo*	'fingernail'
rìmo	'line'	*pɪ́:mo*	'knee'

-po: Nouns ending in *-po* refer to animate objects (including humans), to inanimate objects, as well as to abstract phenomena. Human nouns ending in *-po* always have a male referent. *-po* is realized as *-po* or *-bo/-vo*. *-bo* and *-vo*, which are in free variation, occur when the preceding syllable ends in a sonorant consonant or a vowel; *-po* occurs when the preceding syllable ends in a voiceless consonant.

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15   The Nàvakat word for 'name' is *mìn*. In this regard, Nàvakat differs from its closely related languages, where the term for 'name' is *mìŋ*.

jókpo	'servant, slave'	*páŋbo*	'witness'
ʧʰúkpo	'noble, rich (man)'	*mìŋbo, mìnbo*[16]	'brother'
ʧàvo	'rooster, fowl'	*g(j)èlvo*	'king'

-pa: Nouns ending in *-pa* primarily have inanimate referents (see Set 1 below), but there are some nouns which have human referents. Such nouns have an agentive nominalized interpretation '(the) one who …' (see Set 2 below). This is, however, not a productive process in Navakat. *-pa* is realized as *-pa* or *-ba/-va*. To a large extent, the distribution of *-pa* and *-ba/-va* is phonologically determined, where *-pa* predominantly occurs when the preceding syllable ends with a voiceless consonant and *-ba/-va* tends to occur when the last element of the preceding syllable is voiced.[17]

Set 1

látpa	'brain'	*kútpa*	'thread'
bìkpa	'walking stick'	*tʰúkpa*	'soup'
líkpa	'testicles'	*ʃúkpa*	'wing'
púŋba	'shoulder'	*sàmba*	'bridge'
ⁿɖàmba	'cheek'	*kʰáŋba*	'house'

Set 2

| *tsʰóŋba* | 'merchant (male, female)' | cf. *tsʰóŋ* 'business' |
| *tsʰámba* | 'one who meditates' | cf. *tsʰám* 'meditation' |

-ma: This noun ending always has either a sonorant consonant or a vowel as the last segment of the syllable preceding it. Nouns ending in *-ma* may refer to animate objects (including humans), inanimate objects or to abstract phenomena. Their referents can be masculine or feminine.

náma	'wife, daughter-in.law'	*áma*	'mother'
tsʰéma	'twins'	*kúnma*	'thief'
ràma	'goat'	*kʰálma*	'kidney'
gjùma	'sausage, intestine'	*tʰúrma*	'spoon'
òma	'milk'	*ɲìma*	'sun'
tʰáma	'famine'	*ʈìma*	'odor'[18]

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16 The velar nasals tend to be realized as dental nasals when they precede labials. However, in some cases, such as this, both the dental and the velar nasal options are permitted.

17 All instances of the latter have nasal consonants in my material.

18 It can be a pleasant or a non-pleasant odor.

Apart from this, disyllabic nouns may end in other consonants and vowels, too. At least some of them are historically compounds.

zúpʰo	'body'	*sèptuŋ*	'food'
pèrak	'a type of flat cap with precious stones'	*kúʃu*	'apple'

3.2.1.3   *Polysyllabic Nouns*
This category has both animate and inanimate common nouns. It is very possible that at least some of these nouns are morphologically complex, i.e., compounds or derived nouns.

néruma	'pan'	*gùtsʰiva*	'spine'
kʰánɖoma	'witch, spirit'[19]	*nàktara*	'lizard'
kʰímamo	'woman'	*ʈʰìpkja*	'shadow'
mòraŋmo	'widow'	*zèmbuliŋ*	'world'

3.2.1.4   *Noun Types*
As the examples below illustrate, there are no formal differences between (i) count and mass nouns, (ii) abstract and concrete nouns, (iii) animate, inanimate and human nouns and (iv) proper and common nouns. Mono- and disyllabic nouns with the same word-final vowels or consonants are found in all these noun types.

(i)	Count nouns		Mass nouns	
	évu	'breast'	*pú*	'hair (body)'
	lùk	'sheep'	*ⁿɖùk*	'thunder'
	pʰák	'pig'	*ʈʰák*	'blood'
	ràtʃo	'horn'	*lókʃu*	'dandruff'

(ii)	Concrete nouns		Abstract nouns	
	lák	'eagle'	*sùk*	'pain'
	gìtpa	'calf of the leg'	*tsʰíkpa*	'anger'
	ʧálak	'utensil(s), equipment'	*ʈàzak*	'envy, jealousy'

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19   This corresponds to the concept *ɖākinī* in Sanskrit.

(iii)	Inanimate nouns		Animate nouns		Human nouns	
	ʃú:	'paper'	*lù:*	'lamb'	*ṭú:*	'boy'
	tʰákpa	'rope'	*ṭákpa*	'quail, partridge'	*mákpa*	'husband'

(iv)	Proper nouns		Common nouns	
	pú	'a place name'	*ṭú:*	'boy'
	kálpa	'a place name'	*mákpa*	'husband'
	áŋmo	'a woman's name'	*ṭàŋmo*	'cold(N)'

3.2.1.5 *Complex Nouns*

Navakat also has complex nouns. Reduplication, although found in some cases, is not a productive process in Navakat.

ⁿdàŋdaŋ	'lying down (position)'	*mème*	'grandfather'
kírkir	'standing position'	*táktak*	'shelf'

Compound nouns, on the other hand, are relatively frequent in Navakat.

Noun + *sá* 'land, place'

jàrsa	'summer residence'	(*jàr*(*ka*) 'summer')
ɲàlsa	'bed'	(*ɲàl* 'sleep')
tʃʰáksa	'toilet'	(*tʃʰák* 'defecate')

Noun + *rá* 'fence'

jákra	'stable for yaks'	(*ják* 'yak')
lùkra	'stable for sheep'	(*lùk* 'sheep')
tára	'stable without roof'	(*tá* 'horse')

mík 'eye' + Noun

míkʃel	'spectacles, glasses'	(*ʃél* 'glass')
míklam	'dream'	(*làm* 'path')
míkpu	'eyebrow'	(*pú* 'hair (body)')

Noun/Adjective + *ⁿbù* 'insect'

sérnbu	'bee'	(*sér* 'yellow')	
tóraŋbu	'spider'	(*tóraŋ* 'net, web, ropeway')	

Some additional examples of compound nouns are:

mánkʰaŋ	'hospital'	(*mán* 'medicine'	+	*kʰáŋba* 'house')
tʃ́áktʰap	'fireplace' (made of iron)	(*tʃ́ák* 'iron'	+	*tʰápka* 'oven')
tʃ́áktʰak	'chain'	(*tʃ́ák* 'iron'	+	*tʰákpa* 'rope')

3.2.1.6   *Suppletive Honorific Noun Stems*

There are some nouns in Navakat which have distinct honorific and non-honorific stems. For example,

H form	NH form	
súŋ (H)	*tʃì, tʃʰì*	'speech'
ʃàp	*káŋba*	'foot'

The honorific forms (nouns as well as verbs, see below) are used when the speaker wants to show his respect to the person s/he is talking to or about. This may be due to the social status of that person or that the person is older than the speaker and the speaker wants to show respect to this person. The use of the honorific and non-honorific (or neutral) forms may also indicate the degree of formality or distance between the interlocutors. For example, if the speaker is meeting a person for the first time, s/he frequently uses the honorific form.

3.2.2   Number

A two-way number distinction is made in Navakat. The singular is zero-marked. Plural is marked by one of the following suffixes: *-ʃak* (and its allomorph *-dʒak*), *-vat* or *-ja*. *-ʃak* occurs only in pronouns. For example, *mà-ʃak* [1SG-PL], *kʰóŋ-ʃak* ~ *kʰóŋ-dʒak* [2SG.H-PL] and *kʰó-ʃak*[20] [3SG.NH-PL]. The plural markers *-ʃak* and *-vat* occur with their respective, restricted sets of nouns and/or pronouns; they are not interchangeable with each other (except for the 3SG.NH pronoun which can take both). The plural suffix *-ja*, on the other hand, occurs in a wide range

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20   The plural marker *-vat* can also occur with 3SG.NH (i.e. *kʰó-vat*).

of contexts. It is the default plural marker on nouns. It may also be affixed to plural pronominal forms—apparently with no difference in meaning.[21]

(7) *mà-ʃak(-ja)* *sèptuŋ* *sòe-van*
     1SG-PL-PL   food   eat.PST-PST.EGO
     'We ate food.'

(8) *kʰó-vat(-ja)* *ʃìŋga=la* *pùt-ső(ŋ)*
     3SG.NH-PL-PL field=ALL go.PST-PST.VIS
     'They went to the fields.'

(9) *kʰó-ʃak(-ja)* *síku(l)=la* *pùt*
     3SG.NH-PL-PL school=ALL go.PST
     'They went to the school.'

The following examples illustrate *-ja* as the plural marker on nouns.

Noun (SG)		Noun-PL	
là	'mountain'	*là-ja*	[mountain-PL]
ʧìva	'child'	*ʧìva-ja*	[child-PL]
ⁿzùn[22]	'finger'	*ⁿzǔː-ja*	[finger-PL]
mèndok	'flower'	*mèndok-ja*	[flower-PL]
gèlʒuː	'livestock'	*gèlʒuː-ja*	[animal-PL]
ʈű́ː, ʈú:ŋ	'story'	*ʈű́ː-ja*	[story-PL]

With coordinated nouns, the plural marker *-ja* normally occurs only once—after the last noun. But, if asked, language consultants will provide a variant where the plural marker is suffixed to each coordinated noun.

(10) *ʈú:=raŋ*   *pòmo-ja*
     boy=COM girl-PL
     'Boys along with girls' (Boys and girls)

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21   When the plural marker *-ja* is affixed to *-ʃak* or to *-vat*, the articulation of *-k/-t* in *-ʃak* and *-vat*, respectively, becomes more audible.

22   [ⁿzǔː].

(11) *ʈú:-ja=raŋ   pòmo-ja*
    boy-PL=COM girl-PL
    'Boys along with girls' (Boys and girls)

Unlike Kinnauri (see Chapter 2), in Navakat the plural marker is not permitted with numerals.

(12) *ràma súm*
    goat   three
    'Three goats'

3.2.3   Gender

Gender is not a grammatical category in Navakat. There are, however, some instances where the information about the natural gender of an animate referent is encoded linguistically, through word-formation devices. None of these processes are, however, productive.

In some cases the gender distinction is indicated by having separate lexical items. For example,

Nouns (M)		Nouns (F)	
mákpa	'husband, son-in-law'	*náma*	'wife, daughter-in-law'
éu	'paternal uncle'	*áne*	'paternal uncle's wife, woman, aunt'
jùksa	'widower'	*mòraŋmo*	'widow'

In addition, as mentioned above, there are instances where nouns with female referents end in *-mo*.[23] The corresponding nouns with male referents have, at times, completely distinct lexical forms (e.g. *ʈú:* 'boy, son' vs. *pòmo* 'girl, daughter'), while in other cases, *-mo* is suffixed to the masculine form (e.g. *zò* 'blacksmith' vs. *zòmo* 'blacksmith's wife'). There are also nouns where the masculine form ends with a *-po* and the feminine form ends with a *-mo* (e.g. *gètpo* 'old man' vs. *gènmo* 'old woman'; *ʧàvo* 'rooster' vs. *ʧàmo* 'hen').

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23   As seen above, *-mo* also occurs in nouns which do not have female referents.

Noun (M)		Noun (F)	
lá	'male tantra performer'	*lámo*	'female tantra performer'
zò	'blacksmith'	*zòmo*	'blacksmith's wife'
bàvu	'teacher, male'	*bàmo*	'teacher, female'
tsʰáo	'nephew, grandson'	*tsʰámo*	'niece, granddaughter'
tápo	'stallion'[24]	*támo*	'mare'
gètpo	'old man'	*gènmo*	'old woman'
gjèlvo	'king'	*gjèlmo*	'queen'

Further, *-pa* and *-ma*/*-mo*, respectively, are sometimes suffixed in Navakat to place names to denote 'men' (or 'people' in general) and 'women' from this place. While this is a rather productive process in Navakat, it is not permitted with all place names (for example, with *kíno:r* 'Kinnaur'). Further, while in some cases, the feminine marker *-mo* is affixed directly to the place name, in other cases, *-ma*/*-mo* is affixed to the masculine form, as shown in Table 29. In this table place names are shown both in their Navakat form (Heading "Place name") and how these villages are referred to officially (Heading "Official name"). The terms denoting 'Men (people) from this place', 'Women from this place' and the Navakat names for the languages spoken in this village are provided in subsequent columns in this table. The terms referring to 'men' (or more generally to 'people' from this place) are formed here (exception, *kíno:ra*) by affixing *-pa* (allomorphs *-pa*, *-ba/-va*) to the place names. In some cases the stem undergoes some changes. Finally, language names are formed similarly as compound nouns or possessive NPs. Possessive NPs are described in Section 3.2.4.4 (they are marked "[POSS]" in the table). In the compound noun case, the first part (the place name) may appear in its uninflected form (marked "[–]" in the table), or in a form derived using a noun-forming suffix—sometimes the same suffix used for denoting inhabitants, sometimes another suffix (marked "[N>N]" in the table).

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24   *tá* is the generic word for 'horse'. It is frequently used to refer to both stallions and mares. But, when one wants to specify if a horse is 'mare' or a 'stallion', *támo* and *tápo* are used.

TABLE 29   Place names and nouns denoting inhabitants

Place name	Official name	Men (people) from this place	Women from this place[25]	Language of this place
tʃɑ̀:ŋ	Chango	*tʃɑ̀:ŋgopa, tʃɑ́:ŋba*	*tʃɑ̀:ŋbamo*	*tʃɑ̀ŋgopakat* [N>N]
hàŋ	Hango	*hàŋba*	*hàŋbamo*	*hàŋbakat* [N>N]
lì, lìju	Leo	*lìva*	*lìvamo*	*lìvakat* [N>N]
súmra	Sumra	*súmrava*	*súmrama*	*súmrakat* [−]
nàu	Nako	*nàova, nàva*	*nàoma, nàma*	*nàvakat* [N>N]
mèliŋ	Maling	*mèliŋpa, mèlijã:*	*mèliŋma*	*mèlijakat* [N>N]
sáŋgla	Sangla	*sáŋglakpa*[26]	*sáŋglakma*	*sáŋlajikat* [POSS]
píti	Spiti	*pítija, pítiva*[27]	*pítima*	*pítijakat* [N>N]
nàmgja	Namgya	*nàmgja:*	*nàmgjamo*	*nàmgjakat* [−]
kíno:r	Kinnaur	*kíno:ra*	*kíno:ra, kíno:ri*	*kíno:rikat* [POSS]

3.2.4   Case

The Navakat case markers are phrasal enclitics (see Table 30), i.e., they typically come at the end of an NP, after any adjectives and numerals which follow the noun. The comitative marker can also appear after other kinds of phrases when used in a coordinating function.

3.2.4.1   *Nominative*

The nominative form is the stem of a noun or a pronoun without any other case suffixes.

3.2.4.2   *Ergative*

The case marker =*su* functions as an ergative marker. It occurs with all persons and numbers as well as in all tenses. As the following examples show, the ergative marker occurs in transitive clauses.[28]

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25   The double derivation seen in some of these formations could possibly be a comparatively new development after the masculine form had ceased to be productive.

26   Notice a short *k* before *p* here.

27   Though *pítiva* is acceptable, speakers prefer *pítija*.

28   There were no examples of the ergative marker with intransitive verbs in my material. More work is needed here.

TABLE 30   Case markers in Navakat

Case	Case marker(s)
Nominative	Ø
Ergative	=*su*
Dative/allative	=*la*
Possessive	=*ki, =i/=ji*
Locative	=*na*
Terminative	=*ru*
Ablative	=*nasu*
Instrumental/comitative	=*raŋ*

(13) *mà=su   mà-raŋ=la   táe*
      1SG=ERG 1SG-REFL=DAT observe.PST
      'I observed myself.'

(14) *kʰóŋ=su   kúnma=la zùmb-ã:k*
      2SG.H=ERG thief=DAT catch-PST.FACT
      'You caught a thief.' (Indirect knowledge)

(15) *pìa-ja=su   nā̃e   màŋbo sòe-tã̃   ⁿdùk*
      rat-PL=ERG grain much eat.PST-HI AUX.NFUT.VIS
      'Rats have eaten a lot of grains.' (Direct knowledge)

(16) *áŋmo=su   kúnma=la zùmb-ã:k*
      i.name=ERG thief=DAT catch-PST.FACT
      'Angmo caught the thief.' (Indirect knowledge)

The following examples show that the ergative marker does not obligatorily occur in all transitive clauses.

(17) *mà kʰáŋba ʧík zòe-van*
      1SG house   one build.PST-PST.EGO
      'I built a house.'

(18) *kʰó   kʰóŋ=la   tá-ã:k*
      3SG.NH 2SG.H=DAT observe-PST.FACT
      'He observed you.' (Indirect knowledge)

(19) *ténzin ɖì=raŋ   kúʃu ʈʃá-kã:k*
     i.name knife=INS apple cut-NPST.FACT
     'Tenzin will cut the apple with a knife.'

=su does not usually have an instrumental function. In such cases, normally the instrumental/comitative case marker *=daŋ* occurs. However, *=su* occurs in some constructions where it might be considered as having a 'cause' or a 'reason' interpretation.

(20) *ⁿgò sùk=su   maɲàl-ɖʐa*
     head pain=INS NEG-sleep-INF
     'Because of headache, I did not sleep.'

(21) *sèptuŋ ʃimbo=su ⁿzù:n síŋ ⁿdàk-tãŋ*
     food   good=INS finger all lick-HI
     'The food was so tasty that I have licked all (my) fingers.'

In the following example the case marker *=su* is affixed to the weather phenomenon. The verb has the typical agentive verb inflectional ending (see Section 4).

(22) *ùrjuk=su   ⁿdàŋ   pán ʈʃák-tãŋ ⁿdùk*
     storm=ERG yesterday tree break-HI COP.NFUT.VIS
     'Yesterday the storm has broken the tree.' (Direct knowledge)

3.2.4.3   *Dative/Allative*
The case marker *=la* functions as the dative marker as well as the allative marker. It occurs with all numbers and persons.

3.2.4.3.1   Dative[29]
In the following example, *=la* functions as an indirect object marker.

(23) *íː   gàɖi mà=la áʐi=su   táŋ-ʈʃuŋ*
     DEM.PROX watch 1SG=DAT O.sister=ERG leave-PST.ENA
     '(My) older sister gave this watch to me.'

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29   "Objective" would perhaps be a more apt name, but I follow a long tradition in the description of South Asian languages, where "dative" designates a case which can appear on both direct and indirect objects, and in the so-called "experiencer subject" construction.

The following examples illustrate *=la* occurring with a direct object.

(24) *kʰó(=su)*   *kʰóŋ=la*   *tó-ã:k*
     3SG.NH(=ERG) 2SG.H=DAT see.PST-PST.FACT
     'He looked at you.' (Indirect knowledge)

(25) *ŋà=ji*   *tsʰámo=la* *sú=su*   *dùŋ-ã:k*
     1SG=POSS niece=DAT who=ERG beat-PST.FACT
     'Who beat (past) my niece?' (Indirect knowledge)

(26) *kʰó-vat*   *kʰóv=i*   *tsʰámo=la* *tʰúk-ã:k*
     3SG.NH-PL 3SG.NH=POSS niece=DAT meet-PST.FACT
     'They met his/her niece.' (Indirect knowledge)

The direct object may take *=la*, also in constructions where the subject has the
ergative marker. For example,

(27) *giatsó=sú*   *kʰáŋba=la* *tó-ã:k*
     i.name=ERG house=DAT see.PST-PST.FACT
     'Giatso looked at the house.'

The dative marker also occurs in the reflexive construction.

(28) *kʰó=su*   *kʰó-raŋ=la*   *sát-ã:k*
     3SG.NH=ERG 3SG.NH-REFL=DAT kill-PST.FACT
     'He killed himself.' (Background: The speaker knows that this has hap-
     pened, but he did not see this himself.)

(29) *kʰó=su*   *kʰó-raŋ=la*   *tʃát-ã:k*
     3SG.NH=ERG 3SG.NH-REFL=DAT break-PST.FACT
     'He cut himself.'

(30) *kʰó=su*   *kʰó-raŋ=la*   *ʈúi-vã:k*
     3SG.NH=ERG 3SG.NH-REFL=DAT wash-PST.FACT
     'He washed himself.'

The dative marker also occurs in the experiencer subject construction and the
related possessive construction (see Section 5.1).

    Additionally, it also functions as a subordinator, where it is suffixed to the
non-final verb. The non-final verb has either a bare verb form or it has an infini-
tive form. The non-final clause, in such cases, has a purposive interpretation.

(31) dùa=raŋ   ṭàk   síŋ   kʰáŋba   zò-ʤa=la   ʧák-tãŋ   ⁿdùk
     stone=INS rock all house make-INF=DAT break-HI COP.FUT.VIS
     'All the stones and rocks have been broken to construct houses.' (Direct
     knowledge)

3.2.4.3.2   Allative

In addition to its use as a grammatical case, =*la* also functions as a local case
marker, denoting the allative (which is also used in an adessive function, i.e.,
denoting position rather than direction; cf. examples 33–35).

(32) mà   rèl   ŋán-ʃo=la   ʃú-ʤa   ʃímla=la   pùt
     1SG train early-CMP=DAT get.into-INF p.name=ALL go.PST
     'I went with the earliest train to Shimla.'

(33) tsá:npʰo=ki tʰà=la   sá   ŋónpo³⁰ ké: dèt-uk
     river=POSS shore=ALL grass blue   grow aux-NFUT
     'The green grass has grown on the shore of the river.' (Direct knowledge)

(34) kíno:r=ki   làm=la   bàmzar màŋbo ò-kã:k
     p.name=POSS path=ALL waterfall many   COP-NPST.FACT
     'There are many waterfalls on the way to Kinnaur.' (Indirect knowledge)

(35) kʰóʃ=i   ṭú: jòk=la³¹   láp-kã:k
     3PL.NH=POSS son city=ALL study-NPST.FACT
     'Their son studies in the city.' (Indirect knowledge)

3.2.4.4   *Possessive*

The possessive markers are =*ki* (allomorph =*gi* when preceded by a voiced con-
sonant/vowel) and =*i*/=*ji*. Their distribution is not phonologically determined.
There are instances where the same noun occurs with two different possessive
markers.

dòrʒe=ji ~ dòrʒe=ki [i.name=POSS]   pàlaŋ=i ~ pàlaŋ=ki [cow=POSS]
jùl=ì ~ jùl=ki   [village=POSS] évi=ji ~ évi=ki   [grandmother=POSS]
rìja=ji ~ rìja=ki   [forest=POSS] gètpo-ji ~ gètpo=ki [old man=POSS]
jào=ji ~ jào=ki   [friend=POSS] ḍòlma=ji ~ ḍòlma=i [i.name=POSS]

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30   In Navakat *ŋónpo* 'blue' (and not (ⁿ)*ʤéŋu* 'green') is the color of grass and vegetation.

31   *jòk* literally means 'below'. Since the cities (e.g. Rampur, Shimla) are located lower than
       Nako, *jòk* is also used nowadays to refer to a 'city'.

With the pronouns (including the demonstratives), however, only the possessive marker =*i*/=*ji* occurs.

	Singular	**Plural**
1-POSS	ŋà=ji, mà=ji	màʃak=i, màʃ=i[32] (1PLE), ò=ji (1PLI)
2NH-POSS	kʰjǿ=ji	kʰóvat=i, kʰóʃak=i
2H-POSS	kʰóŋ=i	kʰóŋʃak=i, kʰóŋdʑak=i, kʰóŋdʑ=i
3NH-POSS	kʰó=ji, í:	kʰóʃak=i, kʰóʃ=i[33]

(36) *kʰó=ji   péraŋ síŋ=gi   káŋba ìzuk   rìŋpo ò-kã:k*
     3SG.NH=POSS family all=POSS leg   like.this long COP-NPST.FACT
     'In their family everybody's legs are long like this.'

3.2.4.5 *Locative*
The case marker =*na* indicates location.

(37) *mà=ji   jùl=na   ɲìriŋ   màŋbo mèt*
     1SG=POSS village=LOC relatives many NEG.EXIST
     'I don't have many relatives in the village.'

(38) *nàu=na   mì màŋbo mè-kã:k*
     p.name=LOC man much NEG.COP-NPST.FACT
     'There are not many people in Nako.'

The locative case marker also functions as a subordinator.

(39) *gùnga kʰálva=ki ʃá   sà-dʑa=na   zúpʰo tònmo dè-kã:k*
     winter ram=POSS meat eat-INF=LOC body warm COP-NPST.FACT
     'Eating ram meat in winter keeps the body warm.' (Indirect knowledge)

3.2.4.6 *Terminative*
The terminative marker =*ru* has the following allomorphs: =*ru*, =*tu* and =*ⁿdu*. All instances of the allomorph =*ru* in the dataset occur with stems ending in

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32   The slow-speech form is *màʃak=i*.
33   The slow-speech form is *kʰóʃak=i*.

vowels; =*tu* and =*ⁿdu* occur with stems ending in consonants.[34] Like the alla-
tive marker (see Section 3.2.4.3.2), the terminative is used to express position
in addition to direction (42).

(40) *mà=ji   kántsʰiva=ru dùa   pʰók-ʧũŋ*
      1SG=POSS ankle=TERM stone hit-PST.ENA
      'A stone has hit my ankle.'

(41) *píti=ki   tsá:npʰo kʰáp=tu   sátludʐ   tsá:npʰo=ru ⁿdè:*
      p.name=POSS river   p.name=TERM river.name river=TERM merge
      ⁿɖò-vã:k
      go.NPST-PST.FACT
      'The Spiti river merges into the Satluj river at Khab.' (Indirect knowledge)

(42) *ŋà jùl=du   dè-kan*
      1SG village=TERM COP-FUT.EGO
      'I will be in the village.'

(43) *nàu=ru   kjǿt   sèr-ak*
      p.name=TERM come.IMP say-AUDITORY.EVIDENTIAL
      '(They) say: "Come to Nako!"'

3.2.4.7   *Ablative*
The ablative marker is =*nasu*, possibly representing a combination of locative
=*na* and ergative =*su*.

(44) *sémba=nasu kʰó   mì   ètpo ò-kã:k*
      heart=ABL   3SG.NH man good COP-NPST.FACT
      'He is a good man at heart.' (Indirect knowledge)

(45) *píti   lùŋba=nasu tsʰóŋba ɲí: léb   dèt-ok*
      p.name valley=ABL trader   two arrive(H) AUX-NFUT.VIS
      'Two traders have arrived from the Spiti valley (and they are still here).'
      (Direct knowledge)

---

34   Interestingly, while the term for 'here' (*ú-ru* 'DEM.PROX-TERM') has the terminative
     marker, the term for 'there' (*pʰí:-na* 'DEM.DIST-LOC') has the locative marker.

(46) *ⁿdàŋ=nasu   mà=ji   kùŋ   sùk   ʈàk*
yesterday=ABL 1SG=POSS back pain COP.NFUT.NVIS
'Since yesterday my back has pain.' (Since yesterday I have back pain.)

(47) *mà=ji   áne=ki   mík=nasu sírisak ʧʰú   tò̰*
1SG=POSS p.aunt=POSS eye=ABL   often   water come.out
ⁿdùk
COP.NFUT.VIS
'From my aunt's eyes water often flows.' (Direct knowledge)

3.2.4.8   *Instrumental/Comitative*

=raŋ functions as the instrumental and the comitative (or associative) marker. It has three allomorphs: *=daŋ, =taŋ* and *=raŋ*.[35] *=daŋ* occurs when the preceding noun ends with a voiced consonant; *=taŋ* occurs when the preceding noun ends in a voiceless consonant and *=raŋ* occurs when the preceding noun ends with a vowel.

(48) *ténzin=su   dùa=raŋ   ⁿdàmbak=taŋ kʰáŋba zòe-vã:(k)*
i.name=ERG stone=INS mud=INS   house build.PST-PST.FACT
'Tenzin built the house with stone and mud.' (Indirect knowledge)

(49) *kʰó=su   tíŋba=raŋ sáʑa   kóe*
3SG.NH=ERG heel=INS surface dig.PST
'He dug a hole with (his) heel.'

The case marker *=raŋ* also functions as the comitative (or associative) marker, with a 'together with, along with' interpretation. The distribution of its allomorphs *=taŋ*, *=daŋ* and *=raŋ* here is the same as described above for the instrumental.

(50) *giatsó=raŋ giatsó=ji   péraŋ   òŋ-kã:k*
i.name=INS i.name=POSS family come-NPST.FACT
'Giatso along with his family will come.'

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35   Cf. the Kinnauri comitative marker *-raŋ* (see Chapter 2, Section 3.2.4.8).

(51) *tánzin kʰó=ji   ázo=raŋ³⁶   ɲámbo dìlli=la*
     i.name 3SG.NH=POSS o.brother=INS together p.name=ALL
     pùt-ã:(k)
     go.PST-PST.FACT
     'Tenzin went to Delhi along with his brother.' (Indirect knowledge)

(52) *ràm=daŋ   tánzin nól   ső(ŋ)*
     i.name=INS i.name fight PST.VIS
     'Tenzin fought with Ram.' (Direct knowledge)

3.3   *Pronouns*

3.3.1   Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns in Navakat are *í:*, *pʰí:* and *òti*. Their distribution is as follows. *í:* occurs when the object is in close proximity to the speaker; *pʰí:* occurs when an object is not in close proximity to the interlocutors, but they can see it; *òti* is used to refer to an object which the interlocutors have seen before, but which may or may not be visible to them at the time of speaking. It seems to have the discourse interpretation 'this/these very thing(s)/person(s)'.

As mentioned already, the demonstrative pronouns are placed before their head noun, and remain invariant to the number and gender of the head noun.

í: mì	'this man'	*í: mì-ja*	'these men'
í: pòmo	'this woman'	*í: pòmo-ja*	'these women'
í: kʰáŋba	'this house'	*í: kʰáŋba-ja*	'these houses'
í: tá	'this horse'	*í: tá-ja*	'these horses'
pʰí: kʰáŋba	'that house'	*pʰí: kʰáŋba-ja*	'those houses'
pʰí: pòmo	'that woman'	*pʰí: pòmo-ja*	'those women'
pʰí: tá	'that horse'	*pʰí: tá-ja*	'those horses'
òti pòmo	'that woman'	*òti pòmo-ja*	'those women'
òti mì	'that man'	*òti mì-ja*	'those men'
òti tá	'that horse'	*òti tà-ja*	'those horses'
òti kʰáŋba	'that house'	*òti kʰáŋba-ja*	'those houses'

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36   *atʃo* 'older brother' does not occur in Nàvakat, but it occurs in neighboring villages such as Dubling, Khab and Nyamgya.

3.3.2   Personal Pronouns

	SG	PL
1	*mà, ŋà*	*màʃak* (1PLE), *ɲèt* (1PLE)
1PLI		*òn*
2H	*kʰóŋ*	*kʰóŋʃak, kʰóŋʤak*
2NH	*kʰjót*	*kʰjótvat*
3H	*kʰóŋ*	*kʰóŋʃak, kʰóŋʤak*
3NH	*kʰó*	*kʰóʃak, kʰóvat*

The distribution of the first person singular pronouns *mà* and *ŋà* is pragmatically conditioned. In everyday situations, *mà* is used by the younger participants in a conversation to refer to himself/herself, as a symbol of respect towards the other participant(s).[37] The older participant, on the other hand, uses *ŋà* while talking about himself/herself in the same conversation. Friends normally use *ŋà* irrespective of their age. In a conversation between a layman and a lama, the lama normally uses *ŋà* to refer to himself/herself, while the layman (irrespective of his/her age) uses *mà* to refer to himself/herself. In situations where the participants do not know each other too well, thus they don't know what social role they have in the conversation, *mà* is normally used by the participants to refer to themselves as a precautionary measure.

These pragmatic factors are also relevant in the distribution of the first person exclusive plural pronoun (*màʃak* and *ɲèt*) and the third person pronouns (*kʰó* and *kʰóŋ*). Between the two 1PLE pronouns *ɲèt* occurs in situations corresponding to 1SG *ŋà* and *màʃak* occurs in situations corresponding to 1SG *mà*. Similarly, in the third person, *kʰóŋ* (which otherwise occurs as the 2SG.H pronoun) occurs where the speaker wants to pay respect to the listener; *kʰó* occurs elsewhere.[38]

Unlike Kinnauri (see Chapter 2), the same pronominal form occurs in nominative and non-nominative positions in Navakat.

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37   It is very likely that *mà* means 'low' and, thus, a way to indicate humility.
38   In Classical and Lhasa Tibetan, too, *khong* functions as a third person honorific pronoun (DeLancey 2017a, 2017b).

	Possessive	**Dative/allative**
1SG	*mà=i*	*mà=la*
2SG.H	*kʰóŋ=i*	*kʰóŋ=la*
2SG.NH	*kʰjǿt=i*	*kʰjǿt=la*
3SG.H	*kʰóŋ=i*	*kʰóŋ=la*
3SG.NH	*kʰó=i, í=i*	*kʰó=la, íe=la*
1PLE	*màʃak=i, màʃ=i*	*màʃak=la*
2PL.H	*kʰóŋʃak=i, kʰóŋʤak=i, kʰóŋʤ=i*	*kʰóŋʃak=la, kʰóŋʤak=la*
3PL.NH	*kʰóʃak=i, kʰóʃ=i*	*kʰóʃak=la*

3.3.3   Interrogative Pronouns and Adverbs
Some interrogative pronouns and adverbs in Navakat are as follows.

tsúk	'how'	*kàndu*	'where (specific location)'
tsám	'how much, how many'	*kàna*	'where (non-specific location)'
ʧĭ	'what'	*kàŋ(te)*	'which'
nàm	'when'	*sú*	'who'

The interrogative pronouns occur with animate (including, human) as well as inanimate arguments, with singular as well as plural arguments. See Section 5.2 for the structure of WH-questions.

3.3.4   Reflexive Pronouns
Reflexive pronouns are formed by suffixing *-raŋ* to the pronoun.

(53) *kʰó   kʰóŋ=la   táe-vã:k*
       3SG.NH   2SG.H=DAT observe.PST-PST.FACT
       'He observed you.' (Indirect knowledge)

(54) *kʰó=su   kʰó-raŋ=la*[39]   *táe-vã:k*
       3SG.NH=ERG 3SG.NH-REFL=DAT observe.PST-PST.FACT
       'He observed himself.' (Indirect knowledge)

---

39   In fast speech *kʰó-raŋ la* is pronounced as *kʰraŋ la*.

(55) *mà=su   mà-raŋ=la   táe*
    1SG=ERG 1SG-REFL=DAT observe.PST
    'I observed myself.'

(56) *màʃak=su   màʃak-raŋ=la   táe*
    1PLE=ERG 1PLE-REFL=DAT observe.PST
    'We observed ourselves.'

(57) *kʰóŋ=su   kʰóŋ-raŋ=la   táe-vã:k*
    2SG.H=ERG 2SG.H-REFL=DAT observe.PST-PST.FACT
    'You observed yourself.' (Indirect knowledge)

(58) *kʰóvat=su   kʰóvat-raŋ=la   táe-vã:k*
    3PL.NH=ERG 3PL.NH-REFL=DAT observe.PST-PST.FACT
    'They observed themselves.' (Indirect knowledge)

In fast speech, the reflexive marker *-raŋ* is, at times, realized as *-re*.

(59) *ʧiva-ja   kʰóʃak-re   ázaŋ=la   tʰúk-pã:(k)*
    child-PL 3PL.NH-REFL uncle=DAT meet-PST.FACT
    'The children met their (own) uncle.' (Indirect knowledge)

(60) *ʧiva-ja=su   kʰóʃak-re=la   táe-vã:k*
    child-PL=ERG 3PL.NH-REFL=DAT observe.PST-PST.FACT
    'The children observed themselves.' (Indirect knowledge)

3.3.5   Reciprocal Pronoun

An invariant form *ʧík+taŋ+ʧík* [one+COM+one] 'each other' occurs in the reciprocal construction.

(61) *màʃak-ja ʧíktaŋʧík=la   táe-van*
    1PLE-PL each.other=DAT observe.PST-PST.EGO
    'We observed each other.'

(62) *òn-ja   ʧíktaŋʧík=la   táe-van*
    1PLI-PL each.other=DAT observe.PST-PST.EGO
    'We observed one another.'

(63) *kʰóŋʤak=su ʧíktaŋʧík=la   táe-vã:k*
    2H.PL=ERG   each.other=DAT observe.PST-PST.FACT
    'You (PL) observed one another.' (Indirect knowledge)

(64) *ʈú:=raŋ   pòmo ʈʃíktaŋʈʃík=la   táe-vã:k*
     boy=COM girl   each.other=DAT observe.PST-PST.FACT
     'The boy and the girl observed each other.' (Indirect knowledge)

(65) *kʰóvat=su   ʈʃíktaŋʈʃík=la   táe-vã:k*
     3PL.NH=ERG each.other=DAT observe.PST-PST.FACT
     'They observed one another.' (Indirect knowledge)

3.4   *Adjectives*

Adjectives in Navakat follow their head nouns. In case the adjective has an adverbial modifier, such as an intensifer (e.g. *ⁿʤì:ʃa* 'much'), this precedes the adjective (N Adv Adj; see example 63 below). Coordinated adjectival phrases (Adj=COM Adj) go into the same slot as simple adjectives, i.e., they follow their head nouns (see example 64 below).

kíta:p ʈápo[40]	[book thin]	'thin book'
tsʰó òptoŋ[41]	[lake deep]	'deep lake'
pòmo ʈʰámo	[girl thin]	'thin girl'
mì ɖùmpo	[man fat]	'fat man'
sólok ʈʰáŋbo	[road straight]	'straight road'

(66) *kʰó=ji   ʈʃé   ní   ⁿʤì:ʃa rìŋpo ⁿɖùk*
     3SG.NH=POSS tongue EMP much long   COP.NFUT.VIS
     'His tongue is very long.' (Direct knowledge)

(67) *í: kʰáŋba ɲíŋba=raŋ   márvo ɲámbo   mà=ji*
     DEM.PROX house   old(NHUM)=COM red   together 1SG=POSS
     áʒo   ɲòe-vãk
     o.brother buy.PST-PST.FACT
     'My older brother bought this old, red house.' (Indirect knowledge)

Adjectives do not inflect in Navakat. In examples (68–69) below the same adjectival form (*ɖùmpo* 'thick, fat (round objects)') occurs with nouns denoting both males and females. Examples (70–71) show that adjectives do not inflect for number.

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40   *ʈápo* is used with flat objects, for example, tables, books, mattresses. *ʈʰámo*, on the other hand, is used with cylindrical objects, for example, cylinders, pillars, pipes, pencils.

41   [òptŏ(ŋ)].

(68) *mì   ɖùmpo*
    man fat
    'Fat man'

(69) *pòmo   ɖùmpo*
    woman fat
    'Fat woman'

(70) *ʧìva   kítpu*
    child happy
    'Happy child'

(71) *ʧìva-ja   kítpu*
    child-PL happy
    'Happy children'

3.4.1   Adjective Structure

Adjectives in Navakat are mono- or disyllabic. With a few exceptions, monosyllabic adjectives end either in nasals (*m*, *n*, or *ŋ*) or in vowels.

ʃàu	'lame'	*tsʰéu*	'salty'
ŋán	'early'	*tún*	'short'
ʧyn, ʧún	'small (non-long objects)'	*ʧʰóm*	'ready'
ʃàŋ	'wide'	*kól*	'deaf; mute'

As with nouns, disyllabic adjectives, too, frequently end in *-po*, *-pa*,[42] *-mo* or *-ma*. However, the largest group of adjectives end in *-po*. There is no clear distinguishing factor determining the distribution of the various adjectival endings.

ʧʰúkpo	'rich'	*kámpo*	'dry'
ʃímbo	'good (edibles)'	*ʈàŋbo*	'true, honest'
ⁿbòlmo	'soft'	*kʰémo*	'cheap'
sóma	'new'	*ɲérma*	'wrinkled'
ɲíŋba	'old (NHUM)'	*rìtpa*	'weak'

---

42   As was the case with nouns, *-po* and *-pa* are sometimes realized as *-bo/-vo* and *-ba/-va*, respectively.

As was the case with nouns, disyllabic adjectives, too, may end in other vowels or consonants.

(ⁿ)ʥéŋu	'green'	kà:po	'difficult'
(ⁿ)bà:pʰa	'dirty'	gùrkøk	'crooked'
tʃĩnte	'heavy'	lánte	'wet'
gìrgir⁴³	'round (large objects)'	nèʒuŋ	'young (HUM)'

Descriptive adjectives are classified according to whether they refer to, for example, age, dimension, value or color. The following are some examples of descriptive adjectives.

Age

nèʒuŋ	'young (HUM)'	ɲérma	'wrinkled'
dàŋbo	'old (time)'	gètpo	'old (ANIM)'

(72) kʰó=ji   tá   gètpo   ʃĩ-s-ã:k
       3sg.NH=POSS horse old(ANIM) die-MDL-PST.FACT
       'His old horse died.' (Indirect knowledge)

Dimension

ɖùmpo	'thick (round)'	tʰúpo	'thick (non-round objects)'
ʈʰámo	'thin (round objects)'	ʈápo	'thin (objects with surface)'
rìŋpo	'long, tall'	tʃʰétpo	'big'
ʈòkpo	'narrow'	ʈʰáŋbo	'straight'

(73) kʰó=ji   ʈá   rìŋpo=raŋ nàkpo ⁿdùk
       3sg.NH=POSS hair long=COM black COP.NFUT.VIS
       'Her hair is long and black.' (Direct knowledge)

Value

ètpo	'good (ANIM)'	ʃĩmbo	'delicious (eatables)'
dèmo	'good (external qualities)'	zàŋbo	'good (internal qualities)'
kʰámloktʃa	'bad (disgusting)'	ŋ̀ànba	'bad'

---

43 *gìrgir* is used when the focus is on how large and round the object is. *kírkir* describes small, round objects.

ṭú: ètpo	[boy good]	'good boy'
ṭú: dèmo	[boy good (exterior)]	'handsome boy'
kátʃa dèmo	[news/rumour good]	'good news'
sèptuŋ ʃímbo	[food delicious]	'delicious food'
námla ŋànba	[weather bad]	'bad weather'
kátʃa ŋànba	[news/rumour bad]	'bad news'
ʧìva-ja ŋànba	[child-PL bad]	'bad children'
ṭú: ŋànba	[boy bad]	'bad boy'

Most color terms in Navakat end in *-po* (allomorphs *-po, -bo/vo*).

Color
kárvo	'white'	*ŋónpo, ŋónpo*	'blue'
nàkpo	'black'	*sér(vo)*	'yellow'
márvo	'red'	*(ⁿ)ʤéŋu*	'green'

Properties relating to physical characteristics, personality traits and speed are also expressed by adjectives in Navakat.

Physical characteristics
kjòŋbo	'hard'	*dùmpa*	'blunt'
ⁿbòlmo	'soft'	*ʧínte*	'heavy'
ɲònpo	'sharp'	*jàŋmo*	'light'
kámpo	'dry'	*lánte*	'wet'

sáʒa ⁿbòlmo[44]	[land soft]	'soft surface'
sáʒa kjòŋbo	[land hard]	'hard surface'

Personality traits
gèri	'happy, proud'	*ʧáŋbo*	'clever'

Speed
ŋán	'early'	*ⁿgjòpʰa*[45]	'fast'
ṭíːn, ṭíːŋ	'late'	*gùlejraŋ*	'slow'

---

44   The final vowel of 'surface' is nasalized due to the prenasalization of 'soft'.
45   [ⁿgjòfa].

(74) mà   rèl   tí:ŋ-ʃo   ʃú-ʣa   ʃímla=la   pùt
      1SG train after-CMP   get.into-INF p.name=ALL   go.PST
      'I went with the earliest train to Shimla.'

(75) mà   rèl   ŋán-ʃo=la   ʃú-ʣa   ʃímla=la   pùt
      1SG train early-CMP=DAT get.into-INF p.name=ALL go.PST
      'I went with the earliest train to Shimla.'

Non-numeral quantifier adjectives
jòp   'many (CNT)'   màŋbo   'many (NCNT)'
kónbo 'few'   tsám   'approximately'

At times, when the speaker either does not need to or want to specify the exact
amount, *màŋbo* 'many' occurs even with countable objects (77).

(76) tà   lò   ʧʰə̃́rva màŋbo gjè(p) ma-ʒṍ(ŋ)[46]
      now year rain   many shoot NEG-PST.VIS
      'This year it didn't rain much.'

(77) òti lò   séŋgul=su   kʰáŋba màŋbo dìp   sṍ(ŋ)
      that year earthquake=INS house many fell.down PST.VIS
      'That year the earthquake destroyed many houses.' (Direct knowledge)

màŋbo 'many' also functions as an adverb.

(78) bàs=ki   nàŋ=du   màŋbo dè-ʧa   ʧónto sùk   ʈàk
      bus=POSS inside=LOC many sit-INF buttock pain COP.NFUT.NVIS
      '(My) buttock is aching because of (my) sitting in the bus for a long time.'

3.4.2   Degrees of Comparison

The superlative is formed by suffixing *-ʃo* to an adjective. If the stem is a disyl-
labic stem, the final syllable is deleted in the process.

ʧún-ʃo 'smallest'   < ʧún   'small (objects which are not elongated)'
tí:n-ʃo 'very late' < tí:n, tí:ŋ 'late'
màŋ-ʃo 'most'   < màŋbo   'many(NCNT)'

---

46   *-sṍ(ŋ)* is realized as [ʒṍ(ŋ)] here.

In the contrastive construction (also called "comparative construction") *sã:*[47] occurs between the objects which are being compared.

(79) *rìa=ki   kúʃu sã: tsʰáera-i   kúʃu ʃim-kã:k*
     forest=POSS apple CONT orchard-POSS apple tasty-NPST.FACT
     'Orchard apples are sweeter than wild apples.' (Indirect knowledge)

(80) *ténzin sã: dòrʒe rìŋ-ã:k*
     i.name CONT i.name tall-NPST.FACT
     'Tenzin is taller than Dorje.' (Indirect knowledge)

(81) *í: kʰáŋba sã: pʰí: kʰáŋba ɲìŋba   jìn-uk*
     this house CONT that house old(NHUM) COP-NFUT.VIS
     'This house is older than that house.' (Direct knowledge)

3.5   *Numerals*

Like adjectives, numerals in Navakat come after the head noun. Any adjectives are placed between the noun and the numeral. Numerals can be suffixed with *-bo*, marking the NP as given information.

(82) *ràma súm*
     goat three
     'Three goats'

(83) *kʰáŋba ɲìŋba=raŋ   márvo súm   mà=i   áʒo*
     house old(NHUM)=COM red   three 1SG=POSS o.brother
     ɲòe-vã:k[48]
     buy.PST-PST.FACT
     My older brother bought three old red houses.

(84) *kʰáŋba ɲìŋba=raŋ   márvo súm=bo   mà=i   áʒo*
     house old(NHUM)=COM red   three-GIVEN 1SG=POSS o.brother
     ɲòe-vã:k
     buy.PST-PST.FACT
     My older brother bought the three old red houses.

---

47   *sã:* has an audible nasalization, though there is no nasal consonant following the vowel.
48   [ɲòɛʋã:k̚].

The numerals 1–10 are as follows.

ʧí k	'one'	*ʈ ùk*	'six'
ɲ ìː	'two'	*dùn, dỳn*	'seven'
súm	'three'	*gjèt*	'eight'
ʒ ì	'four'	*g ù*	'nine'
ŋá	'five'	*ʧ ú*	'ten'

Navakat exhibits a consistent decimal system. See Chapter 5 for more informa-
tion on Navakat numerals. As the following examples illustrate, several con-
necting morphemes (e.g. *sok-*,[49] *ŋak-*) occur in higher numerals. These connect-
ing morphemes are neither in free variation nor is their distribution phonolog-
ically determined.[50]

ɲ ìːʃu	'20'	*ɲ ìː*	'2'	×	*ʧ ú*	'10'
súmʤu	'30'	*súm*	'3'	×	*ʧ ú*	'10'
súnʤu sokʃík	'31'	*súmʤu*	'31'	*sok-*	*ʧ ík*	'1'[51]
ʒ ìpʧu	'40'	*ʒ ì*	'4'	×	*(p)ʧ ú*	'10'
ʒ ìpʧu ʒ akʃík	'41'	*ʒ ìpʧu*	'40'	*ʒ ak-*	*ʧ ík*	'1'
ŋéptʧu[52]	'50'	*ŋá*	'5'	×	*(p)ʧ ú*	'10'
ŋéptʧu ŋakʃík	'51'	*ŋéptʧu*	'50'	*ŋak-*	*ʧ ík*	'1'
ʈ ùktʧu	'60'	*ʈ ùk*	'6'	×	*ʧ ú*	'10'
ʈ ùktʧu rakʃík / *rokʃík	'61'	*ʈ ùktʧu*	'60'	*rak-*	*ʧ ík*	'1'
dùnʤu	'70'	*dùn*	'7'	×	*ʧ ú*	'10'
dùnʤu tokʃík / tonʃík[53]	'71'	*dùnʤu*	'70'	*tok-/ton-*	*ʧ ík*	'1'
gèʤu, gèttʧu	'80'	*gèt*	'8'	×	*ʧ ú*	'10'
gèʤu kakʃík	'81'	*gèʤu*	'80'	*kak-*	*ʧ ík*	'1'
gòptʧu	'90'	*g ù*	'9'	×	*(p)ʧ ú*	'10'
gòptʧu kokʃík	'91'	*gòptʧu*	'90'	*kok-*	*ʧ ík*	'1'

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49   This is not realized as [ʒ ʰak], which is the case in some other related linguistic varieties.
50   These elements largely coincide with those used in (Lhasa) Tibetan, and also seem related
     to the multipliers of the corresponding decades where they appear.
51   Historically, the morpheme is *so*. The *k* in *sok* is the migrated prefix of *gcig*.
52   One possible analysis of *ŋéptʧu* is *ŋá-p-ʧ ú*, where *-a* becomes *-e* because of the vowel fol-
     lowing it.
53   Both *tokʃík* and *tonʃík* are possible here, with no difference in meaning.

4   The Verb Complex

The verb complex in Nàvakat is considerably simpler than that of Kinnauri.
There is no subject or object indexing, tense and evidentiality information is
conveyed by combinations of lexical verbs, nominalizers, suffixes/clitics and
auxiliaries.

4.1   *Verb Lexemes and Their Structure*

4.1.1   Simplex Verbs

The focus here is on simplex verbs. Below we give some examples of verbs of
different semantic types, illustrating that there is no formal differentiation of
these types. The verbs are provided here in their infinitive forms (ending either
in -*ʧa* or -*ʤa*).[54]

Involuntary processes
ⁿɖòʤa   'to flow (NH)'   *ʐèтʧa*   'to forget'
ʈè(t)ʧa   'to drift (INTR)'   *ʃíʤa*   'to die (NH)'

Bodily functions
kjúkʧa   'to vomit'   *ⁿdàrʧa*   'to shiver'
ŋùʤa   'to cry'   *gjùʤa*   'to have sex'
mìkʧa   'to swallow'   *ⁿdàʧa*   'to chew'

Motion verbs
ⁿɖòʤa   'to go (NPST)'   *ⁿdzàkʧa*   'to climb'
òŋʤa   'to come'   *táŋʤa*   'to leave'
pʰúrʧa   'to fly'   *ʧʰóŋʤa*   'to jump'

Action verbs
ʈúʧa   'to wash'   *kóʧa*   'to dig'
kúŋʤa   'to bury'   *dàmʤa*   'to tie'
ⁿdàʧa   'to chew'   *ʐàŋʤa*   'to build (H)'

Cognition verbs
ʃéʃa   'to know'   *ʐèтʧa*   'to forget'

---

54   Two types of variation are observed here. First, the infinitive marker -*ʤa* is also realized
      as -*ʐa*. Second, in many instances speakers use -*ʧa* and -*ʤa* with the same verb, seemingly
      in free variation.

Utterance verbs

sèrʧa   'to say', 'to tell'   *ʈídʑa*   'to ask'

Focussed attention verbs

tádʑa   'to observe'   *númdʑa*   'to smell (TR)'

4.1.2 Honorific and Non-Honorific Verb Stems

Some verbs in Navakat have distinct honorific and non-honorific verb stems.

	H verb form	NH verb form
'to arrive'	*pʰéʧa*	*lépʧa*
'to go'	*kjǿtʧa*	*ⁿɖòdʑa*
'to come'	*pʰéʧa*	*òŋdʑa*
'to be born'	*tʰúŋdʑa*	*kédʑa*
'to die'	*tònʃa*	*ʃídʑa*
'to drink'	*ʧʰǿtʧa*	*tʰúŋdʑa*
'to give'	*púldʑa*	*térʧa*
'to know'	*kʰéndʑa*	*ʃéʃa*
'to sit, to stay'	*ʒùːʃa*	*dèʧa*

4.1.3 Complex Verbs

Navakat has a kind of light or support verb construction, consisting of a noun without case marking and a verb. In this construction, the noun carries the main semantic content and the verb functions primarily as the carrier of the verb inflectional morphology. Verbs which occur in this construction are: *òŋdʑa* 'to come', *òʧa* 'to exist', *g(j)èpʧa* 'to shoot', *pèʧa* 'to do', *lèndʑa* 'to take', *táŋdʑa* 'to send', and *térʧa* 'to give (NH)'.

Complex verbs with *òŋdʑa* 'to come' describe non-voluntary situations.

tókri òŋ-dʑa   [hunger(N) come-INF]   'to be hungry'
míklam òŋ-dʑa   [dream(N) come-INF]   'to dream (NVOL)'
tʰìːfa[55] *òŋ-dʑa*   [drip(N) come-INF]   'to drip, to dribble(INTR)'
ʈìma òŋ-dʑa   [smell(N) come-INF]   'to smell (INTR)'

---

55   [f] in Nàvakat occurs only intervocalically.

With the verb *òʧa* 'to exist', we get states.

ʧá ò-ʧa	[knowledge(N) exist-INF]	'to know about'
sónpo ò-ʧa	[alive(N) exist-INF]	'to be alive'
ʧőreʒik ò-ʧa	[resemblance(N) exist-INF]	'to seem similar'

g(j)èpʧa 'to shoot' provides a volitional interpretation.

mónlam gjèp-ʧa	[pray(N) shoot-INF]	'to pray'
ʧík gjèp-ʧa	[word(N) shoot-INF]	'to paint'
gùrma gjèp-ʧa	[crawl(N) shoot-INF]	'to crawl'

The verb *pèʧa* 'to do' derives complex activity verbs. The activity can be abstract (e.g. 'to hope') or concrete (e.g. 'to perform a religious activity').

rèva pè-ʧa	[hope(N) do-INF]	'to hope'
ʧʰőe pè-ʧa	[religious.activities(N) do-INF]	'to preach'
jào pè-ʧa	[friend do-INF]	'to help'

All instances of complex verbs constructed with *lènʤa* 'to take' involve bodily actions.

ɖìtpa lèn-ʤa	[sneeze(N) take-INF]	'to sneeze'
hùiɖa lèn-ʤa	[snore(N) take-INF]	'to snore'
jàl lèn-ʤa	[yawn(N) take-INF]	'to yawn'

táŋʤa 'to send' and *térʧa* 'to give (NH)' both derive complex verbs which describe activities.

lú táŋ-ʤa	[song(N) send-INF]	'to sing'
kjákpa táŋ-ʤa	[feces(N) send-INF]	'to defecate'
kʰíre: táŋ-ʤa	[hunting(N) send-INF]	'to hunt'

ʧìmle: tér-ʧa[56]	[blessing(N) give-INF]	'to bless'
ʈèu tér-ʧa	[permission(N) give-INF]	'to permit'

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56   *ster* 'give' is a Classical Tibetan form. *ter* 'give' occurs in Tabo, too.

4.1.4   Intransitive, Transitive and Ditransitive Verbs

The direct object in transitive clauses may take the dative marker. Ditransitive verbs take three core arguments. As is the case with transitive verbs, even in this case, the direct object and the indirect object need not occur explicitly in the clause.

(85) *ɲìma ʃár-s�ő(ŋ)*
    sun   rise-PST.VIS
    'The sun rose.' (Direct knowledge)

(86) *kʰóʃak   ʃĩŋ   ʧá-sɔ́(ŋ)*
    3PL.NH wood break-PST.VIS
    'They cut the wood.' (Direct knowledge)

(87) *áŋmo=su   kúnma=la zùm-ã:k*
    i.name=ERG thief=DAT catch-PST.FACT
    'Angmo caught the thief.' (Indirect knowledge)

(88) *àŋmo=su   ténzin=la   múl   tát-ã:k*
    i.name=ERG i.name=DAT money give.PST-PST.FACT
    'Ram gave (some) money to Tenzin.' (Indirect knowledge)

4.2   *Verbal Inflectional Categories*

Navakat verbs do not exhibit subject or object indexing, but like most other Tibetic languages, Navakat has an extensive set of grammatical morphemes which combine the expression of evidentiality and tense in complex ways (Saxena 1997a; Zeisler 2004; Tournadre 2008; DeLancey 2012, 2018; Tournadre and LaPolla 2014). With respect to the categories recognized and (to some extent) the terminology used, the present description of the Navakat verbal inflectional system draws on earlier descriptions of West Tibetic language varieties—and especially the varieties classified together with Navakat under "Western Innovative Tibetan" in Bielmeier et al. (MS 2008)—e.g., those of Hein (2001) and Zeisler (2004, p.c.), although with due consideration of the fact that the grammatical systems of even closely related Tibetic varieties may differ considerably in their details (Tournadre and LaPolla 2014: 252–256). Table 31 provides an overview of the verbal inflectional categories in Navakat.[57]

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57   It is important to mention here that we find considerable variation in the realization of various inflectional endings. For example, normally the first person future ending is *-(k)an,*

TABLE 31   Verbal inflectional categories in Navakat

Copulas and their inflectional categories			
Equational		**Existential**	
NFUT	FUT	NFUT	FUT
EGO	*jìn*	*tʃʰá-na jìn*	*ò-at*	*dèt-kan*[58]
FACT	*jìn-ɖo*	*tʃʰá-kã:k*	*ò-kã:k*	*dèt-kã:k*
VIS	*jìn-uk*		*ⁿdùk*	
NOW			*dèt-uk*	
NVIS			*ʈàk*	

Verbal inflectional categories in non-copula constructions		
NPST	PST	FUT
EGO	*-at*	*-an/-van*, V.PST	*-(k)an*
ENA		*-tʃuŋ*	
FACT	*-(k)ã:k*	*-ã:k/-vã:k*	*-(k)ã:k*
VIS	V-NMLZ *jin-uk, (tã(ŋ))* *ⁿdùk*	*(-)sõ(ŋ)*	
NOW	*-uk*	V *dèt-uk*	
NVIS	*ʈàk*		
HI		*(-)tã(ŋ)*	

4.3 *Copula Constructions*

4.3.1   Non-Future Tense

jìn, ò, ⁿdùk, dèt and *ʈàk* occur in non-future copula constructions, where *jìn* occurs in the equational copula construction in non-future and the rest occur in the existential copula construction. *jìn* with no inflectional ending is egophoric, while the copula *jìn* with *-uk* indicates that the speaker has direct knowledge of that which is being described as s/he has seen it personally, while *jìn* with the suffix *-ɖo* indicates that the speaker does not have direct (factual) knowledge.

---

but at times it is also realized as [(k)ɛn] or [(k)en]. This also holds true for other inflectional endings: [(ʋ)an] [PST.EGO] and [at̚] [PRS.EGO].

58   The copula *dèt* is realized here as *dè*.

(89) *ŋà ʃìŋba   jìn*
1SG farmer COP.NFUT.EGO
'I am/was a farmer.'

(90) *ɲèt ʃìŋba   jìn*
1PLE farmer COP.NFUT.EGO
'We are/were farmers.'

(91) *kʰjót   ʃìŋba   jìn-uk*
2SG.NH farmer COP-NFUT.VIS
'You are/were a farmer.' (Direct knowledge)

(92) *kʰó   ʃìŋba   jìn-ɖo*
3SG.NH farmer COP-NFUT.FACT
'He is/was a farmer.' (Indirect knowledge)

(93) *kʰóvat ʃìŋba   jìn-uk*
3PL.NH farmer COP-NFUT.VIS
'They are/were farmers.' (Direct knowledge)

(94) *ʈú: lò   ʧúkʃik=i   jìn-uk*
son year eleven=POSS COP-NFUT.VIS
'(His) son is eleven years old.' (Direct knowledge)

In the following example, *jìn-uk* occurs, if, the speaker has personally seen that the meat is/was fresh.

(95) *í: ʃá   sóma jìn-uk*
this meat fresh COP-NFUT.VIS
'This meat is/was fresh.' (Direct knowledge)

In non-future tense constructions, time adverbials are used to specify the temporal framework of a copula construction.

(96) *ŋà ʃìŋba   jìn*
1SG farmer COP.NFUT.EGO
'I am/was a farmer.'

(97) *lò   ɲí: ŋàn=la   ŋà ʃìŋba jìn*
year two inside=ALL 1SG farmer COP.NFUT.EGO
'Two years ago I was a farmer.'

ò, *ⁿdùk*, *dèt* and *ʈàk* occur in the existential copula construction. The copula *ò* followed by the suffix *-at* occurs in egophoric and factual contexts (98–99), while *ò-kã:k* occurs when the speaker does not have direct knowledge, but knows it for a fact (100–103).

(98) *ŋà jùl=na   ò-at*
      1SG village=LOC COP-PRS.EGO
      'I am in the village.'

(99) *ɲèt jùl=na   ò-at*
      1PLE village=LOC COP-PRS.EGO
      'We are in the village.'

(100)   *kʰjót   jùl=na   ò-kã:k*
        2SG.NH village=LOC COP-NPST.FACT
        'You are in the village.' (Indirect knowledge)

(101)   *kʰó   jùl=na   ò-kã:k*
        3SG.NH village=LOC COP-NPST.FACT
        'He is in the village.' (Indirect knowledge)

(102)   *kʰóvat jùl=na   ò-kã:k*
        3PL.NH village=LOC COP-NPST.FACT
        'They are in the village.' (Indirect knowledge)

(103)   *píti=na   gùnba màŋbo ò-kã:k*
        p.name=LOC temple many COP-NPST.FACT
        'Spiti has many temples.' (Indirect knowledge)

Similarly, the distribution of the remaining existential copulas (i.e., *ⁿdùk*, *dèt* and *ʈàk*), too, is evidentially conditioned. *ⁿdùk* indicates that the speaker has direct knowledge of that which is being described by having seen it personally (104).

(104)   *kàktse=ji   kʰá=na   púli ʈʃík ⁿdùk*
        crow=POSS mouth=LOC bread one COP.NFUT.VIS
        'There is somebread in the crow's beak.' (Direct knowledge)

dèt-uk, on the other hand, marks a change of state, where the speaker was a witness to the change (105).

(105) *nám*[59] *ʈín* *dèt-uk*
       weather cloud COP-NFUT.NOW
       'The weather is cloudy.' (It is cloudy.) (Background: it was sunny just a
       while ago, but now it is cloudy; the speaker witnessed the change.)

Finally, the copula *ʈàk* (allomorph *ɖàk*[60]) indicates that the information conveyed in this clause is direct knowledge, but based on the speaker's non-visual perceptions. This includes expressing internal feelings as well as perceptions of touching and smelling. See (106–109).

(106) *tʰérmos=ki*   *nàŋ=na*   *ʧ̀à* *ʈàk*
       thermos=POSS inside=LOC tea COP.NFUT.NVIS
       'There is tea in the thermos.' (Background: The speaker feels the weight
       of a thermos, and inferes/guesses/assumes that there is tea in the thermos.)

(107) *tʰérmos=ki*   *nàŋ=na*   *ʧ̀à* *ⁿduk*
       thermos=POSS inside=LOC tea COP.NFUT.VIS
       'There is tea in the thermos.' (Direct knowledge)

(108) *kʰáŋb=i*[61]   *nàŋ=na*   *kʰí* *ʈàk*
       house=POSS inside=LOC dog COP.NFUT.NVIS
       'There is a dog in the house.' (Background: The speaker hears the noise
       of the barking coming from the house. Thus he assumes that there is a
       dog in the house.)

(109) *kʰáŋb=i*   *nàŋ=na*   *kʰí* *ⁿduk*
       house=POSS inside=LOC dog COP.NFUT.VIS
       'There is a dog in the house.' (Direct knowledge)

The existential copulas (excluding *dèt-uk*) also occur in constructions with adjectival predicates.[62] The existential copulas in such constructions retain their evidential properties, described above (110–118).

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59   *nám* literally means 'sky'.
60   In the negative existential construction, this is always realized as *ɖàk*. For example, *ɲìnmo ɲìma tsàntej raŋ tsʰátpa su ʃiŋga ji là: ɲànna minɖàk* 'Due to sun during the day time, which causes perspiration, one should not work during midday.'
61   The detailed form is: *kʰáŋba=i*.
62   This is also the case in Ladakhi (Bettina Zeisler, p.c.).

(110) mà rìŋpo[63] ò-at
       1SG tall   COP-PRS.EGO
       'I am tall.'

(111) kʰó   là̀:pʰo[64] ⁿdùk
       3SG.NH beautiful COP.NFUT.VIS
       'She is/was beautiful.' (Direct knowledge)

(112) màʃ=i[65]   mème=ki   màlej ⁿdʑì:ʃa rìŋpo ò-kã:k
       1PLE=POSS grandfather=POSS chin much long COP-NPST.FACT
       'My grandfather has a very long chin.' (Indirect knowledge)

(113) tá   nàkpo té   táeŋ-an   ò-kã:k
       horse black FOC agressive-NMLZ COP-NPST.FACT
       'The black horse has agressivity.' (The black horse is agressive) (Indirect
       knowledge)

(114) dòrʒə=ki   náma té là̀:pʰo tʃík ⁿdùk
       i.name=POSS wife FOC beautiful one COP.NFUT.VIS
       'Dorje's wife is beautiful.' (Direct knowledge)

(115) nám=la   tsʰátpa ʈàk[66]
       weather=ALL hot   COP.NFUT.NVIS
       'The weather is hot.' (It is hot.) (Background: The speaker is sweating
       and he feels that it is hot today.)

(116) tìriŋ   lágde ʈákpo ʈàk
       today wind fierce COP.NFUT.NVIS
       'The wind is fierce today.' (Background: The speaker experiences strong
       wind.)

(117) tʃà ʈ(r)ǎ̀: saŋ   ⁿdùk
       tea cold completely COP.NFUT.VIS
       'The tea has become cold.' (Direct knowledge).

---

63   This is also realized as *rìŋbo*.
64   This is also realized as *là̀:ʃo*.
65   The detailed form is: *màʃak=i*.
66   [ɖàk].

(118) ʧ̀ã ʈ(r)ắː saŋ   ʈàk
       tea cold   completely COP.NFUT.NVIS
       'The tea is cold. (Background: After the speaker drank the tea, s/he feels
       that the tea has turned cold).'

4.3.2   Future Tense

In the future tense, the regularly inflected verbs *ʧʰá* 'become' and *dèt* 'sit,
remain, live' function as the equational and existential copula, respectively. The
egophoric form is *ʧʰá-na jìn* [become-NMLZ AUX.NFUT.EGO]. This verbal form
occurs also in the obligative construction. In other contexts the verb (*ʧʰá*) takes
the inflectional ending *-kã:k*, which also occurs in noncopula constructions as
a mark of indirect (factual) evidentiality.

(119) ŋà ʃìŋba   ʧʰá-na   jìn
       1SG farmer become-NMLZ AUX.NFUT.EGO
       'I will be a farmer.'

(120) ɲèt ʃìŋba   ʧʰá-na   jìn
       1PLE farmer become-NMLZ AUX.NFUT.EGO
       'We will be farmers.'

(121) kʰjə́t ʃìŋba   ʧʰá-kã:k
       2SG.NH farmer become-NPST.FACT
       'You are/will be a farmer.'

(122) kʰó   ʃìŋba   ʧʰá-kã:k
       3SG.NH farmer become-NPST.FACT
       '(S)he is/will be a farmer.'

(123) kʰóvat ʃìŋba   ʧʰá-kã:k
       3PL.NH farmer become-NPST.FACT
       'They are/will be farmers.'

In the existential copula construction in the future tense *dèt* 'sit, remain, live'
functions as the copula. The inflectional endings here are the same as those in
the noncopula construction (see the next section).

(124) ŋà jùl=ⁿdu   dèt-kan [dèkan]
       1SG village=TERM sit-FUT.EGO
       'I will be in the village.'

(125) ɲèt jùl=ⁿdu   dèt-kan [dèkan]
       1PLE village=TERM sit-FUT.EGO
       'We will be in the village.'

(126) kʰjǿt jùl=ⁿdu   dèt-kã:k [èkã:k]
       2SG.NH village=TERM sit-NPST.FACT
       'You are/will be in the village.'

(127) kʰǿ   jùl=ⁿdu   dèt-kã:k [dèkã:k]
       3SG.NH village=TERM sit-NPST.FACT
       '(S)he are/will be in the village.'

(128) kʰóvat jùl=ⁿdu   dèt-kã:k [dèkã:k]
       3PL.NH village=TERM sit-NPST.FACT
       'They are/will be in the village.'

4.4   *Non-Copula Constructions*
4.4.1   Past Tense

The distribution of the finite verb inflectional endings in the past tense is as follows. The two allomorphs of egophoric *-an/-van* are distributed as follows: *-an* occurs when the verb stem ends in a consonant and *-van*[67] occurs when the verb stem ends in a vowel.

(129) mà ʈì-van
       1SG write-PST.EGO
       'I wrote.'

(130) màʃak ɲámbo   ⁿɖùl-an
       1PLE together walk-PST.EGO
       'We walked together.'

Some verbs have suppletive forms in the past tense, e.g., 'go' and 'do': ⁿɖò [go.NPST] : pùt [go.PST]; pè [do.NPST] : ʧè [do.PST]. The same set of verb inflections is used with the verbs which have suppletive verb forms and those which do not have suppletive forms in past and non-past. To some extent the Navakat verb forms reflect the stem formation of Old and Classical Tibetan (see Appendix 3A to this chapter).

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67   *-van* is also realized as *-pan*. For example, *ʧák-pan* 'break-PST'.

There are some instances of finite clauses where a bare verb occurs in the past tense, without any inflectional ending. When asked to clarify, the language consultants provided the corresponding sentence with inflectional endings.

(131)   mà kʰó=la   tʰóŋ
        1SG 3SG.NH=DAT see(NVOL)
        'I saw him.'

(132)   mà rèl ŋán-ʃo=la   ʃú-dʒa   ʃĭmla=la   pùt-an
        1SG train early-SUP=DAT board-INF p.name=ALL go.PST-PST.EGO
        'I took the earliest train to Shimla.'

Other verb inflectional endings in the past tense are *-ã:k/-vã:k* and (-)*sõ(ŋ)*. *-vã:k* occurs often, but not only, when the stem ends with a vowel and *-ã:k* occurs when the verb stem ends with a consonant.

When (-)*sõ(ŋ)* functions as a verb ending, it immediately follows the main verb.[68] The phonological status of (-)*sõ(ŋ)* seems to fall somewhere between a free auxiliary and a bound morpheme as the place of articulation of *s* in (-)*sõ(ŋ)* is sometimes assimilated to the place of articulation of the stem-final consonant of the preceding verb, whereas in other contexts, there is no assimilation. Similarly, *ŋ* in (-)*sõ(ŋ)* is not always articulated clearly. The vowel in (-)*sõ(ŋ)* is nasalized with or without the final *ŋ*. (-)*sõ(ŋ)* occurs with agentive (transitive, intransitive) as well as with non-agentive verbs.

(133)   mà=ji   nò   lùk   tsó=ru   pùt-ső(ŋ)
        1SG=POSS y.brother sheep graze=TERM go.PST-PST.VIS
        'My younger brother went to herd lambs.' (Direct knowledge)

(134)   ràm   kjúk ső(ŋ)
        i.name vomit PST.VIS
        'Ram vomited.' (Direct knowledge)

The distribution of the verb endings *-ã:k/-vã:k* and (-)*sõ(ŋ)* is evidentially conditioned: (-)*sõ(ŋ)* occurs when the speaker has direct knowledge of that which is being described by having seen it; *-ã:k/-vã:k* occurs when the speaker does not have direct evidence, but knows it for a fact.

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68   In my dataset there is only one instance of *sõ(ŋ)* as a lexical verb, where it functions as a
      non-honorific imperative verb form.

(135) *kʰóŋ   pùt-ã:k / *pùt-vã:k*
       3SG.H go.PST-PST.FACT
       'He went.' (Indirect knowledge)

(136) *kʰjǿt   pùt-ã:k/ *pùt-vã:k*
       2SG.NH go.PST-PST.FACT
       'You went.' (Indirect knowledge)

(137) *kʰó   mà=la   táe-vã:k*
       3sg.NH 1SG=DAT observe.PST-PST.FACT
       'He observed me.' (Indirect knowledge)

(138) *kʰó   mà=la   táe-ső̃(ŋ)*
       3sg.NH 1SG=DAT observe.PST-PST.VIS
       'He observed me.' (Direct knowledge)

(139) *dòrʒe=su   kʰó=la   dùn-ső̃(ŋ)*
       i.name=ERG 3SG.NH=DAT beat-PST.VIS
       'Dorje beat him.' (Direct knowledge)

(140) *dòrʒe kʰó=la   dùn-vã:k*
       i.name 3SG.NH=DAT beat-PST.FACT
       'Dorje beat him.' (Indirect knowledge)

Finally, *-tʃũ(ŋ), (-)tã(ŋ), túk* and *ʈò* too, occur as verbal inflectional endings in the noncopula constructions.

When the first person argument is the affected (i.e., non-agent) argument in the past tense, the verb takes the suffix *-tʃu(ŋ)* (allomorph [dʒɔ̃(ŋ)]). It always occurs as the last element in a finite sentence. The first person argument may, but need not necessarily, be the grammatical subject in the clause.

(141) *tìriŋ   pʰírok   ná=nasu   mà=ji   ná-ʈʰák⁶⁹   tòn-dʒu(ŋ)*
       today evening nose=ABL 1SG=POSS nose-blood come.out-PST.ENA
       'Today evening the blood came out from my nose.'

---

69 *ná+ʈʰák* seems to function as a compound. The possessive marker is not possible after *ná* in *ná+ʈʰák*.

(142) *mà=ji*   *ṭòtpa=ru*   *kʰó=ji*   *ʈʰímoʒoŋ* *pʰók-ʧũ(ŋ)*
       1SG=POSS stomach=TERM 3SG.NH=POSS elbow   hit-PST.ENA
       'His elbow hit my stomach.'

The following two pairs of examples show that the first person argument has to be the recipient (i.e., the non-agentive argument) for -*ʧũ(ŋ)* to occur.

(143) *mà=su*   *kʰó=ji*   *làkpa=ru*   *sóa*   *gjèp-tã(ŋ)*
       1SG=ERG 3SG.NH=POSS hand=TERM tooth.PL shoot-HI
       'I bit his hand.'

(144) *ʧìva=su*   *mà=ji*   *làkpa=ru*   *sóa*   *gjèp-ʧũ(ŋ)*
       child=ERG 1SG=POSS hand=TERM tooth.PL shoot-PST.ENA
       'The baby bit my hand.'

(145) *íː*   *gàḍi*   *mà=su*   *áʒi*   *ʧʰétpo=la* *tát*   *tã(ŋ)*
       this watch 1SG=ERG o.sister big=DAT   give.PST HI
       'I gave this watch to my elder sister.'

(146) *íː*   *gàḍi*   *mà=la*   *áʒi*   *ʧʰétpo=su* *tá-ʧũŋ*
       DEM.PROX watch 1SG=DAT o.sister big=ERG   give-PST.ENA
       'My elder sister has given this watch to me.'

As these examples show, (-)*tã(ŋ)* too, occurs with first person subjects. Unlike -*ʧũ(ŋ)*, (-)*tã(ŋ)* occurs in constructions where the first person argument is also the agent. Further, unlike *ʧũ(ŋ)*, (-)*tã(ŋ)* also occurs with all persons. Phonologically the status of (-)*tã(ŋ)* is somewhere between a bound morpheme and a free auxiliary. At times, it is also realized as -*sã(ŋ)*. It indicates heightened intentionality.[70] (-)*tãŋ* is the grammaticalized form of the verb meaning 'give'. The verb inflectional ending (-)*tã(ŋ)* is frequently, but not necessarily, followed by the auxiliary *ⁿdùk*.

(147) *púʃi=su*   *òma*   *síŋ*   *tʰúŋ-tã́(ŋ)*   *ⁿdùk*
       cat=ERG milk all   drink-HI   AUX.NFUT.VIS
       'The cat drank all the milk.'

---

70   The choice of the form and its semantic interpretation in Nàvakat is similar to the present
     perfect construction in Ladakhi (Bettina Zeisler, p.c.).

(148)   ràm=su   ʧák   tã́(ŋ) ⁿdùk
        i.name=ERG break HI   AUX.NFUT.VIS
        'Ram has broken (X).'

As the ungrammaticality of the following example illustrates, (-)tã́(ŋ) cannot be followed by the auxiliary *jin* (see below).

(149)   *mà síkul=la   pùt-tã(ŋ) jìn
        1SG school=ALL go.PST-HI AUX.NFUT.EGO
        'I have gone to the school/I went to the school.'

Further, (-)tã(ŋ) does not occur with non-past verb forms. For example:

(150)   *mà síkul=la   ⁿɖò-tã(ŋ)   jìn
        1SG school=ALL go.NPST-HI AUX.NFUT.EGO
        'I have gone to the school/I went to the school.'

The copula forms *jìn-uk* and *ⁿdùk* occur in noncopula constructions, where they function as auxiliaries. In my material the auxiliary *jìn-uk* is always preceded by a nominalized verb form. For example:

(151)   ɖòlma náma=la pùt   dè-kan⁷¹ jìn-uk
        i.name wife=ALL go.PST sit-NMLZ AUX-NFUT.VIS
        'Dolma has gone as a wife (and has stayed there that way).' (Direct knowledge)

ⁿdùk as an auxiliary is frequently preceded by *tã(ŋ)*. Such constructions can have an agentive or a non-agentive interpretation. *ⁿdùk* here indicates that the speaker has direct knowledge of that which is being described.

(152)   tʰápka=ji   nàŋ=i   ʃíŋ-ja   síŋ tùk-sãŋ
        oven=POSS inside=POSS wood-PL all burn(intr).PST-HI
        ⁿdùk
        AUX.NFUT.VIS
        'All the wood inside the oven has burnt (non-volitional).' (Direct knowledge)

---

71   This is an example of a complex (or serial) verb construction with a sequence of two verbs without any intervening non-final particle.

(153)   *kʰóʃak-ja   màma=la*[72] *pùt   ⁿdùk*   [pùⁿduk̄]
        3PL.NH-PL city=ALL   go.PST AUX.NFUT.VIS
        'They have gone to the city.' (Direct knowledge)

(154)   *kʰóŋ   màma la   pùt   ⁿdùk*   [pùⁿduk̄]
        2SG.H city   ALL go.PST AUX.NFUT.VIS
        'You (H) have gone to the city.' (Direct knowledge)

4.4.2   Non-Past Tense
The verbal ending *-at* occurs as an egophoric marker in non-past.

(155)   *mà   ʃàkta:n   là:=la   ⁿḍò-at*
        1SG every.day work=ALL go.NPST-PRS.EGO
        'I go to work every day.'

(156)   *màʃak ʃàkta:n   ɲámbo   ⁿḍúl-at*
        1PLE every.day together walk-PRS.EGO
        'We walk together every day.'

The verb ending *-(k)ã:k*[73] indicates indirect (factual) knowledge of that which is being described. While the verbal inflection *-uk*[74] indicates a change of state which the speaker has direct knowledge of. Depending on the context, the verb can have a present or a future tense interpretation, but never past.

(157)   *kʰí-ja   mú-kã:k*[75]
        dog-PL bark-NPST.FACT
        'The dog will bark' or 'The dog barks.' (Indirect knowledge)

---

72   *màma* 'downwards (direction)' is also used to refer to 'city', 'town' as all cities and towns are located to the south and in lower altitudes as compared to the Nako village. As mentioned above, *jòk* 'down' is also used to refer to a city.

73   *-(k)ã:k* can also occur with egophoric arguments in some restricted contexts, where it has an irrealis-modality interpretation, for instance referring to the speaker's intention of doing something in the future. For example, *mà láv-(k)ã:k* 'I WILL study/teach.' (Background: This verb form occurs when someone doubts the speaker's intention, and, the speaker reasserts his/her intention of studying/teaching.); *mà ʈì-ã:k* 'I WILL write.' (Background: Similar background as in the preceding example).

74   *-uk* is also realized as *-ok*.

75   *múkt͡ʃa* 'to bark'.

(158) *dòrʒe síkul=la   ⁿḑò-ã:k*
       i.name SCHOOL=ALL go.NPST-NPST.FACT
       'Dorje goes to school.' (Indirect knowledge)

The semantic differences between *-(k)ã:k* and *-uk* can also be seen by comparing examples (157, 159) with examples (158, 160). When *-(k)ã:k* is replaced with *-uk*, the semantic interpretation of the clause changes too.

(159) *kʰóʃak ʃĩŋ ʃá-kã:k*
       3PL.NH wood break-NPST.FACT
       'They cut wood (every day) or They will cut wood.' (Indirect knowledge)

(160) *kʰóʃak ʃĩŋ ʃák-uk*
       3PL.NH wood break-NPST.VIS
       'They cut wood (every day) or They will cut wood.' (Change of state, direct knowledge)

(161) *ʧìva tsé-ã:k*
       child play-NPST.FACT
       'The child plays (every day)' or 'The child will play.'

(162) *ʧìva tsé-uk*
       child play-NFUT.NOW
       'The child is playing.' (Change of state, direct knowledge)

The following examples illustrate that *-(k)ã:k and -(v)ã:k* have different temporal reference.

(163) *kʰjót ʃĩŋ túp-kã:k*
       2SG.NH wood chop-NPST.FACT
       'You (NH) (will) chop wood.' (Indirect knowledge)

(164) *kʰjót ʃĩŋ túp-vã:k*
       2SG.NH wood chop-PST.FACT
       'You (NH) chopped wood.' (Indirect knowledge)

(165) *dòlma ʃé-kã:k*
       i.name know-NPST.FACT
       'Dolma knows/will know (X).' (Indirect knowledge)

(166)   *dòlma ʃé-vã:k*
        i.name know-PST.FACT
        'Dolma knew (X).' (Indirect knowledge)

The copulas *dèt-uk* and *ʈàk* occur in noncopula constructions, where they function as auxiliaries.

dèt-uk in a non-copula construction indicates that there is a change of state and that the resulting state prevails. It further indicates that the speaker has direct knowledge of this change of state, having witnessed it personally. The main verb in its bare form immediately precedes this auxiliary.

(167)   *pʰí:=na   pàlaŋ ʃí   dèt-uk*
        that=LOC cow   die AUX-NFUT.now
        'A cow has died there.' (Background: A cow was alive and suddenly, right in the front of the speaker's eyes, she fell off and died; the cow is still lying there.) (Direct knowledge)

(168)   *píti   lùŋba=nasu tsʰóŋba   ɲí: lép   dèt-uk*
        p.name valley=ABL businessman two arrive AUX-NFUT.now
        'Two traders from the Spiti valley have arrived (here).' (Background: The speaker saw the two businessmen from Spiti arrive here; they are still here.) (Direct knowledge)

(169)   *mà=ji   tʃíva=ji   ʈála   tʰúg   dèt-uk*
        1SG=POSS child=POSS forehead hurt/collide AUX-NFUT.now
        'My child's forehead is hurt.' (Background: The speaker's child was well just a while ago, but now he got hurt and his forehead is hurting; the speaker himself saw the child getting hurt.) (Direct knowledge)

The copula *ʈàk*, too, retains its semantic qualities when it occurs as an auxiliary in non-copula constructions.

(170)   *mà=ji   púŋba sùk ʈàk*
        1SG=POSS inside pain COP.NFUT.NVIS
        'My shoulder has pain.' (The speaker is feeling the pain)

4.4.3   Future Tense

-(k)an is the future tense egophoric suffix. It is realized as *-kan* and *-an*. Their distribution is, however, not phonetically conditioned. *-kan* occurs also with verb stems endings in consonants, e.g. *kór-kan* [drive-FUT.EGO] (cf. *kórtʃa* 'to

drive'); *kól-kan*[76] [cook-FUT.EGO] (cf. *kólʣa* 'to cook'). Similarly, the allomorph *-an* occurs, too, with the verb stems ending in vowels, e.g. *zò-an, *zò-kan* [make-FUT.EGO] (cf. *zòʣa* 'to make'); *tsé-an, *tsé-kan* [play-FUT.EGO] (cf. *tséʣa* 'to play').

(171) *mà láp-kan*
     1SG teach/study-FUT.EGO
     'I will teach/study.'

(172) *mà ʈì-an / *ʈì-kan*
     1SG write-FUT.EGO
     'I will write.'

4.5 *Final Auxiliaries*

Finally, *túk* and *ʈò* which occur sentence-finally, indicate probability. They differ, however, in their semantic qualities. *túk* indicates that the speaker is drawing an inference, based on some observation. For example,

(173) *kʰó=ji   ʈúː=ki   látpa ètpo ò-ta*[77] *túk*
     3SG.NH=POSS son=POSS brain good COP-? INFERENCE
     'His son (seems to) have good brain.' (Indirect inference) (Background: His son is securing good results in his exams, even though he is seen playing all the time)

(174) *sèptuŋ ʃimbo kól   pòr-a túk*
     food   good cook keep INFERENCE
     'There is delicious cooked food.' (Background: Good smell of food is coming, therefore the speaker infers that there is good food.)

Distinct from this, *ʈò*[78]seems to convey probability, without reference to any external perceivable cause. It occurs with all persons in copula and non-copula constructions. In the copula construction it occurs with *òt* and *jìn* in my material.

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76   *kór-an* and *kól-an* have the past tense interpretation, i.e., '(I) drove' and '(I) cooked', respectively.

77   The *ta* here is not the same as *tǎ(ŋ)*.

78   *ʈò* is also realized as [ʈò].

(175)   *màʃak sàt ʈò*
        1PLE   eat PROBABILITY
        'We might eat.'

(176)   *kʰó   dìlli=na   òt   ʈò*
        3SG.NH p.name=LOC COP PROBABILITY
        'He may be in Delhi.'

(177)   *ʧʰòdon=gi   ʈòtpa   pʰíta:=la   tòn / tøn   dèt-uk*
        i.name=POSS stomach outside=LOC come.out AUX-NFUT.NOW
        ʧìva   òt   ʈò
        child exist PROBABILITY
        'Choden's belly has come out, maybe she is pregnant.'

(178)   *tá:n=na   kàktse kʰá   gjá-irak   ⁿdònbo òŋ-na*
        roof=LOC crow   mouth shoot-AUX.NFUT.NVIS guest   come-NMLZ
        jìn-ɖò
        AUX-PROBABILITY
        '(The speaker hears that) A crow is cawing on the roof, (some) guest
        may come.'

When *ʈò* follows the copula *jìn* the two comprise one prosodic unit. In such
constructions *ʈò* is always realized as *ɖo* ([jìnɖo]). [jìnɖo] occurs with all per-
sons.

(179)   *í: mi-láp-ʧa=na   mà tàksaŋ   lùkzi*
        this NEG-educate-INF=LOC 1SG immediately herdsman
        jìn-ɖò
        AUX-PROBABILITY
        'Without this education, I might probably be be a herdsman (now).'

(180)   *tá:n⁷⁹=na kàktse tágera ⁿɖònbo òŋ-na   jìn-ɖò*
        roof=LOC crow   caw(N) guest   come-NMLZ AUX-PROBABILITY
        'The crow is cawing on the roof, some guest may come.'

ʈò also occurs in constructions with non-first person subjects, where the pre-
ceding verb takes the egophoric marker *-at*, which may serve to indicate that
the statement is a judgement (a guess) on the part of the speaker.

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79   This is realized as [tá̃:].

(181) *kʰó   gà:di   kór-ʧa   láp-at   ʈò*
       3SG.NH vehicle drive-INF learn/study-PRS.EGO PROBABILITY
       'He might be learning to drive.'

In constructions with suppletive past-tense verb stems, *ʈò* can follow the bare verb.

(182) *mà pùt   ʈò*
       1SG go.PST PROBABILITY
       'I might go.'

4.6   *Negation*

mi- and *ma-* function as negative markers in Navakat and *mèt* functions as a negative existential. *mi-* occurs in copula and noncopula constructions in the non-past tenses in finite and non-finite clauses (including nominalized clauses).

(183) *tʰúr=la   rìvoŋ gjùk-gui*[80]
       downhill=ALL rabbit run-INTERNAL.CAPABILITY
       mi-ʃór-kã:k
       NEG-run-NPST.FACT
       'Rabbits can't run downwards.' (Indirect knowledge)

(184) *mi-sìn-na   là:*
       NEG-finish-NMLZ work
       'The work which does not get finished'

ma- occurs in the past tense with all persons in copula and noncopula constructions.

(185) *ŋà ɖàgdar mà:n*
       1SG doctor NEG.COP
       'I was not a doctor.'

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80   The slow-speech form is *gjùk-gui*. While in Nàvakat *-gui* is obligatory here, in the neighboring villages such as Chango, it does not occur. *-gui* here indicates internal capacity. Contrast this with the following example: *rìvõ(ŋ) tʰúr la gjùk mi-ʃór-kã:k* [rabbit downward ALL run NEG-run-NPST.FACT] 'Rabbits can't run downwards (due to created obstructions like fencing or walls erected)'.

(186) *tà   lò   ʧãmo-ja gùã màŋbo tát*[81]   *ma-ső(ŋ)*
         now   year hen-PL egg many   give.PST NEG-PST.VIS
         'This year the hens did not produce many eggs.' (Direct knowledge)

mèt functions as the negative existential. It occurs with all persons and num-
bers in all tenses.

(187) *mà jùl=na   ɲìriŋ   màŋbo mèt*
         1SG village=LOC relative many   NEG.COP
         'I don't have many relatives in the village.'

(188) *ɲèt jùl=na   mèt*
         1PLE village=LOC NEG.COP
         'We are not in the village.'

(189) *kʰó   jùl=na   mè-kã:nk*
         3SG.NH village=LOC NEG.COP-NPST.FACT
         'He will not be in the village.'

In constructions where the finite verb consists of a main verb and an auxiliary,
the negative prefix is affixed to the auxiliary.

(190) *ⁿgò sùk=su   dìriŋ là: pè-ʧa   mi-ɖàk*
         head pain=INS today work do-NMLZ NEG-AUX.NFUT.NVIS
         'Because of headache, (I) am not feeling like working today.'

4.7   *Imperative and Prohibitive*

4.7.1   Imperative

As seen in Section 4.1.2, Navakat has a small set of verbs which have dis-
tinct honorific and non-honorific verb forms. This distinction in this verb set
is maintained in the imperatives. Further, in the non-honorific verb forms,
as shown below, there is a change in the stem vowel in two instances (*sò*,
ɖòt); in other cases the non-honorific imperative verb forms are suppletive
forms.

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81   As mentioned earlier, the word-final consonant is barely audible. When asked, the lan-
      guage consultant, at times, provided the word-final consonant as [t], while at other times,
      as [d]. This, however, cannot be attributed to the Tibetan writing system, as my language
      consultant did not know any Tibetan (including its writing system).

	Infinitive	ʜ Imperative	ɴʜ Imperative
'to eat'	*ʧʰóʧʧa* (ʜ), *sàʥa* (ɴʜ)	*ʧʰót*	*sò*
'to drink'	*ʧʰóʧʧa* (ʜ), *tʰúɳʥa* (ɴʜ)	*ʧʰót*	*tʰúŋ*
'to go'	*kjóʧʧa* (ʜ), *ⁿɖòʥa* (ɴʜ)	*kjót*	*sóŋ*
'to sit'	*ʒùːʃa* (ʜ), *dèʧa* (ɴʜ)	*ʒùː*	*dòt*

Besides this rather small set of verbs, the honorific imperative verb form is formed by adding the suffix -*roʧi* [rɔʧi] to the verb stem. The formation of the non-honorific imperative verb forms, on the other hand, exhibits more than one strategy. First, it could just be a bare verb stem (i.e., the verb form without the infinitive marker).

	Infinitive	ʜ Imperative	ɴʜ Imperative
'to burn'	*túkʧa*	*túk-roʧi*	*túk*
'to put on'	*kónʥa*	*kón-roʧi*	*kón*
'to cook'	*kólʥa*	*kól-roʧi*	*kól*
'to throw'	*ʈìmʥa*	*ʈìm-roʧi*	*ʈìm*

Next, there are also some instances, as illustrated below, where the nonhonorific imperative verb form involves a change in the stem vowel (as compared to the vowel in the infinitive). Most infinitive verbs in this set have *a* as the stem vowel in their infinitive forms; some have *e* as the stem vowel in their infinitive forms. Their imperative verb stems have [o] as the stem-final.[82]

	Infinitive	ʜ Imperative	ɴʜ Imperative
'to sleep'	*ɲàlʥa*	*ɲàl-roʧi*	*ɲòl*
'to live'	*dèʧa*	*dèt-roʧi*	*dòt*

---

82   At least in some cases the verb stems with *e* are etymologically related to Tibetan forms with *a*, e.g. the original root has an aː *sdad > det*, where the *e*-vowel appears because of final -*t*. In the case of *gjep*, CT *rgyab*, the change of the vowel seems to have been triggered by the preceding palatal.

(*cont.*)

	Infinitive	ʜ Imperative	ɴʜ Imperative
'to fold'	táptʃa	táp-rotʃì	tóp
'to tie'	dàmʤa	dàm-rotʃì	dòm
'to carry'	ʈàktʃa	ʈàk-rotʃì	ʈò

In addition, there are some instances where the non-honorific imperative verb form takes an additional final vowel (*-i* or *-e*).

	Infinitive	ʜ Imperative	ɴʜ Imperative
'to dig'	kótʃa	kót-rotʃì	kó-e
'to gather'	ⁿdùtʃa	ⁿdùt-rotʃì	ⁿdù-i
'to hide'	bàtʃa	bàt-rotʃì	bò-e
'to bathe, to wash'	ʈútʃa	ʈút-rotʃì	ʈú-i

Finally, while the honorific imperative verb form continues to be formed by adding *-rotʃì* to the verb stem, in the following instances in the non-honorific imperative verb forms the stem-final consonant is deleted and there is a compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel.

	Infinitive	ʜ Imperative	ɴʜ Imperative
'to bury'	kúŋʤa	kúŋ-rotʃì	kṹː
'to plant'	tsúktʃa	tsúk-rotʃì	tsúː
'to beat'	dùŋʤa	dùŋ-rotʃì	dǜː
'to play, to dance'	tsédʒa	tsé-rotʃì	tséː

4.7.2   Prohibitive

The honorific and nonhonorific distinction is also maintained in the prohibitives.

	H.INF	NH.INF	H.PROH	NH.PROH
'to say, to tell'	*súŋ-ʤa*	*sè(r)-ʧa*[83]	*ma-súŋ*	*ma-sèr*
'to sleep'	*zìm-ʤa*	*ɲàl-ʤa*	*ma-zìm*	*ma-ɲàl*
'to stay'	*ʒù:ʃa*	*dè-ʧa*	*ma-ʒù:*	*ma-dèt*
'to put on (clothes)'	*nám-ʤa*	*kón-ʤa*	*ma-nám*	*ma-kón*

Apart from this limited set, the non-honorific prohibitive verb forms are formed by prefixing the negative morpheme *ma-* to the infinitive verb stem. The honorific prohibitive verb form, on the other hand, is composed by suffixing *-ro* to the verb stem, and adding *mapèt* to this verb form (i.e., V-*ro mapèt*).

	INF	H.PROH	NH.PROH
'to do'	*pè-ʧa*	*pèt-ro mapèt*	*ma-pèt*
'to burn, to light'	*tùk-ʧa*	*tùk-ro mapèt*	*ma-tùk*
'to sew (by hand)'	*tsém-ʤa*	*tsém-ro mapèt*	*ma-tsém*
'to wrap'	*ʈíl-ʤa*	*ʈíl-ro mapet*	*ma-ʈíl*
'to get'	*tʰóp-ʧa*	*tʰóp-ro mapet*	*ma-tʰóp*
'to kill'	*sá-ʧa*	*sát-ro mapèt*	*ma-sát*
'to scrape'	*dàr-ʧa*	*dàr-ro mapèt*	*ma-dàr*

5   Clauses and Sentences

Navakat is a verb-final language.

(191)   *nám=la   kárma   ʃár-ső́(ŋ)*
        sky=ALL   star   rise-PST.VIS
        'Stars rose (appeared) in the sky.' (Direct knowledge)

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83   [sè(r)ʧa].

(192) *tʰá=su*   *pʰíː=na*   *ʧíltik*   *ʧík sát pór-uk*
       hawk=ERG DEM.DIST=LOC sparrow one kill keep-NFUT.now
       'The hawk has killed a sparrow over there.' (Direct knowledge)

While SOV is the most frequent word order in Navakat, other word orders are also encountered.

(193) *nòʧʉŋ=gi*   *kítaːb ʧiva-ja=su*   *ʃá-tãŋ* *ⁿdùk*
       y.brother=POSS book child-PL=ERG tear-HI COP.NFUT.VIS
       'The children have torn (my) younger brother's book.' (Direct knowl-
       edge)

5.1   *Experiencer Subjects*

As other languages of this region, Navakat, too, has the so-called *experiencer subject* construction (or *dative subject* construction). When the "subject" is not a volitional participant, it takes the dative marker.

(194) *évi=ki*   *ʈúːŋ-ja* *mà=la* *àtlə*
       grandmother=POSS story-PL 1SG=DAT remember(N)
       mi-nɖàk
       NEG-COP.NFUT.NVIS
       'I don't remember grandmother's stories.'

(195) *mà=la*   *ʈàŋmo* *ʈàk*
       1SG=DAT cold(N) COP.NFUT.NVIS
       'I feel cold.'

A similar construction is used for expressing possession in a wide sense.

(196) *ɖòlma=la*   *mìŋbo* *ŋá* *ò-kã̃ːk*
       i.name=DAT brother five COP-NPST.FACT
       'Dolma has five brothers.' (Indirect knowledge)

(197) *mà=la*   *ʧiva súm* *ò-at*
       1SG=DAT child three COP-PRS.EGO
       'I have three children.'

As in Kinnauri, the verb forms are differently distributed in the experiencer subject constructions, compared to clauses with regular nominative or ergative subjects, with respect to the egophoric and evidential markers.

5.2   *Questions*

In content questions the question word (see Section 3.3.3) tends to "right"-dislocate towards the focus position immediately before the verb (see example 196–199). The verbal inflection in the interrogative constructions remains the same as in the declarative sentences, except that the verb takes the question suffix (*-aː/-vaː* or *-eː/-veː*), where *-aː/-vaː* functions as the honorific interrogative suffix and *-aː/-vaː* functions as the non-honorific interrogative suffix.[84] The allomorphs with *-v* occur when the verb stem ends with a vowel.

(198)   *kʰó   kànɖu   ɲàl-sǘ[85]-(v)ã̀ː*
         3SG.NH where sleep-PST.VIS-Q.H
         'Where did he sleep?' (Direct knowledge)

(199)   *kʰóvat   ʧíla   pùt-sǘ-(v)ã̀ː*[86]
         3PL.NH why go.PST-PST.VIS-Q.H
         'Why did they go?' (Direct knowledge)

(200)   *kʰáŋba sú-su   zòe-sǘ-(v)ã̀ː*
         house   who-ERG build.PST-PST.VIS-Q.H
         'Who built the house.' (Direct knowledge)

(201)   *kʰjǒ   tsúk   ʧê-ʥa   òŋ-veː*
         2SG.NH how play-INF come-Q.NH
         'How did you come.'

The polar (yes-no) question construction, on the other hand, is formed by simply affixing the interrogative suffix *-aː/-vaː* or -eː/-veː* to the verb stem.

(202)   *kʰóŋ=su   kʰóŋ-raŋ=la   táe-vaː*
         2SG.H=ERG 2SG.H-REFL=DAT observe.PST-Q.H
         'Did you observe yourself?'

(203)   *áŋmo   sèptuŋ ma-sòe-vaː*
         i.name food   NEG-eat.PST-Q.H
         'Didn't Angmo eat?'

---

84   This honorific–non-honorific distinction in the yes-no question construction is not marked in the neighboring village Chango. In Chango the yes-no question suffix is *-e* with both honorific and non-honorific referents.

85   This is a shortened form of *-sǒ(ŋ)*.

86   The slow-speech verb form is *pùt-sǒ̃ŋ-ãː*.

(204) *kʰjǒ   ʃimla=la   pùt-e:*
       2SG.NH p.name=ALL go.PST-Q.NH
       'Did you go to Shimla?'

(205) *kʰjǒ   jè(j) láp-e:*
       2NH   script learn-Q.NH
       'Did you study?'

5.3 *Clausal Nominalization*

-po, -kan and *-na* function as nominalizers in Navakat. While *-po* occurs in a few lexicalized, frozen expressions (e.g. *jókpo* 'servant'), *-kan* and *-na* are productive nominalizers. The nominalizer *-kan* functions as a non-patientive nominalizer. Its head noun is someone who has the qualities to carry out the described action.[87] That seems to be the reason why examples such as, 'bird which will die (on its own)' and 'mirror which will break (because it is old)', too, take the nominalizer *-kan*.

(206) *òma tér-kan   pàlaŋ*
       milk give-NMLZ cow
       'Cow which gives milk'

(207) *tʰúŋ-an   (mì)*
       drink-NMLZ (man)
       'Man who drinks'

(208) *mi-pʰúr-kan   ʧà*
       NEG-fly-NMLZ bird
       'Bird which does not fly'

(209) *múk(ʰ)[88]-an   kʰí*
       bark/bite-NMLZ dog
       'The dog which barks/bites'

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87   The names of some professions are not formed with the nominalizer *-an*. For example, *zò* 'blacksmith', *zila* 'weaver', *èmʤi* 'traditional doctor'.

88   This lexical item occurs both for 'to bark' and 'to bite'. There is a slight aspiration [ʰ] at the end.

(210) ʃǐ-an[89]   ʧà
 die-NMLZ bird
 'Bird which is to die (on its own)'

This nominalization exhibits some noun-like characteristics. For example, the plural marker can be suffixed to the nominalized verb, e.g. *dùɖʒa* 'to beat', *dùŋan* 'drummer': *dùŋ-an-ja* 'drummers'; *lútaŋ-an* 'singer': *lútaŋ-an-ja* 'singers' (cf. *lú* 'song', *táŋɖʒa* 'to leave'). The nominalized clause also retains some verb-like characteristics. For example, it takes the negative marker *mi-*, and when there is a direct object in a nominalized clause, it precedes the nominalized verb, obeying normal intraclausal constituent order. Syntactically, the nominalized clause behaves like a determiner rather than like an adjective, in that it precedes the head noun.

The nominalizer *-na*, on the other hand, occurs in constructions where the head noun is a patient. The head noun follows the nominalized verb. As is the case with the nominalizer *-kan*, *-na*, too, can take the negative marker *mi-*. As we can see in these examples, a stem-final consonant appears when the nominalizer is suffixed to the verb stem (*ʈút-na*, *sád-na*, *ʃǐk-na*), which does not appear in the corresponding infinitive verb forms (*ʈúʧa* 'to wash (clothes etc.)', *sáʧa* 'to kill', and *ʃǐɖʒa* 'to die').

(211) ʈút-na   kòelak(-ja)
 wash-NMLZ garment(-PL)
 'Clothes which will be or are to be washed'

(212) sád-na   ʧà
 kill-NMLZ bird
 'Bird which will be or is to be killed (by someone)'

(213) ʃǐk-na   kʰáŋba
 die-NMLZ house
 'House which will be or are destroyed (by someone)'

(214) mi-sìn-na   là:
 NEG-finish-NMLZ work
 'Work which will not be get finished'

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89   [ʃéan].

Appendix 3A: Classical Tibetan Verb Stems and Their Correspondences in Navakat

To some extent the Navakat verb forms reflect the stem formation of Old and Classical Tibetan. The verb stem system of Classical Tibetan (CT) can be described in broad outline as follows:[90]

The Classical Tibetan stem III (future stem) has become obsolete in all modern Tibetan varieties.

Classical Tibetan consonant alternations (eg. k^h vs. k) are levelled out, typically towards stem II (past stem) and implicitly also towards the former stem III.

Classical Tibetan vowel alternations between stem I (present stem) and stem II (or stem III) have been levelled (exception: CT *byed*), typically towards stem II.

The *-d* suffix of the Classical Tibetan stem I may or may not be preserved in certain tense and modal forms in Navakat. In a few cases, it also appears where the attested Classical Tibetan verb does not have any such suffix, e.g. CT *rko* 'dig'.

Hence almost all Navakat verbs with an originally closed syllable root, apart from the imperative forms, correspond to the Classical Tibetan stem II, minus its prefix and suffix. And, in most, but not all cases, they thus also correspond to stem III minus their prefixes. One exception is the verb *lèndʐa* 'to take', which corresponds to the Classical Tibetan stem I.

CT root	Navakat correspondence	Stem I	Stem II	Stem III	Stem IV
CT *lta* 'look at'		lta	b-lta-s	b-lta	lto-s
	Navakat *ta*	tá-	tá-e-	—	tó-e
CT *za* 'eat'		za	zo-s	—	zo
	Navakat *sà*	sà-	sò-e-	—	sò
CT *rtse* 'play'		rtse	b-rtse-s	b-rtse	rtse-s
	Navakat *tsé* 'dance, play'	tsé	tsé-e-	—	tsé-e
CT *khru* 'wash, bathe'		khru-d	b-kru-s	b-kru	khru-s
	Navakat *ʈú*	ʈú-t-	ʈú-i-	—	ʈú-i
CT *sba* 'hide'		sbe-d	sba-s	sba	sbo-s
	Navakat *ba*	bà-t-	bà-e-	—	bò-e

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90   In compiling the information presented in this appendix I have benefitted greatly from discussions with Bettina Zeisler.

(*cont.*)

CT root	Navakat correspondence	Stem I	Stem II	Stem III	Stem IV
CT *rmo* 'plough'		*rmo-d*	*rmo-s*	*rmo*	*rmo-s*
	Navakat *mó*	*mó-ø-*	*mó-e-*	—	*mó-e*
CT *rko* 'dig, carve'		*rko-ø*	*b-rko-s*	*b-rko*	*rko-s*
	Navakat *kó*	*kó-t-*	*kó-e-*	—	*kó-e*
CT *bya* 'do'		*bye-d*	*bya-s*	*bya*	*byo-s*
	Navakat *pè*	*pè-t-*	*ʧê-j-*	—	*ʧì*

In the case of the last verb, the split-palatalisation rule of West Tibetan (labial plus glide > palatal affricate only before back vowels, loss or neutralisation of the palatal glide before front vowels) has yielded these seemingly unrelated forms.

After an open syllable root, the Classical Tibetan -*s* suffix of stem II and IV (imperative stem) becomes -*e* or -*i* in the Navakat past tense, resulting in a diphthong after back vowels (-*ae, -oe, -ui*) and to a lengthening of the front vowels (*eː, iː*):

	PST.EGO	PRS.EGO	FUT.EGO
sàʥa 'to eat'	*sòe-van*	*sà-at*	*sàn*
móʥa 'to plough'	*móe-van*	*mó-at*	*mó-an*
zòʥa 'to make'	*zòe-van*	*zò-at*	*zò-an*
ʈúʧa 'to wash'	*ʈúi-van*	*ʈút-at*	*ʈú-kan*
kílʥa 'to sweep'	*kíl-an*	*kíl-at*	*kíl-kʰan*
ʧátʧa 'to cut'	*ʧát-an*	*ʧát-at*	*ʧát-an*
ʧákʧa 'to break'	*ʧák-pan*	*ʧá-at*	*ʧák-an*

Appendix 3B: Navakat Basic Vocabulary
(*by Anju Saxena and Padam Sagar*)

This is the Navakat IDS/LWT list. It has been compiled on the basis of the 1,310 items of the original Intercontinental Dictionary Series concept list (Borin et al. 2013) plus the 150 items added to it in the Loanword Typology project, for a total of 1,460 concepts (Haspelmath and Tadmor 2009). However, some IDS/LWT items have been left out from this list, as there were no equivalents in Navakat or there were gaps in our material. The resulting list as given below contains 1,135 items (concepts). The list also includes loanwords.

3B.1   *Notational Conventions*
For ease of comparison we have kept the original IDS/LWT glosses unchanged in all cases, and Navakat senses which do not fit the IDS/LWT meaning completely are given more exact glosses in the Navakat column. Sometimes there will be multiple (separately glossed) items in the Navakat column when Navakat exhibits lexical differentiation of meaning or form within an IDS/LWT item. Pronunciation or form variants are separated by commas, and formally distinct items are separated by semicolons. Glosses and notes belong with their enclosing "semicolon grouping".

3B.2   *The Navakat IDS/LWT List*

Id	Gloss	Navakat
S01.100	the world	*zèmbuliŋ*
S01.210	the land	*sáʒa*
S01.212	the soil	*tʰáva*
S01.213	the dust	*pùtʃur*
S01.214	the mud	*ⁿdàmbak*
S01.215	the sand	*pèma*
S01.220	the mountain	*là*
S01.222	the cliff	*pʰáloŋ*
S01.230	the plain	*tʰáŋa* 'plain; plateau'
S01.240	the valley	*lùŋba*
S01.270	the shore	*tʰà*
S01.280	the cave	*pʰúːn*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Navakat
S01.310	the water	*tʃʰú; ti*[91]
S01.320	the sea	*gjàtsʰo*
S01.322	calm	*zàŋbo*
S01.323	rough(2)	*ʈákpo*
S01.324	the foam	*bòa*
S01.330	the lake	*tsʰó*
S01.360	the river	*tsá:npʰo*
S01.370	the spring	*tʃʰúmik*
S01.390	the waterfall	*bàmzar*
S01.410	the woods or forest	*ʥàŋgal, ʥàŋgol; rìa*
S01.430	the wood	*ʃíŋ*
S01.440	the stone	*dùa*
S01.450	the earthquake	*séŋgul*
S01.510	the sky	*nám, námkʰa*
S01.520	the sun	*ɲìma*
S01.530	the moon	*ⁿdà:r*
S01.540	the star	*kárma*
S01.580	the storm	*ùrjuk*
S01.590	the rainbow	*ⁿʥà*
S01.620	the darkness	*mùnna*
S01.630	the shadow	*ʈʰìpkja*
S01.640	the dew	*sìlva*
S01.710	the air	*lúŋ*
S01.720	the wind	*lágdai*
S01.730	the cloud	*ʈín*
S01.740	the fog	*múkpa*
S01.750	the rain	*tʃʰǽrva*
S01.760	the snow	*kʰá:*
S01.770	the ice	*tàr*
S01.7750	to freeze	*kʰĩ̀ãʃa*
S01.780	the weather	*námla*
S01.810	the fire	*mè* 'fire; flame'
S01.820	the flame	*mè* 'fire; flame'

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91   *ti* is used in child-directed speech.

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Navakat
S01.830	the smoke	*tùtpa*
S01.8310	the steam	*lɑ̃́:(n)fa*
S01.840	the ash	*kò(k)tal*
S01.841	the embers	*mèlo*
S01.851	to burn(1)	*túktʃa*[92](VOL)
S01.852	to burn(2)	*tùktʃa* (general, NVOL)
S01.860	to light	*túktʃa*
S01.861	to extinguish	*sátʃa*
S01.870	the match	*mètʃ*
S01.890	the charcoal	*sóla:*
S02.100	the person	*mì*
S02.210	the man	*mì; pʰúza*
S02.220	the woman	*kʰímamo; áne* 'father's sister; woman'
S02.230	male(1)	*pʰó*
S02.240	female(1)	*mò*
S02.250	the boy	*ʈú:*
S02.251	the young man	*kʰókʈõ(ŋ)*
S02.260	the girl	*pòmo*
S02.261	the young woman	*pòmo*
S02.270	the child(1)	*tʃĩva*
S02.280	the baby	*tʃĩva*
S02.310	the husband	*mákpa*
S02.320	the wife	*náma* 'wife; bride'
S02.330	to marry	*pàklen táŋʤa*
S02.340	the wedding	*pàklen*
S02.341	the divorce	*tʰáktʃat*
S02.350	the father	*áva*
S02.360	the mother	*áma*
S02.410	the son	*ʈú:*
S02.420	the daughter	*pòmo*
S02.430	the child(2)	*tʃĩva*
S02.440	the brother	*mìŋbo, mìnbo*
S02.444	the older brother	*áʒo (tʃʰétpo), áʒu (tʃʰétpo)*

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92   The only difference between the VOL and NVOL form is in the tone.

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Navakat
S02.445	the younger brother	*nò(ʧun), nò(ʧun)*
S02.450	the sister	*ʈíŋmo*
S02.454	the older sister	*áʒi (ʧʰétpo)*
S02.455	the younger sister	*nòmo(ʧun), nòmo (ʧun)*[93]
S02.456	the sibling	*mìʈiŋ*
S02.458	the twins	*tsʰéma*
S02.460	the grandfather, old man	*mème*
S02.461	the old man	*gètpo;*[94] *mème* 'grandfather; old man'
S02.470	the grandmother	*évi, ávi*
S02.4711	the grandparents	*gèngun*
S02.471	the old woman	*gènmo*
S02.480	the grandson	*tsʰáo*
S02.510	the uncle	*áʒã(ŋ); éu*
S02.511	the mother's brother	*áʒã(ŋ)*[95]
S02.512	the father's brother	*éu*
S02.520	the aunt	*áne; mèʒõ(ŋ)*
S02.521	the mother's sister	*mèʒõ(ŋ)*
S02.522	the father's sister	*áne*
S02.530	the nephew	*tsʰáu*
S02.540	the niece, wife	*tsʰámo*
S02.5410	the sibling's child	*tsʰáu*
S02.560	the ancestors	*gèndok*
S02.570	the descendants	*pʰadokpʰudok*
S02.610	the father-in-law (of a man)	*áʒã(ŋ)*
S02.611	the father-in-law (of a woman)	*áʒã(ŋ)*
S02.620	the mother-in-law (of a man)	*áne*
S02.621	the mother-in-law (of a woman)	*áne*

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93 It seems Navakat is regularizing a system where 'older' and 'younger' appear also as modifiers, redundantly in addition to the noun which already in itself specifies if it is an older or a younger relative.

94 *gètpo* and *gètmo* are also used to refer to old animals, but not for inanimate objects for which there is a separate word for 'old'.

95 This is also used to refer to older men in general, including those who are not related by kinship.

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Navakat
S02.6220	the parents-in-law	*ázãŋane*
S02.630	the son-in-law (of a man)	*mákpa*
S02.631	the son-in-law (of a woman)	*mákpa*
S02.640	the daughter-in-law (of a man)	*tsʰámo; náma*
S02.641	the daughter-in-law (of a woman)	*tsʰámo; náma*
S02.710	the stepfather	*pʰájer*
S02.720	the stepmother	*màjar*
S02.750	the orphan	*tèʈuk*
S02.760	the widow	*mòraŋmo*
S02.770	the widower	*jùksa*
S02.810	the relatives	*ɲìriŋ*
S02.820	the family	*péraŋ*
S02.910	I	*ŋà* (ʜ towards listener); *mà*
S02.920	you (singular)	*kʰóɲ* (ʜ); *kʰjóʈ* (ɴʜ)
S02.930	he/she/it	*kʰó* (ɴʜ)
S02.940	we	*òn* [1ᴘʟɪ]; *màʃak, ɲèt* [1ᴘʟᴇ]
S02.941	we (inclusive)	*òn*
S02.942	we (exclusive)	*màʃak, ɲèt*
S02.950	you (plural)	*kʰóɳdʒak, kʰóɲʃak* (ʜ)
S02.960	they	*kʰóʃak* (ʜ); *kʰóvat* (ɴʜ)
S03.110	the animal	*géldʒu; sémtʃen*
S03.120	male(2)	*pʰó*
S03.130	female(2)	*mò*
S03.150	the livestock	*gèlʒu:*
S03.160	the pasture	*rìa*
S03.180	the herdsman	*lùkzi*
S03.190	the stable without a roof	*tára*
S03.200	the cattle	*gèlʒu:*
S03.220	the ox	*léũ(n)*
S03.230	the cow	*pàlaŋ*
S03.240	the calf	*pèo*
S03.250	the sheep	*lùk*
S03.260	the ram	*kʰálva*
S03.280	the ewe	*màmo*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Navakat
S03.290	the lamb	*lù:*
S03.320	the boar	*pʰák*
S03.340	the sow	*pʰák*
S03.350	the pig	*pʰák*
S03.360	the goat	*ràma*
S03.420	the stallion	*tápo, tá*
S03.440	the mare	*támo*
S03.450	the foal	*téʈuk*
S03.460	the donkey	*pò̰:*
S03.470	the mule	*ʈìju*
S03.500	the fowl	*ʧàvo*
S03.520	the cock/rooster	*ʧàvo*
S03.540	the hen	*ʧàmo*
S03.550	the chicken	*ʧà*
S03.570	the duck	*ʧàlõ(ŋ)*
S03.580	the nest	*tsán*
S03.581	the bird	*ʧà*
S03.584	the eagle	*lák*
S03.585	the hawk	*tʰá*
S03.586	the vulture	*ʧárgɨt*
S03.592	the parrot	*tóta*
S03.593	the crow	*kàktse*
S03.610	the dog	*kʰí*
S03.614	the rabbit	*rìvõ(ŋ)* 'rabbit; hare'
S03.620	the cat	*púʃi*
S03.630	the rat	*pìa*
S03.650	the fish	*ɲà; màʧʰli*
S03.730	the bear	*bà:lu*
S03.740	the fox	*àtse*
S03.760	the monkey	*ʈíu, ʈéu*
S03.770	the elephant	*láŋboʧi*
S03.780	the camel	*ù:nʈ*
S03.810	the insect, worm	*ⁿbù*
S03.811	the head louse	*ʃĩk*
S03.8112	the body louse	*ʃĩk*
S03.813	the flea	*(ⁿ)ɖẽ̀o*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Navakat
S03.815	the scorpion	*dìkpa ràtʃu*
S03.816	the cockroach	*màtʃʰar*
S03.817	the ant	*ʈìmaŋbu*
S03.818	the spider	*tóraŋbu*
S03.819	the spider web	*tsʰá:(n)*
S03.820	the bee	*sérnbu*
S03.822	the beehive	*tsʰá:(n)*
S03.830	the fly	*(ⁿ)ɖȅo*
S03.832	the mosquito	*màtʃʰar*
S03.8340	the termites	*ʃíŋ tʰárambu*
S03.840	the worm	*(ⁿ)bù* 'worm; insect'
S03.850	the snake	*ⁿɖỳl, ⁿɖùl*
S03.8630	the hare	*rìvõ(ŋ)* 'rabbit; hare'
S03.8650	the quail	*ʈákpa*
S03.8800	the kangaroo	*káŋga:ru*
S03.9170	the buffalo	*bȅs, bȅs*
S03.920	the butterfly	*pʰéma láptse*
S03.930	the grasshopper	*àŋbu*
S03.960	the lizard	*nàktara*
S03.970	the crocodile or alligator	*màgarmatʃʰ*
S03.980	the turtle	*kátʃʰua*
S04.110	the body	*zúpʰo*
S04.120	the skin or hide	*pǽ:(n)pʰo*
S04.140	the hair	*ʈá*
S04.142	the beard	*kʰépu* 'beard; moustache'
S04.144	the body hair	*pú*
S04.145	the pubic hair	*pú*
S04.146	the dandruff	*lókʃu*
S04.150	the blood	*ʈʰák*
S04.151	the vein or artery	*sá* 'vein; artery; grass'
S04.160	the bone	*rù:gok*
S04.162	the rib	*tsíu*
S04.170	the horn	*ràtʃo*
S04.180	the tail	*ŋáma*
S04.190	the back	*kùŋ*
S04.191	the spine	*gùtsʰiva*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Navakat
S04.200	the head	(ⁿ)gò 'top; peak; head'
S04.202	the skull	kùrʐok
S04.203	the brain	látpa
S04.204	the face	ŋòdo(ŋ)
S04.205	the forehead	ʈála
S04.207	the jaw	ⁿɖàm
S04.208	the cheek	ⁿɖàmba
S04.210	the eye	mík
S04.212	the eyebrow	míkpu
S04.214	the eyelash	míkpu
S04.215	to blink	míktsup gjèpʧa
S04.220	the ear	námʤok
S04.222	the earwax	návorok
S04.230	the nose	ná
S04.231	the nostril	néhõŋ
S04.240	the mouth	kʰá
S04.241	the beak	kʰá
S04.250	the lip	ʧʰúto
S04.260	the tongue	ʧé
S04.271	the gums	ɲíl
S04.300	the shoulder	púŋba
S04.310	the arm	làkpa
S04.312	the armpit	kíliktse
S04.320	the elbow	tʰímoʐoŋ
S04.321	the wrist	làkpa
S04.330	the hand	làkpa
S04.331	the palm of the hand	làktʰil
S04.340	the finger	ⁿzù:n
S04.342	the thumb	tʰévotsʰi
S04.344	the fingernail	sénmo
S04.345	the claw	ʈántse
S04.350	the leg	káŋba
S04.351	the thigh	l(ʰ)áʃa
S04.352	the calf of the leg	gìtpa
S04.360	the knee	pí:mo
S04.370	the foot	káŋba; ʃàp (ʜ)

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Navakat
S04.371	the ankle	*káŋtsʰiva*
S04.372	the heel	*tíŋba*
S04.374	the footprint	*ʃâpʒej*
S04.380	the toe	*kíŋtil*
S04.392	the wing	*ʃúkpa*
S04.393	the feather	*pú*
S04.400	the chest	*ʈàŋ*
S04.410	the breast	*évu*
S04.420	the udder	*évu*
S04.430	the navel	*ʈíja*
S04.4310	the belly	*ʈòtpa*
S04.440	the heart	*níŋ; sémba* 'mind; heart'
S04.441	the lung	*lóa*
S04.451	the kidney	*kʰálma*
S04.460	the stomach	*ʈòtpa, ʈòtpa*
S04.461	the intestines or guts	*gjùma* 'intestines; sausage'
S04.462	the waist	*kétpa*
S04.463	the hip	*ʈʃɔ̃(n)to*
S04.464	the buttocks	*ʈʃɔ̃(n)to*
S04.470	the womb	*pùinɨt*
S04.490	the testicles	*líkpa*
S04.492	the penis	*kóto*
S04.4930	the vagina	*kúp*
S04.510	to breathe	*ú lèndʒa*
S04.520	to yawn	*jàl lèndʒa; kjɵ́ʃat lèndʒa, kjóʃat lèndʒa*
S04.530	to cough	*lɨ̀tpa lùʈʃa, lòtpa lùʈʃa*
S04.540	to sneeze	*ɖitpa lèndʒa*
S04.550	to perspire	*tsʰátpa tóndʒa*
S04.560	to spit	*ʈʃʰímak pódʒa*
S04.570	to vomit	*kjúkʈʃa*
S04.580	to bite	*sóa gjèpʈʃa*
S04.590	to lick	*ⁿdàkʈʃa*
S04.591	to dribble	*tʰíːʃa òŋdʒa*
S04.610	to sleep	*ɲàldʒa*
S04.612	to snore	*húiɖa lèndʒa*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Navakat
S04.620	to dream	*míklam òŋʤa*[96] (NVOL)
S04.630	to wake up	*là:ʃa* (INTR)
S04.640	to fart	*tùkri táŋʤa*
S04.650	to piss	*tʃívi táŋʤa*
S04.660	to shit	*kjákpa táŋʤa*
S04.670	to have sex	*gjùʤa*
S04.680	to shiver	*ⁿdàrtʃa*
S04.690	to bathe, wash	*ʈútʃa*
S04.720	to be born	*kéʤa* (NH); *ʈʰúŋʤa* (H)
S04.730	pregnant	*ʈòtpala ʈú:*
S04.732	to conceive	*ʈú: kʰíjanʃa*
S04.740	to be alive	*sónpo òtʃa*
S04.7410	the life	*mìtsʰe; tsʰéva*
S04.7501	dead	*ʃĭro* (NH), dua (H)
S04.750	to die	*ʃĭʤa* (NH); *ʈònʤa* (H)
S04.751	to drown	*dùrtʃa, tùrtʃa* (NVOL)
S04.760	to kill	*sátʃa*
S04.770	the corpse	*ʃĭro*
S04.780	to bury	*kúŋʤa*
S04.810	strong	*ʃĕtʃen*
S04.820	weak	*rìtpa*
S04.830	healthy	*gjàpʰa, gjàfa*
S04.841	the fever	*ʈòt*
S04.843	the cold	*ʈàŋmo*
S04.8440	the disease	*nàza*
S04.850	the wound	*má*
S04.853	the swelling	*bòepʰo*
S04.8541	to scratch	*dàrtʃa*
S04.854	the itch	*sàvʉn, sèvʉn*
S04.855	the blister	*tʃʰúrgã:*
S04.856	the boil	*ʃőa*
S04.857	the pus	*nák*

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96   The folk etymology of this is *mík* 'eye' + *làm* 'path' > 'dream (N)'. In other dialects the final *k* in 'eye' does not occur. *mik* in other dialects is realized as *rme, me* or *mi*, etc.

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Navakat
S04.870	the physician	*ḍògdar* (M); *ḍagdarni* (F)
S04.880	the medicine	*mán*
S04.890	the poison	*tùk*
S04.910	tired	*túktʃʰat*
S04.912	to rest	*ɲàl sóʥa*
S04.920	lazy	*áret tʃĩøt*
S04.930	bald	*kátʰak*
S04.940	lame	*ʃâu*
S04.950	deaf	*kól* 'deaf; mute'
S04.960	mute	*kól* 'deaf; mute'
S04.970	blind	*ʃàra*
S04.990	naked	*tʃĩrgok*
S05.110	to eat	*sàʥa*
S05.120	the food	*sèptuŋ*[97]
S05.121	cooked	*kólma*
S05.123	ripe	*tʃóeva*
S05.124	unripe	*matʃóeva*
S05.125	rotten	*rùlva; ʃúrva*
S05.130	to drink	*tʰúɲʥa*(NH), *tʃʰóttʃa* (H)
S05.140	to be hungry	*tókri òŋʥa*
S05.141	the famine	*tʰáma*
S05.150	to be thirsty	*kómḍi òŋʥa* (NVOL)
S05.160	to suck	*(ⁿ)ʥìptʃa*
S05.180	to chew	*ⁿdàtʃa*
S05.181	to swallow	*mìktʃa*
S05.190	to choke	*ú: tʰúk pétʃa*
S05.210	to cook	*kólʥa*(VOL)
S05.220	to boil	*kòlʥa*[98] (NVOL)
S05.230	to roast or fry	*lámʥa*
S05.240	to bake	*ʈáktʃa*
S05.250	the oven	*tʰápka*
S05.260	the pot	*háʃaŋ* 'saucepan'

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97   < *za-btuŋ* [food-drink].
98   The only difference between the VOL and NVOL form is in the tone.

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Navakat
S05.280	the pan	*nèruma*
S05.310	the dish, saucepan	*ʧálak*
S05.320	the plate	*tʰéli*
S05.330	the bowl	*gom*
S05.340	the jug/pitcher	*ʤàg*
S05.350	the cup	*kárjøl; káp*
S05.370	the spoon	*tʰúrma*
S05.380	the knife(1)	*ʈì, ɖì*
S05.390	the fork	*tsʰérma:*
S05.410	the meal	*tʰáktuk*
S05.430	the lunch	*ⁿzà:ra*
S05.460	to peel	*(kómbo) ʃúʤa*
S05.470	to sieve or to strain	*tsáktʃa*
S05.480	to scrape, rub	*dɘ̀rtʃa*
S05.510	the bread	*púli* 'fried bread'; *ròʈi* 'chapati'
S05.530	the dough	*pàkzan*
S05.540	to knead	*zì:ʤa*
S05.550	the flour	*pàkpe*
S05.560	to crush, to grind or to beat	*dùŋʤa*
S05.610	the meat	*ʃá*
S05.630	the sausage	*gjùma* 'intestines; sausage'
S05.640	the soup	*tʰúkpa* (traditional)
S05.650	the vegetables	*tsʰónma; sábʤi, sábzi*
S05.700	the potato	*hèlu*
S05.712	the bunch	*piktse*
S05.760	the grape	*gùn*
S05.770	the nut	*bèda:m* 'nut; almond'
S05.790	the oil	*mèrku*
S05.791	the grease or fat	*ʧʰílu*
S05.810	the salt	*tsʰá*
S05.821	the chili pepper	*pívili*
S05.840	the honey	*ʃɛ́had, ʃéhad*
S05.850	the sugar	*ʧíːni*
S05.860	the milk	*òma*
S05.880	the cheese	*ʧʰúra*
S05.890	the butter	*màr*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Navakat
S05.920	the wine	*árak*
S05.930	the beer	*tʃʰáŋ*
S05.940	the fermented drink	*árak; tʃʰáŋ*
S05.970	the egg	*gùã*
S06.110	to put on	*kóndʑa* (TR, non-reflexive object)
S06.120	the clothing or clothes	*kòelak, kø̀elak*
S06.130	the tailor	*tsʰémbua* (M, F)
S06.210	the cloth	*kòelak, kø̀elak*
S06.220	the wool	*bàl*
S06.240	the cotton	*sú:t*; rè:
S06.250	the silk	*rèʃam, rèʃãm*
S06.270	the felt	*bérgi*
S06.280	the fur	*pú*
S06.290	the leather	*kúa*
S06.320	the spindle	*pʰáŋ*
S06.340	the loom	*táʃa*
S06.350	to sew	*túktʃa* (by hand); *tsémdʑa* (by machine)
S06.360	the needle(1)	*kʰáp*
S06.380	the thread	*kútpa*
S06.390	to dye	*tsʰóe ɡjèptʃa*
S06.410	the cloak	*kòe*
S06.420	the (woman's) dress	*pòmoi kø̀elak*
S06.440	the shirt	*rague*
S06.450	the collar	*kø̀ã*
S06.480	the trousers	*sú:tʰon*
S06.490	the sock or stocking	*kíŋʃu*
S06.510	the shoe	*lám*
S06.520	the boot	*bùt*
S06.540	the shoemaker	*mòtʃi*
S06.550	the cap	*ʃêu*
S06.570	the belt	*bèlʈ* (modern)
S06.580	the glove	*làkʃu:*
S06.610	the pocket	*kʰíso*
S06.620	the button	*tʰúptʃi*
S06.630	the pin	*kʰáp*
S06.710	the ornament or adornment	*táktʃa*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Navakat
S06.720	the jewel	*jútʃʰùru*[99]
S06.730	the ring	*súrtuːp, súrtup*
S06.740	the bracelet	*ⁿdʉ̀ː*
S06.750	the necklace	*hàːr*
S06.760	the bead	*tʰéjã̀ː*
S06.770	the earring	*kóndʑu(ŋ)*
S06.810	the handkerchief or rag	*rùmaːl*
S06.820	the towel	*tólija:*
S06.910	the comb	*káŋgi:*
S06.920	the brush	*brʉ̀ʃ, bùruʃ*
S06.921	the plait/braid	*lènbu*
S06.940	the ointment	*mán*
S06.950	the soap	*sábun*
S06.960	the mirror	*mèlõ(ŋ)*
S06.9800	the snowshoe	*bùt*
S07.110	to live	*dètʃa*
S07.120	the house	*kʰáŋba*
S07.140	the tent	*kùr*
S07.150	the yard or court	*ràpsal*
S07.210	the room	*nàŋ*
S07.220	the door	*gò*
S07.231	the latch or door-bolt	*gùlik; tʃĩ̀ʈkeni*
S07.2320	the padlock	*gùltʃa*
S07.240	the key	*kúlik*
S07.250	the window	*kírkuŋ*
S07.260	the floor	*sáʑa* 'surface; floor'
S07.270	the wall	*ⁿdàn*
S07.310	the fireplace	*tʃáktʰap*[100] (made of iron); *tʰáp(ka)* (made of stone)
S07.330	the chimney	*ⁿdòŋmo*
S07.370	the ladder	*tʰémba*
S07.420	the bed	*ɲàlsa*

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99 *jú-tʃʰùru* [a.kind.of.green.gemstone-another.kind.of.gemstone].

100 Fireplaces made of stone used to be more common earlier, but they are now being replaced by iron fireplaces.

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Navakat
S07.421	the pillow	*ŋá:e*
S07.422	the blanket	*kámbal*
S07.430	the chair	*kúrsi*
S07.450	the lamp	*bámba* (traditional)
S07.460	the candle	*mòmbatti*
S07.470	the shelf	*táktak*
S07.480	the trough	*tʃílvuk*
S07.510	the roof	*tǎ́:(n)*
S07.550	the beam	*ká:*
S07.560	the post or pole	*ká:*
S07.570	the board	*pǎ́:lep*
S07.580	the arch	*ⁿdà*
S07.610	the mason	*mìstri*
S07.620	the brick	*ì:nʈ*
S07.630	the mortar(2)	*màsa:la*
S07.6500	the camp	*ḍèra:*
S08.110	the farmer	*ʃɯŋba*
S08.120	the field	*ʃɯŋga; sá* 'plot of land'
S08.1210	the paddy	*dà:n*
S08.130	the garden	*tsʰáera* 'garden; orchard'
S08.160	the fence	*kjǿra; rá*
S08.170	the ditch	*jùra*
S08.210	to plough/plow	*ʃɯ́ŋ móʤa*
S08.220	to dig	*kótʃa*
S08.250	the hoe	*mòntok*
S08.260	the fork(2)/pitchfork	*tsʰérma:*
S08.270	the rake	*làŋkã:*
S08.2900	the lasso	*tʰàkpa*
S08.311	the seed	*sáŋon, sáŋən*
S08.340	to thresh	*pʰúŋma tónʤa*
S08.350	the threshing-floor	*úndak*
S08.420	the grain	*nằe*
S08.430	the wheat	*ʈò*
S08.440	the barley	*nè:*
S08.450	the rye	*sóa*
S08.470	the maize/corn	*tʃʰálli*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Navakat
S08.480	the rice	^{n}ɖàe
S08.520	the hay	sókja
S08.531	to plant	(páŋ) tsúktʃa
S08.540	the root	pàdak
S08.550	the branch	jàlga
S08.560	the leaf	lìp
S08.570	the flower	mèndok
S08.600	the tree	páŋ
S08.650	the fir	dèuda:r
S08.680	the tobacco	tómbak
S08.690	to smoke	tùtpa tʰòŋʤa
S08.691	the pipe	nàli:
S08.720	the tree stump	páŋgi ʤùŋma
S08.730	the tree trunk	páŋgiɲo
S08.750	the bark	páŋgi kómbo (H)
S08.760	the sap	tʰéɲʤu
S08.820	the coconut	gàɻi
S08.830	the citrus fruit	nìmbu
S08.850	the banyan	pípal
S08.930	the gourd	rèʈo
S08.931	the pumpkin or squash	rèʈo
S08.940	the bamboo	pèrim, bèrim
S08.941	the sugar cane	gànna
S08.960	the fish poison	màtʃʰli tùk
S08.980	the mushroom	ʃő̃mba
S08.9910	the larch	kóɲɯntse ì:paŋ
S08.9930	the needle(2)	kʰáp
S08.9960	the cone	kóɲɯntse
S09.110	to do	pètʃa[101] (NPST), tʃètʃa [do.PST]
S09.1110	to make	zòʤa (NH)
S09.120	the work	là:
S09.140	to bend	kúktʃa (TR)
S09.150	to fold	táptʃa

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101   This is also realized as [pʰètʃa] and [bètʃa].

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Navakat
S09.160	to tie	*dàmʥa*
S09.161	to untie	*lúktʃa* (TR); *lùktʃa* (INTR)[102]
S09.180	the chain	*tʃáktʰak*
S09.190	the rope	*tʰákpa*
S09.192	the knot	*ⁿdỳtpa*
S09.210	to strike	*tʰúktʃa*
S09.211	to pound, beat	*dùŋʥa*
S09.220	to cut	*tʃáktʃa* (TR) 'to cut; to break; to damage';
		tʃàtʃa (INTR) 'to cut; to break; to damage'[103]
S09.222	to chop	*túptʃa*
S09.223	to stab, penetrate	*gjùtʃa, gutʃa*
S09.230	the knife(2)	*ʈì, ɖì*
S09.240	the scissors or shears	*kéntʃi:*
S09.250	the axe/ax	*téri*
S09.251	the adze	*à:ra*
S09.260	to break	*tʃáktʃa* (TR) 'to cut; to break; to damage';
		tʃàtʃa (INTR) 'to cut; to break; to damage'[104]
S09.261	broken	*tʃák pórkan*
S09.270	to split	*ʃáktʃa* (TR)
S09.280	to tear	*tʰímak tőʥa*
S09.290	to skin	*pá:fo ʃúʥa, pá:fo ʃúʥa*
S09.310	to rub	*dàrtʃa*
S09.3110	to wipe	*pítʃa*
S09.320	to stretch	*tʰénʥa* (VOL)
S09.330	to pull	*tʰénʥa*
S09.340	to spread out	*tíŋʥa*
S09.341	to hang up	*tónton la táŋʥa*
S09.342	to press	*nánʥa*
S09.343	to squeeze	*tsírtʃa*
S09.350	to pour	*tʃùktʃa*
S09.360	to wash (clothes, etc.)	*ʈútʃa*
S09.370	to sweep	*kílʥa*

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102   The only difference between the TR and INTR form is in the tone.
103   The only difference between the TR and INTR form is in the tone.
104   The only difference between the TR and INTR form is in the tone.

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Navakat
S09.380	the broom	*ʤàːʈu*
S09.422	the tool	*làktʃa*
S09.430	the carpenter	*mìstri*
S09.440	to build	*ʒàŋʤa* (H); *zòʤa* (NH)
S09.461	to hollow out	*míaŋ púktʃa*
S09.480	the saw	*àːri*
S09.490	the hammer	*tʰóro*
S09.610	to forge	*ʒòkʤa*
S09.620	the anvil	*kámpa*
S09.630	to cast	*ʧúktʃa*
S09.640	the gold	*sér*
S09.650	the silver	*múl*
S09.660	the copper	*sɛ́ː*
S09.670	the iron	*ʧák*
S09.680	the lead	*ʃěl*
S09.690	the tin or tinplate	*ʈín*
S09.730	the clay	*tʰàva*
S09.740	the glass	*ʃěl*
S09.760	the basket	*pàktse*
S09.790	the fan	*páŋkʰaː*
S09.810	to carve	*ʒòktʃa*
S09.830	the statue	*kúnɖa*
S09.840	the chisel	*ʧʰéni*
S09.880	the paint	*ràŋ*
S09.890	to paint	*ʧík gjèptʃa* 'to paint (a picture)'
S09.9000	to draw water	*ʧʰú tʰénʤa*
S09.9100	the peg	*(ⁿ)díŋbu*
S10.110	to move	*(ⁿ)gùlʤa* (to push slightly); *pùlʤa* (to push with force)
S10.130	to turn around	*lòktʃa* 'to turn around; to return'
S10.140	to wrap	*ʈílʤa*
S10.150	to roll	*(ⁿ)ɖìlʤa*
S10.160	to drop	*dénkjel pètʃa*
S10.170	to twist	*(ⁿ)gùlʤa*
S10.210	to rise	*lɛ̀ːʃa; ʃártʃa* 'to rise (sun, moon)'
S10.220	to raise or lift	*táktʃa*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Navakat
S10.230	to fall	*ⁿɖìlɖʐa*
S10.240	to drip	*tʰíːfa òŋɖʐa*
S10.250	to throw	*ʈìmɖʐa, ɖìmɖʐa*
S10.252	to catch	*ʐùmɖʐa*
S10.260	to shake	*(ⁿ)gùlɖʐa*
S10.320	to flow	*ⁿɖòɖʐa*
S10.330	to sink	*dùrtʃa, tùrtʃa* (INTR)
S10.340	to float	*(ⁿ)dìŋɖʐa*
S10.350	to swim	*tʃáli gjèptʃa*
S10.351	to dive	*tʃʰóŋɖʐa*
S10.352	to splash	*tórtʃa*[105] (TR)
S10.370	to fly	*pʰúrtʃa*
S10.380	to blow	*ʃàːʃa*[106] (INTR)
S10.410	to crawl	*gùrma gjèptʃa*
S10.412	to kneel	*puŋmo tsúkʃa*
S10.413	to crouch	*kʰɤ́ʃa*
S10.420	to slide or slip	*ⁿɖètʃa*
S10.430	to jump	*tʃʰóŋɖʐa*
S10.431	to kick	*dòkril gjèptʃa*
S10.440	to dance, play	*tséɖʐa*
S10.450	to walk	*ⁿɖùlɖʐa*
S10.451	to limp	*ʃàu tʰáŋɖʐa, ʃàu tʰoŋɖʐa*
S10.460	to run	*ʃɤ́rtʃa*
S10.470	to go	*ⁿɖòɖʐa* (NPST), *pùt* (PST)
S10.471	to go up	*jàjala ⁿɖòɖʐa* (in that direction) [up.LOC go.INF]; *tákpa la ⁿɖòɖʐa* (on a path over there)
S10.472	to climb	*ⁿdʑàktʃa*
S10.473	to go down	*màmala ⁿɖòⁿɖʐa* 'to go down; to go downward'
S10.474	to go out	*pʰítala ʈòⁿɖʐa, pʰítala (ⁿ)ɖòⁿɖʐa, pʰítala ʈòⁿɖʐa*
S10.480	to come	*òŋɖʐa*

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105 The only difference between the TR and INTR form is in the tone.

106 The only difference between the TR and INTR form is in the tone.

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Navakat
S10.481	to come back	*lòktʃa òŋʤa*
S10.490	to leave	*táŋʤa* 'to leave; to let go of'
S10.491	to disappear	*kjàldʑa* (NVOL)
S10.510	to flee	*ʃőrtʃa, ʃúrtʃa*
S10.520	to follow	*(ⁿ)gàpla (ⁿ)ɖòʤa*
S10.530	to pursue	*zúmdu ⁿɖóʤa*
S10.550	to arrive	*léptʃa* (NH)
S10.560	to approach	*léptʃa* (NH)
S10.570	to enter	*nàŋla ⁿɖòʤa*
S10.5800	to go	*ⁿɖòʤa* (NH)
S10.610	to carry	*tʰàktʃa* (NVOL)
S10.612	to carry in hand	*làkpa raŋ tàktʃa*
S10.613	to carry on shoulder	*púŋbaraŋ ʈàktʃa*
S10.615	to carry under the arm	*làkpe: gàptu tàktʃa, làkpi gàptu tàktʃa*
S10.620	to bring	*kʰúr òŋʤa* 'to bring; to carry'; *kʰértʃa* 'to bring; to take away'
S10.630	to send	*kúrtʃa*
S10.640	to lead	*ⁿgòva pètʃa*
S10.660	to ride	*ʃő òndʑa*
S10.670	to push	*pʰúldʑa*
S10.710	the road	*sólok*
S10.720	the path	*làm*
S10.740	the bridge	*sàmba*
S10.750	the cart or wagon	*gà:ɻi*
S10.760	the wheel	*kʰórlo*
S10.810	the ship	*tʃʰúi dʑàhaʤ*
S10.831	the canoe	*ɖòna:*
S10.840	the raft	*rà:fʈ, rà:pʈ*
S10.850	the oar	*tʃáppu*
S10.890	the anchor	*làŋgar*
S11.110	to have	*òtʃa*
S11.120	to own	*zìndak tòndʑa*
S11.130	to take	*kʰúrtʃa; lèndʑa*
S11.140	to grasp	*zùmdʑa* 'to grasp; to hold'
S11.160	to get	*tʰóptʃa*
S11.170	to keep	*pòrtʃa*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Navakat
S11.180	the thing	*tʃálak*
S11.210	to give	*tértʃa* (NH), *púldʒa* (H)
S11.220	to give back	*lóktʃa*
S11.250	to rescue	*ʈók lùŋdʒa* 'to rescue; to give life; to blow life into'
S11.270	to destroy	*ʃiktʃa, ʃiktʃ(j)a* (NVOL); *ʃíktʃ(j)a* (VOL)
S11.280	to injure	*nóttʃa* 'to injure; to hurt'
S11.2900	to damage	*tʃáktʃa* (TR) 'to cut; to break; to damage'; *tʃàtʃa* (INTR) 'to cut; to break; to damage';[107] *ʃíktʃ(j)a*
S11.310	to look for	*pʰátʃa*
S11.320	to find	*pʰátʃa*
S11.330	to lose	*pʰámdʒa* 'to lose, to be defeated'
S11.340	to let go	*ⁿɖòru tʃúktʃa*
S11.430	the money	*(ⁿ)dʒèuː múl*
S11.440	the coin	*tʃãːdi*
S11.510	rich	*tʃʰúkpo*
S11.520	poor	*mètpo*
S11.530	the beggar	*rèan*
S11.540	stingy	*kándʒuːs*
S11.610	to lend	*kĩ́(n)dʒa*
S11.620	to borrow	*jártʃa* (non-consumable objects); *kíndʒa* (consumable objects)
S11.630	to owe	*púlon òtʃa*
S11.640	the debt	*kínbo*
S11.650	to pay	*tértʃa*
S11.660	the bill	*bìl*
S11.690	the tax	*ʈʰál*
S11.770	to hire	*kíraela lèndʒa*
S11.780	the wages	*lá*
S11.790	to earn	*kámaːj zòdʒa*[108]
S11.810	to buy	*ɲòdʒa*
S11.820	to sell	*tsʰóndʒa*
S11.830	to trade or barter	*tsʰóŋ táŋdʒa*

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107 The only difference between the TR and INTR form is in the tone.

108 *kámaːj* is an IA loanword.

(*CONT.*)

Id	Gloss	Navakat
S11.840	the merchant	*tsʰóŋba* (M, F)
S11.850	the market	*bàza:r*
S11.860	the shop/store	*dùka:n*
S11.880	expensive	*kʰùnbo*
S11.890	cheap	*kʰémo*
S11.910	to share	*gòtʃa*
S11.920	to weigh	*kártʃa*
S12.0100	after	*tí:n, tí:ŋ* 'later'; *tʰène* 'after; then; so'; (*ⁿ*)*gàpla*[109] [low-LOC] 'after; below; beneath'
S12.0110	behind	*gjèp*
S12.0200	beside	*ⁿdòru*
S12.0300	down	*jòk* (direction)
S12.0410	in front of	*ⁿdòru*
S12.0500	inside	*nàŋ*
S12.0600	outside	*pʰíta:*
S12.0700	under	*ⁿgàp*
S12.0800	up	*tá:n* 'up; above; on top of'
S12.110	the place	*sá*
S12.120	to put	*tʃúktʃa*
S12.130	to sit	*dètʃa* (NH), *ʒù:ʃa* (H)
S12.150	to stand	*kérker la là:ʃa*
S12.160	to remain	*dètʃa*
S12.210	to gather	*ⁿdùtʃa, ⁿdỳtʃa* 'to gather, to collect'
S12.212	to pick up	*dùtʃa*
S12.213	to pile up	*púŋdʒa*
S12.220	to join	*tʰútʃa*
S12.240	to open	*pèdʒa* (INTR)
S12.260	to cover	*káptʃa*
S12.270	to hide	*bàtʃa* (TR)
S12.310	high	*tʰóŋpo, tʰə́npo*
S12.320	low	*mámõ*[110]

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109   This occurs to describe, e.g. 'after you', 'after 5 o'clock'.

110   *mámõ* is also used to refer to 'city', as all large cities in Kinnaur are to the south of (and consequently below) Nako.

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Navakat
S12.330	the top	(^{n})gò 'top; peak; head'
S12.340	the bottom	tsá:
S12.350	the end(1)	(^{n})dʐùŋma; tsǎ:ʃo; tíŋʃo:
S12.352	pointed, sharp	nɵ̀npo
S12.353	the edge	nɵ̀npo
S12.360	the side	^{n}dànba
S12.370	the middle	ʐùŋ
S12.410	right(1)	jépʰa, jéfa
S12.420	left	júnma
S12.430	near	ɲémo
S12.440	far	tʰákrin
S12.450	the east	ʃár
S12.460	the west	nùp
S12.470	the north	tʃàŋ
S12.480	the south	l(^{h})ú:
S12.540	to measure	tàptʃa
S12.550	big	tʃʰétpo 'big (ADJ); much (ADV)'
S12.560	small	kúrkur (bent objects); tʃyn, tʃún (objects which are not elongated)
S12.570	long	rìŋpo
S12.580	tall	rìŋo
S12.590	short	tún
S12.610	wide	ʃàŋ
S12.620	narrow	ʈòkpo
S12.630	thick	ɖùmpo (round) 'thick; fat'; tʰúpo (objects which are not round) 'thick; fat'
S12.650	thin	ʈʰámo (round objects); ʈápo (flat objects)
S12.670	deep	ɔ̀ptõ(ŋ)
S12.710	flat	téltel (surface)
S12.730	straight	tʰáŋbo
S12.740	crooked	gùrkøk
S12.750	the hook	nèldʐu
S12.760	the corner	sùr, sùr
S12.780	the square	ʈùpdʐi
S12.810	round	gìrgir (large objects); kírkir 'round; circle' (small objects)

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Navakat
S12.830	the ball	*pólo* 'ball, game'
S12.840	the line	*rìmo*
S12.850	the hole	*míaŋ*
S12.930	to change	*dèpʧa*
S13.0100	one	*ʧǐk*
S13.0200	two	*ɲíː*
S13.0300	three	*súm*
S13.0400	four	*ʒì*
S13.0500	five	*ŋá*
S13.0600	six	*ʈùk*
S13.0700	seven	*dỳn, dùn*
S13.0800	eight	*gjèt*
S13.0900	nine	*gù*
S13.100	ten	*ʧú*
S13.101	eleven	*ʧúkʃik*
S13.102	twelve	*ʧúɲɲiː*
S13.103	fifteen	*ʧéŋa*
S13.104	twenty	*ɲíːʃu*
S13.105	a hundred	*gjà*
S13.106	a thousand	*tóŋ*
S13.107	to count	*tsíkʧa* (VOL); *tsìkʧa* (NVOL)[111]
S13.140	all	*síŋ*
S13.150	many	*jòp* (CNT); *màŋbo* (NCNT)
S13.160	more	*tùnaː* 'more; yet'
S13.170	few	*kónbo*
S13.180	enough	*dènak*
S13.181	some	*tsítsiː*
S13.190	the crowd	*mìmaŋ*
S13.210	full	*kàŋkàŋ*
S13.220	empty	*tóŋba*
S13.230	the part, share	*kála*
S13.2310	the piece	*súr, súr*
S13.240	the half	*pʰét*

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111   The only difference between the VOL and NVOL form is in the tone.

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Navakat
S13.330	only	*lèm*
S13.3310	alone	*tʃíkpo*
S13.340	first	*ⁿgòma*
S13.350	last	*(ⁿ)ʤùŋma; tsɛ́ːʃo; tíɲʃoː*
S13.360	second	*ɲíːva*
S13.370	the pair	*ʤòɽi*
S13.380	twice/two times	*lèɲiː*
S13.420	third	*súmba*
S14.110	the time	*tʃʰùzət*
S14.120	the age	*lò*
S14.130	new, fresh	*sóma*
S14.140	young	*nèʒuŋ* (HUM)
S14.160	early	*ŋán*
S14.170	late	*pʰímo*
S14.180	now	*tà*
S14.190	immediately	*tàksaŋ*
S14.210	fast	*ⁿgjòpʰa, ⁿgjòfa*
S14.220	slow	*gùlerãŋ* 'slow, slowly'
S14.230	to hurry	*ⁿgjòpʰa pètʃa*
S14.240	to be late	*pʰíːʃa*
S14.250	to begin	*súktʃa*
S14.2510	the beginning	*ⁿgòma*
S14.252	to last	*lùiʃa*
S14.260	the end(2)	*(ⁿ)ʤùŋma; tsɛ́ːʃo; tíɲʃoː*
S14.270	to finish	*sìnʤa*
S14.280	to cease	*kàktʃa*
S14.290	ready	*tʃʰóm*
S14.310	always	*mizej* 'always; forever; life-long'
S14.320	often	*sírisak*
S14.330	sometimes	*nàmnàmre*
S14.331	soon	*ⁿgjòfa*
S14.332	for a long time	*jùn rìŋbo*
S14.340	never	*nàm ⁿgàŋ*
S14.350	again	*jàn*
S14.410	the day(1)	*ⁿgòmaʃak*
S14.4110	the day(2)	*ɲìnmo*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Navakat
S14.420	the night	*gòemo, gòemo*
S14.430	the dawn	*ɲìʃar*
S14.440	the morning	*ɲèrok*
S14.450	the midday	*ɲìnmo*
S14.460	the evening	*pʰírok*
S14.470	today	*tìriŋ*
S14.480	tomorrow	*nàŋmo*
S14.481	the day after tomorrow	*ná:*
S14.490	yesterday	*ⁿdàŋ*
S14.491	the day before yesterday	*kʰéniʃak*
S14.510	the hour	*gànʈa:*
S14.610	the week	*dùn*
S14.620	Sunday	*(zà) ɲìma*[112]
S14.630	Monday	*ⁿdàva*
S14.640	Tuesday	*mìnmar*
S14.650	Wednesday	*lákpa*
S14.660	Thursday	*pʰúrvu, pʰúrvu*
S14.670	Friday	*pásaŋ*
S14.680	Saturday	*pénba*
S14.710	the month	*ⁿdà:*
S14.730	the year	*lò*
S14.740	the winter	*gùnga*
S14.750	the spring(2)	*píka*
S14.760	the summer	*jàrka*
S14.770	the autumn/fall	*tónga*
S14.780	the season	*dòjtsøt, døetsot*
S15.210	to smell(1)	*ʈìma òŋʤa* (NVOL)
S15.212	to sniff	*númʤa* (TR)
S15.220	to smell(2)	*númʤa* (TR)
S15.250	fragrant	*ʈìma*[113]

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112 In Nako today most people use a mixture of English and IA terms for the days of the week. Only those who have a training in Buddhism use the terms provided here for the days of the week.

113 Both pleasant and unpleasant smell.

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Navakat
S15.260	stinking	*ʈìma*[114]
S15.310	to taste	*tsʰá ɲàŋʥa*
S15.360	salty	*tsʰéu*
S15.370	bitter	*kʰánte*
S15.380	sour	*ʧúrmo, kjúrmo*
S15.390	brackish	*ʧá(h)ar*
S15.410	to hear	*tsʰórʧa* (NVOL)
S15.420	to listen	*ɲàʥa* (VOL)
S15.440	the sound or noise	*kát*
S15.450	loud	*kúʒõ(ŋ)*
S15.460	quiet	*ʧáme(j)*
S15.520	to look	*táʥa* 'to look; to observe'
S15.550	to show	*tónʥa*
S15.560	to shine	*òt gjèpʧa*
S15.570	bright	*ʈákpo* 'bright; fierce (e.g. wind)'
S15.610	the colour/color	*ràŋ(g)*
S15.620	light(2)	*sálvo*
S15.630	dark	*mùnna*
S15.640	white	*kárvo*
S15.650	black	*nàkpo*
S15.660	red	*márvo*
S15.670	blue	*ŋǿnpo, ŋónpo*
S15.680	green	*(ⁿ)ʥéɲu*
S15.690	yellow	*sér(vo)*
S15.710	to touch	*ɲùkʧa*
S15.712	to pinch	*akʧa gjèpʧa, sénto gjèpʧa*
S15.720	to feel	*nòksam táŋʥa*
S15.740	hard	*kjòŋbo*
S15.750	soft	*ⁿbòlmo*
S15.760	rough(1)	*ⁿzà:ranzere* (in physical appearance)
S15.770	smooth	*ⁿʥàmpo*
S15.790	blunt	*dùmpa*
S15.810	heavy	*ʧínte*

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114   Both pleasant and unpleasant smell.

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Navakat
S15.820	light(1)	*jàŋmo*
S15.830	wet	*lánte*
S15.840	dry	*kámpo*
S15.850	hot	*tsʰánte*
S15.851	warm	*tònmo, ʈònmo*
S15.870	clean	*là:pʰo, là:fo* 'clean; beautiful; clear'
S15.880	dirty	*(ⁿ)bá:pʰa*
S15.890	wrinkled	*ɲérma*
S16.110	the soul or spirit	*námʃet*
S16.150	surprised or astonished	*hà lằeʃa*
S16.180	the good luck	*ʈála zàŋbo*[115]
S16.190	the bad luck	*ʈála ɲànba*
S16.230	happy	*gèri; kítpu*
S16.250	to laugh	*gòtʃa*
S16.260	to play	*tsédʑa*
S16.270	to love	*tsʰéɲun pètʃa*
S16.290	to kiss	*pók laɲdʑa*
S16.300	to embrace	*pàŋ dàmdʑa*
S16.310	the pain	*sùk*
S16.320	the grief	*dùkpo*
S16.330	the anxiety	*míksotma* 'anxiety; irritation'
S16.340	to regret or be sorry	*(ⁿ)gøtpa pètʃa, (ⁿ)gjòtpa pètʃa*
S16.350	the pity	*níŋdʑja*
S16.370	to cry	*ŋùdʑa* (NVOL, NH)
S16.380	the tear	*tʃʰímak*
S16.410	to hate	*migàdʑa*
S16.420	the anger	*tsʰíkpa*
S16.440	the envy or jealousy	*ʈàzak*
S16.450	the shame	*ŋòza*
S16.480	proud	*gèri*
S16.510	to dare	*hámba pètʃa*
S16.520	brave	*mìndʑikʰən*
S16.530	the fear	*(tʃě) zìŋe*

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115 [forehead-very.good].

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Navakat
S16.540	the danger	(*ʧě*) *zìŋe*
S16.620	to want	*gòeʃa*
S16.622	to choose	*péʤa*
S16.630	to hope	*rèva pèʧa*
S16.650	faithful	*gòkʰi*[116]
S16.660	true	*dìmã(ŋ)*
S16.670	to lie(2)	*zỳn ʧùʤa, zùn ʧùʤa*
S16.680	the deceit	*ḍòkʰja*
S16.710	good	*ètpo* (ANIM); *ʃímbo* 'good (eatables, tasty)'; *zàŋbo* (internal beauty, e.g. calmness); *dèmo* (external qualities); *kátʃa; àʧʰa*
S16.720	bad	*ŋànba; mànlok; kʰámloktʃa* 'disgusting'
S16.730	right(2)	*dìmã(ŋ)* 'right; true'
S16.740	wrong	*mànlok*
S16.790	the praise	*mòn*
S16.810	beautiful	*dèmo; là:po* 'clean; beautiful; clear'
S16.820	ugly	*kʰámloktʃa*
S16.830	greedy	*ⁿdòtpa*
S16.840	clever	*ʧáŋbo*
S17.110	the mind	*sém, sémba*
S17.130	to think(1)	*nòksam táŋʤa*
S17.150	to believe	*tátpa pèʧa*
S17.160	to understand	*hã kòʤa*
S17.170	to know	*séjsa* (NH), *kʰénʤa* (H) 'know'; *ʧá òʧa* 'to know about'
S17.171	to guess	*tsʰǿt pèʧa*
S17.172	to imitate	*pé(j)taʤa*
S17.180	to seem	*ʧóreʒik òʧa* 'to seem; to look similar in kind'
S17.190	the idea	*nòksam*
S17.210	wise	*ʃěkʰan, ʃékan*
S17.230	mad	*ɲúnpa*
S17.240	to learn	*láptʃa* 'to learn; to study; to teach; to gossip'
S17.242	to study	*láptʃa* 'to learn; to study; to teach; to gossip'

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116   *gò-kʰi* [door-dog].

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Navakat
S17.250	to teach	*láptʃa* 'to learn; to study; to teach; to gossip'
S17.260	the pupil	*léptʲuk*
S17.270	the teacher	*bàvu* (M); *bàmo* (F)
S17.280	the school	*síkul*
S17.310	to remember	*àtla portʃa*[117] 'to keep in memory (VOL)'
S17.320	to forget	*ʒèttʃa*
S17.340	clear	*là:pʰo, là:fo* 'clean; beautiful; clear'
S17.350	obscure	*hà̃ mikòna*
S17.360	secret	*pʰák*
S17.370	certain	*táktak; tántan*
S17.380	to explain	*ʃáttʃa*
S17.430	the doubt	*sémpa ɲànpa*
S17.441	to betray	*ḍòkʰja táɳʤa*
S17.460	easy	*làe lámo*
S17.470	difficult	*kà:po*
S17.480	to try	*ʃɛ̀rui*
S17.490	the manner	*bètlu*
S17.520	because	*tʃíla sénə* 'because; that's why'
S17.530	if	*kàlʈe*
S17.540	or	*jàna*
S17.550	yes	*vòi, òi*
S17.610	how?	*tsúk*
S17.620	how many?	*tsám*[118] 'how many?; how much?'
S17.630	how much?	*tsám*[119] 'how many?; how much?'
S17.640	what?	*tʃí*
S17.650	when?	*nàm*
S17.660	where?	*kàna* (non-specific location); *kàndu* (specific location)
S17.670	which?	*kàɳte, kàɳ*
S17.680	who?	*sú*
S17.690	why?	*tʃíla; òti tʃʰésu*
S18.110	the voice	*kát*

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117 Concerning concrete things, e.g. 'I don't remember where I put my keys?'.
118 It also has the interpretation 'approximately'.
119 It also has the interpretation 'approximately'.

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Navakat
S18.120	to sing	(*lú*) *táŋʥa*
S18.130	to shout	*kʰá gjèpʧa*
S18.150	to whisper	*pʰákla ùrtaŋʥa*
S18.160	to mumble	*màlakmuluk sèʧa*
S18.180	to shriek	*kúʒõ(ŋ) káŋʥa* [noise(N) fill.INF]
S18.190	to howl	*kát tónʥa*
S18.210	to speak or talk	(*v*)*ùr táŋʥa*
S18.211	to stutter or stammer	*ápʧa*
S18.220	to say	*sèrʧa*
S18.221	to tell	*sèrʧa*
S18.222	the speech	*ʧì, ʧʰì* (NH), *súŋ* (H); *bʰàʃan, bàʃan* (IA)
S18.230	to be silent	*kʰá dùiʥa dèʧa*
S18.240	the language	*kát*
S18.260	the word	*tsʰík*
S18.280	the name	*mìn*
S18.320	to answer	*lèn lókʧa*
S18.340	to deny	*ᵑgò* (*ⁿ*)*ɖilʥa*
S18.350	to ask(2)	*ʈíʥa*
S18.370	to refuse	*kʰá milènʥa*
S18.380	to forbid	*mipèʧa*
S18.390	to scold	*kʰá gjèpʧa*
S18.410	to call(1)	*ká gjèpʧa*
S18.430	to announce	*dá gjèpʧa*
S18.440	to threaten	*ŋám tónʥa*
S18.450	to boast	*péte pèʧa*
S18.510	to write	*ʈìʥa*
S18.520	to read	*sílʥa*
S18.560	the paper	*ʃú:*
S18.570	the pen	*pén*
S18.610	the book	*kíta:b, kítab*
S18.710	the flute	*líu*
S18.720	the drum	*ɖò:l*
S18.730	the horn or trumpet	*gèliŋ*[120] (made of a human thigh bone); *súĩna, súina* (made of metal)

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120   Only monks play this musical instrument.

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Navakat
S19.150	the town	*gjàlsa*
S19.160	the village	*jùl*
S19.170	the boundary	*ʈʃák*
S19.230	the clan	*kʰándaːn; pʰíliŋ*
S19.240	the chieftain	*gjètpo*
S19.250	the walking stick	*bìkpa*
S19.310	to rule or govern	*ràːz pèʈʃa*
S19.320	the king	*gjèlvo*
S19.330	the queen	*gjèlmo*
S19.360	the noble, rich	*ʈʃʰúkpo*
S19.370	the citizen	*mì*
S19.410	the master, owner	*zìndak*
S19.420	the slave, servant	*jókpo*
S19.440	the freeman	*àzaːd*
S19.450	to command or order	*òrɖer táŋʤa*
S19.460	to obey	*kʰála pànʤa*
S19.470	to permit	*ʈèu térʈʃa, ɖì(j)u térʈʃa*
S19.510	the friend	*jàdo, jào*
S19.540	the neighbour	*kʰímʤe*
S19.550	the stranger	*ŋòmiʃe*
S19.560	the guest	*ⁿɖònbo, ⁿdònbo*
S19.5650	to invite	*ká gjèpʈʃa*
S19.580	to help	*jào pèʈʃa*
S19.590	to prevent	*mipèʈʃa*
S19.610	the custom, tradition	*lùː*
S19.620	the quarrel	*ʈʰúkpa*
S19.650	to meet	*tʰúkʈʃa*
S19.720	the prostitute	*tsóŋmo*
S20.110	to fight	*nólʤa*
S20.130	the war or battle	*ɖà ʈʰúkpa*[121]
S20.150	the army	*máŋmi*
S20.170	the soldier	*mákmi*
S20.210	the weapon	*làk ʈʃálak*

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121 *ʈʰúkpa* refers only to small conflicts, *ɖà ʈʰúkpa* may also refer to large conflicts, wars etc.

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Navakat
S20.220	the club	*kálab*
S20.240	the bow	*ʒù*
S20.250	the arrow	*ⁿdà*
S20.260	the spear	*bà:la*
S20.270	the sword	*tʰí*
S20.280	the gun	*tùmba:k*
S20.350	the fortress	*kʰár*
S20.440	to defend	*tʃʰó pèʤa, tʃʰó pèʤa*
S20.450	to retreat	*lòktʃa* 'to retreat, to return'
S20.471	the guard	*tʃókida:r*
S20.520	the fishhook	*ká:ɳʈa:*
S20.610	to hunt	*kʰíre: táŋʤa*
S20.620	to shoot	*túmbak gjèptʃa*
S20.630	to miss	*ʈâʤa*
S20.640	the trap	*ʤà:li*
S21.110	the law	*ká:nu:n*
S21.150	the court	*kó:rʈ*
S21.170	the judgment	*pʰésla*
S21.180	the judge	*ʤàʤ*
S21.230	the witness	*páŋbo*
S21.240	to swear	*ná kjálʤa*
S21.250	the oath	*ná*
S21.370	the penalty or punishment	*tʃátpa* 'penalty; punishment; fine'
S21.380	the fine	*tʃátpa* 'penalty; punishment; fine'
S21.390	the prison	*ʤè:l*
S21.470	the perjury	*zùŋgi páŋbo* [lie.POSS witness]
S21.510	to steal	*(kúnma) kúʤa*
S21.520	the thief	*kúnma*
S22.110	the religion	*tʃʰóe*
S22.120	the god	*làma kónʤok* 'god; lama; saint'
S22.130	the temple	*gùnba*[122]
S22.150	the sacrifice	*púzatʃ*
S22.160	to worship	*sólva táŋʤa*

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122   This is also realized as [gɔ̀nba].

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Navakat
S22.170	to pray	*mónləm gjèptʃa*
S22.180	the priest	*kóɲer* (M, F)
S22.190	holy	*tsáŋma* 'holy; neat; clean'
S22.220	to preach	*tʃʰóe pètʃa*
S22.230	to bless	*tʃĩmle: tértʃa*
S22.240	to curse	*làjo òŋʥa*
S22.260	to fast	*ɲène ʈúŋʥa*
S22.310	the heaven	*jàr tʰóri*
S22.320	the hell	*màɲansõ(ŋ)*
S22.370	the idol, statue	*kúnɖa*
S22.420	the magic	*ʥà:du*
S22.430	the sorcerer or witch	*lànɖe*[123]
S22.440	the fairy or elf	*kʰanɖoma*[124] (female)
S22.450	the ghost	*lànɖe* 'demon; ghost'; *ⁿɖè* 'demon; ghost'
S22.470	the omen	*témɖel* (positive)
S22.5100	the initiation ceremony	*lèdui, lèdʉi*
S23.1000	the radio	*rèɖio*
S23.1100	the television	*ʈívi*
S23.1200	the telephone	*télepʰone, télefone*
S23.1300	the bicycle	*sã̀ẽkil*
S23.1350	the motorcycle	*mòtarsaikil*
S23.1400	the car	*ká:r*
S23.1500	the bus	*bàs*
S23.1550	the train	*re:l; ʈrain*
S23.1600	the airplane	*námndel*
S23.1700	the electricity	*biʥili*
S23.1750	the battery	*sél*
S23.1800	to brake	*brèk gjèptʃa*[125]
S23.1850	the motor	*mòʈar*
S23.1900	the machine	*mìʃin*
S23.2000	the hospital	*mánkʰaŋ*
S23.2100	the nurse	*nàrs*

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123 This exists in a spirit form. It does not have a physical form, like a human body.
124 This corresponds to the concept *ḍākinī* in Sanskrit.
125 *brèk* is an English loanword.

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Navakat
S23.2200	the pill or tablet	*ɖìlʋu*
S23.2300	the injection	*kʰáp*
S23.2400	the spectacles/glasses	*míkʃel*
S23.3000	the government	*serka:r*
S23.3100	the president	*ràʃtarpati, ràʃʈrapati*
S23.3200	the minister	*màntri*
S23.3300	the police	*púlis*
S23.3600	the birth certificate	*ʃú:*[126]
S23.3800	the election	*ìlekʃen*
S23.3850	the address	*pata:*
S23.3950	the street	*ⁿɡjàk*
S23.4000	the post/mail	*jè:, jèj*
S23.4100	the postage stamp	*ʈíkeʈ*
S23.4200	the letter	*jè:, jèj*[127]
S23.4400	the bank (financial institution)	*bẽ̀ã(ŋ)*
S23.5200	the toilet	*ʧʰáksa*
S23.5300	the mattress	*ɡədda*; *dén* 'mat (to sit on)'
S23.5400	the tin/can	*ʈín*
S23.5500	the screw	*zèr*
S23.5550	the screwdriver	*péʧʰkas*
S23.5600	the bottle	*bodʉl*
S23.5650	the candy/sweets	*mìʈʰa:i*
S23.5700	the plastic	*òmi ʃú:*[128]
S23.5750	the bomb	*bàm*
S23.5900	the cigarette	*tómak*
S23.6000	the newspaper	*àgba:r*
S23.6100	the calendar	*lòdo*
S23.6200	the film/movie	*sílima*
S23.6300	the music	*lú*

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126 As official papers such as birth certificates are a new phenomenon in this community, they are simply called *ʃú:* meaning 'paper'.

127 Also 'letter of the alphabet' (as in English).

128 [milk.POSS paper]. Plastic bags were introduced in Nako in the form of plastic bags containing dry milk. Now *omi* is used to refer to plastic (bags) in general.

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Navakat
S23.6400	the song	*lú*
S23.9000	the tea	*tʃà*
S23.9100	the coffee	*kófi, kɔ́fi*
S24.0100	to be, to exist	*òtʃa*
S24.0200	to become	*tsʰá:ʃa*
S24.0700	this	*í:; ⁿdì*
S24.0800	that	*pʰí:, òti*
S24.0900	here	*íru*
S24.1000	there	*pʰí:ru*
S24.1100	other	*ʒènma*
S24.1200	next	*tíŋma:*
S24.1300	same	*téja:; tʃíkpa* 'same, identical'

A Linguistic Sketch of Kinnauri Pahari

1   Introduction*

A few works (Cunningham 1844; B.R. Sharma 1976; Bajpai 1991; D.D. Sharma 1988; Saxena 2006b; Eberhard et al. 2021; Kumar and Bezily 2015) and Census of India report an Indo-Aryan (IA) community in Kinnaur, administratively officially classified as a "scheduled caste".[1] In this chapter this indigenous IA community will be referred to as the IA community of Kinnaur and its language will be referred to as Kinnauri Pahari. According to the 1991 Census of India report, the total population of this community in the Kinnaur district was 19,153 (9,882 male and 9,271 female). In the 2011 census the size of this community had decreased to 14,750 individuals (7,433 males and 7,317 females).[2] While this community is found in the whole of Kinnaur, in lower Kinnaur (including Sangla) it has its own language, distinct from the Sino-Tibetan (ST) language of this region (Kinnauri; see Chapter 2), whereas in the Upper Kinnaur region the

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* I would like to express my gratitude to the Kinnauri Pahari speakers for their help and for shar-
   ing their knowledge of Kinnauri Pahari with me. I would also like to thank professor Stig Elias-
   son for his comments on the section on the sound system of Kinnauri Pahari, and to Anna
   Sjöberg for her help with the spectrograms. Notational conventions: long vowels are indicated
   with a following IPA length sign (ː) both in the phonetic transcription and the phonemic
   orthography adopted in this chapter, but long consonants are written doubled in the latter
   (*tʃʰumma:* [tʃʰumːaː] 'walking stick'). Stress normally falls on the first syllable of a word, and
   will not be explicitly marked in such cases. However, a small number of di- and polysyllabic
   words carry a strong secondary stress on one or several following syllables, and there is also
   a perceptible syllable break, which will be indicated in the phonetic transcription, but not
   in the phonemic orthography: *tɛtɛ* [ˈtɛˌˌtɛ] 'grandfather'. Phonetic transcriptions are used for
   illustrating details of pronunciation, and also—together with a phonemic representation—
   for showing alternative, different pronunciations to that implied by the phonemic represen-
   tation.

1 According to the District census handbook: "The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are
   those castes and tribes which have been notified as such by the Presidential Order in accor-
   dance with the Article 341 and 342 of the constitution." (source: 1991 District census handbook,
   p. 4). See also Chapter 1.

2 Note that these figures refer to the "scheduled caste" category, and not directly to language.
   The 2011 census reports only 2,918 Pahari mother-tongue speakers in Kinnaur (1,735 male
   and 1,183 female). Presumably many Kinnauri Pahari speakers have reported their language
   as Hindi. See Chapter 1 for information about the complicated nature of the Indian census
   reporting and tabulation.

corresponding community speaks the local ST language, for example, Navakat (see Chapter 3) in the Nako village.

Of the works mentioned above, only Cunningham (1844), B.R. Sharma (1976), Saxena (2006b), Eberhard et al. (2020), and Kumar and Bezily (2015) even note the existence of the language of this community. D.D. Sharma states that this community speaks "a variety of Indo-Aryan" (1988: 5), but he does not provide any further details. Both *Ethnologue* (Eberhard et al. 2021) and *Glottolog* (Hammarström et al. 2020) include the language of this community in their classification (ISO 639 code kjo; referred to as "Kinnauri, Pahari" in Ethnologue and "Indo-Aryan Kinnauri" in Glottolog), as belonging to the Western Pahari subgroup of Indo-Aryan.

According to Cunningham (1844: 224), "[Kinnauri Pahari] differs as much from the Kunawaree, as that does from the Bhotee". He provides a word-list (92 items). B.R. Sharma (1976) provides a short text (6 lines) in two Kinnauri Pahari varieties from five different localities (Chaura-Kafor, Rajgramang, Ribba, Morang, and Ropa). Saxena (2006b) presents a set of linguistic features in Kinnauri and Kinnauri Pahari in order to discuss the socio-cultural and linguistic situation in Sangla. Kumar and Bezily (2015) present an analysis of the phonemic inventory of Kinnauri Pahari, but do not specify in which village or region in Kinnaur the variety is spoken on which their analysis is based. Similarly to the local ST varieties, IA spoken in Kinnaur exhibits variation, too. Consequently, the differences between the analysis presented below and earlier studies could be due to variety differences.

The Kinnauri Pahari data for the present study were collected during a series of fieldtrips to Kinnaur, beginning in 2002. The data represent the speech of the Chamang sub-community in Sangla tahsil (Brua and Sangla villages) and in Nichar tahsil (Chagaon village).[3] An informal comparison of the data collected from these villages shows minor variation. If these differences reflect regional dialectal differences or not, is difficult to ascertain at this stage. It is important to note that because of the small size of the sub-groups of this community, it is commonplace that young Kinnauri Pahari men get married to women from outside Kinnaur (primarily from the lower Himachal Pradesh region), who speak a different language, but they belong to the same IA sub-

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3   The IA community in Kinnauri is classified into sub-groups based on their traditional occupations. *Ores* 'carpenter community' as well as *sui* 'the name of the social group traditionally associated with tailoring' (*sui* 'tailor' in both Kinnauri Pahari and in Kinnauri) belong to the Chamang community. There are families belonging to the Ores and Sui communities in Sangla. In the ST Kinnauri language, the Chamang community is called Chamang and women of this sub-community are called *chama:rig*. Chanals are not found in Sangla. Chanals are found in lower areas of Kinnaur—south of Sangla.

community. After getting married, many of these married couples settle down in the husband's village in Kinnaur and the wives slowly adjust to their new surroundings (including learning a new language or languages). In the present work, the focus is on the speech of the Kinnauri Pahari community members who have been long-time residents of these villages. All my consultants were either born in Kinnaur or had lived in Kinnaur for more than twenty years at the time of data collection.

2   Phonology

2.1   *Consonants*

The Kinnauri Pahari consonant phoneme inventory is presented in Table 32 and a list of minimal pairs is given below. Retroflex consonants tend to a relatively forward articulation in Kinnauri Pahari. This phenomenon is also observed in some other IA languages (e.g. Kvāri and Bangani, cf. Jouanne 2014).

2.1.1   Consonant Realization and Allophony

As in ST Kinnuari, lexical items which in other IA languages such as Hindi contain a clearly separate phoneme /bʰ/, show free variation between [bʰ] and [b] in Kinnauri Pahari. For example, [b(ʰ)ai] 'brother', [b(ʰ)aːg] 'fate', [b(ʰ)andʑaː] 'sister's son'. This variation is found in our material only in word-initial position. There are no instances of [bʰ] in non-initial position in our material, whereas [b] occurs in all positions. There are also many instances of non-varying word-initial [b]. For this reason, /bʰ/ is posited as a (marginal) phoneme of Kinnauri Pahari, as the most straightforward way of indicating the instances of variation. Unlike the [b] ~ [bʰ] variation, we do not find similar variation between [d] and [dʰ], or between [g] and [gʰ]. Here we find only [d] and [g] in all positions, even where other IA languages have the aspirated counterparts as phonemes. For example, [goːri] 'mare', [gjuː] 'clarified butter', [kaːŋgi] 'comb', [gãːd] 'smell'. One exception is [budʰ] 'Wednesday'. This as well as other occasional instances of voiced aspirated consonants in modern Kinnauri Pahari may reflect the growing influence of Hindi.

The voiceless aspirated stops *pʰ* and *kʰ* are also realized as voiceless fricatives ([f] and [x]) in Kinnauri Pahari. According to Kumar and Bezily (2015), this happens only in non-initial positions. But in the speech of some language consultants, [pʰ] is in free variation with [f] in all positions. For example, *pʰajul* [pʰajul] ~ [fajul] 'valley'; *pʰo* [pʰoh] ~ [foh] 'deer'; *pʰirnɔ* [pʰirnɔ] ~ [firnɔ] 'to have, to become'; *saːpʰ* [saːpʰ] ~ [saːp] ~ [saːf] 'clean'. As can be seen from the last example, [pʰ] also alternates with unaspirated [p] in word-final position.

TABLE 32   Consonant phonemes in Kinnauri Pahari

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Palatoalveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b		t d			ʈ ɖ		k g	
Aspirated	pʰ (bʰ)		tʰ			ʈʰ		kʰ	
Fricative				s	ʃ				h
Affricate				ts tsʰ	tʃ tʃʰ				
				dz	dʒ				
Nasal	m			n				ŋ	
Lateral				l					
Trill				r					
Approximant		ʋ					j		

Minimal (or near-minimal) pairs: Consonants

p : b	pɔʃ	'mat'	bɔːʃ	'liver'
p : b	paːr	'wound, sore'	baːra(ː)	'twelve'
p : pʰ	saːp	'snake'	saːpʰ	'clean'
p : d	ʃapat	'oath'	ʃadot	'witness'
t : d	dãːt	'tooth'	gãːd	'smell'
t : d	tɛar [tɛjar]	'ready'	dɛar [dɛjar]	'always'
t : tʰ	baːt	'path'	haːtʰ	'hand'
ʈ : ɖ	ʈiːʃ	'thirst'	ɖiːʃ	'whit'
d : ɖ	diː	'daughter'	ɖeː	'body'
d : ɖ	deːn	'adult woman'	ɖeːŋ	'divorce'
k : g	kaɔ	'crow'	gaɔ	'cow'
k : kʰ	kaːnɔ	'one-eyed/blind'	kʰaːnɔ	'to eat'
ʈ : ʈʰ	gaʈɔ [gaʈɔh]	'narrow'	kaʈʰɔ	'hard'
d : s	dɛo	'god'	sɛo	'apple'
s : ʃ	siːr	'vein, artery'	ʃiːg	'horn'
ts : ʃ	natsnɔ	'to dance'	naʃnɔ	'to go'
s : tsʰ	sɔ	'hundred'	tsʰɔ	'six'
ts : tsʰ	tsaːr	'four'	tsʰaːr	'ash'
ts : tsʰ	tsaːlnɔ	'to strain, to seive'	tsʰaːlu	'blister'
ts : tʃ	tsumnɔ	'to crouch'	tʃumaːnɔ	'to squeeze'
ʃ : tʃ	ʃaːn	'ice'	tʃaːn [ʈraːn]	'ornament'
ʃ : tʃ	ʃeːlɔ [ʃeːlɔh], [ʃeːlo]	'cold'	tʃeːr	'west'
dz : dʒ	dzor [zor]	'forceful'	dʒɔr	'pile, heap'
t : r	suːt	'cotton'	suːr	'fermented drink'
b : m	bɔ	'grease, fat'	mɔ [mɔh]	'honey'
d : n	dɔʃ	'ten'	nɔʃ	'fingernail'

g : ŋ	*ʃa:g*	'vegetable'	*ʃa:ŋli* [ʃa:ŋgli]	'chain'	
m : n	*ka:m*	'work'	*ka:n*	'ear'	
n : ŋ	*ʃa:n*	'ice'	*ʃa:ŋli* [ʃa:ŋgli]	'chain'	
l : r	*ta:lɔ*	'key'	*ta:rɔ*	'star'	
j : ʋ : h	*ja:*	'or'	*ʋa:*	'nest'	
			ha:r	'defeat'	

ḍ has two allophones: [ḍ] and [ɽ]. According to Kumar and Bezily (2015: 7), "[ḍ] occurs word-initially, after homorganic nasal and in gemination […] [ɽ] occurs elsewhere". As the following examples show, in our material, [ḍ] also occurs after [l].

sɔlḍɔ	[sɔlḍɔ]	'straight'	*kanalḍi*	[kanalḍi]	'granddaughter'
tsʰɛlḍu	[tsʰɛlḍu]	'son'	*ranḍolo*	[ranḍolo]	'widower'
tsʰɛlḍi	[tsʰɛlḍi]	'daughter'	*kʰunḍi*	[kʰunḍi]	'leg'
kanalḍu	[kanalḍu]	'grandson'	*tʰanḍi*	[tʰanḍi], [tʰãḍi]	'cold (illness)'
pã:ḍ	[pã:ḍ]	'floor'	*ḍanḍoriŋ*	[ḍanḍoriŋ]	'dust'
ʃõ:ḍ	[ʃõ:ḍ]	'beak'	*ḍuḍḍu, ḍuḍu*	[ḍuḍ:u], ['ḍu͜ḍu]	'owl'

Except for *kɔḍʋɔ* [kɔɽʋɔ] 'bitter', *pɔḍnɔ* [pɔɽnɔ] 'to study', *grɔlḍuŋ* [grɔlɽuŋ] 'wooden yoke on ox', *lomḍi:* [lomɽi:] 'fox', [ɽ] in our material occurs only inter-vocalically.

uḍa:r	[uɽa:r]	'cave'	*hatʰɔḍa:*	[hatʰɔɽa:]	'hammer'
bɔḍɔ	[bɔɽɔ]	'big, older (ᴍ)'	*ba:ḍi*	[ba:ɽi]	'carpenter'
buḍi	[buɽih]	'old (ꜰ)'	*uḍija:nɔ*	[uɽija:nɔ]	'to fly'
dʒoḍi:	[dʒoɽi:]	'pair'	*rɛlga:ḍi*	[rɛlga:ɽi]	'train'
rɛḍu(:)	[rɛɽu(:)], [rɛḍu(:)]	'radio'	*diʋa:rgaḍi(:)*	[diʋa:rgaɽi(:)]	'clock'

[ʣ] and [z] are in free variation in Kinnauri Pahari. As can be seen below, both [z] and [ʣ] occur word-initially, word-medially and word-finally. The same language consultant uses [z] in one recording and [ʣ] in another in the same word. As [ʣ] occurs more frequently, we treat *ʣ* as the phoneme.

ʣanʈi	[zanʈi]	'stone'	*hi:ʣ*	[hi:z]	'yesterday'
ʣoŋgai	[zoŋgai]	'son-in-law'	*bʰanʣa:*	[bʰanza:]	'nephew'
a:ʣ	[a:z]	'today'	*punʣar*	[punzar]	'tail'
bi:ʣ	[bi:z]	'female'	*bɛʣnɔ*	[bɛznɔ]	'to send'

While *h* in word-initial position is always audible (e.g. [haːr] 'necklace', [hãũ] [1SG.NOM], [harko] 'bone'), in medial position it is often not audible. For example, [mɛ(h)ŋga(ː)] 'expensive', [mɛ(h)maːn] 'guest', [ʃɛr] 'town', [mɛdi] 'henna'.

ʧ in Kinnauri Pahari, too, shows some variation. In some lexical items it is also realized as [ʈr] (e.g., *ʧaːn* [ʧaːn] ~ [ʈraːn] 'ornament'; *paːʧ* [paːʧ] ~ [paːʈr] 'leaf') or as [ʈ] *ʧɔprin* [ʈɔprin] ~ [ʧɔprin] 'scold'.[4] In word-final position a variation [ʧ] ~ [ts] is found in examples such as *bukʧ* [bukʧ] ~ [bukts] 'bunch'.[5] As these variations occur only in a restricted set of lexical items, they may be results of different diachronic changes.

According to Kumar and Bezily (2015: 15–16), *ʃ* has two allophones, with [ʂ] occurring before a retroflex plosive and [ʃ] elsewhere. This does not seem to be the case in my material.

Unlike Kinnauri and Kanashi, we have not noticed any variation in the phonetic realization of word-final voiced stops e.g. *garib* [gariːb] 'poor'. In Kinnauri Pahari they are articulated clearly as voiced stops.

2.1.2   Geminated Consonants

The following are some examples of geminates.

samuddar	[samudːar]	'sea, ocean'	*mumbatti*	[mumbatːi]	'candle'
gɔʈʈ	[gɔʈː]	'mill'	*himmɔt*	[himːɔt]	'courage'
ʃukkur	[ʃukːur]	'Friday'	*ʧʰumma:*	[ʧʰumːaː]	'walking stick'

As shown in Figures 6–7, there is a clear difference in the duration of geminates and singletons.

2.2   *Vowels*

2.2.1   Oral Vowel Phonemes

The oral vowel phonemes of Kinnauri Pahari are listed in Table 33. In addition, Kinnauri Pahari has nasal vowel phonemes (see Section 2.2.2).

Figure 8 shows a formant plot of these phonemes (except *o*, for which we had insufficient data).

Kumar and Bezily (2015) make a phonemic distinction between lax and tense vowels, but not vowel length. In our analysis length is phonemic in Kinnauri Pahari. The spectrograms in Figures 9–12 show a clear difference in quantity between short and long vowels.

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4   Similar variation is also found in Kinnauri.

5   According to our language consultant this is in free variation.
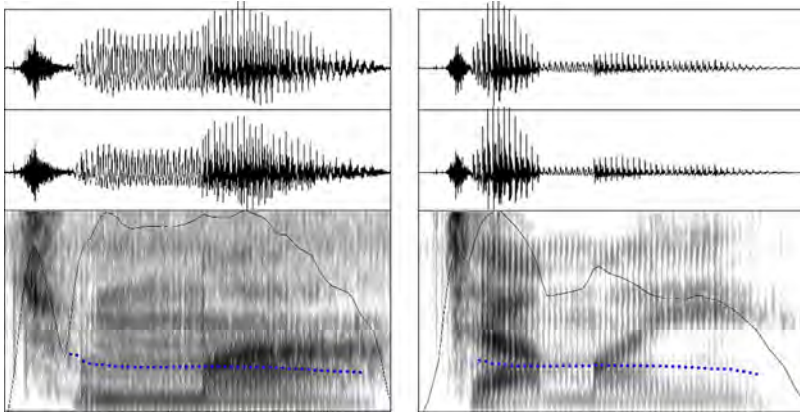
FIGURE 6   Duration of geminate and nongeminate /m/: *tʃʰumma:* 'walking stick'
(left) and *tʃamai* 'unload' (right)
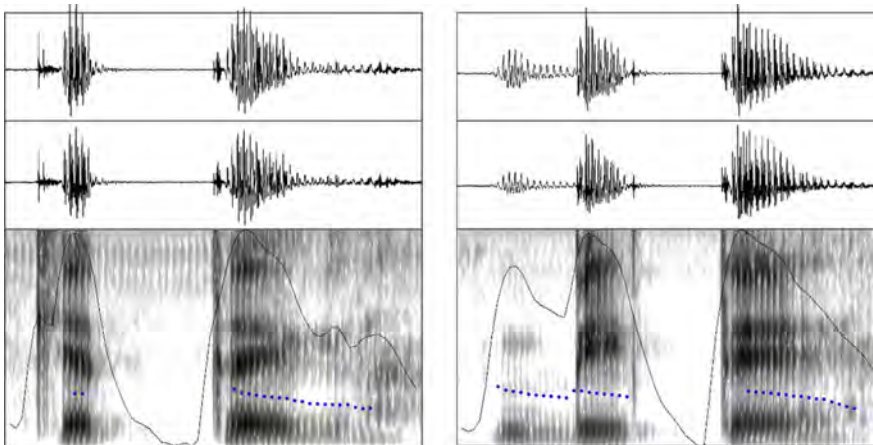
FIGURE 7   Duration of geminate and non-geminate /t/: *kittɛg* 'how many' (left) and *bitɛ*
'inside' (right)

For *i, a, u*, length and quality are tied together. When short, *a* is more central
and schwa-like. In some cases it is realized as [ə], but when long, it is clearly
[aː]. Similarly short *i* is more like [ɪ], but it is clearly [iː] when long. The same is
the case with *u*, where the short version is the somewhat more open and central
[ʊ], but [uː] when long.

eː and *ɛː* are separate phonemes, as are *oː* and *ɔː*. Note the near-minimal pairs
[deːn] 'female' : [tsʰɛːn] 'peace', [ɖeː] 'body' : [tɛː] 'if', [doːʃ] 'ten' : [bɔːʃ] 'lung',
and [ʥoː] 'yak' : [ʥɔː] 'grain'. In these lexical items, the vowel quality is clearly
different but there is no clear difference in length. This is so both in auditory
impression and in measurements.

TABLE 33   Oral vowel
             phonemes in
             Kinnauri Pahari

i, iː	u, uː
eː	o, oː
ɛ, ɛː	ɔ, ɔː
	a, aː
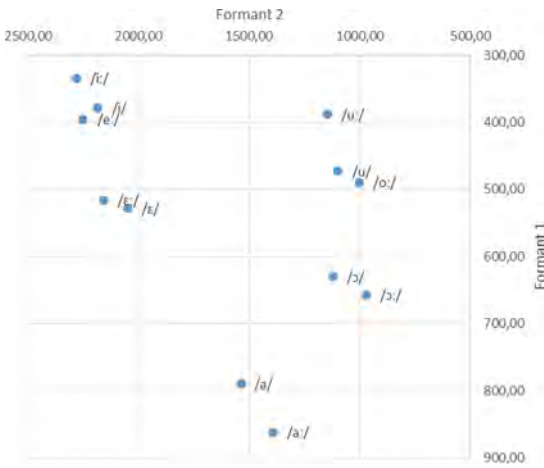
FIGURE 8   Formant plot of Kinnauri Pahari vowel
            phonemes
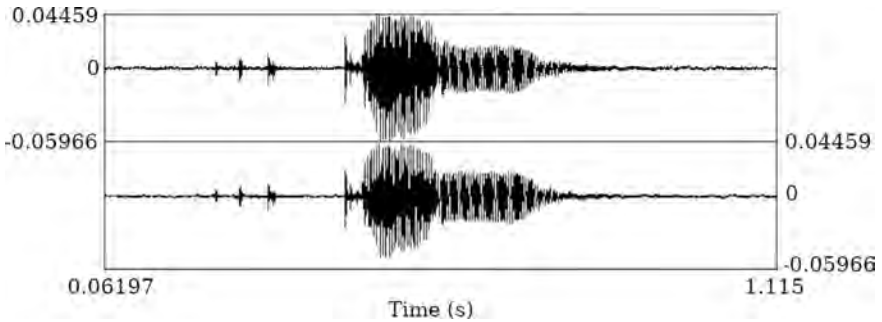
FIGURE 9   *kam* 'less'
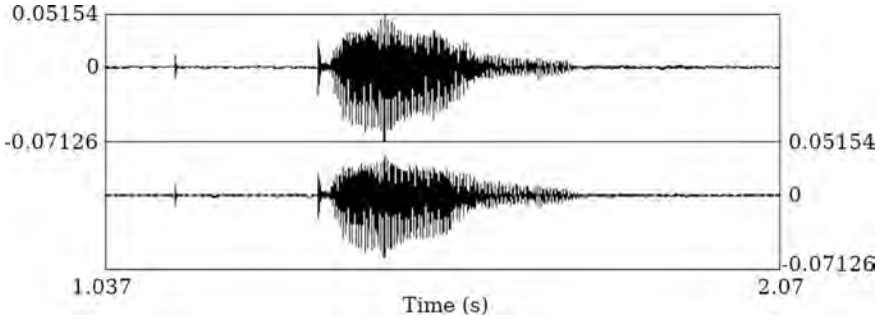
FIGURE 10   *ka:m* 'work'
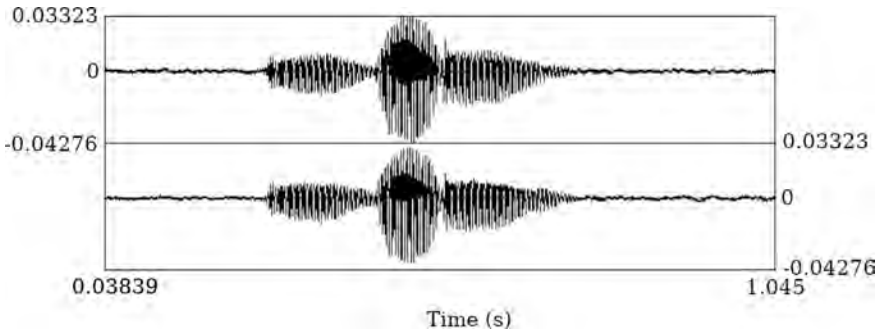
FIGURE 11   *bil* 'the end'
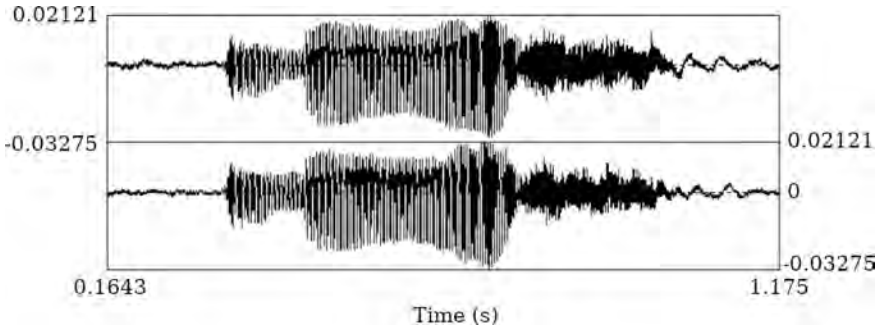
FIGURE 12   *bi:ʃ* 'twenty'

All vowel phonemes occur as both long and short, with one exception: There is no clear evidence for short *e* and *ɛ* as two distinct phonemes. It seems that these two have merged into a single phoneme, which is phonetically most like [ɛ].

Minimal (or near-minimal) pairs: vowels

i : ɛ	*tsʰiknɔ*	'to sneeze'	*tsʰɛknɔ*	'to finish'
a : o	*tamori*	'we (INCL)'	*tomori*	'you (PL)'
ɔ : a	*ʃɔl*	'roof'	*baʃal*	'summer'
o : ɔ	*ʤor*	'much'	*ʤɔt*	'moon'
o : ɔ	*noʃ*	'fingernail'	*nɔr*	'animal'
u : o	*puʃãː*	'husband'	*poʃɔ*	'male'
i : u	*tsʰɛlɖi*	'daughter'	*tsʰɛlɖu*	'son'
i : u	*bai*	'arm'	*bau*	'p.uncle'
i : o	*ranɖoli*	'widow'	*ranɖolo*	'widower'

Minimal (or near-minimal) pairs: vowel length

i : iː	*rin*	'a kind of thread'	*riːn*	'loan, debt'
i : iː	*pʰir*	'become'	*siːr*	'vein'
i : iː	*bid*	'shoulder'	*biːt*	'wall'
a : aː	*kam*	'less'	*kaːm*	'work'
a : aː	*ʤag*	'keep'	*ʤaːt*	'caste, race'
u : uː	*kul*	'descendant'	*kuːl*	'ditch'
ɛ : ɛː	*hɛnʈi*	'jaw'	*ʧɛːn*	'peace'
ɛ : ɛː	*brɛnts*	'grasshopper'	*bɛːnt*	'cane'
ɔ : ɔː	*sɔrgo*	'sky'	*sɔːr*	'small man-made pond'
ɔ : ɔː	*pɔʃ*	'mat'	*bɔːʃ*	'lung'
ɛː : aː	*tɛː*	'because'	*taː*	'if'
uː : ɔː	*suːr*	'wine'	*sɔːr*	'small man-made pond'

With regard to the vowels *i*, *a* and *u* there is a clear difference between long and short vowels. The difference in quantity is much more obvious than the difference in their quality. But when it comes to *ɛ* and *e* the difference between long and short is not that clear.

Vowels tends to sound longer in final open syllables. The (perceived) length in some cases may also be a result of extra stress on that vowel. However, there is also a clear difference in some items between long and short final vowels, as illustrated in Figure 13.

What we hear as long vowel, may in fact, in some cases, be stress. But in some cases it is very clear that there is a long vowel. It is not always clear if the vowel is long or short in word-final position, and there seems to be some variation both among speakers and even in the speech of the same individual. This appears to be especially common with word-final *a*, where it is often hard to know whether to transcribe with -*aː* or -*a*. However, some word-final vowels are clearly short, for example, in *likʰɛ* 'nit'.
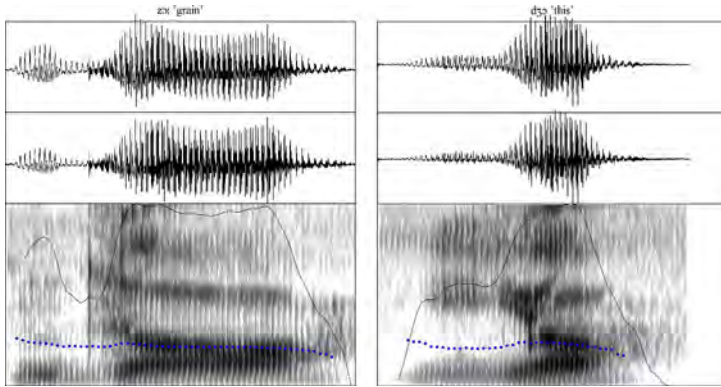
FIGURE 13   Long and short final /ɔ/: *dʑɔ:* 'grain' (left) and *ʥɔ* 'this' (right)

2.2.2   Nasal Vowels

Vowels preceding a nasal consonant are regularly nasalized in Kinnauri Pahari. There are also some instances where there are two possible phonetic realizations of a word—one where the nasalized vowel has a nasal consonant following the vowel, and one without a following nasal consonant. In some cases a compensatory vowel lengthening is also observed, when the following nasal consonant is not there explicitly.

hanɖnɔ	[hãnɖnɔ], [hãɖnɔ]	'to walk'
ganɖɔ	[gãnɖɔ], [gãɖɔ]	'knot'
kunɖɔ	[kũnɖɔ], [kũːɖɔ]	'stove'
bandar	[bãndar], [bãdar]	'monkey'
kuaŋ	[kũãŋ], [kũã]	'well (N)'
kʰoʥaŋ	[kʰoʥãŋ], [kʰoʥãː]	'left (direction)'

In addition to the phonetic realization of nasalized vowels, nasalization is also phonemic in Kinnauri Pahari.

pu:	'feather'	*dũ:*	'smoke (N)'
ba:t	'path'	*dã:t*	'tooth'
dɛo [dɛo], [djo]	'god'	*dɛõ*	[give.IMP]
		bet [bẽːt]	'walking stick'
ʃi:l	'grinding stone'	*ʃĩːg*	'horn'
		hĩũ	'snow'
kam	'less'	*kãɖɔ*	'(grassy) mountain'
ka:m	'work'	*kã:ɖɔ*	'fishhook, thorn'
kʰau	'meal'	*hãũ*	'I' [1SG.NOM]

ʃiʃa(ː) [ʃiʃah]		'glass'	*puʃã:*		'husband'
ʃɔk		'doubt'	*ʃɔ̃k*		'interest'

In this chapter nasalization is marked only in those instances where there is no nasal consonant following a nasalized vowel.

2.2.3   Vowel Variation

When a word ends with a vowel, [h] is heard at times after the final vowel. As can be seen in the examples provided below, [h] can occur after both front and back vowels, rounded as well as unrounded. This is more often the case when the vowel is short.

si	[si(h)]	'with'	*mɔ*	[mɔ(h)]	'honey'
lɛʈi	[lɛʈi(h)]	'glue'	*halkɔ*	[halkɔ(h)]	'light (2)'
gɔri	[gɔri(h)]	'coconut'	*ʃuklɔ*	[ʃuklɔ(h)]	'white'
dari	[dari(h)]	'beard'	*kɔŋglɔ*	[kɔŋglɔ(h)]	'soft'
tsandi	[tsandi(h)]	'silver'	*ʈikʰɔ*	[ʈikʰɔ(h)]	'sharp, pointed'
kɛ	[kɛ(h)]	'at'	*gɔrkɔ*	[gɔrkɔ(h)]	'heavy'
ʧa	[ʧa(h)]	'tea'	*ʃukɔ*	[ʃukɔ(h)]	'dry'
ʃiʃa	[ʃiʃa(h)]	'glass'	*taːtɔ*	[taːtɔ(h)]	'warm'
pitʧʰu	[pitʧʰu(h)]	'after'	*ʃɛlɔ*	[ʃɛlɔ(h)]	'cold'
ʤuː	[ʤuː(h)]	'cloud'	*ʃaːrɔ*	[ʃaːrɔ(h)]	'beautiful'

Similarly, in words beginning with [ɔ], a [h] is heard word-initially. For example, [(h)ɔnʧʰɛ] 'there', [(h)ɔrɛs] 'a community name'.

There is also some variation found between [a] and [ɔ] in words which in Hindi have an [a] (e.g., [maʃʈar] : [maʃʈɔr] 'teacher').

2.2.4   Diphthongs

The following diphthongs are found in our material.

[ai]	*ain*	'spline'	[ãːĩ]	*nãːĩ*	'navel'
[ao]	*nao*	'name'	[ãõ]	*kɛlɛãõ*	'fir'
[aɔ]	*taɔ*	'fever'			
[au]	*kʰau*	'food'	[ãũ]	*hãũ*	'I' [1SG.NOM]
[ɛa]	*tɛar*	'ready'	[ãːɛ]	*pitsʰãːe*	'behind'
[ɛi]	*ɛisa*	'twenty'	[ɛ̃ĩ]	*mɛ̃ĩjɛ*	[1SG.ERG]
[ɛo]	*sɛo*	'apple'	[ɛũ]	*geũ*	'wheat'
[iɛ]	*maːriɛn*	'quarrel'			
[iu]	*dius*	'sun'	[ĩũ]	*hĩũ*	'snow'

[ɔa]	*bɔa*	'father'
[ɔɛ]	*gɔɛn*	'rain'
[ɔi]	*ɖɔinɔ*	'to burn (INTR)'
[ɔu]	*lɔuɖi*	'older'
[ua]	*kuaŋ*	'well (N)'
[ui]	*dui*	'two'		[ũɛ]	*ɖʒũɛ*	'louse'

In the orthography adopted for this chapter, we write all diphthongs as sequences of two vowel symbols. Especially the [i] and [u] components exhibit variation between a more vocalic realization and one closer to [i̯]/[u̯] or [j]/[ʋ]: [dui] : [dui̯] : [duj], [duar] : [du̯ar] : [dʋar].

2.3 *Words with Special Prosody*

There is a restricted set of words whose prosodic structure is markedly different from Kinnauri Pahari's default stress pattern. In this set of words there is a clear secondary stress on the syllable following the stressed (first) syllable, and also a slight break between the syllables.

tɛtɛ ['tɛ.ˌtɛ][6]	'grandfather'
['api(ː).ˌtɛ.ˌtɛ], ['aʋɛ(ː).ˌtɛ.ˌtɛ]	'grandparents'
['biː.ˌbaːp]	'stepfather'
['ɖu.ˌɖu]	'owl'
['laː.ˌʃaːnɔ]	'to look for'
['biː.ˌdiː]	'stepdaughter'
['biː.ˌajũː]	'stepmother'

This can be seen clearly when we compare the spectrograms of *tɛtɛ* 'grandfather' and *tʰaʈɛ* 'joke' (see Figure 14).

As we can see in Figure 14, there is a marked syllable boundary in *tɛtɛ* 'grandfather', which is not found, e.g. in *tʰaʈɛ* 'joke'. It is possible that ['tɛ.ˌtɛ] 'grandfather' had originally a longer mid-word consonant, which is not audible synchronically, resulting in a marked prosodical stress structure. In Kinnauri Pahari di- and polysyllabic words the primary stress appears on the first syllable, and the stressed syllable is much more prominent than other syllables in the word, as in *tʰaʈɛ* 'joke'. In *tɛtɛ* 'grandfather', however, it seems that both syllables have approximately equal prominence.

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6   This is the case also in Kinnauri (*tete* 'grandfather'), including a slight break between the syllables.
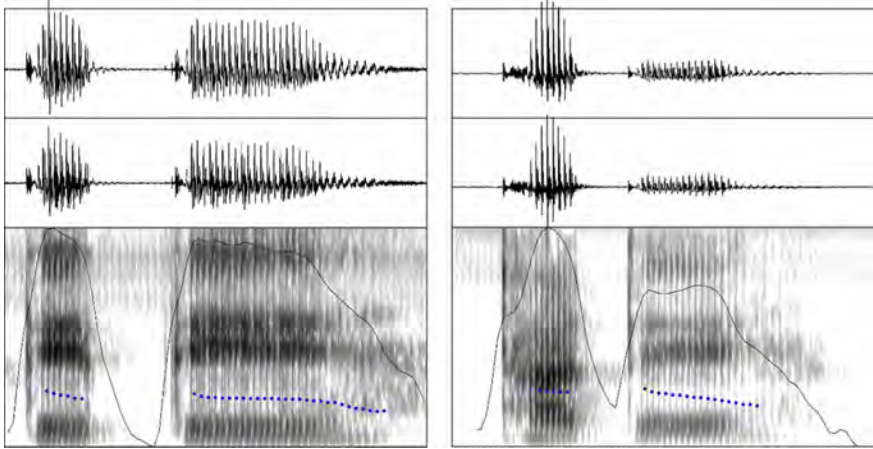
FIGURE 14   Two stress patterns in bisyllabic words: *tɛtɛ* 'grandfather' (left) and *ʈʰaʈɛ* 'joke'
(right)

3   Noun Phrase

3.1   *Noun Phrase Structure*
The noun phrase in Kinnauri Pahari has the following basic structure:

> (DEM / NP_POSS) (Num) ((Adv) Adj(-M/-F))
> N(-DIM)(-PL)(DEF.HUM)(PL)((-)CASE)

(1)   *hɔsɔ   hɔnɔri   dui bɔɖ-ɔ ʃukl-ɔ   ʣanʈi-rɔ*
       3SG.DIST.NOM DEM.DIST.PL two big-M white-M stone-POSS.M
       gɔr-rɔ   maːlik
       house-POSS.M owner
       'He is the owner of those two big white houses of stone.'

With pronouns, however, the non-numeral quantifier adjectives (e.g. *sɛb* 'all')
follow the pronoun.

(2)   *hɔtɛnɔri sɛb(=ɛ)   ɔrɛs   pʰir-ɛs*
       3PL   all(=EMP) carpenter become-AUX.PRS.3
       'They all will be carpenters.'

3.2 *Nouns*

3.2.1 Noun Structure

3.2.1.1 *Noun Stems*

Unlike what we encounter in some other IA languages, Kinnauri Pahari does not exhibit a distinction in its noun declension between a nominative and oblique noun stem form. Further, on the whole all nouns—both masculine and feminine nouns and both native items and loanwords—inflect in the same way. They take the same set of plural markers and the case markers are the same in both numbers.

The nominal morphology of Kinnauri Pahari is close to the agglutinative ideal, but as in any language, there are some exceptions. Many nouns do not express the plural formally, there is some phonologically conditioned allomorphy and some lexically determined idiosyncrasies in the system of case endings, and the expression of the plural is partially conditioned by animacy.

Most IA-origin nouns and adjectives which take an adaptive marker in Kinnauri (see Chapter 2), occur in Kinnauri Pahari without the adaptive marker. The following are all the nouns and adjectives which end in the adaptive marker *-aŋ, -iŋ, -es* in the Kinnauri Pahari IDS/LWT list (see Appendix 4B). All are the same in ST Kinnauri, although *grɔlɖuŋ* 'yoke' also appears in the variant form *golɖuŋ* in Kinnauri.

paːlɛs	'herdsman'	*ɖʑolaŋ*	'twins'
tijarɛs	'duck'	*ʃɔkraŋ*	'orphan'
ɔrɛs	'name of a social group'	*masaŋ*	'flesh, meat'
kʰusiɛs	'happy'	*ʃiʈaŋ*	'nasal mucus'
tsɔriŋ	'trough'	*dusraŋ*	'chimney'
vaːmaŋ	'wrong, fault'	*joɖʑaŋ*	'tool'
siːmaŋ	'boundary'	*kʰoɖʑaŋ*	'left'
kuaŋ	'well (N)'	*tsuʈkaŋ*	'quiet'
tʃʰodaŋ	'waterfall'	*grɔlɖuŋ*	'yoke'
mɛsaŋ	'match (N)'	*multʰaŋ*	'roof'

3.2.1.2 *Nominal Compounds*

In Kinnauri Pahari noun compounds are formed by a combination of two bare nouns (i.e., [N N]) or with a possessive marker affixed to the first noun (i.e., [N-POSS N]). The former kind comprises both copulative and endocentric compounds.

[N N]

ajũː+bɔa	[mother+father]	'parents'
b(ʰ)aːi+bɔɛn	[brother+sister]	'sibling'

aːvi+tɛtɛ	[grandmother+grandfather]	'grandparents'
fɔrɔ+fɔfaːj	[father.in.law+mother.in.law]	'parents-in-law'
diːvaːr+gaɖiː	[wall+watch]	'clock'
piːʈʰ+harko	[back+bone]	'spine'

[N-POSS N]

matsʰi-rɔ pãːkʰ	[fish-POSS.M feather/wing]	'fin'
matsʰi-rɔ harkɔ	[fish-POSS.M bone]	'scale'
muʈkan-rɔ dʒũe	[head-POSS.M louse]	'head louse'
ɖeː-rɔ dʒũe	[body-POSS.M louse]	'body louse'
mɔ-rɔ maːkʰi	[honey-POSS.M fly]	'bee'
duraː-rɔ kiːrɛ	[wood-POSS.M insect]	'termite'
ɖeː-rɔ baːl	[body-POSS.M hair]	'body hair'
piʃi-ro noʃ	[cat-POSS.M fingernail]	'claw'
nuniː-rɔ muʈkan	[breast-POSS.M head]	'nipple or teat'
paːni-rɔ dʒaːdʒ	[water-POSS.M ship]	'ship' (any kind of naval vehicle)
mulk-rɔ manuʃ	[country-POSS.M man]	'citizen'
ɔʃʈi-rɔ goliː	[medicine-POSS.M tablet]	'pill or tablet'
dʒɔnɔm-nɔ sarʈifikaʈ	[birth-POSS.M certificate]	'birth certificate'
ɖrajvar-ɔ lɛsɛns	[driver-POSS.M license]	'driver's license'

biː- 'step-' which occurs in some kinship relationships should perhaps be treated as a derivational prefix as it never occurs on its own, and it occurs only in a few words (cf. Kinnauri: Chapter 2, Section 3.2.1.2).

biːbaːp	(*baːp* 'father')	'stepfather'
biːajũː	(*ajũː* 'mother')	'stepmother'
biːtsʰɛlɖu	(*tsʰɛlɖu* 'boy')	'stepson'
biːdiː	(*diː* 'girl/daughter')	'stepdaughter'

3.2.2 Number

Kinnauri Pahari makes a two-way number distinction: singular and plural. The singular is zero-marked. A restricted set of nouns take one of the following plural suffixes: *-ɛ, -ɔ* or *-aː*. The distribution of the plural suffixes is not phonologically conditioned. In each such case, only one of the three plural suffixes is permitted.

SG		PL	SG	PL
kukur	'dog'	*kukur-aː*	*beːri* 'sheep'	*beːr-ɛ*
manuʃ	'person, man'	*manuʃ-aː*	*baːt* 'talk(N)'	*baːt-ɛ*
raːkaːs	'demon'	*raːks-aː*	*gaːtsʰ* 'garment'	*gaːtsʰ-ɔ*

A noun phrase with a numeral can also receive plural marking.

(*dui*) *manuʃ-aː*	[(two) man/human.being-PL]
dui kukur-aː	[two dog-PL]
dui beːr-ɛ	[two sheep-PL]

However, plural suffixes do not occur with all nouns; for example, the following nouns do not take plural suffixes:

dʑanʈi	'stone'	*tʃammatʃ*	'spoon'
taːrɔ	'star'	*zimadaːr*	'farmer'
gɔr	'house'	*bapuː*	'uncle'
pã:kʰ	'feather, wing'	*tsʰɛlɖu*	'boy'
dukaːn	'shop'	*tsʰɛlɖi*	'girl'
sɔlɔkʰ	'road'	*ɖakʈar*	'physician'
daːmɔ	'ox'	*puʃã:*	'man'

In such instances, as we will see below, plurality may be indicated either by means of a separate plural marker (*hɔri* and/or *pɛrɛ*) and/or by means of a quantifier adjective (e.g. *baːdɔ* 'many'). Most recent loanwords,[7] too, do not take the plural suffixes. The loanwords *polis* 'police' and *pʰɔdʑi* 'army man' are exceptions, taking two different plural suffixes (*-aː* and *-e*, respectively).

pʰilam hɔri	'movies'	*ɖiviɖi hɔri*	'DVDs'
dʑiːns hɔri	'jeans'	*havaːi-dʑaːdʑ hɔri*	'airplanes'
mɛz hɔri	'tables'	*rɛl hɔri*	'trains'
kurasi hɔri	'chairs'	*polis hɔri, polis pɛrɛ, polis-aː:*	'police (PL)'
kamiːz hɔri	'shirts'	*pʰɔdʑi hɔri, pʰɔdʑi pɛrɛ, pʰɔdʑi-ɛ*	'army men'

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7   All these loanwords have been borrowed into Kinnauri Pahari via some other IA language (most likely Hindi).

pɛrɛ and *hɔri* both mark plurality.[8] In addition, *pɛrɛ*—which also appears as an independent lexical item 'family, clan',[9] e.g. *mɛ-rɔ pɛrɛ* [1SG-POSS.M family/clan] 'my family, my clan'—indicates animacy. Thus, with animate nouns, both *hɔri* and *pɛrɛ* can occur, while *hɔri* occurs only with inanimate nouns.[10]

ra:ka:s	'demon'	*ra:ks-a:, ra:ka:s pɛrɛ, ra:ka:s hɔri*
manuʃ	'man, person'	*manuʃ-a:, manuʃ hɔri, manuʃ pɛrɛ*
ʧammaʧ	'spoon'	*ʧammaʧ-a:, ʧammaʧ hɔri*
padʒa:rɔ	'priest'	*padʒa:ro hɔri, padʒa:ro pɛrɛ*
tsʰɛlɖu	'boy'	*tsʰɛlɖu hɔri, tsʰɛlɖu pɛrɛ*
tsʰɛlɖi	'girl'	*tsʰɛlɖi hɔri, tsʰɛlɖi pɛrɛ*
be:ri	'sheep'	*be:ri hɔri, be:ri pɛrɛ, bɛ:rɛ*
tsɔrkʰi	'bird'	*tsɔrkʰi hɔri, tsɔrkʰi pɛrɛ*
ɖakʈar	'physician'	*ɖakʈar hɔri, ɖakʈar pɛrɛ*
ɖʑanʈi	'stone'	*ɖʑanʈi hɔri*
ta:rɔ	'star'	*ta:ro hɔri*
pã:kʰ	'feather'	*pã:kʰ hɔri*
duka:n	'shop'	*duka:n hɔri*
sɔlɔkʰ	'road'	*sɔlɔkʰ hɔri*
pa:ʧʰ	'leaf'	*pa:ʧʰ hɔri*
ga:tsʰ	'garment'	*ga:tsʰ(-ɔ) hɔri*

The following examples illustrate *pɛrɛ* and *hɔri* as plural markers.

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8   In Nepali *-haru* functions as the plural marker (Acharya 1991). It usually occurs with animate nouns and pronouns. In Nepali when *haru* occurs with inanimate non-countable nouns (e.g. rice), it means 'and other such things'. Rajasthani, too, has a plural suffix *hōr/hōro/hōnō*. In Chattisgarhi *har* occurs with nouns to denote definiteness (Bailey 1920; Grierson 1928). According to Masica (1991: 229), this plural marker derives from Old Indo-Aryan *sarva* 'all'. Nepali exhibits similar function of *haru* (Acharya 1991).

9   We have not found any lexical usage of *hɔri* in Kinnauri Pahari.

10   In Bailey (1908, 1920), a similar function is mentioned in the descriptions of Nepali and Baghati. In Nepali *janās* occurs with humans (e.g., *yak-janās manis-ko* [of one-person man] 'of a certain man') and *waʈa/oʈa* occurs with inanimate objects. However, unlike Kinnauri Pahari, *janās* and *waʈa/oʈa* precede the head noun. Grierson notes that in Sirmauri Giripari and in Kiunthali, *ʈu* can be optionally added to a noun "without changing its meaning" (Grierson 1928: 478) and in Satlaj (Kotgarhi) "A very common termination for nouns and adjectives is *ʈau* (or *ʈrau*) added without changing the meaning. Thus we have *bāhrʈau*, a load." (Grierson 1928: 652). As can be seen here, at least form-wise these languages do not show similarities with Kinnauri Pahari *pɛrɛ/hɔri*.

(3)   *gɔr   hɔri*[11] *dʑɔl-i*
      house PL   light-PFV
      'The houses lit (burned).'

(4)   *bjopaːri-jɛ   baːdɔ ʃuklɔ baːkri   hɔri/pɛrɛ   lɔj-i*
      businessman-ERG many white she-goat PL/PL.ANIM buy-PFV
      'The businessman bought many white female goats.'

(5)   *aːmɔri zimidaːr hɔri / pɛrɛ   si*
      1PLE   farmer   PL/PL.ANIM COP.PRS.1PL
      'We are farmers.'

Further, noun phrases with *hɔri/pɛrɛ* may also take quantifier adjectives (e.g.
baːdɔ 'many').

SG		PL	
kukur	'dog'	*kukur hɔri*	'dogs'
		kukur pɛrɛ	
		baːdɔ kukur	'many dogs'
		baːdɔ kukur hɔri	
		baːdɔ kukur pɛrɛ	
daːmɔ	'ox'	*daːmɔ hɔri*	'oxen'
		daːmɔ pɛrɛ	
		baːdɔ daːmɔ	'many oxen'
		baːdɔ daːmɔ hɔri	
		baːdɔ daːmɔ pɛrɛ	

They may also occur when the NP contains a numeral.

(6)   *dui gɔr   hɔri dʑɔl-i*
      two house PL   light-PFV
      'Two houses lit (burned).'

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11   *gɔr hɔri* is pronounced as one prosodic unit.

(7) *hɔtɛn dui-rɔ   dui tsʰɛlɖu hɔri / pɛrɛ   tʰɛo*
     3SG two-POSS.M two boy   PL / PL.ANIM COP.PST.M
     'Those two had two boys.'

Further, the grammaticalized function of *manuʃ* (see Section 3.2.5) may also occur in noun phrases where plurality is indicated by one of the plural markers and/or by means of a plural quantifier adjective.

(8) *sɛb(=ɛ)*[12] *puʃã: manuʃ   maʃṭɔr pʰir-ɛs*
     all(=EMP) man DEF.HUM teacher become-AUX.PRS.3
     'All the men will be teachers.'

(9) *de:n*[13] *manuʃ   hɔri / pɛrɛ   gɔr   dʑurja-ɛs*
     woman DEF.HUM PL/PL.ANIM house make-AUX-PRS.3
     'The women will build a house.'

Normally, noun phrases with *hɔri/pɛrɛ* do not carry the plural suffix. Its occurrence, however, is not prohibited. This means that some animate nouns can exhibit up to five different plural forms.

SG		PL
tsor	'thief'	*tsor-a:*
		tsor hɔri
		tsor pɛrɛ
		tsor-a: hɔri
		tsor-a: pɛrɛ

According to the language consultants, there is no difference in meaning if there is one plural marker or more than one plural marker in an NP.

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12   In other IA languages, such as in Jaunsari, the cognate clitic *=i* functions as an emphasis marker, meaning 'even (with inclusion)' (Bailey 1920).

13   *de:n* 'woman' may refer to an adult woman or to a female in her teens, but not to prepubertal females or to infant girls.

3.2.3   Gender

Gender is a grammatical category in Kinnauri Pahari, which manifests itself through various agreement phenomena. Kinnauri Pahari has two genders: masculine and feminine. Nouns have inherent gender, adjectives and some verb complex elements exhibit gender (and number) agreement with a head noun. There are also some word formation devices deriving nouns where a gender distinction is indicated. For example, the suffix *-a:ni* is suffixed to the masculine noun form (which is also the default form in Kinnauri Pahari) which describes a man's profession, to denote the corresponding female professional.[14]

zim(i)da:r	'farmer (M)'	*zimda:rni*	'farmer (F)'
ɖɔkʈar	'physician (M)'	*ɖɔkʈara:ni*	'physician (F)'
maʃʈar	'teacher (M)'	*maʃʈara:ni*	'teacher (F)'[15]

The gender distinction is also indicated in animate nouns, such as the following. Here feminine nouns end in *-i*, with some exceptions. In the latter cases the feminine nominal forms end in a *-e* (e.g. *tsor* 'thief', *tsor-e, *tsor-i* 'female thief'; see below).

tsʰɛlɖu	'boy, son'	*tsʰɛlɖi*	'girl, daughter'
la:ro	'bridegroom'	*la:ri*	'bride'
kanalɖu	'grandson'	*kanalɖi*	'granddaughter'
kutu:	'nephew'	*kuti:*	'niece'
ranɖɔlɔ	'widower'	*ranɖɔli*	'widow'
gablu	'ram'	*gabli*	'lamb (F)'
suŋga:r	'boar'	*suŋga:ri*	'sow'
go:ro	'stallion'	*go:ri*	'mare'
ba:krɔ	'goat (M)'	*ba:kri*	'goat (F)'
kukur	'dog'	*kukuri*	'bitch'

Similarly, adjectives, too, are, to some extent, sensitive to the gender of the head noun. A subset of adjectives end in *-ɔ* with masculine nouns, and the corresponding feminine forms end in *-i* (see Section 3.4 for details).

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14   Traditionally, the derivational suffix *-a:ni/-ni* was used to indicate the wife of a man with the profession denoted by the base word.

15   In allegro pronunciation these feminine forms drop the last stem vowel before the derivational suffix (e.g., *maʃʈra:ni* 'teacher (F)').

(10) *tu   buɖ-ɔ manuʃ sɔ*
     2SG.NOM old-M man   COP.PRS.2PL
     'You are an old man.'

(11) *tu   buɖ-i deːn   sɛ*
     2SG.NOM old-F woman COP.PRS.2SG
     'You are an old woman.'

Further, in a possessive construction the gender of the head noun determines the form of the possessive marker (*-rɔ* or *-ri*). The possessive marker *-ri* occurs with feminine and *-rɔ* with masculine head nouns.

sitaː-ri tsʰɛlɖi	[i.name(F)-POSS.F girl]	'Sita's daughter'
vikram-ri bɔɛn	[i.name(M)-POSS.F sister]	'Vikram's sister'
vikram-ri gori	[i.name(M)-POSS.F mare]	'Vikram's mare'
vikram-ri kukrauɖi	[i.name(M)-POSS.F bitch]	'Vikram's bitch'
vikram-rɔ tsʰɛlɖu	[i.name(M)-POSS.M son]	'Vikram's son'
sitaː-rɔ tsʰɛlɖu	[i.name(F)-POSS.M son]	'Sita's son'
vikram-rɔ gaɔ	[i.name(M)-POSS.M cow]	'Vikram's cow'
vikram-rɔ piʃiː	[i.name(M)-POSS.M cat]	'Vikram's cat'
mɛ-rɔ balɖi	[1SG-POSS.M bucket]	'My bucket'

Similarly, the distribution of the relative clause suffixes *-sjaː*[16] and *-seː* is also sensitive to the gender of their referents: *-seː* occurs with feminine referents and *-sjaː* with masculine referents (see Section 5.4 for details).

(12) *nats-dɔ-sjaː*
     dance-HAB.M-REL.M
     '(male) who dances'

(13) *nats-di-seː*
     dance-HAB.F-REL.F
     '(female) who dances'

Finally, the distribution of the habitual aspect markers (*-dɔ/-ndɔ* and *-di/-ndi*), and the distribution of the past tense markers (*tʰɔ* vs. *tʰi*), too, are sensitive to the gender of the subject. *-di/-ndi* and *tʰi* occur when the subject has feminine

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16   Note that Kinnauri has a similar (deverbal agent-forming) suffix: *-tsjaː/-tseː* (see Chapter 2).

gender; *-dɔ/-ndɔ* and *tʰɔ* occur with masculine subjects (see Sections 4.2.2 and 4.3.2.1 for details).

(14) *ra:dʰa: tsiʈʰi: banʧʄa:-ji piʈʰu ha:s-di*
     i.name(F) letter read-PFV after laugh- HAB.F
     'Radha laughs after reading the letter.'

(15) *ra:m   kʰau kʰa:-ndɔ*
     i.name(M) food eat-HAB.M
     'Ram eats food.'

While the gender distinction described above holds for the most part, there are some instances, where the default form (i.e. the masculine form) was spontaneously provided in constructions where we should, in principle, get the feminine form (16). When asked, the language consultant provided the "correct" form.

(16) *ama:-jɛ   ap-rɔ   ɖi: la   lɔs-indɛ*
     mother-ERG self-POSS.M girl DAT beat-PFV
     'Mother beat her own daughter.'

In general, apart from the tendencies mentioned above, there are no salient formal indicators showing the gender of Kinnauri Pahari nouns. Nouns of both genders can end in various vowels (*bɔba:* 'father (M)'; *ama:* 'mother (F)'; *hatʰi:* 'elephant (M)'; *api* 'grandmother (F)' *ba:kri* 'goat (F)') or consonants (*bɔɛn* 'sister (F)'; *nɔr* 'animal (M)'; *de:n* 'woman (F)'; *dɛkʰrats* 'young man (M)'; *nars* 'nurse (F)'). Together with the contact situation where the historically dominant language ST Kinnauri is one without systematic gender distinctions (see Chapter 2), this accounts at least in part for the peripheral role of gender in the grammar of Kinnauri Pahari, where this distinction is upheld mainly for animate nouns.

3.2.4   Case
The Kinnauri Pahari case markers are shown in Table 34. Following a long tradition in IA grammatical description, the case markers are analyzed as postpositions, except in those cases where morphophonology indicates that they should be classified as suffixes (cf. Masica 1991: 223 f.).[17]

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17   Since the head noun is the last constituent of the NP in Kinnauri Pahari, an alternative

TABLE 34   Case markers in Kinnauri Pahari

Case	Case marker(s)
Nominative	Ø
Ergative/instrumental	-ɛ
Dative	la, na
Possessive	-rɔ/-ri
Locative	-ɛ, kɛ
Allative	bilɛ
Ablative	ka

3.2.4.1   *Nominative*

The nominative form is the stem of a noun or pronoun without any other case suffixes. This form can be used for subjects (intransitive and transitive)—i.e., the NP triggering subject indexing in the verb—and direct objects.

3.2.4.2   *Ergative/Instrumental*

The suffix *-ɛ* functions as the ergative marker. It is realized as *-jɛ* when the stem ends with a vowel, and optionally as *-vɛ* when the stem ends with a round vowel; *-ɛ* occurs after consonants.[18] The ergative marker occurs with all persons and numbers in all tenses and aspects.[19]

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analysis of the case suffixes as NP clitics would require additional data (non-nominative marked NPs with extraposed constituents after the head noun).

18   In my data there are occasional examples of *-jɛ* appearing after some sonorant consonants (e.g., 204–205).

19   Unlike many other IA languages, Kinnauri Pahari does not seem to exhibit split ergativity, which could point to ST influence. However, since almost all my examples of ergative-marked subjects are accompanied by verbs in the perfective, this may indicate the presence of a tense-aspect based alignment preference. In Grierson (1928) there is only one Western Pahari language (Sirmauri Dharthi) which exhibits a consistent ergative marking system. Based on the language descriptions in Grierson (1928), we can distinguish three different alignment types among the Pahari languages (page references are to Grierson 1928 but language names have been normalized):

Split ergativity: Nepali (46–55), Kumaoni (108–157), Jaunsari (383–400), Gujari of Hazara (930–934).

Consistent ergativity: Sirmauri Dharthi (458–467).

Insufficient information or some other case-marking system: Sirmauri Giripari (477–486), Baghati (495–505), Kului (670–679), Mandeali (721–728), Chambeali (769–784),

(17) *mẽ̃ĩ-jɛ   gɛt   na-lja-ji*
      1SG-ERG song NEG-sing-PFV
      'I did not sing (a) song.'

(18) *ʧʰokru hɔri-jɛ   pʰɔl   kʰa-ɛn*
      boy   PL-ERG fruit eat-PROG
      'Boys (are) eating fruit(s).'

(19) *a:mɔri-jɛ   sɛo   gar-indɛ*
      1PLE-ERG apple take-PFV
      'We took apples.'

(20) *tɛnori-jɛ   tãu -la   ki   bɔl-ɔ*
      3PL-ERG 2SG-DAT what tell-PFV.DIR
      'What did they tell you?'

The ergative marker occurs only in transitive clauses. Its occurrence is, how-
ever, not obligatory.

(21) *ra:m   gɔr-ɛ   naʃ-i*
      i.name(M) house-LOC go-PFV
      'Ram went home.'

(22) *hãũ /   mẽ̃ĩ-jɛ   ʧunni ba:n-indɛ*
      1SG.NOM 1SG-ERG scarf   tie-PFV
      'I tied the scarf.'

The ergative marker is affixed to the last element of an NP (e.g., 18, 23).[20]

(23) *hɔsɔ   buɖɛ-buɖi-rɔ   sɛb ka   lɔuɖo tsʰɛlɖu-jɛ gɔr*
      DEM.DIST o.man-o.woman-POSS.M all ABL young boy-ERG house
      lɔj-i
      buy-PFV
      'The youngest son of the old man and woman bought the house.'

      Gaddi. (792–803), Pangwali (846–854), Bhadrawahi and Bhalesi (888–899). In Kiun-
      thali (549–574) the ergative marker also occurs, at times, with intransitive verbs.
20   Examples such as the following are instances of apposition: *tin-jɛ manuʃ-jɛ bra:g dɛkʰ-undɔ*
      [3SG-ERG man-ERG lion see-HAB.M] 'He, the man, sees the lion.'

The case marker -ɛ also functions as the instrumental marker (24–26) and as one of the two locative case markers (see below).

(24) ʃuri: ʈikʰɔ   tʃʰuri-jɛ   ʃa:g   ka:ʈ-ɛn-s
     i.name(F) sharp knife-INS vegetable cut-PROG-AUX.PRS.3
     'Shuri is cutting vegetables with a sharp knife.'

(25) sonam-ɛ   ap-rɔ   ha:tʰ-ɛ   gɔr   ʈua-ji
     i.name(F)-ERG self-POSS.M hand-INS house build-PFV
     'Sonam built the house with her own hands.'

(26) ra:dʰa:-jɛ   pa:ni-jɛ   ga:tsʰ-ɔ   dɔ-ji
     i.name(F)-ERG water-INS garment-PL wash-PFV
     'Radha washed clothes with water.'

3.2.4.3   Dative[21]

The postposition *la* functions as the dative case marker. With the first person singular pronoun, *na* can also appear as an alternative to *la*.[22]

(27) bɔa(-jɛ)   ma   la / na ra rupja: dɛ-ndɔ
     father(-ERG) 1SG.NNOM DAT   100 money give-HAB.M
     'Father gives me hundred rupees.'

(28) ra:m-ɛ   mohan   la / *na gɔr   bikin-i
     i.name(M)-ERG i.name(M) DAT   house sell-PFV
     'Ram sold the house to Mohan.'

la also occurs with direct objects. Again, *na* can be used with the 1SG pronoun.
     The occurrence of the dative marker is, however, not obligatory. Semantic factors such as animacy and definiteness determine its occurrence.

(29) ra:m-ɛ   kata:b dɛ-ji
     i.name(M)-ERG book   give-PFV
     'Ram gave the book.'

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21   "Objective" would perhaps be a more apt name, but I follow a long tradition in the description of South Asian languages, where "dative" designates a case which can appear on both direct and indirect objects, and in the so-called "experiencer subject" construction.

22   Note that Nàvakat has a similar dative(/allative) marker—=la (see Chapter 3)—although a more relevant parallel may be the Nepali dative -la:i (see Appendix 4A to this chapter).

(30) *hãũ   tãũ   la   ʃa-ɛn   su*
     1SG.NOM 2SG.NNOM DAT look-PROG AUX.PRS.1SG
     'I am looking at you.'

(31) *ardʒun-ɛ   kũã   kɛ la:ŋ   tsʰarja-indɛ ap   la   ma:r-i*
     i.name(M)-ERG well(N) LOC jump(N) leave-PFV   SELF DAT kill-PFV
     'Arjun jumped into the well and killed himself.'

The case marker *la* (and *na*) also occurs in the following constructions.

(32) *ra:m-ɛ   mohan   la   ɛk(k) ganʈa: pɔkʰ-i*
     I.NAME(M)-ERG i.name(M) DAT one   hour   wait-PFV
     'Ram waited for Mohan for an hour.'

(33) *mɛ̃ĩ-jɛ   tʃʰɔkur pɛrɛ   la   ga:tsʰ-ɔ   lɔj-i*
     1SG-ERG m.child PL.ANIM DAT garment-PL buy-PFV
     'I bought clothes for the children.'

The dative marker *la* also occurs in complex constructions, where it follows the nominalized forms of the subordinate clause verb.

(34) *hɔsɔ   baza:r naʃ-mɛ   la   tɛa:r pʰir-i*
     DEM.DIST.NOM market go-NMLZ DAT ready become-PFV
     'He got ready to go to the market.'

(35) *ʃiki-mɛ   la   bɔlɔ kata:b*
     learn-NMLZ DAT good book
     'The book which is worth learning (reading)'

(36) *hãũ   ra:m-rɔ   kad ʃun-mɛ   la   uzi-jɔ*
     1SG.NOM i.name(M)-POSS.M voice hear-NMLZ DAT stand-PFV.DIR
     'I got to hear Ram's voice.'

The dative case markers also occur in Kinnauri Pahari in the so-called *experiencer subject construction* (see Section 5.1).

3.2.4.4   *Possessive*

The case marker *-rɔ/-ri* functions as the possessive marker in Kinnauri Pahari with singular and plural nouns and pronouns. As mentioned above, it has two allomorphs: *-rɔ* and *-ri*. Generally speaking, *-ri* occurs on possessive modifiers

of feminine head nouns and *-rɔ* with masculine head nouns, though there are some instances in my material where *-rɔ* was also provided with feminine head nouns.

(37) *mɛ-ri   tsʰɛlɖi-jɛ ʃɔl   bun-indɛ*
    1SG-POSS.F girl-ERG shawl weave-PFV
    'My daughter wove a shawl.'

(38) *mɛ-rɔ   tsʰɛlɖu-jɛ ʃɔl   bun-indɛ*
    1SG-POSS.M boy-ERG shawl weave-PFV
    'My son wove a shawl.'

(39) *hatʰiː-rɔ   dãːt-rɔ   kaːtsɛ*
    elephant-POSS.M tooth-POSS.M necklace
    'The elephant's-tooth necklace.'

(40) *ʃimla-rɔ   mɔsɔm   bɔlɔ na-i*
    p.name-POSS.M weather good NEG.PFV
    'Shimla's weather is not good.'

(41) *mɛ̃ĩ-jɛ   hɔi   kataːb mɛ-rɔ   ajũːbɔa-rɔ   tɛ̃ĩ=ɛ*
    1SG-ERG DEM.PROX book 1SG-POSS.M parents-POSS.M   for=EMP
    lɔj-i
    buy-PFV
    'I bought this book for my parents.'

When the noun ends in *-r*, the possessive is realized as *-ɔ/-i*: *ɖrajvarɔ lɛsɛns* 'driver's license' (*ɖrajvar* 'driver'); *gaːrɔ tʰaːs* 'river bottom' (*gaːr* 'river').

In some restricted instances when the stem ends in a sonorant consonant (e.g. *hɔtɛn* [3SG.NNOM], *dʑɔnɔm* 'birth', *b(i)jal* 'evening'), the consonant of the possessive marker assimilates to the stem-final consonant. For example, *hɔtɛn-(n)ɔ* [3SG-POSS.M], *bijal-lɔ kʰau* [evening-POSS.M food] 'dinner'. The regular possessive form *-rɔ* (e.g *hɔtɛn-rɔ*) is also found in the data in such contexts. In one case (*dʑɔnɔm-nɔ sarʈifikɛʈ* 'birth certificate' [birth-POSS.M certificate]), *-nɔ* occurs as the possessive marker.

The possessive marker also occurs in a construction which describes that a person belongs to a particular region (42–43).

(42) *raːm   kinnɔr-ɔ   (sa)*
    i.name(M) p.name-POSS.M (COP.PRS.3)
    'Ram is of Kinnaur.' (Ram is from Kinnaur.)

(43) *a:mɔri kinnɔr-i   (sɛ)*
    1PLE   p.name-POSS.F (COP.PRS.1PL)
    'We (females) are of Kinnaur.' (We are from Kinnaur.)

Finally, the possessive marker *-rɔ* also occurs after a non-finite subordinate clause with the verb in the infinitive.

(44) *mɛ̃ĩ-jɛ   hɔtɛn-nɔ   mɔr-nɔ-rɔ   ba:tɛ   ʃun-ɔ*
    1SG-ERG 3SG-POSS.M die-INF-POSS.M talk(N).PL hear-PFV.DIR
    'I heard the news of his dying'

3.2.4.5   *Locative*

All Western Pahari languages (as also many other IA languages) have the same case marker for ergative and locative. This is also the case in Kinnauri Pahari, where *-ɛ* expresses both the locative and the ergative. The suffix *-ɛ* is realized as *-jɛ* after a vowel, and may optionally be realized as *-vɛ* after a round vowel. However, unlike other Western Pahari languages, Kinnauri Pahari exhibits an additional locative marker *kɛ* (with the occasional variant *ʧɛ*).

Both *kɛ* and *-ɛ* occur with stems ending in consonants and vowels. While a restricted set of nouns (e.g. *baʣa:r* 'market') allow both, only one of the two case markers is permitted in most cases (see examples below). At this stage it is not clear what determines their selection.

(45) *ra:m   baza:r-ɛ (/   baza:r kɛ)   naʃ-i*
    i.name(M) market-LOC (/ market LOC) go-PFV
    'Ram went to the market.'

(46) *hãũ   gɔr-ɛ (/   *gɔr kɛ)   naʃ-i*
    1SG.NOM house-LOC (/ house LOC) go-PFV
    'I went home.'

(47) *ra:m   dilli   ka   ʃiml-ɛ / *ʃimla kɛ rel kɛ / *rel-ɛ atsʰ-i*
    i.name(M) p.name ABL p.name-LOC   train LOC   come-PFV
    'Ram came from Delhi to Shimla on the train.' (by train)

(48) *hãũ   hɔtɛn   ʧɛ naʃ-mɛ*
    1SG.NOM 3SG.NNOM LOC go-NMLZ
    'I need to go there (= to it).'

(49) *saŋgla kinnɔr kɛ=s*
  p.name p.name LOC=COP.PRS.3
  'Sangla is in Kinnaur.'

(50) *ʧa kɛ ʧini:=s*
  tea LOC sugar=COP.PRS.3
  'There is sugar in the tea.'

(51) *vikram duka:n kɛ-s*
  i.name(m) shop LOC-COP.PRS.3
  'Vikram is in the shop.'

The locative marker *kɛ* also occurs in constructions where it indicates ownership; *-ɛ* is not permitted here.

(52) *mu kɛ /*-jɛ ɛk(k) gɔr=ɛs [gɔrəs]*
  1SG.NNOM LOC one house=COP.PRS.3
  'I have a house.'

(53) *tãũ kɛ (/ *-jɛ) ɛk(k) gɔr=ɛs [gɔrəs]*
  2SG.NNOM LOC (/ -LOC) one house=COP.PRS.3
  'You have a house.'

(54) *ra:m kɛ (/ *-ɛ) ɛk(k) gɔr=ɛs [gɔrəs]*
  i.name(M) LOC (/ -LOC) one house=COP.PRS.3
  'Ram has a house.'

(55) *hɔtɛnɔri kɛ (/ *-jɛ) ɛk(k) gɔr na-i*
  3PL LOC (/ -LOC) one house NEG-PFV
  'They do not have a house.'

3.2.4.6 *Allative*

Like many other Western Pahari languages, Kinnauri Pahari, too, has a distinct allative case marker. It is *bilɛ*.

(56) *sɛb=ɛ bɔs ka:lka: bilɛ naʃ-dɔ*
  all=EMP bus p.name ALL go-HAB.M
  'All buses go towards Kalka.'

3.2.4.7   *Ablative*
ka functions as the ablative marker.

(57) *manuʃ dʒun dilli   ka   a-ɔ*
      man   REL p.name ABL come-PFV.DIR
      'The man who came from Delhi'

(58) *kʰisɔ   ka   rupja: ga:r*
      pocket ABL money take.IMP
      'Take the money from (your) pocket!'

The ablative marker occurs in the comparative construction.

(59) *hãũ   lija-nɔ   ka nats-nɔ   bɔdi ba-ndɔ   su*
      1SG.NOM sing-INF ABL dance-INF many like-HAB.M AUX.PRS.1SG
      'I (M) like dancing more than singing.'

Finally, the ablative marker can also follow a nominalized subordinate clause verb.

(60) *suntsi-nɔ ka   aukʰa nɔ-bɔl-nɔ*
      think-INF ABL before NEG-say-INF
      'Don't speak before thinking!'

3.2.4.8   *A Comparison with Other Western Pahari Languages*
A comparison of the Kinnauri Pahari case markers with some other Western Pahari languages (Jaunsari, Sirmauri, Baghati, Kiunthali, Kului, Mandeali, Chambeali; see Appendix 4A to this chapter) reveals that there are only two case markers which Kinnauri Pahari shares with other Western Pahari languages: (i) the possessive marker (*-rɔ/-ri*, including its gender agreement) and (ii) the ergative case marker (*-ɛ*). As in other IA languages, Kinnauri Pahari, too, has separate locative and allative case markers, but the case markers (forms) are different. Finally, *la* which functions as a dative marker in Kinnauri Pahari, is not listed for any Western Pahari language in Grierson (1928). This is possibly a borrowing from the coterritorial Kinnauri (see Chapter 2).

3.2.5   The Definiteness Indicator *manuʃ*
manuʃ in Kinnauri Pahari functions both as a lexical noun and as a grammatical word. As a lexical noun it refers to a person or to a male human being (61). As a grammatical word, it seems to indicate about a human referent that it is

known to the interlocutor, i.e., a kind of definiteness marking. It is similar in syntactic behavior and function to a noun classifier (Grinevald 2000: 64 f.), but it contrasts only with its absence, i.e., there is no classifier system of which it is a part. It follows a human nominal argument in the singular (62–63). Its occurrence is optional. Plural and case markers follow it.

(61) *gari:b manuʃ a:dz   dukʰ-is*
     poor   man   today grief-COP.PRS.3
     'The poor man is sick today.'

(62) *mɛ̃ĩ-jɛ   tsʰɔkur (manuʃ) la   kʰɛl-ɛn   dɛkʰ-i*
     1SG-ERG boy   DEF.HUM DAT play-PROG see-PFV
     'I saw the boy playing.'

(63) *de:n   (manuʃ)-ɛ   hɔtɛn-tʃɛ naʃ-mɛ   la   mana: kɔr-i*
     woman DEF.HUM-ERG 3SG-LOC go-NMLZ DAT refuse(N) do-PFV
     'The woman refused to go there.'

This grammaticalized use of *manuʃ* is highly dispreferred with the lexical head noun *manuʃ* 'man' (64).

(64) **? dzvan manuʃ manuʃ-ɛ   kʰou dzurja-ji*
     young   man   DEF.HUM-ERG food make-PFV
     'The young man prepared the food.'

3.3   *Pronouns*

3.3.1   Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns in Kinnauri Pahari are *hɔi*, *hɔsɔ* and *hɔ(tɛ)nɔri*. *hɔi* and *hɔsɔ*[23] occur with singular head nouns. They can also occur with plural inanimate head nouns. *hɔ(tɛ)nɔri* occurs only with plural head nouns. *hɔi* functions as the proximate demonstrative; *hɔsɔ* and *hɔtɛnɔri* function as the distant demonstratives. They occur with both masculine and feminine head nouns, in both nominative and non-nominative positions.

(65) *hɔsɔ   de:n   manuʃ-ɛ   dura: nu-tsuŋ-di*
     DEM.DIST woman DEF.HUM-ERG wood NEG-pick-HAB.F
     'That woman does not pick wood.'

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23   This occurs in Jaunsari, too (Bailey 1920).

(66) *hɔtɛnɔri   deːni   pɛrɛ-jɛ   nɔr   la   maːr-i*
DEM.DIST.PL woman.PL PL.ANIM-ERG animal DAT kill-PFV
'Those women killed the animal.'

(67) *hɔtɛnɔri   puʃã: pɛrɛ   gɔr-ɛ   naʃ-i*
DEM.DIST.PL man PL.ANIM house-LOC go-PFV
'Those men went home.'

The demonstrative pronouns also function as third person pronouns (see the next section).

(68) *hɔsɔ   bazaːr naʃ-i   tʰjɔ*
3SG.DIST.NOM market go-PFV AUX.PST.M
'He went to the market.'

(69) *hɔi   la   ʃik-indɛ   hɔtɛn   la   ruːnɔ   atsʰ-i*
3SG.PROX DAT learn-PFV 3SG.NNOM DAT cry-INF come-PFV
'Having learnt this, s/he cried.'

3.3.2 Personal Pronouns

Kinnauri Pahari uses the same set of personal pronouns with both masculine and feminine referents, in all persons and numbers; see Table 35. Kinnauri Pahari does not mark honorificity, neither on the pronouns nor in its verbal inflection. As we can see in Table 35, Kinnauri Pahari makes the exclusive-inclusive distinction in first person plural.

3.3.2.1 *First Person*

The distribution of the different first person singular pronoun allomorphs is as follows: *hãũ* functions as the nominative; the bound forms *mɛ̃ĩ* and *mɛ* occur with the ergative and the possessive marker, respectively; *ma* occurs with the dative and locative markers.

(70) *hãũ   dilli   naʃ-i*
1SG.NOM p.name go-PFV
'I went to Delhi.'

(71) *hãũ   tʃunniː baːn-idɛ*
1SG.NOM scarf   tie-PFV
'I tied the scarf.'

TABLE 35 The personal pronouns of Kinnauri Pahari

	Singular	Plural
1	*hãũ* (NOM)	*a:mɔri* (EXCL)
	mɛ̃ĩ-jɛ (ERG)	*ta:mɔri* (INCL)
	mɛ-rɔ/mɛ-ri (POSS.M/POSS.F)	
	ma (NNOM: DAT/LOC)	
2	*tu* (NOM)	*tomɔ:ri*[24]
	tɛ̃ĩ-jɛ (ERG)	
	tɛ-rɔ/tɛ-ri (POSS.M/POSS.F)	
	tãũ (NNOM: DAT/LOC)	
3	*(hɔ)sɔ* (NOM)	*(hɔ)tɛnɔri, tinɔri*
	hɔi (NOM, NNOM)	*hɔnɔri*
	(hɔ)tɛn, (hɔ)tin (NNOM)	

(72) *mɛ̃ĩ-jɛ   mɛ-ri   bɔɛn la   pʰɔl dɛn-ɔ*
     1SG-ERG 1SG-POSS.F sister DAT fruit give-PFV.DIR
     'I gave (some) fruits to my sister.'

(73) *tʃʰɔkur pɛrɛ   ma   na   lɔs-i*
     m.child PL.ANIM 1SG.NNOM DAT beat-PFV
     'Boys beat me.'

Distinct from this, *a:mɔri*, the first person plural exclusive (1PLE) pronoun, has a single form occurring in all positions.

(74) *a:mɔri sukul   kɛ   naʃ-i*
     1PLE   school LOC go-PFV
     'We went to the school.'

(75) *a:mɔri-jɛ sɛo   ga:r-indɛ*
     1PLE-ERG apple take-PFV
     'We took apples.'

---

24   Note the difference in the forms: *ta:mɔri* [1PLI] and *tomɔ:ri* [2PL].

In fast speech *-i* of *a:mɔri* is, at times, not heard.

(76) *ra:m-ɛ   a:mɔr la   ajã:rɔ   kɛ   dekʰ-i*
      i.name(M)-ERG 1PLE DAT darkness LOC see-PFV
      'Ram saw us in the dark.'

ta:mɔri, the first person plural inclusive (1PLI) pronoun, too, has an invariant
form in all contexts.

(77) *ta:mɔri sukul kɛ   naʃ-i*
      1PLI   school LOC go-PFV
      'We went to the school.'

(78) *ta:mɔri-jɛ sɛo   ga:r-indɛ*
      1PLI-ERG apple take-PFV
      'We took apples.'

3.3.2.2   *Second Person*
As in the first person singular, the second person singular pronoun, too, has sev-
eral allomorphs: *tu* occurs in the nominative, and the bound morphs *tɛ̃ĩ* and *tɛ*
occur with the ergative and the possessive marker, respectively.

(79) *tu   ɔrɛs   tʰjɔ*
      2SG.NOM carpenter COP.PST.M
      'You (M) were a carpenter.'

(80) *tu   kinnɔr kɛ   tʰak-dɔ*
      2SG.NOM p.name LOC live-HAB.M
      'You (M) live in Kinnaur.'

(81) *tu   kʰau kʰɔ*
      2SG.NOM food eat.IMP
      'You (polite/non-polite), eat food!'

(82) *tɛ̃ĩ-jɛ   kata:b na-an-i*
      2SG-ERG book   NEG-bring-PFV
      'You did not bring the book.'

(83) *mɛ̃ĩ-jɛ   tɛ-rɔ   gɔr   dekʰ-ɔ*
      1SG-ERG 2SG-POSS.M house see-PFV.DIR
      'I saw your house'

(84) *mɛ̃ĩ-jɛ*   *tɛ-ri*   *bɔɛn* *dɛkʰ-i*
    1SG-ERG 2SG-POSS.F sister see-PFV
    'I saw your sister'

The allomorph *tãũ* occurs in the dative and locative. In can also appear in the dative function without a following dative marker (86).

(85) *tãũ*   *kɛ*   *ɛk(k)* *gɔr*   *na-i*   *(tʰjɔ)*
    2SG.NNOM LOC one   house NEG-PFV (COP.PST.M)
    'You did not have a house.'

(86) *mɛ̃ĩ-jɛ*   *tãũ*   *(la)*   *tsʰuŋg-i*
    1SG-ERG 2SG.NNOM (DAT) touch-PFV
    'I touched you.'

As was the case with the first person plural pronouns, in the second person plural too, there is only one morph, *tomɔːri*, which occurs in both nominative and non-nominative positions.

(87) *tomɔːri* *(sɛb(=ɛ))*   *buɖ-i* *hɔri/pɛrɛ*   *sɔ*
    2PL   (all(=EMP)) old-F PL/PL.ANIM COP.PRS.2PL
    'You (F) (all) are old.'

(88) *tomɔːri-jɛ* *hasal* *gɔr-ɛ*   *naʃ-i*
    2PL-ERG   early house-LOC go-PFV
    'You all went home early.'

3.3.2.3   Third Person

As mentioned above, the demonstratives *hɔi* and *(hɔ)sɔ* also function as the third person singular pronouns, with both masculine and feminine referents. While *hɔi* occurs in both nominative and non-nominative positions (e.g., 69, 89), *(hɔ)sɔ* occurs only in the nominative position.

(89) *hɔi*   *hiːdz*   *gɔr-ɛ*   *atsʰ-i*
    3SG.PROX.NOM yesterday house-LOC come-PFV
    'S/He came home yesterday.'

(90) *(hɔ)sɔ*   *kinnɔr-ɔ*   *sa*
    3SG.DIST.NOM p.name-POSS.M COP.PRS.3
    'He is of Kinnaur.' (from Kinnaur)

The third person singular pronoun (hɔ)tɛn occurs only in the non-nominative positions. It, too, can have masculine or feminine referents.

(91) ʤɛtrɛ (hɔ)tɛn-ɛ ʧhɔkur manuʃ la ruːn-ɔ dɛkh-i
    while 3SG-ERG boy DEF.HUM DAT cry-PFV.DIR see-PFV
    hɔsɔ biʃaːru-i
    3SG.DIST.NOM be.afraid-PFV
    'When she saw the boy cry, she got afraid.'

(92) (hɔ)tɛn-kɛ ɛk(k) gɔr sa
    3SG-LOC one house COP.PRS.3
    'S/He has a house.'

(hɔ)tɛnɔri and hɔnɔri function as the third person plural pronouns. They occur in both nominative and non-nominative positions. There is apparently no difference in meaning between (hɔ)tɛnɔri and hɔnɔri.

(93) hɔtɛnɔri ɔrɛs (thjɔ)
    3PL carpenter (COP.PST.M)
    'They (M) were carpenters.'

(94) hɔtɛnɔri la tin ʧɛ na-atsh-nɔ tsaːn-ɔ
    3PL DAT 3SG.NNOM LOC NEG-come-INF want-PFV.DIR
    'They should not come here.'

3.3.2.4 *Comparison with Other Western Pahari Languages*

A comparative study of personal pronouns in Kinnauri Pahari and other Western Pahari, and also Pahari languages more generally (see Appendix 4A to this chapter) suggests that Kinnauri Pahari is very similar to other Western Pahari languages. Kinnauri Pahari, like most other Western Pahari languages, has distinct nominative and non-nominative pronouns to a large extent. In addition, the forms of the pronouns (both NOM and NNOM) are cognates in these languages. Kinnauri Pahari, however, distinguishes itself from other Western Pahari languages in one crucial way, namely, its inclusive–exclusive distinction in first person plural pronouns.[25]

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[25]   Among the IA languages of the north this feature exists in only two other languages: Prasun, a language of Nuristan (Claus Peter Zoller, p.c.) and Chinali, an IA language spoken in the Lahaul region in India.

3.3.3 Interrogative Pronouns and Adverbs

The interrogative pronouns and adverbs in Kinnauri Pahari are the following.

kun	'who'	*kjũː*	'why'
kunkun	'who all'	*kindjɔ, kindʒɔ*	'which'
kiː	'what'	*kindɛ, kintʃʰɛ*	'where'
		kɛtrɛ	'when'

See also Section 5.2.

3.3.4 Reflexive Pronouns

The reflexive pronouns in Kinnauri Pahari are *ap* (SG) and *apʰɔri* (PL).[26] *ap* (SG) is also, at times, realized as *apʰ*. They occur with all persons, numbers and genders.

(95) *mɛ̃ĩ-jɛ   ap   la   maːr-i*
     1SG-ERG SELF DAT kill-PFV
     'I killed myself.' (As said, e.g., when recounting a dream.)

(96) *aːmɔri-jɛ   apʰɔri   la   maːr-i*
     1.PLE-ERG SELF.PL DAT kill-PFV
     'We killed ourselves.' (As said, e.g., when recounting a dream.)

(97) *tɛ̃ĩ-jɛ   ap   la   maːr-i*
     2SG-ERG SELF DAT kill-PFV
     'You killed yourself.' (As said, e.g., when recounting a dream.)

(98) *hɔtɛni-jɛ ap   la   maːr-i*
     3SG-ERG SELF DAT kill-PFV
     'S/He killed herself/himself.'

(99) *hɔtɛnori-jɛ apʰɔri   la   dukʰaː-ji*
     3PL-ERG   SELF.PL DAT grief-PFV
     'They hurt themselves'.

They also function as possessive reflexives.

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26 In Jaunsari *apu* functions as the reflexive pronoun in both singular and plural (Bailey 1920).

(100) *ama:-jɛ*   *ap-rɔ*   *tʃʰɛldu* *la*   *lɔs-indɛ*
       mother-ERG SELF-POSS.M boy   DAT beat-PFV
       'Mother₁ beat her₁ son.'

(101) *hɔsɔ*   *apu-rɔ*   *tʃʰɛldu* *la*   *nɛ-bɛz-dɔ*
       3SG.NOM SELF.PL-POSS.M boy   DAT NEG-send-HAB.M
       'He₁ does not send his₁ sons.'

Apart from these invariant reflexive pronouns, the non-nominative personal pronouns can also occur in the reflexive construction in Kinnauri Pahari. While the invariant form *ap/apʰɔri* is consistent with the typical IA pattern, the use of personal pronouns in the reflexive construction is similar to the ST pattern (Saxena 1984; see also Chapters 2 and 5).

(102) *mɛ̃ĩ-jɛ*   *ma*   *na* /   *ap*   *la*   *ʃa-i*
       1SG-ERG 1SG.NNOM DAT / SELF DAT look-PFV
       'I looked at myself.'

3.4 *Adjectives*
The adjective precedes its head noun. Modifying adverbs precede adjectives.

3.4.1 Adjective Inflection
The focus here is on simple (synchronically underived) adjectives. For example:

la:m-ɔ	[long-M]	*ad-ɔ*	[half-M]
kʰa:ʈ-ɔ	[sour-M]	*patl-ɔ*	[thin-M]
ʃa:r-ɔ	[beautiful-M]	*mɔʈ-ɔ*	[fat-M]
nɔŋgu-ɔ	[new-M]	*ta:t-ɔ*	[hot-M]
pura:n-ɔ	[old(inanimate)-M]	*buɖ-ɔ*	[old(animate)-M]
halk-ɔ	[light-M]	*ʃukl-ɔ*	[white-M]
gɔrk-ɔ	[heavy-M]	*ra:t-ɔ*	[red-M]
pur-a:	[whole(all parts of a unit)-M]	*ka:l-ɔ*	[black-M]
sahuka:r	[rich(M/F)]	*dʑɔan*	[young(M/F)]
kamzɔr	[weak(M/F)]	*gari:b*	[poor(M/F)]

Used attributively, i.e. in combination with a head noun, adjectives in Kinnauri Pahari display the general IA distinction between a class of "variable" and one of "invariable" adjectives (Masica 1991: 250–251).

Adjectives in the "variable" class inflect for the gender and number of their head noun. The masculine singular form ends in *-ɔ*, the feminine singular has the ending *-i*, and the plural of both genders is marked with *-ɛ*.

buɖɔ manuʃ	'old man'	*buɖi deːn*	'old woman'
lɔuɖɔ bapu	'younger uncle'	*lɔuɖi bɔɛn*	'younger sister'
ʃuklɔ gɔr	'white house'	*ʃukli baːkri*	'white female goat'

(103) *baːdɔ buɖ-ɛ manuʃ-aː (hɔri / pɛrɛ)*
     many old-PL man-PL (PL / PL.ANIM)
     'Many old men'

(104) *baːdɔ buɖ-ɛ deːn (hɔri / pɛrɛ)*
     many old-PL woman (PL / PL.ANIM)
     'Many old women'

In the remaining cases—the "invariable" adjectives—the same adjectival form occurs with both masculine and feminine head nouns in both numbers.

gariːb manuʃ	'poor man'	*gariːb deːn*	'poor woman'
sahukaːr manuʃ	'rich man'	*sahukaːr deːn*	'rich woman'
ʤɔan manuʃ	'young man'	*ʤɔan deːn*	'young girl'

(105) *baːdɔ ɖaːlɖis[27] manuʃ*
     many poor   man
     'Many poor men'

(106) *baːdɔ ɖaːlɖis deːn   hɔri / pɛrɛ*
     many poor   woman PL / PL.ANIM
     'Many poor women'

The same adjectival form occurs in both nominative and non-nominative positions.

(107) *buɖ-ɔ manuʃ hiːʤ   mɔr-i*
     old-M man   yesterday die-PFV
     'The old man died yesterday.'

(108) *santoʃ-ɛ   buɖ-ɔ manuʃ-rɔ   gaːtsʰ-ɔ   dɔː-ji*
     i.name(F)-ERG old-M man-POSS.M garment-PL wash-PFV
     'Santosh washed the old man's clothes.'

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27   There is apparently no difference in meaning between *ɖaːlɖis* and *gariːb*.

3.4.2   Non-Numeral Quantifier Adjectives

val	'much'	*ba:dɔ, bɔdi*	'many'[28]
sɛb(b)	'all'	*utu:ri:*	'few, some'

(109)   *mɛ̃ĩ-jɛ   utu:ri: ga:tsʰ-ɔ   lɔj-i*
          1SG-ERG some   garment-PL buy-PFV
          'I bought some clothes.'

The same non-numeral quantifier adjectival form occurs with both masculine and feminine head nouns as well as with both animate and inanimate head nouns.

bɔdi tsʰɛlɖu (pɛrɛ)	'many boys'	*bɔdi tsʰɛlɖi (pɛrɛ)*	'many girls'
bɔdi tsɔrkʰi (hɔri)	'many birds'	*bɔdi dʑanʈi (hɔri)*	'many stones'

3.5   *Numerals*

The numerals 1–20 in Kinnauri Pahari are clearly originally IA.

ɛk(k)	'one'	*gja:ra:*	'eleven'
dui	'two'	*ba:ra:*	'twelve'
trɔn, gɔn	'three'	*tɛra:*	'thirteen'
tsa:r	'four'	*tʃɔuda:*	'fourteen'
pa:ts	'five'	*pandra:*	'fifteen'
tsʰɔ	'six'	*sola:*	'sixteen'
sa:t	'seven'	*satra:*	'seventeen'
aʈʰ	'eight'	*(a)ʈʰa:ra:*	'eighteen'
nɔu	'nine'	*unni:s*	'nineteen'
dɔʃ	'ten'	*bi:ʃ, ɛisa*	'twenty'

Kinnauri Pahari has two words for 'hundred': *ra* (ST), *sɔ* (IA). The term for 'thousand' is *haza:r*.

The language exhibits the vigesimal system for building higher numerals. The Hindi numerals occur frequently in day-to-day conversations. This is due to the dominant role of Hindi in the society today.

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28   *ba:dɔ* and *bɔdi* can both occur with nouns such as 'man', 'milk' and 'water'.

ɛisa pɑːts, biːʃɔ pɑːts	[20+5]	'twenty five'
ɛisa dɔʃ, biːʃɔ[29] dɔʃ	[20+10]	'thirty'
biːʃɔ gjaːraː	[20+11]	'thirty one'
biːʃɔ baːraː	[20+12]	'thirty two'
biːʃɔ tɛraː	[20+13]	'thirty three'
duibiːʃɔ ɛk(k)	[2×20+1]	'forty one'
duibiːʃɔ dɔʃ, dveːsa dɔʃ	[2×20+10]	'fifty'
trɔnbiːʃɔ	[3×20]	'sixty'
trɔnbiːʃɔ ɛk(k)	[3×20+1]	'sixty one'
trɔnbiːʃɔ dui	[3×20+2]	'sixty two'
trɔnbiːʃɛ dɔʃ	[3×20+10]	'seventy'
trɔnbiːʃɛ gjaːra	[3×20+11]	'seventy one'
tsaːrbiːʃɛ	[4×20]	'eighty'
tsaːrbiːʃɛ ɛk(k)	[4×20+2]	'eighty one'
tsaːrbiːʃɛ dɔʃ	[4×20+10]	'ninety'

4 The Verb Complex

The verb complex in Kinnauri Pahari exhibits one of the following structures.

Copula construction: (NEG-)V$_{COP}$(-SG/-PL)
Periphrastic verb forms: (NEG-)V AUX
  N (NEG-)V$_{LIGHT}$ AUX
  (NEG-)V-ASP (AUX)
  (NEG-)N V$_{LIGHT}$-ASP (AUX)

There is no object marking on the verb. Subject indexing is expressed by a suffix on copulas and auxiliaries, reflecting subject person, number and gender (e.g. *maːr-ɛn tʰjɔ* [kill-PROG AUX.PST.M.SG]). Gender is sometimes also expressed in an aspect suffix on the main verb. The auxiliaries are identical to the copulas used in the copula constructions, both regarding their form and their distribution, and in all likelihood historically derived from the copulas.

4.1 Verb Lexemes and Their Structure
Verb lexemes in Kinnauri Pahari may consist of a simplex verb (e.g. *ikilnɔ* 'to drip', *pʰikʰjaːnɔ* 'to throw') or a support verb construction consisting of a noun

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29 In all these higher numerals *biːʃɔ* and *biːʃɛ* are equally permitted.

followed by a light verb (e.g. *dusti ikil-nɔ* [perspiration drip-INF] 'to perspire', *tʰuːk pʰikʰjaː-nɔ* [spit(N) throw-INF] 'to spit') or a complex verb consisting of a main verb followed by an auxiliary (*maːr-ɛn tʰjɔ* [kill-PROG AUX.PST.M.SG]). In this section the focus will be on simplex verbs.

4.1.1   Simplex Verbs

Some verbs are formed by affixing verbal inflectional or derivational affixes directly to a noun, adjective, or adverb stem as if it were a verb stem, in effect a form of conversion. This then is similar to what is commonly found in ST languages.

ʃaːninɔ	'to freeze (INTR)'	*ʃaːn*	'ice'
siunɔ	'to sew'	*siu*	'tailor'
bɛriːnɔ	'to be late'	*bɛri*	'late'
lonnɔ	'to salt'	*lon*	'salt'
haːsnɔ	'to laugh'	*haːs*	*haːs* 'laugh(N)'
rɔnmaːinɔ	'to ponder'	*rɔnmaːjĩ*	'thought'
bɛʈʰinɔ	'to meet'	*bɛʈʰiː*	'meeting (N)'
pʰuʈaːnɔ	'to make a hole'	*pʰuʈɔ*	'hole'

4.1.2   Valency Changing Mechanisms

Some generalized patterns observed in Kinnauri Pahari are as follows:

First, intransitive verbs where the verb stem ends in a consonant have corresponding transitive verbs with suffixed *-aː*. For example, *dzalnɔ* 'to burn (INTR)', *dzalaːnɔ* 'to burn (TR)'; *lagnɔ* 'to get attached/joined' *lagaːnɔ* 'to attach'; *lɔʈnɔ* 'topple (INTR), fall', *lɔʈaːnɔ* 'to topple (TR), fell'.

Second, and conversely, some transitive verbs have corresponding intransitive verbs with *-inɔ/-iːnɔ* suffixed to the transitive stem (which itself may contain the transitivizing *-aː* suffix).

dɔːnɔ	'to burn (TR)'	*dɔinɔ*	'to burn (INTR)'
kʰɔltsnɔ	'to peel (TR)'	*kʰɔltʃiːnɔ*	'to peel (INTR)'
hiraːnɔ	'to lose (TR)'	*hiraːinɔ*	'to disappear (INTR)'

Third, as in Kinnauri (see Chapter 2), in Kinnauri Pahari too, *-jaː* functions as a transitivizer. It is very likely that its appearance in Kinnauri Pahari is the result of language contact, i.e., that the verbs containing it are loanwords from Kinnauri.[30] The same verb in other IA languages (e.g. Kotgarhi and Hindi) does

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30   These items are in their turn IA loans in Kinnauri, except for the *-jaː* transitivizing suffix which has not been attested in any possible IA donor language.

not contain this *-ja:.* (but sometimes shows *-a:*, which may indicate a historical connection between these two transitivizing suffixes). It could be analyzed as an allomorph of transitivizing *-a:* described above, with a lexically complementary distribution.

	Kinnauri Pahari	Hindi (H); Kotgarhi (K)
to vomit	*pɔlʈja:nɔ*	H: *palʈa:na:*; K: *pɔlʈŋõ*
to bury	*kʰa:rkɛ daba:ja:nɔ*	H: *daba:na:*; K: *dabŋõ* 'to bury', *dabaunõ* 'to press down'
to throw	*pʰikja:nɔ*	H: *pʰika:na:*; K: *pʰeŋkŋõ*
to fly	*udʲija:nɔ*	H: *uɽa:na:*; K: *ɽaunõ* 'cause to fly away'
to leave	*ʃɔʈʰja:nɔ*	H: *choɽna:*; K: *ʃoʈŋõ*
to earn	*kamaja:nɔ*	H: *kama:na:*; K: *kamaunõ*
to weigh	*tɔlja:nɔ*	H: *tolna:*; K: *tolŋõ*
to open	*kʰulɛja:nɔ*	H: *kolna:*; K: *kʰo:lŋõ*
to change	*bɔdlja:nɔ*	H: *badla:na:*
to deceive	*ʈʰakaja:nɔ*	H: *tʰaga:na:*
to measure	*napɛja:nɔ*	H: *na:pna:*

4.2 *Copulas and Auxiliaries*

4.2.1 Present Tense

In the present tense the same set of copulas occurs in equational and existential copula constructions, with both masculine and feminine subjects. Several of these copulas end abruptly with a bit of aspiration at the end ([suʰ] [1SG], [sɛʰ] [2SG], [siʰ] [1PL], [soʰ] [2PL]).[31]

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[31] In Bailey (1920) we can find some information about the copulas in several Indo-Aryan languages of the Himalayan region. According to this information, the present tense copula form in Mandi Siraji, Eastern Mandeali, Bilaspuri, Western Bilaspuri, Northern Bilaspuri, Dami and Handuri, is a form related to *ha*. In all these languages (except Eastern Mandeali, Bilaspuri, Western Bilaspuri and Northern Bilaspuri), the copula inflects for gender and number. In the remaining languages (i.e. Rohru, Rampur dialect, Baghi dialect, Surkhuli dialect, Kuari, Barari, Bishshau, Mandi and Sukut Siraji), the copula in the present tense is either a vowel, e.g. *ēēhai* in Rohru (indeclinable), *ā* in Rampur (indeclinable), or some form directly resembling the Kinnauri Pahari present tense copula, where the copula inflects for gender and number.

Copula: Present tense

	SG	**PL**
1 (M / F)	*su*	*si*
2 (M / F)	*sɛ*	*so*
3 (M / F)	*sa ~ =(ɛ)s*	*sa ~ =(ɛ)s*

Present tense equational copula

hãũ zimda:r su	'I am a farmer (M).'
hãũ zimda:rni su	'I am a farmer (F).'
a:mɔri maʃʈɔr si	'We (EXCL) are teachers (M).'
ta:mɔri maʃʈɔr si	'We (INCL) are teachers (M).'
tu maʃʈɔr sɛ	'You are a teacher (M).'
tomɔ:ri maʃʈɔr so	'You (PL) are teachers (M).'
hɔi maʃʈɔr=s / maʃʈɔr sa	'He is a teacher (M).'
hɔtinɛ maʃʈɔr=s / maʃʈɔr sa	'They are teachers (M).'

Present tense existential copula

hãũ gɔr-ɛ su	'I am at home.'
a:mɔri gɔr-ɛ si	'We (EXCL) are at home.'
tamɔ:ri gɔr-ɛ si	'We (INCL) are at home.'
tu gɔr-ɛ sɛ	'You are at home.'
tomɔ:ri gɔr-ɛ sɔ	'You (PL) are at home.'
hɔi gɔr-ɛ-s/gɔr-ɛ sa	'S/He is at home.'
hɔtɛnɔri gɔr-ɛ-s/gɔr-ɛ sa	'They are at home.'

We will now look at each present tense copula in more detail.

4.2.1.1   *First Person Singular:* su

As mentioned above, the copula *su* occurs with first person singular subjects in the present tense. It also occurs in the following construction.

(110)   *hãũ*   *kinnɔr-ɔ*   *su*
        1SG.NOM   p.name-POSS.M   COP.PRS.1SG
        'I am of Kinnaur.' (I am from Kinnaur.)

su also functions as an auxiliary in the non-copula construction, where it follows the main verb. The main verb either is the bare verb stem or it has an aspect marker.

(111)   *hãũ*   *tʰuːr su*
        1SG.NOM run   AUX.PRS.1SG
        'I run.'

(112)   *hãũ*   *dɛdjaːr*   *tʰuːr-dɔ*   *su*
        1SG.NOM every.day run-HAB.M AUX.PRS.1SG
        'I (M) run every day.'

(113)   *hãũ*   *tʰuːr-ɛn*   *su*
        1SG.NOM run-PROG AUX.PRS.1SG
        'I am running.'

4.2.1.2   *First Person Plural:* si

The copula *si* occurs with first person plural (1PLE, 1PLI) subjects in the present tense.

(114)   *taːmɔri maʃtraːni si*
        1PLI   teacher.F COP.PRS.1PL
        'We (F) are teachers.'

(115)   *taːmɔri kinnɔr-ɔ*   *si*
        1PLI   p.name-POSS.M COP.PRS.1PL
        'We are of Kinnaur.' (We are from Kinnaur.)

As was the case with the copula *su*, the copula *si*, too, functions as an auxiliary in the noncopula construction. The main verb, here too, is either the bare verb stem or it has an aspect marker. All examples of the latter have the progressive aspect in my material.

(116)   *taːmɔri tʰuːr si*[32]
        1PLI   run AUX.PRS.1PL
        'We will run.'

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32   *tʰuːr si* constitutes one prosodic unit.

(117)   *a:mɔri kinnɔr kɛ   na-tʰak-ɛn   si*
       1PLE   p.name LOC NEG-live-PROG AUX.PRS.1PL
       'We are not living in Kinnaur.'

4.2.1.3   *Second Person Singular:* sɛ

sɛ functions as a copula with second person singular subjects in the present tense. It also occurs in the following construction.

(118)   *tu   kinnɔr ka   sɛ*
       2SG.NOM p.name ABL COP.PRS.2SG
       'You are from Kinnaur.'

Further, *se* occurs in non-copula constructions where it functions as an auxiliary.

(119)   *tu   gɔr   dʑurja-ndi   sɛ*
       2SG.NOM house make-HAB.F AUX.PRS.2SG
       'You (F) build a house.'

(120)   *tu   tsɔrkʰi ma:r-ɛn   sɛ*
       2SG.NOM bird   kill-PROG AUX.PRS.2SG
       'You are killing a bird.'

4.2.1.4   *Second Person Plural:* so

The copula *so* occurs with second person plural subjects in the present tense in similar contexts as the copulas described above.

(121)   *tomɔ:ri sɛb=ɛ   kinnɔr-i   so*
       2PL   all=EMP p.name-POSS.F COP.PRS.2PL
       'You are all of Kinnaur.' (You are all from Kinnaur.)

(122)   *tomɔ:ri kinnɔr kɛ   tʰak-ɛn   so*
       2PL   p.name LOC live-PROG AUX.PRS.2PL
       'You (PL) are living in Kinnaur.'

4.2.1.5   *Third Person:* sa ~ =(ɛ)s

The copula *sa* ~ =(ɛ)s[33] occurs with third person (SG, PL) subjects in the present tense. =(ɛ)s is also sometimes realized as [əs] (e.g., (52)–(54)).

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33   *sa* can also be analyzed in appropriate contexts as =*s*=*a*(:) [=COP.PRS.3=Q], i.e. as expressing a polar question (see Section 5.2).

(123)   *ba:dɔ de:ni*[34]   *pɛrɛ*   *zimda:r=s* /   *zimda:r   sa*
        many woman.PL PL.ANIM farmer=COP.PRS.3 farmer   COP.PRS.3
        'Many women are farmers.'

(124)   *hɔsɔ*   *bɔlɔ=s* (/   *bɔlɔ   sa*)
        3SG.DIST.NOM good=COP.PRS.3 (/ good COP.PRS.3)
        'S/He is good (well).'

(125)   *hɔsɔ*   *kinnɔr-ɔ=s* (/   *kinnɔr-ɔ*
        3SG.DIST.NOM p.name-POSS.M=COP.PRS.3 (/ p.name-POSS.M
        sa)
        COP.PRS.3)
        'S/He is of Kinnaur.' (S/He is from Kinnaur.)

(126)   *hɔtɛnɔri kinnɔr-ɔ=s* /   *kinnɔr-ɔ*   *sa*
        3PL   p.name-POSS.M=COP.PRS.3 / p.name-POSS.M COP.PRS.3
        'They are of Kinnaur.' (They are from Kinnaur.)

=(*ɛ*)*s* also functions as an auxiliary in the non-copula construction. It is affixed to the last element in the verb complex.

(127)   *de:n*   *manuʃ*   *nɔr*   *hɔri la   ma:r-di=s*
        woman DEF.HUM animal PL   DAT kill-HAB.F=AUX.PRS.3
        'The woman kills the animals.'

Further, it also occurs in the experiencer subject construction (see Section 5.1 for details).

(128)   *ma*   *na pantʃis   atsʰ-ɛn=s*
        1SG.NNOM DAT thirst(N) come-PROG=AUX.PRS.3
        'I am (feeling) thirsty.'

The occurrence of the present tense copula is not obligatory in Kinnauri Pahari.

(129)   *lɔs-nɔ*   *bɔlɔ*
        beat-INF good
        'Beating (someone) is good.'

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34   *-i* in *de:ni* is obligatory (*de:n* 'woman'), but its analysis is unclear.

(130) *hɔi   gɔr   nu-a   hɔi   saːnd*
DEM.PROX house NEG-COP.PRS DEM.PROX temple
'This is not a house; this is a temple.'

4.2.2 Past Tense

tʰjɔ functions as the (equational and existential) copula in the past tense with all persons. It has three allomorphs: *tʰjɔ* (or the equally frequent variant *tʰɛo*), *tʰi* and *tʰɛ. tʰjɔ* and *tʰi* occur with singular masculine and feminine subjects, respectively, while *tʰɛ* is used with plural subjects of both genders.[35]

Past tense equational copula
hãũ maʃtɔr tʰjɔ   'I was (M) a teacher.'
aːmɔri maʃtɔr tʰɛ   'We (EXCL) were teachers.'
taːmɔri maʃtɔr tʰɛ   'We (INCL) were teachers.'
tu maʃtɔr tʰɛo   'You were (M) a teacher.'
tomɔːri maʃtɔr tʰɛ   'You (PL) were teachers.'
hɔi maʃtɔr tʰjɔ   'He was (M) a teacher.'
hɔtɛnɔri maʃtɔr tʰɛ   'They were teachers.'

Past tense existential copula
hãũ gɔr-ɛ tʰjɔ   'I was (M) at home.'
aːmɔri gɔr-ɛ tʰɛ   'We (EXCL) were at home.'
taːmɔri gɔr-ɛ tʰɛ   'We (INCL) were at home.'
tu gɔr-ɛ tʰɛo   'You were (M) at home.'
tomɔːri gɔr-ɛ tʰɛ   'You (PL) were at home.'
hɔi gɔr-ɛ tʰjɔ   'He was (M) at home.'
hɔtɛnɔri gɔr-ɛ tʰɛ   'They were at home.'

The past tense copulas also function as auxiliaries in the noncopula construction. The main verb here has an aspect marker.

(131) *ma   na   hɔi   pɛn baːt kɛ   pɔr-indɛ tʰjɔ*
1SG.NNOM DAT DEM.PROX pen path LOC find-PFV AUX.PST.M
'I found this pen on the path (way).'

35 Copula information for 16 Indo-Aryan linguistic varieties of the northern Himalayan regions is found in Bailey (1920). In all the languages for which we have the relevant information, the past tense copula form is related to *tʰjɔ*. In some of these languages the copula in indeclinable, whereas in other languages the copula inflects for number and gender, just as in Kinnauri Pahari.

(132) tu   hiːʤ   utuːriː pʰɔl lɔj-ɛn   tʰi
       2SG.NOM yesterday some   fruit buy-PROG AUX.PST.F
       'You were buying some fruits yesterday.'

(133) raːm   pʰɔl maːg-ɛn   tʰjo
       i.name(M) fruit request.take-PROG AUX.PST.M
       'Ram was requesting a fruit.'

In similar constructions *hundɔ* [become.PFV.M] (feminine: *hundi,* plural: *hundɛ,* negative: *nundɔ, nundi, nundɛ*) can also occur.[36]

(134) hãũ   raːza hundɔ
       1SG.NOM king become.PFV.M
       'I have become a king.'

(135) taːmɔri raːni   hundɛ
       1PLI   queen become.PFV.PL
       'We have become queens.'

(136) hɔsɔ   raːni hundi
       DEM.DIST.NOM queen become.PFV.F
       'She has become a queen.'

(137) hɔsɔ   ɔrɛs   hundɔ
       DEM.DIST.NOM carpenter become.PFV.M
       'He has become a carpenter.'

(138) hɔtɛnɔri sɛb=ɛ   ɔrɛs   hundɛ
       3PL   all=EMP carpenter become.PFV.PL
       'They have all become carpenters.'

4.2.3   Future Tense

The verb *pʰir* 'become' functions as a lexical verb, where it takes the usual non-copula verb inflectional endings (e.g. aspect markers).

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36 *hundɔ/hundi/hundɛ* continue (original) present participle forms of an inherited copular verb (Sanskrit √BHŪ 'become'; Masica 1991: 285; Stroński 2014). This participle corresponds formally to the modern habitual form in Kinnauri Pahari. However, the semantics of *hundɔ/hundi/hundɛ* seem to be perfective rather than habitual. Here we have elected to gloss it as [become.PFV.M/F/PL] without further segmental analysis.

(139)   *tsinti: nɔ-bɔl-indɛ   kaːm pʰir-dɔ*
        lie(N) NEG-say-PFV work become-HAB.M
        'Without telling lies, work gets done.'

The bare verb stem (*pʰir*) followed by the present tense auxiliary (see Section 4.3.1) has a future tense interpretation.

(140)   *hãũ   maʃtɔr   pʰir   su*
        1SG.NOM teacher(M) become AUX.PRS.1SG
        'I will be a teacher.'

(141)   *hãũ   maʃtaraːni pʰir   su*
        1SG.NOM teacher(F) become AUX.PRS.1SG
        'I will be a teacher.'

(142)   *tu   maʃtɔr pʰir   sɛ*
        2SG.NOM teacher become AUX.PRS.2SG
        'You (M) will be a teacher.'

(143)   *deːn   manuʃ   maʃtaraːni pʰir=ɛs*
        woman DEF.HUM teacher(F) become=AUX.PRS.3
        'The woman will be a teacher.'

(144)   *sɛb=ɛ   deːn   manuʃ(-aː)   maʃtaraːni pʰir=ɛs*
        all=EMP woman DEF.HUM(-PL) teacher(F) become=AUX.PRS.3
        'All the women will be teachers.'

In the existential copula construction in the future tense the verb *hugɔ/hugɛ* [become.FUT.SG/PL] occurs. The verb here inflects for number, where *hugɔ* occurs with singular subjects and *hugɛ* occurs with plural subjects.[37]

hãũ gɔrɛ hugɔ   'I will be at home.'
aːmɔri gɔrɛ hugɛ   'We will be at home.'
taːmɔri gɔrɛ hugɛ   'We will be at home.'
tu gɔrɛ hugɔ   'You will be at home.'
tomɔːri gɔrɛ hugɛ   'You (PL) will be at home.'

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37   There are no examples of this type with feminine subjects in my material. Again, we gloss the forms *hugɔ/hugɛ* without further segmental analysis, even though the initial element *hu-* is presumably the same as in *hundɔ/hundi/hundɛ* discussed above.

hɔi gɔrɛ hugɔ 'She will be at home.'
hɔtɛnɔri gɔre hugɛ 'They will be at home.'

hugɔ/hugɛ also occurs in the possessive construction in the future tense. It occurs with all persons in both affirmative and negative constructions.

(145) *mu kɛ ɛk(k) gɔr nu-hugɔ*
1SG.NNOM LOC one house NEG-become.FUT.SG
'There will not be a house for me.' (I will not have a house.)

(146) *tãũ kɛ gɔr nu-hugɔ*
2SG.NNOM LOC house NEG-become.FUT.SG
'There will not be a house for you.' (You will not have a house.)

(147) *hɔtɛn-tʃe tsiʈʰi: hugɔ*
3SG-LOC letter become.FUT.SG
'There will be a letter for him/her there.' (S/He will have a letter.)

4.2.4 Comparison with Other Western Pahari Languages

The copulas and their distribution in Kinnauri Pahari are very similar to their counterparts in other Western Pahari languages. The copulas *su* (and its allomorphs) in the present tense, *tʰjɔ* (and its allomorphs) in the past tense and *hugɔ/pʰir* which occur in future tense copula constructions are also found in other Western Pahari languages. Similarly, the past tense copula is regularly inflected for gender and number of the subject throughout the Western Pahari languages. There is however variation in the present tense copula forms in Western Pahari, even though the various forms are etymologically related. Finally, in Kinnauri Pahari, one of the present tense copula forms is also realized as a bound clitic =*s*. This is the case also in Inner Siraji and Kului (Bailey 1908). Kiunthali allows both the short variant and the longer variant. but, unlike Kinnauri Pahari, the shorter variant contains only the vowel.

4.3 Periphrastic Verb Forms

The auxiliaries appearing in the periphrastic verb forms are identical to the copulas used in the copula constructions, both regarding their form and their distribution, and are in all likelihood historically derived from the copulas (111–113).

4.3.1 Aspect

Kinnauri Pahari makes a three-way aspectual distinction into habitual, progressive and perfective aspects. *-di/-ndi* and *-dɔ/-ndɔ* function as the habitual aspect markers. *-ɛn* functions as the progressive aspect marker and *-indɛ* functions as the perfective aspect marker.

4.3.1.1 *The Habitual Aspect Markers* -di/-ndi *and* -dɔ/-ndɔ

The distribution of the habitual aspect markers *-di/-ndi*[38] and *-dɔ/-ndɔ* is as follows.[39] *-di/-ndi* occurs with animate feminine subjects and *-dɔ/-ndɔ* (glossed as 'masculine') occurs elsewhere. The allomorphs with *-n* (i.e., *-ndi* and *-ndɔ*) occur when the verb stem ends with a vowel and the allomorphs without *-n* (i.e., *-dɔ* and *-di*) occur elsewhere.[40] The habitual aspect markers occur with all persons and numbers. The aspect-marked verb is optionally followed by an auxiliary in the present and past tenses.

(148) *hãũ   rɔʈi   kʰaː-ndi   (su /   tʰi)*
1SG.NOM bread eat-HAB.F (AUX.PRS.1SG / AUX.PST.F)
'I eat bread / ate bread.'

(149) *aːmɔri kʰau   kʰaː-ndi   (si)*
1PLE   food(N) eat-HAB.F (AUX.PRS.1PL)
'We eat food.'

(150) *hãũ   ʧiːz   na-an-dɔ   (su / tʰjɔ)*
1SG.NOM thing NEG-bring-HAB.M (AUX.PRS.1SG / AUX.PST.M)
'I do(/did) not bring things.'

(151) *raːm   mohan   la   kataːb dɛ-ndɔ(=s /*
i.name(M) i.name(M) DAT book   give-HAB.M(=AUX-PRS.3 /
tʰjɔ)
AUX.PST.M)
'Ram gives(/gave) Mohan a book.'

The habitual aspect markers also occur in the relative clause construction (see Section 5.4) and in the adverbial construction. The distribution of the habitual aspect markers in the relative clause construction remains the same as

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38   At times, it is also realized as *-dɛ/-ndɛ*.

39   In Kotgarhi *-ndo* functions as a participial marker (Hendriksen 1986: 60).

40   This is also the case in the closely related language Sirmauri Dharthi (Grierson 1928).

described above. The habitual aspect marker in the relative clause construction is followed by the relative clause pronominal suffix (-*sja:/-se:*) and a head noun.

The gender distinction is manifested here both in the choice of the aspect marker (-*dɔ/-ndɔ* vs. -*di/-ndi*) and in the choice of the relative clause pronominal suffix (-*sja:* vs. -*se:*). When the relative clause is a transitive clause, the factors determining the occurrence of the case marking on the direct object in the relative clause are the same as in the simple finite clause.

(152)   *lɔs-dɔ-sja:*   *manuʃ*
        beat-HAB.M-REL.M man
        'The man who beats'

(153)   *ru:n-dɔ-sja:*   *tʃʰɔkur*
        cry-HAB.M-REL.M child(M)
        'The boy who cries'

In the absence of a head noun, the nominal inflectional endings, where relevant, are affixed to -*sja:*.

(154)   *dura   ka:ʈ-dɔ-sja:-ɛ*   *bɔl-ɔ*
        wood   cut-HAB.M-REL.M-ERG   say-PFV.DIR
        'The wood-cutter said.'

The following examples illustrate the habitual aspect marker occurring in temporal adverbial subordinate clauses. Since these are constructed with *bɛr-ɛ* [time(F)-LOC] obligatorily following the non-final verb with the habitual aspect marker, the marker appears in its feminine form.

(155)   *mɛ̃ĩ-jɛ   hanɖ-(ɖ)i   bɛr-ɛ   hɔi   bɔl-ɔ*
        1SG-ERG walk-HAB.F time-LOC DEM.PROX say-PFV.DIR
        'At the time of walking, I said'

(156)   *vikram-jɛ   hanɖ-(ɖ)i   bɛr-ɛ   hɔi   bɔl-ɔ*
        i.name(M)-ERG walk-HAB.F time-LOC DEM.PROX say-PFV.DIR
        'At the time of walking, Vikram said.'

4.3.1.2   *Progressive Aspect*
The progressive aspect marker -*ɛn* is affixed to the main verb. It, too, can be optionally followed by an auxiliary.

(157) *hãũ   ka:lɛ   ʃimla: naʃ-ɛn   (su)*
       1SG.NOM tomorrow p.name go-PROG (AUX.PRS.1 SG)
       'I am going to Shimla tomorrow.'

(158) *a:mɔri kinnɔr kɛ   tʰak-ɛn   (si)*
       1PLE   p.name LOC live-PROG (AUX.PRS.1PL)
       'We are living in Kinnaur.'

(159) *de:n manuʃ   pʰɔl na-ma:g-ɛn   (tʰi)*
       girl DEF.HUM fruit NEG-request.take-PROG (AUX.PST.F)
       'The girl was not requesting to take fruit.'

(160) *kukur gʰuŋg-ɛn-s*
       dog   bark-PROG-AUX.PRS.3
       'The dog is barking.'

The progressive aspect marker also occurs in the present adverbial constructions. In such instances the non-final clause may be followed by a discourse marker *pɔ*, which seems to add an element of surprise.

(161) *mɛ̃ĩ-jɛ   tʃʰɔkur la kʰɛl-ɛn   (pɔ)   dɛkʰ-ɔ*
       1SG-ERG child(M) DAT play-PROG (DSM) see-PFV.DIR
       'I saw the boy playing!' (I saw the boy while he was playing.)

(162) *dʑɛtre (hɔsɔ)   bɔl-ɛn   (pɔ)   hɔsɔ   kʰuŋg-ɔ*
       while (DEM.DIST.NOM) say-PROG (DSM) 3SG.NOM cough-PFV.DIR
       'While saying (that), he coughed!'

(163) *tɛ̃ĩ-jɛ   ha:s-ɛn   (pɔ)   bɔl-i*
       2SG-ERG laugh-PROG (DSM) say-PFV
       'You spoke laughingly.'

4.3.1.3   *Perfective Aspect*
There seem to be two sets of perfective aspect markers: (i) *-indɛ/-ndɛ* and (ii) *-ɔ* and *-i*. Both may optionally be followed by an auxiliary.

    The perfective aspect marker *-indɛ/-ndɛ* occurs with all persons, numbers and genders. After a consonant-final verb stem, the form of the marker is *-indɛ*. When the verb stem ends in a vowel, some variation is found in the form of the perfective aspect marker. It is realized as *-jindɛ*, *-indɛ* or *-ndɛ*. The subject in the clauses containing the perfective aspect marker can be in the nominative

and the ergative, and it also appears with so-called experiencer subjects (see Section 5.1).

(164) *ra:m   dukʰ-indɛ=s*
       i.name(M) sick-PFV=AUX.PRS.3
       'Ram has been sick.'

(165) *tsʰori pɛrɛ   ba:dɔ ba:tɛ   bata:-ndɛ / bata-jindɛ*
       girl   PL.ANIM many talk(N) talk-PFV
       'The girls talked a lot.'

(166) *ʧʰɔkur   pɛrɛ   tãũ   la   bɔlɔ kɔla-ndɛ(=s)*
       child(M) PL.ANIM 2SG.NNOM DAT good like-PFV(=AUX.PRS.3)
       'The boys liked you.'

(167) *mu   ka   rupja: hirav-indɛ=s*
       1SG.NNOM ABL money lose(NVOL)-PFV=AUX.PRS.3
       'Money got lost from me.' (I lost (some) money.)

(168) *a:mɔri-jɛ sɛ   ga:r-indɛ (tʰjɔ)*
       1PLE-ERG apple take-PFV (AUX-PST.M)
       'We took apples.'

(169) *mɛ-rɔ   ha:tʰ uʃa-jindɛ   (tʰjɔ)*
       1SG-POSS.M hand swell.INTR-PFV (AUX-PST.M)
       'My hand had some swelling.'

(170) *tɛ̃ĩ-jɛ   hɔi   ka:du ʃun-indɛ se*
       2SG-ERG DEM.PROX when hear-PFV AUX.PRS.2SG
       'When did you hear this?'

When the verb stem ends with a nasal, the perfective aspect marker *-indɛ* is, at times, realized as *-idɛ*. While the language consultants always accepted replacing *-idɛ* with *-indɛ*, without any apparent difference in meaning; they did not accept replacing *-indɛ* with *-idɛ* with stems ending in non-nasal consonants.

(171) *bɔ:ba-ɛ   bʰa:r-ɔ   gin-idɛ / gin-indɛ*
       father-ERG weight-PL carry-PFV
       'Father carried the bagage.'

(172) *mɛ̃ĩ-jɛ*   *taːt-ɔ*   *ɖakkʰan* *tsuŋ-idɛ / tsuŋ-indɛ*
       1SG-ERG warm-M lid   carry-PFV
       'I lifted the warm cover.'

(173) *mɛ-rɔ*   *tsʰɛlɖu-jɛ* *ʃɔl*   *bun-idɛ / bun-indɛ*
       1SG-POSS.M boy-ERG shawl   weave-PFV
       'My son wove a shawl.'

(174) *mɛ-ri*   *tsʰɛlɖi-jɛ*   *ʃɔl*   *bun-idɛ / bun-indɛ*
       1SG-POSS.F daughter-ERG shawl   weave-PFV
       'My daughter wove a shawl.'

The perfective aspect marker also occurs on the non-final verb in the clause chain construction.

(175) *raːm-ɛ*   *dʒuʈ-indɛ* *gɔr*   *zalaː-ji*
       i.name(M)-ERG drink-PFV house burn(TR)-PFV
       'Ram drank and (then, he) burnt the house.'

(176) *gɔr*   *bɔnd nɔ-kɔr-indɛ* *raːm*   *bazaːr naʃ ʈʰjɔ*
       house close NEG-do-PFV i.name(M) market go AUX.PST.M
       'Without closing (his) house, Ram went to the market.'

Kinnauri Pahari also seems to have a double-finite construction with a past tense/perfective interpretation, where *-ɔ* or *-i*[41] is suffixed to the verb. This verb may then be followed by an auxiliary. These suffixes occur in the non-copula construction with all persons, numbers and genders, in both agentive and non-agentive clauses in affirmative and negative sentences. The subjects in such constructions can have the nominative or the non-nominative form.

The distribution of *-ɔ* and *-i* is not correlated with the gender of the subject, but rather it is semantically determined, where *-ɔ* occurs when the speaker has direct knowledge of the situation, and *-i* occurs when the speaker either does not want to reveal the source of the information or does not wish to claim to have first-hand knowledge.

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41   *-i* is realized as *-ji* after stems ending in *-a*. The articulation of *-i* is barely audible in fast speech.

(177) *buːɖɔ manuʃ hiːdz   mɔr-i /   mɔr-ɔ   (tʰjɔ)*
old   man   yesterday die-PFV / die-PFV.DIR (AUX.PST.M)
'The old man died yesterday.'

(178) *hɔsɔ   boʈ paʈ bɛʃ-i /   bɛʃ-ɔ*
DEM.DIST.NOM tree under sit-PFV / sit-PFV.DIR
'S/He sat under the tree.'

(179) *vikram-ɛ   gɛt na-lja-i /   na-lja-ɔ*
i.name(M)-ERG song NEG-sing-PFV / NEG-sing-PFV.DIR
'Vikram did not sing a song.'

The suffix *-i* (but not *-ɔ*) also occurs on the non-final verb in adverbial clauses. In several (though not all) such constructions *piʧʰu* 'after' follows the adverbial clause.

(180) *sunts-i   piʧʰu bɔl-nɔ*
think-PFV after say-INF
'Speak after thinking!' (Think before you speak!)

(181) *hɔtɛn-jɛ kapʰra lɔʋ-i⁴² piʧʰu kamiːz dzurja-ɔ /   dzurja-ji*
3SG-ERG cloth   buy-PFV after shirt   make-PFV.DIR / make-PFV
'He made a shirt after buying the cloth.'

(182) *na-ʃa-ji   nɔ-bɔl-nɔ*
NEG-look-PFV NEG-say-INF
'One should not speak without looking.'

In short, the finite verb inflectional endings in Kinnauri Pahari, as we have seen here are, to some extent, sensitive to the gender of the subject. This is distinct from Kinnauri, which also has subject markers, but where the subject marker is not sensitive to the gender of the subject. Further, unlike Kinnauri, Kinnauri Pahari does not have "object" indexing. Thus, the verb endings in the following two Kinnauri Pahari examples remain the same.

(183) *amaː-jɛ   ap-rɔ   tsʰɛlɖu la lɔs-indɛ*
mother-ERG SELF-POSS.M boy   DAT beat-PFV
'Mother beat (her) own son.'

_____

42   *lɔʋ-i* sounds, at times, like *lɔj-i.*

(184) *ama:-jɛ*   *ma*   *la*   *lɔs-indɛ*
       mother-ERG 1SG.NNOM DAT beat-PFV
       'Mother beat me.'

4.4 *Negation*

Kinnauri Pahari has two negative morphemes: *na-* and *ma-*. *na-* is the default
marker. It negates assertions. It occurs with all persons and numbers in both
copula and non-copula constructions. In the past tense copula constructions
nɛi (variant: *na-i*)[43] precedes the copulas. The negative marker *ma-*, on the
other hand, occurs predominantly in the prohibitive construction (see below),
but the negative marker *na-* can also occur in prohibitives.[44] The distribution
of the negative markers in Kinnauri Pahari is, thus, similar to the pattern found
in many other IA languages.

For the most part—but not always—the negative marker *na-* is realized as
a bound affix. Further, its vowel quality often assimilates to the vowel quality
of the first syllable of the verb to which it is prefixed, as can be seen in many of
the examples provided below.

Equational copula (negative): Present tense
hãũ maʃʈɔr nu-su   'I am not a teacher.'
amɔ:ri maʃʈɔr ni-si   'We (EXCL) are not teachers.'
ta:mɔri maʃʈɔr ni-si   'We are not teachers.'
tu maʃʈɔr nu-sɛ   'You are not a teacher.'
tomo:ri maʃʈɔr nu-so   'You (PL) are not teachers.'
hɔi maʃʈɔr nu-a[45]   'He is not a teacher.'
hɔtɛnɔri maʃʈɔr nu-a   'They are not teachers.'

Equational copula (negative): Future tense
hãũ maʃʈɔr ni-phir su   'I will not be a teacher.'
amo:ri maʃʈɔr ni-phir si   'We (EXCL) will not be teachers.'
tamɔ:ri maʃʈɔr ni-phir si   'We (INCL) will not be teachers.'
tu maʃʈɔr ni-phir sɛ   'You will not be a teacher.'
tomo:ri maʃʈɔr ni-phir sɔ   'You (PL) will not be teachers.'
hɔi maʃʈɔr ni-phir-ɛs   'He will not be a teacher.'
hɔtɛnɔri maʃʈɔr ni-phir-ɛs   'They will not be teachers.'

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43   It is plausible that *-i* in *nɛi* is the same as the perfective *-i* discussed in the preceding sec-
      tion.
44   There is one example in my data, where *ma-* occurs in a non-prohibitive construction:
      mãẽ kʰau ma-kʰa-ji 'I did not eat.'
45   The regular copula forms *sa/=s* are not permitted here with third person subjects.

Existential copula (negative): Future tense

hãũ gɔr-ɛ nu-hugɔ	'I will not be at home.'
amɔːri gɔr-ɛ nu-hugɛ	'we (EXCL) will not be at home.'
tamɔːri gɔr-ɛ nu-hugɛ	'we (INCL) will not be at home.'
tu gɔr-ɛ nu-hugɔ	'You will not be at home.'
tomoːri gɔr-ɛ nu-hugɛ	'You (PL) will not be at home.'
hɔi gɔr-ɛ nu-hugɔ	'He will not be at home.'
hɔtɛnɔri gɔr-ɛ nu-hug-ɛ	'They will not be at home.'

The allomorph distribution of *na-* in non-copula constructions (final as well as non-final clause verb) remains the same as described above.

(185) *tʃʰɔkur   pɛrɛ braːg na-maːr-i*
       child(M) PL   lion   NEG-kill-PFV
       'The boys did not kill the lion.'

(186) *likʰ-i   pitʃʰu raːm   nu-sut-ɔ*
       write-PFV after   i.name(M) NEG-sleep-PFV.DIR
       'Ram did not sleep, after writing (the letter).'

(187) *aːmɔːri na-kʰa-jɛn   si*
       1PLE   NEG-eat-PROG AUX.PRS.1PL
       'We are not eating.'

(188) *tsintiː nɔ-bɔl-indɛ   kɛtʃʰɛ   ni-pʰir-dɔ*
       lie(N) NEG-say-PFV anything NEG-become-HAB.M
       'Without telling a lie, nothing gets done.'

4.5 *Imperative and Prohibitive*
4.5.1   Imperative
The bare verb stem—without an auxiliary—expresses the imperative. No honorific–non-honorific distinction is made here.

(189) *(tu)   bazar-ɛ   naʃ*
       (2SG.NOM) market-LOC go
       '(You (H/NH)) go to the market!'

(190) *kʰou kʰɔ*
       food eat
       'Eat the food!'

(191)   *intʃɛ bʰɛʃ*
        here sit
        'Sit here!'

(192)   *tʰuːr*
        run
        'Run!'

(193)   *upʈ*
        tear.down
        'tear down (the paper)!'

4.5.2   Prohibitive

The negation markers *ma-* and *na-* are added to the imperative to form the pro-hibitive. As mentioned above, while *ma-* only occurs in the prohibitive, *na-* is a general negation marker. In all the following examples *na-* can be replaced by *ma-*. However, one language consultant permitted only *na-* in prohibitive constructions.

(194)   *paːni ni-pju / ma-pju*
        water NEG-drink
        'Don't drink the water!'

(195)   *nu-ru / ma-ru*
        NEG-cry
        'Don't cry!'

(196)   *intʃɛ nɛ-bʰɛʃ / ma-bʰɛs*
        here NEG-sit
        'Don't sit here!'

5   Clauses and Sentences

As illustrated by the examples already given in this chapter, the default word order in Kinnauri Pahari is SOV. Other word orders are also attested, though they are less frequent.

(197)   *tɛ-rɔ   bɔa-ɛ   tãũ   la dɛʃ   kɛ dekʰ-ɔ*
        2SG-POSS.M father-ERG 2SG.NNOM DAT village LOC see-PFV.DIR
        'Your father saw you in the village.'

5.1   *Experiencer Subjects*

Kinnauri Pahari has a construction which is widespread in South Asia, and which in the South Asian context is referred to as the *experiencer subject* construction (or the *dative subject* construction). Rather than ergative or nominative, we encounter numerous cases where the dative case marker occurs on the "subject" of a clause when this does not refer to a volitional participant.

(198) *ra:m   la   ɛk(k) kata:b pɔr-i*
       i.name(M) DAT one   book   find(NVOL)-PFV
       'Ram found a book.'

(199) *tãũ   la   miṭʰa:j pasand sa*
       2SG.NNOM DAT sweets like   AUX.PRS.3
       'You like sweets.'

(200) *ma   na   dʒao   atsʰ-ɛn-s*
       1SG.NNOM DAT thirst(N) come-PROG-AUX.PRS.3
       'I am thirsty.'

The experiencer subject also occurs in constructions which describe a bodily state or condition.[46]

(201) *tin   la   ṭʰanɖ-is*
       3SG.NNOM DAT cold-AUX.PRS.3
       'He (distant, non-visible) is cold.'

(202) *ma   na   dukʰ-ɛn   tʰjɔ*
       1SG.NNOM DAT grief-PROG AUX.PST.M
       'I was hurting.'

The experiencer subject also occurs in the obligative construction.

(203) *tãũ   la   tin-tʃʰɛ   naʃ-nɔ   tsa:n-dɔ=s / tsa:n-dɔ (sa / tʰjɔ)*
       2SG.NNOM DAT there-LOC go-INF want-HAB.M=AUX-PRS.3
       'You ought to go there.'

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46   There is a parallel construction with a nominative subject. Unlike the experiencer subject construction, this construction does not highlight the non-volitional participation of the subject: *hɔsɔ dukʰ-ɔ* [3SG.DIST.NOM grief-PFV.DIR] 'he got sick.'

However, the experiencer subject does not control verb inflection, e.g. the selection of the habitual aspect marker (*-dɔ/-ndɔ* or *-di/-ndi*) and the past tense copula form (*tʰjɔ, tʰi* or *tʰɛ*) (199, 200, 203).

5.2   *Questions*
As the following examples illustrate, the verb inflection and the word order in content questions remain the same as in the declarative sentences.

(204)   *hɔi   tãũ   la   kun-jɛ   bɔl-i*
DEM.PROX 2SG.NNOM DAT who(SG)-ERG say-PFV
'Who told you this?'

(205)   *tɛnor-jɛ tãũ   la   ki   bɔl-ɔ*
3PL-ERG 2SG.NNOM DAT what say-PFV.DIR
'What did they tell you?'

(206)   *tɛ̃ĩ-jɛ   tin   la   kindɛ dɛkʰ-i*
2SG-ERG 3SG.NNOM DAT where see-PFV
'Where did you see him?'

(207)   *tu   dɛʃ   kɛ kjũː atsʰ-i*
2SG.NOM village LOC why come-PFV
'Why did you come to the village?'

(208)   *mɛ-rɔ   gɔr   kɛtrɛ dɛkʰ-ɔ*
1SG-POSS.M house when see-PFV.DIR
'When did (you) see my house?'

As in content questions, in polar questions, too, the word order and verb inflection remain the same as in declarative sentences, with the difference that the question enclitic *=aː* is added to the clause final element.

(209)   *tu   kinnɔr ka=aː*
2SG.NOM p.name ABL=Q
'Are you from Kinnaur?'

5.3   *Conjunction and Disjunction*

ai functions as the conjunctive coordinator at the phrasal and clausal levels, while *=si* functions as the conjunctive coordinator only in noun phrases.

(210)   *hãũ   kʰau ʧaːn-ɛn   su   ai   kʰa-jɛn*
      1.SG.NOM food cook-PROG AUX.PRS.1SG CONJ eat-PROG
      su
      AUX.PRS.1SG
      'I am cooking and eating.'

(211)   *mẽĩ-jɛ   ɛk(k) bɔɖ-ɔ laːl gɔr=si   ɖɔkʰrɔ lɔj-i*
      1SG-ERG   one   big-M red house=CONJ field   buy-PFV
      'I bought one big red house and field.'

(212)   *raːm(-ɛ)   gɔr=si   ɖɔkʰrɔ lɔj-ɔ*
      i.name(M)(-ERG) house=CONJ field   buy-PFV.DIR
      'Ram bought the house and the field.'

ja: functions as the disjunctive coordinator, both at the noun phrase level as well as at the clause level. In constructions with more than two disjunctive clauses, *ja:* may optionally occur before each clause.

(213)   *hãũ   raːmpur ja: ʃimla   naʃ su*
      1SG.NOM p.name DISJ p.name go AUX.PRS.1SG
      'I will either go to Rampur or to Shimla.'

(214)   *raːm   gɔr   ja: ɖɔkʰrɔ lɔj=ɛs*
      i.name(M) house DISJ field   buy=AUX.PRS.3
      'Ram will either buy the house or the field.'

(215)   *ja: raːm   naʃ=ɛs   ja: suradʒ   naʃ=ɛs*
      DISJ i.name(M) go=AUX.PRS.3 DISJ i.name(M) go=AUX.PRS.3
      'Either Ram will go or Suraj will go.'

(216)   *hãũ   sut   su   ja: kaːm   kʰɔʈ su*
      1SG.NOM sleep AUX.PRS.1SG DISJ work(N) do AUX.PRS.1SG
      'I will either work or sleep.'

5.4   *Relative Clauses*

The relative clause suffix is sensitive to gender, where *-sja:* occurs with masculine referents and *-se:* occurs with feminine referents. It can be affixed at least to the habitual-aspect verb form in *-di/-ndi/-dɔ/-ndɔ* (217–218) (see also Section 4.3.1.1) and to the infinitive (functioning as a deverbal noun: 219–222).

(217)   *kʰiːr dɛ-ndi-se: ba:kri*
        milk give-HAB.F-REL.F goat(F)
        'The goat which gives milk'

(218)   *ijanɖanɖub la   tsan-di-se: deːn*
        i.name(M) DAT want-HAB.F-REL.F woman
        'The woman who likes Iyandadub'

(219)   *manuʃ-rɔ   l(i)ja-nɔ-sja: gɛt*
        man-POSS.M sing-INF-REL.M song
        'The song which is sung by a man/the man'

(220)   *ra:za-rɔ   pa:-nɔ-sja: hatʰi:*
        king-POSS.M hold-INF-REL.M elephant
        'The elephant (M) which is to be caught by the king'

(221)   *ra:mi-rɔ   pʰɔl dɛ-nɔ-se: deːn   ma:nuʃ*
        i.name(F)-POSS.M fruit give-INF-REL.F woman DEF.HUM
        'The woman to whom Rami gives the fruit'

(222)   *ra:za la   pa:-nɔ-se: deːn   ma:nuʃ*
        king DAT catch-INF-REL.F woman DEF.HUM
        'The woman who catches the king'

The relative clause suffix also occurs in the correlative relative clause construction. In this construction the head noun, followed by a relative pronoun (e.g. *ʤas* in 223–224) precedes the modifying clause, while the relative clause suffix is affixed to the verb of the modifying clause. The distribution of *-sja:* and *-se:* remains the same as described above.

(223)   *manuʃ ʤas la⁴⁷ miʈʰa:j dɛ-nɔ-sja:*
        man   CRL DAT sweet give-INF-REL.M
        'The man to whom the sweets are to be given'

(224) *deːn*   *manuʃ*   * dʑas la*   *miʈʰaːj dɛ-nɔ-seː*
       woman DEF.HUM CRL DAT sweet give-INF-REL.F
       'The woman to whom the sweets are to be given'

(225) *gilaːs dʑin la*   *ban-nɔ-sjaː*
       glass CRL DAT break-INF-REL.M
       'The glass which is to be broken'

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47   The case marker *la* is obligatory here, and also in (224–225). Further, *dʑas* can be replaced
     by *dʑin* in examples (223–224).

Appendix 4A: Some Comparisons between Kinnauri Pahari and Other Pahari Languages[48]

4A.1   *Dative and Locative Markers*

The table shows the dative and locative case markers in Kinnauri Pahari compared with other Pahari languages (source: LSI 9:4, Grierson 1928).

Language (LSI 9:4 page refs)	Dative	Locative
Baghati (495–505)	*khe:*	*me:, mẽ:, manjhe:* 'in'; *de:* 'in, on'; *pã:de:* 'on'; *pa:e:* 'on'
Chambeali (769–784)	*jo:* (this is old LOC *ja:*); *tikar* 'for'; *kari:* 'on account of'	*e:* (same as ERG); *bichch; mañjh*
Gaddi (792–803)	*jo:; bo:; go:* 'to' or 'for'	*e:* (same as ERG); *mañjh; mã:; ma:h; malle:* 'near'
Gujuri of Hazara (930–934)	*na; ke:*	*mã:* 'in'; *bichch* 'in'; *ta:rŭ:* 'up to'
Jaunsari (383–400)	*kh*	*mũ:jh* 'in'; *pŭ:ḍa:* 'in'; *dã:* 'on'; *chh* 'on, upon'; *bhe:r* 'near'; *ḍʰa:iya:* 'near'
Kumaoni (108–157)	*kaṇi, kaĩ, thaĩ* (or *thẽ:*); *huṇi, hŭ:; su:;*	*-mẽ:* (or *-me:*) 'in'; *par* 'on'; *jã:lai*
Kiunthali (549–574)	*khe:, ha:ge:, ge:, ri: te:i:, ri: kha:tar* 'to' or 'for'	*e: + da: / do:; mã:je:*|
Kinnauri Pahari (this chapter)	*la, na*	*kɛ, -ɛ*
Kului (670–679)	*bé* 'to'	*na* 'in'; *móñjhe:* or *ma:ñje:* 'in'
Mandeali (721–728)	*jo:; kane:*	*mañjh* or *mañjha:*
Nepali (46–55)	*-la:i*	*-ma:* (allomorphs: *ma, ma:* or *mã:*)
Sirmauri Dharthi (458–467)	*khe:, ge:*	*da:* 'in'; *mo:* 'in'; *pã:de:* 'on'
Sirmauri Giripari (477–486)	*khe:; e:kh, ge:; ri: (re:)-taĩ:*	*da:; me:; mũ:je:* 'in'; *ge:ś; ge:śi:; ga:śi:* 'on'

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48   All languages in this comparison are classified as Western Pahari except Kumaoni (Central Pahari) and Nepali (Eastern Pahari).

4A.2 *Pronouns*

The following table shows the SAP pronouns in Kinnauri Pahari in comparison
to other Pahari languages (source LSI 9:4, Grierson 1928).

	Kinnauri Pahari	Other Pahari languages
1SG	*hãũ* (NOM) *mɛ̃ĩ-, mɛ-, ma* (NNOM)	Distinct nominative and non-nominative pronouns are also found in Jaunsari, Sirmauri-Dharthi, Sirmauri-Giripari, Bhagati, Mandeali, Chameali, Gadi, Pang-wali, Bhadrawahi-Bhalesi, Gujuri of Hazara. The forms, too, in these languages are similar to those of Kinnauri Pahari. The languages which deviate from this are Kumaoni (Central Pahari) and Nepali (Eastern Pahari). In both these languages, *m*+vowel occurs for both NOM and NNOM.
2SG	*tu* (NOM) *tɛ̃ĩ-, tɛ-, tãũ* (NNOM)	Distinct nominative and non-nominative pronouns are also found in Kumaoni, Jaunsari, Sirmauri-Dharthi, Sirmauri-Giripari (partly), Bhagati (for the most part), Kiunthali, Kului, Mandeali, Chameali, Gadi, Pangwali, Bhadrawahi-Bhalesi, Gujuri of Hazara. The forms, too, in these languages are similar to those of Kinnauri Pahari. Nepali (Eastern Pahari) is the only language which deviates from this. It uses the same form for both NOM and NNOM.
1PL	*a:mɔri* (1PLE) *ta:mɔri* (1PLI)	No other language exhibits the EXCL–INCL distinction. The 1PLE pronoun in Kinnauri Pahari form may be related to the first syllable of the 1PL form in the following languages: Nepali, Kumaoni, Jaunsari, Sirmauri-Dharthi, Sirmauri-Giripari, Bhagathi, Kiunthali, Gujuri of Hazara. In the following languages, a completely different form (*asse*) occurs: Kului, Mandeali, Chameali, Gadi, Pangwali and Bhadrawahi
2PL	*tomɔ:ri*	*tũ(m)*/*timi*/*tum* occurs in Nepali, Kumaoni, Jaunsari, Sirmauri-Dharthi, Sirmauri-Giripari, Bhagati, Gujuri of Hazara (except GEN). *tus* occurs in Mandeali, Chameali (except GEN, where *tum* occurs), Gadi (except GEN), Pangwali (except GEN), Bhadrwahi. In Kului and Kiunthali both forms (*tum*, *tus*) occur in parallel.

Appendix 4B: Kinnauri Pahari Basic Vocabulary
(*by Anju Saxena and Vikram Negi*)

This is the Kinnauri Pahari IDS/LWT list. It has been compiled on the basis of the 1,310 items of the original Intercontinental Dictionary Series concept list (Borin et al. 2013) plus the 150 items added to it in the Loanword Typology project, for a total of 1,460 concepts (Haspelmath and Tadmor 2009). Further, some new entries have also been added in the present project. In the latter the minor part of their concept ID (the part after the point) begins with "999", e.g. "S24.99910 someone". There are 12 such additions in the Kinnauri Pahari list. Some IDS/LWT items have been left out from this list, as there were no equivalents in Kinnauri Pahari or in my material. The resulting list as given below contains 1,215 items (concepts). The list also includes loanwords.

4B.1   *Notational Conventions*
For ease of comparison we have kept the original IDS/LWT glosses unchanged in all cases, and Kinnauri Pahari senses which do not fit the IDS/LWT meaning completely are given more exact glosses in the Kinnauri Pahari column. Sometimes there will be multiple (separately glossed) items in the Kinnauri Pahari column when Kinnauri Pahari exhibits lexical differentiation of meaning or form within an IDS/LWT item. Pronunciation or form variants are separated by commas, and formally distinct items are separated by semicolons. Glosses and notes belong with their enclosing "semicolon grouping".

   As in the main text, Kinnauri Pahari items are set in italics without morphological decomposition, i.e. affixes and clitics are written solid with their stem or host. Glosses are set in roman, either in single quotes (translation, corresponding to the last line in an interlinear glossed text unit) or in square brackets (morphological analysis, corresponding to the middle line in interlinear glossed text, and adhering to the Leipzig Glossing Rules, in some cases preceded by a morphologically segmented representation of the Kinnauri Pahari item in italics, corresponding to the first line in interlinear glossed text). In a few instances, alternative pronunciations of Kinnauri Pahari items are indicated by phonetic transcriptions in square brackets.

   Unless otherwise indicated, here we will provide the default form (e.g., only the singular form of nouns, the masculine singular form of adjectives, and the nominative form of pronouns). Borrowings from Kinnauri are indicated by "(Kinn.)" after the item in question in the Kinnauri Pahari column.

4B.2 *The Kinnauri Pahari IDS/LWT List*

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri Pahari
S01.100	the world	*dunija:*
S01.210	the land	*ɖɔkʰrɔ* 'land; field'
S01.212	the soil	*maʈʈi*
S01.213	the dust	*ɖanɖoriŋ; di:ʃ* 'dirt; dust'
S01.214	the mud	*tsara:ɔ*
S01.215	the sand	*ba:lu*
S01.220	the mountain or hill	*ɖɔ̃:kʰ* (with bare rock); *kãɖɔ* (grass-covered)
S01.240	the valley	*pʰajul*
S01.270	the shore	*kana:rɛ*
S01.280	the cave	*uɖa:r; ɖabar* 'big hole; cave'
S01.310	the water	*pa:ni*
S01.320	the sea	*samuddar*
S01.322	calm	*sululu*
S01.323	rough(2)	*kʰadula:*
S01.324	the foam	*ʃuptsɔ*
S01.330	the lake	*til* '(larger) pond'; *sɔ:r* '(smaller) pond'
S01.360	the river or stream	*ga:r*
S01.362	the whirlpool	*ʃu:ri:ndɔ pa:ni*
S01.370	the spring or well	*sɔ:r* 'spring'; *kuaŋ* [kũã] 'well'
S01.380	the swamp	*tsaŋtsɔ*
S01.390	the waterfall	*tʃʰodaŋ*
S01.410	the woods or forest	*ʣaŋgal*
S01.430	the wood	*dura:*
S01.440	the stone or rock	*ʣanʈi* (a commonly found stone in Sangla); *ɖɔ̃:kʰ* 'large rock'; *ʃi:l* 'grinding stone'
S01.450	the earthquake	*muntsu:liŋ*
S01.510	the sky	*sɔrgo*
S01.520	the sun	*dius*
S01.530	the moon	*ʣɔt*
S01.540	the star	*ta:rɔ*
S01.550	the lightning	*biʣul*
S01.560	the thunder	*gurgur*
S01.580	the storm	*ʣor bagur*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri Pahari
S01.590	the rainbow	*tiralmɛts*
S01.610	the light	*pjã:ʃo*
S01.620	the darkness	*ãja:rɔ* 'darkness, dark'
S01.630	the shade or shadow	*la:tʃʰa:* ['la:.ˌtʃʰa:]; *ʃɛla:o*
S01.640	the dew	*oʃ*
S01.710	the air	*bagur*
S01.720	the wind	*dʑor(ɛ) bagur*
S01.730	the cloud	*dʑu:; ʃodʑu:* 'snow/rain cloud'; *baldo* 'storm cloud'
S01.740	the fog	*duma:so*
S01.750	the rain	*gɔɛn*
S01.760	the snow	*hĩũ*
S01.770	the ice	*ʃa:n*
S01.7750	to freeze	*ʃa:ninɔ* (INTR)
S01.780	the weather	*mosam*
S01.810	the fire	*a:g*
S01.820	the flame	*lɛmkaŋ*
S01.830	the smoke	*dũ:*
S01.8310	the steam	*ba:p*
S01.840	the ash	*tsʰa:r; bɔsɔm*
S01.841	the embers	*aŋga:r* 'embers; coal'
S01.851	to burn(1)	*dʑɔ:nɔ; dʑala:nɔ* (TR)
S01.852	to burn(2)	*dʑɔinɔ; dʑalnɔ* (INTR)
S01.860	to light	*dʑala:nɔ*
S01.861	to extinguish	*(a:g) hiṭa:nɔ*
S01.870	the match	*mɛsaŋ*
S01.880	the firewood	*dʑalnɔ dura:* [burn(INTR).INF wood]
S01.890	the charcoal	*rɛllɔ aŋga:r* (*rɛl-rɔ aŋga:r* [train.POSS.M coal])
S01.99903	the coal	*aŋga:r*
S02.100	the person	*manuʃ*
S02.210	the man	*puʃã:*
S02.220	the woman	*de:n* (adult); *dʑɛkʰorɛ* (young)
S02.230	male(1)	*poʃɔ*
S02.240	female(1)	*bi:dʑ*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri Pahari
S02.250	the boy	*tsʰɔkur; tsʰokru* 'boy of up to around 10 years of age'
S02.251	the young man	*dɛkʰrats*
S02.260	the girl	*tsʰɔkri*
S02.261	the young woman	*dʑɔan de:n*
S02.270	the child(1)	*tsʰɔkur*
S02.280	the baby	*lɔuɖɔ tsʰɛlɖu*
S02.310	the husband	*puʃã:*
S02.320	the wife	*de:n*
S02.330	to marry	*ʃa:ɖi: kɔrnɔ*
S02.340	the wedding	*dʑane:tʃ; ʃa:di:*
S02.341	the divorce	*ɖe:ŋ*
S02.350	the father	*bɔa, bɔba:*
S02.360	the mother	*ama:; ajũ:*
S02.370	the parents	*ajũ:bɔa*
S02.380	the married man	*lɔgiundɔ*
S02.390	the married woman	*lɔgiindɛ*
S02.410	the son	*tsʰɛlɖu; ʈunu*
S02.420	the daughter	*tsʰɛlɖi; ʈuni:; di:*
S02.440	the brother	*bʰai; bau; atɛ*
S02.444	the older brother	*bɔɖɔ bʰai; bɔɖɔ bau; bɔɖɔ atɛ*
S02.445	the younger brother	*bʰai; lɔuɖɔ bau*
S02.450	the sister	*bɔɛn; dai*
S02.454	the older sister	*bɔɖi bɔɛn; bɔɖi dai*
S02.455	the younger sister	*lɔuɖi bɔɛn; lɔuɖi dai*
S02.456	the sibling	*baibɔɛn*
S02.4561	the older sibling	*bɔɖɔ baibɔɛn*
S02.4562	the younger sibling	*lɔuɖɔ baibɔɛn*
S02.458	the twins	*dʑɔlaŋ*
S02.460	the grandfather	*tɛtɛ*
S02.461	the old man	*sja:nɔ manuʃ*
S02.470	the grandmother	*api:*
S02.471	the old woman	*buɖi (de:n); sja:ni de:n*
S02.4711	the grandparents	*api:tɛtɛ*
S02.480	the grandson	*kanalɖu*
S02.490	the granddaughter	*kanalɖi*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri Pahari
S02.510	the uncle	*bapu* (paternal); *mɔma:* (maternal)
S02.511	the mother's brother	*mɔma:*
S02.512	the father's brother	*bapu*
S02.520	the aunt	*lɔuɖi ãju:; lɔuɖi ama:* (younger than mother/father)
S02.521	the mother's sister	*lɔuɖi ãju:; lɔuɖi ama:* (younger than mother/father)
S02.522	the father's sister	*nane:*
S02.530	the nephew	*bʰandza:* (*maternal*); *baupurɔ kutu* (paternal); (*baurɔ*) *tsʰɛlɖu* (paternal)
S02.540	the niece	*bʰandzi:* (*maternal*); (*baurɔ*) *kuti*[49] (paternal)
S02.550	the cousin	*bai* (F); *bau* (M)
S02.560	the ancestors	*a:glɔ; purkʰɛ*
S02.570	the descendants	*kʰande; kul; puʃt*
S02.610	the father-in-law (of a man)	*ʃɔrɔ*
S02.611	the father-in-law (of a woman)	*ʃɔrɔ*
S02.620	the mother-in-law (of a man)	*ʃoʃai*
S02.621	the mother-in-law (of a woman)	*ʃoʃai*
S02.6220	the parents-in-law	*ʃɔrɔʃoʃai*
S02.630	the son-in-law (of a man)	*dzoŋgai*
S02.631	the son-in-law (of a woman)	*dzoŋgai*
S02.640	the daughter-in-law (of a man)	*bɔari*
S02.641	the daughter-in-law (of a woman)	*bɔari*
S02.710	the stepfather	*bi:ba:p*
S02.720	the stepmother	*bi:ajũ:*
S02.730	the stepson	*bi:tsʰɛlɖu*
S02.740	the stepdaughter	*bi:di:*
S02.750	the orphan	*ʃɔkraŋ*

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49   *kuti* is used to refer lovingly to a female who is younger than the speaker.

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri Pahari
S02.760	the widow	*ranɖoli*[50]
S02.770	the widower	*ranɖolo*
S02.810	the relatives	*pɛrɛdzɔrɛ*
S02.820	the family	*pɛrɛ*
S02.910	I	*hãũ*
S02.920	you (singular)	*tu*
S02.930	he/she/it	*(hɔ)sɔ*
S02.940	we	*ta:mɔri* [1PLI]; *a:mɔri* [1PLE]
S02.941	we (inclusive)	*ta:mɔri*
S02.942	we (exclusive)	*a:mɔri*
S02.950	you (plural)	*tomɔ:ri*
S02.960	they	*hɔnori, (hɔ)tɛnori, tinɔri*
S03.110	the animal	*nɔr; pɔʃu; kɛo* 'male animal'
S03.150	the livestock	*ʃa:laŋ*
S03.160	the pasture	*pa:bɔ; panuŋ*
S03.180	the herdsman	*pa:lɛs*
S03.190	the stable or stall	*kʰu:r*
S03.220	the ox	*da:mo; bɔlad*
S03.230	the cow	*gaɔ*
S03.240	the calf	*batsʰro*
S03.250	the sheep	*bɛrɛ*
S03.260	the ram	*gablu*
S03.280	the ewe	*be:ri*
S03.290	the lamb	*gabli* (F); *kʰa:ts* (M)
S03.320	the boar	*suŋgar*
S03.340	the sow	*suŋga:ri*
S03.350	the pig	*suŋgar*
S03.360	the goat	*bakri* 'she-goat'
S03.370	the he-goat	*bakrɔ*
S03.380	the kid	*tsɛlʈu*
S03.410	the horse	*go:rɔ*
S03.420	the stallion	*go:rɔ*

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50 The base in 'widow' and 'widower' is the same as in Kinnauri, but notice that while Kinnauri Pahari uses *-i/-o*, the feminine/masculine marker, Kinnauri does not have these gender markers. Instead the adaptive morphemes occur in Kinnauri. (Cf. Chapter 2.).

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri Pahari
S03.440	the mare	*go:ri*
S03.450	the foal or colt	*tʰuruts*
S03.460	the donkey	*pʰots*
S03.470	the mule	*kʰɔtsɔr*
S03.520	the cock/rooster	*poʃɔ kukʰ(a)ri*
S03.540	the hen	*bi:ʤ kukʰ(a)ri*
S03.550	the chicken	*kukʰ(a)ri*
S03.570	the duck	*tijarɛs*
S03.580	the nest	*va:*
S03.581	the bird	*tsɔrkʰi*
S03.584	the eagle	*gɔlɖ*
S03.585	the hawk	*la:npja*
S03.586	the vulture	*gɔlɖ*
S03.591	the bat	*ra:tʃ hanɖɔ tsɔrkʰi*
S03.593	the crow	*kaɔ*
S03.594	the dove	*gukti; kõjã*
S03.596	the owl	*ɖuɖɖu*
S03.610	the dog	*kukur*
S03.614	the rabbit	*kʰargoʃ, kʰargos*
S03.620	the cat	*birali; piʃi:*
S03.630	the mouse or rat	*muʃɔ*
S03.650	the fish	*matsʰi*
S03.652	the fin	*matsʰirɔ pã:kʰ*
S03.653	the scale	*matsʰirɔ harko*
S03.720	the lion	*bra:g; si:*
S03.730	the bear	*ri:kʰ*
S03.740	the fox	*lomɖi:; ʃɛlʈi*
S03.750	the deer	*pʰo*
S03.760	the monkey	*bandar*
S03.770	the elephant	*hatʰi*
S03.780	the camel	*ũ:ʈʰ*
S03.810	the insect	*ki:rɛ* 'insect; worm'
S03.811	the head louse	*muʈkanrɔ ʤũɛ*
S03.8112	the body louse	*ɖe:rɔ ʤũɛ*
S03.812	the nit	*likʰɛ*
S03.813	the flea	*upa:*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri Pahari
S03.815	the scorpion	*sɔkɔ*
S03.816	the cockroach	*ʃɛrguli*
S03.817	the ant	*ʧĩːʈɛ*
S03.818	the spider	*botokts, botok*
S03.819	the spider web	*botoktsrɔ laːlɔ*
S03.820	the bee	*mɔrɔ makʰi*
S03.821	the beeswax	*sitʰɔ*
S03.822	the beehive	*bɔŋgaːri*
S03.823	the wasp	*rɛŋgɛl*
S03.830	the fly	*makʰi*
S03.832	the mosquito	*tsʰatsɛ*
S03.8340	the termites	*duraːrɔ kiːrɛ*
S03.8350	the tick	*sɔrus*
S03.840	the worm	*kiːrɛ* 'insect; worm'
S03.850	the snake	*saːp*
S03.8690	the squirrel	*njulits*
S03.9170	the buffalo	*poʃɔ beːs; poʃɔ mɔɛʃ*
S03.920	the butterfly	*ʃupjaːts*
S03.930	the grasshopper	*brɛnts*
S03.940	the snail	*ʃiʈnaːliŋ*
S03.950	the frog	*miʈku*
S03.960	the lizard	*tsʰɛmar*
S04.110	the body	*ɖeː*
S04.120	the skin or hide	*kʰaltsu*
S04.130	the flesh	*masaŋ* 'flesh; meat'
S04.140	the hair	*baːl*
S04.142	the beard	*dari*
S04.144	the body hair	*ɖeːrɔ baːl*
S04.146	the dandruff	*kʰɔdu*
S04.150	the blood	*pɔlats*
S04.151	the vein or artery	*siːr*
S04.160	the bone	*harko*
S04.162	the rib	*paːʃurirɔ harko*
S04.170	the horn	*ʃĩːg*
S04.180	the tail	*punʣar*
S04.190	the back	*piːʈʰ*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri Pahari
S04.191	the spine	*pi:ʈʰrɔ harko, pi:ʈʰarko*
S04.200	the head	*muʈkan*
S04.203	the brain	*me:ʣu*
S04.204	the face	*mũ:; mukʰ*
S04.205	the forehead	*nira:l*
S04.207	the jaw	*hɛnʈi*
S04.208	the cheek	*piŋtsɔ*
S04.209	the chin	*tsʰɔ̃ʈi*
S04.210	the eye	*akʰi*
S04.212	the eyebrow	*mikpu:; mispu:*
S04.214	the eyelash	*mikpu:*
S04.215	to blink	*ʤipka:nɔ*
S04.220	the ear	*ka:n; kanʤilaŋ* 'the inside of the ear'
S04.222	the earwax	*ka:nkʰa*
S04.230	the nose	*na:k*
S04.231	the nostril	*na:krɔ duji*
S04.232	the nasal mucus	*ʃiʈaŋ*
S04.240	the mouth	*kʰa:k*
S04.241	the beak	*ʃõɖ*
S04.250	the lip	*õʈʰ*
S04.260	the tongue	*ʤi:b*
S04.270	the tooth	*dã:t*
S04.271	the gums	*tiltsɔ*
S04.272	the molar tooth	*kɔngar*
S04.280	the neck	*kja:rɔ*
S04.290	the throat	*ʃaŋɔ*
S04.300	the shoulder	*bid*
S04.301	the shoulderblade	*kamarɔ harko*
S04.302	the collarbone	*krɛklirɔ harko*
S04.310	the arm	*bai*
S04.312	the armpit	*kɛspaʈ*
S04.320	the elbow	*krõtsu*
S04.321	the wrist	*tsʰiktsɔ*
S04.330	the hand	*ha:tʰ*
S04.331	the palm of the hand	*hastantsɔ*
S04.340	the finger	*ãũʈʰi*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri Pahari
S04.342	the thumb	*mɔʈɔ ãũʈʰi*
S04.344	the fingernail	*noʃ*
S04.345	the claw	*piʃiːrɔ noʃ*
S04.350	the leg	*kʰunɖi*
S04.351	the thigh	*gulʈʰi*
S04.352	the calf of the leg	*ʃɔŋgar*
S04.360	the knee	*dzanu*
S04.370	the foot	*kʰunɖi*
S04.372	the heel	*tʃʰɔŋgɔl*
S04.374	the footprint	*kʰunɖirɔ mɔd*
S04.380	the toe	*kʰunɖirɔ mɔʈɔ ãũʈʰi*
S04.392	the wing	*pã:kʰ*
S04.393	the feather	*puː*
S04.400	the chest	*ʈuktsɔ*
S04.410	the breast	*nuniː*
S04.412	the nipple or teat	*nuniːrɔ muʈkan*
S04.430	the navel	*nã:ĩ, nãiŋts*
S04.4310	the belly	*peːʈ* 'belly; stomach'
S04.440	the heart	*dʑiva*
S04.441	the lung	*bɔːʃ*
S04.450	the liver	*kaldʑo*
S04.451	the kidney	*patrab*
S04.452	the spleen	*ain*
S04.461	the intestines or guts	*ã:dʑ*
S04.462	the waist	*tʃeːr*
S04.463	the hip	*kʰatants*
S04.464	the buttocks	*gulʈʰi*
S04.490	the testicles	*pɔʈɔk*
S04.492	the penis	*kɔʈɔl*
S04.4930	the vagina	*pʰɔtʃi*
S04.4940	the vulva	*pʰɔtʃi*
S04.510	to breathe	*saːs giːʃnɔ*
S04.520	to yawn	*haʃkam tʃajnɔ*
S04.521	to hiccough	*gal tʃajnɔ*
S04.530	to cough	*kʰuŋgnɔ*
S04.540	to sneeze	*tsʰiknɔ*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri Pahari
S04.550	to perspire	*dusti: ikilnɔ*
S04.560	to spit	*tʰu:k pʰikʰja:nɔ*
S04.570	to vomit	*pɔltja:nɔ*
S04.580	to bite	*tʃɔŋma:nɔ*
S04.590	to lick	*tsa:ʈnɔ*
S04.591	to dribble	*la:lɔ tsʰa:rjinɔ*
S04.610	to sleep	*sutnɔ*
S04.612	to snore	*kʰɔŋnɔ*
S04.620	to dream	*svinɛ atsʰnɔ*
S04.630	to wake up	*udʑi:nɔ*
S04.650	to piss	*mu:tʃʰarnɔ*
S04.660	to shit	*gutʃʰarnɔ*
S04.680	to shiver	*kʰasuraŋ lja:nɔ*
S04.690	to bathe	*dɔjnɔ*
S04.720	to be born	*dzɔrmɔnɔ*
S04.730	pregnant	*pitsʰã:enla*
S04.740	to be alive	*dzuindɔ pʰirnɔ*
S04.7410	the life	*dʑindagi*
S04.750	to die	*mɔrnɔ*
S04.7501	dead	*mɔrindɛ*
S04.751	to drown	*ɖu:bnɔ*
S04.760	to kill	*ma:rnɔ*
S04.770	the corpse	*mɔrundɔ manuʃ*
S04.7710	the carcass	*mɔrundɔ nɔr*
S04.780	to bury	*kʰa:rkɛ bɛdznɔ; kʰa:rkɛ daba:ja:nɔ*
S04.810	strong	*takra:*
S04.820	weak	*kamdzor*
S04.830	healthy	*bɔlɔ* 'healthy; good'
S04.840	sick/ill	*bja:dz*
S04.841	the fever	*taɔ*
S04.843	the cold	*tʰanɖi*
S04.8440	the disease	*bja:dz*
S04.850	the wound or sore	*pa:r*
S04.853	the swelling	*guʈ*
S04.854	the itch	*kʰɔrdz*
S04.8541	to scratch	*kʰorotsnɔ*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri Pahari
S04.855	the blister	*tsʰaːlu*
S04.857	the pus	*puːp*
S04.858	the scar	*paːr; naʃaːn*
S04.860	to cure	*ilaːʣ karnɔ*
S04.870	the physician	*ɖakʈar*
S04.880	the medicine	*ɔʃʈi*
S04.890	the poison	*biːʃ*
S04.910	tired	*ʃandui*
S04.912	to rest	*bɛʃ tʰaknɔ*
S04.920	lazy	*sust*
S04.930	bald	*pitaklo*
S04.940	lame	*adraŋgi; laŋrɔ*
S04.950	deaf	*ʈolɖɔ*
S04.960	mute	*laːʈɔ*
S04.970	blind	*kaːnɔ* 'blind; one-eyed'
S04.980	drunk	*ʤuʈɔsja*
S04.990	naked	*salgiː*
S05.110	to eat	*kʰaːnɔ*
S05.123	ripe	*patsundɔ*
S05.124	unripe	*ai kaːtsɔ; napatsundɔ*
S05.125	rotten	*kiːʣi; kiːʣundɔ*
S05.130	to drink	*ʤuʈnɔ*
S05.140	to be hungry	*bɔkʰɛ tʰaknɔ*
S05.141	the famine	*kaːl*
S05.150	to be thirsty	*ʧiːʃunɔ*
S05.160	to suck	*tsupli piːnɔ; ʧuːʃnɔ*
S05.181	to swallow	*guʈnɔ*
S05.190	to choke	*ʃaːŋɔ guʈnɔ*
S05.210	to cook	*kʰau ʤurjaːnɔ; ʧannɔ*
S05.220	to boil	*ublaːnɔ*
S05.230	to roast or fry	*taːnɔ*
S05.240	to bake	*pɔːnɔ*
S05.250	the oven	*kũɖɔ*
S05.260	the pot	*bandru*
S05.270	the kettle	*timril*
S05.280	the pan	*pʰraːjpɛn*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri Pahari
S05.310	the dish	*para:t*
S05.320	the plate	*tʰa:li*
S05.330	the bowl	*tsɛnaŋ; ʣɔŋ baʈits*
S05.340	the jug/pitcher	*ʣag; lɔʈri:*
S05.350	the cup	*kɔp*
S05.370	the spoon	*tʃimatʃ*
S05.380	the knife(1)	*tsa:ku; tʃʰuri*
S05.391	the tongs	*pala:s*
S05.410	the meal	*kʰau*
S05.420	the breakfast	*dɔtʰirɔ kʰau*
S05.430	the lunch	*arbal*
S05.440	the dinner	*bja:llɔ kʰau*
S05.460	to peel	*kʰɔltsnɔ* (TR); *kʰɔltʃi:nɔ* (INTR)
S05.470	to sieve or to strain	*tsa:lnɔ*
S05.480	to scrape	*kʰo:rnɔ*
S05.490	to stir or to mix	*ra:lnɔ; miʃa:lnɔ*
S05.510	the bread	*rɔʈi*
S05.530	the dough	*pinʈu*
S05.540	to knead	*mu:tʃnɔ*
S05.550	the flour	*tʃikas*
S05.560	to crush or to grind	*pi:ʃnɔ*
S05.570	the mill	*gɔʈʈ*
S05.580	the mortar(1)	*ka:ni*
S05.590	the pestle	*musli:*
S05.610	the meat	*masaŋ* 'flesh; meat'
S05.640	the soup	*tʃʰɔb*
S05.650	the vegetables	*ʃa:g*
S05.660	the bean	*balija*
S05.700	the potato	*alu*
S05.710	the fruit	*pʰɔl*
S05.712	the bunch	*ʣɔna:; buktʃ, bukts; pulʈu*
S05.760	the grape	*ɖakʰ*
S05.770	the nut	*akʰur* 'walnut'
S05.790	the oil	*te:l*
S05.791	the grease or fat	*bɔ*
S05.810	the salt	*lon*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri Pahari
S05.820	the pepper	*pipli:*
S05.821	the chili pepper	*ra:tɔ pipli:*
S05.840	the honey	*mɔ*
S05.850	the sugar	*tʃini:*
S05.860	the milk	*kʰi:r*
S05.870	to milk	*kʰi:r dɔnɔ*
S05.880	the cheese	*kɔkpɔli*
S05.890	the butter	*gju:* 'ghee, clarified butter'
S05.910	the mead	*mɔrɔ su:r*
S05.940	the fermented drink	*rak; su:r; tipʰa: su:r* 'a local fermented drink'
S05.970	the egg	*ʃa:raŋ; aɳɖa:*
S06.110	to put on	*bidi:nɔ*
S06.120	the clothing or clothes	*ga:tsʰɔ*
S06.130	the tailor	*sui*
S06.210	the cloth	*ga:tsʰɔ; kapʰra:*
S06.220	the wool	*u:n*
S06.240	the cotton	*su:t*
S06.250	the silk	*silk*
S06.270	the felt	*tʃadar; pʰɔgdɔri; tʃʰalni:* 'felt; shawl'
S06.280	the fur	*u:n*
S06.290	the leather	*tsa:m*
S06.310	to spin	*ka:tnɔ*
S06.320	the spindle	*na:li*
S06.330	to weave	*bunnɔ*
S06.340	the loom	*ʤag*
S06.350	to sew	*siunɔ*
S06.360	the needle(1)	*sɛjɔn*
S06.370	the awl	*barma*
S06.380	the thread	*da:gɔ* 'thread'; *pit(t); rin* 'a kind of weaving thread'
S06.390	to dye	*tʃʰoma:nɔ*
S06.430	the coat	*tʃʰuba* 'a kind of long coat'
S06.440	the shirt	*kami:ʤ; kʰilka*
S06.450	the collar	*kalar*
S06.480	the trousers	*sutan*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri Pahari
S06.490	the sock or stocking	*gusa:ptsɔ*
S06.510	the shoe	*tsindari*
S06.540	the shoemaker	*mutsi:*
S06.550	the hat or cap	*ʈɔpʰi*
S06.570	the belt	*gaʈʃi*
S06.580	the glove	*ha:tʰrɔ gusa:ptsɔ*
S06.610	the pocket	*kʰisɔ*
S06.620	the button	*bɔʈɔn*
S06.630	the pin	*pin; pinʈu*
S06.710	the ornament or adornment	*ʧa:n* [ʈra:n]
S06.720	the jewel	*ʧa:n* [ʈra:n]
S06.730	the ring	*mundi*
S06.740	the bracelet	*daglu; ʧɔrku*
S06.750	the necklace	*ka:tsɛ; tsɔndɔr ha:r*
S06.760	the bead	*kɔnʈʰi*
S06.770	the earring	*kɔnʈai*
S06.810	the handkerchief or rag	*sa:pʰi*
S06.820	the towel	*tɔlja:*
S06.910	the comb	*ka:ŋgi*
S06.920	the brush	*bur(u)ʃ*
S06.921	the plait/braid	*ba:lin*
S06.930	the razor	*rɛʣar*
S06.950	the soap	*samun*
S06.960	the mirror	*aʃu*
S07.110	to live	*tʰaknɔ*
S07.120	the house	*gɔr*
S07.130	the hut	*kuʈiŋ*
S07.140	the tent	*tambua*
S07.150	the yard or court	*kʰa:t*
S07.160	the men's house	*gɔr*
S07.170	the cookhouse	*rasoi*
S07.210	the room	*kɔmra*
S07.220	the door or gate	*duar*
S07.231	the latch or door-bolt	*huraʈ*
S07.2320	the padlock	*ʃa:n; ta:l; ta:lʈu*
S07.240	the key	*ta:lɔ*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri Pahari
S07.250	the window	*ʈiːri*
S07.260	the floor	*pãːɖ*
S07.270	the wall	*divaːr; biːt*
S07.310	the fireplace	*kunɖɔ*
S07.320	the stove	*kunɖɔ*
S07.330	the chimney	*dusraŋ*
S07.370	the ladder	*ʃiri*
S07.420	the bed	*kutʃʰan; utʃʰan; tʃarpai* 'bed; cot'
S07.421	the pillow	*ʃiraːn*
S07.422	the blanket	*pʰɔgdori*
S07.430	the chair	*kursi*
S07.440	the table	*mɛdz*
S07.450	the lamp or torch	*bɛʈri*[51] 'flashlight'
S07.460	the candle	*mumbatti*
S07.470	the shelf	*almaːri kʰaːnaː*
S07.480	the trough	*tsɔriŋ*
S07.510	the roof	*ʃɔl; multʰaŋ*
S07.520	the thatch	*maːʈirɔ lɛpni*
S07.530	the ridgepole	*kurniŋ*
S07.550	the beam	*bɔran*
S07.560	the post or pole	*kʰambaː*
S07.570	the board	*pʰɔnʈi*
S07.610	the mason	*mistri*
S07.620	the brick	*ĩːʈ*
S07.630	the mortar(2)	*masaːla*
S07.6700	to tan	*ɖaŋgjaːjnɔ*
S08.110	the farmer	*dzim(i)daːr, dzam(i)daːr*
S08.120	the field	*ɖɔkʰrɔ* 'field; farm'
S08.1210	the paddy	*daːn*
S08.130	the garden	*bagitsaː*
S08.150	to cultivate	*ɖɔkʰrɔ kʰɔʈnɔ*
S08.160	the fence	*baːrljaːnɔ*
S08.170	the ditch	*kuːl*

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51   From English *battery*.

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri Pahari
S08.210	to plough/plow	*ha:lba:nɔ*
S08.212	the furrow	*si:t*
S08.220	to dig	*kotnɔ*
S08.230	the spade	*pʰɔrʋa*
S08.240	the shovel	*biltsa:; kurpa:nu* 'wooden snow shovel'
S08.250	the hoe	*kuʈits*
S08.270	the rake	*dʑa:m*
S08.2800	the digging stick (=yamstick)	*dʑabal*
S08.310	to sow	*bɔ:nɔ*
S08.311	the seed	*bju*
S08.320	to mow	*kʰɔr lɔnɔ*
S08.330	the sickle or scythe	*datʃi*
S08.350	the threshing-floor	*pantsa:niŋ*
S08.420	the grain	*na:dz*
S08.430	the wheat	*geũ*
S08.440	the barley	*dʑɔ*
S08.470	the maize/corn	*tsʰalija*
S08.480	the rice	*kaɔni; tsa:ʋal*
S08.510	the grass	*kʰɔr*
S08.520	the hay	*ʃuknɔ*
S08.530	the plant	*pɔda:; sɔlts*
S08.531	to plant	*ʈuŋma:nɔ*
S08.540	the root	*dʑi:l*
S08.550	the branch	*ɖa:l, ɖa:li*
S08.560	the leaf	*pa:ʧ* [pa:ʈr]
S08.570	the flower	*pʰul*
S08.600	the tree	*boʈ*
S08.680	the tobacco	*tɔma:ku, tama:ku*
S08.690	to smoke	*sigrɛ:tɛ dʑuʈnɔ*
S08.691	the pipe	*nɔlka*
S08.720	the tree stump	*ɖɔŋa*
S08.730	the tree trunk	*ɖɔŋa*
S08.740	the forked branch	*barɟja*
S08.750	the bark	*tsʰa:l*
S08.820	the coconut	*gɔri*
S08.840	the banana	*kɛla*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri Pahari
S08.931	the pumpkin or squash	*rɛʈʰo*
S08.941	the sugar cane	*ganna*
S08.980	the mushroom	*ʥaŋmu* (inedible, wild); *kʰɔʈɔk* (a large wild black edible mushroom)
S08.9930	the needle(2)	*pɔʃ*
S08.9960	the cone	*tɔŋlo*
S08.99901	the almond	*bada:m*
S08.99905	the apple	*sɛo*
S08.99910	the carrot	*ga:ʥer*
S08.99911	the cashew	*ka:ʣu*
S08.99918	the dung	*gɔbar*
S08.99935	the onion	*pɛaʣ*
S08.99937	the pea	*maʈar*
S09.110	to do	*kɔrnɔ*
S09.1110	to make	*ʣurja:nɔ*
S09.120	the work	*ka:m*
S09.140	to bend	*kʰaŋma:nɔ*
S09.150	to fold	*kuluŋma:nɔ*
S09.160	to tie	*bannɔ*
S09.161	to untie	*pʰutsa:nɔ*
S09.180	the chain	*ʃa:ŋli*
S09.190	the rope	*bɔltʃɔ*
S09.192	the knot	*ganɖɔ*
S09.210	to strike or hit or beat	*tuŋma:nɔ*
S09.211	to pound	*ʈukra ʈukra ʣurja:nɔ*
S09.220	to cut	*ka:ʈnɔ*
S09.221	to cut down	*ka:ʈi bɛʣnɔ*
S09.222	to chop	*pʰa:rnɔ*
S09.223	to stab	*lɛja:nɔ*
S09.240	the scissors or shears	*katu*
S09.250	the axe/ax	*lasta*
S09.251	the adze	*ba:s*
S09.260	to break	*bannɔ*
S09.261	broken	*banundɔ*
S09.270	to split	*pra:ma:nɔ*
S09.280	to tear	*pʰa:rnɔ*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri Pahari
S09.290	to skin	*kʰil ʃjaːjinɔ*
S09.310	to rub	*gulʤinɔ*
S09.3110	to wipe	*kuːʃnɔ*
S09.320	to stretch	*tsɔnmaːnɔ*
S09.330	to pull	*giːʃnɔ*
S09.340	to spread out	*praːmaːnɔ*
S09.341	to hang up	*ʤɔnʈaŋ bɛʣnɔ*
S09.342	to press	*sɛtʰjaːnɔ*
S09.343	to squeeze	*tʃumaːnɔ*
S09.360	to wash	*dɔːnɔ*
S09.370	to sweep	*ʃak ljaːnɔ*
S09.380	the broom	*guːʃ*
S09.422	the tool	*joʤaŋ*
S09.430	the carpenter	*mistri; baːʤi* 'carpenter; blacksmith'; *ɔrɛs* (a social group traditionally employed as carpenters)
S09.440	to build	*ʈunɔ*
S09.460	to bore	*pʰuʈɔ gaːrnɔ*
S09.461	to hollow out	*pʰuʈɔ gaːrnɔ*
S09.480	the saw	*haːri*
S09.490	the hammer	*hatʰɔɖaː*
S09.500	the nail	*kiːl*
S09.560	the glue	*lɛʈi*
S09.600	the blacksmith	*baːʤi* 'carpenter; blacksmith'
S09.640	the gold	*suːnɔ*
S09.650	the silver	*rupɔ; tsandi*
S09.660	the copper	*tramɔ*
S09.670	the iron	*lɔ*
S09.680	the lead	*siːkʰ*
S09.730	the clay	*maʈ(ʈ)i*
S09.740	the glass	*ʃiʃa*
S09.760	the basket	*ʤɛraː; jaraː; tsanar; tsaŋ(ɛ)ri*
S09.770	the mat	*kʰɛrtsɔ; pɔʃ*
S09.771	the rug	*utʃʰan*
S09.810	to carve	*tʃumaːnɔ*
S09.830	the statue	*murti*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri Pahari
S09.840	the chisel	*jaːn*
S09.880	the paint	*raŋg*
S09.890	to paint	*raŋgjaːnɔ*
S09.9000	to draw water	*ʈiːmaːnɔ*
S09.9100	the peg	*kʰunʈi*
S10.110	to move	*sikaːnɔ*
S10.120	to turn	*ʃuːriːnɔ*
S10.130	to turn around	*pʰindra ʃuːriːnɔ*
S10.140	to wrap	*bannɔ*
S10.150	to roll	*ʈʰɔriɟe bɛdznɔ*
S10.160	to drop	*ʃaːraːnɔ*
S10.170	to twist	*meʃreja:nɔ*
S10.210	to rise	*tsilkanɔ*
S10.220	to raise or lift	*tsuŋgnɔ*
S10.240	to drip	*ikilnɔ*
S10.250	to throw	*pʰikjaːnɔ*
S10.252	to catch	*paːnɔ*
S10.260	to shake	*sikaːnɔ*
S10.320	to flow	*bɔɟejinɔ*
S10.330	to sink	*ɖuːbnɔ*
S10.352	to splash	*tsʰaʈejaːnɔ*
S10.370	to fly	*uɖijaːnɔ*
S10.380	to blow	*bagur lagnɔ*
S10.410	to crawl	*giːʃiːnɔ*
S10.413	to crouch	*tsumnɔ*
S10.420	to slide or slip	*pʰɔʃiːnɔ*
S10.430	to jump	*laːŋ tsʰaraːnɔ*
S10.431	to kick	*latte lɛjaːnɔ*
S10.440	to dance	*natsnɔ*
S10.450	to walk	*hanɖnɔ*
S10.451	to limp	*laːrejinɔ*
S10.460	to run	*ʈʰuːrnɔ* 'to run; to flee'
S10.470	to go	*naʃnɔ*
S10.471	to go up	*agaʃ naʃnɔ*
S10.472	to climb	*boːʈe naʃnɔ*
S10.473	to go down	*toːl naʃnɔ*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri Pahari
S10.474	to go out	*ba:jɛ naʃnɔ*
S10.480	to come	*atsʰnɔ*
S10.481	to come back	*va:pis atsʰnɔ*
S10.490	to leave	*ʃɔʈʰja:nɔ*
S10.491	to disappear	*hira:jinɔ*
S10.510	to flee	*ʈʰu:rnɔ* 'to run; to flee'
S10.520	to follow	*pitsʰã:ɛ atsʰnɔ*
S10.550	to arrive	*po:tsʰnɔ*
S10.560	to approach	*po:tsʰnɔ*
S10.570	to enter	*bitɛ naʃnɔ*
S10.610	to carry	*tsuŋgnɔ*
S10.612	to carry in hand	*ha:tʰkɛ tsuŋgnɔ*
S10.613	to carry on shoulder	*kamarga:ʃ tsuŋgnɔ*
S10.614	to carry on head	*muʈanga:ʃ tsuŋgnɔ*
S10.615	to carry under the arm	*bajpaʈ tsuŋgnɔ*
S10.620	to bring	*annɔ*
S10.630	to send	*bɛʤnɔ; tsʰarja:nɔ*
S10.640	to lead	*ba:t dikʰa:nɔ*
S10.650	to drive	*tsala:nɔ*
S10.660	to ride	*tʃʰɔk ʃa:jnɔ*
S10.670	to push	*tuŋma:nɔ*
S10.710	the road	*sɔlɔk(ʰ)*
S10.720	the path	*ba:t*
S10.740	the bridge	*ge:ʃ; tsʰam*
S10.760	the wheel	*paija*
S10.780	the yoke	*grɔlɖuŋ; kɔl*
S10.810	the ship	*pa:nirɔ ʣa:ʣ* (any kind of naval vehicle)
S10.910	the port	*bandarga*
S10.920	to land	*uturnɔ* 'to land; to descend'
S11.110	to have	*pʰirnɔ* 'to have; to become'
S11.120	to own	*aprɔ ʣurja:nɔ*
S11.130	to take	*maŋgnɔ* 'to take; to request'
S11.140	to grasp	*pa:nɔ*
S11.150	to hold	*pa:nɔ*
S11.160	to get	*paja:nɔ*
S11.170	to keep	*ʣagnɔ*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri Pahari
S11.180	the thing	ʧiːʤ
S11.210	to give	dɛnnɔ
S11.220	to give back	vaːpis dɛnnɔ
S11.240	to preserve	sambaːlɛ ʣagnɔ
S11.250	to rescue	bɔtsaːnɔ
S11.270	to destroy	barbaːd kɔrnɔ
S11.280	to injure	dukʰaːnɔ
S11.2900	to damage	naksaːn potsʰaːnɔ
S11.310	to look for	laːʃaːnɔ
S11.320	to find	pajaːnɔ; pɔrnɔ
S11.330	to lose	hiraːnɔ (NVOL)
S11.340	to let go	naʃnɔ bɛʣnɔ
S11.430	the money	rupja
S11.440	the coin	pɛsa
S11.510	rich	amiːr; sahukaːr
S11.520	poor	ɖaːlɖis; gariːb
S11.530	the beggar	maŋta
S11.540	stingy	kanʣuːs
S11.620	to borrow	(udaːr) maŋgnɔ
S11.630	to owe	riːn kaʈejaːnɔ
S11.640	the debt	riːn
S11.650	to pay	dɛnnɔ
S11.660	the bill	bil
S11.690	the tax	ʈɛks
S11.770	to hire	krajaːgaːʃ maŋgnɔ
S11.780	the wages	kamaːji
S11.790	to earn	kamajaːnɔ
S11.810	to buy	lɔjinɔ
S11.820	to sell	bikinnɔ
S11.830	to trade or barter	kɔlmaːnɔ
S11.840	the merchant	dukandaːr
S11.850	the market	baʣaːr
S11.860	the shop/store	dukaːn
S11.870	the price	kiːmat
S11.880	expensive	mɛŋga
S11.890	cheap	sɔsta

(cont.)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri Pahari
S11.910	to share	*banʈɛnnɔ*
S11.920	to weigh	*tɔlja:nɔ*
S12.0100	after	*pitsʰu* (temporal; spatial)
S12.0110	behind	*pitsʰã:ɛ*
S12.0120	in	*bitɛ*
S12.0130	at	*kɛ*
S12.0200	beside	*la:va:*
S12.0300	down	*to:l*
S12.0400	before	*aukʰa*
S12.0410	in front of	*aŋmaj*
S12.0500	inside	*bitɛ* (direction)
S12.0600	outside	*ba:j* (direction)
S12.0700	under	*to:l; paʈ; ɔrandi, ɔndi* 'below'
S12.0800	up	*agaʃ*
S12.0810	above	*agaʃ; unʤi*
S12.110	the place	*ʣa:ga:*
S12.120	to put	*ʣagnɔ*
S12.130	to sit	*bɛʃnɔ*
S12.140	to lie down	*tittsʰɔ naʃnɔ*
S12.150	to stand	*uʤi:nɔ*
S12.160	to remain	*tʰaknɔ*
S12.170	the remains	*tʰakundɔ*
S12.210	to gather	*ʤarɛja:nɔ*
S12.213	to pile up	*ʣɔr bɛʣnɔ*
S12.220	to join	*ʤɔdɛja:nɔ*
S12.230	to separate	*kʰa:ma:nɔ*
S12.232	to divide	*banʈnɔ*
S12.240	to open	*kʰulɛja:nɔ*
S12.250	to shut	*budnɔ*
S12.260	to cover	*budnɔ*
S12.270	to hide	*tsɔrnɔ*
S12.310	high	*uʃʈɔ*
S12.320	low	*niʃʈɔ*
S12.330	the top	*muʈkan*
S12.340	the bottom	*tʰa:s*
S12.350	the end(1)	*ɔnt*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri Pahari
S12.352	pointed	*ʈikʰɔ* 'sharp; pointed'
S12.353	the edge	*daːr; bilɛ, billa* (e.g. of a mountain)
S12.360	the side	*kanaːrɛ*
S12.370	the middle	*madʑar, madʑ; maʃʈ̃ãje*
S12.410	right(1)	*dakʰnɔ*
S12.420	left	*kʰodʑaŋ, kʰodʑaː*
S12.430	near	*neːr*
S12.440	far	*duːr*
S12.450	the east	*kʰodʑaŋ*
S12.460	the west	*dakʰnɔ*
S12.470	the north	*dʑarko*
S12.480	the south	*rɛtko*
S12.530	to grow	*radʑaːnɔ*
S12.540	to measure	*napɛjaːnɔ; pʰɛŋmaːnɔ*
S12.550	big	*bɔdɔ; sjaːnɔ* 'big; older'
S12.560	small	*lɔudɔ* 'small; younger; short'
S12.570	long	*laːmɔ*
S12.580	tall	*uʃɔ*
S12.590	short	*tsʰɔʈɔ*
S12.610	wide	*bjuŋlɔ*
S12.620	narrow	*gaʈɔ*
S12.630	thick	*bakʰlɔ*
S12.650	thin	*patlɔ*
S12.670	deep	*ɖugɔ*
S12.680	shallow	*kutʰiː*
S12.710	flat	*sɔ̃*
S12.730	straight	*sɔlɖɔ*
S12.740	crooked	*ɛkʃɔpɛkʃɔ*
S12.750	the hook	*kʰunʈiː*
S12.760	the corner	*tɔkts*
S12.770	the cross	*barg(j)a*
S12.780	the square	*dʑirtsɔ*
S12.810	round	*pʰanɖɛri*
S12.820	the circle	*gola*
S12.830	the ball	*gindu*
S12.840	the line	*lɛːn*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri Pahari
S12.850	the hole	*pʰuʈɔ*
S12.920	similar	*ɛkdʑɛnɔ*
S12.930	to change	*bɔdljaːnɔ; kɔlmaːnɔ*
S13.0000	zero	*sifar*
S13.0100	one	*ɛk*
S13.0200	two	*dui*
S13.0300	three	*gɔn; trɔn*
S13.0400	four	*tsaːr*
S13.0500	five	*pã:ts*
S13.0600	six	*tsʰɔ*
S13.0700	seven	*saːt*
S13.0800	eight	*aʈʰ*
S13.0900	nine	*nɔu*
S13.100	ten	*dɔʃ*
S13.101	eleven	*gjaːra*
S13.102	twelve	*baːra*
S13.103	fifteen	*pɔndra*
S13.104	twenty	*biːʃ, beːʃ; ɛisa*
S13.105	a hundred	*ra; sɔ*
S13.106	a thousand	*hadʑaːr*
S13.107	to count	*gɔnnɔ*
S13.140	all	*sɛb*
S13.150	many	*badɔ, bɔdi; bant; muluk; vaːl*[52]
S13.170	few	*dɔŋk* 'few; some'; *utuːri* 'few; some'; *kam* 'few; less'
S13.180	enough	*garab; kjalɛkʰa*
S13.181	some	*utuːri* 'few; some'
S13.210	full	*bɔriː*
S13.220	empty	*kʰaliː*
S13.230	the part	*hissa*
S13.2310	the piece	*ʈukra*
S13.240	the half	*adɔ; kʰantsi*[53]

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52   All these can occur in a sentence such as: 'He has a lot of fields'.
53   Both can occur to describe, e.g. half of an apple.

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri Pahari
S13.330	only	*ɛkʰɔ*
S13.3310	alone	*ɛkʰalɛ, ɛkʰalɔ*
S13.340	first	*pɛla:*
S13.350	last	*sɛ(p)ka pitsʰã:(j)ɛ*
S13.360	second	*pɛla:ka pitsʰã:(j)ɛ*
S13.370	the pair	*ʤoɖi:*
S13.380	twice/two times	*duibɛrɔ*
S13.440	three times	*gɔnbɛrɛ; trɔnbɛrɛ*
S13.99906	thirty	*biʃɔ dɔʃ*
S14.120	the age	*umbar*
S14.130	new	*ñuvõ, ñvõ*
S14.140	young	*ʤɔan*
S14.150	old	*buɖɔ* (animate); *sja:nɔ* (animate) 'old; wise'; *pura:nɔ* (non-animate)
S14.160	early	*hasal* 'early, fast'
S14.170	late	*bɛrui*
S14.180	now	*ɛ:; im(a)ri*
S14.210	fast	*hasal* 'early; fast'; *ʤɔdɛ* 'quickly'
S14.220	slow	*me:se* 'slowly'
S14.230	to hurry	*hasal kʰɔʈ(a)nɔ*
S14.240	to be late	*bɛri:nɔ*
S14.250	to begin	*duʃa:jinɔ*
S14.2510	the beginning	*duʃa:jindɛ bɛrɛ*
S14.260	the end(2)	*kʰatam*
S14.270	to finish	*tsʰɛki:nɔ* (INTR); *tsʰɛknɔ* (TR)
S14.290	ready	*tɛar*
S14.310	always	*dɛar*
S14.320	often	*bɔdiba:g*
S14.330	sometimes	*ka:duka:du*
S14.332	for a long time	*ba:dɔ aukʰaka*
S14.340	never	*ka:duinuã*
S14.350	again	*pʰiri*
S14.410	the day(1)	*djusɛ*
S14.4110	the day(2)	*dja:r*
S14.420	the night	*ra:ʧ*
S14.440	the morning	*dɔtʰi; kaltʰa:n*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri Pahari
S14.450	the midday	*djusɛ*
S14.451	the afternoon	*djusɛ*
S14.460	the evening	*bjaːl; bjaːltʰaːn* (the time from sunset until it gets dark)
S14.470	today	*aːʥ*
S14.480	tomorrow	*kaːlɛ*
S14.481	the day after tomorrow	*pɔːʃi*
S14.490	yesterday	*hiːʥ*
S14.491	the day before yesterday	*pʰɔriʥ*
S14.510	the hour	*ganʈaː*
S14.530	the clock	*divaːrgaɖi*
S14.610	the week	*hapta*
S14.620	Sunday	*itvaːr*
S14.630	Monday	*sumaːr*
S14.640	Tuesday	*maŋgɔl*
S14.650	Wednesday	*budʰ*
S14.660	Thursday	*brɛst*
S14.670	Friday	*ʃukkur*
S14.680	Saturday	*ʃɔnʃar*
S14.710	the month	*maːs*
S14.730	the year	*bɔrɔʃ*
S14.740	the winter	*himad*
S14.750	the spring(2)	*rɛnam*
S14.760	the summer	*baʃal*
S14.770	the autumn/fall	*tsʰarmiː*
S14.780	the season	*mɔsam*
S15.210	to smell(1)	*gãːd atsʰnɔ*
S15.212	to sniff	*ʃiŋgiːnɔ*
S15.220	to smell(2)	*ʃiŋgiːnɔ*
S15.250	fragrant	*baːs*
S15.260	stinking	*gãːd* 'stinking; smell'
S15.310	to taste	*ʥamjaːnɔ*
S15.350	sweet	*miʈʰɔ*
S15.360	salty	*lonnɔ*
S15.370	bitter	*kɔɖvɔ*
S15.380	sour	*amlɔ; kʰaːʈo*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri Pahari
S15.410	to hear	*ʃunnɔ*
S15.420	to listen	*ʃunnɔ*
S15.440	the sound or noise	*kanija:*
S15.450	loud	*dzorɛ*
S15.460	quiet	*tsuʈkaŋ*
S15.510	to see	*dɛkʰa:nɔ*
S15.520	to look	*ʃa:nɔ*
S15.560	to shine	*tsamaknɔ*
S15.570	bright	*pjã:ʃɔ; tsamukdɔ*
S15.610	the colour/color	*raŋg*
S15.620	light(2)	*halkɔ*
S15.630	dark	*ãja:rɔ*
S15.640	white	*ʃuklɔ*
S15.650	black	*ka:lɔ*
S15.660	red	*ra:tɔ*
S15.670	blue	*ha:rɔ*
S15.680	green	*ha:rɔ*
S15.690	yellow	*pi:lɔ*
S15.710	to touch	*tsʰuŋgnɔ*
S15.712	to pinch	*ʧunɖʋɛ lɛja:nɔ*
S15.720	to feel	*dzannɔ*
S15.740	hard	*kaʈʰɔ*
S15.750	soft	*kɔŋglɔ* 'soft; smooth'
S15.760	rough(1)	*kʰaʃru*
S15.770	smooth	*kɔŋglɔ* 'soft; smooth'
S15.780	sharp	*ʈikʰɔ* 'sharp; pointed'
S15.790	blunt	*ʈʰulnu; ʈʰuntsu:*
S15.810	heavy	*gɔrkɔ*
S15.820	light(1)	*halkɔ*
S15.830	wet	*si:nɔ*
S15.840	dry	*ʃukɔ*
S15.850	hot	*dʒaɔ; ta:tɔ*
S15.851	warm	*ta:tɔ*
S15.860	cold	*ʃe:lɔ; ʈʰanɖa*
S15.870	clean	*sa:pʰ*
S15.880	dirty	*ma:ri; dɔli:dar* 'dirty; untidy'

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri Pahari
S15.890	wrinkled	*tʃʰiŋtʃɔ*
S16.110	the soul or spirit	*aːtmaː*
S16.150	surprised or astonished	*biʃaː diːnɔ*
S16.180	the good luck	*bɔlɔ baːg*
S16.190	the bad luck	*maːri baːg*
S16.230	happy	*kʰusiɛs; ʃɔ̃k*
S16.250	to laugh	*haːsnɔ*
S16.251	to smile	*sululutsɛ haːsnɔ*
S16.260	to play	*kʰɛlnɔ*
S16.270	to love	*dʒaːʃ ljaːnɔ*
S16.300	to embrace	*kjaːrɔ paːnɔ*
S16.310	the pain	*dʒaːʃ*
S16.320	the grief	*dukʰ; ʃoːp*
S16.340	to regret or be sorry	*patʃtajaːnɔ*
S16.350	the pity	*paːp*
S16.370	to cry	*ruːnɔ*
S16.380	the tear	*mistiː*
S16.390	to groan	*kʰroŋaːjinɔ*
S16.410	to hate	*kʰuraːjinɔ*
S16.420	the anger	*ŋar; roʃ*
S16.440	the envy or jealousy	*dʑid*
S16.450	the shame	*laːdʑ*
S16.480	proud	*ʃiŋaːraŋ; ʃɛkʰi: 'proud, pride'*
S16.510	to dare	*himmɔt dʑagnɔ, himmat dʑagnɔ*
S16.530	the fear	*ɖɔr*
S16.540	the danger	*kɔtsrɔ*
S16.620	to want	*tsaːnɔ*
S16.622	to choose	*kʰɛlmaːnɔ*
S16.630	to hope	*aːʃaː kɔrnɔ; aːʃaː lɛjinɔ*
S16.650	faithful	*bɔlis, bɔlɔs*
S16.660	true	*sɔts, sɔtskɔ*
S16.670	to lie(2)	*alkɔ bɔlnɔ; tsinti: bɔlnɔ*
S16.680	the deceit	*dokʰaː*
S16.690	to forgive	*tsʰaraːjaːnɔ*
S16.710	good	*bɔlɔ; eːsa, ɛsaː*
S16.720	bad	*mar*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri Pahari
S16.730	right(2)	ʈɔb
S16.740	wrong	va:maŋ 'wrong; fault'
S16.760	the fault	gɔlti; kusur; va:maŋ
S16.770	the mistake	gɔlti, galti
S16.780	the blame	kʰo:ʈɔ
S16.790	the praise	ta:ripʰ
S16.810	beautiful	ʃa:rɔ
S16.820	ugly	maʃa:rɔ
S16.830	greedy	la:ltsi
S16.840	clever	tsala:k
S16.99903	thank you!	dʰanjava:d
S17.110	the mind	dima:k
S17.130	to think(1)	rɔnma:inɔ; suntsi:nɔ
S17.150	to believe	b(a)rosa: kɔrnɔ
S17.160	to understand	ha:gɔ mannɔ
S17.170	to know	dzannɔ
S17.171	to guess	tʰo:g kɔrnɔ
S17.172	to imitate	nɔkɔl kɔrnɔ
S17.180	to seem	dzannɔs kɔrnɔ
S17.210	wise	ɔkɔlsja
S17.220	stupid	mur(u)kʰ
S17.230	mad	b(ʰ)ɔla:
S17.240	to learn	ʃikʰi:nɔ
S17.242	to study	pɔɖnɔ
S17.250	to teach	ʃikʰa:nɔ
S17.260	the pupil	tsɛla:
S17.270	the teacher	masʈar, masʈɔr, maʃʈɔr, maʃʈar
S17.280	the school	sakul, sukul
S17.310	to remember	ja:d dza:gnɔ
S17.320	to forget	bisri:nɔ
S17.350	obscure	ʃura:j
S17.360	secret	gupt
S17.410	the intention	nijɛt
S17.430	the doubt	ʃɔk
S17.441	to betray	ʈʰakaja:nɔ
S17.450	the need or necessity	tsa:nɔ

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri Pahari
S17.460	easy	*bɔlɔ* 'easy; good; healthy'
S17.470	difficult	*ase:* 'rough (e.g. road)'; *bɛru* 'with difficulty'; *kaʈʰɔ* 'hard; trouble'
S17.480	to try	*kɔʃiʃ kɔrnɔ*
S17.490	the manner	*pʰɔrjai*
S17.510	and	*ai*
S17.520	because	*tɛ:*
S17.530	if	*ta: lɛkin*
S17.540	or	*ja:*
S17.550	yes	*ã:*
S17.560	no	*nua*
S17.610	how?	*kju*
S17.620	how many?	*kittɛg, kɛti*
S17.630	how much?	*kɛti*
S17.640	what?	*ki*
S17.650	when?	*ka:du; kɛtrɛ*
S17.660	where?	*kindɛ*
S17.670	which?	*kindjɔ*
S17.680	who?	*kun*
S17.690	why?	*kjũ:*
S18.110	the voice	*kad*
S18.120	to sing	*lja:nɔ*
S18.130	to shout	*dʒiŋja:nɔ*
S18.150	to whisper	*kuʃpuʃja:nɔ*
S18.160	to mumble	*tʃɔklja:nɔ*
S18.170	to whistle	*ʃviŋja:nɔ*
S18.180	to shriek	*tʃɔninɔ*
S18.190	to howl	*kukurrɔ rɔnɔ*
S18.210	to speak or talk	*bata:nɔ*
S18.211	to stutter or stammer	*pʰapi: bata:nɔ*
S18.220	to say	*bɔlnɔ*
S18.221	to tell	*suna:nɔ*
S18.222	the speech	*ba:ʃan*
S18.230	to be silent	*tsuʈuk tʰaknɔ*
S18.240	the language	*kad*
S18.260	the word	*tʃu:*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri Pahari
S18.280	the name	*nao*
S18.310	to ask(1)	*putʃʰ(a)nɔ*
S18.320	to answer	*dʑaba:b dɛnnɔ*
S18.330	to admit	*gɔlti mɔnja:nɔ, galti mɔnja:nɔ*
S18.340	to deny	*nɔmɔnja:nɔ*
S18.360	to promise	*dɔrɔm dɛnnɔ; re:n dɛnnɔ*
S18.370	to refuse	*hurʃɛnnu*
S18.380	to forbid	*ʃɔʈʰ(ɛ)ja:nɔ*
S18.410	to call(1)	*ara:nɔ*
S18.430	to announce	*ʃuna:nɔ*
S18.440	to threaten	*dɔra:nɔ*
S18.450	to boast	*ʃɛkʰi: kɔrnɔ*
S18.510	to write	*likʰnɔ; tʃɛma:nɔ*
S18.520	to read	*bantsja:nɔ* 'to read, to study'
S18.560	the paper	*kagli:; patraŋ; pɛtʃa:*
S18.570	the pen	*pɛn*
S18.610	the book	*kata:b, kita:b*
S18.710	the flute	*bã̃ʃuri:*
S18.720	the drum	*naga:rɔ*
S18.730	the horn or trumpet	*ʃɔnna:l*
S19.110	the country	*muluk*
S19.120	the native country	*sɔsɔrɔ mul(u)k*
S19.150	the town	*ʃɛr*
S19.160	the village	*dɛʃ; gã̃v*
S19.170	the boundary	*si:maŋ*
S19.210	the people	*manuʃ*
S19.230	the clan	*pɛrɛ*
S19.240	the chieftain	*bɔdʑɔ; sja:nɔ*
S19.250	the walking stick	*be:t; tʃʰumma:*
S19.310	to rule or govern	*ra:dʑ kɔrnɔ; ra:dʑ tsala:nɔ*
S19.320	the king	*ra:dʑa:*
S19.330	the queen	*ra:ni:*
S19.370	the citizen	*mul(u)krɔ manuʃ*
S19.410	the master	*ma:lik*
S19.420	the slave	*da:s; gula:m*
S19.430	the servant	*nukur*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri Pahari
S19.450	to command or order	*bɔlnɔ* 'to say'
S19.460	to obey	*ba:tɛ ʃunnɔ*
S19.510	the friend	*kɔnɛs; dzɔkʰja:*
S19.520	the enemy	*duʃmɔn, duʃman*
S19.540	the neighbour	*pa:dɛʃ*
S19.550	the stranger	*na:bɔ manuʃ*
S19.560	the guest	*mɛ(h)ma:n*
S19.5650	to invite	*ara:nɔ*
S19.580	to help	*madat kɔrnɔ*
S19.590	to prevent	*rɔkʰja:nɔ*
S19.610	the custom	*rusum; riva:dz, rava:dz*
S19.620	the quarrel	*ma:riɛn; paiʃɛn* 'squabble'
S19.650	to meet	*bɛʈʰinɔ*
S19.720	the prostitute	*kandzar*
S20.110	to fight	*lɔsi:nɔ* 'to fight; to beat'
S20.140	the peace	*saŋna; tʃɛ:n*
S20.150	the army	*pʰɔdʒ; sena:*
S20.170	the soldier	*sɛnik*
S20.210	the weapon	*ʃastar*
S20.220	the club	*dumma:*
S20.222	the battle-axe	*ɖaŋrɔ*
S20.250	the arrow	*danuʃ*
S20.270	the sword	*trɔva:l*
S20.280	the gun	*tupuk*
S20.330	the helmet	*dziti:nɔ*
S20.340	the shield	*hari:nɔ*
S20.410	the victory	*dzi:t*
S20.420	the defeat	*ha:r*
S20.430	the attack	*hamla*
S20.440	to defend	*bɔtsa:nɔ*
S20.471	the guard	*pɛrɛda:r; sɔnʈri:*
S20.510	the fisherman	*matsʰi pa:ndɔsja*
S20.520	the fishhook	*kã:ɖɔ* 'fishhook; thorn'
S20.610	to hunt	*airɛ kɔrnɔ*
S20.620	to shoot	*goli tsala:nɔ*
S20.630	to miss	*hiraji:nɔ*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri Pahari
S20.640	the trap	*pa:nɔsja*
S20.650	to trap	*pa:nɔ*
S21.110	the law	*kajda:; ka:nun*
S21.150	the court	*kɔʈ*
S21.170	the judgment	*pʰɛsla*
S21.180	the judge	*ʤaʤ*
S21.230	the witness	*gɔa; ʃa:dot*
S21.240	to swear	*kɔsɔm kʰa:nɔ*
S21.250	the oath	*ʃapat*
S21.310	to accuse	*tsor ʤurma:nɔ*
S21.370	the penalty or punishment	*saʤa:*
S21.380	the fine	*ɖanɖ*
S21.390	the prison	*ʤɛl*
S21.440	the rape	*blatka:r*
S21.460	the arson	*a:g lɛja:nɔ*
S21.510	to steal	*tsor kʰɔʈnɔ*
S21.520	the thief	*tsor*
S22.110	the religion	*dɔrɔm*
S22.120	the god	*dɛo*
S22.130	the temple	*kɔʈʰi; sa:nd*
S22.150	the sacrifice	*diju:nɔ*
S22.160	to worship	*pu:ʣnɔ*
S22.170	to pray	*dɔntʃinɔ*
S22.180	the priest	*paʤa:ro*
S22.190	holy	*tsɔkʰɔ*
S22.230	to bless	*ʣar kɔrnɔ*
S22.240	to curse	*tʃul kɔrnɔ*
S22.260	to fast	*brɔt kɔrnɔ*
S22.310	the heaven	*sɔrgɔ*
S22.320	the hell	*nɔrɔk*
S22.350	the demon	*rakas*
S22.370	the idol	*murti:*
S22.420	the magic	*ʤa:du(:)*
S22.470	the omen	*ʃɔkun*
S23.1000	the radio	*rɛɖu(:)*
S23.1100	the television	*tivi:, tibi:*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri Pahari
S23.1200	the telephone	*pʰɔn*
S23.1300	the bicycle	*sajkal*
S23.1350	the motorcycle	*mɔʈarsajkal*
S23.1400	the car	*kaːr*
S23.1500	the bus	*bɔs*
S23.1550	the train	*rɛl(gaːɖi)*
S23.1600	the airplane	*(havaːi) ʣaːʣ*
S23.1700	the electricity	*biʣli*
S23.1750	the battery	*sɛl*
S23.1800	to brake	*brɛk lɛaːnɔ*
S23.1850	the motor	*mɔʈar*
S23.1900	the machine	*miʃiːn*
S23.2000	the hospital	*aspataːl*
S23.2100	the nurse	*nars*
S23.2200	the pill or tablet	*ɔʃʈirɔ goli*
S23.2300	the injection	*sua*
S23.2400	the spectacles/glasses	*mikʰrab*
S23.3000	the government	*gɔrmɛnʈ*
S23.3100	the president	*raʃʈpati*
S23.3200	the minister	*mantriː*
S23.3300	the police	*pulsiaː, polis*
S23.3400	the driver's license	*ɖrajvarɔ lɛsɛns*
S23.3500	the license plate	*nambar palɛ(j)ʈ*
S23.3600	the birth certificate	*ʣɔnɔmnɔ sarʈifikaʈ*
S23.3700	the crime	*ʣurum*
S23.3800	the election	*ʧunaːʋ*
S23.3850	the address	*pɔtaː*
S23.3900	the number	*nambar*
S23.3950	the street	*gɔli*
S23.4000	the post/mail	*ɖaːkʰ*
S23.4100	the postage stamp	*ʈikaʈ*
S23.4200	the letter	*tsiʈʰiː*
S23.4400	the bank (financial institution)	*bɛŋk*
S23.5000	the tap/faucet	*nɔlkʰaː*
S23.5100	the sink	*ʧɛlaː*

(*cont.*)

Id	Gloss	Kinnauri Pahari
S23.5200	the toilet	*kʰusuːriŋ*
S23.5300	the mattress	*gaddaː*
S23.5400	the tin/can	*kanastar*
S23.5500	the screw	*kiːl*
S23.5550	the screwdriver	*pɛtʃkas*
S23.5600	the bottle	*botol*
S23.5650	the candy/sweets	*miʈʰai*
S23.5700	the plastic	*pɛlaːsʈik*
S23.5750	the bomb	*bamb*
S23.5800	the workshop	(*maʃiːnrɔ*) *gɔʈ(ʈ)*
S23.5900	the cigarette	*sigrɛːʈ*
S23.6000	the newspaper	*akʰbaːr*
S23.6100	the calendar	*kalɛnɖɛr*
S23.6200	the film/movie	*piktʃar; pʰilam*
S23.6400	the song	*gɛt, giːt*
S23.9000	the tea	*tʃa*
S23.9100	the coffee	*kɔfiː*
S24.0100	to be	*hunɔ; pʰirnɔ*
S24.0300	without	*bina*
S24.0400	with	*si*
S24.0600	not	*nua*
S24.0700	this	*hɔi; jɔ*
S24.0800	that	*hɔsɔ*
S24.0900	here	*intʃʰɛ*
S24.1000	there	*hɔtin; ɔntʃʰɛ; tintʃʰiː* 'from there'
S24.1100	other	*ajkʰ*
S24.1200	next	*ajkʰ*
S24.1300	same	*rukʃã(j)i*
S24.1400	nothing	*kitsɛ nua*
S24.99910	someone	*kunta*
S24.99912	then	*tɛː*

Linguistic Relationships in Kinnaur I: Sino-Tibetan

1   Introduction

There has been a general lack of systematic, comparative linguistic studies of the Sino-Tibetan language varieties of Kinnaur (referred to as "KST varieties" in this book). Some comparative data are found in older works (e.g. Gerard 1842; Cunningham 1844; Bailey 1909). More recent works on the languages of this region (e.g., Neethivanan 1976; D.D. Sharma 1988; Saxena 1992, 1995b, 1997b, 2002, 2007, 2017; Takahashi 2001, 2007, 2012; Negi and Negi 2015; Negi 2017) have generally focused their attention on the linguistic analysis of one specific KST variety, the speech of Lower Kinnaur (Sangla, Pangi, Kalpa), the main exceptions being some work on Chhitkuli (Martinez 2019, 2021), and on the Middle Kinnaur variety Shumcho (Huber 2007, 2014a, 2014b) and a very brief "language snapshot" (descriptions of genealogy and sociolinguistic status) of Sunam by Negi (2020). Consequently, we have had no good grounds for examining how the various KST varieties relate to one another. The closest thing to such a study that I am aware of are the sociolinguistic surveys by Webster (1991) and Chamberlain et al. (1998).

This chapter presents such an investigation based on data collected in a questionnaire-based study carried out in Kinnaur. The KST varieties examined here represent the speech of nine villages located in different parts of Kinnaur. The results of the study are then compared with existing accounts of Sino-Tibetan languages in Kinnaur and their classification.

Summarizing briefly the results that are presented in detail below, the investigated KST varieties can be classified into three (or possibly four) groups, where the KST varieties spoken in Sangla, Nichar, Ropa and Kalpa (referred to below as the Sangla group or Kinnauri; see Chapter 2) form one externally distinct and internally cohesive group. The KST varieties spoken in Poo, Kuno and Nako (referred to as the Nako group or Navakat; see Chapter 3) form another clear grouping. The KST varieties of Chitkul and Labrang fall somewhere in between, where Chitkul and/or Labrang are more similar to one or the other group concerning some linguistic features, but with regard to other linguistic features Chitkul and/or Labrang behave distinctly from both Kinnauri and Navakat. At the same time, Chitkul and Labrang are not close enough to each other that we could say that they jointly make up a third grouping.
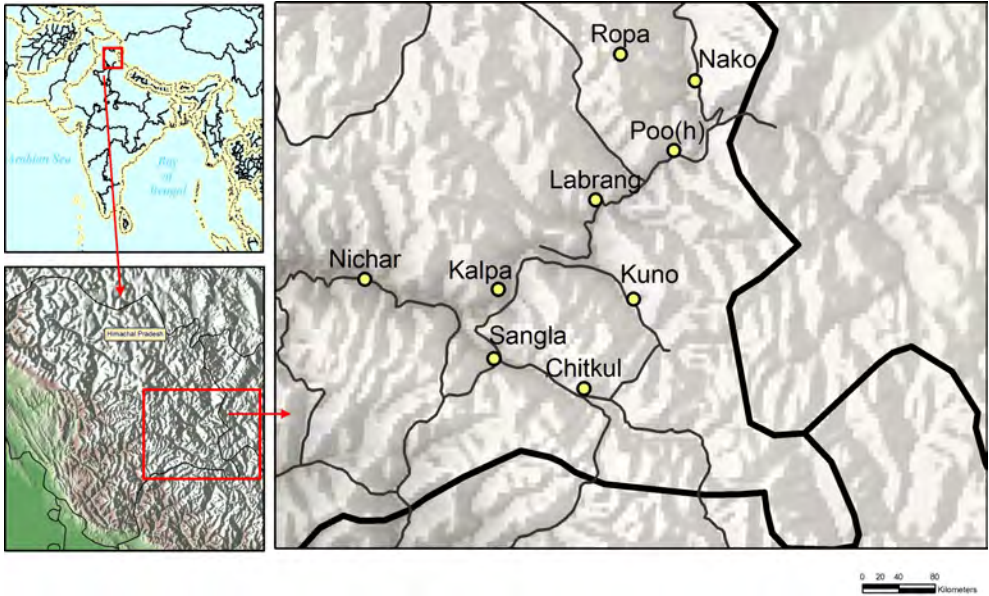
FIGURE 15   Location of the villages in Kinnaur for which data was collected
ROBINSON PROJECTION. MAP DESIGN: LJUBA VESELINOVA

2   Data Collection

Data was collected representing the speech of the following villages in Kinnaur: Nichar, Sangla, Chitkul, Kalpa, Kuno, Labrang, Poo, Ropa and Nako (shown on the map in Figure 15).[1] The main motivation for selecting the speech of these villages was to include a representative range of language data from as diverse geographical regions as possible. Table 36 contains basic information on these villages. In general, Kinnaur is multilingual (see Chapter 1), and in several places, different traditional social groups in a village are known to use separate languages (Huber 2014b: 194f.). In such cases, the KST variety discussed here reflects the speech of the majority group in that village. For the purposes of the study presented in this chapter the investigated KST varieties will consistently be referred to by the names of the villages where the corresponding KST varieties are spoken: for example, "Sangla" rather than "(Sangla) Kinnauri" and "Nako" rather than "Navakat" or "Bhoti Kinnauri".

Since the comparison of the KST varieties will be based primarily on a lexicostatistical investigation of basic vocabulary, the longer version of the

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1   The first four villages are situated in Lower Kinnaur, Kuno and Labrang are located in Middle Kinnaur, while the last three are villages of Upper Kinnaur (see Chapter 1).

TABLE 36   Basic information on the villages (ordered south to north) for which data was
              collected

Village (tahsil; coordinates)	Some information about the village
Chitkul (Sangla; 31° 21′ N, 78° 26′ E)	Located in Sangla valley on the right bank of the Baspa river. It is the highest village in the Sangla valley (3,450 m).
Sangla (Sangla; 31° 25′ N, 78° 15′ E)	Located in Sangla valley on the right bank of the Baspa river.
Kalpa (Kalpa; 31° 32′ N, 78° 15′ E)	Located in Satluj valley. The Kalpa village was earlier the district capital of Kinnaur.
Nichar (Nichar; 31° 33′ N, 77° 59′ E)	Located in Satluj valley between Taranda and Wangtu, on the right bank of the Satluj river.
Kuno (Morang; 31° 38′ N, 78° 22′ E)	Located in Satluj valley.
Labrang (Poo; 31° 41′ N, 78° 26′ E)	Located in Satluj valley.
Poo (Poo; 31° 46′ N, 78° 35′ E)	Located in Satluj valley.
Ropa (Poo; 31° 48′ N, 78° 25′ E)	Located in Ropa valley.
Nako (Poo; 31° 53′ N, 78° 37′ E)	Located in Hangrang valley. It is the highest village in the valley (3,600 m).

Swadesh basic vocabulary list (207 entries; Swadesh 1950, 1952, 1955) was used as the point of departure for preparing our primary questionnaire. The Swadesh list was, however, modified extensively. This included both removing almost a third of the entries in the Swadesh list as expressing concepts not suitable for this region for pragmatic reasons (e.g., some entries expressing concepts connected with the ocean), and instead adding a number of entries important for the present study (e.g., numerals, the honorific–non-honorific distinction in pronouns, reflexive pronouns). The length of the list increased somewhat, resulting in a concept list for the primary questionnaire with 237 entries. The complete list can be found in Appendix 5A to this chapter. Some items designed to elicit noun phrases and some sentence types were also included in the questionnaire, to examine, for example, the order of constituents at the phrase and clause levels, and also to examine the reflexive construction. In addition to the entries in the questionnaire, some additional data were also collected in each case, e.g., data on pronominal possessive constructions, example sentences to understand the linguistic status of a lexical item, as well as other lexical items, to understand the relationship of the lexical item in question to other words in the same semantic field. In the case of Kinnauri and Navakat (as well as

Indo-Aryan Kinnauri Pahari), we also collected lexical data based on the longer (1,460 entries) loanword typology list (Haspelmath and Tadmor 2009; Borin et al. 2013). These lists are provided in the chapters on Kinnauri (Chapter 2, Appendix 2A; 1,348 items), Navakat (Chapter 3, Appendix 3B; 1,135 items), and Kinnauri Pahari (Chapter 4, Appendix 4B; 1,215 items). All data items were trancribed in a broad phonetic transcription.

3   Methodology

The present investigation falls under the heading of *lexicostatistics*, a long tradition of describing and (implicitly or explicitly) quantifying similarities and differences among language varieties using basic vocabulary lists. For an overview, see the chapters in Borin and Saxena (2013), especially Borin (2013). A revised Swadesh list has been the main basis for comparison of the KST varieties examined here (see Section 2). Using such concept lists presents its own methodological challenges (Borin 2012; Borin et al. 2021). A fundamental decision in this context is whether a particular concept is represented by the same item (word) in two language varieties.

Here we must first define what we mean by "the same item". In Swadesh-style lexicostatistics, this is normally interpreted as cognacy, i.e., whether the items are reflexes of the same proto-language item. Finer points of (derivational) morphological structure are often disregarded in this context, and only cognacy of roots or stems is important. Even in this case, determining that two items are cognate is far from straightforward and requires expert knowledge, especially if the languages are only distantly related.

This arguably means that the information about genealogical grouping sought by these methods, to a large extent is already known by other means, e.g., the classical comparative method. The requisite expert knowledge is a scarce resource, and if we would like to conduct larger-scale genealogical linguistic investigations encompassing also poorly documented languages, we need some other way of doing this. When the expert knowledge is available, it serves as a valuable yardstick, a known gold standard against which less knowledge-intensive methods can be judged before being applied to those cases where less is known beforehand.

Lexicostatistical investigations such as that presented by Holman et al. (2008) rely on a mechanical procedure—automatically computed Levenshtein distance (also called edit distance) between strings transcribed using a standardized coarse phonetic transcription—for determining cognacy. This has the advantage of being totally consistent, and the disadvantage of both missing

some cognates and misclassifying some non-cognate pairs as cognates. How-ever, the primary, most important requirement on such a method is that it is repeatable and objectively verifiable.

In dialect studies, the judgement of sameness may include also the sound shape and morphological structure of obviously cognate items in the sense of the preceding paragraph. This is the method chosen here when comparing the Kinnauri basic vocabulary lists: Certain—but not all—sound correspon-dences, and certain—but not all—morphological structures, are considered equal for the purpose of comparing lexical items among KST varieties.

A frequent presupposition in Swadesh-style lexicostatistics is that only one word from each language will represent each concept in the list. Here, we do not impose this restriction, however. Generally, with larger-scale investigations involving poorly documented language varieties that the researcher may not know well, this seems to be the only feasible alternative. In working with sec-ondary sources and language consultants, presumably we will end up with one or several common expressions of the concept sought, regardless of their genealogical relationship to the corresponding expressions in related language varieties.

In our investigation, every correspondence gets one point, but multiple cor-respondences for the same concept still count as only one correspondence. Let us assume that a particular concept is expressed in the following way in four languages (capital letters represent forms/words):

Language 1	*Language 2*	*Language 3*	*Language 4*
A	A, B	A, B	B

With this way of calculating similarity, languages 2 and 3 are as similar to each other as each of them is to language 1 and 4, although languages 2 and 3 share two items in this concept slot. This solution is not completely arbitrary, but not very strongly motivated either. However, it can easily be reconsidered—e.g., if more information becomes available on these language varieties—and the results recalculated. The main point to be made here is that the calculation is completely deterministic and repeatable.

As has perhaps become clear from the preceding, compiling comparable sys-tematic linguistic data for the present investigation has presented something of a challenge. One complicating factor here is that a language can have more than one word for a concept, and it is largely fortuitous which alternative or

alternatives the language consultants provide (Slaska 2005). Thus the data presented in the present work cannot be seen as complete. There may exist terms in a KST variety which have cognates in other varieties, which however do not happen to show up in our material. On the other hand, the terms provided by a consultant may say something about terms which are more neutral or more frequent or more basic than the other possible alternative forms which were not provided.

4 Towards Linguistically Informed Computational Lexicostatistics

The following proceedure was used in this investigation, developed in collaboration between a computational linguist (Lars Borin) and the author (see also Saxena and Borin 2011, 2013):

– After the data collection and initial processing of the data,
– a list of observations of relationships among varieties was made by the author.
– This list formed the basis for developing a set of principles for comparing the linguistic correspondences in these KST varieties. These were formulated by the author and the computational linguist together and their purpose was to determine which segmental differences to disregard for the purpose of considering items in different varietes the same.
– The principles were encoded by the computational linguist as context-sensitive phonetic segment transformation and equivalence rules in a small computer program for comparing items fully automatically in order to achieve consistency.[2]
– The program was then applied to the data, the result inspected, the rules revised, and the modified program run again on the data. This process went through a few iterations.

The procedure is a variant of automated lexicostatistics, a methodology that has seen a strong revival in recent years (see Borin and Saxena 2013), but in our case with a clear qualitative element (somewhat in the spirit of Grant 2010). Rather than adopting the standard solution of designing a completely automated method applying a similarity metric to orthographic words, we have

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2 Because the investigations described in this chapter were conducted before undertaking the more detailed phonological analysis underlying the phonemic orthography used in Chapter 2, the transcription system used for (Sangla) Kinnauri in this chapter for all lexical comparisons differs in some details from that used in Chapter 2. However, in the interest of verifiability and reproducibility of results, we have elected to retain the earlier, less phonemic transcription here.

endeavored to include linguistic information into the process at an early stage. The results from the comparison come in the form of two kinds of tables:

– tables of individual concepts and lexical items expressing them, where each language variety gets a numerical index (1–9), and each concept/language variety combination is provided with a list of indices showing which varieties share one or more expressions of this concept (see Appendix 5A to this chapter);

– summary tables, where similarities among all lexical items of a particular grammatical or semantic category (nouns, kinship terms, etc.) are shown as ratios and percentages (see Section 5).

In the present investigation, the following principles were used in comparing word list items among varieties (in the list below, the following symbols are used: C: consonant; V: vowel; T: stop; Ø: zero/no segment).

Vowels: The following vowels appear to be in free variation in many of these varieties, and consequently the two members of each pair are considered equal for the purposes of our comparison, in any position:

$$a \sim ə; a \sim ɔ; i \sim ɪ; u \sim ʊ; e \sim ɛ; o \sim ɔ; o \sim ø$$

Note however that the similarities are not to be construed as transitive: e.g., ə and ɔ do not count as the same.

Vowel length: Long and short vowels are not distinguished for the purposes of the comparison.

Vowel nasalization and phonemic tone: Nasalization is disregarded in the comparison, as is tone (orthographically marked on vowels in the transcription).

Consonants: The following consonants appear to be in free variation in many of these varieties, and consequently the members of each group are considered equal, in any position:

$$dʒ \sim dz \sim z \sim ʒ; p \sim p^h \sim f; tʃ \sim tʃ^h \sim tʃ; s \sim ts \sim ts^h$$

Consonant gemination: Short and long consonants are treated as one and the same, in any position:

$$C_1{:} \sim C_1$$

In the preliminary analysis of the sound systems of these varieties, there has been no indication that geminates are phonemic in any of them.

Prenasalization: Prenasalization of consonants is disregarded in the comparison.

Unreleased stops: Unreleased stops are treated as equal to the corresponding fully released stops in the comparison, ignoring voicing.

Sound sequences: The following sequences will be treated as equal for the purposes of the comparison, in any position:

ɖr ~ ɖ; ʈr ~ ʈ; V_1jV_2 ~ V_1V_2

Word endings: The following word ending alternants will be treated as equal for the purposes of the comparison:

-h ~ -Ø; -ts ~ -Ø; -j ~ -Ø;
-pa ~ -ba ~ -ʋa; -po ~ -bo ~ -ʋo;
$-V_1T$ ~ $-V_1$

Illustrating with a concrete example, the last item in this list states that word-final stops are counted equal to Ø following a vowel, as there is dialect-internal variation in this respect. Different stops are considered as separate, however. Thus, *ja* counts as the same as both *jag* and *jak*, but the latter two count as different forms (see YAK in Table 54 in Appendix 5A).

Phrases: For terms such as OLDER BROTHER, YOUNGER BROTHER, MATERNAL AUNT, PATERNAL AUNT, if the term consists of more than one word, e.g., 'old sister', then the modifier is disregarded; only the noun is used for the comparison.

In order to achieve consistency of judgement, the above principles were encoded in a small computer program which then was used to compare items fully automatically. In practice, the principles were initially manually developed and then successively refined by an iterative process where the program was applied to the data and the results subsequently inspected. Typically during such a round we would find that the program had missed some correspondence that should have been found. Because the principles tended to be fairly conservative, the opposite almost never occurred. The great advantage of hav-

ing automated the application of the principles emerged in these situations, since a revision of the principles made on the basis of one or a few correspondences could be immediately tested on all the data in order to check that it would not introduce errors elsewhere.

This methodology is similar to recent work in dialectometry (e.g., Nerbonne and Heeringa 2009) and lexicostatistics (e.g., Holman et al. 2008; Wichmann et al. 2010) in relying on a completely automatic comparison of the items in the word lists. However, it differs from most of this work—a notable exception being the work reported on by McMahon et al. (2007)—in its usage of rules tailored to the particular linguistic configuration under investigation, rather than a general method for string comparison. In this respect, it falls somewhere in between traditional lexicostatistics—where expert statements are required about the cognacy of items—and these modern approaches—which rely entirely on surface clues for determining identity of items—although closer to the latter than the former.

The main methodological advantage of the approach used here is its consistency, and not as claimed for the work just referred to, that it should be language-independent. Instead, in our work we have tried to apply a principle sometimes formulated in computational linguistics as "Don't guess if you know" (Tapanainen and Voutilainen 1994: 47), which inevitably leads us to include language-specific knowledge in the form of correspondence rules among dialects.

5   Results: Vocabulary

In this section we will examine how much of basic vocabulary the investigated KST varieties share. We will look at the following kinds of basic vocabulary: a set of open-class words (nouns and adjectives),[3] some adverbs of time, numerals and numeral systems, question words, and personal pronouns. Among the nouns, kinship and body-part terms are investigated separately.

In the vocabulary correspondence tables presented in this section we use the following notational conventions. Abbreviations (italicized in the tables) are used for the village names: Sangla (*Sa*), Nichar (*Ni*), Kalpa (*Ka*), Ropa (*Ro*), Chitkul (*Ch*), Labrang (*La*), Poo (*Po*), Kuno (*Ku*), Nako (*Na*). The full correspon-

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3   No verbs are included in the comparisons. Verbs were included in the basic vocabulary questionnaire (see Appendix 5A to this chapter), but were provided in such a variety of different (basic) forms by language consultants, that it was not feasible to attempt to harmonize them at this stage, without much more knowledge of each of the varieties.

dence tables are found in Appendix 5A at the end of this chapter (Tables 52–59). Vocabulary items refer to concepts and are identified by English words (or phrases on a few occasions) in small caps, both in the text and in the tables in Appendix 5A. Swadesh list items are further identified by their Swadesh list number added to the end of the English word and separated from the word by a slash: LAUGH/100. Items without a number do not appear in the Swadesh list. There are 88 Swadesh list concepts in the questionnaire (see Appendix 5A). If a Swadesh list item is marked with an asterisk, this means that the item is in the subset of 40 Swadesh list items found to be the most stable globally by Holman et al. (2008). There are altogether 25 out of these 40 items in the questionnaire (see Section 5.7).

The longer noun and adjective tables (Tables 54 and 55 in Appendix 5A) are arranged with the English words in alphabetical order. The other tables are arranged according to other principles (semantically or by Swadesh number). In the correspondence tables, numerical indices in square brackets appear in each cell to identify the language varieties which share a form for this concept, i.e. items considered the same according to the formal principles presented above in Section 4. Multiple indices in the same cell are separated by slashes.

Each subsection below is structured in a similar way. One or more tables are presented containing summary statistics on shared vocabulary between all pairs of varieties, calculated from the full correspondences presented in Tables 52–59 in Appendix 5A. Two figures are provided for each pairwise comparison: a fraction and a percentage (rounded to an integer). In the fraction, the denominator represents the total number of concepts where some form is recorded for both varieties (for a number of reasons, sometimes a particular concept has not been recorded for some variety), and the numerator indicates how many of these forms that have been computed to be the same by the automatic procedure. Finally, we discuss some salient linguistic points of the comparison.

5.1   *Basic Nouns*

5.1.1   Kinship Terms

Table 52 shows the investigated kinship terms and the automatically computed correspondences among varieties, and Table 37 contains the summary statistics extracted from Table 52.

We will now look more closely at some of the individual kinship terms.

GRANDFATHER: Nako, Poo and Kuno use the term *meme* for GRANDFA-THER, while the other varieties use another term, *tete*. A modifier is added to specify maternal relationship in some varieties. Nichar, Kalpa, Ropa and Chitkul add this additional component. In all varieties where it appears it pre-

TABLE 37   Summary statistics for kinship terms

	Ni	Ka	Ro	Ch	La	Po	Ku	Na
Sa	12/18 (66%)	13/18 (72%)	9/18 (50%)	10/18 (55%)	6/18 (33%)	1/18 (5%)	1/18 (5%)	1/18 (5%)
Ni		9/18 (50%)	6/18 (33%)	7/18 (38%)	3/18 (16%)	0/18 (0%)	0/18 (0%)	0/18 (0%)
Ka			9/18 (50%)	8/18 (44%)	5/18 (27%)	1/18 (5%)	1/18 (5%)	1/18 (5%)
Ro				7/18 (38%)	7/18 (38%)	5/18 (27%)	4/18 (22%)	3/18 (16%)
Ch					4/18 (22%)	1/18 (5%)	1/18 (5%)	1/18 (5%)
La						6/18 (33%)	6/18 (33%)	5/18 (27%)
Po							13/18 (72%)	13/18 (72%)
Ku								13/18 (72%)

cedes the base form, and seemingly related forms (*maperɔŋ*, *mapɔ* and *matʃa*) are used. This modifier occurs also in the terms for MATERNAL GRANDMOTHER in the same varieties.

GRANDMOTHER: It is plausible that the terms for GRANDMOTHER in all these varieties has the same origin: In Sangla, Kalpa, Ropa, Chitkul and Labrang it is *api*, in Nichar it is *ai*, and in Nako, Poo and Kuno it is *avi*.

MOTHER: The same term occurs in all varieties for MOTHER. It is *ama*, except in Nichar, where it is *av*.

FATHER: It is plausible that the terms for FATHER in all these varieties have the same origin, but has developed in three different ways, classifying these varieties in three groups. The term for FATHER in Sangla, Nichar and Kalpa is *bova/baba/bɔba*. In Ropa, Labrang, Poo, Kuno and Nako it is *apa/ava* and in Chitkul we find *au*, presumably related to *ava*. *au* also occurs as an alternate form in Kuno. The terms for MOTHER and FATHER in all KST varieties are etymologically related. They are: *ama* and (*b*)*aba/ava* (with the possible exception of Chitkul *au* if unrelated to *ava*).

HUSBAND and WIFE: Except for some similarities in the terms for HUSBAND in some varieties, the terms for HUSBAND and WIFE do not exhibit a consistent

pattern. This may be partly due to the fact that there are several different ways of referring to the person who is a husband/wife, thus it is possible that different language consultants have provided different terms.

BROTHER and SISTER: The terms for OLDER BROTHER classify these varieties into two groups. In Sangla, Nichar, Kalpa and Chitkul it is *ate*, while in Ropa, Labrang, Poo, Kuno and Nako it is *atʃo/aʒo*. It seems that there are several terms for YOUNGER BROTHER in each variety, with different social functions. Some of these terms are borrowed from Indo-Aryan languages (e.g *baja* and other related terms in Table 52). The same is true also about the terms for YOUNGER SISTER and OLDER SISTER (including the use in many varieties of an Indo-Aryan term).

SON and DAUGHTER: The terms for SON and DAUGHTER classify these varieties into three groups. Sangla, Nichar, Kalpa, and Labrang have the terms *tʃʰaŋ* and *tʃimɛd*; Nako, Poo and Kuno have the terms *ʈu:* and *pomo* and Chitkul has the terms *ɖe atʃi* and *dju atʃi*, SON, DAUGHTER, respectively.

UNCLE and AUNT: In Sangla, Nichar, Kalpa, Chitkul and Labrang, an Indo-Aryan loanword is used for MATERNAL UNCLE, viz. *mɔma*, whereas in Nako, Poo, Kuno and Ropa, the term is *aʒaŋ*. The words for PATERNAL UNCLE at least in some cases are probably related to the terms for FATHER. It seems that the terms for PATERNAL AUNT in most of the varieties have the same origin, which has developed in three different ways: *nane* in Sangla, Nichar and Kalpa, *ane* in Labrang, Poo, Kuno and Nako, and *ene* in Chitkul. Only Ropa exhibits a divergent term: *tsima*.

To summarize, looking at the kinship terms we can clearly differentiate a core Sangla group (Sangla, Nichar and Kalpa) from a core Nako group (Nako, Poo and Kuno), where these groups differ from each other regularly and consistently in all cases when the same term is not used in all varieties. With regard to the kinship terms Chitkul is generally similar to the Sangla group. Labrang and Ropa present interesting cases. In some cases (though not in identical cases) Labrang, for instance, has terms which are similar to the terms found in the Sangla group (e.g., the terms for GRANDMOTHER, SON, DAUGHTER, MATERNAL UNCLE), but with regard to other terms (e.g., the terms for GRANDFATHER, FATHER and BROTHER) it has terms which are similar to the terms found in the Nako group.

5.1.2   Body Parts

Table 53 shows the investigated basic body part words and the automatically computed correspondences among varieties, and Table 38 contains the summary statistics extracted from Table 53.

Generally, these KST varieties display the same Sino-Tibetan cognate forms for the terms for EYE, MOUTH and HAIR. Concerning the term for HAIR in these

TABLE 38   Summary statistics for body part terms

	Ni	*Ka*	*Ro*	*Ch*	*La*	*Po*	*Ku*	*Na*
Sa	8/11 (72%)	10/11 (90%)	10/11 (90%)	2/11 (18%)	3/11 (27%)	1/11 (9%)	1/11 (9%)	1/11 (9%)
Ni		8/11 (72%)	8/11 (72%)	2/11 (18%)	3/11 (27%)	1/11 (9%)	1/11 (9%)	1/11 (9%)
Ka			10/11 (90%)	2/11 (18%)	3/11 (27%)	1/11 (9%)	1/11 (9%)	1/11 (9%)
Ro				2/11 (18%)	3/11 (27%)	1/11 (9%)	1/11 (9%)	1/11 (9%)
Ch					2/11 (18%)	1/11 (9%)	1/11 (9%)	1/11 (9%)
La						1/11 (9%)	1/11 (9%)	1/11 (9%)
Po							8/11 (72%)	10/11 (90%)
Ku								8/11 (72%)

varieties, all of them exhibit reflexes of the same proto-item, reconstructed as *kra* for Proto-Sino-Tibetan. This item is realized in two different ways, however: *kra* and *ʈa*, the latter occurring in Poo, Kuno and Nako, while the former occurs in all the other varieties. The correspondence *kr ~ ʈ* reflects a deeper (in time) sound change than what the automatic correspondence rules used here are meant to capture. Hence, in Table 53, the varieties are classified into two groups with respect to the item HAIR.

Perusing Table 53, it is quite clear that in those cases where the KST varieties do not share a body part vocabulary item, the Sangla group and the Nako group consistently use different sets of terms.

Labrang and Chitkul fall somewhere in the middle, where they sometimes show more similarities to the forms in the Sangla group (e.g., FOOT and HAND), while in other cases they show more similarities with the forms in the Nako group (e.g., TOOTH). Chitkul and Labrang form a separate group with regard to the terms used for HEAD, EYE, TAIL and FACE. There are also cases where Labrang and Chitkul use terms which they neither share with each other nor with any of the other two groups (e.g. NOSE). Apart from this, there are some terms either in Labrang (e.g. HAND, FOOT) or in Chitkul (e.g., HAND) which are unique.

TABLE 39 Summary statistics for basic nouns

	Ni	Ka	Ro	Ch	La	Po	Ku	Na
Sa	47/58 (81%)	49/59 (83%)	39/59 (66%)	35/59 (59%)	22/59 (37%)	9/59 (15%)	12/58 (20%)	11/58 (18%)
Ni		44/58 (75%)	34/58 (58%)	29/58 (50%)	20/58 (34%)	9/58 (15%)	11/57 (19%)	11/57 (19%)
Ka			38/59 (64%)	34/59 (57%)	21/59 (35%)	8/59 (13%)	11/58 (18%)	10/58 (17%)
Ro				29/59 (49%)	27/59 (45%)	11/59 (18%)	14/58 (24%)	13/58 (22%)
Ch					22/59 (37%)	9/59 (15%)	11/58 (18%)	10/58 (17%)
La						15/59 (25%)	18/58 (31%)	16/58 (27%)
Po							35/58 (60%)	39/58 (67%)
Ku								36/58 (62%)

On the whole, the pattern which emerges here is similar to the one as observed above, where Sangla, Nichar and Kalpa form a group—but now clearly with Ropa, too, belonging in the Sangla group—and Poo, Kuno and Nako form another group, with Chitkul and Labrang standing out as different from both the Sangla and Nako group and from each other.

5.1.3 Other Basic Nouns

Table 54 shows the investigated other basic nouns—i.e., other than kinship terms and body parts—and the automatically computed correspondences among varieties, and Table 39 contains the summary statistics extracted from Table 54.

Looking at the larger data set of Table 39, we again find the earlier two clear groupings: (1) Sangla, Nichar, and Kalpa; and (2) Poo, Kuno, and Nako. Ropa appears as slightly closer to the Sangla group than Chitkul is, whereas Labrang emerges as distinct from both the Sangla and Nako groups, although closer to the former.

Again we find cases where the simple automatic word comparison seems to miss obviously related words (e.g., EGG, STAR, WINTER) but this does not in itself mean that we need to revise the comparison rules (see Section 5.8).

TABLE 40 Summary statistics for basic adjectives

	Ni	Ka	Ro	Ch	La	Po	Ku	Na
Sa	14/19 (73%)	11/19 (57%)	11/19 (57%)	2/19 (10%)	2/19 (10%)	1/19 (5%)	1/19 (5%)	1/19 (5%)
Ni		12/19 (63%)	10/19 (52%)	1/19 (5%)	1/19 (5%)	0/19 (0%)	0/19 (0%)	0/19 (0%)
Ka			12/19 (63%)	1/19 (5%)	1/19 (5%)	0/19 (0%)	0/19 (0%)	0/19 (0%)
Ro				2/19 (10%)	3/19 (15%)	1/19 (5%)	0/19 (0%)	1/19 (5%)
Ch					9/19 (47%)	1/19 (5%)	0/19 (0%)	1/19 (5%)
La						1/19 (5%)	0/19 (0%)	1/19 (5%)
Po							12/19 (63%)	14/19 (73%)
Ku								11/19 (57%)

5.2 Basic Adjectives

Table 55 shows the investigated basic adjectives and the automatically computed correspondences among varieties, and Table 40 contains the summary statistics extracted from Table 55.

The adjectives, too, confirm the grouping that we have observed above. Even though the data set is small, the trend is obvious: Poo, Kuno and Nako form one group, and Sangla, Nichar, Kalpa and Ropa form another group. This is very clear for the majority of the adjectives in Table 55. Again, Chitkul and Labrang stand apart: In some cases a similar form occurs in both languages (e.g. *fɔsi* DRY in both Labrang and Chitkul and also some of the color terms). But there are also cases (e.g., GOOD, WET) where separate forms occur in Labrang and Chitkul. If the forms in Labrang and Chitkul show similarity with any of the two clearer groupings, it is rather with the Sangla group than the Nako group; see, e.g., the terms for BEAUTIFUL, OLD and NEW.

5.3 Some Adverbs of Time

Table 56 shows the investigated adverbs of time and the automatically computed correspondences among varieties, and Table 41 contains the summary statistics extracted from Table 56.

TABLE 41   Summary statistics for time adverbs

	Ni	Ka	Ro	Ch	La	Po	Ku	Na
Sa	4/10 (40%)	8/10 (80%)	4/10 (40%)	0/8 (0%)	2/9 (22%)	0/9 (0%)	0/8 (0%)	0/10 (0%)
Ni		5/10 (50%)	5/10 (50%)	0/8 (0%)	3/9 (33%)	0/9 (0%)	0/8 (0%)	0/10 (0%)
Ka			5/10 (50%)	0/8 (0%)	2/9 (22%)	0/9 (0%)	0/8 (0%)	0/10 (0%)
Ro				0/8 (0%)	2/9 (22%)	0/9 (0%)	0/8 (0%)	0/10 (0%)
Ch					0/7 (0%)	0/8 (0%)	0/7 (0%)	0/8 (0%)
La						0/8 (0%)	0/8 (0%)	0/9 (0%)
Po							4/8 (50%)	6/9 (66%)
Ku								4/8 (50%)

This material is too small to draw any conclusions beyond the fact that it supports the same groupings of the language varieties as the previously presented vocabulary subsets. The time expressions are a bit too complex for the simple mechanical comparison used here to work well. Manual inspection of the expressions shows some fairly obvious connections which are not captured by the rules, e.g., Sangla *rɪgtsɔmja* versus Nichar/ Kalpa/ Ropa *rɪktsɔmja*/*riktsɔmja* 2 DAYS BEFORE TOMORROW.

This set of terms seems to classify the KST varieties into roughly the same groups as other lexical-semantic fields discussed in this chapter, Sangla, Nichar, Ropa, Kalpa form one group. Concerning the terms for future time points too, these languages are similar to one another. They form one group. All languages in this group make (at least) a five-way distinction in the future (TOMORROW, 1–4 DAYS AFTER TOMORROW) and the terms used to express these concepts in these languages are also very similar.

Generally speaking, Poo and Nako form another group, though they also differ slightly from each other—both in terms of the number of distinctions made lexically in referring to the past and to the future, as well as the forms used. Nako has a more detailed system, with separate lexical terms for up to 4 DAYS BEFORE

TABLE 42   Summary statistics for KST numerals

	Ni	*Ka*	*Ro*	*Ch*	*La*	*Po*	*Ku*	*Na*
Sa	17/25	16/25	16/25	13/25	7/25	1/25	2/25	2/25
	(68%)	(64%)	(64%)	(52%)	(28%)	(4%)	(8%)	(8%)
Ni		17/25	16/25	12/25	6/25	1/25	2/25	2/25
		(68%)	(64%)	(48%)	(24%)	(4%)	(8%)	(8%)
Ka			18/25	15/25	7/25	1/25	2/25	2/25
			(72%)	(60%)	(28%)	(4%)	(8%)	(8%)
Ro				14/25	7/25	1/25	2/25	2/25
				(56%)	(28%)	(4%)	(8%)	(8%)
Ch					5/25	1/25	2/25	2/25
					(20%)	(4%)	(8%)	(8%)
La						3/25	5/25	4/25
						(12%)	(20%)	(16%)
Po							18/25	16/25
							(72%)	(64%)
Ku								17/25
								(68%)

YESTERDAY and 4 DAYS AFTER TOMORROW, whereas Poo has distinct terms for up to 2 DAYS BEFORE YESTERDAY and 2 DAYS AFTER TOMORROW. Despite this difference, the forms (when the distinction is there in both languages) are quite similar in Nako and Poo. The manual and automatic analysis agree with respect to the positions of Labrang and Chitkul: If Labrang displays any similarity with any of the other groups, it is with the terms found in the Sangla group, e.g., in the terms for TODAY, 1 DAY AFTER TOMORROW and 3 DAYS AFTER TOMORROW. Chitkul, which exhibits a detailed system in this regard, does not show similarities with any of the other varieties.

5.4   *Numerals and Numeral Systems*

Table 57 shows the investigated numerals and the automatically computed correspondences among varieties, and Table 42 contains the summary statistics extracted from Table 57.

The examination of the numerals 1–10 suggests a similar grouping of the KST varieties as observed above, where Sangla, Nichar, Kalpa, and Ropa constitute one group and Poo, Kuno and Nako constitute another group. Except for *gǝt* EIGHT in Labrang, Chitkul and Labrang numerals are similar to the forms

found in the Sangla group. The numerals 1–10 in the KST varieties are cognate to a very large extent (see Table 43 below). They are consistent with the Sino-Tibetan numeral forms noted by Hodson (1913).

For the numerals TWO, THREE, FIVE, SIX and NINE the same cognates are found in all varieties (with some phonological modifications). The case of the numeral THREE is interesting: Even though the same cognate occurs in all varieties, it is realized in three different ways: Sangla, Nichar, Kalpa and Ropa form one group (*ʃum/ʂum*), Chitkul and Labrang form another group (*homo/hʊm*) and Nako and Poo form a third group (*sum*). For the numerals ONE, FOUR, SEVEN, EIGHT and TEN these varieties use two distinct cognate forms: Poo, Kuno and Nako agree among themselves and use the same form as is noted by Hodson (1913) for Central Tibetan (namely, *ʧik, ji/ʒik, dʊn, get/ɡjat*, respectively), Nichar, Sangla, Kalpa, Ropa, Chitkul and Labrang use another set of forms (namely, *ɪd, pa, (s)tɪʃ, rɛ/rajɛ, sɛ/sajɛ*, respectively). This set of forms, too, is noted by Hodson (1913). In Table 43, the forms for the numerals 1–10 in the KST varieties are shown together with the reconstructed Proto-Sino-Tibetan (PST) forms for these numerals (Matisoff 2003).

A similar subgrouping pattern emerges also concerning the formation of higher numerals in the KST varieties. Generally speaking, two different systems for forming the numerals 20–99 are found in these varieties. Sangla, Nichar and Kalpa form one group. They exhibit a vigesimal system, i.e., one where the basic units are multiples of twenty. Multiples of ten which are not also multiples of twenty (THIRTY, FIFTY, SEVENTY, NINETY) are indicated as 'plus ten', with one exception: The term for FIFTY in Ropa is is *nɪʃ nɪdzʊ adʰaŋ* ('two twenty half'). Concerning all other higher numerals, Ropa is consistent with the pattern (and forms) of the Sangla group. Nako and Poo, on the other hand, exhibit a consistent decimal system. Labrang is interesting in this regard. It shows a decimal system for 30, but for higher multiples of ten it exhibits the same kind of vigesimal system as in the Sangla group.

The numeral system in Kuno distinguishes itself remarkably from the systems found in the other varieties. First, Kuno has both a decimal and a vigesimal system side by side.[4] In the vigesimal system there are important differences between the patterns exhibited in Kuno and in the Sangla group. This concerns both the ordering of smaller numerals in forming higher numerals (e.g 2×20 in Sangla, but 20×2 in Kuno) as well as the structure of higher numerals in Kuno and in the Sangla group. In Kuno *va* and *naŋ* occur in higher

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4 Kuno is not unique in this respect among ST languages. Mazaudon (2010: 124–131) describes parallel decimal and vigesimal numeral systems in Dzongkha (dzo), and a similar situation is found in Bunan (bfu) (Widmer 2017) and Kanashi (xns) (Saxena and Borin 2022a).

TABLE 43   Numerals 1–10 in KST varieties in comparison with reconstructed Proto-Sino-Tibetan (PST)

	Sa	Ni	Ka	Ro	Ch	La	Po	Ku	Na	PST
1	ɪd			ɪd/i	i		ʧik̀			*t(y)ak ~ *gt(y)ik; *ʔit
2	nɪʃ				niʃi	niʃ	ɲi:			*gnis
3	ȿʊm				homo	hʊm	sum			*gsum
4	pa/pə						ʒi			*bləy
5	ŋa									*bŋa, lŋa
6	ʈug		ʈuk̀		ʈu		tʰok	ʈuk̀		*druk, *kruk
7	(s)tɪʃ		tiʃ			ʃiniʃ	dun			*snis
8	rɛ	rajɛ/raje			rea	gɛt̀	gjet			*brgyat ~ *bgryat
9	gui	sgui	gui			gu	gu			*dgəw, *skəw
10	sɛ	sajɛ/saje			sja	sa	ʧu			*g(y)ip; *ts(y)i(y) ~ *tsyay

numerals, *va* indicating multiplication and *naŋ* addition, so that, e.g., FIFTY is literally expressed as 'twenty times (*va*) two plus (*naŋ*) ten' in Kuno, whereas it is 'two twenty ten' in the Sangla group. However, in the decimal system also used in Kuno, the order is multiplier–base–addend, as in all the other varieties: *dunʧu ʧik* [seven.ten one] SEVENTY-ONE (also *niʃuva sumnaŋ ʧugʃik* [twenty.va three.naŋ eleven]).

Two separate terms (*ra* and *gja/gʰeja*) occur for the numeral 100 in the KST varieties. *ra* occurs in Sangla, Nichar, Kalpa and Chitkul and *gja/gʰeja* occurs in Labrang, Poo, Kuno and Nako. According to Hodson (1913), both *ra* and *gja* are variations of the Central Tibetan form *rgya*. In Hodson's view, this form cannot be analyzed as forming part of a decimal or vigesimal system, instead it is a separate distinct form.

Interesting differences are observable in the composition of the words for 500, 1,000 and 1,001 between the Sangla group (including in this case Labrang

and Chitkul) and the Nako group. The order of constituents is 5×100 for 500 in all varieties. The term for 1,000 in the Sangla group is *həzar* (which is a loanword from Indo-Aryan), but it is *tɔn* in the Nako group.[5]

Despite these differences, all KST varieties (except the Kuno vigesimal system) examined here form their composite numerals in the same way. When higher numerals are made by multiplication, the multiplier precedes the base, regardless of whether the variety uses a decimal or vigesimal numeral system.[6] For example, FORTY will be expressed as 2×20 or 4×10, and not 20×2/10×4. In the case of the formation of higher numbers by addition, the base precedes the (smaller) number which is being added to it. For example, *so niʃ* (10+2) TWELVE; *soŋa* (10+5) FIFTEEN in Kinnauri, and *ʧøkŋi* (10+2) TWELVE; *ʧeŋga* (10+5) FIFTEEN in Navakat. In higher numbers formed by both multiplication and addition, the order becomes multiplier–base–addend, as expected. e.g.: 3×10+2=32. Further, all KST varieties use their ordinary numerals for forming higher numerals, although sometimes this is obscured by the result of phonological or morphophonological changes.

In all the varieties, except Poo, Kuno and Nako, no functional morpheme is added between the base (20 or 10) and the smaller numeral. In Poo and Nako more than one morpheme is found (see items THIRTY-ONE, FORTY-ONE, and SEVENTY-ONE in Table 57).[7] As seen above, in Kuno, there are additional morphemes for both multiplication (*va*) and addition (*naŋ*).

On the whole, the numerals examined here are quite consistent with the observations made by Hodson (1913) for Sino-Tibetan languages. The forms of the numerals support the observations made above concerning the classification of KST varieties, where Sangla, Kalpa, Ropa, Chitkul and Labrang and Nichar form one group and Nako and Poo form another group—the former, for example, exhibiting a modified vigesimal system and the latter exhibiting a decimal system.

5.5 *Basic Question Words*

Table 58 shows the investigated basic question words and the automatically computed correspondences among varieties, and Table 44 contains the summary statistics extracted from Table 58.

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5 Written Tibetan: *stoṅ* 'thousand' (Bielmeier et al. MS 2008).

6 The term "base" is used here to refer to the number system base, 10 or 20 in the KST varieties under discussion, and its multiples.

7 The elements added between tens and ones in Poo and Nako resemble those of the (Lhasa) Tibetan system, where a different element is used for each decade (Bell 1939: 68 f.). See also Chapter 3, Section 3.5.

TABLE 44　Summary statistics for basic question words

	Ni	Ka	Ro	Ch	La	Po	Ku	Na
Sa	3/5 (60%)	3/5 (60%)	3/5 (60%)	0/5 (0%)	0/4 (0%)	0/5 (0%)	0/4 (0%)	0/5 (0%)
Ni		3/5 (60%)	3/5 (60%)	0/5 (0%)	0/4 (0%)	0/5 (0%)	0/4 (0%)	0/5 (0%)
Ka			4/5 (80%)	1/5 (20%)	0/4 (0%)	0/5 (0%)	0/4 (0%)	0/5 (0%)
Ro				1/5 (20%)	0/4 (0%)	0/5 (0%)	0/4 (0%)	0/5 (0%)
Ch					0/4 (0%)	1/5 (20%)	1/4 (25%)	1/5 (20%)
La						0/4 (0%)	0/4 (0%)	0/4 (0%)
Po							4/4 (100%)	4/5 (80%)
Ku								4/4 (100%)

In all cases, Poo, Kuno, and Nako exhibit the same cognate for the question words (even if the automated comparison does not always show this; see Section 4). On the whole, it seems that the forms in Sangla, Nichar, Kalpa, and Ropa are also etymologically related. As earlier, Chitkul and Labrang stand apart, sometimes siding with the Nako group (WHO in Chitkul), sometimes with the Sangla group (HOW in both Chitkul and Labrang), and sometimes exhibiting unique forms (WHO in Labrang; WHERE in Chitkul).

5.6　*Personal Pronouns*

Table 59 shows the investigated personal pronouns and the automatically computed correspondences among varieties, and Table 45 contains the summary statistics extracted from Table 5A.8.

All the KST varieties examined here share some similarities with regard to their pronominal systems: First, in the second person the honorific–non-honorific distinction is made in all varieties (e.g., *kə* 2SG.NH, *ki* 2SG.H in Sangla; *kʰóŋ* 2SG.H, *kʰøt* 2SG.NH in Nako). Further, the plural pronominal forms are made by suffixing a plural marker to the corresponding singular pronominal form.

TABLE 45   Summary statistics for personal pronouns

	Ni	Ka	Ro	Ch	La	Po	Ku	Na
Sa	6/8 (75%)	6/8 (75%)	4/8 (50%)	4/7 (57%)	3/8 (37%)	0/7 (0%)	0/6 (0%)	0/9 (0%)
Ni		5/7 (71%)	5/7 (71%)	5/7 (71%)	3/7 (42%)	0/7 (0%)	0/6 (0%)	0/8 (0%)
Ka			4/7 (57%)	4/7 (57%)	3/8 (37%)	0/6 (0%)	0/6 (0%)	0/8 (0%)
Ro				5/6 (83%)	3/7 (42%)	0/6 (0%)	0/5 (0%)	0/8 (0%)
Ch					3/7 (42%)	0/6 (0%)	0/6 (0%)	0/7 (0%)
La						0/6 (0%)	0/6 (0%)	0/8 (0%)
Po							3/6 (50%)	3/7 (42%)
Ku								4/6 (66%)

Apart from this, with regard to the pronominal forms, varieties fall into two groups: Sangla, Nichar, Kalpa, Ropa, Chitkul, and Labrang form one group and Poo, Kuno and Nako constitute another group. The two groups differ from each other consistently in this regard. Generally speaking, there is more homogeneity within the first group than within the second group regarding the pronominal forms. The same base forms for 2SG.H (*ki*) and 2SG.NH (*kə*) occur in the Sangla, Kalpa, Nichar, Ropa, Chitkul and Labrang varieties. Poo, Kuno and Nako have the same base form for the 2SG non-honorific: *kʰøt̪*, but they have three distinct forms for the 2SG honorific pronoun: *ɲet̪* in Poo; *rue* in Kuno; and *kʰóŋ* in Nako. In all KST varieties, the 2PL is formed by affixing a plural marker to the 2SG pronoun (for example, *ki* 2SG.H and *ki-nɔ* 2SG.H-PL in Sangla). This is the case in both the second person honorific as well as non-honorific forms in all varieties. These varieties, however, do not use the same plural markers. If we concentrate our attention on the Sangla group it is, *-nɔ* in Sangla (e.g., *kinɔ* 2PL.H), but it is *-ʃ* in Kalpa, *-tʃaŋ* in Chitkul (e.g. *katʃaŋ* 2PL.NH) and *-paŋ* in Labrang (e.g. *kmpaŋ*).

The 3SG and 3PL forms in KST varieties, too, classify these varieties in two groups: Poo, Kuno, and Nako form one group. They have the same base form

3SG. It is *kʰɔ*. This is distinct from the forms (e.g., *dɔ*) found in the Sangla group (including Chitkul and Labrang).[8] With the exception of Ropa which in our material has *ʊno* as the 3SG pronoun, all other varieties of this group (including Chitkul and Labrang) have forms which are also found in Sangla.[9] The formation of the plural form in the third person is the same as that of the second person in these varieties—the plural marker is suffixed to the pronoun. But it seems that the plural markers are not necessarily the same in second and third person pronouns. Compare *ki-nɔ* 2SG.H-PL, but *dɔ-gɔ* 3SG-PL in Sangla, *ki-ʃi* 2SG.H-PL and *nʊ-go* 3SG-PL in Kalpa. This seems to be the case in all varieties, except Nako and Poo, where the same plural markers occur in all persons. See Chapters 2 and 3 for more detailed information on plural formation in Kinnauri and Navakat.

To summarize, the pronominal systems (including the pronominal forms) in these varieties classify Sangla, Nichar, Ropa, Kalpa, Chitkul and Labrang varieties in one group and Poo, Kuno and Nako as a separate group. The two groups differ from each other in all cases concerning their pronominal forms. The only similarities between these two groups are structural: Both groups make a honorific–non-honorific distinction in the second person, and the plural pronouns are formed in both groups by suffixing the plural marker to the corresponding singular pronouns.

5.7　*Basic Vocabulary: Summary and Discussion*

In Table 46 the combined statistics from a comparison of all nouns is presented, i.e., the figures from Tables 37 (kinship terms), 38 (body part terms) and 39 (other basic nouns) are combined into one in Table 46.

Since the individual comparisons of the noun subsets painted a unanimous picture of the classification of the KST varieties, it should come as no surprise that the combined noun statistics provides evidence for the same groupings.

Table 47 summarizes the comparison statistics for the whole lexical questionnaire. As can be seen from the denominators in the fractions, there is no single pair of varieties where all the 157 questionnaire concepts have been recorded in both members of the pair. However, they share from 149 (e.g., Kuno–Nako) to 155 recorded concepts (e.g., Sangla–Nako).

8　We have more detailed data of Kinnauri, which exhibits a range of third person pronominal forms (see Chapter 2). The forms found in the various KST varieties of the Sangla group show some similarity with one or the other form found in Kinnauri. The only exception is Ropa, which has *ʊno* as the third person singular pronoun. This form is not found in Kinnauri.

9　Out of all the KST varieties investigated, the data on the Sangla variety is the most extensive (see Chapter 2).

TABLE 46   Summary statistics for all nouns

	Ni	Ka	Ro	Ch	La	Po	Ku	Na
Sa	67/87 (77%)	72/88 (81%)	58/88 (65%)	47/88 (53%)	31/88 (35%)	11/88 (12%)	14/87 (16%)	13/87 (14%)
Ni		61/87 (70%)	48/87 (55%)	38/87 (43%)	26/87 (29%)	10/87 (11%)	12/86 (13%)	12/86 (13%)
Ka			57/88 (64%)	44/88 (50%)	29/88 (32%)	10/88 (11%)	13/87 (14%)	12/87 (13%)
Ro				38/88 (43%)	37/88 (42%)	17/88 (19%)	19/87 (21%)	17/87 (19%)
Ch					28/88 (31%)	11/88 (12%)	13/87 (14%)	12/87 (13%)
La						22/88 (25%)	25/87 (28%)	22/87 (25%)
Po							56/87 (64%)	62/87 (71%)
Ku								57/87 (65%)

Again, the same picture as before emerges (see Figure 16):
– Sangla, Nichar, and Kalpa form a clear grouping,
– with Ropa closely associated.
– Poo, Kuno, and Nako form another grouping, possibly somewhat less close than the Sangla group.
– Finally, Chitkul and Labrang show greater affinity to the Sangla group than to the Nako group, but are distant from both. At the same time, Chitkul and Labrang are equally—or in some instances more—distant from each other as they are individually from the Sangla group.

Since Swadesh lists are often used in this kind of lexicostatistical investigation, summary statistics for all Swadesh list items in the questionnaire (88 concepts) are shown in Table 48, and in Table 49 we show corresponding statistics for the 25 concepts used in the questionnaire from the 40-item globally most stable Swadesh subset defined by Holman et al. (2008). If anything, the Swadesh list comparison ties Ropa closer to the Sangla group. Otherwise, nothing substantial changes.

TABLE 47 Summary statistics for the full lexical questionnaire

	Ni	Ka	Ro	Ch	La	Po	Ku	Na
Sa	111/154 (72%)	116/155 (74%)	96/155 (61%)	66/152 (43%)	45/153 (29%)	13/153 (8%)	16/149 (10%)	16/155 (10%)
Ni		103/153 (67%)	87/153 (56%)	56/151 (37%)	39/151 (25%)	11/152 (7%)	14/148 (9%)	14/153 (9%)
Ka			100/154 (64%)	65/152 (42%)	42/153 (27%)	11/152 (7%)	15/149 (10%)	14/154 (9%)
Ro				60/151 (39%)	52/152 (34%)	19/152 (12%)	21/148 (14%)	20/154 (12%)
Ch					45/150 (30%)	14/151 (9%)	16/148 (10%)	16/151 (10%)
La						26/150 (17%)	31/149 (20%)	27/152 (17%)
Po							97/149 (65%)	105/152 (69%)
Ku								97/149 (65%)
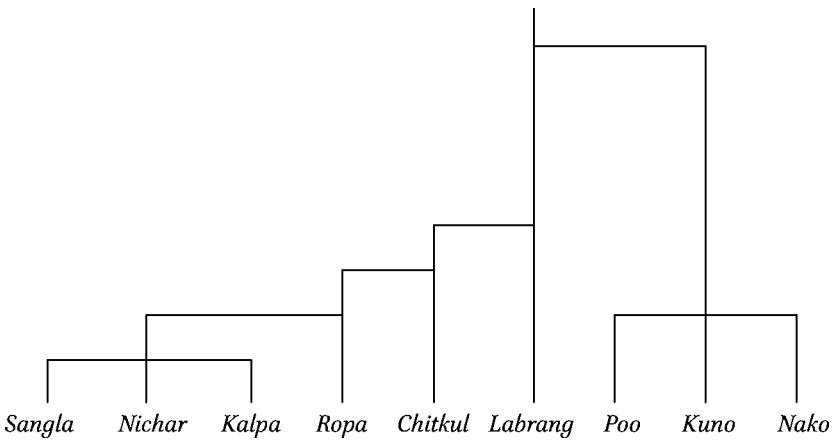
FIGURE 16 Preliminary grouping of the nine investigated KST varieties (branch lengths are not significant)

TABLE 48 Summary statistics for all Swadesh list items

	Ni	Ka	Ro	Ch	La	Po	Ku	Na
Sa	65/87 (74%)	64/87 (73%)	59/87 (67%)	33/86 (38%)	28/86 (32%)	9/86 (10%)	10/83 (12%)	11/87 (12%)
Ni		58/86 (67%)	53/86 (61%)	28/86 (32%)	25/85 (29%)	7/86 (8%)	9/83 (10%)	9/86 (10%)
Ka			58/86 (67%)	31/86 (36%)	25/86 (29%)	7/85 (8%)	9/83 (10%)	9/86 (10%)
Ro				31/85 (36%)	33/85 (38%)	12/85 (14%)	13/82 (15%)	14/86 (16%)
Ch					31/85 (36%)	10/85 (11%)	10/83 (12%)	11/85 (12%)
La						15/84 (17%)	17/83 (20%)	16/85 (18%)
Po							57/83 (68%)	62/85 (72%)
Ku								58/83 (69%)

5.8 *Reflections on the Methodology*

In this chapter, we have made a systematic comparison of nine KST varieties in order to throw some light on the genealogical classification of these underdescribed linguistic systems. The comparison has focused on the lexicon, which was investigated using an automatic, computational and purely quantitative method inspired by recent work on lexicostatistics and dialectometry, combined with traditional linguistic analysis and reasoning.

In Figure 16 we show the subgrouping of these nine KST varieties resulting from applying the method to our lexical data.

As has been pointed out a number of times above, the automatic comparison of lexical items often failed to pick out lexical item identities among varieties which were glaringly obvious to the linguist. At this point we should remind ourselves that this kind of computer program is simply a tool among many others in the linguist's toolbox. Correctly used, it can be very helpful and save a lot of effort. In the present investigation it has turned out to be quite helpful to have an automated way of quickly calculating similarities among the language varieties under scrutiny, not least as a "generator" of new research questions.

TABLE 49 Summary statistics for the 25 most stable Swadesh items

	Ni	Ka	Ro	Ch	La	Po	Ku	Na
Sa	20/25 (80%)	22/25 (88%)	20/25 (80%)	11/25 (44%)	11/25 (44%)	3/25 (12%)	3/25 (12%)	3/25 (12%)
Ni		19/25 (76%)	19/25 (76%)	11/25 (44%)	11/25 (44%)	3/25 (12%)	3/25 (12%)	3/25 (12%)
Ka			18/25 (72%)	9/25 (36%)	10/25 (40%)	3/25 (12%)	3/25 (12%)	3/25 (12%)
Ro				10/25 (40%)	14/25 (56%)	4/25 (16%)	4/25 (16%)	4/25 (16%)
Ch					11/25 (44%)	4/25 (16%)	4/25 (16%)	4/25 (16%)
La						5/25 (20%)	5/25 (20%)	5/25 (20%)
Po							19/25 (76%)	21/25 (84%)
Ku								19/25 (76%)

It has helped to provide some answers and in the process proved its worth. Given that one accepts lexicostatistics using Swadesh-style core vocabulary lists as producing valid results, the refinement of this method that we have presented here seems to be a step in the direction of making this methodology more useful for teasing out the relationships among closely related language varieties.

6 Results: Grammatical Features

In this section some preliminary observations about grammatical phenomena in the investigated KST varieties will be made on the basis of the noun phrase and sentence items in the questionnaire, as well as some additional grammatical data on reflexive and possessive pronouns collected during the fieldwork.

6.1 Reflexive and Possessive Pronominal Forms

In this section we will examine the forms as well as the composition of the reflexive pronominals in the KST varieties. In all the KST varieties examined

here, the reflexive pronouns inflect for number and person of their coreferential antecedents. This is illustrated below with data from Sangla and Nako.

Sa	*maŋ-o gəs **aŋ-u** sa-k*	'In the dream I killed **myself**.'
	*maŋ-o ka-s **kan-u** sa-n*	'In the dream you (NH) killed **yourself**.'
	*do-s **an-u**-i lo-kjo*	'He said to **himself**.'
	*do-goː-s **ane-goː-n(u)** taŋtaŋ*	'They looked at **themselves**.'

Na	*mà=su **mà-raŋ=la** tá(e)*	'I observed **myself**.'
	*màʃak=su **màʃak-raŋ=la** táe*	'We observed **ourselves**.'
	*kʰóŋ=su **kʰóŋ-raŋ=la** táe-vãːk*	'You (SG) observed **yourself**.' (indirect knowledge)
	*kʰó=su **kʰráŋ=la** táe-vãːk*	'He observed **himself**.' (indirect knowledge)
	*kʰóvat=su **kʰóvat-raŋ=la** táe-vãːk*	'They observed **themselves**.' (indirect knowledge)
	*kʰó **kʰóŋ=la** táe-vãːk*	'He observed **you**.' (indirect knowledge)

The composition of the reflexive pronoun is, however, not the same in all KST varieties. In Sangla, Kalpa, Nichar, and Ropa the reflexive form is the same as the non-nominative personal pronominal forms in the first and second persons (for example, *aŋ* 'my/me', *kan* 'your/to you' in Sangla), to which the dative case marker is suffixed. In the third person the third person non-nominative anaphoric pronoun[10] *an*, functions as the reflexive pronoun. This can be seen by comparing the examples of Sangla reflexives, provided above, with the examples of possessive pronouns in Sangla, provided below (see also Chapter 2):

Sa	***aŋ** laː*	'**my** shadow'
	***kin** bapu*	'**your** father'
	***an** gas-oː*	'**his** (own) clothes'
	***do-goː-n** gas-o:*	'**their** (someone else's) clothes'

The reflexive pronominal formation in Nichar, Kalpa, and Ropa is the same as described here for Sangla, and the forms *aŋ, kan, kin, an* for 1SG, 2SG.NH, 2SG.H, 3SG, respectively, are also the ones used in Nichar, Kalpa, and Ropa.

Distinct from this, in the Poo, Kuno and Nako varieties, the base of the reflexive forms is the nominative form of the pronouns. The reflexive pronoun is

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10   Third person non-anaphoric pronouns (in object form) in Sangla are, for example, *hudu, do-u*.

formed in all three varieties by adding the suffix *-raŋ* to the nominative forms of the personal pronouns. See the Nako examples above and Chapter 3.

Labrang exhibits some similarity to the Sangla group in the reflexive pronouns, in that the non-nominative pronominal form functions also as the reflexive pronoun in the first person. It is *aŋ* in Labrang, as in the Sangla group. However, the second and third person reflexive pronoun *raŋ*—not similar to the other pronouns in Labrang—is shared with neither the Sangla group nor the Nako group, although it could be related to the reflexivizing suffix *-raŋ* of the Nako group and/or reflexive *raŋ* 'self' of Modern Tibetan.

Chitkul is distinct from all the other varieties in its reflexive pronouns. In Chitkul the first person reflexive is the same as the nominative pronoun (*gə*). Like in Labrang, a special reflexive pronoun—*e*—is used in both second and third person, distinct from the non-reflexive second and third person pronouns in this variety.

To summarize this section, as in the case of the personal pronouns, also with regard to reflexive pronouns the KST varieties form two groups: Sangla, Nichar, Kalpa, and Ropa form one group and Poo, Kuno and Nako form the other group. The reflexive form in the Sangla group is the non-nominative forms of pronouns, but in the Nako group it is the nominative pronominal form which is the base form(s) for reflexives, to which a reflexive affix is suffixed. Labrang and Chitkul do not clearly belong to one or to the other group, but also do not form a third group together.

6.2 *Adjective—Noun Order*

The order of constituents within the noun phrase in most of the investigated varieties seems to be Adjective–Noun. The exception is Nako, where the normal constituent order is Noun–Adjective. This is illustrated here with examples from Kinnauri and Navakat (see also Chapters 2 and 3):

Kinnauri	*Navakat*
motʰes tʃʰaŋ 'fat boy'	*ʈú: ɖùmpo* 'fat boy'
uʃk kim 'old house'	*kíta:p ʈápo* 'thick book'
ʃare tsʰetsʰats 'beautiful girl'	*tʃiva kítpu* 'happy child'

6.3   *Some Preliminary Observations about the Grammatical Structure of KST Varieties*

Based on the sentences provided in the questionnaire (see Appendix 5A to this chapter), some very preliminary observations on their grammatical structure are presented below. The groupings among the KST varieties which we observed above are less clear when we consider the linguistic features which we examine on the basis of these sentences, perhaps because the grammatical features that we investigate are more abstract and change more slowly than the lexicon. It is still worthy of note that many of these varieties show different and noncognate endings for the same grammatical feature.

Case markers in nouns: All KST varieties have ergative and dative markers, although different markers are used in different varieties. The ergative markers in all varieties has some form of *-(ə)s* or *-ʧi* or *-su*. At least *-(ə)s* and *-su* may be related. The dative markers are *-la* (SG)/*-nu* (PL) or *-ra* or *-u*.

Plural markers in nouns: All varieties seem to have *-a* as a nominal plural marker. The plural marker precedes the case marker. Personal pronouns have distinct plural markers (see above).

Constituent order: The order of sentence constituents in all varieties is SOV. As we saw above, the noun phrase constituent order is Adj–Noun except in Nako, where we find the reverse order.

Verbal morphology: It seems that future and past tense markers are suffixed to the verb. In the case of Kalpa (future), Nichar/Poo/Chitkul (past) tense markers are similar to those in Kinnauri. In some varieties an *-ʃ* occurs as the 3.H marker on the verb, while Nako exhibits no person or number indexing.

7   KST Varieties and Their Classification

Gerard (1841) lists five Sino-Tibetan varieties spoken in Kinnaur ("Koonawur"): (1) "Milchan or common Koonawuree"; (2) "T,heburskud"; (3) the dialect spoken in "Lubrung" and "Kanum"; (4) the dialect spoken in "Leedung"; and (5) "B,hoteea or Tartar". According to this account, while Milchan and B,hoteea and, possibly also, T,heburskud are distinct languages ("tongues"), the varieties spoken in Lubrung/Kanum and Leedung are "dialects" of Milchan.

Gerard (1842) provides a word list (containing approximately 1,190 entries[11]), 98 direct-elicited phrases and clauses, and short descriptive notes on nouns and verbs in three KST varieties: Milchan, T,heburskud and B,hoteea/Tartar. The

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11   Parallel entries for all three dialects are found for many, but not in all cases.

word list contains primarily nouns, adjectives, numerals and infinitive forms of verbs. There is also a word list of "Shoomchoo" (246 entries).

Cunningham (1844) adds Kinnauri Pahari (speech of the "Kohlis or Chumars" to use Cunningham's terminology) to the list of "tongues"/ "dialects" mentioned by Gerard (1842), and provides a short comparative word list of "Milcháng or common", "Tibberkad", "Chamangee" (Kinnauri Pahari) and "Bhotee of Pitti, Hangrang, Rungchung, &c". In total there are 110 entries, most for Milchan and Bhotee and relatively fewer for the other two (Cunningham 1844: 225–228).

Bailey (1909: 661–662) classifies Kinnauri into four dialects: (i) "Kanauri proper", (ii) "Lower Kanauri", (iii) "Thĕbör skad'" and (iv) the variety spoken in Rakcham and Chitkul. The only difference between Kanauri proper and Lower Kanauri, according to Bailey, is in the lexicon—where Lower Kanauri has borrowed many lexical items from the neighboring Indo-Aryan languages. He regards the variety spoken in Chitkul and Rakcham as a distinct dialect of Kanauri, and classifies the KST varieties of Upper Kinnaur as Tibetan (Bailey 1909: 662). This information is also provided in later work by Bailey (1910), and is also included in the 1981 Indian Census Handbook (p. 9).

More recent accounts of the linguistic situation in Kinnaur extend these older accounts and recognize approximately eight languages indigenous to the region. Common to these accounts—e.g., Chamberlain et al. (1998), Huber (2007), and Saxena (2011)—is that they essentially rely on the *Ethnologue* (Eberhard et al. 2021 and earlier editions) for this assessment.[12]

The seven Sino-Tibetan languages recognized by the Ethnologue and also other sources (e.g., Glottolog; Hammarström et al. 2020) as spoken in Kinnaur are described in Table 50. Genealogically, these languages are generally classified under two different subbranches of Sino-Tibetan, with Bhoti Kinnauri and Tukpa classified as Tibetic and the other five languages as West Himalayish.

The Ethnologue places all seven languages under the subbranch Kinauri (earlier Kanauri), which in other respects corresponds to West Himalayish or Tibeto-Kanauri in more accepted classifications among experts on Sino-Tibetan languages (e.g., Bradley 1997, 2002; LaPolla 2006, 2017a; Thurgood 2017), which in their turn largely coincide with Benedict (1972). The placement of the Tibeto-Kanauri (or [West] Himalayish) subbranch among the Sino-Tibetan languages varies somewhat, on the other hand. In the most common classification, (West) Himalayish forms a sister branch of Bodic under Bodish (Benedict 1972; Bradley 1997, 2002; Hyslop 2014), whereas LaPolla (2006,

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12   An exception in this regard is Webster (1991).

TABLE 50   KST varieties according to the Ethnologue

Name (ISO 639-3 code)	Alternative names / village(s) (tahsil) where spoken in Kinnaur
Jangshung (jna)	Jangrami, Zangram, Zhang-Zhung, Jangiam, Thebor, Thebör Skadd, Thebarskad, Central Kinnauri / Jangi, Lippa, Asrang (Morang)
Kinnauri (kfk)	Kinnaura Yanuskad, Kanoreunu Skad, Kanorug Skadd, Lower Kinnauri, Kinori, Kinner, Kanauri, Kanawari, Kanawi, Kunawari, Kunawur, Tibas Skad, Kanorin Skad, Kanaury Anuskad, Koonawure, Malhesti, Milchanang, Milchan, Milchang / From Chaura to Sangla and north along Satluj River to Morang, upper Ropa valley villages.
Kinnauri, Bhoti (nes)	Nyamskad, Mnyam, Myamskad, Myamkat, Nyamkat, Bud-Kat, Bod-Skad, Sangyas, Sangs-Rgyas, Bhotea of Upper Kinnauri / Nisang [Nesang] and possibly also Kuno and Charang (Morang); Poo (Poo)
Kinnauri, Chitkuli (cik)	Chitkuli, Chitkhuli, Tsíhuli, Tsitkhuli, Kinnauri, Kanauri, Thebarskad / Rakcham, Chitkul (Sangla)
Shumcho (scu)	Sumchu, Sumtsu, Shumcu, Thebor, Thebör Skadd, Thebarskad, Central Kinnauri, Sumcho / Kanam, Labrang, Spilo, Shyaso, Taling, Rushkaling (Poo)
Sunam (ssk)	Sungam, Sungnam, Thebor, Thebör Skadd, Thebarshad, Central Kinnauri, Sangnaur / Sunam (Poo)
Tukpa (tpq)	Nesang / Nesang, Charang, Kunnu [Kuno] (Morang)

2017a) and Thurgood (1984, 1985) place West Himalayish and Tibetic further apart in the family tree, under different primary branches of Sino-Tibetan (see Figure 17).[13]

Based on our results, we could then classify Sangla, Nichar, Kalpa, and possibly Ropa as the language (Lower) Kinnauri (kfk), Chitkul as Chhitkuli Kinnauri (cik), and Labrang as Shumcho (scu). Overall, the lexical comparison made

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13   While the "Rung" label has been used at least since Thurgood (1984), its actual content has varied, it is not generally accepted among Sino-Tibetanists, and Thurgood (2017: 24 f.) himself seems to have abandoned it (although this is not completely clear from the presentation in Thurgood 2017). However, the fact that it is presented in a handbook-style publication such as Thurgood and LaPolla (2017) motivates its inclusion here.
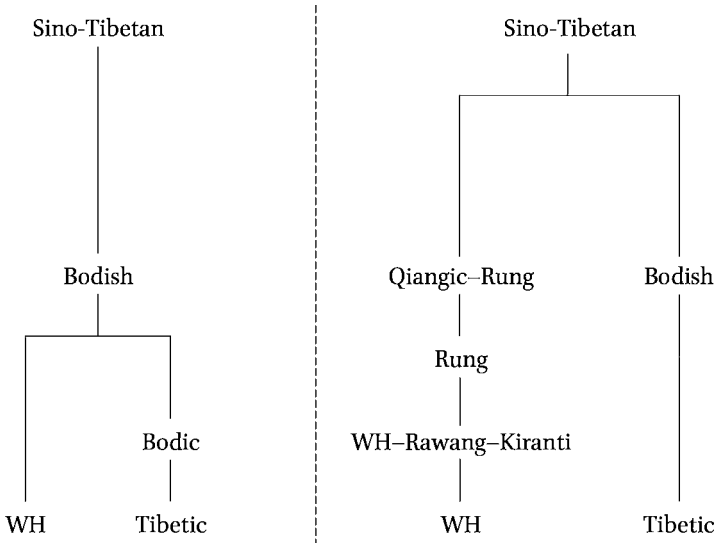
Placement of the West Himalayish (WH) and Tibetic sub-
branches among the Sino-Tibetan languages according to
the most common view (left) and according to LaPolla (2006,
2017a) (right)

here shows Poo and Nako to be slightly closer to each other than either is to
Kuno, but the differences are small and with some vocabulary subsets actually
go the other way (e.g., Tables 42, 44, and 45). If we are to speak of languages
rather than a dialect continuum, these results indicate that we should recog-
nize three languages or one language, but not two. The Nako group is consis-
tently different from the Sangla group by a large margin in all cases, and thus the
results shown here suggest a classification of these three varieties—Poo, Kuno,
and Nako—as Tibetic (rather than West Himalayish) languages or varieties,
namely as Bhoti Kinnauri (nes), completely in agreement with the traditional
view (see Figure 18).

   The Nako group is certainly distant enough from the other varieties for this
to be conceivable. Further, all three varieties of the Nako group exhibit the
probative lexical features of Tibetic, namely the form of the personal pro-
nouns for second person singular (Navakat $k^hj\acute{\phi}t$) and third person singular
($k^h\acute{o}$) (see Table 59 in Appendix 5A), plus the numeral 'seven' ($d\grave{u}n, d\grave{y}n$) (Thur-
good 2017: 11). Further, the finite verb forms in Kinnauri and Navakat differ more
or less along the lines discussed by DeLancey (2014), the former exhibiting
an "archaic" inflectional system, conveying information about the argument
structure of its clause, while in the latter we find a "creoloid" structure, which
encodes only discourse-grounding information. In this sense, too, Navakat is a
typical Tibetic language, and not a West Himalayish one (DeLancey 2014: 58 ff.).
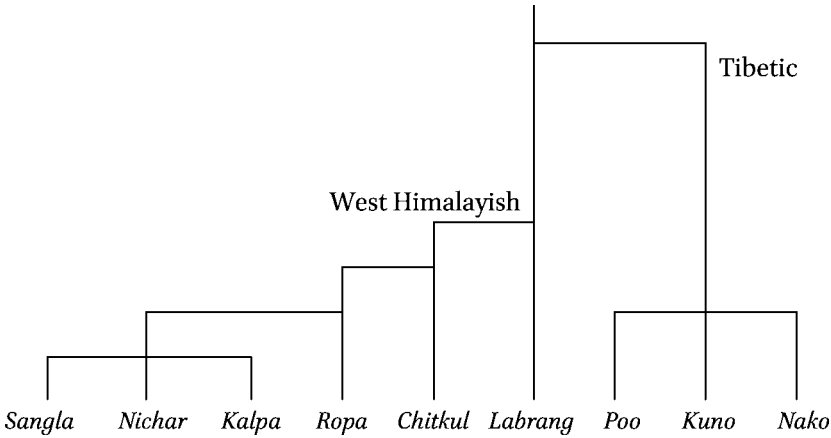
FIGURE 18   Resulting lower-level classification of the investigated KST varieties (branch lengths are not significant)

Also, going back to the more detailed descriptions of Kinnauri and Navakat in Chapters 2 and 3, we note some striking differences between the respective linguistic systems (Table 51). In all these cases, as also mentioned in Chapter 3, Navakat is similar to Modern Tibetan, exemplified here by Lhasa Tibetan (Bell 1939; DeLancey 2017b).

TABLE 51   A comparison of Kinnauri and Navakat with (Lhasa) Tibetan

Lhasa Tibetan	Navakat	Kinnauri
Phonetics: Is there phonemic tone?		
Yes	Yes	No
Case markers		
ERG = INS case marker?		
Yes	No. *-su* [ERG]; *daŋ* [INS]	Yes. It is *-s*
Is the DAT marker *la*?		
Yes	Yes	No. It is *-u, -n(u), -pəŋ*

TABLE 51   A comparison of Kinnauri and Navakat with (Lhasa) Tibetan (*cont.*)

Lhasa Tibetan	Navakat	Kinnauri
Is the POSS marker (-)*ki*?		
Yes	Yes	No. It is *-n(u)*
Are the LOC markers *ru, na*?		
No. LOC = DAT (C-*la*, V-*r*)	Yes	No. It is *-o, -no, -r*
Is the case marking system consistently ergative?		
No	Insufficient data	Yes

Honorificity

Are there distinct honorific and non-honorific verb stems?		
Yes, for a set of verbs	Yes, for a set of verbs	No
Is honorificity marked on the verb with an inflectional ending?		
Yes	No, exception: some verbal categories (e.g. imperative) distinguish H/NH	Yes
Are there distinct honorific and non-honorific second person pronouns?		
Yes. *khyedrang* [2SG.H]; *khyedranggnyis* [2DU.H]; *khyedrangtsho* [2PL.H]; *khyodrang* [2SG.NH]; *khyodranggnyis* [2DU.NH]; *khyodrangtsho* [2PL.NH]	Yes. *kʰóŋ* [2SG.H]; *kʰóŋʃak, kʰóŋdʑak* [2PL.H]; *kʰjót* [2SG.NH]; *kʰjótvat* [2PL.NH]	Yes. *ki* [2SG.H]; *kiʃi* [2DU.H]; *kino* [2PL.H]; *ka* [2SG.NH]; *kaniʃ* [2DU.NH]; *kano, kanego* [2PL.NH]

TABLE 51   A comparison of Kinnauri and Navakat with (Lhasa) Tibetan (*cont.*)

Lhasa Tibetan	Navakat	Kinnauri
Pronouns		
Is there an INCL–EXCL distinction in the first person pronoun?		
Yes. *ŋā=tsho* (EXCL); *ŋa=rang=tsho* (INCL)	Yes. *màʃak, ɲèt* (EXCL); *òn* (INCL)	Yes. *niŋɔ* (EXCL); *kiʃa* (INCL)
Are there distinct nominative and non-nominative pronominal forms?		
No	No	Yes. It has distinct forms for 1SG & 3.ANA pronouns: *gə* [1SG.NOM]; *aŋ* [1SG.NNOM]; *do, no* [3SG.NOM]; *an* [3SG.ANA]
How are reflexive pronouns formed?		
One reflexive pronoun for all persons: *raŋ* 'self'	Personal pronoun + *-raŋ*	The non-nominative pronoun
Constituent ordering: Adj, N		
N–Adj	N–Adj	Adj–N
Verb inflection		
Are there different verb stems to mark tense/aspect and/or imperative?		
Yes	Yes, in some cases	Only in one case: the verb 'come' has a distinct imperative verb form (*ʤi*)

TABLE 51   A comparison of Kinnauri and Navakat with (Lhasa) Tibetan (*cont.*)

Lhasa Tibetan	Navakat	Kinnauri
Are tense and aspect two distinct inflectional grammatical categories?		
No	No. There are fusional grammatical morphemes signalling tense and evidentiality.	Yes
Is there a subject indexing marker?		
No. There is an egophoric system combined with evidentiality	No. There is an egophoric system combined with evidentiality	Yes
Negation: Is the negative marker sensitive to tense/aspect?		
Yes. *ma-* (PFV, FUT) and *mi-* (IPFV)	Yes. *ma-* (PST) and *mi-* (NPST)	No. *ma-* occurs in all tenses
How are imperatives formed?		
The basic imperative is equivalent to the present or perfect verb root, sometimes with vowel changes (e.g. *a > o*). To this can be added various endings reflecting degree of honorificity, e.g. *-ronaŋ, -rotʃe* (H) and *-ʃi* (NH).	A small set of verbs have distinct H/NH forms, including the imperatives in this verb set. Apart from this, the H.IMP form is formed by adding the suffix *-rɔtʃi* to the verb stem. The NH.IMP forming strategies: (i) bare verb form; (ii) a change in the stem vowel (*a* or *e > o*); (iii) *-i* or *-e* is suffixed to the verb; (iv) lengthening of the stem vowel	Only in one case: the verb 'come' has a distinct imperative verb form (*dʑi*). In all other cases, one of the following suffixes is added to the verb: *-riɲ* : *-iɲ/-ɲ* : *-itʃ/-tʃ* : *-ra* : *-o* : *-u* : Ø

TABLE 51 A comparison of Kinnauri and Navakat with (Lhasa) Tibetan (*cont.*)

Lhasa Tibetan	Navakat	Kinnauri
How are prohibitives formed?		
ma- is prefixed to the imperative form	NHON: *ma-* is prefixed to the bare verb stem. HON: V-*ro mapèt*	*tʰa-* is prefixed to the imperative verb form

In conclusion, here we have seen that the two KST varieties examined in this monograph—Kinnauri and Navakat, differ from each other at the phonological, lexical as well as at the grammatical level. In almost all the cases where the two languages differ, Navakat shows affinity with Tibetan, confirming the conclusions of the vocabulary comparison described in Section 5 above.

Appendix 5A: Questionnaire Items and Vocabulary Comparison Tables

5A.1   *Questionnaire Items*[14]
5A.1.1   Lexical Items
In the following list, all 237 questionnaire concepts are listed, and the 157 items used for the lexicostatistical investigation reported on in Section 5 of this chapter are shown in italics. For the latter set, Swadesh list items (88 concepts) are marked by their Swadesh list number, and Swadesh items in the set of 40 globally most stable items identified by Holman et al. (2008) are marked by an asterisk after the number (25 concepts).

I/1*	*MATERNAL GRANDFATHER*	*ANIMAL/44*
YOU (SG H)/2	*MATERNAL GRANDMOTHER*	*GOAT*
YOU (SG -H)/2*	*PATERNAL GRANDFATHER*	*BIRD/46*
(S)HE/3	*PATERNAL GRANDMOTHER*	*DOG (F, M)/47**
WE (INCL)/4*	*WOMAN/36*	*CAT (F; M)*
WE (EXCL)/4	*MAN (ADULT MALE)/37*	*SHEEP*
YOU (PL H)/5	*MAN (HUMAN BEING)/38*	*SNAKE/49*
YOU (PL -H)/5	*CHILD/39*	*LAMB*
THEY/6	*DAUGHTER*	*TREE/51**
THIS	*SON*	*FOREST/52*
THAT	*WIFE/40*	HEN
HERE	*HUSBAND/41*	*FRUIT/54*
THERE	*MOTHER/42*	*SEED/55*
WHO/11	*FATHER/43*	*LEAF/56**
WHAT/12	*OLDER SISTER*	*ROOT/57*
WHERE/13	*YOUNGER SISTER*	BARK
WHEN/14	*OLDER BROTHER*	*BEAUTIFUL A.*
HOW/15	*YOUNGER BROTHER*	*GRASS/60*
NOT	*MATERNAL AUNT*	*ROPE/61*
ALL	*PATERNAL AUNT*	CAT (M, F)
MANY	*MATERNAL UNCLE*	*MEAT/63*
SOME	*PATERNAL UNCLE*	*BLOOD/64**
GIRL	*YAK*	*BONE/65**
BOY	*YAK (FEMALE)*	

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14   Hindi, which is the official state language of Himachal Pradesh, is generally understood by the people of Kinnaur. During data collection, when needed, Hindi was used as the contact language, as it is more widely understood than, e.g., English.

MILK	DIG V.	*WIND/163*
EGG/67	SWIM V.	*SNOW/164*
FOOD	FLY V.	ICE
TAIL/69	WALK V.	*SPRING (SEASON)*
SUGAR	COME V.	*FIRE/167**
FACE	LIE V.	*MOUNTAIN/171**
*HAIR (HEAD)/71**	SIT V.	*RED A./172*
HEAD/72	STAND V.	*GREEN A./173*
*EAR/73**	FALL V.	*YELLOW A./174*
*EYE/74**	GIVE V.	*WHITE A./175*
*NOSE/75**	HOLD V.	*BLACK A./176*
MOUTH/76	WASH V.	*NIGHT/177**
*TOOTH/77**	WIPE V.	*DAY/178*
FOOT/80	PULL V.	*YEAR/179*
LEG	PUSH V.	*WARM A./180*
*HAND/83**	THROW V.	*COLD A./181*
BUTTER	TIE V.	*SMALL A./32*
GLACIER	SAY V.	*BIG A./27*
VILLAGE	SING V.	*LONG A./28*
BREAST	PLAY V.	*NEW A./183**
HEART	FLOW V.	*OLD A./184*
DRINK V.	*GOLD*	*GOOD A./185*
EAT V.	*SILVER*	*BAD A./186*
BITE V.	*COPPER*	*STRAIGHT A./189*
SUCK V.	*SUN/147**	*ROUND A./190*
LAUGH V.	*MOON/148*	*WET A./194*
SEE V.	*STAR/149**	*DRY A./195*
HEAR V.	*WATER/150**	NEAR A.
KNOW V.	*RAIN/151*	FAR A.
THINK V.	*RIVER/152*	RIGHT A.
SMELL V.	*POND; LAKE*	LEFT A.
FEAR V.	*IRON*	*ONE/22**
SLEEP V.	*SALT/155*	*TWO/23**
LIVE V.	*STONE/156**	*THREE/24**
DIE V.	*SUMMER*	*FOUR/25*
KILL V.	*WINTER*	*FIVE/26*
FIGHT V.	EARTH	*SIX*
HUNT V.	*CLOUD/160*	*SEVEN*
HIT V.	*AUTUMN*	*EIGHT*
CUT V.	*SKY/162*	*NINE*

TEN	THIRTY-THREE	*ONE THOUSAND ONE*
ELEVEN	*FORTY*	*TODAY*
TWELVE	*FORTY-ONE*	*YESTERDAY*
THIRTEEN	*FIFTY*	*1 DAY BEFORE Y.-DAY*
FOURTEEN	*SIXTY*	*2 DAYS BEFORE Y.-DAY*
FIFTEEN	SIXTY-ONE	*3 DAYS BEFORE Y.-DAY*
TWENTY	SIXTY-TWO	*4 DAYS BEFORE Y.-DAY*
TWENTY-ONE	*SEVENTY*	*TOMORROW*
TWENTY-TWO	*SEVENTY ONE*	*1 DAY AFTER TOMORROW*
TWENTY-THREE	*EIGHTY*	*2 DAYS AFTER TOMORROW*
TWENTY-FOUR	EIGHTY-ONE	*3 DAYS AFTER TOMORROW*
TWENTY-FIVE	*NINETY*	*4 DAYS AFTER TOMORROW*
TWENTY-SIX	*ONE HUNDRED*	CARPENTER
THIRTY	ONE HUNDRED ONE	SINGER
THIRTY-ONE	*FIVE HUNDRED*	
THIRTY-TWO	*ONE THOUSAND*	

5A.1.2   Noun Phrases

'green grass'	'fresh food'	'water spring'
'dry grass'	'black hair'	'barren land'
'cold milk'	'mountain top'	'hot summer'

5A.1.3   Sentences

'Santosh cooked food'	'Ram saw a/the small boy today'
'The children played and got tired'	'Ram saw a/the small girl today'
	'Ram saw (the) small children today'
	'Ram saw a/the small house today'

5A.2   *Vocabulary Comparison Tables*

The vocabulary comparison tables are provided in full on the following pages.

In the tables we use the following notational conventions. Abbreviations (italicized in the tables) are used for the village names: Sangla (*Sa*), Nichar (*Ni*), Kalpa (*Ka*), Ropa (*Ro*), Chitkul (*Ch*), Labrang (*La*), Poo (*Po*), Kuno (*Ku*), Nako (*Na*). Vocabulary items refer to concepts and are identified by English words (or phrases on a few occasions) in small caps. Swadesh list items are further identified by their Swadesh list number added to the end of the English word and separated from the word by a slash: *LAUGH/100*. Items without this number do not appear in the Swadesh list. There are 88 Swadesh list concepts in

the questionnaire (see above). If a Swadesh list item is marked with an asterisk, this means that the item is in the subset of 40 Swadesh list items found to be the most stable globally by Holman et al. (2008). There are altogether 25 out of these 40 items in the questionnaire (see Section 5.7).

The longer noun and adjective tables are arranged with the English concept glosses in alphabetical order. The other tables are arranged according to other principles (semantically or by Swadesh number). In the correspondence tables, numerical indices in square brackets appear in each cell to identify the language varieties which share a form for this concept, i.e. items considered the same according to the formal principles presented above in Section 4.2. Multiple indices in the same cell are separated by slashes.

Note that since the investigations described in this chapter were conducted before undertaking the more detailed phonological analysis underlying the phonemic orthography used in Chapter 2, the transcription system used for (Sangla) Kinnauri in Tables 52–59 below differs somewhat from that used in Chapter 2. However, in the interest of verifiability and reproducibility of results, I have elected to retain the earlier, less phonemic transcription here.

TABLE 52   Automatic comparison of kinship terms

	Sa [1]	Ni [2]	Ka [3]	Ro [4]	Ch [5]	La [6]	Po [7]	Ku [8]	Na [9]
M.GRAND-FATHER	[1/2/3/4/5] tete	[1/2/3/4/5] (maperɔŋ) tete	[1/2/3/4/5] (maːpo) tete	[1/2/3/4/5] (maːpo) tete	[1/2/3/4/5] (matʃa) tete	[6/7/8/9] meme	[6/7/8/9] meme	[6/7/8/9] meme	[6/7/8/9] même
M.GRAND-MOTHER	[1/3/4/5/6] api	[2] (maperɔŋ) ai	[1/3/4/5/6] (maːpo) api	[1/3/4/5/6] (maːpo) api	[1/3/4/5/6] (matʃa) api	[1/3/4/5/6] api	[7/8/9] avi	[7/8/9] avi	[7/8/9] ávi
P.GRAND-FATHER	[1/2/3/4/5] tete	[1/2/3/4/5] tete	[1/2/3/4/5] tete	[1/2/3/4/5] tete	[1/2/3/4/5] tete	[6/7/8/9] meme	[6/7/8/9] meme	[6/7/8/9] meme	[6/7/8/9] même
P.GRAND-MOTHER	[1/3/4/5/6] api	[2] ai	[1/3/4/5/6] api	[1/3/4/5/6] api	[1/3/4/5/6] api	[1/3/4/5/6] api	[7/8/9] avi	[7/8/9] avi	[7/8/9] ávi
WIFE/40	[1/2/4/6] gone; tsʰesmi	[1/2/4/6] gone	[3] gouene	[1/2/4/6] gone	[5] bore	[1/2/4/6] gone	[7/9] nama	[8] tʃɛnmo	[7/9] nàma
MOTHER/42	[1/3/4/5/6/7/8/9] ama, əma	[2] au	[1/3/4/5/6/7/8/9] ama	[1/3/4/5/6/7/8/9] ama	[1/3/4/5/6/7/8/9] ama	[1/3/4/5/6/7/8/9] ama	[1/3/4/5/6/7/8/9] ama	[1/3/4/5/6/7/8/9] ama	[1/3/4/5/6/7/8/9] áma
DAUGHTER	[1/2/4] tʃʃmed	[1/2/3/4] tʃʃme(d)	[2/3/4] tʃʃmet	[1/2/3/4] tʃʃmeʔ	[5] ɖʒu atʃi	[6] tsamed	[7/8/9] pomo	[7/8/9] pomo	[7/8/9] pòmo
OLDER SISTER	[1] douts	[2] dai	[3] dao	[4] atʃʰe	[5] atʃa	[6] apu	[7/8/9] aʒi	[7/8/9] aʒi	[7/8/9] áʒi
YOUNGER SIS-TER	[1/2/3] baːts; ɖekʰraːts	[1/2/3] baits	[1/2/3] baːts	[4/5] baja	[4/5] baja	[6] bete	[7/8/9] nomo	[7/8/9] nomo	[7/8/9] nòmo (tʃun); nòmo (tʃun)
HUSBAND/41	[1/2/3/4/5] tʃʰɔŋmi; dats	[1/2/3/4/5] dats	[1/2/3/4/5] dats	[1/2/3/4/5] daʔ	[1/2/3/4/5] dats	[6] pruŋ	[7] ɖuŋmi	[8] dakpo	[9] mákpa

TABLE 52 Automatic comparison of kinship terms (*cont.*)

	Sa [1]	Ni [2]	Ka [3]	Ro [4]	Ch [5]	La [6]	Po [7]	Ku [8]	Na [9]
FATHER/42	[1/3] bɔva; bapu	[2] baba	[1/3] bɔba	[4/6/7/8/9] apa	[5] au	[4/6/7/8/9] apa	[4/6/7/8/9] apa	[4/6/7/8/9] apa	[4/6/7/8/9] áva
SON	[1/2/3/4/6] tʃʰaŋ	[1/2/3/4/6] tʃʰaŋ	[1/2/3/4/6] tʃʰaŋ	[1/2/3/4/6] tʃʰaŋ	[5] ɖe atʃi	[1/2/3/4/6] tʃʰaŋ	[7/8/9] tu:	[7/8/9] tu:	[7/8/9] tú:
OLDER BROTHER	[1/2/3/5] ate	[1/2/3/5] ate	[1/2/3/5] ate	[4/6/7/8] atʃo	[1/2/3/5] (teː) ate	[4/6/7/8] atʃo	[4/6/7/8] atʃo	[4/6/7/8] atʃo	[9] áʒo
YOUNGER BROTHER	[1/2/5] (gaʈɔ) ate; bɔts	[1/2] baits	[3/4] baja; bara	[3/4] baja	[1/5] (atsu) ate	[6] bete	[7] nono	[8/9] no	[8/9] nò
MATERNAL UNCLE	[1/2/3/5/6] mɔma	[1/2] mama	[1/3/5/6] moma	[4/7/8/9] adʒaŋ	[1/3/5/6] moma	[1/3/5/6] moma	[4/7/8/9] aʒaŋ	[4/7/8/9] aʒaŋ	[4/7/8/9] ãʒaŋ
MATERNAL AUNT	[1] ama; nane	[2] autse	[3] amni	[4/7] ane	[5] (matʃa) ene	[6] tsema ('older m.a.')	[4/7] ane	[8] matʃuŋ	[9] mèʒoŋ
PATERNAL UNCLE	[1/2/5] (teg) bɔva; bapu	[1/2] baba; babats	[3] babu	[4] tsipa	[1/5] bapu	[6] aku	[7] apatʃu(n)	[8] aotʃuŋ	[9] éu
PATERNAL AUNT	[1/2/3] nane	[1/2/3] nane; nai	[1/2/3] nane	[4] tsima	[5] ene	[6/7/8/9] ane	[6/7/8/9] ane	[6/7/8/9] ane	[6/7/8/9] áne

TABLE 53   Automatic comparison of terms for body parts

	Sa [1]	Ni [2]	Ka [3]	Ro [4]	Ch [5]	La [6]	Po [7]	Ku [8]	Na [9]
HEAD/72	[1/2/3/4] bal	[1/2/3/4] bal	[1/2/3/4] bal	[1/2/3/4] bal	[5] pitʃaː	[6] piʃa	[7/8/9] ⁿgɔ	[7/8/9] go	[7/8/9] ⁿgɔ̀
FACE	[1/3/4] to	[2] sto	[1/3/4] to	[1/3/4] to	[5] mukʰaŋ	[6] mumi	[7] tɕnɔŋ	[8] donok	[9] ŋòdo(ŋ)
HAIR (HEAD))/71*	[1/2/3/4/5/6] kra	[1/2/3/4/5/6] kra	[1/2/3/4/5/6] kra	[1/2/3/4/5/6] kra	[1/2/3/4/5/6] kra	[1/2/3/4/5/6] kra	[7/8/9] ta	[7/8/9] ta	[7/8/9] tá
TAIL/69	[1] pətsɱŋ	[2] pantsiŋ	[3] pətsəɱŋ	[4] pikon	[5] mets	[6] mekɔn	[7/8/9] ŋama	[7/8/9] ŋama	[7/8/9] ŋ̊ama
EAR/73*	[1/2/3/4] kanaŋ	[1/2/3/4] kanaŋ	[1/2/3/4] kanaŋ	[1/2/3/4] kanaŋ	[5] rɔts	[6] repaŋ	[7/9] namdʒɔk̃	[8] namtʃɔk	[7/9] námdʒɔk̃
EYE/74*	[1/2/4/5/6/ 7/8/9] mig	[1/2/4/5/6/ 7/8/9] mig	[3/4/5/6/ 7/8/9] mik	[1/2/3/4/5/6/ 7/8/9] mik̃	[1/2/3/4/5/6/ 7/8/9] mi	[1/2/3/4/5/6/ 7/8/9] mi	[1/2/3/4/5/6/ 7/8/9] mik̃	[1/2/3/4/5/6/ 7/8/9] mik̃	[1/2/3/4/5/6/ 7/8/9] mik̃
NOSE/75*	[1/3/4] takuts	[2] stakots	[1/3/4] takuts	[1/3/4] takuts	[5] rim	[6] mur	[7/9] na	[8] nau	[7/9] ná
MOUTH/76	[1/2/3/4] kʰəkaŋ	[1/2/3/4] kʰakɔŋ	[1/2/3/4] kʰakaŋ	[1/2/3/4] kʰakaŋ	[5] aː	[6] agor	[7/8/9] kʰa	[7/8/9] kʰa	[7/8/9] kʰá
TOOTH/77*	[1/2/3/4] gar	[1/2/3/4] gar	[1/2/3/4] gar	[1/2/3/4] gar	[5] sua	[6] sua	[7/8/9] so	[7/8/9] so	[7/8/9] só
HAND/83*	[1/2/4/6] god	[1/2/4/6] god	[3/4/6] gut	[1/2/3/4/6] gut̃	[5] lau	[1/2/3/4/6] gut̃	[7/8/9] lakpa	[7/8/9] lakpa	[7/8/9] làkpa
FOOT/80	[1/2/3/4] baŋ	[1/2/3/4] baŋ	[1/2/3/4] baŋ	[1/2/3/4] baŋ	[5] boŋ	[6] baŋkʰan	[7/8/9] kaŋba	[7/8/9] kaŋba	[7/8/9] kàŋba

TABLE 54   Automatic comparison of other basic nouns

	Sa [1]	Ni [2]	Ka [3]	Ro [4]	Ch [5]	La [6]	Po [7]	Ku [8]	Na [9]
ANIMAL/44	[1/2/3/4/5] sakɔ; semtʃɛn; sem	[1/2/3/4/8/9] semtʃɛn	[1/2/3/4/8/9] semtʃɛn	[1/2/3/4/6/8/9] tʃʰuma; semtʃɛn	[5] rat	[4/6] tʃʰuma	[7] smtʃɪn	[1/2/3/4/8/9] semtʃɛn	[1/2/3/4/8/9] sémtʃɛn
AUTUMN	[1/2/3/4/5] tʃarmi	[1/2/3/4/5] tʃarmi	[1/2/3/4/5] tʃarmi	[1/2/3/4/5] tʃarmi	[1/2/3/4/5] tʃarmi	[6] nuŋ	[7] namle	[8] nam	[9] tóŋga
BIRD/46	[1/2/3/5] pjats	[1/2/3/5] pjats	[1/2/3/5] pjats	[4] pjad	[1/2/3/5] pjats	[6] prat	[7] tʃiu	[8] dʒa	[9] tʃa
BLOOD/64*	[1/2/3/5] polats	[1/2/3/5] polats	[1/2/3/5] polats	[4/5/6] polad; ʃui	[1/2/3/4/5] pola	[4/6] ʃui	[7/8/9] tʰak	[7/8/9] tʰak	[7/8/9] tʰăk
BONE/65*	[1/2/3/5] harɔŋ	[1/2/3/5] harɔŋ	[1/2/3/5] haraŋ	[4/6] harko	[1/2/3/5] haraŋ	[4/6] harko	[7] rukok	[8] rufa	[9] rùgoǩ
BUTTER	[1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8/9] mar	[1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8/9] mar	[1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8/9] mar	[1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8/9] mar	[1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8/9] mar	[1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8/9] mar	[1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8/9] mar	[1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8/9] mar	[1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8/9] màr
CAT (F; M)	[1/3/4/5/6/8] piʃi	[2] pəʃ (mentʃ; skjo)	[1/3/4/5/6/8] piʃi	[1/3/4/5/6/8] piʃi	[1/3/4/5/6/8] piʃi	[1/3/4/5/6/8] piʃi	[7/9] puʃi	[1/3/4/5/6/8] piʃi	[7/9] púʃi
CHILD/39	[1/2/3/4] tʃʰaŋ	[1/2/3/4] tʃʰaŋ	[1/2/3/4] tʃʰaŋ	[1/2/3/4] tʃʰaŋ	[5] atʃi	[6] tʃŋgdʒia	[7/8/9] tʃiva	[7/8/9] tʃiva	[7/8/9] tʃiva
CLOUD/160	[1/2/3/4/5] dʒu	[1/2/3/4/5] dʒu	[1/2/3/4/5] dʒu	[1/2/3/4/5] dʒu:	[1/2/3/4/5] zu	[6] mukpa	[7] makpa	[8] tin	[9] tín
COPPER	[1/2/3/4] [tro-maŋ]	[1/2/3/4] [tro-maŋ]	[1/2/3/4] [tro-maŋ]	[1/2/3/4] [tro-maŋ]	[5] [amaŋ]	[6] tromaŋ	[7/9] saɖ	[8] saŋma	[7/9] sǎ:
DAY/178	[1/2/3/4] dear; lae	[1/2/3/4] lae	[1/2/3/4] laje	[1/2/3/4] laje	[5] niri	[6] nir	[7/8/9] jɪnmo	[7/8/9] jɪnmo; tiriŋ	[7/8/9] jìnmo
DOG/47*	[1/2/3/4] kui	[1/2/3/4] kui	[1/2/3/4] kui	[1/2/3/4] kui	[5] kʰui	[6/7/8/9] kʰi	[6/7/8/9] kʰi	[6/7/8/9] kʰi	[6/7/8/9] kʰi

TABLE 54   Automatic comparison of other basic nouns (*cont.*).

	Sa [1]	Ni [2]	Ka [3]	Ro [4]	Ch [5]	La [6]	Po [7]	Ku [8]	Na [9]
EGG/67	[1] litr	[2] lito	[3/4/5] liṭ	[3/4/5] liṭ	[3/4/5] liː	[6] lili	[7] guva	[8] goŋa	[9] gòã
FIRE/167*	[1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8/9] me	[1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8/9] me	[1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8/9] me	[1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8/9] me	[1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8/9] me	[1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8/9] me	[1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8/9] me	[1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8/9] me	[1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8/9] mè
FOOD	[1/2/3] kʰɔʊ	[1/2/3] kʰau	[1/2/3] kʰau	[4] tʰaktʰuǩ; tsas	[5] kɔn	[6] tʰaktur	[7] takʰtuǩ	[8] saptuŋ	[9] sèptuŋ
FOREST/52	[1/2/3/4/5/6] zaŋgal	[1/2/3/4/5/6] zaŋgal	[1/2/3/4/5/6] dʒaŋgal	[1/2/3/4/5/6] dʒaŋgal	[1/2/3/4/5/6] zaŋgal	[1/2/3/4/5/6] dʒaŋgal	[7/9] rija	[8] riga	[7/9] ria
FRUIT/54	[1/2/3/5/6] fɔlaŋ	[1/2/3/5/6] fɔlaŋ	[1/2/3/5/6] fɔlaŋ	[4] uʃo	[1/2/3/5/6] pʰolaŋ	[1/2/3/5/6] fɔlaŋ	[7] ʃintʃuǩ	[-] -	[-] -
GLACIER	[1/2/3/5] risur	[1/2/3/5] risur	[1/2/3/5] risur	[4/6] lisur	[1/2/3/5] risur	[4/6] lisor	[7/8/9] rut	[7/8/9] ruǩ	[7/8/9] nùːǩ
GOAT	[1/2/3/4] bakʰɔr; adʒ (male)	[1/2/4] bakʰɔr; bɔlu (male)	[1/3] bakʰaraŋ (f); adʒ (male)	[1/2/4] bakʰɔr	[5/6] tet	[5/6] teǩ	[7/8/9] rama	[7/8/9] rama; ravo	[7/8/9] ràma
GOLD	[1/2/3/4/5/6] zaŋ	[1/2/3/4/5/6] zaŋ	[1/2/3/4/5/6] zaŋ	[1/2/3/4/5/6] zaŋ	[1/2/3/4/5/6] zaŋ	[1/2/3/4/5/6] zaŋ	[7] sir	[8/9] ser	[8/9] sér
GRASS/60	[1/2/3/4/5] tʃi	[1/2/3/4/5] tʃi	[1/2/3/4/5] tʃi	[1/2/3/4/5] tʃiː	[1/2/3/4/5] tʃiː	[6] tsi	[7/8/9] sa	[7/8/9] sa	[7/8/9] sá
HEN	[1/2/3/4/5/6] (manʈr) kukari	[1/2/3/4/5/6] (manʈr) kukari	[1/2/3/4/5/6] (manʈu) kukari	[1/2/3/4/5/6] kukari	[1/2/3/4/5/6] kukari	[1/2/3/4/5/6] kukari	[7/9] tʃamo	[8] kukuri	[7/9] tʃamo
IRON	[1/2/3/4/5] rɔn	[1/2/3/4/5] rɔn	[1/2/3/4/5] rɔn	[1/2/3/4/5] rɔn	[1/2/3/4/5] r ɔn	[6/9] tʃakʰ	[7/8/9] tʃak	[7/8/9] tʃak	[6/7/8/9] tʃãi; tʃãk

TABLE 54   Automatic comparison of other basic nouns (*cont.*).

	Sa [1]	*Ni* [2]	*Ka* [3]	*Ro* [4]	*Ch* [5]	*La* [6]	*Po* [7]	*Ku* [8]	*Na* [9]
LAMB	[1/2/3/4] kʰats	[1/2/3/4] kʰats	[1/2/3/4] kʰats	[1/2/3/4] kʰats	[5] krats	[6] krat	[7/9] lu	[8] lugu	[7/9] luː
LEAF/56*	[1/3] patʰraŋ	[2] patraŋ	[1/3] patʰraŋ	[4/6] patalaŋ	[5] patʰəraŋ	[4/6] patəlaŋ	[7] hɔk	[8] hɔg	[9] liᵽ
MAN (HUMAN)/38	[1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8/9] mi	[1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8/9] mi	[1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8/9] mi	[1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8/9] mi	[1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8/9] mi	[1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8/9] mi	[1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8/9] mi	[1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8/9] mi	[1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8/9] mì
MAN (MALE)/37	[1] dʑekʰres	[2] dʑekʰros	[3] dʑɣan	[4] dʑekʰrad	[5] boiŋ	[6/8] mi	[7/8] kʰjɔktɔŋ	[6/7/8] tɔŋ; mi	[9] pʰúʑa
MEAT/63	[1/2/3/4/5/6/8/9] ʃa	[1/2/3/4/5/6/8/9] ʃa	[1/2/3/4/5/6/8/9] ʃa	[1/2/3/4/5/6/8/9] ʃa	[1/2/3/4/5/6/8/9] ʃa	[1/2/3/4/5/6/8/9] ʃa	[7] ʃia	[1/2/3/4/5/6/8/9] ʃa	[1/2/3/4/5/6/8/9] ʃã
MILK	[1] kʰiraŋ	[2] kʰiroŋ	[3/4/5] kʰeraŋ	[3/4/5] kʰeraŋ	[3/4/5] kʰeraŋ	[6] kʰatipɛl	[7/8/9] (h)oma	[7/8/9] oma	[7/8/9] òma
MOON/148	[1/2/3/4/5/6] golsaŋ	[1/2/3/4/5/6] golsaŋ	[1/2/3/4/5/6] golsaŋ	[1/2/3/4/5/6] golsaŋ	[1/2/3/4/5/6] golsaŋ	[1/2/3/4/5/6] golsaŋ	[7/8] dava	[7/8] dava	[9] ⁿdàːr
MOUNTAIN/171*	[1/2/4] dʑɔkʰaŋ; raŋ	[1/2] dʑɔkʰaŋ	[3] dʑɔkaŋ	[1/4] raŋ	[5] tᵇol	[6] ve	[7/8/9] la	[7/8/9] la	[7/8/9] là
NIGHT/177*	[1/2/3/4] toŋ; ratŋ	[1/2/3/4] ratŋ	[1/2/3/4] ratŋ	[1/2/3/4] ratuŋ	[5] muni	[6] gɔ̃	[7] goŋmo	[8] tsaŋmo	[9] gòemo; gòemo
POND; LAKE	[1/2/3/5] sɔraŋ	[1/2/3/5] sɔraŋ	[1/2/3/5] sɔraŋ	[4] soː	[1/2/3/5] sɔraŋ	[6/7/8/9] tʃɔ	[6/7/8/9] tʃɔ	[6/7/8/9] tʃɔ	[6/7/8/9] tʃõ
RAIN/151	[1/2/4/6/7/8/9] gʊɛnɯŋ; tʃʰárva	[1/2] gʊɛnɯŋ	[3] lagets	[1/4/6/7/8/9] tʃʰárva	[5] goɲnɯŋ	[1/4/6/7/8/9] tʃʰarba	[1/4/6/7/8/9] tʃʰárva	[1/4/6/7/8/9] tʃʰárva	[1/4/6/7/8/9] tʃʰárva

TABLE 54   Automatic comparison of other basic nouns (*cont.*)

	Sa [1]	*Ni* [2]	*Ka* [3]	*Ro* [4]	*Ch* [5]	*La* [6]	*Po* [7]	*Ku* [8]	*Na* [9]
RIVER/152	[1/2/5] garəŋ	[1/2/5] garəŋ	[3] səmondraŋ	[4] nalaŋ	[1/2/5] garəŋ	[6] luŋpʰa	[7] tsaŋbo	[8/9] tsampʰo; tsampʰoŋ	[8/9] tsáːnfo
ROOT/57	[1/3/4/5/6] dʒilaŋ	[2] dziloŋ	[1/3/4/5/6] dʒilaŋ	[1/3/4/5/6] dʒilaŋ	[1/3/4/5/6] dʒilaŋ	[1/3/4/5/6] zilaŋ	[7] batak	[8] patak	[9] pàdaǩ
ROPE/61	[1/2/3] baʂ	[1/2/3] bəʃ	[1/2/3] bəʃ	[4/6/7/8/9] tʰakpa	[5] lat	[4/6/7/8/9] tʰakpa	[4/6/7/8/9] tʰakpa	[4/6/7/8/9] tʰakpa	[4/6/7/8/9] tʰákpa
SALT/155	[1/2/3/4/5/6/ 7/8/9] tʃa	[1/2/3/4/5/6/ 7/8/9] tʃa	[1/2/3/4/5/6/ 7/8/9] tʃa	[1/2/3/4/5/6/ 7/8/9] tʃa	[1/2/3/4/5/6/ 7/8/9] tʃa	[1/2/3/4/5/6/ 7/8/9] tʃa	[1/2/3/4/5/6/ 7/8/9] tʃa	[1/2/3/4/5/6/ 7/8/9] tʃa	[1/2/3/4/5/6/ 7/8/9] tʃa
SEED/55	[1/3/4/5] bijaŋ	[2] bijoŋ	[1/3/4/5] bijaŋ	[1/3/4/5] bijaŋ	[1/3/4/5] bijaŋ	[6] podzad	[7/8/9] saŋon	[7/8/9] saŋon	[7/8/9] sáŋon; sáŋøn
SHEEP	[1/2/3] zɛd	[1/2/3] (mal) zɛd	[1/2/3] (məl) zɛd	[4] kʰas	[5] modzat	[6] braŋ	[7/8/9] mamo	[7/8/9] mamo	[7/8/9] màmo ('ewe')
SILVER	[1/2/3/4/5/6/ 7/8/9] mul	[1/2/3/4/5/6/ 7/8/9] mul	[1/2/3/4/5/6/ 7/8/9] mul	[1/2/3/4/5/6/ 7/8/9] mul	[1/2/3/4/5/6/ 7/8/9] mul	[1/2/3/4/5/6/ 7/8/9] mul	[1/2/3/4/5/6/ 7/8/9] mul	[1/2/3/4/5/6/ 7/8/9] mʊl; mul	[1/2/3/4/5/6/ 7/8/9] mül
SKY/162	[1/2/3/4/5] sorgaŋ	[1/2/3/4/5] sorgaŋ	[1/2/3/4/5] sorgaŋ	[1/2/3/4/5] sorgaŋ	[1/2/3/4/5] sorgaŋ	[6/7/8/9] nam	[6/7/8/9] nam	[6/7/8/9] nam	[6/7/8/9] nám
SNAKE/49	[1] sapes	[2/3/6] sapas	[2/3/6] sapas	[4] saves	[5] sapa	[2/3/6] savas	[7/8/9] ɖul	[7/8/9] ɖol	[7/8/9] ɖùl; ɖỳl
SNOW/164	[1/2/3/4] pom	[1/2/3/4] pom	[1/2/3/4] pom	[1/2/3/4] pom	[5] haŋ	[6] ras	[7/8/9] kʰa	[7/8/9] kʰa	[7/8/9] kʰáː
SPRING (SEA-SON)	[1/2/3/4/5] renam	[1/2/3/4/5] renam	[1/2/3/4/5] renam	[1/2/3/4/5] rena(m)	[1/2/3/4/5] renam	[6] gjanəm	[7] tʃʰarko	[8] tonka	[9] pɨ́ka

TABLE 54   Automatic comparison of other basic nouns (*cont.*).

	Sa [1]	*Ni* [2]	*Ka* [3]	*Ro* [4]	*Ch* [5]	*La* [6]	*Po* [7]	*Ku* [8]	*Na* [9]
STAR/149*	[1/5] tar; kar	[2/3] skar	[2/3] skar	[4/6/7/8/9] karma	[1/5] kar	[4/6/7/8/9] karma	[4/6/7/8/9] karma	[4/6/7/8/9] karma	[4/6/7/8/9] kárma
STONE/156*	[1/2/4/5/6] rag	[1/2/4/5/6] rag	[3] runiŋ	[1/2/4/5/6] ra(g)	[1/2/4/5/6] ra	[1/2/4/5/6] kɔlɔn; ra	[7/8/9] dua	[7/8/9] dua	[7/8/9] dūa
SUGAR	[1/2/3/4/5/ 7/8/9] tʃɨmi	[1/2/3/4/5/ 7/8/9] tʃɨmi	[1/2/3/4/5/ 7/8/9] tʃɨmi	[1/2/3/4/5/ 7/8/9] tʃɨmi	[1/2/3/4/5/ 7/8/9] tʃɨmiː	[6] sini	[1/2/3/4/5/ 7/8/9] tʃɨmi	[1/2/3/4/5/ 7/8/9] tʃɨmi; ŋarmo	[1/2/3/4/5/ 7/8/9] tʃɨmi
SUMMER	[1/2/3] ʂɔl	[1/2/3] ʃɔl	[1/2/3] ʃɔl	[4] ʃolo	[5] sol	[6] hɔlaŋ	[7/9] jarka	[8] ɛrka	[7/9] járka
SUN/147*	[1/3/4] june	[2] jun	[1/3/4] june	[1/3/4] junek̃	[5/6] ni	[5/6] ni	[7/8/9] pima	[7/8/9] pima	[7/8/9] pima
TREE/51*	[1/2/3/6] botʰaŋ	[1/2/3/6] botʰaŋ	[1/2/3/6] botʰaŋ	[4] botaŋ	[5/7/8/9] paŋ	[1/2/3/6] botʰaŋ	[5/7/8/9] paŋ	[5/7/8/9] paŋ	[5/7/8/9] páŋ
VILLAGE	[1/2/3/4/5/6] deʃaŋ	[1/2/3/4/5/6] deʃaŋ	[1/2/3/4/5/6] deʃaŋ	[1/2/3/4/5/6] deʃaŋ	[1/2/3/4/5/6] dɛʃaŋ	[1/2/3/4/5/6] deʃaŋ	[7/8/9] jul	[7/8/9] jöl; jul	[7/8/9] jül
WATER/150*	[1/2/3/4/5/ 6/9] ti	[1/2/3/4/5/ 6/9] ti	[1/2/3/4/5/ 6/9] ti	[1/2/3/4/5/ 6/9] ti	[1/2/3/4/5/ 6/9] ti	[1/2/3/4/5/ 6/9] ti	[7/8/9] tʃʰu	[7/8/9] tʃʰu	[1/2/3/4/5/6/ 7/8/9] tʃʰu; tí
WIND/163	[1/2/3/4/5/6] laːn	[1/2/3/4/5/6] laːn	[1/2/3/4/5/6] laːn	[1/2/3/4/5/6] laːn	[1/2/3/4/5/6] laːn	[1/2/3/4/5/6] laːn	[7] lagda	[7/8/9] lagpa	[9] lágdɛ
WINTER	[1/2/3] gun	[1/2/3] gun	[1/2/3] gun	[4] guno	[5] guni	[6] gɔnaŋ	[7] gunkʰa	[8] gunka	[9] gunga
WOMAN/36	[1/2] tsʰesmi	[1/2] tsʰesmi	[3] tsʰetses; tsʰetses	[4] tsʰesemi	[5] mɔrŋ	[6] monʃŋ	[7/9] kʰɨmamo	[8] pomo	[7/9] kʰɨmamo

TABLE 54 Automatic comparison of other basic nouns (*cont.*)

	Sa [1]	Ni [2]	Ka [3]	Ro [4]	Ch [5]	La [6]	Po [7]	Ku [8]	Na [9]
YAK	[1/4/5/6/8/9] jak	[2/3/4/5/6/7] jag	[2/3/4/5/6/7] jag	[1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8/9] jak̃	[1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8/9] ja	[1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8/9] ja:	[2/3/4/5/6/7] jag	[1/4/5/6/8/9] jak	[1/4/5/6/8/9] jàk
YAK (*FEMALE*)	[1/3/5] brime	[-] -	[1/3/5] brime	[4/6] brimo	[1/3/5] brime	[4/6] brimo	[7/8] ɖimo	[7/8] ɖimo	[9] jakmo
YEAR/79	[1/3/4/5/6] boʂaŋ	[2] borʃaŋ	[1/3/4/5/6] boʃaŋ	[1/3/4/5/6] boʃaŋ	[1/3/4/5/6] boʃaŋ	[1/3/4/5/6] boʃaŋ	[7/8/9] lɔ	[7/8/9] lo	[7/8/9] lò; lɔ̃

TABLE 55 Automatic comparison of adjectives

	Sa [1]	Ni [2]	Ka [3]	Ro [4]	Ch [5]	La [6]	Po [7]	Ku [8]	Na [9]
BAD/186	[1/3] mari	[2] ma:r	[1/3] mari	[4/6] halam	[5] maʃəro	[4/6] halam	[7] akʰe	[8] tʰʊa	[9] ŋànba
BEAUTIFUL	[1/2/4/5/6] ʃare	[1/2/3/4/5/6] ʃare	[1/2/3/4/5/6] ʃare	[1/2/3/4/5/6] ʃare	[1/2/3/4/5/6] ʃare	[1/2/3/4/5/6] ʃare	[7] laho	[8] lakpo	[9] là:fo
BIG/27	[1/2/3/4] teg; te:g	[1/2/3/4] teg	[1/2/3/4] teg	[1/2/3/4] teg	[5] tɛi	[6] tʃei	[7/8] tʃʰepo	[7/8] tʃʰepo	[9] tʃʰétpo
BLACK/176	[1/2/3/4] rok	[1/2/3/4] rok	[1/2/3/4] rɔk	[1/2/3/4] rɔk̚	[5/6] kʰai	[5/6] kʰai	[7/8/9] nakpo	[7/8/9] nakpo	[7/8/9] nàkpo
COLD/181	[1/2/3/4] lis; tʃik; sɔk	[1/2/3] tʃik	[1/2/3/4] sɔk; tʃik	[1/3/4] sɔĩ	[5/6] kʰati	[5/6] kʰati	[7/8/9] taɲmo	[7/8/9] taɲmo	[7/8/9] tàɲmo
DRY/195	[1] tʃarmu	[2/3] tʃarts	[2/3] tʃarts	[4] tʃar	[5/6] fɔsi	[5/6] fɔsi	[7/8/9] kampo	[7/8/9] kambo	[7/8/9] kámpo
GOOD/185	[1/2/3/4] dam	[1/2/3/4] dam	[1/2/3/4] dam	[1/2/3/4] dam	[5] dzoi	[6/8] epo	[7/9] gaɲʃin (people); ʃimbo (inan.); demo	[6/8] epo	[7/9] dèmo; zàɲbo; ʃimpo; ʃimbo; ètpo
GREEN/173	[1/2] ra:g	[1/2] ra:g	[3/4] rak	[3/4] ra:k	[5] pʰi	[6] tiŋ	[7/8/9] ŋonpo; ŋønpo	[7/8/9] ŋonpo; ɖompo	[7/8/9] ŋønpo (blue-green)
LONG/28	[1] lames	[2/3/4] lamcs	[2/3/4] lamas	[2/3/4] lamas	[5] rui	[6] ʃui; sarpa	[7/8/9] riŋpo	[7/8/9] riŋpo	[7/8/9] riŋpo
NEW/183*	[1/2/3/4] ɲug; ɲug	[1/2/3/4] ɲug	[1/2/3/4] ɲuk̚	[1/2/3/4] ɲuk̚	[5/6] nui	[5/6] nui	[7/8/9] soma	[7/8/9] soma	[7/8/9] sóma
OLD/184	[1/2] ʊʂk	[1/2] ʊʃk	[3] ɔʃk̚	[4] ɔʃ	[5] hui	[6] uʃi	[7/8/9] ɲiŋpa	[7/8/9] ɲiŋpa	[7/8/9] ɲìŋba

TABLE 55 Automatic comparison of adjectives (*cont.*)

	Sa [1]	*Ni* [2]	*Ka* [3]	*Ro* [4]	*Ch* [5]	*La* [6]	*Po* [7]	*Ku* [8]	*Na* [9]
RED/172	[1/2/3] ʃʊig	[1/2/3] ʃʊig	[1/2/3] ʃʊig	[4] ʃʊik	[5/6] mãĩ	[5/6] mãĩ	[7/8/9] marbo	[7/8/9] marbo	[7/8/9] márʋo
ROUND/190	[1/4/7/9] baʈʃes; girgir	[2] baʈʃos	[3] baʈʃas	[1/4/7/9] girgir	[5/6/9] kirkir	[5/6/9] kirkir	[1/4/7/9] girgir	[8] tɔktɔk	[1/4/5/6/7/9] kírkir; gìrgir
SMALL/32	[1/2/3/4] zɪgɪts; gaʈo	[1/2] gaʈo	[1/3/4] dzigits	[1/3/4] dzigiʔ	[5] etsə	[6] tsɪgdza	[7/8/9] tʃun	[7/8/9] tʃun	kúrkur; tʃɣn; tʃún
STRAIGHT/189	[1/2] sɔlɖʐes	[1/2] sɔlɖʐes	[3] sɔlɖʐas	[4] silɭa	[5] pɔdora	[6] kʰosra	[7] taɲbo	[8] ombo	[9] tʰaɲbo
WARM/180	[1/2/3/4] bok	[1/2/3/4] bok	[1/2/3/4] bok	[1/2/3/4] bok	[5] tatʰəra	[6] koʧʰra	[7/9] tɵnmo; tonmo	[8] tonʲpa	[7/9] tɵnmo
WET/194	[1/4] pintʃ; tʰis	[2] spenək	[3] pɪnk	[1/4] tʰis	[5] rakʃi:	[6] tʰɪsi	[7] lʊnpa	[8] lemba	[9] lánte
WHITE/175	[1/2/3/4] tʰog	[1/2/3/4] tʰog	[1/2/3/4] tʰog	[1/2/3/4] tʰog	[5/6] tʃãĩ	[5/6] tʃai	[7/8/9] karʋo	[7/8/9] karbo	[7/8/9] kárʋo
YELLOW/174	[1/2] pig	[1/2] pig	[3/4] pɪk	[3/4] piːk	[5/6] lei	[5/6] lei	[7/8/9] serʋo	[7/8/9] sɛrbo	[7/8/9] sérʋo

TABLE 56 Automatic comparison of some adverbs of time

	Sa [1]	Ni [2]	Ka [3]	Ro [4]	Ch [5]	La [6]	Po [7]	Ku [8]	Na [9]
TODAY	[1/2/3/4/6] tɔrɔ	[1/2/3/4/6] tɔrɔ	[1/2/3/4/6] toro	[1/2/3/4/6] tɔrɔ	[5] tʰan	[1/2/3/4/6] ɕɔrɔ	[7/9] tiriŋ	[8] deriŋ	[7/9] tiriŋ
YESTERDAY	[1/2/3] me	[1/2/3] me	[1/2/3] me	[4] meʃpa	[5] nei	[6] ʃiraŋ	[7/8/9] daŋ	[7/8/9] daŋ	[7/8/9] ⁿdàŋ
1 DAY BEF. Y.	[1/2/3/4] ri	[1/2/3/4] ri	[1/2/3/4] ri	[1/2/3/4] ri	[5] tubɽja	[6] tɔʃiraŋ	[7/9] kʰeniʃak	[8] kʰarɟuŋ	[7/9] kʰéniʃak
2 DAYS BEF. Y.	[1] rɨgtsɔmja	[2/3/4] rɨkt-sɔmja	[2/3/4] rɨkt-sɔmja	[2/3/4] rɨkt-sɔmja	[-] -	[6] pitu ʃiraŋ	[7] dʒiŋ	[8] dʒerɟuŋ	[9] dʒiniʃak
3 DAYS BEF. Y.	[1] rɨktsɔ ɔmja	[2] r ɨktsɔmjɔ ɔmja	[3] rɨktʃamjaɔ ɔmja	[4] rɨktsɔm-jaktsɔ ɔmja; rɨktsumaɔ oma	[-]	[6] itu ʃiraŋ	[-] -	[-] -	[9] gùniʃak
4 DAYS BEF. Y.	[-] -	[-] -	[-] -	[-] -	[-] -	[-] -	[-] -	[-] -	[9] tʃʰùniʃak
TOMORROW	[1/2/3/4] nab; nasom	[1/2/3] nab	[1/2/3] nab	[1/4] nasom	[5] obi	[6] ɲarro	[7/8/9] naŋmo	[7/8/9] naŋmo	[7/8/9] nàŋmo
1 DAY AFT. T.	[1/3/4] rɔmi	[2/6] rome	[1/3/4] rɔmi	[1/3/4] rɔmi	[5] nirja	[2/6] rɔmɛʈ	[7/8/9] naŋ	[7/8/9] naŋ	[7/8/9] náŋ; ná:
2 DAYS AFT. T.	[1/3] paɲe	[2/4/6] pãẽ̀	[1/3] paɲe	[2/4/6] pãẽ̀	[5] barja	[2/4/6] paɟɛʈ	[7/8/9] dʒe	[7/8/9] dʒe	[7/8/9] dʒéj
3 DAYS AFT. T.	[1/3] tʃɛɲe	[2] ẽ̀ẽ̀	[1/3/6] tʃɛɲe; ɛɲe	[4] emi	[5] tʰerja	[3/6] ɛɲɛʈ	[7] guʃak	[8] naŋmo nandʒe	[9] gùi
4 DAYS AFT. T.	[1/3] tɛɲe	[2] tʃɛ̃ẽ̀	[1/3] tɛɲe	[4] tʃemi	[5] koɲa	[-] -	[7] ʃuiʃak	[-] -	[9] tʃʰúi

TABLE 57   Automatic comparison of numerals

	Sa [1]	Ni [2]	Ka [3]	Ro [4]	Ch [5]	La [6]	Po [7]	Ku [8]	Na [9]
ONE/22*	[1/2/3/4/5/6] rd	[1/2/3/4/6] rd	[1/2/3/4/5/6] rd	[1/2/3/4/5/6] rd;i	[1/2/3/4/5/6] i	[1/2/3/4/5/6] i	[7/8/9] tʃɪk	[7/8/9] tʃɪk	[7/8/9] tʃɪk̃
TWO/23*	[1/2/3/4/6] nʃ	[1/2/3/4/6] nʃ	[1/2/3/4/6] nʃ	[1/2/3/4/6] nʃ	[5] nɪʃɪ	[1/2/3/4] nɪʃ	[7/8/9] ɲiː	[7/8/9] ɲiː	[7/8/9] ɲiː
THREE/24*	[1/2/3/4] ʂum	[1/2/3/4] ʃum	[1/2/3/4] ʃum	[1/2/3/4] ʃum	[5] homo	[6] hom	[7/8/9] sum	[7/8/9] sum	[7/8/9] sum
FOUR/25	[1/2/3/4/5/6] pa	[1/2/3/4/5/6] pə	[1/2/3/4/5/6] pə	[1/2/3/4/5/6] pə	[1/2/3/4/5/6] pə	[1/2/3/4/5/6] pə	[7/8/9] ʒɪ	[7/8/9] ʒɪ	[7/8/9] ʒɪ
FIVE/26	[1/2/3/4/5/6/ 7/8/9] ŋa	[1/2/3/4/5/6/ 7/8/9] ŋa	[1/2/3/4/5/6/ 7/8/9] ŋa	[1/2/3/4/5/6/ 7/8/9] ŋa	[1/2/3/4/5/6/ 7/8/9] ŋa	[1/2/3/4/5/6/ 7/8/9] ŋa	[1/2/3/4/5/6/ 7/8/9] ŋa	[1/2/3/4/5/6/ 7/8/9] ŋa	[1/2/3/4/5/6/ 7/8/9] ŋá
SIX	[1/2/4/5/6/9] tug	[1/2/4/5/6/9] tug	[3/4/5/6/8/9] ʈok	[1/2/3/4/5/6/ 8/9] ʈuk̃	[1/2/3/4/5/6/ 8/9] ʈu	[1/2/3/4/5/6/ 8/9] ʈu	[7] tʰok	[3/4/5/6/8/9] tuk	[1/2/3/4/5/6/ 8/9] ʈuk̃
SEVEN	[1/2/3/4/5] (s)tʃf	[1/2] stʃf	[1/3/4/5] tʃf	[1/3/4/5] tʃf	[1/3/4/5] tʃf	[6] ʃmɪʃ	[7/8/9] dun	[7/8/9] dun; dɯn	[7/8/9] dɯn; dỳn
EIGHT	[1] rɛ	[2/3/4] rajɛ	[2/3/4] rajɛ	[2/3/4] rajɛ	[5] rea	[6] gɛʔ	[7/8/9] gjɛt	[7/8/9] gjɛt; gjɛt	[7/8/9] gjɛt
NINE	[1/3/4/5] gui	[2] sguí	[1/3/4/5] guí	[1/3/4/5] guí	[1/3/4/5] guí	[6/7/8/9] gu	[6/7/8/9] gu	[6/7/8/9] gu	[6/7/8/9] gù
TEN	[1] sɛ	[2/3/4] sajɛ	[2/3/4] sajɛ; sajɛ	[2/3/4] sajɛ	[5] sja	[6] sa	[7/8/9] tʃu	[7/8/9] tʃu	[7/8/9] tʃũ
TWENTY	[1/2/3/4/5] niza	[1/2/3/4/5] niza	[1/2/3/4/5] niza	[1/2/3/4/5] niza	[1/2/3/4/5] niza	[6] nisa	[7/8] ɲiʃu	[7/8] ɲiʃu	[9] nĩʃu
THIRTY	[1] nizo sɛ	[2/3] nizo sajɛ	[2/3] nizɔ sajɛ	[4] nizau sajɛ	[5] nizaɔ sja	[6/8] sumtʃu	[7/9] sumdʒu	[6/8] ɲiʃu naŋ tʃu; sumtʃu	[7/9] súmdʒu

TABLE 57 Automatic comparison of numerals (*cont.*)

	Sa [1]	Ni [2]	Ka [3]	Ro [4]	Ch [5]	La [6]	Po [7]	Ku [8]	Na [9]
THIRTY-ONE	[1/2] nizo sigit	[1/2] nizo sigit	[3/5] nizao sigit	[4] nizau sigit	[3/5] nizao sigit	[6] nisau sait	[7] sumdʒu ɔkʃik	[8] ɲiʃu naŋ tʃugʃik; sumtʃu tʃik	[9] súmdʒu sɔkʃik
FORTY	[1/2/3/4/5] niʃ niza	[1/2/3/4/5] niʃ niza	[1/2/3/4/5] niʃ niza	[1/2/3/4/5] niʃ niza	[1/2/3/4/5] niʃ niza	[6] niʃ nisa	[7/8/9] ʒiptʃu	[7/8/9] ɲiʃuva ɲi:; ʒiptʃu	[7/8/9] ʒiptʃu
FORTY-ONE	[1/2] niʃ nizo ɪd	[1/2] niʃ nizo id	[3] niʃ nizao ɔd	[4/5] niʃ nizau i(d)	[4/5] niʃ nizau i	[6] niʃ nisau id	[7] ʒiptʃu ɔkʃik	[8] ɲiʃuva ɲinaŋ tʃik; ʒiptʃu tʃik	[9] ʒiptʃu ʒakʃik
FIFTY	[1] niʃ nizo sɛ	[2] niʃ nizo saje	[3] niʃ nizao saje	[4] niʃ nizau adʰaŋ	[5] pãẽ	[6] ʈai nisa	[7] ɲabʈʃu	[8] ɲiʃuva ɲinaŋ tʃu; ŋaptʃu	[9] ŋèptʃu
SIXTY	[1/2/3/4/5] ʃum niza	[1/2/3/4/5] ʃum niza	[1/2/3/4/5] ʃum niza	[1/2/3/4/5] ʃum niza	[1/2/3/4/5] ʃum niza	[6] hum nisa	[7] tʰuktʃu	[8/9] ɲiʃuva sum; tugtʃu; ʈuktʃu	[8/9] ʈùktʃu
SEVENTY	[1] ʃum nizo se	[2] ʃum nizo se	[3] ʃum nizao saje	[4] ʃum nizau saje	[5] ʃum nizao ʂja	[6] hum nisao sa	[7/8/9] duntʃu	[7/8/9] ɲiʃuva sum-naŋ tʃu; dun tʃu; dontʃu	[7/8/9] dùntʃu
SEVENTY-ONE	[1/2] ʃum nizo sigit	[1/2] ʃum nizo sigit	[3/5] ʃum nizao sigit	[4] ʃum nizau sihi(d)	[3/5] ʃum nizao sigit	[6] hu(m) nisau sait	[7] duntʃu donʃik	[8] ɲiʃuva sum-naŋ tʃugʃik; duntʃu tʃik	[9] dòntʃu dɔkʃik

TABLE 57   Automatic comparison of numerals (*cont.*)

	Sa [1]	*Ni* [2]	*Ka* [3]	*Ro* [4]	*Ch* [5]	*La* [6]	*Po* [7]	*Ku* [8]	*Na* [9]
EIGHTY	[1/2/3/4/5] pə niza	[1/2/3/4/5] pə niza	[1/2/3/4/5] pə niza	[1/2/3/4/5] pə niza	[1/2/3/4/5] pə niza	[6] pə nisa	[7/8] gjaʒu	[7/8] ɲiʃuva dʒi; gjaʒu	[9] gʱèdʒu
NINETY	[1] pə nizo sɛ	[2] pə nizo sajɛ	[3] pə nizao sajɛ	[4] pə nizau sajɛ	[5] pə nizao sja	[6] pɔ nisao sa	[7/8/9] guptʃu	[7/8/9] ɲiʃuva dʒinaŋ tʃu; guptʃu	[7/8/9] gùptʃu
ONE HUNDRED	[1/2/3/4/5] ra	[1/2/3/4/5] ra	[1/2/3/4/5] ra	[1/2/3/4/5] ra	[1/2/3/4/5] ra	[6/7/8/9] gja	[6/7/8/9] gja	[6/7/8/9] gja	[6/7/8/9] gjà
FIVE HUN-DRED	[1/2/3/4/5] ŋara	[1/2/3/4/5] ŋara	[1/2/3/4/5] ŋara	[1/2/3/4/5] ŋara	[1/2/3/4/5] ŋara	[6] ŋagja	[7/8/9] ŋabgja	[7/8/9] ŋabgja	[7/8/9] ŋábgja
ONE THOUSAND	[1/2/3/4/5/6] hazaːr	[1/2/3/4/5/6] hazaːr	[1/2/3/4/5/6] hadʒaːr	[1/2/3/4/5/6] hazaːr	[1/2/3/4/5/6] hazar	[1/2/3/4/5/6] hadʒaːr	[7/8/9] tɔŋ	[7/8/9] tɔŋ	[7/8/9] tɔŋ; tóŋ
ONE THOUSAND ONE	[1/3/4/6] hazaːru id; hazaːr id	[2] id hazaːr id	[1/3/4/6] hadʒaːru id	[1/3/4/6] hazaːru i(d)	[5] i həzari	[1/3/4/6] hadʒaːru id	[7/8] tɔŋtʃik	[7/8] tɔŋtʃik nanʃik; tɔŋtʃik	[9] tóŋraŋ tʃĭk

TABLE 58 Automatic comparison of question words

	Sa [1]	Ni [2]	Ka [3]	Ro [4]	Ch [5]	La [6]	Po [7]	Ku [8]	Na [9]
WHO/1	[1/4] had	[2/3/4] hat	[2/3/4] hat	[1/2/3/4] haĩ	[5/7/8/9] su	[6] ɔŋ	[5/7/8/9] su	[5/7/8/9] su	[5/7/8/9] sú
WHAT/2	[1] tʃʰəd	[2] tʰɔ	[3] tʰa(d)	[4] tʰəĩ	[5] kʰe	[6] tʃʰe	[7/8/9] tʃi	[7/8/9] tʃi	[7/8/9] tʃi
WHERE/3	[1/2/3/4] ham	[1/2/3/4] ham	[1/2/3/4] ham	[1/2/3/4] ha(m)	[5] go	[-] -	[7] kana	[-] -	[9] kànɖu
WHEN/4	[1/2/3/4] teraŋ; teraŋ	[1/2/3/4] terɔŋ	[1/2/3/4] teraŋ	[1/2/3/4] teraŋ	[5] home	[6] taʃpa	[7/8/9] nam	[7/8/9] nam	[7/8/9] nàm
HOW/5	[1] hala	[2] halɛs	[3/4/5] hale	[3/4/5] hale	[3/4/5] hale	[6] ale	[7/8/9] tʃúǩ	[7/8/9] tʃuk	[7/8/9] tʃùǩ

TABLE 59   Automatic comparison of personal pronouns

	Sa [1]	Ni [2]	Ka [3]	Ro [4]	Ch [5]	La [6]	Po [7]	Ku [8]	Na [9]
1SG/1*	[1/2/3/4/5] gə	[1/2/3/4/5/6] gə	[1/2/3/4/5/6] gə	[1/2/3/4/5/6] gə	[1/2/3/4/5/6] gə	[1/2/3/4/5/6] gə; gʉ	[7/8/9] ŋa; maŋ	[7/8/9] ŋa	[7/8/9] ŋà; mà
2SG.H/2	[1/2/3/4/5] ki	[1/2/3/4/5] ki	[1/2/3/4/5] ki	[1/2/3/4/5] ki	[1/2/3/4/5] ki	[6] giraŋ	[7] ɲeʔ	[8] rue	[9] kʰóŋ
2SG.NH/2*	[1/2/3/4/5/6] kə; ka	[1/2/3/4/5/6] ka	[1/2/3/4/5/6] ka	[1/2/3/4/5/6] ka	[1/2/3/4/5/6] ka	[1/2/3/4/5/6] ka	[7/8/9] kʰøʔ	[7/8/9] kʰøʔ	[7/8/9] kʰǿʔ
3SG/3	[1/2/3/4/5/6] dɔ; hɔdɔ; hɔnɔ; nɔ; hɔjɔ;	[1/2/3/4/6] nɔ; dɔ	[1/2/3/4] do	[1/2/3/4] ono; dɔ	[1/5] hojo	[1/2/6] nɔ	[7/8/9] kʰɔ	[7/8/9] kʰɔ	[7/8/9] kʰɔ
1PL.INCL/4*	[1/3] niŋa	[2/4/5] niŋ	[1/3] niŋa	[2/4/5] niŋ	[2/4/5] niŋsa; niŋ	[6] nɯŋpaŋ	[7] manʃak	[8] hotset	[9] ðn
1PL.EXCL/4	[1] kiʃaŋ	[-] -	[3] niʃi	[4] kaʃaŋ	[-] -	[6] kirapaŋ	[-] -	[-] -	[9] màʃak; ɲèʔ
2PL.H/5	[1/2] kimɔ	[1/2] kimo	[3] kiʃi	[4] kin	[5] kaʃaŋ	[6] kɯrpaŋ	[7] ɲiʃak	[8] kʰeraŋ	[9] kʰóŋʃak; kʰóŋdʒak
2PL.NH/5	[1] kano	[2] kanego	[-] -	[4] kan	[-] -	[-] -	[7] kʰjoʃak	[-] -	[9] kʰóʋaʔ; kʰǿʃak
3PL/6	[1/2/3] dɔgɔ; hɔdɔgɔ; honogɔ; nɔgɔ	[1/2/3] nɔgɔ; dɔgɔ	[1/2/3] dogo	[-] -	[5] homo tetpaŋ	[6] dɔmi	[7] pia	[8/9] kʰoʋa	[8/9] kʰóʋaʔ; kʰǿʃak

Linguistic Relationships in Kinnaur II: Language Contact between Sino-Tibetan and Indo-Aryan

1   Introduction

The language varieties which can claim a non-recent presence in Kinnaur represent two language families, Sino-Tibetan (ST) and Indo-Aryan (IA), the largest subbranch—in terms of number of languages—of the Indo-Iranian primary branch of Indo-European. In Chapter 5, we investigated the genealogical relationships among the ST varieties of Kinnaur. In this chapter, we will also bring Kinnauri Pahari (see Chapter 4)—a language from the Western Pahari subbranch of IA—into the comparison, where we will examine some instances of linguistic similarities between Kinnauri (ST) and Kinnauri Pahari (IA)— both spoken in the Sangla region in Kinnaur. We will occasionally extend the comparison to other IA and ST languages spoken outside Kinnaur, with a view to elucidate contact and even areal phenomena as a component of the linguistic ecology of Kinnaur.

2   Language Contact in Kinnaur

Kinnaur presents several layers of language contact, both across and within language families. Traditionally, language contact was direct, happened in a local context, and came about through trade, administrative interaction and religion. Today, we are witnessing another layer of linguistic influence, that of the increasing dominance of Hindi (IA), the official language of Himachal Pradesh as well as one of the two national languages of India. With the changing sociocultural conditions and a growing awareness among the locals about Hindi as a medium for social mobility, it is increasingly becoming the inter-community language. An even more recent and more global contact phenomenon is the growing importance of English (India's other national language).

Hindi and English are seen as modern languages, associated with acquiring status-bearing jobs and higher social status, whereas local languages (Kinnauri and Kinnauri Pahari alike) are associated with a traditional, non-modern lifestyle. Further, because of the development of modern mass media (e.g. television and streamed media) locals in the villages are now regularly exposed

to the official state-level and nationally dominant languages to an unprecedented extent. This means that the previously dominant role of Kinnauri is increasingly being taken over by Hindi. The younger generation of Kinnauri and Kinnauri Pahari speakers increasingly use Hindi as their lingua franca—the function earlier served by Kinnauri[1]—and frequently mix their native language with Hindi and Indian English words (see Chapter 1).

In sum, the language situation in Kinnaur is such that we would expect to find that language contact has played a significant role in the development of its languages. This certainly holds for the two linguistic varieties spoken alongside each other in the Sangla region in Lower Kinnaur whose mutual interaction is in focus in this chapter: the ST language Kinnauri (described in Chapter 2) and the IA language Kinnauri Pahari (described in Chapter 4). In the following sections we present some lexical and grammatical features shared by Kinnauri and Kinnauri Pahari against expectations, given their genealogical affiliations, in order to throw some light on the traditional (non-recent) contact situation in this area.[2]

3   Kinnauri and Kinnauri Pahari: Shared Linguistic Features

3.1   *Lexicon: Names of the Days and Months*
The names of the days and months as well as the system used in dividing a year into months are quite similar in Kinnauri to that of the names and the calendar system found in Kinnauri Pahari and also in the IA languages of the plains (i.e., outside the Himalayan region).[3]

Table 60 shows that the names of the days of the week in Kinnauri[4] have similar counterparts in IA languages and that the names in Kinnauri are very different from those of Navakat.

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1   Kinnauri and Kinnauri Pahari are the means of communication in respective "in-group" contexts. Kinnauri is traditionally the lingua franca of this region, a practice which continues to date among older people.

2   Although calling it "non-recent" glosses over the fact that we still do not know much about the linguistic prehistory of this area. For example, different clans among the Kinnauri speakers in the Sangla region are said to have migrated into Kinnaur from different parts of lower Himachal Pradesh. In some cases the members of these clans are still known by the names of the villages in lower Himachal Pradesh which they are said to have migrated from.

3   Indus Kohistani (Zoller 2005) which belongs to the IA Northwestern zone, spoken in northern Pakistan has a division of the year into months which is similar to English or Tibetan, but with its own terms. The words for the days of the week, too, are strikingly different in Indus Kohistani from other IA languages such as Hindi.

4   As described in Chapter 2, a set of IA nouns in Kinnauri take the adaptive marker *-aŋ*.

TABLE 60   The days of the week in Kinnauri and Indo-Aryan

Gloss	Kinnauri	IA correspondences (K: Kotgarhi; hin: Hindi; san: Sanskrit)[5]	Navakat
Monday	suãraŋ, sva:raŋ, suŋa:raŋ	swā:r (K); somva:r (hin)	dzà ⁿdàva
Tuesday	maŋgla:raŋ	muŋgəl (K); maŋgalva:r (hin)	dzà mígmar
Wednesday	buda:raŋ	būd: (K); budʰva:r (hin)	dzà làkpa
Thursday	brespot	brēst (K); braspativa:r (hin)	dzà fúrvu
Friday	ʃukaraŋ	ʃūk:ər (K); ʃukrava:r (hin)	dzà pásaŋ
Saturday	ʃonʃeres	ʃɛ̃nʃər, ʃənɪc:ər (K); ʃaniva:r (hin); śanaiścaraḥ (san)	dzà pénba
Sunday	tva:r, tva:raŋ	twa:r (K); itva:r (hin)	dzà ɲìma

As was the case with the days of the week, the terms for months in Kinnauri are also very similar to the terms used in those IA languages where the Hindu religion is prevalent (see Table 61). Here we find not only similarities in the forms of the names of the months, but also in the way in which the year is divided into months. The first column ("Period") describes how a year is divided into months in both Kinnauri and in Kinnauri Pahari; the second column provides the Kinnauri terms and the third column provides corresponding month names in some IA languages.

Similar borrowing of the Hindu calendar system and names for the week-days is also found in some other West Himalayish languages, e.g., Kanashi (own fieldwork data), Darma (Willis Oko 2019: 467), and marginally also in Tinani (see below).

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5   Kotgarhi, like Kinnauri Pahari, belongs to the Western Pahari subbranch of IA, and is used as a stand-in for Kinnauri Pahari in this table. Hindi, too, is an IA language. The Kotgarhi and Sanskrit data presented in this chapter are from Hendriksen (1976, 1986). When data is from a secondary source, its original language name and transcription is retained in this chapter. Hindi data is from my own native-speaker knowledge of the language.

TABLE 61   The calendar system in Kinnauri and IA languages

Period	Kinnauri	IA correspondences (kjo: Kinnauri Pahari; K: Kotgarhi; hin: Hindi; san: Sanskrit)
Mid March–mid April	tʃetraŋ	tʃetaːr (kjo); tsɛtːər (K); tʃetram (hin); caitraḥ (san)
Mid April–mid May	b(ʰ)aiʃakʰaŋ, beʃakaŋ	baːʃa: (kjo); bəʃɛ̃: (K); veʃaːkʰ (hin)
Mid May–mid June	dʑeʃʈaŋ	dʑeʃʈʰ (kjo); dʑēʈːh (K); dʑjesʈ (hin); jyaiṣṭhaḥ (san)
Mid June–mid July	aːʃaraŋ	aːʃaːr (kjo); ʃāɽ, ʃãːɽ (K); āṣāḍhaḥ (san)
Mid July–mid August	ʃonaŋ	ʃaːmaːn (kjo); ʃauŋ (K); ʃraːvaŋ (hin); śrāvaṇaḥ (san)
Mid August–mid September	b(ʰ)adraŋ	baːdrɔ (kjo); bʰɔ́dːər (K); badʰɔ (hin)
Mid September–mid October	indramaŋ, indromaŋ	indrɔmaːŋ (kjo); sɔ̄ːɟ (K); āśvayujaḥ (san)
Mid October–mid November	kaːtiaŋ	kaːti (kjo); katːɪ (K); kaːrtik (hin)
Mid November–mid December	mokʃeraŋ	mɔgfri (kjo); maŋgʃər, magʰar (hin); mārgaśirāḥ (san)
Mid December–mid January	poʃaŋ	poʃ (kjo); pō̃ʃ (K); pɔʃ (hin); pauṣaḥ (san)
Mid January–mid February	maːŋ	maŋ (kjo); māg: (K); maːgʰ (hin)
Mid February–mid March	pʰagnaŋ	phāg:əŋ (K)

TABLE 62   The calendar system in Navakat and Tinani

Period	Navakat	Tinani
January	ⁿdàva tàŋbo	kunza la, kunzla
February	ⁿdàva ɲíva	püŋa la, püŋla
March	ⁿdàva súmba	tsugzu la
April	ⁿdàva ʒiva	breʃu la
May	ⁿdàva ŋáva	hetsim la
June	ⁿdàva ʈùkpa	sur la
July	ⁿdàva dùnba	ʃelik la
August	ⁿdàva gétpa	mi ʃak
September	ⁿdàva gúva	maŋrar
October	ⁿdàva tʃúva	kjurla
November	ⁿdàva tʃúkʃikpa	mindʑugla
December	ⁿdàva tʃúɲiːva	binʈu la

Distinct from this, two other ST languages of Himachal Pradesh for which we have the relevant data—Navakat and Tinani[6]—exhibit both a different division of the year into months ("Period") and naming of the months ("Navakat"

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6   Tinani data in this chapter come from my own fieldnotes collected during 1988–1994 and the data that were collected in my research project *Digital documentation of Indian minority*

TABLE 63   The weekdays in Tinani

	Tinani	IA correspondences (K: Kotgarhi; hin: Hindi)
Monday	*sombar(e)*[7]	*swāːr* (K); *somvaːr* (hin)
Tuesday	*məŋgaɽ(e)*	*muŋgəɭ* (K); *maŋgalvaːr* (hin)
Wednesday	*budd(e)*	*būdː* (K); *budʰvaːr* (hin)
Thursday	*brespət(e)*	*brēst* (K); *braspativaːr* (hin)
Friday	*ʃukk(e)r(e)*	*ʃūkːər* (K); *ʃukravaːr* (hin)
Saturday	*ʃəntʃar(e)*	*ʃɛ̃nʃər, ʃənɪcːər* (K); *ʃanivaːr* (hin)
Sunday	*aitvər(e)*	*twaːr* (K); *itvaːr* (hin)

and "Tinani"), as shown in Table 62.[8] The Navakat naming system, where the months are simply numbered, is also found in Tibetan. Interestingly, while Tinani has not borrowed the IA calendar system (Table 62), it has borrowed the names of the weekdays (Table 63). For further details, see Saxena and Borin (2022b).

To summarize, the terms for the days of the week and months as well as the calendar system in Kinnauri are very similar to that found in many IA languages. Singh (1990: 248) describes how the village gods were claimed to have more Hindu affinities in the Lower Kinnaur region, and more Buddhist affinities in Upper Kinnaur. He suggests that the Hindu and Buddhist characteristics that we see today in modern Kinnaur are secondary developments, which are superimposed on the earlier—pre-Hindu and pre-Buddhist religion of the ethnic population in Kinnaur. Keeping in view the socio-cultural factors involved, it is very likely that, in this case, the IA influence on Kinnauri comes either

7   Another West Himalayish language spoken in Himachal Pradesh, Gahri (Bunan), also has a similar form: *somra* 'Monday' (D.D. Sharma 1989).

8   The names of the months, provided here, occur frequently in everyday Navakat speech, but the Navakat names of the days provided in Table 63 are seldom used in modern times in everyday speech. According to my language consultant (Padam Sagar), reference to days is not so common in everyday speech in Nako. Reference to day names occur mostly in the speech of schooled adults or school-going children, who tend to use the corresponding Hindi names instead. Some other ST languages, e.g. Lotha (Acharya 1983), Tangkhul Naga (Arokianathan 1987) and Angami (Giridhar 1980), too, have the Tibetan/English calendar system.

through religion or through some other channel, and not directly from Kinnauri Pahari.

3.2 *Lexicon: Words for Past and Future Time Adverbs*

ST languages tend to have distinct words for past and future time adverbs (i.e., for terms corresponding to the English *yesterday* and *tomorrow*; *day before yesterday* and *day after tomorrow*). This is illustrated in Table 64 with examples from some West Himalayish languages, including Kinnauri.[9]

Distinct from this, in many IA languages the same term is used for both past and future time adverbs (e.g. Hindi *kal*, Assamese *kali*, Punjabi *kala* and Rajasthani *kyāla* are all used in these languages for both 'yesterday' and 'tomorrow'). However, Kinnauri Pahari has separate sets of terms for past and future time adverbs (e.g., *hi:dz* 'yesterday', *ka:le* 'tomorrow'; see also Table 65),[10] just as in Kinnauri—though the terms are different in the two languages.

At first glance, one might be tempted to conclude that Kinnauri Pahari has borrowed this feature from Kinnauri, but this is not borne out by the distribution of this feature across IA. There are several Western Pahari languages as well as some languages in other subfamilies of IA, which exhibit this pattern (e.g., Marathi *ka:l* 'yesterday', *udja:* 'tomorrow'; Kashmiri *yēwa, kāl* 'yesterday', *pagāh* 'tomorrow') (see the emphasized items in Table 65).

Further, Sanskrit, which represents the older stage of the contemporary IA languages, had this distinction; terms such as *hīdz* 'yesterday' and *shūī* 'tomorrow' (see Table 65) are related to the Sanskrit forms *hyas* 'yesterday' and *śvas* 'tomorrow', which have disappeared from IA languages such as Hindi, but are retained in some modern IA languages.

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9   Sources of information for Table 64: Byangsi (S.R. Sharma 2003a); Rongpo (S.R. Sharma 2003b); Gahri (D.D. Sharma 1989); Raji (Shree Krishan 2003), and Chaudangsi and Darma from the STEDT database. The data on Kanashi, Pattani and Kinnauri are from my fieldnotes.

10   The data in Table 65 come from the digital South Asian dictionaries available online at http://dsal.uchicago.edu/dictionaries/ (including Turner 1966), from the South Asian IDS/LWT lists available at https://spraakbanken.gu.se/en/projects/digital-areal-linguistics (Borin et al. 2013), and from Bailey (1908, 1920), except for Chinali (D.D. Sharma 1989) and Jaunsari (Satish 1990). Here, as elsewhere in this volume, I have retained the original transcription but normalized the language names. In some cases a language may have a way of unambiguously referring to 'yesterday' or 'tomorrow', for instance, by adding a modifier to the basic word, e.g., Bangla *gatakāla* 'yesterday': *āgāmīkāla* 'tomorrow'. Crucially however, the basic word may be used on its own meaning either 'yesterday' or 'tomorrow', and in such cases must be disambiguated by the context. This is similar to English words like *grandmother* or *brother*, which may, but do not have to, be further specified using *maternal/paternal* or *little* (*younger*)/*big* (*older*), respectively.

TABLE 64   Past and future time adverbs in West Himalayish (ST)

Language	'yesterday'	'tomorrow'	'the day before yesterday'	'the day after tomorrow'
Byangsi	nya:rɛ	nimja:	hrija	sumja:
Chaudangsi	nyarə	məci	hrajya	ninjya
Darma	nimən	khəi	hrijya	niŋjya
Gahri	ya:	acci	giwa	
Kanashi	muɖ	na:b	ri:d	romi
Pattani/Manchad	èreg	mùtaŋ	túrag	ɲúrag
Raji	byarə	kəllə		
Rongpo	nya:r	oro	thamiŋ	ba:gya
Kinnauri	me:	na:b	ri:	romi
Tinani	eki(ʔ)	muntaŋ	tuʃar	njurgja

TABLE 65   Past and future time adverbs in IA languages. **Boldface** indicates lexical differentiation of past and future time reference

Language	'yesterday'	'tomorrow'	'two days ago'	'the day after tomorrow'
Assamese		kali		
Awadhi		kālh, kāl, kallhi		
Gujarati		kāl		
Hindi		kal		
Kashmiri	**yēwa, kāl**	**pagāh**		
Marathi	**ka:l**	**uɖja:**		
Punjabi		kallh, kall, kallu		
Prakrit		kalaiṁ, kalliṁ, kalhiṁ		
Rajasthani		kyāla		
Western Pahari				
Bhalesi	**hī**	**kāla**	**parē**	**tsōŭth**
Baghati	**kal**	**kaḷkā**	pōrshū	
Bilaspuri		kăl		părsū
Bilaspuri, Southern		kăl		părsū̃
Chambeali		kal		parsū

TABLE 65   Past and future time adverbs in IA languages. (*cont.*)

Language	'yesterday'	'tomorrow'	'two days ago'	'the day after tomorrow'
Chinali	*hi*	*šui*	*pəre*	*pəšui*
Handuri		*kăl*		*părsū*
Jaunsari	*beyä*	*dotiyä*		
Jubbal, North	*hīz*	*ōrshī*	*phrēz*	*pōrshī*
Jubbal, South	*hījo*	*dōtte, jīshī*	*phŏrzŏ*	*pŏrshī*
Kinnauri Pahari	*hi:dz*	*ka:le*	*pɔ:ʃi*	*pʰɔridz*
Kiunthali	*hījō*	*dōtē*	*phrĕdzō*	*pōshūē*
Koci, Kuari	*bĭau*	*dōutī*	*phŏrēdz*	*pōshī*
Koci, Rohru	*hīzz*	*kāllā*	*phrēz*	*pōrshī*
Koci, Surkhuli	*hīdz*	*kālle*	*phărīdz*	*pōrshī*
Kotgarhi	*hīdzē*	*kāllē*	*pŏrshē*	*pŏrshē*
Kotguru	*hīdzē*	*kāllē*	*phŏrŏz*	*pŏrshē*
Mandeali		*kāl*		*parsī*
Mandi Siraji		*kāl*		*părshī*
Padari	*hī*	*shūī*	*parē*	*tlĕan*
Rampur	*hīdz*	*kalle*	*phrez*	*porsho*
Siraji, Inner	*hīdz*	*shūī*	*pŏrshī*	*pharz*
Siraji, Outer	*hīj*	*kāllā*	*phŏrŏz*	*pŏrshē*
Siraji, Suket	*hīdz*	*kāllā*	*phărdz*	*pŏrshī*
Suketi, Eastern	*hīdz*	*kăl*	*phărdz*	*pŏrshī*

An overview of past and future time adverbs in IA (and ST) languages is presented in Figure 19. It shows that among the IA languages outside the Himalayan region the normal system is the use of the same form for both, while the use of separate forms for 'yesterday' and 'tomorrow' among IA languages is more frequent in the Himalayan region, where they are in contact with ST languages.

One plausible conclusion could be that the contact with ST languages has favored a preservation of the older system in a number of Western Pahari languages, as seen in Table 65 (the boldfaced items). Once again, this seems to be an areal feature, and not a phenomenon exclusive to Kinnauri Pahari.
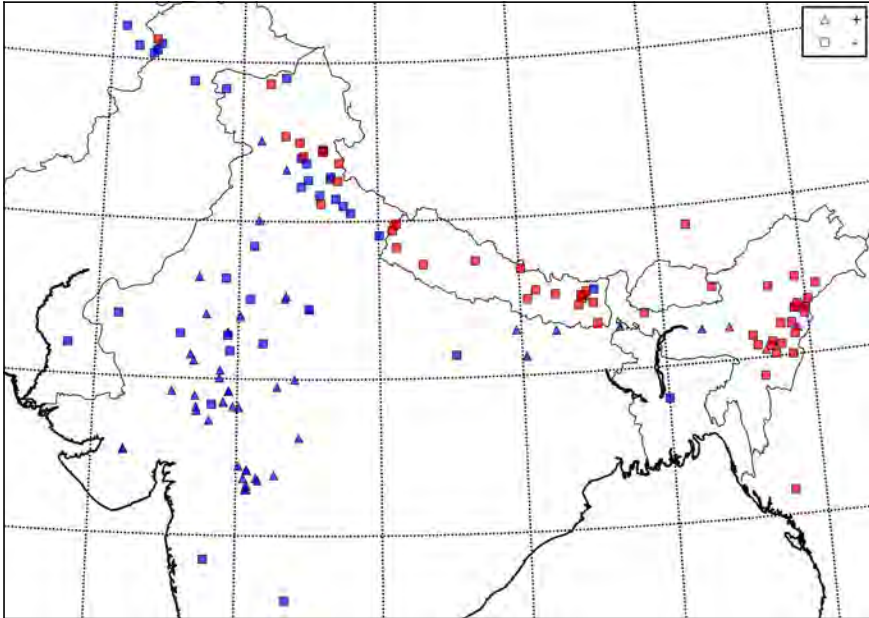
FIGURE 19 Words for past and future time adverbs (blue/darker = IA; red/lighter = ST; ▲ = same; ■ = different)

3.3   Lexicon: Words for 'mouth' and 'face'

Many IA languages have a lexical item which is used for both 'face' and 'mouth' (Table 66).[11] Table 66 includes IA languages from different sub-branches. It shows that the majority of these languages (21 languages) exhibit a polysemous item expressing both 'face' and 'mouth'. The six languages where this polysemy is not attested all belong to the Western Pahari branch of IA (see the Western Pahari section at the bottom of Table 66).

Unlike IA languages, ST languages (both inside and outside Kinnaur) typically have two separate terms for 'face' and 'mouth' (Tables 67 and 68). In our sample of 25 ST language varieties, only three—Tabo, Tibetan and Zeme— show evidence of this polysemy, reflecting two reconstructed Proto-Sino-Tibetan items *zyal 'face, mouth' and *s-mu:r 'mouth, face', both of which have reflexes with both meanings at least in Written Tibetan.

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11   Sources for the data in Table 66: Turner (1966): Bhojpuri, Gujarati, Maithili, Oriya, Pali, Prakrit, Pashai Dardic, Sindhi, Sinhalese. Chinali is from D.D. Sharma (1989). Jaunsari is from Satish (1990). Information about the remaining languages comes from the digital South Asian dictionaries at http://dsal.uchicago.edu/dictionaries/, and the South Asian IDS/LWT lists at https://spraakbanken.gu.se/en/projects/digital-areal-linguistics (Borin et al. 2013).

In general in ST languages the reflexes of *zyal* typically mean 'face', 'cheek', etc., while those of *s-muːr* tend to mean 'mouth', 'lip(s)' or the like. It is worth keeping in mind here that the meaning of the proto-item has been assigned on the basis of the sum of attested meanings in the daughter languages. Thus, it is far from certain that the 'mouth'–'face' polysemy is original to Sino-Tibetan.

Semantically, the meaning extension from 'mouth' to 'face' is not surprising. According to Wilkins (1996) this is the expected direction of semantic shift. With body-part terms, the semantic development is always from the part to the whole, and never the other way around (i.e., from 'face' to 'mouth' in this case). In Wilkins's data, this particular semantic change is attested only in Sino-Tibetan (Wilkins 1996: 276). Still, it does not happen in languages as a matter of course; most languages seem not to have this particular polysemy. But it is widespread among the IA languages.[12]

This semantic shift is extremely rare among ST languages. The IA language Kinnauri Pahari is similar to Kinnauri and other ST languages in this respect (Tables 67 and 68).[13]

Note that while the term for 'face' in Kinnauri Pahari (*mu*) is etymologically related to the IA term for 'face' (see Table 66), the term for 'mouth' (*kʰak*) is a borrowing, most probably from Kinnauri. *kʰa* 'mouth' is found in many ST languages.

The non-polysemy that we observe here between 'face' and 'mouth' in Kinnauri Pahari distinguishes Kinnauri Pahari from the IA pattern, where 'mouth' and 'face' are usually the same.[14] At the same time, note that several other IA languages (spoken outside Kinnaur), too, exhibit the Kinnauri Pahari/ST pattern (see Table 66)—most of them concentrated in the Himalayan region (see Figure 20).

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12   Indeed—and with reservations for incomplete data—it seems that the item described in *The Pali Text Society's Pali–English dictionary* (Rhys Davids and Stede 1921–1925) as "Ānana (nt.) [Vedic āna, later Sk. ānana from an to breathe] the mouth; adj. (- °) having a mouth Sdhp 103; Pgdp 63 (vikaṭ°)" may have had its meaning extended to 'face', too, in, e.g., Bangla and Oriya, in analogy with the reflexes of *mukha*.

13   Sources: for Table 67 Darma (Willis Oko 2019), Ladakhi (Bettina Zeisler p.c.), Raji (Shree Krishan 2003), Tabo (Roland Bielmeier p.c.), Kanashi, Gahri and some Tinani information are from my own fieldnotes. Some Tinani data was collected in the project *Digital documentation of Indian minority languages* in collaboration with the Central Institute of Indian Languages. The information about the remaining languages in this table comes from the online *Sino-Tibetan Etymological Dictionary and Thesaurus* (STEDT): http://stedt .berkeley.edu/search (see also Matisoff 2003). The data in Table 68 come from my own fieldwork.

TABLE 66   Words for 'mouth' and 'face' in IA languages. **Boldface** indicates that separate
             terms are used for 'mouth' and 'face'

	'Mouth'	'Face'
Bangla	ānana	
Bhojpuri	mũh	
Chinali	*mùh, šuṇṭh, šuṇḍ*	muh
Gujarati	mɔḍhũ, mɔ̃ḍũ	
Hindi	mu	
Kashmiri	ȧsi	
Maithili	mũh	
Marathi	ānana	
Nepali	mukʰa	
Oriya	ānana, muhã, muhañ	
Pali	*assa,* **ānana***, mukha*	Āsa, mukha
Punjabi	mə̃h	
Pashai Dardic	dōr	
Prakrit	assa, muha, vayaṇa	
Rajasthani	mūṇḍō	
Sanskrit	múkha	
Sindhi	mə̃hə̃	
Sinhalese	mʊya, muva	

Western Pahari

	'Mouth'	'Face'
Bhadrawahi	*āsh*	*tuttar*
Jaunsari	*mü*	*lamɔkʰ*
Kinnauri Pahari	*kʰak*	*mu*
Kotgarhi	*mu, jāt*	*mu, mə̃h*
Kotguru	*jāt*	*mə̃h*
Pahari, Shimla varieties	*mû*	*mukʰṛo*
Pahari, Solan variety		*mû*	
Siraji, Outer	*jāt*	*muh*
Sirmauri		*mû*	

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14   It is important to point out here that the focus here is *only* on the fact that these IA lan-
      guages have a same/similar form for 'mouth' and 'face'. This does not, however, rule out
      that some of these languages also may have separate terms for 'face' and 'mouth', e.g. Hindi
      ʧehera, which means only 'face'.

TABLE 67   Words for 'mouth' and 'face' in ST languages outside Kinnaur. **Boldface** indicates
            indicate that the same term is used for 'mouth' and 'face'

	'Mouth'	'Face'
Angami	*útiê, úmé*	*zʰie*
Ao	*tepang*	*tecʰek*
Apatami	*àgung*	*nyímo*
Bhramu/Baram	*anam*	*mik*
Bunan	*ag, aʔ*	*mod*
Byangsi	*a:*	*ŋɔ, wamɣɛ*
Chaudangsi	*ak*	*hu-mɛ̃*
Darma	*ʔa*	*womi*
Gahri	*a:ʔ*	*mot*
Kanashi	*kʰakaŋ*	*toŋ, ʃakal*
Ladakhi	*zʰa, kʰa*	*rdong*
Mishimi	*tʰrímbim*	*nyâ*
Pattani	*əs, a, ǎ*	*mod*
Raji	*khəbɛ-ru*	*bāŋā, mhəŋ*
Tabo	*kʰa, ɕāl*	*ɕāl, ŋōndōŋ, dōŋ*
Tibetan	*kha* 'mouth'; *ʑal* '**mouth, face**'; *mur* '**mouth, face**'	*gdoŋ, gdong pa* 'face, countenance'; *bʑin* 'face, countenance'; *ʑal* '**mouth, face**'; *ŋo, ŋos* 'face, countenance, air, look'; *mur* '**mouth, face**'
Tinani	*a, əs*	*mod*
Tod	*kʰa*	*doŋ*
Zeme	*mi mui*	*mi mui*

To summarize this linguistic feature, the data presented here suggest that IA
and ST languages typically display two separate patterns in this regard. The
typical IA pattern is to have the same form used for 'mouth' and 'face', whereas
the typical ST pattern is to have two separate terms for 'mouth' and 'face'. The
IA Kinnauri Pahari (and also some other Western Pahari languages) are sim-
ilar to the ST languages in this regard, where Kinnauri Pahari has borrowed
kʰak 'mouth' from ST and has restricted the use of its own lexical item (*mukʰ*)
for 'face'. As this development is also found in some other Western Pahari lan-
guages, once again, this is not a case of an isolated loanword in Kinnauri Pahari,
rather the influence is more pervasive.

TABLE 68   Words for 'mouth' and 'face' in Kinnauri Pahari
and ST varieties in Kinnaur. **Boldface** indicates
that separate terms are used for 'mouth' and
'face'

	'Mouth'	'Face'
Kinnauri Pahari (IA)	*kʰak*	*mu*
ST Kinnauri varieties		
Kinnauri	*kʰakaŋ*	*to*
Chitkul	*kʰaku*	*mʊkʰaŋ*
Sairako	*kʰakaŋ*	*to*
Nichar	*kʰakaŋ*	*to*
Pooh	*kʰa*	*ŋonan*
Navakat	*kʰá*	*ŋòdaŋ*
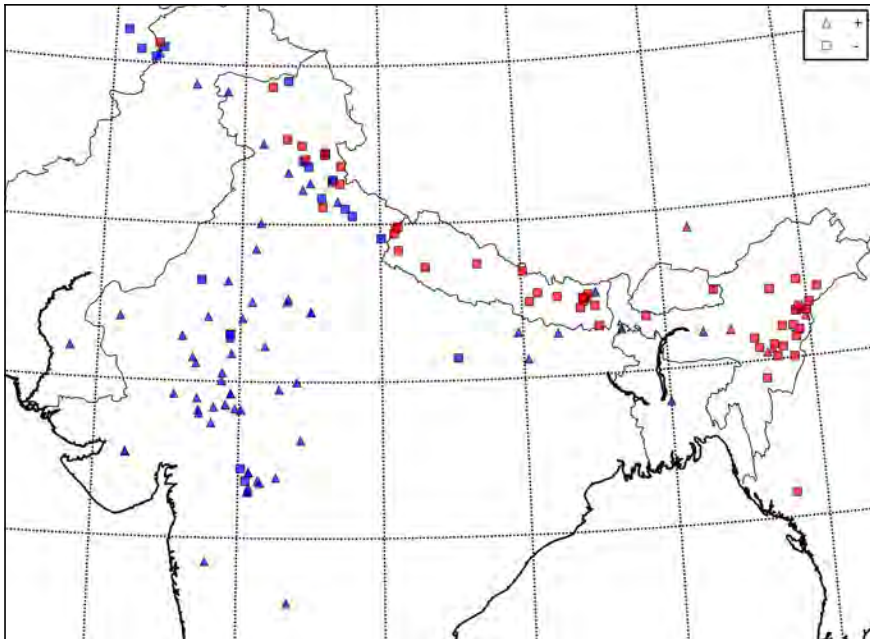
FIGURE 20   Words for 'mouth' and 'face' (blue/darker = IA; red/lighter = ST; ▲ = same; ■ = dif-
ferent)

3.4   *Lexicon: Convergence[15] in the Numeral System*

It is a well-established fact that in the late stages of Proto-Indo-European the numeral system was a consistent decimal system, where higher decades (e.g. 20, 30, 40, 50, 100) were derived etymologically from the word for 10 by the principle 2×10=20, 3×10=30, 10×10=100 etc. (Winter 1992). This late PIE decimal system was inherited into Proto-Indo-Iranian, and it has carried on in the modern IA languages. The decimal system is found in many modern IA languages. But there are some modern IA languages which display a modified version of the vigesimal counting system (a vigesimal-decimal system where 50, for example, is derived by 2×20+10).[16]

In the Himalayan region, one finds occasional instances of the vigesimal numeral system.[17] Both Kinnauri and Kinnauri Pahari display this pattern, as shown in Table 69.

TABLE 69   Vigesimal numeral system in Kinnauri and Kinnauri Pahari[18]

Gloss	Sangla Kinnauri	Kinnauri Pahari	IA (K: Kotgarhi; hin: Hindi; san: Sanskrit)
1	*id*	*ɛk(k)*	*eːk* (K)
2	*niʃ*	*dui*	*dui* (K), *d(u)ve* (san)
3	*ʃum*	*trɔn*	*cɔːn* (K); *trīṇi* (san)
4	*pə*	*tsaːr*	*tsaːr* (K), *catvāraḥ* (san)
5	*ŋa*	*paːts*	*paːndz* (K), *pañca* (san)
7	*(s)tiʃ*	*saːt*	*sātː, sāːt* (K), *sapta* (san)
10	*se*	*dɔʃ*	*dɔʃ* (K), *daśa* (san)
11	*sigid*	*gjaːraː*	*gɛːra* (K); *ekādaśa* (san)
15	*soŋa*	*pandraː*	*pɔndra* (K); *pancadaśa* (san)

---

15   Note that the term "convergence" is used here slightly differently from at least some usages of this term in the literature, notably Hickey (2010: 15) and Matras (2010), who both use the term "convergence" to refer to a change in a contact situation, which has emerged as a consequence of a combination of language internal and language external (i.e. contact) factors, where both these two factors have converged to give one result. Here we require that the system which we find in these two languages is distinct from the system that is found in either of the two concerned languages. It is the third system which has emerged.

16   In a vigesimal system, an alternative way of expressing 50 is as 'two and a half twenties'.

17   The vestiges of the old barter system prevalent until today in temples in Kinnaur suggest that even that was based on 20. The system is called *rekʰaŋ*; the word itself is an IA loanword (*rekʰa* 'line').

18   Gahri (D.D. Sharma 1989), too, exhibits the vigesimal system: *niza* 'twenty', *nissa* (< *nis*+ *niza* [two+twenty]) 'forty', *sum-niza* 'sixty', *pi-niza* 'eighty'.

TABLE 69   Vigesimal numeral system in Kinnauri and Kinnauri Pahari (*cont.*)

Gloss	Sangla Kinnauri	Kinnauri Pahari	IA (K: Kotgarhi; hin: Hindi; san: Sanskrit)
20	*nidza*	*biːʃ, ɛisa*	*bīː, viṃśati* (san)
21 (20 + 1)	*nidzo id*	*ɛisa ɛk*	*kɔ̄j* (K)
22 (20 + 2)	*nidzo niʃ*	*ɛisa dui*	*bāj* (K), *dvāviṃśati* (san)
23 (20 + 3)	*nidzo ʃum*	*ɛisa rɔn*	*tēj, tēj bīː* (K)
24 (20 + 4)	*nidzo pə*	*ɛisa tsaːr*	*tsɔbi* (K)[19] *caturviṃśati* (san)
30 (20 + 10)	*nidzo se*	*ɛisa dɔʃ*	
31 (20 + 11)	*nidzo sigid*	*ɛisa gjaːraː*	*ikkattis* (hin)
40 (2 × 20)	*niʃnidza*	*duibiːʃɔ*	
50 (2 × 20 + 10)	*niʃnidzo se*	*dveːsa dɔʃ*	*pədza* (K), *pancaśat* (san)
60 (3 × 20)	*ʃumnidza*	*trɔnbiːʃɔ*	
80 (4 × 20)	*pənidza*	*tsaːrbiːʃɔ*	
100	*ra*	*ra, sɔ*	*ʃɔ̄ː* (K), *śatam* (san)
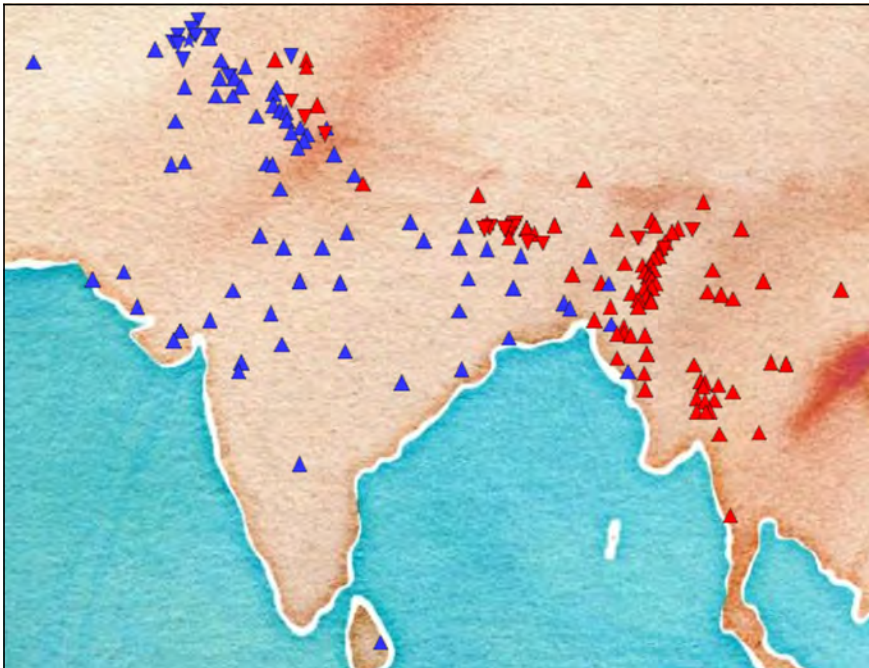
FIGURE 21   Numeral systems (blue/darker = IA; red/lighter = ST; ▲ = base 10; ▼ = base 20)

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19   *eːk biː tsaːr* [one (×) twenty (+) four] is also used for '24'.

Some observations can be made here. First, both Kinnauri and Kinnauri Pahari exhibit the vigesimal system. However, while the basic system is the same in both these languages, the forms are not borrowed, only the constructions. Second, among the Western Pahari (IA) languages included in Figure 21, it seems that the numerals and the numeral system in Baghati, Kiunthali, Koṭgarhi and Inner Siraji are very similar to that of Hindi (Bailey 1908, 1920). Koṭgarhi (Hendriksen 1986) and Chinali (D.D. Sharma 1989) are the only languages in my material which show traces of a vigesimal system, even if the forms are built on IA material (Chinali: *bī* 'twenty', *dui bi* 'forty', *dui bio das* 'fifty', *trāi bi* 'sixty', *trāi bio daš* 'seventy'), even though the default system in Koṭgarhi seems to be the decimal system.

According to Mazaudon (2010), in the Sino-Tibetan language family, the vigesimal system is found in languages only in or close to the Himalayas.[20] Among the IA/Iranian languages, the vigesimal system is found not only in the Himalayan region, but it is also found in Central Asia; it is also found in many Iranian languages, in Caucasian languages (Edelman 1999). Both Mazaudon (2010) and Edelman (1999) suggest contact as a possible origin for the vigesimal system in these languages. Thus, to summarize, there is some contact factor involved, but it seems to extend beyond Kinnaur, and also beyond the Himalayas (so far as IA languages are concerned).

3.5 *Lexicon/Grammar: the Agentive Nominalizer*

Apart from the clear cases of contact-induced changes where the direction of influence is clear, there are also some examples of language change where the two languages have become more similar to each other than they are to their genealogically related languages.

The two languages have a very similar way of forming deverbal agent nouns, as illustrated in Table 71. Further, both languages make a gender distinction here, which is otherwise very uncharacteristic of ST languages.

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20   While Kanashi (source: own fieldnotes) exhibits both systems—decimal and vigesimal— Raji (source: Shree Krishan 2003) has borrowed the IA numerals from seven onwards.

TABLE 71   Deverbal agent nouns in Kinnauri and
Kinnauri Pahari

Gloss	Kinnauri	Kinnauri Pahari
'beggar (M)'	*un-tsja:*	*maŋg-dɔ-sja:*
'dancer (M)'	*ʧa:-tsja:*	*nats-dɔ-sja:*
'dancer (F)'	*ʧa:-tse:*	*nats-di-se:*

There is at least one other ST language (Pattani) where *-tsa* is used as the agentive nominalizer. In Navakat, the nominalizer *-(k)an* occurs in similar constructions instead (see Chapter 3 for details). Similarly, Western Pahari languages such as Jaunsari (Satish 2000), too, use a different marker: *gɪt-ärɪ* 'singer' (cf. *git* 'song', *gitɪ̈änä* 'to sing').

This is a clear case of borrowing, but the direction of borrowing is unclear. Note that the Kinnauri Pahari agentive forms contain the element *-dɔ/-ndɔ* : *-di/-ndi*. This is the habitual-aspect form, originating in a present participial marker (see Chapter 4). This seems to suggest that the agentive nominalizer in Kinnauri Pahari is a later addition, suffixing to the already participial IA form.

Furthermore, the agentive nominalizer in both languages makes a gender distinction, where *-tsja:/-sja:* occurs with masculine head nouns and *-tse:/-se:* occurs with feminine head nouns. While there are instances of systematic gender distinctions being made in ST languages, at least in the derivational system (e.g. *-pa/-po* for male referents vs. *-ma/-mo* for female referents, found in Navakat and to some extent in Kinnauri), the particular formal means used here are telling. Many IA languages express the masculine–feminine distinction through the use of forms ending in *-a/-o* in the masculine, contrasting with forms ending in *-i/-e* in the feminine.[21] It is possible, that even if the agentive nominalizer itself is the result of ST influence on Kinnauri Pahari, the gender distinction in the agentive nominalization in Kinnauri is due to IA influence.

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21   Even though the gender category in these languages is inherited from Old IA (and through it from Proto-Indo-European), these endings themselves are specific IA innovations (Masica 1991: 222).

TABLE 71   Past/perfective = past participle in some IA lan-
guages of the Himalayas

Language	Past	Perfective	Past PTCP
Bhales	V-*to*	V-*to* AUX	V-*to*/*tuo*
Bilaspuri	V-*ea*	V-*ea* AUX	–
Gadi	V-*ea*	V-*ea*	V-*ea*
Kangṛi	V-*ea*	V-*ea*	V-
Kotgarhi	PST PTCP	PST PTCP	PST PTCP
Kishṭawari	V-*mut*	V-*mut*	V-*m*
Paḍari	V-*ta*	–	V-*ta*
Poguli	V-*tumut* AUX	V-*tumut* AUX	V-*tumu*
Punchi	V-*ea*	V-*ea* AUX	–
Rambani	V-*tumut* AUX	V-*tumut* AUX	V-*tumu*
Tinauli	V-*ea*	V-*ea* AUX	V-*e*

3.6   *Grammar: Perfective and Imperfective Aspect Markers*

ST and IA languages in general exhibit two different patterns with respect
to the historical source of their modern perfective and imperfective aspect
markers. In IA languages this is frequently the participial forms, where the
present participial form is reanalyzed as the present/imperfective/habitual
aspect marker and the past participial form is reanalyzed as the past/perfective
aspect marker. Like a typical IA language, Kinnauri Pahari, too, has reanalyzed
its participle forms as aspect markers: -*indɛ* functions as the perfective aspect
marker and as the past participle marker, and -(*n*)*dɔ*/-(*n*)*di* functions both as
the habitual aspect marker and as the present participial marker. This is also
corroborated by the other Western Pahari languages presented in Tables 71–72:
the neighboring IA varieties have past/perfective markers which are the same
as the past participle forms (Table 71) and the present/imperfective aspect
markers are the same as the present participle markers (Table 72).[22]

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22   The information about Kotgarhi is from Hendriksen (1986) and the information about the
remaining IA languages is from Bailey (1908, 1920).

TABLE 72   Present/imperfective = present participle in some IA languages of
            the Himalayas

Language	Present Ind.	Imperfective	Present PTCP
Bhadrawahi	–	V-*to* AUX	V-*to*
Bhales	V-*tau*	V-*tau* AUX	V-*tau*
Gadi	V-*da*	V-*da*	V-*da*
Kangṛi	V-*da*	V-*da*	V-*da*
Eastern Mandeali	V-*daa*	V-*daa* AUX	V-*daa*
Kishṭawari	V-*an* AUX	V-*an*	V-*an*
Kului	PART+*s*	–	–
Mandi Siraji	V-*ã*	V-*ã* AUX	V-*ã*
Paḍari	V-*na*	V-*na* AUX	V-*na*
Pangwali	V-*ta*	–	–
Poguli	V-*ti* AUX	V-*ti* AUX	V-*ti*
Punchi	V-*na* AUX	V-*na* AUX	V-*na*
Rambani	V-(*a*) AUX	V-(*a*) AUX	V-(*a*)
Siraji	V-(*a*) AUX	V-*a* AUX	V-*a*

Distinct from this, the modern past/perfective and present/imperfective/habitual aspect markers in most ST languages do not come from participles, but from other kinds of nominalization.

Additionally, those ST languages which do exhibit participle-based forms are predominantly spoken in geographical regions where they have been in contact with IA languages for a long time (Saxena 1997b); see Figure 22. This is also the case with Kinnauri. In Kinnauri the two perfective markers are a reduplicated form of the verb and *-is*, which coincide with the past participle forms (see Chapter 2, Section 4.5.2.2). The habitual (imperfective) aspect markers are *-ts* and *-id*, which are the same as the present participle forms (see Chapter 2, Section 4.5.2.3).

Based on these data, some generalizations can be made: While the IA languages consistently show one pattern, where the past participial form and past/perfective aspect markers are the same, among the ST languages, only a few languages (e.g. Thami, Rai, Kinnauri, Kanashi) show the "IA" pattern (i.e., where the perfective aspect marker is the same as the past participial form.); other ST languages retain their indigenous path of grammaticalization. Returning to Kinnauri and Kinnauri Pahari, once again, we find that while the two languages have become more similar with regard to the mechanism used,
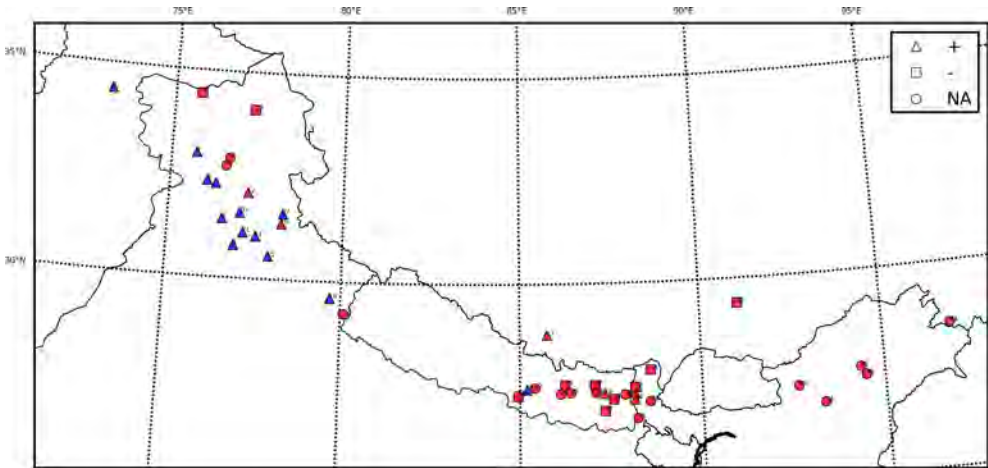
FIGURE 22   Past/perfective same as participle (blue/darker = IA; red/lighter = ST; ▲ = yes; ■ = no)

the forms are not borrowed. Further, once again, this contact-induced feature is not restricted to Kinnauri and Kinnauri Pahari, rather it displays a wider geographical footprint.

3.7   *Grammar: the 1PL Inclusive–Exclusive Distinction*

Both Kinnauri and Kinnauri Pahari makes the inclusive–exclusive distinction in the first person plural pronouns:

	Kinnauri	Kinnauri Pahari
1PLI	*kiʃa*	*ta:mɔri*
1PLE	*niŋo*	*a:mɔri*

The inclusive–exclusive distinction is brought forth, at times, in discussions on "South Asia as a linguistic area" (e.g. Southworth 1974; Emeneau 1980; Masica 1991, 2001). Among the IA languages, at least the following languages have been mentioned in the literature as having this distinction: Marathi, Gujarati, Sindhi, some Rajasthani varieties, and the Tirupati dialect of Saurashtra (Southworth 1974; Emeneau 1980; Masica 1991, 2001; Osada 2004). In the same vein, it has been pointed out that all three varieties of Marathi, Kannada and Urdu spoken in the Kupwar village exhibit this distinction, where Marathi is suggested

to have influenced Kannada and Urdu (Gumperz and Wilson 1971).[23] The presence of this distinction in IA is generally assumed to reflect an areal feature, with Dravidian as the most likely source (Masica 1991).[24] Further, all the IA languages with the inclusive–exclusive distinction discussed in the literature exhibit the same path in developing this distinction, where they are said to have reanalyzed the reflexive pronoun as the inclusive form (Masica 2001; Osada 2004).

LaPolla (2005) presents an overview of the inclusive–exclusive distinction in ST languages based on an examination of 170 languages. Out of these, 69 languages make this distinction in one way or another., and it is found in almost all sub-groups today. LaPolla (2005) claims that this distinction cannot be reconstructed for Proto-Sino-Tibetan or for the mid-level reconstruction, rather each individual sub-group seems to have developed this distinction independently.

Kinnauri Pahari seems to be unique among the Western Pahari languages in having this distinction in personal pronouns, a feature which it shares with the coterritorial but unrelated language Kinnauri (Chapter 2),[25] as well as with Navakat (Chapter 3). Further, unlike other IA languages, which have this distinction, in Kinnauri Pahari the reflexive form (*ap* SG, *apori* PL) shows resemblance, if any, with the 1PLE pronoun (*a:mɔri*)—and not the 1PLI pronoun (*ta:mɔri*).[26]

Once again, we see here that while Kinnauri Pahari and Kinnauri share a pattern, they use two different sets of forms.

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23   The WALS article on the inclusive–exclusive distinction in independent pronouns (Cysouw 2013) includes some South Asian languages, viz. Brahui (Dravidian), Burushaski (Isolate), Hindi (IA), Kannada (Dravidian), Ladakhi (ST) and Mundari (Munda), among which only Ladakhi and Mundari show this distinction. It is mentioned that standard Kannada has lost this distinction—usually reconstructed for Proto-Dravidian—due to IA influence.

24   Contrary to this general view, Osada (2004) argues instead in favor of a purely language-internal development of this distinction in IA languages. He proposes the following historical internal development: reflexive pronoun > 2.H pronoun > 1PLI pronoun. He bases his analysis on the facts that the reflexive pronoun (Sanskrit *ātmān* 'self') occurs in many IA languages as a 2.H pronoun, and in the IA languages with the inclusive–exclusive distinction, this pronoun functions as the inclusive pronominal form.

25   Kinnauri in its turn shares this feature with most of the other West Himalayish languages, at least with Pattani, Chhitkuli, Kanashi, Tinani, Gahri, Darma, Chaudangsi and Johari. Source: D.D. Sharma (1989), except for Kanashi (my fieldnotes). This distinction is prevalent in ST languages (LaPolla 2005). Among the IA languages of the north this feature exists in only one other language: Prasun, a language of Nuristan (Claus Peter Zoller, p.c.).

26   The same seems to be also the case with the evidential interpretations in the finite verb.

3.8   *Grammar: the Finite Verb System*

Finally, the finite verb system in Kinnauri is structurally similar to the system typically found in IA languages, where the grammatical categories of tense and aspect generally are given separate expression. This is distinct from the system found, e.g. in Navakat, where tense and evidentiality are expressed by portmanteau morphs.[27]

4   Summary

The results of the investigation of the linguistic structures discussed in this chapter can be summarized as in Table 73. The terms MAT (replication of linguistic matter, i.e., linguistic form or substance) and PAT (replication of linguistic linguistic pattern or structure) are due to Matras and Sakel (2007).

Except for the inclusive–exclusive feature, irrespective of the direction of influence, the spread of features is wider than just restricted to the contact between Kinnauri and Pahari Kinnauri in the Sangla region.

In the contact situation which I have presented here, Kinnauri is the locally dominant language, and Kinnauri Pahari is in the subordinate position. Thus, one would expect to find lexical borrowing from Kinnauri in Kinnauri Pahari, while Kinnauri should show evidence of structural influence from Kinnauri Pahari. As we see in Table 73, this does not hold completely. Which is the dominant language and which is the less dominant language in a contact situation can be a bit more complicated.

One language can be both the superstratum language and substratum language at the same time, in relation to different languages. This seems to be the case in the Indian Himalayan region—where Kinnauri has the superstratum role in relation to Kinnauri Pahari, but it has the substratum role in relation to other IA languages of the plains (including Hindi), which are also used in Hindu religious contexts. This probably accounts for the seeming bidirectionality of influence which we have observed here.

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27   Evidentiality is, however, found in both Kinnauri and Navakat, though the two languages have distinct evidential forms. Evidentiality is less developed in Kinnauri as compared to Navakat.

TABLE 73   Borrowing between Kinnauri (ST) and Kinnauri Pahari (IA)

Type of borrowing	Feature	Direction
MAT and PAT	Names of the days and months	IA > ST
	Agentive nominalizer	unclear[28]
PAT (and partly MAT)	'mouth'/'face'	ST > IA
PAT only	'yesterday'/'tomorrow'	ST > IA
	Source of aspect markers	IA > ST
	The finite verb structure	IA > ST
	Inclusive–exclusive distinction	ST > IA
Convergence of PAT	Higher numeral system	—

In order to understand the linguistic structure of a language, we need to take into consideration its context, its function. In the same way, when investigating contact-induced changes in a location, we should also take into consideration the linguistic and social structure not only at the micro-level (the village), but also the larger region in which it is embedded, to get a better understanding of the language changes which we are observing at the micro-level.

In all the instances where Kinnauri exhibits the "IA" pattern, it distinguishes itself from Navakat (also spoken in Kinnaur). This again confirms the conclusions from Chapter 5. If one were to plot isoglosses for the ST languages of Kinnaur, they will divide the region into at least two parts, where the Sangla area as a whole (or Kinnauri in particular) and Navakat will end up separated by a large number of isoglosses; it is very likely that the isoglosses delimiting Kinnauri will group it with other West Himalayish languages such as Kanashi.

28   Gender agreement in the agentive nominalizer is presumably IA > ST.

The Many-Faceted Linguistic Landscape of Kinnaur

This monograph endeavors to contribute to the documentation of the linguistic situation of a particular region in the Indian Himalayas—the Kinnaur district of Himachal Pradesh—which so far has been very poorly described. The aim has been to gain a better understanding of the languages traditionally spoken in this region, i.e., Sino-Tibetan and Indo-Aryan languages, both as independent linguistic entities and as parts of a multi-faceted linguistic ecology.

This aim has determined the structure of the text, together with the practical constraint imposed by the desire to stay within a reasonable length of exposition.

In the first chapter, the geography, demography and administrative organization of Kinnaur were described, in order to provide a background to the following linguistic investigations.

The languages traditionally spoken in Kinnaur belong to the (mutually unrelated) Sino-Tibetan (ST) and Indo-Aryan (IA < Indo-European) language families. The ST languages have been sociolinguistically dominant in Kinnaur until recently, to the extent that one of them—Kinnauri—has functioned as a lingua franca at least in Lower Kinnaur. At the same time, the genealogical relationships among these ST varieties—the KST varieties—are insufficiently investigated, which to a large extent is because the varieties themselves are poorly described.

In Chapters 2 and 3 of this monograph, I have provided linguistic sketches—based on my own primary fieldwork—of two of the KST varieties, which have been chosen so as to represent the extreme poles of these varieties: Kinnauri, spoken in the extreme south of the district, in Lower Kinnaur, is described in Chapter 2, and Navakat, spoken in the extreme north, in Upper Kinnaur, is described in Chapter 3. As far as the linguistic structures of the varieties and my data have allowed, the sketches have been structured along parallel lines.

In Chapter 4, the IA language Kinnauri Pahari—coterritorial with Kinnauri and some other KST varieties—was described in a similar fashion.

Hopefully, the sketches of Kinnauri and Navakat will have shown that these two KST varieties are quite different, which raises the question of how these and the other recognized KST varieties are interrelated. In Chapter 5, I turn to a broader investigation—again based on my own primary fieldwork—of the relationships among nine KST varieties (those of the villages Nichar, Sangla,

Chitkul, Kalpa, Kuno, Labrang, Poo, Ropa and Nako). There has not been any comparative linguistic study of the KST varieties (except by the present author; see Saxena 2011; Saxena and Borin 2011, 2013), and consequently no systematic basis for examining how they relate to one another. The aim of Chapter 5 was to examine the genealogical relationships among these nine KST varieties using a computational approach applied to empirical primary language data, mainly basic vocabulary (a modified Swadesh list), but also some grammatical features.

The procedure which was used for comparing the basic vocabulary lists is similar to recent works in dialectometry and lexicostatistics in relying on a completely automatic comparison of the items in the word lists. However, it differs from most of these works (McMahon et al. 2007 being a notable exception) in its usage of rules tailored to the particular linguistic configuration under investigation, rather than a general method for string comparison. In this respect, it falls somewhere in between traditional genealogical linguistics—where expert statements are required about the cognacy of items—and these modern approaches—which rely entirely on surface form for determining identity of items—although closer to the latter than the former. In this way, the monograph also makes a contribution to the theoretical and methodological discussions of measuring linguistic distances, beyond providing empirical classification of the KST varieties.

The results of the comparison showed that the investigated KST varieties can be classified into three (or possibly four) groups, where the varieties spoken at Sangla, Nichar, Ropa and Kalpa form one group, and those of Poo, Kuno and Nako (Navakat) form another. The varieties of Chitkul and Labrang fall somewhere in between these two distinct groupings, being (separately) closer to one or the other group concerning some linguistic features, but distinct with regard to other linguistic features. In Chapter 5, I also made a more detailed comparison between Kinnauri and Navakat on the basis of the richer linguistic data available to me on these varieties (see Chapters 2 and 3), which confirms the results of the broader comparison, specifically that Navakat (and consequently also the varieties of Poo and Kuno) should be placed together with the Tibetan varieties, rather than under the West Himalayish node of Sino-Tibetan. The combined evidence of this study thus supports a grouping of the nine investigated KST varieties approximately like the one shown in Figure 23 (= Figure 18 in Chapter 5).

In Chapter 6, I investigated the relationship between Kinnauri and Kinnauri Pahari, which took us into the realm of language contact and areal linguistics. This investigation shows that both Kinnauri and Kinnauri Pahari exhibit linguistic features characteristic of the other language, but in many cases it seems
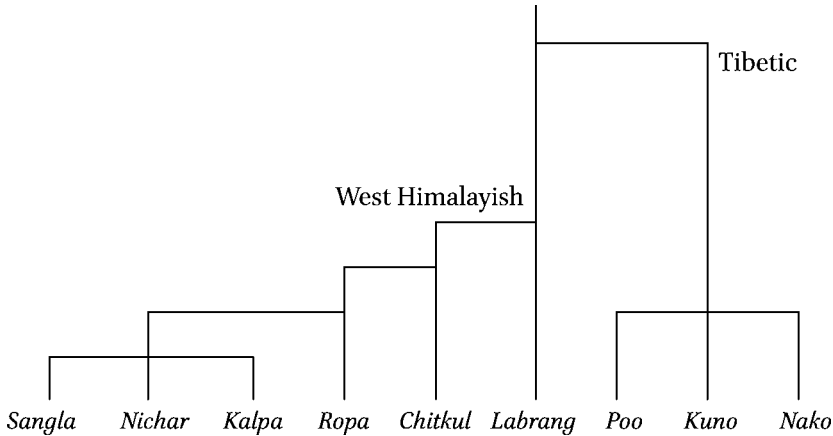
FIGURE 23   Lower-level classification of the investigated KST varieties (branch lengths
             are not significant)

most reasonable to posit wider areal influences as the reason for the similarities, rather than direct borrowing between the two languages. A particular confounding factor is the existence of less prestigious—Kinnauri Pahari and other
languages of the so-called scheduled castes—and more prestigious—above all
the state and national language Hindi—Indo-Aryan varieties in relationship
to Kinnauri. Since these Indo-Aryan languages share many features by virtue
of being closely related, it is not always possible to determine which sociolinguistic configuration is responsible in every particular case of borrowing into
Kinnauri.

The results of the investigation of the linguistic structures discussed in
Chapter 6 can be summarized as in Table 74 (= Table 73 in Chapter 6). The terms
MAT (replication of linguistic matter, i.e., linguistic form or substance) and PAT
(replication of linguistic linguistic pattern or structure) are due to Matras and
Sakel (2007).

Except for the inclusive–exclusive feature, irrespective of the direction of
influence, the spread of features is wider than just restricted to the contact
between Kinnauri and Kinnauri Pahari in the Sangla region.

In all the instances where Kinnauri exhibits the "Indo-Aryan" pattern, it distinguishes itself from Navakat. This again confirms the conclusions from Chapter 5. If one were to plot isoglosses for the KST varieties, they will divide the
region into at least two parts, where the Sangla area as a whole (or Kinnauri in
particular) and Navakat will end up separated by a large number of isoglosses;
it is very likely that the isoglosses delimiting Kinnauri will group it with other
West Himalayish languages such as Kanashi.

TABLE 74   Borrowing between Kinnauri (ST) and Kinnauri Pahari (IA)

Type of borrowing	Feature	Direction
MAT and PAT	Names of the days and months	IA > ST
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PAT only	'yesterday'/'tomorrow'	ST > IA
	Source of aspect markers	IA > ST
	The finite verb structure	IA > ST
	Inclusive–exclusive distinction	ST > IA
Convergence of PAT	Higher numeral system	—

This concludes our overview of the linguistic situation of Kinnaur. Hopefully I have been able to add to the linguistic documentation of the languages of Kinnaur—in particular Kinnauri, Navakat, and Kinnauri Pahari, but also in some degree of other varieties spoken within its borders. I also hope to have been able to shed some further light on the genealogical and areal connections among the languages of Kinnaur and also those spoken in the larger context of the western part of the Indian Himalayas.

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Index

In this index, genealogical classification information is provided for languages and language sub-families. Thus, "Kanashi (ST)" refers to the Sino-Tibetan language Kanashi, and "Western Pahari (<IA)" is the Western Pahari subfamily/branch of the Indo-Aryan language family (which in turn forms a branch of Indo-European). For obvious reasons, the language families Sino-Tibetan (ST) and Indo-Aryan (IA), and the languages Kinnauri, Kinnauri Pahari, and Navakat are not indexed, although some of the subbranches of ST and IA are.